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The Hebrew Noun *Melkh*, Counsel

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IN my paper *Assyrian Phonology with Special Reference to Hebrew* (AJSL 1, 176, n. 1)¹ I called attention to the fact that the cuneiform transliteration of the Biblical names *Abimelech* and *Ahimelech* was not *Abimalki* and *Aximalki*, but *Abimilki* and *Aximilki*, so that the second element of these compounds could not be *malk*, king, but *milki*, counsel, Aram. מִלְכָּא. The Masorites have recognized this word only in the Aramaic passage Dan. 4 24, מִלְכָּא מְלִכִּי יִשְׁפָּר עִלְיָךְ, *O King, let my counsel be acceptable to thee* (which would be in Assyrian: *šarrî, milki elika lišibû*; cf. *Est.* 16, 19) and in Neh. 5 7 where we have the Niphal נִמְלַךְ, *to take counsel*: וַיִּמְלַךְ לִבִּי עָלַי, *I consulted with myself*, lit. *my heart consulted in me*. In Assyrian we find *imdâlik* (= *imtâlik*, Aram. אִמְתַּלְיָךְ) instead of Heb. יִמְלַךְ; Assyr. *ul immalik* means *he was ill-advised, injudicious, imprudent* (KB 6, 84, l. 65).

There are, however, a number of passages where we must read מִלְכָּךְ, *counsel* = Aram. מִלְכָּא instead of מְלִיכָךְ, *king* = Aram. מְלִיכָא. For the Syriac forms *mēlik*, *mālkā*, king, and *mēlik*, *milkā*, counsel, cf. AJSL 1, 228; 23, 262, n. †. In Assyrian we have *māliku*, counselor (cf. Aram. מִלְכָּא, 2 Sam. 15 12 = יועץ; see Dalman) and *māliku*, *malku*, prince. The two words are ultimately identical: Arab. *mālik*, king, means originally *counselor*, just as Arab. *sājjid*, lord (for *sayid*; modern *sid*, cf. the Spanish *Cid*) is connected with Heb. מִדָּ, *council*, or Lat. *consul* with *consilium*, *consultor*, *consultum* (ZDMG 69, 172, l. 25). Arab. *mālikah* means, not only *queen*, but also *keen in-*

¹ For the abbreviations see above, p. 41.

sight. Heb. מֶלֶךְ, *king* was compared to Lat. *consul* in Gesenius' *Thesaurus*. Arab. *mālaka*, to rule, control, possess, is denominative; cf. Arab. *hikmah* = Heb. *hokmā*, experience, wisdom, but *hukūmah*, rule, dominion, judgment, decision. The stem מִלַּךְ, to *deliberate* may be connected with Arab. לָךְ, to *chew*, just as we use *rumination* for *meditation*; a *ruminator* is a man who pauses to deliberate and consider (see below, p. 183). For stems derived from nouns with the prefix מ cf. AJSL 23, 251 (also Arab. *mādaqa*, to crush = *dāqqa*, to pound). For Assy. *maliku*, *malku*, counselor, governor, ruler, cf. e. g. KB 6, 2, p. 108, l. 5; p. 112, l. 31; p. 126, l. 32; also *malkāti*, thou art governess, *ibid.* p. 124, l. 4, and *mitluk milki*, counseling counsel, in the interesting cuneiform acrostic hymn of Sardanapalus, *ibid.* p. 110, l. 27. Zimmern's view that Heb. *mälkh*, king, may be an old Assyrian loanword (AkF 7) seems to me untenable.

Lat. *consilium* (for **consediom*) is connected with *considerere*, to sit together, so that our *counsel* and *consider* are ultimately identical (for *l* = *d* cf. ZDMG 61, 195). *Consilium* means, not only *counsel* and *council*, but also *deliberation*, *insight*, *prudence*, *resolution*, *plan*, *intention*, *will*. We use *counsel* in the sense of *consultation*, *deliberation*, *advice*, *instruction*, *prudence*, *intent*, *plan*. Also Assy. *milku* means *counsel*, *deliberation*, *resolution*, *insight*, *prudence*; it is a synonym of *ṭemu* = טַעַם (cf. Lat. *sapor*) which means *mind*, *sense*, *intellect*, *intelligence*, *information*, *news*, just as we use *mind* (= Lat. *mens*) not only for *intellect*, but also for *contemplation*, *thought*, *inclination*, *desire*, *intention*, *purpose*. Assy. *ṭemu* (cf. JAOS 32, 18) is used also (like נִשְׁׁ) for *self* (AL⁵ 163).

I showed in my paper *Wāteh ben-Hazael* (AJSL 1, 221) that Assy. *ṣanī ṭēmi*, alteration of the mind, denoted *mental derangement*, *insanity*, just as Syr. (ܩܢܝܬܘܬܐ) (ܩܢܝܬܘܬܐ) means *mental aberration*, *madness*: אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁׁהָ or אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁׁהָ = *he feigned madness* (Heb. שָׁנָה אֶת־מַעַמּוֹ, 1 Sam. 21 14, Ps. 34 1). Cf. our *to be out of one's mind* = to be insane. We use *alienation* (lat. *alienatio mentis*, Greek ἀλλοίωσις) for *insanity*; an *alienist* is a psychiatrist or specialist for the treatment of mental diseases. My explanation of Assy. *ṣanī ṭēmi* = Lat.

alienare mentem or *alienari mente* was doubted by Tiele in his *Bab.-assy. Geschichte* (Gotha, 1888) p. 384, n. 4; see, however, HW 297^a and GB¹⁶ 851^a. Assyr. *Šin*, moon, and *šattu* (constr. *šanat*) year, are derived from the same *šanû*, to change (for the connection between *Šin* and *Sinai* see JAOS 34, 415, below).

I stated above that מלך, *king* meant originally *counselor*, just as Arab. سید is derived from נד, to take counsel; cf. Georg Hoffmann, *Über einige phönizische Inschriften* (Göttingen, 1889) pp. 55/6. In Syriac the denominative Pael נד and the Ethpaal אנתנד mean to converse; קנדא denotes conversation, especially intimate conversation of men sitting together. We have the denominative Hiphil הנסד, to converse, confer in parallelism to the Hiphil המליך, to take counsel in Hos. 8 4 where we must read:

המליכו ולא מפני הסידו ולא ידעתיו:

They took counsel, but not from Me;
they conferred without telling Me.

Ⓒ has אמלקתיה (see Dalman) she counseled him for הנסיתו, she persuaded him in Josh. 15 18. The Aphel means both to counsel and to make king. Hebr. הנסית is merely a byform of הנסד with partial assimilation of the נ to the ד. It does not mean to incite, instigate, allure, but corresponds to the German *bereden*, which means not only to persuade, but, in the reflexive form, also to deliberate, confer with someone. There is no connection between this הנסית, to persuade and Assyr. *sittu*, remnant (see p. 184). Nor can it be combined with Ethiop. *ashâta*, to seduce, originally to corrupt (Heb. השחית) although a medial Ⓒ is sometimes secondary (AJSL 22, 205, below; cf. HK 26).

Ⓒ The הם prefixed to המליכו is due to dittography. For the confusion of נ and ד in השירו instead of הסידו see Mic. 72, l. 1; Joel, n. 59; WF 208, n. 60, and for the ש instead of ד: Mic. 70, ζ; WF. 219, l. 9. According to some Jewish commentators השירו is miswritten for הסירו (see Wünsche's *Hosea*, p. 337). For ידעתי we need not read (following Ⓒ οὐκ ἐγνώρισάμην, Ⓒ ولا ادرعني) ולא הדרעני, but ידעתי should be pointed as passive — I was not informed, notified. Hos. 8 4 should be

preceded by v. 2 and followed by v. 12, and this triplet should be read as follows:

| | | |
|------------------|--------------------|----------------|
| אלהי ידענך {} | לי זעק {ישראל} | 8, 2 |
| הסידו ולא־דעתני: | המליכו ולא־מנני | 4 ^a |
| כמרוֹר נחשנו: | ואכתב־לו רב תורתני | 12 |

To Me Israel cried,
 My God, we acknowledge Thee.
 But they took counsel without Me,
 they conferred without telling Me.
 I wrote for them many instructions —
 they were deemed alien.

This triplet should be followed by vv. 3. 1 (read כנפיו יפרש כנשו). V. 4^b should precede v. 2. The י in יזעקו (v. 2) is due to dittography. The transposition of ישראל was suggested long ago by Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Kimchi. For רבו תורתני read רוב תורתני (רוב; תורתני; רב תורתני). רוב = רבו, Esth. 10 3; the ו is due to dittography of the ו (ZDMG 63, 515, 18). Cf. the explanation of אִיסִירִים for אִיסוֹר in 7 12. *We acknowledge Thee* — We acknowledge Thee, the national God of Judah, as the God of JHVH. *Alien* — non-Israelitish, not suitable for Israel; cf. Ex. 30 9, Lev. 10 1, Num. 3 4, 26 6. My religion was alien to their own way of thought, foreign from their thought, and foreign to their heart. The ancient Israelites were idolaters; David forced them to adopt the worship of JHVH, but after the disruption of the kingdom they relapsed again into idolatry. They preferred the bacchanalian worship of the Canaanite Baals to the Law of JHVH. Peiser, *Hosea* (1914) p. 31 reads: השירו כספם וזהבם, *they took away their silver and gold*, preceded by ירד פול המלך, *King Phul came down*; he derives השירו from נשר (cf. GB¹⁶ 917^b, l. 3).

The noun *melkh*, counsel, mind, is found in Hos. 7 3 5^b 7^b (also in Zech. 9 5^b). The first of these passages is a gloss to 7 5^a which should be read as follows:

יומיום הקלו שרים מקמת היין
 Day by day the princes were sickened
 with bottles of wine.

The *bottles* were, of course, leathern bottles (wine-skins). AV *with bottles of wine* is more correct than RV *with the heat of wine*. The pointing **תַּמַּת** in Gen. 21 14 is wrong. The final *t* is a part of the stem (cf. Arab. **حميت**) not the feminine ending. Lagarde thought the absolute state was **תַּמַּת** — *himat* (a form like **שָׁכַר** — Assy. *šikaru*). Ibn Ezra and Kimchi explained **יִן חַמַּת יִן** as **נֹאד מֵלֵא יִן**. Grotius says: *In Hebraeo est ab utre vini*.—The verb **הַחֲלוּ** should be pointed as passive (Rashi: **נַעֲשׂוּ שְׂרִינוּ חוֹלִים**). Similarly we must read **הִנְנֵנוּ** in 4 10 18, and **הִנְנִית** in 5 3, also **תִּנְנֶה** in Am. 7 17 (cf. AJSL 32, 70).—For **יִם** we must read **יָוִם יָוִם**; cf. my remarks on Ps. 90 5 in JBL 31, 116; ZDMG 65, 564, 3.—**מִלְכָּנוּ** after **יִם** is miswritten for **מִלְכָּם**. Duhm (ZAT 31, 25) reads **יִם מִלְכָּם** which is supposed to mean *on the birthday of their king* (Zachariah). **Ἡμέραι τῶν βασιλέων ὑμῶν** (but **ἡμέρες βασιλείας**, *3 dies regis nostri*) read **יִם מִלְכֵיכֶם**, not **מִלְכֵיהֶם**, as Duhm states; **ἔ** has **יִמָּא דַּמְנִיאוּ עֲלֵיהוֹן מִלְכֵיהוֹן**. Duhm seems to have had in mind v. 7^b where **ἔ** has **πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἔπεσαν** — **כָּל מִלְכֵיהֶם נִפְלוּ**. The reading **מִלְכָּם** is correct, but it must be pointed **מִלְכָּם**, *their counsel, their mind*, and this should be inserted in the second half of this verse, where we must read instead of **כִּי קָרְבוּ כַּתְּבוּר לָבָם**, followed by **מִשָּׁךְ יָדוֹ אֶת לְצַצִּים**, at the beginning of v. 6:

הַשְׂכִּירוּ אֶת־מִלְכָּם מִלְצַצִּים כִּי־קָרְחָ לָבָם

The sportlings fuddled their mind
when their brain was inflamed.

Sportlings is a contemptuous diminutive for *sports*, i. e. men who like fast living, revelers. As a rule, **לָץ** denotes a *derider* or *mocker*, just as our *to make sport of* means *to deride*. The reading **מִלְצַצִּים** (Polel of **לָץ**) was suggested by Ibn Ezra, although he derived **לְצַצִּים** from **לָץ**. Since this participle was originally preceded by **מִלְכָּם**, the omission of the prefix **מ** may be due to haplography.—In **מִשָּׁךְ יָדוֹ** instead of **הַשְׂכִּירוּ** we have again a confusion of **י** and **ו**. Buhl (WF 84) adheres to **מ**. Sievers (1905) reads **הַשְׂכִּירוּ מִלְכָּם לְצַצִּים**; see Guthe's translation in Kautzsch's AT³. Paul Ruben (1896) suggested **מִשָּׁךְ יָדוֹ** for **מִשְׁכִּירוּ**.

In v. 6^a קרנו is a corruption of קרה (Ἐ ἀνεκαύθησαν, § 5, *עלמה* ? *שמ* *חבוס*). This emendation was suggested long ago by Buxtorf the younger (1653). כתנור is a tertiary gloss, and בארנם after לבם is a corruption of בארבה. This is a misplaced quaternary gloss to the tertiary gloss בשכך, in a dove-cote, which appears in v. 12 after איסירם in the corrupt form בשמע. Ἐ ἐν τῇ ἀκοῆν read בשמע.—The ל prefixed to עדתם (cf. *עדת דברים*, Jud. 14 8) is a misplaced variant to כ in בשכך (cf. WF 218).—For איסירם we must read ואסור = ואפאר (GK²⁸ § 68, f). The suffix in איסירם is due to the suffix in the preceding אורידם; the first ׳ represents the misplaced ו, and, and the second ׳ is miswritten for ו in the (incorrect) *scriptio plena* אסור; this ו is due to dittography of the ו; cf. אמרוש, at the beginning of this verse, and רבו (Q^arê רב) — רוב — רב in 8 12.

The noun שוכך, dove-cote (not שוכך!) is common in post-Biblical Hebrew (cf. EB 1560, 5). It is identical with שוכך, 2 Sam. 18 9, which denotes a *snarl of branches*; cf. שוכך, network, lattice — شبكة. In Assyrian we have šabikû, head-band, net, (HW 638^a) which appears in Syriac as סבקה. Heb. סבך, thicket (originally *interlacement, interweaving, entanglement, tangle, wattle*; cf. JBL 33, 291) is phonetic spelling for שכך. It would be better to read בסכך or בשכך in Gen. 22 13; בשכך, Ps. 74 5; משכב, Jer. 4 7; שבכי יער, Is. 9 17, 10 4. Also Semachonitis = Lake Hulah is derived from this word (see below, p. 186). Ḥ has שוכקא (Dalman, שוכקא) for ארבה in Is. 60 8, כיונים אל ארבתיהם, *like doves to their cotes*. For the Palestinian dove-cotes or pigeon-towers (מנורות) see RB 1642; RE³ 19, 394, 45. Heb. מנול means also *press, case, cabinet*. The original meaning of ארבה is *lattice, grating*, and the primary connotation of ארב, *to lie in wait is to try to tangle, entrap*.

Peiser combines בארנם in v. 6 with Assyr. *erbu*, income, from ערב (HW 127^b). He reads בירקרו כתנור בארנם, which is supposed to mean *sie nahen, wie einem Ofen, mit ihren Geschenken*, and v. 12^b: איסירם כשם על עדתם, *wie Sem auf Grund ihres Zeugnisses* (§ 5, *עלמה* ? *שמ* *חבוס*) made the same mistake) will *ich sie auslösen*; he thinks, this may be an allusion to the

story of Noah, while the **לַצְנִים** in v. 5 may refer to Ham and Japheth (p. 29, n.**). He adds that the text of the Minor Prophets may be based on a *Kollegheft*. Duhm (ZAT 31, 26) reads **כְּשׂוֹר עַד רַעְתָּם**, *wie ein Rind, bis sie's merken*, for **כְּשֹׁמֵעַ לְעֹתָם**, Riessler (*cf.* JBL 32, 111) has **אִיסֵרִם כְּשֹׁמֵעַ רַעְתָּם**, *ich fessele sie entsprechend dem Ruf ihrer Schlechtigkeit*. Theiner (1828) rendered: *ich werde sie züchtigen, wie ich ihren Stämmen drohen liess*; Reuss: *ich züchtige sie, wie es in ihrer Versammlung verkündet wird*; Orelli (1908): *ich will sie mit dem Stocke züchtigen, dass sie zur Einsicht kommen* (**אִיסֵרִם בְּשֹׁמֵעַ לְעֹתָם**).

V. 5^b **וְשָׂכְרוּ דָו אֶת לַצְנִים**, for which we must read **הַשְׂכִּירוּ** **אֶת מְלָכֵם מִלַּצְנִים**, *the sportlings fuddled their mind*, is rendered by Orelli: *er wechselt Händedruck mit Höhnenden*; Augusti and De Wette (1810) translated: *er trinkt Spöttern zu*; Theiner: *zu denselben* (the feasts) *zieht der König Possenreisser hinzu*.

We must read in the second half of v. 12:

כַּעֲוֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם אֹרִידִם וְאָסַר עֲדָתָם
I'll down them like birds of the air,
and shut up their flock.

This line is a gloss to v. 12^a where we must transpose the two hemistichs (*cf.* JBL 31, 120, v. 2):

אֶפְרַשׁ עֲלֵיהֶם רְשֵׁתִי כַאֲשֶׁר יִלְכוּ
I shall spread my net upon them,
as soon as they move.

The position of **כַּאֲשֶׁר יִלְכוּ** at the beginning of v. 12 in **א** is due to the **אֲשׁוֹר הִלְכוּ** at the end of the preceding verse.—For **אֹרִיד** *cf.* Obad. 4. *To down* — to bring down, to cause to fall. V. 12^a should be preceded by v. 11^a, and followed by v. 2^b. V. 1^a and v. 2^a are explanatory glosses to v. 2^b, and v. 1^b is a tertiary gloss to v. 1^a.

The first two words of 7 1 belong to the preceding chapter. We must read:

גַּם־יִתְקַדַּח יָשָׁת קַיְדוֹלֶךָ בְּרַפְאֵי לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל
O'er thee, too, will Judah set a leader,
when I heal Israel's nation.

This is a gloss to the last triplet of the preceding poem which I have discussed in my paper on Assy. *ramku*, priest — Heb. *komer* (AJSL 32, 69). The hemistich **בְּשׂוּכֵי שְׂבֻתָּה עִפְי** is a tertiary gloss to **בְּרַפְאֵי לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל**. Duhm (ZAT 31, 24) combines not only the first two words, but the first two verses of c. 7 with the preceding chapter.

As stated above, v. 3 is a gloss to v. 5^a. For **מִלְךְ** in v. 3 we must point **מִלְךְ**. The preceding **יִשְׁמְחוּ** is not a transposition of **יִשְׁמְחוּ**, but a corruption of **יִשְׁמְחוּ**. This is a transposed doublet (WF 220, vi) of **צָחַן**; cf. **שְׂמֵלָה** — **שְׂמֵלָה** and **צָחַק** — **צָחַק**; the **צ** in **צָחַנָּה**, Joel 2 20 is due to the **ח** (ZDMG 64, 708, 25). Syr. **צָחַנָּא** means *filthy, impure*. In Arabic we have **صَفْحَة**, *filth*, also **سَمِح** and (with partial assimilation) **رَمِح**, *to become rancid, tainted, fetid*. We find similar transpositions and partial assimilations in Bibl. Aramaic **חֲסַמָּא** = Syr. **חֲצַמָּא**, **חֲצַמָּא**, **חֲצַמָּא**, Ethiop. **צַחַב**, Assy. *xaçbu*, Arab. **خَرِب**, which are all modifications of **חֲסַב**. The original form of **צָחַח**, *to be foul* was **סַחַח**, and **שָׁחַח** in our passage must be explained in the same way as **הַשְׁרִיחַ** in 8 4 for **הַסְרִיחַ**. Heb. **שָׁחַח** (**שָׁחַח**) means *to muddle, i. e. to make muddy, foul, turbid, cloudy, confused*. The noun **שָׁחִיחַ** at the end of the verse is a tertiary gloss, based on the first hemistich of v. 5^a. In **שָׁחִיחַ** at the end of v. 3 is combined with the first two words of v. 4: **שָׁחִיחַ**.

בְּנַחֲשֵׁיהֶם before **שָׁחִיחַ** at the end of v. 3 is a corruption of **בְּנַחֲשֵׁיהֶם**, *with their debauches*. This word is connected with **נַחֲשָׁה** (Ezek. 16 36) — *debauchery, lit. effusion* (cf. BL 37, l. 5; 90, n. 35). In Assyrian several words denoting *profusion, abundance, luxuriousness* mean also *voluptuousness, lecherousness, debauchery* (cf. Delitzsch, *Proh.* 72; HW 458^b. 324^b 377^a. 287^a. 177^a). The original meaning of Assy. *naxšu* is *outpour, effusion, profusion*. In l. 43 of the Flood Tablet (KB 6, 233) it means *downpour*; see Haupt, *Akkad. Sprache* (1883) p. xlii. Assy. *naxšû*, *to pour out*, can hardly be connected with Arab. **نَشِ**, *to water* (**نَشِ** *nashûh* is said to mean *drunkards*). It seems to correspond to Syr. **נַחַת**, *to come down*; cf. **נַחַת מְטָרָא**, *He sent down rain*, and Ps. 65 11:

נחת נודה ברביקים תמוננה צמחה תכרך:

which means: *Drenching its (the earth's) furrows with showers, Thou'lt make it (the earth, i. e. the grain-field) wave, Thou'lt bless its growth.* For the *waving* cf. Ps. 72 16: *דגש כלבנון* *דגש*, its crop will wave like Lebanon (JBL 33, 185) and Nah. 1 5 (ZDMG 61, 278). Heb. *נדרים* means lit. *cuts* made by the plow; it does not denote *ridges* (thrown up by the plow) or *clods*. The prefixed *רנה* *תלמיה* is an explanatory gloss to *נחת נודה*. Heb. *נחת* is an Aramaic loanword as is also *תקף* = *ثقف* = Assy. *pašāqu* (cf. GB¹⁶ 888). For *נחשת* from *נחש* = Aram. *נחת*, to come down cf. Arab. *nāzal*, rain, and *nuzālah*, seminal discharge, from *nāzala*, to descend.

Hos. 7 3 should be read:

ברעתם ישגחו מלך ובנחשיהם

They muddle their mind with their badness
and with their debauches,

and this line is a gloss to v. 5^a:

יום-יום החלו שרים מתמת היין

Day by day the princes were sickened
with bottles of wine.

A third passage in this chapter, where we find the noun *melkh*, counsel, is v. 7^b which is a gloss to the first half of that verse. Instead of the second hemistich of v. 7^a: *ואכלו את-שפטיהם*, and they have devoured their judges, we must read *ויכלו את-שפטיהם*, and they complete their judgments, i. e. their punishments, their doom. Heb. *שפט* (not *שפט*!) corresponds to Assy. *šipṭu*, judgment, punishment. HW 638^a reads *šibṭu*, from *šabāṭu*, to strike; contrast GB¹⁶ 856^b. We need not suppose that there was a noun *שפט*, judgment, so that *שפטיהם* would stand for *שפטיהם* (cf. *אֱהָלִים* for *אֱהָלִים*). The verb *בלה*, to be completed means also to be final, i. e. settled, decided, e. g. 1 Sam. 20 33: *מעם אביו* (כלה היא *בלה*), Jonathan knew that it was determined by his father to slay David, and Esth. 7 7: *חזה כי בלתה עליו הרעה* (כלה היא *בלה*), Haman saw that there was evil determined against

him by the King (cf. our *his mind was all made up*). **S** uses נרם - נמר - נמל (Est. 55). They complete their doom — they make it irrevocable, inevitable. The meaning of כלה in this sense is not *plotted*, as stated in Brown's lexicon. For כלה היא in 1 Sam. 20 83 cf. JAOS 25, 72.

V. 7^a must be read:

בָּלֶם יִהְיוּ כְתֻנּוֹר וְיִכְלוּ אֶת־שִׁפְטֵיהֶם

They all are hot like an oven,
thus completing their doom,

and the gloss to it in the second half of this verse is:

כָּל מַלְכֵיהֶם נָפְלוּ אִי־קִרְאֵיהֶם אֵלַי

which does not mean *All their kings are fallen, there is none among them that calls unto Me*, but *All their minds* (i. e. intentions, purposes) *fall to the ground*; none among them invokes Me, i. e. all their plans come to naught, because they are dissolute and irreligious. Cf. Ps. 5 11 where we must read הַשִּׁפְטִים מִפְּעוּצוֹתֵיהֶם יִפְּלוּ, *Destroy them, let their plans fail* (lit. fall through). The prefixed מ in מִפְּעוּצוֹתֵיהֶם is due to dittography. For מַלְכֵיהֶם, *their kings* in Hos. 7 7^b we must read again מַלְכֵיהֶם, *their counsels*. It is possible that this line is not a gloss to 7 7^a, but to 8 4 (הִסִּדּוּ וְלֹא־דָעוּת) מִמֶּנִּי הַמְּלִיכוּ וְלֹא־מִמֶּנִּי, *But they took counsel without Me, they conferred without telling Me*) which I have discussed above, on p. 56.

C. 8 contains the first section of this poem, whereas c. 7 represents the second section. Each section consists of two stanzas, and each stanza is composed of two triplets with 3+2 beats. In the same way the poem in the preceding chapters 5 and 6 consists of two sections, each section comprising two stanzas, and each stanza two triplets with 3+3 beats; there the first section is contained in c. 6, and the second in c. 5. I have shown Joel 388, below, that the first four couplets of Joel's ancient poem on the locusts (which may be older than the earliest document of the Hexateuch) are preserved in c. 2 of the (Maccabean) Book of Joel, whereas the second section, which also consists of four couplets with 3+3 beats, is found in c. 1 (cf. JAOS 34, 427, n. 24; also *Micah*, n. 1 on VIII).

According to Duhm (ZAT 31, 26/7) Hos. 7 3-7 contains three quatrains of lines (hemistichs) with 3 beats; vv. 8-12: four quatrains with 3 and 2 beats; vv. 13-16: four triplets with 3 beats; cf. his metrical translation in *Die Zwölf Propheten* (1910) pp. 32/3. Still less acceptable is the arrangement of the lines in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*. Marti combines 7 1-7 with 6 7-11, and 7 8-16 with 8 1-3 (8 4-14 being regarded as another poem). The section 6 7-7 7 contains, according to Marti, 10 tetrastichs. Sievers (cf. above, p. 49) gave the text in triplets and couplets with 5 (i. e. 3+2) beats; cf. Guthe's translation in Kautzsch's AT⁸. In Gunkel-Gressmann's AT Hos. 7 is not translated. Peiser arranges c. 7 in five quatrains with 3 beats in each line (hemistich). He reads e. g. v. 14:

יִלְלוּ בְעַמּוֹי עַל מַשְׁכְּבוֹתָם
עַל דָּגֵן בְּלֶבֶם יִתְגַּדְדוּ

*Sie jammern zu Ammiu auf ihren Lagern,
Für Dagon machen sie in ihrer Brust Einschnitte.*

Similarly he reads v. 3:

בְּכַחֲשֵׁיהֶם יִשְׂמְחוּ מֶלֶךְ

Mit ihren Lügen erfreuen sie Melech.

This is all impossible.

I will give, in conclusion, the second section of Hosea's poem in cc. 7 and 8, which contains the three passages with the noun *melkh*, counsel. Other passages will be discussed in a dissertation by one of my students. It might be well to add that יִתְבּוֹלֵל in v. 8 is a corruption of יִתְבַּקֵּה לוֹ; the לוֹ is the so-called *dativus ethicus* (WF 219, l. 10). In Syriac we find *ܩܒܠܐ ܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ*, *the world waxes old*. This verb means, not only to wax old, but also to wear or waste away, be consumed, shrink, shrivel, dwindle; it is derived from בָּלָה which is a compound of the preposition ב with the negative לֹא (AJSL 22, 259). Ewald derived יִתְבּוֹלֵל, *er veraltet* from בָּלָה - בָּלָה. G. A. Smith considers the derivation from בָּלָה improbable. Duhm (ZAT 31, 26) regards בָּלָה as a byform of בָּלָה.

Ephraim is like an unturned flapjack, one side of which is

burned, while the other is still raw, because the upper classes are overcivilized and degenerate, whereas the lower classes are crude and rude; the noblemen have abandoned the religion of *JHVH* (אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה) while the common people still worship the Canaanite gods; the princes are atheists, the peasants idolaters.

For *אֵל דַּע* instead of יִתְבוֹנֵן (Is. 1 3) cf. WF 217, l. 2. 6 has twice *obscuro*, § אָרַב 11, but אֵל דַּעִין and לֹא מִסְתַּכְלִין, § *nescivit* and *ignoravit*.

The famous passage concerning the baker is due to a misunderstanding of *מִאֲהָם*, *their lust or desire* (from *אָהָה*) in v. 6^b. Similarly the gloss in Obad. 9, referring to the wisdom of the Edomites, is due to the misreading *תְּבוּנָה* instead of *תְּבוּאָה* (AJSL 26, 11). Heb. *מִאֲהָה* is a form like Arab. *mā'ua*, refuge, from *أوى* which means originally *to seek* (cf. German *aufsuchen*, *besuchen*). This *מִאֲהָה* was corrupted to *מִאֲהָם* (Lev. 2 4) and then to *מִאֲהָם* and *אֲהָם*. Also in Ps. 140 9 we must read *אַל-תֵּן סִמְךָ רִשְׁעִי*, *Grant not the desire of the wicked!* (not *סִמְךָ* or *סִמְךָ*!). The word was written *סִמְךָ*, to indicate the consonantal *l*, and the second *l* was afterwards misread *'* (cf. Margolis' grammar, § 2, h). 6 *eis pépsi* and § *حطمت* read *מִאֲהָה* for *מִאֲהָה* in v. 4. Drake, *Hosea* (Cambridge, 1853), p. 120 suggested that *מִאֲהָה* might be pointed *מִאֲהָה*. In this way we get rid of the baker in Hosea's poem. Wellhausen says, *Es wäre kein Schade, wenn wir den berüchtigten Bäcker des Hosea auf gute Manier los würden*. We must retain the baker, however, in the tertiary gloss v. 4^b. We must, of course, read, with Oort, *אָהָה כִּמוֹ תְּבוּנָה בְּעֵרָהֶם* instead of *כִּמוֹ תְּבוּנָה בְּעֵרָה מִאֲהָה*. Grätz prefixed the *h* of *בְּעֵרָה* to *מִאֲהָה* as *h* interrogative, reading *הַמִּאֲהָה יִשְׁבוֹת מִהַבְּעִיר*. Ibn Ezra said that *בְּעֵרָה* was accented *בְּעֵרָה*, not *בְּעֵרָה*, because it was masculine, not feminine; he regarded it as a form like *נַחֲלָה*, Ps. 124 4 (*כִּמוֹ נַחֲלָה בְּעֵרָה מִלְּעֵל כִּמוֹ*) (*לִילָה נַחֲלָה עֵבֶר עַל נַפְשׁוֹ*). Hitzig-Steiner thought, *מִאֲהָה* alluded to *מִנְאֲהָם* (preceding *כִּמוֹ תְּבוּנָה*) which might also be read *min ôfim*. Michaelis and Stuck suggested *מִנְאֲהָם* instead of *מִנְאֲהָם* (cf. Simson's *Hosea*, p. 203). Nor does Oort's reading *מִנְאֲהָם*, which has been adopted by Valetton, *Amos*

und Hosea (Giessen, 1898) p. 216, commend itself. Duhm reads at the beginning of v. 4: *כלה מראים* *Alles ist hergenommen von den Bäckern*. *מ מראים* is correct; it is a misplaced gloss to the first hemistich of v. 9, where we must read *ונגים* instead of *ורים*; *מ מראים* does not mean *idolaters*, but *adulterers*, i. e. *lewd* and *licentious* (cf. Matt. 5 28). Of course, *מ מראים* might also be explained as a gloss to the first hemistich of v. 7^a.

The statement in the tertiary gloss v. 4^b, *the baker stops stirring the fire from the time he has kneaded the dough till it is fermented* is not germane to the genuine text of Hosea's poem, but it is correct: the baker makes up the dough and kneads it at night; after it has fermented, he kneads it again in the morning before it is baked. He must stir the fire in order to bake the dough, but during the process of panary fermentation a moderate heat is sufficient to keep the rising dough warm. Luther has *er lässt den Teig durchsäuern* (cf. Matt. 13 38) *und aufgehen*. Wellhausen's statement that *עצת מעיר* (with the participle instead of the infinitive) is not Hebrew, is gratuitous; cf. GK²⁸ § 120, b; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*², p. 206, below; WdG 2, 197, B (*لم يزل قاعدا*). In English the participle may be used instead of the infinitive; we can say *he ceases working, he stops stirring*. This is the so-called *participial infinitive*. Leimbach, *Die Weissagungen des Osee* (Fulda, 1907) explains *מעיר* (*مع يضره*, *I civitas*) as *Heizer* (stoker, fireman).

Heb. *קשת רמיה* is not a *deceitful bow*, but a *slack bow*, i. e. a bow which slackens when it is bent so that it is impossible to discharge an arrow (cf. *قراصي*, *to be lax, slack* — *ارتخي*). Luther's *loser Bogen* (Ps. 78 57) does not mean *loose*, but *deceitful*; in the Polychrome Bible Wellhausen rendered: *treacherous bow*, adding in the Notes on the Psalms: *A treacherous bow is like a gun that misses fire*. Still more impossible is Orelli's explanation, *ein tückisch versagender Bogen, der den Pfeil nach dem zurückschleudert, der ihn hält*. Nor can we translate, with G. A. Smith, *a bow which swerves*, or, with Duhm, *ein schlechter Bogen*. J. D. Michaelis (1782)

rendered: *wie ein Bogen, der nicht zum Ziele trifft*, and Fr. Rückert, *Hebr. Propheten* (Leipzig, 1831): *falscher Bogen*. In his *Kleine Propheten*³ Wellhausen has correctly *schlaffer Bogen*; so, too, Reuss. Also Σ translated: ἀντετραμμένον instead of Ⓢ τόξον ἐντεταμένον which may be a corruption of οὐ ἐντεταμένον (cf. Simson's *Hosea*, p. 226).

For מִזַּעַם at the end of v. 16^a read וַיִּזְעַם בַּיּוֹם וְעַמָּם, lit. *on the day of the wrath against them, i. e. the day of their punishment*. Duhm reads מַעְזִים, *making strong* instead of מִזַּעַם.

The reading מִזְכֹּחוֹתֵם instead of מִשְׁכָּבוֹתֵם is suggested by Guthe in Kautzsch's AT³.

עַל דְּגַן וְתִירוֹשׁ in the secondary passage v. 14 means *on account of grain und must, i. e. praying for good harvests and vintages*. It cannot mean in this connection *over their food and drink, i. e. during their meal* (cf. Lat. *super vinum et epulas*) although Ⓢ renders: ἐπὶ σίτῳ καὶ οἴνῳ (cf. ἐπὶ τῷ δεῖπνῳ, Xenoph. *Cyrop.* 1, 3, 12) and Ⓝ *super triticum et vinum* (cf. *Kings*, SBOT 134, 27). Of course, ἐπὶ may mean also *for the purpose, for the sake of*.

For יִתְגַּדְּדוּ we must read יִתְגַּדְּדוּ. Döderlein (*apud Grotium*) says: *Forsan legendum יִתְגַּדְּדוּ, inciderunt se; sic LXX κατετέμνοντο (secabant sese) qua voce etiam Reg. 18, 28 utuntur*.

The Hebrew text of the second section of this Hoseanic poem should be arranged as follows:

| | | | |
|------------------------------|--|-----------------|-----|
| מִהִידֵּעָה בְּלִיהַפּוּכָה: | אֲמָרִים בְּעַמִּים יִתְבַּלְּתֵהֶלֶו ^{3, 8, 5, 41} | 7, 8 | i |
| וְהוּא לֹא־דָעַד | אָכְלוּ וְגָגְגִים כְּחֹרִי | 9 | |
| וְהוּא־לֹא יִתְבּוֹנֵן: | וְגַם שִׁיבָה לִּירְקֵהֶבֶו | | |
| כִּי־חִמַּת הֵי־יִין: | יָיֹם־יִזִּים () יִתְחַלֵּו שְׂרִים | 5 ^a | ii |
| כִּי־בִקֵּר הוּא־בְּעָרֵי: | כִּי־הִלִּילָה יִשָּׁן כִּי־אָנְיָהֶם | 6 ^b | |
| וְיִבְלֵל אֶת־שִׁפְטֵיהֶם: | בְּלָם יִחַפּוּ כְּתַנּוֹר | 7 ^a | |
| פּוֹתָה אֵיךְ־לֵב: | וְיִהִי אֲמָרִים כִּי־וָה | 11 ^a | iii |

5*

12^a [אפרש עליהם רשתי] כאשר ילכו:]
 עתה סבבום מעלליהם גדרפני הין: 12^b

13^a ir אירלהם כרנדו סמני שרלהם כרפשערבי:
 16^b { הין כקשת רמיה } ישובו לבעלים:
 יפלו בתרב שרלהם בתי-ם זע-ם: 16^c

(a) 7, 8 דא (β) אפרים (γ) כלם מנאפים
 (b) 10 ועניה נאון ישראל במניו ולא שבו אל ידעה אלוהיהם ולא בקשהו
 (c) 3 ברעתם ישגתו יאלך ובגחשיהם: [בכל זאת: 33
 (d) 5^a, 6^a דישיכירו את- (סל-ם) כרק-ה- לבם:
 (e) 6^b כאש לטהה [מלצנים] (θ) 4^a כמורתנור בוערהם:
 (f) 7^b כל סלכיהם נפלו אןקראבתם אלי:
 (g) 12^b כעוף השמים אורידם קאם-אר- ערתם
 (h) 1 אגלה עון אפרים ורעה-ת שמרון:
 (i) 2^a וכל יאמרו ב-לבכם כירעתם זכרתי
 (j) 14, 13^b ואנכי אפרים והמה דברו עלי כובים: ולא זעקו אלי בלבם כי
 15 יאלילו על מה-בלאתם על דגן ותירוש ותגודו-ו יסרו בי: ואני
 ישרתי חוקתי זרועתם ועלי -חשבו רע: 44

(k) 7, 11^b מצרים קראו אשור הלכו (oo) 8 שרים (aa) 6 כמנור
 (l) 4^b אמה ישבת סעיר מלוש בצק עד חמצתו 12^b כי-ש-קד (dd) 8^a באר-עקד
 (m) 1 כיר-פעלו שקר ונגב יבוא יפלאם נידו בחוץ
 (n) 16^b לשונם כירלענדו בארץ מצרים

This may be translated as follows:
 i 7, 8 Ephraim "shrinks 'mong the peoples
 #like an unturned flapjack;
 9 'Lewd'ness consumed her strength,
 but she does not know it;
 Her hair is sprinkled with gray,
 but she does not 'notice' it.⁸

- ii 5^a «Day by day () the princes were sickened:
 «with bottles of wine;»
 6^b Their dust, if it slept at night,
 was rekindled «a-mornings.»
 7^a They are all hot like an oven,
 thus «completing their doom.»

- iii 11^a Ephraim is become like a pigeon,
 gullible, senseless:
 12^a [] I shall spread my net upon them
 [as soon as they move.]^κ
 2^b Their deeds have now enveloped them,
 they are before Me.^λ

- iv 13^a Woe to those who ran away from Me!
 destruction to the traitors!
 16^a {} They were like a slackening bow,
 {going back to «the Bawa.»}
 Their princes will fall by the sword
 «on their day of wrath.»

- (a) 7, 8 she (β) Ephraim is (γ) 4^a they are all adulterers
 (β) 10 Israel's glory was humbled before Him, yet they did not return
 to their God. JAVH, nor seek Him despite all this^ξ
 (c) 3 They «muddle their mind» with their badness,
 and with their debauches^ω
 (δ) 5^b The sportlings «fuddled their (mind)»
 when their brain «was inflamed»^π
 (γ) 6 like a flaming fire (θ) 4^a they are like a burning oven^ρ
 (c) 7^b All their «minds fall to the ground,
 none among them invokes Me.
 (κ) 12^b I 'll down them like birds of the air,
 and shut up^{σσττ} their flock.
 (λ) 1 «Laid bare is Ephraim's guilt, Samaria's badness-^ω
 (μ) 2^a But they do not think «in» their heart
 that I mark their badness.
 (ν) 3^b. 14 But I will redeem them, though they have spoken lies con-
 cerning Me, and although they did not cry to Me in their
 heart, but howled at their altars, «lacerating their flesh for
 grain and must, thus disobeying Me. Although I had ad-

