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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DIVINE WARRIOR MOTIF

IN APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

by

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of

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To Tony

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Introduction: The Development of the Divine Warrior in Apocalyptic

Rationale

The intent of this study is to examine how one literary motif, the Divine Warrior theme, develops within a particular genre of literature, in this case, apocalyptic. To accomplish this goal, four passages have been selected which belong to different stages in the development of apocalyptic. Isaiah 24-27 and Zechariah 9-14 are set within prophetic books and still contain many of the characteristics of prophecy. However, they also begin to manifest apocalyptic traits such as a final judgment and a new creation. They are therefore referred to as "proto-apocalyptic." Daniel is the one OT book which manifests genuine apocalyptic elements. Significant differences will be noted between Daniel's Divine Warrior themes and those which preceded it. Revelation is a Christian apocalypse which adapts many OT forms and ideas to the return of Christ.

The Divine Warrior theme includes the elements of threat, theophany, battle, victory, kingship, sanctuary, banquet, and a new creation characterized by eternal peace and fertility. These appear in varying combinations and adaptations. For example, the motif of God's sanctuary in some cases contains a direct reference to Yahweh's temple, in others to his holy mountain or city, or even to his people. It may describe the building of God's house, or merely refer to his protection or occupation of it.

Delimitations

A complete study of apocalyptic would require a detailed examination of both biblical and non-canonical apocalypses. However, this study will be limited to an

examination of the following passages from the Protestant canon which contain Divine Warrior motifs and patterns: Isaiah 24-27, Zechariah 9-14, Daniel 7, and Revelation 19-22.

The methodology will be predominantly literary critical, that is, involving the examination of form and structure. Historical critical questions of author, date, and unity will be addressed in introductory fashion in order to provide a historical background of study. However, the goal of this paper is to understand thematic development rather than to connect passages to historical events.

Importance of the Study

As a new millennium approaches, speculations regarding the end of the present order abound. Juvenile gunmen, Internet pornography, and nuclear warfare have made many painfully aware of the futility of our human efforts at restoration and redemption. Apocalyptists are once again calling for God to “rend the heavens and come down” (Isa 64:1). Many excellent studies have been published in recent years on the Divine Warrior in the Old Testament. However, none of them have traced the development of this theme from biblical proto-apocalyptic to apocalyptic. In doing so this study will shed light on the relationship between Israel’s understanding of God’s actions within history and the consummation of that history.

Introduction to Apocalyptic

The past four decades have brought an appreciation of apocalyptic writings to the scholarly community. We have come a long way from Ebeling's statement: "according to the prevailing ecclesiastical and theological tradition...apocalyptic...is to say the least a suspicious symptom of tendencies towards heresy."¹ Recent scholarship has highlighted the ancient origins, complicated development, polemical *Sitz im Leben*, and literary beauty of this genre of literature.

Genre is what shapes our approach to the text. That which is "totally unprecedented is incommunicable."² Genre identification takes place when a reader recognizes common features between a particular text and others he or she has read and adjusts his or her expectations accordingly. Genres may be classified along "a scale that ranges from one, in that all literature constitutes a single genre, to the maximum, that is where each text constitutes its own genre."³ Not every text within a particular genre will share all of the features associated with that genre. Therefore, genre categories must be fluid.

¹G. Ebeling, "The Ground of Christian Theology," *JTC* 6 (1969):51; cited in John J. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998), 2.

²Tremper Longman III, *Literary Approaches to Biblical Interpretation*, Foundations of Contemporary Interpretation (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1987), 77.

³*Ibid.*, 79.

The first use of “apocalyptic” as a genre identification was by the German scholar K. I. Nitzsch. He used it to describe “books which resembled the biblical Apocalypse *par excellence*, the Book of Revelation.”⁴

To limit semantic confusion we have found the need to distinguish between the literary genre of apocalypse, apocalyptic eschatology as a religious perspective, and apocalypticism, that is, the sociological ideology, the study of which is dependent on, but not limited to, the literary evidence.⁵

Apocalypse, meaning “revelation,” is the name given to a group of Jewish and Christian writings from about 200 BCE to 100 CE which contain similar literary features and subject matter. Koch lists such literary characteristics as discourse cycles, paraenetic discourses, pseudonymity, symbolism, and an extended literary development.⁶ The subject matter includes the “[criticism of] the present evils and [the promise of] future improvements under the guise of denunciations and predictions that are usually based upon supposedly supernatural visions and revelations.”⁷ Collins further defines apocalypse as:

⁴Margaret Barker, “Apocalyptic,” *Expository Times* 89 (1977-78): 324-29.

⁵Hanson, “Apocalyptic Literature,” in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Modern Interpreters*, 3rd ed. Society of Biblical Literature, edited by Douglas A. Knight and Gene M. Tucker, 465-488 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 467-470.

⁶Klaus Koch, “What is Apocalyptic? An Attempt at a Preliminary Definition (1972),” in *Visionaries and Their Apocalypses*, edited by Paul D. Hanson, 16-36. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 21-24.

⁷Simon Cohen, “Apocalyptic Literature,” in *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*.

A genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.⁸

Collins emphasizes the mediation of the revelation through visions, epiphanies, and auditions.

The apocalypses may be divided into “historical” and “otherworldly journeys.”

Those which fall under the heading of “historical apocalypse” include Daniel and Revelation among the biblical texts, and the pseudepigraphical 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, Jubilees 23, the Apocalypse of Weeks, and the Animal Apocalypse. These all contain a review of history, often in the form of *ex eventu* prophecy. Revelation is received through otherworldly journeys in the Apocalypse of Zephaniah, the Testament of Abraham 10-15, 3 Baruch, the Testament of Levi 2-5, 2 Enoch, the Similitudes of Enoch, 1 Enoch 1-36, Heavenly Luminaries, and the Apocalypse of Abraham.

Apocalyptic eschatology is the term for the religious perspective expressed in the apocalypses and other writings by analogy with them. Hanson calls apocalyptic eschatology the “strand” which runs through the “heart” of apocalyptic writings.⁹ He says it focuses:

On the disclosure...to the elect of the cosmic vision of Yahweh’s sovereignty - especially as it relates to his acting to deliver his faithful - which disclosure the

⁸John J. Collins, ed. *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, Semeia 14 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), 9.

⁹Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology*, revised ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), 7.

visionaries have largely ceased to translate into the terms of plain history, real politics, and human instrumentality due to a pessimistic view of reality growing out of the bleak post-exilic conditions.¹⁰

The relation of apocalyptic eschatology to history is shaped by the mythical pattern of *Urzeit-Endzeit*. The final restoration is described in the same terms as the primeval events in order to portray the single continuous will of God. The OT recounts the struggle between the reality of God's dominion and mankind's perversion of that reality. The apocalyptists viewed the end as a return to Paradise, so that "the last events were now to fulfil the original purpose of the first."¹¹

Apocalypses may have a cosmic, political, or a personal eschatology. Collins sees the defining factor of apocalyptic eschatology as the transcendence of death in a present and a future sense.¹² Apocalyptic imagery often portrays Yahweh breaking into history to judge and destroy and then to usher in a new heaven and new earth.

Alastair Fowler identified three stages of genre development. First, the "genre complex assembles, until a formal type emerges."¹³ Next, the form is used and adapted consciously. Finally, the form is used secondarily through ironic inversion, subordination

¹⁰Ibid., 11.

¹¹Brevard S. Childs, *Myth and Reality in the Old Testament*. Studies in Biblical Theology No. 27. 2nd ed. (London: SCM Press, 1968), 82.

¹²John J. Collins, "Apocalyptic Eschatology as the Transcendence of Death (1974)," in *Visionaries and Their Apocalypses*, edited by Paul D. Hanson, 61-84 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 78.

¹³Alastair Fowler, "The Life and Death of Literary Forms," *New Literary History* 2 (1971): 199-216; cited in John J. Collins, "Apocalyptic Genre and Mythic Allusions in Daniel," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 21 (1981): 84.

to a new context, etc.¹⁴ Apocalyptic literature has had a long history of development. It has been said that apocalyptic “begins at least as far back as 2000 BCE and exerts a remarkable influence on politics, ethics and religion down to the present moment.”¹⁵ Hanson traces the roots of apocalyptic back to Israel’s mythopoeic religious environment.

Some have sought apocalyptic origins in later Persian or Hellenistic sources. Russell suggests that the concept of the “two ages,” determinism, spiritual beings, and a final judgment may have been influenced by Persian thought.¹⁶ That Alexander the Great (336-323 BCE) and the three centuries of Hellenism which followed him drastically changed the ancient world cannot be denied. However, there is reason to believe that the visionary writers of apocalyptic opposed those in power who cooperated with the Greeks and Romans. According to Hanson the “origins of apocalyptic cannot be explained by a method which juxtaposes seventh- and second-century compositions and then proceeds to account for the features of the latter by reference to its immediate environment.”¹⁷

In 1919 Hölscher proposed that apocalyptic grew out of the wisdom tradition. Later, G. von Rad shared his views. However, this theory lacks validity due to the fact that wisdom literature does not share in the eschatological views of apocalyptic. Hanson

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Cohen, “Apocalyptic Literature.”

¹⁶D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1971), 19.

¹⁷Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 6.

explains the wisdom material within apocalyptic as secondary additions in the following manner:

Wisdom was wedded to the tradition of apocalyptic eschatology as a part of efforts being made by visionary circles to establish their credentials in the third and second centuries B.C. at a time when prophetic figures were being regarded with a great deal of skepticism and even animosity by many religious leaders.¹⁸

The current consensus is that apocalyptic developed out of the prophetic literature.

Early evidence of apocalyptic can be found in prophetic passages such as Ezekiel 38-39, Zechariah, Joel, Malachi, and Isaiah 24-27 and 56-66. Schultz states:

Prophecy did not change into this new form (apocalyptic) all of a sudden. Already in the visions of Ezekiel and Zechariah the pictures are, without a doubt, mainly artistic, produced by a conscious effort of the imagination, and reference is, of set purpose, made to earlier prophecies. But this tendency is evidently worked out in an altogether different fashion in Daniel.¹⁹

Koch finds the transition from prophecy to apocalyptic in the coupling of visions and auditions (e.g. Amos 7) and Zechariah's dialogue with the angelic mediator.²⁰ According to Hanson, "the essential nature of apocalyptic is found in the abandonment of the prophetic task of translating the vision of the divine council into historical terms."²¹

Apocalyptic brings with it many themes and forms from prophecy. For example, apocalyptic makes use of vision reports (Daniel 8, Revelation 4), prophetic sign acts

¹⁸Ibid., 9.

¹⁹H. Schultz, *Old Testament Theology*, I (Edinburg: T. & T. Clark, 1898), 421; cited in Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, Word Biblical Commentary, edited by David A. Hubbard and Glenn W. Barker (Waco: Word Books, 1984), 173.

²⁰Koch, "What is Apocalyptic?" 21.

²¹Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 29.

(Revelation 10), and woes (Rev 18:10, 16-17, 19-20). Liturgical forms which were incorporated by prophecy such as hymns, prayers, theophanies, and Zion songs are also taken up by apocalyptic writers. Apocalyptic weds oracles of judgment and salvation against the entire nation of Israel into salvation-judgment oracles which promise salvation to the faithful within the nation and judgment for those whose faith is not genuine.²²

Developments in the Study of Apocalyptic

The concept of apocalyptic as a distinct class of writings may be traced back to the work of Friedrich Lücke in 1832. His literary research indicated that apocalyptic developed out of prophecy. He also concluded that the historical matrix of apocalyptic was to be found in "disillusionment with the course of history and infighting within the community."²³

In 1857 Adolf Hilgenfeld emphasized the importance of applying the historical-critical approach to apocalyptic. He believed the meaning of the text was in the events of its origin.

Wellhausen's famous reconstruction of Israelite history undermined the positive efforts of Lücke and Hilgenfeld. Wellhausen saw apocalyptic as a collection of second hand prophetic and Persian material and therefore assigned it no theological importance.

²²Ibid., 109.

²³Paul D. Hanson, "Introduction," in *Visionaries and Their Apocalypses*, edited by Paul D. Hanson, 1-15 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 4.

At the turn of the century, R. H. Charles edited critical editions and translations of extrabiblical apocalyptic writings. Though a student of Wellhausen, he was aware of the contributions of apocalyptic to prophecy such as its universal scope and its presentation of history as a unity under God.

As is often the case in genre studies, a debt is owed to Hermann Gunkel, in particular to his work *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* (1895). Gunkel's traditio-historical method "militated against a haphazard treatment of mythic fragments, seeking to relate them to the larger patterns of ancient Near Eastern mythology within which their true meaning and significance would be grasped."²⁴ Gunkel paid close attention to both the history of the genre and its social setting.

Johannes Lindblom's *Die Jesaja-Apokalypse, Jes. 24-27* (1938) distinguished apocalyptic as a genre on the basis of lists of characteristics: transcendentalism, mythology, cosmological orientation, pessimistic treatment of history, dualism, division of time into periods, doctrine of two ages, playing with numbers, pseudo-ecstasy, artificial claims to inspiration, pseudonymity, and mysteriousness. D. S. Russell and Vielhauer build upon this methodology. H. H. Rowley correctly observed that "some of these [characteristics] are rather the accidents than the essence of apocalyptic."²⁵ Both Russell and Rowley reemphasized the prophetic roots of apocalyptic.

Theologians W. Pannenberg and J. Moltmann revived the issue of apocalypticism in the post-World War II period. W. Pannenberg, in *Revelation as History*, demonstrated

²⁴Ibid., 5.

²⁵Hanson, "Apocalyptic Literature," 466.

the importance of apocalyptic to Christian theology. J. Moltmann saw “in the universal and cosmic perspective of apocalyptic an important safeguard against the snares of ethnocentrism and existentialistic narrowing of human history.”²⁶

Klaus Koch, in *The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic* (1972), identified the following features of apocalypses: discourse cycles, spiritual turmoils, paraenetic discourses, pseudonymity, mythical images, and composite character.

For the past three decades John J. Collins has been a leader in apocalyptic studies. He does not give much attention to the development of the genre because of the sharp distinction he makes between apocalyptic eschatology and the apocalypses. He stresses the form of the text, which must include an otherworldly mediator.

Introduction to the Divine Warrior Motif

The motif with which this study is specifically concerned is that of the Divine Warrior. God’s self-revelation as a warrior is only one of the ways recorded in the OT in which he appeared to humans. A formative appearance, or theophany, for OT theology was on Mount Sinai when Yahweh appeared in a cloud of smoke to make a covenant with those he freed from slavery in Egypt. Whenever the OT describes Yahweh’s appearance to humans it is the result of divine initiative alone, the purpose is the pronouncement of either salvation or judgment, and the impact is human fear and natural upheaval.²⁷

²⁶Hanson, “Introduction,” 8.

²⁷Jeffrey J. Niehaus, *God at Sinai: Covenant and Theophany in the Bible and Ancient Near East*, Studies in Old Testament Biblical Theology (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House), 1995.

The theme of the Divine Warrior may be traced back to mythological roots. In Ugarit the god Baal was pictured as a warrior whose chariot was the clouds and whose weapon was the lightning. He was surrounded by the divine council or assembly, lesser gods who served as his messengers and military forces. In the Baal cycle he battles Yamm, the sea, in order to establish his kingship and receive a sanctuary on the holy mountain. In Mesopotamia a similar story is told of Marduk and his war against the watery god Tiamat. The result of these victories was renewed fertility in the land. The Israelites adapted the pagan Divine Warrior images into descriptions of Yahweh's intervention in their own history. Not only did the motif aptly portray the power of God, it also served as an apologetic against the foreign gods in terms their worshippers could understand.

The biblical theme of the Divine Warrior is found in early victory hymns such as Exodus 15, Judges 5, and the kingship Psalms. Although these poems contain mythological imagery, they are largely demythologized. Their purpose is to call to mind occasions of Yahweh's deliverance of his people. The cosmic battle is utilized as an instructive analogy for the historical battle. In each case, Yahweh alone wins the war against Israel's enemies through his control over nature. The elements of nature are often referred to in the terms of the divine assembly, as Yahweh's holy army (Judg 5:20).

The Divine Warrior metaphor is connected to the Holy War theology of the Conquest and the period of the Judges. Yahweh was the initiator of war. Therefore when a threat arose the Israelites sought his guidance through oracular inquiry (1 Sam 23:1-6). The presence of Yahweh, symbolized by the Ark, required that the camp be ritually pure

(Deut 23:9-14). In preparation for battle the Israelites consecrated themselves through repentance and sacrifice (1 Samuel 13). The army praised God as they marched into battle and as they returned (2 Chron 20:20-23). The spoils of battle always belonged to the Lord. In most cases, the precious articles were placed in his temple and the rest of the city was burned, a practice known as *hērem* (Joshua 6).

The prophets were Yahweh's messengers who stood in his divine council before his throne (1 Kgs 22:18-22; Isaiah 6; Jer 23:18, 22). They saw their role as reminding the king of his subjection to the covenant. In other ancient Near Eastern societies, the king was either seen as divine (Egypt) or at the very least as a unique representative of the gods (Mesopotamia). Therefore, the ancient people viewed their gods as fighting through the military actions of the king. In Israel, Yahweh's roles as warrior, judge, and king were parallel (cf. Psalm 96). Israel's king was required by the covenant to put his trust not in weapons or soldiers but in Yahweh (Deut 17:14-20). Isaiah is a primary example of a prophet who reminded the king that the battle belonged to the Lord (Isa 8:9-10).

In exilic prophecy, the writers explained Judah's captivity as the curse of the covenant. God was fighting against his people as he said he would if they turned from him (Jer 21:3-7). The people had refused to listen to the earlier prophets' warnings about their unjust treatment of the poor (Isa 1:17). They presumed that their outward conformity to the law through the temple rituals would guarantee God's favour (Jeremiah 7). To combat this false confidence, Ezekiel described God's presence leaving the temple and travelling to Babylon.

In apocalyptic, the Divine Warrior ushers in a new heaven and earth. There is a resurgence of mythological language to describe God's intervention. Apocalyptic arose out of the yet unfulfilled promises of a "second Exodus" and a restored Israel in post-exilic times. The Day of Yahweh in Joel is a transitional element from prophetic to apocalyptic eschatology in its presentation of final judgment against Israel's enemies. The universal scope, mythological imagery, and hope for a renewed creation in the "Isaiah Apocalypse," Trito-Isaiah, and Zechariah 9-14 indicate that they are further steps along the development of apocalyptic. Daniel 7-12 and Revelation are apocalyptic in form and content. A heavenly mediator revealed to "Daniel" and John how the kingdom of this world will become the kingdom of our God and his saints (Dan 7:14, 22; Rev 11:15-18).

Developments in the Study of the Divine Warrior

Gerhard von Rad's epic monograph *Der Heiligere Krieg im alten Israel* brought the centrality of the Divine Warrior in ancient Israelite faith to the attention of the scholarly community. He identified the prophetic understanding of Holy War as the cause of tension between the prophets and kings of Israel. Von Rad's understanding was that apocalyptic grew out of wisdom. He attributed the belief in the miraculous to the Solomonic Enlightenment.

Von Rad's predecessors, Schwally, Pedersen, and Fredriksson also viewed the miraculous nature of Holy War as a result of later theological reflection. Schwally noticed that other ancient peoples attributed the victory to their gods but only in Israel was this

interpreted to mean they need not fight. He understood this element as a late rewriting due to his assumption that the idea of faith became more important in later Israelite theology. Pedersen believed Israel relied not on weapons but on the psychic strength they magically received through the trumpets and battle cries. Patrick Miller also ascribes the miraculous intervention to later redactions.

Others, including Smend, Weippert, and Stolz found the basis for the expression of Yahweh's miraculous intervention in Israel's warfare in historical events and institutions. Rudolf Smend believed the miraculous revision entered the text after the Mosaic covenant, which was in tension with the Holy War tradition, finally won supremacy over it. A. Glock affirmed the fact that Israel made a conscious choice not to advance in weaponry but to rely on Yahweh. Fritz Stolz denied the existence of the tribal confederation prior to kingship, and therefore, denied the tradition of Holy War.

The comparative method of Old Testament study got its start in 1905 with Hugo Gressman, who explored mythical cycles as sources of biblical apocalyptic. Sigmund Mowinkel, in his important study of the Psalms (1956), traced the adaptation of Canaanite myth through Israel's cult. His work led the way for others to trace the roots of apocalyptic motifs to the wedding of prophecy and myth.

In 1975 Cross, in *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, built upon Mowinkel's foundation. Cross organized the Canaanite archaic mythic pattern of theophany into the following elements: the battle of the Divine Warrior against chaos, convulsion of nature in response to the warrior, return of the warrior to his mountain to claim his kingship, and

the revival of nature at the sound of the warrior's voice from his temple.²⁸ He separated the biblical Divine Warrior theme into two traditions. The first celebrates Yahweh's historical victory at the Exodus and Conquest through the Holy War institution of the tribal league. In this tradition the Divine Warrior marches to battle, causing nature to convulse, and grants his people the gift of land. The second, from the time of Israel's monarchy, is a mythological tradition of the storm god's victory over chaos to order creation and establish his kingship.²⁹

Cross' student, Patrick D. Miller Jr., in his 1973 book *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel*, identified the mythic-historical pattern of "the march of the divine warrior to do battle with the enemies of Israel, the deliverance of the people and their establishment in the land, and the rule of Yahweh over Israel."³⁰ He based his work on the Conquest, not the Exodus as Lind and others have done. He described the relationship between the role of Yahweh and the role of the people as synergism.

In 1975 Paul D. Hanson presented the early development of apocalyptic literature in Isaiah 56-66 and Zechariah 9-14 in *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*. He suggested that apocalyptic was born out of a post-exilic struggle between visionaries and hierocrats. His examination of how the Divine Warrior Hymn was incorporated into proto-apocalyptic included the elements of threat, conflict, victory, temple, procession, reign, salvation,

²⁸F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 162-3.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 58, 157-60.

³⁰Patrick D. Miller Jr. *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 169.

theophany, banquet, and fertility. For Hanson apocalyptic was characterized by growing tension between myth and history.

Millard C. Lind explained the tension instead as being between “Yahweh’s relation to history through Torah and prophetic word” and “Near Eastern myth where the gods were related to history through the coercive structures of kingship law and military power.”³¹ He saw the Exodus as the defining event of Israelite history and the paradigm for holy war.

In *Isaiah 24-27 and the Origin of Apocalyptic* (1976) William R. Millar identified the pattern of the Divine Warrior theme as threat, war, victory, and feast. Tremper Longman III explored the use of OT metaphors such as the cloud rider, the new song, and the Day of the Lord in the NT. Longman and Daniel G. Reid collaborated to produce *God is a Warrior* (1995), an overview of the theme’s appearance from the wars of Israel to the crucifixion and second coming of Christ. They expanded upon William Millar’s Divine Warrior pattern to include battle, victory, enthronement, banquet, and palace building. They approached the Bible as a unity, a single story of Yahweh’s relationship with humankind narrated through the use of various metaphors. One of the most pervasive of metaphors is the Divine Warrior.³²

³¹Millard C. Lind, *Yahweh is a Warrior: The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel* (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1980), 32-33.

³²Tremper Longman III and Daniel G. Reid, *God is a Warrior*, *Studies in Old Testament Biblical Theology* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1995), 13.

Having outlined the nature of the Divine Warrior theme and the apocalyptic genre, we turn now to an examination of the manner in which their traits manifest themselves in Isaiah 24-27.

The Divine Warrior in "The Little Apocalypse" of Isaiah

Isaiah 24-27 stands between prophecy and apocalyptic. As prophecy, it fits within the literary context of Isaiah, often quoting from and exegeting other Isaianic portions. It is positioned after the oracles against the nations (chaps. 13-23) and is followed by further judgments against Israel. Joachim Becker called chaps. 24-27 the "key to the redactional understanding of the foreign nation oracles in Isaiah 13-23."³³

Review of Studies on Isaiah 24-27

According to Fohrer, the post-exilic prophets (Second Isaiah, Joel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi) call for a human response (such as temple building) which will bring about the destruction of worldly kingdoms, the freeing and cleansing of Israel, the establishment of a paradise for the holy community, the rulership of Yahweh or his Messiah, and the conversions of the nations or their remnant.³⁴ These are the elements which prepared the way for the birth of apocalyptic out of prophecy. Fohrer's results are present in Isaiah 24-27 but there is no call for human action. A focus on the independent cosmic activity of Yahweh means that this passage is further along in the development of apocalyptic than post-exilic prophecy.

³³*Isaias - der Prophet und sein Buch*, Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 30 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1968); cited in Christopher R. Seitz, *Isaiah 1-39*, Interpretation, (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1993), 173.

³⁴Fohrer, "Die Struktur der alttestamentlichen Eschatologie," 408; cited in P. L. Redditt, *Isaiah 24-27: A Form Critical Analysis* (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1972), 305.

Recent studies have brought to light the extent to which Isaiah 24-27 relies on the rest of Isaiah and the writings of other prophets. Sweeney examined seven parallels within the book of Isaiah: 24:13 (17:6); 24:16 (21:2 and 33:1); 25:4-5 (4:5b-6 and 32:1-2); 25:11b-12 (2:9-17); 26:5 (2:6-21); 26:17-18 (13:8 and 66:7-9); and 27:1-13 (5:1-7 and 11:10-16).³⁵ In addition, Day has identified eight allusions to Hos 13:4-14:26:13LXX (Hos 13:4); 26:17-18 (Hos 13:13); 26:19 (Hos 13:14LXX); 27:8 (Hos 13:15); 26:19 (Hos 14:6[5]); 27:2-6 (Hos 14:6-8[5-7]); 27:9 (Hos 14:9[8]); and 27:11 (Hos 14:10[9]).

Despite its unity with Isaianic prophecy, Isaiah 24-27 contains more apocalyptic themes. Both Sweeney and Day find the same universalizing tendencies in Isaiah 24-27's use of borrowed material. Other motifs include the overthrow of the existing order, the punishment of celestial beings with humans, an eschatological banquet, and the imminent end of the evil time.³⁶ However, this section lacks the dualism, pessimism, periodization, pseudonymity, secretism, and the division of Israel into the faithful and the wicked communities often found in full-blown apocalyptic.

In the nineteenth century, most scholars focussed on the unity of Isaiah 24-27 with the rest of the book, attributing it all to the work of the eighth century prophet. Lagrange (1894) accepted this traditional view and divided the structure of the work into two parts: 24:1-26:19 and 26:20-27:13. He identified the city mentioned throughout as Samaria, which was destroyed by the Assyrians in 721. M. A. Beek (1949) sought the historical

³⁵H. G. M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 181.

³⁶Redditt, *Isaiah 24-27*, 311-12.

setting of 25:6-12 in the destruction of Moab by the earthquake of ca. 750 BCE, a calamity to which Zechariah alludes.³⁷

A Maccabean setting was first suggested in 1715 by Vitrina but did not achieve popular acclaim until Duhm's epic volume in 1892. Duhm stressed the points of discontinuity with the larger book, comparing it instead to apocalypses such as the Sybilline Oracles, Enoch, and Daniel.³⁸ In addition, Duhm rejected the unity within chaps. 24-27. He identified elements of apocalypse in 24:1-23, 25:6-8, 26:20-21, 27:1, 12-13, which were interspersed between even later songs. Procksch's division on the basis of metrical patterns achieved similar results. Isaiah 24:1-7, 18b-23; 25:6-10a (10b-12); 26:7-21; and 27:1, 12-13 contain "apocalyptic" seven-stress colons and 24:8-18a; 25:1-5; 26:1-6; and 27:2-11 are "song" colons with three stress + three stress patterns.³⁹ Wildberger criticises Procksch's alteration of the text to suit his metrical patterns. The discovery of a complete scroll of Isaiah from 150 BCE disproved the second century date for chaps. 24-27.

Cheyne (1895) agreed with the structure proposed by Duhm but differed in his dating of the section to the time of Alexander the Great. Aubert (1937) also accepted a fourth century origin but believed that his two sections, 24:1-26:6 and 26:7-27:13, were composed by a single author, a distant disciple of Isaiah. Smend, like Beek, took the

³⁷Wallace Eugene March, *A Study of Two Prophetic Compositions in Isaiah 24:1-27:1* (Th.D diss., Union Theological Seminary, 1966), xiv.

³⁸March, *Study*, xv.

³⁹Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27: A Continental Commentary*, translated by Thomas H. Trapp (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), 448.

reference to Moab seriously, but unlike Beek he saw the occasion as the conquest of Alexander.

Others have looked to the tragedy of the Exile for the origins of Isaiah 24-27. J. Lindblom (1938) identified the city as Babylon and the historical background as its overthrow by Xerxes in 485 BCE.⁴⁰ He denied the apocalyptic character of these chapters. He outlined the structure as “a combination of eschatological poems (24:1-6; 24:16aβ-20; 25:6-10a; 26:20-21; 27:12-13) and songs of thanks or jubilation (24:7-16aα; 25:1-5; 26:1-14; 27:2-11) arranged in an alternating sequence.”⁴¹ He isolated 24:21-23, 25:10b-12, 27:1, and 26:15-19 as secondary additions.⁴²

Georg Fohrer (1963) also dated Isaiah 24-27 to the fifth century BCE. His thesis was that the text went through many modifications. His structural analysis yielded the following three prophetic liturgies: an announcement of world judgment in 24:1-20, the theme of Yahweh’s enthronement and reign in 24:21-25:10a, and the proclamation of ruin for world powers and redemption for Israel in 27:1-6; 12-13.⁴³ He treated chap. 26 as a connecting link drawing the three sections together. According to Wildberger, “the time when scholars sought to identify liturgies in the OT in every place possible...is no longer in vogue.”⁴⁴

⁴⁰March, *Study*, xxvii.

⁴¹Ibid., xxvi.

⁴²Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27*, 448.

⁴³March, *Study*, xxviii.

⁴⁴Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27*, 449.

Frank Moore Cross and his students William R. Millar and Paul Hanson date Isaiah 24-27 during the last half of the sixth century, the time of the apocalyptic movement's birth. This is the period of post-exilic hierocrat-visionary conflict developed at length by Hanson.⁴⁵ Millar, in his monograph *Isaiah 24-27 and the Origin of Apocalyptic*, deletes 24:5, 24:20b, and 26:9d-10 as editorial expansions. He leaves out 25:5, 9, 26:9-12, and 27:7-11 because they do not yield to his pattern of threat, war, victory, and banquet. He dates Isaiah 26:11-27:6 later than 24:1-16a, 24:16b-25:9 and 26:1-8.

Many recent form critics have sought to prove that Isaiah 24-27 is a structured whole. Gunnar Hymö (1929) believed chaps. 25 and 26 were antiphonal readings inserted between 24 and 27. Marvin Sweeney identified 24:1-13 as a prophetic announcement of punishment and 25:1-27:13 as an announcement of blessing. Both are followed by disputation speeches (24:14-23; 27:7-13) which explain the significance of the preceding section.⁴⁶ Similarly, March separated 24:1-20 as an announcement of judgment from the liturgy of praise and promise in 24:21-27:1. Redditt identified the four sections of 24:1-20 (dissolution of the present order), 24:21-26:6 (Jerusalem's place in the coming order), 26:7-21 (the necessity of judgment), and 27:1-13 (conditions for Israel's rescue).⁴⁷

The "cut and paste" method of eliminating elements which do not fit the proposed structure has fallen into scholarly disrepute. Dan Johnson critiques scholars like Duhm,

⁴⁵Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 313.

⁴⁶Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39 with an Introduction to Prophetic Literature*, *The Forms of the Old Testament Literature* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996), 315, 321.

⁴⁷Wildberger, *Isaiah 13-27*, 450.

Lindblom, and Hymö for what he calls their “procrustean efforts which require either the lopping off of those portions of the composition that do not fit the pattern, or a strained and impossible interpretation of certain pericopae in order to make them accord with the pattern.”⁴⁸ Johnson employs the victory over chaos motif to explain the structure as follows: 24:1-20 are an account of the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 BCE which constituted a return to chaos. The next section, 24:21-27:1, was born during the exile as the people looked to the destruction of Babylon as the imminent victory of Yahweh. Finally, the reunification of Israel portrayed in 27:2-13 was viewed as the consummation of Yahweh’s victory.⁴⁹

Kaiser and Wildberger “escaped the tyranny of [Duhm’s] prophecy/song schema by recognizing that Isa. 24-27, in its present form, gives evidence of an ordered composition. However, they posit an extended prehistory.”⁵⁰ Plöger and Vermeulen do the same. Wildberger devised levels of growth, isolated fragments which were added at different times throughout the *Wachstumsprozess*. However, it is difficult to imagine how such a choppy growth process could have led to an ordered composition.⁵¹ Even among those who

⁴⁸Dan G. Johnson, *From Chaos to Restoration: An Integrative Reading of Isaiah 24-27*, JSOTSup 61 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 14.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 16-17.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 14-15.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 15.

agree with Wildberger's *Wachstumsprozess* there is no consensus on the isolation of the units, the order they were added, and the motivation behind the additions.⁵²

Recent scholarship has begun to interpret the songs and oracles of Isaiah 24-27 in a futuristic sense. Similarly, scholars have turned away from trying to identify an historical "city of chaos" to the idea that "in the final form of the text, the songs do not refer to any particular, historical event in the future but symbolize rather the ungodly powers which Yahweh will soon destroy."⁵³ So then, the growing consensus is that Isaiah 24-27's date of composition is early, that is, closer to the exile than to Daniel, that its structure is ordered, and that its outlook is futuristic. (A contemporary exception is Hayes and Irvine who date all of Isaiah to the eighth century and identify the destroyed city as an Assyrian citadel in Jerusalem.⁵⁴)

Analysis of these chapters reveals Divine Warrior themes and patterns, which still contain traces of the ancient Near Eastern chaos myths but have already been adapted to Israelite salvation history in previous OT texts.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid., 16.

⁵⁴John H. Hayes and Stuart A. Irvine, *Isaiah the Eighth-century Prophet: His Times and His Preaching* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1987), 296.

The Divine Warrior in Isaiah 24

Chapter 24 comprises a distinct unit in its emphasis on the battle, whereas chap. 25 refocuses on the victory and resulting restoration.⁵⁵ The Hebrew of Isa 25:1 lacks any connection to the previous material.

The Divine Warrior pattern in Isaiah 24 is:

earthly battle (vv. 1-3)
waning fertility (vv. 4-13)
victory (vv. 14-16a)
cosmic battle (vv. 16b-23a)
kingship and sanctuary (v. 23b)

The pattern begins with the battle of Yahweh against the 'éres (vv. 1-3). 'Éres may be translated as either "land" or "earth." The ambiguous language regarding the city suggests that the judgment is universal, rather than directed against a particular country.

As in ancient Israelite holy war, everything is destroyed in dedication to God, or *hērem* (v. 3). The verb *hqq* in vv. 1 and 3 forms an inclusio. That the author is thinking in images and not reporting concrete facts is evident in the inconsistency of the total destruction of the earth and the scattering of the inhabitants.

The involvement of nature in the judgment upon human sin goes back to the thorns of Gen 3:17-19. Motyer states that "it is intrinsic to the doctrine of creation that human beings in sin are the supreme environmental threat."⁵⁶ No area of life, whether religious, domestic, or commercial is exempt from Yahweh's judgment and social

⁵⁵Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39*, 327.

⁵⁶J. Alec Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah: An Introduction & Commentary* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 197.

standing has no effect upon one's vulnerability (v. 2). "Yahweh has spoken this word" is a typical Isaianic phrase (cf. 1:2, 20; 21:17; 22:25; 25:8, 40:5; 58:14).

The intervention of Yahweh is described in terms of the waning of fertility (v. 4, 6, 7, 13) and the absence of feasting (vv. 8-12) due to the violation of the covenant (v. 5). The theme of waning fertility was borrowed from the myth of the dying fertility god. Baal's return to life meant that the "heavens will rain oil, the wadis will run with honey" (KTU 1.6.iii: 6-7, 12-13).⁵⁷

Here a covenant law-suit form is integrated into the Divine Warrior pattern. Redditt, building on the research of Fensham and Hillers, identifies the effects of the covenant curse, mentioned in vv. 5-6, which included the silencing of celebration (Ezek 26:13), the cessation of the land's fertility (Deut 28:38-42; Ezekiel 27), and the destruction of the transgressor's city (Deut 28:52; Ezek 26:3-12).⁵⁸ During Yahweh's warring music ceases, but upon his victory his people sing to him a new song (Psalms 98, 144, 149).

The term "eternal covenant" is used of the Noachic (Gen 9:16), Abrahamic (Gen 17:7; Ps 105:9-11; 1 Chron 16:17), Mosaic (Exod 31:16; Lev 24:8), Davidic (2 Sam 23:5), and a future covenant (Isa 55:3; 61:8; Jer 32:40; Ezek 16:60). The Mosaic covenant is the only one which spells out requirements and curses but these commands were given to Israel only, whereas the judgment in Isa 24:5-6 is against the earth. Many

⁵⁷Johannes C. de Moor, *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987), 91.

⁵⁸Redditt, *Isaiah 24-27*, 82-86.

have suggested the connection to Noah in Isaiah 24 on the basis of the flood reference in v. 18b. The flood in Noah's time was a destruction of creation due to mankind's failure to keep the covenant of creation (Gen 3:11; Hos 6:7). Both the flood and the judgment in Isaiah 24-27 make way for a new creation (Gen 9:1; Isa 27:2). Therefore it seems that Isaiah is referring to the covenant with Noah, and by extension, the covenant with creation.

The city of *tōhū* (chaos) (vv. 10-12) is intentionally ambiguous, in keeping with the universal, cosmic imagery of chaps. 24-27. Many scholars, including Procksch, Gray, Kissane, and Kaiser, take it to refer to a "the symbol of world might arrayed against God."⁵⁹ It may recall Babel, a city of confusion, from which Yahweh also scattered (*pws*) the inhabitants (Gen 11:1-9).

A curious shift occurs in vv. 14-16a, where the entire earth rejoices in Yahweh. This could be understood as the recognition by the faithful of Yahweh's victory and the inauguration of his reign. But then how should we account for the prophetic woe in v. 16b? The textual problem in v. 16b compounds the issue. Niehaus has suggested that *rāzi* is not *rzh* "to be lean" but the Aramaic *rz* "secret."⁶⁰ Sweeney identified vv. 14-18a as a disputation pattern in which the viewpoint to be challenged is quoted and then refuted.⁶¹ According to Plöger "they" (v. 14) are those who see the "great turning-point" in current

⁵⁹John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah Chapters 1-39* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1986), 497.

⁶⁰J. C. M. Nevas, "Raz-pešar in Isaiah XXIV," *Vetus Testamentum* 31 (1981): 376.

⁶¹Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39*, 313.

events rather than in eschatological ones.⁶² Johnson states that this does not account for the strong reaction of the prophet. Instead, “he reacts so strongly because the people have missed his point so completely. Not only will they not escape the judgment, but it is directed specifically against them” (cf. Isaiah 22).⁶³ However, it is unlikely that the prophet would rebuke the people for worshipping, especially considering the first person songs of praise which are included in 25:1-5 and throughout chap. 26. Motyer provides a solution whereby the praise may be accepted as appropriate by explaining the woe as parallel to Isa 21:3-4 where the prophet is overcome by the devastation of Babylon even though he recognizes it as an act of deliverance.⁶⁴ If “they” may be taken as a reference to the “gleanings” (v. 13), that is, the faithful remnant, their rejoicing follows the destruction, whereas the prophet in vv. 16b-23 is describing the time before and during the judgment.

Verses 17 and 18a are an adapted quotation from Jer 48:43-44a in which the reference to Moab has been removed. This universalizing and generalizing tendency is common in apocalyptic. The powerful assonance of *paḥad wāpaḥat wāpaḥ* drives home the inescapable nature of judgment.

Verses 18b-20 further describe the reaction of creation to the intervention of Yahweh in familiar theophany terms. In v. 18b the waters are released to undo the

⁶²Otto Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology*, translated by S. Rudman (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968), 75.

⁶³Johnson, *From Chaos*, 38.

⁶⁴Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah*, 203.

ordered creation. The use of the flood language here recalls an earlier appropriation of this theme in describing God's punishment on the violence of Noah's day (Gen 7:11). In Isaiah it refers to the day of the Yahweh's final judgment. The earthquake in the Baal cycle was the result of the appearance of the gods: "I will make your well into a mud pond, if the arrival of the gods [does not make] the trees tremble (KTU1.82 I 47-8)."⁶⁵ In Israelite historiography the original referent of the earthquake was the theophany at Sinai (Exod 19:18; Ps 68:9(8)). It was later used in the holy war tradition to refer to God's descent to deliver his people from their enemies (Judg 5:4; 2 Sam 22:8). In later prophecy it is used in a similar manner as the flood narrative, that is, as an expression of the undoing of creation when God brings judgment on his enemies (Isa 64:1; Ezek 38:17-23). By pairing the flood above and the earthquake below the author creates a vivid picture of destruction from every side. The breaking of the earth which results (v. 19) is further evidence that it is once again becoming *tōhū*.

Bayôm hahū' (v. 21) is a reference to the day of Yahweh. Both historical and cosmic enemies are included in the judgment. The hosts of heaven may refer to evil angelic beings or to the heavenly bodies who rule the day and the night (Gen 1:14-19). In this case a parallel may be suggested between the hosts of heaven in v. 21 and the moon and sun in v. 23. The sun, moon, and stars are often portrayed as responding to Yahweh rule in the holy war tradition (Josh 10:12-14). Their shame may be in the comparison of their light to the *kābôd* of Yahweh. Mendenhall proposed that the ancient Near Eastern theophanic concept of *melammu* or "glory presence," represented by a winged solar disc,

⁶⁵Moor, *Anthology*, 181.

may have some OT parallels.⁶⁶ It is clear that Yahweh's *kābôd* is related to his theophany (Exod 16:10; Ezek 1:28), though not necessarily to his role as Divine Warrior. In Jewish eschatology, the sun and moon, characterized by scorching heat (Isa 49:10; Rev 7:16), are replaced by Yahweh as the everlasting light (Isa 60:19-20; Rev 21:23).

The final result of Yahweh's judgment upon his enemies through the destruction of the present order is that his kingship in Zion is announced (v. 23b). Although the majority of scholars make a sharp division between vv. 20 and 21, the final three verses form a fitting conclusion to the first chapter in their recognition that the end of the world is actually history's true beginning which will never end.⁶⁷ "Before its elders" may be an allusion to the elders of Exodus 24 who saw God.

The Divine Warrior pattern in chap. 24 is: battle against the earth (vv. 1-3), waning fertility (vv. 4-13), victory (vv. 14-16a), cosmic battle (uncreation through flood, earthquake, and shamed heavenly hosts) (vv. 16b-23a), and the announcement of Yahweh's kingship on his mountain (v. 23b).

The Divine Warrior in Isaiah 25

Although Isaiah 25 contains a significant number of Divine Warrior elements, it does not conform to the standard pattern because there is no battle. Isaiah 25 includes:

victory over the city (vv. 1-5)
banquet (v. 6)

⁶⁶Niehaus, *God at Sinai*, 151.

⁶⁷Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39*, The Old Testament Library (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1974), 192.

victory over death (vv. 7-8)
 salvation (v. 9)
 victory over the proud (vv. 10-12)

Yahweh's victory over the unnamed city of 24:10-12 is cause for praise and confidence in Yahweh in 25:1-5. The praise is universal: the ruthless and strong, and the poor and needy alike revere Yahweh (vv. 3-4). In the manner of apocalyptic determinism, the deeds of Yahweh are said to have been "planned long ago" (v. 1).

The storm imagery of vv. 4-5 pairs up with the extremes of heat and storm to express the oppression of the ruthless upon the weak. The concept of God as a shelter from the extremes of weather is borrowed from Isa 4:6 where the Exodus cloud becomes a canopy for the remnant. The word *m'wz* (v. 4, 27:5) is often used of God's faithful protection (Isa 17:9-10; Jer 16:19), especially in the Psalms (Pss 27:1; 28:8; 31:3,5; 37:39; 43:2; 52:9(7)). He promised to be the fortress for his faithful ones even as he executed judgment upon the wicked (Joel 4(3):16). Therefore, Yahweh was jealous when the Israelites relied on the fortresses of the surrounding nations (Isa 30:2,3) which he planned to destroy (Isa 23:4,11,14; Ezek 30:15). In several instances, Yahweh's role as a fortress is connected to the worship on his mountain (Joel 4(3):16; Ps 43:2).

Yahweh's rich feast for all people (v. 6) is an aspect of the Divine Warrior pattern. In the Baal cycle after Baal's palace is completed he invites the gods for a banquet of meat and wine (KTU 1.4.vi. 40-59). Motyer understands this mountain feast as the universal fulfilment of the elder's feast in Exodus 24:11.

Isaiah 25:6-8 continues the holy mountain theme from 24:21-23. On the mountain Yahweh defeats another enemy, namely death. Scholars have often assumed that the

references to the destruction of death (25:8; 26:19) either prove the lateness of Isaiah 24-27 or are late interferences in the text because the concept of a resurrection does not develop until about 200 BCE. Motyer explains it as not a reference to personal death, but death as a curse: “what in Canaanite myth was a dramatic portrayal of the annual death and revival of vegetation was transformed into a once-for-all event, the fulfilment of God’s majestic purpose for his people.”⁶⁸

The anthropomorphic “hand of Yahweh” which rests on the mountain (v. 10) is a feature common to Divine Warrior passages. In the song about the original deliverance of Israel it is Yahweh’s right hand (Exod 15:6, 12) and arm (Exod 15:16) that bring the victory. While his hand is on his mountain his feet are trampling Moab. Yahweh’s mountain is contrasted with the heights of Moab which he will bring down to the dust. Yahweh’s rich feast is the opposite of Moab’s dungheap. Moab represents all those who chose to be excluded from salvation. The goal of Yahweh’s activity is the salvation of those who trusted in him (v. 9).

The pattern in chap. 25 continually returns to Yahweh’s victory over his enemies. First his victory over the city is described and extolled (vv. 1-5), resulting in the universal banquet on the holy mountain (v. 6). Then the victory over death (vv. 7-8) leads to rejoicing for his salvation (v. 9). Finally Yahweh’s victory over the proud, represented by Moab, is celebrated (vv. 10-12).

⁶⁸Herbert, cited in Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah*, 209.

The Divine Warrior in Isaiah 26

Like Isaiah 25, chap. 26 does not describe the Divine Warrior's battle but focuses on his victory. It contains the following elements:

- sanctuary (v. 1)
- victory over the proud (vv. 5-6)
- victory over unrighteous (vv. 9-11)
- victory over oppressors (vv. 13-15)
- victory over murderers (vv. 20-21)
- peace (v. 12)
- kingship (v. 13)

Verses 1-6 continue the praise for God's victory over the proud in 25:10-12. Zion, by contrast, is strong because of God's peaceful protection (v. 1-4, 12, 15).

The comparison of the two paths (vv. 7-11) is borrowed from the wisdom tradition. Psalm 1 contrasts the ways of the wicked and the righteous. Proverbs 9 sets up the paths of Lady Wisdom and Lady Folly side by side. In Isaiah 26 the righteous are described as longing (v. 9) and waiting (v. 8) for Yahweh, whereas the wicked are blind to grace.

Isaiah 26:12-15 celebrates Yahweh's victory over Israel's oppressors. His role as the true king is reemphasized. Unlike the faithful in v. 19, the former lords will not rise.

The lament in vv. 16-18 seems to refer to the time of oppression of vv. 13-14. Verse 18 expresses again the frustration of the faithful mentioned in vv. 10-11. The imagery of birth pangs may be borrowed from Isa 13:8, Mic 4:9-10, or Jeremiah (4:31; 6:24; 13:21; 22:23). Human efforts to change the wicked seem futile. The positive side is that "all our works you have done for us" (v. 12b). The hope of the faithful is in the fact

that God's intervention will accomplish his deliverance, a fact celebrated throughout chap. 26 (vv. 1, 9, 12, 15, 19).

The faithful are promised continuance beyond the present order (v. 19). Motyer interprets the resurrection as a fulfilment of 25:6-10a.⁶⁹ Dew is linked in the OT to the life-giving manna (Exod 16:13-14) and blessings in general (Gen 27:28; Deut 33:13; Hos 14:6(5)).⁷⁰

There is a climax of judgment in vv. 20-21 when Yahweh's people are to hide. The shutting of the doors is the antithesis of the opening of the gates with which the chapter began (v. 2). The safety of Noah's family within the ark or of the Israelites behind their bloodstained doors during the Passover may be recalled.⁷¹ Here the earth, which was judged for human sin in chap. 24, now cooperates with God's judgment by exposing the blood shed on her.

Yahweh's victory over the proud (vv. 5-6), the unrighteous (vv. 9-11), the oppressors (vv. 13-15), and the murderers (vv. 20-21) is described in detail throughout chap. 26. His kingship (v. 13), his protection of his city (v. 1), and the resulting peace (v. 12) are mentioned. On the whole, however, chap. 26 contains few Divine Warrior motifs and no distinguishable pattern.

⁶⁹Ibid., 219.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Ibid., 220.

The Divine Warrior in Isaiah 27

Isaiah 27 consists of:

- cosmic battle and victory (v. 1)
- new creation (vv. 2-6)
 - peace (v. 5)
 - fertility (v. 6)
- battle against Israel (vv. 7-9)
- victory over city (vv. 10-11)
- sanctuary (vv. 12-13)

Chapter 27 makes frequent use of *bayôm hahû'* (v. 1, 2, 12, 13), a reference to the prophetic Day of Yahweh. Von Rad identified the connection between Yahweh's Day and the Holy War tradition. He stated that the "Day of Yahweh encompasses a pure event of war."⁷² The research of F. M. Cross and D. Stuart supports von Rad's claim.⁷³

Isaiah 27:1 bears striking resemblance to KTU 1.5.i. 1: "Although you defeated Lotanu, the fleeing serpent, destroyed the coiling serpent, the Tyrant with the seven heads...you were uncovered."⁷⁴ It is a non-demythologised reference to the primeval battle with the sea monster. According to the myth the monster must be destroyed before creation can be ordered (cf. Ps 74:12-17). However, after creation he continues to rear his ugly head in the form of nations opposed to Yahweh and his people. On Yahweh's day God will destroy the monster forever.

⁷²Gerhard von Rad, "The Origin of the Concept of the Day of Yahweh," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 4 (1959): 103.

⁷³Longman and Reid, *God is a Warrior*, 70.

⁷⁴Moor, *Anthology*, 69-70.

The Hebrew of v. 2 is exclamatory, in celebration of the final victory. The vineyard represents the new creation. Its fulfilment of Isa 5:1-7 is evidence of the birth of apocalyptic from prophecy. Clements states that Isaiah 24-27 should “certainly not be regarded as forming a self-contained unit which can be read in isolation from the rest of the book. Rather they can be better interpreted as a late apocalyptic recasting and development of earlier prophetic images and themes.”⁷⁵ When compared with the withering earth in 24:4 the vineyard is also a symbol of fertility. A mixed metaphor is added in vv. 4-5: “hypothetically ‘battling’ with weeds (4) develops into the war-peace motif of verse 5.”⁷⁶ However, the fertile new creation here expressed is not a physical earth but a people: “Jacob will take root, Israel will flower and bloom and fill the face of the world with produce” (v. 6).

Verses 7-11 prove that “God’s instruments of judgement are not exempt from judgement themselves, and if they are unrighteous, their punishment is the more severe.”⁷⁷ However, Israel’s judgment was not total destruction as was the other nations’ because its purpose was to atone for her sins. In turn, forgiveness of sin would result in turning from idolatry.

The gathering of the Israelites from exile to worship on the holy mountain in 27:12-13 stands in stark contrast with the desolation of the city. Motyer connects the

⁷⁵Ronald E. Clements, *Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 97.

⁷⁶Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah*, 222.

⁷⁷John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah Chapters 1-39* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1986), 497.

gleaning of the Israelites in v. 12 to the gleaning mentioned in 24:13.⁷⁸ The metaphor of final judgment as a harvest also appears in Isa 63:1-3 and Joel 3:13 (cf. Rev 14:14-20).

The *shofar* (v. 13) in the OT was associated with the giving of the law (Exod 19:16), the proclamation of Jubilee Year (Lev 25:9-10), battle (Josh 6:4ff), the day of Yahweh (Joel 2:1), the gathering of the assembly (Num 10:7), and the watchman warning of disaster (Amos 3:6). Trumpet blasts were sounded at the feast of Rosh Hashanah (Lev 23:24), and Tabernacles.

The pattern begins with the mythological battle and victory over Leviathan (v. 1). A new creation characterized by fertility and Yahweh's protection is demonstrated in the vineyard song (vv. 2-6). The community is cleansed from idolatry (vv. 7-9). The victory over the city appears a final time in vv. 10-11. Finally, the trumpet sounds and the redeemed are gathered to worship on the holy mountain (vv. 12-13).

Conclusions

Isaiah 24-27 makes use of earlier prophetic material. Forms such as the covenant curse (24:5-13), woe (24:16b-18), song of praise (25:1-5; 26:1-6), and lament (26:16-18) from prophecy were incorporated into these chapters. The theme of the two ways introduced from wisdom literature contrasted those receiving salvation from the Divine Warrior and those receiving judgment.

In Isaiah 24 Yahweh's battle takes the form of a *hērem*. The earth is completely laid waste (v. 3). The author draws on God's mythological enemies: the city of chaos

⁷⁸Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah*, 225.

(24:10), the flood (24:18b), the hosts of heaven (24:21), death or Mot (25:7-8; 26:19), and Leviathan (27:1). The goal of Yahweh's war is triumph "not only over his enemies but for his people."⁷⁹

Creation responds to the Divine Warrior in total surrender. It withers and writhes as he appears in judgment (24:4, 18b-20), cowers in shame at his glory (24:23), and springs forth with fresh vitality under his care (27:2-6).

Victory is celebrated through various praise songs. They draw attention to God's sovereignty and faithfulness (25:1), deliverance (25:9, 26:1), *shalom* (26:3,12), and protection (27:3).

The banquet motif does not receive a lot of attention in Isaiah 24-27. It appears only in 25:6 as a universal feast of rich food and wine for all people.

Yahweh's mountain figures prominently in this passage (24:23b; 25:6,7,10; 27:13). Together with the references to the strong city with walls of salvation (26:1), Yahweh as a refuge or fortress (25:4; 27:5), and Yahweh's protection in general (26:1-4; 27:2-6), the mountain refers to the theme of God's sanctuary. It is contrasted with the impregnable city (24:10-12; 25:2; 26:5-6; 27:10-11). The message is clear: the pride of those who trust in their own protection will be brought down because Yahweh is the protector of the humble (25:4-5,10-12).

The battles of the Divine Warrior in Isaiah 24 and 27 form an inclusio around this section. This serves to distinguish our passage from the rest of Isaiah as a unique and self-contained unit.

⁷⁹Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, 443.

In their current setting following the oracles against the nations chaps. 24-27
function as the cosmic climax of the historical battles of the Divine Warrior in Isaiah 1-13.

The Divine Warrior in Deutero-Zechariah

Zechariah 9-14 is similar to the Isaiah Apocalypse in its incorporation of other prophetic forms, its emphasis on judgment for the wicked and restoration for the faithful, and its hope in the future Day of Yahweh. A significant difference is that Isaiah 24-27 is entirely poetic while Zechariah 11-14 is mainly prose, interspersed with short poetic passages. Zechariah also introduces a couple unique figures: the humble king (9:9-13) and the pierced one (12:10-14).

Review of Studies on Zechariah 9-14

The division of Zechariah began with Joseph Mede (1586-1638). He noticed that Matthew 27:9 attributed Zechariah 11:13 to the prophet Jeremiah. He postulated that Zechariah 9-11 was a distinct work written by Jeremiah in the pre-exilic period. Later scholars, including Bishop Richard Kidder (1700) and William Whiston (1722), went a step further by assigning the final six chapters of Zechariah to Jeremiah.

A pre-exilic date continued to be consensus opinion throughout the nineteenth century. In addition to the Matthian quotation, the "mention of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms (9.10, 13; 10.6), the reference to Assyria and Egypt, and the historical portrayal of Syria-Palestine in ch. 9" were cited as evidence.⁸⁰

In 1785 William Newcome divided the book after chaps. 8 and 11. He dated chaps. 9-11 to about 722 and chaps. 11-14 to about 600 BCE. Leonhard Bertholdt

⁸⁰Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979), 475.

advanced the popularity of this position which held sway in England and Germany for nearly a century.⁸¹

While most accept the division of chaps. 9-14 from the rest of the book, the pre-exilic dating has not gone unchallenged. Corrodi (1792) was the first to suggest a link between Zech 9:1-8 and the conquest of Alexander the Great. He assigned chap. 14 to the era of Antiochus Epiphanes. In 1824 Eichhorn espoused a similar view. Bernhard Stade's article in 1881 led the majority towards acceptance of an early Greek period date. Stade urged the scholarly community to abandon the dating of isolated historical references in favour of seeing Zechariah "in the line of development of prophetism as a whole" which he traced from Jeremiah to Ezekiel and on to Zechariah.⁸² In the early twentieth century K. Marti and B. Duhm popularized a Maccabean date on the basis of the Aramaisms, the shepherd imagery, and the assumption of a second century genesis of apocalyptic.

Some have tried to reconcile those verses which seem to attest to a pre-exilic context and those which provide evidence of a later period by "uncovering behind Zechariah 9-11 a document from ca. 730 which was then reworked in the post-exilic era."⁸³ Hanson criticizes these scholars, including Driver, Baudissin, and Jepsen, for what he calls their "mechanical way of eliminating difficulties."⁸⁴

⁸¹Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 288.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ibid., 290.

⁸⁴Ibid.

Currently, the majority favours the period of the Greeks. References to Egypt are understood as indications of the Ptolemaic rule of Palestine. “Javan” in 9:13 is interpreted as a reference to the Greek empire. However, several respected scholars continue to defend a pre-exilic date.

The unity of Zechariah 9-14 in its Masoretic form is the subject of much debate. In 1895 George L. Robinson “listed 103 authors who had treated the subject in one or more publications since the days of Mede.”⁸⁵ *Maššā’* in 9:1 and 12:1 is usually taken as the introduction to two distinct sections. In 1840 H. G. A. Ewald rearranged the text, placing Zech 13:7-9 immediately following 11:17, to reunite a passage which he believed had been accidentally separated. Since then, Hanson (1989), Mitchell (1980), Mason (1977), and the New English Bible have followed suit.

Others treat chaps. 9-14 as a patchwork quilt pieced together from many authors’ works. Flugge divided them into nine distinct prophecies from various periods.⁸⁶ B. Otzen assigns chaps. 9-10 to the time of Josiah, chap. 11 to the fall of Judah, chaps. 12-13 to the early post-exilic period, and chap. 14 to late post-exilic times.⁸⁷ The introduction to the Jerusalem Bible calls 9-14 “a disorderly collection of possibly ancient passages.”⁸⁸

⁸⁵Ralph L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, Word Biblical Commentary, edited by David A. Hubbard and Glenn W. Barker (Waco: Word Books, 1984), 171.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, 170.

⁸⁸*Jerusalem Bible*, 1139; cited in Joyce Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, The Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries, edited by D. J. Wiseman (Downer’s Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1972), 67.

Recently, scholars have resorted to using computer technology to compare the sentence and word lengths, vocabulary, and syntax of three sections: chaps. 1-8, 9-11, and 12-14. On the basis of their statistical linguistic analyses, Y. T. Radday and D. Wickmann concluded that there was "insufficient evidence to postulate a break between chaps. 8 and 9. But the chances for the same author of 1-11 and 12-14 are 2:1,000."⁸⁹

Rex Mason's research compared the use of the following themes in Zech 1-8 and 9-14: the Zion tradition, the community's need for divine cleansing, universalism, appeal to previous prophets, and leadership as the sign of a new age.⁹⁰ Although he found all five themes in both sections he still concluded that chaps. 9-14 were later.

The literary approach seeks to explain the text as we have received it. Forgoing speculations regarding original sources, literary critics discern the intended message of the text's final redactor. Brevard Childs believes that the inability of scholars to defend one date for Zechariah 9-11 proves that the "present canonical text has been dislocated from its original moorings. Elements of historical detail have been retained which in spite of their ambiguity and even incongruity the biblical author has used faithfully to testify to an eschatological pattern of divine judgment."⁹¹ For chaps. 12-14 he finds the motifs such as the attack on Jerusalem, the end of true prophecy, the transformation of Jerusalem, and the conversion of the nations as clear indications of a post-exilic date. In the end he dates the

⁸⁹Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 172.

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹Childs, *Introduction*, 481.

final form of the book to the time of Zerubbabel's rebuilding of the temple in the sixth century.

P. Lamarche discovered a chiastic structure within Zechariah 9-14 which included the elements of judgment and salvation of nations (9:1-8; 14:16-21), parallel accounts of the king (9:9-10), the rejected shepherds (11:4-17), the pierced representative (12:10-13:1), and the struck shepherds (13:7-9), war and victory (9:11-10:1; 10:3b-11:3; 12:1-9; 14:1-15), and the judgment on false idols/prophets (10:2,3a; 13:2-6).² With each war motif Israel is more powerless and "in each crisis the Lord intervenes to deliver until, on the final occasion, He comes in cataclysmic, transforming power as king."³ Baldwin, using Lamarche as a starting point, compared the repetition of the shepherd/king motif to the structure of Deutero-Isaiah, "where major themes such as the Servant are first touched on, then expanded, then reverted to, each time with a new insistence and new insights."⁴

By treating Zechariah 9-14 as proto-apocalyptic, we bypass the need to identify historical events, dates, and figures. Apocalyptic is by nature more general, more universal, and more cosmic than prophecy or history. Therefore its meaning is not to be found primarily in the author's situation, to which the text provides little evidence anyway, but in the forms and structures through which the author consciously chose to deliver his message. This paper will seek to demonstrate that Zechariah 9-14 belongs as a unit because of these reoccurring themes and patterns. And one such motif is the Divine Warrior metaphor.

²Lamarche, 112-113; cited in Baldwin, *Haggai*, 78.

³Baldwin, *Haggai*, 78.

⁴*Ibid.*, 80.

The Divine Warrior in Zechariah 9

Although Paul Hanson dates chaps. 9-14 to various post-exilic periods, he does not try to identify historical figures within the text. Instead, he bases his dating on the sociological function of the text within the community. While many have criticized his emphasis upon the conflict between visionaries and realists in post-exilic Judah, his thorough analysis of the form of Zechariah 9-14 must be acknowledged. Hanson outlined the Divine Warrior hymn in Zechariah 9 as follows:

Conflict - victory (1-7)
Temple secured (8)
Victory shout and procession (9)
Manifestation of Yahweh's universal reign (10)
Salvation: Captives released (11-13)
Theophany of the Divine Warrior (14)
Sacrifice and banquet (15)
Fertility of restored order (16-17)⁹⁵

Millar's themes of threat, war, victory, and feast are all present as well as the enthronement, house-building, and the restoration of nature which Longman and others have identified.

Verses 1-7 borrow judgments against the nations, employing them in a stereotyped manner so that they no longer refer to historical conflicts but to the enemies of God. Hadrach, Damascus, Hamath, Tyre, and Sidon are within the ideal borders of the Promised Land (Numbers 34).⁹⁶ The locations form a pattern of ritual conquest in which "Israel's traditional enemies and rivals alike will be absorbed into a kingdom surpassing

⁹⁵Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 315.

⁹⁶Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 252.

even that of David.”⁷⁷ Further evidence is suggested by the fact that “no specific historical conquest by a specific historical conqueror is being described, nor is there anywhere in these verses so much as a hint that a foreign king is being used by Yahweh as his instrument.”⁷⁸ The picture is of Yahweh beginning in the north at Hadrach and moving south to take for himself the land of Israel.

Yahweh reaches Jerusalem and his house in v. 8. God’s *báyiṭ* may refer to God’s people (Num 12:7; Hos 8:1), the temple (Psa 84:11[10]; 122:1), or the land (Hos 9:15). In the mythic pattern, as found in the stories of Baal and Marduk, the arrival of the god at his temple is a sign that he has won the victory and established his kingdom.

In v. 9 the returning king is greeted with victory songs and shouts in the form of an entrance liturgy. He will be just, victorious, and humble. D. R. Jones suggested that the antitype of this king is Absalom, who had a chariot, horses, and fifty men (2 Sam 15:1). The promise of the peaceful king originates in the Pentateuch, as the reward for obedience to the covenant (Lev 26:6). This theme was used by earlier prophets to describe a future Davidic king (Isa 9:6-7; Mic 5:2-4). Wakeman suggests that “from sea to sea” is a reference to the cosmic oceans, thereby including the whole world in Yahweh’s dominion.⁷⁹ This expression is also found in the Mesopotamian *Enūma eliš* VI:95ff.

⁷⁷Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 319-20.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 316.

⁷⁹Mary K. Wakeman, *God’s Battle with the Monster: A Study in Biblical Imagery* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), 94.

Scholars disagree on the relationship of vv. 9-10 to the rest of the chapter. These two verses have a unique metre which sets them apart from the surrounding material.¹⁰⁰ Hanson attributes the “stepped-up tempo” to “the crescendo of excitement at this point in the unit.”¹⁰¹ Kraeling divided chap. 9 after v. 10 because “the resumption of war after the coming of the king of Peace is unbearable.”¹⁰²

Verses 11-13 announce freedom and restoration for the captives and unity for the tribes. The reunion of the two kingdoms is suggested by Yahweh’s weapon in v. 13: Judah is his bow and Ephraim his arrow. Zechariah 10:4-12 alternates between references to Judah’s and Joseph/Ephraim’s restoration. However, in Zech 11:14 the union is broken. Chapters 12-14 centre around Judah and Jerusalem. Unity is clearly the eschatological hope. What is not clear is Deutero-Zechariah’s plan for its realization.

In verses 14-15 Yahweh demonstrates his might through a great theophany. He is portrayed as the victorious storm god marching to war with lightening as his weapon. The trumpet may be a reference to thunder (cf. Exod 19:16-19). A similar theophany occurs in the Baal cycle. After Baal’s victory over Yamm, the completion of his palace, and the inauguration of his banquet, Baal marched from city to city seizing and expelling them (KTU 1.4.vii.5-12). Then he returned to his house and “His holy voice made the earth

¹⁰⁰Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 255.

¹⁰¹Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 293.

¹⁰²E. G. H. Kraeling, “The Historical Situation in Zechariah 9:1-10,” *American Journal of Semitic Languages* 14 (1924-25):24-33; cited in Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 255.

quake, the utterance of his lips the mountains...The heights of the earth rocked" (KTU 1.4.vii.31-32,35).¹⁰³

The textual problem in v. 15b has created a division among scholars over the nature of the banquet in v. 15. Reading as the LXX, *wəṣāṭū dāmām* "they shall drink their blood," instead of the MT's *wəṣāṭū hāmū* "they shall drink and make noise," changes the banquet from boisterous to bloody. Hanson takes the former option, explaining that:

We are dealing with a *rite de passage*, where the victory alone does not restore the fertility of the earth; necessary in addition is a bloody sacrifice of the enemy's warriors, whereby the shedding of their blood has the effect of releasing the earth's fertility which had been suppressed during the enemy's reign.¹⁰⁴

However, Hanson provides no evidence for such a biblical rite. The Masoretic celebration seems more in keeping with biblical victory feasts (Isa 25:6), the exception being Rev 19:17-21 where the birds eat the flesh of the enemies.

The result of Yahweh's victory in battle is fertility (v. 17). The mythic battle in the Baal cycle is connected to the Ugaritic fertility cult: "if Baal the Almighty is alive...the heavens will rain oil, the wadis will run with honey" (KTU 1.6.iii.2, 6-7).¹⁰⁵ The struggle between Yamm and Baal, "the god responsible for rain, storms, and fertility, represents the mythological prototype of the short Syrian winter with its gales, rain, hail and occasional high tides."¹⁰⁶ So then, our examination of the Divine Warrior pattern in

¹⁰³Moor, *Anthology*, 63.

¹⁰⁴Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 322.

¹⁰⁵Moor, *Anthology*, 91.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, 29.

Zechariah 9 revealed the same motifs as were outlined by Paul Hanson: battle (1-7), sanctuary (8), victory (9), kingship (9-10), salvation (11-13), theophany (14), banquet (15), and a fertile new creation (16-17).

The Divine Warrior in Zechariah 10

Chapter 10 contains the pattern of:

promise of fertility (v. 1)
 threat (vv. 2-3a)
 battle (vv. 3b-7)
 victory over the sea - second Exodus (vv. 8-12)

Zechariah 10:1 continues the fertility theme from 9:17 but it also introduces a new passage in which “the thrust of this theme has shifted away from grateful acknowledgment to Yahweh for the fertility which issued forth from his successful battle against the forces of chaos, and has been transformed instead into an attack on unfaithful leaders of the people.”¹⁰⁷ Verses 1-2 form a polemic against those who depend on false gods for sustenance. The irony of the people wandering “for lack of a shepherd” (v. 2) is that they in fact have too many false shepherds and in their idolatry ignore their true Shepherd (v. 3), whose presence is heralded throughout Deutero-Zechariah. The themes of the wicked shepherds and Yahweh as the good shepherd are introduced in v. 3, to be picked up again in 11:3, 5, 8, 15-17, and 13:7.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 325.

The idols, diviners, and shepherds constitute the threat which rouses Yahweh of hosts to rescue his people (v. 3). Zechariah 10:3-7 describe the restoration of Judah and Ephraim in battle imagery. Yahweh's people are portrayed as his weapons.

Verses 8-12 draw on Isaiah's second Exodus motif (Isa 40:1-5) to describe a future salvation. In v. 11 the waters of chaos are applied to Israel's traditional captors: Egypt and Assyria. As the Red sea dried up to allow the Israelites to escape from Pharaoh (Josh 2:10), Cyrus' diversion of the Euphrates from Babylon led the way for the return from exile in Assyria (Isa 44:27; 45:1; Jer 50:38; 51:13, 36).¹⁰⁸

Zechariah 11

While replete with battle imagery, chaps. 11-13 do not contain Divine Warrior motifs *per se*. In fact the relationship of the Divine Warrior metaphors in Zechariah 9-10 and 14 to the intervening chapters remains somewhat of a mystery.

Unexpectedly, following the Exodus motif, it is not the returning exiles who are welcomed but fire and destruction. Many separate vv. 1-3 from the remainder of the chapter. However, these verses together with v. 17 form an inclusio of poetic announcement of judgment on the shepherds.

Zechariah 11:4-17 has the features of a commissioning narrative, a prophetic sign act, and a curse. A more classical commissioning narrative form appears in Jer 1:4-10 where the prophet is assured of Yahweh's presence (cf. Exodus 3) and informed of his

¹⁰⁸Hans K. LaRondelle, "The Biblical Concept of Armageddon," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 28 (1985): 28.

unique mission to the nation(s) (cf. Ezek 2:1-8). The situation in Zechariah 11 may be compared to that of Isaiah 6 where the prophet is called to “make the heart of this people calloused; make their ears dull and close their eyes. Otherwise they might see with their eyes, hear with their ears, understand with their hearts, and turn and be healed” (Isa 6:10 NIV). In Zechariah 11:4-6 the writer uses irony to emphasize the direness of the situation: Yahweh is calling the prophet to shepherd those who are about to be slaughtered.

Verses 7-14 have been compared to the prophetic sign act. An example of this form is Ezekiel 12 where the prophet packs for exile and leaves with his face covered so that he cannot see the land. In Zechariah the form is altered in that the prophet need not have literally shepherded a flock. However, it is likely that he physically broke staffs as a sign of the broken covenant and union.

Zechariah 11:17 belongs to a group of woes directed against evil shepherds including Jer 23:1-4 and Ezek 34:1-16. It employs the form of the ancient curse speech: *hōy* introduces a participial sentence addressing the wrong done. This is followed by a second participial sentence and an explanatory sentence.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹Claus Westermann, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech*, translated by Hugh Clayton White (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1967), 192.

Zechariah 12-13

A new section begins in 12:1, as in 9:1, with *maššā'*. Zechariah 12:1-13:6 is an oracle of the Day of Yahweh. The theme of the inviolability of Zion and the gathering of the nations against her (*Völkerkampf*) is a historicization of the conflict with the waters.¹¹⁰ Wakeman states that “the conditions of the monster’s reign will be recreated by God (or, the monster will be let loose) in preparation for a new creation, to follow upon the destruction of the nations.”¹¹¹ Yahweh strikes the nations with madness, a feature of OT Holy War.

The cup in Zech 12:2 is not *kōs*, the word normally used in prophetic passages as a metaphor for God’s wrath (e.g. Isa 51:17-23; Jeremiah 25), but *saḇ*. *Saḇ* almost always refers to the gold or silver basins in the temple (1 Kgs 7:50; 2 Kgs 12:14(13); Jer 52:19).

The identity of the “pierced one” in Zech 12:10-13 is unknown. Some connect him to one of the shepherds in Zech 11:4-17. Others have found a parallel in the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53.

Zechariah 13:7-9 is a poem inserted in this section with deliberate intentions. It is parallel to Zech 11:17 but refers to the striking of a good shepherd, whereas chap. 11 announced judgment upon the worthless shepherd. Jones links Zech 13:7-9 to its context (13:1-6) as follows: “what God in His law (Deut. xiii) requires of His people in their inflexible severity towards false prophets (overriding claims of kith and affection), this He

¹¹⁰John Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament*, 2d ed (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 183.

¹¹¹Wakeman, *God's Battle*, 74.

Himself will practise in His relationship to His own shepherd.”¹¹² For Jones, the main concern of Deutero-Zechariah is the peaceful union of Judah and the dispersed Israelites into one “flock” under Yahweh. Plöger described vv. 7-9 as “the divine announcement of what is depicted in ch. xiv.”¹¹³ He states:

Whereas in xii. 2-xiii. 6 the view is directed to the inner preparation of the theocratic community and the way it confronts the eschatological activity of Yahweh, a preparation which comes to a halt in cultic formalities and preliminaries, with the result, however, that the rigour of Yahweh’s eschatological activity in all its severity is all the more visible, ch. xiv ends with the new Jerusalem of the purified remnant, into which Yahweh himself will enter.¹¹⁴

The Divine Warrior in Zechariah 14

Hanson calls Zechariah 14 the “most advanced example of apocalyptic” found within his research on Trito-Isaiah and Deutero-Zechariah.¹¹⁵ He concludes that “with Zechariah 14 one enters the period of full-blown apocalyptic literature.”¹¹⁶ In this chapter the Day of Yahweh motif from Zechariah 12-13 is fused with the Divine Warrior motif from chap. 9. The Divine Warrior pattern in chap. 14 is:

threat (vv. 1-2)
theophany and battle (vv. 3-5)
new creation (vv. 6-8)

¹¹²Douglas R. Jones, “A Fresh Interpretation of Zechariah IX-XI,” *Vetus Testamentum* 12 (1962): 251.

¹¹³Plöger, *Theocracy*, 89.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹¹⁵Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 369.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*

kingship (v. 9)
 sanctuary (vv. 10-11)
 victory (vv. 12-15)
 banquet (vv. 16-19)
 newly created community (vv. 20-21)

Zechariah 14 begins with the nations gathering against Jerusalem (vv. 1-2) as did chap. 12. This is the threat portion of the Divine Warrior metaphor. In prophecy, Yahweh uses the nations as his weapons to punish his rebellious people (Hos 5:8-9; Isa 5:26-30; 22:1-8; Jer 4:5-8).¹¹⁷ In Zech 14:2 half of Jerusalem is exiled but the change comes in v. 3. As is typical in apocalyptic, Yahweh fights for his people. The result is that the nations have gathered to receive their own judgment. This progression from God's wrath against Israel to God's protection of Israel is found in both Day of Yahweh and Divine Warrior themes as they move from prophecy to apocalyptic.

Yahweh intervenes to defeat his enemies (v. 3) along with his holy army (v. 5). He stands on his holy mountain, which this time is the Mount of Olives instead of Zion. The mountain not only quakes, as in the conflict myth, but it is intentionally rearranged by Yahweh to create a processional way from the desert.¹¹⁸ This may be a parallel to the wilderness account of God's splitting (*bq'*) of the rock to cause waters to flow from it (Judg 15:19; Ps 78:15; Isa 48:21).¹¹⁹

A new creation with everlasting light and living water replaces the old defiled order (vv. 6-8). The living water is a paradisaical image (Gen 2:10). In ancient Near

¹¹⁷Ibid., 373.

¹¹⁸Ibid., 375.

¹¹⁹Wakeman, *God's Battle*, 123-4.

Eastern religions there was believed to be a river flowing from the tree of life. It is connected to the purifying fountain of 13:1. Perhaps this motif is also a response to the delayed fulfilment of the restoration described in Ezek 47:1-12.

Yahweh's secure kingship over the entire earth is announced (v.9). The emphasis upon Yahweh's name recalls God's intervention throughout the span of redemption history. Yahweh's self-revelation to Moses (Exod 3:15; 6:2-8) introduced the Exodus redemption and God's presence with his people (Exod 3:12). Waldemar Janzen states that the OT story of salvation "reached its climax in those events that filled the newly proclaimed name of God, Yahweh...with its lasting meaning: 'I am Yahweh your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.' (Ex. 20:2)."¹²⁰ In the Torah, "often the phrase "I am Yahweh," placed with some abruptness into legal contexts at various points (e.g., Lev. 19:12), is enough of a reminder that these laws are not self-contained or self-interpreting, but are covered by the story that fills the name Yahweh with content."¹²¹

Yahweh's enemies are cursed with the curses of the covenant from Lev 26:14-46.¹²² Leviticus 26:39 uses the verb *mqq* (Zech 14:12) to refer to the fate of the exiles (cf. Ezek 4:17). The theme of covenant curse, which appeared in Isaiah 24 in a law-suit form,

¹²⁰Waldemar Janzen, *Old Testament Ethics: A Paradigmatic Approach* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 67.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, 68.

¹²²Hanson, *Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 383.

was transported to apocalyptic through prophecy. Isaiah also ends with similarly grotesque plagues falling on those who rebelled against Yahweh (Isa 66:24).

All nations gather this time to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles. This is the banquet element in the Divine Warrior pattern. Disobedience to the command to keep the feast results in waning fertility. The reference to a lack of rain may be a reminder of the message of Zechariah 10:1, that is, that all must recognize Yahweh as the rain-maker and storm God. It is ironic that the Egyptians will be required to follow the same path through the wilderness that the Israelites took in their historic flight from Egyptian bondage to celebrate the very feast which marks freedom from themselves (14:18-19)! "Because the idea of the remnant is transferred to the Gentile world in a most unusual manner, the account is able to arrive at a comforting conclusion in the form of a universal Feast of Booths."¹²³

Zechariah's vision for the new creation includes all of Judah and Jerusalem becoming the house of Yahweh of hosts. The conclusion resolves the problem stressed throughout chaps. 9-14, that is, the community's need for purification (10:2-3; 11:4-17; 12:10-14; 13:1-9).

Zechariah 14 contains all elements of the Divine Warrior motif: threat (vv. 1-2), theophany and the battle (vv. 3-5) during which the mountain is split, a new creation (vv. 6-8), kingship (v. 9), exaltation and protection of the mountain (vv. 10-11), victory over the enemies (vv. 12-15) through the divinely inflicted confusion common in Holy War, feast (vv. 16-19), and a newly created community (vv. 20-21).

¹²³Plöger, *Theocracy*, 93.

Conclusions

The second half of our passage, Zechariah 12-14, pays particular attention to Jerusalem, mentioning it a total of 22 times. Plöger states that in Zechariah 12-14

Jerusalem:

retains the character of a historical entity, but insofar as it is drawn into the fire of judgement and has to experience the severity of God's dealings in the form of enemy conquest, while retaining its significance as the throne of the eschatological kingship of Yahweh, and insofar as it follows the same path as Israel, until, as the tested remnant, it becomes the people of God in the eschatological sense, this Jerusalem finds itself on the way to becoming a new and different sort of Jerusalem.¹²⁴

The Jerusalem of Zechariah 12-14 does not carry the same eschatological weight of John's Jerusalem in Revelation 21. However, what begins in chap. 12 as metaphor, Jerusalem as a cup of judgment (v. 2) or an immovable rock (v. 3), and as a realistic prophecy (vv. 5, 6, 9, 10, 11), becomes in chap. 14 symbolic of a renewed paradise (e.g. v. 8). The picture of the restored city is idealistic and impractical: How can every pot be both consecrated and used for mundane tasks?

The Divine Warrior material in chaps. 9-10 and 14 forms an *inclusio* around Deutero-Zechariah. However, although they contain many of the same Divine Warrior motifs, the tone of Zechariah 14 is quite different from that of chap. 9. In chap. 9 Yahweh marches from the north, conquering cities till he reaches Jerusalem. In Zechariah 14 he gathers the nations to Jerusalem to fight them there. The repetition of "on that day" gives chap. 14 the feeling of finality. There is no humble king on a donkey in Zechariah 14. Instead, the king is more akin to the storm god of Zech 9:14-17.

¹²⁴Ibid., 92.

In addition to the Divine Warrior motifs, the comparison of God/God's representative (9:9-17; 12:10-14; 13:7-9; 14:9) to Israel's abusive leadership (10:3; 11:3-17) in the language of shepherd and king repeats cyclically. The need for purification from idolatry and false prophecy reoccurs throughout (9:16; 10:2; 12:10; 13:1-6, 9). Unlike Lamarche, we have observed that the salvation/ judgment and war/victory themes are tied together in the Divine Warrior pattern.

The mystery of Deutero-Zechariah is the relationship of Divine Warrior to the humble representatives: the king riding a donkey (9:9-10) and the pierced one (12:10-14). Zechariah 9 is especially intriguing because it contains both the militant and the irenic aspects. In v. 10 the king is proclaiming peace and in v. 13 one appears to "bend Judah as I bend my bow" (NIV). The clue to understanding these two seemingly opposite personalities may be in Isaiah's Suffering Servant. The Servant is both exalted and despised (Isa 52:13-14), weak and strong (Isa 53:12), oppressed and prosperous (Isa 53:10). In the same way, the Warrior brings peace (Zech 9:10) not only through acts of judgment (Zech 14:3) but also through his own pain (Zech 12:10; cf. Isa 53:5).

The Divine Warrior in Daniel 7

The interpretation of Daniel must take into consideration the division of the book into Hebrew and Aramaic, tales and visions, and Babylonian and Palestinian contexts. These divisions within the text have created even wider divisions between conservative and critical scholars. Our passage, Daniel 7, forms a pivot between the sections, making it the centre of controversy.

Review of Studies on Daniel 7

A. Lenglet (1972) discovered a concentric structure within the Aramaic portion (2:4b-7:28) which led him to believe that these chapters were originally a separate unit. Chapters 2 and 7 describe the replacement of a series of human kingdoms with the kingdom of God. Chapters 3 and 6 tell of the rescue of faithful ones from death, the punishment decreed for their rejection of idolatry. Daniel 4 and 5 are stories of punishment upon Gentile kings for their pride.

Although Daniel 7 fits within this chiasm, it also belongs to the vision section of chaps. 7-12. Collins argues that chap. 7 resembles chap. 2 in form only, because chap. 7, like all Daniel's visions, "is dominated by the figure of Antiochus Epiphanes"¹²⁵ whereas there is no reference to him in chap. 2. In fact chap. 2 contains "no passionate condemnation of any of the kingdoms."¹²⁶

¹²⁵John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 12.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*

S. R. Driver and H. H. Rowley defended a second century date for the entire work. However, there is significant evidence to indicate that chaps. 1-6, and perhaps even the Aramaic portion, chaps. 2-7, are earlier. Chapters 1-6 have been compared to ancient "court tales," a "well-established" genre "stretching across the entire span of the first and second millennia BC. The presence of the genre over such an expanse of time would suggest that dogmatic attempts to place the origin of the Daniel corpus in the second century BC are ill-founded."¹²⁷ Collins has pointed out that the court tales express no belief in resurrection, are not modelled after Maccabean martyrs, do not contain a condemnation of the Greeks, and portray foreign kings who were sympathetic towards Jews.¹²⁸

Kenneth Kitchen has demonstrated that based on vocabulary, orthography, grammar, and syntax the Aramaic of Daniel 2-7 can be dated anywhere from the late sixth century to the second century BCE. Rowley argued that Persian loan words placed Daniel 2-7 nearer to the Targums (third to fourth century) than the Papyri (fifth to sixth century). However, Kitchen found that "nearly half of the Persian words in the Aramaic of Daniel are attested (mainly in Aramaic itself) in the sixth-fifth centuries BC" in the Imperial Aramaic inscriptions.¹²⁹ Kitchen similarly refuted Driver's statement that "the Greek

¹²⁷Richard D. Patterson, "Holding On To Daniel's Court Tales," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 36/4 (Dec 1993): 452.

¹²⁸Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 10.

¹²⁹K. A. Kitchen, "The Aramaic of Daniel," in *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel*, edited by D. J. Wiseman et. al., 31-79 (London: The Tyndale Press, 1965), 37.

words *demand...a date after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great (BC 322)*¹³⁰ by citing evidence of eighth century Greek pottery in Palestine. Kitchen also pointed out that changes in orthography and grammar may be due to the modernization of the text prior to its standardization in the first century CE. In addition, by comparing the Aramaic of the Genesis Apocryphon to the Palmyrene and Nabataean inscriptions (first century BCE to third century CE), Kutscher was able to date that scroll to the first century BCE. Since the Aramaic of Daniel is considerably earlier than the Genesis Apocryphon, it must also be earlier than Driver and Rowley have insisted.

The consensus among critical scholars has been that the court tales of chaps. 1-6 were born in a Babylonian setting in the late Neo-Babylonian to early Persian period. The majority also accept that this material "has been reedited in Maccabean times to attain a redactional unity with the apocalyptic vision of chs. 7-12."¹³¹ These scholars see Daniel as a legendary hero, sometimes equated with the king in the Ugaritic myth of Aqhat, the righteous wise man of Ezek 14:14 and 28:3, and the pre-diluvian Danel of Jubilees.

Collins defends the pseudepigraphical authorship of the final form in the second century. He argues for the normalcy of pseudepigraphy in the ancient world, thereby suggesting that the original readers would have been aware of this literary device in Daniel. However, he then contradicts this with the statement, "it is hard to see how

¹³⁰Driver, *LOT'*, 508; cited in Kitchen, "Aramaic of Daniel," 44.

¹³¹John J. Collins, "The Court-Tales in Daniel and the Development of Apocalyptic," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 94 (1975): 218.

pseudepigraphy could have served any purpose if everyone knew that it was fiction.”¹³² That purpose was to prove the accuracy of Daniel’s predictions.¹³³ Yet Collins denies that any deception is taking place. He even points to the fact that “people are found to this day who accept the authorship of the book of Daniel by a prophet during the exile” as evidence that the pseudepigraphy of Daniel in ancient times was believable to the masses.¹³⁴ In the end his only solution is that “evidently the ancient world was much less concerned with the issue of individual authorship than we are.”¹³⁵

Judith Baldwin makes a strong case for the conservative view of Daniel as early, historical, and nonpseudepigraphical. She points to the resemblance of Daniel to sixth century Akkadian prophecy, which “proves to be a considerable embarrassment to those who accept a second century date for the writing of Daniel. How did a Jewish author in Palestine at that time become so fully acquainted with Babylonian texts?”¹³⁶ She finds a problem with pseudonymity as relates to the dates, which would then be fictional, the prayer in chap. 9, which would be artificial, and reactions of Daniel to the revelations (7:15, 28; 8:27; chap. 10), which would also be contrived.¹³⁷

¹³²Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 74.

¹³³*Ibid.*, 71.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*, 74.

¹³⁵*Ibid.*

¹³⁶J. G. Baldwin, “Some Literary Affinities of the Book of Daniel,” *Tyndale Bulletin* 30 (1979): 97.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*, 95.

The deadlock between conservative and critical scholars is due to the *a priori* assumption that Daniel must be true history and prophecy on the one side, and an *a priori* conviction that it cannot be on the other. The truth is that God can inspire both history and fiction, prophecy and *ex eventu* prophecy, the work of a named author or a pseudonymous one.¹³⁸

Goldingay takes a mediating position. He recognizes the book of Daniel's use of "romantic" themes such as "young men of exemplary appearance and wisdom...beating pagans at their own game"¹³⁹ while affirming that "to describe the story in the terms we have is not necessarily to declare it unhistorical. Forms can be used in ways that do not correspond to their origin, and a historical account could use forms that are more characteristic of less factual narrative."¹⁴⁰ He distinguishes Daniel from "serious history" by its lack of reference to other historical facts or sources, its focus on conversations as opposed to events, and its presentation in the form of tales instead of chronicles.¹⁴¹ In chap. 7 he sees the use of forms parallel to the "Animal Apocalypse" as evidence of *ex eventu* prophecy. While the general situation of exiled Jews portrayed in Daniel is realistic enough, the paucity of collaborative data precludes judgment on the historicity of the specific events mentioned.

¹³⁸John E. Goldingay, *Daniel*, Word Biblical Commentary (Dallas: Word Books, 1989), xxxix.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 7-8.

¹⁴¹*Ibid.*, 8.

There are several possible explanations for the bilingual nature of Daniel. As we have already observed, Lenglet argued that the Aramaic chapters were originally a separate composition. Ginsberg believes that the book was originally written in Aramaic and the Hebrew portions are translations. However, no Aramaic original of 8-12 has yet been unearthed. Collins defends the view that chaps. 1-6 were originally in Aramaic. Later, chap. 7 was composed in Aramaic because it was modelled on chap. 2. The remainder of the visions were then written in Hebrew and chap. 1 was translated to create “symmetry between the beginning and the end.”¹⁴² This view presupposes a gradual evolution of the Book of Daniel.

In the study of a book with such a long history of development careful textual criticism is essential. The Qumran scrolls, the Old Greek translation, and Theodotion are longer recensions than the Masoretic text. Our MT, BHS, is based on Codex Leningrad, “a manuscript copied in the eleventh century A.D., which is thus over a millennium younger than the book itself.”¹⁴³ Since its composition both accidental and editorial changes have affected the text. The MT is less expansive, repetitive, and elegant than the Greek translations, factors often associated with glossing, leading many to hastily assume MT’s superiority.¹⁴⁴ The textual history is further complicated by the fact that different communities preserved varying recensions from one another. Despite the impossibility of certainty, textual criticism must include a careful examination of all the data.

¹⁴²Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 15.

¹⁴³Goldingay, *Daniel*, xxxviii.

¹⁴⁴Ibid.

The placement of Daniel in the *Ketuvim* in the MT and with the prophets in the versions, church fathers, and Christian Bibles adds fuel to the controversy surrounding Daniel's genre. Collins attributes Daniel's place in the *Ketuvim* to the closing of the prophetic canon before its composition was completed. Since the earliest evidence of Daniel in the *Ketuvim* dates from the fifth to the eighth century CE, Koch suggests that it was originally with the prophets, and that Jews transferred it to the *Ketuvim* around the second century. The act of "removing Daniel from the prophetic corpus and placing it among the narratives of late exilic and early postexilic times like Esther and Ezra shifted the accent from eschatology to pedagogics. Now the behaviour of the hero (e.g., his obedience to the Torah) appears as the decisive point."¹⁴⁵ Placing Daniel with the prophets also "encourages a view of them that sees them as focussing on the End, a view that came to trouble Jews."¹⁴⁶ Looking at the internal evidence, von Rad discovered that the author is called a wise man (Dan 1:3-5; 2:48-49), never a prophet. Due to its apocalyptic characteristics, many scholars favour the placement of Daniel with the *Ketuvim* instead of the prophets as a proper genre classification.

Daniel is certainly farther along than the Isaiah and Zechariah portions we have examined in the movement towards apocalyptic. Although Isa 27:1 mentions the primordial beast, it does not contain the complex system of symbols as the composite animals and the horns of Daniel. "On the basis of visionary experiences, often of

¹⁴⁵K. Koch, "Is Daniel Also among the Prophets?" *Interpretation* 39 (1985): 117-30, reprinted in *Interpreting the Prophets*, edited by J. L. Mays and P. J. Achtemeier, 237-48 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 246.

¹⁴⁶Goldingay, *Daniel*, xxx.

extraordinary complexity, and using highly imaginative and symbolic style, [Daniel] offers resolutions of the divine mysteries of heaven and earth."¹⁴⁷

Daniel 7

The unity and date of chap. 7 itself is a hotly debated issue. Ernst Sellin (1910) extracted the references to the little horn (vv. 8, 20-22, 24-25) as later additions to a pre-Maccabean work. This explanation was modified by Hölscher to include "and it had ten horns" in v. 7 and 11a as redactional insertions. Noth took the Ancient of Days and the "one like a son of man" as independent material. The arguments in favour of the pre-Maccabean date centre around the differences in vocabulary, syntax, and structure in v. 8. On the other hand, "those who defend the unity of the chapter argue that much of the variation should be understood as stylistic device to focus attention on the representation of Antiochus Epiphanes."¹⁴⁸

The Divine Warrior pattern which we will defend for Daniel 7 is:

threat (vv. 2-8)
 the king/judge (vv. 9-10)
 victory (vv. 11-12)
 kingship (vv. 13-14)

In Daniel 7 God's enemies are represented not by the sea or the sea serpent but by animals which arise out of the sea. Clearly this image is borrowed from the primeval chaos fight myth, but it no longer refers directly to the God's control over creation,

¹⁴⁷David Stacey, *Isaiah 1-39, Interpretation* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1993): 143.

¹⁴⁸John J. Collins, *Daniel, Hermeneia* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 279.

seasonal patterns, or the Egyptians in the Exodus deliverance, but to nations which exalt themselves above God. This issue is closely related to the tales of Daniel 1-6, which condemned the arrogance of pagan rulers. The beasts form the threat aspect of the Divine Warrior pattern.

The waters are stirred up by four winds of heaven. *Enūma eliš* (4.42) refers to “the four winds” of the north, south, east, and west used by Marduk to corner Tiamat.¹⁴⁹ Mention is also made of four winds throughout the biblical text (Jer 49:36; Ezek 37:9; Zech 2:10; 6:5; Dan 8:8; 11:4).

A similar progression of beasts was found in the seventh century Syrian *Sefire* treaty: “May the gods send every sort of devourer against Arpad and against its people. [May the mo]uth of a snake [eat], the mouth of a scorpion, the mouth of a bear, the mouth of a leopard” (*Sefire* 1 A 30-31).¹⁵⁰ However, Wittstruck’s conclusion that this animal sequence is distinctive to the treaty form is unwarranted. Comparable lists of beasts occur in Jer 5:6 and Hos 13:7-8. There was a tradition of referring to Israel’s enemies as beasts in post-exilic times (e.g. Ezekiel 34). The allegory of a progression of kingdoms was common in Greece (cf. Hesiod’s *Works and Days*, l. 109-201, 607 CE) and Persia (cf. *Bahman Yasht*, chap. 1).

¹⁴⁹Ibid., 294.

¹⁵⁰T. Wittstruck, “The Influence of Treaty Curse Imagery on the Beast Imagery of Daniel 7,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 97 (1978): 100.

Longman suggests that the composite nature of the beasts emphasizes their vulgarity.¹⁵¹ In the ancient Israelite mind set, cross-fertilization of species was a violation of God's order (Deut 22:9-11). According to Goldingay, "in Hellenistic Palestine, hybrid creatures on charms and amulets symbolize demonic forces."¹⁵²

Kvanvig examined the relationship of the beasts in Daniel to ancient Near Eastern *Mischwesen*.¹⁵³ In the Akkadian text VAT 10057 the king dreams about fifteen gods in the form of *Mischwesen* (mixed creatures), a human figure, and a throne vision of Nergal in which he judges the dreamer and tells of a future eternal kingdom. Although many parallels exist between this text and the vision of Daniel 7, the *Mischwesen* never have bear or leopard characteristics, are not associated with the sea, and are not the object of the judgment.¹⁵⁴

The first beast, the lion, receives the characteristics of a human: its wings are plucked, it is raised on two feet, and it is given a human heart. Jerome saw in this an allusion to Nebuchadnezzar's restoration in Daniel 4.¹⁵⁵ Kvanvig finds a correspondence between this figure and the one like a son of man, a conclusion for which there is no basis. The lion is commonly understood as a symbol for Babylon, the kingdom concurrent with the date supposed for the vision (v. 1). Winged lions have been found in Mesopotamian

¹⁵¹Longman and Reid, *God is a Warrior*, 65.

¹⁵²Goldingay, *Daniel*, 161.

¹⁵³Day, *God's Conflict*, 159.

¹⁵⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵Collins, *Daniel, Hermeneia*, 297.

art. Goldingay rejects the designation of specific kingdoms for the beasts. Instead he views them in the same manner as the four winds, suggesting “world-encompassing totality of divine power and disorderly energy.”¹⁵⁶

Curiously, the bear in this text is carnivorous (cf. 2 Kgs 2:24). Ginsberg, and Hartman and DiLella cut and paste the text to transfer the flesh eating references from the bear to the lion. To judge the text on the basis of our own zoological sensitivities is ridiculous since the composite and symbolic nature of the beasts makes them atypical from the start. The reference to the bear’s being raised up on one side may signify his readiness to attack.¹⁵⁷ Rabbinic tradition understood the second beast to represent Persia, medieval Judaism said Medo-Persia, and some modern critical scholars say the Medes.

The four-winged, four-headed leopard is traditionally understood as Greece and currently as Persia. The leopard suggests speed, which applies equally to the conquests of Alexander, and to Cyrus (Isa 41:3).¹⁵⁸

In the past, the fourth beast has been identified with Rome. However, those scholars who believe Daniel contains *ex eventu* prophecy from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (whom they identify with the boastful horn) take this beast to be Greece. The horns on the fourth beast may have symbolized power (cf. Zech 2:1-4). They may also

¹⁵⁶Goldingay, *Daniel*, 160.

¹⁵⁷cf. J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, International Critical Commentary (1927), 288.

¹⁵⁸Collins, *Daniel*, Hermeneia, 298.

represent the Seleucid dynasty for “coins of Seleucus I and Antiochus I show royal heads wearing horned helmets.”¹⁵⁹

The beasts are open metaphors, meaning that they can and have been reapplied to various kingdoms throughout history. Despite the ambiguity of the referent, the message is clear and eternal. So then, instead of each representing one specific kingdom, the beasts are each symbols which “belong to systems and thus call to mind ‘numerous ideas, images, sentiments, values and stereotypes’ which are (selectively) projected on the entity symbolized.”¹⁶⁰

Due to the fact that vv. 9-10 are in poetic form they are often taken as an earlier hymn which was inserted into Daniel’s apocalypse. The imagery of the throne room is found in the commissioning narratives of Isaiah (chap. 6) and Ezekiel (chaps. 1-3). The OT prophets were said to enter Yahweh’s divine council (1 Kgs 22:18-22; Jer 23:18, 22). The thousands attending the Ancient of Days is likely a reference to the *ṣəḥāōl* (host) of his assembly.

The flaming wheels of the Ancient One’s throne and the glorious light surrounding him are reminiscent of the glory described in Ezekiel 1. The association of the appearance of the divine Judge with fire can be traced back to the Pentateuch (Gen 15:17; Exod 3:2; 13:21-22; 40:36-38; Num 11:1; 16:35; Deut 4:24; Cf. Ps 97:3),¹⁶¹ with special significance

¹⁵⁹Ibid., 299.

¹⁶⁰P. A. Porter, *Metaphors and Monsters: A Literary Critical Study of Daniel 7 and 8*, ConB OT Series 20 (1983), 5; cited in Goldingay, *Daniel*, 148.

¹⁶¹A. B. Rhodes, “The Kingdoms of Men and the Kingdom of God: A Study of Daniel 7:1-14,” *Interpretation* 15 (1961): 422.

placed on the Sinai theophany (Exod 19:18; 24:17). Related to the judgment by fire is the *ḥērem* of holy war, in which Israel burned defeated enemy cities in dedication to God.

The sending of fire from heaven is another way of describing the lightning weapon of the storm god. In Elijah's contest of Yahweh versus Baal, Yahweh sent fire from heaven to prove himself as the storm god. When the people recognized him as such he sent the rain to end the drought (1 Kgs 18:16-46).

If the first two lines of v. 10 are parallel, then the river of fire may describe the thousands attending him, based on Ps 104:4 (NIV): "He makes...flames of fire his servants" and the idea expressed in Canaanite mythology: "The messengers of Yammu arrived...they looked like fire, two fires, their t[ongue] was a sharpened sword (KTU 1.2.i.30-35).¹⁶²

Two royal figures appear in the passage: the Ancient of Days and the "one like the son of man." The title "Ancient of Days" is related to El's epithet "Father of Years" (KTU 1.4.IV.24). El is also described as having grey hair (KTU 1.3.V.2-4). Compared to other theophanies, this portrait of God on the throne is very anthropomorphic. Unlike the elders who saw only God's feet (Exod 24:10-11), Daniel describes the entire form of an old man.¹⁶³ This theophany differs from those of Isaiah 24-27 and Zechariah 9-14 in that the seer approaches God, instead of God descending to the earth.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶²Moor, *Anthology*, 32-3.

¹⁶³Niehaus, *God at Sinai*, 323.

¹⁶⁴Francis T. Glasson, "Theophany and Parousia," *New Testament Studies* 34 (1988): 264.

On the relationship of the Ancient of Days and the one like a son of man Day states that Daniel 7 “preserves a more primitive, Canaanitized version of the myth in which a distinction is still made between the god who is supreme and the one who is enthroned over the dragon. How are we to account for this phenomenon in Dan. 7?”¹⁶⁵ Childs explains that:

in expressing apocalyptic eschatology, Israel reversed her usual handling of mythic traditions. Whereas throughout her earlier history, Israel had reacted against the intrusion of mythic materials by historicizing the broken myth within her tradition, in this case, Israel has not “demythologized” the myth, but instead has “mythologized” an historical tradition.¹⁶⁶

This mythologizing was a result of a deeper, more personal, understanding of judgment and redemption due to the exile. For the writer of Daniel the mythical imagery had lost its pagan associations.¹⁶⁷ According to Collins, the motifs in Daniel grew out of a learned and not a folk tradition.¹⁶⁸

The “one like a son of man’s” identity is ambiguous. The phrase “son of man” is used throughout the OT as a general designation for a human being (Num 23:19; Jer 49:18; Isa 51:12; Job 16:21). It appears a total of ninety-three times in Ezekiel in direct address. Lindars identifies the son of man as a collective figure representing the Jews. He

¹⁶⁵Day, *God’s Conflict*, 165.

¹⁶⁶Brevard S. Childs, “The Enemy from the North and the Chaos Tradition,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 78 (1959): 198.

¹⁶⁷Day, *God’s Conflict*, 166.

¹⁶⁸*Ibid.*

interprets this figure in Daniel as symbolic in the same manner as the beasts.¹⁶⁹ However, Collins points out that “the apparition of the ‘one like a human being’ is separated from the beasts in the text by the description of the Ancient of Days, which is generally accepted as a mythic-realistic symbol for God.”¹⁷⁰ Day suggests that he is equated with the angel Michael in Dan 10:13-18. The representation of angels in human form occurs throughout visionary literature (Gen 18:2; Josh 5:13; Ezek 1:26).¹⁷¹ Goldingay sees him as an interpretation of Enoch.¹⁷² In apocryphal, rabbinic, medieval Jewish, and early Christian interpretation the messianic interpretation has dominated.¹⁷³ The son of man is described as coming on the clouds, an allusion to the storm god motif (KTU 1.2.IV.8, 29). This language is always used of Yahweh in the OT (Ps 68:4; 104:3-4; Isa 19:1) which clearly indicates this figure’s divinity.

Daniel 7 contains a horizontal historical framework among the beasts and a vertical framework which contrasts the earthly activities of the beasts to the events in the heavenly court. Collins explains the significance of the fact that all four of the kingdoms are judged simultaneously despite the fact that they succeed one another over a period of history:

There is an obvious tension between the pattern of the four kingdoms, which clearly implies chronological succession, and the mythic pattern, which is

¹⁶⁹B. Lindars, “Re-enter the Apocalyptic Son of Man,” *New Testament Studies* 22 (1975-6): 55.

¹⁷⁰Collins, *Daniel*, Hermeneia, 305.

¹⁷¹Ibid., 306.

¹⁷²Goldingay, *Daniel*, xxviii.

¹⁷³Collins, *Daniel*, Hermeneia, 307.

concerned with the instantaneous confrontation of the heavenly God with the forces of the Sea. It is crucial for the understanding of the vision that the mythic pattern takes precedence over the sequence of the four kingdoms.¹⁷⁴

The formal elements themselves communicate God's transcendence over human empires.

The punishment by fire has a long history which began with the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 19:24) and continued throughout the prophetic books (Isa 29:6; 31:9; Amos 7:4; Zeph 1:18; 3:8; Mal 3:2; 4:1). According to Collins, "in Jewish tradition there is a progression from Topheth, or Gehinnom, where human sacrifice was offered by burning children [2 Kgs 23:10; Jer 7:31; 32:35], to the idea that sinners will be punished there by burning [Isa 30:33], to the notion of Gehenna as a place of eschatological, fiery punishment [Matt 5:22; *Sib Or* 1:103; 2:292]."¹⁷⁵

The text is ambiguous as to who slays the fourth beast. The implication is that his punishment is a judgment of the court (v. 10). Therefore there is no warfare element as such in this Divine Warrior passage. What is very clear is the omnipotence of the divine judge; the beasts never posed a true "threat."

The saints of the Most High have been understood as either people or angels. Procksch and Noth believed they were angels but struggled with how to understand their oppression by the final king in v. 25. To solve this problem, Noth extricated Dan 7:21-22 as later interpretation which shifted the meaning of saints from angels to humans. He also translated 'am in v. 27 as "host," *belāh* as "to test or offend," and the genitive of 'am *qaddiṣē* as "people associated with the holy ones." Those who support the "angel" view

¹⁷⁴Ibid., 159.

¹⁷⁵Ibid., 304.

cite the fact that *qedôšîm* in the OT most often refers to angels. However, Poythress correctly counters that “statistical frequency of this kind has almost no bearing on exegesis....The proper course, then, is to approach Daniel with the presupposition that his readers were familiar with both meanings...The readers would pick whichever meaning best suited the context.”¹⁷⁶ Verse 27 makes it clear that the kingdom will be handed over to people, however one chooses to interpret the genitive. The sociological context of Daniel is that of persecution; the need for future hope in a dire situation indicates the function of this passage as a promise to *human* holy ones.

The theme of kingship is very prominent in Daniel 7. The beasts representing human kingdoms are overthrown by the Ancient of Days, who in turn hands the kingdom over to the saints of the Most High. This kingdom is universal and eternal (v. 14). On the importance of the kingdom, Wolfhart Pannenberg stated that “in some sense atheism has a point in arguing that the world ought to be different if there were a God who cares for man and even for every individual....Only the full manifestation of God’s kingdom in the future...can finally decide about the reality of God.”¹⁷⁷

Arthur Jeffrey states that the book of Daniel is “more eschatological in its view of the judgment and the coming kingdom than the earlier prophets, but the shift has not yet been made from the expectations of an earthly kingdom to that of a purely spiritual

¹⁷⁶V. Poythress, “The Holy Ones of the Most High in Daniel VII,” *Vetus Testamentum* 26 (1976): 211-2.

¹⁷⁷ Wolfhart Pannenberg, “Can Christianity Do Without an Eschatology?” in *The Christian Hope*, edited by G. B. Caird et al., 31 (London: SPCK, 1970); cited in Baldwin “Some Literary Affinities,” 64.

kingdom.”¹⁷⁸ D. S. Russell too sees an earthly kingdom in Daniel. Many however, including Collins, Stauffer, Noth, and Bultmann see a kingdom not commensurate with time or space which marks the end of history.¹⁷⁹

According to v. 14 all nations will *plh* (serve/worship) the “one like a son of man.” The temple, in its desecration and reconsecration, plays a role in 8:14 and 9:24, but no mention is made of an eschatological pilgrimage or banquet. The absence of this part of the Divine Warrior pattern may be due to the earth/heaven contrast. The mention of God’s kingdom takes place in the setting of the heavenly court, the earth being the domain of the beasts. In addition, the imagery in Daniel is more esoteric than Zechariah or Isaiah and therefore draws less on analogies to everyday human life.

In chaps. 1-6 the hero Daniel is repeatedly contrasted against the Babylonian wisemen, who share a similar situation and role within the court. Collins comments on the application of this principle in chap. 7:

By positing an area of similarity between Daniel and the Chaldeans, the authors of the tales are able to assert the superiority of Daniel and his God. Similarly, the use of imagery associated with Marduk or with Ba’al may serve to make the claim that Yahweh, not the pagan deities, is the true deliverer.¹⁸⁰

Passages which allude to Canaanite myth, such as Psalm 29 or Judges 5, are often understood as serving an apologetic function.

¹⁷⁸ Arthur Jeffery, “The Book of Daniel,” in *The Interpreter’s Bible* VI, edited by George Buttrick, 351 (New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press 1956); cited in Rhodes, “Kingdoms,” 412.

¹⁷⁹ Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 174.

¹⁸⁰ Collins, *Daniel*, Hermeneia, 282.

Conclusions

In conclusion, some observations may be made about Daniel as an apocalypse. As is often true of apocalyptic writings, Daniel 7 is set within another form, in this case, the dream narrative. As a dream narrative, Daniel 7 contains a description of the vision (vv. 2-14) and an angelic interpretation (vv. 15-27), framed by an introduction (v. 1) and a response (v. 28). God's enemies are personalized and described more fully in Daniel than in earlier, proto-apocalyptic passages, giving the impression of dualism. Secondly, the judgment upon the beasts is unconditional. God has determined their fate; he will not repent if they repent, making the prophetic call to repentance necessary.¹⁸¹ The revelation is presented directly to Daniel who transmits it in writing, as opposed to the public utterance of many of the prophets. The apocalyptic characteristic of periodization gives Daniel 7 more of a sense of plot and drama than was found in the poetic Isaiah 24-27 or in the Day of Yahweh statements of Zechariah 9-14.

Daniel 7 makes use of the mythic images of cloud rider, ancient patriarchal god, and the chaos symbolized by beasts and sea. Unlike most ancient Near Eastern myth, Daniel 7 presents the victory of God as being on behalf of his people (Dan 7:27).¹⁸²

In Daniel 7 Yahweh's roles as warrior, judge, redeemer, and king converge (cf. Exodus 15, Psalm 96). From his throne in his court the Ancient One simultaneously defeats the beasts and frees his oppressed servants.

¹⁸¹Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 76.

¹⁸²André Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, translated by David Pellauer (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1979), 130.

The Divine Warrior pattern in Daniel 7 contains the elements of threat (vv. 2-8) presented in the form of a dynastic succession narrative, a description of the king/judge (vv. 9-10), victory (vv. 11-12), and kingship (vv. 13-14). Very little of the Divine Warrior pattern remains intact. There is no formal battle element, basic to the Divine Warrior theme; only allusions to a cosmic final conflict remain. The defeated enemy is no longer certain nations but all earthly kingdoms, to be forever replaced by God's kingdom.

The Divine Warrior in Revelation 19-22

As we have noticed earlier, apocalyptic incorporates many other forms. Isaiah 24-27 announced the victory of the Divine Warrior in the form of hymns (25:1-5; 26:1-6). In Zechariah an altered commissioning narrative was fused with a prophetic sign act to drive home Yahweh's anger against the wicked leadership (11:4-16). Themes such as covenant curse, Day of Yahweh, the Two Ways, and the Divine Warrior were adapted and fused together. We noticed that the book of Daniel is a marriage of tales and visions. Daniel 7 incorporated a dynastic succession prophecy into the cosmic conflict narrative. The book of Revelation is in the form of a circular letter. It is a mosaic of OT prophetic allusions, apocalyptic allegories, and hymns of praise. Jerome said "the Apocalypse of John has as many secrets as words. I am saying less than the book deserves. It is beyond all praise; for multiple meanings lie hidden in each single word."¹⁸³

"From a traditional-historical and a formal-literary, but not from a theological point of view, Jewish and early Christian apocalyptic represent one and the same phenomenon."¹⁸⁴ The theological difference is that Christian apocalypses apply OT apocalyptic themes concerning Yahweh to Jesus.

¹⁸³Ep. liii. 9 cited in G. B. Caird, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 2.

¹⁸⁴Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *The Book of Revelation: Justice and Judgement*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), 2.

Review of Studies on Revelation

The unity of Revelation has historically been questioned due to its many repetitions and the intertwining Jewish and Christian expressions. R. H. Charles noticed a “structural unity and a steady development of thought from the beginning to 20³. In 20⁴-22, on the other hand, the traditional order of the text exhibits a hopeless mental confusion and a tissue of irreconcilable contradictions.”¹⁸⁵ He could not reconcile the destruction of the old creation in 21:11-15 with the fact that in 22:15 the evil ones were outside the city, or the descent of the New Jerusalem in 21:2 repeated in v. 10. He concluded that John died before Revelation was completed and a “faithful but unintelligent disciple” put his notes for 20:4-22:21 together in the wrong order.¹⁸⁶ This is an example of an interpreter who denies any recapitulation within the text. Yarbrow Collins critiques Charles by saying that “when such machinations are necessary to maintain a theory, the viability of that theory is highly questionable.”¹⁸⁷

Schüssler Fiorenza accurately presents the difference between interpreters like Charles and the source critics, such as Müller and Ford, whom we shall discuss next:

Whereas traditional exegesis attributes the doublets, inconsistencies, and repetitions of the text either to the faulty memory of the author or to the incompetence of a student, historical-critical scholarship, particularly of the nineteenth century, proposes source-critical solutions or postulates various stages

¹⁸⁵R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (Edinburgh, 1920), vol 1, 1.

¹⁸⁶*Ibid.*, vol 2, 147.

¹⁸⁷Adela Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976), 11.

of revision, so that in this understanding Rev. manifests the same editorial processes as other Jewish or Christian apocalypses.¹⁸⁸

In source criticism, it is the compiler who is responsible for the final work. Unfortunately, source criticism tends to create the same problem as R. H. Charles' theory. The charges of stupidity have merely been transferred from author to compiler.

U. B. Müller separated Revelation into two sources: those which deal with messianic judgment for the nations as Jewish source texts and those which speak of Christ interacting with the church as Christian.¹⁸⁹

J. Massyngberde Ford ascribes chaps. 4-11 to John the Baptist and chaps. 12-22 to his followers. Due to the many allusions to the Old Testament, she finds Revelation to be more Jewish than Christian. She also views the theme of wrath as incompatible with Jesus' teaching. Yarbro Collins counters with the argument that:

Only by arbitrarily eliminating references to the Lamb, its death, and its redeeming blood, or by interpreting them in a strained way, can the Christian character of even chs. 4-11 be denied. Thus any sort of attribution of Revelation to John the Baptist is incompatible with the evidence.¹⁹⁰

Passages such as Matt 22:13, 24:51, and 25:41 indicate that Jesus did refer to God's wrath. In addition, Mazzaferri demonstrates that the Semitisms of Revelation are intentional.

¹⁸⁸Schüssler Fiorenza, *Book of Revelation*, 16.

¹⁸⁹Ibid.

¹⁹⁰Adela Yarbro Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis: the Power of the Apocalypse* (Philadelphia Press, 1976); cited in Frederick David Mazzaferri, *The Genre of the Book of Revelation from a Source-critical Perspective* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1989), 28.

More recently, source theories have been replaced by revision hypotheses, which credit the redactor with intelligently and creatively adapting and integrating texts to create a unique and coherent work. The redaction critics speculate about the complicated developmental processes behind the final product.

M. É. Boismard suggested that the redactor combined two apocalypses he himself had written. H. Stierlin proposed three apocalypses which were fused together by a second century redactor. Rousseau believed that “through five redactional levels [a circle of prophets under John] transformed simple prophetic oracles into the current book with progressively mature Christology and a more optimistic theology of history.”¹⁹¹

The book of Revelation is a complex composition which combines ancient Near Eastern mythology, Jewish apocalypse and prophecy, contemporary Hellenistic myth, and Christian apocalyptic and epistolary forms. The preceding attempts at isolating sources or redaction layers are too simplistic. Current consensus is moving towards seeing Revelation as a work of art, written by a single intelligent author who used various forms and structures to visualize the Christian hope. The historical-critical and theological approaches to Revelation need to be integrated with “a literary approach and symbol analysis that would bring out the evocative power and ‘musicality’ of its language.”¹⁹²

¹⁹¹Ibid., 24.

¹⁹²Schüssler Fiorenza, *Book of Revelation*, 22.

Revelation does not appear to be pseudepigraphical, because the author does not “cloak his message in the garb of the historical events and persons of the past.”¹⁹³ He identifies himself as a fellow sufferer with the churches (Rev 1:9). Previous scholarship traced the author of Revelation to the apostle John, son of Zebedee, or his disciples. E. Schüssler Fiorenza finds little common ground between the writer of the Gospel of John and author of Revelation. She states that the author’s familiarity with “prophetic-apocalyptic traditions and forms suggests that the Apoc is the work of a member of an early Christian prophetic-apocalyptic rather than of the Johannine school.”¹⁹⁴ The author of Revelation does not appeal to apostolic authority but to his prophetic/visionary calling (Rev 1:1-3, 9-11). Modern scholarship is content to accept the author’s self designation: he was a man named John, exiled for his faith, who was familiar with the churches he addressed, and wrote to them concerning the visions he received from Christ.¹⁹⁵

The book of Revelation is filled with Divine Warrior motifs. Jesus appears as the cloud rider in 1:7. The throne room scene in chaps. 4-5 demonstrates the Lamb’s right to eternal kingship (cf. 11:15-16). In Rev 7:9-17 the palm branches, tent, and living water suggest the eschatological celebration of Tabernacles. The beasts and dragons represent the threat to the Divine Warrior’s kingdom. God’s heavenly sanctuary is referred to

¹⁹³C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven: a Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982), 424.

¹⁹⁴Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, “The Quest for the Johannine School: the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel,” *New Testament Studies* 23 (1977): 424.

¹⁹⁵Rowland, *Open Heaven*, 423.

throughout the book (Rev 1:12-20; 8:1-5; 11:19). The redeemed are invited to the wedding supper of the Lamb (19:6-9).

Adela Yarbro Collins wrote an important monograph on the combat myth in Revelation 12. She drew on the work of Joseph Fontenrose, who identified nine elements of a Greek chaos myth which apply to Revelation 12: the dragon pair, chaos, attack of the dragon, the champion, champion's death, the dragon's reign, the champion's recovery, renewed battle and victory of champion, restoration of order.¹⁹⁶ The "queen of heaven" may be related to the tradition of the Greek goddess Isis, who was associated with the heavenly bodies.¹⁹⁷

Chapter 12 is in many ways an introduction to the second half of the book and especially to the final section of 19:11-22:21. The messianic role of the child is announced in 12:5 but only fulfilled in 19:15. The dragon is defeated in heaven in 12:8-9 but his final destruction comes in 20:10. The war with the woman's seed in 12:17 culminates in the perseverance of the martyrs over the beast (20:4).

¹⁹⁶Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth*, 59.

¹⁹⁷*Ibid.*, 75.

Revelation 19:11-21

Tremper Longman has said that “the clearest use of the Divine Warrior motif in the book of Revelation is without a doubt Rev. 19:11ff.”¹⁹⁸ The destruction of Babylon “is effected by God’s holy wrath in retaliation for Babylon’s unholy war against the saints of God and Jesus Christ. No wonder that the apocalyptic imagery of Christ as the Lamb at this stage shifts to his role as the King-Judge and Divine Warrior.”¹⁹⁹

John introduces the vision with a phrase very similar to the opening words of Ezekiel’s vision: “I saw heaven standing open.” In 4:1 there was a door open in heaven and in 11:19 the heavenly temple was opened. Now, as the climactic scene of John’s vision begins all heaven is wide open before him.

The structure of Rev 19:11-21 includes two Divine Warrior patterns which both tell the same story:

theophany (vv. 11-13)
battle (vv. 14-15)
victory (v. 15)
kingship (v. 16)
banquet (vv. 17-18)

threat and war (v. 19)
victory (v. 20)
banquet (v. 21)

The Divine Warrior pattern begins with a theophany in v. 11. The rider’s roles as judge and warrior are intertwined in a manner similar to Joel 3, where Yahweh wars

¹⁹⁸Tremper Longman III, “The Divine Warrior: The New Testament Use of an Old Testament Motif,” *Westminster Theological Journal* 44 (1982): 297.

¹⁹⁹LaRondelle, “Biblical Concept,” 24.

against his enemies in the valley of Jehoshaphat (which means “Yahweh judges”). In Rev 12:7-12 as well the war between Michael and the dragon turns out to be a legal battle in which the accuser is overcome by the testimony of the faithful. Schüssler Fiorenza called all of Rev 15:5-19:10 a “class-action suit” against Babylon/Rome.²⁰⁰

The image of the rider also has royal connotations. It is reminiscent of the king in Zechariah 9:9-10. However, instead of a humble Messiah on a donkey, in Revelation we find a mighty warrior on a horse. To bring about eternal peace he must first administer justice once and for all on the enemies of the church.

The fiery eyes of the Warrior are an allusion to the man in priest’s garb in Dan 10:6. He was already described in Rev 1:14 and 2:18. With these eyes he can see to judge hearts, minds, and actions (Rev 2:19, 23).

The crowns on his head should bring to mind 1 Cor 15:25: “For he must reign until he has put all his enemies under his feet” (NIV). His antitypes, the dragon and the beast, also wear crowns (Rev 12:3; 13:1), representing their “false claims of sovereign, universal authority in opposition to the true ‘King of kings and Lord of Lords.’”²⁰¹

The rider is followed by the hosts of heaven (cf. Zech 14:5). These may be the angels, who figure prominently in apocalyptic, or more likely the 144,000 conquerors who are purified for battle and follow the Lamb in Rev 14:1-5. Their purity is stressed by the reference to their white garments and horses. On the basis of Isa 61:10-62:5, to which

²⁰⁰Schüssler Fiorenza, *Book of Revelation*, 7.

²⁰¹G. K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1999), 952.

Rev 19:7-8 alludes, white in Revelation also stands for the vindication of God's people following their oppression by the nations.²⁰² This vindication fits well with the Divine Warrior's role as judge. Together with the rider the hosts wage war on the nations. Beale finds a chiasm of the name (vv. 12 and 16), the blood/wine (vv. 13a, 15b), and the Word/sword (vv. 13b, 15a), which places the hosts at the centre as the ultimate reason for the Divine Warrior's activity.²⁰³

The sword from his mouth (v. 15) may be an allusion to Isa 11:4 and 49:2, references to the shoot of Jesse and the servant of Yahweh respectively. This sword image is attributed to Christ also in Rev 1:16; 2:12, 16; 19:21. "He will rule them with an iron scepter" (NIV) is a direct quotation from Ps 2:9 (except that the person of the verb has been changed).

The winepress imagery is adapted from Isa 63:2-3 where Yahweh is executing judgment on Judah. In Isaiah 63 the warrior fights alone, but in Revelation he is accompanied by the heavenly hosts. Joel 3:13 uses the winepress motif in the context of Yahweh's repayment of the nations that sold Judah. In Revelation 19 the metaphors of the winepress and the cup of wrath are mixed, "and mean that from the winepress trodden by Christ flows the wine of the wrath of God" (cf. 14:10, 19).²⁰⁴ Evidence that this motif had a messianic significance is found in the Palestinian Targum on Gen 49:11:

²⁰²Ibid., 940, 950.

²⁰³Ibid., 956.

²⁰⁴R. H. Charles, cited in Caird, *Revelation*, 246.

How beautiful is the King Messiah who is to arise from among those of the house of Judah! He girds his loins and goes out to wage war on those who hate him, and slays kings and their rulers, making the mountains red with the blood of their slain and making the hills white with the fat of their warriors and his vestments are soaked in blood. He is like the presser of grapes.

There is a rabbinic tradition which views the textual problem in Gen 49:10b as “Shiloh” and interprets this name as a messianic title: “Rab said, The world was created only for the sake of David; but Samuel said, for the sake of Moses; but R. Yohanan said, For the sake of the Messiah. What is his name? Those of the school of R. Shela say, Shiloh is his name, as it is said, ‘Until Shiloh come’” (Talmud, Sanh. 98b). Some have suggested that Shiloh is the “name written on him that no one knows but he himself” from Rev 19:12 because of the mystery of the name in Genesis, its connection to the king of Judah (Gen 49:10), and John’s use of the bloody robe/winepress theme from Gen 49:11. The unknown name may also refer to the new name which will be given to Zion when she “marries” her redeemed people and becomes a “crown” in Yahweh’s hand (Isa 62:1-5).²⁰⁵

The warrior’s name takes on a great significance in this passage. In addition to his secret name, he is also called Faithful and True (v. 11), a reference back to the letters to the churches (Rev 1:5; 3:14). The rider’s true name is in contrast with the blasphemous name of the beast (Rev 13:1; 17:3). In v. 13 the warrior is referred to as the Word of God. In v. 16 his name is “King of Kings and Lord of Lords,” a title taken from LXX Dan 4:37. By alluding to Yahweh’s title in Daniel, the author emphasized the rider’s kingship and divinity. The significance of the fact that the title is written on his thigh is that this is

²⁰⁵Beale, *Book of Revelation*, 953.

where a sword was hung, another reference to his military prowess.²⁰⁶ From the beginning, God chose to be known by a name, Yahweh, which represented his power to save. His revelation of that name was the initiation of a relationship with Israel (Exod 6:1-8). The name of the God-sent redeemer, “Jesus,” means “Yahweh saves” (Matt 1:21).

The eschatological banquet takes a unique twist. Instead of a great feast for all humankind (Isa 25:6), it is a carrion meal for the scavenger birds. This is paralleled by the Canaanite myth of Anat’s slaying of Mot and his body being eaten by the birds.²⁰⁷ Psalm 74:14 says that God gave Leviathan to the creatures of the desert to eat. The closest biblical parallel is Ezek 39:17-20. At the conclusion of the Gog and Magog battle against Jerusalem Yahweh commands Ezekiel to call the birds to a sacrificial feast of flesh.

Although still in the same scene, the Divine Warrior pattern begins again in v. 19 with the threat of the beast and the kings mustering their armies. The Divine Warrior wars against the beast, the kings of the earth, and the false prophet. The rider is victorious, throwing the beast and prophet into the lake of burning sulfur and killing the rest with his sword.

The burning sulfur is a reference to Isa 30:33 and Topheth in the Valley Hinnom, the fire pit prepared for the king of Assyria when he attacked Jerusalem. The Valley of Hinnom was a “ravine south of the city of Jerusalem where in the days of the monarchy apostatizing Jews adopted the cultic practices of Palestine and cremated children in

²⁰⁶Caird, *Revelation*, 146.

²⁰⁷Longman and Reid, *God is a Warrior*, 187.

honour of Baal and Molech (II Kings 23:10; 2 Chr. 28:3; 33:6; Jer. 32:35).²⁰⁸ The name Topheth may have arisen from the vocalization of the noun *ṭp̄t* (fireplace) with the vowels of *bošēṭ* (shame), a common pseudonym for Baal (1 Chron 8:33; 2 Sam 2:10).²⁰⁹

The banquet promised in vv. 17-18 is actualized in v. 21. The separated narration of a command and its execution is a common literary device in the OT (cf. Gen 7:1-4; 13-16).

Revelation 20:1-15

Chapter 20 contains three short Divine Warrior patterns:

victory (vv. 1-3)
 kingship (vv. 4-6)

threat (vv. 7-8)
 battle (v. 8)
 victory (v. 10)

judgment (vv. 11-13)
 victory (vv. 14-15)

The victory continues in chap. 20 as the ancient serpent is bound. The kingdom established by this victory is overseen by the martyrs. They are called “priests” (v. 6), foreshadowing their description as the Holy City in chap. 21. The identity of the judges on the thrones is ambiguous (if *kai* is taken as “that is,” then it is the martyrs who will judge), as is the identity of those who will be ruled. Sweet suggests that the thousand

²⁰⁸George Eldon Ladd, *A Commentary on the Revelation of John* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 1972), 196.

²⁰⁹Motyer, *Prophecy of Isaiah*, 253.

years was “the proper span of man’s life, but Adam died at 930 because he disobeyedly ate of the tree...after which there was a gradual decline.”²¹⁰ Caird points to a Jewish and Christian apocalyptic tradition that “belief in a millennium had its origin in a combination of Genesis ii. 2 with Psalm xc. 4, whereby each of the seven days of creation becomes a thousand years of history, ending with the messianic sabbath and succeeded by the timeless new world of the eighth day.”²¹¹

The victory is not final, for the serpent, Satan, is released after a thousand years. His traditional role as deceiver is cast in the language of battle; he deceives the nations in order to gather them to surround God’s camp (v. 8). The Divine Warrior pattern begins again with this as the threat. It is no longer a divine figure but fire directly from heaven which defeats them. As was mentioned previously, the symbol of fire may be traced back to the storm god’s lightning bolt (1 Kgs 18:16-46), which manifested itself in the OT in the Sinai and subsequent theophanies. Due to its connection with the *hêrem* of holy war it was understood as a means of divine judgment. The victory this time is final; all God’s enemies, including their ring leader, will remain in the lake of sulfur forever.

In a scene reminiscent of Dan 7:9-10 the books are opened and the dead are judged by the king (vv. 11-15). The motif of divine judgment from the book of life and the book of deeds comes from the ancient belief that names and events were recorded in heavenly books. In Mesopotamian myth, Tiamat set up Kingu as king over the gods and

²¹⁰John Sweet, *Revelation* (London: SCM Press, 1979) reprint (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990), 289.

²¹¹Caird, *Revelation*, 250.

gave him the Tablets of Fate (*Enūma eliš* I:152-61). After Marduk had been victorious over Tiamat and Kingu he “took from him the Tablets of Fate, not rightfully his, sealed them with a seal and fastened (them) on his breast” (*Enūma eliš* IV:121-22).²¹² These tablets were connected to the victory and kingship of the god who possessed them. A. Yarbro Collins lists three types of heavenly books mentioned in biblical and apocalyptic writings: the list of the names of the righteous or elect, the book of human deeds upon which judgment is based, and the book which details future events.²¹³

In case we doubted the irreversibility of the Divine Warrior’s victory, death and Hades too are thrown into the lake of fire, a fulfilment of Isa 25:7.

Revelation 21:1-22:6

The climax of the Divine Warrior’s activity appears in chap. 21 with a new heaven and a new earth. This creation will be invulnerable to chaos for the sea is no more. Death (21:4) and evil (21:8) have been defeated forever.

The new creation is portrayed as a return to Paradise. The water of life and the tree of life are here, representing eternal fertility and feasting. There is no more curse (Rev 22:1-3). Temporary theophanies have been transcended; now everyone will see God’s face as Adam and Eve did in the Garden and as Moses longed to do (Exod 33:20).

The city of Jerusalem takes on a new dimension in Revelation 21. It no longer resembles the historical location but is another name for the bride, the redeemed people of

²¹²Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth*, 213.

²¹³Ibid.

Yahweh (vv. 2-3, 9-10). No longer are they described as being in the Divine Warrior's protected house; instead they have now become it. The holy city is held in contrast with Babylon. The glory of the nations will pilgrimage to the city (Rev 21:24-26).

The holiness of God's people is indicated by the cubic dimensions of the city. Now, God's dwelling (*skênê*) is with his people in the same manner as in the Holy of Holies. In the LXX *skênê* translates *misəḱān*, the word for tent, which was the symbol of God's presence with Israel in the wilderness. Caird states the significance: "John has thus chosen to use a term which implies that the promise of God's presence has already had constant fulfilments in the past wherever Israel has been true to her calling."²¹⁴ The statement that "they will be his people, and God himself will be with them and be their God" (21:3) is a fulfilment of the Sinai covenant (Lev 26:12; Jer 7:23; cf. Hos 1:9), which was realized in the new covenant (Rom 9:25; 1 Pet 2:10).²¹⁵ They will also be stamped with God's name (22:4), the essence of his character as a holy and redeeming God. The complete actualization of Revelation 11:15 is announced: "And they will reign for ever and ever" (Rev 22:5 NIV).

Conclusions

The Divine Warrior patterns in Revelation 19-22 are as follows. Chapter 19 contains theophany (v. 11-13), war (vv. 14-15), victory (v. 15), kingship (v. 16), and banquet (vv. 17-18). It then repeats the threat and war (v. 19), victory (v. 20), and

²¹⁴Caird, *Revelation*, 263.

²¹⁵*Ibid.*, 264-5.

banquet (v. 21). Chapter 20 cycles through three abbreviated patterns. The first section announces victory (vv. 1-3) and the kingdom (vv. 4-6). Then there is a threat (vv. 7-9a), a war (9b), and victory (v. 10). Lastly, judgment (vv. 11-13) results in final victory (vv. 14-15). In a sense, Revelation 21:1 forms the climax to all the previous Divine Warrior patterns with the creation of a new order. Unlike chaps. 19 and 20, the theme of God's protection of his city/temple/mountain takes centre stage in Rev 21:2-22:6. The theme of eternal kingship (Rev 22:5) is tied to the sanctuary motif in that God's people are the city (Rev 21:9-10) which will rule the earth forever (cf. Rev 21:22-27). Fertility and feasting (22:1-2) characterize the new life.

Schüssler Fiorenza describes the recapitulation in Revelation as a conic spiral, "moving from the present to the eschatological future. It also could be likened to a dramatic motion picture whose individual scenes portray the persons or actions every time from a different angle while at the same time adding some new light or color to the whole."²¹⁶ The events do not merely repeat, but each foreshadows another aspect of the final judgment/salvation and at the same time brings us closer to that end. We noticed this development in the victory element first as the beast and false prophet are thrown into the lake of fire (19:20), then Satan is bound (20:1), he is thrown into the lake of fire for eternity (20:10), death and Hades soon follow him (20:14), and finally the sea from which the antagonists arose is destroyed forever (21:1).

Recognizing the recapitulation of the Divine Warrior pattern in Revelation 19-22 frees us from the need to identify a linear progression of events. The sequences of plagues

²¹⁶Schüssler Fiorenza, *Book of Revelation*, 6.

“complete and consummate the ‘wrath of God’ not temporally but extensively and intensively.”²¹⁷ The message of Revelation is that Yahweh will ultimately be victorious. Though persecution and tribulation increase, the Divine Warrior and Judge cares for his own and promises them his eternal presence and *shalom*.

The Divine Warrior is compared with and contrasted against the beast as king and warrior.²¹⁸ Both wear crowns (13:1; 19:12). The beast has a blasphemous name (13:1; 17:3) but the Divine Warrior’s names are Faithful and True (19:11), Word of God (19:13), King of Kings and Lord of Lords (19:16), and a secret name (19:12). The fact that the beast “once was, now is not, and will come up out of the Abyss” (17:8) may be a parody of Christ’s death and resurrection.

The Divine Warrior’s activity is described more graphically in Revelation than in any other passage we have examined. Many fear that “in likening God’s glory and power to Roman imperial power and splendour, in portraying Christ as the divine ‘warrior’ and ‘King of kings,’ Rev. is in danger of conceiving divine power as ‘power over’ in terms of Roman domination” which “foster militarism and escapism” and “legitimate and perpetuate patriarchal domination.”²¹⁹ However, God’s “power over” is the very reason for our own striving towards peace. “Live at peace with everyone. Never avenge yourselves, beloved. Leave that to God, for it is written: ‘I will avenge; I will repay,’ says Yahweh” (Rom 12:18-19, cf. Deut 32:35).

²¹⁷Ibid., 53.

²¹⁸Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth*, 185.

²¹⁹Schüssler Fiorenza, *Book of Revelation*, 9.

The goal of the book of Revelation is to encourage persecuted saints to persevere (2:7, 11, 17, 26; 3:5, 12, 21; 6:11; 7:14; 12:11). It emphasizes the “‘not yet’ of salvation.”²²⁰ John was countering the realized eschatology of the immoral Nicolaitans (Rev 2:6) “with his emphasis on imminent judgment and salvation and his call for endurance and steadfast resistance.”²²¹ The function of the chaos myth was “to identify the ruling power with the forces of chaos and thus to awaken and reinforce resistance to that power in the readers. This resistance is of a passive nature as the high value placed on martyrdom shows.”²²² Revelation was also intended to inspire worship, as is evident from the many hymns within the text. As a circular letter to churches, in an era when illiteracy was common, it would be read aloud in the worship service.

The Divine Warrior in Revelation is described in “an impressive mosaic of OT imagery and terminology.”²²³ The winepress, the hosts, and the chaos monster must be understood both in their original context and in their present place within Revelation. David Hill, H. Kraft, and A. Feuillet treat Revelation as a re-reading of the OT in light of Christ.²²⁴ Schüssler Fiorenza believes that John does not “interpret the OT but uses its words, images, phrases, and patterns as a language arsenal in order to make his own

²²⁰Ibid., 4.

²²¹Ibid., 147.

²²²Yarbrow Collins, *Combat Myth*, 186.

²²³LaRondelle, “Biblical Concept,” 24.

²²⁴Schüssler Fiorenza, *Book of Revelation*, 135.

theological statement or express his own prophetic vision."²²⁵ This "anthological" style, which is "not focused on Scripture itself" but uses Scripture as a "language" is characteristic of apocalyptic.²²⁶

The apocalyptic dualism of Revelation is evident throughout. The readers are called to choose between the camp of the lamb or of the beast. They will either receive the mark of the lamb or the beast. The message was similar to Zealot theology: the Kingdom of God and the kingdom of Caesar are incompatible.²²⁷ However, it is not dualism in the sense of two equal opponents. Rowland emphasizes this aspect by stating that "the only [true] dualism which is to be found in heaven arises out of the contrast between promise and fulfilment."²²⁸

The opportunity for repentance is extended in the letters to the churches only (Rev 2:5, 16; 3:2, 19). In keeping with the dualism and determinism of apocalyptic, the remainder of the book emphasizes the inevitability of the judgment. Either one is in the book of life or they are not. The epilogue goes so far as to state: "Let him who does wrong continue to do wrong; let him who is vile continue to be vile; let him who does right continue to do right; and let him who is holy continue to be holy" (Rev 22:11 NIV; cf 9:20-21).

²²⁵Ibid.

²²⁶D. Patte, *Early Jewish Hermeneutic in Palestine*, SBLDS 22 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975), 172; cited in Schüssler Fiorenza, *Book of Revelation*, 136.

²²⁷Josephus JW 2.118, 433; 7.323, 410; cited in Yarbro Collins, *Combat Myth*, 186.

²²⁸Rowland, *Open Heaven*, 436.

On the relationship of history to eschatology Rowland states:

The inclusion of the messianic reign on earth in the eschatology of Revelation should warn us not to assume that apocalyptic eschatology had lost faith in history as the sphere of divine redemption and was concerned with events beyond history.²²⁹

He goes on to say:

It cannot be said that in this instance the future breaks into the present, as Rowley has suggested. The whole of future history in Revelation is an evolution which arises directly out of past events, particularly the crucifixion of Jesus, and moves in and through the historical process to its conclusion.²³⁰

Although correct in affirming the continuity between the resurrection of Christ and his eschatological victory over Satan, Rowland minimizes the uniqueness of the final judgment. The book of Revelation portrays scenes which do not take place on the level of earthly human experience. The vindication awaited by the martyrs cannot be accomplished by the execution of their oppressors alone, but by the abolishment of oppression itself. This can only be realized through the creation of a new order within the individual, society, and their environment which is free from sin and chaos. This is what was prophesied by Ezekiel: each person will receive a new heart (Ezek 36:25-26), God's people will be restored to their inheritance and their mandate (Ezek 36:24, 27- 28, 33-36), and their world will be abundant and free from destruction (Ezek 36:30, 35).

²²⁹Ibid., 435.

²³⁰Ibid., 436.

Conclusion

Isaiah 24-27, Zechariah 9-14, Daniel 7, and Revelation 19:11-22:6 were selected for this study because of the apocalyptic traits and Divine Warrior motifs which they contain. Although the Divine Warrior elements of threat, war, victory, kingship, sanctuary, banquet, and fertility were found in all four passages, there was considerable variety in their order and prominence. Each motif was not used in each case and certainly not in the same manner. A summary of our observations concerning each Divine Warrior motif is appropriate at this point.

The theophanies of the Divine Warrior emphasize his power and justice. Despite his transcendence, his activities are always on behalf of his people, to protect and vindicate them before their oppressors (Isa 25:6-9; 26:12, 15; Zech 9:16-17; Dan 7:18; Rev 21:3-4). In addition to his role as a warrior, he also has the characteristics of judge, redeemer, and king.

The threat element of the Divine Warrior pattern is represented by the nations which gather against God's holy city (Zech 12:3; 14:2; Rev 20:8-9). The rulers of these rebellious nations are represented in apocalyptic as grotesque beasts (Dan 7:1-8, 11-12; Rev 19:19-20). The universal characteristic of the enemies of Yahweh is their pride (Isa 25:11; 26:5; Zech 10:11; 9:1-4; Dan 7:8; Rev 18:7). Because of his sovereignty and omnipotence Yahweh's enemies never pose a true threat.

The Divine Warrior uses the weapons of the storm god, including lightening (Zech 9:14), fire (Dan 7:11; Rev 20:9), and earthquake (Isa 24:18b-20; Zech 14:4) to wage war on his enemies. The battle with the chaos monster takes different forms. In Isa 27:1

Yahweh slays Leviathan, the sea serpent. Zechariah 10:8-12 draws on the demythologized form of the second Exodus motif, which incorporates the liberation from both Egypt and Assyria. In this case, Yahweh defeated the sea by allowing his people to cross to freedom. Daniel's beasts from the sea are composite creature which represent specific empires, but are general enough to be reapplied to later human oppressors. The beasts and dragons of Revelation function much the same way. However, while three of the beasts were only stripped of authority in Daniel, Revelation has all God's enemies thrown into the lake of fire forever.

The victory of the Divine Warrior inspires the worship of his people. Isaiah 24-27 and Revelation include numerous hymns of praise to the Conqueror.

Kingship in Isaiah is present (Isa 24:23; 26:13) but not prominent. Zechariah emphasizes the humility of the divine king. Kingship plays the biggest role in the Divine Warrior passages of Daniel and Revelation. The kingdoms in Isaiah and Zechariah resemble earthly kingdoms. In Daniel the transference of the kingdom takes place in the heavenly court. In Revelation there is a further development in that the kingdom descends from heaven to earth. In every case, the kingdom is earned by the Divine Warrior's defeat over his enemies.

Isaiah 24-27, Zechariah 9-14, and Revelation 21-22 place considerable emphasis on God's city, Jerusalem. The theme of the inviolability of Jerusalem began with the rise of Davidic royal ideology (2 Samuel 5-7; cf Psalm 132). Despite its size, mount Zion was identified with Zaphon (Ps 48:2), the dwelling of the Canaanite gods, "theologically

understood to be the highest point on earth (cf. Pss 2:6; 68:18; 87:1; 99:9)."²³¹ Even the crisis of the exile did not destroy the belief in God's protection of Zion, but adapted it, as Gowan states:

Instead of repudiating Zion theology, exilic Judaism had corrected it, had eschatologized it, had found a way to take account of judgment and to express their hope for a divinely accomplished future that would take all they had once believed to be present-tense truth about Jerusalem and make that, and more, come true in the days that are coming. The Zion theme is thus a remarkable example of the persistence of ideas, even when they have been shown beyond any doubt to be completely wrong in one manifestation.²³²

The mountain and strong city of Isaiah 24-27 from which Yahweh will reign and the Jerusalem of Zechariah 9-14 which will be raised up and purified are this kind of post-exilic eschatologization. The holy city of Revelation goes a step further. The city no longer represents the redeemed people. Instead, the city has become a symbolic name for the people. The promises of holiness and protection which once applied to a place for people, now come true within the individual and society. Daniel 7 does not contain Zion ideology.

The banquet in Isaiah 24-27 appears only in 25:6, subordinated to the theme of Yahweh's mountain. The two major Divine Warrior passages in Zechariah, chaps. 9 and 14, both include a feast (9:15; 14:16-19). The feast in chap. 14 is in the form of a universal pilgrimage to Jerusalem for Tabernacles, another example of the strong link between the sanctuary and banquet motifs. The pilgrimage of the nations to worship is the

²³¹Donald E. Gowan, *Eschatology in the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 7.

²³²*Ibid.*, 8-9.

redemptive reversal of their gathering for war against her. Daniel 7 contains neither sanctuary nor feast. Revelation employs the banquet imagery in several different forms. In chap. 19 it is a bloody meal for the carrion birds. In chap. 21 it is a return to the lush fruit of the Garden of Eden.

Creation is intimately involved in the Divine Warrior's activity. Nature's obedient response to the Warrior is a mirror of human experience: fertility wanes in fear when he appears and is renewed with his victory. The creation of the new heaven and earth (Zech 14:8, Rev 21:1) is not a negation of the first creation's goodness (Genesis 1). Instead, it indicates the effect of human sin on our environment and symbolizes the need for a new beginning.

The passages just examined all contrast the Divine Warrior and his people against the wicked leadership and their followers. Isaiah 24-27 compared the strong city to the city of chaos (24:12-13; 26:1; 27:10), the righteous to the wicked (26:7-11), and Yahweh to other kings (24:21-23; 26:12-15). Zechariah 9-14 contrasted the evil shepherd with the good shepherd, humble king, pierced representative, prophet, and the Divine Warrior (9:9-17; 10:3; 11:3-17; 12:10-14; 13:7-9; 14:9). In Daniel 7 the one like the son of man and the Ancient of Days take the kingdom from the beasts, who represent earthly dynasties. The beasts reappear in Revelation, this time to be ultimately defeated by Christ.

We observed how apocalyptic incorporates other forms from mythic, prophetic, and wisdom traditions and how apocalyptic was itself incorporated into prophecy, epistle, and dream narrative.

The main characteristic of apocalyptic in these passages is eschatology, “a future with significant discontinuities from the present” which “speak of circumstances that scarcely could be expected to arrive as the result of normal, or even extraordinary, human progress.”²³³ This is the contribution of the Divine Warrior to apocalyptic literature. It is he who breaks into human history to defeat the wicked oppressors and to create a new order characterized by joyous celebration and eternal *shalom*.

²³³[*ibid.*, 1.

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