RITES IN AND OUT OF PLACE: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE RITUAL PRODUCTION OF SPACE IN HAGGAI–ZECHARIAH 1–8

by

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ABSTRACT

"Rites in and Out of Place: A Critical Examination of the Ritual Production of Space in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8"

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It is within the broader concern with ritual and space that Old Testament authors extensively deal with the question of the ritual production of space. The Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus is among the finest examples of prophetic literature where this theme of the ritual production of space is thoroughly addressed (Hag 2; Zech 3–4; Zech 7–8, as prime examples). The present study sought to answer the question of how the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus describes the complex dynamics of the ritual production of space by developing a new approach that combines insights from ritual studies (Ronald L. Grimes) and critical spatiality (Henri Lefebvre). In order to answer that question, chs. 3 deals with the physical aspect of God's, the people's, and nature's space as delineated in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus and sets the ground for the discussion of the ritual production of the ideological and lived aspects of these three types of space in the rest of this study. All three sections that follow chapter 3 and deal with Hag 1–2 (chs. 4–5), Zech 1–6 (chs. 6–7), and Zech 7–8 (chs. 8–9) first do a space-sensitive reading through the lens of Lefebvre's spatial triad (critical spatiality) with special focus on ideological and lived aspects of space. This is then followed by an examination of rituals by using Grimes's theoretical framework, including an analysis of ritual elements and the efficacy of rituals with respect to the production of space. The research demonstrates that the Haggai–

Zechariah 1–8 corpus purposefully shows that felicitous rituals have a purpose to create an ideological aspect of space, and infelicitous rituals produce a lived aspect of space that is opposed to that ideological portrayal. More important, by intentionally portraying rituals within an imaginative visionary world, Zechariah, in his vision reports (Zech 1:7—6:8), exhorts the people to move from practicing infelicitous rituals to performing felicitous ones.

DEDICATION

To my beloved wife Branka without whose sacrificial love
this work would not have been possible
and who has always supported me along the way.

To my precious children Sarah and Nathan who showed me
their love at every step of this journey and
whose patience and understanding cannot be described in words.

To my dear parents Dušan and Mirjana who introduced me to
the beauty of the Scriptures and who encouraged
and supported me in all my endeavours throughout my life.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My academic journey towards the doctoral degree in which I focused on the issue of the ritual production of space has partially overlapped with the period of a global pandemic when everybody realized that the circumstances around us can sometimes pervert space into something very different from what it was originally and ideologically intended to be. Despite many challenges that I faced during these unprecedented times, I was also abundantly blessed to be a member of a community which, through numerous sacrifices, created an ideal space in which I was able to work on this project. In this way, the people who surrounded me affirmed the findings presented in this dissertation: it is through ritual practices that we produce ideological space.

I should first express gratitude for the opportunity to take this journey at McMaster Divinity College which proved to be ideal place for this academic endeavour. Its high academic standards, one of the world's finest faculties, a community rich in diversity, and classroom experience in which I was intellectually challenged and at the same time respected are just a few of the many characteristics that made this school a perfect place for pursuing my doctoral degree. I would especially like to express my gratitude and admiration to my supervisors Dr. Mark J. Boda and Dr. Paul S. Evans who were always patient to listen to my new ideas—even when they sounded unclear, too creative, and in the process of development—and who diligently read and critically evaluated my work. They provided constant support along the way and unselfishly invested their time and expertise in this work and in me as a person.

Along with my supervisors, a number of other scholars showed their interest in this research and graciously offered their help. Along with my classmates, whom I deeply respect and whose daily critique improved this work and made me a better thinker and researcher, I would like to offer special thanks to Dr. Ronald L. Grimes and Dr. Mark K. George who graciously helped me in the process of the development of the method of the present work. I am indebted to Dr. Grimes for introducing me into the world of ritual studies and for his willingness to meet with me in-person on several occasions to discuss my understanding of rituals and how they work. My gratitude also goes to Dr. Mark. K. George who made himself available to meet with me and to offer me his expertise on the side of critical spatiality. He helped me to understand better a very complex notion of space in the writings of Henri Lefebvre.

I should also mention professional societies which produced space in which researchers like myself can share their work in front of world renowned experts and get valuable feedback from them. I refer here to our own McMaster Divinity College Old Testament Guild and the Theological Research Seminar as well as to the Canadian Society of Biblical Literature and the Society of Biblical Literature. I am especially thankful to Dr. Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, Dr. Jakob Wöhrle, and Dr. James Nogalski (unit of Book of the Twelve Prophets); Dr. Daniel L. Belnap (unit of Ritual in the Biblical World); and Dr. Jennifer T. Kaalund and Dr. Jaime L. Waters (unit of Space, Place, and Lived Experience in Antiquity), who as the SBL program unit chairs provided me with

the opportunity to present my ideas before other scholars at the SBL annual meetings. It is the SBL community that stimulated my intellectual growth by offering its intellectual critique of my work in a respectful and lovely manner.

I am eternally grateful to my wife Branka and to our two children Sarah and Nathan for their love, encouragement, and constant support on this journey. They unselfishly turned their family space into something different from what that space is ideally supposed to be and by making that sacrifice, they produced the ideal space for me in which I was able to complete this work. Their life of sacrifice both confirmed and challenged the main thesis of this dissertation. One of the explanations for this paradoxical statement could be found in their love which goes beyond what the human mind can grasp.

Finally, and most important, I am immensely grateful to God whose grace and mercy enabled me to begin and complete this academic endeavor. It is only through his omnipresence that the ideal space for any task on this earth, including pursuing doctoral degree, could be created. His providence enabled me to continue my studies, first in the UK, and then here in Canada, at McMaster Divinity College. I am deeply aware of the fact that without his mercy and blessings, none of this would have been possible. Soli Deo gloria.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*American Anthropologist*
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AB	Anchor Bible
ABS	Archaeology and Biblical Studies
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review*
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AEHL	Negev, Avraham, and Shimon Gibson, eds. *Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land*. New York: Continuum, 2001.
AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
AJBA	*Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology*
AJSR	*Association for Jewish Studies Review*
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*
AKM	*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANE	Ancient Near East
ANEM	Ancient Near East Monographs
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament,* ed. James B. Pritchard. 3rd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament: Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments
AOS	American Oriental Series
AOTC	Abingdon Old Testament Commentary
ApOTC	Apollos Old Testament Commentary

ASBT	Acadia Studies in Bible and Theology
ASORDS	American Schools of Oriental Research Dissertation Series
ASORMS	American Schools of Oriental Research Monograph Series
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch: Neues Göttinger Bibelwerk
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies*
AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BARIS	British Archaeological Reports International Series
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BBR	*Bulletin for Biblical Research*
BBRSup	Bulletin for Biblical Research, Supplements
BDB	Brown, Francis, et al. *The New Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius Hebrew and English Lexicon: With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic*. Translated by Edward Robinson. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1979.
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentum
BHRG	Van der Merwe, et al. *Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999.
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*
BHQ	*Biblia Hebraica Quinta*
Bib	*Biblica*
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series

BibSem	The Biblical Seminar
BibS(N)	Biblische Studien
BJS	Biblical and Judaic Studies
BJSoc	*British Journal of Sociology*
BK	*Bibel und Kirche*
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
BLS	Bible and Literature Series
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BO	*Berit Olam: Studies in Hebrew Narrative and Poetry*
BR	*Biblical Research*
BRLAJ	Brill Reference Library of Ancient Judaism
BT	The Bible Translator
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BWA(N)T	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CAT	Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
ConBNT	Coniectanea Biblica New Testament Series
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*

CC	Continental Commentaries
CCBS	A Compendium of Contemporary Biblical Scholarship
CHJ	*Cambridge History of Judaism*
CJ	*Concordia Journal*
Colloq	*Colloquium*
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series
CorBC	Cornerstone Bible Commentary
COS	*The Context of Scripture*
CSHJ	Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism
CSSCA	Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology
Cur	*Currents in Research*
CurBR	*Currents in Biblical Research*
CV	*Communio Viatorum*
Davidson	Davidson, A. B. *An Introductory Hebrew Grammar*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1966.
DCH	Clines, David J. A. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. 9 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993–2014.
EB	*Economic Botany*
EBib	*Etudes bibliques*
ErIsr	*Eretz-Israel*
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
Enc	*Encounter*
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses*
ETR	*Etudes théologiques et religieuses*

EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GD	Gorgias Dissertations
GDNES	Gorgias Dissertations: Near East Series
Greg	*Gregorianum*
GKC	Gesenius, Wilhelm. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, edited by Emil Kautzsch. Translated by Arthur E. Cowley. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910.
HALOT	Koehler, Ludwig, et al. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Leiden: Brill, 1994–2000.
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HB	Hebrew Bible
HBD	*Harper Collins Bible Dictionary*. edited by Paul J. Achtemeier. Revised ed. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1990.
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs
HBT	*Horizons in Biblical Theology*
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
HBAI	Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel
HeyJ	*Heythrop Journal*
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HR	*History of Religions*

HS	*Hebrew Studies*
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSMP	Harvard Semitic Museum Publications
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HvTSt	*Hervormde Teologiese Studies*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IBHS	Waltke, Bruce K., and Michael P. O'Connor. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax.* Winonna Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990.
ICCHSONT	The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments
IdF	Marker for ideological future
IdP	Marker for ideological past
IdPr	Marker for ideology revealed by prophet
IdS	Marker for ideology revealed through the description of spiritual realm
IDS	*In die Skriflig*
IdY	Marker for ideology revealed by Yahweh
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
Int	*Interpretation*
IRT	Issues in Religion and Theology
ITC	International Theological Commentary
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JATS	*Journal of Adventist Theological Society*

JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBPR	*Journal of Biblical and Pneumatological Research*
JESOT	*Journal for the Evangelical Study of the Old Testament*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JHebS	*Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
Joüon	Joüon, Paul. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Translated and revised by Takamitsu Muraoka. Subsidia Biblica 14/1–2. Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1991.
JSJSup	*Journal for the Study of Judaism: Supplement*
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KeHAT	Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
Kerux	*Kerux*
LAI	Library of Ancient Israel
LBH	Late Biblical Hebrew
LHBOTS	The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LiE	Marker for lived space (external)
LiI	Marker for lived space (internal)

LiP	Marker for lived space in association with people
LSTS	The Library of Second Temple Studies
LXX	Septuagint (the Greek OT)
MJTM	*McMaster Journal of Theology and Ministry*
MT	Masoretic Text (of the HB)
NAC	New American Commentary
NBC	New Bible Commentary
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NIBCOT	New International Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIDB	*New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*
NIDOTTE	*New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*
NIVAC	NIV Application Commentary
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
NTM	New Testament Monographs
NTR	New Theology Review
NVBS	New Voices in Biblical Studies
NZSTR	*Neue Zeitschrift für Systematische Theologie und Religionsphilosophie*
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OCM	Oxford Classical Monographs
OG	Old Greek
OTE	*Old Testament Essays*
OTG	Old Testament Guides

OTL	Old Testament Library
OTM	Oxford Testament Monographs
OThM	Oxford Theological Monographs
OtSt	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
OTT	Old Testament Theology
OTWSA	Ou Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap van Suid-Afrika (Afrikaans: Old Testament Society in South Africa)
PAB	Potsdamer altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PhM	Marker for physical material
PhS	Marker for physical state
PMHIT	Palgrave Macmillan History of International Thought
PRJ	*Puritan Reformed Journal*
PRSt	*Perspectives in Religious Studies*
PT	*Poetics Today*
QL	*Questions Liturgiques*
QMIA	Qedem Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology
RB	*Revue biblique*
RBS	Resources for Biblical Study
RevExp	*Review and Expositor*
RNBC	Readings: A New Biblical Commentary
RTP	*Revue de théologie et de philosophie*
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBLAB	Society of Biblical Literature Academia Biblica

SBLANEM	Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Near East Monographs
SBLAIL	Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Israel and Its Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBTS	Sources for Biblical and Theological Study
ScBi	Sciences bibliques
SCR	*Studies in Comparative Religion*
Scrip	*Scriptura*
SEÅ	*Svensk exegetisk årsbok*
Semeia	*Semeia*
SemeiaSt	Semeia Studies
SESJ	Suomen Eksegeettisen Seuran julkaisuja
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions (Supplements to Numen)
SHBC	Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary
SJ	Studies in Judaism
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
SLTHS	Siphrut: Literature and Theology of the Hebrew Scriptures
SOFS	Symbolae Osloenses *Fasc. Supplet*
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
StBibLit	Studies in Biblical Literature
StBiSl	*Studia Biblica Slovaca*

STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
STR	Studies in Theology and Religion
TA	*Tel Aviv*
Tarbiz	*Tarbiz*
TBS	Tools for Biblical Study
TLOT	Jenni, Ernst, and Claus Westermann. *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. 3 vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997.
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
Transeu	*Transeuphratène*
TThSt	Trierer theologische Studien
TWOT	*Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
UMM	University Museum Monograph
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

CHAPTER 1: THE RITUAL PRODUCTION OF SPACE: AN INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The significance of ancient Israel's space[1] and cultic system[2] and their essential place within the Old Testament tradition have long been recognized by modern biblical scholars and cannot be overestimated.[3] Considering the multifaceted importance that

[1] Terms such as place and space may refer to a range of meanings. This study assumes the distinction between the terms *place* and *space* as suggested by Lefebvre, where the latter term is much broader and includes not only physical, but also ideological and social aspects. A more detailed explanation of the term *space* and how it will be used in the present study is given in section 2.2.2.

[2] In this research, I assume both a fundamental difference and mutual dependence between key terms such as cult, ritual, rite, ritualizing, and ritualization, as explained by Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 186–97. Within biblical studies, Klingbeil (*Bridging the Gap*, 5) similarly listed different terms related to ritual (e.g., cult, ritual, rite, and symbol) from the perspective of a systems approach, beginning with the largest and ending with the smallest definable unit. According to this understanding, cult is comprised of a variety of different *rituals*; rituals, on the other hand, are composed of various *subrites*, which involve multiple *symbols*. A detailed discussion about cult-related terms and how they will be used in this research is given in section 2.3.

[3] Both space and cult play a significant role in Old Testament thought. On the one hand, recent studies reflect a shift in view from von Rad's opinion ("Theological Problem," 53–64) that historiographic concerns play a major role in Old Testament theology to one where the prominent place is given to spatiality. In the past two decades, biblical scholars have explored a variety of different themes related to space such as the separation of sacred and profane; formation of identity in relation to construction of space, biblical geography, utopian space, creation of space and gender, etc. For more examples, see the Society of Biblical Literature Constructions of Space volumes. On the other hand, the scholar who played a central role in contributing to a better understanding of rituals is Jacob Milgrom. In his monumental Anchor Bible Commentary on Leviticus, Milgrom demonstrated the centrality and theological significance of the priestly ritual system in the religious system of ancient Israel (see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*; *Leviticus 17–22*; *Leviticus 23–27*). Milgrom also wrote many articles on priestly rituals. For the bibliography of Milgrom's work published between 1994–2014, see Gane and Taggar-Cohen, eds., *Current Issues*, xvii–xxiv. Besides Milgrom, there have been a number of other biblical scholars who have had a significant impact on a better understanding of Old Testament rituals. Works of the most prominent ones, especially those whose work is related to prophetic literature that is the main focus of the current research, will be mentioned in the literature review. The importance of the cultic system is primarily affirmed by the myriad of Old Testament laws and regulations focusing on the temple; however, even beyond that, these laws and regulations had a much broader influence and were ultimately concerned with every aspect of the people's lives, covering the spatial and temporal as well as personal and communal dimensions of reality. Gane (*Old Testament Law*, 368–73) provided a brief but helpful classification of the laws related to the ritual system of ancient Israel. For instance, in Lev 1–16, where the core of ritual instructions is found, Gane recognized directives regarding five major kinds of sacrifices (Lev 1–5), ritual instructions concerning sacrifices given especially to priests (Lev 6:8—7:38), laws about physical ritual impurities (Lev 12–15), and finally,

space and cult appear to have held in ancient Israel, it is no surprise that besides the Torah, these two subjects have been extensively treated in the prophetic corpus, as well.[4] While spatial motifs are used primarily to underline Yahweh's sovereignty and judgment, the cultic system is portrayed as an essential element in the religious system of ancient Israel—a fact that is ironically confirmed even by the prophetic criticism of the cult.[5]

It is within this broader concern with ritual and space that the question of ritual production of space has been developed. This topic has been primarily addressed in

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instructions related to ritual purification of the sanctuary (Lev 16). Besides Leviticus, Gane identified a number of others ritual laws located elsewhere in the Pentateuch (e.g. law-giving narratives, divine commands and instructions for particular occasions, and texts related to operation or violation of laws) as well as outside of the Pentateuch in narrative, prophecy, psalms, and wisdom literature.

[4] Many essays presented during the Constructions of Ancient Space Seminar (Society of Biblical Literature 2000–2005) dealt with the subject of constructions of space in prophetic literature. Perhaps the best examples are Maier, "Daughter Zion as Gendered Space"; Lopez, "Standing Before the Throne of God"; Bowman, "The Place of the Past"; Davidson, "Every Green Tree and the Streets of Jerusalem"; and Prinsloo, "From Watchtower to Holy Temple." On the other hand, some good examples of studies that focused on the investigation of ritual matters in the prophetic literature are Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites*; Boda, "Perspectives on Priests"; Hilber, "Liturgy and Cult," 513–24; Nogalski, "How Does"; and Schaart, "Priests and Cults." The interest in this topic culminated with the volume edited by Tiemeyer in 2016: *Priests and Cults in the Book of the Twelve*. For a brief survey of a variety of issues related to the subjects of spatiality and cult in the prophetic literature of the Old Testament, see Peterson, "Cosmology," and Hilber, "Liturgy and Cult." More details will be given in the next section of the present work, which will focus specifically on the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus.

[5] Even though the late nineteenth-century scholarship primarily understood the prophets as opposing ritual practices, recent studies confirm that the prophets did not have such a hostile attitude towards the cult. For the main arguments of the nineteenth and early twentieth century scholarship that the prophets were "against" the cult, see Volz, "Die Radikale Ablehnung der Kultreligion." One of the most prominent proponents of this theory in modern days is Barton ("The Prophets and the Cult," 121) who argued that the pre-exilic prophets showed hostility towards cultic practices, while the post-exilic prophets tended to approve the sacrificial cult. He concluded that the "tension between those for whom true religion is *religio*, public observance, and those for whom it is, in the words of the Epistle of James, 'to care for orphans and widows in their distress, and to keep oneself unstained by the world' (Jas 1:27)" was evident in Israelite's religion, as well. See also McKane, "Prophet and Institution" and Hendel, "Efficacy of Ritual." For studies that show that the prophets did not have a bad attitude towards the cult, see Tiemeyer, "The Priests and the Temple Cult," 233–64, and Carroll R., "He Has Told You What Is Good." A brief review of the history of interpretation on the subject of the prophets and the cult is found in Eidevall, *Sacrificial Rhetoric in the Prophetic Literature*, 5–30.

Within the field of ritual studies, Grimes explained that ritual criticism goes in two directions—positive or negative—and in some instances, reflects both. According to Grimes (*The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 73), criticism does not address only "glitches and failures but also ritual aspirations and ideals." For the most up-to-date treatment of this topic, see Grimes, *Ritual Criticism*. He was followed by a number of scholars, including the Collaborative Research Centre on Dynamics of Ritual, which worked for a year and a half on "ritual failure," resulting in the volume Hüsken, ed. *When Rituals Go Wrong*.

Leviticus and further developed in the prophetic corpus of the Old Testament.[6] Having in mind the significance of this subject matter as well as a new trend that has emerged in the last three decades among social scientists who have emphasized the role of ritual in the production of space,[7] it is unexpected that this profound and complex subject matter as described in the prophetic biblical literature has not yet been explored in detail.[8]

The Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus[9] is among the finest examples of prophetic literature where the theme of the ritual production of space is thoroughly addressed (Hag 2; Zech 3–4; Zech 7–8, as prime examples). As a result of the Babylonian invasion of Judah in 605 BCE, which later culminated in the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/6 BCE, many of the people of Judah were deported to Babylon in several waves[10] in a forced

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[6] For the question about how rituals affect space, most particularly, the Holy and the Most Holy space of the Tabernacle, see Milgrom, "Priestly Picture of Dorian Gray." Milgrom's view was criticized by Gane, "Privative Preposition" and Gane, *Cult and Character*. On the relationship between ritual practices and ecological space, see Morgan, "Sacrifice in Leviticus," 38 and Morgan "Land, Rest, and Sacrifice."

[7] At the theoretical level, the most important work has been done by Kim Knott, *The Location of Religion* and Post and Molendijk, eds., *Holy Ground*.

[8] For some studies where the question of connection between ritual and space is addressed, see Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*; Smith, *The Priestly Vision*; Walton, *Ancient Near Eastern Thought*; and Walton, *The Lost World of Genesis One* (see specifically the section "Cosmos, Temple and Rest").

[9] Two precautionary notes are due at this point. First, the label "the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus" does not mean that Zech 1–14 should not be understood as a single book. Many efforts have been made in the last four decades to show a close connection between Zech 1–8 and 9–14. For a helpful summary of scholarship on this important issue, see Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, especially 28–29) who explained why Zechariah 1–14 should be treated as a single book as well as Boda, "Reconsidering Exclusive Inclusivity," 5–6. Second, the prophetic books Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi appear to be closely connected and should, therefore, be considered together. For some prominent studies on this subject matter, see Schneider, "The Unity of the Book of the Twelve"; Pierce, "Literary Connectors," 277–89; Pierce, "A Thematic Development," 401–11; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, xliv–lxiii; House, *The Unity of the Twelve*; and Boda, "Messengers of Hope." For a more recent treatment of this topic, see also, Lauber ("Das Buch Maleachi," 214–21) who argued against Bosshard–Kratz and Steck's arguments that the book of Malachi should be understood as a literary continuation of Zechariah. Even though my understanding is closer to Boda's than to Lauber's, this study is constrained to consider the topic of the ritual production of space only in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus. This is mainly due to the limitation of space and because the book of Haggai and Zech 1–8 address the same historical period. For a detailed elaboration on the connection between Haggai and Zech 1–8, see Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 29–30.

[10] Rom-Shiloni (*Exclusive Inclusivity*, 1) suggested that these waves of deportations were also carried out in the period following the fall of Jerusalem, specifically in the period between 605 and 562 BCE. For a more detailed discussion regarding the number and dating of the deportations, as well as the

migration that certainly affected all aspects of Judahite existence to an unprecedented extent.[11] When Cyrus conquered Babylon in 539 BCE and promulgated his decree, the Judahite *Golah*[12] was allowed to return to their homeland, and a new stage in the history of ancient Israel began.[13] The restoration that started with this return migration was a long and complex process that necessitated a number of measures to be undertaken. The Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus focuses on the early stages of this process and delineates the renewal of the cultic system and ritual practice as well as its significance for restoration of God's, people's, and nature's space.

That the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus, among other topics, also describes the role of ritual in the production of space is evident from a number of passages that deal with the interrelationship between ritual and space. That is, passages about infelicitous (Hag 2:10–14; Zech 7:2–7), felicitous (Hag 2:18; Zech 4:6b–10a; 8:9–13; 8:18–19), and

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number of those who were deported, see Albertz, *Israel in Exile*, 70–90. Contrary to these views, there are scholars who challenge the historicity of the exile and who are of the opinion that the exile is myth. The most prominent among them are Davies, "Exile? What Exile? Whose Exile?" and Lemche, *The Israelites*; Thompson, "The Exile in History and Myth." In this dissertation, the view of latter scholars is rejected as an incorrect assessment of this period.

[11] For the enormous effect that forced migration had on the political, socio-religious, and economic aspects of the various Judahite communities, see Ahn, *Exile as Forced Migrations*, 40–66. See also Albertz, "More and Less Than a Myth."

[12] The term *golah* is used in the Hebrew Bible (HB) to describe the people of Judah who were sent into exile and settled in Babylon as well as their descendants who returned to Yehud. For a more detailed analysis of different terms which are used in the HB to describe exiles, see Bedford, "Diaspora," 149–51.

[13] The last three decades have seen a considerable increase in the number of studies on the Persian period, with numerous works that can be used to advance further our knowledge of the socio-political situation in this period. After the ground-breaking work of Muhammad Dandamayev and the Achaemenid History Workshop in Groningen, many new Persian-period historians rose to prominence within academia. These studies are listed here in chronological order based on the year of publication: Dandamaev, *Slavery in Babylonia*; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*; Allen, *The Persian Empire*; Brosius, *Women in Ancient Persia*; Wiesehofer, *Ancient Persia*; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*; and Waters, *Ancient Persia.* For a brief overview of literature on the history of the Persian Empire in the past few decades, see Berquist, "Approaching Yehud," 1–3. Along with the aforementioned works, see the archaeological work of Lipschits, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*; Lipschits and Oeming, eds., *Judeans in the Persian Period*; Lipschits et al., eds., *Judeans in the Achaemenid Period*; and Lipschits et al., eds., *Judeans in the Fourth Century BCE.* On the other hand, in biblical studies, the growth of research on the Persian period became more noticeable starting with Peter Ackroyd's seminal study, *Exile and Restoration*, which remains a classic monograph on the subject even half a century later.

imagined (Zech 3–4) rituals are intertwined with and closely related to the passages that describe lived (Hag 1:9–11; 2:1–3, 16–17; Zech 7:7–14) and ideological (Zech 1:14–17; 2:5–9[1–5], 17[13]; 5:3, 9–11; 6:4–6; 8:2–8) aspects of space.[14] Both rituals and space are described as dynamic phenomena, and rituals mentioned above are portrayed as playing an important role in the production of space. While keeping in mind this complex relationship between ritual and space that is described in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus, the question arises as to how different types of rituals affect various aspects of space.

It is this question of how the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus delineates the complex dynamic of the ritual production of space that is the subject of the investigation in the present work. Before a more detailed description of the topic and its significance can be given, however, a survey of relevant literature will be presented in order to set the current discussion into the broader context of contemporary scholarship on Haggai–Zechariah 1–8.

1.2 Survey of Relevant Literature

Although relatively small in size, the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus has attracted the attention of a large number of scholars. In a thorough review of the scholarship on Haggai and Zechariah (2003) that covers the whole twentieth century, but focuses particularly on its last two decades, Boda listed over 1,200 studies.[15] The number of valuable essays, books, and monographs published in the following nineteen years

[14] Only prominent examples of passages dealing with ritual and space are mentioned above. For detailed lists of all references to ritual and space found in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus, see chapters 4–9. For definitions of above-mentioned terms associated with ritual and space, see the methodology section of the present work.

[15] Boda, *Haggai and Zechariah Research.* See also, Boda, "Majoring on the Minors," 33–56 with bibliography.

indicate a continued, if not even increased, interest in the study of these two books.[16] The present review of the literature focuses on the studies that explore spatiality and cult in

[16] Building on an extensive bibliography provided by Boda which covers the whole twentieth century with special focus on the period from 1980 to 2003, I would like to make an addition to Boda's impressive list by providing the major works published in the last nineteen years in chronological order.

Commentaries: Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*; O'Brien, *Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*; Taylor and Clendenen, *Haggai, Malachi*; Meadowcroft, *Haggai*; Goldingay and Scalise, *Minor Prophets II*; Hill, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*; Wolters, *Zechariah*; Petterson, *Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi*; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*; Koopmans, *Haggai*; and Jacobs, *The Book of Haggai and Malachi*.

Monographs: Ham, *The Coming King and the Rejected Shepherd*; Jauhiainen, *The Use of Zechariah in Revelation*; Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road*; Floyd and Haak, *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts*; Neusner, *Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi*; Boda and Floyd, eds., *Tradition in Transition*; Moss, *The Zechariah Tradition*; Lux, *Prophetie und Zweiter Tempel*; Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*; Petterson, *Behold Your King*; Crafer, *The Books of Haggai and Zechariah*; Finitsis, *Visions and Eschatology*; Hallaschka, *Haggai und Sacharja 1–8*; Wenzel, *Reading Zechariah*; Rokay, *Die Nachtgesichte des Propheten Sacharja*; Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*; Eidsvåg, *The Old Greek Translation of Zechariah*; Tiemeyer, *Zechariah's Vision Report*; Boda, *Exploring Zechariah 1*; Boda, *Exploring Zechariah 2*; and Barker, *Disputed Temple*.

Articles/essays: Lux, "Die doppelte Konditionierung des Heils"; Tiemeyer, "Compelled by Honour"; Lewis, "The Mysterious Disappearance of Zerubbabel"; Boda, "Terrifying the Horns"; Boda and Porter, "Literature to the Third Degree"; Jauhiainen, "Behold, I Am Coming"; Vincent, "L'apport de la recherche historique et ses limites"; Boda, "Freeing the Burden of Prophecy"; Körting, "Sach 5:5–11"; Tiemeyer, "A Busy Night"; Zakovitch, "A Garden of Eden"; Palmer, "Not Made with Tracing Paper"; Tiemeyer, "The Question of Indirect Touch"; Assis, "Structure and Meaning"; Segal, "The Responsibilities and Rewards of Joshua the High Priest"; Kessler, "Diaspora and Homeland in the Early Achaemenid Period"; Redditt, "Themes in Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi"; Rogland, "Haggai 2:17: A New Analysis"; Rogland, "Text and Temple in Haggai 2:5"; Boda, "Messengers of Hope"; Jauhiainen, "Turban and Crown Lost and Regained"; Tiemeyer, "Through a Glass Darkly"; O'Kennedy, "Haggai and Zechariah 1–8"; Story, "Zechariah's Two Sons of Oil"; Hallaschka, "Zechariah's Angels"; Assis, "Zechariah 8 as Revision and Digest"; Assis, "Zechariah's Vision of the Ephah"; Assis, "Zechariah 8 and Its Allusions"; Foster, "Undoing the Future"; Kessler, "Tradition, Continuity and Covenant"; Redditt, "The King in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8"; Boda, "Hoy, Hoy"; Assis, "A Disputed Temple"; Meadowcroft, "Haggai and the Environment"; Swinburnson, "The Glory of the Latter Temple"; Swinburnson, "The Rhetoric of the Post-Exilic Prophetic Reversalchiasmus"; Bowick, "Characters in Stone"; O'Kennedy, "Haggai and Zechariah 1–8"; Kasher, "Haggai and Ezekiel"; Kessler, "The Diaspora in Zechariah 1–8 and Ezra–Nehemiah"; Moseman, "The Date Formulae in the Book of Zechariah"; Lipschitz, "Here Is a Man Whose Name Is Ṣemaḥ"; Finitsis, "The 'Other' in Second Temple Judaism"; Rapin, "Culte et fertilité"; Thomson, "The 'Seven Eyes' of Zech 3:9"; Im and Venter, "The Function of Zechariah 7–8"; Kashow, "Zechariah 1–8 as a Theological Explanation"; O'Kennedy, "Perspectives on Mission"; Rogland, "Heavenly Chariots and Earthly Rebellion"; Rogland, "The 'Mountian' of Zechariah 4:7"; Rogland, "The Horns That Scattered Judah"; O'Kennedy, "Purification of Priest, Prophet and People"; O'Kennedy, "Prayer in the Post-Exilic Prophetic Books"; Petterson, "The Flying Scroll That Will Not Acquit the Guilty"; Boda, "Babylon in the Book of the Twelve"; Redditt, "Prophecy and the Monarchy"; Cranz, "Ritual Elements"; Ames, "Forced Migration and the Visions"; Boda, "Scat!"; Seufert, "Zechariah 5:5–11"; Shin, "A Diachronic Study of the Language"; Boda, "Priestly Expansions"; Tiemeyer, ed. *Priests and Cults*; Boda, "Penitential Priests in the Twelve"; Seufert, "Zechariah 1:3a"; Abernethy, "Translation of Horse Colors in Zechariah"; Allen, "Zechariah's Horse Visions and Angelic Intermediaries"; Seufert, "Zechariah 1.11's Allusion"; and Maier, "Another People of God."

the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus, and therefore, consists of two parts: the first part focuses on the subject of space and the second on cult-related issues. This review is not meant to be exhaustive but to survey key studies that have been done on space and ritual in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8. The purpose of this survey is to portray different methods utilized to examine this subject matter and different conclusions to which these approaches lead. Nevertheless, the survey should be sufficient enough to justify the necessity for the present study.

1.2.1 Studies on Space in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8

The past half-century is often referred to as "an age of spatiality."[17] This interest in space has been taken up by a number of biblical scholars who, in opposition to the traditional historical-critical tendency to focus on diachronic issues, have in recent decades emphasized the importance of spatiality[18] in biblical interpretation.[19] There are three specific studies on spatiality in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus which have been, to a certain extent, beneficial to the present study's investigation of the question of the ritual production of space. These are Floyd's essay, "Cosmos and History"; Sykes's published dissertation, *Time and Space in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8*; and Mills's chapter, "The Visionary Space."

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[17] The phrase, "an age of spatiality," is perhaps most famously used by Foucault in the introduction of his essay, "Text/Context of Other Space," 22.

[18] The term "spatiality" is used in this study to refer to the physical, lived, and ideological aspect of space. As will be shown in the following review of literature, when examining space described in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus, scholars were investigating this phenomenon in a much narrower sense. For the more detailed definition of the term *space*, see section 2.2.2.

[19] Perhaps the best example of this recent trend is the Constructions of Ancient Space Seminar, which was held from 2000–2005 as a program unit within the American Academy of Religion and the Society of Biblical Literature. As a result of this seminar, five volumes on the subject of constructions of space were published between 2007–2013: Berquist and Camp, eds., *Constructions of Space 1*; Berquist and Camp, eds., *Constructions of Space 2*; Økland et al., eds., *Constructions of Space 3*; George, ed., *Constructions of Space 4*; and Prinsloo and Maier, eds., *Constructions of Space 5*. Given the broad scope of the seminar, it is quite surprising that in all five volumes, there is not a single essay dealing with the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus.

The review of above-mentioned studies on space in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus demonstrates a vast disparity among them, whether in the methods used by the scholars, in the corpus studied, or in the conclusions to which these methods have led. Three different approaches are taken by the scholars mentioned above: Floyd built on Knierim's insights into form criticism,[20] Sykes drew from Bakhtin's idea of chronotope;[21] and Mills read the text through lenses related to Soja's concept of hyperreality.[22] While Floyd addressed the visionary material of Zechariah, and Mills focused on Zech 1–8, only Sykes focused on Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 as a whole. The purposes of the studies and the conclusions of these three scholars also vary.

Floyd investigated the compositional arrangement and argued that the dominant theme in Zech 1:7—6:15 is the relationship between heaven and earth.[23] With respect to the subject of production of space, Floyd argued that the first episode (Zech 1:7—3:10) describes the restoration of the nation as a whole, while the second (Zech 4:1—6:15) deals specifically with the restoration of the temple.[24] According to Floyd, it was

[20] Knierim, "Cosmos and History."

[21] Bakhtin ("Forms of Time and of the Chronotype," 84–85) explained that "the chronotope in literature has an intrinsic generic significance. It can even be said that it is precisely the chronotope that defines genre and generic distinctions, for in literature the primary category in the chronotope is time. The chronotope as a formally constitutive category determines to a significant degree the image of man in literature as well. The image of man is always intrinsically chronotopic." Sykes (*Time and Space*, 48) followed Bakhtin and defined chronotope as "the literary representation of time and space organically related to the time and place in which the chronotope was developed. Consequently, the chronotope provides insights about the social and historical setting of a genre."

[22] Mills (*Urban Imagination*, 144–45) delineated the link between Soja and Baudrillard's work on hyper-reality. For Soja's concept of hyper-reality, see Soja, *Postmetropolis*, especially 323–48. Soja built on the work of Baudrillard (*Urban Imagination*, 326–30). For a detailed explanation of hyper-reality by Baudrillard, see *Simulacra and Simulation*, where he explained life in a culture of the hyper-real in the following way: "Today abstraction is no longer that of the map, the double, the mirror or the concept. Simulation is no longer that of a territory, a referential being or a substance. It is the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal. The territory no longer precedes the map, not does it survive it. It is nevertheless the map that precedes the territory—a precession of simulacra—that engenders the territory . . . the territory whose shreds are slowly rotting across the map, whose vestiges subsist here and there, in the deserts which are no longer those of the Empire, but our own. *The desert of the real itself*" (*Simulacra and Simulation*, 1).

[23] Floyd, "Cosmos and History," 127.

[24] Floyd, "Cosmos and History," 139.

precisely the rebuilding of the temple that was described as the culmination of the restoration process.[25] While Floyd dealt with the theme of restoration of space at both the national and local levels and explained how this theme was informed by the description of interaction between heavenly and earthly realms, Floyd did not elaborate the process of production of space from the perspective of the role that the ideological and lived aspects of space play in it. What is also important to mention is that Floyd neglected the role of ritual in the process of the production of space. Floyd's essay was certainly the ground-breaking work that contributed to Zechariah studies by moving the focus from mere investigation of issues related to history to examination of space. However, by keeping in mind approaches to the study of critical spatiality developed among social scientists, Floyd's study on space appears to be narrow and focused on different *types* of space, while various *aspects* of space remained unexplored.

Sykes, on the other hand, sought to reveal the socio-political context by investigating the chronotope in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8.[26] He claimed that two out of three main themes of Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 are related to space: (1) the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple which will bring a new era of blessing; and (2) Yahweh's universal rule as "the Lord of all the earth" (Zech 6:5).[27] Sykes rightly mentioned that Haggai and Zechariah depict the geographic centrality of Jerusalem due to Yahweh's presence in it,

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[25] Floyd, "Cosmos and History," 141.

[26] Sykes (*Time and Space*, 6–18, specifically 17–18) explained that he had appropriated a Bakhtinian analysis in order to resolve three main issues: (1) to demonstrate how Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 are interested in time; (2) to show how the chronistic form and the content of the prophetic text are related to each other; and (3) to portray how a chronotype is organically related to the time and place of its creation.

[27] Sykes (*Time and Space*, 113–14) noticed the divine council setting of the three vision reports (Zech 1:7–17; 3:1–10; and 6:1–8) and emphasized the importance of Yahweh's cosmic abode (Zech 1:8; 6:1–3). Each of these three scenes ends with a decree of Yahweh that Sykes suggested reflect the three main themes of Haggai–Zechariah 1–8. The third theme that is not mentioned above, since it is not directly related to space, is the future destiny of the leaders of Judah: Joshua and Zerubbabel.

and also that they portray space from the perspective of the centrality of the temple. However, Sykes did not examine ritual practices associated with the temple and their role in the process of the production of space.[28] As was the case with Floyd's study, Sykes's study would also benefit from insights drawn from the critical spatiality theoretical framework. His analysis of space can be enhanced by examination of a variety of different types of spaces that are described in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 as well as by the study of interconnectedness that exists between ideological and lived aspects of space. What is more important, his study does not focus on the process of the production of space and examines space mostly as a static, not a dynamic, phenomenon.

Finally, Mills studied Zechariah through the lens of hyperreality and emphasized the contrast between the prophetic oracles and the visionary experiences. It is in the latter that the prophet enters into an alternative virtual universe that has the purpose of liberating.[29] By using Soja's theoretical framework, Mills's study moves beyond concerns with the real historical space and focuses on the virtual aspect of space as described in Zechariah's vision world.[30] This shift is not a mere movement from dealing with earthly space to examination of heavenly realms, but rather a study of the liberating function of vision space. Even though Mills's study argues that the ideological aspect of space has the purpose of counterbalancing the disturbed urban scene that has resulted from warfare, he did not elaborate in detail the process of the production of space itself. One of the reasons for this lack of attention to the process of the production itself is that

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[28] Sykes, *Time and Space*, 118.

[29] Mills, *Urban Imagination*, 156–57.

[30] Soja, (*Postmetropolis*, 333–37), on the other hand, built on William Gibson who is considered as the first one who used the term cyberspace, as well as on Howard Rheingold, who noted that Autodesk (a large California software vendor) defines *cyberias* as the "places one goes to experience cyberspace."

Mills did not elaborate on the connection between ideological space and rituals that is described in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus.

In summary, none of these studies *directly* addresses the question of the production of space. Space is predominantly conceived as a static phenomenon and even when scholars discuss the issue of construction of space, they have not thoroughly explored its complex process by means of investigating the important role that ideological and lived aspect of space play in it. While the theme of the centrality of the temple is mentioned, the rituals related to the temple are generally not addressed, and the question of the ritual production of space remains undefined.

1.2.2 Studies on Cult in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8

In parallel to the general increase of interest in the investigation of space, there has been an emergence of interest in ritual studies. The pioneering work of Ronald Grimes and contributions made by Catherine Bell[31] have contributed immensely to the development of ritual studies as an independent and recognized interdisciplinary field.[32] Many of the concerns raised by ritual theorists have been taken up by biblical scholars who are primarily focused on the study of Pentateuch, but who also study the Book of Twelve,[33] including Haggai–Zechariah 1–8. There are several examples of studies on ritual in

[31] Besides contributions made by Grimes and Bell, one should also mention a number of other projects that contributed to the development of ritual studies, one of which is the Collaborative Research Centre on Dynamics of Ritual. For more details, see the introductory chapter in Harth and Schenk, eds., *Ritualdynamik*.

[32] It is Ronald L. Grimes who is associated with the early development of the field of ritual studies. See, for example, Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, xiii–xvi and Kreinath et al., eds., *Theorizing Rituals 1*, xiii–xvi. For a brief history of the development of ritual studies as a field of study, see Uro, "Introduction," 3–7. A more detailed overview of the development of ritual studies is given by Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, especially xi–xxiii.

[33] Probably the best example is the volume edited by Tiemeyer that focuses on the description of the cult and its personnel in the Book of the Twelve, *Priests and Cults*. Tiemeyer explained that contributors addressed the topic of cult mostly in individual prophetic books, but that some studies focus on the wider context of the Book of Twelve. The books of Hosea and Joel and the Haggai–Malachi corpus have received the most attention.

Haggai–Zechariah, including Halpern's article "The Ritual Background"; Tiemeyer's book, *Priestly Rites*, as well as Redditt and Wöhrle's essays in the recently edited volume *Priests and Cults*.

As was the case with the works on space, the above review of studies on the cult in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 reveals the differences in the methods used by the scholars, the corpora studied, and the proposed conclusions. Three different approaches are taken by the four scholars: Halpern undertook a comparative study, Tiemeyer and Reddit performed literary/exegetical analyses; and Wöhrle used redaction criticism. While Redditt and Wöhrle addressed Haggai and Zech 1:7—6:15 and Halpern focused on Zechariah's night visions, only Tiemeyer covered both Haggai and Zech 1–8, although her approach was thematic, and she focused on the passages related to ritual.

In addition to the different approaches, the goals of these studies are also quite different. Tiemeyer focused on the postexilic prophetic criticism of the priesthood and argued that later prophets drew from their predecessors.[34] Tiemeyer's work is certainly ground-breaking work. It must be mentioned, however, that her treatment of rituals as described in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 was predominantly limited to ritual *elements*—particularly to the priests as actors who performed rituals—and not to the ritual *dynamics* and to what rituals accomplish.[35] Even when she dealt with the issue of ritual dynamics—

[34] In her study, Tiemeyer (*Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, see especially 73–85) focused not only on the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8, but also on Malachi and Isaiah 56–66, which she considered as relevant and related to the postexilic period. According to Tiemeyer, prophetic criticism of priesthood includes charges against the priests's lack of knowledge and their failure to teach (Isa 56:9–12; Mal 2:1–9; 113–36), the social injustice in which they were involved (Isa 58:3–5; Zech 5:1–4; Mal 3:5; Neh 5; pp. 137–48), their unorthodox rites (Isa 57:6–8; 65:3–4; 66:3; pp. 149–77), their intermarriages (Ezra–Nehemiah; Mal 2:10–16; pp. 178–98), their toleration of foreign alliances (Isa 57:9–10; pp. 199–206), their cultic neglect (Mal 1:6–14; Isa 61:8; pp. 207–217), and, finally, their impurity (Hag 2:10–14; pp. 218–47).

[35] For the importance of considering both ritual elements and dynamics, see the methodology section of the present work (see specifically section 2.3.4).

a good example of which is her treatment of Zech 3—ritual efficacy referring to the production of space has been left unexplored.

Redditt examined the theme of king, priest, and temple and concluded that these three are described as being in a close relationship with one another.[36] By focusing on the sections dealing with the temple, Zerubbabel, and Joshua, Redditt aimed to show the interrelationship among them and claimed that while Yehudite religious life was centred on the temple and its sacrifices, their hope was focused politically on the rule of Zerubbabel, who disappears and is not mentioned after Zech 4.[37] Redditt's essay continues the trend that has been seen in the studies on the cult in the book of Twelve. That is, his study is primarily concerned with the temple and the high priest Joshua. In that way, Redditt predominantly dealt with only two ritual elements—namely, ritual actor and ritual space—and neglected the issue of ritual efficacy. This consequently leads to the emphasis of the importance of space over the ritual practices.

Wöhrle investigated the relationship between Joshua and Zerubbabel in order to reveal the history of redaction, ultimately arguing that the book of Haggai was the product of prophetic circles and that the book of Zechariah was the work of priestly circles.[38] Wöhrle's essay is another example of a study that deals with an issue related to ritual by not addressing the ritual as social action. His focus, rather, was on Zerubbabel and Joshua in order to rediscover who was behind the production of the texts that describe rituals. Again, the focus was on one ritual element, namely the high priest Joshua, and not on the ritual as an embodied enactment and its efficacy.

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[36] Redditt, "King, Priest, and Temple," 157.

[37] Redditt, "King, Priest, and Temple," 165–66.

[38] Wöhrle, "On the Way to Hierocracy," 173–89. He built on the insights from his previous work, *Die frühen Sammlungen des Zwölfprophetenbuches.*

Of the cited research, Halpern's work deals most closely with rituals and their relationship to space. Halpern's goal was to show how the composition as a whole, including the utterances and visions together, is primarily concerned with the foundation of the Second Temple.[39] His study includes both the examination of the ritual elements and its efficacy, even though it focuses primarily on the latter. The study is, however, limited to the ritual production of the temple and neglects other types of spaces that are delineated in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 and the ideological and lived aspects of those spaces. Halpern also neglected the imaginary nature of rituals that are mentioned in the first part of the book of Zechariah and did not examine how these rituals relate to other felicitous and infelicitous rituals that are described in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus.

In summary, besides Halpern's limited comparative study, none of these scholarly works directly addresses the issue of ritual production of space. The studies are primarily focused on the particular ritual element such as priesthood and its state of impurity and/or its relationship to the royal and prophetic leadership streams and they neglect the ritual action and its efficacy. As with the review of literature associated with spatiality in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8, this review of literature dealing with rituals affirms the need for a fresh and comprehensive examination of this topic.

1.3 Description of the Topic

Considering the influence that space and cult appear to have held in ancient Israel, it is not surprising that these two topics have long been the subject of critical scholarly investigation. While they have received attention throughout the history of biblical interpretation, the past four decades have seen an unprecedented increase in the amount

[39] Halpern, "Ritual Background," 169.

of scholarly research on these two topics. The aforementioned seven studies show that these two themes have also been analyzed in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus, in particular. The review of literature identifies four factors that justify the importance of the current research: (1) the studies lack an appropriate methodology from the fields of ritual studies and critical spatiality; (2) the scope of these studies in most cases does not include the whole Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus; (3) the studies do not address the question of the ritual production of space directly; and (4) space and rituals are usually understood as relatively static phenomena. At least one of these factors is found in each of the studies discussed and, in most cases, all four are present, thus justifying the need for the present study.

Two out of four above-mentioned issues demonstrated in the review of literature deserve more attention. First, while scholars comment on the themes of ritual and space in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus—which is absolutely unavoidable when dealing with many passages related to cult and space—it seems unexpected that they treat these themes as separate issues. As a result of this treatment, the important subject of the ritual production of space, as purposefully presented in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8, has not yet been explored in detail, and this lacuna in current scholarship affirms the necessity of a comprehensive examination of this topic. Second, the examination of ritual and space in these studies reflects a tendency to give primacy to space over ritual practices. This can be seen in treating space primarily as a static phenomenon and examining only *some* elements of rituals and generally *neglecting ritual action* as a key ritual element as well as the ritual's efficacy. This seems natural for the studies of Haggai–Zechariah 1–8, the corpus that focuses on the process of the rebuilding of the temple so that rituals can take place in it. Outside of biblical studies, the above-mentioned primacy of space is most

arguably asserted by Jonathan Z. Smith who, in his work, *To Take Place*, defined ritual as a kind of emplacement.[40] However, Smith's spatialized theory of ritual has been profoundly critiqued by Ronald L. Grimes, who argued that although the place may play a critical and defining role in some rituals, it is not only space that defines ritual, but also ritual that defines space.[41] In the context of this discussion, one has to ask whether giving primacy to space—as seen in the above studies—is a correct understanding of relationship between ritual and space in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus, or on the contrary, whether rituals should be understood as social activities that affect space by playing an important role in its construction. Furthermore, if rituals are of such particular significance, the question must be asked how the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus delineates the complex dynamics of the ritual production of space.

The present research aims to answer this question by developing a new approach for investigating the role of ritual in the production of space that combines insights from ritual studies and critical spatiality. In contrast to the prevalent trend in the study of the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus to give primacy to space over ritual practices, this study demonstrates that the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus portrays rituals as producing space. The research demonstrates that the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus purposefully delineates the role of ritual in the construction of God's, humanity's, and nature's space: while rituals demand proper, pre-existent, physical space within which they will be enacted and which determines their essential character, they, in turn, create different space out of that pre-existing place. On the one hand, felicitous rituals have a purpose to create an ideological aspect of space, and infelicitous rituals, on the other, produce a lived aspect of

[40] Smith, *To Take Place*, 105.
[41] Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 258–59.

space which is opposed to that ideological portrayal. It is important that by intentionally portraying rituals within an imaginative, cosmic, visionary world, Zechariah, in his vision (Zech 1:7—6:8), exhorts the people to move from practicing infelicitous rituals to performing felicitous ones.

In this way, the research question from above is answered by suggesting that rituals play an important role in the production of space. It is through ritual efficacy that the ideology of space is first established and then either perverted (infelicitous rituals) or accomplished (felicitous rituals). The infelicitous ritual practices performed on the site of the first temple as well as on other sites within and outside of Yehud (Hag 2:10–14; Zech 7:2–7), resulted in ecological, economic, and socio-political catastrophe. It is precisely felicitous ritual activities associated with the second temple (Hag 2:18; Zech 4:6b–10a; 8:9–13; 8:18–19) that will cause a complete reversal of this state of affairs, which will be seen in ecological, economic, and socio-political prosperity. However, before people can move from infelicitous to felicitous rituals, rituals are reimagined in the visionary world of Zechariah (Zech 3–4).

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

In order to address the question of the role of rituals in the production of space in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8, an adequate methodology must first be established. Since this study is primarily grounded in the analysis of the biblical text, my approach is in the first place philological. The nature of the subject under investigation, however, requires additional insights from the fields of critical spatiality and ritual studies. Although these theoretical frameworks have rarely, if ever, been used together for the analysis of the biblical text, previous work from outside the field of biblical studies has used these frameworks together; in addition, research undertaken on other biblical material has used these frameworks independently from one other. These previous studies validate using this approach for the proposed study.[1] By combining these theoretical frameworks, the

[1] There have been a few successful attempts to use theoretical frameworks from the fields of critical spatiality and ritual studies together. At the theoretical level, the most important work has been done by Kim Knott, Paul Post, and Arie L. Molendijk. Kim Knott (*The Location of Religion*, 3) explained that in terms of the theory of space, place, and location, her aims are threefold: "to reflect upon space as a medium in which religion is situated; to develop a spatial strategy for examining the relationship between religion and its apparently secular context; and to consider the spaces produced by religions, religious groups, and individuals in contemporary Western societies." On the other hand, the volume, *Holy Ground: Re-inventing Ritual Space in Modern Western Culture*, is a collection of essays presented at an international workshop held at the University of Groningen in 2007 that addressed the issue of the relationship between space and ritual in contemporary Western society. Part I, which focuses on the meaning of space and the role it plays in ritual and religion, is of particular interest for this study. For more details, see Post and Molendijk, eds., *Holy Ground*, especially the thorough introduction with bibliography ("Introduction," 1–16) and Post, "Place of Action." See also Post, "Places Enough" and Kilde, "Approaching Religious Space," 183–201.

Good case studies are the works of Lea Schulte-Droesch (*Making Place through Ritual*) and Reza Masoudi (*The Rites of Urban Passage*). Schulte-Droesch investigated notions of place in the context of the Santal, a tribal society of Central India. The main goal of the study is to analyze the way the Santal make place through different rituals. On the other hand, Masoudi's study focuses on Iranian Muharram rituals and the processes of modern urban transformation. More particularly, he studied the "re-arrangement of

main problem of the present work will be addressed from an interdisciplinary perspective, namely a spatial, anthropological, and philological one. The conceptual-theoretical framework on which this research is based will now be described.

2.2 Critical Spatiality Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Introduction

The general growth of interest in spatiality among biblical scholars corresponds to an increase in the critical studies of space[2] and was born as a part of the much larger theoretical work undertaken on space, as generally seen in the work of Michel de Certeau, Yi-Fu Tuan, Gaston Bachelard, and Michel Foucault, but especially in that of Henri Lefebvre and Edward Soja.[3] What is common to all these authors is an emphasis on space as a social project and product, as fully developed by Henri Lefebvre.[4] Accordingly, physical reality and matter can be transformed through social practices into meaningful space—and one type of social practice is ritual. This "*golden* age of spatiality," as Foucault called it, has prompted the general growth of interest in space among biblical scholars, which reflects the shift from what can be called the minimalist view of the role of space in Old Testament theology to a more positive view that

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Muharram procession routes in the city of Dezful" and aimed to explain the dynamics of the Muharram rituals and their urban transformation. For the work of biblical scholars who primarily use theoretical frameworks from the fields of critical spatiality and ritual studies independently of one another, see SBL's five volumes on the production of space, as well as a summary of works that use rituals studies given in section 1.2.2 of the present work.

[2] A number of advances in critical spatiality have made this discipline one of the most prominent research areas in the modern contemporary world. For the development of the discipline and key issues, see, especially, five volumes which have been published as the result of the Ancient Space Seminar that met as a jointly sponsored program unit within the AAR and the SBL from 2000–2005.

[3] Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*; Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*; Tuan, *Space and Place*; de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*; Foucault, "Text/Context of Other Space," 22–27; Soja, *Postmodern Geographies*; and Soja, *Thirdspace*. For an introduction into critical spatiality and the use of theory in biblical studies, see, Berquist, "Critical Spatiality and the Uses of Theory"; George, "Space and History"; and Camp, "Introduction."

[4] George, "Space and History," 15.

emphasizes the important role that space plays in biblical religion.[5] This discussion about a theoretical framework of critical spatiality will now begin with an explanation of how the term *space* will be used in this research.

2.2.2 Definitions: Critical Spatiality and Henri Lefebvre's Conceptual Triad

In order to investigate the interrelationship between space and the cult, this study appropriates Henri Lefebvre's conceptual triad. In his magnum opus, *La production de l'Espace*,[6] Lefebvre, a French Marxist philosopher and sociologist, built on the work of Immanuel Kant and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel.[7] By combining Hegel's category of the *concrete universal (das konkrete Allgemeine)*,[8] Kant's concept of the *individual awareness of space*,[9] and Marx's ideas about production, Lefebvre aimed to bridge the

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[5] For a brief explanation of this shift from historiographic to cosmological concerns and the role that Gerhard von Rad played in defending the former, see Oden, "Cosmogony, Cosmology," 1:1163. For von Rad's view on the centrality of historiography in the Old Testament theology, see Von Rad, "The Theological Problem." This shift in position is further strengthened by studies focusing on the present shape of the Old Testament canon, which gives primacy to creation accounts, and by comparative works in which Genesis and other OT accounts on cosmology have been set within their ANE context.

[6] Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace*; Lefebvre, *The Production of Space.*

[7] An excellent survey of literature on Henri Lefebvre, including critical introductions into his life and theory, is given in Fischer and Bauer, "Introducing Lefebvre." For a short and easily readable introduction into Lefebvre's life and thought, see Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction.* It is important to note that there is a great discrepancy in the interpretation of Lefebvre's understanding of space. That this is the case can be seen from different appraisals of Lefebvre's method in the five volumes on the construction of space. My understanding of Lefebvre's treatment of space that is first described in this chapter and then applied to examination of critical spatiality in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 is greatly influenced by and based on Soja's interpretation of Lefebvre's work as well as by Mark K. George's understanding of it as described in several of his works. See especially, George, "Space and History"; George, *Israel's Tabernacle*, 17–31; and George, ed. *Constructions of Space 4*. I am thankful to Dr. Mark K. George for giving me the opportunity to discuss with him personally various aspects of my understanding of Lefebvre's work.

[8] Hegel (*Aesthetics*, 1:108) built the category of concrete universal on the distinction he made between the abstract and the concrete. He defined the concrete universal in one of his lectures: "Now, as regards the nature of the Concept as such, it is not in itself an abstract unity at all over against the differences of reality; as concept it is already the unity of specific differences and therefore a concrete totality." Lefebvre explained the concrete universal as being constituted by the three moments of universality, particularity, and singularity. For a brief explanation of Hegel's category of the concrete universal and how this idea influenced the work of Lefebvre, see Stanek, "Space as Concrete Abstraction," 63–66. For Lefebvre's drawing on Hegel, see Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 15.

[9] Kant (*Critique of Pure Reason*, A20) explained that "the effect of an object on our capacity for presentation, insofar as we are affected by the object, is sensation . . . whatever in an appearance

gap between the epistemological and practical realms.[10] Specifically, he aimed to merge the physical and material aspects of space studied by physical scientists with the theoretical domains examined by those working in the social sciences and humanities in order to address both aspects of space in his analysis.[11] He built his theory on the initial hypothesis that "([s]ocial) space is a (social) product."[12] Based on his preliminary thesis, Lefebvre claimed that physical space is disappearing because every society reproduces its own space. Accordingly, the main goal of any study of space should be an investigation of the "shift from *things in space* to the actual *production of space*."[13] In order to explain space creation dynamics, Henri Lefebvre introduced three concepts—the so-called conceptual triad[14]—on which he built his theory:

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corresponds to sensation I call its *matter*; but whatever in an appearance brings about the fact that the manifold of the appearance can be ordered in certain relations I call the *form* of appearance ... Therefore, although the matter of all appearance is given to us only *a posteriori*, the form of all appearance must altogether lie ready for the sensations *a priori* in the mind; and hence that form must be capable of being examined apart from all sensation." For the explanation of how Immanuel Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* influenced Henri Lefebvre's understanding of space, see George, "Space and History," 21–24.

[10] George, "Space and History," 25–27.

[11] Lefevre (*The Production of Space*, 27) clearly stated that this was his goal: "Social space will be revealed in its particularity to the extent that it ceases to be indistinguishable from mental space (as defined by the philosophers and mathematicians) on the one hand, and physical space (as defined by practico-sensory activity and the perception of 'nature') on the other. What I shall be seeking to demonstrate is that such a social space is constituted neither by a collection of things or an aggregate of (sensory) data, nor by a void packed like a parcel with various contents, and that it is irreducible to a 'form' imposed upon phenomena, upon things, upon physical materiality."

[12] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 26. This statement has several very important implications that are of crucial importance for Lefebvre's understanding of space. He explained that the implications of this statement are fivefold: (1) physical natural space is disappearing; (2) every society and every mode of production with its subvariants produces a space, its own space; (3) if space is a product, our knowledge of it must be expected to reproduce and expound the process of production; (4) if space is produced, if there is a productive process, then we are dealing with history; and (5) any "social existence" aspiring or claiming to be "real," but failing to produce its own space, would be a strange entity, a very peculiar kind of abstraction unable to escape from the ideological or even the "cultural" realm. See further, Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 30–59.

[13] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 37.

[14] In his work, Lefebvre (*The Production of Space*, 33) seemed to refer to two different triads. Most often, he used the terms (1) spatial practice, (2) representations of space, and (3) representational spaces. However, elsewhere, he also used the terms (1) perceived space, (2) conceived space, and (3) lived space. These two triads are interconnected but not the same. For the distinction and similarities between these two triads, see George, *Israel's Tabernacle*, 30–31. In the current work, I will use the terms physical, ideological; and lived aspects of space in order to refer to spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces.

> 1. Spatial practice (*la pratique spatiale*): the spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space: it propounds and presupposes it in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it. From the analytic standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space.[15]
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> 2. Representations of space (*les représentations de l'espace*): conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent—all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived (arcane speculation about numbers, with its talk of the golden number, moduli and "canons," tends to perpetuate this view of matter.) This is the dominant space in any society (or mode of production). Conceptions of space tend, with certain exceptions to which I shall return, towards a system of verbal (and, therefore, intellectually worked out) signs.[16]
>
> 3. Representational spaces (*les espaces de représentation*): space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of "inhabitants" and "users," but also, of some artists and perhaps of those, such as a few writers and philosophers, who describe and aspire to do no more than describe; this is the dominated—and hence, passively experienced—space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects. Thus, representational spaces may be said, though again with certain exceptions, to tend towards more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs.[17]

Lefebvre's first concept of space (spatial practice, hereafter, physical space) primarily refers to materialized, physical spatiality and the social practices performed in that space.[18] Edward W. Soja[19] explained that the focus of the Lefebvre's *spatial practice* or perceived space is on the materialized physical spatiality that can be empirically and quantitatively measured by comprehending such spatial features as dimensions,

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[15] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38.

[16] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38–39.

[17] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 39.

[18] In the following section that deals with Lefebvre's "spatial practice," I offer my explanation of this first element of Lefebvre's conceptual triad. In order to do that, I draw from the insights provided by Soja, *Thirdspace*, 74–78 and George, *Israel's Tabernacle*, 23–25.

[19] Edward W. Soja, who is the best known as a theoretician of city planning and whose work on space appeared in English before Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* was published, is also known as the most popular interpreter and follower of Lefebvre's conceptual triad. He appropriated Lefebvre's triad in his analysis of space but used different, more straightforward terminology: firstspace for spatial practice; secondspace for representations of space; and thirdspace for representational spaces. For other critical spatiality theories, see Berquist ("Introduction," 5–9) who listed non-western and feminist spatialities as very popular.

arrangements, configurations, and material of space, to name only a few.[20] This first concept gives priority to materiality and tends to use the tools of formal science in order to acquire factual knowledge about the place.[21] It naturally deals with an empirical and very detailed assessment of surface appearances, but it is also concerned with "social, psychological, and biophysical processes."[22]

This leads to the second aspect of Lefebvre's first concept, namely, *practice*. The main accent here is on the social processes and practices that have, as a result, the production of the physical space. However, Soja emphasized that Lefebvre also had in mind a flow in the other direction, namely, the impact of physical spatiality on history and society.[23] Thus, according to Lefebvre, both production and reproduction of space, as well as the mutual interaction between space and society, fall under the concept of physical space.

Lefebvre's second concept (representations of space, hereafter, ideological space) is clearly distinguishable from the first one by its focus on conceived space, instead of on perceived space.[24] In a similar manner to Foucault,[25] he argued that behind every physical space lies conceptual or mental space that should be understood as its abstract theoretical explanation. This is the reason why Lefebvre associated this space with the work of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers, and social engineers.[26]

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[20] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 74.
[21] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 75.
[22] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 75.
[23] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 77–78.
[24] In what follows, I explain the second element of Lefebvre's conceptual triad. As that was the case in the section above, I also draw in this section from Soja, *Thirdspace*, 78–81 and George, *Israel's Tabernacle*, 25–27.
[25] For the connection between Lefebvre's idea of representations of space and Foucault's theory of discourse, see Larkins, *From Hierarchy to Anarchy*, 38–39. It is important to note that besides these similarities, Larkin also noticed important differences in the theories of these two scholars.
[26] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38–39.

Ideological space has the capacity and tendency to define, explain, and produce physical space more than the empirical observation described in the context of the concept of physical space discussed above. This tendency is why Lefebvre described ideological space as being more dominant than the spatial practice concept.[27] In this way, the difference between these two aspects of space is at least blurred, if it has not completely disappeared. Soja explained that ideological space is primarily ideational and thus, closely connected to idealist philosophies such as Hegelianism.[28] Accordingly, it is closely related to power structures and, as Lefebvre claimed, naturally has a dominant place within the conceptual triad.[29]

Lefebvre's third and last concept (representational spaces, hereafter, lived space) occupied most of his attention.[30] The focus here is on the complex matrix of meanings that are ascribed to space by society, including symbolic, metaphorical, religious, economic, and political meanings, as well as many others.[31] As every society is composed of different social groups, one can expect that different groups may ascribe a different meaning to the same physical space. Lefebvre explained that this may cause conflict, most often between dominant and less dominant groups fighting about the social meanings that they want to ascribe to particular physical places. This conflict often challenges the dominant meaning imputed by the more powerful group.[32] Soja argued that this Thirdspace is an opportunity for "othering," namely a chance "to critique Firstspace and Secondspace modes of thought" and to "reinvigorate their approaches to

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[27] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 80.
[28] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 80.
[29] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 39.
[30] For the interpretation of the Lefebvre's last element of conceptual triad, see Soja, *Thirdspace*, 81–82 and George, *Israel's Tabernacle*, 27–30.
[31] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 40.
[32] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 42–46.

spatial knowledge with new possibilities heretofore unthought of inside the traditional spatial disciplines."[33] Soja described this process as an ontological rebalancing act that "induces a radical skepticism toward all established epistemologies."[34]

Now, when the description of all three aspects of space has been provided, a few additional comments on the distinction and similarities between these different aspects of space and how they are used in this research are in order. While differentiation between physical space, on the one hand, and ideological and lived space, on the other, is quite clear—merely because of emphasis of physical space on material—that cannot be said for the latter two aspects of space.[35] While the ideological aspect of space is mainly conceptual and developed at the level of ideas, and the lived aspect of space is more experiential and operates at the level of life,[36] the line of distinction between these two aspects of space is fuzzier than is evident in the works of Lefebvre and Soja and those who use their theoretical frameworks.[37] One of the major reasons why ideological and lived aspects of space should not be understood as clearly distinguished from each other, but rather, as overlapping is that those who propose ideological ideas about space also have their "lived spaces." Similarly, the lived aspect of space that is developed at the level of experiencing life can never be without a particular ideology.[38]

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[33] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 81.

[34] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 81.

[35] The issue that should be mentioned, however, is whether the physical aspect of space can be described in biblical literature or whether the description of the material aspect of space should be considered as an ideological portrayal of that space.

[36] For an explanation of the distinction between these two aspects of space, see Berquist, "Introduction," 3–5.

[37] See, for instance, Huie-Jolly ("Formation of Self in Construction of Space," 51) who objected that "Lefebvre regularly contradicts his own dimensions of spatiality as categories" and asserted that "their boundaries are blurred."

[38] Camp ("Storied Space," 68) correctly observed that "in what we usually call 'real life', lived space is infused with the ideologies that would in the spatial trialectic be categorized as Secondspatial." She also noticed that "oppressors [those who impose ideological aspect of space upon others] also have lived spaces." Camp is followed by Schweitzer, "Exploring the Utopian Space of Chronicles," 145–46. In my

It must be said, however, that even though the ideological aspect of space has elements of the experiential, and the lived aspect of space necessarily comes with a certain ideology, the distinction between these two aspects of space still exists. There are at least two reasons why this distinction between ideological and lived aspects of space can still be maintained. First, this distinction is based on the *primacy* of the conceptual in the ideological space and the experiential in the lived space. In other words, the distinction between ideas about space (the ideological aspect of space) and how those ideas are pragmatically put into practice—or in other words, are they accepted or opposed (lived aspect of space)—will always exist.[39] Second, the distinction is essentially chronological. The ideological aspect of space generally, but not exclusively, goes before the lived aspect of space. Namely, the ideology that is found behind a particular physical aspect of space exists even before that material aspect of space is produced. The lived aspect of space that focuses on the lived experience in that space chronologically follows the physical and ideological aspects of space.[40]

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opinion, Camp's correct observation, however, does not necessitate fusion of these two aspects of space into one, but rather portrays the complexity of Lefebvre's spatial triad. See above.

[39] Notice that by introducing the idea of "accepting" ideological conceptions in relation to lived space, I go against Soja who insists on "thirding-as-othering" and focuses on politically charged resistance in relation to the Thirdspace. This seems to be a narrowed approach to the dynamic relationship between what he calls Secondspace and Thirdspace. If Secondspace is, in its nature, ideological, and Thirdspace answers the question of how that space is "lived," there are, then, at least two possibilities of how people can relate to the ideological aspect of space: to oppose an ideology suggested by Secondspace or to embrace it and live according to it.

[40] I am well aware of the complex issues that this statement may raise. The distinction between ideological and lived aspects of space becomes an even more complex issue when it is considered from the perspective of the dynamic relationship between the reproduction of space and the history within which that process is constantly happening. Notice Kort ("A Narrative-Based Theory of Human-place Relations") who addressed this issue: "Why not begin with the welter of lived space and recognize both our perceptions and our conceptions of spaces and places as abstracted from that primary, fluid, and open sense of place and space that is so important a part of our lives?" Kort is followed by Camp, "Storied Space," 67.

Even though the ideological aspect of space generally precedes the lived aspect of space, in the case of the reconstruction of a particular physical place, things become very complex. Namely, a place where the original ideological aspect may already be reshaped by different social activities performed by people who lived in that place may be in the process of physical reconstruction which necessarily goes with a particular ideology. In that way, the ideological aspect of space relates to a previously existing, lived

Finally, it must be mentioned that even though the current study appropriates Lefebvre's theoretical framework, the method of the present research itself should be understood as conversant with but not reducible to Lefebvre's theoretical ideas.[41] On the one hand, Lefebvre's idea that space is a social product and his delineation of the differences and the relationship between material, ideological, and lived aspects of space is fully embraced in this study. On the other hand, however, this research suggests that the dynamic relationship between these three aspects of space does not necessarily function in the same way in different contexts. Accordingly, Lefebvre's description of dynamics within the spatial triad in the context of this Marxist socialist perspective may be different from the portrayal of dynamics among these three aspects of space in the early postexilic world reflected in Haggai and Zechariah. While, in the Marxist's socialist society, the ideological aspect of space is usually viewed as oppressive and negative, and the lived aspect of space is liberating and positive, this dynamic relationship between ideological and lived aspects of space may be different in the early postexilic society of Yehud. Thus, whether the ideological aspect of space will be negative and oppressive or positive and liberating may vary depending on time, place, and society.[42] In addition, Lefebvre's theory of the relationship between the conceptual and the experiential leaves

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aspect of space. The most complex question here is how to determine when one place to which the physical, ideological, and lived aspects of space are associated ceases to exist and a new place—which is also associated with physical, ideological, and lived aspects of space—is born.

Regardless of the above-mentioned complex issues, the fact that chronology is one of the key features based on which the distinction between the ideological and lived aspect of space is made cannot be denied. Even when lived precedes ideological, the production of space and the distinction between ideological and lived aspects of space is always related to the fluidity of historical processes.

[41] Similar to Camp ("Storied Space," 64) who asserted that "heuristic possibility counts for more than theoretical purity." Even though the approach developed in this study follows Lefebvre's ideas closely, I theoretically agree with Camp's more flexible appropriation of Lefebvre's theory, which, ultimately, is the only way one theoretical model can be perfected.

[42] See also Schweitzer ("Exploring the Utopian Space of Chronicles," 147) who correctly noticed that in the same way Thirdspace is not always liberating but is sometimes opressive, Secondspace does not always need to be ideologically opressive and can be liberating.

the theoretical possibility of affirmation of ideological concepts by people who produce the lived aspect of space while not necessarily expressing their opposition towards it.[43] Ultimately, the basic theoretical framework of Lefebvre is appropriated in this study with the purpose of creating a framework of questions that will be asked in the study of the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus.

2.2.3 Lefebvre's Triad and the Study of Space in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8

The conceptual triad of physical, ideological, and lived space established by Henri Lefebvre is an analytical tool that will be used in the present work to address the question of the ritual production of space in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus. Since Lefebvre's triad builds on the postulation that space is a social product, this theoretical framework is a natural choice for addressing the aforementioned research question that also deals with the issue of production. Lefebvre's conceptual triad, among other ways, can also be depicted in triangular fashion:

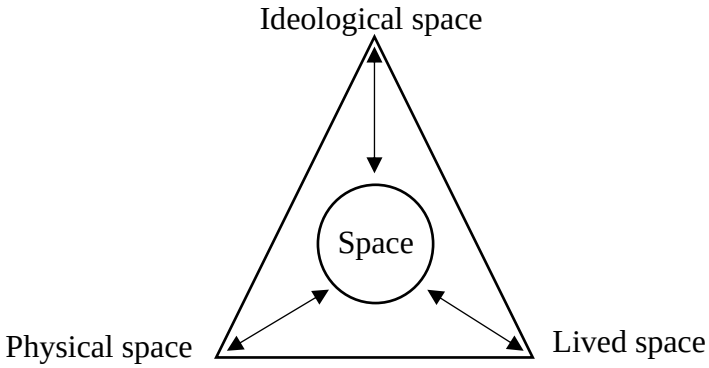

Figure 1. Henri Lefebvre's Conceptual Triad

[43] This leaves open four possibilities: (1) ideological space as oppressive, and lived space as liberating; (2) ideological space as oppressive, and lived space as accepting of that oppression; (3) ideological space as positive and liberating, and lived space as opposing those liberation concepts; and (4) ideological space as positive, and lived space as affirmative of ideological ideas. In this way Lefebvre's theoretical framework just portrays the dynamic relationship among the physical, ideological, and lived aspects of space without giving the final result of how that dynamic must work.

Based on Lefebvre's triad, when examining the ritual production of space, one has to consider how rituals produce all three aspects of space. Thus, the study will address each of these three aspects of space as well as the role of rituals in their creation. Since the present work deals with spatiality as described in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus, the focus will be primarily on the ideological and lived aspects of space, but the physical aspect of space will also be addressed (chapter 3 of the present work) as the basis for the investigation of the other two aspects.[44] Two important clarifications about how Lefebvre's triad as mentioned above will be used in the study of Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 are in order.

First, this study makes an important distinction between *aspect* and *type* associated with different spaces. While the first term refers to Lefebvre's conceptual triad, that is, physical, ideological, and lived aspects of space as described above, the second term is used to refer to three different types of space that are described in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8, namely, God's, people's, and nature's space. The Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus describes the situation in the post-exilic province of Yehud, but it is also concerned with the role this small province played on the political map of that time, and even more broadly, in the cosmos. A special accent is placed on Jerusalem (people's space), particularly on the temple site (God's space). It is at the temple site that the state

[44] Since this study deals with the biblical text of Haggai–Zechariah 1–8, the choice to focus on the ideological and lived aspects of space seems natural. However, I agree with Camp ("Storied Space," 66) who argued that "the Secondspace—space that is constructed in mental or cognitive terms—is closely connected to language itself . . . it would seem possible at first glace, then, that any written text could be so simply classified as Secondspace as to obviate further analysis. This would be particularly true of canonical literature, given its apparent status as the record of the winners. Such a move, I suggest, would be too quick. In literature as in life, spatialities exist in complex interrelationship." Thus, even though I will focus primarily on the investigation of the ideological and lived aspects of space in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus, this is not to deny that one can draw some important insights about physical aspects of space from this corpus. Accordingly, the next chapter of the present work will use this corpus for the reconstruction of the physical aspect of space as well, but that is not the primary focus of this work.

of affairs becomes very complex: on the one hand, Haggai described Solomon's temple as being in ruins; and on the other hand, he delineated the foundation laid at the same site, which represents the second temple. Besides the delineations of Jerusalem and its temple, this corpus contains a number of references to nature's space, such as produce of the earth, different types of trees, and the animal world.

Second, and even more important, a proper method for determining different types and aspects of space, which is in line with the theoretical framework mentioned above, should be established before any analysis of the biblical text can be done. Since the study is based on the investigation of the text, it is important to mention that different aspects and types of space are determined by the identification of specific markers found in the biblical text.[45] While the situation is much clearer with different types of space that are easily distinguished from each other by the association of a particular space with God, people, and/or nature, the differentiation between physical, ideological, and lived space is much more complex.

The physical aspect of space is marked in biblical texts by references to different materials used in the construction of space (hereafter, the marker *PhM* stands for *physical material*) as well as by descriptions of different physical states of particular space (hereafter, the marker *PhS* stands for *physical state*). These markers naturally denote what Lefebvre would call the materialized, physical nature of the physical aspect of

[45] This step, which is unfortunately absent from almost all studies that applied Lefebvre or Soja's method to the interpretation of the biblical text, is, in my opinion, crucially important. If there are no markers which signal that particular reference should be understood in a specific way (e.g., as a reference to a particular aspect of space), the task of classification of different references to space in the biblical text can be taken as an extremely arbitrary and subjective endeavour. I realize that one can see the process of defining markers at the beginning of the present work and then searching for them in the biblical text similarly problematic due to the potential fallacy of circular reasoning. Even though I do not want to argue that there is such a thing as a perfect method, my process of defining markers of different aspects of space is not an anachronistic endeavor, but rather, a process that naturally derives from the description of different aspects of space as described by Lefebvre.

space.[46] It must be mentioned that investigation of the physical aspect of space will also be corroborated by the examination of archaeological findings. When archaeological findings are absent—as is the case with God's space—the study will consider other biblical passages outside of the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus in order to compare the description of the physical aspect of space found in this corpus with its delineation in other biblical passages.

The ideological aspect of space, on the other hand, is marked in the biblical text in quite a different way. First, the ideological aspect is usually marked either by pointing to the idyllic future (hereafter, the marker *IdF* stands for *ideological future*) or by alluding to the ideal state of affairs from the past (hereafter, the marker *IdP* denotes *ideological past*). These references to the idyllic future or past could be explicit (marked grammatically) or implicit, in which case an intertextual allusion may be used to bring forth the idyllic past or to allude to the bright future. It is important to mention that references to ideological space are almost always associated either with Yahweh (hereafter, the marker *IdY*, standing for *ideology [revealed by] Yahweh*, will be used) or with the prophet (hereafter, the marker *IdPr*, standing for *ideology [revealed by] prophet*, will be used) through whom Yahweh reveals an ideological portrayal of space to the people. In the case of the former, the formula "thus has said Yahweh of hosts" is used very often. Second, the ideological aspect of space is also marked by a number of metaphors which are used in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus especially in Zechariah's vision reports. Keeping in mind that each metaphor has a source (area from which the

[46] What Lefebvre associated with the materialized, physical aspect of space is marked in the biblical text with references to materials used for the production of particular space as well as by describing the physical conditions of different types of spaces. For more details, see Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38. See also, Soja, *Thirdspace*, 74–78 and George, *Israel's Tabernacle*, 23–25.

metaphor is drawn) and a target (area to which the metaphor refers) domain,[47] there are two things that must be said about using metaphors for the purpose of delineation of space.[48] First, metaphors usually refer to ideological and not physical aspects of space[49] and second, metaphors also reveal cultural ideologies about reality from which metaphors are taken.[50] In this way, metaphors from nature that are extensively used in Zech 1–6 refer to God's space (target domain), but also reveal something about the ideology of nature's space itself (source domain). These metaphors are very often, but not always, associated with the references to spiritual realm (hereafter the marker *IdS* stands for an *ideology revealed through the description of the spiritual realm*) that also describe ideological space.[51] They are primarily found in the section where vision reports are given (Zech 1:7—6:15). All these markers of the ideological aspect of space that are found in the biblical text are in line with Lefebvre's description of the ideological aspect of space which focuses on conceptual and abstract ideas.[52]

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[47] Lakoff and Johnson (*Metaphors We Live By*, 252) explained that metaphors allow "for the use of source domain inference patterns to reason about the target domain." George Lakoff and Mark Johnson developed their theory of metaphors within the fields of linguistics and philosophy. For the comparison of different theories of metaphors and how they have been influenced by the field in which they have been developed, see Stovell, *Mapping Metaphorical Discourse*, 31–68.

[48] It is not my intention here to develop a new method which would be suitable for comprehensive examination of how metaphors are used to point to the ideological aspect of space. To the best of my knowledge, this is still something that has to be done in the future. One of emerging scholars who uses both Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Critical Spatiality to examine how metaphors are used to refer to space is Rachel Danley from the University of Aberdeen. Danley presented what seems to me a ground-breaking paper, "Reworking Metaphors of Temple in Second Temple Judaism," at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in San Antonio (November, 2021) in which she showed how one can fruitfully use insights from the Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Critical Spatiality.

[49] Stovell, *Mapping Metaphorical Discourse*, 37.

[50] See for instance Stovell, *Mapping Metaphorical Discourse*, 37. Stovell built here on the work of Lakoff, Johnson, and Turner.

[51] This is not to claim that the spiritual realm is always ideologically positive.

[52] References to the past and future, along with descriptions of space that come from Yahweh are, therefore, taken as conceptual and abstract ideas about space. These ideas are powerful and can transform space. For the parallel between these markers of ideological aspects of space that are found in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus and Lefebvre's description of ideological space, see Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38–39. See also Soja, *Thirdspace*, 78–81 and George, *Israel's Tabernacle*, 25–27.

Finally, there are specific markers found in the biblical text that signal the description of lived space. In contrast to the ideological aspect of space that is, among other ways, also marked in the biblical text by references to Yahweh and prophet, one of the major markers of the lived aspect of space is the association of a particular space with people who belong to different social groups (hereafter, the marker *LiP* that stands for *lived [in association with] people* will be used). The text can describe what people think about that space internally (hereafter, the marker *LiI* that stands for *lived* and *internal* is used), or it can delineate some kind of external, visible action that people perform and that affects that space (hereafter, the marker *LiE* that stands for *lived* and *external* will be employed). As was the case with the markers related to physical and ideological aspects of space, the markers associated with the lived aspect of space are naturally related to Lefebvre's idea of ascribing meaning to particular spaces by different societal groups.[53]

The summary of markers that are mentioned above and that are found in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 is listed in the following table:[54]

Physical Space	PhM	PhS			
Ideological Space	IdF	IdP	IdY	IdPr	IdS
Lived Space	LiP	LiI	LiE		

Table 1. Markers of Physical, Ideological, and Lived aspects of Space

[53] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 39. See also, Soja, *Thirdspace*, 81–82 and George, *Israel's Tabernacle*, 27–30.

[54] The full list of the abbreviations that are used for markers that refer to different aspects of space in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 consists of (1) the physical aspect of space: PhM= physical material, PhS=physical state; (2) ideological space: IdF=ideological future, IdP=ideological past, IdY=ideology revealed by Yahweh, IdPr=ideology revealed by prophet; and (3) LiP=lived in association with people, LiI=lived internally, and LiE=lived externally. These markers will be used in the following chapters in the context of listing references to different aspects of space which will be provided in the tables.

These markers will be used in chapters 3, 4, 6, and 8 that focus on the investigation of the different aspects of space described in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus. Each chapter dealing with space will begin by providing references to space in tables where those references will be classified according to their type and aspect. This will then be followed by sections investigating specific aspects of space where more tables with additional detailed data will be provided and in which those particular aspects of space will be determined by the identification of the markers mentioned above which will be underlined in the text and listed in the right column.

There are a few general comments dealing with the critical spatiality theoretical framework that must be made at the end of this section. First, it is not always easy to make a distinction between different types of space due to the fuzziness of the dividing line between them. One of the best examples is Jerusalem which, in this study, is primarily considered as a reference to people's space, but it is not unusual in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus for Jerusalem to be associated with Yahweh, as well (God's space). Thus, it should not be confusing if one reference found in the biblical text is classified as a reference to more than one type of space. Second, it is important to notice that one particular word/phrase can refer to more than one aspect of space at the same time. Thus, it is possible that a word/phrase found in the biblical text can serve as two different markers at the same time. Third, since the three aspects of space mentioned above are related and mutually dependent on each other, it is not unusual that the explicit reference to one aspect of space might reveal some important information about the other two aspects of space. Good examples are references to the ideological aspect of space that are very often given by the prophet as a reaction to the people's production of lived space. In

these cases, one reference is labeled as an explicit reference to one aspect and an implicit reference to the other aspect of space.

In sum, as has been shown above, Lefebvre's triad was found to be a very helpful analytical tool that can contribute to the understanding of the space in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8. However, this triad primarily addresses issues related to *space*. Keeping in mind that the main task of this study is to examine the *ritual* production of space, additional insights from ritual studies must also be taken into account. It is to this that the present discussion now turns.

2.3 Ritual Theoretical Framework

2.3.1 Introduction

Ritual studies began to develop as an academic discipline during the late 1970's, primarily as a result of the efforts of Ronald Grimes who started a ritual studies group at the American Academy of Religion's annual meeting in 1977.[55] Only ten years later (1987), the *Journal of Ritual Studies* began to be published, a sign of the development of the new discipline.[56] Grimes's comprehensive and cross-disciplinary inquiry stimulated a dialogue among scholars from quite different disciplines and fields, marking a

[55] For the association of Grimes with the beginnings of ritual studies, see Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, xiv; Uro, "Introduction," 4–7; and Platvoet ("Ritual: Religious and Secular," 184–85; 195–97) who mentioned Grimes in connection with the development of a new type of ritual studies that emerged in the late 1970's in which "scholars of different disciplines had been studying ritual at first as unsympathetic outsiders, and more recently as mostly sympathetic observers." Kreinat et al. ("Ritual Studies, Ritual theory, Theorizing Rituals," xiv) explained that the emergence of ritual studies as an academic discipline occurred at the time when many traditional and well-established ritual practices were questioned, and new rituals started to blossom. The rise of ritual studies as an interdisciplinary field of study reflects this cultural change.

[56] In the first issue of the *Journal of Ritual Studies*, Grimes ("JRS Statement of Purpose," 1) wrote, "As far as I known, no one was using the phrase 'ritual studies' before 1977, so it is remarkable to witness the inaugural issue of a journal of ritual studies only ten years later. Although a small group of us began using the term at American Academy of Religion meetings, today it has wide currency in a large number of disciplines. The term itself is significant only insofar as it represents an increasing degree of self-conscious reflection about ritual and the academic study of it."

fundamental change in the study of ritual.[57] Numerous scholars have followed this interdisciplinary vision and have contributed to the development of ritual studies as an independent field of study.[58] Many biblical scholars have taken up concerns raised by ritual theorists, primarily focusing on the study of rituals in Leviticus, but also on the Book of the Twelve, including Haggai–Zechariah 1–8.[59] The most prominent of these scholars are Roy Gane, who drew from B. Wilsons's general system theory (GST);[60] Jonathan Klawans, who employed Mary Douglas's symbolic approach;[61] William Gliders, who built on Nancy Jay's interpretation of ritual activities as indexes;[62] Bryan Bibb, who used Grimes and Bell's approach to studying ritual in texts;[63] Saul M. Olyan, who drew from the theory of binary oppositions;[64] Ithamar Gruenwald and David Janzen, who built on Victor Turner and Catherine Bell's understanding of ritual;[65] and James Watts, who used Nancy Jay's theory and emphasized the rhetorical interpretation of

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[57] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, xiv; Uro, "Introduction," 4–7. I am immensely grateful to Dr. Grimes for introducing me to the world of ritual studies and for the opportunity to meet with him in-person to reflect on a number of relevant issues that are currently fiercely debated within the field of ritual studies. In this work, I build on his findings, most particularly on his recent *magnum opus*, *The Craft of Ritual Studies*. My understanding of rituals is deeply indebted to his written work as well as to very inspiring and thought-provoking discussions that we had about rituals in Waterloo and Toronto. A number of ideas that are developed in this work were born at those meeting.

[58] A detailed overview of the development of ritual studies is given in Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, xi–xxiii. For a more recent overview, see Kreinath et al., eds., *Theorizing Rituals 1* and Kreinath et al., eds., *Theorizing Rituals 2*.

[59] For a brief review of the most prominent works in the field of biblical studies that have used a theoretical framework from ritual studies, see Hundley, *Keeping Heaven on Earth*, 26–33. See also the work of David Wright who has written a great deal about using ritual theories in biblical studies; Wright, "Purification," 213–23; Wright, *The Disposal of Impurity*; Wright, "Two Types of Impurity," 180–93; Wright, "The Spectrum," 150–81; Wright, "Unclean and Clean," 729–41; and Wright, "Ritual Theory, Ritual Texts," 195–216.

[60] Gane, *Ritual Dynamic Structure*, 23–35; Wilson, *Systems.*

[61] Klawans, "Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple," 17–48; Douglas, *Purity and Danger*.

[62] Gliders, *Blood Ritual in the Hebrew Bible*, 8; Jay, *Throughout Your Generations Forever*.

[63] Bibb, *Ritual Words*, 34–69; Bell, "Ritualization of Texts and Textualization of Ritual"; Grimes, *Fictive Ritual: Reading, Writing, and Ritualizing*.

[64] Olyan, *Rites and Rank*, 1–7.

[65] Gruenwald, *Rituals and Ritual*, 1–39; Janzen, *The Social Meanings of Sacrifice*, 9–35; Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*; Turner, *The Ritual Process*; Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*; Bell, *Perspectives and Dimensions*, 91–265.

ritual.[66] Keeping in mind that the term "ritual" has been defined and used in these and other studies in a number of different ways, one of the first tasks of the present study is to define the theoretical framework that will be used.[67]

2.3.2 Definitions: The Term "Ritual" and Ronald L. Grimes

Keeping in mind how highly ambiguous and complex the term "ritual" is, a description of the theoretical framework should start with the task of defining this phenomenon as it will be used in the present research.[68] Since any theorizing about ritual may sound antagonistic and the importance and usefulness of definitions of ritual are not rarely questioned, two meta-theoretical clarifications seem appropriate. First, in the academy, the term ritual is perceived and used by scholars in quite different and sometimes even conflicting ways.[69] Second, the definition helps with the clarification of what should and what should not be included in the study.[70] Thus, providing a definition of *ritual* will both clarify the intended connotations and identify the research's scope by indicating what should *not* be included.

To develop a new definition would require another study. Rather than undertaking this unfathomable task, this research builds on the definition of *ritual* given by Grimes. Grimes reviewed and critically evaluated more than one hundred definitions that were

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[66] Watts, *Ritual and Rhetoric in Leviticus*, 1–36. Jay, *Throughout Your Generations Forever*.

[67] It should be noted that there are scholars who prefer to study ritual without defining it, and therefore, the term becomes all-embracing or others who think that the task of defining the ritual is not possible. For example, see Boyer, *The Naturalness of Religious Ideas*, 185. For a helpful discussion about using the term ritual, see Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 186–89.

[68] Grimes (*The Crafts of Ritual Studies*, 190) warned that this longing for a definition of ritual "amounts to a search for the Holy Grail—an ever-elusive, just-beyond-the-horizon sacred object." He explained that generally speaking, there are two trends among ritual theorists: expanding the term to embrace almost all human activity and focusing on the history and politics of the term so that it becomes primarily a scholarly construction or invention (188).

[69] Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 186.

[70] Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 186.

drawn from different fields, including those of anthropology and religious studies.[71] His comparison of these proposals shows the vast disparity among them, both in the methods used by the scholars and in the conclusions to which these methods have led.[72] Dealing with the issue of defining rituals, he cautioned, "Every workable definition rules out something."[73] This problem is one of the main reasons why he opted for a comprehensive, cumulative approach, examining over one hundred scholarly definitions in order to find the familial characteristics of ritual.[74] It is this descriptive and informal definition of *ritual* that will be used in this research since it does not necessarily exclude important qualities of ritual merely for the sake of using a concise definition. Based on Grimes's discussion, *ritual* has four qualities:

> (1) Ritual is *embodied*. An obvious feature of ritual is that it is a human activity. People do it, and they do it in overt, bodily ways.[75]

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[71] For the most comprehensive list of formal definitions of ritual, as well as descriptions or claims, see the appendix of Grimes, *Crafts of Ritual Studies*, which can be found online (https://oxrit.twohornedbull.ca/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/grimes-craft-appendixes.pdf). It includes fourteen different categories based on the disciplines from which the definitions originate: religious studies; ethics; anthropology; sociology; ethnology; business, consumer research and advertising; education; history; media studies; music; theology; psychology; psychiatry and neuropsychology; women's/gender studies; and literature and literary criticism.

[72] A few popular definitions that are drawn from the fields of anthropology and religious studies and that have been used by biblical scholars are those of (1) Émile Durkheim (*The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, 51): [Rites are] determined modes of action; (2) Victor Turner (*The Forest of Symbols*, 95): [Ritual] has a closer bearing on religious behaviour associated with social states, where politico-legal institutions also have greater importance. Ritual is transformative, ceremony as confirmatory; (3) Roy Rappaport (*Ecology, Meaning, and Religion*, 175): [Liturgy is] the performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances not entirely encoded by the performers; (4) Jonathan Z. Smith (*Imagining Religion*): [Ritual is] . . . a means of performing the way things ought to be in such a way that this ritualized perfection is recollected in the ordinary, uncontrolled course of things; (5) Catherine Bell (*Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 140; see also *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 74): [Ritualization] can be described as the strategic production of expedient schemes that structure an environment in such a way that the environment appears to be the source of the schemes and their values; and (6) Mary Douglas (*Natural Symbols*, 9–10): Ritualism [is] a concern that efficacious symbols be correctly manipulated and the right words be pronounced in the right order. Ritualism is most highly developed where symbolic action is held to be most certainly efficacious.

[73] Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 189.

[74] Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 193–95.

[75] Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 195.

> (2) Ritual is *condensed*. Although ritualization is rooted in ordinary human interaction, ritual is not ordinary action. It is more condensed or elevated than quotidian behaviour.[76]
>
> (3) Ritual is *prescribed*. Most human interaction is in some way prescribed. Cultures shape or channel behaviour. As a result, we "just know" how to do certain things.[77]
>
> (4) Ritual is *enacted*. Ritual is a kind of action, but not just any action. It helps to remind ourselves of its difference from ordinary action by assigning it a special verb, "*enact*."[78]

To this list should be added another quality of ritual: its efficacy.[79] Since the present research deals with the religious rituals that were referred to in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus, it is important to mention that efficacy is closely associated with belief in a deity.[80] In the Old Testament, religious ritual activities play an important role in a relational (covenantal) matrix between God and the earth, God and human beings, and human beings and the earth.[81] Consequently, ethical or unethical behaviour in ritual activities affects all three sides of the relational triangle.

This list of qualities will be taken into account in the identification of the ritual practices in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8.[82] On the one hand, the list is not exhaustive,

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[76] Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 195.

[77] Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 195.

[78] Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 196.

[79] Even though Grimes emphasized the importance of ritual efficacy and described it in detail, he did not include this important aspect of ritual into his definition. For his treatment of ritual dynamics—the term that he used for efficacy—see Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 294–337.

[80] Gane, *Cult and Character*, 16.

[81] Wright (*Old Testament Ethics*, 104) used a phrase "creation triangle" in order to illustrate this relational matrix between God and the earth, God and human beings, and human beings and the earth.

[82] Compare this list with Rappaport and Bell's characteristics of ritual. Rappaport (*Ritual and Religion*) suggested a different list composed of five features of ritual: (1) encoding by people other than the performers: performers "follow, more or less punctiliously, orders established or taken to have been established, by others" (32); (2) formality: "ritual sequences are composed of conventional, even stereotyped elements, for instance stylized and often decorous gestures and postures and the arrangements of these elements in time and space are usually more or less fixed" (33); (3) invariance (more or less) "is inevitably generated by, or is a logical entailment of, formality understood as conformity to form" (36); (4) performance (ritual and other performance forms): "unless there is performance there is no ritual" (37); and (5) formality (vs. physical efficacy): "decorousness, punctiliousness, conformity to form, repetitiveness,

embracing all human activities; on the other hand, it is not so short as to exclude some obvious examples of ritual. This list of qualities leads us to another important issue that should be clarified in this section: the classification of ritual.

2.3.3 The Classification of Ritual

Since ritual is such a broad term and resists being defined, it seems pragmatic to classify rituals into smaller categories. A number of efforts have been made to do this, with those undertaken by Grimes, Bell, Humphrey and Laidlaw, and Seligman et al. probably being the most well-known.[83] The task here is not to address this unfathomable task once again, but rather, to describe a viable, comprehensive approach to ritual classification in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus based on the work of Grimes.[84]

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regularity, and stylization," but it is also "meant to contrast with the functional or to be more precise, with the physically efficacious" (46).

Bell (*Perspective and Dimensions*) delineated several characteristics of ritualization that must be considered when examining ritual practices: (1) formalism: "use of a more limited and rigidly organized set of expressions and gestures, a 'restricted code' of communication or behaviour in contrast to a more open or 'elaborated code'" (139–50); (2) invariance: "one of the most common characteristics of ritual-like behaviour is the quality of invariance, usually seen in a disciplined set of actions marked by precise repetition and physical control" (150–53); (3) rule-governance: this characteristic "is often compared to ritual, particularly rule-governed contests in which violent chaos is barely held in check by complex codes of orchestration" (153–55); (4) sacral symbolism: the "appeal to supernatural beings," implicitly or explicitly (155–59); and (5) performance: "the deliberate, self-conscious 'doing' of highly symbolic actions in public" (159–64).

[83] It is Grimes's system of classification of ritual that will be used in the present study, and other classifications are explained in more detail in the text below. First, Catherine Bell's categorization is less sophisticated than Grimes's and was created without a carefully applied methodology. She chose already existing categories that are often used in the field of ritual studies. In the fourth chapter of her *Ritual Perspective and Dimensions*, she listed the following genres of ritual action: (1) rites of passage; (2) calendrical rites; (3) rites of exchange and communion; (4) rites of affliction; (5) feasting, fasting, and festivals; and (6) political rites. While this list somewhat overlaps the one produced by Grimes and his colleagues, that of Grimes was developed on the basis of clear methodology, while Bell's was based on the classifications of other scholars. Second, building on Jane Monnig Atkinson, Humphrey and Laidlaw (*The Archetypal Actions of Ritual*, 8–12) distinguished between performance-centered and liturgy-centered rituals. Finally, Seligman at. al. (*Ritual and Its Consequences*) divided rituals on the basis of the attitude of the ritualists. They claimed that people can frame their actions in two ways: ritually, which creates a subjunctive, or, as they call it, an "as if" universe (20–21), and sincerely, an "as it really is" world (8). For a very helpful overview of different categorizations of ritual with a special focus on the methodology used by various authors, see Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 197–203.

[84] Grimes (*Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, 40–57) delineated six ritual modes, which include ritualization, decorum, ceremony, magic, liturgy, and celebration. In *The Crafts of Ritual Studies*, Grimes

In his work on rituals, Grimes distinguished between felicitous, infelicitous, and fictive rituals (hereafter, imagined rituals).[85] Grimes explained that besides felicitous rituals (that will not be defined here since their definition is the same as the one given above), there is the "possibility of ritual failure, which is seldom taken account of in theories of ritual," and which makes that particular ritual infelicitous.[86] By using speech-act theory and applying it beyond verbal phenomena to embrace ritual as a performative phenomenon, Grimes classified all infelicitous rituals in nine different categories: (1) misfire (act purported but void); (2) abuse (act professed but hollow); (3) ineffectuality (act fails to precipitate anticipated empirical change); (4) violation (act effective but demeaning); (5) contagion (act leaps beyond proper boundaries), (6) opacity (act unrecognizable or unintelligible); (7) defeat (act discredits or invalidates acts of others); (8) omission (act not performed); and (9) misframe (genre of act misconstrued).[87] He correctly asserted that these types of rituals are generally neglected[88] by both religious as

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added four columns to organize rituals into the different modes: the third column is labeled "layers/levels"; the fourth column is dedicated to "verbs/actions"; and the fifth column is reserved for "ethos/moods/motivations" (203–10).

[85] I am grateful to Dr. Grimes for the opportunity to discuss with him this classification of rituals. This classification is not as well-known as the one mentioned above in footnote 80 (see immediately above) due to the fact that Grimes talked about infelicitous and fictive rituals in two different works: Grimes, *Ritual Criticism*, 187–204, where he addressed the issue of infelicitous performances, as well as Grimes, *Reading, Writing, and Ritualizing*, 127–42, where he addressed fictive rituals.The term "imagined rituals" rather than "fictive rituals" is used in the present work to avoid the conclusion that Zechariah's visions along with rituals that are described in them are all fictive. Rather, the present work builds on the ground that although imagined, rituals were portrayed in the visions that the prophet actually experienced and were not invented. Thus, although imagined—since they were not actually performed on the ground, but were seen in the vision—they were not creatively invented and/or made up by the prophet, but were given by Yahweh and were seen by the prophet.

[86] Grimes, *Ritual Criticism*, 187. Interestingly, in his work Grimes, cited some biblical passages that portray rituals going wrong. See Grimes, *Ritual Criticism*, 187–88.

[87] Grimes, *Ritual Criticism*, 200. For the detailed explanation of these different types of infelicities, see pp. 194–199. To this list will be added other reasons for infelicitousness of rituals that are found in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8.

[88] One important exception is MacDonald, ed. *Ritual Innovation.* Grimes (*Ritual Criticism*, 189) explained that "anthropologists usually avoid making explicit, written judgments about the failure or success of the rites they observe and record. Liturgists are supposed to do so because of the normative, religious nature of their work, but … they have difficulty in doing so."

well as rituals studies and suggests that scholars should pay more attention to "the dynamics of ritual infelicity."[89]

In addition to felicitous and infelicitous rituals, Grimes also talked about fictive rituals. In his work, *Reading, Writing, and Ritualizing*, where he focused on different literary works such as fiction, drama, and autobiography, Grimes explained that "the sort of ritual that these works 'teach him about is, of course, not liturgy but fictive ritual, ritual as imagined, constructed, made up."[90] He explained:

> It is that fictive worlds are sancturies in which one can fruitfully reimagine ritual. Just as a ritually defined arena can serve to keep ordinary existence at bay by putting action, as it were, in quotation marks ("dying" ritually is not the same as dying in an auto accident), so fiction can bracket off ritual from the imperative to embody and enact, which rites normally entail. The relatitve disengagement provided by fiction can either become a disease, a way of hiding and refusing responsibility, or it can substantially renew that from which it is tactically and momentarily disengaged.[91]

Based on the Grimes's classification described above, all rituals can be classified as felicitous, infelicitous, or imagined rituals.[92] While felicitous rituals should be understood as embodied, condensed, and prescribed enactment *without failure*, infelicitous rituals include some kind of *failure.* More important, imagined rituals, whose main characteristics are their imagined and constructed nature, among other things, can have the function of supporting the transformation of infelicitous rituals into felicitous ones.[93]

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[89] Grimes, *Ritual Criticism*, 189.

[90] Grimes, *Reading, Writing, and Ritualizing*, 129. It must be noted that not all rituals that are described in the literature should be considered as fictive rituals. Compare, for example, Grimes' treatment of rituals in this chapter with his description of Santa Fe Fiesta rituals in Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 95–161. Both chapters provide written description of rituals, but the former addresses imagined rituals and the latter, real rituals as performed in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

[91] Grimes, *Reading, Writing, and Ritualizing*, 131.

[92] One has to keep in his/her mind that this classification is just one of many classifications of rituals as mentioned above.

[93] The opposite is also true, of course, but the present work shows that the imagined rituals described in Zech 3–4 have the primary purpose of exhorting people to move from infelicitous to felicitous practice.

In order to determine into which category a particular ritual falls, it is necessary to pay careful attention to the various elements that constitute the entire ritual.

2.3.4 The Elements[94] of Ritual and Its Efficacy

Rituals are both constituted from a number of smaller units—and thus, can be "disassembled"—and a part of much larger units such as traditions and systems.[95] It is, therefore, crucial, in the examination of any ritual, to "analyze the parts of a ritual, synthesize a model of one, map its cultural location, layout its system, trace its tradition, plumb its depths, and explain its dynamics."[96] When it comes to ritual elements, they are interconnected and their relationships to each other are very often highly complex. Their analysis, however, makes the investigation systematic and prevents its oversimplification. Grimes schematized the elements of rituals in the figure given below:[97]

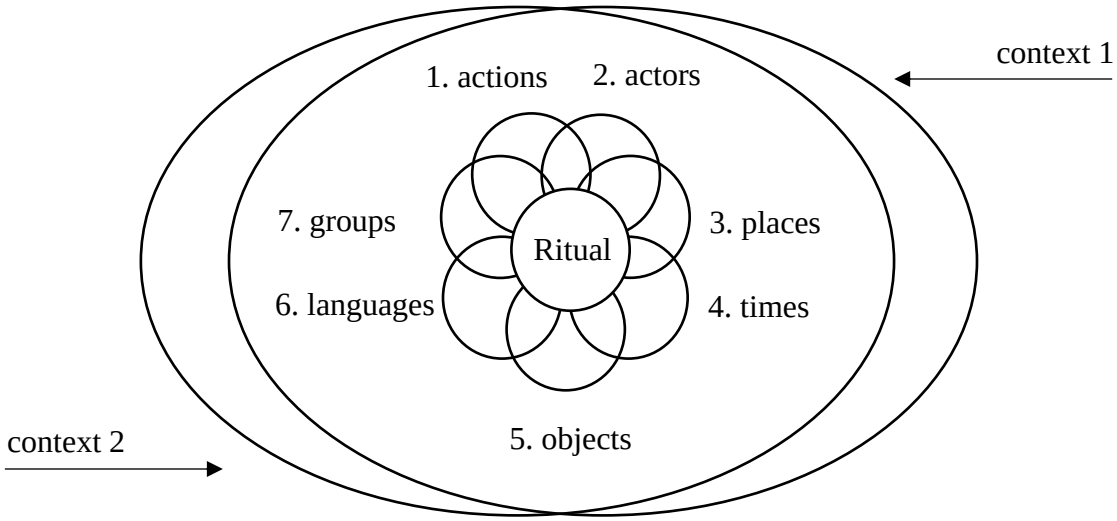

Figure 2. Grimes's Simplified Schematization of the Elements of Ritual

[94] Grimes (*The Crafts of Ritual Studies*, 232) used the term "element" to refer to the smallest unit of a ritual, explaining that a "rite can be factored into its constituents" and emphasizing that the "ritual is the product, rather than the sum, of these factors."

[95] Grimes, *The Crafts of Ritual Studies*, 232.

[96] Grimes, *The Crafts of Ritual Studies*, 232.

[97] Grimes, *The Crafts of Ritual Studies*, 232. I have intentionally used circles in the middle instead of the squares used in Grimes's scheme in order to represent better the dynamic connection between the ritual elements and their influence on the ritual itself. This fluidity and the dynamics are emphasized in Grimes, *The Crafts of Ritual Studies*, 294–337.

Even though Grimes listed seven elements in this simplified version of his schema, it is the first five elements that are usually mentioned in the biblical description of a given ritual: actions, actors, places, times, and objects.[98] However, since the main goal of this work is to examine the ritual production of space in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8, space, as one of Grimes's major ritual elements, is naturally brought to the foreground. This is not to say that the other elements will not be considered in this study; that would be to ignore the mutual dependence of these elements on one another. Rather, the reasons for focusing on the element of space are pragmatic ones, and even though the accent will be placed on this particular element of ritual, an analysis of the other elements of ritual will always precede the study of ritual space.

Besides ritual elements, any investigation of ritual should also include an examination of its dynamics. In other words, Grimes suggested that "rituals not only 'are' they also 'change' and 'do.'"[99] Accordingly, one has to investigate the instrumentality of rituals in order to discover the kind of practical ends they do achieve. It is of crucial importance to address the question of what ritual does and to understand the function of that ritual in its social context.[100] In his study of ritual, Grimes offered four major dynamics of rituals: (1) rituals empower and disempower groups, (2) rituals attune and disattune bodies, (3) rituals reinforce the status quo and enact transformation, and (4) rituals make and unmake meaning.[101] Keeping in mind that the main research question of

[98] This is not to say that the sixth and seventh elements are completely absent. However, while they are apparent in some rituals described in the biblical text, they are less prominent than the other five.

[99] Grimes, *The Crafts of Ritual Studies*, 294.

[100] Grimes, *The Crafts of Ritual Studies*, 296–98. There are three different approaches to the question of ritual efficacy. First, scholars such as Sanyika ("Crossroads") and Goody ("Religion and Ritual," 164) argued that rituals do not accomplish anything. Second, the compromised approach argues that people do something *in* or *with* rituals. Finally, a third group of scholars argues that rituals do something. One of the most prominent proponents of the latter view is Roy Rappaport. For the discussion on this very important topic, see Grimes, *The Crafts of Ritual Studies*, 297–302.

[101] Grimes, *The Crafts of Ritual Studies*, 302–28.

this work is related to space, this study will focus on the function of ritual to produce space. Even though Grimes does not mention this particular function of ritual in his work *The Crafts of Ritual Studies,* this proposal is in line with arguments that Grimes brought up in his response to Jonathan Z. Smith's theory of ritual, in which he argued that ritual does not only take place, but also produces space.[102] It is to this question of the role of ritual in the production of space, as one of the key elements of ritual, that the discussion now turns.

2.3.5 Ritual Space

Not many ritual scholars have investigated ritual place in its own right. Good examples of this lack of interest are found in the works of Bell and Rappaport, where place obviously plays a minor role, and they have not explored it as a separate topic.[103] The situation seems much better in the works of Grimes, who paid more attention to the role of place, but who also rightly emphasized the importance of studying it within the context of all of

[102] Grimes, "Jonathan Z. Smith's Theory," 266.

[103] The issue was addressed briefly by Bell (*Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 98) where she discussed the relationship between environment and the body of those who perform ritual. Building on Bourdieu, Bell talked about the "ritualized body" which is produced "through the interaction of the body with a structuring and structured environment." She explained that "through a series of physical movements, ritual practices spatially and temporally construct an environment organized according to schemes of privileged opposition. The construction of this environment and the activities within it simultaneously work to impress these schemes upon the bodies of participants. This is a circular process that tends to be misrecognized, if it is perceived at all, as values and experiences impressed upon the person and community from sources of power and order beyond it" (98–99). It seems that in this discussion of relationship between ritual and environment, Bell primarily placed an accent on the influence of space on the body, while the opposite, i.e., the influence of ritual on space and environment, is not emphasized as much.

Similarly, Rappaport (*Ritual and Religion*, 50–51, 144–45, and 257–58) only briefly discussed the interrelationship between ritual and space. He emphasized how special places play an important role in the process of distinguishing "ritual words and acts from ordinary words and acts" (50). He also claimed that special places as well as the objects used in ritual, cannot be substantiated by physical acts (144). Rappaport explained that "although an enduring sacred precinct can sanctify the performers or their current states, or their representations of their current states, it cannot substantially represent those states nor fluctuations in them, as can the yams and pigs given away in a Melanesian feast" (144–45).

the elements of ritual.[104] Before Grimes, the works of two history-of-religion scholars, Mircea Eliade and Jonathan Z. Smith, contributed immensely to the understanding of the relationship between ritual and space.[105] While Grimes sharply critiqued Smith's *spatialized* theory of ritual, he agreed with much of Smith's work and used it to further develop his understanding of ritual place. Since Grimes's understanding of the relationship between ritual and space is probably best developed in his critique of Smith's work, this section will start with a brief description of Smith's concept of space and then proceed to Grimes's insights, which inform this study.[106]

Smith's understanding of relationship between ritual and space is heavily indebted to Eliade's work. In his work, *The Sacred and the Profane* (1959),[107] Eliade addressed the issue of the dialectics of the sacred and profane and argued that it is through ritual that people can participate in the sacred by re-actualization of the creation by imitating the acts of the gods described in the myths.[108] Eliade's ideas were opposed by many, but the major critique came from Smith. In his book, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in*

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[104] Grimes spoke about the topic of ritual places on a few occasions. He addressed major issues related to this topic in his *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, where he delineated major categories and briefly discussed issues such as sacredness, the importance of position, the meaning of place, and its relation to ecology and geography. What is important for the current study is his awareness of the complexity of the notion of space: "Students of ritual should notice not only the actual spaces of a ritual but also the spatial metaphors used by ritual actors and scholars of ritual. Speaking of cultural and mental space is widespread. Container metaphors are beguiling and insidious; we quickly lose track of them, and they readily take over. So ritual studies scholars should notice when people shift from speaking of bodily or geographical space to using spatial metaphors in reference to nonspatial things" (260). Another important project where Grimes dealt with ritual place is the documentation of deconsecrating a rural Canadian United Church, the project he was working on with his colleague Barry Stephenson. The projects started as a production of an online album and continued as videography. For more details, see http://picasaweb.google.com/110779451079822593112. See also vimeo.com/album/1510075. Finally, Grimes wrote what seems to be a major critique of Jonathan Z. Smith's "theory of ritual," in which he critiqued Smith's goal to produce a theory of ritual by focusing on ritual space as its one element, Grimes, "Jonathan Z Smith's Theory," see especially 266–71.

[105] See especially, Smith, *To Take Place* and Smith, *Map Is Not Territory.*

[106] Most particularly, Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane.*

[107] Eliade, on the other hand, was drawing from Otto. This is most evident at the outset of his book: Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, 8–10.

[108] Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, 32–36.

Ritual (1992), Smith started his discussion by critiquing Eliade's phenomenological understanding of the creation of a sacred pole by indigenous Australian Tjilpa people.[109] Smith's understanding of ritual is significantly different from Eliade's: while Eliade saw the importance of ritual as being in the mere *imitation* of cosmogony, Smith focused more on ritual as a kind of emplacement.[110] In this way, the discussion is moved from the phenomenological conceptions of space to social and cultural constructionist approaches that critically evaluate human involvement in the creation of space. Ironically, Smith's emphasis on the importance of space does, in the end, bring him back very close to Eliade's camp.

Smith's view of ritual and place is most clearly explained in his article, "The Bare Facts of Ritual," and in the closing chapter of his book, *To Take Place*.[111] According to Smith, ritual is "first and foremost, a mode of paying attention. It is a process for marking interest . . . it is this characteristic, [as well] that explains the role of place as a fundamental component of ritual: place directs attention."[112] Smith claimed that "there is nothing that is inherently sacred or profane. These are not substantive categories, but rather situational ones. Sacrality is, above all, a category of emplacement."[113] He explained that "within the temple, the ordinary . . . becomes significant, becomes sacred, simply by being there. A ritual object or action becomes sacred by having attention

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[109] Smith, *To Take Place*, 2–23. Smith expressed his critique for the first time in 1971 in a lecture entitled, "The Wobbling Pivot."

[110] Eliade (*The Sacred and the Profane*, 29) for example, commented that the "ritual by which [one] constructs a sacred space is efficacious in the measure in which it reproduces the work of the gods." On the other hand, Smith (*To Take Place*, 105) defined ritual as "not an expression of or a response to the 'sacred'; rather, something or someone is *made* sacred by ritual" (emphasis supplied).

[111] Smith, "The Bare Facts of Ritual," 112–27; Smith, *To Take Place*, 96–117.

[112] Smith, *To Take Place*, 103.

[113] Smith, *To Take Place*, 104.

focused on it in a highly marked way. From such a point of view, there is nothing that is inherently sacred or profane."[114]

What is especially important for Smith's study of the relationship between ritual and space is his view that space should be understood as more than simply a physical place.[115] In his essay, "Map Is Not Territory," Smith talked about three maps.[116] He used the term "map" in a metaphorical way to refer to a worldview, rather than to a depiction of a physical territory. He defined the locative map as a "map of the world which guarantees meaning and value through structures of congruity and conformity."[117] In addition to the locative map, Smith introduced the utopian map, which is very similar to Lefebvre's lived aspect of space since it is related to "rebellion and flight" which lead to "a new world and a new mode of creation."[118] The third map is not explained in the same detail as the locative and utopian maps, and it is hard to understand what Smith meant by it. Nevertheless, by describing the locative and utopian maps, Smith showed that his interest was not only in geographical places, such as Jerusalem, but also in mental schemes and social structures.[119]

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[114] Smith, *To Take Place*, 104.

[115] Grimes ("Jonathan Z. Smith's Theory," 266) argued that Smith was not clear when he made a distinction between physical, mental, and social space in his book.

[116] Smith, *Map Is Not Territory*, 289–309.

[117] Smith (*Map Is Not Territory*, 308–9) claimed that the locative map is best explained by representatives of the Pan-Babylonian School, which emphasizes the crucial importance of cosmic order for society. According to this school, the role of ritual is to create physical space that will be shaped on the basis of cosmologically constructed maps: "Those myths and rituals which belong to a locative map of the cosmos labour to overcome all incongruity by assuming the interconnectedness of all things, the adequacy of symbolization (usually expressed as a belief in the correspondence between macro- and microcosm) and the power and possibility of repetition. They allow for moments of ritualized disjunction, but these are part of a highly structured scenario (initiation, New Year) in which the disjunctive (identified with the liminal or chaotic) will be overcome through recreation."

[118] Smith, *Map Is Not Territory*, 291.

[119] This has been noticed by both Kim Knott and Ronald L. Grimes. Knott (*The Location of Religion*, 99–102) drew the parallel between Lefebvre's spatial triad and Smith's three maps that are explained in his "Map is not Territory" essay. On the other hand, Grimes ("Jonathan Z. Smith's Theory," 264–65) noticed this tendency in Smith's chapter on Jerusalem, which is found in Smith's, *To Take Place*, 47–73.

In his article, "Jonathan Z. Smith's Theory of Ritual Space," Grimes offered the most profound critique of Smith's spatialized theory of ritual so far. Although Grimes agreed with Smith that place is an important element and that it *may* play a crucial and defining role in some rituals, Grimes argued against the "reduction of a multidimensional phenomenon to a single, key dimension that presumably explains the whole."[120] While Smith gave primacy to place over ritual practice[121]—Grimes did not privilege any element of ritual, and if he had to privilege one, it would have been an action, rather than a place.[122] This different prioritization of place and ritual action is also evident in their different understandings of the sacred: on the one hand, Smith argued that "sacra are sacred solely because they are used in a sacred place," and on the other hand, Grimes explained that "sacralization is more typically a function of use."[123]

Even though Grimes emphasized the importance of specifically defining terms and argued against Smith's loose use of them, Grimes agreed with Smith in his extension of physical space to both conceptual and social realms:[124]

> Students of ritual should notice not only the actual spaces of a ritual but also the spatial metaphors used by ritual actors and scholars of ritual. Speaking of cultural and mental "space" is widespread. Container metaphors are beguiling and insidious; we quickly lose track of them, and they readily take over. So ritual

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[120] Grimes, "Jonathan Z. Smith's Theory," 267.

[121] This idea may be understood as being in tension with some of Smith's other statements that seemingly emphasize action. Grimes ("Jonathan Z. Smith's Theory," 264) critiqued Smith for overemphasizing the role of place in his endeavor to study relationship between ritual and space in order to create a new theory of ritual, but he admitted that "both spatial and actional rhetoric appear in *To Take Place*." The two most prominent of Smith's statements that emphasize the importance of action and not space are (1) that "ritual is not an expression of or a response to the sacred [but] rather [that] something or someone is made sacred by ritual" (Smith, *To Take Place,* 105) and (2) that "human beings are not placed; they bring place into being" (Smith, *To Take Place,* 28). However, Grimes ("Jonathan Z. Smith's Theory," 264) correctly explained that in Smith's view, "spatial metaphors assume a pronounced theoretical ascendancy."

[122] Grimes, "Jonathan Z. Smith's Theory," 261.

[123] Grimes, *Rite Out of Place,* 108.

[124] Grimes, "Jonathan Z. Smith's Theory," 266.

> studies scholars should notice when people shift from speaking of bodily or geographical space to using spatial metaphors in reference to nonspatial things.[125]

The important difference between Grimes's and Smith's conceptions is that Smith looked at the relationship between space and ritual as a one-way street, where space primarily defines ritual, but Grimes was open to two-way traffic: it is not only space that defines ritual; it is also ritual that defines space.[126] It is this latter approach, which places an accent on ritual as an action as well as on its efficacy, that will be used in this study. This approach opens up a whole network of potential relationship dynamics between Lefebvre's three aspects of space and ritual as mentioned above. Accordingly, Grimes's understanding of place and space has close parallels with Lefebvre's conception of space. It is to the merging of these two theoretical frameworks that this study now turns.

2.3.6 Ronald L. Grimes and the Study of Ritual in The Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 Corpus

Grimes's theoretical framework will be used along with Lefebvre's triad as an analytical tool to address the question of the ritual production of space in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8. Since Grimes emphasized that rituals are not only affected by space, but also produce space, this theoretical framework is in line with Lefebvre's idea that space is a social product.[127] The methodological procedure for examination of rituals described in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus is briefly described in the text below.

The examination of each ritual portrayed in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus is composed of three major steps that are based on Grimes's theoretical framework that was

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[125] Grimes, *The Crafts of Ritual Studies*, 260.

[126] Grimes (*The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 258–59) explained that on the one hand, space speaks, has meaning, and even acts in some cultures. He added that space "can be a lead actor to whom (yes, whom) human actions are but a response." On the other hand, he also emphasized that "rituals shape environment, even after their enactments conclude."

[127] I am thankful to Dr. Grimes for reading this section of the present work and giving me valuable feedback. What is most important is that he confirmed that his understanding of ritual is compatible with Lefebvre's understanding of the production of space.

mentioned earlier. First, rituals are classified into one of the categories mentioned above. According to Grimes's first classification, all of the rituals mentioned in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 fall into two categories: ceremonial and liturgical rituals. The ceremonial rituals are related to the temple-building project and include rituals associated with the foundation-laying ceremony (Hag 2:18; Zech 4:6b–10a; 8:9), the high priest Joshua's ordination ceremony (Zech 3:1–10), and the ceremony of the dedication of the temple (Zech 4). The liturgical rituals are related to the site of the first temple: rituals of offering (Hag 2:10–14) and fasting (Zech 7:2–6). These rituals have the qualities mentioned in the previous section (see section 2.3.2) and they will be studied in detail in the section that deals with Haggai–Zechariah 1–8.

What is more important is that in Haggai and Zechariah these same rituals can also be classified as felicitous, infelicitous, and imagined rituals. Interestingly, liturgical rituals such as rituals of offering (Hag 2:10–14) and fasting (Zech 7:2–6) fall under the category of infelicitous rituals. On the other hand, rituals associated with the foundation-laying ceremony (Hag 2:18; Zech 4:6b–10a; 8:9) as well as feasting rituals (Zech 8:18–23) are designated as felicitous rituals. Finally, rituals portrayed in Zechariah's vision reports, such as rituals of Joshua's ordination (Zech 3) and rituals of consecration of the temple (Zech 4), fall under the category of imagined rituals.

Classification of these rituals as felicitous, infelicitous, or imagined is based on three criteria: (1) prophetic criticism of these rituals that is found in the biblical text. Based on this criterion, all rituals are described by the prophet either as positive (felicitous) or negative (infelicitous); (2) intertextual links with earlier traditions in which these same rituals are prescribed. These intertextual connections will enable the reader to see whether rituals are performed in line with or out of harmony with prescribed rules;

and (3) consideration of the genre in which these rituals are described. In this way, rituals that are portrayed in Zechariah's vision reports should be understood as imagined and, therefore, clearly distinguished from reports about rituals that are actually performed on the ground.[128]

In the second step, an evaluation of all ritual elements that are described in the biblical text is carried out. It should be noted that prophetic literature is quite different from the Pentateuchal texts dealing with rituals and does not describe rituals in as much detail as they are portrayed in Leviticus. Even in Leviticus, some important rites are not mentioned and must be assumed when the biblical text is studied.[129] Similarly, the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus sometimes omits important ritual elements or just scarcely mentions them. It is through intertextual links with earlier texts that prescribe the rituals that some of those ritual elements that are omitted in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus will be reconstructed.

Finally, the third and last step in the study of rituals includes an examination of their efficacy. The focus will naturally be on the question of how rituals produce ideological and lived aspects of space. In the biblical passages of the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus, the production of space which was previously suggested in the work of

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[128] This is in line with Wright ("Ritual Theory, Ritual Texts," 199–201) who carefully noticed that "a further complicating factor in using biblical texts for ritual analysis is the diverse range of genres." Accordingly, one should analyse rituals found in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus with "critical sophistication" and distinguish between rituals that are part of prophetic oracles and those imagined in the visions.

[129] Gane (*Cult and Character*, 47–48) correctly observed that "the ritual procedure includes some activities that are mentioned in the text and others that are not." Gane gave some examples of rituals described in Lev 4:22–26 which describes explicit ritual activities such as leaning on of hands, slaying animals, applying blood on the altar, disposal of remaining blood, and burning suet. He correctly explained that in order to perform the above–mentioned activities, other actions such as collecting the blood and removing the suet from the animal had to be performed even though they were not explicitly mentioned in the text. This is a good example of how ritual activities that are not mentioned in the biblical text can be safely applied to the description of ritual found in the biblical text.

Grimes should be understood in the context of the relational matrix between God and the earth, God and human beings, and human beings and the earth.[130] The production of space is described in the biblical text, often in two different ways: (1) explicitly by the prophet's statement that particular rituals produce space or (2) implicitly by situating passages that describe rituals in the same literary context with the passages that describe production of space or by using the same key words in passages that describe rituals and those that portray space. In this way, the answer to a key question that is posed in this study is found in the Haggai–Zechariah corpus by addressing questions that are based in ritual studies and the theory of critical spatiality.

2.4 Synthesis: Towards Ritual Spatiality

The interdisciplinary approach that integrates insights from Lefebvre's critical spatiality theory and Grimes's approach to the study of rituals is suitable for solving the main problem of this research that is concerned with the complex question of the ritual production of space. The method proposed by this study naturally arises from the prophetic text under investigation which deals with issues related to both ritual and space. The question that must now be addressed is how ritual studies and the critical spatiality theory contribute to one another. It is the aim of this section to provide a reasoned answer to that question.

Both Lefebvre and Grimes discussed the multidimensionality of space and emphasized its physical, ideological, and social aspects. First, Grimes's understanding of ideological space corresponds to Lefebvre's understanding of the representations of space (in this study, ideological space). For both Grimes and Lefebvre, space is always closely

[130] See further, section 2.3.2 dealing with definitions.

connected to particular ideology. Second, both Lefebvre and Grimes emphasized the importance of situating physical place within its broader social context. Lefebvre talked about the way different people assign various meanings to a particular place, while Grimes explained that ritual shapes its environment, which should be understood as being "simultaneously . . . biological, geographical, social, political, historical, and cultural."[131]

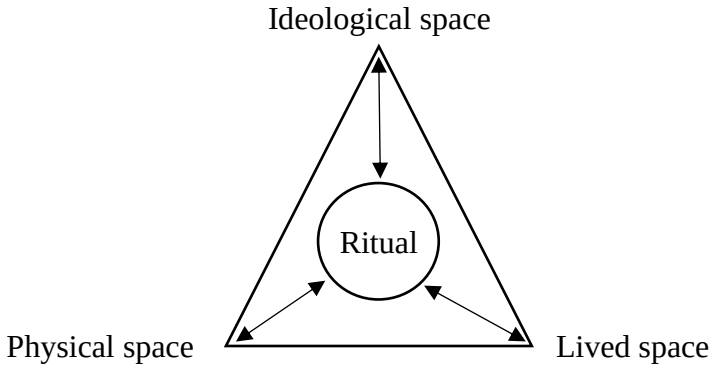

Figure 3. Spatial Analysis according to Lefebvre and Grimes

What is more important than this multidimensional understanding of space is that both Lefebvre and Grimes emphasized the idea that space is produced. The important nuances are that Lefebvre talked about "spatial practice" which produces space, while Grimes focused on ritual as the particular social practice that plays an essential role in this creation.[132] On the one hand, Grimes brought Lefebvre's three aspects together by focusing on ritual. While classifying rituals into three different categories, Grimes explained that one of the main ritual dynamics is to make and unmake meaning.[133] Thus, one may ask the question of how different types of rituals—namely felicitous, infelicitous, and imagined rituals—produce space. On the other hand, by delineating the physical, ideological, and social aspects of space, Lefebvre expanded the notion of space

[131] Grimes, *The Crafts of Ritual Studies*, 259.
[132] Grimes, *The Crafts of Ritual Studies*, 260.
[133] Grimes, *The Crafts of Ritual Studies*, 317–28.

to three different aspects. Accordingly, the question of the ritual production of space should focus not only on the production of space in general, but also on the production of different aspects of space. These two approaches to rituals and space open up a complex network of potential relations between ritual and space. This dynamic of ritual production is portrayed in the following figure:

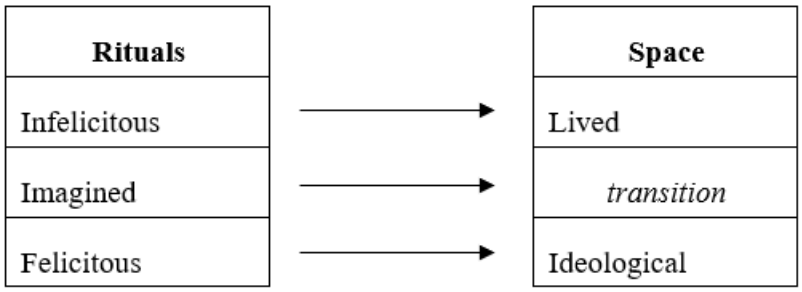

Figure 4. Dynamic Relationship between Different Types of Rituals and Various Aspects of Space

As shown in the graph above, the present study shows that different types of rituals produce different aspects of space. Thus, while Lefebvre's analysis contributes to Grimes's understanding of the role of ritual in the creation of space by explaining the notion of space itself, Grime's study of ritual adds to Lefebvre's interpretation of space by demonstrating how ritual plays an important role in its creation. It is through these two theoretical frameworks that the relationship between space and ritual will be investigated in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus.

2.5 Different Hermeneutical Challenges

At the end of this section that is dedicated to the development of the method of the present work, a description of some hermeneutical challenges and limitations related to the application of critical spatiality and ritual theory to the study of the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus is in order. Keeping in mind ongoing debates about the application of social-

scientific approaches to the interpretation of the biblical texts, this section does not come as a surprise.[134] Although a detailed discussion on this subject goes beyond the scope of the present work, there are several methodological challenges that will be addressed in the discussion below.

First, a hermeneutical challenge that may be posed at a very general level relates to the question of a "false" comparison between Lefebvre's understanding of space in the context of Marxist society and Grimes's theoretical suggestions for the study of ritual that are largely—but not exclusively—based on his evaluation of the Santa Fe Fiesta with the understanding of the relationship between space and ritual in the early post-exilic Yehud. Some may see this as a biased approach.[135] There are two clarifications that should be offered as a response to this challenge. First, Lefebvre and Grime's theoretical framework is not rigid by means of suggesting particular "laws" of how the dynamics between the physical, ideological, and lived aspects of space *must* operate as well as how ritual *must* work.[136] Second, an important aspect of reading the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus that is informed by critical spatiality and ritual theories is discovering differences between Lefebvre and Grimes's understanding of space and ritual and the descriptions of these phenomena in the biblical text.[137] Accordingly, the main purpose of the appropriation and

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[134] For a very helpful methodological discussion on this issue, see Smith-Christopher, "Reading Exile Then," with bibliography. See also, Smith-Christopher, *The Religion of the Landless*; Middlemas, *The Troubles of Templeless Judah*; Chalcraft, ed. *Social-Scientific Old Testament Criticism*; Carter and Meyers, *Community, Identity, and Ideology*, to mention only a few studies that discuss the appropriation of socio-scientific approaches to the interpretation of the Old Testament.

[135] For this and other objections that have risen against those who apply socio-scientific approaches to the interpretation of the Old Testament, see Smith-Christopher, "Reading Exile Then," 142–47.

[136] See, for example, Grimes (*The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 165–84) who discussed a number of relevant issues related to theory such as working, testing, and creating ritual theories. See especially his discussion on the differences between deductive and indicative approaches and his positive approach towards critical thinking about ritual theories.

[137] Smith-Christopher, "Reading Exile Then," 147.

combination of the two theoretical frameworks mentioned above is to develop the new framework of questions that will be examined in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus.

The second hermeneutical challenge in the appropriation of the method developed above is that these theories are developed for the investigation of the actual material space and rituals that are performed on the ground.[138] Accordingly, one has to be aware of the philosophical-phenomenological challenge that there is a fundamental difference that exists between actual space and ritual, on the one hand, and space and rituals described in the biblical texts.[139] Even though the distinction is clear between actual space and ritual and those two phenomena as described in the biblical text, it must be mentioned that even contemporary geographers and ritual theorists use written data on which they develop their theories.[140] The written account of the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus is as valid as a written description of a ritual made by an ethnographer who observes a particular ritual action. While this distinction between "actual" and written

[138] Notice Soja's focus on the city of Los Angeles (Soja, *Thirdspace*, 184–320) as well as Grimes's study of Santa Fe Fiesta in New Mexico (Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 95–161).

[139] Wright ("Ritual Theory, Ritual Texts," 197–99) emphasized the importance of the realization that there is a phenomenological and practical gap between the text and the actual ritual performance. Still, that did not prevent Wright from suggesting that the application of socio-theoretical approaches to the interpretation of the biblical passages was desirable, even when that appropriation necessitated a modification of the approach that was used. When talking about rituals whose main source was text and not an actual performance, Wright distinguished between prescriptive and descriptive rituals.

See also Gane, *Cult and Character*, 21–24; Hundley (*Keeping Heaven on Earth*, 17–20) who, besides mentioning problems related to textual representations of rituals, also acknowledged issues with the appropriation of anthropological terms (pp. 17–18) and, more generally, problems with the application of ritual theory to the biblical text (pp. 19–20); Watts (*Ritual and Rhetoric in Leviticus*, 27–32) who because of the problem of the difference between texts and rituals, blended rhetorical criticism and ritual interpretation (pp. 32–36); Gliders, *Blood Ritual*, 9–11; and Gorman, "Pagans and Priests," 107–9.

[140] Grimes (*The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 59–67) explained that ritual theorists usually begin their research by studying ritual performances in the field, and that it is very common for theorists to "take notes on them." However, he added that at the time when those scholars wrote books on the rituals that they observed and studied in the field, it was "based distantly on those actual ritual events" and "proximally it is rooted in these notes" that are the researcher's primary data, as well as on his/her memories. It is precisely because of the methodological limitation that comes with relying on notes that Grimes introduced the idea of filming rituals because "cameras grab actions *more* efficiently" (95, emphasis supplied). Grimes summarized his approach in the following words: "In the field, I both took notes and video-recorded. At home I shuttled from the computer on which I write to the computer on which I edit video" (99).

reports must be kept in the mind of the researcher, the fact that one deals with the written report about ritual and/or space does not prevent him/her from that particular study.

A brief discussion of this matter reveals valid hermeneutical challenges that will have to be faced in the process of the application of the interdisciplinary socio-scientific method developed in this chapter. It has been shown, however, that even though the method developed in the present work is not without limitations—as is the case with any other method used in the humanities and social sciences—these challenges do not prevent one from using this method for the study of biblical passages dealing with space and ritual in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus.

2.6 Outline of the Study

With this interdisciplinary approach in mind, my methodological procedure is composed of several major steps that naturally proceed from the fact that the current study is primarily focused on the investigation of the biblical texts which are concerned with space and ritual: First, chapter 3 will deal with the physical aspect of God's, people's, and nature's space in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8, using insights from these two biblical books which will be corroborated with recent archaeological findings. This sets the ground for the discussion of the ritual production of the ideological and lived aspects of these three types of space in the rest of this study. All three sections that follow chapter 3 and deal with Hag 1–2 (chs. 4–5); Zech 1–6 (chs. 6–7); and Zech 7–8 (chs. 8–9) will first do a space-sensitive reading through the lens of Lefebvre's spatial triad (critical spatiality) with special focus on ideological and lived aspects of space. This will then be followed by an examination of rituals by using Ronald L. Grimes's theoretical framework, including an analysis of ritual elements and the efficacy of rituals with respect to the

production of space.[141] Investigation of space and its ritual production is always preceded by the delineation of literary structure of the section under investigation. This is of crucial importance because it is in the literary structure that one can clearly see the connection between the themes of ritual and space as well as compositional structure that has purpose to portray the ritual production of space. Finally, important conclusions regarding the examination of the role of ritual in the production of space will be described in the last chapter of the present work. This research demonstrates that while infelicitous rituals such as ritual offerings described in Hag 2:10–14 and fasting rituals portrayed in Zech 7:2–6 are described as producing the lived aspect of space; felicitous rituals associated with the foundation-laying ceremony delineated in Hag 2:18; Zech 4:6b–10a; 8:9 as well as feasting rituals from Zech 8:18–23 are, on the other hand, portrayed as producing the ideological aspect of space. Importantly, imagined rituals that are described in Zech 3–4 are delineated as having the function of exhorting Yehudites to transition from practicing infelicitous to felicitous rituals.

[141] Each section begins with the investigation of space and proceeds with the examination of the rituals. This does not imply the priority of space over ritual. It is purely because of technical reasons that the study should give chronological priority to one of these two phenomena and, for the purpose of the present study, it is more pragmatic to start with space.

CHAPTER 3: PHYSICAL SPACE OF EARLY POST-EXILIC YEHUD WITH INSIGHTS FROM THE HAGGAI–ZECHARIAH 1–8 CORPUS

3.1 Introduction

In this initial chapter, the focus will be on the physical aspect of space. Keeping in mind that three different aspects of space within Lefebvre's triad are inextricably related to each other, any study of ideological and lived aspects of space must begin with the examination of physical space. Namely, the ideological and lived aspects of space cannot exist without the physical aspect of space to which they refer. Since the main purpose of the present work is to address the question of how the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus delineates the ritual production of space, the main goal of this chapter is to discuss the physical space that is described in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus in order to establish a foundation on which later examination of ideological and lived aspects of that space will be based.

Keeping in mind that the most suitable approach for the study of the physical aspect of space is based on archaeology, each section of this chapter that deals with the examination of important passages from the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus[1] will be followed by a brief summary of archaeological findings.[2] The chapter proceeds with an

[1] Only passages in which PhM and PhS markers that refer to the physical aspect of space are found will be studied. As explained in the previous chapter in which the method of the present study is described, the marker PhM stands for *physical material* and PhS for *physical state*. For more details, see the methodology section of the present work.

[2] See, for example, O'Connor ("The Biblical Notion of the City," 18–23) who, in the context of discussion about critical spatiality, made a distinction betewen the literary-theological account of a biblical city and archaeology that focuses on the actual city. According to O'Connor, the latter is "based on critically informed examination of data, gathered in systematic ways" (21).

analysis of the physical aspect of three different types of space, that is, God's, people's, and nature's space, in that particular order.[3]

3.2 God's Physical Space

Since the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus most often associates God's physical space with Yahweh's temple in Jerusalem, it is Jerusalem's temple that will be the primary focus of this section. This by no means implies that God's space is limited to the temple of Jerusalem only.[4] The study will first discuss the biblical passages about the physical aspects of Jerusalem's temple and then move to the archaeological findings related to that space.

3.2.1 God's Physical Space in Haggai

In its portrayal of God's physical space, the book of Haggai primarily focuses on the delineation of the temple of Jerusalem.[5] Haggai's references to the physical aspect of God's space are outlined in the table below.

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[3] In this way, this study confirms the findings of Zhenshuai Jiang who, in his study on priestly literature, distinguished between God's, nature's, and humanity's space. While studies on space predominantly focus on the Sinai pericope, Jiang (*Critical Spatiality in Genesis 1–11*) focused on Genesis 1–11. He argued that this section of Genesis delineates three different categories of physical space: God's space, humanity's space, and nature's space. For his understanding of these three categories of physical space, see pp. 37–44 of his work.

[4] Besides omnipotence and omniscience, omnipresence is one of the main attributes of God. Erickson (*Christian Theology*, 299) correctly asserted that "God is not subject to limitations of space … with God, [however], the question of whereness or location is not applicable. God is the one who brought space (and time) into being." Even though I agree with Erickson's statement that God cannot be limited by space, it is clear that a number of the Old Testament passages describe his presence in the tabernacle and later in Solomon's temple (e.g. Exod 40:34–38; 1 Kgs 8:12–13; 2 Chr 7:1–2). Thus, based on the Old Testament theology of God's presence, I will refer to the temple as a special place where God dwells and I will consider it as God's space. This, however, does not imply that God's space is limited to the tabernacle, Solomon's temple, and/or the second temple. This study will show that heaven as well as the whole earth are also considered as God's space (see especially chapter 6 dealing with the ideological aspect of God's space in Zech 1–6). Investigation of the material aspect of heaven and the whole earth is, however, much harder, if at all possible.

[5] For Lefebvre's definition of the concept of *la pratique spatiale*, which in this study, is renamed as physical space, see Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38.

Haggai	God's Physical Space	Markers
Hag 1:2	עת־בית יהוה להבנות the house of Yahweh to be rebuilt	PhS
Hag 1:4	בבתיכם ספונים והבית הזה חרב in your panelled houses while this house is desolate	PhM; PhS
Hag 1:8	והבאתם עץ ובנו הבית bring wood and build the house	PhM; PhS
Hag 1:9	יען ביתי אשר־הוא חרב because of my house which itself (lies) desolate	PhS
Hag 1:14	ויעשו מלאכה בבית־יהוה צבאות אלהיהם They did work on the house of Yahweh of hosts their God	PhS
Hag 2:14	ואשר יקריבו שם and whatever they offer there	PhM
Hag 2:15	מטרם שום־אבן אל־אבן בהיכל יהוה before placing stone upon stone in the temple of Yahweh	PhM; PhS
Hag 2:18	למן־היום אשר־יסד היכל־יהוה from the day when the foundation of the temple of Yahweh was laid	PhM; PhS

Table 1. God's Physical Space in the Book of Haggai[6]

In the book of Haggai, references to the physical aspect of space are most frequently associated with Yahweh's temple in Jerusalem.[7] Yahweh's place is usually labeled as בית ("house"), a term which is mentioned in the book of Haggai a total of eleven times

[6] Translation of HB into English that is provided in this research, especially parts dealing with Zech 1–8, was first prepared for Intermediate Hebrew class that I took at McMaster Divinity College in the fall 2016 and then enhanced by the comments made in the classroom by my colleagues and Dr. Boda who led that class.

[7] See especially, Assis ("Composition, Rhetoric, and Theology," 3) who explained that the main purpose of Haggai's first prophetic speech was to command people to rebuild Yahweh's temple. Assis explained that the prophet's goal was especially evident if one properly grasped the rhetorical features of Hag 1:1–11. In addition, Redditt ("Themes in Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi," 188–92) who, in his survey of the major themes in the Haggai–Zechariah–Malachi corpus, stated that "the rebuilding of the temple is the most obvious subject in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8." Note also a number of other articles and monographs which critically examine the temple theme in the book of Haggai: Kessler, "Building the Second Temple"; Assis, "To Build or Not to Build"; Assis, "A Disputed Temple"; Assis, "The Temple"; Meadowcroft, "Haggai and the Environment"; Barker, "The Rebuilding of the Temple"; Barker, *Disputed Temple*; and Seufert, "Disputed Temple."

(Hag 1:2, 4[2x], 8, 9[3x], 14; 2:3, 7, 9), of which eight occurrences refer directly to God's physical space.[8] The other two terms, which are used for God's dwelling place, include היכל ("temple"), which occurs only two times in Hag 2:15 and 18;[9] and the adverb שם ("there"), which in the book of Haggai occurs only once (Hag 2:14) together with the Hiphil verb קרב ("offer"[10]) and, therefore, refers to the altar.[11]

God's dwelling place is mentioned first in Hag 1:2 in the context of the people's conviction that "the time has not come, the time for the house of Yahweh to be rebuilt" (לא עת־בא עת־בית יהוה להבנות).[12] The Niphal infinitive construct of the verb בנה ("rebuild") reveals that the temple building was in a state that required rebuilding. Besides reference to the house of Yahweh in Hag 1:2, an additional delineation of the physical state of the temple is found in Hag 1:4 and 9. In Hag 1:4, the clear and strong

[8] Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 21) correctly noted that this term is "first and foremost the designation of an architectural entity of a special kind," which serves as the residence of deity as well as the most common term for the Jerusalem temple in the OT. My study shows that the term "house" is used in Hag 2:7 and 9 purely in the context of ideological space. In addition, in Hag 1:2, 9, 14, and 2:3, the term is used both in the context of physical and lived space. More detailed discussion about how this term is used in the context of ideological space will be given in chapter 4.

[9] Meyer and Meyer (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 59–60) observed that the original meaning of the term is *palace*, but when used together with Yahweh, should be translated *temple*. In Haggai, the term is used interchangeably with the term *house* to designate Yahweh's dwelling place.

[10] The technical term קרב in the Hiphil means "to bring near, offer, present," and is used mostly in Leviticus and Numbers, according to HALOT, 1134; *DCH* §7:308.

[11] See Jacobs (*Haggai and Malachi*, 104) who explained that in the context of the absence of the temple, "there" must refer to the place where people were offering their sacrifice—very likely the altar that was rebuilt in 536 BCE (Ezra 3:1–7). See further, Boda (*Haggai, Zechariah*, 146) who explained that "the antecedent of the word 'there' at the end of verse 14 must be the first phrase, and since it is connected with offering sacrifice, it must refer to the altar."

[12] One of the main issues in the phrase, "the time has not come, the time to rebuild the house of Yahweh" (לא עת־בא עת־בית יהוה להבנות), is the repetition of עת ("time"). In contrast with the LXX, which reads οὐχ ἥκει ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν οἶκον κυρίου, I have followed the MT and taken the noun עת as the subject of the verb בא.

Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 126) outlined several popular interpretations of the phrase, "the time has not come," including (1) the time appointed by Yahweh had not arrived, (2) the rebuilding process can start only after the arrival of Messiah, and (3) the conflict between priestly and eschatological group. Kessler concluded that Haggai "calls into question a course of action chosen by the people based on their view of the appropriateness of the circumstances, presumably the adversities mentioned in 1:4–6; 9–11." For an excellent summary of these views, see Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 123–26. In this work, I will show that the adversities mentioned in the book of Haggai are not the cause, but rather, the consequence of the people's choice not to build the temple.

contrast is made between "your (people's) panelled[13] houses" (בבתיכם ספונים) and "this (Yahweh's) house (that) is desolate" (הזה חרב והבית).[14] The key for this study is the adjective חרב ("desolate") which describes the nominal phrase הבית הזה ("this house"). Kessler outlined three general meanings of the root חרב: (1) "to be dry," (2) "to be devastated," and (3) "to be abandoned."[15] He argued that the intention behind the usage of this term was not to describe the temple's "physical state of disrepair."[16] Rather, he claimed that the term frequently refers "not to the physical dismantling of structures, but to the results of such destructive activity, that is, a state of abandonment and depopulation" where the unrepaired state of the building is taken for granted.[17]

While the majority of scholars agree that this term includes both of the aspects mentioned above—devastation and abandonment— there are several reasons why the physical aspect is primarily in view here: (1) the term is used in the context of Haggai's exhortation to the people to start the process of building (the verb בנה ["build"] is used in Hag 1:2 and 8);[18] (2) the word is used intentionally in Hag 1:4 and 9 to create the effect of a play on words—describing both the physical desolation of the temple and the desolation of agricultural land[19]—and its meaning, therefore, should not be determined

[13] *DCH* §6:181–82. Contra HALOT, 764–65. For the translation of "panelled," see discussion on this verse below.

[14] Many scholars have noticed this contrast. For example, see Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 48; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 23–24; Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 128–30; and Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 87.

[15] One has to be careful when stating that the basic meaning of the word can be found in its root. For more details on the so-called "root fallacy," see Barr, *Semantics*, 100–106 and Carson, *Exegetical Fallacies*, 28–33. For an excellent summary of Hebrew and Greek word-study fallacies, see further, Baxter, "Word-Study Fallacies," 7–30. For another treatment of this word, see Andersen, "Who Built the Second Temple?" 23–25.

[16] Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 128) suggested that in the case of a description of the material state of the temple, the author would use more concrete terms which would clearly refer to the physical aspect of the temple.

[17] Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 129. He built here on the conclusions of other scholars such as Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 635–36; Amsler et al., *Aggée–Zacharie 1–8*, 22; and Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 59.

[18] Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 44–45.

[19] Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 17.

merely by an analysis of how it has been used in other places in the OT, but by taking this rhetorical play on words into account; (3) the lexical meaning of the word should be established based on its usage in the immediate context of building a sharp contrast between the physical appearance of people's houses and the appearance of Yahweh's house (Hag 1:4);[20] and (4) taking this word to refer primarily to a state of abandonment is not in line with the description of sacrificial activities in that place described in Hag 2:10–14.[21] Keeping all these arguments in mind, the word חרב ("desolate") from Hag 1:4 conveys primarily, even though not only, the temple's physical state of disrepair.

The mention of wood in Hag 1:8 and stones in Hag 2:15 also contributes to a better understanding of the physical aspect of Yahweh's house. There are different explanations of what the command "bring wood" (והבאתם עץ) in Hag 1:8 means.[22] It is likely that by using this phrase, the prophet had only wood in mind because stones were already available in the rubble. Nevertheless, it must be kept in mind that the whole work of rebuilding could not be finished by the provision of wood alone.[23] Thus, bringing wood should be understood just as a part of the process of collecting the necessary construction material, which also included some other items such as the stones mentioned in Hag 2:15.[24] More important, by giving this command, the prophet encouraged the

[20] See footnote 13 immediately above.

[21] As correctly noted by Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 24) who reminded us that according to Ezra 3:2–3, the altar had been rebuilt earlier. For the tension between accounts in Ezra 3 and this description in Haggai, see Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 25–32.

[22] Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 133–34) outlined three explanations of why the prophet called people to take wood: first, it has been suggested by some scholars that this action was a repetition of the similar measures which were taken in the process of the construction of the first temple; second, it has been posed by others that wood served for the building of scaffolding; and finally, there are scholars who suggest that wood was used for the main construction of the temple.

[23] Cf. Wolff, *Haggai*, 45.

[24] Even though I take the word "wood" literally—and not as a form of metonymy as proposed by Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 133–34) who argued that "the bringing of wood … represents totality of work still needing to be done"—I agree with his conclusion that wood was not the only material needed for the reconstruction of the temple. However, the reasons for this approach include the fact that the word is used in the context of comparison between Yahweh's home and the Yehudites' panelled houses (Hag 1:4).

people to follow the practice used at the time of the building of the first temple.[25] The phrase "stone upon stone" (אבן אל־אבן) used in Hag 2:15 reveals that besides wood, people also used stones in the construction process.[26] Thus, as was the case in previous verses (Hag 1:2, 4, 9), Hag 1:8 and 15 confirm the poor physical condition of Yahweh's house and the need for using wood and stones for its rebuilding. All of these facts reveal the deprived state of the remains of the wooden and stone structures of the temple at Jerusalem at the time of Haggai.

Another important reference to the physical aspect of the temple is found in Hag 2:14 in the context of a report about a conversation between the prophet Haggai and the priests where the particle שם ("there") is used. Boda explained that the phrase "all the works of their hands" (כל־מעשה ידיהם) is the antecedent of the particle שם ("there") and argued that the only item where one can "offer" (קרב [Hiphil, "offer"[27] e.g. Lev 2:4–5; 6:14; Num 18:15; Ezek 43:2–24]) something is the altar.[28] It is most likely, therefore, that the altar mentioned in Hag 2:14 is the altar in Jerusalem which was rebuilt by the people who returned from captivity—the event which was carefully described in Ezra 3:1–6.[29] As such, this passage also describes physical space, but this time even more explicitly by describing a specific location within Yahweh's temple.

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[25] An intertextual connection which has been observed by Boda (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 92) who explained that there is parallel between this command and the command to go to the mountain and get wood at the time of building the first temple (1 Kgs 5).

[26] More details about this phrase will be given in the next section of the present work. What can be said at this point is that the phrase most likely refers to the royal ceremony of laying the first stone as explained by Boda, "From Dystopia to Myopia," 231–34. Although it seems to be a valid interpretation of this phrase, the proposal that it refers to masonry work is not accepted here because of the clear connection between Hag 2:15 and 18. The latter clearly refers to the foundation-laying ceremony. See Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 59 and Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 147.

[27] For the translation of קרב with "to offer," see pp. 151–52.

[28] Boda, "Perspectives on Priests," 20–21.

[29] Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 44–45.

Finally, one should also note that Yahweh's house as physical space is described as gradually changing in the course of events described in the book of Haggai. The physical space of Yahweh's house was first described as being "desolated" (חרב [Hag 1:4, 9]). After Haggai exhorted Joshua, Zerubbabel, and the rest of the people, "they came and they did work on the house of Yahweh of hosts their God" (ויבאו ויעשו מלאכה בבית־יהוה צבאות אלהיהם) as described in Hag 1:12–15. Finally, in Hag 2:15–19, there is a description of the foundation-laying ceremony which denotes a significant change, especially with respect to its physical appearance.[30] In this way, the description of the physical state of the temple is not static but fluid and changing in the course of events.

3.2.2 God's Physical Space in Zechariah 1–8

In contrast to the book of Haggai, where God's space is exclusively associated with Yahweh's temple in Jerusalem, Zech 1–8 is concerned with both God's earthly place in Jerusalem and his habitation within the heavenly realm that is primarily described in vision reports 1, 4, 5, and 8 (Zech 1:8–17; 3:1–10; 4:1–14; 6:1–8).[31] However, it is God's earthly place that is in the book of Zechariah associated with the physical and his heavenly habitat with the ideological aspect of space. References to the physical aspect of God's space are outlined in the table below.

[30] Boda ("From Dystopia to Myopia," 231–34) explained that there are different stages of the rebuilding process. He argued that the whole book of Haggai is structured around the rituals related to the reconstruction of temples in ANE. Boda particularly mentioned four different stages: (1) the decision to rebuild, (2) the preparation of the site and collection of materials, (3) the foundation-laying, and (4) later stages of construction.

[31] This proves the point from the methodology section that the boundaries between God's and peoples's space are very often blurred, a fact that is especially evident in Zech 1–6. Besides this, there is also a challenge of examining the space in the context of the spiritual dimension that is described in the vision reports. This study suggests that the move from the physical to the spiritual dimension of space primarily signals a change in focus to the ideological aspect of space.

Zechariah	God's Space	Markers
Zech 1:16	ביתי יבנה בה my house will be built in it	PhS
Zech 4:9	ידי זרבבל יסדו הבית הזה וידיו תבצענה the hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house and his hands will finish (it)	PhM; PhS
Zech 6:12	ובנה את־היכל יהוה he will build the temple of Yahweh	PhS
Zech 6:13	והוא יבנה את־היכל יהוה he will indeed build the temple of Yahweh	PhS
Zech 6:15	ורחוקים| יבאו ובנו בהיכל יהוה And those who are far off will come and build the temple of Yahweh	PhS
Zech 8:9	ביום יסד בית־יהוה צבאות ההיכל להבנות on the day when the foundation of the house of Yahweh of hosts was laid so that the temple might be built.	PhM; PhS

Table 2. God's Physical Space in Zechariah 1–8

In Zech 1–8, the term בית ("house"), which refers to God's house in Jerusalem, is used fourteen times (Zech 1:16; 3:7; and 4:9; 5:4[3x]; 5:11; 6:10; 7:3; 8:9, 13[2x], 15, 19[32]), and the term היכל ("temple"), which also refers to God's space, is used five times, almost all in the last section in Zech 6:9–15 (vv. 12, 13, 14, and 15) and once in Zech 8:9. Of these nineteen references to the house and the temple, markers for the physical aspect of space are found in only six passages that are listed in the table above. Based on these six passages, one can make a general conclusion about the physical state of the temple as described in Zech 1–8. As was the case in the book of Haggai, God's earthly dwelling space in Zech 1–8 is also described as in the process of being rebuilt.[33] This is evident

[32] The other three instances where this noun is used (Zech 5:4[3x]) are not related to God's physical space, but rather to God's lived space. The reference to the house in Zech 6:10 is also related to humanity's space, rather than to God's space.

[33] There are a number of scholars who argued that the main purpose of Zechariah's vision reports was urging the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem. For instance, see Halpern, "Ritual Background" and Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 566, 575. For a brief survey of different views on the main purpose that lies behind Zechariah's vision reports, see Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 6–7.

from Zech 1:16 where Yahweh predicts that "my (Yahweh's) house will[34] be built in it[35] (Jerusalem)" (ביתי יבנה בה).[36] It is specified later that Zerubbabel (Zech 4:9) and "those who are from afar" (ורחוקים [Zech 6:15]) will complete this project.[37] All of this corroborates the description of God's physical space given by Haggai by underlining the fact that God's temple was in a state of needing to be rebuilt.

References to the foundation-laying ceremony found in Zech 4:9 and 8:9 refer back to Hag 2:18 where this ceremony is mentioned for the first time and described as playing a key role in the restoration process.[38] The description of the foundation-laying ceremony in Zech 1–8 confirms findings about the physical state of the temple from the book of Haggai and the rest of Zech 1–8. That is, laying the foundation for the second temple makes sense only in the context of the severe destruction of the first temple as attested to in other biblical passages that will be examined below.[39] It reveals that the destruction was so severe that the temple needed to be completely rebuilt.

3.2.3 God's Physical Space Outside of Haggai–Zechariah 1–8

In contrast to the inquiry about the physical state of the city of Jerusalem and its environs, whose destruction is well attested to by a number of archaeological excavations, the question about the physical state of the temple at the end of sixth century is much more

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[34] The prefix conjugation of שוב is used with the suffix conjugation of בנה to represent a future event. See IBHS §31.6.2.a, b.

[35] The feminine singular pronominal suffix היא refers to לירושלם, which is masculine in its form, but functions syntactically as the feminine. In this context, ירושלם serves as a noun with a spatial reference, BHRG § 24.2.2.(i)a.

[36] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 156–57.

[37] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 301, 411–12. On the identity of Zerubbabel, see Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah*, 17–18) who distinguished between Zerubbabel and Sheshbassar. Contra, Lust, "The Identification of Zerubbabel," 90–95. See also, Williamson, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, 51–54.

[38] Boda, "From Dystopia to Myopia," 231–38.

[39] Contra Bruehler ("Seeing through עינים," 442–43) who argued that Zech 4:8–10 is later than Zech 4:6a–7.

difficult. Lipschits claimed that "archaeological finds cannot help here and the description in 2 Kgs 25:9a is general, permitting various interpretations and reconstructions."[40] Lack of prominent archaeological finds led Lipschits and others to deal with the biblical passages to reconstruct the physical state of the temple after the destruction.[41] This brief section will follow their example. It is important to mention that despite a lack of relevant archaeological finds, an analysis of passages outside of the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus that deal with the physical aspect of God's space are valuable and the only available evidence against which the delineation of the physical aspect of the temple in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus can be compared.[42]

Even though no *definite* answer can be given either concerning to what extent the temple was destroyed in 587/6 BCE or in what condition it was about sixty-six years later at the time of Haggai and Zechariah,[43] some important details about the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple are given in the biblical description of the destruction of

[40] Lipschits, "Judah, Jerusalem, and the Temple," 7.

[41] One good example is the recent study of Kenneth A. Ristau who examined the reconstruction of Jerusalem and provided an excellent survey of archaeological findings related to the Persian period, but did not address the question of the temple from the archaeological perspective because of lack of archaeological findings. See Ristau, *Reconstructing Jerusalem*, 13–88.

[42] This was suggested to me by Mark K. George who mentioned that one of the ways the ideological portrayal of the physical aspect of space found in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 can be balanced is by its comparison with other passages from outside that corpus. This does not mean that by using this method, one will be able to recreate a "pure" and non-ideological reconstruction of the physical state of the Jerusalem temple. Rather, this is, to my knowledge, the best possible approach that one can take in the situation where archaeological finds are lacking.

[43] For a brief summary of the major works which contributed to this discussion, see Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 88–90) who classified all the works into two major groups: scholars who argue for extensive and systematic destruction of the temple and those who claim that the damage was not of major proportions. See also Kessler, "Reconstructing Haggai's Jerusalem," with bibliography. For some of those who argued for extensive destruction of the temple, see Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration*; Wolff, *Haggai*, 42–43; Lipschits, "Nebuchadrezzar's Policy," 477; Herr, "The Iron Age Period"; and Faust, *Judah in the Neo-Babylonian Period*. On the other hand, prominent voices who argued for less extensive destruction are Barstad, *The Myth of the Empty Land*, 51–54; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 63–64; Shiloh, *Excavations at the City of David*; Steiner, "The Archaeology of Ancient Jerusalem"; Shiloh, "Judah and Jerusalem"; Shiloh, "Judah and Jerusalem"; and Blenkinsopp, "The Judaean Priesthood."

Jerusalem in 2 Kgs 25:8–17; Jer 37–39; and Lam 1:4, 10; 2:6–7.[44] Soon after the conquering of Jerusalem, the Babylonians began the systematic physical destruction of the city under the supervision of Nebuzaradan.[45] Passages in 2 Kgs 25:8–17 and Jer 37—39 testify to the severe reality of the destruction of Jerusalem and the realization of Nebuzaradan's intentions. The all-inclusive language of 2 Kgs 25 (the preposition כל ["all"] is used three times in 2 Kgs 25:9–10), describing the burning of the building (2 Kgs 25:9), breaking its bronze items into pieces (2 Kgs 25:13), and plundering the temple treasures (2 Kgs 25:14–17) indicates the totality of the destruction.[46]

Bearing these things in mind, it should also be mentioned that the passages mentioned earlier from 2 Kgs 25:8–17 and Jer 37—39 describe events from the first half of the sixth century, while the book of Haggai and Zechariah address the situation more than a half-century after. Furthermore, the historical reconstruction of the physical state

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[44] It is not the purpose of the present work to evaluate comprehensively all passages outside of the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus that refer to the state of the temple.

[45] It is likely that Nebuchadrezzar wanted to destroy Jerusalem because it was the center of political power and religious influence. For a discussion on three different traditions regarding Nebuzaradan's arrival, see Lipschits, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*, 80. For more details about the systematic destruction of Jerusalem, see Lipschits, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*, 79–84; 112–13; 210–13.

[46] Contra Smith, *The Religion of the Landless*, 34–35 and Berquist, *Judaism in Persia's Shadow*, 17–18 who emphasized the importance of the fact that the destruction of the altar was not mentioned which suggests the destruction was partial. On this issue, see also Jones, "The Cessation of Sacrifice"; Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration*, 26; and Blenkinsopp, "The Judaean Priesthood," 26. Different views are summarized in Lipschits, "Judah, Jerusalem, and the Temple," 14, footnote 31. The description found in Lam 1:4; 2:6–7, 15, 20 is in line with the argument described above.

This does not, however, mean that ritual activities were not held on the site. The episode reported in Jer 41:5 deserves special attention for it suggests that the Jerusalem temple was a site where cultic activity continued even after its destruction. Eighty unsuspecting pilgrims came from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria carrying grain offerings and incense in their hands to present at the house of the Lord. Most scholars agree that "the house of the Lord" refers to the temple in Jerusalem where many pilgrims came to pray, recite lamentations, and bring offerings to God after the fall. The same phrase is used for the temple in Jerusalem in other accounts of destruction (2 Kgs 25:9, 13; Jer 52:13, 17) and the same term is used twenty-nine times in Jeremiah to refer exclusively to the temple in Jerusalem. The text states that they shaved their beards and tore their clothes, indicating that they were either mourning for the destroyed temple or fasting. It appears that pilgrimages to the site of the ruins were made by small groups and individuals, and the rituals performed were of a spontaneous, rather than an official nature. It is most probable that only cereal offerings were offered, not animal sacrifices. Other texts that shed an important light on this issue include Hag 2:10–14 and Zech 7.

of the temple in Jerusalem is also complicated because nothing is actually known about the restorative measures that could have been potentially taken during the period of Babylonian activity. In addition, not much is said about the actions of Sheshbazzar and the community who returned to Yehud in the first wave except that they built an altar on the site of the temple before its foundation was laid (Ezra 3:1–7; 5:1–17).[47]

Even though there is no information about restorative measures related to the temple between its destruction and the period of Haggai and Zechariah's ministry—with an important exception of the description found in Ezra 3—one may conclude, based on the evidence from above, that it is likely that the temple was still in ruins. Thus, Lipschits's statement seems correct that "no doubt need be cast on the assumption that the temple was destroyed and ceased to exist, and was rebuilt after a break of about seventy years (Hag 2:3; Ezra 3:12)."[48]

3.2.4 Summary

Even though there is a general lack of archaeological finds about God's physical space, the above examination of important biblical passages found both inside and outside the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus shows that there is a strong Old Testament tradition of the destruction of Jerusalem with its temple. The temple is described as severely destroyed with only the altar being rebuilt in the first wave of the return migration. The next two

[47] Ezra 3:1–6 describes the rebuilding of the temple by people who returned from Babylon. For more details see, Boda, "Perspectives on Priests," 20–21. For historical context addressed by the pericope in Ezra 3, see Boda, "Flashforward."

[48] Lipschits, "Judah, Jerusalem, and the Temple," 7. Lipschits here underlined the destruction more than Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 89) who, after delineation of two different approaches to the understanding of the state of the Jerusalem temple, argued that "any estimation of the extent of damage to the temple building must remain conjectural." What is unclear for Lipschits is whether the pilgrimage to the site was prevented by Babylonians or not.

sections in the current chapter demonstrate that besides the temple, the people's and nature's space were also in a poor state.

3.3 The People's Physical Space

In the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus, concern with the temple as God's space is additionally intertwined and mutually connected with the description of two other types of physical space: the people's space and nature's space. This section will focus on the former and the next one on the latter. It is important to mention that when dealing with the people's space, the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus primarily focuses on the city of Jerusalem, but it also mentions other places in Yehud and even broader, outside the Persian province.

3.3.1 The People's Physical Space in Haggai

In the book of Haggai, the people's physical space is mentioned almost exclusively in the context of making a sharp distinction between God's and humanity's physical space. References to the physical aspect of the people's space that are found in this book are outlined in the table below.

Haggai	People's Physical Space	Markers
Hag 1:4	בבתיכם סְפוּנִים In your panelled houses	PhS; PhM
Hag 1:9	יען בֵּיתִי אשר־הוא חָרֵב ואתם רצים איש לְבֵיתוֹ Because of my house which itself (lies) desolate, while all of you hurry off to your own house	PhS

Table 3. People's Physical Space in the Book of Haggai

In the book of Haggai, only the term בית ("house") is used to describe humanity's physical space. [49] The term is used three times, once in Hag 1:4 and two times in Hag 1:9. In this way, even though the people's physical space plays an important role in the book of Haggai, it has not deserved the amount of attention that God's physical space received.[50] It is these two passages that refer to the physical aspect of the people's space that are analyzed in the paragraphs below.

The passage which is most revealing about the state of the people's houses is Hag 1:4. In the context of a comparison of Yahweh's house to the people's houses, the state of the latter is labeled as "panelled" (סְפוּנִים).[51] The Qal passive participle of סָפַן can be translated in two different ways: either as "panelled" or as "covered."[52] Kessler correctly observed that different translations of the term lead to quite a different understanding of the physical state of the people's homes: the former points to their luxurious nature, and the latter, to the fact that they had adequate roofing.[53] In order to determine which of these two meanings is intended in the text, one should ask which rendering better fits the current context of the author's evident aim to emphasize rhetorically[54] the contrast

[49] The term *barn* (מגורה) that is used in Hag 2:19 also refers to people's space, but no markers for the physical aspect of space are found in that passage. Thus, the passage will be examined in the next chapter of the present work which deals with ideological and lived aspects of people's space.

[50] As was displayed in the table above, my study shows that the author directly refers to God's place nine times and to humanity's place only three times.

[51] This element of comparison that is present in this verse is correctly noticed by a number of scholars. See for example, Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 48; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 23–24; Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 128–30; Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 87; and Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 43–45.

[52] *DCH* §6:182; BDB, 706. Contra HALOT 764–65. Among others, the former view ("panelled") is supported by Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration*, 155; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 48; Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 19; and Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 89; and the latter ("covered"), by Steck, "Zu Haggai 1:2–11," 362; Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 40; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 24; Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 58–59; Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 128; and Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 44.

[53] Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 128.

[54] For an excellent appraisal of different rhetorical strategies employed in the book of Haggai, see Boda, "Haggai: Master Rhetorician," 298–303. See also, Assis, "Composition, Rhetoric, and Theology," 6–

between the state of Yahweh's and the people's houses. While the latter translation ("covered") emphasizes the contrast between the people's and God's place and alludes to the scenario where the people's homes are covered and Jerusalem's temple is not,[55] it is the former translation ("panelled") which creates a more efficient and sharper contrast between the people's and Yahweh's place.[56]

This function of the Qal passive participle of סָפַן to describe the people's panelled houses is also more suitable in the context of the prophet's critique of their unwise decisions from the past which brought economic hardship on them. The detailed description of the poor economic circumstances should not be taken as a reason to justify the people's negligence of the state of Yahweh's house nor to exclude the possibility that houses were panelled and luxurious. If that was the case, Haggai's critique of the people's actions and wrong priorities by the recurrence of the phrase "set your hearts on your ways" (שִׂימוּ לִבְבְכֶם עַל־דַּרְכֵיכֶם [Hag 1:5, 7; 2:15, 18]) would not be reasonable. Rather, it is likely that their prioritizing of their houses and negligence towards the temple caused an economic crisis and not vice versa. This is, again, in line with the description of the luxurious state of the people's houses.

The description of the physical state of the people's houses continues in Hag 1:9, a verse which is closely connected with Hag 1:4. Even though some scholars argue that

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14; Barker, *Disputed Temple*, 139–250; Wendland, "The Structure, Style, Sense 1"; and Wendland, "The Structure, Style, Sense 2."

[55] See, for example, Jacobs (*Haggai and Malachi*, 44) who suggested that the comparison between people's houses and God's house should be understood as the contrast between "finished houses ready to be occupied and an unfinished house not yet constructed."

[56] Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration*, 155; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 44; Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 89. Contra Steck, "Zu Haggai 1:2–11," 362, and Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 128), who took economic hardship as a reason for their interpretation that the people's houses were described, not as luxurious, but rather, as covered. As it will be shown in this research, I argue that economic hardship should be understood as a consequence of people's decision to build their houses and not a reason for not building Yahweh's house.

the word בית ("home") that is mentioned in the first half of v. 9 refers to Yahweh's home, that can hardly be accepted as the correct interpretation of this verse.[57] Rather, the home which is mentioned in the context of agricultural activities described in Hag 1:4–7 and 9 refers to the place where people bring their produce.[58] First, the people found that their expectations were not fulfilled, and second, in addition to that disappointment, whatever they brought to their home, "I (Yahweh) blew [it] away" (ונפחתי בו יען).[59] Kessler correctly noted that the idea here is that whatever was gained and brought home was blown away by Yahweh.[60] Again, as was the case in Hag 1:4, a comparison is made between Yahweh's house and the people's house, but this time the purpose of the contrast is to explain the action of Yahweh.[61] It is because of Yahweh's house, which is situated in the very center of a chiasm found in Hag 1:9 (A: the people's house—B: Yahweh's house—A': the people's house), and which is described as חרב ("desolated"), that Yahweh blew away their produce.

In sum, this short examination of references to the physical aspect of the people's space in the book of Haggai shows that even though the people's space was destroyed in the Babylonian invasion at the beginning of the sixth century, it was at the end of the sixth century that the process of the restoration of the people's space began. This could be seen from the references to the people's space in the book of Haggai in which the prophet

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[57] See also Steck, "Zu Haggai 1:2–11," 370; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 52; Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration*, 158; and Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 57. Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 52) explained that the term must refer to the people's houses because the temple had not been rebuilt yet. Even though I agree with this translation of the verse, I do not build on the same grounds as Petersen. That is, the fact that the temple was desolate does not necessarily mean that the ritual activities on the site ceased. For a brief explanation of different ways the term *house* in this verse can be interpreted, see Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 137.

[58] Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 137.

[59] Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 56–58.

[60] Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 137.

[61] For the thorough analysis of the meaning of blowing away, see Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 57–58.

critiqued the people for prioritizing their own houses over the house of God which remained desolate. However, it would be wrong to assert that the people's space was fully restored by the time of Haggai and Zechariah. The examination of Zech 1–8 and archaeological findings below will suggest the opposite.

3.3.2 People's Physical Space in Zechariah 1–8

Zechariah 1–8 provides a basic description of the people's physical space that serves as a backdrop against which Zechariah developed the portrayal of the ideological and lived aspect of the people's space that is the primary focus of this section of the book. This is one of the reasons why passages where the people's space is described usually lack specific material details that are otherwise mentioned in the book of Haggai. Namely, the portrayal of physical space in Zech 1–8 actually lists different types of physical space in the background. However, it will be shown in the study of ideological space that this outline of the physical aspect of the people's space is done in a very careful way that conveys an important ideological message. References to the physical aspect of the people's space that are found in Zech 1–8 are outlined in the table below.

Zechariah	People's Space	Markers
Zech 1:16	וקוה ינטה על־ירושלם a measuring line will be stretched over Jerusalem	PhS
Zech 2:2[1:19]	אלה הקרנות אשר זרו את־יהודה את־ישראל וירושלם these are the horns that have scattered Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem	PhS
Zech 2:6[2]	למד את־ירושלם לראות כמה־רחבה וכמה ארכה to measure Jerusalem and to see what is its width and what is its length	PhM; PhS
Zech 2:10[6]	כי כארבע רוחות השמים פרשתי אתכם for I have scattered you like the four winds of the heavens	PhS

Zech 2:11[7]	יושבת בת־בבל you who dwell in the daughter of Babylon	PhS

Table 4. People's Physical Space in Zechariah 1–8

There are a number of different terms[62] that are used in Zech 1–8 to describe the people's space, portraying different categories of space that could be distributed on a scale from universal to local.[63] The distribution of physical spatiality references can also be represented by the following graph:

Figure 1. Distribution of Physical Spatiality References

[62] These terms, listed from universal to local, are הארץ (Zech 1:10, 11 [2X]; 2:4, 10; 3:9; 4:10, 14; 5:3, 6, 9, 11; 6:5, 6 [2X], 7 [3X], 8 [2X]; the related phrase כל־הארץ occurs in Zech 1:11; 4:10, 14; 5:3, 6; 6:5); בת־בבל (2:11; 6:10); בארץ שנער (Zech 5:11); ארץ צפון (Zech 2:10; 6:6, 8 (2X)); ארץ התימן (Zech 6:6); יהודה (Zech 2:2, 4, 16); ארץ יהודה (Zech 2:4); אדמת הקדש (Zech 2:16); ישראל (Zech 2:2); ציון (1:14, 17: 2:11, 14); ערי (Zech 1:12, 17); ירושלם (Zech 1:12, 14, 16 (2x), 17; 2:2, 6, 8, 16; 3:2); and בית (Zech 5:4 (3x); 5:11; 6:10).

[63] For an insightful discussion on the relationship and tension that exists between universal and local space, see Conrad (*Zechariah*, 21–22) who argued that Yahweh, who is portrayed as "master of the whole earth," localized his rule in Jerusalem, which then became the center of the world. Thus, Conrad suggested that the universalistic imagery in the opening visionary scenes should be understood in the context of the local construction of the temple in Jerusalem, which is the author's focus. While I agree with Conrad that Zechariah intended to situate what was happening at the local level in the context of a universal setting, the opposite is also true: what happens at the level of universe is affected by the local rebuilding of the temple. For another helpful and critical evaluation of Conrad's understanding of the relationship between the universal and the local, see Mills, *Urban Imagination*, 155.

As can be seen from the graph above, the references to the people's physical spatiality can be distributed on the scale from universal to local. That is, they can be classified into four categories: universal, national, urban, and local.

3.3.2.1 The People's Universal Physical Space

In the description of human space in Zech 1–8, the broadest spatial category that the prophet refers to is universal space. Of all the spatial terms used in Zech 1–8, the term, הארץ ("the earth"), carries the most universal sense. It is evident that this term can refer universally to all the earth or can be more limited to a particular territory.[64] The term is used twenty-six times in Zech 1–8 (Zech 1:10, 11[2x]; 2:4, 10; 3:9; 4:10, 14; 5:3, 6, 9, 11; 6:5, 6[2x], 7[3x], 8[2x]; 7:5, 14[2x]; 8:7[2x], 12), six times as part of the phrase כל־הארץ ("all the earth"). It is not surprising that in the cases when the term הארץ ("the earth") refers to the whole earth, the longer phrase כל־הארץ ("all the earth"), is used (Zech 1:11; 4:10, 14; 5:3, 6; and 6:5), with the exception of Zech 5:3 and 6, where the phrase is used in a more limited sense.[65]

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[64] Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 130) furthermore, explained that when the term הארץ is used more restrictively to refer to a particular territory, it refers to the land of Judah (2:4[1:21]), the land of the north (2:10[6]); 6:6, 8[2x]), the land of the south (6:6), "that land" (3:9), and the land of Shinar (5:11).

It is important to note that even when the term carries the most universal sense one has to keep in mind that the earth as we know it today was not known to the biblical authors and thus, the term must refer to "the whole earth" that was known to them.

[65] Wolters (*Zechariah*, 57) carefully noted that the decision about whether the phrase כל־הארץ should be translated as referring to "the world at large" or to a specific "territory" should be made based on the context in which the phrase occurs. Contra Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 249) and Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 131) who, on the basis of the use of כל־הארץ in Zech 1:11; 4:10, 14 and 6:5, where this phrase is clearly used in the universal sense, claimed that the two references to "all the earth" in chapter 5 should also be understood in the universal sense. My investigation of the use of this phrase in Zech 5 shows that it is used in the sixth and the seventh vision report in a more limited sense. That the cleansing has not been done on the territory of the whole earth is clear from the fact that the impurity is transferred to the land of Shinar. Thus, in order for one territory to be cleansed, the other must have been defiled, which eliminates the option of cleansing the whole earth. In addition, in light of the close connections between the fifth and sixth vision reports, the cleansing of the land mentioned in Zech 3:9—which is closely associated to the imagery of the Day of Atonement and, therefore, limited to the territory where God's people lived—should be understood as the same cleansing described in Zech 5.

It must be said that the analysis of the distribution of references to humanity's universal place, given primarily in the first, fifth, and eighth vision reports, shows that they do not address the question of the physical state of the universal place (PhS markers are not present); neither do they deal with the physical materials of which those universal places are composed (no PhM markers are found).[66] Thus, these references to the people's universal space will be examined in more detail in chapter 6 which deals with the ideological and lived aspect of the people's space in the book of Zechariah.

3.3.2.2 The People's National Physical Space

The next spatial level found on the scale from universal to local is national physical space, which is narrower than universal space, but is still broader than urban and local space. As has been already said, the term **הארץ** ("the earth") is not only used in a universal sense to refer to the whole earth, but is also used in a more limited sense to designate a specific territory.[67] In this sense the term **הארץ** ("the land") occurs as part of the phrases **ארץ יהודה** ("the land of Judah" [Zech 2:4]), **ארץ צפון** ("the land of the north" [Zech 2:10; 6:6, 8(2X)]), **הארץ־ההיא** ("this land" [Zech 3:9]), **ארץ שנער** ("the land of Shinar" [Zech 5:11]), and **ארץ התימן** ("the land of the south" [Zech 6:6]). It must also be said that in Zech 1–8, the term **הארץ** ("the land") is used along with other terms such as **הגוים** ("nations" [Zech 1:15; 2:4, 12, 15]); **יהודה** ("Judah" [Zech 2:2, 4, 16]); **ישראל** ("Israel" [Zech 2:2]); **אדמת הקדש** ("the holy land" [Zech 2:16]); **שנער** ("Shinar" [Zech 5:11]); and **בבל** ("Babel" [Zech 6:10]), which also refer to specific

[66] Three potential verses where references to people's universal space may be considered as a reference to the physical aspect of people's space are Zech 1:10–11, 12. In these verses, PhS markers are found ("all the earth was living *peacefully*" [v. 11], an allusion to peace, and "Jerusalem and the cities of Judah with which you have been indignant these seventy years" [v. 12], a reference to the destruction of Jerusalem and Judah), but they are clearly used in the context of an ideological description.

[67] Wolters, *Zechariah*, 57.

political territories.[68] Thus, besides the whole earth as a universal place, the author of Zech 1–8 also refers to Babylon, Egypt, Israel, and Judah as specific geographic territories that belong to particular political entities.[69]

An analysis of the distribution of references to people's national place shows that Zech 1–8 is mainly concerned with Babylon.[70] The geographic territory of Babylon is designated by the terms ארץ צפון ("the land of the north" [Zech 2:10(6); 6:6, 8(2X)]), ארץ שנער ("the land of Shinar" [Zech 5:11]), and בבל ("Babel" [Zech 6:10]).[71] While the phrases בבל ("Babel") and ארץ שנער ("the land of Shinar") are explicit references to the geographical territory of the land of Babylon, the phrase ארץ צפון ("the land of the north") refers to the same territory in a more implicit way.

As can be seen from the table above, Zech 1–8 refers to the physical aspect of Babylon in at least one verse. The phrase ארץ צפון ("the land of the north") that is used in Zech 2:10[6] refers to Babylon in a less explicit way (Zech 2:10[6]; 6:6, 8) than the phrases בת־בבל (the daughter of Babylon)—which will be examined in the next section—and ארץ שנער ("the land of Shinar").[72] Petersen explained that even though

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[68] The terms are listed in chronological, not geographical order.

[69] For the treatment of Assyria and Babylon in the Haggai–Malachi, see Boda, "Creating and Bridging the Gap," 219–21. See also, Hagedorn ("Die Perser im Zwölfprophetenbuch," 590–605) who searched for the references to Persia in the Book of the Twelve and focused primarily on Hab 1:5–11; Zech 1:7–17; and Mal 1:8b. My treatment of the first vision report shows that, even though one can find allusions to the Persian empire in it, the main focus of the vision report is on the spiritual realm in which Yahweh dwells and the interrelationship between that and the earthly realm.

[70] The phrase ארץ התימן (the land of the south [Zech 6:6]) which probably refers to Egypt (see discussion in chapter 6) is not included in this chapter since it is exclusively used in the ideological context, and PhM and PhS markers are not found in the passage where that phrase occurs.

[71] For the discussion on the phrase, בת־בבל ("the daughter of Babylon" [Zech 2:11]), see the following section dealing with the people's urban and local physical space.

[72] One of the first scholars who associated the phrase ארץ צפון with Babylon was Hoonacker, *Les douze Petits Prophètes*, 628. See also, Petterson, *Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi*, 178 and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 375–76. Contra Bič, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*, 65; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 325; and Tiemeyer (*Zechariah and His Visions*, 262–64) who objected that Babylon was destroyed at that time and, therefore, was not alluded to. Tiemeyer, for instance, argued for a mythological understanding of both the North and the South country. My interpretation of Zech 6:6 is based on the clear

Babylon was to the east of Judah and not to the north, "north" functions here as "a geographic convention" for Babylon because "one needed to travel north through Syria to reach Mesopotamia."[73] This is also confirmed by the use of this term elsewhere in the OT, and especially in the book of Jeremiah, where this phrase is often used to refer to Babylon (Jer 3:18; 6:22; 10:22; 16:15; 23:8; 31:8; 46:10; 50:9).[74] In Zech 2:10[6], the phrase is used as the place where captives are held and from which they should flee.[75] It is important to mention that the book of Zechariah does not mention a specific location to which the people of Judah were exiled, and thus the term should be understood as a general reference to the territory of the whole Babylonian empire.[76]

Finally, it is obvious that one of the major spatial concerns in Zech 1–8 is the province of Yehud. There is one reference to the territory of the northern kingdom, Israel, and six references to the land of the southern kingdom, Judah, in this section of the book of Zechariah: explicit references include ישראל ("Israel" [Zech 2:2(1:19)]), יהודה ("Judah" [Zech 2:2(1:19), 4(1:21), 16(12)]), and ארץ יהודה ("the land of Judah" [Zech 2:4(1:21)]), while implicit references are אדמת הקדש ("the holy land" [Zech 2:16 (14)]) and הארץ־ההיא ("this land" [Zech 3:9]). The physical aspect of space is most explicitly emphasized in Zech 2:2[1:19]. In this verse, the term ישראל ("Israel"), occurs in its last clause, which is composed of the verb זרה ("scatter") and three objects את־יהודה את־ ישראל וירושלם ("Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem"). In this context, the term ישראל

allusions to Babylon in previous passages (see my analysis of references to Babylon above), especially in Zech 2:10–17[6–13]. It is very likely that this phrase is meant to be understood in the context of Zech 1–6 as a whole. For a helpful survey of different interpretation of this phrase, see Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 262–64.

[73] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 175.

[74] Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 587/6; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 192, 375.

[75] Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 389) listed the following texts in order to prove this point: 2 Kgs 24:15, 16; Jer 28:6; 29:1, 4, 16, 20, 31; Ezek 1:1; 3:11, 15; 11:24, 25; 12:3, 4, 7, 11; 25:3.

[76] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 389.

("Israel") is used along with the term יהודה ("Judah") in the context of scattering the people who lived in those territories and clearly refers to the northern kingdom of Israel.[77] It is important to note that the way these references are used in Zech 1–6 places an accent on the physical space itself, even though the major theme is the scattering of the people.[78] This is especially evident in the use of the phrase ארץ יהודה ("the land of Judah" [Zech 2:4(1:21)]), which again refers to the territory of the southern kingdom, Judah, as was the case in Zech 2:2[1:19]. The phrase is also found in Zech 2:16[12], which is packed with the spatial terms יהודה ("Judah"), אדמת הקדש ("the holy land"), and ירושלם ("Jerusalem").

The above analysis of the people's national space in Zech 1–8 shows that only a few references to this type of space that are found in this section of the book of Zechariah reveal its physical aspect. When that is the case, national space is associated with the scattering of the people of God from their territory and their forced migration to the territory of Babylon. This observation will be confirmed in the section dealing with Lipschits's findings about demographic and geopolitical processes from the sixth century.

3.3.2.3 The People's Urban and Local Physical Space

On the opposite side from universal space, the prophet Zechariah described urban and local space. There are only five different terms that are used to describe so-called urban and local space: ירושלם ("Jerusalem" [Zech 1:12, 14, 16(2X), 17; 2:2(1:19), 6(2), 8(4), 16(12); 3:2]); ציון ("Zion" [Zech 1:14, 17; 2:11(7), 14(10)]); בת־בבל (the daughter of

[77] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 163; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 111. On the other hand, the Southern kingdom of Judah is mentioned directly in Zech 2:2[1:19], 4[1:21], 16[12].

[78] Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 166) noticed that even though the main subject of the discussion in these passages was people, the emphasis was placed on "the physical structures of Jerusalem and Judah, rather than the people."

Babylon [Zech 2:11(7)]); עיר (“city” [Zech 1:12, 17]); and בית (“house” [Zech 6:10]).[79] Of these five terms, the phrase ערי יהודה (“the cities of Judah” [Zech 1:12, 17]) refers to the broadest territory; the term בית (“house”) to the narrowest; and terms ירושלם (“Jerusalem”), ציון (“Zion”), and בת־בבל (“the daughter of Babylon”), to the territory which can be classified between these two. The best example of this movement from a broader to a narrower context within urban and local physical space and vice versa is seen in Zech 1:12 and 17. Whereas, the author in Zech 1:12 went from the narrower and more limited description of Jerusalem to the broader portrayal of the cities of Judah, the pattern is different in v. 17, where the author first described the cities and then narrowed the focus to Zion and Jerusalem, specifically.[80]

The author inevitably focused the most on Jerusalem. Among other factors, this can be seen from the mere distribution of this term in Zech 1–8. Compared to other spatial terms for urban and local territories, this term is used most often, specifically 17 times in total (Zech 1:12, 14, 16(2X), 17; 2:2[1:19], 6[2], 8[4], 16[12]; 3:2; 7:7; 8:3[2x], 4, 8, 15, 22). The author was predominantly concerned with geography, that is with Jerusalem’s infrastructure and the physical aspect of its space in these visions.[81] This

[79] The term ציון, which appears four times (Zech 1:14, 17; 2:11[7], 14[11]) in this section of the book of Zechariah and refers to the city of Jerusalem, provides its ideological portrayal. Thus, the term will be examined more in chapter 6 dealing with the ideological space of Jerusalem. For the different issues related to the concept of Zion, see Ollenburger, *Zion, the City of the Great King*, 145–62; Hess and Wenham, eds., *Zion, City of Our God*; Fuller Dow, *Images of Zion*; Tiemeyer, *For the Comfort of Zion*; Dearman, “Daughter Zion”; and Boda et al., eds., *Daughter Zion.* For a brief overview of the issues around this concept, see Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 147–48. In other places where the term *house* is used, the term refers either to God’s physical or God’s lived space.

[80] Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 153) also noticed this pattern in Zech 1:16 and explained that “whereas 1:16 focuses on the more limited context of the temple before shifting to the broader context of Jerusalem, 1:17 begins with the broader context of the cities of Judah before narrowing the focus to the city.”

This movement from a broader to a narrower space will be elaborated in more detail in chapter 6 dealing with the ideological spatiality in Zechariah 1–6. It can be said at this point that this description refers to expansion of Yahweh’s holiness beyond the temple to the city of Jerusalem and to an even broader context.

[81] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 135.

physical aspect of Jerusalem's space is emphasized especially in Zech 1:16 where this city is mentioned in the context of the phrases "a measuring line (which) will be stretched over Jerusalem" (וקוה ינטה על־ירושלם) and "my (Yahweh's) house (that) will be built in it" (ביתי יבנה בה).[82] The author's concern for the physical aspect of Jerusalem is brought up again in Zech 2:6[2] where the main issue is "what[83] is its (Jerusalem's) width and what is its length" (כמה־רחבה וכמהארכה), and in Zech 2:8[4], where Jerusalem is compared to פרזות ("open country"[84]).[85] All these passages clearly refer to the fact that Jerusalem was in a state requiring restoration. The only clear reference to Jerusalem that is not used in a territorial sense occurs in Zech 2:2[1:19] and focuses on demographics.[86]

Besides Jerusalem, the author also mentioned the phrase בת־בבל ("the daughter of Babylon" [Zech 2:11(7)]), which refers to the city of Babylon. The phrase is used elsewhere only four times in the whole OT (Jer 50:42; 51:33; Ps 137:8; and Isa 47:1).[87] Wolters correctly asserted that regardless of whether this phrase is understood as an appositional genitive or as a literary metaphor, it is clear that בת ("daughter") is

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[82] Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 156) correctly asserted that the main emphasis in Zech 1:16 is the reconstruction of the temple, even though the questions of who would build it and how it would be built are not answered.

[83] The phrase כמה introduces interrogative sentences. For more details, see IBHS §18.3.c.

[84] The word functions here as the indirect accusative that is subordinated to the verb and "indicates a determination of the verbal predicate," Joüon §126.e. Davidson labeled it "accusative of specification," which usually appears as an adjective or a participle, but here, it is a noun, Davidson, *Syntax of the Hebrew* Language¸ 46. For the translation, "open country," see HALOT, 965; *DCH* §6:761.

[85] There are a number of scholars who connect this vision with the historical circumstances and people's endeavors to rebuild the city. While on the one hand, Baldwin interpreted these passages as mainly concerned with the building of the walls (Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 106), Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 109) on the other hand, interpreted the action of measuring as plans to rebuild the temple. For the critique of these two views, see Tiemeyer (*Zechariah and His Visions,* 109) who argued that it was questionable whether Zech 2:5–9 reflected reality and if Ezra's portrayal of the situation in Yehud was reliable. My interpretation of this vision report is based on its relevance for the historical circumstances of that time, most particularly with respect to the physical state of Jerusalem, which was destroyed in 587/6 BCE.

[86] Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 137) explained that the terms Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem used in Zech 2:2[1:19] refer to the totality of God's people from the northern and the southern kingdoms who were scattered.

[87] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 176.

associated with Babylon as a geographical location.[88] However, the question remains whether Babylon refers to the city or to the whole land.[89] Keeping in mind that the daughter of Zion is a reference to the city of Jerusalem, it is likely that the same is true for the daughter of Babylon, namely that it refers to the city of Babylon.[90] The fact that the phrase בת־בבל ("the daughter of Babylon") that occurs in Zech 2:11[7] is parallel to the phrase ארץ צפון ("the land of the north") in Zech 2:10[6]—which likely refers to the whole territory of Babylon—does not mean that these two phrases should be equated. Rather, the author moved from the broader territory (the land of Babylon) in Zech 2:10[6] to the narrower one in Zech 2:11[7] (the city of Babylon), a feature that is also evident in the rest of Zech 1–6 (e.g., Zech 1:12 and 17).[91] In both verses, the prophet exhorted the

[88] Wolters, *Zechariah*, 57. For the debate around this phrase and the question of whether it should be rendered as an appositional genitive, a genitive of association, or as a literary metaphor, see GKC §128*k*; Joüon §129f; Stinespring, "No Daughter of Zion"; Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Syntagma of Bat"; Floyd, "Welcome Back"; Dearman, "Daughter Zion"; and Floyd, "The Daughter of Zion Goes Fishing."

[89] See Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 194) who interpreted the phrase as standing either as a name of a land or as a name of a city.

[90] I am aware that this interpretation does not come without challenges. See, for example, Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 176) who offered two arguments for a broader interpretation of the use of this phrase in Zech 2:11[7]: first, even though the group that is called to escape is not specifically identified, an imperative call to flee likely targets the exilic community as a whole and not only those who are located in the city of Babylon. Second, the phrase is paralleled with ארץ צפון, which will be examined below and which likely refers to a geographical territory beyond the city itself. See also, Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 164. Besides arguments that are mentioned above, it must be mentioned that Zechariah drew from Jeremiah and his seventy-year prophecy, which suggests that migration was associated with the city of Babylon (see for instance, Jer 29:7).

[91] This feature of the author to move from broader to narrower and vice versa can also be noted at the level of Zech 1–6. See, for example, Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, lvi) who suggested that the visions generally moved from universal (God's omnipresence [vision 1]) to international (Judah, the empires [vision 2]) to national (Jerusalem's territory [vision 3]) to the temple (vision 4) and back to national (self-rule of Yehud [vision 5]), international (Yehud, Persia [vision 6]), and universal (God's omnipresence [vision 7]). As can be noted, they exclude the vision reported in Zech 3:1–7 from the rest of night visions. Although I see a *general* movement from broader to narrower space in Zech 1–6, this movement is not as clear-cut as Meyers and Meyers described it. Besides the fact that in the sections which focus on universal space there are a lot of passages that portray local space and vice versa, a major objection against the suggestion mentioned above would be that Zech 3–4 describes heavenly and universal scenes. Thus, if one wanted to generalize the movement, it would be from universal (vision 1) to national and local (visions 2–3), to universal (visions 4–5), and then back to national and local (visions 6–7), and to universal (vision 8).

people to leave that place and begin the return migration. This topic will be discussed in the section dealing with ideological space.

3.3.3 Archaeological Findings about People's Physical Space

In contrast to the lack of archaeological findings about the physical state of the temple after its destruction in 587/6 BCE, archaeological discoveries related to the physical state of the city of Jerusalem, its environs, and the other cities throughout the province are abundant. Archaeological excavations led by Kenyon, Avigad, and Yigal Shiloh on the territory of Jerusalem and those led by Tufnell, Ussishkin, Aharoni, Beit-Arieh, and others outside Jerusalem led to the conclusion that there are clear signs of serious destruction that happened at the beginning of the sixth century BCE in the territory of whole province, with the exception of its northern parts. A brief summary of some of aforementioned archaeological excavations related to the city of Jerusalem and territories located west, south, east, and north of it that are relevant for later examination of both ideological and lived aspects of people's space are described below.[92]

3.3.3.1 City of Jerusalem With Its Environs

One of the most significant archaeological discoveries in the territory of the city of Jerusalem was done by Kathleen Kenyon who primarily focused on the eastern slope of the city of David, but also did some significant work on the western hill. Kenyon

[92] This order of the presentation of archaeological findings is based on Lipschits's suggestion (*The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*, 206–10) that the whole province was composed of five geographical units: the eastern strip (southern part of the Jordan alley and western region of the Dead Sea), the western strip (northern part of the Shephelah), the highland strip (composed of the highland of Judah), Jerusalem and its environs, and Benjamin's region. The archaeology of the Babylonian and Persian period Yehud, as it relates to people's space, would require a whole new study. For this research, it suffices to delineate some basic archaeological findings related to Jerusalem—which is the main focus of this corpus—as well as to describe briefly the state of affairs in the eastern, western, southern, and northern regions of the kingdom.

discovered a twenty-four-meter-long wall on the eastern side of the city, and her team excavated the tri-partite house in Squares A I–III, both of which show evidence of destruction that happened at the beginning of the sixth century.[93] Kenyon's excavations were followed by the digging led by Avigad and his team who focused on the entire Jewish Quarter (1969–1982). In 1978, they discovered an important part of the city wall and a watchtower or an offset of the wall with important evidence of the destruction that is highly likely related to the Babylonian invasion in 587/6 BCE.[94] The findings of Kenyon and Avigad regarding the destruction of Jerusalem were corroborated by the excavations of Yigal Shiloh (1978–1985) who, along with his team, discovered the "house of Ahiel," the "Burnt Room," and the "House of the Bullae."[95] In the latter two of these three houses, Yigal Shiloh and his team found strong evidence of the destruction that happened at the beginning of the sixth century.[96]

Besides archaeological findings that reveal the destruction of the city of Jerusalem in 587/6 BCE, other excavations, west, south, and east of Jerusalem show that other cities had a similar fate. In the western part of Judah, signs of destruction are evident at a

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[93] Kenyon, *Digging up Jerusalem*, 170. See also the exerpt from the Babylonian Chronicle, COS, 1:468. However, Kenyon (*Jerusalem: Excavating 3000 Years of History*, 105–11) argued that the destruction was not absolute and that some people continued to live in the city and even participate in some ritual activities. This view was later accepted by Barkay, "Excavations at Ketef Hinnom in Jerusalem," 85–106. This suggestion has been the subject of critique by other scholars among whom Lipschits (*The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*, 211) for instance, suggested that archaeological evidence shows "that Jerusalem was destroyed by the Babylonians and was emptied of most of its population." Lipschits, however, slightly modified his view and, in personal conversation with me, said that based on latest discoveries, there was a very small community who continued to live in Jerusalem after its destruction in 587/6 BCE.

[94] Avigad (*Discovering Jerusalem*, 53) described the surface at the foot of the tower as "covered with charred wood, ashes, and soot, among which were found a group of arrowheads, four of iron and one of bronze." See also, Geva ("Western Jerusalem," 199) who similarly asserted that there is "clear evidence of the battle over the walls of Jerusalem that ended with the city's destruction by the Babylonians."

[95] Shiloh, *Excavations at the City of David*, I:18.

[96] The evidence for destruction includes carbonized wood and ash, scores of bronze, iron arrowheads, and a hard state of bullae. For more details, see Shiloh, *Excavations at the City of David*, I:18–19.

number of sites.[97] Some of the most significant archaeological excavations in this area were conducted by J. L. Starkey, David Ussishkin, Barkay, and Y. Eshel who discovered numerous signs of the final destruction of Lachish, all of them related to the invasion of the Babylonian army at the beginning of the sixth century.[98] Similar signs of destruction are also found south of Jerusalem in the highland of Judah, mostly in the area where the Negev forts were located.[99] Some good examples of destruction in this area are sites around Horvat ʻUza where Yohanan Aharoni and later, Beit-Arieh, Cresson, and their teams revealed signs of conflagration and destruction due to military actions that happened at the end of the first temple period.[100] Finally, archaeological excavations at the eastern strip also show clear signs of destruction.[101] Stern showed that this destruction should be associated with the Babylonian army.[102] In contrast to the areas west, south, and east of the city of Jerusalem which were severely destroyed in the Babylonian invasion at the beginning of the sixth century, the northern and central highlands of Judah remained undestroyed and, according to Lipschits and a number of other scholars, it even "flourished during the sixth century BCE."[103] One of a number of settlements where there

[97] Lipschits, "Judah, Jerusalem, and the Temple," 5. See also, Kenyon (*Digging up Jerusalem*, 172) who also agreed that excavations from other sites outside of Jerusalem testified to destruction of a number of other cities throughout the province. For recent studies on the Shephelah region, see Dagan, "The Shephelah During the Period of the Monarchy"; Lipschits and Maeir, eds., *The Shephelah During the Iron Age*; and Coyle, "Late Bronze Iii or Iron Ia?"

[98] For detailed reports, see Ussishkin, "Excavations at Tell Lachish" and Ussishkin, "Excavations at Tel Lachish 2."

[99] Lipschits, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*, 224–32.

[100] Beit-Arieh and Cresson, "Horvat ʻUza," 133.

[101] Lipschits (*The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*, 233) asserted that "many sites (in the eastern strip) that had existed at the end of the Iron Age were no longer occupied in later period." He listed Horvat Shilha; Vered Jericho; Kh. Abu-Tabak, Kh. E-Samrah, and Kh. El-Maqari with additional literature that included excavation reports related to those sites.

[102] Stern (*Material Culture*, 137) explained that the destruction by the Babylonian army is evident from "the piles of ash and charred wood that fell upon the floors, smashing everything."

[103] Lipschits, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*, 237. This view is different from the one promoted by Faust (*Judah in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, 247) who asserted that "the relative continuity in settlement in the sixth century was short lived. While some sites (not all) were not affected by the Babylonian

is abundant archaeological evidence of preservation of life activities after the destruction of Jerusalem is Bethel.[104]

3.3.3.2 Demographic Process in the Sixth Century Judah

The aforementioned archaeological discoveries by Kenyon, Avigad, Shiloh, Ussishkin, Beit-Arieh, Cresson, Kelso, and Stern were recently corroborated by Lipschits's analysis of the demographic and geopolitical processes in the sixth century BCE.[105] Lipschits compared[106] the date and distribution of the *mwsh* seal impressions that were associated with Babylonian rule[107] and the *yhwd* seal impressions that were created during the Persian period.[108] Lipschits's comparison of the distribution of these two types of seal impressions which reveals changes in the settlement locations starting at the beginning of the Persian period is portrayed in the table below.

Name of Site	**No. of *mwsh* Seal Impressions**	**Percent of Total Seal Impressions**	**No. of *yhwd* Seal Impressions**	**Percent of Total Seal Impressions**
Mizpah	30	71.4%	19	4.6%
Gibeon	4	9.5%	0	0%
Jerusalem	4	9.5%	170	41.3%
Ramat-Rahel	1	2.4	194	47.1%

campaigns, the situation probably deteriorated after Gedaliah's assassination. It seems that the region was only slightly better off than other parts of Judah."

[104] For a brief introduction into the archaeology of Bethel, see Gomes, *The Sanctuary of Bethel*, 2–4. See also, Dumbrell, "Role of Bethel in the Biblical Narrative," 65–73; Sinclair, "Bethel Pottery," 70–75; and AEHL, "Bethel"; *HBD*, 115–16.

[105] The analysis of the demographic changes that follows is primarily based on the Lipschits study presented in Lipschits, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*, 210–71.

[106] In this study, Lipschits built on the previous studies of Stern, "Seal-Impressions"; Stern, *Material Culture*; and Zorn et al., "The M(W)ṢH Stamp Impressions."

[107] Zorn et al., "The M(W)ṢH Stamp Impressions," 166–69; Lipschits, "The History of the Benjamine Region,"165–70.

[108] Lipschits, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*, 176. See also, Christoph, "The Yehud Stamped Jar Handles Corpus" on whose work Lipschits built.

Others	3	7.2%	29	7%

Table 5: Comparison of the *yhwd* and *mwsh* Seal Impressions[109]

Based on his analysis of the distribution of the *yhwd* and *mwsh* seal impressions, Lipschits concluded that in the Persian period, "Benjamin lost its importance as an administrative center … and in contrast, Jerusalem reverted to its former importance."[110] This is in line with the archaeological findings presented above, revealing that almost all the territories of Judah except the northern ones were destroyed at the beginning of the sixth century. An analysis of the distribution of seal impressions shows that reconstruction endeavours to renew and populate these territories that were ruined by Babylonian invasion began at the beginning of the post-exilic period.

In addition to the distribution of *yhwd* and *mwsh* seal impressions, Lipschits also analyzed the material culture, the presence of burial caves and farms, as well as a number of occupied sites in order to determine the continuity and discontinuity in demographic changes and settlement patterns between the Babylonian and Persian periods. He evaluated the work of a number of scholars among whom the most prominent were Carter,[111] Barkay,[112] Dagan,[113] Finkelstein,[114] and Ofer[115] who did comprehensive surveys of different regions of Judah. Based on the analysis of studies previously mentioned, Lipschits made his own estimation of populations in occupied areas in terms of settled dunams. Lipschits's estimations are provided in the table below:

[109] Lipschits, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*, 180.
[110] Lipschits, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*, 180.
[111] Carter, *The Emergence of Yehud*.
[112] Barkay, "Northern and Western Jerusalem."
[113] Dagan, "The Shephelah During the Period of the Monarchy."
[114] Finkelstein, "The Archaeology."
[115] Ofer, "The Highland of Judah."

Region	Added margin of error	Settled dunams, end of Iron Age	Estimated population, end of Iron age	Settled dunams, Persian period	Estimated population, Persian period
Benjamin	None	1,150	28,750	500	12,500
Jerusalem environs	None	1,000	25,000	110	2,750
Northern Judean hills	30%	400	10,000	390	9,750
Southern Judean hills	30%	390	9,750	110	Not included in province
The Shephelah	30%	1,170	29,250	390/195	4,875
Beer-Sheba-Arad Valleys	None	120	3,000	30	Not included in province
Eastern strip	None	90	2,250	10	250
Total		**4,320**	**108,000**	**1,345**	**30,125**

Table 6: Comparison of Settled Area and Estimate of Total Population at the End of the Iron Age and in the Persian Period by Region[116]

Lipschits concluded his study of demographic changes and settlement patterns by the assertion that the Babylonian occupation of Judah "brought about complete destruction in Jerusalem and its immediate environs."[117] The people who lived in this region were deported to Babylon, and the region was almost empty until the end of the sixth century and the beginning of Persian rule. In contrast, the northern regions were not destroyed, and the people remained there during the period of Babylonian captivity. He concluded that "at the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth centuries BCE there was a notable dwindling of settlements (particularly in the Benjamin region) and there is no indication

[116] This is a modified table that combines data provided in two separate tables made by Lipschits. See further, Lipschits, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*, 269–70.

[117] Lipschits, *The Fall of Jerusalem*, 237.

whatsoever of either a population increase or any change in settlement pattern, apart from a renewal of settlement in Jerusalem and its environs."[118]

3.3.4 Summary

The previous section of this chapter dealt with the physical aspect of the people's space. While Haggai testified that the first wave of the return migration resulted in some houses being renewed and even made luxurious, Zech 1–8 balances this description and portrays the people's space as being still in need of restoration. Also, Haggai's description of the physical aspect of the people's space has been broadened by Zech 1–8 from the local to the universal level. When dealing with national space, Zech 1–8 is mainly concerned with Babylon as a geographical location where captives are held, but this passage also deals with the territory of Judah and Israel in the context of the description of space from which God's people are scattered. Findings of the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus are corroborated by a review of relevant archaeological findings that testify about the destruction of the Jerusalem as well as western, southern, and eastern regions of the kingdom. In contrast to these areas of Judah, the northern parts of the kingdom remained undestroyed.

3.4 Nature's Physical Space

In the last section of this chapter dealing with the physical aspect of the space of early post-exilic Yehud, the focus moves from God's and the people's space to nature's space. Although a reader with a Western mindset may assume that there is a clear distinction between God's and the people's space on the one hand and nature's space on the other,

[118] Lipschits, *The Fall of Jerusalem*, 270–71.

the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus describes God's, the people's, and nature's space as mutually connected and interdependent. This connection will be especially evident in the study of the ideological and lived aspect of spaces in chapters 4 (Haggai), 6 (Zech 1–6), and 8 (Zech 7–8). Before that can be done, however, this section has to provide a general overview of the agricultural land during the Achaemenid period, which serves as a necessary background for the study of the ideological and lived space mentioned above.

3.4.1 Nature's Physical Space in Haggai

Besides God's and the people's physical space, the book of Haggai also describes the physical aspect of nature's space. Haggai's references to the physical aspects of nature's space are outlined in the table below.

Haggai	Nature's Physical Space	Markers
Hag 1:6	זרעתם הרבה והבא מעט you have sown much, but harvested little	PhM, PhS
Hag 1:8	עלו ההר והבאתם עץ go up to the mountain and bring wood	PhM
Hag 1:10	בלאו שמים מטל והארץ בלאה יבולה the heavens have withheld the dew and the land has withheld its produce	PhS
Hag 1:11	ואקרא חרב על־הארץ ועל־ההרים ועל־הדגן ועל־התירוש ועל־היצהר ועל אשר תוציא האדמה ועל־האדם ועל־הבהמה And I called for a drought upon the field, upon the hills, upon the grain, upon the new wine, upon the unmanufactured oil, upon whatever the arable ground produces, upon people, and upon animal	PhM; PhS
Hag 2:16	מהיותם בא אל־ערמת עשרים והיתה עשרה בא אל־היקב לחשף חמשים פורה והיתה עשרים From that time, when one came to a heap of twenty, but there were ten. When one came to the wine vat to draw out fifty measures, but there were twenty.	PhM; PhS
Hag 2:17	הכיתי אתכם בשדפון ובירקון ובברד את כל־מעשה ידיכם	PhS

	I struck you and all the works of your hands with blight and mildew and hail	
Hag 2:19	העוד הזרע במגורה ועד־הגפן והתאנה והרמון ועץ הזית לא נשא Is seed still in the barn? And have even the vine, the fig, pomegranate, and olive tree not yielded (fruit)?	PhS

Table 7. Nature's Physical Space in the Book of Haggai

There are six important references to the natural world. Of these, four are used primarily in the context of a description of physical space: agricultural land (זרע ["sow"] and בוא ["reap"] [Hag 1:6]); "hill" (ההר [Hag 1:8; 1:11]); "the heavens and the earth" (שמים והארץ [Hag 1:10]); and "the field[119] [and upon] the hills … and the arable ground" (האדמה … הארץ ועל־ההרים [Hag 1:11]). It must be said that even though the references to "the heavens and the earth, the sea and the dry land" (את־השמים ואת־ הארץ ואת־הים ואת־החרבה [Hag 2:6, 21]) denote nature's space, they are primarily classified as ideological space because they are used in the context of future promises and they lack PhS and PhM markers. As such, these references will be examined in the next chapter dealing with ideological spatiality.

Although the word "land" is not explicitly mentioned in Hag 1:6 within the phrase "you have sown much" (זרעתם הרבה), there is an implicit allusion here to agricultural fields.[120] The land is alluded to in the context of the portrayal of a dysfunctional ecosystem which starts in Hag 1:6 and continues in vv. 9–11. People's expectations are not fulfilled, since they are described with the words "you have sown much but harvested

[119] The noun ארץ usually means *land*, *territory*, *country*, or *piece of ground* (HALOT, 90–91). However, the word occurs in this context along with חרב and thus, *field*.

[120] See for instance, Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 25–27) who explained that the verb זרע is used most of the time for agricultural activities related to field crops and concluded that in the context of this verse, "the introductory clause mentioning sowing must [therefore] have a more extended meaning, with the basic agrarian chore of seeding a field representing all tasks undertaken to secure a food supply." See also Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 49–50; Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 131–33; Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 90–91; and Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 50–51. They all connected activities described in this verse as agrarian.

little" (זרעתם הרבה והבא מעט). While the ideological aspect of nature's space that is also evident in this verse will be studied in the next chapter, it should be said at this point that Hag 1:6 refers to the physical aspect of nature's space by referring to "much" (הרבה) and "little" (מעט) in the context of harvest. Accordingly, by reference to how much produce was received at that time, the verse addresses the harvest with low product values.[121]

The next type of nature's physical space mentioned in Haggai is the hill (ההר) to which people were sent to bring wood (Hag 1:8). Thus, besides agricultural land, Haggai also described the mountain forests ecoregion. Based on Neh 8:15–16, Verhoef argued that there were olive, myrtle, and palm tress available on the hills surrounding Jerusalem and were used among other things for making booths.[122] However, it is debatable whether this exact type of wood was in view in Hag 1:8 since it is questionable whether that specific wood would have been sufficient for the project of rebuilding the Jerusalem temple. The cedar tree, which is of better quality, heavier, and longer than the trees mentioned in Neh 8 seems much more suitable for building the temple.[123] Furthermore, if the timber mentioned in this verse is actually cedar, the location of those mountains must have been in Lebanon, close to Sidon and Tyre.[124] This interpretation can be supported by Ezra 3:7 which states that in the early stages of the restoration (at the time of Cyrus), cedar trees were brought specifically from Lebanon. The fact that the definite article ה ("the") in front of the noun הר ("mountain") in the prophet's command "Go up to the

[121] Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 49–51.

[122] Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 65.

[123] Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 27–28) mentioned that the only tree which grew locally and was suitable for building was *ficus sycomorus*, but that this tree was not adequate for building the temple for two reasons: first, the tree had its origins in Africa and flourished only in the lowlands, which is in sharp contrast with the instruction to go to mountains given in Haggai; second, that type of tree was more adequate for the roofs of houses, not for larger buildings, and could not be polished.

[124] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 27–28.

mountain" (עלו ההר) indicates that both the speaker and the audience knew exactly which mountain was in view here and may confirm this point of going to Lebanon, which was a well-known location where people acquired cedar in the time of Cyrus.[125]

The next two references to nature's physical space are found in Hag 1:9–11, which functions as the climax of the unit comprised of Hag 1:2–11. The portrayal of a dysfunctional ecosystem, which started in Hag 1:6, continues in v. 10 with a description of a certain lack of cooperation between heaven and earth: heaven does not provide "dew"[126] (טל), and hence, the earth cannot yield its expected "produce" (יבול).[127] Sérandour correctly noted that this verse reflects the inextricable connection between heaven and earth.[128] The impact on the environment is large in scale, and three different types of landscapes are affected by drought: ארץ ("field"), ההרים ("hills"), and אדמה ("arable ground").[129] Consequently, the produce, the grain, olive oil, and new wine, that this land was supposed to provide was lacking.[130] Haggai's usage of creation imagery (שמים; ארץ; אדמה; אדם; בהמה) alludes to how widespread and severe the environmental crisis was.[131] The same creation imagery is also used in the section which describes ideological space by placing an emphasis on the ideology.

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[125] Contra Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 133) who referred to Joüon (§137n) and argued that the article used in front of the singular הר indicates "the local object," assuming that author and hearers both knew which mountain was in view and that the mountain was perhaps in sight.

[126] For the significance of "dew" for agricultural life in Israel, see Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 74; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 31; and Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 139.

[127] For the theme of a contrast between expectation and reality (Hag 1:6, 9), see Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 136–37. See also, Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 51–52.

[128] Sérandour, "Récits," 14–16. cf. Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 139.

[129] See Jacobs (*Haggai and Malachi*, 60–61) who listed entities that were affected by drought and that were marked in the text by the preposition ועל/על ("upon"). See, further, Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 94.

[130] For an in-depth exploration of "recycled" fertility language within the Book of Twelve, see Nogalski, "Joel as Literary Anchor," 146–51.

[131] See Boda (*Haggai, Zechariah*, 93) who also noted that this text alludes to the Genesis creation story.

In Hag 2:16–19, Haggai once again addressed the question of nature's space and further developed the description given in Hag 1:9–11. Haggai invited the people to recall their past once again (Hag 2:15, 18; cf. 1:5, 7) [132] and to remember how their expectations regarding the yields of grain and wine were not met (Hag 2:16; cf. 1:9).[133] Again, as was the case in chapter 1, the prophet revealed that the main cause for the low yield (50% of grain and 40% of wine) was God who struck "all the works of your hands" (כל־מעשה ידיכם) with blight, mildew, and hail (Hag 2:17).[134] It was very likely that the prophet had the agricultural efforts of the community in view when referring to "all the works of your hands."

3.4.2 Nature's Physical Space in Zechariah 1–8

In contrast to the book of Haggai, where the physical aspect of nature's space plays a prominent role, the description of nature's physical space is almost absent in Zech 1–8. This does not mean that nature imagery is absent in this part of the book of Zechariah, but rather, that this imagery is used in the prophetic imagination merely to describe something else and not to focus on the physical nature itself.[135] In other words, the nature imagery used in Zech 1–8 should be interpreted within the context of the vision report

[132] Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 207) emphasized the importance of the preposition "before," which is used here to point to the past. See also, Boda (*Haggai, Zechariah*, 146) who explained that the phrase, "give careful thought," has a similar function as the one used in chapter 1 (to invite people to reflect on their past), but here, the phrase is used to invite the community to reflect also on their present and future, not just their past.

[133] Contra Petersen, who understood this passage as the miraculous disappearance of food, Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 90. I follow Boda (*Haggai, Zechariah*, 147–48) since the parallel with Hag 1:9 is too strong to be ignored.

[134] For the explanation of these terms, see Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 148.

[135] Nature imagery is used either in the first part of the vision report concerned with the observation, whose meaning is then explained in the response of the heavenly being (who explains their symbolic nature) or in the prophetic oracles, which are highly ideological in their nature.

genre and its symbolism. A few rare instances where nature imagery can be taken both literally and ideologically— at the same time—are outlined in the table below:

Zechariah	Nature's Physical Space	Markers
Zech 3:10	אל־תחת גפן ואל־תחת תאנה under vine and under fig tree	PhM
Zech 7:14	והארץ נשמה ... וישימו ארץ־חמדה לשמה the land was desolated … they made a precious land desolated	PhS
Zech 8:12	כי־זרע השלום הגפן תתן פריה והארץ תתן את־יבולה והשמים יתנו טלם For there will be a sowing of peace, the vine will give its fruit, and the land will give its produce, and the heavens will give their dew	PhS

Table 8. Nature's Physical Space in Zechariah 1–8

The first part of the book of Zechariah is rich with this symbolic nature imagery: "the myrtle trees by the deep" (ההדסים אשר במצלה [Zech 1:8, 10, 11]); "as the four winds of the heavens" (כארבע רוחות השמים [Zech 2:10(6)]); "a log snatched[136] from fire" (אוד מצל מאש [Zech 3:2]); "the sprout"[137] (צמח [Zech 3:8; 6:12]); "the stone" (האבן [Zech 3:9]); "under vine and under fig tree" (אל־תחת גפן ואל־תחת תאנה [Zech 3:10]); "two olive trees" (ושנים זיתים [Zech 4:3, 11]); "great mountain"[138] (הר־הגול [Zech 4:7]); "two branches[139] of the olive trees" (שתי שבלי הזיתים [Zech 4:12]); "the two

[136] *DCH* §5:741. See Amos 4:11 where the word occurs in a very similar context.

[137] *DCH* §7:131. Contra HALOT where the term is rendered as *radiance*, HALOT, 1034. See also Rose (*Zemah and Zerubbabel*, 91–120) who argued that the translation "branch" is not proper and should be replaced with the term "sprout." Cf. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 250, footnote j.

[138] For a summary of different interpretation of this phrase, see O'Kennedy, "The Meaning of 'Great Mountain'," 406–7. Kennedy argued at the end that the phrase "must be understood in a holistic and open-ended way, referring to a 'mountain' of problems or adversity that could range from a heap of temple rubble to hostile powers" (404). Even though I list this phrase above among a number of other metaphorically used phrases, my interpretation of the great mountain is literal and influenced by its immediate literary context that describes the foundation-laying ceremony.

[139] HALOT, 1394; *DCH* §8:238. See, further, Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 310) who explained that even though this term was generally used in the OT to refer to what "is harvested from the plant," it would be confusing to translate this word with "olives" in this context. Rather, Boda explained that in Zech

mountains, and the mountains were bronze mountains" (שני ההרים וההרים הרי נחשת [Zech 6:1]); "a diamond"[140] (שמיר [Zech 7:12]), and "the mountain of Yahweh" (והר־יהוה [Zech 8:3]). This nature imagery refers to both places (Zech 1:8, 10, 11; 2:10[6]; 3:10; 4:3, 11; 4:12; 6:1) and beings (Zech 3:2, 8, 9; 6:12) and is always used to describe an ideological aspect of space. As such, this imagery will be examined below in chapters 6 and 8 that deal with ideological and lived space.

One of a few references to nature in Zech 1–8 that may be taken to refer to the actual physical aspect of nature's space is "under vine and under fig tree" (אל־תחת גפן ואל־תחת תאנה) in Zech 3:10.[141] However, even though this phrase likely refers to an abundance of vine and fig produce, the main purpose of employing this phrase in this verse seems to be to refer to peace and prosperity, therefore describing the ideal condition of the people's space.[142] Thus, the phrase may include actual vines and figs as part of that prosperity, but it must not be limited only to this aspect.

The second reference to the physical aspect of nature's space is found in Zech 7:14, which describes "the land" as "desolated" (והארץ נשמה). Even though the land here refers primarily to the political economic territory, it seems that one cannot neglect the agricultural aspect of the land mentioned in that verse—these two types of space cannot be separated as easily as it seems to the reader with a Western mindset. The term

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4:12, the word should be understood as pointing to the part of the tree that carries the olives, hence the "branches."

[140] Contra the LXX and Vulgate where a "looser" translation of the Hebrew term שמיר is given. Keeping in mind the context of Jer 17:1; Ezek 3:9; and Zech 7:12, the translation "diamond" seems accurate. For more details, see HALOT, 1562; *DCH* §8:443.

[141] See Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 213), for example, who emphasized that the vegetative imagery in vv. 8 and 10 is not only used in a symbolic way, but also in a material way.

[142] For an explanation of how this imagery went beyond the literal and built on 1 Kgs 5:5 and Micah 4:4 to describe an ideal space of peace and stability, see Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 213; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 212–13; Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 145; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 262.

שמם (“desolated”) is clearly used here in the context of the forced migration of the people to captivity in Babylon. Looking from that perspective, the land that has been described as desolate should be understood as geo-political territory. However, it must be noted that the immigration of the people to Babylon, which resulted in uninhabited land, also affected the fruitfulness of agricultural land which was not properly cultivated because of the exile. Thus, the forced migration and desolation of the national territory inevitably led to and resulted in the desolation of the agricultural land.

This leads to the final description of the physical aspect of nature’s space found in Zech 8:12. Even though the nature imagery found in this verse is used primarily in the ideological sense, there are some conclusions about the physical aspect of nature’s space that can be drawn from this verse. Zechariah 8:12 describes the “agricultural bounty” by referring to an increase in the produce of vine and land.[143] Thus, in contrast to Hag 1:9–11 and 2:18, where the prophet described a decrease, Zechariah described in this verse a general increase in the field crops, growth in the fruit of the vine, and an increment in the produce of the land.[144] While specifics are not given as was the case in Hag 2:16–19, Zechariah clearly alluded to the increase in the quantity of produce.

3.4.3 Nature’s Space in the Context of the Ancient Near East

Nature’s space has always been closely related to agricultural activities and has played an essential role in the development of human society.[145] Organic remains discovered in archaeological excavations along with biblical passages testify that the people of Israel

[143] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 496.

[144] On the contrast between Haggai’s description of infertility and Zechariah’s emphasis on agricultural plenty, see Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 423.

[145] See, for example, Kim (*Jerusalem in the Achaemenid Period*, 21–74) who did an excellent study on the relationship between nature and economy as addressed in the book of Haggai.

cultivated a large variety of different field crops, fruit trees, and vegetables.[146] Although all of them should be considered as important components forming nature's space, special attention here will be paid to olives and grapevines since they are mentioned most often in relation to nature's space in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus (Hag 1:11; 2:19; Zech 3:10; 4:3, 12).

Grapevines that were cultivated in the territory of ancient Israel—usually identified as *vitis vinifera*—was a domesticated variety of its progenitor *vitis sylvestris*.[147] Grapevines were planted either in a vineyard or in combined vineyards/orchards, along with other fruit trees.[148] There were particular regions in ancient Israel that were famous because of their vineyards: 'En-gedi, Samaria, Shechem, Timnah, Shiloh, and Ba'al-hamon. Among these, El-Jib northwest of Jerusalem was probably one of the well-known sites for the wine industry.[149] There are a number of archaeological findings that attest to the importance of the cultivation of vineyards in ancient Israel. First, grape pips are found in the area of Lachish, Kihirbet Abu Tabaq, Tell Qiri, and Tell Halif, and charred raisins were discovered at Shiloh.[150] Second, and more implicitly, archaeological findings of

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[146] In his work on agriculture in Iron Age Israel, Borowski provided the extensive list of cultigens and cultivars cultivated on the territory of ancient Israel. For the detailed description of each of the previously mentioned field crops, legumes, spices, and other crops, see Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*, 87–139.

[147] Matthews, "Treading the Winepress," 19. For the history of the grapevines in the Holy Land, see Zohary, "The Domestication of the Grapevine *Vitis Vinifera*" and Goor, ("The History of the Grape-Vine," 46) who argued that until 1890, "no other species but *Vitis vinifera* was cultivated in Israel." See also, Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*, 102.

[148] Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age*, 103. On different issues related to the cultivation of grapevines, see Walsh, *The Fruit of the Vine*, 93–97; Ron, "Agricultural Terraces"; Geus, "Research into the Palestinian Agricultural Terraces"; Edelstein and Kisley, "Mevasseret Yerushalayim"; Gibson, "Agricultural Terraces and Settlement Expansion"; Geus, "Research into the Palestinian Agricultural Terraces," 67; Kloppenborg, *The Tenants in the Vineyard*, 155; Cox, *From Vines to Wine*, 77–81; and Kim, *Jerusalem in the Achaemenid Period*, 40.

[149] Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age*, 113. See Kim (*Jerusalem in the Achaemenid Period*, 41) who correctly noticed that along with ten winepresses that were discovered at El-Jib, archaeologists also found "impressive installations" made for development of the wine industry.

[150] Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age*, 113–14.

hoes which were used to cultivate the land between the vineyard rows[151] as well as the archaeological remains of hundreds of winepresses, testify that cultivating vineyards was very common in ancient Israel.[152] Finally, finding jars in which wine was kept,[153] along with rock cellars[154] where those jars were kept at perfect temperatures, also suggests how important wine production was at that time.

It is not an overstatement to say that besides grapevines, the olive tree was one of the most important trees that was cultivated in ancient Israel. It is generally assumed that *olea europaea*—the olive tree that is mentioned in the Old Testament—was the domestication of *oleaster europaea*, its progenitor. The trees developed a large root system and sometimes reached a height of over seven meters.[155] They usually had a lot of branches with "leaves that are green on the upper surface and silvery on the bottom."[156] During the summer, the olive trees developed white small flowers which bore a fruit that was usually harvested in the period from September to October. Scholars generally agree that the major archaeological findings confirming the importance of the cultivation of olive trees in ancient Israel are the material remains of olive presses. Remains of olive presses that were very common in Iron Age II were found at several sites, among which the most important are probably those at Beth-shemesh[157] and Tell Dan.[158] Besides olive

[151] Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age*, 107–8.

[152] Two major surveys of the archaeology of winepresses have been performed by Ahlström, "Wine Presses and Cup-Marks" and Dar (*Landscape and Pattern 2*:147–64) who listed 417 wine presses in the territories of Jenin-Megiddo and Samaria. For an excellent overview of archaeological findings related to wine presses, see Walsh, *The Fruit of the Vine*, 142–57.

[153] Pritchard, *Winery, Defenses, and Soundings*, 1–12.

[154] See, for example, Pritchard's excavations at Gibeon where he found 63 rock-cut cellars. Pritchard suggested that these cellars served as storage for wine. For more details, see Pritchard, *Winery, Defenses, and Soundings*, 13–16.

[155] Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age*, 118.

[156] Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age*, 119.

[157] Grant and Wright, *Ain Shems Excavations*, 73.

[158] Biran, "Two Discoveries," 91–98 and Stager and Wolff, "Production and Commerce," 95–96.

presses, archaeologists also discovered remains of charred olive pits found in the jars that also testify to the importance of the cultivation of olives in ancient times.[159]

Olive oil is mentioned in the OT on a number of occasions, thus showing its importance for the economy and religious life of Israelites. Besides its essential role in the daily preparation of food, olive oil was also used for medical purposes as well as in religious rites such as anointing ceremonies, lighting sanctuary lamps, and offerings. It must be mentioned that its ideological value cannot be overestimated, and it will be examined in future chapters dealing with ideological and lived space.

3.4.4 Summary

Now that the investigation of the physical aspect of nature's space is finished, a few concluding words are in order. The Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus revealed that agricultural land in the early post-exilic period was infertile, which ultimately resulted in a small harvest. The dysfunctional ecosystem affected different landscapes including fields, mountains, and arable ground, and consequently, there was a lack of grains, olive oil, and new wine. More precisely, the produce of grain was reduced by 50% and wine by 60%. The importance of nature's space delineated in this corpus was corroborated by a number of archaeological findings such as grape pips, charred raisins and olive pits, hoes, winepresses, olive presses, and jars which testify that vineyards and olive trees among other cultigens and cultivars were a very important segment of nature's space at that time.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the physical space of early post-exilic Yehud by exploring God's, the people's, and nature's space. Due to a general lack of archaeological finds, an

[159] See for example, Grant and Wright, *Ain Shems Excavations*, 73.

analysis of the physical aspect of God's space was limited to a comparison of different descriptions of the temple's space found within and outside the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus. It has been shown that the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus delineates the temple as "in ruins" with the exception of the altar which was rebuilt after the first wave of the return migration. This description of the material aspect of the temple is confirmed in the passages in 2 Kgs 25:8–17 and Jer 37—39 that testify that the temple in Jerusalem was destroyed at the beginning of the sixth century.

The second section of this chapter focused on the physical aspect of the people's space. An examination of relevant passages in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus reveals that soon after the first wave of the return migration, some houses were restored and even made luxurious. However, Zechariah described Babylon as a geographical location where captives were still held and Judah and Israel as territories from which God's people were scattered. Addressing urban spaces, Zechariah focused on Jerusalem and its environs and described them as in need of restoration. An examination of archaeological findings at a number of the sites shows that Jerusalem—along with the western, southern, and eastern regions of the kingdom—was severely destroyed during the Babylonian attack on the province of Judah as well as that the northern parts of the kingdom remained undestroyed.

Finally, the third section of this chapter examined the physical aspect of nature's space. An investigation of the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus revealed that the ecosystem in the early post-exilic period was dysfunctional, which led to the infertility of different types of agricultural land including fields, hills, and arable ground. Ultimately, this caused a lack of grains, olives, and new wine. Archaeological findings show that the

people of Israel cultivated different field crops, fruit trees, and vegetables among which, vineyards and olive orchards were the most important types of nature's space.

In summary, archaeological findings along with the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus portray a picture of turmoil of the physical aspect of space in the early post-exilic period: the temple was in ruins with the exception of a newly-built altar; Jerusalem and its environs, along with a number of other cities throughout the empire were in need of restoration; and the agricultural land was infertile and did not give enough produce. Against this state of the physical aspect of space, the prophets Haggai and Zechariah presented a vision of ideological space and portrayed ritual practices as a key social activity through which that ideological aspect of space could be produced. However, this portrayal of ideological space was sharply contrasted with the meaning that was ascribed to space by the people. It is to this dynamic relationship between the ideological and lived aspect of space and the role of ritual practices in their production that the present work now turns.

CHAPTER 4: IDEOLOGICAL AND LIVED SPATIALITY IN HAGGAI

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the prominent role[1] that space plays in the text of the book of Haggai by examining its ideological and lived aspect. In order to do that, the study uses the theoretical framework based on critical spatiality as described and modified in chapter 2 of the present work. Only those passages from the book of Haggai which address this issue will be studied, and the analysis does not aim to provide an exhaustive exegesis of selected passages. Rather, the primary focus will be on the question of how the book of Haggai describes the ideological and lived aspects of space. The chapter will begin with the portrayal of the overarching literary structure of Haggai and will then move on to the investigation of these two aspects of space as described in that book.

4.2 References to Space and the Structure of Haggai

Having in mind the textual nature of the description of space, this section commences by examining the literary structure of the book of Haggai.[2] The special focus in this section is on the interaction between the literary structure of Haggai and the distribution of references to different aspects of space within this book.[3] Even though an examination of

[1] I am thankful to John Kessler who, after one of my presentations on this subject at the annual meeting of the Canadian Society of Biblical Literature, suggested to me that it is *time* which plays *the most important* role in the book of Haggai. Although I do not disagree with Kessler's statement, this chapter shows that besides time, Haggai's obvious concern is also with space. For Kessler's argument that time is the major concern of Haggai, see further Kessler, "Building the Second Temple," 243–53; see also Bedford, "Discerning the Time"; Bedford, "Discerning the Time"; and Tadmor, "The Appointed Time Has Not yet Arrived."

[2] See chapter 2 of the present work for a detailed explanation of the method for studying space in literature, most particularly in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus.

[3] Jiang, *Critical Spatiality*, 25–28.

this issue shows that the literary structure of Haggai does not *strictly* correspond to the portrayal of different aspects of space, certain patterns of the distribution of references to the ideological and lived aspects of space are evident in the structure of this book.[4] Thus, in order to examine these two aspects of space, it is first important to describe the basic outline of the book and to examine how the passages dealing with spatiality are situated within that structure.

There is a critical consensus regarding the literary structure of the book of Haggai. Most authors emphasize the crucial importance of the chronological formulas (Hag 1:1, 15; 2:1, 10, 20) for its proper discernment.[5] According to this approach, the book of Haggai can be divided into three major units: (1) Hag 1:1–15: the exhortation to Zerubbabel, Joshua, and the people to rebuild the temple (the unit begins with the date formula in Hag 1:1, "in the second year of Darius the King, in the sixth month, on the first day of the month" [בשנת שתים לדריוש המלך בחדש הששי ביום אחד לחדש] and ends with a similar formula in Hag 1:15); (2) Hag 2:1–9: the encouragement of Zerubbabel, Joshua, and the people to continue with the restoration (the section opens

[4] A good example of a spatial structure of one biblical text is provided by Richard Whitekettle ("Leviticus 15:18 Reconsidered," 39–44) whose study focused on Lev 15 and suggested that v. 18 must be understood in the context of the chiastic structure of the chapter which is based on the space.

[5] Assis ("Structure and Meaning," 531) correctly noticed that most scholars mainly focused on chronological formulas in order to discover the literary structure of this book. See, for example, the works of Floyd, *Minor Prophets 2*, 253–65; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 32–36; Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 31–57; Reventlow, *Die Propheten*, 5–6; Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 532–33; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, xlviii–xlix; and Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 38; and Boda, "Haggai, Book of." Assis singled out Floyd (*Minor Prophets 2*, 257–58) who suggested a chiastic structure, but correctly rejected his idea based on the lack of adequate arguments which would support it.

Even though he recognized the importance of chronological formulas, Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 247) argued for a different approach which goes beyond the mere division of the text into major segments and "proceeds further and seeks to discover any structural or literary correspondences between the various pericopae at the level of their internal structure as well as the broader configuration of the pericopae as units within the structure of the book as a whole." Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 247–49) argued that each of Haggai's major pericopae are composed of the following elements: (1) introductory formulae (Hag 1:1; 2:1, 10, 20); (2) dramatic conflict (Hag 1:2; 2:2–3; 2:11–13, 20–21 [implied]); (3) divine response (Hag 1:4–7, 9–11; 2:4–5, 14–17, 20–23 [implied]); and (4) declaration of promise (Hag 1:8; 2:6–9; 18–19; 21b–23).

with the date formula in Hag 2:1, "In the seventh [month], on the twenty-first of the month" [בשביעי בעשרים ואחד לחדש]); and (3) Hag 2:10–23: the oracle to the priests, the people, and Zerubbabel on the day of the foundation-laying (the section commences here with the date formula in Hag 2:10, "On the twenty-fourth [day] of the ninth [month] in the second year of Darius", [וארבעה לתשיעי בשנת שתים לדריוש בעשרים]).[6] Keeping in mind this basic structure of the book of Haggai, a brief description of how references to space correspond to this generally accepted outline is given below.

Haggai	**Ideological Space**			**Lived Space**		
	God	People	Nature	God	People	Nature
1:1						
1:2				**X**		
1:3						
1:4	**X**			**X**	**X**	
1:5						
1:6						**X**
1:7						
1:8						
1:9				**X**	**X**	**X**
1:10						**X**
1:11						**X**
1:12						
1:13						
1:14				**X**		
1:15						
2:1						
2:2						
2:3	**X**			**X**		

[6] I keep Hag 2:10–23 as a single unit by taking the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month as a chronological reference which is strong enough to keep the unity of Hag 2:10–23, but I still recognize that Hag 2:20–23 should be taken as an important subunit within this section. See also Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 222) who separated Hag 2:20–23 from Hag 2:10–19 based on three arguments: (1) the new date formula that is inserted in Hag 2:20; (2) the appearance of the notice that this is a second oracle, and (3) the distinctive focus of this unit on Zerubbabel. The difference between these two approaches is mainly a matter of emphasis: the former focuses on the connection between these two units by emphasizing the same date, while the latter places strong emphasis on distinctive features by emphasizing different recipients of the prophet's message. Unfortunately, an analysis of ritual(s) and spatiality in the book of Haggai does not solve this tension: while Hag 2:10–23 can be seen as one unit when the text is analyzed from the perspective of ritual, an analysis of spatiality shows that Hag 2:20–23 is distinct from Hag 2:10–19 due to the shift in v. 20 from lived to ideological space.

2:4						
2:5						
2:6	**X**	**X**				
2:7	**X**	**X**				
2:8						
2:9	**X**					
2:10						
2:11						
2:12						
2:13						
2:14				**X**		
2:15						
2:16						**X**
2:17						**X**
2:18			**X**			
2:19			**X**			
2:20						
2:21		**X**			**x**	
2:22		**X**			**x**	
2:23		**X**			**x**	

Table 1. Distribution of Spatial References in the Book of Haggai

The first section of the book (Hag 1:1–15) describes Haggai's exhortation to Zerubbabel, Joshua, and the people to rebuild the temple and deals with their attitude towards space. As such, it is naturally and predominantly concerned with the lived aspect of space.[7] In contrast, however, the second section (Hag 2:1–9), apart from one brief reference to the lived aspect of space found in Hag 2:3, introduces the ideological aspect of space as its primary concern, a change which is above all signalled by pointing to an eschatological future in Hag 2:6–9.[8] This shift in focus from past and present to a bright future is also

[7] For a brief overview of the most pertinent literature, see Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 41; Floyd, *Minor Prophets 2*, 266; Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 233; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 3; and Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 69. My investigation shows that in this first section of Haggai, there are eleven references to space—referring to all three types of physical space: God's, the people's, and nature's space—and only one reference to the ideological aspect of space which is fully addressed in the second section of Haggai.

[8] Most scholars agree that Hag 2:6–9 describes a future glory and, therefore, deals with ideological space. See for example, Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 67–70; Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 547–49; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 75–76; Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 173–83; and Boda,

evident in the last part of the third section (Hag 2:20–23), which is also concerned primarily with ideological space.[9] Finally, the third section (Hag 2:10–23) is focused on both aspects of space and is the best example of the portrayal of tension between these two aspects of space within this book.[10]

Even though the literary structure of Haggai explained above seems to correspond to the development of two different aspects of space—especially the development of the ideological aspect of space which is introduced in the second section—different aspects of space are, in most cases, introduced in relation to each other.[11] As such, they do not strictly equate with the literary development of different units. In this way, even though some units are primarily concerned with specific aspects of space, the correspondence between different aspects of space and different units of Haggai is not "clear-cut," as will be shown in the examination of particular passages. The present work will now turn to an investigation of different aspects of space as they are described in the three units of Haggai delineated above.

Haggai, Zechariah, 121–27. There are two reasons why one can say that the primary concern of this section is with ideological space: (1) the lived aspect of space is briefly referred to only in one verse (Hag 2:3), while ideological space is mentioned in four different verses and is a major concern of the Hag 2:6–9 unit; (2) There is only one reference to הבית הזה ("this house") in Hag 2:3, which is afterwards repeated by using the third person masculine singular suffix. It is this single reference to "this house" that functions as a reference to the lived aspect of space; to be most specific, Hag 2:3 reveals meaning ascribed to "this house" by the people.

[9] Scholars generally see the connection between the future glory that is described in Hag 2:6–9 and Hag 2:20–23. Both of these passages deal with the future and, therefore, describe ideological space. See Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 96–107; Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 553–55; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 82–84; Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 173–83; and Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 159–66. Even though my study shows that there is the same number of references to lived and ideological aspects of space in Hag 2:20–23 (three on each side and six in total), it is clear that ideological space is the major concern of this section and that the lived aspect of space is just implicitly mentioned (hence, the difference between capital "X" which stands for an explicit reference to ideological space and small "x" which stands for an implicit reference to lived aspect of space).

[10] My investigation shows that references to both aspects of space are found in the last section of the book of Haggai: six references to lived space (Hag 2:14, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23), of which three references are implicit, and five references to ideological space (Hag 2:18, 19, 21, 22, 23).

[11] This is especially evident in the third section of the book, but this feature can also be seen in the first and second sections.

4.3 Lived Spatiality in Haggai

While the majority of scholars, in their work on Haggai, unavoidably deal with the theme of the physical aspect of God's space usually focusing on the temple,[12] this chapter of the present work goes beyond this concern with physical space by building on the insights from critical spatiality and takes into consideration two other aspects of space—ideological and lived.[13] The present section discusses the latter. The lived aspect of spatiality deals primarily with the meaning that is ascribed to space by society.[14] Accordingly, different groups may ascribe quite diverse meanings to the same physical place which naturally causes conflict between groups.[15] References to the lived aspect of space in the book of Haggai are outlined in the table below.

Verse	God's Space	People's Space	Nature's Space
Hag 1:2	בית יהוה		
	the house of Yahweh		
Hag 1:4	והבית הזה	בבתיכם ספונים	
	this house	in your panelled houses	
Hag 1:6			זרעתם הרבה והבא מעט
			you have sown much but harvested little
Hag 1:9	ביתי	לביתו	פנה אל־הרבה והנה למעט
	my house	his own house	you looked for much but, behold, it came little
Hag 1:10			יבולה
			its produce

[12] See chapter 2.

[13] Some good examples of recent studies on these three aspects of space in the Old Testament, but outside of the books of Haggai and Zechariah, include George, *Israel's Tabernacle*; Jiang, *Critical Spatiality*; and Middlebrook, "The Place of Narrative Space."

[14] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 40.

[15] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 42–46.

Hag 1:11			על־הארץ ועל־ההרים ועל־הדגן ועל־התירוש ועל־היצהר ועל אשר תוציא האדמה ועל־האדם ועל־הבהמה upon the field, upon the hills, upon the grain, upon the new wine, upon the unmanufactured oil, upon whatever the arable ground produces, upon people, and upon animal
Hag 1:14	בבית־יהוה צבאות the house of Yahweh of hosts		
Hag 2:3	כאין בעיניכם as nothing in your eyes		
Hag 2:16			בא אל־היקב לחשף חמשים פורה והיתה עשרים When one came to the wine vat to draw out fifty measures, but there were twenty
Hag 2:17			כל־מעשה ידיכם all the works of your hands
Hag 2:22		כסא ממלכות ממלכות הגוים the throne of the kingdoms the kingdom of the nations	

Table 2. Lived Spatiality in the Book of Haggai

There are four social groups in the book of Haggai: Joshua and Zerubbabel as leaders, priests, prophet, and the people. All four of these groups ascribe specific meanings to physical space. This ascribing of meaning to physical space is especially seen in the

dialogue between Haggai and the people and their leaders.[16] While Haggai revealed God's perception of space (ideological aspect of space), the people are described as a group that ascribed their own meaning to the space which could theoretically be in line or in conflict with the prophet's ideological portrayal. This was done in two different but mutually connected ways: (1) ascribing meaning abstractly in people's minds (*LiI* markers) and (2) ascribing meaning by particular social actions (*LiE* marker).

Based on the evidence provided in the table above, the description of lived space is set in the context of a dispute about God's, the people's, and nature's space between Haggai on the one hand, and the leaders, the priests, and the people on the other.[17] It is evident that Joshua, Zerubbabel, and the people ascribed a particular meaning to space, which triggered Haggai's critique: the meaning opposite from the ideological one was ascribed to all three types of space: God's space, the people's space, and nature's space.

4.3.1 God's Lived Space

The examination of the lived aspect of space in the book of Haggai commences with the study of God's space. There are only six references to the lived aspect of God's space and they are outlined in the table below.

[16] For an excellent study on a dispute between the prophet Haggai and the people, see Assis ("To Build or Not to Build," 515–27) who argued that the main debate was about the issue as to whether God rejected his people after 587/6 BCE or whether he was still with them. See also Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 249) who noticed dramatic conflict in each major section of the book of Haggai. He explained that these dramatic conflicts were portrayed in different ways including references to peoples's words (Hag 1:2), prophet's questioning (Hag 2:2–3), or the prophet's symbolic acts (Hag 2:10–13). He added that conflicts were usually about the peoples's attitude and choices (Hag 1:2), their perception (Hag 2:3), the question about purity and impurity (Hag 2:14), and the status of Israel and its governor (Hag 2:20–23). For other scholars who noticed this conflict, see Mason, *Preaching the Tradition*; Whedbee, "Question-Answer Schema"; and Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 87. In my study, I focus primarily on the conflict between prophet, leaders, the people, and priests regarding different conceptions of space. Conflict is described predominantly in the first major section of the book in Hag 1:1–15, where ten references to ideological aspect space are found.

[17] See footnote 16 immediately above.

Haggai	God's Lived Space	Markers
Hag 1:2	העם הזה אמרו לא עת־בא עת־בית יהוה להבנות This people says, the time has not come, the time for the house of Yahweh to be rebuilt	LiP; LiI
Hag 1:4	העת לכם אתם לשבת בבתיכם ספונים והבית הזה חרב Is it time for you yourself to dwell in your panelled houses while this house is desolate?	LiP; LiI
Hag 1:9	יען ביתי אשר־הוא חרב ואתם רצים איש לביתו: because of my house which itself (lies) desolate, while all of you hurry off to your own house	LiP; LiE
Hag 1:14	ויבאו ויעשו מלאכה בבית־יהוה צבאות אלהיהם they came and they did work on the house of Yahweh of hosts their God	LiP; LiE
Hag 2:3	ומה אתם ראים אתו עתה הלוא כמהו כאין בעיניכם And how are you seeing it now? Is not it as nothing in your eyes?	LiP; LiI
Hag 2:14	ואשר יקריבו שם טמא הוא and whatever they offer there is impure	LiP; LiE

Table 3. God's Lived Space in Haggai

At the beginning of the book of Haggai, the prophet addressed the people's perspective towards the rebuilding of the temple.[18] Even though the reader does not hear the direct speech of the people, God's voice, which can be heard in Haggai's addresses, reflected both the people's voice and their thoughts.[19] This is especially evident in the use of the phrase "this people says" (העם הזה אמרו [Hag 1:2]) which clearly expresses the attitude of the people toward the temple and reveals the meaning which the people ascribed to it.[20]

[18] Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 37.

[19] Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 86–87.

[20] Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 109. Boda (*Haggai, Zechariah*, 87) explained that good examples of portraying people's thoughts can be seen in Hag 1:2–7 as well as in Hag 1:9–11. My study of the lived space which focuses on the conflict regarding ascribing the different meanings to space in the book of Haggai confirmed his study and added a few references to this list: Hag 1:14 (reference to the people's spirit), 2:3 (the prophet's rhetorical question which reveals the people's attitude and their thoughts), and

What these people think about the temple and its rebuilding is clearly expressed in the second part of Hag 1:2: "The time has not come, the time for the house of Yahweh to be rebuilt" (לא עת־בא עת־בית יהוה להבנות). There are several explanations of how they came to that conclusion; among them the most popular are the absence of the Messiah, the (mis)interpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy about seventy years, and the economic hardship.[21] Although all these reasons seem legitimate, the major one which appears to be prominently emphasized in the text itself is the people's lack of commitment and neglect towards the temple. That this is the main reason for not working on the temple is clear from Haggai's response to that situation which focuses precisely on the problem of priorities.[22] This attitude of the neglect of Yahweh's temple affected the so-called lived space of God which was not in line with the portrayal of God's ideological space: because of their neglect, the people allowed God's space to be in ruins. This production of God's space by the people is also affirmed in Hag 1:4, 9.

Another important paragraph which sheds additional light on the lived aspect of God's space in the book of Haggai is found in Hag 2:1–3. This passage addresses the situation that arose among the people approximately four weeks after they had started to rebuild the temple (Hag 1:12–15).[23] Among other things, this pericope describes the thoughts of the people regarding the state of the new temple. This is done utilizing

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2:15 and 18 (with the assumption that the people's work on the temple was the result of the change of their attitudes).

[21] One of the most comprehensive treatments of the concept of time used in Hag 2 was done in Kessler, "'t (le temps)," 55–59. Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 125) summarized the argument presented in this article by outlining several reasons why people refused to start rebuilding: (1) the time for rebuilding appointed by Yahweh had not arrived, (2) conflict between priestly and eschatological groups, (3) it was the non-exiled population who were against the rebuilding, (4) the presence of divine displeasure, and (5) the calculations of seventy years prophesied by Jeremiah. In the text above, I mentioned three major reasons listed by Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 89.

[22] Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 125–27.

[23] Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 92.

Haggai's three rhetorical questions[24] of which the last two give insights into the lived aspect of God's space: (1) "And how are you seeing it now?" (ומה אתם ראים אתו עתה); and (2) "Is not it as[25] nothing in your eyes?" (הלוא כמהו כאין בעיניכם). Plainly, these two questions, the second one in particular, reveal some information about the people's perception of the second temple in comparison with the first one. Even though Haggai posed the question, it is evident that it was the meaning of "nothingness" (**אין**) that the people ascribed to the second temple.[26] In this context, the preposition **כ** has a comparative function and, together with **אין**, denotes the meaning of "no worth at all."[27] This meaning of "nothingness, vanity"[28] is probably ascribed to both the second temple as it appeared after only four weeks of work on it as well as to what they expected the building to be at the end of the rebuilding process.[29]

Finally, this ascribing of insignificance to God's space reaches its peak in Hag 2:10–14. It is in this passage that God's space is described as unclean. While the text does not explicitly address the impurity of the space, but rather, the impurity of "this people" (העם־הזה), "this nation" (הגוי הזה), "all the works of their hands" (כל־מעשה ידיהם), and "whatever they offer there" (ואשר יקריבו שם), the impurity of the temple site is

[24] See Craig ("Interrogatives in Haggai–Zechariah," 227–43) who explained that there are four interrogative types in Haggai–Zechariah: (1) rhetorical questions (e.g., Hag 1:4; Zech 1:5b, 6a; 3:2), (2) sequential questions (Hag 2:3; Zech 7:5–7), (3) questions that function primarily to advance the plot (e.g., Hag 1:9; Zech 1:9; 2:4[1:21]), and (4) questions that increase the number of characters in a given scene (e.g., Hag 2:12–13, 16; Zech 1:12). Even though Craig classified questions from Hag 2:3 as sequential, they are also rhetorical in their nature. See, for instance, Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 95–96. For use of interrogatives in Haggai, see also, Boda, "Haggai: Master Rhetorician," 299–300.

[25] Joüon (§174i) explained that **כ** … **כ** is used here to introduce the comparative clause in a sense that the terms to which this preposition is prefixed "are declared identical in some regard."

[26] Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 166.

[27] HALOT, 41–42; *DCH* §1:220; Joüon §174i; followed by Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 166.

[28] *DCH* §1:220; BDB, 34.

[29] Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 166–67) explained that the comparison between different appearances of the temple is twofold: first, the author compared Solomon's temple in all its glory with the state of the postexilic temple after only four weeks of work; and second, the author compared the temple in its former glory with what could be expected at the end of the rebuilding process. Kessler built on the previous work of Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 64 and Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 97.

clearly implied.[30] This contention will be explained in more detail in chapter 5 of the present work that deals with rituals in the book of Haggai. What can be said now is that the impurity of the people, their works, and their offerings is closely related to the impurity of the temple which was in ruins and the inability of the high priest—who was also unclean according to Zech 3—to perform the annual cleansing of the temple from all sins and impurities as prescribed to be done on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16).

An important and additional comment, however, must be made in respect to the aforementioned conclusions about God's lived space. Even though the examination of references to God's lived space above shows that God's space was left in ruins, impure, and was perceived by the people as nothing in comparison to the former temple, the portrayal of space in the book of Haggai is not static, but rather, fluid and dynamic.[31] This is evident from the temporal orientation of Haggai, which can be seen in the many date formulas that are present in this relatively short book (Hag 1:1; 2:1, 10, 18, 20).[32] The people's response to the prophet's critique from Hag 1:2–11, which is described in Hag 1:12–15, further affirms this point. The answer of Zerubbabel, Joshua, and the remnant to Haggai's message was positive and was described in the text with three verbs: שמע ("listened"); ירא ("feared"); and עשה ("worked").[33]

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[30] For one of the most detailed discussions on this issue that is found in Hag 2:10–14, see Tiemeyer, "The Question of Indirect Touch." The issue will be discussed in detail in chapter 5 dealing with rituals in the book of Haggai.

[31] See, for example, McEntire ("Bringing God into the Picture, 69") who suggested that the book of Haggai is unique because it should be understood as "coherent narrative work formed around the delivery of prophetic oracles."

[32] For studies that address the topic of time in the book of Haggai, see Bedford, "Discerning the Time"; Kessler, "'t (le temps)," 55–59; Tadmor, "The Appointed Time Has Not yet Arrived"; and Assis, "To Build or Not to Build."

[33] Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 22. See Boda (*Haggai, Zechariah*, 107) who placed an emphasis on the verbs "to obey" and "to fear." Barker ("The Book of Haggai," 105) noticed that the use of the term *remnant* indicates that it was not the "entire community" who came to rebuild the temple.

This positive response is mainly reflected in the people's change of attitude, will, and disposition towards temple building, a fact which is addressed with the repeated use of the verb בוא ("come"), which appears in Hag 1:2 in a negative context and in Hag 1:14 in a positive one. It is highly likely that this change was not only the result of Haggai's address, but also of Yahweh's action.[34] Yahweh "stirred" (Hiphil of עור)[35] the people's spirit and the people came in and started to work on the temple.[36] The phase "to stir up" is almost always used in the context of "inner workings of human decision and violation"[37] and should be understood as a change of people's attitude toward the temple which also includes ascribing a different meaning to it.[38] While political and economic motives for the people's work on the temple are present in the text (especially Hag 2:20–23) and should not be neglected, it is hard to accept the fact that the people's action in the context of the first chapter, where Haggai mainly addressed the inner state of the people's hearts, was only about accomplishing their political ends.

4.3.2 People's Lived Space

Since one of the main rhetorical strategies of the prophet Haggai was to compare the people's treatment of the temple with their approach towards their own houses (see especially Hag 1:4, 9), it is evident that the description of God's lived space is closely

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[34] In line with Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 22 and Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 55–60. Verhoef and Petersen are followed by Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 151.

[35] *DCH* §6:315; HALOT, 803.

[36] For the importance of the term "spirit" and how it has been employed later in Hag 2:5, see Abernethy, "The Spirit of God in Haggai," 511–20. Abernethy argued that what is in view in Hag 2:5 is the spirit of prophecy.

[37] Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 151.

[38] Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 151–53. This understanding fits the current context better than the suggestion made by Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 35–36) who argued that the phrase in this context has a political connotation. They explained that the words עור and רוח occur together mainly in a political context and listed the following examples: Jer 51:11; 1 Chr 5:26; 2 Chr 21:16; 36:22; Ezra 1:1. Thus, they claimed that in Hag 1:14, the action was not "devoid of political significance" since the rebuilding of the temple was closely associated with politics.

related to the portrayal of the people's lived space.[39] The lived aspect of the people's space is described explicitly in Hag 1:4 and 9 and implicitly in the last section in Hag 2:20–23. The list of references to the people's lived space is outlined below:

Haggai	People's Ideological Space	Markers
Hag 1:4	העת לכם אתם לשבת בבתיכם ספונים והבית הזה חרב Is it time for you yourself to dwell in your panelled houses while this house is desolate?	LiP; LiE
Hag 1:9	יען ביתי אשר־הוא חרב ואתם רצים איש לביתו: Because of my house which itself (lies) desolate, while all of you hurry off to your own house	LiP; LiE
Hag 2:22	והפכתי כסא ממלכות והשמדתי חזק ממלכות הגוים והפכתי מרכבה ורכביה וירדו סוסים ורכביהם איש בחרב אחיו I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms and destroy the power of the kingdom of the nations; and I will overthrow a chariot and its rider and horses and their riders will go down, each by the sword of his brother	LiP; LiE
Hag 2:23	נאם־יהוה ושמתיך כחותם declares Yahweh, I will make you like a signet ring	LiP; LiE

Table 4. People's Lived Space in Haggai

As it was already alluded to in the previous section of the present work, the people's attitude of disinterest toward the temple site which led to the production of God's lived space is clearly and sharply contrasted with their attitude of interest in investing in their homes.[40] The evident lack of interest among the people to build the temple and their focus on their homes is heavily emphasized in Hag 1:4 where the people are described as living in panelled houses. This point is further confirmed in Hag 1:9, where the prophet

[39] See, for instance, the work of Barker (*Disputed Temple*, 12) who explained that "a main argument of this (his) study is that all of the prophet's speeches, not just the first one, were intended to urge the Yehudites to work on the temple."

[40] For more details, see Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 48; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 23–24; Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 128–30; and Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 87.

once again emphasized the fact that the people showed interest in businesses related to their houses.[41] The people's focus on their private houses that brought some positive changes on the local level did not influence the province positively at the national level. Ascribing meaning to local houses and neglecting God's house resulted in the subordinated position of the Yehudites and the societal and military disorder that is implicitly evident in the description of the idyllic future in Hag 2:20–23.[42]

In short, the author made a clear contrast between the people's lack of ascribing significance to the temple and their overemphasis of the importance of their own private houses. In other words, the people created the space where their priorities were disordered. That this was the case is clear from Haggai's critique of the people's actions and wrong priorities by the recurrence of the phrase "set your hearts on your ways" (שימו לבבכם על־דרכיכם [Hag 1:5, 7; 2:15, 18]).[43]

4.3.3 Nature's Lived Space

Aside from God's and the people's own lived space, the book of Haggai also describes the people's production of nature's lived space. This production of nature's lived space is closely related to the production of God's lived space as noticed above. References to the lived aspect of nature's space in the book of Haggai are outlined below:

Haggai	Nature's Lived Space	Markers
Hag 1:6	זרעתם הרבה והבא מעט you have sown much, but harvested little	LiP; LiE
Hag 1:9	פנה אל־הרבה והנה למעט	LiP; LiE

[41] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 51–53; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 29–30; Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 138; and Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 93.

[42] See further Krispenz ("Umbauter Raum und Sozialer Raum," 64–65) who also noticed that Jerusalem was not doing well economically due to the lack of cult.

[43] Hag 2:15, 18 have the shorter version of this expression.

	you looked for much but, behold, it came little	
Hag 1:10	על־כֵּן עליכם כלאו שמים מטל והארץ כלאה יבולה Therefore, because of you, the heavens have withheld dew and the land has withheld its produce	LiP; LiE
Hag 1:11	ואקרא חרב על־הארץ ועל־ההרים ועל־ הדגן ועל־התירוש ועל־היצהר ועל אשר תוציא האדמה ועל־האדם ועל־הבהמה I called drought upon the field, upon the hills, upon the grain, upon the new wine, upon the unmanufactured oil, upon whatever the arable ground produces, upon people, and upon animal	LiP; LiE
Hag 2:16	מהיותם בא אל־ערמת עשרים והיתה עשרה בא אל־היקב לחשף חמשים פורה והיתה עשרים From that time, when one came to a heap of twenty, but there were ten. When one came to the wine vat to draw out fifty measures, but there were twenty	LiP; LiE
Hag 2:17	הכיתי אתכם בשדפון ובירקון ובברד את כל־ מעשה ידיכם I struck you and all the works of your hands with blight and mildew and hail	LiP; LiE

Table 5. Nature's Lived Space in Haggai

The first description of nature's lived space is found in Hag 1:6, where the prophet referred to a poor harvest. As Kessler correctly noted, this statement about sowing and reaping is just one of five examples of unfulfilled expectations, all of which are related to agricultural activities and land.[44] The image likely refers to and is taken from Deut 28:38, 48, where similar futility language is used in the context of the description of blessings and curses.[45] Haggai's main point was that it is precisely the people's delay in rebuilding the temple that caused the infertility of the land (Hag 1:2–7).[46] The people's action of

[44] Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 131–32) emphasized the fact that the whole section is composed of five examples of frustrated expectations of which the first one is the example of sowing much seed and reaping little harvest. The next four are related to eating and not being satisfied, drinking and not being filled, putting garments on and not feeling warm, and finally, labouring and not earning.

[45] See Tollington (*Tradition and Innovation*, 188–190) who built on Beuken and who suggested that in Hag 1:6, there are references to a "futility curse" found in Deuteronomy. Also, Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 131–32 and Kessler, "Patterns of Descriptive Curse Formulae."

[46] Nogalski, "Recurring Themes," 128; Whedbee, "Question-Answer Schema," 188–89.

building their houses and ignoring God's house affected nature's space, which featured severe agricultural problems described in Hag 1:6, 9–11, and 2:16–17.

The passage in Hag 1:9–11 continues this description from Hag 1:6 by using the same terms הרבה ("much") and מעט ("little") in the context of the description of a poor harvest. Again, Haggai focused on the issue that the people's expectations—in other words, expectations related to the richness of the harvest—were not met. The produce that the land was supposed to provide, such as grain, olive oil, and new wine (Hag 1:11), was lacking. More details are given in Hag 2:16–17 where Haggai gave precise statistical data describing a low yield: 50% of grain and 40% of wine.

This severe agricultural situation was caused by a dysfunctional ecosystem portrayed by a disconnection between heaven and earth: heaven did not provide dew (טל)[47] and hence, the earth could not yield its expected produce (יבול) (Hag 1:10).[48] All three types of landscapes— field[49] (ארץ), hills (הר), and arable ground (אדמה)—were affected (Hag 1:11).[50] However, the main reason for the dysfunctional system lay in the people's attitude of neglecting God's house which was left in ruins (Hag 1:4, 9). The direct, causal connection between the people's attitude towards God's space and severe problems in the ecosystem is made by using the phrase "set your hearts on your ways" (שימו לבבכם על־דרכיכם) in Hag 1:5, 2:15, and 18; by inserting the interrogative pronoun מה ("why") in Hag 1:9; and by making the statement that all these agricultural issues were happening "because of you (people)" (כן עליכם [Hag 1:10]). In sum, the

[47] For the significance of "dew" for agricultural life in Israel, see Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 74; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 31; and Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 139.

[48] For the theme of a contrast between expectation and reality as described in Hag 1:6, 9, see Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 136–37. See also, Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 51–52.

[49] The noun ארץ usually means "land, territory, country, or piece of ground" (HALOT, 90–91). However, the word occurs in this context along with חרב and thus, means "field."

[50] Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 94.

people produced nature's lived space which was in sharp contrast to its ideological counterpart.

4.3.4 Summary

A few conclusions can be drawn from this examination of Haggai's description of the lived aspect of space. This investigation shows that Haggai described the lived aspect of space in relation to all three different types of spaces. First, Haggai described the lived aspect of God's space as being in ruins, perceived by the people as nothing in comparison with Solomon's temple, and finally, as an impure space. However, it has been noted that this delineation of the lived aspect of God's space in the book of Haggai is not static, but rather, fluid and dynamic. That is, Haggai reported that the people reacted positively to his exhortations and started to work on the temple (Hag 1:14–15), which signaled a change happening with respect to their perception of space and the beginning of the production of a more positive lived aspect of God's space. Second, the people's space is described as space to which the people ascribed significance. Their houses were rebuilt and luxurious, but at the national level, the people's space was characteristic by its socio-economic and military disorder. Finally, Haggai describes nature's lived space as infertile. Instead of agricultural abundances, the people caused severe agricultural problems that were evident in the lack of produce from the land.

4.4 Ideological Spatiality in Haggai

The focus of the second section of this chapter will be on the ideological aspect of space in the book of Haggai. According to Lefebvre, this aspect of space is characterized by its emphasis on "conceived," rather than "perceived" space.[51] It is this abstract explanation

[51] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38–39.

and definition of physical reality which makes this aspect of space more dominant than the other two.[52] An important characteristic of this aspect of space is its ideological nature, which is one of the main reasons why this aspect of space is usually associated with and attributed to dominant structures.[53] All references to the ideological aspect of space in the book of Haggai are outlined in the table below.

Verse	God's Space	People's Space	Nature's Space
Hag 1:4	והבית הזה		
	this house		
Hag 1:6			זרעתם הרבה והבא מעט
			you have sown much but harvested little
Hag 2:3	הבית הזה		
	this house		
Hag 2:6	את־השמים ואת־הארץ ואת־הים ואת־החרבה	את־השמים ואת־הארץ ואת־הים ואת־החרבה	
	the heavens and the earth and the sea and the dry land	the heavens and the earth the sea and the dry land	
Hag 2:7	את־הבית	כל־הגוים	
	the house	all the nations	
Hag 2:9	הבית הזה ... ובמקום הזה		
	this house in this place		
Hag 2:19			העוד הזרע במגורה ועד־הגפן והתאנה והרמון ועץ הזַית לא נשא מן־היום הזה אברך
			Is seed still in the barn? And have even the vine, the fig, pomegranate, and olive

[52] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38–39; Soja, *Thirdspace*, 80.
[53] Soja, *Thirdspace*, 80.

			tree not yielded (fruit)? From this day on I will bless you.
Hag 2:21		את־השמים ואת־הארץ	
		the heavens and the earth	
Hag 2:22		כסא ממלכות ... ממלכות הגוים	
		the throne of kingdoms of the kingdom of the nations	

Table 6. Ideological Spatiality in the Book of Haggai

In the book of Haggai specifically, the shift from lived space (described above) to ideological space is marked in the text by the movement from the prophet's description of the people's production of space to his ideological ideas about it. This change in the book of Haggai is at the level of grammar most often accomplished by shifting focus from present to future as well as from real and objective to abstract (IdF markers). In addition, the ideological space is also marked by formulas "thus says the Lord" (כה אמר יהוה צבאות [כי] [IdY marker]) and "the word of Yahweh came to Haggai" (היה דבר־יהוה ביד־חגי [IdPr marker]).

In general, descriptions of the ideological aspect of space in the book of Haggai are primarily given in the second and third sections of the book that report Haggai's oracle on the twenty-fourth day of the nineth month (Hag 2:18–19, 20–23) in which he encouraged Zerubbabel, Joshua, and the people to continue with the restoration of the temple (Hag 1:15b—2:9).[54] The ideological portrayal of space accomplishes the goal of

[54] As shown in the table at the beginning of this chapter that lists all references to the lived and the ideological aspects of space. It has been shown in this table that there is only one reference to the ideological aspect of space in the first section of Haggai (Hag 1:4), in contrast to six references found in the second section (Hag 2:3, 6[2x], 7[2x], 9) and five references found in the last section (Hag 2:18, 19, 21, 22, 23).

exhorting the leaders and people to continue their work.[55] The study will first address the ideological aspect of God's space and will then move to the ideological aspect of nature's and the people's space.

4.4.1 God's Ideological Space

It can be seen in the table above that there are only four passages that reveal important information about God's ideological space. God's ideological space is first implicitly delineated in Hag 1:4 and 2:3 and then explained in more detail in Hag 2:6–9. Haggai's references to the ideological aspect of God's space are outlined in the table below.

Haggai	God's Ideological Space	Markers
Hag 1:3–4	ויהי דבר־יהוה ביד־חגי הנביא לאמר: העת לכם אתם לשבת בבתיכם ספונים והבית הזה חרב Then the word of Yahweh came by Haggai the prophet, saying: Is it time for you yourself to dwell in your panelled houses while this house is desolate?	IdPr
Hag 2:1, 3	בשביעי בעשרים ואחד לחדש היה דבר־יהוה ביד־חגי הנביא לאמר: מי בכם הנשאר אשר ראה את־הבית הזה בכבודו הראשון ומה אתם ראים אתו עתה הלוא כמהו כאין בעיניכם: In the seventh month, on the twenty first day of the month, the word of Yahweh came by Haggai the prophet saying … Who is left among you who saw this house in its former glory? And how are you seeing it now? Is not it as nothing in your eyes?	IdPr; IdP
Hag 2:7	ובאו חמדת כל־הגוים ומלאתי את־הבית הזה כבוד אמר יהוה צבאות:	IdF; IdY

[55] Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 167–73) explained that the people were disappointed with the current state of the temple building (Hag 2:3), so Haggai responded in order to encourage the people to continue with the project of rebuilding. Haggai gave two major reasons why leaders with their people should continue with their work on temple, each of which is introduced by the Hebrew conjunction כי: the first reason is focused on the present, Yahweh is present and with his people (Hag 2:4); and the second is focused on God's promises of a bright future (Hag 2:6). See also, Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 67 and Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 122.

	and the treasures of all the nations will come in, and I will fill this house with glory, says Yahweh of hosts	
Hag 2:9	גדול יהיה כבוד הבית הזה האחרון מן־הראשון אמר יהוה צבאות ובמקום הזה אתן שלום נאם יהוה צבאות׃ The latter glory of this house will be greater than the former, says Yahweh of hosts. And in this place, I will give peace, declares Yahweh of hosts	IdF; IdY

Table 7. God's Ideological Space in Haggai

The description of the ideological aspect of God's space begins with the prophet's rhetorical question found in Hag 1:4.[56] Through this question, Haggai challenged the people's perception expressed in v. 2, according to which "the time has not come … for the house of Yahweh to be rebuilt."[57] Jacobs correctly asserted that besides the comparison between the poor state of the temple and the luxurious state of the people's homes that is obvious in Hag 1:4, the prophet purposefully used the term **ישב** ("to dwell") to reveal a central problem: the people inhabited their houses while "Yahweh's house was uninhabitable/nonexistent."[58] Thus, the main purpose of Haggai's use of the interrogative in this context was to condemn the people's conviction about Yahweh's house and to explicitly assert that God's space should be rebuilt and not in ruins, and even more important, that the temple is space where Yahweh should dwell.[59]

This portrayal of the ideological space of God is continued in Hag 2:3 which is composed of three rhetorical questions. Out of these three questions, the most important for an examination of the ideological aspect of God's space is the first one. In that

[56] Craig, "Interrogatives in Haggai–Zechariah," 227–28.
[57] Craig, "Interrogatives in Haggai–Zechariah," 228.
[58] Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 45.
[59] For the rhetorical function of interrogatives in the book of Haggai, see also Boda ("Haggai: Master Rhetorician," 299–300) who suggested that the main purpose of these interrogatives (Hag 1:4, 9; 2:3, 12–13, 19) was to bring judgment and to express sympathy. It is the former that is in view in Hag 1:4, and it must be said that judgment is proclaimed in a sense of accusing the people's negligence to fulfill the ideological function of the temple. For other studies that treat this important issue of the use of the interrogatives in the Haggai–Zechariah corpus, see Pierce, "Literary Connectors," 277–89 and Craig, "Interrogatives in Haggai–Zechariah," 224–44.

question, the prophet asked of the people "who has seen this temple in its former glory" (אשר ראה את־הבית הזה בכבודו הראשון). The purpose of the question was to encourage the rest of the people[60]—those who had not seen the temple's previous glory—to look at the poor state of Yahweh's temple through the eyes of those who had witnessed its former glory.[61] By encouraging the people to compare the state of the pre-exilic temple and the state of the post-exilic temple, the author portrayed the ideological aspect of God's space by alluding to the idyllic past.[62] The key term that is used for the description of the pre-exilic temple is כבוד ("glory"[63]), the term that can refer to the temple's splendor, most particularly to its magnificent structure, but also to its glory coming from Yahweh's presence.[64] As will be shown below, both of these characteristics are likely in view in Hag 2:3.

The portrayal of God's ideological space is continued in Hag 2:6–9. This subsection of the book of Haggai is separated from the previous unit by moving attention to the future, which results in shifting the focus from the physical to the ideological reality.[65] The announcement of the future is introduced by the phrase "once again, in a

[60] For an excellent study on the identity of the people who lived in the province of Yehud at that time, including "those who had seen this temple in its former glory" and other demographic issues, see Kessler, "Reconstructing Haggai's Jerusalem."

[61] This group of people that is mentioned in Hag 2:3 is probably the older generation who had seen the pre-exilic temple in its glory. For more details, see Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 95–96.

[62] That this was the main purpose of the prophet's question, see the explanation of Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 49–50. For an excellent study on Haggai's relying on past traditions for the purpose of portraying the ideological future, see Wessels ("Bridging the Gap," 432–41). In his study, Wessels examined Haggai's use of the temple tradition in Hag 1:7–11; 2:1–5; the exodus tradition in Hag 2:1–5; and the royal tradition in Hag 2:20–23. He concluded that Haggai "did not simply use the traditions from the past, but appropriated them for the needs of his time and the purpose of his message. This appropriation was done creatively and served a purpose in the broader scheme of Haggai's vision of the future" (441).

[63] HALOT, 457–58.

[64] Jacobs (*Haggai and Malachi*, 74) excluded the possibility that this term referred to treasures based on the fact that the temple was plundered on a number of occasions (1 Kgs 14:25–29; 2 Kgs 12:17–20; 16:17–18; 18:13–16; 24:12–13; 25:8–15). For the possibility that this term refers to Yahweh's glory related to his presence in the temple, see Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 50.

[65] Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 173.

little while[66]" (עוד אחת מעט היא), which functions as the adverbial clarification of the participial phrase. This announcement of the future[67] is further confirmed with the usage of the Hiphil masculine singular participle of רעש ("to shake") which has the purpose of emphasizing the imminence of the action expressed by the verb and is called *futurum instans*.[68] This participle phrase is followed by three verbs (רעש, בוא, and מלא), all of which are preceded by the *waw* consecutive denoting succession.[69]

The ideological portrayal of God's space is accomplished by placing the description of the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple in the context of cosmological shaking (Hag 2:6–9). The phrase "I will shake[70] the heavens and the earth, and the sea and the dry land" (ואני מרעיש את־השמים ואת־הארץ ואת־הים ואת־החרבה) is composed of a double merism[71] which has the purpose of describing the totality of the cosmos, including the heavenly and the earthly realm. Even though the action of shaking may refer back to the revelation of Yahweh as a divine warrior, this phrase primarily alludes to the event of the creation described in Genesis.[72] That the author alluded to the

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[66] Here, I am following Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 52) whose literal translation is "once again, in a little while." See also, Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 175) who explained that the phrase עוד אחת ("once again") and מעט ("a little [while]") are "two adverbial clarifications indicating that what will happen in a short time will be both a definitive act, as well as one that is in some ways a climax of several events already experienced," and therefore, "one more time, and it will be soon." For other approaches to understanding this phrase, see Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 67) who argued that "the prophet is not expecting the repetition of some earlier event but rather a new sort of glorious activity in the very near future."

[67] For the eschatological aspect of Hag 2:6–9, see Kessler, "Shaking of the Nations."

[68] GKC §116.p; IBHS §39.3.4.e; cf. Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 175.

[69] Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 175.

[70] The participle מרעיש is used in this context to announce future action, GKC §116.p.

[71] Sérandour, "Récits," 14. He is followed by Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 176; Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 124; and Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 87.

[72] Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 86. For the use of creation language in the prophetic literature of the Old Testament, see Klingbeil, "Creation in the Prophetic Literature," 30–50. See also Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 52–53) who likewise emphasized that the motif of shaking had its origin in pre-exilic literature and Boda (*Haggai, Zechariah*, 124) who also suggested that the verb "shaking" is associated elsewhere with the Yahweh's appearance either in revelation or as a divine warrior. Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 176–77) noted that "the intervention of Yahweh the warrior and divine judge will send the

creation story is confirmed by two arguments: first, it is not unusual for the verb רעש ("shake") to be used together with the nouns השמים ("the heavens") and הארץ ("the earth") in the passages that allude to the original act of creation (Judg 5:4; 2 Sam 22:8; Ps 68:9; Isa 13:13; Jer 4:24; Ezek 38:20; Hag 2:21).[73] Second, in the ANE context, the idea of the creation of cosmos is very often brought into a close relationship with the idea of the creation of the temple.[74] This concept was also not strange to the author responsible for Genesis who made a parallel between the creation of the tabernacle and the creation of the heavens and earth in Gen 1–2.[75] In Haggai, this connection between the creation of the cosmos and the creation of the temple is established by reusing the term חרבה ("desolation"), which is first used for the description of the temple in Hag 1:4 and then again, here, in the context of the shaking of the cosmos in Hag 2:6. By alluding to the original creation act, Hag 2:6 points to the recreation of the world that will be accomplished by the rebuilding of the temple.

Placing the restoration of the temple in the context of the creation of the cosmos in Hag 2:6–9 has a general purpose of emphasizing the significance of the temple building project.[76] That is, the temple rebuilding had much wider repercussions than the sixth-century Yehudites might have assumed *prima facie* in their own context. The

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whole cosmos into convulsions" and Tollington (*Tradition and Innovation*, 222–24) argued that the phrase refers to Yahweh's universal judgment.

[73] These three words occur together in the Old Testament a total of 8 times. Besides the examples given above, see also Joel 2:10; 4:16, the book to which the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus makes a number of intertextual links.

[74] Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*, 78–99.

[75] For studies that analyze this parallel between creation and tabernacle, see Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*; 78–99; Walton, *The Lost World of Genesis One*, 77–106; and Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission*, 29–80. For the most recent appraisal of this theme, see Davidson, "Earth's First Sanctuary."

[76] See, for example, Sweeney (*The Twelve Prophets 2*, 547) who explained that the causative כי connects the previous passage which explicitly addressed the issue of rebuilding of the temple with the section Hag 2:6–9.

impact of the restoration would have been felt not only at the level of Yehud and the Persian empire, but also at the level of the cosmos itself.[77] Accordingly, it is not hard to imagine how this ideological idea associated with the restoration of the Jerusalem temple could have been a very powerful tool in the hands of Haggai to encourage Zerubbabel, Joshua, and the people to continue to work on the temple building.[78]

However, the cosmological shaking has a more specific purpose than the rhetorical underlining of the general significance of rebuilding the temple. The description of shaking the heavens and the earth provided in Hag 2:6 is extended to shaking "all the nations" (את־כל־הגוים) in Hag 2:7. This description of the double shaking is then followed with the delineation of two specific results of this divine action: (1) "and the treasures[79] of all the nations will come in" (ובאו חמדת כל־הגוים) and (2) "I will fill this house with glory" (ומלאתי כבוד את־הבית הזה).

After shaking the whole cosmos, Yahweh will also shake all the nations and, as a result, they will bring treasures to the temple of God. The question regarding the purpose of bringing the treasures to the temple of God has long been debated among scholars. Jacobs summarized several ways this phrase related to treasures can be interpreted: First, if one keeps in mind the fact that the shaking of the nations alludes to war by pointing to the revelation of Yahweh as a divine warrior, treasures may be booty that is taken from conquered enemies.[80] Second, this phrase can be interpreted as meaning that treasures are

[77] Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 548.

[78] See for example, Barker, *Disputed Temple*, 214–18.

[79] The noun חמדת which is in the singular appears in this clause with the third person plural verb ובאו. LXX has plural τὰ ἐκλεκτὰ. The problem can be solved without amending the noun (see, for example, Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 47) if one understands it as a noun which carries a collective sense. For more details, see GKC §145.e; Joüon §174i; followed by Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 161 and Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 86.

[80] Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 103.

presented by nations because of their vassal status.[81] Third, this reference to treasure can be taken as the reversal of the unfortunate plundering of the temple when temple vessels were taken from it in 598 and 587/6 BCE (Ezra 1:5–11).[82] Finally, the treasures may be understood as an offering that nations would bring to the temple as part of their worshiping of Yahweh.[83] Even though each of these four interpretations has its advantages and disadvantages, other passages in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus such as Hag 2:20–23 and Zech 8:20–23 suggest that bringing treasures to the temple refers to worshiping Yahweh. This idea is also present in some other earlier traditions to which the prophet may allude in Hag 2:6–9 (cf. Isa 60:4–9).[84]

This delineation of treasures that will be brought to the temple of God is not only a portrayal of God's ideological space. As already noted above, Yahweh's ultimate goal in Hag 2:7 is expressed in his promise "I will fill this house with glory" (ומלאתי את־הזה כבוד הבית), the promise that is reinforced in v. 9. It is the question of the meaning of "glory" that will fill the temple that has long been debated among scholars. Even though, the term כבוד ("glory") is used here in the context of material splendor—especially when the phrase "the silver is mine and the gold is mine" (לי הכסף ולי הזהב) from Hag 2:8 is taken into consideration[85]—its primary meaning must be established in the context of the whole book of Haggai and its major theme of the rebuilding of the

[81] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 53.

[82] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 68.

[83] See, for example, Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 188–89) who blended a bellicose with a pacific cycle and argued that Hag 2:7 is an example of the fusion of these two themes.

[84] Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 188. For a more general portrayal of nations coming to Jerusalem to worship Yahweh where the motif of bringing the treasures is not present, see Isa 2:2–4 and Mic 4:1–4. See also, Wielenga ("Eschatological Hope in Haggai, 9–10") who came to the same conclusion by using a homiletic approach to studying Hag 2:6–9, 20–23.

[85] See Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 104; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 68; Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 181, and Boda (*Haggai, Zechariah*, 125) who, even though he emphasized that glory carries both material and spiritual aspects, placed an accent on the former.

temple.[86] It is quite likely that in the context described above, the term refers to the glory with which Yahweh will fill his temple when its rebuilding is finished.[87] That this idea is in view here is confirmed by the use of the terms מלא ("to fill"), בית ("house"), and כבוד ("glory"). That is, the verb מלא, the term for God's dwelling place בית ("house") and noun כבוד ("glory") occur together almost always in the context of filling the tabernacle or temple with God's glory (Exod 40:34–35; 1 Kgs 8:11; 2 Chr 5:14; 7:1–2; Ezek 10:3, 4; 43:5).[88] It must also be noted that the glory of God mentioned in the context of his dwelling place is very often associated with his holiness, as that is the case in Exod 29:43, 1 Kgs 8:10–11, and Isa 6:3, where the terms כבוד ("glory") and קדוש ("holiness") occur together in the context of the description of God's dwelling place. This is also the case here where glory (Hag 2:6–9) is related to the issue of purity and holiness (Hag 2:10–14), even though they are found in two different sections. This interconnectedness between glory and purity will be discussed in the next chapter dealing with rituals.

In sum, the portrayal of the ideological aspect of God's space begins with the basic description of the temple being rebuilt (Hag 1:4; 2:3). This portrayal is then expanded to the material glory of the temple, the presence of God's glory in it, as well as

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[86] The cosmological significance of the rebuilding of Jerusalem should be understood as multifaceted. Contra Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 87–88 and Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 181) who argued that the expression מלא כבוד, even though it is usually used in the context of describing the divine presence in his temple (Exod 40:34–35; 1 Kgs 8:10–11; Isa 6:3; Ezek 43:5; 44:4), occurs more in a sense of "honour, splendour" in this context.

[87] Goswell, "The Glorification of the Temple," 248–50. See also, Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 54) argued that "'glory' here directly signifies the resplendent presence of God and, in particular, his presence in the sanctuary." They explained that the same idea can be seen in Hag 2:9, as well as in Zech in 2:9[5] and 12[8], and is shared with Ezekiel's idea of divine immanence. Boda (*Haggai, Zechariah*, 125) similarly asserted that the term "glory" implies both material and spiritual connotations. However, while Boda asserted that the emphasis here was on the material aspect, I argue that the focus of the author is on Yahweh's presence.

[88] See Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 181) who mentioned this argument, but still considered Hag 2:7 as referring "more specifically to the splendour or honour that is the result of the presence of the nations' riches offered to Yahweh."

the image of the nations bringing treasures to the temple as an act of worship of Yahweh. This description of God's ideological space is closely related to the description of the people's ideological space which is discussed below.

4.4.2 The People's Ideological Space

The cosmological shaking described in Hag 2:6–9 is not only the basis on which the prophet built God's ideological space, but is also the foundation on which he described the ideological aspect of the people's space. It must be mentioned, however, that along with this passage, the people's ideological space is also delineated in Hag 2:20–23. References to the ideological aspect of the people's space are outlined in the table below:

Haggai	People's Ideological Space	Markers
Hag 2:6, 7	כי כה אמר יהוה צבאות עוד עוד אחת מעט היא והרעשתי את־כל־הגוים ובאו חמדת כל־הגוים For thus says Yahweh of hosts, once again in a little while … I will shake all the nations and the treasures of all the nations will come in …	IdY; IdF
Hag 2:22	והפכתי כסא ממלכות והשמדתי חזק ממלכות הגוים והפכתי מרכבה ורכביה וירדו סוסים ורכביהם איש בחרב אחיו I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms and destroy the power of the kingdom of the nations; and I will overthrow a chariot and its rider and horses and their riders will go down, each by the sword of his brother	IdF; IdY
Hag 2:23	נאם־יהוה ושמתיך כחותם declares Yahweh, I will make you like a signet ring	IdF; IdP; IdY

Table 8. People's Ideological Space in Haggai

As noted in the previous section, the reconstruction of the temple that is alluded to in Hag 2:6–9 causes extreme turmoil to the current order of creation, not only in Yehud and the

Persian empire, but the whole universe.[89] The shaking of "the heavens and the earth, and the sea and the dry land" (את־השמים ואת־הארץ ואת־הים ואת־החרבה) is closely associated with the shaking of "all the nations" (את־כל־הגוים) and, therefore, has not only religious (as seen above), but also socio-economic repercussions (as will be shown below).[90]

It is well-known that in the ANE context, temple-palace relations are set in the context where the temple serves the palace as a source of wealth.[91] The subordinate position of the province of Yehud within the larger political body of the Persian Empire can be seen among other things in Haggai's use of Persian regnal dating formulas (Hag 1:1, 15; 2:10).[92] The subjugation to and acceptance of imperial Persian authorities is also attested to by the close cooperation that existed between Joshua the High Priest, who represented the local religious authority, and Zerubbabel, who was the Persian-appointed governor of Yehud.[93] Although they worked together on rebuilding the temple, Joshua was always purposefully introduced as being second to the governor (Hag 1:2, 12, 14; 2:2, 4), a feature that is not evident in Ezra where there is diversity in how Joshua and

[89] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 67–68.

[90] For the connection between the shaking of the heavens and the earth and the shaking of all the nations, see Jacobs (*Haggai and Malachi*, 87) who correctly asserted that the same verb רעש ("to shake") is used in both clauses. See, further, Barker (*Disputed Temple*, 240–41) who also saw intertextual links begween Hag 2:6–9 and 2:20–23.

[91] Fried's study on the impact of the Achaemenid empire on the Judean priesthood's rise to power shows that the situation in Yehud at the time of Darius was no different. For more details, see Fried, *The Rise to Power* and Fried, *The Priest and the Great King*.

[92] Longstreet, "Native Cultic Leadership," 271.

[93] Zerubbabel functioned as a governor in Persia and is mentioned almost always in association with the priestly figure, Joshua (Ezra 2–4; Hag 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 4; Zech 3; 6). For some important studies on Zerubbabel, see Schreiner, "Zerubbabel"; Redditt, "Prophecy and the Monarchy"; Kashow, "Zechariah 1–8"; Goswell, "The Fate and Future of Zerubbabel"; Petterson, "The Shape of the Davidic Hope"; Williamson, "The Governors of Judah"; Japhet, "Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel"; and Japhet, "Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel (Part II)." For other interpretations of the word **פחת**, see Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 23–27 and Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 13–16.

Zerubbabel are introduced (Ezra 3:2 versus 3:8; 4:3; 5:2).[94] As was the case in Babylonia, Asia Minor, and Egypt, the religious policy of Darius I[95] in Yehud assumed active involvement of the highest administrative officials in religious matters whose main task was to oversee religious authorities.[96]

That being said, however, Haggai announced the shaking of this entire world order[97] and described nations as submitting themselves by bringing wealth into the temple (ובאו חמדת כל־הגוים).[98] Shaking the nations clearly refers to "the disruption of the societal and international order."[99] Whether the term כל־הגוים ("all the nations") refers to nations where God's people were forced to migrate, or more universally, to all the nations of the earth, it is clear that this ideological description of the people's space describes Yehudites as people who will not be subordinated any more, but rather, in a superior position. This subordinate position of the other nations in relation to the people

[94] Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 31. Cataldo (*A Theocratic Yehud?*, 97) carefully noticed that Haggai always mentioned Joshua after Zerubbabel until the closing oracle, where Zerubbabel is mentioned alone (Hag 2:21–23).

[95] On the extrabiblical sources about Darius, king of Persia, see *ANET*, 221, 316, 566.

[96] Longstreet, "Native Cultic Leadership," 272. The above-described rigidity of the religious policy of Darius I is balanced with its flexibility, aspects evident in the books of Haggai and Zechariah. This flexibility is evident in the first place in Darius's act of appointing Zerubbabel to be the governor. On the one hand, Zerubbabel was the official representative of the Persian Empire and was in charge of overseeing the work of temple restoration, but on the other hand, he was, at the same time, a person whose roots were in Israel/Judah and who had strong ties with David's line—a symbol of hope for the community of Yehud. In the same way, as was the case with Zerubbabel, Haggai and Zechariah also placed great import on Joshua's pre-exilic roots. Joshua is identified as the great priest (Hag 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 4; Zech 6:11, cf. Ezra 3; Neh 12:1), the term which is regularly used for the Aaronide/Zadokite high priests in the Old Testament. His priesthood is furthermore linked to the priestly line of Levi's tribe, the line which was established by Moses's brother Aaron.

[97] This reversal of the current state of socio-economic affairs is in line with Kessler's explanation that the participle חמדה is translated in Vulgate with the Latin *moueo*, which carries the meaning "to provoke political or social disorder in a country or nation." For more details see, Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 178.

[98] As correctly noticed by Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 125. Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 180) provides a brief summary of four different proposals on how the treasures of the nations will come back to Jerusalem: (1) as a war booty; (2) as a tribute; (3) as a thanksgiving gift; and (4) as returning cultic vessels. For a more detailed elaboration on these different proposals, see Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 180.

[99] Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 87.

of Israel is also described elsewhere in the traditions of the Old Testament (e.g., Isa 60:5; 61:6; 66:20).[100]

Another reference to the people's ideological space is found in Hag 2:20–21. This passage is situated in the context of the foundation-laying of the second temple.[101] The passage is clearly in parallel to the one in Hag 2:6–9 analyzed above. There are three links between these passages: (1) the phrase "I will shake the heavens and the earth and the sea and the dry land" (ואני מרעיש את־השמים ואת־הארץ ואת־הים ואת־החרבה) from Hag 2:6 occurs in a slightly modified and shorter form: "I will shake the heavens and the earth" (אני מרעיׁש את־השמים ואת־הארץ) in Hag 2:20; (2) the word הגוים ("the nations") is used in both of these passages (Hag 2:6, 22); and (3) both oracles are concerned with the future.[102] Since both Hag 2:6–9 and Hag 2:20–23 are concerned with the idyllic future, they, therefore, describe ideological rather than physical space.[103]

Although the first passage (Hag 2:6–9) describes God's and the people's ideological space by focusing primarily on the socio-religious importance of Yahweh's shaking of the heavens and the earth, this oracle (Hag 2:20–23) describes the people's ideological space by placing an emphasis on the political significance of this action.[104] Wolff correctly noticed that this last oracle in Haggai is focused on overturning the military power of the surrounding nations and strengthening the power of Judah.[105] This

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[100] Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 125.

[101] Boda, "From Dystopia to Myopia," 233–34.

[102] For the parallel between Hag 2:6–9 and 20–23, see Jacobs (*Haggai and Malachi*, 118–19) who correctly noticed that even though the parallel between these two passages is evident, Haggai 2:22 uses the verb הפך ("overturn") instead of רעש ("shake").

[103] For a detailed explanation of the orientation of these passages to the future, see Kessler, "The Shaking of the Nations," 159–66.

[104] Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 161.

[105] Wolff, *Haggai*, 101. Followed by Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 119. Contra Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 67) who suggested that the author had only Persia in view. O'Kennedy ("Haggai 2:20–23") correctly noticed that this change of the political states of affairs should not be

is primarily accomplished by using the term הפך ("overturn") which always refers to turning the current state of affairs upside down and is very often used in the context of overturning the Gentiles.[106] This change of military fortune is furthermore corroborated by the usage of military vocabulary such as "chariot and its driver" (מרכבה ורכביה), "horses and their riders" (סוסים ורכביהם), and "by the sword" (בחרב).[107]

The transformation of the political scene is closed with the description of Zerubbabel in Hag 2:23, who is portrayed as "my (Yahweh's) servant" (עבדי), "chosen" (בחרתי), and one whom Yahweh will place "as a signet ring" (כחותם). There are a few arguments why this prophecy should be taken as a description of the ideal ruler who will be appointed as the king and continue the Davidic line.[108] First, even though the term עבדי ("my servant") is used for a number of different individuals in the OT,[109] the fact that this phrase was most prominently used for David as well as the fact that Zerubbabel is of the Davidic line suggest that this term refers here to the reinstallation of the

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accomplished by people's rebellion. My study of the ritual production of space shows the importance of ritual practices in accomplishing these goals.

[106] HALOT, 253; *DCH* §2:579.

[107] For the Old Testament use of the term "chariots" in the context of "military self-reliance" see, Sensenig, "Chariots on Fire," 73–80. See also, Littauer and Couwel, *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals* and Jacobs (*Haggai and Malachi*, 120) who explained that these phrases refer to the "sources of the nation's security" by alluding to the destruction of the Egyptians at the Red Sea (Exod 14).

[108] Wessels ("Bridging the Gap," 439) correctly summarized that "for Haggai the envisaged future could not be complete without a king on the throne, more particularly a Davidic king." Contra Rose (*Zemah and Zerubbabel*, 242–43) who argued that the Zerubbabel oracle in Hag 2:20–23 is neither royal nor royalist. Rose is followed by Jacobs (*Haggai and Malachi*, 122) who, even though she argued that this prophecy "does not indicate that Zerubbabel is the fulfillment of an ideal ruler," still agreed that he might be perceived as the ideal ruler by the community. See also Kashow, "Zechariah 1–8," 386–89 and Goswell, "The Fate and Future of Zerubbabel," 79–89. Arguments for the interpretation of the prophecy as alluding to the kingship of Zerubbabel is provided in the main body of the text.

On the side of those who take this prophecy as a description of the authority that is given to Zerubbabel, one may also notice different interpretations of the concept of authority. Ackroyd (*Exile and Restoration*, 164–66), for instance, did not emphasize the political aspect of Zerubbabel's authority, and Clines ("Haggai's Temple," 78) leaned towards an interpretation that that authority is related to a "universal and eschatological ruler" and/or "world ruler." For those who narrow down the interpretation of authority to denote just "king," see Japhet, *From the Rivers of Babylon*, 63–64.

[109] For the table where all individuals that are labeled "my servant" in the OT are listed, see Rose, *Zemah and Zerubbabel*, 210–11.

Davidide Zerubbabel.[110] Second, omission of the title פחת יהודה ("governor of Judah") is important because it portrays Zerubbabel in a context of a new world order in which he had a much higher authority than the one given by the Persian empire.[111] Finally, and most important, this prophecy is a clear allusion to the passage found in Jer 22:24–27, an intertextual link that has as its purpose the reversal of the status of the Davidic line by the description of placing Zerubbabel as a signet ring.[112] Thus, this prophecy, in its essence, portrays Zerubbabel as a Davidide ruler who will reign over the independent and sovereign kingdom of Judah.[113]

In sum, the book of Haggai describes the ideological aspect of the people's space by referring to Yahweh's shaking of the entire world order. While the focus in Hag 2:6–9 is on the general description of change in the societal and international order, Hag 2:20–23 more specifically focuses on political and military affairs and predicts the overturning of the military power of the surrounding nations and the reinstallation of a Davidide king. This description of the ideological aspect of the people's space is in stark contrast with the portrayal of the lived aspect of the people's space which was addressed in the first part of this chapter.

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[110] For a more detailed argument that the phrase "my servant" refers to David, see Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 102–6.

[111] Contra Tollington (*Tradition and Innovation*, 136–37) who suggested that the omission of the title is done for the purpose of deemphasizing his political role.

[112] For this interpretation of the function of this allusion to Jer 22:24–27, see Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 54 and Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 69.

[113] For some tensions that exist in addressing the topic of monarchy in the Haggai–Zechariah corpus, see Redditt, "Prophecy and the Monarchy, 439–48" and Redditt, "The King in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8." Redditt's view was critiqued by Petterson, "The Shape of the Davidic Hope," 245–46. Even though this topic goes beyond the scope of the present work, my examination of the theme of the ritual production of space in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus shows equal importance of both Zerubbabel and Joshua throughout the corpus.

4.4.3 Nature's Ideological Space

In this last section dealing with the ideological aspect of space in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus, the focus moves from the people's to nature's space. The transformation of the world order described in the previous section of the present work affects nature's space, as well.[114] Haggai's references to the ideological aspect of God's space are outlined in the table below.

Haggai	People's Ideological Space	Markers
Hag 2:19	העוד הזרע במגורה ועד־הגפן והתאנה והרמון ועץ הזית לא נשא מן־היום הזה אברך Is seed still in the barn? And have even the vine, the fig, pomegranate, and olive tree not yielded (fruit)? From this day on I will bless you.	IdF

Table 9. Nature's Ideological Space in Haggai

The clearest description of nature's ideological space in the book of Haggai is found in Hag 2:19, the verse that concludes the section that begins in Hag 2:15. Similar to Hag 1:9–11, the first part of this section (vv. 16–17) describes the lived aspect of space by portraying severe agricultural problems. This is why Haggai invited the people to recall their past once again (Hag 2:15, 18; cf. 1:5, 7) [115] and to remember how their expectations regarding the yields of grain and wine were not met (Hag 2:16; cf. 1:9).[116] This call is affirmed in v. 19, where the prophet invited people to consider the past for the last

[114] For the lexical links between God's, the people's, and nature's space, see Meadowcroft, "A Desolate Land," 55–58.

[115] Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 207) emphasized the importance of the preposition "before," which is used here to point to the past. See also, Boda (*Haggai, Zechariah*, 146) who explained that the phrase "give careful thought" has a similar function as the one used in chapter 1 (to invite people to reflect on their past), but here, the phrase is used to invite the community to reflect also on their present and future, not just their past.

[116] Contra Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 90) who understood this passage as the miraculous disappearance of food. The parallel with Hag 1:9 is too strong to be ignored.

time.[117] In contrast to chapter 1, however, Haggai contrasted a dark past with a bright future and promised blessings which would replace the curses as the people began the process of rebuilding the temple. This promise of the bright future is accomplished by using the phrase "from this day on" (מן־היום הזה) in Hag 2:19. The idyllic future can become a reality only because of Yahweh's blessing as previously described in Deut 28 (cf. Mal 3:10–11).[118] Those blessings and prosperity in the agricultural activities are closely connected with the rituals associated with the temple, as will be shown in the next chapter of the present work.

4.4.4 Summary

There are a number of conclusions that may be drawn from this examination of the ideological aspect of space. The investigation shows that the book of Haggai describes the ideological space in relation to each of the three types of space mentioned above, that is, God's, the people's, and nature's space. First, the ideological space of God is described as the temple being rebuilt and filled with Yahweh's glory with other nations bringing in treasures as an act of worshiping Yahweh. Second, the ideological aspect of people's space is portrayed by reference to shaking the cosmos and the whole world. This act of Yahweh's shaking refers to restructuring the international societal and military order and, for its climax, it has the appointment of the Davidide Zerubbabel as a new ruler. Finally, Haggai also described nature's ideological space by portraying agricultural

[117] Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 149. Contra Kessler (*The Book of Haggai*, 209–10) who claimed that this text is actually a promise about an abundant future and not a reflection on a frustrating past. For the importance of these agricultural products in the everyday life of ancient Israelites, see Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 94.

[118] Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 116.

fecundity, prosperity, and abundance. The examination of these three types of space shows that priority is given to God's space, which affects the other two types of space.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with the lived and ideological aspect of space in the book of Haggai by using the theoretical framework of Henri Lefebvre. This last section of the present chapter aims to merge the findings related to these two aspects of space with special emphasis on their mutual relationship. In order to accomplish this goal, the summary of the findings from this chapter is organized according to three types of space so that the comparison between the lived and ideological aspects of space as they relate to God's, the people's, and nature's space can be clearly seen.

The examination of the lived and ideological aspects of space in the book of Haggai shows that there is a clear contrast between these two aspects of space.

(1) There is a strong tension between the lived and ideological aspect of God's space. On the one hand, the ideological aspect of God's space is characterized by the temple being rebuilt, Yahweh's presence in it, and other nations bringing treasures to the temple as an act of worshiping Yahweh. On the other hand, the lived aspect of God's space is described as the temple being desolate and impure, and perceived by the people as nothing.

(2) Haggai's portrayal of the people's space also reveals contrasts between the ideological and lived aspects of space. The delineation of the people's ideological space places an accent on the reconstruction of the international societal and military order and appointment of the Davidide Zerubbabel as a new world ruler. In contrast, the portrayal

of lived space focuses on the people ascribing importance to their houses, while at the national level, space was characterized by its social and military disorder.

(3) Finally, the tension between the ideological and lived aspects of space is evident in nature's space, as well. The ideological aspect of nature's space is described by using images of fecundity, prosperity, and agricultural abundances. In contrast, Haggai provided a description of the lived aspect of nature's space which features agricultural problems and scarcity in the produce of the land.

Thus, while the Yehudites, on the one hand, created the lived aspect of space, which is described mainly in a negative way, Haggai, on the other hand, promoted the ideological aspect of space with its positive characteristics. The tension between the ideological and lived can most clearly be seen in Haggai's use of the phrase "set your hearts on your ways" (שימו לבבכם על־דרכיכם) which, among other things, had the purpose of calling the people to reassess their attitude towards the space around them and, ultimately, to reevaluate the space that they had produced (Hag 1:5, 7; 2:15, 18). This call for reassessment is rhetorically corroborated by Haggai's intertextual links to blessings and curses described in various covenantal passages in the Torah (for example, Lev 26; Deut 28–30) which had the purpose of explaining that the severe problems the people were facing were just the consequence of their behaviour (Hag 1:5–11). In sum, the people's production of what, in this study, is called lived space was not in line with Haggai's portrayal of ideological space.

CHAPTER 5: RITUAL PRODUCTION OF SPACE IN HAGGAI

5.1 Introduction

The present chapter is concerned with the investigation of rituals as they are described in the book of Haggai. Keeping in mind the main question of the present work, the focus will be on how the rituals described in Haggai affect the space described in the previous chapter. Although every speech of Haggai is given on a date that is associated with an important Jewish festival[1]—and thus inextricably related to a number of different rituals associated with those festivals—there are only two specific rituals that are referred to in the text: (1) offering on the altar (Hag 2:10–14) and (2) the foundation-laying ceremony (Hag 2:18).

According to Grimes's classification, these two rituals fall into two different rituals modes: (1) offering on the altar (Hag 2:10–14) belongs to the group of liturgical rituals and (2) the foundation-laying ceremony (Hag 2:18), to ceremonial rituals.[2] The first type of ritual pertains to those rituals performed at the temple site, while the second

[1] See the first section of this chapter below which is based on Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 44, 62–63, 71–72. I am aware that there are scholars who would say that these festivals may not have been celebrated at the time of Haggai and were developed in the post-exilic period. See, for example, Wellhausen (*Prolegomena*, 90–98) who was among the first scholars who proposed that the ritual ceremonies presented in the priestly literature, including festivals, were actually created within priestly circles of the Second Temple. According to him, the existence of the first temple does not necessarily mean that ritual ceremonies including the celebration of festivals existed at that time. Wellhausen was critiqued by a number of scholars including Dillmann (*Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua*, 593–690), Delitzsch (*Neuer Commentar über Genesis*, 17), and Kittel ("Die neueste Wendung," 29–62, 147–69) who argued that the priestly source was created before the destruction of the first temple. In this research, I take the view that legislation given in Leviticus antedated the book of Haggai. For a helpful overview of a number of issues related to the date when festivals were created, see Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence*, 1–45.

[2] Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, 40–57. Even though I agree with Kessler and Boda that the book of Haggai is structured according to different phases associated with the restoration of the temple, I do not consider all these stages to be rituals. In other words, the decision to build the temple and

relates to the temple-building project. Even more important, these two rituals represent infelicitous (Hag 2:10–14) and felicitous (Hag 2:18) rituals,[3] the issue that will be the main focus of the investigation of this chapter. The examination is primarily based on the information given about these rituals in the text, but it also draws on insights related to these rituals from ancient Near Eastern sources as well as on intertextual connections with earlier OT traditions. Before the study can move to the investigation of the rituals mentioned above, a brief analysis of the distribution of the references to rituals as they relate to the overall structure of the book of Haggai is necessary. It is to this issue that the present chapter turns in the following section.[4]

5.2 References to Rituals and the Structure of Haggai

Compared to the correspondence between the literary structure of Haggai and the distribution of references to different aspects of space, the situation is a little bit clearer, but still far from unambiguous in terms of a relationship between the distribution of references to rituals and the overall structure of the book.[5] Generally speaking, each of the speeches recorded in the book of Haggai is given during specific ritual celebrations

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preparatory works that are described in the book of Haggai as the first two stages associated with the temple reconstruction are not described in this book as actual rituals. This is not to say that these early stages were not *associated* with rituals, but rather, that by describing these earlier stages of the temple reconstruction, the book of Haggai did not focus nor mention rituals associated with them. What seems clear from the book of Haggai is that the book focuses on the foundation-laying ceremony and describes the stages mentioned above as preliminary phases leading to this ceremony.

[3] See chapter 2 of the present work.

[4] It can be of great importance, at times, to examine the relationship between the description of a ritual and the literary structure of a text.

[5] Klingbeil, *Bridging the Gap*, 147. One good example of how the structure of a ritual may translate into the structure of the text is given by Klingbeil in his article, "The Syntactic Structure," especially 513–19. In this article, Klingbeil focused on the ritual of the ordination of Aaron and his sons as described in Lev 8 and claimed that the outline of this chapter corresponds to the complex structure of ritual: command (1–3); fulfillment (4–5); washing of priests; dressing of Aaron (6–9); anointing of the sanctuary (10–11); anointing of Aaron; dressing of sons (12–13); purification offering (14–17); burnt offering (18–21); ordination offering (22–29); anointing of priestly garments (30); command (31–35); and fulfilment (36).

known from Jewish tradition: the first speech, given on the first day of the month, occurs during the New Moon festival (Hag 1:1); the second speech, given on the twenty-first day of the seventh month, refers to the final part of the Feast of Booths (Hag 2:1); and finally, the third speech, given on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month, occurs during the foundation-laying ceremony (Hag 2:10, 18, 20).[6]

Besides this organization of the book according to the festivals on which Haggai gave his speeches, Boda and Kessler also suggested that these major sections of the book of Haggai correspond to different ritual phases associated with the reconstruction of temples in the ANE world.[7] It must be noted, however, that these phases are primarily associated with the foundation-laying ceremony—mainly as preparation for this ritual—and not with the offering rituals described in Hag 2:10–14. Even though cultic in their nature, specific rituals associated with these phases are not mentioned in Haggai. Keeping this in mind, the third section of the book of Haggai deals with offering rituals and, at the same time, describes an important stage in the preparation for the rituals related to the foundation-laying ceremony.

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[6] Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 44; 62–63; 71–72) explained how all three dates mentioned in the book of Haggai are related to festive activities. First, the first day of the month in the OT is always associated with sacrificial service (Num 28:11–15; Ezek 46:6–7), royal patronage (2 Chr 31:3; Ezek 46:6; 2 Kgs 4:23), and the Sabbath (Amos 8:5; Isa 1:13, 14; 66:23; Hos 2:11); second, the twenty-first day of the month is linked to the final part of the Feast of Booths (Lev 23:33–36), which is also associated with sacrificial ritual activities; finally, the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month is the only date which does not have any specific significance in the festive calendar described in the Pentateuch. That being said, however, this date is also connected with ritual activities related to the foundation-laying ceremony.

[7] Building on the work of Ellis, Boda (*From Dystopia to Myopia*, 231–34) suggested that all four phases of the temple restoration process are evident in the book of Haggai and may even translate to its literary structure: (1) the decision to build (Hag 1:1–11), (2) the preparation of the site and materials (Hag 2:1–9), (3) the foundation-laying (Hag 2:10–23), and (4) the construction and dedication festivities. See also, Boda's assessment of the Chronicler's Temple Building Account, Boda, "Legitimizing the Temple," especially 306–10, where he compared 1 Kings, Exodus–Numbers, 1—2 Chronicles, and Haggai and Zechariah. For Kessler's assessment of the temple building account in Haggai in the context of much broader ANE temple-(re)building practices and traditions, see Kessler, "Temple Building in Haggai." In his essay, Kessler did not make a parallel between different rebuilding rituals and the overall structure of the book of Haggai as is the case with Boda.

Regardless of how scholars see the correspondence mentioned above between the literary structure of Haggai and rituals that are referred to in the book, it is evident that a detailed description of the ritual practices is not given in the book except for a few references to two different rituals. These two specific rituals are both referred to in the third section of the book which deals with the prophetic message given on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month: the first is a ritual offering (Hag 2:11–14) and the second is related to the foundation-laying ceremony (Hag 2:15–19).[8] The study will first examine rituals of offering that are referred to in Hag 2:10–14.

5.3 The Offering Ritual in Haggai 2:10–14

The offering rituals described in Hag 2:10–14 are set within a prophetic message given during the foundation-laying ceremony presumed in Hag 2:10–23.[9] These oracles represent the last main section of the book of Haggai[10] in which the prophet Haggai

[8] Although the whole book is structured around different stages of the temple rebuilding, I make a distinction between the offerings referred to in Hag 2:10–14 and the foundation-laying rituals described in Hag 2:18. The former are described as rituals which are part of an ongoing ritual service and are portrayed in a negative light, and the latter are described as rituals associated with the (re)building of the temple and they are described positively. For an explanation on how purification rituals are connected with temple building rituals, see Boda, "From Dystopia to Myopia," 221–26; 233–34. See also, Kessler ("Temple Building in Haggai," 371–75) who, building on Averbeck, emphasized the importance of purification of the materials, the site, and population in the ANE's rebuilding sources. He argued that even though the account in Haggai differs from other ANE accounts, the matter of purity is, in general, described as very important in Hag 2:10–19.

[9] Although some scholars argue that sections 2:10–14, 15–19, and 20–23 are separate units, a closer look at this passage shows that this is a faulty observation. The current analysis of the spatiality and rituals shows that these passages should be considered as one inseparable unit. Consider Boda (*Haggai, Zechariah*, 142) who emphasized that the phrase "and now" (ועתה), which in this pericope occurs in verse 15, is always used in the Old Testament as a key transitional marker in the middle of a speech. This means that Hag 2:10–23 more likely forms one unit with this key transitional marker (ועתה) used at its mid-point in Hag 2:15. Cf. Boda, "Perspectives on Priests," 19 and Boda, *Praying the Tradition*, 29–30.

[10] I follow Boda (*Haggai, Zechariah*, 69) who argued that the book of Haggai is composed of three main sections: an exhortation to rebuild the temple (1:1–15), an encouragement for restoring its former glory (2:1–9), and a prophetic message on the day the foundation of the structure is laid (2:10–23). Contra this, Verhoef (*Haggai and Malachi*, 20–24) proposed four units in which the last section of the book is 2:20–23. Cf. Hill, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 48–51. Although the division between 2:10–19 and 2:20–23 is not artificial, the occasion behind both sections is the same (i.e., the twenty-fourth of the month is mentioned in Hag 2:10, 18, 20 as the ceremony celebrating the foundation-laying), and thus, there is no

addresses the priests (2:10–14), the people (2:15–19), and the royal house (2:20–23).[11] The first section, which reports a conversation between the prophet Haggai and the priests (Hag 2:10–14), is of special importance to this study since it refers directly to one of the two rituals clearly mentioned in the book. A close examination of Hag 2:10–14 shows that the action of offering on the altar has all the qualities of ritual that are previously described in the methodology section in chapter 2 and thus, should be identified as ritual.[12]

5.3.1 Ritual Elements

In order to examine the offering rituals, this section will first focus on the five elements of ritual outlined by Grimes in the order they appear in the text: time, actors, actions, objects, and place.[13] These rituals are first presented in the table below and then analyzed one by one in the next section of this study.

Grimes's Ritual Elements	References to Ritual Elements	Haggai 2:10–14
Ritual action	יקריבו they offer	Hag 2:14
Ritual actors	העם־הזה this people	Hag 2:14
Ritual places	שם	Hag 2:14

need for separation, noted Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 141–43. For the position of 2:15–19 and how it relates to the aforementioned proposed structure of the book, see Ackroyd, "Some Interpretative Glosses," 163–67.

[11] Joshua, the high priest, who is mentioned in the previous two sections of the book of Haggai (Hag 1:1–15; 2:1–9), is evidently absent from this section. For the purpose behind this absence, see Boda, "Perspectives on Priests," 19. Cf. Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 223.

[12] See, especially, section 2.3.2.

[13] Grimes, *The Crafts of Ritual Studies*, 232. This is not to say that the sixth and seventh elements outlined by Grimes are completely absent. Rather, while they are apparent in some rituals described in the biblical text, they are less prominent than the other five.

	there (altar)	
Ritual times	בעשרים וארבעה לתשיעי on the twenty fourth [day] of the ninth [month]	Hag 2:10
Ritual objects	ואשר יקריבו and whatever they offer	Hag 2:14

Table 1. Elements of the Offering Rituals (Hag 2:10–14)

5.3.1.1 Ritual Time

Since the text itself first describes the time, this examination will begin with the exploration of that specific element. As is the case with other oracles recorded in the book, this one is dated to a specific day in the calendar that serves to mark an important ceremonial ritual that is related to the rebuilding of the temple.[14] The twenty-fourth day of the ninth month also marks three months from the time when the people began to work on the temple (Hag 1:12–15) and, what is more important, it is also associated with the day when the foundation of Yahweh's temple was laid (Hag 2:18).[15] Although Hag 2:10 emphasizes that this speech was given during this important ceremony, the prophet's address in Hag 2:10–14 is concerned with the rituals from the past and not with the rituals which were actually performed on that very day.[16] This point is clear from Hag 2:15 where the word עתה (now) is used to mark the point of movement from the past (Hag

[14] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 44, 62–63, 71–72.

[15] Boda (*Haggai, Zechariah*, 141) noticed an important parallel between three other passages found in Ezra 3:10–13; Zech 4:6b–10a; and 8:9–13.

[16] Contra Jacobs (*Haggai and Malachi*, 93–94) who argued that Hag 2:10–23 focuses on the present and future only. However, the phrase "and now" that appears in Hag 2:15 shows that Haggai also has the past in view.

2:10–14) to the present (Hag 2:15–19).[17] Thus, in his oracle that was given on the day of the foundation-laying ceremony, the prophet Haggai reminds the people of their previous ritual activities performed at the temple site.

5.3.1.2 Ritual Actors

Examination of the ritual elements is continued in the next section by focusing on the ritual actors. Although Hag 2:11–14 generally focuses on priests and Hag 2:15–19, on the other people, the former cannot be understood as referring exclusively to the priests—who should be seen here primarily as teachers of ritual issues (Lev 10:10–11; 22:15–16)[18]—but to the priests and the people together. The people who participated in the rituals alluded to in Hag 2:10–14 are targeted in Hag 2:14 and are described as "this people" (העם־הזה) and "this nation" (הגוי הזה). Scholars offer different interpretations on the identity of "this people" and "this nation," among which, the most popular are that the people in view are Samaritans[19] or Judahites.[20] However, the Samaritans should not be taken as those who are addressed by the prophet since they are described in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah as those who specifically opposed the building of the city and not

[17] Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 142–3; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 87–88. In this context, the word תורה appears without the definite article and must be understood as "direction, instruction, teaching, or law" (HALOT, 1711; *DCH* §8:612). The phrase שאל… תורה is an idiom, and the closest parallel is found in Mal 2:7, where instead of the verb שאל, the verb בקש is used. See Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 55.

[18] Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14*, 72–73; Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 222–23.

[19] See, for example, Rothstein (*Juden und Samaritaner*, 7–11) who suggested that "this people" and "this nation" addressed by Haggai are the Samaritans, mainly based on the usage of the term גוי (here translated by "nation"). His arguments are summarized and critiqued by Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 226–27. Rothstein was followed, among others, by Assis, "Structure and Meaning" and Wolff, *Haggai*, 93–94.

[20] Among others, see May, "This People," 190–97; Koch, "Haggais Unreines Volk," 52–66; Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 227–28; Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 205; and Boda, "Perspectives on Priests," 20. It must be mentioned that regardless of who the original recipients of Haggai's message were, the identity of those people does not affect the issue of purity and impurity that is discussed in this passage.

as the people who were actively involved in offering sacrifices in Jerusalem.[21] Furthermore, both of these two phrases are used in the Old Testament to refer to the people of God and not to Gentiles: the phrase "this people" (העם־הזה) is used in prophetic literature almost exclusively for God's people, and the phrase "this nation" (הגוי הזה) is also used for the people of God in the Old Testament (e.g., Exod 33:12–13; Jer 5:9, 29; 7:28), and very often, in connection with their "impure" state, as is the case here.[22] Thus, the people in view are most likely Judahites.

5.3.1.3 Ritual Actions and Objects

It is the action performed by Yehudites that is of primary concern here. "All the works of their hands" (כל־מעשה ידיהם) "and whatever they offer" (ואשר יקריבו שם) on the altar are described as "impure" (טמא). The verb יקריבו ("they offer"[23]) is a sacrificial term used regularly in Leviticus and should be understood as a plural transitive referring to the people mentioned in the first part of the sentence, not to the priests. Therefore, while the priests mentioned in Hag 2:12–13 are described as being responsible for the transfer of impurity and holiness in a number of ways, it is the people's ritual activities which are targeted in this verse and they are directly condemned as impure.[24] The term

[21] See Boda, "Perspectives on Priests," 20. For other arguments about why the prophet does not have Samaritans in view, see Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 227–28.

[22] Cody, "When Is the Chosen People," 1–6. Cody is followed by Boda, "Perspectives on Priests," 20 and Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 226–28. See also, Petersen (*Zechariah 9–14*, 82–83) who argued that Haggai's focus is on the "work of their hands" and not on "this people" and "this nation." However, Hag 2:14 clearly states that both the people and the work of their hands are impure, so the emphasis is on both, rather than only on the works of people's hands.

[23] The technical term קרב in the Hiphil means "to bring near, offer, present" and is used mostly in Leviticus and Numbers, according to HALOT 1134; *DCH* §7:308.

[24] Contra Tiemeyer (*Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 233–36) who argued that both people and priests are targeted by Haggai in 2:14. There are several reasons why she offered this interpretation: 1) the conjunction attached to אשר disconnects the first part from the rest of the sentence, 2) there is no accusative marker in the phrase טמא הוא, 3) this translation is supported by LXX, and 4) the singular הוא which follows the intransitive verb may be a collective singular. Although convincing, Tiemeyer herself admitted

קרב (“to offer”) is used in the context of sacrificial regulations with objects such as different animals and agricultural produce (e.g., Lev 1:13; 2:8).[25] The object of the verb in v. 14—that which is offered—is the phrase “all the work of their hands” (כל־מעשה ידיהם) which, with a minor change of using the second person masculine plural suffix instead of the third person masculine plural suffix, is used again in v. 17 to refer to agricultural produce.[26] It is likely that the phrase is used in the same sense in Hag 2:14, but in the context of sacrificial activity on the temple site.[27] Another place where the verb קרב (“to offer”) is used with agricultural produce as its object—as is the case in Hag 2:14 where the same verb is found together with the phrase “all the work of their hands” (כל־מעשה ידיהם)—is Lev 2 in the context of the מנחה offering (“grain offering”). It is likely that the prophet had in view the מנחה offering in this oracle, but the sacrificial activity described by the phrase “and whatever they offer” (ואשר יקריבו) does not exclude the other types of offerings as potential ritual activities referred to by Haggai.

5.3.1.4 Ritual Place

The description of ritual actions and objects is closely associated with the delineation of the space where people perform ritual acts of offering. In line with the main focus of the book of Haggai, ritual actions that are briefly elaborated above are described as closely

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that either a plural or singular understanding of the verb קרב is theoretically possible. In my opinion, the analogy between verses 12–13 and verse 14 only makes sense if the verb קרב is understood as a transitive plural. For a more detailed explanation of Tiemeyer’s view, see Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 233–36.

[25] Boda, “Perspectives on Priests,” 20.

[26] Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14*, 82–83. The phrase כל־מעשה ידיהם has a variety of usages. Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah*, 57) noted that the phrase can indicate “all manner of things produced by human hands (e.g., idols, 2 Kgs 19:18; transgression, Jer 32:30; crafts, Song 7:2), there is a consistent set of occurrences in Deuteronomy which have a clear agricultural intent, Deut 14:29; 16:15; 24:19; 28:12; and 30:9.”

[27] Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 205. For the view that the phrase “all the works of their hands” refers to the temple or the altar in Bethel, see Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 57–58.

associated with the temple space. The adverb שם ("there") is used within the phrase "and whatever they offer there" (ואשר יקריבו שם) and likely refers to the stand-alone altar which was built soon after the first wave of return migration came from Babylon (Ezra 3:1–6).[28] Thus, the place referred to in Hag 2:14, where ritual activities were performed by Yehudites, should be understood as the location where the temple was lying in ruins, or more precisely, the temple place where the altar was rebuilt. While the final result of offerings in Leviticus is expiation and/or purification,[29] the text in Haggai describes quite a different outcome. It is to this problem of efficacy of ritual that this paper turns.

5.3.2 Ritual Efficacy

One of the major issues addressed in this passage is the statement from Hag 2:14 that "this people," "all the works of their hands," and "whatever they offered there" were all "impure" (טמא). It is important to note that this outcome of ritual activities described in Hag 2:10–14 is in striking contrast with the intended efficacy of the ritual system described in Leviticus.[30] Thus, the ritual performances described in Hag 2:10–14 should be labeled as infelicitous.

There are several questions related to the efficacy of ritual activities described in the book of Haggai and their infelicitous nature which are of vital significance and must be addressed. Before turning to this matter, however, the conceptual framework of the efficacy of the ritual sacrificial system as described in the Pentateuch should be

[28] Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 104; Boda, "Perspectives on Priests," 20–21; Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 208.

[29] A detailed discussion on the issue of the final goal of the Levitical sacrificial system goes beyond the scope of the present study. Some important clarifications related to the issues discussed in the book of Haggai are presented below.

[30] Contra Goswell ("So Was This People," 363–78) who argued that people's state of impurity should be understood in the past tense. For my arguments against that view, see below.

clarified.[31] Since one of the major purposes of the ritual offerings described in Leviticus is purification and the result of the same ritual action in Haggai is a state of impurity, a few preliminary comments should be made on the conceptual framework of impurity, purity, and holiness as described in Leviticus.[32] It is only against this backdrop that the efficacy of the offering ritual in Hag 2:10–14 will be able to be evaluated.

5.3.2.1 Conceptual Framework

One of the key texts concerning *purity* in the Old Testament is found in Lev 10:10–11 (cf. Lev 11:47; 20:25; Ezek 22:26; 44:23) where Aaron and the priests are commanded "to distinguish between the sacred/holy (קדש) and the common (חל), and between the impure (טמא) and the pure (טהור)" (Lev 10:10).[33] Milgrom explained that the text implies that there are four[34] major cultic categories—sacred, common, pure, and

[31] For the dependence of Haggai on the ritual regulations prescribed in Torah, see Meyers, "The Use of Tôrâ in Haggai."

[32] For a study on different meanings and functions of the Levitical ritual system with the special focus on the function and the meaning of חטאת offering, see Kiuchi, *Purification Offering* and Sklar, *Sin, Impurity, Sacrifice, Atonement*. Kiuchi argued that even though חטאת should be translated as "purification offering," חטאת deals both with uncleanness and sin and not only with uncleanness as Milgrom claimed. Different functions of this ritual are among other things also marked by different practices regarding blood manipulation and the disposal of the flesh. Similarly, by examining how *kipper* function both in passages concerned with sin and passages concerned with impurity, Sklar argued that *kipper* holds both meanings: ransom and purification or what he calls *koper purgation*.

See also, Milgrom ("Priestly Picture of Dorian Gray") who argued that the purpose of the *hattat* offering was to provide cleansing of the sanctuary. Milgrom was critiqued by Gane (*Cult and Character*) who suggested that the function of daily *hattat* offerings was to defile the sanctuary, which was then cleansed annually on the Day of Atonement.

[33] This unique command of Yahweh, found in Lev 10:10–11, is the starting point for the investigation of the concept of purity for many scholars. Ibn Ezra, for example, argued that this clause is an introduction to all of Lev 11–15. The first scholars who dealt with this topic in the modern era were Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel*, 55–56, 74; 103–5; Milgrom, "Priestly Picture of Dorian Gray"; and Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 615–17.

[34] Even though I employed Milgrom's classification, it must be mentioned that it is very hard to differentiate between the "common" and the "pure/impure" categories in the rest of the literature. This is why a number of scholars propose a categorization which distinguishes only three instead of four different cultic categories: holy, pure, and impure. See Boda, *A Severe Mercy*, 51–52. Boda built on Wenham, "Purity," 2:379; Jenson, *Graded Holiness*, 43–55; Klawans, "Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple"; and Sklar, *Sin, Impurity*, 105–36. See also, Bibb, *Ritual Words*, 151.

impure.[35] These categories are presented in the chart below as holy, pure, impure, and common.

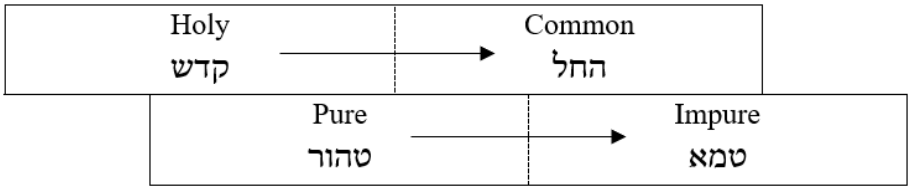

Figure 1. Cultic Categories[36]

According to this spectrum, impurity is on the opposite side of the scale from holiness, and these two categories have nothing to do with each other. Both extremes, impurity and holiness, are contagious in that they tend to influence the state of other people, places, or things. They should be understood as dynamic, as explained below, whereas the categories of "purity" and "common" should be understood as static.[37] It is important to say that these cultic categories are related to, but must not be confused or identified with, the associated ritual activities. The main difference is that holy, common, pure, and impure represent "states" or "conditions," while ritual activity should be understood as a specific social action. It is argued here that cultic categories influence ritual activity and vice versa, as explained below.

5.3.2.2 The Issue of Impurity in the Book of Haggai

Now that the legislation regarding holy, common, pure, and impure has been briefly described, the study must address several questions that are found in the book of Haggai

[35] Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 731–32.

[36] The table is taken from Milgrom (*Leviticus 1–16*, 732) and is slightly modified by the addition of the Hebrew terms.

[37] For a very informative study on the matter of transferable holiness, which covers a wide range of different views, see Friedman, "The Holy Scriptures Defile." In that chapter, Friedman outlined a number of significant studies on this topic. A few examples are Haran, "The Priestly Image"; Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service*; Milgrom, "Sancta Contagion"; Milgrom, "The Graduated"; and Milgrom, "The Priestly Laws."

and which are of vital significance and related to the issue of holiness and impurity. The first question[38] in Hag 2:12 was related to the ability of holiness to be transferred from meat via the corner of a garment[39] to other food (בשר־קדש → בכנף בגדו → הלחם).[40] In contrast, the second question in Hag 2:13 was concerned with impurity and its ability to be transferred from a dead body via a person to some food (טמא־נפש → יגע (איש) → בכל־אלה). While the priests answered the first question, "Absolutely not"[41] (לא), they gave a positive answer to the second question (יטמא).[42] In this way, the priests confirmed that holiness is not able to pass on to the third degree, whereas impurity can reach that far.[43]

While their second answer is relatively unproblematic—because it is well-established in the tradition found in Lev 5:2–4; 11:24–40; and Num 5:2—their response to the first question apparently causes serious problems within the biblical canon.[44] Comparison with earlier traditions reveals some discrepancies between the rulings

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[38] Floyd (*Minor Prophets 2*, 290) suggested that the literary form in Hag 2:10–14 should be understood as a prophetic-symbolic act. Cf. Fohrer, *Die Symbolischen Handlungen.*

[39] HALOT lists four possibilities: 1) wing of an eagle (Exod 19:4; Deut 32:11; Jer 48:40; 49:22; Ezek 17:3, 7; Prov 23:5); 2) wing of other creatures (Exod 25:20; 37:9; 1 Kgs 6:24, 27; 8:6; Ezek 3:11–13, 57; 10:5, 8, 12, 16, 19; 11:22); 3) edge, extremity, or corner (Ezek 7:2; 37:3; 38:13); and 4) skirt (hem); the third one is picked as the one which fits the present context the best (HALOT, 486). However, the four corners of the garment could sometimes signify one's status in the ancient world; sometimes "four ritual tassels were attached to the corners of the outer garment" (1 Sam 24:6–7, 12). For a more detailed explanation of this translation, see Bertman, "Tasseled Garments."

[40] Hildebrand, "Temple Ritual," 160.

[41] The answer is given in the form of an extremely short verbal clause where לא must be understood as "the negative used absolutely." Therefore, I have translated it by "Absolutely not!" For more details on this usage of the negative adverb, see Joüon §160j; GKC §152.c. Contra Davidson, *Syntax*, 126, who thought that the negative adverb was a simple "no."

[42] According to the purity laws found in Leviticus, the dead bodies of a number of animals can transfer impurity to humans touching them, or to clothes, vessels, or seed that may come into contact with the corpses (Lev 11:24–40; see also, Lev 5:2–4; Num 5:2). For more information about the transfer of impurity, see Kazen, *Issues of Impurity*, 54–57.

[43] Hildebrand, "Temple Ritual," 10–19. Followed by Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 144.

[44] See, for example, Dubbink ("Ähnlich und doch ganz anders, 14–16") who examined the priestly and prophetic understanding of holiness and purity and argued that even though prophets accepted terms such as "pure", "impure", "common", and "holy" from priests, their understanding of these terms was radically different. Dubbink listed Hag 2:10–14 as one of the examples to prove the above-mentioned point.

described in Hag 2 and earlier instructions about this subject matter.[45] For instance, Tiemeyer observed that Old Testament regulations in the Pentateuch show that holiness *can* be transferred under certain conditions. The texts in Exod 29:37; 30:29; and Lev 6:11[18] demonstrate that the transfer of holiness from the altar is possible; Lev 6:20[27] shows that holiness can be transmitted from sacrificial meat; and Ezek 44:19 mentions the ability of holiness to be transferred via priestly garments.[46]

There are, however, several differences with respect to the main ritual elements between these texts and the one in Haggai which make a direct comparison between these texts inappropriate.[47] To begin, Lev 6:20 addresses a direct transfer (from object to object), while Haggai's question is related to the transfer to the third degree (indirectly from object to object through an intermediary person and his/her clothing as the conduit). Alongside this, in the case of a supposed parallel with Ezek 44:19, the major differences are in respect to subjects and objects. In Ezek 44:15, the subject is כהן ("priest"), while in Hag 2:12, it is איש ("man").[48] In addition, in contrast to Ezek 44:19 where the objects are the "people" (עם), in Hag 2:12, the objects are various food items: "bread" (לחם), "vegetables" (נזיד), "wine" (יין), "oil" (שמן), and "any other food" (כל-מאכל).[49] There is

[45] Tiemeyer, "Indirect Touch," 64. I build on Tiemeyer's work in what follows.

[46] Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 224–26.

[47] This is a good example of how any serious study of ritual described in the biblical text should include an examination of its efficiency as well as all its main elements such as actors, action, objects, time, and space. While investigation of all these elements in relation to rituals mentioned in Lev 6:19–20 and Ezek 44:19 go beyond the scope of the present study, my analysis of some of these elements from above shows how they must be distinguished from the ones mentioned in Hag 2:10–14.

[48] Contra Tiemeyer, who claimed that in both texts, the subjects refer to priests (Tiemeyer, "Indirect Touch," 66).

[49] Along with this, Tiemeyer noticed that items at risk of sanctification described in Ezekiel are direct objects, while in Haggai, they are objects that achieve a status through an intransitive verb. Tiemeyer exaggerated these differences by focusing only on the part of the verse with Haggai's question where the items are mentioned as *subjects*, but she neglected the first part of the sentence where the same items are *objects* of the verb. Tiemeyer correctly noticed that although the verb is the same, two different conjugations are used in Ezekiel and Haggai: the Piel in Ezekiel and the Qal denoting the stative meaning in Haggai. See Tiemeyer, "Indirect Touch," 66.

also another difference concerning the source of holiness. In Ezek 44, the source is service in the temple, while in Haggai, the cause of holiness is the holy meat. In sum, it can be said that while the transfer of holiness to the third degree is not possible when a non-priest is involved in the transfer (Hag 2:12), holiness can be transferred via clothing if a priest wears it (Ezek 44). This argument is also confirmed by several texts found in the Old Testament which confirm that holiness is transmittable only in the context of priestly ministry (Exod 19:12–13; 30:33; Lev 6:20; Num 4:15).

In regard to the second question related to the transfer of impurity, things are considerably clearer. In her study on this topic, Tiemeyer suggested the text from Lam 4:14 as a possible background against which priests in Haggai built their argument.[50] While the similarity between Lam 4:14–15 and Hag 2:10–14 is clear in terms of the transfer of impurity via clothing, there is an important difference since Lamentations addresses the issue of impurity caused by blood (i.e., the blood-stain of murder), while Haggai asks priests about a corpse as the source of defilement. Based on these two texts which address the transfer of impurity, two conclusions can be drawn: First, a transfer of impurity when its source is a corpse is possible to the third degree (Hag 2:13). This is based on the tradition found in Lev 5:2–4; 11:24–40; and Num 5:2. Second, in addition to this, Lam 4 reveals that impurity which has blood as its source can also be transferred to the third degree.

Haggai uses these arguments regarding the transfer of impurity as the basis for his rebuke which is described in Hag 2:14 where the adverb כֵּן ("so") is repeated three times, marking that verse the climax of the section.[51] Therefore, as it was described in Hag

[50] Tiemeyer, "Indirect Touch," 67–71.

[51] Here, I follow Tiemeyer who proposed that vv. 11–13 serve as the basis for the subsequent critique in v. 14. Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 221.

2:12–13, the impurity is proved to be contagious in the situation described in v. 14, as well: the people of Yehud (הגוי הזה/העם־הזה), along with all the works of their hands (כל־מעשה ידיהם), and whatever they offer (ואשר יקריבו שם) on the altar are described as impure (טמא). Since the main topic of the present research is the ritual production of space, this study moves to the investigation of how rituals described in Hag 2:14 affected space. This will be done by drawing the parallels between the intended spatial efficacy of the Levitical ritual system and the efficacy of the rituals described in Hag 2:14.[52]

5.3.2.3 Ritual Production of God's Space

Keeping in mind the theoretical framework of holiness, purity, and impurity that was first prescribed in Leviticus and then discussed in Hag 2:10–14, the present work turns to the question of the ritual production of God's space in the book of Haggai. It must be mentioned at the outset that one of the main functions of the Israelite tabernacle was to regulate the accumulation of impurity which could endanger Yahweh's presence (Deut 23:14; cf. Lev 25:23; 26:11‑12).[53] This is accomplished through various purification offerings performed throughout the year as well as annually on the Day of Atonement. While purification offerings performed throughout the year had the purpose of removing evil from their offerer(s) and resulted in the mitigated pollution of the sanctuary, the annual offerings had the purpose of purgation of the sanctuary on the Day of

[52] It is not the intention of this work to do a comprehensive analysis of the efficacy of the Levitical sacrificial system. This would be the topic for another research. Rather, the purpose of the following section is to give a general overview of this topic with special focus on how offering rituals described in Leviticus were supposed to affect God's, people's and nature's space in order to make the parallel with the passage in the book of Haggai.

[53] It is important to note that if the sacrificial system did not function as it was supposed to, God would cleanse the land by means of sending his people into exile for a time (Ezek 11:18; 22:15; 26:16–38; 27:21–23; 39:23–24.). Cf. Boda, *A Severe Mercy*, 270.

Atonement.[54] In this way, the complex Levitical ritual system, most precisely, the חטאת ritual system, had the purpose of regulating the accumulation of impurity in God's space and of maintaining its holiness.

Keeping in mind this important function of Yom Kippur, the present work can return to the question of impurity described in Hag 2:10–14. The main issues that remain to be answered include the source of impurity[55] and the direction in which the impurity was transferred (from "this people" and "this nation" to "all the work of their hands" and "what they offer there" to "altar" or vice versa). In the history of the interpretation of this text, scholars have offered various solutions in order to suggest the source of impurity Haggai had in mind. Those who follow the LXX[56] emphasize an immoral lifestyle on the part of the people.[57] On the other hand, the majority of scholars suggest that the failure to build the temple is the main reason for impurity.[58] What is clear from the conversation between the prophet and the priests (2:12–13) is that the source of the people's impurity must be related to ritual matters.[59]

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[54] Gane, *Cult and Character*, 142–43, 197. Contra Milgrom ("Priestly Picture of Dorian Gray") who famously argued that the process of defilement of the sanctuary or tabernacle occurs at three different levels: (1) severe physical impurity or inadvertent sin defiles the outer altar; (2) the inadvertent sin of the high priest or of the entire community pollutes the tent shrine; and (3) wanton, unrepented sin pollutes the "most holy place" within the tent shrine. Milgrom proposed that חטאת—which is very often translated as "a sin offering"—should be understood as "a purification offering" which cleanses the polluted sanctuary.

[55] For the summary of different views, see Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 228–33.

[56] LXX changes the last clause to "and whoever approaches there will be defiled" (καὶ ὃς ἐὰν ἐγγίσῃ ἐκεῖ μιανθήσεται) and adds ἕνεκεν τῶν λημμάτων αὐτῶν τῶν ὀρθρινῶν ὀδυνηθήσονται ἀπὸ προσώπου πόνων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐμισεῖτε ἐν πύλαις ἐλέγχοντας which Peterson (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 71) translated "Because of their early profits, they shall be pained because of their toil, and you have hated those who reprove in the gates." Thus, the emphasis is placed clearly on the people.

[57] Ackroyd, "Some Interpretative Glosses," 146.

[58] Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 120; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 58; Hildebrand, "Temple Ritual," 163–64.

[59] Some recent scholars who follow this line of the argument include Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 215–17. See also, Peterson, who believed that the altar existing without the temple is the source of the national impurity: Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 84–85.

Keeping in mind that the Yom Kippur festival requires services in all parts of the sanctuary and that, at the time described in Hag 2:10–14, the temple was in ruins and only the outer altar was repaired (Ezra 3:1–6), it is inevitable to conclude that the regulation of impurity was not possible at that time.[60] Since the main purpose of the Day of Atonement was to cleanse the ritual and moral faults of the Israelites from the inner sanctum, outer sanctum, and outer altar, as well as the corporate purgation of the people, all of this was the issue at this time when this calendric ritual was not able to be performed.[61] In this way, the temple, which was supposed to provide a means for regulation of impurity, became its main source and sacrifices offered at its site produced so-called God's lived space of impurity.

People's infelicitous ritual activities not only produced God's space of impurity, but also affirmed their attitude of neglect towards Jerusalem's temple. In other words, if their infelicitous rituals performed at the temple site that was in ruins were perceived as pleasant to Yahweh, then there would be no need for rebuilding the temple site nor any obligation for the reestablishment of the ritual system that had been ruined at the time of their forced migration to Babylon. Thus, the ritual activities described in Hag 2:14 affirmed the people's decision to leave God's space in ruins (Hag 1:2, 4, 9) and its value of nothingness and vanity (Hag 2:3).

In sum, the intended spatial ritual efficacy as described in priestly regulations is in striking contrast to the efficacy of the ritual offerings described in Hag 2:10–14. While

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[60] Similar to Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 84–85), but still considerably different, since Petersen did not keep in mind the importance of the complex ritual system prescribed for the Day of Atonement and its function to cleanse the sanctuary.

[61] In the first major critique of Jacob Milgrom's work, Roy Gane (*Cult and Character*, 240–41) explained that the goal of the Day of Atonement was to purge the ritual impurities and moral faults from all the departments of Yahweh's sanctuary as well as to accomplish the moral cleansing of the people.

the sacrificial system was supposed to regulate the accumulation of impurity in the temple, it was precisely the impurity that was produced by ritual activities described in Hag 2:14. In addition to this production of God's space of impurity, these infelicitous ritual activities also affirmed the people's negative attitude to leave God's space in ruins.

5.3.2.4 Ritual Production of People's Space

The function of the Levitical ritual system is not only related to what in this study is called God's space and nature's space, but also to societal space, i.e., humanity's space. Accordingly, rituals are not only a means of regulating purity in the tabernacle, but also "a means of regulating, or controlling, the structures, processes, and relations of society."[62] In his study on the ideology of ritual, Gorman argued that the ritual regulation of societal order was accomplished in three ways: (1) ritual served to *maintain* an already existing socio-cultural system (Num 28–29);[63] (2) in the case of breaking the normative order, rituals had the goal of *restoring* societal order (Lev 16);[64] and (3) rituals had the purpose of *creating* order where it did not exist (Lev 8).[65] In this way, Gorman's main argument was that based on priestly creation theology; priestly rituals are concerned with the establishment, maintenance, and restoration of order.[66] With the aim of proving this point, Gorman analyzed a number of rituals which he classified in four different

[62] Gorman, *The Ideology of Ritual*, 28. It has been more than a half century since scholars suggested that there was a clear relationship between ritual and society. One of the scholars who was among the first to emphasize this idea the most prominently was David Émile Durkheim who argued: "Religion contains in itself from the very beginning, even in an indistinct state, all the elements which … have given rise to the various manifestations of collective life." For more details, see Lukes, *Emile Durkheim*, 237, footnote 1. In addition, for the movement from a ritual and myth school approach towards an understanding of ritual that is more sociologically oriented, see Bell, *Perspectives and Dimensions*, 3–60.

[63] Gorman, *The Ideology of Ritual*, 55.

[64] Gorman, *The Ideology of Ritual*, 55.

[65] Gorman, *The Ideology of Ritual*, 54.

[66] Gorman, *The Ideology of Ritual*, 52.

categories: (1) rites of passage (Lev 14; Num 19); (2) funding rituals (Lev 8–9); (3) maintenance rituals (Num 28–29); and (4) restoration rituals (Lev 16).[67] All of these rituals are closely related to the order of social space.

The current study leverages and utilizes these ideas as they relate to the lived aspect of space described in Haggai. Keeping in mind Gorman's idea that felicitous rituals, among other things, have the purpose of restoring and/or maintaining societal order, it is not surprising that the infelicitous rituals described by Haggai led to the opposite outcome, that is the production and/or maintenance of a disordered society. This ritual production of a disordered society is evident in two ways in the book of Haggai. First, Haggai makes a close connection between Yahweh and the people's homes (Hag 1:4, 9) and thus, he asserts that what happens at the temple site is closely connected with the society in which that temple is situated. Second, Haggai clearly portrays that the rebuilding of the temple will fundamentally change the societal order (Hag 2:6–9, 20–23)—the issue that will be dealt with in the second section of this chapter. If this is the case, then the infelicitous ritual activities that reaffirm the ruined state of the temple must have the opposite effect—creating or maintaining a disordered society.

5.3.2.5 Ritual Production of Nature's Space

Pollution was a threat not only to the tabernacle sanctuary as God's space, but also to the land with all its inhabitants.[68] Leviticus 18:18–24 lists particular sins—all related to sexual offenses—which have the capacity to defile the land. Besides this list, there are some other sins, such as murder (Num 35:33; Deut 32:43) and not removing the body of

[67] Gorman, *The Ideology of Ritual*, 53–55.
[68] Morgan, "Sacrifice in Leviticus," 38.

a hanged person (Deut 21:22–23) which would also defile the land. This ritual and moral defilement should be distinguished from ecological pollution, since ritual/moral defilement is not the same as littering or dumping chemicals, but the relationships between the ritual, moral, and ecological realms cannot be neglected. The connection is evident from a cause-effect perspective, at least, where ritual and moral defilement cause ecological pollution (see Deut 28:17–18, 21–24).

Keeping in mind that the rituals prescribed for Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement, Lev 16) primarily served to preserve the purity of the sanctuary, it must be said that, by extension, they also served to enable the purity of the whole land of Israel (the principle of *pars pro toto*).[69] From that perspective, it is important to note that the sacrificial system had positive effects not only on human beings and the tabernacle, but also on the natural world as well.[70] This connection between ritual, moral, and ecological was also noticed by Milgrom who described three different levels of holiness of space—sanctuary, land, and earth—as shown in the graph below.[71]

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[69] Contra Milgrom (*Leviticus 1–16*, 254–61) who proposed that pollution was cleansed by חטאת purification offerings even before Yom Kippur. Here, I follow Gane (*Cult and Character*) who argued that the Day of Atonement offerings removed sin not only from the sanctuary, as has been suggested by his teacher Milgrom, but also from the Israelites, and argued that it was a two-stage process.

The ethical issues related to animal sacrifice in Leviticus go beyond the scope of the present work. I will only say this: in my holistic framework, animals are sacrificed not only for the benefit of humans, but also for the benefit of other parties of the ecosystem. This may not sit well with ecologists who focus only on the individual worth of every creature, but there are times when individual creatures can be justifiably offered for the sake of the wider ecosystem or community. Animal sacrifice is not inherently destructive of creation but can actually serve to maintain the integrity of creation. See Morgan, "Sacrifice in Leviticus."

[70] Murray (*Cosmic Covenant*, 82–83) asserted that "the establishment of *shalom* is the positive side of the 'rituals of control': the side of blessing as opposed to cursing, of attracting good power as opposed to exorcizing evil power. The rituals of *shalom* will have affirmed the supremacy of *sedeq*, the right order in the cosmos and on earth, and symbolized the 'marriage of heaven and earth' in order to ensure the right functioning of nature and right relationships between all the inhabitants of earth. The existence of rituals with these objects is far less hypothetical than that of the 'control rituals' just described, for the latter have not survived in Judaism in anything like their original form . . ."

[71] According to Milgrom, holiness is status which is not only related to God and humans, but also to animals and space.

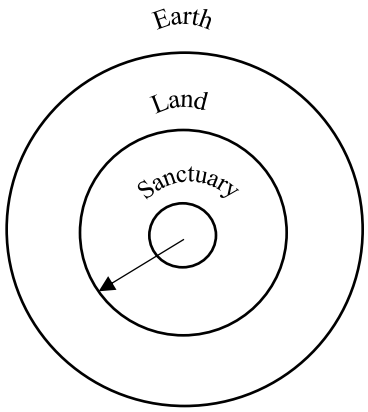

Figure 2: Milgrom's Description of the Spatial Spectrum of Holiness[72]

In ancient Israel, holiness was closely related to ritual practices. Holiness of the land, which was the highest goal for the flourishing land in the Old Testament, was holistically connected to the rituals of the Israelite cult.

This important role that rituals play in the production of nature's space is also evident in the book of Haggai.[73] Nature's lived space is described by means of portraying infertility of the land and severe agricultural problems (Hag 1:6, 9–11; 2:16–17). Haggai asserts that the main cause of the dysfunctional system is the people's decision to leave Yahweh's house in ruins (Hag 1:4, 9) and to continue with infelicitous ritual activities there.[74] The direct, causal connection between the people's attitude towards God's space and severe problems in the ecosystem is made by using the phrase "set your hearts on your ways" (שימו לבבכם על־דרכיכם) in Hag 1:5: 2:15, and 18; by inserting the interrogative pronoun מה ("Why") in Hag 1:9; and by making the statement that all these agricultural issues are happening "because of you (people)" (כן עליכם [Hag 1:10]).

[72] Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 725.

[73] Some good examples of studies on the relationship between the temple and agriculture are Meadowcroft, "A Desolate Land" and Jieun, *Jerusalem in the Achaemenid Period*.

[74] See also Riede ("Die gottgemäße Stadt, 89–90") who correctly noticed that the main reason for infertility is the condition of the temple.

Keeping in mind the positive affect that felicitous rituals will have on the fecundity of the nature, it is also inevitable to conclude that infelicitous rituals had the opposite effect.

5.3.3 Summary

It is clear from the above examination of ritual activities described in Hag 2:10–14 that Haggai, in this passage, refers to infelicitous rituals. As has already been mentioned in the methodology chapter of this study, there are different types of infelicitous ritual performance. Using Grimes's typology of ritual infelicities, the ritual performance from Hag 2:14 can be labeled as misapplication and ineffectuality. First, ritual activities which fail by misapplication are "legitimate rites but the persons and circumstances involved in it are inappropriate."[75] In this particular example from Hag 2:10–14, there is no evidence that the people involved in ritual activities were inappropriate. Rather, the problem was with the place where ritual activities were performed or, more precisely, the people's lack of attention to temple rebuilding.

Second, ineffectualities are "procedures that fail to bring about intended observable changes."[76] As noted above, infelicitous ritual activities described in Hag 2:14 affected God's, the people's, and nature's space in a negative way by producing so-called lived space. It has been shown in this section that infelicitous rituals produced God's space that is impure and affirmed the ruined state of the temple. Infelicitous offerings also produced and maintained societal disorder and affected the infertility of the land. This ritual failure described in Hag 2:10–14 could only be solved by rebuilding the temple, which would enable the practice of legitimate rituals, by means of which, the regulation of impurity would be possible. An important stage in the rebuilding of the

[75] Grimes, *Ritual Criticism*, 195.
[76] Grimes, *Ritual Criticism*, 197.

temple was marked by the ritual of foundation-laying which is alluded to in Hag 2:18 and which will be examined in the next section of the present work.

5.4 The Foundation-Laying Ritual in Haggai 2:18

The second major ritual mentioned in the book of Haggai is the foundation-laying ceremony. This ceremonial action has the characteristics of rituals that are described in the methodology section of the present work and, as will be shown below, should be taken as the ritual, not as mundane action. This ritual is only briefly referred to in Hag 2:15 and 18, but the exploration of this ritual is not limited to only these two verses. There are another two important sources of information about this ritual: first, the foundation-laying ceremony is just one stage in the temple-building project, and other stages that are related to this ceremony are addressed in the book of Haggai and shed additional light on this important ritual. Second, some missing elements of this ritual that are not elaborated in detail in the book of Haggai can be reconstructed by making a comparison between this ritual mentioned in Haggai and other ANE traditions related to temple-building projects as well as by taking into account intertextual links between this and the Chronicler's temple-building account. Thus, the examination of the foundation-laying ritual in Hag 2:15, 18 will also take into consideration important insights found within the book of Haggai as well as other ANE sources and the Chronicler's temple-building account.[77]

[77] I agree with Kessler ("Temple Building," 358) who, in his essay, carefully noted that there is no way to confirm the influence of other ANE practices on the prophet Haggai and the project of rebuilding the temple in Yehud at the end of the sixth century BCE. However, this still does not mean that we cannot recognize some important parallels between Haggai's and other ANE's accounts about rebuilding the temple.

Keeping in mind the complex system of rituals related to temple (re)building in the ANE world, it is highly likely that the foundation-laying ceremony described in Haggai is just one ritual of an intricate web of ceremonies. Richard Ellis and Victor Hurowitz are among the prominent scholars who worked on the ANE practices of temple (re)buildings.[78] Ellis, who is more focused on the foundation-laying ceremony than Hurowitz, situated this ritual within a five-step agenda: (1) the decision to build; (2) the preparation of the building site; (3) the preparation of the building materials; (4) laying the foundations; and (5) later stages of construction.[79] In his study on rebuilding temple rituals in Haggai and Zechariah, Boda built on Ellis's findings and examined the relationship between accounts found in these two books and those in the ANE and found striking parallels between them.[80] Boda's study was followed by Kessler's work, which confirmed the importance of studying rituals in Haggai in the broader ANE context.[81] This section builds on the studies of Boda and Kessler mentioned above and expands their work by focusing on the question of the efficacy of that ritual as described in the book of Haggai. The study commences with the investigation of major elements of the ritual of foundation-laying.

[78] Hurowitz (*Exalted House*) focused on the study of the biblical temple-building narratives in the context of Mesopotamian and Northwest Semitic writings. He especially focused on building stories in the Sumerian and Old Babylonian literature, Assyrian royal inscriptions, Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions, Mesopotamian mythology, North-west Semitic writings, and biblical literature. On the other hand, Ellis (*Foundation Deposits*) focused primarily on the foundation deposits in ancient Mesopotamia. For a comparison between Hurowitz's and Ellis's models in the context of the biblical study of the Chronicler's temple-building account, see Boda, "Legitimizing the Temple," 308–9. See also, further other essays in this volume (Boda and Novotny, eds., *From the Foundations to the Crenellations*) that are separated into two parts, one dealing with the ancient Near East sources, and the other that focuses on the Hebrew Bible.

[79] Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*, 5–34.

[80] Boda, "Legitimizing the Temple."

[81] Kessler, "Temple Building."

5.4.1 Ritual Elements

As was the case with the examination of the rituals of offering mentioned in Hag 2:14, the investigation of the foundation-laying ceremony also commences with the study of its main elements. Accordingly, ritual actions, actors, place, time, and objects are first presented in the table below and then analyzed in more detail.

Grimes's Ritual Elements	References to Ritual Elements	Haggai 2:10–23
Ritual action	שום־אבן אל־אבן בהיכל יהוה putting stone upon stone in the temple of Yahweh	Hag 2:15
Ritual actors	אקחך זרבבל בן־שאלתיאל עבדי נאם־יהוה I will take you, Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel, my servant, declares Yahweh	Hag 2:23
Ritual places	בהיכל יהוה In the temple of Yahweh	Hag 2:15
Ritual times	בעשרים וארבעה לתשיעי on the twenty fourth [day] of the ninth [month]	Hag 2:18
Ritual objects	שום־אבן אל־אבן putting stone upon stone	Hag 2:15

Table 2. Elements of the Foundation-laying Ceremony (Hag 2:15, 18)

5.4.1.1 Ritual Time

The question of the time of the (re)building of the temple in the ANE context was always a matter of great importance and, most of the time, was directly related to the divine

initiation and/or approval.[82] The situation is not any different with the Chronicler's temple building account as well as with the book of Haggai that focuses on the building of the second temple.[83] The dilemma about the time is stated at the outset of the book in Hag 1:2 where Haggai addresses the people's attitude toward this question: "This people says the time has not come, the time for the house of Yahweh to be rebuilt" (לא עת־בא עת־בית יהוה להבנות).[84] As noted above, this phrase should be understood as pointing to the people's neglect of the fact that the time for (re)building the temple had already arrived and not as the people's genuine question.[85] Kessler argued that the book of Haggai portrays a situation where the people were aware of the divine authorization which had been given and yet, still had chosen not to act.[86]

Of course, the time for the beginning of the (re)building process is related to, but not the same as, the time of the foundation-laying ceremony. According to Ellis, there were three phases that needed to be fulfilled before the foundation-laying phase could begin: (1) the decision to rebuild, (2) the preparation of the site, and (3) the securing of the building materials.[87] In his study of the temple restorations in the book of Haggai, Boda argued that the first three stages are described in the first two sections of Haggai's book.[88] The fourth stage—the foundation-laying ceremony—is portrayed in Haggai's

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[82] Kessler ("Temple Building," 359–65) built on Hurowitz (*Exalted House*, 154–67) and explained in the context of the book of Haggai that the time of commencing the building project was taken very seriously. To start the temple-building process at an inappropriate moment would bring a curse to the nation.

[83] Boda, "Legitimizing the Temple," 307, 310–12.

[84] Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 38–42. For the list of possible reasons why the people did not want to start the rebuilding process, see section 4.3.1 of the present work. For the question of time and its importance for the book of Haggai, see Kessler, "Building the Second Temple."

[85] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 48; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 20–21; Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 125–27.

[86] Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 125–27.

[87] Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*, 5–34.

[88] Boda, "From Dystopia to Myopia," 217.

third oracle and is situated within the context of events that happened on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month.[89] This event marks the three-month anniversary of the beginning of the project (Hag 1:12–15) and happened on the important date which is also mentioned elsewhere in the Old Testament (Ezra 3:10–13; Zech 4:6b–10a; 8:9–13).[90]

5.4.1.2 Ritual Space

Another important ritual element besides ritual time is the space where the ritual took place. Even though Haggai does not give a detailed description of the ritual preparation of the site,[91] it is certain that the second temple was built at the same site where the former temple was located (Ezra 2:68; 3:3, 12; 5:15; 6:3; 9:9).[92] Second, 1 Chr 3:1 precisely delineates the location of the former temple as Mount Moriah, the place where Abraham offered Isaac (Gen 22) and where Yahweh appeared to David.[93] Both of these events were related to the sacrificial activity that made this place sacred.[94] By choosing to rebuild the temple in its former place, Yehudites followed the practice that was well established in the ANE world and which had the purpose of establishing continuity with the sacred past.[95]

5.4.1.3 Ritual Actors

The main actors in this ritual were likely priestly and royal figures as that was the case in ANE accounts about ceremonies of (re)building temples as well as in the case of building

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[89] Boda, "From Dystopia to Myopia," 226–30.
[90] Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 95; Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 141.
[91] See also, Kessler ("Temple Building," 371–72) who emphasized a sharp contrast between other ANE sources about temple rebuilding that describe the ritual preparation of the temple site and the book of Haggai where this segment of rebuilding the temple is not emphasized as much.
[92] Kalimi, "The Land of Moriah," 359; Chyutin, *Architecture and Utopia*, 143.
[93] Kalimi, "The Land of Moriah," 345–62.
[94] Boda, "Legitimizing the Temple," 311–12.
[95] Boda, "From Dystopia to Myopia," 222.

the first temple where priests, along with David and Solomon, played an important role.[96] This is confirmed in Hag 2:10–23, the section which describes the oracles given first to priests (Hag 2:10–14)—even though Joshua, the high priest is not mentioned[97]—and then to a governor from the Judean royal elite (Hag 2:20–23).[98] Even so, it can be said that the role of civil leadership is emphasized as crucial in both ANE accounts as well as in the book of Haggai.[99] That that is the case in the book of Haggai is evident from the last section of the book where, in the context of this ceremony, special accent is placed on Zerubbabel. It is not an overstatement to say that there is a clear parallel between this passage and other ANE accounts where the divine beings gave promises of dynastic eternity to the royal representatives who finished the temple.[100] The reaffirmation of this promise to Zerubbabel which is found in the context of the foundation-laying ceremony suggests the special role that he played in the rebuilding process, specifically in the ceremony performed on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month.[101] This is, furthermore, confirmed by designating Zerubbabel as Yahweh's servant.[102] Kessler noted that the

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[96] Riley, *King and Cultus*, 61. Followed by Boda ("Legitimizing the Temple," 305) who also built on Japhet and argued that in contrast to portrayal of Solomon in Kings, the main task of Solomon in Chronicles is described as building the temple (2 Chr 2). Boda also explained that the Chronicler portrayed David as the one who prepared the site for building, provided resources for construction, gathered personnel who would work in the temple, and designated Solomon as the chosen one to complete the work and to built the temple.

[97] Boda, "Perspectives on Priests," 19.

[98] Boda ("From Dystopia to Myopia," 233–34) carefully noted that both priestly and royal figures appear as addresses in the third section of the book of Haggai.

[99] See especially, Laato, "Zechariah 4:6b–10a," 53–69, which was based on his earlier work Laato, *Josiah and David Redivivus*. This is not in contrast to Kessler ("Temple Building," 367) who emphasized that both leaders and people participated in rebuilding the temple. As was shown by Ellis, the rebuilding process involves several stages and the foundation-laying ceremony is only one stage in the overall process in which priests and civil leaders have the major role.

[100] See, for example, Averbeck ("Temple Building," 14–15) who examined commissioning and guidance as an important segment in the temple-bulding process in the context of Sumerians and Akkadians, and Novotny ("Temple Building," 114–15) who addressed the same subject matter in the Assyrian royal inscriptions. Cf. Boda, "Legitimizing the Temple," 311 and Kessler, "Temple Building," 367.

[101] On the royal role of Zerubbabel in the foundation-laying ceremony, see, further, Petersen, "Jerusalem Temple Reconstruction"; Kessler, "Temple Building," 367; and Kessler, "The Signet Ring."

[102] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 102–6.

usage of this term is prominently used in 2 Sam 7 in the context of the narrative which describes David's desire to build a house for Yahweh and where the eternal covenant with David is made.[103] Haggai's reuse of this term emphasizes the major role that Zerubbabel will play in the rebuilding of Yahweh's house.[104]

5.4.1.4 Ritual Actions and Objects

Even though it is likely that the priests and the governor played important roles in the ritual of foundation-laying, the text does not reveal details about what specific actions they and other participants performed. As already mentioned before, the foundation-laying ceremony was just one stage in the complex temple rebuilding process that was composed of a number of important actions such as making the decision, preparing the site, celebrating the foundation-laying, and dedicating the temple, to mention just those which are most important.[105]

Concerning this specific stage at which the temple foundation was laid, the passage in Hag 2:18 just notes that one of the major ritual actions was laying the foundation of the temple of Yahweh" (יסד היכל־יהוה).[106] As was usually the case in other ANE's temple (re)construction projects as well as with the first temple (2 Chr 3:3; 8:16),[107] after the foundation was laid, the ritual included the ceremony of the beginning of building the temple walls. That this was also the case in the complex system of rituals performed at the Jerusalem temple site on the twenty-fourth of the ninth month is evident

[103] Kessler, "Temple Building," 369–70.
[104] Kessler, "Temple Building," 371.
[105] Thus, Boda ("From Dystopia to Myopia," 231–34) set this ritual after two preliminary stages composed of the decision making and the preparations.
[106] Kessler, "Temple Building," 373.
[107] Boda, "Legitimizing the Temple," 312.

from Hag 2:15.[108] This verse describes that stone was set upon stone in the temple of Yahweh (שום־אבן אל־אבן בהיכל יהוה). There are different suggestions about what this phrase refers to. Some scholars such as Meyers and Meyers do not see this action to be ritualistic in its nature and argue that the action described here should be understood as masonry work.[109] Others suggest that the author has in view the building process.[110] However, it is likely that this phrase reflects the *kalu* rite that was well known in the ANE world.[111] The action itself was composed of the placement of the stone that was part of the former temple—the ritual that had a purpose in creating a physical link with the first temple.[112]

There are three major reasons why this phrase should be understood as an action which is ritual in nature: First, the text talks about the actions performed on the specific date and not the regular everyday building process (Hag 2:10, 15, 18). This is especially clear from the temporal references used in Hag 2:15: the adverb ועתה ("and now") makes contrast between past described in Hag 2:10–14 and present; the phrase מן־היום הזה ומעלה ("from this day onward") emphasizes the importance of the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month; and the word מטרם ("before") again points to the past, namely the period before the day when the foundation of the temple was laid. Second, the action is closely related to and performed on the very day when the foundation was laid (Hag 2:18). Finally, the action will bring a fundamental change in the state of affairs.[113] In

[108] Kessler, "Temple Building," 373.

[109] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 59.

[110] For a brief summary of different proposals of what the phrase "stone to stone" might mean, see Jacobs, *The Book of Haggai and Malachi*, 108–9.

[111] Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*.

[112] See, especially, Ellis (*Foundation Deposits*, 26–29) who listed the three ANE sources that describe temple rebuilding where the placement of the first or former brick played a very important role. Ellis is followed by Averbeck, "Temple Building," 22–23; 373–74.

[113] Kessler, "Temple Building," 373–74.

addition, that this was a special ritual is confirmed in other extra-biblical ANE sources which usually connect a foundation-laying ceremony with the beginning of the building of the temple wall.

5.4.2 Ritual Efficacy

Besides the question of ritual elements, it is also the issue of the efficacy of the foundation-laying ritual that should be addressed. As can be seen from the examination above, one of the major purposes of this ritual was to mark the significant point in the temple-rebuilding process. In contrast to the rituals of offering that are referred to in Hag 2:14, the description of this ritual points to the conclusion that Haggai viewed this ritual as a felicitous one. There are at least two reasons for this conclusion: first, there is a clear parallel between this ritual and the rituals associated with the building of the first temple, a parallel that highlights the fact that there was continuity with an already established temple-building practice.[114] A second and more explicit reason for the felicitousness of this ritual is the positive affect that this ritual had on the life of Yehudites.[115]

After Yahweh's approval was given and the preparation of the building site and building materials was finished, the foundation-laying ritual established the link between Solomon's and the second temple and marked the actual beginning of the work on the building itself. However, even though this is the main purpose of this ritual, it must also be mentioned that its efficacy is much broader and multifaceted. What is of special

[114] For this idea of legitimization by making an "appeal to earlier tradition," see Boda, "Legitimizing the Temple," 303–18. The idea of legitimization is closely related to the felicitous nature of this ritual.

[115] This is not to imply that all rituals with positive outcomes are felicitous rituals. For a detailed explanation of the classification of all rituals as felicitous and infelicitous as explained by Grimes, see the second chapter of the present work.

interest for this study is the question concerning how this ritual efficacy relates to God's, nature's, and the people's space. Each of these aspects of space will be examined in detail below.

5.4.2.1 The Foundation-Laying Ceremony and God's Space

Haggai describes the positive, multifaceted impact that the ritual associated with the foundation-laying ceremony had on God's space. At the most basic level, this ritual enabled the people to continue with their work on God's temple. Accordingly, this ritual enabled the transformation of the temple from being in ruins to being rebuilt. Furthermore, by enabling the temple to be rebuilt, this ritual played a major role in the preparation of this space for Yahweh's return.

Another major purpose of the foundation-laying ritual was to dedicate one particular area for a specific purpose.[116] Ellis explained that in the case when the area is a temple site, the purpose was usually to enable the purity of the site.[117] That this was one of the major aims of the ritual described in Haggai is confirmed by Hag 2:10–23. It is evident that this passage deals with both—the foundation-laying ceremony performed on twenty-fourth day of the ninth month (Hag 2:10, 15, 18, 20) as well as with the question of purity.[118] In this way, the issue of purity was brought into close relationship with the

[116] Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*, 165–68. Cf. Boda, "From Dystopia to Myopia," 239.

[117] Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*, 165–68.

[118] Even Kessler ("Temple Building," 371–72) who argued that the book of Haggai, in contrast to other ANE sources, presents quite a different approach to the purity regulations required for the temple rebuilding, claimed that "the question of purity figures in a significant way in Hag 2:10–19." However, he claimed that even though other ANE sources emphasize the importance of the purity of the building materials, the site itself, and the population participating in the project, Haggai does not place such a great importance on these ritual matters. Even though I agree with Kessler that Haggai does not explicitly mention this requirement regarding the purity of materials and site, it must not be forgotten that he is actually concerned with these issues by means of addressing the problem of impurity. The theme of purity and impurity is clearly one of the key themes in the book of Haggai as well as in the books of Zechariah and Malachi.

temple-reconstruction project, in general, and with the foundation-laying ceremony, in particular. In the context of Haggai's description of the people, the work of their hands, and their offerings at Jerusalem's altar as unclean (Hag 2:14), it is this specific ritual that Haggai mentions as a key turning point (Hag 2:15).[119] If that is the case, the foundation-laying ceremony would, among other things, also bring change by means of the transformation of the state of impurity to the state of purity and enable people to maintain the purity of the temple site which would, in turn, result in their purity as well as in the purity of all the works of their hands.

Finally, this ritual is also associated with the action of shaking in Hag 2:20–21. In this way, the foundation-laying ritual is also brought into connection with the motif of shaking mentioned in Hag 2:6–9 and transforms the temple which receives the treasure by other nations.[120] In sum, the effect of this ritual is multifaceted and includes the physical restoration of the temple, transformation of its state of impurity into purity, Yahweh dwelling in it, and is finally associated with others who would be coming to the temple with their treasures to worship Yahweh.

5.4.2.2 Foundation-Laying Ceremony and the People's Space

The relationship between the foundation-laying ritual and God's space that is mentioned above expands to the connection between this ritual and the king's rule.[121] It was Ellis who was among the first scholars to recognize that one of the major functions of this

[119] Kessler, "Temple Building," 373.

[120] On the connection between motifs of shaking in Hag 2:6–9 and Hag 2:20–23, see, for instance, Jacobs, *Haggai and Malachi*, 118–19. Keeping in mind a number of rhetorical features that are present in this short book, using a similar language in Hag 2:7 and 22 should not be taken as coincidence.

[121] Boda, "From Dystopia to Myopia," 241–42.

ritual was to ensure a blessing on the king who led the temple (re)building project.[122] This blessing included, but was not limited to, agricultural fertility (see below) and expanded to the creation of a better societal order.

In the book of Haggai, the people's ideological space is initiated with the shaking of the heavens and the earth (Hag 2:6, 20), and it is Yahweh's act of shaking that is closely connected with the ritual of the foundation-laying that happened on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month (Hag 2:10, 15, 19–20).[123] The people's ideological space which was initiated by this ritual is characterized by the creation of a new socio-political (Hag 2:6–9) and military (Hag 2:20–23) situation in the region.[124] The Davidic kingship would be restored by the installation of his descendant Zerubbabel as a new king. Furthermore, Zerubbabel's new role would naturally affect the position which the province of Yehud held at that time and would create a new geopolitical situation: Yehud would no longer be on the periphery of the mighty Persian empire. Rather, with its capital Jerusalem, Yehud would be in the very center of the world, and other nations would gravitate to it (Hag 2:7, 22).

5.4.2.3 The Foundation-Laying Ceremony and Nature's Space

Finally, another important aspect of the efficacy of this ritual could be seen in its securing of divine blessings. This idea is surprisingly omitted in Ellis's work, but it is evident that ancient Near Eastern sources addressed the interrelationship between the temple building and blessings. In his work on the temple-rebuilding rituals, Boda explained how this is

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[122] Ellis, *Foundation Deposits*, 165–68. Cf. Boda, "From Dystopia to Myopia," 239.

[123] See also, Cziglányi ("Der Wiederaufbau Des Zweiten Tempels, 394–95") who also came to the conclusion that the earth-shaking mentioned in Hag 2:6, 20 is closely related to the temple. Similarly, Nogalski ("Jerusalem Als Metropole, 265") asserted that "a significant turning point (in Jerusalem's state of affairs) begins with the reconstruction of the temple."

[124] For Haggai's perception of socio-political relevance of the temple, see Cataldo, "Yahweh's Breast," 2–6.

also the case in the book of Haggai.[125] The concept of securing divine blessings includes many different aspects such as the ensuring of material blessing, military success, protection of the temple, making sure people's prayers are heard, etc.[126]

However, one of the most important aspects of blessings which is prominently emphasized in the book of Haggai is attaining and heightening agricultural fecundity.[127] As has already been mentioned in chapter 4 that deals with ideological and lived space, Haggai explicitly links agricultural curses to the unfortunate state of the Jerusalem temple.[128] Unsatisfactory harvests and lack of grain, food, drink, clothing, wine, oil, figs, and pomegranates (Hag 1:6, 11; 2:17, 19) clearly refer to the fertility curses from Deut 11:13–17 and in Haggai, are directly related to the poor state of the Jerusalem temple.[129] However, it is precisely the foundation-laying ritual performed on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month that will initiate a drastic change with respect to the above-mentioned disappointing harvest and lack of agricultural products and transform curses into blessings.[130] That this is the case can be seen in v. 16 where the prophet points to the past as well as in the last clause of v. 19 where the phrase "from this day on" (מן־היום הזה

[125] Boda, "From Dystopia to Myopia," 240.

[126] Boda ("From Dystopia to Myopia," 240–41) explained that the blessing of protection of the temple is mostly related to the Assyrian account. The blessing of hearing prayers is mostly related to Babylonian building accounts.

[127] See, for instance, Levenson, *Sinai and Zion*, 111–37 and Averbeck, "Temple Building," 15–16. Cf. Kessler ("Temple Building," 375–77) who noted that "Haggai utilizes these motifs in a distinctive way. The concepts of fertility and wealth are the reverse of much of the received ancient Near Eastern Tradition." Kessler explained that the book of Haggai describes fertility as "removal of the divine displeasure" and not as "confirmation of the legitimacy fo the project." Regardless of differences in explanations as to the connection between the temple building and the fertility of the land functions, it is clear that the association between the rebuilding of the temple and the agricultural activities exists in both the ANE sources and the book of Haggai. In this work, I place an emphasis on the efficacy of the ritual in the production of fertility of the land.

[128] Nogalski, "Recurring Themes," 128. See Boda, "Haggai: Master Rhetorician," 295–302 as well as Boda, "From Dystopia to Myopia," 243.

[129] For the use of curse language from Deut 28; Lev 26; Amos 4, and Micah 6 and its function within the book of Haggai, see Kessler, "Curse, Covenant, and Temple," 240–48.

[130] See for instance, Nogalski ("Recurring Themes," 128–29) who also noticed this.

אברך) is used.[131] This connection between temple rituals and fertility found in Haggai is nothing unusual when one keeps in mind that this idea was common in ANE, most specifically in Mesopotamia and Egypt where harmony between humans and nature (and nature's fruitfulness) was achieved through fertility rituals.[132]

5.4.3 Summary

The investigation of the foundation-laying ritual mentioned in Hag 2:15, 18 shows that this ritual is quite different from the offering rituals mentioned in Hag 2:14. Using Grimes's twofold classification of all rituals as either infelicitous or felicitous, the foundation-laying ritual can be labeled as a legitimate felicitous ritual. It is in line with other foundation-laying rituals from the ANE world, and more important, with earlier ritual tradition associated with the building of Solomon's temple and Tabernacle.

While the offering rituals mentioned in Hag 2:14 affect all three types of space—God's, the people's, and nature's space—in a negative way, this ritual has quite a different outcome and affects these three types of space in a positive way. First, the foundation-laying ritual legitimizes the continuation of the building process and enables the purity of the site and Yahweh's dwelling among his people. Second, this ritual also positively affects the social and political situation by changing the disordered society into an ordered one in which Yehud would play a central role. Finally, as was the case with other temples in the ANE, this ritual initiates the fertility of the land. In this way, this

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[131] For the philological difficulties found in Hag 2:15–19, see Rogland, "Two Philological Notes," 69–77. Even though I do not translate v. 16 in the same way as Rogland, both Rogland's and my translation point to the fact that the foundation-laying ceremony affected the state of nature's space.

[132] For more information about fertility cults in the ancient world, see Healey, "Fertility Cults," 2:791–93. See also, Barton, "Environmental Perspective," 53–54.

ritual is a social action performed by people which moves previously created lived space in quite an opposite direction towards the ideological space portrayed by Haggai.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, attention was paid to two different types of ritual practices described in the book of Haggai, namely, the offering rituals from Hag 2:14 and the foundation-laying ritual from Hag 2:15, 18. The study focused on the question of the influence of these ritual practices on space and showed that these two different types of rituals were directly related to the production of God's, the people's, and nature's ideological and lived aspects of space.

The first part of this chapter focused on the investigation of offering rituals described in Hag 2:10–14. The study has shown that the main actors that performed these rituals were Yehudites. Rituals were performed in the past, before the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month, and the ritual activity that the prophet referred to was likely the מנחה offering (cf. Hag 2:17), but other types of offerings prescribed in Leviticus were also in the prophet's view. It has been argued that those ritual activities were closely associated with the stand-alone altar, which means that they were performed at the temple site which was in ruins. More important, an investigation of offering rituals demonstrated that those rituals were considered by the prophet to be infelicitous rituals which affected the space of Yehudites in a negative way. The effect of those rituals on all three types of space will be summarized below.

First, it is evident that the rituals of offering produced a lived aspect of God's space. Infelicitous offering rituals that were performed around a stand-alone altar which was built much earlier resulted in defiling God's space and affirmed its state of being in

ruins. Second, these inappropriate rituals created a disordered society where the temple served the purpose of the Persian empire—which probably means that the temple was placed where they collected taxes—and disordered the people's priorities. Finally, although the ecological disaster described in Haggai is also related to the economic instability of Yehud at that time, this study shows that ritual activities were those that primarily impacted the environment and caused ecological devastation and infertility. In sum, infelicitous ritual activities contributed to the creation of the lived aspect of space that is quite a different aspect of space from the one which the prophet described.

The second part of this chapter was concerned with the ritual associated with the foundation-laying ceremony. It has been shown that this ritual took place on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month, the date that marked the three-month anniversary of the beginning of the temple-rebuilding project. The place where the ritual was performed was naturally the site of the former temple. It has been determined that the main actors who participated in this ritual were likely priestly and royal figures, with the book of Haggai placing an emphasis on the latter (Hag 2:20–23). The major ritual action consisted of the placement of the stone that was part of the former temple, an action that had the purpose of creating the link between the first and the second temple. It has been shown that the prophet clearly referred to this ritual as a felicitous one that would have a positive impact and would produce an ideological aspect of all three types of space.

In contrast to infelicitous offering rituals that are described as producing the lived aspect of God's, the people's, and nature's space, the rituals associated with the foundation-laying ceremony are described as constructing the ideological aspect of God's, the people's, and nature's space. First, it is evident that these rituals (Hag 2:15,

18) played a major role in the construction project described by Haggai. It was not only a mere building process that created the second temple. Rather, it was the complex system of rituals performed at the Jerusalem temple site on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month, along with the building process that contributed to the creation of the second temple building. Having in mind the nature of Jerusalem's temple, it is hard to imagine the creation of the temple in a non-ritualistic manner. Most particularly, the rituals associated with the foundation-laying ceremony are described as rituals that secured the transformation of the temple site from the state of impurity into the state of purity and, in that way, enabled Yahweh to dwell in it. Second, besides God's ideological space, these rituals are described as producing the people's ideological space. The ideological aspect of the people's space that is initiated by the foundation-laying ceremony is characterized by the creation of a new socio-political (Hag 2:6–9) and military (Hag 2:20–23) situation in the region by the reversal of the current order and the creation of a new one as described in Hag 2:20–23. Finally, it is this foundation-laying ceremony that marks the turning point in the life of nature: once they complete the building project, God would bless them, and they would not experience lack of food anymore (Hag 2:19).

This chapter shows that it is through ritual practices that the people affect the space in which they live. Judahites are described as people who practiced infelicitous rituals of offering (Hag 2:10–14) that affected space in a negative way by producing what, in this study, is called the lived aspect of space. In contrast to these infelicitous rituals, the prophet describes the capacity of the felicitous rituals of the foundation-laying ceremony to fulfill the vision of an ideological space described in Hag 2:6–9, 20–23. Thus, while infelicitous ritual activities pervert ideological space and create quite a

different space from the one which was expected, felicitous ritual activities contribute to the creation of ideological space.

CHAPTER 6: IDEOLOGICAL SPATIALITY IN ZECHARIAH 1–6

6.1 Introduction

Now that the investigation of the ritual construction of the space in the book of Haggai is finished, this study can move to an examination of this subject matter in the book of Zechariah. This study is again done by using the theoretical framework based in critical spatiality and ritual studies as described in the second chapter of the present work. As was the case in the previous two chapters dealing with Haggai, only those passages addressing this issue in Zech 1–6 will be studied, and the analysis does not aim to provide an exhaustive exegesis of the selected passages.

An important difference between the last two chapters dealing with the ritual production of space in the book of Haggai and the next two chapters that will address this subject matter in Zech 1–6 is that the investigation of critical spatiality in Zech 1–6 focuses only on the ideological aspect of space. There are two primary reasons for this: First, references to lived space in Zech 1–6 are scarce. This is not surprising when one takes into account the fact that Zech 1–6 is mainly composed of vision reports.[1] Second,

[1] Zechariah 1–6 primarily focuses on Yahweh's view about space that is revealed through the prophet. Consequently, markers LiP (lived space in association with people) including LiI and LiE are almost absent. It must be mentioned that there are some passages that reveal some details about the lived aspect of space: Zech 2:13, 15; 3:1; 4:9; 5:3, 4, 8; and 6:15. However, these passages are not explicit statements about space, but rather, rhetorical signals which point out that there was some difference of opinion over space between the prophet and people, and actual space language has to be assumed in the background. The people's attitude towards the temple as God's space that are implicitly described is most evident in the passages where the formula "then you will know that the Lord of hosts sent me" (וידעתם כי־ שלחני יהוה צבאות) occurs (Zech 2:12[8], 13[9], 15[11]; 4:9, and 6:15). In this way, my study confirms the findings of Lux (*Prophetie und Zweiter Tempel*, 281–82) who also asserted that all three formulas (Zech 2:15; 4:9; and 6:15) following the introduction formula found in Zech 2:12 are used in the context of the temple.

Zech 1–6 primarily focuses on the relationship between the ritual and ideological aspects of space and does not describe the ritual production of the lived aspect of space.[2] Thus, in order to investigate the ritual production of space in Zech 1–6, this study will proceed in two steps: First, the ideological spatiality as described in Zech 1–6 will be examined in this chapter. This will provide a ground for the second step that is composed of the examination of the ritual production of this aspect of space in chapter 7. This chapter commences with a general overview of the literary structure of Zech 1–6 and then moves on to the investigation of the ideological aspect of space.

6.2 References to Space and the Structure of Zechariah 1–6

An examination of the ideological spatiality in Zech 1–6 begins with a brief overview of the literary structure of the book of Zechariah, more particularly Zech 1–6, which is the main focus of the investigation of the next two chapters. The main goal of this opening section is 1) to discern how descriptions of the ideological aspect of space described in this section of the book of Zechariah relate to its literary structure and 2) to answer the question of whether there is any evidence of a pattern in the usage of passages about space. This section of the present work confirms the findings of chapter 4 and shows that the literary boundaries within Zech 1–6 does not strictly correspond to divisions between different aspects of space. However, there is a certain pattern to how spatial references are distributed in this section of the book of Zechariah. It is to this question of how the

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Keeping in mind Zechariah's reliance on Jeremiah, which is evident throughout the whole book, it is highly likely that an intertextual allusion to Jeremiah is in view here. Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 199) explained that while Jeremiah's prophetic authenticity and credibility were questioned in relation to his warning of the upcoming Babylonian exile and his encouraging the people to accept a new reality, Zechariah's credibility was challenged on quite different grounds: his claims about the punishment of Babylon (Zech 2:12–13[8–9]), his call to leave that city (Zech 2:10–11[7–8]), as well as his promises that the temple would be rebuilt (Zech 2:14–17[10–13]; 4:9–10; and 6:14–15).

[2] This will be the focus of my investigation in chapter 6 which focuses on the role of imagined rituals.

passages describing spatiality are situated within the overall structure of Zech 1–6 that the present chapter now turns.

There are not many disagreements among scholars regarding the overall literary structure of the book of Zechariah.[3] Most authors generally distinguish four major sections within the book of Zechariah: Zech 1:1–6: Sermon and Narrative: Yahweh's Call and Promise to Return; (2) Zech 1:7—6:15: Vision Reports, Oracles, Sign Acts: Yahweh's Return and Promise of Renewals; (3) Zech 7–8: Sermon, Narrative, and Oracles: From Fasts to Feasts; and (4) Zech 9–14: Oracles and Shepherd-Flock Units[4] There are a number of reasons for this fourfold division of the book of Zechariah among which, two are the most prominent: (1) the distribution of the prophetic introduction formulas in Zech 1:1, 7; 7:1, 9:1, and 12:1[5] and (2) the shifts between different prophetic forms that are used in these units.[6] Although scholars generally agree that the book of Zechariah should be divided into these four major sections, disagreements emerge when

[3] In his preliminary investigation of the structure of the Book of Zechariah, Mike Butterworth (*Structure and the Book of Zechariah*, 62) argued that scholars generally agree on the overall literary structure of this book. He compared the findings of Amsler et al., *Aggée–Zacharie 1–8*; Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*; Beuken, *Haggai–Sacharja 1–8*; Chary, *Les Prophètes et le Culte*; Jeremias, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*; Lamarche, *Zacharie 9–14*; Mason, *Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi*; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*; Mitchell et al., *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Jonah*; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*; Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi*; Petitjean, *Les Oracles du Proto–Zacharie*; Rignell, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*; Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, Sacharja 9–14, Maleachi*; Sæbø, *Sacharja 9–14*; and Willi–Plein, *Prophetie am Ende.*

[4] The labels used here are taken from Boda's recent commentary on the book of Zechariah, Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, viii–xi. Even though different authors use diverse labels to name these four sections of the book of Zechariah, they agree about this fourfold division. See for example Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*; Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi*; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 9–14*; and Wolters, *Zechariah.*

[5] For the important role that the introduction formulas have in the book of Zechariah, see Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 31–36. See also, Moseman, "The Date Formulae in the Book of Zechariah," 579–80.

[6] Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 37–39) emphasized the importance of recognition of the different prophetic forms that are used in the book. He outlined the following prophetic forms found in Zechariah and gave examples for each: historical narrative (Zech 1:1–6), the prophetic prose sermon (Zech 7:9–14), the vision report (Zech 1:8–17), the summons of joy (2:14[10]), the prophetic sign-act (Zech 11:4–16), and the oracle (Zech 12:1–14:21).

they deal with the literary structure within these individual sections, especially when they want to determine the structure of Zech 9–14[7] or to address the history of composition for these units.[8] These concerns, however, go beyond the scope of the present research which primarily focuses on Zech 1–6 in this chapter.

As briefly mentioned above, Zech 1–6 is composed of two major units, the first, which is the report of a sermon (Zech 1:1–6)[9] and the second, which is a collection of eight vision reports (Zech 1:8–17; 2:1–4; 2:5–9; 3:1–10; 4:1–6a, 10b–14; 5:1–4; 5:5–11; 6:1–8), two oracles (Zech 2:10–17; 6:9–15), and two sign acts (Zech 3; 6:9–15). While the first unit in Zech 1:1–6 is considerably shorter than the second and does not raise any serious issues with respect to its literary structure or its unity, the situation is much more complex with Zech 1:7—6:15.[10] However, even in this section there are some structural features that are clearly discernible and that hold this section together as an inseparable unit. Besides the fact that this section is predominantly of the vison report genre, the other prominent feature of this section is the concentricity of the vision reports.[11] This

[7] Butterworth (*Structure and the Book of Zechariah*, 72) correctly noticed that in contrast to the first part of the book, the second part is "much less clear" and harder to describe.

[8] For a brief survey of the major issues related to the history of composition, see Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 31–37.

[9] See Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 35–36) who followed Lohfink ("Die Gattung der 'Historischen Kurzgeschichte'") and treated this prologue as "a brief apologetic historical narrative." Contra Beuken, *Haggai–Sacharja 1–8*, 91–92.

[10] There are two major reasons for the complexity of the Zech 1:7—6:15 unit. First, there are authors who recognize different sources behind Zech 1:7—6:15. Good examples are the studies of Schöttler, *Gott inmitten seines Volkes*; Wöhrle, "The Formation and Intention"; Hallaschka, *Haggai und Sacharja 1–8*; and Hallaschka, "From Cores to Corpus." For a critique of Martin Hallaschka's work, see Boda, "Writing the Vision," 106. For a brief survey of these approaches to the study of the book of Zechariah, see Petterson, *Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi*, 36–37.

A second issue related to the different sources is the question of the relationship between the vision reports and oracles in this part of the book. A number of scholars take the approach that these two types of literature should be interpreted separately from each other. For a concise review of these studies and their critique see, Stead, "Vision and Oracle in Zechariah 1–6," 149–52.

[11] There are a number of scholars who have recognized the concentric nature of the structure of Zechariah's vision reports. This concentric structure of Zech 1:7—6:15 is based on clear links that exist between vision reports 1 and 8 as well as vision reports 2 and 3 on the one hand and vision reports 6 and 7 on the other; which leaves vision reports 4 and 5 in the very center of this section of the book. For more

concentric pattern is evident especially between the first and last as well as the two central vision reports. In addition to the many lexical connections between these four vision reports,[12] they are also connected by the fact that they share the elements of the divine council scene previously described in the Job 1–2.[13] Additionally, the rest of the vison reports come in pairs: Zech 2:1–4 (the second vision report) and 2:5–9 (the third vision report) on one side, and Zech 5:1–4 (sixth vision report) and 5:5–11 (the seventh vision report) on the other; the oracles are intertwined between and related to the vision reports.[14]

Since this section of Zechariah is composed primarily of vision reports, a few words regarding the inner structure of these reports is appropriate. It was Hallaschka who first proposed the same structure for almost all of Zechariah's vision reports. He suggested that all the reports follow the threefold pattern of seeing—asking—interpreting.[15] However, it was Boda who developed a more sophisticated vision reports

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details, see the following studies which are listed here in chronological order: Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 77–85; Jeremias, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*, 12–13; Schöttler, *Gott inmitten seines Volkes*, 448; and Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, liv–lvi. A brief survey of these studies is given by Butterworth, *Structure and the Book of Zechariah*, 251–52; 75–78. In addition to these studies, which have been evaluated by Butterworth, one can add several more recent studies that also emphasize the importance of the concentric character of the vision reports: O'Kennedy, "Zechariah 3–4"; Tiemeyer, "A Busy Night"; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 103–6.

[12] For a detailed study on the lexical connections between different sections of the book of Zechariah, including vision reports 1, 4, 5, and 8, see Butterworth, *Structure and the Book of Zechariah*, 238–301.

[13] Tiemeyer forcefully argued that the theme of the heavenly council as described in the book of Job connects vision reports 1, 4, 5, and 8. She outlined the verb "to patrol" (Zech 1:10, 11; 6:7 cf. Job 1:7; 2:2); the noun "satan" (Zech 3:1 cf. Job 1:6–12; 2:1–7), and God's patrolling eyes (Zech 4:10) as connecting links between these visions and the heavenly council scene from Job 1–2. See especially, Tiemeyer, "A Busy Night," 203–4.

[14] Here I follow Stead ("Interrelationship between Vision and Oracle," 1–2) who, despite the very popular approach of separating the vison reports and the oracles, asserted that the vision reports and oracles found in Zech 1:8—6:15 must not be separated from each other. In this way, he argued against the long-practiced trend in Zechariah scholarship.

[15] In the context of the interpretation of Zech 3, Hallaschka explained how this vision report does not follow the pattern of seeing—asking—interpreting that is present in all of the other vision reports. For more details, see Hallaschka, "Zechariah's Angels," 16–17. See also Horst ("Die Visionsschilderungen der alttestamentlichen Propheten") who examined different types of visions that are found in the prophetic

structure by focusing on the different structural elements and the specific vocabulary used in them.[16] According to Boda, all of the vision reports commence with an introductory observational note that usually includes an autobiographical depiction in which the verbs נשא ("to lift up") and ראה ("to see") are used. This opening is followed by an observation report that has the purpose of describing the visionary scene and is almost always introduced by particle והנה ("and behold"). After this segment, the prophet usually asks a question and receives a response from a heavenly being. The last element that Boda identified is the prophetic oracle, which usually appears at the end.[17] Now that the basic structure of Zech 1–6 has been delineated, the study can move to an examination of how the references to space correspond to this outline.

Zechariah	**Ideological Space**		
	God	People	Nature
1:1			
1:2			
1:3	**X**	**X**	
1:4			
1:5		**X**	
1:6			
1:7			
1:8	**X**		**X**
1:9			
1:10	**X**	**X**	**X**
1:11	**X**	**X**	**X**
1:12			
1:13			
1:14		**X**	
1:15		**X**	
1:16	**X**	**X**	
1:17		**X**	

literature of the Old Testament and Horst (*Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten,* 210) who acknowledged the diverse nature of the vision report.

[16] See Boda, "Writing the Vision," 103–9. Cf. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah,* 87–90.

[17] An important exception is the fifth vision report where the prophetic oracle is placed at the center. For a more detailed elaboration of all elements mentioned above of Zechariah's vision reports, see Boda, "Writing the Vision," 103–9.

2:1			
2:2			
2:3			
2:4		**X**	
2:5			
2:6			
2:7			
2:8		**X**	
2:9	**X**	**X**	
2:10		**X**	
2:11		**X**	
2:12		**X**	
2:13			
2:14	**X**	**X**	
2:15	**X**	**X**	
2:16		**X**	
2:17	**X**		
3:1	**X**		
3:2		**X**	
3:3	**X**		
3:4			
3:5			
3:6			
3:7	**X**		
3:8	**X**		
3:9		**X**	
3:10		**X**	**X**
4:1			
4:2	**X**		
4:3	**X**		**X**
4:4			
4:5			
4:6			
4:7			**X**
4:8			
4:9	**X**		
4:10		**X**	
4:11	**X**		**X**
4:12	**X**		**X**
4:13			
4:14		**X**	
5:1			
5:2			
5:3		**X**	

5:4		**X**	
5:5			
5:6		**X**	
5:7		**X**	
5:8			
5:9		**X**	
5:10			
5:11	**X**		
6:1	**X**		**X**
6:2			
6:3			
6:4			
6:5		**X**	
6:6		**X**	
6:7		**X**	
6:8		**X**	
6:9			
6:10		**X**	
6:11			
6:12			
6:13			
6:14			
6:15			

Table 1. Distribution of Spatial References in Zechariah 1–6

An analysis of the distribution of the passages that describe the ideological aspect of space within Zech 1–6, the results of which are presented in the table above, shows that references to the ideological aspect of space are consistently present in all of the vision reports (Zech 1:7–17; 2:1–4; 5–9; 3:1–10; 4:1–14; 5:1–4; 5–11; and 6:1–8). That is not the case, however, with the references to lived space, which play a less important role in this part of the book, although they are still represented in it, specifically in Zech 2:14–17; 4:9–10; chapter 5; and 6:14–15. Keeping in mind that this part of the book is predominantly composed of prophetic vision reports, this concern with the ideological aspect of space is not surprising, but rather, natural.

There are two patterns related to the distribution of the spatial references that are worth mentioning since they are found throughout this first section of the book. First, it is noticeable that God's space is mentioned predominantly—but not exclusively—in the first, fourth, fifth, and eighth vision reports.[18] These are the vision reports that describe the heavenly[19] divine council scene and, thus, they are naturally concerned with God's space. On the other hand, even though also present in other vision reports, human space is predominantly described in the two pairs of vision reports that are placed at each side of the two central vision reports four and five, that is, vision reports two and three on one side and vision reports six and seven on the other.[20] The significance of this distribution of God's and humanity's space will be explained in more detail in the analysis below.

The second pattern discernable in the distribution of spatial references that should be mentioned in this introduction relates to the passages referring to ideological space. While the physical aspect of space is implicitly described in sections where the response from a heavenly being is given—the part of the vison report that deals with the interpretation of the symbolic elements of the vision—ideological space is predominantly found in the observation reports, which are full of symbolism, and in the prophetic oracles.[21] This distribution between the physical and ideological spatial references in Zech 1–6 is natural when one keeps in mind that the symbols used in the vision reports

[18] As mentioned above, there are some exceptions to this role. God's space is also described outside of vision reports 1, 4, 5, and 8 in two of the oracles (Zech 2:10–17[6–13] and 6:9–14) as well as in vision reports 3 and 7: Zech 2:9[5], 14–15[10–11], 17[13]; 5:11; 6:12–15 (4x).

[19] More details about the location of these divine council scenes will be provided below.

[20] Human space is also mentioned in the four vision reports that are predominantly concerned with God's space, namely in vision reports 1, 4, 5, and 8. Some prominent examples are Zech 1:12, 14, 16, 17; 3:2, 9; 4:14; and 6:6, 8.

[21] One good example of ideological space outside the prophetic oracles are passages in Zech 2:4 and 5:9, which clearly introduce the ideological space event although the prophetic oracle formula does not introduce it. In both cases, the ideological space is described by introducing a new element in the vison: in 2:4, four craftsman, and in 5:9, two women with the wings of a stork.

have the purpose of referring to something in the real world.[22] However, symbols used to describe certain realities do not just merely refer to those realities, but also add an ideological component to them. Now that these general introductory remarks have been provided, the present chapter can move to the examination of ideological space as described in Zech 1–6.

6.3 Ideological Spatiality in Zechariah 1–6

The main section of this chapter deals with an examination of the ideological aspect of space in Zech 1–6. As was described in the second chapter of this work, this aspect of space is characterized by its emphasis on "conceived" rather than "perceived" space and is understood by Lefebvre as the most dominant aspect of space.[23] The ideological aspect of space is marked in three different ways in this section of the book of Zechariah: First, the use of the vision report genre enables a description of the spiritual realm that is otherwise imperceptible to the human eye and plays an important role in portraying ideological space. Second, keeping in mind that the vision report genre is rich in symbolism, it must be said that the description of the ideological aspect of space is also accomplished by using symbolic language. Finally, at the level of grammar, ideological space is marked by shifting the focus from the present to the future, a shift that is mostly accomplished by the formula, "thus says Yahweh." All of the references to the ideological aspect of space in Zech 1–6 are outlined in the table below.

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[22] See, for example, four horsemen described in Zech 1:8 who represent God's intelligence agency and four horns in Zech 2:1[1:18] that are used to represent nations that scattered Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem (Zech 2:2[1:19]). Other examples of symbols include, but are not limited to, the golden lampstand and olive trees (Zech 4:2–3), the flying scroll (Zech 5:2), a woman in the ephah (Zech 5:7), and the four chariots (Zech 6:1–3).

[23] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38–39; Soja, *Thirdspace*, 80.

Zechariah	God's Space	The People's Space	Nature's Space
Zech 1:8	ההדסים אשר במצלה		ההדסים אשר במצלה
	the myrtle trees that were by the deep		the myrtle trees that were by the deep
Zech 1:10	בין־ההדסים	בארץ	בין־ההדסים
	among the myrtle trees	the earth	among the myrtle trees
Zech 1:11	בין ההדסים		בין־ההדסים
	among the myrtle trees		among the myrtle trees
Zech 1:14		לירושלם ולציון	
		for Jerusalem and for Zion	
Zech 1:15		הגוים	
		the nations	
Zech 1:16	ביתי	ירושלם	
	my house	Jerusalem	
Zech 1:17		ערי ציון ירושלם	
		my cities Zion Jerusalem	
Zech 2:4		הגוים ארץ יהודה	
		nations the land of Judah	
Zech 2:8		ירושלם	
		Jerusalem	
Zech 2:9	אהיה בתוכה	חומת אש סביב	
	I will be in its midst	a surrounding wall of fire	
Zech 2:10		מארץ צפון	
		from the land of the north	
Zech 2:11		בת־בבל	

		the daughter of Babylon	
Zech 2:12		הגוים	
		the nations	
Zech 2:14	ושכנתי בתוכך	בת־ציון	
	I will dwell in your midst	daughter of Zion	
Zech 2:15	ושכנתי בתוכך	גוים רבים	
	I will dwell in your midst	many nations	
Zech 2:16		על אדמת הקדש	
		on the holy land	
Zech 2:17	ממעון קדשו		
	from his holy habitation		
Zech 3:1	לפני מלאך יהוה		
	before the messenger of Yahweh		
Zech 3:3	לפני המלאך		
	before the messenger		
Zech 3:7	את־ביתי את־חצרי		
	my house my courts		
Zech 3:8	הישבים לפניך		
	who sit before you		
Zech 3:9		הארץ־ההיא	
		this land	
Zech 3:10			אל־תחת גפן ואל־תחת תאנה
			under vine and under fig tree

			מנורת זהב כלה וגלה על־ראשה
			a lampstand full of gold and it had a bowl on top of it
Zech 4:2			
ושנים זיתים			ושנים זיתים עליה אחד מימין הגלה ואחד על־שמאלה
two olive trees			two olive trees beside it one on the right of the bowl and one on its left
Zech 4:3			
הר־הגדול			
great mountain			
Zech 4:7			
			הבית הזה
			this house
Zech 4:9			
		בכל־הארץ	
		the whole earth	
Zech 4:10			
שני הזיתים			מה־שני הזיתים
two olive trees			what are those two olive trees
Zech 4:11			
שתי שבלי הזיתים			מה־שתי שבלי הזיתים
two branches of the olive trees			what are the two branches of the olive trees
Zech 4:12			
		אדון כל־הארץ	
		the Lord of the whole earth	
Zech 4:14			
		על־פני כל־הארץ	
		over the face of the whole land	
Zech 5:3			
		בית הגנב	
		the house of the thief	
Zech 5:4			
		בין הארץ ובין השמים	
Zech 5:9			

		between the earth and the heavens	
Zech 5:11		בארץ שנער	
		in the land of Shinar	
Zech 6:1	מבין שני ההרים וההרים הרי נחשת		שני ההרים וההרים הרי נחשת
	between the two mountains, and the mountains were bronze mountains		the two mountains, and the mountains were bronze mountains
Zech 6:5		מהתיצב על־אדון כל־הארץ	
		presenting themselves before the Lord of all the earth	
Zech 6:6		ארץ צפון ארץ התימן	
		the land of the north the land of the south	
Zech 6:7		בארץ	
		the earth	
Zech 6:8		ארץ צפון	
		land of the north	
Zech 6:8		הניחו את־רוחי בארץ צפון	
		pour out my wrath on the land of the north	

Table 2. Ideological Spatiality in Zechariah 1–6

6.3.1 God's Ideological Space

The distribution of the references to God's ideological space that is outlined in the table above shows that there are 18 references to God's ideological space. These references, along with markers that signal the ideological aspect of space, are shown in the table below.

Zechariah	God's Ideological Space	Markers
Zech 1:8	והוא עמד בין ההדסים אשר במצלה he was standing among the myrtle trees that were by the deep	IdS
Zech 1:10	העמד בין־ההדסים standing among the myrtle trees	IdS
Zech 1:11	את־מלאך יהוה העמד בין ההדסים the messenger of Yahweh who was standing among the myrtle trees	IdS
Zech 1:16	לכן כה־אמר יהוה ... ביתי יבנה בה Therefore, thus has said Yahweh … my house will be built in it	IdF; IdY
Zech 2:9	ואני אהיה־לה נאם־יהוה חומת אש סביב ולכבוד אהיה בתוכה I myself will be for it, declaration of Yahweh, a surrounding wall of fire, and I will be the glory in it's midst	IdY; IdF
Zech 2:14	הנני־בא ושכנתי בתוכך נאם־יהוה behold, I am coming and I will dwell in your midst, declaration of Yahweh	IdY; IdF
Zech 2:15	ושכנתי בתוכך I will dwell in your midst	IdF
Zech 2:17	נעור ממעון קדשו he has roused himself from his holy habitation	IdS
Zech 3:1	יהושע הכהן הגדול עמד לפני מלאך יהוה Joshua the high priest was standing before the messenger of Yahweh	IdS
Zech 3:3	ועמד לפני המלאך standing before the messenger	IdS
Zech 3:7	כה־אמר יהוה צבאות ... וגם־אתה תדין את־ביתי וגם תשמר את־חצרי ונתתי לך מהלכים בין העמדים האלה Thus has said Yahweh of hosts … if you do justice at my house, and if you take care of my courts, I will give to you access among these who are standing	IdY; IdF
Zech 3:8	אתה ורעיך הישבים לפניך You and your friends who are sitting before you	IdS

Zech 4:2	מנורת זהב כלה וגלה על־ראשה a lampstand full of gold and it had a bowl on top of it	IdS
Zech 4:3	ושנים זיתים עליה אחד מימין הגלה ואחד על־שמאלה two olive trees beside it, one on the right of the bowl and one on its left	IdS
Zech 4:9	ידי זרבבל יסדו הבית הזה וידיו תבצענה the hand of Zerubbabel have laid foundation of this house and his hands will finish it	IdF
Zech 4:11	מה־שני הזיתים האלה על־ימין המנורה ועל־שמאלה What were these two olive trees on the right of the lampstand and on its left	IdS
Zech 4:12	מה־שתי שבלי הזיתים אשר ביד שני צנתרות הזהב What were the two branches of the olive trees which are in the hands of the two pressers of oil	IdS
Zech 6:1	ארבע מרכבות יצאות מבין שני ההרים וההרים הרי נחשת four charities coming out from between the two mountains, and the mountains were bronze mountains	IdS

Table 3. God's Ideological Space in Zechariah 1–6

6.3.1.1 God's Ideological Space in the Vision Report 1

In contrast to his physical space on earth, which is just briefly described in Zech 1–6, the description of God's heavenly dwelling place is delineated in more detail.[24] First, the

[24] For the importance of the theme of the new temple in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus, see Eybers, "The Rebuilding of the Temple," 15–23. Cf. Redditt, "Depictions of Exilic and Postexilic Jerusalem," 369–71. A proper understanding of space as described in Zech 1–6 is a challenging task. One of the major reasons is that some passages that describe God's space refer to a spiritual dimension which can hardly be defined or described by human words. In addition, the boundary between the earthly and spiritual dimension is not clear cut, but rather fuzzy; that is especially the case with the first (Zech 1:8–17) and the eighth-vision reports (Zech 6:1–8).

In this study, in order to refer to this spiritual dimension within which God dwells, I usually use the term "heavenly" space. I am aware that the term "heaven" is very limited and may be confused with the heaven that belongs to our solar system, which is probably not in view in the book of Zechariah. However, keeping in mind that OT authors very often referred to God's heavenly dwelling space, this seems an appropriate term to describe the spiritual dimension within which God dwells.

Another possibility is that Zechariah used the Sun god imagery in his vision reports and that what he described in the first and the eighth reports referred to the ancient conception of an access point to the spiritual world within the earthly. For a more detailed explanation of this view, see Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 362–67. Regardless of the term that is used to describe the space within which God dwells, it is

description of God's heavenly space is given in the first vision report (Zech 1:8–17), which is primarily concerned with the observation of four horses followed by a divine oracle. The prophet especially focuses on the description of the space where horses are observed.[25] The key phrase that repeats three times in this brief section (Zech 1:8, 10, and 11) is "among the myrtle trees that were by[26] the deep[27]" (בין ההדסים אשר במצלה). Within this phrase, the word במצלה ("by the deep") is crucial for determining the precise location where the scene takes place. There are three different ways that this word can be interpreted: First, Meyers and Meyers suggested that the word derives from the root צלל ("to be or grow dark") and, therefore, should be translated as a low or shadowy place.[28] Second, Rudolph associated the phrase במצלה with the phrase צלה, the cognate of the Aramaic verb for praying, and consequently, translated the phrase with "*an der Gebetsstätte*" ("in the praying place");[29] finally, the majority of scholars, including Petersen, Mitchell, Smith, and Boda argued that the phrase במצלה is associated with the word צול (watery depth), which is used often in the Old Testament (Exod 15:5; Jonah 2:4; Mic 7:19; Zech 10:11; Pss. 68:23; 69:3, 16; 88:7; 107:24; Job 41:23; Neh 9:11).[30]

Keeping in mind that the term מצולה in the Old Testament is used only in the sense of watery depths as well as that the same term is used in this very sense later in

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clear that what Zechariah has in view in the first, fourth, fifth, and eighth vision reports is the spiritual and not this earthly world.

[25] Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 139) correctly noticed that the prophet spent more time on the description of the place where the horses are located than on the horses themselves. On the issue of different colours, see Peachey, "A Horse of a Different Colour," 214–16.

[26] Preposition ב in this context has the purpose of denoting location, IBHS §11.2.6.b.

[27] HALOT, 623; *DCH* §5:448–49; BDB, 846–47.

[28] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 110–11. Cf. Tiemeyer, "A Busy Night," 193; Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 72–73.

[29] Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, Sacharja 9–14, Maleachi*, 72.

[30] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 137; Mitchell et al., *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Jonah*, 118–19; Smith, *Micah–Malachi*, 188; Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 124) furthermore noted that this watery imagery in the Old Testament usually relates to the sea, the Red Sea, and the Nile. For a helpful overview of the different proposals on the meaning of this world, see Tiemeyer, "A Busy Night," 193.

Zech 10:1, it is highly likely that this is the meaning that was intended in Zechariah's first vision report. However, as Petersen stressed, this does not mean that the horses were "hovering above the oceanic deep."[31] The meaning of the phrase במצלה ("by the watery deep") should be determined in its immediate context in relation with the phrase בין ההדסים ("among the myrtle trees"). The association of watery depths with arboreal imagery is common in the ANE world, often referring to the divine abode.[32] This is also the case in the creation story in Gen 1–2 where the watery deep (Gen 1:2), general water imagery (Gen 1:6–7, 9, 10, 20, 21, 22), and arboreal imagery (Gen 1:11, 29; 2:9, 16, 17) are the most fundamental components of the description of the garden of Eden, the first paradise and the place of divine dwelling. That the Edenic imagery is in view in Zech 1 is furthermore strengthened with the presence of the motif of darkness (Zech 1:8 cf. Gen 1:2, 4, 5, 18) and animals (Zech 1:8 cf. Gen 1:24–25) as well as with the linking of the motif of resting with the number seven (Zech 1:11, 12 cf. Gen 2:1–4). Later, the same elements—watery image and arboreal image (myrtle trees included)—are used again in Isa 41:17–20 to refer to paradise.[33] In summary, the phrase בין ההדסים אשר במצלה likely refers to the space that reminds the audience of the paradise described in Gen 1–2.[34]

Another characteristic of the space described in Zech 1:8–17 is its heavenly nature, which is confirmed by the presence of heavenly beings as well as by the presence

[31] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 139. Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 124) explained that "this definition, however, appears inappropriate in this context in 1:8, which seems to depict a scene on land."

[32] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 124; Tiemeyer, "A Busy Night," 195.

[33] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 140; Tiemeyer, "A Busy Night," 195.

[34] See Jeremias (*Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*, 116) who also saw the influence of Edenic imagery on Zechariah's first vision report. Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*¸124–25; 364–67) arrived at a very similar conclusion based on the analysis and comparison of elements from the eighth and first vision reports. In other words, what is happening in the eighth vision report helps the reader determine the nature of the settings described in the first vision report.

of strong intertextual links with Job's divine council scene. [35] First, the vision report describes the presence of "a man" (איש) and "a messenger of Yahweh" (מלאך יהוה)—who should be identified as the same figure—as well as "the messenger who was speaking with me" (המלאך הדבר בי) and "Yahweh of hosts"[36] (יהוה צבאות).[37] All of these figures have a heavenly origin, a fact that corroborates the statement about the heavenly nature of the space in view.[38] Even the man (איש) who is later identified with "the messenger of Yahweh" (מלאך יהוה) should be associated with the same heavenly realm, a usage that is not unusual in the Old Testament (Gen 18:1–22; 32:24; Josh 5:13; Judg 13:6–11; Dan 8:15; 9:21; 10:5, 16, 18; 12:7).[39]

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[35] For the arguments that Job 1–2 predates Zechariah's vision reports and, therefore, should be considered as one of the texts on which Zechariah built, see Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 71–73. Contra Tollington (*Tradition and Innovation*, 114–15) who argued that although prophetic traditions determine Zechariah's concept of the divine council, there is no evidence in his description of it that he built on prophetic traditions but rather, on Psalms.

For helpful studies on the divine council scenes, see Cross, "The Council of Yahweh"; Tidwell, "Wā'ōmar (Zech 3:5)"; Mullen, *The Assembly of the Gods*; Seitz, "The Divine Council"; Nissinen, "Kein Land für sich allein"; and Kee, "The Heavenly Council."

[36] For the usage of the epithet יהוה צבאות (Yahweh of hosts) in the Haggai–Zechariah corpus, see O'Kennedy, "The Use of the Epithet יהוה צבאות."

[37] For the theme of the messenger of Yahweh in the Haggai–Malachi corpus and its importance, see Boda, "Messengers of Hope," 113–31. The main problem of this brief passage is the question of whether the איש רכב על־סוס אדם (Zech 1:8); אדני (Zech 1:9a); המלאך הדבר בי (Zech 1:9b); האיש העמד בין־ההדסים (Zech 1:10); and מלאך־יהוה (Zech 1:11, 12) should be considered as one being or as, at least, two different messengers of Yahweh. For other scholars who make a distinction between the angel of the Lord and the messenger who was "speaking with me" but identify the man who was standing among the myrtle trees as the messenger of the Lord, see Mitchell et al., *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Jonah*, 118–20; Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 52; Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 95; Smith, *Micah–Malachi*, 189; Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 70; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 119. Contra Lux (*Prophetie und Zweiter Tempel*, 283–92) who argued that the figure labeled with different terms and acting and communicating in various ways is actually one and the same person: "Danach handelt es sich bei der in unterschiedlicher Weise angesprochenen (מלאך־יהוה, המלאך הדבר בי, אדני, איש) und in verschiedener Weise agierendes und kommunizierenden Gestalt um ein und dieselbe Person" (286). See also Rudolph (*Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, Sacharja 9–14, Maleachi*, 77) who asserted that the man, the messenger of the Lord, and the messenger who was speaking with Zechariah were three different individuals. For a brief overview of a different proposals regarding the identity of above-mentioned figures, see Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 66–71 and Clark, "The Case of the Vanishing Angel."

[38] Contra Conrad (*Zechariah*, 57) who argued that what Zechariah saw in the first vision report was not a heavenly council scene, but rather, the temple under construction. Consequently, beings with whom Zechariah spoke were not heavenly "angels," but rather prophets such as Haggai.

[39] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 119.

Second, and even more important, the language that is used in the first vision report creates a clear intertextual link with Job 1–2. In Zech 1:10–11, the horses are sent to "patrol throughout the earth," (להתהלך בארץ), an action that clearly alludes to the act of "roving and patrolling throughout the earth" (משט בארץ ומהתהלך בה) found in the book of Job (Job 1:7 and 2:2) and is also found later in Zech 4:10.[40] Stead explained that the Hithpael infinitive construct of the verb הלך occurs outside of Job and Zechariah (Job 1:7; 2:2; Zech 1:10; 6:7 [x3]) only in Prov 6:22 and Ps 56:14, but that it is only in Zechariah and Job that this term is used in the context of a divine council scene.[41] This parallel sheds an important light on the scene described in Zechariah's first vision report, which in the context of this intertextual link should be understood as portraying an intelligence service coming back from their mission to give Yahweh a report.[42] That this is the case is also evident in the idea of presenting before Yahweh that is found both in Job (Job 1:6 and 2:1) and in Zechariah (Zech 1:12 cf. Zech 6:5).[43] As was the case in other divine council scenes (Job 1:6–12; 2:1–7),[44] heavenly beings who stand before Yahweh—a minor detail that is omitted in the first vision report—are sent to investigate the current state of affairs on the earth and to come back to present their findings in a report before Yahweh.[45] While the first vision report does not pay attention to Yahweh's initiative of sending out messengers—even though the vision briefly mentions it (Zech

[40] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 87.

[41] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 87.

[42] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 144; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 115; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 129–30; and Tiemeyer, "A Busy Night," 196.

[43] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 88.

[44] For other passages that describe the divine council scene, see also, 1 Kgs 22:19–22; Isa 6; and Ezek 3. However, even though these passages describe divine council scenes, there is no mention of reporting in them that is very important for the divine council scene in the book of Zechariah.

[45] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 88–89.

1:10)—it focuses on the closing scene of divine council, namely, presenting the report before Yahweh.[46]

When paradisiac and heavenly divine council scene imagery that are described above are brought together, it is clear that the first vision report describes Yahweh's heavenly dwelling space. Having in mind all that has been said above, it is highly likely that the phrase בין ההדסים אשר במצלה refers to the heavenly paradise or even more precisely, as Reventlow suggested, to the entrance to the heavenly abode.[47] There are two main characteristics of God's ideological space. First, God is described as dwelling in the spiritual realm that is, at the same time, closely connected with the earthly one and second, God, who is dwelling in this spiritual realm, is fully interested in what is happening on the earth. That this is the correct interpretation of the description of space in the first vision report will be confirmed in the study below, which focuses on Zech 2:17, as well as on vision reports 4, 5, and 8, all of which also describe the divine heavenly abode.

6.3.1.2 God's Ideological Space in the Oracle Reported in Zech 2:10–17[6–13])

The reference to God's space in Zech 2:17 is the only instance where God's heavenly space is described outside of vision reports 1, 4, 5, and 8. In 2:17, Yahweh is described as one who "roused[48] himself from his holy habitation" (נעור ממעון קדשו). This phrase also refers to the heavenly realm, but this time the prophet comes closer to Yahweh and

[46] This is a closing scene in the sense that the sending of messengers is not mentioned in the biblical text, only returning and reporting to Yahweh, Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 129–30. See also, Tiemeyer, "A Busy Night," 196.

[47] Reventlow, *Die Propheten*, 41. Cf. Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 75 and Tiemeyer, "A Busy Night," 196.

[48] Geminated R_1 guttural, thus נֵ (compensatory lengthening), Joüon §80p.

describes his dwelling place.[49] Boda explains that the term מעון ("habitation") in the Old Testament can represent animals's hidden lairs (Nah 2:13; Jer 9:10; 10:22; 49:33; and 51:37), the people's hiding spots (Pss 71:3; 90:1; 91:9; and Zeph 3:7), and God's dwelling place (whether an earthly sanctuary [1 Sam 2:29, 32], the temple in Jerusalem [2 Chr 36:15; Ps 26:8] or his heavenly habitation [Deut 26:15; Jer 25:30; 2 Chr 30:27]).[50] Considering that the term here is associated with Yahweh and used together with the term קדש, it is highly likely that Yahweh's heavenly dwelling place is in view.[51] This is furthermore confirmed by the reference to Hab 2:20 where similar language is used: "Yahweh is in his holy temple, be silent before him, all the earth" (ויהוה בהיכל קדשו הס מפניו כל־הארץ).[52] Stead argued that the phrase "his holy temple" (היכל קדשו) is

[49] For the motif of the prophet's movement through space that results in coming closer to God's presence, see Tiemeyer, "A Busy Night." She argued that Zech 1–6 "reports a journey in space. The first to the fourth visions reflect an inward journey, beginning in the anteroom of the heavenly realm and culminating at the heavenly court. Then the fifth to the eight vision reflect the outward journey, this time commencing from the room and ending at the exit of the heavenly abode." For a similar treatment of Zechariah's movement in space, see Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, lvi) who saw movement from a universal (Yahweh's worldwide actions in visions 1 and 7) to an international (Yahweh is concerned with Judah/Yehud and the imperial powers in visions 2 and 6) to a national focus (in visions 3 and 5) to the temple (vision report 4) (lv–lvi). For my treatment of the distribution of spatial references and any discernable pattern in the vision reports, see below.

[50] *HALOT*, 610. Cf. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 215.

[51] Petitjean (*Les Oracles du Proto–Zacharie*, 154–59) was among the first scholars who suggested that the holy habitation referred to Yahweh's heavenly and not earthly place based on the passages such as Deut 26:15; 2 Chr 30:27; and Jer 25:30. See also, Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 171–72; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 215.

Contra Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 185) who argued that the intertextual link between Zech 2:17 and Hab 2:20 actually leads to the conclusion that prophet had in view the earthly temple in Jerusalem. He asserted that "just as Israel is "grounded" in v. 16, so, too, was Yahweh fixed by reference to his habitation. There are a few reasons why this understanding of Yahweh's dwelling place is problematic, among which the most important is Ezekiel's description of Yahweh's leaving his earthly dwelling place, ultimately leading to its destruction in 587/6 BCE. Thus, instead of seeing Yahweh as still dwelling in the Jerusalem temple, Zechariah describes him as rousing from his heavenly dwelling place in order to return to his earthly temple as described in Zech 2:10–16[6–12].

[52] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 126. Even though he acknowledged Zechariah's reliance on Hab 2:20, Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 215) suggested that the key source for this phrase should be found in Jer 25:30–31. The main question that ought to be answered here is the nature of space that is in view in Zech 2:17. The ground on which Zechariah builds is not of crucial importance for the present study since both Habakkuk and Jeremiah refer to the heavenly realm. For other scholars who noticed the link between Zech 2:17 and Hab 2:20, see Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 185; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 171–72; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 215–16.

replaced in Zechariah with the phrase "his holy habitation" (מעון קדשו) in order "to make clear that it is the heavenly dwelling from which Yahweh has roused himself."[53] This "holy habitation" should be distinguished from Yahweh's earthly dwelling place, which at that moment, was in the process of reconstruction.[54] Besides this description of the spiritual realm, delineation of Yahweh's arising reveals that the description of God's ideological space includes his migration to his earthly temple, something that will be elaborated on in the last part of this section dealing with God's ideological space. This description of Yahweh's heavenly dwelling place is, in a way, an introduction into the fourth vision report (Zech 3:1–10), which again describes God's heavenly place.[55]

6.3.1.3 God's Ideological Space in the Vision Report 4

This description of Yahweh's heavenly dwelling place is continued in the fourth vision report in Zech 3:1 where "Joshua the high priest[56]" is described as "standing[57] before the messenger of Yahweh" (עמד לפני מלאך יהוה) with "the accuser[58] standing on his right" (והשטן עמד על־ימינו).[59] Even though there is evidence of a legal proceeding in the

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[53] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 127.

[54] Even though I agree with Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 185) and Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 215) who argued that there is close interrelationship between Yahweh's heavenly and earthy dwelling space, I still maintain the distinction between these two. For the close connection between God's heavenly and earthly dwelling space, see below.

[55] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 216. *Contra* Lux who asserted that this passage is not only connected with the preceding third night vision, but also with the following fifth night vision (Zech 4), which is in line with arguments made by many commentators who claim that fourth night vision (Zech 3) is an addition to the cycle of visions. Lux asserted that this connection between the third and fifth vision reports is also confirmed by the fact that 2:17 is clearly linked with 4:1 by employing the same lexical stock. Although I agree that Zech 2:17 is connected with the divine council scene in Zech 4, it is inappropriate not to connect it to the scene described in Zech 3.

[56] The appositional construction in which one noun stands in parallel with the proper name, BHRG §29.1.(iii).

[57] The predicative participle referring to the object, Joüon §126b.

[58] The definite article indicates that the word והשטן refers to a title, rather than a name, GKC §125e., f.

[59] The fourth vison is considered in this work to be an integral part of the other vision reports and not as a latter addition to the seventh night visions that was produced by a different author. Even though I

vision report described in Zech 3, it is highly likely that the scene shown to Zechariah should be understood primarily in the context of the divine council.[60] According to this interpretation, the fourth vision report describes an event that happens in heaven and not in the earthly Jerusalem temple.[61] There are at least two arguments that bolster the idea that this scene should be understood in this way: first, as it has been already shown above in the analysis of the first vision report and as it will be explained in the examination of the fifth and eight vision reports below, the divine council scene plays an important role in Zechariah's vision reports, including this vision report recorded in Zech 3;[62] and second, there is an appearance of a number of heavenly figures including God, an adversary, and angels, which heightens the probability that the scene happens in heaven.[63]

Most important, a number of scholars recognized that the scene described in Zech 3 calls to mind the divine council previously described in Job 1–2; 1 Kgs 22:19–21; Isa 6:1–13; and Isa 40. It was Tidwell who was among the first scholars who established the

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recognize the unique character of Zech 3, I argue that this does not necessarily mean that its origin is different from the other vision reports since the different form of this report does not necessarily mean a different date and authorship. For other scholars who follow this argument, see, for example, Mitchell et al., *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Jonah*, 147; Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 112–13; Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, Sacharja 9–14, Maleachi*, 93–94; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, liii–lvii; and Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 117. For a brief overview of different views on this hotly debated topic, see Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 116–17.

[60] Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 218) explained both options by saying that the legal court proceeding setting may be supported by the evidence of the presence of the "accused (Joshua) who stands before the judge (messenger of Yahweh) with an accuser at the right hand of the accused," a scene that is very similar to the one described in Num 5:16–31. However, Boda argued that the divine council scene is the main background for Zech 3.

[61] It is highly likely that Zechariah, who saw this vision, was still in the physical world, but his eyes "opened" so that he could see the spiritual reality. A similar example is found in 2 Kgs 6:17–20, where the servant of Elisha saw hills full of chariots and horses (as suggested to me in personal conversation with Mark J. Boda on March 30, 2021).

[62] Tidwell, "Wā'ōmar (Zech 3:5)," 347–48. Cf. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 104–5; Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 88–90; 156–57; 208; and Tiemeyer, "A Busy Night."

[63] Tidwell, "Wā'ōmar (Zech 3:5)," 347–48; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 188–91; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 220–21; Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 118.

intertextual connections between Zech 3 and other passages that describe the divine council scene and Min Suc Kee who later added Ps 82 and Dan 7:9–14 to this list.[64] Building on Tidwell's work, as well as on the well-known studies of Jeremias, Delkurt, and Floyd, Stead argued that there is a clear intertextual link between Zech 3 and both Isa 6 and Job 1–2.[65] First, the scene from Zech 3 is related to the one in Isa 6 because these are the only two passages in the whole Old Testament describing a human figure as being present in the heavenly realm in an impure state and being subsequently cleansed by Yahweh.[66] Second, Job 1–2 stands as the other major intertextual connection to Zech 3 because it is only in these two texts that there is an appearance of "an accuser" (השטן) who is actively involved as a prosecuting counsel in the heavenly realm.[67] These arguments in favour of the view that Zech 3 describes the divine council can be furthermore corroborated with the presence of a number of heavenly figures in this vision report, as well as by the fact that it was Yahweh himself who shows the prophet the scene, something that was not the case in the previous vision reports, and that signals the prophet's closer proximity to Yahweh.[68]

In sum, as was the case in the first vison report (Zech 1:8–17), as well as in the description of Yahweh's space in Zech 2:17, the third vison report also describes God's dwelling space within the spiritual realm. One of the major characteristics of God's

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[64] Tidwell, "Wā'ōmar (Zech 3:5)"; Kee, "The Heavenly Council."

[65] See Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 156–57. Stead built on the following studies listed here in chronological order: Tidwell, "Wā'ōmar (Zech 3:5)"; Jeremias, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*, 203–06; Delkurt, *Sacharjas Nachtgesichte*, 189; Floyd, *Minor Prophets 2*, 374; and Kee, "The Heavenly Council."

[66] See Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 156.

[67] See Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 157.

[68] See, further, Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 188–91) whose careful study of the appearance of Joshua, an angel of Yahweh, the *satan* in Zech 3:1, and the intertextual links with Ps 109:6; 1 Chr 21:1; and Job 1–2 shows that "the setting of the vision is the divine council." Cf. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 220–21 and Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 118.

ideological space is its connection with the earthly realm which is especially evident in the description of the charge to Joshua in which Joshua is granted access to this spiritual realm (Zech 3:6–7). This feature of God's ideological space will be explained in more detail at the end of this section.

6.3.1.4 God's Ideological Space in the Vision Report 5

This trend is continued in the fifth vision report, found in Zech 4, which is usually considered together with the fourth vison as a central part of Zechariah's vision complex.[69] The key for this study is the description of "a lampstand full of gold[70] and it had a bowl[71] on top of it" (מנורת זהב כלה וגלה על־ראשה) and the "two olive trees beside[72] it" (ושנים זיתים עליה) that is given in the observation note in Zech 4:3. The first phrase is a clear allusion to the lampstand(s) connected to the holy place: either the ten golden lampstands found in Solomon's temple (1 Kgs 7:49) or the lampstand placed in the tabernacle (Exod 25:31–40; 37:17–24).[73] Since the prophet saw only one lampstand, the allusion is probably to the latter.[74] However, as will be explained below, the scene is clearly situated within the heavenly realm, and it is likely that the allusion to the earthly tabernacle actually serves to point to the heavenly sanctuary, the model of which was

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[69] O'Kennedy, "Zechariah 3–4."

[70] The *status constructus* used to express product-material relationship, BHRG § 25.4.6(i).

[71] *HALOT*, 192; *DCH* §2:352.

[72] The preposition על is used here in a spatial sense, IBHS §11.2.13.b.

[73] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 173. Cf. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 216–23; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 235–38; Hanhart, *Sacharja*, 260; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 278.

[74] For one of the best reconstructions of Zechariah's lampstand, see Hachlili, *The Menorah, the Ancient Seven-Armed Candelabrum*, 18–22. See also, Selman, "מנורה." For the arguments that Zech 4:2 alludes to the lampstand in the Tabernacle and Solomon's temple, see Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 173. Cf. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 227. *Contra* Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 223) who argued that this is an allusion to lamps excavated in Syria-Palestine and *contra* Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 233) who argued for "a conflation of the two traditons, the premonarchic and the preexilic."

presented to Moses on the mountain in Exod 25:31–40 and according to which the earthly tabernacle was made in Exod 37:17–24 (see also, Exod 39:37; Lev 24:4; and Num 8:4). There are two arguments for this interpretation: first, the description of this lampstand differs from the portrayal of all of the other lampstands found in the Old Testament[75] and second, the description of the lampstand is given along with the description of two olive trees, which includes the arboreal imagery that very often alludes to the heavenly prototype of the earthly tabernacle/temple.[76]

Besides the allusion to the wilderness tabernacle, this text also refers to the divine council scene described in Job 1–2, as was the case with the first (Zech 1:8–17) and fourth vision reports (Zech 3:1–10) examined above, and in the eighth vision report (Zech 6:1–8), which will be studied below. This reference to the divine council scene is primarily accomplished by using the Polel participle of the verb שוט which is used in both Job 2:2 (ומשט בארץ ומהתהלך) and in Zech 4:10 (משוטטים בכל־הארץ) to describe the action of roaming throughout the earth so that God can examine the current state of affairs on the earth.[77] In addition, "the two sons of oil" (שני בני־היצהר) are

[75] For more details see Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 219–24; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 275–78; and Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 150–54.

[76] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 275–78. For the connection between arboreal imagery and the temple/tabernacle, consult Meyers, "Lampstand," 4:142; Davidson, "Earth's First Sanctuary," especially his extensive bibliography on the connection between the pre-Fall Garden of Eden and the sanctuary/temple, 65–66. Davidson argued that "the references to the portrayals of the natural world in the later sanctuaries seem to hark back to Edenic paradise." He specifically noted that "there is in the Mosaic tabernacle the seven-branched lampstand in the shape of an almond tree with flowers (Exod 25:33–34; 37:19–20; 1 Kgs 7:49; 1 Chron 4:7)" (70). For additional connections between the tree imagery and the sanctuary, see Meyers, *The Tabernacle Menorah*, 169–72 and Garr, *God's Lamp, Man's Light*, 93–102.

[77] It was Oppenheim who connected the imagery of the eyes of the Lord with the Persian intelligence service, which gathered information for the king, Oppenheim, "'The Eyes of the Lord'," 173–80. Cf. Reventlow, *Die Propheten*, 59; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 256–57; Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 158. See also the earlier work of Tiemeyer ("Busy Night," 200) who, even though admitting that different vocabulary is used, drew a clear parallel between the "roaming eyes" mentioned in the fifth vision report and the action of patrolling that has been described in the first and the eighth vision reports. What connects these three vision reports is the idea of God's intelligence service. Tiemeyer built on the previous work of Meyers and Meyers and Hanson, who also noticed existing links between these three vision reports, Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 333; Hanson, "In Defiance of Death," 177.

described as those "who stand before the Lord of the whole earth" (העמדים על־אדון כל־הארץ), a fact that further corroborates the view that the space described in Zech 4:1–6a is in the heavenly and not the earthly realm, unless God is in the temple or accessible through the temple—a highly unlikely possibility since the temple was not yet finished.[78] Thus, the space described in Zech 4:1–6a is not only related to the tabernacle—a parallel that is accomplished by an intertextual reference linking the lampstand with passages about the earthly tabernacle (and implicitly with its heavenly prototype)—but also to the heavenly realm, a connection accomplished by using the term "roaming."

In order to determine the type of space described in Zech 4:1–6a, the major question that must be posed is what kind of space reflects the two motifs mentioned above: tabernacle imagery and the heavenly realm. The only space mentioned elsewhere in the Old Testament that connects these two characteristics is the heavenly sanctuary or the heavenly prototype of the earthly sanctuary that was shown to Moses on the mountain (Exod 25:1–9). In chapters 3–5 of his dissertation on the heavenly sanctuary/temple motif in the Hebrew Bible, De Souza showed the prevalent presence of the heavenly sanctuary motif in forty-three passages of HB, examining its relationship to its earthly counterparts.[79] Although De Souza found no evidence for the presence of the heavenly

[78] There are at least two reasons why this phrase reveals that the scene described in Zech 4 is the divine council scene. First, Boda ("Oil, Crowns and Thrones," 9–10) argued that the phrase העמדים על followed by the reference to the deity (Zech 4:14) also appears in 1 Kgs 22:19 and Isa 6:2, two passages that describe divine council scenes. Second, Tiemeyer ("A Busy Night," 204) noticed the link between this phrase and the one found in Zech 6:5 (מהתיצב על־אדון כל־הארץ), which again connects Zech 4:14 with the divine council scene described in the eighth vison report. See also Kee, "The Heavenly Council," 265.

[79] De Souza ("The Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif") finds the heavenly temple/sanctuary motif in the following Old Testament passages and examines them in this order: Gen 11:1–9; 28:10–22; Exod 15:1–18; 24:9–11; 25:9, 40; 32:1—34:34; Deut 26:15; 2 Sam 22:1–51; 1 Kgs 8:12–66; 1 Kgs 22:19–23; Isa 6:1–8; 14:12–15; Ezek 1:1–28; 10:1–22; 28:11–19; Mic 1:2–3; Zech 3:1–10; Isa 18:4; 63:15; Jer 17:12; 25:30; Hos 5:15; Jonah 2:5, 8; Hab 2:20; Zech 2:17[13]; Pss 11:1–7; 20:1–10[9]; 29:1–11; 33:1–22; 60:1–14[12]; 68:1–36[35]; 96:1–13; 102:20–21[19–20]; 150:1–6; Dan 7:9–14; 8:9–14; 9:24; Pss 14:16; 73:17, 25; 76:8–9[9–10]; 82:1–8; Job 1:6; 2:1; 2 Chr 30:27.

sanctuary motif in Zech 4, the above analysis of that chapter shows that the fifth vision also—along with its twin fourth vision report—describes the realm of the heavenly temple by blending the imagery of the lampstand and the divine council scene.[80]

As was the case in the previous vision reports examined above, one of the major characteristics of the description of God's ideological space in the fifth vision report is its connection with the temple on the earth and God's overseeing of human affairs from his dwelling place. The latter of these two is further elaborated in the eighth vision report that is examined below.

6.3.1.5 God's Ideological Space in the Vision Report 8

Finally, the last description of God's space is given in the eighth vision report in Zech 6:1 where the chariots are described as "coming out from between the two mountains and the mountains were bronze mountains" (יצאות מבין שני ההרים וההרים הרי נחשת). In the ANE context, mountains are often associated with the dwelling place of the gods, an idea that is also found in the Old Testament.[81] Boda explained that Zion is identified as

[80] This is slightly different from De Souza, who suggested that Zech 3 describes the heavenly temple and Zech 4, the earthly temple, emphasizing the relationship between these two. I agree with De Souza that the relationship between the heavenly sanctuary and its earthly counterpart is the topic that is addressed in the book of Zechariah, but not by means of the relationship between Zech 3 and 4—which evidently exists as shown above—but rather by putting the description of the heavenly and earthly realms against each other in both of these chapters as well as in the macrostructure of Zech 1–6. As mentioned above in the section dealing with the first vision report, it must be noted that the boundary between the heavenly and the earthly is not clear-cut, but is rather fuzzy, and the relationship between these two dimensions is clearly described in the book of Zechariah.

[81] *Contra* Jeremias who associated the mountain motif found in the eighth vision report with the cosmic mountain motif from Mesopotamia. Jeremias, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*, 114.

For one of the best assessments of the cosmic mountain motif and its meaning and function in Canaan and the Old Testament, see *Clifford, The Cosmic Mountain.* In one segment of his work dealing with the Old Testament, Clifford focused on the two great holy mountains in Israel: Sinai and Zion. He argued that the concept of the Mesopotamian *Weltberg* is not found in the Old Testament. There, the mountains are described, rather, as the dwelling place of the deity, the place where revelation and decree are upmost, and the place where Yahweh's eternal kingship is celebrated. It is Clifford's argument that the mountain represents the dwelling place of God that is of upmost importance here.

Cf. Smith, *Micah–Malachi*, 213; Delkurt, *Sacharjas Nachtgesichte*, 285; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 361–62; and Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 249. For an overview of the different interpretations of the two bronze mountains, see Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 244–46.

Zaphon (Ps 48:2–3[1–2]) and therefore alludes to God's dwelling place (cf. Ps 68:17[16]).[82] This Zion/Zaphon tradition is parallel to the Sinai/Horeb motif, which is also used to describe the place of God's revelation and habitation (Exod 3:1; 19:18; 24:15–18; Num 10:33; Deut 33:2; Jud 5:51; 1 Kgs 19:8–13; Ps 68:9, 18 [8, 17]). Since chariots came out from between two mountains, it looks like the two mountains from Zech 6:1 are close to each other and may represent the gate to the heavenly realm that is very well described in the ANE literature.[83]

The argument that the space described in the last vision report is related to the heavenly realm is further bolstered by the evident allusions to the divine council in the book of Zechariah that began in Zechariah's first vision report, continued in his fourth and fifth vison reports, and was then returned to in his eighth vision report. This does not come as a surprise if one keeps in mind that the mountain motif examined above is often associated with divine council scenes.[84] However, there are also a number of other allusions to divine council scenes in this final vision. Again, the phrase "to patrol throughout[85] the earth" (התהלך בארץ) is used in relation to horses, as was the case in the first vision report (Zech 1:7), clearly alluding to the patrolling action of Satan in Job 1:7 and 2:2.[86] Thus, it is highly likely that the chariots described in this vision represent God's intelligence service, which was now sent to deliver Yahweh's judgment. The space from which the chariots are coming and that is described in Zech 6:1–8 is heaven, which

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[82] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 361–62.

[83] Rothstein, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*, 167–68; Seybold, *Bilder zum Tempelbau*, 69. Cf. Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 75; Smith, *Micah–Malachi*, 213; Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road*, 143; Tiemeyer, "A Busy Night," 194; Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 249; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 362–64.

[84] See Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 244. She built on the previous work of Mitchell et al., *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Jonah*, 177–78; Reventlow, *Die Propheten*, 68; Tidwell, "Wā'ōmar (Zech 3:5)," 352, 54; and Halpern, "Ritual Background," 179.

[85]The preposition ב is used here in a locational sense, IBHS §1.2.5.b.

[86] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 208; Tiemeyer, "A Busy Night," 190.

is clear from the phrase found in Zech 6:5, "presenting themselves before the Lord of all the earth" (מהתיצב על־אדון כל־הארץ), that describes the place of their origin.[87] It was after this presenting before the Lord that the four chariots came between the two mountains, which were bronze mountains (מבין שני ההרים וההרים הרי נחשת [Zech 6:1, 5]).[88] Thus, as was the case in vision reports 1, 4, and 5, this vision report also describes Yahweh's heavenly dwelling space from which he sends his intelligence service to act on the Earth.

6.3.1.6 Relationship between God's Heavenly and Earthly Space

It has been shown above that God's ideological space is described in Zech 1–6 primarily as space that is located within the spiritual heavenly realm. The first and eighth vision reports describe the entryway to this heavenly realm by focusing on the return of the horse riders in the first and the sending out of the horse chariots in the eighth vision report. In both cases it is God's intelligence service that is sent to inspect the current state of affairs on the earth as well as to fulfill Yahweh's mission. In Zech 2:17 the prophet moves closer to God's space described in this verse as "Yahweh's holy habitation." This description of Yahweh's space paves the way for the descriptions of vision reports 3 and 4, where the prophet moves further in and describes the heavenly realm, which is likely to be identified with the heavenly sanctuary/temple or a prototype of the earthly sanctuary (Exod 25:1–9). This is confirmed with the heightening of ritual language used in these two reports. Thus, Zechariah's vision reports 1, 4, 5, and 8 along with Zech 2:17

[87] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 208; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 361.

[88] Another possibility is that the intelligence service is coming from the netherworld since, in the ANE iconography, bronze mountains are used as the habitation of the Sun God east of Mesopotamia. For more detail on this interpretation of the location from which the chariots came, see Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 362–67.

describe God's space in terms of the heavenly sanctuary and, at the same time, they serve as a skeleton on which the other vision reports and descriptions of space are displayed and against which other references to space should be studied. Most important, it is in the context of this heavenly space that the building of God's earthly space (Zech 1:16; 3:7 [2x]; 4:9) should be examined.

As already mentioned above, Zechariah describes the clear correspondence between God's heavenly and earthly space and, at the same time, portrays Yahweh's migration from his heavenly habitation to his earthly home. This ideological portrayal of God's space in Zech 1–6 is explained in more details below. In contrast to the book of Haggai, where God's space is exclusively associated with Yahweh's house located in Jerusalem, the first part of the book of Zechariah (Zech 1–6)—especially the first, fourth, fifth, and eighth vision reports— describes God's space as being situated within the heavenly realm. It must be noted, however, that this heavenly abode of God is purposefully portrayed in Zech 1–6 as being in close relationship with God's earthly space, which is labeled as "house" (בית) in Zech 1:16; 3:7; and 4:9. This correspondence between God's heavenly and earthly space is presented in the table below:

Space	**Vision Report 1 (Zech 1:8–17)**	**Vision Report 4 (Zech 3:1–10)**	**Vision Report 5 (Zech 4:1–14)**	**Vision Report 8 (Zech 6:1–8)**
Heaven	עמד בין ההדסים אשר במצלה (Zech 1:8–11)	עמד לפני מלאך יהוה (Zech 3:1)	מנורת זהב כלה וגלה על־ראשה ושנים זיתים עליה אחד מימין הגלה ואחד על־שמאלה (Zech 4:2–3)	מבין שני ההרים וההרים הרי נחשת מהתיצב על־אדון כל־הארץ (Zech 6:1, 5)

	standing among the myrtle trees that were by the deep	standing before the messenger of Yahweh	a lampstand full of gold and it had a bowl on top of it two olive trees beside it one on the right of the bowl and one on its left	out from between the two mountains, and the mountains were bronze mountains standing before the Lord of all the earth
Earth	ביתי (Zech 1:16)	ביתי (Zech 3:7)	ביתי (Zech 4:9)	
	my house	my house	my house	

Figure 1. Relationship between God's Heavenly[89] and Earthly Space

An examination of the interrelationship described above between God's heavenly and earthly space shows that this correlation is multifaceted, namely, ontological and functional.[90] First, Zechariah describes the ontological relationship between God's heavenly and earthly space by referring to an existential linkage between the heavenly and earthly realms.[91] This fundamental relationship between God's heavenly and earthly space is portrayed in Zech 1–6 rhetorically and symbolically. At the most basic level, the author connects heaven and earth rhetorically by portraying God's heavenly space in close proximity to God's earthly space, as seen in the table above. This rhetorical

[89] As already mentioned, another possibility is to interpret the location from which Yahweh's intelligence agency came as the underworld and not heaven in the classic sense. I use the term "heaven" because a number of Old Testament authors use this term to describe the spiritual dimension within which God dwells.

[90] In this way, my study confirms the findings of De Souza's study, which examined the interrelationship between God's heavenly and earthly dwelling places throughout the whole Old Testament. See, especially, his theological synthesis explaining the dynamic, structural, and functional interaction between the heavenly sanctuary and its earthly counterpart, de Souza, "The Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif," 491–97.

[91] This has been recognized by Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 185) and Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 215) who argued that there is a close interrelationship between Yahweh's heavenly and earthy dwelling spaces. Boda asserted that "to juxtapose the earthly from heavenly dwelling places of Yahweh is inappropriate, since the dwelling place in Jerusalem is envisioned as an earthly portal into the heavenly abode of Yahweh (cf. Hab 2:20)" (215). For my view on this important issue, see above.

compositional feature is also evident at the broader level of Zech 1–6, where the first, fourth, fifth, and eighth vision reports— which provide the skeleton for the first section of the book—deal mainly, but still not exclusively, with the heavenly realm; the rest of the vision reports (numbers 2, 3, 6, and 7) are concerned with the earthly realm as shown in the chart below.[92] It must be noticed, however, that the first and the eighth vision reports have the purpose of portraying the gateway between heaven and earth.

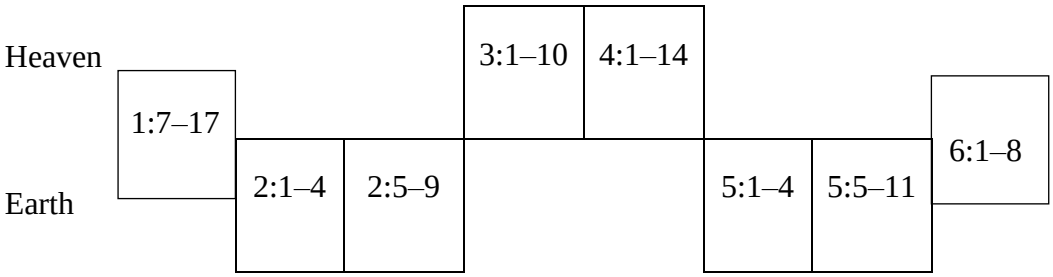

Figure 2. Spatial Composition of Zech 1–6

Symbolically, this ontological connection between the heavenly and earthly realms is emphasized by using the symbols of "the myrtle trees by the deep" (ההדסים אשר במצלה) and the "the mountains, mountains of bronze" (ההרים הרי נחשת), which point to the passage between heaven and earth, therefore connecting these two realms and enabling communication between them.[93]

[92] In his study of the imagery in Zechariah's night visions, Lux concluded that the vision reports are structured in a way that night visions one, four, five, and eight occur in the heavenly realm, while night visions two, three, six, and seven describe events that happen on the earth. My investigation of the spatial references in Zech 1–6 confirms Lux's assertion with a significant modification: the first and eighth vision reports describe a gateway between the earthly and heavenly realms instead of the heavenly realm itself. This is evident from the description of the horses in the first vison report and the chariots in the eighth, which move from one realm to the other. It is also important to notice that this division between earthly and heavenly scenes should not be taken as a clear-cut division since there are clear references to some events that happen on earth in vision reports one, four, five, and eight as well as allusions to the heavenly realm in vision reports two and three.

[93] See the discussion above. See further, Rothstein, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*, 167–68 and Seybold, *Bilder zum Tempelbau*, 69. Cf. Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 75; Smith, *Micah–Malachi*, 213; Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road*, 143; Tiemeyer, "A Busy Night," 194; Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 249; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 362–64.

Second, Zechariah describes the functional connection between Yahweh's heavenly and earthly places. This is primarily accomplished by describing Yahweh, his intelligence agency, and Joshua the high priest as moving within space and crossing the borders between the heavenly and earthly realms. While on the one hand, the activities on the earth affect the heavenly realm, on the other hand, circumstances in heaven affect the state of affairs on the earth. Within Zech 1–6, this is best seen in the core visions in Zech 1, 3–4, and 6 where this connection is obvious.

This description of the correspondence between God's heavenly and earthly space serves as a backdrop against which Zechariah describes the movement of Yahweh from his heavenly abode to his earthly house.[94] This idea is mentioned at the very outset, in the introduction of the book in Zech 1:3, as part of Yahweh's declaration to the people: "return to me, a declaration of Yahweh of hosts, and I will return to you" (שובו אלי נאם יהוה צבאות ואשוב אליכם).[95] Although the emphasis of this text is on God's return in a spiritual/covenantal and not a spatial sense, this passage also serves as an important background against which Zechariah described Yahweh's spatial return to his temple.[96]

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[94] The theme of return as addressed in the Book of Zechariah has been recently examined by Cataldo, "The Radical Nature of 'Return'," 1–24. See also, O'Kennedy ("Key Themes," 217–19) who mentioned Yahweh's divine presence in his earthly temple as one of the key themes addressed in Zech 1–8 as well as Foster, *The Theology of the Books of Haggai and Zechariah*, 61–99 and House, "Endings as New Beginnings, 318–37." For the prominent theme of exile, which forms the basis on which the theme of return is built, see Boda, "Terrifying the Horns" and Boda, "Scat!" For a similar study on the return of Yahweh in the book of Haggai, which is closely related to the book of Zechariah, see Patrick, "Haggai and the Return of Yhwh."

[95] Boda, "Scat!," 176.

[96] I agree with Boda (*The Book of* Zechariah, 76–79, especially n. 67) who made a distinction between Yahweh's return to the people and his physical return to the temple but still saw a connection between these two different senses of Yahweh's return. Thus, even though Yahweh's return described in this verse should be seen primarily in the context of his covenantal relationship with the people of Israel, this sermon at the beginning of the book serves as the backdrop against which the physical return of Yahweh—described later in Zechariah's vision reports—should be understood. *Contra* Stead (*The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8,* 79) who built on the work of Petitjean and read Zech 1:3 from the perspective of its intertextual link with Isa 52:7–10 and Ezek 43:1–9, emphasizing the idea of Yahweh's spatial return. Cf. Petitjean, *Les Oracles du Proto–Zacharie*, 58–61.

This spatial migration of Yahweh from his heavenly dwelling place to his earthly house in Jerusalem is described for the first time in Zech 1:16 where Yahweh proclaims "my house will be built in it" (ביתי יבנה בה).[97] Even though the focus of this verse is much broader than the temple itself, embracing the city of Jerusalem as a whole as the future home of Yahweh, intertextual connections with earlier material that describes the temple as Yahweh's dwelling place affirm that Yahweh's return to and presence in Jerusalem is achievable only through his return to his temple.[98] This idea is bolstered by placing the temple in the middle of a chiasm between two occurrences of the city of Jerusalem (Jerusalem – temple – Jerusalem, Zech 1:16). It is only through the rebuilding of the temple that Yahweh will be able to return to Jerusalem because it is the temple itself where he will dwell.[99] This presence in the temple will be expanded later to the city of Jerusalem as a whole, a fact that is most evident at the end of Zech 14.

This idea of Yahweh's migration from heavenly to earthly place is furthermore developed in the oracle in Zech 2:10–17[6–13] which describes the return of the people and Yahweh to the Holy Land and which is situated between vision reports 3 and 4.[100]

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[97] In this verse, Yahweh is described as the one who has already returned to the people covenantally as promised in Zech 1:3. He is promising the people that he will rebuild the house in which he will dwell.

[98] Even though I agree that the focus of this verse is much broader than the temple itself and clearly embraces Jerusalem (cf. Zech 1:12, 14, and 17) and other cities of Judah (cf. Zech 1:12, 17), Yahweh's return must be understood as primarily related to the temple through which Yahweh will also be present in Jerusalem and in the whole territory of Yehud. For the view that the return "should not be identified with Yahweh taking up residence in the temple, especially since the temple is not yet constructed," see Boda, *The Book of Zechairah*, 150. I take this verse as a promise of ideal space that will be fulfilled in the near future. Later in his commentary, Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 209) listed earlier traditions about Yahweh dwelling in the temple: Exod 25:8; 29:45, 46; 40:35; Num 5:3; 9:17, 18, 22; 10:12; 35:34; Deut 12:5; 1 Kgs 6:13; 8:12; 1 Chr 23:25; 2 Chr 6:1; Ezra 6:12; Pss 68:17[16]; 74:2; 135:21; Isa 8:18; Ezek 43:7, 9; Joel 4:17, 21[3:17, 21].

[99] See also, Hundley (*Keeping Heaven on Earth*, 1) who argued that the main purpose of the priestly system was to "secure and safeguard the divine presence at the heart of the Israelite community." In his study, Hundley focused on the dedication and inauguration of the Tabernacle and its cults (53–94), regular divine service rituals (95–118), and the damage control rituals (135–172), all of which have the purpose of securing the divine presence in his temple in Jerusalem.

[100] Boda, "Scat!," 176.

The announcement of Yahweh's return mentioned for the first time in Zech 1:16 is taken up and further bolstered in Zech 2:14[10] and 17[13]. In the context of summons to joy, in Zech 2:14–15[10–11], Zechariah emphasizes one more time that Yahweh is coming back to Zion (Zech 2:14[10]).[101] The purpose of the return is described as dwelling among his people who are now redefined and include Gentiles.[102] This idea of return is one more time reinforced in the last verse of this oracle in Zech 2:17[13]. In this verse God is described as being in his holy habitation which should be understood as the heavenly sanctuary/temple.[103] Yahweh is described as the one who עור ("arose") from his dwelling place which, in the Old Testament, almost always signifies preparation for particular action.[104] Even though the description of the action is not given in Zech 2:17[13], it is highly likely that in the context of this oracle which is pregnant with the idea of movement, this action is actual migration from Yahweh's heavenly space to his earthly home as previously described in Zech 2:14–15[10–11].

It must be mentioned that this migration of Yahweh from his heavenly dwelling place to his earthly house in Jerusalem is situated within the context of the description of a number of different movements in Zech 1–6. The notion of movement is evident in Zech 1–6 at different levels. As was mentioned above, at the very outset of the book, Zechariah sets a backdrop against which all other movements should be understood: the people will return to Yahweh, and Yahweh will return to his people (Zech 1:3, 4, 6 cf.

[101] A more detailed explanation of the summons to joy form, which is also used in the Book of the Twelve with the special focus on Zeph 3:14–15; Zech 2:14; and Zech 9:9–10, is given in Boda, "The Daughter's Joy," 322–27. Cf. Crüsemann, *Hymnus Und Danklied*, 55–65.

[102] Boda, "Scat!," 176–77.

[103] Petitjean, *Les Oracles du Proto–Zacharie*, 154–59; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 171–72; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 215.

[104] Boda, "Scat!," 176–77.

Zech 3:7).[105] This spiritual/covenantal movement serves as a background against which all other movement in Zechariah should examined: (1) Yahweh's intelligence agency is sent out by Yahweh to patrol throughout the earth (Zech 1:10, 11, 6:7) as well as to go to the north (Zech 6:6, 8) and to the south (Zech 6:6); (2) the people of Judah and Israel are scattered out of their country by means of a forced migration (Zech 2:2, 4, 10) and, in return, God will cast out their enemies (Zech 2:4); (3) Yahweh's people will return to their homeland (Zech 2:10, 11; 6:10) and they will be joined there by other nations (Zech 2:15; 6:15); (4) a man with a measuring line is sent out (Zech 2:5); (5) angels are busy and constantly go in and out (Zech 2:7; 4:1; 5:5); (6) the prophet Zechariah is sent out (Zech 2:12, 13, 15; 4:9; 6:15); (7) Joshua is found before Yahweh's angel (Zech 3:1) and will potentially gain access to heavenly courts (Zech 3:7); (8) a scroll is moving over the face of the earth (Zech 5:3) and will enter the house of the one who swears falsely (Zech 5:4); and finally, (9) a basket is described as going forth (Zech 5:5), being carried by two women between earth and heaven (Zech 5:9–10). This congested traffic, clearly described in Zech 1–6, is inevitably affected by the migration of God from his heavenly abode to his earthly place that is described above.

The ultimate outcome of the return of Yahweh described in Zech 1–6 is delineated in terms of his presence in the midst of Jerusalem. This idea is emphasized at three different places in Zech 2:9[5], 14[10], 15[11]. For the first time, in Zech 2:9[5], Yahweh declares "I will be the glory in its midst" (ולכבוד אהיה בתוכה). Even though God's glory is mentioned as being present in the midst of Jerusalem, which is the clear antecedent of the third person feminine singular pronominal suffix attached to noun תוך

[105] For the importance of the sermon recorded in Zech 1:1–6 for the rest of the book, see Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 57–62.

("midst"), intertextual connections with earlier traditions (Exod 29:43; 40:34; Num 17:7; 1 Kgs 8:11; 2 Chr 5:14; 7:1–3) allude to the fact that God's glory will actually fill the second temple in the same way as was previously the case with the tabernacle and Solomon's temple.[106] This parallel is especially clear when one has in mind that Zech 1–6 is concerned with the rebuilding of the temple and that the pinnacle of the building of the tabernacle and the first temple was the filling of that space with Yahweh's glory.[107] That glory departed from the Jerusalem temple in 587/6 BCE, as described by the prophet Ezekiel (Ezek 1–11), and is, according to Zechariah, supposed to return to the temple as envisioned in Ezek 40–48.[108]

This ultimate goal of Yahweh, to be present in his temple in Jerusalem in the form of his glory, is once again bolstered in Zech 2:14–15[10–11], where the ideas of Yahweh's coming (Zech 1:16) and dwelling (Zech 2:14[10]) are joined together. The phrase, "I will dwell in your midst" (ושכנתי בתוכך), occurs two times in these two brief verses where the verb שכן ("to dwell") carries the meaning of settling down.[109] Intertextual connections with earlier traditions, where the verb שכן ("to dwell") with

[106] Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 185) connected glory in Zech 2:9 to the wilderness cloud which is again "associated with Yahweh's glory filling the tent of meeting and tabernacle (Exod 16:10; 24:16, 17; 33:18, 22; 40:34, 35; Num 17:7[16:42]; 1 Kgs 8:11; 2 Chr 5:14; 7:1–3)." *Contra* Jeremias, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*, 164; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 171; and Delkurt, *Sacharjas Nachtgesichte*, 140, who all argued that Zechariah's third vision report represents a correction of Ezek 40–48. Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 171), for example, did not see the explicit reference here to the holiness of the temple as described by the book of Ezekiel. He argued that Zechariah refutes the Ezekielian tradition and focuses more on the city of Jerusalem than on the temple itself. Even though I agree that the accent in the third vision report is placed on Jerusalem (as will be shown below), it must be said that this vision cannot be separated from Zechariah's vision report complex, which primarily deals with the reconstruction of the temple. Thus, the reference to the glory in this vision must be connected to Yahweh's return to his temple in Jerusalem.

[107] Halpern, "Ritual Background"; Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 566, 75.

[108] For a general study on Haggai–Zechariah's dependance on Ezekiel, see Tuell, "Haggai–Zechariah," 275–88. For Zechariah's allusion to Ezekielian tradition and his description of Yahweh's glory, see Mackay, "Zechariah in Relation to Ezekiel 40–48" and Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 112–13. Cf. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 185.

[109] *HALOT*, 1496. Cf. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 209.

Yahweh as its subject is often used in the context of Yahweh's dwelling in the wilderness tabernacle and later in Solomon's temple (Exod 25:8; 29:44–45, Lev 26:11; 1 Kgs 6:12–13), show that Zechariah has in view Yahweh's settling down in the temple.[110] This idea is closely related to the phrase, "and he will choose again Jerusalem" (ובחר עוד בירושלם), which occurs a few verses later in Zech 2:16[12], but also in Zech 1:17 and 3:2 in a slightly modified version that omits the עוד ("again"). In Deuteronomy, this phrase is often associated with the idea of God's choosing the place where he will dwell (Deut 12:5; 14:23; 16:2; 26:2 cf. Ps 65:5; Neh 1:9), and thus it reinforces the idea of Yahweh's settling down in Jerusalem's temple.[111]

Ultimately, Zech 1–6 describes God's ideological space by delineating a close interrelationship between Yahweh's heavenly and earthly dwelling space. This is primarily accomplished by the connection between God's heavenly abode and his earthly temple as well as by the portrayal of Yahweh's movement from his heavenly dwelling place to his earthly house. The ultimate outcome of Yahweh's return is the presence of his glory in his temple. God's heavenly place serves as an ideological space which is represented on Earth by his temple through which one may have access to the spiritual realm.

6.3.2 The People's Ideological Space

The migration of Yahweh from his heavenly to earthly space is not only the background against which the prophet Zechariah describes God's ideological space, but also the basis on which he builds his portrayal of the people's ideological space. References to the

[110] For a thorough analysis of the intertextual connections between Zechariah's use of the concept of dwelling and the earlier use of the language of "dwelling," see Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 117–19.

[111] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 209.

people's ideological space, along with markers for this aspect of space are outlined below.

Zechariah	The People's Ideological Space	Markers
Zech 1:10	אלה אשר שלח יהוה להתהלך בארץ these are the ones whom Yahweh sent to patrol throughout the earth	IdS
Zech 1:14	כה אמר יהוה צבאות קנאתי לירושלם ולציון קנאה גדולה thus has said Yahweh of hosts, I am exceedingly zealous for Jerusalem and Zion	IdY
Zech 1:15	... וקצף גדול אני קצף על־הגוים השאננים and I am exceedingly angry with the careless nations	IdY
Zech 1:16	ביתי יבנה בה נאם יהוה צבאות וקוה ינטה על־ירושלם my house will be built in it, declaration of Yahweh of hosts, and a measuring line will be stretched over Jerusalem	IdF; IdY
Zech 1:17	כה אמר יהוה צבאות עוד תפוצינה ערי מטוב ונחם יהוה עוד את־ציון ובחר עוד בירושלם thus has said Yahweh of hosts, again my cities will overflow with good things, for Yahweh has again comforted Zion and has again chosen Jerusalem	IdY; IdF
Zech 2:4	לידות את־קרנות הגוים to thrown down the horns of the nations	IdF
Zech 2:8	פרזות תשב ירושלם מרב אדם ובהמה בתוכה Jerusalem will be inhabited as an open country because of the abundance of people and beasts in its midst	IdY; IdF
Zech 2:9	ואני אהיה־לה נאם־יהוה חומת אש סביב ולכבוד אהיה בתוכה I myself will be for it, declaration of Yahweh, a surrounding wall of fire, and I will be the glory in it's midst	IdY
Zech 2:10	הוי הוי ונסו מארץ צפון נאם־יהוה Attention! Attention! Flee from the land of the north, declaration of Yahweh	IdY; IdF
Zech 2:11	הוי ציון המלטי יושבת בת־בבל	IdF

	Attention, Zion! Escape you who are dwelling in the daughter of Babylon.	
Zech 2:12	כי כה אמר יהוה צבאות אחר כבוד שלחני אל־הגוים השללים אתכם For thus has Yahweh of host said, after glory he has sent me to the nations who have plundered you	IdY; IdF
Zech 2:14	הנני־בא ושכנתי בתוכך נאם־יהוה behold, I am coming and I will dwell in your midst, declaration of Yahweh	IdF; IdY
Zech 2:15	ונלוו גוים רבים אל־יהוה ביום ההוא והיו לי לעם ושכנתי בתוכך And many nations will join themselves to Yahweh on that day and they will become my people and I will dwell in the midst of you	IdF
Zech 2:16	ונחל יהוה את־יהודה חלקו על אדמת הקדש ובחר עוד בירושלם And Yahweh will inherit Judah, his portion on the holy land, and he will choose again Jerusalem	IdF
Zech 3:9	נאם יהוה צבאות ומשתי את־עון הארץ־ההיא ביום אחד declaration of Yahweh of hosts, I will remove the iniquity of this land in one day	IdY; IdF
Zech 4:10	עיני יהוה המה משוטטים בכל־הארץ Yahweh's eyes which are roaming throughout the whole earth	IdS
Zech 4:14	העמדים על־אדון כל־הארץ who stand before the Lord of the whole earth	IdS
Zech 5:3	כי כל־הגנב מזה כמוה נקה וכל־הנשבע מזה כמוה נקה Yahweh's eyes which are Roaming throughout the whole earth	IdS
Zech 5:4	וכלתו ואת־עציו ואת־אבניו it will destroy it with its timbers and its stones	IdS
Zech 5:9	ותשאנה את־האיפה בין הארץ ובין השמים and they lifted up the ephah between the earth and the heavens	IdS
Zech 5:11	והניחה שם על־מכנתה And it will be placed there on her pedestal	IdS
Zech 6:5	מהתיצב על־אדון כל־הארץ from presenting themselves before the Lord of the whole earth	IdS

Zech 6:6	יצאים אל־ארץ צפון יצאים אל־ארץ התימן they were going out to the land of the north they were going out to the land of the south	IdS
Zech 6:8	יצאים אל־ארץ צפון They were going to the land of the north	IdS

Table 4. The People's Ideological Space in Zechariah 1–6

In Zech 1–6, as was the case in the book of Haggai, the people's space is described in the context of the specific socio-political situation with Yehud, which occupied a subordinate position within the larger Persian empire.[112] This inferior position of Judah was a result of the fall of Jerusalem in 587/6 BCE as noted in Zech 1:12 where the angel asks Yahweh "How long[113] will you not show mercy towards Jerusalem and city of Judah" (עד־מתי אתה לא־תרחם את־ירושלם ואת ערי יהודה).[114] The angel's objection was alluding to the historical reality that Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem were still scattered (Zech 2:2[1:19]; 2:10[6]).[115] Even though the mention of the scattering of Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem refers primarily to the people, the idea is unavoidably related to space. That this is the case is clear from Zech 2:4[1:21] where this idea of scattering is clearly connected with space in the phrase "against the land of Judah in order to scatter it" (אל־ארץ יהודה

[112] For the history of the Persian period, see Dandamaev, *Slavery in Babylonia*; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*; Allen, *The Persian Empire*; Brosius, *Women in Ancient Persia*; Wiesehofer, *Ancient Persia*; Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*; Kuhrt, "Babylonia from Cyrus to Xerxes"; Stern, "The Persian Empire"; and Waters, *Ancient Persia.* For a brief overview of literature on the history of the Persian Empire in the past few decades, see Berquist, "Approaching Yehud," 1–3.

[113] This interrogative adverb can also be translated by "until when," Joüon §120i.

[114] I am aware that not all historians will assign such a great significance to this period of Israel's history. One of the first scholars who doubted that the exile played an important role in the history of Israel is Torrey, "The Exile and Restoration." He was followed by Donner, "The Separate States of Israel and Judah." For a detailed assessment of the importance of the exile in biblical studies, see Albertz, *Israel in Exile*; Albertz, "More and Less Than a Myth," 20, 27–33; and Smith-Christopher, *A Biblical Theology*, 30–35.

[115] For the sociological repercussions of Babylonian exile, see Ahn, *Exile as Forced Migrations.* See also Ahn, ed. *By the Irrigation Canals.*

לזרותה).[116] It is against this portrayal of the people's space as being inferior that Zechariah casts a vision of ideological space at the universal, national, and urban level.

First, Zechariah describes the people's ideological space at the universal level. Even though the earth should primarily be considered as space that belongs to the people and where different nations fight for dominance, according to Zechariah's ideological portrayal of the people's space, it is Yahweh who is ultimately described as the one who is in control of events happening on the earth.[117] This is confirmed by the occurrence of the phrase "the Lord of the whole earth" (אדון כל־הארץ), which is used in Zech 4:14 and 6:5.[118] The sovereignty of Yahweh is, however, primarily emphasized in the first and the eighth vision reports. In these two vision reports, Yahweh is described as the one who sends his intelligence agents to patrol throughout the earth (Zech 1:10–11; 6:7). One of the important implications of this activity is that Yahweh, even though in heaven, is not only interested in what is happening on the earth, but is also in control of those events.[119] This idea is confirmed in the fifth vision report where, in Zech 4:10, Yahweh's eyes are described as "roaming throughout the whole earth" (משוטטים בכל־הארץ).[120] Thus, Zechariah gives an ideological portrayal of the planet earth as belonging to Yahweh, who actively oversees its affairs. This ideological portrayal of the universal space in which Yahweh is sovereign ruler of the earth provides people who are dispersed and in an

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[116] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 166.

[117] Nevertheless, in this study, this space is considered as the people's space that is ideologically described as controlled by the God of the universe. For the prominence of the idea of Yahweh's sovereignty in the book of Zechariah, see Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 128) who explained that this important theme is naturally emphasized in Zechariah's visions, which "are placed within a universal framework."

[118] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 270.

[119] See, especially, Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*) who saw concentric movement from universal to international to national, with the central vison in Zech 3 focusing on the temple and leaders. Cf. Tiemeyer, "A Busy Night," 187.

[120] Oppenheim, "'The Eyes of the Lord," 173–80. Cf. Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 158.

inferior situation with hope. This hope is even more forcefully cast by the ideological description of the people's space at the national and urban level.

Second, Zechariah provides a portrayal of the people's ideological space at the national level. This description can be found in several passages in Zech 1–6. Considering that, at the time of Zechariah, the people were still scattered "like four winds of heaven" (Zech 2:2, 4, 10[1:19, 21; 2:6]), the prophet describes the people's ideological space at the national level in terms of return migration and restoration, which will be possible only through the ultimate overturning of the socio-political state of affairs in that part of the world.[121] The description of the change of the existing order is alluded to for the first time in Zech 1:15, where Yahweh is described as "exceedingly angry[122] with the careless nations" (וקצף גדול אני קצף על־הגוים השאננים), with the term הגוים alluding to Babylon, which had been used by Yahweh to disperse his people.[123] The demise of Babylon is more precisely predicted in the second vison report in Zech 2:1–4[1:18–21] where the horns of the nations are described as being thrown down (לידות את־קרנות הגוים)[124] and even more explicitly, in the oracle in Zech 2:13[9], where the prophet describes the people's space in which "they [the Gentiles] will become spoil for their servants" (והיו שלל לעבדיהם).[125] The ultimate fulfilment of this ideological portrayal of

[121] For an excellent treatment of the topic of return migration in Zech 1–8, see Kessler ("The Diaspora in Zechariah 1–8 and Ezra–Nehemiah," 121–27) who correctly observed that "matters of geography play a critical role" in Zech 1–8 as well as that "geographical designations serve as highly significant markers of identity and ultimate destiny" (124). See also, O'Kennedy, "Key Themes," 221–22 and Petitjean, *Les Oracles du Proto–Zacharie*, 106.

[122] The phrase וקצף גדול serves in this context as an accusative of the internal object with an attribute, thus "exceedingly angry," Joüon §125q.

[123] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 149. Contra Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 154–55) who emphasized that the phrase refers to Persia.

[124] For the ambiguity of the meaning of this word, see Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 142–43 as well as Wolters, *Zechariah*, 74. Contra Good, "Zechariah's Second Night Vision," who read this word (לידות) as a preposition with a noun.

[125] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 166.

the people's space at the national level is given in the final vision report where black horses go out to northern country to "pour out my [Yahweh's] wrath on the land of the north" (הניחו את־רוחי בארץ צפון).[126] This change of situation will enable God's people to flee from the land of the north as described in Zech 2:10–11[2:6–7].[127] The land to which they would return is described as Yahweh's possession (Zech 2:16[12])—well-known imagery from the Old Testament (Exod 19:5; Deut 32:9)—and is qualified as "the holy land" (אדמת הקדש). The holiness of the land is clearly based on the presence of Yahweh in it, not on the quality of the land itself.[128] In sum, Zechariah describes ideological space at the national level in terms of Yahweh's judgment against the Gentile nations while at the same time, indicating that his people will return to Yehud.

Third, Zechariah also delineates the people's ideological space at the narrower urban level. At the time of the second year of Darius, the cities of Judah were still ruined as a result of the severe destruction and plundering from seventy years before (Zech 1:12). It is not surprising, then, that Zechariah's ideological portrayal of the cities of Judah and Jerusalem is primarily focused on their prosperity and rebuilding. As a result of Yahweh's migration from his heavenly abode to his earthly dwelling place, Zech 1:17 proclaims that the cities will overflow (תפוצינה) with prosperity (מטוב).[129] It must be said, however, that the focus of Zech 1–6 is not so much on the cities of Judah as on Jerusalem. Compared to other cities, Jerusalem suffered even more severe destruction, as alluded to in the angel's objection to Yahweh in Zech 1:12 and in the angel's response to

[126] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 379–80.
[127] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 174–75.
[128] Lux, "Juda-Erbteil JHWHs," 73–85. Cf. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 213–14.
[129] Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 158) correctly noticed that, as in Joel 4:18, the typical imagery that is concerned with nature's space is not present in this passage, which focuses on the prosperity of the urban and suburban centers and not on the flourishing of nature.

the prophet in 2:2[1:19]. This is also implicitly evident from a number of passages which envision the rebuilding of Jerusalem by employing building terminology such as the verb בנה ("to build" in Zech 1:16) and the phrases "a measuring line[130] will be stretched over Jerusalem" (וקוה ינטה על־ירושלם in Zech 1:16), "to measure Jerusalem" (למד את־ ירושלם in Zech 2:6[2]), and "he will again choose Jerusalem" (ובחר עוד בירושלם in Zech 1:17; 2:16[12]; 3:2).

The ideological portrayal of Jerusalem as a rebuilt and prosperous city begins in the first vision report with the opening words of the prophetic oracle in Zech 1:14: "I am exceedingly zealous for Jerusalem and for Zion" (קנאתי לירושלם ולציון קנאה גדולה). The use of the verb קנא ("be zealous") and its cognate noun קנאה ("zeal"), which is accompanied with the adjective גדולה ("great") for the purpose of additional emphasis, describes Yahweh's inner propensity towards Jerusalem and Zion and his passion to make it prosperous, which is in clear contrast with how the angel described Yahweh's attitude in Zech 1:12.[131] More details are given in Zech 1:16 where Yahweh proclaims that "a measuring line will be stretched over Jerusalem" (וקוה ינטה על־ירושלם). Elsewhere in the OT, the noun קוה ("measuring line") and the verb נטה ("to stretch") are usually used in the context of destruction and construction.[132] These two terms are used in this same way in the current context to describe the physical reconstruction of the city, which had been severely damaged by the Babylonians in 587/6 BCE.[133]

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[130] *DCH* §7:213.

[131] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 145–46. See also, Edds ("The Law, the Fathers, and the Former Prophets," 14–16) who comes to the same conclusion by reading Zech 1:8–17 through the lens of an intertextual link with Isa 13–14. See also, Seufert, "Zechariah 1:11's Allusion," 256–58.

[132] See Stead (*The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 100) who argued that the intertextual link here is with 2 Kgs 21:13 and Lam 2:8 even though these two texts use this metaphor in the opposite way to describe destruction. He argue that Zechariah's use of this metaphor has the purpose of emphasizing the reversal of the destruction that had happened in 587/6 BCE.

[133] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 152.

This description of the reconstruction of Jerusalem is taken up again in the third vision report where similar but not identical building vocabulary occurs. While in the first vision report, the term קוה is used for the measuring device and the verb נטה for the act of measuring (Zech 1:16), in the third vision report, the term חבל מדה is used for the measuring device and the verb מדד for the act of measuring (Zech 2:5–6[1–2]).[134] Regardless of the inability to precisely determine what these measuring devices (קוה and חבל מדה) are, it is inevitable that both of them serve the function of measuring.[135] The imagery of measuring, which is found at a key place in the third vision report, clearly alludes to the temple vision found in Ezek 40–48, where a man with a measuring rod plays a similar, key role with the purpose of the whole section being to describe the return of Yahweh's glory.[136] The connection between the third vision narrative and Ezekiel's vision of the temple is clearly made by Zechariah's portrayal of a man with a measuring line (Zech 2:5[2:1]), which alludes to Ezekiel's man with a measuring rod (Ezek 40:3), and with the parallel between Zechariah's angel interpreter and Ezekiel's heavenly guide.[137] Even though Ezekiel's primary focus is on the temple and Zechariah's is on the city, this distinction has often been overemphasized,[138] with scholars usually neglecting the fact that even Ezekiel emphasizes the significance of Jerusalem as the

[134] Even though I recognize that different terms for tools are used to describe measuring in Zech 1:16 and 2:5–6[1–2], I take them to be synonyms. See, for example, Wolters, *Zechariah*, 75 and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 171–72. Contra Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 149–50) and Floyd (*Minor Prophets 2*, 364) who emphasized the significance of using different terminology in these two passages.

[135] Wolters, *Zechariah*, 75; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 171–72.

[136] Stead (*The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 109) showed that the term "measure" occurs 30 times in Ezek 40–48, which makes Zech 2:5–6 an "unmistakable allusion to Ezek 40–48."

[137] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 109. See also, Boda (*The Book of Zechariah,* 173) who also emphasized the parallel between Ezekiel's heavenly guide and Zechariah's angelic interpreter, seeing it as a strong intertextual link between this vision report and the vision found in Ezek 40–48.

[138] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 175. For examples of those who focused more on the differences between these two visons and neglected the parallels, see Delkurt, *Sacharjas Nachtgesichte*, 140 and Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 116–19.

place where Yahweh will dwell. This is not to say that there is no progression and development in Zechariah's third vision report. Zechariah clearly expands his focus from mere allusion to the temple to the whole city of Jerusalem.[139] However, in doing that, Zechariah still relies on Ezekiel; even though the latter primarily focuses on the temple, he also mentions the idea of Yahweh's presence in the city itself.[140]

There are two major characteristics of the ideological portrayal of Jerusalem in the third vision report. First, the rural areas around Jerusalem are described as "inhabited with the abundance of people and beasts in its midst" (פרזות תשב ירושלם מרב אדם ובהמה בתוכה). This ideological description of Jerusalem is situated within the broader context of the third vision report in which a man went "to measure Jerusalem and to see what is its width and what is its length" (למד את־ירושלם לראות כמה־רחב וכמה ארכה). Even though the text does not explain in detail what this action of measuring width and length involved, it is likely that the action of measuring was somehow related to the wall because Yahweh's response was that "I myself will be for it a surrounding wall of fire" (ואני אהיה־לה … חומת אש סביב).[141] However, regardless of what object may have been used, it is clear that Yahweh opposed this action (Zech 2:7–8[3–4]) because Jerusalem will be inhabited with "an abundance of people and beasts in its midst" (מרב אדם ובהמה בתוכה); therefore, any kind of limiting of the city's territory that would prevent this expansion was not desired.[142] The term פרז ("rural area"[143]) is used in the OT to refer to a place without walls and gate (Est 9:19, Ezek 38:11), namely,

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[139] Zechariah's trend of spatial expansion is explained in more detail by Boda, "Geography," 519–22. See also, the whole chapter for Boda's treatement of space in the Twelve.

[140] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 174.

[141] Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 106.

[142] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 177.

[143] *DCH* §6:761.

to a place with an unlimited potential for population growth and expansion.[144] Thus, this description refers to a town in which rapid population growth and expansion will be possible without risking security and protection, since that will be provided by Yahweh, as will be shown below.[145]

The second major characteristic of the ideological description of Jerusalem is Yahweh's glory that would dwell within it. This is inferred in the response of the man who went out to take the measurement and who described the purpose of this action "to measure Jerusalem to see what is its width and what is its length" (למד את־ירושלם לראות כמה־רחבה וכמה ארכה). The terms רחב (width) and ארך (length) are usually used together in the OT in the context of describing the construction of sacred space, whether with respect to the tabernacle, Solomon's temple and palace, or Ezekiel's temple and city.[146] Thus, by using terminology associated with the tabernacle and the temple at the beginning of this vision, Zechariah alluded to the sacred character of Jerusalem and implicitly identified the second temple as the source of its glory.

That glory is one of the major characteristics of the future Jerusalem is also clear from the divine oracle found at the end of this vison report (Zech 2:9[2:5]). There are two phrases that allude to the glory of Jerusalem in this verse: "a surrounding wall of fire"

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[144] See Riede ("Die gottgemäße Stadt, 97") who correctly observed that city walls very often led to arrogance among people who were tempted to believe that their security was based on their own qualities. Zechariah's description of Jerusalem is in striking contrast with that attitude and places an emphasis on protection that is based in Yahweh's presence.

[145] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 179–80.

[146] Stead (*The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 109) saw here a clear allusion to Ezekiel's vision of the temple in Ezek 40:7, 11, 18, etc. These two phrases are used a total of 26 times to describe the temple. This is in line with Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 151) who asserted that the action of measuring alluded to the temple based on the connections between this vison report and Ezek 40–48. On the other hand, there are scholars such as Baldwin (*Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 170) who argued that these terms refer to the rebuilding of the city walls. As stated above, my view is that the vison report is concerned with the rebuilding of the city, but this and later allusions to the temple emphasize the existing connection between the temple and the city. This connection will become evident later when the author describes the holiness that originates in the temple but overflows to the city of Jerusalem and beyond.

(חומת אש סביב) and "the glory in its midst" (ולכבוד אהיה בתוכה). It is clear that the phrase חומת אש סביב does not represent the actual physical walls of Jerusalem, which were destroyed by Babylonians and should be rebuilt, but must rather be understood as a symbolic reference to the pillar of fire with which Yahweh led the people of Israel on their journey through the wilderness.[147] In this way, Zechariah alludes to both Yahweh's protective power and to his holy presence.[148] On the other hand, the second phrase, ולכבוד אהיה בתוכה, alludes to the wilderness cloud that rested above the camp and is closely associated with Yahweh's presence and his glory that filled the tabernacle and Solomon's temple (tabernacle: Exod 16:10; 24:16, 17: 33:18, 22; 40:34, 35; Num 17:7[16:42]; Solomon's temple: 1 Kgs 8:11/2 Chr 5:14; 7:1–3)."[149] Ezekiel describes how this glory departed from the temple and envisions its return.[150] Having in mind Zechariah's reliance on Ezek 40–48, it is highly likely that Ezekiel's vision of the return of Yahweh's glory to his newly rebuilt temple in Jerusalem is in view here, which is in line with the description of his migration from his heavenly abode to his earthly house described above. However, the accent here is placed on the radiating of Yahweh's holiness that will expand beyond the borders of the temple to sanctify the city as well.[151]

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[147] See Jeremias (*Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*, 174–76) who also mentioned the link with the flaming sword (Gen 3:24) and fire as a weapon for protection (Pss 46 and 48). Cf. Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 112. I see here a primary allusion to the pillar of fire since this image blends both the idea of protection and Yahweh's holy presence.

[148] For the importance of the motif of Yahweh's presence in Jerusalem in Zech 1–8, see Riede, "Die gottgemäße Stadt," 97–99.

[149] The primary reference is to Yahweh's glory in wilderness, then to his glory as revealed in Solomon's temple, and finally, to the return of his glory to the temple as prophesied by Ezekiel. See Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 184–85) who made the primary connection with priestly literature from the Pentateuch.

[150] The link with Ezekiel's vision is clear as noted by a number of scholars: Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 107; Jeremias, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*, 174–76; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 157; Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 113; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 185.

[151] For the contrast between Ezekiel, who placed an accent on the temple, and Zechariah's focus on the city see, Delkurt, *Sacharjas Nachtgesichte*, 138–40; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 169.

Finally, it must be mentioned that Zechariah also refers to Zion in a number of places (Zech 1:14, 17; 2:11[2:7], 14[10]); it seems that in Zech 1–8, as was the case in the earlier traditions of the OT, this term is always closely associated with the city of Jerusalem.[152] Even in Zech 2:11[7] where the term does not refer to the city itself, but rather to the descendants of Jerusalemites who lived in Babylon, this connection with Jerusalem is evident.[153] Zion as referring to Jerusalem is packed with ideological ideas, with two of the most prominent being that Yahweh is described as its king and protector and that Yahweh is present in its temple.[154] However, after the destruction of Jerusalem by Babylonians in 587/6 BCE, this powerful and positive imagery is replaced with the more pessimistic descriptions of the Daughter of Zion who mourns over its tragic fate. Zechariah builds on this Zion imagery and revitalizes the early ideals associated with it.[155] This is clear at the very outset in the first vison report where Yahweh is described as one who is "jealous" (קנא) for and will "comfort" (נחם) and choose (בחר) Zion (Zech 1:14, 17). This positive disposition towards Zion is further developed in the oracle found in Zech 2:10–17[2:6–13]. In this passage, the Daughter of Zion is invited to sing because Yahweh will return and dwell in its midst (Zech 2:14–15[2:10–15]).[156] This promise is a clear parallel with the promise that Yahweh will be present with his glory in the midst of

[152] The term Zion is used 91 times in the prophetic literature of the Old Testament, of which, 48 times are in Isaiah and 17 are in Jeremiah. Seven occurrences of this term are found in the book of Zechariah, making this book one of the prophetic books where the term occurs the most. For the concept of Zion and how it has been used in the Old Testament prophetic literature, see Ollenburger, *Zion, the City of the Great King*; Renz, "Zion, City of Our God"; Dekker, *Zion's Rock-Solid Foundations*; and Fuller Dow, *Images of Zion.* One of the most comprehensive overviews of the literature is given by Dekker, *Zion's Rock-Solid Foundations*, 9–64. For a much shorter review, see Thomas, "Zion," 907–9.

[153] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah,* 148, 193.

[154] It is Ollenburger who was the first to explicitly and forcefully point out that the central idea of Zion theology is closely related to the kingship of Yahweh in Zion and his protection of the people of Israel. Ollenburger, *Zion, the City of the Great King.*

[155] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah,* 147–48.

[156] Boda, "The Daughter's Joy," 322–27.

Jerusalem (Zech 2:9[2:5]). The ideological description of Zion thus parallels the one of Jerusalem: its major characteristic is Yahweh's dwelling in its midst.

In sum, Zech 1–6 casts a vision of the people's ideological space at the universal, national, and urban levels. First, at the universal level, it is Yahweh who is described as the one who is sovereign and in control of all the events that are happening on the earth. Second, Zechariah describes the ideological space at the national level in terms of Yahweh's judgment over the Gentile nations and the return migration of his people to their land. Finally, the ideological portrayal of Jerusalem and the cities of Judah at the urban level is concerned with their prosperity and rebuilding, but also with their holiness, which will expand beyond the borders of the temple, sanctifying Jerusalem and the surrounding cities as well.

6.3.3 Nature's Ideological Space

Besides God's and the people's ideological space, Zech 1–6 also describes nature's ideological space. References to this type of space along with the markers for the ideological aspect of this space are given in the table below:

Zechariah	Nature's Ideological Space	Markers
Zech 1:8	והוא עמד בין ההדסים אשר במצלה he was standing among the myrtle trees that were by the deep	IdS
Zech 1:10	העמד בין־ההדסים standing among the myrtle trees	IdS
Zech 1:11	את־מלאך יהוה העמד בין ההדסים the messenger of Yahweh who was standing among the myrtle trees	IdS
Zech 3:10	נאם יהוה צבאות תקראו איש לרעהו אל־תחת גפן ואל־תחת תאנה declaration of Yahweh of hosts, each one of you will invite their neighbor under vine and under fig tree	IdY; IdF

Zech 4:3	ושנים זיתים עליה אחד מימין הגלה ואחד על-שמאלה two olive trees beside it one on the right of the bowl and one on its left	IdS
Zech 4:11	שני הזיתים האלה these two olive trees	IdS
Zech 4:12	שתי שבלי הזיתים the two branches of the olive trees	IdS
Zech 6:1	והנה ארבע מרכבות יצאות מבין שני ההרים וההרים הרי נחשת And behold, four chariots coming out from between the two mountains, and the mountains were bronze mountains	IdS

Table 5. Nature's Ideological Space in Zechariah 1–6

As can be seen from the distribution of spatial references at the beginning of this chapter, nature imagery is primarily used in Zech 1–6 with the purpose of describing ideological space. This usage of nature imagery, however, is not usually related explicitly to nature's ideological space per se—as was the case in the book of Haggai—but rather, to God's and the people's ideological space. However, one of the references to nature's space that is found in Zech 3:10 is used in the same way as most of the references to nature's space found in the book of Haggai. The description of nature in Zech 3:10 looks to the future and envisions a reversal of the ecological disaster described in Hag 1:9–11 and thus reaffirms the promises of flourishing nature already foreshadowed in Hag 2:16–19.

Besides this explicit reference to nature's ideological space, there are also some other, more implicit insights into nature's ideological space that can be found in the use of nature imagery. It is not a coincidence that nature imagery such as "the myrtle trees by the deep" (ההדסים אשר במצלה) in Zech 1:8, 10, 11, "two olive trees" (ושנים זיתים) in Zech 4:3, 11, "two branches of the olive trees" (שתי שבלי הזיתים) in Zech 4:12, and "the two mountains, and the mountains were bronze mountains" (שני ההרים וההרים

הרי נחשת) in Zech 6:1 are used to describe God's ideological space. Even though this nature imagery is primarily used to describe God's ideal space, it also tells something about nature's ideal. On the one hand, nature imagery points to God's ideal space by describing Yahweh's heavenly space, but on the other hand nature participates in that space. Thus, this imagery ultimately suggests a close connection between nature and God's space. The choice of nature's imagery for the description of God's and the people's ideal space shows that nature itself is one of the major characteristics of those ideal conditions.

6.4 Conclusion

A few conclusions can be drawn from the above examination of ideological spatiality in Zech 1–6. The study shows that Zech 1–6 describes ideological space with respect to God's, the people's, and nature's space. God's ideological space is described as situated within the spiritual, heavenly realm that is closely connected with earth. It is God who is described as the one who is in control of earthly affairs and who will move from his heavenly sanctuary to his earthly home in Jerusalem. The ultimate result of Yahweh's migration is the presence of his glory in the midst of the temple in Jerusalem.

In relation to this description of God's holy space, Zech 1–6 also describes the people's ideological space at the universal, national, and urban levels. While at the universal level, Zech 1–6 describes God as the sovereign lord of the earth, the people's ideological space at the national and urban levels is described in terms of Yahweh's judgment over the Gentile nations as well as Yahweh's and the people's return migration. This return migration is closely related to the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the cities of

Judah, but even more important, to Yahweh's holiness, which will be present not only in the temple but also in Jerusalem.

Finally, a number of references to nature's space found in Zech 1–6 show that along with God's and the people's space, nature's space also plays an important role in this part of the book. Nature's ideological space is explicitly described as flourishing, and using nature's imagery to describe the ideological aspect of God's and the people's spaces shows that the transformation of nature plays an important part in the development of God's and the people's ideological space.

Thus, the description of God's ideological space is closely related to the portrayal of human and nature's ideological space: the migration of Yahweh from his heavenly tabernacle to his earthly home in Jerusalem will affect not only God's earthly space but also his people's space by reordering it and make it holy, and nature's space, by making it flourishing.

CHAPTER 7: RITUAL PRODUCTION OF SPACE IN ZECHARIAH 1–6

7.1 Introduction

With the critical investigation of ideological space in Zech 1–6 complete, the present work can move to the investigation of rituals as they are addressed in this part of the book of Zechariah. Although allusions to the Levitical ritual system are evident in almost every vision report,[1] there are only four rituals described in the text: (1) the consecration of the high priest Joshua (Zech 3), (2) the consecration of the temple (Zech 4), (3) the foundation-laying ceremony (Zech 4), and (4) the crowning of the high priest (Zech 6:9–14). Of these four rituals, the present chapter will focus on the first two described in Zech 3–4.[2]

[1] It was Halpern ("The Ritual Background," 177–79) who was among the first scholars to emphasize the ritual nature of almost all vision reports. Halpern explained that the four horns in the second vision report (Zech 2:5[1]) "summon up the image of an altar" as well as that the flying scroll from the sixth vision report is also associated with the cult due to its dimensions, which "are the same as those of the porch of Solomon's temple (1 Kgs 6:3)." The third and sixth vision reports are also closely associated with the temple. For work that specifically focuses on the ritual nature of the seventh vision report, see Cranz, "Ritual Elements." See also Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 268) who found Halpern's claim "stretching the evidence too far." Regardless of the certitude of the allusions to the ritual world in Zech 1–6, the distinction must be made between the *ritual nature* of the vision and *ritual itself*, which is described in the second chapter of the present work as "embodied, condensed, and prescribed enactment," Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 196. See also Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 268) who found Halpern's claim "stretching the evidence too far." Regardless of the certitude of the allusions to the ritual world in Zech 1–6, the distinction must be made between the *ritual nature* of the vision and *ritual itself*, which is described in the second chapter of the present work as "embodied, condensed, and prescribed enactment," Grimes, *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, 196.

Contra Delkurt ("Sacharja und der Kult," 29–39) who examined Zech 2:5–9 and 3:1–7 and asserted that Zechariah does not follow priestly traditions. He argued that "Die Überlegungen, wie Sacharja zum Kult seiner Zeit steht, kommen damit zu einem negativen Ergebnis: Es finden sich nicht nur keine expliziten Aussagen, die das Volk zum Bau des Tempels auffordern; darüber hinaus vermeidet Sacharja an vielen Stellen priesterlich-kultische Terminologie oder ersetzt sie an Stellen, wo sie zu erwarten gewesen wäre, durch allgemeinere Begriffe, die zumeist in der Prophetie seiner Vorgänger von Bedeutung waren" (39).

[2] As already explained in the section dealing with methodology, it is not the purpose of this research to examine all the rituals that are mentioned or alluded to in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus.

According to Grimes's classification, these two rituals fall under the category of ceremonial rituals, more particularly rituals related to the temple building project.[3] Even more important, these rituals should also be categorized as "envisioned rituals."[4] According to this classification, a distinction is made between the rituals mentioned in Hag 1–2 (examined in chapter 5) and Zech 7–8 (studied in chapter 9), which allude to and describe rituals actually performed on the ground, and the rituals envisioned in Zech 1–6, which are only perceived in the spiritual world of vision.[5] As will be shown in this chapter, these envisioned rituals have, among other things, the purpose of correcting the infelicities of the rituals performed on the ground (Hag 2:10–14), producing an ideological space.[6]

The examination of the rituals of consecration of Joshua and the temple is primarily based on the limited information given about these rituals in Zech 3–4, but it also builds on the insights drawn from intertextual connections with the ritual system

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While chapters 5 and 9 focus on infelicitous and felicitous rituals that are performed on the ground, this chapter has the purpose of examining so-called envisioned rituals that are described in Zech 3–4. The foundation-laying ritual and crowning rituals do not fall into that category. In this way, all three types of rituals and their function in the production of space will be covered. It is sufficient to mention here that the foundation-laying ritual that is mentioned in Hag 2, Zech 4, and Zech 8 is carefully integrated with rituals prescribed in the Torah and plays a major role in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus. The importance of this ritual in the production of ideological space is already explained in chapter 5 which deals with Haggai, and even though an examination of this ritual in Zech 4 and 8 goes beyond the scope of the present study, it must be said that this ritual plays an equally important role in these two chapters as it does in the book of Haggai.

[3] Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, 40–57.

[4] As explained in chapter 2 of the present work, I label this type of rituals as "envisioned," instead of "fictive"—which is the term used by Grimes—in order to avoid the false conclusion that the vison report in which the ritual is described itself is made up. It must also be mentioned that although the rituals described in vision reports must not be equated with the actual rituals performed "on the ground," they clearly relate to rituals described in the Pentateuchal texts and, as will be shown, allude to actual rituals that will be performed on the ground in the future. For more information about fictive rituals and their function, see Grimes, *Reading, Writing, and Ritualizing*, 127–42.

[5] Thus, this approach takes into consideration the objection of David Wright ("Ritual Theory, Ritual Texts," 199–213) who correctly emphasized the importance of reading ritual texts "with critical sophistication," including the importance of taking into account differences between the various genres in which rituals are described.

[6] This is one of the functions of fictive rituals as described by Grimes, *Reading, Writing, and Ritualizing*, 131.

described in Leviticus. Before the study moves to the examination of these two rituals, a brief analysis of the distribution of the references to rituals as it relates to the overall structure of Zech 1–6 is in order.

7.2 References to Rituals and the Structure of Zech 1–6

A few words should be said about the structural positioning of the passages where rituals are described within Zech 1–6. As already explained in chapter 6 of the present work, one of the main structural features of Zech 1–6 is the concentricity of the vision reports. Accordingly, there is a clear parallel between the first and last as well as the two central vision reports. It has been shown that the connection between these four vision reports is mainly accomplished by the presence of the elements of the divine council scene previously described in Job 1–2.[7] In addition, the second and the third vision reports are situated before, and the sixth and the seventh vision reports after two central vision reports.

Even though the language of Zech 1–6 contains a number of ritual terms that can be found throughout the whole section, there are only four ritual acts that fit the definition of ritual given in the second chapter of this research.[8] Two of these four rituals are the rituals described in Zech 3 and 4 and they are noticeably positioned in the very center of this section of the book of Zechariah in vision reports 4 and 5. Also, it is evident that these two rituals are situated within the context of the heavenly council scene, the significance of which will be explained below. In this way, the two rituals are situated at

[7] Tiemeyer ("A Busy Night," 203–4) forcefully argued that the theme of the heavenly council as described in the book of Job connects vision reports 1, 4, 5, and 8. She outlined the verb "to patrol" (Zech 1:10, 11; 6:7 cf. Job 1:7; 2:2), the noun "satan" (Zech 3:1 cf. Job 1:6–12; 2:1–7), and God's patrolling eyes (Zech 4:10) as connecting links between these visions and the heavenly council scene from Job 1–2.

[8] See p. 242, footnote 1 above.

the very center of this section and they are closely related to the two pairs of vison reports described before and after it. It is to the first of these two rituals that the present work now turns.

7.3 The Ritual of Consecration of Joshua

The consecration of the high priest Joshua is described in the fourth vision report found in Zech 3. There are several indicators that distinguish this vision report from the other vision reports found in Zech 1–6: (1) Yahweh, and not the interpreting messenger, introduces the scene; (2) the chapter does not follow the question-response pattern; (3) this section describes a different setting compared to the other vision reports; and finally, (4) in contrast to the other vision reports, which describe surrealistic images, this vision report portrays Joshua.[9] Although the context of the scene is very complex, as it blends the legal court, divine council, and priestly setting, it is inevitable that the passage, among other things, allude to specific ritual.[10] That the action of changing Joshua's garments should be taken as ritual is clear from the fact that this action has all the characteristics of religious rituals that are defined in chapter 2 of the present work, such as embodiment, ritual density, prescription, enactment, and close association with the deity.[11] In the section below, the ritual described in Zech 3:1–10 will be examined by paying special attention to the five ritual elements that are previously delineated in chapter two of the present work that deals with the methodology.

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[9] The first three indicators were given by Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 217–18. The last argument was used by Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 116–17. See also O'Kennedy ("Zechariah 3–4") who claimed that Zechariah 3–4 is the literary and theological core of Zech 1–8. See also, O'Kennedy, "Purification of Priest, Prophet and People," 232.

[10] Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones," 11. See, further, Stead (*The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 157–61) who also argued that this paragraph describes the priestly setting. On the other hand, there are scholars who place an emphasis on the legal court or divine council scene: Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 188–91 and Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 118–20. For an overview of different proposals, see Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 218–22.

[11] See section 2.3.2 of the present work.

7.3.1 Ritual Elements

In order to examine the ritual of the consecration of Joshua, this section will first focus on the five elements of rituals as outlined by Grimes in the order they appear in the text: place, actors, objects, time, and action.[12] These ritual elements are first presented in the table below and then analyzed one by one in the next section of this study.

Grimes's Ritual Elements	References to Ritual Elements	Zech 3:1–10
Ritual place	עמד לפני מלאך יהוה בין העמדים האלה standing before the messenger of Yahweh among these who are standing	Zech 3:1, 7
Ritual actors	יהושע הכהן הגדול מלאך יהוה העמדים לפניו Joshua the high priest the messenger of Yahweh ones who were standing before him	Zech 3:1, 4
Ritual objects	מחלצות צניף טהור האבן festal robes pure turban the stone	Zech 3:4–5, 9
Ritual action	הסירו הבגדים הצאים מעליו	Zech 3:4–5

[12] Grimes, *The Crafts of Ritual Studies*, 232. This is not to say that the sixth and seventh element outlined by Grimes are completely absent. Rather, while they are apparent in some rituals described in the biblical text, they are less prominent than the other five.

	והלבש אתך מחלצות ישימו צניף טהור על־רשו remove soiled garment from him [I] have clothed you with festal garments put a pure headband on his head	
Ritual times	ביום on that day	Zech 3:10

Table 1. Elements of the Ritual of Consecration of Joshua (Zech 3)

7.3.1.1 Ritual Place

Since the passage in Zech 3 first describes the place where the ritual action is performed, this element of ritual will be examined first. It has already been explained in the section dealing with spatiality that this ritual is situated within the heavenly realm of the divine council scene. There are at least two reasons for this interpretation of the place where this scene occurs: first, the high priest Joshua is portrayed in Zech 3:1, 3 as "standing[13] before the messenger of Yahweh" (עמד לפני מלאך יהוה) with "the accuser standing on his right to accuse him" (עמד על־ימינו לשטנו). Keeping in mind the heavenly origin of the messenger of Yahweh as well as other figures described in Zech 3, it is likely that the scene described in Zech 3 takes place within the heavenly environment.[14] Second, the intertextual allusions to the divine council scenes described in Job 1–2; 1 Kgs 22:19–21; Isa 6:1–13; and Isa 40 as well as the important role that this scene plays in the book of

[13] In this context, the participle functions as a verb and denotes concurrent action, BHRG §24.2.2.(i)a. See also, IBHS §37.5.b. It also refers to the object and is the so-called participial object. For more details, see Joüon §126.b.

[14] Tidwell, "Wā'ōmar (Zech 3:5)," 347–48; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 188–91; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 220–21; Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 118.

Zechariah offer additional proof that the setting within which this ritual is situated is heaven.[15]

The place where the ritual occurs is further described with the phrase found in Zech 3:7, "I will give to you access among[16] these who are standing[17]" (ונתתי לך מהלכים בין העמדים האלה). In the context of Zech 3:7–8, this phrase describes the reward granted to Joshua, who gains access among those who are standing. In this way, the phrase makes a contrast between Joshua's ministry in the earthly courts, namely in "my house" and "my courts" (ביתי and חצרי), and his ability to access the heavenly realm. A reference to the unidentified figures "who are standing" has already been made in Zech 3:4–5 where they are described as those who served the messenger of Yahweh and who clothed Joshua. In earlier traditions, members of the divine council usually perform these specific orders (Jer 23:18; 1 Kgs 22:19–23; and Isa 6:40).[18] Thus, while Joshua will serve in the earthly courts, he will have access to the divine council, which meets in the heavenly courts where these individuals serve.[19]

7.3.1.2 Ritual Actors

The second ritual element that must be discussed in this section is ritual actors. The actors who participate in this ritual are clearly identified: "Joshua the high priest" (יהושע הכהן הגדול); "the angel of the Lord" (מלאך יהוה); "accuser[20]" (השטן); "Yahweh" (יהוה);

[15] Tidwell, "Wā'ōmar (Zech 3:5)," 347–48. Cf. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 104–05; Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 88–90; 156–57; 208; and Tiemeyer, "A Busy Night."

[16] The preposition ב is used here in a locational sense, IBHS §1.2.5.b.

[17] Contra Segal, "The Responsibilities and Rewards, 728."

[18] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 248.

[19] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 207; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 197; Merrill, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 125. See also, Wolters (*Zechariah*, 98) who described these beings as God's "angelic retinue," which meets in the "heavenly throne room" that has been the focus of the discussion above. This is slightly different from Boda who, based on the work of Rose (*Zemah and Zerubbabel*, 68–83) rendered מהלכים as a participle and argued that Joshua would be given access to heavenly courts only indirectly through those who are standing there. Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones," §2.3.1.4. See also Tollington (*Tradition and Innovation*, 161) who placed an accent on the idea of intercession.

[20] *DCH*, §8:122.

and "those who were standing before him" (העמדים לפניו).[21] Obviously, the key figure in this ritual described in Zech 3 is Joshua the high priest, a historical person from the sixth century BCE.[22] Joshua is described as "the high priest" (הכהן הגדול), a term that, in earlier traditions, referred to the role of the head priest and was associated first with the Aaronide and later with the Zadokite priesthood.[23] Joshua is linked to his ancestor Zadok who, at the time of Adonijah's rebellion, had remained faithful to King David and had been in charge of all priestly related activities at the temple in Jerusalem.[24] Seraiah, the Zadokite chief priest, was forced to leave Jerusalem and his responsibility as the high priest and to migrate to Riblah where he was killed (Jer 52:24–27; 2 Kgs 25:18–21).[25] However, his son Jehozadak survived and, while in exile, had a son, Joshua, who is the main actor of the ritual described in Zech 3. Joshua returned from exile to the Persian province Yehud in the first wave during the time of Cyrus (Ezra 2:2; Neh 7:7; 12:1; Hag 1–2).[26] In Jerusalem, Joshua was responsible for reestablishing the Zadokite line of the priesthood and the Jerusalem cult.

The two other figures that play an important role in this ritual are Yahweh and the accuser. While the identity of Yahweh is clear, there is a lot of debate about the identity of השטן (here translated as "the accuser"). On the one hand, some scholars take השטן to be a historical human being, either a general human enemy or a representative of an antagonistic group of priests. On the other hand, other scholars interpret השטן as a

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[21] This is the order in which they appear in the text of Zech 3.

[22] Tidwell, "Wā'ōmar (Zech 3:5)," 346; VanderKam, "Joshua the High Priest," 554; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 188; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 16–17; Finitsis, *Visions and Eschatology*, 105–07; Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 120. Contra Bič (*Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*, 32–33, 37) whose claim that Joshua should be taken as eschatological figure neglects references found elsewhere in the Old Testament where Joshua is described as a figure active in the sixth century BCE (e.g. Hag 1:1; Zech 6:11–13; Ezra 2:36; 3:2, 8; 5:2; Neh 7:7, 39).

[23] For the usage of this term in the pre-exilic period, see Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 189 and Tollington, *Tradition and Innovation*, 126–31. See also, Cody, *A History of Old Testament Priesthood.*

[24] For one of the most comprehensive studies on Zadok's heirs, see Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs*, especially 125–51.

[25] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 231–32.

[26] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 232.

spiritual representative of human enemies or a nonhuman being such as Satan.[27] Based on the intertextual connections between Zech 3 and the earlier divine council scene described in Job 1–2 as well as the heavenly setting of the scene described in this chapter, the reference to somebody like the figure of the Adversary described in Job 1–2 is a logical choice.[28] It must be said, however, that the definite article used in front of the term suggests that Zech 3:1 refers primarily to a position, rather than a particular figure. Thus, it is the role of accusing that is emphasized and not the identity of figure that performs the role.[29] Having in mind the background role of Yahweh and the accuser in this ritual, the determination of the accuser's identity is not critical for the interpretation of this ritual.

While the conversation between Yahweh and the accuser proves to be the main reason for this ritual, the next figure who actively participates in the ritual is the messenger of Yahweh.[30] The messenger of the Lord first appeared in the first vision report where "he is identified with the interpreting messenger."[31] Of course, it is the

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[27] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 184–85; Barker, "The Two Figures"; Allan, "The Identity of the Jerusalem Priesthood." For a brief summary of different views, see Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 229–30.

[28] Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 121.

[29] For the arguments that the term השטן is associated with the idea of accusing, see Day, *An Adversary in Heaven*, 25–43; Hamilton, "Satan," 5:985–86; Walton, "Satan," 714–15; and Pierce, "Satan and Related Figures," 1196–97. For the functioning of השטן as the Accuser in Zech 3, see, further, Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 183–86; Mitchell et al., *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Jonah*, 147–49; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 189–90; Rudman, "Zechariah and the Satan Tradition," 191; Wolters, *Zechariah*, 191; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 229–31.

Contra Stokes ("Satan, Yhwh's Executioner," 252) who argued that the term השטן should not be understood as "the Adversary" or "the Accuser," as the present scholarly consensus suggests. Rather, Stokes argued that the term refers to physical attack and the noun therefore should be rendered as "attacker," and in some places, "executioner." However, keeping in mind that the major problem related to the high priest Joshua was his soiled clothes and that intervention on behalf of Joshua primarily consisted in removing Joshua's soiled clothes, it is hard to see how a physical attack would fit the context of Zech 3. In addition, the parallel with Job 1–2 excludes the option of Satan's lethal, physical attack on the life of the person, which was clearly forbidden by God in Job (1:12; 2:6).

[30] On the messenger of Yahweh, see further Meier, "Angel of Yahweh מלאך יהוה."

[31] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 230. Contra Macumber ("Angelic Intermediaries," 96–97) who made a distinction between the angel who is called "the messenger who talked with me" and who plays the prominent role throughout the vision reports complex and the messenger of Yahweh who is described in

interpreting messenger who is one of the major figures in the vision reports and who has the role of guiding the prophet through his vision experience.[32] The messenger is present right next to the prophet in the second and third vision reports, but he leaves the prophet because he is approached by another messenger who sent him to go after the man with the measuring line. In the fourth vision report this messenger is back and has a different function since he does not talk to the prophet, but officiates over the ritual actions.[33]

Finally, the ones standing before Joshua are introduced in v. 4 and perform the major ritual action in v. 5. The author also refers to them in v. 7. The identity of these figures is hard to define. What is clear from the description of the ritual is that they serve the messenger of the Lord and fulfill his instructions (Zech 3:4–5). Thus, it is highly likely that they are heavenly beings who are members of the heavenly court.[34] A parallel can be drawn between the messenger of the Lord and the riders in the first vision report and the messenger of the Lord and these attendants described in Zech 3.

In sum, all of the actors described above participate in some way in the ritual, some in the background and others in the foreground. While the debate between Yahweh and the accuser set the stage for the ritual, Joshua, even though he is passive and not performing any ritual action, is the major figure in the ritual.[35] On the other hand, the

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Zech 3. Macumber's interpretation that "the messenger who talked with me" appears in Zech 3:1 (as is evident from the phrase "then he showed me"), but "takes a backseat to מלאך יהוה" neglects the identification of the messenger of Yahweh with the interpreting messenger in the first vision report.

[32] For the important function that Yahweh himself plays in the interpretation of dreams and visions (e.g., Gen 15:12–21; 20:3–7; 28:10–22; 31:24; Num 22:9–13; 1 Sam 3:2–15; 1 Kgs 3:5–15) and the absence of messengers of Yahweh in the earlier traditions, see Flannery-Dailey, "Lessons on Early Jewish Apocalypticism," 234. Thus, in the postexilic period, we see a shift in the pattern where the messengers of Yahweh began to serve an intermediary role between the seer and Yahweh. See Macumber, "Angelic Intermediaries," 98.

[33] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 230–31.

[34] For the verb עמד ("to stand") and its usage in the context of the heavenly divine council, see, further, Rose, *Zemah and Zerubbabel*, 198–99. See also, Mitchell et al., *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Jonah*, 151; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 190; Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 128; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 236.

[35] For the importance of the theme of priests in the Haggai–Malachi corpus, in general, and especially in Zech 3, see further Tiemeyer, "The Guilty Priesthood," 3–5 and Boda, "Perspectives on Priests," 24–28.

messenger of the Lord seems to officiate over the ritual, and the other heavenly beings standing before Joshua perform different rites.

7.3.1.3 Ritual Objects

There are four ritual objects that are of crucial importance for the ritual described in Zech 3: "the soiled garments" (צואים בגדים [Zech 3:3]), "the festal vestments"[36] (מחלצות [Zech 3:4]), "the pure turban"[37] (צניף טהור [Zech 3:5]), and "the stone"[38] (האבן [Zech 3:9]). Although the actual terms used in Zech 3 for these ritual objects are those found in Isa 3:13–26 rather than those used in the Pentateuch in the context of high priestly dressing rituals such as the investiture of the high priest (Exod 28; 39; and Lev 8) and the Day of Atonement (Lev 16),[39] it is evident that these high priest dressing rituals prescribed and delineated in Pentateuch represent the conceptual background against

[36] The vestments were previously "enumerated in Exod 29:5–6, 8–9 and described in Exod 28." There are, in total, eight priestly vestments, including outer and undergarments: (1) the ephod, (2) the breastpiece, (3) the robe, (4) the gold plate, (5) the tunic, (6) the sash, (7) the headdress, and (8) the breeches (Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 495, 98). For a more detailed description of the inventory of the priestly vestments, see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 501–5.

[37] The noun הצניף is "perfectly determinate" because it has already been mentioned, Joüon §137f. These ritual objects are mentioned in Exod 28:4, 37, 39; 29:6; 39:28, 31; Lev 16:4; and Ezek 21:31. Milgrom (*Leviticus 1–16*, 511) explained that this headpiece "appears to have been wound around the head like a turban (Isa 28:18 and Lev 16:4)."

[38] Milgrom (*Leviticus 1–16*, 506–7) explained that breastpieces "were generally made of gold frames with precious stones set in them … the twelve stones were [however] set in rows and formed no picture (Exod 28:17–20)." For an additional connection between the stone mentioned in Zech 3:9 and the stones that are mentioned as part of the description of the high-priestly clothing (Exod 28; 29; 39; Lev 8; 16), see Mitchell et al., *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Jonah*, 157–59; Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration*, 190–91; and Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 211–12. One of the most comprehensive analyses on this subject was done by VanderKam ("Joshua the High Priest," especially pp. 567–57) where he argued for a vestments approach in contrast to a temple building theory. Cf. Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 169–70 and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 259–61.

[39] Neither the term for festal garments, מחלצה, nor for the headband, צניף, occurs outside Zech 3 in the context of the high priest. In Exod 29:5–6, the term כתנת is used for the garment and מצנפת for the turban. Similarly, in Lev 7:8–9, terms מעיל and כתנת are used for the priestly clothing and מצנפת for the headband, Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 198; Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 159; Boda, "Perspectives on Priests," 26–29; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 241. The exception is the term בגד ("vestment"), which occurs in Zech 3:3 and is also a key term in Lev 8. It is the הבגדים ("vestments") that are listed as the first ritual object necessary for this ritual in Lev 8:2 because the priests will be dressed in them as described in Lev 8:7–9, 13.

which the ritual described in Zech 3 should be understood.[40] This is confirmed by the fact that all three objects, the vestments, the turban, and the stone, are mentioned as part of the high priestly inventory in the description of the priestly consecration ritual.

7.3.1.4 Ritual Actions and Time

Ritual action is described right after the introduction of three key figures (Zech 3:1) and a description of Yahweh rebuking the accuser whose allegation against Joshua was most probably related to his soiled garments (Zech 3:3). All of this sets up the stage for the ritual itself, described in Zech 3:3–5. There are three rites described in Zech 3:4–5 that are instructed by the messenger of the Lord and performed by those standing before Joshua: (1) the removal of his soiled garments (הסירו הבגדים הצאים); (2) clothing Joshua with festal garments (והלבש אתך מחלצות); and (3) putting a clean turban on his head (ישימו צניף טהור על־ראשו).

Before focusing on these rites, it must be said that the appearance of Joshua as being "clothed[41] in soiled garments" (לבש בגדים צואים) is highly unusual since ritual and moral purity were very serious matters in ancient Israel (Lev 11–15; 17–26),[42]

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[40] For the connection between the ritual described in Zech 3 and these two rituals, see Tiemeyer (*Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 249) who claimed that "the Torah legislates that the high priest should change his garments on two occasions: at his inauguration and at the Day of Atonement." See also, Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 159–60; Boda, "Perspectives on Priests," 25–27; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 240–42.

[41] The word לבש in the phrase ויהושע היה לבש should be understood as the passive participle used as a predicate adjective. For more details, see IBHS §37.4.c; Joüon §121o.

[42] It has been almost half of a century since Neusner (*The Idea of Purity*, 28) said that "purity is an essential element in the interpretation of Israel's total religious system over sixteen centuries." He has been followed by a number of scholars who recognize the centrality of the concept of purity in the religion of ancient Israel. See Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*; Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22*; and Milgrom, *Leviticus 23–27.*

This claim coincides with the "maximalist" approach that I take in my research. Alon (*Jews, Judaism*, 190–234) who lived 1901–1950 was the first to label the positions concerning purity in ancient Israel as minimalist and maximalist. According to Alon, minimalists "limited the sphere of purity to the temple and priesthood," while maximalists think that the significance of the laws of purity must not be narrowed solely to the temple. Alon was followed by other scholars who recognized the tension between the minimalist and maximalist approaches: see Milgrom, "The Scriptural Foundations"; Harrington, *The Impurity Systems*, 4–5; Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1:277; Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 7; and Klawans, "Notions of Gentile Impurity," 285–312. For other scholars who follow the maximalist approach, see Poirier, "Purity Beyond the Temple" and Meier, *Law and Love*, 4:431. For the opposite view, see Maccoby, *Ritual and Morality*, 206.

especially for persons with greater holiness such as high priests.[43] The nature of Joshua's uncleanness has been long discussed among scholars.[44] There are several details in the text which point in the direction of an impurity that should be understood as both ritual and moral.[45] First, his garments are described with the hapax legomenon adjective צאי meaning soiled (Zech 3:3). The word very likely relates to the terms צאה (Deut 23:13–14; Ezek 4:12–14) and צאה (Isa 4:4; 28:8; Prov 30:12) which refer to different kinds of unclean human emissions such as human excrement, vomit, and urine.[46] Second, this description parallels Joshua's poor condition, which had been previously mentioned in v. 2. He was depicted as "a smoldering log which has been snatched from fire" (מצל אוד מאש). This is an echo of Amos 4:11,[47] which in this context is used to show that Joshua's uncleanness related to the destruction of Jerusalem.[48] Third, the messenger commanded those standing before him to remove Joshua's soiled clothes (Zech 3:4). The verb סור in Hiphil[49] is used to express the action of removal and its meaning is explained in the last part of v. 4 where the messenger says that the removal of the soiled garments symbolically represents the removal of his guilt.[50] This time (in v. 4), the synonym עבר

[43] For a brief explanation on the importance of ritual and moral purity for the high priest in ancient Israel, see Rudman, "Zechariah and the Satan Tradition," 193–94.

[44] The expression can be understood as referring to his actual visual appearance, ritual and/or moral impurity, his inability to function as the high priest, a symbol of carrying grief, or as having social connotations. For a more detailed explanation of each of those interpretations, see Merrill, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 121; Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 159; Bič, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*, 33; Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 114; and Willi-Plein, *Prophetie am Ende*, 86. For a brief overview of the different interpretations, see Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 126–28.

[45] On the issue of the relationship between ritual and moral impurity, see Klawans, *Impurity and Sin.*

[46] *HALOT*, 922. See also, Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 235 and Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 127. These two terms occur in *qere* readings of 2 Kgs 18:27 and Isa 36:12.

[47] This is noticed by a number of scholars, including Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 192; Tiemeyer, "The Guilty Priesthood," 5–7; Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 157; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 234.

[48] For the argument that the fire refers to the destruction of Jerusalem and not to the exile, see Boda, "Scat!" Tiemeyer ("The Guilty Priesthood," 5–7) however, argued that the connection with the wider context of Amos 4:11 shows that Joshua's guilt is the result of illegitimate cultic practices. I agree with Stead (*The Intertextuality of Zechariah*, 158) who posited that this interpretation paid too much attention to the context of Amos 4 and not to the text found in Zech 3 itself.

[49] *HALOT*, 748.

[50] For the meaning of עון, see Knierim, "עון"; Schultz, "עוה."

in the Hiphil is used to express the action of removal and the noun עון, to describe the guilt.[51]

Based on this evidence, it seems that Joshua's uncleanness is both ritual and moral.[52] While the word צאי refers to ritual impurity (see above), moral impurity is emphasized by the messenger's additional statement in v. 4 where he draws a parallel between Joshua's uncleanness and the Hebrew term עון. The allusion to Amos 4:11 as a reference to the destruction of Jerusalem supports both interpretations.[53] On the one hand, the Babylonians who destroyed Jerusalem are viewed as ritually unclean (Amos 7:17) and, therefore, a source of defilement; on the other hand, the destruction of Jerusalem is mentioned as a consequence of moral impurity.[54] In any case, it is clear that Joshua was in a very serious situation and the removal of the soiled garments by those standing before Yahweh's messenger was necessary and of crucial importance.[55]

The three rites mentioned above refer to the high priest's dressing rituals previously prescribed in the Pentateuch (Exod 28; 39; Lev 8; 16).[56] It is evident from

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[51] The word עון has three main meanings: sin, guilt caused by sin, and punishment. For more details, see *HALOT*, 800. See also Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 236) who followed this definition.

[52] Instead of emphasizing only one aspect of Joshua' uncleanness, as Stead emphasized moral and Tiemeyer ritual, it is more likely that the prophet has both in view. For Stead's and Tiemeyer's views, see Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 159 and Tiemeyer, "The Guilty Priesthood," 7.

[53] On the relationship between impurity and Gentiles, see Hayes, *Gentile Impurities.* In this work, Hayes proposed two other categories of impurity in addition to those already suggested by Büchler, Alon, and Klawans. She suggested that besides ritual and moral purity, the Hebrew Bible also delineates "genealogical" and "carnal impurity." The genealogical impurity should be understood as intrinsic as it relates to the blood, while carnal impurity is the result of mixed sexual relationships. Hayes argued that Gentiles were associated with all four categories of impurity in different periods of biblical history.

[54] Tollington (*Tradition and Innovation*, 156) argued that the latter suggests that Joshua bore the guilt of all the people.

[55] Rudman, "Zechariah and the Satan Tradition," 194.

[56] It must be mentioned, however, that one of the major actions in the ritual of the consecration of the priests described in Exod 28; 39; and Lev 8 was a rite of anointing that is absent from Zech 3. Milgrom (*Leviticus 1–16*, 554) explained that the "sacred anointing ceased at the end of the Second Temple period and, according to rabbinic tradition, by the end of the First Temple period. Scripture makes the reason clear: the sacred oil was compounded only once and, having been lost or destroyed, it could not be reproduced (Exod 30:31–33; contrast the incense, v. 34)." There are two other arguments that can be used to explain this omission of an anointing service from Zech 3: it is not unusual that some parts of ritual service are omitted in the biblical text (see, for instance, Gane, *Cult and Character*, 22), especially in the vision report genre where intertextual connections have the purpose of alluding to a ritual described in the

these passages that the high priest changed his garments on two occasions during the cultic calendar year: on his ordination day (Exod 28; 39; Lev 8) and on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16).[57] On both occasions, dressing and removal of sin played an important role. Keeping in mind the historical context in which this vision report was given—the period in which the temple was still not finished and the rebuilding process was in progress—it is likely that this vision report primarily alludes to the ritual of consecration of the high priest, which along with the ritual of consecration of the sanctuary (Lev 8:1–36) was a key ritual for the reinstitution of ritual service in the tabernacle.[58] It is exactly this reinstitution of the services—but this time related to the second temple—that the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus in general, and Zech 3–4 in particular, are concerned with.

That Zech 3 alludes to the ritual of consecration of the high priest is not only clear from situating this passage in its historical context, but also from looking at Zech 3:4–5, 6–7 and 8–10.[59] First, speaking more generally, Zech 3:4 associates this ritual with the removal of iniquity in the same way as the ritual of the high priest's consecration is related to the removal of iniquity in Exod 28:38.[60] Second, in Zech 3:6–7, the ritual of

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earlier literature and not to evoking all of its particular details. Along with this argument, it can be said that the circumstances had changed drastically between the time of the building of the tabernacle and that of the second temple.

[57]For a detailed explanation of how the ritual described in Zech 3 alludes to the high priestly dressing rituals in the priestly tradition, see Boda, "Perspectives on Priests," 25–27. See also Tiemeyer, "The Guilty Priesthood," 8–11; Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 159–160; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 240–42.

[58] Slightly different is Tiemeyer ("The Guilty Priesthood," 9–11) who placed the accent on the latter, even though she recognized the connections with both the ceremony of inauguration and the complex of rituals on the Day of Atonement.

This is not to say that allusion to the Day of Atonement was not possible in this historical context. It will be shown below that Zech 3 alludes to both the consecration of the high priest and the Day of Atonement. However, the function of this ritual as described in Zech 3 is primarily to allude to the reestablishment of the ritual services without which the Day of Atonement would not been possible.

[59] Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 198–99) noticed important differences between the ritual described in Zech 3 and the one found in Exod 28–29, 31, and in Lev 8. According to him, Zech 3 does not mention (1) washing rites, (2) a detailed list of the costume, or (3) sacrifices.

[60] For the connection between the ceremony of consecration of the high priest, the turban, and the removal of iniquity, see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 511–12.

consecration is followed by a charge given to Joshua in the same way that the description of this ritual in Lev 8 ends with an admonition (Lev 8:31–36).[61] Finally, Zech 3:9 gives a description of an engraving on stone that is parallel to the description of the breastpiece with precious stones set in it,[62] which is given as part of the description of the consecration of the high priest (Exod 28:17–20).[63] As was the case at the time when the tabernacle was built, where the rituals of consecration of the high priest and sanctuary were fundamental ceremonies that had to be performed before any service could take place in the tabernacle (Lev 9:1–24),[64] this vision report builds on this priestly tradition and emphasizes that the ritual consecrating the high priest Joshua should be among the first rituals performed that would enable the reestablishment of the ritual system in the second temple.

However, the intertextual connections between Zech 3 and the rituals associated with the Day of Atonement cannot be neglected. Even though it has been argued that the ritual in Zech 3 primarily refers to the consecration of the high priest, it also, secondarily, alludes to the Day of Atonement ritual where impurity is cleansed from the sanctuary and the camp.[65] There are several allusions in Zech 3 to this very important day in the religious calendar of ancient Israel. First, Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 describe the extensive problems that the people had with impurity (Hag 2:10–14; Zech 3; 5).[66] Second, two major rites described in this ritual are changing Joshua's high priest garments (הסירו

[61] Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 542–44.

[62] See, Harrelson, "The Trial of the High Priest Joshua," 120. Cf. VanderKam, "Joshua the High Priest," 567–70. Milgrom (*Leviticus 1–16*, 505–07) describes ancient breastpieces or pectorals as being "made of gold frames with precious stones set in them" and the high priest's breastpiece as being an important ritual element used in his consecration.

[63] Even though the first and third arguments can go in both directions—to support an intertextual connection with both the consecration of the high priest and the Day of Atonement—the third argument is exclusively related to the complex of rituals associated with the consecration of the high priest. See, further, Boda, "Perspectives on Priests," 25–27. Contra Tiemeyer ("The Guilty Priesthood," 9–11) who claimed that the stone engraving is a reference to the Day of Atonement.

[64] Gane, *Leviticus*, 179.

[65] Gane, *Cult and Character*, 217–304.

[66] See, for example, O'Kennedy, "Purification of Priest, Prophet and People."

הבגדים הצאים מעליו) (Zech 3:4; Lev 16:4) and putting a clean turban on Joshua's head (טהור צניף) (Zech 3:5; Lev 16:4). Third, a clear connection is made between the high priestly ministry and judgment (Zech 3:7; Lev 23:29–30). Finally, the connection with the festival of the Day of Atonement is further bolstered by the close connection between the section that describes Joshua's dressing ritual (Zech 3:4–5) and the removal of guilt in one day (ומשתי את־עון הארץ־ההיא ביום אחד) that is described in the oracle about the sprout (Zech 3:8–10; Lev 16:34).[67] In contrast to vv. 4–5 where the verbs סור and עבר are used to express the action of removal, the verb מוש is employed in v. 9. It is very likely that this removal of guilt described in v. 9, together with the text in Zech 3:4–5 refers to the Day of Atonement (Lev 16).[68]

In sum, while at the conceptual level, Joshua's dressing ritual described in Zech 3 relates primarily to texts that describe the consecration of the high priest (Exod 28–29 and Lev 8) and secondarily to the rituals associated with the Day of Atonement festival (Lev 16), at the semantic level it also alludes to Isa 3:13–26. It is important to keep in mind that Zech 3 does not describe the actual ritual performed on the ground. Rather, the dressing ritual in Zech 3 is envisioned and refers to the future when the ritual should be performed with the purpose of reinstituting the ritual activities in the second temple. It is to the question of the efficacy of the dressing ritual described in Zech 3 that the present work now turns.

7.3.2 Ritual Efficacy

The above analysis of the ritual elements described in Zech 3 naturally leads to the question of the efficacy of the ritual. Before the present work moves to this important

[67] Tiemeyer, "The Guilty Priesthood," 9.

[68] Tiemeyer ("The Guilty Priesthood," 9) correctly noticed that the phrase "in one day" refers to a ceremony that takes place in a single day during which God removes the sins of the people of Israel. See also, Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 261 and Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 170.

question, two preliminary remarks must be made. First, as already mentioned briefly, according to Grimes's classification of all rituals, the ritual of the consecration of Joshua belongs to the group of "envisioned" rituals that is distinguished from other rituals that are actually performed on the ground. The main purpose of these rituals is to "fruitfully reimagine ritual" and to renew it in a way that it gains characteristics "from which it is tactically and momentarily disengaged."[69] The ritual was shown to Zechariah in the vision that he received from Yahweh during the night (Zech 1:7) and then described in the vision report found in Zech 3. The description of the ritual shows that the ritual is happening in the spiritual world of the divine council scene with the boundaries between earthly and spiritual realms completely blurred. All of this points to the fact that this ritual, along with the ritual described in Zech 4, should be distinguished from other rituals that are described in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus.

A second preliminary remark that should be mentioned is that the major purpose of this ritual is to consecrate the high priest for service in the temple. This is also one of the two necessary ritual requirements for a proper functioning of the temple, with the consecration of the temple being the second one, an issue that will be addressed below in the section dealing with Zech 4. The high priestly consecration ritual is a rite of passage that has the purpose of legally elevating Joshua to the status of high priest and giving him the authority to officiate over rituals in the temple.[70] This elevation of status is

[69] Grimes, *Reading, Writing, and Ritualizing*, 131.

[70] The rite of passage is defined by Gennep (*The Rites of Passage*, 1) as "rites which accompany every change of place, state, social position and age." He explained that "each larger society contains within it several distinctly separate social groupings … For a man to pass from group to group—for example, for a peasant to become an urban worker, or even for a mason's helper to rise to mason—he must fulfil certain conditions … for a layman to enter the priesthood or for a priest to be unfrocked calls for ceremonies, acts of a special kind, derived from a particular feeling and a particular frame of mind. So great is the incompatibility between the profane and the sacred worlds that a man cannot pass from one to the

symbolically portrayed in the ritual described in Zech 3 by contrasting the "soiled garments" (צואים בגדים) with the "festal vestments" (מחלצות). By changing robes, Joshua moved from the realm of the profane to the realm of the sacred, and the festal robes were the outer symbols of his authority.[71]

It must be said, however, that the efficacy of this ritual as presented in Zech 3 is not limited to the mere induction of Joshua into temple service. The function of this ritual is much broader and multifaceted. What is most important for this study is that it is also related to God's, the people's, and nature's ideological space. Each of these efficacies related to Joshua's ritual of consecration will be briefly examined below.

7.3.2.1 The Consecration of Joshua and God's Ideological Space

This first section focuses on the connection between the ritual of Joshua's consecration and the production of God's ideological space. There are a few ways that this ritual production of God's ideological space is addressed in Zech 3.

The connection is, above all, evident in the fact that the oracle in Zech 3:6–7, which primarily deals with "my house" (ביתי) and "my courts" (חצרי), is situated right after the description of the consecration of Joshua (Zech 3:1–5).[72] While this passage considered on its own is composed of a sequence of four protasis clauses and one

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other without going through an intermediate stage." In his book, Van Gennep talked about rites of passages associated with pregnancy and childbirth, birth and childhood, initiation rites, betrothal and marriage, and funerals. For the categorization of the biblical ritual of priestly consecration as a rite of passage, see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 567.

[71] Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 553–55.

[72] See Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 243) who explained that this employment of a speech right after the vision report in vv. 6–7 is a common feature of Zech 1–6 and "often arise[s] out of the scene as a natural part of the narrative presentation." See, for example, Zech 1:14–17; 2:8–9; and 5:4. See also, Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 203) who explained that the employment of legal language such as "the messenger of Yahweh warned Joshua" (ויעד מלאך יהוה ביהושע) "serves to establish a direct linkage between the oracular material and the just completed vision."

apodosis clause,[73] in the larger context of Zech 3, the actions described in the protasis clauses must be understood to be a result of the previously described consecration ritual.[74] It is the consecration of Joshua that will enable him to "walk my (Yahweh's) ways" (בדרכי תלך), "keep priestly obligations" (משמרתי תשמר), "do justice at my (Yahweh's) house" (אתה תדין את־ביתי), and "take care of my (Yahweh's) courts" (תשמר את־חצרי). Namely, Joshua's consecration marks his installation into high priestly ministry and enables him to look after the temple rituals and, in that way, to produce God's ideological space.

Furthermore, this keeping (שמר) of priestly obligations and care (שמר) for Yahweh's courts—the phrases that are parallel to each other in the chiastic structure of this oracle[75]—will result in the production of God's ideological space previously described in the vision reports prior to Zech 3. That is, the fulfillment of priestly obligations described in Zech 3 should be understood as the ritual prerequisite[76] for Yahweh's migration from his heavenly dwelling place to his earthly home in Jerusalem

[73] See also, Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 206; Tollington, *Tradition and Innovation*, 158–60; Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 64–65; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 244–45. It must be mentioned that the shift from אם in the first two lines to וגם in lines 3 and 4 may suggest that lines 3 and 4 do not belong to protasis, but rather, to apodosis. Hence, Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 115; Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, Sacharja 9–14, Maleachi*, 93; Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 198; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 194; VanderKam, "Joshua the High Priest," 558–59; Floyd, *Minor Prophets 2*, 372; Tiemeyer, "The Guilty Priesthood," 12–13; and Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 161–62. For a brief overview of the different approaches and arguments used to support them, see Tiemeyer, "The Guilty Priesthood," 12. Here, I take the former approach because the multiple clauses that form the protasis in the Old Testament are not only connected with ואם, but also with וגם. See Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 244–45) who gave Eccl 6:3 as an example.

[74] Hence, regardless of the discussion about which line belongs to the protasis and which to the apodosis, what is important for this study is that the whole section of vv. 6–7 is closely related to and dependent on the consecration ritual described in vv. 1–5.

[75] Butterworth, *Structure and the Book of Zechariah*, 166. Cf. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 245.

[76] For a discussion on the significance of learning the sacrificial procedures (Lev 1–7) and the importance of the priestly consecration and the consecration of the Tabernacle (Lev 8:10–11) in the context of the tabernacle, see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 494–95.

(Zech 1:16, Zech 2:14[10], 17[13]) and consequently, for this presence in his temple (Zech 2:9[5], 14[10], 15[11]).[77]

That this is being presented here is also clear from the intertextual parallels described above with the consecration rituals in Exod 28, 39–40; Lev 8; and 1 Kgs 8, where the ultimate result of these rituals was also described as a divine revelation in his earthly place (Lev 9:23–24; Num 7:89; 1 Kgs 9:2–3).[78] That is, the ritual system described in the Pentateuch (especially Exod 25—Lev 16) had the purpose of enabling and safeguarding the divine presence within the Israelite community. Hundley's work on the divine presence demonstrates that while the dedication and inauguration of the Tabernacle rituals served to enable Yahweh's appearance, the regular divine services safeguarded his presence in the Tabernacle/Temple.[79] Looking from this perspective, the first three vision reports (Zech 1:8–17; 2:1–4[1:18–21]; 2:5–9[1–5]) set up expectations of Yahweh's migration to his earthly home (Zech 1:16, Zech 2:14[10], 17[13]). In addition, the climax of the oracle about the return of the people and Yahweh (2:10–17[10–13]) found in Zech 2:17 serves as the beginning of Yahweh's entrance from the heavenly into the earthly space, and Zech 3–4 describes the ritual means by which these expectations will be fulfilled.[80]

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[77] On the connection between ritual activities and divine presence in the midst of Israelites, see Hundley, *Keeping Heaven on Earth.* Hundley (*Keeping Heaven on Earth*, 53–49) talked about the role of the Tabernacle dedication and inauguration and its cults in safeguarding the divine presence in it.

[78] Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 499.

[79] Hundley, *Keeping Heaven on Earth*, 53–118. Hundley (*Keeping Heaven on Earth*, 135–72) also addressed what he called damage control rituals and explained that these rituals had the purpose of controlling the damage done by the pollution of the sanctuary in order to secure Yahweh's presence in it.

[80] Zech 2:17[13] can also be seen as ritual, most specifically "ritual of quietness." For the excellent appraisal of the ritual quietness in the context of the production of space, see Goshadze, "The Varieties of Sonic Experience," 165–73. A deeper examination of this theme goes beyond the scope of the present work but deserves attention in future research.

This connection between the consecration of Joshua and the production of God's ideological space is further bolstered by the above-mentioned allusions to the Day of Atonement.[81] As has been discussed, the primary meaning of the dressing ritual in Zech 3 is the consecration service that was the precondition for the high priest's participation in any ritual practice, especially in such a solemn festival as the Day of Atonement.[82] This allusion to the Day of Atonement brings forth the imagery of the cleansing of the sanctuary and temple.[83] Needless to say, this process of cleansing the sanctuary was one of the major conditions for Yahweh's continuous dwelling in it. Thus, while the ritual of consecration describes the pre-condition for Yahweh's migration to the temple, allusions to the Day of Atonement serve to portray the means by which expectations of the presence of Yahweh's glory in the temple—previously described in Zech 2:9[5], 14[10], 15[11]—will be secured.[84]

Not only does Joshua's consecration produce God's earthly ideological space, it also enables Joshua to have "access[85] among these who are standing" (מהלכים בין

[81] For the intertextual links between Zech 3 and the Day of Atonement, see the following studies listed in their chronological order: Blocher, "Josué et le Grand Jour des Expiations"; Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 599; Tiemeyer, "The Guilty Priesthood," 9–11; Pola, *Das Priestertum bei Sacharja*, 222; Curtis, *Up the Steep and Stony Road*, 136; Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 159–60; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah.*

[82] Milgrom (*Leviticus 1–16*, 554) explained that consecration of the high priest legitimized him to handle the rituals in the sacred realm, and one of the most important complex of rituals during a calendar year was the Day of Atonement. This festival was of special danger for all high priests since during this day, the high priest was approaching the presence of Yahweh in the most holy place. For the consequences of inappropriate approach to the most holy place, see Lev 10.

[83] For a detailed study on the complex process of the removal of evil from the sanctuary, see Gane, *Cult and Character.* See especially the chapter labeled "Trajectories of Evils," where Gane traced what he calls "the trajectories of distinct categories of evil" (physical ritual impurity, inexpiable defiant sin, expiable nondefiant sin, and culpability) to the sanctuary (during the year) and from it (on the Day of Atonement) (285–302). See also Gane, "Privative Preposition." Contra Milgrom, "Priestly Picture of Dorian Gray."

[84] See Hundley, *Keeping Heaven on Earth*, 135–72.

[85] A few scholars challenge the translation "access," stating that this form is actually a Piel participle of the verb and should be understood as "those with access." See for instance, VanderKam, "Joshua the High Priest," 560; Rose, *Zemah and Zerubbabel*, 73–83; Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones," §2.3.1.4; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 248. In my view, the difference between these two approaches

העמדים האלה), namely, to the divine dwelling place. This statement must be understood in the context of the description of the interrelationship between the divine heavenly courts and his earthly house.[86] An emphasis on the connection between the heavenly and earthly realms in the context of the description of God's space is not unusual. This connection was initially made in Exodus when Yahweh commanded Moses to build a tabernacle according to the "the pattern of the tabernacle" (תבנית המשכן [Exod 25:9]), a phrase that most likely alludes to his heavenly dwelling space.[87] Since access to the heavenly realm can be understood as characteristics of kings[88] and prophets,[89] some scholars take this ability of Joshua to be a shift from priestly to royal and/or prophetic functions.[90] However, this characteristic should not be understood only as characteristic of kings and prophets, but also as one of the characteristics of the priesthood as described in Ezek 40:46.[91] Most importantly for the present study, the consecration of Joshua has the consequence of establishing a connection between God's heavenly and earthly place through Joshua's ministry in the earthly temple.

In sum, the consecration of Joshua in Zech 3 is the means through which the ideological space of God is produced. First, this ritual enables Joshua to keep his priestly obligation and to make Yahweh's migration from his heavenly to his earthly dwelling

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is minor and the end result is the same: Joshua gains access either directly or indirectly. Keeping in mind that the high priest is described in Leviticus as a person who has direct access to Yahweh in the most holy place, I opt for the former approach, which argues for Joshua's direct access.

[86] See my assessment of God's ideological space in the previous chapter.

[87] On the relationship between God's heavenly dwelling place and it's earthly counterpart, see de Souza, "The Heavenly Sanctuary/Temple Motif," 491–97.

[88] Jeremias, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*, 218.

[89] Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones," §2.3.1.4; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 248.

[90] For recent treatment of this issue, see Segal ("The Responsibilities and Rewards," 718–34) who argued against the popular view that Zech 3 describes the expansion of the role of the high priesthood and asserted that the admonition found in Zech 3:7 has the purpose of portraying Joshua's responsibilities "using the first temple model of the priestly responsibility for the maintenance of the temple" (734).

[91] See also, Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 599–600; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 61. Cf. Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 164.

place possible. One of his ritual obligations is performing the rituals on the Day of Atonement that have the main purpose of cleansing the holy place and securing Yahweh's habitation in the midst of Jerusalem. Second, this ritual grants Joshua access to those who stand before Yahweh and thus enables a connection between the heavenly and earthly realm. However, this ritual is not limited to the production of God's ideological space. The other major efficacy of this ritual is the production of the people's ideological space, a topic which is addressed below.

7.3.2.2 The Consecration of Joshua and the People's Ideological Space

Besides the construction of God's ideological space, the consecration of Joshua is also closely related to the production of the people's ideological space. Even though the text of Zech 3 is primarily concerned with Joshua's dressing ritual, there are a few clear references to the people's spaces which are integrated within this ritual account: (1) an explicit reference to Jerusalem in the phrase "Yahweh who has chosen Jerusalem" (**ויגער יהוה בך הבחר בירושלם**); (2) an implicit allusion to Jerusalem through the intertextual link with Amos 4:11 in the phrase **אוד מצל מאש** ("a smoldering log which has been snatched from fire"); (3) an implicit reference to Jerusalem in Zech 3:4–5 via the allusion to Isa 3:13–26; and (4) an explicit reference to the land in the phrase **ומשתי את־עון הארץ־ההיא ביום אחד** ("I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day"). These three references to Jerusalem in Zech 3:2–5, as well as one reference to the land in Zech 3:9, show that author of Zech 3 makes a clear connection between Joshua's dressing ritual and the people's space.[92]

[92] For the connection between the ritual of the consecration of Joshua and the city of Jerusalem, see also, Dafni, "Jerusalem als Metropole, 430."

The connection between the ritual of consecration of Joshua and the ideological description of Jerusalem is most obvious in Zech 3:2 where the phrase "the one who has chosen Jerusalem" (הבחר בירושלם) occurs for the third time.[93] In the same way that the destruction of the city and the temple—mainly due to the infelicitous ritual activities—has the result of the end of the high priestly ministry, the consecration of the high priest, and the consequent beginning of ritual activities in the temple is the symbol of restoration of the city.[94] This phrase is found in the context of the description of Joshua as "a smoldering log which has been snatched from fire" (אוד מצל מאש). As already mentioned above, this is a clear allusion to Amos 4:11,[95] a passage that occurs in the context of a series of Yahweh's disciplinary measures, most particularly, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.[96] In this way, by making this intertextual connection between Zech 3 and Amos 4, Joshua is described in the context of Yahweh's punitive measures, more precisely, the destruction of the city of Jerusalem along with its temple. It was Joshua who was the "remaining trace" of the cult that was destroyed along with the city.[97]

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[93] As already explained above, one has to keep in mind that Zech 1–6 portrays God's glory as expanding outside of the borders of the temple to the city of Jerusalem. Thus, one may notice that God's space which, in the book of Haggai, was primarily—but also not exclusively—associated with the temple, is described in Zech 1–6 as expanded to the city of Jerusalem and even to the all earth. Still, Jerusalem is examined here as the people's space for pragmatic reasons. In other words, Jerusalem is, in this research, primarily considered as the people's space, but as can be seen from Zech 1–6, that does not mean that it is only the people's, but also God's space. For the association of the idea of choosing Jerusalem (Zech 1:17; 2:16[12]; and 3:2) with the place of worship, see Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 102. Cf. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 282.

[94] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 235.

[95] See, for instance, Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 187; Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 63; Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 596; Delkurt, *Sacharjas Nachtgesichte*, 189; Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 157; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 234. Contra Nurmela (*Prophets in Dialogue*, 27–28) who emphasized that these two passages reflect quite a different context. My analysis, however, shows that even though Zech 3 primarily deals with the consecration of Joshua, the connection with Jerusalem (the people's space) is obvious. For one who keeps this in mind, the context of Zech 3 and Amos 4 is not so different.

[96] Carroll R., *The Book of Amos*, 229–43. Cf. Andersen and Freedman, *Amos*, 435–40 and Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 333–40.

[97] Floyd, *Minor Prophets 2*, 374; Boda, "Scat!," 164–65. Contra Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 113–14; VanderKam, "Joshua the High Priest," 555–56; Tollington, *Tradition and Innovation*,

However, as was mentioned above, Yahweh will show his mercy towards Jerusalem and the surrounding cities (Zech 1:12, 16). In Zech 3, this merciful act of choosing Jerusalem is connected with the action of preserving Joshua as a high priest as well as his consecration and installation into ministry.

That an ideological reconstruction of Jerusalem is in view in Zech 3 is also clear from another intertextual link with the book of Isaiah. As has been already mentioned, the changing of robes and putting the turban on Joshua's head refers conceptually to the ritual of consecration of the high priest, but the vocabulary is associated with Isa 3:13–26.[98] Even though this Isaianic text begins on a negative note by describing the migration of Jerusalemites, the passage ends with the prediction of the restoration of this city. By this blending of the conceptual ideas that have their origin in priestly rituals with Isaianic prophecies about the restoration of the city, Zech 3 brings Joshua's consecration ritual into close connection with the restoration of the people's space, most particularly the restoration of Jerusalem.

Finally, it is in Zech 3:9 that the restoration of the people's space is described in the most concrete ways. On the one hand, the key phrase "I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day" (ומשתי את־עון הארץ־ההיא ביום אחד) in Zech 3:9 clearly refers to the complex of rituals performed on the Day of Atonement where the cleansing of the

154–55; Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 63; Love, *The Evasive Text*, 204; Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 596; and Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 158. All of the above-mentioned scholars interpret the phrase as a reference to exile. See also, Tiemeyer ("The Guilty Priesthood," 5–7) who interpreted this phrase in the context of Joshua and the rest of the Judahite priesthood being guilty for participating in unorthodox worship practices. While I agree with Tiemeyer's interpretation that "God's election of Jerusalem is one reason for his mercy towards Joshua," it must also be mentioned that this ritual of consecration is the ground on which the restoration of Jerusalem will happen. I argue for the interpretation that fire alludes to the destruction of Jerusalem and the cult because the phrase is clearly used in the context of Jerusalem as chosen by Yahweh.

[98] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 198; Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 159; Boda, "Perspectives on Priests," 26–29; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 241.

camp was done by transferring them to Azazel, who was then sent to the wilderness (Lev 16:21–22).[99] Even though the term for removal used in Zech 3 does not appear in Lev 16, the key term for sin עון ("iniquity") and the phrase ביום אחד ("in one day") affirm that the Day of Atonement is in view in Zech 3:9.[100] On the other hand the usage of the term עון in both Zech 3:4 and 9 connects the consecration ritual with this removal of iniquity from the land.[101] Thus, an ideological description of the land as cleansed from iniquity is directly related to the ritual of the consecration of Joshua and his priestly activities.

It must be mentioned that there are clear connections between the references to the people's space in Zech 3 and the references to that space found in the other night visions. The position of the fourth vision report at the very center of the complex of night vision reports suggests that the ritual described in this vision report is the ground on which the production of the people's ideological space described in other vision reports is based.[102] First, the ideological portrayals of the planet earth in which Yahweh is described as overseeing all affairs (Zech 1:10–11; 4:10; and 6:7) are also found in Zech 3:9. Second, the description of the return migration and restoration that is followed by the ultimate overturning of the socio-political state of affairs (Zech 1:15; 2:1–4[1:18–21]; 2:13[9]) is affirmed in Zech 3:8 by the coming of "my servant sprout[103]" (עבדי צמח) as well as by allusion to Isa 3:13–26. Third, the description of restoration and the prosperity of Jerusalem previously mentioned in Zech 1:14, 16; Zech 2:5–6[1–2] is also declared in

[99] Pola, *Das Priestertum bei Sacharja*, 222. Tiemeyer ("The Guilty Priesthood," 9) correctly argued that "the only day known in the OT when God removes the sins of his people is the annual Day of Atonement." See also, Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 169–70 and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 260–61.

[100] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 261.

[101] Tiemeyer, "The Guilty Priesthood," 9.

[102] For the central role that the fourth and fifth vision reports play in Zechariah's night vision reports, see O'Kennedy, "Zechariah 3–4."

[103] *DCH* §7:131. Rose, *Zemah and Zerubbabel*, 91–120.

Zech 3:2–5. Finally, a description of the land that will be cleansed from impurity (Zech 5) is also addressed in Zech 3:10. It must be mentioned that this general concern with the ideological description of both the land and the city in Zech 3 is previously addressed most explicitly in Zech 2:16–17[12–13] where "holy land" is linked with the choice of Jerusalem. By once more mentioning the land (Zech 3:10) and the city (Zech 3:2–5) in this vision report, ideological space is brought into connection with the ritual of the consecration of Joshua.

Thus, Zech 3 features clear parallels with previous descriptions of the people's ideological space at the universal, national, and urban levels. In Zech 3, however, this description of the people's ideological space is brought into close connection with the ritual consecrating Joshua, which is described as a key element in its production.

7.3.2.3 The Consecration of Joshua and Nature's Ideological Space

The consecration of the high priest Joshua plays an important role not only in the creation of God's and the people's ideological space, but also in the construction of nature's ideological space. Connection between this ritual and nature's space is evident in the abundance of nature imagery that is found throughout Zech 3. References to nature's space in Zech 3 that are integrated into this ritual account are as follows: "smoldering log" (אוד [Zech 3:2]); "sprout" (צמח [Zech 3:8]); "stone" (אבן [Zech 3:9]); and "under vine and under fig tree" (אל־תחת גפן ואל־תחת תאנה [Zech 3:10]). While the first three references are only implicitly related to the recreation of the natural world, it is the last reference to the vine and fig tree that explicitly describes the reproduction of the natural world as a consequence of the consecration ritual.

The term אוד is used in Zech 3:2 to describe the high priest Joshua. In the context of the consecration ritual, the log is described as having been snatched from fire. As explained above, the act of snatching from fire should be understood as a positive act of restoration, specifically, the installation of the high priest Joshua into priestly ministry.[104] It is important to notice that this act of restoration of Joshua is portrayed by the restoration of the natural world, i.e., a log that has been snatched from the fire. Even though the primary meaning is about the restoration of Joshua to high priestly ministry, it is important to notice that this priestly restoration is closely associated with the restoration of elements from nature.

A similar principle is seen in Zech 3:8 where the term צמח ("sprout"), which usually has the connotation of growing vegetation,[105] is utilized to portray a future king who will be David's descendant. There are at least two arguments that confirm that a Davidide is in view in Zech 3:8: first, this figure is also called עבדי ("my [Yahweh's] servant") in Zech 3:8, a term that in earlier traditions was mostly associated with king David;[106] and second, an intertextual connection with Jeremiah where both of these terms (צמח, עבד) occur together in connection with David affirms that צמח refers to a king of Israel who will be a descendant of David.[107] It must be noticed, however, that in the context of Zech 3, the arrival of this royal figure is described within the context of the consecration of Joshua.[108] The passage in Zech 3:8 about the coming sprout is literarily

[104] Floyd, *Minor Prophets 2*, 374.

[105] Rose, *Zemah and Zerubbabel*, 91–120; Petterson, *Behold Your King*, 87–92; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 253–54.

[106] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 254.

[107] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 254.

[108] The interpretation of Joshua and those who sit before him as a sign of the coming Davidide is disputed by Petersen and Tiemeyer. While Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 209) in his translation of Zech 3:8, removed any causal relationship between the men of a sign and the coming branch, Tiemeyer (*Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 240) argued that 3:8b is a secondary insertion and in that way connected the sign

immersed into a description of a ritual of consecration with the ritual itself described in Zech 3:4–5, the charge of Joshua found in Zech 3:6–7, and the allusion to the Day of Atonement in Zech 3:9–10. This connection between the consecration of Joshua and the coming Davidide should be understood from the perspective that Joshua's high priestly ministry is naturally associated with his service in the temple (Zech 3:6–7), which must be built by the Sprout (Zech 6:9–15).[109] In this way, on the one hand, the consecration of Joshua is connected with the coming of a Davidide, and this arrival of the Davidide is, on the other hand, portrayed by the use of arboreal imagery, which has the purpose of portraying the renewal of the land.[110] Ultimately, the consecration of Joshua is then directly related to the arrival of the Davidide, but also indirectly to the ideological description of nature's space.

While the ritual production of nature's ideological space is accomplished only implicitly by using the imagery of a smoldering log (Zech 3:2) and coming sprout (Zech 3:8), the reference to the vine and fig tree in Zech 3:10 indicates an explicit connection between the consecration ritual and the construction of nature's ideological space. The references to the גפן ("vine") and the תאנה ("fig tree") clearly portray the flourishing of the land "since these are two of the seven key agricultural species grown in the land of

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with the removal of sin mentioned in Zech 3:9. These explanations are based on the apparent disassociation between the expected Davidide and the high priest Joshua. However, as will be shown below, these two figures are closely related.

[109] See Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs.* Cf. Stead (*The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 168) who argued that "the recommissioning of the priesthood is a sign that Yahweh's house is about to become operative again, which in turn implies that the temple builder must be about to come and complete the construction." See also, Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 254–55) who arrived at the same point by taking a different route. Boda argued that Zechariah alluded to Jeremiah's sprout passages such as Jer 33:15–22 where the renewal of the Davidic line is connected with a promise to the Levitical priests. Contra Pola, *Das Priestertum bei Sacharja*, 280.

[110] Petterson (*Behold Your King*, 88) carefully noted that in Isaiah's use of arboreal imagery, the coming of the Davidide is connected with the renewal of the land. "Just as the land would be laid waste (e.g., Isa 5), so too there would be new growth (Isa 4:2) … Here the term צמח is used of new growth that will shoot up in the land after the desolation of judgment. It is an image of the abundance and prosperity of a future age that will be experienced by a remnant of the people."

Israel (Deut 8:8)."[111] It must be said, however, that the phrase "each under vine and under fig tree" extends over agricultural fertility and alludes to peace and prosperity in the absolute sense (1 Kgs 4:24; Mic 4:4).[112] Most important, this passage with the ideological description of nature's space is directly connected with the ritual of consecration and the Day of Atonement, both of which are alluded to in Zech 3:9. That a connection exists between the rituals and the creation of nature's ideological space is clear from the occurrence of phrases ביום אחד ("in one day") at the end of v. 9 and ביום ההוא ("in that day") at the beginning of v. 10. This ritual production of nature's space is affirmed by the fact that Mic 4:4, which is a clear intertextual link with Zech 3:9–10,[113] also connects the temple with the prosperity of the land.[114]

Finally, one general remark regarding the ritual production of nature's ideological space is in order. Keeping in mind that the nature imagery in Zech 1–6 has the purpose of describing God's heavenly space,[115] as well as that one of the purposes of the consecration of the Joshua ritual is to enable his access to the heavenly place, it is likely that one of the functions of the use of the nature imagery in Zech 3 is to portray the interrelationship between the earthly and heavenly realms. Since this is exactly how nature imagery is used in the first and the last vision reports, it is not an overstatement to see this function of the nature imagery in Zech 3, as well.

In sum, Joshua's ritual of consecration described in Zech 3 is clearly connected with the production of nature's ideological world. This construction of space is obvious from the use of the imagery of a smoldering log (Zech 3:2), the coming sprout (Zech 3:8),

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[111] Jacob and Jacob, "Flora," 2:807, 810.
[112] Jacob and Jacob, "Flora," 2:807, 810.
[113] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 171.
[114] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 262.
[115] See the section on nature's ideological space in chapter 6.

and the vine and fig tree (Zech 3:10). The portrayal of the vine and fig tree at the end of the fourth vision report is a nice transition to the second ritual described in the fifth vision report in Zech 4, which is closely related to the olive tree, another key agricultural species.

7.4 The Ritual of the Temple Consecration

The ritual of consecration of the temple is the second ritual that will be examined in this section focusing on the investigation of rituals in Zech 1–6. This ritual is briefly described in the fifth vision report, which is found in Zech 4. Even though the description of emptying olive oil by two figures is scant, this action is clearly not mundane in its nature and has all the qualities of religious ritual that are outlined in chapter 2.[116] Based on the description given in Zech 4, the action is an embodied and condensed enactment with clear reference to earlier Pentateuchal texts which serve as its prescription. In contrast to the fourth vision report found in Zech 3, which has been studied above, the fifth vision report resembles the structure of the other vision reports (i.e., vision reports 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, and 8).[117] It must be said, however, that even though this vision report is different from the one found in Zech 3 in terms of its structure and genre, these two vision reports should be taken together as forming one central unit of Zech 1–6.[118] There

[116] See methodology section of the present work, especially part 2.3.2.

[117] For the major building blocks of which Zechariah's night visions are composed, see Boda, "Writing the Vision," 103–9. Even though Boda highlighted the similarity in the basic structure between the fifth vision report and most of the other reports, he noticed three major differences: (1) some expansions are evident in Zech 4 by means of including an extra exchange between the prophet and the interpreting messenger; (2) a shift of the focus in Zech 4:11–12; (3) the inclusion of the two oracles in Zech 4:6b–10a. See, further, Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 263–64, 69.

[118] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, liii–lviii, especially liv–lvi; O'Kennedy, "Zechariah 3–4." See also, Floyd ("Cosmos and History," 127–29) who argued that Zech 1:7–6:15 is composed of two episodes (Zech 1:6—3:10 and Zech 4:1—6:15) where the first episode ends with the fourth vision report (Zech 3) and the second one commences with the fifth vision report (Zech 4).

are several characteristics that these two vision reports have in common: (1) both vision reports allude to the divine council scene; (2) both reports describe a correlation and close relationship between the heavenly and earthly realms; and (3) both reports are related to the priestly rituals and the temple.[119] As was the case in the previous section, the examination of this ritual also commences with the exploration of its major elements.

7.4.1 Ritual Elements

An investigation of the major elements of the ritual of the temple consecration is based on the methodological framework developed by Grimes. Accordingly, this section will first focus on Grimes's five elements of ritual that will first be outlined in the table below and then analyzed.[120]

Grimes's Ritual Elements	References to Ritual Elements	Zech 3:1–10
Ritual place	מנורת זהב כלה וגלה על־ראשה ושנים זיתים עליה אחד מימין הגלה ואחד על־שמאלה a lampstand full of gold and it had a bowl on top of it	Zech 4:2–3

[119] Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 269–71) correctly noticed the difference between these two vision reports due to emphasis that is placed on the high priest Joshua in Zech 3 and the lack of any reference to priestly figures in Zech 4. However, Boda also noticed connections that exist between Zech 3 and 4, primarily their concern with issues related to the temple and their allusions to the divine council scene, topics that are found in both of these chapters. To this, I add the motif of interconnectedness between the heavenly and earthly realms that is addressed in both of these vision reports. It must also be said that even though the high priest is not mentioned in Zech 4, these two chapters are related by means of referring to the two rituals described in Lev 8 that established the ritual system of ancient Israel: the consecration of the high priest and of the sanctuary. Following this pattern, Zech 3 places an emphasis on the high priest and Zech 4, on the temple. Accordingly, these two rituals function together to project the vision of a temple that will be fully functional in the future.

[120] Grimes, *The Crafts of Ritual Studies*, 232. This is not to say that the sixth and seventh elements outlined by Grimes are completely absent. Rather, while they are apparent in some rituals described in the biblical text, they are less prominent than the other five.

	two olive trees beside it one on the right of the bowl and one on its left	
Ritual actors	שני צנתרות שני בני־היצהר העמדים על־אדון כל־הארץ the two pressers of oil the two sons of unmanufactured oil who stand before the Lord of the whole earth	Zech 4:12, 14
Ritual objects	היצהר unmanufactured oil	Zech 4:14
Ritual action	המריקים מעליהם הזהב the ones who empty golden oil from them	Zech 4:12

Table 2. Elements of the Ritual of Temple Consecration (Zech 4)

7.4.1.1 Ritual Place

The study of the elements of the ritual of consecration begins with a description of the space where this ritual takes place. It is precisely this ritual element that is described first in the vision report (Zech 4:2–3). As was explained in the section dealing with spatiality in Zech 1–6, the fifth vision report is described as being situated within the realm of heavenly space. That this is in view in Zech 4 is clear from the blending of tabernacle/temple and divine council imagery. The former is present in phrases such as "a lampstand full of gold and it had a bowl[121] on top of it" (מנורת זהב כלה וגלה על־

[121] *HALOT*, 192; *DCH* §7:131; BDB, 165.

ראשה)[122] and "two olive trees beside it" (ושנים זיתים עליה),[123] and the latter in the appropriation of the Polel participle of verb שוט in the description of action of roaming throughout the earth (משוטטים בכל־הארץ [Zech 4:10]) and in the reference to two sons of oil who are described as "standing before the Lord of the whole earth" (העמדים על־כל־הארץ אדון).[124] In sum, the space described in Zech 4 is, on the one hand, related to the tabernacle, and on the other hand, closely associated with the heavenly realm. The place that best fits this description is the heavenly sanctuary/temple, which is contrasted with its earthly counterpart in Zech 4:6b–10a.

7.4.1.2 Ritual Actors

The second fundamental element of ritual are the actors who in this case are just briefly mentioned at the end of Zech 4. The prophet first refers to two figures in his question, "What are these two branches of the olive trees that are in the hands of the two oil pressers—the ones who empty golden oil from them?" (מה־שתי שבלי הזיתים אשר ביד שני צנתרות הזהב המריקים מעליהם הזהב [Zech 4:12]).[125] It is important to note that in this verse, the participle המריקים has a definite article ("the ones who are emptying") and therefore, additionally describes the noun צנתרות ("oil pressers").[126] Furthermore, these two figures are also identified in Zech 4:14 as "two sons of unmanufactured oil" (שני בני־היצהר), which is in line with the previous description

[122] For the argument that the lampstand in Zech 4 alludes to the holy place, either in Solomon's temple, the earthly tabernacle, or the heavenly tabernacle, see Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 173. Cf. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 216–23; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 235–38; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 278.

[123] For the association of arboreal imagery with the temple/tabernacle, see Meyers, "Lampstand," 4:142 and Davidson, "Earth's First Sanctuary," 65–66.

[124] Tiemeyer, "A Busy Night," 200.

[125] For an explanation of the translation of שני צנתרות הזהב ("two oil pressers"), see Wolters, *Zechariah*, 143–47.

[126] Wolters, *Zechariah*, 147–49. Cf. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 311.

given in Zech 4:12.[127] Even though these two figures are usually identified as Joshua and Zerubbabel[128]—who evidently play a prominent role in Zech 3 and 4—Boda noticed that the characteristics with which the "two sons of unmanufactured oil" (שני בני־היצהר) are described in Zech 4 points to prophets—most likely Haggai and Zechariah.[129] There are several reasons for this approach towards the interpretation of these two figures: First, the phrase העמדים על ("standing before") is an allusion to earlier prophets who are often described within the context of a divine council scene (1 Kgs 22:19; Isa 6:2).[130] Second, these two figures are not described in Zech 4 as recipients of oil, but rather, as those who are producing oil from olive tree branches.[131] Third, the context within which these two figures are described is "the lampstand full of gold" (מנורת זהב כלה) and "two olive trees beside it" (ושנים זיתים עליה), with the former being the recipient of the oil.[132] This

[127] Even though the demonstrative pronoun can grammatically refer to two olive trees (v. 11), two branches of olive trees (v. 12), or two oil pressers that hold those branches in their hands (also v. 12), it is highly likely that it refers to two olive pressers. This is the most logical explanation, keeping in mind that it would be confusing if two olive pressers hold in their hands branches that are later identified as two sons of oil. For the ambiguity of the antecedent of the demonstrative pronoun אלה used in 4:13 and 14, see Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 312.

[128] See, for example, Mitchell et al., *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Jonah*, 165–66; Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, Sacharja 9–14, Maleachi*, 108; Mason, *Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi*, 48; Jeremias, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*, 183–84; Merrill, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 135; Smith, *Micah–Malachi*, 205–06; Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 119–24; Tollington, *Tradition and Innovation*, 176–78; Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 606–7; O'Brien, *Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 193; and Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 184.

See also Morgenstern ("A Chapter in the History of the High-Priesthood," 5) and Barker ("The Two Figures," 45–46) who identified the two sons of oil as priestly figures. Woude ("Zion as Primeval Stone") and Reventlow (*Die Propheten*, 59–60) also argued that these two figures are messianic in character and will arrive in the future. Quite differently, Tigchelaar (*Prophets of Old and the Day of the End*, 40–43) associated the two figures with agricultural fertility. For a survey of the different interpretations of this phrase from Zech 4:14, see Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 159–65 and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 314–15, footnote 129.

[129] Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones," 9–10; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 313–16.

[130] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 313–16.

[131] For this correct interpretation of the flow of oil, see Seybold, *Bilder zum Tempelbau*, 66–67; Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs*, 136–37; Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones," §3.3.1.1; Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 182–84; and Finitsis, *Visions and Eschatology*, 132–33.

[132] Tiemeyer (*Zechariah and His Visions*, 160) carefully noticed that a number of interpretations "remove the image of the sons of oil from the image of the lampstand." Even though I agree with this important assertion, I arrive at a different conclusion than Tiemeyer (*Zechariah and His Visions*, 160, 163–64) who, similar to Rose (*Zemah and Zerubbabel*, 202–6) argued that the two sons of oil represent heavenly beings that are members of the divine council.

last argument will be described in full in the section below dealing with ritual action. At this point, it can only be said that the two sons of oil (שני בני־היצהר) provide the lampstand with oil. It is important to say that in the earlier tradition, the only person who used oil to apply it to tabernacle furniture was not the high priest Aaron, but rather, the prophet Moses, who used the oil to anoint the furniture.[133]

7.4.1.3 Ritual Objects

The identification of the two figures that are mentioned at the end of Zech 4 is closely related to the ritual objects. The figures are described in the context of the vision of the lampstand and as those who are emptying oil from the produce found on the branches of the olive tree.[134] Thus, these two prophets, as has been argued in the analysis above, are inextricably connected with the ritual elements of the lampstand and the oil. While scholars interpret the meaning of lampstand in a variety of ways, among which the most prominent are that the lampstand represents the community[135] or Yahweh himself,[136] it is likely that the interpretation of the lampstand should somehow be related to the temple.[137] There are several reasons for this interpretation of the lampstand as symbolizing the temple: first, the lampstand was one of the key pieces of furniture in the tabernacle and the first temple and thus, naturally refers to the temple/tabernacle;[138] second, in Zech 4,

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[133] Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 315–16) stated that "the most common anointer of the main leadership figures in Israel is the prophet, with only two priests ever depicted in this role, and in one of these cases alongside a prophet."

[134] Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 160.

[135] Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 124; Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, Sacharja 9–14, Maleachi*, 106.

[136] Jeremias, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*, 181; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 234; Niehr, "Religio-Historical Aspects," 238. For a brief overview of the different interpretations, see Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 174–76 and Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 150–54.

[137] Niditch, *The Symbolic Vision*, 104; Rose, *Zemah and Zerubbabel*, 182; Cf. Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 173.

[138] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 173. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 278.

the lampstand appears between two olive trees, which also refer to the paradisaic space that is considered by some scholars as the first sanctuary;[139] and finally, the whole description of the lampstand and the two olive trees is given in the context of the description of the rebuilding of the temple on earth in Zech 4:6b–10a.[140]

The second ritual object described in Zech 4 is unmanufactured olive oil. The oil is alluded to in v. 3 where "two olive trees" (ושנים זיתים) are described for the first time and implicitly mentioned in v. 12 where two figures are identified as "olive pressers[141]" (צנתרות) and "the ones who are emptying oil" (המריקים). Finally, the oil is explicitly mentioned in v. 14 in the phrase בני־היצהר ("two sons of unmanufactured oil). It is important to say that all these references to oil in Zech 4 are situated in the context of the rebuilding of the temple (Zech 4:6b–10a), specifically, in connection with the lampstand (Zech 4:2, 11–12), as one of its key pieces of furniture.

The only place in the earlier literature where oil and the temple/tabernacle are mentioned together is in the consecration of the tabernacle, which is described in Lev 8, and it is in this context that the oil mentioned in Zech 4 should be understood.[142] Even though the exact term שמן ("olive oil") and not יצהר ("unmanufactured oil") is used in

[139] Davidson ("Earth's First Sanctuary," 70) asserted that the nature imagery found in the tabernacle as well as later in the temple of Solomon refers to the Eden paradise. He explained that the seven-branched lampstand reminded of almond tree with flowers (Exod 25:33–34; 37:19–20; 1 Kgs 7:49; 2 Chr 4:7), and the lily work, palm trees, and flowers found in the Solomon temple (1Kgs 6:29, 32, 35) all refer to the garden of Eden. See also, Meyers, "Lampstand," 4:142.

[140] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 175–76.

[141] For this translation, see, Wolters, "The Meaning of Ṣantĕrôt," 1–15 and Wolters, "Word Play in Zechariah," 228. Cf. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 311.

[142] Stead (*The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 174–75) focused on the imagery of olive trees—not the oil itself—and the lampstand and argued that there is only one allusion to these two, namely Exod 27:20 (cf. Lev 24:2). I place an emphasis on the oil as the product of the olive trees since the main function of the olive trees seems to be to provide the lampstand with the oil (Zech 4:11–12).

earlier Old Testament materials in the context of anointing (Lev 8:12),[143] it must be kept in mind that the holy anointing oil was made of different spices, and oil was only one component of it, although a major one. Further, Milgrom reminded that this "sacred oil was compounded only once and, having been lost or destroyed, it could not be reproduced (Exod 30:31–33).[144] Keeping in mind this sacred character of the anointing oil and the long list of ingredients that were used in the production of the sacred anointing oil, the importance of the term alluding to it must not be overstated.[145] That the allusion to anointing oil is in view here is further supported by the fact that the figures mentioned in Zech 4 are prophets, who in the Old Testament are described as performing the ritual of anointing.[146] Also, mentioning oil in connection with the lampstand, which is one of the major furniture pieces of the tabernacle, as well as the focus in Zech 4 on the rebuilding of the temple (Zech 4:6b–10a) strengthens this point further.[147] This examination of ritual objects leads us to the last ritual element described in Zech 4, namely the ritual action of emptying the oil.

7.4.1.4 Ritual Action

At the end of the fifth vision report the author describes the ritual action of the two sons of oil who hold the branches of the two olive trees and empty the unmanufactured golden

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[143] Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 313) correctly asserted that the term שמן ("olive oil") "is used for the anointing of official personnel, including kings (1 Sam 16:13; 1 Kgs 1:39) and priests (Lev 8:12; Exod 30:23–33), as well as sacred buildings, including the tabernacle (Lev 8:10)."

[144] Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 554.

[145] Similarly, no precise terms used in the context of the consecration of the high priest or the Day of Atonement are used in Zech 3, but regardless of that fact, a number of scholars agree that Zech 3 still alludes to these two rituals. The accent should not be placed so much on the vocabulary used, but rather, on the conceptual similarity.

[146] See above.

[147] For the argument that the oil is produced for the lampstand, see above. Seybold, *Bilder zum Tempelbau*, 66–67; Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs*, 136–37; Boda, "Oil, Crowns and Thrones," §3.3.1.1; Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 182–84; and Finitsis, *Visions and Eschatology*, 132–33.

olive oil from their produce. The most probable recipient of the oil that is emptied from the produce of the branches is the lampstand that is described as located in the middle of the two olive trees.[148] As was mentioned above, this ritual action of emptying the oil in connection with the lampstand is likely an allusion to the consecration of the tabernacle/temple, a complex of rituals in which the anointing of the lampstand played an important role (Exod 30:27). In this case, the lampstand is used *pars pro toto* and represents all of the tabernacle furniture. Even though this imagery also refers to the daily supply of the product that is needed for the operation of the temple, it is primarily this ritual of the consecration of the temple that is in view here. There are five arguments that support this interpretation of the ritual in Zech 4. First, the vision is given at the time of the building of the Second Temple and it is highly unlikely that Haggai and Zechariah would not mention such an important ritual as the temple consecration, even if it is only a foreshadowing.[149] Second, olive oil is clearly mentioned in relation to the temple furniture in the earlier Old Testament literature in the descriptions of the consecration of the tabernacle in Exod 30:22–32 and Lev 8. Third, the two figures are described, not as receiving the olive oil, but as emptying it, and thus refer to prophets who performed the ritual service of consecration.[150] Fourth, the imagery of the eyes of the Lord found in Zech 4:10 is also used in 1 Kgs 8 where it describes the consecration ritual of the first temple.[151] Finally, Zech 4 should be considered together with Zech 3, which describes the

[148] See footnote 122 immediately above.

[149] On the important role that the consecration of the temple plays in Zech 1–8, see Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, xliv–lxiii, especially xlvii. I see the importance of the rededication of the temple only from the perspective of something that will happen in the future.

[150] See above.

[151] Lux (*Prophetie und Zweiter Tempel*, 160–61) connected the motif of the eyes of Yahweh in Zech 4 with the dedication of the first temple described in 1 Kgs 8: "Der spätdeuteronomistische Abschnitt aus dem Tempelweihgebet Salomos teilt—wenn unsere Interpretation von Sach 4 als Himmelsvision zutrifft—mit dieser die Auffassung von der Präsenz JHWHs im Himmel und der besonderen Ausrichtung seiner Augen auf den Jerusalemer Tempel."

consecration of the high priest, a ritual that is closely associated with the ritual consecration of the tabernacle in Lev 8.[152]

In sum, the ritual described in Zech 4 conceptually alludes to the consecration of the tabernacle and Solomon's temple (Exod 28–29; Lev 8; 1 Kgs 8). As was the case with Zech 3, it is important to keep in the mind that Zech 4 does not describe the actual ritual of consecration of the temple performed on the ground. Rather, the consecration ritual from Zech 4 is envisioned and refers to the future when the ritual will be performed with the purpose of reinstating the ritual activities at the second temple. The question of the efficacy of this ritual will be examined in detail in the section below.

7.4.2 Ritual Efficacy

Examination of the ritual elements described in Zech 4 is inextricably connected with the efficacy of this ritual. Before this study moves to the examination of the efficacy of this ritual, two general statements about this ritual should be made. First, it should be kept in mind that as that was the case with the ritual of the consecration of Joshua, this ritual also falls under the category of envisioned rituals. Rites performed in this ritual are not happening on the ground, but rather, are seen by Zechariah in the vision world, and they are described as taking place within the spiritual realm of the divine council scene. Second, it has been already mentioned in the section dealing with ritual action that the major purpose of this ritual is to effect the consecration of the second temple which would further enable ritual services to be performed in it. It will be shown in the analysis below that the consecration of the temple was not related only to God's ideological space,

[152] See also, Gosse (The Administration of the Postexilic Sanctuary, 185–89) who argued that Zech 6:9–11a, 14 delineates the continuation between the first and second temple. See also, Milgrom (*Leviticus 1–16*, 554) who correctly recognized that "the high priest was anointed in conjunction with the cult objects (Exod 40:9–15), and the latter practice is found in the oldest portions of the Bible (anointment of pillars, Gen 28:18; 31:13; 35:14)."

but also to the people's and nature's ideological space. Efficacy of this ritual as it relates to God's, the people's, and nature's ideological space is presented below.

7.4.2.1 The Consecration of the Temple and God's Ideological Space

The ritual of the consecration of the temple is naturally related to God's space. Keeping in mind the description of the temple site in Hag 2:10–14 as impure, allusions to the ritual of consecration of Joshua in Zech 3 and the ritual of consecration of the temple in Zech 4 have the purpose of portraying the production of ideological space by reversing the previous state of impurity to an ideal state of purity and holiness.[153] The elevation of the status of the temple by its consecration will make it a place where ritual service can be performed in a proper way.

The connection between the ritual of the consecration of the temple and the production of God's ideological space is natural since the ritual is primarily intended to deal with space. Hence, it is no surprise that there are a number of references to God's space in Zech 4. On the one hand, God's heavenly space is described at the beginning of the vision by the delineation of "a lampstand full of gold" with "a bowl on top of it" (על־ראשה מנורת זהב כלה וגלה) and "the two olive trees beside it" (ושנים זיתים עליה).[154] On the other hand, God's earthly space is clearly mentioned in Zech 4:6b–10a, the section dealing with the rebuilding of the foundation of Jerusalem's temple.[155] The

[153] For the connection between Zech 3 and Hag 2:10–14, see Tiemeyer ("The Guilty Priesthood," 1) who asserted that "inspired by the statement in Hag 2:14 where all the Judahites, including the priesthood and their sacrifices are declared impure, I suggest that Zech 3 is an attempt to rectify that very situation." My independent examination of the concept of purity/impurity in Haggai–Malachi corpus confirms Tiemeyer's findings. However, I argue that the connection is much broader and is concerned not only with the priesthood, but also with the space: these two go together and cannot be separated, the impurity of the high priest which will prevent him from being faithful in his priestly duties (Zech 3:6–7) will inevitably lead to the impurity of the temple. I also argue that this connection between Hag 2:10–14 and Zech 3 extends beyond Zech 3 and also includes Zech 4, as will be explained below. Thus, this rectification of the situation described in Haggai, which Tiemeyer talked about, is done not only in Zech 3, but also in Zech 4 and is concerned not only with the ideological state of the priesthood, but also with the ideological state of space.

[154] See my analysis above.

[155] Boda, "From Dystopia to Myopia," 235–37; Boda, "Legitimizing the Temple," 308–9.

ritual of consecration, which is described at the end of the chapter in Zech 4:11–14, produces God's space by elevating its state from common to holy and by making it suitable for service.[156]

That production of God's ideological space is in view in Zech 4 is evident not only from the references to God's space in chapter 4. As has been explained above, the ritual consecrating the high priest and the temple described in Zech 3–4 are purposefully situated within the center of Zechariah's night vision reports with the purpose of being seen as a key factor in the production of God's space described in the previous night vision reports.[157] It has already been explained above that along with the consecration of the high priest, the ritual of the consecration of the temple is understood in the earlier literature of the Old Testament as the ritual prerequisite for Yahweh's movement into his earthly dwelling place. This is especially evident in the passages that prescribe and describe the consecration rituals (Exod 28, 39–40; Lev 8; 1 Kgs 8) where their ultimate result is portrayed as the divine revelation in his tabernacle/temple (Lev 9:23–24; Num 7:89; 1 Kgs 9:2–3).[158] A similar portrayal is seen in Zech 1–6 where Yahweh's migration to his temple (Zech 1:16, Zech 2:14[10], 17[13]) and his continued presence in it (Zech 2:9[5], 14[10], 15[11]) is first described in the first three vision reports and then, the ritual means by which this can be accomplished is given in Zech 3–4. Thus, the previous descriptions of God's ideological space found in other vision reports are possible only by performing these rituals described in Zech 3 and 4.

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[156] One of the key texts in regard to the concept of purity in the Old Testament is found in Lev 10:10–11 (cf. Lev 11:47; 20:25; Ezek 22:26; 44:23) where Aaron and the priests are commanded "to distinguish between the sacred/holy (קדשׁ) and the common (חל), and between the impure (טמא) and the pure (טהור)" (Lev 10:10, personal translation). This unique command of Yahweh, found in Lev 10:10–11, is the starting point for the investigation of the concept of purity for many scholars. Ibn Ezra, for example, argued that this clause is an introduction into the whole of Lev 11–15. For others, see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 615–17; Wenham, "Purity," 2:379; Boda, *A Severe Mercy*, 51; and Bibb, *Ritual Words*, 151.

[157] For the central position of Zech 3–4 and its significance for the interpretation of the other vision reports, see Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, liii–lviii, especially liv–lvi; O'Kennedy, "Zechariah 3–4"; and Floyd, "Cosmos and History," 127–29.

[158] Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 499.

Furthermore, the consecration of the temple in Zech 4 is also described in the context of the correlation between God's heavenly and earthly space as was the case in Zech 3.[159] In a similar way, Zech 4 emphasizes the connection between the heavenly and earthly realms, but this time in relation to the ritual of the consecration of the temple. While the heavenly divine space is alluded to by mentioning "a lampstand full of gold" (מנורת זהב כלה) and "the two olive trees beside it" (ושנים זיתים עליה), the earthly divine space is clearly referred to in the phrase "the foundations of this home" (יסדו הבית הזה). Regardless of the nature of the passage in Zech 4:6b–10a—which has been heavily debated in the history of interpretation of the book of Zechariah[160]—it must not be overlooked that the description of God's heavenly space is juxtaposed with the description of God's earthly home. The reference to "Yahweh's eyes which are roaming throughout the whole earth" (עיני יהוה המה משוטטים בכל־הארץ) makes the connection between these two realms explicit since Yahweh is described as present in heaven in Zech 4:14 and as looking down at his temple. This imagery is also used in 1 Kgs 8, which describes the consecration of the first temple. In the same way as in Zech 3, the ritual consecration of the temple in Zech 4 enables a connection between the heavenly and earthly realms, thus producing God's ideological space.

[159] See my examination of Zech 3:6–7 above.

[160] Stead ("Vision and Oracle in Zechariah 1–6," 8–12) gave a brief overview of the two major approaches that distinguish the "original" from the "additional" oracles in Zech 1–6, a discussion that is closely related to the examination of the passage found in Zech 4:6b–10a. According to the first approach, the visions and oracles are analyzed in the context of their historical background, and the oracles that are not in line with the historical reconstruction are then identified as additions. For example, see Redditt ("Zerubbabel, Joshua," 249–59) who argued that Zech 4:6b–10a is added to the original version of Zech 1–6. The second approach, makes a distinction between the embedded (original) and separate oracles. Clark ("Vision and Oracle") for instance, posited that Zech 4:6b–10a is not connected with the fifth vision report and should be treated as a separate unit. Stead, on the other hand, argued for reading Zech 4 as one unit and provided five reasons for this approach: (1) the presumably original transition from Zech 4:6a to Zech 4:10b is not as smooth as it seems; (2) Zech 4:6b–10a does not have an introductory formula; (3) this section provides the interpretation of Zech 4:2–5; (4) the section provides a promise of future blessings, the element that is present in all other vision reports; and (5) Zech 4:6b–10a cannot be situated anywhere else.

In sum, the ritual of the consecration of the temple is described in Zech 4 as producing God's ideological space in two ways. First, this ritual is necessary since it enables God's migration from his heavenly space to his earthly temple as well as his dwelling in the latter. Second, by situating the ritual of consecration within the description of the relationship between heavenly and earthly space, the author emphasizes the importance of this ritual in establishing the connection between these two realms. This relationship between the heavenly and earthly realms is evident in the structure of this chapter as well as in the employment of the imagery of Yahweh's eyes.

7.4.2.2 The Consecration of the Temple and the People's Space

Besides God's ideological space, the ritual of the consecration of the temple also produces the people's ideological space. This is especially evident from the relationship that exists between the fifth vision report (Zech 4) on the one hand, and the sixth, seventh, and eighth vision reports (Zech 5:1—6:8) on the other. The last three vision reports are mutually connected to each other by the motif of יצא ("going out"), which occurs throughout these three reports (Zech 5:3, 4, 5 [2x], 6, 9; 6:5, 6 [3x], 7, 8).[161] This motif not only creates a link between the last three reports, but also connects these three reports (Zech 5:1—6:10) with the fifth vison report (Zech 4), since "going out" should be understood as going out from the heavenly temple described in Zech 4.[162] The current

[161] This literal connection between Zech 4 and Zech 5 is well recognized among scholars. See for example, Floyd ("The Evil in the Ephah," 51–54) who argued that the vision of the *epha* (Zech 5:5–11) plays a critical role in the second episode of the night visons (Zech 4:1—6:15). He argued that this vison is in the very center of this second part of Zechariah's night vision reports and outlined three main points of connection between Zech 5:5–11 and the two preceding pericopes (Zech 4:1–14 and 5:1–4): (1) the cultic symbol (the lampstand in the fifth vision report and a female figure in the sixth report), (2) the cultic container (the golden containers of the olive oil in the fifth vision report and agricultural container in the sixth report), and (3) attending figures.

[162] Similarly, a number of scholars have recognized that the verb יצא ("to go out") used in Zech 5:3, 4, 5 [2x], 6, 9; 6:5, 6 [3x], 7, 8 quite likely refers to the movement out of the temple that is previously described in Zech 4, emphasizing, in that way, the cause-effect relationship between Zech 4 and 5, even though they do not use that term; see Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 619; Stead, *The Intertextuality of*

study suggests that the relationship between the fifth vison report and the last three vision reports should be described as a cause-and-effect relationship: the description of the cleansing of people's space in Zech 5 and the reordering of the socio-political situation in Zech 6 is caused by the actions that begin in the heavenly temple right after its consecration has been completed.[163]

The first two vision reports that describe the motif of going out from the temple are described in Zech 5 and they are focused on the issue of cleansing. It should not be taken as coincidence that the description of purification in Zech 5 follows the ritual consecration of the temple in Zech 4. Only when the temple is consecrated and the ritual service reestablished is the cleansing of both God's and the peoples's space possible. As was the case in the earlier literature describing the tabernacle, the consecration of the second temple will enable ritual services, which, among other things, also have the purpose of cleansing impurity and maintaining the state of purity in the land. This cleansing of the people's space is described in the sixth and seventh vision reports in Zech 5. Although this chapter is traditionally understood as being composed of two distinct vision reports—the flying scroll (Zech 5:1–4) and the woman in the basket (Zech 5:5–11)—recent scholarship on Zechariah emphasizes its unity.[164] Besides the motif of

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Zechariah 1–8, 188–89; Nogalski, *Micah-Malachi*, 870; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 337. Contra Schnocks ("An Ephah," 253) who argued that the term יצא is used for appearance. Cf. Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 206–7. This symbolic use of the term to describe appearance is highly unlikely in Zechariah when one keeps in mind how important the motif of movement is in this book, especially in Zech 1–6. See above my analysis of this key issue in Zech 1–6 in section 6.3.1.6.

[163] I am thankful to Mark J. Boda who carefully noticed and suggested to me that the first two of three "going outs" could be understood as rituals. The curse language found in Zech 5 has strong intertextual links with swearing rituals mentioned in the Pentateuch, and the removal of a cult object from the land and its reinstatement is inevitably ritualistic. Although I take these two actions described in Zech 5 to be ritualistic in nature, they will be mentioned in this study just as a result of the ritual of the consecration of the high priest and the temple, and their study on their own goes beyond the scope of the present work.

[164] There are three reasons mentioned by Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 320–21) that support the connectedness between these two reports: (1) a slightly different introduction formula in Zech 5:5; (2) all

going out that connects these two vision reports, another common theme found in vision reports 6 and 7 is the cleansing of impurity that is alluded to by mentioning the curse (Zech 5:3) and wickedness (Zech 5:8).[165]

In the sixth vison report, the people's space is explicitly mentioned in v. 3, where the phrase "over the face of whole land" (על־פני כל־הארץ) is used, as well as in v. 4, where the word "house" (בית) occurs three times. As has already been mentioned above, this spatial imagery is used primarily to portray the people's ideological space. After a typical introductory formula, observation report, and expanded description (Zech 5:1–2), the vision report turns to interpretation of the scene (Zech 5:3–4). The flying scroll previously described in vv. 1–2 is identified in v. 3 as a curse that is going out.[166] The term אלה is used in two different contexts in the OT.[167] First, it occurs in the context of the covenant between the two parties (Deut 29:19) where אלה refers to the "curses of the covenant" and second, it appears in passages where an oath is taken (for instance, Num 5:11–32) and where the word points to "curses for false oaths of acquittal."[168]

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three items mentioned in the reports—namely, the scroll, the ephah and the woman—are depicted as going out; and (3) both vision reports mentioned a house and focus on the theme of judgment and different dimensions of the legal system. See, further, Rudman, "Zechariah 5," 195.

It must be mentioned that the sixth vison report is also related to the second (Zech 2) and the fourth (Zech 3) vision reports, Beuken, *Haggai–Sacharja 1–8*, 252–55; Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 80, 85; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 288–90; 311–12; Merrill, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 153; and Boda, *Haggai, Zechariah*, 304. For a brief overview of relationship between the sixth and other vison reports, see Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 204–5 and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 322.

[165] Tollington, *Tradition and Innovation*, 102. See also Boda (*Haggai, Zechariah*, 290) who recognized the importance of purity-related imagery that has been used in both of these vision reports. For the connection between the sixth and the seventh vison reports based on the theme of social justice which occurs in both vision reports, see Körting, "Sach 5:5–11," 477–84 and Hallaschka, *Haggai und Sacharja 1–8*, 242–50. Cf. Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 181–82.

[166] See, further, Boda (*Haggai, Zechariah*, 333–34) who explained the close relationship between oath and curse in the context of their usage in Zech 5.

[167] For a broader study on the function of curse in Zech 5 in the context of ancient Near East, Levantine, and biblical traditions, see Cranz, "Magic and Maledictions," 404–17.

[168] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 193–94. Stead claimed that Deut 29:19 underlies Zech 5:3 in contrast to Rudman ("Zechariah 5," 198) who was in favor of Num 5:11–32. Cf. Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 335 n. 49) who argued that the juxtaposition between these two types of curses is

In the context of Zech 5:1–4, the curse is mentioned in relation to stealing (v. 3) and swearing falsely (vv. 3–4). Stead found six other passages where words for stealing and swearing or their synonyms occur together: Jer 7:9; Lev 19:11–12; Exod 20:15–16; Deut 5:18–19; Hos 4:2; and 7:1.[169] Although the many parallels that exist between Zech 5:3 and other OT texts can lead to confusion in interpretation, the fact that the dimensions of the scroll fit those of the temple (1 Kgs 6:3)[170] and that one of the major themes in Zech 5 is cleansing, the primary allusion in the sixth vison report is likely to be Lev 19:11–12, the only passage that, in addition to stealing and swearing falsely, mentions the phrase בשמי ("in my name").[171] It is by this allusion to Lev 19 that the important theme of holiness and purity is brought into play in Zech 5: the breaking of covenantal rules will lead to a state of moral impurity that has to be cleansed.

The curse is further delineated as going out, and v. 4 reveals that the final destination of the curse is the house (בית) of the one who was stealing and swearing falsely by Yahweh's name. The ultimate result is that the house is completely destroyed. Even though the term בית is regularly used throughout the vision reports to refer to the temple in Jerusalem (Zech 1:16; 3:7; 4:9), this is likely not the case in this verse,[172] where

"probably not legitimate." On the other hand, Tiemeyer (*Zechariah and His Visions*, 194) who followed Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 247–48), claimed that the curse has three and not two basic meanings.

[169] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 189.

[170] Mason, *Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi*, 57.

[171] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 250; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 336. Interestingly, Stead (*The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 189–90) also noticed this link between Zech 5 and Lev 19, but still opted for Jer 7 as the key intertextual link. Similarly, Delkurt ("Eine Zusammenfassung des Dekalogs,"200–203) saw connections between Zech 5 and both Jer 7 and Lev 19, but opted for the former based on his dating of Lev 19 after Zech 5.

For the link between this passage in Zech 5 and the decalogue, see Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 127; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 252; Smith, *Micah–Malachi*, 208; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 284; Floyd, "The Evil in the Ephah," 57; and Conrad, *Zechariah*, 114. Cf. Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 189–93. Contra Delkurt, "Eine Zusammenfassung Des Dekalogs," 198. In my view, the link with the decalogue is present, but the primary allusion is to Lev 19.

[172] For the possibility that something more than a domestic house is in view here, see Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 287 and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 340. Even though I agree that

the term is simply used to refer to a domestic house, as is the case in Zech 6.[173] The description, "its timbers and its stones" (ואת־עציו ואת־אבניו), is likely an allusion to Lev 14:45, a passage that delineates procedures in the case of a leprous house.[174] Thus, while the land is described as defiled by stealing and swearing, it will be cleansed as was the case in Lev 14. This motif of cleansing is also emphasized by use of the verb נקה ("to be declared innocent") in Zech 5:3, a term that almost always carries a positive sense in the Old Testament.[175]

As was the case with the sixth vision report, the seventh is also introduced by the action of going out (presumably from the heavenly temple), but this time, it was *an ephah* and not a scroll which goes out. The vision also focuses on impurity, described in Zech 5:8 with the term רשעה ("wickedness"). After a somewhat different introductory formula (Zech 5:5), and a question asked by the prophet (Zech 5:6), further description and interpretation of the vision is given by the messenger interpreter (Zech 5:7). It is most likely the messenger who lifts the cover of the ephah allowing the prophet to see the

using the term בית in Zech 5:5 has the purpose of alluding to the temple, the term itself is likely used as a metaphor for peoples's lives. That this is in view here is especially clear from the fact that the house is described as being destroyed. Keeping in mind the overall message of Zech 1–6 and its focus on the reconstruction of the city of Jerusalem and its temple, it is hard to imagine that this vision report would refer to the destruction of the temple. Rather, it is because of the construction of the temple and its consecration that the impurity of the land (symbolized by the term house) will be cleansed. Thus, while the term "house" should not be interpreted as meaning the temple here, it refers to it in order to underline the idea that the destruction of house—i.e., the cleansing of the land—is closely associated with Yahweh's house and will be possible only after its construction.

[173] Merrill, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 151; Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 200.

[174] Rudman, "Zechariah 5," 199. Contra Stead (*The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 195) who claimed that this verse alludes to the Passover event and not to the temple in Jerusalem.

[175] Tiemeyer (*Zechariah and His Visions*, 197–98) emphasized the positive sense of this word by saying that this verb is used in contexts where a particular person is declared innocent/being freed from guilt, being exempted from punishment, or being freed from obligation. Wolters, *Zechariah*, 158–60. Contra those who see this term as carrying a negative sense: Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 127 and Merrill, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 148–50.

woman sitting in its midst.[176] In this context—especially in the light of future placing of this woman on the base in the house in Babylon (Zech 5:11)—the woman should be understood as a goddess probably represented by a figurine.[177] This interpretation is also confirmed by the fact that a real woman would not be able to fit in an ephah.[178] This is in line with the interpretation given by the messenger who identifies her with wickedness (Zech 5:8). The wickedness (רשעה) could refer to the evil or guilt of the condemned person (Deut 25:1–2) as well as to social injustice (Ezek 18:16–17) and idolatry (Ezek 18:15).[179] Keeping in mind the arguments just mentioned for the identification of the woman with a goddess, it is likely that the latter is in view in Zech 5.[180]

It is clear, however, from the text in Zech 5 that the goddess that represents wickedness is forced to leave the land.[181] The wickedness associated with this woman is the reason that two winged women, who are contrasted with the one woman in the ephah, appear to carry the ephah from Yehud to Babylon (Zech 5:9) in the next sequence of this vision report. It is important to notice that the wings of the women were described as the wings of a stork, an unclean animal listed in Lev 11:13–19 and Deut 14:18. This is appropriate since only what is unclean may be in touch with the unclean.[182] The woman that has been identified with wickedness is transferred into the house in Babylon. In this

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[176] For the survey of a different interpretations of the woman found in the ephah with bibliography, see, Edelman, "Proving Yahweh Killed His Wife," 336–37. See, also, Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 221–26.

[177] Jeremias, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*, 196–97; Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End*, 61; Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 620; Edelman, "Proving Yahweh Killed His Wife," 336–37; Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 202–3; Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 225–26; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 349.

[178] Uehlinger, "Die Frau Im Efa," 102. Cf. Tiemeyer, *Zechariah and His Visions*, 225.

[179] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 349.

[180] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 349. For more arguments in favor of this view, see Schnocks, "An Ephah," 263–64.

[181] Floyd ("The Evil in the Ephah," 66) claimed that this departure was a parody of Yahweh's earlier departure described in Ezek 1–11.

[182] For more details, see Rudman, "Zechariah 5," 204–5.

way, the main theme of Zech 5 is emphasized one more time: the land of Yehud must be cleansed and this is why wickedness, regardless of its nature, must be transferred into another house that will later be destroyed (Zech 6:8).[183]

Finally, the third action of going out is described in the eighth vision report, which is connected to the sixth and the seventh reports since it also deals with a description of the people's ideological space. This time, the main concern is not establishing a state of purity, but with reordering the socio-political situation. While Judah was clearly in an inferior position after the fall of Jerusalem in 587/6 BCE, the eighth vision report describes the reordering of that situation and portrays a new world order in which Yehud will not play a subordinate role anymore. This reversal of the current state of affairs is again caused by the going out from the heavenly temple described in Zech 4.

The interrelationship between the consecration of the temple (Zech 4) on the one hand and the ideological description of the cleansing of Yehud in Zech 5 and the socio-political reordering in Zech 6:1–10 on the other is established in the biblical text in two ways. First, a clear link is established by using the term בית ("house"), which refers to Yahweh's house in Zech 4 and an individual's house and a pagan sanctuary in Zech 5. That the actions in Zech 5:1–4 are linked to the temple is also clear from the dimensions of the scroll, which are the same as those of the temple. Second, a connection is established by the motif of going out, which emphasizes that the actions in the last three vision reports originate in the temple. In this way, the action of cleansing described in the

[183] This is contra Körting ("Sach 5:5–11," 491–92) who argued that this process of purification was unique "and found nowhere else in the Old Testament" (translation mine). Stead interestingly said that this vision report describes an "anti-ark" borne by "anti-cherubs," to be put in an "anti-temple" in an "anti-Jerusalem," Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 197–202.

sixth and seventh vision reports in Zech 5:1–4, 5–11 and the action of socio-political reordering is connected with the ritual consecration of the temple described in Zech 4. It is the ritual of the consecration of the temple that enables the ideological portrayal of the people's spaces in these three visons.

7.4.2.3 The Consecration of the Temple and Nature's Ideological Space

Finally, in this last section dealing with ritual efficacy, the focus moves to the investigation of the interrelationship between the ritual of the consecration of the temple and the production of nature's ideological space. That a connection between this ritual and nature's space exists is evident from the abundant use of arboreal imagery in the fifth vision report. The description of "two olive trees … one on the right of the bowl and one on its left" (ושנים זיתים עליה אחד מימין הגלה ואחד על־שמאלה) in Zech 4:3 and their relationship to the "golden lampstand" (מנורת זהב), which is most evident in Zech 4:12, makes a clear link between this ritual and nature.[184]

It must be said, however, that this relationship between ritual and the nature imagery is circular, as was the case in Zech 3. On the one hand, it is unmanufactured olive oil squeezed from the produce of olive trees that provides the material that plays an essential role in the ritual of consecration and supply for the lampstands. Namely, it is by using this oil that the ritual of consecration is accomplished. On the other hand, one must not overlook the heavenly setting of this ritual and the description of Yahweh's ideological space using nature imagery. As has been shown above, the ritual consecrating the temple is closely related to the production of God's ideological space, and that space is described by using imagery from nature, more specifically in Zech 4 with the olive

[184] For the connection between the number three and the lampstand in the Old Testament, see Meyers, *The Tabernacle Menorah*, 169–72. Cf. Davidson, "Earth's First Sanctuary," 70.

trees. This phenomenon is not exclusively reserved to Zech 4 and appears elsewhere in Zech 1–6 where nature's imagery is used to describe God's ideological space: myrtle trees (Zech 1:8, 10, 11), the deep (1:8) horses (Zech 1:8; 6:2–3); and the mountains of bronze (Zech 6:1). Thus, by creating God's ideological space, which is described by using nature imagery, Zech 4 connects the ritual and the production of nature's ideological space.

In sum, the nature imagery in Zech 1–6 is used most extensively in Zech 3–4, chapters that deal closely with the ritual world. In this way the connection between ritual and nature is clearly established. This connection in Zech 4 is evident from associating the imagery of the two olive trees with the golden lampstand.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has primarily been concerned with an investigation of the two rituals described in the fourth and the fifth vision reports in Zech 3–4. The chapter demonstrates that the rituals described in these two central vision reports play a major role in the production of God's, the people's, and nature's ideological space in Zech 1–6. A few words of summary about this production of ideological space are in order here.

The investigation of the ritual described in Zech 3 shows that this ritual is situated within the heavenly realm. Even though it is the messenger of the Lord who seems to officiate over the ritual, and other heavenly beings who perform the different rites, it is Joshua the high priest who is described as the major figure in this ritual. The appearance of Joshua is, however, unusual, since he is depicted as ritually and morally impure, a very serious matter at that time. The three rites performed by the heavenly beings—the removal of Joshua's soiled garments, the replacement of them with festal ones, and putting a clean turban on Joshua's head—refer to the high priestly dressing rituals

previously prescribed in Exod 28; 39; Lev 8; and 16. More specifically, these rites allude to the ritual consecrating the high priest (cf. Exod 28–29 and Lev 8), which has the purpose of enabling the high priest to perform ritual services in the tabernacle and in Solomon's temple. Secondarily, the ritual refers to the complex of rituals performed on the Day of Atonement festival (cf. Lev 16), and thus to the cleansing of the land.

It has been shown that the purpose of this ritual is not only to elevate Joshua legally to the status of high priest so he can officiate over rituals in the second temple, but also to produce God's, the people's, and nature's ideological space. First, the ritual is associated with the production of God's ideological space since it enables Yahweh's return migration and his habitation in the second temple. One of the main characteristics of that space is the connection between the heavenly and earthly realms. Second, the ritual of the consecration of Joshua produces the people's ideological space in which Yahweh's sovereignty plays an important role. That space is characterized by the people's return migration and a reordering of the socio-political state of affairs, which includes the restoration and prosperity of Jerusalem and the surrounding cities. Finally, the ritual described in Zech 3 is connected with the construction of nature's ideological space. This is evident from the imagery of the restoration of nature such as snatching a smoldering log, the coming sprout, and the portrayal of the vine and fig trees.

The second ritual that has been examined in this chapter is the ritual described in Zech 4. Similar to the ritual descried in Zech 3, this ritual is also portrayed as taking place within the heavenly realm. The two major actors actively participating in this ritual are described as the two sons of unmanufactured oil. It has been argued in the current chapter that these two figures should be identified as prophets, most likely Haggai and Zechariah, who played an important role in the early post-exilic period. It has also been

reasoned that their ritual action of emptying the unmanufactured olive oil into the lampstand is likely an allusion to the consecration of the tabernacle and Solomon's temple (Exod 28–29; Lev 8; 1 Kgs 8).

In the same way as the ritual of consecration Joshua did, the ritual of consecrating the temple is described as producing God's, the people's, and nature's ideological space. First, this ritual naturally produces God's ideological space. That has been accomplished by enabling Yahweh to move from his heavenly space to his earthly temple and to dwell in it as well as by establishing a connection between God's heavenly and earthly space. Second, the ritual of the consecration of the temple affects the creation of the people's ideological space. By the repetition of the term "house" and the prominent motif of "going out," a connection is established between the ritual of consecrating the temple in Zech 4 on the one hand and the cleansing of the people's space in Zech 5 and the reordering of socio-political situation in Zech 6 on the other. Finally, a relationship between this ritual and the production of nature's ideological space is established by the appropriation of the nature imagery of the two olive trees, which are associated with the golden lampstand.

Most important, it has been suggested that these two rituals described in Zech 3–4 are not alluding to actual rituals performed "on the ground." Rather, the rituals consecrating Joshua and the temple are envisioned in the imaginative, visionary world and they have the purpose of encouraging the people to perform them in the near future when the temple is finished in order to reinstitute ritual activities at the second temple. As in the case of the tabernacle and Solomon's temple, these two rituals are described as necessary for the reinstitution of the cultic system, but their function goes beyond that: by envisioning the reestablishment of the cultic system, they shape future rituals by

portraying a necessary context in which the transition from infelicitous ritual practices to felicitous ones is possible. Only when people finish the temple and reinstate the ritual system by the consecration of Joshua and the temple will they be able to leave infelicitous ritual practices and begin to practice felicitous rituals. This will then ultimately lead to the production of God's, the people's, and nature's ideological space. In this way, the infelicitous rituals described in Hag 1–2 and Zech 7–8 that were practiced by Yehudites at the end of sixth century are reimagined in the visual world of Zechariah.

CHAPTER 8: IDEOLOGICAL AND LIVED SPATIALITY IN ZECHARIAH 7–8

8.1 Introduction

The previous four chapters have dealt with critical spatiality and ritual production of ideological and lived space in Haggai and Zech 1–6. Those chapters have demonstrated that the rituals described in Haggai and Zech 1–6 have the function of producing ideological and lived space. In the next two chapters, the study moves to an examination of this same subject matter in Zech 7–8. As was the case in chapters 4–7, the investigation in the next two chapters uses the theoretical framework based in critical spatiality and ritual studies and is not intended to be an exhaustive exegesis of Zech 7–8. In order to accomplish this task, the current chapter focuses on investigating the description of ideological and lived space in Zech 7–8 and lays the foundation for an examination of the ritual production of these two aspects of space in the next chapter. The chapter begins with a general overview of the literary structure of Zech 7–8 and then moves on to the investigation of spatiality as described in this section of Zechariah's book.

8.2 References to Space and the Structure of Zechariah 7–8

The investigation of the ideological and lived space in Zech 7–8 commences with a brief preview of the literary structure of this section of the book of Zechariah. As was the case in the chapters dealing with Haggai and Zech 1–6, the main purpose of this section is to determine how passages describing ideological and lived space relate to the literary

structure of the larger section of Zech 7–8 and to see if there is any pattern in how these passages are distributed within this unit. As has been the case with Haggai and Zech 1–6, the distribution of passages describing ideological and lived space does not exclusively correspond to the structure of this unit. However, it can be noticed that the first unit comprised of Zech 7 primarily deals with lived space, while Zech 8 is more focused on the future and a description of the ideological aspect of space.

Chapters 7–8 of the book of Zechariah form a central unit within this book.[1] The unit begins in Zech 7:1 with a dating formula very similar to those found earlier in the book (Zech 1:1, 7) and ends with Zech 8:18–23, a passage preceding a prophetic formula that begins a new major discourse in Zech 9:1.[2] Chapters 7–8 are additionally distinguished from the rest of the book by an inclusio in Zech 7:1–3 and Zech 8:18–23.[3] Both of these passages deal with the question of fasting and the theme of foreigners.[4] Without addressing the complex questions related to redaction criticism and the integrity of these two chapters,[5] which are not relevant for answering the main question of the

[1] Boda ("From Fasts to Feasts") showed that the unit comprised of chapters 7–8 marks the rhetorical transition from the first part of the book (Zech 1–6) to its second part (Zech 9–14). Contra Assis ("Zechariah 8 as Revision and Digest of Zechariah 1–7," 1–26) who argued that Zech 1–7 forms the unit without the eighth chapter. My investigation of the relationship between the theme of fasting and the references to spatiality in Zech 7–8 shows that these two chapters should be considered as one unit. For other scholars who recognize Zech 7–8 as an important unit within the book of Zechariah, see Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, lx; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 122; and Floyd, *Minor Prophets 2*, 412.

[2] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 414. For the importance of the usage of different formulas for the creation of the rhetorical unity of Zech 7–8, see Clark, "Discourse Structure," 328–35. See also Boda's critique of Clark's interpretation of the usage of prophetic formulas in this section in Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 415–17. However, regardless of his critique of Clark's study, Boda does not neglect the unity of Zech 7–8.

[3] Among the first scholars to argue for the unity of these two chapters based on its chiastic structure are Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 85 and Butterworth, *Structure and the Book of Zechariah*, 163. For a list of scholars who consider the Zech 7:1–3 and 8:18–23 inclusio to demarcate Zech 7–8 as one unit, see Assis, "Zechariah 8 as Revision and Digest of Zechariah 1–7," 3, footnote 7.

[4] Boda, "From Fasts to Feasts," 394.

[5] For three major approaches to the question of composition of Zech 7–8, see Assis, "Zechariah 8 as Revision and Digest of Zechariah 1–7," 3–5.

present work, and looking strictly from the perspective of the final form of the text, one can discern a chiastic structure in Zech 7–8.[6] This chiastic structure features parallel elements at its top and bottom that are found in Zech 7:2 and 8:20–23 (seeking the favor of Yahweh); Zech 7:3 and 8:19 (fasting); Zech 7:5–10 and 8:16–17 (prophetic dispute); and Zech 7:11–14 and 8:14–15 (divine discipline and promise), which leaves Zech 8:2–13 in the very center of this unit.[7] Besides this chiastic arrangement of Zech 7–8, Boda also noted the shift that happens in chapter 8, moving from a description of the present and the past to a description of future hope, especially in Zech 8:1–13.[8] The importance of this shift from present and past in chapter 7 to the future in chapter 8 for the present investigation of critical spatiality will be explained in more detail below.

What is most important for the current section of the present study is the issue of how the passages in which ideological and lived space are described correspond to the above-mentioned literary structure of Zech 7–8. In order to answer this question, the references to critical spatiality found in Zech 7–8 are first presented in the table below.

Zechariah	**Ideological Space**			**Lived Space**		
	God	People	Nature	God	People	Nature
7:1					**X**	
7:2				**X**	**X**	
7:3						
7:4						
7:5					**X**	
7:6						
7:7		**X**				
7:8						
7:9		**X**				
7:10		**X**				

[6] See Butterworth, *Structure and the Book of Zechariah*, 163; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 418–19.

[7] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 418–19.

[8] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 415.

7:11						
7:12						**X**
7:13						
7:14		**X**	**X**		**X**	**X**
8:1						
8:2		**X**				
8:3	x	**X**	**X**			
8:4		**X**				
8:5		**X**				
8:6						
8:7		**X**				
8:8		**X**				
8:9	**x**			**X**		
8:10					**X**	**X**
8:11						
8:12		**X**	**X**			**X**
8:13						
8:14						
8:15		**X**				
8:16		**X**				
8:17						
8:18						
8:19						
8:20		**X**				
8:21	**X**					
8:22	X	**X**				
8:23		**X**				

Table 1. Distribution of Spatial References in Zechariah 7–8

The distribution of the passages that describe ideological and lived space within Zech 7–8, as presented in the table above, shows that Zech 7–8 describes both ideological and lived space. The focus is primarily placed on the description of the people's space, with a number of passages delineating nature's space, and only a few verses referring to the temple as God's space.

There is one pattern related to the distribution of references to ideological and lived spaces that is noticeable and thus, worth mentioning. It is evident from the table above that the focus of chapter 7 is on lived space, with a few references to ideological

space, while chapter 8 places an accent on ideological space, with references to lived space in the background. This distribution of references to ideological and lived space between these two chapters is understandable, especially when one keeps in mind that the phrase כה אמר יהוה צבאות ("thus says the Lord of hosts") occurs in chapter 8 ten times (Zech 8:1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 14, 18, and 23) as well as that the focus of this chapter moves to the future. Now that the literary structure of Zech 7–8 has been described, the present study can move on to its investigation of critical spatiality in Zech 7–8.

8.3 Lived Spatiality in Zechariah 7–8

This chapter investigates two aspects of space—ideological and lived space—as they relate to three types of spaces described in this unit, namely, God's, the people's, and nature's space. This time the study begins with an examination of lived space and then transitions to a study of ideological space. This order reflects the movement from past and present as described in chapter 7 to the ideal future delineated in chapter 8.

Lived aspect of space is associated with the specific meaning that is ascribed to space by different groups of society.[9] As in Haggai–Zech 1–6, it is not a surprise that Zech 7–8 also describes how different groups of people ascribe different meanings to the same space.[10] There are a number of different groups of people that are mentioned in Zech 7–8: the people of Bethel, along with their representatives (Zech 7:2); the priests (Zech 7:3, 5); the prophets (Zech 7:3, 7, 12; 8:9); the people of the land (Zech 7:5; 8:6, 11, 12); people on the margin of society—such as widows, fatherless, and poor (Zech 7:10)—and Jerusalemites (Zech 8:4–5) and foreigners (8:13, 20, 22–23). The focus of the

[9] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 40.
[10] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 42–46.

wider unit is on the people of the land and the prophet Zechariah, who are described as producing the space. In a similar manner to that found in Haggai–Zech 1–6, Zech 7–8 describes a tension between the ideological description of space provided by the prophet and the production of so-called lived space by the people that is not in line with the prophet's ideological portrayal. References to lived space are presented in the table below.

Zec 7–8	God's Space	People's Space	Nature's Space
Zech 7:1		ויהי בשנת ארבע לדריוש המלך Now in the fourth year of Darius the king	
Zech 7:2	פני יהוה before Yahweh	בית־אל the house of God	
Zech 7:5		הארץ the land	
Zech 7:12			שמיר a diamond
Zech 7:14		הארץ the land	הארץ the land
Zech 8:9	בית־יהוה צבאות the house of Yahweh of hosts		
Zech 8:10		אין־שלום מן־הצר no peace because of enemy	בהמה the beast
Zech 8:12			שמים ;ארץ ;גפן heavens, earth, vine

Table 2. Lived Spatiality in the Book of Zechariah 7–8[11]

[11] Even though alluding to God's space, the phrase בית־יהוה צבאות should be understood merely as a locative denominator, and there is no description of any meaning assigned to that space by the people of Israel or any other social group.

Based on the references that are outlined in the table above, the description of lived space as it relates to all three types of space lays the foundation against which Zechariah's portrayal of ideological space will be given. It is precisely because people ascribe a negative meaning to the space and produce space that is not in line with Yahweh's ideal that Zechariah looks to the future and portrays the ideological space that God wants to create. In order to do that, Zech 7–8 mostly focuses on the production of lived space from the perspective of how people transform the space in which they live. Since people produce space by their sinful behaviour, that space is, ideologically speaking, quite different from the prophet's description of space. It is this description of God's, the people's, and nature's lived space that will be discussed below.

8.3.1. God's Lived Space

As has been mentioned above, God's space is not the primary focus of Zech 7–8, with only two passages (Zech 7:2; 8:9) that explicitly refer to it, as can be seen in the table below.

Zech 7–8	God's Lived Space	Markers
Zech 7:2	וישלח בית־אל Bethel had sent	LiP; LiE
Zech 8:9	ביום יסד בית־יהוה צבאות ההיכל להבנות on the day when the foundation of the house of Yahweh of hosts was laid so that the temple might be built	LiE[12]

Table 3. God's Lived Space in Zechariah 7–8

[12] Even though there are no specific markers found in the biblical text that signal that the description of space is actually lived space, intertextual links with the book of Jeremiah testify to the fact that it was people who were responsible for the unfortunate state of the temple.

It must be mentioned, however, that among these two references to God's space in Zech 7–8, the second reference, which is found in Zech 8:9, is primarily related to ideological space and only implicitly reveals some relevant information about God's lived space as will be shown below. Thus, the main focus of this section dealing with God's lived space will be on Zech 7:2 and the theological significance of the statement that "Bethel had sent[13]" (וישלח בית־אל) a group of people to the house of the Lord (Zech 7:2–3). The study below shows how the people's attitude towards the temple of God and their assigning meaning to it and the production of God's lived space is described by contrasting Bethel to the house of the Lord located in Jerusalem (Zech 7:2–3) as well as by describing the foundation-laying ceremony (Zech 8:9).

The most important passage for the description of the people's production of God's lived space is found in Zech 7:2–3 where Bethel is described as the entity that sends a delegation to the house of the Lord of hosts (לבית־יהוה צבאות) to inquire about

[13] The first part of Zech 7:2 can be translated in four different ways, depending on the identification of the subject of the verb שלח. The first possibility is that בית־אל, because of its frequent use, appears in an abbreviated form of which the longer version is בבית־אל. This view is supported by LXX, where the preposition εἰς, the equivalent of the Hebrew preposition ב, is employed. This reading is also supported by both Peshitta and Vulgate. If this is the proper understanding, the predicate and subject are indicated by the verb שלח, and בבית־אל denotes a place name where ב functions as the accusative of place (Ewald, *Syntax of the Hebrew Language*, 141–45). While the LXX, Peshitta, and Vulgate read Shar-ezer as the subject, Lipinski ("Recherches sur le livre de Zacharie," 25–55) takes Darius to be the subject of שלח, and Frolov ("Is the Narrator Also among the Prophets?," 20–21) does the same with Zechariah. For this approach, see also, Blenkinsopp, "Bethel in the Neo-Babylonian Period," 100. Second, the phrase בית־אל שר־אצר (here translated with "Bethel had sent Shar-ezer") from Zech 7:2 can be translated as reference to the character from a Babylonian text *Bīt-ili-shar-usur* with בית־אל as a theophoric adjective (*HALOT*, 9212). For more information about this way of translating this phrase, see Hyatt, "A Neo-Babylonian Parallel," 387–94; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 281; and Love, *The Evasive Text*, 70–71. Third, McComiskey ("Zechariah," 1124) argued that בית־אל שר־אצר ורגם מלך ואנשיו should be taken as a very complex subject on the grounds that objects of שלח are always introduced with the direct object marker, which is not the case in Zech 7:2. This approach has been criticized by Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 434) who identified cases where the direct object marker was omitted. Finally, according to the fourth approach, which is followed in this study, the main clause is composed of the predicate שלח, the subject בית־אלשר־אצר ורגם מלך ואנשיו "the patients of an action and exist before and apart from action." For scholars who follow this approach see, Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 221 and Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 434–35) who evaluated the different approaches and provided relevant bibliography in the footnotes.

the fasting that people had been practicing during the seventy years of exile (Zech 7:3, 5). Mentioning Bethel in this cultic context identifies it as one of the potential locations where religious practices likely continued after the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/6 BCE. The majority of scholars agree that the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple did not mean that all religious practices ceased to exist during the exilic period.[14] If religious practices continued in Bethel, that would mean that the people of Judah assigned a significant cultic meaning to this place. In addition to this, it must also be mentioned that this production of lived space by assigning cultic significance to Bethel can be seen only in the context of removing the status of the exclusive cultic center from Jerusalem. Thus, assigning a meaning to Bethel automatically means assigning another meaning to Jerusalem.

The biblical Bethel has been identified with modern Beitin,[15] which was initially excavated by Albright and Kelso in 1934.[16] The site is located 16 km north of Jerusalem and 2.5 km northwest of Ai, on the main north-south route from the central hill country to the Jordan Valley.[17] What is of crucial importance for this study is Kelso's claim that the

[14] Among the most prominent scholars are Carter, *The Emergence of Yehud*, 31–74; Barstad, *The Myth of the Empty Land*; Barstad, "After the 'Myth of the Empty Land'," 3–20; and Albertz, *Israel in Exile*. Contra Vanderhooft, *The Neo-Babylonian Empire*, 104–6 and Shṭern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, II: 303–11. For an excellent overview of three major studies undertaken on the issue of the exile and the situation in Judah, see Middlemas, *The Troubles of Templeless Judah*, 17–21. For a summary of past and present analyses of the exilic period and insights into new possibilities for future scholarship, see Ahn, ed. *By the Irrigation Canals.*

[15] Contra Livingston ("Location of Biblical Bethel," 20–44) who was criticized by Rainey ("Bethel Is Still Beitin," 175–88). For Livingston's response, see Livingston, "Traditional Site of Bethel Questioned." For a detailed study on the city of Bethel, consult Gomes, *The Sanctuary of Bethel*. It is generally accepted that Kelso showed enough arguments to identify Beitin with ancient Bethel, although his final report published in 1968 would benefit from a more elaborative preview of evidence as argued by Dever, "The Patriarchal Traditions"; Blenkinsopp, "Bethel in the Neo-Babylonian Period," 93; and Valkama, "What Do Archaeological Remains Reveal," 50.

[16] See Kelso and Albright, *The Excavation of Bethel* and Kelso, "Bethel." For a more recent treatment of the issue, as well as a brief survey of the problems related to the archeology of Bethel, see Gomes, *The Sanctuary of Bethel*, 2–4 with bibliography.

[17] Blenkinsopp, "Bethel in the Neo-Babylonian Period," 93.

Neo-Babylonians did not destroy the site in 587/6 BCE, emphasizing that the city was destroyed later "either by the Babylonians or by the Persians" a short time before Darius's reign.[18] Thus, even after the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/6 BCE and before Bethel's destruction in the last third of the sixth century, people were able to continue with their regular ritual activities.[19]

The archaeological findings of Kelso and other prominent archaeologists, along with Lipschits's analysis of the demographic and geopolitical processes in the sixth century BCE (chapter 3), leave open the possibility of a continued practice of regular cultic activities in Bethel even after the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/6 BCE and the forced migration of Judahites into Babylonian captivity. This possibility, which is based on archaeological findings, is supported by the well-known biblical history of the Bethel cult. Bethel's former name was Luz (Gen 28:19; Judg 1:23), which is also mentioned in Josh 16:1–2 as being located between Bethel and Ataroth. Blenkinsopp explained this discrepancy with the suggestion that Bethel was a sanctuary (Gen 28:17) situated outside of the actual city, in the direction of Ai (Gen 12:18; 13:3). The sanctuary was later renamed Bet-awen, and at some point, it gave its name to the nearby city of Luz (Gen

[18] Kelso and Albright, *The Excavation of Bethel*, 37. See also, Valkama, "What Do Archaeological Remains Reveal," 50.

[19] This is evident from a number of archaeological discoveries. Kelso and Albright (*The Excavation of Bethel*, 36–37) dated the walls of one room to the sixth century. Kelso also emphasized that canonical seals dating to the sixth century BCE show evidence of Babylonian influence on the people who remained living in Bethel. One other important piece of evidence recovered by Kelso was a stone scarab discovered in 1960. In addition to Kelso's findings, Paul and Nancy Lapp emphasized important pottery from area II, dating to 570 BCE, and Lawrence Sinclair ("Bethel Pottery," 51, 91) also analyzed pottery found in the site and suggested that there was a continuity in activities on the site after 587/6 BCE. All of the aforementioned archaeological discoveries, as well as the absence of any evidence of destruction from the beginning of sixth century, have led many scholars to assume that normal activities continued on the site even after the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/6 BCE.

35:6; Josh 18:13).[20] Bethel is also mentioned in the boundary lists of Ephraim (1 Chr 7:28) and Benjamin (Josh 18:12–13, 22).

In the Iron Age, Bethel was identified as a high place for sacrifice (1 Sam 10:3; 2 Kgs 2:2–3, 23), and, of course, it became the principal sanctuary of Jeroboam's kingdom (1 Kgs 12:28–33; Amos 7;13). It was predicted that the sanctuary would be destroyed (1 Kgs 13) and the fulfillment of its destruction is described in 2 Kgs 23:4, 15–20. Although the sanctuary was desecrated, it is likely that Josiah's reform did not last as long there as it did in Jerusalem. Bethel probably continued to be a place of worship as a rival to Jerusalemite orthodoxy.[21]

It is also important to mention that Bethel was located very close to Mizpah (Tell en-Nasbeh), the Babylonian administrative center for the whole region during the exilic period.[22] According to the biblical text, Gedaliah, who did not support the rebellion against Babylon, was appointed as governor in Mizpah. He was very soon assassinated by Ishmael, who was a member of the royal family. The fact that Bethel was in close proximity to Mizpah leaves open the possibility that Bethel, in connection to the administrative center in Mizpah, was a ritual and cultic center.[23] This statement could be further confirmed by the tradition found in Jer 41:4–5 and Isa 57:3–13.[24]

Although the above discussion is important because it leaves open the possibility or even likelihood that Bethel was a place where different cultic activities were practiced,

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[20] Blenkinsopp, "Bethel in the Neo-Babylonian Period," 94. For a more comprehensive overview of the history of Bethel in biblical literature, see Gomes, *The Sanctuary of Bethel*, 4–7.

[21] Blenkinsopp, "Bethel in the Neo-Babylonian Period," 94–95.

[22] This conclusion is based on some biblical texts, most particularly Jer 40–41 and 2 Kgs 25:22–26. See Lipschits's (*The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*, 109–12) widely accepted arguments.

[23] Blenkinsopp, "The Judaean Priesthood"; Blenkinsopp, "Bethel in the Neo-Babylonian Period," 98. See also Becking, "From Babylon to Eternity," 12.

[24] Blenkinsopp, "Bethel in the Neo-Babylonian Period," 98; Middlemas, *The Troubles of Templeless Judah*, 136–43.

the major arguments for Bethel as a new religious center come from archeological findings which testify that the Benjaminite region was not destroyed at the time of the fall of Jerusalem and that it was more settled in that period,[25] as well as from Zech 7:2–3, a passage that addresses the issue of fasting. It is important to note that the answer that comes from Yahweh addressed all the people of the land (7:4–7), which implies that the people from Bethel were just representatives of a much broader community who lived in Yehud.[26] In that very response, Yahweh refers to the people's practices in Bethel as inappropriate, an issue that will be addressed in more detail in the next chapter. Regardless of the reason—whether they practiced ritual activities in Bethel only because the temple site in Jerusalem was destroyed or they would have done it even if the Jerusalem cult was fully functioning—by moving the cultic center from Jerusalem to Bethel, the people had created what they supposed to be God's lived space in a way that was not in line with the prophet's ideological description of that space. Conrad carefully noticed that this tension between Bethel and Judah, or, to be more precise, between the temple in Bethel and the house of the Lord in Jerusalem, is also mentioned elsewhere in the Book of the Twelve.[27] The best examples are references to Bethel found in Hos 12:4 and Amos 7:10–17 where Bethel is also used in the context of messengers as is the case in Zech 7:2–3.[28] While messengers mentioned in Hos 12:4 and Amos 7:10–17 are sent to Bethel, in a reversed scenario delineated in Zech 7:2–3, they are described as being sent

[25] See chapter 3, especially the section dealing with the people's space.
[26] Boda, "Perspectives on Priests," 23.
[27] Conrad, *Zechariah*, 133–34.
[28] Conrad, *Zechariah*, 133.

to Jerusalem. Thus, God's ideal space is once again associated with the Jerusalem temple.[29]

The above analysis shows that after the destruction of Jerusalem with its temple in 587/6 BCE, the people produced God's lived space by practicing rituals in Bethel. This creation of God's lived space was twofold. First, the people of Israel gave significance to Bethel by ascribing to it the label of a cultic center of that time, and second, by doing that, they also detached the epithet of cultic center from Jerusalem. This reveals that the people had a different view of God's space than the one that was given by the prophet. More detail about this dispute between the people's production of lived space and the prophet's portrayal of ideological space will be revealed below in the section dealing with God's ideological space. Before moving to that issue, the study will examine the people's and nature's lived space.

8.3.2 The People's Lived Space

The production of God's lived space that has been described above is interrelated to the production of the people's lived space. Naturally, the major event that connects the production of God's lived space with the production of the people's lived space is the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of its temple in 587/6 BCE. The people's space is first implicitly alluded to in the superscription found in Zech 7:1 and then explicitly described in Zech 7:7–14, and 8:10. These references to the people's lived space are first outlined in the table below and then analyzed in the next section of the present work.

[29] In this way, Zech 7–8 alludes to the problem of worshiping in Bethel in the period immediately after the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of its temple. This is likely alluded to in the passage found in Jer 41:4–5.

Zech 7–8	The People's Lived Space	Markers
Zech 7:1	ויהי בשנת ארבע לדריוש המלך Now in the fourth year of Darius the king	LiP
Zech 7:11	וימאנו להקשיב ויתנו כתף סררת ואזניהם הכבידו משמוע But they refused to give heed and turned a stubborn shoulder and made their ears heavy in order not to hear	LiP; LiE
Zech 8:10	שכר האדם לא נהיה ושכר הבהמה ... אין־שלום מן־הצר ואשלח את־כל־האדם איש ברעהו There were no wages for men, and there were no wages for beasts … and there was no peace because of the enemy, and I sent all men, each against his neighbour	LiP; LiE

Table 4. The People's Lived Space in Zechariah 7–8

There are two major characteristics of this description of the people's lived space: its political and social disorder. These two characteristics of the people's space will be described in more detail in the text below.

The delineation of political disorder as the major characteristic of people's lived space begins in Zech 7:1 with a dating formula very similar to those found earlier (Zech 1:1, 7). Rose, however, noticed an important difference between the three verses where dating formulas appear. He emphasized that while Darius is mentioned only by his name in the first two verses in Zech 1:1, 7, his title and the name of the empire is missing.[30] In contrast to Zech 1:1 and 7, the third reference to Darius found in Zech 7:1 includes not only his name, but also his title.[31] Rose asserted that "every dating formula in Zechariah is a reminder of the fact that there is no king in Jerusalem," and that is especially the case with Zech 7:1 where Darius's title as the king of Persia is prominently emphasized.[32] The description of the people's lived space, which is disordered in the sense that a foreign king and not a Davidic king is in charge of the small province of Yehud, is in clear

[30] Rose, "Zechariah and the Ambiguity of Kingship," 119–20.
[31] Rose, "Zechariah and the Ambiguity of Kingship," 119–20.
[32] Rose, "Zechariah and the Ambiguity of Kingship," 120.

contrast with the description of people's ideological space in Zech 1–6, especially in Zech 3–4 and 6, where the hopes for and expectation of an upcoming Davidic king are aroused.[33] In contrast, Zech 7:1 describes the current reality in which not a domestic king, but a foreign king rules over the province of Yehud. The absence of explicit Davidic royal motifs from Zech 7–8 likely alludes to a new circumstance related to the fourth year of the rule of King Darius in which the hopes envisioned in Zech 1–6 were fading out.[34] This unfortunate political state of affairs is also affirmed by the use of the Babylonian term כסלו ("Chislev") to refer to the ninth month.[35] While the months in the Old Testament are most often designated by number,[36] the use of Babylonian names for months is not unusual in the literature that originated at the time of Persian rule.[37] This use of the Babylonian term for the ninth month is an example of the synonymous presence of a different (in this case Babylonian) language in speech utterances called interlinguistic heteroglossia,[38] which, in this case, is just an additional indication of the disordered political conditions that the people of Israel produced. Finally, in Zech 8:10, the verse that describes the conditions before the day of the foundation-laying ceremony, there is a description of the unfortunate political and social situation in which "there was

[33] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 424. This perspective is slightly different from Rose ("Zechariah and the Ambiguity of Kingship," 120) who placed an emphasis on the "absence of a king in Zech 3–4." Even though the term מלך is used neither in Zech 3–4 nor in Zech 6, the term צמח, which is used in Zech 3:7 and 6:12, refers to a descendant of David who will rule over the Yehudites. These hopes are set in the imminent future as they are clearly related to the reconstruction of the temple, which was at that time in the process of being rebuilt. For the view that Zechariah described a king who would come in a distanced future, see Rose, *Zemah and Zerubbabel*, 248–51. See also Petterson (*Behold Your King*, 247–48) who agreed with Rose that the king would come in the future, but critiqued Rose's emphasis on discontinuity for the house of David and Pola's "over-realized" expectation for the Shoot.

[34] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 424.

[35] *HALOT*, 4347; Holladay, *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon*, 161.

[36] Look especially 1 Chr 27:1–15 where all twelve months are listed by number.

[37] See Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 425) who gave the following examples: Est 2:16; 3:7, 13; 8:12; 9:1, 15, 17, 19, 21; 8:9; Ezra 6:15; Neh 2:1; 6:15; Zech 1:7.

[38] See also Zech 1:7, Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 182.

no prosperity because of the enemy" (אין־שלום מן־הצר). This lack of prosperity should be understood in the context of the occupation of Judah by a foreign military power.[39] These negative economic conditions should not be necessarily understood as something that imperial power purposefully created,[40] but rather as a consequence of the expansion of their kingdom which came with exploitation of all available resources, including those found in Yehud.

It is clear in Zech 7 that this adverse political situation, of which the main characteristic is the subordinated status of the province of Yehud to the rule of Persia, is caused by the people of God. The people are described as those who are responsible for the movement from an ordered to politically disordered space (cf. Zech 7:7). This is clear especially in Zech 7:7–14 where the prophet moves the focus from the present to the past[41] by mentioning the "former prophets" (הנביאים הראשנים);[42] and after that he clearly describes the people's disobedience to the words of these prophets and the law (Zech 7:11–12a) and the consequences to which that unfaithfulness led (Zech 7:14).[43] The words of the prophets mentioned in Zech 7:7, 12 and provided in Zech 7:9–10 are

[39] The unfortunate situation described in Zech 8:10 likely includes both economic poverty and political instability. See Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 306; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 421; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 495–96. However, it is likely that the first part of the verse is more closely associated with the social aspect and the second one—where the phrase אין־שלום מן־הצר occurs—with the political aspect of life. See, for instance, Wolters (*Zechariah*, 239–40) who associated the situation described above with Darius's military campaign against Egypt. It must be kept in mind that the distinction between the economic and political aspects of space is fuzzy and that these two are interrelated.

[40] For a more detailed study on the economic conditions and the Persian imperial policies, see, further, Fried, "The ʿam hāʾāreṣ in Ezra 4:4" and Dandamaev, "Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid."

[41] Boda, "From Fasts to Feasts," 401. See also the rest of the article where, among other things, Boda argued that Zech 7–8 functions to bridge Zech 1–6, where the focus is on the present, with Zech 9–14, which points towards future eschatological hope.

[42] For Zechariah relying on the former prophets, see Boda and Floyd, eds., *Bringing out the Treasure*; Boda and Porter, "Literature to the Third Degree"; Boda and Floyd, eds., *Tradition in Transition*; Stead, "Sustained Allusion"; Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*; and Lee, *An Intertextual Analysis.*

[43] See Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 451, 60–63.

likely those found in Jer 7:5–6.[44] Yahweh reacted to the people's decisive refusal to listen to the words sent through his prophets with "great wrath" (קצף גדול, cf. Zech 1:2, 15), which was evident in the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple.[45] Besides the destruction of Jerusalem, another consequence of the people's unfaithfulness was Yahweh's refusal to respond to the people's prayers as described in Zech 7:12b–13. However, the ultimate result of the people's persistent rejection of the prophet's words is indicated in Zech 7:14 where Yahweh is portrayed as someone who blew the people away in a storm (ואסערם).[46] As a summary, Zech 7:14 claims that the people "made a precious land desolate" (וישימו ארץ־חמדה לשמה). This final phrase is the most articulate expression of the production of the people's lived space in Zech 7–8.

The second major characteristic of the people's lived space is related to social injustice. The issue of social injustice is most explicitly described in Zech 7:9–10, the passage which is, as has been already mentioned, a clear allusion to Jer 7:5–6. That is, Jeremiah's words are "the words which Yahweh proclaimed by the hand of the earlier prophets" (הדברים אשר קרא יהוה ביד הנביאים הראשנים הדברים אשר), which are also mentioned in Zech 7:7. The passage in Zech 7:9–10 emphasizes the same message in different ways: first by expressing "positive admonitions" in v. 9 and then by outlining "prohibitive injunctions" in v. 10.[47] The phrase, "execute true justice" (משפט אמת שפטו), found in Zech 7:9 reveals the first ethical issue: there was a serious problem with unjust practices in the province of Yehud.[48] The verb שפט ("to execute") along with the

[44] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 231–35. Cf. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 290; Nurmela, *Prophets in Dialogue*, 69–72.

[45] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 403.

[46] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 294.

[47] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 292.

[48] In line with Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 399) who argued that the use of "the cognate verb and noun conveys the idea of the general social justice and harmony that derive from proper action between individuals." See also, Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 456.

noun משפט (“justice”) also occurs in Deut 16:18 in the context of appointing judges and the phrase is also found in a few other places in Ezekiel (Ezek 7:27; 16:38; 23:24, 45; 44:24) in the context of priests practicing justice. The strongest parallel is, however, with the passage from Jer 7:5–6, where practicing injustice was connected with the loss of the temple.[49]

Another ethical problem mentioned in Zech 7:9 is the lack of covenant love and compassion. The only other time that the two terms וחסד ורחמים (“covenant love and mercy”) are found in connection with the issue of justice is Jer 9:23, which reaffirms the intertextual connections between the books of Jeremiah and Zechariah.[50] Even though the ברית (“covenant”) is not explicitly mentioned in Zech 7:9, this intertextual link shows that Zechariah refers to a covenantal loyalty that probably involves both faithfulness among people and faithfulness to God.

In the second part of this passage (v. 10), the focus is exclusively on prohibitions. The accent is placed on the vulnerable: “widow” (אלמנה), “orphan” (יתום), “stranger” (גר), and “poor” (עני), who are described as exploited. The verb עשק (“to exploit”) occurs throughout the whole Old Testament to portray abusive action again people who are of lower status, almost always in relation to economic matters.[51] The three nouns אלמנה, יתום, and גר regularly occur together, and the connection with Jer 7:6 is likely in view again.[52] In contrast to the first part of v. 10, which deals with morality as expressed externally through actions, the second part shifts attention towards the internal life of scheming harm and proclaims a universal prohibition against planning evil in one’s

[49] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 456–57.
[50] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 458.
[51] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 399.
[52] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 459.

heart.[53] This prohibition encompasses every individual in Yehud, as strengthened by Zechariah's phrase **איש אחיו**, which was used at the end of the v. 9, as well.

In sum, the above analysis of passages dealing with the people's lived space shows that the people produced space that was politically and socially disordered (Zech 7:14). First, the people's unfaithfulness, described especially in Zech 7:11–14, caused their dispersion by Yahweh, and ultimately resulted in the loss of their independence and the appointment of a foreign king as their ruler. Thus, the political space that was created by the people of Israel was a space of inferiority, the main characteristic of which was that Yehud was ruled over by a foreign empire. Second, the people produced socially disordered space. This disorder is seen in the clearest way in the exploitation of the widows, strangers, orphans, and poor. Thus, the lived space created by people was diametrically opposed to the description of an ideal society as described in the Pentateuchal texts.[54] The people's production of lived space is closely related to their production of nature's lived space, which will be described below.

8.3.3 Nature's Lived Space

In this last section dealing with lived space, the study will focus on nature's space. It is evident in Zech 7–8 that people create not only God's and the people's lived space, but also nature's lived space. This production of nature's lived space is inextricably related to the production of God's and the people's space, as will be shown below. It is their unfaithfulness that affects all three types of space. Zechariah 7–8 first establishes a metaphorical connection between the people's actions and nature in Zech 7:12 and then explicitly describes the people's production of nature's space in Zech 7:14; 8:10, 12.

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[53] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 459–60.
[54] Houston, "Leviticus," 102.

These three passages are first presented in the table below and then analyzed in the section that follows.

Zech 7–8	The Nature's Lived Space	Markers
Zech 7:14	והארץ נשמה אחריהם מעבר ומשב וישימו ארץ־חמדה לשמה The land was desolated behind them, without anyone passing over and returning. They made a pleasant land desolate	LiP; LiE
Zech 8:10	שכר האדם לא נהיה ושכר הבהמ there were no wages for men, and there were no wages for beasts	LiP[55]
Zech 8:12	ועתה... כי־זרע השלום הגפן תתן פריה והארץ תתן את־יבולה והשמים יתנו טלם And now, there will be a sowing of peace: the vine will give its fruit, the land will give its produce, and the heavens will give their dew.	LiP; LiE

Table 5. Nature's Lived Space in Zechariah 7–8

The connection between people and nature is first mentioned in Zech 7:12 where the prophet describes the people as those who "turned a stubborn shoulder" (ויתנו כתף סררת) and who "made their heart (as) diamond[56]" (ולבם שמו שמיר). Both terms סרר ("stubborn") and שמיר ("diamond") are associated with the natural world. First, in Hos 4:16, the word סרר is connected to a heifer and thus metaphorically describes the people of Israel as rebellious as a heifer.[57] Second, they made their hearts into a diamond, another created thing found in nature. Even though both heifer and diamond are used in Zech 7 in a strictly metaphorical sense to describe the rebellious state of human beings, it must be remembered that this verse makes a connection between human beings and the

[55] Although the agent of the action described in this verse who produces this space is Yahweh, Zech 7:7–14 as the unit ultimately describes people as those who are responsible for the production of desolated land. That is, it was people who caused Yahweh to produce this space and therefore, this cannot be understood as ideological space produced by Yahweh, but rather, as lived space produced by people.

[56] See also Jer 17:1; Ezek 3:9. *DCH* §8:443. For the same rendering, see also, *HALOT*, 1562–63, where this word is described as "a loanword from Egyptian *ʾ(e)smir(a)*."

[57] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 461.

natural world. This prepares the reader for the more explicit connection where human beings are described as ones who create nature's lived space in Zech 7:14; 8:10 and 12.

Zech 7:14 is probably one of the best examples of the description of nature's space in Zech 7–8. First, the author refers to scattering the people in a storm (סער) and then, as a consequence of that storm, he describes the land as being "desolated" (שמם). Peterson explained that the parallel with passages found in Hab 3:14; Isa 40:24; and 41:16 shows that the prophet has in view the image of "seeds and grain being scattered over the ground."[58] Even though one must note that the imagery is primarily used to point to Yahweh's judgment over his people by sending them into exile,[59] it is important to see that the production of the people's lived space is again connected with nature's space. This connection is developed in the second part of this verse in which there is an explicit description of nature's space as "desolated." In this context, land likely refers to both the people's and nature's space. Depopulation of the land cannot be separated from the well-being of the soil, the productivity of which was prevented by exile.[60]

Zechariah 8:10 describes the circumstances "before those days" (לפני הימים ההם), namely before the foundation-laying ceremony mentioned in Zech 8:9 (cf. Hag 2:20–23; Zech 4:6b–10a).[61] Besides the socio-economic-political situation, which was far from ideal, this verse also refers to the animal world, which is mentioned in the phrase, "there were no wages for men, and there were no wages for animals" (שכר האדם לא נהיה ושכר הבהמה). The reference to בהמה ("beast") is clearly made in the context of

[58] *HALOT*, 762. Cf. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 294 and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 466.

[59] Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 306) provides a number of texts to prove this point: Jer 23:19; 25:32; 30:23; Ps 83:16).

[60] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 306. Cf. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 468.

[61] Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 494) explained that the phrase לפני הימים ההם refers to the day of foundation-laying mentioned in the previous verse.

describing economic adversity.[62] However, it must be mentioned that this reference to the animal world must not be understood only from the standpoint of human economic prosperity, but also from the perspective of animal welfare. That this is in view in Zech 8:10 is confirmed by the use of the two words אדם ("man") and בהמה ("animal") in Hag 1:11 and Zech 2:8 where animals are mentioned in the context of severe agricultural infertility (Hag 1:11) and the flourishing of the animal world (Zech 2:8).[63] Thus, the reference to animals in Zech 8:10 should not be understood only from the standpoint of human flourishing, but also in the context of welfare within the animal world. That this perspective is present in Zech 8:10 is clear from the next passage found in Zech 8:11–13 where the focus moves from humans to nature.

Since the passage in Zech 8:11–13 focuses on the future—and therefore primarily describes nature's space from an ideological perspective—it gives insight into lived space only at the implicit level. This implicit description of nature's lived space is evident from the phrase, "and now, not as in the former days" (ועתה לא כימים הראשנים), where the adverbial expression ועתה ("and now") has the function of moving the discourse from the past to the present.[64] Thus, the description of the forthcoming prosperity of nature is contrasted with the portrayal of "the former days," which were characterized by their agricultural calamities and challenges.[65] This comparison between the ideological future and an unfortunate past and present is also clear from the reference to agricultural

[62] Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 306) correctly connected this phrase with Haggai's description of economic hardship (Hag 1:6) and emphasized that circumstances described in Zechariah are even more severe.

[63] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 421.

[64] Brongers, "Adverbialen we'attāh im Alten Testament," 291–92. Cf. Wolters, *Zechariah*, 241. See also, Boda, *Praying the Tradition*, 29–30.

[65] Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 496) explained that these former days refer to the time period prior to the foundation-laying ceremony as asserted in v. 10.

prosperity in Zech 8:12 using the term שלום, which is also used in Zech 8:10 with the negating particle אין in a negative context to describe the people's lived space as disordered.[66]

The description of future agricultural prosperity, therefore, implicitly alludes to agricultural calamity in the past and the present. In other words, by describing future prosperity in terms of the increase in the quantity of produce (זרע השלום), the fruitfulness of the vine (הגפן תתן פריה), increased production of land resources (והארץ תתן את־יבולה), and heaven's provision of dew (והשמים יתנו טלם), Zech 8:12 alludes to the lack of these fundamental conditions in the period before the foundation-laying ceremony. This allusion to the limited harvest of agricultural products should not be understood exclusively as the consequence of economic hardship and/or military oppression by the Persian empire, but also as a direct consequence of the people's disobedience (Zech 7:7–14).[67] The verse clearly alludes to the agricultural hardship already described in Hag 1:10 where the similar wording with negation, "the land will give its produce and the heavens will give their dew" (והארץ תתן את־יבולה והשמים יתנו טלם), is used in a negative sense.[68]

A few concluding words about nature's lived space are in order. It has been shown above that Zech 7–8 describes nature's lived space in several passages. First, nature's space is used in a metaphorical sense in order to describe the people's unfaithfulness. Even though this use of images from nature is not a reference to the actual

[66] For the usage of the word שלום in agricultural contexts, see Köhler, *Der hebräische Mensch*, 148. Cf. Wolters, *Zechariah*, 240.

[67] For the connection between the economic and agricultural aspects, see Wolters, *Zechariah*, 240. My analysis does not intend to neglect this inextricable connection between the economy and agriculture, but to emphasize that agricultural calamity is not solely a product of socio-economic political hardship, but also a direct consequence of the people's disobedience of Yahweh.

[68] Wolters, *Zechariah*, 243.

natural world, it is important to notice the connection between humans and nature that will be developed in more detail later in the unit. Second, nature imagery is used in Zech 7:14 where, along with the reference to scattering in the storm, there is the description of the desolation of the land and the unproductivity of soil. Third, Zech 8:10 alludes to poor animal welfare by making an explicit connection with Hag 1:11. Finally, and most important, the passage in Zech 8:11–13 implicitly alludes to the agricultural challenges associated with the period prior to the foundation-laying ceremony. This negative description of nature's lived space, along with God's and people's lived space, is in sharp contrast with the prophet's vison of future ideal space. It is with this portrayal of ideological space that this research will deal in the next section.

8.3.4 Summary

As was the case in the book of Haggai, the investigation of lived space in Zech 7–8 shows that all three types of lived spaces—God's, the people's, and nature's lived space—are addressed in Zech 7–8, as well. First, the people of Israel produced God's lived space by detaching the epithet of the cultic center from Jerusalem and ascribing it to Bethel. Second, they also created the people's space characterized by political and social disorder. Namely, the people's space was inferior because of the loss of independence as well as a creation of space of social injustice where the exploitation of widows, strangers, orphans, and the poor was thriving. Finally, in the period before the foundation-laying ceremony, the people instigated a serious ecological disaster. This negative description of God's, the people's, and nature's space is in sharp contrast with the creation of ideological space that will be examined in detail below.

8.4 Ideological Spatiality in Zechariah 7–8

Having completed an examination of lived spatiality in Zech 7–8, the focus can move to an investigation of the ideological aspect of space. As has been explained in the second chapter of the present work dealing with methodology, this aspect of space is considered to play a main role within the three aspects of space in Lefebvre's triad.[69] The main characteristics of this aspect of space is its conceived and ideological nature.[70] This ideological aspect of space is signaled in different ways in Zech 7–8. The two most obvious ways are by moving the discourse from the past and present in Zech 7 to the future in Zech 8 and the use of the "thus says Yahweh" formula, which signals that the description of space following this formula is actually conceptual space envisioned by Yahweh, an idea about the space that is revealed to the people by the word of Yahweh through Zechariah (Zech 7:1). The references to the ideological space of God in Zech 7–8 are outlined in the table below.

Zechariah	God's Space	People's Space	Nature's Space
Zech 7:7		ישבת ושלוה ... ישב inhabited and at peace inhabited	
Zech 7:14		ארץ־חמדה a pleasant land	
Zech 8:2		קנאתי לציון ... קנאתי לה I am zealous for Zion I am zealous for her	
Zech 8:3	ושכנתי בתוך ירושלם ... הר הקדש	עיר־האמת והר־יהוה צבאות הר הקדש	והר־יהוה[71] צבאות הר הקדש

[69] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38–39; Soja, *Thirdspace*, 80.

[70] For the ideological nature of mental space, see Soja, *Thirdspace*, 80.

[71] Since this phrase refers to a mountain city, it should be understood as reference to both people's and nature's space.

	I will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem … holy mountain	the city of truth, and the mountain of Yahweh of hosts, holy mountain	the mountain of Yahweh of hosts, holy mountain
Zech 8:4		ברחבות ירושלם	
		the open squares of Jerusalem	
Zech 8:5		ורחבות העיר	
		and the open squares of the city	
Zech 8:7		מארץ[72] מזרח ... ומארץ מבוא השמש	ומארץ מבוא השמש[73]
		from the land of the east and from the land of the setting of the sun	from the land of the setting sun
Zech 8:8		בתוך ירושלם	
		in the midst of Jerusalem	
Zech 8:9	בית־יהוה צבאות ההיכל להבנות		
	the house of Yahweh of hosts … so that the temple might be built		
Zech 8:12			שמים ;ארץ ;גפן ;זרע
			sowing, the vine, the earth, the heavens
Zech 8:13		בית יהודה ובית ישראל	
		house of Judah and house of Israel	
Zech 8:15		בית יהודה ובית ישראל	
		house of Judah and house of Israel	
Zech 8:16		אמת ;משפט	
		truth, judge	

[72] In this context, the noun ארץ is not used in the sense of field or soil, hence, it refers to the people's space. That this is the case is clear from the description of the land as the land of the east and the land of the west.

[73] Even though word השמש alludes to nature's space the phrase should be taken as a clear reference to the people's space, namely the land of the west.

Zech 8:17		לבב	
		heart	
Zech 8:19		לבית־יהודה	
		for the house of Judah	
Zech 8:20		ערים רבות	
		many cities	
Zech 8:21	את־פני יהוה		
	before Yahweh		
Zech 8:22	את־פני יהוה	עמים רבים וגוים עצומים	
	before Yahweh	many peoples and mighty nations	
Zech 8:23		הגוים	
		nations	

Table 6. Ideological Spatiality in Zechariah 7–8

The above analysis of the distribution of references to ideological space within Zech 7–8 shows that ideological space is described primarily in Zech 8, with the exception of two references to the ideological aspect of space that are made in Zech 7:7, 14. This is to be expected when one keeps in mind the shift of focus from the past and present to the future that is evident in Zech 8. The main purpose of delineating the ideological aspect of space is to encourage the Yehudites to move from their current experience of space towards an ideal given by Yahweh through Zechariah. It is evident above that this description of an ideal space is related to all three types of space—God's, the people's, and nature's—even though it is apparent that God's and nature's ideological space receive only limited attention. The study will first address God's ideological space and then move on to the investigation of the other two types of ideological space as delineated in Zech 7–8.

8.4.1 God's Ideological Space

As can be seen in the table below which portrays the distribution of spatial references in this unit, there are only four passages within Zech 7–8 that reveal important information about God's ideological space.

Zech 7–8	God's Ideological Space	Markers
Zech 8:3	כה אמר יהוה שבתי אל־ציון ושכנתי בתוך ירושלם ונקראה ירושלם עיר־האמת והר־יהוה צבאות הר הקדש Thus has said Yahweh of hosts, I have returned to Zion, and I will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem. And Jerusalem will be called the city of truth, and the mountain of Yahweh of hosts, holy mountain	IdY; IdF
Zech 8:9	כה־אמר יהוה צבאות ההיכל להבנות Thus has said Yahweh of hosts… so that the temple might be built	IdY
Zech 8:21	כה אמר יהוה צבאות והלכו ישבי אחת אל־אחת לאמר נלכה הלוך לחלות את־פני יהוה ולבקש את־יהוה צבאות אלכה גם־אני Thus has said Yahweh And the inhabitants of one (city) will go to another, saying: let us surely go to entreat the favour of Yahweh and to seek Yahweh of hosts. I myself will go also.	IdY; IdF
Zech 8:22	ובאו עמים רבים וגוים עצומים לבקש את־יהוה צבאות בירושלם ולחלות את־פני יהוה Many peoples and mighty nations will come to seek Yahweh of hosts in Jerusalem, and to entreat the favour of Yahweh	IdF

Table 7. God's Ideological Space in Zechariah 7–8

First, God's ideological space is implicitly referenced in Zech 8:3. Second, this aspect of space is explicitly mentioned in Zech 8:9, the passage that deals with the foundation-laying ceremony. Finally, the third and fourth references are seen in the use of the phrase, "before Yahweh" (את־פני יהוה), and they are found in Zech 8:20–23.

God's ideological space is first referenced only implicitly in the phrase "dwell in the midst of Jerusalem" (ושכנתי בתוך ירושלם) in Zech 8:3. This is not an explicit

reference to God's ideological space because Jerusalem, not the temple, is mentioned in this verse. However, there are a number of reasons why one can see an implicit reference to the temple as a God's space in the phrase mentioned above. First, Yahweh's promise, which includes the action of returning (שוב) and dwelling (שכן), is just a reinforcement of the previous promise that was given in Zech 1:16, which includes the promise of building Yahweh's house.[74] Second, even though this idea of returning to dwell is not attested outside Zech 1–8, Stead suggested that Ezek 40–43, the passage which deals with the second temple, thematically alludes to it. That is, while Ezek 1–11 describes Yahweh leaving his temple, Ezek 40–48 portrays his return.[75] Third, "the mountain of holiness" (הר הקדש) is mentioned in association with Yahweh's return and his dwelling in Jerusalem is a "metaphorical" reference to the temple (e.g. Isa 27:13; 56:7; 66:20; Ezek 20:39–40; Joel 4:17).[76] Finally, the tabernacle and temple are continuously mentioned in the Old Testament as Yahweh's dwelling place (Exod 24:16; 25:8; 29:45–46; 1 Kgs 6:13; Ezek 43:7), and a reference to Yahweh's dwelling in Jerusalem therefore implicitly refers to the temple in which he will reveal his presence.[77]

The ideological description of God's space in Zech 8:3 reveals that one of the most important characteristics of God's space will be its holiness. This is clear from the poetic structure of this verse in which the second line of Zech 8:3 describes the first and

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[74] For the inextricable link between this promise and the previous one that is given in the first night vision, see Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 298; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 411–12; 226; Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 226; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 479.

[75] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 226.

[76] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 412. On the issue of the temple in the prophetic literature of the Old Testament, see Carroll, "So What Do We Know?" Even though Carroll ("So What Do We Know?" 38) correctly claimed that the "general references to Yahweh's 'holy mountain' do not give any information whatsoever about the temple complex," it is still clear from a number of passages that the phrase "holy mountain" is not infrequently associated with the temple. See also, Petersen, "The Temple in Persian Period," 88–96.

[77] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 479. See also, Boda's brief overview of the discussion on this important topic of the presence of God in his temple with one group of scholars (Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 615–24 and Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet*, 219–60) arguing that it is clear in the Second Temple literature that Yahweh's return is a matter of the future, and the other group (Davies, "The Presence of God," 32–36) arguing that Yahweh has already returned.

provides "a more figurative description" of Jerusalem.[78] In this way, Jerusalem, which is called the city of truth in the first line,[79] is described in the second line as "the holy mountain, which is, thus, associated with both nature's and God's space."[80] Holiness in the Old Testament is naturally associated with Yahweh. It is "an attribute of the deity; hence whatever belongs to him or is linked to him is 'sacred'."[81] Thus, anything that comes in contact with Yahweh, whether that is space or time or persons or objects, becomes holy. Specifically speaking about sacred/holy space, Japhet explained that "the notion of 'sacred space' then, depends on three variables: the specific image of the deity, the nature of the link between him and the 'place,' and the definition of the sacred."[82] Keeping in mind this understanding of holiness, it is not a surprise that in this passage Yahweh's return and his dwelling are associated with holiness. In other words, it is the indwelling of Yahweh in Jerusalem's temple that will make that place holy.[83]

The second passage where God's ideological space is mentioned is found in Zech 8:9. In this verse, the community is encouraged to have strong hands (תחזקנה ידיכם), a phrase likely referring to the completion of the temple rebuilding work.[84] That this is in

[78] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 480.

[79] It must be mentioned that the term "truth" is used here in a sense of faithfulness and not in a cognitive way, as it is very often understood in modern English. See Boda (The Heartbeat, 141) who noticed that the Hebrew term אמת (literally "truth") is not infrequently translated in LXX with the Greek term πίστις (literally "faith"), e.g., Prov 3:3; Jer 32:41[39:41].

[80] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 480. In this way, the connection between God's and nature's space that is evident in Zech 1–6 (Zech 1:11; 4:2–3; 6:1) is once more reinforced in Zech 8:3. See chapter 6 dealing with critical spatiality in Zech 1–6, especially the section dealing with nature's space.

[81] Japhet, "Sacred Space," 57.

[82] Japhet, "Sacred Space," 57.

[83] On the holiness of Jerusalem, see also, Häusl, "Jerusalem, the Holy City."

[84] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 305; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 419. It is important to notice that this exhortation is not directly linked in the text with the foundation-laying ceremony that is mentioned in the same verse; thus, Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 491) correctly asserted that the encouragement is related either "to the temple construction project and/or the ethical agenda that Zechariah relates to it." In the text above, I argued that in its current context, the encouragement should be seen as mainly referring to the temple rebuilding process, but as will be shown below the project of rebuilding of God's space is inextricably connected with the production of the people's space, or, in other words, with ethical norms. Thus, by exhorting the people to rebuild the temple, the prophetic words also exhort them to nourish ethical norms. These two, as will be shown below and especially in the next chapter of the present work, cannot be separated.

view here is clear from the use of similar vocabulary in Zech 4:6b–10a (**ידי** [Zech 4:9]), another passage also concerned with the completion of the temple.[85] This exhortation to be strong is found in a verse where the people who had heard the words of the prophets who spoke "on the day when the foundation of the house of Yahweh of hosts was laid" (ביום יסד בית־יהוה צבאות) are mentioned.[86] As has already been explained in the above analysis of Hag 2:10–23 and Zech 4:6b–10a, the foundation-laying ceremony was one of the most significant events in the complex process of temple (re)construction in the ANE context.[87] Boda asserted that this event "served as a key transition in the building project, signaling the shift from the preparation stage to the building stage."[88] Thus, the main purpose of the exhortation found in Zech 8:9 is to encourage the Yehudites to continue with the process of rebuilding in order that "the temple (might) be built" (ההיכל להבנות).[89]

There are two important characteristics of God's ideological space that can be drawn from this verse. First, the state of the temple, which was in the process of being rebuilt, was still far from its ideal. The people were encouraged to continue with the rebuilding of the temple even beyond the foundation laying so that the temple could be fully rebuilt. This progressive movement from the temple that had been in ruins with only the altar built on the site (Hag 1:4; 2:14) to the stage when the temple foundation was laid (Hag 2:10–23; Zech 4:6b–10a; 8:9–13) to its final completion is marked in Zech 8:9 by different time references.[90] Second, it is not only the temple in its completed state that is

[85] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 228.

[86] On the identity of the prophets who speak and the people, see Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 305.

[87] For a more detailed study on this very important event as described in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus, see Boda, "From Dystopia to Myopia"; Kessler, "Temple Building"; and Boda, "Legitimizing the Temple."

[88] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 493.

[89] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 228.

[90] For the movement in time that is evident in this verse, see Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 493) who explained that this verse refers to the period before the foundation-laying ceremony, the day when the

characteristic of God's ideological space, but also that the temple is located in Jerusalem. This seemingly obvious assertion must not be forgotten because Zech 8:9–13 is found in the context of Zech 7–8, which describes the delegation that came to Jerusalem from Bethel. As has already been explained in the section dealing with lived space, it is highly likely that the ritual activities were moved from Jerusalem to Bethel during the period of the Babylon captivity. This passage, thus, asserts that in the context of heightening conflict about the cultic center, it is Jerusalem that is portrayed as the place where ritual activities should be performed and where seeking the Lord should take place.[91]

Finally, the ideological portrayal of God's space described above is expanded in Zech 8:20–23. In these three verses, God's ideological space is developed by using the phrase, "to seek the favour of Yahweh" (לחלות את־פני יהוה) in Zech 8:21–22, an action that takes place in Jerusalem (Zech 8:22). This mention of "Jerusalem" and "the face of Yahweh" clearly refers to the temple that at that time was being rebuilt (Zech 8:9) and that would ultimately serve as the destination of pilgrims. What is new in Zech 8:20–23 is that the place is not exclusively associated with Yehudites, but also with Gentiles. The phrase "people and inhabitants of the great cities" (יבאו עמים וישבי ערים) likely refers to non-Israelites who are described as those who will travel to the temple in Jerusalem to seek Yahweh.[92] This Gentile pilgrimage has previously been described in Zech 2:15[11],

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foundation was laid, as well as to the present time. To this, I add the period of prosperity in the near future that is evident in Zech 8:10–13.

[91] For the issue of the centrality of Jerusalem in the early post-exilic period, see Knowles (*Centrality Practiced*, 2–3) who explained this problem in the following paragraph: "When the exiled community was allowed to return to the land, it (along with those who remained in the land) had to discern again YHWH's geography and make decisions about how this would be reflected in and instituted by its religious practice. These decisions were negotiated in an even larger context of Yahwists who remained in Babylonia. Would YHWH's presence be centered in Jerusalem? Or, given that the exilic community in Babylonia had developed theologies and practices not centered on Jerusalem, and given that some of the community remained there, would YHWH's presence remain untethered to temple or city? And how would YHWH's presence in the city be structured in the new political context of Achaemenid imperial control of the land?" For a similar issue, see Rom-Shiloni, *Exclusive Inclusivity.*

[92] Wolters, "Interpretation of Zechariah 8:20–23," 1–13. For different view, see Lipiński, "Recherches sur le livre de Zacharie," 42–46. Intertextual parallels with passages such as Isa 2:1–4 also confirm the interpretation which refers to these two groups of people as Gentiles.

which also mentions people coming to Zion.[93] However, the major intertextual allusion is likely made to Isa 2:1–4 where the same vocabulary is used.[94] Thus, the portrayal of God's space in Zech 8:20–23 with its parallel found in Zech 7:2–3—which primarily focuses on the lived aspect of space—embraces the universalistic idea that God's space is not space dedicated only to Yehudites, but also to other nations.[95]

In sum, the description of God's ideological space in Zech 7–8 reveals several features that characterize that aspect of space. First, the people are encouraged to continue to rebuild God's temple beyond its foundation laying to the stage where the temple will be fully rebuilt. Second, God's space and his temple are exclusively associated with Jerusalem, a point that seems not to be evident to the people who lived in the early post-exilic period. Third, once the temple is rebuilt, it will naturally become Yahweh's dwelling place and the major source of his holiness (Zech 8:3). Finally, God's space in Zech 7–8 is not depicted as a place where only Yehudites will seek Yahweh. Rather, the temple in Jerusalem is described as God's place where all nations will be welcome. These universalistic ideas associated with God's ideological space are also found in the description of the people's ideological space, which will be examined below.

8.4.2 The People's Ideological Space

The above analysis of God's ideological space shows that God's space is closely related to the people's space. The examination of critical spatiality continues in this section by moving the focus to the people's ideological space. The distribution of references to the people's ideological space portrayed in the table above shows that there are a number of passages in Zech 7–8 that reveal significant information about that aspect of the people's

[93] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 493.

[94] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 317. Petersen also mentioned other texts that express the same idea such as Isa 60:1–3 and 66:18–21.

[95] On the idea of universalism in the prophetic literature with extensive examples from the book of Isaiah and the book of Jonah, see Smith-Christopher, *A Biblical Theology*, 125–35. See also, Blenkinsopp, "Second Isaiah" and Smith-Christopher, "Between Ezra and Isaiah," 117–42.

space. While chapter 7 describes the people's ideological space from the perspective of the physical state of the capital region, the Negev, and Shephelah in the past (Zech 7:7, 14), chapter 8 portrays this space from the standpoint of the future (Zech 8:2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 15, 16, 17, 20, and 22). Thus, the people's ideological space is described in Zech 7–8 as both space before the Babylonian captivity and as space after the restoration associated with the return migration. All these references to the people's ideological space are first outlined in the table below and will then be examined in the following section.

Zech 7–8	The People's Ideological Space	Markers
Zech 7:7	הלוא את־הדברים אשר קרא יהוה ביד הנביאים הראשנים Are not these the words which Yahweh proclaimed by the hand of the earlier prophets	IdP
Zech 7:14	וישימו ארץ־חמדה לשמה They made a precious land desolated	IdP
Zech 8:2	כה אמר יהוה צבאות קנאתי לציון קנאה גדולה Thus has said Yahweh of hosts, I am zealous with great zeal for Zion	IdY
Zech 8:3	כה אמר יהוה שבתי אל־ציון ושכנתי בתוך ירושלם ונקראה ירושלם עיר־האמת והר־יהוה צבאות הר הקדש Thus has said Yahweh of hosts, I have returned to Zion, and I will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem. And Jerusalem will be called the city of truth, and the mountain of Yahweh of hosts, holy mountain	IdY; IdF
Zech 8:4	כה אמר יהוה צבאות עד ישבו זקנים וזקנות ברחבות ירושלם Thus has said Yahweh of hosts, again old men and women will dwell in the open squares of Jerusalem	IdY; IdF
Zech 8:5	ורחבות העיר ימלאו ילדים וילדות משחקים ברחבתיה And the open squares of the city will be filled with boys And girls playing in the open squares	IdY;[96] IdF
Zech 8:7	כה אמר יהוה צבאות הנני מושיע את־עמי מארץ מזרח ומארץ מבוא השמש Thus has said Yahweh of hosts, look, I will save my	IdY; IdF

[96] The marker IdY which stands for ideology revealed by Yahweh is present in the previous verse.

	people from the land of the east and from the land of the setting of the sun	
Zech 8:8	והבאתי אתם ושכנו בתוך ירושלם And I will bring them back and they will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem	IdY;[97] IdF
Zech 8:13	כן אושיע אתכם והייתם ברכה So, I will save you and you will be blessing	IdF
Zech 8:15	כן שבתי זממתי בימים האלה להיטיב את־ירושלם ואת־בית יהודה I have turned and purposed in these days to do good to Jerusalem and the house of Judah.	IdF; IdY[98]
Zech 8:16	דברו אמת איש את־רעהו אמת ומשפט שלום שפטו בשעריכם Speak truth, each man with his neighbour, judge with truth, and judgment that produces peace within your gates	IdI
Zech 8:17	ואיש| את־רעת רעהו אל־תחשבו בלבבכם ושבעת שקר אל־תאהבו Let none of you devise evil in your hearts against his neighbour, and do not love a false swearing	IdI
Zech 8:19	והאמת והשלום אהבו Love, truth, and peace	IdI
Zech 8:22	ובאו עמים רבים וגוים עצומים לבקש את־יהוה צבאות בירושלם Many peoples and mighty nations will come to seek Yahweh of hosts in Jerusalem	IdF
Zech 8:23	כה אמר יהוה צבאות נלכה עמכם Thus has said Yahweh of hosts let us go with you	IdY; IdF

Table 8. The People's Ideological Space in Zechariah 7–8

In chapter 7, the ideological space of the people is addressed from the perspective of the former state of Jerusalem with its environs, the Negev, and the Shephelah.[99] The main characteristic in the description of Jerusalem and the surrounding cities is that they were "inhabited and at ease" (ישבת ושלוה). The same term is used for the description of the

[97] The marker IdY is present in the previous verse.

[98] See immediately above.

[99] For the term Jerusalem and its environs, see Na'aman, "The Kingdom of Judah," 9, 13–14. Cf. Lipschitz, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*, 208.

Negev and the Shephelah, which are also portrayed as ישב ("inhabited"). While the phrase "its (Jerusalem's) surrounding cities" (וערים סביבתיה) likely refers to "the complex of towns which lay along the Judean ridge,"[100] the Negev is "the southern Judean desert below Hebron and Beer Sheba,"[101] and the Shephelah refers to "the southwestern region of rolling hills that form the border with Philistia and the coastal plain."[102] The ideological description of the land found in v. 7 is in sharp contrast with the description of the people's lived space described above, which reflects the decrease in the number of residents due to the forced migration into Babylonian captivity.[103] Lipschits's archaeological analysis of the demographic changes in Judah between the end of the Iron Age (beginning of the sixth century BCE), the Babylonian Period, and the Persian period corroborates the description of the declining of population alluded to in Zech 7:7. He claimed that "the number of inhabitants of the kingdom of Judah as it came to an end was approximately 110,000 and the population of Yehud province was approximately 30,000."[104] Boda added that regions mentioned in Zech 7:7 not only lost their population, but also "had been detached from the political sphere of the province Yehud."[105] Keeping all of this in mind, it is not surprising that Zech 7:7 describes these

[100] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 451.

[101] Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 641.

[102] Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 641. On the subject of the different districts of Judah, as well as the borders between these districts, see Na'aman, "The Canaanite City-States," 463–88; Na'aman, "The Kingdom of Judah," 3–71; Na'aman, "The Conquest of Canaan," 218–81. Cf. Lipschits (*The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*, 206) who built on the work of Na'aman and divided the province into five distinct geographical units: the eastern strip includes the southern region of the Jordan Valley and the western littoral of the Dead Sea; the western strip includes the northern part of the Shephelah, between Tarkumiya-Nahal Govrin and Beth-Horon; the highland strip is divided into three latitudinal units; the highland of Judah, the environs of Jerusalem; and the region of Benjamin.

[103] Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 451) explained this contrast by asserting that "the conditions of the land in this earlier period are described here at the outset of 7:7–14 so that the audience can see clearly the consequences of disobedience to these words of Yahweh though the prophets (cf. 7:14)."

[104] Lipschits (*The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*, 270) took into account the following regions: Benjamin, Jerusalem and its environs, the Northern Judean hills, the Southern Judean hills, the Shephelah, the Beer-Sheba-Arad Valleys, and the Eastern strip. It is important to notice that, according to Lipschits's analysis, the major differences in population can be seen in the following regions: Benjamin (from 28,750 to 12,500), Jerusalem and its environs (from 25,000 to 2,750), and the Shephelah (from 29,250 to 4,875).

[105] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 452.

three major regions of Yehud as being inhabited in order to delineate the people's ideological space. Thus, the desolate state of the land is contrasted with the pleasant land that is described as inhabited.

The description of the people's ideological space in chapter 7 focused on the past shifts in chapter 8 to focus on the future when the land will be restored, inhabited, and even more prosperous than was the case in the past. The ideological description of Jerusalem begins in the same way as in Zech 1–6, with the statement "I (Yahweh) am exceedingly zealous for Zion" (קנאתי לציון קנאה גדולה). As was the case in Zech 1:14 the idea of a zealous Yahweh is accompanied by the phase "great anger" (גדולה וחמה). While Yahweh's zeal should be seen as an inner propensity towards Zion, his anger is best understood in light of the intertextual link with Zech 1:14, namely as being directed towards his enemies.[106] This positive attitude towards Jerusalem is corroborated by Yahweh's plan: "I will return to Zion[107] so that I may dwell in the midst of Jerusalem" (שבתי אל־ציון ושכנתי בתוך ירושלם). Thus, while the people's disobedience produced space without Yahweh's presence, Zech 8:3 describes an ideological space that is characterized by Yahweh's return to dwell among his people. As has been explained above, Yahweh's dwelling should be linked to the temple, but in this context, the emphasis is placed on Jerusalem, which will receive benefits from Yahweh's presence in the temple.[108]

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[106] Contra Wolters (*Zechariah,* 231) who argued that Yahweh is at the same time zealous for and angry with Zion. For the above interpretation see Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8,* 411.

[107] As per IBHS §30.5.1.e where it is suggested that the phrase should be rendered as a prophetic perfect. This translation as a future is also confirmed by the fact that Yahweh's return and dwelling in Jerusalem is conditioned by the rebuilding of the temple which will happen in the future. Contra Fried ("Temple Building in Ezra 1–6," 321–27) who argued that the return of the deity in the ANE context precedes the rebuilding of the temple. This is contrary to the accounts of the building of the tabernacle and the temple where the cloud and the glory of Yahweh appear only after the work on the tabernacle and temple was complete (Exod 40:34–38; 1 Kgs 8:10–13). See also, Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8,* 227. See also, Boda (*The Book of Zechariah,* 479–80) whose view is that this verse is referring to covenantal returning as in Zech 1:3 which will be followed by Yahweh dwelling in his temple.

[108] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah,* 298–99.

Another characteristic of this ideological description of Jerusalem is its new name. Boda explained that (re)naming a city is not rare in the OT and is usually related either to an event associated with that city or a person connected to it.[109] The phrase עיר־ האמת ("the city of truth") is likely an allusion to Isa 1:21 where Jerusalem is called קריה נאמנה ("a faithful town").[110] The parallel is striking because in both Isa 1 and Zech 8, the ideological portrayal of Jerusalem is contrasted with its negative state. The term אמת ("truth") occurs in Haggai and Zechariah only in this central unit of the book of Zechariah, specifically in Zech 7:9; 8:3, 8, 16 (2X), 19, and almost exclusively in the context of the issue of social injustice. Thus, the renaming of the city actually refers to solving the issues of social injustice previously described in Zech 7:9–10 and to transforming the city into its ideological state where justice, covenant love, and compassion will be executed constantly.[111] This positive portrayal of people's space is additionally enriched with the remnant language found in Zech 8:6, 13.

Yahweh's return to Jerusalem and the city's renaming are closely linked to the return migration of Yahweh's people described in Zech 8:7–8 (cf. Zech 8:3). This return migration is described with two verbs in Hiphil ישע ("to save") and בוא ("to bring in"), which are also used in earlier prophetic literature to denote Yahweh's act of delivering his people from captivity.[112] He will bring his people "from the land of the east and from the land of the west" (מארץ מזרח ומארץ מבוא), a phrase that embraces the two dominant exilic groups located in Mesopotamia and Egypt.[113] The ultimate result of this return migration is the dwelling of both Yahweh and his people in the midst of Jerusalem.

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[109] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 452.

[110] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 413.

[111] See Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 481–82) who explains how unethical practices are the key theme in both Isa 1 and Zech 7–8 and how these practices relate to the theme of (re)naming the city.

[112] Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 302) among other texts, also mentioned Jer 30:10–11; 46:27–28.

[113] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 485–86. See also Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 302) who noticed the odd omission of the north, which is mentioned in Zech 2:10[6].

This image of both Yahweh and his people residing in the city is even further enriched with the description of their covenant relationship expressed with the formula, "they will be My people and I will be their God."[114]

This return migration of the people is depicted by "the old men and old women" (זקנים וזקנות) who will sit in the open squares of Jerusalem as well as the "boys and girls" (וילדות ילדים) who will fill it. Using the figure of merism by mentioning old and young as two extremes emphasizes the "totality of the group."[115] The description that is found in Zech 8:4–5 should be understood as allusion to earlier prophetic texts such as Jer 6:10–11; 9:19–21; and Lam 2:19–21, where Yahweh's discipline of his people is described by using the imagery of the death of the children on the streets.[116] However, in Zech 8:4–5, this negative imagery is reversed and the old men and old women, along with the boys and girls, are described as being in the open plazas of Jerusalem in a positive sense. In contrast to the description of the boys and girls as victims of the streets, they are described here as playing in open plazas.[117] This reversal of imagery is also emphasized by the usage of the word רחב ("plaza") instead of חוץ ("street"), since the latter term is used almost exclusively in a negative connotation.[118] This passage's description of both the elderly and children can also be seen as an intertextual allusion to Lev 27:6–7 where these two groups are described as being at the bottom of the socioeconomic structure. Keeping that in mind, Zech 8:4–5 may be understood as a description of an idyllic reconstruction of the society of that time, when even those who are usually considered helpless and on society's margins will prosper.[119]

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[114] Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 649.
[115] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 300.
[116] Lux, *Prophetie und Zweiter Tempel*, 108–15. See also, Reed, "God's Vision for the City," 33.
[117] Lux, *Prophetie und Zweiter Tempel*, 115–21.
[118] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 415–16.
[119] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 415. Note also Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 483) who made the connection between this imagery in Zech 8 and that given in Zech 7 by emphasizing that these verses "stand in stark contrast to the description of … the devastating image of widows and

As has already been implicitly alluded to in the section dealing with the new name that will be given to Jerusalem where the term "truth" is used, one of the major characteristics of the ideological description of the people's space is social justice. This subject is addressed especially in Zech 8:16–17 where the phrase איש את־רעהו ("each with his neighbor") is used two times and clearly alludes to the high ethical standards of the society in which the Yehudites lived.[120] Even though these ethical ideals are described as something the people must do—which is evident from the shift from indicative to imperative verbs[121]—they are closely related to Yahweh's return and (re)establishing the covenant between him and his people.[122]

The description of the people's ideological space as it relates to social justice embraces two exhortations that deal with the people's outward actions and two prohibitions that are more concerned with their internal motivations and the state of their hearts.[123] Thus, the description of the people's ideological space moves from the delineation of ethical actions to a portrayal of their attitudes and motivation.[124] The first requirement to "speak the truth" (דברו אמת) is related to both a personal attribute and to a characteristic of the judicial system.[125] As the first attribute on the list found in Zech 8:16–17, it represents the foundation on which a socially just community is established.[126] The second obligation "to judge with truth and justice that lead[127] to peace" (אמת ומשפט שלום שפטו) is, on the other hand, only related to the lawcourt and

orphans vulnerable to abuse in the judicial system evident in the prophetic attack on the past and present generation sin Zechariah 7–8 (see esp. 7:9)."

[120] Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 310–11) labeled this phrase "a formula of reciprocity" and situated it in the context of matters related to social justice.

[121] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 310.

[122] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 504–5.

[123] Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 653.

[124] For the movement from action to motivations, see Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 506.

[125] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 426.

[126] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 426.

[127] IBHS §9.5.2.c.

specifically addresses judges.[128] By listing this and the other two characteristics mentioned in v. 17, the people's ideological space delineated in Zech 8:16–17 is contrasted with the lived space described in Zech 7:9–10.[129] With respect to the requirements that are more concerned with what is happening within the heart, the prohibition to "not devise evil in your hearts" (רעהו אל־תחשבו בלבבכם) alludes to the state of the people's hearts.[130] Finally, the prohibition against swearing falsely again alludes to the legal context and ties back to the treatment of this topic in the sixth vision report in Zech 5:1–4.[131]

The last characteristic of the people's ideological space is given in Zech 8:20–23. In this last unit of this central section of the book of Zechariah, foreign people are described as coming to Jerusalem to seek Yahweh.[132] The most probable rationale behind the movement of people towards Jerusalem is a pilgrimage, namely "seeking Yahweh's presence in a particular place."[133] The adverbial expression of time עד ("once again") alludes to the traditions from the past that also testify of foreigners visiting Jerusalem.[134] Thus, the idyllic description of foreigners seeking Yahweh in Jerusalem is based on experiences from the preexilic period when the land was described as being inhabited and prosperous (cf. Zech 7:7). Boda asserted that the action of seeking in the OT is closely related to repentance, a motif that could offer the rationale behind the pilgrimage.[135] It is

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[128] Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 653; Wolters, *Zechariah*, 245.

[129] Stead (*The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 235) explained that "Zechariah 8:16–17 is an intertextual echo of Zech 7:9–10, where the ethical standard formerly proclaimed to the 'fathers' (7:9–10) comes to be applied to Zechariah's generation (8:16–17)." The exception is the first commandment, which is not paralleled with Zech 7:9–10. See also, Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 426.

[130] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 311.

[131] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 228–29.

[132] Contra Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 435–36) who identified עמים with Israelites in the broadest sense and made a distinction between this term and הגוים from Zech 8:23.

[133] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 317.

[134] Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 512) mentioned the Queen of Sheba (1 Kgs 10:1), the delegation from Bethel led by foreigners, as well as Solomon's prayer in 1 Kgs 8 in which foreigners are also mentioned (see especially 1 Kgs 8:41–43).

[135] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 513.

likely that this passage has in view an intertextual link with Isa 2:1–4 which describes nations going to Jerusalem because of Yahweh.[136] Thus, the central section of Zechariah closes with the absolute reversal of the faith of Yehudites: not only that Jerusalem will be inhabited with Israelites who will return from exile (Zech 8:7–8), but it will also become the place where other nations will flow to seek Yahweh. Hence, the description of restoration of a place that had been almost completely desolated into a place that would be full of people gets its ultimate and most vivid portrayal in this passage.

The analysis above shows that the people's ideological space as described in Zech 7–8 features four major characteristics. First, the ideological description of Jerusalem and its surrounding cities is tied to Yahweh's return to Zion and his dwelling in the temple. Second, closely related to Yahweh's return is the description of Jerusalem and its surrounding cities as "inhabited and at ease," a portrayal that is in striking contrast with the description of lived space as desolate. This will be accomplished by the return migration of the people of Yahweh described in Zech 8:7–8, which will result in Jerusalem's squares being filled with the elderly and children. Third, an important characteristic of the ideological space described in Zech 7–8 is social justice, which includes both the outward ethical actions and the internal attitudes and motivations of the people of God. Finally, Zech 7–8 includes foreign people in the ideological portrayal of space. They are described as a group who will come to Jerusalem to seek Yahweh's presence. The ideological portrayal of people's space described above is blended with a delineation of nature's ideological space. This portrayal of nature is explored in the last section of this chapter.

[136] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 317.

8.4.3 Nature's Ideological Space

As has been shown in the table above, Zech 7–8 does not deal only with God's and the people's space, but also with nature's space. Nature's space is closely related to the first two types of space, as will be shown below. The most obvious passage providing an ideological description of nature's space is Zech 8:12, and it is this passage that is first presented in the table below and then analyzed.[137]

Zech 7–8	Nature's Ideological Space	Markers
Zech 8:12	<u>ועתה</u>... כי־זרע השלום הגפן תתן פריה והארץ תתן את־ יבולה והשמים יתנו טלם <u>And now</u>, there will be a sowing of peace: the vine will give its fruit, the land will give its produce, and the heavens will give their dew.	IdF; IdY

Table 9. Nature's Ideological Space in Zechariah 7–8

The passage in Zech 8:12 is part of a larger section dealing with Yahweh's plans for his people (Zech 8:9–17, with the exception of vv. 16–17).[138] These plans for a bright future for the people of Israel include ecological flourishing. Agricultural abundance is first alluded to with the phrase "there will be[139] a sowing[140] of peace" (זרע השלום) at the beginning of v. 12. This promise is in direct contrast with the previous description of the lack of peace in the past that is found in Zech 8:10.[141] A clear intertextual link is made with Haggai, where both agricultural disaster (Hag 1:11) and prosperity (Hag 2:19) are

[137] No valuable information about the ideological aspect of nature's space can be found in two other passages which use nature's language. First, Zech 8:7 uses the phrase "the land of the setting sun" to refer to the West, and Zech 8:3 uses the phrases "the mountain of Yahweh" and "holy mountain" to refer to God's space. Thus, this verse has been discussed above in the section dealing with God's space.

[138] Floyd, *Minor Prophets 2*, 432.

[139] On the verbless clause, see IBHS §8.

[140] There is no need for a revocalization of the noun זֶרַע into the verb זָרַע as suggested by Wolters, *Zechariah*, 243.

[141] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 307; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 423; Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 651.

connected with the rebuilding of the temple.[142] In the same way, ecological prosperity—described in this verse using the term שלום—is directly connected here with the state of the temple (Zech 8:9), an issue that will be addressed in detail in the next section of the present work.[143]

This idea of the coming of a time of a sowing of prosperity, which is mentioned at the beginning of this verse, is then unpacked by describing two elements of agricultural abundance: fruitfulness of the vine and cooperation between the land and heaven. The first element mentioned in this description of agricultural prosperity is the fruitful vine. The vine is not only mentioned as a product that God will multiply; it also stands for all agricultural produce.[144] That this is in view in Zech 8:12 is clear when one keeps in view the intertextual parallel with Hag 2:19 where the vine is followed by a reference to date, pomegranate, and olive trees.[145] By mentioning the first product from this list, Zech 8:12 likely alludes to all the fruits mentioned in Hag 2:19 and all sorts of fruits in general.[146]

Second, Zech 8:12 also mentions the heavens and the earth. This again should be read in the light of a clear parallel that is drawn between this verse and Hag 1:10, which describes a lack of cooperation between heaven and earth:[147] the heavens did not provide dew (טל)[148] and hence the earth could not yield its expected produce (יבול).[149] Here,

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[142] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 423.

[143] Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 487) explained that Zech 8:9–13 describes different periods as they relate to the day of foundation laying. Thus, the main concern of the passage is the temple rebuilding.

[144] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 423. See also Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 496) who asserted that the vine and the land were "two key sources of drink and food" at that time.

[145] On the connection between Zech 8:9–13 and the book of Haggai, see Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 471–4.

[146] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 423.

[147] Wolters, *Zechariah*, 243.

[148] For the significance of "dew" for agricultural life in Israel, see Verhoef, *Haggai and Malachi*, 74; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 31; and Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 139.

[149] For the theme of a contrast between expectation and reality (Hag 1:6, 9), see Kessler, *The Book of Haggai*, 136–37. See also, Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 51–52.

however, the situation is completely reversed since “the land will give its produce, and the heavens will give their dew” (יתנו טלם והארץ תתן את־יבולה והשמים). Meyers and Meyers correctly asserted that a “reversal of fortunes” is outlined in Zech 8:12 with the “the reversing of the order of the two clauses” from Hag 2:10.[150] In other words, while in the past, heaven did not communicate with the land, which resulted in agricultural disaster, Yahweh promises that that will not be the case in the future.

A few concluding words about nature’s ideological space are in order. As has been shown above, Yahweh’s description of ideological space includes agricultural flourishing, more specifically agricultural abundance. This abundance is first portrayed by using the metaphor of a coming time when “there will be a sowing of peace.” This sowing of peace is then explained as including the fertility of the vine and a cooperation between heaven and earth. In this way, the description of nature’s lived space given in Hag 1:9–11 and alluded to in Zech 8:10–11 featuring ecological disaster is reversed by giving a portrayal of ecological flourishing in Zech 8:12. Thus, the portrayal of the people’s and God’s ideological space is completed by the description of nature’s ideological space.

8.4.4 Summary

Now that the investigation of the ideological space in Zech 7–8 has been completed, the findings reached above can be summarized. It has been shown that Zech 7–8 deals with the ideological aspect of all three types of space: God’s, the people’s, and nature’s space. As was the case in all the biblical passages that have been studied in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus, these three types of space are mutually connected and interrelated.

[150] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 423.

God's ideological space is represented by a fully rebuilt temple that is exclusively connected with Jerusalem and that will serve as the dwelling place of Yahweh. The temple is portrayed as built to serve not only the Yehudites, but also Gentiles. The description of the people's ideological space is also related to Jerusalem and its surrounding cities. Jerusalem and its environs are described as the place to which Yahweh and his people will return. The people's space is also portrayed as a place where social justice will flourish and where foreigners will come to seek Yahweh. Finally, as was the case elsewhere in Haggai–Zech 1–8, this delineation of ideological space is completed by the portrayal of agricultural flourishing that reverses the description of ecological catastrophe from Hag 1:9–11.

8.5 Conclusion

The purpose of this last section of the chapter is to merge the findings related to both lived and ideological space as described in Zech 7–8 with a special emphasis placed on the relationship between these two. In order to do a comparison between God's, the people's and nature's lived and ideological space, the findings from above will be summarized by presenting these three different types of space in the order that they are mentioned above. In this way the contrast between the lived and ideological space that is portrayed in Zech 7–8 will be presented in a clear way.

The examination of God's, people's, and nature's spaces dealing with the lived and ideological aspects of space shows that there is a clear tension between the lived spaces created by people and the ideological spaces portrayed by the prophet. These contrasts are presented below:

(1) God's lived space is described as the desolated temple in Jerusalem with its cultic center's epithet being detached from it and ascribed to Bethel. The prophet, on the other hand, portrays God's ideological space as including a fully rebuilt temple in Jerusalem that will serve as Yahweh's dwelling place. The temple is also portrayed as a place where not only Yehudites, but also other nations will come to seek Yahweh.

(2) The people's lived space is portrayed as politically and socially disordered since the people practiced social injustice and lost their political independence. As was the case with God's lived space, this portrayal of the people's lived space is contrasted with the prophet's delineation of the people's ideological space: that space is inhabited by people among whom Yahweh dwells, where social justice is practiced, and where foreigners come to seek Yahweh.

(3) Nature's lived space is depicted as a space that suffers a very serious ecological disaster in the form of agricultural scarcity, which is evident from the lack of fruit that was the main source for providing the people with drink and food. The prophet, on the other hand, describes a space where agricultural production flourishes.

Thus, this chapter shows that Zech 7–8 portrays a tension between God's, the people's, and nature's lived space on the one hand, and God's, the people's, and nature's ideological space on the other. The question that remains to be answered is how the people produced the lived space and how the prophet imagines the reconstruction of that corrupted space into the ideological space. The answer lies in the ritual practices that play an important role in Zech 7–8, just as in the previous sections of Haggai–Zech 1–6. It is the goal of the next chapter to provide a thorough examination of the key ritual practices of Zech 7–8.

CHAPTER 9: THE RITUAL PRODUCTION OF SPACE IN ZECHARIAH 7–8

9.1 Introduction

Now that the examination of critical spatiality in Zech 7–8 has been completed, the research can move to the investigation of the rituals that are mentioned in this section of the book of Zechariah. The particular focus will be on the question of how these rituals produce the different kind of space that have been described in chapter 8. There are three rituals that are mentioned in Zech 7–8: (1) the fasting in the fourth, fifth, seventh, and tenth months during the seventy years of captivity; (2) the feasts; and (3) the foundation-laying ceremony. Even though these rituals are only referred to in Zech 7–8 and are not described in detail, it is clear that they represent the backbone of this central unit of the book of Zechariah.[1]

According to the classification of rituals proposed by Grimes, rituals of fasting and feasting fall under the category of liturgical rituals.[2] These liturgical rituals are related to the first and the second temple. Even more important for the main question posed in this chapter of the present work, these rituals can be classified as felicitous and infelicitous rituals.[3] It is demonstrated in this chapter that these two types of rituals create two different aspects of space, namely ideological and lived space. Also, as has already

[1] There are several arguments that can be made in favour of the statement that the issue of fasting/feasting is a key issue addressed in Zech 7–8. One of the most important arguments is the literary structure of this central unit of the book of Zechariah, which begins and ends by addressing this topic. See for instance, Butterworth, *Structure and the Book of Zechariah*, 70–72, and especially, Boda, "From Fasts to Feasts."

[2] Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, 40–57.

[3] See the second chapter of the present work. For the discussion about the distinction between fictive and regular rituals with an emphasis on the function of former, see Grimes, *Reading, Writing, and Ritualizing*, 127–42.

been explained in chapter 8, according to this classification a distinction is made between the rituals described in Zech 1–6, where they are described in the spiritual world of visions (with an important exception of Zech 4:6b–10a), and the rituals mentioned in Hag 1–2 (examined in chapter 5) and Zech 7–8 (addressed in the current chapter), which allude to and describe rituals actually performed on the ground.[4]

It should be mentioned that the examination of the rituals of fasting and feasting mentioned above is limited since the information about the rituals referenced in Zech 7–8 is scarce. However, as was the case with the rest of the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus, this unit features important intertextual links with fasting/feasting rituals outside of Zech 7–8 that shed some important light on these rituals. Also, this unit thoroughly addresses the question of their efficacy and it will be argued that that is one of the main issues addressed in these two chapters. Since they are mentioned first, the present study will begin with addressing the rituals of fasting.

9.2 References to Rituals and the Structure of Zechariah 7–8

Before this investigation moves to the examination of the two rituals that are referred to in Zech 7–8, a brief note on the literary structure of this section as it relates to references to rituals is in order. As has already been mentioned in the previous chapter, one can discern a chiastic structure in Zech 7–8.[5] This central section of the book of Zechariah begins with going to the house of Yahweh in Zech 7:2 and the question about fasting in Zech 7:3 and ends with the remark about transitioning from fasting to feasting in Zech

[4] As explained in chapter 7, this approach is sensitive to genres in which rituals are described. Accordingly, the rituals described in Hag 1–2 and Zech 7–8 are distinguished from the rituals described in Zech 1–6. See further, Wright, "Ritual Theory, Ritual Texts," 199–213.

[5] See Butterworth, *Structure and the Book of Zechariah*, 163 and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 418–19.

8:19 and seeking Yahweh in Zech 8:20–23. In the very center of this unit stands the section of Zech 8:2–13 which ends with the description of the foundation-laying ritual (Zech 8:9–13).[6] A brief look at this structure reveals that the passages that refer to rituals represent the backbone of this section against which the prophet provides the portrayal of ideological and lived aspects of space. This fact will be very important for the investigation of the ritual efficacy in the present chapter.

9.3 The Rituals of Fasting

Rituals of fasting are mentioned at the beginning of Zech 7–8 in Zech 7:2–7 as well as again at the end of this unit in Zech 8:18–23.[7] These units are distinct from the rest of Zech 7–8 based on the use of the prophetic formulas that appear throughout the units: "the word of Yahweh came to Zechariah" (דבר־יהוה אל־זכריה) in Zech 7:1, 8; "the word of Yahweh of hosts came to me" (דבר־יהוה צבאות אלי) in Zech 7:4; 8:18; and "the word of Yahweh (came)" (דבר־יהוה צבאות) in Zech 8:1, with the formula found in Zech 8:1 being clearly distinguished from the others since it does not specify the recipient.[8] Even though the specific rites out of which these rituals of fasting are composed are not described in detail in these two sections of Zech 7–8, what is clear is that the actions delineated in these verses are ritualistic in their nature as well as that they represent the backbone of this central unit of the book of Zechariah. The activities are delineated as embodied, ritually dense, clearly prescribed in the earlier literature, and of crucial importance for the covenantal relationship between the people and Yahweh. All

[6] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 418–19.

[7] See Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 419) who suggested that these two sections at the beginning and the end are rhetorically connected by means of a chiasm.

[8] See Clark ("Discourse Structure") who recognized the different formulas that appear in Zech 7–8 and who made a distinction between the three different levels at which these formulas occur: the word of Yahweh came (the first level); thus has said Yahweh of hosts (the second level); and declaration of Yahweh (the third level). Clark was critiqued by Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 416–17) who argued that "key distinctions between these various markers call into question Clark's use of them to provide rhetorical unity."

these qualities are outlined in chapter 2 as essential characteristics of rituals.[9] This centrality of fasting/feasting rituals will become of crucial importance for the interpretation of the efficacy of these fasting rituals which will be examined in the study below.

9.3.1 Ritual Elements

Before the study moves to an investigation of the efficacy of the ritual of fasting, it first focuses on the ritual elements outlined by Grimes as they are described in the text: actors, place, times, and actions. These rituals are first presented in the table below and then analyzed, one by one, in the next section of this study.

Grimes's Ritual Elements	References to Ritual Elements	Zech 7–8
Ritual places	בית־אל Bethel	Zech 7:2
Ritual actors	וישלח בית־אל שר־אצר ורגם מלך ואנשיו כל־עם הארץ ואל־הכהנים Bethel had sent Shar-ezer, Regem-Melech, and his men all the people of the land and to the priests	Zech 7:2, 5
Ritual action	האבכה בחדש החמשי הנזר כי־צמתם וספוד הצום צמתני אני Shall I weep in the fifth month and restrict myself When you fasted and mourned	Zech 7:3, 5

[9] See section 2.3 of the present work dealing with ritual theoretical framework, especially the definition of ritual given in section 2.3.2.

	Did you really fast for me, for me?	
Ritual times	האבכה בחדש החמשי הנזר כאשר עשיתי זה כמה שנים בחמישי ובשביעי וזה שבעים שנה צום הרביעי וצום החמישי וצום השביעי וצום העשירי Shall I weep in the fifth month and restrict myself as I have done these many years In the fifth and in the seventh (month) these seventy years The fast of the fourth, the fast of the fifth, the fast of the seventh, and the fast of the tenth month	Zech 7:3, 5; 8:19
Ritual objects	—	—

Table 1. Elements of the Offering Rituals (Zech 7–8)

9.3.1.1 Ritual Actors

The first ritual element that appears in the text of Zech 7–8 is the actors who participated in the fasting. As has been seen in the previous chapter, Zech 7:2 can be translated in a few different ways, and these different translations directly affect the reader's understanding of the identity of those who participated in the rituals of fasting.[10] It has

[10] Thus, the question is whether the phrase בית־אל שר־אצר found in Zech 7:2 should be translated with "Bethel had sent Shar-ezer" (see for example, Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 221, footnote 7 and Boda, *Exploring Zechariah 1*, 431) or with "Bethelsarezer" the character from a Babylonian text *Bīt-ili-shar-usur* (see, for instance, *HALOT*, 9212; Hyatt, "A Neo-Babylonian Parallel," 387–94; Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 281; Love, *The Evasive Text*, 70–71; and Wolters, *Zechariah*, 210). These two different translations suggest individuals who carry different names (Shar-ezer and Bethelsarezer) to be those who participated in the rituals of fasting.

Note that differences in translation related to the question of who is the subject of the verb שלח do not affect the reader's understanding of who was participating in these rituals. Regardless of whether

already been established in the previous chapter dealing with critical spatiality in Zech 7–8 that Bethel as a corporate entity should be understood as the main subject of the verse and that Shar-ezer, Regem-Melech, and his men were the people who were sent by Bethel to Jerusalem to enquire about the fasting.[11] They are referred to in the text as "Shar-ezer, Regem-Melech, and his men" (שר־אצר ורגם מלך ואנשיו) and they are, therefore, among those who participated in the ritual of fasting. It should be kept in mind that the people mentioned above were just representatives of the people of Bethel who were highly likely to be the main actors in the fasting rituals.[12]

The first character who is mentioned in Zech 7:2 is Shar-ezer. Even though Shar-ezer is a foreign name, likely Akkadian,[13] a number of scholars suggested that this does not exclude the possibility that Shar-ezer was actually of Jewish heritage.[14] There are two arguments for this understanding of Shar-ezer's identity: first, he is described in Zech 7:2

Bethel is the one sending (Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 221, footnote 7; Boda, *Exploring Zechariah 1*, 431) or Shar-ezer (LXX, Peshitta, and Vulgate) or Darius (Lipiński, "Recherches sur le livre de Zacharie," 25–55) or Zechariah (Frolov, "Is the Narrator Also among the Prophets?," 20–21), Sharezer or Bethelsarezer are the main actors who participate in the ritual of fasting. The only difference would be in the question of whether they are sending people to ask about the rituals of fasting or whether they are the ones sent to ask about it, but in both cases they participate in the fasts.

Another important phrase in this verse where translation can affect the understanding of the actors who participated in the fasting rituals is ורגם מלך. This phrase can be understood as the personal name Regem-Melech and, therefore, as "the second member of delegation" (Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 383. See also Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 281 and Wolters, *Zechariah*, 210) or as the title of Shar-ezer "the king's spokesman" (see Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 431, who follows the lines of the Peshitta's reading). Keeping in mind that the term מלך is very often found in compound names in the OT (2 Kgs 23:11; Jer 38:7), as well as that the name ורגם is also mentioned in 1 Chr 2:47, the former approach is followed here. See Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 383.

[11] See chapter 8.

[12] Contra Floyd (*Minor Prophets 2*, 421–22) who observed that the fasting rituals that are in view in Zech 7–8 "would not have been observed by people native to Bethel because this city had not been under Jerusalem's jurisdiction for centuries." While Floyd correctly noted that Bethel's sanctuary was a rival to Jerusalem's temple (1 Kgs 12:26–33), it is that very reason that makes this place the first contender for the position of cultic center during the time after the destruction of Jerusalem's temple. It should also be taken into account that due to the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple, a number of people had fled to the northern territories that had not been destroyed like those of the south. Thus, it is likely that the people who lived in Bethel at that time included those who were not Bethelians, namely people who fled to Bethel after the Babylonian destruction of the southern territories.

[13] *HALOT*, 3:1353.

[14] See, for example, Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 638; Hoffman, "The Fasts in the Book of Zechariah," 202; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 435.

as someone who has participated in the fasting rituals during the period of Babylonian captivity. This argument is strengthened even more when one takes into account the commemorative nature of these rituals, a topic that will be discussed in more detail below.[15] Second, it was not unusual at that time for a Jew to have a foreign name.[16] It is also important to note that Shar-ezer probably had a high rank in the society of that time, which is based on the fact that he was sent to Jerusalem along with his men, who probably served as military force or advisors.[17]

The second character who was a member of the delegation that was sent by Bethel was Regem-melech. Both he and Shar-ezer were accompanied by men, the fact that reveals that he also belonged to the upper class of society of that time.[18] Meyers and Meyers correctly asserted that the text does not reveal many details about his background and whether he had returned from captivity or was a Palestinian. The meaning of his name suggests that he was associated with royalty, probably as a spokesman, but that claim cannot be corroborated with either biblical or extrabiblical data.[19]

It should also be mentioned that there are two other groups besides Shar-ezer and Regem-melech and their men who are also mentioned as those who participated in the rituals of fasting. They are mentioned in Zech 7:5 as "all the people of the land and [to] the priests" (כל־עם הארץ ואל־הכהנים). Even though the phrase "all the people of the land" (כל־עם הארץ) clearly refers to the Jews who lived in the province of Yehud at that time, any identification of this phrase with a specific social group of that time is challenging.[20] In her study of this term as used in Ezra 4:4, Lisbeth S. Fried gave an

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[15] It is hard to imagine someone without a Jewish background participating in the fasting rituals that have the primary purpose of commemorating events related to the fall of Jerusalem. For the discussion about the purpose of these fasting rituals, see below.

[16] Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 638. See also Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 435) who explained that Zerubbabel has an Akkadian name, but it is clear that he has Jewish lineage.

[17] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 435.

[18] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 383.

[19] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 383–84.

[20] Würthwein, *Der'amm Ha'arez*. He is followed by Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 284–85.

overview of the different proposals about the identity of this social group. Fried listed a few potential solutions to this question among which the most prominent is that "all the people of the land" refers either to Jews who remained in the land after Nebuchadnezzar's deportation or to the Samaritans.[21] Fried herself, however, suggested that as is the case in the whole OT, the term כל־עם הארץ in Ezra 4:4 refers to "the landed aristocracy of an area" who, in the Persian empire, were "the satrapal officials who administered [the] government."[22] Even though Fried included how this term was used in preexilic, exilic, and postexilic texts in her study, it is important to note that she did not examine the usage of this term in Zech 7:5, where the meaning that she suggested does not fit the overall context of Zech 7:2–7 in which the people of the land are likely referred to as those of a lower class than Shar-ezer, Regem-melech, and their men. The basis for this understanding is the report given in Zech 7:2 according to which, Shar-ezer, Regem-melech and his men were *sent* by the people of Bethel and therefore had a higher status than ordinary people, at least in the subject matters addressed in Zech 7:2–7. Thus, it is more probable that the term כל־עם הארץ in Zech 7:5 is used in a broader context, likely to describe people who continued to live in the land after the forced migration to Babylon.[23]

Finally, the last group that is mentioned in relation to the fasting rituals are the priests. As elsewhere in the Old Testament, they should be understood as the leaders in Israel whose service was specifically related to the temple.[24] Since the priests are mentioned as part of the longer phrase, "all the people of the land and the priests" (כל־עם הארץ ואל־הכהנים), the author purposefully makes a contrast between these two groups

[21] Williamson, *Ezra–Nehemiah*, 45. One of the most recent studies on this prominent issue in the post-exilic period has been done by Rom-Shiloni, *Exclusive Inclusivity*, 48–81.

[22] Fried, "Persia's Loyal Yahwists," 125.

[23] Würthwein, *Der 'amm Ha'arez*, 51–57; 60–61.

[24] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 387. Priests and prophets in Zech 7:2 are clearly distinguished as those who are responsible for answering the questions and giving instructions in regards to the matter of fasting.

of people: "ordinary Israelites" are contrasted to "those serving in the temple."[25] It is quite surprising that it is the prophet who answers the question about fasting, which in Zech 7:3 is addressed first and primarily to the priests.[26] However, once the prophet stood up to answer the question posed by the delegation, it is not surprising that in his response, he mentioned the priests who were likely the ones in charge of all ritual activities, including fasting. That this is the case is also evident from Hag 2:10–14 where the priests are the ones who are asked about ritual regulations. Not only did the prophet's answer address the priests, they were also criticized by the prophet, an issue that will be addressed in more detail in the section dealing with the actions and efficacy of the rituals of fasting. Before this paper turns to these ritual elements, the question of ritual place should be addressed.

9.3.1.2 Ritual Place and Times

As has been shown in the previous chapter dealing with critical spatiality in Zech 7–8, the most important passage that describes the place where the rituals of fasting were practiced is Zech 7:2–3. In this passage, Bethel is mentioned as the place from which the delegation that is sent to Jerusalem to inquire about fasting comes. This naturally puts forward Bethel as one of the locations where the rituals of fasting were taking place. This is confirmed by both archaeological findings[27] and well-known traditions[28] about

[25] Hoffman, "The Fasts in the Book of Zechariah," 199.

[26] For a more detailed discussion on the discrepancy between the question asked in Zech 7:2–3 and the answer given in Zech 7:5, see Hoffman, "The Fasts in the Book of Zechariah," 187–92. Note, also, Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 442) who correctly asserted that "the prophets, among which Zechariah appears to function, were almost an afterthought in the description of Shar-ezer's inquiry in 7:3." For a more comprehensive discussion on the tension between the prophets and priests, see, further, Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*; Tiemeyer, "The Priests and the Temple Cult"; and Boda, "Perspectives on Priests."

[27] Kelso and Albright, *The Excavation of Bethel*, 37. See also, Valkama, "What Do Archaeological Remains Reveal?" 50.

[28] Some important biblical texts about Bethel are Gen 12:18; 13:3; 28:17, 19; 35:6; Josh 16:1–2; 18:12–13, 22; Judg 1:23; 1 Sam 10:3; 1 Kgs 12:28–33; 13; 2 Kgs 2:2–3, 23; 23:4, 15–20; 1 Chr 7:28; Amos 7; 13.

Bethel's cult, as was seen in the previous chapter of the present work. The archaeological and biblical data examined in the previous chapter showed that Bethel was considered an important cultic place and a rival to the cultic center in Jerusalem. The significant cultic role of Bethel in ancient Israelite history came again to prominence in the period after 587/6 BCE when Jerusalem was destroyed and when cultic services at the site of Jerusalem temple were severely affected by its destruction.[29] The cultic importance of Bethel, in that way, marks the beginning of the decentralization of the cult from Jerusalem—where cultic activity continued to exist in a very limited form even after the destruction of the temple—to Bethel and presumably to other centers throughout diaspora.[30]

It should be noted, however, that even though it is likely that Bethel served as a cultic center at that time, the rituals of fasting were not exclusively limited to the people who lived in Bethel. It must be kept in mind that after the fall of Jerusalem, the people of Judah had been dispersed into a number of neighboring countries, mostly to Egypt and Babylonia, but also to Moab, Ammon, and Edom (Jer 40:11); those who lived in those territories were also able to participate in the fasting rituals mentioned in Zech 7:2–3.[31] That this was the case can be supported by the nature of the ritual practices as well as by

[29] See Carter, *The Emergence of Yehud*, 31–74; Barstad, *The Myth of the Empty Land*, 51–54; Barstad, "After the 'Myth of the Empty Land'," 3–20; and Albertz (*Israel in Exile*, 141) who emphasized that the cultic services were affected but did not cease to exist in Jerusalem in this period.

[30] Although the descriptions of the destruction of Jerusalem found in 2 Kgs 25:8–17 and Jer 37–39 testify to the totality of the devastation, the episode reported in Jer 41:5 suggests that the Jerusalem temple remained a site where cultic activity continued even after its destruction. See chapter 3 of the present work. For a more detailed discussion on the continuity of ritual activity on the site of the Jerusalem temple in the period after its destruction, see Leuchter, *The Polemics of Exile*, 125; Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration*, 25; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 709; Jones, "The Cessation of Sacrifice," 12–31; Middlemas, *The Troubles of Templeless Judah*, 131; and Lipschits, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem*, 114–18. Note those who think that pilgrims went towards Mizpah or Bethel, Blenkinsopp, "Bethel in the Neo-Babylonian Period," 98–99. For a discussion on the nature of cultic activities referenced by Jer 41:5, see, further, Jones, "The Cessation of Sacrifice"; Allan, "The Identity of the Jerusalem Priesthood"; and Blenkinsopp, "The Judaean Priesthood."

[31] Hoffman, "The Fasts in the Book of Zechariah," 174.

their purpose.[32] First, by their nature, rituals of fasting are not necessarily tied to a specific location and, second, the purpose of these fasting rituals was likely to commemorate different events that were important to the different groups of people who lived in different places. Accordingly, Hoffman suggested that while the fasts of the seventh month were established primarily by those who remained in the land as well as by those who were in Egypt as a memorial to the assassination of Gedaliah (Jer 41:1–2), the fasts of the fifth month were primarily associated with those who lived in Babylon and who probably commemorated the day on which they received the report about the destruction of the temple.[33] Thus, the fact that the rituals of fasting were practiced during different months probably reflects the reality that these rituals were associated with a few different events and began to be practiced by people who lived in different locations and wanted to commemorate different aspects of the fall of Judah.

Keeping in mind that there are no explicit statements about the place where the fasting rituals were practiced, the previously mentioned reconstruction of the ritual place should be taken as hypothetical and not certain. It must also be mentioned that even though it is likely that the rituals of fasting were practiced at different places, this does

[32] Hoffman ("The Fasts in the Book of Zechariah," 174) correctly observed that rituals of fasting should be "viewed as a response to a different reality, wherein the mourning practices did not begin immediately after the destruction and certainly not among the people as a whole … it can hardly be assumed that, while the people were still reeling from the immediate shock of the fall of the Temple and exile, without an official leadership accepted by all, and in the absence of any history of an annual fast, a fast day would have been established and won popular acceptance." While I disagree with Hoffman on a number of issues related to his understanding of rituals of fasting described in Zech 7–8, his emphasis on diversity—even though it cannot be proven from the analysis of "inconsistencies" evident in the question presented by the delegation and the response given by prophet—is convincing and likely reflects the reality of that time. However, it is the historical reality of that time that corroborates his conclusions about the diversity of ritual fasting and not the inconsistencies found in the question posed by the delegation and the answer given by the prophet.

[33] Hoffman, "The Fasts in the Book of Zechariah," 189, 196. See also Ackroyd (*Exile and Restoration*, 207, footnote 122) who gave different explanations for the months mentioned above in which fasting was practiced. He argued that the fast in the fifth month was associated with the destruction of the Temple (2 Kgs 25:8); the fast in the fourth month, with the destruction of the city (2 Kgs 25:3); and fast in the seventh month, with the assassination of Gedaliah (2 Kgs 25:25; Jer 41:1). Even though they have a slightly different interpretation of events, both Hoffman and Ackroyd agreed that the main purpose of fasting was a commemoration of the events associated with the destruction of Jerusalem.

not undermine the centrality of Bethel as the cultic center, as affirmed in Zech 7. It is likely that the different regulations related to these fasting rituals came from Bethel, which served as the cultic center of that time.

9.3.1.3 Ritual Actions

The last ritual element that will be examined in this section is ritual action. In the Old Testament, the act of fasting is usually understood as a total abstention from food and/or drink, mostly for spiritual/religious reasons.[34] Boda listed a number of actions that are associated with the fasting rituals described in the Old Testament such as physical prostration (Neh 1:4; Isa 58:3–6; 2 Chr 20:3–5), wearing symbolic coverings (Ps 35:13–14; Neh 9:1; Isa 58:3–62 Sam 1:11–12), crying (Ps 35:13–14; Ps 69:11[10]; Esth 4:3), verbal expressions (Ps 35:13–14; 2 Chr 20:3–5; Dan 9:4), priestly rituals (Jer 14:12), a revelatory declaration (Neh 9:1–4), repentance (Jer 36:6–9), covenant renewal (Neh 9–10), humility (Ps 35:13–14), and the blowing of a trumpet (Joel 2:15).[35] In regard to the rituals of fasting mentioned in Zech 7, ritual actions are described with the verbs בכה ("to weep") and נזר ("to restrict, abstain") in Zech 7:3 and ספד ("to mourn") in Zech 7:5. In addition, the question posed in Zech 7:6 "When you are eating and when you are drinking..." (...וכי תאכלו וכי תשתו), reveals that the action of fasting was contrasted to the action of eating and drinking, an issue that will be addressed below.

All these ritual actions listed in Zech 7—בכה ("weeping"), נזר ("restricting"), and ספד ("mourning")— are mentioned in relation to the main topic of the passage, which is the ritual of fasting (Zech 7:5 [3x]). In other words, the question about weeping and restricting from Zech 7:4, as well as the prophet's comment about people's mourning

[34] Muddiman, "Fast, Fasting," 2:773.

[35] For the full list with all of the biblical examples, see Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 444. It must be mentioned that repentance (Jer 36:6–9) and humility (Ps 35:13–14) lack the physical aspect and, thus, even though they are ritual actions, ritual theorists would have a problem with how to observe them. See also, Boda, "Form Criticism in Transition."

from Zech 7:5, should be understood as actions that are directly referring to the rituals of fasting, and not as different rites that are disassociated from those rituals.[36] These actions are examined in more detail below.

The action of weeping, as it appears in the present context addressing fasting rituals, should be understood as formalized and public weeping, rather than that performed in private homes.[37] The mention of weeping by the delegation that came from Bethel reveals that the ritual of fasting that they practiced included not only abstinence from food and/or drink, but also weeping and mourning—the latter of which is added to the action of weeping in the prophet's response in Zech 7:5.[38] These rites of weeping and mourning should be understood as mutually connected and as natural elements of fasting, especially if the fasting rituals had the purpose of commemorating the events related to the fall of Judah that happened in the fifth and the seventh months—the months when Nebuchadnezzar's troops destroyed Jerusalem with its temple, palace, and houses (2 Kgs 25:9; Jer 52:12) and when Gedaliah was killed.[39]

The act of "restricting" (הנזר), which is also mentioned as the ritual action in the question found in Zech 7:3, is more difficult to grasp. When found in the Niphal, as is the case in Zech 7:3, this verb is usually used with "a cultic connotation" of which the most well-known example is Num 6:2–6.[40] Keeping the context of Nazirite vows in mind,

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[36] On the issue of the prophet's use of different vocabulary than that used in the question posed by the delegation, as well as on his expansion of the original question, see Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 285) who argued that the prophet still addresses the subject of fasting, just with different words. Contra Hoffman ("The Fasts in the Book of Zechariah," 192–94) who emphasized the importance of the difference between the actions described in the question posed by the delectation from Bethel and the actions mentioned by the prophet in his answer. In that way, Hoffman asserted that the prophet's answer did not match the question asked by the delegation. Even though it is clear that the vocabulary used in the question and the answer are different, this different vocabulary is used together in other OT passages (see especially Isa 58 and Joel 2) in the context of discussions about the rituals of fasting, showing that these words should be taken as different rites that are parts of the same ritual. For a similar approach, see Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 386) who examined weeping from Zech 7:3 strictly in the context of the fasting and mourning in Zech 7:5.

[37] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 386.

[38] Wolters, *Zechariah*, 213–14.

[39] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 283, 85.

[40] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*.

some scholars, among whom the most prominent is Callaham, have suggested that the word should be understood as reference to consecration.[41] However, the difference between Num 6 and Zech 7–8 is significant, with the former focusing on consecration and the latter on rituals of fasting. In the context of Zech 7–8, where the act of restricting is mentioned along with weeping (Zech 7:3), fasting (Zech 7:5), and mourning (Zech 7:5), it is likely that restricting refers to unspecified restrictions related to food and/or drink.[42]

A few words should also be said about the actions of eating and drinking that are mentioned in Zech 7:6 and which apparently stand in stark contrast with all the terms mentioned above—namely, weeping, restricting, fasting, and mourning. This phrase could be interpreted in several ways, among which two interpretations are the most common: the act of eating and drinking found in Zech 7:6 may refer either 1) to regular daily consumption of food or drink[43] or 2) to ritual feasting celebrations.[44] Regardless of which of these two interpretations one believes to be correct, it is clear that this phrase from Zech 7:6 is introduced to create a striking contrast with the fasting rituals described in the previous verses. Thus, the act of fasting mentioned in Zech 7:5—the main characteristic of which is abstinence from food and/or drink—is contrasted with the act of eating and drinking that is mentioned in Zech 7:6.

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[41] Callaham, *Biblical Hebrew Infinitive Absolute*, 71. Followed by Wolters, *Zechariah*, 215.

[42] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 386.

[43] Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 286–87) asserted that the prophet mentioned eating and drinking in order to contrast them with the act of fasting. He argued that "both eating and fasting are likely to focus on the individual and not on Yahweh, and that fasting is therefore inherently problematic." Even though I agree that the action of eating and drinking is used here merely for the purpose of making a striking contrast with the rituals of fasting, Petersen's statement that fasting is problematic does not take into account that the rituals of fasting described in Zech 7 are infelicitous rituals.

[44] Note Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 389) who argued that besides the mere consumption of food and drink, this phrase likely refers to "cultic meals, or to the partaking of sacrificial portions." This idea is fully developed by Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 446–47) who argued that "while the fasting rituals [had] endured throughout the seventy years since the destruction of the temple, the feasting rituals were a more recent phenomenon."

9.3.1.4 Ritual Objects

Even though ritual objects are one of five essential ritual elements, not much can be said about this important ritual element in relation to fasting mentioned in Zech 7–8. The reasons for this could be the nature of fasting rituals. However, it must be said that there are a number or ritual objects that are often associated with fasting in the Old Testament tradition—such as sackcloth (Isa 58:36; Neh 9:1), dirt (Neh 9:1), ashes (Isa 58:36), and offerings[45]—but they are not mentioned in Zech 7.

9.3.1.5 Identification of the Ritual

Before the current investigation of fasting rituals in Zech 7–8 moves to its most important segment, which will be concerned with their efficacy, attention should be paid to the identification of what type of fasting rituals is described in Zech 7–8. In his study on the fasts in the book of Zechariah, Hoffman classified fasting rituals that are mentioned in the Old Testament into several categories: (1) non-calendrical preventive fasts that can be practiced in a public (Judg 20:26) or private setting (2 Sam 12:16, 21–23), (2) non-calendrical mourning fasts (1 Sam 31:13), and (3) the yearly Yom Kippur fast.[46] Hoffman explained that the first two categories of fasting rituals are not memorial fasts, and their practice would have only been temporary. Yom Kippur, on the other hand, did not exist as an annual calendrical fast before and at the time of Zechariah.[47] Thus, he concluded

[45] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 444.

[46] Hoffman, "The Fasts in the Book of Zechariah," 175–80.

[47] Hoffman, "The Fasts in the Book of Zechariah," 177, 180. It must be mentioned, however, that the intertextual link with Isa 58, which has in view Yom Kippur since the motifs of trumpets, Sabbath, and fasting are prominent in that chapter, may bring the theme of Yom Kippur to the fore of Zech 7–8. This link has been also noticed by Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 144; Webb, "Zion in Transformation," 119–21; Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 94–96; and Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 225–26. Even if that is the case, it is clear that this fast is not the main concern of Zech 7–8. One of the reasons for taking this approach is that the fasts that the people observed were practiced during different months and they were associated with the period of seventy years, which is a clear allusion to the period of exile.

that none of these three types of fasting rituals is in view in Zech 7–8. These suggestions made by Hoffman deserve a brief consideration.

Even though Hoffman's statement that Yom Kippur did not exist before that time is highly questionable, the differences between the fasting rituals that he listed and the ones described in Zech 7–8 seem correct.[48] Although the purpose of the fasts has not been stated explicitly in the text of Zechariah—which makes their identification much harder—it is highly likely that these fasting rituals were practiced to commemorate the catastrophic events associated with the fall of Judah such as the destruction of the city with its temple, the assassination of Gedaliah, and the forced migration into Babylon.[49] That this is the case is clear from the prophet's response in Zech 7:5 in which he rephrases the temporal reference "so many years" (זה כמה שנים) from Zech 7:3 to "these seventy years" (שבעים שנה וזה). The purpose of mentioning the motif of seventy years, which plays an important role in the prophetic literature (Jer 25:11; 29:10; Zech 1:12; and especially in Dan 9:2 since there is a connection between seventy years and fasting there), was to remind the people about the earlier destruction that signaled the beginning of the period of seventy years in exile.[50] The association of the seventy years with the fasts practiced by the people points to their commemorative nature.

Keeping in mind the fact that the fasting rituals described in Zech 7–8 had the purpose of commemorating different events related to the fall of Judah—especially the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple—an investigation of the nature of these rituals should return to the question of whether any of the fasting practices that are mentioned in earlier parts of the Old Testament literature could function as a basis upon which the fasts

[48] Wellhausen's idea that the festivals described in the priestly literature are a product of the priestly circles of the Second Temple has been critiqued by Dillmann (*Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua*, 593–690), Delitzsch (*Neuer Commentar über Genesis*, 17), and Kittel ("Die neueste Wendung," 29–62, 147–69) who argued for an earlier date of festivals.

[49] See, for example, Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 283, 313; Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 636–37, 40; Hoffman, "The Fasts in the Book of Zechariah," 194; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 445.

[50] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 445

described in Zech 7–8 could have been established.[51] While Hoffman's assertion that neither non-calendrical preventive fasts nor fasts associated with Yom Kippur should be taken as a foundation upon which these fasts are established seems correct—but not because Yom Kippur did not exist as an annual calendric ritual before that period[52]—in his effort to identify the fasting rituals described in Zech 7–8 Hoffman neglected the fact that these rituals are described as infelicitous.[53] In other words, the reason why Hoffman was not able to find a precedent for the fasting rituals described in Zech 7–8 may be because these fasting rituals were not what they were intended to be: while the people practiced the fasting rituals in commemoration of the fall of Judah, they neglected their real purpose, which was repentance.[54]

The intertextual links between Zech 7 with passages describing fasting rituals in Zech 1 and Isa 58 corroborate this point. First, there is a clear parallel between Zech 7:7–14 and Zech 1:1–6.[55] Stead explained that "the appeal to the 'former prophets' in both passages serves to stress that Yahweh requires a certain ethical response on the part of his people (which the generation of 'the fathers' had failed to achieve, because of their refusal to listen and repent)."[56] Thus, by making this parallel to Zech 1:1–6, Zech 7 emphasizes that as that was the case with the fathers, Zechariah's contemporaries, even

[51] Contra Hoffman who argued that the fasting rituals described in Zech 7–8 are without precedent. For more details, see Hoffman, "The Fasts in the Book of Zechariah," 180–85. The main issue with Hoffman's assessment is that he did not take into consideration the fact that the fasting rituals are labeled as infelicitous. Thus, even though they do not have a precedent in their infelicitous form, the question remains of whether they are supposed to build on the tradition of felicitous fasting rituals.

[52] Hoffman ("The Fasts in the Book of Zechariah," 175–80) stated that "this written text, the PoF *(prophecy of the fasts)*, is thus a lone island among all the biblical and extrabiblical sources because it alone argues for the existence of these memorial fasts." Hoffman's assertion that Yom Kippur cannot be in view here is correct but not, as he suggested, because Yom Kippur did not exist at that time; rather, it is because the Yom Kippur rituals were closely associated with the temple, which had not been rebuilt at that time.

[53] On the issue of infelicitousness of these rituals, see below.

[54] See, for instance, Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 445) who noticed that earlier tradition testifies about fasting rituals associated with mourning, especially in the context of the commemoration of the death of loved ones as well as in the context of repentance from the sin.

[55] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, lii–liii; Tollington, *Tradition and Innovation*, 208–09; Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 223; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 420.

[56] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 224.

though fasting, failed to repent, which ironically is one of the main purposes of the ritual. Second, Zech 7 includes an intertextual link with Isa 58.[57] Tiemeyer explained that the intertextual links between Zech 7:4–7 and Isa 58 are evident in the fact that the priests in both texts play an important role as well as that both passages address the issue of fasting and social justice.[58] What is common to both of these passages is that they shed light on a negative appraisal of people who practice infelicitous rituals.

In contrast to these parallels with Zech 1 and Isa 58 stands the parallel between Zech 7:3–5 and Joel 2:12. Stead explained that out of the four terms associated with fasting in Zech 7 (weeping, restricting, fasting, and mourning), three terms occur in Joel 2:12–13.[59] The most striking thematic parallel between Zechariah and Joel is the call to repentance. Keeping in mind this intertextual link between Zech 7 on the one hand and Zech 1, Isa 58, and Joel 2 on the other, one has to conclude that while Zech 1 and Isa 58 are referred to with the purpose of explaining why the fasting rituals from Zech 7–8 are infelicitous, Joel 2 is alluded to with the goal of giving a description of what felicitous rituals of fasting should look like. By making these intertextual connections, the author explains why these fasting rituals were infelicitous (Zech 1 and Isa 58) and clarifies what their proper practice would look like (Joel 2). These intertextual links will be key for the examination of ritual efficacy to which the present research now turns. When reading passages about fasting in Zech 7–8, one has to keep in mind not only their infelicitous nature, but also what they are meant to be: the means through which people would repent.

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[57] Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 144; Webb, "Zion in Transformation," 119–21; Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 94–96.

[58] Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 94. Stead (*The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 224) added to these parallels the restoration of Jerusalem as the other common theme found in these two chapters.

[59] Stead (*The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 225) explained that there are only two more passages where these three terms occur: 2 Sam 1:12 and Esth 4:2, but these two texts cannot be considered intertextual parallels with Zech 7: the former does not fit the present context and the latter is written after Zech 7.

9.3.2 Ritual Efficacy

The analysis of the ritual elements mentioned in Zech 7 that has been done above naturally leads to an examination of the efficacy of these fasting rituals. It has already been explained that the rationale behind these rituals was to commemorate the events related to the fall of Judah, most particularly the destruction of the city and its temple.[60] However, what is of crucial importance for a study of the efficacy of the rituals described in Zech 7 is that they are delineated as infelicitous.[61] That is especially clear from two rhetorical questions about fasting that are posed by the prophet and directed to "all the people of the land and priests" (אל־כל־עם הארץ ואל־הכהנים).

The meaning and function of the first rhetorical question, "Did you really fast for[62] me—for me?[63]" (**הצום צמתני אני**) is not explained in Zech 7:5. Rather its meaning should be understood in the context of the intertextual link between Zech 7:9–10 and Jer 7, the passage where Jeremiah's temple sermon is recorded, which will be analyzed in more detail below. At this point it is enough to say that in his temple sermon, Jeremiah, among other things, warns the people who come to the temple of Yahweh that their

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[60] See also, Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 283; Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 636–37, 40; Hoffman, "The Fasts in the Book of Zechariah," 194; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 445.

[61] Contra Friedman, "The Prophet and the Historian," who is followed by Wolters (*Zechariah*, 219–20) who asserted that the first rhetorical question posed by the prophet has been, unfortunately, almost always misunderstood in a negative sense as "skeptical or accusatory," not as "evidence of genuine devotion." For the view that the rituals of fasting that are described in Zech 7 are felicitous, see Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 285–87; Floyd, *Minor Prophets 2*, 422; and Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 95–97.

[62] The pronominal suffix for the first person singular **אני** can grammatically function either as a direct object, and thus be translated with "did you really fast *me*," or as an indirect object, and be translated as "did you really fast *for me*." The current study takes the latter approach in which the pronominal suffix is understood to function as an indirect object. See, further, GKC §117.x; IBHS §10.2.1.i. Note, also, Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 285; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 389; Floyd, *Minor Prophets 2*, 421; and Stead (*The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 222) who argued that "the literal translation 'you fasted me' makes little sense." For the former approach which takes pronominal suffix as a direct object, see Wolters, *Zechariah*, 220.

[63] In the above translation, the phrase "for me" is used two times to render the emphasis that is placed on "me" that occurs both as the first person common singular suffix of the verb and as a dativ pronoun. For a more detailed explanation of the use of the personal pronoun as added in apposition, see Joüon §146.a, d.

practicing of infelicitous rituals (Jer 7:2, 4, 6, 9, 18, 21, 30–31) will bring disaster upon them. In a similar fashion, Zechariah poses the first rhetorical question, which implies a negative answer, in order to emphasize that the people did not fast for Yahweh (something what would be considered a felicitous ritual), but rather for themselves (a practice that is considered to be an infelicitous ritual).[64]

That this is the function of the first rhetorical question is confirmed by the second rhetorical question, "And when you are eating and when you are drinking are not you (the ones)[65] who are eating and are not you (the ones) who are drinking?" (וכי תאכלו וכי הלוא אתם האכלים ואתם השתים תשתו). Thus, while the first rhetorical question places an accent on the indirect object (i.e. fasting for *Yahweh*), the second rhetorical question emphasizes the subject (i.e. *you are the ones* who are eating and drinking).[66] In essence, the point of these two rhetorical questions is to depict the contrast between felicitous and infelicitous fasts: rituals of fasting did not function because people fasted for their selfish purposes and not to repent for their evil ways.[67] That the purpose of these two rhetorical questions was to emphasize "the failure of past generations *in practicing*

[64] That the answer is negative is seen from the grammar since "in impassioned questions the prepositive infinitive shows doubt or the improbability of an affirmative answer" (e.g., Gen 37:8; 2 Sam 19:43; and Isa 50:2); IBHS §35.3.1.g. Waltke and O'Connor are followed by Wolters (*Zechariah*, 220). Even though he argued that the question should be understood in a sense of "did you really observe a fast of me myself?"—fasting is not only abstinence from food and/or drink, but also abstinence from God—Wolters believed that the answer to the rhetorical question was negative. In my view, it is likely that the question carries a positive meaning—namely fasting for Yahweh—and has a negative answer. For the reason why this is the preferable approach, see above.

[65] Thus, the second person masculine plural pronoun אתם serves as the subject of the participles and is rendered here as emphatic, Joüon §146.d; IBHS §16.3.4.a. Followed by Wolters, *Zechariah*, 221 and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 440.

[66] Wolters, *Zechariah*, 221.

[67] Tiemeyer (*Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 96) correctly explained that "the issue in Zech 7:4–6 is not the manner in which the priests and the people fast—they are free to fast and they do this in a commendable fashion. Instead, it is the combination of fasting to the exclusion of other concerns that irks the prophets." I will elaborate on this in more detail below where I expand this argument by explaining that the reason why these rituals are infelicitous lies in the fact that they mourned for the temple and not because of the true reasons that led to its destruction.

these rituals and resultant divine discipline"[68] is confirmed in Zech 8:19 where the prophetic word proclaims that these rituals of fasting should be replaced with more joyful rituals of feasting.[69] To be more precise, rituals of feasting were not supposed to be a mere replacement of rituals of fasting. Rather they should be established by Yahweh as a result of the people's proper practicing of fasting that would in its essence reflect their repentance (Zech 1:1–6). Thus, people should first move from infelicitous fasting, to genuine penitential fasting, and that practice will then lead to feasting festivals.

The infelicitous nature of the fasting rituals is most evident in their ultimate result: the production of lived space that was in its nature opposite from the ideological space described by the prophet.[70] Although the efficacy of these rituals should not be limited only to the production of space, it is this issue that is the main concern of the present study and, accordingly, the focus of the current investigation. In order to address this critical issue, the main purpose of the present section is to answer the question of how the fasting rituals produce the three types of lived space, namely, God's, the people's, and nature's lived space. The study begins with an investigation of the ritual production of God's lived space.

9.3.2.1 The Fasting Rituals and the Production of God's Lived Space

This first section dealing with the ritual production of lived space focuses on God's space, more specifically how the rituals of fasting produce this type of space. As has been shown in the previous chapter dealing with critical spatiality, the description of God's

[68] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 415 (italics supplied).
[69] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 445.
[70] For the connection between fasting rituals and the reconstruction of the temple, see Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 457.

lived space plays an important role in Zech 7–8.[71] What has been left to be addressed in this section is the question of the interrelationship between this description of lived space and the rituals of fasting and, once that connection has been established, to examine the nature of that relationship. It will be shown below that Zech 7–8 describes how the rituals of fasting produce God's lived space in several different ways.

First, that Zech 7–8 makes a connection between the rituals of fasting and God's lived space is evident from the fact that these two themes are intertwined in this central unit of the book of Zechariah and described as mutually dependent on each other.[72] At the narrower level of Zech 7, God's lived space (Zech 7:2, 3) is closely connected with the question about fasting that is a main concern of Zech 7:2–7. Something similar can be said about Zech 8 where references to God's lived space (Zech 8:10, 12) are closely connected to the theme of feasting (Zech 8:18–19).[73] The blending of these two themes is also evident from the overall structure of Zech 7–8, whose short overview with a special focus on these two themes is given below:[74]

A Seeking of Yahweh (Zech 7:2)

B Question about fasting (Zech 7:3)

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[71] See chapter 8 of the present work.

[72] This is confirmed by scholars who, in their assessment of the literary structure of this central unit of the book of Zechariah, recognize that these two themes play an important role in this part of the book. Note, for example, Floyd (*Minor Prophets 2*, 41) who summarized the intention of Zech 7–8 as Zechariah's response to "a question *about fasting* posed by a group from Bethel who had not yet grasped the full implications of the temple's reconstruction. By this means readers can vicariously undergo the reeducative process through which this group came to realize what the restoration would mean from them" (italics supplied). See also, Wolters, *Zechariah,* 203–8.

[73] For the distribution of spatial references in Zech 7–8, see the previous chapters of the present work. Naturally, the connection between these two themes—namely the theme of fasting/feasting and the theme of God's lived space—is corroborated with the connection between the theme of fasting/feasting and a number of references to God's ideological space. For the distribution of references to God's ideological space in Zech 7–8, see also the previous chapter of the present work.

[74] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 418–19. This chiastic structure of Zech 7–8 has been previously noticed by other scholars among whom the most prominent ones are Stuhlmueller, *Rebuilding with Hope*, 100–01; Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 442–43) who noticed a parallel between Zech 7:1–6 and 8:18–23; and Butterworth, *Structure and the Book of Zechariah*, 70–72.

C An idyllic future and the temple being rebuilt (Zech 8:2–13)

B’ Answer about fasting (Zech 8:19)

A’ Future seeking of Yahweh (Zech 8:20–23)

According to this structure, Zech 7–8 is framed by the question about fasting in Zech 7:2 and the answer to this question that is provided in Zech 8:19, with the theme of the reconstruction of Jerusalem and its temple (Zech 8:2–13) in its very center.[75] While this general overview of the literary structure of this unit shows that these two themes are connected, the question still remains about the nature of this relationship, more specifically, how the ritual of fasting relates to God’s lived space. It is the passage in Zech 7:7–14 that provides a more detailed answer about the nature of the relationship between fasting and God’s lived space.

As has been briefly mentioned above, Zech 7:7–14 alludes to Jeremiah’s temple sermon.[76] Jeremiah’s sermon, which is paraphrased in Zech 7:9–10, is first briefly mentioned in Zech 7:7 as “the words which Yahweh proclaimed by the hand of the earlier prophets” (הדברים אשר קרא יהוה ביד הנביאים הראשנים), then paraphrased in Zech 7:9–10, and then further elaborated in Zech 7:11–14.[77] Even though Zech 7:9–10 alludes primarily to Jer 7:5–6—the section of Jeremiah’s temple sermon that is mainly

[75] Stuhlmueller, *Rebuilding with Hope*, 101.

[76] For the most comprehensive study on the intertextual link between Zech 7:7–14 and Jeremiah 7, see Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 231–36. See also Tiemeyer (*Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 96–97) who read Zech 7:4–7 in the context of Isa 58 as well as Sweeney (*The Twelve Prophets 2*, 644) who argued that this passage alludes to Isa 1:10–17. While I agree that allusion to Isa 58 is in view in Zech 7, especially because both texts address the issue of fasting, I follow Stead and take the allusion to Jer 7 as the primary one. It is important to note that alluding to more than one passage is a common feature in the book of Zechariah.

[77] Contra Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 287) who argued that the phrase “the words which Yahweh proclaimed,” here translated with “the words which Yahweh proclaimed by the hand of the earlier prophets,” refers back to the questions from Zech 7:5–6. For the interpretation that this phrase refers to what follows, see Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 396; Floyd, *Minor Prophets 2*, 423; Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 223; and Boda, “Zechariah: Master Mason or Penitential Prophet?”

concerned with the issue of social (in)justice—one has to keep in mind the whole context of Jeremiah's sermon, where the primary concern was the infelicitous rituals that were being practiced by the Judahites of that time.[78] When Zech 7:7–14 is read through the lens of Jeremiah's whole sermon, it becomes clear that by making this intertextual link, the author of Zech 7–8 implicitly addresses the connection between the fasting rituals and God's lived space.[79] Thus, the allusion to Jer 7 is made not only because Jeremiah's temple sermon is a good example of addressing the issue of social injustice among the earlier prophets—there would be better examples of that in the earlier prophetic literature, such as Amos 5:21–24; Micah 6:7–8—but rather, because Jer 7 blends the topic of social justice with the themes of infelicitous rituals and Yahweh's presence in his temple. These interrelationships between social injustice and the infelicitous rituals are also of crucial importance in Zech 7–8.[80]

Jeremiah's temple sermon, as its title suggests, is the sermon that Jeremiah delivered while standing at the temple gate (Jer 7:2).[81] One of the main themes of this sermon is the people's dwelling in their land, as expressed in the phrase "I will let you dwell in this place" (ואשכנה אתכם במקום הזה), which occurs in Jer 7:3, as well as in a slightly different form in Jer 7:7 (ושכנתי אתכם במקום הזה).[82] The people's dwelling in

[78] Note Stead (*The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 232–33) who, although he argued that the primary link was between Zech 7:9–10 and Jer 7:5–6, recognized "'overtones' from other passages" as well. However, Stead did not elaborate on the connection between Zech 7 and Jer 7 in the context of the importance of the rituals that are evident in both chapters (see above).

[79] See, for example, Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 457) who stated that "in the light of the concern of this chapter with the relationship between the temple reconstruction and obedience, Jeremiah 7 may have been significant for the prophet."

[80] Here I am going beyond Stead who suggested that the intertextual link between Zech 7:7–14 and Jer 7 is made primarily because both chapters are concerned with the theme of cult and ethics. Even though I do not argue against that point, my study shows that the reason why Zech 7 uses Jer 7 is primarily because of the connection between rituals and the temple.

[81] For excellent work that has been done on this sermon with an extensive bibliography, see Bentall, "Jeremiah's Temple Sermon and the Hermeneutics of Tradition."

[82] On the issue of what the phrase "this place" refers to—temple, Jerusalem, and/or the land—see Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1–20*, 461 and his bibliography.

the land is conditioned by both repentance from their evil ways and by Yahweh's dwelling in his temple (Jer 7:12–14). The evil ways from which the people need to turn are characterized not only as social injustice, but also as infelicitous rituals (Jer 7:8, 18, 21–22, 29, 30–31).[83] These rituals, which are critiqued in Jeremiah's sermon along with the social injustice, are later labeled in Zech 7 as the disobedience that led to the desolation of the land and the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple.[84]

Looking though these lenses, the fasting rituals that are addressed in Zech 7 would be appropriate only if they represented the people's true repentance for their evil works that caused Yahweh to leave his temple, which ultimately led to the Babylonian exile.[85] This is confirmed by another intertextual link that exists between the passage in Zech 7:7–10 and Zech 1:1–6 where the phrase הנביאים הראשנים ("the earlier prophets") occurs in the context of repentance.[86] In other words, instead of fasting and mourning in order to commemorate the events associated with the fall of Judah with the

[83] Note Thompson (*The Book of Jeremiah*, 271–96) who correctly situated the temple sermon (Jer 7:1—8:3) within the larger section labeled "False Religion and its Punishment (7:1—10:25)." In his study of Jer 7:1—8:3, Thomson recognized that a number of the subsections of which this temple sermon is composed deal primarily with the infelicitous cult: Jer 7:16–20 addresses the cult of the Queen of Heaven; Jer 7:21–28 deals with the importance of obedience, rather than mere sacrifice; Jer 7:29–34 focuses on the cultic sinful deeds in the valley of Hinnom; and finally, Jer 8:1–3 describes the issue with Astral worship and its awful punishment.

[84] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 451.

[85] In this way, my understanding of the function of the allusion to Jeremiah's temple sermon in Zech 7:7–14 is slightly different than the one suggested by Stead. While Stead correctly recognized the people's rationale behind fasting: "No Temple = Yahweh not dwelling with his people → Fasting and mourning / Temple = Yahweh dwelling with his people → No fasting/mourning needed," he focused on what he labeled as the problematic nature of a "temple = God-in-a-box" mentality and neglected to include the segment dealing with the fasting rituals from the paradigm mentioned above. Stead asserted that "the mere completion of the temple will not guarantee the return of Yahweh to dwell with his people"—which he calls mechanistic view—but he did not explain what the key problem with rituals practiced by people was. The main issue addressed in Zech 7–8 is the infelicitousness and the inefficacy of the rituals of fasting, namely, that the rebuilding of the temple and the return of Yahweh cannot be accomplished through commemorative rituals of fasting, but rather, only through fasting rituals that have repentance as their purpose. Thus, Zech 7–8 is not primarily concerned with the attitude that Yahweh will automatically return to dwell in the temple through the process of rebuilding it, but rather, with the question of what kind of rituals they need to practice so that Yahweh can return to the temple that is about to be rebuilt.

[86]Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, lii–liii; Tollington, *Tradition and Innovation*, 208–09; Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 223; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 450.

purpose of appealing to God to reverse the current state of affairs, they were supposed to fast and mourn to repent from the evil ways of their fathers that caused the desolation of the land.[87] It is this rationale of repentance that lies behind a number of the fasting rituals that are described in the Old Testament, among which, Joel 2 and Dan 9 are probably the best examples: these two passages are linked with Zech 7 in a number of ways, and Dan 9, like Zech 7–8, brings together themes of repentance and exile.

In sum, the rituals of fasting that the people practiced during seventy years were the type of rituals that produced God's lived space at the time of Jeremiah—namely, rituals that caused God to leave the temple and that ultimately led to the devastation of the whole land. If the infelicitous rituals described in Jeremiah's temple sermon caused the destruction of the temple (see especially Jer 7:12–15), it is absurd that the people tried to reverse the situation and bring an end to the seventy years of exile by practicing further infelicitous rituals. These rituals, if not altered, would just reinforce God's lived space as being primarily characterized by Yahweh's abandonment and, consequently, the space in which Yahweh does not dwell.

9.3.2.2 The Fasting Rituals and the Production of People's Lived Space

Now that the examination of the ritual production of God's lived space is finished, the focus can move to the investigation of the production of the people's lived space. The two main characteristics of the people's lived space that have been examined in the previous chapter of the present work—namely, its political and social disorder—will be of special focus here. Again, the key is to keep in mind the infelicitous nature of the

[87] Stead (*The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 223) similarly asserts that the purpose of Zech 7:7–14 is to emphasize that "the feasts have not been for Yahweh's sake—they are for your own sakes, just like eating and drinking."

fasting rituals described in Zech 7. The study proceeds with an examination of the ritual production of the political and social aspects of the people's lived space in that particular order, with special attention paid to the question of how the fasting rituals produce those aspects of the people's space.

The previous section already explained that Zechariah makes a connection between infelicitous rituals and God's lived space through the allusion to Jeremiah's temple sermon. The same is true of the production of the people's lived space. The impact of the people's infelicitous rituals is evident in Zech 7:12–14: divine wrath, God's refusal to listen to people's prayers, and the scattering or displacement of their ancestors away from their native land. Of all these consequences, the scattering or displacement is the most important for the current discussion since it refers to a political aspect of the people's lived space. In Zech 7:14 God is described as the one who "scattered them in a storm among all the nations" (ואסערם על כל־הגוים), and the land is portrayed as desolate (נשמה והארץ).[88] It is clearly the people who are primarily responsible for the production of this politically disordered space:[89] "they turned a stubborn shoulder" (ויתנו כתף סררת); "their ears they made dull so they do not hear" (ואזניהם הכבידו משמוע) and "they made their hearts into a diamond so they do not hear…" (ולבם שמו שמיר משמוע, Zech 7:11–12).[90]

[88] For the use of this imagery in the context of the exile, see Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 294–95) who explained that the scattering in this context alludes to life as a stranger, without "social status," and with no protection.

[89] The consequences of that behaviour are introduced in Zech 7:13 with the phrase "and then" (ויהי), which is followed by "so they call and I do not respond" (יקראו ולא אשמע), a phrase that had been used earlier in the context of infelicitous fasting. See, for example, Isa 58:3, 9.

[90] Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 401–2) explained that Zech 7:11–12 uses parts of the body as an image to describe Israel's disobedience. Different parts of the body are used to accomplish this aim: the shoulder, the ear, and the heart, with the first two being external parts of the body, and the last one, an internal part representing the "inner seat of emotions, passions, and will."

One of the main reasons for the desolation of the land was not hearing the words of the former prophets (Zech 7:13), which not only alludes to the rejection of Jeremiah's message regarding the people's social injustices, but also, as has been demonstrated in the previous section, to ignoring his warning against infelicitous rituals, which is actually the main point of Jeremiah's temple sermon.[91] That this is in view in Zech 7:12 is clear from the context in which a message about the desolation of the land follows the discussion of infelicitous fasting rituals (Zech 7:2–7).[92] Thus, as was the case in Jeremiah's time when infelicitous rituals caused the desolation of the land, Zechariah warned that the infelicitous rituals during his time could lead to the land remaining desolate if the people did not repent of their evil ways.[93]

Besides the political aspect of the people's lived space, the infelicitous fasting rituals also affect the social aspect of that space. That rituals of fasting are related to the production of the social aspect of the people's lived space is clear from the structure of Zech 7–8. The question about the continuation of the fasting rituals found in Zech 7:2–3 seems to be ignored by the prophet, whose answer in Zech 7:4–7 is actually composed of two rhetorical questions about the efficacy of the rituals.[94] In that way, the prophet shifts

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[91] Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, 271–96. See further section 9.2.2.1 on the fasting rituals and the production of lived space.

[92] See also Sweeney (*The Twelve Prophets 2*, 644) who explained that Zech 7:11–14 must be understood as the prophet's comment on the words of the former prophet that have been alluded to in Zech 7:9–10 with the purpose of portraying the contrast between the situation at that time and the word of the former prophet. Even though Sweeney argued that the words of the prophet are those of Isa 1:10–17 and not Jer 7:5–6a, it must be said that regardless of the origin of the prophetic words that were alluded to in Zech 7:9–10, the section found in Zech 7:11–14 should be understood in relation to these words.

[93] Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 85) asserted that "foundational to the penitential prayer tradition was the vision for restoration after exile provided in Lev 26:39–40, where the community is told that a confession of their own sins as well as of the sins of their ancestors was key to restoration." See, further, Boda, "Confession as Theological Expression," 21–50.

[94] On the issue of inconsistencies between the questions asked by the delegation sent by Bethel in Zech 7:2–3 and the prophet's answer in Zech 7:4–7, see Hoffman, "The Fasts in the Book of Zechariah," 186–99.

the main subject of the discussion from the question of whether the people should still engage in the fasting rituals to a discussion about the people's motives for practicing them and their efficacy (Zech 7:5–6). Further, the subject matter moves from a discussion about fasting rituals to a prophetic critique of social injustice (Zech 7:9–10).[95] Even though the differences between these two units—one that focuses on rituals (Zech 7:2–6) and one that deals with social injustice (Zech 7:7–14)—cannot be ignored, a continuity between them clearly exists, and the shift in topic actually has the purpose of addressing the issue of social injustice in connection to ritual matters.

There are a number of scholars who argue that the Israelite prophets recognized real or authentic ethical values outside of the cult in contrast to the Israelite priests who were promoting the rituals even though the activities were "empty."[96] Although scholars recently have realized that the prophets were not denouncing the rituals as inherently flawed, they still often write as if the rituals were detached or separate from ethical issues such as social injustices.[97] Since the ritual practice of the people is described in vv. 4–6 in a negative tone, and in Zech 7:7–9 priority is given to social justice, this may lead to the

[95] It is well recognized by scholars that the question about fasting is not answered before Zech 8:19–20, and one of the reasons for this delay in responding to their question is this shift from the discussion about fasting to the discussion about social injustice in Zech 7:7–14 and, even further, about the idyllic future in Zech 8:1–13. See for example, Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 415.

[96] Hilber ("Liturgy and Cult," 520) asserted that as was the case in earlier prophetic texts, this one likewise addresses the "tension" that exists between these two realms. Isaiah, for instance, describes the priority of social justice over ritual practices (Isa 1:10–17; 58:1–14), and Amos and Hosea both emphasize the futility of cultic activities when such practices are accompanied by social *injustice* (e.g., Amos 5:21–24; 8:4–6; Hos 6:6, 9). Note, also, Barton (*Ethics in Ancient Israel* 187–88) who argued that this distinction between rituals and morality was very often understood as having its origin in the prophetic protest against the cult, which has been strengthened by the teachings of the New Testament, and furthermore developed today under the influence of Kantian ethics and the avoidance of non-rational values and practices such as those embedded in religious rituals. See, further, McKane, "Prophet and Institution" and Williams, "Social Location." McKane was followed by Hendel, "Efficacy of Ritual."

[97] One good example of this view is McCall, "Leviticus," 479. For those who do see the ethical dimensions of the Israelite cult, see Milgrom, "Priestly Picture of Dorian Gray"; Milgrom, "Ethics and Ritual"; Milgrom, *A Book of Ritual and Ethics*; Gane, "Privative Preposition"; Gane, *Cult and Character*; and Hroboň, *Ethical Dimension of Cult.*

conclusion that the "empty rituals" are less important than the moral acts of social justice, but this is not the point of Zech 7. The following analysis of Zech 7 shows that this understanding is not based on a careful reading of the prophet's teaching, which actually showcases the ethical dimensions of the cult.

There are few ways that the rituals related to mourning were intrinsically related to the social aspect of the people of Yehud's lived space. First, fasting, especially when practiced in the context of repentance, is associated with a renouncing of rights such as drinking and eating, ideally for the sake of *other* people who were in trouble or who had just died.[98] Furthermore, fasting not only re-establishes the value of putting the needs of others before one's own, it also explicitly promotes the value of community solidarity and implicitly promotes equality among all ages and social classes (e.g., Joel 1:14–15; 2:15–16).[99] The rituals practiced by the people of Yehud, because of their infelicitous nature, led to a diametrically opposite outcome. Second, abstaining from eating and drinking was supposed to develop the virtue of compassion towards those who are always hungry and in need, namely, the neglected groups of Zech 7:9–10.[100] Finally, fasting

[98] Building on Rappaport's theory, Lambek (*The Ethical Condition*, 22) emphasized that ritual is "consequential for ethical relations" such as roles, identities, projects, and relationships. Thus, the cult has the capacity to construct the social reality within which it is situated, and that further determines the morality or immorality of specific ritual and non-ritual acts. For the argument that the rituals of fasting that are described in Zech 7 have the function of influencing ethical relations, see Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*, 96.

[99] In his posthumously published work, Rappaport (*Ritual and Religion*, 126) claimed that one of the meta-functions of a ritual is the establishment of conventions that he later identified with moral norms. Thus, the religious cult (i.e., system) in a particular society plays an important role in the determination of moral norms, which by definition help in discerning between the moral and immoral. Rappaport described this meta-function as "fundamental because all of ritual's simple performative functions are founded upon, or presume it, and so may [affect] conventional procedures outside of ritual itself. It is fundamental, this is to say, because the establishment of convention is what might be called a '*meta*function' making possible the fulfillment of particular functions by the particular conventions established." For the function of rituals of fasting in the biblical literature, see Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 443–44.

[100] See Muddiman ("Fast, Fasting," 774) who explained that fasting should be associated with "sincerity and charity" as emphasized in Isa 58:3–9 and Joel 2:12–13. MacIntyre (*After Virtue*, 187)

rituals are also designed to induce or express humility and repentant regret for past wrongs. This is affirmed in other biblical traditions where a change of behaviour is mentioned as one of the desired results of ritual fasting (Isa 58:3–9).[101] Again these rituals have not accomplished these goals.

In summary, the rituals of fasting described in Zech 7 were intrinsically related to the production of the people's lived space. First, the infelicitous rituals that focused on the commemoration of the fall of Judah just affirmed politically disordered space that was initially produced by the infelicitous rituals practiced at the time of Jeremiah (Jer 7:1—8:3). Second, because of their infelicitous nature, these rituals resulted in social injustice instead of improving the social aspect of the Yehudites's lived space. Zechariah is not challenging the ritual or the cult as a morally empty practice or system in contrast to social justice as an example of legitimate morality. He realizes the significance of the rituals of fasting in the production of the political and social aspects of the people's lived space. He emphasizes the fact that the problem is not with rituals of fasting *per se*, but rather, with their infelicitous nature and misuse which is evident in the production of a politically and socially disordered place.

9.3.2.3 The Fasting Rituals and the Production of Nature's Lived Space

This last section dealing with the ritual production of lived space focuses on the question of how fasting rituals produce nature's space. It has been shown in the previous chapter

established the connection between certain activities and the development of internal goods or virtues. Because both rituals and character traits require practices that are *repeated* in the life of individuals and communities, this connection is perhaps not surprising. Along these lines, then, ritual activities can also help to develop virtuous character. MacIntyre explained: "By a practice I am going to mean any coherent and complex form of socially established cooperative activity through which goods internal to that form of activity are realized in the course of trying to achieve those standards of excellence which are appropriate to, and partially definitive of, that form of activity with the result that human powers to achieve excellence, and human conceptions of the ends and goods involved, are systematically extended."

[101] Boda (*The Book of Zechariah,* 444) emphasized this as one of the results of fasting.

that nature's lived space is described in a several passages found in Zech 7–8.[102] The present section will examine how the author of Zech 7–8 explains the interrelationship between the natural world and rituals. It will be argued in the text below that, as social activities, the fasting rituals, among other things, also produce nature's lived space.

The first passage in Zech 7–8 that makes a connection between the infelicitous rituals of fasting and the natural word is found in Zech 7:14. As has been previously explained in more detail, this verse emphasizes that "the land was desolate" (והארץ נשמה).[103] Even though the word ארץ is also used here in a political sense, and thus the desolation of the land refers to the political and economic consequences of the exile, ארץ also refers to agricultural land, which after the exile has been left without care.[104] What is most important for this section of the present work is that this desolation of the land is described as a result of practicing infelicitous rituals. This connection between the description of the land that is mentioned in Zech 7:14 and the practice of infelicitous rituals has already been explained through the connection between Zech 7 and Jeremiah's temple sermon.[105] What should be added to that examination at this point is that the production of the land from Zech 7:14 should be understood not only as the production of the people's space, but also as the production of nature's space. This idea of the production of nature's space is further developed in Zech 8:10, 12.

The best description of nature's lived space within Zech 7–8 is given in Zech 8:10 and 12. It has already been explained that the mention of the "beast" (בהמה) in Zech

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[102] See chapter 8 of the present work.

[103] Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 405) explained that the desolation of the land is twofold: political and economic desolation, which is result of the exile, as well as the ecological desolation of the land that was previously described as a land in which flow milk and honey (Exod 3:8; Lev 20:24).

[104] See Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 295) who explained that "the image is stronger than the destruction of cities or the removal of population. The land was so thoroughly ruined that it was not even productive for the itinerant sheepherder."

[105] See, especially, Sweeney (*The Twelve Prophets 2*, 644) who argued that Zech 7:11–14 actually describes the consequences of not listening to the words of the former prophet that have been alluded to in Zech 7:9–10.

8:10 refers, among other things, to animal welfare and the description of the future agricultural fertility in Zech 8:11–13, and also implicitly refers to agricultural calamities "in the former days" (בימים הראשנים). As was the case with the description of God's and the people's lived space in Zech 7–8, this description of nature's lived space—namely, bad animal welfare and agricultural calamities—is also connected with the ritual activities of the people. In Zech 8, that is accomplished by the reference to "the day when the foundation of the house of Yahweh of hosts was laid" (ביום יסד בית־יהוה צבאות).[106] Nature's lived space that is described in Zech 8:10, 12 is associated with the period before the foundation-laying ceremony that is mentioned in Zech 8:9. In Zech 7:5, this time period is also described as "these seventy years" (וזה שבעים שנה), and in Zech 7, that period is associated primarily with the infelicitous fasting rituals.[107] The description of nature's lived space, thus, closely relates to the rituals of fasting that were practiced in that period.

This connection between the rituals of fasting and nature's lived space is also strengthened by the use of the phrase, "those who are listening in these days to these words from the mouth of the prophets" (השמעים בימים האלה את הדברים האלה מפי הנביאים). While Zech 7 uses a similar phrase in the context of its allusion to Jeremiah's temple sermon to assert that their fathers did not listen to Jeremiah's warnings about practicing infelicitous rituals at the time of his sermon and continued to practice them in the same way during the period of the seventy years since the fall of Jerusalem, Zech 8 uses this phrase on a positive note to describe the obedience of the people in the context of felicitous rituals, namely the foundation-laying ceremony. Introducing the day when

[106] For the importance of the foundation-laying ceremony, see Chapter 5, especially the second part of the chapter that deals with this ritual. See also, Boda, "From Dystopia to Myopia"; Boda, "Legitimizing the Temple"; and Kessler, "Temple Building."

[107] Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 455) correctly asserted that the reference to the period of seventy years goes beyond the mere reference to the period of time. In the book of Zechariah, this phrase carries the meaning of "discipline in order to remind the community of the purpose of the earlier destruction and the ritual responses in which they participated."

the foundation of the temple is laid into the context of the description of nature's space has the purpose of asserting that the ritual practices before that event, which include the fasting rituals from Zech 7, resulted in the production of nature's lived space, and that rituals practiced after that event will result in the production of ideological space.

In sum, the rituals of fasting that are described in Zech 7 are not only related to the production of God's and the people's lived space, as shown above, but also to the construction of nature's lived space. Both passages that describe nature's lived space in Zech 7–8 are brought into connection with the infelicitous rituals of fasting. First, the portrayal of the desolate land is described as the result of the unfaithfulness of Yahweh's people, which had previously been described by alluding to Jer 7 and its infelicitous rituals. Second, the implicit referral to bad animal welfare as well as to agricultural calamities in Zech 8:10 and 12 is again described as being the result of the infelicitous ritual activities that were practiced before the foundation-laying ceremony. It is this ceremony that marks the turning point in Zech 7–8: once the temple is rebuilt (Zech 8:9), the infelicitous rituals will turn into felicitous ones. These rituals will be examined in the next section.

9.4 The Rituals of Feasting

The rituals of feasting are mentioned in Zech 8:18–19 in the context of a prophetic answer to the question that the Bethel delegation asked in Zech 7:2–3 regarding the continuation of observing the fasts.[108] This short section, which is composed of two verses, is clearly distinguished from the previous unit describing the ethical demands

[108] For the function of this unit in concluding the section in which the delegation of Bethel asked the question about the continuation of observing the rituals of fasting, see, among others, Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 312; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 442–43; Floyd, *Minor Prophets 2*, 437; Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 653–54; and Wolters, *Zechariah*, 246. See also, Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 508) who correctly and insightfully observed that the initial question about fasting "was picked up already in 8:14." Nevertheless, he agreed with other scholars who argued that it was in Zech 8:18 that the prophet explicitly addresses the question from Zech 7:2–3.

(Zech 8:16–17) by the messenger formula "the word of Yahweh of hosts (came) to me, saying" (ויהי דבר־יהוה צבאות אלי לאמר), which occurs in Zech 8:18. The unit is also separated from the section in Zech 8:20–23 that is labeled in this study as "future seeking of Yahweh" (Zech 8:20–23) by another formula, "thus says the Yahweh of hosts" (כה אמר יהוה צבאות) from Zech 8:20.[109] As was the case with the rituals of fasting, the feasting rituals are only mentioned briefly with even fewer details than Zech 7 provides about the fasts. However, what is clear from the study of the passages found in Zech 8:18–90 and 20–23 is that the action described in these passages has all the main characteristics of religious rituals that are described in chapter 2 of the present work and refer to religious rituals associated with festivals.[110] It is also evident that the description of the feasts plays a critical role in Zech 7–8 in the same way that the description of the fasts did.[111] Even more important for this study is that the efficacy of the feasting rituals is described in much more detail than the rituals themselves. Before the study addresses this critical question of the efficacy of the feasts, attention will be paid to the ritual elements as suggested by Grimes.

9.4.1 Ritual Elements

The description of the elements of the rituals of feasting is scarce in Zech 7–8 and mostly overlaps with the description of the ritual elements of fasting that have been already explored in a previous section of this chapter.[112] One of the reasons for not paying so much attention to ritual elements of feasting could be found in the fact that the rituals of

[109] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 414–20.

[110] See, further, section 2.3.2.

[111] For the significance of bracketing Zech 7–8 with the question about fasting (Zech 7:2–3) and the answer to that question (Zech 8:18–19), see Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 312. Regardless of the questions related to redaction criticism, observation of the final form of the text shows that a number of the oracles that have been inserted between Zech 7:2–3 and 8:18–19 actually relate to the question posed by the delegation. Petersen rightly observed that only when these issues had been brought up could the answer to the question from Zech 7 be given.

[112] See the section 9.2.1 with its subtitles above.

feasting are introduced as a response to the question about fasts posed by the Bethel delegation in Zech 7:2–3. That is, the fasts that were the main subject of the discussion are described as rituals that will be "turned for the house of Judah into joy, into gladness, and into happy festivals" (יהיה לבית־יהודה לששון ולשמחה ולמעדים טובים).[113] However, even though the ritual elements of the fasts and feasts that are mentioned in Zech 7–8 overlap, it must be mentioned that there is a significant discontinuity with respect to the ritual elements of the fasts and feasts, including some new elements that are introduced in the description of the rituals of feasting. The ritual elements of feasting are first outlined in the table below and then explored in more details.

Grimes's Ritual Elements	References to Ritual Elements	Zech 7–8
Ritual places	לבקש את־יהוה צבאות בירושלם to seek Yahweh of hosts in Jerusalem	Zech 8:21–22
Ritual actors	וישלח בית־אל שר־אצר ורגם מלך ואנשיו Bethel had sent Shar-ezer, Regem-Melech, and his men כל־עם הארץ ואל־הכהנים all the people of the land and to the priest עמים וישבי ערים רבות people and the inhabitants of many cities	Zech 7:2, 5; 8:20
Ritual action	לששון ולשמחה ולמעדים טובים into joy, into gladness, and into happy festivals	Zech 8:19

[113] For the relationship between the rituals of fasting that are the main subject of the question of the Bethel's delegation and the rituals of feasting that are the main theme found in the response to that question, see Boda, "From Fasts to Feasts," 390–407.

Ritual times	צום הרביעי וצום החמישי וצום השביעי וצום העשירי The fast of the fourth, the fast of the fifth, the fast of the seventh, and the fast of the tenth month	Zech 8:19
Ritual objects	—	—

Table 2. Elements of the Feasting Rituals (Zech 7–8)

9.4.1.1 Ritual Actors

The first ritual element that will be addressed in this section is the ritual actors who participated in the celebration of the feasts. It has been already explained that "Shar-ezer, Regem-Melech, and their men" (שר־אצר ורגם מלך ואנשיו), the people of Bethel whom they represent, all the people of the land, and the priests are described as those who actively participated in the fasting rituals. Keeping in mind that Zech 8:18–19 is a response to the issue of fasting practiced by the groups of people mentioned above and that those rituals of fasting are supposed to be replaced with feasts, it is logical to conclude that the same actors who participated in fasts will also participate in the festal celebrations if they obey the prophetic imperatives. However, if one takes into account that this passage about feasts is followed by Zech 8:20–23[114] and that this last passage of Zech 7–8 is parallel with the one found in Zech 7:2–3,[115] it must be concluded that the Gentiles are added to the Bethel delegation, Bethelians, the people of the land, and the priests as those who will participate with them in those celebrations.

[114] See, for instance, Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 312–20) who took Zech 8:18–23 as one unit. Even when these two units are taken separately, the relationship between them cannot be neglected and it is likely that the pilgrimage that is described in Zech 8:20–23 is related to the description of the festal celebration in Zech 8:18–19 that preceded it.

[115] See also, Stead (*The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 229) who recognized a chiastic pattern: A: The people from Bethel coming to Jerusalem to entreat the favour of Yahweh (Zech 7:2); B: Ritual fasting (Zech 7:3–6); B': An answer concerning the fasting—the fasts will turn to feasts (Zech 8:19); A': Nations and cities coming to Jerusalem to entreat the favour of Yahweh (Zech 8:20–22).

There are two major groups of people who are described in Zech 8:20–23 as those who will join the above-mentioned people and participate in the ritual feasts: "peoples" and "the inhabitants of many cities" (עמים וישבי ערים רבות).[116] Both the peoples and the inhabitants of many cities should be understood as representing Gentiles who will come to Jerusalem to seek Yahweh.[117] There are several reasons for this interpretation. First, that Gentiles are in view here is clear from the intertextual link that exists between Zech 8:20–23, on the one hand, and Zech 2:15[11] and Zech 6:1–8, on the other.[118] The passage in Zech 8:20–23 picks up on the topic of foreigners who will join the Jews in seeking Yahweh in Jerusalem that was first mentioned in this book in Zech 2:15[11] and it further develops the idea of judgment over those nations described in Zech 6:1–8 by adding a positive note of hope to it.[119] Second, the description of the nations as a "mighty" (צומים) in Zech 8:22 is common for Gentiles in the OT.[120] Finally, a clear contrast is made between "ten men from all the languages of the nations" (עשרה אנשים הגוים מכל לשנות) and "a Jewish man" (יהודי איש) in Zech 8:23, describing both those who are Jews and non-Judahites as participating in the ritual feasts.[121]

Ultimately, it can be said that other nations will participate in the rituals of feasting alongside the Jews. While these celebrations in the past were primarily practiced

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[116] Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 512) explained that these two groups of people are first mentioned in Zech 8:20 and then described in more detail in the following two verses in Zech 8:21–22.

[117] Contra Lipiński ("Recherches sur le livre de Zacharie," 42–46) who is followed by Bauer, *Zeit des Zweiten Tempels*, 95, 195. Even though I agree with Lipiński that the pilgrimage to Jerusalem decribed in Zech 8:20–23 is related to the celebration of the festivals portrayed in Zech 8:18–19, I argue that the identity of those who will come to Jerusalem cannot be defined as Jewish. The inclusion of Gentiles is already mentioned in Zech 2:14–17[10–13] and is picked up here again to be further developed. For the reception history of Zech 8:20–23, including the history of interpretation of the nations as diaspora Jews prior to Lipiński, see Wolters, "Interpretation of Zechariah 8:20–23."

[118] Stead, *The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 229. See also Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 317) who sees a parallel between Zech 8:20–23 and Isa 2:1–4, something that Stead noted as well, but only as a secondary intertextual link while Petersen argued for a primary influence.

[119] For the dynamics between the positive and negative portrayals of Gentiles in the Book of the Twelve, see Tiemeyer, "Death or Conversion," 1–22, especially pp. 6–11 dealing with the idea of Gentiles in the book of Zechariah.

[120] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 512.

[121] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 514.

by the Jewish people, the prophet announces that Gentiles will join them in these celebrations in the future. In order to participate in the celebration of the feasts mentioned in Zech 8:18–19, they will have to come to Jerusalem. It is this question of the ritual place that is analyzed below.

9.4.1.2 Ritual Place and Times

Along with ritual actors, ritual place is one of the few ritual elements that deserves attention in Zech 7–8. It has been shown in the above analysis about the rituals of fasting that Bethel played a very important role in the period after the fall of Jerusalem. It was suggested that the cult was de-centralized and that the ritual activities moved from Jerusalem to Bethel. Since the delegation who asked about fasting came from Bethel, it was suggested that Bethel served as the cultic center of that time as well as the primary place where those rituals of fasting took place. In addition, based on the fact that the fasts were held during different months, it was proposed that the fasts were practiced not only in Bethel, but also in other places throughout the diaspora.

The situation is quite different with the celebration of the feasts. The prophet announces that the celebrations of these feasts will be done at one specific place, which Zech 8:22 explicitly names Jerusalem. Even though there is no mention of the temple in Zech 8:20–23, this reference to Jerusalem, as well as the mention of Yahweh's presence in it, reveals that it is the rebuilt temple that is in view in this passage.[122] The passage describes a drastic reversal of fortune: if the people of Judah have been dispersed and lived in different cities throughout the Persian empire, it is the non-Judahite inhabitants of

[122] Contra Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 320) who, in his analysis of Zech 8:23, overemphasized the lack of reference to Jerusalem and asserted that "the image conveyed is that of accompanying someone on an indefinite journey… the journey and its experiences are what count, and less so, in this particular oracle, the ultimate or geographic goal of the pilgrimage." This comment is surprising when one has in view the prominent role that Jerusalem plays in Zech 7–8 as well as the focus on rituals and the rebuilding of the temple that is clearly the major issue discussed in this unit. Keeping all of that in mind, one can say that it is precisely the place where these pilgrims will go that is important for the author of Zech 7–8.

those different cities that will now come to Jerusalem to seek Yahweh.[123] As has been already noted, the passage is alluding to Isa 2:1–4, where the people are described as going to Yahweh's house located on his mountain, and to other passages in the book of Zechariah that portray the pilgrimage of Gentiles to Jerusalem (cf. Zech 2:15[11] and 14:16–19).[124]

Not much has been said in Zech 7–8 about the time when these festivals will be held. The fact that fasts of the fourth, fifth, seventh, and tenth months will be replaced with feasts (Zech 8:19) does not necessarily mean that feasts will be held in those months. It is likely that prophet has pilgrimage festivals such as Pesach, Shavuot, and Sukkot in view here, and if that is the case, ritual times would then be associated with those pilgrimage festivals, previously described in the Pentateuchal texts, during which people were obligated to go to Jerusalem.

Based on the brief analysis above, it can be said that Zech 8:20–23 portrays the movement from Bethel, which played a crucial role in the rituals of fasting, to Jerusalem, which played the central role in the festal celebrations announced by the prophet. This movement from Bethel to Jerusalem had already been announced in Zech 7:2–3 and is now brought to its full development and realization in Zech 8:20–23.

9.4.1.3 Ritual Actions

The next ritual element that will be observed in this section dealing with the ritual of feasting is ritual actions. As was the case with the comparison between the place associated with the feasts and fasts, the ritual actions related to the feasts naturally differ from the ritual actions affiliated with the rituals of fasting.[125] It must be mentioned,

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[123] For the Old Testament tradition of pilgrimage to Jerusalem, see Rudolph, *Haggai, Sacharja 1–8, Sacharja 9–14, Maleachi*, 152 and Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 316.

[124] See, especially, Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 317, who saw Isa 2:1–4 as the primary intertextual link in Zech 8:20–23.

[125] For a helpful overview of festivals and feasts as prescribed in the Pentateuch, as well as in the secondary narratives that describe how they were observed, see Armerding, "Festivals and Feasts," 300–13.

however, that this cannot be asserted solely from the report about these rituals found in Zech 7–8, since the biblical text of Zech 7–8 is silent about the ritual actions associated with the feasts.[126] Rather, this can be concluded based on the nature of the ritual actions associated with festivals and feasts. Accordingly, in contrast to the fasts that are characterized by weeping and abstinence from food and/or drink (Zech 7:3) as well as by mourning (Zech 7:5), the ritual feasts feature eating, drinking, and celebratory tones (Exod 23:14–17; 34:18–23; Lev 23; Num 28–29; Deut 16:1–17).[127] This is especially clear from the delineation of these festivals as being characterized by "joy and gladness" (לששון ולשמחה) in Zech 8:18. These two attributes are clearly in contrast with the weeping and mourning (בכה [Zech 7:3] and ספד [Zech 7:5]) associated with fasting.

9.4.1.4 Ritual Objects

As that was the case with the rituals of fasting, not much can be said about ritual objects associated with feasts that are mentioned in Zech 8:19. Ritual objects probably included different offerings and instruments that are usually associated with feasts in the Old Testament.

9.4.1.5 Identification of the Ritual

Even though the task of identifying feasts that are in view in Zech 8:18–19 may seem ambitious, especially when one keeps in mind that not many details are given about the feasts in Zech 7–8, the description of feasts in Zech 8:19 as well as some intertextual links with older traditions may help in suggesting some plausible alternatives. As was the

[126] The phrase לששון ולשמחה ולמעדים טובים ("joy and gladness and happy festivals") which is found in Zech 8:19 is taken here more as a general description of these rituals and not as ritual actions *per se*. This is evident from the use of three nouns and one adjective without verbs. This description of the feasts will be addressed below.

[127] It is important to notice that one can read Zech 7:6 as reference to ritual feasting celebrations. See, for example, Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 446–47. If this is the case, these feasts that are mentioned in Zech 7:6 should be understood as premature feasts.

case in Zech 7:4–5, where the prophet and not the priests gave the answer to the question about the fasting rituals, it is the prophet Zechariah who again speaks in Zech 8:18–19.[128] The rituals of feasts in Zech 8:18 are described with three key terms that occur in that verse: "joy and gladness and happy festivals" (ולמעדים טובים לששון ולשמחה). The first term ששון (here translated with "joy") is usually associated in the Old Testament with social events that include festal eating, namely "celebrative banquets" as in Esth 8:16–17.[129] The second term ("gladness") reaffirms this idea of joy and happiness and thus makes even sharper the contrast between the ritual actions associated with the feasts and the rituals of weeping and mourning described in Zech 7:4–5 for the rituals of fasting.[130] Again, the term is used throughout the Old Testament in the context of social festivities (Gen 31:27; Isa 9:2; Esth 9:17, 18, 22).[131] The final and most important term for this study, מועד ("festivals"), refers to "Yahweh's specific festivals" as appointed times when used in the context of religious practices.[132] Accordingly, the term is used in the Pentateuch to designate Israel's annual, monthly, weekly, and daily feasts (Exod 23:14–17; 34:18–23; Lev 23; Num 28–29; Deut 16:1–17).[133] Thus, while the first two terms are vague and associated with social activities that generally included joy and gladness, the term מועד ("festival") is more specific and, above all, a cultic term that refers to feasts that had previously been prescribed in the Pentateuch and whose practice had been endangered during the exilic period. Keeping in mind the fact that the description of the feasts (Zech 8:18–19) is placed side by side with the description of a

[128] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 442. For a discussion about the tension between the prophets and the priests in the book of Zechariah, note, further, Tiemeyer, *Priestly Rites and Prophetic Rage*; Tiemeyer, "The Priests and the Temple Cult"; Boda, "Perspectives on Priests"; and Tiemeyer, ed. *Priests and Cults.*

[129] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 314.

[130] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 435.

[131] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 314.

[132] Armerding, "Festivals and Feasts," 302.

[133] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah,* 509; Armerding, "Festivals and Feasts," 305–8.

pilgrimage to Jerusalem (8:20–23), the author likely has in view Pesach, Shavuot, and Sukkot, but still, the precise identity of these festivals is difficult to determine.[134]

9.4.2 Ritual Efficacy

An examination of the ritual feasts will be brought to its end by addressing the question of the ritual production of space. It has been suggested that by mentioning the festal celebration in Zech 8:18–19, the author primarily has the pilgrimage feasts in view. What is important to mention at this point is that these feasting rituals should be classified as felicitous.

There are several reasons why the rituals of the feasts should be classified as felicitous rituals.[135] First, the feasts will replace the fasts that have been previously described in Zech 7:4–6 as infelicitous rituals.[136] It must be noted that the replacement of the infelicitous rituals would make sense only if these rituals are replaced with felicitous ones. Keeping in mind the major role that repentance plays in the message of Zech 1–8,

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[134] The major problem with this interpretation is the dissonance between the months mentioned in Zech 8:18–19, namely, the fourth, fifth, seventh, and tenth months, and the months when the priestly pilgrimage feasts (Passover/Unleavened bread; Weeks/Harvest/Pentecost; and Tabernacles/Ingathering) were celebrated. However, my intention here is not to identify specific pilgrimage feasts from the Pentateuchal texts and to claim that they are in view here in Zech 8:19, but to identify the feasts mentioned in Zech 8:19 as feasts that belong to this category based on the description given in Zech 8:20–23.

[135] This is not to imply that all rituals of feasts should automatically be classified as felicitous. Rather, the felicitousness of these rituals is determined by their description in the context of Zech 7–8.

[136] This does not mean that the fasting rituals are completely discontinued. See, for example, Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 313–14; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 393–94; and Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 509) who all argued that the fasting rituals would be continued. The most vocal was Hoffman ("The Fasts in the Book of Zechariah," 171–72) who argued that "in a decision of this type—the cancellation of an existing practice—a more unequivocal statement would be expected, while here there is not even a hint of such a ruling."

Contra Hanson (*The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 104) who argued for the cessation of the rituals of fasting and against those who argued that the prophet had not provided an answer to that question; cf. Ackroyd, *Exile and Restoration*, 208.

It has to be said that there is a key issue that has not been taken into consideration by scholars in their efforts to resolve this complex question. One has to take into consideration the fact that the fasting rituals that have been discussed in Zech 7–8 have been determined to be infelicitous. Thus, when the prophet declares that the rituals of fasting will be replaced by feasting rituals, what he likely has in view is the replacement of the infelicitous fasting rituals with felicitous feasting rituals. On the other hand, felicitous fasting practises should start or continue to be practiced. For a helpful review of the scholarship on this important issue, see Hoffman, "The Fasts in the Book of Zechariah," 171–72 with footnotes.

infelicitous fasts should be first replaced with felicitous fasts that will feature the spirit of repentance and then, those felicitous fasts should lead to felicitous feasts. Second, the feasts were instituted by Yahweh through the prophet. This is clear from the use of the prophetic formula, which is used elsewhere in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus with the purpose of establishing prophetic authority.[137] Finally, the felicitousness of the rituals of feasting can be seen from their result: they are described as rituals that produce an ideological space that is in contrast to the lived space produced by the infelicitous rituals.[138]

This question of the ritual production of ideological space will be addressed in the next section of the present work. The investigation will begin with the ritual production of God's ideological space and then move to the questions about the production of the people's and nature's space.

9.4.2.1 The Feasting Rituals and the Production of God's Ideological Space

This first section dealing with the ritual production of ideological space focuses on the connection between the rituals of feasting and the production of God's ideological space as described in Zech 7–8. It has already been shown in the previous chapter that Zech 7–8 describes God's ideological space.[139] That investigation of God's ideological space will now be expanded to address the specific question of how the rituals of feasts produce that

[137] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 312–13. For the importance of the use of the different formulas in the book of Zechariah, see Boda, "Zechariah: Master Mason or Penitential Prophet?" 51–52.

[138] Theoretically speaking, infelicitous rituals can cause a good result and felicitous rituals can lead to a bad outcome. In the list where he classified different types of infelicitous performances, Grimes (*Ritual Criticism*, 196–97, 200) mentioned the latter possibility in 2.4, which he labeled as "Flop" (failure to produce the appropriate mood or atmosphere). In my personal conversation with Grimes on February 28th, 2019, Grimes expanded this formulation from ritual failure to produce the appropriate mood or atmosphere to a failure in producing any desirable outcome. Accordingly, rituals can be professed and practiced perfectly but, in the end, not produce the desired result. However, the description of rituals in the biblical literature is less ambiguous. That is, infelicitous rituals are rarely, if ever, described as having a positive outcome and if they result in a good outcome, that is just a temporary result with an ultimately negative end.

[139] See section 8.3.2.1 in chapter 8 of the present work.

space. It will be shown below that Zech 7–8 describes this production process in several ways.

The first and most general connection between the feasting rituals and God's ideological space is evident from the literary structure of Zech 7–8. As has already been addressed in this chapter, the question about fasting that was posed in Zech 7:2–3 is not answered until Zech 8:18–19.[140] As a result, there are a number of prophetic oracles between the delegation's question and the prophet's answer that are recorded in Zech 7:8—8:17.[141] There are two ways that this material in Zech 7:8—8:17 can be understood: first, one can argue that the material between the question about fasting and the answer to this question is an interruption in the flow of thought that is not related to the subject matter of fasting[142] and second, it could be asserted that the material found in Zech 7:8—8:17 actually relates to cultic matters and is purposefully situated between the delegation's question about fasting and the prophet's answer to that question.[143] Without

[140] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 312; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 442–43; Floyd, *Minor Prophets 2*, 437; Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 653–54; Wolters, *Zechariah*, 246; Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 508.

[141] See, for instance, Floyd (*Minor Prophets 2*, 411–12) who labeled this section as "Reply interrupted" and outlined in it a number of prophetic speeches that are all basically "Exhortation *to people* to obey Yahweh" (italics supplied).

[142] For a survey of the complex issues related to the composition of Zech 7–8 and its redactional development that goes beyond the scope of the present study, see Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 415–19. See, further, Clark ("Discourse Structure") and Frolov ("Is the Narrator Also among the Prophets?") whose studies represent two opposite ends of the spectrum of unity/disunity with the former arguing for the rhetorical unity of Zech 7–8 and the latter for a tension between the different parts in this section of the book of Zechariah. Even though these questions are very important, the present study focuses on the final form of Zech 7–8 with an emphasis on the rhetorical purpose of its present literary structure.

[143] See also, Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 312) who explained that "whether or not the response originally followed immediately after the question, we cannot know. What we do know in retrospect is that an editor thought it *necessary* to provide (1) a number of oracles by way of response to the question; (2) oracles from Yahweh; (3) oracles of promise conditioned by words of admonition; and (4) some reflection about the nature of ritual action, especially that of eating and fasting. Once these issues had been brought up, the redactor judged that an answer to the specific question could now be given." Even though this study deals only with the final form of the text and does not address the complex questions related to redaction criticism, I argue that regardless of how one addresses these complex questions related to redaction, Petersen's emphasis on the logical composition of the text makes sense. This study shows that the rationale behind this composition—with full awareness that there might be more than one rationale—is the author's concern for portraying the efficacy of the rituals. In other words, the portrayal of God's, the people's, and nature's space in the section between the question about fasting and the answer to that question functions to delineate the efficacy of the rituals that produce that space.

addressing the complex questions related to the composition of Zech 7–8, the analysis below will show that in the text's present form, the description of the different types of space in Zech 7:8—8:17 closely relates to the question asked by the delegation and the answer provided by the prophet.

As has been shown in the previous chapter dealing with critical spatiality in Zech 7–8, there are three major characteristics of God's ideological space: Yahweh's presence in his temple, the centrality of Jerusalem, and the inclusion of Gentiles in the religious activities in Jerusalem. First, there is a connection between the rituals of feasting and God's dwelling in Jerusalem. The ritual production of God's ideological space as his dwelling place begins in Zech 8:9 with reminding the people of the importance of the foundation-laying ceremony and exhorting them to continue their work on the temple. The description of the foundation-laying ceremony is situated in the very center of Zech 8 and is closely associated with Yahweh's return to Zion (Zech 8:3) as well as with the people's return migration to Jerusalem (Zech 8:7–8)—two themes that occur together also in Zech 2:10–17[6–13].[144] The foundation-laying ceremony has functioned to enable Yahweh to return and dwell in his temple, which will in turn cause Yahweh's people to come back to their land. Even more important, the foundation-laying ceremony will lead to the rebuilding of the temple and in that way, enable the celebration of different festivals. It is important to mention that as described in the Pentateuch, these festivals, among other things, also have the function of securing Yahweh's presence on earth.[145] Thus, God's ideological place is secured in part by the proper ritual celebration of the feasts.

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[144] On the importance of the foundation-laying ceremony, see Boda, "From Dystopia to Myopia"; Boda, "Legitimizing the Temple"; and Kessler, "Temple Building."

[145] See, further, Hundley (*Keeping Heaven on Earth*, 1) who examined the priestly literature, more specifically, Exod 25—Lev 16, and argued that the rituals were intended "to secure and safeguard the divine presence at the heart of the Israelite community."

Second, God's ideological place is delineated as being exclusively associated with Jerusalem. It has already been explained that the rituals of fasting—whose primary purpose was the commemoration of the events associated with the fall of Judah—resulted in the decentralization of Jerusalem and the establishment of Bethel as a new cultic center in the province of Yehud as well as in the rise of other important places throughout the diaspora where the rituals of fasting were practiced.[146] In other words, what was once a centralized cultic life had become decentralized. The feasting rituals, however, reintroduced the previous cultic life, necessitating Jerusalem as its center.[147] The feasts were naturally associated with the temple that would be rebuilt in Jerusalem, and any celebration of these feasts would promote a centralized cultic system. This is especially the case with respect to the so-called pilgrimage feasts, which required a journey to Jerusalem.[148] That the feasts produce a centralized cultic system where Jerusalem would play a central role is clear from Zech 8:20–23, the passage that follows the description of the feasting rituals (Zech 8:18–19) and that mentions the people's pilgrimage to Jerusalem (especially Zech 8:22).[149] In other words, the description of the centralized

[146] Blenkinsopp, "Bethel in the Neo-Babylonian Period," 97–101.

[147] In the last three decades, there have been a number of significant studies that evaluated the concept of centralization in the Old Testament. See, especially, Reuter, *Kultzentralisation: Entstehung und Theologie von Dtn 12*; Pitkänen, *Central Sanctuary and Centralization of Worship*; Knowles, *Centrality Practiced*; Thelle, *Approaches to the "Chosen Place"*; Audirsch, *The Legislative Themes of Centralization*; and Rhyder, *Centralizing the Cult*. For the idea of cultic centralization as described in Deuteronomy that includes a treatment of the festivals as the rationale behind that centralization, see Thelle, *Approaches to the "Chosen Place,"* 57–94. Thelle summarized chapter 3 with the following words: "The text of Deut 12 forges a movement toward a center through language that emphasizes movement: bring, carry, there you shall do, and so on. It also establishes a center towards which everything moves. 'The place which YHWH will choose' is constructed as the center around which all cultic acts take place, and toward which all movement involving sacrifice and festivals moves" (152).

[148] On the idea of how the pilgrimage festivals contribute to centralization, see, especially, Knowles (*Centrality Practiced*, 77–103) who explored the idea of pilgrimage in the context of the celebration of the festivals and the centralization of Jerusalem. See, especially, pp. 80–81 where Knowles explored this idea as it is addressed in Haggai, Zechariah, and Trito-Isaiah.

[149] Meyers and Meyers, "Jerusalem and Zion after the Exile." On the development of this idea in Zech 14 in relation to celebration of the feast of Tabernacles, see Harrelson, "The Celebration of the Feast of Booths."

ritual system follows after and is described as a result of the prophet's announcement of the reestablishment of the feasts.

This description of the ritual production of the centralized cultic system leads to the portrayal of the last characteristic of God's ideological space. In Zech 8:20–23, God's space is described as the place where both Gentiles and Jews will come to seek Yahweh.[150] Keeping in mind the fact that this description follows the prophetic establishment of the rituals of feasting, it is likely that the pilgrimage of Gentiles to Jerusalem is closely connected with the celebration of the festivals.[151] This is in line with priestly legislation according to which foreigners who lived among the Israelites were allowed to take part in the celebration of the Israelite festivals (Exod 12: 48–49; Lev 16:29–30; Deut 16:11, 14; 26:11), sometimes under specific conditions such as circumcision (Exod 12:43).[152] The description of Gentiles who will come to Jerusalem to seek Yahweh in Zech 8:20–23 should be seen as an expansion of this priestly regulation since it includes foreigners who do not live among them. What is most important for this study is that the feasts are clearly described as a social activity that produces the space in which both Gentiles and Judahites seek Yahweh together. This description of people who seek Yahweh is closely related to the portrayal of people's space that will be examined below.

In sum, the above analysis of the ritual production of ideological space shows that the feasting rituals produce God's ideological space. As delineated in Zech 7–8, they

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[150] Wolters, "Interpretation of Zechariah 8:20–23," For the detailed examination of the motif of participation of the Gentiles in the worship of Yahweh in the book of Isaiah and the Book of the Twelve, see Tiemeyer, "Death or Conversion," especially 5–11, dealing with the Haggai–Zechariah corpus.

[151] On the connection between Zech 8:18–19 and 8:20–23, see Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 653–56, especially 654, where Sweeney argued that the second oracle that begins in Zech 8:20 builds on the previous verse.

[152] On the concept of the foreigner as it relates to the religious life of the people of Israel, see Begg, "Foreigner," 2:829; Knauth, "Alien, Foreign Resident," 30–31. On the broader topic of foreigners in the prophetic literature of the Old Testament, see Timmer, *The Non-Israelite Nations.*

produce all three characteristics of that ideological space. First, as an important part of the ritual system of ancient Israel, among other things, the feasts secure Yahweh's presence in his temple. Second, the celebrations of the feasts, especially the pilgrim festivals, promote the centrality of Jerusalem. Finally, the festivals are also described as the main cause for Gentiles joining the Judahites in their celebrations in Jerusalem.

9.4.2.2 The Feasting Rituals and the Production of the People's Ideological Space

Now that the investigation of the ritual production of God's ideological space in Zech 7–8 is finished, the study can move to an examination of the ritual production of the people's ideological space. As was the case in the previous section, the focus will be on the rituals of the feasts that are mentioned in Zech 8:18–19, more specifically, on the question of how they are connected with the three major characteristics of the people's ideological space: the population of Jerusalem, the flourishing of social justice, and the presence of the Gentiles.

The first aspect of the ritual production of the people's ideological space is related to the description of an inhabited Jerusalem. This description is first given in Zech 7:7 and then fully developed in Zech 8:4–8, especially with the reference to the old men and women along with the boys and girls who will fill Jerusalem's streets.[153] To this portrayal of Jerusalem is added a description of Yahweh's return with an intent to dwell in the city.[154] There are two ways that Zech 7–8 describes the connection between the rituals of the feasts and the inhabitation of Jerusalem. First, the foundation-laying ceremony that is mentioned in Zech 8:9 is described as a key moment that makes a distinction between

[153] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 300–301; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 415–17; Floyd, *Minor Prophets 2*, 427–31; Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 647–48; Wolters, *Zechariah*, 232–33; Boda, *Exploring Zechariah 1*, 482–83. See, especially, Zakovitch, "A Garden of Eden," 301–11. Note, especially, 309–10, where Zakovitch concluded that this prophecy about Jerusalem was different than the other prophecies about a bright future that included descriptions of "a new creation, and changes in the laws of nature." Rather, Zakovitch argued, Jerusalem was portrayed as "contemporary and humane."

[154] Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 647. Contra Floyd (*Minor Prophets 2*, 429) and Wolters (*Zechariah*, 232) who rendered the verb in the past tense.

past turmoil and a bright future.[155] Thus, the habitation of Jerusalem (Zech 8:2–8) will follow the foundation-laying ceremony and should be understood as one of the results of this ceremony. Second, this ceremony, which leads towards the rebuilding of the temple, will naturally be followed by the festal celebrations announced in Zech 8:18–19. As has been already explained, these festal celebrations are the main reason for the pilgrimage to Jerusalem that is described in Zech 8:20–23. While the infelicitous rituals that are described in Jer 7 and compared with the fasting rituals in Zech 7 caused the dispersion of Yahweh's people throughout the Babylonian empire, the rituals of the feasts will accomplish quite the opposite: people of different cities will gather to come to Jerusalem.[156] To this should be added a point that was already mentioned in the previous section dealing with God's ideological space: these feasts have the purpose of securing God's presence in Jerusalem. Thus, it can be said that the rituals of the feasts precipitate and ultimately produce the inhabitation of Jerusalem with people by securing Yahweh's presence in it at the same time.

The second aspect of the description of the people's ideological space in Zech 7–8 is related to the flourishing of social justice in Jerusalem. This description of social justice is just briefly alluded to in Zech 8:3 where the phrase עיר־האמת ("the city of truth") is used and then fully developed in Zech 8:16–17, a passage that is clearly in parallel with the description of social injustice in Zech 7:9–10.[157] Again, the ritual feasts are described as being closely related to this description of social justice. First, the

[155] See, especially, Boda (*The Book of Zechariah*, 487–88) who recognized that Zech 8:9 refers to three time periods: (1) the day of the foundation-laying ceremony, (2) the period before that ceremony, and (3) the present time. It is clear that the day of the foundation-laying ceremony is the key moment that distinguishes between the time before and after that event. See also, Stead (*The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 228) who recognized a clear connection between Zech 8:2–8 and Zech 8:9.

[156] On the idea of the pilgrimage feasts and the movement of the people toward Jerusalem, see, further, Knowles, *Centrality Practiced*, 80–81.

[157] For the intertextual link between Zech 7:9–10 and Zech 8:16–17, see Stead (*The Intertextuality of Zechariah 1–8*, 235) who noticed the following parallels between the two texts: משפט אמת שפטו, אל־תעשקו ורעת איש אחיו אל־תחשבו בלבבכם, את־אחיו איש, in Zech 7:9–10 and איש את־רעהו, ואיש | את־רעת רעהו אל־תחשבו בלבבכם, ומשפט שלום שפטו, in Zech 8:16–17.

phrase, "the city of truth," is a clear allusion to Isa 1:21, a passage that also deals with the infelicitous ritual practices that were one of the reasons why the city of truth became a harlotrous city.[158] In Zech 8:3, this imagery is reversed, and not surprisingly, in the context of the felicitous rituals described in Zech 8:18–19.

Second and more important, the connection between social justice and the rituals of the feasts is made again in Zech 8:18–19 by adding the phrase "and[159] love truth and peace" (והאמת והשלום אהבו) at the end.[160] It is significant to notice that all three terms אמת ("truth"), שלום ("peace"), and אהב ("love") are also used in the previous section dealing with Yahweh's demands for social justice in Zech 8:16–17. Hence, not only does a passage dealing with issues of social justice precede this one focusing on ritual feasts, but they also share the same vocabulary. In addition, these terms are also used throughout Zech 7–8 in the context of matters of social (in)justice: אמת ("truth") in Zech 7:9; 8:3, 8, 16 [2x] and שלום ("peace") in Zech 8:10. [161] Thus, the connection between the feasts and social justice is made by situating the passages about social justice (Zech 8:16–17) and ritual feasts (Zech 8:18–19) right next to each other and by using the same vocabulary in both passages.[162] In the same way as the infelicitous fasting rituals are described as being the means by which social injustice is produced, the felicitous rituals

[158] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 413–14.

[159] Contra Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 315) and Wolters (*Zechariah*, 246) the latter of whom translated it as "but love fidelity and peace" in order to emphasize the priority of social justice over the rituals. This translation does not fit the context, which emphasizes a close correlation between social justice and the feasts and not the priority of social justice over the ritual practices. In my view the last clause is the result of celebrating the feasts.

[160] Contra Redditt (*Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 87) who argued that this phrase "would fit in better with the admonitions in vv. 16–17 and may have become misplaced through scribal error." This solution does not take into account the fact that the phrase could be intentionally added to its present context to emphasize a connection between the celebration of the feasts and the production of social justice.

[161] See Floyd (*Minor Prophets 2*, 437) who also noticed links between this final phrase and the other occurrences of the key terms from this phrase in the rest of Zech 7–8. He correctly concluded that "the command in v. 19a thus ties together every aspect of the parenetic material that runs throughout 7:8—8:13."

[162] Floyd (*Minor Prophets 2*, 437–48) made a connection between social justice and the celebration of the feasts, even though he did not emphasize that social justice was the result of those ritual celebrations.

associated with the feasts are the way that this unfortunate state of affairs will be reversed and that social justice will be produced.[163]

Finally, Zech 7–8 also describes the last aspect of the people's ideological space, namely its association with the Gentiles. As has already been explained in the previous section dealing with the ritual production of God's ideological space, it is in Zech 8:20–23 that the people of other nations who will come to Jerusalem to seek Yahweh are described.[164] It is important to add to this conclusion that the Gentiles coming to Jerusalem affects not only God's space, namely the temple, but also Jerusalem as the people's space.[165] This production of the ideological space of Jerusalem, which embraces both the Gentiles and the Judahites, is accomplished by the celebration of the feasts.

This section shows that the ritual feasts not only produce God's, but also the people's ideological space. This production of the people's ideological space is threefold: first, the feasts are described as producing the inhabitation of Jerusalem and securing Yahweh's presence in it. Second, the rituals associated with the feasts will construct social justice in the city. Finally, these rituals produce a space that embraces both Yehudites and Gentiles.

9.4.2.3 The Feasting Rituals and the Production of Nature's Ideological Space

In this last section dealing with the ritual production of ideological space in Zech 7–8, the investigation turns to nature's space. It has already been shown that nature's space is closely related to God's and the people's space, so it comes as no surprise that Zech 7–8 associates the production of God's and the people's space with the transformation of nature. More specifically, this section of the present study will focus on the question of

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[163] If Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 313) was right that Zech 7:7—8:17 outlines the "absolute doom" that is caused by practicing infelicitous rituals, then announcing the celebration of felicitous feasts should lead to the opposite, namely, a positive, outcome.

[164] Wolters, "Interpretation of Zechariah 8:20–23."

[165] See, further, Knowles, *Centrality Practiced*, 80–81.

how the feasting rituals mentioned in Zech 8:18–19 relate to the production of nature's ideological space.

As has been shown in the previous chapter dealing with the critical spatiality of Zech 7–8, the best description of nature's ideological space is given in Zech 8:12. In this verse, ecological flourishing is portrayed by the fruitfulness of the vine and cooperation between the land and heaven.[166] However, the question that remains to be answered is whether Zech 7–8 makes a connection between this description of agricultural abundance and the rituals of the feasts. It will be shown in the study below that there are three ways Zech 7–8 describes the ritual production of nature's ideological space.

First, the description of ecological flourishing in Zech 8:12 is situated right after the reference to the foundation-laying ceremony in Zech 8:9. It is important to notice that this ceremony is mentioned as being the turning point from the past turmoil that had preceded this ceremony (Zech 8:10) to the bright future (Zech 8:12–13) that follows it.[167] That this is the case is evident from the phrase ועתה ("but now") that emphasizes the contrast between the past and the future and that serves as an introduction to the description of prosperity.[168] This bright future, whose beginnings have been symbolized by the foundation-laying ceremony, is characterized mainly by the agricultural abundance described in Zech 8:12.[169] That ecological flourishing is the most important characteristic of future prosperity can also be seen in the sharp contrast between future agricultural abundance and the past turmoil that is also described with a reference to the animal

[166] For the description of agricultural abundance, see, further, Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 307; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 422–23; Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 649–50; Floyd, *Minor Prophets 2*, 434; Wolters, *Zechariah*, 242–43; and Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 496–97.

[167] This point is well recognized among commentators. See, for example, Floyd (*Minor Prophets 2*, 434) who asserted that "the inauguration of the rebuilding project signaled a reversal in Yahweh's intentions toward his people." See also, Nogalski, "Recurring Themes," 128–29.

[168] Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 650.

[169] See also, Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 306–7) who correctly asserted that the "nature of Yahweh's regenerative activity" was described in agricultural language.

world.[170] It is also important to add that the foundation-laying ceremony should be understood as the basis for any ritual practice, including the celebration of the feasts described in Zech 8:18–19. Accordingly, the foundation-laying ceremony will enable the celebration of the feasts as announced in Zech 8:18–19, which will, in turn, affect nature in a positive way. This connection between rituals and ecology, as strange as it may sound to a western mind, was natural in an ANE context where feasts were closely associated with the agricultural cycles.[171]

Second, the description of nature's ideological space in Zech 8:12 should be seen through the lens of a clear allusion to the description of nature's space in the book of Haggai (Hag 1:11; 2:19).[172] It has been shown in the fourth and fifth chapters of the present work that references to nature in the book of Haggai are closely related to the state of the temple. While the activities of the infelicitous rituals affect nature in a negative way, felicitous rituals like the foundation-laying ceremony have a positive impact on the natural world.[173] The same is true in Zech 7–8 where the description of nature's space is again situated in the context of the discussion about the rituals of fasting and feasting.[174] Thus, one of the purposes of Zech 8:12 is to delineate the reversal of the

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[170] Contra Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah*, 306–7) who did not see a connection between the descriptions of past turmoil in Zech 8:10 and the bright future of Zech 8:12 and argued that the description in Zech 8:12 was "profoundly different." Even though the description of the past focuses on socio-economic aspects and the portrayal of the future focuses on ecological fertility, the reference to בהמה ("animal") in Zech 8:10 creates a connection with what follows. It should also be kept in mind that the dividing line between socio-economics and ecology in the ANE context of that time should be taken as fuzzy and less clear than in the twenty-first century.

[171] See, further, Armerding ("Festivals and Feasts," 301) who noted that it was clear from ANE culture as well as from Israelite religion "that the agricultural cycles and their fruitfulness or failure are commonly seen as tied to the respective religious cult … The cycle of planting and harvesting determined not only what various months were called, as evidenced by a rude agricultural calendar discovered at Gezer from the tenth century but also what feasts and rituals accompanied the seasons."

[172] For one of the best explanations of this intertextual link between Zech 8:12 and Hag 1:10–11; 2:19, see Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 423. This was noticed by others, as well, but was not developed in detail, Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 307; Wolters, *Zechariah*, 243.

[173] See chapters 4 and 5 of this study.

[174] On this connection between Zechariah and Haggai based on their treatments of the topic of the connectedness between temple issues and ecology, see Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 649.

unfortunate state of affairs that is described in Hag 1:11 by using the same vocabulary that is used in the book of Haggai, but this time, in the positive context of describing nature's ideological space.[175]

Third, one should notice that in the last phrase of the passage dealing with the feasts in Zech 8:18–19, the author uses two important terms והאמת והשלום ("truth and peace").[176] The rhetorical strategy of using these terms to make a connection between the feasts and the issue of social injustice has already been explained.[177] In addition to that, one must say that the term שלום ("peace") is used in Zech 8 in the context of describing the natural world. The term is first used in a negative sense in Zech 8:10 to describe that "there will be no peace because of the enemy" (אין־שלום מן־הצר)—a statement that follows a negative reference to the animal world—and then again in Zech 8:12, where it is used in a positive sense to describe "sowing[178] prosperity" (כי־זרע השלום).[179] It is interesting that even in Zech 8:10 and 12, where this term refers to agricultural prosperity, the term is also used in the context of the ritual activities associated with the foundation-laying ceremony mentioned in Zech 8:9. The occurrence of this term again in the context of the ritual feasts in Zech 8:19 creates a rhetorical connection between the ecological prosperity that has been previously described and the feasts as the means through which this prosperity can be accomplished.

The above analysis of the ritual production of nature's ideological space shows that Zech 7–8 connects the rituals of the feasts not only with God's and the people's ideological space, but also with nature's ideological space. This has been accomplished

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[175] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 423.

[176] On the importance of this phrase in the current context, see, further, Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 314–15; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 435; Floyd, *Minor Prophets 2*, 437–48; Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets 2*, 654; Wolters, *Zechariah*, 246; and Boda, *Exploring Zechariah 1*, 510.

[177] See the previous section of the present work dealing with ritual production of the people's ideological space.

[178] Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 490.

[179] On the significance of the use of this term in the context of the description of agricultural bounty in Zech 8, see Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 423.

by associating agricultural abundance with the foundation-laying ceremony, which in Zech 8 leads to the celebration of the feasts, by establishing an intertextual link with Haggai's description of the ecological state of affairs in the context of ritual, and finally, by the rhetorical use of the term שלום ("peace, prosperity") which connects the feasting rituals with nature's prosperity.

9.5 Conclusion

The present chapter explored two different types of ritual practices outlined in the central unit of the book of Zechariah. It shows that the rituals of fasting described in Zech 7:2–6; 8:19 and the rituals of feasting portrayed in Zech 8:18–19 play a key role in this section of the book. They are portrayed as being directly related to the production of God's, the people's, and nature's lived and ideological space as described in Zech 7–8. Here, at the end of this chapter, the findings about this production of lived and ideological space in Zech 7–8 will be summarized.

The investigation of the fasting rituals described in Zech 7:2–6 and 8:19 shows that the main characters in these rituals were members of the Bethel delegation, the Bethelians, all the people of the land, and the priests. It has been argued that these fasting rituals were practiced at different places, with Bethel likely serving as the cultic center of that time from which people were receiving instructions about this important ritual. The three specific rites that are mentioned in Zech 7:2–6— weeping, restricting, and mourning—are all related to the ritual practice of fasting. These rites, however, are designated by the prophet as being infelicitous rituals. It has been demonstrated that the people who practiced the fasting did that primarily to commemorate the catastrophic

events associated with the fall of Judah instead of repenting for their evil ways, as fasting rituals were often used.

The infelicitous nature of the fasting rituals can be seen in their ultimate result, namely in the production of God's, the people's, and nature's lived space that was essentially the opposite from the ideological space described by the prophet. First, the fasting rituals are delineated as a social activity that produced God's lived space, the primary characteristic of which was the absence of Yahweh from the temple. It has been demonstrated that this description of the ritual production of God's space was accomplished by alluding to Jeremiah's temple sermon. Second, these rituals are described as constructing the people's lived space by producing politically and socially disordered space. Finally, the rituals described in Zech 7:2–6 are brought into connection with the production of nature's lived space, which is characterized by the desolation of the land, poor animal welfare, and agricultural calamities.

The second type of rituals that are examined in this chapter are the feasting rituals that are in many ways, similar to but also different from the fasting rituals. It has been shown that along with all the actors who participate in the rituals of fasting, other non-Israelite nations will join in celebrating the feasts. These celebrations will be performed strictly in Jerusalem, making this city a new cultic center of a new era. While the fasting rituals were characteristic by their weeping, mourning, and abstinence from food and/or drink, the festal rituals will feature eating, drinking, and celebratory notes. It has also been determined that the author likely has in view the pilgrimage feasts that are appointed by the prophet and that they are felicitous in nature.

As was the case with the rituals of fasting, the festal celebrations are also described in Zech 7–8 as producing God's, the people's, and nature's space. This time, however, Zech 7–8 describes these rituals as constructing what is, in this study, labeled as ideological space. First, the rituals of feasting produce God's ideological space by securing God's presence in it, promoting the centrality of Jerusalem, and including both Israelites and Gentiles in the festal celebrations. Second, it has been demonstrated that the same feasts construct the people's ideological space, which in Zech 7–8, is mostly concerned with Jerusalem. This space is inhabited by both the people and Yahweh, characterized by a flourishing social justice, and having Gentiles being welcome to join the Jews. Finally, these rituals are portrayed as producing nature's ideological space by stimulating agricultural prosperity.

This chapter demonstrates that among other purposes, Zech 7–8 also has the goal of portraying the efficacy of both the fasting and feasting rituals, namely their intrinsic capacity to produce God's, the people's, and nature's space. While the infelicitous fasting rituals are described as producing lived space, the felicitous feasting rituals are portrayed as constructing ideological space. Keeping in mind the efficacy of ritual practices to transform the space in which Yahweh, the people, and animals live, Zech 7–8 exhorts the post-exilic community to begin practicing felicitous rituals that will transform their reality into an idyllic vision that Yahweh has revealed to them through their prophet. In order to do that, people should first change infelicitous fasts into felicitous ones that will, in their essence, reflect their repentance. Practicing felicitous fasts will, in turn, lead to felicitous festal celebrations, through which, people will fulfill the vision of ideological space that the prophet previously portrayed.

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1 Conclusion

The question of the ritual production of space that had originally been addressed in Leviticus has been picked up and further developed in the prophetic corpus of the Old Testament. The Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus is one of the best examples of prophetic literature where this theme is thoroughly addressed and developed. Using an approach that combines insights from ritual studies and critical spatiality, this dissertation sought to answer the question of how the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus delineates the complex dynamics of the ritual production of space by focusing on passages that describe ideological and lived aspects of space as well as on references to felicitous, infelicitous, and imagined rituals. This research suggested that the Haggai–Zechariah corpus describes rituals as playing an important role in the production of space: while felicitous rituals produced an ideological aspect of space, infelicitous ones constructed lived space that was in striking contrast with the ideological one. It was also proposed that imagined rituals, described in the vision reports found in Zech 3–4, had the purpose of exhorting people to make the transition from infelicitous to felicitous rituals by pointing to their ultimate result of the production of ideological space.

The first part of the dissertation (chapter 3) examined the physical aspect of space of early post-exilic Yehud through the investigation of important passages from the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus and building on relevant archaeological findings. It was

shown that in the last quarter of the sixth century, the temple in Jerusalem was still in ruins with the exception of the altar which was rebuilt in the first wave of the return migration. In contrast to the temple, some of the people's houses were restored and even luxurious. However, numerous Judahites were still dispersed in exile, and Jerusalem and its environs were still ruined and required restoration, with the important exception of the northern parts of Judah that were not destroyed in 587/6. The study also showed that even though people of Yehud cultivated different field crops, fruit trees, and vegetables, fields, hills, and arable ground were infertile and did not provide people with sufficient produce in the early post-exilic period. This examination of the physical aspect of space provided an important foundation for the further study of ideological and lived aspects of space in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus.

The second part of this dissertation (chs. 4–5) dealt with the question of the ritual production of space in the book of Haggai by focusing first on the delineation of ideological and lived aspects of space (chapter 4) and then moving to the topic of the ritual production of these two aspects of space (chapter 5). Investigation performed in the fourth chapter demonstrated that there is a clear contrast between descriptions of ideological and lived aspects of space. Haggai's portrayal of God's ideological space focused on the temple being rebuilt, filled with Yahweh's presence, and serving as a place where other nations will bring their treasures in order to worship Yahweh. In his description of the ideological aspect of people's space, Haggai placed an accent on international societal and military order and the appointment of Zerubbabel as a new ruler. Finally, the ideological aspect of nature's space was delineated in terms of fecundity and agricultural abundances. In contrast to this portrayal of ideological space,

Haggai also described the lived aspect of space. The lived aspect of God's space was portrayed as "nothing" in people's eyes, desolated, and impure. The delineation of people's lived space was characterized by people's houses being rebuilt and luxurious, but despite this positive portrayal, people's space, in general, featured social and military disorder. Haggai also described the lived aspect of nature's space by focusing on agricultural problems of that time.

This investigation of Haggai's portrayal of the ideological and lived aspects of space was followed by examination of the offering and foundation-laying rituals described in the book of Haggai. The study performed in chapter 5 demonstrated that the offering rituals described in Haggai should be classified as infelicitous rituals. It was shown that these rituals affected God's, the people's, and nature's space in a negative way by producing the lived aspect of space: they defiled God's space and affirmed its state of being in ruins and they also produced people's disordered space and caused ecological devastation and infertility. In contrast to the offering rituals, the examination performed in this chapter showed that the foundation-laying rituals should be classified as felicitous rituals. They were described in the book of Haggai as having a positive impact on space by producing the ideological aspect of space: they transformed the temple site from impure to a holy place and enabled the dwelling of Yahweh in it, and they created a new socio-political and military situation in the region and marked the turning point in the life of nature by making agricultural land fertile. In this way, it was shown that the ideological aspect of space was produced by the felicitous rituals and lived aspect of space by infelicitous rituals.

In the third part of this dissertation (chs. 6–7), investigation moved to the examination of the question of the ritual production of space in Zech 1–6. Again, the study began with the investigation of space in chapter 6—but this time only its ideological aspect—and then continued with the examination of rituals in chapter 7. It was shown that Zechariah expanded Haggai's portrayal of God's ideological space to a description of the heavenly realm that is closely connected with earth. Yahweh was described as moving from his heavenly dwelling place to his earthly temple that will, consequently, be filled with his glory. The people's ideological space was described in terms of Yahweh's sovereign rule over earth, his judgment over the Gentiles, the people's return migration to Yehud, and the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the city of Judah. Zechariah also used nature imagery to describe God's and the people's ideological space and briefly portrayed nature's ideological space as flourishing.

Examination of the ideological aspect of space in Zech 1–6 was followed by investigation of the passages that describe the rituals of consecration of Joshua and the temple (Zech 3–4) in chapter 7. It was shown that the ritual of the consecration of Joshua should be classified as imagined ritual. Besides its main purpose to legally elevate Joshua to the status of high priest, this ritual was also described as producing God's, the people's, and nature's space. The consecration of Joshua was described as a ritual that would enable Yahweh's return into his temple and establish a connection between the heavenly and earthly realms. This ritual was also portrayed as affecting people's space by reordering a socio-political state of affairs and was closely associated with the imagery of the restoration of nature. Similarly, it was shown that the ritual of the consecration of the temple should be classified as an imagined ritual. This ritual was also portrayed as

producing God's, the people's, and nature's space. It enabled Yahweh's movement to his earthly temple by consecrating that space and established connection between the earthly and heavenly realms. This ritual also led to the cleansing of the people's land and reordering of the socio-political situation in Yehud and it was ultimately connected with the flourishing of nature's space. Keeping in mind their imagined nature, the rituals of the consecration of Joshua and the temple had the purpose of exhorting people to reinstitute ritual activities at the second temple and to move in that way from infelicitous to felicitous ritual practices. Ultimately, that would lead to the production of ideological space by practicing felicitous rituals in the future.

The last part of the dissertation (chs. 8–9) investigated the question of the ritual production of space in Zech 7–8 by focusing first on Zechariah's portrayal of ideological and lived space (chapter 7) and then moving to address the question of the ritual production of that space (chapter 8). It was demonstrated that Zech 7–8 described God's lived space in terms of Jerusalem's temple being desolated and Bethel's serving as the cultic center of that time. People's lived space was portrayed in negative terms as politically and socially disordered with the people of God practicing social injustice and not having political independence. Zechariah also addressed the question of nature's lived space by describing ecological disaster and agricultural scarcity. In contrast to this description of the lived aspect of space, Zechariah gave a portrayal of God's, the people's, and nature's ideological space. God's ideological space was described as Jerusalem's being rebuilt and becoming the destination for other nations who would come there to seek Yahweh. Similarly, the portrayal of the people's ideological space featured an inhabited Jerusalem in which Yahweh dwells, people practice social justice,

and where other nations come to worship him. This positive description of space was expanded by the ideological portrayal of nature whose main characteristic was fecundity and flourishing.

Chapter 9 focused on the question of how fasting and feasting rituals produce the lived and ideological aspects of space described above. It was demonstrated that the fasts that were referred to in Zech 7–8 were infelicitous rituals, a fact that was among others things also evident from their production of God's, the people's, and nature's lived space. The efficacy of fasting rituals was described as causing the absence of Yahweh from his temple and the decentralization of the cult from Jerusalem to Bethel. Zechariah also portrayed fasting rituals as producing politically and socially disordered space and causing the desolation of the land, poor animal welfare, and agricultural calamities. In contrast to fasts, the feasts addressed in Zech 8 were described as felicitous rituals. They were delineated as producing God's ideological space in terms of securing Yahweh's presence in the temple, promoting Jerusalem's centrality, and creating a space where both Israelites and Gentiles would be invited to celebrate feasts. In addition, Zechariah portrayed these rituals as producing a space inhabited by people in which social justice and agricultural land flourishes. It was suggested that movement from infelicitous fasting to felicitous feasting was supposed to happen by people first beginning to practice felicitous fasts that would be sign of their repentance for sins that they previously done.

Investigation of the ritual production of space in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus showed that this corpus describes a striking contrast between ideological and lived aspects of space. The ideological portrayal of God's, the people's, and nature's space that is provided by the prophets is found in sharp tension with the delineation of the people's

production of the lived aspect of these three types of space. Even though all three sections of the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus describe God's, the people's, and nature's space, their focus varies, with Zech 1–6 expanding the description to the heavenly realm and cities around Jerusalem, and Zech 7–8 moving attention to social injustice issues. This research suggested that two aspects of space mentioned above are produced by two different types of rituals: ideological space by felicitous rituals, such as the foundation-laying ceremony and feasts (through felicitous fasting), and lived space by infelicitous offering rituals and infelicitous fasting. While the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus is bracketed by the book of Haggai and Zech 7–8 which describe tension between ideological and lived aspects of space and their production by infelicitous and felicitous rituals, the central section of this corpus consisting of Zechariah's vision reports (Zech 1:7—6:10) provides a solution for this tension by describing envisioned rituals. These envisioned rituals had the purpose of encouraging the reestablishment of the ritual system associated with the second temple and, in that way, facilitating the transition from infelicitous ritual practices to felicitous ones.

The implications of the present study go beyond the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus and shed important light on the rest of the prophetic literature found in the HB. In particular, the significance of the findings of this study ultimately pertain to the understanding of the prophetic treatment of rituals and their influence on the society in which the prophets lived, including the ritual production of space. First, the prophetic view of ritual practices should not be taken too simplistically, as merely a critical or affirmative attitude, but rather, as a very complex perspective that was dynamic and changing based on the nature of the ritual practices and historical circumstances in which

the prophets lived. This study suggests that in the history of the prophetic treatment of rituals, the period addressed by the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus played a key transitioning role. It is in this period that the rituals were "reimagined" and Yehudites exhorted to transform their infelicitous ritual practices into felicitous ones.

Second, by focusing on the theme of ritual production of space, the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus illuminates the importance of the treatment of the theme of ritual practices in earlier prophetic literature. Prophets do not deal with rituals *only* from the perspective of undervaluing their importance in comparison to the issues such as morality and social justice, but also address the issue of ritual efficacy and the influence and importance of rituals for almost all aspects of people's lives. By reading the rest of the prophetic corpus through the lenses of the ritual production of space—as delineated in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus—one is encouraged to reevaluate his/her view of the (ir)relevance of the prophetic assessment of earlier ritual practices and their influence on the national disaster that culminated with the forced migration to Babylon. Furthermore, even though the tone of the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus is generally positive, paying attention to this topic prepares a reader for the less fortunate state of affairs as described in the book of Malachi which begins with the striking critique of the cult.

10.2 Recommendations for Future Study

While this study focused on the question of the ritual production of space in the Haggai–Zechariah 1–8 corpus, it also implicitly suggested other promising avenues of research. First, concerning the corpus that was studied, using an approach that combines insights from ritual studies and critical spatiality can be applied to the examination of the topic of the ritual production of space in a broader context of the Book of the Twelve and

elsewhere outside the prophetic corpus. The method that was developed in the present study can be fruitfully applied to the study of all three types of space and their ritual production, but researchers can choose to focus on only one particular type of space. The topic of the ritual production of nature's space, the theme that is clearly addressed in the Pentateuch and further developed in the Book of the Twelve, seems especially promising.

Second, this study reveals that some important contributions can be done at the level of methodology by further development of the method suggested by this dissertation. One can do research that will use insights from ritual studies just for the purpose of examining dynamic relationships within Lefebvre's triad. It would also be fascinating to expand the method used in this study by also addressing the question of time—an issue that comes to the fore in the book of Haggai, for example. One can also expand the method used in the present study by considering insights from the social identity theory to examine the theme of the interrelationship of space and ritual in the context of developing social identity in the book of Zechariah or to use insights from memory studies to address an important topic of the role of memory in the ritual production of ideological and lived aspects of space in the book of Haggai—a topic that is clearly addressed in Hag 2:1–6. Finally, it seems also promising to combine trauma and ritual studies in association with critical spatiality issues, especially in exilic and post-exilic prophetic literature that address issues related to exile.

These are just a few of numerous recommendations that can be given based on the present study. The potential of interdisciplinary orientation of biblical studies is limitless and reminiscent of Zechariah's description of ideological space without walls. There is

no doubt that the future will bring even more fruitful research in the interdisciplinary area of study of the Old Testament.

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APPENDIX

1. Markers for Physical, Ideological, and Lived Aspects of Space

Markers for the Physical Aspect of Space	
PhM	Marker for physical material
PhS	Marker for physical state
Markers for the Ideological Aspect of Space	
IdF	Marker for ideological future
IdP	Marker for ideological past
IdPr	Marker for ideology revealed by prophet
IdS	Marker for ideology revealed through the description of spiritual realm
IdY	Marker for ideology revealed by Yahweh
Markers for the Lived Aspect of Space	
LiE	Marker for lived space (external)
LiI	Marker for lived space (internal)
LiP	Marker for lived space in association with people