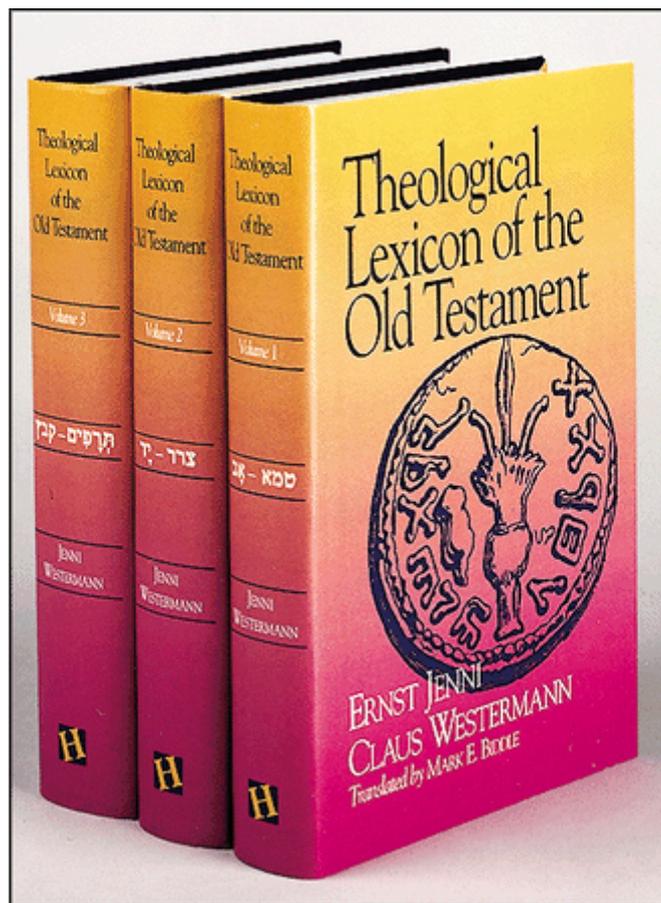


Ernst Jenni & Claus Westermann

# Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament



Translated by Mark E. Biddle

## PREFACE TO THE GERMAN EDITION

I am deeply indebted to my honored colleague Prof. Dr. C. Westermann, Heidelberg, who has also given impetus to the project and has established contact with the publisher, for the enlistment of a great portion of the approximately forty contributors to this first volume of the *THAT*. That the assembly of the contributors has resulted in two geographical centers, one in Heidelberg and the other in Switzerland, should be understood in terms of personal relationships, yet contributions to the first volume originate from about ten different countries.

I have translated the manuscripts of non-German-speaking authors and have subjected all articles to revision with a view to formalities and to the creation of a degree of uniformity. Frequent use has been made of a stipulated right to alter content as well (in the more significant cases, following discussions with the author), less in deletions than in additions. A number of revisions, if sufficiently distinctive thematically or the result of the needs of the structure of the lexicon as a whole (e.g., the placement of semantically related words) and consequently not to be taken as criticism of an author's contribution, are indicated by means of an asterisk (\*) as the addition of the editor (\* beside section numbers or letters indicates the entire section in question; \* after a paragraph indicates only the paragraph in question). The most substantive interventions were necessary in the first two major sections; for the verification of statistical details, I alone bear responsibility. Only the long articles have been submitted to the authors for proofreading; hence I must bear more than usual responsibility for oversights and typographical errors.

Particular thanks are due Prof. Dr. Theol. Thomas Willi (Eichberg, St. Gallen), Prof. Dr. Theol. Gerhard Wehmeier (Dharwar, St. Mysore, India), and Matthias Suter, who, as the editor's assistants from the end of 1968 on, have undertaken the troublesome task of checking references and citations, as well as finally of proofreading.

Basel, April 1971, Ernst Jenni

## PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

### A. History of the Volumes

The *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, edited by Ernst Jenni with assistance from Claus Westermann (Munich: Chr. Kaiser; Zurich: Theologischer Verlag) has displayed the longevity of an incomparable reference work. It was originally published as two volumes in the 1970s (volume 1, *ʔalep-mem*, in 1971; volume 2, *nun-taw*, in 1976) and was reissued in 1984. A Spanish translation by J. Antonio Mugica appeared in 1978 (*Diccionario teológico manual del Antiguo Testamento*, Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad). This present three-volume translation makes accessible for the first time in English a wealth of theological insight that, as the introduction to the German edition promises, “intends to offer a reliable aid for the academic study of the Old Testament but also for the church’s teaching and preaching.”

### B. Features of the Translation

The publisher has sought to make this an easily accessible and valuable resource for students of any level. Toward this end, the entries have been comprehensively updated to reflect new editions and English translations of the bibliographic references. Furthermore, all Hebrew and Aramaic words have been fully transliterated into English forms. For ready reference, a new feature has been added: a resource list has been included with each new entry. This list keys the terms in the main entries (and all cross-referenced words) to the corresponding page locations in *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* (BDB), the *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (TDOT), and the English edition of Koehler and Baumgartner’s *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (HALOT), and to the word numbers in *Strong’s Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible* (S), the *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament* (TWOT), and the *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis* (NIDOTTE). The English translations of TDOT and HALOT were not complete upon publication: in these cases, where the English resources ended, we have cited the original German volumes (*ThWAT* and *HAL*, respectively). Some of these lexical aids will be useful to the scholar, some to the student and pastor, and some to the layperson.

This English edition has modified the German *Einleitung* in four

places. (1) Section D, “Explanation of the Hebrew Transliteration,” represents the conventions we have adopted here, which are those generally used among English-speaking scholars. (2) Section E, “Concordance of Divergent Versification,” compares references in the Hebrew text tradition (MT) and in standard English translations (e.g., NRSV). (3) Section F, which contained Jenni’s concluding remarks at the publication of the first volume, has been removed from the introduction and retitled “Preface to the German Edition.” (4) Because the English edition comprises three volumes, we have relocated the original *Vorwort* to the second volume to immediately following the foreword to the German edition (p. xii).

The content of these volumes has been altered very little from the German original. In general, the updating of the bibliographic entries extends only to revised editions and English translations. Some exceptions occur. For example, Ugaritic texts are cited according to *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit (KTU)*, which appeared too late to be used by the authors of the original edition. In rare cases, the translator has explained nuances and semantic ranges using English analogues rather than strict translations of the original German examples. Direct quotations have also been translated, even when no English-language edition exists. References to Qumran literature have occasionally been modified to indicate that the author worked only with material that was available at the original publication, and some concordance additions have been added to supplement K. G. Kuhn’s *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten*. We have differed from the German in not setting transliterated proper names with an initial uppercase character.

The translator and the publisher of the English edition have not updated the text to reflect recent discussion. This approach was intentional, since the individual entries are, in effect, lexical essays. They represent clear methodological approaches and interact with the bibliography cited. To update the discussion, which the bibliography reflects, would be to misrepresent the efforts and viewpoints of the contributing scholars. The reader should pursue further inquiry with the tools cited in the resource key, some of which contain subsequent scholarly discussion.

The statistical tables and indexes in the final volume closely reproduce the German originals. The reader should note the following changes. (1) The English edition includes a Scripture index. (2) The English word index is based on the definitions used in the main headings. (3) In the place of separate Hebrew and Aramaic indexes, we have provided one index that alphabetizes the main entries and includes an alphabetical list of the derivatives discussed under each main entry, and a second index that fully alphabetizes all significant words discussed and keys these words to Strong’s numbers.

The publisher is confident that the individual studies in the *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament* remain fundamental to biblical scholars, theologians, pastors, and laypersons. Their careful attention to the history and context of the biblical text has not been superseded, and their theological insights will remain significant to anyone interested in either historical or constructive theology. The rigor of their search for meaning within the historical and linguistic contexts of particular passages stands as an example to another generation of scholars and students.

## FOREWORD TO THE GERMAN EDITION

### A. Volume 1

This is the first volume of a lexicon that intends to offer a reliable aid for the academic study of the OT but also for the church's teaching and preaching. The contributor's concern has been to set the treatment of the meaning and usage of individual vocabulary entries on the broadest possible methodological basis. In recent decades the consensus in OT research has become to avoid all methodological limitations in questions concerning the meaning of a word (particularly concerning the theological meaning); only the determined application of as many different approaches as possible can lead to a convincing result. These limitations include attempts to explain a word on the basis of grammatical-philological viewpoints alone, to derive the full richness of a word from a postulated basic meaning in every case, and to reconstruct a linear history of a concept that leaves no room for the parallel existence of differentiated categories of usage. Finally, a mechanical differentiation between profane and religious usages, wherein *eo ipso* the profane usage is frequently seen as the older, should also be regarded as restrictive.

In contrast to all such linear explanations, this lexicon strives to attribute absolute authority to no individual method of linguistic research. Rather, in accordance with the current status of OT studies and of general linguistics, it seeks to establish and maintain as broad an approach as possible.

In contrast to previous OT lexicons, the results of a plethora of form-critical and tradition-critical investigations in particular are incorporated here. In many cases a substantial correction in the objective groupings as well as in the temporal stratification of word usages is required. On the one hand, it is now possible to assess with certainty the context against which a given verb or noun should be exegeted by means of firm and unequivocal categorization of a particular usage of a verb or a noun, perhaps to a particular legal form, to a prophetic speech form, to a psalm genre, or to a particular narrative or report tradition. On the other hand, one is much less likely to speak of "early" and "late" usages of a particular word; and, confronted with a strongly divergent word usage, one is as likely to think of parallel as of subsequent developments.

An essential result of recent linguistics merits particular attention: that the basic unit of speech communication is not the word but the sentence. This result corresponds with those of form criticism and tradition criticism. In contrast to literary-critical methods of research for which the usage of an isolated word can be decisive for the determination of the temporal

stratification, it has become ever more apparent in recent research that only the sentence, or a construct of several sentences, characterizes a tradition. This observation has one essential consequence for the treatment of the content of a word: the categorization of the occurrences of a word must result from the sentences in which they occur and from their function in the larger context.

The work of the lexicon is affected by a further important correction offered by so-called semantic-field research, whose usefulness for the determination of the meanings of words that seem very closely related or synonymous, as well as for the translation into other languages where the semantic fields are often structured otherwise, can only be alluded to here.

In conclusion attention must be called to the fact that the powerful expansion of the corpus of texts in Semitic languages, advances in research in Hebrew grammar and syntax, the differentiation and refinement of philological methods, and the many new efforts in general linguistics have truly not made the preparation of an OT lexicon easier, even if they have made possible many advances. One must admit that in many cases uncertainties remain with regard to the determination of the general as well as the theological usage of a Hebrew word. The main emphasis of this lexicon lies in an awareness of continuing difficulties with regard to the careful evaluation of the function of a Hebrew word in a given context. At this point the work of the lexicon spills over into the work of the exegesis that the lexicon seeks to serve.

Basel and Heidelberg, April 1971, E. Jenni and C. Westermann

## B. Volume 2

Four years after the appearance of the first volume, work on *THAT* can now be concluded. The preparation of the second volume followed the same principles elucidated in the first volume. The number of contributors has risen to a total of fifty. I thank them all, from those who submitted early contributions to those who stepped into the breach at the end, for their efforts and patience, and especially Prof. Dr. C. Westermann, who once again willingly assisted through word and deed. The Rev. Mr. Matthias Suter (Lauterbrunnen, Canton Bern) and the Rev. Mr. Thomas Hartmann (Basel) deserve thanks for their assistance with the task of proofreading and editing. Furthermore, Mr. Hartmann produced the index of German words.

Because typesetting required more than two years, all articles were not able to take account of the most recent literature. This delay did permit me, however, to expand the statistical appendix to its current scope. We were more concerned with the practical usefulness of the indices of

Hebrew and German words than with concordancelike thoroughness. For the same reason, we chose, after careful consideration, to forego additional word, topic, and passage indices, which would have necessarily been capricious in choice of material to be indexed or useful only for specialists. In contrast, the index of authors, which includes all but the most common reference works, will be helpful for bibliographical work.

Basel, November 1975, Ernst Jenni

# INTRODUCTION

## A. Goal of the Lexicon

Relatively good OT lexicons have been available to the Hebraist for some time: GB, BDB, KBL, Zorrel, and more recently *HAL* and *HALOT* merit mention as those used most often. Nevertheless, these lexicons, with their conventional arrangement as lists of possible German and English translations of a Hebrew word (some with thorough etymological introductions, which are, however, useful only to the specialist) without explication and discussion of the problems in complete sentences, undeniably cannot provide information concerning the use and life of OT words corresponding to the state of current knowledge, if only for reasons of space. In addition, alongside traditional philological inquiry, semantics and form- and tradition-critical methods have gained significance in recent years; their results and approaches are rarely dealt with adequately in the normal scope of a lexicon. It is increasingly difficult, particularly with respect to theologically significant words, to take into account the work undertaken by international OT studies in the area of linguistic research. Consequently, the attempt to create a specialized lexicon certainly reflects a need, as formulated in the guidelines for contributors to *TLOT* as a result of project planning in the course of the year 1966, to “present, as a supplement to extant Hebrew lexicons and on a strict linguistic basis with particular attention to semantics and form- and tradition-critical methodology, the theologically relevant words of the OT with a view to their usage, their history, and their significance for OT theology in the most concise and complete manner and with reference to the extant literature.”

That the result corresponds in every respect to the envisioned ideal should certainly not be maintained. But it will serve the necessary clarity when it will have been said from the outset what has not been the aim of *TLOT*:

1. Although the index in the third volume indicates that a significant portion of OT vocabulary has been treated, *TLOT* cannot replace the extant lexicons, if only because of the selection of the words to be treated. Rather it supplements these lexicons. Even with respect to the roots and words treated, the rich lexical, grammatical, text-critical, and bibliographical citations of, for example, *HAL* have been far from exhaustively treated.

2. With a complete openness for new developments in linguistics (cf. e.g., the inclusive treatment in the *Encyclopedie de la Pléiade: Le langage*, ed. A. Martinet [1968], or the more specialized introduction of O. Reichmann, *Deutsche Wortforschung* [1969]) and in exegesis (cf. among others K. Koch, *The Growth of the Biblical Tradition: The Form-Critical*

*Method* [1969]), the task of such a community effort cannot be the uniform application of a particular theory and method in order to create something revolutionarily new. Most OT scholars are not linguists, nor is there to this point a unified linguistic and exegetical method upon which one could establish contributors from various backgrounds. The specialist will likely also be able implicitly to translate into precise terminology many careless expressions found here and there (“basic meaning,” “semantic field,” etc.). To one person form criticism or some other viewpoint may seem overemphasized; to another it may seem underemphasized. Here also the editors could not, and would not, reduce everything to a common denominator.

3. Although theological usages stand at the center of interest, *TLOT* cannot be concerned with a presentation of OT theology arranged according to lexical entries. Without considering that the contributors to this lexicon may in no way be assigned to a particular theological school or movement, and that the editors also have intruded least with respect to theological issues, it is not possible on the basis of word study alone to construct a theology (cf. J. Barr, *Semantics of Biblical Language* [1961]). *TLOT* starts with words and their usage, which certainly can also lead to explicitly theological concepts, but not with theological ideas and concepts as such (“omnipotence,” “sin,” “monotheism,” etc.), which serve as the building blocks of a system. Although the difference between word meaning and intended referent is frequently effaced, especially with respect to abstract concepts (cf. here also the remarks of H. H. Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung* [1968], 4ff., concerning the Hebrew language and the Israelite understanding of reality), and semantics can also be rightly supplemented by the onomasiological approach, *TLOT* remains, true to its intention, a lexicon. It does not replace a theological encyclopedia, which would treat “sin in the OT,” “OT anthropology,” “Israelite covenant ideas,” etc., and certainly not a complete representation of OT theology, for which it constitutes only an aid.

4. The envisioned readers and users of this specialized lexicon are primarily theologians and pastors with a minimal knowledge of Hebrew and OT studies. Nevertheless, the lexicon has still been made as accessible as possible to non-Hebraists by means of regular translation of Hebrew words and texts, by means of the transliteration of the Hebrew script, and by means of the index. Indeed, *TLOT* has striven thereby to assemble an overview of the knowledge offered by specialists in widely scattered publications, and to make it more readily available to a larger audience, and it is to be hoped that this work will bear fruit for understanding the OT and for preaching it. At the same time one must recognize definite limits of the lexicon: It ought not to relieve the pastor from the exegesis of the text, nor, for that matter, its translation into today’s language. Instead, it remains

here, too, simply an aid to exegesis.

## B. Arrangement of the Lexicon

With respect to the selection of the “theologically relevant words,” one may not entirely avoid subjective criteria. One cannot precisely distinguish “theological usage” from a “general” or “profane usage.” On the whole, the widest possible conception of “theological usage” seemed to be appropriate: an evaluation not only of texts with verbs having God as subject or object, or with nouns that refer to God; instead, if possible, of every case in which something of the interchange between God and his people or between God and humans comes to expression. It is precisely then, however, that it is impossible to avoid situations in which in one person’s view all sorts of things have been overlooked while to another the scope seems rather to be too widely conceived.

On the one hand, in order to document the distinction from Bible dictionaries or handbooks, individual articles have also dealt with other parts of speech in addition to the mass of nouns and verbs, such as pronouns (→ <sup>ʾ</sup>*nî* “I,” → *kōl* “all”), adverbs (→ <sup>ʾ</sup>*ūlay* “perhaps,” → <sup>ʾ</sup>*ayyēh* “where?” → *mātay* “when?”), prepositions (→ *ʿim* “with”), and even interjections (→ <sup>ʾ</sup>*hāh* “ah,” → *hōy* “woe,” → *hinnēh* “behold”).

On the other hand, a series of words that one would perhaps expect here have not been treated in individual articles. The same is also true of a few frequently occurring substantives (*har* “mountain,” *mayim* “water”) or verbs (*yšb* “to sit, dwell,” *ktb* “to write”), as well as many institutions, in particular many cultic institutions, concerning which one can refer to Bible dictionaries. *TLOT* has consciously not been planned as a reference work for comparative religion or archaeology, because the latter would shift the major emphasis (similar to that of a theological dictionary) too heavily from the semantic function of words to the description of the referent and its history. Thus those who seek archaeological or religio-historical information concerning the sanctuary, sacrifice, or the priesthood will not find this information here in the guise of a word study of <sup>ʾ</sup>*rôn* “ark,” *zbl* “to slaughter, offer,” or *kōhēn* “priest.” Such words have been excluded here, as have been words such as <sup>ʾ</sup>*zōb* “hyssop,” <sup>ʾ</sup>*pōd* “ephod,” <sup>ʾ</sup>*īʿēl* “sacrificial altar hearth,” *bāmā* “high place,” etc., with a few exceptions, because otherwise the scope of a concise theological lexicon would have been too greatly expanded.

The same is true also for personal names, which, with the exception of the designations of God, Yahweh, and Shaddai, and the names Zion and Israel, which had become religious honorifics, have not been treated in

their own articles. It is certainly true that Abraham and the Abraham tradition, David and the David tradition, Jerusalem, and indeed also Canaan and Babel are theologically relevant concepts; but they may not be incorporated in the scope of a semantically oriented lexicon.

One should note that numerous words not treated individually are discussed in the context of other words, as synonyms, antonyms, or as words that belong in some other manner to the semantic field of the word under scrutiny. Thus, for example, *har* “mountain” in theological contexts may be treated under *šyyôn* “Zion,” *mayim* “water” and *yām* “sea” in their mythical meanings under *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* “deep,” *yšb* “to sit, dwell” under *škn* “to dwell.” In the case of a few frequently occurring words, a reference to the corresponding article in which the word is treated has been set in the alphabetical sequence of main entries; in many other cases the index at the end of the second volume facilitates location.

One could conceive of various possibilities for the arrangement of the words treated. First, it would have seemed appealing to proceed according to a content-oriented ordering principle. Both theoretical and, above all, practical grounds have influenced us to hold to a formal alphabetical ordering principle and to treat the necessary content relationships in the presentation itself and by means of cross references. Thus, as seems appropriate for a Semitic language, words of the same root are treated together in a single article, which naturally does not mean that the semantic autonomy of the words must be sacrificed to a “root fallacy” (cf. Barr, *op. cit.* 100ff.) or that their meaning must be subjugated to etymology. Such distortions are admittedly not automatically excluded even from strictly alphabetical arrangements of individual words; but the varied treatments of nominal forms and the verb stems of the same root in the extant lexicons, in which *šedeq* and *s<sup>c</sup>dāqâ* are considered distinct lemmata but *šiddēq* and *hišdîq* are not, are also not above criticism. Here again practical considerations of presentation have been determinative over against purely theoretical principles. Hence one must permit some freedom and elasticity in the arrangement of the individual articles (cf. e.g., → *ʔbh*, where *ʔebyôn* would have been treated as an independent word, and → *ʔmn*, where the most significant derivatives receive separate treatment in subarticles in the major sections 3–4).

Finally, the scope that one allows the individual articles presents an additional subjective format issue. As one might expect, the original division into short, normal, long, and extralong articles has been disturbed in the practical execution. Many terms could certainly have been treated more concisely and others more extensively. Still, differences in diction do not likely surpass that which can be expected in such a community effort. For the most part, thanks to the discipline of the contributors, the danger known

to every editor that the contributions may evolve into self-contained studies has been successfully avoided.

### C. Arrangement of the Articles

In distinction from normal lexicons, every article here is a summary of the results of word studies and hence should offer, as much as possible, statements in complete sentences, in concise and short lexicon style. Instead of subheadings and a footnote apparatus, the enumeration of sections and the division into normal and small print stand as the most significant arrangement techniques; parentheses are used rather frequently for secondary issues, citations, bibliographical references, and so forth.

The article heading offers a single Hebrew entry, most often a (verbal) root or a primary substantive, in special cases even the most significant representative of the word group in question (e.g., → *tôrá*), in addition to the primary meaning in English translation. Because the heading functions at the same time as a column title, it must be kept short. It serves only the practical goal of identifying the article and cannot foreshadow its content. For the roots → *ʔhr* and → *ʔmn*, which have no representative qal usage and which have numerous equally plausible though semantically divergent derivations, brief approximations of the roots' meanings have been chosen ("after," "firm, certain"). The article itself normally exhibits five set sections, of which the third and the fourth are the most expansive. The enumeration of the major sections occurs by means of arabic numbers, and in some longer articles by means of roman numerals. The hierarchy of the section symbols is as follows: I.II. . . . 1.2. . . . (a) (b) . . . (1) (2) . . . ; confusion concerning the arabic numbers that mark both subsections of the five major sections (which are, as well, indicated by roman numerals) and, normally, the five major sections of an article certainly need not be feared.

With respect to the standard major sections one should note the following:

1. Root and Derivation. The first major section is intended to communicate essential information concerning the root. In addition, it lists the derivatives that the article in question treats, often with information concerning the type of derivation (function of the verb stem, noun-formation class, etc.), if conclusions concerning the meaning can be drawn from this information (cf. D. Michel, *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 12 [1968]: 32ff.). This function of the first major section as a table of contents presenting the

word groups to be treated—not as an overevaluation of etymology for the determination of the contemporary meaning of the words in the OT—motivates the placement at the beginning of the article (not at the end, as modern lexicography often emphatically recommends) of materials concerning occurrences of the root in other Semitic languages, considerations of the common “basic meaning” (*Grundbedeutung*) of the word groups, and any other information concerning etymology. Many cases call attention, then, to the limitations of the etymological methods in vogue especially among theologians and issue a warning against speculation. Besides, OT specialists are indeed interested in the distribution of a word group in the other Semitic languages, perhaps also their representation by other roots in particular spheres. Understandably, one can give little weight to the completeness of the information, in distinction from an etymological lexicon. For the most part only the Semitic languages that, in relation to the OT, are older or contemporary—Akkadian, Ugaritic, Phoenician-Punic, and older Aramaic—could receive particular attention.

2. Statistics. A second, likewise relatively short, section gives statistical details concerning the occurrences of a word in the OT and in its individual portions, in some cases in the form of a table. In addition to the pure inventory, particulars of the distribution can be emphasized here. In recent linguistics, statistical analyses are also beginning slowly to achieve their place; if—as is the case with all statistics—all sorts of misuse can also be made of them, it seems nevertheless proper to prepare a reliable basis for the statistical study of OT vocabulary, because, in contrast to the situation in NT studies (R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik des neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes* [1958]), little of substance is yet available.

As is the case with all statistics, the first commandment here, too, is the careful description of the corpus to be counted. The figures in *TLOT* are based on the Masoretic text of *Biblia Hebraica 3* (without emendation) and count every occurrence of a given word in its different grammatical forms as a unit. For example, according to this principle, the infinitive absolute with a finite verb counts as (a bipartite) two occurrences. The different thought units or verses that contain the word (in each case in multiples) are not counted, therefore, but each individual occurrence of the word. Although small errors or approximations are practically meaningless for the value of the conclusions that one may draw from the numbers, attention has been paid to the greatest possible exactness in these figures. Consequently, the two independent and differently arranged concordances of Mandelkern (including the appendices by S. Herner) and Lisowsky were individually tabulated according to biblical books and the results, when different, evaluated by collation. Whenever the choice was to be made between different grammatical interpretations and parsings, the choice, as far as necessary, has been briefly noted, because a statistic is verifiable

only for a precisely defined corpus. The corrections for Lisowsky's concordance that have resulted as by-products have arisen in this manner and are certainly not intended as criticism of the great contribution that this work represents. Wherever the literature offers divergent statistical citations, the reason often lies in a different method of counting that can be in itself as justified as the one used here, presuming that it is recognizable and consistently carried out.

The value of the statistics would naturally be significantly greater for the history of language if they could have been ordered not mechanically according to biblical books but according to the time of the composition of individual literary complexes. But because the literary analysis and dating of many texts is disputed or impossible, this avenue for word statistics could not be traveled except in a few cases. Even the regular special treatment, say, of Deutero-Isaiah (and Trito-Isaiah?), could already have greatly complicated the undertaking. For the individual case such refinements may be acquired, indeed at any time, without too great difficulty.

In order to be able to measure the relative frequency of a word in a particular biblical book, whether statistically significant or not, a comparison table of the total inventory of the individual biblical books is required. The following table of the scope of the books of the OT in (approximated) parts-per-thousand serves as a preliminary aid (based on the statistical material in vol. 3):

Gen 68	Isa 55	Psa 64	
Exod 55	Jer 71	Job 27	
Lev 39	Ezek 61	Prov 23	
Num 54	Hos 8	Ruth 4	
Deut 47	Joel 3	Song Sol 4	
Pentateuch	263	Amos 7	Eccl 10
	Obad 1	Lam 5	
Josh 33	Jonah 2	Esth 10	
Judg 32	Mic 5	Dan 20	
1 Sam 43	Nah 2	Ezra 12	
2 Sam 36	Hab 2	Neh 17	
1 Kgs 43	Zeph 3	1 Chron 35	
2 Kgs 40	Hag 2	2 Chron 44	
Josh–2 Kgs	227	Zech 10	Writings 275
	Mal 3		
Gen–2 Kgs	490	Prophets 235	OT 1000

(Aram. 16: Dan 12 of 20, Ezra 4 of 12).

3. Meaning and History of Meaning. In the third major section the presentation follows the general usage of the word or word group in the OT. The scope is limited to the books of the Hebrew canon; the portions of the book of Sirach extant in Hebrew are also included occasionally, although not regularly. Postbiblical Hebrew and the intertestamental literature extant only in Greek translation have not been taken into account; the concluding portion of the article may touch on the more significant points.

Great freedom has been allowed the authors in presentation. The arrangement can be undertaken according to semasiological (main meaning, expansions, metaphorical usages, etc.), grammatical-syntactical (sg./pl., various constructions of the verbs, etc.), or historical criteria. As a rule, details—omitted for the most part from lexicons to conserve space—concerning series, word fields, antonyms, distinctions with respect to near-synonyms, reasons for changes in meaning, and meanings that do not occur in the OT are also taken into account here. In contrast, sociological or exegetical excursions that transcend word studies are avoided as much as possible. If necessary, references to the literature (handbooks, commentaries, monographs) suffice on these issues.

Because a regular bibliographical section seems to offer no necessary advantage, references have been introduced at the appropriate juncture, in some cases also in the form of a short overview of the history of research. With respect to controversial theses, the contrary position should be at least briefly mentioned; even though streamlined, the articles should provide objective orientation concerning the current state of discussion.

4. Theological Usage. With the background of the more universal third section, the more specific theological usage can then be presented. A strict distinction between “profane” and “theological” is possible with respect to the meaning of the word only in a few cases. But on the basis of form-critical and tradition-critical investigation one can often clarify some gradation in the use of various words—of unequal significance—in theologically more-or-less relevant contexts. The appearance that sharp boundaries may always be drawn everywhere is not intended: as a rule the third section offers general overviews (with the exclusion of particular theological usages). Special problems of a theological nature are treated in the fourth section. Sections three and four may also be combined (e.g., → *tm*<sup>3</sup>); a few articles simply treat two different words or word groups in separate sections (→ *ʔbh*, → *ʔhr*).

The arrangement of the fourth section has also been loosely regulated. One finds here semasiological, historical, and theological criteria according to the free discretion of the author.

Of the extrabiblical comparative material, application is naturally

made almost exclusively only of the texts, older or contemporary to the OT, in Akkadian, Northwest Semitic, and sometimes Egyptian; regular sections dealing with the usage of equivalent words from Mesopotamia to Egypt or religio-historical excurses have been omitted in order not to violate the scope of the lexicon, but also considering the given possibilities.

5. Postbiblical Usage. The conclusion concisely treats whether and where the history of the theological usage continues into early Judaism and into the NT or early Christianity. Concise references to the literature must usually suffice here. Citations of the most important Greek equivalents of the Hebrew words in the Septuagint and the NT are generally correlated by means of references to the corresponding articles in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (TDNT)*. On the whole, as is the case with other marginal areas, exhaustive statements are not possible here either. No all-encompassing biblical-theological summa is offered here; instead, only a concise reference to the necessary point of connection to the neighboring discipline is given for theologians.

#### D. Explanation of the Hebrew Transliteration

Except for article headings and in the few places where Masoretic details are described, this lexicon does not use the Hebrew characters—to the discomfort of many Hebraists, who miss the familiar script and who are not accustomed to transliteration. A glance at contemporary academic publications indicates that the use of transliteration is becoming increasingly popular; although it fails to be sufficient in more precise application for every justified requirement, it is better than the technical compromise of using only the unvocalized Hebrew characters.

Consonants		Vowels	
א	(ʾalep) ʾ	ַ	(pataḥ) a
ב	(bet) b	ֿ	(furtive pataḥ) a
ג	(gimel) g	ָ	(qāmeṣ) ā
ד	(dalet) d	ֹ	(final qāmeṣhe) â
ה	(he) h	ֶ	(segōl) e
ו	(waw) w	ֶ̄	(šērê) ē
ז	(zayin) z	ֵ	(šērêyod) ê
ח	(ḥet) ḥ	ִ	(short ḥîreq) i
ט	(ṭet) ṭ	ִ̄	(long ḥîreq) î
י	(yod) y	ִ̄	(ḥîreqyod) î
כ, ך	(kap) k	ֹ	(qāmeṣ ḥāṭûp) o
ל	(lamed) l	ֹ̄	(ḥōlem) ô
מ, ך	(mem) m	ֹ̄	(full ḥōlem) ô
נ, ך	(nun) n	ֹ̄	(short qibbûṣ) u

ס	(samek)	s	וּ	(long qibbûš)	ū
ע	(‘ayin)	‘	וּ	(šûreq)	û
פ, פּ	(pe) p	פּ	וּ	(ḥātēp pataḥ) <sup>a</sup>	
צ, צ׳	(šade)š	שׁ	וּ	(ḥātēp qāmeš)	o
ק	(qop) q	ק	וּ	(ḥātēp s <sup>e</sup> gōl) e	
ר	(reš) r	ר	וּ	(vocal š <sup>e</sup> wâ)	e
שׁ	(šîn) š	שׁ			
שׂ	(šîn) š	שׂ			
ת	(taw) t	ת			

The system of transliteration used here should be understood as a practical aid for the realization of Masoretic Hebrew according to the common tradition of pronunciation in modern universities. It is not meant to reproduce an exact transliteration of all the details of Tiberian orthography; it serves neither purely phonemic goals nor the attempt to reach behind the common grammatical traditions to linguistically more adequate forms. The following explanation of details is primarily for the nonspecialist; the necessary practical decisions encountered in the publication of the lexicon, including printing possibilities, claim no absolute normativity.

Concerning the pronunciation of the consonants (for the details, cf. the grammars, e.g., Meyer 1:41ff.) it should be noted that ׀ and ׀ are conventionally pronounced as firm pre-vocalics (as in the English theatre), z as a vocalized sibilant (like French z ), ḥ like German ch (as in ach ), š like English ts, ś like s, š like English sh. Transliteration does not reflect the difference in the pronunciation of the so-called begadkephat letters, b, g, d, k, p, and t, pronounced after vowels not as stops but as fricatives. The widely practiced pronunciation of the b after vowels as v, of the k after vowels as (German) ch, and of the p after vowels as f need not be represented in transliteration.

The consonants he, waw, and yod, used to indicate long vowels (vowel letters, *matres lectionis* ), are transliterated as a circumflex over the vowel (i.e., â, ê, î, ô, û ); they are also taken into account when a transliteration reproduces an unpointed text (extrabiblical inscriptions, Qumran texts, Kethib, etc.) and for the purposes of alphabetization. It should be noted that here the present edition has followed standard English academic usage and so differs from the original German, which indicated both full and defective spellings by a macron over the vowel (i.e., ā, ē, î, ō, ū ). The German system offered greater consistency, providing a single form for words that exhibit variations or historical changes in spelling (e.g., ʔōtôt and ʔōtôt, ʔôbâ and ʔôbâ ); but the present system provides a more exact correspondence with the Hebrew of the MT, which the reader can easily

reconstruct from the transliteration.

A final *h* represents (1) a consonantal *he* in a nominal form, (2) a weak third radical (III *w/y*) in the standard dictionary form (3d masc. sg. pf.) of a verb, or (3) the fem. sg. poss. ending (*malkāh*, “her king”; compare the fem. ending *-â* in *malkâ*, “queen”).

Verb transliterations in article headings in this lexicon represent only unvocalized root consonants (e.g., *ʔbd*, *ʔbh*, *ʔbl*, to be pronounced *ʔābad*, *ʔābāh*, *ʔābal*, with the accent on the second syllable; in other cases with a long *ē* instead of *a* in the second syllable [e.g., *hps* = *hāpēs*; see also *thr*, *yr*, *kbd*, *lbš*]). An exception is that verbs with a long middle vowel are vocalized (inf. cs. *bô*, *bîn*, *gûr*). The only case in these volumes in which *h* as a weak third radical might be confused with *h* as a real root consonant is *gbh* (= *gābah*). The text itself, however, calls attention to the proper pronunciation.

The present edition always transliterates quiescent *ʔalep* (using *ʔ*; e.g., *lō*, “not,” *hû*, “he,” *rōš*, “head,” Aram. *malkā*, “the king”).

In Hebrew, stress falls regularly on the final syllable, but readers should note that the present edition generally does not indicate accents, even for exceptions to this rule, such as segholate nouns. However, if stress is relevant to a particular linguistic point, the discussion may retain the accent.

Proper names are not transliterated with capital letters.

For the transliteration of related Semitic languages, one should consult the pertinent grammars and dictionaries; for example, the transliteration of Akkadian follows von Soden (in *GAG* and *AHw*) or *CAD*, and that of Ugaritic follows Gordon (in *UT*; it should be noted here that *a*, *i*, and *u* indicate not vowels but the variously vocalized consonantal *ʔ*). Egyptian transliteration follows A. Gardiner (*Egyptian Grammar*, 3d ed. [London: Oxford University Press, 1957], p. 18).

Greek transliterations are according to the following table:

α	=	a	ξ	=	x
β	=	b	ο	=	o
γ	=	g	π	=	p
γ	=	n (before γ, κ, ξ, χ)	ρ	=	r
δ	=	d	ρ̣	=	rh
ε	=	e	σ, ζ	=	s
ζ	=	z	τ	=	t
η	=	ē	υ	=	y
θ	=	th	υ	=	u (in diphthongs: au, eu, ou, ui)
ι	=	i	φ	=	ph

κ	=	k	χ	=	ch
λ	=	l	ψ	=	ps
μ	=	m	ω	=	ō
ν	=	n	ῥ	=	h (with vowel or diphthong)

## E. Concordance of Divergent Versification

*TLOT* follows the chapter and verse enumeration of the Hebrew Bible, which does not always agree with that of the Septuagint, Vulgate, and other translations. In order to facilitate the location of passages for users of the popular New Revised Standard Version (1989), the differences are compiled here in a table. (Other popular English translations, such as the Catholic NAB and the Jewish JPSV, follow the versification of the Hebrew Bible.)

<b>Hebrew Bible</b>	<b>NRSV</b>
Gen 32:1	Gen 31:55
32:2–33	32:1–32
Exod 7:26–29	Exod 8:1–4
8:1–28	8:5–32
21:37	22:1
22:1–30	22:2–31
Lev 5:20–26	Lev 6:1–7
Num 17:1–15	Num 16:36–50
17:16–28	17:1–13
25:19	26:1 (first clause)
30:1	29:40
Num 30:2–17	Num 30:1–16
Deut 13:1	Deut 12:32
13:2–19	13:1–18
23:1	22:30
23:2–26	23:1–25
28:69	29:1
29:1–28	29:2–29
1 Sam 21:1	1 Sam 20:42 (last clause)
21:2–16	21:1–15
24:1	23:29
24:2–23	24:1–22
2 Sam 19:1	2 Sam 18:33
19:2–44	19:1–43

1 Kgs	5:1–14	1 Kgs	4:21–34
	5:15–32		5:1–18
	18:34 (first half)		18:33 (last half)
	20:3 (first half)		20:2 (last half)
	22:21 (last clause)		22:22 (first clause)
	22:44		22:43 (last half)
	22:45–54		22:44–53
2 Kgs	12:1	2 Kgs	11:21
	12:2–22		12:1–21
Isa	8:23	Isa	9:1
	9:1–20		9:2–21
	63:19a		63:19
	63:19b		64:1
	64:1–11		64:2–12
Jer	8:23	Jer	9:1
	9:1–25		9:2–26
Ezek	21:1–5	Ezek	20:45–49
	21:6–37		21:1–32
Hos	2:1–2	Hos	1:10–11
	2:3–25		2:1–23
	12:1		11:12
	12:2–15		12:1–14
	14:1		13:16
	14:2–10		14:1–9
Joel	3:1–5	Joel	2:28–32
	4:1–21		3:1–21
Jonah	2:1	Jonah	1:17
	2:2–11		2:1–10
Mic	4:14	Mic	5:1
	5:1–14		5:2–15
Nah	2:1	Nah	1:15
	2:2–14		2:1–13
Zech	2:1–4	Zech	1:18–21
	2:5–17		2:1–13
Mal	3:19–24	Mal	4:1–6
Psa	3:1	Psa	3:title
Psa	3:2–9	Psa	3:1–8
	4:1		4:title
	4:2–9		4:1–8
	5:1		5:title
	5:2–13		5:1–12
	6:1		6:title
	6:2–11		6:1–10

7:1	7:title
7:2–18	7:1–17
8:1	8:title
8:2–10	8:1–9
9:1	9:title
9:2–21	9:1–20
11:1 (first clause)	11:title
12:1	12:title
12:2–9	12:1–8
13:1	13:title
13:2–6	13:1–5
13:6 (last half)	13:6
14:1 (first clause)	14:title
15:1 (first clause)	15:title
16:1 (first clause)	16:title
17:1 (first clause)	17:title
18:1–2 (first clause)	18:title
18:2–51	18:1–50
19:1	19:title
19:2–15	19:1–14
20:1	20:title
20:2–10	20:1–9
21:1	21:title
21:2–14	21:1–13
22:1	22:title
22:2–32	22:1–31
23:1 (first clause)	23:title
24–28:1 (first clause)	24–28:title
29:1 (first clause)	29:title
30:1	30:title
30:2–13	30:1–12
31:1	31:title
31:2–25	31:1–24
32:1 (first clause)	32:title
34:1	34:title
34:2–23	34:1–22
35:1 (first word)	35:title
36:1	36:title
36:2–13	36:1–12
37:1 (first word)	37:title
38:1	38:title
38:2–23	38:1–22
Psa 39:1	Psa 39:title

39:2-14	39:1-13
40:1	40:title
40:2-18	40:1-17
41:1	41:title
41:2-14	41:1-13
42:1	42:title
42:2-12	42:1-11
44:1	44:title
44:2-27	44:1-26
45:1	45:title
45:2-18	45:1-17
46:1	46:title
46:2-12	46:1-11
47:1	47:title
47:2-10	47:1-9
48:1	48:title
48:2-15	48:1-14
49:1	49:title
49:2-21	49:1-20
50:1 (first clause)	50:title
51:1-2	51:title
51:2-21	51:1-19
52:1-2 (first clause)	52:title
52:2-11	52:1-9
53:1	53:title
53:2-7	53:1-6
54:1-2	54:title
54:2-9	54:1-7
55:1	55:title
55:2-24	55:1-23
56:1	56:title
56:2-24	56:1-23
57:1	57:title
57:2-12	57:1-11
58:1	58:title
58:2-12	58:1-11
59:1	59:title
59:2-18	59:1-17
60:1-2	60:title
60:3-14	60:1-12
61:1	61:title
61:2-9	61:1-8
62:1	62:title

	62:2–13		62:1–12
	63:1		63:title
	63:2–12		63:1–11
	64:1		64:title
	64:2–11		64:1–10
Psa	65:1 Psa		65:title
	65:2–14		65:1–13
	66:1 (first clause)		66:title
	67:1		67:title
	67:2–8		67:1–7
	68:1		68:title
	68:2–36		68:1–35
	69:1		69:title
	69:2–37		69:1–36
	70:1		70:title
	70:2–6		70:1–5
	72:1 (first word)		72:title
	73:1 (first clause)		73:title
	74:1 (first clause)		74:title
	74:2–11		74:1–10
	76:1		76:title
	76:2–13		76:1–12
	77:1		77:title
	77:2–21		77:1–20
	78:1 (first clause)		78:title
	79:1 (first clause)		79:title
	80:1		80:title
	80:2–20		80:1–19
	81:1		81:title
	81:2–17		81:1–16
	82:1 (first clause)		82:title
	83:1		83:title
	83:2–19		83:1–18
	84:1		84:title
	84:2–13		84:1–12
	85:1		85:title
	85:2–14		85:1–13
	86:1 (first clause)		86:title
	87:1 (first clause)		87:title
	88:1		88:title
	88:2–19		88:1–18
	89:1		89:title
	89:2–53		89:1–52

	90:1 (first clause)		90:title
	92:1		92:title
	92:2–16		92:1–15
	98:1 (first word)		98:title
	100:1 (first clause)		100:title
	101:1 (first clause)		101:title
	102:1		102:title
	102:2–29		102:1–28
	103:1 (first word)		103:title
	108:1		108:title
	108:2–14		108:1–13
Psa	109, 110, 120–134, 138, 139:1 (first clause)	Psa	109, 110, 120–134, 138, 139:title
	140:1		140:title
	140:2–14		140:1–13
	141:1 (first clause)		141:title
	142:1		142:title
	142:2–7		142:1–6
	143:1 (first clause)		143:title
	144:1 (first word)		144:title
	145:1 (first clause)		145:title
Job	40:25–32	Job	41:1–8
	41:1–26		41:9–34
Song Sol	7:1	Song Sol	6:13
	7:2–14		7:1–13
Eccl	4:17	Eccl	5:1
	5:1–19		5:2–20
Dan	3:31–33	Dan	4:1–3
	4:1–34		4:4–37
	6:1		5:31
	6:2–29		6:1–28
Neh	3:33–38	Neh	4:1–6
	4:1–17		4:7–23
	10:1		9:38
	10:2–40		10:1–39
1 Chron	5:27–41	1 Chron	6:1–15
	6:1–66		6:16–81
	12:4–5		12:4
	12:6–41		12:5–40
2 Chron	1:18	2 Chron	2:1
	2:1–17		2:2–18
	13:23		14:1
	14:1–14		14:2–15



# ABBREVIATIONS

## A. Biblical Books

### HEBREW BIBLE

Gen Genesis  
Exod Exodus  
Lev Leviticus  
Num Numbers  
Deut Deuteronomy  
Josh Joshua  
Judg Judges  
1-2 Sam 1-2 Samuel  
1-2 Kgs 1-2 Kings  
Isa Isaiah  
Jer Jeremiah  
Ezek Ezekiel  
Hos Hosea  
Joel Joel  
Amos Amos  
Obad Obadiah  
Jonah Jonah  
Mic Micah  
Nah Nahum  
Hab Habakkuk  
Zeph Zephaniah  
Hag Haggai  
Zech Zechariah  
Mal Malachi  
Psa Psalms  
Job Job  
Prov Proverbs  
Ruth Ruth  
Song Sol Song of Solomon  
Eccl Ecclesiastes  
Lam Lamentations  
Esth Esther  
Dan Daniel  
Ezra Ezra  
Neh Nehemiah  
1-2 Chron 1-2 Chronicles

## NEW TESTAMENT

Matt Matthew  
Mark Mark  
Luke Luke  
John John  
Acts Acts  
Rom Romans  
1-2 Cor 1-2 Corinthians  
Gal Galatians  
Eph Ephesians  
Phil Philippians  
Col Colossians  
1-2 Thess 1-2 Thessalonians  
1-2 Tim 1-2 Timothy  
Titus Titus  
Phlm Philemon  
Heb Hebrews  
Jas James  
1-2 Pet 1-2 Peter  
1-2-3 John 1-2-3 John  
Jude Jude  
Rev Revelation

## APOCRYPHAL AND DEUTEROCANONICAL TITLES

1-2-3-4 Kgdms 1-2-3-4 Kingdoms  
1-2 Esd 1-2 Esdras  
Add Esth Additions to Esther  
Bar Baruch  
Jdt Judith  
Ep Jer Epistle of Jeremiah  
1-2-3-4 Macc 1-2-3-4 Maccabees  
Pr Azar Prayer of Azariah  
Pr Man Prayer of Manasseh  
Sir Sirach  
Sir Prol Prologue to Sirach  
Sus Susanna  
Tob Tobit  
Wis Wisdom of Solomon  
4 Ezra 4 Ezra  
Bel Bel and the Dragon

Sg TYM    Song of Three Young Men

## B. Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

*Adam and Eve*    *Books of Adam and Eve*  
*2-3 Bar.*    *Syriac, Greek Apocalypse of Baruch*  
*Apoc. Mos.*    *Apocalypse of Moses*  
*As. Mos.*    *Assumption of Moses*  
*1-2-3 Enoch*    *Ethiopic, Slavic, Hebrew Enoch*  
*Ep. Arist.*    *Epistle of Aristeeas*  
*Jub.*    *Jubilees*  
*Mart. Isa.*    *Martyrdom of Isaiah*  
*Odes Sol.*    *Odes of Solomon*  
*Pss. Sol.*    *Psalms of Solomon*  
*T. 12 Patr.*    *Testament of Twelve Patriarchs*  
*T. Levi*    *Testament of Levi*

## C. Rabbinic Literature

### TALMUDIC TEXTS

Abbreviations distinguish the versions of the Talmudic tractates: *y.* for Jerusalem and *b.* for Babylonian. A prefixed *t.* denotes the tractates of the Tosephta and an *m.* those of the Mishnah.

*ʿAbot*    *ʿAbot*  
*ʿArak.*    *ʿArakin*  
*ʿAbod. Zar.*    *ʿAboda Zara*  
*B. Bat.*    *Baba Bathra*  
*Bek.*    *Bekorot*  
*Ber.*    *Berakot*  
*Beṣa*    *Beṣa (= Yom Tob)*  
*Bik.*    *Bikkurim*  
*B. Meṣiʿa*    *Baba Meṣiʿa*  
*B. Qam.*    *Baba Qamma*  
*Demai*    *Demai*  
*ʿErub.*    *ʿErubin*  
*Ed.*    *Eduyyot*  
*Giṭ.*    *Giṭṭin*  
*Hag.*    *Hagigah*  
*Hal.*    *Hallah*  
*Hor.*    *Horayot*

*Hul. Hullin*  
*Kelim Kelim*  
*Ker. Kerithot*  
*Ketub. Ketubot*  
*Kil. Kil'ayim*  
*Ma'aś. Ma'aśerot*  
*Ma'aś. Š. Ma'aśer Šeni*  
*Mak. Makkot*  
*Makš. Makširin*  
*Meg. Megillah*  
*Me'il. Me'ilah*  
*Menaḥ. Menaḥot*  
*Mid. Middot*  
*Miqw. Miqwa'ot*  
*Mo'ed Mo'ed*  
*Mo'ed Qaṭ. Mo'ed Qaṭan*  
*Naš. Našim*  
*Naz. Nazir*  
*Ned. Nedarim*  
*Neg. Nega'im*  
*Nez. Neziqin*  
*Nid. Niddah*  
*Ohol. Oholot*  
*Or. Orla*  
*Para Para*  
*Pe'a Pe'a*  
*Pesaḥ. Pesaḥim*  
*Qinnim Qinnim*  
*Qidd. Qiddušin*  
*Qod. Qodašin*  
*Roš Haš. Roš Haššana*  
*Sanh. Sanhedrin*  
*Šabb. Šabbat*  
*Šeb. Šebi'it*  
*Šebu. Šebu'ot*  
*Šeqal. Šeqalim*  
*Soḥa Soḥa*  
*Sukka Sukka*  
*Ta'an. Ta'anit*  
*Tamid Tamid*

Tem. *Temura*  
 Ter. *Terumot*  
 Tohar. *Toharot*  
 T. Yom *Tebul Yom*  
 Uq. *Uqšim*  
 Yad. *Yadayim*  
 Yebam. *Yebamot*  
 Yoma *Yoma (= Kippurim)*  
 Zabim *Zabim*  
 Zebaḥ. *Zebaḥim*  
 Zera. *Zera'im*

## TARGUMIC TEXTS

Tg. Onq. *Targum Onqelos*  
 Tg. Neb. *Targum of the Prophets*  
 Tg. Ket. *Targum of the Writings*  
 Frg. Tg. *Fragmentary Targum*  
 Sam. Tg. *Samaritan Targum*  
 Tg. Isa. *Targum Isaiah*  
 Tg. Neof. *Targum Neofiti I*  
 Tg. Ps.-J. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*  
 Tg. Yer. *Targum Yerušalmi*  
 Yem. Tg. *Yemenite Targum*  
 Tg. Esth. I, II *First or Second Targum of Esther*

## OTHER JEWISH TEXTS

ᶯAbot R. Nat. *ᶯAbot de Rabbi Nathan*  
 ᶯAg. Ber. *ᶯAggadot Berešit*  
 Bab. *Babylonian (used alone)*  
 Bar. *Baraita*  
 Der. Er. Rab. *Derek Ereš Rabba*  
 Der. Er. Zuṭ. *Derek Ereš Zuṭa*  
 Gem. *Gemara*  
 Kalla Kalla  
 Mek. *Mekilta*  
 Midr. *Midrash (+ biblical book)*  
 Pal. *Palestinian (used alone)*  
 Pesiq. Rab. *Pesiqta Rabbati*  
 Pesiq. Rab Kah. *Pesiqta de Rab Kahana*

*Pirqe R. El.*      *Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer*  
*Rab. Rabbah* (+ biblical book)  
*Sem. Semahot*  
*Sipra*      *Sipra*  
*Sipre*      *Sipre*  
*Sop. Soperim*  
*S. 'olam. Rab.*      *Seder 'olam Rabbah*  
*Yal. Yalqut*

#### D. Qumran Texts

Qumran citations are according to J. A. Fitzmyer, S. J., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study* (rev. ed. 1990). The following list of abbreviations is selective.

1QapGen Genesis Apocryphon from Cave 1  
1QH Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns) from Cave 1  
1QM Milhamah (War Scroll) from Cave 1  
1QpHab Peshar on Habakkuk from Cave 1  
1QS Serek Hayyahad (Rule of the Community, Manual of Discipline) from Cave 1  
1QSaAppendix A (Rule of the Congregation) to 1QS from Cave 1  
1QSBAppendix B (Blessings) to 1QS from Cave 1  
4QFlor Florilegium (or Eschatological Mid-rashim) from Cave 4  
CD Cairo Geniza text of the Damascus Document  
p peshar  
Q Number preceding Q indicates cave

#### E. Ugaritic Texts

Citations of Qumran texts follow M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartin, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit* (AOAT 24, 1976). Abbreviation = *KTU*.

#### F. Symbols

→ = see (referring to another entry)  
\* (before an isolated lexical form) = conjectural, not a documented form  
\* (before or after a paragraph) = written by the editor (see above p. vii)  
> = develops into  
< = formed from

## G. Common and Reference Abbreviations

- AANLR* *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti*  
Aḥ. Aḥiqar text  
AbB Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung. Ed. by F. R. Kraus. Books 1ff., 1964ff.  
ABC Anchor Bible Commentary. Ed. by D. N. Freedman  
*ABR* *Australian Bible Review*  
abs. absolute, absolutely  
acc. accusative  
*AcOr* *Acta Orientalia*  
act. active  
adj. adjective, adjectival  
adv. adverb  
*AfO* *Archiv für Orientforschung*  
äg. ägyptisch  
*AHw* W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. Vols. 1-3, 1965-81  
*AION* *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale de Napoli*  
*AIPHOS* *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*  
*AJSL* *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*  
Akk. Akkadian  
*ALBO* *Analecta Lovaniensia Biblica et Orientalia*  
altaram. altaramäisch  
altbab. altbabylonisch  
Alt, *EOTHR* A. Alt, *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion*. Transl. R. A. Wilson. 1967  
Alt, *KS* A. Alt, *Kleine Schriften*. Vol. 1, 19633; vol. 2, 19643; vol. 3, 1959  
*ALUOS* *Annual of the Leeds University Oriental Society*  
Amor. Amorite  
*ANEP* *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*. Ed. by J. B. Pritchard. 1954  
*ANET* *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Ed. by J. B. Pritchard. 19693  
AnOr *Analecta orientalia*  
*AO* *Der Alte Orient*  
*AOAT* *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*  
*AOB* *Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament*. Ed. by H. Gressmann. 19272  
*AOT* *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*. Ed. by H. Gressmann. 19262

ap. ap<sup>c</sup>el  
 Arab. Arabic  
 Aram. Aramaic  
 ARM Archives royales de Mari  
*ArOr Archiv Orient-Inl*  
*ARW Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*  
 art. article  
 Assyr. Assyrian  
*ASTI Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute*  
 AT Altes Testament; Ancien Testament  
 ATD Das Alte Testament Deutsch. Ed. by V. Hertrich and A. Weiser  
 atl. alttestamentlich  
*ATR Anglican Theological Review*  
 AV Authorized Version  
*BA Biblical Archaeologist*  
 bab. babylonisch  
 Bab. Babylonian  
 BAGD W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. W. Danker,  
*Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament.* 1979  
 Barth J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen.* 1894  
*BASOR Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*  
 Bd. Band  
 BDB F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English  
 Lexicon of the Old Testament.* 1907  
 BCE Before the Common Era  
 Begrich, GS J. Begrich, *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament.*  
 1964  
 Ben-Yehuda E. Ben-Yehuda, *Thesaurus totius Hebraicitatis et veteris et  
 recentioris.* Vols. 1-16, 1908-59  
 Benz F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions.*  
 1972  
*BeO Bibbia e Oriente*  
 Berg. HG G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik.* Vol. 1, 1918; vol. 2,  
 1929  
 Berg. Intro. G. Bergsträsser, *Introduction to the Semitic Languages.*  
 Transl. with notes and bibliog. and an appendix on the scripts by P. T.  
 Daniels. 1983  
*BETL Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium*  
*BFCT Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*  
*BFPS C. Westermann, Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech.* Transl. by  
 H. C. White. 1967  
*BH3 Biblia Hebraica.* Ed. by R. Kittel, P. Kahle, A. Alt, and O. Eissfeldt.

19373

*BHH Biblisch-Historisches Handwörterbuch.* Ed. by B. Reicke and L. Rost. Vols. 1-3, 1962-66

*BHS Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia.* Ed. by K. Elliger and W. Rudolph. 1968-1977

*Bib Biblica*

bibl. biblical

Bibl. Aram. Biblical Aramaic

bibliog. bibliography

*BLex2 Bibel-Lexikon.* Ed. by H. Haag. 19682

*BO Bibliotheca Orientalis*

bis 2 occurrences

*BJRL Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*

BK *Biblischer Kommentar. Altes Testament.* Ed. by M. Noth and H. W. Wolff

BL H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache.* I, 1922

BLA H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen.* 1927

BM G. Beer, and R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik.* Vol. 1, 19522; vol. 2, 19552; vol. 3, 19602 (see also Meyer)

*BMAP* E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri.* 1953

Böhl F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl, *Opera Minora.* 1953

Bousset-Gressmann W. Bousset and H. Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter.* 19263

Bresciani-Kamil see Hermop.

*BRL* K. Galling, *Biblisches Reallexikon.* HAT 1, 1937

Brønno E. Brønno, *Studien über hebräische Morphologie und Vokalismus.* 1943

BrSynt C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax.* 1956

BS See Nöldeke, BS

*BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*

Buccellati G. Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period.* 1966

Burchardt M. Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen.* Vols. 1-2, 1909-10

BWAT Beiträge zum Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament

*BWL* W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature.* 1960

*BZ Biblische Zeitschrift*

*BZAW Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

*BZNW Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*

ca. circa

*CAD The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.* 1956ff.

Calice F. Calice, *Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung*. 1936  
 Can. Canaanite  
 CBQ *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*  
 CC Continental Commentaries  
 CE Common Era  
 cent. century  
 cf. confer, compare  
 ch(s).chapter(s)  
 Chr Chronicler  
 Christ.-Pal. Christian-Palestinian, a late Aramaic dialect  
 CIS *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. 1881ff.  
 cj. conjecture (regarding an uncertain reading)  
 CML1, CML2 G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*. 1956; 19782  
 cod. codex  
 col. column  
 comm(s). commentary, commentaries  
 cons. consecutive  
 Conti Rossini K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia Arabica Meridionalis Epigraphica*. 1931  
 Cooke G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*. 1903  
 Copt. Coptic  
 Cowley A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* 1923  
 CPT J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament*. 1968  
 CRAIBL *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*  
 cs. construct  
 CV *Communio Viatorum*  
 D D (doubling)-stem in Akkadian  
 DAFA R. Blachère, M. Chouémi, C. Denizeau, *Dictionnaire arabe-français-anglais (langue classique et moderne)*. 1963ff.  
 Dalman G. Dalman, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch*. 19383  
 Dalman, AuS G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*. Vols. 1-7, 1928-42  
 Delitzsch F. Delitzsch, *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament*. 1920  
 Deutero-Isa Deutero-Isaiah or Second-Isaiah  
 Dhorme E. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien*. 1923  
 Dillmann A. Dillmann, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopiae*. 1865

Diringer D. Diringer, *Le iscrizioni antico-ebraiche Palestinesi*. 1934  
 DISO Ch. F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest*. 1965  
 diss. dissertation  
 DJD Discoveries in the Judaean Desert. Vol. 1ff., 1955ff.  
 DNTT *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*. Ed. by C. Brown. Vol. 1, 1975; vol. 2, 1976; vol. 3, 1978  
 DOTT D. W. Thomas, *Documents from Old Testament Times*. 1958  
 Drower-Macuch E. S. Drower and R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary*. 1963  
 Driver, AD G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* 1957  
 Driver-Miles G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*. Vols. 1-2, 1952-55  
 dt. deutsch  
 Dtn Deuteronomic (history, writer)  
 Dtr Deuteronomistic (history; writer); Deuteronomist  
 Duden, *Etymologie* K. Duden, *Etymologie. Herkunftswörterbuch der deutschen Sprache. Bearbeitet von der Dudenredaktion unter Leitung von P. Grebe*. Der Grosse Duden Bd. 7, 1963  
 Dupont-Sommer A. Dupont-Sommer, *Les Araméens*. L'Orient ancien illustré 2. 1949  
 Dyn. Dynasty  
 E Elohistic source (of the Pentateuch)  
 EA El-Amarna tablets. According to the edition of J. A. Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna-Tafeln*. 1915. Continued in A. F. Rainey, *El Amarna Tablets* 359-379. 1970  
 ed. edited; edition; editor  
 EEA S. Moscati, *L'epigrafia ebraica antica*. *Biblica et Orientalia* 15, 1951  
 e.g. exempli gratia, for example  
 Eg. Egyptian  
 Eichrodt W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*. Vol. 1, 1961; vol. 2, 1967  
 Eissfeldt, *Intro*. O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament. An Introduction*. Transl. by P. R. Ackroyd. 1965  
 Eissfeldt, *KS* O. Eissfeldt, *Kleine Schriften*. Vols. 1ff., 1962ff.  
 EKL *Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon*. Ed. by H. Brunotte and O. Weber. 3 Vols. 1962  
 Ellenbogen M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the Old Testament*. 1962  
 ELKZ *Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*  
 emph. emphatic  
 Eng. English  
 Erman-Grapow A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen*

*Sprache.* Vols. 1-7, 1926-63  
 ESem. East Semitic (language group)  
 esp. especially  
*ET Expository Times*  
 etc. et cetera  
 Eth. Ethiopic  
*ETL Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*  
 etpa. etpa<sup>al</sup>  
 etpe. etpe<sup>el</sup>  
 excl. excluding  
 extrabibl. extrabiblical  
*EvT Evangelische Theologie*  
 f(f). following page(s)  
*FF Forschungen und Fortschritte*  
 fem. feminine  
*FGH Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.* Ed. by F. Jacoby. 1923ff.  
 fig. figurative, figuratively  
 Fitzmyer, *Gen.Ap.* J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I. A Commentary.* *Biblica et Orientalia* 18A, 19712  
 Fitzmyer, *Sef.* J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire.* *Biblica et Orientalia* 19, 1967  
 Fr. French  
 Fraenkel S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen.* 1886  
 frg. fragment  
 Friedrich J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik.* 1951  
 Friedrich-Röllig J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik.* 19702  
 FS Festschrift  
 FS Albright (1961) *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of W. F. Albright.* 1961  
 FS Albright (1971) *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright.* 1971  
 FS Alleman *Biblical Studies in Memory of H. C. Alleman.* 1960  
 FS Alt *Geschichte und Altes Testament.* 1953  
 FS Baetke *Festschrift W. Baetke. Dargebracht zu seinem 80. Geburtstag am 28. März 1964.* Ed. by K. Rudolph, R. Heller, and E. Walter. 1966  
 FS Bardtke *Bibel und Qumran.* 1968  
 FS Barth (1936) *Theologische Aufsätze, Karl Barth zum 50. Geburtstag.* 1936  
 FS Barth (1956) *Antwort. Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Karl Barth.* 1956

FS Basset *Mémorial H. Basset*. 1928  
 FS Baudissin *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde und Sprachwissenschaft*. 1918  
 FS Baumgärtel *Festschrift F. Baumgärtel zum 70. Geburtstag*. 1959  
 FS Baumgartner *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von W. Baumgartner*. SVT 16, 1967  
 FS Beer *Festschrift für G. Beer zum 70. Geburtstag*. 1933  
 FS Bertholet *Festschrift für A. Bertholet*. 1950  
 FS Browne *Oriental Studies*. 1922  
 FS Christian *Vorderasiatische Studien. Festschrift für V. Christian*. 1956  
 FS Coppens *De Mari Qumran. Hommage J. Coppens*. 1969  
 FS Davies *Proclamation and Presence. Old Testament Essays in Honour of G. H. Davies*. 1970  
 FS Delekat *Libertas Christiana. F. Delekat zum 65. Geburtstag*. 1957  
 FS Driver *Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to G. R. Driver*. 1963  
 FS Dupont-Sommer *Hommages André Dupont-Sommer*. 1971  
 FS Dussaud *Mélanges syriens offerts R. Dussaud*. 1939  
 FS Eichrodt *Wort-Gebot-Glaube. W. Eichrodt zum 80. Geburtstag*. 1970  
 FS Eilers *Festschrift für W. Eilers*. 1967  
 FS Eissfeldt (1947) *Festschrift O. Eissfeldt zum 60. Geburtstag*. 1947  
 FS Eissfeldt (1958) *Von Ugarit nach Qumran. Beiträge . . . O. Eissfeldt zum 1. September 1957 dargebracht*. 1958  
 FS Elliger *Wort und Geschichte. Festschrift für Karl Elliger zum 70. Geburtstag*. 1973  
 FS Faulhaber *Festschrift für Kardinal Faulhaber*. 1949  
 FS Friedrich *Festschrift für J. Friedrich*. 1959  
 FS Frings *Festgabe J. Kardinal Frings*. 1960  
 FS Galling *Archäologie und Altes Testament. Festschrift für K. Galling*. 1970  
 FS Gaster *M. Gaster Anniversary Volume*. 1936  
 FS Gelin *A la rencontre de Dieu. Mémorial A. Gelin*. 1961  
 FS Gispen *Schrift en uitleg. Studies . . . W. H. Gispen*. 1970  
 FS Glueck *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century. Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck*. 1970  
 FS Grapow *Ägyptologische Studien H. Grapow*. 1955  
 FS Haupt *Oriental Studies, Published in Commemoration . . . of P. Haupt*. 1926  
 FS Heim *Theologie als Glaubenswagnis*. 1954  
 FS Hermann *Solange es Heute heisst. Festgabe für Rudolf Hermann*. 1957  
 FS Herrmann *Hommage L. Herrmann. Collection Latomus 44*, 1960

FS Hertzberg *Gottes Wort und Gottes Land*. 1965  
 FS Herwegen *Heilige Überlieferung. I. Herwegen zum silbernen Abtsjubiläum dargebracht*. 1938  
 FS Irwin *A Stubborn Faith. Papers . . . Presented to Honor W. A. Irwin*. Ed. by E. C. Hobbs. 1956  
 FS Jacob *Festschrift G. Jacob*. 1932  
 FS Jepsen *Schalom. Studien zu Glaube und Geschichte Israels. Alfred Jepsen zum 70. Geburtstag*. 1971  
 FS Junker *Lex tua veritas. Festschrift für H. Junker*. 1961  
 FS Kahle *In memoriam P. Kahle. BZAW 103*, 1968  
 FS Kittel *Alttestamentliche Studien, R. Kittel dargebracht*. BWAT 13, 1913  
 FS Kohut *Semitic Studies in Memory of A. Kohut*. 1897  
 FS Kopp *Charisteria I. Kopp octogenario oblata*. 1954  
 FS Koschaker *Symbolae P. Koschaker dedicatae. Studia et documenta ad iura Orientis Antiqui pertinentia 2*, 1939  
 FS Krüger *Imago Dei. Festschrift Gustav Krüger*. 1932  
 FS Landsberger *Studies in Honor of B. Landsberger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*. 1965  
 FS Lévy *Mélanges I. Lévy*. 1955  
 FS de Liagre Böhl *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl dedicatae*. 1973  
 FS Manson *New Testament Essays. Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson*. 1959  
 FS Marti *Vom Alten Testament. Marti-Festschrift*. 1925  
 FS May *Translating and Understanding the Old Testament. Essays in Honor of H. G. May*. 1970  
 FS Meiser *Viva Vox Evangelii, Festschrift Bischof Meiser*. 1951  
 FS Michel *Abraham unser Vater. Festschrift für Otto Michel zum 60. Geburtstag*. 1963  
 FS Mowinckel *Interpretationes ad Vetus Testamentum pertinentes S. Mowinckel septuagenario missae*. 1955  
 FS Muilenburg *Israel's Prophetic Heritage. Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg*. 1962  
 FS Neuman *Studies and Essays in Honor of A. A. Neuman*. 1962  
 FS Nötscher *Alttestamentliche Studien. F. Nötscher zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet*. 1950  
 FS Pedersen *Studia Orientalia J. Pedersen dicata*. 1953  
 FS Procksch *Festschrift O. Procksch*. 1934  
 FS von Rad (1961) *Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen*. 1961  
 FS von Rad (1971) *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Gerhard von Rad zum 70. Geburtstag*. 1971

FS Rinaldi *Studi sull' Oriente e la Bibbia, offerti al P. G. Rinaldi.* 1967  
 FS Robert *Mélanges bibliques. Rédigés en l'honneur de A. Robert.* 1957  
 FS Robinson *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy. Presented to Th. H. Robinson.* 1950  
 FS Rost *Das ferne und das nahe Wort. Festschrift L. Rost zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres am 30 November 1966 gewidmet.* BZAW 105, 1967  
 FS Rudolph *Verbannung und Heimkehr.* 1961  
 FS Sachau *Festschrift W. Sachau zum siebzigsten Geburtstage gewidmet.* 1915  
 FS Schmaus *Wahrheit und Verkündigung. M. Schmaus zum 70. Geburtstag.* 1967  
 FS Schmidt *Festschrift Eberhardt Schmidt.* Ed. by P. Brockelmann et al. 1961  
 FS Sellin *Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte und Archäologie Palästinas.* 1927  
 FS van Selms *De fructu oris sui. Essays in Honour of Adrianus van Selms.* 1971  
 FS Söhngen *Einsicht und Glaube. G. Söhngen zum 70. Geburtstag.* 1962  
 FS Thomas *Words and Meanings. Essays Presented to D. W. Thomas.* 1968  
 FS Thomsen *Festschrift V. Thomsen zur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres.* 1912  
 FS Vischer *Hommage W. Vischer.* 1960  
 FS Vogel *Vom Herrengheimnis der Wahrheit.* 1962  
 FS Vriezen *Studia biblica et semitica. Th. C. Vriezen . . . dedicata.* 1966  
 FS Wedemeyer *Sino-Japonica. Festschrift A. Wedemeyer zum 80. Geburtstag.* 1956  
 FS Weiser *Tradition und Situation. A. Weiser zum 70. Geburtstag.* 1963  
 FS Wellhausen *Studien . . . J. Wellhausen gewidmet.* BZAW 27, 1914  
 G Grundstamm, Akkadian basic stem  
 GAG W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik samt Ergänzungsheft.* AnOr 33/47, 1969  
 GB W. Gesenius and F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament.* 1915/17  
 GCDS J. H. Charlesworth et al., *Graphic Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls.* 1991  
 gen. genitive, genitival  
 Ger. German  
 Gesenius, *Thesaurus* W. Gesenius, *Thesaurus . . . Linguae Hebraicae et Chaldaicae.* Vols. 1-3, 1835-58  
 Gilg. Gilgamesh Epic (see also Schott)

Gk. Greek, referring to lexical forms, not translation  
 Grapow H. Grapow, *Wie die alten Ägypter sich anredeten, wie sie sich grüssten und wie sie miteinander sprachen.* 19602  
 GKC Gesenius' *Hebrew Grammar.* Ed. by E. Kautzsch. Transl. A. E. Cowley. 19102  
 Gray, *Legacy* J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan.* 19652  
 Gröndahl F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit.* 1967  
 GS *Gesammelte Studien*  
 Gt, Gtn G-stem in Akkadian, with *-ta-* and *-tan-* infix, respectively  
 GTT *Gereformeerde Theologisch Tijdschrift*  
 Gulkowitsch L. Gulkowitsch, *Die Bildung von Abstraktbegriffen in der hebräischen Sprachgeschichte.* 1931  
 Gunkel, *Gen* H. Gunkel, *Genesis.* HKAT I/1, 19667  
 Gunkel-Begrich H. Gunkel and J. Begrich, *Einleitung in die Psalmen.* 1933  
 GVG C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen.* Vols. 1-2, 1908-13  
 H Holiness Code (Lev 17-26)  
 ha. hap<sup>ʿ</sup>el  
 HAL L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament.* Fascicles 1-5, 1967-1995 (= KBL3). Eng. transl. HALOT  
 HALOT L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Transl. and ed. under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson, Vols. 1-4, 1994-1997  
 Harris Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language.* 1936  
 HAT *Handbuch zum Alten Testament.* Ed. by O. Eissfeldt  
 Haussig *Wörterbuch der Mythologie.* Ed. by H. W. Haussig. Part 1, 1961  
 hebr. hebräisch  
 Hebr. Hebrew  
 Herdner, CTA A. Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 1939.* Mission de Ras Shamra X, 1963  
 Herm Hermeneia  
 Hermop. Hermopolis Papyri. According to the edition of E. Besciani and M. Kamil, *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.* Memorie, ser. VIII, vol. 12, 1966  
 hi. hip<sup>ʿ</sup>il  
 hišt. hištap<sup>ʿ</sup>al  
 hitp. hitpa<sup>ʿ</sup>el  
 hitpa. hitpa<sup>ʿ</sup>al (Aramaic stem)

hitpe. hitpe<sup>ʿ</sup>el  
 hitpo. hitpo<sup>ʿ</sup>el  
 Hitt. Hittite  
 HKAT Handkommentar zum Alten Testament  
 HO Handbuch der Orientalistik. Ed. by B. Spuler  
 ho. hop<sup>ʿ</sup>al  
*HP* E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi<sup>ʿ</sup>el*. 1968  
 HSAT Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments. Ed. by E. Kautzsch and A. Bertholet. 1922/234  
*HTR* *Harvard Theological Review*  
*HUCA* *Hebrew Union College Annual*  
 Huffmon H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*. 1965  
 ibid. ibidem, in the same place  
 id. idem, the same  
*IDB* *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. Ed. by G. Buttrick. 4 vols, 1962. *Supplementary Volume*. Ed. by K. Crim. 1976  
*IEJ* *Israel Exploration Journal*  
 ICC International Critical Commentary  
 ILC J. Pedersen, *Israel, Its Life and Culture*. Vols. 1-2, 1926; vols. 3-4, 1934  
 Imp. Aram. Imperial Aramaic  
 imper. impersonal  
 impf. imperfect, imperfective  
 impf. cons. imperfectum consecutivum  
 impv. imperative  
 incl. including  
 inf. infinitive  
 inscr. inscription  
*Int* *Interpretation*  
 intrans. intransitive  
*IP* M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*. 1928  
 isr. israelitisch  
 Isr. Israelite  
 išt. ištap<sup>ʿ</sup>al  
 itp. itpe<sup>ʿ</sup>el  
 itpa. itpa<sup>ʿ</sup>al  
 J Jahwist source (of the Pentateuch)  
 Jacob E. Jacob, *Théologie de l'Ancien Testament*. 1955  
 Jahnou J. Jahnou, *Das hebräische Leichenlied im Rahmen der Völkerdichtung*. 1923

JANES *The Journal of the Ancient Near East Society of Columbia University*  
 JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*  
 Jastrow M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature.* 19502  
 JBL *Journal of Biblical Literature*  
 JCS *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*  
 JE *The Jewish Encyclopedia.* Ed. by J. Singer. Vols. 1-12, 1901-6  
 JEOL *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap (Genootschap) Ex Oriente Lux*  
 Jew. Jewish  
 JJS *Journal of Jewish Studies*  
 JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*  
 Joüon P. Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew.* 2 vols. Transl. and revised by T. Muraoka. *Subsidia Biblica* 14/1-2, 1991  
 JPSV Jewish Publication Society Version  
 JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies*  
 JTS *Journal of Theological Studies*  
 juss. jussive  
 K Kethib  
 KAI H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften.* Vol. I, Texte, 19662; vol. II, Kommentar, 19682; vol. III, Glossare etc., 19692  
 Kaiser, *Intro.* O. Kaiser, *Introduction to the Old Testament.* Transl. by J. Sturdy. 1975  
 KAT *Kommentar zum Alten Testament.* Ed. by W. Rudolph, K. Elliger, and F. Hesse  
 KBL L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros.* 19582  
 KD C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament.* 1866-91  
 KerD *Kerygma and Dogma*  
 KHC *Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*  
 KI M. Lidzbarski, *Kanaanäische Inschriften.* 1907  
 Kluge F. Kluge and W. Mitzka, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache.* 196311  
 Köhler, *Theol.* L. Köhler, *Old Testament Theology.* Transl. by A. S. Todd. 1957  
 König E. König, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament.* 19366,7  
 König, *Syntax* E. König, *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache mit steter Beziehung auf Qimchi und dei anderen Auctoritäten.* Bd. II/2: *Historisch-comparative Syntax der hebräischen*

*Sprache*. 1897  
 KS Kleine Schriften  
 KTU M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*. 1976  
 Kuhn, Konk. K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten*. 1960  
 L "lay source" of the Pentateuch  
 l(l). line(s)  
 Lande I. Lande, *Formelhafte Wendungen der Umgangssprache im Alten Testament*. 1949  
 Lane E. W. Lane, *Al-Qamūsu, an Arabic-English Lexicon*. Vols. 1-8, 1863-93  
 Lat. Latin  
 van der Leeuw G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*. Transl. by J. E. Turner, with appendices incorporating the additions of the 2d German ed. by Hans H. Penner. 2 vols, 1967  
 Leander P. Leander, *Laut- und Formenlehre des Ägyptisch-Aramäischen*. 1928  
 Leslau W. Leslau, *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon*. 1958  
 Levy M. A. Levy, *Siegel und Gemmen mit aramäischen, phoenizischen, althebräischen . . . Inschriften*. 1869  
 de Liagre Böhl see Böhl  
 Lis. G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Alten Testament*. 1958  
 lit. literally  
 Littmann-Höfner E. Littmann and M. Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache*. 1962  
 LS C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*. 1928  
 LXX Septuagint  
 LXXA etc. Cod. Alexandrinus etc.  
 Mand. Mandaean  
 Mandl. S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti concordantiae hebraicae atque chaldaicae*. 1926  
 MAOG Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft  
 masc. masculine  
 MDAI *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*  
 Meyer R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik*. Vol. 1, 19663; vol. 2, 19693  
 Mid. Assyr. Middle Assyrian  
 Mid. Hebr. Middle Hebrew  
 Midr. Midrash  
 Min. Pr. Twelve Minor Prophets (Hos, Joel, Amos, Obad, Jonah, Mic, Nah, Hab, Zeph, Hag, Zech, Mal)  
 MIO *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*.  
 Moab. Moabite

Montgomery, *Dan* J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. International Critical Commentary, 19502  
 Moscati, *Intro*. *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of Semitic Languages*. Ed. by S. Moscati. 1964  
*Muséon* *Le Muséon. Revue d'Etudes Orientales*  
 MS(S) Manuscript(s)  
 MT Mas(s)oretic Text (textus receptus)  
*MUSJ* *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*  
 N Northern (source)  
 n. note  
 NAB New American Bible  
 Nab. Nabatean  
 NASB New American Standard Bible  
*NAWG* *Nachrichten (von) der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*  
*NB* see Nöldeke, *NB*  
 NCBC New Century Bible Commentary  
*NE* M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*. 1898  
 NEB New English Bible  
*NedGTT* *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Theologiese Tydskrif*  
*NedTT* *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift*  
 ni. nip{al  
*NIDOTTE* *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. Ed. by W. A. VanGemeren. 5 vols., 1997  
 nitp. nitpa{el  
 NIV New International Version  
*NKZ* *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*  
 Nöldeke, *BS* T. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*. 1904  
 Nöldeke, *NB* T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*. 1910  
 nom. nominal, nominative  
 no(s).number(s)  
 Noth, *GS* M. Noth, *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament*. Vol. 1, 19663; vol. 2, 1969  
 NRSV New Revised Standard Version  
*NRT* *La nouvelle revue théologique*  
 NS new series  
 NT New Testament  
*NTS* *Nieuwe Theologische Studiën*  
*NTT* *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift*  
 NWSem. Northwest Semitic (language group)

Nyberg H. S. Nyberg, *Hebreisk Grammatik*. 1952  
 obj. object  
 OLZ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*  
 op. cit. opere citato, in the work cited  
 Or *Orientalia* (NS)  
 OrAnt Oriens Antiquus  
 OT Old Testament  
 OTL Old Testament Library  
 OTS *Oudtestamentische Studiën*  
 OuTWP *Die Ou Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika Pretoria*  
 P Priestly source (of the Pentateuch)  
 p(p). page(s)  
 Ps see H  
 pa. pa{el  
 Pal. Palestinian  
 Palm. Palmyrene  
 pap. papyrus  
 par. parallel  
 pass. passive  
 Payne-Smith R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*. Vols. 1-2, 1868-97  
 pe. Aramaic stem pe<sup>ʿ</sup>al (= Heb. qal in German edition)  
 PEQ *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*  
 per. person, persons, personal  
 Pers. Persia, Persian  
 pf. perfect, perfective  
 PHOE G. von Rad, *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*.  
 Transl. by E. W. Trueman Dicken. 1966  
 Phoen. Phoenician  
 pi. pi<sup>ʿ</sup>el  
 pil. pilpel  
 PJB *Palästina-jahrbuch*  
 PLP C. Westermann, *The Praise of God in the Psalms*. Transl. K. R. Crim  
 and R. N. Soulen. 1981  
 pl. plural  
 PN personal name  
 PNSP M. Dahood, *Proverbs and Northwest Semitic Philology*. 1963  
 po. po<sup>ʿ</sup>el  
 Poen. Plautus, *Poenulus* (see also Sznycer)  
 poss. possessive  
 postbibl. postbiblical  
 POT *De Prediking van het Oude Testament*

prep. preposition, prepositional  
 pron. pronoun  
*PRU* *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit*. Vols. 2-6, 1955-70  
 ptcp. participle  
 pu. pu<sup>c</sup>al  
 Pun. Punic  
 Q Qere  
 R Redactor  
*RA* *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*  
*RAC* *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. 1950ff.  
 von Rad, *Gottesvolk* G. von Rad, *Das Gottesvolk im Deuteronomium*.  
 1929  
 von Rad, *GS* G. von Rad, *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament*.  
 19653  
 von Rad, *Theol.* G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*. Transl. by D. M.  
 G. Stalker. Vol. 1, 1963; vol. 2, 1965  
*RB* *Revue Biblique*  
 re regarding  
 reg. register  
*REJ* *Revue des Etudes Juives*  
*RES* *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*  
 resp. respectively  
 rev. reverse  
*RGG* *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Ed. by K. Galling. Vols. 1-6,  
 19573-62  
*RHPR* *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses*  
*RHR* *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*  
*RivB* *Rivista Biblica Italiana*  
 Rost, *KC* L. Rost, *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum Alten*  
*Testament*. 1965  
*RQ* *Revue de Qumrân*  
 RS Ras Shamra. Texts given according to the excavation numbers; see  
 also *PRU*  
 RSO *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*  
*RSP* *Ras Shamra Parallels*  
*RSPT* *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*  
 RSV Revised Standard Version  
*RTP* *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*  
 S J. Strong, *Strong's Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible*, 1890  
 Š Š-stem in Akkadian  
 šap. šap<sup>c</sup>el  
*SAHG* A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden, *Sumerische und akkadische*

*Hymnen und Gebete.* 1953  
 Sam. Samaritan  
 SArab. South Arabic (language group)  
*SBL* J. Barr, *Semantics of Biblical Language.* 1961  
 SCanSouth Canaanite (language group)  
 Schott *Das Gilgamesch-Epos.* Neu übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen  
 versehen von A. Schott. Dursch- gesehen und ergänzt von W. von Soden.  
 1958  
*SDAW* *Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften  
 zu Berlin*  
 Sef. Sefire stelae (see Fitzmyer, Sef. )  
 Sellin-Fohrer *Introduction to the Old Testament.* Initiated by E. Sellin.  
 Completely revised by G. Fohrer. 1968  
*Semit* *Semitica*  
 Sem. Semitic  
 ser. series  
 Seux M.-J. Seux, *Epithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes.* 1967  
 sg. singular  
*SNHL* J. L. Palache, *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon,* 1959  
 SSem. South Semitic (language group)  
 st. state  
*ST* *Studia Theologica*  
 Stamm, AN J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung.* 1968  
 Stamm, HEN J. J. Stamm, *Hebräische Ersatznamen,* FS Landsberger,  
 413-424  
 Stark J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions.* 1971  
*SThU* *Schweizerische Theologische Umschau*  
*SThZ* *Schweizerische theologische Zeitschrift*  
 StrB H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament  
 aus Talmud und Midrasch.* Vols. 1-6, 1922-61  
*StudOr* *Studia Orientalia*  
 subj. subject  
 subst. substantive, substantival  
 suf. suffix  
 Sum. Sumerian  
 suppl. supplement  
 s.v. sub voce  
*SVT* *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*  
 SWSem. Southwest Semitic (language group)  
 Syr. Syriac  
 Sznycer M. Sznycer, *Les passages puniques en transcription latine  
 dans le "Poenulus" de Plaute.* 1967  
 Tallqvist K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta.* 1938

*TBI Theologische Blätter*  
*TDNT Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.* Ed. by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Transl. by G. W. Bromiley. Vols. 1-10, 1964-76  
*TDOT Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Ed. by G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren, and H. J. Fabry. Transl. by J. T. Willis, G. W. Bromiley, and D. E. Green. Vols. 1ff., 1974ff.  
 Tg(s). Targum(s); Targumic  
*TGI 1; TGI 2 Textbook zur Geschichte Israels.* Ed. by K. Galling. 19501; 19682  
*TGUOS Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*  
*THAT Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament.* Ed. by E. Jenni, with assistance from C. Westermann. 2 vols., 1971-76. Eng. transl. *TLOT*  
 theol.theology; Theologie, theologisch  
*ThStud Theological Studies*  
*ThT Theologisch Tijdschrift*  
*ThWAT Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament.* Ed. by G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren, and H. J. Fabry. Vols. 1ff., 1970ff. Eng. transl. *TDOT*  
*TLOT Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Ed. by E. Jenni, with assistance from C. Westermann. Transl. by M. E. Biddle. 3 vols., 1997  
*TLZ Theologische Literaturzeitung*  
*TQ Theologische Quartalschrift*  
 trans.transitive  
 transl. translated (by); translation  
 Trip. Tripolitana. Enumeration according to G. Levi della Vida, see *DISO XXVIII*  
*TRu Theologische Rundschau*  
*TS Theologische Studien*  
*TSK Theologische Studien und Kritiken*  
*TWOT Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament.* Ed. by R. L. Harris, G. L. Archer, Jr., and B. K. Waltke. 2 vols., 1980  
 txt? problematic or corrupted text  
 txt em textual emendation  
*TZ Theologische Zeitschrift*  
*UF Ugarit-Forschungen*  
 Ug. Ugaritic  
*Ugaritica* 5J. Nougayrol, E. Laroche, C. Virolleaud, C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica V.* 1968  
*UHP* M. Dahood, *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology.* 1965  
*UJE The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia.* Ed. by L. Landman. 1948  
*UT* C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook.* AnOr 38, 1965. Number indicates entries in the glossary. Text indicates the texts in transliteration

v(v) verse(s)  
 VAB Vorderasiatische Bibliothek  
 de Vaux R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*. Transl. by J  
 McHugh. 2 vols., 1961  
 VD *Verbum Domini*  
 Vers. version(s)  
 Vg. Vulgate  
 Vriezen, *Theol.* T. C. Vriezen, *An Outline of Old Testament Theology*.  
 19702  
 VT *Vetus Testamentum*  
 Wagner M. Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen*  
*Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*. 1966  
 WD *Wort und Dienst* (Jahrbuch der Theologischen Schule Bethel)  
 Wehr H. Wehr, *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. 1961  
 Westermann, *PLP* See *PLP*  
 WKAS *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*. Ed. by M.  
 Ullmann. 1957ff.  
 WO *Welt des Orients*  
 Wolff, GS H. W. Wolff, *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament*. 1964  
 WSem. West Semitic  
 WTM J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*.  
 19242  
 WUS J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*. Ed. by O.  
 Eissfeldt. 19673  
 WZ *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*  
 WZKM *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*  
 x no. of times a form occurs  
 Yadin Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*. 1962  
 yi. yip{il  
 ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*  
 ZÄS *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*  
 ZAW *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*  
 ZB Zürcher Bibel  
 ZBK Zürcher Bibelkommentare  
 ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*  
 ZDPV *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*  
 ZEE *Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik*  
 Zimmerli, GO W. Zimmerli, *Gottes Offenbarung. Gessamelte Aufsätze*  
*zum Alten Testament*. 1963  
 Zimmern H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter*. 19172  
 ZKG *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*  
 ZNW *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*  
 Zorell F. Zorell, *Lexicon Hebraicum et Aramaicum Veteris Testamenti*.

1968

ZRGG *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*

ZS *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*

ZTK *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

## אָב *ʾāb* father

S 1; BDB 3a; *HALOT* 1:1b; *TDOT* 1:1–19; *TWOT* 4; *NIDOTTE* 3

I. The biradical \**ʾab-* “father” is common Sem. (*GVG* 1:331; BL 450, 524), like the other significant kinship terms (→ *ʾēm* “mother,” → *bēn* “son,” → *ʾāḥ* “brother”). Like *ʾēm* “mother” and pars. in numerous languages, it derives from infant babbling (L. Köhler, *ZAW* 55 [1937]: 169–72; id., *JSS* 1 [1956]: 12f.); derivation from a verbal root (e.g., → *ʾbh* “to wish”) is therefore unsuccessful.

Derivatives from the root form (abstract and adj. forms, diminutives, esp. vocatives) are lacking in OT Hebr.; in contrast, cf. Akk. *abbūtu* “fatherhood” (*AHW* 6a; *CAD* A/1:50f.), mostly in a fig. sense (“fatherly attitude”; *abbūta epēšu/šabātu/aḥāzu* “to intercede”), which also occurs in family law documents, e.g., at Nuzi, of the transfer of the family leadership to the wife following the death of the adopter (P. Koschaker, *OLZ* 35 [1932]: 400).

The abstract form is also attested in Phoen.: Karatepe inscription I.12f. (*KAI* no. 26), “Indeed, every king chose me for fatherhood (*bʾbt pʿln*), my justice and my wisdom and the goodness of my heart” (Friedrich 91, 130; *KAI* 2:40; *DISO* 3; cf. *ANET* 654a); contra, although uncertain, M. Dahood, *Bib* 44 [1963]: 70, 291; *HAL* 2a: *ʾābôt* as a pl. excellentiae is also to be understood as a sg. in Isa 14:21 and Psa 109:14.

In Syr. (C. Brockelmann, *ZA* 17 [1903]: 251f.; *LS* 1a) *ʾhd ʾbwtʾ* appears borrowed from Akk. *abbūta aḥāzu* “to intercede” (*CAD* A/1:178), and as a “celque” from Aram. in the Hebr. of Qumran: 1QS 2:9: *ʾôḥ<sup>a</sup>zê ʾābôt* “intercessor” (P. Wernberg-Møller, *VT* 3 [1953]: 196f.; id., *Manual of Discipline* [1957], 53f.; E. Y. Kutscher, *Tarbiz* 33 [1963/64]: 125f.).

II. With over 1,200 occurrences *ʾāb* stands after *dābār* and before *ʾur* in eleventh place among the substs. ordered according to frequency.

The following statistics do not include *ʾābî* as an interjection (1 Sam 24:12; 2 Kgs 5:13; Job 34:6) and the addition of Bombergiana in 2 Chron 10:14; *ʾābî(w)* in conjunction with the PN *ḥûrām* (2 Chron 2:12; 4:16) is included; Lis. overlooks Gen 46:34.

	sg.	pl.	total
Hebr.			
Gen	198	10	208
Exod	10	14	24
Lev	22	3	25
Num	28	57	85

Deut	20	51	71	
Josh	17	18	35	
Judg	44	10	54	
1 Sam	48	5	53	
2 Sam	27	1	28	
1 Kgs	64	31	95	
2 Kgs	31	38	69	
Isa	16	5	21	
Jer	15	48	63	
Ezek	13	14	27	
Hos	–	1	1	
Jonah	–	1	1	
Amos	1	1	2	
	sg.	pl.	total	
Mic	1	1	2	
Zech	2	5	7	
Mal	3	4	7	
Psa	5	14	19	
Job	6	3	9	
Prov	23	3	26	
Ruth	3	–	3	
Lam	1	1	2	
Esth	3	–	3	
Dan	–	8	8	
Ezra	–	14	14	
Neh	1	19	20	
1 Chron		60	46	106
2 Chron		58	65	123
Aram.				
Dan	4	1	5	
Ezra	–	2	2	
total				
Hebr.	720	491	1,211	
Aram.	4	3	7	

III. 1. The correlation to son/daughter/child or their pls. is already established in the basic meaning “(natural) father (of his children)”; the word is never used in the OT, then, without this implicit or explicit juxtaposition except in some fig. usages (honorifics, “founder,” etc.). A devaluation to a simple correlative term, as occurs to a degree with Arab. *kunja* (e.g., “father of the desert” = ostrich), does not occur in the OT (for <sup>ʔ</sup>*bîʕad* Isa 9:5, see 3).

As a term of interfamilial relationship, the sg. is used in the vast majority of cases (14/15) with a gen. or poss. suf.; consequently it stands only 3x with a (definite) art.

Denoting the male parent, “father” stands in a complementary relationship to “mother,” a relationship that constitutes a second, less pronounced semantic dichotomy. Consequently, the two terms will often be

bound together in nom. series; the sequence father-mother is determined by the primary position of the father in the patriarchal family (G. Quell, *TDNT* 5:961ff.).

“Father” and “mother” stand in parallelism (parallelismus membrorum) in Psa 109:14; Job 17:14; 31:18; Prov 1:8; 4:3; 6:20; 19:26; 23:22; 30:11, 17; Mic 7:6; cf. further, without strict formal congruity and with rearrangement of the elements determined partly by content, Jer 16:3; 20:14f.; Ezek 16:3, 45.

Of 52 nom. series (lists in B. Hartmann, *Die nominalen Aufreihungen im AT* [1953], 7, with them add Lev 20:9b; Judg 14:6; 1 Kgs 22:53; 2 Kgs 3:13; delete Jer 6:21), three exhibit the sequence mother-father (Lev 19:3; 20:19; 21:2; for the reasons, see Elliger, HAT 4, 256n.5).

In some of these texts one could paraphrase “father and mother” accurately with “parents” (Gen 2:24; 28:7; Deut 21:13; Judg 14:2ff.; 1 Sam 22:3; 2 Sam 19:38; Zech 13:3[bis] with *yōl<sup>c</sup>dāyw* “who begot him”; Ruth 2:11; Esth 2:7[bis]; cf. LXX and GNB for Esth 2:7). The usage of the pl. *ʾābôt* for “parents” first occurs postbibl.; cf. also Akk. *abbū* (*AHW* 7b, infrequent), Syr. *ʾabāhē*, and Arab. dual *ʾabawāni*.

In its basic meaning, *ʾāb* has no synonyms.

Alongside the more common *ab*, Ug. also has *ad*, *adn*, and *ḥtk* as designations for father. In this regard, *ad* (in *KTU* 1.23.32ff. *ad ad* par. *um um*; and *mt mt* respectively) appears to be a term of endearment (cf. *CML* 1 123a, 135a; *CML* 2 125, 141: “dad[dy]”; *UT* no. 71; *WUS* no. 73; see further Huffmon 130, 156), which represents the normal vocative expression within the family unit. In contrast, *adn* “lord, master” replaces the designation “father” in polite address (*KTU* 1.16.I.44, 57, 60; 1.24.33; A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ug. Literature* [1954], 62, 113). The simple equation of → *ʾādôn* with “father” does not follow, however (contra M. Dahood, *CBQ* 23 [1961]: 463f. on Jer 22:18; 34:5; Prov 27:18; cf. e.g., Gen 31:35, “then she said to her father: ‘My lord’”). With respect to *ḥtk* (ptcp. or action noun) the basic verbal meaning (*UT* no. 911; *WUS* no. 985; Arab. *ḥataka* “to cut off”) is no longer clearly discernible (cf. E. Ullendorff, *JSS* 7 [1962]: 341: “circumciser”; Gray, *Legacy* 71n.2). The root is probably not represented in Psa 52:7 (A. F. Scharf, *VD* 38 [1960]: 213–22; *UHP* 58: pi. privative “to unfather”).

In contrast to *ʾēm* (Exod 22:29, a mother animal of cattle and sheep; Deut 22:6, mother bird), *ʾāb* is not applied to animals.

2. Extended usage of the word is common Sem. and is apparent (a) on the one hand, in the extension of the concept to the ancestors, and (b) on the other, in the inclusion of nonbiological paternity through adoption or other means.

(a) As in Indo-Germanic, Hebr. has no individual word for “grandfather,” which may be connected with sociological circumstances: in the extended family the patriarch rules not only over the sons but also over

the grandchildren and great-grandchildren (E. Risch, *Museum Helveticum* 1 [1944]: 115–22).

For the paternal grandfather, a simple  $\text{ʔāb}$  suffices in the OT (Gen 28:13, Jacob-Abraham; 2 Sam 9:7 and 16:3, Meribaal-Saul); the maternal grandfather is called  $\text{ʔimm}^{\text{c}}\text{kā}$  “father of your mother” (Gen 28:2, Jacob-Bethuel).

In Akk. *abi-abi* or with sandhi *ababi* also occurs (CAD A/1:70; AHW 7b), as a (substitute) PN (Stamm, AN 302; id., HEN 422); cf. in addition the PN *ababouis* at Dura (F. Rosenthal, *Die aramaistische Forschung* [1939], 99n.1) and Syr.  $\text{ʔbbwy}$  (J. B. Segal, BSOAS 16 [1954]: 23).

The LXX uses *pappos* “grandfather” (Sir Prol 7) and *propappos* “(great-)grandfather” once each (Exod 10:6, where, however, according to the context,  $\text{ʔbôt}$   $\text{ʔbōteykā}$  signifies “your ancestors”).

Modern Hebr. makes use of  $\text{ʔāb zāqēn}$  “old father” (cf. Gen 43:27 and 44:20, “aged father”).

The extension of the concept to the ancestors takes place first in the pl.  $\text{ʔābôt}$ , which includes the father proper, the grandfather (Gen 48:15f., Isaac and Abraham as the “fathers” of Jacob), and the great-grandfather (2 Kgs 12:19, Jehoshaphat, Joram, and Ahaziah as “fathers” of Joash), or an undetermined number of generations.

In this extended meaning “ancestors” (cf.  $\text{ʔbôtām hāri}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{šōnîm}$ , Jer 11:10), the word also acquires synonyms:  $\text{ri}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{šōnîm}$  (Lev 26:45; Deut 19:14, LXX *pateres*, LXXa *proteroi*; Isa 61:4; Psa 79:8) and *haqqadmōnî* (1 Sam 24:14, collectively, provided that one does not read the suf. *-nîm*), also  $\text{ʕammîm}$  in the expression  $\text{ʔsp ni. ʔel-ʕammeykā/ʕammāyw}$  “to be gathered to your/his people” (Gen 25:8, 17; 35:29; 49:29 txt em, 33; Num 20:24; 27:13; 31:2; Deut 32:50; → *ʕam*).

The pl. of the basic meaning (“fathers of various families”) also occurs in the OT (Judg 21:22, the fathers or brothers of the stolen daughters of Shiloh; Jer 16:3, “your fathers who begot you”; in addition to perhaps two dozen other texts with a general juxtaposition of the older and the younger generations), but is significantly rarer than the meaning “ancestors,” which is the only possible meaning of the word with a sg. suf. (“my fathers”) on biological grounds.

Whether the fem. pl. form with *-ôt* results from the fact that  $\text{ʔāb}$  is essentially a sg. tantum (L. Köhler, ZAW 55 [1937]: 172) is uncertain. Nöldeke (BS 69) postulated a formation analogous to the polar concept  $\text{ʔimmôt}$  “mothers” (so also GVG 1:449; BL 515, 615; Meyer 2:45; G. Rinaldi, BeO 10 [1968]: 24).

DISO 1 and CAD A/1:72 give references for the pl. “ancestors” in NWSem.

inscriptions and in Akk. (alongside *abbū* in regions of WSem. influence, also *abbūtu*).

The potent expression, “neither your fathers nor your fathers’ fathers” (Exod 10:6 of Pharaoh; Dan 11:24 of Antiochus IV), in a negative clause, signifies nothing less than the total series of ancestors.

The sg. can also assume the meaning “ancestor” (80x), but in these cases it always indicates ancestors par excellence (cf. Isa 43:27 *ʾābīkā hāri-šôn*), namely the patriarchs of a clan (Rechabites, Jer 35:6–18), a tribe (Dan, Josh 19:47 and Judg 18:29; Levi, Num 18:2), an occupational group (Gen 4:21f. txt em; Aaronites, 1 Chron 24:19), a dynasty (David, 1 Kgs 15:3b, 11, 24, etc., 14x), or a people (Israel: Abraham, Josh 24:3 and Isa 51:2; Jacob, Deut 26:5 and Isa 58:14; all three patriarchs, 1 Chron 29:18). Although the eponymous hero can still be called “father” in accordance with this function (Ham-Canaan, Gen 9:18, 22; Kemuel-Aram, Gen 22:21; Hamor-Shechem, Gen 33:19; 34:6; Josh 24:32; Judg 9:28; Arba-Anak, Josh 15:13; 21:11; Machir-Gilead, Josh 17:1; 1 Chron 2:21, 23; 7:14; cf. also the metaphor of the personified Jerusalem, Ezek 16:3, 45), it would be better to translate references to peoples with “ancestor” (the sons of Heber, Gen 10:21; Moabites and Ammonites, Gen 19:37f.; Edomites, Gen 36:9, 43).

In 1 Chron 2:24, 42–55; 4:3–21; 7:31; 8:29; 9:35 (31x) the formula “X, father of Y” (M. Noth, *ZDPV* 55 [1932]: 100; Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 13f.) contains not only the name of a family but a place-name.

In Gen 17:4f., *ʾab(-)h<sup>a</sup>môn gôyîm* “father of many nations,” the unusual cs. form is influenced by the play on words with Abraham.

(b) The expansion of meaning in the direction of adoptive paternity is facilitated by the fact that the relationship between child and father is by nature less direct than that between child and mother. Bab. law does not distinguish between the legitimation of a father’s own child born to a slave mother and outright adoption (Driver-Miles 1:351, 384). Nevertheless, except for the purely fig. usage, *ʾāb* is seldom used with respect to nonbiological paternity, due in part to the fact that adoption in the precise sense, i.e., outside the family, is scarcely attested in the OT (de Vaux 1:51f.; H. Donner, “Adoption oder Legitimation?” *OrAnt* 8 [1969]: 87–119). With respect to Yahweh as “father” of the Davidic kings, see IV/3b.

Akk. distinguishes between *abum murabbīšu* “stepfather” and *abum wālidum* “biological father” (*CAD* A/1:68b).

In Israel, as in Babylonia (Driver-Miles 1:392–94), apprentices and

journeymen could also stand in a sort of adoptive relationship to their masters; yet the usage of the terms of relationship “sons” and “father” for the membership and leadership of a guild is determined primarily by the fact that sons normally assumed the occupation of the father.  $\text{ʔāb}$  as founder or leader of a guild may be attested in 1 Chron 4:14 (cf. 4:12, 23; I. Mendelsohn, *BASOR* 80 [1940]: 19).

The leader of a prophetic guild, who was at the same time the “spiritual” father, may have also been called  $\text{ʔāb}$  (L. Dürr, “Heilige Vaterschaft im antiken Orient,” *FS Herwegen* 9ff.; J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* [1962], 69f.; J. G. Williams, “Prophetic ‘Father,’” *JBL* 85 [1966]: 344–48); at the least one finds the address  $\text{ʔābî}$  “my father” for Elijah and Elisha (2 Kgs 2:12; 13:14; also used by those outside the  $\text{bēn hann}^{\text{bî}}\text{ʔîm}$ : 2 Kgs 6:21; cf. 8:9 “your son”). Yet the transition to  $\text{ʔāb}$  as an honorific (see 3) is underway here (Lande 21f.; K. Galling, *ZTK* 53 [1956]: 130f.; A. Phillips, *FS Thomas* 183–94).

Occurrences in 1 Sam 24:12 and 2 Kgs 5:13 should probably be regarded as interjections (*GVG* 2:644; Joüon §§105f.; contra *TDNT* 5:971n.141; otherwise one must assume an honorific or address form directed to the father-in-law in 1 Sam 24:12 and a fixed address formula with a sg. suf. on the lips of a group in 2 Kgs 5:13; cf. L. Köhler, *ZAW* 40 [1922]: 39).

Corresponding to the address of a youth as  $\text{bēnî}$  “my son,” esp. in wisdom literature ( $\rightarrow \text{bēn}$ ), one would expect that  $\text{ʔāb}$  would also be applied to the wisdom teacher as the spiritual father (cf. for Eg.: Dürr, op. cit. 6ff.; H. Brunner, *Altäg. Erziehung* [1957], 10; for Mesopotamia: *BWL*, 95, 102, 106). No clear distinction from the normal usage is possible in the OT, however (but cf. Prov 4:1; 13:1).

3. The fig. usage of the word (simile and metaphor) accentuates one aspect of the image in particular. In addition to being held in respect, the father is seen esp. as the protective care giver (also in the related languages).

For the Akk. cf. *CAD* A/1:51f., 68a, 71–73, 76; *AHW* 8a; Phoen.: Kilamuwa inscription (*KAI* no. 24) l.10: “I, however, to some I was a father. To some I was a mother. To some I was a brother” (*ANET* 654b); Karatepe inscription (*KAI* no. 26) l.3: “Ba’l made me a father and a mother to the Danunites” (*ANET* 653b; cf. l.12; see l above); J. Zobel, *Der bildliche Gebrauch der Verwandtschaftsnamen im Hebr. mit Berücksichtigung der übrigen sem. Sprachen* [1932], 7ff. (also deals with rabbinic materials).

Apart from the usage in reference to God (see IV/3), the occasional fig. usages in the OT occur only in Job (originator of rain, Job 38:28; care for the poor, Job 29:16; 31:18; cf. *BrSynt* §97a; close affiliation, Job 17:14,

with the child's formula "you are my father"; cf. Fohrer, KAT 16, 295).

Honorifics for priests and political officeholders attested in the various arenas and times develop into fixed usages: Judg 17:10 and 18:19, "father and priest" (cf. Quell, *TDNT* 5:961–63; following Bertholet 256); Isa 22:21, "father of the inhabitants of Jerusalem and of the house of Judah" (of the governor of the palace; cf. de Vaux 1:129–31); probably also the throne name of the Messiah in Isa 9:5, "eternal father" (cf. H. Wildberger, *TZ* 16 [1960]: 317f.); outside Israel, Aḥ. 55, "father of all Asher" (Cowley 213, 221); Esth LXX 3:13f. *deuteros patēr*; 8:12; 1 Macc 11:32.

One may assume Gen 45:8 "as a father to Pharaoh" is a borrowing of the Eg. title *yt-ntr* in order to mitigate the offensiveness of the divine designation for the king (J. Vergote, *Josèphe en Égypte* [1959], 114f.). For the history of the Eg. titles for vizier and priest, probably originally used for the attendant of the crown prince, cf. A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Eg. Onomastica* (1947), 1:47\*-53\*; H. Brunner, *ZÄS* 86 (1961): 90–100; Kees, *ibid.* 115–25.

According to Rudolph (HAT 21, 200, 208), *ʾābî* or *ʾābîw* (in 2 Chron 2:12 and 4:16) should not be understood as an element in a name, but should be translated as a title, "my/your master" (so also Stamm, *HEN* 422; cf. also *CAD* A/1:73a).

The address *ʾābî* for Elijah and Elisha has already been mentioned (see 2b). Akk. *abu* as honorific address is attested in letters (cf. *CAD* A/1:71).

4. As a nomen rectum, *ʾāb* relates closely to *bayit* "house." *bêt-ʾāb* "paternal house, family" signified "originally the larger family living together in a common house, headed by the patriarch. It comprised, beside the wife or the wives of the patriarch, the sons, whether they are unmarried or have already themselves founded a family, the daughters, so long as they are unmarried or widowed or have left the houses of their husbands, and the wives and children of the married sons" (L. Rost, *Die Vorstufen von Kirche und Synagoge im AT* [1938, 19672], 44).

In pre-exilic times the "paternal house" has relevance only for family and inheritance law, but after the catastrophe of 587, which brought with it the collapse of the tribal organization, it replaces the *mišpāḥâ* (→ *ʿam*) as the basic unit in the structure of society. In (the secondary portions of) P and in Chr, the *ʿēdâ* (→ *ʿēd*) "community" (or → *qāhāl*) is divisible into *maṭṭôt* "tribes" and *bêt-ʾābôt* "paternal houses," headed by a *nāsîʾ* "prince" or a *rōš* "chief" (Rost, *op. cit.* 56–76, 84).

Of 83 texts with the sg. (for the most part pre-exilic: Gen 18x; Judg 12x; 1 Sam 13x), eleven exhibit the post-exilic technical usage (texts in Rost, *op. cit.* 56).

The pl. *bêt-ʾābôt* (68x, of which 30x are in Num 1–4, 10x in 1 Chron 4–7; texts in

Rost, op. cit. 56, to which add 1 Chron 7:40; the oldest text is probably Exod 12:3) is formed by means of the peculiar pluralization of the second element (GKC §124p; Joüon §136n), which suggests a tightly bound word pair (*TDNT* 5:961 is unclear). The abbreviated *rāʾšē ʾābôt* also occurs (e.g., Exod 6:25) without *b̄t* (43x; texts in Rost, op. cit. 56; Ezra 8:1 should be included; see also *nʿšīʾēhāʾābôt* 1 Kgs 8:1; 2 Chron 5:2; *šārē(-)hāʾābôt* Ezra 8:29; 1 Chron 29:6) in the place of doubled cs. relationships such as *rāʾšē bēt-ʾābōtām* (e.g., Exod 6:14), primarily when followed not only by the 3d pl. suf. but also by other qualifiers (this distinction persists in P; in Chr *rāʾšē hāʾābôt* can occur without qualifier and even *ʾābôt* alone [Neh 11:13; 1 Chron 24:31]). Constructions with *ʾāhuzzā* “property” (Lev 25:41), *naḥʾalā* “inheritance” (Num 36:3, 8), and *maṭṭeh* “tribe” (Num 33:54; 36:3, 8) may simply be translated “fathers” (contra Rost, op. cit. 56f.).

A total of 201 texts with *ʾāb* in the meaning “paternal house” result, of which 129 have the later terminological sense.

##### 5. PNs formed with *ʾāb* occur throughout ancient Sem. nomenclature.

Bibliog.: Akk.: Stamm, *AN*; Mari and ECan.: Huffmon; Ug.: Gröndahl; Phoen.: Harris; SArab.: G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques* (1934); Hebr.: *IP*; an older summary of the material by M. Noth, “Gemeinsemitische Erscheinungen in der isr. Namengebung,” *ZDMG* 81 (1927): 1–45, with a statistical overview, 14–17; with regard to Aram., see A. Caquot, “Sur l’onomastique religieuse de Palmyre,” *Syria* 39 (1962): 236, 240f.

Approximately 40 name-forms in the OT have *ʾāb* as an element, primarily in first position, almost always as subj., and never as cs. Before one can evaluate this material in terms of religiohistorical significance, one should attempt to distinguish between theophoric and profane usages of this term of relationship. Although the older investigations of W. W. Baudissin (*Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum* [1929], 3:309–79) and M. Noth (see above) reckon almost exclusively with theophoric usages of the terms of relationship as descriptions of the tribal god, Stamm (*HEN* 413–24) considers it likely that more than one-fourth of the forms are profane usages, so-called substitutionary names, i.e., “names that indicate the supplementary reincarnation of a deceased family member in the newborn” (Stamm, *RGG* 4:1301).

Examples of sentence names are *ʾyôb* “Job” (a lament formed with the interrogative particle, “where is the father?”), *ʾābīšay* “Abishai” (“the father exists again,” according to H. Bauer, *ZAW* 48 [1930]: 77); a descriptive name is *ʾaḥʾāb* “Ahab” (“father’s brother”). In cases such as *ʾābīʾē*, *ʾābīʾāb*, *ʾābīʾā*, *yôʾāb*, or *ʾābīmelek* (cf. *ʾābīmelek*), *ʾābīdān* (cf. *dānīyēʾl*), among others, the theophoric significance of the element *ʾāb* is still certain.

A religiohistorical assessment must remember, on the one hand, that

such names continue to be preserved even when the contemporary situation with respect to name formation has long since evolved (cf. *IP* 141, concerning confessional names such as Joab: originally an equation of the old tribal god with the new covenant god, but still widely used in post-exilic times); and on the other hand, that grammatical-syntactical and metaphorical reinterpretations could take place (H. Bauer, *OLZ* 33 [1930]: 593ff.). Particularly with respect to etymologies of names that trace back to a divinity considered to be a blood relation of the clan, it is “certain that in Israel’s historical era the significance of indigenous names was altered by the equation of the divinity identified as father, brother, or uncle with Yahweh” (Stamm, *HEN* 418). According to W. Marchel (*Abba, Père* [1963], 13, 27ff.), the claim to relationship with the deity made in PNs is to be understood as purely fig. from the outset.

IV. 1. Starting from divine designations in the patriarchal and Moses narratives that contain a PN (“the God of Abraham,” etc.) as the second element of a gen. construction, and in comparison to Nabatean analogies, A. Alt (“God of the Fathers,” *EOTHR* 1–77) has argued for the existence of a “god of the fathers” religion in the early period of Israel’s history (so also W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* [1957], 248f.; von Rad, *Theol.* 1:6–8; J. Bright, *History of Israel* [1981], 96–103; V. Maag, *SThU* 28 [1958]: 2–28; H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* [1963], 17f.; contra J. Hoftijzer, *Die Verheissungen an die drei Erzväter* [1956], 85ff.; cf. M. Noth, *VT* 7 [1957]: 430–33). The individual X, after whom the divinity “god of X” is named, functions then as the recipient of revelation and founder of the cult: in the tribe of X the divinity continues to be worshiped as the “patriarchal god” (*theos patrōos*). The association of these divinities not with a place but with a group of people and their changing fortunes influences its movement toward social and historical functions and its abandonment of naturalism (W. Eichrodt, *Religionsgeschichte Israels* [1969], 7–11). With a view to the interfusion of the various gods of the fathers with each other and with Yahweh, a process that took place in the early history of Israel, Alt remarks (*EOTHR* 62): “The gods of the Fathers were the  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\omicron\iota$  leading to the greater God, who later replaced them completely.”

In the pertinent J and E texts in Gen,  $\bar{a}b$  in the sg. (26:24; 28:13; 31:5, 29, 42, 53[bis]; 32:10[bis]; 43:23; 46:1, 3; 49:25; 50:17, each with per. suf.) reflects the presumed genealogical interrelationships of the patriarchs and refers to Abraham as Isaac’s father (26:24), to Isaac as Jacob’s (e.g., 46:1), or to Abraham and Isaac (32:10; also a double formula with only a single occurrence of  $\bar{a}b$  in 28:13; 31:42; cf. 48:15), to Jacob as the father of the sons of Jacob (50:17), even if, as in the last text, the PN is not stated. With respect to the sg. texts in Exod (Exod 3:6; alongside “the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,” the Sam. text assimilates to the pl.; 15:2

par. to “my God”; 18:4), one may ask whether the expression “the God of my/your father” intends the God of the patriarchs specifically or (in a virtually synonymous sense) more generally the God already worshiped by the family of Moses (concerning 3:6 cf. *EOTHR* 15n.33; contra P. Hyatt, *VT* 5 [1955]: 130–36); the later texts, which refer to the God of the ancestor, David (2 Kgs 20:5 = Isa 38:5; 1 Chron 28:9; 2 Chron 17:4; 21:12; 34:3), simply describe the continuity of the worship of God within the family or dynasty. “The God of our father, Israel” in 1 Chron 29:10 (cf. 29:18, 20) is unique.

The pl. formulation “the God of your fathers” occurs in the equation of Yahweh with the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in Exod 3:13, 15f.; 4:5 (*EOTHR* 10–14). The remaining texts with the “God of the fathers” (Deut 1:11, 21; 4:1; 6:3; 12:1; 26:7; 27:3; 29:24; Josh 18:3; Judg 2:12; 2 Kgs 21:22, and a further 30x in Dan, Ezra, and Chron) depend upon the Dtn usage of the expression “fathers” (see 2b). Dan 11:37 concerns the gods (pl.) of the fathers of the heathen princes (cf. also Ezek 20:24 *gillûlê ʾābôtām* “the idols of your fathers”).

2. The pl. *ʾābôt* “fathers” occurs in a series of more-or-less fixed usages of differing theological weights.

(a) First, euphemisms for “to die,” such as “to be laid with his fathers,” which B. Alfrink (*OTS* 2 [1943]: 106–18; 5 (1948): 118–31) has investigated, are theologically neutral (cf. also O. Schilling, *Der Jenseitsgedanke im AT* [1951], 11–15; M. D. Goldman, *ABR* 1 [1951]: 64f.; 3 [1953]: 51; G. R. Driver, *FS Neuman* 128–43).

Verbs used are: (1) *škb* “to lie down,” Gen 47:30; Deut 31:16; 2 Sam 7:12; 26x in 1 and 2 Kgs; 11x in 2 Chron; total 40x; in 2 Sam 7:12 with the prep. *ʔet-*, otherwise always with *ʕim-*. The expression refers to death, not to burial; as Alfrink has shown, it is used only of peaceful death (for 9 of 18 kings of Israel and 13 of 19 kings of Judah; concerning the problem with respect to Ahab [2 Kgs 22:40], see C. F. Whitley, *VT* 2 [1952]: 148f.); (2) *qbr* “to bury,” Gen 49:29 (with *ʔel-*); 1 Kgs 14:31 and a further 13x in Kgs and 2 Chron (with *ʕim-*); (3) *ʔsp* “to gather,” Judg 2:10 (with *ʔel-*); 2 Kgs 22:20 = 2 Chron 34:28 (with *ʕal-*); the formula in Judg 2:10 appears to be a confusion of the expression *ʔsp ni. ʔel-ʔammāyw* “to be gathered to his people” (Gen 25:8 and a further 9x in the Pentateuch; cf. Alfrink, *OTS* 5 [1948]: 118f.) with formula (1); (4) *bôʔ* “to enter,” Gen 15:15 (with *ʔel-*); Psa 49:20 (with *ʕad-*); (5) *hlk* “to go,” 1 Chron 17:11 (with *ʕim-*; cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 131).

Subst. constructions with *ʾābôt* in reference to grave and burial occur in 1 Kgs 13:22; Jer 34:5; Neh 2:3, 5; 2 Chron 21:19; burial in the grave of the father (sg.) is mentioned in Judg 8:32; 16:31; 2 Sam 2:32; 17:23; 21:14. No religious significance in terms of an ancestor cult can be attributed here to the “fathers” (contra G. Hölscher, *Geschichte der isr. und jüd. Religion* [1922], 30f.).

(b) From ca. the 7th cent. onward, the pl. “the fathers” becomes significant theologically; it communicates the salvation-historical dimension in expressions concerning the people Israel as an organic unity of fathers and sons, whether viewed collectively or individually.

In connection with the patriarchal traditions, the promises to the fathers play a particularly significant role in Dtn theology. Then, language dependent upon Deut repeatedly names the fathers as recipients of various salvation gifts (on Deut see O. Bächli, *Israel und die Völker* [1962], 119–21).

“Fathers” already occurs once in Hos, although not in the patriarchal tradition but in a poetical depiction of the discovery in the desert (9:10 “your fathers” par. to “Israel”). The dominant formula in Dtn allusions to the patriarchal promises is “the land that Yahweh swore to give the fathers” or the like. Texts with *šb<sup>c</sup> ni*. “to swear” in Dtn/Dtr literature include Exod 13:5, 11; Num 11:12; 14:23; Deut 1:8, 35; 4:31; 6:10, 18, 23; 7:8, 12f.; 8:1, 18; 9:5; 10:11; 11:9, 21; 13:18; 19:8; 26:3, 15; 28:11; 29:12; 30:20; 31:7, 20f. (secondarily); Josh 1:6; 5:6; 21:43f.; Judg 2:1; Jer 11:5; 32:22; Mic 7:20; with *db<sup>r</sup> pi*. “to promise,” Deut 19:8; cf. *ʔmr* Neh 9:23. On Yahweh’s oath to the patriarchs, cf. von Rad, *Gottesvolk* 5; N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot* [1963], 86–89 with tables on 307f. In addition to the promise of the land, other subjs. are mentioned as gifts to the fathers, e.g., the multiplication of descendants and, derivative of the fathers tradition, election, grace, and covenant (cf. also Deut 4:37; 5:3 with a parenetic application of the covenant to the current generation; 10:15; 30:5, 9). The discussion of the “God of the fathers” in Dtn theology and later is to be understood in the context of these formulas as well (see IV/1). Often Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are listed by name as patriarchs (Deut 1:8; 6:10; 9:5; 29:12; 30:20; also 1 Chron 29:18); Deut 10:22 speaks of the fathers as 70 souls who descended into Egypt.

Of the multitude of post-Dtn texts that treat the fathers as recipients of salvation gifts, the first to be mentioned are those with the formulaic expression “land that Yahweh gave the fathers,” which has affinities with the Dtn oath formula (verb *ntn*): 1 Kgs 8:34, 40, 48 (= 2 Chron 6:25, 31, 38); 14:15; 2 Kgs 21:8 (= 2 Chron 33:8 txt em); Jer 7:7, 14; 16:15; 23:39; 24:10 (authentic Jer?); 25:5; 30:3; 35:15; Ezek 20:42; 36:28; 47:14; Neh 9:36; with *nhl hi*. Jer 3:18.

Furthermore, mention should be made of the Dtr overviews of history in Josh 24 (the fathers of the Exodus generation, vv 6 and 17, are distinguished from the heathen fathers beyond the river, vv 2, 14f.); Judg 2:17, 19f., 22; 3:4; 1 Sam 12:6–8; 1 Kgs 8:21, 53, 57f.; 9:9; 2 Kgs 17:13, 15; 21:15; other Dtr texts, e.g., Jer 7:22, 25; 11:4, 7, 10; 17:22; 34:13; 44:10; and Psa 78:12, as well as a few scattered texts: Isa 64:10; Ezek

37:25; Mal 2:10; Psa 22:5; 39:13; 1 Chron 29:15. Negative statements (e.g., Deut 9:15), references to particular ancestors (e.g., Num 20:15; 1 Kgs 21:3f.), and other theologically unproductive references to the fathers (e.g., Dan 9:6, 8) will not be treated.

Texts such as Josh 4:21; Judg 6:13; Psa 44:2; 78:3, 5 (cf. without *ʾāb* Exod 10:1f.; 12:26f.; Deut 6:20ff.) depict the transmission of salvation history from the fathers to the sons; as a Bab. par. cf. the epilogue of Enuma Elish (VII:147).

The fathers are not only the recipients of the promise and the blessing; their sin also encumbers later generations' relationship with God, a problem addressed in various expression of the solidarity of the sons with the fathers; on this issue see J. Scharbert, *Solidarität in Segen und Fluch im AT und in seiner Umwelt*, I: *Väterfluch und Väterseggen* (1958).

Jer is the first to speak of the fall of the fathers (the distinction between authentic and secondary texts is not always clear), in whose wake the later generations also sin (Jer 2:5; 3:25; 7:26; 9:13; 11:10; 14:20; 16:11f.; 23:27; 31:32; 34:14; 44:9, 17, 21; 50:7).

The following post-Jer texts deserve treatment: Lev 26:39f.; 2 Kgs 17:14, 41; 22:13 (= 2 Chron 34:21); Isa 65:7; Ezek 2:3; 20:4, 18, 24, 27, 30, 36; Amos 2:4; Zech 1:2, 4–6; 8:14; Mal 3:7; Psa 78:8, 57 (cf. 79:8 *ʿawōnōt riʾšōnîm* “the sins of the ancestors”); 95:9; 106:6f.; Lam 5:7; Dan 9:16; Ezra 5:12; 9:7; Neh 9:2, 16; 2 Chron 29:6, 9; 30:7f. J. Scharbert (“Unsere Sünden und die Sünden unserer Väter,” *BZ* 2 [1958]: 14–26) outlines the history of the genre of the confession of individual sin and that of the fathers from Jer (Jer 3:25; 14:20) on into the postbibl. era (Tob 3:3, 5; Jdt 7:28; Bar 1:15–3:8; 1QS 1:25f.; CD 20:29; 1QH 4:34).

The principal statements concerning the communal responsibility of children and fathers or concerning the removal of this responsibility use the pl. “fathers,” not in the sense “ancestors of Israel” treated to this point, but as a more general contrast of fathers-sons. On the old confessional formula “Yahweh . . . , who visits the guilt of the fathers on the children and grandchildren to the third and fourth generation” (Exod 20:5; 34:7; Num 14:18; Deut 5:9; Jer 32:18), cf. J. Scharbert, “Formgeschichte und Exegese von Exod 34, 6f. und seiner Parallelen,” *Bib* 38 (1957): 130–50; L. Rost, “Die Schuld der Väter,” *FS Hermann* 229–33; R. Knierim, *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im AT* (1965), 204–7. With respect to the prohibition of community punishment in Deut 24:16; 2 Kgs 14:6; 2 Chron 25:4 cf. Scharbert, *Solidarität*, 114f., 124f., 251; and von Rad, *Deut*, OTL, 152. Regarding proverbs concerning the fathers who have eaten sour grapes and the sons whose teeth are thereby set on edge (Jer 31:29; Ezek 18:2), cf. comms. and Scharbert, *Solidarität*, 218–26.

3. Although “invocation of deity under the name of father is one of the

basic phenomena of religious history” (G. Schrenk, *TDNT* 5:951; see G. Mensching, *RGG* 6:1232f.), the OT is very restrained in the application of the father designation for Yahweh (Quell, *TDNT* 5:965–74; H.-J. Kraus, *RGG* 6:1233f.). This restraint is true to the greatest degree (a) of expressions concerning God’s physical paternity that are completely absent from the OT, but also (b) of the adoption idea, and (c) of the metaphorical usage of the word as well.

(a) Mythical concepts of deities as begetters and creators of the gods and people are easily traced in the surroundings of the OT in the Ug. texts (on Eg. and Bab. → *yld*), where the high god of the pantheon is given the epithet “father” in a series of stereotypical formulae.

El appears as *ab bn il* “father of the gods” in an atonement liturgy (*KTU* 1.40.[16], 25, 33; O. Eissfeldt, *El im ug. Pantheon* [1951], 62–66). The disputed *mlk ab šnm* (*KTU* 1.1.III.24; 1.2.III.5 [reconstructed]; 1.3.V.8 [reconstructed]; 1.4.IV.24; 1.6.36; 1.17.VI.49) appears to have a similar meaning, if one does not translate *ab šnm* with Driver (*CML* 1 109) and others (*CML* 2 75) as “father of years” or with Eissfeldt (op. cit. 30f.) as “father of the mortals,” but with M. H. Pope (*El in the Ug. Texts* [1955], 32f.) as “Father of Exalted Ones” (= the gods) (so also Gray, *Legacy* 114, 155f.; W. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel* [19662], 59n.3). Also occurring are *il abh* “El, his/her father” (e.g., *KTU* 1.13.20f. of Anat) and *il abn* “El, our father” (1.12.I.9, in a fragmentary context; cf. Eissfeldt, op. cit. 34). The formula *tr il aby/abk/abh* “Bull, El, my/your/his father” is the most frequent (*KTU* 1.2.III.16f., 19, 21; 1.3.[IV.54], V.10, 35 supplemented in 1.1.III.26 and V.22; 1.4.IV.47; 1.6.IV.10, VI.26f.; 1.17.I.23), or in an alternate sequence *tr abk/abh il* “Bull, your/his father, El” (1.2.II.16, 33, 36; 1.14.II.6, 23f., IV.6; 1.92.15; in 1.14.I.41 *tr abh* omits *il* because of the preceding *šlm il*); the per. suf. refers in each case to the gods or goddesses who appear or have been named (also to Krt). Finally one also finds *ab adm* “father of humanity” in the Krt epic (*KTU* 1.14.I.37, 43, III.32, 47, VI.13, 32).

The observation that the formula *tr il abh* “Bull El his (i.e., Baal’s) father” is accompanied in a few texts by a par. element, *il mlk dyknnh* “El, the king, who established him (*kûn* po.),” is significant to some degree for the interpretation of Deut 32:6b, “Is he not your father who created you (i.e., the people), is it not he who made and established you (*kûn* po.)” Seen in conjunction with Deut 32:18, a trace of Can. mythology may be detected in v 6b, at least in the poetical language strongly avoided elsewhere in the prophetic critique of the vegetation and fertility cult: Jer 2:27, they will become ashamed “who say then to the tree: ‘You are my father,’ and to the stone: ‘You bore me’” (cf. Quell, *TDNT* 5:968; P. Humbert, “Yahvé Dieu Géniteur?” *Asiatische Studien* 18/19 [1965]: 247–51).

On Isa 1:2 LXX *engennēsa*, cf. J. Hempel, *Gott und Mensch im AT* (19362), 170n.6; Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 9.

(b) Statements concerning the father-son relationship between Yahweh and the Davidic king involve adoption concepts (2 Sam 7:14, “I will be his father and he will be my son”; Psa 89:27; 1 Chron 17:13; 22:10; 28:6; cf. also the adoption formula in Psa 2:7, “You are my son, today have I begotten you”). The influence of Eg. royal ideology on the Jerusalemite enthronement ceremony is apparent (S. Morenz, *Äg. Religion* [1960], 35–43, 154f.; id., *RGG* 6:118), as is the distinction in the notion of divine sonship that is understood in Egypt as directly physical, but in the OT as adoptive, the result of a prophetic promise of election (Hempel, op. cit. 173ff.; Alt, *EOTHR* 235; id., *KS* [19643], 2:218; von Rad, *PHOE* 226f.; K.-H. Bernhardt, *Das Problem der altorientalischen Königsideologie im AT* [1961], 74–76, 84–86).

The son concept already appears in reference to the relationship between Yahweh and his people in Exod 4:22 (Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 34f., 47: a secondary accretion to J or JE); Hos 11:1 (here in the sense of adoption with an emphasis on the love and rearing ideas; cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 197–99); Isa 1:2 (protective paternal goodwill for the sons [pl.], perhaps to be understood against the background of spiritual sonship in the sphere of wisdom [see III/2b]; cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 12–14) and 30:9 (→ *bēn*; on Deut cf. D. J. McCarthy, *CBQ* 27 [1965]: 144–47). The word *ʾāb*, however, first surfaces in Jer clearly in reference to adoption and in the sense of loving attention: Jer 3:4 (to be seen with Duhm and others as a gloss derived from v 19; cf. Rudolph, HAT 12, 22); 3:19 “my father!” as an address that acknowledges inclusion among the sons (cf. also S. H. Blank, *HUCA* 32 [1961]: 79–82); 31:9 “for I have become Israel’s father.”

Psa 27:10 features the adoption motif in reference to an individual, without, however, indicating Yahweh directly as father.

(c) Only a few texts remain in which Yahweh is either compared to a father or metaphorically called “father.” If they do not deal with a simple comparison to family life (Psa 103:13; Prov 3:12) or common ancient Near Eastern ideals (Psa 68:6), these (post-exilic) statements stand for the most part in the wake of descriptions of Yahweh as the creator of the people in Deutero-Isa (Isa 43:6f., 15, 21; 44:2, 21, 24; 45:10f.).

On the one hand, seen from the son’s perspective, the emphasis of the metaphorical depiction lies on the authority of the pater familias and on the obedience due him. In this manner, Yahweh appears, albeit only indirectly, as father in Isa 45:10 (cf. v 11) par. to the picture of the sovereign potter, an image also taken up in Isa 64:7 together with the direct address “you are our father” (twice also in 63:16 in a formulaic manner). In Mal 1:6a “a son honors his father” parallels “a servant fears his master”; in v 6b the demand for respect derives from the concept of God as father,

which is also presupposed in 2:10 on the basis of God's status as creator, but in 2:10 the notion of brotherhood among the sons of one father (= God; cf. comms. and Quell, *TDNT* 5:973; contra Horst, HAT 14, 269, who prefers Jacob) is decisive (→  $\text{אָב}$  4c). The father concept does not evolve into a universalistic notion because the statements concerning creation within this tradition relate to the people (contra R. Gyllenberg, "Gott der Vater im AT und in der Predigt Jesu," *StOr* 1 [1925]: 53f.).

On the other hand, if the viewpoint is that of the father toward the child, solidarity and concern receive the greater emphasis. Thus the appeal in Isa 63:16 (cf. v 15 "look down") is directed to the father and redeemer of old ( $g\bar{o}'\text{a}l\bar{e}n\hat{u}$ , →  $g^{\lambda}$ ) who is far superior to earthly fathers. Finally, loving attention forms the tertium comparationis similarly in the relatively few comparisons of Yahweh with a father (comparable to the copious Bab. material; see *CAD* A/1:69b): Psa 103:13, "As a father shows mercy to his children, so the Lord shows mercy to those who fear him" (cf. Deut 1:31 without  $\text{אָב}$ ) and Prov 3:12, "For whomever Yahweh loves he punishes, as a father the son in whom he delights" (so MT; according to the LXX, however,  $\hat{u}k^e\text{אָב}$  should be emended to  $w^c\text{yak}^{\lambda}ib$ ; regarding content, cf. Deut 8:5 without  $\text{אָב}$ ).

The motif of the "father of the fatherless" in Psa 68:6 is widely attested, although less pointedly, in the OT and in its environment (cf. Deut 10:18; Psa 10:14, 18; 82:3f.; 146:9; also Job 29:16; 31:18; Sir 4:10; and the ancient Near Eastern materials in Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 50f.). It is hardly necessary to posit a specifically Eg. origin (so Quell, *TDNT* 5:966n.118).

The OT does not yet describe God as the father of the individual believer (for the first time in Sir 50:10 [Hebr.] in allusion to Psa 89:27); with respect to intertestamental Jewish literature see Bousset-Gressmann 377 and esp. J. Jeremias, *Prayers of Jesus* (1967), 15–29.

V. NT studies concerning *abba* and *patēr* usually treat the backgrounds of the concepts in the OT, as well as in Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism. See e.g., G. Kittel, "ἄββᾶ," *TDNT* 1:5–6; G. Schrenk, "πατήρ," *TDNT* 5:974–1022; D. Marin, "Abba, Pater," FS Herrmann 503–8; W. Marchel, *Abba, Père! La prière du Christ et des Chrétiens* (1963); J. Jeremias, "Vatername Gottes, III," *RGG* 6:1234f.; id., *Prayers of Jesus* (1967), 11–65, 108–12.

E. Jenni

**אָבד  $\text{בד}$  to perish**

S 6; BDB 1a; HALOT 1:2a; TDOT 1:19–23; TWOT 2; NIDOTTE 6

1. *ʔbd* is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 220–21), in the meaning “to lose, be lost, perish,” but is active only in NWSem.

Akk. *abātu* (with a dissimilation of *d > t*; cf. GAG 8\*\* §51d; otherwise GVG 1:512; Berg., *HG* 1:109) is trans., “to destroy”; Old Assyrian, however, also has intrans., “to run away” (J. Lewy, *Or* 29 [1960]: 22–47; *CAD* A/1:45).

Besides qal, pi. “to destroy,” and hi. “to cause to be destroyed” (Aram. pe., ha., and ho.), only the verbal nouns *ʔabēdā* “a lost thing” and *ʔabaddôn* “destruction” are formed on the root in the OT (in addition to *ʔabdān* and *ʔobdān* “destruction” as Aram. loanwords; see Wagner no. 1).

*ʔdē ʔōbēd* “forever” in Num 24:20, 24 may be derived from a second root *ʔbd* “to last” (D. Künstlinger, *OLZ* 34 [1931]: 609–11), which occurs in Arab. and is also suspected in Ug. (J. Gray, *ZAW* 64 [1952]: 51, 55; *UT* no. 17; *WUS* no. 15; contra M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *WO* 3 [1966]: 221); suggestions regarding Prov 11:7 remain conjectural (J. Reider, *VT* 2 [1952]: 124) and Job 30:2 (G. Rinaldi, *BeO* 5 [1963]: 142).

2. Statistics: qal 117x (Psa 21x, Jer 16x, Deut 13x, Job 13x), Aram. pe. 1x; pi. 41x (Esth 10x); hi. 26x, Aram. ha. 5x, ho. 1x; the verb occurs in Hebr. a total of 184x, in Aram. 7x; *ʔabēdā* 4x, *ʔabaddôn* 6x, *ʔabdān* 1x, *ʔobdān* 1x. The root is absent from Gen and Chron-Ezra-Neh (cf. 2 Kgs 11:1; 21:3 with 2 Chron 22:10; 33:3; and 2 Kgs 9:8 with 2 Chron 22:7).

Harmonization with the LXX may be assumed in 1 Sam 12:15; Isa 46:12; and Prov 17:5 (cf. *BHS*).

3. Depending upon the subj. (individual things, collective entities, living things) and the usage of preps. (*be*, *min*), Eng. has various translation options for the relatively unified basic meaning of the qal “to be destroyed” (“to be lost, die, be snatched away,” etc.; cf. *HAL* 2b). The meanings of the root in the related Sem. languages (cf. Akk., Arab., and Eth.) may suggest that the original meaning lies in the more specific meanings “to be lost, to wander about, run away” (Deut 26:5; 1 Sam 9:3, 20; Jer 50:6; Ezek 34:4, 16; Psa 2:12; 119:176; cf. Th. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 40 [1886]: 726).

Because of its unspecific, negative meaning, the verb has no regular antonym; possible opposites are → *ʔmd* “to remain” (Psa 102:27; cf. 112:9f.), → *hyh* “to be” (Jonah 4:10), and *ʔrk* hi. *yāmîm* “to live long” (Deut 4:26; 30:18).

The meaning of *ʔbd* coincides quite precisely with Akk. *ḫalāqu* (AHw 310f. “to disappear, be destroyed, flee”; also Ug. and Eth.); cf. EA 288:52 (from Jerusalem): “all of the lands of the king are lost (*ḫal-qa-at*)” with a Can. gloss *a-ba-da-at*. This root *ḫlq* III is also suspected in Psa 17:14; 73:18; Job 21:17; Lam 4:16 (M. Dahood, *Bib* 44 [1963]: 548; 45 [1964]: 408; 47 [1966]: 405; on Isa 57:6 see W. H. Irwin, *CBQ* 29 [1967]: 31–40); on account of its nearness in meaning to *ḫlq* I (*ḫ<sup>a</sup>lāqôṭ*, Psa 73:18 “slippery places”) and II (pi. “to destroy,” Gen 49:7 and Psa 17:14; cf. G. R. Driver, *JTS* 15 [1964]: 342), however, it has not been identified with certainty.

In the pi. and hi. “to destroy,” *ʔbd* competes primarily with → *krt* and → *šmd*.

On the difference in meaning between pi. “to destroy, eliminate” and hi. “to destroy” (the latter used mostly of persons and with respect to the future), see E. Jenni, “Faktitiv und Kausativ von *ʔbd* ‘zugrunde gehen,’” *FS Baumgartner* 143–57.

On *ʔbaddôn* “destruction, ruin” → *š<sup>e</sup>ôl*.

4. In over two-thirds of the texts with *qal* and *hi*. (pi. 1/3) Yahweh is the direct or indirect agent of destruction. *ʔbd* here is hardly neutral (cf. Psa 102:27; 146:4); instead it signifies the destruction meted out by God to his enemy. No formulaic usage may be identified, probably because of the very common meaning of the word; it has not stabilized as a theological term.

*ʔbd* appears only once, in the extirpation formula in Lev 23:30, in the place of the usual and more concrete *krt* (Elliger, *HAT* 4, 310, 319n.24). The cry of terror (Num 17:27; cf. Num 21:29 par. Jer 48:46, and Matt 8:25 par. Luke 8:24) is also unconnected with *ʔbd* (cf. Isa 6:5; Jer 4:13; G. Wanke, *ZAW* 78 [1966]: 216f.).

*ʔbd* is pertinent in the following spheres:

(a) Statements concerning the deed-consequence relationship (cf. H. Gese, *Lehre und Wirklichkeit in der alten Weisheit* [1958], 42ff.) in wisdom literature (Psa 1:6; 37:20; 49:11; 73:27; 112:10; Job 4:7, 9; 8:13; 11:20; 18:17; 20:7; Prov 10:28; 11:7[bis], 10; 19:9; 21:28; 28:28); here Yahweh always implicitly or explicitly sees to the destruction of the fool, the fool’s name, the fool’s hope, etc.

(b) Conditional curse-threats in the blessing/curse formulae that conclude H and the Dtn code (Lev 26:38; Deut 28:20, 22; on cultic-sacral origins, see Elliger, *HAT* 4, 372) and in the Dtr sermon (Deut 4:26; 8:19, 20; 11:17; 30:18; Josh 23:13, 16; cf. also 1Q22 1:10); they bear some resemblance to curse formulae in NWSem. inscriptions and ancient Near Eastern treaty texts (bibliog. in D. R. Hillers, *Treaty-Curses and the OT Prophets* [1964]). Cf. a 9th-cent. Phoen. burial inscription from Cyprus:

“and may thi[s curse(?)] bring [those m]en to destruction (*wy<sup>ʔ</sup>bd yi.*)“ (*KAI* no. 30.3; cf. Friedrich 127, contra *DISO* 1f.); in 7th-cent. Aram. burial inscriptions from Nerab near Aleppo: “and may his posterity perish (*t<sup>ʔ</sup>bd pe.*)“ (*ANET* 661b; *KAI* no. 226.10); “may ŠHR, Šamaš, Nikkal, and Nusku . . . annihilate (*yh<sup>ʔ</sup>bdw ha.*) your name” (*KAI* no. 225.9–11); on *ḫalāqu* (see 3) in Akk. curse formulae, see F. C. Fensham, *ZAW* 74 (1962): 5f.; 75 (1963): 159.

(c) *ʔbd* occurs relatively infrequently in 8th-cent. prophetic threats of judgment related to (b) (qal in Isa 29:14; Amos 1:8; 2:14; 3:15); pi. and hi. with Yahweh as subj. are used sporadically beginning with the time of Jer (oldest text Mic 5:9, if authentic; pi.: Isa 26:14; Jer 12:17; 15:7; 51:55; Ezek 6:3; 28:16; Zeph 2:13; hi.: Jer 1:10; 18:7; 25:10; 31:28; 49:38; Ezek 25:7, 16; 30:13; 32:13; Obad 8; Mic 5:9; Zeph 2:5).

5. *ʔbd* and *ʔbaddôn* are not yet used in the OT (or in the available texts from Qumran) for an otherworldly, eternal destruction, even when accompanied by expressions for “eternal” (*lāneṣaḥ* Job 4:20; 20:7; cf. also the Mesha inscription *wyśr<sup>ʔ</sup>l<sup>ʔ</sup>bd<sup>ʔ</sup>bd<sup>ʔ</sup>Im* “while Israel hath perished for ever,” *ANET* 320b; *KAI* no. 181.7).

On the NT cf. A. Oepke, “ἀπόλλυμι,” *TDNT* 1:394–97; J. Jeremias, “Ἀβραδδών,” *TDNT* 1:4.

E. Jenni

## הבה *ʔbh* to want

S 14; BDB 2b; *HALOT* 1:3b; *TDOT* 1:24–26; *TWOT* 3; *NIDOTTE* 14

## אֶבְיוֹן *ʔebyôn* poor

S 34; BDB 2b; *HALOT* 1:5a; *TDOT* 1:27–41; *TWOT* 3a; *NIDOTTE* 36

1. *ʔbh* (*ʔby*) occurs outside Hebr. chiefly in SSem.; there, however, it has a distinctive semantic development (Class. Arab., Eth. “not to want”; Dial. Arab. “to want”).

Some relationship to Eg. *ʔby* “to wish” is possible (cf., however, Calice no. 462).

Regarding supposed Akk. pars., see *HAL* 3a.

The root is uncommon in Aram., if one excludes the targumic Hebraism  $\text{ʔb}^{\text{h}}$  (*BS* 66n.7). *htnʔbw* in the Old Aram. Barrakib inscription, *KAI* no. 216.14, is disputed (hittanaphal of  $\text{ʔbh}$  or  $y^{\text{b}}$ , *KAI* 2:233f.; cf. G. Garbini, “L’aramaico antico,” *AANLR* 8/7 [1956]: 274; cf., however, id., “Note semitiche,” *Ricerche Linguistiche* 5 (1962): 181n.28).

Aram. has the verb  $y^{\text{b}}$  “to yearn, desire” (*DISO* 103; *LS* 293a), which may be related to  $\text{ʔbh}$  ( $\text{ʔby}$ ) and which also occurs once in Hebr. as an Aramaism (*Psa* 119:131; Wagner no. 119; Garbini, *Ricerche Linguistiche* 180).

A further Hebr. by-form  $t^{\text{b}}$  “to require” (*Psa* 119:40, 174) may be explained not as an Aramaism but as a secondary back-formation from  $ta^{\text{b}}\hat{a}$  “requirement” (*Psa* 119:20), a nom. form of  $\text{ʔbh}$  with *t*-preformative (A. M. Honeyman, *JAOS* 64 [1944]: 81; Garbini, *Ricerche Linguistiche*, 180f.).

Contrary semantic development in Arab. (Eth.) may be regarded as an internal Ssem. phenomenon, wherein several different basic meanings, both positive and negative, may be posited, e.g., “to be decided” (F. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen hebr.-aram. Wörterbuchs zum AT* [1886], 111), “to be stubborn” (W. M. Müller, following GB 3a), “psychological movement of the will” (C. Landberg, *Glossaire Datinois* [1920], 1:21ff.), “se flecti sivit” (Zorell 3a), “to be in need” (Honeyman, op. cit. 81f.). Arab. and Eth. should not be adduced (contra *BS* 66: particle of negation simply as a strengthening of the original negative meaning; followed by L. Köhler, *ZS* 4 [1926]: 196f.; contra *GVG* 2:186; *BrSynt* 53, 158; Honeyman, op. cit. 81) in order to explain the fact that  $\text{ʔbh}$  regularly occurs negated in Hebr. (see 3a).\*

The adj.  $\text{ʔeby}^{\text{h}}$  “needy, poor” is also usually derived from the root  $\text{ʔbh}$  (in the accepted meaning “to want to have, be in need” (e.g., GB 4a; BL 500: actually “begging[?]”; A. Kuschke, *ZAW* 57 [1959]: 53; Honeyman, op. cit. 82; P. Humbert, *RHPR* 32 [1952]: 1ff. = *Opuscules d’un kibraHsant* [1958], 187ff.; *HAL* 5a); the degree to which this etymological origin remains determinative for the meaning of  $\text{ʔeby}^{\text{h}}$  is uncertain (E. Bammel, *TDNT* 6:888–89). Cf. also W. von Soden, “Zur Herkunft von hebr.  $\text{ʔebj}^{\text{h}}$  ‘arm,’” *MIO* 15 (1969): 322–26 (from  $*\text{ʔb}^{\text{h}}$  “to be poor, needy,” which derives from an “old Amor.” adj. and which appears as a loanword in Ug., Hebr., and in the Akk. of Mari [*abiyānum* “poor, troubled, destitute”]). Consequently,  $\text{ʔbh}$  and  $\text{ʔeby}^{\text{h}}$  will receive special treatment below in 3 and 4–5.

Copt. *EBIHN* may be a loanword from Sem. (cf. W. A. Ward, *JNES* 20 [1961]: 31f.; contra T. O. Lambdin, “Eg. Loan Words in the OT,” *JAOS* 73 [1953]: 145f.).

The Ug. *abynm* (*KTU* 4.70.6) and *abynt* (1.17.I.16) are not fruitful (cf. *WUS* nos. 18, 20; *UT* nos. 23f.).

The derivation of  $\text{בֹּי}^{\text{א}}$  “woe” (Prov 23:29) from  $\text{בָּח}$  is questionable (cf. HAL 4a with bibliog.), as is that of  $\text{בִּי}^{\text{א}}$  “O that” (Job 34:36; cf. 1 Sam 24:12; 2 Kgs 5:13; →  $\text{בָּב}$  III/2b; cf. Honeyman, op. cit. 82; HAL 4a).

2. The verb  $\text{בָּח}$  is attested 54x in qal forms, with the majority in narrative literature (2 Sam 10x, Deut 7x, Isa 5x, and 4x each in Judg, 1 Sam, 1 Chron, and Prov).

$\text{בְּיָוֶן}$  (61x) is found primarily in cultic texts (Psa 23x, in addition to 1 Sam 2:8; Isa 25:4; Jer 20:13), but is also represented in the prophetic, legal, and wisdom literatures (Deut 7x, Job 6x, 5x each in Isa and Amos).

3. (a) Remarkably, the verb  $\text{בָּח}$  is almost always negated and means “to refuse, decline, not want”; it falls therefore within the semantic field of the expression  $\text{מָנַן}$  pi. “to refuse” (46x; once in Num 22:13 with Yahweh as subj., although no theological usage is recognizable; par. to  $\text{בָּח}$  in Deut 25:7; 2 Sam 2:21, 23; Isa 1:19f.; Prov 1:24f.),  $\text{מָנַן}^{\text{C}}$  “to withhold, refuse,” →  $\text{מָנַס}$  “to reject,” etc. The only two sentences in which  $\text{בָּח}$  has a grammatically positive usage are not entirely positive in terms of meaning (Isa 1:19, in a conditional sentence, par. to →  $\text{שָׁמַע}^{\text{C}}$  “to obey”; Job 39:9, in a rhetorical question, practically equal to a negation).

The explanation for this meaning should not proceed from etymological or linguistic-historical inferences, but from considerations of the contemporary word field (cf. E. Jenni, “‘Wollen’ und ‘Nichtwollen’ im Hebr.,” FS Dupont-Sommer 201–7). The positive “to be willing, want” is expressed in Hebr. by means of the verb  $\text{יָחַל}$  hi. “to decide, touch, begin” (18x), which is never negated. On the one hand, as a so-called inner-causative, inwardly trans., or internal hi. (“to cause oneself to take something, begin something,” etc.), this verb, which always expresses an intentional process, can never be negated (cf. HP 95ff., 250ff., 256); on the other hand, it is precisely the inner-causative hi. that is more conducive to the expression of the intentional activity of the subj. than a neutral  $\text{בָּח}$  in the meaning “to be (de facto, perchance) willing.” Thus a positive  $\text{יָחַל}$  hi. and a negated or conditional  $\text{בָּח}$  qal complement each other (cf. Judg 19:6–10, where the two verbs coincide).\*

(b) The verb exhibits full verbal force (“to want, be willing,” etc.) in only a few cases: Prov 1:30, “They would have none of my counsel”; 1:25, “You would have none of my reproof”; Deut 13:9, “You would not yield to him.” These cases refer to a specific act of the will in contrast to an expectation or a demand exerted from without, a—thoroughly neutral—unwillingness. Nom. objs. are introduced then either with  $\text{לֵךְ}$  (Deut 13:9; Prov 1:30; cf. Psa 81:12) or stand in the acc. (Prov 1:25).  $\text{בָּח}$  occurs formulaically in the bipolar expression “not to hear and to be unwilling” (Deut 13:9; 1 Kgs 20:8; Psa 81:12; cf. Isa 1:19; 42:24). In reality, however, any apparently abs. usage of the word is an elliptical idiom. Cf. e.g., Judg 11:17 (LXX); 1 Sam 31:4 = 1 Chron 10:4; 2 Sam 12:17; 1 Kgs 22:50; Isa

30:15; cf. also Prov 1:10; 6:35.

(c) In the majority of cases an action verb accompanies *ʔbh* that forces it into an auxiliary role (e.g., Gen 24:5, 8, “If you do not want to accompany”). Perhaps as an extension of the formula mentioned above, the expression “not to want to hear” established itself in common usage (Lev 26:21; Deut 23:6; Josh 24:10; Judg 19:25; 20:13; 2 Sam 13:14, 16; Isa 28:12; 30:9; Ezek 3:7[bis]; 20:8).

All sorts of other activities could also be unwanted, avoided, refused (Deut 1:26; Judg 19:10; 1 Sam 22:17; 26:23; 2 Sam 2:21; 6:10; 13:25; 14:29[bis]; 23:16f. = 1 Chron 11:18f.; 2 Kgs 8:19 = 2 Chron 21:7; 2 Kgs 24:4; 1 Chron 19:19); the main verb stands for the most part in the inf. with *le* (exceptions, Deut 2:30; 10:10; 25:7; 29:19; 1 Sam 15:9; 2 Kgs 13:23; Isa 28:12; 30:9; 42:24; Job 39:9).

(d) Texts in which the lack of desire results from an inner hardening or stubbornness may indicate traces of a technical theological usage of *ʔbh* (Exod 10:27, “Yahweh hardened Pharaoh’s heart, therefore he did not want to let them go”; cf. Deut 2:30), which may have led to a formulaic usage in the prophetic judgment or indictment language: “You were not willing!” (Isa 30:15; cf. Matt 23:37 with the verb *thelein*, which translates *ʔbh* in the LXX in approximately half the cases; see G. Schrenk, “βούλομαι,” *TDNT* 1:629–37; id., “θέλω,” *TDNT* 3:44–62). The hardening can also be viewed in an entirely inward, almost clinical, manner (2 Sam 13:2, 14, 16; see K. L. and M. A. Schmidt, “παχύνω,” *TDNT* 5:1022ff.; F. Hesse, *RGG* 6:1383).

4. (a) *ʔebyôn* belongs to a series of OT words describing the socially weak (*dal*, *miskēn*, *ʕānî*, *rāš*, etc.; → *ʕnh* II; cf. A. Kuschke, “Arm und reich im AT,” *ZAW* 57 [1939]: 31–57; J. van der Ploeg, “Les pauvres d’Israël et leur piété,” *OTS* 7 [1950]: 236–70; P. Humbert, “Le mot biblique *ʔebyôn*,” *RHPR* 32 [1952]: 1–6 = *Opuscules d’un hébraïsant* [1958], 187–92; F. Hauck, “πέννης,” *TDNT* 6:37–40; F. Hauck and E. Bammel, “πτωχός,” *TDNT* 6:885–915, with bibliog.). The specific meaning of the word, “to have want” (Kuschke, op. cit. 53), “the poor who beg” (Humbert, op. cit. 188), is no longer clearly discernible (Bammel, *TDNT* 6:889n.24). In legal and prophetic texts the *ʔebyôn* is the exploited (Exod 23:6, 11; Deut 15:1–11; 24:14; Amos 2:6; 4:1; 5:12; 8:4, 6; Jer 2:34; 5:28; 22:16; Ezek 16:49; 18:12; 22:29). Wisdom passages often simply have material suffering in mind in contrast to wealth (Psa 49:3; 112:9; Prov 31:20; cf. *rāš* “poor,” → *ʕnh* II).

(b) Everywhere in the ancient Near East the socially weak have a particular relationship to the divinity.

Cf. *BWL* 18n.1 (“the poor of this world, rich in faith,” to whom the gods pay

particular attention, so that even Nabopolassar recognizes himself as belonging to their number), with a listing of the expressions for “poor” in Akk. (textual citations in *AHW*; see *akû*, *dunnamû*, *enšu*, *katû*, *lapnu*, *muškēnu*, etc.). Cf. W. Schwer, *RAC* 1:689ff.; G. Mensching, E. Kutsch, and E. L. Dietrich, *RGG* 1:616ff.; also the hymns to Shamash (*BWL* 121ff.) and Psa 82:3 as a reflection of ancient Near Eastern concepts.

Against this background it is understandable that *ʿebyôn* acquires a religious nuance in the OT. In genres rooted in the cult (above all in laments and thanksgivings), the worshiper appears before Yahweh as poor and needy. One must admit one’s inferiority to the mighty and just God; cf. Job 42:2ff. With such an admission, however, the poor simultaneously lay a particular claim to justice: the duties of the powerful, and therefore of God (the covenant idea need not even contribute in this respect), include pity for the suffering (cf. Deut 14:28f.; Isa 58:7; Ezek 18:7; Psa 72:2, 4, 12f.; 82:3; 112:9; Prov 3:27f.; 31:20). Wealth is always a loaned gift. A person is normally poor and unprotected (cf. Gen 3:21; Ezek 16:4ff.; Hos 2:10; Psa 104:14f., 27ff.; etc.); the OT reflects the awareness that Yahweh esp. desires the good of the sufferer. The belief that Yahweh allots privilege and poverty and elevates the poor, reversing the human order, found classical expression in 1 Sam 2:1ff.

(c) The manner in which cultic texts, in particular, use *ʿebyôn* confirms this general impression. The nuances of the various expressions for “poor, needy” are entirely lost; their social significance has faded.

The following count as symptoms of “being poor before God”: unfortunate circumstances (Psa 40:13), contempt (69:9, 11ff.), persecution (35:1ff.; 109:2ff.), sickness (109:22ff.), near death (88:4ff.), etc. (cf. S. Mowinckel, *Psalms in Israel’s Worship* [1962], 2:91f.). The enemies of the poor are less profiled; there are many accomplices and executors of anti-Yahweh schemes (cf. Mowinckel, *op. cit.* 5ff.).

The formulaic usage “I am destitute and poor” (Psa 40:18; 70:6; 86:1; 109:22; cf. also Psa 25:16; 69:30; 88:16; 1 Sam 18:23) describes the situation of the worshiper; it is a confession (of guilt), at once a recognition of the towering might of Yahweh and a foundation for prayer. Yahweh is, however, one who “delivers the weak from the one who is too strong and the weak and needy from the one who despoils” (Psa 35:10; cf. similar hymnic predications in Job 5:15; 1 Sam 2:8; Psa 113:7; etc.). The regular use of two or more synonyms for “poor” (mostly *ʿānî wʿebyôn* “destitute and poor,” Psa 35:10; 37:14; 40:18; 70:6; 74:21; 86:1; 109:16, 22; cf. Deut 24:14; Jer 22:16; Ezek 16:49; 18:12; 22:29; Job 24:14; Prov 31:9) may indicate firm roots in a diction shaped by parallelism. Hymns of thanksgiving (cf. Psa 107:41) and prophetic or priestly promises of salvation (cf. Isa 14:30; 29:19; 41:17; Psa 132:15) attest to the accomplished or guaranteed salvation of the poor.

5. In many intertestamental religious texts, the poor achieve an even greater significance, likely as a result of a more extensive stratification of society. The Qumran community was particularly suspicious of private property and considered poverty and humility preconditions for the spiritual life. This positive conception of poverty continues in the NT (Sermon on the Mount, Luke, Paul), and the Ebionites were neither the only nor the last Christians to give humility before God programmatic significance. Cf. E. Bammel, “πτωχός,” *TDNT* 6:894ff.; *RGG* s.v. “Armenpflege,” “Armut,” “Ebioniten”; L. E. Keck, “The Poor Among the Saints in Jewish Christianity and Qumran,” *ZNW* 57 (1964): 54–78; A. Gelin, *The Poor of Yahweh* (1964).

E. Gerstenberger

אֲבִיּוֹן *ʿabyôn* **poor** → אָבָה *ʿbh*

אֲבִיר *ʿabbîr* **strong**

S 47; BDB 7b; *HALOT* 1:6a; *TDOT* 1:42–44; *TWOT* 13c; *NIDOTTE* 52

1. It is clear that *ʿabbîr* “strong, powerful” and *ʿābîr* (with basically the same meaning; see 4) are related; it is unclear whether *ʿēber* and *ʿebrâ* “pinion, wing” (→ *kānāp*) as well as the related denominative verb *ʿbr* hi. “to soar” (Job 39:26) belong to the same root (so GB 4f., 7; contra *HAL* 6a, 9; cf. *AHw* 7a).

Occurrences of the root in other Sem. languages are similarly opaque in many respects.

*ʿēber* “wing” is related to Akk. *abru* “wing,” Ug. *ʿbr* “to fly(?)” (*WUS* no. 33; contra *UT* no. 39), Syr. *ʿebrā* “feather”; this word family lies too far afield with respect to meaning and will not be taken into account here.

*ʿabbîr* is related to Ug. *ibr* “bull” (*WUS* no. 34; *UT* no. 39; on *i* or *e* in the first syllable as mutated vowels, see W. Vycichl, *AfO* 17 [1954/56]: 357a; on Ug. PNs formed with *ibr*, see Gröndahl 88, 133), and as a Can. loanword, see Eg. *ybr* “stallion” (Burchardt 2:2; W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 62 [1936]: 30).

Of the postulated Akk. words in *AHw* 4b, 7a, *abru* “strong, mighty(?),” *abāru* “embrace, might,” and *abāru* “to span,” *CAD* A/1:38, 63 recognizes only *abāru*

“strength” as valid.

NWSem. forms yet to be mentioned are: a Pun. PN *ʔbrbʔ* (CIS 1:1886; W. W. Baudissin, *Kyrios* [1929], 3:85, “Baal is strong”; Harris 73: an error for *ʔdrbʔ*?) and Old Aram. *ʔbrw* “greatness, mightiness” (DISO 3; KAI no. 214.15, 21; cf. 2:219).

According to E. Y. Kutscher (FS Baumgartner 165) the Middle Hebr. *ʔbr* pi. “to make strong” should be viewed as a secondary formation.

Associations of the root with Gothic *abrs* “strong” and other Old Nordic, Cheremis, and perhaps Celtic pars., as well as with Sum. *ʔb* “cow,” which are thought to point back to a common prehistorical cultural situation (see H. Wagner, *Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung* 75 [1958]: 62–75) are quite unlikely.

2. *ʔabbîr* occurs 17x, distributed across the entire OT from the Song of Deborah to the discourse of Elihu in the poetry of the book of Job. *ʔābîr* is attested 6x, without exception as part of a divine name, once each in the promise to Joseph in the blessing of Jacob, in Isa, in Deutero-Isa, in Trito-Isa, and twice in Psa 132.

3. *ʔabbîr* is used consistently as a subst. and has meanings in the realm of “strong, powerful” (cf. *ischyros* and *dynatos*, the LXX translations in Judg 5:22; Lam 1:15; and Job 24:22). It indicates:

(a) with reference to humans—“those in power, tyrants, heroes, leaders” (1 Sam 21:8; Isa 10:13 K; Job 24:22; 34:20; Lam 1:15; likely also Jer 46:15: Pharaoh, contra LXX Apis), in the construction *ʔabbîrê* → *lēb*, the “brave” (Psa 76:6 par. “heroes of war”; cf. Isa 46:12);

(b) with reference to animals—“horse” (Judg 5:22; Jer 8:16 par. *sûs* “horse,” LXX *hippos*; Jer 47:3 alongside *rekeb* “chariot”; 50:11 and 8:16 alongside *ʔhl* “to neigh”) and “bull” (Isa 34:7; Psa 22:13; 50:13 par. *ʔattûd* “ram”; LXX in each case *tauros*); Psa 68:31 plays upon the double meaning “strong” and “bull”;

(c) Psa 78:25 is on the way to a theological meaning with the expression *leḥem ʔabbîrîm* “bread of angels” (manna; LXX *arton angelôn*; par. *dʕgan-šāmayim* “the grain of heaven” in v 24; cf. Psa 105:40; Wis 16:20; John 6:31).

The thesis of K. Budde (ZAW 39 [1921]: 38f.) that *ʔēpôd* may frequently be a late replacement for *ʔabbîr* “bull image” is unconvincing. H. Torczyner’s rebuttal (ZAW 39 [1921]: 296–300) overreaches the mark, however, by entirely denying the root any application to “horse” or to “bull” (cf. also W. Caspari, “Hebr. *abîr* als dynamistischer Ausdruck,” ZS 6 [1928]: 71–75).

The LXX translations of *ʔabbîr* in Job 24:22 and 34:20 with *adynatos* “powerless” (in Job an additional 4x for the orthographically similar *ʔebyôn* “poor”), as well as in Psa

76:6 with *asynetos* “without understanding” (cf. Isa 46:12), in each case in the context of divine intervention, are noteworthy. Does the LXX attempt a theological correction which argues that before God even the mighty are weak?

4. The divine name  $\text{ʔ}b\hat{r} ya^c q\bar{o}b$  (Gen 49:24; Isa 49:26; 60:16; Psa 132:2, 5) or  $\text{ʔ}b\hat{r} y\acute{i}sr\bar{a} \text{ʔ}el$  (Isa 1:24; cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 68) “the strength of Jacob/Israel,” which used to be commonly translated “bull of Jacob/Israel,” was recognized by A. Alt (“God of the Fathers,” *EOTHR* 1–77, esp. 25ff.) as an epithet for the God of the fathers. In Gen 49:24 it parallels “shepherd of Israel” and “God of your father” (cf. V. Maag, “Der Hirte Israels,” *SThU* 28 [1958]: 2–28, with a thorough presentation of the God-of-the-fathers concepts; an altogether different approach, J. Hoftijzer, *Die Verheissungen an die drei Erzväter* [1956], esp. 95f.). It is generally supposed that the differentiation in the nom. paradigm ( $\text{ʔ}ab\hat{r}$  in contrast to  $\text{ʔ}abb\hat{r}$ ) may have transpired secondarily. But according to Meyer 2:30, the distinction could simply be a grammatical phenomenon (*qattīl* occasionally evolves into *qātīl* in the cs. st.; 1 Sam 21:8 txt?; cf. LXX and *BH* 3). The unusual distribution of occurrences has not yet been thoroughly explained.

5. The psalm inserted at Sir 51:12 (Hebr.) mentions the “strength of Jacob” once more (cf. A. A. Di Lella, *Hebrew Text of Sirach* [1966], 101f.); corresponding formulations do not occur in the texts available from Qumran and in the NT.

H. H. Schmid

## אבל $\text{ʔ}bl$ to mourn

S 56; BDB 5a; *HALOT* 1:6b; *TDOT* 1:44–48; *TWOT* 6; *NIDOTTE* 61

1. The root  $\text{ʔ}bl$  occurs in NWSem. and in Akk., although only NWSem. has the meaning “to mourn”; Akk. does not apply the physical aspect (*abālu* “to wither”) to the psychological one, as Hebr. seems to do.

Since G. R. Driver (FS Gaster 73–82), the meaning “wither” is also increasingly recognized for the Hebr. (*HAL* 7a lists eight texts in contrast to three in KBL 6b); a division of the root into  $\text{ʔ}bl$  I “to mourn” and  $\text{ʔ}bl$  II “to wither” is certainly unnecessary (J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT* [1955], 47–58; E. Kutsch, *ThStud* 78 [1965]: 35f.); see 3a.

A relationship to Arab. *ʔabbana* (so according to Th. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 40 [1886]: 724; the lexicons) is hardly likely; this word has a rather different sphere of meaning (cf.

Scharbert, op. cit. 48n.95; Wehr 2a: “to celebrate, praise, eulogize [a deceased person]”).

Another root *ʔbl* (a by-form of *ybl*) occurs in some place-names formed with *ʔābēl* “watercourse” (*HAL* 7; explained in a folk etymology in Gen 50:11 by means of *ʔbl* “to mourn”). It is uncertain to which root *qrt ablm*, the city of the moon god, belongs (*KTU* 1.18.I.30, IV.8; 1.19.IV.1, 3).

It is unnecessary to assume a further root *ʔbl* “to shut” (GB 5b: a denominative from the Akk. *abullu* > Aram. *ʔabûlāʔ* “gate”; *HAL* 7a) for Ezek 31:15 (see 3a).

In addition to the (intrans.) verb, derivatives include the verbal adj. *ʔābēl* “sad” and the subst. *ʔēbel* “mourning,” as well as *tēbēl* “terra firma,” which is to be understood against the basic meaning “wither” (perhaps a loanword from Akk. *tābalu* “[dry] land,” *GAG* §56k; cf. Zimmer 43; Driver, op. cit. 73).

2. Statistics: qal 18x (apart from Job 14:22 only in prophetic texts), hitp. 19x (primarily in narrative texts), hi. 2x; *ʔābēl* 8x, *ʔēbel* 24x, *tēbēl* 36x (only in poetical texts, often par. to → *ʔereš* “land”).

3. (a) The meaning of *ʔbl* in the qal cannot be reduced to a single Eng. equivalent but ranges from “to be dry” and “to be ruined, lie disconsolate,” etc., to “to mourn” (Kutsch, op. cit. 36, construed “to be diminished” as the governing concept).

Subjs. include earth/land, field, meadowland, vineyard, Judah (Isa 24:4; 33:9; Jer 4:28; 12:4, 11; 14:2; 23:10; Hos 4:3; Joel 1:10; Amos 1:2), wine (Isa 24:7; here and in the preceding texts, the translation “to dry, dry up, lay waste” seems appropriate, if one does not take them as metaphors), gates (Isa 3:26), souls (Job 14:22), and persons (Isa 19:8; Hos 10:5; Joel 1:9; Amos 8:8; 9:5; in these passages it should likely be translated “to mourn”).

Par. terms are: *ʔumlal* (pulal of *ʔml*) “to wilt, dry up, wither away” (Isa 19:8; 24:4, 7; 33:9; Jer 14:2; Hos 4:3; Joel 1:10), *yābēš* “to dry up” (Jer 12:4; 23:10; Joel 1:10; Amos 1:2), *nābēl* “to wither, fall apart” (Isa 24:4), *šāmam* “to devastate” (Jer 12:11; cf. Lam 1:4), *qdr* “to become dark, gloomy; to mourn” (Jer 4:28; 14:2), *ʔnh* “to lament” (Isa 3:26; 19:8), *ʔnh* “to sigh, moan” (Isa 24:7). *ʔbl* with verbs describing dryness need not be limited to nature, nor with verbs of moaning is it limited to people (cf. Isa 19:8 with *ʔbl*, *ʔnh*, and *ʔumlal* with per. subjs.).

On Job 14:22 cf. Scharbert, op. cit. 56–58; Horst, BK 16, 214.

The two hi. usages (Ezek 31:15; Lam 2:8) should be translated “cause to mourn” (on Ezek 31:15, see Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:145, 152).

For verbs of complaint, groaning, moaning, sighing → *šʿq* “to cry”; for antonyms → *nḥm* “to console,” → *šmḥ* “to be happy.”

The same lack of distinction between physical and psychological conditions may also be observed with respect to *ʾumlal* “to wilt, disappear” (*HAL* 61a) and *šmm* “to be devastated, ruined, frightened, troubled” (N. Lohfink, *VT* 12 [1962]: 267–75).

(b) The semantic content of the hitp. can be rather fully conveyed with “to mourn.” In contrast to the purely circumstantial qal, it denotes “to behave [consciously; in 2 Sam 14:2, fictitiously] as *ʾābēl*.”

*ʾbl* can refer to mourning for the dead (Gen 37:34; 1 Sam 6:19; 2 Sam 13:37; 14:2[bis]; 19:2; 1 Chron 7:22; 2 Chron 35:24), for a serious mishap or for the sins of those closely associated (1 Sam 15:35; 16:1; Ezra 10:6; Neh 1:4). *ʾbl* hitp. can also refer to oneself (Ezek 7:12, the context suggests the meaning “to be angry”) or to one’s own improper conduct (Exod 33:4; Num 14:39; Neh 8:9, which approaches the meaning “to regret”). Dan 10:2 refers to asceticism in preparation for the reception of revelation (Montgomery, *Dan*, ICC, 406f.; cf. the development of Syr. *ʾabilā* “sorrowful” and “ascetic, monk” as a loanword also in Mand. [MG xxix] and in Arab. [Fraenkel 270]). Ezekiel announces a time of mourning in a verdict (Ezek 7:27); an apocalyptically colored view of the world describes the present with *ʾbl* hitp. (Isa 66:10; the antonym is eschatological joy, *šš*).

*ʾābēl* “sorrowful” exhibits similar usages (death: Gen 37:35; Psa 35:14; Job 29:25; misfortune: Esth 4:3; 9:22; the sorrow of the end time: Isa 57:18; 61:2f.); in Lam 1:4 the predicate adj. corresponds to the qal.

Similarly, *ʾēbel* “mourning” applies, for the most part, to mourning for the dead (Gen 47:21; 50:10f.; Deut 34:8; 2 Sam 11:27; 14:2; 19:3; Jer 6:26; 16:7; Ezek 24:17; Amos 5:16; 8:10; Eccl 7:2, 4; Lam 5:15; in general: Mic 1:8; Job 30:31; Esth 4:3; 9:22; a transformation of eschatological sorrow into happiness: Isa 60:20; 61:3; Jer 31:13).

In the hitp. *ʾbl* expresses sorrow primarily in definite behaviors (crying, mourning clothes, laments, abstention, etc.; cf. Gen 37:34; Exod 33:4; 2 Sam 14:2; 19:2; Dan 10:2; Ezra 10:6; Neh 1:4; 8:9; 2 Chron 35:24; cf. *BHH* 3:2021ff. with bibliog.; E. Kutsch, “‘Trauerbräuche’ und ‘Selbstminderungsriten’ im AT,” *ThStud* 78 [1965]: 25–42), without, however, requiring that one define the basic meaning of *ʾbl* in terms of external mourning customs (so KBL 6a and V. Maag, *Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos* [1951], 115–17; G. Rinaldi, *Bib* 40 [1959]: 267f.).

On the distinction among *qdr* “to be dark, dirty, sorrowful” (somewhat more narrowly L. Delekat, *VT* 14 [1964]: 55f.), *ʾgm/ʿgm* “to be sorrowful” (Isa 19:10; Job

30:25), and *spd* “to lament” (originally “to smite the breast in lament”; see Kutsch, op. cit. 38f.), see Scharbert, op. cit. 58–62.

4. The lament for the dead has no religious significance in Israel because any form of the cult of the dead is excluded from Israelite worship (cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 1:276ff.; V. Maag, *SThU* 34 [1964]: 17ff.); accordingly *ʔbl* hitp. has no religious significance, except in relation to self-abasement before God (Exod 33:4; Num 14:39; Dan 10:2; Ezra 10:6; Neh 1:4; 8:9; cf. Kutsch, op. cit. 28f., 36; → *ʕnh* II). In contrast, the qal usage and the related semantic field belong to a motif common in prophecy that is primarily at home in the announcement of judgment (Isa 3:26; 19:8; Hos 4:3; Amos 8:8). In Jer the generally recognized formal transition from announcement of judgment to description of catastrophe is clear (Jer 4:28; 12:4, 11; 14:2; 23:10). Finally, in apocalypticism the motif characterizes eschatological terror (Joel 1:9f.; Isa 24:4, 7; 33:9). Amos 1:2 may give the origin of the motif (see M. Weiss, *TZ* 23 [1967]: 1–25). Judgment, with its effects on nature and people, is a consequence of Yahweh’s theophany (allusions to the theophany also in Amos 9:5; Isa 33:9).

As a par. to Amos 1:2, Weiss (op. cit., 19) cites the words of the dog in a Mid. Assy. fox fable (*BWL* 192f., 334): “I am mighty in strength, . . . a voracious lion . . . before my horrible voice mountains and rivers dry up (*abālu* Gtn).”

5. OT mourning customs are presupposed in the NT, but Jesus negates their significance for humanity (Matt 8:21f.). The apocalyptic concept that the end time is characterized by “mourning” is significant (Matt 24:30, etc.). The beatitude in Matt 5:4 alludes to Isa 61:2. Cf. G. Stählin, “κοπετός,” *TDNT* 3:830–60; R. Bultmann, “πένθος,” *TDNT* 6:40–43.

F. Stolz

אֶבֶן } *eben* **stone** → שׁוּר *šûr*

אֲדֹנָי *ʔādôn* **lord**

S 113; BDB 10b; *HALOT* 1:12b; *TDOT* 1:59–72; *TWOT* 27b; *NIDOTTE* 123

מָרַע *mārēʔ* (Aram.) **lord**

S 4756; BDB 1101b; HAL 5:1740a; TWOT 2839; NIDOTTE 10437

I. The word *ʾādôn* “lord,” of undetermined origin, is limited to the Can. language family. The other Sem. languages have various designations for “lord”: Akk. *bēlu*, Aram. *mārē*, Arab. *rabb*, Eth. *ʾegzi*.

HAL 12b catalogs various still uncertain attempts at etymology (even more extensive suggestions in F. Zimmermann, VT 12 [1962]: 194). According to BL 16, 253 *ʾādōnay* may be a non-Sem. loanword with a secondarily derived sg. *ʾādôn*. Derivation from Ug. *ad* “father” (→ *ʾāb* III/1) is also purely hypothetical; a basic meaning “father” for *ʾādôn* (KBL 10b, speculatively) is unattested, even though a father may be addressed respectfully as “lord” (KTU 1.24.33; Gen 31:35; see III/3); according to KTU 2.14.18f., Ug. *adn* could as easily signify “brother.”

Ug. also attests a fem. *adt* “lady” (WUS no. 86). PNs from Amarna, Mari, Ugarit, etc., which are significant for the vocalization and derivation of the forms, are cataloged and discussed (inconclusively) in Huffmon 156, 159 and Gröndahl 88–90.

Phoen.-Pun. *ʾdn* “lord” is frequent (DISO 5; PNs: Harris 74); the fem. *ʾdt* “lady” exists here too (once also in a Palm. inscription, likely as a Canaanitism; cf. M. Noth, OLZ 40 [1937]: 345f.). On the basis of this evidence O. Eissfeldt (OLZ 41 [1938]: 489) suspects a miswritten fem. par. to *ʾādôn* in Jer 22:18 behind *hōdō* (contra Rudolph, HAT 12, 142; M. Dahood, CBQ 23 [1961]: 462–64).

In extrabibl. Hebr. *ʾdny* “my lord” is common in the Lachish Letters (KAI nos. 192–97 passim; ANET 322); cf. also *ʾdny hśr* “my lord, the governor” in the Yavneh-Yam ostrakon (KAI no. 200.1).

The form *ʾādōnāy*, reserved as a designation for Yahweh, is usually understood as a fixed vocative form of the majestic pl. with a per. suf. in (affect-stressed) pause, “my lords = my lord = the lord” (extensive treatment in W. W. Baudissin, *Kyrios* [1929], 2:27ff.), although the grammatical analysis of the ending *-āy* is disputed.

II. The various forms of *ʾādôn* (incl. *ʾādōnay* “my lords” Gen 19:2) and the divine designation *ʾādōnāy* (incl. Gen 19:18) are listed separately in the statistics. Mandl. overlooks 2 Sam 7:22, reflecting the Bombergiana ed.; Lis. omits Ezek 14:20.

	<i>ʾādôn</i>	<i>ʾādōnāy</i>	total
Gen 71	9	80	
Exod 10	6	16	
Lev –	–	–	
Num 6	1	7	

Deut 4	2	6	
Josh 3	2	5	
Judg 7	4	11	
1 Sam	38	–	38
2 Sam	52	7	59
1 Kgs34	5	39	
2 Kgs37	2	39	
Isa 16	48	64	
Jer 6	14	20	
Ezek –	222	222	
Hos 1	–	1	
Joel –	–	–	
Amos1	25	26	
Obad–	1	1	
Jonah	–	–	–
Mic 1	2	3	
Nah –	–	–	
Hab –	1	1	
Zeph 1	1	2	
Hag –	–	–	
Zech 7	2	9	
Mal 3	2	5	
Psa 13	54	67	
Job 1	1	2	
Prov 3	–	3	
Ruth 1	–	1	
Song Sol	–	–	–
Eccl –	–	–	
Lam –	14	14	
Esth –	–	–	
Dan 6	11	17	
Ezra –	1	1	
Neh 3	2	5	
1 Chron	5	–	5
2 Chron	4	–	4
total	334	439	773

Concentrations of  $\text{ʔādôn}$  (Gen, Sam, Kgs) are topically influenced; concentrations of  $\text{ʔādōnāy}$  (Ezek, Amos) are redactionally determined.

Bibl. Aram.  $\text{mārē}$  “lord” is attested in Dan 4x.

III. 1. As a term of social order,  $\text{ʔādôn}$  in its basic meaning “lord,

master (over subject persons)“ is defined in opposition to terms such as *ʿebed* “servant” (cf. esp. Gen 24:9, 65; Exod 21:4–8; Deut 23:16; Judg 3:25; 1 Sam 25:10; Isa 24:2; Mal 1:6; Psa 123:2; Job 3:19; Prov. 30:10; with *naʿar* “servant,” Judg 19:11; 1 Sam 20:38, etc.; with *ʾāmâ* or *šiphâ* “maid,” 1 Sam 25:25, 27f., 41, etc.), which almost always occur or are implied in context; correspondingly, the word occurs almost exclusively with a succeeding gen. or pron. suf. (a circumlocution for the relationship by means of *le* in Gen 45:8, 9; 1 Kgs 22:17 = 1 Chron 18:16; Psa 12:5; 105:21; by means of special verbal expressions in Isa 19:4; 26:13; an abs. *ʾādôn* occurs only in the formulaic laments for the dead in Jer 22:18; 34:5, as well as perhaps 10x as a description of Yahweh; see IV/2, 4). *ʾādôn* distinguishes itself in this manner very clearly from → *baʿal* “lord, owner (of a thing)“ (the wife also counts as property with reference to *baʿal* in the meaning “husband”).

F. Baethgen’s statement (in *Beiträge zur sem. Religionsgeschichte* [1888], 41, cited in *TDNT* 3:1053), “The master in relation to the slave is בעל as the owner of the slave and אדון as the one who can dispose of this possession as he wills”), is therefore not entirely accurate, because the OT does not use *baʿal* in reference to an *ʿebed*.

Ug. contrasts *adn* and *bʿl* less distinctly; cf. *bʿly* “my Lord” in the address to the king in epistolary style (*WUS* no. 544, 3\*) corresponding to the Akk. formula; cf. also the poetical parallelism *bʿlkm/adnkm* in *KTU* 1.2.I.17, 33f., and 1.6.6.57f. “Nqmd, king of Ugarit, *adn* of *Yrgbbʿl* of *Trmn*. “

*gʿbîr* “lord, master” occurs infrequently as a synonym for *ʾādôn* (Gen 27:29, 37 in contrast to *ʾabādîm* “servants” in v 37); the fem. *gʿbîrâ* “lady, mistress” (in contrast to *šiphâ* “maidservant,” Gen 16:4, 8f.; Isa 24:2; Psa 123:2; Prov 30:23; alongside *naʿarâ* “maiden,” 2 Kgs 5:3; → *gbr* 3e) is more common.

2. *ʾādôn* appears only once in the sense of authority over impersonal spheres: 1 Kgs 16:24 *ʾādônê hāhār* “(Shemer,) the (former) owner of the mountain (Samaria).” Reference to the placement of a lord over the house of Pharaoh (Gen 45:8) or over the land of Egypt (Gen 42:30, 33; 45:9; Isa 19:4; Psa 105:21) indicates nothing other than elevation over the constituents of the house or country in question.

Of the Ug. texts, those cited above (III/1) with *adn Yrgb* should be mentioned; in the Phoen. oath from Arslan Tash (7th cent.) the reading in l. 15 suggested by W. F. Albright (*BASOR* 76 [1939]: 8), which has been taken up in *KAI* (no. 27), *bʿlpn ʿs* “lord

of the surface of the earth,” is preferable over the reading [ *ʔdn ʔrʂ* “lord of the earth” (T. H. Gaster, *Or* 11 [1942]: 44, 61; *HAL* 12b; cf. *ANET* 658b).

3. As in numerous languages (e.g., Med. Lat. “senior” followed by Ger. “Herr,” originally a comparative form of “hehr” = “old, honorable”; cf. Kluge 305a; Fr. “monsieur” with a fixed usage of the pron.; Eng. “sir” < “sire”; “mister” < “master”), the word is used in address and declaration not only to reflect an actual lord-servant relationship (very frequently, e.g., in the courtly *ʔādōnîhammelek* “my lord, the king”), but also as a polite form for other persons whom one wishes to honor with this designation (L. Köhler, *ZAW* 36 [1916]: 27; 40 [1922]: 39ff.; Lande 28ff., 81); the subordinating self-designation *ʕebed* “slave” corresponds to this usage. Thus the following may be addressed as *ʔādōn*: the father (Gen 31:35, Rachel’s address to Laban), the brother (Gen 32:5f., 19; 33:8ff., Jacob-Esau; Exod 32:22; Num 12:11, Aaron-Moses), the uncle (2 Sam 13:32f., Jonabad-David), the spouse (Gen 18:12, Sarah-Abraham; Judg 19:26f., concubine-Levite; Amos 4:1, the “cows of Bashan”; Psa 45:12, the royal bridegroom), as well as total strangers (e.g., on the lips of women: Gen 24:18, Rebekah-servant of Isaac; Judg 4:18, Jael-Sisera; Ruth 2:13, Ruth-Boaz), or those who are actually of equal or lower social status (1 Kgs 18:7, 13, Obadiah-Elijah; 20:4, 9, Ahab-Benhadad; 2 Kgs 8:12, Hazael-Elisha). The transition from “you/your” to “my lord” (e.g., Num 32:25, 27) occurs just as easily as the role change from “I/my” to “your servant” (e.g., 1 Sam 22:15). *ʔādōnî* “my lord” (cf. Fr. “monsieur”) is often used in a fixed form instead of “our lord” by a group of people (Gen 23:6; 42:10; 43:20; Num 32:25, 27; 36:2; 2 Sam 4:8; 15:15; 2 Kgs 2:19).

On the formula *bî ʔādōnî* or *bî ʔādōnāy* “with your permission, lord” (7x and 5x, resp.), see L. Köhler, *ZAW* 36 (1916): 26f.; Lande 16–19; *HAL* 117.

IV. 1. (a) The usage of *ʔādōn* and *ʔādōnāy* in reference to Yahweh (W. W. Baudissin, *Kyrios* [1929], vols. 1–4; Quell, *TDNT* 3:1058ff.; Eichrodt 1:203f.; O. Eissfeldt, *RGG* 1:97) is closely tied to profane practice, because it was used by Israel or individuals or groups in Israel to address Yahweh as the superior, as lord, or to speak of him as the lord in analogy to earthly (actual or fictional) servant-lord relationships, just as it was used by neighboring religious communities to address their prominent divinities; so too was Israel, terminologically at least since Deutero-Isa, described as the servant of Yahweh (W. Zimmerli, *TDNT* 5:662; → *ʕbd*). (b) This usage is relatively rare and atypical. By contrast, frequent and formulaic is (c) the vocative and (d) the formulaic usage as a divine epithet, which develops, in accordance with the uniqueness of this lord, into (e) an absolutely suitable ontological description (lord par excellence, lord of all), and finally even

replaces the divine name.

2.  $\text{ʾādôn}$  occurs in a statement with the per. suf. (“his lord”) only in the prophetic verdict against Ephraim in Hos 12:15, “Therefore, his Lord will leave his bloodguilt upon him,” where the full force of the word probably underscores the paradox of disobedience; Neh 3:5 is similar: “Their leaders, nevertheless, did not bend the necks to the service of their Lord.” Cf. further Isa 51:22 “your Lord” in a positive use of the full sense, par. to “who pleads the cause of his people.”

In contrast, statements with “our Lord” (Psa 135:5; 147:5; Neh 8:10; 10:30) should probably be regarded as late variations of the formulaic usage of  $\text{ʾādôn}$  as a divine epithet or as a replacement for the divine name. Mal 1:6 “Am I Lord? Where is the fear of me?” does not represent an actual divine designation, but a comparison with an earthly (father or) lord, in which the meaning of the word has become thematic. In Mal 3:1 “the Lord, whom you seek,” the use of  $\text{hāʾādôn}$  is determined through juxtaposition with the messenger who precedes this Lord, although, as in 1:6, the abs. usage for Yahweh that was known at the time may be reflected.

3.  $\text{ʾādōnāy}$  “my Lord” is already attested early in address. In contrast to e.g., *melek* “king,” the word does not serve as a description of the being of God as the sovereign Lord or as the mighty master, but as a simple honorific used by the subordinate in conversation with any superior (Eichrodt 1:203; contra Köhler, *Theol.* 30, who evaluates the meaning of  $\text{ʾādôn}$  in the text that is paradigmatic for him, Psa 105:21, with too great an emphasis on the par. but not synonymous *mōšēl* “master”; cf. also Baudissin, op. cit. 2:246). This usage also occurs in texts that will not be listed individually here (concentrated e.g., in the prayer of David, 2 Sam 7:18–22, 28f., 7x  $\text{ʾādōnāy yhw̄h}$ , otherwise absent in Sam), certainly incl. the old and textually unquestionable formulae  $\text{bī ʾādōnāy}$  “with permission, Lord” (Exod 4:10, 13; Josh 7:8; Judg 6:15; 13:8; cf. Judg 6:13  $\text{bī ʾādōnî}$ ) and  $\text{ʾhāh ʾādōnāy yhw̄h}$  “Ah! My Lord Yahweh” (Josh 7:7; Judg 6:22; also 8x in Jer and Ezek; →  $\text{ʾhāh}$ ; cf. also the usage of  $\text{ʾādōnî}$  with respect to angels in Josh 5:14; Zech 1:9; 4:4f., 13; 6:4; Dan 10:16, 17[bis], 19; 12:8).

The group address “Yahweh, our Lord” is limited to Psa 8:2, 10 and seems to approximate the predication of Yahweh treated in the next section.

4. The abs. usage of  $\text{ʾādôn}$  also appears very early as a formulaic divine epithet. The meaning of the word here too does not at first exceed what has been treated so far, as e.g., in the ceremonious title  $\text{hāʾādôn yhw̄h}$  ( $\text{ʾēlōhē yisrāʾēl}$ ) “the Lord Yahweh (the God of Israel)” in the pilgrimage legislation (Exod 23:17 and 34:23) and also in the formula  $\text{hāʾādôn yhw̄h}$

$\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{bā}^{\text{a}}\text{ōt}$  used several times by Isa, which probably stems from Jerusalem tradition (Isa 1:24; 3:1; 10:16, 33; 19:4; cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 66–68).

In Phoen.-Pun. inscriptions the epithet  $\text{dn}$  “lord” is attested for numerous divinities and occurs frequently (Baudissin, op. cit. 3:52ff.; *DISO* 5, with a list of the pertinent divinities). The transition from title to PN can be recognized in PNs (cf.  $\text{š}^{\text{m}}\text{mn}^{\text{a}}\text{dn}/\text{dn}^{\text{a}}\text{š}^{\text{m}}\text{mn}$  “Eshmun is Lord” with  $\text{dn}^{\text{a}}\text{p}^{\text{l}}\text{t}$  “Adn has saved”) and esp. with respect to the dying and rising vegetation divinity Adonis from Byblos (W. W. Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* [1911]; Eissfeldt, *RGG* 1:97f.; G. von Lücken, “Kult und Abkunft des Adonis,” *FF* 36 [1962]: 240–45).

In view of the wide distribution of such epithets in the ancient Near East (Eg. *nb*, Sum. EN, Akk. *bēlu*, Aram. *mr*<sup>?</sup>, Hitt. *išha-*), the title  $\text{ādōn}$  for Yahweh requires no special derivation; nevertheless one can speculate that the Jerusalem cult tradition, to which the specified formulas apparently belong, has been influenced by Can. idiom (cf. also PNs formed with  $\text{ādōn}$ , e.g.,  $\text{ādōn}^{\text{a}}\text{īyāhū}$ ,  $\text{ādōn}^{\text{a}}\text{īšedeq}$ ,  $\text{ādōn}^{\text{a}}\text{īqām}$ ,  $\text{ādōn}^{\text{a}}\text{īrām}$ , with their Ug. and Phoen. counterparts; see I; *IP* 114ff.).

The age of the expression  $\text{ādōnāy yhwh}$ , other than in address, e.g., “the Lord Yahweh” with a nom. usage of the fixed vocative, is disputed. Contrary to the viewpoint represented by Baudissin (*Kyrios* 1:558ff.; 2:81ff.), that  $\text{ādōnāy}$  has been secondarily added to or substituted for *yhwh* in each instance, the nom. usage may be quite old according to Eissfeldt (*RGG* 1:97); according to F. Baumgärtel (“Zu den Gottesnamen in den Büchern Jer und Ezek,” *FS Rudolph* 1–29) formulae such as *kōh āmar*  $\text{ādōnāy yhwh}$  and *n<sup>e</sup>um*  $\text{ādōnāy yhwh}$  are original in Jer and Ezek (with J. Herrmann, *FS Kittel* 70ff., contra Baudissin); cf. also the extensive treatment in Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:556–62.

Many texts, incl. the oldest, remain textually disputed (on Amos cf. V. Maag, *Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos* [1951], 118f.; and Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 101, 130; on 1 Kgs 2:26, cf. comms.).

In particular, it is not always clear why some authors (or redactors) prefer the expression  $\text{ādōnāy yhwh}$ . Baumgärtel (op. cit. 27ff.) assumes that Ezek (217x) avoids the divine designation *yhwh š<sup>e</sup>bā<sup>a</sup>ōt* (associated with the ark in the temple on Mt. Zion and still common in Jer) in the exilic situation and replaces it with  $\text{ādōnāy yhwh}$  in connection with an old cult name.

5. The association of  $\text{ādōn}$  with an accompanying gen. describing the universal sphere of sovereignty mediates the transition from a divine epithet to an essential designation that is also absolutely applicable:  $\text{ādōnāy}$  in the sense of “Lord par excellence” or “Lord of all.” Such escalating

hyperbolic usages are also known in the Bab. repertoire of titles for gods (e.g., *bēl bēlē* “the Lord of lords”; cf. Tallqvist 40–57) and even for kings (in addition to *bēl bēlē*, e.g., also *bēl šarrāni* “the lord of kings,” *bēl gimri* and *bēl kiššati* “the Lord of all”; cf. Seux 55–57, 90f.), and are therefore not per se witness to a purely monotheistic belief in God. The Hebr. OT uses the expressions “God of gods and Lord of lords” (Deut 10:17; Psa 136:2f.) and *ʾādôn kol-hāʾāreṣ* “Lord of the whole earth” (Josh 3:11, 13; Mic 4:13; Zech 4:14; 6:5; Psa 97:5; 114:7 txt em, see Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:371, 375; a segment of this text may still be pre-exilic; cf. Noth, *HAT* 7, 25; H.-M. Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker* [1968], 94, 96; following Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:83, the expression apparently “derived from the cultic tradition of the old Jebusite city”).

*mārēʿ*, the Bibl. Aram. equivalent of *ʾādôn*, occurs 2x in the vocative *mārî* “my Lord” addressed to the king (Dan 4:16, 21) and 2x with an accompanying gen. in reference to God: Dan 2:47, *mārēʿ malkîn* “Lord of kings” and 5:23, *mārēʿ-šʿmayyāʿ* “Lord of heaven.” For pars. in Aram. inscriptions (a title for kings and gods) cf. Baudissin, *Kyrios* 3:57–61; *DISO* 166f. (on Phoen. *ʾdn mlkm* and Aram. *mrʿ mlkn* “the lord of kings” cf. K. Gallig, “Eschmunazar und der Herr der Könige,” *ZDPV* 79 [1963]: 140–51). 1QapGen has noticeably multiplied the number of these expressions (with the spelling *mrh*); see Fitzmyer, *Gen.Ap.* 77, 83f., 99, 130, 242.

The originality of the texts with freestanding *ʾādōnāy* “the Lord” not addressed to a second party is in doubt (about 70x, principally in Isa, Psa, and Lam: 1 Kgs 3:10, 15; 22:6; 2 Kgs 7:6; 19:23; Isa 3:17f.; 4:4; 6:1, 8; 7:14, 20, etc.; Ezek 18:25, 29; 21:14; 33:17, 20; Amos 5:16; 7:7f.; 9:1; Mic 1:2; Zech 9:4; Mal 1:12, 14; Psa 2:4; 22:31; 37:13; 54:6, etc.; Job 28:28; Lam 1:14f.; 2:1, etc.; Dan 1:2; 9:3, 9; Ezra 10:3, where, however, one should read *ʾādōnî* and regard it as a reference to Ezra; Neh 4:8). Nevertheless, the MT presumes the exclusive meaning “the Lord *katʿ exochēn*.” *ʾādōnāy* completely loses its original vocative character, becoming clearly paraphrastic, in a trend toward the avoidance of the name Yahweh beginning in the 3rd cent. BCE (Bousset-Gressmann 307ff.), which may also be observed in the Qumran texts (M. Delcor, *Les Hymnes de Qumran* [1962], 195; cf. in the context of an address, 1QH 2:20, etc., with Isa 12:1; Psa 86:12; 1QH 7:28 with Exod 15:11; outside of an address, 1QM 12:8 with Psa 99:9; 1QSb 3:1 with Num 6:26), and which finally leads to the Qere perpetuum *ʾādōnāy* for the tetragrammaton (→ *yhwh*).

V. On the usage of *ʾādôn* or *kyrios* in early Judaism and in the NT, cf. W. Foerster, “κύριος,” *TDNT* 3:1081–98; K. H. Rengstorf, “δεσπότης,” *TDNT* 2:44–49; K. G. Kuhn, “μαρναθά,” *TDNT* 4:466–72; as well as bibliogs. in NT theologies and in treatments of the dominical

titles.

E. Jenni

## אֲדַר *ʾaddîr* **powerful**

S 117; BDB 12a; *HALOT* 1:13b; *TDOT* 1:73–74; *TWOT* 28b; *NIDOTTE* 129

1. The root *ʾdr* “to be powerful, mighty, majestic” is limited to Can. (Ug.: *UT* no. 92; *WUS* no. 95; Gröndahl no. 90; Phoen.-Pun.: *DISO* 5f.; Harris 74f.).

The qal, “to be mighty,” and the pi., “to make mighty, magnify,” are attested only in Phoen. (*DISO* 5); the ni. ptcp. “majestic” (Exod 15:6, 11) and the hi. “to show oneself majestic” (Isa 42:21) occur only in Hebr.

The adj. *ʾaddîr* “mighty, powerful, majestic, leading” is the most important derivative. It occurs relatively frequently in Ug. and Phoen.-Pun., even in everyday speech (e.g., Ug. *attadrt* in the list *KTU* 4.102.4, 7, 9, 16, 18, according to *UT* no. 92 “upper-class wife”; cf. A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ug. Literature* [1954], 19f., 58f.; Pun. *KAI* no. 65.2 = no. 81.5: “from the largest to the smallest of them [the buildings]”; the root *gdl* “to be large” is lacking in Phoen.-Pun.); in Hebr. it seems rather to be an archaic or archaizing word, judging from nom. formation and usage (Gulkowitsch 95).

The fem. form *ʾadderet* (< \**ʾaddirt* -, BL 479) is either an abstract “glory” (Ezek 17:8; Zech 11:3) or in the concrete meaning “coat” (cf. H. W. Hönig, *Die Bekleidung des Hebräers* [1957], 66ff.). A basic meaning “be broad” (GB 12a), to which “glory” and “coat” may be traced, is not demonstrable; rather, if *ʾadderet* “coat” belongs to the root *ʾdr*, the constant attribute may be used representatively for the thing (“the glorious” < “the glorious [article of clothing]).”

The subst. *ʾeder* “splendor(?)” (Zech 11:13; Mic 2:8 txt em *ʾadderet* “coat?”) is exegetically and textually quite disputed; cf. comms. and G. W. Ahlström, *VT* 17 (1967): 1–7.

The PN *ʾadrammek* (2 Kgs 19:37 = Isa 37:38) has a counterpart in Phoen. (*ʾdrmlk* = “*Mlk* is mighty”; Harris 75). In 2 Kgs 17:31 the homophonous divine name, however, has developed from Akk. *adadmilki* (“Adad [is] king”) (Eissfeldt, *KS* [1966], 3:335–39; K. Deller, *Or* 34 [1965]: 382f.).

2. Aside from *ʿadderet* in the meaning “coat” (10x), the distribution of the word family is almost entirely limited to poetical texts: ni. 2x, hi. 1x (for the texts, see above); *ʿaddîr* 27x, besides Exod 15:10 (Song of the Sea) and Judg 5:13, 25 (Song of Deborah), 13x in metrical prophetic texts, and 7x in the Psalter; in prose only 1 Sam 4:8 (on the lips of the Philistines) and Neh 3:5; 10:30; 2 Chron 23:20 (in the meaning “nobles”); *ʿadderet* “splendor” 2x (prophetic texts, see above). Incl. *ʿeder* (2x) the root is attested 44x.

Cf. further Sir 36:7 (hi.); 43:11 and 49:13 (ni.); 40:13; 46:17; 50:16 (*ʿaddîr*); on the Qumran texts cf. Kuhn, *Konk.* 2f.; also GCDS 5, 117.

3. Power, might, and splendor are attributed (as in Ug. and Phoen.) both to impersonal things (bodies of water: Exod 15:10; Psa 93:4a; cf. Ug. *gšm adr* “heavy rain” in *KTU* 2.38.14; trees: Isa 10:34 txt? [cf. M. Dahood, *Bib* 38 (1957): 65f.]; Ezek 17:8, 23; Zech 11:2; ship: Isa 33:21b; cf. Phoen. *ʿršt dgn hʿdrt* “the splendid cornfields,” *KAI* no. 14.19; cf. *ANET* 662b, “the mighty lands of Dagon”) and to persons (kings: Psa 136:18; cf. Phoen., *KAI* no. 24.5f. = *ANET* 654b, among others; rulers: Jer 30:21; lords of the flocks = shepherds: Jer 25:34–36; leaders: Judg 5:13, 25; Jer 14:3; Nah 2:6; 3:18; Psa 16:3; Neh 3:5; 10:30; 2 Chron 23:20; Ezek 32:18 txt?; Ug. *WUS* no. 92:2\*b; Neo-Pun. *KAI* no. 119.4 and no. 126.7: “the mighty of Leptis and the entire people of Leptis,” corresponding to Lat. *ordo et populus*).

The Neh texts cited and the inscriptions exhibit the concept as a socially undifferentiated personal designation, perhaps in the sense “magnates” (E. Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judentums* [1896], 132f.). Consequently, it serves in 2 Chron 23:20 as a general replacement for the specific and misunderstood *kārî* “Carites” of 2 Kgs 11:19.

Semantically related terms that occur in the context of *ʿdr* include: *gādôl* “great” (Psa 136:18; cf. Isa 42:21), *mōšēl* “ruler” (Jer 30:21; 2 Chron 23:20), *gibbôr* “hero” (Judg 5:13); cf. also Psa 76:5. The antonym *šāʿîr* “small, insignificant, young” (Jer 14:3 “servant”; cf. S. E. Loewenstamm, *Tarbiz* 36 [1966–67]: 110–15), which also occurs in the Pun. inscriptions mentioned above (1), is informative as well.

4. Like *gādôl* “great” (→ *gd*) and other adjs. that express an attitude of awe toward the powerful, *ʿaddîr* without complement also refers to God and the divine (W. W. Baudissin, *Kyrios* [1929], 3:85f., 120).

In Ug. (*KTU* 1.92.7 *adrt* apparently of Astarte) and esp. in Phoen.-Pun., *ʿdr* and the fem. *ʿdr t* are fixed epithets for various divinities: Phoen. *bʿl ʿdr*, *KAI* no. 9B.5 (Byblos ca. 500 BCE); *ʿskn ʿdr*, *KAI* no. 58 (Piraeus, 3d cent. BCE); Isis/Astarte, *KAI* no. 48.2 (Memphis 2d–1st cent. BCE); Pun. (and Neo-Pun.) Astarte, *tnt* and *bʿl ʿdr*

(DISO 5f.; KAI 2:11, 89; J.-G. Février, *Semit* 2 [1949]: 21–28; A. Berthier and R. Charlier, *Le sanctuaire punique d'El Hofra Constantine* [1955], 14, 237).

Because the text and interpretation of Isa 10:34 (see 3) and 33:21a are very questionable, the only texts that remain with a theological usage of *ʿaddîr* or *ʿdr* ni./hi. are Exod 15:6, “Your laws Yahweh, majestic in might”; v 11, “Who is like you, glorious in holiness?”; 1 Sam 4:8, “Who will save us from the hand of this mighty God?”; Isa 42:21, “It pleased God for the sake of his faithfulness, to magnify his law and make it glorious”; Psa 8:2, 10, “Yahweh, our Lord, how mighty is your name in the whole earth”; 76:5, “Frightful are you, glorious”; and 93:4, “Mightier than the thunders of many waters, mightier than the waves of the sea, the Lord on high is mighty.”

Statements concerning Yahweh’s laws, name, instruction, or being do not exhibit formulaic usage. Noteworthy are the comparative-superlative usages in Exod 15:11 and Psa 93:4. A special theological nuance of the word (the Eng. tr. “mighty” or “majestic” is preferable in these cases) is not evident, nor, in view of the degrees of comparison, to be assumed.

Given the Can. background of the word, it is surely no accident that, in reference to Yahweh, it is particularly at home in the older, Can.-influenced Jerusalem tradition (1 Sam 4:8 in the ark narrative; Psa 76:5 in a pre-exilic Zion hymn [cf. H.-M. Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker* (1968), 167f.]; 93:4 in a similarly ancient enthronement psalm [cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:233ff.]; cf. also the tripartite verses in Exod 15:11 and Psa 93:4 with the climactic parallelism also known from Ug.).

5. Of the numerous options for *ʿaddîr* in the LXX, *thaumastos* (6x in Psa) and *megas* (→ *gdl*) should be esp. emphasized.

The Near Eastern-Hellenistic divine predication *megas* “great” (W. Grundmann, “μέγας,” *TDNT* 4:529–44), which appears in the acclamation formula for Artemis of the Ephesians (Acts 19:27f., 34f.) and which is also echoed in Titus 2:13, “of our great God and of (the) Savior Jesus Christ,” does not correspond to Sem. *gādôl* but reflects Phoen. *ʿdr*, in addition to Aram. *rab* (Akk. *rabû*, Phoen. has only *rbt* “lady” as a title).

E. Jenni

אָדָם *ʿādām* **person**

S 120; BDB 9a; HALOT 1:14a; TDOT 1:75–87; TWOT 25; NIDOTTE 132

אָנוֹשׁ *ʿnôš* **person**

S 582; BDB 60b; HALOT 1:70b; TDOT 1:345–48; TWOT 113a; NIDOTTE 632

1. (a)  $\text{ʔādām}$  “person, people” occurs only in Can. (Hebr. and postbibl. literature, Phoen.-Pun., and Ug.) and occasionally in SSem. (HAL 14a).

Ug. *adm* “people” occurs once par. to *lim* (= Hebr.  $\text{לְעָוֹם}$  “people”) in the Baal cycle (KTU 1.3.II.7f.) and in the expression *ab adm* “the father of humanity” in the Krt epic (→  $\text{ʔāb}$  IV/3a).

The Phoen.-Pun. pl.  $\text{ʔdmm}$  is formed on  $\text{ʔdm}$ , as well (DISO 4).

Old SArab.  $\text{ʔdm}$  has the meaning “servant” (Conti Rossini 100b).

On the Mid. Hebr. form  $\text{ʔādān}$  cf. E. Y. Kutscher, FS Baumgartner 160.

The etymology of the word has not yet been conclusively determined (cf. lexicons, and comms. on Gen 2:7; esp. also Th. C. Vriezen, *Onderzoek naar de Paradijsvoorstelling bij de oude semietische Volken* [1937], 63f., 129–32, 239).

Vriezen (op. cit.) summarizes the attempts to derive the word from the Sum. or Bab.-Assyr., as well as the attempts to explain the figure of Adam on the basis of divine names or mythical figures (as bringer of culture in analogy to Adapa, following de Liagre Böhl), and finds them inconclusive. Because these attempts (cf. also GB 10a; KBL 12f.) do not enjoy wide acceptance or are entirely rejected, they will not be recounted here.

Vriezen asks, then, concerning the relation of  $\text{ʔādām}$  to  $\text{ʔādāmā}$  (cf. Gen 2:7 with a typical Hebr. play on words) whether this is merely a folk etymology or, indeed, an original linguistic relationship. The answers given to date on this question differ; although the linguistic derivation of  $\text{ʔādām}$  from  $\text{ʔādāmā}$  appears to Köhler and others to be certain (*Theol.* 243n.60; 246n.102), Th. Nöldeke (*ARW* 8 [1905]: 161) and others reckon that the two words have nothing to do with each other linguistically. Vriezen concludes that the word is to be explained either from the Hebr. alone (in which case the verb  $\text{ʔdm}$  “to be red” would be pertinent) or from various Arab. options. To him H. Bauer’s (*ZDMG* 71 [1917]: 413; *ZA* 37 [1927]: 310f.) derivation from Arab.  $\text{ʔadam(at)}$  “skin, surface,” is the most likely, which may have assumed the meaning “man” in SArab. and Hebr. as a pars pro toto, while in Arab. the old meaning is preserved. Then a connection between  $\text{ʔādām}$  and  $\text{ʔādāmā}$  “surface of the earth” is possible, but in a different way than the author of Gen 2–3 presupposes. Cf. also →  $\text{ʔādāmā}$  1.

The Arab. meaning “skin, leather,” which has been mentioned, is also accepted by G. R. Driver (*JTS* 39 [1938]: 161; HAL 14b; cf. *CPT* 154) for Hos 11:4 (par. to  $\text{ʔahʔbā}$ , for which the meaning “leather” is also postulated, →  $\text{ʔhb}$  I), but cannot be considered certain (cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 199f.; Rudolf, *KAT* 13/1, 210).

(b) In addition to  $\text{ʔādām}$ , the word  $\text{ʔnōš}$ , which goes back to a common Sem. root, occurs rather rarely in Hebr.; in Bibl. Aram.  $\text{ʔnāš}$  is the normal word for “person(s)” (< \* $\text{ʔunāš}$ ; cf. Wagner nos. 19f.; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 244, 262, 275; →  $\text{ʔš}$  I).

2. (a) The word occurs 554x in the OT (incl. Hos 6:7; 11:4; 13:2; excl., however, the PN Adam in Gen 4:25; 5:1[bis], 3–5; 1 Chron 1:1). The distribution is noteworthy. It occurs in Ezek 132x (93 in God’s address to the prophet: *ben-ʔādām*). The next highest concentration may be found in two places: 49x in Eccl and 46x in Gen 1–11 (by contrast, it does not occur at all in Gen 12–50, apart from Gen 16:12 *pereʔ ʔādām*). A second lesser concentration is noticeable only in Prov (45x) and Psa (62x); otherwise, the distribution is entirely coincidental (Jer 30x, Isa and Job 27x, Num 24x, Lev 15x, Exod 14x, and the other books under 10x; absent in Obad, Nah, Ruth, Song Sol, Esth, and Ezra).

(b)  $\text{ʔnōš}$  occurs 42x but only in poetical texts (Job 18x, Psa 13x, Isa 8x; also Deut 32:26; Jer 20:10; 2 Chron 14:10, a prayer, is no exception). In addition,  $\text{ʔnōš}$  occurs as a PN in Gen 4:26; 5:6–11; 1 Chron 1:1.

Aram.  $\text{ʔnāš}$  appears 25x (Dan 23x, Ezra 2x; the form  $\text{ʔnāšā}$  should be read instead of the Hebr. pl.  $\text{ʔnāšīm}$  in Dan 4:14), either collectively/generally or individualized in the usage *bar ʔnāš* (Dan 7:13; cf. C. Colpe, *TDNT* 8:402ff. with bibliog.) or in the pl. *bēnē ʔnāšā* (Dan 2:38; 5:21), in both poetry and prose.

3. (a)  $\text{ʔādām}$  signifies collectively “the person (generically), humanity, people” and is used (in contrast to →  $\text{ʔš}$  “man”) only in the sg. and in the abs. st., never with sufs. The “individual man” is indicated by *ben-ʔādām*, the pl. “individual men” by *bēnē/bēnôt (hā)ʔādām* (cf. L. Köhler, *TZ* 1 [1945]: 77f.; id., *Theol.* 129f.; → *bēn*). The meaning of the word is consistent throughout the OT. It can be used in combinations such as “human blood” (Gen 9:6; according to KBL 12b perhaps 40 such phrases), as a gen. replacing an adj. “in human fashion” (2 Sam 7:14; Hos 11:4), and in commonplace usages where it can be translated “someone” (Lev 1:2, etc.), “all” (Psa 64:10), negated “no one” (1 Kgs 8:46; Neh 2:12; see also 4j).

Only *mēʔādām (wē)ʔad-bēhēmâ* “the people and the cattle” (Gen 6:7; 7:23; Exod 9:25; 12:12; Num 3:13; Jer 50:3; 51:62; Psa 135:8) occurs as a fixed usage. Other sequences with *bēhēmâ* “cattle, animals” are Exod 8:13f.; 9:9f., 19, 22, 25; 13:2, 15; Lev 7:21; 27:28; Num 8:17; 18:15(bis); 31:11, 26, 30, 47; Jer 7:20; 21:6; 27:5; 31:27; 32:43; 33:10, 12; 36:29; Ezek 14:13, 17, 19, 21; 25:13; 29:8; 36:11; Jonah 3:7f.; Zeph 1:3; Hag 1:11; Zech 2:8; Psa 36:7; cf. Eccl 3:19.

The most common par. is →  $\text{ʔš}$  (III/4c) (2 Kgs 7:10; Isa 2:9; 5:15; 52:14; Psa

49:3; 62:10; with <sup>א</sup>*nāšîm* Isa 2:11, 17, etc.).

(b) <sup>ע</sup>*nôš* never takes the art. and occurs only in the sg. It is a collective term in a stricter sense than <sup>א</sup>*ādām* and therefore signifies “the people” or “people” exclusively; once it is individualized: *ben-<sup>ע</sup>nôš* (Psa 144:3). L. Köhler’s characterization of it as “falling into disuse” (KBL 68a) may be putting it too strongly, because it still occurs 18x in the late book of Job. One may well say, however, that it is strongly limited in usage: only in poetical texts, only without the art., and only in a very narrow semantic field. In this respect, one may presuppose the same limitations of usage that characterize the term <sup>א</sup>*ādām* (see 4a): the word <sup>ע</sup>*nôš* also never occurs in historical texts or in historical or salvation-historical contexts.

The sense of the human being as mortal, frail, and limited predominate in Job and Psa: Psa 103:15, “the days of man are like the grass”; similarly, 73:5; 90:3; 8:5 = 144:3; Job 7:1; 14:19; 25:6; 28:13. A human being cannot be just (pure) before God: Job 4:17; 9:2; 15:14; 25:4; 33:26. Humans in contrast to God are <sup>ע</sup>*nôš*: Job 7:17; 10:4f.; 13:9; 32:8; 33:12; 36:25. A few texts also describe enemies in the same way: Psa 9:20f.; 10:18; 56:2; 66:12; cf. 55:14. Psa 9:21 demonstrates this connection: “the pagans should recognize that they are men.” Beyond Psa and Job, Isa uses the same meaning 6x (Isa 13:7, 12; 24:6; 33:8; 51:7, 12; in addition, 2 Chron 14:10). Thus 33 of 42 texts constitute a cohesive semantic group (see also 4e-h).

Deut 32:26; Isa 8:1; 56:2; Jer 20:10; Psa 55:14; 104:15(bis); Job 5:17; and 28:4 differ from the usage treated to this point. These few exceptions involve fixed idioms or tight word combinations: <sup>א</sup>*šrê* <sup>ע</sup>*nôš* “blessed is the man” (Isa 56:2; Job 5:17); *l<sup>ב</sup>bab* <sup>ע</sup>*nôš* “the heart of man” (Isa 13:7; Psa 104:15[bis]); *ḥeret* <sup>ע</sup>*nôš* “a man’s (= in common use among men) stylus” (Isa 8:1; cf., however, Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 330–32); <sup>ע</sup>*nôš* <sup>ש</sup>*lômî* “my confidant” (Jer 20:10; cf. Psa 55:14 <sup>ע</sup>*nôš* *k<sup>ע</sup>erkî* “a man like me”). If <sup>ע</sup>*nôš* retains the neutral meaning in these combinations, it seems to point to an older stage of the language in which <sup>ע</sup>*nôš* still had a broader, more general usage. Except for these combinations, the neutral meaning occurs only in Deut 32:26 and Job 28:4; *mē<sup>ע</sup>nôš* “(from) among the people” may be a fixed usage here.

Texts in which <sup>ע</sup>*nôš* is a PN are to be attributed to this common, neutral sense (Gen 4:26; 5:6f., 9–11; 1 Chron 1:1; cf. Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:339, on Gen 4:26; see 4j).

4. (a) The OT does not use <sup>א</sup>*ādām* for the creature Homo sapiens without differentiation, but primarily for this creature in relation to its creatureliness or to a particular aspect of its creatureliness. <sup>א</sup>*ādām* is not

the human being in any family, political, everyday, or communal situation; instead *ʾādām* refers to the human being aside from all of these relationships, as simply human. Above all else, however, God's special salvific activity, God's history with his people, does not concern the *ʾādām*. Not only the two literary complexes in which *ʾādām* occurs most frequently (Gen 1–11 and Eccl), but also the topically cohesive groups of usages concern the human being as creature or an aspect of human creatureliness; no fixed literary or thematic complexes or speech forms in historical or prophetic books feature *ʾādām*.

(b) The word *ʾādām* has its proper place in the primeval history, indeed, in those portions of Gen 1–11 that concern humanity in the primeval events: the creation of humanity (1:26–30 and 2:4b–24), the expulsion from paradise (ch. 3), the flood (chs. 6–9), and the dispersal of humanity (11:1–10). Beyond these narratives the word occurs only in 4:1 (*hāʾādām*), 25, and 5:1(bis); here, however, *ʾādām* has become (or is on the way to becoming) a PN. The concentration of occurrences in the primeval history and their limitation to these texts indicates that in the OT *ʾādām* signifies humanity (in a collective sense) *before* and *beyond* any specification that begins in the names of the genealogies, and before any division of humanity into peoples, which begins in Gen 11 (the table of nations). Narratives that treat humanity in this sense divide into two basic motifs: they treat (c) the creation of humanity and (d) the finitude of human existence in the narratives of guilt and punishment. They result in the two basic statements that the OT makes concerning humanity: a human being is God's creation and has a limited existence in contrast to God.

(c) The narratives of the creation of humanity (cf. E. Lussier, "Adam in Gen 1:1–4:24," *CBQ* 18 [1956]: 137–39) are found in Gen 1:26–30 and 2:4b–24.

The religiohistorical background of the creation narratives indicates that the creation of the world and the creation of humanity originally represented individual streams of tradition. It has been demonstrated, for example, that in primitive cultures creation almost always occurs as the creation of humanity only, and that, to the contrary, in Egypt creation is predominantly the creation of the world, i.e., cosmogony. The cosmogony that predominates in high cultures has, then, assimilated the creation of humanity; thus the two are bound together in *Enuma Elish* and Gen 1. By contrast, Gen 2 belongs in the tradition of the creation of humanity. It is therefore incorrect to speak of two creation narratives, an older (chs. 2–3) and a younger (ch. 1); rather, one can consider 1:26–30 as a par. only to ch. 2, not to 1:1–2:4a. Tradition-historical exegesis of ch. 1 demonstrates the original independence of 1:26–30 even more clearly (Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:143ff.).

Gen 2–3 is a literarily unified narrative inserted by J, behind which, however, two originally independent narratives may still be unmistakably recognized: a narrative of

the creation of humanity in 2:4b–24 and a narrative of the expulsion from the garden in 2:9, 16f., 25; 3:1–24. The first belongs to the motif of the creation of humanity, the second explains human finitude. By joining them, J expressed the interrelationship of these two basic motifs.

The two depictions of the creation of humanity in Gen 1:26–30 and 2:4b–24 agree that: (1) a human being has existence from God, (2) a human being should be understood from the outset as a communal being, (3) the provision of humanity with nourishment is tied to its creation, and (4) humanity is charged with dominion over the animals and the other creatures. In addition to these, P has the unique statements that (5) God has blessed humanity and (6) has created them after his likeness (→ *šelem*).

(1) Neither of these depictions actually means that God created the first people. The creation of humanity is, rather, a statement concerning primeval history; it lies beyond history that can be experienced and documented. The contention is that humanity (meaning every individual) owes its existence to God—no more and no less. The man created by God first becomes Adam (PN) when the series of families begins (4:1, 25; 5:1); the man fashioned in the creation narratives is not one in a definite series. Thus the narrative of the creation of humanity maintains that humanity is nothing other than God’s creation; it is not possible to separate humanity as such from its creatureliness. Humanity is what it is, as God’s creation.

(2) The creation of humanity for community is concisely stated in Gen 1:26–30: “as man and woman created he them.” This characteristic is the point of the narrative in 2:4b–24: the man formed by God from the earth (2:7) is not yet the creation that God actually intended (“it is not good . . .” 2:18); only with the creation of the woman is the creation of humanity actually successful. J therefore has esp. emphasized this aspect of the creation of humanity, namely that one receives one’s individuality only in community (cf. *ILC* 1–2:61f.).

(3) According to both portrayals, humanity is first provided with vegetable nourishment (1:29; 2:8f., 15); animal nourishment is added only in the context of alienation from God. All the texts, particularly in the Psa, that say that God provides his creatures with nourishment belong to this motif.

(4) In contrast, particularly to the Sum.-Bab. portrayal of the creation of humanity, J and P do not describe humanity as created for the service of the gods, i.e., for the cult, but for dominion over the animals (Gen 1:26b, 28b; 2:19f.) and the remaining creatures (1:28), and for tilling the soil (2:15; cf. 2:5b). Agricultural activity, activity on the earth, is grounded therefore in, or together with, the creation of humanity itself. This cultural task is not separable from human existence.

(5) P expressly reports the blessing of humanity in the context of its creation (1:28). What P describes, J narrates: the power of fertility intended in the blessing manifests itself in the sequence of generations, in the begetting and birth of descendants (4:1f., 25). The human created by God is created as a being that reproduces itself in successive generations.

(6) Scholars have offered a multitude of explanations concerning the statement that God created in his image; cf. Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:142ff. On the basis of religiohistorical backgrounds, Westermann interprets this statement as follows: God created humanity as his partner so that creature and creator may interrelate, so that the creature may hear its creator and respond. This more precise definition has an explicative character; it does not expand the notion of the creation of humanity but instead emphasizes the meaning of the creatureliness of humanity (so also e.g., K. Barth, *Church Dogmatics* [1958], III/1:184f.). Even though J does not state this specifically, J expresses the intention through the combination of the creation narrative itself, 2:4b–24, with the narrative of the transgression of the commandment and the expulsion from the garden: God made humanity in order to relate to it.

(d) The narratives of guilt and punishment form a second group. Narratives of the creation of humanity or statements concerning its creatureliness are regularly accompanied by narratives and statements concerning the limitations of humanity. The two are bound together in contrast: Why is a human being, who is indeed a creation of God, so very limited in existence? Answers to this question may vary; in the OT—as elsewhere—the explanation is seen in a crime of humanity.

The narrative of the expulsion from the garden in Gen 3 focuses on the bare events: God places the people he created in an orchard and grants them the fruits of all the trees for nourishment; he forbids them to eat from the fruit of only one tree; but the people eat the fruit of this tree and are therefore banished from the garden. Thus they are alienated from God, and this alienation from God signifies an existence limited in many ways. This central element is woven together with and enriched by a series of other motifs, which belong to other once-independent narratives from the same narrative complex; such is, above all, the tree of life motif, which is also known elsewhere (e.g., the Gilgamesh Epic and the Adapa Myth), and the individual punishments that explicate the limitations on existence, and perhaps also the temptation scene with the serpent. J's intention in this narrative concerning people can be summarized as follows: (1) Not only the creatureliness but also the limitations on human existence are grounded in a primal event between God and humanity. (2) The transgression of God's commandment and the punishment for this transgression are primal events allowed to stand as enigmas, as inexplicable. Guilt and punishment define humanity; all human existence participates in these realities. (3) God affirms the humanity that has sinned against him. Even when he excludes these humans from his presence, and so ordains an existence limited by toil, pain, and death, he allows them to live and provides for the continuation of life.

Only these three statements together represent the narrative's intentions. An exegesis that describes an elysian state of innocence transformed through the fall into a degenerate state does not reflect the text and the sense of the narrative. In the narrative, commandment, transgression, and punishment alike are primal events and may not be equated with historical periods. The designation "fall," which introduces this slightly different nuance (with far-reaching consequences, however) into the exegesis of the narrative, stems from early Judaism (4 Ezra).

The possibility of human failure inherent in the primal event gains an added dimension in the flood narrative in Gen 6–9. While ch. 3 (and 4) treats the transgression of an individual human, chs. 6–9 deal with a human phenomenon that can destroy or ruin a group, an entire human community. The possibility that the creator may again destroy his creation first arises here. This possibility is already implicit in the fact that the world or humanity has a creator: as such, the creator has the power to destroy his work again. For this reason, narratives of the flood (or of the cataclysm) are as equally distributed in the world as creation narratives. The paradigm beginning time–end time is established here: the potential for the destruction of the human race corresponds to the possibility of its ruin. Consequently, the concern in apocalypticism, as in cosmogony, is humanity.

Gen 6–9 contribute the following to an understanding of humanity: (1) Self-propagating humanity faces the possibility of ruin en masse. (2) The creator has the option of destroying the humanity that he has created. (3) The flood and the salvation of the individual from the flood add to human life the dimension of life as a result of salvation or protection from great catastrophes. (4) The promise that the cataclysm would not be repeated "as long as the earth stands" is the basis of human history, which includes the possibilities of the (partial) ruin of an entire group and (partial) catastrophes. This promise means that salvation and protection are also human phenomena.

The narrative of the construction of the tower (11:1–9) depicts a transgression that is particularly dangerous for humanity—human self-elevation in the realms of politics (city and tower) and of technical progress (which as such is affirmed). This gracious punishment, dispersal, and alienation once again permit life.

(e) A series of texts refer to the creation of humanity or allude to creation motifs, e.g., Deut 4:32, "from that day onward, when God created men in the earth"; or Exod 4:11; Isa 17:7; 45:12; Jer 27:5; Zech 12:1; Psa 8:5ff.; 139:13ff.; Job 15:7; 20:4; Prov 8:31 (wisdom at the creation: "and delighting in the sons of men"); also Psa 115:16 (God gave the earth to humanity); Deut 32:8 (an allusion to the division of the nations).

Statements that value humans as creatures who must be preserved or protected also relate closely to the creatureliness of humanity. Human life is protected because humans are God's creatures (Gen 9:5f.). This view is taken up in the law: "Whoever slays a man . . ." (Lev 24:17, 21).

To the extent that the rationale for this respect in Gen 9:6 is humanity's creation in God's image, the inception of the modern concept of

human dignity may be said to manifest itself; such respect rests in human creatureliness and is evident in that the life of humans as God's creatures is protected. A concept of human dignity also stands behind statements such as Hab 1:14, "if he (the conqueror) treats men like the fish in the sea." The notion is evident in the fact that "man does not live by bread alone" (Deut 8:9), or in the lament, "I, however, am a worm and no man" (Psa 22:7), and is particularly prominent in the Servant Song, Isa 52:14, "his appearance was marred beyond human semblance." 2 Sam 7:14 and Hos 11:4 also speak similarly of humanity.

This value is not inherent in humanity; it lies in God's care for humanity: "What is man (<sup>e</sup>*nôš*), that you consider him, and the son of man (*ben-ʾādām*) that you care for him?" (Psa 8:5). A number of texts speak in this manner of God's preservation of humanity: he is the "guardian of men" (Job 7:20); in such protection and preservation he works "his wonders for the children of men" (Psa 107:8, 15, 21, 31; in addition, Psa 36:7f.; 80:18; etc).

(f) The OT sees humanity's true nature particularly in its existence in relation to God, in its distance from him, and in its dependence upon him. This group of usages of *ʾādām* (perhaps 60 texts) has a specific emphasis. The OT's understanding of humanity does not begin with an independent humanity grounded in its own existence that then enters into relationship with God; rather, *ʾādām* signifies a human being in relationship to God. Humanity, as such, cannot be understood unless its existence is seen in juxtaposition to God.

The juxtaposition of God and humanity, which this group of texts sees primarily as a contrast, corresponds consistently to human creatureliness as presented in the primeval history. The limitation inherent in this contrast is definitive of human existence, and its neglect or disregard presents a particular danger to human existence: "No one remains alive who sees me" (Exod 33:20).

This notion receives an esp. pregnant and unique treatment in Isa in a word against political alliance with Egypt: "Even Egypt is a man and not God" (Isa 31:3). Isa 31:8 uses the word again in a similar sense: "Asshur will fall by the sword, not of man; the sword, not of man, will consume it." The statement in Isa 31:3 is taken up by Ezekiel in the address to the prince of Tyre (Ezek 28:2, 9). It is noteworthy that both texts in Isa expand the schema of the prophetic word beyond the extant speech forms as a means for the prophet to express something unique to his message. The actual foundation of the warning against the alliance with Egypt in Isa 31:1–3 is the announcement of the destruction of the "guardian" in v 3b. Isa expands this foundation through the reference to the finitude of all human power, a given of human existence. The same notion stands behind Isa 31:8: Asshur will be destroyed but not by a human sword (e.g., Egypt's); only the nonhuman, the creator, who is also the Lord of history, is at work here. The statement "Egypt is man and not God" is therefore a statement grounded in the

createdness of humanity; it is independent of God's special history with Israel.

The refrain in Isa 2:9, 11, 17; 5:15 belongs in the same context: "So man is humbled and men are brought low" (or something to that effect). Wildberger (*Isa 1–12*, CC, 110f.) correctly points out that this statement of the demise of the mighty is not actually a prophetic saying: "Without a doubt, Isaiah is quoting a wisdom saying, which he puts in the form of an impf. cons. in v. 9, but he also uses it in its original form in 2:17." He refers to the same parallelism of *יֵשׁ* and *אָדָם* in Prov 12:14; 19:22; 24:30; 30:2; Psa 49:3: "In such sayings, bowing down and being brought low are seen as the consequences of prideful arrogance" (cf. also Jer 10:14; 51:17). When Isa announces "the day" that comes upon all the proud and haughty and in which Yahweh alone will be mighty (Isa 2:12–17), and when he includes a wisdom saying that juxtaposes humanity and God, he indicates an important contact between prophetic and wisdom speech: the extension of the announcement of judgment, which is properly valid in Israel only for "man and men," is defined by the contrast God-human, which prevents any overstepping of the boundary.

The same contrast occurs elsewhere as well: "God is not man (*יֵשׁ*) that he should lie; he is not a son of man (*ben - אָדָם*) that he should repent" (Num 23:19; cf. 1 Sam 15:29). Such statements guard against subsuming God into the human sphere; similarly Mal 3:8 "can a man ever deceive God?" Such statements also indicate that the preservation of the boundary between God and humanity does not result in an ontic determination. Abstract statements are not made concerning the being of God or that of humanity. The distinction remains a contrast in phenomena and is never a contrast of existence. For this reason statements that express a different mode of being for God and humanity are entirely absent. The contrast is decisively significant when a person confronts the decision concerning whom to trust and when trust in God is contrasted in great detail with trust in a human being: Jer 17:5; Mic 5:8; Psa 36:8; 118:8; 146:3; "for the help of man is nothing" (Psa 60:13; 108:13); an individual would much rather fall into the hands of God than into the hands of a human being (2 Sam 24:14 = 1 Chron 21:13); if one trusts in God, one need not fear people (Isa 51:12).

The contrast is also evident in that the manufacture of idols is stringently combated: idols are works of human hands (2 Kgs 19:18 = Isa 37:19; Psa 115:4; 135:15; Jer 16:20 "how can a man make gods for himself"; cf. Isa 44:11, 13).

The over 90 occurrences of God's address to the prophet Ezekiel, "you, son of man," belong in the same context. Cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:131: "The emphasis, however, does not lie on the note of individuality, but on the אָדָם, to which the unexpressed counterpart is אֱל (Is 31:3; Ezek 28:2)." Thus this address implies the same juxtaposition of God and humanity as in Isa 31:3 and 2:11, 17, with the exception that here the prophet himself, in his bare, finite

creatureliness, is contrasted with God.

(g) The creation of humanity establishes that human and animal alike are living creatures. In J the creation of the animals stands in closest relationship to that of people (Gen 2:7, 18–24); in P animals and people receive the blessing of the creator (1:22, 28). Similarly, animals and people appear together in the flood (6:3; 7:23). Human-animal solidarity is expressed in the only apparently firm idiom formed with *ʾādām: mēʾādām ʿad b<sup>h</sup>ēmâ* “the people as well as the cattle” (see 3).

Many other contexts mention people and animals together without the formula: in reference to the redemption of the firstborn of humans and cattle (Exod 12:12; 13:2, 13, 15; Num 3:13; 8:17; 18:15), in reference to war booty (Num 31:11, 26, 35, 40, 46; Josh 11:14), and in reference to the cultic offering of war booty (Num 31:28, 30, 47). As in creation, so in destruction, people and animals are often mentioned together, as in the Egyptian plagues (Exod 8:13f.; 9:9f., 19, 22, 25; 12:12; Psa 135:8); people and animals are destroyed in the fall of Babylon (Jer 50:3). Complete destruction often includes people and animals (Jer 36:29, “and devastate this land and destroy man and animal in it”; also Jer 7:20; 21:6; 27:5f.; 50:3; 51:62; Ezek 14:13, 17, 19, 21; 25:13; 29:8; 38:20; Zeph 1:3; Hag 1:11; people alone, Zech 11:6). People and animals are affected in the confession in the context of the announcement of destruction in Jonah 3:7f.; they also appear together in Habakkuk’s accusation against the conquerors (Hab 2:8, 17). It is noteworthy that announcements of the destruction of people and animals first occur in the Egyptian plagues and then for the first time again in the prophets from Jer onward. Animals and people are also often mentioned together in the context of the promise for the time after judgment: Ezek 36:11, “I will make men and cattle numerous for you”; so also Jer 31:27; Zech 2:8; 8:10 (people alone: Jer 51:14; Ezek 36:10, 12, 37f.; Mic 2:12).

(h) People share transience with animals; Qohelet says so once expressly: “For the fate of the children of man is the same as the fate of the animal” (Eccl 3:19; cf. Psa 49:13). This transience, too, is grounded in the primal event (Gen 3:19, 24), as is human imperfection or wickedness (in the narratives of guilt and punishment), often associated with human frailty.

Statements such as Num 16:29 simply declare this frailty: “If these die as all men die, if they encounter what all men encounter” (similarly Ezek 31:14; Psa 73:5; 82:7; cf. also Judg 16:7, 11, 17). Discussion of the transience of humanity has its particular place in the lament of transience, a developed “I- (we-) lament” (Psa 39:6, 12, “man is only a breath”; 49:13, 21; 62:10; 89:48; 90:3; 144:4; Job 14:1, 10; 25:6; 34:15; Isa 2:22). This lament of transience is particularly well developed in Job, above all in 14:1–12. Here too one may not claim that the word “human” is characteristic of the lament per se; rather, *ʾādām* occurs only in expanded forms that extrapolate the particular lament of the sufferer so that the sufferer views the self in his/ her particular suffering as one who participates in the transience

of all humanity.

This insignificance or frailty stands in close relationship to human imperfection or wickedness in Gen 1–11, in Job 14:1–12 (v 4, “How can a clean thing come from an unclean? Impossible!”), and correspondingly in Psa 90:7–9 (cf. Num 5:6, “Sin as men commit it”). This situation accounts for the remarkable fact that the individual lament psalms in general (and at other points) speak of the enemies, the fools, only as “men” (Psa 140:2, “Save me, Yahweh, from the evil men”; similarly often: Psa 12:2, 9; 57:5; 116:11; 119:134; 124:2; Job 20:29; 27:13; 33:17; 34:30; often in proverbs; cf. Prov 6:12; 11:7; 12:3; 15:20; 17:18; 19:3; 21:20; 23:28; 24:30; 28:17; proverbs discussing the wise or cunning person mention *ʾādām* much less often; cf. Prov 12:23, 27; 16:9; 19:11, 22; 28:2; cf. Job 35:8).

(i) The book of Eccl radicalizes discussion of the transience or frailty of humanity in that it is not simply stated or lamented; rather, discussion results from reflection concerned, in an attitude of fundamental curiosity (Eccl 1:13), with human existence (2:3). Qohelet also proceeds from the primary event; human frailty stands in tension with human createdness, and at this point guilt enters the discussion: 7:29, “This I have discovered, that God created people upright; they, however, seek many devices”; cf. 9:3. Through such an understanding of humans as creatures, Qohelet preserves a connection with theology despite his skepticism (cf. 3:11; 7:29; 8:17).

The main points of his concept of humanity are: (1) the radical recognition of the nothingness of humanity, its existence-until-death. In its frailty humanity resembles the animals (3:18f., 21). One sees human essence more clearly in the house of mourning than in the banquet hall (7:2). Existence-until-death is sharpened because death has the character of a surprise attack (8:8; 9:12). (2) What then is the meaning of this existence that rushes toward death? Whatever one accomplishes in one’s life of work or study one must abandon again (1:3, “What does man profit from all his effort at which he toils under the sun?”; 2:12, 18, 21f.; 6:1f., 10–12; 7:14; 10:14; 12:5). Esp. in view of the effort, emptiness, and frailty of existence, the moment, the present, affirmation of that which simply is, acquires meaning (2:24, “There is nothing better for man than that he eat and drink and enjoy his work”; 3:13, 22; 5:18, “to accept his portion and to be happy”; 7:14; 8:15; 11:8). This affirmation of life’s joy and pleasures is repeatedly emphasized as an affirmation of God’s creation (2:24; 3:13; 5:18; 7:14; 8:15). Precisely in such affirmation of the moment, in the enjoyment of the good gifts of life, can one affirm one’s creator in the recognition of the limitation of one’s existence. (3) Qohelet’s understanding of humanity is demonstrated most clearly in 8:17, “Then I recognized that it is impossible for man to fathom the whole work of God, everything which

happens under the sun; for however man strives to understand, he does not fathom it.” Qohelet discovered that a complete knowledge of God is impossible for humanity, as is a knowledge of the totality of events. One must come to grips with this limitation: the finitude of human existence determines an understanding of existence and the knowledge of God. Only within these limits can human existence have meaning; only within these limits can reference to God be meaningful.

(j) In all of the usages treated to this point, a relationship to creatureliness and to that which it signifies has been recognizable, but the OT also knows a neutral usage that does not involve such a relationship; here the word is used as broadly and imprecisely as in our modern languages.

A group of declarative statements in Prov discusses the being and activity of humanity very generally; these sayings offer observations on humanity, e.g., Prov 20:27, “the human breath is a lamp of Yahweh” (similarly 27:19f.), or observations and experiences from social life that deal mostly with human behavior, e.g., 18:16, “gifts make room for a person”; see also 16:1; 19:22; 20:24f.; 24:9; 29:23, 25; cf. Isa 29:21; Psa 58:2; Job 5:7.

Very general, neutral statements concerning humanity also occur elsewhere, e.g., Psa 17:4, “the wages that one receives”; 1 Sam 16:7; 2 Sam 23:3; Isa 44:15; 58:5; Jer 47:2; Psa 104:23; Eccl 8:1; Lam 3:36, 39. Such generalized language may also then treat various aspects of God’s involvement with humanity: Job 34:11, “he requites them according to their work”; Ezek 20:11, 13, 21 “statutes and ordinances that a person should observe in order to remain alive” (cf. Neh 9:29); Amos 4:13, “who declares to a person what his thought is.” This small group is quite distinct from the other usages; it seems to prepare the way for something like a universal ethic that emerges from liturgical and salvation-historical structures.

*ʾādām* is a mere category of species in these usage groups that abstract the concept that a human is a creature, and as such is determined in many ways by creatureliness; e.g., clearly in Deut 20:19, “are then the trees of the field people?” (cf. also Ezek 19:3, 6; 36:13f.).

The group of texts in Ezek that compares what the prophet sees to a person involve the usage as a mere designation of species (Ezek 1:5, “they appeared like human figures”; also 1:8, 10, 26; 10:8, 14, 21; 41:19; cf. Isa 44:13; Dan 10:16, 18). Combinations such as “human hand” (Deut 4:28; etc.), “human voice” (Dan 8:16), “human excrement” (Ezek 4:12, 15), “human limbs” (1 Kgs 13:2; 2 Kgs 23:14, 20; Ezek 39:15), “human corpse” (Num 9:6f.; 19:11, 13f., 16; Jer 9:21; 33:5; Ezek 44:25), and “human body” (Exod 30:32) also fit here.

The many texts in which *ʾādām* stands for “someone” (negated “no one, nobody”), “many people,” “everyone,” or “with respect to, among, in the presence of people,” in enumerations (Mic 5:4; Jonah 4:11; 1 Chron

5:21), or in usages such as “blessed (*ʾašrê*) . . . the one who . . .” (Isa 56:2; Psa 32:2; 84:6, 13; Prov 3:13[bis]; 8:34; 28:14) are then also to be understood in terms of this usage as a mere designation of species. In each of these instances, *ʾādām* is used synonymously with → *ʾiś* (see 3).

(k) In conclusion, Hebr. *ʾādām* corresponds only partially to the word “man” or “human” in modern languages. *ʾādām* denotes neither “man” as exemplar nor primarily the individual; rather, it denotes the category, humanity as a whole, to which the individual belongs. Humanity is defined by its origin, its creatureliness (4b-e). Most usages deal directly or indirectly with creatureliness; one exists in contrast to God (4f), as a living being (4g), in the finitude inherent in creatureliness (4h-i). In addition, “people” can be discussed quite generally, as in modern languages (4j).

5. On the NT usage and understanding of humanity, cf., among others, J. Jeremias, “ἄνθρωπος,” *TDNT* 1:364–67; N. A. Dahl, “Mensch III,” *RGG* 4:863–67 (with bibliog.); W. Schmithals, “Mensch,” *BHH* 2:1189–91 (with bibliog.). Although the figure of Adam is given a distinct salvation-historical significance in the NT (esp. in Paul), this sense does not conform to the common usage of the word in the OT (cf. J. Jeremias, “Ἀδάμ,” *TDNT* 1:141–43; J. de Fraine, *Adam und seine Nachkommen* [1962], 129–41).

C. Westermann

## אָדָמָה *ʾādāmâ* ground

S 127; BDB 9b; *HALOT* 1:15a; *TDOT* 1:88–98; *TWOT* 25b; *NIDOTTE* 141

1. *ʾādāmâ* very likely belongs to the common Sem. root *ʾdm* “to be red” (in Aram. replaced by *šmq*) and also appears in the meaning “(red) field, earth, land” outside Hebr. in Neo-Pun. (the Maktar inscription, *KAI* no. 145.3, “for your people who dwell in the land”; *DISO* 5) and Aram. (Jew. Aram. and Syr. *ʾadamtā*?, perhaps already Old Aram. in *KAI* no. 222A.10, *ʾdm[h]* “farmland”; cf. *KAI* 2:239, 246; otherwise, Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 36).

On the etymology cf. Dalman, *AuS* 1:333; 2:26f.; Rost, *KC* 77; Galling, *BRL* 151; R. Gradwohl, *Die Farben im AT* (1963), 5f.; *HAL* 14f. Hertzberg’s position (*BHH* 1:464) that *ʾādōm* “earth tone” may derive from *ʾādāmâ* is somewhat less likely than the opposite development. BL 466 considers the possibility of a derivation of the color term

ʿādōm “flesh tone” from \*ʿadam “skin” (Arab. ʿadamat ), assuming “surface” to be the primary meaning of ʿādāmâ (cf. also → ʿādām I).

Acceptance of the meaning “earth” for some texts with ʿādām also merits consideration (M. Dahood, *CBQ* 25 [1963]: 123f.; *PNSP* 57f.; followed also partially by *HAL* 14b) but must nevertheless probably be rejected (in Gen 16:12, “wild ass of the steppe” instead of “wild horse of a man”; “steppe” stands in contrast to “farmland”; for Isa 29:19 and Jer 32:20 the translation is unnecessarily banal; in Prov 30:14 the parallelism to ʿereṣ is overvalued; additional hypotheses are necessary for the exegetically difficult texts Job 11:12; 36:28; Zech 9:1; 13:5).\*

2. The 225 occurrences, only once (Psa 49:12 “lands”) in the pl., are distributed over the entire OT, yet with a significant concentration in Gen (43x; 27x in the primeval history and 12x in Gen 47), Deut (37x), Ezek (28x), and Jer (18x).

Other occurrences are: Isa 16x, Amos 10x, Exod 9x, 1 Kgs 8x, Psa and 2 Chron 6x each, Num and 2 Sam 5x each, 2 Kgs and Neh 4x each, 1 Sam, Zech, and Dan 3x each, Lev, Josh, Joel, Zeph, Job, and Prov 2x each, Hos, Jonah, Hag, Mal, and 1 Chron 1x each.

This list includes ʿādāmâ in 1 Kgs 7:46 = 2 Chron 4:17 as an appellative, “earth,” not as a place-name (following Noth, BK 9, 164; cf. ʿādāmâ Josh 19:36; ʿādām Josh 3:16; ʿadmâ Gen 10:19; 14:2, 8; Deut 29:22; Hos 11:8; cf. *HAL* 14b, 15b), as well as Deut 32:43 (*HAL* 15b, following Tur-Sinai: “red blood”).

3. On the usage of the word in the OT, cf. L. Rost, “Die Bezeichnungen für Land und Volk im AT,” *FS Procksch* 125–48 = *KC* 76–101; A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebr. des AT* (1954), 133–36, 174, 187, 200.

(a) In its basic meaning ʿādāmâ describes arable farmland, red (see 1) farmland (cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 1:25, 159), in contrast to the steppe and desert (*midbār*, ʿarābâ, yʿšimôn, šʿmāmâ; cf. B. Baentsch, *Die Wüste in den atl. Schriften* (1883); A. Haldar, *The Notion of the Desert in Sumero-Accadian and West Semitic Religions* (1950); Schwarzenbach, op. cit. 93–112; W. L. Reed, *IDB* 1:828f.)

Cain becomes a nomad when he is expelled from the ʿādāmâ (Gen 4:11, 14). It can be cultivated (→ ʿbd. Gen 2:5; 3:23; 4:12; 2 Sam 9:10; Isa 30:24; Jer 27:11; Prov 12:11; 28:19; cf. 1 Chron 27:26). The farmer is ʿōbēd hāʿādāmâ (Gen 4:2; Zech 13:5; cf. ʿš hāʿādāmâ Gen 9:20). Consequently, verbs of sowing (*zrʿ*: Gen 47:23; Isa 30:23) and of germination (*šmḥ*: Gen 2:9; Job 5:6; cf. Gen 19:25) belong in the domain of ʿādāmâ.

Only when the ʿādāmâ is irrigated is life possible (Gen 2:6); work on it must cease if rain ceases (Jer 14:4 txt?). Dew and rain fall on the ʿādāmâ (2

Sam 17:12; 1 Kgs 17:14; 18:1). Dung (Jer 8:2; 16:4; 25:33; Psa 83:11), fruit (Gen 4:3; Deut 7:13; 28:4, 11, 18, 42, 51; 30:9; Jer 7:20; Psa 105:35; Mal 3:11), firstfruits (Exod 23:19; 34:26; Deut 26:2, 10; Neh 10:36), harvest (Deut 11:17; Isa 30:23; cf. 1:7), and tithe (Neh 10:38) are mentioned in connection with it.

(b) In the material sense, <sup>ʾ</sup>*dāmâ* describes the “farmland”; the most common synonym is → <sup>ʿ</sup>*āpār* (cf. Schwarzenbach, op. cit. 123–33).

One can smear <sup>ʾ</sup>*dāmâ* on one’s head (1 Sam 4:12; 2 Sam 1:2; 15:32; Neh 9:1), take along a “load” of it (2 Kgs 5:17), cast implements in it (1 Kgs 7:46 = 2 Chron 4:17, see 2). From it vessels are formed (Isa 45:9) and an altar can be built (Exod 20:24); from it the animals of the field and the birds are made (Gen 2:19). Cf. the slightly different mode of expression in reference to humanity: the <sup>ʾ</sup>*dām* is taken from the <sup>ʾ</sup>*dāmâ* (Gen 3:19, 23) or formed from the dust of the <sup>ʾ</sup>*dāmâ* (2:7).

(c) In an expanded application, <sup>ʾ</sup>*dāmâ* generally represents the land on which one stands (Exod 3:5; 8:17) and which can open up (Num 16:30f.); cf. the creeping things of the <sup>ʾ</sup>*dāmâ* (Gen 1:25; 6:20; 7:8; 9:2; Lev 20:25; Ezek 38:20; Hos 2:20).

(d) Even more generally, <sup>ʾ</sup>*dāmâ* signifies simply “earth,” mostly in the sense of “inhabited earth” (cf. “families of the earth” in Gen 12:3; 28:14; Amos 3:2), from which one can be eradicated, etc. (<sup>š</sup>*md* hi.: Deut 6:15; 1 Kgs 13:34; Amos 9:8).

Constructions used here are still reminiscent of the meaning mentioned under (c) “ground” or “earth’s surface”: <sup>ʿ</sup>*al-hāʾdāmâ* “on the earth” (1 Sam 20:31; Isa 24:21; etc.); <sup>p</sup>*nē hāʾdāmâ* “earth’s surface” (Gen 8:13); <sup>ʿ</sup>*al-p<sup>ʿ</sup>nē hāʾdāmâ* “on the earth” (Gen 6:1, 7; 7:4, 23; 8:8; Exod 32:12; 33:16; Num 12:3; Deut 6:15; 7:6; 14:2; 1 Sam 20:15; 2 Sam 14:7; 1 Kgs 13:34; Isa 23:17; Jer 25:26; 28:16; Ezek 38:20; Amos 9:8; Zeph 1:2f.).

4. With respect to the theological usage of the word, attention should be directed to some unique formulations such as <sup>ʾ</sup>*admat (haq)qōdeš* “holy land” (Exod 3:5; Zech 2:16), <sup>ʾ</sup>*admat yhw̄h* “land of Yahweh” (Isa 14:2), the divine cursing of the <sup>ʾ</sup>*dāmâ* (Gen 3:17; cf. 5:29; 8:21), which establishes the toil of agriculture (Gen 3:17ff.; 5:29), and esp. to the primarily Dtn-Dtr formula concerning the <sup>ʾ</sup>*dāmâ* that Yahweh has promised the fathers and that he will give or has given to Israel (Exod 20:12; Num 11:12; 32:11; Deut 4:10, 40; 5:16; 7:13; 11:9, 21; 12:1, 19; 21:1; 25:15; 26:15; 28:11; 30:20; 31:20; [cf. 30:18; 31:13; 32:47]; 1 Kgs 8:34, 40 = 2 Chron 6:25, 31; 1 Kgs 9:7; 14:15; 2 Kgs 21:8; 2 Chron 7:20; 33:8). The curse formula of eradication from the <sup>ʾ</sup>*dāmâ* corresponds to it (Deut 28:21, 63; Josh 23:13, 15; 1 Kgs 9:7; 13:34; etc). Israel and Judah will depart the <sup>ʾ</sup>*dāmâ* into exile (2 Kgs 17:23; 25:21 = Jer 52:27) and will return again to it (Isa 14:1f.; Jer

16:15; 23:8; Ezek 28:25; cf. Amos 9:15; etc.).

No difference in content between this usage of  $\text{דָּמָא}^a$  and the corresponding usage of  $\rightarrow \text{עֵרֶשׁ}$  (4c) may be determined.

J. G. Plöger (*Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium* [1967], 121–29) has shown that G. Minette de Tillesse's observation (VT 12 [1962]: 53n.1) that the Deuteronomist and the 2d-pl. sections of Deut generally prefer  $\text{עֵרֶשׁ}$  in the sense of "promised land," while the 2d-sg. sections prefer  $\text{דָּמָא}^a$  in a much more general meaning, does not stand up to closer scrutiny (a glance at the evidence in the Dtr history points in the same direction), rather that—at least in Deut—the diction relates to fixed constructions.  $\text{דָּמָא}^a$  occurs in Deut in the constructions  $\text{פְּרִי הָאָרֶץ}^a \text{דָּמָא}^a$  "the fruit of the land,"  $\text{חַיִּימִים}^a \text{עַל-הָאָרֶץ}^a \text{דָּמָא}^a$  "living in the land," and  $\text{יָמִימִים}^a \text{עַל-הָאָרֶץ}^a \text{דָּמָא}^a$  "to live long in the land" (fixed constructions involving  $\text{עֵרֶשׁ}$  in Plöger, op. cit.). This differentiation is also obscured in post-Dtr usage.

Although the usage of  $\text{עֵרֶשׁ}$  in these contexts refers to land primarily as a geographical, or occasionally as a political, entity, traces of traditionhistorically older expressions are present in the usage of  $\text{דָּמָא}^a$ . The nomads are not originally promised a geographically or politically defined "land," but possession of "farmland" per se. The indiscriminate association of the two concepts throughout the OT indicates that, at least since the time of the Yahwist, the general promise of permanent settlement has simply been identified with the specific promise of the possession of the land of Canaan. The designation  $\text{אֲדָמַת יִשְׂרָאֵל}^a$ , which occurs only in Ezek (although as many as 17x) and which characterizes Israel not politically but theologically (cf. Rost, KC 78f.; Zimmerli, Ezek, Herm, 1:185, 203), also belongs in the same realm of ideas; cf., however,  $\text{אֲדָמַת יְהוּדָא}^a$  in Isa 19:17 as well.

Similarly ancient is the expression in which  $\text{דָּמָא}^a$  is determined by the poss. pron. ("my/your/his land") and which approaches the meaning "homeland" (Gen 28:15; Amos 7:11, 17; Jonah 4:2; Dan 11:9; cf. Psa 137:4 "foreign land").

5. The few occurrences of the word at Qumran are consistent with OT idioms. NT Gk. distinguishes only slightly between  $\text{דָּמָא}^a$  and  $\text{עֵרֶשׁ}$ , a circumstance that also holds true for the LXX. Both use  $g\bar{e}$ . Cf. H. Sasse, "γῆ," TDNT 1:677–81, who overlooks significant aspects, however.

H. H. Schmid

**אהב  $\text{חב}$  to love**

S 157; BDB 12b; HALOT 1:17b; TDOT 1:99–118; TWOT 29; NIDOTTE 170

I. The root  $\text{ḥb}$  “to love” is distributed only in Can. (Akk. uses  $\text{rāmum}$  [ $\text{r}^{\lambda}\text{m}$ ] for the most part, Aram.  $\text{ḥbb}$  and  $\text{rḥm}$ , Arab.  $\text{ḥbb}$  and  $\text{wdd}$ ).

The Ug. verb  $\text{yuhb}$  (UT no. 105; WUS no. 103; A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature* [1954], 47, 67) occurs in KTU 1.5.V.18 euphemistically with the subj. Baal and the obj.  $\text{ḡlt}$  “heifer”; the subst.  $\text{ḥbt}$  “love” occurs in 1.3.III.7 and 1.4.IV.39 par. to  $\text{yd}$  “love” (root  $\text{ydd}$ ).  $\text{lihbt}$  in UT 1002.46 (= MF V.46) is uncertain.

In a Neo-Pun. grave inscription from Cherchel (Algeria) (NP no. 130 = NE 438d = Cooke no. 56), J. G. Février (RHR 141 [1952]: 19ff.) suspects a pu. fem. ptcp.  $\text{mhbt}$  “beloved,” although, according to J. T. Milik (Bib 38 [1957]: 254n.2) this form is better derived from  $\text{ḥbb}$  ( $\text{ḥ} > \text{h}$ ).

Aram.  $\text{ḥbth}$  in CIS 2:150 (= Cowley no. 75.3, a papyrus frg. from Elephantine) is entirely uncertain (cf. DISO 6).

D. W. Thomas (“The Root  $\text{ḥb}$  ‘love’ in Hebr.,” ZAW 57 [1939]: 57–64; following Schultens, Wünsche, Schwally), assuming a biradical (onomatopoeic) root  $\text{hb}$  “to blow, breathe heavily, demand” (cf. Arab.  $\text{habba}$ ) augmented by  $\text{ḥ}$ , associates the verb with similar roots ( $\text{ṣ}^{\lambda}\text{p}$ ,  $\text{nḥm}$ ,  $\text{nšm}$ , etc.) that combine the concepts of breathing and emotions (so also Wolff, Hos, Herm, 35). But one should not draw exegetical consequences from this etymology (Thomas, op. cit. 64).

An etymological relationship to the conjectural  $\text{ḥ}^{\text{a}}\text{b}^{\text{a}}$  II “leather” (cf. CML 1 133n.2; HAL 18a), suggested in Song Sol 3:10 (less likely also in Hos 11:4), should not be assumed (contra H. H. Hirschberg, VT 11 [1961]: 373f.).

Of the derivatives,  $\text{ḥḥēb}$  (ptcp. and subst. “friend”) and  $\text{ḥ}^{\text{a}}\text{b}^{\text{a}}$  (inf. and verbal noun “love”) are common; by contrast, the action nouns or abstract formations  $\text{ḥ}^{\text{a}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{b}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{m}}$  “love affairs” (Hos 8:9; cf. Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 159), “loveliness” (Prov 5:19), and  $\text{ḥ}^{\text{a}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{b}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{m}}$  “love’s pleasures” (Prov 7:18) are infrequent.

The root is not attested in the OT in PNs (in contrast to  $\text{ydd}$ ,  $\text{ḥps}$ , or even  $\text{ḥnn}$ ); but extrabiblically it occurs at Elephantine in  $\text{n}^{\text{h}}\text{bt}/\text{nhbt}$  (ni. fem. ptcp. “beloved,” Cowley nos. 1.4; 22.91, 96, 107) and on a Hebr. seal (Levy 46 = Diringer 217); cf. IP nos. 924, 937; J. J. Stamm, “Hebr. Frauennamen,” FS Baumgartner 325.

II. Statistics: Of the 251 occurrences of the root in the OT, 231 are

allotted to the qal (incl. 63x  $\text{ʔ}h\bar{e}b$  and 53x  $\text{ʔ}ah^ab\hat{a}$ ), 1 to the ni., 16 to the pi., 2 as  $\text{ʔ}ah\bar{a}b\hat{a}m$ , and 1 as  $\text{ʔ}oh\bar{a}b\hat{a}m$ . The highest concentrations of the verb are in Psa (41x), Prov (32x), Deut (23x), Hos (19x), Song Sol (18x), and Gen (15x). The pi. examples are concentrated in Jer, Ezek, and Hos, those of  $\text{ʔ}h\bar{e}b$  in Psa and Prov (17x each), those of  $\text{ʔ}ah^ab\hat{a}$  in Song Sol (11x, incl. 3:10) and Deut (9x).

According to Gerleman (BK 18, 75), 7 of the roughly 30 passages with the verb  $\text{ʔ}hb$  as an expression of erotic love fall to Song Sol and 11 to J and the approximately contemporary narratives of David's accession and of the succession.

The absence of  $\text{ʔ}hb$  in Job (only Job 19:19) is noteworthy;  $\rightarrow r\bar{e}a^c$ .

III. 1. With respect to the breadth of meaning and the related extensive dominance of the word field,  $\text{ʔ}hb$  is rather similar to Eng. "to love" (cf. in contrast the coexistence of the Gk. *stergein*, *eran*, *philein*, and *agapan*).  $\text{ʔ}hb$ , together with other verbs of emotion ( $\rightarrow hps$  "to like,"  $\rightarrow yr^c$  "to fear," and  $\rightarrow sn^c$  "to hate"), belongs to the few stative verbs with a trans. usage (Berg., *HG* 2:76). A categorization of usages according to the objs. is helpful (III/2 love of man and woman, III/3 of other personal relationships, III/4 of things); general statements involving substantivized  $\text{ʔ}ah^ab\hat{a}$  without obj. will also be treated. The personal relationship (comprising *eros*, *philia*, and *agapē* equally) may be semasiologically primary in comparison to the relationship with things, so that one should consider love for things or activities a derived metaphorical usage (Quell, *TDNT* 1:23).

$\text{ʔ}hb$  is often further refined with respect to content by means of par. concepts:  $\rightarrow dbq$  "to cling to" (Gen 34:3 with further par. formulations; 1 Kgs 11:2; Prov 18:24; cf. Eichrodt 1:250; 2:297f.);  $\rightarrow hps$  "to like, take pleasure in" (1 Sam 18:22; Psa 109:17);  $h\check{s}q$  "to be attached to" ( $\rightarrow dbq$ ), and  $\rightarrow bhr$  "to choose" (Deut 10:15; cf. Eichrodt, op. cit.; O. Bächli, *Israel und die Völker* [1962], 134ff.).  $r\bar{e}a^c$  "companion, friend" parallels  $\text{ʔ}h\bar{e}b$  (Psa 38:12; also  $q\bar{a}r\hat{o}b$  "neighbor"; 88:19 associated with  $m^e yudd\bar{a}^c$  "confidant"; cf. *BHS* and Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:192). One finds  $yr^c$  "to fear,"  $bd$  "to serve," and  $laket b^e kol-d^e r\bar{a}k\bar{a}yw$  "to walk in all his ways" (Deut 10:12; cf. Eichrodt side by side with 2:297f.; Quell, *TDNT* 1:28n.39)  $\text{ʔ}ah^ab\hat{a}$ , although only in theological usage with respect to the individual's love for God; with respect to the love of God for his people  $\rightarrow hesed$  "grace" (Jer 2:2; 31:2; cf. Psa 37:28) and  $heml\hat{a}$  ( $\rightarrow r\check{h}m$ ) "mercy" (Isa 63:9).

The following occur in the OT as infrequent synonyms for  $\text{ʔ}hb$ :  $hbb$  "to love," the counterpart of  $\text{ʔ}hb$  in Aram. and Arab. (Wagner no. 82a), in Deut 33:3 in a difficult text

with God as subj.; also *ḡb* “to desire (sensually)” (Jer 4:30; Ezek 23:5, 7, 9, 12, 16, 20; Ezek 16:37 txt em; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:330, 484) with a specialized meaning.

The root *ydd*, widely distributed in Sem. (KBL 363b), is extant only in noms. (*yādīd* “lovely” Psa 84:2; “darling, friend,” Isa 5:1[bis]; Jer 11:15 txt em; for further texts see IV/2; *y<sup>c</sup>dīdūt* “darling” Jer 12:7; *šīry<sup>c</sup>dīdōt* “love song” Psa 45:1) and in PNs (*IP* nos. 571, 576, 577, 843).

*rḥm* pi. “to take pity” lies farther afield with respect to meaning; the unique Aram.-sounding *rḥm* qal “to love” in Psa 18:2 (obj. Yahweh) is usually set aside by emendation (to *ṣrōmimkā* “I will raise you”).

*dōd* (61x) should be mentioned as a subst. with widely varied meanings corresponding to its suspected origins as a “babble word” (J. J. Stamm, *SVT* 7 [1960]: 174ff.):

(a) “Darling, beloved” (Isa 5:1 and 33x in Song Sol alongside the fem. *ra<sup>c</sup>yā* “beloved,” → *rēa<sup>c</sup>*; Akk. *dādū*; cf. *AHW* 149a; *CAD* D:20);

(b) In the pl. “love, desire” (9x; Ezek 16:8; 23:17; Prov 7:18; Song Sol 1:2, 4; 4:10[bis]; 5:1; 7:13; Akk. *dādū* pl. “lovemaking”; *CAD* D:20a; Ug. *dd* *KTU* 1.3.III.5, 7; 1.4.VI.12; 1.24.23);

(c) “Uncle” (18x; → *āḥ* 3a), a special meaning that Hebr. shares with Arab. and Aram. (Stamm, op. cit. 175ff.).

A regular antonym for *ḥb* is → *śn<sup>ʔ</sup>* “to hate.” The two verbs occur together in more than 30 texts (Gen 29:31f.; 37:4; Exod 20:5f.; Lev 19:17f.; Deut 5:9f.; 21:15f.; Judg 14:16; 2 Sam 13:15, a transformation of love into hate; 19:7; Isa 61:8; Ezek 16:37; Hos 9:15; Amos 5:15; Mic 3:2; Zech 8:17; Mal 1:2f.; Psa 11:5; 45:8; 97:10; 109:3–5; 119:113, 127f., 163; Prov 1:22; 8:36; 9:8; 12:1; 13:24; 14:20; 15:17; Eccl 3:8; 9:6; 2 Chron 19:2). Occasional contrasts, e.g., with *śtn* “to be at enmity” in Psa 109:4, are insignificant by comparison. Remarkably, the assonance of the antonyms *ḥēb* “friend” and *ḥyēb* “enemy” is almost never fully used stylistically; cf. Judg 5:31 and esp. Lam 1:2.

The derived stems of the verb occur only in ptcp. forms. Ni. *hann<sup>c</sup>hābīm* “the lovely” appears only once in a gerundive meaning as an epithet for Saul and Jonathan in David’s lament (2 Sam 1:23 par. *hann<sup>c</sup>īmīm* “the darlings”); see I on PNs. The pi. occurs in the pl. ptcp. *m<sup>c</sup>ah<sup>a</sup>bīm* with the pejorative meaning “lover, paramour” (Jer 22:20, 22; 30:14; Ezek 16:33, 36f.; 23:5, 9, 22; Hos 2:7, 9, 12, 14f.; Zech 13:6; Lam 1:19); the qal ptcp. is used for the normal meaning “friend, lover.” The pi. ptcp. “paramour” is to be understood not as an intensive but as a resultative, summarizing successive incidents, “to love (severally, in

succession)“ (cf. *HP* 158).

A hi. “to make beloved” is extant in Sir 4:7 and Mid. Hebr. The pealal *ʔhbhb* “to flirt,” suggested for Hos 4:18 (*HAL* 17b), is uncertain.

2. The primary human love relationship is that between man and woman (in 2 Sam 1:26 termed *ʔah<sup>a</sup>bat nāšîm* “the love of women,” in comparison to the love of friends): Isaac-Rebekah (Gen 24:67), Jacob-Rachel (29:18, 20, 30, 32), Shechem-Dinah (34:3), Samson-the Philistine woman (Judg 14:16), Samson-Delilah (16:4, 15), Elkanah-Hannah (1 Sam 1:5), David-Michal (18:20, 28; cf. Gerleman, BK 18, 73: the only text outside Song Sol with a woman as subj.), Amnon-Tamar (2 Sam 13:1, 4, 15), Solomon-many foreign women (stressed as a disqualification; see Quell, *TDNT* 1:24n.20) in addition to Pharaoh’s daughter (1 Kgs 11:1f.), Rehoboam-Maachah (2 Chron 11:21; on “harem management” see Rudolph, HAT 21, 233), Ahasuerus-Esther (Esth 2:17). On the special case of Hosea (Hos 3:1) cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 60, and Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 89. In these cases love is obviously sexually determined.

That love is only partially constitutive of the legal institution of marriage is demonstrated e.g., by comparative statements: Gen 29:30 (with *min*); 1 Sam 1:5 (*ʔhb* “to prefer”); 2 Chron 11:21 and Esth 2:17 (superlatives). In fact, the law of inheritance in Deut 21:15–17 reckons with the coexistence of a mistress (*ʔhūbâ*) and an estranged (→ *šn*) wife.

The statement of Hebr. lyrical (and wisdom) literature concerning love (cf. esp. Gerleman, BK 18, 72–75) follows here. The verbal expression describes the attractiveness of the beloved (Song Sol 1:3f.), who in Song Sol is usually called *dôdî* “my beloved,” but also in a poetically varied paraphrase “the one whom my soul loves” (1:7; 3:1–4). In 7:7 *ʔhūbâ* “beloved” should also apparently be read instead of *ʔah<sup>a</sup>bâ* (abstract for concrete; cf., however, Gerleman, BK 18, 201). The noun *ʔah<sup>a</sup>bâ* “love” occurs in 2:4 uniquely objectified as a sign over the wine house and is set in quotation marks by some translators (Rudolph, KAT 17/2, 130f.; Gerleman 117f.); in 2:5 and 5:8 the maiden is “lovesick” (on lovesickness cf. 2 Sam 13:2 and Rudolph 131n.4; Gerleman 119); according to 2:7 (= 3:5) and 8:4 love should not be prematurely awakened or disturbed. The remaining texts with *ʔah<sup>a</sup>bâ* offer general statements, without, however, hypostatizing love: it is strong like death (8:6), much water cannot extinguish it (8:7), it is unquantifiable (8:7).

*dôdîm* is used in the comparison “better than wine” (Song Sol 1:2, 4; 4:10) and elsewhere specifically for (intoxicating) sexual indulgence (Song Sol 5:1; 7:13; Prov

5:19b txt em; 7:18); in both Prov passages, however, it parallels *ʿah<sup>a</sup>bâ* or *ʿhābîm*.

The root *ʿhb* also occurs in wisdom literature in the erotic sense as a description of the beloved in Prov 5:19a (*ʿayyelet ʿah<sup>a</sup>bâ* “lovely hind”), also Eccl 9:9 (*ʿiššâ ʿšer ʿāhabtā*) of the wife (Hertzberg, KAT 17/4, 172).

On Song Sol 3:10, see I concerning *ʿah<sup>a</sup>bâ* II “leather(?)”.

The nonchalant, natural presentation of love and sexuality does not seek to sublimate love intellectually or spiritually, or to judge it moralistically and thereby to repress it psychologically; in this way it is stripped of its numinous character and distanced from the sexual-mythical phenomenon of Israel’s religious environment. Song Sol plays a major role in the struggle against the erotic-orgiastic Baal religion (cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 1:27: “Israel did not share in the ‘divinisation’ of sex”).

3. Among other personal relationships, love between parents and children should be mentioned foremost, although narrative literature discusses it only in special cases (uniqueness of the son, biased preference, e.g., for the youngest): Abraham-Isaac (Gen 22:2), Isaac-Esau and Rebekah-Jacob (25:28), Israel-Joseph (37:3f., comparatively in the sense of preference), Jacob-Benjamin (44:20). The foreigner Ruth loves her mother-in-law Naomi (Ruth 4:15). The normal situation is presupposed paradoxically in Prov 13:24 (“whoever loves his son punishes him”); for other situations cf. the more appropriate → *rḥm*.

Lord and servant can also be bound to one another in love, as in the Covenant Code (Exod 21:15, incl. wife and children) and in the Dtn Code (Deut 15:16); also in narrative literature concerning Saul and David (1 Sam 16:21); David’s popularity with the people (18:16, 22) belongs here as well.

A special usage of *ʿhb* concerns the friendship of Jonathan and David. Jonathan’s soul is bound (*qšr*) to David’s soul (1 Sam 18:1); he loves David *k<sup>c</sup>napšô* “like his life” (18:1, 3; 20:17; against the interpretation of this as homosexuality, see M. A. Cohen, *HUCA* 36 [1965]: 83f.) and makes David swear “by his love” (20:17), while David confesses in his lament: “your love to me was more wonderful than the love of women” (2 Sam 1:26; cf. v 23; tr. of Hertzberg, *Sam*, OTL, 236).

Although this love of friends leads to a covenant agreement (cf. Quell, *TDNT* 2:112; → *b<sup>c</sup>rît*), the emotional basis is not abandoned. Cases such as this one illustrate how the term “to love” could gain entrance also in politicojuridical contract language as an expression for upright loyalty; W. L. Moran (*CBQ* 25 [1963]: 82n.33) and Th. C. Vriezen (*TZ* 22 [1966]: 4–7) call attention to pars. from the vassal treaties of Esarhaddon: “(You swear) that you will love Ashurbanipal . . . as (you do) yourselves (*kī napšātkunu*),” with the verb *rāmu* “to love” (D. J. Wiseman, *Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon* [= *Iraq* 20/1] [1958], 49, col. 4.266–68). See IV/3.

*ḥb* clearly refers to international political relationships in 1 Kgs 5:15, where King Hiram of Tyre appears as *ḥhēb*, David's friendly covenant partner (Moran, op. cit. 78–81, with analogous usages from EA; Noth, BK 9, 89). According to Moran, *ḥhēb* also has the political nuance of a subject's loyalty to the king in 1 Sam 18:16 and particularly in 2 Sam 19:7. The word stands in a religiopolitical context in the prophet's accusation in 2 Chron 19:2 that Jehoshaphat has "cultivated friendship with those who hate Yahweh" (Ahab and the northern kingdom are intended). The expression "all your/his friends" in the sense of "partisans" has a derogatory tone in reference to negatively portrayed persons such as Pashhur (Jer 20:4, 6) and Haman (Esth 5:10, 14; 6:13).

Yet to be treated is the usage of *ḥb* as a description of community relationships in more general statements in Psa and wisdom literature. The psalmist complains about the disruption of the norm: friends turn away (Psa 38:13; similarly Job 19:19), Yahweh has caused them to be alienated (88:19), love is requited only with hostility and hatred (109:4f.). In Prov "friend" and "love" are presumed as known quantities and positive factors in the arrangement of values. In addition to individual observations (Prov 14:20, the rich have many friends; 9:8, the wise loves the one who reproves, similarly 27:5f.; 16:13, the king loves the one who speaks rightly), statements of principle also appear: the (true) friend loves at all times (17:17); some friends are more devoted (→ *dbq*) than a brother (18:24). Gnostic statements concerning love occur in 10:12 (love covers all offenses; similarly 17:9) and in the comparison in 15:17 ("better a meal of herbs with love, than a fatted ox with hate"). Abstractions in the meristic statements in Eccl are the most advanced: there is a time to love and to hate (Eccl 3:8), people recognize neither love nor hate (9:1), love and hate have long since perished (9:6).

Concerning love for neighbor, stranger, and love of self, see IV/1.

4. Secondary to the personal usage, reference to things, circumstances, and activities accentuate the concept's characteristic of the goal-oriented, unilaterally selective affection and ignore the element of reciprocity; personification of the obj. does not occur in this usage (on the love of wisdom and its love in return, see IV/3). Stronger than → *hps* and → *rsh* "to like, be pleased with," *ḥb* retains a passionate tone. In addition to neutral (e.g., 2 Chron 26:10, Uzziah loved agriculture) or positive entities (e.g., Zech 8:19, truth and peace), despicable things and activities frequently appear as objs. in accusations (e.g., Isa 1:23, bribery; Hos 12:8, oppression).

Other passages with nontheological usages are: Gen 27:4, 9, 14 (savory

cuisine); Isa 56:10 (sleep); 57:8 (nuptials); Jer 5:31; 14:10; Amos 4:5 (*kēn* “so”); Hos 3:1 (raisin cake); 4:18 (disgrace); 9:1 (harlot’s hire); 10:1 (threshing); Amos 5:15 (the good); Mic 3:2 (the evil); 6:8 (→ *ḥesed*); Zech 8:17 (false oath); Psa 4:3 (vanity); 11:5 (foolishness); 34:13 (good days); 45:8 (righteousness); 52:5 (the evil more than the good); 52:6 (pernicious speech); 109:17 (curse); Prov 1:22 (simplicity); 12:1 (discipline, perception); 15:12 (reproof); 17:19 (bickering, foolishness); 18:21 (the tongue); 19:8 (one’s life); 20:13 (sleep); 20:17 (lustfulness); 21:17 (wine); Eccl 5:9 (gold, riches).

IV. Theologically relevant statements with *ḥb* will be treated in the following three sections: (1) love of neighbor (love of others, love of self), (2) God’s love for people, (3) people’s love for God.

1. Lev 19:18, which the NT cites frequently (Matt 5:43; 19:19; 22:39; Mark 12:31; Luke 10:27; Rom 13:9; Gal 5:14; Jas 2:8), “You shall love your neighbor as yourself” (J. Fichtner, *WD* 4 [1955]: 23–52 = *Gottes Weisheit* [1965], 88–114, esp. 102ff.), is unique in the OT. H advances this love requirement and eclipses external legislative regulations by reshaping, in a universalizing and interiorizing manner, an older series of negative injunctions concerning Israelite behavior in juridical life into positive commandments (cf. Lev 19:17, “You shall not hate your brother in your heart”). In contrast to the NT, the commandment remains limited to the “compatriot” (→ *rēaʿ*) and does not yet comprehend the whole ethic of communal behavior as a governing principle, as is already the case in the first part of the double commandment of love (Deut 6:5) in relation to behavior toward God.

An appendix in Lev 19:34, “the sojourner (*gēr*, → *gûr*), who lives among you, shall be to you as a native from your midst, and you shall love him as yourself,” includes the sojourner in the commandment (Elliger, *HAT* 4, 259), but also implicitly excludes the foreigner (*nokrî*, → *nkr*), for whom other criteria are valid. Positive love for the stranger is also required in Deut 10:19, “and you shall love the stranger,” here in relation to the ancient Israelite demand (cf. the negative formulations in Exod 22:20ff.) for mercy toward the weak (v 18, orphans, widows, strangers; → *rḥm*). In each passage the commandment of love for the neighbor or foreigner does not merely express clan morality (*ILC* 1–2:309; contra Th. C. Vriezen, “Bubers Auslegung des Liebesgebots,” *TZ* 22 [1966]: 8f.), but is theologically motivated by Yahweh’s love for the people or the foreigner, and depends, as do Yahweh’s other commandments, on the covenant relationship (Lev 19:18b follows “I am Yahweh,” → *ʾānî*, Exod 22:20b; Lev 19:34b; and Deut 10:19b recall Israel’s own sojourn in Egypt). Pars. from ancient Near Eastern politicojuridical language further confirm this interpretation (see III/3), and show at the same time that self-love (Lev 19:18, 34 *kāmôkâ* “as yourself”; cf. also 1 Sam 18:1, 3; 20:17 “as his own life”; Deut 13:7 “as your life”) is simply presupposed as the norm (H. van Oyen, *Ethik des AT*

[1967], 101f.) and is not viewed e.g., as a dangerous temptation one must combat through self-denial (so F. Maass, “Die Selbstliebe nach Lev 19:18,” FS Baumgärtel 109–13).

OT passages such as Exod 23:4f. and Prov 25:21, which are claimed for the concept of love for the stranger, do not use *ʾhb*.

2. Yahweh’s love will be addressed below only insofar as *ʾhb* is used (on the wider topic of God’s love, see e.g., Eichrodt 1:250–58; Jacob 108–13; J. De-k, *Die Gottesliebe in den alten semitischen Religionen* [1914]; J. Ziegler, *Die Liebe Gottes bei den Propheten* [1930]; → *ḥesed*, → *qnʿ*, → *rḥm* ).

The claim that Yahweh loves his people, Israel, is relatively new. It first occurs in the tradition in which Hos, Deut, and Jer stand (von Rad, *Gottesvolk* 78–83; Alt, *KS* [19643], 2:272), and, in fact, at the point in the theological development of the election doctrine at which questions arise concerning the basis of Israel’s divine election (H. Breit, *Die Predigt des Deuteronomisten* [1933], 113ff.; H. Wildberger, *Jahwes Eigentumsvolk* [1960], 110ff.; O. Bächli, *Israel und die Völker* [1962], 134ff.). The basis lies in the love of God as his sovereign act of the will.

Hosea uses the metaphors of fatherly love (11:1, “when Israel was young, I loved him”; v 4, “with bands of love”) and marital love (3:1, “love a wife who loves another and who is an adulteress, just as Yahweh loves the Israelites”; see F. Buck, *Die Liebe Gottes beim Propheten Osee* [1953]), but also uses *ʾhb* more generally (9:15, “I will henceforth love them no more”; 14:5, “in free grace [*n<sup>c</sup>dābâ*] I will love them”).

In addition to *ʾhb*, the verb *ḥšq* “to cling (to someone)” appears in Deut; both terms occur in close proximity to → *bḥr* “to choose” (4:37, “because he loved your fathers and chose their descendants”; 7:7f., “not because you were more numerous than all peoples did Yahweh turn [*ḥšq*] his heart to you and choose you . . . , but because Yahweh loved you”; 7:13; 10:15, “indeed, Yahweh turned [*ḥšq*] his heart only to your fathers, in that he loved them, and chose you, their descendants”; 23:6). In Jer 31:3 (“I have loved you with eternal love; therefore have I drawn you to me out of goodness”), the term → *ḥesed* parallels *ʾah<sup>a</sup>bâ*, “an indication that the two traditions of election and covenant begin to converge for Jeremiah” (Wildberger, op. cit. 112).

Later developments of these traditions that should be mentioned are 1 Kgs 10:9 (= 2 Chron 2:10 = 9:8); Isa 43:4; 63:9; Zeph 3:17; and Mal 1:2.

*ʾhb* used of God’s love for his people occurs in a relatively limited

setting and, properly, only in relation to individuals. Aside from Psa 47:5 (“the pride of Jacob, whom he loves”), where neither the subj. nor the obj. is unequivocal, and statements concerning whole categories of people (foreigners, Deut 10:18; see IV/1; Psa 97:10 txt em, “who hate evil”; 146:8, the righteous; Prov 3:12, “whomever Yahweh loves he reproves”; 15:9, “who seeks after righteousness”; 22:11, “who is pure of heart”), only two royal figures are named as the obj. of Yahweh’s loving attention: Solomon (2 Sam 12:24, apparently in relation to the name *y<sup>e</sup>dīd<sup>e</sup>yāh*, “beloved of Yahweh” in v 25; cf. *IP* 149; Neh 13:26, “in that he was a darling [*ʾāhûb*] of his God”) and Cyrus (Isa 48:14, “he whom Yahweh loves”). One may assume the language of ancient Near Eastern royal ideology here (Quell, *TDNT* 1:30); cf. Akk. *narāmu/rīmu* “darling” as a royal epithet (Seux 189ff., 251) and in PNs (e.g., Naram-Sin, Rim-Sin); Eg.: H. Ranke, *Die Äg. Personennamen* (1952), 2:226.

Idioms in which *ʾhb* refer to things and situations (cf. III/4) are also common in the ancient Near East: Yahweh loves justice and righteousness (Isa 61:8; Psa 11:7; 33:5; 37:28; 99:4; *mīšpāt* → *špt*, *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* → *sdq*, cf. the pars. in the Akk. royal inscriptions found in Seux 236f.). Statements of Yahweh’s love for his sanctuary on Zion (Mal 2:11; Psa 78:68, par. to *bḥr*, cf. 132:12; also 87:2, “more than all the dwellings of Jacob,” which is comparative and which contains the election idea) are colored by Dtr election theology.

Worthy of mention in this context are additional statements with *yādīd* (Deut 33:12, “Benjamin is the darling of Yahweh”; Psa 60:7 = 108:7, “who are dear to you”; 127:2, “his darling”); on *ḥbb* see III/1.

3. The OT addresses love for Yahweh even later than the love of Yahweh; statements of this idea are concentrated once again in Dtn theology (bibliog.: G. Winter, “Die Liebe zu Gott im AT,” *ZAW* 9 [1889]: 211–46; H. Breit, op. cit. 156–65; C. Wiéner, *Recherches sur l’amour pour Dieu dans l’AT* [1957]; Eichrodt 2:290–301; J. Coppens, *La doctrine biblique sur l’amour de Dieu et du prochain*, ALBO 4/16 [1964]).

Indicative and impv. usages of the word should be differentiated. The stated substantival usage of *ʾōhēb* (mostly pl.) in the meaning “partisan” (see III/3) in contrast to “hater” (→ *śn<sup>ʾ</sup>*) and “enemy” (→ *ʾōyēb*) may derive from a cultic-liturgical formulation (N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot* [1963], 78). At issue is the formula “of them who love me” in Exod 20:6 and Deut 5:10, additions to the Decalogue that are not datable with certainty and that may be Dtn (similarly Deut 7:9 and later, without antonym, Dan 9:4 and Neh 1:5; on the whole formula cf. J. Scharbert, *Bib* 38 [1957]: 130–50), the conclusion of the Song of Deborah, Judg 5:31, whose antiquity is disputed

(cf. A. Weiser, *ZAW* 71 [1959]: 94), and Psa 145:20. In Isa 41:8, *ʾōh<sup>abī</sup>* “who loved me” refers to Abraham (dependent upon this are 2 Chron 20:7; Jas 2:23; and Koran 4:125 [124], “God took Abraham as friend [*ḥalīl*]”). The oldest text that we can date with certainty is Jer 2:2, “the love (*ʾah<sup>abā</sup>*) of your bridal period,” which is based on Hoseanic thought (Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 14f.).

The requirement of love for God begins in Dtn parenthesis and directs itself to the entire people (Deut 6:5; 10:12; 11:1, 13, 22; 13:4; 19:9; 30:6, 16, 20; texts dependent on this concept include Josh 22:5; 23:11; 1 Kgs 3:3, where the requirement is fulfilled by Solomon). *ʾhb* is governed now neither by the marriage metaphor nor by the father-son relationship and is not, therefore, influenced by Hos. Love is commanded (elsewhere only in the didactic warning of the thanksgiving psalm, Psa 31:24); it stands in a series with *→ yr<sup>ʾ</sup>* “to fear” (R. Sander, *Furcht und Liebe im palästinischen Judentum* [1935]), *→ ʿbd* “to serve,” and similar verbs of relationship to Yahweh (Lohfink, op. cit. 73ff., tables on 303f.; cf. also *→ dbq* “to cling to” in Deut 11:22; 13:5; 30:20; Josh 22:5; 23:12); it is made concrete as responsive love in answer to the love of Yahweh, in faithfulness and obedience within the Yahweh covenant. According to W. L. Moran (“Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy,” *CBQ* 25 [1963]: 77–87), all of these characteristics point to the backgrounds of Dtn diction in the diplomatic terminology of the ancient Near East (see III/3; examples particularly from EA). *ʾhb* means, therefore, something like “to exercise upright loyalty toward the covenant partner”; and, although the OT uses it in a religious sense, it belongs to the language of the covenant idea. The addition “with your whole heart, your whole soul, and all your might” in Deut 6:5 (a similar formula is found, however, also in 10:12; 11:13 with *ʿbd* “to serve”) and reference to circumcision of the heart by Yahweh (30:6) demonstrate the tendency (but also the necessity) of intensifying and interiorizing the easily hackneyed term.

Love for God as a subjective religious feeling rarely appears in the OT, which is not surprising in view of the absence of mystical religiosity. Textually uncertain are Psa 18:2, “I love you, Yahweh, my strength,” with *rḥm* qal (Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:254; see III/1) and 116:1, “I love, for Yahweh has heard,” with *ʾhb* (Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:385). Psa 73:25, “if I have you, then I want nothing on earth” with *→ ḥps*, but not in direct reference to Yahweh, should probably also be considered.

In keeping with this reluctance to use Yahweh as the obj. of *ʾhb*, the piety of the Psa preferred objective circumlocutions (see III/4). The following objs. occur: the name of Yahweh (*→ šēm*) in Psa 5:12; 69:37; 119:132; also Isa 56:6; his salvation, Psa 40:17 = 70:5; his sanctuary, 26:8; cf. 122:6 and Isa 66:10, Jerusalem; also his law, commandments, etc., Psa 119:47f., 97, 113, 119, 127, 140, 159, 163, 167.

Statements concerning the love of and for wisdom constitute a separate realm of ideas. They may be included here because hypostatized wisdom is nearly identified with Yahweh. In contrast to e.g., Dtn usages, the formulae are all reciprocal: Prov 4:6, “hold it dear, so will it guard you”; 8:17, “I love those who love me”; 8:21, “I give those who love me wealth”; cf. 8:36, “all who hate me love death” (wisdom is not personified in 29:3, “whoever loves wisdom gladdens one’s father”; the text should be included in the cases listed in III/4). The Eg. pars., which deal with the love of and for Maat and with the world order given by the god, make it likely that OT statements concerning hypostatized *ḥokmâ* were given impetus from Egypt (Ch. Kayatz, *Studien zu Proverbien 1–9* [1966], 98–102; contrast G. Boström, *Proverbienstudien* [1935], 156ff.; cf. further Prov 7:4, “say to wisdom: you are my sister [→ *ʾāḥ* 3c], and call insight your confidant, that she may preserve you”).

Even when *ʾḥb* occurs in reference to foreign divinities, it remains within the framework of the usages treated so far: Jer 2:25, “for I love the strangers” (under the influence of Hos; cf. Jer 2:33), and 8:2, “before the sun and the moon and the whole multitude of the heaven, which she loved and served” (with Dtr diction).

*ʾḥūbat rēaʿ* “who is loved by others” in Hos 3:1 (Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 84) and the pl. ptcp. of *ʾḥb* pi. “lover, paramour” (see III/1) in Hos 2:7, 9, 12, 14f. in reference to the Baalim, and in Jer 22:20, 22; 30:14; Ezek 16:33, 36f.; 23:5, 9, 22; Lam 1:19 (cf. 1:2) in reference to alleged political allies (Zech 13:6 without metaphorical language) maintain their actual meaning “lover” even in metaphorical language and are not to be understood as technical cultic expressions because of their association with the Can. syncretistic religious figures depicted (contra A. D. Tushingham, *JNES* 12 [1953]: 150ff.).

V. The NT is already closely bound to the OT by means of the use of the key texts Lev 19:18 and Deut 6:4f. and of the subst. *agapē*, which is rarely attested in pre-Christian usage except in the LXX. Preliminary overviews and bibliogs. concerning the rich NT material may be found in the following articles, each of which offers an introductory section on the OT: G. Quell and E. Stauffer, “ἀγαπᾶω,” *TDNT* 1:21–55; W. Zimmerli and N. A. Dahl, *RGG* 4:363–67. See also E. M. Good, “Love in the OT,” *IDB* 3:164–68; G. Johnston, “Love in the NT,” *IDB* 3:168–78. Of the larger monographs only C. Spicq, *Agapè dans le NT*, 1–3 (1958–60), deserves mention.

E. Jenni

אָהַּ } <sup>a</sup>*hāh* **ah!**

S 162; BDB 13b; HALOT 1:18b; TWOT 30; NIDOTTE 177

1. For pure exclamations such as <sup>a</sup>*hāh* “ah!” and → *hōy* “woe!” derivation from roots is unjustified (otherwise for e.g., *hālîlâ* “far be it!” → *hll*). Accent pattern and orthography often have some range of variation, so that one must arrange individual forms of the same or similar function into groups. Thus *hāh* (Ezek 30:2) and <sup>a</sup>*ānnā*/<sup>a</sup>*ānnâ*, apparently a composite of <sup>a</sup>*āh* plus *nā* “indeed” (<sup>a</sup>*ānnâ*, BL 652) will also be treated here alongside <sup>a</sup>*hāh*.

2. <sup>a</sup>*hāh* occurs 15x, with concentrations in the Elisha narratives, Jer, and Ezek. <sup>a</sup>*ānnâ* is attested 13x.

3. One finds the spontaneous exclamation to ward off fear <sup>a</sup>*hāh* “ah!” only in legends that use folksy, fairy-tale motifs (cf. P. Grebe, *Duden Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwartssprache* [1959], 324): Judg 11:35 (Jephthah’s vow); 2 Kgs 3:10; 6:5, 15 (Elisha tales). The following <sup>a</sup>*dōnî* “my lord” in 2 Kgs 6:5, 15 refers to the person addressed (Elisha; cf. Judg 11:35 *bittî* “my daughter”), not to God.

<sup>a</sup>*ānnâ* “ah” as a sign of complaint introducing a request to a superior occurs only in Gen 50:17 in a nontheological usage.

4. The remaining passages with <sup>a</sup>*hāh* belong almost exclusively to the language of prayer. The formula <sup>a</sup>*hāh* <sup>a</sup>*dōnāy yhw̄h* “ah, Lord, Yahweh” primarily introduces strongly emotional laments and petitionary prayers, in which the supplicant protests against God’s actual or presumed will: Josh 7:7; Judg 6:22; Jer 1:6; 4:10; 14:13; 32:17; Ezek 4:14; 9:8; 11:13; 21:5. F. Baumgärtel (FS Rudolph 2, 9f., 18f., 27) has shown that <sup>a</sup>*hāh* <sup>a</sup>*dōnāy yhw̄h* is an old fixed formula in cultic petitions.

Wolff (*Joel*, Herm, 22f.) identifies another fixed formula, the cry of terror announcing the day of Yahweh, introduced with *hēlîlû* “wail!”: in Ezek 30:2 *hāh layyôm* and Joel 1:15 <sup>a</sup>*hāh layyôm* “alas for the day” (cf. also Isa 13:6; Zeph 1:11, 14ff.).

<sup>a</sup>*ānnâ* (Exod 32:31; Psa 118:25[bis]; Dan 9:4; Nah 1:5, 11) and <sup>a</sup>*ānnâ* (2 Kgs 20:3 = Isa 38:3; Jonah 1:14; 4:2; Psa 116:4, 16) serve 6x each as an introduction or a transition in a petitionary prayer. Except for Exod 32:31, the divine address always follows (*yhw̄h*, except in Dan 9:4 <sup>a</sup>*dōnāy*). In accord with to its composition from an interjection of pain and the petitionary particle *nā*, the cry suggests complaint and request simultaneously.

5. The NT does not use interjections in association with appeals to God (the LXX renders <sup>ʿ</sup>*hāh* with *ō, a a, oimmoi, mēdamōs, or deomai*).

E. Jenni

אָהַל <sup>ʿ</sup>*ohel* **tent** → בַּיִת *bayit*

אוּה <sup>ʿ</sup>*wh* pi. **to desire**

S 183; BDB 16a; HALOT 1:20a; TDOT 1:134–37; TWOT 40; NIDOTTE 203

1. <sup>ʿ</sup>*wh* pi. “to desire, want” has no direct non-Hebr. counterparts.

Arab. (<sup>ʿ</sup>*awā* “to betake oneself”; see NB 190) and Syr. (<sup>ʿ</sup>*ewā* “to agree”) have verbs with the consonants <sup>ʿ</sup>*wh*(<sup>ʿ</sup>*wy*). J. L. Palache (SNHL 2–5) would like to extrapolate the common Sem. basic meaning “to fit, agree” (pi. estimative “consider fitting/pretty” > “to desire”); semantically, however, a relationship to *hwh* III (Hebr. *hawwā* “caprice, lust”; Arab. *hawiya* “to love,” *hawan* “craving, caprice”) is much more likely.

Pi. and hitp. forms of the verbs are common (the postulated ni. forms “to be pretty, lovely; be seemly” in Isa 52:7; Psa 93:5; Song Sol 1:10 may belong, despite BL 422 and HAL 20a, to *nʿh*). Three nom. formations may be added: with the preformatives *ma* - (*ma*<sup>ʿ</sup>*wayyîm* “desire,” only Psa 140:9 “do not grant the wishes of the godless”) or *ta*- (*ta*<sup>ʿ</sup>*wâ* “wish, craving”) and the derivative of the reduplicated stem (<sup>ʿ</sup>*awwâ* “desire”).

2. With a total of 27 occurrences (pi. 11x, hitp. 16x; see, however, BHS on Num 34:10) the verb is distributed among almost all the literary genres of the OT; by contrast, the noun *ta*<sup>ʿ</sup>*wâ* (21x, plus 5x in the place-name *qibrôt hatta*<sup>ʿ</sup>*wâ*, Num 11:34f.; 33:16f.; Deut 9:22) exhibits a distinct concentration in Psa and Prov (16x, of which Prov 18:1 and 19:22 are textually uncertain). <sup>ʿ</sup>*awwâ* (7x) is certainly attested in Deut 12:15, 20f.; 18:6; 1 Sam 23:20; Jer 2:24 (on Hos 10:10 see comms.).

3. <sup>ʿ</sup>*wh* pi. and hitp. offers a highly nuanced spectrum of meaning within a limited word field: the two verbal stems describe the wishing, longing, or wanting of people, which varies highly in intensity and object. Elementary and even impulsive needs awaken the desire for specific things: David wants to drink water (2 Sam 23:15); the Israelites want to eat

meat (Deut 12:20); the delicacies of the table excite the invited guest (Prov 23:3, 6); one longs for happy days, for the good in general (Isa 26:9; Amos 5:18; Mic 7:1); the bridegroom desires the bride (Psa 45:12). This multifaceted desire is viewed as healthy, normal, and good; the wise one is aware that a fulfilled wish (*ta<sup>ʾ</sup>wâ bā<sup>ʾ</sup>â* or *nihyâ*, Prov 13:12, 19) does one good.

Desire can nevertheless exceed the proper limits; it can aim for perverted objects (Prov 21:19, “the godless is desirous of evil”); it can injure the other or ruin one’s own prospects (Prov 13:4). Consequently, misdirected, inappropriate desire—covetousness—is condemned (Prov 23:3, 6; 24:1; Deut 5:21).

The word field of *ʾwh* has close contact, then, with that of  $\rightarrow$  *hmd*. W. L. Moran (“Conclusion of the Decalogue [Exod 20:17 = Deut 5:21],” *CBQ* 29 [1967]: 543ff.) distinguishes between *hmd* as desire aroused by the sight of the attractive (only in Dan 10:3 in association with food), and *ʾwh* as craving arising from an inner need (hunger, thirst, etc.; only in Gen 3:6 mediated by the eyes).

One may further compare  $\rightarrow$  *šʾl* “to ask (for)” (Deut 14:26),  $\rightarrow$  *qwh* pi. “to await” (Isa 26:8), *šhr* pi. “to seek” (Isa 26:9), *ʾûš* “to press for” (Jer 17:16), and  $\rightarrow$  *bhr* “to choose” (Psa 132:13) as pars. to *ʾwh*; cf. also *ksp* qal/ni. “to yearn,” *ʿrg* “to long for,” Bibl. Aram. *šbh* “to desire, want,” and the subst. *ʾrešet* “request” (Psa 21:3), *môrāš* “wish” (Job 17:11), *haqqāšâ* “desire” (Ezra 7:6 and 7x in Esth), *hawwâ* “lust” (Mic 7:3; Prov 10:3; 11:6), *mišʾālâ* “desire” (Psa 20:6; 37:4).

Like the verb, although in varying degrees, the noun *ta<sup>ʾ</sup>wâ* describes the more or less forceful wish (of the upright: Prov 10:24; 11:23; of the king: Psa 21:3; of the wicked: Psa 10:3; 112:10; of the lazy: Prov 21:25) and—objectified, as is also possible with Eng. “wish”—that which is desirable, the object worth striving after: *ʿeš ta<sup>ʾ</sup>wâ* “a desirable tree” (Gen 3:6), *ma<sup>ʾ</sup>kal ta<sup>ʾ</sup>wâ* “desirable food” (Job 33:20).

For an explanation of the place-name *qibrôt hatta<sup>ʾ</sup>wâ* “graves of craving” in Num 11:34, see Noth, *Num*, OTL, 84f.

Modifications in the meaning of the two verbal stems pi. and hitp. per se are difficult to discern, although some syntactical peculiarities also have semasiological consequences. The pi. almost always has *nepeš* “soul” as subj., i.e., wanting is seen as a typical expression of the vital force, the self. The noun *ʾawwâ* (a nonaugmented reduplicated stem) occurs in the fixed combination *kol-ʾawwat nepeš* “according to the desires of the heart” (*kol* is lacking only in Jer 2:24, which refers to the heat of the camel; generalizing usages with *ʾwh* pi.: Deut 14:26; 1 Sam 2:16; 3:21; 1 Kgs 11:37; hitp.: Eccl 6:2). The hitp. sometimes takes an obj. (as a rule the per. subj. is expressly named; cf. Deut 5:21; Jer 17:16; Amos 5:18; Psa 45:12; Prov 23:3, 6;

24:1), but it apparently tends toward an abs. usage (e.g., “to lust, be covetous, lascivious”), as in 2 Sam 23:15 (= 1 Chron 11:17) and with an inner obj. (internal acc.): *hit<sup>ʔ</sup>awwâ ta<sup>ʔ</sup>wâ* in Prov 21:26; Num 11:14; Psa 106:14.

4. The last two texts exhibit significant theological language: insatiable desire in itself is directed against Yahweh (wilderness tradition); cf. Psa 78:29f. Otherwise no specific theological meaning may be determined either for the verb or the nouns, not even for Isa 26:8f. (the supplicant longs for Yahweh); Psa 132:13 (Yahweh had the desire to establish himself in Zion); Job 23:13 (God accomplishes what he desires).

5. From OT roots (cf. esp. Num 11:4, 34; Psa 106:14; 78:29f.), Judaism and Christianity develop statements concerning the sinfulness of desire and impulses (cf. 1QS 9:25; 10:19; 1QS 4:9ff.; and 5:5 for the Qumran sect; rabbinical sources in StrB 3:234ff.; on the NT material, cf. F. Büchsel, “ἐπιθυμία,” *TDNT* 3:167–72; *RGG* 6:482ff.; P. Wilpert, “Begierde,” *RAC* 2:62ff.

E. Gerstenberger

לְאִילִם } <sup>e</sup>wîl **fool**

S 191; BDB 171; *HALOT* 1:21a; *TDOT* 1:137–40; *TWOT* 44; *NIDOTTE* 211

1. The noms. <sup>e</sup>wîl “fool, idiot” (subst. of the form \**qitîl*; cf. *GVG* 1:356; BL 471), <sup>e</sup>wîlî “foolish” (adj. with the poss. suf. -î, if Zech 11:15 is not a scribal error; cf. Delitzsch §53a), and *ywwelet* “foolishness” (fem. abstract form; cf. BL 477; Nyberg 215), which occur only in Hebr. (the Neo-SArab. vocabulary in Leslau 10 lies too far afield), are generally derived from a root <sup>ʔ</sup>wl, which is often introduced in etymological discussions (cf. GB 16a and König 7b, with Zorell 21a and *HAL* 21a, which are more cautious) and which is not attested as a verb.

*HAL* 21a speculates concerning the Arab. etymology: <sup>ʔ</sup>wl “coagulate, become thick” > “to become stupid.” One should compare the closely related verb *yʔl* “to be/act foolish,” attested 4x in the ni. (see KBL 358a).

In some cases <sup>e</sup>wîl is understood as an adj., thus 7x by GB, only 3x by Lis. and *HAL* (Jer 4:22; Hos 9:7; Prov 29:9); indeed, only Prov 29:9 is unequivocal, where <sup>e</sup>wîl is an attribute of אִישׁ “man”; cf. Barth §29a.

2. If the etymology remains uncertain, the semantics of the words are rather unambiguous. The distribution of the terms is already illuminative in this respect, because the words prove to be primarily wisdom terms of early date.

Apart from <sup>c</sup>wîlî, which is attested only in Zech 11:15 (the word should not be read in v 17; cf. B. Otzen, *Deuterosacharja* [1964], 260), the words occur mostly in Prov: <sup>c</sup>wîl appears here 19x of 26x (70%), while <sup>i</sup>wwelet occurs here 23x of 25x (92%). The terms are used primarily in the recognizably older collections (see Gemser, HAT 16, 4f., 55ff., 93ff.; U. Skladny, *Die ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel* [1962], 6ff.; as well as H. H. Schmid, *Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit* [1966] 145ff.); in the second collection (10:1–22:16) <sup>c</sup>wîl occurs 13x and <sup>i</sup>wwelet 16x, in the fifth collection (chs. 25–29) <sup>c</sup>wîl is attested 3x and <sup>i</sup>wwelet 4x—together, then, 36x (of a total of 42x in Prov).

The word family (in total 52x) is not represented in Eccl; <sup>c</sup>wîl occurs in Job only 2x (5:2f.).

3. The chief meaning of the personally specific <sup>c</sup>wîl is “fool” or “foolish,” that of the abstract <sup>i</sup>wwelet, “foolishness.” The synonyms and antonyms are esp. significant because of the profile of their range of meaning (see T. Donald, “Semantic Field of ‘Folly’ in Proverbs, Job, Psalms and Ecclesiastes,” *VT* 13 [1963]: 285–92).

In the older portions of Prov <sup>c</sup>wîl is primarily an important contrast to (<sup>i</sup>š) <sup>h</sup>ākām, the “wise” (10:8, 10, 14; 12:15; 14:3; 17:28; 29:9), to <sup>n</sup>ābôn, the “insightful” (17:28), and to <sup>ʿ</sup>ārûm, the “cunning” (12:16; cf. 15:5). In contrast to the <sup>h</sup>akam-lēb (10:8; 11:29), the fool is <sup>h</sup>asar-lēb “one lacking understanding” (10:21), although the synonymous expression does not parallel <sup>c</sup>wîl (neither do other synonyms; see, however, <sup>p</sup>ōteh “simple” in Job 5:2 and <sup>b</sup>ānîm <sup>s</sup>kālîm “simple children” in Jer 4:22). Other close synonyms include → <sup>k</sup>sîl (the most important synonym, occurring 70x; on the distinction in meaning from <sup>c</sup>wîl see e.g., Skladny, op. cit. 52n.30), → <sup>n</sup>ābāl, and <sup>p</sup>etî (→ <sup>p</sup>th); farther removed is <sup>m</sup>šuggā<sup>c</sup> “crazy” (Hos 9:7).

<sup>i</sup>wwelet is frequently associated with <sup>k</sup>sîl (so 3x in the description of the fool, Prov 26:1–12; also 12:23; 13:6; 14:8, 24; 15:2, 14; 17:12), otherwise with <sup>c</sup>wîl (16:22; 27:22), <sup>p</sup>tāyîm “simple” (14:18; → <sup>p</sup>th), <sup>h</sup>asar-lēb “without understanding” (15:21; cf. 10:21), or <sup>q</sup>šar-<sup>ʿ</sup>appayîm/<sup>r</sup>ûah “hot-tempered” (14:17, 29). <sup>i</sup>wwelet parallels <sup>k</sup>elîmā “shame” (18:13); the most important antonym is <sup>d</sup>at “knowledge, recognition” (12:23; 13:16; 14:18; 15:2, 14); others are <sup>t</sup>bûnâ “insight” (14:29), <sup>s</sup>ēkel “understanding” (16:22), as well as <sup>h</sup>akmôt (sic)/<sup>h</sup>okmâ “wisdom” (14:1, 8).

As a stereotypical character, the <sup>c</sup>wîl is consistently portrayed negatively; the fool is the “opposite of the wise” in every respect (Skladny, op. cit. 12). Indeed, the fool’s lack of understanding is first of all “stupidity”:

the fool must be silent in the gate, wisdom is “too high” (24:7); a fool’s folly is frequently associated with mouth/lips, i.e., with (insignificant, meaningless) intellectual expression (17:28; also 10:8, 10, 14; 14:3; as well as 12:23; 15:2, 14Q; 18:13). Moral and social aspects, however, also contribute to a fool’s foolishness: the fool is hot-tempered (12:16; 27:3; 29:9; cf. 14:17, 29 and Job 5:2) and quarrelsome, lacking *kābôd* “honor” (20:3; 29:9); unlike the wise, the fool thinks he is self-sufficient and does not heed *‘ešâ* “counsel” (12:15), disregarding *mûsār* “discipline” even more (→ *ysr*; 15:5; as well as 1:7; 5:23; 7:22 without emendation; 14:3; 16:22; see 4). Although *ʔiwwelet* may be removed from the young by means of “the rod of discipline” (22:15), the *ʔwîl* is otherwise inseparably bound to folly (27:22).

4. Because of the inseparability of “fool” and “folly,” the fateful conjunction of deed and consequence is inherent in foolishness (K. Koch, *ZTK* 52 [1955]: 2ff.; G. von Rad, *KerD* 2 [1956]: 68f.). Thus the fool’s folly becomes the fool’s “discipline” (contrasted with wisdom as a “source of life” 16:22; cf. 14:3). Even more: the fool’s mouth is an “impending ruin” (10:14; cf. 10:8, 10); fools die because of ignorance (10:21; cf. 19:3; Job 5:2). Folly results in disaster and leads to death; it is disqualifying in a religious sense and becomes equivalent to “godlessness/sacrilege”; thus it is also associated with the death of the “impious” (→ *īšʿ*) in 5:23 and in the later portion of Prov, and the *ʔwîl* is related negatively to “the fear of Yahweh” in 1:7; but already in the older portion (chs. 10ff.) the “righteous” (→ *šdq*; 10:21; cf. 14:9) can be the opposite of the fool, as the contrast “wise-fool” generally corresponds here to the contrast “righteous-impious” (see Skladny, op. cit. 7ff.; Gemser, *HAT* 16, and Ringgren, *ATD* 16, on chs. 10ff.). In the expressly theological sense, *ʔwîl* can also occasionally be applied to Israel in a prophetic reprimand (Jer 4:22); but the word in Hos 9:7 is an ironic citation to be understood as traditionally gnomic in character (cf. further Isa 19:11; otherwise 35:8).

*ʔiwwelet* can also be used in the lament’s confession of sin (Psa 38:6; 69:6; cf. *ʔwîlîm* in the thanksgiving psalm, Psa 107:17, where the text is admittedly uncertain).

5. *ʔwîl* occurs 1x and *ʔiwwelet* 5x in the available Qumran corpus (according to Kuhn, *Konk.* 4b). The LXX translates *ʔwîl* by 8 different words, primarily *aphrōn* (13x); *ʔiwwelet* likewise by 8 words, primarily *aphrosynē* (8x) and *aphrōn* (3x) (concerning the LXX and NT concept of foolishness, cf. G. Bertram, “μωρός,” *TDNT* 4:832–47; W. Caspari, “Über den bibl. Begriff der Torheit,” *NKZ* 39 [1928]: 668–95; U. Wilckens, *Weisheit und Torheit* [1959]).

M. Sæbø

## אולי *ʾûlay* perhaps

S 194; BDB 19b; HALOT 1:21b; TWOT 46; NIDOTTE 218

1. The modal adv. *ʾûlay* “perhaps” is usually understood (GB 16a; HAL 21a) as a composite of the particle *ʾô* “or” and (dissimilated) *lōʾ* “not” (or *lû* “if only”), although the etymology is no longer determinative for usage. More transparent is the fixed usage *mî yôdēaʿ* “who knows?” for “perhaps.”

The related Sem. dialects use various formations unique to each (Mid. Hebr. *semmâ*; Syr. *dalmā, kʿbar*, and *ṭāk* < Gk. *tacha*; on Akk. *piqat, minde* [< *mîn îde* “what do I know?” AHW 655a], *assurri, issurre*, cf. W. von Soden, “‘Vielleicht’ im Akkadischen,” *Or* 18 [1949]: 385–91).

2. *ʾûlay* occurs 45x in the OT, primarily in narrative texts (Gen to 2 Kgs and Job 1:5, 30x, prophetic literature and Lam 3:29, 15x, lacking in Psa and the other Ketubim). In Num 22:33 *ʾûlay* should be emended to *lûlê* “if not.”

*mî yôdēaʿ* means “perhaps” 4x (2 Sam 12:22; Joel 2:14; Jonah 3:9; Esth 4:14).

W. F. Albright (*JAOS* 67 [1947]: 155n.23) suspects an extrabibl. attestation of *ʾûlay* (*ʾûlê*) in l. 2 of the Ahiram inscription (cf., however, *DISO* 13).

3. In addition to *ʾûlay* in a preterite or present context (Job 1:5, “perhaps my sons have sinned” with pf.; Gen 43:12; Josh 9:7; 1 Kgs 18:27 in nom. clauses; Gen 18:24 and Lam 3:29 with *yēš*, Gen 18:28–32 with impf.), “perhaps” is found primarily with a view to the future (Josh 14:12 in a nom. clause, 32x with impf.). In the negated clauses in Gen 24:5, 39 and in 27:12, it expresses a fear (LXX *mēpote*, also for Gen 43:12; 1 Kgs 18:27; Job 1:5; *mē* Josh 9:7; otherwise *ei/ean* [*pōs*], *hina, hopōs, isōs*). Hos 8:7 can be subordinated concessively with “even if.” All other texts contain a more or less hesitant or cautious hope (ironically in Isa 47:12[bis]; Jer 51:8; similarly already in 1 Kgs 18:27, “perhaps he sleeps”).

4. In perhaps a dozen texts, the factor of uncertainty expressed by *ʾûlay* is attributed to the will of God (Num 23:3, “whether Yahweh will perhaps encounter me”; 23:27, “perhaps it pleases God”; Josh 14:12,

“perhaps Yahweh is with me”; 1 Sam 6:5, “perhaps he will then take his heavy hand from you”; 14:6, “perhaps Yahweh will do something for us”; 2 Sam 16:12, “perhaps Yahweh will look upon my distress”; 2 Kgs 19:4 = Isa 37:4, “perhaps Yahweh will hear”; Jer 21:2, “perhaps Yahweh will do a miracle for us, as he has before”; Amos 5:15 [see below]; Jonah 1:6, “perhaps he will take notice of us”; Zeph 2:3 [see below]), just as in three texts with *mîyôdēa*<sup>c</sup> (2 Sam 12:22, “Who knows? Perhaps Yahweh will be gracious to me”; Joel 2:14, “Who knows? Perhaps he will yet repent”; Jonah 3:9, “Who knows? Perhaps God will yet repent”; the fourth text, Esth 4:14, “and who knows whether you have not come to the kingdom for such an opportunity?” refers to an irrational dispensation of fate). Nevertheless, the statement concerning Yahweh is not thereby an expression of one’s uncertainty with respect to a moody despot, but a consciously humble attitude of one who takes into account the sovereign freedom of God. This humility is also particularly true of two very reserved prophetic salvation sayings: Amos 5:15, “perhaps Yahweh will then . . . be gracious to the rest of Joseph”; and Zeph 2:3, “perhaps you will be hidden on the day of Yahweh’s wrath” (cf. R. Fey, *Amos und Jesaja* [1963], 53). Wolff (*Joel*, Herm, 50) writes concerning Joel 2:14: “The ‘perhaps’ of hope is appropriate to the humility of one who prays [2 Sam 12:22; Lam 3:29b]; in the proclamation of the messenger it underscores the fact that the one called to return stands, for the time being, under the message of judgment [Amos 5:15; Zeph 2:3; Jonah 3:9] and has to face up to it. That the faithful and merciful God is also free in relation to his own anger (‘slow to anger’ אֲרֵךְ אַפַּיִם) is the foundation of the hope expressed in the ‘perhaps.’ “

5. Of NT texts with *isōs* (Luke 20:13) and *tacha* (Rom 5:7; Phlm 15), only Phlm 15 is distantly reminiscent of the thought in Esth 4:14.

E. Jenni

## אָוֵן *ʾāwen* harm

S 205; BDB 19b; *HALOT* 1:22a; *TDOT* 1:140–47; *TWOT* 48a; *NIDOTTE* 224

1. The Hebr. noun *ʾāwen* “harm, disaster” usually derived from a root \**ʾwn* “to be strong, powerful” (*HAL* 21b), seems to have cognates only in NWSem.

The word, which occurs only as a noun, may be formed as a segholate with a negative meaning in intentional contrast to the positive *ʾōn* “manly vigor, vigor, wealth”

(HAL 22a). The derivative  $t^{\circ}unim$  (Ezek 24:12) is textually very uncertain (cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:495–96). The PNs  $\gamma on$  (Num 16:1 txt?),  $\gamma onam$ , and  $\gamma onan$  (cf. *IP* 225) probably belong to the same root, but the subst.  $\gamma on$  “sorrow” does not (Gen 35:18; Deut 26:14; Hos 9:4; root  $\gamma ny$ ; cf. C. Rabin, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8 [1961]: 386f.).

The etymology and meaning of Ug. *an* and *un*, suggested as cognates (*WUS* nos. 292, 295; *UT* nos. 238, 240), are difficult; reference should probably be made to *anm* (pl. “power”; 1.6.1.50). The relationship to Aram.  $\gamma wyn$ , which accompanies *mwt* “death” in *KAI* 222B.30, also remains unclear (cf. *KAI* 2:256; Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 69).  $\gamma wn$  in Aḥ. 160 (*DISO* 6) is also uncertain.

2.  $\bar{\gamma}awen$  is not a word of narrative/report language. The 80 OT examples (incl. Ezek 30:17, which should be vocalized, however, as the place-name  $\gamma on$ ) are found with only one exception in poetical texts, whether cultic, wisdom, prophetic, or literary (Job).

Two-thirds of the examples occur in Psa (29x), Job (15x), and Prov (10x). It occurs 24x in various prophetic books (Isa 12x), as well as in Num 23:21 and 1 Sam 15:23.

The oldest examples are 1 Sam 15:23 and Num 23:21. The texts Amos 5:5; Hos 6:8; 10:8; 12:12; Isa 1:13; 10:1; 31:2; Mic 2:1; Hab 1:3(?); 3:7; Psa 7:15; 28:3; 41:7; 59:3, 6; 101:8 are also probably pre-exilic. Some of the others are surely, and some probably, exilic or post-exilic.

The subst.  $\gamma on$  “power, wealth” occurs 10x (Gen 49:3; Deut 21:17; Isa 40:26, 29; Hos 12:4, 9; Psa 78:51; 105:36; Job 20:10; 40:16).

3. The chief meaning of the term largely reflects its etymology: destructive power (S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* [1921], 1:30ff.). Its usage presupposes a dynamistic understanding of existence (a concept of domains of action): disaster is a mighty process, and might, when it assumes a negative form, is disaster.

(a)  $\bar{\gamma}awen$  is connected with various types of unhealthy activities: mental processes (Isa 32:6; Psa 55:4, 11; 66:18) or intentional thoughts ( $\bar{\gamma}awen$  is associated with  $\rightarrow hsb$  “to scheme” and derivatives in Isa 55:7; 59:7; Jer 4:14; Ezek 11:2; Mic 2:1; Psa 36:5; Prov 6:18); the utterance of words (Isa 58:9; Psa 10:7; 36:4; Job 22:15; 34:36; Prov 17:4; 19:28); deeds of every sort, e.g., cultic (Isa 1:13; Zech 10:2), political (Isa 31:2), legal (Isa 10:1; 29:20), military (Psa 56:8), etc. With respect to this sphere, cf. the characteristic association of  $\bar{\gamma}awen$  with  $\rightarrow p\bar{q}$  “to do” (23x  $p\bar{o}^{cl}\bar{e}$  [ptcp.]  $\bar{\gamma}awen$  “evildoer”: Isa 31:2; Hos 6:8; Psa 5:6; 6:9; 14:4; 28:3; 36:13; 53:5; 59:3; 64:3; 92:8, 10; 94:4, 16; 101:8; 125:5; 141:4, 9; Job 31:3; 34:8, 22; Prov 10:29; 21:15; 1x pf.: Prov 30:20). The general applicability of the term to all types of unhealthy activity is frequently attested; cf. Isa 59:4–7; Psa

5:6; 7:15; 55:4, 11; 92:8, 10; Job 5:6; Prov 12:21; esp. Prov 6:12–14; Job 31:3ff.

(b) *ʾāwen* describes not just unhealthy activities, however, but also their consequences; cf. Num 23:21; Jer 4:15; Amos 5:5; Hab 1:3; 3:7; Psa 90:10; Job 21:19; Prov 22:8; etc. These examples and texts in which the scope of the word encompasses both deed and consequence (Psa 55:4; 56:8; Job 15:35; 18:7, 12; Isa 59:4, 6b, 7; cf. also Job 4:8; Prov 22:8) indicate that the word, in accord with its dynamistic background, essentially always envisions the totality of a catastrophic process.

(c) The observations put forward under (a) and (b) indicate that *ʾāwen* is not a material concept that refers descriptively to a specific activity or to the realm of a historical process.

As a consequence, an original meaning “magic” or “sorcery” for *ʾāwen* (Mowinckel, op. cit.) is neither to be expected from its etymology nor recognized in the usage of the term in the OT. This circumstance does not preclude the possibility that the concept could refer to magical activities or their unhealthy consequences (cf. the relationship between Num 23:21 and 23; cf. 1 Sam 15:23; Zech 10:2; Psa 59:3, 8?; 64:3, 6f.?). This reference is present to the extent that magic was the most applicable—but not the only—means for the manipulation of the realm of phenomena. The aforesaid is true also for the *ʾāwen*-doer in Psa (see 3a). The nature of their deeds can be inferred only from the context in which the term is used, not from the term itself (cf. G. W. Anderson, “Enemies and Evildoers in the Book of Psalms,” *BJRL* 48 [1965]: 18–30). Moreover, they are not only doers of iniquity but workers of calamity, as the occasional dimension of the completed effect in *pʿl* “to do” indicates. Finally, *ʾāwen* is neither “a means to the end” (Mowinckel, op. cit. 8, 12, 15, 29, etc.) nor the end of a deed. The description of deeds, consequences, and circumstances as *ʾāwen* indicates another function of the word.

(d) *ʾāwen* characterizes an event negatively as a dangerous power for disaster. The word is always used as a condemnation of another’s act, never as a description of one’s own act. The adulteress in Prov 30:20 does not dispute the adultery, but the accusation that her adultery is a disaster-bringing act. An investigation of the semantic field confirms this analysis: Of roughly 45 close synonyms, the most prominent by far are *raʿ* “bad, evil” (17x), *rāšāʿ* “guilty” (17x), and *ʿāmāl* “hardship” (11x). Antonyms such as *mišpāṭ* “justice,” *tôm* “purity,” *šedeq* “righteousness,” and *ʿmûnâ* “faithfulness” confirm the analysis.

(e) The basic meaning “power of disaster” occasionally encounters difficulty in translation because of its foreignness to modern ontology. One no longer calls a deed a “disaster” but a “misdeed,” “wrong,” “crime” (cf. *HAL* 21f.). Because such a phenomenon connotes invalidity, translation as “deception” or “nothing” (Isa 41:29) may occasionally be justified. Although the term can refer to an “idol cult,” it may hardly be so translated (1 Sam

15:23; Zech 10:2; Hos 10:8; cf., however, Isa 66:3 → *ʔēl* 4). Cf. V. Maag, *Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos* (1951), 120.

4. The fact that in the OT *ʔāwen* negatively designates a disastrous phenomenon and that it is never used for an act of God (in contrast to *rāʕ* “calamity,” e.g., Isa 31:2, “indeed he too is wise and brings calamity”; cf. Jer 4:6; 6:19; 11:11, 17, 23; Mic 2:3, etc.) signifies that every type of *ʔāwen*- act or *ʔāwen*- sphere is implicitly or explicitly ungodly and thereby always appears theologically disqualified. Although the life setting in which an act is disqualified (wisdom, seer or prophetic speech, prayer in the temple, etc.) and correspondingly the form of the disqualification (a wisdom saying, a prophetic judgment speech) reflect the situation, the criterion for the disqualification is the notion that that which is called *ʔāwen* is a perversion of the salvation-effecting spheres of power and thereby of the salvation-effecting divine presence.

Thus *ʔāwen* occurs: in oracular usage as an alternative to obedience to Yahweh (1 Sam 15:23; Zech 10:2); in the perversion of the meaning of the sanctuaries (Amos 5:5; Hos 10:8; Isa 1:13); in every act that stands in contrast to the salvific effects of law, justice, and righteousness (Hos 6:8; 12:12; Mic 2:1; Psa 14:4; Prov 12:21; 21:15). The *ʔāwen*-doer is finally revealed as a denier of God (Isa 32:6; Jer 4:14–18; Psa 10:7; 14:4; 53:5; 92:8, 10; Job 22:15; 34:8, 22, 36; Prov 19:28). According to Isa, the *pōʕlê ʔāwen* are people “who do not look to the holy one of Israel and do not consult Yahweh” (31:1f.) Therefore Yahweh is against them (Psa 5:6; 36:4f., 13; Prov 10:29) and commands them to quit *ʔāwen* (Job 36:10, 21). According to Job 5:6f., humanity causes *ʔāwen*: “For disaster does not arise from the dust, trouble does not sprout from the earth; rather, a human begets trouble.” Cf. Job 11:11, 14 (quite to the contrary, cf. Psa 90:7–10).

The reason that the acts of evildoers are called *ʔāwen* in Psa seems to consist in the fact that either the calamity that they wish to bring upon the assailed is unjustified, or that they wish to afflict the assailed with calamity on account of the trouble which has befallen them, even though they have trusted in Yahweh’s (oracle of) protection. In both cases they act against Yahweh. Thus their characterization as *pōʕlê ʔāwen* implies a specifically theological judgment.

5. The LXX renders *ʔāwen* irregularly with *anomia*, *kopos*, *mataios*, *ponēria*, *adikia*, etc. The implications of the Hebr. have been lost here. In contrast, they live on in Qumran; cf. the texts in GCDS 9.

R. Knierim

אור *ʔōr* light

S 216; BDB 21b; HALOT 1:24b; TDOT 1:147–67; TWOT 52a; NIDOTTE 240

1. Terms related to  $\text{ʕōr}$  “light” are attested almost exclusively in Akk. and Can. (Akk. *ūru/urru* “light,” mostly “day”; Ug. *ar*, WUS no. 368; cf. nos. 370, 372; UT no. 114; Phoen.  $\text{ʕ}$ - in PNs; cf. Harris 73; also Huffmon 169f. and Gröndahl 103), while elsewhere other roots are used for “light” (Akk. *nūru* and Arab. *nūr*; Aram. *nhr*, as in Bibl. Aram. *n<sup>h</sup>ôr* Dan 2:22 Q; cf. KBL 1098b; on Jew. Aram.  $\text{ʕûrtā}$ , see WTM 1:46a; also DISO 23).

The Hebr. root yields the verb  $\text{ʕōr}$ , which occurs in the qal “to be light,” perhaps also in the ni. (uncertain), esp., however, in the hi. (causative “to cause to be light, illuminate” and inner-causative “to light”), as well as the substs.  $\text{ʕōr}$  (masc., although fem. in Jer 13:16 txt? and Job 36:32 txt?) and  $\text{ʕôrâ}$  “light,”  $\text{ʕûr}$  “light,” and *māʕōr* “light = body of light, lamp.”

Various lexicons also explain the nom. *m<sup>o</sup>ʕôrâ* in Isa 11:8 as a derivative of this root (e.g., GB 393a, BDB 22b, Zorell 404b), yet KBL 489b (with reference to Perles, *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* 9 [1925]: 126f.; so also Fohrer, *Jesaja*, ZBK, 1:151; cf. Kaiser, *Isa 1–12*, OTL [19832], 253n.12) renders it “the young one,” following Akk. *mūru* “young animal.”  $\text{ʕûr}$  II (in the expression *ʕûrîm w<sup>t</sup>tummîm*) and III (*ʕûr kâsdîm*) are distinct from this root. But it can hardly be justified to explain  $\text{ʕōr}$  in Isa 18:4 and Job 37:11 in the sense of “rain” or “dew” after Arab. *ʕary* and to reckon in this case with a homonymous  $\text{ʕōr}$  (contra I. Eitan, *HUCA* 12/13 [1938]: 65f.).

2. Exact statistics for the noun  $\text{ʕōr}$  are complicated by the fact that the form may be understood in some cases also as a qal inf. (cf. HAL 24a, no. 3; Zorell 23b). According to Lis., the verb occurs 41x, 5x in the qal (Mandl. adds Gen 44:3 and 1 Sam 29:10 as well, although he takes 2 Sam 2:32 as a ni.), 2x in the ni. (Psa 76:5 and Job 33:10, both textually uncertain), and 34x in the hi. (15x in Psa). Its distribution is less characteristic than that of the noun  $\text{ʕōr}$ , which is attested 124x (pl. only in Psa 136:7) and seems to be associated primarily with wisdom.

$\text{ʕōr}$  is attested 32x in Job, 4x in Prov, and 3x in Eccl. Of 19 occurrences in Psa (in addition to Lam 3:2), several appear in wisdom psalms or in texts influenced by wisdom (36:10; 37:6; 49:20; 89:16; 97:11; 104:2; 112:4; 119:105; 139:11).

Moreover, it is noteworthy that of 47 prophetic occurrences, 27 are in Isa, which is frequently shaped by wisdom (13x in Proto-Isa, primarily later texts; 6x in Deutero-Isa, to which, in the light of 1QIsaab, 53:11 must be added; and 8x in Trito-Isa, where 60:1, 3, 19f. are esp. noteworthy); in Jer 5x and in Ezek only 2x (32:7f.). In the Minor

Prophets, 13 occurrences are distributed in books close in time to Isa (e.g., Amos 5:18, 20; 8:8 [txt?], 9 [cf. H. W. Wolff, *Amos the Prophet* (1973), 84]; Mic 2:1; 7:8f.), in the so-called disciples of Isa (Hab 3:4, 11; Zeph 3:5), and in the late texts Zech 14:6 (txt?), 7, although the word occurs only 1x in Hos (Hos 6:5 txt?).

In narrative literature,  $\text{ʔōr}$  occurs almost exclusively in the formulaic temporal designation *ʕad-ʔōr habbōqer* “until daybreak” (Judg 16:2; 1 Sam 14:36; 25:[22], 34, 36; 2 Sam 17:22; 2 Kgs 7:9; abbreviated Judg 19:26; cf. Gen 44:3; 1 Sam 29:10; Neh 8:3); otherwise also in Exod 10:23; 2 Sam 23:4; and 6x in Gen 1:3–5, 18 P (on the impact of wisdom on Gen 1, see S. Herrmann, *TLZ* 86 [1961]: 413–24).

The unique pl. form  $\text{ʔōrîm}$  in Psa 136:7 “(great) lights” probably best corresponds to the  $m^{\text{e}}\text{ʔōrōt}$  “lights, luminaries” of Gen 1.  $mā\text{ʔōr}$  occurs 19x (9x in Exod–Num in a cultic context, 5x in Gen 1 of the stars);  $\text{ʔûr}$  is attested 6x, 5x in the later portions of Isa. The latest form may be the fem.  $\text{ʔôrâ}$  (Psa 139:12; Esth 8:16).

The foregoing statistics do not include  $\text{ʔōr}$  in 1 Sam 25:22 (cf. *BHS*), although Isa 18:4 (in Mandl. under  $\text{ʔōr}$  II) and Amos 8:8 (in Lis. under  $y^{\text{e}}\text{ʔōr}$ ) are included.

3. The basic meaning of the primary noun  $\text{ʔōr}$  is “light”; its proximity to “fire” (most pronounced in  $\text{ʔûr}$ , Isa 31:9; 44:16; 47:14; 50:11; Ezek 5:2; perhaps also Job 38:24; cf. G. R. Driver, *SVT* 3 [1955]: 91f.; *CPT* 260f.) is occasionally apparent (cf. Isa 10:17; Psa 78:14);  $nēr$  “lamp” also appears frequently as a par. term (Psa 119:105; Job 18:6; 29:3; Prov 6:23; 13:9; cf. Jer 25:10). “Light” in this context refers, first of all, to daylight (cf. the formulaic usage in the narrative literature [see 2], as well as in Mic 2:1; Prov 4:18). Nevertheless,  $\text{ʔōr}$  is not identical with sunlight, for it can also be associated with the light of the moon and stars (Isa 13:10; 30:26; Ezek 32:7), as well as with *šahar* “first daylight” (Isa 58:8; Job 3:9; 41:10; Dalman, *AuS* 1:601; contra L. Köhler, *ZAW* 44 [1926]: 56–59; and KBL 962: “dawn”); association with the verbs  $zrh$  and  $yš^{\text{v}}$  in the meaning “to rise” is not in itself “an indication that the rising of the sun is implied” (S. Aalen, *Die Begriffe “Licht” und “Finsternis” im AT, im Spätjudentum und im Rabbinismus* [1951], 39, emphasizes the Israelites’ “presolar” worldview and the alternation of day and night as a basic element of the same, op. cit. 10ff.; id., *RGG* 4:357–59; id., *BHH* 2:1082; contrast W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift* [1964], 95–100).

The alternation of day and night itself contributed greatly to a metaphorical and symbolical usage of the word. On the one hand, the dawning morning light (often only *bōqer* “morning”) became a symbol of divine deliverance in the sense of military victory (cf. Exod 14:24; 2 Kgs 19:35 = Isa 37:26; Isa 17:14; Psa 46:6), of the pronouncement of judgment in the juristic sense (Zeph 3:5; Psa 37:6; also Hos 6:5; cf. Isa 59:9), and of medical healing and assistance (Psa 56:14; cf. Isa 58:8; in Job 33:28, 30

*šahat* “grave” is an antonym; “to see light” = “to live” in Psa 49:20; Job 3:16, cf. v 20; so J. Hempel, “Die Lichtsymbolik im AT,” *Studium Generale* 13 [1960]: 352–68; also Aalen, op. cit.; J. Ziegler, “Die Hilfe Gottes ‘am Morgen,’” FS Nötscher 281–88).

*ʾôr* frequently attracts par. expressions in which some word for “darkness” provides the contrary notion, esp. in wisdom texts.

The most important opposite in this respect is *ḥōšek* “darkness” (Gen 1:3–5:18; Isa 5:20, 30; 9:1; 58:10; 59:9; Amos 5:18, 20; Mic 7:8; Psa 112:4; 139:11; Job 12:22, 25; 18:18; 29:3; 38:19; Eccl 2:13; Lam 3:2; the word occurs a total of 80x, 23x in Job and 14x in Isa). *ʾôr* is associated with the verb *ḥšk* qal “to be dark” (11x), hi. “to darken” (6x) in Job 18:6; Eccl. 12:2; cf. Isa 13:10; Amos 5:8; 8:9; Job 3:9. *ḥʾšēkâ* “darkness” (6x) occurs in Psa 139:12 alongside *ʾôrâ, maḥšāk* “dark place” (7x) in Isa 42:16 alongside *ʾôr* (cf. also Bibl. Aram. *ḥʾšōk* in Dan 2:22 alongside *nʿhôr*).

Other antonyms are *ʾōpel* “darkness” (9x, 6x in Job) in Job 30:26, *ʾāpēl* “dark” (1x) in Amos 5:20; *ʾpēlâ* “darkness” (10x) in Isa 58:10; 59:9; *ʿrāpel* “cloudiness” (15x) in Jer 13:16; *šalmāwet* “darkness” (18x, 10x in Job) in Isa 9:1; Jer 13:16; Job 12:22 (on the etymology see D. W. Thomas, *JSS* 7 [1962]: 191–200; on wisdom usage, J. L. Crenshaw, *ZAW* 79 [1967]: 50).

Other terms in the semantic field are *ʿlātâ* “darkness” (Gen 15:17; Exod 12:6f., 12), *ʿpâ* “darkness” (Amos 4:13; Job 10:22), *mûʿāp* “darkness” (Isa 8:22 [txt em], 23), *qadrūt* “darkening” (Isa 50:3), *qdr* qal “to darken” (Jer 4:28, etc.; hitp. 1 Kgs 18:45; hi. Ezek 32:7f.), *šll* qal “to become dark” (Neh 13:19; on *šēl* “shadow” → *ʿūz*), as well as *nešep* “dawn/dusk” (12x, e.g., “darkness” in Isa 59:10). On the whole word group, see Aalen, op. cit.; H. Conzelmann, “σκότος,” *TDNT* 7:423–45.

Synonyms of and pars. for *ʾôr* are more ambiguous than its antonyms. In addition to *nēr* “lamp” (see above), *nōgah* “brilliance” (19x, in addition to Aram. *negah* in Dan 6:20) in Isa 60:3; Amos 5:20; Hab 3:4, 11; Prov 4:18, and *nʿgōhâ* in Isa 59:9 may be mentioned; *ngh* qal “to light” (3x) is associated with *ʾôr* in Isa 9:1; Job 22:28, hi. “to light up” (3x) in Isa 13:10.

Cf. further → *šemeš* “sun” in Eccl 11:7, → *kʾbōdyhwh* in Isa 60:1 (cf. v 2b with *zrh* “to rise” of Yahweh) and other pars. such as joy, righteousness, salvation, which involve the metaphorical and theological usage of *ʾôr* (e.g., Isa 42:6; Jer 25:10; Mic 7:9; Psa 27:1; 36:10; 97:11).

Additional semantically related terms are the verbs *ʾhl* hi. “to shine” (Job 25:5), *hll* hi. “(to cause) to shine” (Isa 13:10; Job 29:3; 31:26; 41:10), *zhr* hi. “to shine” (Dan 12:3), *zrh* “to rise, radiate” (18x, → *šemeš*), *zrq* qal “to be light” (Hos 7:9), *šhl* hi. “to cause to shine” (Psa 104:15), the substs. *zōhar* “brightness” (Ezek 8:2; Dan 12:3), *yipʿâ*

“brilliance” (Ezek 28:7, 17), *nēṣaḥ* “brightness” (Lam 3:18; 1 Chron 29:11), and the adjs. *bāhîr* “brilliant(?)” (Job 37:21; cf. Wagner no. 35), *ṣaḥ* and *ṣāḥîaḥ* “brilliant” (Isa 32:4; Song Sol 5:10 and Ezek 24:7f.; 26:4, 14, resp.; cf. also J. A. Soggin, *ZAW* 77 [1965]: 83–86); → *yp*<sup>c</sup> hi.

*nhr* qal “to shine” (Isa 60:5; Jer 31:12; Psa 34:6) and *n<sup>o</sup>hārâ* “(day)light” (Job 3:4) are Aramaisms (Wagner nos. 184f.). The Bibl. Aram. word for “brilliance” is *zîw* (Dan 2:31; 4:33).

4. The usual distinction between literal and metaphorical usage of the word *ṣôr* is hardly sufficient to reveal its theological profile, which encompasses both of these. A classification of usages in (a) wisdom cosmological thought and (b) cultic salvation thought may be more appropriate; in addition, usages in (c) eschatological proclamation and (d) statements that relate specifically to God may be investigated separately.

(a) In wisdom concepts of order, the light of God is the first “good” work of creation (Gen 1:3f.). Gen 1 makes no such statement of darkness; it remains theologically ambivalent, for, despite its positive role as night in God’s creation, resulting from God’s division and naming (Gen 1:4f.; cf. Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:113–15) or separation between light and darkness (Job 26:10; cf. 38:19), darkness is the time of crime (Job 24:13ff.), it symbolizes distress and judgment, and it will be eliminated in the eschaton (see c). Light stands in tension, then, with darkness (cf. Aalen, op. cit. 16f.), which can be maintained only by the “pancausality” and might of God (cf. Isa 45:7, “I form light and create darkness”; see d).

As light and darkness are related to one another, so (1) for the individual, are life and death (cf. Job 3:4, 9, 16, 20f. and, in the Elihu speech, 33:28, 30; also Eccl 12:2ff.); (2) for society, are the “righteous” and the “evildoer” (Job 12:25; 18:5f., 18; 22:28; 38:15; Prov 4:18; 13:9; also Psa 97:11; 112:4), concerning which “righteousness as world order” is the issue (cf. H. H. Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung* [1968]) and the theodicy question arises (cf. Job 24); (3) for cognition (but not without a religio-ethical character), are wisdom and folly (Eccl 2:13; → *ṣ<sup>o</sup>wîl*). When the established order is disturbed, Isaiah raises his cry of woe (Isa 5:20).

(b) This pair of opposites also refers to the salvation and judgment of God. In cultic salvation thought, the light of God(’s countenance) expresses his gracious attention, as apparent in the priestly blessing in Num 6:25 (*ṣôr* hi.) with older material (in a later framework; cf. Noth, *Num*, OTL, 58; C. Westermann, *Blessing in the Bible and the Life of the Church* [1978], 42–45), often later in Psa (cf. Psa 36:10; otherwise in expressions of confidence, 4:7; 27:1; in the thanksgiving hymn in 56:14 and in the lament 43:3, as well as in the wisdom exhortation in 37:6; cf. 89:16; A. M. Gierlich, *Der Lichtgedanke in den Psalmen* [1940]), and also as echoed in the

prophetic literature (Isa 2:5).

Important for salvation history are Psa 78:14, where  $\gamma\hat{o}r$  is associated with the desert wandering (cf. Exod 13:21f.; Psa 105:39), and Psa 44:4, where it is associated with the conquest.  $\gamma\hat{o}r$  is also associated with the king who brings salvation (2 Sam 23:4; Prov 16:15).

(c) On the one hand, the prophetic proclamation of imminent judgment transforms the light of salvation into the darkness of approaching catastrophe (Amos 5:18, 20; Isa 13:10; on the day of Yahweh see F. C. Fensham, *ZAW* 75 [1963]: 170f.; elsewhere Amos 8:9; Isa 5:30; Jer 4:23; 25:10; Ezek 32:7f.; Jer 13:16 in the context of prophetic warnings); Lam 3:2 exemplifies a lament in the aftermath of a catastrophe.

On the other hand, the prophetic salvation-eschatology transforms the darkness of distress into the light of dawning salvation (Isa 8:23–9:1; 10:17; 42:16; 58:8, 10; Mic 7:8f.). Salvation will be valid not only for Israel but also for the nations (Isa 51:4); it will be appropriated to them through a special mediator of salvation (Isa 42:6; 49:6).

Later eschatology uniquely presents the coming salvation experience in relationship to an earlier order (cf. Jer 31:35, where the certainty of salvation is emphasized by the certainty of the order of creation, embodying a new cooperation of cosmological thought and salvation thought, also a characteristic of Deutero-Isa; see von Rad, "Theological Problem of the OT Doctrine of Creation," *PHOE* 131–43), in supersession of the extant order (cf. Isa 30:26; as well as 10:17), or in suspension of the created order (Isa 60:19f.; Zech 14:6f.; cf. also Hab 3:11; more texts in Aalen, op. cit. 20ff.; cf. H.-J. Kraus, *ZAW* 78 [1966]: 317–32). In Zech 14:6f., too, the interest of the post-exilic community has shifted, though not so much to a direct suspension of the created order as to the person of God and his majestic final theophany (cf. M. Sæbø, *Sacharja, 9–14* [1969], 298–300).

(d) Because light—as well as the "luminosities" ( $m^e\gamma\hat{o}r\hat{o}t$  Gen 1:14ff.; Psa 136:7–9)—is God's creation, it is completely subordinate to him. Light is an aspect not of his being but of his manner of appearance, e.g., in theophany (cf. Isa 60:1ff.; Hab 3:4, 11; also Psa 44:4; cf. Aalen, op. cit. 73ff.; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie* [1965], 24ff., etc.; also F. Schnutenhaus, *ZAW* 76 [1964]: 1–22). God surrounds himself with light not only in his coming but also in his heavenly abode (Psa 104:2; one should not conceive of God in solar categories either here or in Ezek 1 or 43; so Aalen, op. cit. 82ff., contra J. Morgenstern, et al.). Just as light "clothes" ( $\rightarrow Ib\check{s}$ ) him, so also is it an attribute of his revealed word and law (Psa 119:105; Prov 6:23). He is the exalted ruler over his creation (Psa 139:11f.; Job 12:22; 28:11); consequently, he alone knows his origins (Job 38:19f.). "All shining stars" praise him (Psa 148:2).

Theophoric PNs formed with words for “light,” such as *ʕûrîʕêl*, *ʕûrîyâ(hû)*, *ʕâbînêr*, *ʕabnêr*, *nêrîyâ(hû)*, and probably also the majority of extrabibl. names of this type (Akk.: Stamm, *AN* index s.v. *nûru*, *namâru*, etc.; Huffmon 169f., 237, 243; Palm.: A. Caquot, *Syria* 39 [1962]: 243 with bibliog.), should be understood metaphorically (light = fortune, salvation; *IP* 167–69), not as witnesses to astral religion.

Thus *ʕôr* “light” is a very important theological concept that signifies first a work of creation and a mode of God’s appearance. From this dual conceptual center, it develops in several directions, particularly with respect to God’s salvation—first for Israel and then also for the nations.

5. The LXX renders *ʕôr* in various ways, most of which occur only once; *phōs* clearly dominates (cf. Gierlich, op. cit. 3, etc.). On early Jewish and rabbinic material, cf. Aalen, op. cit. 96ff., 237ff. In the Qumran documents the usage of *ʕôr* (according to Kuhn, *Konk.* 4f., the subst. occurs 42x, the verb 17x; cf. *GCDS* 9, 10) agrees largely with the OT (cf. F. Nötscher, *Zur theol. Terminologie der Qumran-Texte* [1956], 76ff.; H. W. Huppenbauer, *Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten* [1959], 26ff., 71, 80ff.); although the contrast between “light” and “darkness” (socially as well) is more accentuated.

In distinction from the OT and the Qumran corpus, in the NT light refers to the being of God, esp. in Johannine theology (cf. 1 John 1:5; also John 1:1–18; R. Bultmann, *John* [1971], 40ff.; P. Humbert, “Le thème vétérotestamentaire de la lumière,” *RTP* 99 [1966]: 1–6).

M. Sæbø

## תִּיב ʕôt sign

S 226; BDB 16b; *HALOT* 1:26a; *TDOT* 1:167–88; *TWOT* 41b; *NIDOTTE* 253

1. *ʕôt* occurs in NWSem. (in OT times only in Hebr. and Bibl. Aram. *ʕāt*) and in Arab.; apparently Akk. *ittu*, whose range of meaning resembles that of the NWSem.-Arab. word, is also related to *ʕôt* (*AHW* 406; *CAD* I:304–10). The origin is unknown; one may postulate a root *ʕwy*.

The semantic range of the word in these languages is very broad and encompasses the profane and the religious spheres (on the Arab. see Lane 1:135; on the Syr. see Payne-Smith 412f.). In a Neo-Pun. inscription, *ʕ* apparently means “memorial” (*KAI* no. 141.4).

2.  $\text{ʔ}ôt$  occurs in Hebr. 79x, 44x sg. and 35x pl. (Pentateuch 39x, in all narrative strands; with the exception of Job 21:29, the term does not appear in wisdom literature; occurrences are equally distributed in narrative, prophecy, and psalmody; cf. the chronological and topical statistics in C. A. Keller, *Das Wort OTH als "Offenbarungszeichen Gottes"* [1946], 7f.), in addition to 3x in Aram. (Dan 3:32f.; 6:28).

$\text{ʔ}ôt$  should also be read in Num 15:39 and 1 Sam 10:1 (LXX); Joel 2:23 should perhaps be emended (W. Rudolph, FS Baumgartner 249).

$\text{ʔ}ôt$  occurs outside the Bible shortly before the exile in Lachish Letter IV (*KAI* no. 194.10ff.). The text reads (*ANET* 322b): "And let (my lord) know that we are watching for the signals (*mśʔt*, a technical term; cf. Judg 20:38, 40; Jer 6:1) of Lachish, according to all the indications (*ʔtt*) which my lord hath given; for we cannot see Azekah (or, no sign [*ʔt*] from Azekah is visible)." The translation of the last line is admittedly disputed (for bibliog. see *DISO* 29). *ʔtt* here apparently means "military signals." Similarly, the Arab. equivalent, *ʔāyat*, can have this meaning, otherwise unattested in Hebr. (Lane 1:135).

3. The OT usage of the term  $\text{ʔ}ôt$  may not be limited a priori to specific areas of life (contra Keller, op. cit., 66ff.; cf. B. O. Long, *Problem of Etiological Narrative in the OT* [1968], 65–86). The basic meaning is "sign" in the senses of "identification" and "indication."

In a very primitive usage of the word, the "sign of Cain" in Gen 4:15 describes a tribal sign tattooed on the forehead that identifies one belonging to the Kenites and to their tribal obligations (sevenfold blood retaliation!). At the hands of the Yahwist, the sign undergoes a theological interpretation in the total context of the primeval history.

The term *tôtāpōt* "mark" (3x par. to  $\text{ʔ}ôt$ ) also apparently had a similar original meaning. The Dtr expression "an  $\text{ʔ}ôt$  on the hand and *tôtāpōt* between the eyes" (Exod 13:16; Deut 6:8; 11:18; in Exod 13:9 with *zikkārôn* "memorial" instead of *tôtāpōt*, → *zkr*) is surely meant as a spiritualization, but one may trace it back to the concept of a tattoo (cf. further Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 101, "jewelled ornaments. . . prophylactic amulets").

In the broader development of the term,  $\text{ʔ}ôt$  also signifies "field signal" in profane contexts (Num 2:2, taken up by the War Scroll from Qumran; apparently also in Psa 74:4; cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:95, 98).

*degel* "field signal, banner > tribal division" (Num 1:52; 2:2–34; 10:14–25; 13x) is associated with the  $\text{ʔ}ôt$  of Num 2:2; Song Sol 2:4 still seems to offer the basic meaning "sign, flag" or something similar (cf. Rudolph, *KAT* 17/2, 130f.; Gerleman, *BK* 18, 117f.); the Elephantine papyri (*DISO* 55; *BMAP* 41f.) and the War Scroll from Qumran (Yadin 38–64) attest only the meaning "military division."

Semantically related terms in military contexts include: *nēs* “standard, signal” (21x, in prophetic literature except for Exod 17:15; Num 21:8f.; 26:10; Psa 60:6; cf. *BRL* 160f.), which acquires the general meaning “warning signal” in Num 26:10 in reference to Korah’s deceased band, and *tōren* “mast, signal pole” (Isa 30:17; 33:23; Ezek 27:5, in each case par. to *nēs*).

Job 21:29 and Ezek 14:8 (par. to *māšāl* “proverb”) suggest the meaning “memorable occurrence” in the broadest sense; Josh 2:12, “security” (a late gloss according to Noth, *HAT* 7, 24f.); and Jer 10:2 and Isa 44:25, “astrological portent.”

4. (a) The Yahwist already uses *ʔōt* as a religious term too; probably following the tradition, he applies it to the Egypt narrative (Exod 8:19; 10:1f.). The sign consists of a mighty deed through which Yahweh legitimizes the mission of Moses. Occurrences in Exod 3:12 and 4:17, 30 belong to E. The last two texts (as well as the occurrences of *ʔōt* in Exod 4:8f., 28; Num 14:11, which belong to the final redaction) conform to Yahwistic usage; Exod 3:12 has a somewhat different sense: Moses himself is assured of his divine commission (the actual content of the *ʔōt* has been lost; cf. Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 42f.). The text has close affinity with Judg 6:17ff., where the commission of the charismatic Gideon is authenticated to him. *ʔōt* confirms the commission of the designated charismatic.

Similarly, *ʔōt* can mean (even) the (noncultic) oracular sign (1 Sam 14:10; here the content of the *ʔōt* is the enemies’ behavior). Cultic oracles—surely one of the duties of the cult prophet—may be echoed in Psa 74:9; 86:17.

*nḥš* (also Aram. and Arab.; W. von Soden, *WZKM* 53 [1956]: 157; O. Eissfeldt, *JBL* 82 [1963]: 195–200), pi. “to seek an omen, give an oracle; take as a sign” (Gen 44:5, 15; 1 Kgs 20:33; “to learn through a sign” Gen 30:27; contra J. Sperber, *OLZ* 16 [1913]: 389; H. Torczyner, *OLZ* 20 [1917]: 10ff.; subst. *naḥaš* “omen,” Num 23:23; 24:1) and more generally “to foretell” (prohibited in Israel: Lev 19:26; Deut 18:10; 2 Kgs 17:17; 21:6; 2 Chron 33:6), occurs as specialized vocabulary for dealing with (good or evil) omens.\*

A somewhat altered usage appears in an early prophetic context. The *ʔōt* legitimizes the prophetic word; it arrives, however, only in the future and is predicted by the prophet (formulated generally in Deut 13:2f., with the characteristic verb → *bōʔ* “to arrive,” which also appears in 1 Sam 2:34; 10:[1], 7, 9; cf. further 2 Kgs 19:29; 20:8f. = Isa 37:20; 38:7, 22; Jer 44:29; somewhat more subtly in Isa 7:11, 14). The content of the *ʔōt* in these cases bears no direct relationship to the prophetic message. To some extent the sign is the prophet’s technical device for gaining recognition and

belief from his hearers (→ *yd<sup>c</sup>* together with *ʔôt*, Exod 10:2; Deut 4:35; 11:2f., etc.; cf. Keller, op. cit. 58f.; → *ʔmn* hi. Exod 4:30; Num 14:11; cf. Isa 7:9ff.).

*ʔôt* can also signify a “marker” or “memorial” pointing to a past saving act of God (Josh 4:6; similarly a few texts in P; see below) or which envisions a future, eschatological phase of divine history (in texts approaching apocalyptic thought forms, Isa 19:20; 55:13; 66:19).

(b) The term *ʔôt* acquires an essentially theological meaning in classical prophecy, in Dtr theology, and in the P document.

In classical prophecy *ʔôt* or *môpēt* can refer to “symbolic acts” (both terms in Isa 8:18 and 20:3; *ʔôt* alone in Ezek 4:3; *môpēt* in Ezek 12:6, 11; 24:24, 27; Zech 3:8). In fact, the other symbolic acts reported in the OT also belong here (cf. G. Fohrer, *ZAW* 64 [1952]: 101–20; id., *Die prophetischen Zeichenhandlungen* [1953]). In contrast to the prophetic signs of confirmation, the content of the *ʔôt* here relates materially to the message of the prophet. It enacts a future event, which is actualized and realized through the symbolic act itself. The “sign” functions, then, in analogy to the prophetic word (cf. Fohrer, *Zeichenhandlungen* 85ff.; von Rad, *Theol.* 2:91–94).

The Deuteronomist summarizes the entire Egyptian experience in a formula incl. the expression *ʔôtôtûmôp<sup>c</sup>tîm* (together with “leading out with a strong hand and an outstretched arm,” Deut 4:34; 6:22; 7:19; 11:2f.; 26:8; 29:2; 34:11; on the whole formula see B. S. Childs, “Deuteronomical Formulae of the Exodus Traditions,” *FS Baumgartner* 30–39). Not only are the “plagues” described as *ʔôt* but so is the whole divine history in Egypt, i.e., the basic datum of Dtr theology; *ʔôt* is, then, the form of Yahweh’s revelation that is to be understood in the present. Therefore the question also arises of Israel’s capability of recognizing and understanding the *ʔôtôt* (Deut 29:2ff.). The other texts that speak of *ʔôtôt* and *môp<sup>c</sup>tîm* in Egypt (Jer 32:20f.; Psa 78:43; 105:27; 135:9; Neh 9:10; also Exod 7:3 P; only *ʔôtôt* in Num 14:22; Josh 24:17; and, with clear reference to Egypt, Psa 65:9) are dependent upon the Deuteronomist.

The term *ʔôt* is used Deuteronomically in other contexts (on Deut 13:2f., see 4a). According to Exod 13:9, 16, the Passover haggadah is *ʔôt* and *zikkārôn* or *ʔôtāpôt* (see 3) for Israel; according to Deut 6:8, it is the confession of faith (*š<sup>c</sup>ma<sup>9</sup>*); according to 11:18, it is the entire Dtn proclamation. The *ʔôt* here too, then, actualizes past salvation history. According to Deut 28:46, promised blessing and threatened curse are “signs” for Israel; the future may also be deduced through the *ʔôt* of the present.

The P document applies *ʔôt* in great breadth: for the “signs and

wonders” in Egypt (Exod 7:3), for some memorials of Israel’s cultic history (Num 15:39 txt em “mark”; 17:3 “warning sign”; 17:25 “reminder”); the blood of the Passover in Exod 12:13 is a “protective sign”; the Sabbath is a sign of the relationship between Yahweh and Israel (Exod 31:13, 17; cf. indeed Ezek 20:12). The terminology of covenant making also appropriates the term: the Abrahamic and Noachic covenants have their signs (Gen 9:12f., 17, rainbow; 17:11, circumcision). Finally, the stars too are *ʾōtōt* (Gen 1:14, alongside *mô<sup>c</sup>dîm* “seasons”; → *y<sup>c</sup>d*).

Here *ʾôt* signifies the appearance of a comprehensive divine order encompassing nature and time, taking shape in Israel’s history, and finally reaching completion in the cult.

The term *môpēt* (36x) may not be explained etymologically (Keller, op. cit. 60f., 115; a suspected occurrence in a Phoen. inscription from Cyprus is ambiguous; cf. *KAI* no. 30.1). It first occurs in Isa 8:18 and 20:3, already par. to *ʾôt* as in Dtr usage and a few dependent texts (Exod 7:3 P; Deut 4:34; 6:22; 7:19; 13:2f.; 26:8; 28:46; 29:2; 34:11; Jer 32:20f.; Psa 78:43; 105:27; 135:9; Neh 9:10; a total of 18x, in addition to the Aram.: Dan 3:32f.; 6:28 *ʾātîn w<sup>c</sup>timhîn* “signs and wonders”). The usage of *môpēt* corresponds essentially to that of *ʾôt*, later perhaps more strongly emphasizing the miraculous (par. to *nīplāʾôt* Psa 105:5 = 1 Chron 16:12, → *pl<sup>ʾ</sup>*): mighty deeds in Egypt (Exod 4:21 redactional; 7:3, 9 and 11:9f. P; Deut 4:34; 6:22; 7:19; 26:8; 29:2; 34:11; Jer 32:20f.; Psa 78:43; 105:27; 135:9; Neh 9:10), divine terrors or wonders in general (Deut 28:46; Joel 3:3; Psa 71:7 = 1 Chron 16:12), prophetic signs of confirmation (Deut 13:2f.; 1 Kgs 13:3[bis], 5; 2 Chron 32:24, 31), prophetic symbolic acts (Isa 8:18; 20:3; Ezek 4:3; 12:6, 11; 24:24, 27; Zech 3:8).\*

5. Early Judaism largely continues OT usage (Qumran: see 3; rabbinic literature employs new meanings to a degree and replaces *ʾôt* with *sîmān*, probably < Gk. *sēmeion* ). On the NT, cf. K. H. Rengstorf, “σημείον,” *TDNT* 7:200–69 (209–19 also treat *ʾôt* in the OT extensively).

F. Stolz

𐤀𐤏𐤍 *ʾōzen* ear

S 241; BDB 23b; *HALOT* 1:27b; *TWOT* 57a; *NIDOTTE* 265

1. The subst. *ʾōzen* “ear” is common Sem. (\**ʾudn-*; *HAL* 27a), as well as Eg. *ydn* (Erman-Grapow 1:154; replaced by *mśdr* “place upon which one sleeps”; cf. W. Helck, *ZÄS* 80 [1955]: 144f.; W. C. Till, “Zum Sprachtabu im Ägyptischen,” *Ägyptolog. Studien*, ed. O. Firchow [1955], 327, 335). The verb *ʾzn* hi. “to act with the ears, hear” is a denominative

from the fem. subst. anatomical term (GKC §53g).

The name <sup>ʔ</sup>*zanyâ* (Neh 10:10) is based on the qal, *yaʔzanyāhû* (2 Kgs 25:23; Jer 40:8; Ezek 8:11; *yaʔzanyâ* Jer 35:3; Ezek 11:1; abbreviated *y<sup>c</sup>zanyâ[hû]* Jer 40:8; 42:1) is based on the hi., the only form of the verb that occurs otherwise (*IP* 36, 198; the name *yʔznyhw* occurs extrabibl. on a seal [W. F. Badè, *ZAW* 51 (1933): 150–56; *EEA* 70], and in Lachish letter 1:2f. [*TGI* 1 no. 34]; also *yʔznyh* and *yznʔl* occur on seals [Diringer nos. 21, 28]; on the name forms from Elephantine, cf. *IP* 198; L. Delekat, *VT* 8 [1958]: 251f.).

2. The OT contains the subst. 187x, the verb 41x (Psa 15x) in a normal distribution. The subst. occurs largely in the dual (108x, 80x with *be* ), the verb frequently in the impv. (30x).

3. <sup>ʔ</sup>*ōzen* rarely describes the human body part without reference to hearing.

The following customs should be mentioned: the wearing of earrings (Gen 35:4; Exod 32:2f.; Ezek 16:12; *BRL* 398–402); the piercing of the ear as a mark of slaves (Exod 21:6; Deut 15:17; J. Horst, *TDNT* 5:546; contra de Vaux 1:84); rituals for the consecration of priests and the cleansing of the leper (*t<sup>c</sup>nûk* <sup>ʔ</sup>*ōzen* “earlobe” in Exod 29:20[bis]; Lev 8:23f.; 14:14, 17, 25, 28 P; Elliger, *HAT* 4, 119); amputation of the ears as a form of punishment by mutilation (Ezek 23:25; Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:489). Amos 3:12 (*b<sup>e</sup>dal* <sup>ʔ</sup>*ōzen* “earlobe” of an animal of the flock) and Prov 26:7 (a dog) mention the ears of animals.

Otherwise the ear is always the organ of hearing: it hears (→ *šm<sup>c</sup>*, Ezek 24:26; Psa 92:12; Job 13:1; etc.); it pays attention (→ *qšb* hi., Psa 10:17; Neh 1:6, 11; etc.). With verbs of speaking, esp. with *dbr* pi. (e.g., Gen 20:8) and *qr<sup>ʔ</sup>* (e.g., Exod 24:7) the hearers are often introduced with *b<sup>e</sup>ʔōzen*. Thus the hearers are frequently characterized as witnesses (Gen 23:10, 13, 16). *b<sup>e</sup>ʔōzen* (instrumental *be* ) also has this function following *šm<sup>c</sup>* (Jer 26:11; 2 Sam 7:22; Psa 44:2). In contrast, *š<sup>c</sup>ma<sup>c</sup>ʔōzen* means “hearsay” (Psa 18:45; Job 42:5). The communication of important matters (frequently of life-and-death significance) is described by the usage → *glh* <sup>ʔ</sup>*oznô* “to uncover his ear” (1 Sam 20:2, 12f.; 22:8[bis], 17; the author of the story of David’s rise to power preferred this expression; also Ruth 4:4; with Yahweh as subj., see 4; → *ʔayin* ). The wisdom teacher can summon to hear with the expression *n<sup>th</sup>* hi. <sup>ʔ</sup>*ōzen* “to bow the ear” (Psa 78:1; Prov 4:20; 5:1, 13; 22:17; similarly Isa 55:3; Psa 45:11; 49:5; see also 4).

Series of various body parts emphasize their appropriate functions: mostly eyes-ears (2 Kgs 19:16 = Isa 37:17; Isa 11:3; 30:20f.; 35:5; 43:8; Jer 5:21; Ezek 8:18; 12:2; Psa 34:16; 92:12; 94:9; Job 13:1; 29:11; 42:5; Prov 20:12; Eccl 1:8; Dan 9:18; Neh 1:6; 2 Chron 6:40; 7:15), hands-eyes-ears (Isa 33:14), heart-ears (Jer 11:8; Ezek 3:10; Prov

2:2; 18:15; 22:17; 23:12), heart-eyes-ears (Deut 29:3; Isa 6:10; 32:3; Ezek 40:4; 44:5), ear-palate (Job 12:11; 34:3), ear-tongue (Isa 50:4f.), hands-neck-nose-ears-head (Ezek 16:11f.), mouth-eyes-ears-nose-hands-feet-throat (Psa 115:5ff.; cf. 135:16ff.). The talion formula (Exod 21:23ff.; Lev 24:19f.) omits the ear.

Terms for the inability and unwillingness to hear include the following: → *ḥrš* qal “to be deaf” (Mic 7:16; Psa 28:1; 35:22; 39:13; 50:3; 83:2; 109:1), *ḥērēš* “deaf” (Exod 4:11; Lev 19:14; Psa 38:14; 58:5; metaphorically, Isa 29:18; 35:5; 42:18f.; 43:8); *ʔtm* “to stop up” (Isa 33:15; Psa 58:5; Prov 21:13), *kbd* hi. “to make dull” (Isa 6:10; Zech 7:11), *ʕm* hi. “to conceal” (Lam 3:56).\*

The verb *ʔzn* hi. occurs in the impv. as a call to hear, introducing songs (Deut 32:1; Judg 5:3; Gen 4:23), wisdom sayings (Isa 28:23; Psa 49:2; 78:1), legal teachings (Job 33:1; 34:2, 16; 37:14), and prophetic words (Isa 1:2, 10; 32:9; 51:4; Jer 13:15; Hos 5:1; Joel 1:2; cf. Num 23:18). Most often *šm<sup>c</sup>* or *qšb* hi. stands in parallelismus membrorum (Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 97, “a summons to receive instruction,” contra L. Köhler, *Deuterojesaja stilkritisch untersucht* [1923], 112, “a summons of two witnesses”; I. von Loewenclau, *EvT* 26 [1966]: 296ff.).

*d<sup>c</sup>bārîm* are usually the content of the audition (words or events, Gen 20:8; 44:18). On the preps. following *ʔzn* hi., see *HAL* 27a.

In addition to hearing, *ʔōzen* is the organ of recognition and understanding, particularly in wisdom (Job 12:11; 13:1; 34:3; Prov 2:2; 5:1, 13; 18:15; 22:17; 23:12; Isa 32:3). It competes here with the heart (cf. Ch. Kayatz, *Studien zu Proverbien 1–9* [1966], 43–47).

On the Akk. *uznu* “ear > discernment” and *ḥasîsu* “ear, hearing < understanding, wisdom” (*AHW* 330b; *CAD* ≤:126f.; on *ḥasāsu* “to recollect”), cf. *HAL* 27b as well as Dhorme 89f.

4. Yahweh’s ears are mentioned unabashedly (Num 11:1, 18; 14:28; 1 Sam 8:21, etc.; the ears of the angels, 1QM 10:11; on anthropomorphisms see Köhler, *Theol.* 22–25). The request to be heard, with the formula “to bend your ear to me,” is typical of individual laments (*nth* hi.: Psa 17:6; 31:3; 71:2; 86:1; 88:3; 102:3; 2 Kgs 19:16 = Isa 37:17; cf. Dan 9:18; in praise, Psa 116:2), just as is the impv. of *ʔzn* hi. together with *šm<sup>c</sup>* and *qšb* hi. (Psa 5:2; 17:1; 39:13; 54:4; 55:2; 86:6; 140:7; 141:1; 143:1; in a communal lament, 80:2; in a petition, 84:9). Yahweh hears people (Psa 94:9; Isa 59:1; but Job 9:16) and their insolence also rises to his ears (2 Kgs 19:28 = Isa 37:29). The idols do not hear (Psa 115:6; 135:17; cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:380; Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:269f.; contra Weiser, *ATD* 20, 54).

Yahweh hollows out, plants, and creates the human ear (Psa 40:7; 94:9; Prov 20:12; Deut 29:3; cf. Gen 2:7). He “uncovers the ear” of a person (1 Sam 9:15; 2 Sam 7:27 = 1 Chron 17:25; Job 33:16; 36:10, 15;

1QH 1:21, etc.; cf. Isa 22:14), he awakens (*ʿûr* hi.) and opens (*pṯh*) the ear of the prophet (Isa 50:4f.; cf. Ezek 9:1; Isa 5:9; Job 4:12). In his commission the prophet is commanded to speak “in the ears” (Exod 11:2; Jer 2:2; 26:15; Deut 31:11; Judg 7:3). The saying about “ringing in the ears” (*šll* in 1 Sam 3:11; 2 Kgs 21:12; Jer 19:3) bears a Dtr stamp. Israel hears Yahweh’s word and commandments (Exod 24:7; 15:26; 2 Kgs 23:2; Isa 1:10, etc.) Dtn parentheses does not use the stem *ʔzn* (→ *šm<sup>c</sup>*). Israel closes itself to Yahweh’s word; see the formula in the Jer C layer: “They did not hear and they did not bow their ear (and they strayed)” (Jer 7:24, 26; 11:8; 17:23; 25:4; 34:14; 35:15; 44:5; cf. the Chr’s negated *ʔzn* hi. in Neh 9:30; 2 Chron 24:19). Although the people have ears, they do not hear (Jer 5:21; Isa 43:8; Ezek 12:2); their ear has a foreskin (Jer 6:10; cf. H.-J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisr. Kult* [1965], 71); Yahweh himself deafens it (Isa 6:9f.; Deut 29:3; cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 2:147ff.). But in the end time the ears of the deaf will be opened (*pqh* ni. in Isa 35:5; O. Procksch, *Jesaja*, KAT, 1:435; → *ʿayin*).

5. Qumran follows the theological usage of the OT. On Philo, Josephus, the rabbis, and the NT, see G. Kittel, “ἀκούω,” *TDNT* 1:216–25; J. Horst, “οὐς,” *TDNT* 5:543–59.

Cf. the *apertio aurium* of the early church’s baptismal liturgy (*RGG* 6:651f.); on Augustine see U. Duchrow, *Sprachverständnis und biblisches Hören bei Augustin* (1965), with bibliog.

G. Liedke

### אָח *ʔāḥ* **brother**

S 251; BDB 26a; *HALOT* 1:29a; *TDOT* 1:188–93; *TWOT* 62a; *NIDOTTE* 278

### אָחֹת *ʔāḥôt* **sister**

S 269; BDB 27b; *HALOT* 1:31b; *TDOT* 1:188–93; *TWOT* 62c; *NIDOTTE* 295

1. \**ʔāḥ* - “brother” and \**ʔāḥat* - “sister” are (like → *ʔāb* “father”) common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 210) and commonly occur in all language branches in an expanded meaning (see 3b).

The following derive from  $\aleph$  in the OT: the abstract  $\aleph^awâ$  “brotherhood” (between Judah and Israel, Zech 11:14), a diminutive  $\alephyān$  “little brother” (only as a PN, 1 Chron 7:19; Stamm, *HEN* 422), and perhaps a denominative verb  $\alephh$  ni. “to fraternize” ( $nāhâ < ne^ehâ$  in Isa 7:2; cf. *HAL* 30a; contra Eissfeldt, *KS* [1966], 3:124–27; L. Delekat, *VT* 8 [1958]: 237–40; H. Donner, *SVT* 11 [1964]: 8); cf. Akk.  $ahû$  Gt “to fraternize with one another” ( $athû$  “companion, associate”), Št “to pair up, come together” ( $šutāhû$  “standing together in pairs”), N “to fraternize” (*AHw* 22b).

2.  $\aleph$  “brother” occurs 629x (296x sg. and 333x pl., in addition to 1x Aram. pl. in Ezra 7:18), most frequently in the family narratives of Gen (178x, 100x sg.); 1 Chron (99x, 79x pl., often in lists such as 1 Chron 25:10–31) and Deut (48x), where the term is strongly accentuated (see 4c), follow.

$\alephôt$  “sister” occurs 114x (9x pl.), concentrated in Gen (24x), 2 Sam 13, and Ezek 16 and 23.

3. (a) The starting point is the description of a biological relationship (with respect to full- or stepbrothers, e.g., 2 Sam 13:4; cf. 2 Sam 3:2f.; *ILC* 1–2:58ff.), which is often further specified in order to distinguish it from a broader term: Gen 37:27, “our brothers and our flesh”; 42:13, 32, “brothers, sons of one man/our father”; Deut 13:7, “your brother, the son of your mother”; similarly, Judg 8:19 and in parallelismus membrorum Gen 27:29; Psa 50:20; 69:9; Song Sol 8:1 (already so in Ug.: *KTU* 1.14.I.8f., “seven brothers” par. to “eight sons of one mother”; 1.6.VI.10f., 14f.).

A more limited meaning occurs both in the restriction of meaning through related concepts in the word field (e.g., in the listing of the closest blood relatives in Lev 21:2f.; 25:48f.; Num 6:7; Ezek 44:25) and in composite descriptions of relationship:

(1) “father’s brother” (Lev 18:14, juristically paraphrasing [W. Kornfeld, *Studien zum Heiligkeitsgesetz* (1952), 103]  $dôd$ , the conventional word for “uncle” in Lev 10:4; 20:20; 25:49[bis]; Num 36:11; 1 Sam 10:14–16; 14:50; 2 Kgs 24:17; Jer 32:7–9, 12; Amos 6:10; 1 Chron 27:32; Esth 2:7, 15; cf. *HAL* 206b with bibliog. and Fitzmyer, *Gen.Ap.* 135; on  $\rightarrow$   $\alepham$  in the meaning “uncle,” replaced in Hebr. by  $dôd$ , cf. L. Rost, *FS Procksch* 143f. (= *KC* 90f.); J. J. Stamm, *ArOr* 17 [1949]: 379–82; id., *SVT* 7 [1960]: 165–83; id., *HEN* 418f., 422; Huffmon 196f.);

(2) “father’s sister” (Lev 18:12; 20:19; cf.  $dôdâ$  “father’s sister” in Exod 6:20, but in Lev 18:14 and 20:20 “wife of father’s brother”);

(3) “mother’s brother” (Gen 28:2; 29:10; the specific Akk./Aram./Arab. word for “mother’s brother,”  $\alephâl$ , is lacking in Hebr.; Huffmon 194);

(4) “mother’s sister” (Lev 18:13; 20:19);

(5) “brother’s wife” (Lev 18:16, instead of *y<sup>c</sup>bāmâ* “sister-in-law” in Deut 25:7, 9; Ruth 1:15; → *ʾalmānâ*);

(6) “brother’s son” (Gen 12:5).

Cf. also G. Ryckmans, “Les noms de parenté en safaitique,” *RB* 58 (1951): 377–92.

(b) As in many languages, incl. non-Sem. languages, transitions to the expanded meanings “near relative, member of the same tribe, compatriot” or “colleague, friend” all the way to the largely empty meaning “the other” in reciprocal relationships (“one another”) occur easily in Hebr. (about 45% of the texts with *ʾāḥ* in the OT), by which, on the family model, members of other close communities can also be described as “brothers” or “sisters.” In accord with the situation, the element of solidarity, affection, or similarity, or equality of rights can be emphasized as the point of comparison in the metaphorical usage; cf. J. Zobel, *Der bildliche Gebrauch der Verwandtschaftsnamen im Hebräischen* (1932), 35–42.

One may not always sharply distinguish the narrower and the broader senses (Gen 49:5, “Simeon and Levi are brothers,” pregnantly contains the term in both meanings); cf. the overview of the Levi texts in Elliger, *HAT* 4, 137n.12, 259n.37, and of the Deut texts in C. Steuernagel, *Das Deuteronomium*, *HKAT* (19232), 42; also Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 112 on *Sef.* (= *KAI* no. 224) 3.9. Verifiable texts with *ʾāḥ* for the uncle-nephew or cousin-cousin relationship are Gen 13:8; 14:16 (nephew in 1QapGen 22:11 emended to *br ʾḥwhy*, Fitzmyer, *Gen.Ap.* 171); 29:12, 15; Lev 10:4 (sons of the cousins); 1 Chron 23:22; “sister” for stepsister in Gen 20:12.

The meaning “relatives” (in the pl.) is unmistakable in Gen 16:12; 25:18; 31:23, 25, 32, 37, 46, 54; Exod 2:11; 4:18; Judg 9:26, 31, 46; etc. (cf. Ezek 11:15, “all of your brothers, your kindred”; Zimmerli, *Ezek*, *Herm*, 1:229, 261; → *gʾl*), but cannot always be sharply distinguished from the meaning “fellow tribesman, compatriot” (e.g., Num 36:2; Judg 9:18; 2 Sam 19:13; on Amos 1:9 cf. J. Priest, “Covenant of Brothers,” *JBL* 84 [1965]: 400–406; in Num 25:18 “[female] compatriot”), and this meaning, in turn, may not always be distinguished from “colleague” (e.g., 2 Kgs 9:2 among soldiers; Isa 41:6 among artisans; Num 8:26; Ezra 3:8; Neh 5:14 and often in the Chr’s history of the Levites). The inscriptions from Zinjirli (*KAI* no. 214.27–31; no. 215.3, 12, 17; no. 216.14 = *ANET* 655a; *DISO* 8) suggest a similar situation.

The synonyms of the expanded meaning are treated with → *rēa*ˆ.

(c) As a metaphorical usage, “my brother/sister” is also characteristically addressed to unrelated persons: Gen 19:7; 29:4; Judg 19:23; 1 Sam 30:23; 2 Sam 20:9; 1 Chron 28:2 (cf. Lande 20, 23f., concerning the connotations that readily accompany courtly modes of speech). The usage of *ʾāḥ* among persons of equal rank in messenger

speech (Num 20:14; 1 Sam 25:6 txt em), in courtly correspondence style, and in diplomatic communication (1 Kgs 9:13, Hiram-Solomon; 20:32f., Ahab-Benhadad) conforms to this usage.

Extrabibl. attestations for this letter style are numerous: Akk.: *CAD* A/1:200–202; Ug.: *KTU* 2.4.19; 2.14.3, 10, 15, 18; (between father and son); 2.21.3 (queen as sister); 5.9.8, 10 (par. *r<sup>c</sup>* “friend”); 2.38.2f., 26 (kings of Tyre and Ugarit); 2.41.18, 20, 22; 2.67.4; 2.44.2; cf. A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature* (1954), 113; Phoen. and Aram.: cf. *DISO* 8 and Fitzmyer, *Gen.Ap.* 86.

The formulaic address in the lament for the dead should also be understood similarly (1 Kgs 13:30, “Alas, my brother!”; Jer 22:18, “Alas my brother, alas my sister!”; 2 Sam 1:26 is probably influenced by this usage: “I am sorrowful for you, my brother Jonathan”; cf. Jahnou 61ff.; Lande 25f.).

“My sister (bride)” occurs as a tender metaphor for the beloved (in Song Sol otherwise named *ra<sup>c</sup>yâ* “friend”; → *rēa<sup>c</sup>*) in Song Sol 4:9f., 12; 5:1f., as in Eg. love poetry (Grapow 32; A. Hermann, *Altäg. Liebesdichtung* [1959], 75–78; Rudolph, *KAT* 17, 150) and in Ug. (*KTU* 1.18.I.24, Anat to Aqhat: “You are my brother, I am your sister”; cf. van Selms, op. cit. 70, 120, 122; M. Dahood, *Bib* 42 [1961]: 236). Cf. further Prov 7:4, “Say to wisdom: you are my sister,” of personified wisdom (Ch. Kayatz, *Studien zu Proverbien 1–9* [1966], 98).

Solidarity and similarity are described by *ʾāḥ* in Job 30:29, “I have become a brother of the jackals”; Prov 18:9, “brother of the destroyer,” cf. 28:24, “companion of the villain” with *ḥābēr*; with *ʾāḥôt*. Job 17:14, “I say to the worm ‘My mother!’ and ‘My sister!’ “

In Akk. see e.g., *CAD* A/1:172a: “the two eyes are sisters”; in Ug. *KTU* 1.16.VI.35, 51: “sickness has become like a sister to you,” in the event that *aḥt* is not to be read verbally with Driver (*CML* 1 47, 133, etc.; also Gibson, *CML* 2 101f., 141), “you are a brother.”

(d) Pron. usage in expressions with *ʾiš ʾāḥîw* (“one . . . the other”) refers to persons (Gen 9:5; 13:11; 26:31; 37:19; 42:21, 28; Exod 10:23; 16:15; Lev 7:10; 25:14, 46; 26:37; Num 14:4; Deut 1:16; 25:11; 2 Kgs 7:6; Isa 3:6; 19:2; 41:6; Jer 13:14; 23:35; 25:26; 31:34; 34:17; Ezek 4:17; 24:23; 33:30; 38:21; 47:14; Joel 2:8; Mic 7:2; Hag 2:22; Zech 7:9f.; Mal 2:10; Neh 4:13; 5:7, partially retaining the specific meaning “brother”), but also to things (Exod 25:20 and 37:9, golden cherubim; Job 41:9, crocodile scales); fem. *ʾiššâ—ʾāḥôt* likewise of things (curtains, Exod 26:3, 5f., 17; wings, Ezek 1:9; 3:13).

Pars. in Akk. (*aḥu aḥa, aḥu ana aḥi*, etc.) likewise refer to persons or things (*CAD* A/1:203f.), just as does Hebr. *tō<sup>m</sup>mîm/t<sup>e</sup>ʾômîm* (R. Köbert, *Bib* 35 [1954]: 139–41)

“twins” (Gen 25:24, Jacob and Esau; 38:27, Perez and Serah; Song Sol 4:5 = 7:4, gazelles; but Exod 26:24 and 36:29, boards).

4. (a) Theologically relevant usages of the word do not relate to the more narrow meaning “biological brother” with its family law implications, but to the more general meaning “member (of a community)” or to the metaphorical usage.

Family law: On the prohibition of sexual relations between siblings (Lev 18:9, 11; 20:17; Deut 27:22), cf. W. Kornfeld, *Studien zum Heiligkeitsgesetz* (1952), 110ff.; on the institution of levirate marriage, cf. F. Horst, *RGG* 4:338f.; Rudolph, *KAT* 17, 60–65 (bibliog.); → *gʾ*; C. H. Gordon (*JBL* 54 [1935]: 223–31) suspects traces of fratriarchy, which can be demonstrated particularly in the Hurrian realm (P. Koschaker, “Fratriarchat, Hausgemeinschaft und Mutterrecht in Keilschrifttexten,” *ZA* 41 [1933]: 1–89) but also in the OT: fratronymy (Gen 4:22; 36:22; 1 Chron 2:32, 42; 24:25; also Ug. *KTU* 4.103.5 *ršpab aḥ ubn*) and a few fratriarchal motifs in the patriarchal narratives (e.g., Gen 24, Laban-Rebekah); cf., however, de Vaux 1:19. On Gen 12:13, “say that you are my sister” as a formula of conditional divorce, see L. Rost, *FS Hertzberg* 186–92.

(b) Ethical reflections concerning proper brotherhood in daily life, both within the Bible and without, accentuate brotherly affection, dependability, willingness to help, etc. In similes “brother” can par. “father,” e.g., Akk. in a Mari text: “I am like a father and a brother to you; you, however, are like an opponent and an enemy to me” (G. Dossin, *Syria* 33 [1956]: 65); Phoen.: Kilamuwa 1.10 (→ *ʾāb* III/3). OT examples from wisdom literature juxtapose the brother with the “friend” (→ *rēa*<sup>c</sup>) and the “neighbor,” a comparison that can also work to the disadvantage of the brother (Prov 17:17, “A friend loves at all times, and a brother is born for distress”; but 18:24, “A friend sticks closer than a brother”; and 27:10, “Better a close neighbor than a distant brother”). Other wisdom texts on the topic of brotherliness include Psa 133:1, “See how fine and lovely it is when brothers dwell together in unity,” and Aram. Aḥ. 49, “There I cared for you, as one treats his brother” (Cowley 221; *ANET* 428a; *AOT* 456). Cf. also the description of the friends Gilgamesh and Enkidu as “brothers” (Gilg. VI:156 = *ANET* 85a; Schott 58).

(c) The term “brother” receives a theological coloring at the earliest in Dtn usage and in the command to love one’s neighbor in H (Lev 19:17, → *rēa*<sup>c</sup>; 25:35f., 39, 46–48, → *gʾ*). No new usage of the word is involved in the Dtn description of the member of the people or the community. The religious undertone in the context of the inculcation of the commandment results only through the emphatic usage of the word with a suf., mostly *ʾāḥikā* “your brother” (in all texts in the Dtn code, Deut 12–26, unless, as in 13:7 and 25:5–9, specific family law regulations are involved: 15:2f., 7, 9,

11f.; 17:15, 20; 18:15, 18; 19:18f.; 20:8; 22:1–4; 23:20f.; 24:7, 14; 25:3,[11]; Levites, 18:2, 7; Edomites, 23:8; cf. O. Bächli, *Israel und die Völker* [1962], 121–23). Jer 34:9, 14, 17 directly reflect the Dtn usage; the Chr history uses “brother” in the metaphorical sense almost exclusively in the pl.; cf. further H. C. M. Vogt, *Studie zur nachexilischen Gemeinde in Esra-Nehemia* (1966), 113–15, esp. on Neh 5.

The suf. form already plays a particular role in Gen 4:9 (“Where is your brother Abel?”) in the exemplary presentation of the relationship between God, individual, and neighbor (W. Vischer, *Witness of the OT to Christ* [1949], 72: “Responsibility before God is responsibility for one’s brother”).

The Dtn usage develops within the Dtn concept of the people of God (von Rad, *Gottesvolk* 13, 50; H. Breit, *Die Predigt des Deuteronomisten* [1933], 179, 185; O. Procksch, *Theol. des AT* [1950], 239). “The people is the family writ large, which forms a unity. The use of ‘brother’ as a constitutive element of the people concept also equalizes: brothers stand on the same level, they have the same rights and duties and are responsible to one another” (Bächli, op. cit. 123).

The notion of the brotherhood of the Israelites under one father (→ *ʾāb* IV/3c) is admittedly present in Mal 2:10, but it is not terminologically fixed (“Why do we treat each other faithlessly?” cf. 3d).

(d) That which is true of → *ʾāb* “father” is valid *mutatis mutandis* for the description of the divinity as “brother” in theophoric PNs in ancient Sem. nomenclature (III/5 with bibliog.).

Alongside theophoric names (*ʾāhîyāhû/ʾāhîyâ*, *yôʾāh* “Yahweh is [my] brother”; *ʾāhîmelek*, *hîʾēl* < \**ʾāhîʾēl*, *hîrām* < Phoen. *ʾhrm*; cf. Friedrich §94), a series of substitute names also occurs here, e.g., *ʾāhîqām* “my brother is risen (again),” *ʾāhʾāb* “father’s brother,” *ʾāhūmay* “brother of my mother” (according to BS 95), cf. Stamm, *HEN* 417f., 422; on *dôdô* “his uncle” and *dāwîd* “uncle” see Stamm, *SVT* 7 (1960): 165–83; on *ʿammôn* “little uncle,” id., *ArOr* 17 (1949): 379–82.

5. The further development of the OT usage in Judaism and in the NT is closely bound to the concept of the “neighbor” (→ *rēaʿ*); cf. H. von Soden, “ἄδελφός,” *TDNT* 1:144–46; H. Greeven and J. Fichtner, “πλησίον,” *TDNT* 6:311–18; *RAC* 2:631–46; W. Günther, U. Falkenroth, and D. A. Carson, “Brother,” *DNTT* 1:254–60; J. Fichtner, “Der Begriff des ‘Nächsten’ im AT mit einem Ausblick auf Spätjudentum und NT,” *WD* 4 (1955): 23–52 (= *Gottes Weisheit* [1965], 88–114).

E. Jenni

## אֶחָד *ʿeḥād* **one**

S 259; BDB 25b; *HALOT* 1:29b; *TDOT* 1:193–201; *TWOT* 61; *NIDOTTE* 285

## בַּד *bad* **solitariness**

S 905; BDB 94b; *HALOT* 1:108b; *TDOT* 1:473–79; *TWOT* 201a; *NIDOTTE* 963

1. (a) The numeral “one” is common Sem. in its basic triradical form *ḥd* (*GVG* 1:484; Berg., *Intro.* 222; Ug.: *UT* no. 126; *WUS* no. 131; NWSem. inscriptions: *DISO* 9; on Aram. *ḥad* with discarded *ʿ*; cf. *GVG* 1:243, 257; *BLA* 54, 248f.).

The Akk. root has the form (*w*)*ēdum* (later *ēdu*) in the meaning “sole, alone” (*GAG* §71c; *AHw* 184, 186–88; *CAD* E:27f., 33, 36–39, with further derivatives); the word *istēnum*, also known in Hebr. (*ʿaštē ʿāsār* “eleven,” always in conjunction with *ʿāsār* “ten,” according to Zimmern 65 and e.g., Meyer 2:87, an Akk. loanword, although it also occurs in Ug.), is available for “one” (*GAG* §69b; *AHw* 400f.; *CAD* I/J:275–79).

In addition to the original form *ʿaḥad* (Gen 48:22; 2 Sam 17:22; Isa 27:12; Ezek 33:30; Zech 11:7; cf. BL 622; Meyer 2:85), *ʿeḥād* occurs regularly with a virtual or secondary reduplication of the middle radical (*GVG* 1:68; BL 219), and the dissimilation of the *qameṣ* before the *ḥ* to *e* (Berg., *HG* 1:152; BL 216).

(b) Hebr. (and Ug.; cf. *UT* §7.8, and no. 126) also uses the pl. *ʿaḥādîm* (Gen 11:1, “one sort of words”; 27:44; 29:20; Dan 11:20, “some days”; Ezek 37:17, “so that they become one”; according to Gordon, *UT* no. 126: “a set, pair”; cf. also BrSynt 74f.).

(c) The root rarely occurs verbally: Hebr. *ḥd* hitp. “to unite” only in Ezek 21:21 (a disputed text); Ug. *ḥd* D “to unite” (*WUS* no. 131) is likewise highly uncertain.

(d) The PN *ʿeḥūd* (1 Chron 8:6, a member of the tribe of Benjamin) should probably be emended to *ʿehūd* (*IP* no. 76; Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 76; *HAL* 30a).

(e) In addition to *ḥd*, the related root *wḥd* (NWSem. *yḥd*) occurs in all subfamilies of the Sem. languages: Akk. *wēdum* “sole, alone” (see 1a); Ug. *yḥd* “lonely” (*WUS* no. 1153; *UT* no. 1087); Old Aram. *yḥd* ha. “to

unify” (*DISO* 106); for other (post-OT) forms see KBL 376b. The Hebr. verb occurs rarely: *yḥd* qal “to unite” Gen 48:6 (contra M. Dahood, *Bib* 40 [1959]: 169); Isa 14:20; uncertain pi. in Psa 86:11. More common are the subst. *yaḥad* “unification” (common in the Qumran texts; Deut 33:5; 1 Chron 12:18; cf. S. Talmon, *VT* 3 [1953]: 133–40), the advs. *yaḥad* (44x, incl. Jer 48:7 K) and *yaḥdāyw* (94x, excl. Jer 48:7 Q; *-āyw* may be an old, adapted locative ending; cf. *GVG* 1:460, 465; BL 529f.; J. C. de Moor, *VT* 7 [1957]: 350–55; cf. also *yaḥudunni* “together with me” as a Can. loanword in an Amarna letter, *CAD* I/J:321), both in the meaning “together” (for further modal, local, and temporal nuances, see de Moor, *op. cit.* 354f.; not, however, “alone,” as J. Mauchline, *TGUOS* 13 [1951]: 51–53, and M. D. Goldman, *ABR* 1 [1951]: 61–63, assume for some texts), and *yāḥîd* “sole, alone, lonely” (12x; often of the “only son”; in Psa 22:21 and 35:17, “my only = my life”).\*

2. The numeral, used 970x (in addition to the scribal errors in Ezek 18:10 *ʾāḥ* and 33:30 *ḥad*; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:371; 2:196; masc. 703x, fem. 267x, with 2 Sam 17:12 Q; 1 Kgs 19:4 Q; Isa 66:17 Q; Song Sol 4:9 K), occurs in almost all books of the OT (lacking in Joel, Mic, Nah, Hab), concentrated esp., of course, in books containing lists, legal sections, descriptions, etc. (Num 180x, 89x in Num 7 alone; Ezek 106x; Exod 99x; 1 Kgs 63x; Josh 60x); Aram. *ḥad* occurs 14x.

3. GB 22f. and *HAL* 29f. detail the usage of the word more thoroughly. The chief meaning is the cardinal “one,” which may refer to God (Deut 6:4; cf. Gen 3:22), people, animals, or things. The abs. usage “the one” (1 Sam 13:17f., etc.; occasionally with the art.; cf. *GVG* 2:69) and the distributive usage “each one” (e.g., Deut 1:23) also derive from the chief meaning. The numeral can describe a nondetermined entity in the sense of “anyone,” e.g., 1 Sam 26:15, *ʾaḥad hāʿām* “one of the people” (on the use of *min* in this connection, cf. *GVG* 2:84); negated (*lōʾ* or *ʾēn*) it means “none, no one.” Occasionally *ʾeḥād* can represent the ordinal, e.g., Gen 1:5, “day one = the first day”; so also dates. Otherwise, *riʾšôn* “the first” is used in these cases. *ʾaḥat* occurs in the sense “once,” e.g., in Lev 16:34 and 2 Kgs 6:10.

4. (a) The numeral achieves great relevance in theological usage. The intolerance and—relatedly—the intransigence of OT Yahwism categorically excluded any deification of humanity (Gen 3:22) and any worship of gods or powers beside Yahweh. Thus the *one* God assumed a dominant position, as the Decalogue, which juxtaposes the “other gods” (Exod 20:3; Deut 5:7; → *ʾḥr*) with the divine “I” (Exod 20:2; Deut 5:6), already demands. Although other gods have many names, Yahweh has only *one* (Exod 3:14f.; cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 1:185).

The Josianic (Eichrodt 1:226) statement *šema' yiśrā'el yhw h'elōhū yhw h'eḥād*, “Hear, O Israel, Yahweh, our God, is *one* Yahweh” (Deut 6:4; another possible translation is: “Yahweh is our God, Yahweh is one [alone]”) gives classic expression to the concept. Regardless of precisely how its syntactic structure should be interpreted (on this cf., among others, S. R. Driver, *Deut*, ICC [19023], 89f.; G. Quell, *TDNT* 3:1080f.; von Rad, *Deut*, OTL, 62–64), and how its primary focus (against poly-Yahwism or polytheism) is determined, this statement most clearly expresses Yahweh’s unity and exclusivity (cf. E. König, *Theologie des AT* [1922], 129–32, who refers to the martyr Rabbi Akiba, who died with the words of the Shema on his lips; also H. Breit, *Die Predigt des Deuteronomisten* [1933], 60–65; Vriezen, *Theol.*, 311, 323–28; von Rad, *Theol.* 1:227). It does not appear in isolation but is embedded in the commandment to love this unique Lord just as uniquely (Deut 6:5; cf. N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot* [1963], 163f.; id., *Höre Israel* [1965], 63). The demand for the worship of the *one* God at only *one* place (cf. 2 Chron 32:12) derives logically from this commandment (von Rad, *Theol.* 1:227).

The notion of Yahweh’s uniqueness is certainly not limited to usages of the word *h'eḥād* (e.g., Exod 15:11; 2 Sam 7:22; Isa 44:6; cf. C. J. Labuschagne, *Incomparability of Yahweh in the OT* [1966]). In the late text Zech 14:9, *h'eḥād* occurs once more in a theological usage describing the eschatological fulfillment of the demand of Deut 6:4f. in a universalistic extension: “In that day Yahweh will be one and his name will be one” (cf. G. A. F. Knight, “The Lord Is One,” *ExpT* 79 [1967/68]: 8–10).

In another way, *h'eḥād* serves the ideal of the people’s unity in Mal 2:10, “Do we not all have *one* father? Has not *one* God created us? Why do we then treat one another faithlessly” (cf. also Job 31:15); moreover, the emphatic usage of the word in eschatological contexts, such as Jer 32:39 “*one* heart and *one* way” (Rudolph, HAT 12, 212); Ezek 34:23 and 37:24, “*one* shepherd”; 37:22, “*one* people . . . *one* king”; Hos 2:2, “*one* head”; Zeph 3:9, “serve him with *one* shoulder (= harmoniously)” is noteworthy.\*

(b) In this context one should note forms of the root *bdd* that are somewhat related semantically to particular usages of *h'eḥād*: *bad* “separation,” adv. *lebad*, millebad “alone, apart” (158x); *bōdēd* “alone” (3x); *bādād* “alone” (11x). Yahweh’s uniqueness is often expressed with *lebad*: Deut 4:35, “Yahweh alone is God and no other”; 1 Kgs 8:39 = 2 Chron 6:30, “you alone know the heart of all the children of men”; 2 Kgs 19:15, 19 = Isa 37:16, 20, “you alone are God”; Isa 2:11, 17, “Yahweh alone is exalted in that day”; Isa 44:24 and Job 9:8, “he who spread out the heavens all alone”; also Isa 63:3; Psa 72:18; 83:19; 86:10; 136:4; 148:13; Neh 9:6; with *bādād* Deut 32:12, “Yahweh alone led him, no strange god was with him.” A related concept is the exclusivity of the relationship with Yahweh as expressed by *lebad* in Exod 22:19, “whoever sacrifices to other gods and not to Yahweh only”; 1 Sam 7:3f.; Isa 26:13; Psa 51:6; 71:16; with *l'bādād* Psa 4:9; the consequences for the people are shown in Num 23:9, “Here is a

people living alone, and not reckoning itself among the nations” (NRSV).\*

5. In Judaism “the one” can become an alternate designation for God (StrB 2:28).

This very element of God’s uniqueness, which challenges people to the same uniqueness, has exercised the most lasting influence on the NT and its thought (Mark 12:29f.; Rom 3:30). God alone deserves devotion and service (Matt 4:10; 6:24). The divine unity is mirrored in the *one* son of God, Jesus (1 Cor 8:6; Eph 4:4–6), who through his *egō eimi* excludes all other possibilities of religious thought and argumentation (John 6:48; 8:12; 11:25; 14:6). Cf. E. Stauffer, “εἷς,” *TDNT* 2:434–42; F. Büchsel, “μονογενής,” *TDNT* 4:737–41.

The OT adv. *ʾahat* “once and for all” in Psa 89:36 (H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen* [1926], 394) most nearly approximates the important NT expression *ephapax* (cf. G. Stählin, “αἰῶνα,” *TDNT* 1:381–84).

G. Sauer

אָהוֹת *ʾāhôt* **sister** → אָה *ʾāh*

חָזַק *ḥz* **to grasp**

S 270; BDB 28a; *HALOT* 1:31b; *TWOT* 64; *NIDOTTE* 290

1. The root \**ḥd* “to grasp” is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 218) and appears, with variations in the 2d and 3d radicals, in Arab. and Old SArab. as *ḥd*, in Akk. and Eth. as *ḥz*, in Hebr. (Moab., ?Pun.) and Old Aram. as *ḥz*, in Ug. and Imperial Aram. onward as *ḥd* (NWSem. examples are found in *WUS* no. 135 and *DISO* 9f.).

*HAL* 31b adds an *ḥz* II “to draw over” (originally identical with *ḥz* I) for the technical usage of *ḥz* qal in 1 Kgs 6:10 (Noth, BK 9, 96, 99 suggests pi. instead of qal), *ḥz* pi. in Job 26:9 and ho. (or pu.) in 2 Chron 9:18 (cf. 1 Kgs 10:9), and, indeed, in a sense borrowed from the Akk. *uḥḥuzu* “to draw over,” which is a denominative from *iḥzu* “enclosure” (cf. *tāpûs* “enclosed” in Hab 2:19, from *tps* “to grasp”).

Another borrowed meaning, in this instance from Aram., is present in Neh 7:3 “to bolt” (cf. Wagner no. 7a); probably related are *ḥîdâ* (Aram. pass. ptc. with discarded ʔ,

Bibl. Aram. <sup>ʾ</sup>*hîdâ* Dan 5:12) in the meaning (“something grasped, enclosed > something closed” >) “riddle” (17x, 8x in Judg 14:12–19) and, a denominative from it, *hûd* qal “to pose a riddle” (Judg 14:12f., 16; Ezek 17:2); cf. Wagner nos. 100f. (somewhat differently, G. Rinaldi, *Bib* 40 [1959]: 274–76; H.-P. Müller, “Der Begriff ‘Rätsel’ im AT,” *VT* 20 [1970]: 465–89).

The verb occurs in the qal and in the ni. (pass. in Gen 22:13; Eccl 9:12; otherwise a denominative from <sup>ʾ</sup>*huzzâ* “property” in the meaning “to be resident”); on the pi. and ho., see above.

In addition, the subst. <sup>ʾ</sup>*huzzâ* “property” derives from the root in a nom. formation common for legal terms. Finally, the OT has a series of PNs that contain the root *h̄z* (see 4).

With regard to the disputed meaning of <sup>ʾ</sup>*hūz* in Song Sol 3:8 (qal ptcp. “containing” or adj. “learned, skilled”) cf. *HAL* 31b with bibliog.

2. The Hebr. OT has the qal of the verb 58x, ni. 7x, pi. and ho. 1x each. Occurrences are distributed over the entire OT; the fact that later writings exhibit a slight increase in occurrences may be accidental. The 66 texts that use the subst. <sup>ʾ</sup>*huzzâ* contrast with this distribution; besides Psa 2:8 it occurs only in late texts, primarily in P and in Ezek 44–48.

3. In the vast majority of cases the verb should be translated “to grasp, lay hold of, seize, hold fast,” etc. (on additional derivative technical meanings in 1 Kgs 6:6 and Ezek 41:6 see *HAL* 30a, 31a).

Synonyms of *h̄z* are *tpś* “to lay hold of, grasp, have to do with” (qal 49x, ni. 15x, pi. 1x, Prov 30:28 txt?), *tmk* “to grasp, hold” (qal 20x, ni. 1x; also Phoen., Akk.), and *qmt* “to lay hold of” (qal Job 16:8; pu. Job 22:16; also Aram. and Arab.); also → *lqh* and → *h̄zq* hi. in some forms.

The obj. is introduced with *be* or the acc. (occurrences in *HAL* 31a). One may hold fast to: the heels (Gen 25:26), the ram’s horns (Gen 22:13 ni.), the snake’s tail (Exod 4:4), the doors of the city gate (Judg 16:3), the ark (2 Sam 6:6 = 1 Chron 13:9), the beard (2 Sam 20:9), the horns of the altar (1 Kgs 1:51), the eyelids (Psa 77:5), the ends of the earth (Job 38:13), a mantle (Ruth 3:15), the beloved (Song Sol 3:4), branches (7:9), clothes (Esth 1:6), spear and shield (2 Chron 25:5; cf. Song Sol 3:8); one may grasp the sling (Job 18:9; Eccl 12:9) and the net (Eccl 12:9 ni.); one may fig. grasp or hold one’s way (Job 17:9), the trail (Job 23:11), foolishness (Eccl 2:3; cf. 7:18).

The verb very often applies to the hostile or otherwise violent grasping, seizure, or capture of someone (Judg 1:6; 12:6; 16:21; 20:6; 2 Sam 2:21; 4:10; Isa 5:29; Psa 56:1; 137:9; Job 16:12; Song Sol 2:15).

Even somewhat more frequent are fig. expressions of the fact that

anxiety, trembling, cramps, weakness, grief, wrath, etc., lay hold of people (Exod 15:14f.; 2 Sam 1:9; Isa 13:8; 21:3; 33:14; Jer 13:21; 49:24; Psa 48:7; 119:53; Job 18:20; 21:6; 30:16).

Finally, the usage in Num 31:30, 47 “one of fifty” (= a chosen one) is very general; similarly 1 Chron 24:6 (cf. Rudolph, HAT 21, 160).

A few ni. texts (Gen 34:10; 47:27; Num 32:30; Josh 22:9, 19) should be translated “to establish oneself (in the land),” “to take possession (of the land).” The subst. <sup>ʾ</sup>huzzâ, which consistently means “possession, property,” mostly in the sense of land or real estate (Gen 23:4, 9, 20: possession of a grave; Lev 25:45f.: possession of slaves) is related. The noun acquires a fig. meaning specifying that the Levites are to have no real estate, because Yahweh is their “real estate” (Ezek 44:28; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:461f.; von Rad, *Theol.* 1:403f.). Par. terms for <sup>ʾ</sup>huzzâ are *nah<sup>ʾ</sup>lâ* (→ *nhl*), *ḥēleq* (→ *hlq*), → *gôrāl*, *y<sup>c</sup>ruššâ/y<sup>c</sup>rēšâ* (→ *yrš*). On <sup>ʾ</sup>huzzâ (and on the distinction from *nah<sup>ʾ</sup>lâ*), see F. Horst, “Zwei Begriffe für Eigentum (Besitz): *nah<sup>ʾ</sup>lâ* und <sup>ʾ</sup>huzzâ,” FS Rudolph 135–56, esp. 153ff.

4. The word group has no properly theological meaning. Yahweh appears once as the subj. of the verb, however (Psa 73:23, “you hold my right hand”; cf. also the statements concerning Yahweh’s salvific grasp with the verb *tmk* in Isa 41:10; 42:1; Psa 16:5; 41:13; 63:9); twice the hand of Yahweh is the subj.: it grasps even the one who settles in the extremities of the sea (Psa 139:10); it seizes in judgment (Deut 32:41). <sup>ʾ</sup>hz does not, however, acquire a specifically theological emphasis.

The same is true for <sup>ʾ</sup>huzzâ: just as surely as land and property are understood as Yahweh’s gifts (Gen 17:8; 48:4; Lev 14:34; Deut 32:49, etc.), it is also true that this notion is rarely given specific expression with <sup>ʾ</sup>huzzâ, not even when one speaks of an <sup>ʾ</sup>huzzat *ʾôlām*, an “eternal possession” (Gen 17:8; 48:4; Lev 25:34) or once even the <sup>ʾ</sup>huzzat *yhwh* (Josh 22:19; cf. H.-J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisr. Kult* [1965], 108).

In this context, PNs formed with <sup>ʾ</sup>hz require comment, because they are all (originally) theophoric names: *y<sup>c</sup>hōʾāḥāz/yōʾāḥāz* “Yahweh has (protectively) grasped” (cf. *IP* 21, 62, 179), <sup>ʾ</sup>hazyâ(*hû*); furthermore, synonymous by-forms and shortened forms, some of which are also attested on seals and ostraca (*ʾāḥāz*, cuneiform *ya-u-ḥa-zi*; also <sup>ʾ</sup>hzyay, <sup>ʾ</sup>huzzām, <sup>ʾ</sup>huzzat).

5. The word group seems to have played no distinct role in postbibl. Hebr. Occurrences at Qumran move within the boundaries of the OT idiom (1QH 4:33; CD 2:18; on 1QS 2:9 → <sup>ʾ</sup>āb I; subst. <sup>ʾ</sup>hzh CD 16:16 and <sup>ʾ</sup>wḥzh

1QS 11:7). No significant NT equivalent may be noted; the LXX already renders the verb with 27 and the noun with 6 different Gk. words (on *krateō* see W. Michaelis, *TDNT* 3:910–12).

H. H. Schmid

## אָר אַחֲרַי *ʾhr* after

S 310; BDB 29b; *HALOT* 1:35b; *TDOT* 1:201–3; *TWOT* 68b; *NIDOTTE* 339

1. (a) The common Sem. root \**ʾhr* expresses a variety of meanings in numerous parts of speech and forms, all derived from the concept of temporal succession. Local meanings are relatively insignificant and are easily explained as applications of a cognitive process in which the temporally later is seen as the spatially later.

The starting point with respect to *ʾaḥar* is not, therefore, with G. R. Driver (*JTS* 34 [1933]: 377f.; *ZDMG* 91 [1937]: 346), an anatomical designation (dual *ʾaḥ<sup>ʾ</sup>re* “buttocks”), as may be the case for the root \**wark-* (Hebr. *yārēk* “hip, bottom, backside,” 34x; *yarkā* “back, remotest part,” 28x; cf. Dhorme 98–100). The -- in *ʾaḥ<sup>ʾ</sup>re* should not be understood as a dual ending, but as an assimilation to the antonym *lipn* “before” (BL 644f.); the meaning “backside, hind part” for *ʾaḥōr* (2 Kgs 7:25 = 2 Chron 4:4) is abstract.

The local meaning “behind” is represented in Akk. by \*(*w*)*ark-* and occurs for the root *ʾhr* only (under Can. influence? cf. W. von Soden, *Or* 18 [1949]: 391f.) at Mari (*aḥarātum* “back side,” *AHW* 18a; *CAD* A/1:170a) and as a Can. gloss in an Amarna letter from Megiddo (EA 245:10 *arki-šu/aḥ-ru-un* “behind him,” *CAD* A/1:194b).

Ug. has also so far evidenced only temporal, primarily adv., usages of the root *ʾhr* (*UT* no. 138; *WUS* no. 150). In Can. inscriptions the root is seldom attested (*ʾhr ʾby* “after my father” in the Mesha inscription, *KAI* no. 181.3; cf. *DISO* 10).

In Old Aram. (since Sef. III = Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 100f., 119; *KAI* no. 224.24 *ʾhrn* “another”; often in the Elephantine papyri) adv., prep., and nom. usages (also in the meaning “posterity”; cf. *DISO* 10) are frequent, but verbal usages are not attested. Local “behind” should probably be conjectured only in the Ahiqar narrative (Cowley 214.63 [*ʾhryn* “[to send] after us”). *bātar* replaces the root in later Aram. (see KBL 1049a).

(b) The verb occurs primarily in the D stem or pi. (“to delay,” etc.); the G stem or qal is attested very little in Hebr. or in the other Sem. languages.

The Akk. G stem *aḥāru* “to be late” is attested only in EA 59:26 (CAD A/1:170b).

Hebr. *ḥr* qal “to stay, tarry” (Gen 32:5) and hi. “to delay” (2 Sam 20:5 Q, inner-trans. or internal) are hapax legomena. On pi. “to hold back” cf. *HP* 99. *ḥr* hitp. “to stay back, do afterward” also occurs at Qumran (1QS 1:14; CD 11:23).

The nom. formation *ʾāḥôr* “hinder side, west” also lends itself readily to an adv. usage: “afterward; rear(ward)”; the infrequent adv. formation *ʾāḥōrannîṯ* “backward” (BL 633) also occurs. As a verbal adj. (with virtual or secondary intensification of the middle radical in the sg.) *ʾaḥēr* “coming behind, following, different, other” distinguishes itself in meaning as well from the actual adj. formations with affirmatives, *ʾaḥʾrôn* “later, future, last; behind, westerly” and *ʾaḥʾrîṯ* “future, end, posterity.”

The abstract *ʾaḥʾrîṯ* is probably a substantivized fem. of an adj. form with *-î* (cf. GKC §95t; G. W. Buchanan, *JNES* 20 [1961]: 188; contra BL 505; Meyer 2:77). Related formations are Akk. *aḥrû* (*AHW* 21a) and Ug. *uḥryt* (*KTU* 1.17.VI.35), according to J. Aistleitner (*Untersuchungen zur Grammatik des Ug.* [1954], 21) and *WUS* no. 150: “belonging to a later time = future, later time”; cf. *ANET* 151b: “further life”; *CML* 1 134a; *CML* 2 143; Gray, *Legacy* 113; *UT* no. 138: “latter end.”

*ʾaḥar* (with a virtual reduplication of the *ḥ*, not a segholate) and *ʾaḥʾrê* “after, following, behind” are used only as advs. and preps.

In 2 Sam 2:23, *ʾāḥōrê haḥʾnîṯ* “back end of the spear” may be read; in Gen 16:13 and Exod 33:8 the prep. “(to glance) back” may be retained (*HAL* 34b: “back side”).

In addition to the temporal meaning “after” and the related local meaning “after” with acts of movement, the purely static meaning “behind” (in answer to the question *where* or *whither*) is relatively rare: *ʾaḥar* “behind” in Exod 11:5; Song Sol 2:9; “to the back” Exod 3:1; Gen 22:13 should read *ʾeḥād* (*BHS*), 2 Kgs 11:6 *ʾaḥēr* (cf. W. Rudolph, *FS Bertholet* 474f.); *ʾaḥʾrê* “behind” in Gen 18:10; Num 3:23; Deut 11:30; Judg 18:12 (“to the west”); 1 Sam 21:10; Ezek 41:15 should read *ʾāḥōreyhā* (*BHS*); “(to throw/look) behind oneself,” Gen 19:17; 1 Kgs 14:9; Isa 38:17; Ezek 23:35; Neh 9:26; *mēʾaḥʾrê* “behind,” Gen 19:26 (txt?); Exod 14:19[bis]; Josh 8:2, 4, 14; 2 Sam 2:23; 1 Kgs 10:19; Jer 9:21; *mēʾaḥʾrêlʿ* “behind,” Neh 4:7.

Secondary meanings proposed for *ʾaḥar/ʾaḥʾrê*, such as “at, near, with” (R. B. Y. Scott, *JTS* 50 [1949]: 178f.) or even “correspondingly, on account of, despite” (W. J. P. Boyd, *JTS NS* 12 [1961]: 54–56), concern only the niceties of rendition into Eng. as a result of differences of idiom (Exod 11:5, “behind the hand mill” = “at the hand mill”; “walk behind someone” = “to walk with someone,” etc.). These observations may not lead to the conclusion that the Hebr. (or Ug.) prep. could also have the meaning “with” (so M. Dahood, *Bib* 43 [1962]: 363f.; 44 [1963]: 292f.; Ug. *KTU* 1.24.32 *ḥr nkl yrḥ ytrḥ*

should not be translated par. to *ʕmn nkl ḥtny* “with Nkl . . .” with “with Nikkal will the moon enter into wedlock,” but with W. Herrmann, *Yariḥ und Nikkal*, [1968], 19, adv. “thereafter he/she bought for himself/herself . . .”). Eccl 12:2, “before . . . the clouds (always) return after the rain” (Zimmerli, ATD 16/1, 242, 246) is not a “meteorological absurdity” (Scott, *Eccl*, ABC, 255); rather it makes a conscious point in the image of old age in Prov 12:1ff. (H. W. Hertzberg, *ZDPV* 73 [1957]: 115).

*māḥār* “morning” and *moḥ<sup>o</sup>rāt* “next day” should also probably be attributed to the root *ḥr* (*GVG* 1:241).

A PN *ḥēr* (1 Chron 7:12) would have been understood as a nickname (*HAL* 34b), but should be emended according to Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 66.

(c) Beyond the usages treated in 1b, the general usage of this word group will not be investigated. Only *ḥēr* “other” and *ḥ<sup>a</sup>rīt* “end” occur in somewhat theologically significant contexts; these two words, widely divergent in meaning, will be treated in sections 3 (*ḥēr*) and 4 (*ḥ<sup>a</sup>rīt*).

2. The root is attested 1140x in the Hebr. OT; *ḥ<sup>a</sup>rē* 617x (Gen 69x, 2 Sam 58x) and *ḥar* 96x (Gen 16x, Num 10x); *ḥēr* 166x (not counting 1 Chron 7:12; Lis. overlooks 1 Kgs 3:22), most frequently in Deut (25x), Jer (25x), Gen (15x), 2 Chron (10x), and 1/2 Kgs (9x each). In addition, the following occur (in order of frequency): *ḥ<sup>a</sup>rīt* 61x, *māḥār* 52x, *ḥ<sup>a</sup>rôn* 51x, *ḥôr* 41x, *moḥ<sup>o</sup>rāt* 32x, the verb *ḥr* 17x (pi. 15x, qal and hi. 1x each), *ḥōrannît* 7x.

The Aram. portions of the OT contain *ḥ<sup>o</sup>rān* (fem. *ḥ<sup>o</sup>rī*) “other” 11x, *ḥ<sup>a</sup>rē* “after” 3x, *ḥ<sup>a</sup>rī* “end” 1x, *ʕad ḥryn* (with disputed pointing; cf. *KBL* 1049a) “last” 1x (Dan 4:5); all 16 texts are from Dan.

3. The expressions *ʕēl ḥēr* “another god” (only Exod 34:14) and *ʕlōḥîm ḥērîm* “other gods” (63x) first receive theological significance in the context of the first commandment (cf. R. Knierim, “Das erste Gebot,” *ZAW* 77 [1965]: 20–39), where *ḥēr* forms the logical contrast to the one permissible God and, within the negatively formulated passages, becomes a fixed term sooner than, say, → *ehād*, which presupposes a positive statement. Without entering further into the question of the relative and absolute ages of the various formulations of the prohibition against other gods (cf. e.g., von Rad, *Theol.* 1:203f.; Knierim, op. cit. 27ff.), they may be treated together here: Exod 20:3 = Deut 5:7, “you shall have no other gods (the translation with the sg., which A. Jepsen, *ZAW* 79 [1967]: 287, supports, does not substantially alter the negative phrase) beside me” (or “in defiance of me” or “instead of me”; cf. J. J. Stamm, *TRu* 27 [1961]: 237f.; Knierim, op. cit. 24f.); Exod 22:19, “whoever sacrifices to other gods

shall be banned” (txt em; cf. *BHS*; somewhat differently Alt, *EOTHR* 112n.73); 23:13, “you shall not call on the names of other gods”; 34:14, “you shall not bow down before another god.”

Meanings such as “strange, unknown” can be appropriate in place of *ʔahēr* in traditionally related texts, e.g., Hos 13:4, “you know (→ *yd<sup>c</sup>*) no God except me” (cf. Deut 11:28; 13:3, 7, 14, etc.); Psa 81:10 *ʔēl* → *zār* and *ʔēl* → *nēkār* “a strange god.”

The prophet Hosea, who demonstrates an acquaintance with the Decalogue in other ways, too, adopts the phrase “other gods” in 3:1, “to turn to other gods” (cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 60f.). Jer’s use of the formula (at least Jer 1:16 may be genuine; cf. Rudolph, HAT 12, 10f.) and that in the Dtn-Dtr theology (cf. O. Bächli, *Israel und die Völker* [1962], 44–47) stand in this tradition.

The concentration of the word in Deut, Jer, and 1/2 Kgs (see 2) depends upon this formulaic usage of the expression “other gods” (Deut, in addition to 5:7, also 6:14; 7:4; 8:19; 11:16, 28; 13:3, 7, 14; 17:3; 18:20; 28:14, 36, 64; 29:25; 30:17; 31:18, 20; Josh 23:16; Judg 2:12, 17, 19; 10:13; 1 Sam 8:8; 1 Kgs 9:6, 9 = 2 Chron 7:19, 22; 1 Kgs 11:4, 10; 14:9; 2 Kgs 17:7, 35, 37f.; 22:17 = 2 Chron 34:25; Jer in addition to Jer 1:16, also 7:6, 9, 18; 11:10; 13:10; 16:11, 13; 19:4, 13; 22:9; 25:6; 32:29; 35:15; 44:3, 5, 8, 15; 2 Chron 28:25).

Josh 24:2, 16 are pre-Dtn (Noth, HAT 7, 139) and reflect the old tradition concerning the assembly at Shechem and its renunciation of strange gods (Alt, *KS* [1963], 1:79–88; H.-J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel* [1966], 136–41), a tradition very closely related to the first commandment; according to Knierim (op. cit. 35ff.), the very first formulation of the prohibition of strange gods should be located here.

The verbs associated with *ʔlōhîm ʔahērîm* are quite varied. → *ʕbd* “to serve” (Deut 7:4; 11:16; 13:7, 14; 17:3; 28:36, 64; 29:25; Josh 23:16; Judg 10:13; 1 Sam 8:8; 1 Kgs 9:6 = 2 Chron 7:19; Jer 44:3; cf. Josh 24:2, 16; 1 Sam 26:19), → *hlk ʔah<sup>a</sup>rē* “to follow” (Deut 6:14; 8:19; 11:28; 13:3; 28:14; Judg 2:12, 19; 1 Kgs 11:10; Jer 7:6, 9; 11:10; 13:10; 16:11; 25:6; 35:15), and *qtr* “to burn incense” (2 Kgs 22:17 = 2 Chron 34:25; Jer 19:4; 44:5, 8, 15; 2 Chron 28:25; cf. Jer 1:16) have a stereotypical effect.

Although most texts with *ʔlōhîm ʔahērîm* relate to the first commandment, “strange gods” are discussed twice more in another context involving the assumption that Yahweh may be worshiped only in his own land (1 Sam 26:19; 2 Kgs 5:17).

*ʔahēr* “another” (without *ʔlōhîm*) functions in a monotheistic hymnic statement in Deutero-Isa (Isa 42:8, “I will give my glory to no other, nor my praise to the idols”; similarly 48:11); cf. also Bibl. Aram. *ʔoh<sup>o</sup>rān* in Dan

3:29, “for there is no other god who is able so to save.”

The expression “from another place” in Esth 4:14 serves as a euphemism for the name of God according to many exegetes (e.g., Ringgren, ATD 16/2, 116, 131; more cautiously Bardtke, KAT 17/5, 332f.).

4. (a) In the Gk. renderings in the LXX, approximately two-thirds are *eschatos* “last,” 5 are *enkataleimma* “remainder” or *kataloipos* “remaining” (Psa 37:37f. and Ezek 23:25[bis]; Amos 9:1, resp.), 6 with *teleutaios* “last,” or *teleutē* or *synteleia* “end” (Prov 14:12f.; 16:25; 20:21 [= 9b LXX]; and 24:14 and Deut 11:12, resp.). These are less significant for understanding the word  $\lambda\eta^{\alpha}r\hat{i}t$  (on the etymology see 1b) than some analogies in related Sem. languages, such as Ug. *uhryt* (see 1b), and the meaning “posterity” alongside “future” in Akk. (*ahrātu/ahrûtu*, cf. *AHW* 21a; *CAD* A/1:194b, 195a) and in Aram. (*ḥrth* “his posterity” in a 7th-cent. BCE inscription from Nerab, *ANET* 661b; *KAI* no. 226.10; Nab. *ḥr* “posterity”; cf. *DISO* 10). If one also remembers that Hebr. does not differentiate formally between the comparative and the superlative of the adj. and that, as in most languages, it does not offer a distinct abstract time concept of “temporal essence,” then the usage of  $\lambda\eta^{\alpha}r\hat{i}t$  in the basic meaning “that which comes afterward” may be easily explained in all OT texts.

The meaning “last, remainder” (e.g., *KBL* 33b; cf. LXX)—which complements the notion of coming later with the element of being present, remaining—should be discarded in favor of “that which comes afterward” = “posterity” (cf. *GB* 27a; *HAL* 36b) in Jer 31:17 (par. “children”); Ezek 23:25(bis) (par. “sons and daughters”; the distinction in Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:475f., is unconvincing); Amos 4:2 and 9:1 (in an unclear context); Psa 37:37f. (or “future”); 109:13 (par. “another generation”); Dan 11:4.

Depending upon whether the time period envisioned by the speaker is limitless or limited,  $\lambda\eta^{\alpha}r\hat{i}t$  may acquire a more comparative (“later time = future”) or superlative (“last time = close, end”) connotation, although an end point in the sense of a simple termination (for which  $\rightarrow q\bar{e}s$ , from *qss* “to cut off”) is never intended.

$\lambda\eta^{\alpha}r\hat{i}t$  clearly has a nonfinal meaning in Jer 29:11, “future and hope”; Prov 23:18 = 24:14 “future” (par. “hope”); 24:20, “the evil one has no future” (cf. W. Zimmerli, “Concerning the Structure of OT Wisdom,” *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* [1976], 205n.35).  $\lambda\eta^{\alpha}r\hat{i}t$  clearly has a final sense in Deut 11:12, “from the beginning of the year to the end of the year”; Jer 5:31, “when there is an end to it”; Dan 12:8, “what is the end of these things?” as well as in the meaning “last time” (Dan 8:19, 23). Process and end are contained in the meanings “outcome, end (of a thing)” (Isa 41:22; 46:10; 47:7; Amos 8:10; Prov 14:12 = 16:25; 14:13 txt em; 20:21; 25:8; Eccl 7:8,

alongside *rēšît* “beginning”; 10:13 alongside *t<sup>e</sup>hillâ* “beginning”; Lam 1:9; cf. Rudolph, KAT 17, 213) and “end of someone’s life” (Num 23:10 par. “death”; 24:20; Deut 32:20, 29; Jer 17:11 alongside “midst of his days”; Psa 73:17; Job 8:7 alongside “beginning”; Prov 29:21; Jer 12:4 should probably read *ʾorḥôtēnû* “our paths”). An unequivocal choice between the two options is often impossible for texts best rendered in Eng. by adv. expressions (Deut 8:16, “finally”; Job 42:12 and Prov 23:32, “afterward”; Prov 5:4, 11, “lastly”; the emendation *b<sup>e</sup>ʾorḥōteykā* “in your ways” has been proposed for Prov 19:20, where the choice between “in the future” and “at your end” is difficult).

In connection with an expression of movement (superlative), *ʾaḥ<sup>a</sup>rît* “that which comes last” acquires a local meaning in Psa 139:9, “if I were to take the wings of dawn and settle at the extremes of the sea” (cf. on the contrary the purely static *qîšôn* “outermost” in Exod 26:4, 10; 36:11, 17, “the outermost curtain”).

A qualitative meaning “last = worst,” widely accepted for Jer 50:12 based on an appeal to *rēšît* “first, best” (cf. Num 24:20 and Amos 6:1, “first of the nations”; B. Duhm, *Jer*, KHC, 362; Weiser, ATD 21, 427; KBL 33b, among others), should be rejected with P. Volz (*Jer*, KAT [19282], 242f.) and W. Rudolph (*ZAW* 48 [1930]: 285) on exegetical grounds (Rudolph, HAT 12, 300: “see, [that is] the end of the heathens”; cf. Jer 17:11).

(b) The much-discussed expression *b<sup>e</sup>ʾaḥ<sup>a</sup>rît hayyāmîm* (13x: Gen 49:1; Num 24:14; Deut 4:30; 31:29; Isa 2:2 = Mic 4:1; Jer 23:20 = 30:24; 48:47; 49:39; Ezek 38:16; Hos 3:5; Dan 10:14; and Aram. *b<sup>e</sup>ʾaḥ<sup>a</sup>rît yômayyā* in Dan 2:28), which has so far been treated together with *b<sup>e</sup>ʾaḥ<sup>a</sup>rît haššānîm* (Ezek 38:8), should be understood against the background of the discussion to this point. The interpretation of the expression was determined for too long by the later usage of the term *eschatos* in apocalypticism, but since the 1960s scholars have offered a more adequate evaluation of the formula in the framework of the givens of the Hebr. language and of the history of OT religion (cf. e.g., G. W. Buchanan, “Eschatology and the ‘End of Days,’” *JNES* 20 [1961]: 188–93; A. Kapelrud, *VT* 11 [1961]: 395f.; H. Kosmala, “At the End of the Days,” *ASTI* 2 [1963]: 27–37; Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 81f.; Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:306f.).

On the older positions cf. Kosmala, op. cit. 27f.: if one translated the expression with W. Staerk (*ZAW* 11 [1891]: 247–53) as “at the end of days” or “in the last days” and understood it as eschatological in the stricter sense, one came necessarily either to an early dating of eschatology (e.g., H. Gressmann, *Der Messias* [1929], 74ff., 82ff.) or to a comprehensive late dating of the texts in question (e.g., S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* [1956], 131).

Because the expression *hayyāmîm* “the days” (or *haššānîm* “the years”) does not refer to time per se (→ *yôm*; on the lack of the abstract, “empty” concept of time, cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 2:99ff.), nor to a limited period of time (era, present epoch), but to “the time currently transpiring” (with a light demonstrative force of the art.; cf. Kosmala, op. cit. 29), one should not assume the final meaning “end” for *ʾaḥʾrît*, but, as in Akk. *ina/ana aḥrât ūmî* “in the future,” etc. (*AHw* 21a; *CAD* A/1:194), the nonfinal meaning “later time, continuation, sequel, future.” From the outset, therefore, no esp. eschatological meaning characterizes the expression *b<sup>ʿ</sup>ʾaḥʾrît hayyāmîm* “in the sequence of time, in future days”; it signifies practically nothing more than the preceding *ʾaḥar* “after this” in Hos 3:5 and the subsequent *ʾaḥʾrê d<sup>e</sup>nâ* “thereafter” in Dan 2:29 (cf. v 45; Buchanan, op. cit. 190; Kosmala, op. cit. 29).

On the age of individual texts, see Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 88: in addition to Gen 49:1 (introduction to the prophecies of Jacob’s blessing) and Num 24:14 (“what this people will do to your people at a later time”), Isa 2:2 (“it will occur in the days to come”), and Jer 23:20 (Rudolph, HAT 12, 152f.: “it will become clear and meaningful to you afterward”) may also be pre-exilic, against which Jer 30:24 (= 23:20); 48:47; and 49:39 (“but afterward I will restore Moab/Edom”) should be regarded as post-exilic, as well as Hos 3:5 (closing formula of a promise) and Mic 4:1 (= Isa 2:2).

The secondary Dtn texts Deut 4:30 and 31:29 envision the calamitous present from the standpoint of the author, but an unspecified future from the standpoint of the fictive speaker, Moses, (4:30, “when all of this comes upon you in your distress in the time to come”; 31:29, “after my death . . . then calamity will come upon you in the time to come”; cf. in 4:32, “the earlier days = the past” as a contrast to the future of v 30); a special treatment of these two texts on account of their supposed eschatological content (H. H. Schmid, “Das Verständnis der Geschichte im Dtn.,” *ZTK* 64 [1967]: 12n.71) seems unjustified.

Although the late texts Ezek 38:8, 16 and Dan 2:28; 10:14 stand in general contexts that are thoroughly eschatological in the stricter sense, they too are only prophecies concerning the distant future. If one translates “last time” (cf. *ʾaḥʾrît* in Dan 8:19, 23; 12:8), then the expression, in itself elastic, is colored by the context. Terminologically, the word → *qēṣ*, not quite synonymous with *ʾaḥʾrît* (Kosmala, op. cit. 30f.), occurs in Dan for the “end” in the actual sense.

Unlike prophetic introductory formulas not far removed from *b<sup>ʿ</sup>ʾaḥʾrît hayyāmîm* in terms of meaning (e.g., *bayyôm hahûʾ* “in that day,” *bayyāmîm hāhēm* “in those days,” *bāʿēt hahîʾ* “at that time,” *hinnēh yāmîm bāʾîm* “behold, days are coming”), no formulaic usage of the expression may be

identified (contra Gressmann, op. cit. 84). Only Isa 2:2, “and it will happen in the course of days,” may involve such a formulaic usage, but it is a unique introductory formula; otherwise, in terms of distribution and placement within a phrase, the expression is a rather ordinary temporal designation (its frequent placement at the end of the phrase [cf. Gen 49:1; Jer 48:47; 49:39; Hos 3:5] is due to its meaning).

5. On the continuation of the usage treated in 4b in the intertestamental and NT writings, cf. Kosmala, op. cit. 32ff.; G. Kittel, “ἔσχατος,” *TDNT* 2:697f. On the exclusion of any other god (see 3) in the NT, cf. H. W. Beyer, “ἕτερος,” *TDNT* 2:702–4.

E. Jenni

## יָבֵב *ʾōyēb* enemy

S 341; BDB 33a; *HALOT* 1:38b; *TDOT* 1:212–18; *TWOT* 78; *NIDOTTE* 367

1. The root *yb* “to be hostile to” is extant only in Akk. and Can. In the OT, *yb* qal occurs with only one exception in the ptcp., which is only rarely verbal (1 Sam 18:29; cf. Psa 69:5; Lam 3:52); as a rule it is a substantive. The abstract noun *ēbâ* “enmity” is included as a derivative.

Akk. *ayyābu* (and derivatives; cf. *AHw* 23f.; *CAD* A/1:221–24) and Ug. *ib* (*WUS* no. 7; *UT* no. 144; cf. also Can. *ibi* in EA 129:96 and 252:28, according to W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 89 [1943]: 32n.26) are attested only nominally, each in different nom. formations. In *KTU* 1.4.VII.35f., *ib* is par. to *šnu* “hater”; on the par. to Psa 92:10 in *KTU* 1.2.IV.8f., cf. H. Donner, *ZAW* 79 [1967]: 344–46.

Aram. uses primarily the ptcp. of → *śnʾ* “to hate” for “enemy” (e.g., in the Sef. inscriptions, *KAI* nos. 222B.26; 223B.14; 224.10–12; Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 16f., 82f., 89, 98f.; *Bibl. Aram.* in Dan 4:16 par. *ʿār*, → *šrr*) and later, e.g., Syr., *b<sup>c</sup>eld<sup>e</sup>bābā* (< Akk. *bēl dabābi*).

The PN *ʾyôb* (Job) may derive from another source; cf. Stamm, *HEN* 416; → *ʾāb* III/5 and → *ʾayyēh* 1.

2. *ʾōyēb* occurs 282x (incl. 1 Sam 18:29 and fem. *ʾōyebet* in Mic 7:8, 10), 80x in the sg. and 202x in the pl. (2 Sam 19:10 pl. contrary to Mandl. 41c). The term is most frequent in Psa (74x), followed by Deut 25x, 1 Sam 20x, Jer 19x, 2 Sam 16x, Lam 15x, Lev 13x (only in Lev 26:7–44), Josh 11x; concentrations are in the psalms of lament and in the historical books;

the word becomes much less frequent in the wisdom literature (and in Isa).

*ʔyb* qal occurs 1x as a finite verb (Exod 23:22 with a figura etymologica, par. → *srr*), *ʔēbā* 5x (Gen 3:15; Num 35:21f.; Ezek 25:15; 35:5).

3. (a) The sg. *ʔōyēb* describes the individual, particular enemy only rarely (in legal disputes: Exod 23:4; Num 35:23; Samson: Judg 16:23f.; Saul and David: 1 Sam 18:29; 19:17; 24:5; 26:8; 2 Sam 4:8; Elijah against Ahab: 1 Kgs 21:20; Nebuchadnezzar: Jer 44:30b; Job against God: Job 13:24; 33:10; Haman: Esth 7:6; on Yahweh as enemy, see 4). “The enemy” usually occurs in the general sense of the pl. “the enemies” (cf. e.g., 1 Kgs 8:37, 44 with 2 Chron 6:28, 34 and the alternation of sg. and pl. in Lam).

In most cases politico-military enemies of the people Israel are meant, as in various types of historiography (Num 10:9; 14:42; 32:21; Deut 1:42; 6:19; 12:10; 25:19; 11x in Josh 7:8–23:1; Judg 2:14[bis], 18; 3:28; 8:34; 11:36; 1 Sam 4:3; 12:10f.; 14:30; 29:8; 2 Sam 3:18; 19:10; 2 Kgs 17:39; 21:14[bis]; Esth 8:13; 9:1, 5, 16, 22; Ezra 8:22, 31; 5x in Neh; 2 Chron 20:27, 29; 25:8; 26:13), in community laments (Psa 44:17; 74:3, 10, 18; 80:7), in hymns (Psa 78:53; 81:15; 106:10, 42; cf. Deut 32:27, 31, 42; 33:27), and also in the Dtn war regulations (Deut 20:1, 3f., 14; 21:10; 23:10, 15) and in Solomon’s prayer at the temple dedication (6x in 1 Kgs 8:33–48 par. 2 Chron 6:24–36). Concentrations of the word in blessings, cursings, and similar contexts are noteworthy (Gen 22:17; 49:8; Exod 23:22, 27; 13x in Lev 26:7–44; Num 10:35; 23:11; 24:10, 18 txt em; 8x in Deut 28:7–68; 30:7; 33:29; 1 Sam 25:26, 29; 2 Sam 18:32; 1 Kgs 3:11), to which occurrences in prophetic salvation and judgment sayings are topically related (in Isa only Isa 9:10; 62:8; otherwise in all texts the “enemy” is a personified foreign nation, with the exception of Jer 30:14; Nah 1:2, 8 [see 4]; Mic 7:6 [see below]; Mic 7:8, 10).

Outside the Psa (see b), an individual’s enemies receive infrequent mention (1 Sam 2:1; 14:24, 47; 18:25; 20:15f.; 24:5; 29:8; 2 Sam 5:20 = 1 Chron 14:11; 2 Sam 7:1, 9, 11 = 1 Chron 17:8, 10; 2 Sam 18:19; Mic 7:6; Psa 127:5 [a wisdom psalm]; Job 27:7; Prov 16:7; 24:17; 1 Chron 21:12; 22:9); the enemies of the kings should for the most part be equated with those of the people (2 Sam 22 = Psa 18:1, 4, 18, 38, 41, 49; Psa 21:9; 45:6; 72:9; 89:23, 43; 110:1f.; 132:18).

On the euphemistic insertion of *ʔōyʔbē* in 1 Sam 20:16; 25:22; 2 Sam 12:14, cf. HAL 37b (with bibliog.) and comms.

The most frequent par. expressions are the qal/pi. ptcps. of → *śnʔ* “hater” (qal: Exod 23:4; Lev 26:17; Deut 30:7; 2 Sam 22:18 = Psa 18:18; Psa 21:9; 35:19; 38:20; 69:5; 106:10; Esth 9:1, 5, 16; pi.: Num 10:35; 2

Sam 22:41 = Psa 18:41; Psa 55:13; 68:2; 83:3) and *šār* “oppressor” (→ *šrr*; Num 10:9; Deut 32:27; Isa 1:24; 9:10 txt?; Mic 5:8; Nah 1:2; Psa 13:5; 27:2; 74:10; 81:15; 89:43; Lam 1:5; 2:4, 17; 4:12; Esth 7:6; cf. *šōrēr* Exod 23:22; Num 10:9; Psa 8:3; 143:12).

Other quasi-synonyms that appear with *ʾōyēb* include *m<sup>a</sup>baqqēš rā<sup>ʿ</sup>ā* or *nepēš* “one who seeks evil” or “who seeks one’s life” (→ *bqš*; Num 35:23; 1 Sam 25:26 or Jer 19:7, 9; 21:7; 34:20f.; 44:30[bis]; 49:37, resp.), *qām* “adversary” (→ *qūm*; Exod 15:6; 2 Sam 22:49 = Psa 18:49; Nah 1:8 txt em; cf. 2 Sam 18:32; *mitqômēm* Psa 59:2; Job 27:7), *mitnaqqēm* “vengeful one” (→ *nqm*; Psa 8:3; 44:17). The synonym *šōrēr* “enemy” occurs in general proximity to *ʾōyēb* in Psa 5:9; 27:11; 54:7; 56:3; 59:11. Cf. also → *štn* and the lists in Gunkel-Begrich 196f.

On the antonym *ʾōhēb* “friend” → *ʾhb* III/1.

(b) The question of who the individual’s enemies in lament and thanksgiving psalms may be has already been much discussed (G. Marschall, *Die “Gottlosen” des ersten Psalmenbuches* [1929]; H. Birkeland, *Die Feinde des Individuums in der isr. Psalmenliteratur* [1933]; id., *Evildoers in the Book of Psalms* [1955]; N. H. Ridderbos, *De “werkers der ongerechtigheid” in de individueele Psalmen* [1939]; A. F. Puukko, “Der Feind in den atl. Psalmen,” *OTS* 8 [1950]: 47–65; Westermann, *PLP* 165–213; summaries in J. J. Stamm, *TRu* 23 [1955]: 50–55; Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:95–99).

The material is cataloged in Gunkel-Begrich 196f., among others; texts with *ʾōyēb*, all contained in the genres of the individual hymns of lament and thanksgiving (incl. songs of confidence), are, with the sg.: Psa 7:6; 9:7; 13:3, 5; 31:9; 41:12; 42:10; 43:2; 55:4, 13; 61:4; 64:2; 143:3; with the pl.: Psa 3:8; 6:11; 9:4; 17:9; 25:2, 19; 27:2, 6; 30:2; 31:16; 35:19; 38:20; 41:3, 6; 54:9; 56:10; 59:2; 69:5, 19; 71:10; 102:9; 138:7; 139:22; 143:9, 12; cf. 119:98.

For the most part, interpretations involving party conflict (older Psa exegesis), magicians (S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* 1 [1921]), and enemies from abroad (Birkeland, op. cit.) should be rejected. Statements concerning the individual’s enemies (their threatening schemes, their mocking speech, their corruption; cf. *PLP* 188–93) distinguish themselves markedly from those concerning the enemies in community laments. Although the enemies have already smitten Israel in the latter, in the former they threaten only the sick or the one fallen into legal difficulties. They do not cause the conditions of distress; rather, they attack the supplicant because he/she has fallen into misfortune (cf. Psa 71:11). The fact of the break within the existing social relationship greatly magnifies the difficulty (cf. Psa 41:7; 55:22).

The book of Job provides the best background for explanation and

illustration. Because Job has fallen into difficulty, his friends consider him guilty and suspect him of secret sin. In 2 Sam 16, David too becomes the object of contempt and even actual attack following his displacement by Absalom. Sudden fall into suffering in the world of the time is still occasion for isolation, reproach, contempt, and animosity. Private conflicts and religious differences sharpen the isolation of the one who is already halfway in the realm of the dead (C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des AT* [1947], 104–7).

4. (a) Texts that treat Yahweh's intervention against the people's or the individual's enemies (e.g., Exod 23:22, "If you . . . do all that I command, then I will be the enemy of your enemies and the oppressor of your oppressors") need not be listed. That Yahweh also hands his people over to the enemies is a possibility exhibited by the prophetic judgment preaching (Hos 8:3; Amos 9:4) and by the blessing-curse chaps. Lev 26 and Deut 28, and is expressed above all in Jer (Jer 6:25; 12:7; 15:9, 14; 17:4; 18:17; 19:7, 9; 20:4f.; 21:7; 34:20f.; 44:30; *ʔōyēb* occurs otherwise in Jer only in Jer 15:11 txt?; 30:14 [see b]; 31:16 in a promise of restoration; and 49:37 in an oracle against the nations), in the laments (all texts), and in the Dtr history (Judg 2:14; 1 Kgs 8:33, 37, 46, 48 par.; 2 Kgs 21:14; cf. Neh 9:28).

(b) That Yahweh succeeds against his own enemies is already the theme of the oldest songs, which extol Yahweh as warrior (Exod 15:6, "your right hand, Yahweh, smashes the enemy"; cf. v 9; Num 10:35, in the ark saying, "stand up, Yahweh, so that your enemy may be dispersed"; Judg 5:31, "may all your enemies, Yahweh, perish so"). Similar statements occur in Psa, esp. in hymns with a somewhat archaic tone (Psa 8:3; 66:3; 68:2, 22, 24; 89:11, 52; 92:10[bis]). In the prophets, Isa 42:13; 59:18; 66:6, 14; and Nah 1:2, 8 continue the practice.

Texts such as 1 Sam 30:26 ("a gift from the plunder of Yahweh's enemies" with a propagandistic nuance, if *ʔōyēbē* is not a secondary insertion; cf. W. Caspari, *Sam*, KAT, 387); Isa 1:24 (Yahweh's enemies within Israel); Psa 37:20 (a wisdom comparison of the godless with the enemies of Yahweh); 83:3 (in a communal lament in a so-called motif of divine intervention, the enemies of the people are presented to Yahweh as "your enemies") are isolated.

(c) Yahweh himself is called Israel's enemy directly only in Isa 63:10 ("therefore, he changed into their enemy"). Jer 30:14 and Lam 2:4f. compare Yahweh's activity with that of an enemy ("like an enemy"). Each states a paradox.

5. In the LXX, *ʔōyēb* is rendered almost exclusively by *echthros*. In the Qumran texts, *ʔōyēb* is frequent in 1QM (Kuhn, *Konk.* 4; also GCD S 8, 118). On the NT and its environment, cf. W. Foerster, "ἐχθρός," *TDNT*

2:811–15.

The concept of “love of the enemy” is absent from the OT; although some cite Exod 23:4f., only the fair treatment of the legal opponent with respect to aid in everyday situations is required here (Prov 25:21 uses → *śnʿ*).

E. Jenni

## דַּיָּד *ḡēd* **distress**

S 343; BDB 15b; *HALOT* 1:39a; *TWOT* 38c; *NIDOTTE* 369

1. The root of the noun *ḡēd* “distress” cannot be clearly determined. An unattested verb \**ḡûd* is usually assumed as the stem, for which Arab. words such as *ḡāda* (*ū*) (e.g., Zorell 40; contra P. Humbert, *TZ* 5 [1949]: 88; cf. L. Kopf, *VT* 6 [1956]: 289) are adduced. *HAL* 38a traces the word to \**ḡaid* or \**ḡayid*.

A verb *ḡûd* would indeed be attested, if one understood (*lʿ*)*ḡēd* in Prov 17:5 as a ptcp., as recommended by G. R. Driver (*Bib* 32 [1951]: 182), who emends, however, to (*lā*)*ḡēd* (“as it ought to be written!”), and as understood by M. Dahood (*PNSP* 38f.) in reference to Ug., without emendation, as “a stative ptcp.”; cf. further Gemser, *HAT* 16, 72f.; *CPT* 266, 321 (on Job 31:23 and 2 Sam 13:16).

Indeed, it may be better to proceed from Akk. *edû(m)* II “(threatening) flood, flood surge” (*AHw* 187b), which refers to “a rare and catastrophic event” (*CAD* E:36a), and assume it to be a Sum.-Akk. loanword (cf. E. A. Speiser, *BASOR* 140 [1955]: 9–11; M. Sæbø, “Die hebr. Nomina *ḡed* und *ḡēd*,” *ST* 24 [1970]: 130–141).

2. *ḡēd* occurs 24x: in Job and Prov, 6x each; Jer, 5x, Obad 13, 3x; elsewhere Deut 32:35; Ezek 35:5; 2 Sam 22:19 = Psa 18:19. The texts of Ezek 35:5, as well as Prov 17:5; 27:10; and Job 31:23, have often been disputed. Except for Ezek 35:5, *ḡēd* occurs only in poetry. It never carries the art., although it is further specified 2x by PNs and 17x by sufs.

3. The word represents a relatively fixed term for “distress”; it is difficult to trace its semantic history. Nevertheless, two usages distinguish themselves from each other so clearly that their basic meaning should be differentiated semantically: (a) in a political or military sense in reference to a *people* (2 Sam 22:19 = Psa 18:19 too); (b) of the fate of an *individual* or a smaller group of individuals; the latter category involves the 12 wisdom occurrences in Job and Prov.

In both categories, *ʿēd* is often associated with “day” (Deut 32:35; 2 Sam 22:19 = Psa 18:19; Jer 18:17; 46:21; Obad 13 [3x]; Job 21:30; Prov 27:10) or “time” (*ʿēt*, Ezek 35:5; cf. Jer 46:21; 49:8); with the prep. *be*, it is a significant temporal and circumstantial determination. It can be said with equal validity of both groups that *ʿēd* comes “suddenly,” surely in the sense of humanly “unfathomable” (Deut 32:35; Jer 48:16; Prov 6:15; 24:22; cf. 1:27). The predicate often has *bôʿ*, either in the qal “to come” (Jer 46:21; Prov 6:15; Job 21:17; cf. Jer 48:16 and *ʿātâ* “to come” Prov 1:27) or causatively in the hi. “to bring” (Jer 49:8, 32); in this regard, moreover, it is associated 3x with *ʿal* (Jer 46:21; 49:8; Job 21:17; cf. 30:12; Prov 1:27). Otherwise, in (a) *ʿēd* “is near” (*qārôb*; Deut 32:35; Jer 48:16) or in (b) it “arises” (*qûm*; Prov 24:22) or “stands ready (*nākôn*) for (the evildoer’s) fall” (Job 18:12).

The word has several synonyms in both categories, but almost no antonym (cf., however, *nēr* “lamp” in Job 21:17; cf. also 18:5 and Horst, BK 16, 270); but the synonyms too are distributed among (a) and (b).

In (a) one encounters the frequent *rāʿâ* “evil, distress” (Jer 48:16; Obad 13; cf. also e.g., Isa 7:5; Jer 1:14) and expressions that sound the theme, favored by the prophets, of divine punishment (Jer 46:21; 49:8); cf. further Ezek 35:5, “at the time of their final punishment,” and Obad 12, 14, “in the day of his misfortune/their fall/distress.” By contrast, in (b) one encounters two uncommon words for “distress”: *pîd* (Prov 24:22; otherwise only Job 12:5; 30:24; 31:29; cf. KBL 759a and Fohrer, KAT 16, 232, 237: “fall”) and *nēker* (Job 31:3; cf. Obad 12; “something strange” = “something disastrous”); then the more frequent *paḥad* “terror” (Prov 1:26f.; cf. Job 31:23, etc.), *yôm ʿbārôt* “day of wrath” (Job 21:30), and *ḥ<sup>a</sup>bālîm* “pain” (Job 21:17), whereby *ʿēd* is associated with illness; so also in Job 30, where it is coupled with *ʿorḥôt* “ways” (HAL 84a: “dams”); Prov 1:27 compares *ʿēd* to a storm wind (cf. further Jer 18:17).

Over against the prophetic usage of *ʿēd* in (a), which seems to be traditional, the wisdom usage in (b) is more manifold and rich. The word may have had its own life in the wisdom sphere, but was then adopted by (later) prophetic speech.

4. The abstract nom. is, indeed, theologically neutral only in Prov 27:10; otherwise occurrences in Job and Prov express a theologically based (experiential) wisdom. *ʿēd* refers positively to God; even though it is also personified (esp. Job 18:12; cf. Fohrer, KAT 16, 303), it is still never subordinated to a “fate,” but to God who brings it about (cf. Job 31:23; Prov 24:22). It is negatively associated with the disastrous destiny of the godless (*ʿawwāl, raʿ, r<sup>e</sup>šāʿîm*); it is “the final ruin which leads to death” (Fohrer, op. cit.). It belongs in the wisdom scheme of “deed and consequence” (cf. K. Koch, ZTK 52 [1955]: 2ff.); it can also appear, then, in the theodicy and lament of the embattled pious (Job 21:17, 30); in the final analysis one may trace it to God’s righteousness. Indeed, prophetic occurrences, several of

which center upon the national and religious crisis of the year 587 (Obad 13; Ezek 35:5; cf. Jer 49:8, 32) also point in the same direction;  $\text{ʔ}ēd$  expresses God's judicial activity (cf. Jer 18:17; 46:21; 48:16; also Deut 32:35). In the (perhaps late) thanksgiving hymn, Psa 18 and par.,  $\text{ʔ}ēd$  is the polar opposite of divine help and salvation.

5. The word has no equivalent in the LXX; instead it is rendered by no fewer than twelve Gk. words, of which *apōleia* (9x) and *katastrophē* (2x) may be mentioned. Finally, the word is not attested in the available texts from Qumran and appears to have had no significance in the NT.

M. Sæbø

## 𐤀𐤓𐤁 $\text{ʔ}ayyēh$ where?

S 346; BDB 32b; HALOT 1:39a; TWOT 75a; NIDOTTE 372

1. The element \* $\text{ʔ}ay-$ , extant in all Sem. languages, occurs in various interrogative advs. and interrogative prons. (Barth, *Pronominalbildung* 144–49; GVG 1:327f.; Moscati, *Intro.* 114f., 120f.), incl. the Hebr. interrogative particles to be treated here:  $\text{ʔ}ē$ ,  $\text{ʔ}ēpōh$ , and  $\text{ʔ}ayyēh$  “where?” (cf. Ug. *iy*, WUS no. 161; UT no. 143); also  $\text{ʔ}ēmizzeh$  and *mēʔayin* “whither?”  $\text{ʔ}ān/\text{ʔ}ānā$  “(where), whither?” and  $\text{ʔ}ī-$  “where is?” in PNs (HAL 37b; Stamm, HEN 416). The negated statement “there is not” develops from the rhetorical question “where is?” ( $\rightarrow$   $\text{ʔ}ayin$ ; cf. GVG 1:500; 2:114; BL 633f.; I. Guidi, “Particelle interrogative e negative nelle lingue semitiche,” FS Browne 175–78; A. Goetze, “Ugaritic Negations,” FS Pedersen 115–23; cf. Akk. *yānu* “is/are not” < *ayyānum* “where?” GAG §111b; CAD I/J:323f.)

$\text{ʔ}ēkâ$  (Song Sol 1:7[bis]) and  $\text{ʔ}ēkōh$  (2 Kgs 6:13) in the meaning “where?” are Aramaisms (Wagner no. 10).

G. R. Driver's (WO 1 [1947]: 31) suggestion that  $\text{ʔ}al$  in 1 Sam 27:10 (usually emended to  $\text{ʔ}el-mî$  or  $\text{ʔ}ān$ ) may be associated with Akk. *ali* “where?” is unlikely.

2. The roughly 90 OT texts with the question “where?” (in addition to 27x “whence?” and 20x “whither?”) use an entire series of interrogatives that are all formed with \* $\text{ʔ}ay-$ ; the most frequent, and the most important theologically, is  $\text{ʔ}ayyēh$ .

The following occur in the meaning “where?”: (1)  $\text{ʔ}ē$  4x (Gen 4:9; Deut 32:37; 1 Sam 26:16; Prov 31:4 Q txt?; cf. Gemser, HAT 16, 108; contra N. M. Sarna, JNES 15

[1956]: 118f.; *UT* §6.31 and no. 52: “any liquor”);

(2) *ʿē zeh/ʿē-zeh* 17x, sometimes in a pron. usage “which?” (1 Sam 9:18; 1 Kgs 13:12; 22:24 = 2 Chron 18:23 plus *hadderek*; 2 Kgs 3:8; Isa 50:1; 66:1[bis]; Jer 6:16; Job 28:12, 20; 38:19[bis], 24; Eccl 2:3; 11:6; Esth 7:5; cf. further *ʿē mizzeh* “whence?” 9x and *mēʿayin* “whence?” 17x, incl. 2 Kgs 5:25 Q; and *ʿē lāzōʿt* “on what account?” once in Jer 5:7);

(3) *ʿēpōh* (*ʿyph*) 10x (Gen 37:16; Judg 8:18; 1 Sam 19:22; 2 Sam 9:4; Isa 49:21; Jer 3:2; 36:19; Job 4:7; 38:4; Ruth 2:19; not to be confused with the *ʿēpōʿ* “for, therefore,” written *ʿpwʿ* or *ʿpw*, which can accompany interrogatives such as *ʿayyēh* to intensify them);

(4) *ʿēkā* 2x (Song Sol 1:7[bis]; otherwise 15x in the meaning “how?” alongside 60x *ʿēk*, 4x *ʿēkākā*, and 2x *hík* [Aramaism; cf. Wagner no. 73 and *Bibl. Aram. hēʿ-kʿdī* “how” in Dan 2:43 < *hēk dī*, KBL 1068a]);

(5) *ʿēkōh* 1x (2 Kgs 6:13);

(6) *ʿānā* 1x (Ruth 2:19; otherwise 19x “whither?” and 3x *ʿāneh wʿānā* “hither and thither,” as well as 13x “[until] when?” → *māṭay*); cf. *ʿān* in *mēʿān* “whence?” 2 Kgs 5:25 K, “whither?” 1 Sam 10:14; “(until) when?” Job 8:2;

(7) *ʿayyēh* 45x (Isa 10x, Jer 6x, Psa and Job 5x each, Gen 4x; in Judg 9:38 and Job 17:15 strengthened by *ʿēpōh* “then,” in Psa 115:2 by *nāʿ* “then”);

(8) with a pron. suf. with *ʿē* or *ʿayyēh* 8x (Gen 3:9; Exod 2:20; 2 Kgs 19:13; Isa 19:12 with *ʿēpōʿ* “who, then, are . . . ?”; Mic 7:10; Nah 3:17; Job 14:10; 20:7).

Aram. *ʿān* (*DISO* 18) is not attested in *Bibl. Aram.*

3. Perhaps only half of the *where* questions in the OT are genuine questions. In the majority of the cases *ʿayyēh* (exceptions are Gen 18:9; 19:5; 22:7; 38:21; Exod 2:20; 2 Sam 16:3; 17:20; Jer 2:6, 8; Job 35:10; Lam 2:12; in Nah 3:17 and Job 15:23 the text should be emended), and to a lesser degree *ʿē(-zeh)* and *ʿēpōh* (only Deut 32:37; Isa 50:1 or Jer 3:2; Job 4:7; 38:4, resp.), introduce rhetorical questions that, for various stylistic reasons (hyperbole, irony and derision, expression of lament, perplexity, etc.), expect the answer “nowhere.” Examples from profane speech are Judg 9:38, “where is your mouth, now, you who said . . .”; Nah 2:12, “where, now, is the lion’s lair . . .”; Job 17:15, “where, then, is there still hope for me?”

Questions with “whence?” and “whither?” are generally genuine questions (even Psa 121:1, “whence comes my help?”), which could sometimes become somewhat formulaic usages to open conversation (e.g., Judg 19:17, “whither are you going and

whence are you coming?"; cf. Lande 40f.). Rhetorical questions also express the perplexity of the questioner or the impossibility of exit (with *mēʿayin*: Num 11:13; 2 Kgs 6:27; Nah 3:7; with *ʿānā*: Gen 37:30; 2 Sam 13:13; Isa 10:3).

4. Psalmic, prophetic, and wisdom diction use the rhetorical question "where, then, is *x*" (= *x* is nowhere) in numerous forms (cf. F. Asensio, "Teología e historia del pacto en torno a una interrogación bíblica," *Gregorianum* 47 [1966]: 665–84).

Distinct from this usage are cases in which the questioner already knows the answer ("here," etc.) but poses the question nevertheless, in order to appeal urgently to someone's responsibility: Gen 3:9, "Adam, where are you?"; 4:9, "where is your brother, Abel?"; 1 Sam 26:16, "where is the king's spear?"; also 2 Kgs 2:14, "where, now, is Yahweh, the God of Elijah?" as an appeal to Yahweh to manifest himself in a wondrous act.

The rhetorical question "where" in reference to God (in contrast to the authentic concern for God, which is, however, lacking in those mentioned in Jer 2:6, 8; Job 35:10) should be understood in most cases as a malicious denial of the existence and activity of God, less often (in the question concerning God's mighty deeds) as a lament of the embattled and as an appeal to the hidden God to demonstrate his (former) might (Judg 6:13; Isa 63:11[bis], 15; Mal 2:17; Psa 89:50, "where are your former demonstrations of grace?"). Community laments cite the enemies' mocking question: "Where now is their God?" (Joel 2:17; Psa 79:10; 115:2; cf. Mic 7:10; hence also in the individual lament, Psa 42:4, 11, "Where now is your God?"; similarly in the lament-prayer of Jer 17:15, "Where then is the word of Yahweh?"). The Rabshakeh's speech with the question, "Where are the gods of Hamath?" (2 Kgs 18:34 = Isa 36:19; cf. 2 Kgs 19:13 = Isa 37:13), also applies implicitly to the God of Israel. But Yahweh can also scoff at the impotence of the idols (Deut 32:37, "Where are their gods?"; Jer 2:28, "Where are your gods that you have made?").

In the spirited language of the prophetic and wisdom disputation, the rhetorical "where" is also used in the most varied contexts; cf. Isa 19:12; 33:18 (3x); 50:1; 51:13; Jer 3:2; 13:20; 37:19; Ezek 13:12; Hos 13:10, 14(bis) (reading *ʿayyēh* for MT *ʿhî*); Zech 1:5; Mal 1:6(bis); Job 4:7; 14:10; 20:7; 21:28(bis); 38:4; unanswerable questions as evidence for the finitude of knowledge: Job 28:12, 20; 38:19(bis), 24.

In view of the broad distribution of the stylistic technique (J. Konopsek, "Les 'questions rhétoriques' dans le NT," *RHPR* 12 [1932]: 47–66, 141–61; BDF §496), rhetorical questions with *pou* "where?" in the NT (Luke 8:25; Rom 3:27; 1 Cor 1:20 quoting Isa 19:11f.; 12:17; 15:55 following Hos 13:14; Gal 4:15; 1 Pet 4:18 quoting Prov 11:31 LXX; 2 Pet 3:4) may derive from OT tradition only in the event of thematic dependence.

E. Jenni

## אֵינְ אֵינְ *ʾayin* nothing

S 369; BDB 34a; *HALOT* 1:41b; *TWOT* 81; *NIDOTTE* 401

1. Hebr. *ʾayin* “nothing, is not” has cognates in Akk. *yānu* (*GAG* §§111b, 190b, Middle and Late Bab.), Ug. *in* (*WUS* no. 294; *UT* nos. 149, 252), Moab. *ʾn* (*KAI* no. 181.24); cf. Pun. *yunny* (*Poen.* 1006; Sznycer 142).

The basis of the word, treated in Hebr. as a segholate, appears to be the same as that of the interrogative → *ʾayyēh* “where.” Therefore, *ʾayin* “nothing, is not” is usually derived from this interrogative particle: the rhetorical question “where is X ?” could develop into a declaration “X is not here” (BL 633; cf. *HAL* 40b). The similar development in Akk. (→ *ʾayyēh* 1) supports this explanation.

Extrabibl. Hebr. occurrences are found in the second Silwan inscription (*KAI* no. 191B.1) and in Lachish letter IV (*KAI* no. 194.5, 7).

2. The word occurs in the OT 789x (*ʾayin* 42x, incl. Isa 41:24; Jer 30:7; *ʾēn* 747x, 103x with suf.).

The contrary, *yēš* “to exist,” occurs 140x (incl. *ʾš* in 2 Sam 14:19 and Mic 6:10; cf. Wagner no. 28a, b; Gen 21x, Eccl 16x, Prov 13x, Job 12x).

Bibl. Aram. equivalents are *ʾitay* (8x) and, negated, *lā ʾitay* (9x).

3. The basic meaning is “nothing, nonexistent” (par. to *b<sup>e</sup>lî, biltî, ʾepes, tōhû*) as a negation of *yēš* “being, existent” (cf. Isa 44:8). On the usage of the word, see GKC §152i-p, u.

4. Among the various statements concerning God that use *ʾayin*, those which have a particular formulaic character stand out. Major occurrences are in Deutero-Isa; they are also encountered in a few Dtr texts and in Hos.

First, the formula *ʾēn k<sup>e</sup>. . .* “there is none like . . .,” expresses a person’s incomparability (cf. C. J. Labuschagne, *Incomparability of Yahweh in the OT* [1966]). Behind this comparison one must imagine the question “who is like you?” (1 Sam 26:15); the answer is “none is like you.” This statement of incomparability does not occur in the OT in reference to a human (in the 3d per.: 1 Sam 10:24; Job 1:8; 2:3; cf. Lande 103); it occurs

frequently, however, in prayers addressed to Yahweh (1 Sam 2:2; 2 Sam 7:22 = 1 Chron 17:20; 1 Kgs 8:23 = 2 Chron 6:14; Jer 10:6f.; Psa 86:8). It is also encountered in the 3d per. in the recognition formula in Exod 8:6, in descriptive praise in Deut 33:26, and as Yahweh's statement about himself in Exod 9:14.

In addition to statements concerning incomparability are those concerning uniqueness or exclusivity. The two speech forms in 1 Sam 2:2, "no one is holy like Yahweh, for beside you there is no other," and 2 Sam 7:22 = 1 Chron 17:20, "therefore you are great, O Lord, my God, for none is like you and there is no god except you," stand in this series. The Dtr influenced recognition formula emphasizes exclusivity with *ʾên ʿôd*. "you/all nations should recognize, that Yahweh is God and no other" (Deut 4:35, 39; 1 Kgs 8:60; cf. Deut 32:39). The statement of uniqueness is associated with the self-presentation formula (W. Zimmerli, "I Am Yahweh," *I Am Yahweh* [1982], 1–28) in Hos (Hos 13:4; cf. 5:14). In view of his emphasis upon the exclusive activity of the *one* God, Yahweh, in creation, direction of history, and salvation, it is no wonder that this combination appears often in Deutero-Isa. His preference for this form is probably also influenced by the hymnic self-glorification or self-praise of a divinity in his Bab. surroundings (cf. Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 155f.). The simple form appears in the Cyrus oracle, Isa 45:5f., "I am Yahweh and no other," and in the judgment speech, 45:18, 22; supplemented with "and beside me there is no helper" in 43:11, with "and no one seizes out of my hand" in 43:13 (judgment speech), with "there is no true, saving god beside me" in 45:21, and with "I am God and nothing is like me" in 46:9 (disputation speech).

That these usages should not to be understood as "monotheistic formulae" (so B. Hartmann, *ZDMG* 110 [1961]: 229–35) may most clearly be seen from the genre in which they occur: Yahweh finds himself in a judicial process against the other gods. The phrase "and beside me there is no god" (44:6 cf. v 8) is not a declaration, but a claim (Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 140f.; cf. 82ff.). Yahweh demands from the gods of the nations evidence of their divinity in the continuing historical process, evidence that they cannot produce. The opposition can only keep silent (41:26, "no one speaks, no one is heard, no one hears a sound from you") and quit the scene (41:28, "yet there is no one, no one knows their counsel"). The disputation speech in 40:12–31, which uses the phrase 6x, already indicates the significance of the word *ʾayin* for Deutero-Isa: twice to declare that the world's riches and powers are "nothing" before Yahweh (v 17; cf. 41:11f.); Yahweh makes them "nought" (v 23; cf. Ezek 26:21; 27:36; 28:19); Lebanon's wood and forests are insufficient for the presentation of sacrifice (v 16); Yahweh's understanding is unfathomable (v 28), he aids the faint (v 29); cf. further 50:2 and 63:3.

The denial of God  $\text{ʔ}én \text{ʔ}ōhîm$  “there is no God” in Psa 10:4; 14:1 = 53:2 should not be understood theoretically but practically, as “God is not present/he does not intervene,” the probable sense of 3:3, “he has no aid from God” (→  $\text{ʔ}ōhîm$  IV/5; cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:127f., 221, citing Köhler, *Theol.* 19f.). Cf. also positive statements with  $\text{y}ēš$  “is present” in Gen 28:16; Exod 17:7; Judg 6:13; 1 Sam 17:46; Isa 44:8 ( $\text{y}ēš$  elsewhere in theological contexts: 2 Kgs 3:12; Jer 14:22; 37:17; Psa 73:11; 2 Chron 25:8).

5. In addition to negated phrases, the LXX also often has compounds with  $\alpha$  privative for  $\text{ʔ}ayin/\text{ʔ}én$ . The formulae of incomparability and uniqueness recede in the NT, together with the struggle with strange gods; cf., however, 1 Cor 8:4.

S. Schwertner

## ישׁן } $\text{ʔ}îš$ man

S 376; BDB 35b; *HALOT* 1:43a; *TDOT* 1:222–35; *TWOT* 83; *NIDOTTE* 408

I. Designations for “man” (in contrast to those for “woman” →  $\text{ʔ}îššâ$ ) diverged in the Sem. languages through various innovations. Therefore,  $\text{ʔ}îš$  occurs only in Hebr., Phoen.-Pun., and older Aram. (*DISO* 26), as well as in Old SArab. (W. W. Müller, *ZAW* 75 [1963]: 306); other designations dominate in Akk. (*awîlu*, *eṭlu*, *mutu*), Ug. (*bnš*, *mt*), Aram. (→ *gbr*), and Arab. (*marʔ*).

The etymology is wholly uncertain, even e.g., K. Elliger’s attempt (*Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* [1953], 78f., 189; id., FS Alt 100f.) to derive the word from a root  $\text{ʔ}šš$  (KBL 93b: “to be solid, compact”; HAL 91b: Arab.  $\text{ʔ}atta$  “to shoot up”) on the basis of  $\text{ʔ}yšym$  “men(?)” in 1QpHab 6:11 (thereafter posited also in Isa 16:7; cf. HAL 91b).

The pl. is formed regularly in Phoen.-Pun.; elsewhere, as in Hebr.  $\text{ʔ}ānāšîm$ , a form of the root  $\text{ʔ}nš$  (P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 244, 262, 275) replaces it (cf. Hebr.  $\text{ʔ}nôš$  “person”; →  $\text{ʔ}îššâ$  “woman” < \* $\text{ʔ}ant-at$ - is not based on this root). The rarely attested pl.  $\text{ʔ}îšîm$  may be a more recent formation analogous to the sg. (Isa 53:3; Psa 141:4; Prov 8:4; BL 616).

The diminutive  $\text{ʔ}îšôn$  “little man (in the eye) = pupil” (Deut 32:10; Psa 17:8; Prov

7:2; for pars. in other languages, see *HAL* 42a) should be mentioned; the verb יִשָּׁח hitpo. “to take courage” in Isa 46:8 is textually and grammatically disputed (cf. *HAL* 96b; *Bib* 41 [1960]: 173\* no. 2620).

On the PNs יִשְׁבַּעַל (1 Chron 8:33; 9:39; tendentiously altered in 2 Sam 2–4 into יִשָּׁח -bōšet “man of shame”) and יִשְׁחֹד (1 Chron 7:18) cf. *IP* 138, 225, although one must take into account the possibility of folk-etymological reinterpretations of forms that were originally quite different (cf. *HAL* 89b; even for יִשְׁשָׁאֲרַי, which according to Gen 30:18 is often understood as יִשְׁשָׁאֲרַי “hireling”). On יִשְׁ-תֹּב (2 Sam 10:6, 8), cf. A. Jirku, *ZAW* 62 (1950): 319; *HAL* 43a.

II. The total of 2,183 occurrences (incl. 2 Sam 16:23 Q; 23:21 Q; excl. Prov 18:24) of the sixth most frequent subst. are distributed normally across the entire OT, somewhat more densely in narrative (Gen, Judg, Sam) and legal books (incl. Prov):

	sg.	pl.	total	
Gen	107	51	158	
Exod	83	13	96	
Lev	93	1	94	
Num	98	33	131	
Deut	76	14	90	
Josh	39	33	72	
Judg	155	44	199	
1 Sam		141	70	211
2 Sam		105	34	139
1 Kgs	69	16	85	
2 Kgs	104	23	127	
Isa	49	14	+1	64
Jer	114	47	161	
Ezek	65	24	89	
Hos	10	–	10	
Joel	2	2	4	
Amos	2	1	3	
Obad	1	2	3	
Jonah		4	5	9
Mic	7	1	8	
Nah	–	1	1	
Hab	–	–	–	
Zeph	2	2	4	
Hag	3	–	3	
Zech	20	3	23	
Mal	4	–	4	

Psa	38	6	+1	45
Job	29	13	42	
Prov	84	5	+1	90
Ruth	19	2	21	
Song Sol	3	–	3	
Eccl	8	2	10	
Lam	1	–	1	
Esth	20	–	20	
Dan	7	1	8	
Ezra	4	10	14	
Neh	24	20	44	
1 Chron	24	17	41	
2 Chron	43	13	56	
total	1,657,523	+3	2,183*	

III. 1. The word's basic meaning is "man" (the mature male in contrast to the woman). This meaning establishes a natural semantic field in which man and woman stand in contrast.

Nom. series such as "man and woman," "men and women" (sg. alongside pl. in Judg 9:49, 51 and 16:27[bis]) are common; in the patriarchally structured society of Israel (→ *ʾāb* III/1), the male always occupies first position. The usage "man and/or woman" occurs regularly in legal texts in the meaning "anyone, whoever" (Exod 21:28f.; 35:29; 36:6; Lev 13:29, 38; 20:27; Num 5:6; 6:2; Deut 17:2, 5; 29:17; Esth 4:11; cf. 2 Chron 15:13). "Man and woman" or "men and women" can also describe the totality (Josh 6:21; 8:25; 1 Sam 15:3; 22:19; 27:9, 11; 2 Sam 6:19 = 1 Chron 16:3; Jer 6:11; 51:22; Neh 8:2f., some also in longer series). Tripartite series "men-women-children" also occur (Deut 31:12; Jer 40:7; Ezra 10:1; cf. Jer 44:7; with *m<sup>c</sup>ūm* Deut 2:34; 3:6; with *g<sup>c</sup>bārīm* Jer 41:16). The term *bēn* "son" occurs within the word field only in the general sense (e.g., Gen 42:11, 13; Deut 1:31; Ezek 16:45[bis]; Mal 3:17).

The man seeks sexual union with the woman (Gen 2:24) or, conversely, the woman with him (cf. Jer 29:6).

"To be married" from the woman's perspective is *hāy<sup>c</sup>tā l<sup>c</sup>ʾiṣ* (Lev 21:3; Ezek 44:25). Conversely a maiden who has known no man can be defined as such (*lō<sup>c</sup>-yād<sup>c</sup>ʾā* *ʾiṣ* Judg 11:39; 21:12; cf. Gen 19:8; 24:16). A whole series of issues concerning extramarital sexual relations between man and woman (slave, maiden, fiancée) are legally regulated (Lev 19:20; Deut 22:22–29), as is sexual involvement with a menstruating woman (Lev 15:24, 33), levirate marriage (Deut 25:7), the emission of semen (Lev 15:16ff.), etc.

In its basic meaning *geber* is a synonym, though it is used much less frequently (→ *gbr*; Deut 22:5 in contrast to *ʾiṣṣā*, often used like *ʾiṣ*. Num

24:3, 15). *m<sup>c</sup>tîm* “men, people,” which occurs only in the pl., is also infrequent (22x, 6x each in Deut and Job; Akk. *mutu*, Ug. *mt*, Eth. *met* “man, husband”; cf. also the PNs *m<sup>c</sup>tûšāʿēl* Gen 4:18 and *m<sup>c</sup>tûšēlah*, Gen 5:21–27; 1 Chron 1:3).

*zākār* “male, man” occurs esp. to indicate gender (82x, 18x each in Lev and Num, 14x in Gen, 12x in Ezra 8; in addition to the old collective *z<sup>c</sup>kûr* “that which is male” in the pilgrimage law, Exod 23:17 = 34:23 = Deut 16:16, and in the holy war commandment, Deut 20:13; the root \**dakar-* “male” is common Sem.); its regular antonym is *n<sup>c</sup>qēbâ* “feminine” (22x, except for the difficult text Jer 31:22 [cf. Rudolph, HAT 12, 198f.] only in the Pentateuch).

יֵשׁ in the basic meaning applies to animals only in Gen 7:2(bis) (otherwise *zākār*, Gen 6:19; 7:3, etc.).

2. The basic meaning is commonly limited in a more specialized sense:

(a) Often יֵשׁ should simply be translated “husband” (Gen 3:6, 16, etc.). Legal texts dealing with issues of marital law belong particularly in this category (Num 5:12ff., suspected adultery; 30:8ff., vows before marriage; Deut 22:13ff., divorce; 24:1–4, remarriage after divorce; cf. Jer 3:1; Deut 24:5, exemption from military service).

On the description of Yahweh as “husband” see IV/3.

For the meaning “husband,” the term → *baʿal* “husband” is a synonym (2 Sam 11:26 par. to יֵשׁ); cf. also → *ʿādôn* (Gen 18:12; Judg 19:26f.; Amos 4:1; Psa 45:12).

(b) In a few texts יֵשׁ specifically characterizes typical masc. properties such as strength, influence, courage (1 Sam 4:9; 26:15; 1 Kgs 2:2; cf. Gen 44:15; Judg 8:21, etc.). *geber* is a synonym, although it is seldom used in this sense (Job 38:3; 40:7).

(c) יֵשׁ seems to be limited in meaning to “father” or “son” only in a few texts where יֵשׁ “one, someone” contrasts with sons or parents in a general sense in place of the more exact term of relationship (father-child, Gen 42:11, 13; Deut 1:31; 8:5; Mal 3:17; son-parents, Gen 2:24; 1 Sam 1:11; Amos 2:7; Isa 66:13; cf. also Gen 4:1).

(d) In accordance with the context, the pl. can also replace more specific designations. Thus the “men” in Gen 12:20 are Pharaoh’s escort for Abraham, in Josh 9:14 mediators, in Josh 10:18 watchmen, in 2 Sam 18:28 rebels, etc. “Men” are very often scouts (Num 13f.; Deut 1; Josh 2; 6f.) or escorts, primarily in Sam and Kgs (frequently in the suf. form *nāšāyw* “his men”). As followers of David (about 30x), Saul, Abner, or Joab perform military functions as a rule (contrast e.g., Gen 24:54, 59; 2 Kgs 5:24).

3. The term lends itself readily to a collective usage, at times in association with numerals (e.g., 2 Kgs 4:43; 10:6, 14). This usage is at home in narrative books; cf. also the fixed expression *יִשׁ* → *yisrāʿēl*.

4. *יִשׁ* is quite often used in the generalized meaning “person”: (a) The tendency toward generalization may be identified particularly in legal texts (e.g., Exod 21:12 “whoever strikes a man”; the same penalty is applicable to those who strike a woman), in wisdom texts (e.g., Prov 12:25; Psa 37:7), and in curses or blessings (Deut 27:15, “cursed is one who”; Psa 1:1; 112:1, 5, etc.).

(b) The general meaning “person” occurs wherever *יִשׁ* contrasts with an animal (Exod 11:7; 19:13; Psa 22:7), as well as wherever a person is distinguished from God: markedly in Num 23:19; Judg 9:9, 13; 1 Sam 2:26, etc.; cf. *b<sup>e</sup>šēbet ʿnāšîm* “with a human rod” (2 Sam 7:14); *mišwat ʿnāšîm* “human commandment” (Isa 29:13; see IV/5b).

(c) Generalization appears primarily in word combinations: *ʿanšē habbayit* “domestics” (Gen 39:11, 14, incl. both male and female), *b<sup>e</sup>ʿammat-ʿiš* “according to the customary measure” (Deut 3:11), etc.

In this general meaning → *ʿādām*, a synonymous term occasionally par. to *יִשׁ* (Isa 2:9, 11, 17; 5:15; Psa 62:10, etc.), is comparable; cf. also the term *ʿnōš*, used in the later period mostly in the sense of “weak, mortal” (→ *ʿādām*).

(d) The frequent use of *יִשׁ* as a pron. in the sense of “any, everyone, anyone,” negated “none,” may only be mentioned.

5. *יִשׁ* occurs in a whole series of phrases, only the most important of which are listed:

(a) In addition to the common *yōšēb* “inhabitant” to describe the inhabitants of a city or a country (inhabitant of a city: either through the phrase *ʿanšē hāʿir*, e.g., Gen 24:13 or *ʿanšē hammāqôm*, e.g., Gen 26:7, or in conjunction with a place-name, e.g., Josh 7:4f.; citizens of a country: either in the pl. cs. *ʿanšē yisrāʿēl*, e.g., 1 Sam 7:11, or collective *יִשׁ yisrāʿēl*, *יִשׁ y<sup>e</sup>hūdā*, etc.). An individual inhabitant of a city or country is described as *יִשׁ šōrî* “man from Tyre” (1 Kgs 7:14), *יִשׁ mišrî* “Egyptian” (Gen 39:1), etc.

(b) Five texts mention *ʿanšē habbayit*. Gen 17:23, 27 (circumcised male household slaves); 39:11, 14 (Potiphar’s domestics); Mic 7:6 (residents of the same house).

(c) *יִשׁ* appears in many phrases indicating vocations. *יִשׁ milḥāmâ* (or pl.) is the “warrior” (Exod 15:3; see IV/1; Josh 17:1; 1 Sam 18:5, etc.; but also “enemy,” 2 Sam 8:10 = 1 Chron 18:10; Isa 41:12). In Solomon’s time a specific vocational group seems to have been indicated in this manner (1 Kgs 9:22); the term is attested most frequently in the late royal period (as synonyms cf. *m<sup>e</sup>tîm* in Deut 33:6; Isa 3:25; and *baḥûrîm* Isa 9:16). *יִשׁ ḥayil* is closely related. It refers to “able men” in the giving of the law (Exod 18:21, 25), suitable overseers for Pharaoh’s cattle (Gen 47:6), useful doormen (1 Chron

26:8), etc. Since the period of the judges, the *ʿanšē hayil* are “able warriors” (Judg 3:29; 2 Sam 11:16, etc.); cf. *gibbôr hayil*, → *gbr*). Further vocational designations are *ʾiṣ nābî* “prophet” (Judg 6:8), *ʾiṣ hāʾdāmâ* “farmer” (Gen 9:20), *ʾiṣ yōdēaʿ sayid* “hunter” (25:27), etc. *ʾiṣ habbēnayim* “champion” (1 Sam 17:4, 23), *ʾiṣ raglî* “foot soldiers” (2 Sam 8:4 = 1 Chron 18:4; 1 Chron 19:18), etc., should also be mentioned as descriptions of the activity or being of a man.

(d) *ʾiṣ* serves as a circumlocution for an adj. in e.g., *ʾiṣ sāʿîr* “hairy” and *ʾiṣ ḥālāq* (Gen 27:11).

(e) The expression *b<sup>e</sup>ʿnē ʾiṣ* occurs occasionally (Psa 4:3; Lam 3:33; par. to *b<sup>e</sup>ʿnē ʾādām* in Psa 49:3 and 62:10). This combination is first attested in the exilic period and may best be translated “people”; the translation “aristocrat” may be considered only for Psa 49:3 (cf. HAL 42a; Kraus, Psa, CC, 1:148, 481).

(f) The expression *k<sup>e</sup>ʾiṣ ʿḥād* “as one man” describes the unity and cohesiveness of a group, e.g., when the community assembles “as one man” (Judg 20:1; Ezra 3:1; Neh 8:1) or when it moves out to battle “as one man” (1 Sam 11:7, etc.). One can also kill a large number of people “as one man” (Num 14:15, etc.); cf. the concept of the ban in holy war (→ *ḥrm*).

(g) Finally, mention should also be made of expressions that generalize the meaning of *ʾiṣ* to a great degree (see III/4d). In association with → *rēaʿ* and → *ʾāḥ*, the basic meaning fades to “one to another, one another” (e.g., Exod 18:7 and Gen 42:21). Gen 15:10, where the personal reference itself is lost, lies farthest from the original meaning: “Abraham laid each portion (of the dissected animals) over against the other.”

IV. 1. Although the OT represents Yahweh as a male, it describes him as *ʾiṣ* only infrequently and metaphorically.

The descriptive ascription of praise in Exod 15:3 calls Yahweh an *ʾiṣ milḥāmâ* “warrior.” This statement summarizes a discovery Israel made in military conflicts with its neighbors. Deutero-Isa (42:13) takes up this speech form, as well as the term *ʾiṣ milḥāmôt* “warrior”; nevertheless, Yahweh’s activity is compared here only with that of a warrior (*k<sup>e</sup>ʾiṣ milḥāmôt*).

2. (a) The old promise narrative in Gen 18 discusses Yahweh and the three men in a strange alternation. Because Yahweh is explicitly named as subj. in v 13 (v 1 is later), he may also be meant as subj. in the other verses that require a sg. subj. (3, 10, 14b, 15b). Gen 18 represents Yahweh as one who appears in the form of “three men,” although it never explicitly identifies Yahweh with these three men. Cf. the two men in Gen 19 and the “man” in Gen 32:23ff. In connection with pre-Israelite saga materials, Israel’s most ancient period apparently had no misgivings about representing Yahweh as a man, who looks like other men, wanders the earth, eats, or fights (a similar concept may also be found in Josh 5:13–15

and Ezek 8:2).

(b) A few post-exilic instances in connection with the prophetic view of the future describe the heavenly being sent to people (the prophets) as  $\text{יֵשׁ}$ ; although these beings are not, in fact, identical with God, they are also not always sharply distinguished from him:

Ezek 9:2ff. (“six men with an implement of destruction,” “man with linen clothing”; cf. Exod 12:12 P; 12:23 J, where Yahweh himself, in the form of the angel of death, moves through Egypt); Ezek 40:3–5; 43:6; 47:3 (“man with the measuring device”); Zech 1:8, 10 (“man between the myrtle trees”); Zech 2:5 (“man with the measuring line”); Dan 10:5; 12:6f. (“man in linen clothing”).

3. Hos 2:4, 9, 18 describe Yahweh as Israel’s husband. In Israel’s early days this description would have been impossible, for it adapts a concept from Can. Baalism with its *hieros gamos* and cultic prostitution. Hosea was the first who could dare to use such a picture; however, the adapted picture allows him to criticize precisely those who felt themselves attracted to this Can. sex cult (cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 49f., and Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 78f.).

Ezek takes up this fig. language again (Ezek 16, clearly in vv 23, 45; cf., however, also vv 8, 20). In terms of content, Jer 3:6ff. and Ezek 23 could be named here too, but the term  $\text{יֵשׁ}$  is absent.

Other texts also compare Yahweh or his activity directly with that of a person: Exod 33:11 (as a man speaks with his friend, so God with Moses); Deut 1:31; 8:5; Mal 3:17 (as a man carries/disciplines/has mercy on his children).

4. The “man of God” stands unequivocally on the side of the people; he is the commissioned ambassador of God. The term  $\text{יֵשׁ הָאֱלֹהִים}$  occurs 76x in the OT, 55x in Kgs alone.

The following are described as men of God: Elisha (29x in 2 Kgs 4:7–13:19); Elijah (7x in 1 Kgs 17:18, 24; 2 Kgs 1:9–13); Moses (6x in Deut 33:1; Josh 14:6; Psa 90:1; Ezra 3:2; 1 Chron 23:14; 2 Chron 30:16); Samuel (4x in 1 Sam 9:6–10); David (3x in Neh 12:24, 36; 2 Chron 8:14); Shemaiah (1 Kgs 12:22; 2 Chron 11:2); Hanan (Jer 35:4); anonymous men of God (24x in Judg 13:6, 8; 1 Sam 2:27; 1 Kgs 13:1–29; 20:28; 2 Kgs 23:16f.; 2 Chron 25:7, 9[bis]); →  $\text{יֵשׁ הָאֱלֹהִים}$  III/6.

Besides  $\text{רֹעֵה}$  “seer” (→  $\text{רֹח}$ ) and →  $\text{נָבִי}$  “prophet,”  $\text{יֵשׁ הָאֱלֹהִים}$  is one of the most significant terms for Israel’s earliest prophets. Despite a few shades of meaning (Elijah and Elisha are “men of God,” their students are called “disciples”; in 1 Kgs 13 a “man of God” and a “prophet” stand in direct opposition), the early man of God exercised prophetic functions.

The “word-reception” formula (1 Kgs 12:22; 17:2, 8), the messenger commission

(1 Kgs 12:23; 2 Kgs 1:3, 15), and the messenger formula (1 Sam 2:27; 1 Kgs 12:24; 13:2; 17:14; 20:28, etc.) occur in the word field. Like prophets, the men of God of the early prophetic narratives also announce salvation or judgment. “Man of God” and “prophet” are frequently used synonymously (1 Sam 9:8f.; 1 Kgs 13:18, etc.); cf. C. Kuhl, *Israels Propheten* [1956], 14f.; von Rad, *Theol.* 2:6f.

The term never describes the so-called writing prophets of the 8th–6th cents. In the late period it fades to a simple title for great men (Moses, David).

In addition, reports are made concerning men whom Yahweh has entrusted with a special task: “the staff of the man whom I choose” (Num 17:20; cf. 2 Chron 6:5); “man of my plan” (= Cyrus, Isa 46:11); “man who prophesies in the name of Yahweh” (Jer 26:20); “man of your right hand” (Psa 80:18), etc.

5. The occurrences named above that describe God directly as *ʾĕl* or that compare his activity with that of an *ʾĕl* (IV/3) are rare in comparison to those which present the *ʾĕl* as God’s creation and thus in clear distinction from God.

(a) The term is rare in Gen 2–3 (2:23f.; 3:6, 16; the leading term is → *ʾādām*).

(b) A few texts emphasize the difference between God and human very precisely: in contrast to God the human is mortal (Psa 39:7; 62:10); unlike the human God does not lie (Num 23:19) and he stands by his word (Hos 11:9). Wisdom literature in particular refers to this contrast: Prov 21:2; 14:12, etc. Cf. also texts such as Gen 32:29; Josh 10:14; Judg 9:9, 13; 2 Sam 7:14; 2 Kgs 5:7; Isa 40:6ff. (→ *bāšār*).

6. As far as the person per se is concerned, human activity, particularly sexual behavior, is regulated by a series of divine commandments, transgression of which summons the wrath and punishment of Yahweh. A few relationships may be noted:

(a) All must assemble for the reading of the law: men, women, children, foreigners (Deut 31:12; cf. Josh 8:35). Reports concerning the assemblies of the people conducted by Ezra and Nehemiah refer to such lists also (Ezra 10:1; Neh 8:2f.).

(b) The holy war commandment effects men, women, and children (cattle, sheep, and asses; Josh 6:21; 8:25; 1 Sam 15:3, etc.). Prophecy adopts similar lists, except that the enemies of Yahweh who will be totally destroyed are now the Israelites themselves (Jer 6:11; 44:7; cf. 51:22).

(c) The marriage of an Israelite to a foreign woman was permitted at times, but with the passing of time was ever more sharply condemned theologically in Israel, for pagan wives meant the introduction of pagan cults (Gen 34:14; above all in post-exilic times: Num 25:6; Ezra 10:17; Neh 13:25).

(d) Israel protected itself with particular vigor against the introduction and acceptance of pagan cults since the time of Deut. For this reason, idolatrous men are also severely punished (Deut 17:2, 5; 29:19; Ezek 8:11, 16; 11:1; 14:3, 8).

(e) Whoever transgresses against these commandments will be punished, for Yahweh “requites man according to his doing” (Job 34:11; cf., among others, 1 Sam 26:23; 1 Kgs 8:39 = 2 Chron 6:30; Jer 31:30; 32:19; Ezek 7:16; Psa 62:13; Prov 24:29; 2 Chron 25:4).

V. The NT makes a distinction between *anēr* “man, person” (A. Oepke, “άνήρ,” *TDNT* 1:360–63) and *anthrōpos* “person” (J. Jeremias, “άνθρωπος,” *TDNT* 1:364–67). Individual lines of tradition from the OT are continued here. A clear division is maintained between God and human (Matt 21:25; Acts 5:29 with *anthrōpos*; John 1:13 with *anēr*), while the connection between God and human is seen in Jesus of Nazareth (Mark 14:71; 15:39; John 19:5 with *anthrōpos*; John 1:30; Acts 2:22; 17:31 with *anēr*).

J. Kühlewein

## אכל *kāl* to eat

S 398; BDB 371; *HALOT* 1:46a; *TDOT* 1:236–41; *TWOT* 85; *NIDOTTE* 430

1. The root *kāl* is common Sem. (Eth. only as a subst.). It appears in the Hebr. OT in the qal, ni., pu., and hi., in Aram. only in the pe. (see 3a). The relatively numerous nom. derivatives (only Hebr.) with the general meaning “food,” the segholate formations *ōkel* and fem. *oklâ*, the Aramaizing form *ʾkîlâ*, the nouns with preformative *ma-*: *maʾkāl* and *maʾkōlet* (1 Kgs 5:25 *makkōlet*, see GKC §23f), are differentiated in 3b. *maʾkelet* “knife” appears as an instrumental noun.

Somewhat synonymous is *lḥm* “to dine” (6x, also Ug. alongside *kāl*, on Phoen. Kilamuwa 1.6, cf. *DISO* 137 and *KAI* 2:32; Akk. *laʾāmum*, *laḥāmu*, *lēmu* “to partake, eat,” *AHw* 527b, 543b), with the subst. *leḥem* “bread, nourishment” (299x, incl. Isa 47:14 and Job 30:4 and 1x Aram. in Dan 5:1 “meal”; also Pun., Aram.; on Arab. *laḥm* “flesh” see L. Köhler, *JSS* 1 [1956]: 10; on Eth. see E. Ullendorff, *VT* 6 [1956]: 192), which occurs in theological contexts in statements concerning Yahweh’s creative might (Psa 136:25; 146:7; 147:9; on Deut 8:3 cf. von Rad, *Deut*, OTL, 71f.; H. Brunner, *VT* 8 [1958]: 428f.).

*ʔm* “to taste” is semantically related (11x, fig. “to feel, experience” in Psa 34:9; Prov 31:18) with the subst. *ʔam* “taste,” fig. “understanding” (12x, in addition to Jonah 3:7 “command,” a meaning borrowed from Aram. or Akk.; cf. Wagner no. 117); Bibl. Aram. *ʔm* pa. “to give to eat,” subst. *ʔam* and *ʔem* “understanding; command, report.”

Other terms for eating, sometimes with more specific meanings, include *brh* “to eat an invalid diet” (*biryâ* and *bârût* “invalid, mourning diet”), *gZR* “to devour” (Isa 9:19), *zûn* “to nourish” (Job 36:31 txt em; *mâzôn* “nourishment”; Aram. hitpe. “to nourish oneself” and *mâzôn*), *syd* hitp. “to supply oneself” (*sayid* and *šedâ* “travel provisions”), as well as *ʔrûhâ* “food allowance (for the trail)” (cf. HAL 84b) and *mispôʔ* “feed” (Ug. *spʔ* “to eat”); cf. further the roots beginning, significantly, with the liquid *l*: *lhʔ* “to consume,” *lhk* “to lick up, eat up,” *lʔ* “to swallow,” *lâšād* “pastries” (Num 11:8; Arab. *lsd* “to suck”); on *lʔ* “to slurp” and *lqq* “to lap up” → *šth* “to drink.”\*

2. According to Mandl. and Lis. (cf. 3b), the verb occurs 809x in Hebr. and 7x in Aram. in the OT (qal 739x plus 7x Aram. pe., ni. 45x, pu. 5x, hi. 20x), *ʔkel* 44x, *ʔklâ* 18x (only Ezek and P with the exception of Jer 12:9, always with the prep. *lʔ*), *ʔkîlâ* 1x, *maʔkâl* 30x, *maʔkōlet* 2x, *makkōlet* 1x, *maʔkelet* 4x (except for the last, the nouns occur only in the sg.).

3. (a) In the vast majority of texts, the verb has the lit. sense “to eat, devour” as a description of a basic function of human and animal life. In association with seeing, hearing, and eating, *ʔkl* can serve as evidence of vitality (Deut 4:28). Nevertheless, numerous nouns other than people and animals can appear as the subj. of *ʔkl* in fig. meanings (“to consume,” etc.): fire (about 70x), sword (12x), land (Lev 26:38; Num 13:32; Ezek 36:13f.), forest (2 Sam 18:8), heat and cold (Gen 31:40), curse (Isa 24:6), rage (Exod 15:7), hunger and pestilence (Ezek 7:15), illness (Job 18:13). Accordingly, the objs. of the verbs are not limited to the description of various foods: land (Jer 8:16; 2 Chron 7:13), farmland (Gen 3:17; Isa 1:7), ruins (Isa 5:17), inheritance (Deut 18:1; hi. Isa 58:14), property (Gen 31:15; Isa 61:6; Eccl 5:10, 18; 6:2), sin (Hos 4:8), etc. These combinations result in various expansions of meaning: “to make an end,” but also “to enjoy, enjoy the use of, bear the consequences” (esp. with the obj. “fruit,” Isa 3:10; Prov 1:31, etc.). A dramatic pictorial idiom with a per. obj., e.g., people, nations, the poor, beloved, also occurs (Psa 14:4 = 53:5; Deut 7:16; Jer 10:25, a play on words with *klh* pi. “to destroy”; 30:16, etc.; Hab 3:14; Prov 30:14).

A similar growth of meaning also occurs for Akk. *akālu*, which can appear with the subsj. fire, gods, diseases, pain, distress, etc. As in Hebr., the Akk. verb can have the more general meaning “to use up” or “to enjoy the use of” depending upon the obj. (field, property, money, etc.).

The verb without obj. also occasionally has an expanded meaning, “to exploit” (2 Sam 19:43) or “to feast” (Eccl 10:16). An expansion of meaning with pars. in Akk. occurs in Ezek 42:5, where *kl* should not be emended, but means “to lay claim to space, area” (cf. *AHw* 27a).

The expression *kl qaršîn* “to slander” (lit. “to eat pinched-off portions”), known from Akk. (*CAD* A/1:255f.; M. Held, *JCS* 15 [1961]: 12) and Aram. (KBL 1121), occurs in Dan 3:8 and 6:25.

On the expression “to eat his flesh” (Eccl 4:5; hi. Isa 49:26), cf. the idiom in the Kilamuwa inscription 1.6–8 concerning the consumption of one’s own beard and hand as a symbol of extreme despair (*KAI* 2:31f.; M. Dahood, *CBQ* 22 [1960]: 404f.; cf. *ANET* 654b).

Assyr. pars. to the (reported or threatened in curses) consumption of the flesh of one’s own children or relatives in a famine are noteworthy (*CAD* A/1:250b; D. R. Hillers, *Treaty-Curses and the OT Prophets* [1964], 62f.; cf. 2 Kgs 6:28f.; Lev 26:29; Deut 28:53–57; Isa 9:19; Jer 19:9; Ezek 5:10; Zech 11:9; cf. Lam 4:10).

Not eating, even when unrelated to cultic fasting, signifies sadness (1 Sam 1:7; cf. v 18; 20:34; 1 Kgs 21:4f.; cf. v 7; Ezra 10:6). Conversely, eating is frequently associated with joy (1 Sam 30:16; Job 21:25; Eccl 9:7; Isa 22:13; cf. Gilg. X:iii.6ff. = *ANET* 90; Schott 77f.).

(b) L. Köhler (*JSS* 1 [1956]: 20–22) has referred to the problem of the coexistence of 5 or 6 nom. forms for “nourishment, food.” Observation of the context permits the following differentiations:

(1) *ōkel* is a collective term for the concrete, quantitative entity “nourishment” (often = “grain”; cf. Akk. *ak(a)lu* “bread,” Eth. *ekel* “grain”; Ug. *akl* also “grain”; see *UHP* 50). Exod 12:4; 16:16, 18, 21 “according to his appetite,” and Job 20:21 “for his gluttony,” should be considered qal inf. (therefore qal 744x, *ōkel* 39x). Ruth 2:14 *ēt hā’ōkel* “mealtime” does not argue unequivocally for a verbal abstract.

(2) *oklâ* (except for Jer 12:9, only Ezek and P, always with *le* ) should be understood as a fem. inf. (preferred in the later period according to Berg., *HG* 2:84) and thus an action noun.

(3) *akîlâ* (1 Kgs 19:8 “wandered on the strength of this food for 40 days”) corresponds to a pass. ptcp. and describes the “eaten food.”

(4) According to Nyberg 205ff., *makâl* corresponds to a substantivized relative clause (“that which one eats”) and indicates food in relation to its consumability and qualitative variety (cf. *makâl* alongside *oklâ* in Gen 6:21).

(5) *makōlet* (Isa 9:4, 18, “food [for the fire]”) probably also corresponds to a pass. ptcp. (otherwise *makkōlet* “provision” 1 Kgs 5:25).\*

4. In contrast to Assyr.-Bab. or Ug. divinities (cf. G. E. Wright, *OT Against Its Environment* [1950], 102ff.; W. Herrmann, “Götterspeise und Göttertrank in Ugarit und Israel,” *ZAW* 72 [1960]: 205–16), Yahweh is the subj. of *ʔkl* only very rarely and then only negated or in comparisons: Deut 4:24 and 9:3, Yahweh as “consuming fire” (on this and on “fire of God” → *ʔēš* 4; → *kābôd*); Hos 13:8, “and I will consume them immediately like a lion” (however, the text should be emended with the comms.: “there the dogs will eat them up”); Psa 50:13 is a polemic against the notion of Yahweh eating: “Shall I eat the flesh of bulls and drink the blood of rams?” (cf. Deut 32:37f., “where are their gods . . . who ate the fat of their sacrifice?”; Eichrodt 1:141–44; de Vaux 2:449–50).

In contrast, Yahweh appears 13x as the subj. of the hi. “to give to eat,” whether as the granter of good gifts (Exod 16:32 and Deut 8:3, 16, manna; further Isa 58:14; Ezek 16:19; Hos 11:4 txt?; Psa 81:17; in Ezek 3:2 a divine scroll at the commissioning) or in the execution of judgment (Isa 49:26; Jer 9:14; 19:9; 23:15; Psa 80:6).

Eating appears primarily as a religious act in the sacrifice regulations (L. Rost, *BHH* 2:1345–50) and food laws (Lev 11; Deut 14; W. Bunte, *BHH* 3:1828), as well as in the ordinances and narratives concerning not eating (and not drinking) as ritual fasting (→ *šûm*). In Lev alone *ʔkl* qal appears 82x, in addition to 22x ni. Like profane eating, the cultic meal also has a joyful premise (Deut 14:26, etc.; cf. B. Reicke, *Diakonie, Festfreude und Zelos* [1951], 167ff.).

On the meal as an element of the covenant-making ritual (Gen 26:30; 31:46, 54; Exod 24:11; Josh 9:14f.) → *b<sup>c</sup>rit*. W. Beyerlin (*Origin and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions* [1965], 33–35) suspects that “to eat and to drink” is a technical term for covenant making.

The rites of mourning include eating a special mourning food, Deut 26:14; Jer 16:7 (txt em); Ezek 24:17, 22 (txt em); Hos 9:4 *leḥem ʔônîm*; cf. H. Cazelles, *RB* 55 (1948): 54–71; T. Worden, *VT* 3 (1953): 290f.; J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT* (1955), 123f.

5. The expanded usage of the verb may also be identified at Qumran; in addition to profane or cultic eating, it can describe an activity of fire or the sword. In the LXX more than 20 terms occur as translations of *ʔkl* expressing the expansion of meaning of the Hebr. (use up, burn up, harvest, etc.). On the NT, cf. J. Behm, “ἐσθίω,” *TDNT* 2:689–95; L. Goppelt, “τρώγω,” *TDNT* 8:236f.

G. Gerleman

## 𐤀𐤍 }ēl **God**

S 410; BDB 42a; HALOT 1:48b; TDOT 1:242–61; TWOT 93a; NIDOTTE 446

I. \**yil* is an early common (with the exception of Eth.) Sem. word for “god,” which is particularly widespread in Akk. (CAD I/J:91–103) and NWSem. (DISO 13). Its etymology remains disputed despite numerous suggestions.

It has been primarily associated with *yûl* “forward, first” or “to be strong,” or with *yih* “to be strong,” but also—less probably—with the prep. *y* “to, in the direction of” or *y/y/h* “to strive after, reach,” *yil* “to bind,” Arab. *yill* “relationship,” etc. (cf. F. Zimmermann, VT 12 [1962]: 190–95; P. Fronzaroli, AANLR 8/20 [1965]: 248, 262, 267, and the literature in lexicons).

Clear points of reference may not be established for any etymology. Even the idiom *yeš-<sup>l</sup>ēl yādî* “it is in my power” (Gen 31:29; similarly Deut 28:32; Mic 2:1; Prov 3:27; Neh 5:5) does not facilitate a solution, because it too may not be unequivocally explained etymologically (cf. HAL 47a with bibliog.). Perhaps the word *ēl* resists derivation because of its antiquity; nevertheless, one may conjecture that its basic meaning expressed power (like similar designations for deity: → *baʿal*, → *ādôn* “lord,” or → *melek* “king”).

II. The word *ēl* occurs in the OT (238x) in very early as well as in later times; they are evenly distributed and are concentrated in Psa (77x), Job (55x), Isa (24x, Deutero-Isa 15x), Gen (18x), and Deut (13x). Accordingly, *ēl* occurs regularly in metrical texts (cf. also the Balaam sayings, Num 23–24, 8x) and in archaizing language. Whether individual books (Sam, Kgs, Jer, Chron, etc.) wish to avoid the word—for unknown reasons—is therefore questionable. The pl. *ēlîm* is rare in the OT (see III/3 and Psa 58:2 txt em); the fem. sg., familiar in the other Sem. languages, is totally absent from Hebr.

III. *ēl* is both a PN for a particular deity as well as a pure appellative for “god” (pl. *ēlîm*). The manifold usage of the word may be divided crudely into various categories, which may be understood only with great reservation as phases in a historical sequence: from the more marked religiohistorically determined occurrences (III/1, El in the OT environment; III/2, El deities in Gen; III/3, later occurrences; III/4, superlative use), through the description of God’s being with adjs. (IV/1) to usages in Deutero-Isa (IV/2), in Job (IV/3), in the contrast of God and human (IV/4), and in address to God (IV/5).

1. The (mythological) texts from Ras Shamra-Ugarit, in particular,

exhibit El as a god of special rank. As “king” he stands at the head of the pantheon. He is “father” of the gods, “creator of the creatures” (a cosmology is nevertheless not yet attested), “wise,” “friendly,” perhaps also “holy,” but he is also called “bull, El.” He bears signs of age and lives in mythical seclusion (cf. O. Eissfeldt, *El im ugaritischen Pantheon* [1951]; M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts* [1955]; M. J. Mulder, *Kanaänitische Goden in het Oude Testament* [1965], 13ff.).

WSem. inscriptions also know the god El, but no longer name him in deity lists in the first position (cf. W. Röllig, “El als Gottesbezeichnung im Phönizischen,” *FS Friedrich* 403–16; R. Rendtorff, “El, Ba’al und Jahwe,” *ZAW* 78 [1966]: 277–92). Although El is still mentioned in later times (e.g., in Philo of Byblos), he apparently recedes (up until Palmyra) behind Baal (cf. further U. Oldenburg, *Conflict Between El and Baal in Canaanite Religion* [1970]).

2.  $\text{ʔ}l$  first occurs in the OT (from Gen 14:18ff. onward) in various phrases for deities, which appear at particular locales.

In contrast to the address “you are  $\text{ʔ}l r\text{ʔ}$ ” “god who sees me(?)” (Gen 16:13 J), the probably more ancient name  $b^{\text{c}}\text{ʔ}r laḥay r\text{ʔ}$  “well of the living one who sees me(?)” does not contain the element  $\text{ʔ}l$ , so that the numen was perhaps not even originally considered an El deity.

The name attested at Beersheba  $\text{ʔ}l ʕlām$  (Gen 21:33 J) is corroborated to a degree by the “sun god of eternity” known from Ugarit ( $\text{špš } ʕm$ , *KTU* 2.42.7) and Karatepe ( $\text{šmš } ʕm$ , *KAI* no. 26.AIII.19; *ANET* 654b “Eternal-Sun”), and by the Ulomos mentioned in the cosmogony of Mochos (Damascius, *De principiis* 125; *FGH* 784).

In Gen 35:7 (E)  $\text{ʔ}l bêt-ʔl$  “the God (of) Bethel” contains the name of a place, although  $bêt-ʔl$  is also attested in the surroundings as a name for a locality (and a stone) as well as a divine name (Eissfeldt, *KS* [1962], 1:206–33; H. Donner, “Zu Gen 28<P7>22<P255>,” *ZAW* 74 [1962]: 68–70). That the saying “I am the God (of) Bethel” (31:13 E; cf. 28:10ff.) hardly goes back to ancient tradition is indicated by the use of the art. with the name (cf. 35:1, 3  $\text{ʔ}l$  with art.), its no longer appearing in its original local connection, and the probably secondary transferral of the self-presentation formula to the divinity. In addition, the text is uncertain in both 35:7 and 31:13 (see LXX).

Following O. Eissfeldt (*KS* [1966], 3:364n.4, 396n.1; cf. M. Weippert, *ZDMG* 111 [1961]: 42–62; R. Bailey, *JBL* 87 [1968]: 434–38),  $\text{ʔ}l šadday$  (Gen 17:1; 28:3; 35:11; 48:3; Exod 6:3 P) has also been considered a unique local form of the god El, perhaps at Hebron; but the OT does not know such a fixed local association. Only the element  $\rightarrow$   $\text{šadday}$  —whose meaning is disputed—is attested from ancient times (Num 24:4, 16); Gen 43:14 J/E (secondary assimilation to P) and 49:25 (correction of MT in 3 mss and translations in order to harmonize with the usual names?) are questionable. Only since the 6th cent., then, are trustworthy occurrences of the dual name extant (Ezek 10:5 and P), so that it may represent a later combination, which would explain its peculiarity (place boundedness). Through it P summarizes the various designations of the gods of

the fathers and El deities and thus emphasizes the uniqueness of the patriarchal period (Gen 17:1–Exod 6:3).

None of the divine names is attested in present form outside the OT, only some of the individual elements. It remains uncertain, then, how far back their association goes in antiquity. Perhaps the OT mirrors the religiohistorical circumstances in pre-Israelite Palestine only very imperfectly because it has transformed the tradition more thoroughly than is usually assumed. In fact, every divine designation could be related to deities other than Yahweh only in contradiction to their meaning in their present context. Beyond this situation, one may only conjecture how local deities named in Gen relate to the place-bound El mentioned in WSem. texts (local appearances of the high god?). In any case one should not infer from the various by-names that Yahweh was originally an El deity.

Although the formulations appear to go back to early tradition, they endure in Canaan (cf. also place-names such as *p<sup>e</sup>nûʿēl*). It is difficult to ascertain whether the nomads already knew an El religion. Only the characteristic theophoric PN formations (verbs in the impf. with a divine name), e.g., “Israel,” “Ishmael,” or abbreviated “Jacob” and “Isaac,” provide evidence for this conjecture. Other bases remain unknown.

The age of the expression “ʿēl (is the?) God of Israel” (the name of an altar in Gen 33:20 E?) is disputed. Is the combination original or secondary? Is the “God of Israel” a so-called god of the fathers (cf. R. Smend, *Die Bundesformel* [1963], 15, 35f.; H. Seebass, *Der Erzvater Israel* [1966])? In any case, the dual expression is structured differently from other divine names formed with ʿēl and is therefore without comparison.

The divine self-presentation to Jacob “I am ʿēl (with art.), the God of your father” (Gen 46:3 E), Jacob’s blessing, which uniquely promises Joseph aid from the “ʿēl of your father” (Gen 49:25), and the explanation of the PN Eliezer as “the God of my father is my help” probably secondarily associate elements of El religion with the faith in the patriarchal God.

If the nomads already addressed their deities as ʿēl, then they first became acquainted with more precisely defined divine names that shape the narratives of Gen, such as ʿēl ʿôlām, at sanctuaries in the cultivated land.

3. Some later occurrences of ʿēl are recognizable as foreign influences, some as reinterpretations.

According to Judg 9:46 an ʿēl b<sup>e</sup>rît was worshiped at Shechem; yet the name of the god is not uniformly transmitted. It is also given as baʿal b<sup>e</sup>rît (Judg 8:33; 9:4), although El and Baal are different deities. Furthermore, no covenant (→ b<sup>e</sup>rît) between

God and a social group among Israel's neighbors has been discovered to this point, so the significance of the name remains unclear.

Whether the title  $\text{ʔēl } \text{ʕlyōn}$  "the highest God (or El the Highest), Creator ( $\rightarrow qnh$ ) of heaven and earth" (Gen 14:19, 22), which mirrors Jerusalemite tradition, is an original predication of the god El or unifies two originally independent elements is debatable (following G. Levi della Vida and R. Dussaud, see Rendtorff, op. cit.). Texts from Karatepe, Leptis Magna, Palmyra, and perhaps Boghazköy attest  $qn \text{ ʔs}$  "Creator of the earth" as an epithet of El, yet there is to this point no counterpart for "Creator of heaven." It is also uncertain whether  $\text{ʕlyōn}$  was originally a distinct deity or an epithet of the god El. At the least, the two gods must have already been associated with each other very early: they stand side by side in an inscription from Sefire (*KAI* no. 222.A11; cf. Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 37f.) and can be equated in the OT in parallelism (Num 24:16; Deut 32:8 txt em; Psa 73:11; 77:10f.; 78:17f.; 107:11; above all, 78:35; cf. 82:1, 6; Isa 14:13f.).

Ancient Near Eastern, esp. Can., concepts resound when, e.g., Psa 82:1 speaks of an "assembly of El" ( $\text{ʕdat-ʔēl}$ ), Psa 19:2 of the "glory of El" ( $\text{kʕbôd } \text{ʔēl}$ ; cf. 29:2), or Num 23:22 in a simile of God's wild bull horns (cf. W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel* [1966], 25ff., 40ff., 83). The divine name "Yahweh" is also characteristically avoided in the boasts of the king of Babel, "I will elevate my throne above the stars of El" (Isa 14:13), and of the prince of Tyre, "I am El, I sit in the seat of gods" (Ezek 28:2; cf. also Deut 32:18; Psa 104:21; Job 38:41?). In the strict sense, however, the OT does not retain  $\text{ʔēl}$  as the name of a particular deity; rather it consistently uses  $\text{ʔēl}$  as an appellative, even if the PN character still shines through repeatedly. Interpretations that infer El's superiority over Yahweh from some OT statements (cf. Eissfeldt, *KS* [1966], 3:389ff.) are therefore actually contrary to the meaning of the text.

The OT's modification of the term  $\text{ʔēl}$ , e.g., perhaps in archaizing language by the adj.  $\text{ḥay}$  "living" (Josh 3:10; Hos 2:1; Psa 84:3; in the oath, Job 27:2; cf. Psa 42:3, 9), may have its model not only in the Ug. PN  $\text{ḥyil}$  (*WUS* no. 917) but also in the mythical expression of the "life" of El (*KTU* 1.4.IV.42, etc.), although El is not a dying and rising god.

Just as the  $\text{bʕnē } \text{ʔēlīm}$  "sons of gods" (Psa 29:1; 89:7; cf. Deut 32:8 txt em) originally signified the gods subordinate to the high god (cf. Psa 82:1, 6), but in the OT signified only lowlier divine beings (cf. W. Herrmann, "Die Göttersöhne," *ZRGG* 12 [1960]: 242–51; G. Cooke, *ZAW* 76 [1964]: 22–47), so the question with polytheistic origins, "who is like you among the gods?" (Exod 15:11), comes to refer to the heavenly council. Similar comparative questions or statements of incomparability of various kinds,

which still provide some insight into religiohistorical backgrounds, contain the word  $\text{ʔēl}$  in the sg. (Deut 3:24; 33:26; 2 Sam 22:32; Isa 40:18; Mic 7:18; Psa 77:14; cf. 89:7f.).

Nonetheless, with the addition  $qannāʔ$  “jealous,” Israel has interpreted the ancient Near Eastern divine designation completely in terms of its own understanding of God; a “jealous God,” who demands—instead of just preeminence—exclusivity of relationship and who punishes transgression against it, is unknown to Israel’s neighbors. To be sure, Israel only later deduced a divine attribute from the exclusivity of its relationship to God, for the reference to Yahweh’s “jealousy” occurs first in later additions to the Decalogue in Deut, etc. (Exod 20:5; 34:14; Deut 4:24; 5:9; 6:15; cf. Josh 24:19; Nah 1:2; →  $qnʔ$ ), which support the first commandment.

Finally, the peculiar character of Yahwism resulted in a reshaping of the  $\text{ʔēl}$  concept, characterizing it with appositives such as “strange, other” (→  $\text{ʔhr}$ , →  $\text{zār}$ , →  $\text{nēkār}$ , Exod 34:14; Psa 44:21; 81:10; cf. Deut 32:12; Mal 2:11). This exclusion can, indeed, grow to negation: apostasy involves the “un-god” ( $\text{Iō}ʔ\text{-ʔēl}$  Deut 32:21). In each case, relationship to God is thus verbally, or at least thematically, conditioned upon the first commandment.

4. Like →  $\text{ʔlōhîm}$  (III/3),  $\text{ʔēl}$  can also be used in an attenuated sense for intensification: “mountains of God” (Psa 36:7; 50:10 txt em) and “cedars of God” (Psa 80:11) are characterized by unusual size (perhaps also Isa 14:13 “stars of God”; Job 41:17 “mighty, heroes” derives from  $\text{ʔayîl}$ , cf. Ezek 32:21).

$\text{yhwh ʔēl}$  (Psa 10:12; cf.  $\text{hāʔēlyhwh}$  Psa 85:9; Isa 42:5) resembles the remarkable usage  $\text{yhwh ʔlōhîm}$  (→  $\text{ʔlōhîm}$  IV/5). The repeated designations for God in Psa 50:1 and Josh 22:22 are ceremoniously elevated usages, similar to the gen. construction, a circumlocution for the superlative,  $\text{ʔēl ʔlōhîm}$ , “God of gods,” i.e., “the highest God” ( $\text{ʔēl ʔēlîm}$  Dan 11:36).

IV. 1. Although the OT attributes relatively few predicates to God himself, the use of  $\text{ʔēl}$  in connection with adjs. becomes more frequent in later times, from about Deut onward; the word can assume a wide variety of modifiers on account of its generality. The “jealous God” (see III/3) watches over Israel, who trusts in strange gods; the “holy God” ( $\text{hāʔēl haqqādōš}$  Isa 5:16, secondary) proves himself to be holy in judgment. Yet the “great God” ( $\text{ʔēl gādōl}$  Psa 95:3) can intercede for Israel (Deut 7:21; 10:17) and forgive sin just as easily (Jer 32:18; cf. Neh 1:5; 9:32; Dan 9:4). In a manner unusual for the OT, the confession formulae  $\text{ʔēl raḥûm wʔḥannûn}$  “merciful and gracious God,” etc. (Exod 34:6; cf. Deut 4:31; Jonah 4:2; Psa 86:15; Neh 9:31), also attested only late, do not appeal to a historical event; they have origins in wisdom, which makes a basic, universally valid

statement concerning God's being, so that one can find here the origins of a doctrine of God's attributes (cf. R. C. Dentan, *VT* 13 [1963]: 34–51).

Descriptions such as “a righteous = true God” (Isa 45:21; cf. 45:15, “a God who hides himself”), “a hidden God” (Psa 99:8), or “the faithful God” (Deut 7:9) are comparable. Construct relations are synonymous: “God of faithfulness” (Deut 32:4 or Psa 31:6; cf. 68:21). “The God of vengeance” (Psa 94:1; cf. Jer 51:56) can be called upon as judge. On other usages, occasionally with  $\text{ʔēl}$  as *nomen rectum* (e.g., Psa 78:7 “deeds of God”; cf. Job 37:14), see *HAL* 48b.

2. In Deutero-Isaiah's proclamation of Yahweh's uniqueness (“I am God and there is no other”) the appellative  $\text{ʔēl}$  (only in Isa 40–46) plays a weighty role (esp. 40:18; 43:12; 45:22; cf. 43:10). Yet this usage does not continue to identify Yahweh with the deity El.  $\text{ʔēl}$  is no longer a PN; rather it is—sometimes par. to (45:14f.; 46:9) or alternating with  $\text{ʔēlohîm}$  (45:5, 18, etc.; cf. Exod 28:2, 9)—exclusively a generic term for “god,” to which Yahweh lays sole claim.  $\text{ʔēl}$  also occurs in disputations with foreign deities (Isa 45:20; in secondary sections “to form, to make, a god”: 44:10, 15, 17; 46:6).

3. In Job, particularly in the Elihu speeches,  $\text{ʔēl}$  (with and without art.) becomes the most frequent designation for God (followed by  $\text{ʔēlohîm}$  and  $\text{šadday}$ , which is often par. to  $\text{ʔēl}$ );  $\text{ʔēlohîm}$  disappears almost entirely (cf. Fohrer, *KAT* 16, 117f.). On the whole, then, the usage is hardly dependent upon the tradition associated with  $\text{ʔēl}$ , but upon the theme of the book of Job (cf. perhaps Job 8:3, 20; 13:3; 31:14; 34:5, 12).

This circumstance dictates that  $\text{ʔēl}$  appears in Job neither with *suf.*—thus the difference between God and human stands out more markedly than in the Psalter—nor with an appositional *adj.*, even when the “majesty” of God is emphasized (36:5, 22, 26).

Conceptualizations such as those found in the themes of many Psalms are comparable. Thus, according to Psa 73:11, the godless explicitly dispute that the transcendent God is cognizant of the activity of people of earth (cf. Job 22:13).

The later period favored using  $\text{ʔēl}$  because it no longer needed to distinguish its God as God of the world (cf.  $\text{ʔēl}$  “in heaven”: Deut 3:24; Psa 136:26; Lam 3:41) from the other gods.

4. The OT repeatedly juxtaposes  $\text{ʔēl}$  “God” and humans. “God is not a human, that he should lie” (Num 23:19) paraphrases God's trustworthy faithfulness to his word. The prophet Hosea (11:9) supports his interpretation of holiness as forgiving love instead of punishing wrath with the antithesis, “I am God and not a human.” Isaiah's word, “Egypt is a human and not God” (31:3), distinguishes between might and weakness.

Ezekiel replies to the arrogant prince of Tyre: “You are a human and not God” (28:2, 9). Finally, the difference between God and human becomes a contrast between right and wrong in Job (except for Job 32:13): “How can a human be right before God?” (9:2; 25:4; cf. 4:17, etc.). The essences of God and people are so different that discourse and interchange between the two, i.e., a legal proceeding, is impossible (cf. 9:32).

5. Otherwise, *ʔēl* lends itself to the expression of close relationship to God (cf. “God of my life” Psa 42:9, etc.); in this usage, as in the address in prayer, one hears an idiom common among Israel’s neighbors (on Bab. prayers, see e.g., J. Begrich, *ZAW* 46 [1928]: 236, 242, 244f.). The individual cries, “My God” (2d per., 3d per., and 1st per. pl. sufs. do not occur), both in laments and in songs of thanksgiving: “My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?” (Psa 22:2; also 18:3; 63:2; 102:25; Exod 15:2; by the king, Psa 89:27; cf. 68:25) and the confession “you are my God” expresses confidence (Psa 22:11; 118:28; 140:7; to the idol, Isa 44:17; cf. Eissfeldt, *KS* [1966], 3:35–47). Yet the individual (Psa 16:1; 17:6; cf. 10:12; 31:6) and the community (Psa 83:2; 90:2; Num 16:22; cf. *ʿimmānū ʔēl* Isa 7:14; 8:8, 10 → *ʿim*) can use *ʔēl* without suf. in the vocative.

V. → *ʔlōhîm*.

W. H. Schmidt

## 𐤀𐤋𐤁 *ʔālâ* **curse**

S 423; BDB 46b; *HALOT* 1:51b; *TDOT* 1:261–66; *TWOT* 94b; *NIDOTTE* 460

1. The root *ʔlh* (*ʔlw*) “to curse” seems to be used only in Hebr., Phoen., and Arab.

Phoen. *ʔlt* on an amulet from Arslan Tash (*KAI* no. 27) means “covenant” (line 9) and “curse” (lines 13–15) (see *KAI* 2:45, following T. H. Gaster, *Or* 11 [1942]: 65f.; for other interpretations, see *DISO* 14; cf. *ANET* 658b). The Yaudi evidence *ʔlh* “conspiracy(?)” cited in *DISO* 14 from *KAI* no. 215.2 should be disregarded according to *KAI* 2:223, 225.

Arab. *ʔalā* (*ʔlw* IV) means “to swear”; cf. J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten* (1914), 12f.

Akk. *iʔlu* “contract” (*AHW* 373b) belongs to *eʔlu* “to bind (contractually)” (*AHW* 189a) and is not related to the root of Hebr. *ʔālâ*. Akk. *māmîtu* corresponds most closely to the usage of *ʔālâ*; cf. Pedersen, op. cit. 82; H. C. Brichto, *The Problem of “Curse” in*

*the Hebrew Bible* (1963), 16f., 71–76; *AHw* 599f.

The verb  $\text{ʔlh}$  occurs in qal and hi.; the substs.  $\text{ʔālā}$  and  $\text{ta}^{\text{ʔālā}}$  “(realized) curse” (so J. Scharbert, *Bib* 39 [1958]: 5) are derivatives (cf., however, Brichto, op. cit., 69).

2. The Hebr. OT attests derivatives of the root 43x: qal and hi. 3x each (in 1 Sam 14:24 one should presumably read *wayyaʔal*),  $\text{ʔālā}$  36x,  $\text{ta}^{\text{ʔālā}}$  1x (Lam 3:65).

The relatively infrequent usage in the old narratives (Gen 24:41[bis]; 26:28; Judg 17:2; 1 Sam 14:24) and the more frequent occurrence in the Prophets (13x) should be emphasized.

3. (a)  $\text{ʔālā}$  is essentially a judicial term. In contrast to  $\rightarrow \text{ʔr}$  “to curse, place under the ban,”  $\rightarrow \text{qll}$  pi. “to insult, wish someone ill,” and other expressions for damaging speech (cf. J. Scharbert, “Fluchen’ und ‘Segnen’ im AT,” *Bib* 39 [1958]: 1–26; Brichto, op. cit.), according to F. Horst (*RGG* 5:1651),  $\text{ʔālā}$  indicates the curse “as a legal aid for securing an oath (Gen 24:41; Hos 4:2; Neh 10:30), contract (Gen 26:28; Ezek 17:19), or covenant (Deut 29:19f.; 2 Chron 34:24), as an ordeal curse (Num 5:21), and as legal vengeance against unknown thieves, perjurers, and accomplices (Judg 17:2f.; Lev 5:1; Zech 5:3; Prov 29:24).”

In each case the term concerns a conditional curse that the speaker either accepts or places on another. Consequently, arenas of usage are, on the one hand, (b) oath-taking rituals ( $\rightarrow \text{šb}^{\text{c}}$ ), accompanied by a curse sanction, associated with the finalization of a contract or covenant ( $\rightarrow \text{b}^{\text{c}}\text{rît}$ ), and, on the other hand, (c) the subjection of other known or unknown persons to a curse (Brichto, op. cit. 41: “adjuration”), in order to ensure the execution of a command or to bring a criminal to punishment. In both cases metonymic word usage must be taken into account from time to time.

(b) In about half the texts,  $\text{ʔālā}$  stands in a topical relation to oath ( $\rightarrow \text{šb}^{\text{c}}$  ni./hi.,  $\text{š}^{\text{c}}\text{bû}^{\text{c}}\text{â}$ ) and covenant ( $\rightarrow \text{b}^{\text{c}}\text{rît}$ , also  $\rightarrow \text{tôrâ}$  as a written, binding law). In view are first, the sanction inherent in any oath taking through a conditional self-curse, the curse released by a violation of oath, and then, metonymically (as part for the whole), also the obligation or the contract itself.

The translation “curse (sanction)” is appropriate for Deut 29:19 (with *rbš* “to lie in wait”), 20 ( $\text{ʔālôt habb}^{\text{c}}\text{rît}$  “covenant curses”); 30:7; Isa 24:6 (with  $\text{ʔl}$  “to consume”; cf. v 5  $\text{b}^{\text{c}}\text{rît}$ , similarly Jer 23:10 txt? without  $\text{b}^{\text{c}}\text{rît}$ ); Dan 9:11 (par.  $\text{š}^{\text{c}}\text{bû}^{\text{c}}\text{â}$ , written in the *tôrâ* of Moses); 2 Chron 34:24 (written in the book). It should be translated “oath” in Gen 24:41(bis) (with  $\rightarrow \text{nqh min}$  “to be free from”; cf. v 8  $\text{š}^{\text{c}}\text{bû}^{\text{c}}\text{â}$ , vv 3, 9, 37  $\text{šb}^{\text{c}}$ ); Ezek 16:59 and 17:16, 18f. (with *bzh* “to despise,” par. *pr* hi.  $\text{b}^{\text{c}}\text{rît}$  “to violate covenant”); Hos 10:4

(*ʾlh* inf. *šāw*) “to swear false oaths,” alongside *bʿrīt*); Neh 10:30 (*ʾālā* and *šʿbūʿā* as a hendiadys). Gen 26:28; Deut 29:11, 13, 18; Ezek 17:13 (in each case par. to *bʿrīt*) refer to the sworn contract.

Jer 29:18; 42:18; 44:12 describe the apostate Judeans as “(an example) for cursing”; this expansion of meaning only occurs here, characteristically, in a series of synonyms with “terror, hissing, or execration (*qʿlālā*), reproach.”

(c) Conditional curses placed on other persons occur in very different circumstances but commonly employ *ʾālā* as a (in proper usage) legal mechanism, namely in public proclamations to insure compliance and in divine judgment procedures; whoever fails to follow the demand, i.e., the guilty, should be affected by the curse.

Saul places his army under an execration (*ʾlh* hi.; not “to cause to swear”; cf. Brichto, op. cit. 45–48) in the event that someone transgresses against the published fast order (1 Sam 14:24); Lev 5:1 discusses the witness who fails to respond to the public call to report to the court, accompanied by a threat of curse in the event of disobedience (*qôl ʾālā*) (Elliger, HAT 4, 73; cf. Noth, *Lev*, OTL, 44); Prov 29:24 discusses the receiver of stolen goods who will be affected by the public cursing of a thief, against whom one conceivably cannot bring charges; Judg 17:2 treats the confessed thief for whom the curse (*ʾlh* qal) issued earlier is now repealed by a blessing (→ *brk* only here and in Deut 29:18 alongside *ʾālā*). Zech 5:3 presents the *ʾālā*, embodied in the scroll seen in a vision, as a curse issued by Yahweh on thieves and perjurers.

In the context of a curse-ordeal (cf. R. Press, *ZAW* 51 [1933]: 122ff.) involving a woman suspected of adultery, Num 5:11–31 does not treat the self-adjudication required of the woman, but a conditional curse by the priest (v 21aα with *šʿbūʿā*, v 23 pl.) that takes effect in the event of guilt (Brichto, op. cit. 48–52); the woman then becomes an “(example of a) curse” (vv 21aβ, 27; metonymic use of *ʾālā*, cf. Scharbert, op. cit. 5, 11f.). *ʾālā* also appears in 1 Kgs 8:31 (*ʾlh* hi. and twice *ʾālā* [read *ûbāʾā* in v 31b]; par. 2 Chron 6:22) and Job 31:30 (so Brichto, op. cit. 52–56; contra Noth, BK 9, 186: purification oath of the accused) as a legal (but dangerous) technique against an enemy.

Because such a conditional curse always contains an accusation, *ʾālā* can also acquire the broader meaning “accusation” (Hos 4:2 and Psa 59:13 together with → *khš*; Psa 10:7 in an illegal use; Brichto, op. cit. 56–59).

4. (a) Insofar as the conditional self-adjudication in the context of interpersonal agreements and the conditional curse upon a third party are legal techniques bound to God’s guarantee of the judicial process (Yahweh hears the *ʾālā*, 1 Kgs 8:31f. = 2 Chron 6:22f., and acts accordingly, Num 5:21; Ezek 17:15–19; he himself proceeds against the misuse of the *ʾālā*, Hos 4:2 and 10:4, or sets it in motion, Zech 5:3; cf., however, the

cancellation of the *ʔālā* by a blessing in Judg 17:2), their value and significance vary according to whether God is taken seriously. In crass cases the *ʔālā* may be abused unscrupulously in contempt of God and thus in disdain of fellow human beings (cf. Hos 4:2; 10:4; Psa 10:7; 59:13; Job 31:30 for private law; Ezek 17:13, 16, 18f. for international law). Examples of *ʔālā* pronounced legitimately occur in Gen 24:41; 26:28; Judg 17:2; 1 Sam 14:24; Prov 29:24; naturally general references to the institution also belong in this category (Lev 5:1; Num 5:21–27; 1 Kgs 8:31 = 2 Chron 6:22; cf. Zech 5:3).

(b) The *ʔālā* has a properly theological aspect only as a sanction in the context of a covenant between Yahweh and Israel (15 texts from the time of Jer and Deut). The manifestation of the curse is implied in the moment of the covenant's finalization (Deut 29:11–20; Neh 10:30), but must be acknowledged in the judgment for apostasy (Isa 24:6; Jer 23:10; 29:18; 42:18; 44:12; Ezek 16:59; Dan 9:11; 2 Chron 34:24); if the people repent, the curses will affect not Israel but its enemies (Deut 30:7).

5. In the literature from Qumran, the expression *ʔālôt habb<sup>c</sup>rit* “covenant curses,” derived from Deut 29:20, is particularly popular (1QS 2:16; 5:12; CD 15:2f.; cf. 1:17; also *š<sup>e</sup>bû<sup>c</sup>at hāʔālā* in CD 9:12).

The LXX primarily translates with *ara* and derivatives, less frequently (6x) with *horkos* and its derivatives.

In the NT the concepts associated with *ʔālā* become markedly less common because of the altered legal circumstances and the rejection of the oath. Cf. L. Brun, *Segen und Fluch im Urchristentum* [1932]; F. Büchsel, “ἄρα,” *TDNT* 1:448–51; J. Schneider, “ὄρκος,” *TDNT* 5:457–67.

C. A. Keller

## אלהים *ʔlōhîm* God

S 430; BDB 43a; *HALOT* 1:53a; *TDOT* 1:267–84; *TWOT* 93c; *NIDOTTE* 466

I. The etymology of *ʔlōhîm*—like that of → *ʔēl*—is contested.

1. With few exceptions the sg. *ʔlōah* occurs in the OT only in post-exilic literature (see II); hence one may assume that the sg. presupposes the pl. The Hebr. alone suggests the conclusion that *ʔlōhîm* (along with *ʔēlîm*) is a pl. form of *ʔēl*, from which a sg. was formed secondarily.

In support one can—with caution given the uncertain textual situation—call

attention to the Ug. pl. of *ilt* “goddess,” which seems to be *ilht*, and and to *ilhm*, which may also be found alongside the masc. pl. *ilm* (*WUS* no. 182; *UT* no. 163 and §8.8).

Nevertheless, the sg. \**ʔilāh* occurs already in Old Aram. (*DISO* 14) and in Arab. (but not in Akk.); thus the derivation of *ʔlōhîm* from *ʔilāh* seems more probable.

In any case one must not assume an etymology for \**ʔilāh* distinct from \**ʔil*, but a relationship of the two words, probably in the sense that the older root \**ʔil* underwent expansion. Derivation from the Arab. *ʔaliha* “to be timid” (e.g., König, *Syntax* §263a) is just as improbable as a direct relationship to *ʔēlâ/ʔēlôn* “tree” (F. Zimmermann, *VT* 12 [1962]: 190–95). *ʔlōhîm* never appears in place-names and PNs; thus the association of the two divine designations may have still been known to Israel.

2. *ʔlōhîm* is usually considered an abstract, intensifying, majestic, or dominical pl. (König, *Syntax* §163; GKC §124g). Yet the fact that from the outset the word also apparently indicates the numerical pl. “gods” (see III/1) may be explained only with difficulty in this manner. If one wishes to trace this double usage to a unified origin, one may theorize that an originally genuine pl. was subsequently or simultaneously understood as an abstract pl. Whether the expression should then be interpreted as a summation of the “divine powers” as a unity must remain at least questionable. In any case, the sg. sense of the pl. form is so uncontested for the OT that it used the word throughout without limitation (suspicion of polytheism).

The pl. *ilānî-ya* addressed to the pharaoh in the Amarna correspondence and Phoen. *ʔlm* as a divine epithet represent some pars. (cf. esp. J. Hehn, *Die biblische und die babylonische Gottesidee* [1913], 168ff.; W. Röllig, *FS Friedrich* 403–16; and O. Eissfeldt, *El im ugaritischen Pantheon* [1951], 27f.). The degree to which these expressions (pl. form with sg. meaning) reveal monotheistic tendencies must remain undecided. Otherwise, the assumption that Israel adopted *ʔlōhîm* from the Canaanites with pl. as well as sg. meanings has not yet been demonstrated.

II. 1.\* With 2,600 occurrences *ʔlōhîm* is the second most frequent subst. in the OT following *bēn* “son.”

Gen 219	Nah 1
Exod 139	Hab 2
Lev 53	Zeph 5
Num 27	Hag 3
Deut 374	Zech 11
Josh 76	Mal 7
Judg 73	Psa 365
1 Sam	100 Job 17

2 Sam	54	Prov	5
1 Kgs107	Song Sol	–	
2 Kgs97	Ruth	4	
Isa 94	Lam	–	
Jer 145	Eccl	40	
Ezek 36	Esth	–	
Hos 26	Dan	22	
Joel 11	Ezra	55	
Amos14	Neh	70	
Obad–	1 Chron	118	
Jonah	16	2 Chron	203
Mic	11		

Pentateuch	812
Josh–2 Kgs	507
Prophets	382
Ketubim	899
Hebr. OT total	2,600

2 Kgs 17:31 K is attributed above to *ʔlôah*. Lis. lists 1 Kgs 1:47 (K/Q) twice, Mandl. lists Gen 21:4; Psa 108:6, 8 twice. The variants in 2 Sam 7:22a and 1 Chron 15:2b, omitted in Cod. Leningradensis, are not counted.

In addition, *ʔlôah* occurs 58x: 41x in Job 3–40; other scattered occurrences: 4x in Psa and Dan, 2x in Deut and Hab, 1x in 2 Kgs, Isa, Prov, Neh, and 2 Chron.

The Aram. portions of the OT contain *ʔlāh* 95x (17x pl., 4x sg. in meaning): Jer 10:11 1x, Dan 51x, Ezra 43x.

2. A peculiarity in the distribution of *ʔlôhîm* need only be noted: The prophets, excl. the Jonah narrative, avoid unmodified *ʔlôhîm* as the subj. of the sentence (cf. Lis. 97c), probably because the divine designation is too unspecific for them, while the word is found frequently in this position in the Pentateuch and in the Deuteronomistic and Chronicler's histories.

In Job, not counting the framework narrative, *ʔl* (see IV/3) and *ʔlôah* (cf. Fohrer, KAT 16, 117f.) replace *ʔlôhîm* almost entirely. In the remainder of the OT, the sg. *ʔlôah* occurs relatively infrequently, and, moreover, almost exclusively in poetical texts (Deut 32:15, 17; Isa 44:8; Hab 3:3; Psa 18:32; 50:22; 139:19; Prov 30:5; Dan 11:37–39). The word never carries the art. (once a suf., Hab 1:11; also in combinations, Psa 114:7; Neh 9:17), a condition that may be determined by a specific feature of elevated, poetical language. As a rule the sg. already presupposes the transition of

the generic designation “god” to the PN (cf., however, Dan 11:37ff.).

III. In distinction from *ʾēl*, *ʾēlōhîm* is originally only a descriptive term, not a divine name; in the course of history, however, it acquires the character of a PN, so that *ʾēlōhîm* can appear without the art. (Gen 1:1; GKC §125f) or can serve in the vocative as an address to “God” (Psa 5:11; 51:3, etc.). Nonetheless, the word does not mean solely “(the) God” but also “(the) gods” (III/1). In the following sections the more grammatical-semasiological and religiohistorical aspects of usage will be treated in III/1–7, the more theological in IV/1–6 (in view of the multitude of occurrences, citations are generally only exemplary).

1. *ʾēlōhîm* is used of strange gods with the gen. of the circle of worshipers: “gods of Egypt” (Exod 12:12; Jer 43:12f.; cf. Judg 10:6; 2 Kgs 17:31 Q; 18:34f.; 2 Chron 28:23). Other usages express the exclusivity and aniconic nature of the worship of Israel’s own God: “gods of the foreigners” (Gen 35:2, 4; Judg 10:16; 1 Sam 7:3; cf. Deut 31:16; Jer 5:19), “gods of the nations” (Deut 6:14; Judg 2:12; Psa 96:5; cf. 2 Kgs 19:12, etc.), “gods of the lands” (2 Kgs 18:35; the Assyrians speaking of Yahweh: 17:26f.), “gods of the earth” (Zeph 2:11), “other gods” (Hos 3:1; frequent in Deut, Dtr, Jer—occasionally to be understood as a sg.; cf. III/2?), “all gods” (Exod 18:11; Psa 95:3; 96:4; 97:7, 9; 2 Chron 2:4), and “gods of silver and gold” (Exod 20:23; cf. 34:17; Lev 19:4).

The pl. form is also used for individual foreign deities (Judg 11:24; 2 Kgs 1:2; 19:37; cf. Amos 5:26 “your astral god”; 8:14; Num 25:2; sg.: Dan 11:37ff.; Deut 32:17), and even for the fem. deity Astarte (1 Kgs 11:5, 33; cf. 1 Chron 10:10 with 1 Sam 31:10), because Hebr. has no term for “goddess.”

2. As a designation for Israel’s God, *ʾēlōhîm* is grammatically construed to be sg. generally (Gen 1:1; Psa 7:10; 2 Kgs 19:4), but can also be accompanied by a pl. attribute or predicate with no recognizable difference in meaning. Often both possibilities are found in the same body of literature: *ʾēlōhîm ḥayyîm* “living God” (Deut 5:26; 1 Sam 17:26, 36; Jer 10:10; 23:36) and *ʾēlōhîm ḥay* (2 Kgs 19:4, 16; cf. 2 Sam 2:27), *ʾēlōhîm q̄dōšîm* “holy God” (Josh 24:19) and *hāʾēlōhîm haqqādōš* (1 Sam 6:20); cf. also Deut 4:7; 1 Sam 4:8; 28:13; Psa 58:12 (GKC §132h; König, *Syntax* §263c). Occurrences with a pl. verb (excl. 1 Kgs 19:2; 20:10, where, as in 1 Sam 4:8, non-Israelites speak) are mostly ambiguous: Gen 20:13 E (see H. Strack, *Die Genesis* [19052], 77); 35:7 E (cf. Gunkel, *Gen* 224); cf. 31:53 J; Exod 22:8; 1 Sam 2:25. The confessional formula in 1 Kgs 12:28 and Exod 32:4, 8 is consciously ambiguous in order to brand the worship of the bull as idolatry. Later the pl. construction is avoided “from fear of misconception” (GKC §145i; cf. Neh 9:18 with Exod 32:4, 8; 1 Chron 17:21 with 2 Sam 7:23). These linguistic peculiarities do not support

religiohistorical conclusions concerning an original Israelite polytheism, which would have been retained primarily in E.

3. The semantic range of *ʿlōhîm* reaches farther than “god”: from patron deities and ghosts all the way to the fig. usage, incl. even the attenuated superlative sense.

According to Exod 21:6 (abbreviated in Deut 15:17) a slave who wishes to remain with his lord is led “before God” or “to the door” to receive a mark. *ʿlōhîm* here are likely the household gods that protect the family (cf. Gen 31:30; also Judg 18:24). The regulations in Exod 22:7f. should be understood similarly: In unresolvable private law situations one turned in ancient times to the household gods (*ʿlōhîm* does not have the meaning “judge” in Exod 18:19; 22:27; 1 Sam 2:25; Psa 82:1; 138:1; cf. A. E. Draffkorn, *JBL* 76 [1957]: 216–24; H. W. Jüngling, *Der Tod der Götter* [1969], 24ff.; W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen der Einzelnen auf institutionelle Zusammenhänge untersucht* [1970], 56f.).

Spirits of the dead can be called *ʿlōhîm* (1 Sam 28:13; Isa 8:19; cf. Mic 3:7?), although they may not intervene in human affairs on their own, they speak only (at night) per inquiry, and (despite 1 Sam 28:14) they have no cult (cf. L. Wächter, *Der Tod im AT* [1967], 192).

In some phrases such as “man of God” or “spirit of God” (see III/6), *ʿlōhîm* may have only the weakened sense of “divine” or even “demonic.”

The king is addressed in the controversial text Psa 45:7 as *ʿlōhîm*. Zech 12:8 promises for “that day”: even the weakest Jerusalemite will be strengthened “like David, and the house of David like *ʿlōhîm*,” which an addition mitigates to “angel of Yahweh” (conversely, Judg 13:22 describes the “angel of Yahweh” as *ʿlōhîm*).

A metaphorical or fig. meaning of *ʿlōhîm* occurs in the description of the relationship between Moses and Aaron as one between principle and prophetic spokesman: “He will be your mouth and you will become God for him” (Exod 4:16; cf. 7:1).

Like *ʿēl* (III/4), *ʿlōhîm* may also exercise an intensifying function: “mountain of God” (Psa 68:16; cf. 36:7), “a city large for God” (= beyond measure) (Jonah 3:3), “wisdom of God” (1 Kgs 3:28), “panic of God” (1 Sam 14:15; cf. Gen 35:5; 2 Chron 20:29). Nevertheless, *ʿlōhîm* does not completely lose its meaning in this usage; for the intensification results from the fact that the thing (or person) affected is related to God, e.g., “frightful (= sent by God?) thunder” (Exod 9:28; cf. 9:23) or “God’s camp” (Gen 32:3; 1 Chron 12:23); cf. also “prince of God” (Gen 23:6), “God’s fight” (Gen 30:8), “God’s fire” (2 Kgs 1:12; Job 1:16), perhaps “God’s breath” (Gen 1:2), “God’s grace” (see III/7); see D. W. Thomas, *VT* 3 (1953): 209–24; 18 (1968): 120–24; F. Dexinger, *Sturz der Göttersöhne oder Engel vor der Sintflut?* [1966], 41ff. The sense of the word *ʿlōhîm*, then, cannot be established with certainty in most cases; various nuances may be heard. Moreover, the phrases should be explained variously on the basis of their origins; some have religiohistorical bases, some are later formations (cf. also III/5).

4. The oldest traditions in which <sup>e</sup>*lōhîm* is firmly rooted are the names of the “gods of the fathers” and of the “mountain of God.” But the “Yahweh war” tradition seems not to have known the word originally; <sup>e</sup>*lōhîm* has replaced the Yahweh name or the divine “I” in the expression “people of God” in the summons to arms (Judg 20:2 in contrast to 5:11, 13 “people of Yahweh”; cf. 2 Sam 14:13) and in the cry “God has given the enemies into your hand” (Judg 7:14; 8:3; 18:10; cf. 1 Sam 23:14; cf. G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* [1991], 42ff.).

In the patriarchal tradition (→ <sup>ab</sup> IV/1), <sup>e</sup>*lōhîm* occurs in two different expressions: “God of my/your father” (Gen 31:5, 29 txt em; 46:3; cf. Exod 15:2; 18:4, etc.) and “God of Abraham” (Gen 31:42); “God of my father Abraham” (32:10; cf. 26:24, etc.) represents a hybrid form. In the oath that Jacob and Laban take following a border treaty, both partners summon their God as guardian of the agreement: “The God of Abraham and the God of Nahor shall judge between us” (Gen 31:53). One may still perceive here that the two deities were once distinguished; an addition seems to fuse both into the “God of their father.” Formulations such as “God of your father, God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob” (Exod 3:6) or “God of your fathers” (3:13, 15f.; cf. 4:5), which combine the individual gods of the fathers and equate them with Yahweh, are even more secondary. The OT recognizes only Israel’s God under the various designations, so that one must reconstruct an earlier form contrary to the sense of the text, and it is difficult to decide, regarding the particulars, the degree to which the tradition persists in its early form (on the god of the fathers, see Alt, “God of the Fathers,” *EOTHR* 1–77; bibliog. in K. T. Andersen, *ST* 16 [1962]: 170–88; M. Haran, *ASTI* 4 [1965]: 30–55; F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* [1973], 3–43).

Later, in the framing sermons of Deut and particularly in the Chronicler, designations such as “God of your/his/our fathers,” etc., which express the fusion of tradition and one’s own faith, become very popular. But the expression “God of Jacob,” whose antiquity (like that of “God of Isaac”; Gen 28:13) is uncertain, also receives greater significance, esp. in worship (2 Sam 23:1; Isa 2:3; Psa 20:2; 46:8, 12; 84:9, etc.; G. Wanke, *Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten in ihrem traditionsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang* [1966], 54ff.); cf. “God of Abraham” in Psa 47:10 (1 Kgs 18:36). “God of your father, David” (2 Kgs 20:5 = Isa 38:5; 2 Chron 21:12), “God of Elijah” (2 Kgs 2:14), and also “God of Shem” (Gen 9:26) are formed analogously.

If the God of the fathers is associated with people, in accordance with his name, so the “mountain of God” tradition (Exod 3:1; 4:27; 18:5; 24:13, E in part) associates a god with a place that one must seek in order to

experience the divine presence. Because reports of “Sinai” and “mountain of God” are distinct (except for Exod 24:13), it is not entirely clear whether the two traditions refer to the same place. Should they have a common origin, the extent of their subsequent divergence is remarkable. The “mountain of God” tradition takes place in the region of the Midianites (cf. the cultic community, Exod 18:12), about whom the Sinai narrative is silent, and offers no theophany corresponding to Exod 19:16ff. (cf. at best Exod 3).

5. Some ancient Near Eastern mythical concepts, indicated by the expressions “city of God” (Psa 46:5; 48:2, 9; 87:3), “stream of God” (Psa 65:10), “mountain of God” (Ezek 28:14, 16; cf. 28:2; Psa 68:16; 1 Kgs 19:8), “garden of God” (Ezek 28:13; 31:8f; cf. Isa 51:3), survive primarily in the Jerusalem tradition; cf. also from the Moses tradition “rod of God” (Exod 4:20; 17:9), “finger of God” (Exod 8:15; 31:18; Deut 9:10), and “writing of God” (Exod 32:16). Like *b<sup>e</sup>nê ʿēlîm*—an expression also attested outside the OT and therefore perhaps an ancient expression—*b<sup>e</sup>nê ʿēlōhîm* (Gen 6:2, 4; Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7; cf. Dan 3:25) are also “sons of gods,” i.e., divine beings, subordinate to Yahweh.

The mythical narrative Gen 6:1–4 assigns them even greater self-sufficiency than the framing report of the book of Job, where they still constitute only a subservient heavenly council. Nevertheless, the preexistent concept, according to which the giants originate in the admixture of gods and people, is also annulled in the story of the “angel marriages”; the myth is reshaped by the historical self-understanding of Israel in order to reveal the responsibility and guilt of humanity.

Israel has subordinated strange powers to Yahweh elsewhere as well. Thus in the mythical judgment scene in Psa 82, sentence of death is pronounced upon the “gods” (vv 1, 6 *ʿēlōhîm*), because they are unable to create justice for the needy (Psa 58:2ff.).

6. Significantly, the mythically colored usages mentioned and the superlative form (see III/3; cf. also IV/5) are only rarely formed with the Yahweh name and always with the appellative “god.” *ʿēlōhîm* occurs with remarkable frequency in fixed phrases, sometimes in ancient preformed material (on III/6–7 cf. F. Baumgärtel, *Elohim ausserhalb des Pentateuch* [1914]). Just as the OT has no “sons of Yahweh” formulation analogous to “sons of God” (perhaps in avoidance of the obvious notion of paternity), it also does not occur with Yahweh in a way corresponding to *ʾîš (hā)ʿēlōhîm* “man of God.” Other phrases are more or less reserved for *ʿēlōhîm* or gain a particular emphasis through the generic name.

The title “man of God” (no pl. is attested) is concentrated in the Elijah and particularly the Elisha narratives, which depict the prophets as wonder-workers (from 1 Kgs 17:18 on); it also describes Samuel, among others (1

Sam 9:6ff.), and is applied to Moses (Deut 33:1; Josh 14:6; Psa 90:1; 1 Chron 23:14; 2 Chron 30:16; Ezra 3:2) and in the Chronicler to David (2 Chron 8:14; Neh 12:24, 36; see R. Rendtorff, *TDNT* 6:809). Cf. similar expressions such as “God’s devotee” (Judg 13:5, 7; 16:17) or “prince of God” (Gen 23:6).

The general description “ark of God” (1 Sam 3:3; 4:11ff.) may be older than the specifically Israelite name “ark of Yahweh (God Sabaoth)” (1 Sam 4:6; 2 Sam 6:2). Among other names are “ark of the covenant of God” (Judg 20:27) and “ark of the God of Israel” (1 Sam 5:7ff.; cf. J. Maier, *Das altisraelitische Ladeheiligtum* [1965], 82ff.).

“House of God” (Gen 28:17, 22; Judg 9:27; 17:5; 18:31; cf. Jer 43:12f., etc.) becomes a frequent term for the temple in the Chronicler’s history (Ezra 1:4; 4:24ff., etc.), although the alternation with “house of Yahweh” (e.g., 2 Chron 28:24) seems to be inconsistent. The title “chief (*nāgîd*) of the house of God” (Neh 11:11; 1 Chron 9:11; 2 Chron 31:13; 35:8) is firmly established, however.

The expression “food of God” (Lev 21:6, 8, 17, 21f.; 22:25) preserves an ancient sacrificial concept, explicated to a degree in the pertinent laws by the neutral expression *ʾiššê yhw* “Yahweh’s (burnt) offering”; cf. similar designations in Lev 21:12; 23:14; Num 6:7; perhaps Psa 51:19.

Ezek (Ezek 1:1; 8:3; 40:2; cf. 11:24; 43:3) has “visions of God” as a fixed phrase for the prophetic reception of revelation.

The “spirit of God” (→ *rûah*) comes upon the prophets (Num 24:4; 1 Sam 10:10; 11:6; 19:20, 23; Ezek 11:24; 2 Chron 15:1; 24:20), gives wisdom (Gen 41:38; Exod 31:3; 35:31), and facilitates dream interpretation (cf. Dan 4:6, “spirit of the holy gods,” with 2:28, 47), but also represents the human life force (Job 27:3). 1 Sam 16:14–16 (cf. 16:23; 18:10) distinguishes an evil spirit sent by Yahweh, a “spirit of God,” from the “spirit of Yahweh.” Perhaps *ʾlōhîm* here has the attenuated sense of the divine-demonic.

Other expressions also seem to be fixed idioms, although they are not limited to formation with *ʾlōhîm*: “fearful of God” (Gen 22:12; Exod 18:21; Job 1:1; Eccl 7:18; etc.), “to fear God” (Exod 1:17, 21; Job 1:9; etc.), “to curse God” (or, euphemistically, “to bless God”) (1 Sam 3:13 txt em; Job 1:5; 2:9; cf. Deut 21:23 “curse of God”), “to ask God” (Judg 18:5; 20:18; 1 Sam 14:36f.), “word of God” (Judg 3:20; 1 Sam 9:27; 2 Sam 16:23; cf. 1 Kgs 12:22; Mic 3:7), or “knowledge of God” (Hos 4:1; 6:6; Prov 2:5). Such phrases sometimes refer intentionally to the “deity” (cf. also the denial of God, IV/5).

7. *ʾlōhîm* occurs moreover in other less firmly established figures of speech, e.g., “May God do this or that to me” (1 Sam 3:17, etc.; pl. for non-Israelites: 1 Kgs 19:2; 20:10; subj. Yahweh, 1 Sam 20:13; Ruth 1:17), “to

curse God and the kings” (or, euphemistically, “bless”) (1 Kgs 21:10, 13; cf. Isa 8:21; Exod 22:27; subj. Yahweh, Prov 24:21), perhaps “to show someone the kindness of God” (= loving service) (2 Sam 9:3; cf. 2:5; subj. Yahweh, 1 Sam 20:14), etc. Some of these idioms may also have been common among Israel’s neighbors.

The formula “as <sup>ʿ</sup>*lōhîm* (pl.?) destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah” may be of pre-exilic origin, if it originally referred to another deity (or deities) as the agent of the fall of the two places (Isa 13:19; Jer 50:40; Amos 4:11; cf. Deut 29:22; Isa 1:7 txt em; Jer 49:18); the saga in Gen 18f. already ascribes the deed to Yahweh.

The designation “angel of God” for God’s messenger (Gen 21:17; 28:12 pl.; Judg 6:20, etc.) is less common than “angel of Yahweh” (→ *malʾāk*), but often appears in a proverbial manner in similes (Judg 13:6; 1 Sam 29:9; 2 Sam 14:17, 20; 19:28; “angel of Yahweh,” Zech 12:8).

The disaster coming upon someone can be considered to have been sent from “God’s hand” (1 Sam 5:11; Job 19:21), while in post-exilic times the expression “God’s (good) hand over me” or variants describe God’s gracious control (Ezra 7:6, 9, 28; 8:18, 22, 31; Neh 2:8, 18). In each case the organ is understood in terms of its function.

The expression “gods and men” (Judg 9:9, 13) or “to strive with <sup>ʿ</sup>*lōhîm* and men” (Gen 32:29; cf. Hos 12:4) also deserves mention. The divine name Yahweh is specifically avoided in the latter usage; as a consequence, the meaning of <sup>ʿ</sup>*lōhîm* remains ambiguous because of the tangled tradition history of the Peniel narrative.

IV. 1. In some phrases or with a suf., <sup>ʿ</sup>*lōhîm* expresses the relationship between God and people. “God of Israel” is, then, nothing short of a standard expression (all occurrences in C. Steuernagel, FS Wellhausen 329ff.). The earliest trustworthy witness for it is the Song of Deborah from early in the period of the judges (Judg 5:3, 5).

The antiquity of occurrences in Gen 33:20; Josh 8:30; 24:2, 23, from which one could infer the cultic names of a deity worshiped in Shechem (cf. e.g., M. Noth, *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels* [1930], 93f.), remains unknown because the structure of the formula in Gen 33:20 differs from the other divine names formed with <sup>ʿ</sup>*l* (→ <sup>ʿ</sup>*l* III/2), and the time of composition of Josh 8 and 24 is disputed. The formula seems even more secondary in the Sinai tradition (Exod 24:10; cf. 5:1; 34:23). Since approximately the time of the exile, the usage became a favorite (introductions to speeches in Jer, Chronicler, etc.). It occurs in very different contexts: in doxology and prayer (1 Kgs 8:15, 23; 2 Kgs 19:15), in the oath (1 Kgs 17:1), etc. The prophet Ezekiel knows the singular “glory of the God of Israel” (8:4; 9:3; 10:19; 43:2) in addition to the usual formulation “glory (→ *kbd*) of Yahweh” (1:28, etc.).

“God of the Hebrews” (Exod 3:18, etc.) or “God of Jacob” (see III/4) are similar phrases.

2. God's relationship with the people is more frequently expressed through <sup>e</sup>*lōhîm* with a suf.: "your/our God," etc. (e.g., Josh 24:17f., 27; Exod 32:4, 8; Judg 11:24; Mic 4:5; of strange gods: 1 Sam 5:7; Jer 48:35), as is his relationship with an individual (also through "my God").

The meaning of such forms expanded by pronouns (cf. Ruth 1:16) can only be illustrated by some examples here. Thus the alternation of "our/your God" (Exod 8:21ff.; 10:16f., 25f.) often reflects the contrast of Moses and Pharaoh. In the second encounter with Ahaz (Isa 7:10–17), Isaiah offers the king: "Ask a sign of Yahweh *your* God!" When Ahaz hesitates, the prophet asks threateningly: "Is it too little for you to weary men, so that you also weary *my* God?" The refusal of the offer is a rejection of the promise inherent in the phrase "your God." In a time in which the community between God and people appears to be broken according to the message of judgment of his prophetic predecessors, Deutero-Isaiah begins his proclamation with the cry "Comfort, comfort my people, says *your* God!" (Isa 40:1; cf. 40:8 "the word of *our* God"). He may alter the traditional proclamation, "Yahweh has become king," into "*your* God has become king" (52:7) and he allows a messenger to report already: "Behold, *your* God!" (40:9; cf. 35:4). The people's address "my God" in Hosea's promise (2:25) already embraces everything that the era of salvation will bring (similarly Zech 13:9; Isa 25:9 "our God"). Such suf. forms occur with particular frequency in Hos; Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic literature impresses Israel even more with the fact that Yahweh is "your God."

The cry "my God" in Hos 2:25, conceived as a collective term (cf. Isa 40:27, etc.), is frequently the address of the individual in distress that opens the lament to God, expresses trust, hope, and thanks (Psa 3:8; 5:3; 7:2, 4; 22:3; 25:2; 38:22; 91:2; 1 Kgs 17:20f.; Dan 9:18f., etc.; cf. O. Eissfeldt, "Mein Gott' im AT," ZAW 61 [1945–48]: 3–16 = KS [1966], 3:35–47). The confessional formula "you are my/our God" represents an expansion (Psa 31:15; 86:2; 143:10; Isa 25:1 or 2 Chron 14:10; of the idol: Isa 44:17; cf. Gen 31:30; Judg 18:24).

3. Finally, suf. forms of <sup>e</sup>*lōhîm* are constitutive for the so-called self-presentation formula, "I am Yahweh, your God," and the so-called covenant formula, "I will be their God, and they will be my people."

The self-presentation formula, well-known in the ancient Near East, "I am . . .," refers to Yahweh in Israelite usage and is expanded (to the so-called grace formula) by the promise "your God"; it appears in various contexts in the OT with varied meanings (sometimes the translation "I, Yahweh, am your God" is also justified). It frequently points to history, particularly to the experiences in Egypt (Hos 12:10; 13:4; Psa 81:11), and in the Decalogue the ceremonious 1st-per. speech of God forms the preamble from which the individual commandments follow (Exod 20:2; cf. Judg 6:10). The chief occurrence of this idiom belongs once again to the exile; for it is concentrated in P, esp. in H (Lev 18:2, etc.), and in Ezek (Ezek 20:5, etc.). In conjunction with "to recognize that" (Exod 6:7 P; Ezek 20:20, etc; → *yd<sup>c</sup>*), the divine "I" becomes the goal of human knowledge; cf. W. Zimmerli, *I Am Yahweh* [1982], 1ff., 29ff., 104; K. Elliger, *Kleine*

*Schriften zum AT* (1966), 211–31.

The covenant formula is found (since around the end of the pre-exilic era) in various forms, on the one hand, in the later Moses tradition (Deut 26:17f.; 29:12; Exod 6:7 P, etc.), and, on the other, in prophetic promises (Jer 31:33; Ezek 11:20, etc.). It announces the existent or—critically—the future identity of Yahweh with his people; cf. R. Smend, *Die Bundesformel* (1963).

4. <sup>ע</sup>*lōhîm* is often more closely defined, more frequently through cs. combinations such as “God of heaven,” “God of my help” than through adjs.: “the righteous God,” “the living God,” etc. In every case, God’s nature or the means of encountering him are announced.

Except for Gen 24:7 (v 3, “God of heaven and earth”), “God of heaven” occurs from the post-exilic period onward in apposition to or even instead of the name Yahweh, sometimes in conversation with or speeches before foreigners (Jonah 1:9; Ezra 1:2 = 2 Chron 36:23; Neh 1:4f., etc.; Aram.: Dan 2:18f., etc.; cf. Psa 136:26). The designation may have arisen under Persian influence; in any case it serves the dialog with the Persian government (cf. Ezra’s title, “Scribe of the law of the God of heaven,” Ezra 7:12). The concept that God dwells in heaven (→ *šāmayim*) is already common early in Israel, however, and Mic 6:6 calls Yahweh “God of the heights.” Because this expression is unique, it must be left open as to how far it represents a common Jerusalemite designation for God (cf. Psa 92:9; Josh 2:11, etc.).

Other phrases similarly emphasize God’s universality or his sphere of activity in various ways, e.g., “God of eternity” (Isa 40:28; cf. Gen 31:33; Deut 33:27; → *’ōlām*) or “God of all flesh” (Jer 32:27; cf. Num 16:22; 27:16). The common name “Yahweh (God) Sabaoth” (2 Sam 5:10, etc.; → *šābā’*?, cf. 1 Sam 17:45 “God of the armies of Israel”) is surely an accentuation of Yahweh’s might, although the particulars of its meaning are disputed.

The expression of trust, “God of my salvation” or the like (Psa 18:47; 24:5; 27:9; 65:6; 79:9; 85:5; Isa 17:10; Mic 7:7, etc.), already sounds formulaic, shaped by either experience or expectation; cf. “God of my help” (Psa 51:16; “Yahweh God of my help,” 88:2), “God of faithfulness” (Isa 65:16), etc. Even the name “God of righteousness” (Isa 30:18) can express God’s “grace” or “mercy” (contrast Mal 2:17).

Although adj. modifiers do occur (see III/2), cs. combinations often replace them (e.g., Psa 59:11, 18 “God of my grace” = “my gracious God”). Thus the “living God” reveals himself through his saving intervention (1 Sam 17:26, 36; 2 Kgs 19:4, 16; cf. Dan 6:21, 27) as the “true” God (Jer 10:10; cf. 2 Chron 15:3); he is also able to reverse the misfortune of the individual (Psa 42:3).

5. With the aid of the expression <sup>ע</sup>*lōhîm*, a few texts treat the themes

of God's deity or of his relationship to humanity in a special way. The confession *yhwh hû hā<sup>ʿ</sup>lōhîm* "Yahweh is (the true, only) God" (Deut 4:35, 39; 1 Kgs 8:60; 18:39; cf. Deut 7:9; 10:17; Josh 2:11; Psa 100:3, etc.; as address: 2 Sam 7:28 = 1 Chron 17:26; 2 Kgs 19:15, 19; Neh 9:7) reflects Yahweh's controversy with other gods, even though his exclusive claim to worship has triumphed. As in the statement of incomparability (2 Sam 7:22 = 1 Chron 17:20; Isa 44:6, 8; 45:5, 14, 21; 64:3; cf. 2 Kgs 5:15; Deut 32:39, etc.; cf. C. J. Labuschagne, *Incomparability of Yahweh in the OT* [1966]), the truth of God's deity is bolstered against any doubt; the one circumlocution for the superlative expression "God of gods" (Deut 10:17; Psa 136:2; cf. Dan 2:47) has a similar significance.

The remarkable combination *yhwh ʿlōhîm* also occurs frequently outside Gen 2:4b–3:23 (only *ʿlōhîm*: 3:1b, 3, 5; see Exod 9:30; 2 Sam 7:25; Jonah 4:6; Psa 72:18; 84:12; 1 Chron 17:16f.; cf. 22:1, etc.). If the double name in the J creation and paradise narrative depends on the influence of *ʿlōhîm* in the P creation story, then the other occurrences remain basically inexplicable (more likely to be read as "Yahweh the true God" than as "Yahweh of the gods"); cf. O. H. Steck, *Die Paradieserzählung* (1970), 28n.35.

Like *ʿēl* (see IV/4), if not as poignantly, *ʿlōhîm* can also express the difference between God and human (e.g., Gen 30:2; 45:8; 50:19; 2 Kgs 5:7; Psa 82:6; cf. Job 4:17; Mal 3:8) or God and "not God" (Deut 32:17; 2 Chron 13:9, etc.). Effectiveness is the criterion: The strange gods are "good for nothing" (Jer 2:11 *lō<sup>ʿ</sup>ʿlōhîm*; cf. 5:7; 16:20), a "human product" (2 Kgs 19:18 = Isa 37:19; 2 Chron 32:19; cf. Hos 8:6 and the formulation "to make gods" in Exod 20:23; 32:1; Jer 16:20, etc.). Correspondingly, the denial of God ("there is no God," Psa 10:4; 14:1 = 53:2; cf. 10:13; 36:2) disputes not the existence but the effectiveness of God on earth, just as the question "where is your God?" (Psa 42:4, 11; cf. 79:10; 115:2; Joel 2:17) refers to the appearance of his helping power.

Although the serpent in the paradise narrative promises the couple that they may "be like God" (Gen 3:5; the designation remains ambiguous because of the history of the tradition, which goes back to ancient Near Eastern mythical concepts; cf. Ezek 28:2, 9, 13), God confirms this promise only in the weakened form "be like us" (3:22). Equality with God is recognized only as equality with the heavenly beings. Only the LXX (cf. also at Psa 97:7; 138:1) devalues the "image of God" in this way (W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift* [1967], 141). The OT itself does not limit the statement that the human is created "as God's image" (i.e., as God's representation, representative, viceroy) in any perceptible manner (Gen 1:26f.; 5:1; 9:6 P; → *selem*). Yet, in a similar context, Psa 8 compares people with "God" (v 6) and not with "Yahweh" (v

2), and so seems to make use of the difference between the proper name and the generic term in order to protect the peculiarity of Yahweh. Perhaps the previously stated expression, which like other fixed expressions with <sup>e</sup>lōhîm (III/6–7) has the relationship of humans to “God” and not to “Yahweh” in mind, brings about this usage. In any case, this distinction does not apply to the Priestly primeval history because it uses the divine designation <sup>e</sup>lōhîm consistently.

6. Various portions of the OT do not predominantly use the Yahweh name as a divine designation, but <sup>e</sup>lōhîm (with and without art.): in two sources of the Pentateuch, E and P, in the so-called Elohistic Psalter, in Eccl, and, to a degree, in Chronicles (on Job, see II). Thus Israel’s distinctiveness diminishes at times, negatively put, through the use of the general term for “God” and the avoidance of the proper name, but, positively, one may not easily determine a common tendency of the various works of literature, because particular points of reference for the foundation of the usage are lacking. Is God’s universality expressed in this way? Because the individual documents stem from such varied times, there must have also been various occasions and reasons for the usage.

The Elohist apparently did not use the word <sup>e</sup>lōhîm (Gen 20:3, 6, etc.) exclusively, but only predominantly, and occasionally employs the name Yahweh, esp. after the revelation to Moses in Exod 3:14 (cf. H. Seebass, *Der Erzvater Israel* [1966], 56n.4). The attempt has even been made to distinguish two Elohistic layers with this characteristic as a criterion; this alternation is, however, more likely due to the influence of the common mode of expression or, perhaps, to secondary influence of the other documentary sources. One may not interpret the use of <sup>e</sup>lōhîm as a remnant of an old Israelite polytheism (cf. W. Eichrodt, *Die Quellen der Genesis* [1916], 106ff.; E. König, *Die Genesis* [19253], 62ff.). Because the general designation is still preserved, at least as a rule, after Exod 3:14, E has also not sought to differentiate, like P, between individual epochs of revelation. Perhaps E wished to emphasize God’s transcendence (cf. God’s appearances in the dream and through the “angel of God”; see III/7), but in the final analysis, the explanation continues to be based on uncertain suppositions.

In contrast, one may infer that P seeks to acknowledge Israel’s God as the God of humanity, because it uses the appellative <sup>e</sup>lōhîm exclusively (and thereafter in alternation) in the creation and primeval narratives up until the revelation to Abraham in Gen 17:1 (→ <sup>e</sup>l III/1).

In the Elohistic Psalter (Psa 42–83) the phenomenon stands out sharply insofar as the original Yahweh name was replaced secondarily by the general term <sup>e</sup>lōhîm (cf. Psa 53 with Psa 14). Chronicles proceeded similarly, although with far less consequence, in the adoption of texts from the Deuteronomistic history (cf. e.g., “house of God” in 2 Chron 4:11 with 1 Kgs 7:40; see III/6 and M. Rehm, *Textkritische Untersuchungen zu den Parallelstellen der Samuel-Königsbücher und der Chronik* [1937], 108f.; on the frequent names “God of Israel” and “God of the fathers,” see III/4; IV/1). One may presuppose for this late period that the Yahweh name may have

receded because the distinction between proper name and generic term had faded through the confession of Israel's God as the only true Lord of the world. The emergent reluctance to pronounce the name of Yahweh may have contributed to this accentuation of God's transcendence and therewith the distinction between God and people (cf. also the book of Job); nevertheless, 1/2 Chron do not yet avoid it on principle. Finally, it may have been decisive for Qohelet's choice of the divine designation that he was able to emphasize God's omnipotence in view of the vanity of humanity by means of the general term <sup>e</sup>*lōhîm* (usually with art.).

V. On the whole, then, the generic name <sup>e</sup>*lōhîm* aided the Israelites to understand and to proclaim the God of their own history as the God of the world. On the aftereffects of the OT usage in postbibl. Judaism and in the NT, cf. H. Kleinknecht, G. Quell, E. Stauffer, and K. G. Kuhn, "θεός," *TDNT* 3:65–123.

W. H. Schmidt

## לֵיל } <sup>e</sup>*lîl* nothingness

S 457; BDB 47a; *HALOT* 1:55b; *TDOT* 1:285–87; *TWOT* 99a; *NIDOTTE* 496

1. The word <sup>e</sup>*lîl* "nothingness" is attested only in the OT and in literature dependent upon it; it finds its clearest pars. in Akk., Aram., and Arab. adj. formations of the root <sup>e</sup>*lîl* in the meaning "weak," etc. (cf. *HAL* 54a). Wildberger reviews the numerous but unproductive attempts at etymology (*Isa* 1–12, CC, 109; cf. also J. A. Montgomery, *JAOS* 56 [1936]: 442). On the (Aramaizing?) nom. form of the word, cf. Wagner 122.

A noun \**ill* "annihilation" has not been demonstrated in Ug. (*WUS* no. 216; *UT* no. 184; contra *CML* 1 136a; *CML* 2 142; Gray, *Legacy* 60; *KTU* reads *ilm* in 1.5.V.16).

2. <sup>e</sup>*lîl* occurs 20x in the OT, 10x alone in *Isa* (*Isa* 2:8, 18, 20[bis]; 10:10f.; 19:1, 3; 31:7[bis]), 2x in *Lev* (*Lev* 19:4; 26:1) and *Psa* (*Psa* 96:5 = 1 *Chron* 16:26; *Psa* 97:7), 1x each in *Jer* 14:14 Q; *Ezek* 30:13; *Hab* 2:18; *Zech* 11:17; *Job* 13:4. Cf. also *Sir* 11:3; 1QM 14:1 (cf. *Isa* 19:1); 1Q22 1:8.

Textual emendations are suggested for *Isa* 10:10; *Ezek* 30:13; *Zech* 11:17 (cf. commentaries).

3. <sup>e</sup>*lîl* is used uniquely in three texts as the governing noun of a cs. relationship and can be rendered "for nought, insignificant" (*Jer* 14:14 txt

em, “empty divination”; Zech 11:17, “good-for-nothing shepherds”; Job 13:4 “no-account speech”; cf. further Sir 11:3 “the bee is entirely insignificant among flying creatures”).

In the other texts (except for Isa 10:10 txt?), the noun appears in the pl. and is a derogatory designation for foreign gods. Psa 96:5 = 1 Chron 16:26 “all gods are nothing” (cf. also Psa 97:7) shows how this pl. usage developed from the sg. abstract. At any rate, the parody of  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{el}}/\text{ʔ}^{\text{elohim}}$  “God” may play a part in the prophetic literature and in H, which is dependent upon it (Lev 19:4; 26:1).

4. The following is said of the  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{ilim}}$ : They are the product of human hands (Isa 2:8, 20; 31:7; Lev 26:1), and one can therefore discard them (Isa 31:7); they are dumb (Hab 2:18); they quiver before Yahweh (Isa 19:1) and vanish before him (2:18). The expression  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{ilim}}$  recalls, then, the impotence and the insignificance of the strange gods. The force of the term is probably most clearly seen in Psa 96:5: “for all gods of the peoples are nothing, but Yahweh made the heavens.” Wildberger (*Isa 1–12*, CC, 109) has commented on this passage: “The use of this designation in the two God-king-psalms shows that it has its roots in the Jerusalem cult tradition, which is how Isaiah would have come to know it. It is not just by chance that this designation is used elsewhere only in the Holiness Code (Lev. 19:4; 26:1) and Habakkuk (2:18).”

$\text{ʔ}^{\text{ilim}}$  parallels *pesel/pāsîl* “sculpted image” (Isa 10:10; Lev 26:1; Hab 2:18; Psa 97:7), *ʕšabbîm* “carved image” (Isa 10:11), *gillûlîm* “idols” (Ezek 30:13), and *massēkâ* “molten image” (Lev 19:4; Hab 2:18). Eissfeldt (KS [1962], 1:271f.) summarizes the OT designations for “idol” in five groups with Scripture references: (1) derogatory terms: *bōšet* “shame” (→ *bōš*), *šiqquš* “horrible thing,” *tôʕebâ* “abomination” (→ *tʕ*), *ḥaṭṭāʔ* “sin” (→ *ḥṭʔ*), *ʔemâ* “horror”; (2) terms that deny the existence of the gods represented by the idols: → *hebel* “vapor,” *šeqer* “lie” (→ *šqr*), → *šāwʔ* “vanity,”  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{il}}$  “nothing,”  $\text{lō}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{-}^{\text{el}}$  and  $\text{lō}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{-}^{\text{elohim}}$  “not-god” (→  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{el}}$  III/3; →  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{elohim}}$  IV/5); (3) terms that deny idols divine dignity and relegate them to the sphere of the lower, evil spirits: *šʕrîm* “satyrs,” *šēdîm* “demons,” → *ʔāwen* “evil power”; (4) designations that declare them to be foreign and so more or less explicitly describe them as useless: phrases with → *ʔaḥēr* “other”, → *zār* “foreign”, → *nēkār* “strange,” → *ḥādāš* “new”; (5) designations that identify them with their images and so declare them to be lifeless matter: *massēkâ* and *nesek* “molten image,” *pesel* and *pāsîl* “sculpted image,” *ʕšeb* and *ʕšāb* “carved image,” → *šelem* and *semel* “carved image,” *gillûlîm* “(hewn) blocks of stone,” *šîr* “image,” *maškîṭ* “showpiece,” and *nʕšûʔâ* “processional image.”

5. The LXX renders  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{ilim}}$  variously, most frequently with *cheiropoiēta*

“human product” (6x) and *eidōla* “idols” (4x). The NT adopts *eidōlon* as a designation for the pagan gods in the meaning shaped by the LXX and Judaism (cf. F. Büchsel, “εἶδωλον,” *TDNT* 2:375–80).

S. Schwertner

## אלמנָה *ʾalmānā* **widow**

S 490; BDB 48a; *HALOT* 1:58a; *TDOT* 1:287–91; *TWOT* 105; *NIDOTTE* 530

1. *ʾalmānā* “widow” is common Sem. (cf. *GVG* 1:220, 227), with variation of the liquid in Aram. and Arab. (*ʾarmaltā* and *ʾarmalat*, resp., in contrast to Akk. *almattu* < \**almantu*, Ug. *almnt*, Phoen. *ʾlmt*).

The etymology is uncertain; cf. the suggested derivations cataloged in *HAL* 56b.

The abstract formations *ʾalmānūt* “widowhood” (*bidgē ʾalm<sup>c</sup>nūtāh* “her widow’s clothing,” Gen 38:14, 19; on 2 Sam 20:3 and Isa 54:4 see 3b) and *ʾalmōn* “widowhood” (Isa 47:9 par. *š<sup>c</sup>kōl* “childlessness”; see 3b) derive from *ʾalmānā*; cf. Akk. *almānūtu* (*CAD* A/1:362a) and Ug. *ḥt ulmn* “scepter of widowhood” par. *ḥt tkl* “scepter of childlessness” in the hand of the god Mot (*KTU* 1.23.8–9; Gray, *Legacy* 95f.).

2. The 55 occurrences of *ʾalmānā* are distributed as follows: Gen 1x, Exod 2x, Lev 2x, Num 1x, Deut 11x, 2 Sam 1x, 1 Kgs 5x, Isa 5x, Jer 5x, Ezek 6x, (on Ezek 19:7 see Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:389), Zech 1x, Mal 1x, Psa 5x, Job 6x, Lam 2x, Prov 1x. *ʾalmānūt* occurs 4x, *ʾalmōn* and *ʾalmān* 1x each. One-third of the root’s occurrences are in legal texts.

Not included here is the occurrence Mandl. lists in Isa 13:22, where *ʾalm<sup>c</sup>nôtāyw* “his palaces” should be understood as a by-form of *ʾarmōn* (see also Ezek 19:7).

3. (a) *ʾalmānā* should be translated “widow” in all its occurrences; it describes a woman who loses her social and economic support through the death of her husband (to this degree “widow” is not merely a description of the marital status “formerly the wife of the deceased”; cf. L. Köhler, *ZAW* 40 [1922]: 34; van der Leeuw 1:246f.; *CAD* A/1:364). The widow’s lot, in any case, is sorrowful, whether she is childless and returns to her paternal home (Gen 38:11, with the possibility of levirate marriage), or she has children (*ʾiššā ʾalmānā* in 2 Sam 14:5; 1 Kgs 17:9f.; even 1 Kgs 7:14 [mother of Hiram of Tyre] and 11:26 [mother of Jeroboam]) and the father has died

before the birth of the son (cf. the Phoen. Eshmunazar inscription, l. 3 “son of a widow,” *KAI* 2.19, 21f.; *ANET* 662a). The most famous widow story, the book of Ruth, does not use the word “widow.”

As a rule, widows are mentioned in one breath with those who bear a similarly hard lot: orphans (*yātôm*), outcasts (*g<sup>o</sup>rûšâ*), sojourners (*gēr*, → *gûr*), poor (*dal*), destitute (*‘ānî*, → *‘anh* II), childless (*šakkūlâ*), as well as Levites and slaves.

Thus the following nom. series result: widows/orphans (Exod 22:21, 23; Deut 10:18; Isa 9:16); widows/orphans/sojourners/destitute (Zech 7:10; cf. Deut 27:19; Mal 3:5); widow/outcast (Lev 22:13; Num 30:10; Ezek 44:22; cf. Lev 21:14); Levite/sojourner/orphan/widow (Deut 14:29; 26:12f.; similarly Deut 16:11, 14; 24:17, 19–21; Jer 7:6; Ezek 22:7).

The following appear in parallelismus membrorum: orphan-widow (Isa 1:17, 23; Jer 49:11; Psa 68:6; Job 22:9; 24:3; Lam 5:3); poor/destitute-widows/orphans (Isa 10:2, cited in CD 6:16); widow-childless (Isa 47:8, with *‘almōn* in 47:9; Jer 15:8; 18:21). Other pars. include Psa 94:6; 146:9; Job 24:21; 29:13; 31:16.

As a precisely delineated term for a personal circumstance, well adapted for fixed series, *‘almānâ* has no synonym.

(b) *‘almānût* occurs in 2 Sam 20:3 in a fig. meaning “widowhood during the life (of the man)” (or, with textual emendation, “widows of a living man” or “widows for life”) for the concubines isolated following the rebellion of Sheba. In the Elephantine papyrus, Cowley no. 30.20, “our wives have become like widows,” similarly paraphrases the renunciation of marital relations as a mourning rite.

Moreover, a city can be fig. described as a widow: Lam 1:1, “how she has become a widow,” describes Jerusalem after the catastrophe. In Isa 47:8 (oracle against Babylon) the haughty Babylon says: “I do not sit as a widow . . .”; this text, however, announces childlessness and widowhood (*‘almōn*) for this very city. Isa 54:4 uses *‘almānût* for Israel’s widowhood.

4. (a) Within the community in which they live, widows are unprotected, poor, and lonely. Since antiquity, therefore, they stand under the legal protection of Yahweh: in the old curse series of the Shechemite Dodecalogue (Deut 27:19, “cursed be whoever perverts the justice of the sojourner, the orphan, and the widow”), in the Covenant Code (Exod 22:21, “you shall not oppress widows and orphans,” where the legal parenthesis following in v 23 further strengthens the old law through a talion threat: “your wives will become widows”); in the Dtn Code, cf. Deut 24:17.

The following verbs appear in the word field: (1) *nṯh* hi. with obj. *mišpāṭ* “to pervert justice” (Deut 27:19); (2) *‘nh* pi. “to oppress” (Exod 22:23); (3) *ḥbl* “to take as a pledge” (Deut 24:17, clothing; cf. Job 24:3, cow); (4) *šq* “to oppress” (Jer 7:6; Zech

7:10; Mal 3:5); (5) *ynh* hi. “to harass” (Jer 22:3; Ezek 22:7).

Ug. texts also sometimes concern the “justice” due the widow (*dn almnt KTU* 1.16.VI.33, 46; 1.17.V.8; cf. A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature* [1954], 142f.).

A second group of legal texts in Deut regulates the rights of the poor and dispossessed, granting widows (and Levites/sojourners/orphans) particular privileges: they may glean during harvest (Deut 24:19–21); they should also celebrate the Feasts of Weeks and Booths (Deut 16:11, 14); and when the tithe is paid, the widows may eat their fill (Deut 14:29; 26:12f.). Compared with other feast regulations (Exod 23:14ff.; 34:18ff.; Lev 23), this group represents a parenetic legal exegesis peculiar to the Dtn Code.

Three isolated laws shed even more light on the legal status of the widow: a high priest may not marry a widow (Lev 21:14; in contrast to a priest, Lev 21:7). If a priest’s daughter returns childless to her paternal home, she may once again eat of the sacrificial offering (Lev 22:13); cf. further Num 30:10 (concerning a widow’s vow).

To summarize, one could say with Deut 10:18: Yahweh is the God “who creates justice [*‘ōśch mišpāṭ*] for the orphan and the widow”; cf. below on Psa 68:6; 146:9. F. C. Fensham (“Widow, Orphan, and the Poor in Ancient Near Eastern Legal and Wisdom Literature,” *JNES* 21 [1962]: 129–39) and Wildberger (*Isa 1–12*, CC, 50) cite pars. from Israel’s environment.

(b) The principles codified in the various regulations were taken up again in prophecy, in the language of prayer, and in the book of Job.

In prophecy, Isa, Jer, and Ezek in particular return to the old laws for the protection of the widow (surprisingly Amos and Mic use neither this term nor the terms “orphan” and “sojourner”). Prophetic accusations address those who are not concerned for the rights (*→ rīb*) of the widow (Isa 1:23), who oppress orphans and widows (Isa 10:2; Ezek 22:7; Mal 3:5), or who make women widows (Ezek 22:25). Yahweh’s retrospective lament (Jer 15:8) and Jeremiah’s lament (18:21) are just as likely to use the term as is the announcement of judgment (Isa 9:16: Yahweh will not have mercy on the widows). Conversely, the announcement to Babylon in the oracle against the nations in Isa 47:8f. that she will become a widow means salvation for Israel (on Jer 49:11 and Jer 51:5 see Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 288, 306f.; a description of the fate of the tyrant occurs in Job 27:15 too); cf. the limited announcement of salvation in Jer 7:6 (“if you . . . do not oppress the widow”). The old laws are most clearly taken up in the prophetic Torah: Isa 1:17; Jer 22:3; Zech 7:10. Ezekiel (44:22) modifies Lev 21:14 from his perspective.

The language of prayer can praise Yahweh as the judge (*dayyān*) of widows (Psa 68:6; cf. 146:9); meanwhile, the lament about the enemy complains of those who slaughter widows and sojourners (Psa 94:6 with *hrg*), and enunciates the wish that the wives of such evildoers may become widows (109:9; cf. Jer 18:21). Lam laments that even Jerusalem (Lam 1:1) and its mothers (5:3) have become widows.

The book of Job reiterates the language of Psa, e.g., in the lament concerning criminals who oppress widows (Job 24:3, 21; their catastrophe is described in 27:15). The accusation of Job's friends is typical, i.e., that Job may have sent widows away empty-handed (Job 22:9), which Job repudiates in retrospect in the closing lament (Job 29:13; 31:16).

If the legal protection under which widows stand is violated, then the indictment, lament, or even the announcement of judgment is issued, declaring the judgment of God upon the transgressor. Prov 15:25 also expresses this judgment: "Yahweh tears down the house of the proud, but the boundary of the widow he establishes."

5. Qumran (CD 6:16) and esp. the NT continue the traditions outlined above: Mark 12:40, among others. Luke 4:25f. cites 1 Kgs 17, Rev 18:7 cites Isa 47:8f. The warning against "young widows" (1 Tim 5:9ff.) is new.

J. Kühlewein

## 𐤀𐤌 *ʾēm* mother

S 517; BDB 51b; HALOT 1:61a; TWOT 115a; NIDOTTE 562

1. *ʾēm* "mother" derives from the common Sem. \**ʾimm-* (Akk., Ug., and Arab. \**ʾumm-*, under the influence of the labial; cf. GVG 1:199 and → *lēb*). Contrary to earlier etymologies (e.g., F. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena eines neuen hebr.-aram. Wörterbuchs zum AT* [1886], 109), the etymology of L. Köhler (ZAW 55 [1937]: 171) is currently preferred: *ʾēm* is "entirely underivable from the stock of Sem. roots known to us"; → *ʾāb* and *ʾēm* are "gibberish" from children's language (cf. "papa," "mama").

2. The total of 220 occurrences are distributed as follows: Gen 26x, Exod 7x, Lev 15x, Num 2x, Deut 13x, Josh 3x, Judg 20x, 1 Sam 4x, 2 Sam 3x, 1 Kgs 16x, 2 Kgs 22x, Isa 5x (Deutero-Isa 3x, Trito-Isa 1x), Jer 9x, Ezek 10x, Hos 4x, Mic 1x, Zech 2x, Psa 12x, Job 3x, Prov 14x, Ruth 2x, Song Sol 7x, Eccl 1x, Lam 3x, Esth 2x, 1 Chron 2x, and 2 Chron 12x. Four foci result: in the historical books (Gen, Judg, Kgs, incl. esp. reference to the name of the queen mother, 19x in Kgs, 9x in Chron), in legal regulations

(35x), in the language of prayer, and in proverbs.

3. (a) In its basic meaning  $\text{ʔem}$  describes the biological mother of her own children (son/daughter). Thus, a first natural word field within the family is delineated. This intrafamilial relationship is, with few exceptions, expressed by a following gen., or, most frequently, by a poss. suf. Significantly,  $\text{ʔem}$  is attested only 3x with the art. (Deut 22:6[bis], 7), and of 220 occurrences, 189 are suf. forms.

A second, less frequent word field is also established naturally:  $\text{ʔem}$  as the maternal parent corresponds to  $\rightarrow \text{ʔab}$  as the paternal parent.  $\text{ʔab}$  occurs around 70x in the word field, mostly in nom. series ( $\rightarrow \text{ʔab III/1}$ ) with “father” generally in first position, as one might expect in a patriarchal society such as Israel (cf. W. Plautz, “Zur Frage des Mutterrechts im AT,” ZAW 74 [1962]: 9–30).

In its basic meaning,  $\text{ʔem}$  has no synonymous subst.; yet verbal forms of *hrh* “to be pregnant” and *yld* “to bear” occasionally par.  $\text{ʔem}$ : the ptcp. of *hrh* in Hos 2:7; Song Sol 3:4; the form *yōledet* “bearer” in Jer 15:8f.; Prov 23:25; Song Sol 6:9; in Prov 17:25 independently par. to “father”; other verbal forms of *yld* par.  $\text{ʔem}$  in Jer 50:12; Song Sol 8:5.

$\text{ʔem}$  describes the mother animal (cattle, sheep, goats: Exod 22:29; 23:19; 34:26; Lev 22:27; Deut 14:21; birds: Deut 22:6f.).

(b) The term appears in an extensive series of close word combinations to describe kindred relationships (on the substitution of “father and mother” for the term “parents,” which is lacking in the OT,  $\rightarrow \text{ʔab III/1}$ ; the pl. ptcp. *hōray* “who conceived me” in Gen 49:26 is textually uncertain). “Son of my/your/his mother” and “daughter of my/your/his mother” may replace “brother” or “sister,” resp.

Thus “son of my mother” (or pl.) parallels  $\text{ʔah}$  “brother” in Gen 43:29; Deut 13:7; Judg 8:19; Psa 50:20; 69:9; Song Sol 1:6; similarly “daughter of my mother” parallels  $\text{ʔahôt}$  “sister” in Gen 20:12; Lev 18:9; 20:17; Deut 27:22; cf. Ezek 23:2 “daughters of one mother.” The expression describes here the *biological* brother or sister, although  $\text{ʔah}$  and  $\text{ʔahôt}$  can also signify the stepbrother and stepsister, resp. In contrast, “the sons of your mother” in Gen 27:29 (par. “brothers”) indicates a broader kinship.

Additional phrases describing maternal kinship are: “father of your mother” = “grandfather” (Gen 28:2); “brother of your mother” = “uncle” (Gen 28:2; cf. 29:10; Judg 9:1, 3); “sister of your mother” = “aunt” (Lev 18:13; 20:19).

(c) The term  $\text{ʔem}$  is occasionally broadened to describe nonbiological maternity. Hebr. has no term for “grandmother” per se (nor for “grandfather”). Hebr. probably resorts here to the simple  $\text{ʔem}$  (on 1 Kgs

15:10 cf., nevertheless, Noth, BK 9, 335f.; on the position of the *g<sup>e</sup>bîrâ* “queen mother” → *gbr* and 4b). As one may infer from the context (35:16ff.), in Gen 37:10 *ʔēm* refers to Joseph’s stepmother.

“Mother-in-law” (mother of the husband) is represented by the common Sem. designation *ḥāmôt* (Mic 7:6; Ruth 1:14–3:17 10x; fem. of *ḥām* “father-in-law” = father of the husband, Gen 38:13, 25; 1 Sam 4:19, 21); the mother of the wife is called *ḥōtenet* (Deut 27:23; fem. of *ḥōtēn* “father-in-law” = father of the wife, from the perspective of the *ḥātān* “bridegroom,” Exod 3:1; 4:18; 18:1–27, 13x; Num 10:29; Judg 1:16; 4:11, in each case, Moses; Judg 19:4, 7, 9); paraphrased “the woman and her mother” in Lev 20:14.\*

The term is broadened even more in Gen 3:20, where Eve (Hebr. *ḥawwâ*) is described in terms of the etymology of her name as “mother of all the living” (“first mother, founding mother”; on Ezek 16:3, 45, see 4c). The expression “mother earth” does not exist in the OT (cf. A. Dietrich, *Mutter Erde* [19253]; L. Franz, *Die Muttergöttin im vorderen Orient* [1937]; Haussig 1:103ff.).

*ʔēm* has no pl. corresponding to the term *ʔābôt* “fathers, forefathers” and its meaning. Psa 109:14 is typical: “May the guilt of his fathers be remembered, and the sin of his mother never be blotted out.”

(d) Figuratively, the term serves to personify a people or a city.

The following are described as “mother”: the people Israel in Hos 2:4, 7 (*ʔēm* in Hos 4:5 refers less to the people than to the mother of the priest mentioned; cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 78; contra Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 97, 102) and in Isa 50:1(bis) (Ezek 19:2, 10, Judah or the royal house; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:393f.), and Babylon in Jer 50:12.

“Mother in Israel” occurs as an honorary title both for the individual Deborah (Judg 5:7; it is admittedly unclear from the context which function earned her this title) and for the city Abel of Beth-maacah (2 Sam 20:19, mother in comparison to the “daughter cities” of the environs? cf. *ʔm* “metropolis” on Phoen. coins, *DISO* 15f.); a fixed expression in Hos 10:14 probably refers to normal mothers with their children (similarly in Gen 32:12); cf. Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 206.

In a similar figurative usage, Job calls the vermin of Sheol “my mother and my sister” in his lament (Job 17:14); only here does he find the familial community disrupted for him in earthly life.

(e) *ʔēm* participates in fixed phrases describing “mother’s womb” and “mother’s breast”: *beʔen ʔimmî* with prep. *be* or *min* “already in/from my mother’s womb” or “since my birth” (Judg 16:17; Psa 22:11; 139:13; Job 1:21; 31:18; Eccl 5:14); *m<sup>e</sup>ʕ ʔimmî* (Isa 49:1; Psa 71:6) and *reḥem ʔimmô* (Num 12:12) “my/his mother’s womb”; “mother’s breast” *š<sup>e</sup>dê ʔimmî* (Psa 22:10; Song Sol 8:1), *ḥêq ʔimmôtām* (Lam 2:12). All these terms could also express the same notion without association with *ʔēm*.

The term is farthest most from its basic meaning in the phrase *ʿēm hadderek* (Ezek 21:26) lit. “mother of the road,” i.e., the place at which a new road is born from the mother-road, a fork in the road (cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:444).

*ʿēm* plays no role as a component of Hebr. PNs.

4. (a) The mother (together with the father) enjoys the particular legal protection of Yahweh:

Father and mother should be honored (*kbd* pi.: Exod 20:12; Deut 5:16), feared (*yrt*? Lev 19:3). Whoever disparages father and mother will be cursed (Deut 27:16); whoever smites them or curses them will be killed (Exod 21:15, 17; Lev 20:9; cf. the law concerning the obstinate son in Deut 21:18–21).

The various regulations of the community reflect the divinely sanctioned social order: that no one engage in marital relations with his mother (Lev 18:7), mother-in-law (Lev 20:14), or aunt (Lev 18:13; 20:19); that a prisoner whom one intends to marry should first mourn her parents for one month (Deut 21:13); that one does not leave without first having once more kissed the parents farewell (1 Kgs 19:20); that one buries father and mother after their death (Lev 21:2; Ezek 44:25; contrast Lev 21:11 for the high priest and Num 6:7 for the Nazirite).

The instruction to honor father and mother also certainly had its place from the outset in wisdom’s family doctrine: Prov 23:22; 30:17. Whoever despises father and mother is “foolish” (Prov 10:1; 15:20; cf. 19:26; 20:20; 28:24; 30:11). The instruction of the children is, as a rule, the obligation of the fathers (Deut 6:20ff., etc.; → *ʿāb* IV/2b), but the mother also gives instruction (Prov 1:8; 6:20; 31:1).

The transgression of these commandments properly elicits prophetic indictment (Ezek 22:7; Mic 7:6).

(b) Compared to the “fathers,” *ʿēm* plays no role in the Deuteronomistic view of history. Nevertheless, four occurrences evaluate a king theologically in accordance with whether he walked in the sinful ways of his parents (1 Kgs 22:53; 2 Kgs 3:2) or of his mother (2 Kgs 9:22; 2 Chron 22:3; cf. Psa 51:7; 109:14). In general, the queen mother seems to have had particular influence on the policy and theological stance of the king: cf. the title “mistress” (*g<sup>e</sup>bîrâ*) in 1 Kgs 15:13; 2 Kgs 10:13; Jer 13:18; 29:2; 2 Chron 15:16; in 22:3 as “counselor”; cf. G. Molin, “Die Stellung der Gebira im Staate Juda,” *TZ* 10 (1954): 161–75; H. Donner, “Art und Herkunft des Amtes der Königinmutter im AT,” *FS Friedrich* 105–45. The status of Bathsheba in Solomon’s court (1 Kgs 1f.) or of Athaliah (1 Kgs 11) is indicative of this influence; the fact that the Deuteronomistic framework of the royal history lists the name of the queen mother almost without exception (1 Kgs 11:26, etc.) is no less indicative.

(c) The prophet Hosea is the first to describe Israel as “mother” (2:4,

7). In a “legal process against an unfaithful wife” (Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 32), the unfaithful mother is charged with marital infidelity by her husband and the children (v 4) and is described as a harlot in substantiation of the accusation (v 7). The image of marriage, which Hosea adapted from Can. mythology, serves to oppose Israel’s inclination to this cult with its prostitution. The image is taken up in Ezek 16, where the term (vv 3, 45) points to the dark past of the city Jerusalem, while the proverb “like mother, like daughter” (v 44) establishes the connection to the present (cf. also Isa 50:1 and Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 223f.). On Ezek 19:2, 10, where Judah or the royal house is described as *ʔēm*, cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:393f.

(d) The phrase “mother’s womb” (see 3e) has a particular place in the language of prayer, primarily in statements of confidence such as Psa 22:10f.: “From the womb onward you are my God”; cf. 71:6; 139:13; Job 31:18. It also occurs in the call of the servant in Isa 49:1 (cf. Judg 16:17 and, without *ʔēm*, Jer 1:5). The reverse of this affirmation appears in the prophetic lament: “Woe is me, mother, that you bore me” (Jer 15:10; 20:14, 17). Finally the phrase continues to occur in the later wisdom literature: Job 1:21, as a statement of confidence; Eccl 5:14, with a strong skeptical undertone.

(e) In contrast to *ʔāb* “father” and *ʔiś* “man,” the term *ʔēm* never directly characterizes Yahweh. Yahweh is a male deity according to OT conceptualization. Only once in post-exilic times is this rule violated, when Yahweh’s salvific activity is compared to the activity of a mother: Isa 66:13 (“as one is comforted by his mother, so I will comfort you”); cf. 49:15 (without *ʔēm*).

5. In the NT, the term becomes meaningful primarily because of the special status of Jesus’ mother; cf., however, Jesus’ word concerning his “true relatives” in Mark 3:31ff. (cf. Deut 33:9).

J. Kühlewein

אָמָה *ʔāmā* **maidservant** → עֶבֶד *ʕebed*

אָמֵן *ʔmn* **firm, secure**

S 539; BDB 52b; HALOT 1:63b; TDOT 1:292–323; TWOT 116; NIDOTTE 586

Contents: Sections I (root and derivatives), II (statistics), and V (post-OT) treat the root as a whole. The major sections III and IV (general and theological usage) will be divided into the following subheadings:

- A.  $\text{ʔmn}$  ni. p. 138
- B.  $\text{ʔmn}$  hi. p. 142
- C.  $\text{ʔāmēn}$  p. 146
- D.  $\text{ʔmûnâ}$  p. 147
- E. *emet* p. 151

I. 1. The root  $\text{ʔmn}$  “to be firm, secure, dependable” is not attested in Akk., Ug., Phoen., or Old Aram., but is common, after the admittedly rare occurrences in Imperial or Biblical Aram., in Aram. and the Ssem. language family. Therefore, comparative linguistics, which must essentially be based upon post-OT materials, offers only limited elucidation for the OT; in addition, one must reckon with a borrowing of the specialized meaning  $\text{ʔmn}$  hi. “to believe” from the Hebr. in Syr. (*LS* 175a), Mand. (*MG* 211), and Arab. (J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen* [1926], 55f.).

A relationship to the Eg. *mn* “to be firm, to remain” (Erman-Grapow 2:60ff.) is possible (Calice no. 198; M. Cohen, *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire Chamito-Sémitique* [1947], 83).

On the presumably Canaanite *imti* “dependability(?)” in EA 71:8, cf. W. F. Albright, *JNES* 5 (1946): 12n.8; *CAD* E:152b (cj. *em- <qu >-ti-ka?*).

The meaning “truly” for Ug. *imt* in *KTU* 1.5.1.18f. (*CML* 1 102f., 136; *CML* 2 68, 142; M. Dahood, *CBQ* 22 [1960]: 406) has not been established (*WUS* no. 274: “grass, hay[?]”).

The only possibility in Phoen. is the PN  $\text{ʔʔmn}$  on a seal (Harris 77f.). On the Pun. *emanethi* (*Poen.* 937), see Sznycer 92–94.

Two passages in 8th-cent. Yaudi inscriptions (*KAI* no. 214.11; 215.21) are totally obscure (cf. *DISO* 17).

The oldest Aram. occurrence may be  $\text{ʔmyn}$  “firm, lasting” in a papyrus from Saqqara (end of 7th cent.; *KAI* no. 266.3, “firm, as long as the heaven stands”). Cf. further *hymnwth* “his dependability” in the proverbs of Ahiqar (Aḥ. 132; Cowley 217, 224; *AOT* 460; cf. *ANET* 429b: “a man’s charm is his truthfulness”) and  $\text{ʔmhymin}$  “a dependable man” in Hermop. IV:9 (Bresciani-Kamil 398f.; J. T. Milik, *Bib* 48 [1967]: 583).

Later Aram. and Ssem. terms are summarized in *HAL* 61b; *SBL* 185f.

2. Of the verbal forms, the ni. “to be lasting, continue, be dependable, be faithful” and the hi. “to stand fast, trust, have faith, believe” are relatively frequent (see A and B). The qal seems to be represented at least by the

ptcps., yet they stand so isolated in meaning alongside the other derivatives of  $\lambda mn$  that the postulation of a root  $\lambda mn$  II is appealing.

The following derive from this root  $\lambda mn$  II (listed in *HAL* 62b in contrast to KBL 60b):  $\lambda omēn$  “attendant” (Num 11:12; Isa 49:23), “guardian” (2 Kgs 10:1, 5; Esth 2:7);  $\lambda omenet$  “wet nurse” (2 Sam 4:4; Ruth 4:16); pl. pass. ptcp.  $\lambda omûnîm$  “carried, protected” (Lam 4:5);  $\lambda omnâ$  “custody” (Esth 2:20);  $\lambda mn$  ni. “to be carried, tended” (a child, Isa 60:4). The relationship to Akk. *ummānu* (*HAL* 62a; see 5) remains highly questionable. Cf. Š. Porbčan, “La radice  $\lambda mn$  nell’ A.T.,” *RivB* 8 (1960): 324–36; 9 (1961): 173–83, 221–34.

On  $ne^{\lambda}mān$  in Num 12:7; 1 Sam 3:20 and  $\lambda omûnâ$  in 1 Chron 9:22, 26, 31; 2 Chron 31:18, where derivation from  $\lambda mn$  II is possible, see below A.III and D.III.

3. The most important of the nom. derivatives are the two fem. substs.  $\lambda omûnâ$  “firmness, dependability, faithfulness, honesty” or “official duty” (see D) and  $\lambda omet$  “durability, duration, dependability, faithfulness, truth” (see E).  $\lambda omet$  may derive from \* $\lambda amint-$  (BL 608). In this case the word is a fem. subst. from the adj.  $\lambda amēn$  and relates to it as  $\lambda omûnâ$  does to  $\lambda emûn$ . The following should also be noted: the “confirmation formula”  $\lambda amēn$  “surely” (see C); the subst.  $\lambda omen$  “dependability” (Isa 25:1 in the adv. asyndetic combination  $\lambda omûnâ \lambda omen$ ); and the derivative advs. with the ending  $-ām$  (BL 529),  $\lambda omnām$  “surely, really, truly” and the synonymous  $\lambda umnām$  (always with *he* interrogative); the related fem.  $\lambda omnâ$  is also used adv. (on these adv. usages see D). The ni. ptcp.  $ne^{\lambda}mān$  “dependable, faithful” functions widely as an adj., in addition to  $\lambda emûn$ , which occurs as an adj. only in the pl. and as a subst. “faithfulness, dependability” once in the sg. and somewhat more frequently in the pl.  $\lambda omûnîm$  (see A). The subst.  $\lambda amānâ$  “understanding, official agreement” (associated in Neh 10:1 with the verb  $\rightarrow krt$ ) and “ordinance” (Neh 11:23 par. *mišwat hammelek* “royal decree”) appears relatively late.

It is uncertain whether  $\lambda om^{\epsilon}nôt$  (pl.) in 2 Kgs 18:16, normally translated “doorposts” but which may mean the (golden) coating (?) of the doorposts, should be derived from  $\lambda mn$  (cf. *HAL* 63a).

4. A series of PNs are related:  $\lambda amôn$  (2 Kgs 21:18ff., etc.; the [short] form  $\lambda amî$  occurs in Neh 7:59 and Ezra 2:57), apparently a hypocoristic of a theophoric name formation (cf. Phoen.  $\lambda mn$ ; see I/1), or, as with  $\lambda amnôn$  (2 Sam 3:2; 13:1ff., etc.; in 2 Sam 13:20  $\lambda amînôn$  is probably a textual error), a description of a spiritual characteristic (*IP* 228: “dependable, faithful”; somewhat differently, J. Lewy, *HUCA* 18 [1944]: 456; cf.,

however, J.-R. Kupper, *Les nomades* [1957], 71, 76).  $\text{m}^{\text{a}}\text{mittay}$  derives from  $\text{m}^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  (2 Kgs 14:25; Jonah 1:1; according to *IP* 162, a short form; cf. *ḥelqay* alongside *ḥilqîyāhû*).

The name of the river  $\text{m}^{\text{a}}\text{mānā}$ , which flows through Damascus (2 Kgs 5:12 Q; K:  $\text{m}^{\text{a}}\text{bānā}$ ) may also belong to the root  $\text{mn}$ ; it would then describe the dependable, never receding river; cf. *naḥal ʿētān* “constant (i.e., always running) brook” (Deut 21:4; Amos 5:24) and the antonym *ʿakzāb* “deceitful” par. *mayim lōʿne mēnū* “water not trustworthy” (Jer 15:18; cf. Ph. Reymond, *L’eau dans l’AT* [1958], 72, 114).

It is still unclear whether  $\text{m}^{\text{a}}\text{mānā}$  as a name for Anti-Lebanon (Song Sol 4:8) derives from  $\text{mn}$  “to be firm.”

The Eg. god  $\text{āmōn}$  (Jer 46:25;  $nōʿ\text{āmōn}$  = Thebes, Nah 3:8) is not related to this root.

5. Contrary to earlier opinions,  $\text{ommān}$  (Song Sol 7:2) and  $\text{āmōn}$  (Jer 52:15; Prov 8:30) “manual laborer” have nothing to do with the root  $\text{mn}$ , but go back via Akk. *ummānu* “manual laborer, artisan” to Sum. *ummea* (cf. Wagner no. 18a). On Prov 8:30 (not “pampered child, darling,” but “artisan”) cf. Ringgren, *ATD* 16, 40; H. H. Schmid, *Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit* (1966), 150, both with bibliog.

6. The basic meaning of the root  $\text{mn}$  is disputed. The traditional understanding suggests “to be firm, dependable, certain” (GB 48a; *HAL* 61b; H. Wildberger, “Glauben, Erwägungen zu *hʿmyn*,” *FS Baumgartner* 372–86; also E. Pfeiffer, “Der alttestamentliche Hintergrund der liturgischen Formel ‘Amen,’” *KerD* 4 [1958]: 129–41). Zorell 63b proceeds from  $\text{ōm}^{\text{c}}\text{nōt}$  in 2 Kgs 18:16 (see 3) to the basic meaning “to hold fast,” or from the ptcps. mentioned above (2) to “to bear.” Because it is questionable, however, whether these forms belong to  $\text{mn}$  I, one must set them aside for the determination of the basic meaning. A. Weiser (“πιστεύω,” *TDNT* 6:182–91, 197f.) thinks that the usual translation “firm, certain, dependable” does not exhaust the basic meaning; on close examination,  $\text{mn}$  may prove to be a formal term, whose content is determined differently in each case by the particular subj.; the word may refer to the relationship between reality and the essence of the subj. in question (p. 184). Pořbčan (op. cit. 232f.; see 2) concludes similarly that the basic meaning may be expressed by “as . . . as”; it signifies the “conformitas intellectus et rei.” Despite the sometimes highly differentiated semantic development of individual forms and derivatives, the basic meaning suggested above should be maintained as the common denominator (also in view of the cognates in other Sem. languages). One should nevertheless heed justified objections against an overvaluation of etymological relationships (*SBL* 161–205), esp. for the

root  $\lambda mn$  (against the “formal concept” specifically, see *SBL* 179–81).

Numerous detailed observations indicate that the basic meaning was also still known to the authors of the later layers of the OT. The original meaning is still clearly evident in passages such as Job 39:24 (see B.III/2), and in the Qumran documents the subst.  $ne^{\epsilon}m\bar{a}n\hat{u}t$  “security, guarantee” (CD 7:5; 14:2; 19:1), whose meaning stands quite near the basic meaning, even occurs as a new formation.

7. In many respects  $\rightarrow k\hat{u}n$  is surprisingly close to the root  $\lambda mn$  semantically ( $k\hat{u}n$  ni. “to stand fast, be assured, endure,” with the ptc.  $n\bar{a}k\hat{o}n$  “trustworthy, true” corresponding to  $ne^{\epsilon}m\bar{a}n$ , and  $k\hat{u}n$  hi., which can be used intrans. like  $\lambda mn$  hi.: “to stand unmoved”). Semantically, Akk.  $k\hat{a}nu$  stands even nearer to Hebr.  $\lambda mn$ : G “to endure, be faithful, dependable, true,” Gt “to achieve lasting endurance,” adj.  $k\hat{i}nu$  “lasting, dependable, faithful, honest, true,” subst.  $k\hat{i}n\hat{u}tu$  “faithfulness,” and  $kittu$  “constancy, dependability, reality, authenticity, faithfulness, truthfulness” (*AHW* 438–40, 481f., 494f.). This correspondence indicates that one may indeed speak of a Sem. concept of truth in contrast to the Gk. (H. von Soden, “Was ist Wahrheit?” *Urchristentum und Geschichte* [1951], 1:1–24; W. von Soden, *WO* 4 [1967]: 44; cf. further the bibliog. cited in E.III/8).

II. The distribution of the root  $\lambda mn$  in the Hebr. OT (330x without the PNs) is shown in the following table:

	ni.	hi.	$\lambda\bar{a}m\bar{e}n$	$\lambda^{\epsilon}m\hat{u}n\hat{a}$	$\lambda^{\epsilon}met$	other	total	
Gen	1	2	–	–	6	2	11	
Exod	–	8	–	1	2	–	11	
Lev	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Num	1	2	2	–	–	1	6	
Deut	3	3	12	1	3	1	23	
Josh	–	–	–	–	3	1	4	
Judg	–	1	–	–	3	–	4	
1 Sam	–	5	1	–	1	1	8	
2 Sam	–	1	–	–	–	3	1	5
1 Kgs2	–	1	1	–	5	1	10	
2 Kgs–	–	1	–	2	2	2	7	
Isa	9	4	2	4	12	3	34	
Jer	2	2	2	4	11	–	21	
Ezek	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	
Hos	2	–	–	1	1	–	4	
Jonah	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	

Mic	–	1	–	–	1	–	2	
Hab	–	1	–	1	–	–	2	
Zech	–	–	–	–	6	–	6	
Mal	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	
Psa	8	7	7	22	37	3	84	
Job	1	9	–	–	–	6	16	
Prov	3	2	–	3	12	3	23	
Ruth	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	
Song Sol	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Eccl	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	
Lam	–	1	–	1	–	–	2	
Esth	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	
Dan	–	–	–	–	6	–	6	
Ezra	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Neh	2	–	3	–	3	2	10	
1 Chron	2	–	1	1	3	–	–	6
2 Chron	3	4	–	–	5	5	1	18

The ni. ptcp. *ne<sup>c</sup>mān* occurs 32x. Isa 60:4 (see l/2 on *λmn* II) is not included. Hos 12:1 is textually uncertain.

The three occurrences of the Aram. ha. (Dan 2:45; 6:5, 24) should be added to the hi. Judg 11:20 should be read *wayy<sup>c</sup>mā<sup>c</sup>ēn*; Isa 30:21 and Job 39:24 are also disputed textually.

*āmēn āmēn* occurs 5x (Num 5:22; Psa 41:14; 72:19; 89:53; Neh 8:6; in each case in the Psalter as a liturgical conclusion of a collection, for which reason the Syr. version supplies the reduplication in Psa 106:48). The reading in Isa 65:16(bis) is uncertain.

*mūnā* appears once in the pl. (Prov 28:20 *š<sup>c</sup>mūnôt*). The text is uncertain in Isa 33:6; Psa 89:9; 119:90; 143:1; 2 Chron 31:18.

*met* is textually uncertain in Isa 42:3; Ezek 18:9; Psa 54:7; 111:7. *mittô* may be read for *mē<sup>c</sup>itt<sup>c</sup>kā* in Psa 22:26, *met* for *mā<sup>c</sup>tay* in 101:2, *mittekā* for *imrātekā* in 138:2b, and *met<sup>c</sup>sām* for *im-tāsīm* in Isa 53:10 (M. Dahood, CBQ 22 [1960]: 406). The pl. does not exist.

The remaining 28 occurrences of the root are: *ōmen* 1x (Isa 25:1); *ōmnām* 9x (2 Kgs 19:17 = Isa 37:18; Ruth 3:12, and 6x in Job); *umnām* 5x (Gen 18:13; Num 22:37; 1 Kgs 8:27; Psa 58:2; 2 Chron 6:18); *ōmnā* 2x (Gen 20:12; Josh 7:20; on Esth 2:20, see l/2); *ēmūn* 1x (Deut 32:20) and *mūnīm* 7x (adj.: 2 Sam 20:19; Psa 12:2; 31:24; subst.: Isa 26:2; Prov 13:17; 14:5; 20:6); *mānā* 2x (Neh 10:1; 11:23); *ōm<sup>c</sup>nā* 1x (2 Kgs 18:16).

A. *ʔmn* ni.

III. 1. The ni. can unequivocally describe duration, permanence (Isa 33:16, water that does not dry up in summer; cf. Jer 15:18; Deut 28:59, lasting, protracted plagues and illnesses; 1 Sam 25:28 “lasting house” of a dynasty, 1 Sam 2:35 of a priest; see IV/4; 1 Chron 17:24, a name). It also expresses the notion of firmness and, above all, in an ethicoreligious perspective, the element of dependability and faithfulness (Isa 22:23, 25, a “firm place” suited for driving a nail; Gen 42:20, “so that your words may prove dependable”; 1 Sam 22:14, a dependable servant; Prov 25:13, a dependable messenger; 11:13, *neʔman-rûaḥ* “the trustworthy spirit” in contrast to the gossip, who blabs secrets; Job 12:20, *neʔmānîm* “well-proved” as an honorific for officials; cf. vv 17–19 with the par. *ʔētānîm*; also Neh 13:13 and 1 Sam 2:35; Isa 8:2 → *ʕēd neʔmān* “dependable witness”; cf. Jer 42:5 and Psa 89:38 txt?, of Yahweh).

2. Does *ʔmn* ni. also mean “to be true, become true, prove true”? Because the subst. *ʔmet* has assumed the meaning “truth,” at least in late texts (see E.IV/5; on *ʔmûnâ* D.III/6; IV/2), one cannot prematurely exclude a broadening of the verb to include the truth concept, although the LXX, e.g., never uses *alēthēs* to translate *ʔmn* ni. The concept of the lie occasionally appears in the word field of *ʔmn* ni. (*kzb*, etc.; Hos 12:1f. alongside *kaḥaš* “lie” and *mirmâ* “deceit”; Psa 78:36f. alongside *pth* pi. “to delude”; on Jer 15:18 see 4) and in the word field of the adj. *ʔmûn* (Psa 101:6f. *rʕmîyâ* “deceit” and *šʕqārîm* “lies”; 12:2f. *šāwʔ* “falsehood” and *šʕpat ḥʔlāqôṭ* “smooth tongues”). Indeed, these antitheses establish the affinity of *ʔmn* ni. for the truth concept: one may translate “true” in many passages (so ZB in Gen 42:20; 1 Kgs 8:26; 1 Chron 17:23f.; 2 Chron 1:9; 6:17). One must clearly recognize, then, that the concept “truth” should be understood in terms of firmness, dependability, and faithfulness (the same is true of *nākôn* in passages like Psa 5:10; Job 42:7ff.).

3. The adj. *ʔmûn* “dependable, faithful” resembles the ni. ptcp. *neʔmān* in its adj. usage. The rare occurrence of this ptcp. does not mean that faithfulness is unimportant to the OT, but is determined by the Hebrews’ preference for expressing such characteristics by means of the abstract gen. Thus, both *šîr neʔmān* (Prov 25:13) and *šîr ʔmûnîm* (Prov 13:17) occur, *ʕēdîm neʔmānîm* (Isa 8:2), *ʕēd ʔmûnîm* (Prov 14:5), and *ʕēd ʔmet wʕneʔmān* (Jer 42:5), substantivized *neʔmān* (Psa 101:6; Job 12:20), and the phrases *ʔš ʔmûnîm* (Prov 20:6) and *ʔš ʔmet* (Neh 7:2). Both *ʔēl neʔmān* (Deut 7:9; cf. Isa 49:7) and *ʔlōhé ʔmet* (2 Chron 15:3) can also be discussed.

Aram. uses the ha. pass. ptcp. *mʕhēman* “dependable” (Dan 2:45; 6:5; cf. Hermop. 4.9; see I/1) as an adj.

4. Pars. to this usage are: *tāmîm* “unobjectionable, upright” (Psa 19:8; cf. 101:6) and *yāšār* “straight, honest” (Psa 19:8f., 111:7f.). Once <sup>c</sup>*mûnîm* parallels *hāsîd* “pious” (Psa 31:24); <sup>c</sup>*mûnâ* and <sup>c</sup>*met* are often associated with → *hesed*. <sup>mn</sup> ni. is even more closely paralleled by → *kûn* ni. (2 Sam 7:16; Psa 89:38; 1 Chron 17:24, cf. 23; cf. also Psa 78:8, 37).

<sup>mn</sup> ni. has no regular antonym; the negation with *lōʾ* is used (Isa 7:9; Jer 15:18; Psa 78:8, 37; cf. *lōʾ nākôn* Exod 8:22). In a broader sense, several terms express notions contrary to <sup>mn</sup> ni.: → *bgd* “to deal faithlessly” (adj. *bāgôd* “faithless”), → *mʿl* “to act undutifully, be faithless,” → *kzb* pi. “to lie,” and → *pšc* “to rebel.”

5. <sup>mn</sup> ni. is employed unusually in Num 12:7: Moses is “entrusted (*ne<sup>c</sup>mān*) with (the care of) my whole house” (see the christological meditation on this text in Heb 3:1–6). According to 1 Sam 3:20, Samuel is “commissioned” (*ne<sup>c</sup>mān*) as a prophet for Yahweh. One may ask whether <sup>mn</sup> ni. should not be understood in these two passages as a denominative from *ʾōmēn* “guardian” (see I/2): “to be commissioned as guardian, caretaker.”

IV. 1. <sup>mn</sup> ni. has been richly employed in theological statements. Thus Yahweh is “the faithful God” (Deut 7:9; cf. Isa 49:7). One might expect that the expression would occur much more frequently; indeed, it seems wonderfully suited to describe Yahweh’s being. But the OT places no value on cataloging God’s characteristics. It is therefore certainly no accident that the OT uses not the proper adj. *ʾēmûn* to describe God’s faithfulness but the ptcp. *ne<sup>c</sup>mān*, which, taken precisely, means “he who proves himself faithful.” Thus, in Deut 7:9 *hāʾēl hanne<sup>c</sup>mān* is similarly interpreted “he who keeps the covenant and who maintains his grace to those who love him,” and in Isa 49:7 “Yahweh, who is faithful” is par. to “the holy one of Israel, who chose you,” which guards against the misunderstanding that “faithful” describes the divine being. Israel cannot speak of the faithfulness of God unless it speaks of *the* faithfulness, which *manifests* itself now and again in the relationship to his people. One entreats God to *prove* his word to be dependable (1 Kgs 8:26 = 2 Chron 6:17). He has proclaimed to the tribes of Israel a message whose dependability will no doubt come to light (Hos 5:9). The dependability of the proclamation of his will is discussed (Psa 19:8 and 93:5 *ʿēdût* “witness”; 111:7 *piqqûdîm* “commandments”; 1 Chron 17:23 and 2 Chron 1:9 *dābār* “word”). In God’s dealings with Israel, Yahweh’s name proves to be dependable and great (1 Chron 17:24).

2. Proper human behavior involves proving oneself to be dependable, upright, faithful. Through faithfulness one finds one’s proper place in the world order, as well as in the social community. Respect for faithfulness brings life and blessing (cf. Prov 11:13; 25:13). The depth of wisdom’s insight into the circumstances of human community is substantiated by the

fact that its faithfulness is no rigid principle: blows from friends may be more a sign of faithfulness than kisses from enemies (Prov 27:6). The cultically pious individual must maintain faithfulness in relationship to God (Psa 78:8), which means, concretely, faithfulness to covenant (78:37; 89:29). Faithfulness to God must not simply be maintained, therefore, in an inner attitude toward God, but must be realized in the orientation of one's life according to the revelation of God's will. The faithful in the land, over whom God is watchful, are those "who travel the upright paths" (Psa 101:6). The faithfulness of God's people must correspond to the dependability of the revelation of the divine will through respect for the regulations established by God.

3. Because  $\text{ʔmn}$  hi. has assumed the special theological meaning "to believe" (see B), the question arises as to whether  $ne\text{ʔmān}$  or  $\text{ʔmûn}$  can also mean "believing" or "devout." One might indeed think so, e.g., of Psa 101:6, the passage just treated. To prevent misunderstanding, however, one should strictly maintain that according to the context, the faith of these faithful ones must be preserved in a relationship to fellow human beings that corresponds to wisdom ideals. In a similar context, Psa 12:2 discusses the  $\text{ʔmûnîm}$ , and according to 31:24 they are the  $ḥ^a\text{ʔîdîm}$ , whom Yahweh loves (cf. also v 25).  $\text{ʔmûn}$  is apparently on the way to becoming an expression for "devout," just as  $\text{ʔmûnâ}$  tends toward the meaning "faith."

The use of  $\text{ʔmûnê yisrāʔel}$  in 2 Sam 20:19 is peculiar: "one may indeed ask in Abel and Dan whether what 'the faithful of Israel' have prescribed is no longer valid" (txt em; see BH 3). Weiser (*TDNT* 6:190) believes that the expression may have had its setting in the sacral Yahweh confederacy. The passage is too isolated, however, to support such an inference.

4. Of great significance for the history of Israel's faith is the so-called prophecy of Nathan in 2 Sam 7 with the promise: "Your house and your kingdom shall always endure before me" (v 16, which belongs to the fundamental form of the tradition; cf. L. Rost, *Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids* [1926], 47–74 [63]; and A. Weiser, *VT* 16 [1966]: 346ff.; contra M. Tsevat, *HUCA* 34 [1963]: 73; and R. Smend, *FS Baumgartner* 288).

The motif of the continued existence of the kingdom itself belongs to ancient Near Eastern royal ideology. Esarhaddon prays: "May my government stand as firm as the heaven and the earth" (R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Assarhaddons* [1956], 26f.; further examples: *VAB* 4:78f.; *SAHG* 281; G. W. Ahlström, *Psa 89* [1959], 53ff.).

The Davidic kingdom is religiously sanctioned by the prophecy of Nathan. This promise has found a rich echo in the OT (cf. also 2 Sam

23:5). The narrator of 1 Sam 25:28 already permits Abigail to say that Yahweh will grant David a “lasting house,” and in 1 Kgs 11:38 Ahijah promises Jeroboam at Shiloh that Yahweh will build him a “lasting house” like the one he has built for David. The promise seems originally to have been unconditional. But the narrator already knows the fate of the dynasty of Jeroboam and has placed the promise under the requirement of obedience (cf. also 2 Sam 7:14f.). The formulation in Isa 7:9 is similar: “If you do not believe, you will not remain.” The prophet undoubtedly alludes to Nathan’s prophecy with the verb *ʾmn* ni. (E. Würthwein, FS Heim 61; Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 89f.). But, in view of the faithless behavior of the king, the prophet transforms the tradition’s promise into a warning by placing it under the condition of faith.

Nabopolassar formulates a statement in one of his inscriptions with a similar play on words (verb *kānu*; see I/7): “Whoever is faithful to Bel, his ground stands firm” (*VAB* 4:68f.).

The author of Psa 89 seems to have raised questions about the prophecy of Nathan in view of the actual course of history. But he does not abandon it: “I will maintain my grace for him forever and my covenant with him shall remain firm” (v 29; cf. v 38). Here, then, the psalmist no longer treats the duration of the house of David but grace (*hesed*) and the covenant (cf. also 2 Sam 7:28 and Psa 132:12; A. Caquot, “La prophétie de Nathan et ses échos lyriques,” *SVT* 9 [1963]: 213–24).

Even after the fall of the Davidides, Israel does not abandon the promise. In the (Dtr) dedicatory prayer for the temple, Solomon prays for the actualization of the promise to David (1 Kgs 8:26). The Deuteronomist seems to have hoped for the reestablishment of Davidic dominion (G. von Rad, *Studies in Deut* [1953], 86ff. = *PHOE* 216ff.). For Deutero-Isaiah, the dynasty no longer has a future. Nevertheless, for him the promise to David is still valid, as surely as Yahweh is *neʿmān* (Isa 49:7). So, then, he interprets *neʿmān* in terms of the dependability of divine grace for *Israel* (55:3). With the Chronicler, however, the hope for the Davidides has returned (1 Chron 17:23f.; 2 Chron 1:9; 6:17; cf. von Rad, op. cit. 84–91 = *PHOE* 214–21).

Nathan’s prophecy found an even more radical reinterpretation in 1 Sam 2:35: Now a *kōhēn neʿmān* “a dependable priest” is addressed, who will act according to Yahweh’s intention (on the age of the passage cf. M. Tsevat, *HUCA* 32 [1961]: 195).

In CD 3:19 the expression *bayit neʿmān* is further developed in a manner characteristic for Qumran. “He built them a lasting house in Israel . . . , those who hold fast to it are (destined) for eternal life.” Here, the “lasting house” (like “house of truth” in 1QS 5:6 and “house of the law” in CD 20:10, 13) has become the community’s self-

designation.

The *ne<sup>c</sup>mān* of the Davidic promise has become, then, an axiom of the messianic expectation (von Rad, *Theol.* 1:351); on another plane, however, it expresses the certainty of Israel's election and therefore persists with astonishing tenacity throughout all phases of the history of Israel. Both cases are impressive witnesses of Israel's knowledge of the faithfulness of its God.

5. Neh 9:8 refers to Gen 15:6: "You have found his (Abraham's) heart faithful to you and have made a covenant with him" (cf. Weiser, *TDNT* 6:185f.). Abraham's faith is interpreted here as the faithfulness of his attitude toward God. Thus the sense of the Gen passage (see B.IV/2) has certainly been significantly altered.

6. Finally, one should note Isa 1:21, 26, where the propriety of the honorific *qiryâ ne<sup>c</sup>mānâ* "faithful city" is denied Jerusalem for the present but is promised for the future. Not otherwise applied to Jerusalem, *ne<sup>c</sup>mān* seems here to replace the *nākôn* (ptcp. of → *kûn* ni. "to be firm") offered by the tradition (Psa 48:9; 87:5; cf. also Isa 2:2). Isaiah chose the par. term *ne<sup>c</sup>mān* because he was concerned not with the stability of the city of God in the sense of its invincibility, as in the Zion tradition, but with the faithfulness of its inhabitants. In this respect, the par. expression *ʿîr haṣṣedeq* "city of the righteous" indicates his understanding of faithfulness. In this way, with the aid of *ne<sup>c</sup>mān*, an essential motif of the Zion tradition is actualized (see Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 62ff.).

## B. *ʔmn* hi.

III. 1. *ʔmn* hi. has often been investigated on account of its theological relevance in the meaning "to have faith, trust (in), believe":

See L. Bach, "Der Glaube nach der Anschauung des AT," *BFCT* 4 (1900): 1–96 (still definitive); A. Weiser, "Glauben im AT," FS Beer 88–99; J. C. C. van Dorssen, *De derivata van de stam ʔmn in het Hebreeuwsch van het Oude Testament* (1951); Th. C. Vriezen, *Geloven en Vertrouwen* (1957); E. Pfeiffer, "Glaube im AT," *ZAW* 71 (1959): 151–64; A. Weiser, "πιστεύω," *TDNT* 6:182–91; *SBL* 164–206; R. Smend, "Zur Geschichte von *hʔmyn*," FS Baumgartner 284–90; H. Wildberger, "'Glauben': Erwägungen zu *hʔmyn*," *ibid.* 372–86 (bibliog.); *id.*, "'Glauben' im AT," *ZTK* 65 (1968): 129–59 (bibliog.).

2. *ʔmn* hi. is an intrans. or inner-trans. hi. (cf. *HP* 43ff., 250ff.), if it is not a so-called pseudo-hi. (cf. Wildberger, FS Baumgartner 384f.n.2). *ʔmn* hi. is constructed uniquely with the acc. in Judg 11:20 (but see II on the text), so that the declarative-estimative understanding (E. Pfeiffer, *op. cit.* 152) is untenable.

The original, concrete-physical meaning "to stand fast, hold still" (of the war horse) is still present in Job 39:24. The psychological meaning "to

have trust, be dependable” is much more frequent: in the profane arena in Hab 1:5 and Job 29:24 (on the understanding of these passages cf. Wildberger, FS Baumgartner 376f.), but also in the cultic language of the Psalms (27:13 and 116:10). As in these passages, *ʔmn* hi. abs. is also used in Isa 7:9 and 28:16 (in total 7x).

3. The same meaning is present in the construction with *be* (17x with persons, 7x impersonal): in the profane arena in Job 24:22, “he rises up when he no longer trusts in his life” (ZB “when he doubts life”); see also Deut 28:66 and Job 15:31 (cf. Wildberger, FS Baumgartner 379). For *h<sup>e</sup>ʔemîn b<sup>e</sup>* in theological contexts, see Gen 15:6 and Exod 14:31 (see IV/2, 6).

4. Cases of *ʔmn* hi. with *le*, e.g., Gen 45:26, “then his heart remained cold, for he did not believe them,” have different characteristics. One may also not assume an estimative basic meaning for this usage (“to consider some one trustworthy”). The intention is: “to achieve trust with respect to” a person (7x) or thing (7x). The interest of the narrator lies with the subject of the act of trust, not with the personal or impersonal object of trust. Thus Exod 4:9 does not mean: “if you do not believe these two signs,” but “if you do not exercise faith in these two signs” (see ZB). Only in a few passages does *he<sup>e</sup>mîn l<sup>e</sup>* mean “to consider true” (1 Kgs 10:7; Isa 53:1). The same development, i.e., the shift of interest from the subject of belief or of trust to the circumstances to be believed, exists when a phrase is appended with *kî* “that” (Exod 4:5; Job 9:16; Lam 4:12) or an inf. construction follows (Job 15:22; cf. also Psa 27:13).

5. Numerous terms are near or approximate pars. to *ʔmn* hi. in the OT.

The cultic song Psa 27 has → *h̄zq*, → *bṯḥ, lōʔ* → *yrʔ*, → *qwh* pi., and → *ʔmš* pi. *lēb* (cf. also Psa 31:25 and Isa 28:15b, 17b). Instead of saying that he believes, the supplicant can confess that Yahweh is his protection, shield, refuge, rock, and fortress (Psa 27:5). In Isa 7:9 the impvs. “do not be afraid and do not be alarmed” (lit. “do not let your heart become soft”) appear in the context of the admonition to faith (v 4). In Isa 30:15 “believe” is paraphrased with “rest, quietness, trust” (see Wildberger, ZTK 65 [1968]: 151f.).

It is characteristic of the subtlety of the term *ʔmn* hi., however, that an entirely different group of par. and contrasting terms appear in other contexts (in fact, for the most part in passages where the verb is constructed with *le*): → *šm<sup>c</sup>* “to give heed (to someone’s voice)” (Exod 4:1–9; Deut 9:23) and → *mrh* hi. “to be rebellious” (Deut 9:23), “to be stiff-necked” (2 Kgs 17:14). The grounds for unbelief in these contexts is not a lack of trust, human failure, skepticism, or doubt of God and his word, but disobedience, opposition, rebellion.

As important as *ʔmn* hi. is in the OT, one must remember that the

*object* of faith is by no means discussed only in the relatively few passages with  $\lambda mn$  hi. The most important par. term, at least in the religious domain, is  $\rightarrow b\dot{t}h$  “to trust” (57x in a religious meaning, 37x in Psa). Where we would speak of “believing,” the OT can also use the verbs  $\rightarrow yr^{\text{c}}$  “to fear,”  $\rightarrow yd^{\text{c}}$  “to recognize,” and  $\rightarrow dr\check{s}$  “to seek,” or  $\rightarrow yhl$  “to await” and  $hkh$  pi. “to hope” ( $\rightarrow qwh$ ). “The OT . . . addresses what we mean by faith through a multitude of expressions, by whose combined force the thing becomes transparent” (F. Baumgärtel, *RGG* 2:1588; cf. also C. Westermann, *Blessing in the Bible and the Life of the Church* [1978], 11f.).

IV. 1. According to Bach, of 51 passages with  $\lambda mn$  hi., 33 may be classified as “sacred diction” (op. cit. 30f., with tables). The term has become so significant in its theological usage not because of the number but because of the significance of the passages in which it occurs. In addition, the LXX evidently paid it particular attention: it always translates (with the exception of Prov 26:25 *peithomai*) with *pisteuō* and its compounds, and it always reserves *pisteuō* (except Jer 25:8 for  $\check{s}m^{\text{c}}$  “to hear”) for forms of  $\lambda mn$ .

2. The profane meaning of  $\lambda mn$  hi. *le* “to believe (a person or a thing),” which passages such as Gen 45:26 (J) and 1 Kgs 10:7 (cf. also Jer 40:14) suggest was already common very early and was also used in wisdom instruction (Prov 14:15; cf. 26:25), was not sustained in ancient times (on the age of passages such as Exod 4:1, 5, 8f. and 19:9, cf. Smend, op. cit. 289).

In contrast,  $\lambda mn$  hi. already seems to have had its *Sitz im Leben* very early on in the salvation oracle, esp. when directed to army commanders. This genre is common in the ancient Near East: even outside Israel it exhibits concepts semantically related to  $\lambda mn$  hi., e.g., “[do not be afraid Esarha]ddon, [I am Ishtar of Arbe]la . . . have confidence (*tazzazma*; cf. *AHw* 410a). . . . Praise me” (*ANET* 450b = IV:rev. 61, col. vi.1f., 12f.; for further examples see Wildberger, *ZTK* 135f.). Gen 15:1–6 is patterned after such an oracle (for an analysis cf., among others, O. Kaiser, *ZAW* 70 [1958]: 107–26; H. Cazelles, *RB* 69 [1962]: 321–49; Wildberger, *ZTK* 142–47). Admittedly, the call to faith itself has not been transmitted; in its place, however, is the concluding report that Abraham believed in Yahweh on the basis of the promise communicated to him and that God reckoned this belief to him as righteousness. Abraham’s faith is without doubt understood in response to the admonition of v 1 “do not fear,” associated with the promise of great reward, so that  $hc^{\text{e}}m\hat{m}n b^{\text{e}}yhwh$  in this context may intend to convey: “he was full of confidence and trust, well founded in Yahweh.”

An imitation of such an oracle to a king also occurs in Isa 7:4–9.

Isaiah responds to the king's despondency with the cry "do not fear" (v 4), which he repeats at the end of the oracle with the demand to keep faith. In contrast to Gen 15:6, *ʔmn* hi. abs. is used here, certainly by intention. Ahaz's belief in Yahweh is not in question—he was surely no idolater or atheist—nor even his confidence in the prophetic word; rather, the weight of the cry lies solely on the fact that in the threatening situation he should prove himself a man who maintains calm, trust, confidence. Faith is expected of Ahaz because, after all, the promise of continuing existence stands over the house of David (see A.IV/4).

Further examples indicate that *ʔmn* hi. was used in the context of such war oracles, i.e., Exod 4:31 and Deut 1:32 (cf. Wildberger, *ZTK* 134).

It seems that even the salvation oracle, the response in the sanctuary to the individual's lament, includes an admonition to faith. In any case, the supplicant can assert in the lament that he believes, or testify in the song of thanksgiving that even in deep distress he has not abandoned faith (Psa 27:13; 116:10). Pious persons resist external threat and internal opposition with their faith. The salvation oracle in Hab 2:2–4, with the rich conclusion "the righteous will have life on the basis of faith," offers indirect testimony to this usage of *ʔmn* hi. The oracle answers the complaint of 1:12–17; like Isa 7:4ff., it is pronounced in a situation of serious political threat. If *ʔmn* hi. is translated in Isa 7 with "to believe," then *ʔmûnâ* should be rendered with "faith" in this context so similar in terms of situation and genre (so Rom 1:17; cf. van Dorssen, op. cit. 121, 129; Eichrodt 2:284f.).

Both Gen 15:6 and Hab 2:4b, which became so important for the development of the NT concept of faith, relate faith to righteousness. G. von Rad ("Faith Reckoned as Righteousness," *PHOE* 125–30) has called attention to the fact that the cultic term  $\rightarrow$  *ḥšb* "to reckon" describes a sovereign priestly-judicial act in the context of the approval of sacrifices and does not mean the calculation of payment in a commercial context. The pronouncement of *ʔdāqâ* for Abraham recognizes his faith as the behavior appropriate for the human being before God. His faith reveals that his attitude toward God is as it should be. Faith is in no way meritorious; the promise of reward is unconditional and precedes the determination of Abraham's righteousness. The formulation of Hab 2:4b should, however, be understood in terms of the declarative formula encountered in Ezek: "righteous is he, he shall surely live" (18:9; cf. von Rad, op. cit.; and W. Zimmerli, "'Leben' und 'Tod' im Buch des Propheten Ezechiel," *TZ* 13 [1957]: 494–508 = *GO* 178–91). Although according to the Ezek passage the fulfillment of some cultic-ethical requirements characterizes the righteousness that leads to life, according to Habakkuk it is faith on which the promise of life can shine.

3. The occurrences of *ʔmn* hi. examined above belong form critically

to similar contexts in which faith is understood as the maintenance of dependent trust grounded in the knowledge of God and his promise. Isa 28:16 “the one who believes will not waver” (on the translation cf. HAL 288a) fits in here well but also leads further. Isaiah addresses himself to representatives of Jerusalem cultic theology who consider themselves safe in the protection of the temple. He contrasts their complacency with true faith, which has justice as its measuring line and righteousness as its scale. It becomes clear here why the prophets make such little use of the notion of faith. For them, it is suspect because it can so easily become a pious substitute for authentic devotion to Yahweh in the service of righteousness. They protest against the “careless in Zion, the complacent ( $\rightarrow b\dot{t}h$ ) on the mountains of Samaria” (Amos 6:1; cf. Isa 32:9, 11; Jer 7:4). Where they summarize their demands of Yahweh’s people, they do not therefore require trust or faith but obedience: seek Yahweh! (Amos 5:14; Hos 10:12; Isa 9:12; 31:1; Jer 10:21; 30:14; cf. also Psa 24:6).

4. An essentially different aspect of the theological usage of  $\lambda mn$  hi. is present in six passages in Exod 4:1–9, 31a. This difference is already evident formally in that the verb is constructed here with *le*. As in Exod 19:9, the concern is whether Moses will gain the people’s trust. When a par. expression is used,  $\check{s}m^c b^c$  or  $\check{s}m^c b^c q\ddot{o}l$  appears (vv 1, 9; cf.  $\check{s}m^c$  in v 8). This aspect of the faith concept has truly become theologically relevant for the Deuteronomistic historian: Deut 9:23, “There you were rebellious against the commandment of your God and you did not believe him and did not give heed to his voice”; similarly 2 Kgs 17:14, “They did not obey, but were stiff-necked like their fathers, who did not believe Yahweh their God.” The latter passage belongs to Dtr’s basic reflection concerning the fall of Israel. The cause is Israel’s unbelief as rebellion against God—not just a momentary failure, but Israel’s original sin, its murmuring as early as the wilderness wandering period.

5. Neither Isaiah nor Dtr have found much acceptance for their faith concepts in the rest of the OT. Deutero-Isaiah uses  $\lambda mn$  hi. in a fictive legal speech. Israel should witness for Yahweh in order that the peoples “may gain understanding, believe in him, and come to the awareness that it is he,” namely the true God, beside whom there is no helper (Isa 43:10). Surprisingly, entirely different par. terms appear here:  $\rightarrow yd^c$  and  $\rightarrow b\dot{h}n$  hi. Belief includes a particular knowledge, namely that Yahweh and no other God is lord of history. Belief here means: to know and acknowledge a truth of faith as such (cf.  $^xmet$  in v 9).

6. One observes another variation of the faith concept in Psa 78, which already betrays Dtr influence. V 4 reads: “They did not believe in God and did not trust in his help.” V 32 indicates how this statement is to be understood: “In all this, they did not have faith in his wonders.” This phrase apparently alludes to Num 14:11: “How long will you not believe *in me* despite all the signs that I have done in your midst?” Belief in God has become an acknowledgment of his wonders.

One can observe a similar reconceptualization of faith in Psa 106, which already

presupposes the final form of the Pentateuch; see v 12: “Then they believed *in his words* and sang his praise.” The allusion is to Exod 14:31. Although the earlier text discusses faith in Yahweh (“and his servant” may be secondary), the Psa treats faith in his words. Similarly, 2 Chron 20:20 alludes to Isa 7:9 (Wildberger, *ZTK* 131f.). The profane usage of *ʾmn* hi., already encountered in 1 Kgs 10:7, has also become theologically relevant, then, in reflection upon the old texts.

7. A final variation occurs in Psa 119:66 “I believe in your commandments.” “Commandments” here seems simply to replace “words.” But according to the general tenor of the psalm, this verse means: to be of the conviction that the observance of the commandments offers rich blessing.

8. This overview leads to the conclusion that the theological usage of *ʾmn* hi. is in no way uniform, a conclusion grounded in the fact that the verb, although rather infrequent, is nevertheless at home in various traditions and in the fact that its usage undergoes transformation in the course of the history of Israelite religion.

### C. *ʾāmēn*

III. The word *ʾāmēn* occurs in the OT exclusively in theological contexts (cf. A. R. Hulst, “Het woord ‘Amen’ in het O.T.,” *Kerk en Eeredienst* 8 [1953]: 50–58; E. Pfeiffer, “Der atl. Hintergrund der liturgischen Formel ‘Amen,’” *KerD* 4 [1958]: 129–41; S. Talmon, “*Amen* as an Introductory Oath Formula,” *Textus* 7 [1969]: 124–29). Nonetheless, the word also no doubt belonged to everyday language (Lande 112). Sir 7:22 still knows the original meaning “dependable” (of animals; LXX *chrēsimos*).

In the inscription on an ostrakon from Yavneh-yam, a farm worker asserts in a letter of complaint to an official: *ʾmn nqty* “truly, I am innocent,” calling on his comrades as witnesses (*KAI* no. 200.11; the reading is disputed; cf. W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 165 [1962]: 45n.49; *KAI* 2:201; Talmon, *op. cit.* 127).

The LXX translates once each with *alēthōs* (Jer 28[LXX 35]:6) and *alēthinos* (Isa 65:16). Three times it simply transliterates the word, without translating it (Neh 5:13; 8:6; 1 Chron 16:36). In the other passages it translates *genoito* “so be it.” The juss. sense is clearly apparent in passages such as Jer 28:6: “Amen, may Yahweh . . . fulfill your words” (Zorell 64 thinks that “is” should perhaps be supplied). In some cases, *ʾāmēn* does actually mean “it stands firm and is valid” (see H. Schlier, *TDNT* 1:335f.). Aquila’s rendering with *pepistōmenōs* (Psa 89 [LXX 88]:53) indicates this aspect. These various possibilities of usage are based in the dialectic of the term. *ʾāmēn* intends to indicate that something which has been said stands firm, is “true.” But at the same time this truth is recognized as “valid” and therefore also as obligatory for the speaker of the Amen.

IV. 1. *ʾāmēn* is most frequently used in answer to a pronounced curse, e.g., in the series of curses in Deut 27:15–26 (12x). In such contexts one translates “so be it.” This *ʾāmēn* does not simply contain a wish. The Israelite concept of curse (and blessing) is still deeply rooted in magical thought (cf. J. Hempel, *Apoxysmata* [1961], 30–113). Because curses have their own power, as a rule they cover crimes that take place in private and thus beyond the scope of human retribution. Whoever pronounces the Amen to them acknowledges awareness of the sentence for the pertinent activities. Thus the speaker judges his/her own guilt in the event such a crime is committed. At the same time the Amen has an apotropaic character (cf. Hempel, *op. cit.* 103); if spoken by an innocent individual, the curse is diverted to a guilty individual. Whoever does not agree in the Amen against the evildoer is as subject to the curse as the evildoer, because he/she has not denied solidarity with the criminal (cf. *Jub.* 4:5).

Curses are pronounced in oath-taking ceremonies in case someone swears a false oath. Whoever has subjected him- or herself to the ordeal must also say the Amen. This pronouncement also occurs when a covenant is made, because one must swear to a covenant; here, too, the pronouncement of curses in the event of the violation of covenant is an element (Jer 11:1–8; cf. v 5). Regarding the blessings and curses within the covenant tradition (Lev 26; Deut 28), one must therefore think of the *ʾāmēn* of the people as that spoken by the covenant partners. The same is true of Nehemiah’s agreement with the leadership (Neh 5:1–13), where the shaking out of the fold of the garment by the official symbolizes the imprecation, here no longer described as a curse (v 13). In Jer 15:11 (txt em) the Amen of the prophet confirms the woe that he has voiced for his mother and thus for himself. Such woes doubtlessly go back form critically to curses (cf. *BFPS* 194ff.).

2. Basically, the complaint of the farm worker in the ostrakon from Yavneh-yam is no different: The Amen implies an oath with a corresponding self-imprecation. But the passage indicates how formal language can be devalued, in that the man beseeches the official, in the event that he is found guilty, to give precedence to grace over justice. The Amen here has become a simple particle of assertion.

OT passages also give evidence of a general usage. Thus Benaiah affirms David’s word (that Solomon is to be enthroned as his successor) with his Amen in 1 Kgs 1:36. It is clear here that Benaiah also engages himself with his Amen, despite the addition of “may Yahweh do so” (txt em); he commits himself to his role in the execution of the royal decision. Amen is an obligating yes; cf. Neh 8:6.

3. A special usage of the Amen occurs in the (doubtlessly late) doxologies at the conclusion of the divisions of the Psa (Psa 41:14; 72:19; 89:53; 106:48, in each case *ʾāmēn ʾāmēn* ). 1 Chron 16:36 indicates how this Amen should be understood. It is

responsive in character; through it the celebrating community identifies itself with the prayer leader when he has spoken praise. The repetition of the term underscores that one agrees sincerely and joyously. How this new usage came about can still be easily recognized in Neh 8:6. The chapter reports the introduction of the new law. According to the rules of the genre, the people must obligate itself to the law or affirm the curses associated with it through the Amen. But the function of the Amen is new. Tob 8:8 indicates that one can also identify oneself with the word of another in daily life through the Amen.

4. Isa 65:16 requires particular mention: Whoever blesses oneself and, likewise, whoever swears should do so *bēʾlōhē ʾāmēn*. If one accepts the text, then one must interpret, e.g., with Delitzsch, according to 2 Cor 1:20 (cf. also Acts 3:14): “the God of Amen, i.e., the God who turns what He promises into Yea and Amen” (KD, *Isa* 2:487; cf. comms.). *ʾāmēn* may be substantivized here, so that one may translate “God of dependability.” The emendation of *ʾāmēn* into the subst. *ʾōmēn* is, however, more likely; cf. *ʾēl neʾmān* (Deut 7:9; Isa 49:7) and *ʾēl ʾemet* (Psa 31:6).

#### D. *ʾemûnâ* (*ʾēmûn*, *ʾomnām*, etc.)

III. 1. According to *HAL* 60f., the chief meanings of *ʾemûnâ* are: (a) “firmness,” (b) “dependability, faithfulness,” (c) “honesty”; to which may be added the special meaning (d) “permanent official duty.” Individual nuances are difficult to differentiate; this difficulty is indicated by the fact that other lexicographers classify differently, e.g., Zorell 62f.: (a) *firmitas*, *immobilis stabilitas*, (b) *firmitas ethica personae*, i.e., *fidelitas* (of God and humans). Pořbčan (op. cit. 230) believes that the richness and diversity of the meanings of *ʾemûnâ* do not permit its derivation from the basic meaning “firmness”; he considers the primary meaning to be “truth” (op. cit. 221). Yet the root’s basic meaning “firmness” may also be recognized in this substantive, and it is advisable to proceed from this basic meaning for the subst.

2. One of the most ancient occurrences is Exod 17:12 (J or N): “his (Moses’) hands remained firm (*ʾemûnâ*) until the sun went down.” This translation (contra Pořbčan, op. cit. 228f.: “raised in the same position”) is supported by the preceding phrase “they supported his arms.”

The meaning “security,” still close to “firmness,” is present in Isa 33:6 (if the text is retained): “will be the security of your times” (cf. H. Gunkel, *ZAW* 42 [1924]: 178).

3. A special meaning “fixed office” or the like seems to occur in 1 Chron 9:22, 26, 31 and 2 Chron 31:18 (here the text is uncertain; cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 306), although Rudolph (op. cit. 88) translates “dependability” or “durability” (cf. also K. H. Fahlgren, *Sedākā, nahestehende und entgegengesetzte Begriffe im AT* [1932], 145; H. Cazelles, *La Sainte Bible de Jérusalem*, see 2 Chron 31:18). It is not surprising that, on the basis of the fundamental meaning “firm, certain,” *ʾemûnâ* has become a technical term for “fixed position, lasting office.” It is also possible, nevertheless, that *ʾemûnâ* in this meaning

does not even belong to  $\gamma mn$  I but is a derivative of  $\gamma m\bar{e}n$  “guardian” and thus means something like “guardianship” (cf. Num 12:7 and I/2).

4. The meaning “firmness” (in a fig. sense), thus “dependability, faithfulness,” corresponding to the ni. of the verb, is most frequent (cf. e.g., 1 Sam 26:23; Isa 11:5; Psa 119:30; also 1QpHab 8:2; moreover, Prov 28:20  $\gamma\bar{s}$   $\gamma^e m\bar{u}n\hat{o}t$ ). Appropriately,  $\rightarrow \text{hesed}$  often appears as a par. term (as well as  $\text{ṣ}^e d\bar{a}q\hat{a}$  and  $\text{ṣ}e d\bar{e}q$ ,  $\rightarrow \text{ṣ}dq$ ).

5. Quite often  $\text{ṣ}e q\bar{e}r$  “deceit” appears as an antonym of  $\gamma^e m\bar{u}n\hat{a}$ , indicating that  $\gamma^e m\bar{u}n\hat{a}$  must involve the realm we designate as “truthfulness, honesty.” One often wonders, however, whether “faithfulness” would be a better translation.

The notion of honesty appears most clearly in a few Jer passages: Jer 5:1 “one who pursues uprightness” (according to M. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT* [1964], 32f.: “faithfulness”; cf., however, the par. “who practices justice,” and in v 2 “they swear falsely”; also 5:5; Isa 59:4; on  $\rightarrow \text{ṣ}h$  “to exercise, execute” in such contexts, see R. Bultmann, *ZNW* 27 [1928]: 122f. = *Exegetica* [1967]: 133f.); in Jer 7:28 the prophet complains that  $\gamma^e m\bar{u}n\hat{a}$  has disappeared from the mouth of the people; 9:2 is very clear, “They bend their tongue like a bow; deceit, not truthfulness (cf. *BHS*), controls the land” (LXX *pistis*; Klopfenstein, op. cit. 145: “faithfulness,” with reference to covenant or marital fidelity; since, however, the first half of the verse mentions the bending of the tongue, “dishonesty” must be intended).

6. In his complaints concerning the lack of honesty, Jeremiah uses concepts that are important to wisdom. The parallelism of the concepts in Prov 12:22, “deceitful lips are an outrage to Yahweh; but those who pursue uprightness are well-pleasing to him,” is particularly significant (cf. e.g., the “conversation of the one weary of life with his Ba,” H. H. Schmid, *Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit* [1966], 214; also called “Dispute over Suicide,” *ANET* 405ff.). Yet some passages in Prov convey even more, e.g., Prov 12:17 “whoever speaks the truth.” Here  $\gamma^e m\bar{u}n\hat{a}$  still has the character of a substantivized adj.: “something on which one can depend, what is true” (cf. also Isa 25:1). One must distinguish therefore between  $\gamma^e m\bar{u}n\hat{a}$  in a personal sense (“dependability, faithfulness, honesty, truthfulness”) and in an objective reference (“something dependable, true”). Passages with this meaning are infrequent, however, and there is hardly any occasion to translate with the abstract “the truth.”

7. The prep. usage  $be \gamma^e m\bar{u}n\hat{a}$  “upright, in good faith” in an adv. function (2 Kgs 12:16; 22:7; 2 Chron 19:9; 31:12, 15; 34:12) frequently expresses the personal, subjective aspect. On the one hand  $\gamma^e m\bar{u}n/\gamma^e m\bar{u}n\hat{a}m$  “dependability, faithfulness” also represents the personal facet (see II); on the other hand  $\gamma\bar{o}m\bar{e}n$  “in truth, really” (acc. adv., Isa 25:1) expresses the

objective, thing-oriented aspect.  $\text{ʔ}omnâ$  “in truth, indeed” (Gen 20:12; Josh 7:20) also occurs in the adv. acc.; the sense is precisely the same as for the proper advs.  $\text{ʔ}omnām$  and  $\text{ʔ}umnām$  “indeed, really, truly,” whether one describes a third-party statement as accurate or underscores the dependability of one’s own statement.

8. The following appear as near or more distant pars. to  $\text{ʔ}mûnâ$ :

(a)  $\text{ʔ}met$  (Psa 40:11f.; Jer 9:2–5); the spheres of meaning of the two substantives overlap to a great extent (see E);

(b)  $\text{ḥesed}$  appears beside  $\text{ʔ}mûnâ$  with noteworthy regularity (Hos 2:21f. alongside  $\text{ṣedeq}$ ,  $\text{mišpāt}$ , and  $\text{raḥ}^amîm$ ; particularly in the language of the Psa: 33:4f.; 36:6; 40:11f.; 88:12; 89:2f., 25, 34, 50; 92:3; 98:3; 100:5; 119:75f.; Lam 3:22f.; cf. Psa 31:24; Prov 20:6); the fact that the two terms stand alongside one another so often in cultic poetry is naturally associated with parallelismus membrorum and the pleriphory of cultic language; the two terms are so closely related that they are largely interchangeable;

(c) terms for right and justice such as  $\text{ṣedeq}$ ,  $\text{ṣ}^edāqâ$ , and  $\text{mišpāt}$  occur frequently in the word field of  $\text{ʔ}mûnâ$  (Deut 32:4; 1 Sam 26:23; Isa 11:5; 33:5f.; 59:4; Jer 5:1; Hos 2:21f.; Hab 2:4; Psa 33:4f.; 36:6f.; 40:11; 88:12f.; 98:2f.; 119:30, 75, 138; 143:1 txt?; Prov 12:17; cf. Isa 26:2 and Prov 13:17); one can explain this relationship between the terms, which is at first surprising, by the fact that  $\text{ṣdq}$  and its derivatives can be used in the sense of “solidarity, community faithfulness” (cf. H. H. Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung* [1968], 184f.), as well as by the fact that, like  $\text{ṣ}^edāqâ$ ,  $\text{ʔ}mûnâ$  can apparently serve as a circumlocution for orderly behavior (cf. Schmid, op. cit. 68).

IV. 1. The cultic songs of the Psalter favor speaking of Yahweh’s  $\text{ʔ}mûnâ$ . The lament and thanksgiving songs bear testimony to God’s unshakeable, constant faithfulness as the reason for God’s past or future helpful attention to people (e.g., Psa 88:12 or 40:11, where the terms used in the context permit only the translation “faithfulness,” together with  $\text{y}^šûcâ$  “aid” perhaps in a hendiadys “your faithful aid”). It manifests itself in all the afflictions brought before God in the laments and mentioned retrospectively in the thanksgivings (illness or deliverance from death, but also in the affliction of enemies as in Psa 92:3 or 143:1). Similarly, the poet of Lam 3:23 clings to Yahweh’s  $\text{ʔ}mûnâ$ , because of which his demonstrations of grace ( $\text{ḥ}^asādîm$ ) cannot have ended and his great mercy ( $\text{raḥ}^amîm$ ) may be counted on (cf. also Psa 100:5). The enthronement songs also speak of Yahweh’s  $\text{ʔ}mûnâ$ . Just as Yahweh aids his people on the strength of his  $\text{ʔ}mûnâ$  (Psa 98:3), so can he judge the peoples on the strength of the same, realizing his  $\text{ṣedeq}$  in the course of history (96:13, here not with  $\text{raḥ}^amîm$  or  $\text{ḥesed}$  as parallel terms, but with  $\text{ṣedeq}$ , the “righteousness” through which God ensures that things remain in proper order).  $\text{ṣedeq}$  and

*ʿmûnâ* occur together in Psa 119:30 also, although not active in the judgment upon the nations but in the mortification of the pious. Still, this mortification does not exclude hope in *ḥesed* and *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mîm* (cf. Psa 119:138).

Psa 89 speaks of Yahweh's *ʿmûnâ* with intentional frequency (vv 2f., 6, 9, 25, 34, 50); in view of the lamentable situation of the monarchy, the psalm strives for an understanding of the promise of the continuation of the Davidic dynasty. The poet juxtaposes any doubt in the promise with the confession of Yahweh's *ʿmûnâ*. Because God's *ʿmûnâ* cannot be doubted, neither can the *neʿmān* of Nathan's promise be questioned (cf. vv 29, 38, and *ḥesed* and *ʿmet* in v 15). What may be called the metaphysical foundation of faith in Yahweh's faithfulness (vv 3, 6, 9, 15; similar to the confession in Psa 36:6f.; cf. 57:11; 89:38; 108:5) is interesting in this context.

Even though the OT certainly does not speculate at all about God's essential nature, it still ventures the statement that *ʿmûnâ* is an aspect of God's being. Correspondingly, Yahweh is described at least once as *ʿēl ʿmûnâ* (Deut 32:4; cf. the designations *ʿēl ʿmet* and *ʿēl neʿmān*). Nevertheless, the context indicates that the singer of the song wishes to emphasize strongly the elements of uprightness and integrity (in contrast to the perversity of the people). The trait of dependability is not overlooked, however, because the praise of Yahweh as the rock precedes the confession of his faithfulness (v 4a). Isa 65:16 indicates that one may bless oneself or swear by the God of faithfulness (see C.IV/4).

Discussion of God's *ʿmûnâ* is limited to a rather small segment of the OT tradition: hymns, thanksgivings, and complaint songs. Deut 32 is peculiar insofar as the confession of God's faithfulness is not based on the experience of God's aid in the needs of the day, but in salvation history in which Yahweh has himself borne testimony to his people. In view of the infrequency of such passages, one should note that the notion of God's faithfulness is in no way limited to the use of *ʿmûnâ* or related terms.

2. The *ʿmûnâ* of God's commandments can be discussed as easily as the *ʿmûnâ* of God (Psa 119:86). Because the *šeqer* of the impudent is contrasted with it, one may translate it "truth." This translation does not merely mean, however, that they are formally "correct." *šeqer* does not mean "lie," but "deceit"; and, wholly in keeping with this meaning, Yahweh's commandments are "true" because they are dependable. They are the norms of a saving world order; whoever relies on them will not be disappointed, but is assured fullness of life.

3. Psa 89:3 makes clear that one can conceive of *ʿmûnâ*, prior to realization on earth, as a divine, fundamental principle existent in heaven.

According to the royal ideology of the ancient Near East, which also stamped Israel's thinking, the king is administrator of this preestablished harmony praised by the holy ones in heaven (v 6). Every individual can do absolutely nothing better, however, than to incorporate himself/herself consciously into this order, i.e., to become an  $\text{ʔš } \text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{mûnâ}$  (or  $\text{ʔš ne } \text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{mān}/\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{met}$ ). Such an individual will receive rich blessings (Prov 28:20; cf. the Eg. "Protests of the Eloquent Peasant": "truth, not lies, means wealth, it causes never-ending bloom," F. von Bissing, *Altäg. Lebensweisheit* [1955], 168). The small number of such statements is associated with the strict subordination of this fundamental principle to Yahweh's lordship in Israelite thinking; *he* actualizes the  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{mûnâ}$  (Isa 25:1). This subordination results in the following formulation: "Lying lips are an abomination to *Yahweh*, but those who practice  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{mûnâ}$  are pleasing to him" (Prov 12:22; cf. 12:17). But Psa 119:30 can still say: "I have chosen the path of the (not your)  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{mûnâ}$ ," although it then conforms to the Yahwistic program: "I strive after your ordinances."

4. The substantivized masc.  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{mûn}$  (mostly in the pl.; see II) appears in addition to  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{mûnâ}$ , the substantivized fem. of the adj. A difference in meaning is difficult to ascertain. If God is a God of  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{mûnâ}$  (Deut 32:4), then the Israelites are children who do not know  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{mûn}$  (v 20; cf. also v 5). Psa 12:2 " $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{mûnîm}$  (honesty, sincerity) has disappeared among human children" is comparable to the Jer passage mentioned above (III/5). Likewise, according to Isa 25:1 and 26:2, divine  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{mûnâ}$  and human  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{mûnîm}$  ought to correspond to one another (the continuation in 26:3f. mentions reliance upon Yahweh). Just as Hab 2:4 promises life to the righteous because of his/her  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{mûnâ}$  (see B.IV/2), so may the righteous, those who keep  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{mûnîm}$ , hope for peace, according to Isa 26:2f. One may say that these  $\text{šōm'ré } \text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{mûnîm}$  are the "believers." Israel responds to God's faithfulness, shining in his wondrous deeds, by keeping faith.

#### E. $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{met}$

III. 1. The LXX already translated almost half the cases of  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{mûnâ}$  with *alētheia*; derivatives of *alēth-* render 100 of 127 occurrences of  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{met}$ , while *pistis* recedes pronouncedly; the relative frequency of *dikaïosynē* (6x) or *dikaïos* (5x) is also noteworthy; cf. *SBL* 187ff. This result indicates that  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{mûnâ}$  and  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  are not fully synonymous and that, more than any other derivative of  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{mn}$ ,  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  has acquired the meaning "truth." This situation does not change the fact (contra Pořbčan, op. cit. 183) that the meaning "truth" cannot constitute the starting point for the semantics of  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{met}$ , and (contra D. Michel, "ÄMÄT," *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 12 [1968]: 30–57) that all occurrences of  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  may not be understood against the concept of correctness or agreement, making a change in meaning for the term

imperceptible.

2. The presumed basic meaning “firmness” is still present here only in a fig. sense. But in contrast to  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{mûnâ}$ ,  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  has occasionally developed the meaning “permanence, security, duration,” in exact correspondence to the ni. of the verb, e.g., in Isa 16:5, “Thus the throne will be established by grace and it will be permanently occupied.” If *hûkan* “to be established” corresponds to the *nākôn* “firm” of Nathan’s prophecy in 2 Sam 7:16, then *bc* $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$ , “constantly,” corresponds to *nc* $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{mān}$  “to have permanence” there. In addition to the element of duration, the word apparently encompasses the element of assuredness in such cases. Thus *šeker* $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  in Prov 11:18 may mean “stable, certain reward” (see Klopfenstein, op. cit. 171f.). It is less likely, however, that one may consistently translate the frequent combination *ḥesed we* $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  as a hendiadys, “lasting mercy” (so HAL 66b, 247b, 323a). Admittedly, the dual expression has often become a fixed formula, and the element of constancy, of permanence, certainly belongs to faithfulness (cf. e.g., Josh 2:14; 2 Sam 15:20; Prov 3:3; 14:22; 16:6; 20:28). Passages such as Psa 85:11 “*ḥesed* and  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  meet” indicate, nevertheless, that the two terms stand entirely on the same level and each can have its own weight. If it still seems appropriate to regard  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  as a qualifier of *ḥesed* in some cases, it seems best to understand the phrases as “*ḥesed* (mercy, grace, love) on which one can depend”; the element of duration does not occupy the foreground.

3.  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  does serve unmistakably as the second member of a cs. combination as a qualifier of a higher concept such as *šālôm* “peace” (Jer 14:13, perhaps “peace of duration, lasting peace,” but because of 2 Kgs 20:19 = Isa 39:8 and Jer 33:6 “peace and security,” it is still more likely to be read as “peace that guarantees security”), *’ôt* “sign,” etc. One can best approach all these phrases from the notion of dependability (contra Weiser, TDNT 6:184: “ $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{mn}$  is shown to be a formal concept whose content is in each case determined by the specific subj.”; it indicates “the relation of the reality to that which is characteristic of the particular subj.”; contra SBL 179f.).

The following passages should be mentioned here: Gen 24:48 (a dependable and therefore proper path); Exod 18:21 (dependable men who cannot be bribed); Josh 2:12 (a dependable and therefore certain sign); Jer 2:21 (a dependable, i.e., genuine, growth); 14:13 (a dependable, certain peace; see above); 42:5 (a dependable and therefore truthful witness; likewise Prov 14:25 with the antonym “lying witness”); Ezek 18:8 and Zech 7:9 (a legal pronouncement on which one can depend); Prov 22:21 (dependable and therefore true words, par. *qōšē* “truth”); Eccl 12:10 (words on which one can depend); Neh 7:2 (a dependable and God-fearing man); 9:13 (dependable instructions).

4. In relation to persons (and God), the meaning of  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  shifts from dependability to faithfulness, as in the frequent combination  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{hesed we}^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  “grace and faithfulness”: of people: Gen 24:49; 47:29; Josh 2:14; Prov 3:3; of God: Gen 24:27, etc. (see IV/2). The prep. phrase  $\text{be}^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  “in faithfulness” serves as an adv.: “faithfully, uprightly”; it describes the dependability of the person’s behavior (not the certainty of a state of affairs like the proper advs. and adverbial acc. mentioned above in D.III/7; but see 6).

The pars. confirm the precise intention:  $\text{b}^{\text{c}}\text{tāmîm}$  “uprightly” (Josh 24:14; Judg 9:16, 19); “with the whole heart (and with the whole soul)” (1 Sam 12:24; 1 Kgs 2:4); “in righteousness and with an upright attitude toward you” (1 Kgs 3:6); “with an undivided heart” (2 Kgs 20:3 = Isa 38:3); similarly Isa 10:20; 61:8; Jer 32:41; Psa 111:8; Prov 29:14. Thus  $\text{be}^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  characterizes human presence in terms of integrity and personal engagement.

5. One can “exercise  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$ ” ( $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{sh}$ ; cf.  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{sh }^{\text{c}}\text{mûnâ}$ ; see D III/5): Gen 47:29; Neh 9:33; 2 Chron 31:20. But one can also “speak  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$ ,” an expression that refers not to the speaker’s dependability but to the pronouncement’s dependability. Words are dependable, and therefore trustworthy, if they recount a circumstance accurately, i.e., if they are true: 2 Sam 7:28; 1 Kgs 17:24; 22:16 = 2 Chron 18:15; Jer 9:4 (opposite  $\text{tll hi}$ . “to deceive”); 23:28 “who speaks my word in truth” (so Rudolph, HAT 12, 154; Klopfenstein, op. cit. 103, and others understand  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  as an adverbial acc. and translate “faithfully”). In fact, one is frequently unable to decide with certainty whether  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  means “uprightness” in reference to the subj. or “truth” in reference to the obj. Thus one can ask, e.g., regarding the phrase  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{ed }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$ , whether  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  should be understood as an attitudinal norm (“truthful witness”) or whether it confirms the truth of the circumstances attested. If one proceeds from  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{ed ne}^{\text{c}}\text{mān}$  (see A.III/1; cf. Jer 42:5) one will opt for the first possibility, but from the standpoint of Isa 43:9 or Prov 14:25, one will prefer the second. According to Gen 42:16, Joseph wants to test his brothers, “whether  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  is with you”; here one should clearly translate  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  not “uprightness” but “truth” (see D.III/6 on  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{mûnâ}$ ). Nevertheless, one may not speak of an abstraction of the specific events (so G. Quell, TDNT 1:234), so that one may translate: “whether *the* truth is with you.” In the face of great uncertainty in details, surely grounded in the fact that the distinction between (subjective) uprightness and (objective) truth was not so apparent to the Hebrews as to us, the obj.-oriented meaning is still clearly present. This situation is esp. pertinent to the juridical arena, where objective truth, not merely subjective truthfulness,

is definitely in view. Witnesses before the court can declare the statement of a litigant  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  “it is true,” i.e., the relevant statement agrees with reality (Isa 43:9). An accusation can be confirmed as  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  (Deut 13:15 and 17:4, made explicit by *nākôn haddābār* “the situation is really so”; cf. 22:20). In Prov 22:21 “words of  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$ ” explicates *qōšṭ* “truth”; *dbr pi.*  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  means, if not *the* truth, then still “a true statement” (Zech 8:16; cf. Psa 15:2; Prov 8:7; 12:19 par. “lying tongue”), and *hyh*  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  “prove true” (Deut 22:20; 2 Sam 7:28; cf. 1 Kgs 17:24).

6. Finally, one should note passages in which *be* $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  does not mean “in faithfulness, uprightly,” but “in truth, actually, really” (Judg 9:15; Jer 26:15; 28:9; cf. also the simple  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  in Jer 10:10).

7. The most important parallel terms are:

- (a)  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{mûnâ}$  (see D.III/8);
- (b) *ḥesed* (see III/2, 4 of people, IV/2 of God);
- (c) terms for the totality of the person (see 4);
- (d) legal terms: → *šedeq* “righteousness” (Psa 15:2; 85:12; Prov 8:7f., etc.;  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{dāqâ}$  Isa 48:1; 59:14; Jer 4:2; Zech 8:8, etc.; *šaddîq* Neh 9:33); *mišpāṭ* “justice” (→ *špṭ*, Isa 59:14; Jer 4:2, etc.); *mēšārîm* “straightness” (Prov 8:6); *n<sup>c</sup>kōḥâ* “propriety” (Isa 59:14), and others;
- (e) *šālôm* (→ *šlm*; 2 Kgs 20:19 = Isa 39:8; Jer 33:6; Zech 8:16, 19; Mal 2:6; Psa 85:11; Esth 9:30).

Antonyms are: *šeqer* “deceit” (Jer 9:4; Zech 8:16; Prov 11:18; 12:19, etc.); *kāzāb* “lie” (Prov 14:25, etc.); *mirmâ* “deceit” (Prov 12:19); *reša<sup>c</sup>* “wickedness” (Prov 8:7; cf. 11:18; Neh 9:33).

8. Except for *šālôm* and the one case in which the Aramaism *qōšṭ* “truth” (Wagner no. 274; Bibl. Aram. *q<sup>c</sup>šōṭ*, Dan 4:34) parallels  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  (Prov 22:21), the word field surrounding  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  coincides quite precisely with that of  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{mûnâ}$ .  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  in the sense of “truth” has no actual par., because Hebr. has no independent word for “truth.” This phenomenon does not mean that Hebr. does not have a concept of truth, but that its concept of truth is indissolubly joined with the notion of dependability (cf. W. Pannenberg, “Was ist Wahrheit?” FS Vogel 214–239, esp. 216; H. von Soden, op. cit. [see I/7]; H.-J. Kraus, “Wahrheit in der Geschichte,” *Was ist Wahrheit?* [1965], 35–46; K. Koch, “Der hebr. Wahrheitsbegriff im griech. Sprachraum,” *Was ist Wahrheit?*, 47–65; M. Landmann, *Ursprungsbild und Schöpfungst* [1966], 213–22). Just as  $\text{ }^{\text{c}}\text{met}$  in the sense of the dependability of persons means faithfulness and uprightness, understood as truth it means the dependability of a thing or a word. In this sense, only

that which corresponds to reality or is fully appropriate to it can be dependable.

IV. 1. Like the confession of God's *ʾmûnâ*, that of his *ʾmet* becomes prominent primarily in the Psalter. The lament in Psa 31 praises Yahweh as *ʾēl ʾmet* (v 6), just as other texts call him *ʾēl neʾmān* or *ʾēl ʾmûnâ*. Thus this text simply expresses pregnantly what other laments and thanksgiving songs also attest in reference to Yahweh's *ʾmet*. No difference between *ʾmet* and *ʾmûnâ* can be ascertained in these contexts.

One may also celebrate Yahweh's *ʾmet* because one has experienced or would like to experience him as helper. Psa 69:14 implores Yahweh specifically to grant an audience "in the faithfulness of your aid." The hope of aid motivates one to take refuge in Yahweh's faithfulness. The celebration of his faithfulness is designed to move God to intervene before it is too late. To this end, the supplicant can remind him that one cannot praise his faithfulness in the underworld (Psa 30:10; Isa 38:18; cf. Psa 71:22; for *ʾmûnâ* see Psa 88:12). Or one can pray that God's light and faithfulness may lead the supplicant to God's holy mountain so that one may there sing his praise with sacrifice (Psa 43:3f.; cf. 138:2). The annihilation of the enemies is frequently an element of the aid that one expects from God's faithfulness (54:7; cf. 22:26 txt em). Psa 91:4b celebrates Yahweh's faithfulness as shield and buckler (didactic poem? cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:221).

The hymn in Psa 146 (which also contains elements of the thanksgiving song, however) describes in an especially impressive manner what it means for Israel that Yahweh maintains faithfulness eternally. The poet does not think, as is otherwise the rule, of his personal distress, but praises Yahweh as the helper of all the oppressed. Yahweh himself is, indeed, called the God of Jacob (v 5), but he is described as the creator God and the God of Zion (v 10), who will rule eternally. Here, then, in comparison with the average piety of the Psalms, God's faithfulness (v 6) is placed against a greatly expanded horizon.

2. As in the profane arena, *ʾmet* is also readily combined with → *ḥesed* (III/1) in reference to God.

Hos 4:1 and Mic 7:20 mention *ʾmet* before *ḥesed*, but as a rule *ḥesed* stands first. The combination can vary elsewhere also (i.e., Psa 69:14), but for the most part they are joined as closely as possible through the simple *we* "and" (Psa 25:10; 40:12; 57:4; 85:11; 89:15; 138:2; beyond the Psalter: Gen 24:27; Exod 34:6; 2 Sam 2:6; 15:20; in a looser combination: Gen 32:11; Hos 4:1; Psa 26:3; 57:11 = 108:5).

One may say that the primary accent lies on *ḥesed* in these phrases. *ʾmet* modifies *ḥesed* "grace, goodness, love, goodwill" in terms of dependability.

The following occurrences in particular are noteworthy: (a) Psa 89:15. That justice and righteousness are the foundation of Yahweh's throne is thoroughly

appropriate to the context, which speaks of God's kingdom. But the statement continues: "*hesed* and *emet* stand in your presence." Here they are seen almost as beings, almost as hypostases. Thus Psa 85:11f. too can say: "*hesed* and *emet* encounter one another, righteousness and peace meet (txt em); faithfulness sprouts from the earth and righteousness blooms from heaven." The exegetes' argument as to whether the text refers to divine or human faithfulness is superfluous: the intention is naturally that God causes such faithfulness to sprout. But the formulation also allows for the recognition that *hesed* and *emet* could be envisioned as independent cosmic entities, whose control also guarantees the fertility of the land, because where they come to power, the cosmos must regain harmonious, fertile equilibrium.

(b) Psa 86:15 confesses: "You are a merciful, gracious God, patient and rich in *hesed* and *emet*" (cf. v 5). This statement is apparently an old confessional formula (without *emet* also in Psa 103:8; 145:8; Joel 2:13 and Jonah 4:2 complemented by "he repents of evil"; with *emet* in Exod 34:6, but, according to Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 261, the formula here is a secondary insertion). It seems that *emet* has gained entry into the formula only secondarily, probably by force of the combination *hesed we'emet*. One sought to establish explicitly the element of faithfulness that continues even in situations that subject the relationship between God and people to a rigorous endurance test. Expansions in Psa 86:5, "rich in mercy" by means of "gracious and forgiving," and references in the passages in Joel and Jonah to Yahweh's preparedness to repent are in the same vein.

(c) The OT speaks of *hesed we'emet* accompanied by *śh* "to do" three times beyond the Psa: Gen 24:49; 32:11 (*h'sādīm*); 2 Sam 2:6. Each of these refers to God's just guidance of people. Therefore one can also say that Yahweh's paths are *hesed we'emet* (Psa 25:10; cf. 43:3). The pious individual recognizes that he/she stands under the guidance of divine faithfulness in his/her life.

3. Because *emet* encompasses the foundations of the cosmic order, the individual must actualize *emet* just as God does. Naturally, wisdom esp. instructs to this end (Prov 3:3; 14:22; 16:6; 20:28). Gen 24 relates human faithfulness to the divine (vv 27 and 49). Grace and faithfulness, which preserve the king according to Prov 20:28, correspond to the grace and faithfulness that stand in the presence of God (Psa 89:15). Through grace and faithfulness one meets with divine and human approval (Prov 3:3f.). The demand for *emet* occurs once in the prophets as well: Hos 4:1, "There is no *emet* and no *hesed* and no knowledge of God in the land." Knowledge of God must be realized in the actualization of *hesed* and *emet*. The continuation allows for no doubt that this context envisions not the relationship with God but the relationship with one's neighbors. The OT almost never describes the individual's behavior toward God with *hesed we'emet* (or *emet* alone). The response to God's faithfulness can only be faithfulness toward one's fellow human beings. The only exceptions are late passages such as 2 Chron 31:20 and 32:1.

But behavior *be<sup>ʿ</sup>met* toward God is demanded of Israel, not primarily in the sense of “in faithfulness” (so HAL 67a), but “uprightly, genuinely, honestly” (see III/4). Behavior *b<sup>e</sup>tāmîm* and *be<sup>ʿ</sup>met* legitimately expresses the fear of God (Josh 24:14).

4. As established above (III/5), *ʿmet* in a profane usage means not only subj.-oriented “dependability, uprightness, faithfulness,” but also obj.-oriented “something dependable, truth.” Does the OT also speak of the truth of God? Decision between the two options is difficult here too. For example, contrary to many older exegetes (Delitzsch, Duhm, Marti, etc.), one must maintain “faithfulness” in Isa 59:14f. (Klopfenstein, op. cit. 46; Fohrer, *Jesaja*, ZBK, 3:219; cf. Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 343, etc.).

The attempt to translate Psa 25:5, “guide me according to your truth (*ʿmet*), teach me,” is more frequent and the request for instruction seems to justify it. The alphabetic psalm exhibits elements of the lament, however, and laments discuss *ʿmet* in the sense of “faithfulness.” V 6 takes up *ʿmet* again through *rah<sup>a</sup>mîm* “mercies” and *ḥesed*. But particularly in view of v 10, one must translate “guide me according to your faithfulness” and not, as is customary, “in your truth.” Psa 86:11 should be understood as an exact analogy; “Teach me your way, that I may walk in your faithfulness”; God’s faithfulness is the realm in which the individual’s journey must be executed if it is to be salvific.

The usage in the two legal psalms, Psa 19 B and 119, is different. In the clause “the commandments of Yahweh are *ʿmet*” (19:10), *ʿmet* is naturally object-oriented. But the rendering “true” is nevertheless problematical. The par. phrase in v 10a states that Yahweh’s word (read *ʿimrat* for *yir<sup>a</sup>t*) is pure and will stand for eternity. Thus *ʿmet* probably means to attest to the dependability and lasting validity of the divine commandment rather than to its truth. The same situation pertains to statements concerning the law in Psa 119 (vv 43, 142, 151, 160). In each case, the word field indicates that the reference is to the duration or the “eternal” validity of the commandments, as in v 152, “From of old I know from your precepts, that you have established them for eternity.” One may wish to translate “true”; but they are true because they are dependable, and this manifests itself, in turn, in the fact that they ensure “life” (vv 40, 116, 144).

Finally, Psa 51:8 is difficult to interpret: “You are pleased with *ʿmet* in secret, and in secret you teach me wisdom.” Text and translation are uncertain (cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:499, 503f.); but in any case, *ʿmet* here parallels *ḥokmâ* “wisdom,” and like *ḥokmâ* it can be taught. Therefore, *ʿmet* must mean truth in the sense of a secret revelation, a deep, not directly accessible knowledge.

5. This usage approaches the meaning of the occurrences in Daniel. Dan 8:26, “the vision that has been revealed is *ʿmet*,” can only mean that the vision is true because one can depend upon it, certain that the fulfillment will not fail, just as in 10:1 and 11:2 (txt? cf., however, Plöger,

KAT 18, 145f., 150). These Dan passages are sharply distinguished from 1 Kgs 17:24. The latter maintains that Yahweh has really (in truth) spoken to the prophets; the former maintains that he has communicated the truth to the apocalypticist—indeed, in such a way that this revelation is a mirror image of the coming events. These events are recorded in the book of *ʾemet* (Dan 10:21), the “book of truth,” which has been understood as a par. to the Babylonian tablets of destiny (cf. comms. by Marti, Bentzen, Porteous on the Dan passage; contra Plöger, KAT 18, 146). But the revelation long familiar in Israel can also be described as “God’s truth” (9:13).

This usage leads to 8:12, where *ʾemet* is used in a final, abs. sense. After describing the abominations of the “small horn,” the author concludes: “the *ʾemet* was thrown to the ground” (txt em; cf. *BHS*, contra Plöger, op. cit. 120, 122). Here *ʾemet* refers to the truth of Judaism, with its individual legal regulations (K. Marti, *Das Buch Daniel* [1901], 58f.; R. Bultmann, *ZNW* 27 [1928]: 118f. = *Exegetica* [1967]: 129).

The usage of *ʾemet* in Dan is unique. The closest par. to this usage is in Eccl 12:10. Bultmann (op. cit.) suspects the influence of Iranian concepts upon Dan 8:12 and thinks, probably correctly, that the “book of truth,” from which the angel communicates revelations concerning the future to the seer (Dan 10:21), also points to foreign influence. In any case, it is clear that Dan initiates a new understanding of *ʾemet*, and thereby a new understanding of truth itself.

V. The continued vitality of the word group or the Gk. equivalents in the Qumran literature, in early Judaism, and in the NT cannot be examined in detail here. The bibliog., too, can offer only a selection:

1. “faith”: In addition to A. Weiser and R. Bultmann, “πιστεύω,” *TDNT* 6:174–228, and the lexical articles in *RGG*, *EKL*, etc.:

A. Schlatter, *Der Glaube im NT* (1927); W. G. Kümmel, “Der Glaube im NT, seine katholische und reformatorische Deutung,” *TBI* 16 (1937): 209–21 = *Heilsgeschehen und Geschichte* (1965), 67–80; E. Walter, *Glaube, Hoffnung, Liebe im NT* (1940); M. Buber, *Two Types of Faith* (1951); G. Schrenk, “Martin Bubers Beurteilung des Paulus in seiner Schrift ‘Zwei Glaubensweisen,’” *Judaica* 8 (1952): 1–25; M. Bonningues, *La Foi dans l’évangile de s. Jean* (1955); G. Ebeling, *Was heisst Glauben?* (1958); id., “Jesus and Faith,” *Word and Faith* (1963), 201–46; W. Grundmann, “Verständnis und Bewegung des Glaubens im Johannes-Evangelium,” *KerD* 6 (1960): 131–54; F. Neugebauer, *In Christus, EN XPIΣTΩI: Eine Untersuchung zum paulinischen Glaubensverständnis* (1961), 150–81; H. Schlier, “Glauben, Erkennen, Lieben nach dem Johannesevangelium,” *FS Söhngen* 98–111 = *Besinnung auf das NT* (1964), 279–93; H. Ljungman, *Pistis: A Study of Its Presuppositions and Its Meaning in Pauline Use* (1964); H. Conzelmann, “Fragen an Gerhard von Rad,” *EvT* 24 (1964): 113–25 (123ff.); E. Grässer, *Der Glaube im Hebräerbrief* (1965); N.

Lazure, *Les valeurs morales de la théologie johannique* (1965), 161–204; P. Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus* (1966), 81–83; H. Conzelmann, *Outline of the Theology of the NT* (1969), 61f., 171ff.; C. A. Keller, “Glaube in der ‘Weisheit Salomos,’” FS Eichrodt 11–20.

2. “Amen” in Judaism, the NT, and the early church: H. Schlier, “ἀμήν,” *TDNT* 1:335–38; *StrB* 1:242–44; 3:456–61; *RAC* 1:378–80; *BHH* 1:80f.; V. Hasler, *Amen* (1969).

Further: H. W. Hogg, *JQR* 9 (1897): 1–23; G. Dalman, *Words of Jesus* (1909), 226–29; P. Glaue, *ZKG* 44, NS 7 (1925): 184–98; D. Daube, *NT and Rabbinic Judaism* (1956), 388–93.

3. “Truth”: In addition to G. Quell and R. Bultmann, “ἀλήθεια,” *TDNT* 1:232–51, see *RGG*, *EKL*, etc.:

R. Bultmann, *ZNW* 27 (1928): 134–63; F. Nötscher, “‘Wahrheit’ als theol. Terminus in den Qumrantexten,” FS Christian 83–92 = *Vom Alten zum Neuen Testament* (1962), 112–25; H. Kosmala, *Hebräer, Essener, Christen* (1959), 135–73, 192–207; L. J. Kuypers, “Grace and Truth,” *Int* 18 (1964): 3–19; O. Böcher, *Der johanneische Dualismus im Zusammenhang des nachbibl. Judentums* (1965); N. Lazure, op. cit. 70–90 (bibliog.); P. Ricca, *Die Eschatologie des vierten Evangeliums* (1966), 111–13.

H. Wildberger

## יָמַשׁ *ṁš* to be strong

S 553; BDB 54b; *HALOT* 1:65a; *TDOT* 1:323–27; *TWOT* 117; *NIDOTTE* 599

1. The root *ṁš* “to be strong” occurs only in Hebr. and sporadically in Ug. (cf. *UT* no. 228; *WUS* no. 282).

The description of the horses in Zech 6:3, 7 as *ṁmuššîm* involves a color term that does not belong to this root (cf. *HAL* 63b: “variegated”; A. Guillaume, *Abr-Nahrain* 2 [1962]: 7, “dust-colored”; W. D. McHardy, FS Kahle 174ff.).

In addition to the verb in the qal, pi., hitp., and hi. (cf. *HP* 280), the adj. *ṁmmîš* “strong” and the substs. *ṁmeš*, *ṁmšâ* (Zech 12:5 txt?) “strength,” and *maṁmāš* “exertion” occur.

On the PNs  $\text{ʔmašyâ}(hû)$ ,  $\text{ʔāmôš}$ ,  $\text{ʔamšî}$ , see *IP* 190.

2. The word group is attested 50x in the OT (qal 16x, pi. 19x, hitp. 4x, hi. 2x),  $\text{ʔammîš}$  6x, the substs. 1x each.

The verbal occurrences are located primarily in the Dtr-Chr literature and in Deut (qal 12x, pi. 6x, hitp. 3x), also in the Psa (qal 2x, pi. 3x, hi. 2x), in the wisdom literature (pi. 5x), and in the prophetic corpus (pi. 5x).

3. All meanings of the word group result from the primary meaning “to be strong, mighty.” The term occurs only with a personal subj. (God, human).  $\text{ʔmš}$  occurs only in the qal (except for the encouragement formula; see 4) in reference to the superior strength of a people (Gen 25:23; 2 Chron 13:18) and in the individual laments in reference to the oppressive might of the psalmist’s enemy. The factitive usage of the pi. conveys the idea of the intensification of physical might (often associated with  $\rightarrow kōah$ : Amos 2:14; Nah 2:2; cf. Prov 31:17; Isa 35:3; Job 4:4), the hardening of the heart (Deut 2:30; 15:7; 2 Chron 36:13; cf. F. Hesse, *Das Verstockungsproblem im AT* [1955], 16), the encouragement of the distressed (Job 16:5), or of a commissioned individual (see 4), and the restoration of a structure (temple, 2 Chron 24:13; cf. God’s establishment of the clouds, Prov 8:28). The hitp. means “to manage to do something by an exertion of might” (1 Kgs 12:18 = 2 Chron 10:18), “to be superior to someone” (2 Chron 13:7), and “to be resolutely decided” (Ruth 1:18). On the hi. see 4.

The most important synonymous roots are  $\rightarrow ḥzq$  and  $\rightarrow ʕz$ , *dll* “to be unimportant” and *rph* “to be limp” can be considered antonyms.

4. In individual laments, the superior strength of the enemy (2 Sam 22:18 = Psa 18:18; Psa 142:7) occasions the request for God’s saving intervention, which proves effective against all human might (cf. 2 Chron 13:18). Most remarkable, however, is the stereotypical encouragement formula in Deut and the Dtr-Chr literature:  $\text{ḥʔzaq weʔmaš}$  “to be firm and strong” or (pl.)  $\text{ḥizqû weʔimšû}$  (cf. N. Lohfink, *Scholastik* 37 [1962]: 32–44). The formula originally belongs to the promise of divine guidance, specifically in the area of war (Deut 31:6; Josh 1:6; 10:25; cf. also Nah 2:2;  $\rightarrow ḥzq$ ), and is issued to a leader of the people threatened by enemies (Deut 31:7, 23) or to the people prepared for battle (Deut 31:6; Josh 10:25). The relation of the formula to the keeping of the Mosaic commandments or even to the keeping of the commandments of the law code (Josh 1:7ff.; cf. Noth, *HAT* 7, 28), a relation reflecting Deuteronomistic interests, is characteristic. As a divine exhortation that removes fright, the formula is

transferred, then, into the cultic sphere (only with  $\lambda m\dot{s}$  hi.: Psa 27:14; 31:25). Similarly based in the cultic salvation oracle, the promise of Yahweh's aid issued to the servant of God also uses  $\lambda m\dot{s}$  (Isa 41:10; cf. Psa 89:22).

The interpretation of Psa 80:16, 18 is disputed; the passage may deal either with the "rearing" of the king based in the ancient concept of the father-son relationship between God and the prince (so Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:143) or with that of the entire people (v 16 supports this interpretation, so Weiser, *Psa*, OTL, 550; cf. Hos 10:1ff.; Ezek 16:7).

5. The most important usages of  $\lambda m\dot{s}$  mentioned above recur at Qumran, as one might expect, in the *War Scroll* (1QM) and the *Hodayot* (1QH) (cf. Kuhn, *Konk.* 17). For the encouragement formula in the NT, see 1 Cor 16:13.

A. S. van der Woude

## $\lambda mr$ to say

S 559; BDB 55b; HALOT 1:65b; TDOT 1:328–45; TWOT 118; NIDOTTE 606

1. All Sem. languages have a root  $\lambda mr$ , although it means "to say, speak" only in NWSem., i.e., in the various Can. (except for Ug.) and Aram. dialects (cf. *DISO* 17f.). In Arab. and Old SArab.,  $\lambda mr$  means "to command," a meaning also evident in later OT Hebr. In contrast, Akk. *amāru* (and apparently Ug. *amr* Gt; cf. *WUS* no. 283; *UT* no. 229) means "to see"; similarly Eth.  $\lambda mr$  I/2 "to show."

On the hypothetical development of meaning "to see > to say" cf. S. Moscati, "La radice semitica  $\lambda mr$ ," *Bib* 27 (1946): 115–26; HAL 63b with bibliog.; see also H. Kronasser, *Handbuch der Semasiologie* (1952), 93; on the Ger. "sagen/sehen" and "bemerken" [cf. Eng. "say/see" and "observe"—TRANS.] cf. Kluge 698 and Duden, *Etymologie* 633.

The existence of the Akk. meaning "to see" and the etymology of Hebr.  $\lambda mr$  based on this meaning do not justify M. Dahood's recourse to a so-called basic meaning "to see" in Psa 11:1; 29:9; and 71:10, where direct speech follows in each case (*Bib* 44 [1963]: 295f.).

In addition to the qal, the verb has a ni. (pass.) and a hi. (disputed in meaning, although likely causative; see 3b).

*mr* hitp. “to act proudly, boast” (Psa 94:4; perhaps also to be assumed in Isa 61:6) and the pertinent substantives *amr* or *emer*, “tree prunings, twig, branch,” are treated as a distinct root *mr* II by HAL 61a, 65a in contrast to GB 48a, 51.

In addition to the infrequent *qutl-* form *omer* “saying, information; thing,” the related (see 3c) *qitl-* formations *emer/imrâ* “word, pronouncement,” as well as the late Aramaizing word *ma<sup>a</sup>mâr* “word, command” (Wagner no. 149) occur as derived noms.; cf. also the Bibl. Aram. substantivized inf. *mêmar* “word, command.”

From the related NWSem. languages, the Ug. *amr* “wish, speech(?)” (WUS no. 284) and Yaudi *mrh* “speech, word, command(?)” (DISO 18; KAI no. 214.26, 32; cf. 2:221) may also certainly be mentioned.

On the PNs *maryâ(hû)* with the shortened forms *imrî* and perhaps *ômâr* and *immêr*, cf. IP 173; HAL 21b, 65f.; Gröndahl 99; Huffmon 168.

2. *mr* qal “to say,” with its 5,282 occurrences, is the most frequent verb in the OT (followed by → *hyh* “to be,” → *šh* “to do,” → *bô* “to come,” → *ntn* “to give,” → *hlk* “to go”), “one of the most common words in the language” (O. Procksch, TDNT 4:91). The basically equal distribution over the whole OT reflects this commonality, although a greater frequency is naturally encountered in the narrative texts than in legal texts or in poetic pieces.

*mr* qal occurs in all the books of the OT: Gen 603x (347x *wayyômer/wayyômar*, 81x *lêmor*), Exod 299x, Lev 80x, Num 244x, Deut 140x, Josh 136x, Judg 269x, 1 Sam 422x, 2 Sam 334x, 1 Kgs 326x, 2 Kgs 343x, Isa 241x, Jer 475x (163x *amar*, 49x *wayyômer*, 114x *lêmor*), Ezek 362x, Hos 20x, Joel 5x, Amos 52x, Obad 2x, Jonah 22x, Mic 10x, Nah 2x, Hab 3x, Zeph 4x, Hag 26x, Zech 109x, Mal 40x, Psa 99x, Job 97x, Prov 25x, Ruth 54x, Song Sol 2x, Eccl 20x, Lam 10x, Esth 52x, Dan 22x, Ezra 15x, Neh 61x, 1 Chron 72x, 2 Chron 184x. Among the 5,282 forms (Lis. does not take account of 1 Sam 4:16b and 17:10 *wayyômer*, 2 Kgs 16:7 *lêmor*, and Ezek 4:14 *wâomar*), 930x are formulaic *lêmor* (in addition to 9x *lêmor* as inf. with *le*), 2,069x are *wayyômer* or *wayyômar*, and 644 others are *waw*-cons. forms (Lis. incorrectly classifies 2 Sam 20:18a *lêmor*, 2 Kgs 9:17 *wyômar*, and 1 Chron 16:31 *wyômarû*).\*

*mr* ni. occurs 21x, hi. 2x; Aram. *mr* pe. 71x (Dan 65x, Ezra 5x, Jer 1x).

Of the substantives, *omer* occurs 6x, *emer* 48x, *imrâ* 37x, *ma<sup>a</sup>mâr* 3x (in Esth); Aram. *mêmar* 2x.

3. (a) *mr* qal means “to say, speak” (in context it is also possible to translate “to ask” or “to answer”; → *šl*, → *nh* I) and is the normal

introduction of direct or (less frequently) indirect speech (BrSynt 140). In contrast to *dbr* pi. (→ *dābār* III/1),  $\lambda mr$  never means “to speak” without indication of the content of the communication (GB 50; HAL 64a, on the apparent exceptions see *ibid.*; cf. HP 165n.192).

With respect to  $\lambda mr$ , the appearance of the so-called perfectum declarativum pf. (pf. of completion) of the 1st per. sg., a possibility for all verbs of speaking in the broadest sense (→ *qr*<sup>2</sup>, “to call,” → *brk* pi. “to bless,” → *šb*<sup>c</sup> ni. “to swear,” also → *ntn* “to give, declare transferred”), expressing the coincidence of statement and behavior:  $\lambda \bar{a}mar\hat{t}\hat{i}$  “I state hereby” (cf. Deut 32:40; Judg 2:3; 2 Sam 19:30; Isa 22:4; Psa 16:2 txt em; 31:15; 75:5; 119:57; 140:7; 142:6; Job 9:22; 32:10; cf. Berg., HG 2:27f.; BrSynt 40; D. Michel, *Tempora und Satzstellung in den Psalmen* [1960], 80, 92–95; E. Koschmieder, *Beiträge zur allgemeinen Syntax* [1965], 26–34); the formula *kōh*  $\lambda \bar{a}mar$  *yhw*h “thus says Yahweh (herewith, through me)” may also belong here.\*

God, people, animals (Gen 3:1; Num 22:28, 30), and—in the fable—trees (Judg 9:8ff.) are subjs. of  $\lambda mr$ . The speech announced by  $\lambda mr$  is appended in the majority of cases without transition; occasionally *lē* $\lambda m\bar{o}r$  (see below), *kī* (e.g., Gen 29:33; Exod 4:25; Judg 6:16), or  $\lambda \check{s}er$  (Neh 13:19, 22 “to command”) stands between introduction and that introduced (cf. Joüon §157c). The addressee is indicated by  $\lambda el$  or *le*; the same preps. also describe persons or things about which something is said. The acc. is used in cases such as Psa 41:6, “they speak wickedness against me,” with direct speech following, or when the verb should be translated “to mention” or “to name” (HAL 64a 3a-c; *le* may also be used for the latter).

$\lambda mr$  also frequently introduces direct speech following other verbs of speaking, either in the impf. cons. (after *dbr* pi., *nh*, and  $\lambda mr$  itself) or, very often, in the inf. with *l*<sup>c</sup> = *lē* $\lambda m\bar{o}r$  “in order to say, in that he said, with the words, as follows” (on the form, see BL 223, 370), after *dbr* pi.,  $\lambda \check{l}$ , *šwh* pi.,  $\lambda mr$  itself, etc.

In isolated, for the most part relatively late, passages,  $\lambda mr$  can mean “to command,” corresponding to the Aram. and Arab. usage. The usage in the sense of “to say to oneself” = “to think” is more frequent, often in the construction  $\lambda mr$  *b<sup>c</sup>libbô/* $\lambda el$ -*libbô/l<sup>c</sup>libbô* “to say in/to his heart” (cf. N. Bratsiotis, “Der Monolog im AT,” ZAW 73 [1961]: 30–70, esp. 46f.; on verbs of thinking → *hšb*). Instances of this and other features treated in this section are found in GB 50f. and HAL 64.

(b)  $\lambda mr$  ni. has a pass. sense (“to be said, to be called”) and is often used with an indefinite per. subj. (like Lat. *dicitur* “one says”).

On evidence for  $\lambda mr$  hi. “to cause to say” (Deut 26:17f.) cf. R. Smend, *Die Bundesformel* (1963), 7f., 33 (“to proclaim”); Th. C. Vriezen, “Das Hiphil von  $\lambda \bar{a}mar$  in Deut. 26,17.18,” JEOL 17 (1963): 207–10; von Rad,

*Deut*, OTL, 161f.; GB 51a.

(c) With respect to noms. of the root  $\text{ʾmr}$ , the differentiation of meanings is complicated because of specific passages in which the text is difficult or uncertain ( $\text{ʾōmer}$  in Hab 3:9; Psa 68:12; 77:9;  $\text{ʿēmer}$  in Job 20:29; Prov 19:7; 22:21). But the assessment of the term  $\text{ʿēmer}$  based on the suf. form  $\text{ʾimrô}$  of Job 20:29 is also contested (GVG 1:255: dissimilation of  $\text{ʾōmrô}$  to  $\text{ʾimrô}$ ; likewise BL 215, where the pl. and fem. forms with  $\text{ʾimr-}$  are explained as analogous formations). Perhaps the following reference points should be observed:  $\text{ʾōmer}$  never precedes a gen. or suf.; correspondingly, it has a very general meaning, in Psa 19:3f. “word” almost in the sense of “speech, language,” in Job 22:28 “matter, something” (cf. → *dābār*).  $\text{ʾimrâ}$  always appears (except for Psa 12:7[bis]) in the sg. and with a following gen. or suf., as a nomen unitatis in the meaning “individual (i.e., individually formed) saying, utterance” (of poetic or prophetic units in Gen 4:23; Deut 32:2; Isa 28:23; 32:9; otherwise, except for Isa 29:4, always of God’s word, 19x in Psa 119 as a separate theological entity). The fem. individualizing pls. in Psa 12:7, “the (individual) speeches of Yahweh are (in each instance) pure speeches,” conform to this usage; the masc. pl. of  $\text{ʿēmer}$  (the sg. is not attested at all, except for the textually uncertain passage Job 20:29) could form the collective pl. or the pl. of the totality (Nyberg 220; always with gen. or suf., except for Prov 19:7 and 22:21b; the meaning “sayings” is not “individual sayings” but “complete sayings” in all passages, even in Num 24:4, 16; Josh 24:27 “all”; Psa 107:11; Job 6:10, where “words of God” are discussed).\*

4. That God speaks is thoroughly obvious to the OT authors; when he keeps quiet, he is disturbed. This is not the place to go into the special problem of the speech and the word of God in the OT (cf. O. Procksch, *TDNT* 4:69f., 91–100; W. Zimmerli, *RGG* 6:1809–12; → *dābār* IV). Nevertheless, a few fixed formulae that discuss God’s speech, esp. in the prophetic literature, must be noted.

The usually narrative *wayyōʾmer yhw̄h/ʾlōhîm* “then Yahweh/God said” is very common; it occasionally acquires a somewhat more pregnant sense (e.g., Gen 1; cf. W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift* [1964], 169–77; Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:110f.). Particularly significant is the no less frequent formula *kōh ʾāmar yhw̄h* “thus says Yahweh” (on the translation of the pf., see K. Koch, *Growth of the Biblical Tradition* [1969], 190; see above 3a), the common introduction of the prophetic Yahweh saying. Independently from one another, L. Köhler (*Deuterocesaja stilkkritisch untersucht* [1923], 102–5; id., *Kleine Lichter* [1945], 11–17) and J. Lindblom (*Die literarische Gattung der prophetischen Literatur* [1924], 106f.) have recognized the genre introduced with this expression as messenger speech, which has profane precursors. Following them, others have named the expression the “messenger formula” (e.g., H. Wildberger, *Jahwewort und prophetische Rede bei Jeremia* [1942], 46ff.; Westermann, *BFPS* 98ff.). The formula “thus says X” finds nontheological usage in Gen 32:4–6; similarly in Babylon and in the Amarna

correspondence (cf. Köhler, op. cit.; on pars. from Mari, see M. Noth, “History and Word of God in the OT,” *Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* [1966], 179–93). A third formula, simple  $\text{ʔamar yhw}$  “says Yahweh,” appears rather frequently as an appendix to a messenger saying, occasionally even inserted into it (similar to  $\rightarrow n^{\text{e}}um yhw$ ; on the relationship of  $(k\bar{o}h) \text{ʔamar yhw}$  and  $n^{\text{e}}um yhw$ , see F. Baumgärtel, *ZAW* 73 [1961]: 278, 284ff.).

These examples make it clear that even the most everyday words could become characteristic of particular literary genres.  $db\bar{r} \text{ pi.}$  ( $\rightarrow d\bar{a}b\bar{a}r$  IV/1) and more specialized verbs such as  $\rightarrow \text{šwh pi.}$  “to command” are more likely than  $\text{ʔmr}$  to be used to describe a more specific divine discourse in the sense of a command or promise.

5. The usage of  $\text{ʔmr}$  at Qumran corresponds to that in the OT (incl. the usage of  $l\bar{e}^{\text{m}}\bar{o}r$ ). The verb acquires a fixed specialized meaning in 1QpHab and similar commentaries, where the words of Scripture are introduced with  $\text{ʔšr ʔmr}$  “when it says” (cf. K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* [1953], 124f.; E. Osswald, *ZAW* 68 [1956]: 245).

The LXX’s use of over 40 different Gk. equivalents to the verb reflects the unspecific nature of  $\text{ʔmr}$ , although *eipein* and *legein* predominate in numbers of occurrences (the distinction of  $\text{ʔmr} = \textit{legein}$  “to say, speak” from  $db\bar{r} \text{ pi.} = \textit{lalein}$  “to discourse” is maintained with great consistency).

The NT conforms to the OT usage, esp. in the narrative portions of the Gospels. The central meaning of the *logos* in individual NT writings is, at least linguistically, independent of the usage of  $\text{ʔmr}$  in the OT (cf. O. Procksch and G. Kittel, “λέγω,” *TDNT* 4:91–143).

H. H. Schmid

אָנוֹשׁ }  $n\acute{o}\check{s}$  **person**  $\rightarrow$  אָדָם }  $\text{ʔad\bar{a}m}$

אֲנִי }  $n\hat{i}$  I

S 589; BDB 58b; *HALOT* 1:71a; *TWOT* 129; *NIDOTTE* 638

1. Sem. languages have a short and a long form for the independent 1st sg. per. pron. An element *-k*, which distinguishes itself in NWSem. from ESem. by means of the final vowel (Akk. *anāku*, Ug. *ank*, Can. glosses in

EA 287:66, 69 *a-nu-ki*, Phoen.-Pun. and Old Aram.  $\text{ʔnk}$  and  $\text{ʔnky}$ , Hebr.  $\text{ʔānōkî}$ ), is appended in E. and NWSem. to a common Sem. \* $\text{ʔanā}$ . Quality and quantity of the final vowel of the short form are not uniform (on Old Bab. *ana* cf. Moscati, *Intro.* 103; *CAD* A/II:110f.; Ug. *an*, Phoen.  $\text{ʔn}$ , Hebr.  $\text{ʔānî}$ , Aram.  $\text{ʔānā}$ , Arab.  $\text{ʔanā}$ , Eth.  $\text{ʔana}$ ).

NWSem. languages (Ug., Phoen.-Pun., and Hebr.) use both the short and the long forms. In Ug. the long form predominates (approximately 5 to 1), appearing in poetic and particularly in prose texts. To date, the short form has been identified only in poetic texts. The short form and the more forceful long form could stand side by side (*KTU* 1.4.IV.59f.). In Phoen.-Pun. the short form is late and infrequent (Friedrich 111; *DISO* 19). In Hebr. the use of the long form has receded, probably under Aram. influence (cf. Wagner 130; see 2). In postbibl. Middle Hebr. the long form continues to appear only in bibl. citations.

2.  $\text{ʔānōkî}$  occurs 358x in the OT (63x bound to *we-*), and  $\text{ʔānî}$  occurs 870x (177x with *we-*).

	$\text{ʔānōkî}$	$\text{ʔānî}$	total
Gen 56	41	97	
Exod 21	39	60	
Lev –	67	67	
Num 7	21	28	
Deut 56	9	65	
Josh 9	4	13	
Judg 17	12	29	
1 Sam	26	20	46
2 Sam	24	30	54
1 Kgs7	30	37	
2 Kgs2	16	18	
Isa 26	79	105	
Jer 37	54	91	
Ezek 1	169	170	
Hos 11	12	23	
Joel –	4	4	
Amos10	1	11	
Obad–	–	–	
Jonah	2	5	7
Mic 1	2	3	
Nah –	–	–	
Hab –	1	1	
Zeph –	2	2	

Hag	–	4	4	
Zech	5	11	16	
Mal	1	8	9	
Psa	13	70	83	
Job	14	29	43	
Prov	2	7	9	
Ruth	7	2	9	
Song Sol	–	12	12	
Eccl	–	29	29	
Lam	–	4	4	
Esth	–	6	6	
Dan	1	23	24	
		<sup>ʾānōkî</sup> <sup>ʾānî</sup>	total	
Ezra	–	2	2	
Neh	1	15	16	
1 Chron	1	12	13	
2 Chron	–	18	18	
OT	358	870	1,228	

With the exception of Obad and Nah, which have no instances of the independent sg. per. pron., the short form is represented in all OT books. The long form does not occur in Lev, Joel, Hab, Zeph, Hag, Song Sol, Eccl, Lam, Esth, Ezra, 2 Chron, and becomes less prominent in other late books; it predominates over the short form only in Gen, Deut, Josh, Judg, 1 Sam, Amos, and Ruth. The short form is esp. frequent in P, Ezek (long form only in Ezek 36:28), and Deutero-Isa (55:24), as well as in Trito-Isa (Isa 15:2). In Gen the ratio of the long to the short form is 39 to 19 in J, 16 to 13 in E, and 1 to 8 in P (source analysis following M. Noth, *History of Pentateuchal Traditions* [1972], 28ff.); cf. HAL 70a, which cites older literature on the statistics.

Short form and long form could follow one another (Exod 7:17; 2 Sam 3:13; Job 33:9); the sequence can also be reversed, however (Isa 45:12; Jonah 1:9).

3. The independent 1st sg. per. pron. allows the speaker to inject himself/herself emphatically into the discussion and to represent his/her concerns forcefully. This function of the personal pron. has been almost entirely lost in late texts (Eccl 2:11–13, 15).

The speaker is introduced by name (Gen 27:19; 45:3; Ruth 3:9), by title or profession (Gen 41:44; 1 Kgs 13:18), through reference to heritage or membership (Gen 24:24, 34; 1 Sam 30:13), by origin (2 Sam 1:8; Jonah 1:9), or by legal status (Gen 23:4; 2 Sam 14:5; Amos 7:14). The answer to

the question concerning identity is “(it is) I!” (= yes!) (2 Sam 2:20; 20:17; 1 Kgs 18:8). The speaker reports his/her status and condition (1 Sam 1:15; Psa 109:22; 119:141; Job 9:21). To superiors one describes oneself as “slave” (2 Sam 15:34; also used in diplomatic intercourse in cases of political dependence: 2 Kgs 16:7; cf. further L. Köhler, *ZAW* 40 [1922]: 43–45; Lande 30, 68ff.; H. Grapow, *Wie die alten Ägypter sich anredeten* [19602], 179–85). Interrogative exclamations express powerlessness, astonishment, and indignation (Gen 4:9; 30:2; 1 Sam 1:8; 2 Sam 3:8), as well as the speaker’s self-denigration and humble submission (Exod 3:11; 1 Sam 18:18; 2 Sam 7:18). Uses in the context of the oath (*ḥay ʾānî*, Num 14:21, 28 and a further 20x; *ḥay ʾānōkî*, Deut 32:40, the only passage with the long form; → *ḥyh* 3c) and the statement of one’s age (Deut 31:2; Josh 14:7; 2 Sam 19:36) are formulaic. One can identify oneself emphatically with another individual or with a group (Gen 31:44; Judg 7:18; 1 Sam 20:23), or distance oneself from one’s surroundings or even oppose them (Job 32:6). The per. pron. bound to *we-* is often used in contrasts (Gen 27:11; Exod 2:9; Josh 24:15; 1 Sam 17:45; 1 Kgs 12:11; Jer 36:18).

Whether one lends one’s words special force by means of repeated usage of the independent 1st sg. per. pron. depends on the concerns addressed, the degree of personal involvement, and the circumstances of the conversation (*ʾānōkî* with the pf.: Josh 7:20; 1 Sam 22:22; with the impf.: Gen 38:17; 1 Kgs 2:18). *kî* often introduces the per. pron. in subordinate clauses, as well as in relative clauses, frequently following a ptcp., in which case no particular force is intended. The preceding particles *gam* (Gen 21:26; 2 Kgs 2:3; Psa 71:22; Prov 1:26) and *ʾap*, preferred in later texts (Gen 40:16; Job 32:10, 17), can heighten the emphasis.

The impv. of → *rʾh* “to see” (2 Sam 7:2), replaced later by the demonstrative particle → *hinnēh* “behold, see,” directs the attention of the addressee in a special way to the speaker and his/her statement (Judg 7:17; cf. Gen 25:22).

4. First-per. statements of God appear primarily in the divine speeches of the patriarchal narratives, the legal portions of the Pentateuch, and the prophetic speeches. In post-exilic texts 1st per. statements of God become noticeably less prominent; often they are only citations of older formulae (Hag 1:13; 2:4). The “interpreting angel” replaces God (Zech 1:9; Dan 10:11ff.).

The independent 1st sg. per. pron. is used no differently in the divine speeches than in the human speeches. The presentation formula can begin divine speech that makes statements concerning God’s being and his behavior toward individuals or a community. The per. pron. bound to *we-* is used in contrasts of divine and human behavior and activity (Exod 4:15; 2 Sam 12:12; Isa 65:24; Hos 7:13; Jonah 4:10f.). Subordinate clauses and

relative clauses with ptcps. and per. prons. introduced by *kî* appear often in divine speeches. *gam* (Gen 20:6; Lev 26:24; Ezek 8:18) and *ʔap* (Lev 26:16; Psa 89:28) heighten the emphasis. *hinnēh* (Gen 28:15; Exod 4:23; 1 Sam 3:11; Jer 6:19; Ezek 37:5, 12, 19, 21; Amos 2:13) and the more forceful *hin<sup>c</sup>nî* (Gen 6:17; Ezek 5:8; 6:3; 34:11, 20) usually occur in reference to a new undertaking of God.

The self-presentation formula reveals God's name in association with his historical activity. God thus places the addressee under obligation. The revelation of the divine name enables the person to call on God (foundational: W. Zimmerli, "I Am Yahweh," *I Am Yahweh* [1982], 1–28; also K. Elliger, "Ich bin der Herr—euer Gott," FS Heim 9–34 = *KS* [1966], 211–31; R. Rendtorff, "Concept of Revelation in Ancient Israel," in *Revelation as History* [1968], 23–53). The self-presentation formula originates in polytheism and is broadly distributed in the ancient Near East (cf. A. Poebel, *Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen der 1. Pers. Sg. in den westsemitischen Inschriften und im AT* [1932]). The deity's reference to his own deeds and characteristics lends the self-presentation formula the character of self-praise (in the OT in Deutero-Isa: Isa 44:24; 45:7; also in judgment and disputation speeches; cf. Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 154–62; H.-M. Dion, "Le genre littéraire sumérien de l'hymne soi-même' et quelques passages du Deutéro-Isaïe," *RB* 74 [1957]: 215–34).

The OT self-presentation formula is an independent nom. phrase, both in the short form "I am Yahweh" and in the more complete form "I am Yahweh, your God." Yahweh does not appear as a stranger, but refers, in the context of the announcement of his name, to already well-known things and earlier events (Gen 15:7; 26:24; 28:13; 31:13; Exod 3:6; also Hos 12:10; 13:4). The appended promise speech places the future activity of God in this historical context. The self-presentation formula is not likely to have been originally associated with the proclamation of the law. The short form here, as in the exilic prophets, is a pregnant summary of the divine claim to power that derives from God's self-manifestation in Israel's history (on P cf. Lev 18–19 passim; on Deutero-Isa cf. Isa 45:21; 43:11; 45:22; 48:12).

In association with the verb *yd<sup>c</sup>*, the self-presentation formula becomes the recognition formula ("know that I am Yahweh!"). Knowledge of Yahweh takes place in the context of his historical self-manifestation (cf. the exodus tradition). The association of the recognition formula with impending events is a characteristic of exilic prophecy (in Ezek predominantly in the context of judgment sayings; in Deutero-Isa in conjunction with grant and call oracles: Isa 49:23, 26; 45:2f., 5f., 7).

5. On Qumran see S. Mowinckel, "Jeg'et i Qumransalmene," *NTT* 62 (1961): 28–46; on the NT see esp. E. Stauffer, "ἐγώ," *TDNT* 2:343–62;

also E. Schweizer, *Ego eimi* (19652), 12ff.; on the milieu: E. Norden, *Agnostos theos* (1960 = 1913), 177ff.

K. Günther

אסף  $\lambda sp$  **to collect** → קבץ  $qbs$

אף  $\lambda ap$  **anger**

S 639; BDB 60a; HALOT 1:76b; TDOT 1:348–60; TWOT 133a; NIDOTTE 678

1. The root  $\lambda np$  is common Sem. The subst. \* $\lambda np$  - (> \* $\lambda app$  -) “nose” derives from it (Berg., *Intro.* 212; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 269). In turn, the subst. was the occasion for the formation of the denominative verb  $\lambda np$  in some Sem. languages.

Except in SSem., the subst., with assimilation of the middle radical and frequently in the dual, occurs regularly in all Sem. dialects in the meaning “nose” (Akk. *appu*, *AHW* 60; *CAD* A/II:184–89; Ug. *ap*, *WUS* no. 344; *UT* no. 264; on the Old Aram., cf. *DISO* 21; Imp. Aram. and Bibl. Aram.  $\lambda npôhî$  “his face,” Dan 2:46; 3:19, once again written with *n*). It is construed as masc. (K. Albrecht, *ZAW* 18 [1896]: 78).

By contrast, the verb  $\lambda np$  “to snort (in anger),” which may be denominative (Mandl. 131; cautiously, O. Grether, *TDNT* 5:392 nn.56f.), is attested only in Hebr. (qal and hitp.), Moab. (*KAI* no. 181.5), Akk. (*AHW* 320a), and Arab. (in the meaning “to disdain, scorn,” Wehr 31).

PNs formed on this root are  $\lambda appayim$  (1 Chron 2:30f.; Nöldeke *BS* 102: “little nose”; *IP* 227: “with a large nose”) and  $h^a rûmap$  (Neh 3:10; *IP* 227: “with a cleft nose”).

$\lambda nāpâ$  (Lev 11:19; Deut 14:18), an unclean species of bird with many varieties (unidentified; cf. *HAL* 70b; *IDB* 2:596; *BHH* 3:1578; G. R. Driver, *PEQ* 87 [1955]: 17f.), may be associated with the same root.

2. The verb  $\lambda np$  occurs 14x in the OT, 8x in the qal, 6x in the hitp. (the latter always in the Dtn-Dtr linguistic domain).

The use of the word  $\lambda ap$  is widely attested. The sg. occurs 235x in the OT (excl. Hab 2:15, where the conjunction  $\lambda ap$  may be attested), 25x in the meaning “nose,” 42x with reference to human, and 168x with reference to divine anger.

The dual *ʔappayim* is attested 42x (1 Sam 1:5 drops out of this group through emendation). The two specimens from the Aram. portions of the OT should also be understood as duals (“countenance”; F. Schulthess, ZAW 22 [1902]: 164).

The following list catalogs occurrences of the verb (qal, hitp.), the sg. *ʔap* (HA = human anger, DA = divine anger), and the dual *ʔappayim*.

	qal	hitp.	nose	HA	DA	dual
Gen	–	–	1	6	–	6
Exod	–	–	–	3	5	2
Num	–	–	1	2	10	2
Deut	–	4	1	–	12	–
Josh	–	–	–	–	3	–
Judg	–	–	–	2	5	–
1 Sam	–	–	–	4	1	6
2 Sam	–	–	2	1	2	4
1 Kgs	1	1	–	–	–	2
2 Kgs	–	1	1	–	4	–
Isa	1	–	3	2	20	1
Jer	–	–	–	–	24	–
Ezek	–	–	3	1	11	–
Hos	–	–	–	–	4	–
Joel	–	–	–	–	–	1
Amos	–	–	1	1	–	–
Jonah	–	–	–	–	1	1
Mic	–	–	–	–	2	–
Nah	–	–	–	–	1	1
Hab	–	–	–	–	2	–
Zeph	–	–	–	–	4	–
Zech	–	–	–	–	1	–
Psa	4	–	4	4	24	3
Job	–	–	4	7	11	–
Prov	–	–	2	7	1	6
Song Sol	–	–	–	2	–	–
Lam	–	–	–	–	10	1
Dan	–	–	–	–	1	1
Ezra	1	–	–	–	2	–
Neh	–	–	–	–	–	2
1 Chron	–	–	–	–	–	1
2 Chron	–	1	–	–	2	6
Hebr. OT	8	8	6	25	42	168
						42

3. (a) The starting point is the concrete meaning of the subst. as a designation of

the body part “nose.” The dual form *ʔappayim* means “the two sides of the nose, the two nostrils” through which the breath of life enters and exits (Gen 2:7; 7:22); this concrete meaning is still fundamental even in Exod 15:8 and Lam 4:20 (perhaps also in *KAI* no. 224.2; cf. *KAI* 2:266; Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 104).

This is also true in Akk., where numerous occurrences demonstrate the original usage of the word to indicate the body part: piercing of the nose, amputation of the nose, etc. (*AHW* 60; *CAD* A/II:184–89).

As a *pars pro toto*, the dual form indicates the whole countenance (Gen 3:19; Aram. Dan 3:19) and found a firm place in the idiom “to fall on one’s face in greeting” (Gen 42:6; 48:12; 1 Sam 20:41; 24:9; 25:41; 28:14; 2 Sam 14:4, 33; 18:28; 24:20 = 1 Chron 21:21; 1 Kgs 1:23, 31; Isa 49:23; cf. Aram. Dan 2:46; before divine messengers, Gen 19:1; Num 22:31; in prayer, Neh 8:6; 2 Chron 7:3; 20:18; cf. also 1 Sam 25:23 *Iʔappé* “before”); cf. Akk. *appa labānu* “to prostrate oneself humbly” (*AHW* 522).

The dual is used fig. in the phrase *ʔerek ʔappayim* “patient” to indicate human (Prov 14:29; 15:18; 16:32; *ʔōrek ʔappayim* “patience” 25:15) and divine patience (Exod 34:6; Num 14:18; Jonah 4:2; Nah 1:3; Psa 86:15; 103:8; 145:8; Neh 9:17), and in the phrase *qʕsar-ʔappayim* to indicate impatience (Prov 14:17; cf. 14:29 with *rūaḥ*).

The fig. meaning “anger” occurs in only two (disputed) passages: Prov 30:33b and Dan 11:20 (cf. comms.).

(b) The sg. *ʔap* also indicates the body part, first of all.

Of humans: Num 11:20; Ezek 23:25; Amos 4:10; Prov 30:33a; Song Sol 7:5; as the seat of breath: Isa 2:22; Job 27:3; Song Sol 7:9; rings as ornamentation: Gen 24:47; Isa 3:21; Ezek 16:12; for chastisement: 2 Kgs 19:28 = Isa 37:29; of animals: Job 40:24, 26; Prov 11:22. Cf. also the somewhat more fig. usage *śîm ʔap* “to be determined” (Job 36:13; *HAL* 74b) and *gōbah ʔap* “snobbery” (Psa 10:4). Of gods: Psa 115:6; of God: see 4a.

As in the other Sem. languages, e.g., Akk. *appu* “nose,” it is also a term for the highest point or the peak of an object, etc. (*AHW* 60); Ug. *ap zd* “nipple,” *ap lb* “breast” (*WUS* no. 344), *ap tgr* “gateway” (*UT* no. 264); in NWSem. also “surface” (*KAI* no. 222A.28; no. 228A.14; cf. Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 15 “face”); Arab. *ʔanf* “nose; projection, spur (of a mountain)” (*Wehr* 31).

(c) Much more frequently *ʔap* indicates “anger,” with an easily understood development of meaning from “nose” to the gesture of “snorting” (in anger), which manifests itself in this body part (cf. Dhorme 80f.; Ug.: *WUS* no. 345; ? Aram. Cowley, no. 37.8; cf. *DISO* 21). In almost half the passages that treat human wrath, *ʔap* is associated with the verb → *ḥrh* “to become inflamed” (or the subst. *ḥʕrî*, primarily in narrative literature:

Gen 30:2; 39:19; 44:18; Exod 11:8; Num 22:27; 24:10; Judg 9:30; 14:19; 1 Sam 11:6; 17:28; 20:30, 34; 2 Sam 12:5; Isa 7:4; Psa 124:3; Job 32:2[bis], 3, 5; 2 Chron 25:10[bis]). A holy wrath seizes a person when the Spirit of Yahweh comes over him (Judg 14:19; 1 Sam 11:6). Wrath can turn away (*šûb* Gen 27:45); this is esp. the merit of discerning patterns of behavior (Prov 29:8).

4. (a) That the gods' noses (Psa 115:6), indeed even Yahweh's (Deut 33:10; 2 Sam 22:9, 16 = Psa 18:9, 16; on Ezek 8:17 txt? cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:222, 244f.; the dual in Exod 15:8) can also be mentioned reflects the OT's anthropomorphic conceptualization.

(b) Indeed, most instances of *ʾap* refer to divine anger (168x). All cases of the verb *ʾnp* qal/hitp. describe divine anger, as does the statement in the Mesha inscription (*KAI* no. 181.5; *DISO* 19; *ANET* 320b): the god Chemosh is angry with his people.

The motivation for God's reaction may indeed be understood in terms of similar human patterns of behavior but may not be derived from them; God responds to human deeds that violate his being and commandments (on the ethical motivation, see Vriezen, *Theol.* 303–9). It may not be derived because, according to the OT perspective, divine activity answers to no tribunal, a clear expression that equal partners do not confront one another here, but that the creator confronts his creation, the lawgiver the one obligated to obey, the lord his subjects. The old pentateuchal sources already express the fact that the people can be the object of divine anger (Num 11:1, 10, 33 [J]; Exod 32:10–12, 22 [E]), but the 8th- (Hos 8:5; Isa 5:25, etc.) and 7th-cent. prophets particularly emphasize it. Esp. Jeremiah (all 24 passages exclusively of divine anger, often with other expressions, e.g., 21:5) and after him Ezekiel (11x, except for 7:3 and 43:8, always par. to → *ḥēmâ*, 25:14 and 38:18 are not directed at Israel) speak in oppressive frequency of God's anger.

In addition, it remains palpable throughout the OT that divine anger is, in the final analysis, an unexplainable reaction of a divine Lord, conceived of as a person, who defies clear conceptual definition because this Lord has revealed himself of his own free will to his people in a humanly inconceivable manner. Thus divine anger appears as a necessary correlation to divine love seeking the deliverance of his people (cf. e.g., Exod 4:14; also Psa 30:6).

For the most important expressions associated with or par. to *ʾap*, cf. the articles treating → *ḥrh* (*ḥārôn*), → *ḥēmâ*, → *ʿebrâ*, → *qsp*, → *qn?*, also → *šûb* (qal/hi.); further, *zaʿam* “wrath, curse” (Isa 10:5, 25; 30:27, etc.), → *zaʿap* “rage” (Isa 30:30), Aram. *regaz* “rage” (Dan 3:13).

For orienting overviews and bibliogs. on the theme “God's wrath” cf.

Eichrodt 1:258–69; Jacob 114–17; O. Grether and J. Fichtner, “ὀργή,” *TDNT* 5:392–412; *RGG* 6:1929–32; *IDB* 4:903–8; *BHH* 3:2246–48; further e.g., R. V. Tasker, *Biblical Doctrine of the Wrath of God* (1951); J. Gray, “Wrath of God in Canaanite and Hebrew Literature,” *Journal of the Manchester University Egyptian and Oriental Society* (1947–53): 9–19; H. Ringgren, “Einige Schilderungen des göttlichen Zorns,” *FS Weiser* 107–13.

5. The ambivalent essential characteristics anger and love are also fruitful components for the NT. Cf. F. Büchsel, “θυμός,” *TDNT* 3:167–72; G. Stählin, “ὀργή,” *TDNT* 5:419–47.

G. Sauer

אֶפֶר *ēper* **dust** → עָפָר *‘apār*

אֶרַח *‘ōrah* **way** → דֶּרֶךְ *derek*

אֶרִי *‘arī* **lion**

S 738; BDB 71b; *HALOT* 1:87a; *TDOT* 1:374–88; *TWOT* 158a; *NIDOTTE* 787

1. In addition to *‘arī*, Hebr. has *‘aryēh*, apparently an early Aram. loanword (cf. Wagner no. 28); the OT attests both forms from the very earliest layers of material. In the meaning “lion,” the word is otherwise known only in Aram. (*KAI* no. 223A.9; Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 80f., 86; Aḥ. 88f., 110, 117 = *ANET* 428b, 429a; Bibl. Aram. and later: *KBL* 1053f.; *DISO* 24).

Scholars have conjectured etymological relationships to a common Sem. word for “(large, wild, numinous) animal” (Berg., *Intro.* 210; E. Ullendorff, *VT* 6 [1956]: 192f.; Wagner no. 28; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/23 [1968]: 280, 282, 292, 300f.), which has become specialized in individual languages to refer to various animals (Eth. *‘arwē* still “beast,” Dillmann 743; Akk. *a/erû* “eagle,” W. von Soden, *AfO* 18 [1957/58]: 393; *AHw* 247; in addition, however, *arwûm* “gazelle,” *AHw* 73; Arab. *‘arwīyat* “ibexes,” etc.; cf. *HAL* 84b, 85a). According to L. Köhler (*ZDPV* 62 [1939]: 121–24), the origin of the word, like the animal so designated, should be sought in the Hamitic realm (Eg. *rw*, etc.); J. J. Glück’s suggestion (*ZAW* 81 [1969]: 232–35) is purely conjectural.

2. The sg. <sup>ʔ</sup>lî occurs 17x (incl. 2 Sam 23:20 Q; Lam 3:10 Q), <sup>ʔ</sup>aryēh 45x (excl. 2 Sam 23:20 K; Lam 3:10 K), the pl. <sup>ʔ</sup>rāyîm 1x (1 Kgs 10:20; cf. v 19), <sup>ʔ</sup>rāyôt 17x; the distribution of the total of 80 occurrences exhibits no peculiarities (1 Kgs 13x, Jer 8x, Isa 7x, Psa 6x).

In addition, Bibl. Aram. <sup>ʔ</sup>aryēh occurs 1x (Dan 7:4) and the pl. det. <sup>ʔ</sup>aryāwātāʔ 9x (Dan 6:8–28).

3. (a) <sup>ʔ</sup>lî indicates the grown (male or female) lion.

The synonyms <sup>ʔ</sup>lābîʔ and <sup>ʔ</sup>layiš occur only in poetical texts.

<sup>ʔ</sup>lābîʔ occurs 11x in the OT, in addition to the fem. <sup>ʔ</sup>lābîyâ 1x and the pls. <sup>ʔ</sup>lābîyîm or <sup>ʔ</sup>lābîyôt 1x each. Cf. Akk. *lābu/labbu* (AHw 526); Ug. *lbu*, also in PNs (WUS no. 1435; UT no. 1347; Gröndahl 154; cf. Huffmon 225); Phoen., among other usages, in PNs <sup>ʔ</sup>bdlbʔ (KAI no. 21; cf. 2:29); Aram., Aḥ. 117 (Cowley 239); Arab. *lab(u)ʔat* (Wehr 854), etc. There may also be connections with the Gk. *leōn* (KBL 472a; AHw 526).

<sup>ʔ</sup>layiš occurs 3x (Isa 30:6; Job 4:11; Prov 30:30) and has counterparts in Akk. *nēšu* (AHw 783a), Jew. Aram. <sup>ʔ</sup>lētāʔ (Dalman 217b), and Arab. *layt* (Wehr 886).

Other designations for the lion are qualifiers: <sup>ʔ</sup>gûr means the suckling lion cub (Gen 49:9; Deut 33:22; Ezek 19:2f., 5; Nah 2:12; also used in Lam 4:3 of the jackal; <sup>ʔ</sup>gôr Jer 51:38 and Nah 2:13; cf. HAL 177b on the Sem. counterparts), <sup>ʔ</sup>šahāl the weaned youngster (Hos 5:14; 13:7; Psa 91:13; Job 4:10; 10:16; 28:8; Prov 26:13; see Köhler, op. cit.; cf. also S. Mowinckel, FS Driver 95–104), <sup>ʔ</sup>k<sup>c</sup>pîr (31x), the young lion already hunting independently (cf. BS 70n.10; J. Blau VT 5 [1955]: 342). The symbolic value of these expressions is the same; in poetic texts two designations for lion are generally par.

The lion is feared as a predator that threatens people and animals (Amos 3:12; 5:19; Prov 22:13; 26:13; mentioned together with other predators such as the bear and the wolf in 1 Sam 17:34ff.; Jer 5:6; Prov 28:15). It inhabits primarily the Jordan rift (Jer 49:19 = 50:44) and mountainous regions (Song Sol 4:8).

(b) The lion frequently appears in comparisons. Points of comparison are its strength (Judg 14:18; 2 Sam 1:23; Prov 30:30), its ferocity (Gen 49:9; Num 23:24; Isa 5:29; Nah 2:13; Psa 104:21), and its treacherous slyness (Psa 10:9; 17:12).

Because it is the strongest animal, the lion is the symbol of power and courage (2 Sam 17:10; 23:20 = 1 Chron 11:22; 1 Chron 12:9). Its place in the language of blessing should be understood from this perspective: the Balaam oracles describe Israel as a lion (Num 23:24; 24:9); the blessings of Jacob and Moses describe Judah, Gad, and Dan similarly (Gen 49:9; Deut 33:20, 22; alongside <sup>ʔ</sup>lî stand <sup>ʔ</sup>lābîʔ and <sup>ʔ</sup>gûr). Later, the description

of Israel as a lion is taken up in other speech forms (Ezek 19:1–9; Mic 5:7).

The ferocity of the lion gives occasion for comparison with the behavior of despotic rulers in prophetic (Ezek 22:25; Zeph 3:3) and wisdom (Prov 28:15; cf. 20:2) texts.

At the same time, the lion, on account of its dangerousness and treachery, is a favorite image for the “enemy” in individual laments (Isa 38:13; Psa 7:3; 10:9; 17:12; 22:14, 17?, 22; Lam 3:10; cf. Jer 12:8; in Psa 35:17 and 58:7 *k<sup>e</sup>pîr*). Prophecy compares threatening powers in the politico-historical sphere, primarily the foreign nations threatening Israel, to the lion (Isa 5:29; 15:9; Jer 2:30; 4:7; 5:6; cf. also Dan 7:4); the image lives on as a description of danger in post-exilic prophecy as well (Joel 1:6). 1 Kgs 13:24ff. and 2 Kgs 17:25f. employ this motif in a popular fashion.

It is not only in Israel that the lion indicates the power that threatens people; cf. e.g., the mention of the lion in a curse formula *KAI* 223A.9 (D. R. Hillers, *Treaty-Curses and the OT Prophets* [1964], 54–56).

Descriptions of the time of salvation speak of the fact that the lion will no longer exist (Isa 35:9) or that it will become a docile animal (Isa 11:6f.; 65:25).

Lion figures are essential in the architectural symbolism of temple and palace (alongside bulls, birdlike creatures, and palms; 1 Kgs 7:29, 36; 10:19f. = 2 Chron 9:18f.).

These animals had religious significance in Canaanite religion. On the one hand, one may think of gods such as El, Baal, and the mother goddess with their holy animals, the bull and the lion; on the other hand, such lions are also imitations of tamed lions with guard functions (cf. B. Brentjes, *WZ Halle-Wittenberg* 11 [1962]: 595ff.).

On the significance of the lion in Egypt, cf. C. de Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l’Égypte ancienne* (1951).

The lion figures of Ezekiel’s throne-chariot vision are inspired by the images of the temple lions (Ezek 1:10; 10:14).

4. Yahweh’s activity is frequently compared with the lion’s behavior. As a rule, the image encompasses the frightening and threatening elements of his coming to judge (Jer 50:44 = 49:19; Hos 5:14; 13:7, 8 txt?; Job 10:16; but cf. Fohrer, *KAT* 16, 200; Lam 3:10; negated in Hos 11:10, provided that v 9 goes with this, cf. Rudolph, *KAT* 13/1, 213). This imagery is consonant with the fact that portrayals of theophanies use the verb *š<sup>ʔ</sup>g*, which probably originally referred only to the roaring of the lion (of thunder in Job 37:4), 5x for the terrifying speech of Yahweh (Jer 25:30 3x; Amos 1:2; Joel 4:16; always with *ntn qôl* “to raise the voice,” of the lion Jer 2:15; Amos 3:4; H. Gressmann, *FS Baudissin* 198f., cites an Eg. par.).

Yet this comparison can also emphasize Yahweh's strength and invincibility in the context of his saving intervention in the history of his people (Isa 31:4; Hos 11:10, which is not Hoseanic; cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 195, 203); correspondingly, *šg* also expresses God's might in these contexts (Hos 11:10[bis]).

Amos compares Yahweh's speech to his prophet with the lion's roar (Amos 3:4, 8). Just as the roar of the lion is a dramatic indication that it has taken prey, so the preaching of the prophet is a consequence of the fact that Yahweh has constrained him.

The OT can use the image of the lion in reference to Yahweh without embarrassment because Israel had no polemic against a lion cult (by contrast, the bull may not be associated with Yahweh); cf. J. Hempel, *ZAW* 42 (1924): 88–101 = *Apoxyismata* (1961), 14–26.

5. In the NT some reminiscences of the function of the lion in the OT are apparent; in particular, the antigod power, now Satan, is compared with the lion: 1 Pet 5:8, citing Psa 22:14; on other passages cf. W. Michaelis, “λέων,” *TDNT* 4:251–53.

F. Stolz

## אָרֶץ *ʿeres* earth, land

S 776; BDB 75b; *HALOT* 1:90b; *TDOT* 1:388–405; *TWOT* 167; *NIDOTTE* 824

1. *ʿeres* “earth, land” (root with vocalized emphatic interdental; cf. Moscati, *Intro.* 28–30) is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 214) and is attested in the following forms with an essentially constant meaning: *ʿrš* Ug. (*UT* no. 376; *WUS* no. 420), Phoen., Pun., Moab. (*DISO* 25f.); *eršetu* Akk., (with a fem. ending; Old Akk. *aršatum* in a PN; cf. *CAD* E:311a); *ʿrq* or later *ʿr* Aram. (*DISO* 25f.; on the transition from *q* to *ʿ*, see W. Baumgartner, *ZAW* 45 [1927]: 100f. = *Zum AT und seiner Umwelt* [1959], 88; in Jer 10:11 *ʿarqāʿ* still stands beside *ʿarʿā*); *ʿrd* Arab. and Old SArab.; *ʿard* Tigr. (in Eth. replaced otherwise by *medr*).

The noun consistently appears as a fem.; a reminiscence of the concept of mother earth may have been retained in this form (see 4a).

Job 34:13 and 37:12 (cf. perhaps Isa 8:23 as well) attest to the form *ʿaršâ*, accented on the first syllable by the Masoretes as a locative, although no locative

meaning is present. It is usually suggested, retaining the *-h*, to read *ʔaršōh* (cf. *BHS* and comms.; cf. also the Mesha inscription, *KAI* no. 181.5–6 *bʔršh* “toward his land”; *ANET* 320b “at his land”; BL 252; Meyer 1:95). But one should not judge the variants noted in *BHS* as the older readings, nor is the suf. form in the context of Job 34:13, in particular, very sensible. Should one consider it a weakened acc. or locative ending (so GKC §90f; BL 528), or is it a by-form with an expressly fem. ending (cf. Akk. *eršetū*, Aram. *ʔrqtʔ/ʔrštʔ*, KBL 1054b)?

Only Bibl. Aram. *ʔarʕ(t)* “what is beneath, ground” in Dan 6:25 can be noted as a derivative (BLA 197).

The PN *ʔaršāʔ*, which occurs in 1 Kgs 16:9, has nothing to do with *ʔereš*, but, according to *IP* 230, is to be associated with Arab. *ʔaraḍat* “wood-worm” (contra Montgomery and Gehman, *Kings*, ICC, 289; J. Gray, *Kings*, OTL [19702], 361).

2. *ʔereš* is the fourth most common subst. in the OT. The term occurs 2,504x in the Hebr. OT in a regular distribution, 22x in Aram. Only 77 of the Hebr. occurrences offer the pl., which is thoroughly understandable given the meaning of the term: the pl. makes sense only for a small part of the full range of the term’s meaning.

The statistics for the individual books are: Gen 311x, Exod 136x, Lev 82x, Num 123x, Deut 197x, Josh 107x, Judg 60x, 1 Sam 52x, 2 Sam 40x, 1 Kgs 56x, 2 Kgs 71x, Isa 190x, Jer 271x, Ezek 198x, Hos 20x, Joel 12x, Amos 23x, Obad 1x, Jonah 2x, Mic 15x, Nah 3x, Hab 10x, Zeph 8x, Hag 5x, Zech 42x, Mal 2x, Psa 190x, Job 57x, Prov 21x, Ruth 4x, Song Sol 2x, Eccl 13x, Lam 11x, Esth 2x, Dan 20x, Ezra 13x, Neh 20x, 1 Chron 39x, 2 Chron 75x; Aram. *ʔaraq.* Jer 1x; *ʔaraʕ.* Jer 1x, Dan 19x, Ezra 1x; furthermore *ʔarʕ* 1x in Dan. Not included is the variant *ʔāreš* (Bombergiana) instead of *ʔedeq* (*BHS*) in Prov 8:16.\*

3. (a) *ʔereš* indicates (1) cosmologically: the earth (in contrast to heaven) and the dry land (in contrast to the waters); see 3b; (2) physically: the ground on which one stands (3c); (3) geographically: individual regions and parcels of land (3d); (4) politically: some governed areas and countries (3e).

Which spheres of usage are primary and which secondary may not be deduced from the OT evidence; criteria for a development must be applied to the texts. On the entire problem, cf. L. Rost, “Die Bezeichnungen für Land und Volk im AT,” FS Procksch 125–48 = *KC* 76–101.

The meaning “city” for *ʔereš* in Prov 29:4; 31:23; and Eccl 10:16 (LXX *polis*) has been suggested (cf. Dahood, *PNSP* 62f.; id., *Bib* 44 [1963]: 297f.; 47 [1966]: 280) with reference to (surely ambivalent) Phoen. pars. (*KAI* no. 14.16, 18 *šdn ʔrš ym*, “Sidon of the sea-land”; cf. *ANET* 662b: “Sidon-by-the-Sea”; Eissfeldt, *KS* [1963], 2:227ff.).

(b) In its most comprehensive meaning  $\lambda ere\dot{s}$  indicates the earth that, together with heaven ( $\rightarrow \check{s}\bar{a}mayim$ ), constitutes the entire world, the cosmos. “Heaven and earth” is a common expression for “world” (Gen 1:1; 2:1, 4; 14:19, 22, etc.; cf. B. Hartmann, *Die nominalen Aufreihungen im AT* [1953], 60; in addition to the series noted there, numerous other occurrences appear in parallelism, in all at least 75 examples).

The sequence “heaven-earth,” notable in the overwhelming majority of occurrences, still mirrors the mythical conception of the (primary) heavenly and the (secondary) earthly world. The sequence “earth-heaven” appears only either where movement from the earth to heaven is meant (Ezek 8:3; Zech 5:9; 1 Chron 21:16) or where an unequivocally geocentric worldview dominates (Gen 2:4b and Psa 148:13). The proposals of B. Hartmann (“Himmel und Erde im AT,” *SThU* 30 [1960]: 221–24) must be modified accordingly. For the Mesopotamian pars., see A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* (1929), 127.

No proper, specific expression for “world” occurs in the OT; cf. further the paraphrase with  $\rightarrow k\bar{o}l$  “everything, the universe” in Isa 44:24; Jer 10:16; Psa 103:19. The infrequent word *ḥeled* “lifetime” (Psa 39:6; 89:48; Job 11:17; cf. Arab. *ḥalada* “eternal”) acquires the meaning “world” in Psa 49:2 (the text of Psa 17:14 is uncertain) in a manner similar to postbibl.  $\rightarrow \acute{o}l\bar{a}m$ , Gk. *aiōn* “aeon,” and Ger. *Welt* (originally “era,” in imitation of Lat. *saeculum*; cf. Kluge 853b).\*

Alongside the bipartite worldview, a tripartite view also occurs, which arises ad hoc, for the most part, e.g., heaven-earth-sea (Exod 20:11; cf. Gen 1:10, 20, etc.), heaven-earth-water under the earth (Exod 20:4; Deut 5:8). A triad heaven-earth-netherworld ( $\rightarrow \acute{s}^{\acute{o}}l$ ) seems occasionally to be presupposed; cf. the description of the netherworld as  $\lambda ere\dot{s} taḥtīt$  or  $taḥtīyōt$  (Ezek 26:20; 31:14, 16, 18; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:32, 39) and the related expressions  $taḥtīt$  or  $taḥtīyōt (h\bar{a})\lambda are\dot{s}$  (Isa 44:23; Psa 63:10; 139:15), as well as Psa 115:15–17, among others.

In a few passages, the simple  $\lambda ere\dot{s}$  also at least approaches the meaning “netherworld” (cf. Akk. *eršetu*, *AHw* 245; *CAD* E:310f.; K. Tallqvist, *Sum.-akk. Namen der Totenwelt* [1934], 8ff.; *HAL* 88a: Exod 15:12; Jer 17:13; Jonah 2:7; Psa 22:30; 71:20; see further M. Dahood, *Bib* 40 [1959]: 164–66; 44 [1963]: 297).

If one conceptualizes the cosmos more precisely (esp. in later texts), one views the earth in dependence on ancient Near Eastern concepts (cf. Jeremias, op. cit. 117ff.) as having arisen through the division of the primal waters ( $\rightarrow t^{\acute{h}}\acute{o}m$ ; Gen 1; Prov 8:27–29) and as still resting upon columns in the water (1 Sam 2:8; Psa 24:2; 104:5f.; 136:6; cf. Gen 49:25; Exod 20:4; Deut 5:8; Psa 82:5; Isa 24:18; Jer 31:37; Mic 6:2, among others); the vault of heaven is anchored in the earth (Amos 9:6).

Job 26:7, which says that God spread the earth over the void, preserves another concept, according to which the earth is hung like a piece of cloth. According to Job 38:12f. the dawn grasps the borders of the earth and shakes the evildoers off it. The same concept occurs in the Akk. “Great Hymn to Šamaš” or “Hymn to the Sun-God” (I:22): “Thou (Šamaš) art holding the ends of the earth suspended from the midst of heaven” (ANET 387b; cf. SAHG 241; BWL 126f.).

The earth-water concept envisions the earth as a disk (Isa 40:22 *ḥûg hāʾāreš* “circle of the earth”; cf. Prov 8:27; Job 26:10 txt em; also Job 22:14), but the numerous passages that speak of the (four) borders (the cloth image), ends, corners, or points belong to the other conceptual context: *kanpôt hāʾāreš* (Isa 11:12; Ezek 7:2; Job 37:3; 38:13; cf. Isa 24:16), *ʾapsê (hā)ʾāreš* (Deut 33:17; 1 Sam 2:10; Isa 45:22; 52:10; Jer 16:19; Mic 5:3; Zech 9:10; Psa 2:8; 22:28; 59:14; 67:8; 72:8; 98:3; Prov 30:4), *qʾšê hāʾāreš* (Deut 13:8; 28:49, 64; Isa 5:26; 42:10; 43:6; 48:20; 49:6; 62:11; Jer 10:13; 12:12; 25:31, 33; 51:16; Psa 46:10; 61:3; 135:7; Prov 17:24), *qʾšôt hāʾāreš* (Isa 40:28; 41:5, 9; Job 28:24), *qašwê ʾereš* (Isa 26:15; Psa 48:11; 65:6). On analogous conceptualizations in Mesopotamia, cf. Jeremias, op. cit. 142–48. The two concepts stand side by side without tension in the OT; elements with origins in either of the two notions could—both in Mesopotamia and in Israel—be combined without difficulty (cf. e.g., Job 38:4–13, etc.).

Regardless of whether one speaks of the earth as a disk or of the “ends” of the earth, the question of the center of the earth arises. Ezek 38:12 mentions the *ṭabbûr* “navel” of the world (cf. 5:5 and Judg 9:37; see HAL 352b and Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:311, with references to ancient Near Eastern and Gk. pars.).

To be sure, the OT is not concerned with the earth as part of the cosmos so much as with that which fills the earth (*ʾereš ûmʾlōʾāh*, Deut 33:16; Isa 34:1; Jer 8:16, etc.), its inhabitants (Isa 24:1, 5f., 17; Jer 25:29f.; Psa 33:14, etc.), peoples (Gen 18:18; 22:18; 26:4; Deut 28:10, etc.), kingdoms (Deut 28:25; 2 Kgs 19:15, etc.), and the like. Thus the term “earth” in some passages can indicate—as in other languages—both the earth and its inhabitants (Gen 6:11, etc.).

*tēbēl* “mainland, circle of the earth” (→ *ʾbl* 1, 2) frequently parallels *ʾereš* in these contexts.

(c) Physically, *ʾereš* indicates the ground on which people and things stand, the dust lies (Exod 8:12f.), creeping things creep (Gen 1:26; 7:14; 8:19, etc.), the slaughtered lie (Lam 2:21), etc. On it fall rain and dew (Gen 2:5; 7:4; Exod 9:33; Job 5:10; 38:26, etc.), captured birds (Amos 3:5), the pebble (Amos 9:9), the toppled evildoer (Ezek 28:17; Psa 147:6), etc. On it sits the mourner (2 Sam 12:17, 20; Ezek 26:16; Job 2:13, etc.), as well as the dejected (Isa 47:1; Obad 3, etc.); one bows down toward it (Exod 34:8, etc.), one prostrates oneself on it before God (Gen 24:52), the king (2 Sam

14:33; 18:28, etc.), one's father (Gen 48:12, etc.), and other superiors. From it structures arise and one measures heights (Ezek 41:16; 43:14, etc.). Passages that mention that the ground or the earth (or its mouth) has opened and swallowed people (Num 16:30–34; 26:10; Deut 11:6; Psa 106:17; cf. Exod 15:12), that the ground or the earth shakes (1 Sam 14:15; Psa 46:7; 97:4, etc.), and that one can descend into the ground or the earth (Jonah 2:7) and sleep there (Psa 22:30), etc., mediate the relationship to the cosmological meaning.

In some of these cases, *ʿereṣ* approaches some usages of → *ʿādāmâ*, → *ʿāpār* can also be used similarly (cf. e.g., 1 Kgs 18:38; Isa 34:7, 9, etc.).

(d) If *ʿereṣ* is modified by a following gen., the term indicates individual regions or tracts of land.

The following random examples could easily be multiplied with many pars.: *ʿereṣ mōladtô* “his relatives’ land” (Gen 11:28; 24:7; 31:13; Jer 22:10; 46:16; Ezek 23:15; Ruth 2:11), *ʿereṣ ʿābôt* “the fathers’ land” (Gen 31:3; 48:21), *ʿereṣ m<sup>e</sup>gûrîm* “land of sojourning” (Gen 17:8; 28:4; 36:7; 37:1; Exod 6:4; all occurrences in P; cf. von Rad, *Gen*, OTL [1972], 250; *Theol.* 1:168f.; also Ezek 20:38), *ʿereṣ ʿhuzzātô* “land of his possession” (Gen 36:43; Lev 14:34; 25:24; Num 35:28; Josh 22:4, 9, 19; cf. *ʿereṣ y<sup>e</sup>ruššātô* in Deut 2:12; Josh 1:15), *ʿereṣ mōš<sup>e</sup>bōtēkem* “land of your dwelling places” (Num 15:2), *ʿereṣ memšaltô* “land of his dominion” (1 Kgs 9:19 = 2 Chron 8:6; Jer 51:28); *ʿereṣ šibyām* (or *šibyâ*) “land of your (or the) deportation” (Jer 30:10; 46:27; 2 Chron 6:37f.; Neh 3:36). Cf. also the frequent usage of “my/your/his land” as a description of the land of origin and the homeland (Gen 12:1; 24:4; Exod 18:27; Num 10:30, etc., often par. to *mōledet* “relatives”).

(e) Occurrences that speak of the region or “land” of individual tribes stand on the border between geographical and political usages of the term.

Cf. *ʿereṣ ʿeprayim* (Deut 34:2; Judg 12:15; 2 Chron 30:10), *ʿereṣ binyāmin* (Judg 21:21; 1 Sam 9:16; 2 Sam 21:14; Jer 1:1, etc.); *ʿereṣ gād* (1 Sam 13:7), *ʿereṣ gilʿād* (Num 32:1, 29; Josh 17:5f.; 22:9, 13, 15, 32; Judg 10:4, etc.); also *ʿereṣ z<sup>e</sup>bûlûn/y<sup>e</sup>hûdâ/m<sup>e</sup>naššeh/naptālî*.

The political meaning dominates where individual states are called the “land X,” whether accompanied by the collective name (e.g., *ʿereṣ yiśrāʿēl* in 1 Sam 13:19; 2 Kgs 5:2, 4; 6:23; Ezek 27:17; 40:2; 47:18; 1 Chron 22:2; 2 Chron 2:16; 30:25; 34:7; also with Edom, Asshur, Babel, Canaan, Midian, Moab; on *ʿereṣ miṣrayim* “land of Egypt” in Deut, see J. G. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium* [1967], 100–115), the gentilic in the sg. or pl. (e.g., *ʿereṣ hā<sup>e</sup>mōrî* “land of the Amorites” in Exod 3:17; 13:5; Num

21:31; Josh 24:8; Judg 10:8; 11:21; Amos 2:10; Neh 9:8; also with reference to the land of the Girgashites, Jebusites, Canaanites, Chaldeans, Hebrews, Philistines, etc.), or as “the land of X” accompanied by a reference to the pertinent ruler (e.g., “the land of Sihon” and “the land of Og,” Deut 4:46f.; 1 Kgs 4:19; Neh 9:22); cf. also “my/your/his land” with reference to the ruler (e.g., Gen 20:15).

The concept of the *‘am hā’āreṣ* as a collective designation for the political authorities of the land also belongs to the political usage of *‘ereṣ* (cf. E. Würthwein, *Der ‘amm ha’arez im AT* [1936]; → *‘am*).

4. (a) The first theological statement using *‘ereṣ* to be treated here is that God created (→ *br’* “to create,” Gen 1:1; 2:4a, etc.; → *‘śh* “to make” Gen 2:4b; Prov 8:26; Isa 45:12, 18, etc.; → *yṣr* “to form” Isa 45:18; Jer 33:2, etc.; → *qnh* “to create” Gen 14:19, 22) the earth (heaven and earth). Admittedly, interest in Yahweh’s creative activity varies in degree in the various circles of tradition in the OT (cf. G. von Rad, “Theological Problem of the OT Doctrine of Creation,” *PHOE* 131–43; id., *Theol.* 1:139–53); discussions of the foundation of the earth or of the cosmos, however, attribute it without exception to Yahweh—as a rule either in Psa passages that have affinities with old Canaanite concepts, or in late, priestly materials.

Regarding the Can. origin, cf. esp. the expression *‘ēl ‘elyôn qōnēh šāmayim wā’āreṣ* “the most high God, the creator of the heavens and the earth” in Gen 14:19, 22, which has indisputable Can. origins; cf., among others, the Phoen. lower gate inscription of Karatepe (*KAI* no. 26A.III.18; *ANET* 654b: “El-the-Creator-of-the-Earth”), the Neo-Pun. inscription Trip. 13 from Leptis Magna (*KAI* no. 129.1), as well as the name of the god El-kunirsha, attested in Hitt., which may also derive from *‘lqn ṛṣ* (cf. H. Otten, *MIO* 1 [1953]: 135–37; W. F. Albright, *FS Mowinckel* 7f.; *ANET* 519; → *‘ēl* III/3).

In conformity with the worldview, some formulations also maintain that Yahweh established the earth (→ *yṣd*: Isa 48:13; 51:13, 16; Zech 12:1; Psa 24:2; 78:69; 102:26; 104:5; Job 38:4; Prov 3:19; → *kûn* po.: Isa 45:18; Psa 24:2; 119:90; hi.: Jer 33:2).

These varied manners of expression agree on one point: the earth is created and is not a god. The OT has no discussion of an earth god or earth goddess; likewise, the notion of “mother earth,” so widely distributed in the history of religions, is absent (cf. van der Leeuw 1:91–100; M. Eliade, “Erde,” *RGG* 2:548–50). Job 1:21; Eccl 5:14; Psa 139:15 could be allusions to this notion (cf. also Gen 3:19 and Sir 40:1).

On the appeal to heaven and earth as witnesses in Deut 4:26; 30:19; 31:28 and their ancient Near Eastern background, cf. M. Delcor, “Les attaches littéraires, l’origine et la signification de l’expression biblique ‘prendre témoin le ciel et la terre,’” *VT* 16

(1966): 8–25; Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 38.

(b) As Yahweh's creation, the earth is his property (Psa 24:1; cf. 95:4f.). Yahweh is the lord of the whole earth (Josh 3:11, 13; Mic 4:13; Zech 4:14; 6:5; Psa 97:5; 114:7 txt em; → *ʔādôn* IV/5), king of the whole earth (Psa 47:8; Zech 14:9), most high over the whole earth (Psa 97:9), God of the whole earth (Isa 54:5), God in heaven above and on the earth beneath (Deut 4:39). If heaven is Yahweh's throne, the earth is his footstool (Isa 66:1). Yahweh beholds the earth (Gen 6:12; Isa 5:30; cf. Psa 33:14), bestrides the earth (Hab 3:12), terrifies the earth (Isa 2:19, 21); but above all he is the judge of the earth (Psa 82:8; 96:13 = 1 Chron 16:33; Psa 98:9).

(c) The term *ʔereš* acquires its specific theological usage in the context of the land promise and its appropriation in the conquest tradition (cf. G. von Rad, "Promised Land and Yahweh's Land in the Hexateuch," *PHOE* 79–93; for Deut, cf. the studies of *ʔrš* and *ʔdmh* in Plöger, op. cit. 60–129).

In the event that the so-called short historical creed (G. von Rad, "Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch," *ibid.* 3ff.) of Deut 26:5ff. should actually be understood as an old confessional formula, then the fact that Yahweh gave Israel "this land" was already discussed in a central passage (v 9). On the problems inherent in von Rad's position, however, see Rost, *KC* 11–25.

Nevertheless, it has been generally recognized in one way or the other since Alt (*EOTHR* 64f.) that the land promise (in addition to the promise of progeny) has roots in the patriarchal period. One may regard Gen 15:18 as potentially the oldest formulation (according to O. Procksch, *Die Genesis* [1924], 111, and Alt, *EOTHR* 66n.178, the passage may be a later insertion); 12:7 and 28:18 may indicate that the land promise was handed down later at specific holy places. The double promise stands at the center of J's portrayal of the fathers (12:7; 13:15; 15:7 J?; 15:18; 24:7; cf. the later addition in 26:3f.). That the land promise occupies a minor role in Gen 12:1 has been correctly noted but probably overvalued by H. W. Wolff ("Kerygma of the Yahwist," in W. Brueggemann and Wolff, *Vitality of OT Traditions* [1982]: 49f., 61). Gen 15:13 and perhaps also 21:23 indicate that E, too, presupposes the land promise. P has reformulated the promise, with characteristic deviations (Gen 17:8; 28:4; 35:12; 48:4; cf. also P's expression *ʔereš m<sup>e</sup>gûrîm* "land of sojourning"; see 3d).

The land promise is of particular importance in Deut:

(1) Yahweh has promised the *ʔereš* to the fathers (and their descendants; *šb<sup>c</sup>* ni.: Deut 1:8, 35; 6:10, 18, 23; 8:1; 10:11; 26:3; 31:7; cf. *dbr* pi. in 9:28; 27:3). Par. terms are → *ʔdāmâ* (7:13; 11:9, 21; 26:15; 28:11) and once *g<sup>e</sup>bûl* "region" (19:8).

(2) The *ʿereṣ* is the land given by Yahweh (→ *ntn*, in inf. constructions: 1:8, 35; 4:38; 6:10, 23; 10:11; 26:3; 31:7; with a ptcp. in the relative clause: 1:25; 2:29; 3:20; 4:1; 11:17, 31; 15:7; 16:20, etc.; occasionally the formula is expanded with *lʿrištāh* “to possess it”: 5:31; 9:6; 12:1; 18:2, 14, with → *naḥʿlā*: 4:21; 15:4; 19:10; 20:16; 21:23; 24:4; or both: 25:19; 26:1). Pars. here are *ʿdāmā* and *naḥʿlā*.

(3) Israel takes possession of the land (→ *yrš*: 1:8, 21; 3:18, 20; 4:1, 5, 14, 22, 26; 5:31, 33, etc.).

(4) This land is a “good land” (1:25, 35; 3:25; 4:21, 22; 6:18; etc.; cf. Exod 3:8; Num 14:7; 1 Chron 28:8), a “land where milk and honey flow” (6:3; 11:9; 26:9, 15; 27:3; cf. Exod 3:8, 17; 13:5; 33:3; Lev 20:24; Num 13:27; 14:8; 16:13f.; Josh 5:6; Jer 11:5; 32:33; Ezek 20:6, 15; once with *ʿdāmā*, Deut 31:20).

(5) The promise of the possession of the *ʿereṣ* is associated most closely in Deut with the proclamation of the commandments. Either the conquest precedes the fulfillment of the commandments (“when you come into the land, which Yahweh, your God, gives you, you shall . . . ,” or the like: Deut 12:1; 17:14f.; 18:9; 19:1; 26:1; with *ʿdāmā*, 21:1), or the fulfillment of the commandments is the condition for the receipt of the land (4:25f.; 6:18; 8:1; 11:8f., 18–21; 16:20; 19:8f.; with *ʿdāmā*, 28:11; 30:17–20). On the theological significance of this association, cf. H. H. Schmid, “Das Verständnis der Geschichte im Deuteronomium,” *ZTK* 64 (1967): 1–15.

Deuteronomic idiom is continued in analogous expressions of Deuteronomistic stamp (Josh 21:43; 23:16; Judg 2:1f., 6). Echoes are found also in prophecy contemporaneous and subsequent to Deut, esp. in Jer (Jer 32:22) and Ezek (Ezek 33:24). At the same time, these two prophets formulate the expectation of a new possession of the land against the background of the exile (Jer 30:3; Ezek 36:28). In a wisdom individualistic form, the promise of the *ʿereṣ* lives on in Psa 37:11, 22, 29, 34; Prov 2:21f.; 10:30; cf. Isa 65:9; and finally Matt 5:5.

(d) Against the background of the land promise and its fulfillment, the land is described as “Yahweh’s land” (Hos 9:3) or “my/your/his land” (Jer 2:7; Joel 2:18; Psa 85:2, etc.; cf. *ʿadmat yhw* in Isa 14:2) in various strands of tradition in the OT. Because the *ʿereṣ* as a region is God’s possession, the *ʿereṣ* as ground may never be sold (Lev 25:23ff.; cf. H. Wildberger, “Israel und sein Land,” *EvT* 16 [1956]: 404–22). A crime against Yahweh is therefore simultaneously a crime against the land. Israel’s abominable behavior desecrates the land (Lev 18:25, 27f.; Num 35:34; Jer 2:7; 3:2, etc.). Thus God’s judgment finally includes not only Israel but also his land.

(e) Finally, at the edge of the OT, in the context of the more general apocalypticization of ancient elements, the promise of the creation of a new heaven and a new earth appears (Isa 65:17; 66:22; → *ḥādāš*).

5. The usage at Qumran is consistent with that of the OT. A formulaic manner of expression is particularly apparent in the statement that the

community is concerned with the exercise of faithfulness, justice, and righteousness “in the land” (1QS 1:6, similarly 8:3, etc.), or in the discussion focusing on the fact that the council (?) of the community must atone “for the land” (1QS 8:6, 10, etc.).

In NT, Gk. *ἔρεσ* and *ἁῶḏāmâ* are rendered without distinction by *gē*. Cf. the NT lexicons, esp. H. Sasse, “*γῆ*,” *TDNT* 1:677–81.

H. H. Schmid

## 𐤆𐤃 *ḏr* to curse

S 779; BDB 76b; *HALOT* 1:91a; *TDOT* 1:405–18; *TWOT* 168; *NIDOTTE* 826

1. The root *ḏr* appears to be common Sem., although it is attested only sporadically (cf. *HAL* 88a; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/20 [1965]: 253f., 264; only Akk. *arāru* is in use for “to curse”; cf. *AHW* 65; *CAD* A/II:234–36; Aram. employs *lūt*, Arab. *lʿn*, etc.).

Although relatively numerous curse texts are extant from the ancient Near East (cf. the summaries in S. Gevirtz, “West-Semitic Curses and the Problem of the Origins of Hebrew Law,” *VT* 11 [1961]: 137–58; F. C. Fensham, “Malediction and Benediction in Ancient Near Eastern Vassal-Treaties and the OT,” *ZAW* 74 [1962]: 1–9; D. R. Hillers, *Treaty-Curses and the OT Prophets* [1964]), verbs for “to curse” occur only rarely. Cf. Hebr. *ḏwr* “cursed (be the one who opens this)” in a 7th/6th-cent. grave inscription from Silwan, *KAI* no. 191B.2; Aram. *yłwtyn* “they curse” in the Ahiqar proverbs, line 151 (Cowley 217, 225).

Hebr. *ḏr* occurs verbally in the qal, hi., and pi. (cf. *HP* 216), nominally as *m<sup>o</sup>ḏrâ* “curse” (BL 492).

2. The root *ḏr* is attested a total of 68x in the OT: in the qal 55x (40x in the form of the pass. ptc. *ḏrûr*, the starting point for semantic analysis), in the pi. 7x, in the ni. 1x (Mal 3:9, ptc.); the noun *m<sup>o</sup>ḏrâ* occurs 5x. Num 22:6 *yûḏr* should be understood with BL 433 as a qal pass. impf.

The distribution is very irregular; the word group occurs with emphatic frequency in some passages: Deut 27:15–28:20 (19x), Num 22–24 (7x), Num 5:18–27 and Mal (6x each), Gen 3–9 (5x).

3. (a) In view of the ancient Near Eastern and OT concepts of blessing and cursing (bibliog. in F. Horst, *RGG* 5:1649–51; C. Westermann, *BHH* 1:487f.; W. Schottroff, *Der altisr. Fluchspruch* [1969]), the meaning of *ḏr* as “to curse = cover with misfortune” in distinction from

→ *ʾlh*, → *qll* pi., and other verbs of cursing (cf. J. Scharbert, “‘Fluchen’ und ‘Segnen’ im AT,” *Bib* 39 [1958]: 1–26; H. C. Brichto, *Problem of “Curse” in the Hebrew Bible* [1963]) results first through semantic opposition to → *brk* “to bless,” as expressed particularly in the formulaic usage of *ʾārûr* or *bārûk*.

For an understanding of the semantic relationships between *ʾārûr* and the other verbal forms, cf. Gen 27:29 and Num 24:9 with Gen 12:3; Gen 3:17 with 5:29. The verb *ʾr*, then, means nothing other than “to make *ʾārûr*, pronounce *ʾārûr*, declare one *ʾārûr*.”

The restriction on “to bind, hold back” proposed by E. A. Speiser (“An Angelic ‘Curse’: Exodus 14:20,” *JAOS* 80 [1960]: 198–200) is appropriate only for the metonymic usage in the Akk. expression *arrat lānapšuri* “to curse without remission.”

*ʾr* appears in 12 passages as an antonym for *brk* “to bless”: Gen 9:25f.; 12:3; 27:29; Num 22:6, 12; 24:9; Deut 28:16–19; cf. vv 3–6; Judg 5:23f.; Jer 17:5; cf. v 7; 20:14; Mal 2:2; Prov 3:33. An *ʾārûr*, then, is the opposite of a *bārûk*, and is thus one stricken by misfortune and afflicted, whose existence is disastrous and whose presence brings misfortune.

Deut 28:15–68 impressively portrays the disastrous existence of an *ʾārûr* in everything that he does, an *ʾārûr* harvests only failure. Therefore, Balak wishes to have the people Israel made *ʾārûr* by Balaam, in order to be able to drive them out more easily afterward (Num 22:6). *ʾārûrîm* must serve others without ever coming “upon a green twig” (Gen 9:25; Josh 9:23). One “rich in *m<sup>c</sup>ērôl*” is one who must continually suffer want (Prov 28:27). According to Jer 17:5f., an *ʾārûr* is like a miserable shrub, laboriously fighting for a meager existence in the steppe, and, according to Jer 20:14–16, like a hopelessly devastated city. Joshua’s curse on Jericho is to be realized against the one who restores it, in that he loses his first- and last-born (Josh 6:26); Jonathan, who unknowingly shoulders his father’s curse, renders the normal questioning of the oracle impossible because of his *ʾārûr* status (1 Sam 14:24–28, 37). The corpse of Jezebel is *ʾārûr* (2 Kgs 9:34), first because she stands under prophetic judgment (1 Kgs 21:23), but also because her whole existence has brought disaster to the people. The serpent is *ʾārûr* because of its troubled existence and because of the fear it elicits (Gen 3:14); the ground is *ʾārûr* because it occasions nothing other than toil and often wasted work (Gen 3:17; 5:29).

By contrast, it is impossible to declare *ʾārûr* one who is *bārûk*, i.e., successful and favored with fortune (Num 22:12; cf. 23:8), and one ought not to declare *ʾārûr* the prince, upon whose *bārûk* status the well-being of all depends (Exod 22:27).

(b) *ʾārûr* is used primarily in the *ʾārûr* formula (38x, nonpredicatively only in 2 Kgs 9:34 and Psa 119:21; cf, however, LXX). One says “*ʾārûr* is X,” or “*ʾārûr* is the one who. . . .”

The one concerned is described, as a rule, with *ʔārûr hāʔiš ʔšer* . . . (Deut 27:15; Josh 6:26; 1 Sam 14:24, 28; Jer 11:3; 20:15; cf. 17:5 and *KAI* no. 191B.2) or with a simple *ʔšer* (Deut 27:26), often also with a ptcp. (Gen 27:29; Num 24:9; Deut 27:16–25; Judg 21:18; Jer 48:10[bis]; Mal 1:14), occasionally with direct address: “you are *ʔārûr*” (Gen 3:14; 4:11; Deut 28:16[bis], 19[bis]).

The *ʔārûr* formula has a double function. First, it designates a particular person, whether known to the speaker or not, as *ʔārûr*, i.e., it covers the person with disaster through the medium of the effectual word, in some circumstances through an individual particularly gifted for these purposes (Num 22–24; contra Scharbert, op. cit. 6, it must be maintained that basically everyone is capable of pronouncing the *ʔārûr* formula effectively). Presumably, most of the texts that mention only *ʔr* “to curse” envision the pronunciation of the *ʔārûr* formula. As a rule, the disaster intended for the victim is more precisely described to strengthen the formula (cf. e.g., Josh 9:23; Jer 20:14f.).

One can also describe animals and objects as *ʔārûr*: the serpent (Gen 3:14), the ground (Gen 3:17), a day (Jer 20:14; cf. Job 3:8), the “wrath” of a person (in order not to affect the person directly, Gen 49:7).

Second, through an effectual word the *ʔārûr* formula as a so-called conditional curse creates a curse zone, i.e., a potential disaster sphere, into which the one who commits the deed named in the formula enters (e.g., Josh 6:26; Judg 21:18; 1 Sam 14:24, 28; Jer 48:10). In some apparently liturgical texts, an entire network of disastrous powers, which become active in the event of transgression, is created through the formation of a series of curses (12 *ʔārûr* formulae in Deut 27:15–26; 6 *ʔārûr* formulae in Deut 28:16–19). If the formula is pronounced in the presence of other persons, they answer with *ʔāmēn* (Deut 27:15–26; Jer 11:5; cf. Num 5:22) and thereby confirm the existence of this potential disaster sphere.

In Num 5:23 the written curse (*ʔālâ*) is dissolved in a liquid; this liquid is therefore called “*ʔārûr* -making water” (*mayim mʔārʔrîm*), and it strikes the guilty woman with disaster in the ordeal.

(c) The subst. *mʔērâ* “curse, execration” appears in Deut 28:16–20 and Mal 2:2 in close relationship to *ʔr* qal (“to send a curse” = “to execrate”), as well as in Mal 3:9 with *ʔr* ni. In Prov 3:33 *mʔērâ* parallels the verbal expression *yʔbārēk* “he blesses”; *mʔērâ* indicates, then, not only the result of *ʔr*, disaster (cf. Deut 28:20 LXX *endeia* “lack”; Prov 28:27 LXX *aporia* “need”), but also *ʔārûr* making or *ʔārûr* declaring as an effective act (contra Scharbert, op. cit. 7).

4. The *ʔr* word group is doubly significant theologically.

(a) Yahweh is the absolute lord over all *ʾārûr* declaring. He himself makes people and animals *ʾārûr*, if he determines to do so, in that he speaks the fateful word (Gen 3:14, 17; 4:11; 5:29; 12:3; Jer 11:3; Mal 2:2; cf. 3:9), and one knows that his *m<sup>e</sup>ērâ* pursues some people (Deut 28:20; Prov 3:33). Above all, he can convert the human *bārûk* declaration, even that of the priest, into the opposite (Mal 2:2), or he can even give a magician, preparing to declare *ʾārûr*, the commission to do the opposite (Num 22–24). Therefore, when declaring someone *ʾārûr*, the individual makes the affected one *ʾārûr* “before Yahweh” (1 Sam 26:19).

Yahweh pronounces *ʾārûr* on the criminal (*rāšāʿ*, Prov 3:33), the murderer (Gen 4:11), the one too shrewd (Gen 3:17), the one who violates the commandment (Deut 28:20; Jer 11:3), or—in post-exilic theology—the one who does not exercise his or her holy office properly (Mal 1:14; 2:2; 3:9).

(b) The potential sphere of disaster that one creates by declaring *ʾārûr* is limited by the direction of Yahweh. The one who moves beyond the sphere of activity determined by God’s direction, i.e., the one who acts within the realm of that forbidden by Yahweh, is *ʾārûr*, persecuted by disaster. This circumstance is expressed esp. clearly in the juxtaposition of *bārûk* declaration and *ʾārûr* declaration (Deut 27:11–26; ch. 28; *ʾārûr* alone: Jer 11:3): whoever acts within the framework of God’s regulations is *bārûk* (favored by good fortune); beyond this framework one is *ʾārûr* (in the grasp of misfortune). The same principle occurs in a more wisdomlike formulation in Jer 17:5, 7: one who builds one’s life on the presence of Yahweh is *bārûk*; in contrast, one who trusts every person is *ʾārûr*. According to Jer 48:10, one who conducts Yahweh’s work negligently or hinders it is *ʾārûr*. As already seen, Yahweh’s own pronouncement of *ʾārûr* is directed at those who do not completely subordinate themselves to him (Gen 3:14, 17; 4:11; Psa 119:21). In Mal the sphere of disaster is primarily activated by improper cultic behavior and, concomitantly, by insulting Yahweh in the cult (Mal 1:14; 3:9).

5. Qumran uses the word group as the OT does: the *ʾārûr* formula is much more frequent than the simple verb (cf. Kuhn, *Konk.* 23; also *GCDS* 35). Conversely, the NT uses *epikataratos* = *ʾārûr* only in an OT quotation (Gal 3:10 = Deut 27:26; the *epikataratos* of Gal 3:13 does not correspond to an *ʾārûr* formula, but to the cs. combination *qilʿlat ʾelōhîm* in Deut 21:23; cf. L. Brun, *Segen und Fluch im Urchristentum* [1932]; J. Behm, “ἀνατίθημι,” *TDNT* 1:353–56; F. Büchsel, “ἀπά,” *TDNT* 1:448–51).

C. A. Keller

## נָשָׂא pi. to betroth

S 781; BDB 76b; HALOT 1:91b; TWOT 170; NIDOTTE 829

1. נָשָׂא pi. “to betroth a wife” has direct pars. only in postbibl. Hebr. and Aram. (נָשָׂא, also in qal, e.g., Mid. Hebr. pass. ptcp. נָשָׂא “bridegroom,” and in corresponding pass. stem forms).

One may posit connections with Akk. *erēšu* “to demand, request” (AHw 239f.; CAD E:281–85; infrequent ptcp. *ērīšu* “bridegroom,” AHw 242b; CAD E:301a; cf. Ug. נָשָׂא “to desire,” WUS no. 423; UT no. 379; Hebr. נָשָׂא “desire,” Psa 21:3) and with Arab. *ʿarūs* “bridegroom; bride,” *ʿarasa* “to arrange a marriage feast” (KBL 90a; P. Wernberg-Møller, JSS 11 [1966]: 124), but not with the Akk. *erēšu* “to cultivate” (root *hrš*, Hebr. *hrš* “to plow”) in the context of the wife-field metaphor (so A. Sarsowsky, ZAW 32 [1912]: 404f.).

2. נָשָׂא occurs 11x in the OT; 6x in the pi. (Deut 20:7; 28:30; 2 Sam 3:14; Hos 2:21[bis], 22) and 5x in the pu. (Exod 22:15; Deut 22:23, 25, 27f.).

3. The basic meaning in the pi. (resultative, expressing a juristically comprehensible result; cf. HP 248) should be rendered “to betroth a wife”; the freer translation “to betroth (from the man’s perspective)” should not be understood, in distinction from contemporary usage, as an indication of a simple engagement with the possibility of withdrawal in contrast to the public legal act of marriage (see below). The verb is constructed with a simple acc.: the *be pretii* (see GKC 119p) describes the bride-price (2 Sam 3:14, “for the foreskins of one hundred Philistines”; cf. Hos 2:21f.). The man is always the subj. (Yahweh in Hos 2:21f.; see below), the woman is the obj. to whom he betroths himself. The pu. forms indicate the pertinent pass. “to be betrothed (from the woman’s perspective).” The virgin (*b<sup>et</sup>tûlâ* or *na<sup>ca</sup>râ b<sup>et</sup>tûlâ*, Exod 22:15; Deut 22:23, 28) or the maiden (*na<sup>ca</sup>râ*, Deut 22:25, 27) is the subj. in these clauses; cf. D. H. Weiss, JBL 81 (1962): 67–69.

The determination of the legal meaning (and therefore also the precise translation) of the term is not entirely clear in view of the limited number of examples. First of all, on the one hand, one should distinguish the intention of נָשָׂא from that of the marriage ceremony proper: a man may have betrothed a maiden but not yet have “taken her as wife” (*lqh*, Deut 21:11; 22:13f, etc.; cf. also *bq* “to marry,” Deut 21:13, etc.; → *ba<sup>ca</sup>t*, *lqh* is directly juxtaposed to נָשָׂא in Deut 20:7 and to *hyh l<sup>ca</sup>iššâ* in Deut 22:29). One should also clearly distinguish נָשָׂא from *škb* “to lie with” (Exod 22:15; Deut

22:23, 25, 28; also *šgl* Deut 28:30). Similarly, *šlh* pi. “to divorce” is not an antonym for *ʔrs*, but for *lqh* or *hyh lʕiššâ* (Deut 22:19, 29; 24:1, 3f.).

On the other hand, a *lqh* or *škb* obviously follows the *ʔrs*: a betrothed man is freed from the military in order to be able to bring his wife home (Deut 20:7); if a betrothed man cannot also live with his wife, he thus stands under a curse (Deut 28:30). Betrothal is a legal relationship protected like marriage; if this relationship is broken, the guilty party receives the death penalty (like an adulterer; cf. Deut 22:23f. with 22:22; Lev 20:10, etc.).

Consequently, it seems appropriate to regard *ʔrs* pi. as a description of a publicly binding legal act, which, although not identical with marriage, enacts the marriage legally. This interpretation is confirmed by the fact that the most essential element of the betrothal is the bride-price (*mōhar*, Gen 34:12; Exod 22:16; 1 Sam 18:25), which the bridegroom must give to the bride’s father (cf. 1 Sam 18:25 with 2 Sam 3:14; Gen 34:12). If one seduces an unbetrothed virgin, he must still first pay the *mōhar* before he can take her home as wife (Exod 22:15 with the verb *mhr* qal “to acquire through payment of the *mōhar*”; Deut 22:29, “to give fifty shekels of silver”).

On marriage in the OT, cf. E. Neufeld, *Ancient Hebrew Marriage Laws* (1944); F. Horst, “Ehe im AT,” *RGG* 2:316–18 (with bibliog.); de Vaux 1:24–38 (bibliog. on pp. xxvii-xxviii); on marriage in the ancient Near East and on Jewish marriage law, cf. E. Kutsch, *Salbung als Rechtsakt* (1963), 27–33 (with bibliog.).

4. Hos 2:21f. uses *ʔrs* pi. as a metaphor. Yahweh is the subj. of this prophetic salvation message; the woman addressed is Israel according to Hosea’s picturesque speech (borrowed from the Canaanite Baal cult). The marriage relationship with Yahweh, which the adulterous Israel had violated (2:4ff.), is to be reestablished, indeed, “forever”; the announced salvation consists in this reestablishment. Yahweh also pays the *mōhar* (cf. the fivefold *be*: “in righteousness, in justice, etc.”). That *ʔrs* should be a public, “eternally valid” legal act (Rudolph, *KAT* 13/1, 80; Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 46, 52, also speaks, therefore, of a “binding, legal act of marriage” and translates *ʔrs* with “I will make you my own”) is confirmed once again.

5. The LXX uses *lambanein* for *ʔrs* in Deut 28:30 and 2 Sam 3:14, otherwise always *mnēsteuein*, which is also used in Matt 1:18; Luke 1:27; 2:5 to characterize the legal status of Mary.

J. Kühlewein

𐤒𐤔 𐤒𐤔 fire

S 784; BDB 77a; HALOT 1:92a; TDOT 1:418–28; TWOT 172; NIDOTTE 836

1. The word occurs in most branches of the Sem. languages (with the exception of Arab.) in the sense of “fire.”

In Arab. and partially in Aram., the common Sem. word (\**ʔiṣ-/[āt-]*, cf. P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/20 [1965]: 145, 149) has been replaced with forms of the root *nûr* “to be bright” (Arab. *nār*, Aram. *nûr*); Syr. *ʔeššātā* means only “fever.”

Hebr. *ʔiššeh* “sacrifice” (not necessarily “burnt sacrifice”) apparently does not belong etymologically to *ʔeš*; cf. J. Hoftijzer, “Das sogenannte Feueropfer,” *FS Baumgartner* 114–34.

2. Statistics: *ʔeš* occurs 378x in the Hebr. OT (Ezek 47x, Jer 39x, Isa 33x, Lev 32x, Deut 29x, Psa 28x, etc.; Gen only 4x, absent in Jonah, Hag, Ruth, Eccl, Ezra, Esth); in addition, Aram. *ʔeššā* occurs 1x (Dan 7:11; usually regarded as a fem. abs., but could also be masc. emphatic; cf. Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 53) and *nûr* 17x (Dan 3:6–27; 7:9f.).

Jer 51:18 and Hab 2:13 are also included in the statistics above, which *HAL* 89b (following G. R. Driver, *JSS* 4 [1959]: 148) assign to a root *ʔeš* II “trifle.”

The pl. is absent from the OT (cf. Sir 48:3); M. Dahood (*Bib* 44 [1963]: 298) posits a dual in Jer 6:29. Num 18:9; Deut 33:2 Q; Ezek 8:2a are excluded through emendation.

3. (a) *ʔeš* concretely indicates fire as a given element of human culture, as used in the household (e.g., Isa 44:16) and handicraft (e.g., Ezek 22:20 in metallurgy; Job 28:5 in mining). In war the enemy is fought with fire (e.g., Isa 50:11 *zîqôt* “flaming arrows”); the rules of holy war, in particular, require that all the enemy’s possessions be burned (Deut 13:17; → *ḥrm*; e.g., Josh 6:24; 7:15; 8:8; Judg 20:48; similarly Num 31:10). The death penalty is executed in special cases by fire (Lev 20:14; 21:9; cf. Gen 38:24; in relation to crimes against the holy war laws, Josh 7:15, 25).

Fire is important in the cult because sacrifices are burned (on the rules for various types of sacrifice, cf. Lev 1ff.; on fire as a means of ritual purification, → *ṭhr*; on the incineration of the sacrosanct in order to preserve it from profanation, → *qdš*). Fire is subject to some regulations; if it does not correspond to them, it is *ʔeš zārâ* “illegitimate fire” (→ *zār*; Lev 10:1; Num 3:4; 26:61, the fire of Nadab and Abihu), which brings disaster. The proscription against extinguishing the altar fire belongs to a later layer of

priestly laws (Lev 6:1ff.; cf. J. Morgenstern, *Fire on the Altar* [1963]; for the later growth of legends concerning the proscription, see 2 Macc 1:18ff.).

The practice of the “Molech” child sacrifice falls subject to a special prohibition in the OT (R. de Vaux, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* [1964], 73–90; expressions: → *br* hi. *lammōlek*, Lev 18:21; 2 Kgs 32:10; Jer 32:35; *br* hi. *bāʿēš* “to cause to go through the fire,” Deut 18:10; 2 Kgs 16:3 = 2 Chron 28:3, *bʿr*, 2 Kgs 17:17; 21:6 = 2 Chron 33:6; 2 Kgs 23:10; Ezek 20:31; *šrp* *bāʿēš* “to incinerate,” Deut 12:31; 2 Kgs 17:31; Jer 7:31; 19:5 MT; cf. also Lev 20:2–5; Isa 30:33; Jer 3:24; Ezek 16:21; 23:37; Psa 106:37f.; on *tōpet* “place of fire” see KBL 1038b). The sacrifices are for a god, Melek (contra O. Eissfeldt, *Molk als Opferbegriff im Punischen und Hebräischen und das Ende des Gottes Moloch* [1935]); → *melek* 4e.

\*(b) HAL 89 offers an extensive list of the verbs and substs. associated with *ʿēš*. Specific verbs of igniting/burning/incineration are mentioned here:

(1) *ʾōr* hi. “to ignite” in Mal 1:10; Isa 27:11, in addition to the normal meaning “to cause to shine,” like *ʾūr* “light” > “fire(light)“;

(2) *bʿr* qal “to burn” (38x), pi. “to ignite, keep a fire” (13x), pu. “to be ignited” (1x), hi. “to incinerate” (6x); in addition to *bʿērā* “fuel” (Exod 22:5); cf. HP no. 31;

(3) *dlq* qal “to set fire” (Obad 18; Psa 7:14; hi. Ezek 24:10; cf. HAL 214b, and J. Blau, VT 6 [1956]: 246; L. Kopf, VT 8 [1958]: 170f.); in addition, *dalleqet* “heat of fever“;

(4) *yšt* qal “to ignite, incinerate” (4x), ni. “to catch fire, be burnt” (6x), hi. “to set fire, set on fire” (17x); by-form *šūt* hi. “to ignite” (Isa 27:4);

(5) *yqd* qal “to burn” (34x), ho. “to be ignited” (5x); also *yʿqôd* “blaze” (Isa 10:16), *yāqûd* (Isa 30:14) and *môqēd* (Lev 6:2; cf. Elliger, HAT 4, 81; Isa 33:14; Psa 102:4) “furnace“;

(6) *kwh* ni. “to be singed” (Isa 43:2; Prov 6:28); also *kʿwîyâ* (Exod 21:25[bis]) and *kî* (Isa 3:24) “brand,” *mikwâ* “burn wound” (Lev 13:24–28);

(7) *lht* “to consume, singe” (qal Psa 57:5; 104:4; pi. 9x); also *lahat* “flame, blaze” (Gen 3:24);

(8) *nšq* ni. “to catch fire” (Psa 78:21), hi. “to ignite” (Isa 44:15; Ezek 39:9);

(9) *šrb* ni. “to be singed” (Ezek 21:3); also \**šārāb* “scorching” (Prov 16:27) and *šārebet* “burn, scar” (Lev 13:23, 28);

(10) *qdh* qal “to catch fire, ignite” (5x); also *qaddaḥat* “fever” (Lev 26:16; Deut

28:22), *ʿeqdāḥ* “beryl (fire-stone)” (Isa 54:12);

(11) *šrp* “to incinerate” (qal 102x, ni. 14x, pu. 1x; also *šʿrēpâ* “that which is consumed or burned, fuel” (13x; see *bʿērâ*, only 2 Chron 16:14; 21:19 “funeral pyre”), *mišrāpôt* “incineration” (Isa 33:12; Jer 34:5).

In Bibl. Aram. *ʿzh* pe. “to heat” (Dan 3:19[bis], 22) and *hrk* hitpa. “to be singed” (3:27) occur in addition to *dlq* pe. “to burn” (Dan 7:9) and *yqd* pe. “to burn” (Dan 3:6–26; also *yʿqēdâ* “flame” 7:11).

Verbs for extinguishing are: *dʿk* qal “to extinguish” (7x), pu. “to be extinguished” (Psa 118:12; ni. “to disappear” Job 6:17) with the by-form *zʿk* ni. “to be extinguished” (Job 17:1), and *kbh* qal “to extinguish” (14x), pi. “to quench” (10x).

The most important semantically related subst. is *lahab/lehābâ* “flame” (12 and 19x, resp., also meaning “blade”; in Exod 3:2 *labbat-ʿēš* should probably be emended to *lahebet-ʿēš*; *šalhebet* “flame” in Ezek. 21:3; Job 15:30; Song Sol 8:6 txt em is an Aram. loanword; cf. Wagner no. 305); also worthy of mention are *rešep* “flame, blaze” (7x; cf. A. Caquot, *Semit* 6 [1956]: 53–63) and *šābīb* “flame” (Job 18:5; cf. Wagner no. 304; Bibl. Aram. *šʿbīb* “flame,” Dan 3:22; 7:9).

(c) As in other languages, in Hebr. fire is readily used fig. as an image of consuming passions: wrath (Hos 7:6 txt em; on the wrathful fire of Yahweh, see 4), pain (Psa 39:4), love (Song Sol 8:6), adultery (Job 31:12; Prov 6:27f.), contentiousness (Prov 26:20f.), injustice (Isa 9:17), sin in general (Sir 3:30, etc.). The point of comparison is primarily the consuming power, rarely the illuminating function, of fire (Nah 2:4; cf. F. Lang, *TDNT* 6:935; see also his references to proverbial usages).

4. Within the formation of religious tradition, fire has a place in the theophany motif.

The root of the theophany concept in Israel is twofold, reflecting the original significance of fire. A fiery volcano is the original referent in the Sinai theophany (so the J report in Exod 19:18; cf. Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 116f., 156f., 159f.; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie* [1965], 104ff.). The concept of the thunder theophany with fiery lightning stems from Canaanite religion (e.g., Psa 18:8ff.; 29; 97:2ff.; non-Israelite parallels in Jeremias, op. cit. 75ff.; P. D. Miller, “Fire in the Mythology of Canaan and Israel,” *CBQ* [1965]: 256ff.; E also describes the Sinai theophany, inappropriately for the context, as a thunderstorm; cf. Noth, op. cit. 159f.). The two concepts became intermingled very early (e.g., Hab 3:3ff.). The concept of Yahweh’s *kābôd* (→ *kbd*) is very closely linked with the theophany tradition and, therefore, with fire (Psa 29; 97:6; Isa 10:16; cf. Ezek 10; cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 1:239f.).

Unique, antiquated concepts occur singly as phenomena accompanying a divine encounter in Gen 15:17 (“torch”) and Exod 3:2 (“flame of fire from the thorn bush”; cf. Noth, op. cit. 39f.).

The concept of the Sinai fire acquires its own nuance in the conceptual framework of Deut and P. Deut speaks stereotypically of the “mountain that burns in the fire” (Deut 4:11; 5:23; 9:15); the concept of “Yahweh’s speech from the fire” (Deut 4:12, 15, 33, 36; 5:4f., 22, 24–26; 9:10; 10:4; 18:16) is more essential: All elements of the theophany are subordinated to the speech of Yahweh. P speaks of the “pillar of fire” (*‘ammûd ʿēš*) by night and the “cloud” (→ *‘ānān*) by day, appearances that are not linked with Sinai but that lead Israel (Exod 13:21f.; 14:24; 40:38; Num 9:15f.; 14:14; cf. Neh 9:12, 19; associated with Sinai and with the expression *kābôd* in Exod 24:16f., “like a consuming fire”). Similar concepts are found in Deut 1:33; Isa 4:5; Psa 78:14. In a spiritualizing manner, Deut describes Yahweh himself as “consuming fire” (*ʿēš ʾōkʿlâ*, Deut 4:24; 9:3; also Isa 33:14 and 30:27, “his tongue”). 1 Kgs 19:12 guards against a literal understanding of such statements (in addition to fire, the other theophany elements are named; cf. Jeremias, op. cit. 112–15; J. J. Stamm, FS Vriezen 327–34).

In the Psalm traditions and dependent prophecy, the theophany refers less to a discourse than to an act of God, so that here the effect of the fire is important. God appears in the “fire of wrath” (→ *ʾap*, → *ḥēmâ*, → *‘ebrâ*, Deut 32:22; Isa 30:27, 30; Jer 4:4; 15:14; 17:4; 21:12; Ezek 21:36f.; 22:21, 31; 38:19; Nah 1:6; Psa 89:47; Lam 2:4; → *qinʾâ* “zeal” also occurs in Ezek 36:5; Zeph 1:18; 3:8; Psa 79:5) in order to move against mythical or historical enemies (chaos powers, foreign nations, sinners, even Israel itself: Psa 46:10; 68:3; Isa 9:4, 18; 66:15f.; Amos 1f., etc.; also frequently in Jer, e.g., 11:16; 17:27). Freed from the context of the theophany, fire becomes the fire of judgment, which apocalypticism places at the end of time (Isa 66:24; Zech 9:4; Dan 7:9ff., etc.).

R. Mayer (*Die biblische Vorstellung vom Weltenbrand* [1956], 79ff.) offers a thorough overview of the passages in the OT that treat fire, either literally or (not always an easy distinction) figuratively, as a medium of the execution of judgment.

Although the image of the metalworker also occurs elsewhere in the proclamation of judgment (cf. Isa 1:25; Jer 6:27–30; 9:6; Ezek 22:17–22), one can speak of an actual “refining judgment” by fire only in Zech 13:9 and Mal 3:2f (Mayer, op. cit. 113f.; cf. also G. Rinaldi, “La preparazione dell’argento e il fuoco purificatore,” *BeO* 5 [1963]: 53–59).

In a folktale manner the theophany fire becomes a miraculous “fire of God” (2 Kgs 1:9ff.; Job 1:16, etc.). Angelic beings also participate in this fire of God (Ezek 10:2, 6f.; 28:14; 2 Kgs 6:17).

5. Early Judaism and the NT follow apocalyptic usage (not to mention the aftereffects of some OT texts). Cf. F. Lang, “Das Feuer im

Sprachgebrauch der Bibel” (diss., Tübingen, 1951); id., “πῦρ,” *TDNT* 6:928–952.

F. Stolz

אִשָּׁה *iššâ* **woman**

S 802; BDB 61a; *HALOT* 1:93b; *TDOT* 1:222–35; *TWOT* 137a; *NIDOTTE* 851

1. The word *iššâ* “woman” corresponds to the common Sem. \**ant-at-* (P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 162f., 166, 245, 262): Akk. *aššatu* “wife” (in addition to the infrequent Can. loanword *iššu* “woman, wife,” *AHW* 399a; *CAD* I/J:267b); Ug. *att* “wife”; Aram. *int<sup>ct</sup>â/itt<sup>ct</sup>â* “woman”; Arab. *untā* “female”; Eth. *anest* “woman.”

Because the root has *t*, it may not be derived from Hebr. *iš* “man” (contrary to the folk etymology in Gen 2:23); no etymology can be given. The vocalization of the Akk. *enēšu* “to be weak,” which presupposes a harsh laryngeal as the first radical, speaks against the derivations from a root \**nt* “to be weak” (e.g., *CML* 1 152n.17); Arab. *anuṭa* may be a denominative (cf. Fronzaroli, op. cit. 162f.).

On the irregular forms *ēšet* (sg. cs.) and *nāšîm* (pl.), possibly as harmonizations to *iš* “man” or *nāšîm* “men,” resp., see BL 617.

The pl. *iššôt*, a new formation from the sg., is attested only in Ezek 23:44 (txt?; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:479).

\*2. Like *iš*, *iššâ* is most frequent in the narrative books (Gen, Judg, Sam):

	sg.	pl.	total	
Gen	125	27	152	
Exod	32	6	38	
Lev	34	1	35	
Num	30	11	41	
Deut	33	8	41	
Josh	8	2	10	
Judg	55	14	69	
1 Sam		42	12	54
2 Sam		40	9	49

1 Kgs	29	9	38	
2 Kgs	16	3	19	
Isa	6	6	12	
Jer	12	24	36	
Ezek	13	8	+1	22
Hos	5	–	5	
Amos	2	–	2	
Mic	–	1	1	
Nah	–	1	1	
Zech	2	7	9	
Mal	3	–	3	
	sg.	pl.	total	
Psa	3	–	3	
Job	7	1	8	
Prov	23	2	25	
Ruth	13	2	15	
Song Sol	–	3	3	3
Eccl	3	–	3	
Lam	–	3	3	
Esth	5	16	21	
Dan	–	2	2	
Ezra	1	11	12	
Neh	2	8	10	
1 Chron	16	4	20	
2 Chron	8	11	19	
OT total	568	212	+1	781

Lis. does not list 1 Kgs 14:5f.

The pl. *nšêhôn* “your women” occurs 1x in Bibl. Aram. (Dan 6:25; \**antâ/antâ*, the sg. of \**nšîn*, is not attested, but occurs in Imp. Aram.; cf. *DISO* 26f.).

3. (a) Naturally, the basic meaning “woman” (the female person) already implies a correlation to *š* “man” (the Hebr. words indicate this correlation even more clearly; cf. Gen 2:23).

In the vast majority of occurrences, a marital or extramarital juxtaposition to the man characterizes the term. Nominal series also occur in which the sexual aspect recedes. The expression “man or woman” can be used to mean “anyone, whoever”; “men and women” can also mean “all”; for texts with these usages and the series “men-women-children,” etc. → *š* III/1.

A broader natural word field includes the terms “son/daughter/child”

or their pls., also generally in nominal series.

Examples are: “woman-sons-daughters-in-law” (Gen 8:16; cf. 6:18; 7:7, 13; 8:18); in the context of births, “woman-son/daughter” (Gen 18:10, etc.); “women-sons” (Gen 32:23); “woman-daughters” (Gen 19:15f.); “women-daughters” (Isa 32:9 in parallelism); quite often “women-children” (Gen 30:26; Num 14:3, etc.; Psa 128:3 in parallelism).

Moreover, a veritable multitude of verbs characterize the word field of the term. Only the most important may be presented:

*hrh* “to be pregnant” (Gen 25:21; Exod 2:2; 21:22; Judg 13:3, etc.); → *yld* “to bear” (Gen 3:16, etc., *hrh* and *yld* often stand in close conjunction); → *lqh* “to take as wife, marry” (Gen 4:19; Deut 23:1; Judg 14:2, etc.); *hyh l<sup>e</sup>ʾiššâ* “to marry” (Gen 24:67, etc.); *ntn l<sup>e</sup>ʾiššâ* “to give as wife” (Gen 16:3; Judg 21:1, 7, etc.). An entire series of expressions serve to indicate sexual intercourse: *škb* “sleep (with)” (Gen 26:10, etc.); → *ydc* “to know” (Gen 4:1, 17, etc.); *bô<sup>ʾ</sup>el* “to go in to” (Gen 38:8f., etc.); → *glh* pi. *erwat ʾiššâ* “to uncover a woman’s nakedness” (Lev 18:6ff.; 20:11, 17–21); → *qrb* “to approach” (Lev 18:14, etc.); *nh* pi. “to rape” (Gen 34:2, etc.); *šgl* “to sleep (with)” (Deut 28:30, etc.). The following may also be mentioned: → *hb* “to love,” → *hmd* “to desire,” → *ʾs* “to betroth,” *zûb* “to menstruate”; *ynq* hi. “to suckle,” → *qn<sup>ʾ</sup>* pi. “to be jealous,” *n<sup>ʾ</sup>p* “to commit adultery,” → *šlh* “to divorce,” → *bgd* “to break faith.” For the late period the following may also be mentioned: *yšb* hi. “to marry = to live with a woman” (Ezra 10:2ff.; Neh 13:23, 27); → *yš<sup>ʾ</sup>* hi. “to divorce” (Ezra 10:3, 19).

No substantives are synonymous with *ʾiššâ* in its basic meaning.

The term is used only once of animals (Gen 7:2; cf. also Ezek 1:9).

(b) Like *ʾiš* “man/husband” (→ *ʾiš* III/2a), *ʾiššâ* is often used in the more specific meaning “wife” (Gen 12:5; 2 Sam 11:27, etc.). Frequent expressions are *X ʾēšet Y*, “X, the wife of Y” (e.g., Gen 11:31), and *šēm ʾišto X*, “his wife’s name is X” (e.g., Ruth 1:2).

On the status of the wife in the OT, cf. F. Horst, “Frau II,” *RGG* 2:1067f., and the literature cited there.

The common word for “concubine” is *pîlegeš* (36x, of non-Sem. origins; cf. Ellenbogen 134); *šārâ* “rival wife” occurs in 1 Sam 1:6. Further designations specifically for the wife of the king or the members of the royal harem are *šēgal* (Psa 45:10; Neh 2:6; Bibl. Aram., Dan 5:2f., 23) and Bibl. Aram. *l<sup>e</sup>ḥēnâ* (in each instance in Dan 5 alongside *šēgal*).

The context of Lam 2:20 limits *ʾiššâ* to the meaning “mother,” that of Gen 29:21 and Deut 22:24 to the meaning “bride.” In Eccl 7:26, *hā ʾiššâ* appears as a generalization (“the woman” = “the female gender”).

(c) The term is occasionally used figuratively to describe a cowardly

man, although only in the prophetic oracles against foreign nations, where it applies exclusively to the warriors or heroes of a foreign nation who have become women or like women (Isa 19:16; Jer 48:41; 49:22; 50:37; 51:30; Nah 3:13).

Otherwise *ʾiṣṣâ* occasionally stands figuratively for Israel or Jerusalem: Hos 2:4; Jer 3:1, 3, 20; Isa 54:6; Ezek 16:30, 32; 23:2ff. (see 4f).

(d) In comparison to *ʾiṣ*, *ʾiṣṣâ* is rarely generalized to mean “anyone” (Exod 3:22; Amos 4:3; Ruth 1:8f.). Expressions for “the one . . . the other” are formed with *ʾāḥôt* (→ *ʾāḥ* 3d) and *r<sup>e</sup>ʿût* (Jer 9:19; of animals, Isa 34:15f.; Zech 11:9).

4. The usages of words in more or less theological contexts are suitably diverse:

(a) In the patriarchal narratives the promise to the matriarch that she will have a son forms a narrative motif that is certainly very old. In response to the complaint of the childless woman, God (or his messenger) promises this woman a son: Gen 17:19 (cf. 16:11); 18:10; 24:36; 25:21 (cf. C. Westermann, *Promises to the Fathers* [1980], 10ff.; on the issue of polygamy, cf. W. Plautz, “Monogamie und Polygynie im AT,” *ZAW* 75 [1963]: 3–27).

(b) *ʾiṣṣâ* occurs 17x in Gen 2–3 alone. The etiology of the word in 2:23 (*mēʾiṣ*; “she is taken from the man”), the special function of the woman in the story of the fall, and the special punishment in 3:16 are emphasized.

(c) Some situations apply to series like “men-women-children (-cattle-sheep-donkeys),” such as the execution of the ban in the Yahweh wars (Num 31:9, 17; Deut 2:34; 3:6; Josh 6:21; Judg 21:10f.; 1 Sam 15:3; 22:19; 27:9, 11). Similar series occur in the prophetic judgment proclamation (Yahweh’s enemies are now the Israelites: Jer 6:11f.; 14:16; 38:23; Ezek 9:6; in the wish against the enemies: Jer 18:21).

A second life setting is apparently the act of the public reading of the law, for which “men-women-children (-foreigners)” are assembled (Deut 31:12; Josh 8:35). This usage is taken up in the assemblies that Ezra and Nehemiah hold (Ezra 10:1; Neh 8:2f.).

(d) Foreign women represent a special theological motif. In older times a marriage between an Israelite and a Canaanite was hardly objectionable (Gen 34; Exod 2:21; 4:20; cf. Deut 21:11, 13). The Deuteronomistic theology in Judg and Kgs unequivocally evaluates such a marriage with neighbors negatively: foreign women mean the importation of foreign gods and consequently apostasy from Yahweh (Judg 3:6; 1 Kgs 11:1ff.; 16:31; 21:25; 2 Kgs 8:18). The issue was particularly acute in early post-exilic times: in P (Gen 27:46; 28:1f., 6, 9; closely associated with P,

Num 25:6ff.) and in Ezra 10:2ff.; Neh 13:23ff.

(e) To violate a woman is an “abomination in Israel” (*n<sup>e</sup>bālâ*, → *nābāl*), which summons the wrath and punishment of God (Judg 19f.; cf. Gen 34). Consequently, a whole series of laws regulate the sexual relationship between man and woman:

One should not covet his neighbor’s wife (Exod 20:17; Deut 5:21). If one lies with a betrothed (Deut 22:23f.) or married woman (Deut 22:22), both parties merit the death penalty. Adultery carries the death penalty (Lev 20:10; Num 5:11ff.). A woman who has sexual intercourse with an animal merits the same punishment (Lev 20:16). An entire series of intrafamilial sexual relationships are regulated in Lev 18, the woman’s menstruation in Lev 15. Further laws concerning woman are in Exod 19:15; 21:22; Lev 12:1–8; Num 6:2; 30:4ff.; 36:3ff.; Deut 17:2, 5; 22:19; 24:1ff.; 25:5.

Prophecy occasionally reprises such laws, in part in accusations against those who transgress the commandments (sexual commandments: Hos 2:4; Jer 3:1ff.; 5:8; 29:23, etc.; idolatry: Jer 7:18; 44:15; Ezek 8:14), in part in the prophetic proclamation of judgment (2 Sam 12:11; cf. Isa 13:16; Jer 8:10; Zech 14:2). Finally, reference should be made to the Torah sentences in Ezek 18:6, 11, 15.

The wisdom literature handles these sexual problems in another manner: good judgment “protects you from the wife of another” (Prov 2:16; 6:24; 7:5; cf. 6:29). Otherwise, a good and wise wife is a gift from Yahweh (Prov 19:14; cf. the praise of the worthy wife in Prov 31:10–31).

(f) Israel or Jerusalem is occasionally described as Yahweh’s wife in prophecy, first in Hos (Hos 2:4; the metaphorical treatment in Hos 1:2ff.; 3:1ff. does not belong in this context). In a “legal process against an unfaithful wife” (Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 32), the unfaithful wife (Israel) is accused of adultery. The image of marriage, which Hosea borrowed from Canaanite mythology, serves to oppose Israel’s attraction to precisely this Canaanite Baal cult with its cultic prostitution. The image is taken up again in the accusations of Jer (Jer 3:1, 3, 20) and Ezek (Ezek 16:30, 32; 23:44). The salvation message of Deutero-Isa (Isa 54:6) treats the image differently: Israel is the abandoned “wife of youth” whom Yahweh will call anew.

(g) The saving activity of Yahweh toward Israel is loosely compared to the act of a woman with respect to her child in Isa 49:15, “A woman will also forget her child” (cf. Isa 66:13; → *ʔēm* 4e).

5. The NT takes up the following aspects again: (a) discussion of an infertile woman to whom God promises a son (Luke 1); (b) Gen 2–3 in Mark 10:7 pars., etc.; (c) the theme of “foreign women” is modified in 1 Cor 7:12ff. into the theme of “non-Christian marriage partners”; (d) as in the OT, marriage is esp. defended, although the many sexual regulations are

lacking; (e) for fig. usages, cf. Acts 21:2, 9; 22:17. Cf. also A. Oepke, “γυυνή,” *TDNT* 1:776–89.

J. Kühlewein

## אָשָׂם *ʾāšām* **guilt**

S 817; BDB 79b; *HALOT* 1:96a; *TDOT* 1:429–37; *TWOT* 180b; *NIDOTTE* 871

1. The root *ʾšm* or (according to the evidence of Arab. *ʾaṭima* “to commit an offense”) \**ʾtm* has not yet been identified in Sem. prior to Hebr. or contemporary with the OT (on Ug., cf. D. Kellermann, “*ʾāšām* in Ugarit?” *ZAW* 76 [1964]: 319–22; on Pun., cf. Sznycer 143). On Arab. (and possibly Eth.) equivalents, cf. *HAL* 92.

Hebr. forms the following from the root *ʾšm*: the verb in qal, ni., and hi.; the abstract noun *ʾāšām*, which indicates a circumstance (GKC §84f; BL 462f.); the abstract noun *ʾašmâ*, originally a fem. inf. (BL 317, 463; clearly still so in Lev 4:3; 5:24, 26); the verbal adj. *ʾāšēm*.

2. The verb is attested 33x in qal, in addition to once each in ni. and hi., the nom. *ʾāšām* 46x, *ʾašmâ* 19x, the adj. 3x.

Of the total of 103 occurrences of the root in all forms, 49 appear in P portions of Lev and Num, 9 in Chron, 8 in Ezek, and 7 in Ezra. In the legal sections of Exod and Deut, the root does not occur at all, and it is rare in wisdom literature (Prov 2x). The historical books also use the word rarely: Gen 2x, Judg 1x, 1 Sam 4x (all in ch. 6), 2 Sam 1x, 2 Kgs 1x. The same is true for the language of the prophets: Ezek 8x and Hos 5x (verbal forms) are conspicuous; there remain only Jer 3x, Amos, Hab, Deutero-Isa, Deutero-Zech, Joel, and Isa 24 with one text each. Thus around 70% of the corpus belongs to the cultico-theologically stamped texts of the exilic and post-exilic periods.

The oldest occurrences of the nom. are in Gen 26:10 (L/J) and 1 Sam 6:3f., 8, 17, and of the adj. *ʾāšēm* in 2 Sam 14:13. The verb occurs first then in Judg 21:22, followed by *ʾāšām* in 2 Kgs 12:17, *ʾašmâ* in Amos 8:14, *ʾāšēm* in Gen 42:21 (E), and finally the verb in Hos 4:15; 5:15; 10:2; 13:1; 14:1; and Hab 1:11.

The nom. form *ʾašmâ* is used only in the post-exilic period, apart from Amos 8:14 and Psa 69:6, first alongside *ʾāšām* (Lev 4:3; 5:24, 26; 22:16). In Ezra and Chron, where, on the one hand, the remaining 13 occurrences are located, while, on the other hand, *ʾāšām* no longer occurs, *ʾašmâ* has displaced the older form *ʾāšām*. This development is confirmed in the available Qumran texts, where *ʾāšām* occurs only 2x, *ʾašmâ*, in contrast, 37x (according to Kuhn, *Konk.* 23f.; cf. *GCDS* 37f.).

Textual difficulties exist in Judg 21:22 Isa 24:6; Ezek 6:6; Hos 4:15; Hab 1:11; Prov 14:9; Ezra 10:19.

3. (a) Context, formulaic usages, and phrases indicate two foci in the OT usage of the term: (1) a situation of guilt obligation, in which someone gives something.

Cf. e.g., “bring (*bôʿ* hi.) something as *ʔāšām* to Yahweh” (Lev 5:15b, 18, 25; Num 6:12), “present (*qrb* hi.) something before Yahweh” (Lev 14:12), “place (*śim*) his life (as) *ʔāšām*” (Isa 53:10); further, the means: “*ʔāšām* -goat” (Lev 5:16; 19:21b, 22), “*ʔāšām* -lamb” (Lev 14:21, 24f.), “*ʔāšām* -silver” (2 Kgs 12:17). Cf. also the “day of the *ʔāšmā*” (Lev 5:24; cf. Hos 5:15), and finally the introduction formulae in Lev 6:10; 7:1, 7, 37; Num 18:9, as well as Hos 5:15; Isa 24:6; Zech 11:5.

(2) A situation in which someone is or becomes obligated to discharge guilt by giving something.

This situation is expressed (a) by the verb in a judgment formula in genres dealing with the declaration of guilt (in these cases with the root *ʔsm* also probably including a formal declaration of the consequences of the judgment): Hos 10:2; 13:1; 14:1; Jer 2:3; Ezek 22:4; 25:12; Prov 30:10; Psa 34:23; cf. Jer 50:7; Psa 5:11; almost all these occurrences have a tripartite structure, with the declaration of guilt located exactly between the accusation and the specific announcement of punishment; cf. also Lev 5:17, 21–23; Num 5:6f.; (b) also by the verb in a judgment formula in instruction in cultic law: Lev 4:13f., 22f.; 5:17, 19b, 23; Num 5:6f.; (c) by *ʔāšām* in declaratory formulae: Lev 5:19a; 7:5; 14:13; (d) in exhortative communication of Torah: Hos 4:15; 2 Chron 19:10b; (e) in confession: 2 Chron 28:13b; (f) in all occurrences of *ʔāšmā* (except for Lev 5:24); (g) cf. finally Jer 50:7; 51:5; Psa 68:22; Gen 26:10; also Amos 8:14, “they swear by that by which Samaria has become guilty.”

(b) This state of affairs indicates the viewpoints to be excluded for the determination of the meaning of the term:

(1) *ʔsm* is not a term for “transgression, offense.” Accordingly, the texts markedly distinguish *ʔsm* from terms for “transgression” (e.g., *mʕl*, Lev 5:15, 21; *hʕʔ*, Lev 4:2f., 13f.; 5:1f.; cf. also Ezra 9:13). Although the transgression may be of entirely different varieties (Lev 4:13; 5:2, 17–19; Num 5:6f.) and *ʔsm* can presuppose all varieties (Lev 5:21–23, 26; 2 Chron 19:10), *ʔsm* itself always refers only to a *particular type of consequence* of offenses.

(2) It is equally impossible to demonstrate that *ʔsm* means a particular type of punishment (T. H. Gaster, *IDB* 4:152: “simply a mulct,” “a fine”). The fulfillment of the obligation could vary; cf. 1 Sam 6:3f., 8, 17; Gen 42:21; 2 Kgs 12:17; Hos 14:1; Jer 51:5; Isa 53:10; also Lev 5:15ff.; Ezek 40:39; 44:29; 46:20; Ezra 10:19, etc.

(3) *ʔāšām* as fulfillment of obligation cannot be understood originally as “sacrifice,” even if the institution appears later alongside the various sacrificial rites; cf. Lev 6:10; 7:7, 37; Num 18:9; 2 Kgs 12:17; Ezek 40:39; 42:13; 44:29; 46:20 (cf. R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel* [1967], 227f.; Elliger, HAT 4, 73ff.).

(4) Although *ʔāšām* and *ʕāwōn* (the two most nearly synonymous terms) refer to the same situation in Jer 51:5f.; Lev 5:17; 22:16; Ezra 9:6, they still express something distinct: → *ʕāwōn* addresses the element of the weight, the burdening, the burden (of guilt); in contrast, *ʔāšām* expresses the element of obligation (with respect to the resolution of guilt). *ʕāwōn ʔāšmâ* in Lev 22:16 means, then, “the burden of guilt-obligation.”

(5) Finally, functional aspects such as “reparation” or “restitution” do not appear to be the primary referent of *ʔšm*. The primary viewpoint is the situation of obligation that follows a judgment, the state of being obligated, and its fulfillment. Functional aspects appear to belong more to the presupposed sense of the situation of obligation than to be expressed in the word itself. Thus according to Lev 5:14–16, *ʔāšām* is not “compensation” (contra Elliger, HAT 4, 76; with Gaster, op. cit.: “not an indemnification . . . not compensatory”), but serves to restore (contra Gaster, op. cit.); cf. → *kpr pi. ʕal* and → *slḥ*. Cf. also Lev 5:21–26 and Num 5:6f. Gen 42:21 seems to imply an understanding of compensation. The old text 1 Sam 6:3f., 8, 17 refers to rehabilitation and restitution, Isa 53:10 to restitution; cf. Judg 21:22.

(c) The double usage—from a modern perspective—of the one root *ʔšm* (see 3a) apparently relates to a common foundation assumed in all aspects from judgment of guilt to resolution of guilt: it is *the obligation, the duty, the liability, that results from incurring guilt*. In this respect “obligation” always aims at fulfillment, even if not yet completed; the fulfillment is always characterized according to its nature, namely “liability or punishment for guilt.” This situation occurs, above all, in the case of the sentence of liability for guilt (see 3a[1]), during the period of obligation for guilt (adj. forms; cf. Prov 14:9, “fools scoff at liability for guilt”; Psa 68:22, “(he) who walks in his guilt-obligatedness”; Jer 51:5, “the land is full of guilt-liability”), and in the event of fulfillment (see 3a[2]).

In this sense, then, the nominal forms (incl. the adjs.) signify guilt-obligatedness, the verb forms, *incurring* guilt-obligation. The reason that the noun is used only in the sg. (exceptions: Psa 69:6; 2 Chron 28:10, both from *ʔāšmâ*) may be that “guilt-obligation,” with a view to judgment and atonement, is always seen as one. In contrast, the pl. forms of verbs and adjs. refer to the plurality of the obligated persons.

This common basic situation and basic meaning seem, then, to continue to dominate even in texts that do not require a choice between

“guilt” and “atonement”: Gen 26:10; 42:21 (cf. v 22c); Judg 21:22; 2 Sam 14:13; Hos 5:15 (cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 105, and Gen 42:21); 10:2; 14:1; Isa 53:10; Prov 14:9; 30:10; Ezra 10:19 MT: “and those under guilt-obligation, a goat for their guilt-obligation (penance? punishment?)”; contrast LXX: “and as their punishment (act of penance?) a lamb for their guilt-obligation.” Cf. the double perspective in the contexts of Psa 34:22f.; Lev 5:24, 26, as well.

(d) On the basis, then, of the application of the basic meaning to the various aspects of the guilt-obligation situation, the perspectival usage of the term arises. Finally, in addition to the already mentioned perspectives of being/becoming obligated by guilt and of guilt-resolution, the usage of *ʾāšām* as a means of guilt-resolution may be mentioned.

This usage is expressed grammatically by *ʾāšām* as either an acc. obj. or nomen rectum in a gen. construction: “to slaughter *ʾāšām*” (Lev 7:2, an animal is intended); “to bring *ʾāšām*” (Lev 5:6f., 15b, 25a; 19:21a); “to return *ʾāšām*” (1 Sam 6:3f., 8, 17; Num 5:7f.); “the blood of the *ʾāšām* (-animal)” (Lev 14:14, 17, 25b, 28). According to Ezek 40:39; 42:13; 44:29; 46:20, *ʾāšām*, among others, belongs to the holy offerings reserved for the priests.

The alteration of perspectives is indicated clearly in Lev 5:15f.: (1) “*ʾāšām* for Yahweh,” (2) “a goat as *ʾāšām* (*lʿāšām*),” (3) “the goat of the (*hā-*)*ʾāšām*.” In (1) *ʾāšām* is the subj., in (2) and (3) the goat is the subj. While (2) and (3) explicate the relationship between *ʾāšām* and the goat, this explication is implied in *ʾāšām*. This shows that even where the word must be understood instrumentally, it expresses more the significance, the function of the means, than the means itself. The contexts indicate that one also had the means itself in view, and stated it.

(e) The modern translation problem consists in the fact that we see primarily the different perspectives and express the distinctions and do not see and express the commonalities that are true of *šm* despite the distinctions. With attention to the basic intention of the Hebr. term, one should consequently translate: *šm* qal “to be/become guilt-obligated or liability-obligated”; *šm* ni. “to suffer guilt-obligation, guilt-liability” (Joel 1:18); *šm* hi. “to make obligated due to guilt, liable due to guilt” (Psa 5:11); *ʾāšēm* “obligated due to guilt, liable due to guilt”; *ʾāšām* and *ʾāšmâ* “guilt-obligation, guilt-liability, guilt-responsibility” (both nouns so far as possible with a view to the unity of situation and resolution). Where the element of resolution predominates or the instrumental element cannot be set aside, one may translate “resolution of guilt,” “reparation.” Alternatives include: “guilt/restitution” (Buber); “culpability/punishment” (Wolff; clear linguistically and with respect to content); “to be guilty/to do penance” (ZB; not entirely precise with respect to content and linguistically inconsistent). The following

proposals are incorrect or problematic: “to become guilty, guilt” (because this is aimed at the act of the offense); “to do wrong” (ZB, e.g., at Lev 5:17); “to burden with guilt” (*HAL* 93a; cf. *KBL* 94b; because “to burden” is more appropriate for *ʿawōn*); “guilt sacrifice” (because “sacrifice” implies something other than the punitive character of the guilt offering).

4. The understanding assumed in an *šm* situation is apparently that guilt-obligation and resolution of liability for injury will create the prerequisite for the restoration of a disturbed situation. The word has a theological character insofar as human liability is the expression, cause, or result of divine judgment or activity and is related to this divine involvement as a human situation or resolution. This relationship is directly visible where Yahweh’s privileges (e.g., in the cultic sphere) are violated. And it is implicitly the case where Yahweh’s jurisdiction is violated through the infringement of civil rights or of people. The reason for this theological quality of *šm* lies in the view that human guilt-liability involves God basically and entirely. As a consequence, every resolution of guilt simultaneously signifies a realization of liability before God. Thus one may not distinguish between a religious and a secular understanding of *šm*-situations here either.

Correspondingly, God requests or announces *šm* on account of the oppression of the righteous (Psa 5:11; 32:22f.) or on account of the violence done to the law that Yahweh oversees (Ezek 22:4; 2 Chron 19:10; cf. vv 5–9). Or the guilt-obligation of God’s enemies results in divine intervention (Psa 68:22). According to Num 5:6f, one is liable to the injured person or to his/her relative, or, if there is no relative, to God, because of the notion that a legal offense against people is an offense against God. Lev 5:14–16, 21–26 declares, as broadly as possible, that one who commits a legal offense against another is liable to God—in addition to being responsible for making restitution to the injured party.

Joseph’s brothers understand their situation as a guilt-burden for their crime against Joseph (Gen 42:21). According to 1 Sam 6:3, *šm* is supposed to bring about healing and the recognition of the reason for Yahweh’s judgment.

In this sense, *šm* is a consequence, then, of the violation of covenant (Isa 24:6) or of apostasy from Yahweh (Hos, esp. 14:1; Jer 51:5). Guilt-obligation becomes directly visible when one assaults Yahweh’s privileges, those dedicated to Yahweh, whether Israel (Ezek 25:12; Jer 50:7; Zech 11:5), a compatriot (2 Chron 28:13), the property of the sanctuary or of the priests (Ezek 40:39; 42:13; 44:29; 46:20), or a specific religious law (Ezra 10:19).

5. The LXX translated *šm* with no less than 16 different terms. In the lead, with about half the occurrences (mostly from Lev, Num, and related texts) stands *plēmmeleia* “offense” (*plēmmeleō*, etc., is not attested in the NT), followed by *hamartia* (*hamartanō*), *agnoia*, and other words for

“error.” The LXX, then, abandoned the unified basic meaning of *šm* in principle and replaced it with a number of meanings mostly of quite distinct and widely varied backgrounds. This observation applies even to the various layers of tradition noted in the LXX and despite the predominance of *plēmmeleia*. Furthermore, the LXX is not consistent in translation—with only the partial exception of relatively closed text groups (Lev, Num)—not even in the rendering of the major perspectives. These very perspectives have fallen prey to an understanding of deeds implicit in the Gk. terms. With the transition into the Greek-speaking world, then, the specific content of *šm* was basically lost.

R. Knierim

### אשר *šr* pi. to call blessed

S 833; BDB 80b; HALOT 1:97b; TDOT 1:445–48; TWOT 183; NIDOTTE 887

1. The nominal form *šre*, usually understood as the pl. cs. of an assumed *šer* “luck, fortune” (cf., however, Joüon §89l; J. A. Soggin, *TZ* 23 [1967]: 82), presents the most important form of the word family *šr* II, with some counterparts in neighboring languages, although they do not sufficiently explain the etymology of the root (cf. HAL 94–96; Zorell 87; W. Janzen, *HTR* 58 [1965]: 216; SBL 116). The derivative *šer* “luck” is attested once (Gen 30:13; cf. HAL 95b; also WUS no. 458; Neo-Pun. *šrlb* “joy of the heart(?),” KAI no. 145.11). Verbal manifestations of the root occur only in *šr* pi. and pu. and are commonly perceived as denominatives of *šre* (cf. D. R. Hillers, “Delocutive Verbs in Biblical Hebrew,” *JBL* 86 [1967]: 320–24).

2. Although the distribution of verbs is not very characteristic (pi. 7x, pu. 2x), some tendencies are perceptible for *šre*. The word is attested a total of 45x (Psa 26x, Prov 8x; also Deut 33:29; 1 Kgs 10:8[bis] = 2 Chron 9:7[bis]; Isa 30:18; 32:20; 56:2; Job 5:17; Eccl 10:17; Dan 12:12; in addition to *šer* 1x; see above), 38x in the form *šre*, 6x with pl. suf. and 1x with sg. suf. (Prov 29:18).

In view of the rather high number of Psa occurrences, the genre of the psalms in question should be examined because the question (controversial in some research) of the origin and nature of the *šre* statements essentially depends on this evidence.

This investigation indicates that the stereotypical *šrē* formula characterizes known wisdom Psalms (Psa 1; 32; 34; 106; 112; 127; 128; cf. Gunkel-Begrich 392; S. Mowinckel, *SVT* 3 [1955]: 213; Sellin-Fohrer 285ff.) or can occur in wisdom-influenced elements of other Psalms (cf. Psa 94; 119; also Psa 2:12b alongside v 10). Three of nine verbs exhibit wisdom influence (Job 29:11; Prov 3:18; 31:28; cf. Psa 41:3 Q). The extensive attempt of E. Lipiński, (“Macarismes et psaumes de congratulation,” *RB* 75 [1968]: 321–67) to demonstrate a cultic origin for the *šrē* formula, first on the basis of the Psalm passages, is already of limited value because of this association with wisdom (see further 4).

3. (a) The basic meaning of the pi., to be understood as an estimative- declarative, is “call blessed” (with e.g., GB 73; *HAL* 94a; *HP* 41, 270). *ūd* hi. “give (complimentary) testimony” (Job 29:11) and *hll* pi. “praise” (Prov 31:28; Song Sol 6:9) are occasionally par. The verb, which—like the nominal forms—refers only to persons (but never to God; see G. Bertram, *TDNT* 4:365), expresses a predicative description with positive content, a description further modified and given foundation by the context or by assertions of various types (e.g., a *kî* clause, Mal 3:12).

(b) The nominal beatitude using suf. forms and, above all, the more frequent *šrē*, confirms the verbal evidence, but exhibits at the same time a broader application, still markedly formulaic.

The form with the simple *šrē* is always in first position; so, too, usually the suf. forms (in Prov 14:21; 16:20; 29:18, however, post-positive). Par. allusions occur in 1 Kgs 10:8 = 2 Chron 9:7; Psa 144:15; doublets in Psa 32:1f.; 84:5f.; 119:1f.; 137:8f.; Prov 8:32, 34 (cf. K. Koch, *Growth of the Biblical Tradition* [1969], 7, 95), which give rise to series (these series dominate, however, only later; cf. C. A. Keller, FS Vischer 89). The syntactic extension of the form often occurs through a noun: *ādām* (Psa 32:2; 84:6, 13; Prov 3:13; 8:34; 28:14) and *nōš* (Isa 56:2; Job 5:17) “person,” *š* (sg.: Psa 1:1; 112:1; pl.: 1 Kgs 10:8 = 2 Chron 9:7) and *geber* (Psa 34:9; 40:5; 94:12; 127:5) “man,” *gōy* (Psa 33:12) and *am* (Psa 89:16; 144:15[bis]) “people,” “his sons” (Prov 20:7), “your servants” (1 Kgs 10:8 = 2 Chron 9:7), and “those who walk blamelessly” (Psa 119:1), then through a ptcp. (sg.: Psa 32:1; 41:2; 128:1; Dan 12:12; pl.: Isa 30:18; Psa 2:12; 84:5; 106:3; 119:2), or through a relative clause formed either asyndetically with an impf. (Psa 65:5; Prov 8:32; cf. BrSynt 144) or with *še* - and an impf. (Psa 137:8f.) or nom. clause (Psa 146:5). This extension characterizes or grounds the beatification of the person (or group) in question.

There are occasionally address forms (Deut 33:29; Isa 32:20; Psa 128:2; Eccl 10:17, with suf. forms; cf. Mal 3:12 with the verb). In some circumstances a congratulatory act can also be presupposed (cf. Gen 30:13; also Psa 127:3–5; 128; cf. *TDNT* 4:367), so that the beatitude may hardly be described generally as a greeting or felicitation (cf. H. Schmidt, *TSK* 103 [1931]: 141–50; Gemser’s characterization of them as “a hymnically elevated mid-form between statement and exhortation” (HAT

16, 29) may be too imprecise, according to W. Zimmerli, “Concerning the Structure of OT Wisdom,” *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* [1976], 202n.16). It should more likely be understood as a predicative salvation saying (cf. Fohrer, KAT 16, 152; also Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:115, with reference to M. Buber), which focuses praise on a person (or group) for his/her beneficent well-being and establishes the person as exemplary—with a particular exhortative character—and which may be issued primarily in a wisdom context, but also with a more limited religious interest.

4. Of theological significance is the fact that one does not contrast these interests so that “wisdom” is essentially equated with “empirical wisdom,” but that one emphasizes the religious character of wisdom (cf. Zimmerli, “Place and Limit of the Wisdom in the Framework of the OT Theology,” *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* 316; Ch. Kayatz, *Studien zu Proverbien 1–9* [1966], 51f., who adduces Eg. material, as does, esp., J. Dupont, “‘Béatitudes’ égyptiennes,” *Bib* 47 [1966]: 185–222). Thus felicitous good fortune can be of various types and can refer e.g., to the possession of children, beauty, and honor, to the discovery of wisdom, as well as to the forgiveness of sin and trust in God (more precise references in Bertram, *TDNT* 4:365), yet it is generally true that the person congratulated does not violate God’s established order but conforms to it (cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 196), and that, at the same time, well-being can be an observable expression of the manifest or expected blessing of God (so Janzen, op. cit. 218ff., contra S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* [1924], 5:1f., 54, and others, who, in the interests of the cult, understand *ʾašrē* as a kind of blessing very near to the word stem → *brk*, which seems inappropriate, however; cf. also J. Dupont, *Les Béatitudes* [19582], 321ff.). “Theological wisdom” and piety could also be given a nomistic turn (so, above all, in *Psa* 1; cf. also *Psa* 119:1f.; *Prov* 29:18b). Like the apocalyptic expression of *Dan* 12:12, *Psa* 1 deals with salvation as a contrast to ruin under God’s power.

5. In the LXX, which continues to remain basically true to the conceptual model of the OT, as well as in the NT, where the term “refers overwhelmingly to the distinctive religious joy which accrues to man from his share in the salvation of the kingdom of God” (F. Hauck, *TDNT* 4:367), the Gk. equivalents to the word stem *šr* are formed almost exclusively from the word group *makarios*, *makarizō*, and *makarismos*. Otherwise, the series (makarisms) are formally characteristic esp. of later literature (cf. *Sir* 25:7–11; *Matt* 5:3–12; *Luke* 6:20–23; → *hōy*). Cf. F. Hauck and G. Bertram, “μακάριος,” *TDNT* 4:362–70; J. Dupont, *Les Béatitudes* (19582); A. George, *FS Robert* 398–403; K. Koch, *Growth of the Biblical Tradition* (1969), 6–8, 39–44, 59–62; W. Käser, *ZAW* 82 (1970): 225–50.

M. Sæbø

את <sup>ʔ</sup>*ēt* **with** → עם <sup>ʕ</sup>*im*

אתה <sup>ʔ</sup>*th* **to come** → בוא <sup>ʔ</sup>*bôʔ*

### בגד *bgd* **to act faithlessly**

S 898; BDB 93b; HALOT 1:108a; TDOT 1:470–73; TWOT 198; NIDOTTE 953

1. The root *bgd* “to act faithlessly” has so far been identified outside Hebr. only in the Arab. dialect of the Datinah (C. Landberg, *Etudes sur les dialectes de l’Arabie Méridionale* [1905], 2:365f.; *Glossaire Datinois* [1920], 1:135), where *bajada* means “to mislead, to deceive.”

Concerning the relationship of the root to *beged* “garment, covering” (215x in the OT) or Arab. *bijād/bujd* posited by Gesenius (*Thesaurus* 177), Landberg (op. cit.), etc., which would result in a basic meaning “tecte agere,” one must abide by the caution of P. Joüon (*Mélanges de la faculté orientale de Beyrouth* 6 [1913]: 171). It is more likely that *beged* “garment” is a primary noun and can be disregarded in the following.

Derivatives include the noun *beged* “unfaithfulness” (Isa 24:16; Jer 12:1 in the cognate acc. *bgd beged*), the abstract pl. ptcp. *bōg<sup>e</sup>dôt* “faithlessness” (Zeph 3:4, in the phrase <sup>ʔ</sup>*anšê bōg<sup>e</sup>dôt* “men of faithlessness”; according to Gemser, HAT 16, 113, also in Prov 23:28 *bōg<sup>e</sup>dīm* “deceit”), and the adj. *bāgôd* “faithless” (Jer 3:7, 10, interchangeable with the act. ptcp. *bōgēd*).

2. The verb occurs 49x in the OT, only in the qal. Thirty occurrences fall in the prophetic corpus (post-exilic additions in Isa 10x, Deutero-Isa 2x, Jer 9x, Hos 2x, Hab 2x, Mal 5x), 9 in Prov, 5 in Psa, and once each in Job, Lam, Exod, Judg, and 1 Sam. Together with the five occurrences of the noun mentioned above, the whole word group occurs a total of 54x; 35x or approximately 65% in prophecy.

The verb appears abs. 35x (23x in the ptcp.) and 14x (in addition to Psa 73:15 txt em) with *be* and the person (Yahweh in Jer 3:20; 5:11; Hos 5:7; 6:7; otherwise people: woman 4x, compatriot 3x, foreign nation 2x, king 1x). It is incorrect to assume a construction with *min* in Jer 3:20; *min* here should be translated “on account of” (contra

S. Poržčan, *Sin in the OT* [1963], 61, who also incorrectly cites a construction with  $\text{בָּגַד}$ ).

3. (a) The semantics of *bgd* must be derived from the OT itself, because the Arab. pars. mentioned under 1 are hardly productive. If one begins with the three presumably oldest attestations in Exod 21:8; Judg 9:23; 1 Sam 14:33, one derives, first of all, three categories of usage for the root, the first of which may be its original setting in life, while the second and third probably represent primarily transitional areas. Two secondary areas of expansion, one pretheological and one specifically theological, are appended; this differentiation is undertaken for the sake of overview and may not signify a strict distinction in subject matter.

The following categorization results: marriage law (3b), politico-diplomatic law (3c), cultico-sacral law (3d), social (3e), and specifically theological (4a-d) spheres.

(b) Exod 21:8 relates *bgd be* strictly to a legal status within slave law, a status established through a marital relationship. A slave designated for marital relations thereby attains “at least to a certain extent—the rights of a wife” (Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 179); if she displeases her husband, she may not be sold to a foreigner. Accordingly, the verb means: “to act contrary to the duty required by law or established by a relationship of loyalty into which the parties have entered.” The translation “to act faithlessly” must bear in mind that the reference is less to an offensive attitude than to an objectively measurable offensive behavior.

If one extends the marriage law line from this passage, the following may be treated: Mal 2:14f. (on vv 10f., 16, see 3e), where *bgd* concerns divorce (v 16 *šlh* pi.) and is juridically qualified by  $\text{אֵשֶׁת בְּרִיתֶךָ}$  “wife of your marital contract” (Horst, HAT 14, 268), whose “witness” is Yahweh (v 14); Prov 23:28, where, in context with “whore” and “stranger” (= the wife of a strange man), *bôg<sup>c</sup>dîm* specifically means “adulterer”; Lam 1:2, where the faithlessly abandoned woman is a picture of Jerusalem abandoned by its allies, which established the transition to the political context (see c).

(c) Judg 9:23 exhibits *bgd* in the realm of politico-diplomatic law; it refers to the Shechemite defection from Abimelek.

In addition to Lam 1:2 (see b), Isa 21:2 (crime of the Babylonian vassals against Babel); 33:1; Hab 1:13; 2:5 lie in the same vein. In the last three passages, *bgd* has admittedly been applied, in an unusual expansion and at the same time an inversion, to the power politics of the foreign superpowers who scoffed at all limits of international law and in which “the godless (*rāšāʿ*) devours the righteous (*šaddîq*)” (Hab 1:13). It is noteworthy that Isa 33:1, “woe to the faithless, on whom faithlessness has not been practiced,” is interpreted in v 8 precisely with “he has broken the contract (*b<sup>c</sup>rit*).” “Human power must be seen as . . . dissolved by God when it attacks the law, when it commits, as it were, a faithless contract (*bgd*) by brutally oppressing in order to elevate

its own might” (Horst, HAT 14, 177).

(d) In 1 Sam 14:33, *bgd* qualifies the transgression of the ritual law of Lev 7:26f.; 17:10ff. (the prohibition against the consumption of blood) in par. to → *ḥtʿ* “to err” as a cultico-sacral offense.

Such a usage also appears in Psa 78:57, as the comparison with v 58 (“high places,” “idols”) shows. In the probable event that this passage reprimands cult prophets, *ʿanšēbōgēdôt* “men of faithlessness,” it belongs in this category too.

(e) *bgd* appears in Jer 12:6 (family); Job 6:15 (compatriots); Mal 2:10f., 16 (kinship of God’s children); and in the proverbs applied to the still pretheological realm of the community faithfulness demanded by created or natural social structures. In Psa 73:15 it means betrayal of the community of the “pious” (v 1), who, as “those who hope in Yahweh,” oppose the *bōgēdīm rēqām*, the “senselessly faithless” in Psa 25:3. Prov 25:19 associates the *bōgēd* with false testimony (v 18).

4. (a) The specifically theological usage appears in the phrase *bgd be* with Yahweh (Jer 3:20; 5:11; Hos 5:7; 6:7), and in the usage of the verbs with direct reference to the relationship with God, often the ptcp. without obj. (or with a cognate acc.) (1 Sam 14:33; Isa 24:16; 48:8; Jer 3:8, 11; 12:1; Psa 25:3; 78:57; 119:158), and in the similar usage of the adj. *bāgôd* (Jer 3:7, 10).

(b) The application of marriage law concepts to the relationship with God occurs in Jer and Hos. Corresponding to the covenant ideology underlying this application, par. expressions here are *šûb mēʿahʿrê* “to turn aside from,” *znh* “to commit harlotry,” *nʿp* “to commit adultery,” and the antonyms *šûb ʿel* “to return to,” *ʿth lʿ* “to come (back) to,” and *ydʿ ʿet-yhwh* “to (ac)know(ledge) Yahweh.” When Mal 2:10–16 uses the interrelated key words *bgd* and *bʿrît* for both marriage and the covenant with Yahweh (vv 10, 14), it has long been anticipated, as shown by Hos 6:7 (*bgd beyhwh* and *ʿbr bʿrît* “to transgress the covenant” elucidate each other) and Jer 3:8 (the “decree of divorcement” presupposes the concept of the “marriage contract”).

(c) In the remaining passages, *bgd* is measured more in terms of norms and regulations of righteousness and community loyalty: in terms of *mišpāt* (→ *špt*, Isa 33:1, 5; Hos 5:1, 7; 6:5, 7; Hab 1:12f.), of *šʿdāqâ* (→ *šdq*, Isa 33:1, 5; cf. the antonym *šaddîq* in Isa 24:16; Hab 1:13; 2:4f.), of *ʿmûnâ* (→ *ʿmn*; Jer 9:1f.; Hab 2:4f.), and of → *ḥesed* (Hos 6:4, 6f.; Job 6:14f.). The adj. *rāšāʿ* (→ *ršʿ*) parallels the ptcp. *bōgēd* in Jer 12:1; Hab 1:13. Another important par. is the root *pšʿ* “to break with” (R. Knierim, *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im AT* [1965], 113ff.), which explicates the *bāgôd tibgôd* of Isa

48:8a in v 8b and the *bōg<sup>e</sup>dîm bāgādû ûbeged bōg<sup>e</sup>dîm bāgādû* of Isa 24:16 in v 20. The assumption that the political strain, in particular, found application to the relationship with God in the passages named in 4c is supported by this proximity to *pšç*, which often indicates political apostasy.

(d) It is form-critically noteworthy that most passages appear in the accusation of prophetic judgment speech, also in the threat and in the lament. Elements of lament and accusation also carry the term in Psa and Lam. The legal home of the root *bgd* required that the prophets use it for the accusatory indictment of apostasy.

5. The stereotypical usage of the ptcp. of *bgd* at Qumran to describe the “sons of darkness” = “*the* disloyal” is foreshadowed in the OT. The par. *çdt bwgdym* (CD 1:2; 6Q 3:13 = DJD 3:140) to *çseret bōg<sup>e</sup>dîm* in Jer 9:1, both of which may mean “assembly of the faithless,” is interesting.

Because *atheteō* and *asyntheteō* are the most analogous translations of *bgd* in the LXX (in addition to the sporadic *anomeō*, *enkataleipō*, and the somewhat more frequent *paranomeō*), one probably reencounters the *bōg<sup>e</sup>dîm* in the *asynthetoi* of Rom 1:31 and the primitive Christian interpretation of the OT concept of *bgd beyhwh* in Luke 10:16, “but whoever rejects (*athetōn*) me, rejects (*athetei*) him who sent me.”

M. A. Klopfenstein

בַּד *bad* **solitariness** → עָהָד *çehād*

בֹּא *bō<sup>ʔ</sup>* **to come**

S 935; BDB 97b; HALOT 1:112b; TDOT 2:20–49; TWOT 212; NIDOTTE 995

אָתָּה *çth* **to come**

S 857; BDB 87a; HALOT 1:102a; TWOT 188; NIDOTTE 910

1. The verb *bō<sup>ʔ</sup>* “to enter, come” has cognates in most Sem. languages, although sometimes with somewhat divergent meanings (Akk. *bā<sup>ʔ</sup>u* “to go along,” etc.; Arab. *bā<sup>ʔ</sup>a* “to return”); Aram. uses *çth* for “to come,” *çl* for “to enter” (both occur as Aramaisms in Hebr.; see Wagner nos. 31f., 219f.).

In Mari, Akk. *bâḷu* is attested in the West Sem. meaning “to come” (*AHw* 117b; *CAD* B:181).

Ug. *ba* corresponds to Hebr. *bôʾ* in meaning (*WUS* no. 487; *UT* no. 453). In Phoen.-Pun. the *yi*. (*KAI* nos. 5.1; 81.4) also seems to occur alongside the *qal* (*DISO* 32), as well as the subst. *mbʾ* “setting (of the sun)” (*DISO* 141).

*môbāʾ* and *mābôʾ* “entrance,” *tʿbûʾâ* “produce,” and once *biʾâ* “entrance,” perhaps as an Akk. loanword (*HAL* 102a), occur as nom. forms in Hebr.

2. *bôʾ* is the fourth most frequent verb in the OT, after *ʾmr* “to say,” *hyh* “to be,” and *ʿsh* “to do, make,” and thus the most frequent verb of movement (*hlk* “to go” is sixth after *ntn* “to give”):

	qal	hi.	ho.	total	
Gen	168	46	3	217	
Exod	78	45	1	124	
Lev	30	44	7	81	
Num	69	22	–	91	
Deut	84	22	–	106	
Josh	54	5	–	59	
Judg	87	8	–	95	
1 Sam		143	27	–	170
2 Sam		133	15	–	148
1 Kgs	96	18	–	114	
2 Kgs	128	19	5	152	
Isa	102	21	–	123	
Jer	159	52	2	213	
Ezek	131	57	3	191	
Hos	11	–	–	11	
Joel	7	1	–	8	
Amos	10	3	–	13	
Obad	4	–	–	4	
Jonah		5	–	–	5
Mic	10	1	–	11	
Nah	1	–	–	1	
Hab	6	–	–	6	
Zeph	2	1	–	3	
Hag	5	3	–	8	
Zech	18	4	–	22	
Mal	7	3	–	10	

Psa	70	8	1	79	
Job	47	4	–	51	
	qal	hi.	ho.	total	
Prov	31	3	–	34	
Ruth	18	–	–	18	
Song Sol	5	5	–	10	
Eccl	12	3	–	15	
Lam	7	3	–	10	
Esth	29	8	–	37	
Dan	33	10	–	43	
Ezra	13	4	–	17	
Neh	29	20	–	49	
1 Chron	46	16	–	62	
2 Chron	109	48	2	159	
OT	1,997,549	24		2,570	

The table includes passages with the place designation *I<sup>e</sup>bô<sup>ʔ</sup>h<sup>a</sup>māt* (“where one enters Hamath”) (11x; cf. M. Noth, *Num*, OTL, 104f., 250; id., BK 9, 192; K. Elliger, *BHH* 2:630), as well as Gen 30:11 Q, but not Job 22:21.

Of the nouns, *mābô<sup>ʔ</sup>* occurs 23x (Ezek 5x), *môbā<sup>ʔ</sup>* 2x (2 Sam 3:25 Q; Ezek 43:11), *t<sup>e</sup>bû<sup>ʔ</sup>â* 43x (incl. Job 22:21; 11x in Lev, 9x in Lev 25; 8x in Prov, 6x in Deut) and *bi<sup>ʔ</sup>â* 1x (Ezek 8:5).

3. The numerous usages of the verb cannot be exhaustively treated here. The lexicons (cf. GB 86–88; Zorell 98–100; *HAL* 108–10) categorize these usages by the two major meanings “to enter” (antonymn → *yš<sup>ʔ</sup>* “to exit”) and “to come” (antonym → *hlk* “to go”) and append rarer meanings (“to go,” “to come back,” etc.) together with the many idiomatic expressions.

The usage with the subject → *šemeš* in the meaning “go down” should be added to the meaning “to enter” in *HAL* 109a (Gen 15:12, 17; 28:11; Exod 17:12; 22:25; Lev 22:7; Deut 16:6; 23:12; 24:13, 15; Josh 8:29; 10:27; Judg 19:14; 2 Sam 2:24; 3:35; 1 Kgs 22:36; Isa 60:20; Jer 15:9; Mic 3:6; Eccl 1:5; 2 Chron 18:34; cf. hi. “to cause to go down,” Amos 8:9; *m<sup>e</sup>bô<sup>ʔ</sup> haššemeš* “sunset, west,” Deut 11:30; Josh 1:4; 23:4; Zech 8:7; cf. Mal 1:11; Psa 50:1; 104:19; 113:3; *ʿrb* IV, with the subst. *ma<sup>a</sup>rāb*, also occurs in the same meaning; cf. Akk. *erēbu*).

The common meaning adapts itself well to euphemistic language, e.g., in Gen 15:15 “to go to the fathers” = “to die” and frequently in the meaning “to go in to a woman” = “to live together” (Gen 6:4; 16:2, 4; 19:31; 29:21, 23, 30; 30:3f., 16; 38:2, 8f., 16, 18; Deut 21:13; 22:13; 25:5; Judg 16:1; 2 Sam 3:7; 12:24; 16:21f.; Ezek 17:44; Psa 51:2; Prov 6:29; 1 Chron 2:21; 7:23; similarly also in Arab. and Ug.; see *WUS* no. 487

on *KTU* 1.10.II.21f.).

The meaning “to come” is developed in several directions. J. G. Plöger (*Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deut* [1967], 174–84) investigated the formulaic combination of *bôʿ* and *yšʿ* (“to come and go,” “exit and entrance”), and concluded that no specific life setting may be found for the combination (cf. Deut 28:6, 19; 31:2; Josh 6:1; 14:11; 1 Sam 18:13, 16; 29:6; 1 Kgs 3:7; 15:17 = 2 Chron 16:1; 2 Kgs 11:8 = 2 Chron 23:7; 2 Kgs 19:27 = Isa 37:28; Psa 121:8; 2 Chron 15:5; cf. Akk. *erēbu* and *ašû*, *CAD* E:263; *HAL* 109b with bibliog.).

In addition to the spatial, the temporal usage of “to come” also occurs quite often, not only with temporal expressions (e.g., → *yôm* “day,” in the prophetic introductory formula *hinnēh yāmîm bāʾîm* “behold, days are coming” in 1 Sam 2:31; 2 Kgs 20:17 = Isa 39:6; Jer 7:32; 9:24; 16:14; 19:6; 23:5, 7; 30:3; 31:27, 31, 38 Q; 33:14; 48:12; 49:2; 51:47, 52; Amos 4:2; 8:11; 9:13), but also with reference to announced events, which “arrive, come to pass” (cf. Deut 13:3; 18:22; 28:2, 15, 45; 30:1; Josh 21:45; 23:14f.; Judg 9:57; 13:12, 17; 1 Sam 9:6; 10:7, 9; Isa 5:19; 42:9; 48:3, 5; Jer 17:15; 28:9; Hab 2:3; Psa 105:19; Prov 26:2). *habbāʾôt* “the coming events” (Isa 41:22; cf. *hāʾôtîyôt*, Isa 41:23; 44:7, from *ʾth* “to come”) is substantivized.

The Aramaizing equivalent *ʾth qal* “to come” (19x) and the hi. “to bring” (2x) occur occasionally in poetical texts as synonyms for *bôʿ*, with concentrations in Deutero-Isa and Job. On Isa 21:12, see C. Rabin, FS Rinaldi 303–9.

Aram. *ʾth* “to come” occurs in the pe. 7x, in the ha. 7x in the meaning “to bring” and 2x in the meaning “to be brought.”

4. (a) Approximately 40 passages mention a “coming” of God quite distinctly (cf. G. Pidoux, *Le Dieu qui vient* [1947]; F. Schnutenhaus, “Das Kommen und Erscheinen Gottes im AT,” *ZAW* 76 [1964]: 1–22; E. Jenni, FS Eichrodt 251–61). One may best differentiate the coming of God in revelation in the old narratives, the coming conditioned by the cult or temple, and the hymnic or prophetic-eschatological descriptions of theophany.

Passages in the old narratives form a group in themselves. They describe not only the more modest coming of God’s messenger (Judg 6:11; 13:6, 8–10; cf. Josh 5:14), but also of God himself, if even, as in E, only in a dream by night (Gen 20:3 to Abimelek; 31:24 to Laban; Num 22:9, 20 to Balaam; similarly in the story of Samuel’s youth, 1 Sam 3:10) or in a rather indefinite usage in Exod 20:20 (“to come to test you”; cf. Deut 4:34, where *bôʿ* also serves only as the basis for the following verb), or, as in J, in the

cloud (Exod 19:9, J according to W. Beyerlin, *Origin and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions* [1965], 10; according to Noth, *History of Pentateuchal Traditions* [1972], 31n.112, this is an addition in Dtr style).

The second group is very disparate: the altar law in Exod 20:24 (“to come to you and bless you”) presupposes the drawing near of God to a cultic act. In the Philistines’ thinking, God came into the camp with the ark (1 Sam 4:7). A cultically conditioned coming or entry of God is also probable in Psa 24:7, 9 in the context of the procession of the ark. Finally, God also returns to the new temple according to Ezek 43:2, 4; 44:2.

Depictions of epiphany or theophany, in which *bôʾ* occurs often, although not as a key term (cf. → *ysʾ*, → *yrd*, → *yp<sup>c</sup>* hi.), form the most important group theologically (Westermann, *PLP* 93–101; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie* [1965]). According to Jeremias (op. cit. 136–46), the broadly varied genre of the theophany portrayal is independent of extrabiblical motifs (contra Schnutenhaus, op. cit. 4, 6) in its initial element, the depiction of Yahweh’s arrival from his dwelling place (Deut 33:2 from Sinai; cf. Psa 68:18b txt em; Hab 3:3 from Teman); it has its original setting in the victory celebrations of the Israelite summons to arms, which celebrated the arrival of Yahweh to aid his people in the Yahweh war. From there the motif also spread widely beyond the hymnic sphere into the prophetic announcements of judgment and salvation, which could no longer announce Yahweh’s coming only from Sinai, but, reflecting the prevalent notion of the dwelling place of Yahweh, also from Zion (Psa 50:3; cf. v 2), from afar (Isa 30:27, the name of Yahweh), even from the north (Ezek 1:4; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:119f.; cf. also Job 37:22 txt em, *ʾth* of the glory of God), or without reference to place of origin (Isa 40:10; 59:19f.; 66:15; Zech 14:5, cf. 2:14; Mal 3:1f., 24; cf. also Isa 19:1, Yahweh comes to Egypt). Psa 96:13 = 1 Chron 16:33; Psa 98:9 associate theophany, present only in overtones, with the motif of coming in judgment. These passages all share the fact that in them *bôʾ* testifies to the God who intervenes in history.

Isa 3:14 (*bôʾb<sup>e</sup>mišpāt ʿim*, “to enter judgment with”; cf. Psa 143:2; Job 9:32; 22:4; H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT* [1964], 85) and Isa 50:2 (“why have I come and no one is here?”; cf. Isa 41:28) do not concern coming in the full sense of theophany, but involve *bôʾ* in a fixed legal expression; cf. *ʾth* in Dan 7:22.

In Hos 6:3, “he will come to us like the rain,” the verb is governed by the comparison. In Hos 10:12 *bôʾ* functions only as an auxiliary verb introducing the subsequent action, as is the case in Zech 2:14 (cf. above on Exod 20:20; Deut 4:34).

(b) The verb *bôʾ* plays a distinct role, moreover, in the messianic prophecy in Zech 9:9, “behold, your king comes to you”; Gen 49:10 (“until

the *šlōh* comes [?]“) and Ezek 21:32 (“until he comes to whom the claim/judgment belongs”) remain difficult and disputed. Cf. also Dan 7:13, the coming (*ʾth*) of the “man” in the clouds of heaven.

→ *qēš* “end” (Amos 8:2; Ezek 7:2–6 is probably dependent; cf. Gen 6:13; Lam 4:18), → *yôm yhw̄h* “the day of Yahweh,” and similar expressions (Isa 13:6, 9, 22; cf. 63:4; Jer 50:27, 31; cf. 51:33; Ezek 7:10, 12; cf. vv 25f.; 21:30, 34; 22:3f.; Joel 1:15; 2:1; 3:4; Zeph 2:2; Zech 14:1; Mal 3:19, 23) are chief among the coming eschatological realities (e.g., fall, Isa 30:13; vengeance and recompense, Isa 35:4; sword, Ezek 33:3f., 6; days of vengeance and revenge, Hos 9:7; affliction, Mic 7:4; but also positively, light and salvation, Isa 56:1; 60:1; 62:11; the former dominion, Mic 4:8; with *ʾth*: Cyrus, Isa 41:25).

5. Of the very numerous translation options for *bôʾ* in the LXX, the most frequent are *erchesthai*, *eiserchesthai*, and *ēkein*. On *bôʾ* in the context of the messianic expectation at Qumran (1QS 9:11; CD 19:10f.), see A. S. van der Woude, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumran* (1957), 58, 76f. On the coming of God (Acts 1:4, 8; 4:8), Christ, and the kingdom in the NT, cf. J. Schneider, “ἔρχομαι,” *TDNT* 2:666–84; id., “ἦκω,” *TDNT* 2:926–28; K. G. Kuhn, “μαρναναθά,” *TDNT* 4:466–72; A. Oepke, “παρουσία,” *TDNT* 5:858–71.

E. Jenni

## בּוֹשׁ *bôš* to be ashamed

S 954; BDB 101b; *HALOT* 1:116b; *TDOT* 2:50–60; *TWOT* 222; *NIDOTTE* 1017

1. The verb *bôš*, formed on the biradical base \**bṭ* with a long vowel (*ā* > *ō*), occurs primarily in ESem. and NWSem., in Aram., with a trilateral resolution of the hollow root to *bḥt*; cf. the infrequent Arab. *bḥt* (Th. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 40 [1886]: 157, 741).

One should distinguish *bôš* I from *bôš* II, used in the po. (Exod 32:1; Judg 5:28) in the meaning “to delay, hesitate” (N. H. Torczyner, *ZDMG* 70 [1916]: 557; cf. *HAL* 112f.; the meanings of Ug. *bš* and *bṭ* are disputed; cf. *WUS* nos. 597, 609f.; *UT* nos. 532, 544; Ezra 8:22 in the qal, cited as a possibility in *HAL* 113a, hardly belongs to *bôš* II).

That a double formation is possible in the hi. deserves mention as a grammatical peculiarity of *bôš* I: in addition to the normal *hēbîš*, the more frequent form *hōbîš* is to be

explained as confusion with *ybš* hi. (BL 402); see 3b.

The following are derivatives: *bōšet* and *būšâ* “shame,” *m<sup>c</sup>būšîm* “private parts”; *bošnâ* in Hos 10:6 appears to be a textual corruption (cf. Barth 346).

2. The verb occurs 129x (qal 95x, hi. 33x [*hēbîš* 11x, *hōbîš* 22x, incl. Isa 30:5 Q; Joel 1:12a, under *ybš* in Lis.], hitpo. 1x). It is absent from the Pentateuch except for Gen 2:25 (hitpo.), very rare in prose, little used in wisdom texts (Prov 6x hi.), and frequent in the Prophets (esp. Jer, 36x) and in Psa (34x).

The MT of Hos 13:15; Psa 25:3b (*BHS*) is not applicable; on Isa 30:5 Q/K, cf. comms.; Ezek 7:26 txt em (*BHS*) should be included.

Of the derivatives, *bōšet* occurs 30x, *būšâ* 4x, *bošnâ* (Hos 10:6) and *m<sup>c</sup>būšîm* (Deut 25:11) once each.

3. (a) The basic meaning in the qal is apparently “to be ashamed,” in two senses: first, objectively establishing the fact (“to come to nothing”), but at the same time, subjectively characterizing the feeling of the one come to nothing (“to feel ashamed”).

The expression *‘ad-bôš* (Judg 3:25; 2 Kgs 2:17; 8:11) is a stereotypical formula with the sense “(to the point of) embarrassment,” etc.; cf. similar formulations in Eng. (Torczyner, op. cit. assumes *bôš* II here).

The verb’s range of meaning becomes apparent in the par. expressions, sometimes with an objective and sometimes with a subjective character:

(1) *klm* ni., ho. “to be humiliated” (originally “to be injured”; cf. L. Kopf, *VT* 8 [1958]: 179), Isa 41:11; 45:16f.; Jer 14:3; 17:13 txt em (*BHS*); 22:22; 31:19; Ezek 36:32; Psa 35:4; 69:7; Ezra 9:6; more remotely, Isa 54:4;

(2) *hpr* “to feel shame,” Isa 1:29; 24:23; 54:4 (hi.); Jer 15:9; 50:12; Mic 3:7; Psa 35:26; 40:15; 71:24; more remotely, Psa 35:4; 83:18;

(3) *htt* “to be shattered, dismayed,” 2 Kgs 19:26 = Isa 37:27; Isa 20:5; Jer 17:18 (ni.);

(4) *hwr* “to turn pale,” Isa 19:9 txt em (*BHS*); 29:22;

(5) *sûg* ni. “to withdraw,” Isa 42:17; Psa 35:4; 40:15; 129:5;

(6) *bhl* ni. “to be terrified,” Psa 6:11; 83:18.

*phd* “to terrify” (Isa 44:11), *šdd* pu. or qal pass. “be destroyed” (Jer 9:18), *ʔumlal* “to wither, mourn” (Jer 15:9), *ʔbd* “to perish” (Psa 83:18), *kšl* “to stumble” (Jer 20:11) occur once each; cf. also expressions of mourning such as *hph rōš* “to cover the head” (Jer 14:3) and *nph nepeš* “to exhale life” (Jer 15:9).

The subjective or objective aspect may be isolated only in a few cases, e.g., in the diction of the individual lament, the language is of shame, remorse (Jer 31:19; 51:51; otherwise Job 19:3), or, by contrast, the enemy’s ruin (Psa 6:11; 31:18, etc.; see 4). *šmh* “to be happy” (Isa 65:13; Psa 109:28; cf. Isa 66:5) appears as the antonym of the subjective aspect.

(b) The regular hi. has the causative meaning “to cause to be ashamed” (Psa 44:8; 119:31, 116; 14:6 and 53:6 txt?; Prov 29:15, in each case with obj.); the ptcp. occurs without obj. in Prov 10:5; 12:4; 14:35; 17:2; 19:26 as a characterization of the unwise fool, primarily in contrast to the wise (*maškil*, Prov 10:5; 14:35; 17:2; *ʔešet hayil* “worthy wife” Prov 12:4; cf. the par. expression *maḥpîr* “disgraceful” Prov 19:26).

The second form, constructed on the analogy of the initial *waw/yod* verbs, almost exclusively has an inner-transitive meaning and thus approaches the qal (in Joel 1:10, 12a the distinction from *ybs* “to wither” is difficult), although a causative meaning also occurs rarely: “to shame” 2 Sam 19:6; cf. “to treat disgracefully” Hos 2:7.

(c) The hitpo., perhaps originally used by J in Gen 2:25, moves entirely in the personal-subjective realm (“to be ashamed before one another”).

(d) Like the verb, the derivatives embrace both aspects, from disgrace, worthless(ness), to shame (Deut 25:11 *m<sup>e</sup>bûšîm*, specialized in the meaning “private parts”). Parallel terms are *kelimma*® “humiliation” (Isa 30:3; 61:7; Jer 3:25; Psa 35:26; 44:16; 69:20; 109:29) and *ḥerpâ* “disgrace” (Isa 30:5; 54:4; Psa 69:20). The expression *bōšet pānîm* (Jer 7:19; Psa 44:16; Dan 9:7f.; Ezra 9:7; 2 Chron 32:21), lit. “shame of the face,” perhaps “blush,” is common. *bōšet* is used synonymously with the divine name *baʕal* in Jer 3:24; 11:13; Hos 9:10, as well as in the PNs *ʔis bōšet* (2 Sam 2:8), *y<sup>e</sup>rubbešet* (11:21), *m<sup>e</sup>pîbōšet* (21:8), perhaps also in the Lachish Letter 6:6 for Bel-Marduk (H. Michaud, *Sur la pierre et l’argile* [1958], 101; cf. HAL 158b).

The vocalization of the divine name *melek* as *mōlek* may be explained from this perspective; such has been the common opinion since A. Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel* (1857); contra O. Eissfeldt, *Molk als Opferbegriff im Punischen und das Ende des Gottes Moloch* (1935).

4. The subjective aspect plays a minor role in the religious usage of the word, mostly in the plaintiff’s description of his/her remorseful attitude.

The objective aspect is esp. significant, first in the lament of the enemy (Psa 6:11; 35:4, 26; 40:15; 70:3; 71:13, 24; linguistically dependent, Jer 17:13, 18; Isa 26:11): The plaintiff prays for the annihilation of the enemy, but also for his/her own protection from destruction. This prayer is usually associated with the motif of trust (Psa 22:6; 25:2f., 20; 31:2, 18; 69:7; 71:1). The supplicant, then, lays claim to God's help and protection from destruction; because the enemy cannot expect this aid, he/she is abandoned to annihilation.

The prophets borrowed the verb from the cult; in prophecy it has its place in proclamations of judgment (Isa 1:29; 19:9; 41:11; 65:13; 66:5; Jer 15:9; 20:11; Ezek 16:63; 32:30; 36:32; etc.) directed either at foreign nations or at Israel, but also in promises of salvation for Israel (annihilation of the enemy; esp. since Deutero-Isa, Isa 45:17, 24; 49:23; 54:4; etc.). The concept formulated in the Psa is consistently maintained here too: that which contradicts Yahweh's will must come to naught.

Thus one can finally understand why *ba'al* is called "*bōšet*" and *melek* is vocalized on the same model: These gods are the power deeply hostile to Yahweh, revealed in Yahweh's presence as pernicious nothingness; cf. the designation *bēlyā'al*, which apparently means something similar ("worthless," "negative principle," etc.; cf. V. Maag, "*Bēlyā'al* im AT," TZ 21 [1965]: 287–99).

5. The NT continues to employ the OT usage, borrowed from the LXX, to a degree; cf. R. Bultmann, "ἀισχύνω," TDNT 1:189–91.

F. Stolz

## בָּחַן *bḥn* to test

S 974; BDB 103b; HALOT 1:119a; TDOT 2:69–72; TWOT 230; NIDOTTE 1043

1. *bḥn* "to test" is also represented outside Hebr. in Aram. (although sparsely).

On account of the proximity of meaning, an original connection with Arab. *mḥn* is postulated, as well as with the root → *bḥr* "to choose," Aram. also "to test" (older literature in GB 92a). Yet in the OT, *bḥn* "to test" and *bḥr* "to choose" are distinct (the meaning "to test" for *bḥr* in Isa 48:10; Job 34:4, 33; ni. Prov 10:20 is to be viewed as a borrowing from the Aram.; see Wagner no. 38; id., FS Baumgartner 358f.).

The two citations in DISO 33 for Imp. Aram. *bḥn* "to test" on an ostrakon from

Elephantine and in Aḥ. 203 are rather uncertain; Syr. *bḥn* pa. means “to test, dispute.” *bḥr* is apparently not attested in Old Aram.

The verb occurs in the qal and ni. The nomen agentis *bāḥôn* “examiner” occurs as a subst.

L. Köhler (TZ 3 [1947]: 390–93) identifies the *bōḥan* stone in Isa 28:16 as an Eg. loanword for a type of rock (“paragneiss”); the traditional translation “proven stone” or “proving stone” assumes derivation from *bḥn* “to test” (cf. HAL 115a).

The word *bōḥan* in Ezek 21:18 stands in an entirely uncertain text. *baḥûn* (Isa 23:13) and *baḥan* (Isa 32:14) in the meaning “watchtower” or some such (Eg. loanword; see HAL 114a, 115a) do not belong to the root.

2. *bḥn* qal occurs 25x (Psa 9x, Jer 6x, Job 4x, also in Zech 13:9[bis]; Mal 3:10, 15; Prov 17:3; 1 Chron 29:17), ni. 3x (Gen 42:15f.; Job 34:36), *bāḥôn* 1x (Jer 6:27a, with *bḥn* qal in 6:27b).

3. (a) One may not prove that *bḥn*, like *šrp* “to smelt, purify,” which acquires the fig., more general meaning “to sort (people)” and “to examine (liver and heart)” (e.g., Judg 7:4; Psa 26:2), had a technical meaning that gave rise to the metaphorical meaning “to test” (HAL 114b), even though the word occurs once with the obj. “gold” (Zech 13:9, par. *šrp* with the obj. “silver”) and the process of the purification of fine metals is readily used as a metaphor for “to purify, test” in the personal arena (*šrp* par. to *bḥn* in Jer 6:27–30; 9:6; Zech 13:9; Psa 17:3; 26:2; 66:10; cf. Prov 17:3; also perhaps Isa 48:10 *šrp* par. *bḥr* “to test”; other verbs in Mal 3:3; Dan 12:10).

Other par. verbs and usages of *bḥn* point to a rather general meaning “to test = to investigate (critically).”

*bḥn* appears alongside → *yd<sup>c</sup>* “to know, recognize” (Jer 6:27; 12:3; Psa 139:23), → *pqd* “to investigate” (Psa 17:3; Job 7:18), → *r<sup>h</sup>* “to see (inspect)” (Jer 12:3; 20:12; cf. Psa 139:24; cf. Akk. *amāru* and *barû* “to see” and “to test,” AHW 40f.), → *ḥzh* “to see” (Psa 11:4), *ṭ<sup>m</sup>* “to taste” (Job 12:11; 34:3), → *špt* “to judge” (Jer 11:20), and → *nsh* pi. “to try” (Psa 26:2; 95:9).

The objs. of testing always belong, with the exception of Zech 13:9 (gold), to the personal realm.

People (12x), their way (Jer 6:27), their words (Job 12:11; 34:3; Gen 42:16, ni.), their heart (Jer 12:3; Psa 17:3; Prov 17:3; 1 Chron 29:17; cf. also Sir 2:5; Wis 3:6; 1 Pet 1:7; → *lēb*), or liver and heart (Jer 11:20; cf. 17:10; Psa 7:10; Jer 20:12 and Psa 26:2). Concerning Yahweh as obj. (Mal 3:10, 15; Psa 81:8 txt em; 95:9), see 4.

(b) Besides the verbs already mentioned (→ *yd<sup>c</sup>*, → *nsh*, → *pqd*), a

few other, less frequent terms with various connotations must be considered as semantically related verbs:

(1) *ʕzn* pi. “to weigh out” (Eccl 12:9; cf. G. Rinaldi, *Bib* 40 [1959]: 268f.) is a denominative from *mōʕʕnāyim* “scales”;

(2) *bûr* (Eccl 9:1 txt?) and *brr* (Eccl 3:18; pi. Dan 11:35; hitp. Dan 12:10; hi. Jer 4:11) mean “to sort, test,” proceeding from the concrete notion of cleansing, sorting, purifying (Ezek 20:38 qal; Isa 52:11 ni.);

(3) on *bhr* “to test” see 1 (in Isa 48:10 1QIsaa has *bhn*);

(4) the pi. ptcp. *mʕbaššēr* “gold tester” has been suggested for *mibšār* in Jer 6:27 (*HAL* 142b) as a derivative of *bešer* “gold ore” (Job 22:24f.; cf. F. Rundgren, *Or* 32 [1963]: 178–83);

(5) *bqr* pi. “to examine, care for, have in mind” (Lev 13:36; 27:33; Ezek 34:11f.; Prov 20:25) could go back to a cultic technical term (2 Kgs 16:15; Psa 27:4; cf. *HAL* 144b with bibliog.; Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:334);

(6) *hqr* “to investigate, explore” (qal 22x) can also be translated “to test” in some cases (e.g., Job 29:16 of the examination of a legal case; *hqr* with Yahweh/God as subj.: Jer 17:10; Psa 44:22; 139:1, 23; Job 13:9; 28:27);

(7) on *šrp* see 3a;

(8) *šbr* qal means “to test (walls)” in Neh 2:13, 15; otherwise pi. “to hope, wait” (Wagner no. 292; cf. Lat. *spectare* and *expectare*);

(9) *tkn* “to test” (Yahweh tests the spirits/hearts/deeds: Prov 16:2; 21:2; 24:12; ni. 1 Sam 2:3) connotes that which is fixed or ordered in other occurrences of the root.

4. (a) More often than people (Jer 6:27; Zech 13:9, in a comparison; Mal 3:10, 15; Psa 95:9; the ear: Job 12:11 and 34:3; cf. Gen 42:15, 16 ni.; through emendation, also in Jer 9:6; cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 66, and Psa 81:8; cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:146), Yahweh is the subj. of the testing (all other passages, Psa 11:4, his eyes [not: “eyelashes”; cf. *UHP* 67]), in Jer 6:27 and 9:6 through the agency of his prophet. The nation is infrequently the obj. of Yahweh’s testing; as a rule it is the individual or people in general.

Jer 6:27; 9:6; Zech 13:9; Psa 66:10 (cf. also Isa 48:10) use the image of the testing and purification of fine metal in the context of Yahweh’s history with his people. Part of Jeremiah’s prophetic office involves his commission as examiner of the people (6:27); he is to lament over the negative result (6:27–30; 9:6). In the other cases of salvation manifest through judgment (Zech 13:9, the purification of the remaining one-third; Psa 66:10,

communal thanksgiving song), the “testing” takes on the sense of a purificatory judgment.

Most cases envision Yahweh’s relationship to the individual. In the language of the Psa, also adopted in the confessions of Jer, as well as in wisdom literature, one knows God as the righteous judge who tests heart and liver (Jer 11:20; 12:3; 17:10; 20:12; Psa 7:10; 17:3; 26:2; Prov 17:3; 1 Chron 29:17) and who calls the individual to account (Psa 11:4f.; 139:23; Job 7:18; 23:10). In Job 34:36, Elihu’s thought escalates to the level of trial by suffering (cf. Fohrer, KAT 16, 469).

5. The LXX most often uses *dokimazein* to translate *bḥn*. On the Qumran literature and the NT (OT quotations in 1 Thess 2:4; Acts 2:23), cf. Kuhn, *Konk.* 30f. (also *GCDS* 65) and W. Grundmann, “δόκιμος,” *TDNT* 2:255–60; G. Delling, “ἐρευνᾶω,” *TDNT* 2:655–57.

E. Jenni

## בחר *bḥr* to choose

S 977; BDB 103b; *HALOT* 1:119b; *TDOT* 2:73–87; *TWOT* 231; *NIDOTTE* 1047

I. 1. (a) The root \**bḥr* is represented irregularly in the Sem. languages. It occurs in a meaning similar to Hebr. primarily in Akk. and in later Aram. (also in Amor. and Old SArab. in PNs), but is absent (to date) in the NWSem. texts of the OT period. The basic meaning may be preserved most truly in Bedouin Arab.: “to fix one’s eyes intently upon” (*HAL* 115a).

Classical Arab. has a *bḥr* V “to penetrate deeply; to study thoroughly” (Wehr 42). J. G. Wetzstein has documented the verb in the meaning “to look around, look up (on the hunt)” or “to look (in a tent)” among the bedouin of the Syrian wilderness in the Damascus area (*ZDMG* 22 [1868]: 75, l. 9, cf. 122; 83, l. 9, cf. 148). Old SArab. seems to know only the theophoric name *ybḥrʾl* (G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques* [1934], 1:221).

Akk. uses the verb *b̄ru*, which, according to the law of sound changes, corresponds to *bḥr*, in the meaning “to choose” (objs.: men, messengers, fighters, etc., but also things, wares) and, less certainly, “to test” (cf. *AHw* 122f. with *CAD* B:212f.), in addition to the verbal adj. *bēru* “chosen, picked,” at Mari also substantivized *beʾrum* (so *AHw* 122b and *CAD* B:211 instead of the older reading *beḥrum*, e.g., in ARM XV:193; cf. *GAG* §23e, f) in the meaning “elite troop” (cf. M. Noth, *Die Ursprünge des alten Israel im Lichte neuer Quellen* [1961], 35; D. O. Edzard, *ZA* 56 [1964]: 144; M. Wagner, FS Baumgartner 358f.). *beḥēru* “to choose, select (troops)” and *biḥirtu*

“selection (of soldiers)” occur as Aram. loanwords in Late Bab. (AHw 117f, 125b; CAD B:186a, 223b).

The root occurs in Amor. PNs (*yabḥarum, bataḥrum, biḥirum, biḥira*, etc.; cf. Huffmon 175).

The root cannot be identified in Old and Bibl. Aram. The later Aram. dialects (Jewish Aram., Christ. Pal., Syr., Mand.) use the verb in both meanings “to test” and “to choose” (Wagner no. 38).

(b) In a few passages in the OT *bḥr* also means “to test” (Isa 48:10; Job 34:4, 33; cf. Sir 4:17; ni. ptcp. “tested” in Prov 10:20; perhaps also pu. “to be tested” in Job 36:21 txt em; cf. Hölscher, HAT 17, 84f.; HAL 115b). “To test” is otherwise → *bḥn* in Hebr. (so also in Isa 48:10 according to 1QIsaa *bḥntykh*). Aram. influence is possible for both Job passages. The similarity in form and meaning suggests the likelihood that a relationship exists between the roots *bḥr* and *bḥn* (cf. the bibliog. in Wagner no. 38); the variant *bḥr* has established itself almost completely in the meaning “to select, choose,” and *bḥn* in the meaning “to test, put to the test.”

(c) M. Dahood (*Bib* 43 [1962]: 361) postulates an additional root *bḥr* “to assemble” for 1 Sam 20:30 (where *bōḥēr* is usually emended to *ḥābēr*) and Eccl 9:4 (where Q *y<sup>h</sup>ubbar* is read instead of K *y<sup>c</sup>ubḥar*) on the basis of Akk. *paḥāru* “to assemble,” Ug. *pḥr* and *mpḥrt*, Phoen. *mpḥrt* “assembly.” This suggestion may deserve consideration (cf. also HAL 115b); otherwise, the emendations cited are to be accepted, so that both passages become irrelevant for *bḥr* “to select.”

2. (a) The verb *bḥr* occurs in the qal and the ni. (on the possible pu. in Job 36:21 see 1b; on Eccl 9:4 K see 1c). The pass. ptcp. *bāḥûr* “selected,” replaced in religious language by the substantivized adj. *bāḥûr* “chosen,” belongs to the qal. Other substantives (in the profane arena) are *mibḥôr* (2 Kgs 3:19; 19:23) and *mibḥār* “choice, best.”

(b) In analogy to Akk. *beḫrum* “elite (troop),” Hebr. *bāḥûr* “(fully grown, strong) young man” (Mid. Hebr. also *b<sup>c</sup>ḥûrâ* “maiden”), pl. *baḥûrîm* (GB 91a: “young warriors,” Isa 9:16; 31:8; Jer 18:21; Amos 4:10; Lam 1:15; etc.) should not be treated apart from the verb *bḥr* (Noth, op. cit. 35; contra HAL 114a, 115a). It contrasts with *zāqēn* “old” (Jer 31:13, etc.) and parallels *b<sup>c</sup>tûlâ* “virgin” (Deut 32:25, etc.); it is used in the military sense in 2 Kgs 8:12; Isa 31:8; Jer 18:21; 48:15; 49:26 = 50:30; Ezek 30:17; Amos 4:10; Psa 78:31; 2 Chron 36:17; cf. also Ezek 23:6, 12, 23. The two abstract pls. *b<sup>c</sup>ḥûrîm* (Num 11:28) and *b<sup>c</sup>ḥûrôt* (Eccl 11:9; 12:1), which mean the “age of the young man” and the “bloom of life,” resp., belong to this *bāḥûr*.

Akk. *baḫūlāti* “warriors, troops,” which has been seen as evidence for a separate root *bḫr* since J. Barth, *ZA* 3 (1888): 59; and H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-babylonischen* (1911), 100n.4 (e.g., P. Joüon, *Bib* 6 [1925]: 314f.; Zorell 103a; KBL 117b), is, according to *AHw* 96b, 117b, only artificially differentiated from *baḫūlātu* “subordinates” for Sargon and Sennacherib; this word belongs, however, to *bīu* (→ *ba<sup>c</sup>al*). G. Quell’s reference (*TDNT* 4:146n.5) to the Mid. Hebr. *bḫl* pi. “to ripen” is also unproductive (cf. Dalman 51b; *HAL* 114b).

(c) *mibḫār* (probably “selected”; cf. *IP* 224) and *yibḫār* (contra KBL 359a, probably a wish name in hypocoristic abbreviation like Amor. *yabḫarum*; cf. *IP* 209) occur as PNs in 1 Chron 11:38 and 2 Sam 5:15; 1 Chron 3:6; 14:5, resp. Here it is testimony to the individual’s belief in election. That it does not occur more frequently and that PNs containing Yahweh are altogether absent (cf., in contrast, Amor. *yabḫar-d* IM and Old SArab. *ybḫrʾl*) should be considered evidence that in Israel “election” relates primarily to the relationship between God and people (see IV).

*baḫūrîm* (2 Sam 3:16, etc.; on the location see *BHH* 1:191f.; 2:1342; in addition to *baḫūrîmî*, which is conjecturally a gentilic in 2 Sam 23:31 and 1 Chron 11:33) is possibly so named because young people were accustomed to gathering there.

II. 1. *bḫr* qal occurs in the MT 146x. The following table distinguishes between a profane usage (Pr) and a theological usage with God (TG) or with people (TP) as subj. The following distribution results:

	Pr	TG	TP	total		
Gen 2	–	–	–	2		
Exod 2	–	–	–	2		
Num –	–	3	–	3		
Deut 1	–	29	1	31		
Josh 1	–	1	2	4		
Judg –	–	–	2	2		
1 Sam	–	5	5	–	10	
2 Sam	–	5	2	–	7	
1 Kgs2	–	10	–	–	12	
2 Kgs–	–	2	–	–	2	
Isa 1–39	–	2	1	–	4	
Isa 40–55	–	1	7	–	9	
Isa 56–66	–	–	3	–	4	7
Jer –	–	1	–	–	1	
Ezek –	–	1	–	–	1	
Hag –	–	1	–	–	1	

Zech	–	3	–	3	
Psa	1	9	3	13	
Job	7	–	–	7	
Prov	–	–	2	2	
Neh	–	2	–	2	
1 Chron		2	7	–	9
2 Chron		1	11	–	12
OT	32	98	16	146	
	(22%)		(67%)		(11%)

Contrary to Lis. 208c, Jer 8:3 should be parsed as ni. The passages 1 Sam 20:30 (see I/1c); Psa 84:11; and 2 Chron 34:6 K are excluded from the profane category through textual emendation; Isa 48:10 (see I/1b) should probably be excluded from the TG category. *bḥr* is conjectured in Psa 16:4 and Job 23:13. The verb also occurs in Sir 4:17 in the meaning “to test.”

The table suggests that: (a) The theological usage predominates markedly, esp. the usage with God as subject (b) The profane usage already occurs in the old portions of the OT (already in J); the oldest passage, albeit textually uncertain, may be Judg 5:8. The theological usage is later (not yet attested in J and E), and seems therefore to have arisen and prevailed only in the course of Israel’s history. (c) The theological usage with people as subj. occurs relatively seldom; it is certain, however, that Israel’s or individual Israelites’ choice of God (or proper behavior) can be discussed. (d) The distribution, esp. of the theological usage with God as subj., is very irregular; thus it had not become dominant in all circles of Israelite piety. The concentration lies in Deut (29x) and in the Dtr history (20x).

The qal pass. ptcp. *bāḥûr* (19x, not included in the table: 2 Chron 5x; Judg 3x; 1 Sam, 2 Sam, and Jer 2x each; Exod, 1 Kgs, Psa, Song Sol, and 1 Chron, 1x each), the ni. (7x: Prov 6x, and Jer 8:3; cf. also Sir 37:28 and 41:16), and the pu. (1x; see I/1c) are not used in the profane meaning.

2. Among the substantives, *bāḥûr* always refers to the chosen of God (Psa 106:23, Moses; 2 Sam 21:6 txt?, Saul; Psa 89:4, David; Isa 42:1, the servant of God; Isa 43:20 and 45:4, the people; Isa 65:9, 15, 22; Psa 105:6 = 1 Chron 16:13; Psa 105:43; 106:5, the pious individual; cf. also Sir 46:1 and perhaps 49:19 = 50:44 emending *bāḥûr*; 13x in a noteworthy distribution: Psa 5x, Deutero-Isa and Trito-Isa 3x each, 2 Sam and 1 Chron 1x each).

*mibḥār* and *mibḥôr* occur 12x and 2x, resp., *baḥûr* “young man” 44x (36x are pl.; Jer 11x, Isa, Ezek, and Lam 5x each; Amos and Psa 3x each; Isa 42:22 is to be stricken from Lis. 207a), *b<sup>e</sup>ḥûrîm/b<sup>e</sup>ḥûrôt* 1x and 2x, resp.

III. 1. Aside from the few passages in which the translation “to test” is likely (see I/1b), *bḥr* in the profane usage means “to choose” or “to select.” Thus the historical texts speak frequently of the selection of warriors (cf. Exod 17:9; Josh 8:3; 1 Sam 13:2; 2 Sam 10:9 Q “selection from all the choice ones [*bḥûrê*] of Israel”; 17:1; cf. also *mibḥār* in Exod 15:4; Jer 48:15 *mibḥar baḥûrāyw* “his chosen band of young men”). The people choose their king (1 Sam 8:18; 12:13); the priest selects the sacrificial animal (1 Kgs 18:23, 25). But the commoner, too, is repeatedly confronted with a choice in daily life: Gen 13:11; Deut 23:17; 1 Sam 17:40, etc. The meaning of *mibḥār/mibḥôr* “choice, the best” reflects this situation; cf. e.g., Gen 23:6; Deut 12:11; Isa 22:7; Jer 22:7.

2. (a) The choice that one makes can be related strictly to an obj.: one chooses the fittest, the most appropriate, the best, and the most beautiful. Because the basic meaning may be “to regard precisely” and the verb can also mean “to test,” this value orientation is surely a primary element. The subj. itself is involved, in fact, because it evaluates, but this evaluation arises from a rational consideration. Typical of this aspect are the par. terms → *ḥzh* “to discern” (Exod 18:21 in comparison to v 25), → *ydc* “to recognize, understand” (Job 34:4; cf. Amos 3:2; Jer 1:5), → *bîn* hi. “to recognize” (Job 34:4 txt em).

(b) The subj.-conditioned, volitional meaning should be distinguished from this obj.-oriented, cognitive meaning: one chooses what one would dearly like to have, what pleases one, what one loves. A strict distinction between the two aspects is impossible. But the second aspect manifests itself very clearly in the translators’ rendering of the word in such passages with “to elect” and not simply with “to choose, select,” occasionally even with “to choose for oneself,” expressing the subj.’s engagement, as well as with “to wish for” (2 Sam 19:39), “to want” (Gen 6:2), “to have greater desire” (Job 36:21), “to be pleased with” (Prov 1:29), “to prefer” (Job 7:15) and “to determine” (Job 29:25, all examples taken from ZB); cf. also *bḥr l<sup>c</sup>* in 2 Sam 24:12 with the corresponding *qbl* pi. *le* in 1 Chron 21:11. Par. terms that appear in this sense are → *ḥmd* “to desire” (Isa 1:29), → *šʔl* “to request” (1 Sam 12:13), → *bqš* pi. “to seek” (Isa 40:20), → *ʔwh* pi. “to wish for” (Psa 132:13; Job 23:13 txt em), → *ḥps* “to take pleasure” (Isa 56:4; 65:12; 66:3f.). In Hos 5:11 *yʔl* hi. “to want” appears where one would expect *bḥr*; one chooses for oneself not simply the good, but “what is good in one’s eyes” (cf. 2 Sam 19:39). Consistent with this connotation, the ni. ptcp. means “desired, precious” (Prov 8:10, 19; 10:20; cf. also 16:16; 21:3; 22:1). The “choice” transpires in these cases on the basis of a pleasure that is not rationally founded or, indeed, rationally demonstrable.

3. (a) In the profane usage in the OT, the subj. of the act of selection

is a prominent personality (the leader of the people, the king, the priest) or the people, collectively; in the wisdom sphere, however, it is the person, the individual.

(b) In wisdom, the obj. of choice shifts too. One is called to make the correct choice between the ways of good and evil (Prov 3:31; cf. also 1:29), between right and wrong (Job 36:21; cf. also Job 9:14; 15:5; 34:33). Here it is assumed, without reflection, that people can freely choose between good and evil, right and wrong. Moral decision is not always intended by the choice of the “good” (→ *tôb*). In 2 Sam 19:39, “what is good in your eyes” means the choice of that which pleases. Isa 7:15 may mean Immanuel’s capacity to comprehend the external world by the choice of the good and the rejection of the evil (cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 315).

4. *mʾs* “to reject” occurs as the primary antonym of *bḥr*, indeed, apparently for the entire range of its meaning (cf. e.g., 1 Sam 8:7, 18; Isa 7:15; Psa 78:67; Job 34:33).

IV. The word *bḥr* has become a technical term in the OT for “election” (most important studies: K. Galling, *Die Erwählungstraditionen Israels* [1928]; H. H. Rowley, *Biblical Doctrine of Election* [1950]; Th. C. Vriezen, *Die Erwählung Israels nach dem AT* [1953]; K. Koch, “Zur Geschichte der Erwählungsvorstellung in Israel,” *ZAW* 67 [1955]: 205–26; R. Martin-Achard, “La signification théologique de l’élection d’Israël,” *TZ* 16 [1960]: 333–41; H. Wildberger, *Jahwes Eigentumsvolk* [1960]; P. Altmann, *Erwählungstheologie und Universalismus im AT* [1964]; H. J. Zobel, “Ursprung und Verwurzelung des Erwählungsglaubens Israels,” *TLZ* 93 [1968]: 1–12; H. Wildberger, “Die Neuinterpretation des Erwählungsglaubens Israels in der Krise der Exilszeit,” *FS Eichrodt* 307–24; also G. Quell, *TDNT* 4:145–68 [bibliog.]; G. E. Mendenhall, *IDB* 2:76–82 [bibliog.]).

The focus of the theological usage of *bḥr* lies on the discussion of the election of the people by God (IV/2–4, pre-exilic, exilic, and post-exilic periods), while the human choice of God or of the right path fades in significance (IV/5). The concept of God’s election of the king is, however, older in Israel than that of the election of the people (IV/1).

1. (a) Among Israel’s neighbors the king was generally regarded as the one selected by the deity (cf. S. Morenz, “Die Erwählung zwischen Gott und König in Ägypten,” *FS Wedemeyer* 118–37; R. Labat, *Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne* [1939], 40ff.).

On the Nile, as in the Mesopotamian region, the title “son” expresses the special, “select” status of the king with his god, although in varied theological conceptualizations (→ *bēn* IV/3a). In the 18th–20th Dynasties, the formula “Amun, who loves (the pharaoh) X more than all other kings” occurs (Morenz, op. cit.; further D. Müller, *ZÄS* 86 [1961]: 134; Quell, op. cit. 157n.64, 158n.68). Mesopotamians say that the deity knows the king

(Akk. *edû*, → *yd<sup>c</sup>*); he is the deity's favorite (Akk. *migru*; cf. Seux 162–68, 448f.), the deity commissions him, calls his name (Akk. *nabû*), etc. The Akk. (*w*)*atû(m)* (Sum. *p*), with the meaning “to see” and the nuances “to discern, choose, call,” as well as “to look around, seek,” often used to express the election of kings by gods (Seux 368f., 433–36; *ibid.* 121f. on *itûtu* “election, elect, called”), approximates Hebr. *bhr* most closely in terms of meaning and usage. The theme “election of the king” is also present when e.g., Zkr of Hamat acknowledges: “Be’elshamayn made me king” (Aram. *mlk ha.*; ANET 655b; KAI no. 202A.3). For details see H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (1948), 238f.; de Vaux 1:100f.

(b) In view of the situation among Israel's neighbors, one should presume that Yahweh's election of the king was a theme from the very beginning of the Israelite monarchy. The question is only the degree to which the term *bhr* already described the king's special status before Yahweh within the royal ideology. Considering the presence of this usage already in David's succession narrative (2 Sam 16:18; cf. also 2 Sam 6:21; see A. Weiser, VT 16 [1966]: 344, 348), the use of *bhr* may go back as far as the Davidic period (cf. also the admittedly late texts 1 Sam 16:8–10). Even Saul may have already been characterized as Yahweh's chosen (cf. 1 Sam 10:24 and the uncertain text 2 Sam 21:6, which, contrary to most exegetes, should probably be retained), in each case in passages that use older traditions.

(c) Even though Israel shares with its neighbors the notion of the king's election, the unique character of its faith becomes apparent very soon here too. This development becomes evident already in that the Saul tradition addresses not only the election but also the rejection of the king (1 Sam 15:23, 26, admittedly, not in the same layer of tradition, but rejection presupposes election). This duality is all the more remarkable when texts occasionally attribute imperishability to “Yahweh's anointed” (1 Sam 24:7, 11; 26:9, 11, 16, 23; 2 Sam 1:21). The king's failure explains the rejection. Just as the question arises as to how one chosen by Yahweh can fail, it expresses the recognition that election by Yahweh must find response in the proper behavior of the elect. Without an awareness of the responsibility inherent in election, election itself is called into question. That northerners apparently hardly discussed the king's election is related to this insight. Even Deut 17:15 (if 17:14ff. is truly northern, as K. Galling, TLZ 76 [1951]: 133–38, assumes, and the statement on election is not to be regarded as secondary with R. P. Merendino, *Das deuteronomische Gesetz* [1969], 179ff.) constitutes less a witness to the notion of the king's election than to the fact that this theme has not been fully developed.

(d) The situation differs in the south. No one ever doubted David's election. Admittedly, 2 Sam 7 does not exhibit the root *bhr*, but the title *nāgîd* conferred upon David is semantically related to *bāhîr* (cf. W. Richter,

BZ 9 [1965]: 77). The focus of the Nathan promise is not the election of David, however, but of his “house.” Indeed, the royal psalms (which doubtlessly belong to the pre-exilic period) have recourse to David’s election, but primarily because it implies the election of the current ruler (Psa 78:67; 89:4, 20). It was not easy to maintain belief in the election of the Davidides in the face of the quite often unpleasant reality. Psa 89 is a moving document concerning the struggle about the validity of the election of the Davidic house. The author considers it necessary to conclude from the weakness of the Davidides that Yahweh has rejected (*mʿs*) his “anointed” and has abandoned his covenant with David (vv 39f.). But he cannot and will not believe that election may thus be void. He interprets election as a covenant sworn by Yahweh to David (vv 4, 35, 50; cf. also Psa 132:11), appeals to Yahweh’s faithfulness (vv 2f., etc.), and underscores the constancy, duration, even “eternity” of the relationship between Yahweh and king created by election (vv 5, 22, 29f., 37). Election cannot become invalid, even if rejection has become evident.

(e) The tribes apparently exalted Saul to king because of his brave deliverance of Jabesh (1 Sam 11). But the narrative in 1 Sam 10:17–24 has it otherwise: Saul is chosen by lot. He is a shy man who hides. As he is brought forth, it becomes apparent that he “towers over everyone by a head.” The parallel David narrative goes deeper: the criterion is not height—Yahweh rejects David’s tall brother—“Yahweh regards the heart” (1 Sam 16:7). David’s beauty is then, indeed, extolled (v 12). But what proves David as king is neither his physical features nor his spiritual qualities, but it is the Spirit of Yahweh (v 13) that is conferred upon him in the process of election. The qualities of the chosen are therefore not incongruent with those expected of a king; but precisely why one is chosen remains, finally, a contingent, divine secret, not to be revealed.

(f) These texts do not depict the purpose to which the king is chosen. But it is self-evident that Yahweh’s anointed is committed to a task among the people. David is “prince over Yahweh’s people” (2 Sam 6:21; cf. 7:8 and Psa 78:71). Nathan’s prophecy already used the term *ʿebed* to describe the king’s relationship to God (→ *ʿbd*, 2 Sam 7:5, etc.; Psa 78:70; 89:4, etc.; 132:10). Indeed, *ʿebed yhw* became a par. term for *bʿhîr yhw* (e.g., Psa 105:6). In this context the word means the “minister” or “vizier” ordained to execute his lord’s will among the people, indeed, among the peoples (cf. W. Zimmerli, *TDNT* 5:657f., 663f.).

2. (a) From a particular point of time onward, the OT discusses not only the king’s election but also the people’s election, embodying a novelty in the history of ancient Near Eastern religion. The idea of Israel’s special status before Yahweh is nothing short of constitutive for its faith. It is already expressed in the simple formula that Yahweh is Israel’s God. One does not speak of traditions of election without reason (K. Gallig, *Die Erwählungstraditionen Israels* [1928]; H. Wildberger, *Jahwes*

*Eigentumsvolk* [1960]; cf. Zobel, op. cit. 6ff.). The notion of Israel's election can be easily expressed, however, without the term *bhr*. OT research has almost reached a consensus that Israel's election was not explicitly discussed before Deut (von Rad, *Gottesvolk* 28: "The verb *bhr* [subj., God; obj., people] is an original Dtn coinage"; Vriezen, op. cit. 47; Mendenhall, *IDB* 2:76). This consensus is questionable, however, because the pertinent statements in Deut already exhibit a molded, stereotypical form. The Psalms provide additional indications. As mentioned above, Psa 78 speaks not only of David's election but also of Judah's (v 68), commenting that Yahweh rejected the tent of Joseph and did not choose the tribe of Ephraim. This psalm gives a clue as to the great distress that the fall of Israel (or an earlier crisis of this political entity) caused proponents of the election idea. Statements concerning election in Psa 33:12; 47:5; and 135:4, usually considered post-exilic, may indeed go back to formulations older than Deut.

(b) In Deut, then, the theologoumenon of Israel's election is present in a comprehensive theological formulation. In 17:15 the book also speaks, however, of the king's election (see IV/1c), and the stereotypical formula "the place that Yahweh your God will choose" occurs most frequently by far in Deut, notably only in the law code (Deut 12:5–26:2, 20x; cf. also 31:11; Josh 9:27; etc.; see 3a). Everything points, however, to the fact that the theory of Zion's election ("in order to cause my name to dwell there," etc.) made its way into Deut only in the context of the Jerusalemite redaction (see Merendino, op. cit. 382ff.). In contrast, Deut speaks of Israel's election primarily in the second preface (Deut 7:6f.; 10:15; in addition to 14:2 and 4:37). The notion of the king's election was, without doubt, also alive in the north. But presumably under the weight of the old exodus-election tradition, possibly also as a result of the experience of the monarchy's failure, the term *bhr* became the terminological expression of Yahweh's devotion to Israel. The concept was thus transferred in the process of this democratization from the realm of myth (election of the king or of the divine mountain) into that of history (exodus from Egypt). According to the evidence of Psa 78:68, people seem to have sincerely struggled, even in Jerusalem after the demise of the north, with the question of the status of the election of the people.

(c) The classical OT text for Israel's election is Deut 7:6–8. The passage is nestled in the parenthetic piece 7:1–11, which challenges Israel to separate itself from Canaan; i.e., election is not thematic, but serves as the motivation of the parenthesis. The continuation vv 9–11 uses the covenant tradition as a second motif. Israel's election is therefore not treated in isolation, but in order to justify Yahweh's claim on Israel. Indeed, the reference to the election in 10:12 establishes Yahweh's comprehensive

demand for obedience: to fear God, to walk in his paths, to love him, and to serve him with the whole heart and soul. The stereotypical formulation “chosen from the peoples” betrays the fact that the theological usage of *bḥr* in this area resulted from interchange with Canaan.

The meaning of election is explicated by association with the two terms *‘am qādôš* “holy people” and *‘am → segulla®* “special people,” apparently derived from the tradition. Thus the polyvalent term *‘am qādôš* is simultaneously defined: Israel is not holy because of a special cultic or moral integrity, but by virtue of the fact that it has become Yahweh’s own people through election. Because Israel’s holiness is accordingly not inherent but rests upon Yahweh’s choice, however, Israel must acknowledge its obligation to behave in conformity with this act of Yahweh’s free grace. The misunderstanding that Yahweh’s choice may rest upon Israel’s special merit is resisted vehemently in 7:7f. (probably secondary; cf. the “2d-per.-pl. style”): first, in v 7 through the explication of *bḥr* by *ḥšq* “to cling to, love,” in v 8 through the reference to Yahweh’s love for Israel (→ *ḥb* IV/2) and to his faithfulness to his promise to the fathers, but then also through the negation, “not because you were more numerous than the other nations.” Deut 9:4–6 extends the notion even more clearly: “not for the sake of your righteousness (*š<sup>c</sup>dāqâ*) and the purity (*yōšer*) of your heart”—indeed, even radicalizes it: “for you are a stubborn people.” Deut 10:14f. (also secondary) further underscore the irrationality of Yahweh’s attention to Israel expressed in election by presenting Yahweh as the lord of heaven and earth.

The contribution of the Deuteronomic author is carefully conceived theologically; because of him “election” prevailed as a terminological expression of Yahweh’s attention to Israel. He interpreted election as an absolute act of grace, grounded only in Yahweh’s love for Israel, which cannot be further explained. Finally, he described it as a dialectical process: it attests to Yahweh’s love and demands obedience in faithfulness on the part of God’s people. The community-founding word proceeds from Yahweh; it demands, however, an unmistakable answer from the addressee, Israel. With this understanding of the relationship between Yahweh and Israel, Deut stands in proximity to pre-exilic prophecy.

(d) In a peculiar disjunction, the election of Zion stands alongside that of the people (12:5, 11, 14, 18, 21, 26; 14:23–25; 15:20; 16:2, 6f., 11, 15f.; 17:8, 10; 18:6; 26:2; 31:11). The even more thoroughly formulaic nature of this material makes it clear that Deut has already incorporated preexistent viewpoints. Koch (op. cit. 215f.; contra Vriezen, op. cit. 46f.) has rightly called attention to this state of affairs. Psa 132, probably early pre-exilic, already speaks of the election of Zion as Yahweh’s dwelling place (v 13). Psa 78, from the late royal period, also knows of Yahweh’s election of Zion

(v 68 “which he loves”). One can even ask whether Jerusalem’s election was not already discussed in the Jebusite period. Mesopotamian sources also occasionally mention the election of a sanctuary by a divinity, although this election usually occurs only indirectly, insofar as the king is specifically chosen to build or care for the sanctuary (cf. H. Wildberger, FS Eichrodt 309n.9). But the election of one sanctuary in the exclusive sense of the Jerusalemite cultic centralization called for in Deut is unparalleled.

The election formula, “the place that Yahweh, your God, will choose,” can be expanded by “from all your tribes” or “in one of your tribes” (12:5, 14). These expansions reflect Jerusalem’s claim to be the central place of worship for all Israel. The formula can also be expanded by the expression “in order to place his name there” (12:5, 21) or “in order to cause his name to dwell there” (12:11; 16:2, 6, 11; cf. also 12:5). In contrast to the statement of Psa 132, which still speaks naively of Yahweh’s choice of the temple as his “dwelling place,” as a “lasting resting place,” these expressions signify a sublimation. “Name” means revealing presence (→ *šēm*).

Occasionally the formula “the place that Yahweh will choose” is, indeed, simply a circumlocution for the name Zion/Jerusalem (arising from the fiction that places Deut on Moses’ lips so that Jerusalem’s election may not already be anticipated as fact). In general, however, the formula signifies more. The place of Yahweh’s presence is the source of blessing, delight, life (e.g., Psa 36:8ff.). Yahweh’s choosing this place in the midst of the tribes testifies to his solidarity with Israel; Yahweh manifests himself thus as “your God.” But the contrast with Deut’s statements concerning Israel’s election is even more striking: if Israel realizes its election in Deut by considering its salvation history, it does so here by participating in the cult of the central sanctuary. If election implies the obligation of Israel in Deut, here it implies the facilitation of a life under the protection and blessing of God. A bit of temple theology has thus broken into the amphictyonic world. It is certainly no accident that the formula occurs repeatedly in ch. 12 with its regulations governing cultic centralization and in ch. 16 with its festival calendar. Correspondingly, Deut, although doubtless in a later layer of material, already speaks of the Levites’ election “from all your tribes” (18:5; 21:5). The elect priesthood belongs to the elect sanctuary. Like the unity of the temple, the unity of the priestly family also assures the proper function of a mode of worship that grants and assures salvation.

(e) In view of the cultic election doctrine evident here, it is noteworthy that the pre-exilic prophets, both collectively and singly, do not speak of Zion’s election, or even of Israel’s, using the term *bhr*. They surely know the *concept* of election (e.g., Amos 3:2), but they also call it into question (e.g., Amos 9:7). One can understand, then, their avoidance of the term *bhr*; it too easily gave rise to the dangerous illusion that Israel’s salvation

may be assured through the execution of the cult at holy places, or that Israel is immune to disaster because it is chosen. Even the Jerusalemite Isaiah, who knew the notion of the election of the king and the temple, mentions it only to qualify it theologically by placing both concepts under the condition of faith (7:9; 28:16) and shifting them into the horizon of eschatological events (2:2–4; 9:1–6).

3. (a) The Deuteronomistic history, dating to the exilic period, found it necessary to deal with the realities of the collapse of the Davidic kingdom, the destruction of the temple, and the end of Israel as a nation. If 1 Sam 10:24 spoke of the election of Saul (cf. H. J. Boecker, *Die Beurteilung der Anfänge des Königtums in den deuteronomistischen Abschnitten des 1. Samuelbuches* [1969], 48f.) and later passages of Saul's rejection (see IV/1c), the Dtr passage 8:18 now says that the people themselves chose the king. This choice by Israel is, according to v 8, to be frankly equated with idolatry (cf. Judg 10:14). Yahweh alone can be king over Israel; the people's choice of the king was in fact a rejection of Yahweh (1 Sam 8:7). To be sure, the Deuteronomistic history did not suppress the old traditions sympathetic to the kingdoms of Saul and David, or even Nathan's promise. But the Deuteronomistic writer himself used *bhr* only of David (1 Kgs 11:34 and perhaps 8:16 txt?). Never does Dtr call one of the Davidides Yahweh's "elect," although the royal psalms do precisely that. It is easier for Dtr to speak of Jerusalem's election (1 Kgs 8:16, 44, 48; 11:13, 32, 36; 14:21; 2 Kgs 21:7 "eternally"; 23:27; as in Deut, "in order to place my name there," etc., can be added). Apart from 1 Kgs 3:8 (not certainly Dtr), Dtr never speaks of Israel's election in Kgs, apparently simply because the unconditional corollary to election according to Deut, namely, fear of Yahweh and love for him, appears to him to be lacking in the Israel of the royal period. Indeed, he not only brackets out the theme of Israel's election, but in his summary concerning the fall of the north he speaks of its rejection (2 Kgs 17:20), which, according to v 19, includes Judah too. And in 23:27 he speaks expressly of the removal of Judah "from my presence, as I removed Israel." In the same breath he speaks of the rejection of the elect city Jerusalem together with its temple (cf. also 24:20). The picture that he paints is gloomy enough, then: the people have thoroughly wasted the unheard-of possibilities that Yahweh offered Israel through election, and indirectly through the election of the king and the temple site.

But the Deuteronomistic history would indeed be misunderstood if interpreted as a funeral song for the great utopia of Israel's election: the election of the Davidides, in contrast to that of Saul, is not revoked. The conclusion of the entire work, the narrative of the friendly turn in Jehoiachin's destiny, seems to offer the house of David too yet another chance. The "eternally" in 2 Kgs 21:7 indicates that Jerusalem will yet have

a future beyond its rejection.

Josh 24 also belongs to the exilic period. It is certainly an old tradition, but the Deuteronomist has redacted it (cf. J. L'Hour, "L'alliance de Sichem," *RB* 69 [1962]: 5–36, 161–84, 350–68), e.g., in vv 15 and 22, which seem to offer Israel the possibility of free choice. But one must interpret the passage from an exilic background. Israel is in danger of transferring allegiance to other gods. The Dtr addresses his historical sermon to this situation. The decision has been made long ago: "You are witnesses against yourselves, that you have chosen Yahweh to serve him" (v 22). The chief image is "Joshua and his house" with his clear Yahwistic position. The author does not speak of Israel's election by Yahweh because for him the question is not whether Yahweh will continue to view Israel as his people, but whether Israel, under the influence of the experience of catastrophe, is willing in the final analysis to abide by the decision for Yahweh.

Dtr speaks once, though rather extensively, of Israel's election: Deut 4:37, "because he loved your fathers and chose their descendants and brought you out of Egypt." The passage, apparently an adaptation of Deut 7:6–10 to a new situation, provides clues as to the kind of test of strength belief in election underwent after the fall of Jerusalem. Here, too, election is anchored in Yahweh's love, but in his love for the fathers. Instead of the statement that Yahweh made Israel his own people in the act of election, it is now emphasized, after possession of the land has become questionable, that the election became manifest in Yahweh's gift of the land to Israel as an inheritance. The corollary to election by Yahweh is no longer just obedience and fear of God, but—after the crisis of 586 had shaken Yahwism to the core—more radically, the recognition that Yahweh alone is God and no other (v 35), in heaven above and on earth below (v 38). Nevertheless, the Deuteronomist continues in the tradition of Deut by incorporating his statement concerning election into a sermon, which has as its theme, however, not only obedience to Yahweh but return to him (v 30).

(b) At approximately the same time as the Deuteronomistic writer, Deutero-Isa must have been written. While the former was presumably active in Palestine, the latter was in Babylon. But Deutero-Isa belongs to another world, not only geographically but also intellectually. He sees himself in relation to an audience that certainly does not deceive itself concerning the extent of the collapse, but that asks uncertainly whether Israel still has a future. He answers the question by consciously concentrating his preaching on the election notion. It is indicative that he prefers to address the theme in salvation oracles. This usage occurs most impressively in Isa 41:8–13. God's people will be addressed not only as Israel and Jacob, but also as "offspring of Abraham, my friend": election is transposed even further back into history and related to the relationship

between Yahweh and Abraham. The title “my servant” for Israel is also a novelty (cf. also 44:21; 45:4). The par. terms *‘ebed* and *bāḥîr* stem from royal ideology (see IV/1f). The democratization of the concept of the king’s election is thus fully realized in Deutero-Isa (cf. e.g., 55:3ff., where the grace promised David is transferred to the people). The fact that 41:9 verifies “I have chosen you” with “and not rejected” indicates that it is combating a radical doubt in the doctrine of election. Deutero-Isa too saw election as realized in a historical act: Yahweh selected Israel “from the ends of the earth.” It may be an allusion to the call of Abraham from Mesopotamia rather than to the exodus from Egypt. At other points Deutero-Isa refers even more radically to the beginnings: According to 43:20f., the elect Israel is “the people that I formed for myself”; election is transposed into the act of Israel’s creation (cf. also 44:1f.). This radicalization does not mean, however, that election remains an event of the distant past. In 43:18 Deutero-Isa plainly exhorts his reader to cease considering the former things, because Yahweh is creating something new, and, in conjunction with the election statements in 44:2, promises of salvation follow in vv 3f. The knowledge of election opens a future for Israel. For Israel’s sake Yahweh entrusts Cyrus with dominion over the nations. Yahweh, who chose Israel, is also a redeemer (*gōʿēl*) and leads Israel, the “horror of the nations,” home in a triumphal victory procession.

By contrast, temple theology found only partial reception in Deutero-Isa. Although he hopes for the reconstruction of Jerusalem and its temple (44:26; 49:17–23), he dares not base his faith on Zion’s election. The pre-exilic prophets’ harsh critique of the absolutization of the election concept had taken effect.

This effectiveness is also true of the Deuteronomistic critique of the throne. Deutero-Isa apparently sees no future at all for the Davidides. But individual elements of the royal ideology are incorporated in his picture of God’s servant. The “servant of Yahweh” (surely a reference to an individual) is, like the king, *bāḥîr* (42:1). Like the king, he is equipped with Yahweh’s Spirit (1 Sam 16:13; Isa 11:2). As servant he has a mission in the world: he is to carry the truth to the nations, he is to be the light of the nations; through him Yahweh glorifies himself. Whoever the servant of God may be, it cannot be accidental that the titles *‘ebed* and *bāḥîr* are granted to him, as to Israel itself. He represents the true Israel, and statements about him make it clear that Israel’s election cannot be separated from his mission. All previous interpretations of election are transcended, however, by the fact that the election of the servant of God is fulfilled in representative suffering.

One could ask whether the manner in which Deutero-Isa speaks of Israel’s election might lead to the false sense of security that caused the

pre-exilic prophets to oppose the notion of election so critically. Deutero-Isa avoids the danger by basing Israel's assurance of salvation neither on the temple nor on the king; above all, he excludes the danger through his interpretation of the *ʿebed* concept. Here, too, election means being placed under obligation, but now as Yahweh's servant among the nations, not only for obedience but even for a witness in apparent failure, in suffering, and in death.

(c) Ezekiel too does not speak of the election of the Davidides or of the temple. He speaks expressly of Israel's election only once (Ezek 20:5). The reason for the obvious reticence lies in the repeatedly expressed awareness that Israel rejected Yahweh's commandments (Ezek 5:6; 20:13, etc.). Significantly, in the one passage where he mentions Israel's election, he does so only in order to accuse the people of failing to draw the implication of election, the abandonment of idols. Like the Dtr he does not want the essential contemplation and repentance to be neglected because of a reversion to election. In view of the extreme incisiveness of his judgment oracles, it is indeed remarkable that he does not speak of Israel's rejection.

(d) Jer 33:23–26 demonstrates that the problem of rejection was posed pointedly by contemporary events. The people discuss the rejection of the "two families that Yahweh chose." The author, who also probably belonged to the exilic period, forcefully resists this abandonment of faith: "As surely as I created day and night . . . , so surely will I not reject the family of Jacob and my servant David." Israel and its royal house remain chosen, not e.g., because they preserved themselves, but because Yahweh alters their fate and has mercy on them.

The author of Isa 14:1 sees it otherwise. For him, rejection has become a fact, but he dares to speak of an additional election of Israel. Just as the foundational election manifested itself in the exodus from Egypt, so now this repetition, which he also sees grounded in Yahweh's mercy, manifests itself in Israel's return to its homeland. Just as "many foreigners" accompanied Israel in the flight from Egypt (Exod 12:38), so many foreigners will join the house of Jacob in the second exodus. A later hand, then, commented rather unhappily on this beautiful notion: the nations that Israel will take along will be its manservants and maidservants.

4. (a) If the text of Jer 49:19 = 50:44 has been correctly transmitted, some circles in the exilic period expected Yahweh to install his "elect" as ruler. The reference can only be to a Davidide, and the passage would then be a further witness to the fact that belief in the election of the Davidides was not extinguished even in the exilic period. In any case, a little later in the post-exilic period Haggai dared to proclaim the Davidide Zerubbabel the elect of Yahweh (2:23). The old par. expression "my servant" is not

overlooked, and his supremacy is described with the words: “that you may be to me like a signet ring.” Zech 6:9–15 still suggests that Haggai’s contemporary Zechariah also hoped for a reestablishment of the kingdom. The prophet also speaks expressly of Jerusalem’s election (3:2). In 1:17 and 2:16 he speaks more precisely of the *re* election of the city. One is prone to judge that statement, like the similar statement in Isa 14:1, to be theologically careless—in the final analysis, destructive of the election notion. But that the statement is possible in the OT realm indicates, nevertheless, that election is not deterministic and that the correlation of divine election and human submission to obligation is taken very seriously. “Yahweh’s election does not only mean a blessed destiny. It is a summons which calls for responsibility” (Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:408). From another standpoint, Zechariah goes on like Isa 14:1: Yahweh will indeed continue to reside in Israel’s midst, but “many nations will adhere to Yahweh in that day and will be his people.” The particularism of the election belief is breached, a circumstance already foreshadowed in Deutero-Isa, without abandoning the special status of Israel.

(b) The post-exilic Psa 33 bears similar testimony. It uses the election concept in a felicitation: “Peace to the nation whose God is Yahweh, to the people he has chosen as an inheritance” (v 12). Israel need not fear because it is Yahweh’s own (see also Psa 135:4, where even the old term *segulla*® “special property” [cf. Exod 19:5] is used once more; further Psa 47:5). Nevertheless, Yahweh’s choice of Israel as his inheritance does not exclude, but in fact involves, his reign over the whole earth (Psa 47:8). For this reason the psalmist dares the bold statement that the princes of the nations are assembled as “the people of the God of Abraham” (v 10). Even if *ʿim ʿam* “with the people” or simply *ʿim* “with” instead of *ʿam* “people” should be read (cf. comms.), the universality of God’s dominion would still be linked to Israel’s election (cf. P. Altmann, *Erwählungstheologie und Universalismus im AT* [1964]; H. Schmidt, “Israel, Zion und die Völker” [diss., Zurich, 1968], 11f., 19ff., 99f.).

(c) Psa 105 and 106 are also post-exilic; they retrace salvation history and already presuppose the closed Pentateuch. Psa 105:6 speaks of the “descendants of Abraham, his servant” par. to the “sons of Jacob, his chosen ones (*b<sup>ʿ</sup>ḥîrāyw*).” Apparently one should read *b<sup>ʿ</sup>ḥîrô* “his chosen one” here (cf. *BHS*): the patriarch is chosen, but at the same time, naturally, in him Israel is chosen. Therefore one could speak without difficulty in v 43 as in Psa 106:5 of the people as the chosen of Yahweh. The pl. is nevertheless noteworthy: the people now appears as a collection of individuals. The question arises, however, whether the chosen and the rejected in Israel should not therefore be distinguished.

(d) Trito-Isaiah too speaks of Yahweh’s chosen (Isa 65:9, 15). Even

old promises, which were associated with Israel's election, are revisited: they will possess the land and, as Yahweh's servants, live there. The chosen is no longer the empirical Israel, however, but the yet-to-be-created people of God of the coming era of salvation. Israel, as it is, has chosen evil in Yahweh's eyes (65:12; cf. 66:3f.). People's perverted choice excludes them from the circle of Yahweh's chosen. But Yahweh must yet create the true Israel: "I will bring forth a second growth from Jacob" (65:9), and this second growth will be "my people, who seek me" (v 10). Thus the boundaries of Israel, as it has been, are totally set aside. Those who keep Yahweh's Sabbath and choose what pleases him are "circumcised"; they are to have a "name and memorial" in Yahweh's house "that is better than sons and daughters" (56:4f.). It is enlightening that the disintegration of the people Israel in the late post-exilic period made it necessary to reformulate the election doctrine. This reformulation redefines the entity of the people of God in individual terms through the required correlation between human and divine choice. But this reconceptualization does not mean a cancellation of belief in Israel's election. The new people of God will continue to be, if not "Jacob's seed," then still "seed come forth from Jacob." Even though the temple too will be "a house of prayer for all peoples" (56:7), the Yahweh-fearers will still be instructed in Jerusalem. Above all, one can fall away from the elect Israel through one's own wrong choice; the new Israel, however, does not constitute itself by means of its own correct choice, but will be Yahweh's eschatological creation.

(e) The election of the tribe of Levi to the priesthood was already attested in a secondary layer of Deut (see IV/2d). It is no surprise that P concerns itself with the question of the legitimate priesthood in three passages where it speaks expressly of election (Num 16:5, 7; 17:20): the priesthood is now limited to the descendants of Aaron. This limitation is not undisputed, however. The narrative of the rebellion of Korah's band (Num 16, P version) is a description of the ordeal that should reveal "who belongs to him and who is holy so that he may draw near to him; whom he chooses, he may draw near to him" (v 5; cf. v 7). Num 17:16ff. (v 20) also speaks of a divine declaration that certifies election. The passages become transparent in meaning only when one ascertains that, besides this election, P speaks neither of the election of the people nor that of the king. The certainty of the election of the priestly house is sufficient. Salvation is assured by the fact that the right men exercise their duty before Yahweh. The priestly perspective can be understood against the struggle to provide Israel's faith in the presence of divine grace with a certain foundation. The disadvantage is, however, that Israel's obligations are limited to cultic correctness. The protest of the pre-exilic prophets against Israel's false security, which thought it possible to base its faith in the salvation-granting presence of Yahweh upon the temple, seems to have died away.

(f) The viewpoint of P found an echo in Psa 105. It too speaks of Aaron's election. But it mentions Moses as Yahweh's servant together with him (v 26; 106:23 does indeed expressly describe Moses as *bāhîr*). The reason that the same psalm speaks of election of individuals (see IV/4c) and of that of Aaron and Moses is clear: Yahweh has chosen the people in love in order "to see its joy" in its good fortune (106:5). But Israel has proved itself unworthy of this election, as its history illustrates. It was destined to fall had not Moses "stepped into the breach" before Yahweh (106:23). This is an interesting attempt to deal with the problem of the repeated failure of the chosen people and the threat that election will be overturned in rejection; aware of its failure as Yahweh's chosen people, Israel clings to the election of its fathers, leaders, and mediators of salvation: Abraham (cf. also Neh 9:7), Jacob, Aaron, and now Moses too. The powerful spectacle in Isa 53 of the suffering of God's servant, who indeed is also Yahweh's elect, is again illuminating: "he, the righteous, my servant, will create righteousness for many" (v 11). The trial of the one who is elect makes it possible to sustain belief in the election of the many, just as one cannot speak in the NT of the election of God's people apart from Christ, the one *eklektos tou theou* (G. Schrenk, *TDNT* 4:186–92).

(g) The Chr history reworked available tradition. Accordingly, it offers no new election concept but a reformulation of earlier concepts. Its peculiar tendencies are nevertheless visible. In 1 Chron 28:4ff. and 2 Chron 6:5f. it incorporates 1 Kgs 8:16, which speaks of the election of Jerusalem and David. But the Chr expands: David's election presupposes the election of Judah, which is apparently identical with the true Israel. Above all, however, he speaks of Solomon's election too. The repetitions in 1 Chron 28:5f., 10 and 29:1 indicate that this election is of great importance to him. The actual reason for the king's election is that he is to build Yahweh a house (28:10; 29:1). Already according to Sum. and Akk. sources (see IV/2d), the deity selects the king specifically to function as caretaker of sanctuaries. In this way the Chr has associated the election of the king with that of Jerusalem as the place where Yahweh will cause his name to dwell even more closely than in the documents available to him. Elsewhere too he places great weight on Jerusalem's election (2 Chron 6:5f., 34, 38; 7:12, 16; 12:13; 33:7; Neh 1:9), the more so because he must justify an anti-Samaritan stance. Of course, the temple cannot be discussed without mentioning the Levites (1 Chron 15:2; 2 Chron 29:11). This summary indicates that the Chr is indeed interested only in the election of the temple and its priesthood. The king's election is no longer an independent theme; Israel's election is not discussed at all. If the temple worship can be properly celebrated, the problem of Israel's election becomes superfluous (1 Chron 16:13 is a quotation of Psa 105:6; Neh 9:7 too belongs to

incorporated traditional material). The old temple ideology (see IV/2d) triumphed in the end, then. At any rate “Israel” is no longer God’s people in the ethnic sense, but the cultic community as the band of those assembled at the place of sacrifice and worship, seeking God and praising him.

5. (a) God is not the only one who chooses and elects; people do too. The OT operates on the assumption that they can also choose their God or gods. If the text of Judg 5:8 is original, the oldest OT passage with *bhr* in any form speaks of the choice of new gods. In the realm of polytheism and in the complex ethnic and religious situation of Canaan, the temptation to seek success with new gods must have been great. The first commandment addresses this very situation. As a rule, *bhr* was not used of turning to other gods; the word had too much theological significance and too solemn connotations to be used in the polemic against apostasy. At any rate, Isaiah threatens: “Truly, you will be ashamed on account of the trees that you desire (*hmd*), and you will blush on account of the gardens that you chose (*bhr*)” (Isa 1:29; cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 74, 76f.). The Dtr challenges Israel sarcastically: “Go and cry to the gods whom you chose” (Judg 10:14), and in his anti-idol polemic Deutero-Isa calls to them: “See, you are nothing and your deeds are nothing; the one who chooses you is an abomination!” (Isa 41:24). The same polemic also occurs once again in Trito-Isa (Isa 65:12; 66:3), and Psa 16, approximately contemporaneous, also seems to speak of the selection of other gods (v 4 read *bāhārû* for *māhārû*, see H. Gunkel, *Psa* [19264], 52). Significantly, this usage does not occur in contexts that simply note that Israel serves other gods, but in ironic polemic: if you believe you will do better with other gods, then, good, try. If you take pleasure (as ZB translates *bhr* in Isa 66:3) in their paths, and your heart “takes delight (*hps*) in their abominations,” then also bear the consequences that such a choice brings. The choice of other gods and cults is indeed a possibility, which is given with the freedom of Israel, or its people, and it becomes a reality in this freedom time and again, but a reality that leads to self-destruction. This freedom to choose makes ruin possible.

(b) Whoever chooses a deity not only chooses another name for the divine but prescribes for himself/herself a particular path (Isa 66:3; cf. also Psa 119:30) and chooses particular regulations (Psa 119:173). Whoever denies Yahweh chooses not only what is evil in his eyes but evil per se, because Yahweh is creator and guardian of the moral world order. In this way, the wisdom ideal could be incorporated into the confession of Yahweh. In the final analysis, the choice of Yahweh or the fear of him and the choice of the way of truth (Psa 119:30) or of life are one and the same. The pious trusts in this identity: to the one who fears Yahweh, “he shows the way that he should choose” (Psa 25:12). Conversely, later wisdom, at

least, can exhort one to choose the fear of Yahweh (Prov 1:29; cf. 3:31), but can also assure that the one who makes the right choice can expect blessing. His “soul” will “lodge overnight” in the realm of the good, i.e., will find fortune and salvation, “and his descendants will inherit the land” (Psa 25:13). Thus the old blessings and curses that conclude the legal corpus can be summed up in the Deuteronomist’s interpretation by the challenge: “So choose now life, so that you may live” (Deut 30:19).

(c) Although the exhortation to choose the good in Yahweh’s eyes, the right path, life, etc., can be stated, the final consequence—the summons to choose Yahweh himself—is lacking. This summons would correspond precisely to the complaint that Israel has chosen strange gods. Josh 24:15 at least approximates this conclusion: “If it does not please you to serve Yahweh, then choose today whom you will serve.” Israel is apparently confronted here with the choice between Yahweh and the gods. But, aside from the fact that Dtr has in reality obligated Israel to a choice long since made (see IV/3a), the logic of the correlation breaks down even in this passage: the alternative to choosing the gods is not choosing Yahweh, but fear of Yahweh and worship of Yahweh in uprightness and faithfulness (v 14). Joshua contrasts the possibility of the people’s faulty decision not with his own decision to choose Yahweh but with his pledge: “But I and my house, we will serve Yahweh.” Israel is aware that one cannot choose Yahweh, as one may choose other gods. In the pluralistic history of religion, Yahweh is not one of the many options confronting the pious individual. Israel should not choose Yahweh; rather it should acknowledge that it is chosen by him. Therefore the choice of other gods affects only whether Israel will realize its potential as Yahweh’s private possession. Israel is indeed required to choose the right path, but it may also trust that Yahweh will show it this path; it should choose life, but this choice is possible because Yahweh has “placed (life) before it” (Deut 30:19).

V. 1. *bḥr* occurs 30x and *bāḥîr* 20x in the available Qumran literature (according to Kuhn, *Konk.* 30f.). The election idea is closely linked to the Sinai covenant (1Q34bis 3 II:5), more directly than in the OT. The concept is transferred from the Sinai covenant to the “new covenant”; its members are “elect of God” (1QpHab 10:13) or “of Israel” (1Q37 1:3, etc.). Within the Qumran community itself, the Zadokite priests are elect in a specific sense. The *bḥîrîm* are righteous and lead a perfect life (1QS 4:22f.), and God grants them a portion in the lot of the saints (1QS 11:7). They are chosen from the beginning of the world, which should not be understood, however, as strict determinism, for “before they were created, he knew their works” (CD 2:7f.). The chosen, then, are completely free to decide, and they are therefore also called the “free-willed” (1QS 5:1, etc.); they choose the path

themselves (1QS 9:17f.). On Qumran, cf. F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte* (1956), 174f.; id., *BZ* 3 (1959): 220ff.; J. Gnilka, *BZ* 7 (1963): 44–48; J. A. Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic ‘Elect of God’ Text from Qumran Cave IV,” *CBQ* 27 (1965): 348–72.

2. The LXX usually translates *bḥr* with *eklegesthai* (for details, cf. G. Quell, *TDNT* 4:145f.). *bāḥîr* is always translated with *eklektos*; *eklegesthai* renders other Hebr. roots in only a few cases, which indicates that the word was understood as a theologically stamped term.

3. On the usage of *bḥr* or *eklegesthai* in early Judaism and in the NT, cf. G. Quell and G. Schrenk, “λέγω: ἐκλέγομαι/ἐκλογή/ἐκλεκτός,” *TDNT* 4:144–92; G. Nordholt, “Elect, Choose,” *DNTT* 1:533–43; further N. A. Dahl, *Das Volk Gottes* (1941), 51ff.; B. W. Helfgott, *Doctrine of Election in Tannaitic Literature* (1954); I. Daumoser, *Berufung und Erwählung bei den Synoptikern* (1955); H. Braun, *Spätjüdisch-häretischer und frühchristlicher Radikalismus* (1957); J. Jocz, *Theology of Election* (1958); U. Luz, *Das Geschichtsverständnis des Paulus* (1968), 64f., 179.

H. Wildberger

## בטח *bṭḥ* to trust

S 982; BDB 105a; *HALOT* 1:120a; *TDOT* 2:88–94; *TWOT* 233; *NIDOTTE* 1053

1. Only a few, isolated instances of *bṭḥ* “to trust” have been identified so far outside the OT in Can.; it is absent in Aram. (apart from a few borrowings from the Hebr.) and is represented by the roots *rḥṣ/raḥāṣu* and *tkl/takālu* in Akk. Etymologies that attempt to trace *bṭḥ* to a physical-concrete root meaning have not yet produced universally accepted results.

A Can. gloss in EA 147:56 offers *ba-ti-i-ti* (*baṭīti*) “I am confident” (cf. *CAD* B:177a; *DISO* 33).

*bṭḥ* appears in a 6th-cent. Phoen. letter (*KAI* no. 50.5) in a damaged, not entirely lucid context (“security, guarantee”?).

On the PN *mbṭḥyh*, “Yahweh is the object of (my) trust,” with the by-form *mpṭḥyh* and the abbreviated forms *mb/pṭḥ* in the Aram. Elephantine Papyri (Cowley 295a, 297b; *BMAP* 187), cf. J. J. Stamm, *FS Baumgartner* 314. Hebr. *mbṭḥyh* occurs in Lachish Letter 1:4 (cf. *TGI* 1 no. 34).

On the basis of Arab. *bṭḥ* “to throw down” (VII “to lie on one’s belly”), the

meaning “to fall to the ground” has been postulated for Jer 12:5 and Prov 14:16, whether this may be taken as the basic meaning (“to lie there” > “to depend on” >) “to trust” (G. R. Driver, FS Robinson 59f.; J. Blau, VT 6 [1956]: 244; L. Kopf, VT 8 [1958]: 165–68), or a root *bṭḥ* II is assumed (HAL 116a: qal Jer 12:5; Prov 14:16; *baṭṭūḥâ* “inhabited valley” Job 12:6; denied e.g., by Rudolph, HAT 12, 84; Fohrer, KAT 16, 237), which presumes a different etymology for *bṭḥ* I (L. Köhler, ZAW 55 [1937]: 172f.; id., OTS 8 [1950]: 144f.; and KBL 118b: following Arab. *bāṭeḥ* “pregnant mare” and Hebr. <sup>ʾ</sup>*baṭṭīḥîm* “watermelons,” he suggests *bṭḥ* “to be taut, firm” > “to be trustworthy, trust, be certain”; otherwise, Ch. Rabin, FS Baumgartner 225–28: Arab. *btʿ* with the basic meaning “to be strong” and a semantic shift from “strength, greatness” > “self-confidence”).\*

Qal and causative hi. forms are attested for the verb; there are also the nom. derivatives *beṭaḥ* and (traditionally) *baṭṭūḥôt* “security”; *biṭḥâ*, *mibṭāḥ*, and *biṭṭāḥôn* “trust”; *baṭûaḥ* “trusting.”

2. The following statistics include passages attributed to *bṭḥ* II (see above):

	qal	hi.	<i>beṭaḥ</i>	other substs.	total	
Gen	–	–	1	–	1	
Lev	–	–	3	–	3	
Deut	1	–	3	–	4	
Judg	5	–	2	–	7	
1 Sam	–	–	–	1	–	1
1 Kgs	–	–	1	–	1	
2 Kgs	8	1	–	1	10	
Isa	18	1	3	4	26	
Jer	14	2	4	3	23	
Ezek	2	–	11	1	14	
Min. Pr.	–	5	–	4	–	9
Psa	44	1	3	4	52	
Job	4	–	2	4	10	
Prov	10	–	4	4	18	
Eccl	–	–	–	1	1	
1 Chron	–	1	–	–	–	1
2 Chron	–	1	–	–	–	1
OT	113	5	42	22	182	

The column “other substs.” consists of *baṭṭūḥôt* 1x (Job 12:6), *biṭḥâ* 1x (Isa 30:15; *biṭḥēk* is counted here, following Mandl. and HAL 116a, as qal inf., in Lis. under *beṭaḥ*), *mibṭāḥ* 15x (Prov 4x; Jer, Psa, Job 3x each; Isa and Ezek 1x each), *biṭṭāḥôn* 3x

(2 Kgs 18:19 = Isa 36:4; Eccl 9:4), and *baṭūaḥ* 2x (Isa 26:3; Psa 112:7).\*

3. (a) The verb occurs most often in the OT in prayer and song formulae: two-fifths of all texts are in the Psalter; moreover, outside Psa, many more texts belong to worship genres (cf. the prayer in Isa 12:2; the song in Isa 26:4) or mirror their themes (cf. the Dtr “discourses” in Jer 7:4ff.; 2 Kgs 18:5ff.). Without implicating the pertinent institutions, reference may be made to curse and blessing formulations, etc. (cf. Jer 17:5, 7; Isa 31:1; Amos 6:1), and prophetic judgment and salvation sayings that speak of trust in a similar manner (Isa 30:12; 42:17; 47:10; 50:10; 59:4; Hos 10:13; Mic 7:5; Zeph 3:2, etc.). Even genuine wisdom passages adopt the “religious” usage of *bṭḥ* (Prov 3:5; 16:20; 28:25; 29:25; cf. Job 11:18); the cultic usage stands, therefore, prominently in the foreground. The nouns are strewn over the literary field; *mibṭāḥ* seems to have arisen only since Judah’s exile (Jer 2:37, the earliest text?).

(b) *bṭḥ* can describe secure circumstances or a secure frame of mind; the qal act. ptcp. esp. fulfills this purpose. The inhabitants of pre-Israelite Laish live calmly and peaceably (*šōqēṭ ūbōṭēaḥ*, Judg 18:7, 27) reflecting their good fortune; the word of judgment is directed against the peasant women who consider themselves safe (Isa 32:9ff.). “If a war befalls me, I will remain confident even in it” (*b<sup>c</sup>zōṭ ṣ<sup>a</sup>nî bōṭēaḥ*, Psa 27:3). One who feels safe in this manner does not fear (Isa 12:2; Psa 56:5, 12) and is shaken by nothing (Psa 21:8; cf. 25:2; 26:1). The simple qal impf. can also describe this status of security (Prov 28:1). As a rule one states the basis or direction of this feeling of security, esp. through prepositional usages (*bṭḥ b<sup>c</sup>/ṣal*). One entrusts oneself (cf. the reflexive usage in 2 Kgs 18:24; Jer 7:8) to all sorts of objects, persons, and circumstances (the city walls, Deut 28:52; battle tactics, Judg 20:36; strength? Hos 10:13; treasures, Jer 49:4; beauty, Ezek 16:15), or even to evil (Isa 30:12). The relative clause “in which you trust” is used formulaically (cf. Deut 28:52; 2 Kgs 19:10 = Isa 37:10; Jer 5:17; 7:14; Psa 41:10; 115:8). If external circumstances are ordered and peaceful, one lives “in security” (adv. *betāḥ, lābetāḥ*; cf. 1 Sam 12:11; Isa 32:17; Mic 2:8; Prov 1:33; Lev 25:18f.; Judg 18:7; 1 Kgs 5:5; Ezek 38:8ff., etc.).

*bṭḥ* is not just a stative verb, however. It also expresses the beginning of the act of trust, which increases in a secure area of life or which aims at the creation of this area. Challenges to trust and warnings against unjustified security (pure impf.: Jer 17:5, 7; Psa 44:7; 55:24; 56:4f., 12; also impv., juss., and negated: Isa 26:4; 50:10; Jer 7:4; 9:3; 49:11; Mic 7:5; Psa 4:6; 9:11; 37:3; Prov 3:5) refer to a future act of trust; pf. predicates refer to the already proved, significant “entrusting of oneself” (cf. e.g., *bāṭaḥtî* “I trust,” Psa 13:6; 25:2; 26:1; 31:7, 15; 41:10; 52:10; 56:5, 12, in addition to the

impf. <sup>ʔ</sup>*nî* <sup>ʔ</sup>*cbṭaḥ* Psa 55:24 or the ptcp. <sup>ʔ</sup>*nî* <sup>ʔ</sup>*bōṭēaḥ* Psa 27:3). Whether it describes circumstances or states confidence of various durations, frequencies, and magnitudes, it always envisions an object of confidence; *bṭḥ* almost always refers to a process at the foundation of existence (contra A. Weiser, *TDNT* 6:191f.). Whoever trusts, relies on something (cf. <sup>ʔ</sup>*ʕn* “to rely on” and Isa 30:12; 31:1; 50:10; Prov 3:5; → *smk* and 2 Kgs 18:21 = Isa 36:6; Isa 26:3; Psa 71:5f.), and everything depends upon the reliability of the other; one seeks protection (cf. → *ḥsh* and Judg 9:15; 2 Sam 22:3; Isa 30:2; Psa 11:1; 16:1; 31:2; 71:1; 91:4; 118:8f., etc.), and one stands or falls with that on which one relies.

The derivative noun *mibṭāḥ* “basis, object of confidence” (unlike the other substs., it must not be understood as an action noun, but almost always clearly refers to the object of confidence, e.g., Yahweh, Jer 17:7; Psa 40:5; 65:6; 71:5; Bethel, Jer 48:13; cobwebs, Job 8:14; tent 18:14; refined gold, 31:24; in the pl. for several objects of confidence, Isa 32:18; Jer 2:37; also Prov 22:19, “so that your confidence may be in Yahweh”), *bittāḥôn* “confidence, hope” (only 2 Kgs 18:19 = Isa 36:4 and Eccl 9:4; the nuance expressed by the nom. form cannot be precisely comprehended), *bittāḥ* “trust” (only Isa 30:15, nomen actionis; cf. the inf. in Jer 48:7), and the adj. *bāṭūaḥ* “trusting” (only Isa 26:3; Psa 112:7) fit this linguistic model very well.

4. A specifically theological usage occurs in OT passages that assume that one can successfully place confidence only in Yahweh, that no other entity can be an ultimate object of trust. This restriction applies to almost all texts in which *bṭḥ* occurs; it is thus an eminently theological term, its meaning approximating the synonyms → <sup>ʔ</sup>*mn* hi. “to believe,” → *ḥsh* “to seek refuge” (cf. A. Weiser, *TDNT* 6:191ff.; R. Bultmann, *TDNT* 6:4f.).

There are sufficient programmatic declarations concerning trust in Yahweh: wisdom (Jer 17:5 “cursed be the man who relies on men”; v 7 “blessed the man, who relies on Yahweh”; Prov 16:20 “whoever relies on Yahweh finds happiness”), prophetic (cf. Isa 30:12 “you trust in oppression and perverseness and rely on them”; v 15 “you will be helped through returning and resting, you will become strong through waiting and trusting”), and theological illustrations.

The tradition-critically complex Hezekiah narrative of the Assyrian siege of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 18f. = Isa 36f.; cf. the revised version in 2 Chron 32 woven into another context) reads like a paradigm of the theme: “Yahweh is the only God (2 Kgs 19:15, 19), trust only in him!” 2 Kgs 18f. emphasizes Hezekiah’s special virtue; the besiegers provoke the king: “In what, then, do you trust?” (18:19f.; 19:10) and draw out the logical absurdities of his faith. The unreliability of the allies, historical events, and God’s authorization of the Assyrian world ruler (18:19–25; 19:11–13) contradict Hezekiah’s trust in Yahweh (cf. esp. 18:22, 25; the climax is in v 30: “Do not let yourselves be misled by Hezekiah to have hope in Yahweh [*bṭḥ* hi.]”). Contrary to every

military calculation, Hezekiah's confidence in Yahweh is wondrously confirmed (19:35ff.). On the relationship between the narrative and Isaiah's preaching, cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 2:168f.; B. S. Childs, *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis* (1967); R. Deutsch, *Die Hiskiaerzählungen* (1969).

Jeremiah's Temple Sermon (Jer 7:3–15) illustrates, in view of historical events, how even confidence in Yahweh can be falsified if not linked to a genuine, direct obedience.

Both narratives are examples of exilic (Dtr) concerns for a new relationship with Yahweh.

The same theological viewpoints occur in specifically cultic and liturgical passages. Is Yahweh trustworthy? Is he the only dependable one? The song formulae encourage the participants to dare the leap of trust (examples of direct invitations in the impv. are Psa 37:3; 62:9; 115:9ff.); they confess that Yahweh is indeed aid, protection, and sanctuary (cf. Psa 25:2f.; 27:3, 5, 9f.; 28:7; 31:4, 7f.; 71:5; 91:2; cf. Gunkel-Begrich 232ff.) and that he does not disappoint his protégés (cf. the affirmation that often immediately follows a statement of confidence: "I am not afraid," etc., Psa 56:5, 12; 25:2; 21:8), and they raise the expectation that the example of trust will set a precedent (Psa 40:4). The statement "I (we) trust in Yahweh" is extremely significant, however, in the language of the Psalms.

In the Psalter, 17 of 44 passages with *bṯh* qal are such personal confessions; they are often strengthened by means of the 1st sg. or pl. per. pron. (cf. also the synonymous usages with → *ḥsh*, Psa 7:2; 11:1; 16:1; 71:1; etc.; → *qwh* pi. Isa 8:17; 25:9; Psa 25:5, 21; 40:2; 130:5; → *dbq*, Psa 63:9; 119:31; → *smk* ni., Isa 48:2; Psa 71:6; *š'ḥn* ni., 2 Chron 14:10, etc.). The personal statement of confidence stands occasionally at the end of a psalm (Psa 55:24; 84:13), but as a rule it is the focus of a formal component of the lament, the "declaration of confidence" (cf. Gunkel-Begrich 254ff.; S. Mowinckel, *Psalms in Israel's Worship* [1962], 1:220; see also "confidence" in the index).

This evidence means that Israelite tradition recognizes and demands an absolute, exclusive devotion to Yahweh; this trust in Yahweh includes *hope* of salvation (Job 11:18) and *faith* in the God of the fathers (Psa 22:4f.).

5. Jewish and Christian theologians include the meaning "confidence in God" in their considerations of the total sphere of "faith, obedience, hope." Now and then, trust once again attains the forefront (in the Qumran texts, cf. 1QM 11:2 with 1 Sam 17:45; on the apocryphal and pseudepigraphal, as well as the NT and early Christian literature, cf. R. Bultmann, "πιστεύω," *TDNT* 6:197–230, esp. 200f., 206f.; id., "πίθω," *TDNT* 6:1–11, esp. 4–6). The concept of *pepoithenai epi tō theō* has no

special theological meaning in the NT; it is subsumed under *pisteuein*, “confidence takes the form of faith” (Bultmann, *TDNT* 6:7). Cf. also StrB 3:188, 191f.; R. Bultmann, “ἐλπίζω,” *TDNT* 2:521–23.

E. Gerstenberger

## בין *bîn* to understand

S 995; BDB 106b; *HALOT* 1:122a; *TDOT* 2:99–107; *TWOT* 239; *NIDOTTE* 1067

1. The root *bîn* “to understand” (< “to distinguish”) is attested in almost the entire NWSem. and Ssem. language realm (cf. *HAL* 117b; on *bn*, attested prior or contemporaneous to the OT only in Ug., cf. *WUS* no. 531; *UT* no. 461).

Beside the verb (qal, ni., hi., po., hitpo.) are the substs. *bînâ* “insight, understanding” and *t<sup>e</sup>bînâ* “insight, facility”; cf. also the PN *yâbîn*.

The words *bn* “between” and (*ʕš hab*)*bēnayim* “champion” (*HAL* 118, 134), usually attributed to the same root, will not be treated here.

2. The verb occurs in the qal and hi. a total of 126x (incl. Jer 49:7 [Lis. lists this under *bn*] and Prov 21:29 Q); almost half of the impfs. cannot be distinguished between the two stems (BL 396; Berg. *HG* 2:149). The ni. occurs 22x (21x as the ptcp. *nābôn*, adj. “insightful”), po. 1x, hitpo. 22x, the substs. *bînâ* 37x (also 1x Aram. in Dan 2:21) and *t<sup>e</sup>bînâ* 42x.

Most of the 250 Hebr. occurrences are in the Psa and wisdom texts (Prov 67x, Job 36x, Psa 30x), and in Isa (28x), the Chr’s history (23x), and Dan (26x, in addition to 1x Aram.).

3. The verb *bîn*, rarely employed without a modifier (on the usage in wisdom literature, see 4), should be translated in both the qal and the hi. mostly with “to notice” or “to observe” (hitpo. often “to pay attention to”; on the difference in meaning between qal and hi., cf. *HP* 254).

Examples: noticing who calls (1 Sam 3:8); that the child is dead (2 Sam 12:19); shortcomings (Psa 19:13); fire (58:10); a misdeed (Neh 13:7); ruin (Job 6:30), abs., *ʕên mēbîn* “no one notices it” (Isa 57:1); paying attention to the reading of the law (Neh 8:8; cf. 8:2f., 12; 10:29); hitpo. “to inspect carefully” (1 Kgs 3:21; cf. Job 31:1, 12).

In Chron it occasionally means “to be able to do something

professionally” (→ *ḥkm*; 1 Chron 15:22; 25:7; 27:32; 2 Chron 34:12; cf. Dan 1:4, 17; 8:23; cf. *t<sup>e</sup>bûnâ* in Exod 31:3; 35:31; 36:1; 1 Kgs 7:14).

The *hi.* occasionally means “to differentiate” (1 Kgs 3:9), “to be clever” (3:11); negated, “to understand nothing” (Isa 29:16 of the potter).

In addition to the inner-transitive (internal) meaning, the *hi.* is also used about 20x as a normal causative: “to give insight,” and thence “to instruct” (e.g., 2 Chron 35:3 Q; ptc. *mēbîn* “teacher,” Ezra 8:16; 1 Chron 25:8).

For the various object and prepositional constructions, cf. *HAL* 117f.

4. Regarding the theological usage of the verbs, attention must first be directed to passages in which Yahweh appears as subject.

Yahweh notices misdeeds (Psa 94:7 par. *r<sup>h</sup>* “to see”), knows people’s thoughts (139:2; cf. 1 Chron 28:9), notices sighing (Psa 5:2 par. *ʔzn hi.* “to hear”), pays attention to people’s works (33:15), observes his people (Deut 32:10 po.). God’s *t<sup>e</sup>bûnâ* is mentioned in Isa 40:14, 28; Jer 10:12 = 51:15; granted to the king, 1 Kgs 5:9; cf. Isa 11:2, *bînâ*.

With the people or the individual as subject, *bîn* frequently deals with attention to Yahweh’s activity in nature and history (Deut 32:7 par. *zkr* “to remember”; Psa 28:5; 73:17; hitpo.: Isa 43:18; Job 37:14; 38:18; contrast Isa 52:15 and Jer 2:10).

That in the OT the right relationship to God is frequently formulated exactly with wisdom ideas (cf. H. H. Schmid, *Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit* [1966], 199–201 with bibliog.) has still received much too little theological consideration.

A number of diverse formulations express the fact that the people or the individual ought to “understand” (often par. to *yd<sup>c</sup>* “to recognize”) something (Isa 6:9f.; 32:4; 40:21; 43:10; 44:18; Jer 23:20 = 30:24; Hos 14:10; Psa 94:8; 107:43; cf. with *bînâ*. Isa 27:11; 33:19), or that this “understanding” is often lacking (Deut 32:28f.; Isa 1:3; Jer 9:11; Hos 4:14; Psa 49:21; cf. Psa 82:5; Dan 11:37).

Later on, when the law assumes centrality in OT religion, it becomes the object or goal of this understanding: Neh 8:2f., 12; 10:29; Psa 119:27, 34, 73, 95, 100, 104, 125, 130, 144, 169; cf. already Deut 4:6 (*bînâ*).

The word group is particularly important in Prov, Job, and Dan.

The proverbs of Solomon serve *l<sup>e</sup>hābîn ʔimrê bînâ* “the understanding (or the learning) of the words of insight” (Prov 1:2), their objective is the *bînâ* or *t<sup>e</sup>bûnâ* (2:3), they are concerned with understanding the *māšāl*, the wisdom saying (1:6), acquiring

*ʿormâ* “cleverness” (8:5a), understanding the way (14:8), becoming insightful (8:5b txt?); *mēbîn* is, then, “the insightful” (8:9; 17:10, 24; 28:2, 7, 11), *bînâ* “insight” (often par. to *ḥokmâ* “wisdom”; 4:1, 5, 7; 7:4; 8:14; 9:6, 10; 16:16; 23:23; 30:2), similar to *t<sup>e</sup>bûnâ* (2:2f., 6, 11; 3:13, 19; 5:1; 8:1; 10:23, etc.), *nābôn* “prudent” (par. *ḥākām* “sage”; antonym: fool, cynic; 10:13; 14:6, 33; 15:14; 16:21; 17:28; 18:15; 19:25). False, purely human *bînâ* is treated in 3:5; 23:4; *t<sup>e</sup>bûnâ*: 21:30.

The word group is used very diversely in the poetry of Job. In addition to “profane” (6:30; 14:21; 18:2; 31:1; 32:12, etc.) and general wisdom usages (28:23; 32:8f.; 34:16; 36:29, etc., as well as most occurrences of *bînâ* and *t<sup>e</sup>bûnâ*), there are several, more specific usages: observing God’s injustice (13:1 par. *r<sup>h</sup>* “to see,” *šm<sup>c</sup>* “to hear”; cf. 23:8), Job is unable to see God (Job 9:11 par. *r<sup>h</sup>*; 23:8). He wishes to know how God would answer him (23:5 par. *yd<sup>c</sup>*); but God pays no attention (30:20 txt em). In his friends’ opinion, Job understands nothing (Job 15:9 par. *yd<sup>c</sup>*); nevertheless, he wishes them to show him his errors (6:24 par. *yrh* hi. “to teach”).

In the vision narratives of Dan, *bîn* becomes a technical term for the understanding of visions and auditions (in various constructions: 1:17; 8:5, 15–17, 27; 9:22f.; 10:1, 11f., 14; 11:33; 12:8, 10); cf. the understanding of the scriptures in 9:2 also.

5. The thought of the Qumran sect also participated in the amalgamation of wisdom, apocalypticism, and gnosticism at the turn of the era. On the meaning of wisdom expressions at Qumran, cf. F. Nötscher, *Zur theol. Terminologie der Qumran-Texte* (1956), 38ff. (on *bîn* and *bînâ*, ibid. 54ff.).

For the NT usage of the Gk. verb *ginōskein*, which already represented both *bîn* and → *yd<sup>c</sup>* in the LXX, see R. Bultmann, “γινώσκω,” *TDNT* 1:689–719.

H. H. Schmid

## בַּיִת *bayit* house

S 1004; BDB 108b; *HALOT* 1:124a; *TDOT* 2:107–16; *TWOT* 241; *NIDOTTE* 1074

## אֹהֶל *ōhel* tent

S 168–169; BDB 13b; *HALOT* 1:19a; *TDOT* 1:118–30; *TWOT* 32a; *NIDOTTE* 185–186

## הֵיכָל *hēkāl* temple

S 1964; BDB 228a; HALOT 1:244b; TDOT 3:382–88; TWOT 493; NIDOTTE 2121

1. \**bayt*- “house” is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 216); fig. meanings occur in all Sem. languages as in Hebr. (cf. e.g., *AHW* 132–34; *CAD* B:272–77, 282–97; *WUS* no. 600; *UT* no. 463; *DISO* 35f.).

Direct derivatives of *bayit* do not occur in Hebr.; *bîtān* “palace” (Esth 1:5; 7:7f.) may be an Akk. loanword transmitted through Aram. (Wagner no. 42). Bibl. Aram. offers the denominative verb *bît* “to spend the night” (Dan 6:19) in addition to *bayit* (pars. in Akk., Ug., Aram., Arab., and Eth., but not in Hebr., where *lîn* “to spend the night,” also more generally “to lodge,” performs this function).

In contrast, place-names formed with *bît* - are quite frequent (*HAL* 120–24: nos. 1–52); *bît* - often originally indicated the sanctuary of a deity (e.g., *bêt dāgôn*, *bêt ʿnāt*, *bêt šemeš*).

Although not conclusive, a fem. form (Aram.) of *bîn* “between” is often assumed (Wagner no. 41; *HAL* 124a; on Ezek 41:9 cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:373; on Job 8:17, cf. Horst, BK 16, 126) for the difficult texts 2 Kgs 11:15 = 2 Chron 23:14 (*ʿel-mibbêt [lʿ]*; see 3c) and Prov 8:2 (*bêt nʿtibôt* “crossroad”?; cf. Gemser, HAT 16, 44). In 2 Kgs 23:7b a plural of *bat* III “woven garment” should probably be conjectured to replace the present pl. of *bayit* (*HAL* 159b).

2. Statistics are complicated for *bayit* because the removal of place-names formed with *bît*- cannot always be satisfactorily accomplished.

In the following presentation, nos. 5, 30, 46, 51 listed in *HAL* 120–24 will not be counted among the place-names, following Lis. (and Mandl.), although nos. 12, 23, 27 (*bêt haggān* 2 Kgs 9:27; *bît-hakkerem* Neh 3:14; *bêt millōʿ* Judg 9:6, 20[bis]; 2 Kgs 12:21) will be (against Lis.). Excluding the approximately 50 place-names with adj. formations (around 240 occurrences) and 2 Chron 34:6 K, but including 2 Kgs 23:7b (see 1) as well as Num 1:22 and 2 Sam 19:12b (the last two omitted in Lis.), the following numbers result:

Gen	109	Hos	15	Prov	38	
Exod	59	Joel	6	Ruth	7	
Lev	53	Amos	27	Song Sol	5	
Num	58	Obad	5	Eccl	11	
Deut	45	Jonah	–	Lam	3	
Josh	25	Mic	16	Esth	28	
Judg	68	Nah	1	Dan	3	
1 Sam	61	Hab	3	Ezra	30	
2 Sam	115	Zeph	5	Neh	52	
1 Kgs	194	Hag	11	1 Chron	112	

2 Kgs	151	Zech	31	2 Chron	218
Isa	75	Mal	2		
Jer	146	Psa	53		
Ezek	181	Job	26	Hebr. OT	2,048

*bîtān* occurs 3x, Bibl. Aram. *bayit* 44x (Dan 9x, Ezra 35x), *bît* pe. 1x.

3. (a) In its basic meaning *bayit* describes the fixed “house” built of any material (*BRL* 266–73, 409–16; *BHH* 2:658f.; 3:1361–65), usually in distinction from *ʾōhel* “tent” (cf. 2 Sam 16:22; Jer 35:7, 9f.; Hos 12:10; but Psa 132:3 *ʾōhel bêtî* “my house-tent”; 1 Chron 9:23 txt? *bêt-hāʾōhel* “tent-house”; cf. Rudolph, HAT 21, 88; *ʾōhel* occurs 435x in the OT [Num 76x, Exod 62x, Lev 44x, Gen 23x, Psa 18x, Prov 14x, Judg 13x], in 60% of the texts in the cultic sense of “tent of Yahweh,” “tent of meeting,” etc. [→ *y<sup>c</sup>d* 2, 4b]) and *sukkâ* “booth” (cf. Gen 33:17; 31x in the OT); cf. A. Alt, “Zelte und Hütten,” FS Nötscher 16–25 = *KS* [1959], 3:233–42; W. Michaelis, “Zelt und Hütten im biblischen Denken,” *EvT* 14 (1954): 29–49. On the idiom “to your tents, O Israel!” in reference to the dissolution of the Israelite army and in other passages in which fixed formulae from the nomadic period have not undergone the evolution appropriate to the changed circumstances of settlement in the land (tent > house), see Alt, *KS* 3:240.

Except perhaps for the general abstract *binyān* “building” (→ *bnh* “to build”; an Aram. loanword in Ezek 40:5; 41:12[bis], 15; 42:1, 5, 10 [41:13 *binyā*]); cf. Wagner no. 44), synonyms appear only as descriptions of mansions, palaces, etc.: in addition to the frequent *bṯ hammelek* “king’s palace,” the loanwords *hékāl* “palace, temple” (Sum. \**haikal* [A. Falkenstein, *Genava* NS 8 (1960): 304] > *é-gal*, Akk. *ekallu*, Ug. *hkl*, Bibl. Aram. *hkal*; in the OT 80x in Hebr. [Jer 7:4 3x] and 13x in Aram., 14x plus 5x resp. in the meaning “palace”: 1 Kgs 21:1; 2 Kgs 20:18 = Isa 39:7; Isa 13:22; Hos 8:14; Joel 4:5; Amos 8:3; Nah 2:7; Psa 45:9, 16; 144:12; Prov 30:28; Dan 1:4; 4:21, 26; 5:5; 6:19; Ezra 4:14; 2 Chron 36:7), *ʾappeden* “palace” (< Pers. *apadāna*; cf. Wagner no. 25; Dan 11:45), and *bîtān* “palace” (see 1). The terms *ʾarmôn* (Isa 13:22 *ʾalmôn*) “(fortified) palace” (33x, primarily in the Prophets) and more definitely *bîrâ* “citadel” (18x, only in Esth, Dan, Neh, and Chron; Aram. *bîrâ* Ezra 6:2, an Akk. loanword; cf. Wagner no. 40) emphasize the aspect of fortification (cf. also *migdāl* “tower,” → *gdl*).

(b) In conjunction with *ʾēlōhîm* “God” or a divine name (less often elliptically free-standing or otherwise modified, e.g., 1 Kgs 13:32 and 2 Kgs 17:29, high places; Amos 7:13, royal sanctuary; Mic 3:12; Hag 1:8), *bayit* usually indicates a “divine house,” a “temple” (cf. *BRL* 511–19; *BHH* 3:1940–49). A few cases in the OT deal with sanctuaries of foreign gods (e.g., 1 Sam 5:2, Dagon’s temple; cf. also the place-names; see 1) or with Yahweh sanctuaries outside Jerusalem (Judg 18:31, “as long as the house of God was in Shiloh”; 1 Sam 1:7; on *bêt-ʾēl*, see 4b and → *ʾēl* III/2), but by far the majority deal with the temple in Jerusalem (→ *ʾēlōhîm* III/6; the phrase *bṯ yhwḥ* “house of Yahweh” occurs 255x in the OT [2 Chron 75x, 2 Kgs 52x, Jer 33x, 1 Kgs 22x, 1 Chron 20x, Psa 9x]; on Hos 8:1, see 3d). Synonyms are *hékāl* (see 3a), which can also indicate, however, the main

hall of the temple in distinction from the foyer and the holy of holies (*HAL* 235a), and the more general expressions *qōdeš* and *miqdāš* “sanctuary” (→ *qdš*).

(c) If we remain in the impersonal sphere without reference to the inhabitants of the house (see 3d), the fig. meanings of *bayit* touch mostly on the concept of the house as an enclosed area. If the habitation of living things plays a role, one may speak of a “resting place” (of people: Job 17:13, “If I hope, then the underworld is my house”; 30:23, “You will bring me to death, to the house where all that lives enters”; of animals: Job 39:6, the steppe as the habitation of the wild donkey; Job 8:14 and 27:18, txt em, cobwebs). The expression for the grave in Eccl 12:5, “eternal house” (*bṯ* → *ʿōlām*; cf. Psa 49:12), also attested in Pun., Palm., Gk., and Lat., goes back to a concept of Eg. origin (cf. E. Jenni, *ZAW* 65 [1953]: 27–29). “Clay houses” in which people “live” (*škn*) in Job 4:19 are not references to the grave but metaphorically to frail human bodies (cf. Horst, BK 16, 76).

Some technical usages of *bayit* also minimize the concept of habitation, resulting in a meaning “container” or the like: for bars (Exod 26:29; 36:34) or poles (Exod 25:27; 30:4; 37:14, 27; 38:5); *bāttē nepēš* in Isa 3:20 is traditionally interpreted as “perfume jars,” but also as “soul cases” = amulets (cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 153f.). Ezek 1:27 “fire that is ringed about,” which has, then, a “halo,” is also difficult (Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:88f., 122f.). Finally, 1 Kgs 18:32 “area for two measures of seed” recalls the meaning “plot of ground” attested for the Akk. *bītu* (*AHW* 133a).

In the sense of “inner, within” (antonym: *ḥûš* “lane, outside”), *bayit* has become a fully adv. or prep. expression in *baytâ* “inward” (Exod 28:26, etc.), *mibbayit* (Gen 6:14, etc.) and *mibbaytâ* (1 Kgs 6:15) “inside,” *mibbayit le* (1 Kgs 6:16), *lemibbît le* (Num 18:7) “inside,” and *ʿel mibbêt l'* “into the middle” (2 Kgs 11:15; cf. 2 Chron 23:14).

Neh 2:3, “the city where (*bṯ*) the graves of my fathers are,” recalls the Neo-Assyr. usage of *bīt* as a prep. or subordinating conjunction in a local clause (GAG §§116f, 175c; *AHW* 131b).

(d) In Hebr. as in the related languages, the meaning of “house” shifts frequently to the contents of the house (“property, possessions,” e.g., Gen 15:2), and particularly to the household living in the house (classically in Josh 24:15: “but I and my house, we will serve Yahweh”). *bayit* thus means “family” (Gen 7:1, etc.; → *bnh*, → *šh*), “clan” (e.g., Jer 35:2, “house” of the Rechabites, for whom the possession of a house in the concrete sense is directly prohibited), also “lineage, descendants” (Exod 2:1, etc.), and, in reference to kings, “(royal) court” or “dynasty” (Isa 7:2, 13, etc.). *bēt-ʿāb* “paternal house, (paternal) family” (e.g., Gen 24:38) becomes a term of

tribal organization in the post-exilic period (→ *ʾāb* III/4). The entire tribal and national society could also be described as *bayit* according to the model of family and tribe, thus *bêt ʿep̄rayim* “house of Ephraim” (Judg 10:9), *bêt ya<sup>a</sup>qōb* “house of Jacob” (Exod 19:3, par. “Israelites”; Isa 2:5f., etc.), esp. also in a political meaning for the two kingdoms Judah and Israel (*bêt y<sup>e</sup>hūdā*, 2 Sam 2:4, 7, 10f., etc., in all 41x; *bêt yiśrāʾēl*, 2 Sam 12:8, etc., in all 146x, 83x in Ezek; on the development of this expression in analogy to *bêt y<sup>e</sup>hūdā* → *yiśrāʾēl* 2; names for regions such as *bīt-ammānu*, etc., in Assyr.-Bab. sources are also comparable; see *RLA* 2:33ff.). Emulating this usage, Hos 8:1 calls the land (not a temple) “house of Yahweh” (cf. also Hos 9:8, 15; Jer 12:7; Zech 9:8; Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 137). In Ezek *bêt m<sup>e</sup>rî* “house of rebelliousness” contrasts with *bêt yiśrāʾēl* (→ *mrh* 4c; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:134).

A more specifically constituted metonymy “house > inhabitant” occurs in the Eg. royal title “pharaoh” (Hebr. *par<sup>o</sup>ḥ*); *pr-<sup>o</sup>* “great house” originally meant the royal palace, but was then applied (since the 16th cent. BCE) to the king (*BHH* 3:1445).

4. (a) J. Hempel offers a review of the religious concepts associated with the house that were theologically significant even for the NT (“Der Symbolismus von Reich, Haus und Stadt in der biblischen Sprache,” *WZ Greifswald* 5 [1955/56]: 123–30, under the headings “Einwurzelung,” “Eingrenzung,” “Ordnung”). Aspects of cultural history and religious history, e.g., the Rechabites, who were obligated to the nomadic ideal, resisted housing construction as an expression of a distinctive faithfulness to Yahweh (Jer 35), and the prophetic polemic against mansions (e.g., Amos 3:15; 5:11), will not be further treated here, because they did not influence the usage of *bayit*.

(b) The numerous texts that discuss a “house of God” or “house of Yahweh” will not be treated further. As with other cultic objects (ark, tent, sacrifice, etc.), the essence and history of cultic institutions will not be examined with respect to the Jerusalem temple; instead, possible special theological usages will only be noted (on the theologically significant concept of the dwelling of God, cf. → *škn* “to dwell”). At just this point, however, the material is not very productive. The OT employs the term “house” without distinction for pagan temples and the temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem; it is also difficult to determine any variations in the usage of the term across time. The intentional contrast between the two meanings of *bayit*, “temple” and “dynasty,” is stylistically effective in the rejection of the temple building in 2 Sam 7:5, 11, 29 (“should you build me a house . . . Yahweh will build you a house . . . I will build you a house”).

In an ancient tradition, which still shines through in Gen 28:22, *bēt ʿlōhîm* can mean not only the constructed house of God, the temple, but also a cultic stone (*maṣṣēbâ* “massebah”) “as a representation, resting place, dwelling place of the deity” (H. Donner, *ZAW* 74 [1962]: 68–70, with the Old Aram. par. *bty ʿlhyʿ* “houses of the gods,” related to the stele that contains the covenant text in *KAI* no. 223C., lines 2f., 7, 9f.; cf. Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 90 with bibliog.; on the pre-Israelite deity Bethel [Jer 48:13? but cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 258f.], cf. O. Eissfeldt, *ARW* 28 [1930]: 1–30 = *KS* [1962], 1:206–33; → *ʿl* III/2).

In addition to the earthly temple, e.g., in Shechem (Judg 9:4), in Shiloh (Judg 18:31; 1 Sam 1:7), and above all in Jerusalem, the OT also mentions a heavenly palace of God (perhaps *bayit* in Psa 36:9 [*HAL* 119b], but uncertain; possibly *hékāl* in Mic 1:2; Hab 2:20; Psa 11:4; 18:7 = 2 Sam 22:7; cf. also Isa 66:1; → *škn*). The poetic concept in Job 36:29 of heaven as God’s *sukkâ* “booth” (actually “leafy canopy”) above the clouds (Fohrer, *KAT* 16, 480) is different.

On the land of Israel as the “house” of God or Yahweh, see 3d.

5. “House” does not yet serve in the OT as a figure for the community, as is the case in Qumran (1QS 5:6; 8:5, 9; 9:6; CD 3:19; cf. J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* 2 [1960], 46f.) and in the NT (1 Tim 3:15; Heb 3:6; 1 Pet 2:5; 4:17). *bayit* in Num 12:7, which compares Moses’ position with “that of the chief slave who is at once the confidant of his master and the man to whom his master’s whole ‘house’ is entrusted” (Noth, *Num*, OTL, 96), can refer to Israel as the realm of Yahweh’s lordship only if the metaphor is extended (cf. Heb 3:1–6). On the LXX and the NT, cf. O. Michel, “οἶκος,” *TDNT* 5:116–59; W. Michaelis, “σκηνή,” *TDNT* 7:369–94; J. Goetzmann, “House,” *DNTT* 2:247–56, with bibliog.

E. Jenni

## בכה *bkh* to cry

S 1058; BDB 113a; *HALOT* 1:129b; *TDOT* 2:116–20; *TWOT* 243; *NIDOTTE* 1134

1. The verb *\*bky* “to cry” is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 218; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964], 270). Hebr. derivatives are the substantives *b<sup>°</sup>kî*, *b<sup>°</sup>kît*, *bekeh* “crying.”

The words *bōkîm* (Judg 2:1, 5 with an etymology of the name, explaining *bōkîm* as the crying of the people) and *bākût* (in the expression *ʿallôn bākût* “lament oak,” Gen 35:8, also with a secondary etymology) found in place-names deserve consideration as

further derivatives. Was “crying” originally a form of expression of the tree spirit (B. Stade, *Biblische Theologie des AT* [1905], 1:112)?

*bkʿ* is also probably a by-form of *bkh*; the root occurs in this form in names of a shrub variety *b<sup>ʿ</sup>kāʾîm* (2 Sam 5:23f.; 1 Chron 14:14f.), probably dripping, “crying” shrubs. Psa 84:7 mentions an *ʿemeq habbākāʾ*, apparently the PN of a valley with sparse vegetation (with only drops of water); cf. HAL 124a. Apparently the place-name *bōkîm* was originally to be similarly understood.

2. The verb occurs 114x (qal 112x, pi. 2x). The distribution exhibits no peculiarities. *b<sup>ʿ</sup>kî* occurs 30x; *b<sup>ʿ</sup>kît* (Gen 50:4), *bekeh* (Ezra 10:1), and *bākût* (Gen 35:8) are hapax legomena.

3. The meaning of *bkh* can be consistently rendered with “to cry, bewail.” The word is used for the crying of the child in Gen 21:16; Exod 2:6. The adult cries during the lament for the dead (par. expression: *spd* “to lament,” Gen 23:2; 2 Sam 1:12; Ezek 24:16; also in this context: *dm<sup>ʿ</sup>* “to shed tears,” Jer 13:17; cf. *dim<sup>ʿ</sup>â* “tear,” Jer 31:16; Ezek 24:16; Mal 2:13; Lam 1:2; *šûm* “to fast,” Judg 20:26; 2 Sam 1:12; 12:21f.; *nûd* “to lament,” Jer 22:10; brief descriptions of lament practices in Jer 41:6; Ezek 27:31). Women esp. are to perform laments (2 Sam 1:24); it was considered particularly unfortunate if there were no one to lament the dead (Psa 78:64; Job 27:15).

Crying also played a role in the ritual lament, which usually took place in the temple; this lament is described as “crying before Yahweh” (Judg 20:23, 26). Par. expressions here are *šûm* “to fast” (Judg 20:26; Psa 69:11), *nzr* hi. “to set oneself apart [through observance of particular rules]” (Zech 7:3). It is known from post-exilic times that the priests were found on occasions of communal lament “between hall and altar” (Joel 2:17); cf. further in this context, 2 Kgs 22:19; Psa 137:1; Lam 1:2, 16. This cultic weeping originally had the purpose of winning the deity’s favor (Hos 12:5 should perhaps be so understood; see P. R. Ackroyd, *VT* 13 [1963]: 250f.; but cf. e.g., Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 212f.), but in the OT is probably simply an indication of the pain of the laments. Jeremiah is dependent upon the diction of the individual lament when he describes his suffering (Jer 8:23; 13:17).

The crying of adults is not only determined by custom, but breaks out spontaneously in conditions of strong emotion, sickness (1 Sam 1:7f., 10), sadness over an unfortunate occurrence (Gen 27:38; Judg 11:37; 1 Sam 30:4; 2 Sam 3:16; Neh 1:4 par. to → *šûm* “to fast,” → *ʾbl* hitp. “to mourn,” → *pll* hitp. “to pray”; Isa 33:7 par. → *š<sup>ʿ</sup>q* “to cry out”), excitement (2 Kgs 8:11), emotional upset (Gen 42:24; 43:30; 50:17; 1 Sam 24:17; Job 2:12; Ezra 3:12; Neh 8:9). A call to cry occurs in the prophetic reprimand in Mic 1:10 txt em (cf. S. J. Schwantes, *VT* 14 [1964]: 455).

Greeting and farewell (Gen 29:11; 33:4; 45:2 with *b'kî*, 45:14f.; 46:29; 1 Sam 20:41; Ruth 1:9, 14, often together with verbs such as “to kiss,” “to embrace,” “to bow [before someone]”) are special cases of emotional upset. Cf. R. Lehmann, “Der Tränengruss im AT,” *Baessler-Archiv* 19 (1936), reviewed in *ZAW* 55 (1937): 137.

Weeping to accompany sowing may have been customary in Israel as an echo of Can. mourning for the death of the vegetation deity (allusion in Psa 126:6; later, weeping accompanied the Jewish New Year’s Festival; the sounding of the shofar is a symbol of this weeping; cf. F. Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter in the OT* [1962]), although this custom has no significance in the context of official Yahwism. On cultic weeping in later Judaism, cf. J. A. Wensinck, *FS Sachau* 26–35; and J. L. Palache, *ZDMG* 70 (1916): 251–56, who expands earlier treatments.

In poetic diction, *bkh* can be used with a nonhuman subj. (Job 31:38, the ground “cries,” par. *z'q* “to cry out”; the issue is the proper relationship between human and nature). Eccl 3:4 maintains that, like laughing, weeping has its place in human life (antonymn: *šhq*).

On the usage of the pi. (Jer 31:15, a picture of the lament for the dead; Ezek 8:14, weeping for Tammuz; cf. Psa 126:6), see *HP* 157.

4. Weeping plays a role in the relationship between God and human in only a few cases (particularly not in mourning for the dead; → *'bî*, and certainly not in the context of the vegetation cult, even though here a rather significant folk religion may need to be taken into account), as in the individual and community laments; here it is a sign of human weakness that approaches God in supplication, or an expression of emotional upset when one learns of God’s pronouncement of judgment (Judg 2:4; 2 Kgs 8:11ff.).

Weeping has a special place in the motif of the “murmuring in the wilderness” (Num 11:4, 10, 13, 18, 20; 14:1; Deut 1:45). It indicates the attitude of the disobedient people who do not have confidence in divine guidance and therefore complain.

If, then, weeping is a sign of human distress, in later apocalyptically oriented times Israel expected a new era in which such weeping would cease (Isa 30:19).

5. The latter notion, in particular, acquires some significance in the NT in that Jesus promises this end time (cf. Matt 5:4, etc.). On the whole notion in the NT, cf. K. H. Rengstorf, “κλαίω,” *TDNT* 3:722–26.

F. Stolz

בֵּן *bēn* son

S 1121; BDB 119b; HALOT 1:137a; TDOT 2:145–59; TWOT 254; NIDOTTE 1201

בת *bat* **daughter**

S 1323; BDB 123a; HALOT 1:165b; TDOT 2:332–38; TWOT 254b; NIDOTTE 1426

I. The word *bēn* (\**bin-*) “son,” with its fem. counterpart *bat* (\**bint-*) “daughter,” is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 210); replaced in Eth. by *wald*, in Akk. by *māru*). It should perhaps be associated with \**bnw/y* “to build.”

The term survives in Akk. only in poetic diction and PNs; *māru/mārtu* takes its place (*AHw* 127a, 138b, 614, 615f.).

The relationship between *bar/bʿrāʿ* (*brt*), which replaces the sg. *bēn* in the Aram. realm, and \**bin* has not yet been fully explained. Cf. R. Ružička, *Konsonantische Dissimilation in den semitischen Sprachen* (1909), 68f.; contra BLA 179; Wagner no. 46; HAL 131b.

II. With around 5,000 occurrences, *bēn* is easily the most frequent substantive in the OT. Concentrations in Gen, Num, and the Chr history may be explained, first of all, on the basis of the genealogies.

	<i>bēn</i>			<i>bat</i>			
	sg.	pl.	total	sg.	pl.	total	
Gen	177	188	365	45	64	109	
Exod	39	194	233	13	10	23	
Lev	28	132	160	20	2	22	
Num	224	387	611	10	16	26	
Deut	37	90	127	14	7	21	
Josh	44	197	241	2	14	16	
Judg	52	152	204	8	19	27	
1 Sam		80	58	138	9	7	16
2 Sam		140	67	207	14	6	20
1 Kgs	140	48	188	11	–	11	
2 Kgs	163	58	221	16	1	17	
Isa	38	46	84	14	9	23	
Jer	143	82	225	21	19	40	
Ezek	116	75	191	6	31	37	
Hos	6	18	24	2	2	4	
Joel	1	14	15	–	2	2	

Amos2	9	11	–	1	1	
Obad–	2	2	–	–	–	
Jonah	3	–	3	–	–	–
Mic 2	4	6	7	–	7	
Nah –	–	–	–	–	–	
Hab –	–	–	–	–	–	
Zeph 5	3	8	3	–	3	
Hag 10	–	10	–	–	–	
Zech 8	5	13	4	–	4	
Mal 2	4	6	1	–	1	
Psa 15	88	103	6	6	12	
Job 6	30	36	–	5	5	
Prov 41	19	60	–	2	2	
Ruth 2	6	8	8	3	11	
Song Sol	–	2	2	2	10	12
Eccl 5	11	16	–	1	1	
Lam –	4	4	21	1	22	
Esth 8	7	15	5	–	5	
Dan 2	7	9	2	–	2	
Ezra 41	156	197	–	4	4	
Neh 115	131	246	1	17	18	
1 Chron	338	370	708	10	18	28
2 Chron	127	105	232	14	13	27
OT	2,160	2,769	4,929	289	290	579*

PNs compounded with *ben-*, *bin-*, *bat-* and the expression *bat hayya*<sup>c</sup>*nâ*/*b*<sup>c</sup>*nôt ya*<sup>c</sup>*nâ* “ostrich” are not included in the figures above, although *b*<sup>c</sup>*n* in *rabbat b*<sup>c</sup>*nê-ammôn* and *b*<sup>c</sup>*ēn/ben-* in 1 Chron 4:20a; 7:35; 15:18 (probably a textual error, not a component of a PN) are included; 1 Chron 6:11 K is counted as a sg., 2 Chron 11:18 K is omitted (Q *bat*). Lis. overlooks *b*<sup>c</sup>*ēn* in 2 Kgs 1:17b.\*

*bar* “son” occurs in Bibl. Aram. 19x (sg. 8x, Dan and Ezra 4x each; pl. 11x, Dan 4x, Ezra 7x). *bar* appears (3x) as an Aramaism in Prov 31:2 (cf. Wagner no. 46).

III. 1. In its basic meaning *b*<sup>c</sup>*ēn* means “son,” indeed, as a rule, “the biological son of his father or mother.” This relationship delineates a primary natural word field within the family.

Usually the family relationship is expressed in the sg. with a following gen. (“son of X,” esp. frequent in the various genealogies) or through a possessive suf. (cf. e.g., the stereotypical usage in the Dtr framework, “his son X ruled in his stead,” 1 Kgs 14:20, 31, etc.). Frequently, however, the terms → *ʔāb* “father” (e.g., Gen 22:7; 42:32; 2 Sam 7:14 = 1 Chron 17:13; pl. Exod 20:5; Num 14:18, etc.) and → *ʔēm* “mother” (Gen 27:13; 43:29; Hos 10:14, etc.) occur in the immediate context; the mother can also be

further described (Judg 11:1, son of a whore; 1 Kgs 7:14, son of a widow; Gen 25:6, sons of the concubines, Judg 8:31 sg.; Gen 21:10, 13 and Exod 23:12, son of a servant) or simply be described as → *ʾiššā* “woman” (1 Sam 1:4; 1 Kgs 17:17).

A second, though less frequent word field is also naturally established: *bēn* as the male descendant corresponds to the female *bat* “daughter,” usually in nominal series in the pl. (Gen 5:4ff.; 11:11ff., etc.; in parallelismus membrorum, e.g., in Isa 60:4).

Other nominal series associated with *bēn*: woman-children (Exod 4:20, etc.); sons-woman-daughters-in-law (Gen 6:18; 7:3, 13; 8:18; cf. 8:16); women-sons-daughters (Gen 36:6; Exod 32:2, etc.); son-daughter-male slave-female slave-cattle-foreigner (Exod 20:10; cf. Deut 5:14); children-grandchildren (Deut 4:9, 25, etc.); son-daughter-male slave-female slave-Levite (Deut 12:18; 14:11, 14, cf. 12:12); sheep-cattle-sons-daughters (Jer 3:24; cf. 5:17); other series: Josh 7:24; Exod 32:29; 2 Sam 19:6; Jer 16:3.

In the meaning “son,” *yeled* occasionally occurs as a synonym for *bēn* (Exod 2:10; 1 Kgs 3:25; Ruth 4:16; in parallelism, Jer 31:20). *yeled* is considerably less frequent, however, and in the meaning “child” also much less specific than *bēn*. The term *ṭap* parallels *bēn* in Deut 1:39, certainly a reference to a small child or infant. Additional parallel terms are *ʾûl* “infant” (Isa 49:15) and *p<sup>er</sup>î-beṭen* “fruit of the womb” (Jer 13:18; Psa 127:3); on *b<sup>e</sup>kôr* “firstborn” → *rōʾš* (*riʾšôn*).

The following verbs appear regularly in the word field of *bēn*: (a) *yld* qal of a woman or the mother: “she bore a son” (often in conjunction with the preceding verb *hrh* “to be pregnant”): Gen 4:25; 16:15; 19:37f.; 21:2; 29:32; 1 Sam 1:20; Hos 1:3, etc.; in the promise of a son: Gen 16:11; Judg 13:3; Isa 7:14 (cf. P. Humbert, “Der biblische Verkündigungsstil und seine vermutliche Herkunft,” *AfO* 10 [1935]: 77–80); *yld* hi. of the father: “he begot sons and daughters” (Gen 5:4ff.; 11:11ff.; cf. Deut 28:41, etc.); *yld* pu. of the father: “a son was born to him” (Gen 4:26; cf. 10:25; 35:26, etc.); (b) *lqh ʾiššā l<sup>b</sup>bēn* “to take a wife for the son” (Gen 24:3ff.; cf. Jer 29:6, etc.); (c) *ntn l<sup>b</sup>bēn* “to give (as wife) to the son” (Gen 38:26; cf. Deut 7:3; Judg 3:6, etc.); (d) *lō<sup>2</sup>-hāyû lô bānîm* “he had no sons” (Josh 17:3; cf. Num 3:4; Deut 25:5; 1 Chron 23:17, etc.); (e) a series of verbs describing the transmission of particular traditions from the fathers to the children: *ʾmr* “to say” (Exod 12:26; Deut 6:21); *šʾl* “to ask” (Exod 13:14; Deut 6:20; Josh 4:6, 21); *ngd* hi. “to announce” (Exod 13:8); *ydc* hi. “to make known” (Josh 4:22; Psa 78:5); *lmd* pi. “to teach” (Deut 4:10); *šnn* pi. “to inculcate” (Deut 6:7); *spr* pi. “to narrate” (Joel 1:3; Psa 78:6).

*bēn* quite frequently describes animal offspring. Thus *bēn* in Lev 22:28 means the young of a cow or sheep, in Deut 22:6f. a young bird, in Gen 32:16 a camel foal, in 1 Sam 6:7, 10 calves, and in Job 39:4 a young hind. Still more frequent are phrases with *bēn* to describe young animals,

e.g., *ben-ʾātôn* “donkey foal” (Gen 49:11; Zech 9:9), *ben-bāqār* “young cow” (Gen 18:7f.; Lev 4:3, 14; Num 7:15–81, etc.); *b<sup>ē</sup>nē(hay)yônâ* “young doves” (Lev 1:14; 5:7, 11; 14:30, etc.); additional phrases, e.g., in Psa 114:4, 6; 147:9. Such a phrase also occurs once with reference to plants: *bēn pōrāt* “young fruit tree” (Gen 49:22).

2. The term is occasionally expanded, on the one hand, to indicate children, grandchildren, descendants; and on the other, in the direction of nonbiological sonship.

(a) The pl. of the word may not always be translated “sons” (in contrast to the “daughters”); rather it sometimes means “children” (sons *and* daughters), e.g., Gen 3:16 “in pain you shall bear children” (2 Kgs 19:3, also of the yet unborn), and, above all, in the usage “children and children’s children” (Exod 34:7, etc.). Occasionally *bēn* describes the “grandchild” (beside the more common phrase *ben-b<sup>ē</sup>nô*; see 3c), Gen 31:28, 43; 32:1, or even more generally, the descendants (beside the phrase *b<sup>ē</sup>nē bāneykâ* “your children’s children,” e.g., Gen 45:10, and the more common phrase *b<sup>ē</sup>nē bānîm*, Exod 34:7; Deut 4:25; Judg 12:14, etc.), for instance, 1 Kgs 9:21.

(b) One may distinguish the following spheres of reference for the OT usage of *bēn* in a nonbiological sense:

The address *b<sup>ē</sup>nî* “my son” is formulaic; it occurs occasionally in the historical books (Josh 7:19, Joshua to Achan; 1 Sam 3:6, 16, Eli to Samuel; 4:16, Eli to the messenger).

One could ask whether the address “my son” in the wisdom literature (Prov 1:10, 15; 2:1; 3:1, 11, 21, etc.) refers to an intellectual sonship, i.e., a teacher-student or master-disciple relationship. If it is true that such instructions and proverb traditions were transmitted not only at royal courts but also in the clan (cf. H. W. Wolff, *Amos the Prophet* [1973]; with additional bibliog.), however, the *bēn* addressed here may be easily understood as the biological son of his father, at least as a clan member (Prov 1:8 suggests this meaning).

The *b<sup>ē</sup>nē hann<sup>ē</sup>bîʾîm* “sons of the prophets” discussed in the Elijah and Elisha narratives (1 Kgs 20:35; 2 Kgs 2:3, 5, 7; 4:1, 38; 5:22; 6:1; 9:1) are not biological but spiritual sons of the prophets in the sense of disciples (→ ʾāb III/2b). Cf. also 2 Kgs 8:9 (Benhadad to Elisha), but also the political usage in the submission formula of King Ahaz to Tiglath-pileser, “I am your slave and your son” (2 Kgs 16:7).

Finally, the group of occurrences that describe a person as “son of Yahweh” belongs in this category (see IV/3).

The meaning of the term has been greatly expanded to describe the inhabitants of a city as “sons” (e.g., Isa 51:18, 20; 66:8; Psa 147:13; Lam

1:16); Jerusalem is figuratively compared with a mother who has borne her children (inhabitants).

3. The term *bēn* is readily combined with other words:

(a) *bēn* in the pl. cs. is combined most frequently with a following ethnic name to indicate members of this people. The expression *b<sup>e</sup>nē yīsrāʿēl* (about 630x) should be mentioned first; in addition to the rarer *יִשְׂרָאֵל yīsrāʿēl* (50x) or *ʾanšē yīsrāʿēl* (9x), it is *the* expression that refers to the “Israelites”; a distinction in meaning between the three expressions is difficult to determine.

Similar phrases, such as *b<sup>e</sup>nē y<sup>e</sup>hūdā* “Judeans,” *b<sup>e</sup>nē ʿammôn* “Ammonites,” etc., and designations for tribal members such as *b<sup>e</sup>nē lēwī* “Levites,” correspond to these ethnic terms. More general phrases, such as *b<sup>e</sup>nē ʿam* “compatriot” (Gen 23:11; Lev 20:17, etc.; in contrast to *b<sup>e</sup>nē hāʿām* “common people” in 2 Kgs 23:6; Jer 26:23) and *b<sup>e</sup>n qedem* “easterners” (Gen 29:1; Judg 8:10, etc.), also belong in this category.

(b) *ben . . . šānā* (lit. “a son of . . . years”; Gen 5:32; Num 1:3–47; 7:15–88, etc.) serves as a common expression of age.

(c) In order to specify degrees of relationship, *bēn* is occasionally combined with other terms of relationship:

*ben-ʾimmō* “son of his mother” = “brother” (Gen 43:29, par. to → *ʾāh*; cf. 27:29); *b<sup>e</sup>nē ʾābīkā* “sons of your father” = “brothers” (Gen 49:8, par. to *ʾaḥeykā* “your brothers”); *b<sup>e</sup>nē ʾiś-ʾeḥād* “sons of one man” = “brothers” (Gen 42:13; cf. v 32).

The daughter-in-law is the “son’s wife” (Lev 18:15); the granddaughter, the “son’s/ daughter’s daughter” (Lev 18:10, 17); the nephew, the “brother’s/sister’s son” (Gen 12:5; 14:12; 29:13); the cousin, the “uncle’s son” (Lev 25:49; Num 36:11); and, correspondingly, descendants are the “children’s children” (Gen 45:10; Exod 34:7, etc.).

(d) Only the most important of the remaining phrases with *bēn* preceding a gen. will be mentioned:

*ben-ʾādām* or the pl. *b<sup>e</sup>nē ʾādām* often indicates the individual (sg. 93x in Ezek; Num 23:19; Isa 51:12, etc.; pl. with art., Gen 11:5; without art., Deut 32:8, etc.; → *ʾādām* 3). *ʾnōš* (Isa 51:12; 56:2; Psa 8:5; 90:3; Job 25:6), *ʾiś* (Isa 52:14; Mic 5:6; Psa 80:18; Job 35:8; Prov 8:4), and *geber* (Job 16:21) par. *ben-ʾādām*.

*ben-hammelek* is the “king’s son, prince” (Judg 8:18; 2 Sam 9:11; 13:4, 23, 32). Otherwise phrases with *bēn* readily form adjs., e.g., *ben-šāmen* “fat” (Isa 5:1), *bēn maškīl* “clever” (Prov 10:5), *ben-māwet* “mortally doomed” (1 Sam 20:31; 26:16; 2 Sam 12:5), *b<sup>e</sup>nē ʿawlā* “wicked” (2 Sam 3:34; 7:10 = 1 Chron 17:9, etc.), *b<sup>e</sup>nē ḥayil* “wealthy, landowners subject to military service, combatants” (Deut 3:18; Judg 18:2, etc.), *b<sup>e</sup>nē b<sup>e</sup>ʾīyaʿal* “worthless fellows” (Deut 13:14; Judg 19:22; 20:13, etc.), *b<sup>e</sup>nē nēkār* “foreigners”

(Exod 12:43; Lev 22:25; 2 Sam 22:45f., etc.).

Phrases such as *bēn zākār* “boy” (Jer 20:15; cf., however, the idiom in the Aram. marriage contract, Cowley no. 15.20: *wbr dkr wṇqbh* “be it a male or female child”) or *b<sup>e</sup>nē ʾiš* “men” (Psa 4:3) indicate the degree to which the term *bēn* could be distanced from its basic meaning and could become an individuating expression in collectives and a simple filler. GVG 2:242; J. Zobel, *Der bildliche Gebrauch der Verwandtschaftsname im Hebr.* (1932), 25–35; and WUS no. 534 (*bn* 2) offer examples from the related Sem. languages of the meaning “belonging to something.”

4. The rare PNs composed with *bēn* as the first element should be seen in the context of ancient Near Eastern onomastics (cf. Huffmon 120f., 175f.; Gröndahl 80, 118f.; A. Caquot, *Syria* 39 [1962]: 239f.; on *binyāmîn* cf. K.-D. Schunck, *Benjamin* [1963], 4ff.; also: Alt, *KS* [1959], 3:198–213).

On theophoric names such as *ben-hadad*, not attested among the Israelites, cf. O. Eissfeldt, FS Baetke 110–17. The Eg. etymology of the name Moses (short form of a theophoric name with *mś* “child”; cf. H. Ranke, *Die äg. Personennamen* [1935], 1:338, 340) is no longer held.

IV. 1. One of the oldest narrative motifs in the patriarchal history is the narrative of the promise of a son and its fulfillment. In response to the complaint of the childless woman, God (or his messenger) promises her a son, e.g., Gen 18:10, 14, “in one year your wife Sarah will have a son”; cf. Gen 16:11; 17:16, 19; 21:2, etc. (C. Westermann, *Promises to the Fathers* [1980], 12ff.). This motif occurs throughout the entire OT (Judg 13:3, 5, 7; 1 Sam 1:20; Isa 7:14; 54:1) and on into the NT (Luke 1–2).

A related significant theological motif in the Gen patriarchal narratives is the transmission of the blessing through the father to his son. Gen 27 preserves the procedure most clearly, climaxing in the pronouncement of blessing in vv 27–29; cf. e.g., Gen 9:25–27; 48:15f.; 49. These texts are significant because they offer a glimpse into an intrafamilial phenomenon between father and son.

The transmission of tradition also originally transpired between father and son in the family. The son questions the significance of an action or an object, the father relates what he has heard himself (see II/1).

2. (a) Sons receive from their fathers not only the blessing; they must also bear their fathers’ guilt and they are held responsible for it: Yahweh “visits the guilt of the fathers on the children and children’s children to the third and fourth generation” (Exod 20:5; 34:7; Num 14:18; Deut 5:9; cf. Isa 14:21; Jer 32:18; → *ʾāb* IV/2b). This collective responsibility is breached in later times (Jer 31:29; Ezek 18:2, 4, 20; 2 Kgs 14:6 = 2 Chron 25:4; cf. J. Scharbert, *Solidarität in Segen und Fluch im AT und in seiner Umwelt* 1

[1958]; R. Knierim, *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im AT* [1965], 204–7).

(b) The prophetic accusation refers directly to the sons' guilt: children who have forsaken Yahweh (Jer 5:7), children of harlotry (Hos 2:6), and rebellious sons (Ezek 20:21). Guilt binds children, fathers, and wives as a family (Jer 7:18); it manifests itself in the fact that the guilty sacrifice their own sons and daughters to other gods (Hos 9:13; Jer 7:31; 19:5, etc.; cf. Deut 12:31; Psa 106:37f.).

As a result, the announcement of judgment recurs in various prophets in similar phraseology: the fathers together with the sons will stumble (Jer 6:21) and will be smashed (Jer 13:14); sons and daughters will die (Jer 11:22); women and children will be led away (Jer 38:23), etc. Only on the other side of the catastrophe does a voice sound again that speaks of the return of the children (Isa 49:22).

(c) In this context the prophets' actual children and their names are interesting. Thus the names of the two sons (and the daughter) of Hosea already contain a clear pronouncement of judgment: Hos 1:3f. "Jezreel" ("for in a short time I will avenge Jezreel's blood on the house of Jehu"); 1:6 "Not-pitied"; 1:9 "Not-my-people." The same is true of the names of Isaiah's sons: Isa 7:3 Shear-jashub ("a remnant returns") and 8:3 Maher-shalal-hash-baz ("spoil speeds-prey hastens"). The name of Isaiah's first son simultaneously announces judgment (for the majority) and salvation (for the remnant); the same is true of the son announced in Isa 7:14 named "Immanuel" ("God with us"), although it is disputed in this case whether reference is made to a biological son of Isaiah (cf. H. W. Wolff, *Immanuel* [1959]; J. J. Stamm, *TZ* 16 [1960]: 439–55; id., *ZDMG* Suppl. 1 [1969]: 281–90); cf. also Isa 9:5 on the promise of the son.

That Jeremiah is not permitted to have biological sons and daughters is also a sign of the coming judgment (Jer 16:2).

(d) The address of the prophet as *ben-ʾādām*, 93x in Ezek, should be translated "you individual" (Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:131). At any rate, the "son of man" here is not yet a heavenly being of some sort. The expression *ben-ʾādām* in this period still parallels the terms *ʾnôš* and *ʾîš* (see III/3d), *ʾādām* is the person in distinction from God. Num 23:19 is characteristic: "God (*ʾēl*) is not a man (*ʾîš*) that he should lie, nor a son of man (*ben-ʾādām*) that he should repent."

On the figure of the one "like a man" (*k<sup>c</sup>bar ʾnāš*) in Dan 7:13 and of the associated "son of man," a term now distinct from other OT usages, cf. comms. and C. Colpe, "ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου," *TDNT* 8:400–477.

3. The characterization of a person as "son of God" or of a group as "sons of God" occurs rarely in the OT in contrast to other religions.

(a) A few passages regard the Davidic king as a son of Yahweh: 2 Sam 7:14, “I will be his father and he will be my son”; cf. 1 Chron 17:13; 22:10; 28:6; also Psa 2:7, “You are my son, today I have begotten you.” In contrast to the old Eg. royal ideology, which represents the current pharaoh as god’s son in the physical and mythical sense, the OT offers merely an adoption concept. The conferral of divine sonship implies the special rights and responsibilities of the king (cf. G. von Rad, “Royal Ritual in Judah,” *PHOE* 222–31; M. Noth, “God, King, and Nation in the OT,” *Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* [1966], 145–78, esp. 171ff.; Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:130f.; G. Cooke, “Israelite King as Son of God,” *ZAW* 73 [1961]: 202–25; K.-H. Bernhardt, *Das Problem der altorientalischen Königsideologie im AT* [1961], 74ff., 84ff.).

(b) In a few passages the son concept describes the relationship of Yahweh to his people Israel. Hos 2:1 and 11:1 are probably the earliest instances. Again, these texts do not envision a physical sonship, nor likely a spiritual one (wisdom tradition?), notions common in Israel’s environment. When Hosea calls Israel “God’s sons” (in contrast to the apostate “children of harlotry”), he means “an intimate relationship of care, guidance, and obedience” (Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 27, 197f.). A later addition to the JE narrative in the Pentateuch, Exod 4:22f., characterizes Israel as Yahweh’s “firstborn son,” thus foreshadowing the last plague by which Yahweh will avenge the evil committed against his son on “Pharaoh’s firstborn son” (v 23; cf. Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 47).

The notion of rearing is prominent (as in Hos 11:1) in the discussion in Isa 1:2 of Israel as “sons” whom Yahweh has reared but who are fallen away from him again (cf. H. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 12f.). Deut 14:1; 32:5, 19f. discuss the “sons of Yahweh” in a similar metaphor (cf. P. Winter, *ZAW* 67 [1955]: 40–48); Jer 3:14, 19, 22; Isa 43:6; 45:11 (→ *ʾāb* IV/3; G. Quell, *TDNT* 5:971ff.).

(c) Heavenly beings, discussed occasionally, are characterized as *b<sup>ē</sup>nē-hā<sup>ʾ</sup>ʾlōhîm* “sons of God” (Gen 6:2, 4; Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7), *b<sup>ē</sup>nē ʾēlîm* (Psa 29:1; 89:7), *b<sup>ē</sup>nē ʿelyôn* “sons of the Most High” (Psa 82:6), Aram. *bar ʾlāhîn* (Dan 3:25). “The *bēn* (‘son’) describes them, however, as sons of God, not in the physical, genealogical sense, i.e., mythologically, but generally as belonging to the world of the Elohim” (von Rad, *Gen*, OTL [1972], 114). The significance and the function of these figures is limited in the OT. Cf. W. Herrmann, “Die Göttersöhne,” *ZRGG* 12 (1960): 242–51; G. Cooke, “Sons of (the) God(s),” *ZAW* 76 (1964): 22–47.

(d) Finally, a few post-exilic passages that compare Yahweh’s activity with people with that of a father toward his son should also be mentioned: as a father carries his child (Deut 1:31), reproves his son (Deut 8:5; Prov 3:12), shows mercy to his children (Psa 103:13) or his son (Mal 3:17), so

also Yahweh behaves toward his (cf. Mal 1:6).

V. The term *huios* in the NT reflects the OT *bēn*. Discussion of Jesus as the “son” (cf. the christological titles “son of man,” “son of David,” and “son of God”) gives the term an entirely new accent in the NT. Cf. H. E. Tödt, *Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition* (1965); F. Hahn, *Titles of Jesus in Christology* (1969); P. Wülfing von Martitz et al., “υἱός,” *TDNT* 8: 334–99; C. Colpe, “ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου,” *TDNT* 8:400–477; E. Lohse, “υἱὸς Δαυίδ,” *TDNT* 8:478–88.

J. Kühlewein

## בנה *bnh* to build

S 1129; BDB 124a; *HALOT* 1:139a; *TDOT* 2:166–81; *TWOT* 255; *NIDOTTE* 1215

1. The root \**bny* “to build” occurs in all Sem. languages except Eth. (Akk. *banû* and Ug. *bny* also in the meaning “to create, beget”; see 3a).

A close relationship between *bēn* “son” and *bnh*, although possible, remains uncertain; the same is true of an etymological relationship between *bnh* and *brʾ* “to create” (cf. *HAL* 133).

*binyâ*, *binyān*, *mibneh* “building,” and *tabnît* “building plan, model, image” occur in the OT as nominal derivatives; PNs such as *b<sup>c</sup>nāyâ*, *b<sup>c</sup>nāyāhû*, *binnûy*, *yabn<sup>c</sup>ēl*, *yibneyâ*, etc., also derive from the root.

2. In the Hebr. OT the verb occurs 346x in the qal (incl. Ezek 16:31) and 30x in the ni. Although otherwise normally distributed, half of all occurrences of the qal are concentrated in those books that record the construction of the temple or the walls (63x in 1 Kgs, 61x in 2 Chron, 28x in 1 Chron, 23x in Neh).

Of the substantives, *tabnît* is attested 20x, the three others, all limited to Ezek 40–42, 9x (*binyān* 7x).

In Bibl. Aram. the pe. occurs 15x, the hitpe. 7x, in addition to *binyān* 1x.

3. (a) The basic meaning is “to build, erect,” occasionally “to fortify” and “to rebuild” (so also in NWSem. inscriptions; see *DISO* 38). Objects are: house, palace, wall, city, altar, temple, etc. A meaning “to create, beget” in Hebr. may not easily be demonstrated, in contrast to Akk. and

Ug., if one does not wish to assume them in PNs such as *b<sup>c</sup>nāyāh(û)*.

In Ugaritic there occurs the EI epithet *bnh bnwt*, which is translated “creator of the creation” (cf. W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel* [19662], 59). On the Akk., see *AHw* 103.

(b) *bnh bayit* means metaphorically “to found a family, beget descendants” (Deut 25:9; cf. Ruth 4:11), “to found a dynasty” (2 Sam 7:27; 1 Chron 17:25). In Gen 16:2 and 30:3, *bnh ni*. “to be built” is an idiom for “to obtain children.” Here too the starting point is the basic meaning, and no independent secondary meaning is present.

If the text of Job 22:23 is in order, one must also assume a fig. meaning (cf. *UHP* 53).

(c) The following parallels to the other meanings of *bnh* may be noted: *kûn hi*. “to establish” (2 Sam 7:13 = 1 Chron 17:12; Psa 89:3, 5); *nt<sup>c</sup>* “to plant” (Jer 1:10; 31:28; 45:4, etc.); *śh* “to make” (cf. 2 Sam 7:11, 27). *hrs* “to tear down” serves as an antonym, e.g., Jer 1:10; 45:4; Psa 28:5; Job 12:14; Prov 14:1.

4. (a) Theologically significant are, first of all, passages that discuss Yahweh’s building. These passages deal with promises of future salvation: 2 Sam 7:27; 1 Chron 17:10, 25 (David’s house; cf. 2 Sam 7:11; Psa 89:5); 1 Kgs 11:38 (Jeroboam’s house); Amos 9:11 (the rebuilding of David’s booth); Jer 24:6; 31:4, 28; 33:7; 42:10 (Dtr influence, often with the par. *nt<sup>c</sup>* “to plant,” of the reconstruction after judgment); Ezek 28:26; 36:33–36 (addition with an echo of Jer diction; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:100, 245, 251n.30); Psa 102:17; 147:2 (Zion or Jerusalem; similarly in the request in Psa 51:20; in retrospect, 78:69).

The concept occurs in a negative sense in the announcement of judgment in Jer 45:4 (tearing down that which is built); Mal 1:4 (Edom).

(b) Additional salvation sayings are Isa 58:12; 60:10; 61:4; 65:21f., of the rebuilding after the exilic crisis as a realization of Yahweh’s blessing (cf. also Jer 29:5, the task of the exiles). Jeremiah is called as a prophet “to pluck out, to destroy, to plant, and to build up,” i.e., to be active as a prophet of doom and salvation (Jer 1:10). Concerning the pairs of terms used here and elsewhere, cf. R. Bach, “Bauen und Pflanzen,” FS von Rad 7–32; S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im AT* (1965), 165–69.

(c) The usage of this verb in the context of salvation history can be traced to the notion that “building houses and living in them” should be considered a blessing; it is an expression of good fortune and full

enjoyment of the gifts of the settled land given the people by God, a concept esp. encountered in Deut (Deut 6:10f.; 8:12; 20:5; the contrary in 28:30).

5. Of the Qumran texts, 1QS 11:8 (*mabnît qōdeš* “holy building” as a description of God’s chosen) merits particular attention. On the NT, cf. O. Michel, “οἰκοδομέω,” *TDNT* 5:137ff.

A. R. Hulst

## בַּעַל *baʿal* owner

S 1167; BDB 127a; *HALOT* 1:142b; *TDOT* 2:181–200; *TWOT* 262a; *NIDOTTE* 1251

1. The word \**baʿl*- “lord, owner,” like its fem. equivalent, is common Sem. The transition from appellative to proper name of one or more deities is religiohistorically significant; in other usages the extensive limitation to a purely modal function (“a formal term,” *GVG* 2:240f.) should be noted. The related verb is often only a denominative.

Akk. *bēlu/bēltu* “lord/lady” (*AHw* 118–20) is thus the base for *bīlu* “to rule, control” (cf. *beʿūlātum* “discretionary or operational capital” *AHw* 124a; *baʿūlātu* “the subordinates” *AHw* 117b). Akk. *bēlu* also includes Hebr. → *ʿādôn* in its range of meaning. On the divine names Bēl (for Enlil and Marduk) and Bēlet (for Ninlil and Sarpānītu), cf. Haussig 1:46; *AHw* 118; *bēl* occurs in the OT in Isa 46:1; Jer 50:2; 51:44. Of the numerous expressions composed with *bēl*, the following may be mentioned: *bēl pī/āḥāti* “representative, commissioner” (*AHw* 120a), giving rise to Aram. and Hebr. *peḥâ* “governor” (Alt, *KS* [19643], 2:333; KBL 757b, 1112a; E. Y. Kutscher, *Tarbiz* 30 [1960/61]: 112–19), and *bēl tēmî*; cf. Aram. *b<sup>e</sup>el t<sup>e</sup>em* as an official designation (Ezra 4:8f., 17; Cowley no. 26.23; KBL 1079b; Driver, *AD* 18).\*

The preponderance of NWSem. instances (Ug.: *WUS* nos. 544f.; *UT* no. 493; Gröndahl 114–17; cf. also *DISO* 40; *HAL* 137f.; *LS* 83f.) are of the appellative “lord, owner” (limited in range of meaning by → *ʿādôn* and *mārēʿ* “lord, ruler”) and of the various divine names (see 4a). Of great significance here, too, is the usage of the word as a designation for the husband in relation to his wife (Aram., e.g., in the marital contract, Cowley no. 15.23). The verb here has often assumed the meaning “to marry” (cf. e.g., R. Yaron, *JSS* 3 [1958]: 26f.); in contrast, Ug. *bʿl* “to make, work, manufacture” (*WUS* no. 546; *UT* no. 494) should be regarded as a by-form of the root → *pʿl* “to make” (*bʿl* may also occur in this meaning in the OT: on Isa 54:5, cf. *UT* no. 494; *HAL* 136f.; as well as in Isa 1:31; Job 31:39; Prov 1:19; 3:27; Eccl 8:8; cf. M. Dahood, *Bib* 46 [1965]: 320; contrast, however, *CPT* 100f.).\*

2. The appellative *ba<sup>ʿ</sup>al* “owner” occurs 84x in the Hebr. OT (Judg 19x, Exod and Prov 14x, Eccl 7x), the fem. *ba<sup>ʿ</sup>alâ* 4x; in addition *b<sup>ʿ</sup>ēl* occurs 3x in Aram. (Ezra 4:8f., 17).

The meaning “husband” occurs 15x (except for Esth 1:17, 20, always sg.).

*ba<sup>ʿ</sup>al* appears 36x in the sg. and 48x in the pl., although the 18 pl. forms with the 3d sg. suf. all have a sg. meaning (“his/their lord” as a so-called pl. of majesty: Exod 21:29[bis], 34, 36; 22:10f., 13f.; Isa 1:3; Job 31:39; Prov 1:19; 3:27; 16:22; 17:8; Eccl 5:10, 12; 7:12; 8:8).

*ba<sup>ʿ</sup>al* occurs as a divine designation or a divine name in the sg. 58x (2 Kgs 24x, 1 Kgs 12x, Jer 11x, Judg 6x, Hos and 2 Chron 2x, Zeph 1x); see also the phrases *ba<sup>ʿ</sup>alb<sup>ʿ</sup>rît* (Judg 8:33; 9:4), *ba<sup>ʿ</sup>alz<sup>ʿ</sup>bûb* (2 Kgs 1:2f., 6, 16), and *ba<sup>ʿ</sup>alp<sup>ʿ</sup>ôr* (Num 25:3, 5; Deut 4:3[bis]; Hos 9:10; Psa 106:28); the abundant place-names formed with *ba<sup>ʿ</sup>al/ba<sup>ʿ</sup>alâ* (the classification of Num 22:41 and Hos 9:10 is disputed) and PNs are left aside here. The pl. *b<sup>ʿ</sup>ālîm* occurs 18x (see 4a).

The verb occurs 10x in qal and 2x in ni.; the fem. pass. ptcp. *b<sup>ʿ</sup>ûlâ* “married” occurs an additional 4x.

3. (a) In its basic meaning “owner (of a thing),” the semantic field of the term exhibits no consistent par. or related terms.

A ptcp. of → *qnh* “to acquire” parallels *ba<sup>ʿ</sup>al* once (Isa 1:3). The term *ʾādôn*, which can be translated “owner” only in 1 Kgs 16:24, describes more a relationship of dominion than of ownership: e.g., Joseph is *ʾādôn* “ruler” over Egypt and its inhabitants, without being owner of the land (Gen 42:30, 33; → *ʾādôn* III/1).

*ba<sup>ʿ</sup>al* (as well as *ba<sup>ʿ</sup>alâ*) is never used absolutely (except in the expression *b<sup>ʿ</sup>ūlat ba<sup>ʿ</sup>al*, see 3b), but always with an accompanying gen. or pron. suf. The gens. dependent upon *ba<sup>ʿ</sup>al* vary widely according to context; in the 13 instances in the Covenant Code alone *ba<sup>ʿ</sup>al* is the owner of a woman (Exod 21:3, 22), a domestic animal (21:34; 22:10f., 13f.; cf. Isa 1:3), esp. of an ox (21:28, 29[bis], 36), a house (22:7; cf. Judg 19:22f.), or a cistern (21:34).

(b) In 15 of the 84 occurrences mentioned, *ba<sup>ʿ</sup>al* should be understood as the “owner” of a woman, i.e., as “husband”; passages with this meaning are spread over the entire OT (Gen 20:3; Exod 21:3, 22; Lev 21:4 txt em; Deut 22:22; 24:4; 2 Sam 11:26; Hos 2:18, fig.; Joel 1:8; Prov 12:4; 31:11, 23, 28; Esth 1:17, 20). → *ʾiššâ* “wife” occurs in the semantic field without exception as the complementary term (2x in the gen. construction *ba<sup>ʿ</sup>al (hā)ʾiššâ* “husband,” Exod 21:3, 22). *ʾiš* in the meaning

“husband” is more neutral than *ba<sup>al</sup>*, which connotes ownership (the term → *ʾādôn* used in the meaning “husband” expresses a different nuance of this dependent relationship: Gen 18:12, etc.). 2 Sam 11:26 indicates, however, the close relationship of the two terms: “when the wife of Uriah heard that her husband (*ʾiṣ*) was dead, she mourned her husband (*ba<sup>al</sup>*).”

The verb *bq*, in the qal “to marry (from the male perspective)” (with three exceptions: “to rule” in Isa 26:13; Jer 3:14; 31:32; 1 Chron 4:22 is disputed) and in the ni. “to be married” (Isa 62:4; Prov 30:23), also belongs here. The semantic field displays no consistent parallels. *bō<sup>ʾ</sup> ʿel* “to go into” (Deut 21:13), *hyh l<sup>e</sup> ʾiṣṣâ* “to become wife” (Deut 21:13), and *lqh ʾiṣṣâ* “to take a wife” (Deut 24:1) appear as pars. once each. Any of the following may be married, according to context: a woman (Deut 21:13; 24:1), a virgin (Isa 62:5), a daughter of a foreign god (Mal 2:11), a rejected woman (Prov 30:23) or, in the fig. sense, Israel in exile (Isa 54:4), the land (Isa 62:4), or Jerusalem (62:5); in each case in which a community is the obj., Yahweh is the subj. (see 4b).

Although the fem. nom. form *ba<sup>al</sup>lâ* always means “mistress” (1 Sam 28:7[bis], *ʾôb* “spirit of the dead”; 1 Kgs 17:17, a house; Nah 3:4, sorcery), the verb forms a pass. ptcp. *b<sup>e</sup> ʿûlâ* “married” (Gen 20:3 and Deut 22:22 in the set phrase *ʾiṣṣâ b<sup>e</sup> ʿûlat ba<sup>al</sup>* “a married woman with a husband”; Isa 54:1 and 62:4 refer fig. to the Israel of the exilic period or to the land, contrasting *b<sup>e</sup> ʿûlâ* “the married” and *šômēmâ* “the abandoned”).

(c) The pl. cs. followed by a city name indicates, closely dependent upon the basic meaning, the “land owners,” the “citizens” of a given city (cf. also Akk. *baʾûlu* as a synonym for *rubû* “prince,” *AHw* 117b). Of the total of 21 occurrences of this meaning, 16 are concentrated in Judg 9 alone (citizens of Shechem; in v 51, of the city; in vv 46f., occupants of the fortress of Shechem); the remaining occurrences are closely related: Josh 24:11, Jericho; Judg 20:5, Gibeah; 1 Sam 23:11f., Keilah; 2 Sam 21:12, Jabesh. In each case, the expression refers to the (mostly Can.) inhabitants of a city who trade and negotiate with outsiders independently, who, probably on the basis of their land ownership, occupy lofty positions in respect to the other “inhabitants” (*yôš<sup>e</sup> bîm*) or “men” (*ʾanašîm*; cf. J. A. Soggin, *Das Königtum in Israel* [1967], 23, with a reference to *KAI* no. 222A.4; cf. Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 28).

(d) Like *bēn* “son” and *ʾiṣ* “man,” *ba<sup>al</sup>* readily combines with other nouns in cs. relationships, describing the “owner” as bearer of a characteristic or as involved with a given thing or activity, e.g., *ba<sup>al</sup> haḥ<sup>al</sup>lōmôt* “owner of dreams = dreamer” (Gen 37:19); *ba<sup>al</sup> ʾap* “possessor of wrath = wrathful” (Prov 22:24, par. to *ʾiṣ ḥēmôt* “man of excitement = hot-tempered”; cf. 29:22, where *ʾiṣ ʾap* is par. to *ba<sup>al</sup> ḥēmâ*); *ba<sup>al</sup> haqq<sup>e</sup> rānayim* “owner of the two horns = double-horned” (Dan 8:6, 20). Cf. BrSynt 69 and

the extensive list of usages with *ba<sup>al</sup>* as a formal term in *HAL* 137.

4. (a) In the OT, *ba<sup>al</sup>* as a divine designation usually refers to the Can. rival of Yahweh.

In the Ug. pantheon, Baal is considered alongside El to be king of the gods (cf. W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel* [19662], 10–21, 29–54); he is worshiped as the god of fertility. When he dies, vanquished by the god of death, Mot, all nature withers; when he returns again to life, nature blossoms again (A. S. Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts* [1952]; Haussig 1:253–64).

With reference to the OT, O. Eissfeldt (*ZAW* 57 [1939]: 1–31 = *KS* [1963], 2:171–98) has broken with the formerly common concept that the Baals named there are a number of smaller, insignificant local deities. According to him, they are always forms of *one* god, namely Ba<sup>al</sup>šamēm, the “god of heaven,” or the weather god Hadad (cf. *RGG* 1:805f.).

The name *ba<sup>al</sup>* appears in three areas in the OT: (1) In the narrative books, it represents a deity always linked with a particular place and exercising a particular function there.

Several passages (see 2) mention *ba<sup>al</sup> p<sup>er</sup>ôr*, who was worshiped at a border sanctuary between Moab and Israel on the mountain *p<sup>er</sup>ôr* (Num 23:28) or at *bêt p<sup>er</sup>ôr*, about 12 miles east of the northern tip of the Dead Sea (O. Henke, *ZDPV* 75 [1959]: 155–63). *ba<sup>al</sup> b<sup>er</sup>ît* “covenant Baal” (Judg 8:33; 9:4; cf. 9:46) with a temple in Shechem, *ba<sup>al</sup> z<sup>eb</sup>ûb* (2 Kgs 1:2–16, designated expressly as the city god of Ekron; cf. *BHH* 1:175f.; F. C. Fensham, *ZAW* 79 [1967]: 361–64), as well as a few deities attested only in place-names such as Baal Zaphon (Exod 14:2, 9; Num 33:7; cf. O. Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer* [1932]; Haussig 1:256–58) and the Baal of Hermon (Judg 3:3; cf. 1 Chron 5:23) also deserve mention.

“The Baal” without complement describes the Baal of Ophrah (Judg 6:25–32), that of Carmel (1 Kgs 18:21ff.; cf. Alt, *KS* [19643], 2:135–49; O. Eissfeldt, “Der Gott Karmel,” *SDAW* [1953], 1; K. Galling, *FS Alt* 105–25), and the Tyrian god introduced to Samaria (1 Kgs 16:31f.; 18:19; 22:54; 2 Kgs 10:18–28, etc.; cf. Alt, *KS* [1959], 3:258–302). One may ask (contra Eissfeldt) whether these deities, sometimes widely separated geographically, should really be understood as manifestations of one Ba<sup>al</sup>šamēm, rather than as distinct deities.

(2) Of the 20 occurrences of the divine designation *ba<sup>al</sup>* within the prophetic corpus, 13 are in Jer (in a few passages in Dtr formulation), 6 in Hos (on Hos 2:18, see 4b below), and one in Zeph. Hosea and, following him, Jeremiah take up Elijah’s struggle against the Baal cult. Hosea uses the image of marriage in his attack on the Baal cult: the faithless wife (= Israel) turns aside from Yahweh and whores after her lovers (Hos 2:7ff.; on the pl. *b<sup>er</sup>âlîm* in 2:15, 19; 11:2, cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 38–40). The

judgment announced by Hosea consists in the fact that Yahweh will visit the “days of the Baals” (participation in the Can. cultic festivals) on this faithless wife (2:15); the day of salvation will come when Yahweh removes the “names of the Baals” (2:19). The apostasy to the Baal cult of which Hosea accuses Israel already had roots, according to this prophet, in the early period of Israel, as the historical retrospectives show (9:10; 11:2; 13:1).

In Jer, the accusation against those who turn to the Baal cult broadens: the prophets are accused of prophesying in the name of Baal (Jer 2:8; 23:13), of sacrificing the entire people to the Baals.

The following verbs express the prophetic accusation of apostasy to the Baals: *zḥ* “to sacrifice” (Hos 11:2), *qṭr* pi./hi. “to burn incense” (Hos 2:15; 11:2; Jer 7:9; 11:13, 17; 19:4f.; 32:29); *nzr* ni. “to dedicate oneself” (Hos 9:10); *šm* “to incur guilt” (Hos 13:1); *šb* ni. “to swear” (Jer 12:16), *bnh bāmôt* “to build high places” (Jer 19:5; 32:35). The nouns used in the semantic field as parallels also indicate something of the prophetic assessment of the Baals: *bōšet* “shame” (Hos 9:10); *šiqqûšîm* “horrors” (Jer 32:34); *ʾlōhîm ʾḥērîm* “other gods” (Jer 7:9; 19:4; cf. 11:13); *pʿsîlîm* “images” (Hos 11:2).

(3) The third area, which uses most of the pls. of the term, consists of the Dtr and Chr histories closely dependent upon Hos and Jer.

Typical expressions characterizing apostasy to the Baals are: *bd* “to serve” (Judg 2:11, 13; 3:7; 10:6, 10; 1 Kgs 16:31; 22:54; 2 Kgs 17:16); *hlk ʾaḥʾrê* “to follow after” (Deut 4:3; 1 Kgs 18:18; Jer 2:23; 9:13); *znḥ ʾaḥʾrê* “to whore after” (Judg 8:33).

Occasionally fem. counterparts appear alongside the Baals as additional Can. deities: the Ashtaroth (Judg 2:13; 10:6; 1 Sam 7:4; 12:10) and Asherahs (Judg 3:7; as well as the “hosts of heaven”: 2 Kgs 17:16; 21:3 = 2 Chron 33:3; 2 Kgs 23:4f.).

(b) One only rarely dared associate the root *bḳ* with Yahweh in the later periods.

The verb *bḳ* qal in the meaning “to rule” in Isa 26:13 expresses the people’s complaint about a time when Yahweh did not rule over the supplicants but other rulers did. In Jer 3:14 and 31:32 *bḳ* is constructed with *be*; the context suggests the translation “to be lord.” Yahweh, who speaks in the 1st person, is the subj. in each case. In Jer 3:14 the term occurs in the framework of a conditional announcement of salvation: as Lord, Yahweh is mighty enough to bring the “apostate sons” back to Zion. In Jer 31:32 Yahweh proves himself to be the Lord who punished those who had broken his covenant.

*baʿal* occurs in Nah 1:2 as a mere formal term: Yahweh is *baʿal ḥēmâ* “one full of wrath.” Isa 1:3 belongs conditionally in this context too; it

compares the behavior of a donkey toward his master's crib with the behavior of Israel toward Yahweh.

Yahweh is occasionally compared to a *ba<sup>ʿ</sup>al* "husband." In Hos 2:18 *ba<sup>ʿ</sup>alî* parallels *ʾišî*. "then you will say 'my husband' and you will no longer call 'my *ba<sup>ʿ</sup>al*.'" As Wolff (*Hos*, Herm, 49) suggests, this salvation oracle treats, on the one hand, the fact that Israel will no longer merely respect Yahweh as the legal husband (*ba<sup>ʿ</sup>al*) "in that day," but will love him as husband (*ʾiš*); at the same time, however, one must understand (in view of 2:19) that one who calls Yahweh *ba<sup>ʿ</sup>alî* does not clearly distinguish between Yahweh and the Can. Baal (yet cf. Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 78f.).

Behind the unit Isa 54:1–10 stands the lament of the childless woman (cf. Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 269ff.), an image for exilic Israel. The salvation announced by Deutero-Isaiah consists in the fact that Yahweh becomes the husband of this abandoned woman (Isa 54:5).

Trito-Isaiah uses the concept of Yahweh's marriage to the people or to the land of Israel again in Isa 62:4f. The new names "my desire" and "married" (*b<sup>e</sup>ʿûlâ*) characterize the era of salvation and contrast with the old names "abandoned" and "alone" (cf. 54:1).

On the problem of PNs with the theophoric element *ba<sup>ʿ</sup>al* in the period of the judges and the earliest monarchy, cf. *IP* 119–22; Eichrodt 1:200–203.

5. The NT displays no single counterpart to the root *bq*. The LXX already translates *bq/ba<sup>ʿ</sup>al* with great variety, e.g., in Exod 21:28 ("owner") with *kyrios*, in Judg 9 ("citizen") with *andres*, in Deut 21:13; 24:1 ("to marry") with *synoikizein*; in 2 Sam 11:26 both *ʾiš* and *ba<sup>ʿ</sup>al* ("husband") are translated with *anēr*, while the name of the Can. deity Baal is merely transliterated. The divine name continues in the NT only in the name *Beezeboul* (Mark 3:22, etc.; cf. W. Foerster, "Βεεζεβούλ," *TDNT* 1:605f.; L. Gaston, "Beelzebul," *TZ* 18 [1962]: 247–55).

J. Kühlewein

בקש *bqš* pi. **to seek**

S 1245; BDB 134b; *HALOT* 1:152a; *TDOT* 2:229–41; *TWOT* 276; *NIDOTTE* 1335

1. The root *bqš* is attested only in Hebr., Ug. (*bqt*, cf. *UT* no. 505; *WUS* no. 572), and Phoen. (*DISO* 41).

In addition to the pi. and pu., Hebr. forms a verbal abstract *baqqāšâ* “longing, desire,” morphologically an Aram. pa. inf. (GKC §84e; BL 479).

According to C. Brockelmann (ZS 5 [1927]: 31f.), *bqš*, which arose from *bqr* “to examine,” also extant in Aram. (cf. Wagner no. 45), is a rhymed form patterned after the somewhat synonymous → *drš*, which often accompanies *bqš*, cf., however, Ug. *bqt* alongside *drš*.

2. *bqš* appears as a verb in the pi. 222x, in the pu. 3x, esp. frequent in Sam-Kgs (50x), Jer (22x, 1x, resp.), and Psa (27x). The verbal noun *baqqāšâ* occurs 8x, all in Esth except for Ezra 7:6.

3. The basic meaning of *bqš* pi. is the search for something lost or missed (cf. C. Westermann, “Die Begriffe für Fragen und Suchen im AT,” *KerD* 6 [1960]: 2–30, for *bqš* esp. 2–9). In perhaps half of all occurrences, the sense is “to search for someone or something (the location of which is unknown)”; cf. Lat. *quaerere*. Objs. are persons or animals (together about 50x) or things (around 60x), e.g., Gen 37:15f.; Josh 2:22; Judg 4:22; 1 Sam 9:3; 23:14; 26:2, 20; 1 Kgs 18:10. The obj. can also be undetermined or anonymous: “to seek out, select someone (from a crowd)” (e.g., 1 Sam 13:14; 16:16; 28:7; 1 Kgs 1:2f.; Isa 40:20; Ezek 22:30; Nah 3:11, to “seek” in vain). 1 Kgs 10:24 = 2 Chron 9:23 and Prov 29:26 speak of seeking the countenance (→ *pānîm*) of a person in the sense of a display of courtesy (see 4).

If the obj. is a quality or ideal and therefore the goal is not to locate but rather to fulfill a wish or to realize a plan, the verb acquires an emotional nuance: “to strive after something, be busy, be concerned,” e.g., Jer 2:33; 5:1 (faithfulness); Ezek 7:25 (peace); Zeph 2:3 (justice, humility); Psa 4:3 (lies); 27:4 (dwelling in the house of God); above all Prov 2:4; 11:27; 14:6; 15:14; 17:9, 11; 18:1, 15 (wisdom, or the like); likewise Eccl 7:25; Dan 8:15. It is noteworthy that the cognitive element is very understated. *bqš* pi. occurs only rarely in the sense of “to examine, investigate” (cf. → *drš*). Except for Judg 6:29, where it parallels the preceding *drš* and is indeed colored by it, only a few passages from the wisdom literature with “wisdom” as the obj. merit consideration (e.g., Prov 2:4, where, however, wisdom is personified; 18:15; Eccl 7:25; 8:17).

In the meaning “to be out for something, seek after” with similar ideal objects, *šhr* pi. (12x, with God as obj. in Isa 26:9; Hos 5:15; Psa 63:2; 78:34; Job 8:5) is largely synonymous with *bqš* pi. (cf. *HP* 222).

On the delimitation of the meanings of *bqš* pi. (obj.-oriented and resultative “to trace something, try to obtain”) and *drš* (activity-related “to be concerned for, ask after, be mindful of something”) cf. *HP* 248f., and → *drš* 3.

*ncpeš* appears as the obj. around 30x, “to seek someone’s life” and *rā‘ā* 9x, “to seek evil for someone.” *bqš* pi. is used only twice in the opposite expression “to seek someone’s well-being” (Psa 122:9 and Neh 2:10 with *ṭôb* or *ṭôbâ*). In contrast to *drš*, then, *bqš* pi. in this context refers primarily to malicious intent.

About 20x *bqš* pi. refers to an urgent search for a person, thus “to desire, require,” also on the basis of a legal claim (cf. Lat. *petere*), e.g., Gen 31:39; 43:9; Num 16:10; Josh 22:23; 1 Sam 20:16; with → *dām* “blood” as obj. in 2 Sam 4:11; Ezek 3:18, 20; 33:8.

*bqš* pi. is not used as a verb of motion, “to search for a place.”

In addition to nom. or pron. objs., an inf., with *le* 17x, without *le* 2x (Exod 4:24; Jer 26:21), appears occasionally.

*bḥ* “to seek” (pe.: Dan 2:13 “one seeks”?; 6:5; pa.: 4:33) and “to request” (9x) appears as a Bibl. Aram. equivalent. For Dan 2:13 the meaning “to be on the verge, be near to, run the risk” is also possible (KBL 1058b with bibliog.); cf. *ḥšb* pi. in Jonah 1:4 and *bqš* pi. in Gen 43:30 (HAL 146a, 347b).

Other related verbs worthy of mention are: *ḥpr* “to dig,” in Job 3:21 and 39:29 in the fig. meaning “to trace, seek,” in Deut 1:2 and Josh 2:2f. “to spy out (a land)” (HAL 327a; attributed to two roots in GB 250a); *ḥps* qal/pi. “to search through” (cf. HP 130f.); further *tūr* qal/hi. “to explore, research” (qal 19x, 14x in Num 10:33–15:39; hi. 3x).

4. In the 14 passages in which God searches, the usage conforms to profane usage: “to seek after a lost one” (Ezek 34:16; Psa 119:176; cf. Eccl 3:15), “to choose selectively” (1 Sam 13:14), “to seek, examine” (Ezek 22:30; Job 10:6), “to strive after” (Exod 4:24; Judg 14:4; Zech 12:9), “to require” (Josh 22:23; 1 Sam 20:16; Ezek 3:18, 20; 33:8).

More numerous and also more significant theologically are the passages in which God is sought (perhaps one-fourth of all occurrences). The expression “to seek God” only rarely indicates a one-time event (8x), with no unique theological nuance. *bqš* pi. is used in the sense of “to seek a revelation, an oracle” only in extraordinary cases (→ *drš* 4). The only clear case is Exod 33:7. Cultic roots are also evident in Hos 5:6 (of the vain seeking of sanctuaries) and 2 Chron 20:4. The usage “to seek the face of God” or the like (see 3) occurs in 2 Sam 21:1; Psa 24:6; 27:8; 105:4 = 1 Chron 16:11; 2 Chron 7:14.

A theologically fixed usage does occur in the 30 passages in which *bqš* pi. designates proper behavior before Yahweh, repentance and fear of God. “It intends a state rather than an act” (Westermann, op. cit. 5). *bqš* pi. can parallel *drš* synonymously in these cases (Deut 4:29; Jer 29:13; Zeph

1:6; Psa 105:3f. = 1 Chron 16:10f.; 2 Chron 20:3f.).

5. Kuhn (*Konk.* 35) lists 7 occurrences in Qumran literature (cf. *GCDS* 89). The usage conforms primarily to OT usage (3x with direct obj.: *nepeš, rūaḥ, bînâ*; 2x with *le* and inf.). 1QS 5:11, which employs *bqš* (together with *drš*) in the sense of “to search, study in (be) his (God’s) commandments,” has no exact counterpart in the OT.

In the LXX 17 different verbs occur as translations of *bqš* pi. Despite the variety of equivalents, a strong concentration on *zētein* (175x) and its compounds (*ekzētein* 25x) is recognizable.

On the NT, see H. Greeven, “ζητέω,” *TDNT* 2:892–96.

G. Gerleman

## ברא *brʾ* to create

S 1254; BDB 135a; *HALOT* 1:153b; *TDOT* 2:242–49; *TWOT* 278; *NIDOTTE* 1343

1. Of the many attempts to determine the etymology of the verb, the most likely is the frequently offered association of *brʾ* I “to create” (qal, ni., in addition to the verbal abstract *bʿrāʾā*) with *brʾ* III (pi.) “to cut down, clear (a forest)” (Josh 17:15, 18), “to cut in pieces” (Ezek 23:47).

*brʾ* occurs in a Pun. inscription (*CIS* 1:347.4) as a professional designation, perhaps in the sense of “sculptor” (*DISO* 43 posits “graveur”; cf. *NE* 244).

*brʾ* I/III could have arisen from a biradical root *br*, perhaps with the meaning “to cut, divide” (cf. also G. J. Botterweck, *Der Trilateralismus im Semitischen* [1952], 64f.); yet even this assumption remains questionable.

On the one hand, *brʾ* III pi. does not exhibit the same characteristics as *brʾ* I qal (exclusive subj.: God). On the other hand, the basic meaning “to cut,” etc., does not echo anywhere in the usage of *brʾ* qal/ni. The verb is strikingly absent e.g., in the first, original portion of the creation account of Gen 1, which, in accordance with ancient Near Eastern tradition, describes the formation of light and darkness, heavenly and earthly oceans, water and land (Gen 1:4b, 7, 9 LXX) from one preexistent primordial stuff (v 2; cf. also vv 14, 18).

It is no longer possible to trace confidently a development of meaning within the OT, which limited the expression to God’s creation; at best, one may identify a growing specialization in the objects of *brʾ*-creation (see 3c

and 4). In the OT, the two verbal stems, if once combined, are kept separate. *br*<sup>ʔ</sup> I is already characteristically shaped, so that any hypothetical notion related to a specific craft or myth is no longer operative.

On the verb, in addition to the comms. and OT theologies, see: F. M. Th. Böhl, FS Kittel 42–60; W. Foerster, *TDNT* 3:1000–1015; J. van der Ploeg, *Muséon* 59 (1946): 143–57; P. Humbert, *TZ* 3 (1947): 401–21 (= *Opuscles d'un hébraïsant* [1958], 146–65); N. H. Ridderbos, *OTS* 12 (1958): 219–23; E. Dantine, *Muséon* 74 (1961): 441–51; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift* (19672), 164–67; C. Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:98–100.

2. (a) The verb (qal 38x, ni. 10x; *b<sup>c</sup>ṯā* 1x; cf. the statistics in Humbert, *Opuscles* 146–49) occurs primarily in the exilic prophet Deutero-Isa and (roughly contemporaneously) in P, scattered in the Psa and in other contexts. This distribution suggests that the verb is at home in cultic language; for the message of Deutero-Isa is indeed strongly influenced by the Psa. The expression seems to be foreign to wisdom literature (despite Eccl 12:1); in any case, it is surprisingly absent from Job, which frequently has recourse to the creation theme.

(b) Pre-exilic occurrences are at least very rare; thus the word is not very ancient.

The J creation account (Gen 2:4bff.) does not use the verb. Gen 6:7 J (in both the relative clause constructed with *br*<sup>ʔ</sup> and the list of living creatures) is redactionally influenced by the language of P. So *br*<sup>ʔ</sup> occurs in J actually only in Num 16:30 in the more colorless expression *br*<sup>ʔ</sup> *b<sup>c</sup>ṯā* “to produce something new, wonderful”; yet here too later influence may not be excluded on principle (cf. the term *ḗdā* “community” in v 26). The promise of wonders such as “have not yet been created” among all the peoples is an addition in Exod 34:10 between the announcement of the covenant and the proclamation of the commandments. Amos 4:13 initiates the doxologies of the book of Amos inserted only later. Isa 4:5 belongs to an “unauthentic” salvation oracle, combining theophany and creation in a highly unusual manner. The parenthesis in Deut 4:32 (*br*<sup>ʔ</sup> in a temporal clause as in Ezek 28:13, 15) derives, at the earliest, from a later (Dtr?) framework of Deut. Psa 102 (v 19), 148 (v 5), as well as 51 (v 12) are hardly pre-exilic. The promise of a new creation of the people in Jer 31:22 may be attributable to the Josianic era.

If one leaves open the question of the age of Psa 89 (vv 13, 48) and 104 (v 30), then the limited attestation is insufficient to support the assumption that the verb *br*<sup>ʔ</sup> belonged essentially to the pre-exilic witness to Israel's belief in creation. Rather, one must adhere to the judgment of J. Wellhausen: “the word and the notion only coming into use after the Babylonian exile” (*Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* [1957], 305).

3. Some peculiarities characterize the usage of *br*<sup>ʔ</sup>:

(a) God is always the subj. of the expression, indeed, always Israel's

God, never a foreign deity (cf. perhaps Ezek 28:13, 15). “The most important point is that a special word is employed, which stands for nothing else than the creative agency of God, and so dissociates it from all analogy with human making and shaping” (Wellhausen, op. cit.). To the extent that the OT reserves the verb exclusively for God, this type of creation has no analogy and is, therefore, beyond conceptualization; divine activity can be perceived only insofar as it remains comparable to human activity. Therefore the verb expresses nothing further concerning the method of creation.

(b) No material from which God “creates” (cf. esp. Gen 1:27) is ever mentioned (in the acc. or with a prep.).

(c) The objs. of *br*<sup>ʔ</sup> vary often, however; they are special, extraordinary, new:

(1) Heaven and/or earth: Gen 1:1; 2:4; Isa 65:17; 42:5; 45:18; cf. 40:28; Psa 148:5; 89:13 (north and south = the whole);

(2) People: Gen 1:27; 5:1f.; 6:7; Deut 4:32; Isa 43:7; 45:12 (God “made” the earth, “created” humanity); Ezek 28:13, 15; Mal 2:10; Eccl 12:1; Psa 89:48;

(3) The people of Israel: Isa 43:1, 15; Psa 102:19; Ezek 21:35 (Ammon);

(4) Wonders, novelties, etc.: Exod 34:10; Num 16:30; Isa 48:6f.; 65:17; Jer 31:22; cf. Isa 41:20; 45:8; Psa 51:12; 104:30.

In a few passages the specificity of *br*<sup>ʔ</sup> recedes into the background. Thus Amos 4:13 (“who created the storm”) uses various verbs synonymously, or Isa 42:5 adds the “spreading” of the heavens to “creating.” *br*<sup>ʔ</sup> refers here only to an intermediate, not the final, stage of creation.

The review of materials in (3) and (4) indicates that the determinative factor is not that there was “nothing” prior to creation but that God’s activity brings about something new, which (as such) did not exist before (also Isa 41:20; Psa 51:12; 102:19). On its own, then, the verb does not describe a creation ex nihilo, but it refers precisely to that which other systems of thought (see 5) seek to ensure through discussions of creation ex nihilo: God’s extraordinary, sovereign, both effortless and fully free, unhindered creation.

4. The exilic prophet Deutero-Isaiah uses the verb *br*<sup>ʔ</sup> to describe not only the past or present (Isa 40:26, 28; 42:5; 45:12, 18; cf. Psa 104:30) but also the future (41:20; 45:8; cf. 65:17f.; Jer 31:22) work of God; just as the world as a whole (cf. 45:7) is God’s creation, so is the new salvation. By contrast, P consistently limits the previously varied usage to the creation “at the beginning.”

Even with this limitation, the specific character of the verb is still evident (in the context of the originally independent creation by the word also in Psa 148:5). Although Deutero-Isa generally continues to combine the word with various other equally significant expressions, P uses it to indicate a final action that needs no supplement and employs it in emphatic passages that do not belong in this form to the oldest layer of tradition. Superscript (Gen 1:1) and conclusion (2:3f.) together emphasize the fact that God created everything (without precondition). The threefold usage in the creation of humanity (1:27; cf. 5:1f.; but not in the announcement in 1:26) on the one hand demonstrates the peculiarity of this work, and on the other hand permits one to forgo any suggestion as to how people came to be and whence they originate (contra Gen 2:7; Psa 139:15). In the same way, mythical conceptions are excluded even though God creates the playfully free sea monsters (the first living creatures; Gen 1:21).

Despite the tendency to think comprehensively of the whole as God's work (e.g., Gen 1:1; Isa 45:7; 65:17), *brʿ* can also express God's care for the individual (Isa 43:7; Mal 2:10; Eccl 12:1). For this reason Psa 51:12 "create in me a pure heart," can express the eschatological promise of a new humanity (cf. Ezek 36:26, etc.) as a request.

5. The LXX does not always translate *brʿ* with *ktizein* (cf. W. Foerster, *TDNT* 3:1000–1035), but rather (in contrast to Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion) occasionally in Gen with *poiein* (cf. H. Braun, *TDNT* 6:459ff.). The distinctives of the concept are not maintained, then. To the contrary, the Hellenistic notion of creation from nothing (cf. 2 Macc 7:28; Rom 4:17) seeks substantially to maintain by other means—presumably through the augmentation and inversion of the causal principle—the intention of the usage of *brʿ*.

W. H. Schmidt

ברח *brḥ* to flee → נוס *nûs*

בְּרִית *bᵉrît* obligation

S 1285; BDB 136a; HALOT 1:157a; TDOT 2:253–79; TWOT 282a; NIDOTTE 1382

I. 1. The subst. *bᵉrît* has (so far) been identified only in Hebr. (against the interpretation of TAR *be-ri-ti* in two Akk. texts from Qatna as *krt bᵉrît* by

W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 121 [1951]: 21f.; cf. J. A. Soggin, *VT* 18 [1968]: 210–15); the mention of an  $\text{ʔ}l b^{\text{r}^{\text{t}}}$  (Judg 9:46) or a  $ba^{\text{al}} b^{\text{r}^{\text{t}}}$  (Judg 8:33; 9:4) at Shechem (cf. R. E. Clements, “Baal-*b^{\text{r}^{\text{t}}}* of Shechem,” *JSS* 13 [1968]: 21–32) suggests a Can. usage of *b^{\text{r}^{\text{t}}}* too.

2. Attempts to explain the etymology of *b^{\text{r}^{\text{t}}}* are manifold.

(a) Some derive *b^{\text{r}^{\text{t}}}* from an Akk. subst. *birītu* “fetter.” *b^{\text{r}^{\text{t}}}* would then have meant “first ‘band,’ . . . then fig. ‘binding agreement’” (R. Kraetzschmar, *Die Bundesvorstellung im AT* [1896], 245; cf. P. Karge, *Geschichte des Bundesgedankens im AT* [1910], 228f., etc.). But aside from other difficulties (cf. O. Loretz, “*b^{\text{r}^{\text{t}}}* — ‘Band-Bund,’” *VT* 16 [1966]: 239–41), according to this etymology the expression *krt b^{\text{r}^{\text{t}}}*, lit. “to cut a *b^{\text{r}^{\text{t}}}*,” would mean “to cut (off) a band/fetter,” which hardly fits the (generally accepted) meaning “to make a covenant” for *krt b^{\text{r}^{\text{t}}}* (E. Nielsen, *Shechem* [19592], 114).

(b) M. Noth (“OT Covenant-Making in the Light of a Text from Mari,” *Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* [1966], 108–17) compared *b^{\text{r}^{\text{t}}}* with the Akk. prep. *birīt* “between” (cs. of *birītu* “space between”) on the strength of ARM II:37.13f. But in the Akk. phrase *salīmam birīt . . . u . . . aškun*, “I brought about an agreement between . . . and . . .,” *birīt* corresponds not to the Hebr. *b^{\text{r}^{\text{t}}}* in the comparable Hebr. expression (*krt*) *b^{\text{r}^{\text{t}} bēn . . . ūbēn . . .* (Gen 9:17, etc.), but to the prep. *b̄n*.

(c) If one thinks of a derivation from a verb *brh*, then such a verb with the meaning “cecidit, secuit” (so Gesenius, *Thesaurus* 1:238f.; P. Humbert, *TZ* 6 [1950]: 60) occurs only in Arab., not in Hebr. A semasiological relationship to *brh* I “to eat,” so that *b^{\text{r}^{\text{t}}}* would originally have meant the meal attested in conjunction with the making of covenants (Gen 26:30; cf. 28; 31:46, 54; cf. v 44; E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* [1906], 558n.1; KBL 152b; L. Köhler, *JSS* 1 [1956]: 4–7; etc.), is out of the question, because this *brh* always indicates the food of the sick and mourning, just as the related substs. *bārūt* (Psa 69:22) and *biryâ* (2 Sam 13:5, 7, 10) indicate the food of the unfortunate and ailing.

(d) *b^{\text{r}^{\text{t}}}* more probably derives from a stem *brh* II (E. Kutsch, “Sehen und Bestimmen: Die Etymologie von *b^{\text{r}^{\text{t}}}*,” *FS Galling* 165–78; cf. also already GB 114b). This stem occurs in Akk. (*barû*) with the basic meaning “to see, look” (*AHw* 109; *CAD* B:115); earlier attempts to relate *b^{\text{r}^{\text{t}}}* to this stem (e.g., H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der bab. Religion* [1901], 2:50) failed as long as the term was attested only for the “seeing” of the oracle priest. In accord with the Akk., the root *brh* II in the only Hebr. occurrence (1 Sam 17:8 “choose yourselves a man to come down to me”) means “to see, choose, select, designate (for a particular task)” (like *r^{\text{h}}* in Gen 22:8; Deut 12:13; 1 Sam 16:1; 2 Kgs 10:3; Esth 2:9; *hzh* in Exod 18:21). *b^{\text{r}^{\text{t}}}* “determination (to do a particular thing), obligation” is formed on this root.

The process of semantic development is the same as for the substs. *ḥōzeh* and *ḥāzūt*, used by Isaiah (Isa 28:15, 18; emendation is excluded) to parallel *b<sup>c</sup>ṛît*. they are derived from *ḥzh* in the meaning of the verb attested in Exod 18:21; this sense “to see > select > determine > prescribe” also recurs in the Aram. of the Tgs. (e.g., on Lev 5:10; Jer 22:13a; 32:7f.; 1 Chron 15:13) and in Palm. (customs tariff, *CIS* 2:3913; 2:114, 123, 129; cf. 1:7; 2:131; *DISO* 85).

II. The subst. *b<sup>c</sup>ṛît* occurs 287x in the OT (only in the sg.): Gen 27x, Exod 13x, Lev 10x, Num 5x, Deut 27x, Josh 22x, Judg 7x, 1 Sam 8x, 2 Sam 6x, 1 Kgs 14x, 2 Kgs 12x, Isa 12x (Deutero-Isa 4x, Trito-Isa 4x), Jer 24x, Ezek 18x, Hos 5x, Amos 1x, Obad 1x, Zech 2x, Mal 6x, Psa 21x, Job 3x, Prov 1x, Dan 7x, Ezra 1x, Neh 4x, 1 Chron 13x, 2 Chron 17x.

On account of the stratified nature of OT books, such statistics have only limited usefulness; more suggestive are statistics based on the periods of origin of the texts. The following occurrences may be placed in the pre-Dtr period: Deut 33:9(?); Josh 7:11, 15(?); 9:6f., 11, 15f.; 24:25(?); Judg 8:33; 9:4, 46; 1 Sam 18:3; 20:8; 23:18; 2 Sam 3:12f., 21; 5:3; 23:5; 1 Kgs 5:26; 15:19a, b; 20:34a, b; 2 Kgs 11:4; in J: Gen 15:18; 26:28; in E: Gen 21:27, 32; 31:44; further Exod 24:7, 8(?); Hos 6:7; 8:1(?); 10:4; 12:2; Isa 28:15, 18; from the Psa, possibly Psa 89:4, 29, 35, 40. In all, this is only about 43 occurrences. From the immediate pre-exilic period onward, *b<sup>c</sup>ṛît* occurs much more often; it acquires greater significance, then, indeed, primarily in the theological arena. Occurrences in Dtn-Dtr literature are particularly numerous. In addition to Deut 4:13 and a further 18x in Deut: Exod 19:5; 23:32; 34:10, 12, 15, 27f.; Josh 23:16; Judg 2:1f., 20; 1 Kgs 8:23; 11:11; 19:10, 14; 2 Kgs 11:17; 17:15, 35, 38; 18:12; 23:2, 3 (3x), 21; Jer 11:2f., 6, 8, 10; 14:21; 22:9; 31:31, 32a, b, 33; 34:8, 10, 13, 15, 18a, b; Amos 1:9 (62 passages, apart from Psa); 42 passages from Num 10:33; 14:44; Deut 10:8, etc., to 2 Chron 5:2, 7 mention the “ark of the *b<sup>c</sup>ṛît* of Yahweh/God”—either in a secondary expansion of the expression “ark of Yahweh/God” or originally—in which (according to the Dtr concept) the “tablets of the *b<sup>c</sup>ṛît*” (Deut 9:9, 11, 15; 1 Kgs 8:9 LXX) were stored (1 Kgs 8:9, 21; cf. Deut 10:2). P together with additions and H also constitute a large block, with 39 occurrences (Gen 6:18; 9:9–17 7x; 14:13; 17:2–21 13x; Exod 2:24; 6:4f.; 31:16; Lev 2:13; 24:8; 26:9–45 8x; Num 18:19; 25:12f.).

III. 1. As early as the end of the 19th cent., J. J. P. Valetton, Jr. (*ZAW* 12 [1892]: 1–22, 224–60; 13 [1893]: 245–79) and R. Kraetzschmar (op. cit.; see I/2a) demonstrated that the modern term “covenant” is simply inadequate to render the Hebr. *b<sup>c</sup>ṛît*. Accordingly, B. Baentsch (*Exodus-Leviticus-Numeri* [1903]), e.g., suggested “covenant” for *b<sup>c</sup>ṛît* in Exod 2:24, “unbreakable promise” in 6:4f., and “covenant regulation” in 19:5. In contrast to such differentiation, Eichrodt 1:37 (cf. also id., “Bund und Gesetz,” *FS Hertzberg* 30–49) emphasized that in Israel, as with the profane usage, the “religious *b<sup>c</sup>ṛît* too was always regarded as a bilateral relationship; for even though the burden is most unequally distributed between the two contracting parties, this makes no difference to the fact

that the relationship is still essentially two-sided.” In a new approach, J. Begrich (“Berith. Ein Beitrag zur Erfassung einer alttestamentlichen Denkform,” *ZAW* 60 [1944]: 1–11 = *GS* [1964], 55–66) interpreted *b<sup>c</sup>rît* as “a relationship, in which a more powerful party stands by a weaker party” (op. cit. 4; cf. also e.g., already B. Duhm, *Jesaja*, HKAT, 385, on Isa 55:3), wherein only the powerful party accepts an obligation and the (weaker) recipient plays no active role; only secondarily did *b<sup>c</sup>rît* come to be understood as a contract involving the rights and duties of the partners. A. Jepsen (“Berith. Ein Beitrag zur Theologie der Exilszeit,” *FS Rudolph* 161–79) also emphasized the unilaterality of the *b<sup>c</sup>rît*, interpreting it as a “solemn pledge, promise, obligation” (op. cit. 165, 178); but he disputed whether *b<sup>c</sup>rît* also means the obligation under which another is placed, at least for the profane arena (op. cit. 165). By way of affirmation and critique of these approaches, the following may be said regarding the meaning of *b<sup>c</sup>rît* (E. Kutsch, “Gesetz und Gnade. Probleme des atl. Bundesbegriffs,” *ZAW* 79 [1967]: 18–35; id., “Der Begriff *b<sup>c</sup>rît* in vordeuteronomischer Zeit,” *FS Rost* 133–43; cf. also G. Fohrer, “Altes Testament—‘Amphiktyonie’ und ‘Bund’?” *Studien zur atl. Theologie und Geschichte* [1969], 84–119, esp. 103ff.), first in the profane arena.

2. *b<sup>c</sup>rît* does not indicate a “relationship,” but is the “determination,” “obligation,” accepted by the subject of the *b<sup>c</sup>rît*, in such contexts *b<sup>c</sup>rît* can even mean the “pledge.” The content of such a *b<sup>c</sup>rît* as “self-imposed obligation” can be seen in the context: “to let (others) live,” Josh 9:15a, so also 1 Sam 11:1; Deut 7:2; Exod 23:32f.; 34:12, 15; Judg 2:2; giving a life partnership, 1 Sam 18:3 (Begrich, op. cit. 6; Jepsen, op. cit. 163); protection of the wife, Ezek 16:8, 60a; Mal 2:14; on David’s acceptance of obligations in relation to the elders of Israel, 2 Sam 5:3; cf. perhaps Psa 101 (and Jepsen, op. cit. 163f.). Not only the more powerful but also the subordinate, weaker, lowlier can accept such a self-imposed obligation, as the defeated Aramean king Ben-hadad accepted toward Ahab of Israel (1 Kgs 20:34a, b; cf. Jepsen, op. cit. 164f.; on the content cf. v 34a), Israel in relation to Assyria (Hos 12:2b; cf. v 2c), the Jews (Ezra 10:3) or Hezekiah (2 Chron 29:10) toward Yahweh. These passages do not refer to a repayment or reciprocal obligation on the part of the beneficiary of the *b<sup>c</sup>rît*. Moreover, on the occasion of the “cutting” of a *b<sup>c</sup>rît* (→ *krt*), i.e., on the assumption of a self-imposed obligation, the subj. of the *b<sup>c</sup>rît* does not even require a partner. King Josiah “cut the *b<sup>c</sup>rît* before Yahweh to follow Yahweh,” 2 Kgs 23:3a: he assumes the obligation, and the people enter into it in a second act (v 3b); and this occurs “before” Yahweh, not “with” Yahweh. Therefore, there is no covenant agreement with Yahweh or with the people. The same usage also occurs in Exod 34:10; Jer 34:15b, 18b;

Hos 10:4; 2 Chron 15:12; 34:31 (cf. also Neh 10:1, 30). Yahweh's enemies in Psa 83:6 obligate themselves to a common action against Yahweh; cf. also 2 Chron 23:16.

The one who assumes this type of self-imposed obligation can strengthen it even more through a ritual of self-deprecation, in which he passes between the parts of a slaughtered animal (Jer 34:15b, 18b, 19; Gen 15:17f.): In the event that he does not fulfill his pledge, he should experience the same fate as this animal.

3. The subject of the *b<sup>c</sup>rit* places another, the one with whom a *b<sup>c</sup>rit* is "cut," under obligation. Thus, according to Ezek 17:13ff., Nebuchadnezzar obligates the Jewish king Zedekiah: only he, not the Babylonians, must "enter into a curse" (v 13b), namely in the event he does not "maintain" this *b<sup>c</sup>rit* (on *krt b<sup>c</sup>rit* [<sup>c</sup>et-] in Ezek 17:13a cf. Aram. *g<sup>c</sup>zr d<sup>n</sup>* [<sup>c</sup>m] in *KAI* no. 222A.7; see Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 32f.). Similarly, the Gerarites want to obligate Isaac (Gen 26:28; cf. v 29a), David takes Abner into his service (2 Sam 3:12f.), the Israelites obligate David (as king, 2 Sam 3:21; cf. 2 Chron 23:3), also death (namely to spare them, Isa 28:15, 18), King Zedekiah obligates the Judeans and Jerusalemites (to release their slaves, Jer 34:8), Job obligates the stones of the field (Job 5:23; cf. Horst, BK 16/1, 87f.), also his eyes (Job 31:1), the priest Jehoiada "assembles" the leaders of the palace troops (2 Kgs 11:4). In none of these cases does *b<sup>c</sup>rit* also include an obligation of those who "cut the *b<sup>c</sup>rit*."

4. From self-imposed obligation (see 2), the concept can evolve into the assumption of mutual obligations on the part of two or more partners, into a reciprocal *b<sup>c</sup>rit*. Thus Solomon and King Hiram of Tyre have "both cut a *b<sup>c</sup>rit*" (1 Kgs 5:26b); between them for continued *šālōm* (v 26b; Eng. 5:11). The *b<sup>c</sup>rit* between the kings of Damascus and Judah (1 Kgs 15:19a) was also conceived as a nonaggression treaty, as a reciprocal obligation, probably also the one between the Arameans and Basha of Israel (v 19b). According to 1 Sam 23:18 the *b<sup>c</sup>rit* between Jonathan and David was also reciprocal, as was, according to Gen 31:44, the *b<sup>c</sup>rit* between Jacob and Laban. The translation "covenant" for *b<sup>c</sup>rit* is rooted in this secondary and relatively infrequent usage.

5. Finally, a third individual can establish a *b<sup>c</sup>rit* between two parties. No illustration indicating that this *b<sup>c</sup>rit* means obligation for the two parties occurs in the OT (for the model, cf. ARM II:37.6–14, and Noth, *op. cit.* 108ff.). According to 2 Kgs 11:17b, the *b<sup>c</sup>rit* that the priest Jehoiada established "between the king and the people" may involve the king's obligation to the people in the light of 2 Sam 3:21; 5:3; and 2 Chron 23:3. In 2 Kgs 11:17a, too, the obligation ("to be a people of Yahweh") lies clearly on one side only, namely with the people. The *b<sup>c</sup>rit* that Yahweh will

establish with the animals of the field to the benefit of the Israelites (Hos 2:20; see 7c; on the topic cf. Ezek 34:25; Lev 26:6; and H. W. Wolff, “Jahwe als Bundesvermittler,” *VT* 6 [1956]: 316–20) also belongs here.

6. Various verbs indicate the (a) establishment, (b) observance, and (c) violation or invalidation of a *b<sup>c</sup>rit* (the following also takes account of the theological usage).

(a) The oldest and most common usage is *krt b<sup>c</sup>rit*, lit. “to cut a *b<sup>c</sup>rit*,” to be translated “to reach a settlement, establish an obligation.” Contrary to the widely held opinion, the expression is not derived from the dismemberment of animals as in Jer 34:18f.; Gen 15:10, 17 (→ *krt*). Cf. *krt* → *ālā* (Deut 29:11, 13; and Phoen. in *KAI* no. 27.8f.; *ANET* 658b: “An eternal bond has been established”), *krt dābār* (Hag 2:5), *krt <sup>a</sup>mānā* (Neh 10:1).

The formula → *qūm* hi. *b<sup>c</sup>rit* “to set up, enact a *b<sup>c</sup>rit*” appears immediately prior to the exile (Ezek 16:60, etc.; cf. 2 Kgs 23:3a); cf. *qūm* hi. with the obj. *š<sup>c</sup>bū<sup>c</sup>ā* “oath” (Gen 26:3, etc.), *nēder* “vow” (Num 30:14f.; Jer 44:25), *dābār* “word, promise” (Deut 9:5, etc.), but also “word of the Torah” (Deut 27:26, etc.), *mišwā* “commandment” (Jer 35:16, etc.). The other usages are also later: with *b<sup>c</sup>rit* as obj. the verbs *ntn* “to give” (Gen 9:12; 17:2; Num 25:12), *šim* “to establish” (2 Sam 23:5), *šb<sup>c</sup>* ni. “to swear” (Deut 4:31, etc.), *ngd* ni. “to announce” (Deut 4:13), *šwh* pi. “to command” (Deut 4:13, etc.), with *be* “in” preceding *b<sup>c</sup>rit* the verbs *bō<sup>ʔ</sup>* “to enter” (Jer 34:10; Ezek 16:8; 2 Chron 15:12; cf. 1 Kgs 8:31 = 2 Chron 6:22, with *ālā*, Neh 10:30, with *ālā* and *š<sup>c</sup>bū<sup>c</sup>ā*), *br* “to enter” (Deut 29:11), *ʿmd* “to enter (into)” (2 Kgs 23:3b), further *bō<sup>ʔ</sup>* hi. “to cause to enter” (1 Sam 20:8; cf. Ezek 17:13 with *ālā*), *lqh* “to take (into)” (2 Chron 23:1; Ezek 17:13b?), *ʿmd* hi. “to cause to enter” (2 Chron 34:32 txt em).

(b) Verbs describing the observance of a *b<sup>c</sup>rit* also occur only from the late monarchy: of profane *b<sup>c</sup>rit*: *zkr* “to remember” (Amos 1:9) and *šmr* “to keep” (Ezek 17:14); God of his *b<sup>c</sup>rit* = “promise”: *zkr* (Gen 9:15 and a further 11x), *šmr* (Deut 7:9 and a further 6x; cf. Deut 7:8; 1 Kgs 2:43, with the obj. *š<sup>c</sup>bū<sup>c</sup>ā*); the person of God’s *b<sup>c</sup>rit* = “law”: *šmr* (Gen 17:9 and a further 5x; cf. 1 Sam 13:13, etc., with the obj. *mišwā*), *nšr* “to keep” (Deut 33:9; Psa 25:10), *ʿmn* ni. “to be faithful” (Psa 78:37), *h<sup>z</sup>q* hi. “to hold fast” (Isa 56:4, 6).

(c) The following describe the violation or invalidation of a *b<sup>c</sup>rit*: profane, a human *b<sup>c</sup>rit* = “promise”: *hll* pi. “to profane” (Psa 55:21; Mal 2:10), *pr<sup>r</sup>* hi. “to break” (1 Kgs 15:19); God of his *b<sup>c</sup>rit* = “promise”: *pr<sup>r</sup>* hi. (Lev 26:44; Judg 2:1), *škh* “to forget” (Deut 4:31), *hll* pi. “to profane” (Psa 89:35), *n<sup>r</sup>* “to abandon” (Psa 89:40); the person of God’s *b<sup>c</sup>rit* = “law”: *pr<sup>r</sup>* hi. (Gen 17:14, etc.; cf. Num 15:31 and Ezra 9:14, with *mišwā*, Psa 119:126, with *tô<sup>r</sup>â*, but also Zech 11:14 with *ʾah<sup>a</sup>wā* “brotherhood”), *br* “to transgress” (Deut 17:2 and a further 7x, as well as Hos 6:7?; cf. Dan 9:11 with *tô<sup>r</sup>â*, 2 Chron 24:20 and Sir 10:19 with *mišwā*, Num 22:18 and 1 Sam 15:24 with *peh* “utterance, command”), *zb* “to abandon” (Deut 29:24 and a further 4x; cf. Prov 4:2 with

*tôrâ*), *škh* “to forget” (Deut 4:23; 2 Kgs 17:38; Prov 2:17; cf. Hos 4:6 with *tôrâ*; Deut 26:13 with *mišwâ*), *mʿs* “to reject” (2 Kgs 17:15; cf. Isa 5:24 and Amos 2:4 with *tôrâ*; 2 Kgs 17:15 with *ḥuqqîm*; Lev 26:15 and Ezek 20:24 with *ḥuqqôt*; 2 Kgs 17:15 with *ʿēdôt*; Isa 5:24 with *ʿimrâ*; 1 Sam 15:23, 26 with *dābār*), *šht* pi. “to destroy” (Mal 2:8), *rš<sup>c</sup>* hi. “to be guilty (with respect to)” (Dan 11:32), *šqr b<sup>c</sup>* “to act deceitfully toward” (Psa 44:18); cf. also *gōʿal* “defilement” (Neh 13:29); the individual to a *bʿrît* = “promise” to God: *škh* “to forget” (Jer 50:5).

7. The classification by usage discussed in III/2–4 finds additional confirmation in many respects.

(a) If *bʿrît* means a self-imposed obligation, the substantive can parallel *šʿbûʿâ* “oath, vow” (Psa 105:9 = 1 Chron 16:16; cf. also *šb<sup>c</sup>* ni. *šʿbûʿâ* in Num 30:3; Josh 9:20 alongside *šb<sup>c</sup>* ni. *bʿrît* in Deut 4:31; 8:18) or even *ʿālâ* “curse” (Deut 29:11, 13; Gen 26:28; Ezek 16:59; 17:18f.). If *bʿrît* indicates the obligation of another party, however, other substantives occur as parallels, namely, those which reflect the character of this usage: *tôrâ* “instruction” (Hos 8:1; Psa 78:10; cf. also e.g., Deut 28:69 with v 58; 2 Kgs 23:3a with v 24; 2 Kgs 23:2, 21 with 22:8, 11), *ḥuqqîm* and *ḥuqqôt* “regulations” (2 Kgs 17:15; Psa 50:16 or 1 Kgs 11:11; cf. also, however, in contrast, *ḥōq* “decree to the benefit of” in Psa 2:7, with *bʿrît* and *šʿbûʿâ* in Psa 105:9f. = 1 Chron 16:16f.), *tôrôt* and *ḥōq* “instructions” and “regulation” (Isa 24:5), *ʿēdôt* “stipulations” (2 Kgs 17:15; Psa 25:10; 132:12), *piqqûdîm* “directions” (Psa 103:18), *ʿimrâ* “word (of Yahweh)” in the sense of “commandment” (Deut 33:9).

(b) From the perspective of one assuming a self-imposed obligation in the establishment of *bʿrît*, one can also be said to “swear” (cf. Josh 9:15b with v 15a; 1 Sam 20:17 LXX [!] with 18:3; Ezra 10:5 with v 3; Psa 89:4; cf. also Hos 10:4; Ezek 16:8; 2 Chron 15:12, 14). But if the subj. of the *bʿrît* obligates another, “one causes another to swear” (2 Kgs 11:4; cf. also Ezek 17:13). In cases of reciprocal *bʿrît*, one can say that both swear (to one another) (cf. 1 Sam 20:42 with 23:18; Gen 21:31b with v 32a).

(c) The classification outlined in III/2–4 is also mirrored in the use of the preps. that express the manner in which the partner is bound by having *krî bʿrît*. The prep. *le* “for” is used in the context of self-obligation; this obligation benefits the other. *ʿet-* and *ʿim* “with” constitute exceptions here (*ʿet-*: Gen 15:18; Psa 105:8f. = 1 Chron 16:15f.; Zech 11:10; *ʿim*: Hos 12:2; Job 40:28; Neh 9:8). The obligation of another is usually expressed by *ʿet-* (Jer 34:8; Ezek 17:13; Exod 34:27; Deut 5:3, etc.) or *ʿim* (Hos 2:20; Exod 24:8, etc.; cf. in Aram. *KAI* no. 222A.1, etc.; Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 12f.), and only as an exception by *le* (Josh 24:25; 2 Kgs 11:4; Job 31:1). Reciprocal *bʿrît* exists *bn . . . ûbên . . .* “between . . . and . . .” (1 Kgs 15:19). The same preps. can also appear, however, in later texts in the contexts of self-imposed obligation (Gen 9:12f., 15–17; 17:2, 7), of joint acceptance of the same obligation (2 Chron 23:16), or of the obligation of another party (Gen 17:10f.). If a third person establishes a *bʿrît* involving two parties, *ʿim* appears—appropriately—for the obligated individual, *le* “to the benefit of” for the one benefited by the other’s obligation (Hos 2:20: therefore people and animals are not “covenant partners”!). In 2 Kgs 11:17a and, probably also v 17b, cases of the obligation of only

one side, both parties are associated with *b̄n . . . ūbēn. . .*

A special case is the reference to the one involved in the *b̄rît* in the acc. In this case, *b̄rît* once again means self-obligation (Lev 26:42, “I remember my *b̄rît* [promise] to Jacob [Isaac, Abraham]”; cf. Jer 33:21a, b) or “obligation, arrangement, regulation” (Jer 33:20a, “If you could break by *b̄rît* [arrangement, regulation] concerning the day and my regulation concerning the night,” namely that both occur at the proper time, v 22b; cf. v 25 and *ḥōq* “regulation” for stars in Psa 148:6). From this standpoint, the accs. in MT of Isa 59:21; Ezek 16:8, 60; 37:26 should also be considered correct (cf. GKC §118m, q; BrSynt §81e).

IV. 1. In application to the theological realm, *b̄rît* contrasts God and human. The subj. of the *b̄rît* here is, as a rule, Yahweh; it is “his” *b̄rît*, he establishes the *b̄rît* (even in 2 Kgs 11:17a; Jer 50:5; Ezra 10:3; 2 Chron 29:10, where the Israelites or Hezekiah enter into a *b̄rît* concerning Yahweh, maintain Yahweh’s supremacy). *b̄rît* here indicates either Yahweh’s self-obligation, his promise to do or give a particular thing (IV/2; cf. III/2), or the obligation that Yahweh places upon the individual (IV/3; cf. III/3), but not a reciprocal obligation (IV/4; cf. III/4).

2. The OT speaks of Yahweh’s *b̄rît* as his “self-obligation, promise” in various contexts. The content of the various *b̄rît* varies in reference to the recipient and his/her particular situation.

(a) The OT names primarily the patriarchs as recipients of a *b̄rît*. They (or their descendants) receive a *b̄rît* in three ways: (1) Yahweh promises Abraham or his descendants the gift of the land of Canaan: already in J, Gen 15:18; then in Exod 6:4 (P); Psa 105:10 = 1 Chron 16:17. (2) Among the promises to the fathers, P also describes the “promise of increase” as *b̄rît*. Gen 17:2 + 6, 3–5. (3) Finally, Yahweh’s promise to be the God of the patriarchs or of Israel also appears as a *b̄rît*, primarily in P and the Dtr sphere: Gen 17:7, (8b); (Lev 26:45). This *b̄rît* is also probably intended in the following passages, which speak of Yahweh’s remembrance—to Israel’s benefit and well-being—of his *b̄rît* (Exod 2:24; 6:5 P; Lev 26:42, 44; Jer 14:21; Psa 106:45; 111:5; cf. 2 Kgs 13:23) or of his keeping his *b̄rît* and his faithfulness (*ḥesed*) (Deut 7:9, 12; 1 Kgs 8:23; Neh 1:5; 9:32; 2 Chron 6:14); cf. also the *b̄rît* that Yahweh swore to Israel’s fathers (Deut 4:31; 7:12; 8:18).

In all three cases *b̄rît* is the most important form of assurance next to the oath (the land: Gen 24:7 J; 26:3 addition to J; 50:24 E; Deut 1:8, 35, etc.; increase: Gen 22:16f. E; Exod 32:13 Dtr; Deut 13:18; to be their God: Deut 29:12b) and the simple promise via the word (land: Gen 12:7; 13:14f., 17; 28:13 J, etc.; increase: Gen 12:2 J; 22:17 RJE?; 26:4 addition to J; 26:24 J; 28:3; 48:4 P; Exod 32:13 Dtr; to be their God: Exod 29:45; cf. 25:8;

Deut 29:12a; Ezek 34:24a; cf. v 24b; cf. Lev 11:45; 22:33; 25:38; 26:45; Num 15:41). A distinction in the appraisal of Abraham's sons is indicated in that Gen 17 promises blessing and offspring to Ishmael (v 20; cf. Gen 16:10 J), the slave's son, just as to Isaac (cf. 17:16), while Yahweh's *b<sup>e</sup>rît* (in reference, with some LXX MSS, to the promise to be his God, v 7) is reserved for Isaac alone (vv 19, 21).

(b) The *b<sup>e</sup>rît* Yahweh established with David includes the promise that David's throne will always exist and will always be possessed by a Davidide (2 Sam 23:5; Psa 89:4, 29, 35, 40; Isa 55:3; Jer 33:21; 2 Chron 13:5; 21:7; once more in addition to the oath, Psa 89:4; 132:11; and the word, 2 Sam 7:11b, 16, 25; 1 Kgs 8:20; Jer 33:17; 1 Chron 22:8; cf. v 10; cf. Psa 89:35).

(c) P also describes Yahweh's assurance to Noah not to punish the earth again with a flood as a *b<sup>e</sup>rît* (Gen 9:8–17; cf. the simple promise in J Gen 8:21 and the oath, Isa 54:9). As a sign of the *b<sup>e</sup>rît*, Yahweh's rainbow should be a reminder of this assurance (Gen 9:12–17).

(d) *b<sup>e</sup>rît* also appears as a divine assurance of the continuity of the priestly office for Levi (Mal 2:4f., 8; Jer 33:21b; cf. vv 18, 22) or for Phinehas (Num 25:12f.; cf. Neh 13:29).

(e) The question, which arose following the conquest of Jerusalem and the fall of the Judean state in 587 BCE, of whether, in view of the people's disobedience, Yahweh had rescinded his *b<sup>e</sup>rît*, his promise to the fathers, received a variety of responses. According to one interpretation, Yahweh maintained his *b<sup>e</sup>rît* even in the exilic situation (Lev 26:44, with the Israelites; Jer 33:21, *b<sup>e</sup>rît* with David and Levi), he remembered his *b<sup>e</sup>rît* (Lev 26:42 [patriarchal *b<sup>e</sup>rît* ], 45 [exodus *b<sup>e</sup>rît* ]). Nonetheless, the prophets announce that Yahweh will —once again—establish a *b<sup>e</sup>rît* with his people: the promise that in the future he will protect Israel from a disaster similar to the contemporary experience (Isa 54:9f.) as he did humanity after the flood, the announcement of a happy future (Isa 61:8), the eschatological era of salvation, in which both war and natural catastrophe will be eliminated (Exod 34:25; Hos 2:20, a secondary text). Above all, however, Yahweh takes responsibility to see that the God-people relationship is never again destroyed by Israel's disobedience. Thus it is his *b<sup>e</sup>rît* = "promise" that his spirit (probably of obedience) and the words (of the law), which he has placed in the mouth of the Israelites, will never again leave them (Isa 59:21). The *b<sup>e</sup>rît* that God will never again cease to do good by them (Jer 32:29f.) stands in the context of the announcement that Yahweh will give them one heart and one way to fear him always (cf. Jer 24:7; Ezek 11:19; 36:26f.; on Jer 31:31–34 see 3d). In relation to such promises of a salvific future (cf. *b<sup>e</sup>rît šālôm* in Isa 54:10; Ezek 34:25; 37:26), reference can also

be made to an earlier *b<sup>c</sup>řît* (Ezek 16:60; cf. Isa 55:3).

3. (a) Thematically and explicitly paralleled with *tôrâ* “instruction,” *hōq* “precept,” etc. (see III/7a), *b<sup>c</sup>řît* indicates any act of the divine will in respect to people. The content of the obligation placed by God upon people is not usually further qualified; *b<sup>c</sup>řît* here often constitutes the totality of divine regulations, e.g., Isa 24:5; Hos 8:1; Psa 25:10, etc. Elsewhere the content may be derived from the context, as e.g., in Prov 2:17; cf. Exod 20:14; Deut 5:18 (Lev 20:10).

(b) In the Dtr realm the proclamation of Yahweh’s *b<sup>c</sup>řît* = “regulations, obligations” (for Israel) is associated with two places: (1) Horeb and (2) the land of Moab (cf. the juxtaposition in Deut 28:69).

(1) The Horeb *b<sup>c</sup>řît* is associated with the communication of the divine will at Sinai according to JE. Here *b<sup>c</sup>řît* indicates the Decalogue, the “ten words,” which are written on two tables (Deut 4:13; 5:2, 22 [vv 6–21 Decalogue!]; 9:9, 11, 15; 1 Kgs 8:21, also LXX v 9), deposited in the ark (1 Kgs 8:9, 21; cf. Deut 10:2; on “ark of Yahweh’s *b<sup>c</sup>řît*” see II). In other passages only the the first commandment, namely to worship no gods other than Yahweh, is specifically called *b<sup>c</sup>řît* (Deut 17:2; 29:24f.; 31:16, 20; 1 Kgs 11:11; cf. v 10; 19:10, 14 [here *b<sup>c</sup>řît* in the Dtr sense is inserted secondarily]; 2 Kgs 17:15, 35, 38; Jer 11:3f., 10; 22:9; cf. also 2 Kgs 23:3a, b and 2 Chron 34:32 with 2 Kgs 23:4ff. and 2 Chron 34:33).

(2) The concept of a *b<sup>c</sup>řît* = “obligation” that Moses places upon Israel in the land of Moab is a Dtr “exclusive” (Deut 28:69; 29:8,[11], 13, 20). The content is, to be sure, the Dtn code (cf. also Deut 15:1, 12 with Jer 34:12–14), which as a “Moab *b<sup>c</sup>řît*” is dated back to the Mosaic era, as the so-called “Covenant Book,” Exod 20:22–23:19 through Exod 24:3–8.

(c) In the exilic period the concept of a *b<sup>c</sup>řît* imposed on the patriarchs also appears for the first time; the requirement of circumcision according to P in Gen 17:9ff. (through v 10, distinguished markedly from the *b<sup>c</sup>řît* = “promise” in vv 2, 4, 7). Now the observance of the Sabbath is also described as a divine *b<sup>c</sup>řît* (Exod 31:16 Ps; Isa 56:4), and it, like the preparation of the showbread (Gen 17:13; Exod 31:16), is described as an “eternal *b<sup>c</sup>řît*” (Lev 24:8).

(d) In an express contrast to the *b<sup>c</sup>řît* = “obligation” associated with the exodus of the fathers from Egypt (see 3b[1]), which Israel violated, Jer 31:31–34 announces a *b<sup>c</sup>řît h<sup>a</sup>dāšâ*, a “new obligation,” in which Yahweh will place his instruction in the Israelites’ hearts in order to achieve compliance and to ensure the God-people relationship (see 2e).

(e) Nowhere is the act of law-giving, whether at Sinai/Horeb or in the land of Moab, described as *b<sup>c</sup>řît*, but only that which was communicated, established; there is therefore no *b<sup>c</sup>řît* in the sense of a “Sinai covenant.”

The presentation offered here places polarities such as “Sinai covenant-Davidic covenant” (cf. L. Rost, *TLZ* 72 [1947]: 129–34; M. Sekine, *VT* 9 [1959]: 47–57) and “Sinai covenant-Abrahamic covenant” (cf. W. Zimmerli, *TZ* 16 [1960]: 268–80) in a new light.

4. It is theologically significant that the OT does not know a reciprocal *b<sup>c</sup>rit* that pairs God and people—a *b<sup>c</sup>rit* in which both God and people accept mutually enforceable responsibilities (as e.g., the *b<sup>c</sup>rit* between Solomon and Hiram, 1 Kgs 5:26). The improperly termed “covenant formula” (more apt is: “identification formula”) “Yahweh the God of Israel—Israel the people of Yahweh” (cf. R. Smend, *Die Bundesformel* [1963]) describes the relationship between Yahweh and Israel with the terms “God-people,” indeed, in the sense of “Lord-servant.” In this God-people relationship only God establishes obligations. God can make the execution of his *b<sup>c</sup>rit* = “promise” dependent upon the fulfillment of particular conditions (Deut 7:9; 1 Kgs 8:23), the God-people relationship dependent upon the maintenance of his *b<sup>c</sup>rit* “obligations” (Exod 19:5; cf. Psa 132:12). But the individual cannot obligate God to keep his promise by fulfilling these conditions; the promise is guaranteed only by the fact that God stands by his word. If one understands “partners” as equals in relationship, then it is conceivable from the standpoint of the term *b<sup>c</sup>rit* to speak of a “partnership” between human and God.

V. 1. Postbibl. Hebr. uses *b<sup>c</sup>rit* in the same way as the OT (of *b<sup>c</sup>rit* in early Judaism; see J. Behm, *TDNT* 2:126–29; A. Jaubert, *La notion d’alliance dans le judaïsme* [1963]).

(a) Sir uses *b<sup>c</sup>rit* in the sense of the obligation that one assumes: of people, 41:19 (par. *ʾlh*); 44:12 (cf. P. A. H. de Boer, *FS Baumgartner* 25–29), 20 (Abraham accepts the circumcision *b<sup>c</sup>rit*); of God in respect to Noah, 44:17f., in respect to the fathers, 44:22, in respect to Aaron, 45:15 (priesthood), and Phinehas, 45:24 (high priesthood), in respect to David, 45:25.

(b) At Qumran *b<sup>c</sup>rit* occurs: (1) in a nontheological usage: as a self-imposed obligation, 1QS 1:16 (cf. 2 Kgs 23:3a), then in the expression *yqym bbryt ʾnpšw*, “he should take it upon himself through a *b<sup>c</sup>rit*” (i.e., “to separate himself from all evildoers”), 1QS 5:10 (cf. 1QH 14:17 as well as CD 16:1, 4, 9). *b<sup>c</sup>rit* should be understood as the obligation of another in the usage *bʿy bryty*, “those who have entered into my (the supplicant’s) *b<sup>c</sup>rit*” = “those obligated to me” (1QH 5:23); cf. in the same sense “the men of their (the priests’) *b<sup>c</sup>rit*,” 1QS 5:9; 6:19; 1QSa 1:2.

(2) In the theological realm *b<sup>c</sup>rit* means God’s self-obligation, promise, where God “remembers” his *b<sup>c</sup>rit* (1Q34 3:2, 5; 6Q15 3:5; CD 1:4; 6:2; 4QDibHam 5:9), “keeps” his *b<sup>c</sup>rit* (e.g., 1QM 18:7). The “promise” to the fathers (1QM 13:7; 14:8; CD 8:18 = 19:31), to David (4QDibHam 4:6), and to the priests (1QM 17:3) should also be

mentioned here. The *b<sup>c</sup>rît* “to act according to all that he (God) has commanded, and not to turn aside from him” (1QS 1:16f.) and “to separate oneself from all evildoers” (5:10, etc.) appears as an “obligation.” It is meant when one enters into the *b<sup>c</sup>rît* (*bô<sup>c</sup>* 1QS 2:12, 18, etc.; *br* 1:18, 20, etc.). The *bryt ḥdšh* (CD 6:19; 8:21; 19:33), which, according to CD 20:12 has been placed in effect (*qym pi.*) “in the land of Damascus (= Qumran?)” and into which one enters there, is also understood as an “obligation.”

(3) At Qumran *b<sup>c</sup>rît* can also describe a group of people: as in 1QS 5:11, 18 “(the evildoers) will not be reckoned to his (God’s) *b<sup>c</sup>rît*” (cf. CD 19:35: “(the apostates) will not be reckoned to the assembly of the people”); as in 1QM 14:4, where “his *b<sup>c</sup>rît*” parallels “people of his redemption” and in 17:7, where “Israel’s *b<sup>c</sup>rît*” parallels “lot/portion (= people) of God.” *b<sup>c</sup>rît* seems to be used in the same manner in Dan 11:22, 28, 30a, b (but not in 9:27 and 11:32). Both cases refer to believers, those who do the will of God.

2. The Aram. of the Tgs. renders *b<sup>c</sup>rît* (with only 3 exceptions) with *q<sup>c</sup>yām*, which no more means the “covenant,” etc. than does *b<sup>c</sup>rît*, rather the “arrangement” (cf. *qym pi.* as well as Aram. pa.).

That *q<sup>c</sup>yām* includes the full range of the meaning of *b<sup>c</sup>rît* is indicated by the fact that *q<sup>c</sup>yām* can stand not only for *b<sup>c</sup>rît* but for Hebr. *š<sup>c</sup>bû<sup>c</sup>â* “oath, vow” (e.g., Num 30:3; Deut 7:8; Hab 3:9), *nēder* “vow” (e.g., Gen 28:20; 31:13), and *ḥōq* “regulation” (e.g., Exod 18:16, 20; Psa 99:7; cf. Bibl. Aram. *q<sup>c</sup>yām* “ordinance,” Dan 6:8, 16). The translation *g<sup>c</sup>zērâ* “decision, law” (2 Kgs 17:15) or *ḥōray<sup>c</sup>tâ* “doctrine, law” (Lev 26:25; Ezek 16:61) for *b<sup>c</sup>rît* confirms the notion that the Aram. linguistic awareness could hear the nuance of “law” in *b<sup>c</sup>rît*.

On this point and on V/3–4, see E. Kutsch, “Von *b<sup>c</sup>rît* zu ‘Bund,’” *KerD* 14 (1968): 159–82.

3. The shift into the Gk. language and its conceptual world was more problematic. The LXX offers the word *diathēkē* about 267x for *b<sup>c</sup>rît* in all the possible meanings mentioned under III and IV, in 1 Kgs 11:11 *entolai* (on the other occurrences, cf. Kutsch, op. cit. 166n.27). Here *b<sup>c</sup>rît* is understood not as “covenant, contract,” etc., but properly as “arrangement, settlement”; at any rate, the translation *diathēkē* (“last will”) does account for the aspect of “last will” inherent in this subst. (as does Aristophanes, *Aves* 440f.; cf. Kutsch, op. cit. 167n.30).

In accord with this use of *diathēkē*, the LXX also uses it to render *tôrâ* “instruction” (Dan 9:13 LXX), *ēdūt* “testimony” = Decalogue (Exod 27:21; 31:7; 39:35 (= LXX v 14), *kātûb* “that written (in the [law]book of Moses)” (2 Chron 25:4). The grandson of Jesus Sirach also has *diathēkē* 8x for *b<sup>c</sup>rît* (Sir 41:19 [Rahlfs: v 20]; 44:12, 18, 20, 22 [23]; 45:15, 24f.), but also 9x for *ḥōq* and in 47:11 for *ḥuqqâ* “regulation.”

In contrast to LXX, Aquila offers *synthēkē* “covenant, contract” for *bʿrît* in at least 26 instances, with (perhaps) 3 instances of *diathēkē*. Symmachus also prefers *synthēkē* (Exod 24:7); but Theodotion, who has only 4 texts with *synthēkē*, stands closer to the LXX, if *diathēkē* (11x) does not go back to his exemplar here.

4. The Old Lat. version of the OT follows (with only a few exceptions) the LXX reading, translating *testamentum* for *bʿrît*, but distances itself in this even farther from the Hebr. concept. Jerome’s new translation of the Hebr. OT (390–405 CE) renders *bʿrît* 135x with *foedus* and 96x with *pactum* and thus follows explicitly the understanding of Aquila and Symmachus, but also perhaps of his Hebr. teachers. Occurrences of *testamentum* in the Psa are additional to the few passages with it in the Vg., since an older version of the Psalter was incorporated.

E. Kutsch

## ברך *brk* pi. **to bless**

S 1288; BDB 138b; HALOT 1:159b; TDOT 2:279–308; TWOT 285; NIDOTTE 1385

I. 1. The root *brk* is attested in NWSem. and SSem. (extensive treatment of the inscriptional material in W. Schottroff, *Der altisraelitische Fluchspruch* [1969], 178–98; and G. Wehmeier, *Der Segen im AT* [1970], 8–66).

In Akk. it is represented by *karābu* “to pray, dedicate, bless, greet” (*ikribu* “prayer, consecration; blessing”). The concept of blessing in the limited sense does not, however, play a significant role among the Babylonians, and the element of greeting dominates the usage of *karābu* (cf. B. Landsberger, *MAOG* 4 [1928/29]: 294–321; *AHW* 369f., 445f.; *CAD* I/J:62–66). An etymological relationship between *brk* and *karābu* is unlikely (cf. Old SArab. *krb* “to consecrate, sacrifice”).

The Arab. derivatives, esp. frequent in thanksgiving and greeting formulae, are all based on the ground form *baraka*, defined as a benevolent power proceeding from God, saints, and some animals, plants, or objects and guaranteeing wealth, well-being, health, and good fortune (cf. *DAFA* 1:567; pre-Islamic usage makes no connection with the activity of any gods; but the Koran attributes blessing expressly to God, probably under NWSem. influence; cf. J. Chelhod, *RHR* 148 [1955]: 81f., 87f.; A. Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʾān* [1938], 75; in popular belief the two concepts compete with one another).

The relationship of *brk* to Hebr. *berek* “knee,” on the one hand (cf. Akk. *birku*

“knee,” as well as “durability, might” and “lap,” euphemistically for the genitals, but also in the context of adoption rites; cf. Dhorme 108, 156f.; *AHw* 129a; M. Cohen, “Genou, famille, force dans le monde chamito-sémitique,” *FS Basset* 203–10), and Hebr. *b<sup>e</sup>rākâ* “pond,” on the other (cf. A. Murtonen, *VT* 9 [1959]: 164), is difficult to determine.

2. The verbal stems qal, pi., pu., hitp., and ni. are attested; *b<sup>e</sup>rākâ* functions as a subst.

Most Sem. languages exhibit only the pass. ptcp. for the qal (Ug.: *KTU* 1.19.IV.32; in Aram. this form occurs almost exclusively; cf. *DISO* 44); Pun., however, also had finite qal forms, in addition to the pi. (*KAI* no. 175.4f.; J. Friedrich, *ZDMG* 107 [1957]: 282–90); pe. forms in late Aram. dialects may, conversely, have been formed secondarily in analogy to the pe. pass. ptcp. (*MG* 215n.2).

Various Arab. forms correspond to the Hebr. pi.: *barraka* (subj. people, not in the Koran) “to pronounce a blessing” (cf. Lane 1:193) and *bāraka* (subj. God) “to impart life-sustaining power”; the 5th stem substantially approximates the ni. in meaning (“to receive blessing”; see III/3), the 10th stem the hitp. (“to request blessing”; see III/2f).

The noun is attested extrabibl. in NWSem. only rarely and in late texts (cf. *DISO* 44).

PNs composed with forms of *brk*, the thanksgiving name *berekyâ(hû)* and *barak<sup>ʿ</sup>ēl*, the wish name *y<sup>e</sup>berekyāhû*, and the short form *bārûk* (*IP* 183, 195f.), have counterparts esp. in Pun. (Harris 91) and in the later Aram. dialects (A. Caquot, *Syria* 39 [1962]: 246). *b<sup>e</sup>rākâ* in 1 Chron 12:3 should probably be emended to *berekyâ* (Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 104; contra *HAL* 154b).

II. The verb *brk* and the subst. *b<sup>e</sup>rākâ* occur 398x in the Hebr. OT:

	qal	ni.	pi.	pu.	hitp.	<i>b<sup>e</sup>rākâ</i>	total
Gen 8	3	59	–	2	16	88	
Exod 1	–	5	–	–	1	7	
Lev –	–	2	–	–	1	3	
Num 2	–	14	1	–	–	17	
Deut 9	–	28	1	1	12	51	
Josh –	–	8	–	–	2	10	
Judg 1	–	3	2	–	1	7	
1 Sam	7	–	4	–	–	2	13
2 Sam	3	–	10	1	–	1	15
1 Kgs6	–	6	–	–	–	12	
2 Kgs–	–	3	–	–	2	5	
Isa 2	–	4	–	2	4	12	

Jer	2	–	1	–	1	–	4
Ezek	1	–	–	–	–	3	4
Joel	–	–	–	–	–	1	1
Hag	–	–	1	–	–	–	1
Zech	1	–	–	–	–	1	2
Mal	–	–	–	–	–	2	2
Psa	17	–	52	4	1	9	83
Job	–	–	7	1	–	1	9
Prov	1	–	3	2	–	8	14
Ruth	4	–	1	–	–	–	5
Ezra	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
Neh	–	–	4	–	–	2	6
1 Chron	2	–	13	1	–	–	16
2 Chron	3	–	5	–	–	2	10
OT	71	3	233	13	7	71	398

The topographical designation *‘ēmeq b<sup>‘</sup>rākâ* (2x in 2 Chron 20:26) is counted among the occurrences of the noun, but the PN *b<sup>‘</sup>rākâ* in 1 Chron 12:3 (see I/2) is not. The inf. abs. *bārôk* (Josh 24:10, otherwise *bārēk*) belongs to the pi., not to the qal.

*brk* occurs in Bibl. Aram. only in Dan (1x pe. pass. ptcp., 3x pa.).

The root occurs with remarkable frequency in the patriarchal narratives of Gen (82x) and in Deut, while it disappears entirely in the legal portions of the Pentateuch (occurrences in Num are limited to the Balaam pericope, 14x, and the Aaronite blessing, 3x). More than half of the occurrences in the Psa concern the praise of God. In the narrative books a relatively high number of forms are used in the context of greetings and good wishes. The noun occurs relatively often in texts influenced by wisdom. In the prophetic literature the root plays a nonessential role (26x).

III. One usually assumes a basic meaning (with reference primarily to the Arab. *baraka*) “benevolent power, health-creating power.” *bārûk* (see III/1) would accordingly be “one who is gifted with health-creating power,” the pi. (see III/2) would mean “to gift someone with health-creating power or to declare someone so gifted,” the ni. (see III/3) “to experience health-creating power,” and *b<sup>‘</sup>rākâ* would be the “health-creating power” as such (see III/4).

Cf. Th. Plassmann, *Signification of B<sup>‘</sup>rākâ* (1913); S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* 5 (1924); id., *Psalms in Israel's Worship* (1962), 2:44–48; J. Hempel, “Die israelitischen Anschauungen von Segen und Fluch im Lichte altorientalischer Parallelen,” *ZDMG* 79 (1925): 20–110 = *Apoxysmata* (1961), 30–113; *ILC* 1–2:182–212; F. Horst, “Segen und Segenshandlungen in der Bibel,” *EvT* 7 (1947/48): 23–37 = *Gottes Recht* (1961), 188–202; id., *RGG* 5:1649–51; J. Scharbert, *Bib* 39 (1958): 17–26; id., *Solidarität in Segen und Fluch im AT und in seiner Umwelt* (1958); A. Murtonen, “Use and Meaning

of the Words lebErek and berEkEh,” VT 9 (1959): 158–77; C. Westermann, *Blessing in the Bible and the Life of the Church* (1978); G. Wehmeier, *Der Segen im AT* (1970).

This interpretation is probably basically correct; still it must be emphasized that health-creating power is often associated to a prominent degree with the effective *word*, particularly when people bless others (cf. Horst, op. cit.). Besides, one can ask to what degree the concept of health-creating *power* (alongside divine action) was actually still current (cf. the most probable instance, Isa 65:8).

1. (a) The qal pass. ptcp. *bārûk* indicates the state of possessing the *b<sup>ê</sup>rākâ* (not the result of a preceding act of blessing; this status is expressed by the pu.; see III/2e; cf. *HP* 216f.). As a rule *bārûk* is used as a predicate in a nom. sentence; indicative forms of *hyh* “to demonstrate oneself” are added only twice (Gen 27:33; Deut 7:14; both cases express the nuance “to prove oneself to be truly *bārûk*”).

In 63 (of 71) cases, *bārûk* is used in a pronouncedly formulaic manner, indeed, as a rule, emphatically at the beginning of an utterance (58x; also *y<sup>ê</sup>hî* “may he be . . . *bārûk*”: 1 Kgs 10:9 = 2 Chron 9:8; Prov 5:18; Ruth 2:19; negated in Jer 20:14). Of these 63 cases, 38 refer to God (also the Aram. *b<sup>ê</sup>rîk* in Dan 3:28) and 25 to people (and things pertaining to them: Deut 28:4, offspring, v 5 basket; 1 Sam 25:33, cleverness; Jer 20:14, day of birth).

On the formal structure of the Israelite blessing and its form-critical development, cf. W. Schottroff, *Die altisraelitische Fluchspruch* (1969), 163–77.

The remaining 8 cases refer to people: 3x in the cs. phrase “blessed of Yahweh” (Gen 24:31; 26:29; pl. Isa 65:23) and 5x in a simple declaration that someone is “blessed” (Gen 27:29 and Num 24:9, “whoever blesses you will be blessed”; Gen 27:33, “he shall remain blessed”; Num 22:12, “you may not curse the people, for they are blessed”; 1 Kgs 2:45, a blessing formula with a prefixed subj., Solomon).

A regular antonym for *bārûk* is *ʔārûr* (→ *ʔr*; Gen 9:25f.; 27:29; Num 24:9; Deut 28:3–6 par. vv 16–19; Jer 17:7 par. v 5; 20:14).

(b) In reference to people, *bārûk* has largely the same meaning as *ʔašrê* “happy” (→ *ʔšr*; cf. Jer 17:7 with Psa 40:5) and was apparently replaced in later times by this word. *bārûk* (in this sense the LXX generally rendered it by *eulogēmenos*) is, first, an exclamation of thankfulness and admiration, and, at the same time, a felicitation (Gen 14:19; 1 Sam 23:21; 25:33; 26:25; 2 Sam 2:5; Ruth 2:19f.; 3:10; cf. Prov 5:18, “may your fountain [= wife] be *bārûk*,” i.e., a source of joy). The one designated as *bārûk* is the originator of a healthful situation and therefore the object of

praise and thanks. The one praised is preferably associated with God: *bārûk ʾattâ Iʿyhwh* “you are, thanks to Yahweh, a doer of good,” i.e., equipped by Yahweh with benevolent power (1 Sam 15:13; fem.: Ruth 3:10; pl.: 1 Sam 23:21; 2 Sam 2:5; Psa 115:15; 3d per.: Gen 14:19; Judg 17:2; Ruth 2:20; cf. also the cs. phrase “blessed of Yahweh,” see 1a, further Num 22:12; Psa 118:26). In Judg 17:2, the exclamation *bārûk bʿnî Iʿyhwh* is the mother’s protective measure against a curse threatening the son.

The *le* in the expression *leyhwh* is often interpreted as a *lamed* auctoris and *bārûk* is understood passively as a wish (“may X be blessed by Yahweh”). In Aram. burial and memorial inscriptions, however, *bryk l* and *bryk qdm* (“blessed is/may be X to”) alternate without significant difference in meaning (cf. *RES* 1788 with *KAI* nos. 267, 269; *RES* 608, 960–62, 1366 with *RES* 1364, 1368, 1370, 1376, etc.; cf. also the expression *brk l* “to bless someone to a deity” = “to recommend someone to a particular deity with the request that the deity bless the individual,” Phoen. *KAI* no. 50.2; Eg. Aram. *RHR* 130:17:2f.; Hermop. nos. 1–6, with the addition in each case of “that she [the deity] may let me see your face again”; perhaps also in Ug. *KTU* 1.17.I.23; cf. *UT* no. 517; C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature* [1949], 86; also Hebr. *brk* pi. *lipnʾyhwh*, Gen 27:7). This construction may correspond to the OT usage, so that the *le* should also be understood here in the sense of a *lamed* relationis: “complete blessing with Yahweh” (cf. J. Scharbert, *Bib* 39 [1958]: 21f.: “may X be one for Yahweh to bless”). The fact that syntactically analogous curse formulae are formed with *lipnʾ* supports this interpretation (Josh 6:26; 1 Sam 26:19 pl.; cf. Num 5:16; 1 Kgs 8:13).

Also in relation to people, the formula that begins with *bārûk* in Deut 7:14 and 28:3–6 (v 5 in reference to fruit basket and kneading trough) describes the Israelites and their activity as crowned with success, although only to the degree that they adhere to the instructions of Yahweh. The sixfold repetition of the word in Deut 28:3–6 (cf. the corresponding sixfold *ʾārûr* “cursed” in Deut 28:16–19 and the twelvefold *ʾārûr* in Deut 27:15–26) clearly indicates the character of the effectual, energizing word (cf. the triple repetition of *bārûk* in 1 Sam 25:32f. and the double in Gen 14:19f.; cf. also 1 Kgs 10:8f. = 2 Chron 9:7f. with *bārûk* alongside a double *ʾašrê*). These presumably cultic series concern the creation of a virtual well-being zone (or, for *ʾārûr*, an illness zone), formed in accordance with the behavior of the Israelites. The *bārûk* formula in Jer 17:7 (alongside *ʾārûr*), which resembles wisdom diction (cf. Psa 40:5), also belongs in this context.

(c) In reference to God, *bārûk* (in this sense the LXX generally rendered it with *eulogētos*; Exod 18:9f.; 1 Kgs 5:21; Zech 11:5; cf. J. Hempel, *ZDMG* 79 [1925]: 88f.) is an even more joyous exclamation of thanksgiving and admiration. The basis of joy is as a rule specifically cited, introduced with *ʾašer* (Gen 14:20; 24:27; Exod 18:10; 1 Sam 25:32, 39; 2

Sam 18:28; 1 Kgs 1:48; 5:21; 8:15 = 2 Chron 6:4; 1 Kgs 8:56; 10:9 = 2 Chron 9:8; Psa 66:20; Ruth 4:14; Ezra 7:27; 2 Chron 2:11), *še-* (Psa 124:6), *kî* (Psa 28:6; 31:22), a ptcp. (Psa 72:18; 144:1), or an asyndetic clause (Zech 11:5). One occasionally addresses God directly: “you are *bārûk*” (Psa 119:12; 1 Chron 29:10).

God is *bārûk* because he gives all sorts of beneficial things: a king (1 Kgs 1:48), indeed, a wise king (1 Kgs 5:21; 10:9 = 2 Chron 9:8), rest (1 Kgs 8:56), might (Psa 68:36), good thoughts (Ezra 7:27); because he keeps faith (Gen 24:27; Psa 31:22; 66:20; Ruth 4:14), grants victory (Gen 14:20; 2 Sam 18:28), sends an enraged man a wise woman (1 Sam 25:32), then sees to justice himself (1 Sam 25:39), teaches the art of war (Psa 144:1), hears prayers (Psa 28:6; 66:20), does wonders (Psa 72:18), fulfills promises (1 Kgs 8:15), and, finally, even apparently gives a scoundrel opportunity to become rich (Zech 11:5). All this may be summarized to a degree in the lapidary formula *bārûk šēm k<sup>e</sup>bôdô* (Psa 72:19).

Such an exclamation is not linked solely to a particular cultic situation: it forces itself to the lips whenever the individual suddenly finds himself/herself before a demonstration of the benevolent might of God. One can say, therefore, that one “blesses God (in prayer)” (Gen 24:27; Psa 135:19–21; 1 Chron 29:9f.), or also—typically—that one “blesses people” (Gen 14:19f.; 1 Kgs 1:47f.; 8:14f., 55f.). All cases concern a declaration of God as *bārûk* on the basis of a concrete demonstration of his might. One of the analogous usages of *bārûk* mentioned in 1b above is excluded from usage in reference to God: one cannot call him *bārûk* sub conditione.

2. (a) In the pi. *brk* has various shades of meaning, primarily factitive and declarative-estimative, according to whether God (see 2d) or people (with people as obj., see 2b; with God as obj., see 2c) are subjects; the pu. (see 2e) and the hitp. (see 2f) offer the corresponding pass. and reflexive meanings.

Of the 233 occurrences, 97 concern God’s blessing activity (incl. Gen 48:16: angel; Gen 32:27, 30: man; Gen 49:25; txt em *ʔēl šadday*), 136 concern human activity (incl. Psa 103:20–22: heavenly beings, creation). God is the grammatical subj. of finite verbs in 87 cases (in addition to 4x impv., 4x inf. abs., 2x inf. cs.), people are the subj. 85x (incl. Job 31:20: loins of the poor; in addition to 26x impv., 5x inf. abs., 15x inf. cs., 5x ptcp.).

The 6 cases that use *brk* pi. euphemistically for “to curse” (1 Kgs 21:10, 13; Job 1:5, 11; 2:5, 9) may be mentioned first. Regarding the fact that the OT never has God as the obj. of a verb for “to curse,” except in prohibitions (cf. the commandment Exod 22:27; Lev 24:15; further Isa 8:21; 1 Sam 3:13 txt?), cf. J. Hempel, *ZDMG* 79 (1925): 91; as well as Schottroff, op. cit. 165.

Outside the OT and the texts under its influence, NWSem. uses the finite verb *brk* almost exclusively with particular deities as the subj. The notion that a person may bless (= pronounce a blessing formula) may, however, be attested in Ug. by *KTU* 1.19.IV.32 (Pġt asks her father or the gods for the blessing). The meaning “to praise (God)” is entirely absent. Ug. parallels *brk* with *mrr* “to strengthen” (*KTU* 1.15.II.14f., 19f.; 1.19.IV.32f., I.23f., 34f.), clearly demonstrating that the primary meaning is “to equip with life-force.” In Pun. *ḥnn* “to demonstrate grace” parallels *brk* once (*CIS* 1:5891.2f.); in *CIS* 1:196.5 this verb replaces the *brk* common in the closing wishes of dedicatory inscriptions.

The content of blessing is usually not distinctly cited; it is already contained in the verb itself. Exceptions use either a double acc. (Gen 49:25; Deut 12:7; 15:14; Isa 19:25; cf. *KAI* no. 26A.III.2f.) or introduce the content with *be* (Psa 29:11; cf. *KAI* no. 26C.III.16f.; *ANET* 654a); in all other cases this prep. indicates the realm in which the blessing is bestowed (Gen 24:1; Deut 2:7; 14:29; 15:4, 10, 18; 16:15; 23:21; 24:19; 28:8; 30:16; contra J. Scharbert, *Bib* 39 [1958]: 21n.5).

(b) In everyday Israelite speech, *brk* pi. (subj.: people, obj.: people) means, first, quite simply “to greet” (Gen 47:7; 1 Sam 13:10; 25:14; 2 Sam 6:20; 2 Kgs 4:29; 10:15; Prov 27:14; 1 Chron 16:43), “to bid farewell” (Gen 24:60; 28:1; 32:1; 47:10; Josh 22:6f.; 2 Sam 13:25; 19:40; cf. Ug. *KTU* 1.15.III.17), or “to congratulate” (Exod 39:43; 2 Sam 8:10 = 1 Chron 18:10; 1 Kgs 1:47; Neh 11:2; oneself: Psa 49:19), “to wish well” (Josh 14:13), “to thank” (Deut 24:13; 2 Sam 14:22; Job 31:20), or “to honor thankfully” (Prov 30:11). The use of the verbs often seems to have lost much of its vigor; indeed, the most correct usage would be the locution “to pronounce someone *bārûk*” (cf. Arab. *barraka*, further Arab. *kabbara* “to declare Allah *akbar*,” *sallama* “to declare someone *salām*”; cf. D. R. Hillers, “Delocutive Verbs in Biblical Hebrew,” *JBL* 86 [1967]: 320–24), i.e., originally, to describe one as benevolently active and as possessor of health-creating power. Indeed, one said “*bārûk ʾattā*” or “*bārûk yhwḥ*” (cf. 1 Kgs 1:47f.) or also *y<sup>c</sup>bārek<sup>c</sup>kā yhwḥ* “Yahweh bless you!” (Jer 31:23) or *yhwḥ ʿimm<sup>c</sup>kā* “May Yahweh be with you!” (Ruth 2:4). Mention is occasionally made of embracing the departing (*nšq* Gen 32:1; 2 Sam 19:40), bowing before superiors (2 Sam 14:22), and perhaps also on parting prior to marriage, offering a lengthy blessing (Gen 24:60).

Such declarations of *bārûk*, “greeting,” “bidding farewell,” and “congratulating” were also made, naturally, in the realm of cultic encounters or in encounters with “holy” persons. To be mentioned here are e.g., Melchizedek’s “greeting” to Abraham (Gen 14:19, with an extended *bārûk* formula), or the “farewell” of the priest Eli to Elkanah (1 Sam 2:20, with a wish formula). At the beginning of cultic assemblies one “greeted” the participants (Josh 8:33; 1 Kgs 8:14f.; in the course of a procession, Psa

118:26), at the end one “dismissed” them with blessing formulae (Lev 9:22; 2 Sam 6:18; 1 Kgs 8:55; Psa 129:8). Examples of the formulae are *bārûk yhwh* (1 Kgs 8:15, 56), *b<sup>ê</sup>rûkîm <sup>l</sup>attem* (Psa 115:15), *birkat-yhwh <sup>l</sup>êkem* (Psa 129:8), or *y<sup>ê</sup>bārek<sup>ê</sup>kā yhwh* (Num 6:24, with the extended, tripartite formula of the priestly blessing with the doubled appeal to the “face of Yahweh,” i.e., his wellness-creating presence). In these cultic contexts the actual wellness-creating character of the *bārûk* pronouncement was probably more vivid than usual.

The one who pronounces the formula “places himself/herself” before the congregation (1 Kgs 8:55; Josh 8:33), “spreads his/her arms over them” (Lev 9:22), and “speaks with a loud voice” (1 Kgs 8:55). Then “one places the name of Yahweh on the people” (Num 6:27). Perhaps the only passage in which a prophet “blesses” a cultic meal (1 Sam 9:13) should be mentioned in this context. Samuel presumably “blesses” not the meat but the participants in the sacrificial meal; cf. J. Scharbert, *Bib* 39 (1958): 24; contra J. Hempel, *ZDMG* 79 (1925): 35; F. Horst, *EvT* 7 (1947/48): 25; A. Murtonen, *VT* 9 (1959): 163.

In the course of the cultic assembly, absentees could also be included in the “congratulation” (Exod 12:32; cf. *pll hitp. b<sup>ê</sup>cad* “to make intercession for” par. to *brk pi.* in Psa 72:15).

The Balaam pericope deals with a cultic congratulation of a special kind (Num 22–24). Instead of “cursing” (*ʔr*, Num 22:6; 24:9; *qbb*, 23:11, 25; 24:10; *z<sup>ʕ</sup>m*, 23:7f.), the man with access to extraordinary powers must declare Israel *bārûk*, because—as God observes at the very outset—it is already irrevocably *bārûk* (22:12).

Of supreme importance for people in the ancient Near East is one’s final “farewell” before death (Gen 27; 48; 49; Deut 33). In the case of such a “farewell” and “well-wishing,” *brk pi.* seems to acquire an expressly factitive sense (cf. *HP* 216f.): through the pronouncement of *bārûk* one makes the addressees *bārûk*; this result is at least the original intention of the custom. This intention is the reason for the measures designed to amplify the “power” to be transferred (the meal of Isaac), for the emphasis upon the exact identification of the recipient (Gen 27:24; 48:8f.; cf. the careful naming of the sons and tribes in Gen 49 and Deut 33), for the embrace (Gen 27:26f.), and for the laying on of hands (Gen 48:14). The well-considered choice of the formulae pronounced indicates, however, that these formulae did not simply involve a transferral of power; these formulae refer primarily to fertility, well-being, and victory over the enemies.

(c) 40x (27x in Psa) people (or God’s creation, Psa 103:20–22) “bless” God, i.e., declare him *bārûk* (in addition to the Aram. Dan 2:19; 4:31, see also the euphemistic usage of *brk pi.* [see 2a], and Isa 66:3 “to worship an idol”). Par. expressions indicate that the usage deals primarily

with a laudatory “thanksgiving”: *hll* pi. “to praise” (Psa 145:2; cf. 135:1, 19f.), to proclaim praise (*tehilla*®; 66:8; 145:21; cf. 34:2), *ydh* hi. “to praise” (100:4; 145:10), to exclaim the name of Yahweh (63:5), *šr* “to sing” and *bšr* pi. “to proclaim” (96:2), to exalt Yahweh (145:1), to remember his benevolent deeds (103:2).

Since this meaning is to be expected for the declarative pi. (“to designate God as *bārûk*”; cf. Gen 24:27, *bārûk yhw* with the summary in v 48 “and I blessed Yahweh”), the assumption that this usage of the word described first a process intended to intensify God’s power (so e.g., S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* [1924], 5:27–30; S. H. Blank, *HUCA* 32 [1962]: 85–90) becomes unnecessary, esp. since this usage may not be demonstrated otherwise in Sem. and it apparently rests upon an inner-Hebr. semantic development. Derivatively, *brk* pi. can also accompany other objs. (Psa 10:3 “he praises success,” txt em; 49:19 “he praises himself”; Isa 66:3 “he worships an idol”).

For such a “blessing” one prostrates oneself before Yahweh (Gen 24:48; Neh 8:6; 1 Chron 29:20), or one stands up (Neh 9:5), positions oneself in the temple (Psa 34:2, anytime; 134:1, at night), in the midst of the assembly (Psa 26:12; 68:27), in unison with the whole creation (Psa 145:10; 103:20–22), while one cries “*bārûk yhw*” (Gen 24:27; Psa 135:18–21; 1 Chron 29:9f.). Grounds for this laudatory thanksgiving are personal experiences (Gen 24:48), the experience of victory over the enemies (Josh 22:33; Judg 5:2, 9), or—in the Psa—anything at all, for which Israel has God to thank.

(d) In 80 of 97 cases with *brk* pi. and a divine subject, the discussion concerns the fact that God “blesses” or “may bless” people (Gen 25x, Deut 19x, Psa 14x), in 17 cases the blessing of God extends to animals (Gen 1:22; cf. Deut 7:13) and things (Sabbath: Gen 2:3; Exod 20:11; house and field, work and harvest, etc.: Gen 27:27; 39:5; Exod 23:25; Deut 7:13b; 28:12; 33:11; Jer 31:23; Hag 2:19; Psa 28:9; 65:11; 132:15[bis]; Job 1:10; Prov 3:33): God makes people and things *bārûk*, he furnishes them with the power of fertility and growth, he grants life, happiness, and success.

*brk* pi. in these texts is often paralleled by a whole series of verbs such as “to make fruitful, to multiply” (Gen 17:20, etc.), “to love, to multiply” (Deut 7:13), “to grant life, to multiply” (Deut 30:16), “to protect, to cause the face to shine, to lift the countenance, to grant *šālôm* (→ *šlm*)” (Num 6:23–27), but esp. → *ntn* “to give” (children and riches, Gen 17:16; 24:34; 28:3f.; 48:3f.; Psa 29:11); also e.g., “to pour out grace” (Psa 45:3), “to help” (Gen 49:25), “to establish the gates” (Psa 147:13), “to be with you” (Gen 26:3, 24), etc. The expression “to grant *šālôm*” summarizes the blessing activity of God (Psa 29:11; cf. Hempel, op. cit. 51ff., but also Westermann, *Blessing* 22).

It is clear that such activity of God often appears as a wish formulated by people, i.e., as a felicitation and benediction, e.g., for Isaac (Gen 28:3),

Jacob (Gen 48:16; 49:25), Moses (Deut 1:11; cf. 33:11), or anyone at all in daily life, on greeting (Ruth 2:4), and, finally, also in the cult (Psa 29:11; 67:2, 7f.; 115:12f.; 128:5; 134:3; Num 6:24), occasionally in the form of a prayer addressed directly to God (Psa 5:13; 28:9; 109:28; Deut 26:15; 33:11). This phenomenon indicates a close association between God's "blessing" and human speech: God's activity can be actualized through human speech, it can be ignited by it.

Many texts demonstrate therefore that God's health-creating act can be in response to human deed and speech: the hearing of prayer (Gen 17:20; cf. 32:27, 30) or the fulfillment of the blessing pronounced by the priests (Num 6:27). In addition, God "blesses" those who "bless" his elect (Gen 12:3), and he "blesses" other people for the sake of the chosen (Gen 26:24; 30:27; cf. 39:5), i.e., he creates well-being and success for them. God is certainly the author of beneficial activity; yet the person must also affirm this activity (cf. Psa 109:17).

Deut (cf. already Gen 22:17) esp. emphasizes the close relationship between human action and divine blessing: if Israel fully subjects itself to Yahweh's instructions, he will "bless (it) in all its undertakings," i.e., cause everything to succeed for it, in the city, in the field, at the beginning of work, at its end, etc. (e.g., Deut 7:13; 14:29; 15:10, 18; 23:21; 24:19; 30:16; cf. 27:1–14). Conversely, Yahweh's blessing is a motivation for the joyous fulfillment of his instructions (12:7; 15:4, 6, 14; 16:10, 15, etc.).

In this sense the psalmist confesses: "You bless the righteous" (Psa 5:13), just as Job is richly rewarded for his faithfulness (Job 42:12).

Despite the close interaction between human and divine word and deed, both the old patriarchal tradition (Gen 12:1–3) and the later P (Gen 1:28; 5:2; 9:1; 17:16) teach that in the final analysis all "blessing," i.e., all benevolent power, the source of fertility, victory, and well-being, is based on God's free decision, grounded only in himself, and on his word, which actualizes this decision (cf. H. Junker, *BETL* 12 [1959]: 548–58; C. Westermann, *BHH* 3:1757f.). Perhaps one should add 2 Sam 6:12, where Yahweh "blesses (Obed-Edom) for the sake of the ark," i.e., bestows well-being (according to 1 Chron 26:4f.: eight sons) on account of his own presence.

(e) The pu. is the pass. conjugation corresponding to the pi. In reference to people (Num 22:6; Psa 37:22; 112:2; 128:4; Prov 20:21; 22:9) or things (Deut 33:13, land; 2 Sam 7:29b = 1 Chron 17:27b, the Davidic dynasty), it means "someone (something) has been blessed." Num 22:6 ("he, whom you bless, is blessed," par. *yû'ār* "he receives a curse") and 1 Chron 17:27 ("for you, Yahweh, have blessed it"; cf. 2 Sam 7:29 "through your blessing") speak, then, expressly of a prior act of blessing. God's authorship of the blessing is otherwise either directly stated (Deut 33:13;

Psa 37:22) or implied by the context (Psa 112:2; 128:4; Prov 20:21; 22:9).

The pu. ptc. appears in Psa 113:2; Job 1:21; Aram. Dan 2:20 in the function that the pi. pl. impv. has otherwise (cf. Psa 113:1 *hal'êlû*): people are summoned to praise God. All three cases employ the juss.: “May the name of Yahweh (God) be praised.” The same usage, in reference to a king, should apparently be assumed for Psa 72:17 (txt em according to LXX).

Par. to the call to the cultic curse against Meroz (Judg 5:23; cf. 21:5), Judg 5:24(bis) probably deals with a call to carry out a blessing ritual for Jael.

(f) The hitp. (reflexive pi. with *t* -prefix) means quite generally “to make or call oneself *bārûk*.” Deut 29:18 is rather unequivocal in this regard: as a countermeasure against a threatening curse one calls oneself *bārûk* “protected” (cf. Num 22:12; 23:8) by declaring: “I have *šālôm*” (i.e., nothing can happen to me). The formula *brk* hitp. *be* “to make oneself happy through (mention of another, particularly blessed person, or God in a blessing)” is a favorite appeal to this other person as a model (Gen 22:18; 26:4; Jer 4:2 refers to Israel; cf. Rudolph, HAT 12, 31; Psa 72:17) or source (Isa 65:16[bis], God) of benevolent power (cf. Gen 48:20; Prov 10:7). The translation of A. Murtonen (VT 9 [1959]: 172), “to consider oneself fortunate on account of,” is much too weak.

3. The ni. occurs only 3x in the patriarchal narratives (Gen 12:3b; 18:18; 28:14). It is often understood as a pass. (e.g., Zorell 130a; cf. von Rad, *Gen*, OTL [1972], 160) or in the sense of the hitp. (“to wish for blessing for oneself,” e.g., HAL 153; H. Gunkel, *Gen* [19103], 165). Yet the usage of this conjugation—in contrast to the pu. and hitp.—probably emphasizes its specific meaning. It indicates an action completed on the subj., without viewing the subj. itself (hitp.) or another person (pu.) as the author of the action (cf. H. Junker, BETL 12/13 [1959], 553). *brk* ni. means, then, “to experience blessing, participate in blessing,” etc. (cf. J. Schreiner, BZ 6 [1962]: 7; O. Procksch, *Gen* [19243], 96f.).

Gen 12:3b means, then, “by you shall all the families of the earth gain blessing.” This is the only meaning possible for Gen 18:18; God’s monologue inserted by the Yahwist in the narrative (18:17f.) is meant to explain God’s desire to include Abraham in his secrets; he does so because Abraham plays a significant role in his plan of salvation: “through him shall all families of the earth gain blessing.” Gen 28:14 renews the same promise for Jacob and his descendants.

4. (a) Like *brk* pi., the subst. *b<sup>ê</sup>rākâ* occurs in a multitude of meanings. The OT seems to use *b<sup>ê</sup>rākâ* only in some relationship to God’s action, not simply to indicate the power of growth and increase (corresponding to Arab. *baraka*; see 1a), except perhaps in Isa 65:8.

God's intention not to destroy his whole people is manifest here in an idiom from the language of the vinedresser; the proverb is best understood from the standpoint of the second pruning of the vine (Dalman, *AuS* 4:312f., 330f.) in which infertile vines are removed; the vines that promise to bear fruit should be left uncut: "As is said, when one finds sap in the vine: Do not ruin it, there is life in it."

(b) In approximately 25 cases *b<sup>ē</sup>rākā* indicates the effective *bārûk*-declaration directed by people to people (Gen 27:12–41, 6x; Deut 11:26f., 29; 23:6 = Neh 13:2; Deut 28:2; 30:1, 19; 33:1; Josh 8:34; Ezek 44:30; Mal 2:2; Job 29:13; Prov 10:6f.; 11:11, 26; 24:25; perhaps also Gen 49:28), i.e., the benevolent word of blessing (cf. the programmatic phrase in Prov 11:11 "through the *bārûk* saying of the righteous the city will be exalted.")

In Gen 27:12 the pair of terms *b<sup>ē</sup>rākā* and *q<sup>ā</sup>lālā* indicate both the blessing or curse saying and the resulting success or failure: "Then I brought on myself curse (pronouncement and power) and not blessing (pronouncement and power)." The same double meaning may also be present in the other usages of *b<sup>ē</sup>rākā* in the context of Gen 27 (vv 35–38, 41). The marked objective character of blessing here (v 35, "your brother has taken your blessing"; cf. v 36a; v 36b, "have you not reserved a blessing for me?") may be largely attributed to the adoption of a pre-Israelite exemplar of the narrative (cf. E. A. Speiser, *JBL* 74 [1955]: 252–56).

2 Kgs 18:31 = Isa 36:16, "make *b<sup>ē</sup>rākā* with me = let us exchange blessings"—an invitation to an official peace treaty—presumably also belongs here (cf. A. Murtonen, *VT* 9 [1959]: 173f.; according to J. Scharbert, *Bib* 39 [1958]: 19, *b<sup>ē</sup>rākā* should be understood here as "allegiance"; cf. 2 Sam 14:22; 1 Kgs 1:47).

(c) In 6 or 7 passages *b<sup>ē</sup>rākā* indicates a gift. At issue here is a *bārûk*-declaration in the form of a gift; derivatives of the root *brk* are often closely associated with the idea of giving.

Caleb bequeaths his daughter a *b<sup>ē</sup>rākā* (Josh 15:19 = Judg 1:15), Jacob brings Esau a *b<sup>ē</sup>rākā* (Gen 33:11), just as Abigail brings David (1 Sam 25:27), David, the elders of Judah (1 Sam 30:26), and Naaman, Elisha (2 Kgs 5:15). In Prov 11:25 *nepes<sup>š</sup> b<sup>ē</sup>rākā* is presumably a person who gives gifts. 1 Kgs 10:8–10 explicitly links *bārûk*-declarations to gift giving.

(d) In Neh 9:5 and 2 Chron 20:26(bis), *b<sup>ē</sup>rākā* indicates the people's laudatory thanksgiving of God, the laudatory *bārûk*- declaration (Neh 9:5, "and they praise (*brk* pi.) the majestic name, which is exalted above all glory (*b<sup>ē</sup>rākā*) and all praise (*tehilla*®)"; 2 Chron 20:26 "explains" the place-name *ēmeq b<sup>ē</sup>rākā* with reference to the praise offered there). This usage apparently developed only secondarily from the usage of *brk* pi. in the

sense of “to praise” (see 2c). In Judaism this type of usage of the term became the most common: *b<sup>ē</sup>rākā* = “benediction” (cf. the Mishnah tractate *Berakot*).

(e) In 23 cases *b<sup>ē</sup>rākā* is associated with Yahweh, particularly as a summary of his health-creating activity (“Yahweh gives blessing,” etc., Gen 28:4; Exod 32:29; Lev 25:21; Deut 28:8; Isa 44:3 par. *rūaḥ* “spirit”; Joel 2:14; Mal 3:10; Psa 21:4; 133:3 par. *ḥayyîm* “life”; “from Yahweh” Psa 24:5 par. *š<sup>ē</sup>dāqā* “righteousness”; “Yahweh’s blessing,” etc., Gen 39:5; Deut 12:15; 16:17; 33:23 par. *rāšôn* “good fortune”; 2 Sam 7:29; Psa 3:9 par. *y<sup>ē</sup>šû<sup>‘</sup>ā* “salvation”; 129:8; Prov 10:22; mediated by various natural powers, Gen 49:25 3x; Ezek 34:26b; Psa 84:7). Many texts deal more emphatically with the transmission of power (*šwh* pi. “to regulate,” Lev 25:21; Deut 28:8; Psa 133:3; “to pour out,” Isa 44:3; cf. Mal 3:10), others focus upon its effects, namely fertility of the fields and well-being among people (Gen 39:5; Deut 12:15; 16:17; 33:23; Joel 2:14; Mal 3:10; Psa 21:4; Prov 10:22), the status of the recipient of the promise (Gen 28:4), and of the priest (Exod 32:29), and the continuation of the dynasty (2 Sam 7:29). The statement made in a few passages that Yahweh “pours” the *b<sup>ē</sup>rākā* may be related somehow to the occasional appearance of the *b<sup>ē</sup>rākā* as vitalizing rain, dew, etc. (Gen 49:25a; Ezek 34:26b; Psa 84:7). In a land like Israel, God’s beneficial rule is understandably experienced, among other ways, in the distribution of the rains; yet this usage should not mislead one to see the central meaning of the word in this element.

(f) Theologically interesting, if not easy to interpret, are the 5 cases (in addition to Ezek 34:26a txt?), where people appear as *b<sup>ē</sup>rākā* for others: Gen 12:2; (Abraham for the nations); Isa 19:24 (Israel in the midst of the world); Zech 8:13 (Israel among the nations); Psa 37:26 (the descendants of the righteous for their fellows); Psa 21:7 (pl., the king for his people). In Psa 37:26 *b<sup>ē</sup>rākā* status is brought about through God’s health-creating word and deed. The people characterized as *b<sup>ē</sup>rākā* are truly *b<sup>ē</sup>rūkîm*, i.e., the essence of benevolence and well-being (cf. Psa 21:7), and are therefore, on the one hand, a source of well-being for others (so H. Junker, *BETL* 12/13 [1959]: 553; contra J. Scharbert, *Bib* 39 [1958]: 25: a proverbial example in blessings), and on the other hand, an incarnate blessing, “through which” one calls others and oneself *bārûk*.

(g) In a few passages *b<sup>ē</sup>rākā* (or the pl.) indicates the status of “good fortune,” whether the result of human *bārûk*-saying or of divine *bārûk*-making.

According to Prov 28:20, the one who acts faithfully is *rab-b<sup>ē</sup>rākôt* “rich in well-being” (or “rich in pronouncements of blessing”?); opposite: “whoever seeks to become

rich quickly does not avoid injury”; cf. Prov 28:27, where “rich in curses” is the opposite of “without want”). Psa 109:17 uses the word in its double meaning: “Whoever does not love the *b<sup>ṣ</sup>rākā* (= the benediction) distances himself/herself from it (i.e., the *b<sup>ṣ</sup>rākā* as well-being effected by the benediction).” The *b<sup>ṣ</sup>rākôt* in Gen 49:26(bis) should also presumably be perceived as well-being resulting from a *bārûk*- declaration (cf. v 25).

IV. The overview of the theological usage of the word group in the individual layers of the OT may be divided, in accordance with the three major categories of usage, into treatments of God’s blessing (IV/1; see esp. III/1a, 2a, d, e, 3, 4e), blessing through human agency (IV/2; see III/1a, 2b, f, 4b, c) and the praise of God (IV/3; see III/1c, 2c, e, 4d).

1. OT language concerning God’s blessing has *brk* first (a) in the adaptation of pre-Yahwistic traditions, then (b), esp. in the promises to the patriarchs in Gen in J and P, (c) in Deut, and (e) in wisdom, while *brk* fades in significance (d) in the prophetic literature.

(a) A few passages preserve the memory that the blessing is not a specifically Israelite phenomenon, but one that also occurs among the neighbors of God’s people (esp. in Num 22–24; cf. particularly 22:6). The OT also unabashedly incorporates materials that show that blessing was originally understood as a substance effective in itself (Gen 27: the dying father transfers his life-force to his son; Gen 32: Jacob wrests the blessing from the numen). Yet such texts are then edited so that no doubt can arise about the OT’s contention that Israel’s God is the only true source of all blessing (thus the benediction in vv 27–29 interprets the blessing extorted by Jacob in the context of Gen 27 unequivocally as God’s gift; according to Gen 32:30 the deity blesses freely; Balaam must act toward Israel in express commission of Yahweh, Num 22:18; 24:13 J; 22:38 E; verbal clauses relate the impersonally formulated benedictions in Deut 7:14; 28:3–6 to God’s action; cf. 7:13; 28:7–14). Not only passages that explicitly name Yahweh as giver of blessing, but also all other contexts integrate the discussion of blessing with the faith of Israel: all blessing comes from Yahweh.

Remarkably, very little is said concerning the manner of its mediation. Blessing is experienced in the natural processes of growth and multiplication, in productivity and success. Even in these phenomena, faith sees Yahweh at work, without the necessity of always expressly naming his activity. Above all, the texts do not give evidence that—as often maintained—blessing was traced to the effectiveness of the divine word. The whole OT relates blessing to divine speech only in two contexts: in P’s creation account (“God blessed, saying” Gen 1:22, 28; 9:1; cf. 35:9f.; 48:3f) and Isa 19:25 (“whom Yahweh of hosts has blessed, saying”). The first instance subordinates the discussion of blessing to the priestly notion of creation through the word, the second may involve an imitation of a prophetic speech. Nevertheless, these exceptions confirm the rule that the OT understands blessing as a direct act of Yahweh.

(b) The blessing concept, originally naturalistic and then anchored in the narrow realm of the family (cf. e.g., Gen 24:34–36: the blessing of Abraham = “Sarah has born him a son even at his age”), is related to the activity of the God who works in the history of his people, first of all through the adaptation of this word in the promises to the fathers (Gen 12:2f.; 17:16, 20; 22:17; 26:3, 24; 28:14): the God who maintains the life of his people and multiplies them in the cultivated land is no other than he who saved Israel from Egypt (on the distinction between the saving and blessing activity of God, cf. Westermann, *Blessing* 1–14, among others).

That this viewpoint became definitive for the OT may be essentially because of the theological work of the Yahwist (cf. H. W. Wolff, “Kerygma of the Yahwist,” in W. Brueggemann and Wolff, *Vitality of OT Traditions* [1982], 41–66). For J the promise of descendants stands in the foreground in the blessing (Gen 12:2, “I will make you a great nation and I will bless you”; 26:24, “I will be with you and bless you and multiply your descendants”). Yet Yahweh’s actual goal is not reached in Israel’s growth to a great and mighty people. As the structure of the promise in Gen 12:2f. makes clear (cf. A. Murtonen, *VT* 9 [1959]: 159f.; H. Junker, *BETL* 12/13 [1959]: 554; Wolff, *op. cit.* 47–49), the actual goal is “that in you all families of the earth shall gain blessing” (Gen 12:3b; cf. 18:18; 28:14). With the call of Abraham, the possibility of God’s blessing takes the place of the curse burdening humanity (Gen 3–11, 5x *yr* “to curse”).

P relates the blessing to the two most important elements of the promise to the patriarchs, the promises of descendants and of land (cf. Gen 17:4–8; 28:3f.; 35:11f.; 48:3f.). God’s blessing applies not just to Israel but to all of humanity from the beginning of creation onward. It consists of God’s providing humanity, as all living beings (Gen 1:22), with the power of fertility and multiplication (cf. the frequent combination of *prh* and *rbh* qal: Gen 1:22, 28; 8:17; 9:1, 7; 35:11; 47:27; Exod 1:7; hi.: Gen 17:20; 28:3; 48:4; Lev 26:9; outside P only in Jer 23:3, in reverse order, Jer 3:16; Ezek 36:11); the genealogies characteristic of P clarify the manner in which the blessing appears (cf. Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:17f.).

The concept of blessing characteristic for this documentary source may also be consistently maintained in the passage that discusses the Sabbath blessing (Gen 2:3a; God’s blessing of things and institutions is mentioned elsewhere in Gen 27:27; 39:5; Exod 20:11; 23:25; Deut 7:13; 28:12; 33:11; Jer 31:23; Psa 65:11; 132:15; Job 1:10; Prov 3:33): since God sets the holy day apart (*qdš* pi.), he furnishes it with a power that makes it “fertile” for humanity (cf. Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:167–77).

The gift of the land is, then, in the real sense the “blessing of Abraham” (Gen 28:4; cf. the repetition of the promise to Jacob, Gen 48:4).

(c) Deut does not relate the blessing to the gift of the land itself

(regularly associated with Yahweh's "oath"), but to the maintenance and support of life in the cultivated land (cf. the blessing in Deut 7:13; 14:29; 15:4, 10, 18; 16:15; 23:21; 24:19; 28:8, 12; 30:16; cf. Exod 23:25). The commandment to place the blessing on Gerizim and the curse on Ebal on entry into the land (Deut 11:29) signals the beginning of a new epoch in salvation history with the conquest of the land: God's enduring activity in blessing replaces episodic acts of salvation (cf. Josh 5:11f.; the enjoyment of the produce of the land replaces the eating of manna). Israel's relationship to God is also largely determined by its attitude to the land's produce: will they be understood as gifts of the Canaanite fertility gods or do the people recognize Yahweh as the sole grantor of all blessing? The more carefreely Israel enjoys the benefits of blessing (namely the fertility of people, cattle, and field; cf. Deut 7:13; 28:3–6), the more properly it honors Yahweh (cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 1:229f.).

As a result, a close functional relationship between blessing and call to obedience also exists, mirrored in a peculiar duplication of statements: on the one hand, the promise of blessing is issued in an unconditional form (Deut 16:15; 28:8, 12); on the other hand, one encounters statements that call for keeping the commandments "in order that Yahweh, your God, may bless you" (14:29; 23:21; 24:19; cf. 15:10, 18) or which are conditionally phrased "if you . . . , then Yahweh, your God, will bless you" (30:16; cf. 7:12f.; 15:4f.). That Yahweh grants blessing freely demands recognition of his exclusive power to bless.

The whole people receives the blessing. Consequently, the blessing notion contains the actual motivation for the "humanitarian commandments" in Deut: as long as the weakest member of the community does not also participate in the fullness of God's blessing, the promise remains unfulfilled (cf. von Rad, *Gottesvolk* 42–49; Eichrodt 2:336).

Statements concerning the fulfillment of God's blessing correspond to the announcements of it in Gen and Deut (cf. Gen 24:1, 35; 25:11; 26:12; 30:27, 30; 32:30; 35:9; 48:3; Deut 2:7; 12:7; 15:6, 14). Outside these layers, references to God's blessing are more infrequent. A particular concentration may be identified, however, for the confession of confidence, "Yahweh will bless," etc. (cf. Psa 29:11; 67:7f.; 128:5; 134:3a; probably also 115:21a; in prayer style in Psa 5:13; 65:11; 109:28) and for benedictions, "May Yahweh bless," etc. (cf. Num 6:24; Psa 67:2; 115:12b–14; Ruth 2:4 as a greeting). Otherwise, corresponding statements occur in rather diverse contexts (pi.: Exod 20:24; Num 6:27; Josh 17:14; Judg 13:24; 2 Sam 6:11f. = 1 Chron 13:14; 2 Sam 7:29 [cf. 1 Chron 17:27]; Isa 19:25; 51:2; 61:9; Psa 45:3; 107:38; 147:13; Job 42:12; 1 Chron 4:10; 26:5; 2 Chron 31:10; pu.: 2 Sam 7:29 [cf. 1 Chron 17:27]; Psa 37:22; 112:2; 128:4; Prov 20:21; 22:9; on the noun cf. III/4e, less clearly also in Deut 28:2; Isa 19:24; Ezek 34:26a; 44:30; Mal 2:2; Psa 21:7; Prov 10:6; 24:25; 28:20; 1 Chron 5:1f. txt

em).

(d) Prophetic books focus much less upon the blessing, since their real interests lie in God's activity in salvation and judgment. The root *brk* does not occur at all in pre-exilic texts. Only since Deutero-Isa does this term describe God's future activity (cf. Isa 44:3; 51:2; Ezek 34:26; Joel 2:14; Hag 2:19; Zech 8:13; Mal 3:10), an activity not exhausted in single acts of salvation but accompanying human life continually and experienced in the natural processes of growth and multiplication (cf., however, already Hos 2:20–25, without *brk*). The language of blessing also governs "descriptions of salvation" (cf. Westermann, *Blessing* 32–34, with bibliog. on 26n.14), although *brk* occurs in such a depiction only in Isa 65:23.

(e) Unlike prophecy, wisdom experiences God's activity not in his great acts in history but in the regular daily phenomena of life, in the realms of the household, the field, and the village, in the sector, then, to which blessing normally pertains. As always in the OT, blessing consists of numerous descendants (Psa 112:2; 128:3f.; Job 42:13), land ownership (Psa 37:22), large herds (Job 1:10; 42:12), wealth (Psa 112:3; Prov 10:22; 24:25; 28:20), long life (Psa 133:3), and a lasting memory (Prov 10:7). Insight into the impermanence of earthly possession surfaces occasionally (e.g., Prov 11:28; 23:4f.); this insight likely leads to the differentiation between those goods seen as God's gift and those the individual acquires for himself/herself; the one who seeks to secure his/her own life in this manner misses good fortune (Prov 10:22; 20:21). Nevertheless, the conviction that the righteous may expect blessing (Psa 37:25f.; 112:2; Prov 3:33; 10:6f.) and the godless may expect misfortune and failure is fundamentally upheld. The criteria for "righteousness" are relationship to God (Psa 112:1f.; 128:4; Prov 28:20) and proper treatment of the fellow human being (Prov 11:26; 22:9; 24:25).

2. The blessing bestowed by people in the public or private cult is not actually dependent upon the spiritual power of the one blessing, upon the receptivity of the one blessed (see e.g., *ILC* 1–2:182f.; S. Mowinckel, *Psalmstudien* [1924], 5:10f.), or upon the efficacy of the spoken word (e.g., F. Horst, *RGG* 5:1649–51; E. J. Bickerman, *RB* 69 [1962]: 524). Rather, the ones who bless function as intermediaries through whom God himself blesses. This point becomes esp. evident in texts that mention a blessing formula in association with *brk* (paternal blessing: Gen 27:27–29; 48:15f., 20; cf. 28:1, 3f.; bridal blessing: Gen 24:60; cf. Ruth 4:11; Tob 10:11; priestly blessing: Num 6:23–27; cf. Psa 67:2; 115:12–15). As a rule, the blessing explicitly claims God as bestower of the blessing. This claim is particularly emphasized in association with the Aaronite blessing: when the priests place the name of Yahweh on the people, i.e., speak the previously cited blessing formula (Num 6:24–26), Yahweh himself blesses his people

(v 27). The expression used only for the priestly blessing *brk b'šēm yhw* “to bless by using (invoking) the name of Yahweh” has the same intention (Deut 10:8; 21:5; 2 Sam 6:18 = 1 Chron 16:2, David functions as a priest; Psa 129:8b, concluding blessing—it does not belong to the greeting of the reaper; 1 Chron 23:13; cf. H. A. Brongers, *ZAW* 77 [1965]: 8f.).

The notion that the gift of blessing was a priestly privilege may be supported only for the relatively late layers of the OT (Aaronites: Num 6:23; 1 Chron 23:13; levitical priests: Deut 21:5; 2 Chron 30:27; the tribe of Levi: Deut 10:8; Deut 10:8 and 21:5 are secondary; cf. von Rad, *Deut*, OTL, 79f., 136). The oldest traditions do not mention the priestly blessing at all, probably in order to declare that life and prosperity need not be periodically recreated through the cult, but that they are given to people on the basis of God's free decision (Gen 8:22 J). That Deut, too, does not yet place emphasis on the priestly blessing as a privilege may be elucidated by the fact that, according to 27:12 (cf. 11:29; Josh 8:33), the members of all twelve tribes are commissioned to bless and to curse. Although one must also understand that in such a procedure (in analogy to Deut 27:14–26) the people only answer the recited formulae with “amen” (cf. 1QS 2:1–10; *m. Sota* 7:5), it is still noteworthy that in essence the responsibility of the whole community for the granting of blessing and curse is accented.

Although the primary layer of P does not yet view the bestowal of blessing as a priestly privilege (others who bless: Isaac, Gen 28:1, 6; Jacob, 49:28; Moses, Exod 39:43 [Lev 9:23a is secondary]), blessing still receives a highly significant place in its historiography (cf. K. Elliger, *ZTK* 49 [1952]: 134): according to Lev 9:22 Aaron pronounces the blessing upon the people after the offering of the first sacrifice, and the theophany that follows (v 23b) legitimizes sacrificial practice as well as the institution of the priestly blessing.

The tradition of Gen 14:18–20—closely related to P—could have a similar significance: Melchizedek's blessing on Abraham demonstrates the priestly blessing as an essential component of worship “after the order of Melchizedek” (cf. W. Zimmerli, *FS Rost* 255–64).

The priestly blessing is applied as a rule to a larger community. 1 Sam 2:20 also discusses the bestowal of blessing upon an individual, however (cf. Psa 91; 121). If, according to 1 Sam 9:13, Samuel is to “bless” the sacrifice, this probably means that it was his privilege to pronounce the *b'rākā* at mealtime (cf. 1QS 6:4f.; 1QSa 2:17–20; Mark 8:6f.; Luke 9:16).

The texts prove to be rather uninterested in the blessing procedure itself. Only Gen 48:17 alludes to the laying on of hands in the context of the paternal blessing; Lev 9:22 mentions the raising of the hands during the priestly blessing.

3. In association with the praise of God, *brk* plays a role in a particular group of praises and exhortations to praise.

(a) Praises formed with *bārûk* substantially follow a fixed schema: *bārûk* — divine name or appellative (sometimes additional epithets)—a clause giving the reason for praise, often introduced with the relative particle (cf. W. S. Towner, *CBQ* 30 [1968]: 386–99; W. Schottroff, *Der altisr. Fluchspruch* [1969], 163ff.; see III/1c). Such statements of praise are, first, spontaneously expressed in everyday life immediately after the experience of divine assistance (Gen 24:27; 1 Sam 25:32, 39; 1 Kgs 1:48; Ezra 7:27); sometimes they are spoken not by the person who experienced God's deed but by deeply moved observers (Exod 18:10; 2 Chron 2:11; Aram. Dan 3:28, in each case in the mouth of a non-Israelite; Ruth 4:14). The same formula is used in association with some cultic procedures in Gen 9:26; 14:20; 1 Kgs 8:15 = 2 Chron 6:4; 1 Kgs 8:56.

It occurs in Psa 28:6 and 31:22 (a causal clause introduced by *kî*, cf. 1 Sam 23:21) in individual laments, indeed, at the point at which the lament evolves into praise (cf. Gunkel-Begrich 243–47; Westermann, *PLP* 59–64). The statement of praise (with *šc* -) functions similarly in a communal song of thanksgiving (Psa 124:6). Psa 68:20 introduces the description of the divine saving act in this manner. Such usages of this statement of praise develop into a doxological formula that occurs primarily at the conclusion of some psalms (66:20, with *šer*, 68:36, without a causal clause; 135:21). This placement leads to the use of the formula as the conclusion of the first four books of Psa as well, joined secondarily to the respective psalms (Psa 41:14; 72:18f.; 89:53; 106:48; cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:16ff.).

Psa 106:48 seems to be a revision of 1 Chron 16:36, so that the doxology may have been introduced from Chron into the psalm, which in turn may have become the conclusion of the fourth psalm collection (cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 128).

The formula begins a psalm only in 144:1 (with a participial continuation). Here, too, it apparently does not function as a call to praise; rather, the psalm begins without prelude (contra Psa 18), directly with the praise of God. Ezek 3:12 is a self-contained exclamation of praise, if the text is original (usually emended to *b'rum*, e.g., Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:94); also Deut 33:20; Zech 11:5.

Third-per. statements of praise primarily address a human forum; the speakers celebrate God's greatness, manifest in the concrete act toward their hearers (cf. e.g., Exod 18:10, "Yahweh is full of blessing, who delivered you"; 1 Sam 25:32, "Blessed be Yahweh, . . . who sent you"; Ruth 4:14, "Blessed be Yahweh, who has not left you without a redeemer"). Prayer style is first used in two late texts, i.e., God is addressed directly, "You are full of blessing, Yahweh" (Psa 119:12; 1 Chron 29:10, in each as

an introduction to a prayer or a request).

This usage becomes the most common, then, in the deuterocanonical literature (cf. Dan 3:26, 52 LXX; Tob 3:11; 8:5, 15–17; 11:14, etc.), at Qumran (1QS 11:15; 1QH 5:20; 10:14; 11:27, 29, 32, etc.), and in Jewish prayers (18 Benedictions). Apparently the doxologies constructed in this manner in the oldest portions of the Jewish liturgy and in the latest layers of the OT go back to a common pattern (cf. Towner, *op. cit.* 397–99).

(b) The pl. impv. of *brk* pi. occasionally occurs as the introit of a hymn: “Praise Yahweh” (Psa 96:2; 100:4; 134:1f.; cf. Judg 5:2, 9) (in addition to the more frequent introductions with →*hll* pi., Psa 113:1; 117:1; 135:1, 3, etc.; → *ydh* hi., Psa 33:2; 105:1; 106:1; 107:1, etc.). The pu. ptcp. with *y<sup>e</sup>hî* functions similarly in Psa 113:2; Dan 2:20 (Aram.).

The call to praise in Neh 9:5 is independent of the following thanksgiving prayer (cf. 1 Chron 29:20; Psa 68:27, although the pf. should more likely be read here; cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:47). Psa 135 repeats it once more at the end (vv 19f.) applied to the various groups within the community. It is then also expanded to call for God’s praise by all people (Psa 66:8; 96:2), the entire creation (103:22a), and the powers surrounding the heavenly king (103:20f.).

In songs of the individual, one appropriately calls upon oneself (Psa 103:1f., 22b; 104:1, 35) or declares one’s intention in the voluntative (16:7; 26:12; 34:2; 63:5; 145:1f.).

As is true of statements of praise, declarative statements concerning God (Psa 16:7; 26:12; 34:2) seem to be original in contrast to the prayer (63:5; 145:1f.; 26:12 LXX). The supplicant addresses, then, a human audience and declares to it the intention to praise God (Psa 26:12, “I will praise Yahweh in assemblies”). Such declarations occur characteristically at the beginning of individual songs of thanksgiving (34:2, with *ydh* hi., e.g., 9:2; 57:10; 138:1f.), in vows of praise at the end of individual laments (26:12), and in the songs of assurance that have arisen from them (16:7; 63:5). More frequently, the supplicant’s concern continuously to praise God comes to expression (Psa 34:2; 63:5; 145:1f.).

V. In Judaism (and in the NT) usage evolves in such a way that reference to the praise of God now predominates. In the NT, 40 of the total of 68 occurrences of *eulogein* and its derivatives concern praise of God. The concept of blessing itself is modified through relation to the Christ event (Acts 3:25f.; Gal 3:8f.; Eph 1:3). The summons to bless directed to people is assigned to the commandment to love the enemy (Luke 6:27f.; Rom 12:14; 1 Pet 3:9; cf. 1 Cor 4:12). The cultic blessing is not mentioned; cf., however, the peace greeting of the disciples (Matt 10:12f.; Luke 10:5f.) and Jesus’ blessing (Mark 10:16, blessing the children; Luke 24:50, farewell blessing). Cf. H. W. Beyer, “εὐλογέω,” *TDNT* 2:754–65; W.

Schenk, *Der Segen im NT* (1967); C. Westermann, *Blessing in the Bible and the Life of the Church* (1978).

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בָּשַׂר *bśr* pi. **to bring a message** → מַלְאָךְ *mal'āk*

בָּשָׂר *bāśār* **flesh**

S 1320; BDB 142a; HALOT 1:164a; TDOT 2:317–32; TWOT 291a; NIDOTTE 1414

1. The subst. \**baśar*- “flesh, body” may be identified with certainty only in WSem. (HAL 156b; P. Fronzaroli, AANLR 8/19 [1964]: 170, 253, 266, 277). Whether the root can also be found in the Akk. *bišru* “infant” remains questionable (AHw 131a; CAD B:270a); cf., however, Pun. *bšr* (also written *bš̄r* and *bš̄r*) “child, offspring” (J. Hoftijzer, “Eine Notiz zum pun. Kinderopfer,” VT 8 [1958]: 288–92; DISO 45). The relationship sometimes suggested to the verb *bśr* pi. “to report, bring a message” is unlikely.

Ug. occurrences are KTU 1.4.II.5, “the covering of her body”; 1.24.9, “blood for his flesh”; 1.15.IV.25, V.8, of meat at a meal (cf. UT no. 534; WUS no. 598).

Other texts contemporary with the OT are only the passages with Aram. *bšr* (= Bibl. Aram. *b<sup>e</sup>śar*) in the sayings of Ahiqar, line 89, “to pour out his blood and consume his flesh,” and line 104, “why should wood contend with fire, flesh with the knife, a man with the king?” (Cowley 215f.).

Arab. *bašar* signifies more broadly “human being,” *bašarat*, by contrast, “skin” (see 3).

2. In the OT, Hebr. *bāśār* is attested 270x and Aram. *b<sup>e</sup>śar* 3x (Dan 2:11; 4:9; 7:5; Lis. overlooks Gen 9:15a; for detailed statistics according to chronological categories cf. D. Lys, *La chair dans l’Ancien Testament, “Bâsâr”* [1967], 15–19). Hebr. occurrences are distributed as follows:

Gen 33	2 Kgs6	Psa 16
Exod 14	Isa 17	Job 18
Lev 61	Jer 10	Prov 4

Num 17	Ezek 24	Eccl 5		
Deut 13	Hos 1	Lam 1		
Judg 6	Joel 1	Dan 2		
1 Sam	4	Mic 1	Neh 2	
2 Sam	3	Hag 1	1 Chron 1	
1 Kgs4	Zech 4	2 Chron 1		
		total	270	

3. The beginning point is the numerous passages in which *bāsār* designates the corporeal substance of the human or animal, living or dead body. Within this broad realm the specific referent can vary greatly: flesh as food, as sacrifice, or as an object of P's sacral-medicinal purity prescriptions. Sometimes *bāsār* occurs alongside other parts of the body as a vital component of the corporeal whole: with bones (Job 2:5; *ʿešem* 123x, 20x in the meaning "even these"; cf. Dhorme 9f.; L. Delekat, VT 14 [1964]: 49–52), with skin and bones (Lam 3:4; *ʿôr* "skin, hide" 99x, 46x in Lev 13), with skin, blood (→ *dām*), and excrement (Num 19:5), with skin, bones, and sinew (Job 10:11; cf. Ezek 37:6, 8).

Otherwise biological relationship is indicated by the expression "(my/your) bone and flesh" (Gen 2:23; 29:14; Judg 9:2; 2 Sam 5:1 = 1 Chron 11:1; 2 Sam 19:13f.; cf. W. Reiser, "Die Verwandtschaftsformel in Gen. 2,23," TZ 16 [1960]: 1–4). "(Your/our) flesh" alone sometimes has the same meaning (Gen 37:27; Isa 58:7; Neh 5:5) and twice the cs. phrase *š<sup>e</sup>ʿerbāsār* does (Lev 18:6; 25:49).

The expression "flesh and blood" to describe the person as mortal occurs first in Sir 14:18.

About 50x *bāsār* indicates the body, i.e., the visible flesh of the person or, as an exception, the animal (Job 41:15), the corporal in its totality with emphasis upon the visual and the graphic. This usage always concerns the live body; *bāsār* is never used of the corpse, not even in Ezek 32:5. For all this, *bāsār* is deeply tied to the material and is never used in the sense of "appearance, figure"; *bāsār* is *corpus*, not *figura*. Significantly, the word is used in contrast to various terms for the spiritual life: → *rūah* "spirit" (Gen 6:3; Num 16:22; 27:16; Isa 31:3; Joel 3:1), → *nepeš* "soul" (Gen 9:4; Deut 12:23; Job 14:22), → *Iēb* "heart" (Ezek 44:7, 9; Psa 84:3).

The other words for "body," e.g., *g<sup>e</sup>wîyâ* (Ezek 1:11, 23; Dan 10:6), Bibl. Aram. *g<sup>e</sup>šēm* (Dan 3:27f.; 4:30; 5:21; 7:11), readily evolve further into the meaning "being, self" (*gap* Exod 21:3f.; *g<sup>e</sup>wîyâ* Gen 47:18; Neh 9:37; cf. Hebr. *ʿešem*, Aram. *garmā*?, Akk. *ramānu*) or into the meaning "corpse" (*g<sup>e</sup>wîyâ* Judg 14:8f.; 1 Sam 31:10, 12[bis]; Nah

3:3[bis]; Psa 110:6; *gûpâ* 1 Chron 10:12[bis]; cf. 1 Sam 31:12; *peger* 22x, Aram. *pagrâ* and Akk. *pagru* also “body”; cf. D. Neiman, *JBL* 67 [1948]: 55–60, on Lev 26:30 and Ezek 43:7, 9; otherwise *n<sup>e</sup>bēlâ* 48x, → *nbl*). Cf. Dhorme 7–12; F. Baumgärtel and E. Schweizer, “σῶμα,” *TDNT* 7:1044–48.\*

Arab. *bašarat* means “skin” (see 1). A slight alteration of perspective becomes apparent in the shift of meaning “body” > “skin.” The skin is outwardly visible portion of the body. The semasiological proximity of the two concepts is apparent in a few OT passages in which both meanings are equally possible (Psa 102:6; 119:120; Job 4:15). Other passages clearly distinguish the two concepts (Lev 13:2ff.).

An expansion of meaning toward the abstract occurs in the expression *kol-bāšār* “all flesh,” which appears approximately 40x and which can refer either to humanity (e.g., Deut 5:26; Psa 65:3; 145:21) or to all creatures, i.e., people and animals (e.g., Gen 6:17; 9:16f.; Job 34:15; cf. A. R. Hulst, “*Kol-bāšār* in der priesterlichen Fluterzählung,” *OTS* 12 [1958]: 28–68).

In a few passages (*mik*)*kol-bāšār* can be translated “of all kinds, varieties” (esp. in P: Gen 6:19; 7:15; 8:17; 9:16; Num 18:15).

*bāšār* occurs as a euphemism for penis in Lev 15:2f.; Ezek 16:26; 23:20.

The much less common word *š<sup>e</sup>ēr* “flesh” is largely synonymous with *bāšār* in profane usage, but is not employed as a theological term, primarily because it has no collective usage (Exod 21:10; Jer 51:35; Mic 3:2f.; Psa 73:26; 78:20, 27; Prov 5:11; 11:17; originally more the inner, bloody flesh; cf. F. Baumgärtel, *TDNT* 7:107f.; in P in the meaning “blood relative”: Lev 18:6, 12f.; 20:19; 21:2; 25:49; Num 27:11; in addition to Lev 18:17 *š<sup>a</sup>râ* txt?; on the Sem. equivalents and their shifts in meaning, cf. Fronzaroli, op. cit. 168, 252f., 266, 277)

4. *bāšār* is theologically significant in passages that express a qualitative assessment. Only as an exception does this usage involve an evaluation of status, as in Ezek 11:19 and 36:26, where the bestowal of a heart of flesh instead of a heart of stone is an aspect of religious renewal. A negative judgment is more often evident, particularly if the flesh, i.e., humanity, is qualitatively distinguished as mortal and impotent from the divine being as spirit (Gen 6:3, 12; Isa 31:3; 40:6; Jer 17:5; Psa 56:5; 78:39; Job 10:4; 2 Chron 32:8). Cf. also J. L. Helberg, “Communication on the Semasiological Meaning of Basar,” *OuTWP* (1959): 23–28 (cf. *ZAW* 72 [1960]: 284); J. Scharbert, *Fleisch, Geist und Seele im Pentateuch* (1966), 13, 25f., 40f., 48–56; Lys, op. cit.

5. In the Qumran texts *bāšār* is a frequent and theologically significant term (cf. H. Huppenbauer, “Bšr ‘Fleisch’ in den Texten von Qumran,” *TZ*

13 [1957]: 298–300; R. E. Murphy, “Bśr in the Qumran Literature,” *Sacra Pagina* 2 [1959]: 60–76; R. Meyer, “σάρξ,” *TDNT* 7:110–14). A characteristic shift of meaning in relation to the OT usage appears in many passages: flesh involves not only mortality but also sinfulness. The altered connotation appears in expressions such as *rûaḥ bāsār* “spirit of the flesh” (1QH 13:13; 17:25), *bśar ʿašmâ* “guilty flesh” (1QM 12:12), *bśar ʿawel* “evil flesh” (1QS 11:9).

In rabbinic usage, too, characteristic shifts of meaning in relation to the OT occur; on this and the NT, cf. R. Meyer and E. Schweizer, “σάρξ,” *TDNT* 7:115–51; H. Seebass and A. C. Thiselton, “Flesh,” *DNTT* 1:671–82.

G. Gerleman

בַּת *at* **daughter** → בֵּן *bēn*

גָּחַ *gʰ* **to be high**

S 1342; BDB 144a; *HALOT* 1:168a; *TDOT* 2:344–50; *TWOT* 299; *NIDOTTE* 1448

1. The root *gʰ* (\**gʷ/y*) occurs in NWSem.

Cf. Ug., *KTU* 1.17.VI.44 *gan* “arrogance” (par. *pšc* “sin”; *UT* no. 548; *WUS* no. 613); Pun., *Poen.* 1027 *gune bel* (*DISO* 46 “grandeur of Bel”; Sznycer 144); Syr., *LS* 99f.; Mand., Drower-Macuch 72a, 76a, 89.

The Eg. root *qʰy* “to be high” is attested in association with things, persons, and gods; the fig. meaning “with a high back = arrogantly” also occurs (cf. Erman-Grapow 5:1ff.).

In addition to the verb in the qal, the adjs. *gēʰ*, *gēʰch*, *gaʰyôn* “arrogant” and the substs. *gēʰâ* “arrogance,” *gaʰwâ* “height, majesty, pride,” *gēʰût* “ascension, grandeur, insolence,” and *gēʰwâ* “arrogance, pride” occur in the OT as nominal derivatives, the last term also, perhaps as a Hebr. loanword, in Bibl. Aram. Cf. further the PN *gēʰûʿel* (Num 13:15; see, however, *HAL* 161b).

2. *gʰ* qal occurs 7x (also in Sir 10:9 in the meaning “to overreach”), *gēʰ* 1x (Isa 16:6), *gēʰch* 8x (excl. Psa 123:4 Q; also in Sir 10:14; 11:30),

*ga<sup>ʔ</sup>yôn* 1x (Psa 123:4 K), *gē<sup>ʔ</sup>â* 1x (Prov 8:13), *ga<sup>ʔ</sup>wâ* 19x (also in Sir 7:17; 10:6–8; 13:20; 16:8), *gā<sup>ʔ</sup>ôn* 49x (also Sir 10:12; 48:18), *gē<sup>ʔ</sup>ût* 8x, *gēwâ* 3x (also 1QS 4:9) and 1x in Bibl. Aram. (Dan 4:34).

Aside from a few cases of *gā<sup>ʔ</sup>ôn* in Ezek, all occurrences of the root appear in poetical texts (even *g<sup>ʔ</sup>h* qal in Lev 26:19; cf. Elliger, HAT 4, 367). The 100 occurrences in the OT are represented most strongly in the prophetic literature (Isa 24x; Jer and Ezek 10x; Zech 3x; Hos, Amos, Nah, and Zeph 2x each; Mic 1x), elsewhere roughly equally in the wisdom literature (Job 11x, Prov 7x) and in hymnody (Psa 15x, also Exod 15:1[bis], 7, 21[bis]; Deut 33:26, 29).

3. All meanings of the root *g<sup>ʔ</sup>h* and its various derivatives are grouped around the basic meaning “to be/become high”:

(a) The more infrequent concrete meaning occurs in Job 8:11 (papyrus grows aloft); Ezek 47:5 (the water rises in the river); Isa 9:17 (the rising of the smoke is described as *gē<sup>ʔ</sup>ût* *‘āšān*). The archaic style of two psalms, which describe Yahweh’s conquest of the powers of chaos in the mythical tradition, suggests the meaning “arrogance, rebellion, impetuosity” even for the discussion of the “raging, foaming” of the sea (*ga<sup>ʔ</sup>wâ* Psa 46:4; *gē<sup>ʔ</sup>ût* 89:10; cf. Job 38:11).

Lit. and fig. meanings (G. R. Driver, FS Robinson 59, “raging of the Jordan”; KBL 162, “high trees”; better: Rudolph, HAT 12, 84, “splendor”) are even opposed in attempts to explain Jeremiah’s depiction of the thicket of Jordan *g<sup>ʔ</sup>ôn hayyardēn* (Jer 12:5; 49:19 = 50:44; cf. Zech 11:3).

(b) Figuratively, the root expresses human pride, arrogance, and presumption. In a positive sense, the land is Israel’s *gā<sup>ʔ</sup>ôn*, “pride” (Psa 47:5; Nah 2:3; cf. Isa 13:19 of Babel); according to Isa 4:2, the fruit of the land contributes to Israel’s “pride (*gā<sup>ʔ</sup>ôn*) and ornamentation (*tip<sup>ʔ</sup>eret*, → *p<sup>ʔ</sup>r*.)” Most passages should, however, be understood in a negative sense.

P. Humbert (“Démésure et chute dans l’AT,” FS Vischer 63ff.) offers a collection of Hebr. synonyms for “pride, arrogance”; worthy of mention are the roots → *gbh*, → *gdI*, → *rûm*, and *yāhîr* “presumptuous, proud” (Hab 2:5; Prov 21:24; cf. J. Blau, VT 5 [1955]: 342), *r<sup>ʔ</sup>hab lēb/nepēš* “presumptuous” (Psa 101:5; Prov 21:4; 28:25), *sll* hitpo. “to behave high-handedly” (Exod 9:17), *zîd* qal “to be impudent” (Exod 18:11; Jer 50:29), hi. “to act impudently” (Deut 17:13; 18:20; Neh 9:10, 16, 29), *zēd* “cocky, impudent” (Isa 13:11, etc.), *zādôn* “impudence” (Deut 17:12, etc.).

*š<sup>ʕ</sup>pal rûah* “humble” (Prov 16:19; 29:23) and *šah<sup>ʕ</sup> ‘ēnayim* “with downcast eyes” (Job 22:29) may be cited as antonyms, in addition to the verbs *špl* hi. “to abase, humble” (Job 22:29; 40:11; Prov 29:23), *kn<sup>ʕ</sup>* hi. “to humble” (Job 40:12), *šht* hi. “to ruin” (Jer 13:9), *šbr* “to shatter” (Lev 26:19).

(c) Wisdom literature warns against the proud and arrogant attitude in the measured equilibrium of the comparative *tôb*-saying (Prov 16:19); it is aware that disaster follows impudence (Prov 16:18); God abases the “pride of the arrogant” (Job 22:29 txt em; cf. Fohrer, KAT 16, 352; cf. Job 40:11f., on which see S. Loffreda, “Raffronto fra un testo ugaritico [2 Aqhat VI, 42–45] e Giobbe 40:9–12,” *BeO* 8 [1966]: 103–16), God tears down the house of the proud (Prov 15:25), and abundantly repays the one who “practices arrogance” (Psa 31:24).

The laments of the Psalter often use the root *gʿh*, and its derivatives characterize the → *rāšāʿ*, the “evildoer” (e.g., Psa 36:12; 59:13; 73:6; 94:2; 140:6; nevertheless, the term *gēʾîm* can hardly be regarded as a reference to a specific group, namely the Sadducees, as H. Steiner, *Die Geʾim in den Psalmen* [1925], 22–30, thinks). Psa 10:2 describes the *rāšāʿ* as *gēʾût* (txt em) in terms of high-handedness and self-sufficiency, as one who devises dangerous plans for the destruction of the humble (*ʿānî*, → *ʿnh* II). Characteristic is the “proud self-assurance” of speech (Psa 17:10; cf. 73:9), the “arrogance” with which their lips “speak insolence (*ʿātāq*) against the righteous” (Psa 31:19).

4. (a) Wisdom proposes that the arrogant fall and the humble receive honor (cf. Prov 29:23), challenging people to self-moderation; the prophets use the root theologically to describe the perverse, self-glorifying relationship of people to God. In both Israel (Jer 13:9, 17; Ezek 7:20, 24; 16:49, 56; 24:21, cf. Lev 26:19; Ezek 33:28) and the foreign nations (Isa 13:19; 16:6; cf. Isa 48:29; Ezek 30:6, 18; Zeph 2:10; Zech 9:6; 10:11), God thwarts self-glorification. God will expose as empty any *gāʾôn* that Israel impudently adopts (Amos 6:8; Hos 5:5, “Israel’s arrogance testifies openly against it”; cf. 7:10; here arrogance is the final prosecution witness against Israel). According to Isa 2:12 the “day of Yahweh of hosts” consists precisely in the execution of judgment “on all the proud and haughty and on all the lofty and high (following LXX)” (cf. 13:11). “Isaiah does not speak, as wisdom does, about what is good or better, but rather about what Yahweh Sebaoth opposes with his whole being, because of his claim to be the only one who is ‘high,’ the only one who is lord and king” (Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 115).

(b) God’s *gʿh* (Exod 15:1, 21), *gāʾôn* (Exod 15:7; Isa 2:10, 19, 21; 24:14; Mic 5:3; Job 40:10), *gaʾwâ* (Psa 68:35), and *gēʾût* (Isa 26:10; Psa 93:1), divine characteristics and predications of majesty, nobility, and kingdom (*hʾdar gʿōnô* “sublime majesty,” Isa 2:10, 19, 21; on the phrase cf. Joüon §141m: “superlative nuance”), contrast with the presumed *gāʾôn* of people, which people can claim for themselves only in foolish arrogance

(cf. Job 40:9–11, God’s royal robes, Fohrer, KAT 16, 519f.). The substantial correlation of Psa 68:35 (cf. Psa 104); 93:1; and Deut 33:26 (cf. Pun. *gune bel*; see 1) may indicate that this predication deals with concepts originally borrowed from Can. religion (royal god of heaven), although now united with traditions of God’s saving acts on Israel’s behalf (Exod 15:1, 21).

5. The LXX frequently renders *gʿh* in reference to God with *doxa* or the like; otherwise, it usually translates *hybris* or *hyperēphania*, etc., with a somewhat more negative connotation than MT and accenting the aspect of arrogant action (G. Bertram, *TDNT* 8:300; id., “Hochmut’ und verwandte Begriffe im griech. und hebr. AT,” *WO* III/3 [1964]: 32–43).

On Judaism, the NT, and early Christianity, cf. G. Bertram, “ὕβρις,” *TDNT* 8:295–307.

H.-P. Stähli

## גָּלַח *gʿl* to redeem

S 1350; BDB 145a; *HALOT* 1:169a; *TDOT* 2:350–55; *TWOT* 300; *NIDOTTE* 1457

1. The verb *gʿl* occurs only in Hebr. From the OT it enters Samaritan as a loanword (*HAL* 162a) and the language of postbibl. Judaism as an authentic legacy (cf. *TDNT* 4:350f. and 7:987f.).

Regarding the PN *gʿlyhw* on a seal impression from Beth-zur, cf. *DOTT* 223f.

So far only one occurrence has been identified in the Qumran literature: CD 14:16, where the ptcp. *gōʿēl* appears in the meaning “(nearest) relative.”

The limitation of the verb to Hebr. contributes to the difficulties in establishing its etymology.

At any rate, it is totally unrelated semantically to the homonymous *gʿl* ni. “to be made (cultically) unclean” (*HAL* 162f.: a by-form of *gʿl*, → *ʿm*). This dissociation should be maintained with Fohrer (KAT 16, 110) among others, against A. R. Johnson (“Primary Meaning of *gʿl*,” *SVT* 1 [1953]: 67–77), who assumes the common basic meaning “to cover” for both *gʿl* verbs. This meaning would have resulted in the sense “to protect” for the first *gʿl* and the sense “to soil” for the second. *gʿl* “to protect” provides a questionable point of departure for the verb under consideration, however, a point of departure totally inappropriate to its actual denotation; cf. also J. Blau, *VT* 6 (1956): 244f. on Job 3:5.

The verb occurs in the qal and the ni.; *g<sup>e</sup>ullâ* (in a nominal formation favored for legal terms; cf. F. Horst, FS Rudolph 153: “the right or obligation of redemption [buying back]”) and *g<sup>e</sup>ûlîm* (Isa 63:4; according the L. Köhler, ZAW 39 [1921]: 316 and HAL 161b: “time, status of the *gōʿēl* blood avenger”; on the nominal formation cf. BL 472 and Gulkowitsch 20) are derivative abstract nouns. The PN *yigʿāl* (impf. form; cf. IP 28, 200) also derives from the root.

2. The root *gʿl* occurs 118x in the OT (with the PN *yigʿāl* in Num 13:7; 2 Sam 23:36; 1 Chron 3:22 there are 121). The qal ptcp. *gōʿēl* (46x) is, except for Gen 48:16 and Psa 103:4, substantivized and will be cataloged separately in the following list (the number in parentheses indicates the number of occurrences of the special combination *gōʿēl haddām* “blood avenger”; in Num 35:12 *haddām* should probably be supplied).

	qal	ni.	subst.	<i>g<sup>e</sup>ullâ</i> <i>gōʿēl (g<sup>e</sup>ûlîm)</i>	total	
Gen	1	–	–	–	1	
Exod	2	–	–	–	2	
Lev	13	7	2	9	31	
Num	–	–	8 (6)	–	8	
Deut	–	–	2 (2)	–	2	
Josh	–	–	3 (3)	–	3	
2 Sam	–	–	–	1 (1)	–	1
1 Kgs	–	–	1	–	1	
Isa	9	1	13	(1)	24	
Jer	1	–	1	2	4	
Ezek	–	–	–	1	1	
Hos	1	–	–	–	1	
Mic	1	–	–	–	1	
Psa	9	–	2	–	11	
Job	1	–	1	–	2	
Prov	–	–	1	–	1	
Ruth	12	–	9	2	23	
Lam	1	–	–	–	1	
OT	51	8	44 (12)	14+1	118	

This overview reveals a particular profile: the qal is concentrated in Lev and Ruth, the ni. and *g<sup>e</sup>ullâ* also in Lev, namely chs. 25 and 27, which are concerned with repurchase and redemption. This circumstance is also

associated with the prominence that Ruth assumes in the first column. The distribution of *gōʿēl haddām* may be explained by the fact that the figure of the blood avenger has its place in the asylum laws offered in Num 35, Deut 19, and Josh 20. Regarding *gōʿēl*, 10 of 13 occurrences in Isa belong to Deutero-Isa, the first to assign Yahweh the attributes of a *gōʿēl* of his people.

3. (a) The preceding list also demonstrates that legal literature, in particular, used *gʿl* qal/ni. This phenomenon suggests that the verb has a legal provenance, from which it was adapted in the terminology of the cult and in religiotheological language. As will be shown (see 4), the old, legally stamped meaning remains largely active in this adaptation.

On the understanding of the verb in this sense, cf. O. Procksch, “*λύω*,” *TDNT* 4:328–35; J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im AT* (1940), 27–45; A. Jepsen, “Die Begriffe des ‘Erlösens’ im AT,” *FS Hermann* 153–63; N. H. Snaith, “Hebrew Root *gʿl*,” *ALUOS* 3 (1961/62): 60–67.

(b) The original sense of *gʿl* and its derivatives *gōʿēl* and *gʿullâ* appears unmistakably in Lev 25. This ch., which belongs to H but which developed in a long process (cf. Elliger, *HAT* 4, 335ff.), contains regulations aimed at the reestablishment of original conditions in Israel, freed from intrusions. Taking account of only the extensive passages, these regulations include the Sabbath year (vv 1–7) and the year of Jubilee, i.e., the restitution of all property to the original owner every 49 years (vv 8–55). In association with the latter of these regulations but probably originally independent from them (cf. Noth, *Lev*, *OTL*, 189), a passage concerning the *gʿullâ* occurs in both vv 25–28 (vv 29f.) and vv 47–49 (vv 50–55). The *gʿullâ* in the first passage concerns the property (*ʿhuzzâ*), which an Israelite in material need may be forced to sell. The near relative described as *gōʿēl* exercises the *gʿullâ* by “paying the purchase-price . . . and thus getting back the piece of land that had been sold. This was not in order to retain it himself, but only to return it to the original owner” (Noth, *op. cit.* 189).

The second passage (vv 47–49) deals with an impoverished Israelite who has had to sell himself to a wealthy patron or neighbor. The *gōʿēl* should redeem (*gʿl*) him. Family members who bear this responsibility are named in vv 48f.: brothers, paternal uncles, cousins, any other blood relative. If an Israelite must sell himself not to a foreigner but to a fellow citizen, the law (vv 39–46) does not call for the *gʿullâ* but for the liberation that will follow anyway in the year of Jubilee. The postulated year of Jubilee competes, in this regard, with the old regulation concerning the

manumission after six years of the Hebrew who has fallen into debt slavery (Exod 21:2–6; Deut 15:12ff.).

The *g<sup>e</sup>ullâ* as the right or obligation to buy back lost family land or enslaved persons was not limited to Israel. Babylonian law knows it both for land and for persons, in connection with which the Bab. verb *paṭāru* “to loose, redeem” replaces the Hebr. *g<sup>l</sup>*. *paṭāru* exceeds *g<sup>l</sup>* in usage, however, by indicating not only repurchase (by the family), but also redemption in general, e.g., of a slave or a captive; cf. *AHW* 849–51.

(1) Repurchase of land: Laws of Eshnunna §39 = *ANET* 163a; R. Haase, *Die keilschriftlichen Rechtssammlungen in dt. Übersetzung* (1963), 14; the same issue in Old Bab. contracts in M. Schorr, *Urkunden des altbab. Zivil- und Prozessrechts*, VAB 5 (1913), 119. (2) Redemption of persons who have been sold: of free persons see Mid. Assy. Laws §48 = *ANET* 184b; Haase, *op. cit.* 107; of slaves see Code of Hammurapi §§119, 281 = *ANET* 171a, 177b; Haase, *op. cit.* 37, 55; this is also the subject of letter no. 46 in R. Frankena, *Briefe aus dem British Museum*, AbB 2 (1966). (3) The redemption of a captive soldier in the Code of Hammurapi §32 = *ANET* 167b; Haase, *op. cit.* 27.

The uniqueness of the Israelite *g<sup>e</sup>ullâ* in contrast to the Bab. lies in its relationship to Yahweh. Because the land belongs to him and the Israelites have received it from him as a loan, it may not be sold absolutely and should be subject to the right of repurchase (Lev 25:23f.). And, according to Lev 25:42, an Israelite should not continue to be a slave, because he/she is a descendant of those whom Yahweh freed from Egypt.

(c) The OT finds the *g<sup>e</sup>ullâ* effective in practical life only with respect to land ownership and blood vengeance, i.e., respect for a dead fellow clan member, probably because of the right to freedom after six years that a member of the covenant people enjoys. Jeremiah exercises the *g<sup>e</sup>ullâ* for property (Jer 32:6–15). He acquires land in Anathoth, which his cousin must sell for unspecified reasons. This transaction is a case, then, not of repurchase but of prepurchase; cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 209. Similarly, according to Ruth 4, Boaz acquires a plot of ground belonging to the deceased Elimelek through the exercise of the *g<sup>e</sup>ullâ*. The wording in Ruth 4:3, “the field that Naomi has sold,” seems to presuppose that Boaz repurchases for the family something that has already been transferred to outside hands. Yet the ptcp. *mōk<sup>r</sup>â*, “is about to sell,” has often been read instead of the pf. *māk<sup>r</sup>â*, and, besides, the unemended text also permits the translation “Naomi wants to sell”; cf. Gerleman, *BK* 18, 35. One cannot, therefore, determine with certainty whether prepurchase or repurchase is described.

(d) Now, according to Ruth 4, Boaz also acquires Ruth, the widow of Mahlon, together with the field “in order to reestablish the name of the

deceased on his property” (4:5, 10). Boaz enters into a levirate or in-law marriage with Ruth, who represents Naomi here. Because this is the only case of this nature in the OT, one may not be certain whether the levirate is one of the obligations of the *gōʿēl*. In view of the essential relationship of *gʿullâ* and levirate—both seek to keep the family whole—it is entirely probable.

The designation of the one who exercised blood vengeance as *gōʿēl haddām* (→ *dām*) indicates that blood vengeance was surely a component of *gʿullâ*. He is accordingly the one who seeks (→ *bqš* pi., → *drš*) the shed blood and the murderer to whom it clings and returns it to the community to which it belongs. “This ‘return’ presupposes that the murdered is indeed, completely dead, but not his blood; rather, it still conceals secret life” (K. Koch, *VT* 12 [1962]: 410).

The broad range of the *gōʿēl*’s responsibilities are indicated by repurchase, blood vengeance, and, in the unique case, levirate. He was the nearest relative responsible in family matters (so Procksch, *TDNT* 4:330).

At times the full meaning of the word could diminish, so that *gōʿēl* would then only mean something like “relative,” as in 1 Kgs 16:11; CD 14:16; and probably also Num 5:8.

(e) According to the preceding, *gʿl* and its derivatives prove to be family law terms. Koch (op. cit. 410) renders its sense well with “to redeem that which belongs to the family from outside jurisdiction.” This rendering encompasses the salvific character of the term, extending beyond the purely legal; the reacquisition of lost family belongings brings liberation and salvation, the renewal of an earlier order, the reestablishment of a lost totality; cf. also Jepsen, op. cit. (see 3a), 159.

4. (a) The salvific element, which always applies to the old legal term, blossoms in religiotheological language. *gʿl* here does not accidentally parallel → *yšc* hi. “to save” (Isa 49:26; 60:16; 63:9; Psa 72:13f.; 106:10), → *nšl* hi. “to save” (Exod 6:6), → *ʿzr* “to help” (Isa 41:14), → *h̄yh* pi. “to make well” (Psa 119:154), and → *nḥm* pi. “to comfort” (Isa 52:9). The verb → *pdh* “to free, redeem, liberate” stands nearest to *gʿl* in this regard. In some of its uses, however, this verb is a neutral commercial law term, which does not include the notion of the reacquisition of that which has been lost (cf. Stamm, op. cit. 7ff.; slightly different, Jepsen, op. cit. 154f.). Although the difference between the two verbs was probably always apparent (see 4f), they still approximate one another, as the usage in Lev 27 (see immediately below) and their par. occurrence show (Hos 13:14; Isa 51:10f. = 35:9f.; Jer 31:11; Psa 69:19).

(b) In religious language, the use in cultic terminology stands alone. It

is present in Lev 27, a ch. concerning voluntary gifts and the existent or nonexistent possibility of redeeming them by monetary payment.

*gʾl* is the verb used predominantly in this respect (vv 13, 15, 19f., 28, 31, 33). *pdh*, which occurs together with *gʾl* again in v 27 in reference to the redemption of the firstborn of unclean animals, stands alone in v 29, in the prohibition against redeeming a person dedicated to the ban.

Offerings whose redemption is treated in Lev 27 are primarily originally the property of the cult practitioner that he reacquires by payment of the prescribed amount, if permitted. The preference for *gʾl* should be understood in this manner. One could determine the reason v 29 uses the neutral *pdh*, foreign to the notion of reacquisition, only if one could establish what this late text means by “ban.” If it were, as in earlier times, spoils of war, then *pdh* would indicate that the redeemer had no prior claim to it. If “ban” in v 29 also means Israelite property (as in v 28), which could or must be surrendered, then *pdh* would be used in a broader sense no longer strictly distinguishable from *gʾl*. This is also true for v 27, where *gʾl* and *pdh* occur together. The *gʾl* of the text also reflects an expanded usage in reference to the redemption of a portion of the tithe (v 31) that belongs to Yahweh without question and is removed from any human claim.

(c) If one arranges occurrences from the religiotheological realm according to the groups of people who experience liberation, and considers the time period involved, the following picture emerges:

(1) Deliverance of the *individual*:

(a) In the past: Gen 48:16; Psa 107:2; Lam 3:58;

(b) In the present: Psa 19:15; 69:19; 72:14; 103:4; 119:154; Job 3:5; 19:25; Prov 23:11;

(2) Deliverance of the *people*:

(a) In the past: Exod 6:6; 15:13; Psa 74:2; 77:16; 78:35; 106:10; Isa 51:10; 63:9;

(b) In the future: Hos 13:14; Isa 35:9f.; Jer 31:11; 50:34; Mic 4:10.

Additional Deutero- and Trito-Isa texts: *gʾl* Isa 43:1; 44:22f.; 48:20; 52:3, 9; 62:12; *gōʿēl* Isa 41:14; 43:14; 44:6, 24; 47:4; 48:17; 49:7, 26; 54:5, 8; 59:20; 60:16; 63:16.

This arrangement, which I have used earlier (Stamm, op. cit. 7ff.), has the advantage of extreme clarity, but the disadvantage of too rigid schematization, which forces one to emphasize, more than is appropriate for Hebr., differences in tense and the distinction between individual and community. For these reasons, I now prefer, with Jepsen (op. cit. 158ff.), to

discuss first occurrences that directly involve the basic meaning of *gʾl* and then those in which it is less applicable.

(d) Prov 23:10f. and Jer 50:34 apply to Yahweh the status of the *gōʿēl* in a family as the helper of the relative fallen into distress, calling him *gōʿēl* as protector of the weak over against a mighty opponent. Job (Job 19:25) calls God, the last guardian of his right, his *gōʿēl*, which could be paraphrased in Eng. with a term such as “lawyer” or “legal aid.” Disappointed by his friends and robbed by God of his rights (Job 19:7ff.; 27:2, 5), Job nevertheless falls back on God, because he is not totally unaware of God’s true nature, intent upon delivering (cf. Job 16:18–21).

In accord with a common ancient Near Eastern ideal, the constitutive activities of the *gōʿēl* are esp. expected of the king (Psa 72:13f.), who “saves (*yšʿ hi.*) the life of the poor and redeems their life from oppression and violence (*yigʾal napšām*).” *gʾl* here certainly includes, among other concepts, legal aid through which the king reestablishes the rights deprived from the subject who seeks his assistance. With regard to Yahweh, this is also the intention of the request, “Conduct my case and redeem me; preserve my life according to your word” (Psa 119:154), and of the confession, “You, Yahweh, have led the fight for my life, you have saved my life (*gāʾaltā ḥayyāy*)” (Lam 3:58), or, as *gʾl* can also be translated here, “have reestablished my life” (so Jepsen, op. cit. 160).

One of Job’s statements cursing the day of his birth (3:5) preserves the concrete sense of *gʾl* “to ransom lost property”: “darkness and gloom should demand payment of it,” i.e., the powers of chaos, which are older than the light, should exercise their old right to that day.

(e) *gʾl* refers to the liberation from Egypt in the passages mentioned previously (see 4c; Exod 6:6; 15:13; Psa 74:2; 77:16; 78:35; 106:10; Isa 63:9), which recall other acts of deliverance in addition to the initial act. In Isa 51:10 the pass. ptcp. *gʾlīm* indicates those saved at the Reed Sea. But the *pʿdūyē yhw* “those redeemed by Yahweh” in v 11 are those who experience the second, eschatological exodus (on problems concerning the content of the text, cf. Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 243). All of these texts, even Exod 15:13, could be dated from the exilic to the post-exilic periods. I call attention to this point for the following reasons: in older times the verbs *yšʿ hi.* “to lead out” and *ʾlh hi.* “to bring up” were most common for the deliverance from Egypt (cf. Stamm, op. cit. 14f., and P. Humbert, *TZ* 18 [1962]: 357–61). They were joined in Deut (Deut 13:6; 15:15; 21:8; 24:18; 7:8; 9:26) by *pdh* “to redeem, liberate.” The corresponding use of *gʾl* depends upon this innovation. This use does not necessarily mean, however, that *gʾl* had lost its specific sense “to regain something lost” and

had become entirely conformed to *pdh*. Although this amalgamation is possible (cf. above 4a, c), one may expect that late documents that associate *gʾl* with the liberation from Egypt all presuppose the patriarchal tradition, even if they do not mention it. Thus one could also include the patriarchal period in the usage of *gʾl*, and one could understand the exodus from Egypt as the return of the enslaved to their legitimate lord, as a reestablishment of their freedom.

(f) Deutero-Isaiah proclaimed the return of the Babylonian exiles as a second exodus surpassing the first (cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 2:239), and like the first, the second will be a redemption. Apparently, Deutero-Isaiah appropriated the term introduced by Deut, except he used *gʾl* rather than *pdh*. The root *pdh* and its derivative *p<sup>e</sup>dût* “redemption” is certainly not unknown to him, but its two occurrences are rather insignificant (Isa 51:11 = 35:10; 50:2). Consequently, the weight that *gʾl* must have had for the prophet becomes only the more apparent.

The term appears often in Deutero-Isa (cf. 4c), but variations in usage are limited. Beside the dominant qal, only one unique ni. occurs, in a passage of disputed authenticity, Isa 52:3, “Since you were sold for nought, you will be redeemed without price” (cf. Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 247). In addition, this is the only occurrence of an impf. form of the verb. Apart from the similarly infrequent pass. ptcp. *g<sup>e</sup>ûlîm* “the redeemed” (Isa 51:10), only the pf. and the act. ptcp. of the qal occur. The former has its place, on the one hand, in the promise of salvation (Isa 43:1; 44:22) and, on the other, in the eschatological song of praise (44:23; 48:20; 52:9; cf. C. Westermann, *Forschung am AT* [1964], 157ff.). Both genres discuss the immediately imminent, but still future, salvation in the so-called prophetic pf. as though it had already transpired. While the prophet addresses the promise of salvation to the exiled Jews, the worldwide circle of addressees answers the message that reaches them in the song of praise.

As seen by Deutero-Isaiah, this liberation or redemption has the most comprehensive dimension, applying not only to the exiles in Babylon (48:20) and to the wider Diaspora (43:5f.; 49:12, 18, 22f.), but also to the nations. As witnesses of the emancipation by which Yahweh reconstitutes his people, the nations themselves will recognize Yahweh for who he is (41:4f.; 45:6; 49:26; 52:10) and will become aware of the impotence of their idols (41:11; 42:17; 45:24). In view of all this, what is the significance of the prophet’s preference for *gʾl* as a term for redemption? (On the other verbs of salvation he uses, see 4a.) The significance is most clearly seen in his designation of Yahweh as *gōʾēl*, thus becoming the first to apply this attribute to him (for texts see 4c).

He adopts the epithet *q<sup>e</sup>dôš yisrāʾēl* “the holy one of Israel” introduced by First Isaiah and repeatedly adds the new term *gōʾēl* (41:14; 43:14; 48:17; 49:7). The others majestic titles combined with *gōʾēl* are: “King of

Israel” (44:6), “the mighty one of Jacob” (49:26), and “maker” (*yōšēr*: 44:24, “Thus says Yahweh, your redeemer, your maker from the womb onward”). Here terms for making and redeeming have almost become synonymous. They “describe a sweep, a history, God’s history with his chosen people” (so Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 155). By not only comparing Yahweh’s saving activity with the act of an earthly redeemer, but even equating the two through the use of the word *gōʿēl*, Deutero-Isaiah anchors the end of Israel’s history in its beginning. Such is the call of Abraham, whose descendants the exiled Jews are and continue to be (41:8; 51:2). Even if their ancestors and they themselves were sold and rejected since the early days because of their apostasy, this separation is not final because there is no bill of divorcement (50:1). Because no such separation exists, the prophet can use the verb *gʾl* in order to attest at the same time that no separation exists. For as *gōʿēl* Yahweh does not purchase strange goods; rather, he regains that which has always—since the time of Abraham—belonged to him. Yahweh lays claim to his ancient right to Israel; he actualizes a claim that is his because he has created and chosen this people and he is its king. Only *gʾl* shaped by family law and not the neutral *pdh* could serve as a vehicle for this message.

*gʾl* seems to be interpreted in a more narrowly commercial sense in the salvation oracle in Isa 43:1–7, indeed, such that Yahweh offers other lands as a ransom for Israel, i.e., probably that he grants them to the world ruler Cyrus as reparation for the soon-to-be-freed Israel. This reading presumes that one may appeal to vv 3 and 4 in addition to v 2 in order to elucidate v 1, a presumption that is uncertain (cf. Jepsen, op. cit. 161). Even if this assumption is appropriate, the fact remains that in 45:13 the prophet has Cyrus fulfill his mission “without purchase price and without gift.”

(g) Following Deutero-Isaiah, Trito-Isaiah also calls Yahweh *gōʿēl*. In Isa 59:20 and 60:16 this designation also occurs in an eschatological context; in 63:16 *gōʿēl* parallels *ʾāb* “father,” but in a broader sense encompassing deliverance from Egypt, salvation in the present, and salvation in the future.

The confession in Psa 19:15 (“Yahweh, my rock and my redeemer”) expresses confidence in Yahweh’s future protection, and the same is true for the passage already mentioned (4d), Jer 50:34, in view of the deliverance of those enslaved by Babel: “Indeed, their redeemer is strong, Yahweh of hosts is his name.”

As we saw (4e), *gʿûlîm* in Isa 51:10 means those saved by Yahweh at the Reed Sea. Trito-Isaiah appropriated the expression (62:12), although for him it refers to the members of the people brought home from the Diaspora (cf. v 11). The author of the apocalypse Isa 34–35, imitating

Deutero-Isa, uses the word *g<sup>e</sup>ʾûlîm* in 35:9b, 10a, but once again the redeemed are those who return from the Diaspora on wondrously prepared streets: “There the redeemed will go, the redeemed of Yahweh will return thereon.” Return always means the reconstitution of a lost totality and thus is essential to the *gʾl* concept. Hence one may say that the old sense of the verb is still alive in the passages just mentioned, perhaps no longer in all its legal connotations, but still such that an essential aspect of *gʾl*—the liberating reconstitution of the original—finds unmistakable expression.

(h) According to Jepsen (op. cit. 161), this is no longer the case in the following 8 passages: Gen 48:16; Hos 13:14; Mic 4:10; Jer 31:11; Psa 69:19; 103:4; 106:10; 107:2. With the single exception of Psa 69:19, these passages always associate *gʾl* with the prep. *min* “from” and parallel it three times to *pdh* (Hos 13:14; Jer 31:11; Psa 69:19). Both usages indicate that *gʾl* here means less the reconstitution of an earlier status than liberation from the might of an opposing power, manifest as a political enemy (Mic 4:10; Jer 31:11; Psa 106:10), as a personal opponent (Psa 69:19), as a situation of need (Gen 48:16; Psa 107:2), as ill-fate (Hos 13:14), and as fatal illness (Psa 103:4).

Another brief word is necessary regarding two of these texts, Psa 106:10 and Gen 48:16. Psa 106:10, “And he redeemed them from the power of the enemy,” concerns, according to the context, deliverance from Egypt, so that the passage has already been treated (4e). Because it offers *gʾl min* “to redeem from,” however, it belongs at the same time in the series of texts above. In Gen 48:16, in the blessing of the dying Jacob (according to E), the words *hammalʾāk haggōʾēl ʾōtî mikkol-rā<sup>c</sup>* should be rendered with Jepsen (op. cit. 161): “The angel, which has protected me from all evil.” This is a derived meaning for *gʾl*, not the original, as Johnson thinks (cf. 1).

(i) The expanded usage of *gʾl* just mentioned also applies to the PN *yigʾāl* (see 1 and 2) “he (Yahweh) has redeemed,” i.e., he has redeemed the child so named from evil, esp. from sickness. This name should be understood in analogy to the Bab. name *iptur-sin* “Sin (the moon god) has undone (the evil),” formed with the verb *paṭāru* (see 3b; cf. Stamm, AN 191).

5. In post-OT literature, *gʾl* continues to have a threefold usage: in reference to God’s saving intervention in general, to the liberation from Egypt, and to the (eschatological) redemption of Israel (cf. TDNT 4:350; 7:987f.).

The LXX renders *gʾl* either with *lytrousthai* or *rhyesthai* (cf. TDNT 4:332; 6:999), but not by *sōzein*.

Exceptions are Isa 44:23, where LXXA has *elytrōsato* instead of *ēleēsen*, and Jer

31:11 (LXX 38:11), where the second verb in the parallelism *pdh //gʿl* is represented by a form of *exaireisthai* (*exeilato*).

The LXX offers *ho anchisteuōn* “the one who exercises the right of the nearest relative” for *gōʿel haddām* “blood avenger.” The related subst. *anchisteus/anchisteutēs* “nearest relative” corresponds to the Hebr. *gōʿel* in 2 Sam 14:11; 1 Kgs 16:11, and the verb *anchisteuein* is used for *gʿl* in Ruth. The abstract *gʿullâ* “the right (or the duty) of redemption” in Ruth 4:6f. = *anchisteia*; Lev 25:29, 48 = *lytrōsis* (so also Isa 63:4 for *gʿullîm*); Lev 25:31f. = *lytrōtai* “(houses) which are redeemable”; Lev 25:24, 26, 51f. = *lytra*. The renderings in Jer 32:7f.; Ezek 11:15; Job 3:5 are particularly noteworthy.

The NT used both of LXX’s verbs, although they lose a great deal of significance in contrast to *sōzein*. The latter occurs 106x, *lytrousthai* only 3x, and *rhyesthai* 16x. The use of *lytrousthai* is supplemented, however, by the derivatives *lytron*, *lytrōsis*, etc., which will not be considered here (cf. F. Büchsel, “λύω,” *TDNT* 4:335–56).

NT usage of *lytrousthai* and *rhyesthai* exhibits a deficiency in comparison to the OT in that the redemption from Egypt is not treated, and a surplus in that Jesus is also the author of salvation in addition to God. This situation is true for all three uses of *lytrousthai* (Luke 24:21; Titus 2:14; 1 Pet 1:18). Their subject is the eschatological salvation brought about by Jesus.

*rhyesthai* also describes eschatological salvation; it is attributed to God (Matt 6:13; Rom 11:26; Col 1:13) and to Jesus (1 Thess 1:10). Following the OT use of *gʿl*, *rhyesthai* also refers to salvation from the might of opposing powers. These powers include: death (Matt 27:43; Rom 7:24; 2 Cor 1:10), enemies (Luke 1:74; cf. 2 Tim 4:17), disobedient or perverse and evil people (Rom 15:31; 2 Thess 3:2), temptations (2 Pet 2:9), and oppression or persecution (2 Tim 3:11; 4:18). The theme of salvation in the primeval period, so important in the OT, is represented only by the reference to the deliverance of Lot (2 Pet 2:7).

J. J. Stamm

## גבה *gbh* to be high

S 1361; BDB 146b; *HALOT* 1:170a; *TDOT* 2:356–60; *TWOT* 305; *NIDOTTE* 1467

1. The root *gbh* (with consonantal *h*) “to be high” occurs almost exclusively in Hebr.

*gbh* “height” in the Siloam tunnel inscription should be mentioned as an extrabibl. occurrence: “And the height of the rock above the head(s) of the miners was 100 cubits” (ANET 321b; KAI no. 189.5f.).

Aram. uses → *rûm*. The only Aram. occurrences of *gbh* independent of the OT are Aḥ. 107 (Cowley, 216, 233, “A king is like the merciful[?]: even his voice is high”) and the Pahlavi ideogram *gbh* (HAL 163b).

Cf. also Arab. *jabhat* “forehead”; on the relationship of the roots *gbh* and *gbḥ* “to be bare,” cf. P. Fronzaroli, AANLR 8/19 (1964): 165, 167 (“rideterminazione espressiva”).

In addition to the qal “to be high, elevated, haughty” and hi. “to raise” of the root, the derivatives *gābōah* “high, elevated, haughty,” *gōbah* “height, growth, majesty, arrogance,” and *gabhūt* “arrogance” also occur in the OT.

The adj. occurs 4x in the cs. state in the form *gebah*, derived either from \**gābēah* or better from *gābōah* (cf. W. Baumgartner, FS Eissfeldt [1958], 31), as well as in the form *g<sup>e</sup>bōah* in 1 Sam 16:7 (listed as an inf. in Mandl. 245c).

2. Most of the 94 occurrences of the root (qal 24x, hi. 10x, *gābōah* 41x, *gōbah* 17x, *gabhūt* 2x) appear in the Prophets (Ezek 22x, Isa 14x, Jer 7x), in the Psa (7x), and in wisdom literature (Job 8x, Eccl 5x, Prov 4x).

3. All meanings of *gbh* and its derivatives are closely grouped around the basic meaning “to be high.”

(a) The qal indicates the growth of a tree (Ezek 31:10, 14), or a branch (Ezek 19:11), the elevation of the heaven above the earth (Isa 55:9 *gbh min* = “to tower above”; Psa 103:11), or of the clouds above people (Job 35:5); Saul towers above all the people by a head (1 Sam 10:23).

A causative hi. meaning “to raise” occurs in 2 Chron 33:14 (wall); Ezek 17:24 (to let a tree grow tall); Jer 49:16 (the nest; cf. Obad 4); Job 5:7 (to fly high, in conjunction with *‘ûp* “to fly”; Job 39:27 without *‘ûp*); Psa 113:5 (to dwell on high, spoken by God); Prov 17:19 (door; according to Gemser, HAT 16, 73, and Ringgren, ATD 16/1, 74, the mouth is meant; cf. Mic 7:5; Psa 141:3; the saying would then be directed at bragging).

The adj. *gābōah* describes objects such as high mountains (Gen 7:19; Isa 30:25; 40:9; 57:7; Jer 3:6; Ezek 17:22; Psa 104:18), hills (1 Kgs 14:23; 2 Kgs 17:10; Jer 2:20; 17:2), gates (Jer 51:58), battlements (Zeph 1:16), towers (Isa 2:15), gallows (Esth 5:14; 7:9), horns (Dan 8:3), trees (Isa 10:33; Ezek 17:24; cf. 31:3 in conjunction with *qômâ*: “tall growth”). It refers to tall people (1 Sam 9:2; 16:7).

The subst. *gōbah* indicates the height, the stature of the trees (Ezek 31:10, 14; Amos 2:9); it serves as a term for measurement (cf. Ezek 40:42, the height of a table, alongside *‘ōrek* “length” and *rōḥab* “breadth”; 41:22

txt em, the height of an altar; 2 Chron 3:4, the height of the hall; 1 Sam 17:4, the height of Goliath; cf. also the Siloam tunnel inscription; see 1). Ezek 41:8 may well be read *gabbâ* “raised pavement” with *BHS* instead of *gōbah*; cf. Gk. *gabbatha* John 19:13; Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:371f.

The more common word for “height” in measurements is *qômâ* (→ *qûm*; Exod 25:10, 23, etc.; 1 Kgs 6–7; 2 Kgs 25:17, etc.; cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 207, on 2 Chron 4:1).

(b) The following fig. meanings with positive or negative connotations also derive directly from the basic meaning.

Eccl 5:7, “For a loftier one watches over the lofty, and an even loftier one over them” refers to “superiors” (Zimmerli, *ATD* 16/1, 191: “in view of the multiple layers of the structure of civil offices or of the court, one always observes and spies on the other and seeks to supplant him”).

Isa 52:13, which concerns the future exaltation of the servant of God in sharp contrast to his humility (v 14), *gbh* denotes the majesty of God’s servant (cf. the par. terms → *rûm* and → *ns’*).

In a negative sense *gbh* means the haughty, arrogant attitude of people. In addition to roots that appear individually (cf. Isa 3:16; Ezek 16:50), the following fixed phrases may be mentioned here:

*gbh lēb* “the heart is proud” (*HAL* 163b: “to have high aspirations”; Ezek 28:2, 5, 17; Psa 131:1; Prov 18:12; 2 Chron 26:16; 32:25). 2 Chron 17:6 is the only passage that discusses the “pride of the heart” in a positive sense (“high-spirited” may be a good translation): Jehoshaphat is “high-spirited” in following Yahweh and therefore removes the high places and Asherahs from Judah;

*g<sup>c</sup>bah lēb* “high-spirited” (Prov 16:5); *g<sup>c</sup>bah rûah* “haughty” (Prov 7:8); *g<sup>c</sup>bah ‘ēnayim* “proud-eyed, haughty, condescending” (Psa 101:5; cf. here the par. term *r<sup>c</sup>ḥab lēbāb* “the broad, arrogant heart,” as well as Isa 2:11 *‘ēnē gabbūt* “the haughty eyes” and Psa 131:1 *lō<sup>’</sup> rāmū ‘ēnay* “my eyes do not look haughtily”);

*gōbah lēb* “haughtiness” (2 Chron 32:26; cf. Ezek 31:10); *gōbah rûah* “haughtiness” (Prov 16:18); *gōbah ‘ap* “arrogance” (Psa 10:4);

*dbr* pi. *g<sup>c</sup>bōhâ* “to speak loftily, haughtily” (1 Sam 2:3).

Esp. noteworthy par. terms that appear in the context of *gbh* are the roots → *g<sup>h</sup>*, → *ns’* and → *rûm* (cf. Isa 2:11f., 17; Jer 13:15, 17; 48:29; Prov 16:18, etc.), *‘ātāq* “audacity” (1 Sam 2:3), and as antonyms the roots *špl* “to be lowly, humble” (Isa 2:11; 5:15; cf. 10:33; Ezek 17:24; 21:31), *šhh* “to

bend down” (Isa 2:17; cf. 5:15), *kn*<sup>c</sup> “to humble oneself” (2 Chron 32:26). It becomes apparent that *gbh* is closely related to *g<sup>h</sup>*, *ns<sup>o</sup>* and *rûm* in the semantic field of arrogance; a distinction in meaning is hardly perceptible; the terms often seem interchangeable.

(c) Wisdom warns against a haughty, arrogant (impudent) attitude in Prov 16:18 (here together with → *g<sup>h</sup>*); 18:12; Eccl 7:8 (a *tôb*-saying with a contrasted *ʿerek rûah* “patient”); such an arrogant individual is an abomination to God and will not go unpunished, Prov 16:5 (cf. Psa 131:1, the declaration of loyalty of the *šaddîq*).

4. The preceding gives rise to the theological usage.

(a) Wisdom is at first concerned more with observations of life than theological notions (see Prov 16:18), although Prov 16:5 admittedly already emphasizes the relationship to God (cf. here the king’s vow of loyalty, Psa 101, where the king, as representative of Yahweh’s judicial authority in Israel [Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:279], expressly addresses himself in v 5 to the *g<sup>e</sup>bah ʿênayim*). But the following passages characterize human arrogance as the haughty behavior of ignoring God (Jer 13:15; 1 Sam 2:3; Psa 10:4), as the proud attitude of the one who opposes God (Ezek 28:2). Therefore, the exalted will be humbled and the humble exalted (Ezek 21:31; cf. Job 36:6f.; in a metaphor, Ezek 17:22–24); therefore, judgment comes over the *gbh* of the individual (cf. Zeph 3:11f.: the new behavior here is that of the *dal* and *ʿânî*, the “lowly” and the “humble”; in Jer 49:16 the aerie is a picture of the haughty pride of Edom in its unconquerable mountain fortresses; Ezek 31:10). In Isa 2:12–17 (→ *g<sup>h</sup>* 4a) the day of Yahweh comes as judgment upon all the exalted and haughty (cf. in 2:12 the roots *g<sup>h</sup>*, *rûm*, *ns<sup>o</sup>* and, according to the LXX, *gbh* in par.; on 2:17, cf. 2:11; 5:15 is probably a gloss in Isa diction: *ʿênê g<sup>e</sup>bôhîm* “the eyes of the arrogant”; for the details of the traditiohistorical backgrounds of this passage, see Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 111–15).

(b) The theological use of the root in a few passages to indicate God’s majesty arises from the meaning “to be exalted, majestic” (cf. Job 40:10, *gôbah* alongside *gāʾôn* as an attribute of God’s dominion), primarily with a view to God’s infinite transcendence and incomparability as the absolutely superior (Psa 113:5; cf. Job 22:12; Psa 103:11; Isa 55:9; Job 11:8), whose glance down becomes a helpful act, a bending down to the helpless and poor (cf. Psa 113:5f.).

5. The LXX employs various terms to translate *gbh*, most often *hypsos* and *hypsēlos*, but never *hybris*. The OT usage of *gbh* survives at Qumran (cf. CD 1:15; 2:19), in early Judaism (cf. StrB 2:101ff.), and in the NT (cf. G. Bertram, “ὕψος,” *TDNT* 8:602–20).

## גבר *gbr* to be superior

S 1396; BDB 149b; *HALOT* 1:175a; *TDOT* 2:367–82; *TWOT* 310; *NIDOTTE* 1504

1. The root *gbr* “to be superior, strong” occurs in all branches of the Sem. languages; the subst. in the meaning “man” is limited to NWSem. (P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 245).

Akk. exhibits only the verb *gapāru* “to be superior” and the corresponding verbal adj. *gapru* “superior” (*AHw* 281; on the *b/p* shift, cf. the summary in M. Weippert, *Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine* [1971], 75–79).

Phoen. demonstrates only the subst. *gbr* “man” (*KAI* no. 24.8; no. 30.2), in Neo-Pun. perhaps *gbrt* “mighty deed(s?)” (*KAI* no. 145.6); similarly, the Mesha stele attests only the substs. *gbr* “man” and *gbrt* “woman” (*KAI* no. 181.16). Ug. exhibits the root only in PNs (cf. Gröndahl 126).

The root plays a large role in Aram., where in addition to the verb (*KAI* no. 223B.19; Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 82f.), the subst. *gbr* “man” (often in the sense of “anyone”), in particular, occurs in a broad distribution since Old Aram. (*DISO* 47; *LS* 102f.; cf. also *gbrth* “his might” in *KAI* no. 214.32).

Eth. *gbr* developed into the general verb “to do, work” (Dillmann 1159–67).

In addition to the qal, the verb occurs in pi., hi., and hitp.; nom. derivatives are *geber*, *g<sup>c</sup>bûrâ*, *g<sup>c</sup>bîr*, *g<sup>c</sup>bîrâ*, and *gibbôr*, in Bibl. Aram. *g<sup>c</sup>bar*, *g<sup>c</sup>bûrâ*, and *gibbar*.

The PNs *geber* (1 Kgs 4:13–19), a short form of *gabrîʾēl* (Dan 8:16; 9:21; *IP* 190: “God has proven himself strong”; cf. C.-H. Hunzinger, *RGG* 2:1185), and the place-names *gibbar* (Ezra 2:20) and *ʿšyôngeber* (*BHH* 1:461f.) must be included.

2. The verb *gbr* occurs 25x in the OT, 17x qal, 3x pi., 2x hi., and 3x hitp. The figures for the nouns are: *geber* 66x (Job 15x, Psa 10x, Jer 9x, Prov 8x), *g<sup>c</sup>bûrâ* 61x (Psa 17x, 2 Kgs and Isa 7x), *g<sup>c</sup>bîr* 2x (Gen 27:29, 37), *g<sup>c</sup>bîrâ* 15x, *gibbôr* 159x (1 Chron 31x, Jer 19x, 2 Sam 16x, Psa and 2 Chron 12x).

In Bibl. Aram. *gebar* appears 21x (Dan 17x), *gibbar* 1x (Dan 3:20), and *g<sup>c</sup>bûrâ* 2x (Dan 2:20, 23). In all, the word group occurs 352x in the OT in a rather broad pattern of distribution.

3. (a) All semantic nuances of the *qal* are related to the basic meaning “to be/become superior, strong.”

*gbr* can be used abs., with a comparative *min* (Gen 49:26; 2 Sam 1:23), *ʿal* (2 Sam 11:23) or *be* (1 Chron 5:2). Thus Gen 7:18–20, 24 uses *gbr* 4x to express the rising of the flood waters (7:18 par. *rbh* “to become many”). In battle *gbr* signifies “maintaining the upper hand” over the enemy (Exod 17:11; 2 Sam 11:23; Lam 1:16).

The pi. verb should be translated “to make strong” (Zech 10:6, 12; Eccl 10:10 in conjunction with *h<sup>a</sup>yālîm* “to expend might”), the hi. as an inner-trans. (internal) “to show oneself strong” (Psa 12:5; Dan 9:27 txt?), and the hitp. “to show oneself superior” (Isa 42:13; “to behave proudly” Job 15:25; 36:9).

The verb has no regular antonym; the flood narrative uses the verbs *škk* “to recede” (Gen 8:1) and *h<sup>s</sup>sr* “to diminish” (8:3, 5) as opposites of *gbr*.

(b) The basic meaning of *g<sup>e</sup>bûrâ*, closely related to the verb, is “superiority, strength, might.”

Very often it is “military might” (Isa 3:25; Jer 49:35; Ezek 32:29f.; in combination with *milḥāmâ* “battle”: 2 Kgs 18:20 = Isa 36:5; Isa 28:6). The Dtr framework uses *g<sup>e</sup>bûrâ* in the more general sense of “ability” (always in association with *šh* “to do”: 1 Kgs 15:23; 16:5, 27; 22:46, etc.). *g<sup>e</sup>bûrâ* can mean the “strength of the stallions” (Psa 147:10; Job 39:19) or fig. the “splendor” of the sun (Judg 5:31).

It has no consistent antonym in the semantic field.

(c) The segholate form *geber* (see H. Kosmala, “The Term *geber* in the OT and in the Scrolls,” *SVT* 17 [1969]: 159–69) is primarily attested in later OT literature (Psa, Job, Prov). The basic meaning of the root is curtailed here; *geber* is used as a rule just like → *ʾîš* “man.”

Thus *geber* can parallel *ʾîš* (Jer 22:30; Mic 2:2), *zākār* “man” (Jer 30:6), *ʾnôš* “person” (Job 4:17), or *ʾādām* “person” (Job 14:10). *ʾiššâ* “woman” (Deut 22:5; in the series “men-women-children,” Jer 43:6; cf. 44:20) and *n<sup>e</sup>qēbâ* “woman” (Jer 31:22; cf. Rudolph, HAT 12, 198f.) occur as antonyms. Like *ʾîš* (here the distance from the basic meaning of the root becomes esp. apparent), *geber* can even mean “male child” (Job 3:3) or be generalized to the pron. “anyone” (Joel 2:8, etc.; cf. the usage in Aram.; see 1).

(d) The intensive form *gibbôr* conforms closely to the meaning of the root.

*gibbôr* can be translated adj. as “strong” (1 Sam 14:52 “strong man” alongside *ben-ḥayil*; cf. 2 Sam 17:10; Psa 112:2 progeny; Gen 10:9 “mighty hunter”; Prov 30:30 uses *gibbôr* of an animal).

Accordingly, the basic meaning of the subst. is “strength”; par. terms include *ʿaddîr* “powerful one” (Judg 5:13), *ḥāzāq* “strong one” (Amos 2:14), and *ʿarîš* “mighty one” (Isa 49:25). *gibbôr* is the “strong (man)” in contrast to the (weak) woman (Josh 1:14; cf. Jer 48:41; 49:22; 51:30) or simply to the weak (Joel 4:10 *ḥallāš*) or the stumbling (1 Sam 2:4 *kšl*); as a development of this basic meaning *gibbôr* should be translated “tyrant” in Gen 10:8 = 1 Chron 1:10. Wisdom literature can contrast the strong with the wise (Prov 21:22; cf. Jer 9:22).

In most cases *gibbôr* is the “war hero,” sometimes in the common phrase *gibbôr ḥayil* (or the pl.). This phrase occurs 4x in Josh and 27x in Chron, for example. In particular, the par. terms that appear in the semantic field unambiguously indicate a military function for the *gibbôr* (phrases such as *ʾiš milḥāmā*, or the like: Josh 6:2f.; 10:7; 2 Sam 17:8; 2 Kgs 24:16; Isa 3:2; 42:13; Ezek 39:20; Joel 2:7; 4:9; 2 Chron 17:13; *ʾanšē ḥaḥayil*. 2 Kgs 24:16; Isa 5:22; Jer 48:14; Nah 2:4). *gibbôr ḥayil* in a more general sense, however, can also simply mean “capable man” (1 Sam 9:1; 1 Kgs 11:28; 2 Kgs 5:1; 1 Chron 9:13; 26:6). Regarding the *gibbôr ḥayil* as the social class of the (land-owning) militia, cf. the (somewhat divergent) positions of E. Würthwein, *Der ʿamm haʿarez* (1936), 15, 28; J. van der Ploeg, *RB* 50 (1941): 120–25; id., *OTS* 9 (1951): 58f.; de Vaux 1:70; Noth, *BK* 9, 257.

(e) Closely dependent on the basic meaning of the root, *g<sup>e</sup>bîr* can mean the “lord, master” (only Gen 27:29, 37), before whom servants (v 37) bow (v 29).

The fem. form is *g<sup>e</sup>bîrâ* “lady, mistress” (with the antonym *šiphâ* “maid” in Gen 16:1ff.; Isa 24:2; Psa 123:2). *g<sup>e</sup>bîrâ* is an honorary title at the royal court either for the queen (1 Kgs 11:19 par. *ʾiššâ* “wife”) or the king’s mother (1 Kgs 15:13 par. *ʿēm* “mother”; cf. Jer. 13:18, etc.). On the office of *g<sup>e</sup>bîrâ*, → *ʿēm* 4b.

4. (a) The discussion of Yahweh’s strength (*g<sup>e</sup>bûrâ*) occurs primarily in the Psa, in various contexts: in descriptive praise of Yahweh’s strength (Psa 65:7; 66:7; 89:14; 145:11; cf. Jer 10:6; Job 12:13; 1 Chron 29:11f.; 2 Chron 20:6); in the lament, which questions Yahweh’s might (Isa 63:15); in the request for God’s might (Psa 54:3; 80:3); in the vow of praise (Psa 21:14; 71:18); and in the historical psalms (Psa 106:8). Outside the Psa, Yahweh’s *g<sup>e</sup>bûrâ* is mentioned only 3x, in prophecy: in the announcement of judgment (Isa 33:13; Jer 16:21) and in the announcement of messianic salvation (Isa 11:2).

A whole series of pars. occur in the semantic field of the discussion of Yahweh’s *g<sup>e</sup>bûrâ*: *ʿōz* “strength” (Psa 21:14), *y<sup>e</sup>šûʿâ* “help” (Psa 80:3), *qînʾâ* “zeal” (Isa 63:15), *z<sup>e</sup>rôa<sup>c</sup>* “arm” (Psa 71:18; cf. 89:14), *yād* “hand” (Jer 16:21), *gedulla*® “greatness,”

*tip'eret* “majesty” (1 Chron 29:11), and *kōaḥ* “might” (1 Chron 29:12; 2 Chron 20:6). Although *g<sup>e</sup>bûrâ* and *ḥokmâ* “wisdom” are opposites in Eccl 9:16, they become par. terms in Job 12:13 and Prov 8:14.

(b) Descriptive praises express the greatness and strength of Yahweh's → *ḥesed* “grace” by the verb (in qal; Psa 103:11; 117:2). The contention that people, in contrast to God, are not strong in their own might (*kōaḥ*) and that therefore the godless will become naught (1 Sam 2:9), is a statement of trust. The lamenter's experience that enemies (Psa 12:5, hi.; Lam 1:16) and the godless (Job 21:7) are strong nevertheless and even feel that they are superior to God (*gbr* hitp. in Job 15:25; 36:9) is a harsh contrast.

(c) A variety of contexts use *gibbôr* to express the fact that Yahweh is “strong” (Deut 10:17 = Neh 9:32 par. *gādōl* “great” and *nôrā'* “frightful”; Jer 32:18 par. *gādōt*, cf. Isa 10:21) or a “hero” (Isa 9:5; Jer 20:11; Zeph 3:17).

(d) The Psa occasionally discuss Yahweh's *g<sup>e</sup>bûrôt*. Terms like *tehilla*® “glorious deed” and *nīplā'ôt* “wondrous deeds” (Psa 106:2 in the context of a report of Yahweh's historical acts; cf. Psa 71:16f.; 145:4ff.) occur in the semantic field. Introductions to descriptive psalms of praise (Psa 145:4ff.; 150:2) or expressions of confidence in lament contexts (Psa 20:7; 71:16; cf. 106:2; Deut 3:24) mention such *g<sup>e</sup>bûrôt*, and one may surmise that *g<sup>e</sup>bûrôt* should be understood as “Yahweh's mighty historical acts,” by which supplicants do not refer to specific events, but describe and summarize, at once, Yahweh's historical activity.

(e) The reports that the historical books give concerning the holy wars often discuss the fact that Yahweh himself fights against the enemies (*lhm* ni. Exod 14:14, etc.) and confuses them (*hmm* Josh 10:10, etc.), but the root *gbr* is entirely absent from these reports. By contrast, the root designates Yahweh's military might in the Psa and in prophecy. Thus the entrance liturgy of Psa 24:8 describes Yahweh as *'izzûz w<sup>e</sup>gibbôr* “strong one and hero” and in par. as *gibbôr milḥāmâ* “hero in battle”; similarly, the eschatological song of praise in Isa 42:13 has the hitp. verb as well as *gibbôr* (par. *ʾš milḥāmâ*). The lament in Jer 14:9 (“Why are you like a warrior who cannot help?”) and the late historical Psa 78:65 also use *gibbôr*.

(f) In contrast, the term *geber* in the general meaning “man, person” is never used of Yahweh; rather, Yahweh and his activity are distinguished from those of the *geber* (Job 10:5; 22:2; 33:29; Prov 20:24).

5. The LXX translates the word group with a wide variety of terms; the NT too has no uniform correlation to *gbr*. Cf. Kosmala, “The Term *geber* in the OT and in the Scrolls,” SVT 17 (1969): 167–69, on the post-OT usage of *geber* (esp. at Qumran).

J. Kühlewein

גָּדוֹל *gādôl* **great**

S 1419; BDB 152b; HALOT 1:177b; TDOT 2:390–416; TWOT 315d; NIDOTTE 1524

1. The root *gdl* “to be great” occurs only in Hebr. and Ug. In accordance with the general susceptibility of qualitative adj. modifiers to innovation, there is no common Sem. designation for “great”; terms for “great” in the other Sem. languages (Akk. *rabû*, Phoen. *ʿdr*, Aram. *rab*, Arab. *kabîr*, Eth. *ʿabîy*) exist with other meanings in Hebr. (→ *rab* “much, many,” → *ʿaddîr* “majestic,” *kabbîr* “strong, mighty,” *ʿbh* “to be thick”).

It is doubtful that *gādôl* is associated with the (common Sem.) root *gdl* II “to turn, twist” (Hebr. *gādîl* “tassels,” Deut 22:12; 1 Kgs 7:17; Akk. *gidlu* “skein”; Aram. *g<sup>c</sup>dîlā* “string,” etc.; on Arab. cf. J. Blau, VT 5 [1955]: 339); cf. GB 130b; SNHL 18f. (M. Dahood, Bib 45 [1964]: 397 also suggests *gdl* II unnecessarily in Psa 12:4 and 41:10).

Ug. uses *rb* (→ *rab*) more frequently than *gdl* for “great” (WUS no. 632; UT no. 562).

In addition to the verb in qal, pi., pu., hi., and hitp., Hebr. exhibits the nom. formations *gādôl* and *gādēl* (verbal adj.) “great,” *gōdel* and *g<sup>c</sup>dûllâ* (*g<sup>c</sup>dûllâ*) “greatness,” as well as *migdāl* “tower” (in place-names also *migdōl*), also found in Ug., Moab. (DISO 142), Aram. and, as a loanword, in Arab. (Fraenkel 236f.), Copt., and Berber (GB 396a).

The PNs *g<sup>c</sup>dalyâ(hû)*, *yigdalyāhû*, and *giddēl* (a shortened form; cf. *gdwl* in the Elephantine texts, BMAP 149) should also be mentioned; textually uncertain are *giddaltî* (1 Chron 25:4, 9; cf. Rudolph, HAT 21, 167f.) and *hagg<sup>c</sup>dôlîm* (Neh 11:14; cf. Rudolph, HAT 20, 184).

2. *gdl* occurs 54x in the qal (incl. Esth 9:4, inf. abs., listed in Lis. as an adj.), pi. 25x, pu. 1x, hi. 34x, hitp. 4x. *gādôl* appears 525x (incl. 1 Sam 6:18; excl. Esth 9:4 and Neh 11:14; see above) in the following distribution: Jer 48x, Deut 44x, Ezek 36x, 1 Sam 35x, Gen 33x, Psa 30x, 2 Kgs 29x, Neh and 2 Chron 27x, Josh 26x, 1 Kgs 22x, 2 Sam 18x, Exod and Dan 15x, Isa and Jonah 14x, Judg 12x, 1 Chron 11x, Zech 10x, Num and Esth 8x, Hag, Job, and Ezra 6x, Mal, Prov, and Eccl 4x, Joel 3x, Lev, Zeph and Nah 2x, Hos, Amos, Mic, and Lam 1x; it does not occur in Obad, Hab,

Ruth, or Song Sol. *gādēl* occurs 4x (Gen 26:13; 1 Sam 2:26; Ezek 16:26; 2 Chron 17:12), *gōdel* 13x (Deut 5x), *g<sup>e</sup>dūllā* (Esth 6:3 *g<sup>e</sup>dūlā*) 12x (1 Chron 4x, Psa and Esth 3x, also 2 Sam 7:21, 23), *migdāl* 49x (excl. 2 Sam 22:51 Q *migdōl* and the place-names).

3. (a) The numerous concrete-dimensional and abstract-figurative usages of *gādōl* “great” in reference to persons and things (cf. e.g., the categorization in *HAL* 170b) largely correspond to those of Eng. “great.” The semantic range is somewhat broader because *gādōl* also means “old (the older/oldest)” (cf. *qāṭān/qāṭōn* “small” and “young [the younger/youngest],” e.g., in Gen 29:16, “The older was named Leah, the younger Rachel”; 44:12, “He began with the oldest and ended with the youngest”), and “rich, wealthy” (e.g., 2 Sam 19:33; 2 Kgs 4:8), as well as “esteemed, leading” (often substantivized: e.g., sg. Lev 19:15; 2 Sam 3:38; Jer 52:13; pl. 1 Sam 17:14; 2 Sam 7:9; 2 Kgs 10:6; Jer 5:5, etc.); expressions such as *qōl gādōl* “loud voice” (Gen 39:14; Deut 5:22, etc.), *ʾōr gādōl* “bright light” (Isa 9:1), or *ʿōd hayyôm gādōl* “it is still high day” (Gen 29:7) are also somewhat idiomatic. The semantic range may be somewhat more restricted in view of the fact that not *gādōl* but → *rab* “much, many” is used with some terms of volume (e.g., with *r<sup>e</sup>kūš* “possessions,” Gen 13:6; *māqôm* “space,” 1 Sam 26:13; *derek* “way,” 1 Kgs 19:7; → *t<sup>e</sup>hôm rabbâ* “the great primeval waters,” Gen 7:11; Isa 51:10; Amos 7:4; Psa 36:7).

The normal antonym of *gādōl* in all its meanings is *qāṭān* “small, young, petty” (47x) or *qāṭōn* (54x, occurs only in the masc. sg., assimilated to the nom. formation of *gādōl*, BL 466), cf. e.g., Gen 1:16; Exod 18:22; Deut 25:13f.; 1 Chron 12:15.

*šāʿîr* “small, young, petty” (23x, incl. Dan 8:9, 8x in Gen) does not occur in opposition to *gādōl*, but to *b<sup>e</sup>kōr/b<sup>e</sup>kîrâ* “firstborn” (Gen 19:31–38; 29:26; 43:33; 48:14; Josh 6:26; 1 Kgs 16:34), *rab* “the elder” (Gen 25:23), *ʾaddîr* “majestic” (Jer 14:13), and *ʿāšûm* “strong” (Isa 60:22).

The merism “great and small” in the meaning “all,” also favored in other languages, occurs quite often (cf. P. Boccaccio, “I termini contrari come espressioni della totalit in Hebraico,” *Bib* 33 [1952]: 173–90; A. M. Honeyman, “Merismus in Biblical Hebrew,” *JBL* 71 [1952]: 11–18; H. A. Brongers, “Merismus, Synekdoche und Hendiadys in der bibel-hebr. Sprache,” *OTS* 14 [1965]: 100–114; on Eg. cf. A. Massart, FS Robert 38–46). Of 32 cases, 25 concern persons, the others animals (Psa 104:25) or (almost always negated) things (Num 22:18; 1 Sam 20:2; 22:15; 25:36; 30:19; 2 Chron 36:18).

The morphology of the usages varies greatly. *qāṭān* (12x; in Esth 1:5, 20; 2

Chron 31:15; 34:30 also in the masc. sg.) occurs along with *qātōn* (20x); the sequence of the expressions also varies (24x small-great, 8x great-small). The arrangement *min... w<sup>ead</sup>* “from . . . to” is most frequent (17x; *miqqātōn w<sup>ead</sup>-gādōl*, Gen 19:11; 1 Sam 5:9; 30:2; 2 Kgs 23:2; 25:26; Jer 8:10; 42:1, 8; 44:12; 2 Chron 15:13; with arts. or sufs., 1 Sam 30:19; Jer 6:13; 31:34; *miggādōl w<sup>ead</sup> qātān*, Esth 1:5, 20; 2 Chron 34:30; with sufs., Jonah 3:5); one also finds the simple *we* “and” (1 Sam 25:36; 1 Kgs 22:31 = 2 Chron 18:30 txt em; Jer 16:6; Job 3:19; 2 Chron 36:18), *ke . . . ke* “as . . . so” (Deut 1:17; 1 Chron 25:8; 26:13; 2 Chron 31:15), *’ō* “or” (Num 22:18; 1 Sam 20:2; 22:15), and *’im* “together with” (Psa 104:25; 115:13).

(b) The two substs. *gōdel* and *g<sup>e</sup>dūllā* are not simply synonyms. Rather, *gōdel* signifies abstract greatness (of God: Deut 3:24; 5:24; 9:26; 11:2; 32:3; Psa 150:2; of his grace, Num 14:19; of his arm, Psa 79:11; of arrogance of the heart, Isa 9:8; 10:12; of the pharaoh compared to a cedar, Ezek 31:2, 7, 18), and *g<sup>e</sup>dūllā/g<sup>e</sup>dūlā* means specifically either “high position, honor, majesty” (of God: 1 Chron 29:11; of a person: Psa 71:21; Esth 1:4; 6:3; 10:2) or something “great,” a “great deed” (of God: 2 Sam 7:21, 23; cf. 1 Chron 17:19[bis], 21, twice in the pl.; Psa 145:3, 6); the latter meaning is expressed in the plural, besides through the substantivized fem. pl. of *gādōl* (*g<sup>e</sup>dōlōt* “great things, great deeds”; Deut 10:21; Jer 33:3; 45:5; Psa 71:19; 106:21; Job 5:9; 9:10; 37:5; of Elisha, 2 Kgs 8:4; great speech, Psa 12:4; involvement with great things, Psa 131:1).

(c) In principle, the verb acquires no new connotations in comparison to the adjective. *gd* qal means not only “to become great = grow” (of children: Gen 21:8, 20; 25:27; 38:11, 14; Exod 2:10f.; Judg 11:2; 13:24; 1 Sam 2:21; 3:19; 1 Kgs 12:8, 10 = 2 Chron 10:8, 10; 2 Kgs 4:18; Ezek 16:7; Job 31:18 [cf. Fohrer, KAT 16, 423]; Ruth 1:13; of a lamb, 2 Sam 12:3; of a horn, Dan 8:9f.) and “to become great = be well-off” (Gen 24:35; 26:13[bis]; 1 Kgs 10:23 = 2 Chron 9:22; Jer 5:27; Eccl 2:9), but also “to be great, prove oneself great” (of God, his might, his name, his deeds: Num 14:17; 2 Sam 7:22, 26 = 1 Chron 17:24; Mal 1:5; Psa 35:27; 40:17 = 70:5; 92:6; 104:1; outcry, Gen 19:13; boasting, Zech 12:7; lament, Zech 12:11; pain, Job 2:13; guilt, Lam 4:6 and Ezra 9:6) and “to be great = be significant, mighty, valuable” (king: Gen 41:40; 2 Sam 5:10 = 1 Chron 11:9; Messiah, Mic 5:3; Mordecai, Esth 9:4; Ephraim and Manasseh, Gen 48:19[bis]; life, 1 Sam 26:24[bis]). Verbal clauses here are distinguished from nom. clauses with *gādōl* as predicate (something over 50x) by the fact that the former describe (analytically) an empirically perceived process and do not express (synthetically) a subjective assessment of a phenomenon (cf. the confession formulated as a new perception with a predicate adj. in Isa 12:6, “Great in your midst is the Holy One of Israel,” with the verbal statement of confidence that already presupposes the experience of Yahweh’s greatness in Mal 1:5, “You will say yourselves: Yahweh proves himself to

be great beyond Israel's borders"; cf. *HP* 26, 29–33).

The pi. of *gdl* is mostly factitive "to make great" (Gen 12:2; Num 6:5; Josh 3:7; 4:14; 1 Kgs 1:37, 47; Esth 3:1; 5:11; 10:2; 1 Chron 29:12, 25; 2 Chron 1:1; reflexive in the hitp. "to show oneself great" Ezek 38:23) and "to raise, rear" (2 Kgs 10:6; Isa 1:2; 23:4; 44:14; 49:21; 51:18; Ezek 31:4; Hos 9:12; Jonah 4:10; Dan 1:5; pass. in the pu., Psa 144:12; cf. *HP* 58f.), less frequently declarative "to declare great = praise" (Psa 34:4; 69:31; cf. the PN derived from a psalm quotation in 1 Chron 25:4, 9; cf. *HP* 40–43) or evaluative "to consider great" (Job 7:17; reflexive in the hitp. "to brag" Isa 10:15; Dan 11:36f.).

*gdl* hi. is either a normal causative "to make something great, to prove oneself great" (Gen 19:19; 1 Sam 12:24; 20:41 txt?; 22:51 K = Psa 18:51 Q; Isa 9:2; 28:29; 42:21; Ezek 24:9; Joel 2:20f.; Amos 8:5; Obad 12; Psa 41:10; 126:2f.; 138:2; Eccl 1:16; 2:4) or an inner-causative "to make oneself great = brag" (Jer 48:26, 42; Ezek 35:13; Zeph 2:8, 10; Psa 35:26; 38:17; 55:13; Job 19:5; Lam 1:9; on the distinction from the hitp. see *HP* 46–49) or "to make oneself become great = become great, wonderful" (Dan 8:4, 8, 11, 25; 1 Chron 22:5).

Again, of the relatively uncommon antonyms *qtn* qal "to be small" (Gen 32:11; 2 Sam 7:19 = 1 Chron 17:17), hi. "to make small" (Amos 8:5), and *šʿr* qal "to be small, petty" (Jer 30:19; Zech 13:7; Job 14:21), only the former occurs opposite *gdl*.

4. (a) If one surveys passages with *gādól* in a theological usage, it becomes apparent that the statement "Yahweh is great," etc., occurs primarily in the hymnic texts of the Zion tradition (Psa 48:2 "great is Yahweh and greatly to be praised in the city of our God"; 77:14 "who is as great a god as God"; cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:116; 95:3 "for Yahweh is a great God, a great king over all gods"; cf. 47:3 "a great king over all the world"; 96:4 = 1 Chron 16:25 "for great is Yahweh and greatly to be praised, he is more awesome than all the gods"; cf. Psa 145:3; 99:2 "Yahweh is great in Zion, he is exalted over all the nations"; 135:5 "Yahweh is great, our Lord is greater than all gods"; 147:5 "great is our Lord and rich in might"; also a reflection of Jerusalemite theology, Isa 12:6 "great in your midst is the Holy One of Israel"; and, as a hymnic motif in an individual lament, Psa 86:10 "for you are great and you do wonders"). Several passages also make clear that Yahweh's greatness over against the other gods was the original intention (Psa 77:14; 95:3; 96:4; 135:5), easily understandable as an adaptation from pre-Israelite Jerusalemite cult tradition concerning *ʾēl* → *ʿelyôn* (cf. the epithets → *ʾaddîr* and → *rab*, equally at home in Canaan, and also evident in Ug. as divine predications; on the Eg. designation of the divine as *wr* "the great," see S. Morenz, *Äg. Religion* [1960], 156f.). At the same time, Yahweh's greatness may be

related to the nations of the world, often in conjunction with the royal title (Psa 47:3; 86:9f.; 99:2; cf. also Jer 10:6f. “you are great and great is your name in might”; Mal 1:14 “I am a great king”; Ezek 38:23 “I will prove myself to be great and holy before the eyes of many nations,” with *gdl* hitp.), or stated without any particular referent (Psa 48:2; 145:3; 147:5; cf. also Psa 104:1 “Yahweh, my God, how great you are,” with *gdl* qal).

But divine predications could also be formed with *gādôl* or with *gdl* qal in other contexts, such as confessional statements (Exod 18:11, Jethro: “now I know that Yahweh is greater than all gods”; 2 Sam 7:22, David: “therefore, you are great, my Lord Yahweh”; 2 Chron 2:4, Solomon: “and the house that I will build must be great; for our God is greater than all gods”) and statements of confidence in prayers of lament and supplication (Psa 35:27; 40:17 = 70:5; cf. Mal 1:5; each of these passages with *gdl* qal). A further tradition complex is recognizable in the Dtn series of divine epithets (Deut 7:21 “Yahweh . . . , a great and awesome God”; 10:17 “the great, strong, and awesome God”), which are particularly popular in the diction of the post-exilic communal prayer (Jer 32:18; Neh 1:5; 8:6; 9:32; cf. 4:8; Dan 9:4; all passages with *gādôl*).

Since the Dtn period, God’s “greatness” is also discussed in the abstract (*gōdel* Deut 3:24; 5:24; 9:26; 11:2; 32:3; Psa 150:2; *gedulla*® 1 Chron 29:11 in a long series of similar expressions); the PNs *g<sup>c</sup>dalyâ(hû)* and *yigdalyāhû* (“God is great”) had already come into use somewhat earlier (Zeph 1:1 or Jer 38:1).

The book of Job expresses God’s greatness (in contrast to that of people or the creation) not by *gdl* but by *rbh* qal (Job 33:12 “God is greater than any human”) and by *šaggî<sup>ʔ</sup>* “exalted” (36:26 “see, God is exalted, we know him not”; cf. also 37:23 *šaggî<sup>ʔ</sup>kōāḥ* “great in power”); *ʔlkabbîr* “mighty God” in 36:5 is probably a textual error.

The messianic king, as representative and instrument, also receives the predicate “great” in Mic 5:3, “For now he will be great (*gdl* qal) to the ends of the earth.”

(b) The numerous passages that speak of the greatness of the divine character, manifestation, or activity should be distinguished from divine predications. Noteworthy here are esp. the name of God (→ *šēm*; *gādôl*. Josh 7:9; 1 Sam 12:22; 1 Kgs 8:42 = 2 Chron 6:32; Jer 10:6; 44:26; Ezek 36:23; Mal 1:11; Psa 76:2; 99:3; *gdl* qal: 2 Sam 7:26 = 1 Chron 17:24; *gdl* pi.: Psa 34:4; 69:31; *gdl* hi.: Psa 138:2 txt?) and the day of Yahweh (→ *yôm*; Jer 30:7; Joel 2:11; 3:4; Zeph 1:4; Mal 3:23; cf. Hos 2:2 “the day of Jezreel.”)

Further entities of this type associated with *gādôl* are *ʔap* “wrath” (Deut 29:23,

27), *z<sup>c</sup>rôa<sup>c</sup>* “arm, might” (Exod 15:16; cf. Psa 79:11 with *gōdel*), *ḥēmâ* “anger” (2 Kgs 22:13 = 2 Chron 34:21; Jer 36:7), *ḥesed* “grace” (1 Kgs 3:6 = 2 Chron 1:8; Psa 57:11 = 108:5; 86:13; 145:8; cf. Num 14:19 with *gōdeṭ*, Gen 19:19 with *gdl* hi.), *y<sup>c</sup>šû<sup>c</sup>ôt* “salvation” (2 Sam 22:51 = Psa 18:51 with *gdl* hi.), *kābôd* “glory” (Psa 21:6; 138:5), *kōaḥ* “strength” (Exod 32:11; Jer 27:5; 32:17; Nah 1:3, etc.; Num 14:17 with *gdl* qal), *n<sup>c</sup>qāmôt* “vengeance” (Ezek 25:17), *ḥēsâ* “counsel” (Jer 32:19), *rah<sup>a</sup>mîm* “mercy” (Isa 54:7, otherwise with → *rab*), and *tôrâ* “instruction” (Isa 42:21 with *gdl* hi.).

Particularly popular in Dtn-Dtr literature and later in connection with the exodus tradition (cf. Exod 14:31 J, “the great demonstration of might” with → *yād*) are expressions with *gādôl* that discuss great deeds, signs, wonders, etc., in the early history of the people (Deut 4:32, 34, 36f.; 6:22; 7:19; 9:29; 11:7; 26:8; 29:2; 34:12; Josh 24:17; Judg 2:7; 2 Kgs 17:36; Jer 32:21; Neh 1:10; cf. in P Exod 6:6 and 7:4; in reference to a phenomenon in Samuel’s time, 1 Sam 12:16).

Finally, expressions that appear in rather varied contexts for the great deeds of Yahweh should also be mentioned (*g<sup>e</sup>dûllâ*: 2 Sam 7:21, 23; cf. 1 Chron 17:19[bis], 21; Psa 145:3, 6; *g<sup>e</sup>dôlôt*: Deut 10:21; Jer 33:3; 45:5; Psa 71:19; 106:21; Job 5:9; 9:10; 37:5; *gdl* hi.: 1 Sam 12:24; Joel 2:21; Psa 126:2f.).

(c) In the great majority of passages, *gādôl* is thus a thoroughly positive term. This significance is no less true for its application to the people Israel, which, according to the patriarchal promises, is to become a “great people (→ *gôy*)” (Gen 12:2; 17:20; 18:18; 21:18; 46:3; Deut 26:5; cf. also Exod 32:10; Num 14:12; Deut 4:6–8; with → *rab*, Gen 50:20; Exod 1:9). In contrast, negative connotations, which treat human arrogance (with *g<sup>e</sup>dôlôt* Psa 12:4; with *gōdel* Isa 9:8; 10:12; with *gdl* hitp. Isa 10:15; Dan 11:36f.; with *gdl* hi. see the passages cited in 3c), are relatively rare for the root *gdl* (in contrast e.g., to → *g<sup>h</sup>*, → *gbh*).

To some degree as a corrective for the overestimation of human greatness, several passages in the OT emphasize the smallest or youngest, or the smallness and low position of a family or a people (Benjamin, Gideon, Saul, David, Bethlehem-Ephrathah, even Israel). On these “statements of insignificance or humility” (with *qātôn* Gen 42:13, 15, 20, 32, 34; 43:29; 44:26; 1 Sam 15:17; Isa 60:22; with *qātān* Gen 44:20; 1 Sam 16:11; 17:14; with *šā<sup>c</sup>ûr* Gen 43:33; Judg 6:15; 1 Sam 9:21; Isa 60:22; Mic 5:1 txt em; Psa 68:28; with *m<sup>c</sup>aṭ* Deut 7:7 “not because you were more numerous than all nations did Yahweh incline to you and choose you, for you are the smallest among all the peoples, but because Yahweh loved you”), see O. Bächli, “Die Erwählung des Geringen im AT,” TZ 22 (1966): 385–95.

5. In the language of Qumran, which hardly progresses beyond OT usage, a new word *gwdl* for “thumb” appears (1QM 5:13; cf. *qōṭen* “little

finger” in 1 Kgs 12:10 = 2 Chron 10:10).

On the LXX, intertestamental literature, and the NT, see W. Grundmann, “μέγας,” *TDNT* 4:529–44; O. Michel, “μικρός,” *TDNT* 4:648–59.

E. Jenni

גוֹי *gôy* **people** → עַם *‘am*

גוּר *gûr* **to sojourn**

S 1481; BDB 157b; *HALOT* 1:184a; *TDOT* 2:439–49; *TWOT* 330; *NIDOTTE* 1591

גֵּר *gēr* **sojourner**

S 1616; BDB 158a; *HALOT* 1:201a; *TDOT* 2:439–49; *TWOT* 330a; *NIDOTTE* 1731

1. The root *gûr*, certainly attested in the meaning “to sojourn” only in NWSem., occurs outside Hebr. almost exclusively as a subst. “guest, protégé, client.”

Akk. *gurru*, associated with *gēr* in *CAD* G:140b, is explained differently in *AHW* 287a.

The Ug. occurrences from *KTU* 1.19.III.47; 1.140.35 are very uncertain (*WUS* nos. 690f.; *UT* no. 567; Gray, *Legacy* 122, 243).

Phoen.-Pun. *gr* means “protégé, client” (*KAI* no. 37A.16, B.10; a frequent element in PNs, Harris 92f.; cf. Stamm, *AN* 264, on *ubārum*), as does Moab. *gr* in *KAI* no. 181.16f., where a fem. can also be inferred (*KAI* 2:176).

Because the Old Aram. *gûr* “to be exiled” (so *DISO* 49 following Dupont-Sommer) should be disregarded (thus, with some difference, Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 91; *KAI* 2:263; K. R. Veenhof, *BO* 20 [1963]: 142–44, followed by R. Degen, *Altaram. Grammatik* [1969], 19, 71), Aram. examples begin with Nab. and Palm. *gr* “client” (*DISO* 53). Later Aram. dialects develop the divergent meaning *gûr* “to commit adultery” (*gayyôrā*’ “adulterer”).

SSem. equivalents adduced (namely Arab. *jār* “neighbor”; cf. Eth. *gôr*) contribute

nothing to the elucidation of the Hebr. root.

The verb *gûr* (qal and hitpo.) “to sojourn,” the subst. *gēr* “foreigner, protégé,” and the derivative abstract formations *gērût* (Jer 41:17 in a place-name; according to Alt, *KS* [1959], 3:358f. “guest’s fief”) and *m<sup>e</sup>gûrîm* “strangerhood” occur in Hebr.

2. After the exclusion of the homonyms *gûr* II “to attack” and *gûr* III “to be afraid,” Lis. 319f. lists 81 occurrences of *gûr* qal (incl. Judg 5:17; Isa 54:15b; Jer 13x, Lev 11x) and 3 of the hitp. (1 Kgs 17:20; Jer 30:23 txt?; Hos 7:14 txt?). Although *gûr* is already attested before the exile (Gen 12:10; 19:9; 20:1, etc.), the focus of the usage lies in the exilic and post-exilic literature (in H, Lev 17–26, 10x; in Jer 42–50, 12x).

*gēr* occurs 92x in MT (Deut 22x, Lev 21x, Exod 12x, Num 11x, Ezek 5x, Psa 4x), *m<sup>e</sup>gûrîm* 11x (excl. the sg. form in Psa 55:16; Gen 6x and Exod 1x, all passages in P; further Ezek 20:38; Psa 119:54; Job 18:19; Lam 2:22), *gērût* 1x.

The term *gēr* has evidently been used since early times (Covenant Code 6x, 2 Sam 1:13), but it apparently came into frequent usage only toward the end of the state of Judah (de Vaux 1:75) or after the exile. This phenomenon can be adequately explained in terms of events of the period (population loss, emigration, economic difficulties) and theological motifs (the community’s concerns for its unity in distinction from the environment, achieved, in part, by the integration of the “sojourner in your gates”; thus the weight that the legal texts of priestly origin place on this problem; cf. Elliger, HAT 4, 227).

3. (a) The *gēr* is distinguished from the foreigner in general, the *nokrî* or → *zār*, in that he/she is the stranger who has settled, who has established himself/herself for a particular period in the land and to whom a special status is granted. The *tôšāb* “inhabitant,” discussed in post-exilic priestly texts in particular (14x, 8x in Lev), often parallels the *gēr* (Gen 23:4; Lev 25:23, 35, etc.). The social status of the *tôšāb* is comparable, if not identical, with that of the *gēr*. The Spartan *perioikos* or the Athenian *metoikos* would be comparable to the *gēr*.

The *gēr*, alone or in a group, has left his/her homeland as a result of political, economic, or other circumstances and seeks protection in another community, as Abraham did in Hebron (Gen 23:4), Moses in Midian (Exod 2:22 = 18:3), the Bethlehemite Elimelech and his family in Moab (Ruth 1:1), an Ephraimite in Benjaminite territory (Judg 19:16), and even as the Israelites in Egypt (Exod 22:20 = 23:9 = Lev 19:34 = Deut 10:19; Lev 25:23). The relationship between the landless Levites and the *gērîm* also bears comparison: Judg 17:7ff.; 19:1; Deut 14:29; 26:11–13, etc.

The *gēr* does not enjoy the full rights of an Israelite; e.g., he/she possesses no land (according to Ezek 47:22 this limitation will be revoked in the Israel of the future). The *gēr* is usually the servant of an Israelite, who is lord and patron (Deut 24:14). As a rule, the *gēr* is poor (cf., however, Lev 25:47) and is as a result numbered among the economically weak who, like widows and orphans, can lay claim to aid.

They have the right to glean (Lev 19:10; 23:22; Deut 24:19–21, etc.); they stand under divine protection (Deut 10:18; Psa 146:9; Mal 3:5); the Israelites should love them as they love themselves (Lev 19:34; Deut 10:19), bearing in mind their own sojourn in Egypt (Exod 22:20, etc.); they take care not to oppress the *gēr* (so already in the Covenant Code, Exod 22:20–23; 23:9), who enjoys largely the same rights as their own citizens (participation in the tithe, Deut 14:29; Sabbath year, Lev 25:6; cities of refuge, Num 35:15). According to Lev 20:2; 24:16, 22; Deut 1:16, Israelite and *gēr* are subject to the same law; in short, in daily life no distinction between *gērîm* and Israelites existed (de Vaux 1:75).

(b) From a religious perspective the same prescriptions are valid for Israelites and *gērîm* (Exod 12:49; Num 15:15f.): the *gēr* too must keep the Sabbath (Exod 20:10 = Deut 5:14), the fasts of the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:29), and the Passover (Num 9:14, etc.), on the condition that he is circumcised (Exod 12:48). He can sacrifice (Lev 17:8; 22:18; Num 15:15f., etc.) and participate in the festivals (Deut 16:11, 14). He is by all means obligated to observe purity regulations (Lev 17:8–16; 18:26, etc.; cf. Lev 17:15 in contrast to Deut 14:21). Thus the *gēr* is more or less equal to the Israelite even in this area.

Consequently, the LXX translation of the Hebr. term primarily with *prosēlytos* and understanding of the *gēr* as a proselyte in the technical sense, i.e., as one who, through an act of initiation (circumcision), has identified himself with Judaism (so also Mid. Hebr. *gēr* and Aram. *gîyā/ôrā*?, cf. *DISO* 53; see 5 below), is not surprising at all. In the LXX *prosēlytos* occurs 77x, *paroikos* 11x (Gen 15:13; 23:4, etc., i.e., when the specific understanding of the term as a proselyte is excluded), *xenos* 1x (Job 31:32), and *g(e)iōros* 2x (Exod 12:19; Isa 14:1).

(c) As the sources indicate, the status of the *gēr* evolved over time. The legal texts suggest an increasingly pronounced tendency to assimilate the *gēr* to the Israelites, esp. in religious contexts (the technical term for the native full citizen is *ʿezrāh*, 17x, juxtaposed with the *gēr* in Exod, Lev, Num, Josh 8:33; Ezek 47:22; in addition to Lev 23:42 and Psa 37:35 txt em). Originally a foreigner who settled in Israel or in one of the tribes and as such was placed under Yahweh's protection (Covenant Code), the *gēr* already merits special treatment in Deut alongside the widow and the

orphan, indeed, on the basis of a salvation-historical concept: Israel itself was once *gēr*. Finally, the priestly tradition practically makes the stranger a member of the community by imposing precise requirements upon him.

Regarding the history of the term and its background, cf. A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* (1896); E. Neufeld, *HUCA* 26 (1955): 391–94; P. Grelot, *VT* 6 (1956): 177f.; de Vaux 1:74f.; F. Horst, *RGG* 2:1125f. with bibliog.; K. G. Kuhn, *TDNT* 6:727–44; Th. M. Horner, “Changing Concepts of the ‘Stranger’ in the OT,” *ATR* 42 (1960): 49–53; L. M. Muntingh, “Die Begrip *gēr* in die OT,” *NedGTT* 3 (1962): 534–58.

4. The following viewpoints are theologically significant:

(a) Yahweh himself cares for the sojourner in Israel. Israel’s God is at the same time its patron and commands his people not only not to oppress the sojourner but even to love him/her (Lev 19:33f.; Deut 10:19; → *hb* IV/1).

(b) Deut in particular (Exod 22:20b; 23:9b are secondary, Lev 19:34b is a development of Deut 10:19) draws a connection between the ethical requirement with reference to the *gēr* and Israel’s sojourn in Egypt.

(c) In addition, however, a few passages also treat Israel (like formerly its ancestor Abraham as a type, Gen 23:4) as *gēr* (and *tōšāb*) in Canaan, in Yahweh’s land (Lev 25:23 “the land is mine, but you are strangers and sojourners with me”; Psa 39:13 “for I am a guest with you, a sojourner like all my fathers”; 119:19 “I am a guest on earth”; 1 Chron 29:15 “for we are guests and strangers before you like all our fathers”). On these (spiritualized) concepts and their traditio-critical origins—among other things, the asylum function of the sanctuary also plays a role here (cf. Psa 15:1 with *gûr*; also the Phoen. theophoric proper names formed with *gēr*)—cf. K. L. Schmidt, “Israels Stellung zu den Fremdlingen und Beisassen und Israels Wissen um Seine Fremdling- und Beisassenschaft,” *Judaica* 1 (1945): 269–96; K. L. and M. A. Schmidt, *TDNT* 5:846–48; H. Wildberger, *EvT* 16 (1956): 417–20.

5. In the Hellenistic era the religious aspect of the term *gēr* underwent increased accentuation. *gēr* no longer indicated just the settled foreigner, but the pagan accepted into the Jewish community, the proselyte (in both Judaism and the NT distinguished from the *sebomenos*, the “God-fearer”; cf. Acts 13:50, etc.). Cf. K. G. Kuhn, “προσήλυτος,” *TDNT* 6:727–44; K. L. Schmidt, M. A. Schmidt, and R. Meyer, “πάροικος,” *TDNT* 5:841–853; W. Grundmann, “δῆμος: παρεπίδημος,” *TDNT* 2:64f.

R. Martin-Achard

## לוֹט *gôrāl* lot

S 1486; BDB 174a; HALOT 1:185a; TDOT 2:450–56; TWOT 381a; NIDOTTE 1598

1. *gôrāl* “lot” is attested only in Hebr. and may be said, with a degree of certainty, to be related to Arab. *jarwal* “pebble” (HAL 195a).

2. *gôrāl* occurs 77x in the Hebr. Bible (excl. Prov 19:19 K; read Q *gdI*), mostly in late texts (lacking in Gen, Exod, Deut, Sam, Kgs, Amos, Hos, the authentic passages of Isa, etc.), in accordance with its sacral-legal primary meaning predominantly in priestly contexts (Lev 16:8–10 5x, Num 7x, Josh 14–21 26x, 1 Chron 13x, the remaining books 3x or less).

It remains questionable whether *gôrāl* should be read for *gādôl* and *gilyôn gôrāl* should be translated “common tablet” in Isa 8:1, with K. Galling, ZDPV 56 (1933): 213.

3. (a) In a concrete meaning, *gôrāl* indicates the lot cast in order to make particular decisions (in Lev 16:8–10 for the selection of the rams for Yahweh and Azazel, in Judg 20:9 for the attack on Gibeah, for the distribution of the spoils in Obad 11, of people in Nah 3:10, of the nation in Joel 4:3, of clothing in Psa 22:19 [cf. Mark 15:24 pars.], for the cessation of hostilities in Prov 18:18, etc. [more examples in HAL 178a; J. Lindblom, “Lot-Casting in the OT,” VT 12 [1962]: 164–66).

The hypothesized technique of casting lots (like the precise meaning of Urim and Thummim and the ephod) remains unclear even today (cf. A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea* [1908], 3:293f.; Dalman, *AuS* 2:43f.; StrB 2:596f.; R. Press, *ZAW* 51 [1933]: 227–31; *BHH* 2:1103; Lindblom, op. cit. 164–78). One should possibly assume various techniques for various places, times, and contexts. Particular indicators with reference to *gôrāl* result from Prov 16:33, according to which the lot is shaken in the lap, as well as from the verbs that *gôrāl* can serve as subj. or obj. (*ʿlh* “to come up,” *yšʿ* “to come out,” *hyh le* and *npl ʿlIʿ* “to fall upon,” or *ʿûl* hi., *ydd*, *yrlh*, *npl* hi., *ntn*, *šlk* hi. “to cast”).

*pûr* (only in Esth) and *qsm/qesem* should be mentioned as semantically related.

Esth 3:7 and 9:24 use *gôrāl* as a gloss or translation of *pûr* (used with *npl* hi. “to cast”; Akk. *pûru* “lot”; cf. L. Dürr, *OLZ* 38 [1935]: 297; J. Lewy, *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* 5 [1939]: 117–24), and 9:26 derives the name of the Purim festival (*pûrîm* also in 9:28f., 31f.) from it (cf. e.g., Ringgren, *ATD* 16/2, 115f.; Bardtke, *KAT* 17/5, 243ff. with bibliog.; *BHH* 3:1532).

According to KBL 844f., *qsm* means “to inquire of the lot oracle, practice

divination” (20x); *qesem* “lot oracle” (11x) and *miqsām* “inquiry of the lot oracle” belong to this root. Wildberger (*Isa 1–12*, CC, 99, 105f. on Isa 2:6 txt em) argues for a somewhat broader meaning “to divine.”

(b) According to Num 26:55f.; 33:54; 34:13; 36:2f.; Josh 14:2, etc., territory was to be allotted to the individual Israelite tribes during the conquest by means of the lot. Alt even suggests that every seven years a new lottery took place (*EOTHR* 128n.119; cf. also id., *KS* [1959], 3:373–81 on Mic 2:1–5).

Subsequently, the allotment of a tribe or a family can be metonymically described as *gôrāl* (Josh 15:1; cf. 16:1; 17:1, 14, 17; Judg 1:3, etc.). *gôrāl* thus becomes a par. term for *naḥ<sup>al</sup>lâ* “inheritance” (→ *nḥl*), *ḥēleq* “portion” (→ *ḥlq*), *ḥebel* “allotment,” *y<sup>c</sup>ruššâ* “possession” (→ *yrš*), *ḥuzzâ* “property” (→ *ḥz*), → *segulla*® “possession,” *miqneh* “acquisition” (→ *qnh*), → *ḥeres* “land,” etc.

The absence of the term in Deut may well be due to the fact that Deut is not interested in individual tribal portions but only in the land as a whole (cf. von Rad, *Gottesvolk* 43).

(c) Like *naḥ<sup>al</sup>lâ*, *ḥēleq*, and *ḥebel*, *gôrāl* is also used figuratively and generally means, then, “portion, fate, destiny.”

The transition from the proper to the fig. meaning may be demonstrated more readily for *ḥēleq* and *naḥ<sup>al</sup>lâ* than for *gôrāl*. Num 18:20 may serve as one example among many: “Yahweh said to Aaron: You shall receive no inheritance (*nḥl*) in your land and you shall have no portion (*ḥēleq*) of it; I am your portion (*ḥēleq*) and your inheritance (*naḥ<sup>al</sup>lâ*) among the Israelites.”

The most important passages for the fig. usage are Isa 17:14 (par. *ḥēleq*); 34:17 (par. *ḥlq* pi.); 57:6 (par. *ḥēleq*); Jer 13:25 (par. *m<sup>c</sup>nāt* “portion”; cf. Wagner no. 175); Psa 16:5f. (par. *m<sup>c</sup>nāt*, *ḥēleq*, and *ḥebel*); perhaps Psa 125:3; Dan 12:13, “You will arise to your lot at the end of days.”

On the whole problem, cf. J. T. E. Renner, “A Study of the Word *Gôrāl* in the OT” (diss., Heidelberg, 1958).

4. To the degree that the casting of lots in the understanding of the OT, as for antiquity in general, may be considered a request for divine judgment, all usages of *gôrāl* can be describe as theological. The fig. usage makes this concept clear by the fact that Yahweh expressly determines the lot and fate of people or even is their lot himself. One passage does not assume the otherwise automatic identification of decision

by lot and divine judgment (it may even be called into question): Prov 16:33, “The lot is cast in the lap, but all judgment (*mišpāṭ*) comes from Yahweh.”

5. At Qumran the term underwent a further semantic transformation. It simultaneously indicates: (a) a decision or a conclusion, (b) a rank or office within the community, (c) a party or adherents, (d) the fate coming to pass (as requital), and (e) (in 1QM) even a military formation (cf. F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte* [1956], 169–73).

The NT follows LXX usage, which translates *gōrāl* in the majority of cases (62x) with *klēros*, for which the fig. meaning predominates in the NT. Cf. W. Foerster and J. Herrmann, “κλήρος,” *TDNT* 3:758–85.

H. H. Schmid

## גִּיל *gîl* to rejoice

S 1523; BDB 162a; *HALOT* 1:189b; *TDOT* 2:469–75; *TWOT* 346; *NIDOTTE* 1635

1. *gîl* “to rejoice” also occurs outside Hebr. in Ug., where in *KTU* 1.16.I.15, II.37 the par. *šmh* “to be happy” (Hebr. → *šmh*) seems to assure the meaning.

Regarding the suggested connection with Arab. *jāla* “to revolve, wander about,” cf. P. Humbert, “Laetari et exultare dans le vocabulaire religieux de l’AT,” *RHPR* 22 (1942): 213 = *Opuscules d’un hébraïsant* (1958), 144; contrast L. Kopf, *VT* 9 (1959): 249f. (Arab. *jll*). Each of the Ssem. verbs adduced for the meaning of *gîl* in the OT is unproductive (cf. still *HAL* 182).

Hebr. forms the verbal nouns *gîl* and *gîlâ* in addition to the verb (qal). On the PN <sup>ab</sup>*bîgayil*, cf. J. J. Stamm, *FS Baumgartner* 316.

2. The verb occurs 45x (Psa 19x [2:11 may be disregarded due to emendation], Isa 11x, Min. Pr. 8x, Prov 5x, in addition to Song Sol 1:4 and 1 Chron 16:31 [= Psa 96:11], the subst. *gîl* 8x (Psa 3x, Prophets 4x, Job 3:22 txt?), and *gîlâ* 2x (Isa 35:2; 65:18).

The assignment of Psa 43:4 to *gîl* I “youth(?)” or *gîl* II “joy” is disputed (*HAL* 182a).

3. (a) The word group occurs almost exclusively, then, in the

prophetic books and in the Psa; a great portion of the prophetic texts, however, contain psalm forms. Thus *gîl* belongs in the context of the cult; it has a firm place in the process of the praise of God. It occurs only rarely in profane contexts (Isa 9:2b; 16:10 = Jer 48:33; Hab 1:15; Psa 45:16; Prov 2:14; 23:24f.; 24:17; Song Sol 1:4). Isa 16:10 = Jer 48:33; Hos 9:1; and 10:5 use the word in the context of the prophetic accusation.

*śmh* “to be happy” most often (over 30x) parallels *gîl*; it is followed by *śûś/śîś* “to be happy,” *rnn* “to rejoice,” *rûa<sup>c</sup>* hi. “to cry out,” *ʿlz* “to exult,” etc.; cf. the list in Humbert, op. cit. 206, 137f.

The resultant picture indicates that *gîl* belongs in the semantic field indicated by Eng. “joy.” This semantic field is much more richly developed in Hebr. than in modern languages because in Hebr. joy does not primarily mean a feeling, an emotion, or an attitude, but joy visibly expressed, i.e., a congregational act. Now, because options for the verbal and gestural expression of joy are highly varied, one has difficulty precisely translating many Hebr. terms. The rendering of *gîl* with “to rejoice” or “to jubilate” is only an approximate, rough translation. Because *gîl* parallels *śmh* in more than half its occurrences, the broader sense of the word, even if not the precise nuance, is firmly established.

Like *śmh*, *gîl* can express joy in the profane realm: at a wedding (Psa 45:16 subst.; cf. Song Sol 1:4), the joy of parents in their children (Prov 23:24f.), joy at the division of plunder, joy at harvest, joy at gloating, etc. (Isa 9:2b; 16:10 = Jer 48:33; Hab 1:15; Prov 2:14; 24:17). One cannot, however, distinguish sharply between the profane and the cultic usage; in Joel 2:23 joy for the rain is simultaneously “joy for Yahweh.” The usage of the word still gives clear evidence of a phase in which profane event and holy event were not differentiated.

(b) Subjects of *gîl* are (1) people: an individual (Isa 61:10; Hab 3:18; Psa 9:15; 13:6; 16:9; 31:8; 35:9; 43:4 txt?; 51:10; Prov 23:24f.; 24:17), the nation (Psa 14:7 = 53:7; 48:12, etc.), the nations (Isa 25:9; cf. 66:10), the poor and the righteous (Isa 29:19; Psa 32:11), enemies (Psa 13:5; cf. Hab 1:15), evil (Prov 2:14), idol priests (Hos 10:5), and the king (Psa 21:2); (2) nature: the earth (Isa 49:13; Psa 96:11 = 1 Chron 16:31; Psa 97:1), steppe and desert (Isa 35:1f.), and hill (Psa 65:13 with *gîlâ*); (3) God (Isa 65:19; Zeph 3:17).

People are thus predominantly the subject of the verb. In this respect the people or the individual are usually intended in contrast to God. Because God’s praise always has the tendency to broaden itself, the circle of the joyous is also broadened to include creation. God “rejoices” in two late texts.

The (intrans.) verb is generally used absolutely. Otherwise it is often constructed with *be* (usually in reference to God, e.g., Psa 118:24, or his deed, e.g., Psa 9:15), also twice with *ʿal* (Hos 10:5; Zeph 3:7); cf. Humbert, op. cit. 205, 137.

4. (a) The vast majority of passages refer to praising God. The impv. cry of praise is issued in the context of the call to praise: Psa 32:11, “Be happy over Yahweh, and rejoice, O righteous”; similarly Isa 65:18; 66:10; Joel 2:21, 23; Zech 9:9. Psa 149:1f. extends the impv. cry of praise in a juss.: “Sing to Yahweh a new song . . . , may Israel rejoice in its creator, may the sons of Zion rejoice over their king”; juss. also occur in Isa 35:1f.; Psa 96:11 = 1 Chron 16:31; Psa 97:1. A call to praise in the 1st per. (voluntative or cohortative) occurs in Psa 118:24, “This is the day which Yahweh has made, let us rejoice and be happy over it”; similarly in Isa 25:9; Psa 31:8. The call to praise in the “eschatological song of praise” is a prophetic variation (Isa 49:13; 61:10; 66:11; Zech 9:9). Praise or joy is a consequence of God’s action: Psa 9:15, “That I may tell . . . , (that) I may rejoice over your aid”; cf. Isa 29:19; 41:16; Zech 10:7; Psa 14:7 = 53:7; 16:9; 21:2; 48:12; 51:10; 65:13; 89:17; 97:8; with the subst. Isa 9:2a txt em; Psa 43:4 txt?; the joy of Yahweh corresponds to this praise in Isa 65:19; Zeph 3:17. *gîl* occurs in the vow to praise in Psa 35:9, “But I will rejoice over Yahweh and be happy over his aid,” in addition to Hab 3:18; Psa 13:6.

The motif “so that my enemies may not rejoice” occurs in prayer in Psa 13:5. The disappearance of happiness and joy (from the house of Yahweh) is mourned in the lament (Joel 1:16) and announced in the judgment oracle (Isa 16:10 = Jer 48:33).

In all these groups the basic procedure is the same: the happy, joyous reaction to an event, in most passages to a saving or liberating act of God (Psa 9:15; 35:9). An act of God in the history of the people or of an individual is usually intended, but history includes God’s creative activity (Joel 2:21, 23). The fact that passages termed “profane” also have essentially the same intention should be understood on this basis; even parents’ happiness in their children (Prov 23:24f.) presupposes an act of God and is, so seen, joy over an act of God.

(b) The contrast to the two Hos passages in which *gîl* is modified negatively, is, then, all the more pronounced: 9:1, “Do not rejoice, Israel! Do not exult (read *ʿal-tāgēl* for *ʿel-gîl* ) like the nations! For you are unfaithful to your God” (cf. the translation of Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 149), and 10:5, “They rejoice over it because of its glory” (txt?). Wolff (op. cit. 153) says of 9:1: “In the Old Testament the word-pair גִּיל-שָׂמַח (“rejoice-exult”) occurs for the first time in Hosea. The expression is at the same time evidence for the originally Dionysian character of the Canaanite fertility

cult.” It may be assumed with certainty that *gîl* also occurred in the Canaanite fertility cults, and it is directly attested by 10:5, if the text is in order. One may not conclude from this, however, that the procedure intended by *gîl* or the term *gîl* itself belonged originally to “the Dionysian character of the Canaanite fertility cult” (cf. Wolff, *ibid.*). Jubilation as an expression of joy, esp. in the cult, is one of the most widely known phenomenon common to religions. In Hos 9:1 (just as in Amos 5:23), however, *Israel’s* joy and exultation in *its* worship is rejected; not because it had its origins in the Canaanite fertility cult, but because it is not in response to the activity of Israel’s God: “for you are unfaithful to your God.”

5. The LXX usually renders *gîl* by *agalliaomai*, less often by *chairō*. Qumran (cf. Kuhn, *Konk.* 44c) and the NT continue the OT usage. Cf. R. Bultmann, “ἀγαλλιάομαι,” *TDNT* 1:19–21.

C. Westermann

## גלה *glh* to uncover

S 1540; BDB 162b; *HALOT* 1:191b; *TDOT* 2:476–88; *TWOT* 350; *NIDOTTE* 1655

\*1. Hebr. *glh* (trans.) meaning “to uncover” has primarily NWSem. counterparts (*DISO* 50; *HAL* 183b; also Arab. *jalā* “to make/become clear”): Phoen. in the Ahiram inscription (*KAI* no. 1.2), *wygl ʾrn zn* “. . . shall uncover this sarcophagus” (*ANET* 661b); Imp. Aram. in *Ah.* 141, “Reveal not (*ʾltgly*) thy [*secrets*] before thy [*fri*]ends” (*ANET* 429b); and in Cowley no. 37.8, “if we were to appear [*glyn ʾnpyn*] before . . . ,” as well as in later Aram. (cf. e.g., *LS* 115f.).

A second (intrans.) meaning occurs in Ug., which offers a verb of motion (M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts* [1955], 64; *WUS* no. 652, *gly* “to proceed toward”; *UT* no. 579, “to leave”), also in Hebr. and in later Aram. “to go forth, to go into exile” (as an Aram. loanword also in Akk. *galû*, cf. *AHw* 275b), as well as in Arab. (*jalā* “to emigrate”).

The relationship of the two meanings, as usually understood (*GB* 139f.; *HAL* 183f.; Pope, *op. cit.*), can be pictured in terms of a regular elliptical omission of the obj. “land” resulting in the meaning “to go forth, to emigrate = to lay (the land) bare.” In view of the questionable nature of this derivation, it is probably preferable to leave the etymology issue open and to assume two different verbs for semasiological purposes (cf. Mandl.

262f.; Zorell 151f.): a trans. *glh* I “to uncover” (see 4) and an intrans. *glh* II “to go forth, to be led into exile” (see 3).

*glh* occurs in the OT in all seven stems (as do only *bq<sup>c</sup>* “to divide,” → *hlh* “to be weak, sick,” → *yd<sup>c</sup>* “to know,” → *yld* “to bear,” and → *pqd* “to visit”); with the division into two verbs, the qal, ni., pi., pu., and hitp. remain for *glh* I “to uncover,” and qal, hi., and ho. (Isa 38:12 ni. is textually uncertain) remain for *glh* II “to go forth.” Of the noms., *gillāyôn* “tablet” (Isa 8:1; on Isa 3:23 see HAL 185b) may be assigned to *glh* I; *gôlâ* “exiles; exile” and *gālût* “deportation; deportees” (each with a secondary abstract or concrete meaning, resp.) belong to *glh* II.

*glh* I pe. “to reveal” and *glh* II ha. “to take into exile,” as well as the subst. *gālû* “deportation,” occur in Bibl. Aram.

Whether the PN *yogli* (Num 34:22) should be derived from *glh* I remains uncertain (cf. *IP* 244).

2. The verb occurs in Hebr. 187x (Mandl. mentions Jer 52:29 in some MSS and editions, as well), in Aram. 9x. The distribution of the verb stems is as follows: qal 50x (“to uncover” 21x, “to go forth” 29x, if, contrary to Mandl., Prov 27:25 should be assigned to *glh* II), ni. 32x (Isa 8x, 1 Sam 6x, Ezek 5x, 2 Sam 4x), pi. 56x (excl. Psa 119:22, which, contrary to Lis., belongs to *gll* pi.; Lev 24x, Isa 6x), pu. 2x, hitp. 2x, hi. 38x (Jer 13x, 2 Kgs 12x), ho. 7x; Aram. pe. 7x (Dan), ha. 2x (Ezra). As for the two verbal roots, *glh* I occurs 112x (in addition to 7x Aram.) and *glh* II 75x (incl. Isa 38:12 ni.; as well as 2x Aram.).

*gôlâ* occurs 42x (Ezra 12x, Ezek 11x, Jer 10x), *gālût* 15x (Jer 5x, Ezek 3x), Aram. *gālû* 4x.

3. Ezek 12:3(bis), where the prophet receives the commission “go forth,” and the lament in 1 Sam 4:21f. “the glory has departed from Israel” demonstrate the basic meaning of *glh* II. The same or a similar meaning occurs in Isa 24:11; 38:12 txt? (ni.); Hos 10:5; Job 20:28 (par. *ngr* ni. “to flow, to pour out”); Prov 27:25 (par. *ʔsp* ni. “to be assembled”); Lam 1:3. In the remaining passages, the qal means “to be led into exile” (20x): Judg 18:30(?); 2 Sam 15:19; 2 Kgs 17:23 (par. *sûr* hi. “to remove”); 24:14; 25:21; Isa 5:13; 49:21 (par. *sûr* “to turn aside”); Jer 1:3; 52:27; Ezek 39:23; Amos 1:5; 5:5(bis); 6:7(bis); 7:11(bis), 17(bis); Mic 1:16. There are also 39 hi. passages with the meaning “to lead away (into exile)” and 7 ho. passages (pass., in meaning similar to the qal). The verb has acquired a special place in the prophetic announcement of judgment in Amos (Amos 1:5; 5:5, 27; 6:7; 7:11, 17) and Jer (Jer 13:19; 20:4; 22:12; 27:20); this announcement of judgment occurs only once in the early period of Isaiah’s preaching (5:13). Most passages occur—in a variety of contexts—in

narratives, once even in the sufferer's lament (Lam 1:3).

Notably, only a few, mostly prophetic texts describe Yahweh as the one who takes Israel (Judah) into exile: Jer 29:4, 7, 14; Ezek 39:28; Amos 5:27; Lam 4:22; 1 Chron 5:41 (other nations: 2 Kgs 17:11); the subj. of the verb is usually the nation that takes Israel into exile or its ruler. The notion is certainly firmly established in the prophetic announcement of judgment that the exile is Yahweh's judgment; still, the whole weight of a concrete political event, which resists thorough theologization, characterizes the process described by *glh*. Only once and relatively late is Yahweh's activity identified with a political event in an explicitly conceptual manner: "Yahweh by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar" (1 Chron 5:41). In contrast, cf. e.g., Ezekiel's discussion of the exile; he primarily employs the thoroughly unpolitical verbs *pûš* hi. and *zrh* "to disperse" (*glh* qal/hi. only in Ezek 39:23, 28; cf. 12:3), and here Yahweh is regularly the subj. (5:10, 12; 11:16; 12:14f.; 20:23; 22:15; 36:19).

The fact that Yahweh, the God of Israel, took his own people into exile makes sense in the context of history, at the beginning of which stood the promise of and guidance into the land; Yahweh's judgment consists of his removal of the gift of the land from the people who turned away from him despite every warning (cf. the parallelism of the expulsion of the nations in the conquest and the expulsion of Israel in 2 Kgs 17:11 [Dtr], similarly Deut 7:22; 8:19f.).

Remarkably, *glh* does not occur in this usage in the Pentateuch, nor in Deut, where expulsion from the land is an important and emphasized threat in the event of disobedience (instead, *ʔbd mēʿal hāʔāreš*, "to disappear from the land," Deut 4:26; 11:17; cf. 8:19f.; *pûš* hi. "to scatter," 4:27; 28:64). The fact that *glh* "to go forth," which could also refer to the old and widespread practice of the deportation of an individual (2 Sam 15:19), became specialized to mean "to be taken into exile" only when deportations of whole population groups as a means of conquest entered Israelite history, contributed to this usage; in this regard, one should remember the mass deportations and resettlement of the Neo-Assyr. Empire, and of the Urartians (Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 149–52). 8th-cent. prophecy (esp. Amos) adopted the verb only in this specialized meaning, although it did not gain universal popularity, as Deut demonstrates; only in Dtr diction does it become the dominant term for exile. This assumption is supported by the fact that the noms. *gôlâ* and *gālût* "exile, exiles" occur only in the prophets of judgment and in later historical books.

One can detect another process with respect to *šbh* "to lead out as captives": *šbh* originally indicated the plundering of captives (esp. of women and children) on military campaigns (Gen 34:29; 1 Sam 30:2ff., etc.); after the deportation of Samaria an expansion of the basic meaning appears (Obad 11), so that exile can also be indicated

by *šbh* (1 Kgs 8:46ff.; Jer 13:17; Ezek 6:9).

4. (a) *glh* I qal “to uncover” refers primarily to the organs of perception: “to uncover = open” the ear (a human subj.: 1 Sam 20:2, 12f.; 22:8[bis], 17; Ruth 4:4; divine subj.: 1 Sam 9:15; 2 Sam 7:27 = 1 Chron 17:25; Job 33:16; 36:10, 15); “to expose = open” the eye (Num 24:4, 16; cf. pi. Num 22:31 and Psa 119:18). *glh* is also used for the publication of a document (Esth 3:14; 8:13), the pass. ptcp. *gālûy* for the open (as opposed to the sealed) bill of sale (Jer 32:11, 14). Otherwise, *sôd* “secret” is the only obj. of *glh* qal (Amos 3:7; Prov 20:19; see also Prov 11:13 and 25:9 with *glh* pi.; cf. *HP* 202f.).

(b) The ni. envisions action with respect to the subj. itself; the translation can be either pass., “to be uncovered” (nakedness: Exod 20:26; Isa 47:3; Ezek 16:36, 57 txt em; 23:29; skirt: Jer 13:22; foundations: 2 Sam 22:16 = Psa 18:16 par. *rʕh* ni. “to become visible”; Ezek 13:14; cf. Mic 1:6 pi.; guilt, evil: Ezek 21:29; Hos 7:1; Prov 26:26; “to become known” Isa 23:1; “to be revealed” Dan 10:1 [a word]) or reflexive, “to expose oneself” (3x in 2 Sam 6:20), “to show oneself, reveal” (people: 1 Sam 14:8, 11; gates of death: Job 38:17 par. *rʕh* ni.; God: Gen 35:6; 1 Sam 2:27[bis]; 3:21; Isa 22:14; his arm: Isa 53:1; his majesty: Isa 40:5; his righteousness: Isa 56:1; his word: 1 Sam 3:7). The impv. in Isa 49:9 can be understood as a tolerative, “let yourself be revealed = come into the light.” The plur. ptcp. *hanniglôt* refers to the Sinai revelation and should not be translated “what is revealed,” but (nonresultantly) “what has been revealed (is valid for us and our children forever).”

(c) The pi. always indicates the disclosure of something normally hidden (“to disclose”; cf. *HP* 202f.). It parallels the qal to a degree: to “open” eyes (Num 22:31; Psa 119:18 alongside *nbʔ* hi. “to view”), “to make known, publish, reveal” (Jer 11:20; 20:12; 33:6; Psa 98:2), “to divulge” (Isa 16:3; Prov 11:13; 25:9). Other meanings are: “to discover, find” something hidden (Jer 49:10; Job 12:22 par. *yšʕ* hi. *lāʔôr* “to bring to light”; Mic 1:6 foundations), “to uncover, accuse, punish” guilt (Job 20:27; Lam 2:14; 4:22 par. *pqd* “to visit”; Isa 26:21 bloodguilt). The chief use of the pi. refers, however, to the forbidden sexual realm (40x of the uncovering of private parts or of that which covers them: skirt, veil, cover in Deut 23:1; 27:20; Isa 22:8; 47:2[bis]; 57:8 txt em; Nah 3:5; Job 41:5; Ruth 3:4, 7). 24 passages in this group occur in Lev 18 and 20. They are legal prescriptions treating forbidden sexual relations; “to uncover the shame” here is primarily an expression for engagement in sexual intercourse. In many passages it has the meaning “to rape.”

These passages are significant for the meaning of the verb *glh* as a whole in that

the verb in them has a negative tone in the ear of the Israelite: with the obj. *ʿerwā* “shame, nakedness,” *glh* was something forbidden, something that one must avoid. This connotation is associated with the Israelite concept that clothing is essential to being human; it is a gift of the creator (Gen 3:21), and disrobing harms human worth.

Besides Lev 18 and 20, prophetic accusations charging Israel with faithlessness toward Yahweh (Isa 57:8; Ezek 23:18[bis]; cf. Ezek 16:36, 57 ni.) and related announcements of judgment use *glh* pi. in the manner under discussion: Israel will be violated by its lovers (Hos 2:12; Nah 3:5; Ezek 16:37; 22:10; 23:10; cf. Jer 13:22 ni.; against Babel Isa 47:2[bis]).

The pu. ptcp. means “open, uncovered” (Prov 27:5, a reprimand; Nah 2:8 txt?), the hitp. means “to uncover oneself” (Gen 9:21, Noah; Prov 18:2, “heart”).

(d) Relatively few passages have God as the subj. of *glh* I; thus its proper usage is in the realm of profane events. At any rate, one cannot see this verb as a theological term; rather, the Hebrews heard in it a thoroughly this-worldly process that could occasionally—but only rarely—be used to describe an act of God, primarily in two groups of texts: (1) just as a human being can be said to expose (open) someone’s ear, so can God; and (2) just as a person can appear to someone else, so God can appear (reveal himself) to someone.

(1) The revelation in 1 Sam 9:15, “But Yahweh had . . . exposed the ear of Samuel,” is a divine instruction to the mediator concerning the anointing of the king. The expression “to open the ear” occurs in the same context in Isa 22:14, “But Yahweh of hosts has revealed himself to my ear”; the clause replaces the messenger formula and is the only passage of this nature in the pre-exilic writing prophets. In 2 Sam 7:27 = 1 Chron 17:25 David prays: “You have uncovered the ear of your servant.” Here, however, it is not a direct revelation but one mediated by the prophet. Three passages in Job (Job 33:16; 36:10, 15; all in the discourses of Elihu) refer to God’s revelation to a normal person; in 33:16 it takes place by means of a dream or a night vision, in 36:10, 15 it is God’s warning or reprimand that no longer comes as a direct revelation but through difficulties. Here, then—already in the OT!—the word “to reveal” no longer has transcendental character; it means something that anyone can experience, even in the normal events of life.

(2) In Gen 35:7 the phrase “for there God revealed himself to him” refers back to the theophany in Gen 28. The passage shows that the verb can describe a theophany; it does so, however, only in this passage, never in the narrative of a theophany. The word occurs 3x in the narrative of Samuel’s childhood. A man of God reminds Eli: “Thus says Yahweh: I did indeed reveal myself to the house of your father when they were still in Egypt” (1 Sam 2:27); and then 1 Sam 3:21 says: “Yahweh revealed himself

to Samuel” (cf. also 1 Sam 3:7 “the word of Yahweh had not yet been revealed to him”). Here then *glh* indicates explicitly a verbal revelation in prophetic fashion. This reference also appears in Amos 3:7 in the programmatic phrase: “Yahweh does nothing . . . without disclosing (revealing) his decision to his servants, the prophets.” The phrase is not spoken by Amos; rather, it is a later reflection concerning the activity of the prophets. The passages in 1 Sam 2 and 3 (as well as 9:15), together with Amos 3:7, demonstrate that the verb *glh* can serve, *subsequently*, in reflection from a distance, to describe the prophetic reception of the word. But even this sense appears only in a very small group of texts (incl. also the late passage Dan 10:1). It thus becomes even more obvious that, like the theophanies, the prophetic reception of the word per se is *not* indicated in the OT by *glh*.

Passages from the Balaam pericope describe the seer as “with downcast and uncovered eyes” (Num 24:4, 16; cf. 22:31). Here the verb *glh* describes a specific process of revelation: the eyes of the seer are opened so that he sees something that he otherwise could not see and that only he sees. Only here does the verb *glh* belong integrally to the process of the seer’s vision; here an original locus for the verb *glh* in a “revelation” process can be unmistakably recognized in the description of the vision of the seer (cf. H. Haag, “‘Offenbaren’ in die hebräischen Bibel,” *TZ* 16 [1960]: 251–58; further W. Zimmerli, “‘Offenbarung’ im AT,” *EvT* 22 [1962]: 15–31 with bibliog.; R. Schnackenburg, “Zum Offenbarungsgedanken in der Bibel,” *BZ* 7 [1963]: 2–22).

The concluding phrase of Deut 29:28, “The hidden remains with Yahweh, our God, but what is revealed (apparent) is valid for us and our children for ever,” implies that the word of God, God’s commandments and promises, are openly accessible. The verb *glh*, with God as subj., points to this free accessibility of God’s word for the Israelites.

In Isa 40:5 “. . . and the glory of God will be revealed,” the word has the sense “will be recognizable, perceptible,” as the continuation demonstrates: “. . . and all flesh will see.” This text indicates not a specific process of revelation but God’s activity in history: the glory of Yahweh will be recognizable in his act of deliverance for Israel. The verb functions similarly in Isa 56:1. The question in Isa 53:1: “And to whom will the arm of Yahweh be revealed?” means: To whom has the activity of Yahweh become clear? In all three passages, therefore, *glh* refers to God’s activity in history.

(e) If one surveys passages with God as the subj. of *glh*, one discovers that *glh* in the OT has not become a term for revelation. No fixed, frequent, and clearly defined usage can be demonstrated. *glh* can indicate God’s appearance or self-revelation in discourse or in action, but this meaning only rarely occurs and overwhelmingly in retrospect. The verb

is so minimally tied to specific revelation processes that it can also indicate, in addition to verbal revelation to the prophets (only rarely) or an appearance of the divine (only Gen 35:7), God's activity in history and in an individual's destiny. The expression of these extremely varied types of God's self-revelation with one verb—still rarely used for these purposes—also indirectly demonstrates that Israel saw these various possibilities for revelation as relatively close together, and one could not play the one against the other. It ought also to be observed that the verb *glh* in this meaning did not produce a nom. formation.

5. The two distinct groups of meaning are also mirrored in the LXX renderings: *glh* II is predominantly translated by *apoikizein*, followed by *metoikizein* and the corresponding derivatives. *aichmalōteuein*, etc., also occur, corresponding more to the Hebr. *šbh*, although even in Hebr. some overlappings are already apparent. The basic meaning still stands behind the translation *aperchesthai*.

The overwhelmingly predominant rendering of *glh* I is *apokalyptein*; it corresponds precisely to the Hebr. verb in the sexual realm as well as in reference to the sense organs. Occasionally, however, other verbs of removal (i.e., *ektithēmi*) or of perception (*epiphainein*, *phaneroun*) could also be used. The LXX too, then, did not yet understand *glh* as a special term for “to reveal.”

The situation has already changed at Qumran. The traditional usages of *glh* I also occur here (*glh* II occurs only as a citation of Amos 5:27 in CD 7:14f.): “to open” the ear (1QH 1:21; 6:4; 18:4f.; CD 2:2; etc.), the heart (1QH 12:34; 18:24), the eyes (1QH 18:19; CD 2:14). Yet a specific technical usage also appears: the revelation of the eschaton contained in the Torah and the Prophets that must be made known through study of the Scriptures (*drš*) and exegesis (*pešer*; 1QS 1:9; 5:9, 12; 8:1, 15f.; 9:13, 19; cf. 1QpHab 11:1; 1QH 5:12; CD 3:13; 15:13; cf. D. Lührmann, *Das Offenbarungsverständnis bei Paulus und in paulinischen Gemeinden* [1965], 84–87, with bibliog.).

On the NT see, in addition to Lührmann, A. Oepke, “καλύπτω,” *TDNT* 3:556–92. No relationship between the OT usage of *glh* and the NT concept of revelation, which shifts the focus from the process of revelation to that which has been revealed (the content of revelation), can be identified, but the parallelism continues on into the NT as an indication of the saving activity of God and of the apocalyptic vision of a particular individual (Rom 3:21; 1 Cor 14:6); cf. Lührmann, op. cit. An essential distinction between the usage of *glh* in the OT and the NT concept of revelation lies in the fact that the strict association of revelation and faith is entirely absent here; in the OT *glh* indicates a self-disclosure of God that can be experienced.

גמל *gml* to do, show

S 1580; BDB 168a; HALOT 1:197a; TDOT 3:23–33; TWOT 360; NIDOTTE 1694

1. The root *gml* may only be certainly and originally identified in Akk., Hebr., and Arab.; but the meanings diverge sharply.

Akk. has *gamālu* “to treat cordially, to spare, to save” (AHw 275f.; CAD G:21–23) and numerous derivatives, particularly *gimillu* “cordial (less often, negative) requital” (AHw 288f.) and *gītmālu* “to complete” (AHw 294; although CAD G:110f. separates it from *gamālu* on account of the divergent meaning).

Jew. Aram., Sam., and Mid. Hebr. occurrences (HAL 189a) are purely bibl. usages and consequently offer no independent information.

In Arab. two different terms appear: *jamala* “to gather” and *jamula* “to be pretty” (with derivatives, e.g., *jumlat* “totality, sum”). On the problem of etymology, cf. L. Kopf, VT 8 (1958): 168f.

One should probably posit some connection to the root *gmr* (attested in Akk., Ug., Hebr., Aram., etc.).

Hebr. has only the qal in the meaning “to be at an end, bring to an end” (Psa 7:10; 12:2; 57:3; 77:9; 138:8; cf. Bibl. Aram. *g<sup>c</sup>mîr* “filled out” in Ezra 7:12). M. Dahood (“The Root GMR in the Psalms,” TS 14 [1953]: 595–97; Bib 45 [1964]: 400) suggests the meaning “to avenge” for Psa 7:10; 57:3; 138:8 (followed by HAL 190a “to retaliate, avenge”) corresponding to Ug. *gmr* (WUS no. 664; UT no. 592) and combines *gmr/gml*; cf. O. Loretz, “Das hebr. Verbum GMR,” BZ 5 (1961): 261–63. The LXX translation of Psa 57:3, where *euergetēsas* renders *gōmēr*, demonstrates that the root *gmr* could be understood in the sense of the meaning of *gml*.

The OT uses only the ni. (“to be weaned”) in addition to the qal; nom. derivatives are: *g<sup>c</sup>mûl* and *g<sup>c</sup>mûlâ* “deed, requital,” and *tagmûl* “good deed”; the PNs *gāmûl*, *g<sup>c</sup>mallî*, and *gamlî<sup>c</sup>ēl* should also be included (IP 182).

2. The verb *gml* qal occurs 34x (23x in the meaning “to do, show,” 11x “to wean, mature”), *gml* ni. “to be weaned,” 3x (Gen 21:8[bis]; 1 Sam 1:22). *g<sup>c</sup>mûl* occurs 19x (pl. only Psa 103:2), *g<sup>c</sup>mûlâ* 3x (sg. 2 Sam 19:37, pl. Isa 59:18 and Jer 51:56), *tagmûl* 1x (Psa 116:12, pl., with an Aram.

suf.). Of the total of 60 occurrences of the word group, 15 are in Psa, 12 in Isa, 6 in 1 Sam, and 5 in Prov.

3. It is difficult to accept a basic meaning valid for all derivatives. The meaning “to execute, do (to the end, to completion), complete” most probably underlies the subsequent development (cf. GB 144a “to complete” with reference to the Arab. *kml* “to be complete,” etc.). From here it can evolve, on the one hand, into the meaning “to do,” either good (1 Sam 24:18a; Prov 11:17; 31:12) or evil (Gen 50:15, 17; Deut 32:6; 1 Sam 24:18b; Isa 3:9; Psa 7:5; 137:8; Prov 3:30; 2 Chron 20:11), which occasionally assumes the nuance of “requital, repayment” (2 Sam 19:37). Cf. also the double meaning in Akk. *turru gimilla* (AHw 289a; see 1). Only through it can a relationship that has become uneven be rebalanced and brought to perfection (cf. e.g., Psa 7:5). Thus *gml* can be used in conjunction with *šlm* pi. “to requite” (Joel 4:4; Psa 137:8). On the other hand, the meanings “to perfect (a child) = wean” (1 Sam 1:23f.; 1 Kgs 11:20; Isa 11:8; 28:9; Hos 1:8; Psa 131:2) and “to ripen” (Num 17:23, almonds on Aaron’s staff; Isa 18:5, grapes) can develop from the starting point assumed above.

The subst. *g<sup>e</sup>mûl* occurs only in the sense of repayment and requital (Isa 3:11; Prov 12:14; 2 Chron 32:25) or of the doing of good or evil (Joel 4:4, 7; similarly *g<sup>e</sup>mûlâ* 2 Sam 19:37), which can revisit the agent (Judg 9:16; Obad 15; Psa 28:4; 94:2; Lam 3:64). Like the verb, *g<sup>e</sup>mûl* can be used in conjunction with the root *šlm* (Isa 59:18; 66:6; Jer 51:6; Joel 4:4; Psa 137:8; Prov 19:17; with *šûb* hi. “to requite” Joel 4:4, 7; Psa 28:4; 94:2; Prov 12:14; Lam 3:64).

4. Derivatives of the root *gml* also describe God’s relationship to people (2 Sam 22:21 = Psa 18:21) and vice versa (Joel 4:4). The examples particularly emphasize God’s action for good (Isa 63:7; Psa 13:6; 103:10; 116:7; 119:17; 142:8), although they do not suggest a specific connotation. The subst. indicates divine deeds (Psa 103:2) requiring corresponding human behavior (Isa 35:4). It is often associated with *šlm* pi. (see 3; Isa 59:18 has *g<sup>e</sup>mûlâ* too; 66:6), indicating the original meaning “to complete, repay (in order to bring to a conclusion)” (esp. in Prov 19:17). Thus God can even be called *ʔēl g<sup>e</sup>mûlôt* “God of requital” (Jer 51:56, against Babel, par. “he will repay them” with → *šlm* pi.).

5. *gml* occurs in the documents from Qumran in the meaning “to do”; *g<sup>e</sup>mûl* also occurs (Kuhn, *Konk.* 45f.; also GCDS 104). The LXX uses *antapodidōmi*, etc., most frequently, among numerous other translations, thereby taking into account, however, only the meaning “to do, requite”; cf. F. Büchsel, *TDNT* 2:169, on this term in the NT.

## גָּרַע *g<sup>ʿ</sup>r* to scold

S 1605; BDB 172a; HALOT 1:199b; TDOT 3:49–53; TWOT 370; NIDOTTE 1721

1. The verb *g<sup>ʿ</sup>r* “to scold” occurs in the OT only in the qal; two fem. substs. derive from it: *g<sup>e</sup>ʿārâ* and *mig<sup>ʿ</sup>eret* (HAL 192a, KBL 494a with suppl. 164). The root also occurs in Ug. (*UT* no. 606; *WUS* no. 681; Gröndahl 125) and in other related languages (Aram., Arab., Eth., sometimes for the sounds made by cattle and horses; cf. Ug. *KTU* 1.72.27), but is lacking in Akk. (cf. HAL 192a).

2. The verb is attested in the OT 14x, the subst. *g<sup>e</sup>ʿārâ* 15x, the subst. *mig<sup>ʿ</sup>eret* 1x (Deut 28:20).

Mal 2:3 should surely be emended with Horst (HAT 14, 266), HAL, and others to *gōdēa<sup>ʿ</sup>*, the emendation of *g<sup>ʿ</sup>r* for *rg<sup>ʿ</sup>* in Isa 51:15; Jer 31:35, suggested by H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1896), 94n.8, has not gained acceptance.

Prov 13:8 should be emended with Gemser, HAT 16, 48 (contra F. M. Seely, “Note on *g<sup>ʿ</sup>rh* with Especial Reference to Proverbs 13:8,” *Bible Translator* 19 [1959]: 20f.); the second *g<sup>e</sup>ʿārâ* in Isa 30:17 is stricken by many exegetes (e.g., O. Procksch, *Jesaja*, KAT, 1:394).

3. According to P. Joüon (“*gā<sup>ʿ</sup>ar* et *g<sup>e</sup>ʿārāh*,” *Bib* 6 [1925]: 318ff.; and Seely, op. cit. 20f.), the basic meaning of *g<sup>ʿ</sup>r* is “to cry aloud, scream at” (cf. also A. A. Macintosh, “A Consideration of Hebrew *g<sup>ʿ</sup>r*,” *VT* 19 [1969]: 471–79). Of the many verbs with the meaning “to cry” (see KBL suppl. 73; → *š<sup>ʿ</sup>q*), it is distinguished by its limitation to “to cry out scoldingly, scold.” The concept of scolding has the basic meaning in German, too, of “to raise commotion about something” (Kluge 643). Scolding or reviling is “a sterilized and domesticated form of cursing or exorcising” (*BFPS* 68; van der Leeuw 2:408f.); it seeks “to tear someone down.” The stem *g<sup>ʿ</sup>r* occurs in Psa 119:21 and Deut 28:20 alongside forms of → *ʾr*. Many passages attest to the destructive effect of *g<sup>ʿ</sup>r* (J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten* [1914], 82; Seely, op. cit. 20f.); for this reason the rendering “to threaten” (so HAL and others) is not recommended (*BFPS* 65f.: “threatening” primarily means a gesture, leaves open the question of the realization of that which is threatened, and usually has a qualified or conditional character—all of this does not apply to *g<sup>ʿ</sup>r*; cf. Joüon, op. cit. 320). Gen

37:10 demonstrates the “destructive” character of the  $g^{\zeta r}$  through the report of the words of the reprimand. The wisdom examples in Prov 13:1; 17:10; Eccl 7:5 should be understood in the same sense. The subj. of  $g^{\zeta r}$  in these cases is the father or the wisdom teacher. When in Ugaritic Baal scolds the gods on account of their cowardice (KTU 1.2.I.24), or Anat scolds Baal on account of his overzealousness in the battle with Yamm (1.2.IV.28), when the captain of the temple guard does not scold Jeremiah in Jer 29:27, and when the servants of Boaz do not scold Ruth in Ruth 2:16, in each case the scolding was meant to hinder something (Gunkel, op. cit. 59n.2). In Isa 30:17,  $g^{\zeta r}$  describes a military action; it cannot, however, easily concern the “battle cry of the Assyrians” (B. Duhm, *Jesaja*, HKAT [19685], 221; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie* [1965], 33n.2, considers this the basic meaning); rather, it concerns the reprimand at the beginning of the battle (cf. Gunkel, op. cit. 113), as we know it from Homer’s *Iliad* (e.g., 17.11f.; cf. 1 Sam 17:41ff.; Enuma Elish IV:76ff.). In Hebrew the battle cry is called  $t^{\epsilon}rû^{\zeta}â$  or *šerah*. The point in Isa 30:17 would then be: the Israelites already flee at the reprimand.

The use of  $g^{\zeta r}$  (almost always) with *be* (= an inimical “against”; BrSynt §106h) and of  $g^{\epsilon\zeta}ârâ$  with *min* in conjunction with verbs with a pass. meaning (e.g., Psa 18:16; 76:7; 80:17) or with “to flee” (Isa 30:17; Psa 104:7) corresponds to the characteristic just mentioned.

4. The specifically theological usage connects primarily with the reprimand in battle. The  $g^{\zeta r}$  often occurs in connection with Yahweh’s struggle with chaos (Psa 104:7; Job 26:11; Nah 1:4; Psa 68:31; 106:9; 18:16 [= 2 Sam 22:16]; Isa 50:2; cf. Gunkel, op. cit. 68, 106, 111; Jeremias, op. cit. 20, 31ff., 67f., 90ff., 146; it must be maintained against Ph. Reymond, “L’Eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l’AT,” SVT 6 [1958]: 188f., that the chaos struggle and thus the  $g^{\zeta r}$  do not originally belong to the creation concept; cf. Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:31). The effects of the  $g^{\zeta r}$  are: the sea, the water, the  $t^{\epsilon}hôm$ , the Reed Sea flee, recede, or dry up, the pillars of heaven sway.  $g^{\zeta r}$  stands parallel to God’s “wrath” ( $za^{\zeta}am$ , →  $\lambda ap$ , →  $h\bar{e}mâ$ , Nah 1:4ff.) or to  $rg^{\zeta}$  “to agitate,”  $m\dot{h}s$  “to strike down,”  $hll$  po. “to bore through” (Job 26:11).  $g^{\zeta r}$  occurs together with the chaos struggle motif in epiphanies (Westermann, *PLP* 93ff.).  $g^{\zeta r}$  in Yahweh’s struggle with the nations (Isa 17:13; Psa 9:6; Isa 66:15, a world judgment epiphany; Psa 80:17; 76:7 at the Reed Sea) and with the spirits of Belial (1QM 14:10) may also be associated with the chaos struggle motif. Where Israel is the obj. of a divine reprimand (Isa 51:20; 54:9), the concept of Yahweh as a warrior also probably stands in the background. In Mal 3:11 Yahweh’s reprimand is supposed to hinder the locust plague (Horst, HAT

14, 273); in Zech 3:2 Yahweh reprimands the Satan for opposing a majestic act of Yahweh (Horst, BK 16, 13f.).

5. Qumran follows the theological usage of the OT. On the LXX and the NT, cf. E. Stauffer, “ἐπιτιμῶ,” *TDNT* 2:623–27; Joüon, op. cit. 320f.; H. Hanse, “λοιδορέω,” *TDNT* 4:293f.; H. C. Kee, *NTS* 14 (1967): 232–46.

G. Liedke

גֵּר *ēr* **sojourner** → גּוּר *gûr*

דָּבַק *dbq* **to hang on**

S 1692; BDB 179b; *HALOT* 1:209a; *TDOT* 3:79–84; *TWOT* 398; *NIDOTTE* 1815

1. The root *dbq* occurs only in Hebr., Aram., and Arab. (apparently adapted from Aram.; Fraenkel 120f.); cf. Eth. *ṭbq*.

The verb appears in the qal, pu., hi. (normal causative “to make stick” and inner-trans. or internal “to make oneself stick, overtake”), and ho.; additionally, there are a verbal adj. *dābēq* “adhering, attached” and a subst. *debeq* “solder” (Isa 41:7), “appendage” (1 Kgs 22:34 = 2 Chron 18:33).

Extrabibl. occurrences contemporary with the OT are only Aram. pe. in the Elephantine Papyri (5th cent. BCE; *DISO* 54), used in contracts concerning the borders around plots of ground, sections of buildings, etc. (e.g., *BMAP* 9.9 *ʿlyʾlh byt qnḥnty dbq lh ʾgr bʾgr* “in the upper portion thereof the house of Q. borders on it, wall to wall”); also in 1QapGen in the meaning “to reach” (usually stereotypically, e.g., 21:1 *ʿd dy dbqt lbyṯ ʾl* “until I arrive at Bethel”).

2. The OT exhibits the word group 60x in Hebr. and 1x in Aram. in a normal distribution (*dbq* qal 39x, pu. 2x, hi. 12x, ho. 1x; Aram. pe. 1x; Hebr. *dābēq* 3x, *debeq* 3x).

3. All meanings cluster tightly around the basic meaning “to be close by”; only the most important are mentioned here:

(a) In the objective realm the (neutrally inflected) qal expresses the circumstance of “hanging on, sticking to, hugging to, bordering on,” with the verb construed intrans. with the preps. *b<sup>e</sup>*, *le*, *ʾel*, *ʿim*, and *ʾah<sup>a</sup>re<sup>e</sup>*, except in Gen 19:19. Causative hi. “to cause to hang on” with *b<sup>e</sup> or ʾel* belongs in this category.

(b) Of persons, the qal means “to hang on, hold fast to, hold on to (willingly),” etc.; the (inner-trans.) hi. “to cause oneself to be close by” signifies “reaching, overtaking, following” in military contexts (with an obj. or with  $\text{ʔah}^{\text{ʔrē}}$ ).

Aram. pe. also has the meanings “to reach” and “to follow” to a degree (1QapGen, Christ. Pal., and Syr.); regarding the transition in meaning, cf. *dbq* with  $\text{ʔah}^{\text{ʔrē}}$  in Jer 42:16.

(c) *ḥšq* qal “to hang on (in love)” (8x) is the verb most clearly related semantically. It is used to describe a relationship between man and woman (Gen 34:8; Deut 21:11), human and God (Psa 91:14), and God and human (Deut 7:7; 10:15), as well as more generally in the meaning “to have desire (for an activity)” (1 Kgs 9:19 = 2 Chron 8:6, with the corresponding subst. *ḥēšeq* “lust, desire,” 1 Kgs 9:1, 19; 2 Chron 8:6). *ḥšq* pi. “to bind” (Exod 38:28, plus the pu. Exod 27:17; 38:17, and *ḥiššūq* “[binding =] wheel spoke,” 1 Kgs 7:33) and *ḥāšūq* “binding” (8x in Exod 27:10f.; 36:38; 38:10–19) have acquired a technical, mechanical meaning.

(d) *ʔzb* “to leave” (Gen 2:24; Ruth 1:14, 16), *sūr* “to turn aside” (2 Kgs 3:3; 18:6), and *ʔh mēʔahʔrē* “to fall away from” (2 Sam 20:2) can be cited as antonyms to *dbq* “to hang on to.”

4. The theological usage of *dbq* “to cling to (God)” directly continues the usage treated in 3b. Except for Psa 63:9, “My soul clings to you,” all occurrences belong to Dtn-Dtr language: Deut 4:4; 10:20; 11:22; 13:5; 30:20; Josh 22:5; 23:8,(12); 2 Kgs 18:6. Cf. also the different metaphor in Jer 13:11 and *ḥšq* qal “to cling to (in love)” in Psa 91:14. Whether Dtn-Dtr diction connotes the par. expression → *ʔhb* “to love” (cf. Deut 11:22; 30:20; Josh 22:5; 23:11f.; *ʔhb* parallels *dbq* elsewhere in Gen 34:3; 1 Kgs 11:2; Prov 18:24) or obedient faithfulness (cf. 2 Sam 20:2, plus W. L. Moran, *CBQ* 25 (1963): 78; *dbq* beside *ʔbd* in Deut 10:20; 13:5; Josh 22:5; 23:7f.) can remain undecided (N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot* [1963], 79). At any rate, the verb is usually an optional filler in longer series of verbs of proper relation to God (tables in Lohfink, op. cit. 303f.). In contrast to Dtn → *ʔhb* “to love” and *ḥšq* “to cling to out of love” (Deut 7:7; 10:15), God is never the subj. of *dbq*.

5. The Dtn theological usage is no longer current at Qumran and in the NT (except possibly for 1 Cor 6:17); by contrast, Gen 2:24 plays a greater role (cf. K. L. Schmidt, “ $\kappa\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega$ ,” *TDNT* 3:822f.).

E. Jenni

## דָּבָר *dābār* word

S 1697; BDB 182a; HALOT 1:211a; TDOT 3:84–125; TWOT 399a; NIDOTTE 1821

I. 1. Lexicographers distinguish between two roots: *dbṛ* I “to be behind, turn the back” (Arab. *dub[u]r*), and II “word, matter.” The rather rare root I includes a series of derivatives (*d<sup>ʿ</sup>bîr* “back room,” *dōber* “pasture,” *dōb<sup>ʿ</sup>rôt* “raft,” *midbār* “steppe”); but root II stands remarkably isolated and is limited primarily to the frequent term *dābār* “word, matter” and to *dbṛ* pi. “to talk, speak.” The much more weakly developed qal, ni., pu., and hitp. stems appear in addition to the pi. form. Also etymologically related to *dbṛ* II are *dibrâ* “matter” as a secondary development of *dābār*, *dibbēr* as a rare nom. form based on the verb, and *midbār* (II) “instrument of speech, mouth” as a nomen instrumenti.

M. Dahood (*Bib* 33 [1952]: 47f.) sees a Phoen. construction in the prep. phrase *ʿal-dibrat* (Eccl 3:18; 7:14; 8:2) on account of the final *-t*.

The hapax legomenon *dabberet* (Deut 33:3) also apparently derives from the verb *dbṛ* pi.; cf., however, I. L. Seeligmann, *VT* 14 (1964): 80, who argues for a derivation from *dbṛ* I (“behind you”). *dābār* may also stand behind *deber* “bubonic plague,” which could be understood as a euphemism; cf. the Ger. usage of *Ding* as a nebulous designation for “illnesses, esp. if sores and boils are associated with them” (J. and W. Grimm, *Deutsch Wörterbuch* [1860], 2:1164).

HAL 201b and KBL 199b attribute not only Job 19:18; Song Sol 5:6 (2 Chron 22:10 “to eradicate”; cf. *dbṛ* hi. “to drive off,” Psa 18:48; 47:4) to *dbṛ* pi. I, but also Isa 32:7; Psa 75:6; 127:5. Moreover, HAL 202b posits a *dbṛ* pi. III “to have descendants” for Prov 21:28. Barr (*CPT* 324) catalogs other conjectures.

## 2. A convincing etymology for *dābār* has not yet been found.

On the etymological connection between *dbṛ* I and *dbṛ* II, cf. e.g., W. Leslau, *Language* 25 (1949): 316; J. T. Milik, *Bib* 38 (1957): 252; Barr (*SBL* 129–40) argues against misuse of etymology.

*dbṛ* II is normally associated with *d<sup>ʿ</sup>bôrâ* “bee,” explained as a onomatopoeic “buzz.” That *dābār* is used only rarely in legal discourse and *dbṛ* pi. is not used at all speaks against Buhl’s position that the basic meaning of *dābār* is “a matter handled in a legal procedure and in the assembly of the people” (F. Buhl, “Über die Ausdrücke für: Ding, Sache u.ä. im Semitischen,” *FS Thomsen* 33); see III/2.

The rare Akk. *dab/pāru* “to become full” (*CAD* D:104a) belongs in another semantic realm than the Hebr. *dbṛ* and offers nothing to the etymology of *dbṛ*.

Meanwhile, in *dabābu* Akk. possesses a richly developed term that corresponds semasiologically—both in the noun and the verb—to the Hebr. root in a remarkable manner. Like Hebr. *dābār*, the subst. *dabābu* represents “speech” and “legal matter”; as a verb it means “to speak” in the broadest sense (*CAD* D:2–14; *AHW* 146f.). Hebr. also knows the root *dbb*: *dibbâ* “rumor, slander” (9x). The question is, however, whether the semasiological affinity between Akk. *dabābu* and Hebr. *dābār/dbr* is a mere coincidence, or whether it may point to an etymological relationship. The semasiological isolation of NWSem. *dbr* suggests the possibility that *dbr* is only an apparent root and that the words should be understood as analogous formations whereby an original *dbb* was assimilated to the semasiologically related and somewhat synonymous  $\rightarrow$   $\lambda mr$  “to say.” The phonetic kinship between *dbr* and  $\lambda mr$  lies not only in the third, but also in the middle radical (labial). Only a reminder of the well-known phenomenon that groups of roots with two common radicals are often semasiologically identical or related is necessary here (cf. Moscati, *Intro.* 72f.).

3. Beyond Hebr. (cf. also occurrences in the Lachish Letters and in the Siloam inscription, l. 1), the root is restricted to a limited usage in Phoen.-Pun. (pi. “to speak” and subst. “word, matter”) and in Imp. Aram. texts (only in the usage *ʾ dbr* “in reference to”; see *DISO* 55). Only the nom. form *dibrâ* “concern” occurs in Bibl. Aram. (Dan 2:30; 4:14; cf. KBL 1063b).

*dbr* II is unattested in Ug.; the root *rgm* expresses the meanings “to speak” and “word” (cf. *UT* no. 2307; *WUS* no. 2491).

II. The noun *dābār* is attested 1,440x and is the 10th most common subst. With 1,084 occurrences the pi. of the verb is far more frequent than the qal (41x).

Lis. omits 2 Chron 8:14 for *dābār* (1 Chron 17:6; 2 Chron 34:16 in the appendix); Job 16:4 is listed as a qal instead of as a pi. verb. The following table does not count *lōʾ dābār* as a proper name in Amos 6:13 (etc.) and *dbr* pi. III in Prov 21:28 “to have descendants,” but does count (against *HP* 231, 282 following *HAL* 201b) Isa 32:7; Psa 75:6; 127:5 (see l/1). The distinction between sg. and pl. consistently follows the Q (sg. in Judg 13:17; 1 Kgs 8:26; 18:36; 22:13; Jer 15:16; Psa 105:28; 119:147; Dan 9:12; Ezra 10:12; pl. in Psa 147:19).

	<i>dābār dbr</i>				
	sg.	pl.	total	pi.	qal
Gen	31	30	61	72	1
Exod	39	23	62	86	1

Lev	7	1	8	66	–	
Num	24	5	29	115	3	
Deut	49	47	96	69	1	
Josh	23	9	32	32	–	
Judg	18	7	25	27	–	
1 Sam	47	31	78	41	–	
2 Sam	55	13	68	37	–	
1 Kgs	86	38	124	77	–	
2 Kgs	43	65	108	50	–	
Isa	33	14	47	46	3	
Jer	118	86	204	109	4	
Ezek	70	12	82	64	–	
Hos	2	2	4	7	–	
Joel	2	–	2	1	–	
Amos	6	3	9	2	1	
Obad	–	–	–	1	–	
Jonah	5	–	5	1	1	
Mic	2	1	3	2	1	
Nah	–	–	–	–	–	
Hab	–	–	–	1	–	
Zeph	2	–	2	1	–	
Hag	6	1	7	–	–	
Zech	13	7	20	7	11	
Mal	1	2	3	–	–	
Psa	48	21	69	46	9	
Job	9	11	20	37	1	
Prov	17	19	36	7	2	
Ruth	3	–	3	3	–	
Song Sol	–	–	–	–	–	
Eccl	9	15	24	5	–	
Lam	–	–	–	–	–	
Esth	24	13	37	6	1	
Dan	12	9	21	18	1	
Ezra	10	4	14	1	–	
Neh	16	13	29	4	–	
1 Chron		20	10	30	10	–
2 Chron		36	42	78	33	–
Hebr. OT		886	554	1,440	1,084	41

The following also occur: *dbr* ni. 4x (Ezek 33:30; Mal 3:13, 16; Psa 119:23), pu. 2x (Psa 87:3; Song Sol 8:8), hitp. 4x (Num 7:89; 2 Sam 14:13; Ezek 2:2; 43:6), *dibrâ* 5x (Psa 110:4; Job 5:8; Eccl 3:18; 7:14; 8:2), *dibbēr* 2x (Jer 5:13; 9:7), *dabberet* 1x (Deut 33:3); *midbār* 1x (Song Sol 4:3); Bibl. Aram. *dibrâ* 2x (Dan 2:30; 4:14).

III. 1. (a) The basic meaning of *dbr* pi. differs rather sharply from the semasiologically related and somewhat synonymous verb → *ʾmr* “to say, speak.” For the latter, attention to the content of the speech is important, but *dbr* pi. indicates primarily the activity of speaking, the production of words and phrases. *ʾmr* requires that the content of the speech (in direct address) be given or sufficiently characterized by the context (accordingly, *ʾmr* is not used abs.); *dbr* pi. can stand abs. without further

reference to that which is communicated (e.g., Gen 24:15; Job 1:16; 16:4, 6; cf. *HP* 165).

In view of the broader significance of *dbr* pi., it is natural that its subjects derive from a much more limited and unified semantic field than is the case for  $\lambda mr$ . For  $\lambda mr$  a profusion of speaking subjs. is possible (land, sea, animals, trees, night, fire, work, saying, etc.); the speakers in connection with *dbr* pi. are almost exclusively personal (divine or human) or designations of the organs of speech: mouth, lips, tongue, voice. Even Job 32:7 “the days may speak” has people in mind. In addition, “the spirit of Yahweh” (2 Sam 23:2) and “heart” (Psa 41:7 txt?) stand as subjs. of *dbr* pi.

Meanwhile, *dbr* pi. also often describes the pronunciation of a particular content. Indeed, as a trans., *dbr* pi. has a great capacity for taking objects. The most frequent occurrences are *dābār* (sg. and pl.) and other designations for moral and ideal values that appear as the content of speech: good, evil, truth, lies, faithfulness, apostasy, wisdom, folly, pride, humility, salvation, judgment, justice, perversity, etc.

The manner of speech can also be more nearly qualified with the aid of adverbial additions: “with audacity” (Deut 18:22), “secretly” (1 Sam 18:22; Isa 45:19; 48:16), “uselessly” (Ezek 6:10), “in the heart” (1 Sam 1:13), and “haughtily” (Psa 17:10).

The manner in which the addressee is indicated distinguishes *dbr* pi. markedly from  $\lambda mr$ . For the latter a simple *le* sufficiently expresses the close relationship to the addressee, but *dbr* pi. normally requires the stronger prep.  $\lambda el$ , approximately ten times more common with this verb than *le*.

Occasionally, *dbr* pi. appears in conjunction with complementary temporal expressions illuminating the scope of the verb, e.g.,  $\rightarrow \check{s}m^c$  “to hear” (Isa 66:4; Job 42:4),  $\lambda m$  ni. “to be silent” (Ezek 24:27), *ḥšh* “to keep silent” (Eccl 3:7),  $\rightarrow \check{s}h$  “to act” (Ezek 12:25, 28).

(b) The connotation of the qal diverges somewhat from the pi. The common act. ptcp. usually indicates someone who customarily functions as speaker, who speaks under commission or because of his/her inner nature: truth (Psa 15:2), lies, falsehood (Jer 40:16; Psa 5:7; 58:4; 63:12; 101:7), right (Isa 33:15; 45:19; Prov 16:13), salvation (Esth 10:3), folly (Isa 9:16), insolence (Psa 31:19); in Zech 11x of the prophet’s interpreting angel; Gen 16:13 of  $\lambda el r^o \check{q}$ , the special god of Hagar who used to speak to her; Num 27:7 and 36:5 of a speech constantly in someone’s mouth (Nyberg 221; cf. also the differentiation between *dbr* qal and pi. in *HP* 164–70).

2. (a) Like the Akk. root *dbb*, the Hebr. root *dbr* has a nom. function in addition to the verbal. The basic meaning of the noun *dābār* corresponds, in the first instance, very precisely to that of the verbs: “what

is spoken, word.”

The difference between *dbr* pi. and  $\lambda mr$  is reflected in a comparison of *dābār* with  $\lambda emer$  ( $\rightarrow \lambda mr$  3c). As one may infer, not least of all from the frequent expression  $\lambda imr\acute{e}-p\acute{i}/p\acute{i}k\acute{a}/p\acute{i}w$  “the speech of my/your/his mouth,” the oral character is essential to  $\lambda emer$ . It is primarily a term for communication, a simple means of oral communication and understanding between distant persons. *dābār* is associated with “mouth” by the aid of a cs. phrase only as an exception (Jer 9:19; Psa 36:4; Prov 18:4; Eccl 10:12f.), all the more preferably, however, with terms qualifying the content of the “word,” esp. with indications of moral and religious value (see III/1a on the objs. of *dbr* pi.).

(b) *dābār* exhibits an expansion of the verbal meaning that OT persons would hardly have perceived as a shift of meaning: *dābār* stands not only for “word,” i.e., for the linguistic carrier of meaning, but also for the content itself. In this regard, however, an important reservation must be made. If one wishes to reckon with a dual meaning for *dābār* (e.g., “word” and “matter”), then one should not refer to the ancient worldview, which knew no sharp distinction between spiritual and concrete, to explain this semasiological duality. The contrast between “word” and “matter” does not primarily concern a contrast between spiritual and concrete. *dābār* does not signify “object” in an empirical sense, i.e., in contrast to “person” or as a designation for someone’s property (cf. *k<sup>o</sup>l* “object, device”), but is thoroughly abstract in character. Something of the activity of the verb is always implied in *dābār*: it indicates something that can occasion some discussion or treatment or that can become the object of such a discussion, thus “concern, incident, event” (e.g., 1 Sam 4:16; 10:16; 21:9; 2 Sam 1:4; 1 Kgs 12:30; Ruth 3:18; Esth 1:13; 2:22; 8:5; Ezra 10:9). The formula *dibré hayyāmîm* “the events of the day” in the sense of “annals” (1 Kgs 14:19 and a further 32x, *sēper dibré hayyāmîm* in Kgs; likewise in Esth 2:23; 6:1; 10:2; Neh 12:23; cf. 1 Chron 27:24), the frequent association of *dibrí* with a PN, usually that of a king (e.g., 1 Kgs 11:41 “the history of Solomon”), and *hadd<sup>o</sup>bārîm hā<sup>o</sup>elleh* “these events” (Gen 15:1; 22:1, 20, etc.) are characteristic.

(c) *dābār* is also useful as a replacement when a specific expression is not immediately available or should be avoided (e.g., Gen 19:8; 1 Sam 20:2; 2 Chron 29:36), esp. in conjunction with a negation (e.g., 1 Sam 20:21; 22:15) or with *kōl* “all” (Num 31:23; Judg 18:7; 19:19). In this diminished sense, *dābār* has even assumed the function of an indefinite pron.; a similar generalization and designation has also affected other nouns, e.g., *m<sup>o</sup>lā<sup>o</sup>kā* “word” > “something” (Exod 36:6; Lev 7:24, etc.). *dābār* acquires a more definite meaning by means of attributive or genitival modification or by reference to an event or process.

Thus *dābār* can also indicate the nature and cause for any concern or event (Josh 5:4; 1 Kgs 11:27), esp. following *ʿal* used as a prep. or a conjunction: “for . . . sake, because”; *dibrâ* appears in the same function in Eccl 3:18; 7:14; 8:2.

(d) It is noteworthy that *dābār* does not find frequent usage in legal language, and it is questionable whether it occurs at all as a technical juristic term. Primary consideration should be given to the unique expression *baʿal dʿbārîm* (Exod 24:14): “whoever has a legal case.” In other passages it hardly seems possible to conceive of *dābār* as a precise, technical legal term (Exod 18:16; 22:8; Deut 1:17; 16:19; 19:15). *dābār* here apparently stands as an imprecise replacement for the technical term → *rîb*.

\*3. In Bibl. Aram., *dābār* and *db̄r* pi. are represented by the synonymous *millâ* “word, matter” (24x in Dan) and *mll* pa. “to speak” (5x in Dan). These terms have also entered into Hebr. from Aram. (cf. KBL 1093b, 1094b; *DISO* 152, 154; Wagner nos. 171f.); Hebr. *millâ* “word” occurs 38x (Job 34x, otherwise only in 2 Sam 23:2; Psa 19:5; 139:4; Prov 23:9) and *mll* qal “to give a sign” 1x (Prov 6:13), pi. “to speak, proclaim” 4x (Gen 21:7; Psa 106:2; Job 8:2; 33:3; on 1 Chron 25:4, 26, cf. Rudolph, HAT 21, 166f.).

The Old Pers. loanword *pitgām* “word, message” (KBL 1114b; *DISO* 238) is another synonym in Aram. (Bibl. Aram. 6x: Dan 3:16; 4:14; Ezra 4:17; 5:7, 11; 6:11), which also occurs in Hebr. as an Aramaism (Eccl 8:11; Esth 1:20; cf. Wagner no. 241).

IV. 1. God/Yahweh stands as the subject of *db̄r* pi. almost 400x. A fixed theological usage is most likely in passages that use “to speak” absolutely, i.e., without obj. or adv. modifier. “Yahweh/God (or the mouth of Yahweh) has spoken” occurs in about 40 passages, almost without exception in the Prophets, esp. frequently in Ezek (18x) and Isa (12x), rarely in Jer (1x, 13:15); outside the Prophets, Psa 50:1, 7.

The use of preps. accords with the remarks in III/1a, i.e., *ʿel* exhibits a marked predominance in theological language (more than 150x). Far behind are the roughly equal occurrences of the preps. *le* and *ʿal*.

2. (a) The noun *dābār*, an important theological term, plays a disproportionately significant role in theological language, esp. in the expression *debar yhw̄h* “word of Yahweh” (besides the OT theologies, cf. O. Grether, *Name und Wort Gottes im AT* [1934]; L. Dürr, *Die Wertung des göttlichen Wortes im AT und im antiken Orient* [1938]; W. Zimmerli, *RGG* 6:1809–12). The expression appears in the sense of “Yahweh’s affair” in only 1 Chron 26:32 and 2 Chron 19:11, both times juxtaposed with the par.

*debar hammelek* “the king’s affair.” Otherwise *debar yhwh* always means “the word of Yahweh” (242x in the OT, incl. 9 passages in which the divine name differs), and the expression appears usually (225x) as a technical term for the prophetic verbal revelation.

The distribution of the 242 passages cited (233x *debar yhwh*, excl. 2 Chron 19:11; as well as *d<sup>e</sup>bar <sup>ʔ</sup>dōnāy yhwh* in Ezek 6:3; 25:3; 36:4; *d<sup>e</sup>bar (hā)<sup>ʔ</sup>lōhîm* in Judg 3:20; 1 Sam 9:27; 2 Sam 16:23; 1 Kgs 12:22; 1 Chron 17:3; excl. 1 Chron 26:32; *d<sup>e</sup>bar <sup>ʔ</sup>lōhēnū* in Isa 40:8) exhibits a strong concentration in prophetic literature, incl. the prophetic narratives: Ezek 60x, Jer 52x, 1 Kgs 34x, 2 Kgs 16x, Zech 13x, Isa and 2 Chron 9x, 1 Sam 8x, 1 Chron 6x, Hag 5x, 2 Sam 4x, Jonah 3x, Gen, Exod, Josh, Hos, Amos, Mic, Zeph, Psa 2x each, Num, Deut, Judg, Joel, Mal, Dan, Ezra 1x each, thus 152x in Isa–Mal and 62x in 1 Sam–2 Kgs.

In more than half the cases, *debar yhwh* stands as subj., even with *hyh ʔel* “to come to” as predicate 118x (Gen 15:1; 1 Sam 15:10; 2 Sam 7:4; 24:11; 1 Kgs 6:11; 12:22; 13:20; 16:1, 7; 17:2, 8; 18:1, 31; 21:17, 28; 2 Kgs 20:4; Isa 28:13; 38:4; Jer 29x; cf. H. Wildberger, *Jahwewort und prophetische Rede bei Jeremia* [1942], 19–42; Ezek 50x; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:144f.; Jonah 1:1; 3:1; Hag 1:1, 3; 2:1, 10, 20; Zech 1:1, 7; 4:8; 6:9; 7:1, 4, 8; 8:1, 18; Dan 9:2; 1 Chron 17:3 *d<sup>e</sup>bar <sup>ʔ</sup>lōhîm*; 22:8; 2 Chron 11:2; 12:7; cf. also Gen 15:4 and 1 Kgs 19:9 with *hinnēh* instead of *hyh* ). Unique predicates of *debar yhwh* are *glh* ni. “to be revealed” (1 Sam 3:7), *yš<sup>ʔ</sup>* “to go out” (Isa 2:3 = 4:2), and *qûm* “to last” (Isa 40:8).

*debar yhwh* appears as an obj. in 52 passages, 36 times in association with the verb *šm<sup>c</sup>* “to hear” (incl. 1 Sam 9:27 *d<sup>e</sup>bar <sup>ʔ</sup>lōhîm* with *šm<sup>c</sup>* hi.); other predicates are *bzh* “to despise” (Num 15:31; 2 Sam 12:9), *drš* “to seek” (1 Kgs 22:5 = 2 Chron 18:4), *klh* “to be fulfilled” (Ezra 1:1 = 2 Chron 36:22), *m<sup>ʔ</sup>s* “to reject” (1 Sam 15:23, 26), *ml<sup>ʔ</sup>* pi. “to fulfill” (1 Kgs 2:27; 2 Chron 36:21); also, with one occurrence each, *bqš* pi. “to seek” (Amos 8:12), *yr<sup>ʔ</sup>* “to fear” (Exod 9:20), *ngd* hi. “to announce” (Deut 5:5), *qûm* hi. “to carry out” (1 Sam 15:13), *r<sup>ʔ</sup>h* “to see” (Jer 2:31 txt?), and *šmr* “to pay heed to” (2 Chron 34:21).

Just as *dābār* does not seem to be a legal term native to profane usage, neither can a juristic character be demonstrated for *debar yhwh*. The expression unequivocally indicates God’s legal word in only seven passages, all of which belong to a late period: Num 15:31; Deut 5:5; 2 Sam 12:9; 1 Chron 15:15; 2 Chron 30:12; 34:21; 35:6.

(b) The pl. cs. phrase *dibr<sup>ʔ</sup>yhwh* occurs 17x (Exod 4:28; 24:3f.; Num 11:24; Josh 3:9; 1 Sam 8:10; 15:1; Jer 36:4, 6, 8, 11; 37:2; 43:1; Ezek 11:25; Amos 8:11; 2 Chron 11:4; 29:15); to these may be added three passages with *<sup>ʔ</sup>lōhîm* (Jer 23:36; Ezra 9:4; 1 Chron 25:5). The pl. stands as the obj. of verbs of speech much more often than the sg.: *ngd* hi. “to announce” (Exod 4:28) *spr* pi. “to recount” (Exod 24:3), *dbr* pi. “to proclaim” (Num 11:24; Jer 43:1; Ezek 11:25), *ʔmr* “to say” (1 Sam 8:10), *qr<sup>ʔ</sup>*

“to cry out” (Jer 36:6, 8). The pl. does apply to prophetic verbal revelation, but not in the almost completely exclusive way in which the sg. does.

(c) Besides the cs. relationship, *dābār/d<sup>c</sup>bārîm* occurs more than 300x in reference to God. In approximately 3/4 of these passages, the term indicates prophetic verbal revelation, regarding which the pl. has a much greater frequency than it does in the cs. relationship (the ratio of sg. to pl. is about 4:5). In almost 1/5 of the passages, thus somewhat more frequently than in the cs. relationship, the “word” is an indication of God’s legal word. This usage of *dābār* already occurs in pre-Dtn times, although rarely and with some limitations: only in the pl. and only as a characterization of the giving of the covenant law at Sinai. In Deut an expansion to other laws is visible (e.g., Deut 12:28; 15:15; 24:18, 22; 28:14; 30:14). The same loosening of usage is also present in P (Exod 29:1; Lev 8:36, etc.).

In Dtr and post-Dtr texts, furthermore, *dibr’* (cs. pl.) occurs in combination with various terms referring to customs, law, and cult: → *tôrâ* (Deut 17:19; 27:3, 8, 26; 28:58; 29:28; 31:12, 24; 32:46; Josh 8:34; 2 Kgs 23:24; Neh 8:9, 13; 2 Chron 34:19), → *b<sup>c</sup>rît* (Deut 28:69; 29:8 [cf. v 18 → *’ālâ*]; 2 Kgs 23:3; Jer 11:2, 6, 8; 2 Chron 34:31), *sēper* “book (of the law, the covenant)” (2 Kgs 22:11, 13, 16; 23:2; 2 Chron 34:21, 30). The result of this loosening of usage is that the earlier distinction between prophetic and legal *dābār* is greatly effaced in Dtr and post-Dtr texts.

In wisdom literature (Prov and Sir) *dābār*, like the related terms *tôrâ* and *mišwâ* “commandment,” describes the doctrines of wisdom and does not occur in the meaning “word of God” (cf. E. G. Bauckmann, *ZAW* 72 [1960]: 33–63).

(d) As a theological term *dābār* is clearly distinguished in the OT from the related term → *šēm* “name.” The two never appear in conjunction as subj. or obj. of a sentence, nor as alternatives or corresponding terms in par. verses. This formal separation of the two terms reflects a conceptual distinction: “As the name of God, the *šēm* describes him as a person, and, therefore, concerns God in his totality. The *dābār* is an expression of the thoughts and will of God” (Grether, op. cit. 169). “The *šēm* mediates God’s presence in the world, the *dābār* his activity in it. The former is the representative, the latter the voluntative manifestation of Yahweh” (op. cit. 179). Characteristic of this distinction is the fact that the “holy word” is mentioned only once (Psa 105:42), but *šēm* is regularly associated with the concept of holiness (→ *qdš*).

(e) *dābār* also plays a rather significant role in the discussion of the so-called hypostatization of divine activities and attributes. The autonomy and personification of *dābār*, reaching its highest degree of development

only in the postcanonical era, is already present in its initial stages in the OT (Grether, op. cit. 150ff.; Dürr, op. cit. 122ff.; H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom: Studies in the Hypostatization of Divine Qualities and Functions in the Ancient Near East* [1947], 157ff.). The following passages are listed as the most unequivocal OT examples: Isa 9:7, “The Lord sends a word against Jacob, and it descends upon Israel”; 55:10f., “For like the rain . . . , so, too, is my word that comes from my mouth: it does not return to me empty, but works what I have decided, and carries out that for which I sent it”; Psa 107:20, “To those to whom he sent his word to heal them”; 147:15, “Who sent his word to earth.” The discussion suffers from the almost exclusive perception of hypostatization as a religiohistorical phenomenon, a type of mythologization: a divine attribute is separated from the deity, considered autonomous, and understood as an independent entity or even as a special deity. It is questionable, however, whether one may isolate the “hypostatization” of divine attributes from the general propensity for objectification and personification of the abstract active throughout the OT. Human emotions and activities are objectified and considered autonomous just as often as divine attributes: evil, perversity, anxiety, hope, wrath, goodness, faithfulness, etc. (Psa 85:11f.; 107:42; Job 5:16; 11:14; 19:10, etc.; cf. G. Gerleman, “Bemerkungen zum atl. Sprachstil,” FS Vriezen 108–14).

3. The term *millâ* “word,” which originated in the Aram.-speaking realm (see III/3), is rare in theological language. It occurs only twice as an indication of the divine word (2 Sam 23:2; Job 23:5; see also the Aram. in Dan 4:30), but never in a cs. relationship with Yahweh or God.

V. In the Qumran texts both the verb and the noun are frequent. Kuhn (*Konk.* 47–49; also GCDS 106f.) catalogs over 50 and over 90 occurrences, resp.

The LXX usually renders *dbr pi.* with *lalein* (→ *ἄνω* 5). The relatively uniform usage of *dābār* in the Hebr. OT has decayed; two Gk. terms translate it: *logos* and *rhēma*, distributed in the canonical books in a ratio of roughly 2:1 (cf. E. Repo, *Der Begriff “Rhēma” im Biblisch-Griechischen* [1951], 1:188).

NT usage agrees with the OT insofar as “word of God” indicates the self-revelation of God in the spirit and thus appears as a synonym of “gospel.” In addition, “the word,” the *logos*, is closely associated and even equated with the person of Jesus. Numerous studies of *logos* also treat, more or less extensively, the backgrounds of the term in the OT and in Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism. The following may be mentioned: A. Debrunner, H. Kleinknecht, O. Procksch, and G. Kittel, “λέγω,” *TDNT* 4:69–143; G. Stählin, “μῦθος,” *TDNT* 4:762–95; V. Hamp, *Der Begriff “Wort” in den aram. Bibelübersetzungen* (1938).

G. Gerleman

## דֹּר *dôr* generation

S 1755; BDB 189b; HALOT 1:217b; TDOT 3:169–81; TWOT 418b; NIDOTTE 1887

1. *dôr* “generation” belongs to a common Sem. root *dwr*, for which the meaning “duration” dominates in ESem. and the meaning “generation” in WSem. (P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/20 [1965]: 143, 148). The word group comprises Akk. *dūru* “circular wall” (*AHW* 178); Hebr. *dôr* “(circular) encampment, dwelling” (Isa 38:12) and *dûr* “circle” (Isa 29:3; “ball”? Isa 22:18; cf. also *dûr* “to stack up in circles,” Ezek 24:5); Bibl. Aram. *dûr* “to dwell” (7x in Dan; KBL 1064a; in Psa 84:11 as an Aram. loanword; cf. Wagner no. 68), *m<sup>c</sup>dôr* (Dan 4:22, 29; 5:21), and *m<sup>c</sup>dār* (Dan 2:11) “dwelling”; Arab. *dawr* “circumference, circle,” *dāra* “to circle,” and *dār* “dwelling,” etc., are apparently not directly related.

Besides the frequent Akk. terms *dāru/dūru* “long duration,” *darû* “to last,” *dārû* “lasting,” *dārîtu* “duration, eternity” (*AHW* 164, 178b), *dāru* also occurs once at Mari as a WSem. loanword meaning “lifetime” (*AHW* 164b; *CAD* D:115b).

Ug. *dr dr* corresponds to the Hebr. *dôr dôr* (Exod 3:15); in addition, *dr bn il* (par. *mḫrt bn il*) “assembly of the sons of God” also occurs (cf. *WUS* nos. 785f.; *UT* no. 697). Phoen.-Pun. *dr* means “family, generation” (*DISO* 60); here too the expression *kl dr bn ʾlm* “the whole generation of the sons of the gods” occurs (Karatepe inscription, *KAI* no. 26A.III.19; cf. *ANET* 654b; F. J. Neuberg, *JNES* 9 [1950]: 215–17; M. Dahood, *Le Antiche Divinit Semitiche* [1958], 66).

Aram. extrabibl. examples are late, e.g., Syr. *dārā* “era, generation” (*LS* 147a).

Opinions regarding etymology are divided, esp. concerning whether *dôr* is associated with the “circle” concept.

If this question is answered affirmatively, then *dôr* would indicate “the circular, self-contained passage of time . . . in which a human generation completes its development” (C. von Orelli, *Die hebr. Synonyma der Zeit und Ewigkeit* [1871], 34; similarly W. A. Ward, *Or* 31 [1962]: 398f., who refers, additionally, to Eg. *tr* “time”). The etymological relationship to “circle” has probably correctly been denied by other scholars (cf. also Fronzaroli, op. cit. 143): Neither Akk. *dāru* nor Hebr. *dôr* concerns the concept “circle”; rather, they belong to the semantic sphere of “duration, continuum”

(CAD D:108b). A third etymology associates *dôr* with a root *dhr* “wagon race,” thus \**dahru* > \**dāru* > *dôr*, properly, “circuit in a race,” then “cycle” (W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 163 [1961]: 50f.).

Bibl. Aram. has *dār* with the same meaning in the dual expression *dār w<sup>e</sup>dār* (Dan 3:33; 4:31) and a derivative *t<sup>e</sup>dār* “duration” (Dan 6:17, 21; KBL 1135f.).

2. *dôr* occurs in the OT 166x (92x alone and 37x in the formula *dôr dôr*), Bibl. Aram. *dār* 4x. The pl. has the masc. form *dôrîm* 3x (Isa 51:8; Psa 72:5; 102:25), otherwise the fem. form *dôrôt* occurs (48x).

The word is esp. frequent in the Psalter (59x with 21 repetition formulae). *dôr* occurs in the Prophets only in Isa (17x, excl. 38:12), Jer (4x), and Joel (5x). In the Pentateuch, the older sources (Gen 7:1; 15:16; Exod 1:6; 3:15; 17:16; Num 32:13) and Deut (11x) use the sg., the priestly layers the pl. (Gen 5x, Exod 4x, Lev 14x, Num 9x).

Regarding the frequency in P and in the Psa, cf. Akk. *dār, dūr*, and (ana) *dūr dār*, limited principally to poetic and juristic language (CAD D:108b).

3. In contrast to a series of other collective terms referring to origin and relationship (*zera<sup>c</sup>* “descendants,” *mišpāḥâ* “tribe,” *tôlêdôt* “descendants”), *dôr* is primarily temporal. As the word’s etymology indicates, it belongs semantically to the temporal sphere: “duration, continuum.” According to the Hebr. concept of time, however, temporal extension is not conceived as a simple abstraction. It must always be perceived in terms of its content (von Rad, *Theol.* 2:100f.). The period of time indicated by *dôr* may be comprehended only as the duration of the people living in it. The past, like the future, is described as a series of many sequential generations.

The referent of the word can vary greatly. The concrete notion of a collective group of people living at a particular time occasionally becomes prominent (Gen 6:9; 7:1; Exod 1:6; Lev 23:43; Num 32:13; Deut 1:35; 2:14; 23:3f., 9; 29:21; 32:5, 20; Judg 2:10; Isa 41:4; Jer 2:31; Joel 1:3; Psa 12:8; 14:5; 24:6; 78:6, 8; Prov 30:11–14; Eccl 1:4). Here *dôr* almost always stands in a very general sense, i.e., “the total group of contemporaries active in public life” (M. Noth, *Deuteronomistic History* [1981], 105n.12). Only rarely does it have an exclusive sense indicating a limited circle within the people (Psa 24:6; 112:2; Prov 30:11–14).

Other passages definitely emphasize the temporal character, i.e., Isa 51:9. *dôr* has the sense of a temporal modifier in particular in a few usually fixed formulae: *dôr wādôr* (30x, 18x in Psa), without *waw*: Exod 3:15; 17:16; Prov 27:24 K; cf. Ug. *drdr* and Akk. *dūr dār* “forever.” Other double forms, which do not serve as temporal advs., are *dôr l<sup>e</sup>dôr* (Psa 145:4), *dôr*

*dôrîm* (Psa 72:5; with prefixed *le* Isa 51:8; with *be* Psa 102:25). The pl. with suf. and prefixed *le* characterizes P and is almost exclusively employed by it (39x); *I<sup>c</sup>dôrôtēkem/I<sup>c</sup>dôrôtām/I<sup>c</sup>dôrôtāyw* “according to your/their/his generations” functions as a temporal adv. pointing to the future and is roughly synonymous with *I<sup>c</sup>ôlām* (→ *ôlām*).

Regarding Isa 53:8, where G. R. Driver (*JTS* 36 [1935]: 403) and others translate *dôr* with “destiny” (e.g., D. W. Thomas, *ETL* 44 [1968]: 84), cf. Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 265.

4. *dôr* has no specifically theological usage. As a temporal adv. *dôr* is noneschatological. The infrequency of the word in the prophets and in their statements concerning the future are noteworthy. As a designation for a group of people, too, *dôr* exhibits no specifically theological references. The “generation” is rather rarely the topic of religious and ethical assessment (Deut 1:35; 32:5, 20; Psa 12:8; 14:5; 24:6; 78:8; 112:2; Prov 30:11–14).

5. Kuhn (*Konk.* 49) catalogs roughly 30 occurrences in Qumran texts (see also *GCDS* 108). OT usage continues for the most part. The expressions *dôrôt neṣaḥ* (1QH 1:16) and *dôrôt ôlām* (1QH 1:18; 6:11; 4QP Bless 4) “eternal generation” (cf. Isa 51:9) are noteworthy.

The LXX translates *dôr* almost exclusively by *genea*, which indicates origin and descent. On the NT, cf. F. Büchsel, “γενεά,” *TDNT* 1:662–65.

G. Gerleman

## דִּין *dîn* to judge

S 1777; BDB 192a; *HALOT* 1:220a; *TDOT* 3:187–94; *TWOT* 426; *NIDOTTE* 1906

1. The root *dîn* is common Sem. (cf. *HAL* 211).

The word group occurs among Israel’s neighbors frequently, in Akk. (*AHw* 150f., 167f., 171f., 571f.), Ug. (*WUS* no 766; *UT* no. 657), and Aram. (*DISO*, 56f., 143), but is absent from Phoen.-Pun. (→ *špī*).

In the OT, the verb *dîn* occurs in the qal and ni.; the following subst. derive from it: *dîn* “legal case” (substantivized inf., BL 452), *dayyān* “judge” (nomen agentis, BL 478), *mādôn* and *midyān* “conflict” (verbal nouns with *m* - prefix, BL 491; on *midyān* cf. I. L. Seeligmann, *FS Baumgartner* 256),

and *m<sup>e</sup>dînâ* “jurisdiction, province” (*m-* locale, BL 492; cf. Wagner no. 152).

*dîn* also occurs in the PNs *dînâ* (see 3), <sup>ʾ</sup>*bîdân*, and *dānîyēʾl* (HAL 219a), in the personal, place, and tribal name *dān*, and in the place name *mādôn* (Noth, HAT 7, 67f.; M. Weippert, *Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine* [1971], 34n.100); for extrabibl. proper names, cf. Stamm, AN 355b; Huffmon 182f.; Gröndahl 123).

2. The verb *dîn* occurs in the Hebr. OT 22x in the qal (Psa 8x, Jer 4x) and 1x in the ni. (2 Sam 19:10 “to quarrel”); also in Bibl. Aram. 1x in the pe. (Ezra 7:25). The subst. *dîn* appears 20x (incl. Job 19:29 K; 35:14; Prov 5x, Job and Jer 4x each), in addition to 5x in Bibl. Aram.; *dayyān* 2x (1 Sam 24:16; Psa 68:6), Aram. 1x (Ezra 7:25); *mādôn/midyān* 23x (incl. 2 Sam 21:20; in Prov 19x); *m<sup>e</sup>dînâ* 53x (39x in Esth, often in a distributive reduplication), Aram. 11x.

3. Contrary to the judgment of J. van der Ploeg (CBQ 12 [1950]: 248) and B. Gemser (SVT 3 [1955]: 124n.4), who attribute a broad, fluctuating meaning to *dîn*, it may be established that the root originally designated precisely authoritative, binding judgment in a legal procedure. The usage in the Code of Hammurabi (Driver-Miles 1:73), in Ug. (WUS no. 766), and in the OT and the fact that the subjs. of *dîn* are almost always authorities—indeed, primarily the king (king: Jer 21:12; 22:16; Psa 72:2; Prov 20:8; 31:5, 8f.; high priest in a royal function: Zech 3:7, cf. Horst, HAT 14, 228; the leaders of the tribe of Dan: Gen 49:16)—support this viewpoint; on the basic forensic meaning of *dîn* cf. also H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT* (1964), 85n.7; Seeligmann, op. cit. 256. Deut 17:8 may also be easily explained if *dîn* together with *dām* “bloodguilt” and *negac* “misdeed” had the precise meaning “contested authoritative-judicial decision.”

The basic meaning of *dîn* is thereby distinguished from → *špṭ*, which originally referred to decisions reached in nonbinding arbitration. Both roots expand in meaning to full synonymity. Consequently *špṭ* can play the dominant role in the OT that *dîn* has in Akk. (B. Landsberger, “Die bab. Termini für Gesetz und Recht,” FS Koschaker 223), while *dîn* plays only a secondary role in the OT. In 1 Sam 24:16; Isa 3:13; 10:2; Jer 5:28; 21:12; 22:16; Psa 7:9; 9:5, 9; 72:2; 76:9; 140:13; Prov 31:9; 1QH 9:9, *dîn* occurs alongside *špṭ* (cf. Ug. KTU 1.17.V.7f.). In addition to *am* “people” (Gen 49:16; Psa 72:2), the poor, suffering, orphans, and widows are objs. of *dîn* (Jer 5:28; 21:12; 22:16; Prov 31:5, 8f.; on the extra-Israelite parallels of this *justitia adiutrix miseri*, see Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 50f.). Here *dîn* takes the meaning “to create justice” or “legal claim.”

In *m<sup>c</sup>dînâ* the root tends toward “to govern” (→ *špt*); *m<sup>c</sup>dînâ* designates the “judicial and administrative region” of the kingdom of Israel (1 Kgs 20:14–19), Judah (Lam 1:1), the Neo-Bab. Empire (Dan 3:2, etc.), the satrapy of the Pers. Empire (Esth, Ezra, Neh); cf. C. C. Torrey, “Medina and Polis,” *HTR* 17 (1924): 83ff.

The (partially synonymous) parallelism of *dîn* and *rîb* (Isa 3:13; with *dayyān* 1 Sam 24:16; with *mādôn* Jer 15:10; Hab 1:3; Prov 15:18; 17:14; cf. 1QH 5:23, 35) points to another extension of *dîn* ‘s meaning. *rîb* develops from the basic meaning “conflict” to “procedure” (→ *rîb*). In Job 35:14; 36:17; Esth 1:13, *dîn* means “procedure, legal struggle” (*HAL* 211b; cf. *AHw* 172a; *PRU* 3:223f.; *DISO* 56f.). Similarly, in *mādôn/midyān* “conflict, quarrel,” *dîn* assumes, in assimilation to *rîb*, the latter’s basic meaning (thus, insightfully, Seeligmann, op. cit. 256f.). The expressions *ēšet midyānîm*, etc., “quarrelsome wife” (Prov 19:13; 21:9, 19; 25:24; 27:15; cf. Gemser, *HAT* 16, 81) are characteristic.

*dîn* “to judge, hold proceedings” in Eccl 6:10 belongs here (cf. 2 Sam 19:10 *dîn* ni. “to squabble”), as does the fem. name *dînâ* “legal struggle,” which was probably artificially formed for Gen 34 (J. J. Stamm, *FS Baumgartner* 331).

4. Passages in which Yahweh is the subj. of *dîn* exhibit the meanings “to judge = pronounce judgment” and “to judge = create justice” (subst. “legal claim”): Gen 15:14; 30:6; Deut 32:36 = Psa 135:14; 1 Sam 2:10; 24:16; Isa 3:13; Psa 7:9; 9:5, 9; 50:4; 54:3; 68:6; 76:9; 96:10; 110:6(?); 140:13; Job 19:29; 36:7. Yahweh “judges” the nations (Gen 15:14; Psa 7:9; 9:9; 96:10; Job 36:31[?]) and his people Israel (Deut 32:36 = Psa 135:14; Isa 3:13; Psa 50:4). These two statements may fuse Jerusalem’s pre-Israelite cultic tradition (God as creator-king-world judge) with specifically Israelite tradition (Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:84f., 492). Yahweh creates justice for the suffering, etc. (Psa 9:5; 54:3; 68:6; 76:9; 140:13; 1 Sam 24:16; for Rachel, Gen 30:6). The laudatory names *dānîyēʾl*, “El is judge” (*IP* 35, 92, 187; cf. further the bibliog. in *HAL* 219a and in the comms. on Dan and Ezek 14), the abbreviation *dān* (*HAL* 218b with bibliog.; *BHH* 1:317f.), and the likewise theophoric name *ʾabîdān* (*HAL* 4b) “(my) father has judged” reflect the usage of *dîn* in lament (Psa 7:9; 54:3; 140:13) and praise (Deut 32:36 = Psa 135:14; 1 Sam 2:10; Psa 9:5, 9; 76:9; 1QH 5:13).

5. Qumran texts (esp. 1QH 5:13) use *dîn* similarly to the OT; on *dîn* in the Talmud, cf. Z. W. Falk, *JSS* 5 (1960): 352; on the LXX, Judaism, and the NT, cf. F. Büchsel and V. Hertrich, “κρίνω,” *TDNT* 3:921–54.

G. Liedke

דָּל *dal* poor → ענה *nh* II

## דָּם *dām* blood

S 1818; BDB 196a; HALOT 1:224a; TDOT 3:234–50; TWOT 436; NIDOTTE 1947

1. The biradical root \**dm* “blood” is common Sem. (GVG 1:344; Ug.: WUS no. 754).

In addition to Hebr. *dām*, a form <sup>ʾ</sup>*dāmâ* with prosthetic *aleph* occurs in Deut 32:43, just as Akk. *adam(m)u* occurs alongside the more customary *dāmu*, HAL 15b and AHW 10a explain them as by-forms of the root <sup>ʾ</sup>*dm* “to be red.” On the uncertain Phoen.-Pun. examples (KAI no. 43.11; no. 103.2) and Augustine’s “nam et Punice edom sanguis dicitur” (*Enarratio in Psalmos* 136:18), cf. DISO 58; KAI 2:61, 114; according to J. Hoftijzer (VT 8 [1958]: 289) <sup>ʾ</sup>*edom* should be understood as the form with the art. prefixed. Aram. <sup>ʾ</sup>*edmā* in addition to *d<sup>ʿ</sup>mā* can be explained as the result of a purely phonetic process (GVG 1:217; NB 118).

2. The OT attests *dām* 360x (sg. 288x, pl. 72x).

The word is most frequent in Lev (88x) and Ezek (55x), followed by Exod (29x; Lis. does not list Exod 12:22a), Deut (23x, as well as <sup>ʾ</sup>*dāmâ* in Deut 32:43), Psa (21x), Num and Isa (15x each).

3. As the only OT term for “blood,” *dām* has a broad range of usage: it designates human and animal blood, esp. blood spilled in sacrifice, war, or some other violence. The phrase “to spill blood” is the semasiological background of a natural transferral of meaning, also encountered in other languages, which uses *dām* (sg. and pl. *dāmîm*) in an abstract sense: “the shedding of blood, war.” *deber* “plague” appears a few times as a par. (Ezek 5:17; 28:23; 38:22). In this abstract sense, *dām* has become an ethically qualified concept: “bloody deed” and (in accordance with Hebr. thought almost synonymously) “bloodguilt” (Num 35:33; Deut 17:18; 19:10; 21:8; 22:8; Judg 9:24; 1 Sam 25:26, 33; Hos 1:4; 4:2; 12:15; Prov 28:17). “To spill blood” is often, esp. in Ezek, synonymous with “to commit murder” (Gen 9:6; 37:22; Num 35:33; Deut 21:7; 1 Sam 25:31; Psa 79:3; Prov 1:16; Ezek 16:38; 18:10; 22:3f., 6, 9, 12, 27; 23:45; 33:25; 36:18).

Not only murder is considered to be bloodshed, but also nonritual slaughter in

which the blood of the animal is not brought to the altar (Lev 17:4).

The expression *bēn dām l'dām* “between blood and blood” (Deut 17:8; 2 Chron 19:10) involves a distinction between acts of bloodshed to be assessed variously (murder, manslaughter).

A genuine metaphor occurs only in the expression “blood of the grape(s)” (Gen 49:11; Deut 32:14; Sir 39:26).

The OT very rarely uses *dām* to designate colors. The only clear passage is 2 Kgs 3:22 (cf. Isa 63:1–6 with the word *nēṣaḥ* “stream of blood” in vv 3, 6).

The Akk. (*AHW* 158b; *CAD* D:79b) and perhaps Phoen. (*DISO* 58) use of *dām* to designate descent and relationship is entirely absent (Dhorme 11). Hebr. associates this semantic function with → *bāsār* “flesh.”

4. (a) The language of sacral law employs a manifold usage of the word *dām*, esp. in P and Ezek. The peculiar formula *ʿmd ʿal-dām* “to stand against someone’s life” refers to appearance before a legal body in session, whether as plaintiff, witness, or judge (cf. 1 Kgs 21; Elliger, HAT 4, 258f.).

The apparently ancient taboo declaration of the blood of purification with the formula *m<sup>e</sup>qōr dāmeyhā* “source of her blood” (Lev 12:7; 20:18; cf. 15:19) is priestly.

The formula of bloodguilt, “his blood be on him (or on his head),” also belongs to the legal sphere and establishes the guilt of one condemned to death and thereby the innocence of the executor of the sentence (H. Reventlow, *VT* 10 [1960]: 311–27; K. Koch, *VT* 12 [1962]: 396–416). The formula occurs in its pure form (always *dāmîm* in pl. with suf. and *be* with suf.) only in P (Lev 20:9, 11–13, 16, 27), but also in a somewhat altered form elsewhere (Josh 2:19; 1 Kgs 2:37; Ezek 18:13; 33:4f.).

(b) Some religiohistorical concepts associated with blood may be mentioned briefly at this point in order to call attention to terms that stand in a special relationship to *dām* in the OT, esp. in P.

Blood is considered the locus of life (Lev 17:11, “The soul of the flesh is in the blood”; → *nepes̄*) or is identified with it (Gen 9:4; Lev 17:14; Deut 12:23). For this reason, blood may not be consumed (Lev 3:17; 7:26f.; 17:10, 12, 14; Deut 12:16, 23; 15:23), nor flesh “that has its blood” (Gen 9:4; cf. Lev 19:26; 1 Sam 14:32–34; Ezek 33:25). Probably originally understood animistically (on religiohistorical aspects cf. W. E. Mühlmann, *RGG* 1:1327f.; J. H. Waszink, *RAC* 2:459–73), the statements are stripped of this character through attribution to the revelation of God’s will and foundation upon it (Elliger, HAT 4, 228).

A similar phenomenon is also true of the significance of blood as a means of atonement (Lev 4:5–34; 16:14–19; 17:11, etc.; → *kpr*) and as a community-building factor in making covenant (Exod 24:6, 8; → *b'rit*). Blood does not act by means of inherent expiatory power, but because Yahweh designated it as a means of atonement (Lev 17:11, “I gave it to you for the altar so that it may work atonement for you”; cf. Vriezen, *Theol.* 266).

Human blood enjoys God’s special protection (Gen 9:5f.). It is regarded as the property of the tribe; consequently, the tribe is obligated, in the event of a murder, “to redeem” (→ *g'l*) the blood by the death of the murderer, to reacquire it for the family (*gō'el haddām* “blood avenger,” Num 35:19–27; Deut 19:6, 12; Josh 20:3, 5, 9; 2 Sam 14:11; cf. Koch, op. cit. 409–14).

5. Kuhn (*Konk.* 50) catalogs 16 occurrences of the word in the Qumran texts (3x pl.; see also *GCDS* 110). The usage conforms to that of the OT: spilling of blood, bloody deed, blood of the sacrifice, menstrual blood. Expressions such as “blood arrow” (1QM 6:3) and “to hear of bloody deeds” (*dāmîm*, 1QH 7:3) go beyond OT usage.

On Judaism and the NT, cf. E. Bischoff, *Das Blut im jüdischen Schrifttum und Brauch* (1929); J. Behm, “αἷμα,” *TDNT* 1:172–77; L. Morris, “Biblical Use of the Term ‘Blood,’” *JTS* 3 (1952): 216–27; 6 (1955): 77–82.

G. Gerleman

## דָּמָה *dmh* to be like

S 1819; BDB 197b; *HALOT* 1:225a; *TDOT* 3:250–60; *TWOT* 437; *NIDOTTE* 1948

## כִּי *ke* like

BDB 453a; *HALOT* 2:453b; *TDOT* 7:1–7; *TWOT* 937; *NIDOTTE* 3869

1. *dmh* “to resemble” is extant beyond Hebr. in Aram. (*DISO* 58; *KBL* 1066b; *LS* 156f. with reference to Fraenkel 272: Arab. *dumyat* “picture” is an Aram. loanword). The demarcation between one of more homonymous roots with the meaning “to be silent,” “to destroy,” etc. (*HAL* 216b; J. Blau, *VT* 6 [1956]: 242f.; cf. N. Lohfink, *VT* 12 [1962]: 275–77; A. Baumann, “דָּמָה *dāmāh* II,” *TDOT* 3:260–65) is disputed in individual cases.

The verb occurs in the qal “to be like,” ni. “to become like,” pi. “to equate, compare” and estimatively “to consider appropriate, plan, imagine,” and hitp. “to equate oneself.” Derived noms. are *d<sup>c</sup>mî* “half,” *dimyôn* “resemblance,” and *d<sup>c</sup>mût* “figure, representation.”

The last subst. occurs once in Imp. Aram.: *BMAP* 3:21 *byt ldmwt bytk*, “a house like yours.”

2. According to Lis. 366, *dmh* occurs in qal 13x (excl. Jer 6:2 [cf., however, Rudolph, HAT 12, 42] and Hos 4:5 [cf. Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 97]), pi. 14x (incl. Hos 12:11), hitp. 1x (Isa 14:14); additionally, ni. 1x in Ezek 32:2 according to Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:154, and *HAL* 216a. The substs. *d<sup>c</sup>mî* (Isa 38:10) and *dimyôn* (Psa 17:12) are hapax legomena: *d<sup>c</sup>mût* occurs 25x.

Bibl. Aram. has two occurrences of *dmh* pe. (Dan 3:25; 7:5).

3. (a) *dmh* qal “to be like” introduces comparisons in laments (Isa 1:9 “like Gomorrah”; Psa 102:7, “I am like the bittern in the wilderness”; 144:4, “The human being is like a breath”; cf. Lam 2:13 pi.), in prophetic metaphorical language (Ezek 31:2, 8[bis], 18, concerning the pharaoh), in love songs (Song Sol 2:9, 17; 7:8; 8:14; cf. 1:9 pi.), and in hymnic language (Isa 46:5; Psa 89:7; pi. in Isa 40:18, 25; 46:5; see 4a).

The following verbs that parallel *dmh* qal/pi. have similar meanings: (1) *hyh ke* “to be like” (Isa 1:9; Ezek 31:8; Psa 102:7; cf. Psa 50:21); (2) *šwh* qal “to be like” (Isa 40:25 pi.), hi. “to compare” (Isa 46:5 pi.; Lam 2:13 pi.); *šwh* qal occurs a total of 8x, ni. 1x “to be alike” (Prov 27:15), pi. “to make alike, equal, appease” 5x, and hi. “to equate, compare” 2x; cf. *HP* 35, 111; Bibl. Aram. *šwh* pe. “to be like,” Dan 5:21 K (Q pa.); hitpa. “to be made like” Dan 3:29; (3) *mšl* hi. “to compare” (Isa 46:5); otherwise *mšl* qal “to speak a metaphor, a proverb” 10x, pi. “to recite metaphors” 1x, hi. “to become like” 5x, hitp. “to become similar” 1x; also *māšāl* “proverb”; cf. O. Eissfeldt, *Der Maschal im AT* [1913]; A. R. Johnson, *SVT* 3 (1955): 162–69; for further bibliog. see Sellin-Fohrer 311; (4) *šmm* “to equal” (Ezek 31:8; otherwise only in Ezek 28:3); (5) *ʿrk* qal in the meaning “to juxtapose, compare” (Psa 89:7; Isa 40:18 pi.; without par. to *dmh*: Psa 40:6; Job 28:17, 19; otherwise in the meaning “to arrange”).

(b) The question as to whether the abstract form *d<sup>c</sup>mût* “semblance, resemblance,” best translated in many passages with “something like” (L. Köhler, *TZ* 4 [1948]: 20f.), refers to equivalence or only to some diminished similarity (Köhler, op. cit.; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift* [1964], 143; Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:146f.) may be answered by observing that the word in and of itself refers to total comparability and not to a perceptibly lesser degree of mere similarity, but that the need to refer to comparability exists only if similarity is not self-evident.

In a few passages (Isa 13:4 and Psa 58:5, the text is questionable), *d<sup>e</sup>mût* refers to pictorial or fig. representations (2 Kgs 16:10, model or plan of an altar; Ezek 23:15, mural painting; 2 Chron 4:3, cattle figures under the bronze sea) underscoring their correspondence to the original (“imitation, copy”). *d<sup>e</sup>mût* occurs most frequently in descriptions of visions in Ezek (as nomen regens: Ezek 1:5[bis], 10, 13 [txt?], 16, 26[bis], 28; 10:1, 10, 21f.; distanced from the related word: 1:22; followed by *k<sup>e</sup>mar<sup>h</sup>eh* “like the appearance of”: 1:26; 8:2) and Dan (Dan 10:16), where the identification of that which is seen with divine reality is only suggested.

On the *imago* passages (Gen 1:26; 5:1, 3) and on Isa 40:18, where *d<sup>e</sup>mût* also means “copy, likeness,” see 4a and → *selem*.

The closest semantically related word is *tabnât* “image, model” (20x, derived from the root *bnh* “to build”). On the words for “figure” (*t<sup>e</sup>mûnâ*, *tô<sup>h</sup>ar*, *qešeb*) and “picture” (*maš<sup>k</sup>ât*, etc.) → *selem*.

(c) The semantic field of equality and similarity is not dominated in Hebr. by verbs and nouns, but by the comparative particle *ke* “like” (on form and usage, cf. GKC §118s-x; Joüon §§103b, c, g, 133g, 166l, m, 174d, i; BrSynt 96, 104f., 126).

Of the more than 3,000 occurrences of the particle *ke* in the Hebr. OT (57x *k<sup>e</sup>mô*; in Bibl. Aram. *ke* is attested around 80x, incl. 22x *kol-q<sup>o</sup>bêl* “correspondingly,” *k<sup>e</sup>an/k<sup>e</sup>enet/k<sup>e</sup>et* “now” 17x, *k<sup>e</sup>dî* “like, as” 5x), over 500 fall to the conjunction *ka<sup>h</sup>šer* “like, as,” and about 250 to the combination *ke* + inf., which should be primarily rendered in Eng. with a temporal clause (most often with *šm<sup>c</sup>* “to hear” 46x, *bô<sup>h</sup>* “to come” 26x, *klh* pi. “to finish” 25x, *r<sup>h</sup>* “to see” 25x). Most frequently *k<sup>e</sup>* (or *k<sup>e</sup>mô*) precedes subst. of general and abstract meaning: *kôl/kol-* “totality, all” (127x, 75x *k<sup>e</sup>kôl<sup>h</sup>šer* “according to all, that which”), *dābār* “word” (94x), *yôm* “day” (78x), *mišpāt* “prescription, custom” (42x), *mar<sup>h</sup>eh* “looks, appearance” (25x), *ma<sup>a</sup>šeh* “deed” and *et* “time” (22x each); comparisons to concrete elements and living beings are more rare: *iš* “man” and *mayim* “water” (23x), *šô<sup>h</sup>n* “sheep” (20x), *šeh* “fire” (19x), *hōl* “sand” (14x).

Although passages with *ke* comprise only a small fraction of the occurrences of most of the nouns associated with *ke* (of around 600 different Hebr. terms with *ke* something more than half occur only once in this combination), some words, e.g., *môš* “chaff,” apparently specialize in usage in the simile. The proportion of designations for animals is also somewhat above average. Statistically, following *šô<sup>h</sup>n* in animal similes are: → *š<sup>h</sup>aryeh* “lion” (16x, incl. 1x Aram.; also other designations for lions, e.g., *k<sup>e</sup>pîr* 9x, *lābî<sup>h</sup>* 6x, *šahal* 3x, *gôr* 1x), *nešer* “eagle, vulture” (12x), *šippôr* “bird” (10x), *sûs* “horse” and *yônâ* “dove” (9x), and *šayyāl(â)* “deer” (8x). Of course, these figures are true

only for the similes with *ke*; indirect similes and metaphorical comparisons cannot be included here.

The most frequent forms with suf. per. prons. (*kā-*, *k<sup>e</sup>mô-*, *kāmô-*, something over 100x) are *kāmôkā* “like you” (31x), *kāmôhû* “like him” (24x), and *kāmônî* “like me” (17x). Finally, *ke* with proper names occurs about 60x. Comparison is most often made to David (9x), the Anakim and Daniel (3x each), all other PNs (even Moses and Job), only once each. The place-names Lebanon and Sodom (4x each), Gomorrah and Shiloh (2x each) are worthy of mention (all others, even Jerusalem, e.g., only once). On the divine designations, see 4b.

4. (a) In theological contexts, *dmh* (*d<sup>e</sup>mût*) and synonyms function in hymnic statements concerning Yahweh’s incomparability (cf. C. J. Labuschagne, *Incomparability of Yahweh in the OT* [1966], 28–30). In addition to Psa 89:7, “For who in the clouds compares to Yahweh (*ʿrk l<sup>e</sup>*), is like Yahweh [*dmh qal*] among the divine beings?” (cf. Psa 40:6, “Nothing is to be compared to you [*ʿrk ʿel*]”), a few passages from Deutero-Isa may be cited here: Isa 40:18, “To whom will you compare God (*dmh pi.*) and what will you set beside him (*ʿrk*) as a likeness (*d<sup>e</sup>mût*)?”; 40:25, “To whom will you liken me (*dmh pi.*), that I should be like him (*šwh qal*)?”; 46:5, “To whom will you liken me (*dmh pi.*), to whom compare me (*šwh hi.*)? To whom will you equate me (*mšl hi.*), that we should be alike (*dmh qal*)?” In each case, the context indicates that Yahweh’s incomparability with respect to the impotent gods is intended, his claim to uniqueness, in contrast perhaps to frequent similar statements in Bab. texts (with *maḥāru* and *šānānu* “to equal”; cf. Labuschagne, op. cit. 31–57) that hyperbolically praise first one, then another, god (cf. J. Hehn, *Die biblische und die babylonische Gottesidee* [1913], 99). Consequently, any other power’s claim to equality with Yahweh is harshly contested; cf. Isa 14:14, where the hubris of the king of Babel is characterized in mythical terms: “I will ascend above the clouds, I will become like (*dmh hitp.*) the Most High.”

Concerning humanity’s resemblance to God, manifest in dominion over the animal world (Gen 1:26f.; cf. 5:1, 3; Psa 8:6–9), but which goes back to unique concepts, comparison should be made to → *šelem*, with which *d<sup>e</sup>mût*, which interprets this term (combined with *be* or *ke*), seems to be rather interchangeable.

(b) Statements concerning God’s incomparability composed with the particle of comparison *ke* (Labuschagne, op. cit. 8–29) divide essentially into two groups, both with formal pars. in daily language: negated nom. clauses of the form *ʿên . . . ke . . .* “there is none . . . like . . .” (Exod 8:6; 9:14; Deut 33:26; 1 Sam 2:2[bis]; 2 Sam 7:22 = 1 Chron 17:20; 1 Kgs 8:23

= 2 Chron 6:14; Jer 10:6f.; Psa 86:8; cf. Isa 46:9, with the negation  $\neg$ epes ) and rhetorical questions with an implied negation  $m\hat{i}k^e$ ... “who is like . . . ?” (Exod 15:11[bis]; Isa 44:7; 49:19 = 50:44; Mic 7:18; Psa 35:10; 71:19; 77:14; 89:9; 113:5; cf. Deut 4:7). The sentence names  $m\hat{i}k\bar{a}y\hat{a}(h\hat{u})$ ,  $m\hat{i}k\bar{a}y^eh\hat{u}$ ,  $m\hat{i}k\hat{a}(h\hat{u})$ ,  $m\hat{i}k\bar{a}^{\neg}el$  (“Who is like Yahweh/God”) also belong in the latter category (cf. *IP* 144; Labuschagne, op. cit. 21f., 126–29; contra B. Hartmann, *ZDMG* 110 [1961]: 234).

Designations used for God in this context are: *yhwh* (Exod 8:6; Deut 4:7; 1 Sam 2:2; Psa 113:5; associated with *ke* only 4x),  $\neg loh\hat{i}m$  (1 Sam 2:2; Psa 77:14;  $k\bar{e}^{\neg}loh\hat{i}m$  otherwise only in Gen 3:5 on the lips of the serpent: “That you will become like God”; Zech 12:8 in a hyperbolic promise: “The one who stumbles will be like David, and the house of David like a deity”; 2 Chron 32:17 of the gods of other peoples),  $\neg el$  (Deut 33:26; otherwise only in Job 40:9, “Is your arm like the arm of God?”; with  $k^cm\hat{o}$ , Job 19:22, “Why do you persecute me like God?”), also  $k\bar{a}m\hat{o}n\hat{i}$  “like me” (Exod 9:14; Isa 44:7; 46:9; Jer 49:19 = 50:44),  $k\bar{a}m\hat{o}k\bar{a}$  “like you” (Exod 15:11[bis]; 2 Sam 7:22 = 1 Chron 17:20; 1 Kgs 8:23 = 2 Chron 6:14; Jer 10:6f.; Mic 7:18; Psa 35:10; 71:19; 86:8; 89:9), and  $k\bar{a}m\hat{o}h\hat{u}$  “like him” (Job 36:22; cf. Job 40:9, “Do you have the voice of the thunder like him?”).

The statement of incomparability, which is hymnic in the broader sense, is always established, whether by the context, by a direct formulation, or, indeed chiefly, by the mighty intervention of Yahweh in history as a just deliverer (not accidentally also in the plague and exodus tradition; in the individual lament Psa 35; 71; 77; 86 as a motivation for the individual sufferer’s cry for help), but also by his creative power (in Deutero-Isa closely associated with deliverance). The following are special formulations: in the Song of Hannah, 1 Sam 2:2, “No one is holy ( $q\bar{a}d\hat{o}s$ ) like Yahweh,” and in the speech of Elihu, Job 36:22, “Who is a teacher ( $m\hat{o}r\hat{e}h$ ) like him?” (on the content and origin of these statements, cf. the extensive treatment of Labuschagne, op. cit. 64–153).

5. Formulae that state God’s incomparability in an OT manner also occur at Qumran (1QH 7:28; 1QM 10:8; 13:13).

The LXX primarily uses *homoios* and its derivatives, less frequently *isos* (only in 2 Macc 9:12 *isotheos* of Antiochus, in a negated usage); usually *homoio\text{ma}* stands for  $d^cm\hat{u}t$ , less frequently *homoio\text{sis}*, once each *homoios* (Isa 13:4), *idea* (Gen 5:3), and *eik\text{on}* (Gen 5:1).

On the LXX and the NT, where 1 John 3:2 constitutes the eschatological counterpart to Gen 3:5 and where Jesus’ equality with God (Phil 2:6) appears as a new theme, cf. G. St\text{ah}lin, “\text{ί}σο\text{ς},” *TDNT* 3:343–355; J. Schneider, “\text{ὅ}μοιο\text{ς},” *TDNT* 5:186–199.

E. Jenni

דַּעַת *daʿat* **knowledge** → יָדַע *ydʿ*

דֶּרֶךְ *derek* **way**

S 1870; BDB 202b; HALOT 1:231b; TDOT 3:270–93; TWOT 453a; NIDOTTE 2006

אֶרַח *ʾōrah* **way**

S 734; BDB 73a; HALOT 1:86b; TWOT 161a; NIDOTTE 784

1. The root *drk* “to tread (with the feet)” is common Sem.; it exhibits numerous, sometimes phonetically or semantically divergent, manifestations (HAL 221f.; P. Nober, *Bib* 40 [1959]: 196\*f.).

Akk. *daraggu* “path/trail” (AHW 163a; CAD D:108b) is a rare synonym for the more common *urḫu* or *ḥarrānu*, cf. also *darāku* “to follow after(?)” and *darku* “following” (AHw 163a, 164a).

The Ug. fem. subst. *drkt* “dominion, might” (WUS no. 792; UT no. 703; CML 1 154; CML 2 145) parallels *mlk* “kingdom” (KTU 1.108.6f.: *bʿlt mlk* par. *bʿlt drkt* of Anat, *Ugaritica* 5:551); see 3c.

The root seems to occur in Phoen.-Pun. and in Old Aram. only verbally: “to tread upon, enter, draw (a bow)” (DISO 60).

The Hebr. noun *derek* “way” (*qitl* formation? cf. Brønno 134) can be construed as both masc. and fem. (K. Albrecht, ZAW 16 [1896]: 54f.). In addition to the noun and the verb (qal and hi.), the derived subst. *midrāk* “footprint, foot breadth” (only Deut 2:5) also occurs.

2. The noun *derek* is attested in the OT 706x, predominantly in the sg. (543x; counting Prov 21:29 Q as sg., Jer 17:10 Q as pl.). It may be that the two duals in Prov 28:6, 18 should be read as pl. (cf. e.g., F. Nötscher, *Gotteswege und Menschenwege in der Bibel und in Qumran* [1958], 56).

	qal	hi.	sg.	pl.	dual	subst.
Gen	–	–	31	–	–	31

Exod	–	–	12	1	–	13	
Lev	–	–	–	1	–	1	
Num	1	–	23	–	–	23	
Deut	4	–	37	11	–	48	
Josh	2	–	15	2	–	17	
Judg	2	1	15	–	–	15	
1 Sam	1	1	–	24	3	–	27
2 Sam	–	–	–	11	1	–	12
1 Kgs	–	–	40	6	–	46	
2 Kgs	–	–	21	1	–	22	
Isa	8	3	33	14	–	47	
Jer	7	2	41	16	–	57	
Ezek	–	–	85	22	–	107	
Hos	–	–	4	4	–	8	
Joel	–	–	–	1	–	1	
Amos	2	–	3	–	–	3	
Jonah	–	–	–	2	–	–	2
Mic	4	–	–	1	–	1	
Nah	–	–	2	–	–	2	
	qal	hi.	sg.	pl.	dual	subst.	
Hab	1	1	–	–	–	–	
Hag	–	–	–	2	–	2	
Zech	1	–	–	3	–	3	
Mal	–	–	2	1	–	3	
Psa	6	4	47	19	–	66	
Job	3	1	20	12	–	32	
Prov	–	1	52	21	2	75	
Ruth	–	–	1	–	–	1	
Eccl	–	–	3	1	–	4	
Lam	3	–	2	4	–	6	
Ezra	–	–	3	–	–	3	
Neh	1	–	3	–	–	3	
1 Chron	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
2 Chron	1	–	–	11	14	–	25
OT	49	13	543	161	2	706	

3. (a) The meaning of *derek* developed in many ways in both spatial-geographical as well as metaphorical-figurative senses from the basic meaning “(traveled and thus established) way.” Only the most important of the numerous uses of the word will be treated here (in addition to the lexicons, see the extensive presentation of Nötscher, *op. cit.* 17–69).

Among the numerous spatial-geographical “ways,” the OT knows those specifically designated because they are highly traveled highways:

the “king’s highway” in the Transjordan, leading from Damascus to Aqaba (Num 20:17; 21:22; cf. *HAL* 222b; Y. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible* [19682], 49–52), the “highway of the tent dwellers” (Judg 8:11), and the “highway of the sea,” leading to the sea or running in the region of the sea (Isa 8:23; cf. Aharoni, op. cit. 41–49).

The concrete meaning “way” evolves imperceptibly into the meaning “movement on the way”: A person who travels on a street goes “his way,” in order to reach a goal (e.g., Gen 24:27, 48; 32:2, etc., frequently combined with → *hlk* “to go”; *badderek* = “underway”).

The action of travel is even more strongly emphasized when *derek* means “journey,” “undertaking,” or even “military campaign” (Gen 42:25; 45:21, 23; 1 Sam 21:6 *derek ḥōl* “profane undertaking”; cf. also Akk. *ḥarrānu* “way, journey, caravan, campaign,” *AHw* 326f.; *CAD* H:106–13).

From the vantage point of the goal, “way” acquires the meaning “way that has been traveled, stretch of the way (between two points)” (cf. e.g., Gen 31:23 “seven days’ journey long”).

A similar idea lies behind the use of *derek* to indicate the direction of a movement, whether it is undertaken or only described. Direction can be indicated by the four points of the compass (Deut 11:30, etc., esp. in the description of the new temple in Ezek 40:6ff.) or by regions and locales (Gen 16:7, etc.).

(b) In a fig. meaning, the life of a person can be described as the “way” on which one finds oneself (cf. A. Gros, *Le thème de la route dans la Bible* [1957], 17–30); often, then, one may translate “conduct, behavior” (e.g., Gen 6:12). This terminology acquired special significance in wisdom literature (Prov 1:15, etc.) and for the religious realm (see 4). If the goal of all human lives is in view, the “way” of all people, which leads to death, can be indicated (Josh 23:14; 1 Kgs 2:2; on Prov 14:12, cf. *HAL* 223a). In a rather general manner, *derek* indicates particular givens in human life or in nature, in the sense of “behavior, condition, practice, manner” (e.g., Prov 30:19f.; Gen 19:31, of the ways of the sexes toward one another; Gen 31:35, of the condition of the woman in the monthly cycle; cf. Gen 18:11 with *ʾōrah*; see 3d).

(c) Whether one can use Ug. *drkt* “dominion, might” to elucidate some passages in the OT must remain questionable. The passages adduced for this purpose (with *drk* qal: Num 24:17; with *derek*: Jer 3:13; Hos 10:13; Amos 8:14; Psa 67:3; 110:7; 119:37; 138:5; Job 26:14; 36:23; 40:19; Prov 8:22; 19:16; 31:3) are largely comprehensible even without this assumption or could be explained in some other manner.

The series of suggestions begins with Albright’s remark on Num 24:17; further passages were cited now and again by various authors; cf. W. F. Albright, *JBL* 63 (1944): 219; id., *SVT* 3 (1955): 7; id., *FS Robert* 23f.; P. Nober, *VD* 26 (1948): 351–53;

S. Bartina, *VD* 34 (1956): 202–10; J. B. Bauer, *VT* 8 (1958): 91f.; M. Dahood, *TS* 13 (1952): 593f.; 15 (1954): 627–31; id., *Bib* 33 (1952): 33; 38 (1957): 320; id., *PNSP* 40; id., *UHP* 55, etc.

The following authors have criticized this opinion: H. Zirker, *BZ* 2 (1958): 291–94; Nötscher, op. cit. 17f., 25f.; cf. further Rudolph, *KAT* 13/1, 206, on Hos 10:13; Fohrer, *KAT* 16, 522, on Job 40:19.

\*(d) Nötscher (op. cit. 12–17) treats semantically related substs. The following merit mention:

(1) *ʾōrah* “way” (57x, except for Gen 18:11 only in poetical texts, in 1/4 of the cases par. to *derek*; most frequent in Prov, 19x; also Psa 14x, Job 10x, Isa 8x, Gen and Judg 2x each, Joel and Mic 1x each; additionally *ʾḥ* “to wander, travel” 6x and *ʾōr<sup>ʿ</sup>ḥā* “caravan” 3x) and Bibl. Aram. *ʾrah* “way” (Dan 4:34; 5:23) with a range of meaning similar to *derek*; cf. Akk. *urḫu* and Aram. *ʾḥ/ʾorḥā* (*DISO* 24; *KBL* 1053b);

(2) *h<sup>ʾ</sup>līkâ* “way, lane; caravan, procession; activity” (6x; → *hlk*);

(3) *mesilla*® (27x) and *maslûl* (Isa 35:8) “(piled up) street” (*sll qal* “to pile up”);

(4) *ma<sup>ʿ</sup>gāl* “rut, track” (13x, in Prov 7x; from *ʿgālâ* “wagon”);

(5) *nāṭīb* (5x) and *n<sup>ʿ</sup>ṭībâ* (21x; almost always par. to *derek* or *ʾōrah* “path”; cf. Ug. *ntb* and *ntbt* “path,” *WUS* no. 1870; *UT* no. 1715);

(6) *š<sup>ʿ</sup>bîl* “path” (Jer 18:15; Psa 77:20; in each case par. to *derek*).

All these terms may also be used fig. or picturesquely.

(e) The verb *drk* qal always maintained the basic meaning “to tread” (obj.: land, Deut 1:36; way, Isa 59:8; waves, 1 Sam 5:5; etc.). The verb was occasionally specialized in two ways: the warrior “treads” his bow with his feet in order to bend it (Isa 5:28; 21:15, etc.; cf. *BHH* 1:264, 267), and the farmer “treads” the winepress in order to press grapes (e.g., Judg 9:27; cf. Dalman, *AuS* 4:364f.; on Mic 6:15, cf. Dalman, op. cit. 207).

*drk* hi. renders the causative meaning “to cause to tread, cause to travel” (Isa 11:15, etc.; with an elliptical obj., “feet” = “to tread down, step on” in Jer 51:33; Job 28:8; on Judg 20:43 cf. *HAL* 222a). “To cause to walk in a way” then becomes “to lead” (Prov 4:11, etc.).

4. (a) Religious language can also, at first, refer concretely to the way or journey of a god (1 Kgs 18:27), divine being (Gen 19:2), or Yahweh (Deut 1:33; Nah 1:3; cf. A. Kuschke, “Die Menschenwege und der Weg Gottes im AT,” *ST* 5 [1952]: 106–18; F. Nötscher, *Gotteswege und*

*Menschenwege in der Bibel und in Qumran* [1958], 23ff.). Here, however, the primary intention is a metaphorical reference to the behavior and volition of God (cf. Gros, op. cit. 30–40), who turns attention to the people but nevertheless transcends them (Isa 55:8f.; Job 34:27, etc.). The people and its members should walk in God's way, i.e., lead their lives in obedience to God (Exod 32:8, etc.), to which end God's commandments serve as guideposts (e.g., Deut 5:33). To diverge from them (Deut 11:28, etc.) is to pervert God's ways (Num 22:32) and to go in other ways (one's own, Isa 53:6; the sinner's, Psa 1:1; strange gods', Jer 10:2). This behavior by Israel's kings, who do not walk in David's, and thus Yahweh's, way (thus in 1 Kgs 3:14), but in that of Jeroboam (1 Kgs 15:26, etc.), is esp. condemned.

(b) The verb *drk qal* can describe God's movement: on the heights of the earth (Amos 4:13; Mic 1:3; cf. U. Devescovi, *RivB* 9 [1961]: 235–37), on the heights of the sea (Job 9:8; cf. Hab 3:15). The bending of the bow is mentioned in Zech 9:13; Lam 2:4; 3:12 (cf. Psa 58:8); the treading of the winepress in Isa 63:3(bis) and Lam 1:15.

The hi. describes Yahweh's guidance of the pious, etc. (Isa 48:17; Psa 25:5; etc.; Devescovi, op. cit. 237–42).

5. In the community of Qumran the nuance of meaning indicated in 4a is particularly represented, a phenomenon that reflects the character of the texts. In essence no new viewpoints are added; cf. Nötscher, op. cit. 72–96.

Although not explicit in the formulation of the NT (Matt 7:13f.), the dualism of the two ways is already present and prefigured in essence; cf. B. Couroyer, "Le chemin de vie en Egypte et en Israël," *RB* 56 (1949): 412–32; Nötscher, op. cit. 64–69; Michaelis, "ὁδός," *TDNT* 5:53–55.

On "way" in the NT and in early Christianity, cf. W. Michaelis, op. cit. 42–118; Nötscher, op. cit. 97–122; A. Gros, *Je suis la route* (1961); E. Repo, *Der "Weg" als Selbstbezeichnung des Urchristentums* (1964).

G. Sauer

## דַּרַשׁ *drš* to inquire after

S 1875; BDB 205b; *HALOT* 1:233a; *TDOT* 3:293–307; *TWOT* 455; *NIDOTTE* 2011

1. *drš* is a WSem. verb, also attested outside Hebr. in Ug., Aram., Eth., and Arab.

Syr. *drš* “to dispute,” or the like, apparently a Hebr. loanword, has assimilated to a word for “to tread” (cf. Hebr. and Aram. *drk*; Mid. Hebr., Jew. Aram. *drs*, Arab. *drs* “to thresh,” Akk. *darāsu* “to force out,” *AHW* 163b), but is nevertheless to be distinguished from it (cf. *NB* 38n.4). Concerning a questionable occurrence of Akk. *darāšu* “to attempt(?)” in hymnic-epic language, cf. W. von Soden, *ZA* 49 (1949): 175f.; *AHW* 163b.

2. The OT has *drš* only in the Hebr. portions: qal 155x (Chron 40x), ni. 9x. The late verbal abstract *midrāš* “exposition” (Aram. pe. inf., GKC §85h) occurs only twice (2 Chron 13:22; 24:27; cf. Sir 51:23).

3. (a) The range of profane usage is rather limited, esp. in comparison to the semantically related → *bqš* pi., and makes up only about 1/4 of the total occurrences. But even the profane usage of *drš* is clearly distinguished from that of *bqš* pi. There are only isolated examples of *drš* meaning “to search for someone or something” (Deut 22:2; Job 10:6 with *bqš* as a preceding par.; 39:8 with *ʾaḥar*). The usage in Psa 109:10 “to seek (futilely), beg,” paralleling → *šʾl* pi., is semantically related (cf., nevertheless, *BHS*).

(b) In contrast to *bqš* pi., *drš* belongs primarily to the cognitive sphere: “to inquire after something, ask about something, investigate.” One examines not the location of a thing or event but its nature. In this sense, the verb can be grammatically constructed in a variety of ways: abs. (Deut 13:15; 17:4; 19:18; Judg 6:29; Isa 34:16; Eccl 1:13), with a direct obj. (Lev 10:16; Ezra 10:16 txt em), or with the preps. *ʾel*, *b<sup>e</sup>*, *lc*, and *ʿal*.

The verbal abstract *midrāš* “exposition” is also rooted in this sphere of meaning (cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 238; G. Rinaldi, *Bib* 40 [1959]: 277).

(c) A shift of meaning toward the emotive occurs in an even greater degree for *drš* in the meaning “to strive after something, aspire” than for *bqš* pi. Objects of the verb are mostly qualitative-ideal values, primarily of a positive nature: “justice” (Isa 1:17; 16:5), “good” (Amos 5:14; Esth 10:3), “Yahweh’s works” (Psa 111:2), but also “evil” (Prov 11:27). *drš* occurs in the expression “to strive for someone’s hurt (*rāʿâ*)” only in Psa 38:13 (*drš* here parallels *bqš* pi., which precedes it and apparently determines its meaning) and Prov 11:27 (cf. Jer 38:4). The contrasting “to seek someone’s well-being (*šālôm*)” is attested 4x (Deut 23:7; Jer 29:7; 38:4; Ezra 9:12; cf. Esth 10:3).

In contrast to *bqš* pi., *drš* never governs a subsequent inf.

Emotional coloration is even more pronounced when *drš* means “to take care of something, take charge of,” a meaning that belongs first to theological language, but that also has nontheological application (Jer 30:14; Psa 142:5; Prov 31:13; 1 Chron 13:3).

(d) *drš* in the sense of “to demand, require” belongs to theological language. The only exception is 2 Chron 24:6 (*drš ʿal*), the only passage where a human being makes demands (C. Westermann, “Die Begriffe für Fragen und Suchen im AT,” *KerD* 6 [1960]: 16).

4. (a) Most occurrences of *drš* are by far theological and cultic. In the sense of “to demand, require,” the verb almost exclusively has Yahweh as subj. Objects are “blood” (Gen 9:5a; Ezek 33:6; Psa 9:13; ni. Gen 42:22), “soul” (Gen 9:5b), “a vow” (Deut 23:22), “my sheep” (Ezek 34:10), and “sacrifice” (Ezek 20:40); also Mic 6:8 “what Yahweh requires of you.” In the remaining pertinent passages, the obj. is godless behavior so that the verb assumes the sense “to punish” (Deut 18:19; Psa 10:4, 15,; 2 Chron 24:22).

(b) A series of narratives use *drš yhwh* as a fixed expression for the prophetic inquiry of Yahweh (according to 1 Sam 9:9, originally through a seer or man of God) in a crisis situation, temporally limited to the monarchic period. Here, too, the inquiry does not primarily seek information, but is intended to bring about the removal of the inquirer’s distress. Only crises of a political order are related (even when personal distress is at issue): (1) the endangerment of the dynasty by the illness of the king (2 Kgs 8:7–15) or of the crown prince (1 Kgs 14:1–6, 12–13a, 17, 18); cf. 2 Kgs 1:2ff.; 2 Chron 16:12; Gen 25:22; further, without *drš*, Isa 38 and 2 Kgs 5); (2) endangerment of the totality in the perils of war (1 Kgs 22 = 2 Chron 18; 2 Kgs 3; cf. Jer 21:1–10; 37:3–21) and in a threat from Yahweh’s wrath (2 Kgs 22 = 2 Chron 34). The narratives treated here belong to a broader group with the pattern: announcement through the word of the prophet—arrival of this word; i.e., the focal point is not the inquiry but the functioning of the prophetic word, which intervenes in history and, e.g., rejects and deposes kings (1 Kgs 14; 2 Kgs 1; 8). Ezek 14:1–11; 20:1–3 bring this possibility for inquiry to an end, because it is in principle rejected by the prophet.

The process is always as follows: In a crisis situation, the king sends a messenger (always a high-ranking personality from those very near to the king) with a present to the prophet at home in order to inquire of him concerning the outcome of the crisis. The prophet answers with a word of God. The whole process transpires *outside* the cultic sphere (Westermann, op. cit. 18).

The inquirer is an individual, in the transmitted narratives usually the king, with the only exceptions being the matriarch Rebekah (Gen 25:22), the elders (Ezek 14; 20), and “someone” in 1 Sam 9:9. Yahweh is always the acc. obj. (*drš ʾet-yhwh*), in 1 Kgs 22:5 = 2 Chron 18:4 it is modified *drš ʾet-d<sup>o</sup>bar yhwh. mēʾittô* “from him,” referring to the prophetic mediator, usually follows. The use of the prep. *min* indicates that the prophet is seen only as the mediator of the word that proceeds from God, never as the

instrument of the inquirer. The question concerning the outcome of the crisis follows. But this question “implies supplication . . . to God” (Westermann, op. cit. 18) that he might transform the crisis. In Jer 37:3, 7 the prophet is expressly requested to intercede (cf. Ezek 36:37, “I will allow myself to be entreated for [le] Israel”). The institution of inquiry may have been related to the intercessory office of the prophet (Westermann, op. cit. 21). Presumably, inquiry of God through a man of God originally occurred because of personal crises of individuals and was only later expanded to include community crises (Westermann, op. cit. 28). The gloss in 1 Sam 9:9 supports this supposition, even if it is a late reminiscence.

1 Kgs 22 associates inquiry by means of a prophet with elements of the → *šʾl* inquiry via the lot, known esp. in the context of holy war. The narrative in 2 Kgs 3 is similar, apparently composed in literary dependence upon 1 Kgs 22 (Westermann, op. cit. 19); it associates the threat posed by enemy superiority with a natural crisis (the troops’ lack of water). Accordingly, there is a two-part question and a two-part prophetic answer. The *šʾl* inquiry occurs through the priestly lot. It is attested only for the premonarchial period. Its gradual dissolution, which led to its disappearance after the establishment of the Davidic monarchy, may be clearly followed in Sam (Westermann, op. cit. 10–13).

Otherwise, the institution of prophetic inquiry of Yahweh is presumably referred to in the accusation in Isa 31:1 (cf. 30:2 with *šʾl*) and in the warning in Amos 5:4; i.e., “Here institution stood against institution: Amos opposed the appeal to Yahweh at the cultic site with the appeal to Yahweh that is possible only through a prophet” (Westermann, op. cit. 22); see further Isa 9:12; Jer 10:21; Hos 10:12.

Exod 18:15 refers presumably to the same process as Deut 17:9, namely the procurement of a divine decision in a difficult legal case.

(c) *drš* is used with *be* in reference to the interrogation of a strange god, Baal-zebul, in 2 Kgs 1:2f., 6, 16, perhaps in order to direct attention to the frequent practice in polytheism of calling upon a lesser deity in prayer in order that this deity may intercede for the supplicant with a higher deity or even with the high god. The usage in 1 Sam 28:7, “I will inquire through (*be*) her (i.e., the spiritual medium),” also supports this interpretation. Two apparent exceptions are qualified by the polemical antithesis to the inquiry of strange gods: in the gloss 2 Kgs 1:16 “to inquire by the word of Yahweh,” and Ezek 14:7, where an idolatrous Israelite has the gall to approach the prophet in order to inquire of Yahweh in the same manner as one of his idols.

(d) If a ghost is the obj. of *drš*, the construction *drš ʿel* is used in the sense of “to turn to” (Deut 18:11; Isa 8:19; 19:3; cf. 1 Chron 10:13), as *drš ʿel* with a person (Isa 11:10, the shoot of Jesse) or a place (Deut 12:5, the

cultic site chosen by Yahweh) as obj. indicates. It is revealing in both passages that the approach involves the journey to the place on a pilgrimage. This observation suggests a conclusion concerning the original sense of *drš ʿel hāʾôb*: one must travel to the ancestral cultic site or the ancestral burial place in order to interrogate the dead.

(e) The last two attempts to inquire of Yahweh (Ezek 14; 20; certainly rejected by the prophet) belong in the early exilic period. With the cessation of the pre-exilic institution of inquiry, a far-reaching evolution of meaning transpired. *drš yhw* acquired the general meaning “to have recourse to Yahweh” and soon no longer indicated a concrete action but the habit of the pious.

One may explain this evolution of meaning primarily on two bases. First, in ancient times prophetic inquiry of Yahweh belonged directly to the lament of the supplicant in distress (see 4b). After one component, inquiry via a prophet, dropped out of the process as a whole, the term for the whole became the designation for the remainder, namely the lament. *drš yhw* as “turning to Yahweh in distress” was now only possible through the lament. Second, the lament climaxed in the questions directed to God: “Why have you . . . ?” and “Yet how long will you . . . ?” The commonality here is not only the interrogation of Yahweh but also the question once addressed to God by the prophet. “Will I recover from this illness?” (2 Kgs 8:8) is very near in intention to the lamenter’s question “Yet how long . . . ?”

Now, in a few passages, *drš* indicates the process in which an individual turns to God in lament (Psa 22:27; 34:5; 69:33; 77:3; Job 5:8; cf. Lam 3:25; Psa 9:11; 34:11). These passages all stem from the late period when this pre-exilic institution was hardly still in existence; but the designation had survived. In a late, diminished usage, *drš* twice means only “to call to God” (1 Chron 21:30, by David; Psa 105:4 = 1 Chron 16:11, in the call to praise).

In other passages *drš* also indicates the process of communal lament. Isa 58:2 paraphrases the individual elements of the communal lament that v 3a quotes directly: v 2a “they desire knowledge of my ways” = “How long will you yet be angry?”; v 2b “like a nation that practices justice . . .” = confession of innocence; v 2c “they ask me for righteous judgments” = “Why have you brought this evil upon us?”; v 2c “they desire God’s nearness” = “Why do you hide your countenance?” The whole process is called *drš yhw* in v 2a. Psa 78:34 “When he slaughtered them, they asked (*drš*) after him” is explicated in v 35 through the citation of the confession of confidence from the communal lament. 2 Chron 20:3 is a royal call to communal lament. Cf. also Jer 29:12f.; Isa 55:6; 2 Chron 15:2, 4 (*drš* = *bqš*).

Lament rituals dominated worship in the exilic and post-exilic eras, at least until the rebuilding of the temple (cf. Lam; Zech 7:3; 8:19; Isa 58:2), where a confession of guilt such as Psa 79:8 (cf. Psa 106; Isa 63:10, 17) could even respond to pre-exilic prophecy of judgment (cf. the tendency of the Dtr history; see H. W. Wolff, “Kerygma of the Deuteronomistic Historical Work,” in W. Brueggemann and Wolff, *Vitality of Old Testament Traditions* [1982], 83–100). Thus, “to abide by the community and its worship” could become synonymous with “to abide by Yahweh and his regulations.” This evolution is completed in Dtr theology, where repentance and new observance of the commandments on the part of people are prerequisites for God’s attention to laments (cf. e.g., 1 Sam 7:3–4 before vv 5ff.; furthermore, Deut 4:29; Isa 55:6f.; 58; Jer 29:13; 2 Chron 15:2, 4). “Here, the one-time procedure occasioned by a particular circumstance has become an attitude, a habit . . . ‘to turn to God’ has become ‘to abide by God’” (Westermann, *op. cit.* 24). “This abiding by God is an important, characteristic designation of relationship to God from the Deuteronomistic era on to the time of the Chronicler. It has roughly the same meaning in the OT as the NT and then Christian ‘believing in God’” (*ibid.* 28).

*drš yhw* became such a comprehensive designation for Yahweh worship that it often stands as the antithesis of idolatry (Isa 65:1, 10; Jer 8:2; Zeph 1:6; Ezra 6:21; 2 Chron 15:12f.; 17:3f.; 34:3; cf. Psa 24:6; Ezra 4:2; 2 Chron 25:15, 20). Consequently, it occurs regularly in the evaluations of kings in Chron (2 Chron 12:14; 14:3; 17:4; 19:3; 22:9; 26:5; 30:19). But, at the same time, *drš yhw* became synonymous with “to fulfill God’s will” or “to keep the commandments” (1 Chron 22:19; 2 Chron 14:6a; 31:21; likewise Psa 14:2 = 53:5; 119:2, 10); the lament no longer stands in the background here—only the conditional promise of blessing.

Because the proclamation of the commandments and the conditional promise of blessing was increasingly individualized, it became possible in Psa 34 for not only the concrete warning in v 6 to follow the report of deliverance in the individual thanksgiving song (v 5), but also a general promise of salvation for the individual who abides by God (vv 9b–11) and an admonition to keep the commandments (vv 12ff.). As with the communal lament above, here too the possibility of being heard and delivered depends upon the supplicant’s fulfillment of the commandments.

In a few late passages even the commandments could be the obj. of *drš* (Psa 119:45, 155; 1 Chron 28:8), in the late gloss Isa 34:16 even “the scriptures.” Cf. here also *midrāš* “exposition, edifying paraphrase” (see 2, 3b).

The use of preps. varies without pattern in late texts. Thus *drš yhw* (2 Chron 34:21) stands alongside *drš byhw* (2 Chron 34:26; 1 Chron 10:14) and *drš lē’lōhîm* (2

Chron 34:3; *lyhwh*, 2 Chron 20:3) or Job 5:8 *drš ʿel-ʿēl*.

5. In the available Qumran texts *drš* appears about 40x (according to Kuhn, *Konk.* 52f.). As in the OT, “to seek God” is a general designation of reverence for God in many passages.

Above all, however, the cognitive sense of *drš* is richly attested and expanded to new realms of meaning, esp. in theological language: “to study the commandments,” “to study the law.” Esp. noteworthy are a few usually fixed expressions: *dwršhtwrh* “student of the law” (CD 6:7; 7:18; 4QFlor 1:11); also *dwršy ḥlqwt* “producers of smooth interpretations” (1QH 2:32, etc.), a formula with which the Qumran community described the Pharisees. The opposing position is represented by the Talmudic phrase *dôr<sup>e</sup>šē ḥ<sup>a</sup>mûrôt* “producers of strict interpretations,” the pharisaic designation for the Qumran sectarians (cf. C. Roth, *RQ* 2 [1960]: 261–65). Concerning the usage of *drš* in Talmud and Midrash, cf. further L. Margoulies, *Leshonenu* 20 (1956): 50ff. (Hebr.).

On “to seek” in the NT, cf. H. Greeven, “ζητέω,” *TDNT* 2:892–96.

G. Gerleman (1–4a, 5)/E. Ruprecht (4b–e)

## הֶבֶל *hebel* **breath**

S 1892; BDB 210b; *HALOT* 1:236a; *TDOT* 3:313–20; *TWOT* 463a; *NIDOTTE* 2039

1. Words related to *hebel* “breath” occur in Aram. and in SSem. (cf. *HAL* 227a). The verb *hbl* qal “to become/be involved with nothing” and hi. “to make nothing, delude” are denominative.

This word is apparently related to the name *hebel* (= Abel; cf. the pausal form in Gen 4:2a), which may be an appellative.

2. The noun occurs 73x, the verb 5x (qal 4x, hi. 1x). The noun appears 41x in Eccl alone; a concentration is also evident in the language of the Psa (9x; also Isa 49:4; Jer 10:3, 8, 15; 14:22; 16:19; 51:18; Job 7:16). A group of 6 passages belong to texts influenced by Dtr (see 4a).

*hebel* usually occurs in the abs. st. When used like a genuine noun it usually has the meaning “idol” (see 3c). In the cs. relationship it serves as governing noun (on the form *h<sup>a</sup>bēl* see Wagner 134) mostly to intensify the concept (*h<sup>a</sup>bēl h<sup>a</sup>bālîm*, Eccl 1:2[bis]; 12:8); as the governed noun it should be translated adj. In addition there is an adv. use (e.g., Job 9:29 “uselessly”). The frequent construction with a bipartite nom. clause (about 30x) is noteworthy.

3. (a) The basic meaning of *hebel* is “wind, breath” (only Isa 57:13

par. *rûah* “wind”); this is adduced in comparisons for useless and transitory things (Psa 62:12; 144:4; Prov 21:6; cf. Akk. *šāru*, J. Hehn, *ZAW* 43 [1925]: 222f.; O. Loretz, *Qohelet und der Alte Orient* [1964], 127f.).

(b) The basic meaning totally disappears in the largest category of occurrences (nom. clauses); here *hebel* is simply a negative term characterizing human experiences and basic qualities. The common translation “nothingness, nothing” is often too general. The precise negative connotation intended results only from the context: the scale reaches from “unstable” (par. *kāzāb* “deceit,” Psa 62:10), “transitory” (par. *šēl* “shadow” in Psa 144:4; cf. 39:7), and “useless, vain” (par. *ʾēn yitrôn* “no gain,” Eccl 2:11; *rîq* “empty, nothing,” Isa 30:7; 49:4) to “senseless, nonsense, bad” (par. *hʾîrāʿ* “evil plague,” Eccl 6:2; *rāʿabbā* “great evil,” Eccl 2:21).

(c) The notion of uselessness gained separate status as a designation for other gods. Here *hebel* means idols (→ *ʾîl* 4); cf. the formulaic usages “to provoke Yahweh with idols” (Deut 32:31; 1 Kgs 16:13, 26; Jer 8:19) and “to follow after the idols” (2 Kgs 17:15; Jer 2:5).

4. *hebel* occurs predominantly in three areas:

(a) As a designation for other gods in the Dtr accusation against Israel’s apostasy (Deut 32:31; 1 Kgs 16:13, 26; 2 Kgs 17:15; Jer 2:5; 8:19) and as a contrasting motif in the confession of confidence: the worshiper relies upon Yahweh, not upon the idols (Psa 31:7; Jer 14:22; 16:19; Jonah 2:9; see also the late idol polemic in Jer 10:3, 8, 15).

(b) *hebel* occurs as a disqualifying term in the individual lament. The supplicant laments the uselessness of his effort (Isa 49:4) and the transience of his life (Job 7:16); both refer to human fate per se in a generalization typical for the lament (Psa 39:6f., 12). This limited humanity is occasionally juxtaposed with the unlimited goodness and power of God (Psa 62:10; 94:11; 144:4).

(c) The actual focus of the exceedingly concentrated use of *hebel* in Eccl is judgment (nom. clause). On the basis of trial, observation, and reflection, Qohelet repeatedly comes to an annihilating judgment, mostly concerning very concrete things (*[gam-] zeh hebel* “[even] this is nothing,” Eccl 2:15, 19, 21, 23, 26; 4:4, 8, 16; 5:9; 6:2, 9; 7:6; 8:10, 14; cf. 2:1; 11:10); it more or less broadens only rarely (*hakkōl hebel* “all is nothing,” 2:11, 17; 3:19; cf. 11:8). The summary motto of 1:2 and 12:8 is to be attributed to a redactor (F. Ellermeier, *Qohelet* [1967], 1/1:94ff.). For Qohelet, *hebel* refers not simply to everything, but to three specific complexes: (1) his efforts, indeed, human work in general, are unproductive, useless, and vain (2:1, 11, 19, 21, 23; 4:4, 8; 5:9; 6:2); here *hebel* is an exact antonym for *yitrôn* “use” (cf. 2:11; so also Ellermeier, op. cit. 38). Work is senseless, because God capriciously allows one to enjoy the fruits of one’s work but denies them to another (2:24–26); finally,

however, because humans are mortal and must leave their possessions to another (2:18–21; 6:1f.). (2) The wisdom mastery of life, which seeks to order human behavior and actions, is senseless, for, as it happens, the righteous have the fate of the godless (8:10–14); in the final analysis, the wise die like the foolish (2:15; 6:7–9). (3) Behind these judgments stands Qohelet’s insight into human transience (6:12; 11:8, 10; cf. 7:15; 9:9), which makes humanity equal to all creation (3:19). In the light of the impending fate of death, all the future (11:8), all events whatsoever, are incomprehensible and senseless (1:14; 2:17). God is certainly not subject to the *hebel* verdict, but neither is he a savior from that verdict (thus Hertzberg, KAT 17/4, 222ff.; Loretz, op. cit. 234ff.); rather, in his incomprehensible actions he is the final cause for human finitude.

5. The LXX translates *hebel* primarily with *mataiotēs, mataios*. Thus a moral element comes into play; the fallibility intended is no longer so much creaturely as ethical (cf. G. Bertram, ZAW 64 [1952]: 30–34). Qumran identifies transience with sinfulness even more directly (1QS 5:19; 1QM 4:12; 6:6; 9:9; 11:9; 14:12). On the NT, see O. Bauernfeind, “μάταιος,” TDNT 4:519–24.

R. Albertz

## הדר *hādār* **splendor**

S 1926; BDB 214a; HALOT 1:240a; TDOT 3:335–41; TWOT 477b; NIDOTTE 2077

1. Extra-Hebr. words related to *hādār* “ornament, splendor, majesty” may be identified with certainty only in Aram.

On Ug. *hđrt* see 3b; on Old SArab. *hdr* “ornament(?)” cf. Conti Rossini 131b; on Eg. *hđrt* cf. H. Donner, ZAW 79 (1967): 331n.57.

A relationship to Hebr. *đr* (LS 172a; → *đaddîr*) or Arab. *hdr* “to effervesce” (GB 175a), which is sometimes posited, is rather doubtful.

The verbal forms are apparently denominatives from the subst. *hādār* (W. J. Gerber, *Die hebr. Verba denominativa* [1896], 163f.; BLA 273). In addition to *hādār* (in Dan 11:20 with a segholate cs. form *heder* instead of the more common *hadar*, cf. BL 552; HAL 230a), a fem. *h<sup>a</sup>dārâ* “finery, grandeur” occurs (see 3b); Bibl. Aram. has *hadar* “majesty” and *hdr* pa. “to glorify.”

Imp. Aram. has *hdr* “majesty” (Aḥ. 108) and *hdyr* “majestic” (Aḥ. 207; cf. *DISO* 63).

2. The root occurs 42x in the Hebr. OT (excl. *h<sup>a</sup>dûrîm* in Isa 45:2, where *h<sup>a</sup>rârîm* should be read according to 1QIsaa; cf. *HAL* 229b; contra e.g., Zorell 185a); it is represented 6x in Aram.

The verb appears 6x in Hebr., 4x in the qal and 1x each in the ni. and the hitp. (see 3c). The subst. *hādār* occurs 31x (incl. *heder* in Dan 11:20; pl. only in Psa 110:3), *h<sup>a</sup>dārâ* 5x. The word group occurs most often in the Psa (15x; Isa 8x; Prov 4x; Lev 3x); it is entirely absent from narrative texts.

Aram. occurrences are limited to Dan (noun and pa. 3x each).

3. (a) The subst. *hādār* characterizes nature’s grandeur (Lev 23:40; Isa 35:2a) and human beauty (Isa 53:2; Psa 8:6; Prov 20:29; 31:25). In reference to God, the declaration of beauty acquires the meaning “glory, grandeur, majesty” (cf. Isa 35:2b with v 2a; see 4). In the sense of “majesty,” *hādār* is also an attribute of the earthly king (Psa 21:6; 45:4, 5 [txt?]; Aram. Dan 4:27, 33; 5:18; cf. *h<sup>a</sup>dārâ* Prov 14:28). The pl. in Psa 110:3 may more likely refer to the royal finery (consisting of various ornamental pieces; cf. G. Widengren, *Sakrales Königtum im AT und im Judentum* [1955], 103n.22). *hādār* also pertains, however, to cities (Isa 5:14; Ezek 27:10; Lam 1:6) or a tribe (Deut 33:17). According to Dan 11:20, Israel is *heder malkût* “an ornament of the kingdom.”

Several passages describe God or a person as “clothed” with *hādār* (Yahweh, Psa 104:1; Job 40:10; housewife, Prov 31:25; Jerusalem, Ezek 16:14; qal ptcp. Isa 63:1).

Par. terms for *hādār* are → *hōd* “loftiness” (Psa 21:6; 45:4; 96:6; 104:1; 111:3; Job 40:10; 1 Chron 16:27), *kābōd* “glory” (→ *kbd*; Isa 35:2; Psa 8:6; 21:6; cf. Psa 145:5, 12), *paḥad* “terror” (Isa 2:10, 19, 21), → *kōaḥ* “might” (Psa 29:4), *ōz* “strength” (→ *zz*, Psa 96:6; Prov 31:25), *tip<sup>ʿ</sup>eret* “ornament” (→ *p<sup>ʿ</sup>r*, Psa 96:6; Prov 20:29), and *tō<sup>ʿ</sup>ar* “stateliness” (Isa 53:2). Other synonyms for *hādār* include *eder* (→ *addîr* 1), *gā<sup>ʿ</sup>ôn* (→ *g<sup>ʿ</sup>h*), *ḥemed* (5x, → *ḥmd*), and *s<sup>ʿ</sup>bî* “splendor” (18x, used in Dan 8:9; 11:16, 41, 45 for Jerusalem or Israel; cf. v 20).

In Aram. *ḥ<sup>ʿ</sup>sēn* “might” (Dan 4:27), *zîw* “splendor” (Dan 4:33), *malkû* “dominion,” *g<sup>ʿ</sup>bûrâ* “strength,” and *y<sup>ʿ</sup>qār* “honor” (Dan 5:18) accompany *hadar*.

(b) *h<sup>a</sup>dārâ* occurs only in the cs. state, 4x in the phrase *hadrat-qōdeš* (Psa 29:2; 96:9 = 1 Chron 16:29; 2 Chron 20:21), once in *hadrat-melek* (Prov 14:28). In the last passage, like *hādār* in corresponding contexts,

*h<sup>a</sup>dārâ* means “majesty, splendor, loftiness” in contrast to *m<sup>ç</sup>hittâ* “ruin, fall.” The other passages have been traditionally understood as “fall down before Yahweh in holy ornaments,” or the like. This interpretation should be maintained with H. Donner, *ZAW* 79 (1967): 331–33 (cf. too, however, A. Caquot, *Syria* 33 [1956]: 37–41; E. Vogt, *Bib* 41 [1960]: 24; W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel* [1966], 56) over against the translation “revelation, appearance” (F. M. Cross, *BASOR* 117 [1950]: 19–21; Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:344f.; *UT* no. 752; P. R. Ackroyd, *JTS* 17 [1966]: 393–96) on the basis of Ug. *h<sup>dr</sup>t* in *KTU* 1.14.III.51, which parallels *ḥlm* “dream” and could mean something like “vision, face”; the derivations in *UT* no. 752 and *WUS* no. 817 remain uncertain in any case.

(c) The *qal* verb means “to adorn someone’s appearance, honor someone” (Lev 19:32 “you should stand up in the presence of a gray head and honor the aged”). In juridical terminology it acquires the nuance “to give preference (in judgment).” Lev 19:15 demands impartial judgment: “You should not regard the person of the poor (*nš<sup>ç</sup>p<sup>ç</sup>nē-dāl*), nor favor the mighty (*h<sup>dr</sup>p<sup>ç</sup>nē gādól*).” The apodictic saying in Exod 23:3 is also usually emended as an apodosis (*BH* 3; *HAL* 230a; Exod 23:6 represents the protasis).

The Aram. *pa.* always means “to honor (God)” (par. *brk pa.* Dan 4:31; par. *rûm po.* 4:34; par. *šbh pa.* 4:31, 34; 5:23).

The *hitp.* refers to self-attributed honor (“before the king” Prov 25:6, par. to “to assume the place of the mighty.”) The *ni.* should be rendered “to come to be honored” or the like (Lam 5:12).

4. *hādār* plays a special role in Israel’s praise (Psa 96:6; 104:1; 111:3; 145:5, 12; 1 Chron 16:27) as an expression of God’s royalty (cf. H. Gross, *FS Junker* 96; H. Wildberger, *TZ* 21 [1965]: 481f.). Hymnic praise of Yahweh’s “beauty” (von Rad, *Theol.* 1:364–67) grows out of the experience of his historical deeds (Psa 111:3; 145:5, 12). The communal prayer (Psa 90:16) is based on it. The association of God’s splendor with his activity in history is broadened to include Yahweh’s glory revealed in his creation (Psa 104:1). Even when Israel speaks of God’s majesty as unwavering (Psa 96:6; 1 Chron 16:27), it means that which takes place at God’s impulse (Isa 35:2b; cf. 63:1). The “splendor of his majesty” is experienced even in Yahweh’s judgment (*h<sup>a</sup>dar g<sup>ç</sup>ōnô*, Isa 2:10, 19, 21; the combination of two synonymous words has superlative force, Joüon §141m).

Yahweh’s chosen, Israel’s king (Psa 21:6; 45:4f.; Prov 14:28), the pious (Psa 149:9; cf. Mic 2:9), Jerusalem (Ezek 16:14), and Zion (Lam 1:6), participate in his majesty. Israel also recognizes God’s grandeur in creation and consequently praises the creator (Psa 8:6). But Israel knows that it cannot obtain divine glory for itself (Job 40:10). Perfect beauty exists only

insofar as God grants *hādār* (Ezek 16:14).

5. The LXX renders the root *hdr* by some 20 different terms, most frequently by *doxa*, *megaloprepeia*, *euprepeia*, and *timē*. The influence of *hādār* is active in NT statements concerning the beauty of God (and of Jesus; cf. the use of Psa 8:6 in Heb 2:5–10); cf. G. Kittel and G. von Rad, “δοκέω,” *TDNT* 2:232–55; J. Schneider, “τιμή,” *TDNT* 8:169–80.

G. Wehmeier (1–3)/D. Vetter (4–5)

## הוֹד *hōd* **highness, majesty**

S 1935; BDB 217a; *HALOT* 1:241a; *TDOT* 3:352–56; *TWOT* 482a; *NIDOTTE* 2086

1. *hōd* “highness, majesty” occurs only in Hebr.

The etymological relationship to Arab. *ʿawada* “to be heavy,” WSem. *ydh* hi. “to praise,” or Arab. *nahuda* “to be beautiful, strong” is uncertain (GB 176b; KBL 227b, 364a; *HAL* 231a; Zorell 186a).

2. The subst. occurs 24x in the OT (Psa 8x, Job and 1 Chron 3x each, Zech and Dan 2x each, Num, Isa, Jer, Hos, Hab, and Prov 1x each).

3. The declaration “highness, majesty” obviously derives from the usage of the term as a royal predication (Jer 22:18; cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 141f.; Psa 21:6; 45:4; Dan 11:21; 1 Chron 29:25; in Zech 6:13 of the priest-king). This derivation also stands in the foreground when *hōd* expresses God’s majesty (Hab 3:3; Psa 8:2; 148:13; Job 37:22). The expression also applies in isolated cases—in somewhat the sense of “splendor”—to people (individuals: Num 27:20; Prov 5:9; Dan 10:8; a nation: Hos 14:7), animals (Zech 10:3; Job 39:20), and plants (Hos 14:7). In Dan 10:8 *hōd* (like Aram. *zîw*, Dan 5:6, 9f.; 7:28) means the radiance of the face, “complexion”; by contrast, in Prov 5:9 the term does not refer to the external appearance but indicates “the product of the best years of life” (Gemser, *HAT* 16, 34). To a greater or lesser degree, the expression implies the experience of astonishment and joy in all passages.

On par. terms, see 4. In Dan 10:8 *mašḥêt* “ruin” is the opposite of *hōd*.

The weight of the term lies in theological usage. God’s *hōd* has been revealed to Israel in the deeds of the Lord of history and of creation. Israel magnifies Yahweh and acknowledges his majesty with the expression of

his *hōd*.

The confessional names (*hōd<sup>c</sup>yâ, hōd<sup>i</sup>yâ*, short form *hōd*) formed with *hōd* (or *hūd*) also express this position (IP 146; on <sup>ʾ</sup>*bîhūd, ʾhîhūd, ʾammîhūd, ʾēhūd* cf., however, Stamm, HEN 416a, 418a).

The word occurs in the description of God's immanence (Isa 30:30; Hab 3:3; cf. Job 37:22). It also reflects Israel's experience of God's majesty in the descriptive psalm of praise (Psa 111:3; 145:5), as well as its astonished perception of God's majesty in his creation (Psa 8:2; 104:1; 148:13). The same psalm motif (praise of the creator—praise of the Lord of history) determines the structure of Job 38–41; here praise takes the form of divine speech (cf. C. Westermann, *Structure of the Book of Job* [1981], 105–23; id., *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 154f., on Isa 44:24–28). *hōd* recurs in the development of both parts: in the praise of the creator (under the description of the frightful might of the horse, 39:20) and the praise of the judge (40:10). Israel can speak of Yahweh's dominion over the world only in praise of his majesty (Psa 96:6; 1 Chron 16:27; 29:11).

A king's *hōd* is a gift of Yahweh's own dignity (Isa 22:18; Zech 6:13; Psa 21:6; 45:4; Dan 11:21; 1 Chron 29:25; cf. Sir 10:5). According to P, Moses and Joshua also possess *hōd* (Num 27:20). The notion that Moses is to grant something of his *hōd* to Joshua with his commission, as previously a portion of Yahweh's *hōd* was granted to him, seems to underlie this statement. Moreover, the predicate applies in two metaphorical sayings to the people to whom God has devoted himself. Once, the Israel restored by Yahweh is compared with the "glory" of the fruitful olive tree (Hos 14:7); again, in the saving activity of Yahweh Judah assumes the role of the "glorious" war steed (Zech 10:3).

Combinations with similar terms illuminate the connotation of the term in reference to God's grandeur and majesty: *hōd* parallels *tehillā*® "glory," *nōgah* "radiance," and *ʿōz* "strength" in Hab 3:3f.; *zāhāb* "gold(en brilliance)" in Job 37:22 (perhaps to be read *zōhar* "brilliance" according to BH 3). In a series of five divine predications, *hōd* parallels *g<sup>c</sup>dūllā* "greatness," *g<sup>c</sup>bûrâ* "might," *tip<sup>c</sup>eret* "majesty," and *nēṣaḥ* "brilliance" in 1 Chron 29:11. The pair *hōd w<sup>c</sup>hādār* (→ *hādār*) describes Yahweh's royal radiance in Psa 96:6; 104:1; 111:3; 145:5 (*h<sup>a</sup>dar k<sup>b</sup>ôd hôdekā, → kbd*); 1 Chron 16:27; Job 40:10 (par. *gā<sup>c</sup>ôn wāgōbah, → g<sup>h</sup>, → gbh*), but also the dignity granted the king (Psa 21:6; 45:4).

5. The LXX renders *hōd* by almost a dozen different terms, most frequently by *doxa* (9x) and *exomologēsis* (4x).

The animated diction and meanings associated with *hōd* are found in

its most important NT equivalent: *doxa* refers to the king/kingdom (e.g., Matt 4:8; 6:29), to the creation (e.g., 1 Cor 11:7; 15:40f.), and to God, in particular (cf. G. Kittel and G. von Rad, “δοκέω,” *TDNT* 2:232–55).

D. Vetter

וֹי *hōy* **woe**

S 1945; BDB 222b; *HALOT* 1:242a; *TDOT* 3:359–64; *TWOT* 485; *NIDOTTE* 2098

1. Among the interjections that cannot be traced to verbal roots, *hōy* “woe” and other exclamations included here (e.g., → <sup>ʔ</sup>*hāh* “ah”) may be classified as pure exclamations, while → *hinnēh* “behold” and *has* “hush!” (→ *hš*), together with impvs. that have devolved into interjections (→ *hlk*, → *qûm*, → *rʔh*), have the character of a demand.

In respect to phonetics and, to a degree, to usage, <sup>ʔ</sup>*ōy*, <sup>ʔ</sup>*ōyâ*, <sup>ʔ</sup>*ī*, and *hō* could be grouped with *hōy*. *heʔāh* (<sup>ʔ</sup>*āh*), which expresses a more joyous excitement, stands alone.

2. Ch. Hardmeier (cited in Wolff, *Joel*, Herm, 242f.) offers precise statistics for *hōy* in its various constructions. *hōy* occurs 51x, almost exclusively in prophetic literature (Isa 21x, Jer 11x, Hab 5x, Zech 4x, Ezek 3x, Amos and Zeph 2x, once each in 1 Kgs 13:30; Mic 2:1; Nah 3:1), in 3/4 of all cases it introduces a prophetic woe oracle.

<sup>ʔ</sup>*ōy* has a significantly broader distribution; it occurs 24x (twice in Ezek 16:23), most frequently in Jer (8x; Isa and Ezek 4x, Num, 1 Sam, Hos 2x each, Prov and Lam 1x each). *hō-hō* occurs in Amos 5:16, the lengthened form <sup>ʔ</sup>*ōyâ* in Psa 120:5, the form <sup>ʔ</sup>*ī*, common in Mid. Hebr., in Eccl 4:10 and 10:16 (cf. *HAL* 37b).

*heʔāh* occurs 12x (Psa 7x, repeated in three passages; Ezek 3x; Isa 44:6; Job 39:25). Passages with <sup>ʔ</sup>*āh* (Ezek 6:11; 18:10; 21:20) are textually uncertain (cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:180f., 371, 430).

3. *hōy* “ah! woe!” may be first identified as the introductory cry of a lament for the dead (1 Kgs 13:30 “woe, my brother!”; Jer 22:18 “ah, my brother, ah, sister!” and “ah, lord, ah, your majesty!”; cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 142; 34:5 “woe, lord!” in each instance with *spd* “to lament the dead”; cf. Jahnou 83–87, and others), like *hō-hō* in Amos 5:16 (alongside *mispēd*

and *n<sup>eh</sup>* “lament for the dead”), and perhaps *hōy* in Jer 48:1 (“concerning Nebo,” with *ʿal*) and 50:27 (Babel, with *ʿal*) in a prophetic funeral song (G. Wanke, *ZAW* 78 [1966]: 217).

In eight or nine passages, *hōy* serves in other contexts as an introductory declaration of excitement: “ha!” (Isa 1:24; 17:12; 18:1; Jer 30:7 txt?; 47:6) or as an agitated demand: “up!” (Isa 55:1; Zech 2:10[doubled]; 2:11).

The remaining passages contain *hōy* with a subsequent noun as an introduction to a woe oracle (often in series: Isa 5:8, 11, 18, 20–22; 10:1; cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 188–217; Hab 2:6, 9, 12, 15, 19; otherwise: Isa 1:4; 10:5; 28:1; 29:1, 15; 30:1; 31:1; 33:1; 45:9f.; Jer 22:13; 23:1; Ezek 34:2; Amos 5:18; 6:1; Mic 2:1; Nah 3:1; Zeph 2:5; 3:1; Zech 11:17; followed by the prep. *ʿal* or *le*, Ezek 13:3, 18; cf. above, Jer 48:1; 50:27); see 4.

*ʾōy* is sharply distinguished from *hōy* in grammatical and semantic usage (G. Wanke, *ZAW* 78 [1966]: 215–18). With the exception of Num 24:23 and Ezek 24:6, 9, *ʾōy* (*ʾōy-nāʾ* Jer 4:31; 45:3; Lam 5:16; *ʾōyā* Psa 120:5; *ʾ* Eccl 4:10; 10:16) is always followed by a particular person or group of persons introduced by *le* (without further qualification by ptcps., adjs., and subst.) and a causal clause.

The most original usage is in the 1st per. “woe is me” (Isa 6:5; 24:16; Jer 4:31; 10:19; 15:10; 45:3; cf. Psa 120:5) or “woe is us” (1 Sam 4:7f.; Jer 4:13; 6:4; Lam 5:16) in the context of the sudden arrival of a threat in the so-called cry of anxiety (1 Sam 4:7f.; Isa 6:5; 24:16; Jer 4:13, 31; 6:4; cf. Num 24:23), which metamorphoses ambiguously into a complaint in the context of an already present crisis (Jer 10:19; 15:10; 45:3; Lam 5:16; Psa 120:5).

In the address “woe to you” (Num 21:29 = Jer 48:46; Jer 13:27; Ezek 16:23; with *ʾ*, Eccl 10:16), *ʾōy* acquires the character of a secondary threat (or reprimand), as is also true for usages of the 3d per. (Isa 3:9, 11; Ezek 24:6, 9; Hos 7:13; 9:12; with *ʾ* Eccl 4:10; cf. Prov 23:29 with a substantivized *ʾōy* “woe” par. to a synonymous *ʾābōy* “ah”).

4. Exhaustive examinations of the form-critical derivation of the woes have been offered (cf. the detailed study by Wolff, *Joel*, Herm, 242–45; W. Schottroff, *Der altisraelitische Fluchspruch* [1969], 112–20). Despite some analogies of a formal (series and appended ptcps.; cf. Deut 27:15–26) and semantic nature (opposition to antisocial behavior), one cannot very well view *hōy* as a weakened *ʾārūr* (→ *ʾr*) or the woe as a mutation of the cultic curse (so S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* [1924], 5:2, 119–21; P. Humbert, *Problèmes du livre d’Habacuc* [1944], 18–23; Westermann, *BFPS* 189–94; J. L. Crenshaw, *ZAW* 79 [1967]: 47f.; cf. too H.-J. Hermisson, *Studien zur isr. Spruchweisheit* [1968], 89f.; Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 196), because the curse formulae, “in contrast to the *hōy* sayings, do not simply

emphatically specify dangerous consequences of a particular deed that are immanent and result from the deed itself; rather, they attribute such consequences to the deed, in the first place, through the express pronouncement of curse and thus actually first establish them” (Schottroff, *op. cit.* 117; cf. Wolff, *op. cit.* 242). The explanation of the prophetic woe as an adaptation of the funeral lament seems more illuminating: “The *hōy*, which probably originally belonged to the lament for the dead, should make it clear that the seed of death is already inherent in a particular human behavior” (so G. Wanke, “אָיִ and אָיִהּ,” *ZAW* 78 [1966]: 218; cf. R. J. Clifford, *CBQ* 28 [1966]: 458–64; J. G. Williams, *HUCA* 38 [1967]: 75–91; Schottroff, *op. cit.* 113–17, who treats ancient Near Eastern pars. for secondary usage of the woe cry of the lament for the dead in the sense of a threat or warning). It is possible, in this respect, that the prophets adopted a form of speech in this use of the woe cry already developed in pedagogical tribal wisdom (E. Gerstenberger, *JBL* 81 [1962]: 249–63; H. W. Wolff, *Amos the Prophet* [1973], 17–34; *id.*, *Joel*, Herm, 242–45; Schottroff, *op. cit.* 117–20).

*hōy* does not occur in pairings with → *ʾāšrê* “blessed be the one who . . .” (cf. W. Janzen, *HTR* 58 [1965]: 215–26), but, at most, with *ʾōy* or *ʾ* and in parallelisms clearly influenced by wisdom: Isa 3:10ff. (read *ʾāšrê* for *ʾimrû*, Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 125, 134f.; contra W. L. Holladay, *VT* 18 [1968]: 481–87) and Eccl 10:16f. (cf. Schottroff, *op. cit.* 118).

5. The LXX renders the interjections mostly with *ouai*. On early Judaism (Qumran has no available examples) and on the NT, cf. StrB 1:778f. and the comms. on Luke 6:24–26; C. H. Dodd, FS Robert 406f.

E. Jenni

## הַיַּה *hyh* to be

S 1961; BDB 224a; *HALOT* 1:243a; *TDOT* 3:369–81; *TWOT* 491; *NIDOTTE* 2118

1. Aram. *hwh* (KBL 1068f. and suppl. 200; *DISO* 63f.) corresponds to the verb *hyh* “to become, be” in the OT (rarely *hwh* as an Aramaism; cf. Wagner no. 72) and in the Siloam Inscription (*KAI* no. 189).

Akk. *ewû* “to become” (*AHw* 266f.; cf. P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 164, however, with regard to the initial sound of the root) and the Amor. PNs derived from the root *\*hwy* (Huffmon 72f., 159f.) must also be taken into consideration; comparison with

the Hebr. *hwh* II “to fall” (only in Job 37:6) and Arab. *hawā* “to fall” contributes little.

Semantic counterparts to *hyh* “to be” are formed in Akk. with *bašû*, in Ug., Phoen.-Pun., Arab., and Eth. with verbs of the root → *kûn*.

The ni. “to take place” occurs in addition to the qal; Hebr. has no other derivatives of the root; cf., however, → *yhwh*.

\*2. With 3,540 occurrences of the qal (excl. Hos 13:14 <sup>ʿ</sup>*hî*, → <sup>ʿ</sup>*ayyēh* 4; Lis. omits Gen 42:36; 1 Kgs 22:33; 2 Kgs 1:17) and 21 occurrences of the ni., *hyh* is the second most frequent verb in the OT. Hebr. *hwh* “to be, become” appears 5x (Gen 27:29; Isa 16:4; Eccl 2:22; 11:3; Neh 6:6), Bibl. Aram. *hwh* 71x (plus read with MSS *h<sup>a</sup>wāh* instead of *hū<sup>ʿ</sup>* in Dan 6:11).

	qal	<i>way<sup>ʿ</sup>hî</i>	ni.
Gen 316	122	–	
Exod 234	41	1	
Lev 147	1	–	
Num 180	16	–	
Deut 169	7	2	
Josh 145	63	–	
Judg 118	49	3	
1 Sam	168	56	–
2 Sam	153	42	–
1 Kgs195	78	2	
2 Kgs120	55	–	
Isa 211	11	–	
Jer 262	43	2	
Ezek 335	62	2	
Hos 27	1	–	
Joel 10	–	1	
Amos10	–	–	
Obad7	–	–	
Jonah	10	5	–
Mic 18	–	1	
Nah 3	–	–	
Hab 3	1	–	
Zeph 11	–	–	
Hag 9	2	–	
Zech 66	9	1	
Mal 11	–	–	
	qal	<i>way<sup>ʿ</sup>hî</i>	ni.

Psa	104	4	–	
Job	50	10	–	
Prov	27	–	1	
Ruth	21	5	–	
Song Sol	4	–	–	
Eccl	47	–	–	
Lam	23	–	–	
Esth	17	6	–	
Dan	20	5	3	
Ezra	5	1	–	
Neh	47	14	1	
1 Chron	105	27	–	
2 Chron	132	46	1	
OT	3,540,782	21		

The proportion of the form *way<sup>e</sup>hî* in the total is, therefore, a good measure of the narrative character of a book; cf. the sequence of frequency for the totals (Ezek, Gen, Jer, Exod, Isa, 1 Kgs, etc.) with that for *way<sup>e</sup>hî* (Gen, 1 Kgs, Josh, Ezek, 1 Sam, 2 Kgs, etc.).

3. The verb *hyh* is not necessary to indicate the simple existence or identity of a person or thing. A nom. clause is employed, i.e., *ʔānōkî yhw<sup>h</sup> ʔlōheykā* “I (am) Yahweh, your God” (Exod 20:2); *šemeš ûmāgēn yhw<sup>h</sup>* “Yahweh (is) sun and shield” (Psa 84:12). The use of *hyh* generally gives rise to a more fully packed and dynamic statement concerning the being of a person or thing, a being expressed in the entity’s actions or deeds, fate, and behavior toward others.

*hyh* qal signifies not only “to be” but also “to become, act, happen, behave”; the verb combines with various preps. that modify its meaning; thus e.g., *hyh be* “to be located, happen in,” *hyh le* “to serve as, become, belong to” (as in several languages, it serves the functions of the absent verb “to have”; cf. G. Benveniste, *Problèmes de linguistique générale* [1966], 187–207), *hyh ʕim* “to stand beside”; *hyh ʔaḥ<sup>2</sup>rê* “to abide with (someone)”; *hyh ʔel* is esp. typical in the narrative introductions of prophetic oracles: *way<sup>e</sup>hî d<sup>e</sup>bar yhw<sup>h</sup> ʔel* (→ *dābār* IV/2a), where *hyh* describes the intrusion of the word in the life of the prophet (cf. HAL 233f. and, exhaustively, C. H. Ratschow, *Werden und Wirken: Eine Untersuchung des Wortes hajah als Beitrag zur Wirklichkeitserfassung des AT* [1941], 7–30; independently, T. Boman, *Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek* [1970], 38–49, whose conclusions, however, should be restricted; cf. SBL 58–72).

These meanings are approximated in poetic parallelism, e.g., *ʕmd* “to stand (there)” (Psa 33:9), *kûn* ni. “to exist” (Psa 89:37f.; cf. 90:17 po.), *qûm* “to come about”

(Isa 7:7; 14:24); further synonymous and antithetical pars. in Ratschow, op. cit. 5f.

In conjunction with a predicate adj., *hyh* expresses the behavior or the characteristics of a thing or a person: “But the serpent was more cunning than all the animals” (Gen 3:1); “It is not good that the man should be alone” (Gen 2:18). Combined with the inf. abs., it indicates the duration of a movement: “But the water sunk even further” (Gen 8:5; cf. v 3). In a highly attenuated meaning, *hyh* serves only to temporally establish the statement: “It should be a male and a female” (Gen 6:19), and can be viewed as a simple copula (BrSynt 28; BM 2:96). But even then *hyh* often maintains the function of describing a behavior or a status: “and both the man and his wife were naked” (Gen 2:25). Preceding a narrative verb, *way<sup>c</sup>hî* “and it happened” becomes a mere stylistic figure, which L. Köhler (VT 3 [1953]: 304) designates a “hypertrope,” although the *hyh* treated under 4b(1) still resonates through it.

The *ni.* occurs primarily in late texts (and in Qumran) in the meaning “to come to pass, happen” (e.g., Deut 4:32; Jer 5:30; Zech 8:10), perhaps also “to be away” (Dan 8:27).

4. Three theological usages of *hyh* may be distinguished: (a) the implicit, (b) the explicit (in reference to miracle accounts, in prophetic oracles, in legal prescriptions, and in the covenant formula), and (c) the abs. theological use in Exod 3:14a (on which cf. Ratschow, op. cit. 31–86).

(a) In curse and blessing texts, *hyh* indicates the destiny of the cursed or blessed person; this fate takes effect in accordance with the evil or good power in its bearer: “So I will make you a great nation and bless you and make your name famous, and you will be a blessing” (Gen 12:2); Abraham is already blessed, and this blessing, which is inherent in his being, will manifest itself in results. “And your descendants shall be like the dust of the earth” (Gen 28:14): this promise of descendants is not yet realized, but it “is” due to the blessing that presses toward its realization. Similarly, “that man shall be like the cities that Yahweh has destroyed” (Jer 20:16). These formulae mention Yahweh not as the actual agent; they place the blessing or curse in direct relationship to its actualization in history. Here *hyh*, usually in the pf., expresses the inner dynamics of the blessing or the curse, a force released by the word that will unavoidably take effect.

Yahweh worship critiqued this dynamistic-realistic concept of blessing and curse. It tied the effects of the word to the personal intervention of God. Through the use of *hyh* in the impf., blessing becomes promise and curse becomes threat that Yahweh himself will actualize in the future. Here *hyh* indicates the historical fulfillment of the word of Yahweh, events that will

transpire as a result of his intervention: “Count the stars, if you can count them . . . so shall your descendants be” (Gen 15:5); “Your land shall become a wilderness and your cities rubbish heaps” (Lev 26:33). *hyh* emphasizes the reality of that which Yahweh has foretold and which shall be actualized in historical events.

Blessing and curse appear in weakened forms as wish and prayer; a person speaks the word, but the actualization is implicitly left to the decision of Yahweh: “They should become like the grass on the roofs that withers even before it grows” (Psa 129:6); “Their wives shall be robbed of children, shall become widows” (Jer 18:21). Even in the wish form, the verb *hyh* remains dynamic; it indicates the tension between that which is already present, hidden or incognito, and that which will be actualized according to Yahweh’s decision.

(b) *hyh* occurs in explicit relation to Yahweh in four literary contexts:

(1) Miracle accounts use numerous verbs of action, but *hyh* appears at the climax of the narrative to describe the wondrous event: “Then Moses and Aaron went to Pharaoh and did what Yahweh had commanded: Aaron cast his staff before Pharaoh and his people and it became a serpent” (Exod 7:10); “But Lot’s wife behind him looked back, and she became a pillar of salt” (Gen 19:26); “And Gideon said . . . : The wool alone should remain dry, while dew falls upon the ground all around. And God did so that night” (Judg 6:39f.). In each case, the report uses *hyh* to describe not a simple historical process but the reality of the event that intervenes in earthly affairs and manifests the absolute power of Yahweh. The *hyh* of the event is the evidence of the → *ʿsh* (“deed”) of God; cf. Amos 3:6b, “Does a mishap take place in a city and Yahweh has not done it?” The same meaning occurs in the creation accounts (Gen 1:3; 2:7). Elsewhere God’s personal intervention is not always so carefully expressed. But as in the miracle narratives, in reports concerning banal historical events *hyh* can still indicate the dynamics of occurrences through Yahweh’s action—even if the individual cannot always recognize God’s hand therein (Eccl 1:9).

(2) In addition to more banal usages, the prophets employ *hyh* in prophetic oracles to describe events embodying Yahweh’s personal intervention in judgment and grace: “For Gaza will be desolate” (Zeph 2:4); “Therefore your way will become a slippery path for you” (Jer 23:12); “And a pure street will be there” (Isa 35:8), etc. This usage concerns that which Ratschow calls the “proper prophetic usage” (op. cit. 67). One finds it frequently in Hos (6x), Mic (3x), Isa (28x), relatively less frequently in Jer (12x) and Ezek (29x); see the summary in Ratschow, op. cit. 67–74. The emphasis of the prophetic statements lies on the unexpected, incredible, and yet certain and real nature of the announced events. By multiplying

par. statements with a plethora of images, but without thoroughly describing the process, the prophets indicate that their *hyh* is not meant to express the precise course of events, but essentially the sovereign intervention of Yahweh in its various manifestations: “and it will come to pass in the coming days . . .” (Isa 2:2); “in that day it will come to pass . . .” (Isa 7:18, 21, 23, cf. v 22). This intervention, both in judgment and in salvation, remains a wonder transcending the normal course of events and demonstrating the effectiveness of divine decision: “Truly, as I purposed, so did it come to pass (*hyh*), and what I decided comes to be (*qûm*)” (Isa 14:24).

(3) In legal prescriptions, *hyh* dictates the relationship of the covenant people vis--vis God, people, and the environment: “On the first day you shall hold (lit. ‘there shall be for you’) a holy assembly” (Exod 12:16); “Everything banned in Israel shall fall to you” (Num 18:14); “Anything, however, which does not have scales and fins . . . shall be to you an abomination. Indeed, they shall be an abomination to you” (Lev 11:10f.). Noteworthy in the final example is the coincidence of a simple nom. clause and a clause with *hyh*, in which the verb makes it clear that the concern is not a determination of fact but a legally prescribed behavior. This legal circumstance reflects the situation as God sees it and as he has established it for the well-being of the people. But it is also concerned that the people recognize the situation and give it place in their daily life. “You shall have no other god beside me (*lô’ yihyeh l’kâ*)” (Exod 20:3); here the verb appears in the sg., for the commandment does not seek to deny the existence of other gods but to demand that Israel acknowledge no other gods. In all of these Torah texts, the dynamic meaning of *hyh* describes the movement of God’s will impinging repeatedly upon the daily life of his people and bringing Israel truly to become that which it should be according to God’s will: “You shall become holy, for I (am) holy, Yahweh, your God” (Lev 19:2).

(4) The final literary context of the theological usage of *hyh* to be treated is that of the covenant formula (cf. R. Smend, *Die Bundesformel* [1963]). Both covenant partners are obligated thereby to a particular behavior toward one another. The short form reads: “I will be your God and you shall be my people” (Jer 7:23; cf. 11:4; 24:7; 31:33; Ezek 36:28, etc.); Deut 26:17f. offers a longer, bipartite formula: “Yahweh has declared to you today that he wishes to be your God . . . and you have declared to Yahweh today that you wish to be his own people . . .” (cf. Smend, op. cit. 7f.). One may also compare the covenant formula with David: “I will be his father, and he will be my son” (2 Sam 7:14). Here *hyh* indicates the mutual behavior of the covenant partners in the present and in the future in its active and dynamic character: What they are for one another owing to the

covenant is renewed by each act of one toward the other so that they become ever more and ever better what they already are. Thus the characteristic exhortation of Deut parenthesis to Israel is to become the people it already is by “walking” (*hlk*) and “obeying” (*šmr*).

The texts do not direct such a call to the other covenant partner, Yahweh himself. Deut 26:17f. ties the two clauses of the covenant formula to Israel's obedience. This conjunction does not mean, however, that the validity of the covenant depends exclusively on Israel's obedience. To the contrary, the covenant exists only because Yahweh established it (the formula is mostly transmitted as God's 1st-per. speech), and God's *hyh*, in itself, implies the measures that Yahweh will use in the future on Israel's behalf. But Israel's *hyh* is threatened by the disobedience, the forgetfulness, the inaction of those who fancy themselves to have reached the goal and must consequently be activated by the call to obedience.

(c) Exod 3:14a uses *hyh* abs., without prep. or predicate noun, as Yahweh's 1st-per. speech in a formula:  $\text{ʔehyeh ʔašer ʔehyeh}$  (ZB, GNB mg. “I will be who I will be”; see Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 45).

(1) The passage is problematic in four ways:

(a) A literary-critical problem: vv 14f. give a dual answer to v 13 “what is your name?” Is the original answer contained in v 14 where the tetragrammaton appears in its usual form? In this case v 14a would be a theological amplification seeking to clarify the sense of the tetragrammaton, and v 14b would be a redactional transition (so B. D. Eerdmans, *Atl. Studien* 3 [1910], 12–14; Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 43f.). But v 14 could also be regarded as original; its more difficult content would have then led to an expansion in v 15 in more traditional forms (so G. J. Thierry, *OTS* 5 [1948]: 37).

(b) An etymological problem: The formula very probably contains an allusion to the tetragrammaton. Is it a philologically tenable etymology or a merely theological paronomasia? What is the original meaning of the tetragrammaton?

(c) A historical problem: When did the name Yahweh come into use? Are E and P correct when they attribute the first usage in Israel to Moses? What are the origins of the name? With respect to these two groups of questions, cf. the article → *yhwh*.

(d) An exegetical problem: Do the two  $\text{ʔehyeh}$  s in v 14a have the same significance? There is no decisive reason to contest this point (E. Schild, *VT* 4 [1954]: 296–302, wants to differentiate the notion of identity in the first verb from the notion of existence in the second: “I am he who is”). The repetition of the verb is not tautological but emphatic (cf. Exod 33:19). Moreover, is the syntax of  $\text{ʔašer}$  correct? Yes, for if the subj. of the clause introduced by  $\text{ʔašer}$ , in the form of a pron., is already the subj. or attribute of the main clause, the verb remains in the same person (GKC §138d; Schild, op. cit. 298; cf. Exod 20:2; 1 Kgs 8:22f.; 1 Chron 21:17).

(2) The formula is understood in three different ways:

(a) As a statement concerning God's being: cf. LXX *egō cimi ho ēn* “I

am the one who is”; Luther: “I alone have being, whoever clings to other things errs” (*Weimarer Ausgabe* 16:49); Schild, op. cit. 301: “It is a positive answer in which God defines himself as the One who is, who exists, who is real.” Cf. too O. Eissfeldt, *FF* 39 (1965): 298–300 = *KS* [1968], 4:193–98. Other usages of *hyh*, however, call this interpretation into question and show that the sense of the passage exceeds the simple statement of God’s being (aseity).

(b) As an attempt to avoid revealing the name: so Köhler, *Theol.* 242n.38: “God does not reveal to Moses the secret of His nature (= His name). Moses will see who God is from His works. . . . *Deus absconditus* in the strictest sense”; cf. Gen 32:30; Judg 13:18. The context (a positive answer parallel to v 12, repetition of the expression in v 14b) requires a word that gives a positive answer to v 13 without violating God’s secret.

(c) As a statement concerning the activity of God. The majority of exegetes (with slight nuances of opinion) understand the passage as a proclamation of the ever-new activity of God in history; thus Eichrodt 1:190: “I am really and truly present, ready to help and to act, as I have always been” (cf. among others, Th. C. Vriezen, FS Bertholet 498–512; id., *Theol.* 179f.; von Rad, *Theol.* 1:180f.; Noth, *Exod.* OTL, 44f.). The active and dynamic meaning of *hyh* speaks for an interpretation along these lines.

(3) Three elements of the formula are esp. noteworthy: (a) It does not go beyond 1st-per. forms, not merely for syntactical reasons. God remains a sovereign “I” and cannot become an “it” at the disposal of human curiosity. (b) The verb is in the impf., the tense of action open to new acts. God offers himself to be known as a result of his historical deeds for his people. (c) The usage of *hyh* here stands in the lineage of the three chief theological usages in the miracle reports, the prophets, and the covenant formula: it treats the ever-renewed activity with which Yahweh intervenes in history in order to prove himself to be the true Lord.

Apart from Exod 3:14, this abs. use of *hyh* occurs only in Hos 1:9, “I (am)  $\text{לֹא־אֶהְיֶה}$  (I am not present) for you,” i.e., I decline to continue playing the role that I assumed in response to Moses in Exod 3:14.

Several authors have suggested a textual correction along the lines of the covenant formula (“I am not your God”). Nevertheless, the *lectio difficilior* is preferable (cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 9).

Moreover, the absence of an echo of Exod 3:14 is not remarkable. Even in its context, the formula stands to the side; the weight lies on the commission of Moses in v 15. In order to describe Yahweh’s faithful assistance, the texts prefer the frequent expression *hyh im* over the abs. *hyh*: “I am with you” (Exod 3:12; cf. Josh 1:5; Judg 2:18; 1 Sam 18:12), where the prep. does not complement the verb but underscores its active

and purpose-oriented significance.

5. In its modifications of the formula of Exod 3:14, early Judaism primarily emphasizes God's eternity; so Tg. Ps.-J. Exod 3:14b, "It is I, who was and will be"; similarly, Midr. Exod 3:14. The formula is also interpreted, however, in terms of God's creative activity in accordance with Psa 33:9; thus Tg. Ps.-J. 3:14a, "He who spoke and the world came into being, who spoke and the universe existed," or in the sense of Deutero-Isaiah's polemic against the impotence of the idols (Isa 43:10f.; 44:6), thus Tg. Ps.-J. Deut 34:39, "I am he who is and was, and I am he who will be, and there is no other god beside me." Even when eternity is emphasized, the concept of existence inherent in the verb *hyh* retains an active character.

In the NT *einai* very often appears where the Hebr. uses a simple nom. clause (e.g., Matt 26:26 par. "this is my body") or a verb of being (Matt 26:38 "my soul is troubled," an allusion to Psa 42:6 with *šāḥ* hitpo.). Elsewhere it assumes the function of the narrative *way<sup>e</sup>hî* "and it came to pass" (e.g., Luke 6:6) or of the prophetic *w<sup>e</sup>hāyâ* "and it will come to pass" (e.g., Matt 13:42); cf. M. Johannesson, "Das biblische καὶ ἐγένετο und seine Geschichte," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 53 (1926): 161–212; id., "Die biblische Einführungsformel καὶ ἔσται," *ZAW* 59 (1942/43): 129–84; K. Beyer, *Semitische Syntax im NT* (1962), 1:29–65. But *einai* still preserves the active force of the theological *hyh* in a few significant christological texts: "Behold, I am with you always" Matt 28:18, along the lines of the Hebr. *hyh 'im*; the Johannine usage should esp. be mentioned here, in the prologue "in the beginning was the Logos," and in the words by which Jesus assumes the divine title of Exod 3:14: *egō eimi* "I am" (John 8:4, 28, 58; 13:19). The tripartite formula in Acts 1:4, 8, "he is and he was and he comes," refers to God (cf. 4:8; 11:17; 16:5); E. Stauffer, "ἐγώ," *TDNT* 2:349–51; F. Büchsel, "εἰμί," *TDNT* 2:398–400; E. Schweizer, *Ego eimi* (1939).

S. Amsler

הֵיכָל *hēkāl* temple → בַּיִת *bayit*

הֵלֵךְ *halk* to go

S 1980; BDB 229b; HALOT 1:246a; TDOT 3:388–403; TWOT 498; NIDOTTE 2143

1. The verb *hlk* “to go” occurs in most Sem. languages (with dissimilar meanings in Old SArab., “to behave” [HAL 236a], and Arab., “to perish” [Wehr 1031]).

Cf. Akk. *alāku* (AHw 31–34; CAD A/1:300–328); Ug. *hlc* (WUS no. 830; UT no. 766); Can. *yilaku* (impf. in an Amarna Letter, AO 7098, rev. 27; F. Thureau-Dangin, RA 19 [1922]: 98); Phoen.: Friedrich 70; Old Hebr. and Moab.: DISO 65; Aram.: KBL 1069; DISO 65; LS 176f.; Drower-Macuch 148b.

Hebr. exhibits the *qal*, *pi.*, *hitp.*, *ni.*, and *hi.* conjugations.

As with expressions for “to go” in many Indo-European languages (F. Rosenthal, Or 11 [1942]: 182f.), the inflection of *hlc* is rather irregular. Impf., impv., *qal* inf. cs., and all forms of the *hi.* are formed like the verbs with initial *y/w*. This phenomenon is usually explained (GKC §69x; Berg. HG 2:131; BL 384f.) as a result of the apparent initial *y/w* form in the *hi.* pf. (*hahlaka* > *hālaka* > *hōlaka* > *hōlīk*, BL 214; Meyer 2:142); somewhat differently Z. S. Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects* (1939), 33; J. M. Allegro, WO 2/3 (1956): 264–66.

Some Aram. formations appear to be based upon a root \**hwk* (Bibl. Aram. pe. impf. *y<sup>c</sup>hāk*, inf. *m<sup>c</sup>hāk*; cf. BLA 144; DISO 65; F. Degen, *Altaram. Grammatik* [1969], 79; contra F. Rundgren, AcOr 21/4 [1953]: 304–16). In addition, the impv. *lēk* in the Can. languages allows for the inference of a biradical base \**lk* (Meyer 2:142). On this basis, Gordon suspects that the triconsonantal *hlc* may have arisen through the combination of \**hk* and \**lk* (UT no. 766).

Nevertheless, the form occasionally occurs with three consonants in Hebr., as in Moab. (*w<sup>h</sup>hlc* “so I went,” KAI no. 181.14f. alongside *lk*, “go” l. 14; ANET 320b) and in Old Phoen. (*hlc*, KAI no. 27.21, along with *lkt*, KAI no. 26.II.4; *wylk*, II.19; cf. Friedrich 70): *yah<sup>a</sup>lōk* “he goes,” Jer 9:3, etc.; *ʿeh<sup>l</sup>lōk*, Job 16:22, etc.; *tihalak*, Exod 9:23; Psa 73:9; inf. *h<sup>a</sup>lōk*, Exod 3:19; cf. Berg. HG 2:131.

Bibl. Aram. consistently substitutes forms of *ʕl* for *hlc* in the pe. pf. and impf. (KBL 1069a). Instead of the *ha.* it may be better to read the *pa.* in Dan 3:25; 4:34 (BLA 274).

Derived substs. include:

(a) *hālīk* “step,” better “foot” according to Vg.; cf. M. Dahood, *Bib* 45 (1964): 404;

(b) *h<sup>a</sup>līkâ* “way, road; caravan, procession; one’s entire behavior” (HAL 236a);

(c) *hēlek* “(going >) flow; (visit >) visitor” (nomen actionis, BL 460; HAL 238a);

(d) *mah<sup>a</sup>lāk* “path, stretch of the way” (BL 490);

(e) *tah<sup>a</sup>lūkôt* “procession” (BL 497; yet cf. BHS on Neh 12:31; KBL 1020a);

(f) Bibl. Aram. *h<sup>a</sup>lāk* “tax” (KBL 1069; cf. Akk. *ilku*, a type of tax that vassals were obligated to pay; *AHW* 371f.; *CAD* I/J:73–81; H. W. Bailey, *Asia Major* 7 [1959]: 18f.).

The fem. PN *hammōleket* (1 Chron 7:18, perhaps also in v 15; cf., however, J. Morgenstern, *ZAW* 49 [1931]: 58) is also a derivative.

2. The verb *hlk* occurs 1,547x in the Hebr. OT: 1,412x in the qal, 64x in the hitp., 45x in the hi., 25x in the pi., and 1x in the ni. In addition, it occurs 7x in Bibl. Aram. (pe. 4x, pa. 1x, ha. 2x, but see 1).

Mandl. does not list Isa 55:1b *l<sup>o</sup>kû* (1 Chron 18:13 is listed in the addendum); Zech 3:7 *mahl<sup>o</sup>kîm* is attributed to *mah<sup>a</sup>lāk* according to Lis.; Num 17:11 *w<sup>o</sup>hōlēk* to the hi. (Lis.: qal).

	qal	ni.	pi.	hi.	hitp.	total	
Gen	113	–	–	–	8	121	
Exod	70	–	–	2	1	73	
Lev	18	–	–	1	1	20	
Num	44	–	–	1	–	45	
Deut	48	–	–	4	1	53	
Josh	48	–	–	1	2	51	
Judg	110	–	–	–	1	111	
1 Sam	128	–	–	–	9	137	
2 Sam	94	–	–	1	3	98	
1 Kgs	120	–	1	1	–	122	
2 Kgs	93	–	–	5	1	99	
Isa	56	–	1	4	1	62	
Jer	111	–	–	5	–	116	
Ezek	58	–	1	5	3	67	
Hos	21	–	–	1	–	22	
Joel	4	–	–	–	–	4	
Amos	8	–	–	1	–	9	
Obad	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Jonah	6	–	–	–	–	6	
Mic	12	–	–	–	–	12	
Nah	2	–	–	–	–	2	
Hab	2	–	1	–	–	3	
Zeph	1	–	–	–	–	1	
Hag	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Zech	10	–	–	1	6	17	
Mal	2	–	–	–	–	2	
Psa	38	1	12	3	14	68	
Job	20	–	2	2	5	29	
Prov	30	–	3	1	4	38	
Ruth	18	–	–	–	–	18	
Song Sol	7	–	–	–	–	–	7

Eccl	25	–	3	2	–	30
Lam	4	–	1	1	–	6
Esth	3	–	–	–	1	4
Dan	3	–	–	–	–	3
Ezra	3	–	–	–	–	3
Neh	13	–	–	–	–	13
1 Chron	20	–	–	–	3	23
2 Chron	49	–	–	3	–	52
OT	1,412	1	25	45	64	1,547

Of the substs., *hālîk* occurs 1x (Job 29:6), *h<sup>a</sup>lîkâ* 6x (Nah 2:6; Psa 68:25[bis]; Job 6:19; Prov 31:27), *hēlek* 2x (1 Sam 14:26; 2 Sam 12:4); *mah<sup>a</sup>lāk* 5x (Ezek 42:4; Jonah 3:3f.; Zech 3:7; Neh 2:6), *tah<sup>a</sup>lūkôt* 1x (Neh 12:31), Aram. *h<sup>a</sup>lāk* 3x (Ezra 4:13, 20; 7:24).

3. (a) The meaning of the verb is firmly established with “to go” and varies only little according to the context, i.e., when not used of people to express the capacity for self-locomotion (Gen 9:23, etc.), but of some animals or things: serpents crawl (Gen 3:14), foxes dash about (Lam 5:18 pi.), ships sail (Gen 7:18; Psa 104:26 pi.), a limb drags along (Gen 32:31), etc. Even water “goes,” i.e., “flows” (Gen 2:14; 8:3; etc.; cf. also l. 4 of the Siloam Inscription, *ANET* 321b), and the tone of the trombone “sounds” (Exod 19:19).

In a few cases, the inf. abs. *hālôk* joins other verbal forms to strengthen the notion of enduring action (e.g., Gen 8:3, 5; 12:9; Judg 14:9; 2 Kgs 2:11; cf. GKC §113u; BrSynt 82–84). The finite verb form of *hlk* can also serve similarly to clarify, i.e., in combination with *lqh*, Gen 27:14; *npl*, Gen 50:18; *šlh*, 2 Kgs 3:7; *mr* Isa 2:3 (*HAL* 236b).

In addition to the usage expressing the simple commandment, the impv. forms *lêk*, *l<sup>e</sup>kâ*, and *l<sup>e</sup>kû* are also frequently used in combination with another verb to strengthen a demand and can then be best translated “up! now then!” (Gen 37:13, 20; Exod 4:19, etc.). In this respect, *leka*® has often “become a fixed interjection and, as such, may also be directed to a fem., Gen 19:32, or to several persons, Gen 31:44” (BL 385).

The verb acquires a special nuance when it describes the way leading to an end or goal; e.g., of the end of the rain (Song Sol 2:11), of the dew (Hos 6:4), of the wind (Psa 78:39), of the clouds (Job 7:9), and of pain (Job 16:6). Applied to human life, the meaning “to go to death, die” results (Gen 15:2; Josh 23:14; 1 Kgs 2:2; Psa 39:14; 58:9; Job 10:21; 14:20; 16:22; 19:10; 27:21; Eccl 1:4; 3:20; 6:4, 6; 9:10; 1 Chron 17:11).

The hi. in Psa 125:5, the pi. in Hab 3:11 (sun and moon), and the only ni. (Psa 109:23) also belong here.

In conjunction with *ʔaḥar* and *ʔaḥʾreʿ* “behind,” it comes to mean “to follow, follow after” (Gen 24:5, 8; 32:20, etc.), which is frequent in religious usage (see 4b).

The meanings of *hlk* hi. are all more or less clearly causative (“to cause to go, lead, bring,” etc.). On *hlk* pi. “to go around, go back and forth,” cf. *HP* 151–53. The hitp. “to stroll, go back and forth,” the qal, and the pi. also have the fig. meaning “to live” in the general sense of personal conduct (see 4b).

Semantically related motion verbs all have a somewhat more specialized meaning; cf. *rûṣ* “to run,” → *bôʾ* “to come, enter,” → *yṣʾ* “to exit,” → *ʾlh* “to go up,” → *šûb* “to return,” etc.; → *yšb* “to remain” and → *ʿmd* “to stand” have the opposite meaning.

(b) The subst. of the root *hlk* with their manifold meanings (see 1) may all be derived from the basic meaning “to go.” In regard to Hab 3:6 (paths of the stars), cf. the Akk. and Ug. (*KTU* 1.19.II.3, 7, IV.38) pars. cited in *HAL* 236a. The fig. meaning “life-style” (*hʾlîkôt* Prov 31:27) is also present in Akk. *alaktu*, pl. *alkakātu* (*AHW* 31, 36b; *CAD* A/1:297–300).

4. (a) It is of minor importance in the religious sphere that even Yahweh, like the gods, can be envisioned as “going” (Psa 115:7 pi.). Here one remembers Yahweh’s walking in the Garden of Eden (Gen 3:8 hitp.) or his departure following the visit to Abraham (Gen 18:33). Yahweh can also go on the clouds (Psa 104:3 hi.) or walk in heaven (Job 22:14 hitp.). Righteousness precedes him (Psa 85:14 pi.).

More important than these anthropomorphic concepts, however, are references in which Yahweh’s going has the specific dimension of coming to aid his people or to punish them. He goes to redeem a people for himself (2 Sam 7:23 = 1 Chron 17:21), and is experienced as aid (Psa 80:3; Zech 9:14; also Hos 5:14f.). In the vast majority of cases, Yahweh’s accompaniment is experienced as the exercise of a leadership role in the period of the wilderness wandering (Exod 33:14–16; 34:9; cf. Lev 26:12 hitp.; Deut 20:4; 23:15 hitp.; 31:6, 8; 2 Sam 7:6f. hitp. = 1 Chron 17:6; in the new exodus: Isa 45:2; 52:12), and it found picturesque representation in the discussion of the pillars of cloud and fire in which Yahweh precedes the people (Exod 13:21; Num 14:14; Deut 1:30, 33).

The function of the ark of Yahweh may also be understood in this context as a visible symbol of Yahweh’s presence leading the people and behind which later participants in cultic acts assembled in procession, even if this use of *hlk* is not very sophisticated (Josh 3:6; 6:9; 1 Sam 6:12; cf. Num 10:33–36; Judg 4:14; 2 Sam 5:24; 6:5). The people’s manufacture of gods that were meant to assume the same function signifies apostasy (Exod 32:1, 23; cf. 1 Kgs 12:28–30). If the people prove disobedient, Yahweh can only move against them (Lev 26:24, 28, 41; Num 12:9).

(b) From the human standpoint, obedient following after Yahweh corresponds to God's movement toward his people to accompany them and guide them (cf. F. J. Helfmeyer, *Die Nachfolge Gottes im AT* [1967]). The expression *hlk 'ah'yrê* "to follow after" is immediately and fully comprehensible to Israelites conversant with nomadic life and can consequently be used to describe the totality of the communal and individual life-style. But only a few passages, chiefly in Dtr texts, refer to following after Yahweh (Deut 13:5; 1 Kgs 14:8; 2 Kgs 23:3 = 2 Chron 34:31; also Jer 2:2 in the picture of bridal courtship; Hos 11:10; cf. also 1 Kgs 19:20f. "to follow after a prophet"; on synonymous expressions, cf. Helfmeyer, *op. cit.* 93–122). More often, this behavior refers to apostasy, and thereby to following after strange gods (Baal, etc.: Deut 4:3; 6:14; 8:19; 11:28; 13:3; 28:14; Judg 2:12, 19; 1 Kgs 11:5, 10; 18:18; 21:26; 2 Kgs 13:2; 17:15 = Jer 2:5; Jer 2:8, 23, 25; 7:6, 9; 8:2; 9:13; 11:10; 13:10; 16:11; 25:6; 35:15; Ezek 20:16; cf. N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot* [1963], 76f.) and some illusions and delusions (Jer 3:17; 16:12; 18:12; Ezek 13:3; 33:31). The act of following after other gods always includes apostasy from Yahweh too, as 1 Kgs 9:6; 18:21; and Jer 5:23 clearly express. For synonyms for following after strange gods, cf. Helfmeyer, *op. cit.* 152–79.

In addition to public apostasy, expressed by following after strange gods, living without God is described by various expressions that always emphasize the self-sufficient human action: to follow deceit, etc. (Jer 6:28; 23:14; Job 31:5), to walk according to one's own or evil counsel (Jer 7:24; Psa 1:1; Job 34:8), to walk after one's own heart (Jer 11:8; 23:17) or in darkness (Isa 59:9 pi.; Eccl 2:14).

The fact that following after strange gods is explicitly discussed much more often than following after Yahweh may be explained by the origin of the theme of "following after" in the pagan cultic procession (thus *HAL* 237a; *BWL* 38f.). Israel, therefore, avoided this means of expression (P. Volz, *Der Prophet Jeremia* [19282], 17; G. Kittel, *TDNT* 1:211; on the whole question, see E. G. Gulin, "Die Nachfolge Gottes," *StudOr* 1 [1925]: 34–50). On the one hand, the argument that it applied not at all to behavior toward Yahweh but only to behavior toward strange gods, because the pious Israelite led his/her life "before" and not "behind" Yahweh (thus H. Kosmala, "Nachfolge und Nachahmung Gottes, II: Im jüdischen Denken," *ASTI* 3 [1964]: 65–69), is untenable in the light of the texts cited above. On the other hand, Helfmeyer (*op. cit.*) affords the expression "to walk after Yahweh" too much significance when he does not even try to explain the different frequencies of usage. In his view (e.g., *op. cit.* 202), the concept arises from the events associated with holy war and has been transformed by Dtn-Dtr circles into theological language.

At any rate, it is noteworthy that the pious Israelite's attitude toward

Yahweh is primarily oriented to keeping Yahweh's commandments. A multitude of expressions are available to the OT for describing this posture, expressions that also sometimes speak of going in the ways (→ *derek*), in the commandments and instructions of Yahweh, etc. (so too Helfmeyer, op. cit.). One should remember that apostasy and walking in the ways of strange gods can be discussed together because, at least for the Israelites, Yahweh's ways were clearly prescribed by the revealed commandments, while apostasy is characterized by the negation of these very commandments. Now, although during the wilderness wanderings and the conquest the notion of following after the divine Lord was more prominent, this idea was replaced in the period of settlement by the knowledge that Yahweh dwells in the midst of his people. Any apostasy was, then, estrangement from Yahweh and synonymous with following after strange gods. Thus life *with* Yahweh can be described with *hlk* alone (without <sup>ʾ</sup>*ah<sup>a</sup>re*) in conjunction with words like *š<sup>c</sup>dāqōt* (Isa 33:15 "in righteousness"), *haṣnēa<sup>c</sup>* (Mic 6:8 "humbly"), or *tāmîm* (Psa 15:2 "blamelessly"). The hitp. particularly expresses this relationship. The pious walks "with God" (thus P: Gen 5:22, 24; 6:9) or "before" him, i.e., face-to-face with him and in responsibility to him (Gen 17:1; 24:40; 48:15; 1 Sam 2:30; 2 Kgs 20:3 = Isa 38:3; Psa 26:3; 56:14; 101:2; 116:9; Prov 6:22; 20:7; in the qal also 1 Kgs 2:4; 3:6; 8:23, 25[bis]; 9:4).

(c) In most cases Yahweh is the subj. of hi. forms of the verbs (24 of 45x). He can "cause" the water of the sea "to go away" (cf. Luther, Exod 14:21) or lead the blind (Isa 42:16, etc.); for the most part, however, Israel is the obj. of divine leadership and guidance (Lev 26:13; Deut 8:2, 15; 28:36 into exile; 29:4; Josh 24:3; Isa 48:21; 63:13; Jer 2:6, 17 txt?; 31:9; Hos 2:16; Amos 2:10; Psa 106:9; 136:16).

5. Concerning the usage of the Qumran community, one can determine that *hlk* was also used as the verb of motion in general (e.g., of the sallying forth of the army, 1QM 7:3f.). Nevertheless, the usage in the sense of ethicoreligious behavior is by far the more frequent, in accordance with the nature of the texts (e.g., CD 2:15, 17; 3:2, 5; 7:7; 1QS 1:6; 4:5f.; 5:4; 8:2; 1QSa 1:1; 1QH 15:18).

In early Judaism and in the NT, the verb "to go" was used as widely as *hlk* in the OT; cf. F. Hauck and S. Schulz, "πορεύομαι," *TDNT* 6:566–79; G. Kittel, "ἀκολουθέω," *TDNT* 1:210–16. On the theme of discipleship and imitation, H. Kosmala produces material that exceeds the information in *TDNT* ("Nachfolge und Nachahmung Gottes, I. Im griechischen Denken," *ASTI* 2 [1963]: 38–85; "II. Im jüdischen Denken," *ASTI* 3 [1964]: 65–110). M. Hengel (*Nachfolge und Charisma* [1968], with bibliog.) demonstrates the degree to which the NT notion of following advances its OT model. Jewish-Hellenistic concepts are also treated here.

The root *hlk* is the basis for the subst. Halakah, which designates the entire early Jewish-rabbinical doctrine of proper conduct (cf. *WTM* 1:471f.; Jastrow 353; *UJE* 5:172–75; *JE* 6:163; *BHH* 2:626f.).

G. Sauer

## הלל *hll* pi. to praise

S 1984; BDB 237b; *HALOT* 1:248b; *TDOT* 3:404–10; *TWOT* 500; *NIDOTTE* 2146

1. *hll* pi. “to extol, praise,” probably an onomatopoeic formation, has counterparts in most Sem. languages (e.g., Akk. *alālu* Gt, “to sing a joyous song,” Š “to rejoice,” *AHw* 34; Ug. *hll* “to rejoice”? *UT* no. 769; but *WUS* no. 832 “crescent moon,” cf. *hēlēl* Isa 14:12; further citations in *HAL* 238b).

The verb occurs only in the pi. (*HP* 246), pu., and hitp. Derivatives are *hillûlîm* “rejoicing” (Lev 19:24, at the feast of the harvest; Judg 9:27, at the vintage festival of the Shechemites), *mah<sup>a</sup>lāl* “praise, acknowledgment, cry” (Prov 27:21), and above all *tehillā*® “glory, praise.” The PNs *hillēl*, *y<sup>c</sup>hallel<sup>e</sup>l*, and *mah<sup>a</sup>lal<sup>e</sup>l* also occur (contra *IP* 169, 184, 205: from *hll* I “to light up”).

2. *hll* pi. occurs 113x (Psa 75x, 2 Chron 12x, 1 Chron 7x, Prov 4x), pu. 10x (Psa 6x), hitp. 23x (Psa 8x, Jer 7x, Prov 4x), *hillûlîm* 2x (see above), *mah<sup>a</sup>lāl* 1x (see above), and *tehillā*® 57x (Psa 30x, Isa 11x, Jer 6x).

Of the total of 206 passages (146 verbal, 60 nominal) almost 2/3 occur in the Psa or in Psa motifs and 1/7 in the Chr material. In addition, a small group occurs in Prov (10x) and in prophetic texts, mostly in the context of the announcement of salvation. This preliminary overview already shows that *hll* has its proper place in worship; worship is the execution of that which the call to praise invokes; all passages in the Chr material treat cultic praise of God.

3. Both verb and noun can indicate an interpersonal exchange that should usually be rendered “praise.” A person’s beauty (pi. Gen 12:15; 2 Sam 14:25; Song Sol 6:9; pu. Psa 78:63) or an insight (Prov 12:8 pu.) are praised. Nom. usages refer esp. to a city’s fame (in the oracles against the nations, Jer 48:2; 49:25; 51:41; Ezek 26:17 pu. speaks of Tyre, the famous city on the sea). Wisdom mentions praise or self-praise (hitp.): the able housewife is praised (pi. Prov 31:28, 31; hitp. 31:30); “The one who binds on the sword may not boast like one who lays it aside” (1 Kgs 20:11);

similarly, Jer 9:22f.; Prov 20:14; 25:14; 27:1; pi. 27:2. One praises the king (2 Chron 23:12f.) or boasts of him (Psa 63:12).

4. Most passages by far praise God (Judg 16:24, the Philistine god): in the Psa (4a-c), in the Chr (4d), and in prophetic discourse (4e); cf. Westermann, *PLP* 15–162; F. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel* (1969).

(a) The use of the verb and of the noun *tehillā*® in the Psa is concentrated in two groups; the main group is in the call to praise. The majority of the Psa passages involve this one form of the impv. call to praise: “Praise, you servants of the Lord, praise the name of the Lord!” (Psa 113:1[bis]; also Psa 22:24; 117:1; 135:1[bis]; 148:1[bis], 2[bis], 3[bis], 4, 7; 150:1[bis], 2[bis], 3 [bis], 4[bis], 5[bis], 6; Jer 20:13; 31:7; further *hal’û(-)yāh* 24x [→ *yhwh* 2]; with *tehillā*®, Psa 100:4; 149:1; cf. Psa 66:2, 8; Isa 42:10; in addition the version in the hitp. in Psa 105:3 = 1 Chron 16:10).

That this is by far the most widely represented use of the word is only clear, however, if one considers the multitude of par. verbs that constitute the totality of impv. calls to praise (most significant → *ydh* hi.; further → *rnn*, → *šûr*, → *brk* pi. “to praise,” → *gd* pi. “to exalt,” → *rûm* po. “to exalt”); *zmr* pi. “to sing, play, praise” occurs 45x (Psa 41x, additionally Judg 5:3; 2 Sam 22:50; Isa 12:5; 1 Chron 16:9), 19x in impv. pl., 20x sg. and 1x pl. in the voluntative, 4x in the juss., 1x in the inf. (Psa 92:2). Cf. also Bibl. Aram. *šbh* pa. “to praise” (5x in Dan) and Hebr. *šbh* pi. (6x: Psa 63:4; 117:1; 145:4; 147:12; Eccl 4:2; 8:15; hitp. “to boast” Psa 106:47 = 1 Chron 16:35), an Aramaism (Wagner nos. 299–302).

What is the significance of this call to praise? It is necessary because it calls for something that is not taking place or is not taking place sufficiently; indeed, the call issues forth unrelentingly, untiringly, ever anew, because that for which it calls is recognized as absolutely necessary, sustaining, supportive of the community and because a very strong impulse to give praise is present in the community. This compulsion, the conviction that *hll* pi. must take place, is the first element determining the call to praise. It must occur so that God may be recognized, affirmed, confirmed in his deity, indeed, in the fullness of his deity. But that is only one aspect; the many par. verbs of celebration and rejoicing (→ *gîl*, → *rnn*, → *šmḥ* ) demonstrate that this praise of God can take place only in joy, that it is an expression of joy addressed to God. One cannot, therefore, hear the call to praise God in the OT without hearing the encompassed call to joy. The elements that the NT differentiates in the invitation to faith and the call to joy are still one in the OT call to praise.

As a second feature, the use of the verb demonstrates a marked predominance of pl. forms. The impv. call to praise virtually exists only in

the pl. (sg. only Psa 146:1 “Praise Yahweh, O my soul”; 147:12 “Praise your God, O Zion” addresses a collective entity). The fact that, almost without exception, a congregation is called to praise shows that the act of praising God has its proper setting in the congregational gathering; the choir, the plurality of voices, is inherent in it (cf. Isa 64:10 in retrospect: “your holy house, where our fathers praised you”). Through God’s praise, the congregation expresses its self-understanding, its being vis--vis God. Correspondingly, accompanying instruments are mentioned explicitly in the impv. call to praise; they, too, belong to a communal act. Thus *hll pi.* is established as an essential element of worship.

A third element is closely related: This call to praise is not issued in the OT solely to people. This phenomenon is often not sufficiently noted. Praise is an act directed to God that can involve the whole creation; in it, the human being stands as one creature amid others. This observation implies that the human being as a rational being, with the faculties of judgment and conviction, is not properly intended as the subj. of the process described by *hll pi.*, but as a creaturely being, with characteristics shared by the other creatures. In short, the intellect cannot praise God—only the breathing, rejoicing, singing person. An existence relative to God is intended that absolutely cannot come about through reason. Thus the exuberant phrase concluding Psa 150 and the whole Psalter precisely captures the proper sense of God’s praise: “All that has breath, praise the Lord!” (v 6).

The impv. call to praise is appropriate to a particular psalm genre, the descriptive praise of God or hymn. The elements set forth above are characteristic of this genre. The necessity of the ever-new call to praise presupposes the continuation of ever-recurring worship. The recognition of the life-sustaining significance of this praise of God standing behind this call to praise is exhibited in the structure of the descriptive psalm of praise: it seeks to present God in the fullness of his being and action (cf. *PLP* 116ff.). In the affirmation of God’s deity in the joy, which is intended by *hll pi.*, the community at worship recognizes itself over against the God who is not only Israel’s Lord but also the creator and Lord of history; therefore, nations and kings, all of creation can be called to praise (Psa 148; 150). *hll pi.* cannot, however, be limited to this one psalm genre where it originated because, given the tendency to concentrate verbs of praise and joy, the boundaries between the individual verbs of praise were no longer strictly maintained and they more or less assimilated to one another. At any rate, the texts still show that *hll pi.* is the dominant verb of the impv. call to praise as an element of the descriptive praise of God.

The impv. call to praise can be expanded through the juss.: “they should praise” (most clearly in Psa 148:5, 13; also Psa 22:27; 69:35; 107:32; 149:3; grammatically sg.

in 150:6). The juss. occurs otherwise in anticipation of praise in the conclusion of the individual lament (Psa 74:21; 102:19; *tehilla*®, Psa 102:22; 149:1).

(b) In addition to the impv. call to praise, only one other form of the term's use has great significance: the voluntative, in which an individual announces or expresses, in the presence of another, his intention to praise God. This announcement occurs in the vow of praise at the end of the individual lament and in the introit of the descriptive praise (psalm of thanksgiving) of the individual. But the term specific to this form is not *hll pi.* but → *ydh hi.*; thus *hll pi.* occurs in this form only as a variant or supplementary term: at the conclusion of individual laments, Psa 22:23; 35:18; 69:31; 109:30; at the beginning of the psalms of praise, only 145:2 and 146:2; additionally, in the middle of Psa 56:5, 11(bis). Psa 119:171 can also be classified here. Characteristically, however, the special significance of *hll pi.* appears here too: even individual praise occurs in community (expressly emphasized in Psa 22:23, "In the midst of the congregation I will praise you"; 35:18; 109:30). The "I will praise" is frequently expressed nominatively: Psa 119:171, "My lips shall overflow with praise"; 145:21, "My mouth shall proclaim Yahweh's praise"; elsewhere Psa 9:15; 22:26; 35:28; 71:6, 8, 14; 109:1; Jer 17:14.

The relationship of this form "I will praise" (which can only be insufficiently characterized as "vow of praise" or "announcement of praise") to the form "praise!" is clear: the *hll pi.* is affirmed, accepted by an individual. One can also recognize the vital significance of praise in this form; it is so important that the decision for it and the joy in it must be expressed: "His praise shall ever be in my mouth!" (Psa 34:2). As the call to praise must be issued, so also must it be expressed in the presence of others: I want to be present! One senses in this group of texts that the speakers saw the affirmation of God's praise and the affirmation of life as a participation in the stream of events. This form particularly manifests the distinction from the Chr's use (see 4d): The institutionalization of God's praise makes such an affirmation, such a decision to praise God, unnecessary; it was, after all, decreed, established, and proceeding according to official decree. But that which the Psa refer to by *hll pi.* requires personal impulse; the spontaneous character is necessarily inherent in it; it is only authentic praise of God if it arises from this spontaneous impulse.

The special character of *hll pi.* becomes even clearer in a small group of passages that belong to neither of these two forms but that fosters reflection concerning God's praise and thus reflectively highlights the uniqueness of this praise. In this reflective usage, God's praise and God are closely identified with one another, on the one hand: "You are due praise" (Psa 65:2; cf. 147:1). Jeremiah can confess: "For you are my

praise” (Jer 17:14). Psa 109:1 addresses God: “God my praise,” and Deut 10:21 states: “He is your praise and your God.” Psa 22:4 is unique: “You who are enthroned upon the praise of Israel.” On the other hand, human existence and praise of God are closely identified with one another: “let my soul live, that it may praise you!” (Psa 119:175). The statement “the dead do not praise Yahweh” (Psa 115:17; Isa 38:18) negatively articulates the same sentiment: Praise of God is essential to existence; it is itself a manner of existence. If it has ceased, authentic life has also ceased. Thus the one who participates in the fullness of existence is praised as fortunate, as is the one who praises God (Psa 84:5). *hll pi.* is existential joy directed to God, singing to God.

(c) The word has another only slightly different meaning, although it should still be classed separately, in which the profane meaning “renown (noun), to laud” (see 3) refers to God. This difference is esp. true for *hll hitp.* and *tehilla*®. Everyday or gnomic self-praise is applied to descriptions of God so that one can say: “Glorify his holy name!” (Psa 105:3 = 1 Chron 16:10) or “Glorify the Lord, O my soul” (Psa 34:3). As the form shows (Psa 105:3 belongs to the impv. call to praise, Psa 34:3 to the announcement of praise), *hll hitp.* with God as obj. approximates here an alternative term for “to praise.” Thus it can parallel *šmḥ* “to be happy” in the conclusion of a psalm (Psa 64:11).

Accordingly, God’s glory can be discussed: “The earth is full of his renown” (Hab 3:3). Thus *tehilla*® can parallel *kābôd* “glory” (Isa 42:8) or *šēm* “name” (Psa 48:11; cf. Isa 48:9). God’s renown is proclaimed (Isa 42:12; 60:6), reported (Psa 78:4; 79:13), and amplified (71:14).

A few of these passages have the pl. *tʿhillôt* (Exod 15:11; Psa 78:4; Isa 60:6; 63:7), which can be rendered “famous deeds.” It is typical of Hebr. that this pl. does not mean to express, e.g., the variety of statements of praise (cf. Psa 22:4), but the variety of occasions to praise, i.e., God’s deeds that awaken praise or exaltation. Exaltation and that to be exalted are understood as a unity. This linguistic peculiarity also has a theological component: Passages in which *hll pi.* with God as obj. means “to extol” and *tehilla*® means “famous deed” presuppose that the deity of God cannot be understood in the OT as being per se, as a transcendental Being; God is not God other than in his action, and, in turn, nothing other than human experience reacts in praise.

(d) The second group of occurrences in addition to the Psa is found in the Chr. A remarkable difference in usage consists in the fact that here almost all passages report or express something concerning God’s praise; but the Psa employ the word only to set the praise of God in motion (in the impv. call to praise), to ignite it (voluntative), to state that it should take place (juss.), while narrative and declarative forms are almost totally absent. Moreover, not only the frequent occurrence in the Chr but also the accentuated meaning of *hll pi.* is noteworthy; it occurs frequently at high

points in the narrative of the sequence of events, and it is particularly emphasized (e.g., 2 Chron 5:13; 7:6; 29:30; Ezra 3:10f.). This emphasis is often specifically articulated: “with a loud voice” (2 Chron 20:19), “with all might” (30:21 txt em), “with joy” (29:30), and esp. informative, 2 Chron 5:13: “And as they blew and sang together, they sounded as one voice to the glory and praise of Yahweh.” It is evident that God’s praise was something decisively important, something supremely central, not only for the concept of worship but also for the concept of relationship to God. At the same time, however, it must be an expression of the core of the speaker’s existence; personal engagement is involved in all these phrases. God’s praise must have expressed the fulfillment of existence for these people in a special way. It must be born in mind, in this respect, that the clergy speaks here.

Consequently, the second, even more marked component is the institutional character of this praise of God. (1) It is explained as an institution, i.e., God is praised in a service arranged for this purpose (2 Chron 8:14), and this arrangement goes back to David (2 Chron 7:6; 8:14; Neh 12:46), it occurs “according to David’s direction” (Ezra 3:10). (2) Praise of God is conducted according to a fixed order of service (Neh 12:24) that regulates even the details; singers are “appointed” and wear vestments (2 Chron 8:14; 20:21; Ezra 3:10); it is commissioned (1 Chron 16:4). The order of service also regulates the time: “Moreover, they are to appear morning by morning and in the evenings for the glory and praise of Yahweh” (1 Chron 23:30); this is an inherent obligation of their service (2 Chron 8:14; 31:2). (3) Thus the decisive change with respect to the pre-exilic era is apparent: the praise of God has become a matter for the temple singers. The congregation can certainly join in praise (Ezra 3:11) or it can respond with the Amen (1 Chron 16:36; Neh 5:13); but the priests and Levites are expressly named as subjs. in the vast majority of passages that mention the praise of God.

There can be no question that the cultivation of this cultic music, which is at once vocal and instrumental, brought it to a high state, and that we must recognize a high cultural achievement in the Jerusalemite temple music of the Pers. and Gk. eras. There can also be no question that the temple music performed by the priests and Levites was a concern of the whole nation and an essential element of the community’s worship in which the community participated, body and soul. But, at the same time, one must recognize the deep change that resulted from the institutionalization of God’s praise. An objectivization and technologization of God’s praise is almost necessarily linked to this institutionalization; it resounds unmistakably in some of the expressions cited above; it is evident in the fact that many passages consistently give the content of God’s praise in the refrain “thank the Lord, for he is good” (2 Chron 5:13; 7:6; 20:21; Ezra 3:10, 11), which is now formulaically fixed. It is also evident in the fact that

various Psa are mechanically combined in the psalm excerpts cited in Chron; the original structure of the psalms no longer seems to have meaning. One phrase is highly informative for the understanding of *hll pi.* in the Chr: “. . . who is exalted above all praise and fame” (Neh 9:5). To be sure, this phrase intends to pronounce a very special praise; in reality, it can lead to the severance of the mainspring of praise. In the early period, God is seen as exalted above all praise, but the majesty of God is present in Israel’s praise rising to him (Psa 22:4).

(e) Another usage occurs in a relatively small group of texts in the context of prophetic speech. Although both the Psa and Chr deal exclusively with the ongoing praise of God, prophetic passages, esp. in the context of the announcement of salvation, speak of God’s future praise or future glory. This language is best understood on the basis of the nom. usages. The intended obj. of the *tehilla*® here is Israel. Interestingly, the present or past of famed Babylon, Tyre, etc., are discussed, but not the *tehilla*® of Israel or Jerusalem. The discussion of Israel’s glory is possible only in the dismay of the deep shame signified by the collapse of Judah, as mirrored in Lam. Only now does prophecy announce that Israel or Zion will again come to glory, *tehilla*®. This glory will, however, be entirely the work of God: “Until he makes it (Zion) the glory of earth” (Isa 62:7); “You will call your walls salvation and your gates glory” (60:18; cf. 61:11; Jer 13:11; 33:9; Zeph 3:19, 20; also Deut 26:19).

But the verbal use also undergoes a turn to the future in prophetic speech: in the very brief songs of praise with which Deutero-Isaiah occasionally concludes a section, the impv. call to praise appears in a new sense: already in the present, the prophet calls for praise and jubilation over God’s newly announced saving act to restore Israel’s homeland. Here, however, mostly terms of joy and jubilation appear (*tehilla*® only Isa 42:12); this form of song, praising God’s saving act in the future, is imitated in Jer 20:13; 31:7 (pi.). In Isa 62:9 and Joel 2:26, the praise of God responds to God’s new act of blessing announced for the era of salvation.

5. The LXX translates *hll pi.* mostly with *ainein*, etc., also with *hymnein* and *exomologeisthai*, *hll hitp.* with *enkauchasthai*, *epainein*, and *endoxazesthai*, etc. The noun is rendered mostly with *ainesis*, as well as with *hymnos*. The translation covers the semantic range of the Hebr. word rather extensively. The call to praise *hal’lû-yāh* is already so liturgically established that it is transliterated by LXX: *allēlouia*. Verb and noun are also attested in Qumran (Kuhn, *Konk.* 60, 230; also *GCDS* 516). The few NT occurrences stand entirely in the OT tradition; cf. H. Schlier, “αἰνέω,” *TDNT* 1:177f.; id., “ἀλληλουϊά,” *TDNT* 1:264; G. Delling, “ὕμνος,” *TDNT* 8:489–503.

## החם *hmm* to confuse

S 2000; BDB 243a; HALOT 1:251a; TDOT 3:419–22; TWOT 507; NIDOTTE 2169

1. The verb *hmm* and its by-form *hûm* in the meaning “to bring into confusion” are limited to Hebr. and, with only a few examples, Aram.

Together with *hmh* “to make noise” and *nhm* “to growl, snarl,” they may belong to a biradical root *hm* “to make noise, be restless, startle,” etc., widespread in Ssem. with an intrans. meaning and in reduplicated formations.

*hmm* occurs in Tg. Aram. and *hûm* in Old Aram. in the etpe. “to be beside oneself, be confused, lament” (KAI no. 226.6: *hwm ʾthmw*; ANET 661b “being distraught”; DISO 64). Cf. also Ug. *nhmmt* “confusion, concern” (so WUS no. 846; CML 1 156a; contra UT nos. 778, 1621; CML 2 152).

A root *hmm* II is apparently present in Jer 51:34, which, following an Arab. counterpart, should be rendered “to suck dry” in accord with the par. expression *ʾkl* “to devour” (cf. HAL 241a).

The ni. forms may derive from *hmm* or *hûm*. The hi. forms of *hûm* are textually very problematic. The subst. *m<sup>e</sup>hûmâ* “confusion, panic” derives from *hûm*.

2. *hmm* qal occurs 12x (excl. Jer 51:34; see 1), *hûm* qal 1x (Deut 7:23), ni. 3x (1 Sam 4:5; 1 Kgs 1:45; Ruth 1:19), and hi. 2x (Mic 2:12 and Psa 55:3, emended by HAL 232b as a form of *hmh* or *hûm* ni.). *m<sup>e</sup>hûmâ* occurs 12x.

3. The basic meaning of *hmm* is “to bring into unrest, confuse.” The subj. is Yahweh 10x (or the “hand of Yahweh” in Deut 2:15); thus the word has an almost exclusively religious usage (as does *hûm* qal and, with the exception of Amos 3:9 “tumult” and Prov 15:16 “unrest,” *m<sup>e</sup>hûmâ*; see 4b).

Exceptions are Esth 9:24, with Haman as subj. (*hmm* “to confuse,” par. *ʾbd* pi. “to destroy”; cf. Bardtke, KAT 17/5, 394), and Isa 28:28, with “the ploughman” as subj. (obj. “wagon wheel and steed”; “to bring into confusion, drive along” may be considered as a possible meaning).

Ni. passages (see 2) may all be rendered “to fall into unrest, agitation.”

4. (a) The religious usage of the verb has its original setting in the

narratives of holy war (Exod 14:24, exodus from Egypt; Josh 10:10, battle in Gibeon; Judg 4:15, Deborah's battle; 1 Sam 7:10, victory at Ebenezer; cf. G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* [1991], 48f.). The concept suggests that at the beginning of the battle Yahweh sends confusion among the enemy troops. Yahweh, not the Israelite army, is the expressed author of the confusion; the process occurs "before the eyes of the Israelites" (Josh 10:10) or "before Barak" (Judg 4:15). According to 1 Sam 7:10, Yahweh sends the confusion in the midst of a thunderstorm. Deut 7:23 characterizes the whole event in its ideal course and in reference to the conquest (cf. Exod 23:27).

In Deut 2:15, conceptual horizons and vocabulary resemble those of the passages just treated, yet the obj. of the confusion is Israel itself, placed under the "terror of God" as punishment for its disobedience. This use is an original variation of the motif by the author of the first Dtn introductory discourse; cf. also 2 Chron 15:6.

2 Sam 22:15 = Psa 18:15 (in the theophany, Yahweh brings confusion among the powers of chaos) and Psa 144:6 (a theophany of Yahweh in battle against the nations) stand within the specifically Jerusalemite tradition of battle with chaos and the nations. One should probably attribute the use of the verb *hmm* to the influence of the holy war tradition; both streams of tradition apparently began to have influence in Jerusalem very early.

(b) The subst. *m<sup>e</sup>hûmâ* "confusion" is also at home in the ideology of the holy war (Deut 7:23; see 4a; 28:20 in the curse threat; cf. Deut 2:15 and 2 Chron 15:5; 1 Sam 5:9, 11: the ark taken away to Philistia causes a divine terror; in the Prophets: Isa 22:5 par. *m<sup>e</sup>bûkâ* "confusion"; Ezek 7:7; 22:5; Zech 14:13; → *yôm* ), as well as in its eschatological form in the prophetic concept of the "day of Yahweh" (cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 2:119–25).

The OT knows of the following additional terms for the phenomenon of "divine terror":

(1) *h<sup>a</sup>rādâ* or *herdat* *lōhîm*. 1 Sam 14:15(bis) with an earthquake as an accompanying manifestation;

(2) *ēmâ*. Exod 15:16; 23:27; Josh 2:9 (in each case in reference to the conquest); Deut 32:25 as a curse threat; in another usage in Gen 15:12 (terror falls upon Abraham);

(3) *paḥad*. Exod 15:16; Deut 2:25; 11:25 (in each case in reference to the conquest); Isa 2:10, 19, 21 (in conjunction with the day of Yahweh); according to 1 Sam 11:7 after Saul's call to arms, the terror of Yahweh fell on the people;

(4) *ḥittat* *lōhîm*. Gen 35:5 (in conjunction with Jacob's pilgrimage from Shechem

to Bethel, the surrounding cities are overcome by divine terror).

What may one conclude on this basis concerning the phenomenon of divine terror? It consists of a primarily neutral “being beside oneself,” an ecstasy called forth by God that paralyzes any capability for action. It can have a positive character (Gen 15:12; 1 Sam 11:7); in the holy war, however, it affects the enemies, who then fall defenselessly victim to Israel. Like the holy war in general, the concept is linked with the ark (1 Sam 5:9, 11) and goes back to the nomadic existence of Israelite tribes (similar concepts among Bedouin tribes, for whom the clan god, represented by a mobile sanctuary and identified with Allah, is warlord in decisive battles and fights the enemy; cf. A. Musil, *Manners and Customs of the Rwala Beduins* [1928], 571ff.).

In the Dtn ideology of the holy war, the motif characterizes Israel’s victory over the enemy as the work of Yahweh alone (cf. von Rad, *Holy War*, 115–27). Its basic connotation is thus the “*soli deo gloria*.”

5. In the NT the motifs indicated here are no longer active.

F. Stolz

## הִנֵּה *hinnēh* **behold**

S 2009; BDB 243b; *HALOT* 1:252a; *TWOT* 510a; *NIDOTTE* 2180

1. Interjections and particles comparable to *hēn* or (the expanded form) *hinnēh* “behold” are attested in almost all Sem. languages (cf. *HAL* 242a).

In the OT environment, cf. Ug *hn* (*UT* §12.7 and no. 782), Akk. *annû* in EA (*AHW* 53b; *CAD* A/2:138; cf. too A. Salonen, *AfO* 19 [1959/60]: 157b), Phoen.-Pun. *hn* (Friedrich 120; Sznycer 77f., 89, 106f.).

Aram. *hn* means “if” (*DISO* 66; Bibl. Aram. *hēn*, 15x; KBL 1069f.), but *hʿ* (*DISO* 62; Bibl. Aram. *hāʿ*, Dan 3:25) or *hlw* (*DISO* 65; Bibl. Aram. <sup>ʿ</sup>*lû*, Dan 2:31; 4:7, 10; 7:8[bis]; KBL 1050b; along with <sup>ʿ</sup>*rû*, Dan 7:2, 5–7, 13; KBL 1053b) are used as the interjection “behold” (Leander 128; BLA 266).

*hēʿ* “behold” appears twice in the Hebr. OT (Gen 47:23; Ezek 16:43 txt?), cf. Aram. *hʿ*. Some authors view *hēmmâ* in a series of passages not as the per. pron. “they” (3d masc. pl.) but as an equivalent to *hinnēh* (see T. F. McDaniel, *Bib* 49 [1968]: 33f. on Lam 1:19; following the Ug. *hm*, *WUS* no. 837).

2. *hinnēh* occurs (according to Mandl.) a total of 1,057x in the OT (*hinnēh* 446x; *w<sup>e</sup>hinnēh* 360x, incl. Jer 18:3 Q; *w<sup>e</sup>hin<sup>e</sup>nî* 181x, in Isa 65:1 twice; with other sufs. 70x, 37x *w<sup>e</sup>hinnām*); it is distributed over all portions, numerous in Jer (138x), Gen (125x), Ezek (114x), 1 Sam (84x), Isa (77x), Min. Pr. (63x), Kgs (55x each), 2 Sam (46x), Judg (44x), Exod (41x), 2 Chron (40x), thus primarily in the Prophets and in the narrative literature.

*hēn* (100x) is frequent in only a few books (Job 32x, Isa 27x, Gen 12x, Exod and Psa 5x each, Num and Deut 4x each, Lev 3x, Jer, Prov, and 2 Chron 2x, Ezek and Hag 1x each).

3. *hinnēh* (*hēn*, *hē<sup>ʔ</sup>*) can still be recognized as a component of a primitive command, presenting the substance of the command (e.g., Gen 47:23b; cf. BrSynt 3). In the dual function of an address or exclamation as well as the temporal characterization of an event or circumstance, the interjections refer to a person or thing. Followed by a noun they form a clause (e.g., Gen 12:19; 15:17), they precede a complete nom. clause (e.g., Gen 28:15), or they replace a clause (e.g., Gen 22:1, 7; 30:34; Job 9:19). Rarely, they introduce a verbal clause and accent the predicate (e.g., Gen 12:11). On the syntax and style of *hēn /hinnēh*, cf. GKC §§116p, q, 147b; BrSynt 3, 52, 56; K. Oberhuber, *VT* 3 (1953): 5, 10; L. Alonso-Schökel, *Bib* 37 (1956): 74–80; J. Blau, *VT* 9 (1959): 132f.

The (asyndetic) impv. of *r<sup>ʔ</sup>h* “to see” can assume a similar function as a call for attention and a demonstrative in that it loses its proper verbal significance (in approximately 1/3 of all cases, e.g., Gen 27:27; 31:50; 41:41; Exod 7:1; 31:2; 33:12; Deut 1:8, 21, etc.; fem. 1 Sam 25:35; pl. Gen 39:14; Exod 35:30; Josh 8:4, 8; 23:4; 2 Sam 15:28; recognizable e.g., in Gen 37:14; 1 Sam 24:12; 26:16; 1 Kgs 12:16; Ezek 40:4, etc.); cf. 2 Sam 7:2 *r<sup>e</sup>ēh nā<sup>ʔ</sup>* with the par. passage 1 Chron 17:1 *hinnēh*; see Lande 15f., 53.

In a few passages (not clearly distinguishable owing to the fluid transition) *hēn* has assumed the meaning “if” under Aram. influence (e.g., Exod 8:22; Isa 54:15; Jer 3:1; Hag 2:12; 2 Chron 7:13; cf. Wagner no. 74).

4. From a theological perspective, the frequent use of *hinnēh* as an introduction to the prophetic announcement of judgment indicating God’s intervention should be emphasized. In this position, the attention getter combines readily with 1st-per. divine speech as *hin<sup>e</sup>nî* with ptcp. (cf. P. Humbert, “La formule hébraïque en *hineni* suivi d’un participe,” *REJ* 97 [1934]: 58–64 = *Opuscles d’un hébraïsant* [1958], 54–59; K. Koch, *Growth of the Biblical Tradition* [1969], 211f.); cf. also the so-called challenge formula *hin<sup>e</sup>nî ʔēleykā* “behold, I want at you” (P. Humbert, *ZAW*

51 [1933]: 101–8 = *Opuscles* 44–53). As a rule, the formula precedes the causal clause (cf. H. W. Wolff, *ZAW* 52 [1934]: 2–6); it frequently stands in the immediate context of the messenger formula (e.g., Jer 6:21; 9:6; 10:18); cf. *BFPS* 149; R. Rendtorff, *ZAW* 74 [1962]: 176f.). Usually a pf. cons. follows. Less frequently the formula is formed with *hinnēh ʾānōkî / ʾānî* instead of with *hin<sup>e</sup>nî* (e.g., Amos 2:13; on this and the use of *hinnēh* in Amos, cf. Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 142). A simple (*w<sup>e</sup>*)*hinnēh* also introduces the announcement of intervention for judgment (rarely in the divine 1st per. with a finite verb, e.g., Jer 7:20; Ezek 22:13; more often in the 3d per. of God, e.g., Amos 9:8; Isa 3:1; most frequently in the description of God’s activity, e.g., Amos 4:2; Jer 7:32) and in isolated cases the consequences of intervention (e.g., Ezek 30:21); a few times it underscores the cause (e.g., Jer 6:10; Ezek 22:6).

*hinnēh* probably comes to prophetic judgment speech from the prophetic vision report (e.g., Amos 7:1, 4, 7; Jer 4:23–26; Ezek 1:4; 2:9; cf. H. W. Wolff, *Frieden ohne Ende* [1962], 38ff.). Here it assumes the same positions as in the seer’s oracle and in the dream account, both of which belong to the background of the prophetic vision report. In the seer’s oracle, the deictic particle is connected to a verb meaning “to see” and signals the narration of the vision perceived by the seer alone (e.g., Num 23:9). In the dream account, *w<sup>e</sup>hinnēh* follows the introductory verb *hlm* “to dream” (Gen 28:12; 37:6f., 9; 41:1, 5; Judg 7:13) or the subst. *h<sup>a</sup>lôm* “dream” (Gen 40:9, 16; 41:22; *hin<sup>e</sup>nî* with ptcp. in Gen 41:17). It opens the description of the vision and simultaneously marks its importance for the hearer.

By contrast, the indicative function of the particle in prophetic announcements of salvation (e.g., Isa 38:5) as in symbolic announcements (which derive from them; e.g., 1 Kgs 11:31; 13:3; Isa 38:8; cf. Josh 3:11) may be explained in terms of a divine decision pronounced in response to an inquiry (e.g., in holy war: Judg 1:2; 1 Sam 24:5; cf. G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* [1991], 42f.; cf. also the designation formula, e.g., 1 Sam 9:17 with Isa 42:1; 52:13).

5. In the LXX in by far the majority of cases, *idou* corresponds to the Hebr. interjections, in vision reports (esp. in Ezek) also *eidon kai idou*.

The later history of this command for attention, “behold,” reaches into apocalyptic literature (e.g., Dan 8:3, 5; 10:5), visionary presentations (e.g., Matt 17:3; Acts 4:1), and announcements of God’s activity in the NT (e.g., Luke 1:31; 2:10; cf. W. Michaelis, “ὄραω,” *TDNT* 5:315–82; P. Fiedler, *Die Formel “Und siehe” im NT* [1969]).

D. Vetter

הַר *har* **mountain** → שִׁיּוֹן *šiyyôn*

זָכַר *zkr* **to remember**

S 2142; BDB 269b; HALOT 1:269b; TDOT 4:64–82; TWOT 551; NIDOTTE 2349

1. (a) *zkr* is the form of the common Sem. root *dkr* shared by Hebr., Akk., most NWSem. dialects, and Eth.

*dkr* occurs in Ug. (in PNs: *UT* no. 724; Gröndahl 71, 196), Old SArab. and Arab., *dkr* in dialectical variants of old WSem. PNs (W. L. Moran, FS Albright 68n.34; cf. Huffmon 187) and in later Aram. dialects (esp. Bibl. Aram.). On Phoen.-Pun. *skr* (not yet *zkr* in the hypocoristic PNs on 11th/10th cent. BCE arrowheads, *KAI* no. 22), cf. *GVG* 1:164; Friedrich 20.

Of the root's two meanings in Old SArab. and Arab., "to remember" and "to mention," the former, "to remember," is the basic meaning of *zkr* in Hebr. and the NWSem. inscriptions (*DISO* 76f.). In contrast, Akk. *zakāru* "to say, speak, mention, swear" (*CAD* Z:16–22) is purely a verb of speaking (a thorough treatment of *zkr* in the Sem. languages is in W. Schottroff, "Gedenken" im Alten Orient und im AT [19672], 1–106).

In Akk. and Ug., where, however, the meaning of *dkr* is not yet discernible, *ḥasāsu* (*CAD* H:122–25; *AHw* 329f.) and *ḥss* (*UT* no. 986; *WUS* no. 1060) mean "to remember."

Contrary to the equation of the meanings of Hebr. *zkr* and Akk. *zakāru* proposed by P. A. H. de Boer (*Gedenken und Gedächtnis in der Welt des AT* [1962], esp. 44, 63f.), the Can. gloss in *EA* 228:19 from Hazor (*li-iḥ-šū-uš-mi/ia-az-ku-ur-mi* "may the king, my lord, remember everything that has been done against Hazura") already supports the identification of *zkr* with Akk. *ḥasāsu* "to remember" that took place in pre-Hebr. SCan. (Meyer 1:24f.).

There is no evidence for an etymological relationship to the homonymous word *zākār* "male" (yet Ug. diverges with *dkr*: *WUS* no. 740, or *da-ka-rum*: C. F. A. Schaeffer, *AfO* 19 [1959/60]: 194; cf. Schottroff, op. cit. 4–8, 372; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 244).

(b) Besides the qal of *zkr*, "to remember," Hebr. attests the hi. counterpart to Akk. *zakāru*, "to mention, name," and the ni. pass. of the qal and hi. "to be remembered" (cf., however, J. Blau, "Reste des i-Imperfekts

von *zkr*, *qal*,” VT 11 [1961]: 81–86). Nom. formations of the root occurring in the OT are:

(1) the segholate *zēker* “memory, mention, name,” also attested as an nomen actionis in the nom. form *qitl* in Akk. (*zikru* “statement, command, name,” CAD Z:112–16), Phoen.-Pun., Aram. (*zkr*, DISO 77), Old SArab. (*dkr*, RES 2693.7), and Arab.;

(2) the abstract noun with (-ān >) -ōn, *zikkārōn* “memorial” (Eccl 1:11; 2:16, Aramaizing *zīkrōn*; Bibl. Aram. \**dokrān*, \**dīkrōn*; cf. BLA 195; J. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen* [1930]: 1:47f.) occurring also in Phoen. (*skrn*), Aram. (*zkrn*, *dkrn*, *dkrwn*, DISO 78), and Old SArab. (*dkrn*; G. Ryckmans, *Muséon* 71 [1958]: 127 no. 4);

(3) the sacrificial term *ʔazkārâ* (cf. R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel* [1967], 185–87), probably related to the technical usage of the hi. for sacrifice (Isa 66:3; Psa 38:1; 70:1) and perhaps to be translated with “appeal (to a name)” (R. Dussaud, *Les origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite* [1941], 93–95; D. Schötz, *Schuld- und Sündopfer im AT* [1930], 55) in analogy to the appeal to the deity during sacrifice in Akk. (cf. Schottroff, op. cit. 27f., 328–38) and Aram. (a statue of Hadad from Zinjirli, KAI no. 214.16: *yzbḫ hdd wyzkr ʔšm hdd* “undertakes sacrifices for Hadad and calls on the name of Hadad”);

(4) the substantival hi. ptcp. *mazkîr* “speaker, herald,” translating the Eg. official title *whm.w* as a term for an office in the Jerusalemite royal court (J. Bégrich, ZAW 58 [1940/41]: 1–29 = GS [1964], 67–98; R. de Vaux, RB 48 [1939]: 394–405; differently, H. Reventlow, TZ 15 [1959]: 161–75; contra H. J. Boecker, TZ 17 [1961]: 212–16);

(5) the verbal adj. *zākûr* “mindful” (GKC §50f; Meyer 2:28).

It is disputed whether *zēker* should be understood as a denominative from the hi. (B. Jacob, ZAW 17 [1897]: 48f.; J. Bégrich, *Studien zu Deuterocesaja* [1963], 33n.94; id., GS [1964], 79n.29; B. S. Childs, *Memory and Tradition in Israel* [1962], 12) or as a causative of the *qal* (J. J. Stamm, TZ 1 [1945]: 306; de Boer, op. cit. 15f., 63) and whether *ʔazkārâ* should be treated as a subst. with an *ʔ* as an element of the stem and a concrete meaning like *ʔalmānâ* “widow” (G. R. Driver, JSS 1 [1956]: 99f.) or as an abstract formation in the form of an Aramaizing ha. inf. (Meyer 2:33) or ap. inf. (GKC §85b; Wagner 133).

The two Bibl. Aram. examples of the root, *dokrān* (Ezra 4:15) and *dīkrōn* (Ezra 6:2), have the meaning “record,” which occurs frequently in Imp. Aram. papyri from Egypt (DISO 78); under Aram. influence, Hebr. *zikkārōn* in Exod 17:14; Mal 3:16; Esth 6:1 also adapts to this meaning (Wagner no. 76a; on *zikkārōn* in Isa 57:8, cf. Schottroff, op. cit. 319–21).

On the PNs formed with *zkr*, see 4a.

2. Forms of the root *zkr* occur in the MT a total of 288x: qal 171x (Psa 44x, Deut 15x, Jer 14x, Ezek 10x, Neh 9x, Job 8x, Deutero-Isa 7x), hi. 31x (Psa 6x), ni. 20x (Ezek 8x), *zēker* 23x (Psa 11x), *zikkārôn* 24x (only exilic and post-exilic, P in Exod–Num 14x), *ʔazkārâ* 7x (P in Lev–Num), *mazkîr* 9x, *zākûr* 1x (Psa 103:14); in addition, Bibl. Aram. *dikrôn* and *dokrân* 1x each. The root does not occur in Joel, Obad, Zeph, Hag, Ruth, Dan.

Textual criticism: Exod 34:19 read with Vers. *hazzākār*, Isa 63:11 read *wayyizkârû*, Jer 23:36 read with LXX *tazkîrû*, Ezek 16:22, 43 read with Q *zākart*, Nah 1:14 read probably *yizzākēr* (cf. *BHS*); Nah 2:6 read probably *yizzākârû* (cf. LXX; see *BHS* and E. Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, KAT, 365, 368); Psa 77:12a read with Q, Vers. *ʔezkôr*; Psa 89:48 read *zʔkor-ʔdōnāy*, 1 Chron 16:15 read *zākar* (cf. Psa 105:8).

3. (a) *zkr* may hardly be understood as a primarily cultic (F. Schwally, *ZAW* 11 [1891]: 176–80; H. Gross, *BZ NS* 4 [1960]: 227–37; contra B. Jacob, *ZAW* 17 [1897]: 48–80), legal (H. Reventlow, *TZ* 15 [1959]: 161–75; contra H. J. Boecker, *TZ* 17 [1961]: 212–16; id., *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT* [1964], 106–11), or ancient magical term (*ILC* 1–2:106f., 256f.; de Boer, op. cit. 64; contra Childs, op. cit. 17–30). The various usages of the root in the OT oppose derivation from a single origin. The basic meaning of the qal (and, correspondingly, of the related ni. pass.) is “to remember.” Evidence of this basic meaning can be seen in the use of the verb in contrast to *škh* “to forget” (13x) and *mhh* “to wipe away, blot out” (Isa 43:25; Psa 109:14; Neh 13:14) and parallel to verbs and expressions for acts of thought, e.g., *bîn* “to pay attention to, understand, perceive” (Deut 32:7; Isa 43:18), *hgh* “to consider (begrudgingly)” (Psa 63:7; 77:7 txt em; 143:5), *hšb* “to take into account, consider” (2 Sam 19:20; cf. Psa 77:6f.), *šîah* “to meditate” (Psa 77:7; 143:5), *ʔh ʕal lēb* “to come to mind,” etc. (2 Sam 19:20; Isa 46:8; 47:7; 57:11; 65:17; Jer 3:16; 44:21; 51:50), as well as the occasional purposive focusing of memory on recognition (Mic 6:5; Ezek 6:7–10).

But that *zkr* connotes an active relationship to the obj. of memory that exceeds a simple thought process (*ILC* 1–2:106f., 256f.; cf. Childs, op. cit. 17–30; Schottroff, op. cit. passim) is already indicated somewhat by these contrasts and pars., and even more clearly by others, e.g., *gZR* ni. “to be cut off” (Psa 88:6), *brk* pi. “to bless” (Psa 115:12), which also parallels *zkr* in the Sem. languages (esp. in the Nab. Sinai graffiti; cf. Schottroff, op. cit. 71f.), *ʕsh hēsed* “to demonstrate covenant loyalty” (Gen 40:14; Judg 8:34f.), *pqd* “to be concerned about” (Jer 3:16; 14:10; 15:15; Hos 8:13 = 9:9; Psa 8:5 106:4; cf. Isa 23:17), the opposition with *šmr* “to observe, keep” (cf. Exod 20:8 with Deut 5:12; also Psa 103:18; 119:55), moreover, the purposive focusing of memory on a particular deed (*zkr le* plus inf. cs., similar to *ʔmr lʕ* plus inf. cs., “to remember to do

something,” Exod 20:8; Psa 103:18; 109:16; or *zkr kî* plus obj. clause, Job 36:24; cf. Num 15:39).

(b) No semantic evolution may be traced. Yet terms in the semantic field and special constructions occasionally demonstrate nuances of meaning.

Thus in passages that have lament expressions in the semantic field of *zkr* (Num 11:4f.; Psa 42:5, 7; 137:1; Lam 3:20), memory participates in the lament emphasis. In other passages, e.g., Neh 4:8, where *yrt* “to fear” is an antonym for *zkr*, the verb expresses an attitude of trust or, as in Ezek 23:27, where *ns’ ênayim ʔel* “to raise the eyes toward” parallels it, a longing need.

Inclusion among terms for hymnic praise of God (Psa 105:1–5 = 1 Chron 16:8–12; cf. Psa 63:6f.) or use as an expression for the call to prayer (Job 2:8; cf. Psa 119:55) indicates that the basic stem can also signify an announcement (B. Jacob, *ZAW* 17 [1897]: 63; cf. too de Boer, op. cit. 14f.).

In passages that use *zkr* with the *dativus commodi* (*incommodi*) of person and the acc. of object construction (e.g., Jer 2:2; Psa 79:8; 98:3; Neh 13:22), that append a prep. expression with *ke* “according to” (Neh 6:14; cf. Psa 25:7) or *ʕal* “on account of (particular deeds)” (Neh 13:14, 29), or that state the obj. of memory with *l’ôbâ* “for good” (Neh 5:19; 13:31; cf. *bṯb* in the Nab. Sinai graffiti and *lṯb* in the Aram. inscriptions from Hatra; Schottroff, op. cit. 68–78, 83–85) instead of the objective acc., *zkr* conveys a saving or harmful intention: “to remember to someone’s benefit/harm.”

(c) Nevertheless, the most frequent construction is the acc. of object or of person (indicated in late texts by an Aramaism with *le*: Exod 32:13; Deut 9:27; Psa 25:7; 136:23; BrSynt 87) or the obj. clause introduced by *kî*, *ʔēt ʔscr, mâ*. Memory pertains to past events that the memory awakens to realization because of their present significance (Gen 42:9; Num 11:5; 2 Kgs 9:25), to places and objects to which the one remembering clings (Jer 3:16; 17:2; Psa 42:5, 7; 137:1, 6), but also to present realities that have a formative character for existence (Isa 54:4; Job 11:16; Prov 31:6f.; Eccl 5:18f.; Lam 1:7; 3:19f.) or demand observation as an obligation (Num 15:38–40; Josh 1:13–15; Mal 3:22; Amos 1:9 too; cf. the usage of *zkrn* with a view to the content of an international treaty: *KAI* no. 222C.2f.; Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 18f., 73).

Fixed usages are:

(1) the application of *zkr* in the experience of amenable circumstances, which in the wisdom realm will be given imperative, examined reflection, with regard to their consequences and in the service of certain admonitions (Job 4:7; 40:32–41:1; Eccl 11:8; Sir 7:11, 16; 8:5, 7; 9:12; 14:11f.; 31:12f.; 41:3; cf. also Judg 9:2; Job 21:6f. and Isa 47:7; Lam 1:9); Job 13:12 seems to call such admonishing reminders *zikkārôn*;

(2) the courtly use of *zkr*, also attested extrabiblically (Lachish Letter II = *KAI* no. 192.4; cf. *ANET* 322a; Aḥ. 53, Cowley 213, 221; cf. *ANET* 428a), to indicate the relationship in which a superior approaches an inferior (Gen 40:14, 23; 1 Sam 25:31; cf. Eccl 9:15). Discussion of a ruler's remembering (EA 228:18–25; Esth 2:1; cf. too Esth 6:1–11) or not remembering (2 Sam 19:20; 2 Chron 24:22) an act of loyalty or disloyalty done him belongs in the context of this courtly use (Schottroff, op. cit. 43f., 116f., 164, 384f.), which is still not a specifically juristic use of *zkr* (thus Boecker, *Redeformen* 106–11). Such remembering finds expression in demonstrations of mercy or vengeful interventions as acts of dominion.

(d) In the derived stems and the nom. formations of the root the following peculiarities are noteworthy: parallelism with various verbs of speaking (cf. Exod 23:13; Isa 43:26; 49:1; Jer 4:16; 23:35f.) and contrast with words for “keeping silent” (Isa 62:6; Amos 6:10) are characteristic for the meaning of *zkr* hi. “to mention, name” (and the corresponding ni. pass.), which competes primarily with *qrʿ* “to call”; for the meaning of *zēker*, competition with *šēm* “name” (Exod 3:15; Isa 26:8; Psa 135:13; Job 18:17; Prov 10:7; see also Hos 12:6; Psa 30:5; 97:12; and cf. B. Jacob, *ZAW* 17 [1897]: 70; contra de Boer, op. cit. 17f.), which may also be observed in Akk. and Phoen. (cf. *CIS* 1:7 = *KAI* no. 18.6–8 *lkny ly lskr wšm nʿm tḥt pʿm ʾdny bʾšmm lʿm* “that it may be a memorial and a good name for me at the feet of Baʿal-shamem forever”); for the meaning of *zikkārôn*, the parallelism with *ʾôt* “sign” (Exod 13:9; Josh 4:6f.).

Fixed usages are:

(1) the use of the hi., ni. (mostly with the obj. or grammatical subj. *šēm* “name”), and the noms. *zēker* and *zikkārôn* (so too Phoen. *skr*, *skrn*, Aram. *zkr*, *dkr[w]n*, and Old SArab. *dkrn* in burial inscriptions) for the living's remembrance of the dead in the form continuing laudatory mention of the name (for the Akk. see F. R. Kraus, *JNES* 19 [1960]: 127–31; *za-kar šu-me* also occurs in this context in a more specialized sense as the invocation of the ghost to a sacrifice for the dead; cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *BASOR* 91 [1943]: 36–39). The name of the dead may be preserved through the son (2 Sam 18:18) or (as a substitution) through the memorial stele (cf. Isa 56:5 and Phoen. *mšbt skr bhym* “memorial stele among the living,” *CIS* 1:116 = *KAI* no. 153.1, etc.; cf. W. F. Albright, *SVT* 4 [1956]: 242–58; K. Galling, *ZDPV* 75 [1959]: 1–13). A lasting good memory is expected for the righteous (Psa 112:6; Prov 10:7); the cessation of memory, equivalent to total annihilation, is expected for evildoers and enemies (Isa 26:14; Psa 9:7; 34:17; Job 24:20) or conferred upon them in curse and judgment sayings (Exod 17:14; Deut 25:19; 32:26; Jer 11:19; Ezek 21:37; 25:10; Hos 2:19; Zech 13:2; Psa 83:5; 109:15). Qohelet denies

any lasting memory for the dead whatsoever (Eccl 1:11; 2:15f.; 9:4f.).

(2) the juristic use of the hi. with a per. obj. as a technical term for the charge in a legal proceeding (Isa 43:26; cf. J. Begrich, *Studien zu Deuterojesaja* [1963], 33; but not Gen 40:14) and with the obj. *ʿāwôn* “guilt” (Num 5:15; 1 Kgs 17:18; Ezek 21:28f.; 29:16; but not Gen 41:9 with the obj. *h̄ʾāʾay*, “I must mention my failures”); as a designation for the demonstration of guilt in investigations involving subjective evidence (Num 5: ordeal oath; Ezek 21: arrow oracle) or through encounter with the numinous quality surrounding the man of God (1 Kgs 17; cf. Schottroff, op. cit. 264–70; contra H. Reventlow, *TZ* 15 [1959]: 161–75; H. J. Boecker, *TZ* 17 [1961]: 212–16; id., *Redeformen*, 106–8, who understand *zkr* hi. *ʿāwôn* as the activity of the plaintiff in court and see the hi. ptcp. *mazkîr* as describing the function of bringing charges).

(3) the cultically shaped use of *zēker* (Psa 6:6; 111:4; 145:7) and of the hi. of *zkr*, which, like the *qal*, occurs in hymnic calls to praise in series with synonyms (Isa 12:4–6; Psa 71:16; cf. 1 Chron 16:4), to designate the hymnic praise of God. As a human act of confession (in Josh 23:7; Isa 48:1 alongside other acts of confession), *zkr* hi. (*b̄*)*šēm ʾlōhîm* “to call on the name of God (in the cult)” (Exod 23:13; Isa 26:13; Amos 6:10; Psa 20:8; cf. H. A. Brongers, *ZAW* 77 [1965]: 17f., and the analogous use of the Akk. *šuma zakāru* “to call on the name [of a deity],” *CAD* Z:17f.) corresponds to God’s self-declaration legitimizing a particular cultic site (Exod 20:24; cf. J. J. Stamm, *TZ* 1 [1945]: 304–6; H. Cazelles, *Etudes sur le Code de l’Alliance* [1946], 40–43). In the unique passage Neh 2:20, *zikkārôn* refers to participation in the (Jerusalem temple-) cult in general (cf. F. Horst, *RGG* 2:1405).

4. In the theological realm, *zkr* describes the reciprocal relationship between Yahweh and Israel or individual Israelites.

(a) As already indicated by NW and SWSem. equivalents to the OT theophoric thanksgiving name *z̄karyâ(hû)* “Yahweh remembered,” its variants and abbreviations (cf. *IP* 186f.; Schottroff, op. cit. 96–106, 382–84), as well as statements such as that of a benefactor in Lapethos on Cypress (*KAI* no. 43.16: “May salvation and goodness become my lot and the lot of my seed, and may Melqart remember mine”), the OT’s discussion of God’s memory for his worshipers involves a religious conception already preexistent in its environment. Such divine remembrance refers to the deity’s beneficial and sufficient attention to the individual (cf. Num 10:9: *zkr* ni. par. to *yš̄c* ni. “to receive help”), as experienced e.g., by the barren in the gift of the child (Gen 30:22; 1 Sam 1:11, 19, as the background of the thanksgiving name mentioned), but also in other situations of distress and generally in participation in the divine blessing (Psa 115:12). The dead are excepted from such remembrance (Psa 88:6; cf. C. Barth, *Die Errettung*

*vom Tode* [1947], 67–76); yet, as an exception, Job 14:13–15 envisions the possibility that God’s remembrance, in the sense of the resumption of concern for life and salvation (cf. Gen 8:1; cf. for the contrary Lam 2:1), could also apply to one hidden in Sheol.

(1) Impv. *zkr* occurs as a fixed religious term since antiquity in exclamations of petition (Judg 16:28; cf. 1 Sam 1:11), and then primarily in individual supplications (Jer 15:15; Psa 25:7) and collective laments (Psa 74:2; 106:4); the corresponding indicative describes Yahweh’s reversal of need retrospectively in the song of thanksgiving (Psa 136:23; cf. 115:12) and in the descriptive praise of the hymn (Psa 8:5; 9:13). Even more frequent than this usage of *zkr* with a per. obj. is the use of the verb in exclamations of request that call Yahweh to remember the frailty of human life (Psa 89:48; Job 7:7; 10:9), the shame of the supplicant (Psa 89:51; Lam 5:1), the slander attributed to Yahweh by his opponents (Psa 74:18, 22), as well as his promise (Exod 32:13; Deut 9:27; Psa 119:49; Neh 1:8), the covenant maintained by him (Jer 14:21), and his gracious mercy (Hab 3:2; Psa 25:6f.), as motivations for his beneficial intervention on behalf of the supplicant. The laudatory discussion of Yahweh’s remembrance of human frailty (78:39; 103:14) and his promises (Psa 105:8 = 1 Chron 16:15; Psa 106:45; 111:4) in the thanksgiving song and hymn correspond to these requests. A third group of requests challenge Yahweh to decide for a saving relationship by remembering the good deeds of his worshipers (2 Kgs 20:3 = Isa 38:3; Jer 18:20; cf. also Psa 20:4; 132:1; 2 Chron 6:42) or by forgetting their shortcomings (Isa 64:8; Psa 25:7; 79:8), but a malevolent memory of the deeds of the enemy should pertain (Psa 137:7; cf. Psa 109:14 ni.).

(2) This usage of *zkr* can be observed primarily at the end of various sections of Neh in Nehemiah’s pleas for Yahweh to remember his deeds in a benevolent sense (Neh 5:19; 13:14, 22, 31) and the deeds of his enemy in a malevolent sense (Neh 6:14; 13:29).

(3) The specifically prophetic usage of the verb always has, from God’s perspective, the deeds of people as the obj. (Isa 43:25; Jer 2:2; 14:10; 31:34; 44:21; Hos 7:2; 8:13; 9:9; ni. Ezek 3:20; 18:22, 24; 33:13, 16), apart from Jer 31:20 and Ezek 16:60, where the objs. are, resp., Israel and the covenant maintained by Yahweh for Israel. In this respect, *zkr* has a benevolent sense only in Jer 2:2f., where Yahweh mentions, as the motive for his former disposition to benevolent relations with his people, Israel’s youthful faithfulness in response to Israel’s objection that he had not sufficiently cared for it (cf. Jer 2:5). Otherwise, Hosea (14:10) and Jeremiah (44:21) characteristically threaten that Yahweh will remember in a way that makes Israel’s transgression the standard for his punitive intervention. In Ezek *zkr* ni. (cf. Psa 109:14 and perhaps also the qal in Psa 20:4; but on this passage cf. E. Kutsch, *Salbung als Rechtsakt* [1963],

11–13) has close contact with *ḥšb*, the term for the cultic-declarative accounting of righteousness for life or of unrighteousness for death (cf. von Rad, *PHOE* 125–35, 243–66; Zimmerli, *GO* 178–91; H. Reventlow, *Wächter über Israel* [1962], 95–134). Ezekiel uses this cultic concept in order to sharpen the contrast between the judgment fatalism of the exilic generation and individual responsibility for one's actions. Looking forward to the coming salvation, Deutero-Isaiah (43:25) and Jeremiah (31:34) announce nonrecollection of guilt as Yahweh's forgiveness (cf. S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im AT* [1965], 179–85, 195–204).

(4) Although K. Koch (*ZTK* 52 [1955]: 20f.) relates this usage of *zkr* to the association of human deeds with God's initiation of the cause-effect relationship (cf. H. Reventlow, *TZ* 15 [1959]: 161–75; E. Pax, *Liber Annuus* 11 [1960/61]: 74–77; cf. also F. Horst, *Gottes Recht* [1961], 286–91; id., *RGG* 6:1343–46), H. J. Boecker (op. cit. 106–11; cf. Childs, op. cit. 31–33, and for the Neh passages, U. Kellermann, *Nehemia: Quellen, Überlieferung und Geschichte* [1967], 6–8, 76–88) traces this usage of *zkr* with the acc. of obj. and the dative of person only to the legal sphere: "to remember to the benefit of (in defense)/to the detriment of (an accusation)." Still, the usage in dedicatory inscriptions seems more likely to have been adopted here (K. Galling, *ZDPV* 68 [1950]: 134–42; Schottroff, op. cit. 217–38, 392–95).

(5) As attested extrabiblically, e.g., in the dedicatory inscription no. 14 in M. Dunand and R. Duru, *Oumm el-ʿAmed, Texte* (1962), 193 (ll. 1f.: "[this is what] your servant Abdosir, the son of Ariš, praised as a memorial [*skrn*]"; cf. also Aram. *dkr[w]nṯbl* . . . "good memory for PN," e.g., Nab.: J. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen* [1932]: 2:11–13; Dura-Europos: A. Caquot, *Syria* 30 [1953]: 245f.), the use in the dedicatory inscriptions is reflected by *zikkārôn* in Zech 6:14 and esp. in P (Exod 28:12, 29; 30:16; 39:7; Num 10:10; 31:54; cf. K. Koch, *ZTK* 55 [1958]: 44; Childs, op. cit. 67f.), which also characteristically uses the verb *zkr* as a term for the divine covenant giver's keeping of the covenant (Gen 9:15f.; Exod 2:24; 6:5; Lev 26:42, 45; cf. W. Elliger, *Kleine Schriften zum AT* [1966], 174–98; Zimmerli, *GO* 205–16; Childs, op. cit. 42–44).

(b) Israel's remembrance of Yahweh and his saving acts corresponds to Yahweh's remembrance of Israel.

(1) *zkr* occurs in the Psa as a term for confident appeal to Yahweh, as those who voice songs of lament and thanksgiving confess (Psa 42:7; 63:7; 77:4; 119:55; cf. also Isa 64:4; Jonah 2:8; Jer 20:9), esp. for actualizing remembrance of Yahweh's saving acts (Psa 77:6f., 12.; 119:52; 143:5; in the call to actualizing praise: Deut 32:7; Psa 105:5 = 1 Chron 16:12; in the historical psalm as an act Israel sometimes undertakes but usually neglects: Psa 78:34f., 42; 106:7; Isa 63:11; Neh 9:17; cf. also Judg 8:34). Such remembrance can, indeed, hardly be understood as a

reflection of an actualization of the past in cultic drama (S. Mowinckel, *Psalmstudien* 2 [1920]; A. Weiser, *Glaube und Geschichte im AT* [1961], 280–90, 303–21); rather, it is a reminiscent and laudatory reprise of the past in authentic recognition of the temporal interval, but for the sake of its present significance (cf. H. Zirker, *Die kultische Vergegenwärtigung der Vergangenheit in den Psalmen* [1964]; Westermann, *PLP* 214–49; W. Beyerlin, *ZAW* 79 [1967]: 208–24).

(2) In Deuteronomic parenesis, the representation of particular individual motifs from the salvation-history tradition serves to inculcate Yahweh's commandments (Deut 5:15; 7:18; 8:2, 18; 9:7; 15:15; 16:3, 12; 24:9, 18, 22; 25:17). The fixed schema of this parenesis (cf. N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot* [1963], 125–36; Schottroff, *op. cit.* 117–25, 385–88), which binds together commandment, exhortation to remembrance, and renewed admonition, may be explained on the basis of Levitical preaching, usually seen against the background of the covenant formula, esp. with respect to the derivation of the obligation from the benevolent deeds of the covenant giver (K. Baltzer, *Covenant Formulary* [1971], 31–38; N. Lohfink, *op. cit.*; D. J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant* [1963], 109–40; von Rad, *Deut*, *OTL*, 19–23; W. Beyerlin, *FS Hertzberg* 9–29; but cf. Schottroff, *op. cit.* 385–88). In addition, Deut (Deut 16:3), Dtr (Exod 13:3, 9; Josh 4:7), and the other exilic and post-exilic documents (P: Exod 12:14; Lev 23:24; Num 17:5; moreover: Neh 2:20; Esth 9:28) use *zkr* and *zikkārôn* for feast days and cultic events, which are thereby historicized and made to serve the representation of some salvation-history traditions. Here, too, *zkr* is not participation in dramatic cult representations but reminiscent involvement in the matrix of events by representing past phenomena through proclamation or symbol (cf. M. Noth, *EvT* 2 [1952/53]: 6–17; Childs, *op. cit.* 45–65, 74–89; N. W. Porteous, *FS Weiser* 93–105; von Rad, *Theol.* 2:99–112; S. Herrmann, *FS Rost* 95–105; J. M. Schmidt, *EvT* 30 [1970]: 169–200).

(3) Prophecy since the 8th cent. BCE employs *zkr* in a comparable usage. The condemnation in Mic 6:3–5 demands that the people remember Yahweh's saving acts in order to recognize the untenable nature of their objections against Yahweh. Isa 17:10 bases the threatened judgment on the fact that Israel had not considered Yahweh. *zkr* also occurs in this sense later on in the invectives (Isa 57:11; Ezek 16:22, 43; 23:19; cf. also Isa 47:7). Nevertheless, in exilic and post-exilic prophecy, *zkr* appears primarily in salvation oracles (Isa 44:21f.; 46:8; Jer 51:50; Ezek 6:9; 16:61, 63; 20:43; 36:31; Zech 10:9) in close association with the call to repentance (see Wolff, *GS* [1964], 130–50), esp. in conjunction with the announcement of a new saving act of Yahweh surpassing all previous ones (Isa 43:18; 46:9; 54:4; 65:17; cf. C. R. North, *FS Robinson* 111–26; von Rad, *Theol.* 2:243–50; Zimmerli, *GO* 192–204; S. Herrmann, *Die*

*prophetischen Heilserwartungen im AT* [1965], 298–304).

5. On Judaism and the NT, cf. J. Behm, “ἀνάμνησις,” *TDNT* 1:348f.; O. Michel, “μνησκόμοι,” *TDNT* 4:675–83; G. Schmidt, FS Meiser 259–64; K.-H. Bartels, “Dies tut zu meinem Gedächtnis” (diss., Mainz, 1959); M. Thurian, *Eucharistie: Eihneit am Tisch des Herrn?* (1963); de Boer, op. cit. 44–62.

W. Schottroff

## זנח *znh* to commit harlotry

S 2181; BDB 275b; *HALOT* 1:275a; *TDOT* 4:99–104; *TWOT* 563; *NIDOTTE* 2388

1. The root *znh* also occurs outside Hebr. in (postbibl.) Aram., Arab., and Eth.

For Judg 19:2 one may assume a root *znh* II “to become angry,” corresponding to Akk. *zenû* “to be angry” (*CAD* Z:85f.; G. R. Driver, *WO* 1/1 [1947]: 29f.; *HAL* 264; *CPT* 286, 326).

Nom. derivatives are *z<sup>ē</sup>nûnîm* (cf. D. Leibel, *Lešonenu* 20 [1956]: 45f.), *z<sup>ē</sup>nût*, and *taznût*. The verb occurs in the qal (with a substantivized fem. ptc. *zōnâ* “whore”), the pu. (only Ezek 16:34), and the hi. (causative, on Hos 4:10, 18; 5:3 cf. Rudolph, *KAT* 13/1, 105, 116).

2. The verb occurs in the qal 83x (excl. Judg 19:2; see 1; 33 are substantivized *zōnâ*, Ezek 21x, Hos 10x), in the pu. 1x, and in the hi. 9x (Hos 4x, 2 Chron 3x). *z<sup>ē</sup>nûnîm* occurs 12x (Hos 6x), *z<sup>ē</sup>nût* 9x (Jer and Ezek 3x each), and *taznût* 20x (only in Ezek 16 and 23).

Of the total 134 occurrences of the root, 47 fall to Ezek (42 in Ezek 16 and 23), 22 to Hos, 9 each to Lev and Jer, 5 each to Judg and Isa, and 4 each to Gen, Josh, and Prov.

3. (a) The basic meaning of the qal should be translated “to whore, commit harlotry” (of the woman; Num 25:1 of the man). The verb is either used abs. (Gen 38:24, etc., in about half the cases) or constructed with: *ʔah<sup>3</sup>rê* “after” (Exod 34:15f., etc.; frequent), a simple acc. (Jer 3:1), *ʔel* (Num 25:1; Ezek 16:26, 28), *ʔet* (Isa 23:17), *be* (Ezek 16:17); in the meaning “to be unfaithful to” it is used with *taḥat* (Ezek 23:5) or *mittaḥat* (Hos 4:12), *mē<sup>ʿ</sup>al* (Hos 9:1) or *min* (Psa 73:27).

The pu. form attested in Ezek 16:34 represents qal pass. (“to be solicited for prostitution”). The hi. in Hos 4:10, 18 is usually translated as an inner-causative like the qal (e.g., Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 72f.), otherwise causatively “to lure into lewdness” (see 1).

*znh* has no direct synonym.

(b) *znh* referred originally to unregulated, illicit sexual behavior between man and woman. Par. terms include *ḥll* pi. “to profane” (Lev 19:29; 21:9), *bḡd* “to behave treacherously” (Jer 3:8), *mʿl* “to behave treacherously” (1 Chron 5:25), *ṭmʿ* ni. “to make oneself unclean” (Ezek 20:30; 23:30; Hos 5:3; Psa 106:39), or *nʿp* pi. “to commit adultery” (Hos 4:13f.).

Whoever commits harlotry commits an abomination in Israel (Lev 19:29 *zimmâ*; Deut 22:21 *nʿbālâ*). Accordingly, harlotry is punished: whoever commits harlotry is burned (*šrp* ni. Gen 38:24; Lev 21:9), annihilated (*krt* hi. Lev 20:6; *bʿr* pi. Deut 22:21; *šmt* hi. Psa 73:27).

4. Theological language uses *znh* in a fig. sense to describe apostasy from Yahweh and conversion to other gods. This usage has four focal points:

(a) In Hosea’s prophecy: Here the subj. is not just any woman but the northern kingdom of Israel (9:1), the land (1:2), presented fig. as Yahweh’s wife; it is unfaithful to Yahweh and “whores away from Yahweh” (4:12; 9:1). With the aid of this concept adapted from the Canaanite Baal cult and its cultic prostitution, Israel’s pro-Canaanite inclination is sharply attacked. “To whore away from Yahweh” is synonymous with adultery (4:13f.), with worshiping Baal as husband, and therefore calls forth prophetic judgment (cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 13f.).

(b) This fig. usage is employed again by Jeremiah. Here, too, it is not the individual but Judah/Israel who is accused of harlotry (2:20; 3:1, 6, 8). The high hills, mountains, and green trees (2:20; 3:6) are named as the sites of the harlotry (as already in Hos 4:13), apparently specific Baalistic cultic sites.

(c) The use of *znh* is markedly concentrated in Ezek 16 and 23, which reprise the images of Hos 1–3 and Jer 3 (the term *taznût* occurs only in Ezek 16 and 23). Here, too, Israel exercises its idolatry at specific cultic sites (heights 16:16) or with cultic objects (masc. images, 16:17). The strange gods are described as idols (*gillûlîm* 6:9; 23:30) or horrors (*šiqqûšîm* 23:30). Israel pursues them although they are totally unconcerned for Israel (16:34).

The following must also be emphasized: (1) The charge of harlotry with strange gods is expanded in 16:26, 28; 23:5 through the idea of harlotry with foreign nations, thus through the charge of political bondage. (2) According to 23:3, 19 whorish apostasy did not begin with the conquest and contact with the Can. Baal religion, but already in Israel's early era, in Egypt. (3) 6:9 speaks fig. of "prurient hearts."

(d) Following Hosea, the term then found acceptance primarily in Dtr theology, namely in the stereotypical form "to play the harlot after (strange) gods (of the land)" (Exod 34:15f.; Deut 31:16; Judg 2:17; 8:27, 33; cf. Num 25:1; Psa 106:39; 1 Chron 5:25).

5. On NT usage in the context of the environment of the NT, cf. F. Hauck and S. Schulz, "πορνή," *TDNT* 6:579–95.

J. Kühlewein

זעם *zʿm* **to curse** → קלל *qll*

זעק *zʿq* **to cry out** → קָסַעַק

זָר *zār* **strange**

S 2114; BDB 266a; *HALOT* 1:279a; *TDOT* 4:52–58; *TWOT* 541; *NIDOTTE* 2319

1. *zār* "strange, different" is the (often substantivized) verbal adj. of the root *zûr* II "to turn away" (Hebr. *qal*, *ni.*, *ho.*; with counterparts in SSem. and Aram.; cf. L. A. Snijders, *OTS* 10 [1954]: 1–21).

The root should be distinguished from *zûr* I "to press" (Judg 6:38; Isa 59:5; Job 39:15) and *zûr* III "to stink, be repugnant" (Job 19:17; *HAL* 256b). Akk. *zûru* "to hate" also belongs to the latter (\**dir*; cf. Arab. *dāra*; cf. Akk. *zā'iru* "hostile, enemy," *CAD* Z:14f., 97–99; cf., nevertheless, P. Wernberg-Møller, *VT* 4 [1954]: 322–25).

Counterparts to *zār* occur outside NWSem. (*DISO* 80) in SSem.; cf. *HAL* 268a on the meanings that have developed somewhat further (Mid. Hebr. "layman"; Arab. "pilgrim").

2. *zār* occurs 70x in the OT (excl. Prov 21:8 *wāzār*; cf. *HAL* 249b), most frequently in Prov (14x), Isa (9x), Num (8x), Jer and Ezek (7x each).

Concentrations lie in the Prophets (29x), wisdom (17x), and the priestly literature (Exod–Num 15x).

3. In both adj. and subst. usages *zār* assumes rather varied meanings (cf. the more detailed investigation by L. A. Snijders, “Meaning of *zār* in the OT,” *OTS* 10 [1954]: 1–154); it often appears in proximity to → *nēkār* “foreign land” or *nokrî* “strange, foreign” (cf. P. Humbert, “Les adjectifs *zār* et *nôkrî* et la femme étrangère des Proverbes bibliques,” *FS Dussaud* 1:259–66 = *Opuscules d’un hébraïsant* [1958], 111–18), but should be distinguished from *gēr* “sojourner” (→ *gûr*).

(a) The most common meaning, esp. in the Prophets, is “stranger” in the ethnic or political sense, thus usually “non-Israelite.” *zārîm* indicates the foreign peoples with whom Israel had contact, esp. its political enemies: the Assyrians or Egyptians (Hos 7:9; 8:7; Isa 1:7), Judah’s immediate neighbors (Lam 5:2), and the Babylonians (Jer 51:51; Ezek 28:7, 10; 30:12; 31:12, etc.). Thus *zār* occurs in proximity to → *šar* “enemy”; the stranger is simultaneously the enemy.

Designations for “foreign” gods, i.e., of the deities of foreign nations, belong in this category too (Deut 32:16; Isa 17:10; Jer 2:25; 3:13; Psa 44:21; 81:10; cf. Jer 5:19).

(b) *zār* occurs chiefly in wisdom literature, at first in the rather neutral meaning “belonging to another” (Prov 6:1; 11:15; 14:10; 20:16, etc.), but this expression can also convey overtones of animosity (Job 19:15; cf. v 17; cf. G. R. Driver, *Bib* 35 [1954]: 148f.; contrast *CPT* 256f., 326), illegitimacy (Hos 5:7 “strange children”), etc. The other is the outsider whose behavior endangers the existence of the group because he/she stands outside the laws of the community. The *ʾiššâ zārâ* “strange woman” in Prov 1–9 (2:16; 5:3, 20; 7:5) should be mentioned here, a woman who seems to be less the ethnic stranger or the devotee of an Astarte cult (cf. G. Boström, *Proverbiastudien* [1935]) than the (Israelite) wife of another, a lascivious wife against whom the wise warns students (cf. Humbert, op. cit.; id., *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques* [1937], 49–64; Snijders, op. cit. 88–104; Gemser, *HAT* 16, 25f.). Thus *zār* “other” can acquire a rather negative meaning (“dangerous, hostile”).

(c) Esp. in the post-exilic priestly tradition, *zār* indicates that which is contrary to something holy or to a cultic prescription (Elliger, *HAT* 4, 137), thus e.g., someone who does not belong to the Aaronide priesthood (Exod 29:33; Lev 22:10, 12f.; Num 3:10, 38; 17:5; 18:4, 7), to the Levites (Num 1:51), or to the cultic community (Exod 30:33). In many cases, then, *zār* virtually means “layman, unauthorized” (“profane” in the cultic sense). The fire (Lev 10:1; Num 3:4; 26:61) or the incense stand (Exod 30:9) can also be termed *zār* “illegitimate, forbidden” in reference to the incense offering,

because it does not accord with cultic prescriptions (Snijders, op. cit. 111–23).

d) Finally, the meaning “unusual, unheard-of” in the description of Yahweh’s behavior in Isa 28:21 (similarly Prov 23:33 “rare”) should be mentioned; only this text uses *zār* predicatively.

4. For the most part, Israel relates very reservedly to that described as *zār*. The foreigner almost always signifies a threat, something that calls existence into question, esp. from the Dtr-P viewpoint. The *zārîm* thus become the “pagans,” with whom no covenant can be made (Deut, Ezra, Neh; cf. A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* [1896]). The *zār* is somehow irreconcilable with Yahweh; cf., nevertheless, the position of Deutero-Isa, Jonah, and Hellenistic Judaism, as well as the attitude toward the *gēr* (→ *gûr*).

5. On *zār* “strange” in early Judaism and in the NT, cf. F. Büchsel, “ἄλλος,” *TDNT* 1:264–67; G. Stählin, “ξένος,” *TDNT* 5:1–36.

R. Martin-Achard

זרעו *z'roa<sup>c</sup>* **arm**

S 2220; BDB 283b; *HALOT* 1:280b; *TDOT* 4:131–40; *TWOT* 583a; *NIDOTTE* 2432

1. Counterparts to Hebr. *z'roa<sup>c</sup>* “arm” formed from the same root occur only in the NW and WSem. languages (*HAL* 269a).

According to P. Fronzaroli (*AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 259, 279) \**dirā<sup>c</sup>* is common Sem., although replaced in ESem. by \**yad-* > *idu* “arm,” which, in turn, is replaced by *qātu* in the meaning “hand”; in WSem. \**dirā<sup>c</sup>* limited \**yad-* to the meaning “hand” from the original meaning “hand plus arm” (→ *yād*). Arab. *dirā<sup>c</sup>* is restricted to the meaning “forearm” and has replaced the common Sem. word \**ammāt-* (Hebr. *ammâ*, Akk. *ammatu*) “cubit, forearm” as a designation for the body part as well as the unit of length.\*>"Symbol">

On a possible relationship to \**dr<sup>c</sup>* “to sow” (Hebr. *zr<sup>c</sup>*), cf. Fronzaroli, op. cit. 259; *UT* §5.4).

If the Neo-Assyr. *durā<sup>c</sup>* is related to the same root (*CAD* D:190f.; see, however, *AHw* 177b), it is probably a WSem. loanword. The glosses of EA 287:27 and 288:34 attest the Old Can. *zuruh*.

Ug. *ḏr* (WUS no. 2723; UT no. 733) retains the original *ḏ* instead of the normal *d* (cf. UT §5.3).

Bibl. Aram. *ʿedrā* (Ezra 4:23; on the vocalization, cf. BLA 215) with a prosthetic *aleph* occurs in addition to *derā* (Dan 2:32; cf. DISO 61). As a result, Hebr. *ʿezrôa* (Jer 32:21; Job 31:22) may also be explained as an Aramaism (HAL 28a).

2. Of 93 occurrences in the OT (2x *ʿezrôa*; and 2x in Aram.), 39 appear in the prophetic literature (17 alone in Isa, 13 in Ezek), 14 in Psa, 9 in Deut, 7 in Job, and 6 in Dan.

The pl. is formed 19x with a fem. and 4x with a masc. ending.

3. In the proper sense, *zʿrôa* indicates one's "arm," esp. the "forearm" (e.g., Isa 17:5; 44:12; Ezek 4:7). The masc. pl. occasionally means the "shoulders" (2 Kgs 9:24); in the cultic sphere, the sg. may also mean the shoulder portion of the sacrificial animal (Num 6:19; Deut 18:3).

Like → *yād*, in the fig. sense (Dhorme 140) the word represents the powerful (Job 38:15; cf. 22:8), strong (Jer 48:25), and helpful (Psa 83:9) "power, might" of its owner. Just as *zʿrôa gʿdôlâ* "strong arm" corresponds to a "populous nation" in Ezek 17:9 and Akk. *emūqē* "armed forces" can also alternate with *idā(n)*, in Dan 11:15, 22 *zʿrôṭ* indicates an army (*zʿrôṭim* 11:31; sg. 11:6, on the text, cf. Plöger, KAT 18, 155, and P. Wernberg-Møller, JSS 3 [1957]: 324f.; cf. also Ezek 22:6, where many exegetes, e.g., A. M. Honeyman, VT 1 [1951]: 222, nevertheless prefer the reading *zarʿô* "his seed").

*zʿrôṭ ʿôlām* "everlasting arms" parallels the "ancient gods(?)" in the hymn in Deut 33:27; cf. I. L. Seeligmann, VT 14 (1964): 78, 87f.

Both → *yād* "hand" and *yāmîn* "right hand" often parallel *zʿrôa*, and terms like → *kôah* "might" and *gʿbûrâ* "strength" (→ *gbr*) are fig. pars.

4. Corresponding to the profane usage, various literary genres employ *zʿrôa* anthropomorphically to describe the strong (predominantly in the hymns: Psa 89:14; 98:1; Exod 15:16; in vows to praise, Psa 71:19), helpful (Psa 44:4; 77:16; 79:11; 89:22; Isa 33:2; 40:11; Hos 11:3), and punitive (Isa 30:30) might of God (P. Biard, *La puissance de Dieu* [1960]). The benevolent aspect is often emphasized through the stereotypical expression "with strong hand and outstretched arm." This usage, however, is limited to Deut (Deut 4:34; 5:15; 7:19; 11:2; 26:8) and literature influenced by Deut (Isa 32:21; Psa 136:12), and always refers to the divine act of redemption in the exodus from Egypt (without explicit reference in Solomon's prayer dedicating the temple, 1 Kgs 8:42 = 2 Chron 6:32). It is

related to the new exodus from the Diaspora in Ezek 20:33f. The notion of judgment upon Israel, which is also involved in this text, is absent from Deutero-Isa, where God's saving might is esp. accentuated and eschatologically interpreted by the expression "arm of Yahweh" (Isa 51:5, 9; 52:10; 53:1; cf. H. L. Ginsberg, "The Arm of YHWH in Isaiah 51–63 and the Text of Isaiah 53:10–11," *JBL* 77 [1958]: 152–56). In Trito-Isa Yahweh's arm even appears as a type of hypostasis (in reference to the exodus from Egypt in Isa 63:12; more generally, 59:16; 63:5; cf. also 62:8, which discusses Yahweh's oath by his arm; cf. G. Pfeifer, *Ursprung und Wesen der Hypostasenvorstellungen im Judentum* [1967], 17). The expression "with great strength and outstretched arm" in Deut 9:29 and 2 Kgs 17:36 (Dtr) refers to the exodus from Egypt, but in Jer 27:5 and 32:17 it indicates God's creation (portrayed as a battle).

The OT contains little or no celebration of human arms (Gen 49:24, but in the context of the "strength of Jacob"). Rather, the "arm of flesh" as a description of feeble human strength is contrasted with God's might (2 Chron 32:8; cf. Jer 17:5; Psa 44:4), which breaks (Ezek 30:21f., 24b; cf. Psa 10:15) and cuts off (1 Sam 2:31; Mal 2:3 txt em) human arms, but which can also strengthen them (Ezek 30:24a, 25).

5. The NT discusses God's arm only in the sense of its saving demonstrations of power; cf. H. Schlier, "βραχίον," *TDNT* 1:639f.

A. S. van der Woude

חָדַשׁ *ḥādāš* **new**

S 2319; BDB 294a; *HALOT* 1:294a; *TDOT* 4:225–44; *TWOT* 613a; *NIDOTTE* 2543

1. The root \**ḥdt* occurs in all Sem. languages with the same meaning (Berg., *Intro.* 220).

Hebr. has *ḥdš* pi. "to renew," hitp. "to renew oneself," and the noms. *ḥādāš* "new" (in the place-names *ḥ<sup>a</sup>dāšā* Josh 15:37; and Aram. *ḥāšôr ḥ<sup>a</sup>dattâ* Josh 15:25; cf. Wagner no. 88) and *ḥōdeš* "new moon, month" (on the fem. PN *ḥōdeš* in 1 Chron 8:9, see J. J. Stamm, FS Baumgartner 322).

Hebr. *ḥādāš* corresponds to Akk. *eššu* (cf. *eddēšû* "being ever renewed"), Ug. *ḥdt* (*WUS* no. 908; *UT* no. 843), Phoen.-Pun. *ḥdš* (in the name of the city Carthage, *qrḥdšt* = "new city"), and Aram. *ḥ<sup>a</sup>dat* (*DISO* 83; *KBL* 1074a), which occurs once in Ezra 6:4 as a textual error.

The place-name *ḥodšî* in 2 Sam 24:6 should be disregarded in favor of an emendation.

2. *ḥdš* pi. occurs 9x, hitp. 1x (Psa 103:5), *ḥādāš* 53x (Isa 40–66 10x, Psa 6x, Ezek 5x), and *ḥōdeš* 283x (Num 38x, Ezek 27x, Esth 24x).

*ḥādāš* appears 20x in narrative texts (also Deut 32:17 and Judg 5:8 txt?), 19x in prophetic texts, 6x in Psa, 2x in Job and Eccl, 1x in Song Sol and Lam.

3. (a) Like *ḥādāš* “new,” the verb *ḥdš* pi. “to renew” has no genuine synonyms and is usually contrasted to “old, former”: the temple (2 Chron 24:4, 12, par. *ḥzq* pi. “to renovate”), an altar (2 Chron 15:8), and cities (Isa 61:4, par. *bnh* “to rebuild”) are renewed, i.e., reestablished; the monarchy is renewed (1 Sam 11:14). God is called upon once again to maintain the former good fortune or salvation (Lam 5:21 “renew our days as of old”), to renew life (Psa 51:12, beside *brʿ* “to create”; cf. L. Kopf, VT 9 [1959]: 254f.); he is praised because he renews the face of the earth (Psa 104:30, beside *brʿ*) and sees to it that youthfulness is renewed (Psa 103:5 hitp.). Only Job 10:17 (“to renew witnesses” = “repeatedly to produce new witnesses”) contrasts “new” with “already at hand.”

(b) The everyday usage of *ḥādāš* “new” occurs primarily in the narrative texts, both in contrast to “old” and in the meaning “not yet existent.” In the realm of production there is mention of new grain (Lev 26:10, in contrast to *yāšān* “old, last year’s”), of the offering of firstfruits (Lev 23:16; Num 28:26), of new (fresh) fruits (Song Sol 7:14, in contrast to *yāšān*); in the realm of craftsmanship of new houses (Deut 20:5; 22:8), new wineskins (Josh 9:13; cf. *bāleh* “old, used” in vv 4f.; Job 32:19), new ropes (Job 15:13; 16:11f.), new wagons (1 Sam 6:7 = 1 Chron 13:7; 2 Sam 6:3[bis]), a new sword (2 Sam 21:16), a new coat (1 Kgs 11:29f.), a new vessel (2 Kgs 2:20), and the new forecourt (2 Chron 20:5). Prophetic texts mention a new threshing sled (Isa 41:15) and the new temple gate (Jer 26:10; 36:10; cf. the “old gate” in Neh 3:6; 12:39). With respect to persons, *ḥādāš* describes the newly married woman (Deut 24:5; on Akk. and Ug. pars. see HAL 282b), the new king over Egypt (Exod 1:8), and new gods, i.e., those which Israel has only come to know in Canaan (Deut 32:17 “newcomers, who have only recently appeared”).

The adjs. *ṭārî* “fresh, moist” (Judg 15:15, bones; Isa 1:6, wounds) and *lah* “still moist, fresh” (Gen 30:37; Num 6:3; Judg 16:7f.; Ezek 17:24; 21:3; subst. *lcaḥ* “fresh ones” in Deut 34:7; on the root *lḥḥ* cf. A. van Selms, FS Vriezen 318–26) are somewhat related to *ḥādāš* in meaning.

Reviewing these texts, one notices that the term occurs with extraordinary rarity. It has only one large category of usage: the discussion of the newly crafted. If one compares the frequency of occurrence of the term “new” in modern European languages, as well as in Gk. and Lat., the

limited usage in the OT is all the more remarkable. The same conclusion is also indicated by the slight number of derivatives from the root. One may compare in Eng.: renew, renovation, newness, novelty, news, newcomer, newly, New Year, etc. Ancient Israelites apparently perceived relationships between occurrences so strongly that they did not consider “new” what moderns would, or at least they did not describe them as “new.” This question deserves further investigation. It is certain, at any rate, that the experience of the new is limited for the Israelite to very few areas of experience; the Israelite only rarely speaks of the new.

4. (a) *ḥādāš* occurs in prophetic texts only during the exile or very near to it (Deutero-Isa 5x, Trito-Isa 5x in three passages, Jer 4x, Ezek 5x in three passages; the date of Jer 31:22, 31 is disputed; cf. e.g., Sellin-Fohrer 396 with bibliog.). This fact is significant in itself: only the exilic period—no other period in the whole history of Israel!—discussed an innovation in the history of God’s relationship with Israel. This circumstance becomes even more suggestive when one examines the passages more closely: Apart from those passages that belong to everyday usage (Isa 41:14; Jer 26:10; 36:10), exilic or immediately post-exilic prophets speak of a novelty in three contexts: (1) Isa 42:9f.; 43:19; 48:6 (Deutero-Isa): the former and the new; (2) Jer 31:31 and Ezek 11:19; 18:31; 36:26 (cf. Jer 31:22): new covenant and new heart; (3) Isa 65:17; 66:22 (Trito-Isa; cf. 62:2): new heaven and new earth.

(1) The group of texts in Deutero-Isa is the most significant theologically because this series of texts consciously and reflectively contrasts the new with the former; here “the new” becomes an explicit theme of theological reflection (cf. also, without the contrast, Jer 31:22 “for Yahweh creates a novelty in the land”; Isa 62:2 “you will be called by a new name”). Of four passages, three (42:9; 43:19; 48:6) belong in the context of salvation preaching, the fourth (42:10) is a response of praise: the new song corresponds to the new act of God.

The newly announced innovation is contrasted with the former that has already appeared (*rīšōnôt*, Isa 42:9; 43:18), a reference both to God’s prior saving activity (esp. in 43:18) and to the announcement of judgment (42:9). It must be said of the innovation now announced: “From now on I will let you hear something new that you did not know” (48:6).

This is not clear solely from the three passages in which the term “new” occurs. Rather, in order to understand the intention of these passages, one must also consider the condemnation speeches that refer to this innovation as the “future” (*ḥabbāʾôt*, → *bôʾ*; 41:21–29, esp. v 22: “the former . . . the future”; cf. 46:9–13), in addition to Deutero-Isaiah’s salvation preaching as a whole, which makes it clear why the announced saving act of God is really an innovation. The entirety of Israel’s prior history is seen as “the former” in comparison to this innovation. The “new” consists in the fact that the

deliverance from exile now proclaimed will no longer be carried out by Israel's armies and by an Israelite leader inspired by Yahweh, but by the Pers. king Cyrus (44:24–45:7), thus dissociating Israel's deliverance from Israel's might, and that this deliverance is based upon forgiveness (43:22–28), so that the nations too can be invited to this new salvation of Yahweh (45:20–25). It may be emphasized once again that this explanation of the "innovation" in the three passages (42:9; 43:19; 48:6) is possible only on the basis of the total proclamation of Deutero-Isa. Only in this manner does it become clear that here, for the first time in the entire history of salvation preaching, a "new" thing is proclaimed.

(2) The saying concerning the new covenant in Jer 31:31–34 contrasts this covenant with the former things, as does the group of "new" passages in Deutero-Isa: "Not like the covenant that I made with your fathers." As in Deutero-Isa, this new covenant in Jer is based on forgiveness (v 34b). That this new covenant concerns the behavior of an individual (v 33) is distinctive and unique to Jer 31:31–34. The Ezek passages that speak of the "new" make the same statement (Ezek 11:19; 18:31; 36:26). They discuss the new heart and the new spirit that God creates for people and that he will place within them (Psa 51:12 could be influenced by this discussion).

The Jer saying (cf. also Jer 31:22) and the three Ezek sayings are close to one another topically and temporally; Jer 31:31–34 also belongs in the exilic period. These passages are distinct from the Deutero-Isa passages primarily in that they shift the emphasis to individual behavior, while for Deutero-Isa the "new" is to be experienced.

(3) The promise of a new heaven and a new earth in Isa 65:17 (echoed in a later addition, 66:22) deals with an expansion of Deutero-Isa's promise of an innovation into a cosmic promise. Although one cannot say whether Jer 31:31 and Ezek 11:19; 18:31; 36:26 are influenced by Deutero-Isa, this influence is certain for Isa 65:17. This text assumes that Yahweh will bring about an act of deliverance for Israel that will be new in comparison to the totality of prior history. Already in Deutero-Isa this promise to creation had influenced the description of the return from exile, for which the desert is transformed into a garden; nevertheless, the promise of salvation in Deutero-Isa remains within the bounds of historical phenomena. Isa 66:22, a promise of the creation of a new heaven and a new earth, completes the transition to apocalyptic speech that transcends history. Whether 65:17 is already so intended is uncertain; if it should be translated: "I create anew the heavens and the earth" (Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 408), then it refers only to a wondrous renewal of everything that does not necessarily include a prior annihilation. As 66:22 demonstrates, however, the phrase was later understood apocalyptically; for the first time here the new thing that God creates no longer stands in historical continuity with the current reality, but transcends it.

(b) In the Psa, *ḥādāš* occurs only in a single context: the discussion of the “new song.” The impv. demand “sing to Yahweh a new song!” is issued in Psa 33:3; 96:1; 98:1; 149:1, the same call in the cohortative in 144:9, and, also in the 1st per. but transposed into narrative praise, in 40:4 “Put a new song in my mouth, praise our God.”

Because the impv. demand in Isa 42:10 calls to praise in response to Yahweh’s new act of deliverance using the same diction as these Psa texts, and Psa 96 and 98 also demonstrate the influence of Deutero-Isa in other ways (Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:251f., 263f.; Westermann, *PLP* 138–42), it is possible that the “singing of the new song” in this whole group of texts derives from Deutero-Isa. But even if one cannot prove dependence upon Deutero-Isa, the “new song” is in any case meant as it is in Isa 42:10, i.e., as a response to Yahweh’s new act.

The song called for here is not “new” because a new text is to replace the old, or a new melody the old; this notion is thoroughly foreign to these psalms. The song is “new” because God has brought about something new, and the song is to respond to this new act of God; this new act of God is to resound in the new song.

(c) A few passages in the third portion of the canon remain to be treated. Lam 3:23, “His mercy is new every morning,” uniquely describes the persistence of God’s mercy in analogy to the new harvest or the new garment. This idiom accords with modern thought; hence it is not accidental that this very phrase became the inspiration for a hymn: “Great is thy faithfulness, morning by morning new mercies I see.” (A well-known Eng. hymn has been substituted for the Ger. here; they parallel rather closely.) But this phraseology is not typical for the OT; it occurs only in this one passage. “New” also refers to people in the sense of “not exhausted”: Job 29:20, “My honor remains new with me.”

Taking all occurrences of the term into account, one can understand Qohelet’s skeptical wisdom at the close of the OT period: “There is nothing new under the sun” (Eccl 1:9f.). Yet this phrase seems already to assume a higher assessment of the new in daily experience itself than is otherwise attributed to it in the OT.

5. In conclusion, one can identify a precise use of the word “new” in the OT that, in the concentration of prophetic passages, points to one moment in history and, in the response to this novelty in the “new song” of the Psa, to a particular act of God in Israel’s history: the innovation proclaimed after the political collapse of Israel/Judah, the end of the monarchy, and the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem. The OT no longer unequivocally treats this innovation based on God’s forgiveness, the dissociation of Israel’s deliverance from Israel’s might, and the prospect of a call to salvation for the nations as an already present historical reality (it never reports the new covenant, the new salvation, or the new form of the

people of God); thus the NT discussion of the innovation that has appeared in Christ is thoroughly consistent with OT usage.

On the NT, cf. J. Behm, “καὶνός,” *TDNT* 3:447–54; id., “νέος,” *TDNT* 4:896–901.

C. Westermann

הוה *ḥwh* hišt. **to bow down**

*HALOT* 1:295b; *TDOT* 4:248–56; *TWOT* 619; *NIDOTTE* 2556

1. Although *hištah<sup>a</sup>wāh* has been traditionally understood as a hitpa<sup>l</sup>el of the root *šḥh* (as a by-form of *šûaḥ* and *šḥḥ*; cf. e.g., GKC §75kk; BL 420; Joüon §79t; KBL 959), derivation from the root *ḥwh* is now established by the Ug. root *ḥwy*, and the form is explained as a *t*-reflexive of the old *šap<sup>l</sup>el* (*WUS* no. 912; *UT* 83 and no. 847; Moscati, *Intro.* 128; *HAL* 283b with bibliog.; Meyer 2:126, 162f.). In addition to Hebr. and Ug., the root is attested in Arab.: *ḥawā* “to gather, collect, unite,” *V* “to curl (up), coil (up)” (Wehr 219).

One should distinguish *ḥwh* I pi. “to announce” (Aram. loanword in Hebr.; cf. Wagner nos. 91f.; J. A. Soggin, *AION* 17 [1967]: 9–14) from *ḥwh* II.

2. The 170 occurrences of *ḥwh* hišt. are esp. well represented in the narrative books (Gen 23x, Psa 17x, 2 Sam and Isa 13x, 1 Sam and 2 Kgs 12x, Exod, 1 Kgs, and 2 Chron 11x, Deut and Jer 8x, Judg and Ezek 4x, Josh, Zeph, Esth, Neh, and 1 Chron 3x, Num and Zech 2x, Lev, Mic, Job, and Ruth 1x; Lis., 1421b overlooks Zech 14:17).

3. The evidence suggests the meaning “to bow (deeply)” for *ḥwh* hišt. (cf. Ug., Arab.). The Aram. portions of Dan use the synonymous *sgd* (Dan 2:46; 3:5–28 11x), which also appears in Isa 44:15, 17, 19; 46:6 alongside *ḥwh* hišt. (Aram. *sgd* is a loanword in Hebr., Arab., and Eth.; cf. Wagner no. 195).

*ḥwh* hišt. can be combined with *ʔaršâ* “to the ground” (Gen 18:2; 24:52; etc.; *ʔereš* Isa 49:23) or *ʔappayim ʔaršâ* “with the face to the ground” (Gen 19:1; 42:6, etc.; with *le* Gen 48:12; with *ʕal* 2 Sam 14:33), with the resulting meaning “to bow down to the ground, fall prostrate” or “to bow with one’s face to the ground, fall on one’s face” (before someone or something: with *le* of the person or the thing, rarely *ʕal*, Lev 26:1, or *ʔel*, Psa 5:8).

The verbs *qdd* (only in conjunction with *ḥwh* hišt. as an act preparatory to the latter) “to bow (in homage), kneel down” (Gen 24:26; Exod 34:8; 1 Sam 24:9, etc.; cf. KBL 821b), *npl* “to fall down” (2 Sam 1:2; 9:6, 8, etc.), and *kr<sup>c</sup>* “to kneel down, genuflect” (Esth 3:2, 5; in Psa 95:6 with *brk* qal “to kneel down”) also occur in the semantic field of *ḥwh* hišt.; other related verbs are *kpp* qal “to bend,” ni. “to bow” (Isa 58:5; Psa 57:7; 145:14; 146:8; ni. Mic 6:6), *šḥḥ* qal/ni., “to stoop” (Isa 2:9, 11, 17, etc.; hi. “to stoop to someone” Isa 25:12; 26:5), and *šḥḥ* qal “to bow one’s head” (Isa 51:23; hi. “to bow down” Prov 12:25); also likely, *hbr* qal in Isa 47:13 (cf. J. Blau, *VT* 7 [1957]: 183f.; E. Ullendorff, *JSS* 7 [1962]: 339f.; *HAL* 227b).

According to W. von Soden, forms such as *ušḥeḥin*, which occur in the Akk. of the Amarna Letters and the Ug. texts and which are associated with Hebr. *šḥḥ/šḥḥ* (KBL 959f.), derive via Hurrite from Akk. *šukênu* “to fall prostrate” (GAG §109m).

The same stereotypical expression is almost always encountered in Ug.: *lp<sup>n</sup> il thbr wtql ištḥwy wtkbdnh* “she (Anat) bowed down at El’s feet and fell prostrate, did homage and honored him” (*KTU* 1.6.I.35–38, etc.; cf. J. Aistleitner, *Die mythologischen und kultischen Texte aus Ras Schamra* [1959], 18).

The gesture indicated by *ḥwh* hišt. approximates the Islamic *sujūd* described by E. W. Lane: “He next drops gently upon his knees . . . places his hands upon the ground, a little before his knees, and puts his nose and forehead also to the ground (the former first) between his two hands” (as cited by D. R. Ap-Thomas, *VT* 6 [1956]: 229; cf. the illustrations in *ANEP* no. 355, as well as nos. 45f.). On the bowing down “from afar” in Exod 24:1, cf. S. E. Loewenstamm, “Prostration from Afar in Ugaritic, Accadian and Hebrew,” *BASOR* 188 (1967): 41–43.

One falls down before a superior and to express extreme honor and homage, e.g., before strange guests (Gen 18:12), as a supplicant before the powerful (Gen 33:7; 2 Sam 16:4), Moses before Jethro (Exod 18:7, with *nšq* “to kiss”), Abigail before David (1 Sam 25:23, 41), before the priest (1 Sam 2:36), the prophet (2 Kgs 2:15; 4:37), the king (2 Sam 14:4, 33; 24:20; 1 Kgs 1:16, 23; 2 Chron 24:17; Psa 45:12, etc.), and figuratively, nations or kings before Israel (Gen 27:29; Isa 45:14; 49:23; 60:14).

4. Similarly, in the cultic realm *ḥwh* hišt. also describes homage and worship (proskynesis) before stars (Deut 4:19; Jer 8:2), before the holy mountain (Psa 99:9), in the temple (2 Kgs 5:18), before the angel of Yahweh (Num 22:31), before Yahweh (Gen 24:26, 48, 52, etc.), before strange gods (see below; among other things, the verb *ʿbd* “to serve,” which often accompanies *ḥwh* indicating the close association of cultic act

and proskynesis). *ḥwh* ḥišt. here describes the attitude of prayer frequently assumed (with a following *pll* hitp. “to pray,” Isa 44:17; 1 Sam 1:28; the prayer is mentioned in Gen 24:26, 48; Exod 34:8; on other prayer gestures, cf. *BHH* 1:521; de Vaux 2:458f.) or the prayer itself (a verbum proprium for “to pray” beside *ḥwh* ḥišt. occurs rarely; see J. Herrmann, *TDNT* 2:789). Yet *ḥwh* ḥišt. does not merely describe the external gesture of “bowing down,” but “very quickly came to be used for the inward religious attitude” (Herrmann, *ibid.*) and can itself, therefore, often be rendered by “to pray, plead.”

One should not view *ḥwh* ḥišt. as a specifically Yahwistic term. Indeed, a great number of occurrences are in texts that denounce Israel’s apostasy and the cults of the foreign gods and idols (cf. Isa 2:8, 20; Jer 1:16; 8:2). In the Dtn-Dtr literature, *ḥwh* ḥišt., together with *ʿbd* “to bow down and serve,” becomes a fixed expression, otherwise unattested, which describes the worship of strange gods (according to Zimmerli, “Das zweite Gebot,” FS Bertholet 553 = Zimmerli, *GO* 237, a total of 27 passages; cf., among others, Deut 4:19; 5:9 = Exod 20:5; Deut 8:19; 11:16; Judg 2:19; 2 Kgs 17:16; 2 Chron 7:19, 22; Jer 13:10; see also N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot* [1963], 74f., 99f., 178). Only Deut 26:10 (without *ʿbd*!) offers *ḥwh* ḥišt. in a positive sense as prostration before Yahweh, and it belongs to an older, adapted cultic tradition (cf. von Rad, *Deut*, OTL, 157f.). The Psalms differ (with the exception of Psa 81:10; 106:19); they exhibit *ḥwh* ḥišt. as the act of homage paid to Yahweh, the God(-king) enthroned on Zion, and go back to old Jerusalemite (originally Can.) cult tradition (Psa 22:28; 29:2; 86:9; 95:6; 96:9; cf. 1 Chron 16:29; Psa 97:7; 99:5, 9; 132:7; cf. also Zech 14:16f.; Isa 27:13).

5. The LXX almost always renders the root with *proskynein*. On the NT, cf. J. Herrmann and H. Greeven, “εὐχόμεαι,” *TDNT* 2:775–808; H. Greeven, “προσκυνέω,” *TDNT* 6:758–66.

H.-P. Stähli

## הִזָּה *ḥzh* to see

S 2372; BDB 302a; *HALOT* 1:301a; *TDOT* 4:280–90; *TWOT* 633; *NIDOTTE* 2600

1. Hebr. *ḥzh* “to see” is apparently a loanword from Old Aram. (Wagner nos. 93–98; otherwise e.g., Ginsberg and Dahood, see below), where *ḥzh* is the usual word for “to see” (Hebr. → *rʾh*; KBL 1074b, suppl.

201a; *DISO* 84f.; > Arab. *ḥāzin* “seer”; cf. Ug. *ḥdy*, *CML* 1 138n.18; *CML* 2 146).

Cf. also Phoen. *ḥzh* “to see” in the 9th-cent. Kilamuwa inscription, *KAI* no. 24.11f., and in Lidzbarski, *KI* no. 38 from the 4th cent. (*DISO* 84f.).

On Old Aram. *ḥzh* pa., cf. Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 40; R. Degen, *Altaram. Grammatik* (1969), 78.

H. L. Ginsberg (FS Baumgartner 71f.) associates Hebr.-Phoen.-Aram. \**ḥzw* “to see” with Arab. *ḥdw* “to be facing”; cf., however, the rejection of the verb *hdh* II “to see” postulated by M. Dahood (*Bib* 45 [1964]: 407f.; *HAL* 280 too) on the basis of the equation of Ug. *ḥdy* with *ḥzh* (contra *WUS* no. 905; tentatively *UT* no. 839).

*ḥzh* occurs in Hebr. and Bibl. Aram. only in the qal and pe., resp.; derived noms. are *ḥōzeh* I “seer,” *ḥōzeh* II “covenant” (see 3b and → *b<sup>c</sup>řt* I/2d), *meḥ<sup>c</sup>zâ* “window,” and the numerous expressions for “seeing,” incl.: *ḥāzôn*, *ḥāzût*, *ḥ<sup>a</sup>zôt*, *ḥizzāyôn*, *maḥ<sup>a</sup>zeh*, Aram. *ḥ<sup>c</sup>zû/ḥezwâ<sup>ʔ</sup>* and *ḥ<sup>a</sup>zôt* (BL 185). PNs formed from *ḥzh*, e.g., *ḥ<sup>a</sup>zâ<sup>ʔ</sup>ēl*, *yaḥ<sup>a</sup>zî<sup>ʔ</sup>ēl*, etc. (*HAL* 289a; see 4c) are also numerous.

2. *ḥzh* and its derivatives are attested 175x in the OT (Hebr. 130x, Aram. 45x, excl. proper names); specifically, the verb occurs in Hebr. 55x (Isa 12x, Ezek, Psa, and Job 9x each, Prov 3x, Exod, Num, Mic, Song Sol, and Lam 2x each, Amos, Hab, and Zech 1x each), in Aram. 31x (Dan 30x, 1x the pass. ptcp. *ḥ<sup>a</sup>zēh* in the meaning “appropriate, customary”; Ezra 1x), the substs. *hōzeh* 17x (2 Chron 7x, Isa [incl. 28:15] and 1 Chron 3x each, 2 Sam, 2 Kgs, Amos, and Mic 1x each), *ḥāzôn* 35x (Dan 12x, Ezek 7x, Isa, Jer, and Hab 2x each), *ḥ<sup>a</sup>zôt* 1x (2 Chron 9:29), *ḥāzût* 5x (Isa 3x, Dan 2x), *ḥizzāyôn* 9x (Job 4x, Isa 2x, 2 Sam, Joel, and Zech 1x each), *maḥ<sup>a</sup>zeh* 4x (Num 2x, Gen and Ezek 1x each), *meḥ<sup>c</sup>zâ* 4x (1 Kgs 7:4f.), Aram. *ḥ<sup>c</sup>zû/ḥezwâ<sup>ʔ</sup>* 12x, and *ḥ<sup>a</sup>zôt* 2x in Dan. Forms of the root are concentrated, then, primarily in Dan (58 = 1/3 of the total), Isa and Ezek (22 and 17x, resp., 17x in the other prophets together), and Job (13x).

3. (a) The meaning “to see (in a vision)” is the basis of 23 Hebr. verb forms (see 4a); 32 verbs in the meaning “to see” (incl. even Exod 18:21 and Mic 4:11) are dispersed in later literary traditions (Psa, Job, Prov, Song Sol, post-exilic passages in Isa). Of 32 passages, about 21 fall to a theological usage (see 4b-d) and 11 to a profane usage (see 3b). With the exception of the substs. treated in 3b, all derived substs. may be accounted for by the meaning “to look.” About 3/4 of all occurrences of the root, then, develop this meaning (cf. A. Jepsen, *Nabi* [1934]: 43ff.). In a modification of this chief meaning, *ḥzh* is used when Israel or an individual “sees”

Yahweh and his activity in history and creation (16x; see 4b), less often, when Yahweh “sees” (see 4c). The verb appears as a “poetic synonym” (GB 220b) for → *rʿh* “to see” only in its final phase of development.

(b) Profane diction distinguishes between “to see” (on Job 8:17, cf. *BH* 3; Horst, *BK* 16/1, 125f., 134) in the sense of “to experience” (Psa 58:9; cf. Eccl 7:1), “to look upon with joy” (Song Sol 7:1[bis]; cf. Prov 23:31) or with connotations of malicious glee (Mic 4:11; cf. Obad 12f.; BrSynt 96), “to perceive (with understanding)” (Prov 22:29; 29:20; cf. 1 Sam 25:17), “to experience, acquire for oneself” (Job 15:17; 27:12; Prov 24:32; cf. Eccl 1:16), and “to observe, watch carefully” (Isa 47:13; cf. Exod 1:16).

The profane substs. *meh<sup>c</sup>zâ* “window” (1 Kgs 7:4f.), *hōzeh* and *hāzût* = *b<sup>c</sup>rit* (Isa 28:15, 18; cf. bibliog. in A. R. Johnson, *Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel* [19622], 13f.n.3; → *b<sup>c</sup>rit* /2d: “to perceive” > “to prescribe”), and *hāzût* “appearance” also belong to the meaning “to see.”

(c) The Aram. root seems to exhibit a similar semantic development. The primary usage in the context of visions gives rise to the common use of *hzh* in the sense of “to look (on with)” (Ezra 4:14; Dan 3:25, 27; 5:5, 23), “to examine, experience” (Dan 2:8), and “to be appropriate” (pass. ptcp. Dan 3:19), and of *h<sup>c</sup>zû/hezwā<sup>c</sup>* in the meaning “figure” (Dan 7:20). In contrast, *h<sup>a</sup>zôt* “sight” is used only in a profane sense (Dan 4:8, 17).

4. (a) *hzh* and its derivatives indicate, first of all, visionary experience. Num 24:4, 16 transmit an ancient example of this usage (W. F. Albright, “Oracles of Balaam,” *JBL* 63 [1944]: 207–33). *hzh* and *mah<sup>a</sup>zeh* occur in every instance of this usage in the introduction to a visionary oracle containing the self-introductory and legitimation formula, *n<sup>c</sup>ūm bil<sup>c</sup>ām*. Balaam sees visions from God and renders them in his own words. As the history of the gen. construction → *ne<sup>c</sup>ūm* with a human PN indicates, the prophets used visionary genres. Nonetheless, they never use *hzh* to report a vision, but → *rʿh* directly introduces (as in the seer’s oracle in Num 23:9, 21; 24:17) the prophetic vision report (e.g., Amos 7:1, 4, 7; Isa 6:1; Jer 4:23ff.; Ezek 1:4; 2:9). *hzh* refers generally to the reception of revelation (cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 5f.; Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 124). It occurs in the foundation of the announcement of judgment that Israel cites (Isa 30:10[bis]; Ezek 12:27), in the condemnation of false prophets who cause Yahweh to act through “deceptive visions” (Ezek 13:6–9, 16 [citing the people], 23; 21:34; 22:28; Zech 10:2), and in the archaic tradition in Exod 24:9–11 (v 11b), which relates the finalization of the covenant in the form of a third-party vision narrative.

The equation of seer and prophet (Amos 7:12, 14; Mic 3:7; cf. v 5; Isa 29:10; 2 Kgs 17:13; cf. 2 Chron 9:29; 12:15 with 13:22; cf. S. Mowinckel,

*Psalmenstudien* [1923], 3:9ff.; H. Junker, *Prophet und Seher in Israel* [1927], 77ff.; esp. Jepsen, *Nabi* [1934], 43ff.; R. Hentschke, *Die Stellung der vorexilischen Schriftpropheten zum Kultus* [1957], 150; S. Lehming, *ZTK* 55 [1958]: 163n.3; A. Gunneweg, *ZTK* 57 [1960]: 6) mirrors a historical process (1 Sam 9:9; cf. O. Plöger, *ZAW* 63 [1951]: 157–92; J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* [1962], 87ff.). The prophets applied the old designations of the seers to themselves, as well as their specific forms of experience and expression. The term *hōzeh* in specialized usage signifies a charismatic office (perhaps the “seer”) for which not every *nābîʿ* was qualified (Amos 7:12, 14 [cf. Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 312f.]; Isa 28:7; 30:10: *rōʾîm* and *hōzîm* are par.; cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 5f.).

The uses of *hzh* and *rʿh* are explained in terms of the contrast of “true” and “false” prophets (F. E. König, *Der Offenbarungsbegriff des AT* [1882], 2:29ff., 72f.; contra J. Hänel, *Das Erkennen Gottes bei den Schriftpropheten* [1923], 7ff.) or in terms of varied functions of the *nʿbîʾîm* and the writing prophets (Jepsen, op. cit. 53ff.; contra Johnson, op. cit. 12n.2), or they are regarded as synonymous (Lindblom, op. cit. 90). The usage of the verb and its derivatives almost contradicts the depiction of *hzh* as probably a reference to auditions rather than to visions (cf. Johnson, op. cit. 11ff.; similarly Jepsen, op. cit. 48f.). Thus Balaam’s self-introduction mentions *hzh* and *maḥʾzeh* (Num 24:4, 16 testifies to the origins of both in the visionary oracle) together with the “hearing of divine words”; consequently, forms of the root were related from the earliest period onward to experiences that incorporated vision and audition. In Dan 8–11 1st-per. accounts preserve the meaning of *hāzôn* as a vision (frequently associated with *rʿh* qal/ni.); it may also be present in Isa 29:7; Ezek 7:26; 12:22–24, 27; 13:16 (contra Johnson, op. cit. 7, 14, 37f.). All other passages give evidence of the subst. as a synonymous expression for → *dābār* “word” (e.g., 1 Sam 3:1; Hos 12:11; Mic 3:6f.; Psa 89:20). The early usage of the root in Num 24:4, 16 already demonstrates a line of development further strengthened in the prophetic tradition; cf. the combination of *hzh* qal with *hāzôn* (Johnson, op. cit. 14n.1: “to make an observation” Isa 1:1; Ezek 12:27; 13:16), with *dābār* (Isa 2:1; Amos 1:1; Mic 1:1), *maśśāʿ* (→ *nśʿ*, Isa 13:1; Hab 1:1; Lam 2:14[bis]). It is equally possible that *hāzût* (Isa 29:11 and sg. *hʾzôt* 2 Chron 9:29) = *dābār*, but Isa 21:2 likely refers to a vision. *hizzāyôn* (Joel 3:1; Job 7:14; 20:8; 33:15; cf. Job 4:13; in a place-name in Isa 22:1, 5) emphasizes the proximity of dream and visionary experiences (in addition to *hāzôn*, Isa 29:7; Dan 1:17; cf. 1 Sam 3:1; Mic 3:6); it occurs in the sense of *dābār* in 2 Sam 7:17.

(b) “To see” Yahweh or his act means: to experience God’s intervention either in the history of the people or of the nations (Zion hymn,

Psa 46:9; salvation oracle for the eschaton, Isa 33:17, 20; in the Isa apocalypse, Isa 26:11[bis]; on Isa 48:6, see Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 194) or in individual existence (all occurrences appear in the context of the individual lament: in Psa 17:15 it modifies, in 58:11 it replaces, a vow of praise; cf. *PLP* 74f.nn.23f.; in Job 23:9 it follows God’s accusation as a prayer; 24:1 is an indirect accusation of God; cf. C. Westermann, *Structure of the Book of Job* [1981], 57f.; Job 19:26f. is a confession of confidence, *ibid.* 102f.; Psa 11:7; 27:4; 63:3 are portions of individual psalms of confidence). *hzh* occurs once in the descriptive praise of the creator (Job 36:25, alongside *nbṭ* hi. “to look”).

(c) Conversely, “God sees” means: God intervenes on someone’s behalf, thus in Psa 17:2 (introductory request of an individual lament) and Psa 11:4 (psalm of confidence).

PNs formed with *hzh* also mirror the doubled usage of “to see.” In this regard, they correspond either to the request for God’s attention in the psalm of lament (“May God/Yahweh see”) or to narrative praise (“Yahweh has seen”); cf. *IP* 186, 198.

(d) Finally, a few varied meanings may be mentioned: *hzh* “to see” = “to gain insight” (Job 34:32, a confession of sin), “to feast one’s eyes” (Isa 57:8, the justification for an announcement of judgment; contra G. R. Driver, *FS Eilers* 54), “to recognize” = “to choose for an office” (Exod 18:21).

(e) The Aram. verb is used in connection with visions like *hzh* (e.g., Dan 2:26) and *rḥ* (e.g., 4:7, 10). The derivative *ḥezwāʾ* (emphatic st.) occurs only in a dream context (e.g., 2:28) and resembles in this respect Hebr. *ḥāzôn* and *ḥizzāyôn*.

5. On the rendering of the Hebr. and Aram. terms in the LXX, cf. W. Michaelis, *TDNT* 5:324–28.

The various meanings of *hzh* and its derivatives are echoed in the NT: *blepō* (e.g., Acts 1:11), *eidon* (e.g., Acts 9:12; Rev 1:2), *horama* (e.g., Acts 9:10, 12), and *horasis* (e.g., Acts 2:17; Rev 9:17) refer formally to a vision; *blepō* appears in the sense of historical experience of God’s action (e.g., Matt 13:16); *eidon* (e.g., Matt 5:16), *blepō* (e.g., Rom 7:23), and *theōreō* (e.g., Acts 4:13) occur in the fig. meaning “to perceive”; *theōreō* in the sense of “to live” (e.g., John 8:51); cf. W. Michaelis, “ὁράω,” *TDNT* 5:315–82.

D. Vetter

קִּיָּם *hṣq* **to be firm**

S 2388; BDB 304a; HALOT 1:302b; TDOT 4:301–8; TWOT 636; NIDOTTE 2616

1. The verbal root *ḥzq* is also attested in Aram. and Arab., in addition to Hebr. (Jew. Aram., Mand., and Arab. also *hrzq*).

Isa 22:21 and Nah 2:2 (pi.) together with the Arab. *ḥazaqa* (cf. Syr. *ḥ<sup>e</sup>zaq*) “to bind firmly” (Lane 2:560) support the thesis of J. L. Palache (SNHL 29) that the basic meaning of *ḥzq* is “to tie up, gird up firmly.”

Wagner no. 99 is correct not to consider *ḥzq* pi. in the meaning “to gird” an Aramaism (contra G. R. Driver, SVT 1 [1953]: 30).

Whether Akk. *ešqu* “massive” should be attributed to the same root (cf. AHW 257) is questionable. *iz/šqātu* “fetter” is an Aram. loanword in Akk. (AHW 408b; W. von Soden, AfO 20 [1963]: 155). The same may be true of Akk. *ḥazīqatu* “headband,” which Palache cites in support of his thesis (op. cit.), but which is attested only in Neo-Bab. and Neo-Assyr. (AHW 339a).

The adjs. *ḥāzāq* and *ḥāzēq* and the substs. *ḥēzeq*, *ḥōzeq*, *ḥezqâ*, and *ḥozqâ* with the meanings “strong” or “strength” derive from the root (*ḥezqâ* “to become strong” and *ḥozqâ* in 2 Kgs 12:13 “restoration” function as infs.).

On the PNs *ḥizqî*, *ḥizqîyâ(hû)*, *y<sup>e</sup>ḥizqîyâ(hû)*, and *y<sup>e</sup>ḥezqêl*, cf. IP nos. 474f., 659f.

2. Of the 290 occurrences of the verb (qal 81x, pi. 64x, hi. 118x, hitp. 27x), 98 passages fall to the Chr literature alone (1 Chron 12x, 2 Chron 39x, Ezra 5x, Neh 42x). The remaining examples occur primarily in the Dtn-Dtr books (Deut 9x, Josh 8x, Judg 12x, 1 Sam 6x, 2 Sam 18x, 1 Kgs 9x, 2 Kgs 15x), in the major writing prophets (Isa 21x, of these 13x in Deutero-Isa, Jer 15x, Ezek 12x), and in Dan (13x). The use of the verbal root in the three post-exilic prophets (Hag 3x, Zech (5x), and Mal (1x) stands out markedly from that of the other Minor Prophets (Hos 1x, Mic 2x, Nah 3x). The remaining figures are: Gen 6x, Exod 15x, Lev and Num 1x each, Psa 5x, Job 7x, Prov 4x. Thus *ḥzq* is chiefly attested in the Dtr-Chr literature and esp. in the late books of the OT.

The use of the adj. *ḥāzāq* (total 56x, Deut and Ezek 10x, Exod 7x, 1 Kgs and Jer 4x each) paints the same picture. *ḥāzēq* occurs only 2x (Exod 19:19; 2 Sam 3:1), *ḥēzeq* 1x (Psa 18:2), *ḥōzeq* 5x (3x *b<sup>e</sup>ḥōzeq yād* “mightily” in Exod 13:3, 14, 16), *ḥezqâ* 4x, and *ḥozqâ* 6x (5x *b<sup>e</sup>ḥozqâ* “with force,” as well as 2 Kgs 12:13, where a pi. inf. may be read; cf. HAL 292b).

3. The chief meaning “to be/become strong, firm” in the qal produces the most important meanings in the derived stems: pi. “to strengthen,” hi. “to grasp, hold firm,” and hitp. “to prove to be strong/courageous” (*HAL* 290–92; cf. *HP* 283), with no basic distinction between physical and mental/emotional strength.

→ *ʕmš* “to be strong,” → *ʕzz* “to be powerful,” and the subst. *ʕz* “power” and → *kōaḥ* “strength” function as synonyms; cf. also → *yād* “hand” and → *zʿrôaʕ* “arm.”

The qal is used esp. of the dominant strength of a people (Judg 1:28; Josh 17:13; 2 Sam 10:11; 1 Kgs 20:23), a king’s might (2 Chron 26:15), a battle’s intensity (2 Kgs 3:26) and, above all, of a famine (Gen 41:56f.; 47:20; 2 Kgs 25:3; Jer 52:6). In conjunction with *yād* “hand” the qal means “to be courageous, take courage” (2 Sam 2:7; Ezek 22:14), the pi. “to encourage, urge on,” either of another person (1 Sam 23:16; Judg 9:24; Isa 35:3; Jer 23:14; Job 4:3) or of oneself (Neh 6:9 inf. abs. instead of 1st per.). This usage of *ḥzq* also occurs without the addition of *yād* (qal 2 Sam 16:21; pi. 2 Sam 11:25). *ḥzq* pi. is attested in conjunction with *b<sup>ʕ</sup>yād* in the sense of “to help” in Ezra 1:6, in the same meaning without *be* but with *yād* in Ezra 6:22, without *b<sup>ʕ</sup>yād* in 2 Chron 29:34 (also as hi. Ezek 16:49; Lev 25:35). In a military-defensive sense, the pi. means the fortification of cities (2 Chron 11:12), towers (2 Chron 26:9), or kingdoms (2 Chron 11:17), the hi. the strengthening of a guard (Jer 51:12). While 2 Kgs 12:6–15; 22:5f.; 1 Chron 26:27; 2 Chron 24:5, 12; 29:3; 34:8, 10 employ the pi. of *ḥzq* for the repair of buildings, Neh 3:4–32 (34x) uses the hi. for the repair of city walls (with one exception: 3:19 pi.; cf. *HP* 103f.). The subjs. of a hi. form in the meaning “to grasp” are often terms such as “terror” (Jer 49:24), “horror” (Jer 8:21), “distress” (Jer 6:24; 50:43), and “woes” (Mic 4:9). The hi. too can be combined with *yād* (with *b<sup>ʕ</sup>yād* “to take by the hand” Gen 19:16; Judg 16:26, etc.; with *yād* “to help” Ezek 16:49; Job 8:20; cf. Gen 21:18 with *yād* and *be* “to hold one’s hand over another protectively”).

Other usages of *ḥzq* include: with *dābār* “word” (as the subj. of *ḥzq qal*) and *ʕal* of the person (2 Sam 24:4 = 1 Chron 21:4 “the commandment of the king remained firm with respect to X”; Mal 3:13 “you spoke impudently against me”), as well as the formula for reporting visions, “the hand of Yahweh lay hard (adj.) on me,” Ezek 3:14 (→ *yād*).

4. In the theological sphere the pi. (Ezek 30:25 hi. following v 24 pi.; cf. *HP* 89) means Yahweh’s strengthening. It refers primarily to military-defensive strength (Judg 3:12; Ezek 30:24; Hos 7:15; Psa 147:13). Yet Samson too prays for divine power in his final stand (Judg 16:28), and once God “heals” the sheep neglected by the bad shepherds (Ezek 34:16; cf. v 4).

J uses forms of  $\rightarrow kbd$  to describe “intransigence”; E and P use  $h\dot{z}q$  qal for willful intransigence and  $h\dot{z}q$  pi. for hardening of the heart through God’s agency (F. Hesse, *Das Verstockungsproblem im AT* [1955], 18f.). In Exod the obj. is always  $\rightarrow l\bar{e}b$  “heart” (cf. also Ezek 2:4, with adj.). Phrases with  $p\bar{a}n\hat{m}$  “face” (Jer 5:3 pi.) and  $m\bar{e}\dot{s}a\dot{h}$  “forehead” (Ezek 3:7–9, adj.) also occur in Jer and Ezek. This intransigence can more likely be explained from a salvation history perspective, as a “process in the universal, eschatologically oriented judgment of God” (J. Moltmann, *RGG* 6:1385), than as a theological aporia (the OT could not charge delusion to demonic powers) or as a religiopsychological principle (cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 2:151–55; E. Jenni, *TZ* 15 [1959]: 337–39).

The impf. of  $h\dot{z}q$  (sg. and pl. qal) and the expanded usages ( $h\dot{z}q$  alongside  $\lambda m\dot{s}$  “be firm and steadfast,” Deut 31:7, 23; Josh 1:6f., 9, 18; 1 Chron 22:13; pl.: Deut 31:6; Josh 10:25; 2 Chron 32:7; together with  $\acute{s}h$  “and do it” in various combinations, Ezra 10:4; 1 Chron 28:10, 20; 2 Chron 19:11; 25:8; qal alongside hitp., 2 Sam 10:12 = 1 Chron 19:3; qal impf. repeatedly, Dan 10:19) have their place in salvation oracles as a formula of encouragement (probably originally before battle: Deut 31:6f., 23; Josh 1:6, 9; 10:25; 2 Sam 10:12; 2 Chron 32:7) and, more generally, in the promise of divine guidance as attested by the frequent addition “do not fear” (Deut 31:7; Josh 1:9; 10:25; etc.) and the support formula “I will be with you” (Deut 31:8, 23; 1 Chron 28:20; 2 Chron 19:11; cf. H. D. Preuss, “. . . ich will mit dir sein!” *ZAW* 80 [1968]: 139–73). In the Dtr-Chr literature, the formula (in various forms) also refers to keeping the law (Josh 1:7; 1 Chron 22:13; 2 Chron 15:7; cf. Ezra 10:4; 2 Chron 19:11; Deut 12:23), and in Hag 2:4 and 1 Chron 28:10, 20 to the construction of the temple. The usage supplemented by  $\acute{s}h$  (see above; cf. Hag 2:4) remains limited, meanwhile, to Hag and Chron (W. A. M. Beuken, *Haggai-Sacharja 1–8* [1967], 53–60, who, like N. Lohfink, “Die deuteronomistisch Darstellung des Übergangs der Führung Israels von Moses auf Josua,” *Scholastik* 37 [1962]: 32–44, views the encouragement formula as an element of the genre for induction into office).  $h^{\acute{a}}z\dot{a}q\ wa\dot{h}^{\acute{a}}z\bar{a}q$  occurs only once in a vision report (Dan 10:19). Cf. also  $\rightarrow \acute{s}m\dot{s}$  4.

The formula  $b^{\acute{e}}y\bar{a}d\ h^{\acute{a}}z\bar{a}q\hat{a}$  “with a strong hand” in Num 20:20 (J) refers to Edom, but otherwise (esp. in Deut, where the expression is usually expanded to “with a strong hand and an outstretched arm”) to the divine saving act of redemption from Egypt (on which see, however,  $\rightarrow y\bar{a}d$  and  $\rightarrow z^{\acute{e}}r\hat{o}a^{\acute{e}}$ ; B. S. Childs, “Deuteronomistic Formulae of the Exodus Tradition,” *FS Baumgartner* 30–39).

5. The usage of  $h\dot{z}q$  in the Qumran literature resembles that of the OT, except that the pi. in the sense of “to harden” does not occur and the

usage “with a strong hand” in reference to the exodus is lacking. On the NT, cf. W. Michaelis, “κράτος,” *TDNT* 3:905–15; W. Grundmann, *Der Begriff der Kraft in the neutestamentlichen Gedankenwelt* (1928).

A. S. van der Woude

## חָטָא *ḥṭʿ* to miss

S 2398; BDB 306b; *HALOT* 1:305a; *TDOT* 4:309–19; *TWOT* 638; *NIDOTTE* 2627

1. The root \**ḥṭʿ* “to miss” is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 220; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/20 [1965]: 252f., 263, 268); Akk. *ḥaṭû* “to miss, sin” (*AHw* 337f., 350; also e.g., *ḥiṭu/ḥiṭtu* “lack, sin”), Ug. *ḥṭʿ* “to sin” (*WUS* no. 1019; *UT* no. 952), Aram. *ḥṭʿ* “to sin” (*DISO* 85; KBL 1075a; the verb does not occur in Bibl. Aram.; the oldest occurrence is Aḥ. 50 *ḥṭʿyk* “your failures” with the 3d radical ʿ, later > y), Arab. *ḥaṭīʿa* “to commit an error” (Wehr 245), Eth. *ḥaṭʿa* “to not find” (Dillmann 619f.).

In the OT the verb occurs in the qal “to miss (a mark), fall short,” in the hi. either the normal causative “to occasion to sin” or the inner-causative “to let oneself err, fail” (*HP* 267), in the pi. either the estimative-declarative “to have to recognize something as failed” (Gen 31:39), the denominative “to remove sin” (privative with *ḥēṭʿ*), or “to bring as a sin offering” (resultative-productive with *ḥaṭṭāʿt*), in the hitp. the reflexive-privative “to remove one’s sin” (on Job 41:17, “to withdraw,” cf. Hölscher, *HAT* 17, 96).

There are four fem. substs. for “sin,” etc., in addition to the masc. segholate formation *ḥēṭʿ* (< \**ḥiṭʿ*; cf. Akk. *ḥiṭu*): *ḥeṭʿâ* (only Num 15:28 txt?), *ḥʿāʿâ* (BL 463), *ḥaṭṭāʿâ* (only Exod 34:7; Isa 5:18; BL 477), and *ḥaṭṭāʿt* (BL 611, 613). There is also the nomen agentis *ḥaṭṭāʿ* “sinful, sinner” (BL 479).

Bibl. Aram. has the subst. *ḥʿāy* “sin” (Dan 4:24) and (as a loanword from Hebr.) *ḥaṭṭāyāʿ* “sin offering” (Ezra 6:17 K, Q *ḥaṭṭāʿâ*).

2. An overview of the 595 occurrences of the root in the OT (verb 237x, noun 356x Hebr., 2x Aram.; Lis. does not list Num 29:25 *ḥaṭṭāʿt*) produces the following table (*ḥeṭʿâ* [1x Num], *ḥaṭṭāʿâ* [1x each in Exod and Isa], and *ḥʿāʿâ* are included under “other”):

	qal	pi.	hi.	hitp.	<i>ḥēṭ'</i>	<i>ḥattā'</i>	others	<i>ḥattā'λ</i>	total
Gen 7	1	–	–	–	1	1	1	4	15
Exod 8	1	1	–	–	–	–	4	8	22
Lev 25	5	–	–	–	4	–	–	82	116
Num 8	1	–	8	4	2	1	43	67	
Deut 5	–	1	–	8	–	–	4	18	
Josh 2	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	3	
Judg 3	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	4	
1 Sam	14	–	–	–	–	1	–	6	21
2 Sam	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	5
1 Kgs13	–	10	–	–	1	–	18	42	
2 Kgs3	–	15	–	2	–	1	15	36	
Isa 5	–	1	–	4	3	1	12	26	
Jer 13	–	1	–	–	–	–	13	27	
Ezek 11	5	–	–	1	–	–	24	41	
Hos 5	–	–	–	1	–	–	5	11	
Amos–	–	–	–	–	2	–	1	3	
Mic 1	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	7	
Hab 1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	
Zeph 1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	
Zech –	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	3	
Psa 8	1	–	–	3	6	3	13	34	
Job 11	–	–	1	–	–	–	6	18	
Prov 6	–	–	–	–	3	–	7	16	
Eccl 6	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	8	
Lam 3	–	–	–	2	–	–	3	8	
Dan 4	–	–	–	1	–	–	3	8	
Ezra –	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	
Neh 5	–	1	–	–	–	–	5	11	
1 Chr2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	
2 Chr7	1	–	–	1	–	–	9	18	
OT	181	15	32	9	33	19	11	293	593

More than one-fourth of the occurrences of the verb belong to the language of the priestly traditions (Lev, Num, Ezek). A further one-fourth occur in the historical books (esp. 1 Sam–2 Kgs); a great segment of these occurrences, esp. the hi. forms, is shaped by Dtn-Dtr linguistic traditions, incl. also Hos and Jer. The prophets (somewhat) independent of these two groups do not use the word or use it only minimally.

The oldest examples are to be found in J (11x) and E (10x), in older layers of the books of Sam, in Isa, Hos, and in Deut and Josh. They constitute about one-fourth of the occurrences.

Almost one-third of the various nouns belong to priestly language (P, Ezek; cf. also Psa, Deutero-Isa, and Trito-Isa). Dtn-Dtr diction is also represented with about 50 occurrences. In two-fifths of all passages *ḥattāʾ* means “sin offering” (cf. the statistics in R. Knierim, *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im AT* [1965], 19f.).

3. (a) The basic meaning “to miss (a mark)” is lit. apparent in Judg 20:16 (hi.) “they all hurled stones and hit precisely, without missing,” while in Prov 19:2 “whoever rushes about missteps,” the transition from the lit. to the fig. usage in the sense of a perverted life-style is clear. More important is the observation that the root—apart from a few exceptions (cf. also Prov 8:36, with the antonym *msʾ* “to find” in v 35; Job 5:24 “so you will miss nothing”)—is used almost exclusively to describe religious circumstances. This area uses the term fig. only to disqualify particular procedures. That the term objectively disqualifies an act, left otherwise unspecified, as a crime, an error, makes it a comprehensive term for “sin.” In this respect, both the basic meaning itself and the usage of all derivatives in whatever context indicate the factuality of the error (cf. e.g., qal, Gen 39:9; 40:1; 42:22; 1 Sam 2:25; *hattāʾ* Gen 13:13; *ḥēṭʾ*, Lev 19:17, etc.).

For these reasons the OT prefers the root *ḥṭʾ* above all other terms for “sin.” The verb outstrips all verbs for “to sin” (Knierim, op. cit. 13, 19). The substs., taken together, also lead, although they are closely followed by → *ʿāwōn*. Only the adj. *rāšāʿ* (→ *ršʿ*) decisively outweighs *ḥattāʾ*.

(b) The term is used formulaically to a noteworthy degree. The formulaic usages and phrases and their life settings point to a great range of distribution of realms of experience that exposed Israel to the experience of error (cf. Knierim, op. cit. 20–55, 257f.). Error was expressed in institutionalized procedures like Yahweh’s convicting sentence in the cultic-judicial act, the priestly Torah, the sermon, the (political or legal) act of submission, and the (cultic or politicolegal) individual or communal confession of sin. This distribution and the thoroughly legal implications of the usage of the term express the fact that “sin” is demonstrated and condemned officially (institutionally) and objectively with the aid of unilateral and universally binding categories and is accordingly to be acknowledged by the one found guilty.

The following usages of the verb merit attention: (1) the old, official individual confession of sin, for which *ḥātāʾtî* “I have sinned” is the OT’s primary formulation (30x); it occurs primarily in the confession after (sacral or profane) legal sentencing (Josh 7:20; 1 Sam 15:24; 2 Sam 19:21; 24:10; Psa 41:5; 51:6) and in the affirmation of innocence following an indictment (Judg 11:27; 1 Sam 24:12); (2) the communal confession of sin, *ḥātāʾnû*

“we have sinned” (24x), in rites of penance or prayers of repentance; it forms the prerequisite for the reversal of a crisis situation and stands in close connection with the removal of strange gods and the communal lament (cf. Num 14:40; 21:7; Judg 10:10, 15; 1 Sam 7:6; 12:10; Jer 3:25; 8:14; 14:7, 20; Dan 9:5ff.; Neh 1:6); (3) the indictment or verdict formulae (qal pf. 3d per. sg. or pl.) with a setting in profane (Gen 40:1; 1 Sam 19:4) or sacral procedures or diction (Exod 32:31; Hos 4:7; Psa 78:32; Zeph 1:17); it discloses an error or justifies the sentence; (4) this same genre occurs in the 2d per. sg. or pl. in the direct, indicting address of the prophetic or Dtn preacher (e.g., Exod 32:30; Num 23:23; Deut 9:16, 18; Jer 40:3; Hos 10:9).

One may identify about 15 usages for the nouns. (Knierim, op. cit. 43–54), which generally refer, in various settings, to all types of errors (legal, cultic, social, etc.); cf. one example each in 2 Sam 12:13; Jer 16:10; Hos 8:13; Gen 41:9; Lev 16:16; Mic 3:8; Psa 59:4; 32:5; Lam 4:22; Psa 51:4; Jer 36:3; Psa 85:3; Isa 44:22. Worthy of specific attention are: (1) *nś' ḥēṭ'* “to bear an error” (17x), often translated “to forgive”; the usage refers, however, to the basic procedure whereby an error must be borne; the question as to whether it signifies the forgiveness or the punishment of the sinner depends upon the context, which speaks of burdening either the sinner or a representative (cf. Lev 19:17; 22:9; 20:20 beside Exod 34:7 and Gen 50:17; Exod 32:32; 1 Sam 15:25); (2) the combination of the root *ḥṭ'* with *mût* “to die” (11x); cf. e.g., Deut 22:26 (mortal sin) and Amos 9:10; Deut 21:22; 24:16; 2 Kgs 14:6; Ezek 18:4, 20.

(c) The etymology of the term (“to miss a mark”) and the contexts indicate that the criterion for “error” is not particular commandments but injury to a communal relationship: a person sins against a person or against God (cf. the programmatic statements in 1 Sam 2:25; Jer 16:10–12; 1 Kgs 8:46). Nevertheless, to the extent that a particular communal relationship implies norms of relation, violation of the norms results in injury to the relationship. In this sense, then, norms appear in the context of the discussion of “error,” i.e., in reference to crimes against the ban (1 Sam 14:33ff.), adultery (2 Sam 12:13) or sexual folly (Lev 20:20), theft (Gen 31:36), crimes against innocent blood (2 Kgs 21:17), against Yahweh’s anointed (1 Sam 24:12), idolatry (Deut 12:29f.), social misdeeds (Mic 3:8; 6:6–8, etc.). Hosea encompasses legal, ethicosocial, and cultic errors without distinction (Hos 4:1, 6–8).

The use of the word in the so-called profane-legal sphere is also significant, e.g., in Hezekiah’s confession of rebellion (2 Kgs 18:14) or in reference to the failure to discharge professional duties by Pharaoh’s baker and butler (Gen 40:1); cf. also Gen 42:22; 43:9. Beside the known impossibility of strictly distinguishing between the profane and the sacral realms, these usages of the term indicate that the discussion of

“sin” applies to all areas of life and was in no way limited only to the religious sector.

For the rejection of a behavior as “error,” it is basically inconsequential whether a deed occurs consciously or unconsciously. In a great many passages, such a distinction plays no role whatsoever. Neither the motive nor the attitude is characterized, but the fact as such. Unconscious errors are named in Gen 20:9; Num 22:34; Lev 4–5; Psa 38:4, 19; 41:5 (cf. Knierim, op. cit. 68). Thus the person is also responsible for unconscious error. On the one hand, this objective, unpsychologized evaluative criterion demonstrates the dependence of the sinner on external judgment. On the other hand, passages like Gen 4:7; Deut 15:9; 22:26, which emphasize subjective attitudes, and those like Gen 20:7, 17; 1 Sam 14:45; Num 22; Exod 21:13f., etc., which regulate unintentional misdeeds, indicate a growing tendency to consider subjective responsibility and esp. to bring about a clearer understanding of the failure of human conscience.

The term is clearly used in the context of the dynamistic understanding of existence (“destiny determining spheres of action”), namely with reference to the unity of error and judgment, as well as the relationship between community and individual. “The sinner must die in his *ḥēṭ*” is a phrase valid for centuries (cf. Num 27:3; Deut 19:15; 24:16; 2 Kgs 14:16; Psa 51:7; Dan 9:16). Here, as elsewhere, an interaction of legal and phenomenal spheres of thought is apparent, the sense of which is to express the legal unity of error and judgment (by legal notions) as well as the unity of the two legal categories (by phenomenal spheres of thought).

Totality or corporate thought is also original to the discussion of “sin” (cf. Gen 9:22; 20:9; 26:10; Josh 7:11; 8:5; 10:5, 7; 14:1). But it was modified under the influence of diverse experience and breached at several points. Types of such modification are found (1) in Exod 20:5f.; Jer 32:18: emphasis on the superabundance of grace over judgment with a view in each case to a community (cf. Exod 34:6f.; Num 14:18); (2) in Gen 18:17ff.: a question as to whether the fate of a society is determined by the minority of the righteous or the majority of the guilty; (3) in Josh 7: the relief of the national unit to the burden of the family unit (cf. 2 Sam 24:17); (4) Num 16:22: “God of the spirits of all flesh, a (one) person sins, and you will be angry with the whole community?” Here the differentiation between the sinners and the righteous reveals the individual. Cf. the transition to the legal statement in Ezek 18; Deut 24:16; Jer 31:20. As far as may be determined, this discovery of the individual has its setting in the distinction between the righteous and the sinners practiced in the priestly handling of the Torah.

(d) The root *ḥṭ* is the major term in the highly differentiated OT terminology for “sin” (cf. Knierim, op. cit. 13nn.1, 19). Although almost all

terms originally had a specific significance with respect to content, *ḥtʿ*, *rāʿā* ( $\rightarrow r^{cc}$ ),  $\rightarrow ʿāwōn$ , and *pešaʿ* ( $\rightarrow pšʿ$ ) are formal terms, preferred as generic terms for “sin.” Of these *rāʿā* “bad, evil” stands alone; the other three are used complementarily, a phenomenon evident in that they are combined 4x in an immediate or an extended context: Exod 34:7; Lev 16:21; Num 14:18; Ezek 21:29; Psa 32:1, 5; 59:4; Dan 9:24, as well as Isa 59:12; Jer 33:8; Mic 7:18f.; Psa 51:3–7; Job 7:20f.; 13:23 (cf. Isa 1:2, 4; Ezek 33:10, 12). Even though this triad is formulaic and systematically expresses the mass of all possible errors, one may not simply view the three terms in the triad as synonyms. Each disqualifies “sin” in its own way. Nevertheless, where they are used together as a formula, they are intended to represent all other terms for “sin.”

4. (a) The term *ḥtʿ* is used in all of its derivatives, apart from a few exceptions, in the context of theological statements. It is moreover the most frequently used theological term for “sin” in the OT, second only to *rāʿā* in the general semantic field of terms related to “evil” (on this general theme cf. the OT theologies and Th. C. Vriezen, *RGG* 6:478–82 with bibliog.; further Knierim, op. cit.; and Š. Pořbčan, *Sin in the OT* [1963]). As such, it characterizes some deeds or behaviors theologically; it disqualifies an act or behavior as condemned by Yahweh. The disqualification comes to expression in a great many forms and settings, which nevertheless all presuppose Yahweh’s condemnatory actions and thereby imply a specific theological motif. The theological character of the understanding of “error” is therefore not only grounded in the meaning of the word, formally and psychologically only minimally developed, but in terms of whether and how Yahweh views a misdeed. In this sense “error” has the same weight as all other types of “sin.” The statistical assessment of the terminology preferred to different degrees in the individual sources of the OT supports this observation (cf. Knierim, op. cit. 245ff.).

(b) The following may be mentioned as the chief contexts in which disqualification is expressed as Yahweh’s judgment: (1) the realm of Yahweh’s judgment in the oracle or sermon of Yahweh, and the resultant confession of sin (cf. the formulaic usages in 3b). These settings make it most clearly apparent that the confession of “sin” corresponds to a revelatory (disclosing) process (cf. also Lam 2:14; 4:22b; Mic 3:8; Isa 58:1); (2) where *ḥtʿ* implies acts against Yahweh or Yahweh’s regulations or against people under Yahweh’s protection; (3) where the violation of norms affects Yahweh’s privileges and a communal relationship protected by him; (4) where in the objective apprehension of guilt Yahweh approaches people as the judge beyond human control, and where the person becomes aware of the inevitability of the confrontation with God in the demonstration of subjective responsibility; (5) where legal and phenomenal spheres of

thought are means by which Yahweh punishes “error” (cf. Knierim, op. cit. 82ff.; cf. e.g., Hos 5:12, 14; Amos 3:6b); (6) where Yahweh sovereignly determines, modifies, or graciously breaks through the unified, fatal relationship between “sin” and judgment in history, the life of the individual, and of the community.

5. In the Qumran texts the verb occurs (4x), as well as the nom. forms *ḥētʿ* (1x) and *ḥaṭṭāʿt* (15x, according to Kuhn, *Konk.* 70; see also *GCDS* 253). The almost consistent formulaic usage in conformity with OT usage is noteworthy.

The situation in the LXX is enlightening in that about 26 Hebr. expressions for “sin” are rendered by only 6 Gk. terms, a circumstance that doubtless points to a strong thematization and theoretization of the OT concept of sin in the Gk.-speaking world; cf. G. Quell, *TDNT* 1:268f. Correspondingly, the LXX regularly renders all derivatives of *ḥṭʿ* by *hamartanō*, *hamartia*, etc., only occasionally by *adikeō*, *adikia*, and only the derived stems of the verb are rendered otherwise. Thus for the NT *ḥṭʿ* would be represented primarily by *hamartia*, but *hamartia* would by no means have had *ḥṭʿ* as its only Hebr. equivalent—without taking into account the entirely new ontological and hamartiological understanding in the NT (cf. G. Quell, G. Bertram, G. Stählin, and W. Grundmann, “ἁμαρτάνω,” *TDNT* 1:267–316). Nevertheless, in one passage an OT mode of thought seems to recur in the NT discussion of “bearing the burden of guilt” (*nśʿ ʿāwōn/ḥēṭʿ*): John 1:29; cf. 1 Pet 5:7; Gal 6:2.

R. Knierim

## היה *ḥyh* to live

S 2421; BDB 310b; *HALOT* 1:309a; *TDOT* 4:324–44; *TWOT* 644; *NIDOTTE* 2649

1. (a) The root *ḥyy/ḥwy* “to live” is richly developed in the WSem. realm, but is absent from Akk., which has the equivalent *balātu* (P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 248f., 263; 8/23 [1968]: 280, 291, 300; → *plṭ*). Several examples occur already in old Sem. inscriptions (Can.: EA 245:6; cf. *CAD* H:32b; Ug.: *WUS* nos. 911, 916; *UT* no. 856; Gröndahl 137; Phoen.-Pun., Hebr., and Aram.: *DISO* 86f.; *HAL* 295f.).

In Ug. and Phoen.-Pun., *w* is also encountered as the 2d radical (cf. also the Amor. names in Huffmon 71f., 191f.); on the orthography in Pun., and on the form

borrowed in Lat. as a salutation using the impv. *ave*, cf. Friedrich 17, 78, 120.

No satisfying etymology may be demonstrated. Neither “to breathe” (Gesenius, *Thesaurus* 1:467f.) nor “to draw together” (H. J. Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften* [1885], 1:86) is illuminating.

The following OT forms derive from a second root *ḥwh*: *ḥawwâ* “tent village,” *ḥay* “kin” (1 Sam 18:18; according to L. Delekat, *VT* 14 [1964]: 27f., also Psa 42:9) and *ḥayyâ* “troop” (2 Sam 23:11, 13; Psa 68:11); cf. *HAL* 284a, 296b, 297b.

(b) The verb appears in Hebr. in qal, pi., and hi. The qal pf. 3d masc. sg. sometimes, esp. in the Pentateuch, resembles a geminate (BL 423).

Among the noms. derived from the verb one finds, first of all, the subst. and adj. *ḥay* “life,” “alive,” as well as its fem. *ḥayyâ*, which as an abstract occasionally signifies “life” but more often, as a collective, “living beings.” The plurale tantum *ḥayyîm* in the sense of “life” is usually understood as an abstract pl. (pl. of duration).

According to Brockelmann, it involves an abstract variant of the adj. *ḥay*: *b<sup>c</sup>ḥayyîm* “among the living” > “in life” (BrSynt 16; *bḥym* in a late 6th-cent. Phoen. inscription [KAI no. 13.7] can mean “among the living” [so *ANET* 662a] or “in life”). *ḥayyîm* has also been understood as an artificial analogous formation, a secondary back-formation of an abs. st. of the cs. st. sg. *ḥê* falsely understood as a pl. (J. Barth, *ZDMG* 42 [1888]: 344; Nyberg 202).

The *ma*- noun *miḥyâ* “sustenance,” “animation,” and the hapax legomenon *ḥayyût* “lifetime” formed with the abstract suf. *-ût* (2 Sam 20:3; cf. BL 505) occur as verbal abstracts. The fem. pl. adj. *ḥāyôt* “lively” is also a hapax legomenon (Exod 1:19; cf. BL 465; contra G. R. Driver, *ZAW* 67 [1955]: 246–48).

The root is sparsely attested as part of a PN, in fact only in the two theophoric sentence names *y<sup>c</sup>ḥî<sup>l</sup>ēl* and *y<sup>c</sup>ḥîyâ* “God/Yahweh lives” (juss. with an indicative meaning).

Pe. and ha. occur in Bibl. Aram., as well as the noms. *ḥay* “living,” *ḥayyîm* “life,” and *ḥêwâ* “animal.”

2. An overview of the occurrences of the root (in the arrangement of Mandl., which differs from that of Lis., but Psa 18:47 treated as adj., like 2 Sam 22:47) results in the following table (II = *ḥayyâ* “life”):

	qal	pi.	hi.	<i>ḥay</i>	<i>ḥayyâ</i>	II	<i>ḥayyîm</i>	total
Gen 49	4	6	26	20	–	20	125	

Exod 3	4	–	3	2	–	4	16	
Lev 3	–	–	23	9	–	1	36	
Num 5	1	2	6	1	–	–	15	
Deut 15	3	–	8	1	–	12	39	
Josh 3	1	4	2	–	–	2	12	
Judg 1	1	1	1	–	–	1	5	
1 Sam	2	3	–	22	1	–	2	30
2 Sam	4	1	1	15	1	–	4	26
1 Kgs6	2	–	22	–	–	4	34	
2 Kgs16	1	5	18	1	–	2	43	
Isa 7	1	3	8	6	1	4	30	
Jer 9	1	–	16	3	–	4	33	
Ezek 43	4	1	24	31	2	2	107	
Hos 1	2	–	2	4	–	–	9	
Amos3	–	–	2	–	–	–	5	
Jonah	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	3
Hab 1	1	–	–	–	–	–	2	
Zeph –	–	–	1	2	–	–	3	
Zech 3	–	–	1	–	–	–	4	
Mal –	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	
Psa 11	20	–	13	8	3	26	81	
Job 5	2	–	5	5	6	7	30	
Prov 4	–	–	1	–	–	33	38	
Ruth –	–	–	2	–	–	–	2	
Song Sol	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1
Eccl 3	1	–	8	–	–	13	25	
Lam 1	–	–	1	–	–	2	4	
Esth 1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	
Dan –	–	–	1	1	–	1	3	
Neh 4	2	–	–	–	–	–	6	
1 Chron	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
2 Chron	2	–	–	4	1	–	–	7
OT	205	56	23	236	97	12	148	777

In addition, *miḥyâ* occurs 8x (for texts see 3f), *ḥāyeh* and *ḥayyût* 1x each; the place-name *b<sup>e</sup>ēr laḥayrō* is not counted (Lis. erroneously lists Gen 16:14 under *ḥay*).

Pe. occurs in Bibl. Aram. 5x, ha. 1x, *ḥay* 5x, *ḥayyîn* 2x, *ḥêwâ* 20x.

Of the approximately 800 occurrences of the root, Gen (126x), Ezek (107x), and Psa (81x) are the most involved. The absence of *ḥayyîm* in Chron/Ezra/Neh and the sparse usage in the Prophets (14x) are noteworthy.

3. All instances of the root may be grouped rather closely around the concept “life.” A good approach is to proceed from the verb and to consider the various nom. abstract and collective forms on the basis of the verb.

(a) The basic and most frequently attested meaning of the qal is “to be/remain alive”; the contrary, “to be dead, to die” (→ *mût*) is always involved somehow, even if it is not explicitly expressed. An accentuated contrast occurs often, e.g., in the expression “live and not die” (Gen 42:2; 43:8; 47:19; Deut 33:6; 2 Kgs 18:32; Ezek 18:21, 28; 33:15; Psa 89:49; 118:17) or “die and not live” (2 Kgs 20:1 = Isa 38:1).

A weakened sense results when *hyh* is more precisely modified by the addition of the place or the time (“to stop for a time at a place”: Gen 47:28; Lev 25:35f.; Lam 4:20; time: esp. in the genealogies of P in Gen 5 and 11, also Gen 47:28; 2 Kgs 14:17 = 2 Chron 25:25; Jer 35:7; Job 42:16; Eccl 6:3, 6; 11:8).

The verb acquires a somewhat altered meaning in those passages in which it describes not an enduring situation but a momentary process: “to become alive again” (1 Kgs 17:22; 2 Kgs 13:21; Isa 26:14, 19; Ezek 37:3, 5f., 9f., 14; Job 14:14). Closely related, and for the ancient Israelites hardly distinct, are the passages in which *hyh* means becoming well, recovery from an illness (Gen 45:27; Num 21:8f.; Josh 5:8; Judg 15:19; 2 Kgs 1:2; 8:8–10, 14; 20:7; Isa 38:9, 21). The depiction of recovery as becoming alive or coming to life bespeaks the fact that sickness diminishes life, that genuine life is health. Here it can be clearly seen that “life” in the OT does not mean simply being alive, but having complete, fulfilled life.

The meaning is modified along other lines when the limited duration of corporal life is emphasized (Gen 27:40; Deut 8:3; 2 Kgs 4:7).

In addition to persons, subjs. of the verb are *lēbāb* “heart” (Psa 22:27; 69:33), *nepes̄* “soul” (Gen 12:13; 19:20; 1 Kgs 20:32; Isa 55:3; Jer 38:17, 20; Ezek 13:19 pl.; 47:9; Psa 119:175), *rūah* “spirit” (Gen 45:27), and *ʿāšāmôt* “bones” (Ezek 37:3, 5).

Plants and, remarkably, animals are never the subj. of *hyh*.

In the acclamation *y<sup>e</sup>hīhammelek* (1 Sam 10:24; 2 Sam 16:16; 1 Kgs 1:25, 31, 34, 39; 2 Kgs 11:12 = 2 Chron 23:11; cf. Neh 2:3), the verb is apparently a juss. with an indicative meaning: “the king lives, he possesses royal power” (P. A. H. de Boer, *VT* 5 [1955]: 225–31; cf., however, Dan 2:4; 3:9; 5:10; 6:7, 22 with impv.).

(b) Pi. and hi., both with the meaning “to keep alive, let live,” are distinct in that the pi. places greater emphasis upon the contrast to “to die, be dead,” while the hi. expresses the weakened concept of “duration” (*HP* 37, 58, 61–64).

An expanded use of the pi. as vigorous technical language occurs in

a few passages: 2 Sam 12:3; Isa 7:21 “to rear (young animals),” Hos 14:8 “to raise (grain),” 1 Chron 11:8 “to rebuild (a city)”; the last meaning also occurs in Phoen. (*KAI* no. 4.2; *ANET* 653a “restored”).

(c) *ḥay* means both “lively” and “alive,” *vivus* and *vivens*, and has adj. and subst. functions. It can refer to people and animals as well as to God, but not to plants, which are never considered living things in the OT (E. Schmitt, *Leben in den Weisheitsbüchern Job, Sprüche und Jesus Sirach* [1954], 116). The designation *ḥay* can also be attributed to *nepeš* “soul” (Gen 1:20f., 24, 30; 2:7, 19; 9:10, 12, 15f.; Lev 11:10, 46; Ezek 47:9) and *bāšār* “flesh” (Lev 13:10, 14–16 of the excrescence of a wound; 1 Sam 2:15 of raw animal flesh). The expression “living (i.e., flowing) water” is an expanded usage (Gen 26:19; Lev 14:5f., 50–52; 15:13; Num 19:17; Jer 2:13; 17:13; Zech 14:8; Song Sol 4:15).

On the expression *kācēt ḥayyâ* “at this time next year” (Gen 18:10, 14; 2 Kgs 4:16f.) cf. Akk. *ana balāt* “in the coming year” (*AHw* 99a; R. Yaron, *VT* 12 [1962]: 500f.; O. Loretz, *Bib* 43 [1962]: 75–78: *ḥayyâ* does not mean “life” but “next year”).

The superlative formula *ḥy ḥym* “living of the living” occurs as a royal title on a Neo-Pun. burial inscription (*KAI* no. 161.1).

*ḥay* occurs as a subst. only in the oath formula: *ḥē* X “by the life of X” (M. Greenberg, *JBL* 76 [1957]: 34–39). The nomen rectum of the cs. relation is almost always God/Yahweh; the nomen regens is then *ḥay*. In rare cases in which a human being takes an oath, the formula is normally *ḥē-napš<sup>c</sup>kā*, and it usually appears in conjunction with a simultaneous oath by God: “as surely as God lives and as surely as your soul lives”; only *ḥē-<sup>a</sup>dōnî* (2 Sam 15:21) and *ḥē-par<sup>c</sup>ōh* (Gen 42:15f.) occur without *nepeš*. *ḥay* is adj. in *ḥay-<sup>a</sup>nî* “as surely as I live” (texts in *HAL* 295).

(d) The fem. adj. *ḥayyâ* “living” in the sg. as well as the pl. designates the “living being” in general, i.e., esp. “animals” (cf. Gk. *zōon*). The word usually means free-living, untamed animals in distinction from domesticated animals (*b<sup>e</sup>hēmâ*; Gen 8:1; Ezek 14:15; 33:27; Zeph 2:15; Psa 148:10; Job 37:8). A further limitation is occasionally made: land animals in contrast to birds and fishes (Gen 1:28; 8:19; Lev 11:2). In exceptional cases, *ḥayyâ* can also indicate domesticated animals (Num 35:3) or beasts of burden (Isa 46:1).

*ḥayyâ* also has the abstract meaning “life,” chiefly in Psa and Job (5x in the speeches of Elihu), where it is a synonym for → *nepeš*.

(e) The pl. *ḥayyîm* serves as a comprehensive term for “life.” Like the verb, its semantic field is determined primarily in contrast to “dying/death.” This contrast comes to explicit expression esp. in Dtn, also e.g., in 2 Sam

1:23; 15:21; Jer 8:3; Jonah 4:3, 8; Prov 18:21.

A reduction of the meaning to “lifetime” results when *ḥayyîm* is used in temporal designations, esp. in the expressions *y<sup>e</sup>mêḥayyîm* “days of life” (Gen 3:14, 17, etc., about 30x), (*y<sup>e</sup>m’*) *š<sup>e</sup>nêḥayyîm* “years of life” (Gen 23:1; 25:7, 17, etc., about 15x). *ḥayyîm* may also be almost a temporal term apart from these expressions, e.g., Gen 7:11; Lev 18:18; Judg 16:30; Eccl 3:12; 6:12.

Without accentuating duration, *ḥayyîm* can have a generalized sense and almost mean mere “existence,” e.g., Gen 27:46; Exod 1:14; Eccl 2:17; 9:9; 10:19.

In some passages, *ḥayyîm* and → *nepesš* appear almost as interchangeable terms. “Everything alive” can be *kōl-hannepesš* as easily as *kōl-ḥay*, e.g., Josh 10:28, 30, 32, 35, 37; cf. also Psa 21:5; 64:2 (*ḥayyîm*) with Job 31:39; Esth 7:7 (*nepesš*). Nevertheless, the difference is usually clear; it seems to lie primarily in the higher degree of objectivization that seems inherent in the term *ḥayyîm*. In contrast to *nepesš*, *ḥayyîm* is not considered an inherent, life-related principle, but a possession or, more properly, a good gift (see 4b).

(f) The verbal abstract *miḥyâ* has a rather specific sphere of usage and mirrors variously the action or the process of the verb, either of the qal: “becoming alive” (Lev 13:10, 24 as a sacro-medicinal term for the growth of the flesh of a wound; 2 Chron 14:12; Ezra 9:8f. of the revival, resuscitation of the enslaved), or of the causative: “sustenance of life” (Gen 45:5; cf. Sir 38:14). *miḥyâ* can also have a concrete reference: “provisions” (Judg 6:4; 17:10). Prov 27:27 has *ḥayyîm* in the same meaning.

4. (a) OT references to the “living God” belong, primarily and predominantly, to the oath formula “by the life of Yahweh/God” (cf. M. R. Lehmann, ZAW 81 [1969]: 83–86, with ancient Near Eastern pars.). The most frequent form is *ḥay yhw* (41x, 30x in Judg–2 Kgs; also *ḥay <sup>2</sup>dōnāy yhw* Jer 44:26; *ḥay hā<sup>e</sup>lōhîm* 2 Sam 2:27; *ḥay-<sup>2</sup>ēl* Job 27:2). The formula also appears in Lachish Letters III, VI (“as Yahweh liveth” ANET 322; KAI no. 193.9 *ḥyhwh*; no. 196.12 *ḥyyhwh*). The oath *ḥay-<sup>2</sup>ānî* (*ḥay <sup>2</sup>ānōkî* Deut 32:40) “as surely as I live” occurs 23x as a divine self-declaration (Num 14:21, 28; Deut 32:40; Isa 49:18; Jer 22:24; 46:18; Zeph 2:9; and 16x in Ezek).

Aside from the oath formula, only 14 passages describe God as *ḥay: <sup>e</sup>lōhîm ḥayyîm* Deut 5:26; 1 Sam 17:26, 36; Jer 10:10; 23:36; *ēl ḥay* Josh 3:10; Hos 2:1; Psa 42:3; *<sup>e</sup>lōhîm ḥay* 2 Kgs 19:4, 16 = Isa 37:4, 17; *ḥay yhw* “Yahweh lives” 2 Sam 22:47 = Psa 18:47. Remarkably, several of these passages are related in content, esp. texts from 1 Sam and 2 Kgs, which contain invectives against a foreign opponent who has slandered Israel’s

God. Jer 10:10, too, is reminiscent of these passages because it expresses a polemic against foreign gods. The contrast to foreign gods governs Josh 3:10: the living God of Israel will expel the Canaanites, Hittites, etc. These passages evidently involve conventional diction. Polemical statements against foreign nations and foreign gods prefer to mention the “living God.”

L. Delekat (*VT* 14 [1964]: 27f.) has suggested that *ḥay* in the phrase *ʿēlḥay* may have originally meant “kin” (cf. 1 Sam 18:18) and that from the very beginning the *ʿēlḥay* stood in opposition to foreign gods.

The impression that the “living God” is discussed only with reservation is strengthened if one also considers the *ḥayyîm* passages. The OT never mentions life or vitality as a divine attribute, but often as a result of God’s saving activity. With God as the subj., “life” serves as the obj. of the following verbs: *nṭn* “to give” (Deut 30:15, 19; Mal 2:5; Job 3:20), *gʾl* “to redeem” (Psa 103:4; Lam 3:58), *nṣr* “to preserve” (Psa 64:2), *ṣwh* pi. “to order” (Psa 133:3), *śh* “to make” (Job 10:12). God is the “source of life” (Psa 36:10); the fear of God brings life (Prov 19:23). One can ask him to grant life (Psa 21:5) and not to take away the life of the supplicant (Psa 26:9). Quite consistently, the factitive and causative verbal stems are used in statements about God. Of the 56 pi. passages, 26 have God as subj. (19x in Psa). Of the 23 hi. passages, God stands as subj. in 9 (never in Psa).

The lexical evidence suggests that the OT lays no great weight on a presentation of the living God. Life and vitality are almost never viewed as Yahweh’s attributes. Every emphasis lies on the fact that Yahweh gives life and has power over life, but not that he himself participates in it. OT diction is distinguished from that of the other nations of the ancient Near East, which quite unabashedly speak of the life and vitality of their deities (Chr. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des AT* [1947], 36–41; cf. also L. Dürr, *Die Wertung des Lebens im AT und im antiken Orient* [1926]). The various idioms express the various notions of god: on the one hand, the deification of the vital force, which actually signifies the identity of God and life; on the other hand, a clear distance between the creator and creaturely vital forces.

(b) In contrast to *nepes̄*, *ḥayyîm* “life” is not an obvious human characteristic, but a gift of God.

This point is expressed with particular clarity in the “Psalm of Hezekiah,” Isa 38:9–20, which describes the newly granted life of the convalescent as life in relation to God, as life in praise: v 19, “Life, life, which praises you, as I do today.” This statement, in contrast to v 18, “death does not praise you,” shows that *ḥayyîm* is understood as healthy life, as life bestowed by God (cf. Westermann, *PLP* 155, 158–61; Chr. Barth,

op. cit. 151 comments here: “One should note, however, that the praise of Yahweh functions at the same time as a characteristic of vitality.”)

Life is God’s gift because the human being is created for life, i.e., as *nepeš ḥayyâ* (Gen 2:7). One’s life is identical with one’s creatureliness; one recognizes oneself as God’s creature through one’s existence. Because life is continually threatened, however, it can be promised anew, esp. in the concluding speech of Deut 30:15–20, in the face of these dangers and threats, in the face of every diminishment of life. In this context, the promise of life is closely related to the proclamation of commandment. The commandments promise Israel life. This promise takes place primarily in the cult (Lev 18:5; Deut 30:15, 19). G. von Rad (“‘Righteousness’ and ‘Life’ in the Cultic Language of the Psalms,” *PHOE* 243–66) sees this coupling of proclamation of commandment and promise of life as a constitutive element of Yahwistic faith (p. 254). Obedience to God’s commandments is linked to life in Deut, in particular, but elsewhere as well (Deut 4:1; 5:33; 8:1; 11:8f.; 16:20; 22:7; 25:15; cf. Exod 20:12; Job 36:11; on Ezek 20 and 33, cf. W. Zimmerli, *TZ* 13 [1957]: 494–508 = *GO* 178–91).

In wisdom, too, life is offered as a gift of salvation, and, indeed, is linked to attention to the exhortations of the wisdom teacher or to the call to follow personified wisdom (Prov 3:1f.; 4:10, 13, 22f.; 7:2; 8:35; 9:6; cf. Ch. Kayatz, *Studien zu Proverbien 1–9* [1966], 102–7, on the Eg. pars.). The offer of life has been detached here from the cult and is not directed to Israel as a whole but to individuals (von Rad, *Theol.* 1:441ff.).

(c) The question as to whether the OT knows of a life after death receives highly varied responses. The answer depends, above all, upon the understanding of a few Psa that speak of a preservation from death and a redemption from Sheol, esp. Psa 27; 49; 73. According to Barth (op. cit. 165f.), “to redeem from death” means “to redeem from hostile, threatening, and condemning death” and does not refer to a continuation of life after death. In contrast, von Rad (*Theol.* 1:406f.) finds, esp. in Psa 49 and 73, “a strong striving after a principle which does not stop short at a single calamity,” but makes a fundamental reference to a life beyond death. Nevertheless, these hymnic statements do not deal with a widely held hope in the afterlife, but with the believer’s personal conviction that the living relationship with Yahweh must be indestructible, even beyond death.

The expectation of a general resurrection of the dead occurs first in the apocalyptic literature. The Isa apocalypse mentions a resurrection of the pious (Isa 26:19); Dan 12:1–3 expects a general resurrection, some “to eternal contempt” and others “to eternal life.”

5. Both the verbal and the nom. forms are attested in the Qumran texts. The subst. *ḥayyîm* appears frequently as the governing noun in some rather bold metaphorical cs. phrases, e.g., “insight, light, source, trees,

stylus of life.”

On the LXX and the continuation of the tradition in the NT, cf. G. von Rad, G. Bertram, and R. Bultmann, “ζάω,” *TDNT* 2:832–75; H.-J. Kraus, “Der lebendige Gott,” *EvT* 27 (1967): 169–200.

G. Gerleman

הַיִל *hayil* **power** → כֹּהַל *kōah*

## חכּם *hkm* to be wise

S 2449; BDB 314a; *HALOT* 1:314a; *TDOT* 4:364–85; *TWOT* 647; *NIDOTTE* 2681

1. The root *hkm* is attested in most Sem. languages (in addition to GB 229b, see esp. *HAL* 301a; Ug.: *WUS* no. 924; *UT* no. 859; H.-P. Müller, *UF* 1 [1969]: 89n.81; Phoen.: *KAI* no. 26A.I.13; Aram.: *DISO* 87f.; KBL 1075b), although the originality of Akk. *hakāmu* “to understand, comprehend” has long been discussed (*HAL* 301a with bibliog.; *CAD* H:32f.; *AHW* 309a; cf. also A. Finet, *AIPHOS* 14 [1954/57]: 132; *CAD* A/2:345a).

In addition to the verb *hkm* “to be/become wise” (qal, pi., pu., hi., hitp.), Hebr. also has the noun *hākām* “clever, cunning; wise” and the abstracts *hokmā* “wisdom” (only sg., but see below) and *hokmôt* “wisdom,” which is understood either as an abstract pl. of *hokmā* (*GVG* 2:59; Joüon §§88Mk, 96Ab, 136d; G. Fohrer, *TDNT* 7:476n.85) or as a late sg. formation (GKC §86l; BL 506; W. F. Albright, *SVT* 3 [1955]: 8; cf. *HAL* 302a).

Bibl. Aram. has the person designation *hakkîm* “wise ones” (only pl.) and the abstract *hokmā* “wisdom.”

2. The concentration of occurrences in wisdom literature is apparent in the following table:

	verb	<i>hākām</i>	<i>hokmā</i>	<i>hokmôt</i>	total
Gen	–	3	–	–	3
Exod 1		9	8	–	18

Deut 1	5	2	–	8	
Judg –	1	–	–	1	
2 Sam	–	4	2	–	6
1 Kgs1	3	17	–	21	
Isa –	9	5	–	14	
Jer –	11	6	–	17	
Ezek –	3	5	–	8	
Hos –	2	–	–	2	
Obad–	1	–	–	1	
Zech 1	–	–	–	1	
Psa 4	2	6	1	13	
Job 2	8	18	–	28	
Prov 13	47	39	3	102	
Eccl 4	21	28	–	53	
Esth –	2	–	–	2	
Dan –	–	3	–	3	
1 Chron	–	1	1	–	2
2 Chron	–	6	9	–	15
OT 27	138	149	4	318	

The verb appears 19x in the qal (Prov 12x), 3x in the pi., 2x in the pu., 2x in the hitp., and 1x in the hi.

The examples in Exod all belong to P, those in Ezek are in Ezek 27f., those in Dan concentrated in Dan 1.

Aram. *ḥakkîm* occurs 14x (in Dan), *ḥokmâ* 8x (Ezra 7:25 and 7x in Dan). Thus the root is represented in the entire OT 340x.

3. The chief meaning of *ḥkm*, depending upon the grammatical form, is traditionally “to be wise; wise one; wisdom.” This understanding expresses the special character shared by terms in the word field (cf. H.-J. Hermisson, *Studien zur israelitischen Spruchweisheit* [1968], 11f., 187–192, contra G. Fohrer, *TDNT* 7:476; see also H. H. Schmid, *Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit* [1966], 196–201, and esp. G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* [1972], 7ff.); nevertheless, semasiological analysis must first examine differences in word usage and the semantic range of the words categorized by grammatical form.

(a) The verb in the basic stem refers, first of all, to the state of “being wise,” indeed, as something objectively determinable, whose effectual (even if only imagined; cf. Deut 32:29; Prov 9:12[bis]) presence makes other activities possible, and whose absence prohibits other actions (cf. *HP* 27ff.): in addition to the passages already mentioned, Zech 9:2 (ironic-concessive); Prov 23:15; Eccl 2:15, 19 (all in the pf.), as well as 1 Kgs 5:11

(impf. cons., resumptive); cf. Job 32:9 (with an impf. in the so-called compounded nom. clause). By contrast, the remaining 9 Prov passages (see *HAL* 301a, where all Prov passages are incorrectly listed in one category) use an impf. (9:9; 13:20 Q; 19:20; 20:1; 21:11) or an impv. (6:6; 8:33; 23:19; 27:11) as the predicate (cf. also Eccl 7:23 with a cohortative), and the verb acquires an ingressive meaning: “to become wise,” a reference to “being wise” as a future, resultant event, often as the result of another phenomenon; this “other phenomenon” refers to the various means of becoming wise, through either experience (Prov 6:6; 13:20) or instruction (cf. 9:9; 21:11), but esp. through an obedient “listening” that leads to behavior (8:33; 23:19; esp. 19:20: “give heed to counsel [*‘ēšā*] and receive instruction [*mûsār*, → *ysr*]”). “Becoming wise” means training; the impvs. are pleading warning cries to that end.

The production of wisdom is expressed by the factitive reduplicated pi. stem: “to make wise” (Psa 105:22; 119:98; Job 35:11; the subjs. are, resp., Joseph, the commandments of God, God). The related pu. ptcp. gives the result (“to be made wise”), particularly in some technical sense: to be (in some way) “skilled” (Psa 58:6; Prov 30:24; cf. *HAL* 301a; *HP* 162f.). The self-actualization of wisdom comes to expression in the hitp. (Exod 1:10; Eccl 7:16) and once the cause in the hi. ptcp. (Psa 19:8; cf. *HP* 73f., 85).

The following may be mentioned as synonymous or, at least, par. verbs: → *bîn* “to understand” (Job 32:9), yet *bîn* in Deut 32:29 (par. *śkl* “to understand”) is more the result of (admittedly lacking) “wisdom”; also *lqḥ da‘at* “to receive insight” (Prov 21:11), *ysp* hi. *leqaḥ* “to increase in learning” (Prov 9:9; cf. 1:5); *‘ml* “to toil” is characteristic of Eccl (Eccl 2:19); *‘lp* pi. “to teach” parallels *ḥkm* pi. (Job 35:11). The par. in the hitp. in Eccl 7:16 to the vetitive “be not too righteous” is remarkable. Antonyms include: *lîš* “to mock” (Prov 9:12; cf. 20:1; 21:11) and *r<sup>cc</sup>* ni. “to go badly (for someone)” (Prov 13:20).

(b) Being wise is expressed nom. by *ḥākām* (masc. sg. 78x, fem. sg. 3x, masc. pl. 54x, fem. pl. 3x), often used adj. (cf. *‘iš ḥākām* “wise man,” e.g., 2 Sam 13:3; 1 Kgs 2:9; Prov 16:14; *bēn ḥākām* “wise son,” Prov 10:1; 13:1; 15:20; *melek ḥākām* “wise king” Prov 20:26), as well as 15x predicatively (*HP* 26 lists passages), but most often functioning as a subst. (“wise one”). Apart from Prov 30:24, where it is predicated to animals, and Isa 31:2, where it is used of God (cf. Job 9:4; as well as Jer 10:7 and 2 Sam 14:20), the noun describes people in various ways.

Human “cunning and skill” is realized in a broad range of ways; in general, *ḥākām* means “someone who has a masterful understanding of something” (Fohrer, *TDNT* 7:483ff.). This mastery sometimes concerns some technical capability like the artisanship of women (Exod 35:25), but

esp. of men (Jer 10:9; cf. *BH* 3 on Isa 3:3; associated in later texts esp. with the construction of the temple, Exod 28:3; 31:6; chs. 35–36; 1 Chron 22:15; 2 Chron 2:6, 12f.; in Isa 40:20 *ḥārāš ḥākām* “skilled master” of the production of idol images). An abstract subject can also be a skilled activity, then, e.g., the mourning of women (Jer 9:16f.), the many forms of magic (Isa 3:3; cf. Psa 58:6, pu. ptcp.), esp. associated with foreigners (esp. in the pl.; see e.g., Exod 7:11; Isa 44:25; Esth 1:13; as well as most passages in the Aram. of Dan; cf. KBL 1075b; see also Fohrer, op. cit. 483f.; also extensive, with a treatment of the Ug. material: H.-P. Müller, “Magisch-mantische Weisheit und die Gestalt Daniels,” *UF* 1 [1969]: 79–94), as well as the political advising of the king in the courtly sphere (→ *yš*; cf. P. A. H. de Boer, *SVT* 3 [1955]: 42–71; W. McKane, *Prophets and Wise Men* [1965], 15ff.; in reference to the neighboring nations, see e.g., Gen 41:8; Isa 19:11f.; Jer 50:35; 51:57; Ezek 27:8f.; Esth 6:13; Dan 2:27), where a woman’s crafty cunning can also be used (2 Sam 14:2; 20:16ff.). Royal counsel is an element of wise and just government, incumbent esp. upon the king himself (cf. Prov 20:26; Eccl 4:13), in respect to which Solomon, in particular, as *ḥākām* (1 Kgs 2:9) and David’s “wise son” (1 Kgs 5:21; 2 Chron 2:11), became the prototype of the wise king, whose gift of wisdom was beyond all measure (1 Kgs 3:12; 5:11ff.; cf. also Prov 1:1; 10:1; Eccl 1:1, 16; 2:3ff.; Alt, *KS* [1964], 2:90–99; Noth, *GS* [1969], 2:99–112; R. B. Y. Scott, *SVT* 3 [1955]: 262–79; and N. W. Porteous, *SVT* 3:247ff.). All of these cases deal with individuals and groups who are knowledgeable in a special, professional manner; this characterization is also true of Joseph (Gen 41:33, 39; cf. G. von Rad, “Joseph Narrative and Ancient Wisdom,” *PHOE* 281–91) and of the mythically portrayed “prince of Tyre” who is “wiser than Daniel” (Ezek 28:3; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:72ff., and Dan 1:4, 17, 20; see 3c).

At the same time, the texts—esp. those in wisdom books—describe an independent type of *ḥākām/ḥ<sup>a</sup>kāmîm* who is not related directly to any other profession, but who as a “wise one” executes his own office alongside priests and prophets (Jer 18:18, where, however, a political and courtly aspect may not be overlooked; cf. McKane, op. cit. 42, 128n.1). The “wise one” is primarily a man of the word who gives counsel (Jer 18:18) and crafts and assembles sayings (Prov 22:17; 24:23; Eccl 12:9–11; cf. Prov 1:6; Eccl 9:17), whose words win favor (Eccl 10:12), but who can also reprimand and discipline (Eccl 7:5; cf. Prov 15:12, 31), whose tongue (Prov 15:2) and lips bring insight (Prov 15:7) and healing (Prov 12:18), and whose speech issues from a “wise heart” (Prov 16:21, 23; cf. 1 Kgs 3:12). In addition to the authority of his own “wise heart,” in addition to his own experience—for he is an “investigator” who seeks to “find out” and “to understand the significance of things” (cf. Eccl 8:1, 5, 17; 12:9; see

Hertzberg, KAT 17/4, 215ff., and Job 15:7ff.)—he draws upon the received traditions of his predecessors (cf. Job 8:8–10; 15:18; see Fohrer, op. cit. 492f.); he receives instruction (Prov 9:9; 12:15; 21:11) and administers his own instruction (tôrâ), which is a “source of life” (Prov 13:14). Thus the “wise one” is not just a counselor but equally a teacher and instructor (see e.g., Prov 11:30; 15:31; 18:15; 22:17; Eccl 12:9; W. Zimmerli, “Concerning the Structure of OT Wisdom,” *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* [1976], 177ff.; W. Richter, *Recht und Ethos* [1966], 147ff.; Hermisson, op. cit. 113ff.).

If this usage, which signifies *the* “wise one” in the proper (and somehow status-bound) sense, may be described as the more limited usage, there is also a broader usage that—as already demonstrated above—could characterize other circles as “wise,” although the boundaries are fluid. Above all, one is “wise” who heeds “counsel” (Prov 12:15) and loves “instruction” (Prov 13:1 [cf. comms.]; 19:20; 29:15). He pleases his father (10:1; 15:20; 23:24). He is a strong (cf. Prov 21:22; Eccl 7:19) and even-tempered person who quiets anger (Prov 29:8, 11); he is humble and not wise in his own eyes (Prov 3:7; 26:12; Isa 5:21; Jer 9:22). With a wise heart he heeds commandments (Prov 10:8), and so fears and avoids evil (14:16).

A religioethical component is perceptible in Prov 14:16 (see 4); such is also the case where *šaddîq* “righteous” appears in Prov as a synonym for *ḥākām* (Prov 9:9; 11:30; 23:24; cf. Eccl 9:1). The more frequent synonym, however, is *nābôn* “insightful” (→ *bîn*; Gen 41:33, 39; Deut 4:6; 1 Kgs 3:12; Isa 3:3; 5:21; 29:14; Hos 14:10; Prov 1:5; 18:15; 16:21, definitively: “one who is wise of heart is called insightful”; cf. 28:11b). Other synonyms are: *ʾiš daʿat* “man of understanding” (Prov 24:5), *ʾanšē lēbāb* “men of understanding” (Job 34:34), *yōdʿīm* “insightful ones” (Job 34:2; cf. Eccl 8:1), *niptālîm* “crafty ones” (Job 5:13). The picture of the “wise” is completed, finally, by the special dialectic of opposition: his opposite is, above all, the “fool” (thus esp. → *kʿsîl*, 21x, predominantly in Prov and Eccl; otherwise → *ʿwîl*, 7x; → *nābāl* Deut 32:6; *sākāl* Eccl 2:19), but also the “mocker” (*lēs*, Prov 9:8; 13:1; 15:12; 21:11; *ʾanšē lāšôn* Prov 29:8) and the “lazy” (*ʿāšēl* Prov 26:16).

The line of demarcation expressed by the antonyms refers not only to the “wise” in the limited sense, but equally to the “wise” in the broader sense. In accord with the expanded usage, the people are described as foolish (Deut 32:6), or Ephraim is scoldingly called an “unwise son” by Hosea (Hos 13:13).

The question of the setting of the “wise” in the more limited sense has not yet been sufficiently explained; but one should apparently think of both the court and the school in some form (cf. e.g., L. Dürr, *Das Erziehungswesen im AT und im antiken Orient* [1932], 104ff.; McKane, op. cit. 36ff.; Hermisson, op. cit. 97ff.; von Rad, *Wisdom* 15ff.; in contrast, E.

Gerstenberger, *Wesen und Herkunft des "apodiktischen Rechts"* [1965], 128–30; and H. W. Wolff, *Amos the Prophet* [1973], 85–89, emphasize clan instruction and wisdom). See 4 on the rising critique of the thought and doctrine of the wise.

(c) The usage of the abstracts *ḥokmâ* and *ḥokmôt* corresponds largely to that of the personal terms *ḥākām/ḥākāmîm*. Thus *ḥokmâ* can mean technical expertise and other professional capabilities of various types (of temple construction: Exod 28–36, see 3b; 1 Kgs 7:14; cf. 1 Chron 28:21; in war: Isa 10:13; nautical skill: Psa 107:27), particularly of the courtly skill of political advising (among the neighboring peoples: Isa 47:10; Jer 49:7; Dan 1:4, 20; in Israel: cf. 2 Sam 20:22; Isa 29:14; also Jer 8:9), and the special gifts of the regent. The historical works occasionally discuss the wisdom of Joshua and David (Deut 34:9; 2 Sam 14:20), although most passages refer to Solomon (1 Kgs 2:6; 3:28; 5:9f., 14, 26; 10:4ff.; 11:41; 2 Chron 1:10–12; 9:3ff., 22f.). Ezek 28:4f., 7, 12, 17 deal with the great wisdom of the Tyrian kings.

With the concentration of occurrences in Prov and Eccl, as well as in Job (see 2), however, *ḥokmâ/ḥokmôt* means esp. the "wisdom" of the "wise" in the more limited sense, whereby—as in the courtly sphere—it may concern first of all an educational wisdom (cf. Fohrer, *op. cit.* 485; also von Rad, *Wisdom* 155n.12), although a broadened usage is also found here; "wisdom" aims at education, among other things. Thus on the one hand "wisdom," which is "too high" for the foolish (Prov 24:7) and is sought to no avail by the mocker (14:6), is often praised: it is better than corals and finery (Prov 8:11; Job 28:18), the pursuit of it better than gold (Prov 16:16); it is better than might and weapons of war (Eccl 9:15f., 18), it is as good as an inheritance (Prov 7:11); through it a house is built (Prov 24:3); it illuminates a person's countenance (Eccl 8:1); through it the wise recognizes their way (Prov 14:8), have a future and hope (24:14), and will obtain life (Eccl 7:12; see 4). On the other hand, because wisdom is such a precious thing, a "pleasure" for the "man of understanding" (Prov 10:23), various exhortations are issued to pursue it, to purchase it (Prov 4:5, 7; 23:23), to pay it attention (5:1), to lend it one's ear (2:2; 5:1), to love and "embrace" it (4:7f.; cf. comms.), to consider it a sister (7:4); it is to be acknowledged (Eccl 1:17; 8:16; cf. Prov 24:14) and sought (Eccl 7:25). It is to be obtained through "rod and reproof" (Prov 29:15), i.e., through education, and to be found with those "who receive counsel" (Prov 13:10). It is an "ability to navigate" (LXX *kybernēsis* for *taḥbūlôt*, Prov 1:5) for the practical conduct of life; it is valuable "to apply (it) properly" (Eccl 10:10b; cf. Zimmerli, *ATD* 16/1, 235). Wisdom "rests in the heart of one with understanding" (Prov 14:33; also 2:10; Psa 51:8; 90:12), in the center of the person, which can only mean total control over the person, so that he

proves to be a *ḥākām* in all of his life and thought; this does not occur in a religiously neutral manner, but in the company of religioethical elements (see 4).

Although the practical orientation of the word dominates, esp. in the older wisdom sayings (cf. e.g., von Rad, *Theol.* 1:418–41), an interest in organizing perception is also unmistakable in the abstract (cf. von Rad, *ibid.* and 441ff., and esp. *id.*, *Wisdom* passim), which is of the greatest theological consequence (see 4). The abstract *ḥokmâ* seems to have formed a chief and central concept of wisdom thought, in contrast to the rich wisdom literature of Israel's neighbors, with which OT wisdom literature is associated in many ways (reference may be made e.g., to the Eg. *maṣat*, cf., among others, H. Brunner, *HO* 1/2 [1952]: 93–95; H. Gese, *Lehre und Wirklichkeit in der alten Weisheit* [1958], 11ff.; this background cannot be further investigated here; cf., however, Fohrer, *op. cit.* 477ff.; Schmid, *op. cit.*; H. D. Preuss, *EvT* 30 [1970], 393–417, with comprehensive references to text editions and secondary literature).

Yet one may not overlook at this point that *ḥokmâ* is often supported by or can be interchanged with synonyms (cf. von Rad, *Wisdom* 12ff.), esp. the “perception root” → *bîn: bînâ* “insight” (16x, 7x in Prov, 5x in Job, also Deut 4:6; Isa 11:2; 29:14; Dan 1:20 [*ḥokmat bînâ*], but not in Eccl), *tʿbûnâ* “insight” (11x, 7x in Prov, also Job 12:12f.; Jer 10:12; Ezek 28:4), as well as *tʿbûnôt* “cleverness” (Psa 49:4 par. *ḥokmôt*); then *daṣat* “knowledge, perception” (→ *yd*<sup>ᶜ</sup>, 14x: 6x in Eccl, 4x in Prov, also Isa 11:2; 33:6; 47:10; Dan 1:4; not in Job), *maddâṣ* “understanding” (2 Chron 1:10–12; Dan 1:4; cf. 1:17, as well as Aram. *mandaṣ* “understanding” Dan 2:21); *sēkel* “insight” (Psa 111:10). The following may also be mentioned: *ʿeṣâ* “counsel” (Isa 11:2; Jer 49:7; Job 12:13; Prov 21:30); *mûsâr* “instruction” (Prov 1:2, 7; 23:23) *ʿmet* “truth” (Psa 51:8) *mišpāṭ* “justice” (Psa 37:30); *tôrat-ḥesed* “loving instruction” (Prov 31:26; cf. Gemser, HAT 16, 110). Notably, the usage of synonyms or pars. occurs least in the Dtr history (only Deut 4:6) and most in the latest portion of Prov (chs. 1–9); cf. also the series in Aram., Dan 5:11, 14. Antonyms are few and occur most frequently in Eccl: *hōlēlôt* “folly, delusion” (1:17; 2:12; 7:25), *siklût* “folly” (2:12f.; 7:25; = *siklût* 1:17); *kesel* “folly” (7:25); finally, *ʾiwwelet* “folly” (Prov 14:8, 33 txt em).

4. (a) Religioethical implications of the root *ḥkm* find expression in the older portions of Prov (chs. 10ff.), esp. in the pars. of *ḥākām* and *šaddîq* “righteous” as well as in the contrast “wise-fool,” regularly parallel to “righteous-evil-doer.” These usages are not accidental polarizations, but recognize behaviors in accordance with or contrary to established order (cf. U. Skladny, *Die ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel* [1962], 7ff., etc.; H. H. Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung* [1968], 157ff.; as well as Hermisson, *op. cit.* 73ff.). Folly results in evil and ruin for fools (→ *ʿwîl* 4; cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 1:428f.), but wisdom leads one in “right paths” (Prov 4:11);

it is a “source of life” (cf. 13:14; 16:22; also 14:27), and it serves to manage and assure human life (16:17; 28:26); through it one avoids “the evil” (14:16) and “the snares of death” (13:14). Thus one with wisdom benefits from the relationship between deed and consequence (cf. K. Koch, *ZTK* 52 [1955]: 1–42; also Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit* 175ff.; von Rad, *Wisdom* 124ff.).

Wisdom derives its beneficial power and function, however, from God; the religioethical significance of the root *hkm* lies primarily in relationship to Yahweh, the God of Israel. He himself is “wise” (Isa 31:2; Job 9:4) and has wisdom “with him” (Job 12:13); only he—not people—knows “its place” and “the way to it” (Job 28:23, cf. vv 7, 12, 20). It is associated primarily with his creative acts (Jer 10:12 = 51:15; Psa 104:24; Job 28 and 38; Prov 3:19; see below on 8:22ff.). He can, however, declare the “secret of wisdom” to people (Job 11:6), a reference to the “hidden wise action of God” (Fohrer, *KAT* 16, 226). He can also “give” wisdom (to Solomon: 1 Kgs 5:9, 26; 2 Chron 9:23; also Exod 31:6; 36:1f. P; Prov 2:6; Eccl 2:26; Aram. Dan 2:21), “fill with the spirit of wisdom” (Exod 28:3; cf. 31:3 P; also Deut 34:9 of Joshua’s charisma), or “teach” it (*ydc* hi., Psa 51:8; cf. 90:12).

(b) The relationship of wisdom to God has further, first of all, positive consequences: As the “fear of Yahweh” (*yirʿat yhw̄h*, → *yrʿ*) is a “source of life” (Prov 14:27; see above), so is it the “beginning” (or “sum,” *rēʿšit*) of wisdom (cf. 1:7; 9:10; 15:33; Psa 111:10). In addition, wisdom experienced a salvation-historical (cf. Psa 107:43; Deut 32:6, 29) and a prophetic application, even in the proclamation of judgment (Hos 13:13; Isa 5:21; 29:14; Jer 8:8f.; 18:18; also Isa 10:13; 19:11f.; 47:10; Jer 49:7; 50:35; 51:57; Ezek 28:4ff.; Obad 8; Zech 9:2; cf. Hos 14:10; Jer 9:11, 22), as well as salvation-eschatological (Isa 33:6) and messianic (Isa 11:2; cf. Deut 34:9; 1 Kgs 3:28; 5:26) applications. Then, too, one may recognize a negative-critical manifestation: when Isaiah and Jeremiah inveigh against the hybrid wisdom of both Israelite (cf. Isa 29:14; Jer 18:18) and foreign wisemen or rulers in order to contrast the wondrous action of Yahweh (Isa 29:14), his wisdom (Isa 31:2), or his word (Jer 8:9), the reference may primarily be to wisdom as the art of governing or as the art of political counsel that is unsuccessful if directed against Yahweh (cf. also Prov 21:30f.).

Otherwise, the disputations in the book of Job and the critique of Qohelet undertake an inner-wisdom corrective; in this manner, the principle of order is guarded from the danger of a “dogmatization” in the sense of an “independent law of the created orders,” while the boundaries between wisdom and the sovereign freedom of God can be simultaneously preserved (see with extensive references, Zimmerli, “Place and Limit of the Wisdom in the Framework of the OT Theology,” *Studies in Ancient Israelite*

*Wisdom* [1976], 314–26; Schmid, *Wesen* 173ff.; Fohrer, *TDNT* 7:495f.; and esp. von Rad, *Wisdom* 97ff.).

(c) Finally, two manifestations of the religioethical affinities of wisdom, pertinent primarily to the latest phase of the OT, are noteworthy. On the one hand, wisdom gradually comes to be related to Yahweh's commandments and law (cf. already Deut 4:6; see J. Malfroy, *VT* 15 [1965]: 49–65; also perhaps Psa 19:8; 119:98; cf. J. Fichtner, *Die altorientalische Weisheit in ihrer israelitisch-jüdischen Ausprägung* [1933], 81ff., with references to pertinent passages). On the other hand, it achieves independence in relation to God and is personified to a degree (the extent to which one must reckon with a hypostasis here continues to be disputed; cf. H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom* [1947], 89ff.; R. Marcus, *HUCA* 23/1 [1950/51]: 157–71; Fohrer, op. cit. 490f.), thus esp. in Prov 1–9 (cf. also Job 28; see C. Kayatz, *Studien zu Proverbien 1–9* [1966]; also R. N. Whybray, *Wisdom in Proverbs* [1965]; otherwise, von Rad, *Wisdom* 144ff., with bibliog.). Thus the figurative personified *ḥokmâ* appears here as “the mediator of revelation in the sense that in her proclamation she is like a prophet and can claim supreme authority, revealing God's will to man, offering man life, and understanding acceptance as that of the divine will” (Fohrer, op. cit. 494).

5. Both the nomistic and the personifying tendencies are continued in post-OT literature (above all in Sir; cf. E. G. Bauckmann, *ZAW* 72 [1960]: 33–63; J. C. H. Lebram, “Nachbiblische Weisheitstraditionen,” *VT* 15 [1965]: 167–237; von Rad, *Wisdom* 240ff.).

On Qumran literature (according to Kuhn, *Konk.* 72, *ḥākām* 5x and *ḥokmâ* 13x), which otherwise readily uses → *śkl* (cf. J. A. Sanders, *ZAW* 76 [1964]: 66), as well as on the LXX, where the rendition of *ḥkm* is dominated by *sophos/sophia*, as well as for the wealth of early Jewish, Gnostic, and NT materials, see U. Wilckens and G. Fohrer, “σοφία,” *TDNT* 7:465–528; cf. further, e.g. U. Wilckens, *Weisheit und Torheit* (1959); F. Christ, *Jesus Sophia: Die Sophia-Christologie bei den Synoptikern* (1970).

M. Sæbø

חלה *ḥlh* **to be sick**

S 2470; BDB 317b; *HALOT* 1:316b; *TDOT* 4:399–409; *TWOT* 648; *NIDOTTE* 2703

1. Hebr. *ḥlh* “to be weak, sick” (by-form *ḥlʔ*) has no direct counterparts in the other Sem. languages (SSem. etymologies have been suggested by HAL 302a, 303b, among others; cf. also D. R. Ap-Thomas, VT 6 [1956]: 239f.).

Akk. *ḥalû* occurs at Mari as a Can. loanword (CAD H:54a; AHW 314b).

G. R. Driver (JTS 29 [1928]: 392; id., FS Kahle 98–101; cf. CPT 326) finds a new root *ḥlh* in 1 Sam 22:8 in the sense of “to be concerned” (cf. Eth. *ḥly* “to ponder, to be agitated in spirit,” etc.; Dillmann 577f.). This root may also be postulated for Jer 5:3 (“to take to heart,” par. *lqḥ mûsâr* “to receive instruction”) and in the ni. in Amos 6:6 (“to be concerned for”).

Zorell 242b attributes the expression *ḥlh* pi. *pānîm* “to appease” not to *ḥlh* I but to *ḥlh* II “to be sweet, pleasant” (“to make someone’s countenance pleasant”); Ap-Thomas (op. cit.) discusses other possibilities.

*ḥlh* is the only intrans. that occurs in the OT in all seven stems (cf. → *glh* 1). Nom. derivatives with the meaning “illness” are *ḥʕlî*, *maḥʕleh*, *maḥʕlâ*, *maḥalūyîm*, and, from the root *ḥlʔ*, *taḥʕlūʕîm*. Regarding the (artificial?) PN *maḥlôn* (alongside *kilyôn*) in Ruth 1:2, 5; 4:9f.; cf. IP 10 (contrast, however, Rudolph, KAT 17/1, 38).

2. Incl. *ḥlʔ* (2 Chron 16:12 qal; Isa 53:10 hi.) and the passages discussed above that may not contain forms of *ḥlh* I, the verb occurs 74x, 36x in the qal (contrary to Mandl., one should attribute 1 Sam 31:3; Jer 5:3; 1 Chron 10:3 with Lis. to *ḥîl* I “to quake”), 10x in the ni., 17x in the pi. (according to Lis., Psa 77:11 belongs to *ḥll* II qal “to pierce”), 1x in the pu., 4x in the hi., and 3x each in the ho. and the hitp.

The statistics for the subst. are: *ḥʕlî* 24x (2 Chron 6x, 2 Kgs and Isa 4x each), *maḥʕleh* 2x, *maḥʕlâ* 4x, *maḥʕlūyîm* 1x, *taḥʕlūʕîm* 5x.

Of the total of 110 instances of the root, 16 occur in 2 Chron (qal, pi., ho., and all 5 noms.), 12 in Isa, 11 in 2 Kgs, 9 each in 1 Kgs and Jer. The distribution exhibits no peculiarities; the root is—probably by accident—only rarely attested in the Pentateuch.

3. (a) Apart from the expression *ḥlh* pi. *pānîm* (see b), the root always describes a situation of bodily weakness (cf. J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT* [1955], 36–40; J. Hempel, “Heilung als Symbol und Wirklichkeit im biblischen Schrifttum,” NAWG 3 [1958]: 237–314, esp. 238n.1).

Synonyms include esp. the roots *\*dwy* “to be weak, sick” and *\*mrq* “to be sick, feel pain” (P. Fronzaroli, AANLR 8/19 [1964]: 250, 263f.), which unlike *ḥlh* are common Sem.; derivatives of the former are the adjs. *dāweh* and *dawwāy* “sick” (Lam 1:13; 5:17;

and Isa 1:5; Jer 8:18; Lam 1:22, resp.) and the substs. *deway* “illness” (Psa 41:4; Job 6:7) and *madweh* “illness, pestilence” (Deut 7:15; 28:60); *dwh* qal “to be ill” (just like *dāwā* “ill” in Lev 15:33; 20:18; Isa 30:22) is used euphemistically for menstruation in Lev 12:2; derivatives of \**mrđ* are *mrš* ni. “to be in pain” (1 Kgs 2:8; Mic 2:10; Job 6:25) and hi. “to vex” (Job 16:3).

The qal of the verb signifies, first of all, “to be/become weak” (Gen 48:1 probably means the weakness of age; Judg 16:7, 11, 17, weakness as the normal human state in comparison to the strength of the charismatic Samson; Isa 57:10 txt?, sexual weakness). But usually the verb means weakness in the sense of “to be ill” (1 Sam 19:14; 30:13; 1 Kgs 14:1, 5; 17:17; 2 Kgs 8:7; 20:12 = Isa 39:1; Isa 38:9; Psa 35:13, without further characterization of the illness). Illness can also consist of an injury (2 Kgs 1:2; injury in battle, 2 Kgs 8:29 = 2 Chron 22:6; blows, Prov 23:35). Sometimes the illness is described more precisely: it can involve a foot condition (1 Kgs 15:23) or a mortal illness (2 Kgs 13:14; 20:1 = Isa 38:1 = 2 Chron 32:24). The verb can also be used of animals (Mal 1:8 par. *pissēah* “lame”; such sick animals—external blemishes must be intended—are cultically unacceptable; cf. also Mal 1:13). The fig. language of Ezek 34 (cf. esp. vv 4, 16) shows that the responsibilities of the shepherd include special care for the “weak and ill” in the herd. This image illustrates Israel’s guidance by its leaders or by Yahweh.

The verb is also used of emotional suffering, as of “love sickness” (Song Sol 2:5; 5:8) and to translate into the expression *rāʿâ ḥôlâ* “a terrible evil” (Eccl 5:12, 15; 6:1 txt em).

The ni. has approximately the same meaning as the qal: “to be/become weak” (Jer 12:13 par. *bôš* “to be/become ashamed,” opposite *yʾl* hi. “to have success”) and “to become sick” (Dan 8:27). The substantivized ptcp. indicates “the sick” (Ezek 34:4, 21; see above); the expression *yôm nahʿlâ* “day of illness” (Isa 17:11 par. *keʿēb ʾānūš* “unrelievable pain”) probably takes up curse terminology and uses it to describe the coming judgment of Yahweh. *makkâ nahlâ* “ruinous blow” (Jer 10:19; 14:17; 30:12; Nah 3:19) is a fixed formulation; it apparently belongs to the vocabulary of the lament in the description of distress (formal elements can be recognized in Jer 10:19; 14:17; cf. also Psa 41:4) and was then transferred by prophecy into other contexts.

In Deut 29:21 the pi. signifies “to allow to become sick” (with *taḥʿlūʾim*, in conjunction with curse threats; the usage of *ḥʿlî* in Deut 28:59, 61 is similar). The pu. means “to be made weak” (Isa 14:10 of the transition into the realm of the dead), the hitp. “to feel sick” (2 Sam 13:2, the cares of love; 13:5f. “to feign illness”).

The hi. has the meaning “to make sick” (Prov 13:12; with the obj.

“heart” it can also describe emotional suffering; the text is uncertain in Isa 53:10; Hos 7:5; Mic 6:13), the ho., “to be drained of strength” (1 Kgs 22:34 = 2 Chron 18:33; 2 Chron 35:23, always of injuries).

Thus it is apparent that *hllh* in the various stems describes conditions of bodily as well as emotional weakness; the same conclusion results from a review of the derivatives (*h<sup>o</sup>li* is used in reference to an emotional condition in e.g., Eccl 5:16; 6:2; and probably also Isa 1:5). Religious practices (which often seem to have manifested a struggle between Israelite and Can. religion; cf. 2 Kgs 1:1ff.) and medicinal means (cf. P. Humbert, “Maladie et médecine dans l’AT,” *RHPR* 44 [1964]: 1–29; J. Hempel, “Ich bin der Herr, dein Arzt,” *TLZ* 82 [1967]: 809–26) were used to treat illnesses.

(b) In the pi. the root *hllh* acquired another possible meaning in a fixed expression (see 1): *hllh* pi. *pānîm* means “to appease”; the obj. can be either a person (Psa 45:13; Job 11:19; Prov 19:6 “to flatter”) or God (this usage is a technical cultic term). It can refer to sacrifice (1 Sam 13:12; Mal 1:9), prayer (Exod 32:11; 1 Kgs 13:6; 2 Kgs 13:4; Jer 26:19; Zech 7:2; 8:21f. par. *bqš* pi. *yhwh* “to seek Yahweh”; Psa 119:58; 2 Chron 33:12), or reform of conduct (Dan 9:13).

4. In summary, illness has special significance for the OT in that it is either experienced as distress that leads to lament (cf. in various contexts, e.g., Isa 38:9; 1 Kgs 8:37 = 2 Chron 6:28; 2 Chron 16:12) or is understood as the effect of God’s curse (cf. Deut 28:59, 61; 29:11; Isa 1:5; Jer 10:19; 12:13; 2 Chron 21:15, 18f.; pity: Exod 15:26; 23:25; Deut 7:15; *h<sup>o</sup>li* is a key term, then, in Isa 53:3f., 10). In later times, OT voices hope for a future without illness established by Yahweh (Isa 33:24; cf. 1 QH 11:22).

5. In the NT, the aspect of illness just mentioned is particularly essential in that Jesus actualizes that future without illness (cf. esp. Matt 11:2ff.); on the whole NT, cf. G. Stählin, “ἀσθενής,” *TDNT* 1:490–93; A. Oepke, “νόσος (μαλακία),” *TDNT* 4:1091–98.

F. Stolz

## ללל *hll* pi. **to desecrate**

S 2490; BDB 320a; *HALOT* 1:319b; *TDOT* 4:409–17; *TWOT* 661; *NIDOTTE* 2725

1. Hebr. *hll* pi. “to desecrate,” the other stems with corresponding meanings (hi. “to desecrate” only in Num 30:3 and Ezek 39:7; ni. and pu.

“to be profaned”; on the forms, cf. BL 436), and the noms. (*ḥôl* “profane” and, in the event that it should not be considered, following HAL 307b, with *ḥll* II “to pierce through,” *ḥālāl* “profane, desecrated” in Lev 21:7, 14; Ezek 21:30; also *ḥalîlâ* “may it not be so”) belong to a root represented in the whole Sem. linguistic realm with the original meaning “to loose, set free” (cf. SNHL 31f.); the meaning dominant later is “to desecrate, profane” (in late and postbibl. Hebr. an unambiguously definable term, a characteristic notion for the thought of the era; cf. WTM 2:58f.; Ben-Yehuda 2:1580–83). In the hi. the meaning “to begin” dominates alongside “to desecrate” (in addition to ho. “to be begun” and *t<sup>e</sup>ḥillâ* “beginning”); the connection between the two groups is clarified by the use of *ḥll* pi. in the sense of “to place in profane use” (Deut 20:6[bis]; 28:30; Jer 31:5, of the beginning of the use of a vineyard at the end of a period of consecration in which the harvest was forbidden for one’s own use; cf. Lev 19:23–25; see ILC 3–4:271).

The Akk. *clēlu* in the basic (G) stem means “to be clear” or “to be cultically pure” (persons, lips, incantations) and “to be free” (of promises), in the reduplicated (D) stem “to purify” (oneself, mouth and hands, the bodies of the gods), “to consecrate through cleansing” (the daughter), and “to set free” (slaves); cf. AHW 197f. Arab. also attests the broadly distributed root *ḥll* in the meaning “to free, be permitted” (Lane 1/2:619ff.). An original relationship to *ḥll* (\**ḥll*) “to pierce (through), wound” may not be assumed despite a few points of contact (esp. in Arab.). The older NWSem. texts do not attest the verb with certainty (cf. WUS no. 928; DISO 89). In the later Sem. languages and dialects the post-exilic OT usage became dominant under the influence of Judaism and also gained even broader formal influence (cf. further LS 231; Dillmann 66; Littmann-Höfner 52f.; Drower-Macuch 148b).

2. The verb occurs 134x in the OT, 66x in the pi. (Ezek 22x, Lev 14x, Isa and Psa 5x each), and 56x in the hi. (“to desecrate” only 2x, otherwise “to begin”: 2 Chron 11x, Judg 8x, Deut 7x, Gen 6x, Num and 1 Sam 4x each); in addition, the ni. is attested 10x (Ezek 7x) and the pu. and ho. 1x each. Only 2 of the 75 passages that use the verb in the sense of “to desecrate” (pi. 62x, hi. 2x, ni., and pu.) are unobjectionably pre-exilic: Gen 49:4 and Exod 20:25 (on Amos 2:7, cf. Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 133f.; on Zeph 3:4 cf. Sellin-Fohrer 457). Almost 2/3 of all occurrences of “to desecrate” are contained in Ezek (31x) and in H (16x). Otherwise, the term occurs in isolated passages in P, Deutero-Isa (and Isa 23:9; 56:2, 6), Jer, Mal, Psa, Lam, Dan, and Chron.

*ḥôl* occurs 7x (1 Sam 21:5f. and—always in explicit opposition to *qōdeš*—Lev 10:10; Ezek 22:26; 42:20; 44:23; correspondingly 48:15 “profane residential area”), *ḥālāl* 3x (see 1), *ḥalîlâ* 21x (1 Sam 8x, Gen 4x, 2 Sam 3x, Josh and Job 2x, 1 Kgs and 1 Chron 1x, twice in 2 Sam 20:20), and

*t<sup>e</sup>hillâ* 22x (Gen 4x, Judg, 2 Sam, and Dan 3x each).

3./4. (a) In H, concepts connected to the term *hill* pi. “to desecrate” may be adduced with greatest assurance. The holiness (→ *qdš*) of Yahweh and of that which pertains to him, esp. the priesthood, should be ensured against desecration. Commandments to this end almost always have the form *lōʾ* + impf. and represent professional priestly knowledge (J. Begrich, “Die priesterliche Tora,” BZAW 66 [1936], 85–87 = GS [1964], 256–58; R. Kilian, *Literarkritische und formgeschichtliche Untersuchung des Heiligkeitsgesetzes* [1963], 84–103 on Lev 21f., attributes the *hill* regulations to his layer II of the Ur-Holiness Code). The priest becomes desecrated through engagement in particular mourning rites (Lev 21:20), through the harlotry of his daughter (21:9; cf. 18:29), through contact with the corpse of a married sister (21:4); he becomes merely unclean through contact with the corpse of an *un* married sister and other near relations (→ *tm*ʿ, Elliger, HAT 4, 288f.). The high priest may not approach any corpse whatsoever, lest he desecrate the sanctuary (21:12); such would also be the case if one afflicted with deformities were to exercise the priestly office (21:23). The descendants of the high priest would be desecrated by his marriage to a widow, divorcée, rape victim, or prostitute (21:15). The pericope Lev 22:1–16 commands the priests to handle the sacrificial offerings with greatest reverence so that Yahweh’s name or the offering itself may not be desecrated (22:2, 9, 15; cf. H. Reventlow, *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz formgeschichtlich untersucht* [1961], 92–103; C. Feucht, *Untersuchungen zum Heiligkeitsgesetz* [1964], 44f.); P has a corresponding instruction (Num 18:32). All other Israelites are also warned against the desecration of Yahweh’s name; it would result from child sacrifice (Lev 18:21; 20:3), the enjoyment of the flesh of the sacrifice as late as the third day after the sacrifice (19:8), false oaths (19:12), and general inattention and disobedience of the commandments (22:32).

Concepts associated with the fear of desecrating Yahweh’s name may not be deduced with confidence. Noteworthy is the general explanation that this fear referred to a desanctification and thereby a debilitation of the name (H. A. Brongers, ZAW 77 [1965]: 11). Yet such a consequence is hardly a real possibility for Yahwism. The facts of the case of a severely punishable and fatal offense are presented for the witness in every instance.

(b) In contrast to the self-contained conceptual world of H, the term spans a broader area in Ezek. The discussion here most often concerns the (mostly already transpired) desecration of God or of his name (11x), of the Sabbath (7x), and of the temple (7x). The guilty parties are always the Israelites, but the essence of the guilt and desecration is not always discernible. It is explicitly stated that Yahweh is desecrated by magical rites

among the deportees in Babylon (13:19; Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:297). Five times Ezek 36:20–23 denounces the desecration of God’s name. The profanation of the name results from the fact that—in view of the separation of Israel from the promised land—he is slandered among the heathen as powerless. Even if one may distinguish this desecration by the situation from that resulting from Israel’s behavior, the guilt lies with Israel because it must finally be punished with rejection on account of its apostasy (Fohrer, HAT 13, 109f.; Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:409, 416; 2:246–48), although formerly Yahweh had foregone the deserved punishment in order to avoid a desecration of his name (20:9, 14). Yet he will take care that in the future his name is not desecrated again (20:39; 39:7). The “history of sin” of the exodus esp. emphasizes the desecration of the Sabbath, in addition to charges of idol worship and transgression of the commandments (Ezek 20:13, 16, 21, 24; cf. 22:8; 23:38). Exod 31:14 P; Isa 56:2, 6; and Neh 13:17f. agree with this characterization. The desecration by Israel and its priests of the temple and of that which is holy to Yahweh (Ezek 22:26, by blurring the distinction between holy and profane; 23:39, by child sacrifice; 44:7, by allowing foreigners access to the temple) means the desecration of the holy God himself (22:26) and is requited through the destruction of the temple and the sanctuaries; thus the catastrophe of 587 is also a desecration (7:21f., 24; 25:3), and one can say that God himself has desecrated his sanctuary (24:21). This usage supports a more general understanding of the word, as indicated in the Tyre section: the punishment of Tyre by violent enemies is also desecration (28:7), as is the fall to hell of its hybrid king (28:16; cf. Isa 23:9), who had desecrated his sanctuaries (Fohrer, HAT 13, 163: “my sanctuary”; 28:18).

(c) Isa 43:28; 47:6; Psa 74:7; and Lam 2:2 also depict the collapse of 587 as desecration, but in contrast to Psa 74:7, Deutero-Isa attributes the event to God alone. Psa 89:40 likewise acknowledges the desecration of Judah’s king as God’s act. A new occurrence of *ḥll* is conjectured for Deutero-Isa in Isa 52:5 (*y<sup>e</sup>ḥull<sup>e</sup>lû* instead of *y<sup>e</sup>ḥéllîlû*; cf. S. H. Blank, “Is 52,5 and the Profanation of the Name,” *HUCA* 25 [1954]: 1–8). Later, the author of Dan regarded the ravaging of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes as desecration (Dan 11:31).

(d) The word does not occur in the 8th-cent. prophets, if Amos 2:7 is to be regarded as an addition (Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 133f.); here the name of Yahweh is seen as desecrated by the fact that son and father go (together) to a prostitute. For Jeremiah, the land is desecrated by idol worship (Jer 16:18) and the name of Yahweh by the return of debt slaves to slavery (34:16); Zephaniah brands the egoistic usage of holy things by the priests as desecration (Zeph 3:4); Malachi finds it in cultic as well as in moral transgressions (Mal 1:12, sacrifices of poor quality; 2:10, infidelity

with one another as desecration of the covenant of the fathers; 2:11, marriage with foreigners). Twice the breach of word or covenant is called “desecration” (Psa 55:21; Num 30:3 P); and God does not want to desecrate his → *b<sup>c</sup>ri<sup>t</sup>* through the breach of his promises (Psa 89:35).

(e) Only the two occurrences of *hll* pi. in the blessing of Jacob and the Covenant Code are transmitted from the first five hundred years of Israelite literary history: Reuben desecrated his father’s couch through intercourse with Bilhah (Gen 49:4, cited in 1 Chron 5:1), and the altar stones are desecrated by being dressed with an iron implement (Exod 20:25). Reuben’s deed is a matter of forbidden involvement in the father’s intimate sphere and an endangerment of the peace of the extended family (de Vaux 1:117; W. Elliger, *ZAW* 67 [1955]: 8–12 = *KS* [1966], 239–44; id., *HAT* 4, 238–40). The prohibition against dressing the altar stones used to be frequently explained in terms of avoiding the displacement of the numen dwelling in the stone (K. Marti, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion* [19034], 100; Baentsch, *Exodus–Leviticus–Numeri*, *HKAT*, 188; Beer, *Exodus*, *HAT*, 106). Nomadic traditions and norms averse to everything civilized—specifically regarding cultic arrangements—offer a more likely explanation (de Vaux 2:408).

(f) *hól* and *hālāl* occur only in Lev and Ezek except for the 2x *hól* appears in the old narrative 1 Sam 21: the priest Ahimelek has no bread designated for profane consumption (*lehem hól*), only bread for holy use; David certifies that his people’s “vessels” were holy even on ordinary journeys (*derek hól*) and that they are certainly holy today (1 Sam 21:5f.). Already in this early witness, then, *hól* is the opposite of *qādōš* (→ *qdš*), “holy,” as in Lev 10:10 and in Ezek. The Sam texts, as well as the occurrence in old texts of the interjection *hālilā* “may it not be so,” lit. “for the profane,” show that the word group must be understood in relationship to the OT → *qdš* concept (BL 654; see also M. Held, *JCS* 15 [1961]: 21; M. R. Lehmann, *ZAW* 81 [1969]: 82f.; cf. *BHH* 1:415; *BLex* 2 398f.).

5. The paramount significance of the term in Mid. Hebr. is illuminated by the numerous examples in *WTM* and Ben-Yehuda (see 1). The elaborate delineation of the “profane” is the urgent concern of rabbinic literature; the mishnaic and talmudic tractate V/3 bears the name *Hullin*.

At Qumran and in the related literature, *hll* occurs in the Damascus document in connection to the Sabbath commandment (CD 11:15; 12:4; cf. Kuhn, *Konk.* 72).

The NT surmounts the customary understanding of the profane and revokes the boundaries drawn in contemporary Judaism between holy and profane (F. Hauck, “βέβηλος,” *TDNT* 1:604f.; id., “κοινός,” *TDNT* 3:789–809; id., “μιαίνω,” *TDNT* 4:644–47).

## חלק *hlq* to divide

S 2505; BDB 323b; HALOT 1:322b; TDOT 4:447–51; TWOT 669; NIDOTTE 2745

1. The root *hlq* occurs in the meaning “to divide, distribute” only in Hebr. and Aram. (*DISO* 89f.; *KBL* 1076a). Linguists generally associate it with Arab. *halaqa* “to measure off, form” and other SSem. verbs (*HAL* 309b under *hlq* II). It is unclear whether and how, on the one hand, the group incl. Ug. *hlq* “to be destroyed,” Akk. *halāqu* “to go forth, be destroyed,” and Eth. *halqa* “to disappear” (*HAL* 310 under *hlq* III; → *’bd* 3), and, on the other hand, the group comprising Hebr. *hlq* “to be smooth” (*hālāq* “smooth”), Arab. *halaqa* “to smooth” etc. (*HAL* 309b under *hlq* I) belongs with *hlq* “to divide.”

The Hebr. verb occurs in all verbal stems except the ho.; there are also the nom. derivatives *hēleq* “portion,” *helqâ* “parcel of land,” *h<sup>a</sup>luqqâ* “division,” and *maḥ<sup>a</sup>lōqet* “portion, division.” *h<sup>a</sup>lāq* “portion” and *maḥl<sup>c</sup>qâ* “division” are attested in Bibl. Aram.

2. The OT attests the word group (excl. proper names) 188x in Hebr. and 4x in Aram.: verb 56x (Josh 7x, Isa and 1 Chron 5x each), specifically, qal 17x, ni. 8x (1 Chron 23:6 and 24:3 should apparently be understood as qals; cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 154; *HAL* 309b), pi. 26x, pu. 3x, hitp. 1x, and hi. 1x; *hēleq* 66x (Josh 9x, Deut and Eccl 8x each, Psa 6x, Job 5x); *helqâ* 23x (2 Kgs 6x, 2 Sam 5x, excl. the place designation in 2 Sam 2:16; cf. *HAL* 311b), *h<sup>a</sup>luqqâ* 1x (2 Chron 35:5), and *maḥ<sup>a</sup>lōqet* 42x (1 Chron 26x, 2 Chron 11x, Josh 3x, Ezek and Neh 1x); Aram. *h<sup>a</sup>lāq* 3x and *maḥl<sup>c</sup>qâ* 1x.

3. (a) The qal means “to divide, distribute,” whereby the weight often lies less on the dividing procedure as such and more on the distribution. It can thus refer to the division/distribution of plunder (Josh 22:8; 1 Sam 30:24), a field (2 Sam 19:30), silver (Job 27:17), inheritance (Prov 17:2), supplies (Neh 13:13), division with the thief (Prov 29:24), division of people into different groups (1 Chron 24:4f.; 2 Chron 23:18; this specifically Chr usage includes the usage of *maḥ<sup>a</sup>lōqet* and *h<sup>a</sup>luqqâ* as “division,” similarly attested only in the Chr history), and, in the context of the conquest narrative, the division and distribution of the land or the inheritance (Josh 14:5; 18:2; cf. Neh 9:22 with God as subj.; corresponding to the the pass. ni. in Num 26:53, 55f.).

2 Chron 28:21, where the verb must be translated “to plunder,” etc. (cf. LXX and 2 Kgs 16:8), should probably be read *hillēš* instead of *hālaq* (cf. Rudolph, HAT 21, 292).

On Deut 4:19; 29:25; Job 39:17, see 4.

(b) The *ni.* (except in the passages already discussed, Num 26:53, 55f.) is reflexive: “to divide/distribute among themselves” (Gen 14:15, Abraham and his colleagues; 1 Kgs 16:21, the people Israel; Job 38:24 txt?, the light or the wind; cf. Fohrer, KAT 16, 492).

The *pi.* can be rendered almost exclusively “to divide/distribute” (on the distinction from the *qal*, cf. *HP* 126–30). Objs. of the division/distribution are things (plunder, Gen 49:27; Exod 15:9; Judg 5:30; Isa 9:2; 53:12b; Psa 68:13; Prov 16:19; *pu. pass.*, Zech 14:1 = 1 Chron 16:3; clothing, Psa 22:19; cf. Mark 15:24 par.) or land (Josh 13:7; 18:10; 19:51; 1 Kgs 18:6; Ezek 47:21; Joel 4:2; Mic 2:4 txt?; Psa 60:8 = 108:8; Dan 11:39; *hitp.* “to divide among themselves,” Josh 18:5), with a divine subj., objs. also include fate, etc. (Isa 34:17; 53:12a; Job 21:17). Gen 49:7 and Lam 4:16 should be translated “to scatter.”

The *hi.* in Jer 37:12 means “to divide an estate” (cf. Rudolph, HAT 12, 238).

(c) The usage of the noun *hēleq* “portion” (of plunder: Num 31:36; 1 Sam 30:24; cf. Gen 14:24; of sacrifice: Lev 6:10; cf. Deut 18:8) corresponds to the usage of the verb.

Semantically related terms are *mānâ* (12x) and *m<sup>o</sup>nāt* (9x, Aram. loanword; cf. Wagner no. 175) from the root *mnh* “to count,” and *mišhâ* (Lev 7:35) and *mošhâ* (Num 18:8) from the root *mšh* II “to measure.”

As a *par.* term for → *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ*, → *gôrāl*, *ḥebel* “line (for measuring) > (allotted) parcel of ground,” etc., *hēleq* often stands for the “portion of the land” (Josh 15:13; 19:9; Ezek 45:7; 48:8, 21, etc.; cf. Zech 2:16; see J. Dreyfus, RSPT 42 [1958]: 3–49; F. Horst, FS Rudolph 135–56). In a narrower sense, *hēleq* is the land or field coming to the individual (Amos 7:4; Hos 5:7); the term *ḥelqâ* also has the same meaning (2 Sam 23:11f.; Ruth 2:3; 4:4, etc.) and finally comes to mean simply “tract of land” (Gen 33:19; Josh 24:32, etc.).

BL 567, etc., assume that *hēleq* “portion” has been fused here with a word \**ḥeleq* (or \**ḥeqel*) “field” (cf. Akk. *eqlu*, Aram. *ḥaqlā*?, Arab. and Eth. *ḥaql*); cf., to the contrary, GVG 1:277.

Discussion of the fact that Aaron or the Levites should receive no

portion of the land, but that Yahweh will be their “portion” (Num 18:20; Deut 10:9; 12:12; 14:27, 29; 18:1; Josh 14:4; 18:7; see 4), prepares the way for the fig. use of *ḥēleq* (par. *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ*). This fig. meaning of *ḥēleq* in the sense of that which comes to one, where one belongs, is rather frequent in various forms. The noun occasionally depicts “fate” (Isa 17:14 par. *gôrāl*, a play on words with the double entendre “portion of the plunder/fate”; cf. Isa 57:6; Job 20:29; 27:13; 31:2, etc.), otherwise e.g., participation in the paternal estate (Gen 31:14), with Yahweh (Josh 22:25, 27), with David (2 Sam 20:1; 1 Kgs 12:16 = 2 Chron 10:16).

The usage of *ḥēleq* in Eccl requires special mention here. Qohelet’s thoughts revolve repeatedly around the question concerning what his “part,” his “reward,” will be, what will be left (*yitrôn*) for him (*ḥēleq*: Eccl 2:10, 21; 3:22; 5:17f.; 9:6, 9; cf. 11:2). He is less concerned here with the complaint that a person can have only a part, never the whole (W. Zimmerli, *Die Weisheit des Predigers Salomo* [1936], 37; id., ATD 16/1, 138, etc.), than with the question of the “portion,” the place of the person in the world (H. H. Schmid, *Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit* [1966], 187f.).

4. The concept behind Deut 32:8, that Israel was allotted to Yahweh by (*ʿēl*) *ʿelyôn* (v 9, *ḥēleq*), is very ancient. Analogously, Deut 29:25 discusses the gods to whom Yahweh did not allot Israel, and Deut 4:19, according to which Yahweh allotted the stars to all nations, probably belongs in the same arena (cf. further Job 39:17, the apportionment of insight).

The word group acquires a specifically theological meaning where Yahweh appears as the “portion” of a group or of an individual. Passages that depict Yahweh as the “portion” of Aaron or the Levites have already been mentioned (3c). In Jer 10:16 = 51:19 Yahweh is “Jacob’s portion,” and laments acknowledge in context of the terms → *gôrāl*, → *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ*, *ḥebel*, etc.: “Yahweh is my portion,” etc. (Psa 16:5; 73:26; 142:6; Lam 3:24; cf. H.-J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult* [1965], 107–13). In addition, cf. the PNs *ḥilqîyâ(hû)* “Yahweh is my portion” and its abbreviated forms *ḥēleq* and *ḥelqāy* (IP 163f.).

Finally, that the poet’s “portion” in Psa 119:57 is keeping the commandments is as self-evident as the viewpoint represented in the poetry of Job that “the portion” of the wicked will come from God (Job 20:29; 27:13; cf. 31:2).

5. No particularly significant postbibl. role can be traced for this word group. The pair of occurrences at Qumran conform to OT usage. Gk. knows no precise equivalent; the LXX prefers to render *ḥlq* with *merizein* and composites or *klēronomia* or *klēros*. On the NT usage of *klēros*, see W.

Foerster and J. Herrmann, “κλῆρος,” *TDNT* 3:758–85.

H. H. Schmid

## חָמַד *ḥmd* to desire

S 2530; BDB 326a; *HALOT* 1:325a; *TDOT* 4:452–61; *TWOT* 673; *NIDOTTE* 2773

1. The root \**ḥmd* “to desire” is widely distributed in the WSem. languages (SSem. in the meaning “to praise”; cf. Muḥammad, “the praised”).

Older examples stem from Ug. (cf. *WUS* no. 936; *UT* no. 872), Can. (EA 138:126, pass. ptc. *ḥa-mu-du* “desirable”; cf. *CAD* H:73b), Phoen. (*KAI* no. 26A.III.14f. *yḥmd ḥyt ḥqrt z* “he would like to have this city” [cf. *ANET* 654b “even if he has good intentions toward this city”]; l. 17 *bḥmdt* “with covetousness” [cf. *ANET* 654b “with good intentions”]) and Eg. Aram. (*BMAP* no. 7.19, *ḥmdyh*, perhaps *ḥ<sup>a</sup>mîdîn* “valuables”); cf. also Huffmon 196.

In addition to qal “to desire” and pi. “to consider desirable” (*HP* 220f.), Hebr. has the qal pass. ptc. and the ni. ptc., as well as various nom. forms (segholate forms: *ḥemed* and *ḥemdâ*; with *m*-preformative: *maḥmād* and *maḥmōd*, abstract pl. *ḥ<sup>a</sup>mūdôt*), predominantly to indicate the desired obj. *ḥemdān* occurs as a PN (Gen 36:26).

2. The verb occurs rather rarely in the OT, perhaps because Hebr. has many options to express emotion and volition (modes, tenses, particles, etc.). In its three stems, *ḥmd* is represented a total of only 21x (qal 16x, ni. 4x, pi. 1x). The narrative literature is represented by Gen 2:9; 3:6; Josh 7:21; otherwise, wisdom, legal, liturgical, and prophetic texts exhibit the verb *ḥmd*. The nom. forms (*ḥemed* 5x, *ḥemdâ* 16x, *ḥ<sup>a</sup>mūdôt* 9x, *maḥmād* 13x, *maḥmōd* 1x) seem to have come into prominence only in exilic and post-exilic literature; for *maḥmād*, see Lam 1:10f.; 2:4; Ezek 24:16, 21, 25; for *ḥ<sup>a</sup>mūdôt*, see Dan 9:23; 10:3, 11, 19; 11:38, 43.

3. One may distinguish between two functions for *ḥmd*. (a) a usage describing the act., acting subj., and (b) a usage describing the pass., sought-after obj.; the nom. meanings fall into the latter category.

(a) As an active behavior, *ḥmd* (qal and pi.; causative hi., only Sir 40:22) is the goal-oriented intention toward something, the pressing desire for possession (cf. J. Herrmann, *FS Sellin* 69–82; J. J. Stamm, *TRu* 27 [1961]: 301–3). Just as this desire can vary with respect to motivation and

intensity (“to desire,” “to be eager,” “to long for”), so, in each case, is the actor’s need and an external stimulus presupposed; sexual desire is also present in the word field, as is true also for → *wh*. Enemies want to take possession of the land (cf. Exod 34:24); Yahweh wanted to have the mountain of God and now occupies it (Psa 68:17); the fool desires the seductive, married woman (Prov 6:25). Legitimate desire can and may be fulfilled (cf. Song Sol 2:3 pi.), illicit desire is banned by commandment (Exod 20:17; 34:24; Deut 5:21; 7:25; Prov 6:25) because it results in destruction (Job 20:20) and injures neighbors as well as the entire society (cf. Josh 7:21; Mic 2:2).

(b) Unattractiveness is undesirable (Isa 53:2); the ni. ptcp. can describe that which elicits desire or covetousness (Gen 2:9; 3:6; Psa 19:11; Prov 21:20). Such objs. are naturally valuable for the participant (Isa 44:9: the implement of the sculptor, qal pass. ptcp.; cf. Job 20:20 and the adj. and then also subjectival usage of *h<sup>a</sup>mūdôt* “costly,” “treasure”). The stimulating effect of the obj. is expressed clearly in the phrase *maḥmad ʿēnayim* “desire of the eyes” (1 Kgs 20:6; Ezek 24:16, 21, 25; Lam 2:4; cf. Eng. “feast for the eyes,” “welcome sight”); the lover sings: *kullô maḥ<sup>a</sup>maddîm* “everything about him is delight” (Song Sol 5:16; cf. further Isa 64:10; Hos 9:6, 16; Joel 4:5; Lam 1:10f.; 2 Chron 36:19). *ḥemed*, always in a cs. relationship, describes the beauty of a field (Isa 32:12; cf. Amos 5:11), and the stateliness of human figures (Ezek 23:6, 12, 23). In the same way *ḥemdâ* is a collective term for “beauty, worth, charm, significance” (cf. 1 Sam 9:20, Israel’s greatness; Hag 2:7, the treasures of all nations; Dan 11:37, the idol of the woman, apparently Tammuz; 2 Chron 21:20, Jehoram died worthlessly = without being mourned?); *ḥemdâ* is also predominantly used as a governing noun: Isa 2:16; Jer 3:19; 12:10; 25:34; Ezek 26:12; Hos 13:15; Nah 2:10; Zech 7:14; Psa 106:24; Dan 11:8; 2 Chron 32:27; 36:10.

4./5. A specifically theological meaning cannot yet be identified for the OT. As with → *wh* and in contrast to expressions with clearly fixed ethical significance (cf. e.g., → *śn* “to hate,” *gnb* “to steal”), *ḥmd* embraces the entire complex concept of “desire”; no single aspect had yet achieved status as an independent theological technical expression. Only in early Judaism is desire, esp. of sexual desire, denigrated and made taboo. Pursuant to the prohibitions of the Decalogue (the prohibition of theft in Exod 20:15 suggested the false conclusion that v 17 must intend a “thought crime”), every material, externally stimulated desire is marked a temptation and a rebellion against God (cf. *epithymia*, concupiscentia; Matt 5:28; Rom 7:7; further, StrB 3:234ff.; 4/1:466ff.; J. J. Stamm, *Der Dekalog im Lichte der neueren Forschung* [1962], 55–59, translated and expanded in M. E.

Andrew, *Ten Commandments in Recent Research* [1967], 101–7); → *wh*.

E. Gerstenberger

## הַמָּאָה *ḥēmâ* excitement

S 2534; BDB 404a; HALOT 1:326a; TDOT 4:462–65; TWOT 860a; NIDOTTE 2779

1. The subst. *ḥēmâ* (\**ḥim-at-*, BL 450) derives from the root *yḥm* (\**wḥm*; Barth 94), which, in turn, is associated with *ḥmm* (Arab. also *ḥmw/y*) “to be hot.” The subst. is common Sem. in the meaning “venom, poison” (Berg., *Intro.* 216; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 250, 264, 276): Akk. *imtu* “venom, poison” (*AHW* 379b; *CAD* I/J:139–41), Ug. *ḥmt* “poison” (now frequently attested in *KTU* 1.100, 107; cf. *Ugaritica* 5:599a), Hebr. *ḥēmâ* (Deut 32:24, 33; Psa 58:5[bis]; 140:4; Job 6:4), Aram. *ḥimtā* / *ḥēmṯā* (attested only in the later dialects), Arab. *ḥumat* “(insect) poison” (*i* > *u* preceding a labial, *GVG* 1:199), Eth. *ḥamōt* “gall” (Dillmann 77f.). The meaning “excitement, wrath” (< “venom, foam” or derived directly from the root “to be hot, excited”) is attested outside Hebr. esp. in Aram. (Hadad inscription, *KAI* no. 214.33 *ḥm*?, Aḥ. 140 *ḥmt*[?]); Bibl. Aram. *ḥ<sup>a</sup>mâ*, Dan 3:13, 19; Syr., etc.).

2. Although the verb *yḥm* qal/pi., “to be in heat” occurs only 6x in the OT (qal: Gen 30:38f.; pi.: Gen 30:41[bis]; 31:10; Psa 51:7), the subst. *ḥēmâ* is represented 125x (incl. passages mentioned with the meaning “poison”; in the meaning “excitement, wrath” 119x, 2x in the pl. *ḥēmōt*, Psa 76:11 [txt?] and Prov 22:24, as an abstract formation, “wrath,” *GVG* 2:59), most frequently in Ezek (33x), Jer (17x), Psa (15x), and Isa (13x).

Like → *ap*, *ḥēmâ* is less often used of human wrath (28x) than of divine wrath (89x, excl. Psa 76:11b txt em and Job 19:29 txt em): of human emotions, Prov 9x, Esth 6x, Psa, Isa, and Dan 2x each, Gen, 2 Sam, 2 Kgs, Ezek, Hos, Hab, and Job 1x each; of divine wrath, Ezek 32x, Jer 17x, Isa 11x, Psa 9x, 2 Chron 5x, Deut 3x, 2 Kgs, Nah, and Lam 2x, Lev, Num, Mic, Zech, Job, and Dan 1x each.

3. In view of the meaning of the root, the basic meaning of *ḥēmâ* may indicate “being hot (from excitement),” thus e.g., “boiling,” then “wrath”; cf. Hos 7:5, which mentions the effect of wine. The distinction from → *ap* would then be seen in the fact that *ap* describes more the physically visible state of excitement of an individual breathing heavily as a

consequence of anger, while *ḥēmâ* emphasizes more the inner emotion, the inner fire of anger. Nevertheless, one may hardly recognize an essential distinction in meaning or in usage between *ʾap* and *ḥēmâ*, as demonstrated by the fact that *ḥēmâ* appears in conjunction with *ʾap* about 40x (in series: Deut 9:19; 29:22, 27; Isa 42:25; 66:15; Jer 7:20; 21:5; 32:31, 37; 33:5; 36:7; 42:18; 44:6; Ezek 5:15; 22:20; 25:14; 38:18; Mic 5:14; Dan 9:16; in par. expressions: Gen 27:44f.; Isa 63:3, 6; Ezek 5:13; 7:8; 13:13; 20:8, 21; Nah 1:6; Hab 2:15 [cf. HAL 313a]; Psa 6:2; 37:8; 78:38; 90:7; Prov 15:1; 21:14; 22:24; 27:4; 29:22; Lam 4:11).

Other phrases are: with derivatives from the stem → *qsp*, Deut 9:19; 29:27; Isa 34:2; Jer 21:5; 32:37; Psa 38:2; with *g<sup>c</sup>ārâ* “scolding,” Isa 51:20; 66:15; with *tôkaḥat* “reprimand,” Ezek 5:15; 25:17; with the root → *qn?*, Ezek 16:38, 42; 36:6; Nah 1:2; Zech 8:2; Prov 6:34; with → *nqm*, Nah 1:2; with *za<sup>c</sup>am* “cursing,” Nah 1:6.

Wrath can burn out (*yšt* ni., 2 Kgs 22:13, 17) or intensify (*ʾlh*, 2 Sam 11:20; Ezek 38:18; 2 Chron 36:16); it can abate (*škk*, Esth 7:10); one can forsake it (*ʾzb*, Psa 37:8) or turn it aside (*sûb* hi., Num 25:11; Isa 66:15; Jer 18:20; Psa 106:23; Prov 15:1).

*ḥēmâ* “excitement, agitation” overcomes the king on hearing bad news (2 Sam 11:20; Esth 1:12; 2:1; 7:7); a person can feel it against his brother (Gen 27:44) or against a rival (Esth 3:5; 5:9). Proverbial wisdom expresses in many images how detrimental this excitement can be (Prov 6:34; 15:1; 19:19; 22:24; 27:4; 29:22). Patience (Prov 15:18) and wisdom (Prov 16:14) protect against it, as well as a timely gift (Prov 21:14). Other examples of human *ḥēmâ* are 2 Kgs 5:12; Isa 51:13(bis); Hos 7:5; Psa 37:8; 76:11(bis); Esth 7:10; Dan 8:6; 11:44. A (holy) excitement can also overcome a prophet enraptured by Yahweh’s spirit.

On the text and translation of Isa 27:4; Hab 2:15; Job 36:18 (and Jer 25:15), cf., in addition to HAL 313, G. R. Driver, “On *ḥēmāh* ‘hot anger, fury’ and also ‘fiery wine,’” TZ 14 (1958): 133–35.

4. God’s *ḥēmâ* “wrath” is directed at individuals (Psa 6:2 = 38:2; 88:8; 90:7; Job 21:20), but esp. against his own people in conjunction with punitive judgment (Jer 4:4, etc.; Ezek 5:15, etc.; Lev 26:28; Deut 9:19; 29:27; 2 Kgs 22:13, 17; Psa 78:38; 89:47; 106:23; Lam 2:4; 4:11; Dan 9:16). The other nations also stand under divine wrath, thus e.g., Sodom and Gomorrah (Deut 29:22), Edom (Isa 63:3, 5f.; Ezek 25:14), the Philistines (Ezek 25:17), Egypt (Ezek 30:15), and all foreign nations (Isa 34:2) and enemies of Yahweh (Psa 59:14; 79:6).

A distinctive concept underlies the picture of the cup of wrath that Yahweh gives his enemies to drink (Isa 51:17, 22; Jer 25:15; cf. Rudolph, KAT 17/3, 255, on Lam 4:21).

5. *ḥēmā* occurs occasionally in the Qumran literature (cf. Kuhn, *Konk.* 73), once in conjunction with *rgz* “excitement” (1Q20 1:2) and once in the phrase “to pour out wrath” (*špk*, 6Q10 2:4, cf. Ezek 20:8, etc.).

On the NT, cf. G. Stählin, “ὀργή,” *TDNT* 5:419–47; R. Hentschke, *BHH* 3:2246–48 (bibliog.); H. Reinelt, *BLex* 2 1934–36 (bibliog.).

G. Sauer

לַחַמְלָה *ml* to have compassion → חַמְלָה *hm*

### חַמְלָה *āmās* violence

S 2554; BDB 329a; *HALOT* 1:329a; *TDOT* 4:478–87; *TWOT* 678; *NIDOTTE* 2803

1. The word group *ḥms* qal “to act violently,” ni. “to suffer violence,” and *ḥāmās* “violence” seems to have few direct counterparts outside texts dependent upon the OT; worthy of mention are Yaudi *ḥms* “abominable act” (*KAI* no. 214.26 in a fragmentary context) and Imp. Aram. *šhd ḥms* “witness who exercises injustice” (Aḥ. 140 [*ANET* 429b “false witness”] = Hebr. *šd ḥāmās*). In the event that *ḥms* should be associated with the root *ḥmš* II (Hebr. *ḥmš* qal “to oppress,” Psa 71:4; subst. *ḥāmôš* “oppressor,” Isa 1:17 txt?, read *ḥāmûš* “oppressed”; cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 36), then Aram., Akk., and Eth. equivalents may be included.

*HAL* 316a distinguishes the verb in Job 21:27 as *ḥms* II “to devise.”

2. The qal occurs 6x (Jer 22:3; Ezek 22:26; Zeph 3:4; Prov 8:36; Lam 2:6; in Job 15:33 of dropping fruits; excl. Job 21:27), the ni. 1x (Jer 13:22). The noun is more frequent: 60x (excl. Ezek 9:9, where some MSS have *ḥāmās* instead of *dāmîm*; Psa 14x, Prov 7x, Ezek and Hab 6x each, Gen and Jer 4x each).

3. (a) *ḥamas* is usually sg.; the pl. forms in 2 Sam 22:49 (Psa 18:49 sg.), Psa 140:2, 5 (v 12 sg.), and Prov 4:17 form attributive descriptions (“*ḥāmās* -full” man or wine) as an extension of the sg. form (*š ḥāmās*, etc.; cf. Prov 3:31; 16:29). As a rule, gens. accompanying nouns indicate the obj. of the violence (Judg 9:24; Joel 4:19; Obad 10; Hab 2:8, 17; with pron. suf., Gen 16:5; Jer 51:35), rarely the actor (Ezek 12:19; with pron. suf., Psa

7:17).

Prophetic diction often uses *šōd* “misdeed, destruction” as a synonym for *ḥāmās* (Isa 60:18; Jer 6:7; 20:8; Ezek 45:9; Amos 3:10; Hab 1:3; 2:17; *šōd* occurs a total of 25x in the OT, with the exceptions of Psa 12:6; Job 5:21f.; Prov 21:7; and 24:2 only in prophetic books; in addition, *šdd* qal “to destroy, rape” occurs 32x, ni. 1x, pi. 2x, pu. 20x, po. 1x, and ho. 2x, likewise almost exclusively in the Prophets, rarely in Psa, Job, and Prov, elsewhere only in Judg 5:27). The difference may lie in the fact that *šōd* emphasizes the active doing, *ḥāmās* the nature or consequence of the deed.

(b) Religious and a profane usage may not be strictly distinguished because *ḥāmās*, even if interpersonal, violates an order established or guaranteed by God (von Rad, *Theol.* 1:157n.34). Nevertheless, various aspects of the concept may be noted.

The word is anchored first in the legal sphere (R. Knierim, “*Cht* und *Chms*. Zwei Begriffe für Sünde in Israel und ihr Sitz im Leben” [diss., Heidelberg, 1957], 125ff.), but already had various usages there.

In the independent *ḥāmās* cry (Hab 1:2; Job 19:7; on Jer 20:8, see 4), von Rad (*Theol.* 1:157n.34), Knierim (op. cit. 129ff.), and H. J. Boecker (*Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT* [1964], 60f.) see a cry of the legal community for legal protection (the opening of a hearing). Because Yahweh is addressed in both cases, however, these passages more likely deal with a direct cry for help (similarly, *šm*<sup>c</sup> ni. in Isa 60:18 and Jer 6:7 should also be understood as “to be heard by” [contra Knierim, op. cit. 131], because *ḥāmās* in Jer 6:7 is combined with *šōd* and Isa 60:18 speaks of foreign oppression).

The expression *‘ēdḥāmās* (Exod 23:1; Deut 19:16) probably indicated originally the plaintiff in a case of *ḥāmās* (not the witness who perverts justice; Deut 19:18 indicates explicitly after subsequent investigation that the accusation is false by *šeqer* “deceit”), but then in a shift of meaning generally the “violent, law-breaking witness.” *ḥāmās* may indeed have originally meant the misdeed that objectively burdens the land and disturbs its relationship and its inhabitants’ relationship to God, so that anyone who knows of it must appear as plaintiff before the legal community in order to divert the consequences (cf. H. J. Stoebe, *WD* 3 [1952]: 121ff.; on → *‘ēd* as “plaintiff” see also B. Gemser, *SVT* 3 [1955]: 130; contra Knierim, op. cit. 127f., although he emphasizes correctly the term’s connotation of a concept of an independent sphere of action, op. cit. 135). The law in Deut 19:15–19 also lies on the level of regulations concerning murder committed by an unknown hand (Deut 21:1–9), and the series of curses (Deut 27:15–26; cf. Lev 5:1) gives evidence of an advanced legal praxis concerned for legal certainty (Deut 19:15).

This element is also active where *ḥāmās* is combined with *ml*<sup>ʔ</sup> “to be

full” (land, city, and secondarily the temple; Gen 6:11, 13; Ezek 7:23; 8:17; 28:16; Mic 6:12; Zeph 1:9). If the land is full of *ḥāmās*, then the consequence for its inhabitants is punishment and destruction. This understanding is esp. clear in Gen 6:13; despite later testimony (P), it is not a late theologoumenon (contra Knierim, op. cit. 134), but the direct consequence of the original meaning.

A similar situation pertains where the *ḥāmās* procedure itself overtakes the perpetrator (Judg 9:24 with *bôʾ* “to come”; Psa 7:17 with *yrd* “to descend”), or *ḥāmās* is otherwise bound to *ʿal* “on” (Gen 16:5 J; Jer 51:35; Mal 2:16; Gen 16:5 seems ancient: the consequence of the *ḥāmās* that lies upon Sarai is barrenness; she lays it on Abram as cosufferer and thus characterizes the gravity of Hagar’s deed; cf. Knierim, op. cit. 134; von Rad, *Gen*, OTL [1972], 192).

4. The substance of such a *ḥāmās*, even in the Prophets, is the spilling of blood (Gen 49:5f.; Judg 9:24; Isa 59:6; Jer 51:35; Ezek 7:23; Joel 4:19; in Jer 22:3 *ḥms qal*) and presumably moral crimes (reference to this only in Jer 13:22 ni.) that pollute the land in the same way (Lev 18:28; 20:22) and also stand under the verdict of capital punishment in the law (e.g., Lev 20:11–18).

According to a promising suggestion by J. Berridge, *Prophet, People, and the Word of Yahweh* (1970), 152–54 (cf. also S. Marrow, *VD* 43 [1965]: 241–55), Jer 20:8 could be influenced by the preceding rape metaphor; *ḥāmās* would be the maiden’s cry for help (cf. Deut 22:24), not the cry for legal protection. Whether Prov 26:6 also belongs in this context (cf. Gemser, *HAT* 16, 94) may not be decided given the uncertainty of the text.

Now, independent spheres of action in the OT are to be delineated theoretically and not precisely, because the concept behind them is a borrowed form that does not itself demonstrate the essence of OT thought but is given new content (cf. N. H. Ridderbos, *GTT* 64 [1964]: 226ff.). The revelation unique to the OT focuses attention upon human responsibility in the relationship between Yahweh and his people. Thus the emphasis of the word lies on the perpetrator and his individual guilt. This analysis results less from the formulations (Isa 59:6; Ezek 12:19; Jonah 3:8; Mic 6:12; Mal 2:16; Job 16:17; 1 Chron 12:18, often with *yād/kap* “hand” in which there is *ḥāmās*; these texts could—even if with reservations—be included with the passages discussed earlier) than from the sphere of the acts so categorized. Combined with *bgd* “to act deceitfully” (Zeph 3:4; Mal 2:16; Prov 13:2; similarly 16:29 with *pṯh pi* “to delude”) *ḥāmās* characterizes the diminution of another’s rights and living space as violation of duty to the neighbor and encompasses the entire range of antisocial behavior (Amos

3:10) in opposition to justice and righteousness (Jer 22:3; Ezek 45:9). Arrogance (Psa 73:6), deceit (Zeph 1:9) in speech (Mic 6:12; cf. Prov 10:6, 11 and, conversely, the description of the servant's virtue in Isa 53:9), and, finally, improper legal proceedings (Psa 55:10; Hab 1:3 txt?) are named. Ezek 22:26 and Zeph 3:4 mention attacks on Yahweh's Torah (*ḥms* qal, subj., the priests). Yahweh himself turns against the *ḥāmās* that he hates (Psa 11:5), from which he delivers (2 Sam 22:3, 49 = Psa 18:3, 49; Psa 140:2, 5; cf. Psa 72:14, the king under Yahweh's commission), because of which one calls to him (Hab 1:2; Psa 25:19), and which he avenges (Ezek 7:23; 8:17f.; 12:19; 28:16; Zeph 1:9). If, paradoxically, *ḥāmās* comes from Yahweh himself (Job 19:7), there is no remedy for it.

Thus *ḥāmās* becomes an encompassing term for sin per se (Ezek 7:11; Jonah 3:8; cf. also the phrase *יֵשׁ ḥāmās/ḥ<sup>a</sup>māsîm*; see 3a). Characteristically, too, *ḥāmās* is practiced not only in Israel but also by foreign nations against Israel (Joel 4:19; Obad 10; Hab 1:9; 2:8, 17). This development is the context in which psalmic diction equates *עֵד שֶׁגֶר* "lying witness" and *עֵד ḥāmās* (Psa 35:11; cf. 27:12, → *kzb* 3a), an equation that was not original (see 3b).

5. In the Qumran texts *ḥāmās* finds little usage (Kuhn, *Konk.* 73c; also *GCDS* 256). On the LXX and the NT, cf. G. Schrenk, "ᾄδικος," *TDNT* 1:149–63; W. Gutbrod, "ἄνομία," *TDNT* 4:1085–87.

H. J. Stoebe

## חנן *ḥnn* to be gracious

S 2603; BDB 335b; *HALOT* 1:334b; *TDOT* 5:22–36; *TWOT* 694; *NIDOTTE* 2838

1. The root *ḥnn* "to be gracious (to someone), demonstrate goodwill," etc., is common Sem. (lacking in Eth.); it occurs verbally and in various nom. derivatives with meanings similar to the Hebr., e.g., in Akk. (*enēnu*, *AHW* 217, 219; *CAD* E:162–64), Amor. in PNs (Buccellati 134; Huffmon 200), Ug. (*WUS* no. 947; *UT* no. 882; Gröndahl 135f.), as a WSemitism in the Amarna Letters (EA 137:81; 253:24; cf. *CAD* E:164f.), in Phoen.-Pun. (*DISO* 91f.; PNs like Hanno, Hannibal, etc.: Harris 102f.), in Aram. (*DISO* 91f.; *KBL* 1076b), and in Arab. (Wehr 209).

Etymologically, *ḥnn* may be related to *ḥnh* "to bow oneself, lie down" (e.g., GB 243b; on *ḥannôt* in Psa 77:10 cf. GKC §67r and Nyberg 142: qal inf. from *ḥnn*; contra

HAL 319b: pi. inf. from *ḥnh* II) or to an older biradical root *ḥn* (D. R. Ap-Thomas, *JSS* 2 [1957]: 128).

The hapax legomenon *ḥnn* II “to stink” (Job 19:17) goes back to a root attested in Syr. and Arab. with an original *ḥ* as the first radical.

Apart from cases in which *ḥnn* is a name component (e.g., *ʿelḥānān*, *ḥannîʿēl*, *ḥʾnanyâ[hû]*, *ḥannâ*, etc., cf. *IP* 187), the root occurs verbally in the OT in the qal, pi., hitp., and po. stems, as a nom. in the subst. *ḥēn* “goodwill, grace” and *ḥʾnîḥâ* “mercy” (only Jer 16:13), as well as in the abstracts *tʿḥinnâ* and *taḥʾnûnîm/ôt* “pleading” derived from the reflexive stem (BL 495, 497), as an adj. in *ḥannûn* “gracious, friendly,” and as an adv. in *ḥinnām* “undeservedly, without reason, uselessly.”

The apparent ni. form *nēḥantî* in Jer 22:23 is a miswritten form of *ʾnh* “to sigh”; cf. BL 351; the apparent ho. forms *yūḥan* in Isa 26:10 and Prov 21:10 should be viewed as qal pass.; cf. BL 286 and the PN *ḥānûn*.

The ending *-ām* in *ḥinnām* should not be explained as mimation of an adv. acc. (as *GVG* 1:474; Meyer 2:39; cf. *UT* §11.4), but represents a fossilized 3d masc. pl. suf. (BL 529; cf. also H. J. Stoebe, *VT* 2 [1952]: 245).

2. The verb *ḥnn* occurs 78x in the Hebr. OT, specifically, 55x in qal (30x alone in Psa, incl. 77:10; Isa 5x, Gen, Job, and Prov 3x each), in the hitp. 17x, po. and ho. 2x, ni. and pi. 1x. The most frequent subst. is *ḥēn*, 69x (Gen 14x, Prov 13x, Exod 9x, 1 Sam and Esth 6x each; the concentration is in the narrative books [47x] and in wisdom [15x]; the word is rare in the Psa [2x] and the Prophets [5x]); then follow *tʿḥinnâ* (25x, 9x in 1 Kgs and 5x each in Jer and 2 Chron), *taḥʾnûnîm/ôt* (18x, 8x in Psa), and *ḥʾnîḥâ* (1x). *ḥannûn* occurs 13x (6x in Psa), *ḥinnām* 32x (Psa and Prov 6x each, Job 4x).

Bibl. Aram. pe. and hitp. occur once each (Dan 4:24 and 6:12, resp.).

3. Nontheological usages will be classified according to parts of speech: *ḥēn* (a-c), *ḥannûn* (d), verb (e-f), *tʿḥinnâ* and *taḥʾnûnîm* (g). For the whole group, see W. F. Lofthouse, “œen and œesed in the OT,” *ZAW* 51 (1933): 29–35; W. L. Reed, “Some Implications of œen for OT Religion,” *JBL* 73 (1954): 36–41; D. R. Ap-Thomas, “Some Aspects of the Root œNN in the OT,” *JSS* 2 (1957): 128–48; K. W. Neubauer, “Der Stamm CHNN im Sprachgebrauch des AT” (diss., Berlin, 1964).

(a) The noun *ḥēn* occurs exclusively in the sg. An esp. frequent formula in narrative texts is *mšʾḥēn bʿēnē* . . . “to find favor in the eyes of . . .

.” This phrase makes it clear that the prerequisite for such favor is not discrete acts but an attitude.

The noun therefore is also only rarely definite (determined): in Prov 31:30 by the article (there, however, *ḥēn* signifies “graciousness”), in Gen 39:21 by a pron. suf., in Exod 3:21; 11:3; 12:36 by a governing noun (here the formula is *ntn ḥēn b<sup>c</sup>ēnē* . . . “to create goodwill in the eyes of . . .,” in which Yahweh is the subj. of the verb, but the “*ḥēn* -attitude” is taken with the people, the prison guard, and the Egyptians). The expression *nś<sup>ʔ</sup>ḥēn b<sup>c</sup>ēnē* (Esth 2:15, 17; 5:2) represents a confusion of original linguistic boundaries (see also “before him” in Esth 2:17).

The formula under discussion (cf. Lande 95–97) expresses chiefly an interpersonal relationship, even in Gen 18:3; 19:19; Judg 6:17, where a conversation takes place with God or an angel, but which does not abandon the style of legendary narrative. More rarely, Yahweh is explicitly the subj. of *ḥēn*; these passages are for the most part limited to a characterization of Moses’ relationship with Yahweh (Exod 33–34; Num 11).

The one in whose eyes one finds *ḥēn* is always the superior, never vice versa (the king: 1 Sam 16:22; 27:5; 2 Sam 14:22; 16:4; 1 Kgs 11:19; Esth 5:2, 8; 7:3; the crown prince: 1 Sam 20:3, 29; the royal vizier: Gen 47:25). The formula presumably has roots in the style of court speech, but can then be applied in the course of a process of democratization to anyone who faces a weaker party as the superior (officer: Gen 39:4, 21; the stronger brother: Gen 32:6; the rich landowner: Ruth 2:2, 10, 13). Finally, the word merely signifies that the addressee can grant something that the supplicant desires quite independently (Gen 34:11; Num 32:5; 1 Sam 25:8). Even though, owing to the nature of the concept, boundaries are fluid here too, the formula still never becomes attenuated to a mere polite expression.

In Gen 50:4 Joseph could request the mediation of the court officials because he himself, unclean because of his father’s death, cannot go to Pharaoh (thus H. Holzinger, HSAT 1, 96). In Gen 47:29 the formulation of Jacob’s request in formal style is required by the high status of the son.

The origins of the expression in the sphere of courtly speech shine through the attestations of loyalty in address and self-presentation associated with it (cf. *ʾādôn* “lord,” Gen 18:3; 32:6; 33:8, 15; 47:25; 2 Sam 14:22; 16:4; *ʿebed* “servant,” Gen 19:19; Num 32:5; *šiphâ* “maiden,” 1 Sam 1:18; Ruth 2:13). To have found *ḥēn* is the prerequisite for stating a request (Gen 18:3; 47:29; 50:4; Exod 33:13; Judg 6:17; 1 Sam 20:29; 27:5), just as, conversely, a fulfilled request or an unexpected gift evidences the giver’s *ḥēn* (2 Sam 14:22; 16:4; Ruth 2:13).

As the behavior of a superior, *ḥēn* doubtlessly implies an element of condescension or partiality (N. H. Snaith, *Distinctive Ideas of the OT* [1964] 127–30). Still, it should be noted the phrase *mš<sup>ʔ</sup>ḥēn b<sup>°</sup>ēnāyw* accents “in his eyes” and not “find” (contra Lofthouse, *op. cit.*, who sees the chief characteristic of the phrase in the finding). This emphasis makes clear that the demonstration of *ḥēn* includes an evaluation of the other so that both, subj. and obj., are considered and both participate, even if in different roles, in the event (cf. H. J. Stoebe, *VT* 2 [1952]: 245). This participation is underscored when the formula is supplemented, admittedly in loose association, by an expression of perception (Ruth 2:10 *nkr hi.*; Esth 2:15 *r<sup>ʔ</sup>h.*; Zech 12:10 *nb<sup>ʔ</sup> hi.*).

This assessment can determine one suited for a given task. It becomes clear to Potiphar that the blessing that rests upon Joseph makes him suited for service (Gen 39:4); Saul keeps David at court because he recognizes his capabilities (1 Sam 16:22; the spontaneous attraction is expressed in v 21 by *ḥb* “to love”; cf. also 18:1); Nabal should recognize the helpful kindness of David’s people (1 Sam 25:8). This aspect becomes most clear in the marriage law in Deut 24:1: the marriage can be dissolved if the husband discovers “something undesirable” in his wife, i.e., he becomes aware of something that makes it impossible for her to find *ḥēn* with him and that is, in his judgment, a hindrance to marriage.

Nevertheless, weakness and pitifulness should be considered (care of the helpless is also a royal duty); the appearance of Jacob’s wives and children should change Esau’s mind (Gen 33:8). Zech 12:10 should also be seen in this context. The passage is difficult because the presupposed events are unknown. Juxtaposition with *taḥ<sup>ʔ</sup>nûnîm* does not signify that it is the human counterpart to God’s *ḥēn*. *ḥēn* is the emotion, the shock, at the sight of a martyr that leads one to *taḥ<sup>ʔ</sup>nûnîm* “pleading.”

In the original semantic range of the word, *ḥēn* is exercised by a king, whose obligations also included the protection of the unfortunate but whose interest in the qualifications of a subordinate can be quite varied. Thus there are always overtones of gracious condescension, although precise distinctions are impossible. One can no more say that *ḥēn* signifies a spontaneous demonstration of grace (Lofthouse, *op. cit.*, with a one-sided emphasis on the relationship of superiority and subordination; contra, rightly, Reed, *op. cit.* 39) than one can speak of a socially appropriate behavior in the sense of a legal right, arising from the good conduct of the partner (Neubauer, *op. cit.*). From the outset, “socially appropriate” is too imprecise, because everything that takes place between persons involves community in some way; the phrase is extremely nonspecific.

In the usage discussed to this point, *ḥēn* could be rendered “favor,” or even better, “consideration,” as well as “partiality.” These three terms encompass the semantic range of the word, the idea of a subordinate, who,

whether by the recognition of an accomplishment or by an unmotivated act of goodwill on the part of the lord, is elevated from the faceless masses and taken into consideration personally by the lord (cf. “I know you” Exod 33:12, → *yd<sup>c</sup>*).

(b) In the course of a development encountered esp. in wisdom diction, the association with the *b<sup>e</sup>ênê* “in the eyes of” a concrete other is lost; thus the expression’s focal point is shifted one-sidedly to the recipient, who becomes the possessor. The term acquires a more general meaning and simultaneously becomes static.

Even when, as in Prov 3:4, the formula still occurs, it loses concrete reference because of the breadth of the qualifier “before God and the people”; the softening of the form is also demonstrated by the coordination of the expression *šēkel tōb* with *hēn*, which should be understood, both here and elsewhere, as “success-bringing prudence” and not ad hoc as “approval.” More clearly, *hēn* without further qualification in Prov 13:15 is the result of such *šēkel tōb*; in 22:1 *hēn tōb* is a desirable good alongside a good name; in Psa 84:12 the par. is *kābôd* “honor.” Thus *hēn* becomes the objective reputation that one no longer “finds” but enjoys. This development is already apparent in Exod 3:21; 11:3; 12:36. The significance of *ʿeben hēn*, the talisman in Prov 17:8 which is otherwise difficult to categorize, seems also to lie in the direction of something readily available. The verbal form *yūhan* in Isa 26:10 probably also belongs here; the context should be understood (without textual emendation) as an abbreviated conditional clause (GKC §159c). It cannot mean that the godless find grace with Yahweh (that would be blasphemy); rather, it envisions the reputation that a godless individual enjoys and because of which one could doubt God’s righteousness.

(c) This shift of accent reaches a logical conclusion when *hēn* assumes the meaning “attractiveness, loveliness” as a visually perceptible personal or objective characteristic that can also involve the notions of success and fortune. Even if not exclusively (cf. Prov 11:16), this understanding occurs predominantly in the later collection, Prov 1–9 (1:9; 3:22; 4:9).

*hēn šēpātāyw* “attractiveness of his lips,” Prov 22:11, should be understood as the eloquence of the wise. Nah 3:4 and Zech 4:7 are related. Here the translations “lovely, lovely” (W. Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten* [18971], 330) or “bravo, bravo” (E. Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch* [1930], 501) seem appropriate (cf. also Stoebe, op. cit. 245), although “*Heil, Heil*” (Elliger, ATD 25, 117) seems too objective, and “grace, grace” (Sellin, op. cit. 504) too formal. In the event that *hyn* (*hîn*) in Job 41:4 is *hēn* with a *plene* spelling (König 107a), it also belongs here; but it is probably an unknown word.

(d) The adj. *hannûn* “gracious” refers to people only in Psa 112:4, and even there not unequivocally (cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:362); in any case, it should be understood against the background of sacral usage (see 4b).

(e) The verb *hnn* qal “to show someone *hēn*” is not very common in

everyday usage. Although the traditional translation “to be gracious” better fits cases with God as the subj. of the demonstration of *ḥēn* (see 4c), the entire semantic range of *ḥēn* “goodwill, consideration, partiality” may be observed in profane diction, although the weak and suffering are generally the recipients of *ḥēn* (Lam 4:16, the aged, par. *nś’ pānîm* “to regard someone”; Deut 28:50, a boy; Psa 109:12, orphans).

In Job 19:21, Job does not expect grace or mercy from his friends, for they cannot alter his ill-fortune, but they could at least show consideration for it and cease their talk.

Deut 7:2 involves a more positive assessment. Here *ḥnn* does not indicate the consequence and content of the previously forbidden covenant making (as argued by Neubauer, op. cit., who finds confirmation here of his understanding of *ḥnn* as socially appropriate behavior); rather, one should neither make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land nor pay them any recognition whatsoever because they are great and mighty (v 1).

On the difficult passage Judg 21:22, cf. W. Rudolph, FS Eissfeldt (1947), 212 (read *ḥannônû ’ôtām* “we are sorry for them”); G. R. Driver, *ALUOS* 4 (1962/63): 22.

In Psa 37:21, 26 and 112:5, the qal ptcp. *ḥônēn* (par. *ntn* “to give” and *lwh* hi. “to lend,” resp.) was already correctly rendered by older scholarship as “to give.” One should not think here of mercifulness in the strict sense (as does e.g., Tholuck), but of generosity as a virtue (cf. Psa 112:4).

Prov 14:31 and 19:17 (indirectly also 28:8) bases the behavior required toward the neighbor on obligation to God. Thus the concept approaches the sacral use of *ḥēn*. The poor are named here as the objs. (*’ebyôn* 14:31; *dal* 19:17; 28:8; cf. *’ānî* 14:21 po.).

(f) Among the derived verb stems, *ḥnn* pi. “to make pleasant” and the po., similar to the qal in meaning, have only profane usages; in contrast, *ḥnn* hitp. “to request consideration, grace” occurs mostly in theological contexts.

Prov 26:25 pi. “to make (his voice) pleasant,” is reminiscent of the usage of *ḥēn* “attractiveness, loveliness” in Prov 1:9; 3:22; 4:9; 22:11. Thus the verb also participates in the noun’s full range of meaning (*HP* 269 understands the passage somewhat differently).

The po. in Psa 102:15 concerns not people but the ruins of Jerusalem that the servants of Yahweh mourn (par. *ršh* “to love”). As already in passages with the qal ptcp., the development of the term through which *ḥnn* becomes a moral good and an ideal for life may also be ascertained in Prov 14:21, “Blessed be he who has mercy on those who suffer.”

That *ḥēn/ḥnn* is not unilaterally oriented toward the one who demonstrates goodwill is underscored by the fact that the reflexive stem never means “to demonstrate oneself to be gracious” (cf. *ḥsd hitp.*). It expresses, first very generally, a request for attention, consideration, and then, in a broader sense, for grace. The specific content is determined by the specific situation, the position and the capacities of the one called upon.

In Esth 4:8 and 8:3, a demonstration of goodwill—i.e., grace—in opposition to the attacks of an anti-Jewish vizier is sought from the king. Gen 42:21 expects liberation from fear. In 2 Kgs 1:13, Obadiah pleads for consideration for his life and the lives of his people. In Job 19:16, the choice of the expression characterizes the reversal of the relationships; the lord accustomed to commanding must now plead. Job 9:15 complains about the same reversal, now in a legal procedure; the note of grace can already be heard quite loudly here, particularly because the opponent in the proceeding is God himself.

(g) Accordingly, noms. derived from the reflexive stem, *t<sup>e</sup>ḥinnâ* and *taḥ<sup>a</sup>nûnîm*, have the basic meaning “petition”; they occur mostly in the sacral area, rarely for interpersonal relationships.

In Prov 18:23 *taḥ<sup>a</sup>nûnîm* acquires meaning in opposition to *ṣazzôt* (→ *ṣzz*): the poor person pleads modestly. The same circumstance applies in Job 40:27 (synonymous parallelism). The precise understanding of *t<sup>e</sup>ḥinnâ* in Josh 11:20 is difficult. By consensus it is translated “mercifulness,” explained by Neubauer (op. cit. 53) against the background of covenant obligation. This understanding would actually be a departure from the norm (cf. Ap-Thomas, op. cit. 130, who consequently suggests an emendation to *ḥ<sup>a</sup>nîâ* “mercy”). One must ask whether the connotation “petition” may not be heard here too. The contrast is battle/attack–petition. Yahweh has arranged it such that they must immediately go forth to battle with no room for negotiations (petitions). The theological background of the concept strongly underscores grace in the word’s conceptual scope; but the context of Ezra 9:8, to which reference is frequently made, has another effect. In Jer 37:20; 38:26; and 42:9 *t<sup>e</sup>ḥinnâ* is an urgent petition to someone who can grant it.

4. Because the difference between God and people is immeasurable, the nuance of free grace assumes prominence when God is the counterpart. The believer’s concept of God is not determined by what one thinks about *ḥēn*; to the contrary, what one believes about and hopes and expects from God determines the content of (a) *ḥēn*, (b) *ḥannûn*, (c) *ḥnn qal*, (d) *ḥnn hitp.*, and (e) *t<sup>e</sup>ḥinnâ* and *taḥ<sup>a</sup>nûnîm*.

(a) *ḥēn* does not occur very frequently in theological speech. With the exception of Jer, it is entirely absent from the Prophets (on Nah 3:4 and Zech 4:7, see 3c; on Zech 12:10, see 3a). Perhaps the term did not appear to have a sufficiently theological profile.

From the outset, Gen 6:8 emphasizes the giver by stating no reason for the grace Noah finds (v 9 P is not a basis for v 8 J). Gen 19:19 accentuates the → *hesed*, the magnitude of which Lot experiences in undeserved deliverance and in which he recognizes that he has found the *hēn* that allows him to voice an additional request. 2 Sam 15:25 further underscores the freedom of the decision to grant grace by the contrary statement, “I am not pleased with you” (v 26). Exod 33:12ff. acquires its characteristic feature as a consequence of the fact that God himself, his presence on the journey, is requested, so that *hēn* signifies the full communication of his grace. The oscillation in the meaning of *hēn* in Exod 3:21; 11:3; 12:36 (see 3a) may also be understood on this basis. Jer 31:2 is textually difficult, but *hēn* is too profiled to be altered (Rudolph, HAT 12, 193). Most exegetes identify a conceptual relationship to Exod 33; assuming the correctness of this view, it still does not mean that *hēn* may be understood as a behavior within an established community (thus Neubauer, op. cit. 69). It is, rather, a promise of grace without prerequisite or limit. In addition to differences with respect to Exod 33, there are also points of contact, at least conceptually, with Gen 19:19 (cf. *hesed* in v 3). Correspondingly, the word *h<sup>a</sup>nînâ*, which occurs only once in the OT (Jer 16:13), approaches → *hesed*, or at least *rah<sup>a</sup>mîm* “mercy,” in content.

(b) Isolated *hannûn* “gracious” (Exod 22:26) is a constitutive characteristic of the king, who must have an ear open to the complaints of his subjects. This concept also echoes when *hannûn* is complemented by *saddîq* “righteous” (Psa 116:5); Psa 112:4 is uncertain with reference both to text and content, but it belongs, if only very generally, to this category. Otherwise, the combination with *rahûm* “merciful” is stereotypical; it is an established liturgical formula first encountered in the predication in Exod 34:6 (prepositive *hannûn*: Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2; Psa 111:4; 112:4 txt?; 145:8; Neh 9:17, 31; 2 Chron 30:9; cf. Psa 116:5; postpositive: Psa 86:15; 103:8). It represents God’s presence for people in analogy to the actions of a lord (kings) as well as of a father (→ *rîm*), both from the standpoint of its polarity and from that of the promise inherent in it.

Reference should also be made to Mal 1:9 for this concept; the statement made here differs from the predication in that it more strongly accents the requirement under which it places people (cf. also Psa 103:12).

(c) The same notion occurs in Exod 33:19, where, in finite qal verbs, the name Yahweh is interpreted both with respect to content and to the sovereignty of divine action. The concept is also active in 2 Kgs 13:23 and Isa 30:18 (v 19 *hnn* alone in response to a cry of lament) and occurs, finally, in a reduced form in Isa 27:11, where the subjs. “his creation” and “who formed it” shatter the original bounds of the concept (cf. also Psa 102:14).

The impv. with suf. finds frequent usage in the liturgical diction of the

Psa as a cry of petition. Understandably, the meaning becomes more general here and loses its marked profile, yet here too the context is often informative. If a specific request follows *ḥonnēnî* “be gracious unto me” (Psa 4:2; 6:3; 9:14; 27:7; 30:11; 41:5, 11; 51:3f.; 86:16), the notion of inclination as a prerequisite for the petition can be heard more strongly. In addition, overlapping constructions in which the impv. follows such a specific request often occur so that *ḥnn* is understood more abs. (25:16; 26:11; 27:7; 30:11; 86:16). In the same way one must understand passages in which the cry for *ḥēn* stands alone (31:10; 56:2; 57:2; 86:3; cf. 123:2f. pl.). The development present here is marked in Psa 119:29.

The expression *w<sup>ē</sup>tôrāt<sup>ē</sup>kā ḥonnēnî* may hardly be understood as presentation of the Torah (so A. Deissler, *Psalm 119 und seine Theologie* [1955], 124f.; 123: “favor me”); this would be wisdom language, which should not be so understood with respect to God. Here the Torah is the substance of self-communication and favor. Vv 58 and 132 are also to be understood from this viewpoint.

In summary, the blessing formula in Num 6:25, “may he be gracious to you,” exemplifies the wish for Yahweh’s favor (Psa 67:2 is dependent). Characteristically, a justification for the request, a reference to the character of the supplicant, is frequently stated, either introduced with *kî* “for” (Psa 25:16; 31:10; 41:5; 57:2; 86:3; 123:3) or asyndetically (Psa 4:2; 9:14; 26:11; 27:7; 56:2; cf. Isa 33:2). A reference to the distress (Psa 4:2; 6:3; 9:14; 25:16; 56:2; probably also 102:14, “it is time”), less often to the personal piety, of the supplicant (Psa 26:11; 27:7?; 57:2; 86:3; 119:58; cf. Isa 33:2 and Mal 1:9) constitutes the content of this justification. Psa 41:5 “I have sinned against you” should be emphasized; the ultimate conclusion is drawn here: God is inclined to forgive.

Emendations (see *BH* 3, omitted in *BHS* ) are unnecessary because the same notion occurs in Psa 51:6 (cf. also Psa 103:3). Here the compass of the formula *ḥannûn w<sup>ē</sup>rahûm* (see 4b) receives clearest expression.

Outside this liturgical usage, the contexts become somewhat clearer.

In 2 Sam 12:22 the hope for the preservation of the child stands in relationship to David’s penitence (contra Hertzberg, *Sam*, OTL, 316). The same cautious “perhaps” occurs in Amos 5:15, where the “being gracious” of v 14 corresponds to “Yahweh will be with you”; in any case the sovereignty of the divine decision is preserved. In Gen 33:11 *ḥnn* is not merely “to give”; here too unexpected riches characterize the special attention of Yahweh. Job 33:24 diverges only formally, not substantively. Because of the guiding intervention of a mediator (*mal’āk mēlîš* v 23), the divine judge reaches a positive decision; the translation “has mercy” is not entirely correct.

The verb occurs in Gen 43:29, diminished to a greeting corresponding to Eng. “God be with you!” (cf. *ḥesed we<sup>c</sup>met*, 2 Sam 15:20).

(d) As in the profane realm, the content of the request is determined by the power of the one to whom it is addressed when *ḥnn* is used (cf. Deut 3:23, the reference to the prior demonstrations of Yahweh’s might). Often *ḥnn* hitp., together with *pll* hitp. “to pray” (cf. also Psa 30:9 with *qr<sup>v</sup>* “to call”; 142:2 with *z<sup>c</sup>q* “to cry”), becomes a general term for requests addressed to God (“to you” 1 Kgs 8:33; “before you” 9:3), while the accent lies here on the forgiveness sought. Occasionally, the possibility for such petition seems tied to particular prerequisites (1 Kgs 8:33, 47; 2 Chron 6:24, 37, repentance, return).

This requirement also stands in the background of Bildad’s orthodox reprimand in Job 8:5, where sincere seeking and petitioning go together and uprightness and integrity are requirements for being heard. Hos 12:5 remains unclear to some degree. Regardless of the question whether Hosea gives evidence here of a tradition other than Gen 32 (cf. Th. C. Vriezen, *OTS* 1 [1942]: 64–78), *ḥnn* hitp. is qualified, at least in the usual translation “he prevailed, he cried and pled” (contra Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 212f.), by the contrast. Crying and pleading are the actions not of the victor but of the vanquished.

(e) Only once does *t<sup>e</sup>ḥinnâ* characterize an answered prayer (Ezra 9:8; cf. Ap-Thomas, op. cit. 131; see 3g). Otherwise it is generally the request that God hears (1 Kgs 8:30, 45, etc.; 2 Chron 6:35, 39; Psa 6:10), to which he turns (1 Kgs 8:28; 9:3), which he does not shut out (Psa 55:2), or which comes before him (Psa 119:170). Phrases involving the root → *pll* are common here too (1 Kgs 8:28, 30; Psa 6:10; 55:2, etc.).

Baruch’s diction in Jer 36:7; 37:20; 38:26; 42:2, 9 (see 3g) is characteristic; cf. also Dan 9:20 (v 18 *taḥ<sup>a</sup>nûnîm*). Phrases with *npl* hi. “to let fall” are meant to characterize particularly urgent pleading; one may ask whether an external association with *t<sup>e</sup>pillâ* may be involved here.

The same is true of *taḥ<sup>a</sup>nûnîm*; it also occasionally parallels *t<sup>e</sup>pillâ* (Psa 86:6; 143:1; Dan 9:3, 17; 2 Chron 6:21). In the Psa, it accompanies *qôl* “voice,” usually with suf., as a gen. and is dependent upon a term for hearing (Psa 28:2, 6; 31:23; 86:6; 116:1; 130:2; 140:7; 143:1). This combination probably expresses the urgency and bitterness of this pleading, as Jer 3:21 does through combination with *b<sup>e</sup>kî* “crying.”

Nonetheless, one should probably read Jer 31:9 with LXX *b<sup>e</sup>tanḥûmîm* (cf. Rudolph, HAT 12, 195); on Zech 12:10, see 3a.

5. The LXX usually, although not exclusively, translates *ḥēn* by *charis*,

*hnn* by *eleein* and rarely by *oiktirein*. This is not a strictly precise translation; it indicates the manner in which the content of the individual pronouncements of grace have assimilated to one another. Using these terms, NT proclamation unfolds the fullness of God's grace in Jesus Christ (see esp. R. Bultmann, "ἔλεος," *TDNT* 2:477–87).

H. J. Stoebe

## הָנַפַּ הַנִּפּ **to be perverted**

S 2610; BDB 337b; *HALOT* 1:335b; *TDOT* 5:36–44; *TWOT* 696; *NIDOTTE* 2856

1. The root is common in WSem. languages (Ug. *hnp* "impious," *WUS* no. 1053; *UT* no. 981; subst. and verb as Canaanisms in EA 288:8 "the villainy that they did," and 162:74 "who knows villainy"; cf. *AHw* 320a, 321a; *CAD* H:76b, 80f.; on later languages, see 3; cf. *HAL* 322).

The Hebr. root occurs in the intrans. qal and in causative hi., as a verbal adj. *hānēp*, and in two nom. abstract forms, the segholate noun *hōnep* and the fem. form *h<sup>a</sup>nuppâ* (BL 467).

2. All 26 occurrences appear exclusively in poetic or elevated language: qal 7x (Isa 24:5; Jer 3:1[bis], 9; 23:11; Mic 4:11; Psa 106:38), hi. 4x (Num 35:33[bis]; Jer 3:2; Dan 11:32), *hānēp* 13x (8x in Job, 3x in Isa, as well as Psa 35:16; Prov 11:9), *hōnep* 1x (Isa 32:6), and *h<sup>a</sup>nuppâ* 1x (Jer 23:15).

3. A specific basic meaning "to be twisted, crooked" can be inferred from the Arab. *hanifa* "to have a twisted foot" and *hanafa* "to turn to the side" (conjectured by G. R. Driver, *TZ* 9 [1953]: 468f. for Psa 35:16 *b<sup>c</sup>hanpî* "at my limp"; cf. *HAL* 322b and *BHS*; perhaps still evident in Mic 4:11 "[Zion] wil be turned [profaned]"); nevertheless, the fig. meaning, qal "to be perverted," hi. "to pervert," dominates otherwise (cf. Mid. Hebr. and Jew. Aram. "to dissemble," Syr. *hanpā* "godless person, heathen," Eth. *hōnāfī* "heathen, heretic," etc.).

The meaning "to be perverted" (hi. "to pervert") is recognizable in all occurrences of the verb (Dan 11:32, seduction to apostasy; Jer 23:11, prophet and priest; Mic 4:11, Zion; in the remaining cases the land is either the subj. or the obj. in typical expressions of priestly theology). Perversion is either legal in nature (bloodguilt, Psa 106:38; Num 35:33; violation of the commandments, Isa 24:5; cf. the context vv 3f., according to which the dissolution of the world order is a consequence of the perversion of the

land), or it is complex (legal-social-moral-cultic), as in Jer 3:1f., 9, where *ḥnp* refers to the perversion of a—legally definable—social relationship:

the land belongs to strange gods instead of to Yahweh, as the wife belongs to another husband instead of to her original husband. Num 35:33 similarly describes the way in which the land is perverted if bloodguilt remains unatoned.

The substs. also give evidence of the basic meaning “perversion”: Jer 23:15b cites *ḥōnep* as the reason for judgment reflecting the character of the announcement; Isa 32:6 parallels “to do *ḥ<sup>a</sup>nuppā*” with “to speak perversion (*tô<sup>‘</sup>â*). “

Adjs. in Isa imply the meaning “perverted” (Isa 9:16; 10:6; 33:14; cf. also Prov 11:9), while Psa 35:16 txt? and esp. Job (Job 8:13; 13:16; 15:34; 17:8; 20:5; 27:8; 34:30; 36:13) use the word in the parameters of poetic language in contexts broadened beyond the original situation (cf., nevertheless, 15:34 *ḥānēp* together with “tent of corruption”). The adj. in particular, then, merely presupposes the root’s backgrounds and uses it as a general repudiation. Of the usual translations, “wicked, wickedness” (hardly “godless, evildoer”) commends itself to the degree that the basic meaning “perverted, to be perverted” no longer corresponds to the semantic referent.

4. In all occurrences, the word more or less signifies a theological judgment. Whether perversion occurs in the legal (see 3), social (Prov 11:9), cultic (Isa 24:5), moral, or political (Job 34:30) realms, whether it consists of deeds (Isa 9:16; 32:6) or words (Psa 35:16; Prov 11:9), it always distorts given orders of existence. This ontological dimension of the straight, healthy, and true that perversion implies lends it the heavy weight of the basic distortion of the world order. The formula of the “perversion of the land,” which takes place in individual deeds, may also be understood against this background. But because God is understood in ancient and biblical thought in relation to the maintenance of the world order, any “perversion” signifies the dissolution of the world order in the ultimate sense, i.e., God’s significant presence in it. This notion explains the fact that God himself turns the world around in judgment after it has been thoroughly perverted by people (Isa 24:5). The designation of such a phenomenon by the root *ḥnp* is, in every case, the condemnation of a profound transgression against God.

5. The usage of *ḥōnep* in 1QS 4:10 in the list of the characteristics of the “spirit of evil” is more reminiscent of psychological “perversion” than of “godlessness.”

The LXX did not know how to handle the Hebr. concept. This confusion is shown not only by the thoroughly inadequate translation, but in particular also by the multitude of substitute terms.

R. Knierim

## חֶסֶד *ḥesed* kindness

S 2617; BDB 338b; HALOT 1:336b; TDOT 5:44–64; TWOT 698a; NIDOTTE 287b

I. 1. The root occurs only in Hebr. and Aram. Although the positive meaning (“kindness, grace”) dominates in Hebr. and the negative (“shame”) occurs only in Lev 20:17 and Prov 14:34 (cf. also Sir 41:22, margin; 1QM 3:6; *ḥsd* pi. “to abuse” Prov 25:10; Sir 14:2; on Psa 52:3, cf. C. Schedl, *BZ* 5 [1961]: 259), this negative sense dominates in Syr. (*LS* 245; understandably both options are available in Christ. Pal. Aram.; cf. F. Schulthess, *Lexicon Syro-palaestinum* [1903], 67f.). The question remains open as to whether this duality is the result of reciprocal linguistic influence (Hebraisms or Aramaisms; so e.g., F. Schulthess, *Homonyme Wurzeln im Syrischen* [1900], 31; Nöldeke, *NB* 93; Wagner nos. 105f.), whether Hebr. and Aram. had both meanings from the beginning (U. Masing, “Der Begriff œESED im atl. Sprachgebrauch,” *FS Kopp* 32), whether there were divergent developments of (antithetical) meanings of a single root (e.g., *NB* 93; cf. also R. Gordis, *JQR* 27 [1936/37]: 58), or whether two different roots, which happened to be antonyms, have coalesced (Schulthess, *op. cit.* 32).

The etymology is obscure. A relationship to Arab. *ḥašada* “to gather to give aid” is possible (Schulthess, *op. cit.* 32; N. Glueck, *Das Wort ḥesed...* [1927], 67f. = *id.*, *Hesed in the Bible* [1967], 106f.; *HAL* 323a), but not so certain that one may draw semantic conclusions from it (cf. the deliberations of Schulthess, Nöldeke, Masing, and the reference to the fact that a uniform conversion of *š* [corresponding to Arab. *š*] to *s* would be remarkable).

2. In addition to the subst. *ḥesed*, the OT has the adj. *ḥāsîd* (also attested once in Pun.: *KAI* no. 145.7; *DISO* 93; on the nom. form see IV/6b), as well as *ḥ<sup>a</sup>sîdâ* (Lev 11:19; Deut 14:18 in a list of unclean animals; Jer 8:7; Zech 5:9; Psa 104:17; Job 39:13), customarily translated “stork,” probably because of the qualities generally attributed to this animal (cf. F. S. Bodenheimer, *Animal and Man in Bible Lands* [1960], 61; and G. R. Driver, *PEQ* 87 [1955]: 17); further, the denominative verb *ḥsd* hitp. “to behave as a *ḥāsîd*” (2 Sam 22:26 = Psa 18:26).

PNs are *ḥesed* (1 Kgs 4:10), an abbreviation of *ḥ<sup>a</sup>sadyâ* (1 Chron

3:20; cf. *IP* 183; *HAL* 323b); on *yûšab-ḥesed* (“may grace be returned”), cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 29f. (contra *IP* 245).

II. 1. *ḥesed* occurs 245x in the OT in the following distribution: Psa 127x, 2 Sam 12x, Gen 11x, Prov and 2 Chron 10x, Isa 8x, Jer and Hos 6x; further 5x in 1 Kgs, Neh, 1 Chron; 4x in Exod, 1 Sam; 3x in Deut, Josh, Mic, Job, Ruth, Ezra; 2x in Num, Judg, Jonah, Lam, Esth, Dan; 1x in Joel and Zech.

Four of eight occurrences in Isa fall to Deutero-Isa and three to Trito-Isa. Isa 16:5 is hardly authentically Isaianic and, in addition, it bears a wisdom character (cf. Prov 20:28) in its formulation, despite a messianic intention (cf. Isa 9:6).

Exod 20:6; 34:6f.; and Deut 5:9f. contain a marked formula, also echoed in Num 14:18f.; Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2; Mic 7:18; Neh 9:17; and with variations in Dan 9:4; Neh 13:22 (probably also echoed in very abbreviated form in Mic 7:20).

1 Chron 17:13; 19:2(bis); 2 Chron 1:8; 6:14; 24:22 correspond to their originals (Sam– Kgs). 1 Chron 16:34, 41; 2 Chron 5:13; 6:42 (cf. Isa 55:3); 7:3; 20:21 bear a hymnic character (Ezra 3:11 too).

Thus the word is at home in the narrative literature and in wisdom, but esp. in the diction of the Psa. This distribution coincides to a degree, but not entirely, with its profane and religious usages, resp. It is absent from P and subsides to a surprising degree in the Prophets. It is theologically constitutive only in Hos, Jer, and, with altered connotations, in Deutero-Isa too.

2. The usage of *ḥāsîd* corresponds to this division with even clearer boundaries (32x, 25x in Psa; *ḥsd* hitp. 2x).

This term occurs 28x in psalmic prayers (incl. 1 Sam 2:9; 2 Sam 22:26 = Psa 18:26; 2 Chron 6:41). Closely related is the Levitical saying in the Mosaic blessing, Deut 33:8. The term occurs once in wisdom (Prov 2:8) and only twice in the Prophets (Jer 3:12 and Mic 7:2, used of God only here).

III. The word *ḥesed* (on *ḥāsîd* see IV/6) is only insufficiently rendered by the Eng. term “kindness.” This insufficiency (summarized in III/8) is demonstrated both by observations—beginning with phrases involving *ḥesed* (III/1), in the context of the literature on the subject (III/2), concerning grammar and semantics (III/3), and the history of the meaning of *ḥesed* within its semantic field (III/4)—and by the examination of its profane (narrative literature, III/5; wisdom and Psa, III/6; Chron and related works, III/7) and theological usages (IV/1–5).

1. (a) *ḥesed* often accompanies <sup>ᶜ</sup>*met* “faithfulness” (→ <sup>ᶜ</sup>*mn* E.III/2, 4; IV/2) in the phrase *ḥesed we<sup>ᶜ</sup>met*, or the like (Gen 24:27, 49; 32:11; 47:29;

Exod 34:6; Josh 2:14; 2 Sam 2:6; 15:20; Psa 25:10; 40:11f.; 57:4; 61:8; 85:11; 86:15; 89:15; 115:1; 138:2; Prov 3:3; 14:22; 16:6; 20:28). But both words also occur in marked distinction from one another (Hos 4:1; Mic 7:20; Psa 26:3; 57:11; 69:14; 108:5; 117:2), so much so that they apply to different subjects (1 Kgs 3:6; Isa 16:5), and often, also usually in loose association, the cognate <sup>ע</sup>*mûnâ* takes the place of <sup>ע</sup>*met* (for texts → <sup>ע</sup>*mn* D.III/8). With few exceptions (Hos 4:1; Mic 7:20, justified by the content; Psa 89:25), the sequence of the expressions is maintained.

Combination with → *b<sup>ע</sup>rit* is not so common and is limited to a narrower selection of OT literature. It occurs in Deut 7:9, 12 and texts dependent upon it, 1 Kgs 8:23; Neh 1:5; 9:32; 2 Chron 6:14; and Dan 9:4. There is no fixed expression to serve as a model, so the sequence of the terms can vary (Psa 89:29; cf. also Isa 55:3).

(b) Another aspect of *hesed*'s semantic range is underscored when it is used in a more limited (Jer 16:5; Hos 2:21; Zech 7:9; Psa 25:6; 40:12; 103:4; Dan 1:9) or loose manner (Psa 69:17; Lam 3:22 txt?; cf. v 32 *rhm* pi.) with *rah<sup>א</sup>mîm* "mercy" (→ *rhm*). This phenomenon is characteristically limited to a narrow sample; it is absent from both the wisdom and narrative literatures. Despite pars. in content with *rah<sup>א</sup>mîm* (see III/4), *hesed* is distinct from it in that *hesed* is not only unilateral (an act of the superior toward the weaker/child/sinner) but also bilateral, so that even in some theological statements, admittedly very limited, the human being can demonstrate *hesed* toward God (see IV/3; fundamentally different, A. Jepsen, *KerD* 7 [1961]: 269).

(c) In contrast to → *hēn* "goodwill," *hesed* occurs with pron. as well as (less frequent) nom. complements in the gen. (e.g., 1 Sam 20:14; Psa 21:8; 52:10), always indicating the one doing *hesed* (the text of Psa 59:11, 18 is to be emended [cf., however, J. Weingreen, *VT* 4 (1954): 55], as is Psa 144:2). Thus the two words are not used synonymously; when the two occur together, a distinction should be made (contra Masing, op. cit. 50) between the style of address (*hēn*) and the content of the request (*hesed*).

The single exception is Esth 2:17, "She (Esther) gained his favor and affection"; however, this is a later, leveled usage of *hesed*, already perceptible in v 9, where *hesed* appears alone in an expression using the verb *nś* "to carry away, gain."

2. (a) Constructions with <sup>ע</sup>*met*, <sup>ע</sup>*mûnâ*, and *rah<sup>א</sup>mîm*, as well as the pronounced demarcation of texts in which they, as well as the word *hesed* alone, appear, underscore the theological weight of the term. Accordingly, the literature concerning *hesed*, its history, and the development of its meaning is extensive. The discussion since N. Glueck (op. cit. [Ger. original 1927]) has been presented in the Eng. ed. (1967), with extensive

references, by G. A. Larue (“Recent Studies in *Hesed*,” 1–32).

According to Glueck, *hesed* does not refer to a spontaneous, ultimately unmotivated kindness, but to a mode of behavior that arises from a relationship defined by rights and obligations (husband-wife, parent-child, prince-subjects). When *hesed* is attributed to God, it concerns the realization of the promises inherent in the covenant. When *hesed* does assume connotations of kindness, it is the result of a secondary assimilation to *rah<sup>a</sup>mîm* ([1967], 83f.). Furthermore, this view means that the formulation *hesed we<sup>e</sup>met* should be construed as a hendiadys (p. 102).

(b) This position, in which Glueck was preceded by I. Elbogen (“*hsd*, Verpflichtung, Verheissung, Bekräftigung,” FS Haupt 43–46), was very influential, esp. owing to its emphasis on the covenant idea (cf. e.g., K. Galling, *TLZ* 53 [1928]: 561f.; W. F. Lofthouse, “œen and œesed in the OT,” *ZAW* 51 [1933]: 29–35; Eichrodt 1:232–39; R. Bultmann, *TDNT* 2:479–82; Köhler, *Theol.*, 183, 250n.148; KBL 318; J. A. Montgomery, “Hebrew *Hesed* and Greek *Charis*,” *HTR* 32 [1939]: 97–102; N. H. Snaith, *Distinctive Ideas of the OT* [1944], 94–130; A. Neher, *Prophetic Existence* [1969], 262–73; A. R. Johnson, FS Mowinckel 100–112; E. E. Flack, “Concept of Grace in Biblical Thought,” FS Alleman 137–54; K. Koch, “Wesen und Ursprung der ‘Gemeinschaftstreue’ im Israel der Königszeit,” *ZEE* 5 [1961]: 72–90; cf. the exegeses of individual texts too). It did not go uncontested, however (cf. e.g., F. Asensio, *Misericordia et Veritas, el Hesed y’Emet divinos, su influjo religioso-social en la historia de Israel* [1949]; independently, H. J. Stoebe, “Gottes hingebende Güte und Treue: Bedeutung und Geschichte des Begriffes *Hesed*” [diss., Münster, 1950]; id., “Die Bedeutung des Wortes *hsd* im AT,” *VT* 2 [1952]: 244–54; R. J. Kahn, *Religion in Life* 25 [1955–56]: 574–81; A. Jepsen, “Gnade und Barmherzigkeit im AT,” *KerD* 7 [1961]: 261–71; finally, U. Masing, “Der Begriff œESED im atl. Sprachgebrauch,” FS Kopp 27–63).

(c) Now it is certainly true that *hesed* necessarily involves community to the extent that it is interpersonal. This observation, however, does not yet contribute to an understanding of the requirements for the origination of or the essence of *hesed* itself. It seems that the term “community” has been formalistically overvalued here—a danger that exists elsewhere as well—and thus ultimately becomes rigid.

One must always remember that the undisputed necessity for establishing structures for life and law, which distinguish between past and present, occupy only a very broad framework that must be filled by the human element, which does not so clearly distinguish between past and present (cf. Jepsen, op. cit. 267; Masing, op. cit. 45). The universal human conviction that the distinctive features of modern life formerly would have been simply unthinkable seems here, indeed, unconsciously, to stand in the

background.

This assessment means that individual texts may be polyvalent according to the formal presupposition one uses in exegesis. Consequently, in view of the term's shades of meaning, one must attempt a few sufficiently objective semasiological observations at the outset (on this question, cf. esp. Stoebe, diss. 6ff.). Naturally, one may expect no assured results from this effort, but only aids and criteria for exegesis.

3. (a) The noun occurs in the sg. and the pl. To the extent that one can arrange the passages chronologically, the pl. forms are of exilic and post-exilic origin (Isa 55:3; 63:7[bis]; Psa 17:7; 25:6; 89:2, 50; 106:7, 45; 107:43; 119:41; Lam 3:22, 32; Neh 13:14; 2 Chron 6:42; 32:32).

Gen 32:11 J, "I am too insignificant for all the mercy (pl. of *hesed* with art.) and all the faithfulness (*emet*) that you have done for your servant," constitutes an exception. In this passage, *hesed* does not appear in a formula, yet it is closely tied to *emet*. This combination is indeed unusual, but it is qualified here by *kōl* "all." The suggestion that the phrase results from dittography of the following *umikkōl* (O. Procksch, *Gen*, KAT [19243], 191; as well as Stoebe, diss. 139) does not seem convincing. More likely, one must reckon with the possibility that these statements have been transformed in harmony with a later understanding and in accord with their confessional character.

This phenomenon may be construed as an indication that *hesed* is a more comprehensive concept manifest in individual ways. It must be observed in this regard that sg. and pl. can parallel one another even in the Psa (e.g., Psa 106:1, 7, 45). This comprehensiveness does not mean, however, that *hesed* is a characteristic or even an attitude. Even the sg. can be determined with the art., a phenomenon that indicates specific content, the prerequisite for the pl. forms.

Of the passages with the art., Gen 21:23; 2 Sam 2:5; 1 Kgs 3:6; and 2 Chron 24:22 refer to a previously demonstrated *hesed*, in Jer 16:5 the art. replaces the poss. pron.; Psa 130:7; Prov 20:28; and Isa 16:5 remain undetermined. It may be particularly characteristic that the art. occurs when *hesed* appears with *brît* (Deut 7:9, 12, etc.).

(b) The noun is often constructed with the verb *śh* "to do." This construction occurs primarily in the older narrative literature, but is not entirely absent from the Prophets and the Psa, even though it abates (Gen 19:19; 20:13; 21:23; 24:12, 14, 49; 32:11; 40:14; 47:29; Exod 20:6; Deut 5:10; Josh 2:12[bis], 14; Judg 1:24; 8:35; 1 Sam 15:6; 20:8, 14; 2 Sam 2:5f.; 3:8; 9:1, 3, 7; 10:2[bis] = 1 Chron 19:2[bis]; 1 Kgs 2:7; 3:6 = 2 Chron 1:8; Jer 9:23; 32:18; Zech 7:9; Psa 18:51 = 2 Sam 22:51; Psa 119:124; Job 10:12; Ruth 1:8). This distribution indicates the concreteness of the concept associated with *hesed*, but it transcends the individual deed through the

regularly accompanying *ʿim* “to, with.” Thus the semantic range of the word reaches beyond this specificity. The expression “to keep (*nšr*) *ḥesed*” (Exod 34:7; formulated negatively in 2 Sam 7:15) shifts the weight more heavily to the side of the promise inherent in an attitude.

The phrase with *ʿmet* characteristic of this context elsewhere is absent from Exod 34:7. Passages with *šmr* “to keep” may also be mentioned here (Deut 7:9, 12; 1 Kgs 8:23 = 2 Chron 6:14; Hos 12:7; Psa 89:29 [*šmr* par. *ʿmn* ni.]; Neh 1:5; 9:32).

(c) *ḥesed* as an attitude is expressed with special clarity by means of a prep. designating it as the criterion of a hope or expectation (with *ke* “according to”: Gen 21:23; Psa 25:7; 51:3; 109:26; 119:88, 124, 149, 159; cf. Num 14:19 “according to your great goodness”; with *lʿmaʿan* “for the sake of”: Psa 6:5; 44:27; with *ʿal* “on account of”: Psa 138:2; finally, the *be* “in” of Exod 15:13; Psa 31:17; 143:12 belongs here too).

In reality, of course, the two aspects should not be as keenly distinguished as they have been here for the sake of illustration. An attitude that is not demonstrated remains theoretical; any pronouncement that does not characterize the essence of that which it expresses remains a contingency that does not affect the human sphere. The Eng. “kindness” offers an analogy. This word also encompasses both the demonstration and its precondition (cf. Stoebe, diss. 49; Jepsen, op. cit. 266).

4. (a) This special nuance explains the juxtaposition of *ḥesed* with *rahʾamîm* “mercy” (cf. III/1b), with *ḥesed* as the initial term (Psa 40:12 is the only apparent exception), and the whole phrase should be read as an indication that the *rahʾamîm* acts are the manifestation of a *ḥesed* attitude, as the par. *šedeq ūmišpāt* “right and justice” makes apparent. In this meaning of *rahʾamîm*, then, the pl. form *hʾsādîm* itself appears, apparently in later times (see III/3a). When it is associated with *rahʾamîm* (Psa 25:6; Isa 63:7), *rahʾamîm* assumes the leading position. Even though this basis is relatively limited, one may still recognize that *rahʾamîm* is now perceived as the stronger, governing term.

(b) To the extent, then, that one can speak of a blurring of the linguistic boundaries between *ḥesed* and *rahʾamîm*, it seems to have resulted in more of a limitation than an expansion of meaning. This limitation may also explain why *ḥesed* is often augmented and underscored by *tûb* “goodness” or → *tôb* “good” only in the later texts (cf. Exod 33:19 with 34:6; Isa 63:7; Psa 69:17 read *kʿtûb* for *kî tûb*; cf. Kraus, Psa, CC, 2:58f). The two expressions accompany each other in Psa 25:7 too, although *tûb* as good gift does not seem to limit the essential meaning of *ḥesed* here. By contrast, *ḥesed* becomes one of the expressions of

Yahweh's being, describing his goodness in the regularly recurring liturgical formula "for he is good (*tôb*), his kindness (*hesed*) endures forever," etc. (Psa 100:5; 106:1; 107:1; 118:1–4, 29; 136:1–26; Ezra 3:11; 1 Chron 16:34, 41; 2 Chron 5:13; 7:3, 6; 20:21). This usage is further characterized by the fact that *l'ôlām hasdô* "his *hesed* endures forever" apparently represents <sup>e</sup>*met*, both formally as well as substantively, in the formula *hesed we<sup>e</sup>met*.

Although the Tg. and the Syr. consistently render *rah<sup>a</sup>mîm* with the same root, the Tg. retains the *hesed* of its original in only about 50 cases (Syr. only some 12x). The translation *rah<sup>a</sup>mîn* plays some role (Tg. less frequently, Syr. 36x); but in most cases *hesed* is rendered by a derivative of *tāb* (about 130x each), for which, however, no governing principles can be identified. Here, too, there is a coincidence of sg. and pl. forms; version and original, however, do not always agree as to number (Stoebe, diss. 54ff.).

5. (a) The observations offered to this point concerning the occurrence of the term, its development and delimitation, and elucidating supplementations of it allow the conclusion, for the present still indefinite, that *hesed* means some special reciprocal behavior, something that exceeds the matter of course. This conclusion may be demonstrated and substantively illustrated in detail by a survey of passages, esp. in narrative literature, in which *hesed* is exercised in the interpersonal realm.

In this regard, one must first ask whether *hesed* has such a "profane" usage in the proper sense. The word is already used in the oldest texts for God's attitude toward humans, so that alternating influences are altogether possible. This reciprocity does not mean, however, that what at first could be said exclusively of God was extended to the purely human realm (so, apparently, Jepsen, op. cit. 269), because the so-called profane usage dominates in older narrative historiography itself (Stoebe, VT 2 [1952]: 248).

Of the 11 occurrences in Gen, 6 characterize a human action (Gen 20:13; 21:23; 24:49; 39:21; 40:14; 47:29), 5 a divine action (19:19?; 24:12, 14, 27; 32:11). One may say with a degree of confidence that the latter passages are exclusively Yahwistic.

(b) 1 Kgs 20:31 seems to be relatively free of such influence. Here *hesed* is indisputably the unexpected, which one may not properly count on. Indeed, it permits the realization of a treaty but is not itself a provision or condition of this treaty. 2 Sam 2:5, an old, unreflected tradition, points in the same direction. The determination of *hesed* already characterizes the Jabeshites' action as something extraordinary that exceeds "repayment" (so Glueck, op. cit. 53f.) and that, in terms of the difficulty and danger

involved, expresses a deep humanity (as Neher, op. cit. 263, correctly observes); it is certainly rooted in thankfulness but is something entirely distinct.

Similarly, the burial of one's father is self-evidently a filial duty (L. J. Kuypers, *Int* 18 [1964]: 4); in Gen 47:29, however, Jacob asks for a kindness that exceeds this duty. Saul does not call his warning to the Kenites *hesed* (1 Sam 15:6); the *hesed* to which he refers was a kindness directed to him, not a duty. Likewise in 2 Sam 10:2, where the word is even used of both sides, it can mean nothing other than to repay kindness with kindness; that David's behavior can be misunderstood shows how unexpected it was. In 2 Sam 3:8, Abner represents his care for the weak Ishbaal as pure kindness that would be difficult to justify under the circumstances. One can naturally ask whether 2 Sam 16:17 refers to sacrificial kindness or loyalty. But even here, Absalom's charge should be understood as biting irony: You are a fine friend! David has his special friendship with Barzillai in mind in 1 Kgs 2:7 when he demands *hesed* for his sons. His gratitude to the father is so great that it results in kindness to the sons.

Gen 39:21 is instructive. Yahweh directs *hesed* to Joseph—not Yahweh's own *hesed*, of course (it would not be expressed by *nth* hi.), but that of other people; their hearts fall to Joseph, he finds goodwill. The special consideration (*hēn*, → *hnn* 3a) of the jailer is separate from this *hesed*. Similarly, no duty exists in Gen 40:14 for the cupbearer to mention Joseph, for Joseph did him no actual service by interpreting his dream (thus, correctly, Neher, op. cit. 263). The tenor of Gen 20:13 is precisely that by asking for *hesed*, Abraham requests something that exceeds a wife's duty. If he reminded Sarah only of her duty, the entire statement would be superfluous (see the analogy in Gen 24:49).

In Josh 2:12, Rahab describes her assistance to the spies as *hesed*, if one thinks here of the duties of hospitality, then a severe tension results, for Rahab violates the vital interests of the city, whose toleration and protection she enjoys. She justifies her actions theologically too, then (vv 9–11). Here *hesed* is a helpful kindness in the hope that it will be reciprocated (the situation in Judg 1:24 is similar, where *hesed* is promised as a reward). An obligation arises only (subsequently!) through the oath. Likewise, Abimelech's freely exhibited *hesed* in Gen 21:23 is a prerequisite for the oath demanded of Abraham, not vice versa (so too Jepsen, op. cit. 265).

1 Sam 20:8, which indeed relates *hesed* to a Yahweh *b<sup>e</sup>rît*, is indisputably difficult (cf. also v 14 *hesed yhw*). 2 Sam 9:1, 3, 7, where v 3 speaks directly of a *hesed <sup>o</sup>lōhîm*, refers to this covenant again. The danger is particularly imminent of overvaluing this instance formalistically (Glueck, op. cit. 46f.). Finally, *hesed* describes here, too, the spontaneous demonstration of a sincerely friendly attitude. The addition of the divine name (1 Sam 20:14; 2 Sam 9:3) should be understood in terms of the scope of the means involved that actually exceed human capability (cf. D. W. Thomas, *VT* 3 [1953]: 209ff.).

The combination of *ḥesed* with *gd/ hi*. “to cause to become great” in Gen 19:19 is unusual. Glueck’s explanation (op. cit. 43f.), that Lot calls his action self-evidently “great” because he recognized his guests to be angels, is insufficient. Rather, in this way *ḥesed* is distanced from any resemblance to human behavior. The story presupposes the duties of hospitality. The guests were certainly also obligated to protect the host if possible; this protection took the form of blinding the Sodomites. Deliverance from imminent destruction is grace and lies on another plane.

Judg 8:35 does not permit one to say whether an aspect of obligation is included in unexercised gratitude. Ruth 3:10 is generally, even if not universally (Kuyper, op. cit. 5), interpreted as an act of devoted love. It is also noteworthy that *ʾemet* joins *ḥesed* in three passages (Gen 24:49; 47:29; Josh 2:14), namely where the demonstration is expected in the future or at least includes the future.

6. (a) *ḥesed* is also used mostly of interpersonal relations in wisdom. The difficulty lies in the fact that the gnomic statements reflect no realizable situation.

It is clear to some extent, when Prov 31:26 even praises the clever wife for it, that *tôrat-ḥesed* is on her lips (par. “in wisdom”). One must see this as a self-denying generosity of speech. The translation “lovely speech” (assimilation of *ḥesed* to *ḥēn*) in a relatively late text is improbable from the outset in view of v 30; the interpretation “loving” remains the sole possibility.

Likewise, the *ʾiṣ ḥesed* in Prov 11:17 opposes the *ʾakzārî*, the “cruel”; he is the one who can show consideration and take interest in others, who does not pursue his own advantage. 20:6 places *ḥesed* beside *ʾiṣ ʾemûnîm*, “faithful person”; many people speak of their kindness, but the trustworthy person who has kindness is truly rare (apparently the intention is to paraphrase *ḥesed we ʾemet*).

In Prov 19:22 *ḥesed* must mean uprightness of heart and true humanity. This is the characteristic that one seeks in a person, and a poor person who has it is therefore better than a liar, who certainly does not have it. It cannot be directly shown that an understanding of egocentricity as the root of lies is developing here. In 21:12 *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* accompanies *ḥesed*, yet the statement generalizes. Even more general are 3:3 and 14:22; it is nevertheless clear that *ḥesed we ʾemet* refers to a human behavior (likewise 16:6, where “guilt is atoned through goodness and faithfulness” does not conform to any schema). In 20:28 (cf. Isa 16:5), the king’s *ḥesed* is certainly more than his righteousness, more likely his geniality, which is an additional support for his throne. The first half of the verse could deal with a divine activity, but it more likely deals here too with a hypostatized independent activity.

(b) In later proverbial wisdom (Sir), *ḥesed* almost exclusively characterizes religious circumstances. Sir 7:33 and 37:11 are the only exceptions.

(c) In the Psa, *ḥesed* is likewise rarely used for human behavior and is then similarly shaped by wisdom; hence Psa 141:5, where a blow

delivered by a righteous individual is no offense but a kindness.

Psa 109:12 certainly does not speak of grace beyond death, but of a reprieve, even of a propitious credit, in antithetical parallelism to “usurer” (v 11). Because the curse corresponds to the omission of a duty or the commission of a crime, *ḥesed* in v 16 is to be understood in the same way.

Finally, Job 6:14 should be mentioned in this context despite several ambiguities. Here too *ḥesed* seems to be a common human attitude (kindness, sympathy, readiness to listen to someone) that exceeds the customary requirements of ordered social life (fear of God).

7. The few passages to be considered in Chron and related texts offer nothing new. 2 Chron 24:22 is reminiscent of Judg 8:35, and Ezra 7:28 and 9:9 of Gen 39:21. Noteworthy are the pl. forms in 2 Chron 32:32 and 35:26, which approve of the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah (similarly, Neh 13:14).

Of course, a blurring of the semantic boundaries of *ḥesed* is evident. With respect to construction, it resembles *ḥēn* in Esth 2:9, 17 and *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mîm* in Dan 1:9.

8. It is not possible to convey precisely *ḥesed* 's semantic range as encountered in profane usage with one Eng. word. *ḥesed* is not “grace,” and the often suggested “favor” is insufficient. First, *ḥesed* occurs tangibly in concrete situations and at the same time transcends the individual demonstration and envisions the actor. In this regard, the term exhibits affinities with Eng. “kindness,” and with “goodness” as well (see 3c). *ḥesed* does occur in relation to particular social forms; its configuration may even be governed by them, but it is never the obvious, the obligatory. It is a human demeanor that alone can fill a form with life and is in some cases (not always) the very requirement for the birth of a community. Jepsen (op. cit. 269) attempted to describe the intention as good will that becomes good deed. This notion is certainly included but is alone insufficient. I suggest an expression for magnanimity, for a sacrificial, humane willingness to be there for the other (Stoebe, diss. 67; id., VT 2 [1952]: 248). It is a given that *ḥesed* always has to do in some way with the life of the other, and that one expects and hopes from the recipient of such *ḥesed* a similar willingness that in turn surpasses the obligatory.

IV. The religious usage of *ḥesed* will be examined in the narrative literature (IV/1), in the divine predication of Exod 34:6 (IV/2), in the Prophets (IV/3), in Deut and dependent literature (IV/4), and finally in the Psa (IV/5). A treatment of the adj. *ḥāsîd* follows (IV/6).

1. (a) Narrative literature rarely employs the word to describe God's

behavior toward people (see III/5a). The basis is unfortunately too limited to permit one to decide whether this usage may be a constitutive concept for the theology of the Yahwist (so Stoebe, diss. 135). It certainly expresses a vital experience of faith, although it is also theologically risky, for none of the almost metaphysical concepts associated with  $\rightarrow hnn$  or with  $\rightarrow rhm$  is appropriate to this term, so that it represents an anthropomorphism in the proper sense; nonetheless, it also permits the most condensed theological statement.

(b) This risk, at the same time an endeavor to secure the concept of God, is found in the combination of *hesed* with  $\text{ }^c\text{met}$ . It is not entirely absent from profane usage (see III/5b on Gen 24:49; 47:29; Josh 2:14), but subsides in comparison to the religious usage. Its central usage is in the divine predication in Exod 34:6 (see IV/2), although it occurs not only in liturgical diction but also as a common term in colloquial speech. Here too it is very early.

2 Sam 15:20, surely an old tradition, uses *hesed we $\text{ }^c\text{met}$*  as a greeting, which may correspond to the Eng. "God be with you"; it suggests that this expression came to indicate an essential characteristic of God quite early. The brevity of this expression (LXX supplements accordingly) is determined by the situation. 2 Sam 2:6 has the fuller form. At any rate, Yahweh should be regarded as the subj., not David (so A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel* [1910], 3:313, who wants to see this as a "farewell"). These two passages also confirm that  $\text{ }^c\text{met}$  is not a wish for a willingness on God's part that will be exhausted in a brief moment, which would certainly be a very pronounced anthropomorphism.

In Gen 24, Abraham's servant expects God's cordial assistance in the immediate situation (vv 12, 14, *hesed*); in the manifestation of this aid he perceives that Yahweh has not neglected (*zb*; cf. *nšr* "to keep" Exod 34:7) his willingness, also demonstrated earlier, to aid Abraham (v 27 *hesed we $\text{ }^c\text{met}$* ). That he solicits *hesed* from the God of his master Abraham does not mean that he is laying claim to this *hesed*. The household slave turns to the God of the fathers because this God is responsible for demonstrations of kindness toward his master.

Jacob's prayer in Gen 32:11 (on the pl. see III/3a) expresses more than his humility. It is a confession to Yahweh, who was there for him during the entire period of his sojourn despite his sin and did not withhold his help. Vv 9–11 are properly regarded as the Yahwist's own conception (W. Elliger, *ZTK* 48 [1951]: 18; H. J. Stoebe, *EvT* 14 [1954]: 470). Here he expresses his theological conviction that Yahweh secretly accompanies even the sinful world and brings it to its destination. The term *hesed* appears as an appropriate medium for the expression of this conviction. *hesed* is plainly a summary of what is expressed in Gen 50:20 (E?): "You intended it for evil, but God intended it for good."

2. (a) The divine predication in Exod 34:6, "a merciful and gracious God, patient and rich in *hesed we $\text{ }^c\text{met}$* ," is a liturgical formula (cf. J.

Scharbert, *Bib* 38 [1957]: 130–50), which may certainly have been expanded under Yahwistic influence (Stoebe, *VT* 2 [1952]: 250; still, the warning of W. Beyerlin, *Origin and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions* [1965], 138n.603, should be noted). We will first follow the analysis of Scharbert and will for the present regard v 6aβ,b as an independent prayer formula (echoed in whole or in part in Num 14:18; Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2; Psa 86:15; 103:8; 145:8; Neh 9:17).

To some degree, *raḥûm w'eḥannûn* “merciful and gracious” makes a static statement concerning Yahweh’s relationship to his people; it does not take into account that this relationship can be imperiled by human conduct. Consequently, the succeeding expansions establish that Yahweh’s accessibility to his people continues even beyond their failure. In this respect, *ʿerek ʿappayim* means the “patience” that does not react impulsively but waits (on this theme cf. the picturesque speech of Isa 42:14). This more negative definition is positively explicated through *rab ḥesed weʿemet*, the promise of the dependable, lasting willingness to act in the interest of the people (on this passage, esp. regarding the centrality of *ḥesed* here, cf. Asensio, op. cit. 77f.).

V 7 continues the thought, surprisingly, with “who keeps grace to the thousandth generation,” which produces a tautology with *ʿemet* (cf. Psa 40:12 and 61:8 with a characteristic modification of the notion; *ḥesed weʿemet*, which preserve the supplicant, have almost become hypostases of God). This continuation could signal the presence of an older, independent formula (Scharbert, op. cit. 137), yet sharp distinctions are impossible. One should probably reckon with an expansion of the basic tradition that seeks to formulate thoroughly a tenet of faith. The *ḥesed* promised here cannot ignore human sinfulness; rather it presupposes and consists in the willingness to forgive sins. It seeks to express a truth that surpasses human conception. God’s comprehensive goodness does not exclude his sovereignty. The conceptual tension is seen in the parenthetical remark, “who does not, however, leave totally unpunished” (v 7b), which almost invalidates the previous statement.

(b) Individual elements of the formula occur in Exod 20:5f. and Deut 5:9f., significantly in reverse order. These texts make it clear that confidence in God’s grace and generosity dominated in Israelite faith; moreover, that *ḥesed* refers to something included in common conceptions of rights and duties.

The relationship of *ḥesed* and forgiveness (cf. Exod 34:7a) finds varied expression in later piety, esp. when → *slḥ* “to forgive” is added to the predication (Psa 86:5; Neh 9:17; cf. Psa 130:7; in a broken form in Psa 6:5; 25:10f.; 85:8; 103:3f.). In 2 Sam 7:14f. *ḥesed* includes punishment in the sphere of human experience. The notion here is influenced by the father-son analogy (→ *rḥm*).

At first, no thought is given to human response to God's *hesed*, it is implied in the general demand for obedience. In a way, however, the statement "those who love me" (Exod 20:6; Deut 5:10) already surpasses this general demand. But this statement is a secondary assurance, not a basic clarification.

3. (a) The preaching of Hosea fills this gap. Hos 2:21 concerns Yahweh's covenant with his people, presented under the figure of marriage, not as a natural relationship but as a volitionally defined association: "I will betroth you to me in righteousness and justice, in goodness and mercy, . . . in faithfulness." The behaviors mentioned are the husband's bride-price, his gift to the wife, because they directly benefit her. The sequence of the terms represents an inner logic: behavior in accordance with the norm; justice and morals form the framework filled with *hesed w<sup>c</sup>rah<sup>a</sup>mîm*, the operation of affection and mercy that exceeds the norm; *ʾmûnâ* "faithfulness" underscores the constancy and dependability already implicit in "forever." These gifts characterize a free inclination of the heart and, as such, are foundations of community from various perspectives. Consequently, God expects people to have the same willingness to act for him (*hesed*), not as repayment but as thankful recognition of what God has already done, as confirmation and realization of the covenant given by him.

Jepsen (op. cit. 269) denies this possibility and relates every prophetic demand for *hesed* to the purely human realm. Yet one can see here esp. that an understanding of *hesed* simply as readiness to help is too constricted.

Concerning the question of the reciprocity of *hesed*, one should first of all refer to Hos 10:12: "Sow righteousness and harvest *hesed*." *š<sup>c</sup>dāqâ* and *hesed* will be given by God, on the one hand, and are, on the other, to be actualized by people, so that God's *hesed* is both requirement and example of the proper human attitude toward him; cf. also C. Wiéner, *Recherches sur l'amour pour Dieu dans l'AT* (1957), 20.

Hos 12:7 belongs here too. The demand "practice *hesed* and justice" is included in a call to return to God and should be understood in this context. Although the emphasis here seems to lie more pronouncedly on the behavior of people toward each other, the two are still not to be strictly distinguished. Hos 6:6 also demonstrates this duality in its juxtaposition of *hesed* and sacrifice (cf. 1 Sam 15:22). The alternative of *hesed* toward God or only among people is falsely posed because, for the OT, both belong together. That *hesed* and the sacrificial cult are so juxtaposed should be understood against the background of the fact that sacrifice need not exclude human devotion, but that it can also be understood as a duty with necessary consequences for behavior toward others too (cf. Amos 8:4–6).

Esp. interesting in this respect is Hos 4:1. The reversal of the sequence in which the terms from 2:21f. appear in the demand directed at people is intentional: they form a descending climax. Yahweh contends on his own behalf: if the people have no constancy, they should at least have *ḥesed* devotion; if this, too, is lacking, they should at least have an awareness of what Yahweh has done and given. Hos 6:4 illustrates that these thoughts are not otherwise unknown to Hosea. The influence of God's punitive act engenders something like a *ḥesed* attitude (contra Jepsen, op. cit. 269). One at least takes him into account. But this attitude has as little duration as dew or morning fog.

(b) The same notion occurs in a slight modification very much later in Isa 40:6 (cf. H. J. Stoebe, *WD* 2 [1950]: 122–28; the translation of *ḥasdô* with “his majesty, might” analogous to Psa 103:15f. envisions an amalgamation of *ḥesed* and *ḥēn* that is unlikely for this period; see III/1c; cf., however, Elliger, *BK* 11, 23f.): such a message would have seemed senseless, because the people had lost the willingness to hear God, but the word of God victoriously overcame this deep resignation.

In 2 Chron 32:32 and 35:26, the pl. of the word also refers to the piety that these kings have demonstrated in their reform efforts; the same is true of Neh 13:14 and probably also of 2 Chron 6:42. This reorientation to the cultic realm is certainly a forceful limitation in contrast to Hosea's intention.

(c) Finally, Mic 6:8 may be classified here despite a few ambiguities (cf. → *šn<sup>c</sup>* hi. and H. J. Stoebe, *WD* 6 [1959]: 180–94). A precise demarcation of the sphere in which *ḥesed* is applicable is not possible, perhaps not even intended. In contrast to “to exercise justice,” which, like “to exercise *ḥesed*” in Zech 7:9, points to an act in human society, “to love *ḥesed*” (obj. gen., not an adv. acc.) refers to God's *ḥesed* toward people, with the implied notion of love as a human response to this *ḥesed*.

Mic 7:18 (not authentic) paraphrases and expands the known predication and contains nothing essentially new. V 20 exhibits a formally strange allocation of *ḥesed* and *šemet* to the patriarchs (one could certainly consider this intentional, for this *ḥesed* was first promised to Abraham, and it then preserved Jacob despite everything).

(d) Similarities between Jer and Hos are also evident in the use of the *ḥesed* concept. Esp. impressive is Jer 2:2, where the *ḥesed* of youth parallels the love of the bridal period. Consequently, *ḥesed* here cannot be rendered “faithfulness” (so, following Glueck, Rudolph, HAT 12, 14f.; Weiser, ATD 20, 17); rather, it signifies the limitless trust, the devotion, with which the young Israel followed Yahweh in the wilderness. Here too *ḥesed* is not the prerequisite for special relationship, but the response to God's declaration.

Jer 31:3 more clearly expresses that God's *ḥesed* precedes the people's *ḥesed*.

Here too *ʾah<sup>a</sup>bâ* and *ḥesed* parallel each other. There is no basis for the covenant preserved through apostasy except God's love.

Jer 9:23 is reminiscent of Hos 2:21. Here too the issue is knowledge of God, yet the sequence of terms varies. The juxtaposition of human self-awareness (v 22) underscores the gift character. Those who are aware of this gift are expected to reciprocate.

Jer 16:5 consolidates *ḥesed* and *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mîm* in the controlling term *šālôm* "peace, well-being." God's removal of it means death. The asceticism commanded of Jeremiah is a symbolic act; thus the note of participatory willingness resounds even in this perspective.

4. (a) The relationship between covenant and grace is consciously reflected in Deut, although without achieving uniform terminological definition. The word *ḥesed* occurs, outside 5:10 (see IV/2b), only in 7:9, 12, where 5:10 and Exod 34:6 are paraphrased such that *ḥesed* preceded by *b<sup>c</sup>ṛît* depends upon *šmr* (see III/3b). The contention that *ḥesed* is consequently a behavior resulting from the covenant (Glueck, op. cit. 73) is formally correct but too narrow. Even the older portions of Deut subordinate *b<sup>c</sup>ṛît* to the promise to the patriarchs, thus anchoring it in Yahweh's free decision and lending it a promissory character (von Rad, *Gottesvolk* 69).

Deut 7:8 also presupposes God's love; indeed, in distinction from Hos, *ḥb* "to love" seems to have become an equivalent for *ḥesed*, even in reference to human love for God. One could ask whether the formula "to love with all your heart, etc." (e.g., Deut 6:5; 10:12; 11:13; 13:4; 30:6) means to express the unreserved devotion implied by *ḥesed*.

(b) These concepts continue to be active with several variations and limitations in literature influenced by Deut.

The prayer dedicating the temple in 1 Kgs 8:23 departs from the norm in that *b<sup>c</sup>ṛît* in v 21 is the proclamation of the duties of a historical covenant, which naturally also limits the statement of v 23. The replacement of *ne<sup>c</sup>mān* "faithful" in Deut 7:9 with *nôrā<sup>c</sup>* "frightful" in Neh 1:5; 9:32; Dan 9:4 also lies along these lines.

The Davidic promise in Psa 89:29 should be classified here. "My covenant with him shall continue" is an independent clause, but it is still logically subordinate to "I will always maintain my *ḥesed* for him." The promised covenant exists on the basis of *ḥesed*, the enactment of the covenant in v 4 follows this promise in v 3. Vv 25, 34, 40 also elucidate the character of the promise.

Isa 55:3b consigns the *ḥ<sup>a</sup>sādîm* promised to David, which have not been invalidated by events, to the whole people as an eternal covenant (an unconditional promise). The relationship between eternal *ḥesed* and the covenant of peace, which shall not become invalid, is similar (Isa 54:8, 10). On the pl. forms and their relationship

to *rah<sup>a</sup>mîm*, see III/3a, 4a; cf. → *rîm*. In Isa 57:1, *ʔanšê ḥesed* are tantamount to *ḥ<sup>a</sup>sîdîm* (see IV/6).

5. (a) In the Psa, *ḥesed* usually, but certainly not exclusively (see III/6c), characterizes an attitude of God. From the outset, the liturgically formulaic mode of expression allows for no sharp distinction of concepts. The living use of the Psa in prayer stimulated further abridgment and development of ideas. Characteristic of this evolution is the use of the formula *ḥesed we<sup>e</sup>met*, which can occur intact (Psa 25:10; 40:11f.; 57:4; 61:8; 86:15; 115:1; 138:2; with *ʔmûnâ*: 89:25; 98:3; in a clear formula, yet without *ʔmet*, 145:8), but is just as often reduced (26:3; 36:6; 57:11; 85:11; 89:34; 92:3; 100:5; cf. also Mic 7:20). Both usages occur occasionally together (Psa 57; 89), hence this difference is hardly fundamental. The choice of verbs indicates quite clearly that *ḥesed* and *ḥesed we<sup>e</sup>met* are no longer understood so much as God's attitude of openness and attentiveness to people manifested in actions, but more as one of his characteristics.

*ḥesed* fills the earth (33:5; 119:64), is as high as the heavens (36:6; 57:11; 108:5), comes upon a person or becomes great toward a person (33:22; 86:13; 89:25; 117:2; 119:41), surrounds the God-fearing (32:10), follows a person (23:6), satisfies a person (90:14), and is precious (36:8); God offers it (42:9), lets it be heard (143:8), and takes it away (66:20; 77:9). 2 Sam 22:51 = Psa 18:51 still exhibits the old conventional form with *šh*, "to demonstrate" *ḥesed*.

(b) The development results in the hypostatization of *ḥesed* (so perhaps in Psa 40:12; 57:4, an addition; 61:8; 85:11; 89:15). This development is indeed grounded in the old use of *ḥesed*, but it surpasses it and signifies a restriction of the original intention. This development is also expressed in the use of the pl. forms of *ḥesed* (see III/3a), and, finally, the related increased significance of *tûb* in conjunction with *ḥesed* (see III/4b).

In a broader sense see Psa 25:7; 86:5; 109:21; 145:8f., but esp. the fixed liturgical formula, "For he is benevolent, his goodness endures forever." The extreme fluidity of this development is illustrated by the fact that similar cases do not have *tôb* (25:6; 89:2f., 29; 103:17; 138:8).

(c) A strict distinction cannot be enforced, however; other statements are better understood as a gift of God, as when one trusts in *ḥesed* (Psa 13:6; 52:10), as one trusts in Yahweh himself or his name (e.g., 9:11; 33:21), when one awaits it (33:18; 52:10), rejoices in it (31:8), lauds, ponders, or praises it (48:10; 59:17; 88:12; 92:3; 101:1; 107:8, 15, 21, 31).

This concept is also esp. clear when—usually, if not exclusively, in the laments—the prayer is that God will act because of or in accordance with his *ḥesed* (see III/3c). In a broader sense, Psa 21:8; 31:17; and 143:12, as well as the combination “in/according to the fullness of your *ḥesed*” (5:8; 69:14; 106:45; cf. Isa 63:7; Lam 3:32) also belong in this category.

The request in the call for *ḥesed* is always for something essential: deliverance and assistance, life itself in the broadest sense. Also of special importance in this context is the combination of *ḥesed* with *slḥ* “to forgive” (see IV/2b).

Finally, reference may be made to the relationship between *ḥesed* and God’s wonders; the two terms can also occur at some distance from one another (Psa 4:4 txt em; 17:7 txt em; 26:3, 7; 31:22; 77:9, 12; 86:5, 10; 88:12f.; 89:3f., 6; 98:1, 3; 106:7; 107:8, 15, 21; 136:1–3, 4).

(d) Passages that do not fit these categories and in which *ḥesed* is anchored more strongly in the behavior of the recipient are rare and, furthermore, somewhat ambiguous.

The juxtaposition in Psa 62:13, “For you requite according to all their work,” could be based in the nature of the numerical saying. Although *ḥesed* relates to the fear of God in Psa 33:18; 103:11, 17; 147:11, the context indicates that it is not a prerequisite but a general expression of piety and is almost identical with the knowledge of God (cf. 36:11). 144:2 remains an exception. If it is not to be emended (cf. e.g., Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:539f.: *ḥosnî* “my strength”), it could refer to the human attitude of faith (similarly, Elbogen, op. cit. 46: “my promise, my trust”).

6. (a) The adj. *ḥāsîd*, usually translated “faithful, pious,” describes practitioners of *ḥesed* (on frequency, primarily in the Psa, see II/2). The form without a succeeding gen. (sg.: Jer 3:12; Mic 7:2; Psa 4:4 txt?; 12:2 txt?; 18:26 = 2 Sam 22:26; Psa 32:6; 43:1; 86:2; 145:17; pl.: Psa 149:1, 5) decreases significantly in contrast to other expressions for pious speech (e.g., *yāšār*, *tāmîm*), where it is the rule (contra H. A. Brongers, *NedTT* 8 [1954]: 282). Pron. sufs. (1st, 2d, or 3d per.) refer without exception to Yahweh; the prayer character of the texts make it clear that they do not refer to Yahweh’s *ḥāsîd*.

(b) The adj. can be either an act. or a pass. formation in accordance with the nom. form (BL 470; on the weight of the pass. aspect, cf. A. Jepsen, *Nabi* [1934], 5), for which an exact distinction is presumably not even possible. Jer 3:12 is unmistakably act.: God himself is *ḥāsîd* (similarly Psa 145:17 par. *šaddîq* “righteous”; cf. the expression *rab ḥesed*, see IV/2a).

(c) Otherwise, *ḥāsîd* exclusively characterizes a pious human attitude. L. Gulkowitsch (*Die Entwicklung des Begriffes ḥāsîd im AT* [1934], 22) concluded from the usage of the term that *ḥāsîd* may have originally been

an explicitly collective term and may have signified membership in the community of Yahweh. This conclusion is certainly correct, although not in such a way that *ḥāsîd* was originally entirely neutral and must be more nearly defined by modifiers (op. cit. 28). The *ḥāsîdîm* are indeed entirely conscious of their special relationship to Yahweh (Brongers, op. cit. 291), yet this consciousness is true, in principle, of the whole nation and does not permit the inference of a separate group of the militantly pious in existence from the 8th/7th cent. into the Maccabean period (so B. D. Eerdmans, *OTS* 1 [1942]: 176–257).

Close relationship to Yahweh is expressed in various ways: Yahweh is near them (Psa 145:17) or they are near him (148:14); they pray to him (32:6), trust in him (86:2), love him (31:24); they rejoice in him and praise him (Psa 30:5; 52:11; 132:9, 16; 145:10; 148:14; 149:5; 2 Chron 6:41). Yahweh speaks to them in visions (89:20), forgives them (32:5), protects them (1 Sam 2:9; Psa 37:28; 86:2; 97:10; Prov 2:8), delivers them from death (Psa 16:10; 116:15; negatively in the lament, 79:2); they constitute his community (149:1), his people (85:9), and are his servants (79:2; 86:2; cf. 116:15f.).

Apart from the more generally used expressions of piety paralleled with *ḥāsîd* (“upright” Psa 97:10; Prov 2:8; “just” Psa 97:10; “faithful” Psa 31:24; antithetically, “godless” 1 Sam 2:9; Psa 37:28; cf. 43:1), one may well maintain that the term intends no specifically ethical description of the *ḥāsîd* (Gulkowitsch, op. cit. 22). The *ḥāsîdîm* belong to the community, i.e., they live in the sphere of God’s devoted grace (the pass. aspect of the nom. form); cf. *ḥāsîd* alongside the *ḥesed* of God in Psa 31:8, 17, 22, 24; 32:6, 10; 52:10f.; 85:8f., 11; 86:2, 5, 13, 15; 89:15, 20, 25, 29; 2 Chron 6:41f. The meaning of *ḥāsîd* seems well conveyed in the translation “companion in grace” (“Gunstgenosse,” Brongers, op. cit. 294).

(d) Nuances that one may see in the term are also to be explained from this perspective. Mic 7:2 must be interpreted in terms of 6:8. God’s willingness (*ḥesed*) creates the foundation for trust and life that permits and necessitates human *ḥesed* as a similar openness to God and people. Thus the *ḥāsîd* becomes the pious one who himself practices *ḥesed*. It is unnecessary to see an exceptional ethicization of the term (Gulkowitsch, op. cit. 22) marked by the adj. without suf. (see 6a). On the one hand, these forms are not associated with any distinctive characteristics; on the other hand, they are governed at least partly by their respective contexts.

(e) This more pronouncedly act. aspect is expressed in Psa 18:26 = 2 Sam 22:26, the only passage that uses *ḥsđ* hitp. “to prove oneself to be *ḥāsîd*”: “To the pious, you (Yahweh) prove yourself pious.” Here the attitude of a *ḥāsîd* can be assumed as the requirement for God’s *ḥesed*.

(f) Understandably, such a religiously loaded term underwent a limitation of

meaning in the course of history and finally indicated a group, the “quiet in the land,” which led to the *Asidaioi* of 1 Macc 2:42; 7:13; 2 Macc 14:6, who combined piety and readiness for battle (cf. H. W. Huppenbauer, *BHH* 1:298). The appropriation of the Hebr. word in transcription indicates that it has become the designation for a group.

V. 1. Kuhn (*Konk.* 74f.) counts 58 occurrences of *ḥesed* in the published nonbibl. texts from Qumran and in CD, 15 in 1QS, 31 in 1QH, and 7 in 1QM (see also *GCDS* 257). Attention will be given here only to those passages in which one may note a use of *ḥesed* that further develops elements already present in the OT. In comparison to the OT, the pl. forms have become more frequent in relation to the sg. forms (32x pl., 26x sg.), although they do not consistently refer to “demonstrations of grace,” but occasionally seem to represent pl. abstracts (i.e., 1QH 2:23; 4:37; 6:9; 9:7; 11:18).

That *ḥesed* has become distant from its original meaning and has lost independence is demonstrated by the fact that it accompanies other substs. as an attributive gen.

Characteristic of this usage is *ḥbt ḥsd*, 1QS 2:24; 5:4, 25; 8:2; 10:26 (also CD 13:18; cf. P. Hyatt, *ATR* 24 [1952]: 232), which, despite the same terminology, is substantially distinct from Mic 6:8 in syntax (P. Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline* [1957], 57). The phrase refers to the attitude that the members of the community assume toward one another.

One may also explain *bryt ḥsd* in 1QS 1:8 (cf. also 1Q35 7:7) in these terms; the community per se is also intended here. Thus the meaning of *ḥesed* is in flux, but the meaning of *ḥesed* as an act of God has priority, as the formula *ḥšwmr ḥsd lbrytw* in

1QM 14:4 (based upon Deut 7:9; cf. also CD 19:1) indicates. The formulation *bny ḥsd* in 1QH 7:20 points in the same direction, and perhaps even more instructively, *ḥbywny ḥsd* in 1QH 5:22, which is surely meant to characterize the members of the covenant as favored poor (contra M. Mansoor, *Thanksgiving Hymns* [1961], 135).

2. The LXX predominantly translates *ḥesed* by *eleos*, *ḥāsîd* by *hosios*. On the impact of the term in the NT, see R. Bultmann, “ἔλεος,” *TDNT* 2:477–87; F. Hauck, “ὁσιος,” *TDNT* 5:489–93.

H. J. Stoebe

## חֲסֵד *ḥsh* to take shelter

S 2620; BDB 340a; *HALOT* 1:337a; *TDOT* 5:64–75; *TWOT* 700; *NIDOTTE* 2879

1. Hebr. *ḥsh* “to take shelter,” with the basic meaning “to hide oneself,” belongs to a root used only moderately; it means “to cover, conceal” in Akk. (*ḥesû*, cf. *AHW* 342a; *CAD* H:176f.) and “to cover, hide” in Eth. (*ḥasawa*; Dillmann 93). On conjectural Arab. and Aram. pars., see L. Delekat, *VT* 14 (1964): 28f. (on Arab. *ḥašīya* “to be afraid,” cf. also L. Kopf, *VT* 8 [1958]: 173).

Syr. *ḥasyā* “pious” and derivatives indicate possibilities for theological usage (*LS* 245; cf. also *DISO* 93: Palm. *ḥsy* pa., “to consecrate”).

The word group has only two full-fledged members in the OT: the verb, which occurs only in the qal; and the noun *maḥseh* “refuge,” formed with the *m*-preformative. The abstract form *ḥāsūt* appears only in Isa 30:3, par. to *māʿōz* “refuge,” thus synonymous with *maḥseh*. The PNs *ḥōsā* (1 Chron 16:38; 26:10f., 16) and *maḥsēyā* (“Yahweh is a refuge,” Jer 32:12; 51:59; cf. *IP* 57, 62, 158) contribute nothing essential to the semantic history of the root.

2. The verb and the noun are attested primarily in the liturgical literature; the distribution thus indicates a strong concentration of occurrences in the Psa: *ḥsh* qal 37x (Psa 25x, Isa 3x), *ḥāsūt* 1x (see 1), *maḥseh* 20x (Psa 12x, Isa 4x)—in all, 37 of 58 occurrences in the Psa.

3. With Delekat (op. cit. 28–31), “to hide in/with” should be seen as the fundamental meaning of the verb (cf. Judg 9:15; Isa 14:32). The OT knows a multitude of vivid par. expressions, e.g., → *ʿūz b<sup>e</sup>* “to take refuge with” (Isa 30:2), → *str* ni. *be* “to hide in” (1 Sam 20:5; Isa 28:15), *mlṭ* ni. or → *nūs ʿel* (or with a suffixed *he* locale) “to flee to” (Gen 9:17–22; Exod 21:13; Num 35:6, 32; 1 Sam 22:1), *brḥ ʿel/ʿe* “to flee to” (1 Kgs 2:39; Neh 13:10), *pqd* hi. *nepcš b<sup>e</sup>yād* “to entrust oneself to someone” (Psa 31:6), → *dbq b<sup>e</sup>/ʿim* “to cling to” (Ruth 1:14; 2:8; Deut 10:20), *yšb b<sup>e</sup>* or *lîn* hitpo. *be* “to lodge with” (Psa 91:1). *ḥsh* can often be found in the immediate vicinity of these expressions and thus means, either lit. or fig., the search for a secure place. Apart from two exceptions (Psa 62:8; 73:28) that indicate the transition to a subjectivized understanding (contra L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel* [1967], 211), *maḥseh* indicates, directly or symbolically, the hiding place or that which gives security (cf. Isa 4:6; Psa 91:1f., 9; 104:18); synonyms are *ʿōz/māʿōz* “refuge” (→ *ʿūz*), *sēter/mistôr/mistār* “hiding place” (→ *str*), *mišgāb* “fortress, refuge,” and *miqlāt* “refuge, asylum.”

4. Cultic texts prefer (a) the verb and the noun in confessional pronouncements of confidence, which simultaneously claim Yahweh’s protection, and (b), the verb, esp. an act. ptc., to describe the cultic

community.

(a) A formula of trust in the songs of lament or confidence takes the form: *b<sup>e</sup>kāḥāsītī* (*yhw*h), “I hide myself in you (Yahweh),” “I (en)trust (myself to) you,” thus in Psa 7:2; 11:1; 16:1; 25:20; 31:2; 57:2; 71:1; 141:8; cf. *b<sup>e</sup>kā bāḥātī* “I trust in you” (→ *bḥ*). Reflecting the style of its hymnic context, it is: “I trust in him, Yahweh” (Psa 18:3; 144:2). Impf. forms of the verb with the same function occur in Psa 57:2; 61:5; the nom. expression reads: “you are (he is) my (our) *maḥseh*” (Psa 46:2; 61:4; 62:8f.; 71:7; 91:2, 9; 94:22; 142:6; cf. Isa 25:4; Jer 17:17). Echoes of the formula of trust are recognizable in Isa 28:15 and Joel 4:16.

(b) In the descriptive use, the verb highlights less the individual supplicant (as is predominantly the case in the formula of trust) than the community in need of protection. Psa 64:11 and Isa 57:13 relate *ḥsh b<sup>e</sup>* to the individual; Prov 14:32 knows that the just can depend upon his irreproachability (read with LXX *ḥōseh b<sup>e</sup>tūmmō*). In the other cases, the *ḥōsīm* as a group—par. to “those who fear Yahweh” (Psa 31:20), who “love his name” (5:12), who are “his servants” (34:23)—are described in fixed formulae, often in beatitudes (Psa 2:12; 5:12; 17:7; 18:31; 31:20; 34:23; Nah 1:7; Prov 30:5; cf. the usage of the finite verb form in Psa 34:9; 36:8; 37:40; Zeph 3:12).

*ḥsh* can thus mean the search for protected space (the sanctuary); the more precise statement “to hide under Yahweh’s wings” (Ruth 2:12) or “in the shadow of your wings” (Psa 36:8; 57:2) refers to the cultic site (→ *kānāp*). Delekat (op. cit. 209ff.) is correct on this point. The expression of confidence, however, does not solely mean the actual search for asylum (in order to so argue, one must abandon the liturgical character of the Psa in favor of an inscription theory!), but also the inner attitude of the praying community. Whoever hides with Yahweh (Psa 61:5; 91:1f.) appropriates the experience of prior generations in worship.

Apparently, the Syr. adj. *ḥasyā* has attained the same significance. The Gk. *Essaioi* (*Essēnoi*) “Essenes,” borrowed from the Aram., also continues the community usage (cf. K. G. Kuhn, *RGG* 2:701–3).

5. The LXX and the NT incorporate the substance of *ḥsh* in several words, but tend toward the spiritual understanding: *pepoithenai* “to trust,” *elpizein* “to hope,” *skepazesthai* “to seek refuge” (cf. R. Bultmann and K. H. Rengstorf, “ἐλπίζω,” *TDNT* 2:517–35; R. Bultmann, “πείθω,” *TDNT* 6:1–11; see p. 5: “Thus *ḥsh* [‘to seek refuge’] can include in content the secondary sense of confidence”). LXXB emphasizes the local sense in Judg 9:15. The exclusive claim of the pious community is manifest in the names (an external designation?!) and the ideology of the Essenes.

## חָפַץ *ḥpṣ* to be pleased

S 2654; BDB 342b; HALOT 1:339b; TDOT 5:92–107; TWOT 712; NIDOTTE 2911

1. The root *ḥpṣ* is attested only in WSem. (Phoen.: *mḥpṣ* [?], *KI* no. 38; *ḥpṣbʿl* as a PN; cf. Harris 104; Old Aram.: Sef. III.8 *kl ḥpṣy*, cf. *DISO* 94 “all that I desire”; Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 97, 112 “any of my business”; Syr.: *ḥpṭ* “to be concerned for,” *LS* 249f.; Arab. *ḥafīza* “to keep”; cf. *HAL* 326a) and only in the Hebr. of the OT. With regard to etymology, L. Kopf (*VT* 8 [1958]: 173) refers to Arab. *ḥafīza* “to keep, protect.”

Two nom. forms derive from the verb, which appears only in the qal: *ḥāpēṣ* “delighted,” which serves as a ptcp. or as a verbal adj., and the verbal abstract *ḥēpeṣ* “delight, wish; opportunity.”

A second root *ḥpṣ* is attested in Job 40:17: “to let hang(?)”; cf. Arab. *ḥafaḍa* “to debase” (*HAL* 326b).

2. The verb occurs 86x in the OT, if one includes, with Mandl., passages with the ptcp. *ḥāpēṣ* (according to Lis. 12x; Psa 18x plus ptcp. 6x, incl. 111:2 with Lis. and *HAL* 326b, although Mandl. lists it under *ḥēpeṣ*; Isa 12x, other prophets 8x plus ptcp. 1x, Esth 7x); the verbal abstract *ḥēpeṣ* occurs 39x, in addition to 2x as an element in the fem. PN *ḥepṣî-bāh* (“I am pleased with her,” 2 Kgs 21:1 and, as a symbolic name, Isa 62:4; cf. *IP* 223).

3. (a) In the realm of profane usage, the verb with a per. obj. (always with *be*) expresses one person’s affection for another (Gen 34:19; 1 Sam 19:1; 2 Sam 20:11), esp. the favor of a legally or socially superior to a dependent (Deut 21:14; 1 Sam 18:22; Esth 2:14).

The obj. of the thing can be introduced with *be* or can stand as an acc. obj. In the first case, both concrete objs. (Isa 13:17; Psa 73:25) and abstract objs. (Isa 66:3; Psa 109:17; Prov 18:2; Esth 6:6f., 9[bis], 11) occur. Only abstract objs. occur as acc. (Hos 6:6; Psa 68:31; Job 21:14).

The proper sense becomes apparent with great clarity in comparison to similar terms, esp. → *rṣh* and → *ḥb*. The boundaries between *ḥpṣ* and *rṣh* are not always sharp. The two roots are used synonymously to a great extent (Psa 147:10 par.). But they have each undergone unique

developments in varied directions. While the cult adopts *rsh* as a technical expression to declare the sacrifice as “well-pleasing” (R. Rendtorff, *Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift* [1954], 74f.; E. Würthwein, *TLZ* 72 [1947]: 147f.), the sense of *hps* shifts in the direction of “to want, have interest” through a mitigation of the emotional element (Isa 55:11; Jonah 1:14; Psa 115:3; Song Sol 2:7; Eccl 8:3). Not infrequently, an inf. accompanies *hps*, which is thus used as a mere auxiliary verb (Deut 25:8; Judg 13:23; 1 Sam 2:25). Correspondingly, the subst. *hēpeš* occurs in the tempered sense of “opportunity, business” (Isa 58:3, 13; Eccl 3:1, 17; 5:7; and frequently in the Qumran texts); on the use of *hēpeš* in Eccl, see W. E. Staples, *JNES* 24 (1965): 113–15: “business or facts” of life; cf. also G. Rinaldi, *BeO* 9 (1967): 48; Wagner no. 109.

*hps* is distinguished from *ʔhb* primarily by means of the fact that “to be pleased” expresses a particular class distinction between subj. and obj.—it deals mostly with affection on the part of the superior—that is entirely absent from “to love”; cf. e.g., the narrative of David at Saul’s court, where Saul’s goodness toward David is expressed by *hps* (1 Sam 18:22), while *ʔhb* stands for Jonathan’s (v 1), the people’s (v 16), and Michal’s (v 20) affection for David.

(b) A similar picture results from a comparison of the semantically related substs. *hēpeš* and *hēn* (→ *hnn*). The latter has the pass. sense “belovedness” and appears mostly as an obj., particularly in verbal constructions denoting favor from external sources, primarily as the obj. of *msʔ* “to find.” Alternately, *hēpeš* is primarily an act., outwardly directed display. *hēpeš* appears as an obj. only rarely, and only with verbs of action and giving (1 Kgs 5:22f.; 10:13 = 2 Chron 9:12; Isa 46:10; 48:14).

First of all, *hēpeš* indicates a subjective feeling: delight as a psychic attitude. This sense always applies to *hēpeš* accompanied by a prep. (*be* or *le*). If no prep. follows, however, the sense is almost always objectified, by means of an exchange of the feeling element for the pertinent obj. itself. Instead of an intention to express a favorable disposition, *hēpeš* indicates the obj. of favor, “that which pleases someone, that which is desired” (2 Sam 23:5; 1 Kgs 5:24; 9:11; 10:13; Psa 107:30; Job 31:16); cf. Akk. *migru* “accommodation, favor” > “object of favor, favored one” (for further examples, see W. Eilers, “Zur Funktion von Nominalformen,” *WO* 3/2 [1964]: 126).

Prov 3:15; 8:11, where *hēpeš* (pl., par. *p<sup>e</sup>nîm* “corals”) apparently describes a piece of jewelry, contains a special objectification and concretization. The expression is apparently a shortened form of *ʔabnéhēpeš* “precious gems” (thus Isa 54:12; Sir 45:11; 1QM 5:6, 9, 14; 12:13); cf. the similar expressions *ʔeres/dibrê hēpeš* “land/words that bring joy” (Mal 3:12;

Eccl 12:10) and *k'li 'ên hēpeç bô* “vessel that pleases no one” (Jer 22:28; 48:38; Hos 8:8).

4. Because “pleasure” mostly means the superior’s display toward the inferior, it is natural that the term appears frequently in theological usage, esp. in statements with God as the subj. Nevertheless, neither the verb nor the nom. forms are used as established theological terms. The following objects and abstractions occur as direct objs. of divine pleasure: blood, sacrifice, love, the way of the pious, truth; objs. introduced with *be*: the pious, Israel, Zion, life, death, the strength of the stallion. The only persons named as the objs. of divine pleasure are Solomon (1 Kgs 10:9 = 2 Chron 9:8) and David (2 Sam 15:26).

Human “pleasure” (in contrast to *ḥb*) never has God/Yahweh as an obj., but rather the “word of Yahweh” (Jer 6:10), his “commandments” (Psa 112:1; 119:35), also “knowledge of his ways” (Isa 58:2; Job 21:14), “insight” (Prov 18:2), “blessing” (Psa 109:17), and “nearness to God” (Isa 58:2).

5. Both the verb and the subst. appear in the Qumran documents (5 and 13x, resp., according to Kuhn, *Konk.* 75), but recede behind the much more frequent *ršh/rāšôn*. The NT *eudokein* is connected primarily with *ršh* (cf. G. Schrenk, “εὐδοκέω,” *TDNT* 2:738–51).

G. Gerleman

## 𐤒𐤒𐤓 *ḥqq* to inscribe, prescribe

S 2710; BDB 349a; *HALOT* 1:347b; *TDOT* 5:139–47; *TWOT* 728; *NIDOTTE* 2980

1. The root *ḥqq* also occurs beyond the OT in the Old Aram. inscription on the Hadad statue from Zinjirli (8th cent. BCE; *KAI* no. 214.34 “you will write[?]”; cf. Friedrich 158), in Phoen. (*DISO* 95), and in Mid. Hebr., Jew. Aram., Syr., Arab., and Eth. (*HAL* 333b; R. Hentschke, *Satzung und Setzender* [1963], 21f.).

In addition to *ḥqq* qal, the by-form *ḥqh* (pu. 1 Kgs 6:35; Ezek 8:10; 23:14; hitp. Job 13:27) appears in the OT (and Mid. Hebr.). The po. (replacing the pi.) ptcp. (*m'ḥōqēq*) has become an independent subst. (“one who inscribes” or “something that inscribes”). The masc. subst. *ḥōq* is a substantivized inf. of *ḥqq* qal (BL 455); the derived fem. *ḥuqqâ* is probably a relatively late formation in analogy to the fem. *tôrâ* and *mišwâ* (K. Albrecht, *ZAW* 16 [1896]: 98; G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung atl. Rechtssätze* [1971], 176).

2. The verb *ḥqq* occurs in the OT 12x (qal 9x, pu., ho. and po. 1x each), the by-form *ḥqh* 4x (see 1). The substs. occur as follows: *m<sup>h</sup>ḥōqēq* 7x, *ḥōq* 129x (Psa 30x, 21x in Psa 119; Deut 21x, Lev 11x), and *ḥuqqâ* 104x (Lev 26x, 23x in H; Ezek 22x, Num 14x; cf. Hentschke, op. cit. 113n.3; Elliger, HAT 4, 223n.15, 236f.).

For conjectural emendations, see *HAL* 333; Judg 5:15; Zeph 2:2; Psa 74:11; and Job 23:12 should definitely be emended.

3. (a) The verb *ḥqq* (*ḥqh*) develops from its basic graphic meaning “carve out, inscribe, dig” to “sketch, write” on the one hand, and to “prescribe, determine” on the other (→ *y<sup>c</sup>d* 3d).

On this point and on the root as a whole see the following literature: Hentschke, op. cit., the most thorough investigation; J. van der Ploeg, “Studies in Hebrew Law,” *CBQ* 12 (1950): 250–52; S. Mowinckel, “Hebrew Equivalent of Taxo in Ass. Mos. IX,” *SVT* 1 (1953): 88–96; Z. W. Falk, “Hebrew Legal Terms,” *JSS* 5 (1960): 350–54; P. Victor, “Note on *ḥōq* in the O.T.,” *VT* 16 (1966): 358–61; Liedke, op. cit. 154ff.

The graphic meaning is still perceptible in the following passages: Isa 22:16 describes the excavation of a grave in a rock with *ḥqq* (par. to *ḥsb*); Ezek 4:1, the inscribing of the plan for Jerusalem on a brick (cf. A. Jeremias, *OT in the Light of the Ancient Orient* [1911], 2:287, 298, the plan of a city scratched in clay); Isa 49:16, the tattooing of the name of the beloved in the hand of the lover (Volz, *Jesaja*, KAT, 2:102); in 1 Kgs 6:35b; Ezek 8:10; 23:14 the pu. ptcp. *m<sup>h</sup>ḥuqqeh* indicates “inscriptions, engravings”; in Job 13:27 confinement in stocks is described as drawing the outlines of Job’s feet (Horst, BK 16, 205). *ḥqq* parallels *ktb* “to write” in Isa 10:1; 30:8; Job 19:23 (ho.). Although in Job 19:23 it describes the engraving of an inscription in the rock (with Fohrer, KAT 16, 317), and thus the more technical aspect of writing, *ḥqq* is probably synonymous with *ktb* in Isa 30:8 “to record in a → *sēper* (perhaps a leather scroll).” In Isa 10:1 “writing evil statutes” already shifts to the meaning “to prescribe, determine.”

The qal ptcp. *ḥōqēq* should hardly be understood here and in Judg 5:9 as an amphictyonic office (contra Hentschke, op. cit. 11ff.).

Prov 8:15 (po.) and 31:5 (pu.) point, as does Isa 10:1, to the legal realm; here *ḥqq* means “to establish justice, govern.” One may also best translate *ḥqq* in Judg 5:9 “to have authority (over Israel).” Isa 10:1; Prov 8:15; Judg 5:9; and Job 13:27 show that the subjs. of *ḥqq* are authorities; *ḥqq* can thus indicate a lord’s sovereign legislation regarding his

subordinates.

(b) *m<sup>e</sup>ḥōqēq* occurs mostly in old poetical texts, at first objectively as “staff, scepter” in Num 21:18 (Song of the Well) and Gen 49:10 (Blessing of Jacob). These staffs of the “princes” (*śārîm, n<sup>e</sup>dîbîm*) or the king symbolize authority and honor; they play a role in the pronouncement of justice (cf. *Iliad* 18.503ff.; a portrayal of such a staff on an Eg. mural in L. H. Grollenberg, *Atlas of the Bible* [1956], 38 fig. 121). The designation for the staff of command becomes (pars pro toto) a designation for the “prince, commander”: Judg 5:14 (Song of Deborah); Deut 33:21 (Blessing of Moses).

The possibility that *m<sup>e</sup>ḥōqēq* may have been understood in a particular period or tradition in the OT as the title of an office in the “self-government of the local alliances” may not be completely dismissed, but is still a rather weak option (contra Hentschke, op. cit. 11ff.). In Deut 33:21 the pu. ptcp. *m<sup>e</sup>ḥuqqāq* “prescribed, determined” can also be read (cf. Prov 31:5; HAL 334a).

It is certain that *m<sup>e</sup>ḥōqēq* is a word from the sphere of reigning and ruling, designating either the instrument or the person of the ruler.

(c) The most vivid meaning of *ḥōq* occurs where *ḥōq* should be understood as “inscribed = boundary line.” In Jer 5:22; Job 38:10; and Prov 8:29a, *ḥōq* is the boundary of the sea that may not be trespassed (*br*); in Psa 148:6 it is the boundary of the heavenly ocean. Mic 7:11b promises Zion the enlargement of its territory with the words “your boundaries (*ḥōq*) will be removed.” Isa 5:14 says that the Sheol monster opens its jaws without *ḥōq*, i.e., one can no longer see an outline, it is boundless.

*ḥōq* is distinguished from *g<sup>e</sup>bûl* by the fact that *g<sup>e</sup>bûl* (originally “mountain crest”) indicates the natural boundaries, while *ḥōq* as an inscribed line is the artificially established boundary.

The discussion of the reduction (*gr<sup>9</sup>*) of Jerusalem’s *ḥōq* in Ezek 16:27, a reference to the decrease of its territory (cf. O. Eissfeldt, *PJB* 27 [1931]: 58ff.), demonstrates that as a term for the boundary, *ḥōq* can be applied to the area demarcated by the boundary (so also *g<sup>e</sup>bûl*, Lat. *finis*, Gk. *horion*, and Ger. *Mark*). The usage of *ḥōq* in Ezek 45:14 for a “measured quantity of oil,” in Gen 47:22 for “a particular quantity of grain” (Liedke, op. cit. 165f.), and in Exod 5:14 and Prov 31:15 for the “work quota” (Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 53) lies along the same lines. In Job 14:5, 13; 23:14; and Prov 30:8 *ḥōq* may be best related to the human “life span established and bounded (by God).”

In Psa 148:6, *ḥōq* refers not only to the heavenly ocean but to the

highest heaven (v 4), the stars (v 3), and Yahweh's messengers and host (v 2). This series indicates the way in which *ḥōq* diverges from its graphic meaning and assumes the meaning "established order" (cf. also Job 28:26). *ḥōq* also should probably be understood as "order" in Gen 47:26; certainly so in Judg 11:39b and 2 Chron 35:25b.

If one considers who establishes *ḥōq* (Pharaoh, Pharaoh's driver, the lady of the house, Joseph as vizier, Yahweh) and whom the *ḥōq* effects (the Eg. priests, the overseer of the Israelites, the maids, the Egyptians, Job, Jerusalem, the sea, etc.), then the following picture emerges: *ḥōq* is the boundary line that the ruler draws for his subordinates and to which the subordinate may dare approach or to which the subordinate should come but may not overstep.

Verbs characteristically found in conjunction with *ḥōq* are: *śîm* (Jer 5:22; Prov 8:29), → *ntn* (Psa 148:6; Prov 31:15), → *śh* (Job 28:26), always in the meaning "to set, give." Gens. following *ḥōq* usually indicate the establishing of authority.

Just as *mišpāt* (→ *špt*) indicates the "casuistic statement of law" (Alt, "Origins of Israelite Law," *EOTHR* 79–132), one can expect that *ḥōq* indicates a specific genre, for in many cases boundaries and regulations must be established in a specific linguistic form. An investigation of the laws in the OT demonstrates that the "apodictic statement of law" (R. Hentschke, "Erwägungen zur isr. Rechtsgeschichte," *Theologia Viatorum* 10 [1966]: 108–33; Liedke, op. cit. 101ff.; Alt assigns this form to "apodictic law" but does not distinguish it from the "commandments"; example: Exod 21:12) has precisely the same social context (ruler-subject; cf. Gen 26:11). The conclusion is apparent that *ḥōq* may have been the original designation for this type of law (J. Morgenstern, *HUCA* 7 [1930]: 27; Liedke, op. cit. 177ff.). The OT laws were fixed, however, in a phase in which the various terms *ḥōq*, *mišpāt*, *tôrâ*, and *mišwâ* had become fully synonymous designations of Yahweh's law (see 4d; only Lev 18:3, 30; 20:23 discuss the *ḥuqqôt* of the Egyptians, Canaanites, and the nations).

(d) *ḥuqqâ* occurs only in a fig. meaning; in Jer 5:24b; 33:25; Job 38:33 as "regulation(s)," otherwise as a designation for laws and commandments (cf. 1 Kgs 3:3, David's *ḥuqqôt*, Mic 6:16, Omri's *ḥuqqôt*, 2 Kgs 17:8, the nations' *ḥuqqôt*).

4. (a) *ḥqq* or *ḥōq/ḥuqqâ* occurs in theological usage first in a series of descriptions of God's creative activity in the OT. In Prov 8:27, Wisdom boasts that she was present when God "inscribed (*ḥqq*) the circle of the surface of the deep." Job 26:10 also discusses the divine inscription of this circle, the horizon (*ḥāqāq* should be read with the comms.). In Jer 5:22; Job 38:10; and Prov 8:29a, *ḥōq* is the boundary that God establishes for the sea. These descriptions of creation should be categorized with a specific kind of creation language: creation through separation and division

(Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:33–35). The *ḥōq* engraved by God divides the heavenly waters and the earth (Prov 8:27; Job 26:10; Psa 148:6; cf. Gen 1:6f.), the sea from the dry ground (Prov 8:27; Jer 5:22; Job 38:10; cf. Gen 1:9f.). In Jer 31:35 (*ḥōqēq* is to be read with the comms.) *ḥqq* also occurs in a fig. meaning describing creation: “(he who) fixes the moon and stars to illuminate the night.” In Jer 31:36 and Job 28:26 *ḥuqqîm* or *ḥōq*, resp., means “regulation(s)”; in Jer 5:24b; 33:25; Job 38:33, *ḥuqqôt* also indicates orders (of nature) fixed by God.

In Psa 60:9 = 108:9, *m<sup>e</sup>ḥōqēq* is Yahweh’s (royal) staff, in Isa 33:22, Yahweh’s title in addition to *melek* “king” and *šōpēt* “judge.”

(b) Job 14:5, 13; 23:14; Prov 30:8 speak of the *ḥōq* that God establishes for people. Although the graphic meaning “limited span” is still active in these passages, *ḥōq* occurs in Psa 2:7; 94:20; 105:10f.; Isa 24:5b as “Yahweh’s order” in a totally fig. sense. These passages demonstrate that *ḥōq* as decree can not only indicate the obligation of the subordinate, resulting from an order established by God (Isa 24:5b; cf. Jer 31:36; Job 28:26), but can also include God’s promise and obligation; see Psa 105:10f. = 1 Chron 16:17f., where the promise of the land to the patriarchs is called → *b<sup>e</sup>rît* and *ḥōq*. The disputed text Psa 2:7 (see G. H. Jones, “Decree of Yahweh,” *VT* 15 [1965]: 336–44) should be understood in this way: according to G. von Rad (“Royal Ritual in Judah,” *PHOE* 222–31), *ḥōq* here means the content of the royal protocol that Yahweh delivers to the king of Judah at the coronation; the “decree” that Yahweh establishes thereby is the adoption of the king as Yahweh’s son; it is promise (Psa 2:7b–9; 2 Sam 7) and obligation for the king.

(c) In the priestly formula *ḥoq-‘ōlām* (usually with the addition “for Aaron and his sons”), *ḥōq* is a technical term indicating the priestly portion of the sacrifice (Exod 29:28; 30:21; Lev 6:11; 7:34; 10:15; Num 18:8, 11, 19; cf. Lev 6:15; 10:13f.; and 24:9 [H]; Hentschke, op. cit. 33ff.). This still graphic usage of *ḥōq* should be compared with *ḥōq* in Gen 47:22.

The corresponding formula encountered in P and H *ḥuqqat-‘ōlām* (mostly with the addition “for your generations”) is simply an introductory and concluding formula following or preceding cultic regulations (P: Exod 12:14, 17; 27:21; 28:43; 29:9; Lev 3:17; 7:36; 10:9; 16:29, 31, 34; Num 10:8; 15:15; 18:23; 19:10, 21; H: Lev 17:7; 23:14, 21, 31, 41; 24:3; cf. Ezek 46:14; Hentschke, op. cit. 42ff., 64f.); the formula establishes the unconditional, eternal validity of the regulation in question; *ḥuqqâ* means “cultic regulation, law” in this formula as it does in “*ḥuqqâ* of the Passover” (Exod 12:43; Num 9:12, 14) and in Num 9:3, 14; 15:15.

In the expression *ḥuqqat mišpāt* (Num 27:11; 35:29), *ḥuqqâ* characterizes the

divine authority, *mišpāt* the realm (civil law) in which the regulation applies (Hentschke, op. cit. 46ff.). The expression *ḥuqqat hattôrâ* (Num 19:2; 31:21) is a pleonasm, which documents the rivalry between *tôrâ* and *ḥuqqâ* in the P texts. *ḥuqqâ* has “essentially the same sphere of application” as → *tôrâ* in P (R. Rendtorff, *Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift* [19632], 73f.); the two terms are substantially synonymous.

(d) *ḥōq* and *ḥuqqâ* occur in Deut, Dtr, Chr, H, and Ezek mostly in the pl. in series with other terms for commandment and law. All terms are fully equalized and indicate synonymously the whole or parts of Yahweh’s regulations and commandments. The combination of *ḥuqqîm* and *mišpāîm* is characteristic for Deut (Deut 4:1, 5, 8, 14, 45; 5:1, 31; 6:1, 20; 7:11; 11:32; 12:1; 26:16f.; cf. N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot* [1963], 54–58); it may also mirror the confluence of a Yahweh-bound and a non-Yahwistic legal tradition (F. Horst, *Das Privilegrecht Jahwes* [1930], 120 = *Gottes Recht* [1961], 150). The series *ḥuqqōt . . . mišwōt* (Deut 6:2; 8:11; 10:13; 11:1; 28:15, 45; 30:16; cf. Gen 26:5) is also characteristic for the framework of Dtn. The terms *ḥuqqîm/ḥuqqōt*, *mišpāîm*, and *mišwōt* occur in Dtr in almost every possible combination (Deut 30:10; 1 Kgs 2:3; 3:14; 6:12; 8:58; 9:4, 6; 11:33f., 38; 2 Kgs 17:13, 15, 19, 34, 37; 23:3). The Chr, who tends strongly toward Deut descriptions for the law (G. von Rad, *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes* [1930], 41ff.), prefers *ḥuqqîm* and *mišpāîm* once again (Neh 1:7; 9:13; 10:30; 1 Chron 22:13; 2 Chron 7:17; 19:10; 33:8). The pair *ḥuqqōt* and *mišpāîm* is typical for H and Ezek (H: Lev 18:4f., 26; 19:37; 20:22; 25:18; 26:14f., 43; Ezek: Ezek 5:6f.; 11:20; 18:9, 17; 20:11, 13, 16, 19; 37:24; 44:24; Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:175). *ḥuqqîm* is one of the alternate terms for “law” or “word of God” in Psa 119 (Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:411).

The singulars *ḥōq* and *mišpāt* occur together in Exod 15:25b; Josh 24:25b; 1 Sam 30:25b; Psa 81:5f.; Ezra 7:10b. Although Ezra 7:10b imitates Josh 24:25b and no precise sense for the two terms may be elicited from Psa 81:5f., a notion of “a delimiting regulation (*ḥōq*) and a legal claim (*mišpāt*, → *špî*)” may be considered for 1 Sam 30:25b; Josh 24:25b; and Exod 15:25b (Liedke, op. cit. 180ff.).

5. The Qumran texts use *ḥōq* and *ḥuqqâ* in the sense of 4d (M. Delcor, “Contribution l’étude de la législation des sectaires de Damas et de Qumran,” *RB* 61 [1954]: 539–41; W. Nauck, “Lex insculpta in der Sektenschrift,” *ZNW* 46 [1955]: 138–40; K. Baltzer, *Covenant Formulary* [1971], 111, 118n.93); CD 6:3ff. uses the dual significance of *m<sup>h</sup>ḥōqēq* for an allegorical exegesis of Num 21:18 in reference to a person (“he who studies the law”); cf. Mowinckel, op. cit. 92f.; O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament, An Introduction* (1965), 651; M. Delcor, *RB* 62 (1955): 60–66.

Regarding the translation of *ḥōq/ḥuqqâ* in the LXX and on the NT, cf.

Hentschke, op. cit. 103ff.; and G. Quell and G. Schrenk, “δίκη,” *TDNT* 2:174–225, esp. 219–21; G. Delling, “τάσσω,” *TDNT* 8:27–48, esp. 37–39 (προστάσσω); H. Kleinknecht and W. Gutbrod, “νόμος,” *TDNT* 4:1022–91, esp. 1088f.

G. Liedke

## הרה *hrh* to be inflamed

S 2734; BDB 354a; *HALOT* 1:351a; *TDOT* 5:171–76; *TWOT* 736; *NIDOTTE* 3013

1. The root *hrh* can be considered alongside *hrr* “to be hot, to burn”; in contrast to *hrr*, it is not common Sem. (cf. *AHw* 238b; *WUS* no. 973) but is strongly developed outside Hebr. only in Aram. (Arab. *ḥarwat* “burning; wrath, rage,” *Wehr* 172).

The oldest Aram. examples are *KAI* no. 214.23 “and Hadad shall pour out wrath (*hrʾ*)” (par. *rgz* “wrath”) and *KAI* no. 223B.12 “on a day of wrath (*hrn*)” (*Fitzmyer, Sef.* 82f., 89; cf. further *HAL* 337).

The verb occurs in the qal, ni. (ptcp. in *Isa* 41:11 and 45:24; *Song Sol* 1:6 belongs here, according to *GKC* §75x; *Berg. HG* 2:111; *BL* 424; according to G. R. Driver, *JTS* 34 [1937]: 380f., and *KBL* 609b it belongs to *nhr* pi. “to pant”), hi. (*Job* 19:11 and *Neh* 3:20 in a disputed text), hitp., and twice in forms with a *t*-preformative (in the meaning “to compete,” *Jer* 12:5; 22:15; according to *GKC* §55h a tip<sup>el</sup>; according to J. Blau, *VT* 7 [1957]: 385–88, a hitap<sup>el</sup>; according to *Barth* 279; *Meyer* 2:127; *HAL* 337b: denominative from *taḥ<sup>a</sup>râ* “conflict,” *Sir* 40:5). In addition, there are the substs. *h<sup>o</sup>ri* “inflammation (of wrath)” and *ḥārôn* “heat (of wrath)” (on the nom. form, see *BL* 460f., 499, resp.).

2. The verb occurs 93x in the OT, specifically 82x in the qal (*Gen* and *Num* 11x each, 2 *Sam* 8x, *Judg* and 1 *Sam* 7x each, *Exod* 6x, *Deut* and *Job* 5x each, *Jonah* 4x, etc., predominantly in narrative texts), 4x in the hitp. (*Psa* 37:1, 7f.; *Prov* 24:19), 3x in the ni. (see 1), 2x each in the hi. and tip<sup>el</sup> (see 1). *ḥārôn* occurs 41x (*Jer* 9x, *Psa* 6x, 2 *Chron* 4x, otherwise less than 3x), *h<sup>o</sup>ri* 6x (*Exod* 11:8; *Deut* 29:23; 1 *Sam* 20:34; *Isa* 7:4; *Lam* 2:3; 2 *Chron* 25:10).

The qal passages are divided rather equally between human and divine wrath; the other verb forms concern human wrath, except for *Job* 19:11 hi.; *ḥārôn* always

refers to divine wrath; *h<sup>o</sup>ri*, except for Deut 29:23 and Lam 2:3, always refers to human wrath.

3. Both the verb and the subst. of the root *hrh* are used only fig. in the psychological realm. Two-thirds of all occurrences of the qal have *ʔap* “wrath” as subj. (in Hab 3:8 “Yahweh” is not the subj. but a vocative; cf. W. F. Albright, FS Robinson 12); here *hrh* means “to become inflamed” (e.g., Gen 44:18, “Do not let your wrath become inflamed toward your servant”) in such a way that it is not necessary to trace the two terms back to their basic meanings (KBL 331b = HAL 337b: his nose becomes hot). In the remaining cases, the verb is constructed without the subj. *ʔap*. Thus the abbreviated form “it (wrath) inflames him” = “he is enraged” (e.g., Gen 4:5f.) develops. Instead of the prep. *I<sup>c</sup>, b<sup>e</sup>ʕnāyw* stands in Gen 31:35 and 45:5. The obj. of or the reason for the wrath is usually introduced with *be*, rarely with *ʔel* (Num 24:10) or *ʕal* (2 Sam 3:8; Zech 10:3).

On the hi. “to cause to become inflamed,” ni. “to be wrathful,” hitp. “to get heated up,” and tip<sup>c</sup>el “to compete” see HAL 337b.

*h<sup>o</sup>ri* regularly appears, and *hārôn* in by far most cases, in a cs. combination with *ʔap* as nomen rectum so that the basic meaning “burning, flame” survives, even if in a fig. application. *hārôn* is an independent word for “wrath” only in Exod 15:7; Jer 25:38ba txt em; Ezek 7:12, 14; Psa 2:5; 58:10 txt em; 88:17 (the only passage with pl.); and Neh 13:18.

4. Just as a human being’s wrath can become inflamed, so can Yahweh’s (e.g., against Moses, Exod 4:14; a total of 37x *hrh* qal with *ʔap* as subj., in addition to Job 19:11, hi., where a qal form is usually conjectured; also Gen 18:30, 32; 2 Sam 22:8 = Psa 18:8 without *ʔap*, but with *le* ). Objs. of divine wrath, as of → *ʔap*, → *hēmâ*, and other synonyms, are either individuals (e.g., Abraham, Gen 18:30, 32) or esp. the people Israel (Num 11:1, 10, 33, etc.).

*hārôn* is used in all cases (39x apart from Jer 25:38ba and Psa 58:10 txt?) of God’s wrath, *h<sup>o</sup>ri* in Deut 29:23 and Lam 2:3. The heat of wrath pertains typically to the people Israel (Exod 32:12, etc.; both passages with *h<sup>o</sup>ri* ), but also e.g., to Babel (Isa 13:9), or to Amalek (1 Sam 28:18). Isa 13:13 and Lam 1:12 speak of the “day of his burning wrath.”

This usage also occurs in the Sef. inscriptions (*KAI* no. 223B.12, 8th cent.; see 1). The fragmentary context suggests that the gods move against usurpers and covenant violators “on a day of wrath” (Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 82f., 89; cf. *KAI* 2:261). See also the passage in the roughly contemporary Hadad inscription (*KAI* no. 214.23; see 1), according to which Hadad should pour out his wrath upon those who wish to conquer the royal throne of Panammuwa I of Sam’al (Zinjirli).

5. *ḥrh*, *ḥārôn* (Kuhn, *Konk.* 77), and *ḥ<sup>o</sup>rî* (4Q171 1–2 l:14) occur in the Qumran literature (see also *GCDS* 259).

On the NT, cf. → *ʿap* 5 and → *ḥēmâ* 5.

G. Sauer

## חָרַם *ḥērem* **ban**

S 2764; BDB 356a; *HALOT* 1:354a; *TDOT* 5:180–99; *TWOT* 744a; *NIDOTTE* 3051

1. The root *ḥrm*, “to consecrate,” etc., occurs in almost all Sem. languages (P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/20 [1965]: 249f., 262, 267: distinguished in ESem. (*ḥ*)*arāmu/erēmu* “to cover” and WSem. *ḥrm* “to forbid”).

It is unclear whether Akk. *ḥarimtu* “prostitute” derives from *ḥarāmu* II “to set apart” (only in a lexical list) and whether or how *ḥarāmu* II, for its part, relates to the common Sem. *ḥrm* (cf. *AHW* 323a, 325b and *CAD* H:89f., 101f.). So far, only PNs based on the root *ḥrm* are known from Ugarit (Gröndahl 136; see also Huffmon 204).

The OT also knows a root *ḥrm* II (\**ḥrm*) “to divide, pierce” (qal pass. ptcp. “with a divided nose,” Lev 21:18; hi. “to cut off,” Isa 11:15 txt?, according to G. R. Driver, *JTS* 32 [1931]: 251; *HAL* 340a; cf., however, *CPT* 119; further, perhaps, *ḥērem* II, “dragnet”). Driver later attempted to derive additional examples of *ḥrm* hi. from this root (FS Baumgartner 56–59).

In the OT the noun *ḥērem* “ban” is primary. The qal form of the verb is not attested; *ḥyh* (*l<sup>c</sup>*)*ḥērem* “to come under the ban” occurs in its place (Josh 6:17; 7:12). The hi. and ho. verb forms derive from the noun. *šîm l<sup>c</sup>ḥērem* (Josh 6:18), *nkh* hi. *ḥērem* (Mal 3:24), or *ntn laḥērem* (Isa 43:28) also represent the hi.

Related geographical names include *ḥermôn* (cf. *HAL* 341a), *ḥormâ*, and *ḥ<sup>o</sup>rēm* (according to Noth, *HAT* 7, 146, however, the last two are from *ḥrm* II: “cleft rock”). On the PN *ḥārim*, cf. *IP* 136f., 216.

2. The noun *ḥērem* occurs 29x in the OT (only in the sg.: Josh 13x, Lev 4x), *ḥrm* hi. 48x (Josh 14x, Deut 8x, 1 Sam 7x; incl. Isa 11:15), and ho. 3x.

3. The root *ḥrm* referred originally to that which is forbidden, either because it is accursed and should be destroyed (*res exsecranda*), or because it is very holy (*res sacrosancta*) (in general, see C. H. W. Brekelmans, *De ḥerem in het Oude Testament* [1959]). The root has undergone unique developments in the various Sem. languages (cf. e.g., J. Chelhod, “La notion ambiguë du sacré chez les Arabes et dans l’Islam,” *RHR* 159 [1961]: 67–79), of which only the OT development will be examined here.

(a) Like *qōdeš* (→ *qdš*) and *ḥól* (→ *ḥll*), the subst. *ḥērem* in the OT means, first of all, a quality inherent to a person or a thing (Lev 27:21; Deut 7:26; Josh 6:17f.; 7:12). But that which is subj. to this quality is also called *ḥērem*; one could translate “banned” or “contraband material” (Deut 13:18; Josh 6:18; 7:1, 12f.; 1 Sam 15:21), if it does not concern people, as in Lev 27:29. Furthermore, *ḥērem* is a technical expression for a particular dedicated gift (“ban gift”) as in Lev 27:28; Num 18:14; Ezek 44:29. Only in Zech 14:11 has *ḥērem* become an action noun (“banning”).

*HAL* 340b still assumes that *ḥērem* is an action noun. One should not, however, translate *יֵשׁ ḥermî* in 1 Kgs 20:42 and *עַם ḥermî* in Isa 34:5 as “the person/people who I have banned” (taking Yahweh as the subj.), but “the person/people who belong to me as *ḥērem*.”

(b) Israel, one or more of its tribes, or even its military leaders (Joshua, Saul) appear as the subj. of about 2/3 of the passages with *ḥrm* hi. In other cases, subjs. are the foreign nations (Assyrians, 2 Kgs 19:11 = Isa 37:11; 2 Chron 32:14; Ammonites and Moabites, 2 Chron 20:23; the nations who bring about the fall of Babel, Jer 50:21, 26; 51:3; Antiochus IV, Dan 11:44). Yahweh appears as subj. in three prophetic texts (Isa 11:15 txt?; 34:2; Jer 25:9).

In all these cases, *ḥrm* hi. is used in the context of war. It occurs in relation to vows only in Lev 27:28. The war *ḥērem* is prescribed by law (Deut 7:2; 13:16; 20:17), proclaimed by prophets (Isa 34:2; Jer 25:9; 50:12, 26; 51:3), or encountered in narratives (remaining texts). Israel executes the war *ḥērem* against the Canaanite population (Num 21:2f.; Josh 6:21; 8:26; 10:1, 28, etc.), Sihon and Og (Deut 2:34; 3:6; Josh 2:10), the Amalekites (1 Sam 15), or portions of Israel (Deut 13:16; Judg 21:11). Non-Israelites execute the ban against Babel (Jer 50:21, 26; 51:3), Seir (2 Chron 20:23), or more generally lands, nations, or many objs. (2 Kgs 19:11 = Isa 37:11; Dan 11:44). In some texts, not only people but also the cattle or all the plunder are the objs. (Deut 13:16f.; Josh 6:21ff.). One cannot prove that this radical form was original.

(c) *ḥrm* ho. occurs only in juridical texts (Exod 22:19; Lev 27:29; Ezra 10:8). A type of capital punishment was originally indicated in this way. The verb designates the sentencing by which this punishment was fixed (Lev

27:29; the execution of the sentence itself is indicated by *môt yûmat*, “he must be killed”), but also the execution of the punishment itself (Exod 22:19). Later, this term indicates a type of confiscation of goods (Ezra 10:8).

4. From the outset, the root *ḥrm* had various meanings in Israel.

(a) In the holy war, *ḥrm* is a religious act which dedicates the enemies (occasionally even the booty) to God (cf. W. E. Müller, *Die Vorstellung vom Rest im AT* [1939], 4–21; G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* [1991]; F. Horst, “Bann,” *RGG* 1:860f.; Brekelmans, op. cit.; D. Merli, “Le ‘guerre di sterminio’ nell’antichità orientale e biblica,” *BeO* 9 [1967]: 53–67). It removes them from any human use and assigns them to destruction. In the Mesha stele (*KAI* no. 181.17), the religious character becomes clear from the combination of *ḥrm* hi. with *Ištr kmš* “for I had devoted them to destruction for (the god) Ashtar-Chemosh” (*ANET* 320b). In the OT, one can point to Num 21:2f., where the execution of the *ḥērem* is the object of a vow; also to the expression *kālîl I<sup>e</sup>yhwh* “a whole sacrifice to Yahweh” in Deut 13:17, and to *hyh ḥērem I<sup>e</sup>yhwh* “to come under the ban for Yahweh” in Josh 6:17. One cannot prove that the *ḥērem* was a permanent element of the holy war. It was apparently promised and executed only in particular crises in order to assure God’s aid (cf. Num 21:2f.; Judg 1:17).

Two passages focus upon conflict concerning the ban: Josh 7 (Achan’s theft) and 1 Sam 15 (Samuel and Saul). Samuel contends with King Saul because the ban order against Amalek was not completely executed; this passage offers insight into the historical process of the cessation of the war ban from the royal period onward, while the representatives of the old traditions (Samuel here) held firmly to the unconditional validity of the ban order. An earlier phase can be seen in Josh 7, in which the ban order still stood as unconditionally valid: here an individual misappropriates the banned (= contraband goods) and thereby cripples Israel’s power. He must be killed so that this handicap may be set aside (Josh 6:17f.; 7:1, 11–13, 15).

*ḳr qal* “to bring misfortune upon” appears in Josh 6:18 as a par. expression for *šîm I<sup>e</sup>ḥērem*, influenced by the place and name etiology of the Valley of Achor (*‘ākôr*) in 7:25f. (*ḳr qal* “to deceive, confuse, bring misfortune upon,” 12x in the OT, Gen 34:30; Judg 11:35; 1 Sam 14:29; 1 Kgs 18:17f.; ni. Psa 39:3; Prov 15:6, etc.).

Both passages, but more clearly Josh 7, indicate that the cultic usage of *ḥrm* (see 4bc) and the usage in relation to war originally belonged together; both concern the fact that the banned, the *ḥērem*, belongs to Yahweh and that any violation of Yahweh’s property rights with respect to the *ḥērem* brings misfortune upon the community. The roots of this

unconditional validity of the *ḥērem* may still be traced back into a phase beyond the division into cultic and historical phenomena.

Following the advent of the Israelite monarchy, the war *ḥērem* seems to have rapidly disappeared. Prophetic circles held firmly to it (cf. 1 Kgs 20:42 in addition to 1 Sam 15), but in the course of time it was no longer executed in order to dedicate enemies to God but to protect Yahwism from syncretism. In the numerous Dtn-Dtr texts (particularly in the tendentious, summary presentations of the events of the conquest in Josh 10–11), the war *ḥērem* signifies nothing more than the destruction of the enemies with this religious purpose. Elsewhere, even this religious motif can no longer be found; here *ḥrm* hi. has become a profane expression for “to annihilate (totally)” (in some of the prophetic passages, elsewhere in 2 Kgs 19:11 = Isa 37:11; Dan 11:44). Only then are non-Israelites or Yahweh subjs. of the verb.

(b) *ḥrm* ho. describes capital punishment applied esp. in cases of infidelity to Yahwism. If this punishment is imposed, no redemption is permitted (Lev 27:29). The guilty party has fallen into God’s hands and, as *res exsecranda*, must be exterminated. Several have thought that this punishment involved a unique form of execution (death by fire). It may be better to think only of a ritual execution of this punishment or of a type of curse.

(c) One can also dedicate an object as *ḥērem* to Yahweh. These vows are distinct from other vows in their effects: no redemption is possible (Lev 27:21–28) because everything vowed is supremely holy (*qōdeš q’dāšîm*, Lev 27:28); it belongs to the priests (Lev 27:21; Num 18:14; Ezek 44:29). Mic 4:13 maintains that the plunder of war is also dedicated to Yahweh in this manner.

5. In the Qumran literature (1QM 9:7; 18:5; CD 6:15; 9:1), the use of *ḥrm* resembles late OT usages. On the rendering of *ḥērem* by *anathema* and of *ḥrm* hi. by *anathematizein* and on the NT, see J. Behm, “ἀνατίθημι,” *TDNT* 1:353–56.

C. Brekelmans

### שׁרשׁ *ḥrš* to be silent

S 2790; BDB 361b; *HALOT* 1:357b; *TDOT* 5:220–23; *TWOT* 761; *NIDOTTE* 3087

1. The root \**ḥrš* “to be deaf, dumb” should be distinguished from the

two common Sem. roots with *ḥ* as the first radical: \**ḥrš* “to produce (with craftsmanship)” (Ug.: *WUS* no. 976; *UT* no. 903; Akk. *eršu* “wise”; Heb. *ḥārāš* “artisan”) and \**ḥrt* “to plow” (Ug.: *WUS* no. 980; *UT* no. 905; Akk. *erēšur*, Hebr. *ḥrš* I; cf. S. E. Loewenstamm, *JJS* 10 [1959]: 63–65; H.-P. Müller, *UF* 1 [1969]: 80). It is absent from Ug. and occurs only rarely during the OT era in NWSem. texts (*DISO* 97; Sznycer 144 on *Poen.* 1027), but is well attested in later Aram. (cf. *LS* 259) and in Arab. (*ḥarisa* “to be dumb, mute,” Wehr 234).

F. Delitzsch (*Prolegomena eines neuen hebräisch-aramäischen Wörterbuchs zum AT* [1886], 100) assumes a relationship to Akk. *ḥarāšu* “to bind” (“restrain,” KBL 337b; contra *AHW* 324b); Akk. *ḥarāšu* “to be dumb” is now attested in a Mari letter (G. Dossin, *RA* 62 [1968]: 75f.).

The verb occurs in qal, hi., and hitp.; in addition, there are the adj. *ḥērēš* “deaf” (BL 477) and the subst. *ḥereš* “silence,” which is used adv. (“secretly”) once in Josh 2:1. The PNs *ḥereš* (1 Chron 9:15 txt?) and *ḥaršā* (Ezra 2:52; Neh 7:54) should be mentioned (*IP* 228).

2. The verb occurs 47x in the OT: qal 7x (Psa 6x and Mic 7:16), hi. 39x (Job 9x, Num 6x), and hitp. 1x (Judg 16:2); *ḥērēš* appears 9x (Isa 5x), *ḥereš* 1x.

3. (a) The affliction of deafness is often associated with speechlessness (deaf and dumb), hence the same root expresses both concepts. The adj. *ḥērēš*, however, occurs only in the meaning “deaf,” both lit. and fig. (alongside *ʾillēm* “mute” in Exod 4:11; Isa 35:5f.; Psa 38:14, in an individual prayer of lament, “But I am like a deaf person, who does not hear, and like a mute person, who does not open his mouth”). In the proper sense, Lev 19:14 forbids the cursing of the deaf or the obstruction of the way of the blind (see also Psa 58:5 “deaf adder that closes its ear”). Israel is described fig. as deaf and blind in its lack of understanding (Isa 42:18f.; 43:8; cf. Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 109f., 121); deafness is abolished in the eschatological promise (Isa 29:18; 35:5).

(b) In the qal, the meaning “to be deaf” is limited to Mic 7:16, “Their ears will be deaf.” The other passages in the Psa use *ḥrš* fig. and negated of God in the petition “Do not keep silent!” (individual laments: Psa 28:1, used suggestively with *min*: “Do not stay away from me in silence,” par. *ḥšh* “to keep silent”; 35:22; 39:13; 109:1; communal lament: Psa 83:2) and in the statement “Our God comes and does not keep silent” (Psa 50:3). Thus “to keep silent” in response to a petition comes to mean “to be inactive, unconcerned” (cf. Hab 1:13 hi.), underscored by par. expressions with *d<sup>o</sup>mī* “rest,” *šqt* qal “to rest, be inactive” in Psa 83:2, and *rhq* qal “to be distant” in 35:22.

(c) The hi. causative meaning “to silence” occurs in Job 11:3 (41:4 txt?), but it usually has the intrans. (inner-causative) meaning “to be silent” (e.g., Gen 34:5). It can also mean “to be patient” (Isa 42:14, alongside *ʔpq* hitp. “to keep to oneself”) and easily becomes “to be still, behave calmly” (e.g., Exod 14:14; cf. *hrš* hitp. in Judg 16:2). With the prep. *ʔel* it means “to listen to someone silently” (Isa 41:1), with *le* “to allow tacitly” (Num 30:5, 8, 12, 15; cf. CD 9:6 instead of brotherly instruction, *ykh* hi.). The text of 1 Sam 10:27, “he was inactive,” should be emended following LXX to “after the course of about one month” (S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* [19132], 85).

(d) Synonyms for *hrš* include:

(1) *hšh* qal “to be silent, behave calmly” (Isa 62:1, 6; 64:11 to be compared to Hab 1:13; 65:6; Psa 28:1; 107:29; Eccl 3:7 with the antonym *dbr* pi. “to speak”), hi. “to call for silence” (Neh 8:11) and “to be silent” (2 Kgs 2:3, 5; Isa 42:14; 57:11; Psa 39:3), “to hesitate” (Judg 18:9; 1 Kgs 22:3; 2 Kgs 7:9);

(2) *dmh* qal “to be still” (Jer 6:2; 14:17; Lam 3:49; Hos 4:5 txt?), ni. “to have to be silent” or “to be destroyed” (12x; cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 249f. on Isa 6:5; on *dmm* “to be motionless, still” see N. Lohfink, *VT* 12 [1962]: 275f., with bibliog.);

(3) *smt* qal “to bring to silence” (Lam 3:53; likewise hi. 2 Sam 22:41 = Psa 18:41 and a further 8x in Psa; pi. Psa 88:17 txt em; 119:139; ni. pass. Job 6:17; 23:17);

(4) *skt* hi. “to keep still” (Deut 27:9);

(5) *hsh* hi. “to pacify” (Num 13:30), denominative from *has* “be still!” (Judg 3:19; Amos 6:10; 8:3; Hab 2:20; Zeph 1:7; Zech 2:17; the last three passages refer to silence in the cult in Yahweh’s presence; pl. Neh 8:11 *hassû*).

4. The theological usage of *hrš* “to be silent” conforms to the derived meaning “to be inactive, unconcerned.” The psalmist asks God to “be silent” no longer (Psa 28:1; 35:22; 39:13; 83:2; 109:1; cf. Hab 1:13 and Isa 64:11, *hšh*). According to the psalms of lament, God “is silent” when he does not heed the petition of the petitioner. Similarly, some psalms speak of Yahweh “sleeping” when he remains inactive (cf. Psa 44:24; 78:65; 121:4). In the framework of Psa 50:3–21, “no longer keeping silent” means that Yahweh will enter into a lawsuit with his people; he calls heaven and earth as witnesses (v 4). God’s patience with his people can be demonstrated in his silence (Psa 50:21; the text of Zeph 3:17 should be emended; see Horst, *HAT* 14, 198). God’s silence, however, can also signify punishment for his people (Isa 64:11, *hšh*); when he breaks silence, he will intervene on behalf of his people (Isa 42:14; 62:1, *hšh*).

Silence is the opposite of confession of sin for the sinful psalmists (Psa 32:3; cf. v 5). In wisdom language, “silence” is the mark of the wise, who refrain from making unreflected judgments (Prov 11:12; 17:28; cf. H.-J. Hermisson, *Studien zur isr. Spruchweisheit* [1968], 72f.; on the Egyptian ideal of the “silent,” cf. H. Gese, *Lehre und Wirklichkeit in der alten Weisheit* [1958], 15f.).

5. The LXX translates *ḥrš* mostly with *sigan*, *siōpan*, and *parasiōpan*. The last verb is absent from the NT; the other two exhibit no specifically theological usage, so they are not treated in *TDNT*; cf. W. Schmithals, “Schweigen,” *BHH* 3:1748; W. Herrmann, *Das Wunder in der evangelischen Botschaft: Zur Interpretation der Begriffe blind und taub im Alten und Neuen Testament* (1961).

M. Delcor

## חשב *ḥšb* to think

S 2803; BDB 362b; *HALOT* 1:359b; *TDOT* 5:228–45; *TWOT* 767; *NIDOTTE* 3108

1. Outside Hebr., the root *ḥšb* is attested in NWSem. in Ug. (*ḥtbn*: *UT* no. 917; M. Dahood, *Bib* 45 [1964]: 409; *UHP* 58f.), Phoen.-Pun. (with the same vocalization as in Hebr.), and Aram. (*DISO* 97f.); furthermore, in Ssem. in Arab. and Eth. in the form *ḥsb*.

*ḥšb* “to (ac)count” occurs in Eg. as a Semitism from the time of the Pyramid Texts (Erman-Grapow 3:166f.; W. Vycichl, *MDAI* (Cairo) 16 [1958]: 375).

No etymological relationship to Akk. *epēšu* “to make, do” may be substantiated (< *ḥšb*, according to GB 265a; KBL 339b; *AHw* 223b relates this Akk. verb to Arab., Eth. *ḥfš* “to gather together”).

“To join together, weave” is postulated as the basic meaning of the root *ḥšb* (M. D. Goldman, *ABR* 1 [1951]: 135–37; G. R. Driver, *WO* 2/3 [1956]: 258).

One may base this fundamental meaning on the substantivized qal act. ptcp. *ḥōšēb*, used as a professional designation “weaver” (“embroiderer”? so Dalman, *AuS* 5:126; Driver, op. cit. 255–58) and perhaps also on *ḥēšeb* “band, belt” (Driver, op. cit. 255, 258f.; cf. Eg. *ḥsb* “wrapper,” Erman-Grapow 3:166). Yet *ḥēšeb* is probably better explained as a derivative of *ḥbš* “to bind” arisen through metathesis of fricative and bilabial (cf. *GVG* 1:275; GB 265b; *HAL* 346b).

In addition to the qal (Aram. pe. too) and the pi. “to reckon, plan, devise” of *ḥšb*, the OT attests the ni. pass. or tolerative of the qal “to be counted, valid,” and the reflexive hitp. “to reckon oneself to.” Nom. formations of the root are: (a) the substantivized qal act. ptcp. *ḥōšēb* “weaver” (P in Exod 25–31, 35–40) or “technician” (2 Chron 26:15); cf. the Phoen.-Pun. use of the qal act. ptcp. *ḥšb* (CIS 1:74.4) and the pi. ptcp. *mḥšbm* (Harris 104; DISO 97) as an official title, “treasurer,” divergent in meaning, but formally analogous; (b) the abstract formation with (-ān >) -ōn: *ḥešbôn* “account statement, result of an accounting” (Eccl 7:25, 27; 9:10), which corresponds to Ug. *ḥtbn* (UT texts 1127.2; 2101.1), Eg. Aram. (Cowley no. 81.1) and Palm. (CIS 2:3913 2.75, 115) *ḥšbn* “account (statement)” (cf. also J. Starcky, *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre* 10 [1949], no. 127.2 *ḥšbn* “in assessment of”) and \**ḥiššābôn* “invention” (Eccl 7:29), specifically “catapult” (2 Chron 26:15; so BRL 95; Rudolph, HAT 21, 286; contra de Vaux 1:237); (c) *mah<sup>a</sup>šābā* “plan, invention”; (d) *ḥēšeb* (see above).

2. Forms of the root *ḥšb* occur a total of 186x (incl. *ḥēšeb* 194x) in the OT: qal 65x (Jer 12x, Psa 11x), ni. 30x (Isa 7x), pi. 16x, and hitp. 1x; *ḥōšēb* 12x, *ḥešbôn* 3x, *ḥiššābôn* 2x, *mah<sup>a</sup>šābā* 56x (Jer 12x, Isa 9x, Prov 8x), *ḥēšeb* 8x; Bibl. Aram., pe. 1x. Forms of *ḥšb* are absent from Judg, Joel, Obad, Hab, Zeph, Hag, Ruth, Song Sol, and Ezra (a few MSS have *ḥāšabtā* instead of *ḥāšaktā* in 9:13).

3. Apart from *ḥōšēb* “weaver” (and perhaps *ḥēšeb* “band, belt”), which presumably still preserves the concrete basic meaning of the root, *ḥšb* in the OT always expresses an intellectual act that occurs “in the heart” (Isa 10:7; 32:6 LXX; Zech 7:10; 8:17; Psa 140:3; cf. also Gen 6:5; Ezek 38:10; Prov 6:18; 19:21; 1 Chron 29:18) or “within” (Jer 4:14), but also, to the extent that it leads to articulation, with the “tongue” (Psa 52:4). In contrast to other verbs and expressions of thinking, like → *dmh* pi. “to imagine, think” (Isa 10:7), → *zkr* “to remember” (2 Sam 19:20; Psa 77:6), → *yd<sup>c</sup>* “to recognize” (Psa 144:3), → *ḥal-lēb* “to come to mind” (Ezek 38:10), which occasionally parallel *ḥšb* (cf. also perhaps → *mr b<sup>e</sup>libbō* “to consider,” *hgh* “to ponder,” *zmm* “to reflect, plan,” Bibl. Aram. *št* “to plan”), the evaluation inherent in the act of thought indicated by this verb is characteristic (H.-W. Heidland, *Die Anrechnung des Glaubens zur Gerechtigkeit* [1936], esp. 10–13, 15f., 36f.): in contrast to *mnh* and *spr*, *ḥšb* means “to reckon” not in the sense of counting numerically but of evaluative assessment.

Characteristic in this regard is the parallelism of *ḥšb* and → *ḥps* (Isa 13:17) or → *ršh* (Lev 7:18), “to be pleased with” and the contrast between

*ḥšb* and *bzh* “to denigrate, despise” (Isa 53:3), *mʾs* “to reject” (Isa 33:8; Psa 36:5), *nšʾpešaʿ* or *ksh* pi. *ʿāwōn* “to forgive sins” (Psa 32:1f.).

The specialized commercial and (fiscal, etc.) accounting use of *ḥšb* in the Sem. languages and in Eg. is attested in Hebr. for the pi. “to account, calculate” (Lev 25:27, 50, 52; 27:18, 23; 2 Kgs 12:16) and the ni. “to be audited” (2 Kgs 22:7) (cf. Phoen. [*ḥ*]/*šb* “it works out,” *KAI* no. 160.5; Palm. “the butcher’s payment should be calculated (itp. inf.) to the denar” *CIS* 2:3913 2.102f.; Hatra: *ḥšbnʾ dbyt bʿšmn* “accountant of Beʿelšamen’s temple,” A. Caquot, *Syria* 32 [1955]: 54 no. 49.3).

*ḥšb* generally denotes the evaluative categorization of persons and things, as does the *qal* in the construction with the acc. and *le* “to consider someone/something to be” (Gen 38:15; 50:20; 1 Sam 1:13, etc.; with a double acc.: Isa 53:4; with an acc. and *ke*: Job 19:11), the ni. in constructions with *Iʿ*, *ʿal*, *ʿim* “to be reckoned with, among” (Lev 25:31; Josh 13:3; Psa 88:5, etc.), with *ke* “to be regarded as” (Deut 2:11; Isa 5:28; 29:16, etc.; with *be* ? Isa 2:22, yet see *BH* 3; cf. Nab. *klʾnḥšb bynylbynyk* “is regarded as nothing between you and me,” J. Starcky, *RB* 61 [1954]: 164, frg. A.13; J. J. Rabinowitz, *BASOR* 139 [1955]: 13; and see 1 Kgs 10:21 = 2 Chron 9:20; Dan 4:32), and with a predicate acc. “to count as” (Gen 31:15; Deut 2:20, etc.), and moreover, the hitp. in the construction with *be* “to count oneself among” (Num 23:9).

Used in an abs. sense without any indication of the criterion for evaluation, *ḥšb* means “to treasure, consider valuable, regard” (*qal*, Isa 13:17; 33:8; 53:3; Mal 3:16; pi., Psa 144:3); then, in a further development of the meaning, “to reflect, meditate, think, plan” (*qal*, Isa 10:7; cf. Pun. *ḥšb nʿm* “well-meaning,” *KAI* no. 161.2; pi., Psa 77:6; 119:59). In analogy to *ʾmr/zkr Iʿ* with inf., “to remember to do something,” *ḥšb Iʿ* with inf., “to plan, have in mind to do something” (*qal*, 1 Sam 18:25; Jer 18:8; 23:27, etc.; pi., Jonah 1:4; Psa 73:16; Prov 24:8) expresses the intention to act.

In association with objs. (cf. esp. the fixed combination *ḥšb maḥʾšābâ/maḥʾšābôt*, “to conceive a plan/plans (resp.),” *qal*, 2 Sam 14:14; Jer 11:19; 18:11, 18, etc.; pi., Dan 11:24; also *ḥšb rāʿâ* “to conceive evil,” *qal*, Gen 50:20; Jer 48:2; Mic 2:3, etc.; cf. pi., Hos 7:15; *ḥšb ʾāwen* “to plan evil,” *qal*, Ezek 11:2; Mic 2:1; Psa 36:5; and similar expressions), *ḥšb* competes with → *yʿš* “(to advise), plan, think of something” (Jer 49:20, 30; 50:45; Ezek 11:2; Nah 1:11); the same competitive relationship exists between *maḥʾšābâ* “plan” and *ʿēšâ* “(advice), plan” (cf. the frequent parallelism of these two noms.: Jer 49:20, 30; 50:45; Mic 4:12, etc.). The largely negative intention of such “planning” already expressed in the objs. of *ḥšb* in this usage (yet see e.g., Jer 29:11 *maḥšʿbôt šālôm* “plans for good”; also Psa 33:10f.; 40:6;

92:6; Prov 12:5; 16:3; 20:18; 21:5) is also expressed by the frequent subsequent prep. phrase: one plans “against” someone (*ʿel, lʿ, ʿal*).

Finally, without these negative undertones, *ḥšb* means “to devise, invent” in the sense of a creative and technical facility (Exod 31:4; 33:32, 35; Amos 6:5; 2 Chron 2:13; 26:15).

4. (a) In theological usage, *ḥšb* qal with (a double) acc. of the thing and *le* of the person, “to reckon something to someone (as . . .)” (Gen 15:6; Psa 32:2; cf. 2 Sam 19:20; Ezra 9:13 LXX) and *ḥšb* ni. in a corresponding construction “to be reckoned to someone (as . . .)” (Lev 7:18; 17:4; Num 18:27, 30; Psa 106:31; cf. also Prov 27:14), together with → *ršh* (Lev 7:18) and *ḥps* “to be pleased with” (and possibly also → *zkr* “to remember”), are technical terms of priestly cultic theology.

*ḥšb* and the other terms mentioned that occur in analogous usage refer to the qualification of a sacrifice as properly executed or to its disqualification through priestly declaratory formulae (E. Würthwein, *TLZ* 72 [1947]: 143–52; id., *Tradition und Situation* [1963], 115–31; von Rad, “Faith Reckoned as Righteousness,” *PHOE* 125–30; id., *Theol.* 1:260ff.; R. Rendtorff, *TLZ* 81 [1956]: 339–42; id., *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im alten Israel* [1967], 253–60; id., *Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift* [1954], 74–76), as well as the cultic “accounting” of righteousness (for life) or of its opposite, specifically in the gate liturgy through the declaratory *šaddîq* predication pronounced by the priests (von Rad, “‘Righteousness’ and ‘Life’ in the Cultic Language of the Psalms,” *PHOE* 243–53; id., *Theol.* 1:377–80; W. Zimmerli, *GO* 178–91; H. Reventlow, *Wächter über Israel* [1962], 95–134; K. Koch, *FS von Rad* 45–60, esp. 57f.).

Among the passages mentioned, Gen 15:6 (E) acquires special significance as testimony to the spiritualization of preexistent cultic terminology: cultic mediation here is designed to avoid God’s immanence, and faith in the promise takes the place of human actions as the object of reckoning (von Rad, “Faith Reckoned as Righteousness,” *PHOE* 125–30; H.-J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult* [1965], 58f.).

Regarding related Israelite PNs formed with *ḥšb*, such as *ḥ<sup>a</sup>šabyâ(hû)*, see *IP* 188f.

(b) Although wisdom mentions that human plans succeed if they correspond to wise behavior (Prov 12:5; 15:22; 16:3; 19:21; 20:18; 21:5), but fail if they contradict such behavior (Prov 6:18; 15:26; Job 5:12), and only Eccl casts doubt upon the result of wisdom’s efforts (Eccl 7:23–8:1; 9:10), theological assessments of human “thinking, planning” in the OT rarely view it positively (so only in 1 Chron 29:18; cf. also the divine

endowment of the craftsmen in P in Exod 31:2–5; 35:30–35).

The motivation for the flood given by J in Gen 6:5, that the “aspiration” of the human heart was continually only evil, represents an assessment that is also characteristic of the prophetic use of the root *ḥšb* in relation to human “thinking, endeavoring, planning” (Isa 55:7; 59:7; 65:2; Jer 4:14; 18:12; Ezek 11:2; 38:10; Mic 2:1; Zech 7:10; 8:17). In the Psa, the notion that the enemies “conceive evil” against the worshiper is a theme of the description of the enemies in the lament (Psa 10:2; 35:4, 20; 36:5; 41:8; 52:4; 56:6; 140:3; cf. Jer 11:19; 18:18; Lam 3:60f.). Only Nah 1:11 and Psa 21:12 declare that people “conceive evil against God,” and Psa 21:12 immediately characterizes this act as ineffective. Although people may not be able to see through Yahweh’s “thoughts, plans” (Isa 55:8f.; Mic 4:12; cf. Psa 92:6f.), Yahweh knows people’s “thoughts” (Isa 66:18; Psa 94:11; 1 Chron 28:9) and is able to frustrate their “plans” (Psa 33:10; Job 5:12).

Characteristically, the prophets oppose the evil “aspirations” of people with Yahweh’s plan of disaster (cf. Mic 2:3 with v 1 and see Jer 18:11; 49:20; 50:45; 51:29). The prophetic literature discusses Yahweh’s plan to save in terms of *ḥšb* only in Jer 29:11. In contrast, the hymn praises the constancy of Yahweh’s (saving) plan (Psa 33:11 “thoughts of his heart”) and parallels it with Yahweh’s wondrous acts (→ *pl*?, Psa 40:6; cf. 92:6).

5. For Judaism and the NT, cf. H.-W. Heidland, *Die Anrechnung des Glaubens zur Gerechtigkeit* (1936); id., “λογίζομαι,” *TDNT* 4:284–92. For the Qumran literature not treated in this work, cf. F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte* (1956), 52f.

W. Schottroff

## טהר *thr* to be pure

S 2891; BDB 372a; *HALOT* 2:369b; *TDOT* 5:287–96; *TWOT* 792; *NIDOTTE* 3197

1. The WSem. root *thr* “to be pure” may not be identified in the oldest Sem. texts (except for Ug.) and is used in the OT almost exclusively in books with late origins.

So far, the root has appeared in Ug. only in the pl. of a subst. that designates a “(brilliant) gemstone” (*KTU* 1.4.V.19, 34; *WUS* no. 1115; *UT* no. 1032). On Pun. examples see *DISO* 100.

On the basis of an assumed relationship to the roots *zhr/šhr* (Hebr. *šohʿrayim*

“midday,” *šōhar* in Gen 6:16 is “opening for light” according to some; Arab. *zhr* “to become visible”) and *zhr* “to shine” (Aram., Arab., Hebr. hi. and *zōhar* “brilliance”), “light, brilliance” is often accepted as the original meaning of the root (SNHL 35f.; J. A. Emerton, *ZAW* 79 [1967]: 236; J. H. Eaton, *JTS* 19 [1968]: 604f.). But Hebr. *šoh<sup>o</sup>rayim* “apex (of the sun)” and *šōhar* “roof (of the ark)” (cf. J. F. Armstrong, *VT* 10 [1960]: 328–33) belong to the common Sem. \**zahr-* “back” (P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 257, 271, 278).

The qal and the reduplicated stems of the verb are represented in the OT. The adj. *ṭāhōr* is just as frequent as the verb; the substs. *ṭōhar* “purity, purification,” *ṭoh<sup>o</sup>râ* “purity,” and *ṭ<sup>e</sup>hār* “brilliance” (Psa 89:45 txt?) are more rare.

2. The verb occurs 94x: qal 34x (Lev 18x, Num 5x), pi. 39x (Lev 13x, Ezek 8x, 2 Chron 6x), pu. 1x (Ezek 22:24) and hitp. 20x (Lev 12x, Neh 2x); *ṭāhōr* appears 95x (Exod 28x, Lev 21x, Num 8x, Gen and Deut 6x), *ṭōhar* 3x (Exod 24:10; Lev 12:4, 6), *ṭoh<sup>o</sup>râ* 13x (Lev 8x, Num, Ezek, Neh, and 1/2 Chron 1x each), and *ṭ<sup>e</sup>har* 1x (see 1).

Of the 94 instances of the verb, only Gen 35:2 and 2 Kgs 5 can be attributed with any certainty to the pre-exilic era, and all the others are in exilic and post-exilic texts. But the following phenomena make clear the dubiousness of drawing conclusions regarding intellectual history from lexical statistics: passages from the Naaman narrative in 2 Kgs 5:13f. are closely related formally to those in Lev 14:8f., etc.; and the cultic purification demanded in Gen 35:2 requires rites common in the post-exilic period. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the prophetic books prior to Jer do not know the root.

The same picture results for *ṭāhōr*. Of 95 examples in the OT, P (incl. H) alone contains approximately two-thirds. The dual occurrence in the Saul-David narrative in 1 Sam 20:26 is certainly ancient. Indeed, Deut, which has no examples of the verb, is also represented among the *ṭāhōr* texts (Deut 12:15, 22; 14:11, 20; 15:22; 23:11).

3. (a) In the OT, *ṭhr* refers to physical, ethical, and religious (cultic) purity (cf. H.-J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult* [1965], 84–99). Despite the sparsity of early occurrences, one can assume that ancient concepts of religious purity and impurity known in all cultures already found expression in earliest Israel with the aid of the roots *ṭhr* and *ṭm<sup>o</sup>* (cf. Akk. *ebēbu*, *elēlu*, and *zakû* “to be pure,” which indicate both physical and cultic purity, *AHW* 180f., 197f.; *CAD* Z:23–32).

The nearest synonyms for *ṭhr* refer almost exclusively to the fig. sense of moral purity: *brr* ni. “to be pure, keep oneself pure” (2 Sam 22:27 = Psa 18:27; cf. J. Blau, *VT* 7 [1957]: 387; Isa 52:11; *bar* “undefiled,” Psa 19:9; 24:4; 73:1; Job 11:4; Song Sol 6:9f.; *bārûr* “pure, undefiled,” Zeph 3:9; Job 33:3; *bōr* “purity,” 2 Sam 22:21, 25 = Psa 18:21, 25; Job 22:30), *zkh* qal “to be pure” (Mic 6:11; Psa 51:6; Job 15:14; 25:4; pi. “to keep

pure,” Psa 73:13; 119:9; Prov 20:9; hitp. “to purify oneself,” Isa 1:16; cf. A. M. Honeyman, *VT* 1 [1951]: 63–65; by-form *zkk qal* “to be pure, clear,” Job 15:15; 25:5; Lam 4:7; hi. “to make pure,” Job 9:30; *zak* “pure, undefiled,” Exod 27:20; 30:34; Lev 24:2, 7; Job 8:6; 11:4; 16:17; 33:9; Prov 16:2; 20:11; 21:8; cf. the PN *zakkay* Ezra 2:9; Neh 3:20 Q; 7:14), as well as *hap* “(morally) clean” (Job 33:9; cf. Wagner no. 108).\*

The pi. is mostly declarative (“to declare pure”; termed “delocutive” by D. R. Hillers, *JBL* 86 [1967]: 320–24), but often factitive (“to purify,” Lev 16:19, 30; Num 8:6f., 15, 21; Jer 33:8; Ezek 24:13; 36:25, 33; 37:23; 39:12; 43:26; Mal 3:3[bis]; Psa 51:4); cf. *HP* 34–41, 83. The hitp. means “to purify oneself,” the hitp. ptcp. describes the one who subjects oneself to purification (12x in Lev 14).

(b) Only P (incl. H) gives specific information concerning the necessity and execution of purification. Childbearing (Lev 12:7), leprosy (Lev 13; 14; 22:4), sexual emissions (Lev 15; 22:4; cf. Deut 23:11), contact with or consumption of unclean animals (Lev 11:32; 17:15), and proximity to or contact with corpses (Lev 21:1–4; 22:4; Num 6:6–9; 19:11, 14–16; cf. Ezek 22:24 txt?; 39:12) necessitate purification. Prior to dedication both the priests (Num 8:6f., 15) and the altar (Lev 16:19; Ezek 43:26) must be purified. According to Ezra 6:20, the Levites purify themselves before the Passover sacrifice. But P also speaks explicitly of the necessity for purification from disaster-bringing guilt (Josh 22:17). Although no fault may be determined in some cases of personal defilement (infection with leprosy, menstruation, Lev 15:28), an aspect of guilt seems always to be envisioned: because of a sudden death in his vicinity, the Nazirite has become defiled and has “sinned because of the corpse” (Num 6:9–11); even the altar, the sanctuary, and the tent of meeting must be purified (sanctified and atoned) “from (or because of) the impurities of the Israelites” (Lev 16:18–20). Although halakic *thr* evidence betrays no emotive content whatsoever, pertinent Ezek texts are associated with weighty accusations against indecency, impurity, and idolatry (Ezek 22:24 txt?; 24:13; 36:25, 33). The Chr’s history is concerned almost exclusively with purification from foreign abuses (Neh 13:9, 30; 2 Chron 29:15f., 18; 34:3, 5, 8).

Only clean animals may be sacrificed and eaten (Deut 14:7–20; Lev 11:4–47; Gen 7:2; 8:20 J; W. Kornfeld, “Reine und unreine Tiere im AT,” *Kairos* 7 [1965]: 134–47); the consumption of sacrificial meat was permitted only to the pure (Lev 22:4). Concurrent concepts and practices are very ancient: Saul explains David’s absence from the celebration of the new moon festival by supposing that David must have encountered something (*miqreh*, perhaps a pollutant) and he has become impure as a result (1 Sam 20:26). Idolaters also “sanctify and purify themselves” for their sacrificial meal (Isa 66:17). The need to be concerned with whether the consumer is clean or unclean is alleviated by Deut’s arrangements for

profane slaughter (Deut 12:15, 22; 15:22).

(c) The ceremonies of purification are: washing; sacrifice; blood, oil, and salt rites; cutting the hair; penance; cessation of work; and, for metal, “passing through the fire.” Both persons and things must be cleansed with water (Lev 11:32; 14:8f.; 15:13, 28; 17:15; 22:7; Num 8:7; 19:19; 31:23; Ezek 36:25). Persons must also usually wash or change clothing (Lev 13:6, 58; 14:8f.; 15:28; 17:15; Num 8:7; 19:19; 31:24); prior to the journey to Bethel, Jacob commands his people to remove foreign idols, to purify themselves, and to change clothes (Gen 35:2 E).

Sacrifice is mentioned only as an explicit means of purification: following childbirth (Lev 12:6, 8), after recovery from leprosy (Lev 14:4–7, 10–20, 21–32), and at the dedication of the altar (Ezek 43:26). Sacrifice effects not just purification, however, but also atonement (→ *kpr pi.*; Lev 12:8; 14:18–20, 21, 29, 31; Ezek 43:26); the two are often inseparable (Lev 14:19f., 29, 31). The purifying blood ritual also presumes a sacrifice (Lev 14; 16:19; Ezek 43:26). The blood ritual for the purification of leprosy is esp. complicated: one of two birds must be slaughtered and the other dipped in the blood together with cedar wood, crimson root, and hyssop; then the one to be purified is sprinkled seven times with the blood and the live bird is set free (Lev 14:4–7, 49–53). Cedar wood, crimson root, and hyssop are burned together with the red cow and the ashes preserved for the preparation of the water of purification (Num 19:1–10). The text gives no indication that the post-exilic community was aware of the original magic of these rites. Blood and oil should be placed upon the right earlobe, the right thumb, and the right big toe (Lev 14:15, 17, 26, 28), and the rest of the oil on the head of the one to be purified (14:18, 29). An application of salt appears among the atonement and purification rituals for the consecration of the altar in Ezek 43:24.

The leprosy ritual (Lev 13:33; 14:8f.) and the consecration of the Levites (Num 8:7; cf. Num 6:9) require cutting the hair. Prerequisites for atonement and purification on the day of Atonement include penance and cessation of work (Lev 16:29f.). The plundered metal implements of the Midianites must be subjected to fire for the purposes of purification (Num 31:23); *zāhāb tāhōr* means gold free from dross (24x in Exod 25–39 and otherwise only in 1 Chron 28:17; 2 Chron 3:4; 9:17).

(d) OT *thr* texts not yet mentioned understand purification openly as the expiation of guilt. Jeremiah doubts whether Jerusalem can ever be or wishes to be purified from the abominations of “harlotry” (Jer 13:27); yet God will one day initiate that which now seems impossible (33:8). Malachi too expects the purification of the priest only as a result of a process of purification on the day of Yahweh (Mal 3:3). According to Psa 51, purification is the expiation of sin solely on the basis of God’s mercifulness

(vv 3f.), although there are allusions to cultic purification ceremonies (v 9; cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:504). Witnesses to common human sinfulness in the wisdom literature pose the rhetorical question whether any person can be pure (Job 4:17; Prov 20:9).

4. All religions exhibit analogies to OT concepts of purity (cf., among others, van der Leeuw 2:343–49; R. Hink and R. Rendtorff, *RGG* 5:939–44). The relationship to the Polynesian taboo has often been emphasized (quite effectively by Baentsch, *Exod–Lev*, HKAT, 354–56). The OT evidence, however, does not justify the interpretation of purification as essentially a liberation from demonic powers or an act of respect for a taboo. The hypothetical character of explanations offered in this sense is evident. On the one hand, rudiments of the rabbinic coupling of holy and unclean (see 5) are present (Num 19:7f., 10); on the other hand, it is said that purification occurs simultaneously with sanctification (Lev 16:19; cf. Ezek 36:23–25) or atonement (Ezek 43:26). It is apparent that pure and holy (→ *qdš*) are closely related in the OT witnesses, but pure and impure (→ *tmʿ*) are diametrically opposed.

Purity laws grow out of the post-exilic community's excessive demands for purity that also used archaic rites (de Vaux 2:463f.). The purification rites regulated in P do not offer a well-rounded picture of this remarkable apparatus, but it is a vivid picture. For the most part, one cannot demonstrate an inner-logical relationship between cultic practices and the goal, purification. Purification clearly does not involve a transferral mechanism, as K. Koch (*EvT* 26 [1966]: 225–31) suggests to explain the process of atonement. The “experiential content” of the ceremonies may not be discerned (von Rad, *Theol.* 1:279).

Nevertheless, one may infer from the texts that the post-exilic community's refined and controlling awareness of sin stands behind the purity laws. This promulgation of law was conditioned by the struggle against the danger of a new apostasy of God's people and by the endeavor to maintain distance from the pagan-impure. One should not undervalue the naive faith in the efficacy of the mere formal execution of the rite. The knowledge that purification (just like forgiveness) is exclusively God's decision and is a wonder effected and bestowed by God permeates both the eschatological witnesses (Jer 33:8; Ezek 36:25, 33; 37:23; Mal 3:3) and this legalism. The later discussion tends toward this evaluation of the *thr* texts (cf. W. H. Gispen, “Distinction between Clean and Unclean,” *OTS* 5 [1948]: 190–96; J. K. Zink, “Uncleanness and Sin,” *VT* 17 [1967]: 354–61, esp. 361).

5. In the Qumran literature (cf. H. Huppenbauer, “*thr* und *thrh* in der Sektenregel von Qumran,” *TZ* 13 [1957]: 350f.), the root is particularly important in 1QS and 1QH. The members of the community live in “purity”

(1QS 5:13; 6:16, 22, 25; 7:3, 16, 19, 25; cf. CD 9:21, 23; 10:10, 12); whoever does not join the community is impure and cannot be purified by any water of purification (1QS 3:4–8; cf. 4:21; 11:14). In 1QH “to purify” consistently refers to the expiation of sin (1QH 1:32; 3:21; 4:37; 5:16; 6:8; 7:30; 11:10, 30; 16:12). Cultic purity is one of the major themes of the Temple Scroll (according to the report of Y. Yadin, *BA* 30 [1967]: 135–39).

The rabbinic doctrine of purity develops a calculated casuistry with various degrees of purity (G. Lisowski, *Mischna: Jadajim* [1956], 2–4; id., *Tebul Jom* [1964], 4f.; id., *Uḳṣim* [1967], 2f.; on the equation of impure and holy, cf. id., *Jadajim* 49–51).

The revocation of rabbinic formalism in the determination of clean and unclean is among the revolutionary innovations of early Christianity (Mark 7:1–23; Matt 15:1–20; cf. R. Meyer and F. Hauck, “καθαρός,” *TDNT* 3:413–31).

F. Maass

### טוֹב *tôb* good

S 2896; BDB 373b; *HALOT* 2:370b; *TDOT* 5:296–317; *TWOT* 793a; *NIDOTTE* 3202

### יָטֵב *yṭb* to be good

S 3190; BDB 405b; *HALOT* 2:408a; *TDOT* 5:296–317; *TWOT* 863; *NIDOTTE* 3512

### יָפָה *yāpḥ* pretty

S 3303; BDB 421b; *HALOT* 2:423b; *TDOT* 6:218–20; *TWOT* 890a; *NIDOTTE* 3637

1. The root underlying Hebr. *tôb* is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 220); it occurs frequently (sometimes with by-forms like *yṭb* and *tʿb*) verbally and in various nom. formations in Akk., Aram., and Arab., but is absent in Eth. (cf. also Ug.: *WUS* no. 1110; *UT* no. 1028; Lachish Letters: *DISO* 99, 106f.; Aram.: *KBL* 1078; *DISO* 98f., 106f.; Old Sarab.: Conti Rossini 159b).

The denominative Hebr. verb *tôb* (BL 392; Meyer 2:151) may be identified with certainty in the qal pf. pl. (Num 24:5; Song Sol 4:10) and inf. forms (abs. Judg 11:25; cs. Judg 16:25 Q; 2 Sam 13:28; Esth 1:10; on 1

Sam 2:26, cf. GKC §113u). Otherwise, the distinction between qal pf. (and ptcp.) and the adj. *ṭôb* is not always clear (cf. the varied categorizations in Mandl. and Lis.). *ṭôb* hi. occurs in 1 Kgs 8:18 = 2 Chron 6:8; 2 Kgs 10:30. The stem *yṭb* replaces *ṭôb* in the qal impf. and usually in the hi. (cf. the subst. *mêṭāb* “best”).

In addition to the adj. *ṭôb* “good” (often substantivized and used as an abstract *ṭôb* or fem. *ṭôbâ* “the good”), related terms are the subst. *ṭôb* II “fragrance” (2 Kgs 20:13 in contrast to Isa 39:2; Jer 6:20; Song Sol 7:10; cf. KBL 349f.; J. Gray, *Kgs*, OTL [19702], 702) and the abstract *ṭûb* “goodness, well-being,” etc. The form ending in *-ût* is completely missing from Hebr. (cf. Aram., *DISO* 99; Akk.).

The adj. *ṭāb* (Dan 2:32; Ezra 5:17) and the pe. pf. *ṭ<sup>ע</sup>ēb* (Dan 6:24; BLA 141) occur in Bibl. Aram.

PNs with *ṭôb* or *ṭûb* (cf., however, H. Bauer, *ZAW* 48 [1930]: 75) are <sup>א</sup>*bîṭûb*, <sup>א</sup>*ḥîṭûb*, and *ṭôbîyâ(hû)* (cf. *IP* 153; on the double name *ṭôb* <sup>א</sup>*dônîyâ* arisen through dittography in 2 Chron 17:8 see Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 250), in the Aram. realm *ṭabrimmōn*, *ṭāb<sup>ע</sup>ēl/ṭāb<sup>ע</sup>al* (cf. Wildberger, *Isa* 1–12, CC, 284, 294); cf. also Huffmon 207; Stamm, *AN* 234–36, 294f. On *ṭôb* as the name of a region in the northern Transjordan, cf. A. Jirku, *ZAW* 62 (1950): 319; E. Höhne, *BHH* 3:1996.

2. The word family *ṭôb/yṭb* (excl. proper names) is attested in the OT 741x (738x Hebr., 3x Aram.). According to Lis. *ṭôb* occurs in the qal 18x, hi. 3x; *yṭb* qal 44x, hi. 73x. Alongside *ṭôb* II (3x, see 1), *ṭûb* (32x), and *mêṭāb* (6x), the adj. *ṭôb* dominates with 559 occurrences: Psa 68x, Prov 62x, Eccl 52x, Gen 41x, 1 Sam 37x, Jer 36x, Deut 28x, 1 Kgs 24x, 2 Chron 23x, Esth 22x, 2 Sam 21x, Isa 13x, 2 Kgs, Job, and Neh 12x each, Judg 11x, Ezek 9x, Josh and 1 Chron 8x, Num and Lam 7x, Ezra 6x, Exod, Lev, and Hos 5x, Amos, Mic, and Zech 4x, Ruth 3x, Jonah, Nah, Song Sol, and Dan 2x, Joel and Mal 1x; it does not occur in Obad, Hab, Zeph, and Hag.

3. The scope of *ṭôb* is very broad. Consequently, Eng. translation requires many adjs. in addition to “good,” according to the various contexts: “agreeable, pleasant, satisfying, satisfactory, favorable, useful, purposeful, right, beneficial, ample, pretty, well-formed, fragrant, friendly, benevolent, joyous, worthy, valiant, true,” etc. (cf. the lexicons). Without rigidly or completely systematizing, one may categorize the most important spheres in which *ṭôb* (or the verb) appears as: (a) suitability for a purpose, (b) an indication of quality, (c) characterization of people, (d) evaluations of decisions, esp. in wisdom literature, and (e) *ṭôb* in contrast to *ra<sup>ע</sup>*. Section 4 will then treat: (a) *ṭôb* as a designation for the ethically good in the religious sense, (b) statements concerning God, and (c) the abstract

concept.

(a) *tôb* frequently implies a judgment concerning the suitability of an obj. or a criterion for a person or a purpose (e.g., Gen 3:6 “good for food”). If the subj. of such a statement is a person, no ethical judgment is intended, but the effect of a behavior (e.g., 1 Sam 19:4, David’s deeds are advantageous for Saul; 25:15, people helpful/beneficial to us; Prov 31:18, the activity of the housewife on behalf of the family; with a stronger emphasis on feeling, 1 Sam 1:8 “worth more than ten sons”; cf. Ruth 4:15; cf. also *tôb* in conjunction with “word,” etc.: 1 Kgs 12:7 = 2 Chron 10:7, not just amiable but also beneficial words; 1 Kgs 22:13 = 2 Chron 18:12, words of the prophet beneficial to the king; Psa 45:2, graceful speech; Prov 15:30, a good message; 25:25, good news). References to Yahweh’s speech envision words that promise life during oppression and uncertainty: Josh 21:45; 23:14f.; 1 Kgs 8:56; Jer 29:10; 33:14; Zech 1:13 (the weakened “friendly words” is rare: Jer 12:6 *tôbôt*, cf. Prov 12:25).

The subj. of *tôb* is frequently a declarative clause or an inf. construction. Often these constructions imply an evaluation or a decision concerning the necessary requirements for deliverance and well-being (Exod 14:12; Num 14:3; 1 Sam 27:1; 2 Sam 14:32; Gen 2:18 is esp. impressive as God’s evaluation of human existence, “it is not good that the man should be alone”). In the broader sense, deliberations more gnomic in nature belong here too (Job 10:3; Eccl 2:24 *tôb* substantivized; 6:12; 11:7; Lam 3:26f.; see 3d). Otherwise, this usage refers to well-being itself as an existential possibility (impersonal: Num 11:18; Deut 5:33 and 15:16 *tôb qal*; 1 Sam 16:16, 23; Hos 2:9; Psa 128:2; personal: Isa 3:10; Jer 44:17; Psa 112:5; in a weakened sense in 1 Sam 20:12, “it is good for David”; in the regulation concerning the escaped slave in Deut 23:17, *battôb lô* should not be understood as “where it pleases him” but as “where he has an opportunity to live”).

*ytb qal le* “to go well for someone” expresses the same idea (the statement of a situation: Gen 40:14; Psa 49:19 txt em; the goal of a required or planned behavior: Gen 12:13; Deut 4:40; 5:16, 29; 6:3, 18; 12:25, 28; 22:7; 2 Kgs 25:24; Jer 7:23; 38:20; 40:9; 42:6; Ruth 3:1). The fact that “to go well” means life is expressly stated in Gen 12:13; Deut 4:40; 5:16, 33 (*tôb qal*); 22:7 (cf. Deut 6:3, 18 with similar promise content).

If people (Gen 12:6; Num 10:29) or (usually) God produce the situation of well-being, *ytb hi.* is used (with *le*, likely the older form: Gen 12:16; Exod 1:20; Num 10:29; Josh 24:20; Judg 17:13; 1 Sam 25:31; Ezek 36:11 txt em; Psa 125:4; with an acc.; Deut 8:16; 28:63; 30:5; 1 Sam 2:32; Jer 18:10; 32:40f.; Zech 8:15; Psa 51:20; Job 24:21; with *im.* Gen 32:10, 13; Num 10:32; Mic 2:7 txt?). The translation “to benefit, prove oneself friendly” (GB 298b) is formally correct; but the content seems to have less to do with the deed itself (perhaps Psa 119:68; see 4b) than with the consequence of the deed.

(b) *tôb* designates quality, esp. in conjunction with “land” and agricultural terms. Exod 3:8; Num 13:19; 14:7; and Judg 18:9 speak of a “good land.” Information concerning its fertility indicates that the potential to sustain life is of primary concern (cf. Deut 23:17). But the conspicuously Dtn-Dtr formulation “the good/beautiful land” no longer emphasizes objective usefulness (see esp. Deut 3:25; with <sup>ʿ</sup>*ereṣ*: Deut 1:35; 3:25; 4:21f.; 6:18; 8:7, 10; 9:6; 11:17; Josh 23:16; 1 Chron 28:8; with <sup>ʾ</sup>*dāmâ*: Josh 23:13, 15; 1 Kgs 14:15). By virtue of the fact that God has sworn (Deut 8:10; 9:6; Josh 23:13, 15f.) that Israel will possess it (Deut 6:18; 9:6) as an inheritance (4:21), the land becomes a benefit of salvation, and the term *tôb* itself becomes static (cf. Gen 49:15; in a broader sense, Deut 28:12 too). But when agricultural designations are not related to salvation, the notions of usefulness and convenience remain dominant (e.g., 1 Sam 8:14; 1 Kgs 21:2; 2 Kgs 3:19, 25; Ezek 17:8; 34:14, 18; 1 Chron 4:40; the parable of the fig basket explicates the antithetical *raʿ* “bad” as “unsuited for consumption”; finally, 2 Kgs 2:19 and in a way Judg 9:11; Hos 4:13 also belong here).

<sup>ʿ</sup>*ēṣtôb* (2 Kgs 3:19, 25) is the “fruit tree” in contrast to the shade tree. What was once an evaluation has become a fixed term. In the course of this development *tôb* can become an abs. designation of quality and can indicate that a thing has an essential characteristic in a particular degree (of oil: Isa 39:2, but see 1 on 2 Kgs 20:13; Psa 133:2; of gold: *zāhāb*, Gen 2:12; 2 Chron 3:5, 8; Aram. *dehab* Dan 2:32; *ketem* Lam 4:1; cf. also Ezra 8:27 and already Ug. *ṭb* of *yn* “wine” and *ksp* “silver,” WUS no. 1110; UT no. 1028).

(c) Texts in which *tôb* characterizes people form their own group. The older texts refer to a suitability for particular, mostly military, tasks. An ethical understanding (“good person”) is lacking at first (see, however, 4a). Reference can be made e.g., to an elite (1 Sam 8:16; 9:2; 1 Kgs 20:3; Amos 6:2; so also probably 2 Kgs 10:3). In 2 Sam 18:27 Ahimaaz is a “happy man” because he brings good news (of victory). But *tôb* is understood ethically in 1 Sam 15:28 (influence of prophetic thought?); 1 Kgs 2:32 (par. *ṣaddîq* “righteous”; according to Noth, BK 9/1, 11, perhaps an insertion); Mic 7:4 (par. *yāšār* “upright”; txt?); 2 Chron 21:13.

Passages in which a gen. characterizing the figure, the appearance, depends upon *tôb* point toward a more external evaluation (“pretty,” etc.: Gen 24:16; 26:7; 1 Sam 16:12; 2 Sam 11:2; 1 Kgs 1:6; Esth 1:11; 2:2f., 7; Dan 1:4; cf. Nah 3:4; Dan 1:15; in an abs. usage, but in the same vein, Gen 6:2; Exod 2:2; Judg 15:2).

In this meaning *tôb* competes with more specialized terms for “pretty” like *yāpeh*

(42x, in addition to Jer 46:20, *y<sup>c</sup>pēh-pîyâ*, *yph* qal “to be pretty” 6x, pi. “to adorn” 1x, hitp. “to beautify oneself” 1x, *y<sup>o</sup>pî* “beauty” 19x; the root occurs most frequently in Song Sol 16x, Ezek 15x, and Gen 9x), *nā<sup>o</sup>wēh* (9x, from the root *n<sup>o</sup>h* “to be pretty, comely,” qal 3x), and Aram. *šappîr* (Dan 4:9, 18; Aram. *špr* pe. “to be pleased” 3x; Hebr. *špr* qal 1x in Psa 16:6, cf. Wagner no. 316). Cf. also W. Grundmann, *TDNT* 3:543f.; von Rad, *Theol.* 1:364f.

*tôb* is frequently associated with → *lēb* “heart” in various ways (e.g., 1 Kgs 8:66 = 2 Chron 7:10; Prov 15:15; Eccl 9:7; Esth 5:9; *tôb* qal: Judg 16:25; 1 Sam 25:36; 2 Sam 13:28; Esth 1:10; *y<sup>t</sup>b* qal: Judg 18:20; 19:6, 9; 1 Kgs 21:7; Ruth 3:7; *y<sup>t</sup>b* hi.: Judg 19:22; Eccl 11:9; *tûb*: Isa 65:14; similar in substance, Prov 17:22). This usage treats *lēb* as the seat of emotions to indicate the person’s well-being, not moral quality. The pars. *šāmēah* “happy” and *šimhâ* “joy” underscore this meaning (1 Kgs 8:66 = 2 Chron 7:10; Eccl 9:7; Esth 5:9). *y<sup>t</sup>b* qal/hi. expresses the onset of this condition as an intention or consequence (Eccl 7:3 diverges and accents ethics more strongly, but the *y<sup>t</sup>b<sup>ec</sup>ēnē* in Judg 18:20 approaches “to be pleased”).

In conjunction with this usage, the combination *yôm tôb* is the day that, apart from any magical concept, is good for people because one causes it to be good (1 Sam 25:8; Esth 8:17; 9:19, 22; cf. Zech 8:19). Cf. also *šēbâ tôbâ* “high/beautiful age” (Gen 15:15; 25:8; Judg 8:32; 1 Chron 29:28); age is neither good nor morally valuable per se, but it is joyous when one may die fulfilled and satisfied with life (Gen 25:8; 1 Chron 29:28; slightly different, Eccl 7:10).

(d) Every adj. per se implies a judgment. The life orientation of *tôb* results in the fact that it frequently indicates quite generally a positive, subjective attitude toward a situation, although it is often unspecified whether this evaluation is correct. A message, advice, a word, etc., is good if it seems favorable (e.g., Gen 40:16; 1 Sam 9:10; 2 Sam 17:7, 14; 18:27; 1 Kgs 2:38, 42; 2 Kgs 20:19 = Isa 39:8; Isa 52:7); a deed or a matter (*dābār*) is good if it is beneficial (Exod 18:17; Deut 1:14; 1 Sam 26:16). This characterization can occasionally imply an ethical judgment (Neh 5:9; 2 Chron 12:12 “there was still something good in Judah,” cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 234; 19:3; 2 Sam 15:3 “your matter is good” = “you must receive justice” is in between these senses).

As in Deut, *tôb* can become a particle of agreement (Gen 24:50; 1 Sam 20:7; 2 Sam 3:13; Ruth 2:22; 3:13; cf. also Isa 41:7).

Various figures of speech confirm the evaluative nature of the term: (1) Something is *tôb* (more ingressively *y<sup>t</sup>b* qal) in the judgment (*b<sup>ec</sup>ēnē* “in the eyes”) of those who expect benefit, assistance from it. The subj. is usually impersonal, a thing (exceptions: Num 36:6; 1 Sam 29:6, 9, not “dear” but “helpful/salvific like an angel”; Esth 2:4, 9; 8:5; Neh 2:5). The

gen. dependent on *b<sup>e</sup>c<sup>h</sup>n<sup>e</sup>* is a person able to assess suitability for a goal and to decide (an action that can be thoroughly indifferent ethically; cf. Gen 19:8; Judg 19:24; 1 Sam 11:10; Jer 26:14; Mal 2:17). This person can be a ruler (Gen 41:37; 45:16; 1 Sam 14:36, 40; 24:5; 29:6, 9; 2 Sam 19:19, 28, 38; 2 Kgs 10:5; Esth 1:21; 2:4, 9), a patriarch or an individual (Gen 16:6; 20:15; Lev 10:20; Deut 1:23; Josh 9:25; 1 Sam 1:23; 2 Sam 19:39; 24:22 = 1 Chron 21:23; 1 Kgs 21:2; Jer 40:4; Esth 3:11), or a people or a group (Gen 34:18; Num 36:6; Josh 22:30, 33; 1 Sam 18:5; 2 Sam 3:19, 36; 18:4; Esth 8:8; Zech 11:12). In later texts *al* can replace *b<sup>e</sup>c<sup>h</sup>n<sup>e</sup>* (Esth 3:9; 5:4, 8; 7:3; 9:13; Neh 2:5, 7; 1 Chron 13:2; to be distinguished from this usage are Esth 7:9 [cf. also G. R. Driver, *VT* 4 (1954): 236]; 1 Sam 20:13 txt?), as can *lipn'* (Eccl 2:26; 7:26; Esth 5:14; Neh 2:5f.). If "God" is dependent upon *b<sup>e</sup>c<sup>h</sup>n<sup>e</sup>* as a gen., the reference is to that which corresponds to his will (Num 24:1; Judg 10:15; 1 Sam 3:18; 2 Sam 10:12; cf. 1 Chron 19:13; 2 Sam 15:26; 1 Kgs 3:10; 2 Kgs 20:3 = Isa 38:3), to his cultic (Lev 10:19; 2 Chron 31:20 with *lipn'*) or ethical (Deut 6:18; 12:28; 2 Chron 14:1) norm. God can gain no assistance from human action (cf. Psa 50:12f.).

(2) *tôb* appears more frequently than other adjs. with *min* of comparison ("better than"), so that two options are given for choice. The decision itself is not emphasized, to the extent that it involves assessment (Gen 29:19; Judg 15:2; 1 Sam 9:2; 1 Kgs 21:2), promise (Isa 56:5), or wish (1 Kgs 1:47, *y<sup>t</sup>b* hi.). Decisions on the basis of prior deliberation are apparent, however, already in Judg 8:2 (the gleaning of Ephraim); 11:25 (the self-assessment of the Ammonites); 1 Kgs 19:4 (Elijah's suitability for office); Esth 1:19 (cf. 3c on 1 Sam 15:28). This element becomes esp. clear in questions (Judg 9:2; 18:19; 2 Kgs 5:12) or in dubious assessments (Jonah 4:3, 8; Lam 4:9).

This phenomenon occurs particularly often in wisdom literature, which was relevant to life because of its desire to aid correct decision making and accurate evaluation and rating of life's values. The scope of this interest reaches from platitudes (the enjoyment of honey, Prov 24:13; 25:27; suffering because of a shrewish wife, Prov 21:9, 19; 25:24) to decision making, incl. insights into the true values that were not a priori unequivocal: thus what "is good" (Psa 111:10; 119:71f.; Prov 15:23; 17:5, 26; 18:5; Eccl 5:17) and what "is better" (Prov 3:14; 8:11, 19; 12:9; 15:16f.; 16:8, 16, 19, 32; 17:1; 19:1f., 22; 22:1; 25:7; 27:10; 28:6; similarly Job 13:9). In this respect, Qohelet must also be mentioned (Eccl 4:3, 6, 9, 13; 5:4; 6:3, 9; 7:1–3, 10, 18; 9:4), although his relevance to life is characteristically colored by his unique concept of fortune (3:22).

Because wisdom sayings express a fixed order, they are not exhausted by pragmatism but spill over into the realm of ethics (Prov 17:26; 18:5; 24:23; cf. also 2:20). The same *tôb* occurs accented by prophetic

piety in 1 Sam 15:22 and Mic 6:8, and in a broader sense probably also in Jonah 4:4. On the influence of Israelite piety on the shape of wisdom, see J. Fichtner, *Die altorientalische Weisheit in ihrer israelitisch-jüdischen Ausprägung* (1933); on the relation of wisdom and ethics elsewhere, see W. Richter, *Recht und Ethos* (1966).

The use of *yṯb* hi. in the profane sense of “to do something according to the regulations (i.e., carefully)” lies on this plane of wisdom thought (Exod 30:7; Deut 5:28; 18:17; 1 Sam 16:17; 2 Kgs 9:30; Isa 23:16; Jer 1:12; Ezek 33:32; Hos 10:1; Mic 7:3 txt em; Psa 33:3; Prov 15:13; 17:22). In this context, the inf. abs. can become a simple adv. (GKC §113k), characterizing an orderly execution (Deut 13:15; 17:4; 19:18, of regulations for legal proceedings; also Deut 9:21; 27:8; 2 Kgs 11:18; Jonah 4:4, 9).

(e) *ṯôb* is frequently associated with its antonym *raʿ* “evil, bad” (→ *rʿ*). The following examples should be mentioned: the merism “from the good to the evil” or “good or evil” in the meaning “whatever” (Gen 31:24, 29; 2 Sam 13:22; cf. Lev 5:4 with *yṯb* hi. and *rʿ* hi.; see H. A. Brongers, *OTS* 14 [1965]: 100–114); moreover, statements related to “action” and “consequence” (e.g., 1 Sam 24:18; 25:21; Jer 18:10; Psa 35:12; Prov 31:12), indications of quality (Lev 27:10, 12, 14, 33), and statements concerning God’s acts of judgment or salvation (see 4b).

One may still occasionally recognize how this opposition of the two options requires or spares a conscious decision (cf. e.g., Num 13:19; 24:13; 2 Sam 14:17; 19:36; 1 Kgs 3:9; Isa 41:23; Jer 10:5; 40:4 [see 3d]; 42:6; Zeph 1:12; the pair of terms is used formulaically as yes-no in Gen 24:50).

In all these passages, the decision is basically made in terms of what benefits life and what harms it, without resulting in a primarily moral judgment (on Isa 5:20, see 4a). One should also understand “knowledge of good and evil” in Gen 2:9, 17; 3:5, 22 against this background (→ *ydʿ* III/1c; meaning no. 2 listed there is represented here; that the fall narrative has no counterpart in the myths of Israel’s neighbors argues from the outset against an interpretation in terms of the realization of sexuality [no. 3]; the desire for the capacity of moral judgment could not be objectionable [no. 1]; von Rad, *Gen*, OTL, 81, and Brongers, op. cit. 105, assume a merism [*ṯôb wārāʿ* = “everything,” no. 4], yet the desire for comprehensive divine wisdom would surely have to be expressed otherwise). The emphasis placed upon this decision can be seen e.g., in the fact that the mention of the tree of knowledge does not fit smoothly in the context (H. J. Stoebe, *TZ* 18 [1962]: 387–90). The interpretation that with the knowledge of good and evil the human being lays claim to the capacity to decide concerning what benefits life and what harms it, thus to full autonomy (H. J. Stoebe, *ZAW* 65 [1953]: 188–204), does not therefore introduce a notion foreign to the

OT but unfolds and deepens implications of the word *tôb* itself.

Isa 7:15f. describes the capacity to choose between good and evil, a stage of maturity not yet attained by the newborn; because the promise is understood as one that will soon be realized, it cannot refer to physical maturity or an age of twenty years (G. W. Buchanan, *JBL* 75 [1956]: 114–20), but only to the consciousness of an independent will. The same is true of Deut 1:39 (cf. Num 14:31).

The sanction formula of P's creation account (Gen 1:4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, 31) probably stands in a conscious relationship to the theme of the fall. Regardless of the origin and syntactic significance of the formula (W. F. Albright, FS Robert 22–26), it maintains that the world desired by God is in order (W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift* [19672], 59–63), that it suits its purpose.

4. (a) The meaning of *tôb* as “good” in a religioethical sense is not the result of a late spiritualization. The impetus is given by *tôb*'s direct relationship to life. In the background stands the knowledge that life is possible only through the order to which the *tôb* declaration simultaneously relates because there is no life outside it.

Wisdom too wishes to teach the way of life (cf. Prov 2:19; 5:6; 6:23; 12:28; 15:24; 16:17). It is the “way of the good” (Prov 2:9, 20; cf. 2:12 “way of the evil”). Wisdom too seeks morality and recognizes the good person (Prov 2:20; 12:2; 13:2; 14:14, 19). The norms of this way are “justice” and “righteousness” (Prov 2:9; cf. 12:28; 16:31), the aids “wisdom” and “insight” (Job 34:4; Eccl 7:11; cf. Prov 4:7; 9:6). Indeed, these contexts do not lack expressions that point beyond actual wisdom thought (Prov 2:9; 14:22; 15:3). Consequently, one may not construe an exclusive contrast between piety and wisdom (on the influences, see 3d), nor may one see this piety as merely a form of wisdom thought, for it is oriented beyond norms to God himself.

This impetus is deepened in the prophetic proclamation (e.g., 1 Sam 15:22; Mic 6:8; cf. Hos 6:6); it can share individual formulations with wisdom. Particularly informative is the proclamation of Amos (Amos 5:4, 14f.). The notion of life occupies a decisive position; granting life is a matter for the living God. One can find it in community with him only if one observes his directives. Thus “to seek God” and “to seek the good” become nearly identical concepts.

Here too one must make a decision. One must recognize and acknowledge something as good in order to love or to hate it, in order to be able to do it or not to do it (cf. e.g., Isa 5:20; Jer 13:23; Amos 5:15; Mic 3:2; Psa 14:1, 3; 34:15; 37:3, 27; 38:21; but also Prov 11:27; 14:22; Job 34:4), but the final decision is God's (cf. Eccl 12:14; in an ironic reversal, Mal 2:17; cf. also the → *ûlay* “perhaps” in Amos 5:15).

Thus pious speech, like wisdom (see above), can call a person's way

“good” (e.g., 1 Sam 12:23; 1 Kgs 8:36 = 2 Chron 6:27), suggesting a dual conception: that the way is good, proper, per se and that it leads to a good end (profane in 1 Sam 24:20; on the roots of this concept in OT faith, cf. A. Kuschke, *ST* 5 [1952]: 106–18; F. Nötscher, *Gotteswege und Menschenwege in der Bibel und in Qumran* [1958]; → *derek*).

The combination of *yṭb* hi. with *derek* “way” or *ma<sup>ʿ</sup>ālīm* “deeds,” particularly characteristic of Jer, belongs here (Jer 7:3, 5; 18:11; 26:13; 35:15). The translation “to improve” does not completely convey the sense. The intention is more “to make right, bring into order” (cf. Jer 2:33: “to make right” for a particular purpose). The obj. can be implied, so that *yṭb* hi. used abs. means “to behave correctly, well” (Jer 4:22; 10:5; 13:23; Isa 1:17 too). This usage is lacking in wisdom literature. Gen 4:7 is also usually understood similarly; in view of the difficulty of the text it is probable that it is already a later interpretation of a no longer correctly understood tradition. This text also certainly contains an ellipsis (cf. G. R. Castellino, *VT* 10 [1960]: 442–45).

In this vein, *tôb* appears as a nom. obj. of *ʿśh* “to do” or related expressions (Ezek 18:18; 36:31; Psa 14:1, 3; 34:15; 37:3, 27; 38:21; 53:2, 4; Prov 14:22 *ḥrš* “to prepare”); passages that treat simple willingness to be of assistance in interpersonal realms should not be included here (e.g., Gen 26:29; 1 Sam 24:18; Prov 31:12). Judging from their contexts, one would also place passages with *tôb* hi. here (1 Kgs 8:18 = 2 Chron 6:8; 2 Kgs 10:30).

Thus the person can also be called “good” (beyond the narrow reference “to be suitable for,” “elite”) and thereby be characterized religioethically (e.g., 1 Sam 2:26 [cf. v 24]; 15:28; 1 Kgs 2:32; Psa 125:4; Prov 13:22; Eccl 9:2; Esth 1:19; 2 Chron 21:13; with *yṭb* qal, Nah 3:8; on wisdom see 4a).

(b) Finally, orientation of the term *tôb* to God results in the designation of God himself as *tôb* in later texts, esp. in the Psa (Psa 25:8; 34:9; 73:1; 86:5; 119:68; 135:3; 145:9; Lam 3:25; 2 Chron 30:18; cf. Nah 1:7). Yahweh is represented here by the name (Psa 52:11; 54:8), the spirit (Psa 143:10; Neh 9:20, an extensive allusion to Num 11:17, 23ff.), or reference is made to his mediated (Psa 119:39; Neh 9:13) or direct activity (*yād* “hand”: Ezra 7:9; 8:18; Neh 2:8). One may add the “good word” as “promise” (Josh 21:45; 23:14f.; see 3a).

The predicate applied to God occurs with particular frequency in the introductory formula of the liturgical declaration of praise (Jer 33:11; Psa 100:5; 106:1; 107:1; 118:1, 29; 136:1; Ezra 3:11; 1 Chron 16:34; 2 Chron 5:13; 7:3); characteristically, the formula is often supplemented by “for his → *ḥesed* endures forever.”

Even when a text does not expressly state for whom God is good (cf. Nah 1:7; Psa 73:1; 86:5; 145:9; Lam 3:25), *tôb* does not signify an

abstraction, for God's *hesed* includes a priori his willingness to aid people. Consequently, the root *tôb* can supplement or replace *hesed* in later texts and esp. in the versions (H. J. Stoebe, *VT* 2 [1952]: 248). But it points beyond the concept that God causes it to go well for someone and does someone good (*yṯb* hi.; cf. the abs. hi. ptcp. *mēṯṯb*, Psa 119:68) and shifts the view from the gift to the giver. Because God himself is *tôb*, one can receive both good and evil, love and pain, from his hand (Job 2:10; Lam 3:38).

Hymnic references to the praise of God itself as *tôb* (Psa 92:2; 147:1; similarly, Psa 118:8f.; Lam 3:26) do not signify pragmatism, but are grounded in the *tôb*-ness of God and in his acts of grace prior to the hymn of praise (see also Psa 73:28).

The juxtaposition of *tôb*, *hesed*, and *ḥayyîm* "life" in Psa 63:4 is instructive. The customary translation of Psa 69:17 and 109:21, "Your steadfast love is good," is too static; a hendiadys is more likely: "Your kindness is gracious" (cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:58f., 336f.).

(c) Abstract terms were already applied to some extent to clarify individual complexes of terms; they are appended here only in summary.

The most straightforward term is *mēṯāb* "the best"; this designation of quality accompanies only "land" (Gen 47:6, 11), "field, vineyard" (Exod 22:4[bis]), and "herd" (1 Sam 15:9, 15).

The original meaning of *ṯûb* is "proceeds, what comes to someone" (Gen 45:18, 20, 23; Isa 1:19; Jer 2:7; Ezra 9:12; Neh 9:25, 36; accompanying terms are "to eat," "to satiate oneself," "fruit") and, more generally, "fortune, property, goods, chattel" (Gen 24:10; Deut 6:11; 2 Kgs 8:9; Job 20:21; Neh 9:25). *tôb* can also represent *ṯûb* here with essentially the same meaning, although one must naturally be aware of uncertainties as to vocalization (1 Sam 15:9; 1 Kgs 10:7; Isa 55:2; Jer 5:25; Zech 1:17; Psa 34:11, 13; 85:13; 104:28; Job 22:18; *tôbâ*: Job 22:21; Eccl 6:3). With the intention to emphasize that God causes the good, *ṯûb* acquires the meaning "blessing, salvation" (Psa 27:13; 65:5; 128:5; Neh 9:25, 35; more generally "well-being," Job 21:16; Prov 11:10; somewhere in between, perhaps, in Jer 31:12, 14; cf. also Psa 65:12 *tôbâ* ). As a final result, *ṯûb* comes to mean "goodness" and thereby closely approximates *hesed* (Exod 33:19; Isa 63:7; Hos 3:5; Psa 25:7; 31:20; 119:66 txt?; 145:7; cf. *tôb* in Psa 23:6; *tôbâ* in Psa 68:11). *ṯûb lēb* as "joy of the heart" occurs in Deut 28:47 and Isa 65:14; *ṯûb* as "beauty" in Hos 10:11 and Zech 9:17.

It is difficult to find a clear distinction between *tôb* and *tôbâ*. One may argue with some reservation that *tôbâ* speaks more neutrally of the act of goodness per se, while the given context provides the necessary nuance

(cf. e.g., Judg 8:35; 1 Sam 24:19). This neutrality is esp. perceptible in phrases with *šh* “to do” and similar verbs (Gen 44:4; Num 24:13, to act at one’s own discretion; Judg 9:16; 1 Sam 24:18f.; 25:21, but v 30, clearly “blessing”; 2 Sam 2:6 [cf., however, G. Buccellati, *BeO* 4 (1962): 233; W. L. Moran, *JNES* 22 (1963): 173–76; D. R. Hillers, *BASOR* 176 (1964): 46f.; J. S. Croatto, *AION* 18 (1968): 385–89]; Jer 18:20a; Psa 35:12; 38:21a, but in v 21b *tôb* is moral goodness; 109:5; Prov 17:13; contrasts to *rā‘ā* refer to a behavior not justified by one’s own action). This general sense is also shown in 2 Chron 24:16 (“to make oneself deserving,” Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 276); Jer 18:20b (“to speak for the good,” similarly Jer 15:11, with *tôb*); 2 Kgs 25:28 = Jer 52:32 (“to speak cordially”); Neh 5:19 and 13:31 (“to remember for the good”). By contrast, *šh tôb* accents more strongly the moral aspect of an action (Ezek 18:18; Psa 14:1, 3; 34:15; 37:3, 27; similarly Isa 5:20[bis]; Amos 5:14f.; Mic 3:2; Psa 38:21b; Prov 11:27; likely also Prov 11:23; 14:22; on the decisional character of the term, see 4a).

This more general meaning evolves into the more definite concept “fortune, success, well-being.” In contrast to *tôbâ*, if *tôb* intends to be concrete it is usually no longer clearly apparent (*tôbâ*: Deut 23:7; Psa 16:2; 106:5; Job 9:25; 21:25; Eccl 4:8; 5:17; 6:6; 7:14 alongside *tôb*, this is probably an illustrative application; 9:18; Lam 3:17; Ezra 9:12; Neh 2:10; *tôb* is more frequent: Num 10:29; Jer 8:15; 14:19; 17:6; Hos 8:3 accents “fortune”; Mic 1:12; Psa 4:7; 25:13; 34:13; 39:3; 103:5; 107:9; Job 7:7; 21:13; 30:26; 36:11; Prov 13:21; 16:20; 17:20; 18:22; 19:8; 28:10 txt?; Eccl 2:1, 3; 3:12[bis], 13, 22; 5:17; 8:12f., 15).

If God grants this fortunate circumstance, *tôbâ* means “blessing, salvation” (Exod 18:9; 1 Sam 25:30; 2 Sam 7:28 = 1 Chron 17:26; 1 Kgs 8:66 = 2 Chron 7:10; Jer 18:10; 32:42; 33:9). *tôb* can occur in the same meaning here too, while the notion of the concrete form of the circumstance is also involved (Num 10:32, cf. v 29; Isa 52:7; Jer 29:32; Psa 21:4; 34:11; 84:12; 119:65; 122:9; Prov 24:25; 2 Chron 6:41; 10:7).

This content of the term *tôb* is characteristically elaborated when *tôb/tôbâ* is constructed with *l’l’tôbâ* occurs in a more general meaning, “to good effect,” in Neh 2:18; but it is usually Yahweh who, as Lord, creates this status of blessing and salvation (*tôbâ*: Deut 28:11; 30:9; Jer 14:11; 24:5; Psa 86:17; Ezra 8:22; *tôb*: Deut 6:24; 10:13; Jer 32:39). One should also apply this interpretation in Gen 50:20 (the translation “to make the best of” is not entirely satisfactory—God had caused the evil plan to become salvation; cf. Psa 199:122). Prophetic proclamation underscores the individual’s responsibility by the juxtaposition of *tôbâ* and *rā‘ā*. Yahweh need not act to bless; he can also act to judge. This notion occurs already

in Amos 9:4; it characterizes Jeremiah's message to a special degree (Jer 21:10; 24:6; 39:16; 44:27).

5. The LXX renders *ṭôb* mostly with *agathos*, also with *kalos* and *chrēstos*. On post-OT usage, cf. W. Grundmann, "ἄγαθός," *TDNT* 1:10–18; E. Beyreuther, "Good," *DNTT* 2:98–107.

H. J. Stoebe

## טָמַא *ṭm*<sup>ʔ</sup> to be unclean

S 2930; BDB 379a; *HALOT* 2:375b; *TDOT* 5:330–42; *TWOT* 809; *NIDOTTE* 3237

1. The verb *ṭm*<sup>ʔ</sup> is known beyond Hebr. in Aram. and Arab. (cf. *LS* 279f.); it does not occur in Akk., in Ug., or in inscriptions contemporary with the OT.

In addition to the verb (qal, ni., pi., pu., hitp., and hotpa<sup>ʕ</sup>el, GKC §54h; BL 285), the adj. *ṭāmē*<sup>ʔ</sup> "impure" and the subst. *ṭum*<sup>ʔ</sup> "impurity" occur in the OT (Mic 2:10 txt? *ṭom*<sup>ʔ</sup>, or qal inf.?).

2. The verb occurs 160x in the OT. Exilic and post-exilic texts have an impressive concentration: Lev, Num (P), and Ezek contain over 85% of the occurrences (Lev 85x, Ezek 30x, Num 23x). The qal occurs 75x (Lev 58x, Num 10x, Ezek 4x, additionally, Hag 2:13[bis] and Psa 106:39), ni. 18x (Num 7x, Ezek 6x, Lev and Hos 2x, Jer 1x), pi. 50x (Lev 17x, 12x in Lev 13:3–59 and 20:25 in the meaning "to declare unclean"; Ezek 14x, Num 5x, 2 Kgs 23:8–16 4x, Gen 34 and Jer 3x each; also Deut 21:23; Isa 30:22; Psa 79:1; 2 Chron 36:14), pu. 1x, (Ezek 4:14), hitp. 15x (Lev 8x; Ezek 5x; Num 6:7; Hos 9:4), and hotpa<sup>ʕ</sup>el 1x (Deut 24:4).

*ṭāmē*<sup>ʔ</sup> occurs 89x (Lev 47x, twice in 13:45; incl. 5:2b, which is usually emended to *yāda*<sup>ʕ</sup> in accordance with vv 3f.; cf. Elliger, HAT 4, 55f.; Num 12x, Deut 8x, Ezek 5x, as well as Josh 22:19 P; Judg 13:4; Isa 6:5[bis]; 35:8; 52:1, 11; 64:5; Jer 19:13; Hos 9:3; Amos 7:17; Hag 2:13f.; Job 14:4; Eccl 9:2; Lam 4:15; 2 Chron 23:19), *ṭum*<sup>ʔ</sup> 37x (Lev 18x, Ezek 8x, as well as Num 5:19; 19:13; Judg 13:7, 14; 2 Sam 11:4; Zech 13:2; Lam 1:9; Ezra 6:21; 9:11; 2 Chron 29:16).

3./4. Regarding the term and concepts of impurity, see → *ṭhr*: pollution and impurity require purification.

Transitive "to pollute" is also expressed by *g*<sup>ʔ</sup> II pi. (Mal 1:7) and hi. (Isa 63:3), "to become unclean" by *g*<sup>ʔ</sup> ni. (Isa 59:3, form?; Zeph 3:1; Lam 4:14) and pu. (Mal 1:7,

12; Ezra 2:62; Neh 7:64), and “to make oneself unclean” by *gʾl hitp.* (Dan 1:8[bis]); cf. *gōʾal* “defilement,” Neh 13:29.

Gen 34:5, 13, 27 describe the rape of Dinah as “defilement.” Bathsheba sanctified herself after her period by the washing “of her impurity” (2 Sam 11:2, 4). Samson’s mother, at the announcement of his birth, received the command not to eat anything unclean (Judg 13:4, 7, 14); this command is consistently associated with the prohibition against wine and intoxicating drink. For Hosea, Israel is defiled by harlotry (Hos 5:3; 6:10); consequently, it must eat unclean food in Assyria (9:3) and will become impure, as by the consumption of “bread of mourning” (9:4; cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 155; Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 172, 176). Amos warns Amaziah that he will die in a strange, unclean land (Amos 7:17), and Isaiah fears that he is lost (contra Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 249f.) because, as a man of unclean lips living among a people of unclean lips, he has seen the King, Yahweh Sabaoth (Isa 6:5). Jeremiah denounces the pollution of land and temple (Jer 2:7; 7:30; 32:34) and Israel’s self-defilement (2:23; cf. Psa 106:39). In contrast, Psa 79:1 speaks of the nations’ profanation of the temple. According to the Dtn law, the land becomes polluted if one hanged is not taken down by nightfall (Deut 21:23), and a woman has defiled herself through remarriage after her divorce (24:4). Josiah defiled the sites of idol worship (2 Kgs 23:8, 10, 13, 16; cf. Isa 30:22; Jer 19:13).

Deutero-Isaiah promises that unclean persons will no longer come to Jerusalem (Isa 52:1; cf. 35:8); the returnees should not touch anything unclean (52:11). Such notions were practiced according to the Chr’s history (Ezra 6:21; 9:11; 2 Chron 23:19; 29:16; the opposite occurs in 36:14). Haggai testifies to the contagious effect of impurity: If one who has become unclean through contact with a corpse touches anything consumable, it too becomes unclean; likewise, sacrifices brought by the unclean become unclean (2:13f.). Zech 13:2 announces exile for the prophets and the “unclean spirit.”

According to the testimony of Ezekiel, defilement results esp. from idolatry (Ezek 20:7, 18, 30f., 43; 22:3f.; 23:7, 13, 17, 30; 36:18; 37:23, mostly in combination with the word *gillûlîm* “idols”; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:186f.) and adultery (18:6, 11, 15; 22:11; 33:26). Disregard for the sanctuary excites the prophet’s fiercest indignation (5:11; 23:38). He predicts the punishment of the radical defilement of the temple at Yahweh’s command (9:7) and declares that Yahweh himself has made Israel impure through the sacrifice of the firstborn and wishes to fill it with horrors (20:26; cf. Fohrer, HAT 13, 112–14; Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:384f.).

In P and in H, the use of the root is concentrated in Lev 11 (verb 20x, adj. 14x), Lev 13 (verb 13x, 11x declarative, adj. 8x), Lev 15 (verb 25x, adj. 4x, subst. 7x), and Num 5; 9; 19. Various fixed formulae are frequently

used: “it shall be unclean for you,” only in Lev 11 and Deut 14, without “for you,” esp. in Lev 13; “he is unclean until evening,” in Lev 11 and 15; “so that he becomes unclean thereby,” only in Lev 15:32; 18:20, 23; 19:31; 22:8 (cf. Elliger, HAT 4, 150ff.nn.4, 14, 18; 240n.18).

5. On the process of defilement and the types of impurity according to the priestly literature, as well as on the development in the rabbinic era, see → *thr*. On the LXX and the NT, see F. Hauck, “μιαίνω,” *TDNT* 4:644–47.

F. Maass

## 𐤆𐤃 *yād* hand

S 3027; BDB 388b; *HALOT* 2:386b; *TDOT* 5:393–426; *TWOT* 844; *NIDOTTE* 3338

1. The biradical root \**yad-* underlying Hebr. *yād* is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 212; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 259, 273, 279) and originally meant both “arm” (→ *z<sup>ʿ</sup>rôa<sup>ʿ</sup>*) as well as “hand” (thus in Akk.; cf. H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen* [1911], 116f.; in the latter meaning, however, *idu* was displaced by *qātu* “hand”; cf. Dhorme 138f.). In NWSem., *yd* still sometimes means “arm” too (cf. Hebr. *bên yādayim*, Zech 13:6; and Ug. *bn ydm* “shoulders,” *UT* no. 1072; Gen 49:24, *z<sup>ʿ</sup>rô<sup>ʿ</sup>ê yādāyw* ?; Song Sol 5:14, which compares *yādāyw* to “golden cylinders”).

The Amarna correspondence still exhibits the alternation in meaning mentioned in that *ina qātīšu* “in his hand” has been glossed by *badiu* (EA 245:35) and *qātu* by *zuruḥ* (= *z<sup>ʿ</sup>rôa<sup>ʿ</sup>*) (EA 287:27; 288:34). The double meaning is also present in Arab. (cf. e.g., Wehr 1105).

The depiction of the *d* phoneme in the form of the hand in the Old Eg. script implies a prehistoric usage of the same word *yd* in the Eg. realm.

The short form *bd* with the prep. *b* occurs in Ug. (cf. also Syr. *bad* for *beyad*). The elision of the *y* also occurs in *šb<sup>ʿ</sup>d* or *šb<sup>ʿ</sup>id* “sevenfold” (*UT* no. 1072). The confusion of *beyad* and *b<sup>ʿ</sup>ad* in the OT can consequently be attributed to either phonetic or orthographic grounds (*byd* instead of *b<sup>ʿ</sup>d*: Isa 64:6; *b<sup>ʿ</sup>d* instead of *byd*: 1 Sam 4:18; Joel 2:8; R. Gordis, *JBL* 62 [1943]: 341–44).

On possible denominatives from *yād*, see *SNHL* 38.

2. With over 1,600 occurrences, *yād* is one of the most frequently

represented words in the OT:

	sg.	dual	fem. pl.	total
Gen 79	14	2	95	
Exod 91	12	6	109	
Lev 41	9	–	50	
Num 41	4	–	45	
Deut 71	12	–	83	
Josh 34	2	–	36	
Judg 83	9	–	92	
1 Sam	117	2	–	119
2 Sam	53	9	1	63
1 Kgs42	1	6	49	
2 Kgs61	11	1	73	
Isa 71	21	–	92	
Jer 95	22	–	117	
Ezek 93	15	–	108	
Hos 5	1	–	6	
Joel 1	–	–	1	
Amos4	–	–	4	
Obad–	–	–	–	
Jonah	–	–	–	–
Mic 4	1	–	5	
Nah –	–	–	–	
Hab 1	1	–	2	
Zeph 3	1	–	4	
Hag 3	2	–	5	
Zech 14	5	–	19	
Mal 5	–	–	5	
Psa 58	36	–	94	
Job 40	13	–	53	
Prov 21	10	–	31	
Ruth 3	–	–	3	
Song Sol	1	3	–	4
Eccl 8	5	–	13	
Lam 9	6	–	15	
Esth 21	1	–	22	
Dan 14	1	1	16	
Ezra 13	4	–	17	
Neh 35	5	1	41	
1 Chron	38	7	–	45
2 Chron	72	8	2	82

Hebr. OT	1,345	253	20	1,618
Aram.				
Dan 10	2	–	–	12
Ezra 5	–	–	–	5
Aram. OT	15	2	–	17

*beyad* in Hag 2:10 is not counted (*BHS: ʔel*); Lis. overlooks Hos 12:11. In Exod 32:19; Lev 9:22; 16:21; Job 5:18; Prov 3:27 and 2 Chron 18:33 (cf. 1 Kgs 22:34) Q is preferred; Deut 32:27 is counted as a sg., Hab 3:10 txt? as a pl.

The word occurs most frequently in 1 Sam and Jer (here over 50x in combination with *be*), followed by Exod and Ezek.

3. (a) In the proper sense *yād* means the hand of a person (Gen 38:28; 1 Kgs 13:4–6) or of an angel (Dan 10:10).

Objects one may grasp by hand are often more closely characterized as such by the addition of *yād* (Num 35:17, stone; 35:18, wooden implement; Ezek 39:9, staff). *yād* is used exclusively of the *human* hand in Deut 8:25 and Job 34:20. The lex talionis threatens the amputation of the hand (Exod 21:24; cf. Lev 24:19; Alt, *KS* [19643], 1:343; Noth, *Lev*, OTL, 182; D. Daube, *Studies in Biblical Law* [1947], 128) for the woman who touches the genitals of a man other than her husband during a fight between men (Deut 25:11f.) and, under some conditions, for the lying witness (Deut 19:16–21). Concerning the Menetekel inscription written on the wall of Belshazzar’s palace by a mysterious human hand (Dan 5:5), cf. Eissfeldt, *KS* [1966], 3:210–17.

More or less synonymous with *yād* in this meaning are → *zʿrôa* “arm,” *yāmîn* “right hand,” *šʿmōʾl* “left hand,” *kap* “hollow of the hand, palm” (192x, excl. Lev 23:40; Psa 21x, Num 20x, Lev, Isa and Job 13x each, Ezek 12x; sg. 106x, du. 63x, pl. 23x; of God’s protecting hand, Exod 33:22f.), and *ḥopnayim* “the hollows of both hands” (6x). See also *ʔegrōp* “fist” (Exod 21:18; Isa 58:4; *HAL* 11).

(b) An expanded use of *yād* is common Sem. and results from the position of the hand (or the arm) on the body and from its usage:

(1) Like Akk. *idu* (cf. *ana idi* “beside”), *yād* means “side” (of a city, Josh 15:46; of a path, 1 Sam 4:13; 2 Sam 15:2; of a gate, 1 Sam 4:18; of a country, Gen 34:21; of a people, 2 Chron 21:16) or “bank” (of a river, Exod 2:5; Num 13:29; Deut 2:37). The meaning “that which is set aside” also belongs in this context (Deut 23:13 “toilet”).

(2) The giving and receiving hand leads to the meaning “portion, segment” in Gen 35:4; Jer 6:3; 2 Kgs 11:7; etc. (cf. P. Joüon, *Bib* 14 [1933]: 453; cf. Akk. *manû ina/ana qātā* “to distribute as a portion”; fem. pl.

Hebr. *yādôt*, Akk. *qātātī*; Ug. *yd*, *KTU* 1.14.III.23?; cf. *UT* no. 1072).

(3) Pegs serve like hands to connect panels (Exod 26:17; 36:22), the handles on the bronze sea (1 Kgs 7:35f.; cf. Ug. *ydt*, *KTU* 4.158.9), and the armrests on the Solomonic throne (1 Kgs 10:19, fem. pl. *yādôt*).

(4) The use of the hand to point may be the basis for the meaning “memorial” (1 Sam 15:12; 2 Sam 18:18; Isa 56:5) or “path marker” (Ezek 21:24). In contrast to *nēs* “banner,” this usage may concern inscribed stones (Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:442). M. Delcor (*JSS* 12 [1967]: 230–34) is inclined to explain the designation of such steles on the basis of the hands represented on them and compares Pun. and Can. steles with hands in relief (cf. K. Galling, *ZDPV* 75 [1959]: 7).

(5) In this context the meaning of *yād* as “phallus” may also be mentioned (Isa 57:8, 10?; 1QS 7:13; cf. Ug. *yd* and Mand., see *UT* no. 1072). Attempts have been made (M. Delcor, op. cit. 234–40) to explain this use of *yād* archaeologically from stelae represented as phalluses, stylistically as a euphemism (cf. Isa 6:2; 7:20), and philologically from the root *wdd/ydd* “to love” (Ug., Arab.). In the last case, *yād* “phallus” would then have nothing to do with *yād* “hand” (cf. A. Fitzgerald, *CBQ* 29 [1967]: 368–74).

(c) The fig. sense of “power,” etc., often coincides with the analogously used → *z<sup>ē</sup>rôa<sup>ç</sup>* “arm.” Thus *yād* often stands for a person’s power or capacity to rule over others (1 Chron 18:3), to exercise force (1 Sam 23:7), to punish (Psa 21:9), to save oneself from a dangerous situation (Josh 8:20), to grant gifts in abundance (only of the king: 1 Kgs 10:13; Esth 1:7; 2:18), to act zealously (Prov 10:4; 12:24), etc.

This power is made concrete in property (Lev 25:28) and wealth (Lev 5:7; 25:47; 27:8; cf. G. Rinaldi, *BeO* 6 [1964]: 246); cf. *ḥayil* “power, wealth, army” and → *kōaḥ*.

(d) Literal, expanded, and fig. meanings may not always be clearly distinguished in the various combinations of words involving *yād* with a verb or a prep.:

(1) The following belong to the daily realm: to lay the hand on the mouth in the sense of “to keep silent” (Mic 7:16; Job 21:5, etc.); to swing the hand in the meaning “to threaten” (Isa 10:32; 11:15; 19:16; Zech 2:13; Job 31:21); cf. with *kap*: to clap hands, for joy (Isa 55:12), in anger (Num 24:10), to do homage to a king (2 Kgs 11:12), in malicious glee (Nah 3:19; Lam 2:15). One lays one’s hands upon one’s head as an expression of sorrow (2 Sam 13:19; Jer 2:37; *AOB* nos. 195, 198, 665; *ANEP* no. 459; *BHH* 3:2022).

(2) Expressions arising from hand gestures belong to the legal sphere of life: in an oath one raises one’s hand or hands (*rûm* hi., *nš<sup>ç</sup>*; cf. Akk. *našû*

*qāta/qātā*, Gen 14:22; Dan 12:7) to God in heaven, or the oath taker places a hand under the thigh of the one whose wish one pledges to fulfill (only attested in the patriarchal era: Gen 24:2; 47:29). Contact with the sexual organ may indicate sterility or the annihilation of the descendants in the event of the failure to fulfill the vow (Speiser, *Gen*, ABC, 178). *ntn yād taḥat* “to subject oneself to someone by an oath” is comparable (1 Chron 29:24).

One shakes hands when one gives a pledge (Prov 6:1 with *kap*), confirms an agreement (Ezra 10:19) or a statement (2 Kgs 10:15). The expression *yād l’yād* is the formula and gesture of affirmation, specifically for giving a pledge (Prov 11:21; 16:5).

In contrast to *bišgāgā* “unintentionally” (→ *šgg*; Lev 4:2, 22, 27, etc.; Num 15:27–29), *b’yād rāmā* “with a high hand” refers to a deliberate transgression in Num 15:30 (Exod 14:8 and Num 33:3 refer to Yahweh’s hand).

(3) Although Akk. *mullû ana qāt* “to fill the hand” means the transfer of a person, a population, a realm, etc., into the hands of a particular individual (*AHW* 598), Hebr. *ml’ pi. yād* is restricted to the cultic realm and means the investiture of priests and Levites (Exod 28:41; 29:29; cf. 32:29; Lev 8:33; Judg 17:5, 12; 1 Kgs 13:33; 2 Chron 13:9, etc.).

(4) In numerous other usages, employed in manifold areas of life, *yād* is more or less weakened in combination with a prep. (most frequently *be* and *min*).

In association with *mîyad* “from the hand of,” → *nsl* hi. signifies deliverance from the power of an adversary (Exod 3:8; Isa 47:14) and occurs esp. in the language of prayer (Psa 22:21; 31:16, etc.), in the legal sphere (in regard to blood vengeance, Num 35:25), in the politicomilitary realm (Josh 9:26; 1 Sam 7:14), and in the description of Yahweh’s saving might, esp. from political enemies (Deut 32:39; Judg 8:34; Isa 43:13, etc.). The use of → *yš<sup>c</sup>* hi. “to deliver” with *mîyad* resembles the use of *nsl* hi.; by contrast, → *pdh* “to ransom” (Hos 13:14; Psa 49:16) and → *g’l* “to redeem” (Jer 31:11; Psa 106:10) are used solely with Yahweh as subj.

In combination with *mîyad*, → *qnh* “to gain” signifies the transfer of purchased property from the hand of the one into the hand of the other (Gen 33:19; Lev 25:14; Ruth 4:5, 9, etc.), → *šp* “to gather,” the gathering of donations (only 2 Chron 34:9), → *lqh* “to take,” the taking of a pledge or offering (Gen 38:20; Num 5:25; of atonement, Isa 40:2; sacrifice, Judg 13:23), but esp. the military capture of particular regions (Gen 48:22; Deut 3:8; 1 Kgs 11:35; 1 Chron 18:1, etc.).

In association with *mîyad*, → *plṭ* pi. “to deliver” (Psa 71:4) belongs to the language of prayer; → *drš* “to seek, demand” (Gen 9:5; Ezek 33:6), → *bqš* “to seek, require” (1 Sam 20:16), → *nqm* “to avenge” (2 Kgs 9:7), and → *špṭ* “to obtain justice for” (2 Sam 18:19, 31) belong to the legal sphere.

With *beyad*, → *ntn* means “to make available, give, make subject to,” etc. (Gen 27:17; 2 Sam 10:10; 16:8), but esp. in the military and legal realms, delivery into the hands of the enemy or the adversary (generally, 1 Kgs 18:9; Jer 26:24, etc.; regarding blood vengeance, Deut 19:12). On account of his power, Yahweh is the one who hands over the enemies. Consequently, the expression characterizes the diction associated with seeking oracles before battle (2 Sam 5:19; 1 Kgs 22:6) or with the war oath (Num 21:2; Judg 11:30); in the ephod oracle cf. *sgr hi*. “to deliver” (1 Sam 23:20) and *mkr* “to sell” (Judg 2:14; 10:7; 1 Sam 12:9; Joel 4:8, etc.).

→ *dbr pi. beyad* “to speak through (subj.: God)” in the Dtr and post-exilic literature under its influence characterizes esp. the prophet sent by Yahweh as his messenger to the people (1 Kgs 16:12; 17:16; 2 Kgs 9:36; 10:10; 14:25; Jer 37:2; Hag 1:1, 3; 2:1, 10 [MSS]; Mal 1:1; but Moses in Exod 9:35; Num 17:5; 27:23; cf. also Isa 20:2 and Hos 12:11; furthermore, the expression *qabû ina qātî* “to speak through someone” in the Amarna Letters, EA 263:20f.). In contrast, *šwh pi. beyad* refers to the commandments God announced to his people through Moses’ mediation (Exod 35:29; Lev 8:36; Num 15:23; Josh 14:2; 21:8; Neh 8:14, etc.). The expression refers to the prophets only in the later literature (Ezra 9:11, but in the context of the conquest; 2 Chron 29:25, regulations for the Levites). *ntn beyad* “to give through” also occurs in this meaning in an isolated text (Lev 26:46, Moses). → *šlh b<sup>c</sup>yad* indicates the delivery of a gift (Gen 38:20; 1 Sam 16:20), an animal (Lev 16:21 pi.), or the execution of a commission (1 Kgs 2:25; cf. Exod 4:13) through an agent.

For combinations with other preps., see the lexicons.

4. The OT discusses the hand of God anthropomorphically over 200x (either in the expression *yad yhwh* or with a suffixed or an abs. *yād*).

(a) First, *yād* designates the irresistible might of Yahweh (Deut 32:39) and the acts of God that result from it. It is prefigured in other Sem. expressions (Akk. *qāt ilī, qāt ištar*, although only in reference to illnesses afflicting a person; cf. Dhorme 145, as well as Psa 32:4; 39:11; 1 Sam 5:6; 6:3, 5; Ug. *byd btl[t [nt] KTU 1.18.1.14*: “[help] from the hand of the virgin [Anat]”). Consequently, it is questionable whether the strong emphasis of language concerning Yahweh’s hand (and arm) derived impetus from the exodus narratives. God’s omnipotence is manifest in the creation (Isa 45:12; 48:13; Psa 8:7; Job 26:13) and maintenance of the world (Job 12:9), in the aid he renders (Isa 51:16; Psa 119:173), in the salvation he bestows (cf. the later pious discussion of God’s gracious hand, Ezra 7:6, 9; Neh 2:8, 18), and in the punishment he exercises (Psa 32:4; 39:11; Job 12:9), but esp. also in the saving act of the people’s liberation from Egypt (“with a strong hand,” Exod 13:9; cf. 3:19; 6:1; Deut 6:21; 7:8; 9:26; Dan 9:15; “with a strong hand and an outstretched arm,” Deut 4:34; 5:15; 7:19; 11:2; 26:8; Jer 32:21; Psa 136:12; in 1 Kgs 8:42 = 2 Chron 6:32 not directly related to Egypt; → *z<sup>c</sup>rôa<sup>c</sup>*, → *h<sup>c</sup>zq*).

(b) The discussion of Yahweh’s hand being (1 Kgs 18:46; Ezek 3:22;

33:22) or falling (Ezek 8:1) upon the prophets is substantially different. It is not simply intended as a prophetic formula for the reception of the word (F. Häussermann, *Wortempfang und Symbol in der alttestamentlichen Prophetie* [1932], 22ff.) perceived as a burden and a restraint, but also as visionary ecstasy (P. Volz, *Der Geist Gottes* [1910], 70). By virtue of Yahweh's hand, Elijah runs before Ahab's chariot from Carmel to Jezreel (1 Kgs 18:46). The state of ecstasy is consciously pursued through music (2 Kgs 3:15). The grasp of God's hand had compelling impact on the writing prophets Isaiah (8:11), Jeremiah (15:17), and Ezekiel, who exhibits the formula in seven passages associated with vision reports (Ezek 1:3; 3:14, 22; 8:1; 33:22; 37:1; 40:1; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:117f.; → *h̄zq*).

(c) According to P. Humbert ("Etendre la main," *VT* 12 [1962]: 383–95, 388), *šlh̄ yad* "to extend the hand" means "a banal and rapid hand gesture, perhaps in a purely natural and physical sense of acting in order to seize an object, perhaps with the moral connotation of an undertaking or a hand movement chiefly hostile in nature, but, very rarely, pacific. A fundamental human gesture." By contrast, *n̄th yādô ʿal* "to extend his hand against" refers only to God or to his representative (as in Exod). The gesture indicated by this expression relates to the task of executing divine punishment or refers directly to those under punishment. It never has a beneficial significance (in contrast to *šlh̄ yad*, for which such is possible: Gen 48:14; Prov 31:20).

(d) *ntn yad leyhwh* "to submit to Yahweh" (R. Kraetzschmar, *Die Bundesvorstellung im AT* [1896], 47; cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* [1897], 186; profane: 2 Kgs 10:15; Ezek 17:18).

(e) In prayer one raises the hand (hands) to God in heaven (Deut 32:40) or extends it (Isa 1:15, *kap*), in accordance with ancient Near Eastern custom (Akk. *nišqāti* "raising the hand").

5. Qumran literature largely perpetuates the OT use of *yād*, except that it does not mention deliverance from Egypt. The usage in the NT is similar; cf. BAGD 879f. s.v. *χείρ*.

A. S. van der Woude

**יָדָהּ *ydh* hi. to praise**

S 3034; BDB 392a; *HALOT* 2:389a; *TDOT* 5:427–43; *TWOT* 847; *NIDOTTE* 3344

1. *ydh* hi. "to praise, confess" (*hitp*. "to confess") has counterparts in

Bibl. Aram. (*ydh* ha. “to praise” Dan 2:23; 6:11), Palm. (*DISO* 104), and later Aram. (KBL 1080f.), as well as more distantly in Arab. and Eth. (KBL 363f.).

A relationship to *ydh* /*ydd* I “to throw, shoot” (Mandl. 457) can be discounted.

In addition to the verb (hi., hitp.), the subst. *tôdâ* “song of thanks, thanksgiving offering” is in use. The noun *huyy<sup>e</sup>dôt* “song of thanks” in Neh 12:8 is uncertain (cf. Rudolph, HAT 20, 190). Cf. also the PNs *hôdawyâ*, *hôdawyâhû* (*IP* 32, 194f., 219).

2. The verb occurs 100x in the hi. (as well as 2x in Aram. ha.) and 11x in the hitp. The noun *tôdâ* is attested 32x (Psa 12x, Lev 5x, Neh 4x), *huyy<sup>e</sup>dôt* 1x (see 1).

*ydh* hi. occurs in the Psa 67x (doubled in Psa 67:4, 6; 75:2); there exists thus a very characteristic accumulation (besides 20x in Ezra–2 Chron).

3. Nontheological usage is rare: Gen 49:8, “Judah, your brothers praise you” (folk-etymological explanation of the name *y<sup>e</sup>hûdâ*; cf. Gen 29:35); Psa 45:18 (obj. king); 49:19 txt em, a rich man praises his soul, that it does itself good; Job 40:14, “Then I (Yahweh) will also acknowledge that your right hand helps you.”

There is no fixed use, but the few passages with the nontheological usage still permit several conclusions: (a) A clearly perceptible difference from → *hll* pi. is demonstrated. *hll* pi. in a nontheological usage praises the beauty of a person or the glory of a city; the obj. of *hll* pi. is an essence. The few passages with the nontheological usage of *ydh* hi. offer reactions to an act or a behavior: Gen 49:8, the ascension of the tribe of Judah; Psa 45:18, the rule of the king; Psa 49:19, the acquisition and enjoyment of wealth; Job 40:14, “that your right hand helps you.” The profane usage of the two verbs indicates, then, that *hll* pi. is the reaction to an essence, *ydh* hi. the response to an action or a behavior. The original relationship in theological usage of *ydh* hi. to narrative and *hll* pi. to descriptive praise of God (song of thanks or hymn, resp.; cf. Westermann, *PLP*; otherwise, F. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel* [1969], 9f.) corresponds to the characteristics of the nontheological usage of the terms. (b) The few passages do not permit a sure determination of the basic meaning; it may be established, however, that *ydh* hi. does not mean, and should not be translated, “to thank” in any of these passages. The basic meaning “to thank” for *ydh* hi. should be excluded from the outset (see 4e).

4. In theological usage, verb and noun have two meanings: the more

frequent and fixed in established forms is “to laud, praise, thank” (4a-g); it also means “to confess (sins)” (hi. 6x, hitp. 11x, *tôdâ* 2x; see 4h). The concept that binds the two meanings could be rendered “to acknowledge” or “to confess”; we could speak of a “confession of praise.” Both meanings acknowledge either the delivering activity of God or one’s own trespasses, one’s own failures. When one confesses one’s own failure, one acknowledges God, against whom one has sinned (Josh 7:19; somewhat differently, H. Grimme, *ZAW* 58 [1940/41]: 234–40).

(a) By far the most frequent semantic category is the voluntative, “I will praise Yahweh.” This form occurs 29x in the sg. (in addition to 2x with *tôdâ*, in the pl. 5x: Psa 44:9; 75:2(bis); 79:13; 1 Chron 29:13; with *tôdâ*, Psa 95:2). It constitutes the vow of praise at the end of the individual lament and recurs as the pronouncement of praise or the decision to praise at the beginning of the individual psalm of praise (psalm of thanksgiving), although it also occurs in other passages. Informative for the sense of the verb in this form is the only passage in which it occurs outside the diction of the Psa: Gen 29:35, Leah’s statement at the birth of her son Judah explaining his name: “Now I will praise Yahweh!” The situation clarifies the statement: the birth of the child fills the long-neglected mother with joy and allows her to state a vow or promise. “I will praise” is therefore a joyous reaction to an experience that elicits a spontaneous promise. This statement of the joyous mother does not intend, at least not exclusively, that expressed by the Eng. “to thank.” The *happa’am* “now” indicates that the birth of the child has brought about a reversal of her suffering, and *from now on* she will praise Yahweh, i.e., joyous attention to Yahweh shall characterize the period following this experience. The passages in the Psa refer to the same process, e.g., Psa 28:7, “Then I was helped and my heart rejoiced; I will praise him with my song!” Here too *ydh* hi. is a reaction to an experience; the vow to praise God grows out of the joy of this experience. Other passages are: Isa 12:1; 25:1; Psa 7:18; 9:2; 18:50 = 2 Sam 22:50; Psa 30:13; 35:18; 42:6, 12; 43:4f.; 52:11; 54:8; 57:10; 71:22; 86:12; 108:4; 109:30; 111:1; 118:19, 21, 28; 119:7; 138:1f.; 139:14; with *tôdâ*, Psa 56:13; 69:31.

The phrase “I will praise” always relates to God’s act on behalf of the one who speaks it. The act can be named or alluded to in the same phrase, e.g., Psa 118:21, “I will praise you, for you have heard me!” or Isa 12:1; 25:1; Psa 18:50, “because . . .”; 52:11; 139:14. The conclusion of the lament psalm presupposes the requested act of God in the promise to praise (Psa 35:18; 54:8; 71:22; 109:30, etc.). Or the assurance is expressed that the hour for God’s praise will come (Psa 42:6, 12; 43:4f.). That the same phrase in the same linguistic form can be pronounced in such varied situations indicates the existential significance of this laudatory

response to God's saving, hearing, liberating activity. All these situations share the spontaneous impulse or decision of this laudatory response. This commonality is also demonstrated by the intensifying accompanying phrases "with the whole heart" (Psa 9:2; 86:12; 111:1; 119:7; 138:1) and "forever" (Psa 30:13; 52:11; pl. 44:9; 79:13). The accompanying phrases "before the nations" (Psa 18:50; 57:10; 108:4) and "in the great assembly" (Psa 35:18) demonstrate the rhetorical character of the act of praise; cf. the accompaniment with musical instruments in 43:4; 71:22. The latter two additions occur more frequently with *hll pi.*, the former two are typical of *ydh hi.*

The dominance of the impv. call to praise involving *hll pi.* and the declaration of the intention to praise involving *ydh hi.* once again reveals a significant semantic distinction: whereas *hll pi.* indicates primarily the praise of God through the festive rejoicing of the community in worship, *ydh hi.* means primarily the participation of the individual in God's praise, based on a decision arising from the individual's own experience. Even though *ydh hi.* occurs in the pl. form throughout (see 4a), the distinctive of this stem is that an individual chooses to praise as a result of his/her own decision. In whatever form, *ydh hi.* always suggests overtones of an "I will"; the relationship to the other meaning "to confess (sin)" can be understood only in this manner. The usage in the 1st per. sg., therefore, expresses the sense of the verb most clearly.

(b) *ydh hi.* parallels *hll pi.* in the impv. call to praise, but it also occurs independently. This independence apparently results from assimilation; in this genre *hôdû* "praise!" is more or less equivalent to *hal'û* "laud!" (Psa 30:5; 97:12; 100:4b; 105:1 = 1 Chron 16:8; Isa 12:4; Jer 33:11; with *tôdâ*, Psa 100:4a; 147:7). This equivalence is true also for the impv. clause, "Praise Yahweh for he is good, indeed, his goodness endures forever!" (Psa 106:1 = 1 Chron 16:34; Psa 107:1; 118:1, 29; 136:1; cf. 136:2f., 26; 2 Chron 20:21). This clause, which occurs more often than all other impv. clauses combined and which appears even more frequently in the Chr work in formulaic abbreviations, still permits the recognition of the unique significance of *ydh hi.*: it broadens the praise of God beyond a specific act to the praise of God's mercy, which motivates this act. The one-sidedness of this call to praise—the fact that God is lauded not in his majesty and goodness (as otherwise in descriptive praise) but only in his goodness, as is also the case in several passages with the 1st per. sg. (Psa 42:6; 54:8; 71:22; 118:28; 138:2)—is grounded in this expansive character. The praise of God for deliverance, being heard, or liberation broadens to include the praise of God's goodness. Even in this most frequent impv. call to praise with *ydh hi.*, the specific significance of the verb is thus still perceptible.

(c) In a few passages, *ydh* hi. also occurs in the juss. and voluntative forms. The function of the juss. “let them praise” is demonstrated in the clause that recurs at the end of each of the four sections of Psa 107: “Let them praise Yahweh for his goodness and for his wonders to humanity” (Psa 107:8, 15, 21, 31). The four sections of this psalm, a “liturgy of thanksgiving,” assemble narrative praise from four typical situations (wandering in the desert, imprisonment, illness, ship in distress) and combine them into a cultic psalm of praise that encompasses the four narratives in one summary, descriptive psalm of praise (107:1, 33–43). Also evident is the transformation of the “I will praise” (which would have introduced each of the four narratives) into the “let them praise,” necessitated by the combination of the individual experiences of God’s aid into the common praise of the community in worship. An organic and meaningful relationship of the form “let them praise” to the form “I will praise” is demonstrated. The juss. occurs elsewhere in Psa 67:4(bis), 6(bis); 89:6; 99:3; 138:4; 140:14; 145:10. The passages 76:11 txt?; 106:47 = 1 Chron 16:35; Psa 142:8 express the relationship between God’s deliverance and the praise it elicits in a purpose clause.

(d) Like *hll* pi., *ydh* hi. almost never occurs outside the Chr work in declarative and narrative forms; both verbs function almost exclusively to motivate praise and consequently occur mostly in address forms. The small group that makes statements concerning praise, that contemplates it, is all the more significant. The four passages Psa 6:6; 30:10; 88:11; Isa 38:18f. make only one statement: the dead do not praise Yahweh (Psa 6:6, “Who praises you in Sheol?”; cf. Isa 38:18; Psa 30:10, “Does the dust praise you, does it proclaim your faithfulness?”; 88:11, “Can shades rise to praise you?”). Isa 38:19 adds the positive supplement: “Life, life, it praises you!” This statement is a motif in the structure of the psalm intended to motivate God to intervene, a motif tied to the request for deliverance (Psa 6; 30; 88). It is reflected in the narrative praise of the individual (Isa 38). Just as death is characterized here by the fact that it does not permit the praise of God, so the praise of God belongs to life (Isa 38:19)—it is an element of fulfilled, complete, and healthy existence. Here one may most clearly see that, in the OT, life without an existential openness to God signified by the praise of God is actually not worth living. But one can understand this viewpoint only if one sees the verb in its full OT meaning, e.g., in the reflective introduction to Psa 92: “It is good (*tób*) to praise Yahweh” (v 2).

(e) *ydh* hi. is widely translated “to thank,” esp. in the well-known “Thank the Lord for he is good. . . .” This translation is not incorrect, but it cannot render the breadth of meaning of *ydh* hi. (see the comprehensive treatment of *PLP* 25–30). The interrelationship of words for “to praise” and “to thank” is reflected by the fact that all the world’s languages develop

special terms for “to thank” only very late; the vocabulary of no early language has a special word for “to thank” (the same circumstance accounts for the fact that small children must be taught to be thankful; they do not need to learn to praise or rejoice). A special word for thanksgiving arose only in the course of cultural development in relation to growing individuation.

To the degree that *ydh hi.* is a reaction to a beneficial, liberating act of God, it includes what we call “thanksgiving.” That it cannot, however, be synonymous with “thanksgiving” is already evident in that it never occurs as “thanksgiving” between persons. The difference lies in the following points: (1) Praise includes having been heard; *ydh hi.* also implies therefore what we call “admiration” (for which Hebr. has no specific term); our “thanksgiving” does not involve “admiration.” (2) Praise necessarily involves spontaneity; it can never become an obligation as can our “thanksgiving.” (3) Praise includes a rhetorical component; it always occurs publicly and the verb itself requires that it be joyous. (4) Thanksgiving can use language with the one giving thanks as the subj. (“I thank you for . . . “); praise uses language in which the one praised is the subj. (“you have done . . . “). This orientation implies a decisive difference between our prayers of thanksgiving and the psalms of praise in the Psalter. These differences are so essential that, wherever possible, the translation “to laud” or “to praise” for *ydh hi.* is preferable (contra Crüsemann, op. cit. 279–82), even though the translation “to thank” is possible in some contexts.

(f) The subst. *tôdâ* occurs 13x in the more specialized meaning “praise offering,” 8x in the meaning “song of praise.” On the praise offering, see R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im alten Israel* (1967), esp. 65. The laws in Lev 7 describe the praise offering (vv 12[bis], 13, 15; 22:29). It occurs in the prophetic critique of sacrifice in Amos 4:5 and in the announcement of salvation in Jer 17:26; 33:11. It is mentioned in the Chr work in 2 Chron 29:31(bis) and 33:16. The superscription defines Psa 100 as a “psalm for the praise offering” (v 1). Psa 116:17 is important because it demonstrates the correlation of praise offering and song of praise: “I will offer a *tôdâ* offering to you and I will call upon the name of Yahweh” (see also Psa 66:13f.). The vow offering (*neder*, → *ndr*) is closely related to the praise offering, if not even identical (so Rendtorff, op. cit.).

*tôdâ* in the meaning “praise, song of praise” occurs in Isa 51:3; Jer 30:19; Jonah 2:10; Psa 26:7; 42:5; 50:14, 23; 107:22; most of these passages may be classified with one of the passages treated above (announcement of praise: Jonah 2:10, “I will sacrifice to you with the sound of the song of praise”; Psa 26:7, “so that I may loudly join in the song of praise”; in the confession of confidence: Psa 42:5; with juss.: Psa 107:22; in a prophetic announcement of salvation: Isa 51:3; Jer 30:19). One passage exhibits the

two meanings of *tôdâ* in an intentional contrast with one another. Psa 50:14, 23 recommend *tôdâ* as praise in contrast to sacrifice as the response to his deeds that corresponds to the will of God. Comparing these phrases in Psa 50 with those in 116:17 (and 66:13f.), one perceives a religiohistorical transformation of *tôdâ*: although praise offering and song of praise (word and deed) coexisted naturally in the early period, they could be contrasted with one another in a later period in such a way that *tôdâ* corresponds to God's will as word and song, but not as sacrifice.

On *zbh* with *tôdâ* as obj. and on the topic as a whole, cf. H.-J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult* (1965), 29–64. With the exception of Psa 50:14, 23, where *zbh* assumes the improper meaning “to offer as (a substitute for a) sacrifice,” the verb always has the concrete meaning “to slaughter, sacrifice” (qal 112x, in addition to Aram. pe. 1x; pi. 22x; derivatives of the common Sem. root \**dbh* are: *zebah* “[slaughtered] sacrifice” [162x, 35x in Lev, 20x in Num] and *mizbēah* “altar” [400x, 87x in Lev, 59x in Exod, 39x in 2 Chron, 34x in 1 Kgs, 29x in Num, 28x in 2 Kgs]; also Bibl. Aram. *dbh* pe. “to sacrifice” [Ezra 6:3], *d'bah* “sacrifice” [Ezra 6:3], and *madbah* “altar” [Ezra 7:17]).\*

(g) Of the 20 passages with *ydh* hi. in the Chr work, the verb parallels *hll* pi. or *tehilla*® 11x (1 Chron 6:4, 35; 23:30; 25:3; 29:13; 2 Chron 5:13; 31:2; Ezra 3:11; Neh 11:17 txt em; 12:24, 46). These passages are treated under → *hll* pi., where the peculiarities of the usage of the verbs of praise in the Chr work are depicted in context. Here *ydh* hi. has become practically synonymous with *hll* pi.; the unique significance of the respective terms no longer appears. *ydh* hi. appears alone when its content is indicated by the refrain, “For he is good, indeed, his goodness endures forever” (1 Chron 16:41; 2 Chron 7:3, 6; cf. 1 Chron 16:7). *tôdâ* has a technical meaning in Neh 12:31, 38, 40, where it indicates the festival choir (likewise *huyy<sup>c</sup>dôt* in Neh 12:8 txt?), and in Neh 12:27, where as in Psa 100:1, it indicates a song genre. This technical meaning is already suggested in Psa 119:62, where a fixed prayer time is given for *ydh* hi., and 122:4, where praise is described as a law for Israel.

(h) *ydh* in the meaning “to confess (sins)” constitutes an independent group. The hi. has this meaning in only six passages (1 Kgs 8:33, 35 = 2 Chron 6:24, 26; Psa 32:5; Prov 28:13); in most cases the hitp. represents this idea (Lev 5:5; 16:21; 26:40; Num 5:7; Dan 9:4, 20; Ezra 10:1; Neh 1:6; 9:2f.; 2 Chron 30:22; thus only in P, Dan, and in the Chr work); *tôdâ* also occurs in this meaning in Josh 7:19 and Ezra 10:11.

The interrelationship of the two meanings can best be seen in the passages in Solomon's prayer dedicating the temple in 1 Kgs 8:33, 35. V 35 reads: “And confess your name and repent of their sins.” *ydh* hi. could also be translated here “to praise”; acknowledgment of Yahweh is

equivalent to the admission of one's errors, but the two aspects of the process are indicated with two verbs, just as in Josh 7:19 in the narrative of Achan's theft: "Give Yahweh *kābôd* (honor) and give him *tôdâ!*" (cf. F. Horst, *ZAW* 47 [1929]: 50f.). By contrast, *ydh* hi. in Psa 32:5, "I will confess my transgressions to Yahweh," and in Prov 28:13, "whoever confesses them (sins) and forsakes them finds mercy," means "to admit, confess," and the hitp. only occurs in this meaning. The hitp. is apparently a liturgical term, for all passages in the hitp. occur in worship contexts. The passages indicate that the confession of sin had great significance in late post-exilic worship.

5. The LXX usually translates *ydh* hi. with *exomologeîn*, also with *aineîn*, *ydh* hitp. with *exagoreueîn* and *exomologeisthai*. These translations make it clear, on the one hand, that the confession of sin assumed greater significance in Judaism, but, on the other hand, that the LXX lent the Gk. word *homologeîn* a nuance ("to laud, praise") markedly divergent from its basic meaning "to promise" (cf. *homologeîn* for → *ndr* and → *šb<sup>c</sup>* ni.); O. Michel (*TDNT* 5:205) speaks appropriately of a "lexical Hebraism." The translation maintains the terminological distinction between *ydh* hi. and *hll* pi., in my view; there are points of contact esp. with respect to *aineîn* and *hymneîn*.

The major group of OT occurrences in the voluntative finds a broad continuation in the *Hodayot* (thanksgiving hymns) from Qumran. Most frequent is the introductory formula, *ʾôd<sup>e</sup>kâ ʾadônay kî* (1QH 2:20, 31; 3:19, 37; 4:5; 5:5, 20; 7:6, 26, 34; 8:4), which may be translated: "I will praise you, Lord, for . . ." (contra J. M. Robinson, *BZNW* 30 [1964], 194–235); similarly with *ʾēlî* "my God," 1QH 11:3, 15. The meaning "to confess (one's own guilt, or general sin)" also occurs (hitp. CD 9:13; 15:4; 20:28; hi. 1QS 1:24).

On NT usage, see O. Michel, "GreekSpicq"o[mologe/w,<F255%0>" *TDNT* 5:199–220.

C. Westermann

## יָדַע *yd<sup>c</sup>* to perceive, know

S 3045; BDB 393a; *HALOT* 2:390a; *TDOT* 5:448–81; *TWOT* 848; *NIDOTTE* 3359

## דַּעַת *da<sup>c</sup>at* knowledge

S 1847; BDB 395b; HALOT 1:228a; TDOT 5:448–81; TWOT 848c; NIDOTTE 1981

I. 1. The root *yd<sup>c</sup>* “to perceive, know” is common Sem.

Only traces of it occur in Arab., however, where its meaning is represented by *ʿarafa* “to perceive, know” and *ʿalima* “to know” (Th. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 40 [1886]: 725; *NB* 202f.; contra P. Haupt, *JBL* 34 [1915]: 72).

Eg. *rh* “to perceive, know” apparently represents the old, phonetically appropriate version of the Afroasiatic (formerly Semito-Hamitic) word *yd<sup>c</sup>* (O. Rössler, *Neue Afrikanistische Studien* [1966], 218–29, esp. 228). In contrast, the word *yd<sup>c</sup>* “clever” attested in *Papyrus Anastasi* 1.17.8 (A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian in Hieratic Texts* [1911], 1/1:19\*, 58) should probably be considered a Neo-Eg. borrowing of the WSem. *qal* act. ptc. of *yd<sup>c</sup>* (Erman-Grapow 1:153).

The Akk. *edû(m)/idû(m)* “to know, understand” (*GAG* §103e; *AHW* 187f.; *CAD* I/J:20–34; contra P. Jensen, *ZA* 35 [1924]: 124–32) and esp. the Eth. causative *ʾaydeʿa* “to make known” give evidence that *yd<sup>c</sup>* involves an initial-*yod* root (*GVG* 1:604; Meyer 2:138; yet contrast *NB* 202f.; *GKC* §69), which nevertheless came under the strong analogy-forming influence of the initial-*waw* roots, as indicated by the Hebr. inflected forms of *yd<sup>c</sup>* (Berg., *HG* 2:124–31; *BL* 376–85; Meyer 2:138–42), but also e.g., by the Assy. *wadû(m)* variants of the Akk. *edû(m)/idû(m)* “to know, understand” (*GAG* §106q).

2. One may not trace the etymology back beyond the meaning “to perceive, know” (yet see F. Gaboriau, *Angelicum* 45 [1968]: 3–43, esp. 6–17). “To be fragrant, smell” (Haupt, op. cit. 72) is as difficult to establish as a possible basic meaning as is a derivation of the root from *yād* “hand” (J. Hänel, *Das Erkennen Gottes bei den Schriftpropheten* [1923], 225n.2, following O. Procksch) or an etymological relationship to Arab. *wadaʿa* “to lay down, be/become calm” (G. M. Redslob, *ZDMG* 25 [1871]: 506–8; F. Schwally, *TLZ* 24 [1899]: 357; G. J. Botterweck, ‘*Gott erkennen*’ im *Sprachgebrauch des AT* [1951], 11; see, in contrast, D. W. Thomas, *JTS* 35 [1934]: 298–301).

At most one may ask whether such other roots do not really lie behind forms of *yd<sup>c</sup>* “to perceive, know” transmitted in MT in a series of semantically difficult or textually disputed passages. Suggestions of this kind have been made anew following the precedent of older Hebr. lexicographers (cf. D. W. Thomas, *JTS* 35 [1934]: 298–301; 38 [1937]: 404f.; 42 [1941]: 64f.; *JQR* NS 37 [1946/47]: 177f.; yet cf. L. J. Liebreich, *ibid.* 337f.; J. A. Emerton, *ZAW* 81 [1969]: 188–91) with reference to:

(a) Arab. *wadaʿa* “(to lay down), be/become calm” > Hebr. *yd<sup>c</sup>* “to be conquered,

humiliated,” e.g., for Judg 8:16; 16:9; Isa 9:8; 53:3, 11; Jer 31:19; Hos 9:7; Psa 138:6; Job 20:20; 21:19; Prov 10:9; 14:33; Dan 12:4 (D. W. Thomas, *JTS* 35 [1934]: 298–306; 36 [1935]: 409–12, and his other contributions listed in FS Thomas 217–28; furthermore, e.g., G. R. Driver, *JTS* 38 [1937]: 48f.; T. H. Robinson, *ZAW* 73 [1961]: 267f.; L. C. Allen, *Vox Evangelica* 1 [1962]: 24–28; P. R. Ackroyd, FS Thomas 10–14; yet contrast J. Reider, *JBL* 66 [1947]: 315–17);

(b) Arab. *daʿā* “to seek, ask after, call (to), invite,” e.g., for Gen 18:19; Exod 33:12; Hos 6:3; Prov 10:32; 24:14; 29:7 (here: *daʿat* “demand, claim”; D. W. Thomas, *JTS* 38 [1937]: 401f.; id., *SVT* 3 [1955]: 284f.; E. Zolli, *Sefarad* 16 [1956]: 23–31);

(c) Arab. *daʿā* “to knock down, destroy” for Ezek 19:7; Psa 74:5 (G. R. Driver, *JBL* 68 [1949]: 57–59);

(d) Arab. *wadaʿa* “to flow,” Ug. (*w/y*)*dʿ* “to sweat,” Akk. *zūtu*, Ug. *dʿt*, Hebr. *zēʿā* “sweat” for Hebr. *ydʿ* “to sweat” and *daʿat* “sweat” (as dialectal variants of \**yzʿ*, *zēʿā*) in Isa 53:11; Prov 10:9, 32; 14:7, 33 (M. Dahood, *Gregorianum* 43 [1962]: 63f.; id., *PNSP* 21; id., *Bib* 46 [1965]: 316f.).

Indeed, one must remain open as to whether the philological basis of these suggestions is really so secure that on them can be constructed solid attempts at a solution.

3. All seven stems of the verb occur in the OT (→ *glh* 1): besides the qal “to perceive, know” (also Bibl. Aram. pe.), the ni. reflexive (tolerative) and pass. of the basic stem “to make oneself known, become known, be known,” the hi. causative “to let know, inform” (on the delineation of the synonymous, neutral Aram. ha. from Aram. *ḥwh* pa./ha. “to inform,” see *HP* 112–19), the ho. pass. of the hi. “to become known” (on the form see Meyer 2:141), and the hitp. reflexive “to make oneself known.”

The pi. “to make knowledgeable” attested only in Job 38:12 is presumably a denominative from the adj. *yādūaʿ* “knowledgeable, well-versed” (*HP* 235). The related pu. pass. occurs only as the substantivized ptp. *mʿyuddāʿ*, fem. *mʿyuddaʿat* “known.” The po. in 1 Sam 21:3b should be emended to accord with LXX (see *BH* 3).

Nom. formations and other derivatives of the root *ydʿ* in Hebr. are:

(a) forms of the qal inf. cs. used substantivally with abstract meanings (GKC §69m), *dēaʿ* (masc.), *dēʿā* (fem.) “knowledge,” and *daʿat* “perception, knowledge.” They have counterparts in the Akk. noun *dīʿ(a)tum/daʿatum* “knowledge, information,” attested in the expression *dīʿatam šālum* “to seek knowledge of something, inquire after” (B. Landsberger, *ZDMG* 69 [1915]: 513f.; *AHW* 168b) and the Ug. noun *dʿt* “knowledge, acquaintance” (*WUS* no. 1148; *UT* no. 1080), whose concrete meaning “colleague, friend” (attested in *KTU* 1.6.VI.49f. par. to the synonymous *ḥbr*) should also be mentioned, perhaps, in relation to Prov 8:12; 22:12 (M. Dahood, *Bib* 45 [1964]: 103; id.,

UHP 61). But Akk. abstract nouns based on the root, such as *e/idûtu* “knowledge” (AHw 189a), *mudûtu* “knowledge, perception” (AHw 667a), etc., are without counterpart in Hebr.

(b) *maddā* “understanding,” which has a counterpart in *manda* “understanding” attested in Eg. Aram. (Aḥ. 53 *kmnd* “as is well-known,” H. Torczyner, *OLZ* 15 [1912]: 398; contra Cowley 232; see also *DISO* 158) and Bibl. Aram. (F. Rosenthal, *Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* [1961], 16f.).

(c) *mōdā*, fem. *mōda* “acquaintance, distant relative.” The masc. form has an equivalent in Akk. *mōdû(m)* “knowledgeable, clever; acquaintance(?)” (AHw 666f.; cf. also Jensen, op. cit. 124–32), which occurs in the texts from Ugarit (*PRU* 3:234) alongside Ug. *md* (*UT* no. 1080; M. Dahood, *Bib* 46 [1965]: 210–12) as a court title, “friend (of the king/queen)” (like Hebr. *rē<sup>c</sup>eh*, → *rēa* “friend of the king”; see A. van Selms, *JNES* 16 [1957]: 118–23; de Vaux I:123; H. Donner, *ZAW* 73 [1961]: 269–77; and cf. in this context 2 Kgs 10:11 *m<sup>c</sup>yuddā<sup>c</sup>āyw* “his (Ahab’s) confidant”).

(d) the regular companion of *ṣōb* “spirit of the dead” in the OT, the designation *yidd<sup>c</sup>ōnī* “spirit of soothsaying,” which, like Arab. *šā<sup>c</sup>īr*, may mean “the knowledgeable one” (GB 289a; H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* [1963], 221f.).

(e) the adj. *yādūa* “knowledgeable, well-versed” (for the paradigm, see Meyer 2:28).

(f) the interrogative particle *maddūa* “why?” which introduces questions seeking information in contrast to *lāmmā/lāmā* “why?” the particle for rhetorical questions (A. Jepsen, *FS Rost* 106–13) and which is presumably composed from *māyādūa* (contra K. Ahrens, *ZDMG* 64 [1910]: 179), “what do you know about it?” (BrSynt 131), or “what is known?” (GKC §99e; Meyer 2:174). Cf. also *mīyōdēa* “perhaps” (2 Sam 12:22; Joel 2:14; Jonah 3:9; → *ūlay* 1) as another example of the fossilization of an interrogative clause as an adv. expression; further, *bib<sup>c</sup>lī-da<sup>c</sup>at* “unintentionally” (Deut 4:42; 19:4; Josh 20:3, 5; cf. *CAD* I/J:29f.) and *mibb<sup>c</sup>lī-da<sup>c</sup>at* “accidentally” (Isa 5:13).

For the PNs formed with *yd*, see IV/1a; cf. *IP* 181.

II. Disregarding the 72 occurrences of the interrogative particle *maddūa* “why?,” forms of the root *yd* are attested in the OT a total of 1,119x (Hebr. 1,068x, Aram. 51x). The verb occurs 994x: Hebr. qal 822x (Ezek 86x, Jer 72x, Psa 66x, Isa 64x, Job 60x, Gen 53x, 1 Sam 49x, Deut 43x, Exod 36x, Eccl 34x, 1 Kgs 33x, 2 Sam 28x, Prov 27x), ni. 41x, pi. 1x (Job 38:12), pu. 6x (Psa 4x), po. 1x (see I/3), hi. 71x (Psa 16x, Ezek and Job 8x each, Isa 7x), ho. 3x (Lev 4:23, 28; Isa 12:5), hitp. 2x (Gen 45:1; Num 12:6); Aram. pe. 22x (Dan 16x, Ezra 6x), ha. 25x (Dan 20x, Ezra 5x). Nom. forms of the root exhibit the following distribution: *dēa* 5x (only in the speeches of Elihu, Job 32–37), *dē<sup>c</sup>ā* 6x, *da<sup>c</sup>at* 90x (Prov 40x, Job 11x, Isa

9x, Eccl 8x, Hos and Psa 4x), *mōdā<sup>c</sup>* 2x (Prov 7:4; Ruth 2:1), *mōda<sup>c</sup>at* 1x (Ruth 3:2), *maddā<sup>c</sup>* 6x (only post-exilic: Eccl 10:20 txt?; cf. Hertzberg, KAT 17/4, 197f.; M. Dahood, *Bib* 46 [1965]: 210–12; Dan 1:4, 17; 2 Chron 1:10–12), *yidd<sup>e</sup>ōnî* 11x; *yādūa<sup>c</sup>* (Deut 1:13, 15; Isa 53:3) is counted with *yd<sup>c</sup>* qal. Forms of the root do not appear in Obad, Hag, and Lam.

The categorization above follows not Mandl.'s distinction between *da<sup>c</sup>at* as a qal inf. and as a subst. but Lis.'s (Exod 31:13 and Job 10:7, subst.; Jer 10:14 = 51:17 and 22:16, qal inf.). Lis. 579b assigns Exod 25:22 to *y<sup>c</sup>d* ni.

III. 1. The verb *yd<sup>c</sup>* “to perceive, know” manifests a rather broad semantic scope in its OT usage, although one cannot attribute this breadth to a semantic development that can still be traced either outside or within the OT (Gaboriau, op. cit. 3f.) nor can one understand “to perceive, know” as a reduction, at least from a logical viewpoint, of an originally more pregnant meaning, such as may be suitable in the usage of the verb in reference to the relationship between persons, esp. between marital partners (E. Baumann, *ZAW* 28 [1908]: 22–41, 110–43; cf. also Botterweck, op. cit. esp. 11–17). Rather, *yd<sup>c</sup>* in the OT indicates:

(a) primarily the sensory awareness of objects and circumstances in one's environment attained through involvement with them and through the information of others (qal “to become conscious of, become aware of, observe, perceive, realize, experience,” Gen 8:11; 9:24; Exod 2:4; Lev 5:1; 1 Sam 22:3; Jer 38:24; 50:24; Ezek 25:14; Hos 7:9; Psa 35:8; Job 5:24; 9:5; 21:19; Prov 5:6; 23:35; Ruth 3:4; Esth 2:11; Neh 13:10; to be resolved impersonally in the reflexive-tolerative ni. or in the qal in e.g., Gen 41:21, 31; 1 Sam 22:6; 2 Sam 17:19; Psa 77:20; Ruth 3:3).

The texts state that the prerequisite for perception is the accessibility of the object of perception, i.e., that it be located “opposite” (*neged* Psa 51:5; 69:20) or “with” one (*ʿēt* Isa 59:12; *ʿim* Job 15:9; *ʿimmād* Psa 50:11), but not “inaccessible” (*bāšûr* Jer 33:3), “in darkness” (*b<sup>e</sup>maḥšāk* Isa 29:15; Aram. *baḥ<sup>a</sup>šôkâ<sup>a</sup>* Dan 2:22; cf. also Psa 88:13), or “hidden (from . . .)” (*kḥd* ni. *min* Hos 5:3; Psa 69:6; 139:15; *ʿIm* ni. *min* Lev 5:3f.; cf. *n<sup>e</sup>šûrôt* “hidden” Isa 48:6 and *ʿmq* hi. *lastîr* “to hide deeply” Isa 29:15, and *bassēter* “secretly” Jer 40:15); furthermore, that the organs of perception, eyes and ears, not be “gummed up” (*thḥ* Isa 44:18), but “open” (*pqh* Gen 3:7; *glh* Num 24:16; cf. 1 Sam 3:7; *pth* Isa 48:8; see also Deut 29:3; Isa 6:9; 32:3f.) or that the capacity to perceive not be impeded by sleep (1 Sam 26:12) or intoxication (Gen 19:33, 35), so that perception is possible. See *yd<sup>c</sup>* par. to → *šm<sup>c</sup>* “to hear” (Exod 3:7; Deut 9:2; 29:3; Isa 6:9; 33:13; 40:21, 28; 48:6–8; Jer 5:15; Psa 78:3; Job 5:27; Dan 5:23; Neh 6:16) and → *r<sup>a</sup>h* “to see” (Gen 18:21; Exod 2:25 txt em; 3:7; 6:3; Lev 5:1; Deut 4:35; 11:2; 29:3; 33:9; 1 Sam 6:9; 18:28; 26:12; Isa 5:19; 6:9; 29:15; 41:20; 44:9; 58:3; 61:9; Jer 2:23; 5:1; 11:18; 12:3; Psa 31:8; 138:6 txt? [cf. J. Reider, *JBL* 66 [1947]: 317]; Job 11:11; Eccl 6:5; Neh 4:5; cf. esp. the standard expression *da<sup>c</sup>ûr<sup>e</sup>eh* “perceive and see” [also pl.]: 1 Sam 12:17;

14:38; 23:22; 24:12; 25:17; 2 Sam 24:13; 1 Kgs 20:7, 22; 2 Kgs 5:7; Jer 2:19; further, *šzp* “to catch sight of” Job 28:7; *š’h* hitp. “to regard” Gen 24:21; and Aram. *hzh* “to see” Dan 5:23).

(b) Closely related to this use of *yd<sup>c</sup>* is its usage to describe the recognition that results from the deliberate application of the senses, from investigation and testing, from consideration and reflection (qal “to perceive, comprehend, understand, gain insight,” e.g., Gen 42:33; Judg 18:14; 2 Sam 24:2; Isa 41:22; Jer 2:23; 26:15; Zech 11:11; Job 9:28; 34:4; 36:26; 42:2; ni. “to be perceived,” e.g., Exod 33:16; Lev 4:14; Judg 16:9; 1 Kgs 18:36; Jer 28:9).

Characteristic of this usage of *yd<sup>c</sup>* is the role that the “heart” plays as an organ of perception (→ *lēb/lēbāb*, Deut 8:5; 29:3; Josh 23:14; 1 Kgs 2:44; Isa 32:4; 51:7; Jer 24:7; 31:33f.; Eccl 1:17; 7:22; 8:5; Dan 2:30; see also *yd<sup>c</sup>* par. *šim* [‘al-] *lēb* Isa 41:22; 42:25, paraphrased in Isa 41:20; *šūb* hi. *ʿellēb* “to take to heart” Deut 4:39; further, *šit lēb l<sup>c</sup>* “to set one’s heart to” Prov 27:23; cf. Prov 22:17). By contrast, perception is impeded by “confusion of heart” (*tō<sup>c</sup>ē lēbāb* Psa 95:10) or “confusion of spirit” (*tō<sup>c</sup>ē-rūaḥ* Isa 29:24), but esp. by uncomprehending stubbornness, which impairs the function of the organs of sense and perception (cf. Deut 29:4; Isa 6:6f.; 29:9–12; 32:3f.; 42:18–25; 44:18; 48:8; Jer 5:3–5; 10:14; 51:17; Psa 95:8–10; cf. F. Hesse, *Das Verstockungsproblem im AT* [1955]).

Perception is achieved by “seeking” (*bqš* pi. Jer 5:1; Eccl 7:25; 8:17; *drš* Psa 9:11; cf. also *tūr*, “to explore, investigate” Eccl 7:25 and *š’l bē’lōhīm* “to inquire of God” Judg 18:5) and “finding” (*ms<sup>ʾ</sup>* Job 28:13; Eccl 8:17; cf. Prov 8:9), by “examining” (*bḥn* Jer 6:27; 12:3; Psa 139:23; Job 23:10; *bḥr* Job 34:4; *ḥqr* Psa 139:1, 23; *nsh* pi. Deut 8:2; 13:4; Judg 3:4; 2 Chron 32:31), by “pondering” (*zkr* Psa 103:14; *ḥšb* Psa 144:3), and by “understanding, gaining insight” (*bîn* Isa 1:3; 6:9; 40:21; 43:10; 44:18f.; Jer 4:22; Hos 14:10; Mic 4:12; Psa 82:5; 92:7; 119:125; 139:2; Job 14:21; 15:9; 23:5; 28:23; 42:3; Prov 1:2; 2:6; 8:9; 17:27; 29:7; Dan 1:4; Neh 10:29; *skl* hi. Isa 41:20; Jer 9:23; Job 34:35; Dan 1:4; 9:25).

Lastly, perception is sparked by a “sign” (*ʾōt* Exod 7:3–5; 8:18f.; 10:2; 31:13; Deut 4:34f.; 11:2f.; Jer 44:29; Ezek 14:8; 20:12; cf. C. A. Keller, *Das Wort OTH als ‘Offenbarungszeichen Gottes’* [1946], 58), “by” which something is perceived (*yd<sup>c</sup> b<sup>c</sup>* Gen 15:8; 24:14; 42:33; Exod 7:17; 33:16; Jer 28:9; Psa 41:12; see also the occurrences of *yd<sup>c</sup>* in this sense in the dependent clause of a conditional construction, Num 16:30; Judg 6:37; 1 Sam 6:9; 20:7; and the purposeful direction of a phenomenon toward “perception,” e.g., Gen 24:21; 1 Sam 12:17; 1 Kgs 18:37; 20:13).

(c) Finally, *yd<sup>c</sup>* indicates the knowledge that results from realization, experience, and perception and that one can learn and transmit (qal “to know,” e.g., Gen 4:9; 12:11; 15:13; 20:7; 21:26; 27:2; 28:16; 30:26; 31:6, 32, etc.; ni. “to be known,” e.g., Exod 2:14; 21:36; Deut 21:1; Isa 61:9; Nah 3:17; Zech 14:7; Eccl 6:10; forms such as *yāda<sup>c</sup>tī* “I know” may not,

however, be taken as resultative pfs., but should be understood in analogy to the corresponding Akk. preterites of *e'idû(m)* “to know,” which are stative in meaning; cf. BrSynt 40n.2; GAG §§78b, 106q; contra GKC §106g).

In addition to pars. with *nkr* hi. “to know” (Deut 33:9; Isa 63:16) and *šr* “to know of” (Deut 32:17), particularly characteristic of this usage of *yd<sup>c</sup>* are passages in which knowledge is mediated through “teaching, instruction” (*lmd* pi. with obj. *dē<sup>c</sup>â/da<sup>c</sup>at*, Isa 40:14; Psa 94:10; 119:66; Job 21:22; Eccl 12:9; see also Deut 31:12f.; Isa 29:24; Prov 30:3; *yrh* hi. with obj. *dē<sup>c</sup>â* Isa 28:9; see also Ezra 7:25), or passages in which knowledge is attributed to a prior informative announcement (cf. Isa 41:22f., 26; Jonah 1:10; Psa 78:2–6; Eccl 8:7; cf. in this context the Aram. expression *y<sup>c</sup>dā<sup>c</sup>leh<sup>c</sup>wē<sup>c</sup>l<sup>c</sup>* “may it be known to,” Dan 3:18; Ezra 4:12f.; 5:8 with its Imp. Aram. counterpart in Driver, *AD* no. 4.3 and no. 7.8; on the possible Pers. background of this expression, cf. E. Benveniste, *JA* 242 [1954]: 305).

Also falling into this category are passages in which *yd<sup>c</sup>* refers to the capacity for appropriate discriminating judgment (Jonah 4:11; 2 Chron 12:8), which is not yet possible for dependent children (Deut 1:39; 1 Kgs 3:7; Isa 7:15f.; Jer 4:22) but is characteristic of the mature adult (1QSa 1:10f.), then lost once again to the aged (2 Sam 19:36). This capacity is expressed formulaically by *bîn* hi. *bên-ṭôb l<sup>c</sup>rā<sup>c</sup>* (1 Kgs 3:9) and *šm<sup>c</sup> haṭṭôb w<sup>c</sup>hārā<sup>c</sup>* (2 Sam 14:17), in addition to *yd<sup>c</sup> bên-ṭôb wārā<sup>c</sup>* (Deut 1:39; 1QS 4:26; 1QSa 1:10f.) or *yd<sup>c</sup> bên-ṭôb l<sup>c</sup>rā<sup>c</sup>* (2 Sam 19:36; see also Isa 7:15f.; Jer 4:22) “to know good and evil” or “to decide between good and evil,” which is ambiguous owing to the polyvalence of the opposites *ṭôb wārā<sup>c</sup>* “good and evil” (→ *ṭôb*). The knowledge acquired through the consumption of the paradisiacal “tree of the knowledge of good and evil” (Gen 2:9, 17 *ēš hadda<sup>c</sup>at ṭôb wārā<sup>c</sup>*) was originally reserved for God (Gen 3:5, 22). Here *hadda<sup>c</sup>at* should be construed as a verbal noun (inf. cs.) whose verbal nature has been functionally maintained as the *nomen rectum* in a cs. relationship (see GKC §115d; BrSynt 91; J. A. Soggin, *Bib* 44 [1963]: 521–23; cf. also H. J. Stoebe, *ZAW* 65 [1953]: 195; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift* [19672], 223f.). Scholars have offered four primary positions on this “knowledge of good and evil”:

(1) a capacity for ethical decision (*ṭôb wārā<sup>c</sup>* “good and evil” in the moral sense: K. Budde, *Die Biblische Urgeschichte* [1883], 65–72; see also Köhler, *Theol.*, 168f.);

(2) the capacity to shape life based upon the freedom for autonomous decision (*ṭôb wārā<sup>c</sup>*, “what enhances or detracts from life”: H. J. Stoebe, *ZAW* 65 [1953]: 188–204; see also E. Albert, *ZAW* 33 [1913]: 161–91; R. de Vaux, *RB* 56 [1949]: 300–308; M. Buber, “Tree of Knowledge,” *On the Bible* [1982], 14–21; G. W. Buchanan, *JBL* 75 [1956]: 114–20; H. S. Stern,

VT 8 [1958]: 405–18; and see also W. M. Clark, *JBL* 88 [1969]: 266–78);

(3) sexual experience (*tôb wārā<sup>c</sup>* “pleasurable and painful”: H. Schmidt, *Die Erzählung von Paradies und Sündenfall* [1931], 13–31, or as a designation for normal and abnormal or legitimate and illegitimate manifestations of sexuality: R. Gordis, *JBL* 76 [1957]: 123–38; see also I. Engnell, *SVT* 3 [1955]: 103–19; L. F. Hartmann, *CBQ* 20 [1958]: 26–40; and in a tradition-critical perspective, see Gilg. I.iii.49–iv.43, esp. iv.29, 34 = *ANET* 75);

(4) comprehensive knowledge and practical wisdom through which human culture was initiated (*tôb wārā<sup>c</sup>* “all”: J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* [1957], 301–3; see also P. Humbert, *Etudes sur le récit du Paradis et de la Chute dans la Genèse* [1940], 82–116; H. A. Brongers, *OTS* 14 [1965]: 100–14, esp. 105, and in combination with meaning 3: J. Coppens, *La Connaissance du Bien et du Mal et le Péché du Paradis* [1948], esp. 13–46; B. Reicke, *JSS* 1 [1956]: 193–201: *ra<sup>c</sup>* = the illegitimate sexuality of the orgiastic vegetation cult).

As a rule, the verb *yd<sup>c</sup>* occurs, both in the indicated usages and in an abs. usage, with an acc. obj. or a dependent clause either appended asyndetically (e.g., Psa 9:21; Job 19:25; 30:23) or introduced with *ʔēt ʔašer* “which,” *kî, še-, ʔašer*, Aram. *dî* “that,” or as an indirect interrogative with *mî* “who,” *mâ* “what,” *h<sup>a</sup> . . . ʔim* “whether . . . or,” and other interrogative particles.

2. As E. Baumann first emphasized (op. cit. 22–41, 110–43; see also *ILC* 1–2:426–31; Botterweck, op. cit. 11–17; H. W. Wolff, *EvT* 15 [1955]: 426–31; Gaboriau, op. cit. 3–43), the meaning of *yd<sup>c</sup>* in Hebr. would be insufficiently stated if one were to limit it strictly to the cognitive aspect delineated to this point without simultaneously taking into account the contactual aspect of the meaning, e.g., the fact that *yd<sup>c</sup>* does not merely indicate a theoretical relation, a pure act of thought, but that knowledge, as *yd<sup>c</sup>* intends it, is realized through practical involvement with the obj. of knowledge.

Indicative for this circumstance are terms paralleled with *yd<sup>c</sup>*, e.g., *pqd* “to be concerned with” (Job 5:24; 35:15), *šmr* “to protect, keep, attend to” (Jer 8:7; Job 39:1), *mš<sup>ʔ</sup>hēn* “to find grace, favor” (Exod 33:12, 17), *ʔmn* hi. “to believe” (Isa 43:10), *yr<sup>ʔ</sup>* “to fear” (1 Kgs 8:43; Isa 11:2; Psa 119:79; Prov 1:7; 2:5; 2 Chron 6:33), *ʕbd* “to serve” (1 Chron 28:9); moreover, occurrences of *da<sup>c</sup>at* alongside *ʔmet* “dependability, faithfulness” (Hos 4:1) and *ḥesed* “community, mutual faithfulness” (Hos 4:1; 6:6), and terms contrasted with *yd<sup>c</sup>* like *m<sup>ʔ</sup>s* “to deny, reject” (Job 9:21), *sûr* “to distance oneself from” (Psa 101:4), *pš<sup>c</sup>b<sup>c</sup>* “to rebel against” (Jer 2:8), and *rš<sup>c</sup>* hi. “to commit an outrage against” (Dan 11:32; see also Jer 9:2, 5; Job 18:21).

(a) This practical aspect becomes esp. evident when *yd<sup>c</sup>* refers to professional acquaintance with particular skills, to technical capability (“to be skilled in, be well-acquainted with”).

Characteristic of this usage of *yd<sup>c</sup>* are objs. such as *šayid* “hunt” (Gen 25:27), *yām* “sea” (1 Kgs 9:27 = 2 Chron 8:18), *sēper* “document” (Isa 29:11f.), *n<sup>h</sup>hî* “funeral lament” (Amos 5:16), *pēšer dābār* “the interpretation of a word” (Eccl 8:1; see also Dan 2:3), *ḡittîm* “times” (Esth 1:13; cf. 1 Chron 12:33, and see Rudolph, HAT 21, 109, who interprets the term in reference to astrological capabilities), *dāt wādîn* “law and decree” (Esth 1:13; cf. further Job 37:15f.).

Here too belongs the usage of the verb followed by an inf. construction in Exod 36:1; 2 Chron 2:6f., 13 (in the characterization of the artisans); in 1 Sam 16:16, 18 (of one who masters the lyre); in 1 Kgs 5:20 (of the woodcutter); in Isa 50:4; Jer 1:6; cf. also Isa 8:4 (of one skilled in rhetoric); see further Jer 6:15; 8:12; Amos 3:10; Eccl 4:13, 17; 10:15.

In this usage *yd<sup>c</sup>* has a counterpart in the corresponding usage of Akk. *e/idû(m)* “to know” in passages like Gilg. XI.175f., which alludes to the function of the god Ea as the god of manufacture: “Who produces anything, then, other than Ea? Indeed, Ea knows every craft!” (Schott 93; cf. ANET 95a; CAD I/J:27b).

(b) In other passages, *yd<sup>c</sup>* refers to an intensive involvement with an obj. that exceeds a simple cognitive relationship in the sense of “to be concerned with” (Gen 39:6, 8; Psa 31:8; Job 9:21; 35:15; Prov 27:23). This meaning should also be attributed to *yd<sup>c</sup>* with a per. obj. (“to be concerned with,” Deut 33:9; Isa 63:16; cf. Isa 1:3) when *yd<sup>c</sup>* does not merely refer to information concerning a person’s past and merits (Exod 1:8), personal acquaintance with a living person (Gen 29:5; Deut 22:2; Ezek 28:19; Job 19:13; 29:16; 42:11; cf. also the routine expression “a people whom you do not know” [etc.], Deut 28:33, 36; 2 Sam 22:44; Jer 9:15; Zech 7:14; Psa 18:44; Ruth 2:11; see also Isa 55:5; similarly, “a land which you do not know” [etc.], Jer 15:14; 16:13; 17:4; 22:28; Ezek 32:9), or familiarity with a person’s character, so that one understands the person and his/her behavior (1 Sam 10:11; 2 Sam 3:25; 17:8; 1 Kgs 5:17; 18:37; 2 Kgs 9:11; Psa 139:1f.; Prov 12:10; Song Sol 6:12).

This usage corresponds to the usage of Akk. *e/idû(m)* with a view to things and persons identifiable in the Amarna Letters in the construction *idû ana* “to be concerned with, care for” (cf. J. A. Knudtson, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* [1915], 2:1420f.; CAD I/J:28a).

(c) Finally, in some passages *yd<sup>c</sup>* describes sexual intercourse: man with woman (Gen 4:1, 17, 25; 24:16; 38:26; Judg 19:25; 1 Sam 1:19; 1 Kgs 1:4), woman with man (Gen 19:8; Judg 11:39; otherwise *yd<sup>c</sup> [I<sup>e</sup>] miškab zākār*

“to know sleeping with a man,” Num 31:17f., 35; Judg 21:11f.), and homosexual intercourse (Gen 19:5; Judg 19:22).

The claim that the basic meaning of the verb is still apparent in this usage (Baumann, op. cit. 30–32) is as unlikely as the suggestion (traceable to A. Socin; cf. GB 287b) that this usage can be explained in terms of the unveiling of the bride on the wedding night (because the husband first beheld the face of his bride then) or that it refers properly to the confirmation of virginity on the occasion of the initial consummation of the marriage (F. Schwally, *ZDMG* 52 [1898]: 136). Rather, this usage of *yd<sup>c</sup>* “to know (sexually)” is a euphemism, like the analogous usage of Arab. *ʿarafa* “to know (sexually)” and Akk. *e/idû(m)* “to know (sexually)” (*AHw* 188) or *lamādu(m)* “to come to know (sexually)” (*AHw* 531b; on sexual euphemisms in Akk., see B. Landsberger, *MAOG* 4 [1928/29]: 321, §15.3; but for the Hebr. cf. Gaboriau, op. cit. 37–40, as well).

IV. 1. (a) *yd<sup>c</sup>* occurs already in pre-Israelite usage as a religious term describing the divine care experienced by a particular person. This usage is apparent in theophoric sentence names, esp. thanksgiving names that relate *yd<sup>c</sup>* pf. to the deity in the sense of “to be concerned for, look after.”

At issue are names that correspond to Hebr. *ʿlyādā<sup>c</sup>* “El has known,” *y<sup>(h)</sup>ôyādā<sup>c</sup>*, *y<sup>c</sup>daʿyâ(hû)* “Yahweh has known,” etc. (cf. *IP* 181) and that are attested in Amor. (Huffmon 209), in Ug. (Gröndahl 39, 142), in Phoen. (Harris 106; *KAI* 3:48), and in Old SArab. (G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sudsémitiques* [1934], 2:69). Akk. names of confidence like *dnabû-îdanni* “Nabu knows me,” *Ī-lî-ki-nam-i-di* “My God knows the righteous,” are also comparable (cf. Stamm, *AN* 198, 239f.).

The usage observed in these PNs also predominates in the OT in isolated statements of religious lyric poetry (Nah 1:7f.; Psa 31:8f.; 144:3; cf. Psa 37:18) and within the Pentateuch, perhaps in Exod 2:25 P (yet see *BHS*: read with LXX *wayyiwwāda<sup>c</sup>*), where *yd<sup>c</sup>* refers to the concrete attention of Yahweh in specific situations of distress or to his constant, helpful companionship.

OT occurrences of *yd<sup>c</sup>* as a description of the special relationship between Yahweh and Israel or individual Israelites should be seen in close relation to this usage of the verb, but probably not as descended from the usage of the Hitt. *šek-/šak- (-za)*, Akk. *e/idû(m)* (*ana*), Ug. *yd<sup>c</sup>* “to acknowledge (legally)” in Near Eastern treaties and in passages outside treaties that discuss covenantally regulated relationships (H. B. Huffmon, *BASOR* 181 [1966]: 31–37; H. B. Huffmon and S. B. Parker, *BASOR* 184 [1966]: 36–38; contra A. Goetze, *JCS* 22 [1968]: 7f.).

In reference to the relationship between Yahweh and Israel, esp. in Amos 3:2 (cf. also Deut 9:24 and see Hos 13:5 [but cf. *BHS* on the passage]), *yd<sup>c</sup>* approximates *bhr* “to choose” without becoming a

terminologically distinct alternative to this verb: instead, *yd<sup>c</sup>* here refers only to an intimate knowledge (see Botterweck, op. cit. 18–22; Th. C. Vriezen, *Die Erwählung Israels nach dem AT* [1953], 36f.; H. Wildberger, *Jahwes Eigentumsvolk* [1960], 108; R. Smend, *EvT* 23 [1963]: 409f.; P. Altmann, *Erwählungstheologie und Universalismus im AT* [1964], 2f., 23f.).

Secondary passages in the Pentateuch not attributed to one of the documentary sources (Gen 18:19; Exod 33:12, 17; Deut 34:10; further, Jer 1:5, perhaps also 2 Sam 7:20 = 1 Chron 17:18) in which *yd<sup>c</sup>* describes Yahweh's special relationship with particular individuals (Abraham, Moses, Jeremiah, David) and the beneficial relationship to Yahweh (Exod 33:12, 17 *yd<sup>c</sup>b<sup>c</sup>šēm* “to know by name” par. to *mš<sup>c</sup>ḥēn* “to find favor”) stress a special authority (esp. Jer 1:5 where *yd<sup>c</sup>*, par. to *qdš* hi. “to consecrate,” refers to demarcating selection; cf. the analogous usage of Eg. *rh* “to know” on a stele of Pharaoh Piankhi, 25th Dyn.: G. A. Reisner, *ZÄS* 66 [1931]: 91, l. 4; M. Gilula, *VT* 17 [1967]: 114). But in Amos 3:2 one should not overlook the detrimental consequence—surprising for the people—which is linked here to the intimate, exclusive relationship (contested altogether in Amos 9:7) between Yahweh and Israel in which the people imagines itself secure: Israel will also be held accountable in an exceptional manner for its guilt (*pqd<sup>c</sup>āwōn<sup>c</sup>al*).

In addition, *yd<sup>c</sup>* refers to Yahweh's judging knowledge (cf. Botterweck, op. cit. 23). The speaker of lament psalms returns to this aspect as the motivation for Yahweh's intervention (Jer 15:15; 18:23; Psa 69:20; cf. also Psa 103:14; Neh 9:10), in the confession of innocence (Jer 12:3; Psa 40:10; 44:22; cf. Job 31:6) and guilt (Exod 32:22 E; Psa 69:6), and in the confession of confidence (Psa 139:1f., 4, 23; 142:4). God's statements by which Yahweh himself documents his judging and examining knowledge (Gen 20:6 E; 22:12 E; 2 Kgs 19:27 = Isa 37:28; Isa 48:4; Jer 48:30; Ezek 11:5; Amos 5:12), and historical retrospectives, which attribute to a particular event the character of a test arranged by Yahweh for the purpose of gaining knowledge, correspond to these confessions (see *nsh* pi. as a par. term: Deut 8:2; 13:4; Judg 3:4; 2 Chron 32:31).

This knowledge forms the content of the wisdom theologoumenon that predicates Yahweh generally as *ʿēldēʿōt... w<sup>c</sup>ʿēltōkēn* [txt em, see BH 3] *ʿāḥlōt* “God of knowledge . . . and God who weighs actions” (1 Sam 2:3; cf. Psa 94:11; Job 23:10; 31:6; Prov 24:12; further, Psa 1:6; Job 11:11; refuted by the evildoers in Psa 73:11; Job 22:13f.).

(b) The ni. (“to make oneself known, announce oneself”) and hi. (“to inform”) of *yd<sup>c</sup>* are used as terms for revelation (Botterweck, op. cit. 23–33; R. Rendtorff, “Concept of Revelation in Ancient Israel,” *Revelation as History* [1968], 23–53; W. Zimmerli, *EvT* 22 [1962]: 15–31; R. Rendtorff,

*EvT* 22 [1962]: 621–49). In a conscious, theologically considered distinction, P in Exod 6:3 juxtaposes the ni. of *yd<sup>c</sup>* to the ni. of *r<sup>h</sup>*, characteristic for the old cult etiologies and divine promises, and thereby assigns the discussion of the “appearance of Yahweh” to the preliminary stage of patriarchal religion, whereas, since Moses, Yahweh has made himself known as himself, i.e., in his own being contained in his name.

A second usage of *yd<sup>c</sup>* ni./hi. as a revelatory term, attested primarily in hymnic statements, relates Yahweh’s self-declaration to historical demonstrations of his power (Psa 9:17; 48:4; 77:15, 20; 79:10; 88:13; 98:2; 103:7), incl. the occasional, markedly anthropomorphic discussion of the “revelation of Yahweh’s hand” (Isa 66:14; Jer 16:21; cf. Psa 109:27).

Passages like Isa 64:1; Psa 76:2, which mention the “publication” of Yahweh’s name in historical demonstrations of his power, indicate the close relationship between the two types of statements.

The ni. and hi. also indicate some substantive proclamations of Yahweh, such as the communication of the commandments to Moses (Exod 25:22 P) or directly to the Israelites (Ezek 20:11), of the Sabbath to Israel (Neh 9:14), of the promise of the duration of the dynasty to David (2 Sam 7:21 = 1 Chron 17:19), of the interpretation of Pharaoh’s dreams to Joseph (Gen 41:39 E), and of a secret conspiracy of his enemies to Jeremiah (Jer 11:18). Requests (Psa 25:4; 39:5; 51:8; 90:12; 143:8; cf. Exod 33:13 J; Job 13:23; and see *da<sup>c</sup>at* in Psa 94:10; 119:66) and expressions of confidence (Psa 16:11; 25:14) in the laments speak of such a revelation of Yahweh in the sense of individual instruction that the supplicants seek or acknowledge (cf. Gunkel-Begrich 224), which one should perhaps relate to the salvation oracle and the associated Torah instruction as the locale of this instruction (cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:413f.).

2. (a) When *yd<sup>c</sup>* refers positively (cf. Baumann, op. cit. 39–41, 110–41; Botterweck, op. cit. 42–98; R. C. Dentan, *Knowledge of God in Ancient Israel* [1968], 34–41; with specific reference to prophecy: Hänel, op. cit. esp. 223–39; S. Mowinckel, *Die Erkenntnis Gottes bei den atl. Propheten* [1941]) or negatively (see W. Reiss, *ZAW* 58 [1940/41]: 70–98) to people with Yahweh (or foreign gods) as the obj., the verb indicates without exception not a merely intellectual knowledge or ignorance but a relationship to the deity that includes practical behavior: “to know Yahweh” in the sense of “to be acquainted with,” “to be concerned with,” “to acknowledge.”

The significance is particularly clear in passages in which *yd<sup>c</sup>* expresses non-Israelites’ prior lack of relation to Yahweh (Exod 5:2 J; Isa 45:4f.; Ezek 38:16; Dan 11:38) or the Israelites’ relation to foreign gods (thus in the formula “other gods that you do not know,” Deut 11:28; 13:3, 7, 14; 28:64; 29:25; Jer 7:9; 19:4; 44:3; cf. Deut 32:17; Hos 13:4), religious

inexperience (1 Sam 3:7; cf. Jer 4:22), or inadequate familiarity with some religious realities (Gen 28:16 J; Judg 2:10; 13:16; 2 Kgs 17:26; cf. Jer 31:34) manifest in inappropriate behavior toward the deity.

In a positive sense, “to know Yahweh” refers to proper behavior toward him (par. to *yr*<sup>ʔ</sup> “to fear” 1 Kgs 8:43; Isa 11:2; Psa 119:79; Prov 1:7; 2:5; 2 Chron 6:33; *ʿbd* “to serve” 1 Chron 28:9; *ʾmn* hi. “to believe” Isa 43:10; *drš* “to seek” Psa 9:11; *ḥšq b<sup>e</sup>* “to cling to” Psa 91:14; *qr<sup>ʔ</sup> b<sup>e</sup>šēm* “to call by name” Jer 10:25; Psa 79:6; cf. further Psa 36:11; 87:4; Job 24:1; Prov 3:6); conversely, “not knowing Yahweh” signifies apostasy from him in violation of his demands (1 Sam 2:12f.; Job 18:21).

The relationship of *yd<sup>ʿ</sup>* hi. “to announce” to the imperative hymn should also be mentioned in this context (Isa 12:4–6; Psa 105:1–5 = 1 Chron 16:8–12; cf. Isa 38:18f.; Psa 89:2; 145:10–12; see also verbs such as *ydh* hi. “to praise thankfully,” *qr<sup>ʔ</sup> b<sup>e</sup>šēm* “to call by name,” *zkr* hi. “to proclaim,” etc., in hymnic calls to praise; see Gunkel-Begrich 33–40; H. Zirker, *Die kultische Vergegenwärtigung der Vergangenheit in den Psalmen* [1964], 7–21; F. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel* [1969] on these passages).

*yd<sup>ʿ</sup>* with Yahweh or the expression *da<sup>ʿ</sup>at* (<sup>ʿ</sup>*lōhîm/yhwh*) “knowledge (of God/Yahweh)” as obj. attains a prominence as a key term in the prophetic message of Hosea and of Jeremiah. Occurrences are distributed in rebukes (Hos 4:1, 6; 5:4; 8:2; Jer 2:8; 4:22; 9:2, 5; cf. Hos 2:10), salvation oracles (Hos 2:22; Jer 31:34; cf. Isa 11:2, 9; 33:6), and other genres (Hos 6:3, 6; 13:4; Jer 22:16; Mal 2:7; cf. Isa 28:9; Dan 11:32), with par. terms like <sup>ʿ</sup>*met* “dependability, faithfulness” (Hos 4:1) and *ḥesed* “community, mutual faithfulness” (Hos 4:1; 6:6), contrasting terms like *pš<sup>ʿ</sup> b<sup>e</sup>* “to rebel against” (Jer 2:8), *rš<sup>ʿ</sup>* hi. “to commit evil (against)” (Dan 11:32), and statements concerning righteous judgment (Jer 22:16) or acts of force (Jer 9:2, 5; Hos 4:1; 8:2) are characteristic of the semantic field.

The term *b<sup>e</sup>ʾît* “covenant” appears sometimes in the semantic field of the passages mentioned (Jer 31:31–34; Hos 2:18–22; 6:5–7; 8:1–3; Mal 2:4–8; Dan 11:32), and within this framework the knowledge of Yahweh is assigned to the relationship between Yahweh and Israel expressed in marital terms (Hos 2:22 *yd<sup>ʿ</sup>* par. to *ʾrś* “to betroth”; Hos 5:4 negated *yd<sup>ʿ</sup>* par. to *rûaḥ z<sup>e</sup>nûnîm* “spirit of harlotry”; see also Jer 9:1f.). One should probably explain the contours of this usage of *yd<sup>ʿ</sup>*, and esp. of the expression *da<sup>ʿ</sup>at* <sup>ʿ</sup>*lōhîm*, neither from the diction of Near Eastern treaties (H. B. Huffmon, *BASOR* 181 [1966]: 35–37) nor from the realm of marital experience (E. Baumann, op. cit. 111–25; id., *EvT* 15 [1955]: 416–25; G. Fohrer, *Studien zur atl. Prophetie* [1967], 228n.16, 275; W. Eichrodt, *Int* 15 [1961]: 259–73, esp. 264), but from the use of the expression as a

preestablished technical term for professional priestly knowledge (Begrich, *GS* [1964], 258; Wolff, *GS* [1964], 182–205; id., *EvT* 15 [1955]: 426–31; see also J. L. McKenzie, *JBL* 74 [1955]: 22–27). This background presupposes that only this current knowledge makes behavior acceptable to Yahweh possible at all (cf. the contrary term *škh* “to forget,” Hos 4:6; 13:4–6; and 2:15 in allusion to 2:10).

This understanding of the expression is esp. supported by Jer 2:8; 28:9; Hos 4:6; Mal 2:7, which attribute *daʿat ʿlōhîm* specifically to the priests; by Num 24:16, which attributes *daʿat ʿelyôn* “knowledge of the highest,” in addition to the capability to hear God’s words and to see visions, to the seer Balaam; and under wisdom influence, by Exod 31:3 P; 35:31 P; 1 Kgs 7:14 (cf. 2 Chron 2:12), which parallel *daʿat* with *rûaḥ ʿlōhîm* “God’s spirit,” *ḥokmâ* “wisdom,” *tʿbûnâ* “insight,” *mʿlāʾkâ* “craftsmanship” and attribute them to the artisan; and by Isa 11:2; 53:11 (cf. Jer 3:15), which parallel *daʿat* (Isa 53:11) or *rûaḥ yhw̄h* “Yahweh’s spirit” with *rûaḥ ḥokmâ ûbînâ* “spirit of truth and insight” and *rûaḥ ʿešâ ûgʿbûrâ* “spirit of counsel and strength” (see B. Reicke, *FS Rost* 186–92; W. H. Schmidt, *KerD* 15 [1969]: 18–34), and refer to the specific (divine) endowments of the future messianic king or God’s suffering servant.

In comparison with the priestly *tôrâ* (Jer 18:18; Ezek 7:26), the priestly *daʿat ʿlōhîm* involves not only esoteric professional knowledge concerning ritual matters (Begrich, op. cit. 232–58, esp. 251–58), but also matters concerning instruction of the laity (R. Rendtorff, *Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift* [1954]; cf. Ezek 22:26; 44:23; Mal 2:7). In any event, the *daʿat ʿlōhîm* that Hosea (and Jeremiah) has in mind encompasses the statutes of Yahweh’s law and the traditions of Israel’s salvation history (Wolff, *GS* [1964], 193–202).

The fundamental significance of the instructional transmission of such knowledge concerning Yahweh as a prerequisite for proper relationship with Yahweh is also indicated by passages in which *ydʿ hi.* denotes the father’s instruction of the sons (Deut 4:9; Josh 4:22; Psa 78:5f.) or the instruction of the people by Moses (Exod 18:16, 20 E; cf. R. Knierim, *ZAW* 73 [1961]: 146–71), by Ezekiel (43:11), and by Ezra and the Levites (Neh 8:12; cf. Ezra 7:25).

Isa 11:9; 33:6; Jer 31:34 (cf. Jer 24:7) broaden the possession of *daʿat (ʿlōhîm)* in the future era of salvation to an (interiorized) universal possession of the people, which will make such instruction superfluous (Jer 31:34; cf. S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im AT* [1965], 179–85).

(b) The usage of *ydʿ* in the “recognition formula,” which describes human knowledge as the goal of divine self-revelation in historical acts (cf.

Zimmerli, "Knowledge of God According to the Book of Ezekiel," *I Am Yahweh* [1982], 29–98; Rendtorff, *Revelation as History* [1968], 41–48; cf. also H. Haag, *Was lehrt die literarische Untersuchung des Ezechiel-Textes* [1943], 25–37), corresponds strictly to the use of the ni. and hi. to describe Yahweh's self-revelation.

The recognition formula consistently combines the "statement of recognition"  $y d^{\zeta} k \hat{i}$  "know that" ("you will know that . . ."), usually appended as a result clause to a preceding announcement or mention of a particular divine activity, with some type of description of the content recognized. In addition to free formulations concerning Yahweh's unique nature to be recognized in Yahweh's historical declarations, the formula  $\text{ʾ}n\hat{i}y h w h$  "I am Yahweh" (see IV/1b) occurs particularly as a strict statement of recognition, sometimes further expanded by appended statements.

The statement of recognition is rooted in the nebulous realm of signs in which decisions are reached and unclarified situations are illuminated through symbolic acts (Zimmerli, op. cit. 72–79; see III/1b). This background is esp. clear for the recognition formulae that appear with particular frequency in the plague narratives associated with the exodus tradition (in J, strict statements of recognition alongside freer formulations: Exod 7:17; 8:6, 18; 9:14, 29; 10:2; 11:7; in P strict statements dominate: Exod 6:7; 7:5; 14:4, 18; 16:6, 12; 29:46; 31:13; Lev 23:43; Num 14:34). For the most part, occurrences in Deut also still permit one to observe this relationship to the exodus tradition (Deut 4:35, 39; 7:9; 11:2; 29:5; cf. also Deut 9:3, 6). Otherwise, the parenetic usage of the formula and the formulation "know that Yahweh is God" (1 Kgs 8:60; 18:37; 2 Kgs 19:19; cf. Isa 37:20; Psa 46:11; 100:3; 2 Chron 6:33; 33:13) characterize Deut and the Dtr circle.

The recognition formula occurs elsewhere, primarily in prophecy, with a view to impending events as a final element of the "proof saying," so called because of the occurrence of the recognition formula (Zimmerli, op. cit. 99–110). Examples include 1 Kgs 20:13, 28, in connection with the promise of victory stemming from the Yahweh-war tradition, and esp. Ezek (Ezek 5:13; 6:7, 10, 13f.; 7:4, 9, 27, etc., a total of 78x, mostly strict recognition formulae, over against 8 passages that exhibit the usage of  $y d^{\zeta}$  outside the formula), predominantly in connection with judgment sayings against Ezekiel's own people, but also sayings that supersede announcements of judgment, such as Ezek 37:13; 39:28.

In addition to the combination of the recognition formula with judgment sayings that also occurs elsewhere in the prophetic realm (Jer 16:21; Mal 2:4; cf. also Isa 41:23, 26), the priestly salvation oracle emerges from Deutero-Isa as an additional sphere of usage (Isa 41:20; 45:3, 6; 49:23, 26; cf. Isa 60:16; Joel 2:27; 4:17; see J. Begrich, *Studien zu*

*Deuterocesaja* [1938], 217–31; Zimmerli, op. cit. 53–56, 65f., 78f.); see also Psa 20:7; 41:12; 56:10; 135:5; 140:13; further, Josh 22:31; Judg 17:13; 2 Sam 5:12 = 1 Chron 14:2; 2 Kgs 5:15; Neh 6:16.

From the very beginning, non-Israelites are also included in the knowledge of Yahweh (in the exodus tradition, Pharaoh and the Egyptians; cf. also Isa 19:21; 45:3f.; Ezek 25:7, 11, 17, etc.; Dan 4:22f., 29; 5:21). Ezek (Ezek 21:10; cf. v 4), Deutero-Isa (43:10; 45:6; 49:26), and some other passages (1 Sam 17:46f.; 1 Kgs 8:43, 60; 2 Kgs 19:19 = Isa 37:20; Psa 83:19 [cf. Psa 9:21; 59:14]; Dan 4:14) testify to the universal expansion of the knowledge of Yahweh gained from his imminent act to all the peoples of the world.

Within the realm of Dtr history-theology, the truth of Yahweh's word, demonstrated through its historical realization, is also the content of the statement of recognition (Josh 23:14; 2 Kgs 10:10; Jer 32:8; 44:28f.; Ezek 6:10; 17:21; 37:14). Esp. where the Dtn criterion of true prophecy (Deut 18:21f.; cf. Jer 28:9) exerts influence, the usage of the recognition formula stands in close thematic relationship with the usage of the formula just mentioned as an expression of the legitimacy of the prophet sent by Yahweh (1 Sam 3:20; 1 Kgs 18:36f.; Ezek 2:5; 33:33; Zech 2:13, 15; 4:9; 6:15; 11:11; cf. Num 16:28 J; 1 Kgs 17:24; 2 Kgs 4:9; 5:8; moreover, Judg 13:21; see K. Marti, FS Wellhausen 281–97; Zimmerli, op. cit. 61–63, 90).

(c) The great significance of the stem *yd<sup>c</sup>* in Israelite wisdom (U. Skladny, *Die ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel* [1962], esp. 10f., 32–36, 60; J. Conrad, *ZAW* 79 [1967]: 67–76, esp. 71) corresponds to that which perception and knowledge acquire in Egyptian wisdom (S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* [1973], 121–25).

Thus the student in the wisdom book of Ani (9.14) expresses the wish to the teacher: “Ah, would that I were just as (you), that I were knowledgeable (*rh*) as you, then I would do your teaching” (A. Volten, *Studien zum Weisheitsbuch des Anii* [1937], 137, 139), and, in conclusion, Amenemope (27.7–10) recommends his teaching: “Regard these thirty chapters; they delight and instruct, they are above all books, they make the ignorant (*hm*) knowledgeable (*rh*)” (H. O. Lange, *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope* [1925], 134f.; cf. *ANET* 424b).

Quite similarly, Israelite wisdom refers to the wise one (*ḥākām*) as the “the one knowing, understanding” (*yōdēa<sup>c</sup>* Job 34:2; Eccl 9:11; cf. *yādūa<sup>c</sup>* Deut 1:13, 15; *ʾiš-da<sup>c</sup>at* “man of insight” Prov 24:5; *yōdēa<sup>c</sup> da<sup>c</sup>at* “who has insight” Prov 17:27; Dan 1:4). He “understands wisdom” (*yd<sup>c</sup> ḥokmâ* Eccl 1:17; 7:12, 25) or “insight” (*yd<sup>c</sup> bînâ* Isa 29:24; Job 38:4; Prov 4:1; Dan 2:21; 1 Chron 12:33; 2 Chron 1:12[bis]; *bîn da<sup>c</sup>at* Prov 19:25; 29:7; cf. Dan 1:4), his words are “prudent words” (*ʾimrê-da<sup>c</sup>at* Job 33:3 txt em; Prov 19:27; 23:12), his “lips” are prudent (*šiptê-da<sup>c</sup>at* Prov 14:7; 20:15; cf. 5:2;

10:14; 12:23; 15:2, 7). *daʿat* “insight, understanding, knowledge” is generally attributed to him (Isa 44:25; Job 36:4; Prov 8:9; 11:9; 14:18; cf. Job 13:2; 15:9), but the fool or evildoer “hates” *daʿat* (*śnʿ*, Prov 1:22, 29), speaks and acts “without insight, understanding, knowledge” (*bʿlî-daʿat* Job 35:16; 38:2; 42:3; *bʿlōʿ-daʿat* Prov 19:2; cf. Job 34:35), or displays “windy knowledge” (*daʿat-rûah* Job 15:2).

Thus in addition to paralleling *mezimma*® “prudence” (Prov 1:4; 2:10f.; 8:12), *ʿormâ* “cleverness” (Prov 1:4; 8:12), and *tʿbûnâ* “insight” (Prov 2:6, 10f.; 17:27; 24:3f.; cf. Exod 31:3 P; 35:31 P; 1 Kgs 7:14; Isa 44:19; *bînâ* Prov 9:10; see further *śkl* hi. “to have insight” Job 34:35; Dan 1:4), *daʿat* “insight, understanding, knowledge” parallels *ḥokmâ* “wisdom” in characterizations of the essence of wisdom (Prov 2:6, 10f.; 14:6; 24:3f.; Eccl 1:18; 2:21, 26; 9:10; cf. Exod 31:3 P; 35:31 P; 1 Kgs 7:14; Isa 47:10).

One can “seek” (*bqš* pi.) wisdom *daʿat* (Prov 15:14; 18:15; cf. Eccl 7:25); it is “found” (*mśʿ* Prov 8:9) or “gained” (*qnh* Prov 18:15) through the acceptance of “instruction” (*lmd* pi., Job 21:22; Prov 30:3; Eccl 12:9; cf. *mûsâr* “correction” Prov 8:10; 12:1; *śkl* hi., “instruction” Prov 21:11), and esp. by “hearing” (*šmʿ* Prov 18:15; 22:17).

In accord with the theologization of wisdom, expressed in its qualification as *daʿat qʿdōšîm* “knowledge of the holy” (Prov 9:10; 30:3; cf. H. S. Gehman, *VT* 4 [1954]: 340), *yirʿat yhw* “fear of Yahweh” can be described as the beginning of wisdom (Prov 1:7; 9:10; cf. Prov 1:29). Wisdom is attributed particularly to Yahweh, who is characterized as *tʿmîm dēʿîm* “perfect in knowledge” (Job 37:16; see also 21:22 and, in contrast, 22:13; cf. the application of this predication to Elihu as one instructed by Yahweh, 36:3f.; cf. Eccl 2:26) and who set his characteristics *ḥokmâ*, *tʿbûnâ*, and *daʿat* into action in creation (Prov 3:19f., not hypostases; G. Pfeiffer, *Ursprung und Wesen der Hypostasenvorstellungen im Judentum* [1967], 26). In contrast to animals and people (Job 28:7, 13), Yahweh knows the place of independent wisdom (Job 28:23; cf. Pfeiffer, op. cit. 24). Although wisdom is primarily perceptible as Yahweh’s activity evident in the works of creation (Psa 92:7; Job 37:7), Job becomes aware of the limits of the perception (Job 38:18; 42:3; cf. 11:8; 36:26; 37:5); cf. the skepticism of Eccl (Eccl 9:12; 11:5; cf. also Prov 30:18).

V. For Judaism and the NT, see R. Bultmann, “γινώσκω,” *TDNT* 1:689–719; specifically on Judaism in the intertestamental period: B. Reicke, *Neotestamentica et Semitica* (FS M. Black) (1969), 245–55; on Qumran literature: K. G. Kuhn, *ZTK* 47 (1950): 192–211, esp. 203–5; 49 (1952): 296–316, esp. 306f.; F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte* (1956), 15–79; S. Wagner, *FS Bardtke* 232–52; on

Paul: E. Prucker, Γνωσις Θεοῦ, *Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung eines religiösen Begriffs beim Apostel Paulus und bei seiner Umwelt* (1937); J. Dupont, *Gnosis. La connaissance religieuse dans les pîtres de Saint Paul* (19602); on Johannine literature: E. Viau, *La Vie Spirituelle* 77 (1947): 324–33; M.-E. Boismard, *RB* 56 (1949): 365–91.

W. Schottroff

## יהוה *yhwh* **Yahweh**

S 3068; BDB 217b; *HALOT* 2:394b; *TDOT* 5:500–521; *TWOT* 484a; *NIDOTTE* 3378

1. (a) The OT divine name occurs predominantly in the OT—and always in the pre-exilic extrabibl. examples (9th-cent. Mesha inscription, *KAI* no. 181.18, “And I took from there the [vessels?] of Yahweh, dragging them before Chemosh” [*ANET* 320b]; late 7th-cent. ostraca from Tell Arad; just before 587 BCE in the Lachish Letters II:2, 5; III:3, 9; IV:1; V:1, 8; VI:1, 12; IX:1 [*KAI* nos. 192–97; *ANET* 322] in wish formulae and assertions)—in the full form of the tetragrammaton *yhwh*, less often in independent or bound shortened forms like *yhw* (the normal form in the 5th-cent. Elephantine Papyri; cf. Cowley 290 and *BMAP* 306a; isolated in Cowley no. 13.14, and on an ostrakon [A. Dupont-Sommer, *Semit* 2 (1949): 31, 34, ll. 3, 7] *yhh*; *BMAP* no. 1.2: *yh*), and *yāh/yâ* (Exod 15:2 as well as in later parts of Isa and in later Psa; Exod 17:2 and Psa 68:5, 19 are textually difficult; cf. Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 138f.; Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:46f.; on Song Sol 8:6, see Gerleman, BK 18, 217). In theophoric Yahweh names *y<sup>h</sup>ô-/yô-* (dissimilated *yē-*) or *-yāhû/-yâ* occur (*IP* 103–7; on the Samaria ostraca and on seals also *-yw* = *-yaw*, cf. *KAI* 2:183). Judging from the sources and on grounds of philological probability, one must give priority to the full form (*IP* 101f.; G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* [1972], 75f.; R. de Vaux, FS Davies 49–51).

On the basis of philological considerations and Gk. transcriptions in the church fathers, scholars have concluded that the original pronunciation of the tetragrammaton was *yahweh* (O. Eissfeldt, *RGG* 3:515f. with bibliog.; Fohrer, op. cit. 75 with bibliog.; contra W. Vischer, “Eher Jahwo als Jahwe,” *TZ* 16 [1960]: 259–67). The Qere perpetuum of the Masoretic tradition יהוה (falsely read as *y<sup>h</sup>ōwâ* in the Middle Ages) or יהוה results from a combination of the consonants *yhwh* with the vowel signs of the post-exilic substitutes for the divine name, <sup>a</sup>*dōnāy* “the Lord” (→ <sup>a</sup>*dōn*) or, if

*yhwh* accompanies <sup>ʾ</sup>*dōnāy*, <sup>ʿ</sup>*lōhîm* “God” (GB 290f.; KBL 368; Zorell 298f.; the later spelling יהוה in *BH* 3 and *BHS* is based upon a reading of the Aram. <sup>š</sup>*mā*’ “the name”; cf. Meyer 1:81; contra P. Katz, *TZ* 4 [1948]: 467–69).

(b) No certain etymology of the divine name can be offered. Surveys of the abundant attempts at derivation and interpretation can be found in the available lexicons, with extensive bibliog. in Fohrer, *op. cit.* 76f., and de Vaux, *op. cit.* 56–63.

Independent of the resolution of the etymological issue, one must consider whether and to what extent Yahwism was conscious of a particular meaning for the name, whether the original, which would probably point to the pre-Israelite sphere, or a secondarily motivated Israelite meaning. Concerning the original nature of Yahweh, inferences based upon the meaning of the word can be made only with great reservation. Only the famous passage Exod 3:14 (→ *hyh* 4c) uses a meaning of the name “Yahweh” in a relatively complicated theological interpretation; even if it were to approach the correct etymology, it may have been definitive for only a particular circle in Israel (cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 1:180f.; W. H. Schmidt, *Atl. Glaube und seine Umwelt* [1968], 57–61; de Vaux, *op. cit.* 63–75).

L. Köhler’s interpretation of the name as a nom. form (“Jod als hebr. Nominalpräfix,” *WO* 1/5 [1950]: 404f.) is contradicted by the explanation of the name as an impf. form of the verb, which is more likely for Sem. proper names. In association with particular religiohistorical conceptions, earlier derivations from Arab. roots resulted in interpretations such as “the blowing one,” “the lightning hurler,” “the one raging in the storm,” “the one raining,” etc. (cf. Köhler, *Theol.*, 42f.; KBL 368f.). More appropriate than Arab. for the Sinai region in the second half of the 2d millennium would be an early form of a NWSem. verb with the meaning “to be, become, show oneself, act,” etc., like Hebr. → *hyh* and Aram. *hwh*. Since a causative hi. of this verb, which would render an etymology “the one creating, the one keeping in existence,” does not seem to be attested, only the qal “he is, he shows himself to be active” can be practically considered (the vocalic prefix does not argue against this since later Hebr./Aram. *yi-* derives from *ya-*; cf. Meyer 2:99). The etymology of the name Yahweh widely held today thus approaches the interpretation of Exod 3:14 rather closely (cf. W. von Soden, *WO* 3/3 [1966]: 177–87; Schmidt, *op. cit.* 59–61; Fohrer, *op. cit.* 77; S. Herrmann, *Israel in Egypt* [1973], 51–54); the proper understanding of the meaning of → *hyh*, which one must distance from the static understanding (cf. LXX in Exod 3:14 *ho ōn*) in favor of a dynamic activity, is decisive.

2. How often does the name Yahweh occur in the OT? The

information in BDB 217 is most accurate: 6,823x, accepted by L. Köhler, *Atl. Wortforschung* (1930), 3 (id., *Theol.*, 41: “More than 6,700 times”; KBL 368a: “about 6823x,” although the figures concerning the individual books [adapted from P. Vetter, *TQ* 85 (1903): 12–47] are altogether too low, since they deal only with free-standing *yhwh*, not <sup>ʾ</sup>*dōnāy-yhwh*, etc.; G. Quell, *TDNT* 3:1067, is also remarkable: 5,321x). A precise comparison and listing of passages in Mandl. (91–96, 982f., 1416–33, 1534a, 1541f. with numerous redundancies) and Lis. (1612–19) results in the figure of 6,828 occurrences (Mandl. omits Isa 60:20 [1424a] and Hab 2:17 [1426a or 1542a]; in Psa 68:27 many MSS have <sup>ʾ</sup>*dōnāy*, but *BHS* has *yhwh* ). Lis. omits Judg 7:2; 1 Sam 20:22; 2 Sam 15:21; Mal 3:23 (*yôm yhwh*) and indications of doubled occurrences in 2 Sam 5:19; Exod 20:3 and of tripled occurrences in Jer 7:4.

The lists of passages in Vetter (op. cit. 15–47) contain numerous, apparently inadvertent omissions, duplicate citations, and incorrect totals, esp. for 1 Sam–Ezek, Psa, and Chron; in Gen–Judg and the Minor Prophets, Lev 8:9; Deut 2:37; Josh 6:24; 13:8; Amos 5:15, 27; Mic 4:5; Zeph 1:17; Hag 1:13; Zech 8:14 are to be added, one occurrence in Exod 23:17 is to be omitted, and Mal 1:12 should be omitted entirely. The figures for the individual books are:

Gen	165	Isa	450	Psa	695		
Exod	398	Jer	726	Job	32		
Lev	311	Ezek	434	Prov	87		
Num	396	Hos	46	Ruth	18		
Deut	550	Joel	33	Song Sol	–		
TORAH		Amos	81	Eccl	–		
		Obad	7	Lam	32		
Josh	224	Jonah	26	Esth	–		
Judg	175	Mic	40	Dan	8		
1 Sam	320	Nah	13	Ezra	37		
2 Sam	153	Hab	13	Neh	17		
1 Kgs	257	Zeph	34	1 Chron	175		
2 Kgs	277	Hag	35	2 Chron	384		
(Isa 1–39	241)	Zech	133	KETUBIM	1,485		
(Isa 40–55	126)	Mal	46				
(Isa 56–66	83)	PROPHETS	3,523	OT TOTAL	6,828		

The short form *yāh* is listed 50x by Lis. (Exod 15:2; 17:16; Isa 12:2; 26:4; 38:11[bis]; Song Sol 8:6 *šalhebetyā* and 43x in Psa, 27x with → *hll* pi., 24x *hal'û(-)yāh* “hallelujah,” in one or two words with or without *maqeph* ).

3. The question of the origin of the name of Moses’ God is closely entwined with the problem of the historical inception of Yahwism, which will not be treated here (cf. the OT theologies and the histories of Israelite religion). OT traditions (apart from Gen 4:26 J; cf. F. Horst, “Die Notiz vom Anfang des Jahwekultes in Gen 4:26,” *FS Delekat* 68–74) associate the name Yahweh with Sinai and with Moses in Midianite territory; this association lends substantial significance to the Midianite or Kenite hypothesis,

according to which Israelite tribes adopted Yahwism in some form from the Midianites or Kenites (W. Vischer, *Jahwe, der Gott Kains* [1929]; K.-H. Bernhardt, *Gott und Bild* [1956], 116ff.; A. H. J. Gunneweg, "Mose in Midian," *ZTK* 61 [1964]: 1–9; K. Heyde, *Kain, der erste Jahwe-Verehrer* [1965]; M. Weippert, *Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine* [1971], 105f.; W. H. Schmidt, op. cit. 61–68). Although this hypothesis admittedly cannot be proved with certainty, it can lay claim to a degree of probability.

No unambiguous demonstration of the use of the name Yahweh outside Israel and prior to Moses has yet been identified (cf. de Vaux, op. cit. 52–56). The significance of a description in Eg. sources of some bedouin in the region of the Sinai peninsula, "Shasu of/from Yahweh," may not yet be evaluated with certainty (S. Herrmann, "Der atl. Gottesname," *EvT* 26 [1966]: 281–93; id., *Israel in Egypt* [1973], 25: "It is unfortunately still insufficiently clear whether this name 'Yahweh' apparently attested in Egyptian can really have anything to do with the Yahweh of the Old Testament. But it will none the less be permissible to talk, however cautiously, about an interesting name-formation which could also have been constitutive for the genesis of the divine name Yahweh"; cf. Weippert, op. cit. 106n.14).

Apart from these Egyptian texts, the name Yahweh cannot yet be identified in any passage independent of Israelite Yahwism (cf., however, the older works of G. R. Driver, *ZAW* 46 [1928]: 7–25; A. Murtonen, *Appearance of the Name YHWH outside Israel* [1951]). Old Bab. names with the element *yāʾu(m)*, which has long been recognized as an independent possessive "my," should be excluded; the element *yawi-/yahwi-* in names from Mari (18th cent. BCE), some of which betray WSem. origins, may belong to the same root as the divine name Yahweh, yet *ya-ah-wi-AN*, for example, does not mean "Yahweh is god" but probably "god is" (W. von Soden, *WO* 3/3 [1966]: 177–87; with reservations, Huffmon 70–73). The Ug. god *yw*, son of the god *El*, should not be identified with Yahweh either (J. Gray, *JNES* 12 [1953]: 278–85; id., *Legacy* 180–84; H. Gese, M. Höfner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer* [1970], 55f.).

4. The scope of this dictionary permits only a few suggestions concerning both the history of the usage of the name Yahweh and the significance of the divine name for Israel's faith. It is the task of the OT theologies to explicate how the name ( $\rightarrow \check{s}em$ ) functioned in divine self-revelation ( $\rightarrow \text{ʾ}n\hat{t}$ ) and in the personal relationship between God and his people (cf. e.g., von Rad, *Theol.* 1:179–87; a survey of the topic with bibliog. in H. D. Preuss, *Jahweglaube und Zukunftserwartung* [1968], 14–28; more popular or theological presentations in e.g., H. W. Wolff, *Wegweisung* [1965], 59–71; F. Mildenberger, *Gottes Tat im Wort* [1964], 137–40).

The prayer address in the vocative stands apart from the other textual usages of the divine name. The address occurs approximately 380x, often repeated within a prayer or a psalm, most frequently in the corresponding genre of the Psalter (about 210x), otherwise irregularly distributed according to the occurrence of prayers and the usage of the name Yahweh in the individual books on the whole; it does not appear, e.g., in the laws and in the wisdom literature, nor for the most part in prophecy (Gen 15:2, 8; 24:12, 42; 32:10; 49:18; Exod 5:22; 15:6[bis], 11, 16f.; 32:11; Num 10:35f.; 14:14[bis]; Deut 3:24; 9:26; 21:8; 26:10; 33:7, 11; Josh 7:7; Judg 5:4, 31; 6:22; 16:28; 21:3; 1 Sam 1:11; 3:9; 23:10f.; 2 Sam 7:18, 19[bis], 20, 22, 24f., 27–29; 15:31; 22:29; 50; 24:10; 1 Kgs 3:7; 8:23, 25, 28, 53; 17:20f.; 18:36, 37[bis]; 19:4; 2 Kgs 6:17, 20; 19:15, 16[bis], 17, 19[bis]; 20:3; Isa 12:1; 26:8, 11–13, 15–17; 33:2; 37:16, 17[bis], 18, 20[bis]; 38:3, 20; 63:16f.; 64:7f., 11; Jer 1:6; 4:10; 5:3; 10:23f.; 11:5; 12:1, 3; 14:7, 9, 13, 20, 22; 15:15f.; 16:19; 17:13f.; 18:19, 23; 20:7; 32:17, 25; 51:62; Ezek 4:14; 9:8; 11:13;

21:5; Hos 9:14; Joel 1:19; 2:17; 4:11; Amos 7:2, 5; Jonah 1:14[bis]; 2:7; 4:2f.; Hab 1:2, 12[bis]; 3:2[bis], 8; Zech 1:12; Psa 3:2, 4, 8, etc.; Lam 1:9, 11, 20; 2:20; 3:55, 59, 61, 64; 5:1, 19, 21; Dan 9:8; Ezra 9:15; Neh 1:5; 9:6f.; 1 Chron 17:16f., 19f., 22f., 26f.; 21:17; 29:10, 11[bis], 16, 18; 2 Chron 1:9; 6:14, 16f., 19, 41[bis], 42; 14:10[3x]; 20:6; → <sup>ʾ</sup>hāh ).

The usage of the name Yahweh in formulaic or particularly remarkable statements (in about 1/3 of the occurrences *yhwh* appears as the second element of a cs. relationship; → <sup>ʾ</sup>ap, → <sup>b</sup>rīt, → <sup>d</sup>ābār, etc.) is discussed in other articles in this dictionary and cannot be explicated in detail here (→ <sup>ʾ</sup>mr, → <sup>br</sup>ʾ, → <sup>brk</sup>, etc.). The same is true of divine designations, originally appellative in nature, which compete with *yhwh* (→ <sup>ʾ</sup>ādôn, → ʿēl [<sup>ʿ</sup>elyôn], → <sup>ʾ</sup>lōhîm, <sup>š</sup>bāʾôt [→ <sup>š</sup>ābāʾ], → <sup>š</sup>adday) and Yahweh's numerous epithets, from the ancient *zeh sînay* "the one of Sinai(?)" (Judg 5:5; Psa 68:9; bibliog. in W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch* [19662], 69n.35) to the "God of heaven" favored in the late period (→ <sup>š</sup>amayim) and the suggestive circumlocution "from another quarter" (→ <sup>ʾ</sup>hr 3) in Esth 4:14 (→ <sup>ʾ</sup>ab, → <sup>ba</sup>ʿal, → <sup>melek</sup>, etc.).

On the usage of the divine name in theophoric PNs (from Joshua onward with the greatest frequency in the monarchic era, overshadowed somewhat in the 7th cent. by the resurgence of names containing ʿēl), see *IP* 101–14.

5. In post-exilic Judaism, the divine name *yhwh* receded even more for various reasons and in varying degrees in different circles, until it totally disappeared in early Judaism or was replaced by <sup>ʾ</sup>dōnāy and *kyrios* (→ <sup>ʾ</sup>ādôn IV/5). The name's original function of elevating its bearer from the presupposed world of polytheistic powers (cf. e.g., Mic 4:5, "For all peoples walk each in the name of its god, but we, we walk in the name of Yahweh, our God, always and forever") became obsolete with the development of monotheistic faith. But the name's associated function of describing the personal otherness of the God who interacts with people (e.g., John 17:6, "I have revealed your name to people"; cf. v 26) did not become obsolete; rather, it was manifest by other linguistic means in Judaism and in early Christianity.

E. Jenni

## 𐤎𐤓 *yôm* day

S 3117; BDB 398a; *HALOT* 2:399b; *TDOT* 6:7–32; *TWOT* 852; *NIDOTTE* 3427

1. The common Sem. subst. *\*yawm-* "day" (Berg., *Intro.* 214; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/20 [1965]: 140f., 147) is frequently attested throughout the linguistic region (Akk. *ūmu*, also "storm"; cf. G. R. Driver,

JSS 13 [1968]: 46; Ug.: WUS no. 1171; UT no. 1100; NWSem. inscriptions: DISO 107f.; Eth. only *yōm* “today,” otherwise *mō<sup>c</sup>alt* for “day”), as is its counterpart \**laylay-(at-)* “night.”

In addition to Hebr. (and Bibl. Aram.) *yôm* “day” (on the form, cf. BL 618f.; Meyer 2:83), the adv. *yômām* “by day, during the day” (BL 529; Meyer 2:39) also occurs.

2. The inventory of the occurrences of the fifth most frequent subst. in the OT results in the following figures, which diverge markedly from KBL 372a and 374a (incl. Isa 54:9 *kîmêBH3*, for which *BHS* offers *kî-mê*):

	sg.	dual	pl.	total	<i>yômām</i>	
Gen 83	–	–	69	152	–	–
Exod 80	2	–	33	115	4	–
Lev 68	–	–	45	113	1	–
Num 85	2	–	34	121	3	–
Deut 109	–	–	58	167	2	–
Josh 55	–	–	23	78	1	–
Judg 43	–	–	32	75	1	–
1 Sam	108	–	–	42	150	1
2 Sam	59	–	–	16	75	1
1 Kgs48	–	–	52	100	1	–
2 Kgs31	–	–	48	79	–	–
Isa 94	–	–	27	121	6	–
Jer 79	–	–	58	137	7	–
Ezek 78	–	–	30	108	4	–
Hos 15	1	–	12	28	–	–
Joel 9	–	–	4	13	–	–
Amos15	–	–	7	22	–	–
Obad12	–	–	–	12	–	–
Jonah	2	–	–	2	4	–
Mic 8	–	–	6	14	–	–
Nah 3	–	–	1	4	–	–
Hab 1	–	–	1	2	–	–
Zeph 20	–	–	1	21	–	–
Hag 8	–	–	–	8	–	–
Zech 32	–	–	8	40	–	–
Mal 6	–	–	2	8	–	–
Psa 75	–	–	40	115	10	–
Job 20	–	–	39	59	2	–
Prov 25	–	–	7	32	–	–
Ruth 7	–	–	1	8	–	–
Song Sol	5	–	–	–	5	–

Eccl 7	–	19	26	–
Lam 13	–	6	19	1
Esth 35	–	18	53	–
Dan 7	–	16	23	–
Ezra 12	–	9	21	–
Neh 40	–	20	60	4
1 Chron	21	–	20	41 1
2 Chron	34	–	41	75 1
Hebr. OT	1,4525		847	2,30451

Aram.

Dan 2	–	9	11
Ezra 3	–	2	5
total 5	–	11	16

3. Despite some overlap, separate treatments of the sg. (3a-e) and the pl. (3f-j) usages of *yôm/yāmîm* are advisable. As with other temporal terms (→ *‘ēt*, → *‘ôlām*), the adv. usages play a much greater role than statements with *yôm* as subj. or obj.

(a) The basic meaning of *yôm* is “day (from sunrise to sundown)” in contrast to *laylâ* (*layil*, *Īl* “night” (233x, in addition to 5x Aram. *lêlê/lêl‘yā*?, Psa 28x, Gen 25x, Ezek and Isa 18x each, Job 17x); consequently, contrasts and series of “day” and “night,” esp. adv. “during the day . . . at night” are frequent (e.g., Gen 1:14, 18; 8:22; 31:39f.; Exod 10:13; 13:21; Isa 28:19; 38:12f.; Jer 36:30; Amos 5:8; Psa 19:3; 22:3; 32:4; 88:2; 136:8f.; Job 3:3–7; Eccl 8:16, etc., with *yômām*, also in reverse order: Deut 28:66; 1 Sam 25:16; 1 Kgs 8:29 [cf. the par. passage 2 Chron 6:20]; Isa 27:3; 34:10; Jer 14:17; Job 17:12; Esth 4:16; Neh 4:16).

A further semantic field consists of designations for the divisions of the day. The most important terms here are: *bōqer* “morning” (214x, Exod 36x, Gen 19x, 1 Sam and Psa 18x, Num 12x; cf. J. Ziegler, “Die Hilfe Gottes ‘am Morgen,” FS Nötscher 281–88; L. Delekat, VT 14 [1964]: 7–9), *‘ereb* “evening” (134x, Lev 33x, Gen, Exod, and Num 13x each; on *bên hā‘arbayim* “in the twilight” see Exod 12:6 and a further 10x in P; cf. BL 518), and *ṣoh<sup>o</sup>rayim* “midday” (23x; cf. P. Fronzaroli, AANLR 8/19 [1964]: 170, 257, 271, 278). On *ṣaḥar* “dawn” → *šemeš*.

Otherwise, *yôm* refers to the individual segments or to the course of the day rather rarely. Noteworthy are: *r<sup>e</sup>bī‘îṯ hayyôm* “one-fourth of a day long” (Neh 9:3; the OT does not yet divide the day into hours; cf. de Vaux 1:182f.; the night is divided into three night watches [*‘ašmûrâ* → *šmr*], see esp. Exod 14:24; Judg 7:19; 1 Sam 11:11), *‘adn<sup>e</sup>kôn hayyôm* “until the full day” (Prov 4:18), *mah<sup>o</sup>šîṯ hayyôm* lit. “half of the day” = “midday”

(Neh 8:3), *ḥôm hayyôm* “the hot time of the day” (Gen 18:1; 1 Sam 11:11; 2 Sam 4:5), *rûah hayyôm* lit. “day’s breeze” = “afternoon breeze from the west” (Gen 3:8; cf. Song Sol 2:17 = 4:6 “when the day blows”; cf. Gerleman, BK 18, 128), *b<sup>c</sup>yôm ʾôr* “in broad daylight” (Amos 8:9), *b<sup>c</sup>ôdhayyôm* “as it was yet day” (2 Sam 3:35), *ôdhayyôm gādôl* “it is still early in the day” (Gen 29:7), *b<sup>c</sup>erebyôm* “in the waning of the day” (Prov 7:9), as well as the various verbs meaning “to wane” for the disappearance of daylight: *nṯh, rph, ḥnh* (Judg 19:8f.), *yrd* (Judg 19:11 txt em), *pnh* (Jer 6:4; cf. also *br* “to depart,” Zeph 2:2 txt?).

(b) As in most languages, this basic meaning broadens to “day (of 24 hours)” in the sense of the astronomical or calendrical unit (on the possibility of forming this concept with the expression for “night” in other languages, see Fronzaroli, op. cit. 141, following G. Devoto, *Origini indoeuropee* [1962], 216f.). In contrast to Syr., Hebr. has no terminological distinction between the day as daytime (Syr. *îmāmā*) and the day as a calendrical unit (Syr. *yawmā*), although the semantic distinction is apparent throughout. Thus e.g., in P’s creation account, the older creation narrative with its distinction between “day” and “night” (Gen 1:5a, “God called the light day,” the preliminary description with → *ʾôr* “light” is replaced with the normal designation; further vv 14, 16, 18) is overlaid by the later seven-day pattern that enumerates the days of the week (1:5b, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31; 2:2[bis], 3).

On the question of the beginning of the day (in explicitly post-exilic texts like Exod 12:18; Lev 23:32, etc., the day lasts from evening until the next evening; in Dan 8:14 “day” is paraphrased *ereb bōqer* “evening-morning”); cf. W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift* (19672), 68; H. R. Stroes, *VT* 16 (1966): 460–75 (contra de Vaux 1:180–82).

Further series of enumerated days occur in Num 7:12–78 (1st–12th day) and 29:17–35 (2d–8th day). In total, *yôm* occurs about 150x in combination with an ordinal number. That “the 7th day” occurs most often (about 50x, mostly in legal texts: Gen 2:2[bis], 3; Exod 12:15f.; 13:6; 16:26f., 29f.; 20:10f.; 23:12; 24:16; 31:15, 17; 34:21; 35:2; Lev 13:5, etc.; outside the Pentateuch, Josh 6:4, 15; Judg 14:17f.; 2 Sam 12:18; 1 Kgs 20:29; Esth 1:10; dependent on this, also “the 6th day” Exod 16:5, 22, 29 and “the 8th day,” 16x) is related to the significance of the seven-day week (Hebr. *šābūa*<sup>c</sup> “seventh, week,” 20x) for the Israelite festival calendar; there follow with diminishing frequency “the 3d day” (32x), “the 1st day” (13x), “the 2d day” (12x); quite rare are “the 4th day” (Judg 14:15 txt em; 19:5; Ezra 8:33; 2 Chron 20:26), “the 5th day” (Judg 19:8), and “the last day” (Neh 8:18).

The dating by months and days used since the exilic period (cf. Ezek

24:2 *šēm hayyôm* “name [= date] of the day”) consistently employs *yôm* alongside the cardinal number (about 40x, Aram. Ezra 6:15), although *yôm* is often omitted (e.g., Hag 2:1, 10; Esth 9:17b alongside Hag 1:1, 15; 2:18; Esth 9:17a with *yôm*; regularly in the date of the reception of revelation in Ezek 1:1–40:1). The dates refer mostly to festival days (Exod 12:6, 18[bis], etc., in Exod–Num; Josh 5:10; 1 Kgs 12:32f.; Ezek 45:21, 25; Esth 3:12; 9:1, 15, 17, 19, 21[bis]; Ezra 3:6; Neh 8:2; 9:1; 2 Chron 7:10; 29:17[bis]; consequently, the 14th and 15th days of the month are named most often), less often to prophetic reception of revelation (Hag 1:1, 15; 2:18; Zech 1:7; Dan 10:4) or to other experiences (Gen 7:11; 8:4, 14; Exod 16:1 in the P narrative).

The various numerals indicate duration in days: *yôm ʿehād* “one day long” (Gen 33:13; Num 11:19; 1 Sam 9:15; Jonah 3:4; Ezra 10:13; cf. a simple *yôm* in Exod 21:21; *derek yôm* “a day’s journey across” Num 11:31[bis]; 1 Kgs 19:4; *kʿyôm tāmîm* “almost an entire day” Josh 10:13), *yômayim* “two days long” (Exod 21:21; Num 9:22; 11:19; cf. Exod 16:29 “two days’ bread”; Hos 6:2 “after two days”), *šʿlōšet yāmîm* “three days long,” etc., with numbers ranging from three to ten (see 3f); *yôm* (sg.) indicates larger numbers (except for Dan 12:11f.), in all 36x.

(c) In many cases *yôm* loses the specific meaning “day” and becomes a rather general and somewhat vague word for “time, moment,” competing with → *ʿēt*. The construction *bʿyôm* + inf. “on the day when” = “at the time when” = “as/when” is relatively frequent; *min* “since” or *ʿad* “until” can replace *be*, just as a rare pf. or impf. can replace the inf. (e.g., Gen 2:4 “at the time when the Lord God made the earth and heaven” with inf.; 2 Sam 22:1 = Psa 18:1 “at the time when Yahweh had delivered him from the hand of all his enemies” with pf.; Psa 102:3 “when I call” with impf.). Often one may be able to translate “day” here too, because usages of *yôm* may not be sharply distinguished from one another and the basic meaning shines through to a greater or lesser degree in many cases.

*bʿyôm* + inf. occurs over 60x, most frequently in Num and Ezek (Gen 2:4, 17; 3:5; 5:1f.; 21:8; Exod 10:28; 32:34; Lev 6:13; 7:16, 36, 38; 13:14; 23:12; Num 3:13; 6:13; 7:1, 10, 84; 8:17; 9:15; 30:6, 8f., 13, 15; Deut 21:16; Josh 9:12; 10:12; 14:11; 1 Sam 21:7; 2 Sam 21:12; 1 Kgs 2:8, 37, 42; Isa 11:16; 14:3; 17:11; 30:26; Jer 7:22; 11:4, 7; 31:32; 34:13; Ezek 20:5; 24:25; 28:13; 31:15; 33:12[bis]; 34:12; 36:33; 38:18; 43:18; 44:27; Amos 3:14; Obad 11[bis], 12; Nah 2:4; Zech 8:9; Psa 20:10; Ruth 4:5; Neh 13:15). There are also corresponding usages with *min* “since” (Exod 9:18; 10:6; Lev 23:15; Deut 9:24; Judg 19:30; 1 Sam 7:2; 8:8; 29:3, 6; 2 Sam 7:6; 13:32; 19:25 txt?; Isa 7:17; Ezek 28:15), *ʿad* “until” (Exod 40:37; Lev 8:33; Josh 6:10; Judg 18:30; 2 Sam 20:3; 1 Kgs 17:14; Jer 27:22); after *ke* “like” *be* is omitted (Hos 2:5, 17; Zech 14:3); cf. further Zeph 3:8 with *le*; Ezek 39:13 with a simple adv. acc.

*b<sup>c</sup>yôm* + pf. occurs in Exod 6:28; Lev 7:35; Num 3:1; Deut 4:15; 2 Sam 22:1 = Psa 18:1; Psa 59:17; 102:3a; 138:3; with *min*: 2 Kgs 8:6; Jer 36:2; cf. further Jer 31:6. *b<sup>c</sup>yôm* + impf. occurs only with *qr<sup>ʔ</sup>* “to call”: Psa 56:10 (cf. v 4, txt?); 102:3b; Lam 3:57.

*yôm* is farthest removed from the meaning “day” in Lev 14:57, *b<sup>c</sup>yôm haṭṭāmē<sup>ʔ</sup>ûb<sup>c</sup>yôm haṭṭāhōr* “(to instruct) when something is clean and when it is unclean.”

(d) The examples treated indicate the frequent usages of *yôm* in the meaning “day” or more generally “(point in) time” modified more precisely by a succeeding relative clause with <sup>a</sup>*šer* (or *še-*), by a gen., or by an adj.

*yôm* + <sup>a</sup>*šer* (over 20x) describes primarily some important events in salvation history (creation, Deut 4:32; exodus, Deut 9:7; 1 Kgs 8:16 = 2 Chron 6:5; 2 Kgs 21:15; Jer 7:25; 1 Chron 17:5; cf. Psa 78:42; the giving of the commandments, Num 15:23; Deut 4:10; conquest, Deut 27:2; the appointment of judges, 2 Sam 7:11; the construction or capture of Jerusalem, Jer 32:31; 38:28; laying the foundation of the temple, Hag 2:18; eschatological intervention of Yahweh, Mal 3:17, 21; cf. further 1 Sam 29:8; 2 Sam 19:20, 25; Esth 9:1; Neh 5:14; with *še-*: Song Sol 8:8; Eccl 12:3; Lam 2:16).

The days modified by gens. or adjs. vary widely: fixed combinations for special days of the calendar (*yôm haššabbat* “Sabbath day,” Exod 20:8, 11; 31:15; 35:3; Lev 24:8[bis]; Num 15:32; 28:9; Deut 5:12, 15; Jer 17:21–27, 7x; Ezek 46:1, 4, 12; Psa 92:1; Neh 10:32; 13:15, 17, 19, 22; cf. Isa 58:13, “my holy day”; Imp. Aram. *ywm šbh*, *DISO* 108, l. 29, → *šbt*, *yôm haḥōdeš* “new moon day” Exod 40:2; 1 Sam 20:34; Ezek 46:1, 6; *yôm hakkese<sup>ʔ</sup>* “full moon day” Prov 7:20; *yôm hakkippūrîm* “day of Atonement” Lev 23:27f.; 25:9), or special days of human life (e.g., *yôm hulledet* “birthday” Gen 40:20; Ezek 16:4f.; cf. the freer depictions in Jer 20:14[bis]; Job 3:1 [“his day” = “his birthday”], 3f.; Eccl 7:1; *yôm hammāwet* “day of death” Eccl 7:1; 8:8; with sufs., Gen 27:2; Judg 13:7; 1 Sam 15:35; 2 Sam 6:23; 20:3; 2 Kgs 15:5; Jer 52:11, 34; 2 Chron 26:21). Other less colloquial or occasional phrases characterize a day in terms of natural phenomena or human activities (1 Sam 20:19 “on the day of the deed” is unclear; cf. Hertzberg, *Sam*, OTL, 174). The following meteorological phenomena occur: rain (Ezek 1:28; Prov 27:15), snow (2 Sam 23:20 = 1 Chron 11:22), east wind (Isa 27:8; cf. Imp. Aram. *ywm rwh* “stormy day” Ah. 168), and cold (Nah 3:17; Prov 25:20). Days named for human activities include *yôm qāšîr* “harvest day” (Prov 25:13), *yôm milḥāmâ* “day of battle” (Hos 10:14; Amos 1:14; Prov 21:31; cf. 1 Sam 13:22; Zech 14:3; Psa 78:9; 140:8; Job 38:23), and an entire series of cultic and noncultic festival occasions and celebrations: *yôm tōb* “feast day” (1 Sam 25:8; Esth 8:17; 9:19, 22; “day of

our king”: Hos 7:5; cf. “day of his might” Psa 110:3; *yôm mō<sup>c</sup>ēd* Hos 9:5; Lam 2:7, 22; Yahweh’s feast day, Hos 9:5; Psa 81:4; cf. 84:11 “a day in your courts”; 118:24 “the day that Yahweh has made”; Neh 10:32 “holy day”; day of rejoicing, Num 10:10; day for blowing the trumpet, Num 29:1), *yôm b<sup>c</sup>śōrâ* “a day of good news” (2 Kgs 7:9), wedding day and day of gladness of heart (Song Sol 3:11[bis]), revelry (Esth 9:17f.), day for presenting various sacrifices (Lev 5:24; 7:15; 14:2; 19:6; Num 6:9; 28:26), *yôm šûm* “fast day” (Isa 58:3; Jer 36:6; cf. Isa 58:5 “day when one does penance . . . which pleases Yahweh”).

Finally, special historical events may be mentioned: *yôm-hammaggēpâ* “day of the plague” (Num 25:18), *yôm haqqāhāl* “day of assembly” (for the revelation at Sinai, Deut 9:10; 10:4; 18:16), *yôm šē<sup>t</sup>kā* “day of your exodus” (from Egypt, Deut 16:3), *yôm q<sup>c</sup>tannôt* “day of small beginnings” (of the temple reconstruction, Zech 4:10); here too belong days characterized by special proper names: *yôm midyān* (Isa 9:3, probably an allusion to the deliverance reported in Judg 7:9ff.), *yôm yizr<sup>e</sup>c<sup>l</sup>* (Hos 2:2, antithetical to Hos 1:4f. and thereby probably to Jehu’s revolution, 2 Kgs 9–10), *yôm massâ* (Psa 95:8; cf. the tradition in Exod 17 and Num 20), *yôm y<sup>c</sup>rûšālēm* (Psa 137:7, related to Jerusalem’s catastrophe in 587 BCE).

Designations for fortunate days are outnumbered by those for a wide variety of disastrous days (good and bad days are juxtaposed terminologically in Eccl 7:14[bis] as *yôm tōbâ/rā<sup>c</sup>â* ). Expressions for the eschatological intervention of God formed with *yôm* will be treated under 4b. Uses not directly classifiable as eschatological proclamation (but not always strictly distinguishable from it), esp. in the diction of the Psa (less often in wisdom and prophetic literature), may be summarized here, although disaster is also understood as God’s judgment and punishment here. Characteristic substs. are *šārâ* “distress” (Gen 35:3; 2 Kgs 19:3 = Isa 37:3; Jer 16:19; Obad 12, 14; Nah 1:7; Hab 3:16; Psa 20:2; 50:15; 77:3; 86:7; Prov 24:10; 25:19), → *ʔēd* “misfortune” (Deut 32:35; 2 Sam 22:19 = Psa 18:19; Jer 18:17; 46:21; Obad 13, 3x; Prov 27:10), *rā<sup>c</sup>â* “evil” (Jer 17:17f., a lament, in contrast to 51:2, an eschatological text; Psa 27:5; 41:2; Prov 16:4), also “day of vengeance” (Prov 6:34) and “day of wrath” (Prov 11:4); in addition, there are the adjs. *ra<sup>c</sup>* “evil” (Amos 6:3), *mar* “bitter” (Amos 8:10), and *ʔānûš* “unhealthful” (Jer 17:16).

In some of these passages, the translation “day” is almost too specific (e.g., Hos 10:14 “in war time”; Nah 3:17 “when it is cold”; see also Ezek 16:56 “in the time of your arrogance”; Ezek 33:12 “when he sins”). The same is probably also true for the expression “this is the day,” etc., in reference to a special occasion (Judg 4:14; 1 Sam 24:5; 1 Kgs 14:14 txt?).

*yômô* “his day” without any further qualification than the pron. suf. can designate the birthday (Job 3:1), the day of death (1 Sam 26:10; Psa 37:13; Job 15:32; 18:20), the day on which it is someone’s turn (Job 1:4; cf. Deut 24:16 *b<sup>c</sup>yômô*), or also something like “daily life” in general (of a wage earner, Job 14:6; cf. Job 30:25 *q<sup>c</sup>šēh-yôm* “one who has a hard life”; similarly Old Aram., *KAI* no. 222C.15f. “may the gods keep away [all evil] from his life [*mn ywmh*] and from his house”; cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, *JAOS* 81 [1961]: 207; id., *Sef.* 75).

(e) Adv. expressions formed with *yôm* in combination with a prep., a demonstrative pron., or a numeral occur often.

*hayyôm* (with the art. in a deictic function) or, synonymously, *hayyôm hazzeh* “this day” in the meaning “today” occurs about 350x, or in almost 1/4 of all passages with *yôm* in the sg. (otherwise Gen 7:11; 17:23; Exod 12:14, 17; 13:3; 19:1; Lev 16:30; 2 Kgs 19:3 = Isa 37:3; Esth 3:14; 8:13, where “this day” refers to a specific day, also intensified by *‘ešem* “even, precisely” in Gen 7:13; 17:26; Exod 12:17, 41, 51; Lev 23:14, 21, 28–30; Deut 32:48; Josh 5:11; Ezek 40:1).

The prep. most often associated with *hayyôm (hazzeh)* is *‘ad* “until” (in 25% of occurrences; “until today”), less frequent are *k<sup>c</sup>* (*k<sup>c</sup>hayyôm* or *kayyôm hazzeh* “as today” = “as is the case today,” etc., esp. in Dtn-Dtr and Chr diction: Gen 50:20; Deut 2:30; 4:20, 38; 6:24; 8:18; 10:15; 29:27; 1 Sam 22:8, 13; 1 Kgs 3:6; 8:24, 61; Jer 11:5; 25:18; 32:20; 44:6, 22f.; Dan 9:7, 15; Ezra 9:7, 15; Neh 9:10; 1 Chron 28:7; 2 Chron 6:15; cf. Neh 5:11 “yet today”), *be* (Lev 8:34; Josh 7:25; 1 Sam 11:13; 1 Kgs 2:26; Neh 3:34 “already today”), and *min* (“from today on,” Hag 2:15, 18f.); intensification through *‘ešem* occurs in Josh 10:27; Ezek 2:3; 24:2(bis).

In narrative texts, this usage of “today” refers mostly to the speaker’s context. In about 1/6 of the cases, however, the narrator refers to his own present situation (*‘ad hayyôm*: Gen 19:37f.; 35:20; 2 Kgs 10:27; 2 Chron 20:26; 35:25; *‘ad hayyôm hazzeh*: Gen 26:33; 32:33; 47:26; Josh 4:9; 5:9; 6:25; 7:26[bis]; 8:28f.; 9:27; 13:13; 14:14; 15:63; 16:10; Judg 1:21, 26; 6:24; 10:4; 15:19; 18:12; 1 Sam 5:5; 6:18; 27:6; 30:25; 2 Sam 18:18; 1 Kgs 8:8; 9:13, 21; 10:12; 12:19; 2 Kgs 2:22; 8:22; 14:7; 16:6; 17:23, 34, 41; Ezek 20:29; 1 Chron 4:41, 43; 5:26; 13:11; 2 Chron 5:9; 8:8; 10:19; 21:10; *‘ad ‘ešem hayyôm hazzeh*: Josh 10:27; cf. *hayyôm* Gen 22:14; 1 Sam 9:9); often the narrator concludes an etiology, the development of a current fact from a past event, with the formula “until the present day” (cf. Alt, *KS* [1964], 1:182f.; M. Noth, *SVT* 7 [1960]: 279f.; B. S. Childs, “A Study of the Formula, ‘Until this Day,’” *JBL* 82 [1963]: 279–92: “formula of a personal testimony added to, and confirming, a received tradition,” op. cit. 292; C. Westermann, *Promises to the Fathers* [1980], 40–44; B. O. Long, *Problem of Etiological Narrative in the OT* [1968]).

Although adv. “this day” indicates contemporaneity with the speaker,

*hayyôm hahûʿ* “that day” expresses a distant moment either in the past (about 90x) or in the future (about 120x). The usual expression is *bayyôm hahûʿ*, in reference to the past, one can translate it “on that day,” “on the same day,” or, less vividly, “then” (Gen 15:18; 26:32; 30:35; 33:16; 48:20; Exod 5:6; 14:30; 32:28; Num 9:6[bis]; 32:10; Deut 27:11; 31:22; Josh 4:14–2 Kgs 3:6, about 60x; Jer 39:10; Ezek 20:6; 23:38f.; Esth 5:9; 8:1; 9:11; Neh 12:43f.; 13:1; 1 Chron 13:12; 16:7; 29:22; 2 Chron 15:11; 18:34; 35:16; with *min*, “since that day” = “from then on” Neh 4:10; in 1 Sam 16:13 and 30:25 *min* combined with *wāmāʿlā* “and henceforth,” in 1 Sam 18:9 with the synonymous *wāhālʿā*, with *ʿad* “until that day” Neh 8:17; cf. also Josh 10:14 “like that day” with *ke*; Judg 13:10 *bayyôm* with *hahûʿ* “then, recently”). In reference to the future, one can translate *bayyôm hahûʿ* as “on the same day” or “then” (Exod 8:18; 13:8; Lev 22:30; 27:23; Num 6:11; Deut 21:23; 31:17[bis], 18; 1 Sam 3:12; 8:18[bis]; 1 Kgs 22:25 = 2 Chron 18:24; about 105x in Isa 2:11–Zech 14:21; with *min* and *wāhālʿā* “from that day onward and in all the future,” Ezek 39:22). On this expression and eschatology, see 4b.

In the less vivid meaning “at that time” or “then,” the usage is synonymous with the adv. *ʿāz*, which can refer both to the past and (less often) to the future (138x, in addition to 3x in the form *ʿāzay*, cf. also *šām* “there,” which can have temporal significance in a few cases; see GB 839b; KBL 983a).

Further adv. usages are:

(1) *kol-hayyôm* “the whole day” or “always, ever” (Gen 6:5; Exod 10:13; Num 11:32; Deut 28:32; 33:12; Judg 9:45 with *hahûʿ*, 1 Sam 19:24; 28:20; Isa 28:24; 51:13; 52:5; 62:6; 65:2, 5; Jer 20:7f.; Hos 12:2; Psa 25:5; 32:3; 35:28; 37:26; 38:7, 13; 42:4, 11; 44:9, 16, 23; 52:3 txt?; 56:2f., 6; 71:8, 15, 24; 72:15; 73:14; 74:22; 86:3; 88:18; 89:17; 102:9; 119:97; Prov 21:26; 23:17; Lam 1:13; 3:3, 14, 62; *kol-yôm* Psa 140:3; *b<sup>c</sup>kol-yôm* Psa 7:12; 88:10; 145:2); these passages indicate that the expression is esp. favored in the lament and the vow of praise;

(2) (*b<sup>c</sup>*)*yôm ʿehād* “in one day, in the same day, simultaneously” (Gen 27:45; Lev 22:28; 1 Sam 2:34; 1 Kgs 20:29; Isa 9:13; 10:17; 47:9; 66:8; Zech 3:9; Esth 3:13; 8:12; 2 Chron 28:6); but in 1 Sam 27:1 *yôm-ʿehād* “one day”;

(3) *b<sup>c</sup>yôm ʿahēr* “some other time” (2 Sam 18:20); *bayyôm hāʿahēr* “on the following day” (2 Kgs 6:29); *yôm ʿahʿrôn* “a future day” (Isa 30:8; Prov 31:25); *yôm māhār* “tomorrow” (Gen 30:33 in the meaning “future”; Isa 56:12), “tomorrow” (Prov 27:1); cf. *yôm hammoḥʿrat* (Num 11:32) and *moḥʿrat hayyôm* (1 Chron 29:21) “following day”; *yôm ʿetmôl* “yesterday”

(Psa 90:4);

(4) *yôm yôm* “daily, day by day” (Gen 39:10; Exod 16:5; Isa 58:2; Jer 7:25 txt em; Psa 61:9; 68:20; Prov 8:30, 34) and similar distributive expressions with *yôm* repeated (*yôm wāyôm* Esth 2:11; 3:4; with various preps.: Num 30:15; 1 Sam 18:10; Psa 96:2; Esth 3:7; Ezra 3:4; Neh 8:18; 1 Chron 12:23; 16:23; 2 Chron 24:11; 30:21; Aram. Ezra 6:9; *d<sup>e</sup>baryôm b<sup>e</sup>yômô* “daily ration” or the like: Exod 5:13, 19; Lev 23:37; 1 Kgs 8:59; 2 Kgs 25:30 = Jer 52:34; Dan 1:5; Ezra 3:4; Neh 11:23; 12:47; 1 Chron 16:37; 2 Chron 8:14; 31:16; without suf., 2 Chron 8:13; cf. also Num 14:34; Ezek 4:6), also attested in Phoen. and Aram. (DISO 108, nos. 9, 11);

(5) *layyôm* “daily, per day” (Exod 29:36, 38; Num 7:11[bis]; 28:3, 24; Jer 37:21; Ezek 4:10; 43:25; 45:23[bis]; 46:13; 1 Chron 26:17a [txt em], 17b[bis]; *l<sup>e</sup>yôm ʿehād* 1 Kgs 5:2; Neh 5:18); Aram. *b<sup>e</sup>yômā* Dan 6:11, 14;

(6) *way<sup>e</sup>hīhayyôm* “once upon a time (there was)” (1 Sam 14:1; 2 Kgs 4:8, 11, 18; Job 1:6, 13; 2:1; “now when the day came” 1 Sam 1:4); *k<sup>e</sup>hayyôm hazzeh* “one day” (Gen 39:11);

(7) *k<sup>(e)h</sup>ayyôm* “now” (1 Sam 9:13, 27; Isa 58:4; cf. *ʿtkym* “now, in this moment,” Lachish Letters 2:3; 4:1) or “at first” (Gen 25:31, 33; 1 Sam 2:16; 1 Kgs 1:51; 22:5 = 2 Chron 18:4);

(8) *hayyôm* “on this day” (1 Kgs 13:11; “by day” Hos 4:5 txt?; cf. Neh 4:16 txt?); *adhayyôm* “until then” (Judg 18:1); *bayyôm (hahûʿ)* “immediately” (Psa 146:4; Prov 12:16); *šeba<sup>c</sup>bayyôm* “seven times a day” (Psa 119:164); *lipnê yôm* “previously” (Isa 48:7); *mîyôm* “henceforth” (Isa 43:13; Ezek 48:35).

(f) The pl. *yāmîm* indicates, first of all, a particular number (cf. Num 14:34; Ezek 4:4f., 9) of (calendar) days (cf. Gen 1:14; Job 3:6 “days of the year”). The number seven plays a significant role here, as it did in the sg. with ordinals (see 3b); a seven-day period is discussed over 90x in various contexts (Gen 7:4, 10; 8:10, 12; 31:23; 50:10; Exod 7:25–Deut 16:15 over 50x in laws; Judg 14:12, 17; 1 Sam 10:8; 11:3; 13:8; 31:13; 1 Kgs 8:65[bis]; 16:15; 20:29; 2 Kgs 3:9; Ezek 3:15f.; 43:25f.; 44:26; 45:21 [txt em], 23[bis], 25; Job 2:13; Esth 1:5; Ezra 6:22; Neh 8:18; 1 Chron 9:25; 10:12; 2 Chron 7:8, 9[bis]; 30:21f., 23[bis]; 35:17; contrast Isa 30:26 “the light of the sun will be sevenfold, like the light of seven days”). With decreasing frequency follow references to three days (42x), six days (15x, except for Exod 24:16; Deut 16:8; and Josh 6:3, 14 always in direct relation to the Sabbath: Exod 16:26; 20:9, 11; 23:12; 31:15, 17; 34:21; 35:2; Lev 23:3; Deut 5:13; Ezek 46:1), ten days (Num 11:19; 1 Sam 25:38; Jer 42:7; Dan 1:12, 14f.; Neh 5:18; 2 Chron 36:9; cf. Gen 24:55 *ʿāsôr* “decade”), eight days (Gen 17:12; 21:4; 2 Chron 29:17), two days (2 Sam 1:1; Esth 9:27; on the dual in references to duration, see 3b), four days (Judg 11:40), and five days (Num

11:19); cf. also the larger numbers in Lev 12:4f. and Dan 12:11f.; Aram. Dan 6:8, 13.

In association with unspecific enumerations, “days” easily acquires the closely related meaning “time” in the sense of “duration, period”: in addition to *yāmîm* <sup>ʾ</sup>*ḥādîm* “some days, some time” (Gen 27:44; 29:20; Dan 11:20; cf. *yāmîm mispār* “a few days” Num 9:20), *yāmîm* also appears alone in the same meaning (Gen 24:55; 40:4; Lev 25:29; Num 9:22; Judg 19:2; 1 Kgs 17:15 txt?; Isa 65:20; Dan 8:27; 11:33; Neh 1:4; also *mîyāmîm* “after some time” Judg 11:4; 14:8; 15:1; *miqqēš yāmîm* “after the course of some days” Gen 4:3; 1 Kgs 17:7; *I<sup>c</sup>qēš yāmîm* “some time afterward” Neh 13:6); also frequent are the adv. usages *yāmîm rabbîm* “many days, a long time” (Gen 21:34; 37:34 and an additional 25x, with art., Exod 2:23; cf. also *mērōb yāmîm* “after many days” Isa 24:22; *b<sup>c</sup>rōb hayyāmîm* Eccl 11:1) and *kol-hayyāmîm* “everyday, always, ever” (Gen 43:9; 44:32; Deut 4:10, 40; 5:29 and an additional 40x; this usage is esp. favored in Dtn-Dtr diction).

(g) “Days” modified by a subsequent gen. of a person refer, in most cases, to the “days of (one’s) life” or to one’s “lifetime” (cf. Job 10:5 “a person’s days” par. “a man’s days”), for kings, appropriately, to the “period of reign” (cf. Isa 23:15 “as long as the king lives”). *ḥayyîm* “life” can be added as a further modifier (frequently in the expression “all the days of my/your/his life”: Gen 3:14, 17; Deut 4:9; 6:2; 16:3; 17:19; Josh 1:5; 4:14; 1 Sam 1:11; 7:15; 1 Kgs 5:1; 11:34; 15:5f.; 2 Kgs 25:29f. = Jer 52:33f.; Isa 38:20; Psa 23:6; 27:4; 128:5; Prov 31:12; cf. Eccl 2:3; 5:17, 19; 6:12; 8:15; 9:9; “days of the years of life”: Gen 25:7; 47:8, 9[bis]; cf. v 28) or be omitted (about 200x); in many cases here too one may translate “time” instead of “days.” Common expressions are: *bîmê* lit. “in the days of” = “at the time of” (Gen 14:1; 26:1, 15, 18; Judg 5:6[bis]; 8:28; 15:20 and a further 40x; Aram. Dan 2:44; 5:11; with *min* “since,” 2 Kgs 23:22; Jer 36:2; Nah 2:9 txt?; Mal 3:7; Ezra 4:2; 9:7; Neh 8:17; 9:32; 2 Chron 30:26; 35:18; with *ʿad* “until,” Neh 12:23; with *ke*, Isa 54:9 txt? “as in the days of Noah”), “in my/your/his, etc., days” (“during his life,” “during his reign,” etc.; Gen 10:25 = 1 Chron 1:19; 1 Kgs 11:12; 16:34; 21:29; 2 Kgs 8:20 = 2 Chron 21:8; 2 Kgs 20:19 = Isa 39:8; 2 Kgs 23:29; 24:1; Jer 16:9; 22:30; 23:6; Ezek 12:25; Joel 1:2; Hab 1:5; Psa 44:2; 72:7; 116:2; cf. *mîyāmeykā* “as long as you live” 1 Sam 25:28; Job 38:12; *mîyāmāyw* “as long as he may live” 1 Kgs 1:6), *kol y<sup>c</sup>m* “all the days of” (“as long as X lives”; Gen 5:5–31, 9x; 9:29; Josh 24:31[bis]; Judg 2:7[bis], 18; 1 Sam 7:13; 14:52; 1 Kgs 5:5; 11:25; 2 Kgs 13:22; 23:22; Ezra 4:5; 2 Chron 24:2, 14), “all my/your, etc., days” (Deut 12:19; 22:19, 29; 1 Kgs 3:13; 15:14, 16, 32; 2 Kgs 12:3; 15:18; Jer 35:7f.; Psa 90:9, 14; cf. v 10; 139:16 txt em; Eccl 5:16; 2 Chron 15:17; 18:7; 34:33); cf. also Gen 5:4; 6:3; 11:32; 29:21; 35:28; 47:28f.; Exod 23:26; Deut

33:25; 2 Sam 7:12 = 1 Chron 17:11; 2 Kgs 20:6 = Isa 38:5; Isa 38:10; 65:20; Jer 17:11; 20:18; Joel 1:2; Psa 34:13; 37:18; 39:5f.; 55:24; 61:7[bis]; 78:33; 90:10, 12; 102:4, 12, 24f.; 103:15; 109:8; 119:84; 144:4; Job 7:1, 6, 16; 8:9; 9:25; 10:5, 20; 14:5; 15:20; 17:1, 11; 21:13; 27:6; 30:1; 32:4, 6; 36:11; 38:21; Prov 10:27; 15:15; Eccl 2:23; 6:3; Lam 4:18; 5:21.

*yāmîm* also occurs in this meaning “lifetime” as a modifier of adjs. (ptcps.) in various expressions that describe advanced age: *m<sup>l</sup>ē<sup>ʔ</sup>yāmîm* “aged” (Jer 6:11; cf. *q<sup>l</sup>šar yāmîm* “short life” Job 14:1), *š<sup>l</sup>ba<sup>l</sup>yāmîm* “full of days” (par. *zāqēn* “old”: Gen 35:29; Job 42:17; without *zāqēn* 1 Chron 29:28; verbally: 1 Chron 23:1; 2 Chron 24:15), *kabbîr yāmîm* “rich in days” (Job 15:10), *bā<sup>ʔ</sup>bayyāmîm* “aged” (Gen 24:1; Josh 13:1[bis]; 23:1f.; 1 Kgs 1:1); cf. Aram. *ʿattîq yômîn* “aged” (Dan 7:9, 13, 22). At least some of the constructions with *ʔk* and *rbh* also belong here: with *ʔk* hi. lit. “to lengthen days” = “to live long” (Deut 4:26, 40; 5:33; 11:9; 17:20; 22:7; 30:18; 32:47; Josh 24:31; Judg 2:7; Isa 53:10; Prov 28:16; Eccl 8:13), “to let someone live long” (1 Kgs 3:14), with “days” as subj. “to be long” (Exod 20:12 = Deut 5:16; Deut 6:2; 25:15), with the subst. *ʔrek* “length” Deut 30:20; Psa 21:5; 23:6; 91:16; Job 12:12; Prov 3:2, 16; with *rbh* qal “to be many” Deut 11:21(bis); Prov 9:11; with *rbh* hi. “to make numerous,” Job 29:18; cf. *yāmîmrabbîm* lit. “many days” = “long life” 1 Kgs 3:11 = 2 Chron 1:11.

Job 32:7 uses *yāmîm* “days” in the fig. meaning “old age” in reference to older people.

*y<sup>l</sup>m<sup>l</sup>* lit. “days of” = “lifespan of” also occurs with an impersonal gen. to designate (hyperbolically) a particularly long life: Gen 8:22 “as long as the earth stands”; Deut 11:21 “as long as the heavens are above the earth”; Isa 65:22 “the age of my people shall be like the age of the tree”; Psa 89:30 “as long as the heavens exist.”

(h) Aside from describing the lifetime of persons in the sense of “time, period, indeterminate point in time,” in comparison to the sg., “days” occurs less often and more rarely in fixed expressions. “Days” is further specified by an inf. in Gen 25:24; Lev 26:34f.; Num 6:6; Deut 31:14; Judg 18:31; 1 Sam 22:4; 25:7, 16; 1 Kgs 2:1; Mic 7:15; Ruth 1:1; 2 Chron 26:5; 36:21; by a relative clause with *ʔšer* in Lev 13:46; Num 6:5; 9:18; Deut 1:46; 2:14; 1 Sam 1:28; 1 Kgs 2:11; 11:42; 14:20; 2 Kgs 10:36; Isa 7:17; Ezek 22:14; Esth 9:22; 1 Chron 17:10; 29:27; without *ʔšer* in Lev 14:46; 1 Sam 25:15; Psa 90:15; Job 29:2.

Noteworthy cs. relationships are: “time of harvest” (Gen 30:14; Josh 3:15; Judg 15:1; 2 Sam 21:9; cf. also Num 13:20[bis] “time of the first grapes”), “days of youth” (Ezek 16:22, 43, 60; 23:19; Hos 2:17; Psa 89:46; Job 33:25; Eccl 11:9; 12:1; cf. Job 29:4 “my autumn days”), “feast days” (Job 1:5; Esth 9:22), “time of mourning” (Gen 27:41; 50:4; Deut 34:8), “time of service,” etc. (Lev 25:50; Job 7:1; 14:14), and all manner of expressions for periods of misfortune (Isa 60:20; Ezek 4:8; 5:2; Psa 37:19; 49:6; 94:13; Job 30:16, 27; Eccl 11:8; 12:1; Lam 1:7; cf. also Gen 47:9[bis] “time of

sojourn”), for extraordinary activities (Gen 50:3, embalming; Esth 2:12, massage), and for cultically sanctioned times (Lev 8:33; 12:2, 4, 6; 15:25 [bis], 26; Num 6:4f., 8, 12f.; Esth 9:28, 31). Hos 9:9 and 10:9, “the days of Gibeah” (cf. Judg 19–21), allude to a historical event, while Hos 2:15 “days of the Baals” and 12:10 “days of the feast” probably refer to cultic celebrations (cf. Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 71, 234). Circumlocutions for eschatological judgment are rare: Hos 9:7(bis) “days of retribution/punishment”; cf. Ezek 22:4 “your (judgment) days”; Job 24:1 “his days (of God’s judgment)”; see 4b.

(i) In a series of adv. usages and combinations of *yāmîm* with other temporal terms, the general meaning “time” assumes particular prominence.

As with the sg. (see 3e), adv. phrases with demonstrative prons. should be mentioned here first. A pl. of *hayyôm hazzeh* “today” occurs in *hayyāmîm hāʿēlleh* lit. “in these (present) days” = “currently” (Zech 8:9, 15; otherwise “these (specified) days” Exod 1:5; 9:26, 28; cf. Ezek 43:27 without “these”); the pl. of *bayyôm hahûʿ*, *bayyāmîm hāhēm(mâ)* is more frequent and refers similarly to either the past (“at that time”) or to the future (“then”; of a time in the past: Gen 6:4; Exod 2:11; Judg 17:6; 18:1[bis]; 19:1; 20:27f.; 21:25; 1 Sam 3:1; 28:1; 2 Sam 16:23; 2 Kgs 10:32; 15:37; 20:1 = Isa 38:1 = 2 Chron 32:24; Ezek 38:17; Esth 1:2; 2:21; Dan 10:2; Neh 6:17; 13:15, 23; with *ʿad* “until”: 1 Kgs 3:2; 2 Kgs 18:4; with *lipnî* “before”: Zech 8:10; of the future: Deut 17:9; 19:17; 26:3; Josh 20:6; Jer 3:16, 18; 5:18; 31:29; 33:15f.; 50:4, 20; Joel 3:2; 4:1; Zech 8:6, 23; with *ʿahʿrê* “after”: Jer 31:33).

*yāmîm* also often indicates duration (Lev 25:8 “the time of the seven Sabbath years”; 1 Sam 27:7 with *mispar hayyāmîm* lit. “the number of days” = “the time that David dwelt in the land of the Philistines”; similarly, 2 Sam 2:11; *yāmîm ʿên mispār* “endless time” Jer 2:32), often pleonastically after a unit of time of longer duration: *šʿnāyîm yāmîm* lit. “two years of days” = “two years long” (Gen 41:1; 2 Sam 13:23; 14:28; Jer 28:3, 11), also following *hōdeš* or *yeraḥ* “month” (Gen 29:14; Num 11:20f. or Deut 21:13; 2 Kgs 15:13, resp.), and following *šābūʿîm* “weeks” (Dan 10:2f.); cf. also the less definite references *yāmîm ʿal-yāmîm* and *lʿyāmîm mîyāmîm* “in the course of time” (2 Chron 21:15, 19; on *lʿyāmîm šʿnayîm* in v 19 txt?, see Rudolph, HAT 21, 266), as well as *yāmîm ʿal-šānâ* “over a year and a day” (Isa 32:10).

The definite pl. meaning “time” occurs in usages with verbs such as *rbh* qal “to become many” (Gen 38:12 and 1 Sam 7:2 “a long time passed”), *ʿrk* qal “to become long” (Gen 26:8 “when he had already dwelt there a long time”; Ezek 12:22 “the days stretch on”; cf. v 23 *qrb* qal “to be

near”), *mš̄k* ni. “to stretch out, delay” (Isa 13:22 “their days do not linger”), *mlʿ* qal “to become full” (1 Sam 18:26 “the time was not yet complete”; Jer 25:34 “your time is fulfilled”), and in expressions like *lʿmôʿēd hayyāmîm* “at a particular time” (1 Sam 13:11), *lʿmiqšāt hayyāmîm* “after the passing of time” (Dan 1:18), and Aram. *liqšāt yômāyyâ* “after the passing of this time” (Dan 4:31).

Finally, numerous expressions with *yāmîm* are formed with terms for “past” and “future.” The distant past is indicated by *yʿmʾ* → *qedem* “the days of old” (2 Kgs 19:25 = Isa 37:26; Isa 23:7; 51:9; Jer 46:26; Mic 7:20; Psa 44:2; Lam 1:7; 2:17; cf. *yāmîm miqqedem* Psa 77:6; 143:5; *yāmîm qadmônîm* “former days” Ezek 38:17), *yʿmʾ* → *ʿôlām* “days of old” (Isa 63:9, 11; Amos 9:11; Mic 5:1; 7:14; Mal 3:4; *yʿmôt ʿôlām* Deut 32:7; Aram. *yômāt ʿālʿmāʿ* Ezra 4:15, 19), the past in general by *yāmîm rîʾšônîm* “former days” (Deut 4:32; Zech 8:11; Eccl 7:10; cf. Num 6:12 “the earlier time”; Deut 10:10 “like the beginning”). Expressions that refer to the future (*hayyāmîm habbāʾîm* “the coming days” Eccl 2:16) are *bʿʾaḥʾrît hayyāmîm* “in the course of days” (for passages and interpretation → *ḥr* 4b), *hinnēh yāmîm bāʾîm* “behold, days are coming” (1 Sam 2:31; 2 Kgs 20:17 = Isa 39:6; Jer 7:32; 9:24; 16:14; 19:6; 23:5, 7; 30:3; 31:27, 31, 38; 33:14; 48:12; 49:2; 51:47, 52; Amos 4:2; 8:11; 9:13) and *lʿōrek yāmîm* “forever” (Psa 93:5; Lam 5:20); *lʿqēš hayyāmîn* “at the end of days” is more markedly eschatological (Dan 12:13; cf. *layyāmîm* Dan 10:14).

In the expression *sēper dibrē hayyāmîm* lit. “book of daily affairs” = “chronicle,” *hayyāmîm* combined with *dibr* approximates the meaning “history” (cf. Eissfeldt, *Intro.* 285; 1 Kgs 14:19–2 Kgs 24:5, 33x; Esth 2:23; 6:1; 10:2; Neh 12:23; 1 Chron 27:24 txt em).

(j) An idiomatic usage of *yāmîm* in the meaning “year” occurs in the older narrative literature (otherwise only *šānâ* “year” in this meaning, 876x [excl. Psa 77:11; Lis. omits Gen 11:10b], 161x in Gen, 104x in 2 Kgs, 92x in Num, 78x in 2 Chron, 59x in Lev, 58x in 1 Kgs, and 44x in Jer), a usage that may have originated in the notion of the return of the individual days of a year in the following year, so that “the days (of the year)” could represent the “year” itself (contra F. S. North, “Four-Month Seasons of the Hebrew Bible,” *VT* 11 [1961]: 446–48). Except for references to a period of time in 1 Sam 27:7 (“a year and four months”) and 1 Sam 29:3 txt em (“one or two years”), *yāmîm* occurs in this meaning only as a designation for annually recurring phenomena: *zebaḥ hayyāmîm* “annual sacrifice” (1 Sam 1:21; 2:19; 20:6), *tʿqūpôt hayyāmîm* “turning-point of the year” (1 Sam 1:20; cf. *tʿqūpat haššānâ* Exod 34:22; 2 Chron 24:23), *mîyāmîm yāmîmâ* “annually” (Exod

13:10; Judg 11:40; 21:19; 1 Sam 1:3; 2:19), *layyāmîm* “per year” (Judg 17:10), and *miqqēš yāmîm layyāmîm* “at the end of each year” or “annually” (2 Sam 14:26).

4. (a) As indicated by the abundant usages of *yôm/yāmîm*, the term not only indicates an actual unit of time but develops further into the most important temporal term in the OT for expressing both moments and periods of time. Like → *‘et* and → *‘ôlām*, the term occurs almost exclusively in concrete temporal designations, i.e., in close association with the respective temporal content, but not in abstract statements concerning time as such. This characteristic is not evidence of a peculiar Hebraic understanding of time; non-Hebrew analogies can also be adduced for all usages of *yôm/yāmîm*.

Accordingly, specific OT statements with *yôm* in a general meaning encompass a very small area. Like all earthly phenomena, day and night are also subject to God’s reign because they were created by him (Gen 1:5, 14; Psa 74:16 “the day is yours, yours, the night, too; you have established stars and sun”; cf. v 16 “summer and winter, you have created them”). In an eschatological context, a series of texts even mention that the inviolable alternation of night and day (Gen 8:22) will be suspended by Yahweh (Zech 14:7 “and there will be a single day . . . not alternation of night and day, even in the evening there will be light”). This suspension is not the deification familiar in the region of northern Syria and Asia Minor (cf. W. L. Moran, *Bib* 43 [1962]: 319; in the 8th-cent. BCE Aram. treaty from Sef. *ywm* “day” and *lylh* “night” appear as a pair in the list of divine witnesses to the oath, *KAI* no. 222A.12; cf. Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 38f.). Furthermore, expressions that more or less personify a day are relatively rare (cf., perhaps, Prov 27:1 “for you do not know what a day will bring,” with the verb *yld* “to bear, bring forth”; Jer 20:14 and Job 3:1ff. curse the day of birth).

(b) One can recognize a specifically theological usage in the notion of the *yôm yhw̄h*, the “day of Yahweh,” and associated concepts. Only a few works can be mentioned from the extensive literature on this subject. The linguistic aspect of the expressions used is investigated in broad scope by L. Černý, *Day of Yahweh and Some Relevant Problems* (1948); later surveys of the problem with additional bibliog. include: K.-D. Schunck, “Strukturlinien in der Entwicklung der Vorstellung vom ‘Tag Yahwes,’” *VT* 14 (1964): 319–30; H. D. Preuss, *Jahweglaube und Zukunftserwartung* (1968), 170–79; G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* (1972), 270f.

The expression *yôm yhw̄h* “the day of Yahweh” occurs in this form only 16x (Isa 13:6, 9; Ezek 13:5; Joel 1:15; 2:1, 11; 3:4; 4:14; Amos 5:18[bis], 20; Obad 15; Zeph 1:7, 14[bis]; Mal 3:23). But other linguistic alternatives describe the judgment of Yahweh indicated by this phrase: *yôm*

*l'yhwh* is used indeterminately in Isa 2:12 and Ezek 30:3; terms further specifying the content of the phrase can occur between *yôm* and *(le)yhwh* (*nāqām* “vengeance” Isa 34:8; *‘ebrâ* “wrath” Ezek 7:19; Zeph 1:18; *‘ap* “wrath,” Zeph 2:2f.; Lam 2:22; *zebaḥ* “sacrifice” Zeph 1:8), terms that can also occur apart from the divine name in similar contexts and to characterize the expected (or experienced) day of judgment in regard to its peculiarity (wrath, vengeance, punishment, etc.: Isa 10:3; 13:13; 34:8; 61:2; 63:4; Jer 46:10; Ezek 22:24; Hos 5:9; Zeph 1:15; Lam 1:12; 2:1, 21; cf. Zeph 3:8; darkness, clouds, storm, etc.: Ezek 30:3; 34:12; Joel 2:2; Amos 1:14; Zeph 1:15; cf. Ezek 30:18; Mic 3:6; battle, destruction, downfall, confusion: Isa 22:5; 30:25; Jer 12:3; Ezek 26:18; 27:27; 32:10; Amos 1:14; Zeph 1:16; cf. Mic 7:4; misfortune, ruin, distress, etc.: Isa 17:11; Jer 18:17; 46:21; 51:2; Obad 12; Zeph 1:15). Moreover, demonstrative prons. and interjections refer to the “day” (“that day” Jer 30:7; 46:10; Zeph 1:15; cf. Ezek 39:8; with → *hinnēh* “behold” Ezek 7:10; with → *‘hāh* or *hāh* “Ah” Ezek 30:2; Joel 1:15); its coming and imminence are discussed (Jer 47:4; Ezek 7:7, 12; 30:3[bis]; Zech 14:1; Mal 3:2, 19[bis]); it can also be described, however, as the “day” of the one affected (“your/his/their day” Jer 50:27, 31; Ezek 21:30, 34; 22:4 txt em; “the day of your brother” Obad 12). In the corresponding contexts of eschatological judgment, the specific concept of the “day of Yahweh” also probably echoes in the essentially purely adv. expression *bayyôm hahû’* lit. “on that day” = “then” (see 3e; cf. e.g., Isa 2:11, 17 with v 12), yet this notion is not inherent in the expression itself (cf. the comprehensive investigation by P. A. Munch, *The Expression bayyôm hāhū’? Is It an Eschatological Terminus Technicus?* [1936], contra H. Gressmann, *Der Messias* [1929], 75, 83, etc.; Preuss, op. cit. 174, follows Munch). The expression often serves as a linking formula in promises, although specialized usages of *yôm* are otherwise rare in promises of salvation, and no relationship to “day of Yahweh” can be recognized (cf. Isa 49:8; Jer 31:6; Mic 7:11, 12).

Considerations of the significance of the expression *yôm yhwh* should pose the question of the meaning of the word *yôm* in this phrase before posing the question of the origin and development of the concept appropriate to tradition-critical examination. Formally, *yôm yhwh* belongs to a series of gen. combinations in which *yôm* is qualified by a proper name (see 3d on *yôm midyān*, etc.; cf. also 3h *y<sup>c</sup>mēgib‘ā*) and thus, in a pregnant, terse idiom refers to a significant event identified by the proper name, emphasizing the experiential character above the pure, rather indeterminate temporal designation (cf. S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im AT* [1965], 120f.). The qualitative determinacy of an act of Yahweh can be seen here both in the past (Ezek 13:5; 34:12; Lam

2:22; cf. Ezek 22:24; Lam 1:12; 2:1, 21) and in the future (thus most passages); one may have also originally thought of various “days of Yahweh” (cf. perhaps Job 24:1). “In the context of Israel’s generally future-oriented and preliminary historical thought and its faith in God’s guidance, which was shaped by its God and the nature of his activity in history, this term was increasingly and predominantly shifted to the future and thus only gradually became ‘the’ day of Yahweh that we encounter most and with which we are most familiar” (Preuss, op. cit. 172).

With reference to the concept of a comprehensive day of Yahweh’s judgment, tradition-critical investigation has revealed that the point of departure is not a cultic day of Yahweh, such as the hypothesized enthronement festival of Yahweh (so, among others, S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* 2 [1922]; id., *NTT* 59 [1958]: 1–56, 209–29; J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* [1962], 316ff.), but, in accordance with accompanying concepts, the experience of a historical act of Yahweh on behalf of his people consisting of a victory over God’s enemies. In particular, the traditions of the Yahweh war (→ *šābāʾ*?, → *hmm*) appropriated by the prophets would have influenced the development of expectations for the future (cf. G. von Rad, “Origin of the Concept of the Day of Yahweh,” *JSS* 4 [1959]: 97–108; id., *Theol.* 2:119–25; Schunck, op. cit. 320f., 330; with modifications, Preuss, op. cit. 173, 179, who places greater emphasis on the exodus; and H.-M. Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker* [1968], 130–46: “The day of Yahweh is *also* war, but *not only* war” [op. cit. 146]; on the relationship between the descriptions of theophany and the day of Yahweh, cf. J. Jeremias, *Theophanie* [1965], 97–100; according to M. Weiss, “The Origin of the ‘Day of the Lord’—Reconsidered,” *HUCA* 37 [1966]: 29–60, the expression was reshaped by Amos).

For the history of the concept, one can refer to the presentations in these studies. The oldest passage is Amos 5:18–20 (cf. Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, Herm, 33f., 255–57: “Woe to you who seek the day of Yahweh? It is darkness and not light!” Amos contested the contemporary expectation of salvation: since Israel is positioned with Yahweh’s enemies, it cannot consider itself to be the “remnant” (→ *šṛ*) who will receive salvation on the day of Yahweh; rather, it must experience the extraordinary consequences of the inescapable intervention of Yahweh. This passage, like Isa 2:12–17 (Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 112f.), focuses on only a few individual elements of the concept—in Amos the darkness, in Isaiah, Yahweh’s majesty above all the proud and arrogant. The presentations in Zeph 1:7ff. and Ezek 7 (Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:201f.), where the day of Yahweh is directed exclusively at Israel, are more extensive; following the catastrophe of 587 (in Ezek 13:5; 34:12; Lam 1:12; 2:1, 21f., characterized retrospectively as “Yahweh’s day,” etc.), the judgment of Yahweh is

predominantly but not exclusively (cf. Joel 1:15; 2:1, 11; Zech 14:1; Mal 3:23) directed at the foreign nations (esp. at Babylon in Isa 13:6, 9; at Egypt, Ezek 30:3; at Edom, Obad 15; cf. further Isa 34:8; 61:2; Jer 46:10; Joel 3:4; 4:14). The transferal of the concept from judgment prophecy to salvation prophecy and vice versa is facilitated by the essentially ambivalent nature of the day of Yahweh; it brings judgment upon the enemies of Yahweh and salvation for his people. The deciding factor depends upon the side to which Israel or the addressees belong. The concept of the day of Yahweh thus constitutes an essential point of contact between the prophetic proclamation of judgment and of salvation and demonstrates their inner unity.

5. The Qumran literature uses *yôm* without significant change from OT usage. In the LXX *hēmera* acquires the meaning “time” more pronouncedly than elsewhere in Gk. under the influence of OT usage. On the further history of the concept of the “day of Yahweh” with new terminology (“day of God,” “day of the Lord,” etc.) in early Judaism and in the NT, cf. e.g., P. Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im ntl. Zeitalter* (1934), 163–65; G. von Rad and G. Dellling, “ἡμέρα,” *TDNT* 2:943–53.

E. Jenni

יָחַל *yḥl* pi./hi. **to wait**

S 3176; BDB 403b; *HALOT* 2:407a; *TDOT* 6:40–48; *TWOT* 859; *NIDOTTE* 3498

1. *yḥl* pi./hi. “to wait, await” is attested only in Hebr.; the reference to Sarab. *wḥl* “to be undecided” (GB 297b; KBL 377b) is of little help.

Occurrences of a by-form *ḥîl* (III) are uncertain (in Gen 8:10 and Mic 1:12 *yḥl* pi. should be read; in Judg 3:25; Psa 37:7; and Job 35:14 *yḥl* hi.; cf. Berg., *HG* 2:173; contra L. Kopf, *VT* 8 [1958]: 176f.).

The verb is attested in the pi. and hi. (on the distinction in meaning between pi. “to wait” and hi. “to be in a state of waiting” cf. KBL 377f.; *HP* 249f., 257f.); ni. forms in Gen 8:12 (probably to be pointed as a pi. as in v 10) and Ezek 19:5 txt? (cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:389) are uncertain. Forms that occur in addition to the verb are the adj. *yāḥîl* “expectant” (Lam 3:26, but probably to be emended to *yḥl* hi.) and the subst. *tôḥelet* “expectation, hope” (on the nom. form, see GKC §85p).

The PN *yahl<sup>e</sup>el* (Gen 46:14; Num 26:26) does not derive from this root (as KBL 378a has it) but from Aram./Arab. *hlw/y* “to be sweet, pleasant,” according to *IP* 204.

2. According to Lis. *yhl* pi. occurs 24x (Psa 14x, Job 6x, Deutero-Isa 2x, Ezek and Mic 1x each), hi. 15x (Psa 5x; 1 Sam 13:8 classified as a hi.), ni. 2x (see 1), *yāhîl* 1x (see 1), *tôhelet* 6x (Psa 39:8; Job 41:1; Prov 10:28; 11:7; 13:12; Lam 3:18), the entire root a total of 48x (excl. *hîl* III; see 1), 20x in Psa, 9x in Job, 4x in Lam, and 3x in Prov.

3. The verb belongs to the semantic field of verbs of waiting and hoping, which can be understood only collectively. The most important of the par. verbs is → *qwh* pi. “to hope” (under which see also *hkh* pi., *šbr* pi., and the derived noms. *tiqwâ*, *miqweh*, *šēber*). On the entire semantic field, cf. C. Westermann, “Das Hoffen im AT,” *Theologia Viatorum* 4 (1952/53): 19–70 = *Forschung am AT* (1964), 219–65.

Approximately 1/3 of the passages are nontheological. The verb corresponds precisely to Eng. “to wait” in Gen 8:10, 12 txt em: Noah waits for the flood to abate; similarly in 1 Sam 10:8; 13:8; Job 32:11, 16 (2 Sam 18:14 is textually uncertain). The particular nuance of this waiting varies considerably according to the situation. In Job 29:21 and 32:11, 16, it is the respectful waiting of the younger when the elder speaks; in 29:23 it is intensified to an expectation: “They waited upon me as on the rain.” In the laments of Job it is, in accord with his situation, an endurance or perseverance (Job 6:11; 13:15; 14:14; 30:26). The breadth of meaning of this waiting may be demonstrated where several possibilities for interpretation present themselves; Job 13:15 can be translated: “See, he slays me, I cannot endure!” but it can also mean: “See, he slays me, I cannot wait!” The contextual ambivalence of waiting is also demonstrated in Prov 13:12: “Delayed expectation (*tôhelet*) brings heartache,” for the expectation can be disappointed (Ezek 19:5). Ezek 13:6 stands on the boundary between theological and nontheological usage: the false prophets expect God to fulfill the word they preach.

4. The remaining passages use *yhl* in reference to God. It is one of the verbs whose meaning coincides with its function in a particular speech form, from which all other usages and variations in meaning are to be explained. This speech form is (as with the other verbs of waiting and hoping in reference to God) the confession of confidence in the individual lament. Most instances of the theological usage belong to this form and its variants.

(a) *yhl* in the confession of confidence: In Psa 130 the plea from the depth (vv 1f.), combined with two motifs (vv 3f.), is followed by the confession of confidence in vv 5f. (txt em): “I hope (*qwh* pi.), Yahweh, in

you; my soul waits (*qwh* hi.) on your word. My soul waits (*yhl* hi.) on the Lord more than the watchman on the morning.” The comparison, which belongs to nontheological usage, makes the intention of the confession of confidence very clear. Hoping or waiting upon Yahweh refers to awaiting an *experience*, which corresponds to the arrival of the dawn in the comparison. Waiting on Yahweh refers to waiting on his saving intervention. Thus it becomes clear that waiting upon God refers to precisely the same process meant by the profane word “to wait” not in reference to God; the only distinction is the identification of that which the expectant individual awaits as God’s intervention. Thus the verb in reference to God retains the entire range of meaning that it has in nontheological usage; the aspect of endurance involved in waiting can be emphasized as in Psa 71:14, “I, however, I will always wait,” or the goal of waiting in Mic 7:7, “I will await the God of my salvation,” or the agony of waiting in Psa 69:4, “My eyes waste away in waiting upon my God.” Waiting is founded, however, upon the fact that it is waiting upon *God*: Psa 39:8, “And now, what do I await, Yahweh? My hope rests in you!” (similarly, Psa 38:16; 130:5; Lam 3:24). Lam 3:21–26 resembles a fugue on the theme of waiting upon God, a considered development of the confession of confidence. The first sentences declare explicitly that waiting on God means waiting on this liberating intervention: “I will take this to heart, I will wait upon it: the demonstrations of Yahweh’s grace are not at an end, his mercies are not exhausted.” V 23 extends this line of thought and in vv 24f. offer additional motivations for waiting on Yahweh.

(b) This “waiting on God” in the confession of confidence is obviously very characteristic of people’s approach to God in Israel; the relatively few passages in which the word occurs contain a series of expansions and variations of the motif: (1) Resembling the 1st per. sg. confession of confidence, although no longer in the same function, now denoting the attitude of the pious more generally, it is frequently a final clause in Psa 119: “I wait on your word” (vv 81, 114, 147; cf. v 74; slightly varied in vv 43 and 49). Pious wisdom contrasts the waiting of the evildoer and of the pious (Prov 10:28; 11:7). (2) A series of texts call for this waiting on Yahweh; the confession of confidence has been transformed into parenthesis. The origin of the exhortation in the confession of confidence is demonstrated by Psa 130:5–7, where the confession culminates in the exhortation, “Wait, Israel, on Yahweh!” (v 7; so also 131:3). The exhortation occurs elsewhere in Psa 42:6, 12; 43:5; or a promise is made to the expectant one; Psa 31:25; 33:18; 147:11; cf. Prov 10:28. (3) The significance of waiting on God is demonstrated in the lament in which the abandonment of waiting signifies the low point; thus Lam 3:18, “My hope in Yahweh is gone” and 2 Kgs 6:33, where the king laments: “The misfortune

that Yahweh has laid on us is so great, why should I then continue to wait on Yahweh?”

(c) A few passages incorporate waiting on God into prophetic salvation preaching; in the universalistic expansion of the salvation message of Deutero-Isaiah, the far regions of the earth, the islands, wait on Yahweh (Isa 42:4; 51:5); Mic 5:6 says that the remnant will not wait on people (but only on God).

5. → *qwh* pi.

C. Westermann

יָטַב *yṭb* **to be good** → טוֹב *tōb*

יָכַח *ykh* hi. **to determine what is right**

S 3198; BDB 406b; *HALOT* 2:410a; *TDOT* 6:64–71; *TWOT* 865; *NIDOTTE* 3519

1. The root *ykh* occurs only in Hebr. and Jew. Aram. (KBL 380a). The two fem. substs. *tōkaḥat* and *tōkēḥâ* derive from the hi. of the verb with the prefix *ta-* (BL 495).

Related terms are the noms. *nākōaḥ* “straight, the straight” (8x) and *nōkaḥ* “before,” used mostly as a prep. (24x; on the exchange of initial *n* and *w*, see *NB* 190f.).

2. In the OT, the verb is attested 59x (hi. 54x, 15x in Job, 10x in Prov, 7x in Psa; ni. 3x, ho. 1x [as well as Psa 73:14 txt em], hitp. 1x), the subst. *tōkaḥat* 24x, the subst. *tōkēḥâ* 4x. Occurrences cluster in Prov and Job (resp., 26 and 19 of the total of 87x).

3. (a) The root probably belonged in the sphere of judicial proceedings (cf. Isa 29:21; Amos 5:10 “in the gate”). The basic meaning of *ykh* hi. is “to determine what is right” (thus with H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT* [1964], 45–47; occurrences: Gen 31:37; Job 9:33; 16:21; 13:3, 15; Lev 19:17; with F. Horst, *Gottes Recht* [1961], 289; id., BK 16/1, 86, “[legal] procedural establishment of right”; contra V. Maag, *Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos* [1951], 152–54, who postulates “to reprimand” as a basic meaning and considers the [legal] procedural meaning secondary). The subj. of *ykh* hi. is originally the court

hearing the case (e.g., Gen 31:37 E; Job 9:33; cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 76); *ykh* hi. occurs at the end of the proceedings. Job 13:3 and 15:3 (cf. Hab 2:1 *tôkaḥat*) demonstrate that it is with *ykh* hi. a question of the spoken word. 1 Kgs 3:27b *hî' immô* “she is his mother” could be an example of such a “judicial determination” (Boecker, op. cit. 142f.; cf. Exod 22:8 *hû' zeh*). In Isa 2:4 = Mic 4:3; Isa 11:3f.; Hab 1:12; Job 22:4; 23:4, *ykh* occurs with → *špt* “to judge”; in Hos 4:4; Mic 6:2; Job 13:6; 40:2 with → *rîb* “to conduct a lawsuit”; and in Job 32:12 with → *ʿnh* “to answer.” When litigants are the subj. of *ykh*, their “determination of what is right” tends toward “proving, disproving, justifying,” etc.: e.g., Job’s friends in Job 6:25f.; 19:5; 32:12 and Job in Job 13:3, 6, 15; 15:3; 23:4; 40:2 (cf. Gen 21:25; Psa 38:15; Hab 2:1). On the preps. that follow *ykh* hi., see KBL 380b.

(b) When *ykh* refers to someone in the wrong, it acquires the meaning “to reprimand,” “to call to account” (Boecker, op. cit. 47). *ykh* occurs in this meaning esp. in Prov: *ykh* hi. in 9:7f.; 10:10 txt em; 15:12; 19:25; 24:25; 28:23; *tôkaḥat* always in the sg. and usually par. to *mûsâr* “correction” (→ *ysr*) in 5:12; 6:23; 10:17; 12:1; 13:18; 15:5, 10, 32; par. to *ʿešâ* “counsel” (→ *yʿš*) in 1:25, 30 (cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 1:431n.32). Scoffers and evildoers scorn the edifying reprimand of parents and the wise (1:30; 5:12, etc.); they hate correction (15:10; 12:1); the perceptive, however, heed it (15:31f.) and bear it in mind (13:18; 15:5).

Antonyms worthy of note are *qrš ayin* “to wink” (10:10) and *ḥlq lāšôn* “to have a smooth tongue” (28:23); the consequence of *ykh* hi. for those involved is “to stand as a liar” (*kzb ni.*, 30:6).

The related *nākōaḥ* “the straight” is also a characteristic of wisdom language (Prov 8:9; 24:26; 26:28 txt em; Sir 11:21; cf. H. W. Wolff, *Amos the Prophet* [1973], 56–59).

#### 4. Theological usage reflects both meanings:

(a) (legal) procedural: God as judge is subj. of *ykh* hi. in Gen 31:42b E; 2 Kgs 19:4 = Isa 37:4; Isa 2:4 = Mic 4:3; Psa 50:8, 21; Job 22:4; 1 Chron 12:18; hitp. Mic 6:2. The ni. in Isa 1:18 demonstrates that both litigants, Yahweh and the people, can execute *ykh* (Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 55). In Ezek 5:15; 25:17 Yahweh’s means of punishment is expressed by the formula *bʿtôkʿhôt ḥēmâ* “with furious punishment.” The expression *yôm tôkēḥâ* “day of punishment” (Hos 5:9; 2 Kgs 19:3 = Isa 37:3; contra Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 113) could also be formulaic. In Job 13:3, 15; 40:2; Hab 2:1; Job 23:4, God is the obj. of *ykh*.

(b) instructional: God reprimands the supplicant (Psa 6:2; 38:2;

39:12), kings (Psa 105:14 = 1 Chron 16:21; 2 Sam 7:14), evildoers (Psa 94:10), the biased friends of Job (Job 13:10), those who add to God's words (Prov 30:6). Such reprimands are issued primarily to those whom God loves (Prov 3:11f.); consequently, the person whom God reprimands is blessed (Job 5:17).

The usage of *ykh* hi. in Gen 24:14, 44 is unusual ("to make a decision," "to determine"; cf. Procksch, *Gen*, KAT [19243], 324).

5. Qumran uses *ykh* hi. and *tôkaḥat* as in the OT; Lev 19:17 is cited in CD 7:2; 9:7f. and 1QS 5:26. Prov 3:11f. plays a great role in Judaism (O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer* [1964] 12, 439f., an excursus concerning suffering as God's correction); cf. Heb 12:5ff. in the NT. The LXX usually renders *ykh* with *elenchein* (cf. F. Büchsel, "ἐλέγχω," *TDNT* 2:473–76).

G. Liedke

## יָלַד *yld* to bear

S 3205; BDB 408a; *HALOT* 2:411b; *TDOT* 6:76–81; *TWOT* 867; *NIDOTTE* 3528

1. The root \**wld* (NWSem. > *yld*; but cf. Gen 11:30 *wālād* "child"; Meyer 1:97) "to bear" is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 210; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 246, 262) and well attested in the ancient Near East in the OT period: Akk. (*w*)*alādu* (*CAD* A/1:287–94), Ug. *yld* (*WUS* no. 1166), Phoen. and Aram. inscriptions *yld* (*DISO* 107; not attested in *Bibl. Aram.*).

All seven stems of the verb are attested (qal "to bear, beget," ni. "to be born," pi. "to act as midwife"; cf. *HP* 210f.; pu. "to be born" (probably a qal pass.), hi. "to beget, cause to be born," ho. "to be born," hitp. "to make one's lineage known," Num 1:18). The most important subst. of the root is *yeled* "boy, child"; other substs. are *yaldâ* "girl," *yālîd* "son," *yaldût* "childhood," *yillôd* "(new)born," *wālād* "child," as well as *lêdâ* "birth" (BL 450), *môledet* "descendants, relatives" (BL 490), *tôlêdôt* "families, genealogy" (BL 495); in addition, related proper names are the PN *môlîd* (1 Chron 2:29; *IP* 144) and the places-names *môlādâ* (Josh 15:26; 19:2; Neh 11:26; 1 Chron 4:28), *tôlād* (1 Chron 4:29) = *ʿeltôlad* (Josh 15:30; 19:4; cf. *HAL* 58).

2. Of the total of 492 occurrences of the verb, most fall to Gen (170x)

and 2 Chron (117x); there follow Isa 23x, Jer 22x, Exod and Job 15x, Ruth 14x. Of these, 237 are qal (Gen 90x, 1 Chron 26x, Jer 17x, Isa 15x), 38 ni. (1 Chron 10x, Gen 7x), 10 pi. (Exod 8x, Gen 2x), 27 pu. (Gen 11x), 176 hi. (1 Chron 80x, Gen 59x, Ruth 9x, Isa 6x), 3 ho. (Gen 40:20; Ezek 16:4f.), and 1 hitp. (Num 1:18).

Statistics for the noms. are: *yeled* 89x (incl. 2 Sam 6:23 Q; Gen 19x, Exod and 2 Sam 12x, 1 Kgs 9x), *yaldâ* 3x, *yaldût* 3x, *yillôd* 5x, *yâlîd* 13x, *wâlâd* 1x, *lêdâ* 4x, *môledet* 22x (Gen 9x), *tôlêdôt* 39x (Gen and Num 13x each, 1 Chron 9x, Exod 3x, Ruth 1x). Thus the noms. total 179x (the root, apart from proper names, 671x).

Concentrations in Gen and 1 Chron are due to the use of the verb in the genealogies; almost all the occurrences in the Chr history belong to the family trees, as well as most of the occurrences in Ruth (Ruth 4:18–22).

3. (a) In its basic meaning, *yld* qal may be translated “to bear” (Gen 4:1f.) or “to beget” (Gen 4:18) depending upon whether a woman or a man is subj. The construction with *ʔet* and the successive specification of the name of the one born or begotten is common. The simple acc., however, is often found, esp. in the expression “she bore a son.” The name of the father to whom the child is born is introduced with *le*.

(b) The semantic field of *yld* is biologically determined: → *ʔiššâ* “woman” (Judg 13:24) or → *ʔem* “mother” (Jer 15:10), as well as *ʔâmâ* “maid” or *pîlegeš* “concubine” (Gen 22:24) denote the subjs. and usually → *bēn* “son” (1 Sam 1:20; pl. *bānîm* “sons, children,” Gen 10:1) or *bat* “daughter” (Gen 30:21) the objs. of birth (cf. *zākār* “male” in Lev 12:2; *n<sup>c</sup>qēbâ* “female” in Lev 12:5; *na<sup>c</sup>ar* “boy” in Judg 13:8); cf. also → *ʔab* “father” (Isa 45:10) in relation to the meaning “to beget.”

The most frequent verbs in the semantic field of *yld* are: *hrh* “to become/be pregnant” (43x, adj. *hāreh* “pregnant” 15x), *hîl* “to have pain, be in labor” (qal 30x according to Lis.) and → *gdI* pi. “to rear” (Isa 1:2 [cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 12f.]; 49:21; 51:18, etc.); cf. too the roots *ʕqr* (*<sup>c</sup>qārâ* “barren”) and *škl* (pi. “to make childless, have a miscarriage”; *š<sup>c</sup>kôl/šakkûl* “robbed of children”).

(c) The segholate form *yeled* “boy” is frequently used in a manner similar to → *bēn* “son,” except that *bēn* describes the relationship to the father or mother more exactly than the neutral *yeled* (thus *yeled* accompanies *bēn* in 1 Kgs 3:25; Jer 31:20, etc.; in contrast, *yeled* occurs alone in Exod 1f. and Dan 1, e.g., where the relationship with the parents plays no role; on Gen 4:23 see P. D. Miller, *JBL* 85 [1966]: 477f.). *yeled* as a masc. term contrasts directly with the fem. *yaldâ* “girl” (Joel 4:3; Zech 8:5), but is also used more generally in the meaning “child” (Ezra 10:1).

*y<sup>e</sup>lādîm* are the “youths,” particularly in contrast to the “elders” (*z<sup>e</sup>qēnîm*; 1 Kgs 12:8, 10, 14 = 2 Chron 10:8, 10, 14; cf. A. Malamat, *JNES* 22 [1963]: 247–53).

*yālîd* “son” is often combined with → *bayit* “house” in the expression *y<sup>e</sup>lîd(ê) bayit* (Gen 14:14; 17:12f., 23, 27; Lev 22:11; Jer 2:14); the expression refers to slaves born in the household in contrast to those who have been purchased (*miqnat-kesep* Gen 17:12, etc.).

(d) *yld* also applies to animals with some frequency (*yld qal*, Gen 30:39; 31:8; Jer 14:5; 17:11, etc.; *yeled*, Isa 11:7 of bear cubs, Job 39:3 of young deer, Job 38:41 of young ravens).

(e) It can refer to Moses in a fig. sense: “Did I conceive this whole people or did I bear them?” (Num 11:12), as it can refer to the “Rock” (Deut 32:18), the sea (Isa 23:4), the stone (Jer 2:27), the day (Prov 27:1), as well as to Israel (Isa 33:11), Zion (Isa 66:8), or the enemy (Psa 7:15); cf. further the picturesque usage in Isa 55:10; 59:4; Job 38:28 hi.; Psa 90:2 pu.; Prov 17:17 ni.

4. (a) One of the oldest narrative motifs in the patriarchal accounts is the report of the barrenness of the matriarch (Gen 16:1f. “she had born him no child”; cf. 17:17; 18:13). God (or his messenger) promises this barren woman a son: Gen 16:11, 15; 17:19–21 (“you/she will bear a son”). The motif is taken up in Judg 13:3, 5, 7; 1 Kgs 13:2; Isa 7:14; 9:5; cf. Isa 54:1 (see C. Westermann, *Promises to the Fathers* [1980], 12ff.).

(b) The root *yld* has theological significance in three prophetic contexts: (1) Occasionally, the picture of the “pains of the woman in childbirth” describes the judgment announced: Mic 4:9f.; Jer 22:23; cf. Isa 13:8; 21:3; Jer 6:24 (the same picture also occurs in other contexts: Isa 23:4; 26:17f.; Song Sol 8:5); the picture serves to emphasize the frightfulness of judgment. (2) *yld* also refers to the actual children born to the prophets: Hosea is to take a wife of harlotry (1:2) and beget children of harlotry (*yaldê z<sup>e</sup>nûnîm*). This description also implies an accusation against Israel: The Israelites are children of harlotry because they have turned away from Yahweh and have participated in the Canaanite fertility rites in honor of Baal. The names of the children born (*yld* in Hos 1:3, 6, 8) to him by this wife of harlotry refer quite unequivocally to the coming judgment. The children (or their names) born to Isaiah (*yld* in Isa 8:3; *y<sup>e</sup>lādîm* in 8:18) have the same prefigurative significance. On Isa 7:14 see H. W. Wolff, *Immanuel* [1959]; cf. further Isa 9:5. In these two passages the promise of the child to be born is associated with discussion of the coming salvation. (3) The laments of the prophet Jeremiah climax in the cursing of his own birth; the verb *yld* occurs in each case: 15:10, “Woe is me, Mother, that you bore me!” and 20:14, “Cursed be the day in which I was born, the day my mother bore me be not blessed.” This lament is taken up, also in

conjunction with *yld*, in Job 3:3.

(c) In a few passages *yld* describes the relationship between Yahweh and people as a father-son relationship (→ *ʿāb* IV/3, → *bēn* IV/3). Thus Yahweh's adoption of the kings at the enthronement is understood as a "begetting" (Psa 2:7, "You are my son, today I have begotten you"), but, in contrast to Eg. royal ideology, not in the mythical and physical sense (cf. G. von Rad, "Royal Ritual in Judah," *PHOE* 222–31; Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:130f.; K.-H. Bernhardt, *Das Problem der altorientalischen Königsideologie im AT* [1961]). *yld* describes, then (but only in late texts), the relationship between Yahweh and his people (→ *bēn* IV/3b). The discussion of Yahweh as the one who begot his people (or to whom Israel was born) has a metaphorical character (cf. on this topic, P. Humbert, "Yahvé Dieu Géniteur?" *Asiatische Studien* 18/19 [1965]; 247–51), clearly e.g., in Deut 32:18, "You did not think of the rock that begot (*yld* qal) you and you forgot the God who bore you (*hîl* po.)"; cf. Jer 31:20. Ezekiel's statement, e.g., that the foundling (16:20) or Oholah and Oholibah (23:4, 37) have born children to Yahweh is also metaphorical; it concerns the image of Israel as the adulterous wife of Yahweh first attested in Hos. All these images point to Yahweh's original relationship of love and care for his people, which only makes Israel's current apostasy all the more painful. Job 38:28f. describes Yahweh's creative activity indirectly with the aid of the verb *yld* qal/hi.

5. The root *yld* finds no unified counterpart in Gk. usage. The LXX translates the verb in the qal "to bear" with *tiktein*, otherwise with a form of *gennan* (cf. F. Büchsel and K. H. Rengstorf, "γεννάω," *TDNT* 1:665–75). The LXX also renders *yeled* variously: *paidion* (Gen 21:16, etc.), *teknon* (Gen 33:7, etc.), *paidarion* (2 Sam 12:18, etc.), *neaniskos* (Dan 1:10, etc.); see A. Oepke, "παῖς," *TDNT* 5:636–54.

J. Kühlewein

ים *yām* **sea** → תהום *t'hôm*

יָסַד *ysd* **to found**

S 3245; BDB 413b; *HALOT* 2:417a; *TDOT* 6:109–21; *TWOT* 875; *NIDOTTE* 3569

1. The root *ysd* occurs in Hebr., Ug., and Jew. Aram., and with

limited meanings in other Sem. languages (Syr. *sattā* “vine cutting,” < *sadtā*, *LS* 502a; Arab. *wisād* “pillow,” Wehr 1066); the relationship to Akk. *išdu* “foundation” is disputed (KBL 386a; cf., however, *AHw* 393b).

The verb occurs chiefly in the qal and pi. (without distinction? cf. Ezra 3:10 with 3:12; otherwise, *HP* 211f.), as well as in the pu., hi., and ho. A series of substs., e.g., *y<sup>e</sup>sôd* and *môsād* (see 2), has developed from the stem, all with the meaning “foundation, establishment.”

2. The verb (41x: qal 20x, Psa 7x, Isa 5x, pi. 10x, pu. 6x, ho. 3x, ni. 2x) belongs, apart from its architectural usage (esp. in the historiographical books), primarily to creation terminology (Psa, Deutero-Isa, etc.). Of the substs., *y<sup>e</sup>sôd* occurs 19x (Lev 8x), *môsād* 13x, *mûsād* and *mûsādâ* 2x each, *y<sup>e</sup>sûd*, *y<sup>e</sup>sûdâ*, and *massad* 1x each (with Lis., counting 2 Chron 24:27 as qal and Ezek 41:8 Q as a subst., excl. Psa 2:2 and 31:14 *ysd* II ni. “to combine”). Cf. the lists in P. Humbert, “Note sur *yāsad* et ses dérivés,” *FS Baumgartner* 135–42.

3. *ysd* denotes the laying of the foundation (not of an individual foundation stone, which is invisible after the erection of the building; cf. Isa 28:16), the construction of the foundation walls (1 Kgs 5:31; cf. 7:10f.; K. Galling, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels im persischen Zeitalter* [1964], 129ff.). Yet this precise sense can be devalued to “to lay the lowest level” (2 Chron 31:7) or expanded to the more general meaning “to restore, renovate” (cf. 2 Chron 24:27 with 24:4 and 2 Kgs 12:13; A. Gelston, *VT* 16 [1966]: 232–35). In addition to the “foundation” of buildings, e.g., temple (1 Kgs 5:31, etc.) or palace (7:10), *ysd* can refer to cities (Josh 6:26; 1 Kgs 16:34; Isa 54:11) or countries (Exod 9:18; Isa 23:13); indeed, it can become a figure for the dependability of faith (Isa 28:16). Because *ysd* in its basic meaning also includes “to fortify” and “to initiate, begin” (Zech 4:9; cf. Exod 9:18), it may finally assume the sense “to determine, command” (Esth 1:8) or “to install” (1 Chron 9:22; cf. Hab 1:12), or express the notion of durability (Psa 119:152, of Yahweh’s testimonies or commandments; cf. Prov 10:25).

The interpretation of Psa 8:3 “to found might” (or concretely: “fortress, bulwark”?; not “praise”; cf. Matt 21:16) is much disputed.

4. As an architectural expression, *ysd* seems to have been originally at home in artisan’s wisdom (cf. Prov 3:19; Job 38:4) and to have found its way into the creation terminology of cultic speech (cf. also Humbert, op. cit. 137f., 140f.). In this use, the former basic meaning applies when creation is regarded as the work of the “hand” (cf. e.g., Isa 48:13 with Zech 4:9). Yet cosmogonic concepts vary in the details. The dual expression “founding the earth and extending (or the like) heaven” (Isa 48:13; 51:13, 16; Zech 12:1;

cf. Psa 78:69; 102:26) offers no information concerning the origins of the two components of the world or the foundation upon which this establishment took place. In contrast, Psa 24:2 incorporates the sea as the locale (*ysd ʿal* “to found upon”), and Psa 104:5 speaks of “foundations” (*mākôn*) under the earth (cf. Job 38:4ff.). Whether the one concept of the world resting upon columns in the sea underlies all statements is, however, questionable; the OT worldview is hardly unified.

The Gen 1 creation account rests upon other concepts, i.e., the notion of the division of heaven and earth or of water and land should be distinguished from the “foundation of the earth.” Thus Psa 89:10ff. (esp. v 12) mixes divergent concepts, or Isa 48:13 (cf. 51:16) can explain manual activity as creation through the word (*qrʾ* “to call”).

Amos 9:6 (cf. Psa 78:69) also mentions a foundation of the heavenly “arches (?) upon the earth.” Correspondingly, the “foundations” of the earth (Psa 82:5; Mic 6:2, etc.; cf. *KTU* 1.4.I.40, *msdt arš*), of the mountains (Deut 32:22; Psa 18:8), of the dry land (Psa 18:16; cf. 89:12), and of the heavens (2 Sam 22:8) are mentioned.

5. In the Qumran community, *yswd*—perhaps under the influence of Isa 28:16—becomes a designation for the community itself (J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* [1960], 2:93f.; S. H. Siedl, *Qumran: Eine Mönchsgemeinde im Alten Bund* [1963], 54ff.).

In one sense the Gk. equivalent *ktizein* undergoes a comparable development from “to construct, found” to “to create” (see W. Foerster, “κτίζω,” *TDNT* 3:1000–1035).

W. H. Schmidt

## יָסַר *ysr* to chastise

S 3256; BDB 415b; *HALOT* 2:418b; *TDOT* 6:127–34; *TWOT* 877; *NIDOTTE* 3579

1. The root *\*wsr*, whose basic meaning may not be ascertained, occurs outside Hebr. only in Ug. (*wsr* D “to rebuke, scold”; *WUS* no. 870; *UT* nos. 807, 1120).

Jew. Aram. *yissûrāʾ* II (or *ʾisûrāʾ* II) “chastisement” may be influenced by Hebr. (cf. Mid. Hebr. *yissûr*), if a *ysr* II (in addition to *ysr* “to bind”) should not be considered (see Dalman 185a; contrast e.g., Jastrow 582f.); otherwise, “to rebuke, reprove” in Aram. is *ksʾ* II/*ksn*/*kss* (Syr. is comparable). Regarding the questionable Eg. Aram. *ytsr* in Aḥ. 80, see Cowley 234. In addition, cf. *AHw* 79a on Akk. *ašāru* (with reference to Landsberger).

In addition to the verb *ysr*, the Hebr. OT has the important subst. *mûsâr* “chastisement, discipline” (BL 490); *yissôr* “faultfinder” (BL 479) is a hapax legomenon (Job 40:2). The verb, attested esp. in the pi. in addition to the qal and the ni., also exhibits the rare reflexive-pass. nitp. (Ezek 23:48; cf. BL 283) as well as several divergent forms, such as the unique hi. form *ʔaysîrēm* (Hos 7:12 txt?; cf. BL 383).

2. The word family, which occurs a total of 93x in the OT, has its greatest concentration in the 42 occurrences of the verb; the lesser concentration of the 50 occurrences of the noun *mûsâr* evidences a clearer wisdom influence.

*mûsâr* occurs 30x in Prov (60%), predominantly (with 13x each) in the collections chs. 1–9 and 10:1–22:16, otherwise 4x in Job (in addition to *yissôr* Job 40:2), 14x in the Prophets (8x in Jer), and 1x each in Deut 11:2 and Psa 50:17. The verb, which occurs 4x in the qal, 5x in the ni., and 31x in the pi. (on the hi. and nitp., see 1), occurs 3x in Lev 26, 5x in Deut, 6x in 1 Kgs 12:11, 14 = 2 Chron 10:11, 14, 13x in the Prophets (7x in Jer), 9x in Psa, 1x in Job 4:3, and 5x in Prov. The root is totally absent from Gen, Exod, Num, Eccl, etc.

3. The chief meaning of the verb is “to chastise,” that of the subst. *mûsâr* “chastisement”; the reference can be either to corporal (*ysr* pi.: Prov 19:18; 29:17; also Deut 22:18; cf. Prov 19:19 ni.; *mûsâr*, combined with *šebet* “rod”: Prov 13:24; 22:15; 23:13; cf. Jer 2:30; 30:14) or—indeed, more often—verbal “chastisement” in the sense of “instruction” (cf. *HP* 217f.; Jenni categorizes *ysr* among the “verbs of speech”); “rod” and “words” should not be contrasted as means, for both were rearing techniques in the family context (in addition to the texts cited, cf. Deut 21:18) and in the wisdom school (cf. H. Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung* [1957], 56ff., 131ff.; also L. Dürr, *Das Erziehungswesen im AT und im antiken Orient* [1932], 114ff.). In the context of oral chastisement, often an expanded usage occurs, sometimes exhibiting a negative character (see e.g., Job 20:3; cf. *yissôr* “faultfinder” Job 40:2), and sometimes a positive character (i.e., in the sense of “warning” or “to warn, instruct”; see the lexicons and G. Bertram, *TDNT* 5:603ff.; on the similar Eg. *šbʔy.t* “instruction,” cf. Gemser, *HAT* 16, 19; H. H. Schmid, *Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit* [1966], 9ff.), as well as in a fig. sense, primarily of God’s “chastisement/training” (see 4; cf. also, however, Prov 16:22 “chastisement is folly to the fool”).

The (logical) subjects of “chastisement” are, first of all, parents and wisdom teachers (but also others like the king in his government, 1 Kgs 12:11, 14), then in a fig. sense esp. God (cf. Deut 8:5; see 4). The interest seems, however, to lie particularly on the objs., who are always persons, and on whom the edifying “chastisement” and “instruction” is to have effect

(of the various effects, see 4); they could also, then, become grammatical subjs. The noun's shift in meaning is semasiologically significant in this regard: *mûsâr* occasionally means not "chastisement (i.e., the act), but already its effect (i.e., 'discipline')" (von Rad, *Theol.* 1:431n.32; see G. Gerleman, FS Vriezen 112f.), which reflects the resultative character of the pi., most often used in this context (see *HP* 218).

Synonyms of the verb and of the noun, and verbs used with the noun, are instructive with reference to this circumstance. Verbs paralleled with *ysr* are: *lmd* pi. "to teach" (Psa 94:10, 12; cf. Jer 31:18; 32:33), *ykh* hi. "to rebuke" (Jer 2:19; Psa 6:2; Prov 9:7); cf. also *yrh* hi. "to teach" (Isa 28:26), and *šûb* "to turn around" (Jer 5:3; cf. 31:18). *khh* pi. "to rebuke" also occurs as a semantically related verb (1 Sam 3:13). The most important synonym for *mûsâr* in Prov is the subst. *tôkaḥat* (→ *ykh*) "rebuke, warning, reproof" (3:11; 5:12; 10:17; 12:1; 13:18; 15:5, 10, 32; cf. 6:23 txt?); the following also occur in Prov: *g<sup>c</sup>ārâ* "scolding" (13:1), *bînâ* "insight" (1:2; 4:1; and esp. 23:23), *da<sup>c</sup>at* "knowledge" (8:10; 23:12), *ḥokmâ* "wisdom" (1:2, 7), *ḥešâ* "counsel" (19:20), *tôrâ* "instruction" (1:8; cf. 6:23), and *yir<sup>λ</sup>at yhw* "fear of Yahweh" (1:7; cf. Zeph 3:7); cf. also *d<sup>b</sup>āray* "my words" (Psa 50:17; cf. Jer 35:13) and *qôl* "voice" (Jer 7:28; Zeph 3:2), both in reference to Yahweh.

Of verbs associated with *mûsâr*, *šm<sup>c</sup>* "to hear" is esp. noteworthy (Prov 1:8; 4:1; 13:1; 19:27; cf. 5:12f.; 15:32; 23:12; Job 20:3; 36:10; also Jer 7:28; 17:23; 32:33; 35:13; Zeph 3:2; Psa 50:17). Other verbs, particularly in a positive sense, are: → *lqh* "to take, acquire" (Prov 1:3; 8:10; 24:32; in addition to Jer 7:28; 17:23; 32:33; 35:13; Zeph 3:2), *qbl* pi. "to accept" (Prov 19:20), *qnh* "to purchase" (23:23), *ḥb* "to love" (12:1; cf. 13:1 txt em), *ḥzq* hi. "to hold firm" (4:13), *šmr* "to keep" (10:17), *yd<sup>c</sup>* "to know" (1:2); in the negative sense: *bzh* (Prov 1:7), *m<sup>λ</sup>s* (3:11), *n<sup>λ</sup>s* (15:5) "to despise," *pr<sup>c</sup>* "to ignore" (8:33; 13:18; 15:32; cf. 1:25), *sn<sup>λ</sup>* "to hate" (5:12; cf. 12:1; Psa 50:17).

4. In the first instance, parents and teachers, as well as God, are the actual subjs. of *ysr* (see 3); thus the "chastisement/education" is exercised by an authority, which presupposes a definite regulation. It is not selfishly motivated, but aims at a positive effect on the chastised (see 3), unless it intends e.g., punishment in the legal sense (cf. Deut 22:18 and prophetic judgment speech; see below).

In the wisdom arena, the effect is largely edification and discipline of the individual. "Chastisement" removes "folly" in the young man (Prov 22:15; cf., however, 19:27) and "makes wise," so that in terms of its effect *mûsâr* becomes an alternative for "wisdom" and "insight" (Prov 1:2f.; 8:33; 15:32f.; 19:20; 23:23; cf. 12:1; G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* [1972], 53), which should not be seen in strictly intellectual terms but in the framework of a religiously grounded concept of life. The young chastised person still

has “hope” (19:18), he shall “not die” (23:13), for *mûsâr* is a “way of life” (6:23; cf. 10:17 txt em); but the evildoer (*rāšāʿ*) dies “from lack of discipline” (5:23; cf. 15:10, 32). Thus *mûsâr* is a good deed that effects fate, that results in “life,” that brings “honor” (cf. 13:18; 15:33) and “joy” (29:17; cf. Gemser, HAT 16, 27).

More specifically, the religious character of *mûsâr* involves an association with “fear of Yahweh” (*yirʿat yhw̄h*) and with “humility” (*ʿnāwâ*, Prov 15:33; cf. 1:7); as a “way of life” it also connects with the “light” of “commandment and law” (6:23; cf. Gemser, HAT 16, 41; 1:7; Psa 94:12); thus it approximates pious obedience (cf. also Lev 26:18ff.). The theological abstraction of the expression “Yahweh’s chastisement” (*mûsar yhw̄h* Deut 11:2; Prov 3:11) in reference to individuals (Prov 3:11f.) means suffering as “God’s means of education” (cf. Gemser, HAT 16, 28f.; J. A. Sanders, *Suffering as Divine Discipline in the OT and Post-Biblical Judaism* [1955]; Fohrer, KAT 16, 152, on Job 5:17; additionally, Psa 6:2; 38:2; 39:12; 118:18; also Jer 10:24). It often emphasizes God’s love, and, with regard to the people of God, Deut 11:2 refers to his direction of history as “discipline”; the comparison in Deut 8:5 is noteworthy.

This salvation-historical viewpoint is esp. characteristic of the prophetic message, which can still correlate *mûsâr* with Yahweh’s “word” and “voice” (see 3). In the context of the prophetic message of judgment, however, *ysr/mûsâr* consistently means God’s punitive act of judgment against his people, sometimes retrospectively (Jer 2:30; 5:3; 17:23; 30:14; 32:33; 35:13; cf. 31:18, as well as Isa 26:16; Zeph 3:2) and sometimes prospectively (Hos 5:2; 7:12; 10:10; cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 99; in addition to Jer 2:19); but warnings (Jer 6:8; cf. Ezek 5:15; 23:48) and conditional promises (Jer 30:11; 46:28) also occur. Isa 53:5 assumes a special position: *mûsar šʿlômēnû ʿālāyw* “the punishment/suffering of our salvation on him” is an eschatological expression of vicarious (expiatory) suffering.

The theological profile of the word family *ysr/mûsâr/yissôr* varies with spheres and types of usage; its basic pattern, however, is of the nature of an order theology: it refers primarily to integration in God’s order of life.

5. The word family does not seem to be prominent in Qumran literature. The LXX renders *ysr* primarily by *paideuein*, *mûsâr* primarily by *paideia*. On the shift in meaning and on the Hebr. influence on the NT concept of *paideia*, see G. Bertram, “παίδεῦω,” *TDNT* 5:596–625; H.-J. Kraus, “Paedagogia Dei als theologischer Geschichtsbegriff,” *EvT* 8 (1948/49): 515–27.

M. Sæbø

## יָעַד *yʿd* to appoint

S 3259; BDB 416b; HALOT 2:419a; TDOT 6:135–44; TWOT 878; NIDOTTE 3585

1. The root \**wʿd*, known in all branches of the Sem. languages, means “to appoint, arrange.” It acquired various nuances in verbal and nom. forms, e.g., Akk. *adannu* “term, time limit” (< \**ʿad-ān-*, *AHw* 10b; *CAD* A/1:97–101, 184f.); Ug. *ʿdt, mʿd* “assembly (of the gods)” (*WUS* no. 1195); Bibl. Aram. (according to BLA 196, the etymology is not entirely clear) *ʿiddān* “time, year” (KBL 1106b; *DISO* 204; *LS* 511a); Syr. *waʿdā* “appointment, time limit” (*LS* 185b, denominative pa. “to invite”); Mid. Hebr. pi. and Jew. Aram. pa. “to designate as wife” (KBL 388a); Arab. *wʿd* “to promise,” *mawʿid* “(place/time of an) appointment” (Wehr 1081); Eth. *mōʿalt* “(a particular) day” (< \**mawʿadt*, *GVG* 1:237).

The relationship of this root to Old Aram. *ʿdn* (pl.) “(provisions of a) contract” is uncertain (*DISO* 203f.; Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 23f.; contrast *KAI* 2:242; cf. Akk. *adû* “oath,” *AHw* 14a; *CAD* A/1:131–34).

The Hebr. verb occurs in the qal “to appoint, arrange,” ni. “to make an appointment, appear,” hi. “to summon (before the court),” and ho. “to be summoned, be under orders.” Subst. forms are *môʿēd* “established place, established time,” *môʿād* “gathering place” (so Procksch, *Jesaja 1–39*, KAT, 206, on Isa 14:31; L. Rost, *Die Vorstufen von Kirche und Synagoge im AT* [1938], 7), *mûʿādâ* “arrangement” (only in Josh 20:9 of the cities of refuge established for the killer; cf. also Rost, op. cit. 7), and *ʿēdâ* “community” (BL 450; on Eg. Aram. *ʿdh* cf. *DISO* 39; A. Verger, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 77f.; id., *Ricerche giuridiche sui papiri aramaici di Elefantina* [1965], 116–18).

The association of → *ʿēt* “time” with *yʿd* (BL 450: < \**ʿid-tu*) is uncertain. G. R. Driver (*WO* 1/5 [1950]: 412) mentions additional root relationships.

*nôʿadyâ* (Ezra 8:33, a Levite; Neh 6:14, a prophetess; *IP* 184: “Yahweh has revealed himself, proclaimed”; cf. J. J. Stamm, FS Baumgartner 312).

2. The verb occurs in the qal 5x (Exod 21:8 txt em? [cf., among others, Rost, op. cit. 33; contra Noth, ATD 5, 136]; Exod 21:9; 2 Sam 20:5; Jer 47:7; Mic 6:9), in the ni. 19x (Ezek 25:22; 29:42f.; 30:6, 36; Num 10:3f.; 14:35; 16:11; 17:19; 27:3; Josh 11:5; 1 Kgs 8:5 = 2 Chron 5:6; Amos 3:3;

Psa 48:5; Job 2:11; Neh 6:2, 10), in the hi. 3x (Jer 49:19 = 50:44; Job 9:19), in the ho. 2x (Jer 24:1; Ezek 21:21), a total of 29x.

*mô'ēd* occurs a total of 223x (25x masc. pl., 1x in 2 Chron 8:13 fem. pl.; Num 65x, Lev 49x, Exod 38x, 2 Chron 8x), 146x in the expression *ʾōhel mô'ēd* (Num 56x, Lev 43x, Exod 34x, 2 Chron 4x, 1 Chron 3x, Deut and Josh 2x, 1 Sam and 1 Kgs 1x); *mô'ād* and *mû'ādâ* occur 1x each (see 1), *ēdâ* 149x (Num 83x, Exod and Josh 15x, Lev 12x, Psa 10x, Judg 5x, 1 Kgs, Jer, and Job 2x, Hos, Prov, and 2 Chron 1x), predominantly in P and in diction dependent on it (cf. the presentation in Rost, op. cit. 76 [add Lev 8:4], 85).

3. (a) The basic meaning of the verb is clearly delimited. It can be defined as “the announcement of a decree or a decision, whose execution is tied to a particular place or a fixed time, so that deviation from these conditions . . . equals noncompliance with the order” (Rost, op. cit. 6). David establishes a time and place for Amasa (2 Sam 20:5); a master selects his slave as a wife for himself (Exod 21:8 txt em) or for his son (v 9); the text of Mic 6:9 is corrupt. Several people make an appointment (ni.), then assemble and meet: kings (Josh 11:5; Psa 48:5), two people on the path (Amos 3:3), Job’s friends (Job 2:11), leader and people (Num 10:3f.), etc. (1 Kgs 8:5 = 2 Chron 5:6; Neh 6:2, 10). The hi. does not seem to have remained totally unaffected by the root *ʿūd* “to testify” (→ *ēd*, Rost, op. cit. 6); it was used exclusively to designate the scheduling and arrangement of a judicial occasion and the act of summoning before the court (Jer 49:19 = 50:44; Job 9:19, in each case with God as obj.). The two ho. passages attest only the ptcp. and could be rendered as qal pass., “to be commanded, ordered” (Jer 24:1 txt? Rudolph, HAT 12, 156; Ezek 21:21).

(b) The subst. *mô'ēd* indicates the place (Josh 8:14), the time of the meeting (1 Sam 9:24; 13:8, 11; 2 Sam 20:5 with *yʿd* [see 3a]; 24:15), or both (1 Sam 20:35). *mô'ēd* usually means “established time, the correspondence of different periods,” etc.: stars (Gen 1:14; Psa 104:19), the time of the exodus from Egypt (Deut 16:6), the moment of an attack (Judg 20:38), and the time of the storks’ migration (Jer 8:7). The expression “next year at this time” occurs in the context of the promises of a son (*lammô'ēd [hazzeh]*) (Gen 17:21; 18:14; 2 Kgs 4:16f.; cf. Gen 21:2; → *hyh* 3c). The place established for every living thing is death (Job 30:23).

(c) *ēdâ* is used once to designate the swarm of bees Samson finds in the carcass of the lion (Judg 14:8); otherwise, the word is used exclusively in the religious sense (see 4c).

(d) Jer 47:7 parallels *yʿd* qal and → *šwh* pi. “to appoint, order”; *yʿd* is more limited in meaning than *šwh* pi. because of the indication of a specific time or place (Rost, op. cit. 6n.2).

The meaning “to appoint, arrange” for semantically related verbs derives from the basic meaning of engraving or of fastening and laying down; thus e.g., for → *ḥqq* (3a; Isa 10:1), *ḥrṣ* (Job 14:5, days), *nqb* (basic meaning “to pierce”; Gen 30:28, wages; Isa 62:2, name), *tʕh* (Num 34:7f., boundaries), → *ysd* (qal Psa 104:8, place) → *kûn* hi. (3c; Exod 23:20, etc., place; Nah 2:4, day), *šîm* (“to place, lay,” Exod 21:13, place; Exod 9:5 *môʕed* “moment”; cf. Job 34:23 txt em), *šît* “to place, lay,” Exod 23:31, boundary). *zmn* (pu. ptcp., Ezra 10:14; Neh 10:35; 13:31), a denominative from *zʕmān* “definite time, hour” (Eccl 3:1; Esth 9:27, 31; Neh 2:6; an Aram. loan word; cf. Wagner nos. 77f.), has only the temporal meaning.\*

4. (a) The verb is rarely used in theological contexts. Yahweh determines time and place for the sword drawn against Ashkelon (Jer 47:7). If Yahweh himself attends a meeting (at the ark or the holy tent), *yʕd* ni. assumes the meaning “to reveal oneself” (Exod 25:22; 29:42f.; 30:6, 36; Num 17:19). People can gather to oppose God as does the “band of Korah” (Num 14:35; 16:11; 27:3).

(b) In religious usage, the subst. *môʕed* “fixed time” indicates festival dates (Lev 23:2, 4; Isa 1:14; Ezek 36:38; Hos 2:13), esp. the feast of Passover/Unleavened Bread (Exod 13:10; 23:15, etc.). The location of the feast can also be indicated (Psa 74:4, 8). The end of time is firmly established in advance (Dan 8:19; 11:27, etc.). The “mount of assembly (*har-môʕed*) in the extreme north” is the mountain on which the gods assemble (Isa 14:13).

*ʕhel môʕed* “tent of meeting” (between God and Moses or between God and the people = “holy tent”) is a mobile sanctuary distinct from the ark (G. von Rad, “The Tent and the Ark,” *PHOE* 103–24; see also Eichrodt 1:109f.) and the location of revelation during the wandering period; cf. Rost, op. cit. 35–38; von Rad, *Theol.* 1:235f.; bibliog. in G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* [1972], 83n.37.

(c) *ʕdâ* almost exclusively indicates the community defined in religious terms (sometimes with a dependent gen.; <sup>c</sup>*dat* [*b<sup>c</sup>nê*] *yîsrâʕêl*, <sup>c</sup>*dat yhw*, usually without further modification; cf. Rost, op. cit. 76), esp. in P (Rost, op. cit. 32), who replaces the otherwise common → *ʕam* “people” in the exilic period under the influence of the name *ʕhel môʕed* (Rost, op. cit. 39f.). The rebellious “band of Korah” is also included in this term (Num 16:5, etc.), as well as, outside P, the “band of evildoers” (Psa 22:17; cf. also 68:31; 86:14) and the “assembly of the gods” over whom Yahweh rules (Psa 82:1; cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:155f., with Ug. pars.).

One can compare → *qāhāl* “assembly” with *ʕdâ* (cf. Rost, op. cit. esp. 87–91).

5. (a) The LXX equivalents have all noticeably expanded the

meanings of the Hebr. terms (Rost, op. cit. 107–38, with tables). *y<sup>c</sup>d* is translated by *synagein*, among others, *‘ēdâ* usually with *synagōgē* (cf. W. Schrage, “συναγωγή,” *TDNT* 7:798–852), *mô‘ēd* usually with *kairos* (cf. G. Delling, “καίρος,” *TDNT* 3:455–64) or *heortē*, *’ōhel mô‘ēd* with *hē skēnē tou martyriou* (*mô‘ēd* thus derived from *‘ūd* “to testify”; see Rost, op. cit. 132).

(b) Judaism consistently substitutes Aram. *zmn* for *y<sup>c</sup>d*, thus placing special emphasis upon the temporal element. Aram. *k<sup>c</sup>nīštā’* is used for *‘ēdâ* (Judg 14:8, the “nest” of the bees; Rost, op. cit. 97–101; Schrage, op. cit. 808f.).

The Qumran community differed. In a conscious reversion to the usage of the Hebr. OT, it preferred the expression *‘ēdâ* for the community of God (Schrage, op. cit. 809f.) and assigned it various attributes: “community of Israel” (1QSa 1:1, 20; 2:12, etc.), “holy community” (1QSa 1:12; 2:16), “community of the men of perfect holiness” (CD 20:2), “community of the godly” (1QM 1:10), “community of God” (1QM 4:9), etc. But the “community of Belial” (1QH 2:22) and the “community of evil” (1QM 15:9) could be so designated. *mô‘ēd* primarily signifies “time” (numerous occurrences, e.g., 1QS 1:9 “times of testimonies”; usually in the pl., but also in the sg.; “time of his visitation” 1QS 3:18), also “festival time, feast” (likewise numerous occurrences, e.g., 1QpHab 11:6; usually in the masc. pl., in CD 6:18 and 12:4 in the fem. pl.). Here too, then, as with the verb in Jewish usage, the original significance of the establishment of a specific location has faded (cf. F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte* [1956], 169; J. Carmignac, *VT* 5 [1955]: 354). The assembly itself (1QM 2:7; 1QSa 2:2 with *y<sup>c</sup>d*, etc.) and the “house of assembly” (*bēt mô‘ēd* 1QM 3:4) could also be described with *mô‘ēd*. By contrast, the verb *y<sup>c</sup>d* expresses the designation of a day for battle (1QM 1:10), as well as the establishment of an assembly at a specific place (1QSa 2:2 with *mô‘ēd*, 2:22, the ten men who assemble in a legitimate cultic unit, etc.).

(c) The NT chooses *ekklēsia* to designate the early Christian community (cf. K. L. Schmidt, “καλέω,” *TDNT* 3:487–536, esp. 501–36 concerning *ekklēsia*, whose meaning is explained in terms of the Aram. *k<sup>c</sup>nīštā’*) and seems thereby to seek to continue the OT concept of the → *qāhāl* (Rost, op. cit. 151–56). According to W. Schrage, *ZTK* 60 (1963): 178–202, the choice of *ekklēsia* reflects a desire for discontinuity with the Jewish synagogue, which was centered around the law and which one therefore wished to abandon.

## יֵעִל *yʿl* hi. **to be of use**

S 3276; BDB 418b; *HALOT* 2:420b; *TDOT* 6:144–47; *TWOT* 882; *NIDOTTE* 3603

1. The Hebr. verb *yʿl*, whose etymological derivation is uncertain, occurs only in the hi.

Those who associate the word with the Arab. verb *waʿala* “to seek protection on a knoll” (thus e.g., GB 307a; König 154b; KBL 389a; Zorell 318; but not BDB 418b) usually consider *yāʿēl* “ram” (1 Sam 24:3; Psa 104:18; Job 39:1) and *yaʿlâ* “ewe” (Prov 5:19) as derivatives (thus GB, König, and Zorell, but not KBL). But *yaʿlâ* is common Sem. (P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/23 [1968]: 283, 294; Ug. *yʿl WUS* no. 1197; *UT* no. 1124; Arab. *waʿl, waʿil*, is *waʿala* a denominative?) and should probably be separated from the verb *yʿl*, with BDB and KBL.

A few also understand *bʿlîyaʿal* “uselessness, harmful” ( $\rightarrow ršʿ$ ) as a derivative of *yʿl*, presuming a noun *\*yaʿal* “use” or the like. The etymological explanation of *bʿlîyaʿal* is still controversial, however (cf. V. Maag, “Bʿlîjaʿal im AT,” *TZ* 21 [1965]: 287–99; *HAL* 128 with bibliog.); yet the OT usage of *bʿlîyaʿal* (27x, 17x in Deut–1 Kgs) seems to correspond at least functionally to the thoroughly negative usage of *yʿl* hi. (see 3).

2. *yʿl* hi. is attested 16x in prophetic texts (Isa 30:5[bis], 6; 44:9f.; 47:12; 48:17; 57:12; Jer 2:8, 11; 7:8; 12:13; 16:19; 23:32[bis]; Hab 2:18), 6x in wisdom texts (Job 15:3; 21:15; 30:13; 35:3; Prov 10:2; 11:4), and once in the Dtr history (1 Sam 12:21), for a total of 23x.

3. The usage of the word, whose chief meaning is “to help, be of use,” may be classified in two major groups: (a) prophetic, incl. the unique Dtr passage, and (b) wisdom (Job and Prov).

Common to both groups are the predominantly negative usages expressed primarily through particles of negation (usually *lōʿ* + impf.; Isa 30:5b + inf.; Isa 44:9 *bal* + impf.; Isa 44:10 and Jer 7:8 *lʿbiltî* + inf.; Jer 16:19 *ʿēn* + ptcp.), but also in indirect ways sometimes mockingly ironic (Isa 47:12 with *ʿūlay* “perhaps”), sometimes through critical questions expecting a negative response (Hab 2:18; Job 21:15; 35:3); Job 30:13 also has a negative connotation. The only full-fledged exception is Isa 48:17.

(a) Isa 48:17 assumes a unique place semantically in prophetic usage because Yahweh here declares to Israel positively that he “teaches what helps (him).” Otherwise the verb refers to that which does not “benefit” or “help,” esp. in reference to idols (1 Sam 12:21; Jer 2:8, 11, a nearly

substantivized usage; then Jer 1Jer 6:19; Isa 44:9; cf. also 57:12), to images (Hab 2:18), or to Babylon's curses and sorceries (Isa 47:12). An early occurrence, characteristic of Isaiah, designates Egypt as "a people who cannot benefit (Israel)" (Isa 30:5f.); reference to the false prophets and their lies is similarly characteristic of Jeremiah (Jer 23:32; 7:8; cf. 2:8).

Parallels in the negative usage are in 1 Sam 12:21 "cannot save" (→ *nšl* hi.), in Isa 30:5 "no help" (*ʿēzer*, → *ʿzt*) and "shame (*bōšet*) and also derision (*ḥerpâ*)," in Isa 44:9 "naught" (*tōhû*; cf. also Isa 47:12; Jer 12:13), while in Jer 2:11 *kābôd* "glory" (a unique usage in reference to Yahweh) functions as an antonym. A positive parallel is "to lead in the way (*drk* hi.)," in Isa 48:17.

(b) In one of the older collections of proverbs, the negative usage of the verb refers to "treasures gained through injustice" (Prov 10:2) and "riches" that "are of no use in the day of wrath" (11:4); in both cases the opposite is "but righteousness saves (*nšl* hi.) from death." Job has a negated *skn* qal "to bring benefit" twice as a synonym (Job 15:3; 35:3; it also occurs in Job 22:2[bis]; 34:9); this usage concerns the "usefulness" of Job's wise words (15:2f.) or, even more basically, of his "righteousness before God" (35:2f.); elsewhere, the negated verb refers to his opponents (21:15; 30:13), who are identical with the "godless" (*ršāʿîm*; cf. 21:7ff.).

4. Both in wisdom and esp. in prophetic usage, then, the verb is thoroughly theological. Here the verb does not refer to a neutral, profane, or even eudaemonistic "usefulness" (cf. further W. Zimmerli, "Concerning the Structure of OT Wisdom," *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* [1976], 204n.27). Rather, in a wisdom contrast between righteousness and foolish behavior, between a rich life and death, *yʿl* refers to individuals' options, and in prophetic judgment and struggle against foreign allies, it refers to false prophets and idolatry of various types, to the well-being of Israel, God's people. Only Yahweh can positively instruct in deed and word concerning what "is helpful" and "of benefit" for Israel's well-being and proper worship.

5. *yʿl* hi. occurs 1x in the available literature from Qumran (1QH 6:20). The LXX translates the verb with few exceptions by *ōphelein* and derivatives. The theological usage continues in the NT (cf. e.g., the questions and negated statements in 1 Cor 15:32 with *ophelos* "benefit"; in Matt 16:26; John 6:63; 1 Cor 13:3; 14:6; Gal 5:2, etc., with *ōphelein* "to be of benefit").

M. Sæbø

## יָצַח *yʿṣ* to advise

S 3289; BDB 419b; HALOT 2:421b; TDOT 6:156–85; TWOT 887; NIDOTTE 3619

1. In WSem. the root underlying Hebr. *yʿṣ* “to advise” occurs in Pun. (*yʿṣ* “advisor” RES 906.1; DISO 110), Aram. (Imp. Aram.: pe. ptcp. *yʿṣ* “advisor” Ah. 12; *ṣṣh* “counsel” Ah. 28, etc.; Bibl. Aram.: *yʿṣ* pe. ptcp. “advisor” Ezra 7:14f.; itpa. “to confer” Dan 6:8; *ṣṣā* “counsel” Dan 2:14; Jew. Aram.: *yʿṣ* and *yʿṣ*, KBL 1082b), and Arab. (*wʿṣ* “to warn,” Wehr 1082); cf. Eth. *mʿd* (Dillmann 210).

The semantic range of *yʿṣ* coincides with Akk. *malāku* “to advise, confer” (AHw 593f.), represented by *mlk* II ni. “to deliberate” in Neh 5:7 (cf. Wagner no. 170; contra L. Kopf, VT 9 [1959]: 261f.); cf. also Bibl. Aram. *melak* “counsel” (Dan 4:24; → *melek* 1).

Besides *yʿṣ* qal “to advise, decide,” OT forms of the root include the ni. (tolerative “to be advised,” reciprocal “to confer”), the hitp. “to confer,” and the verbal nouns *ṣṣā* “counsel, decision, plan,” and *mōṣṣā*. *ṣṣ* occurs twice as a by-form of *yʿṣ* (Judg 19:30; Isa 8:10).

On the suggestion of G. R. Driver (ET 57 [1946]: 192f.), KBL 726f. derives *ṣṣā* in Psa 13:3 and 106:43 from *ṣṣh* II and translates “disobedience, rebellion, reluctance” (see further G. R. Driver, JSS 13 [1968]: 45).

2. In the Hebr. OT the qal occurs 57x (excl. the two forms of *ṣṣ*, see 1; Isa 15x, 2 Sam 7x), the ni. 22x (2 Chron 9x, 1 Kgs 5x), the hitp. 1x (Psa 83:4), the verb a total of 80x; *ṣṣā* 88x (incl. Psa 13:3; 106:43; Isa 18x, Psa 11x, 2 Sam and Prov 10x, Job 9x, Jer 8x), and *mōṣṣā* 7x, the subst. a total of 95x. The root occurs (175 passages) most frequently in Isa (35x); then follow Psa and 2 Chron 19x each, 2 Sam and Prov 17x each, Jer 13x, 1 Kgs and Job 12x each, Ezra 6x, 1 Chron 5x, Mic 4x, Ezek 3x, 2 Kgs, Hos, and Neh 2x each, Exod, Num, Deut, Judg, Nah, Hab, and Zech 1x each.

3. (a) The qal in the basic meaning “to advise” exhibits various constructions: *yʿṣ* introducing direct address (2 Sam 17:11), *yʿṣ* I<sup>e</sup> “to advise someone” (Job 26:3), with an acc. of person “to advise someone, confer with someone” (Exod 18:19; 2 Sam 17:15; Jer 38:15), *yʿṣ* *ṣṣā* “to give advice” (internal acc. or figura etymologica; cf. GKC §117p; 2 Sam 6:23; 17:7), with *ṣṣā* and an acc. “to advise someone, give advice” (1 Kgs 1:12; 12:8, 13), with a double acc. “to advise someone, something” (Num 24:14).

In view of an upcoming conference, the translation “to announce, disclose information” is possible for a few texts (Num 24:14; perhaps also Jer 38:15; cf. in addition *ngd* hi.).

The meaning “to advise” also results in “to decide, plan,” which, according to context, may have either a positive (rare, see Isa 32:8) or a negative connotation, e.g., *yʿṣrāʿal* “to plan evil, decide against” (Isa 7:5; cf. also Isa 32:7; Nah 1:11; Hab 2:10; Psa 62:5, etc.); *yʿṣr ʿēṣāʿal* “to reach a decision against, plan against” (Jer 49:30); *yʿṣr ʿaṣat-rāʿ* “to plan evil” (Ezek 11:2).

Options for the ni. result from the meaning of the qal: tolerative, “to receive advice” (Prov 13:10, textual emendation is unnecessary; cf. *BHS*); reciprocal, “to confer with one another” (with *yaḥdāw* “together” Isa 45:21; Psa 71:10; 83:6; Neh 6:7), “to confer/counsel with someone” (with *ʿim*, 1 Chron 13:1; 2 Chron 32:3; with *ʿet*, 1 Kgs 12:6, 8; with *ʿel*, 2 Kgs 6:8; 2 Chron 20:21), and on the basis of a consultation “to be advised, decide” (1 Kgs 12:28; 2 Chron 25:17; 30:2, 23), “to recommend” (1 Kgs 12:6, 9 = 2 Chron 10:6, 9).

(b) The qal ptcp. *yôʿēṣ* (Aram. *yāʿēṭ*) is used in various ways as a technical term for “counselor, advisor.” As a confidant of the king, the advisor belongs to his inner circle (2 Sam 15:12; cf. 16:20, 23; 1 Chron 27:32f.; 2 Chron 25:16; Isa 1:26; 3:3) and may have been recruited from wisdom circles (cf. Isa 19:9; see Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 70f., 130; Prov 11:14; 24:5f.; see also Aḥ. 12,[27,]28, 42, etc.; Cowley 212ff.). Distinctions between counselor and other court officials waver, however (cf. H. Reventlow, *BHH* 3:1551; de Vaux 1:121). The title should be understood as a proper, official title only in later texts (Ezra 4:5; 7:14, 28; 8:25; cf. Esth 1:14).

(c) In analogy to the meaning of *yʿṣr*, *ʿēṣā* means the “advice” that one gives (2 Sam 15:31, 34; 16:23; 17:14; 1 Kgs 12:14; cf. *yʿṣr ʿēṣā*, see 3a; *yhb ʿēṣā* “to give counsel” Judg 20:7; 2 Sam 16:20; *bôʾ* hi. *ʿēṣā* “to bring counsel” Isa 16:3), or the advice that one receives, to which one hearkens (*šmʿ* Prov 12:15; 19:20), which is executed (*šh* ni. 2 Sam 17:23), which one does not follow (*zb*, 1 Kgs 12:8, 13 = 2 Chron 10:8, 13). *ʾiṣ ʿēṣā* (Isa 40:13) should be understood on this basis as “advisor.” Prov 1:25, 30 (par. *tôkaḥat*, → *ykh*) and 19:20 (par. *mûsār*, → *ysr*) may be interpreted in a somewhat specialized sense as “warning.”

In a second usage, *ʿēṣā* indicates the result of counsel: “decision, resolution” (Ezra 10:8), “plan” (Psa 14:6; 20:5; cf. also 1 Chron 12:20 *bʿēṣā* lit. “by plan” = “intentionally”), e.g., in political contexts (Isa 29:15; 30:1 *šh ʿēṣā* “to execute a plan” [M. Dahood’s suggestion (*Bib* 50 [1969]: 57f.) that *ʿēṣ* should be understood as “wood” in the sense of idol, with an archaic

acc. ending *-â*, is unnecessary]; Ezra 4:5; Neh 4:9), and can occasionally even be rendered “plot” (Isa 8:10 *‘ûš ‘ēšâ*, Jer 18:23 “murder plot”).

Furthermore, in some texts *‘ēšâ* “counsel” should be understood as “wisdom, capacity to find the right means” (GB 610b; Isa 19:3; Jer 19:7; 49:7; Prov 21:30).

Psa 13:3 and perhaps also Prov 27:9 suggest a special meaning “concern” (cf. the par. term *yāgôn* in Psa 13:3; the text hardly requires emendation; cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:212; cf., however, 1).

The simple meaning “cultic worship” is displayed in Isa 29:13 (Duhm, *Jesaia*, HKAT [19224], 186; Fohrer, *Jesaja*, ZBK, 2:77), and Jonah 1:9 exhibits the limited technical meaning “cultic, religious membership.”

Following R. Bergmeier (*ZAW* 79 [1967]: 229–32), one may also identify already in the post-exilic period the meaning “community,” developed from the meaning “counsel assembly” as in Isa 19:11; Psa 1:1 (par. *môšāb*; contra e.g., GB 610b; Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:116, who suggest “maxims, principles of life”); Job 10:3; 21:16; 22:18. *‘ēšâ* occurs at Qumran frequently in this meaning as a designation for the Qumran community (as an organizational entity; 1QS 5:7; 6:3; 7:2, 24 etc.; cf. J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* [1960], 2:204, 206, see index under “Gemeinschaft der Einung” und “Gemeinschaft”; see also J. Worrell, “*‘šh*: ‘Counsel’ or ‘Council’ at Qumran?” *VT* 20 [1970]: 65–74).

(d) Except for Job 29:21, which should probably be emended (cf. *BHS*), *mô‘ēšâ* occurs in the pl. only in the meanings “advice” (Job 29:21; Prov 22:20) and “plan” (consistently with a negative connotation: Jer 7:24; Psa 81:13 par. “stubbornness”; Psa 5:11 suggests the translation “insidious schemes,” as noted by Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:157).

(e) The roots  $\rightarrow hkm$ ,  $\rightarrow bîn$ ,  $\rightarrow škl$  and their derivatives, which often occur in the word field of *y‘š/‘ēšâ* (cf. e.g., Deut 32:28f.; Isa 19:11; Jer 49:7; Psa 32:8; Job 12:13; 26:3; Prov 8:14; 12:15; 13:10; 21:30; Dan 2:13f.; Aḥ. 12, etc.), demonstrate that the root *y‘š* belongs to the wisdom realm. Jer 18:18 “instruction will never depart from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet” illustrates the close relationship of *‘ēšâ* and *ḥākām*.

Ezek 7:26 is related to Jer 18:18, although here the elders (*z<sup>c</sup>qēnîm*) are mentioned instead of the *ḥākām*. One may ask with J. Fichtner (“Isaiah among the Wise,” *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom* [1976], 432): “Have the ‘wise,’ who were so influential and diplomatically important in the preexilic period, played out and left the field to the elders?”

Terms used in proximity to *y‘š* (2 Kgs 18:20 = Isa 36:5 *‘ēšâ ūg<sup>e</sup>bûrâ* “a powerful decision” [with *HAL* 165b] as opposed to *d<sup>e</sup>bar š<sup>e</sup>pātayim* “mere

words” (cf. Isa 11:2; Job 12:13); Isa 29:15 *ma<sup>a</sup>šeh* “deed”; Prov 8:14 *tûšîyâ* “success”) and the larger context in which the root occurs indicate that *y<sup>ç</sup>s* “includes . . . both the decision and its carrying out” (Kaiser, *Isa 1–12*, OTL [1972], 129n.b; cf. *ILC 1–2:129*: “Counsel and action are identical”; on this sense and on the term in general, see P. A. H. de Boer, “The Counsellor,” *SVT 3* [1955]: 42–71).

4. (a) Isaiah employs the wisdom root *y<sup>ç</sup>s* in the theological sphere for the first time (cf. J. Fichtner, “Jahves Plan in der Botschaft des Jesaja,” *ZAW 63* [1951]: 16–33 = *Gottes Weisheit* [1965], 27–43). On the one hand, he addresses human *y<sup>ç</sup>s* apart from God, which is frustrated (Isa 7:7 *lô<sup>ç</sup>tâqûm* “it shall not come to pass”; 8:10 *pr<sup>r</sup>* ho. “will be shattered”; cf. Psa 33:10 *pr<sup>r</sup>* hi. “to shatter”); on the other hand, he stands in the wisdom tradition (cf. Isa 28:23–29) and speaks of Yahweh’s *y<sup>ç</sup>s* or *‘ešâ* (Isa 5:19 par. *ma<sup>a</sup>šeh* “deed”; 14:24–27; 28:29), although the realm of human experience is transcended (Isa 28:29 “his counsel is wondrous,” → *pl<sup>ç</sup>*; cf. also Isa 25:1). Wildberger (*Isa 1–12*, CC, 202f.) shows how the word adapted from the wisdom sphere becomes a term of divine judgment. It refers to “Yahweh’s complete control of history, even up to the point of bringing his judgment upon the people” (op. cit. 207).

Isaiah also exhibits affinities with wisdom tradition when he describes the messianic king in 11:2 as equipped with *rûah ‘ešâ* “the spirit of counsel” as Yahweh’s gift (cf. the other terms in addition to *‘ešâ*; see Prov 8:14f.). Isa 9:5 mentions *pele<sup>ç</sup>yô‘eš* as one of the throne names of the Messiah (cf. Mic 4:9, where the earthly king is called *yô‘eš* “counselor” or, even better, “one who carries out plans”; cf. also Psa 20:5), which may be translated (with H. Wildberger, “Die Thronnamen des Messias, Jes. 9:5b,” *TZ 16* [1960]: 316) as “who plans wonders” (so too Kaiser, *Isa 1–12*, OTL [1983], 204; on the other suggested translations cf. Wildberger, op. cit. 316).

In this context one should certainly view *‘ešâ* in the theological sense mentioned above but now further developed by Isaiah; moreover, one must remember that → *pl<sup>ç</sup>* “in Isaiah is strictly classed with the divine acts which far transcend human acts” (Wildberger, op. cit. 316). On religiohistorical origins in Eg. royal titles, see Wildberger, op. cit. 319ff.

At the same time, human *‘ešâ* is characterized theologically as autonomous (political) planning (Isa 29:15; 30:1 “who execute a plan that does not come from me”).

(b) Following Isaiah, *y<sup>ç</sup>s/‘ešâ* occurs both (1) in reference to God’s counsel: Job 12:3 (in the hymn to the wisdom and might of God, vv 12–25; cf. Prov 8:14 in a statement concerning wisdom); Psa 16:7; 32:8; 119:24,

“your decrees . . . are my counselor”; and (2) in reference to his plan and his decision: appropriated as a designation for Yahweh’s fateful decision in Psa 33:11; 106:13 (here as God’s saving plan and action); Isa 44:26; 46:10f.; Jer 49:20 (cf. 50:45); Isa 23:8f. (as judgmental activity), as well as the “will and activity of God in the creation of the world” (Job 38:2; Fohrer, KAT 16, 500).

5. The LXX renders the root chiefly with *(sym)bouleucin, boulē*. Qumran and the NT adopt the OT usage, in accordance with which the NT *boulē* means the divine decision for the most part (cf. G. Schrenk, “βουλή,” TDNT 1:633–37).

H.-P. Stähli

יָפֶה *yāpeh* pretty → טוֹב *tôb*

יָפַע *yp<sup>c</sup>* hi. **to radiate**

S 3313; BDB 422a; HALOT 2:424b; TDOT 6:220–25; TWOT 892; NIDOTTE 3649

1. Hebr. *yp<sup>c</sup>* hi. (root \**wp<sup>c</sup>*) “to radiate, glitter, shine brilliantly,” etc. (also Mid. and Targumic Hebr. “to appear”; in Ezek 28:7–17 also the subst. *yip<sup>c</sup>â* “brilliance”; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:75, 86) has counterparts in Akk. *(w)apû* G “to be visible,” Š “to make visible” (GAG §§103b, 106o; CAD A/2:201–4), but the root \**yp<sup>c</sup>* (Arab. “to climb, grow up,” Old Sarab. “to stand upright”), to which Ug. *yp<sup>c</sup>* may also belong (*WUS* no. 1215: *KTU* 1.2.1.33, “to be lofty[?]”; *UT* no. 1133 “arise[?]”; cf., however, F. L. Moriarty, *CBQ* 14 [1952]: 62; on PNs see Gröndahl 144f.) should probably be distinguished (Huffmon 212f.).

2. *yp<sup>c</sup>* hi. occurs 8x (Deut 33:2; Psa 50:2; 80:2; 94:1; Job 3:4; 10:3, 22; 37:15), *yip<sup>c</sup>â* 2x (Ezek 28:7, 17).

3. The verb *yp<sup>c</sup>* hi. has the inner-causative (inwardly trans.) meaning “to become brilliantly visible” (the normal causative meaning “to let shine” would also be possible for Job 37:15; see e.g., ZB: “as he causes the light of his clouds to flash”; cf. NRSV). Three passages in Job (lament and hymn) offer the light as subj.: Job 3:4 “may no ray of light shine on it (*n<sup>c</sup>hārâ*)”; 10:22 txt em, to be interpreted according to Fohrer, KAT 16, 201, as a paradoxical hyperbole; “(where) it (only) shines as darkness” (cf.

Horst, BK 16/1, 139: “where in the day, (darkness) shines dimly”; 37:15 “as God directs it that the light (*ʿôr*) of his clouds become brilliantly visible” (so Fohrer, op. cit. 483). A fourth passage, Job 10:3, has God as subj.; according to Horst (op. cit. 138, 154f.: “when you . . . become clearly visible to the counsel of the evildoer”), the usage of the cultic term (see 4) underscores the paradox of God’s activity in Job’s accusation.

4. In the other passages in cultic poetry, *yp<sup>ç</sup> hi.* is a typical expression in descriptions of theophany, alongside other verbs such as → *bô<sup>ç</sup>* “to come,” → *ys<sup>ç</sup>* “to go out,” *yrd* “to descend” (→ *ʿh*), and → *qûm* “to arise” (F. Schnutenhaus, “Das Kommen und Erscheinen Gottes im AT,” ZAW 76 [1964]: 1–21, esp. 8f.; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie* [1965], esp. 8–10, 62–64, 77f.). It already occurs in a hymnic text, Deut 33:2, “Yahweh came (*bô<sup>ç</sup>*) from Sinai and shined on them (*zrh*) from Seir; he shined (*yp<sup>ç</sup> hi.*) from the mountains of Paran and approached (*ʿth*) from Meribat-Kadesh”; then in Psa 50:2, “From Zion, the crown of beauty, God shined forth.” Moreover, the introduction of the communal lament requests such an appearance of God against the enemies: Psa 80:2f., “You who are enthroned on cherubim, shine before Ephraim”; 94:1 txt em, “God of vengeance, appear!” Thus together with the semantically related verbs *zrh* “to arise, shine” (Deut 33:2; cf. Isa 60:1f.) and *ngh* (with a consonantal *h* as the 3d radical) *hi.* “to let shine” (2 Sam 22:29 = Psa 18:29; *nōgah* “brilliance” 2 Sam 22:13 = Psa 18:13; Hab 3:4, 11; cf. Isa 60:3; 62:1), it introduces the motif of the appearance of the deity in (frightful) brilliance, widely attested in the surrounding cultures (cf. Sum. *me-l-m*, Akk. *melammu*), into the theophany tradition based upon indigenous, specifically Israelite roots. In the parlance of ancient Near Eastern mythology, God’s theophany in radiant light as praised in hymns or requested in laments refers to Yahweh’s intervention in the history of his people.

Just as the Sum.-Bab. concept of dreadful brilliance pertained not only to deities but also to monarchs (*AHW* 643; Seux 257, 291), Ezek 28:7, 17 discuss the “brilliance” (*yip<sup>ç</sup>â*) of the prince of Tyre, who presumes to be a god (vv 2, 6, 9).

5. At Qumran *yp<sup>ç</sup> hi.* in the meaning “to illuminate,” etc., occurs quite often (Kuhn, *Konk.* 91); in 1QpHab 11:7 the verb refers to the “godless priests” who persecuted the “teacher of righteousness” (cf. K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* [1953], 214f.; A. S. van der Woude, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumran* [1957], 162–64).

The LXX translates each passage uniquely, in Psa 80:2 with *emphainein* (Psa 50:2 *emphanōs*). In the NT, OT usage may be perceptible

in Luke 1:79 (*epiphainein*). Cf. R. Bultmann and D. Lührmann, “φαίνω,” *TDNT* 9:1–10.

E. Jenni

## שׁוּׁ *yšׁ* to go out

S 3318; BDB 422a; *HALOT* 2:425a; *TDOT* 6:225–50; *TWOT* 893; *NIDOTTE* 3655

1. The root is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 218; Akk. [*w*]ašû, *CAD* A/2:356–85; Ug.: *WUS* no. 1222; *UT* no. 1138; NWSem. inscriptions: *DISO* 110, 164; Aram.: *KBL* 1082b; *LS* 304f.) in the meaning “to go out,” but replaced in Aram. by *npq* and in Arab. by *ḥrj*.

Following Arab. *waḍuʿa* “to shine,” a few authors (particularly M. Dahood, *PNSP* 52; id., *Bib* 46 [1965]: 321; 47 [1966]: 416) hypothesize the meaning “to shine” for *yšׁ* also in the OT (e.g., in Prov 25:4).

The verb *yšׁ* (like its antonym *bôׁ*) occurs in the qal, hi., and ho. Nom. derivatives are: the substantivized fem. ptc. *yôšēׁt* “miscarriage” (Psa 144:14; cf. Exod 21:22), the noms. *yāšîׁ* “descendant” (2 Chron 32:21 Q) and *šeׁšāׁîm* “shoot, offspring” (cf. Gen 15:4; 17:6; 25:25f. etc., *yšׁ* “to come out” in the sense of “to be born,” and 1 Kgs 5:13; Isa 11:1 “to come out” = “to shoot up, to grow”; Syr. *yׁ* “to grow”), and the multivalent abstract forms *môšāׁ* “exit,” etc. (see 3a), *môšāׁʾā* “origin” (Mic 5:1) or “toilet” (2 Kgs 10:27 Q), and *tôšāׁʾôt* “exits,” etc. (see 3a). Bibl. Aram. knows only the šap<sup>c</sup>el form *šēšîׁ* (Ezra 6:15) as an Akkadian loan word in the meaning “to finish” (*KBL* 1082b, 1129f.) and uses *npq* qal for “to go out” (6x; ha. “to bring out,” 5x).

The relationship of *šōׁn* (< \*šāׁn) “livestock” to *yšׁ* is uncertain (cf. e.g., *KBL* 790a); the PN *môšāׁ* is also unclear (1 Chron 2:46, etc.; *KBL* 505a refers to Psa 19:7).

2. The verb is represented most frequently in the qal (excl. Psa 144:14) and the hi. (incl. 2 Sam 18:22) in the narrative literature:

	qal	hi.	ho.	total
Gen 61	17	1	79	
Exod 62	32	–	94	

Lev	22	16	–	38	
Num	56	14	–	70	
Deut	34	32	–	66	
Josh	44	9	–	53	
Judg	46	8	–	54	
1 Sam	45	1	–	46	46
2 Sam	39	9	–	48	48
1 Kgs	32	10	–	42	
2 Kgs	42	10	–	52	
Isa	31	10	–	41	
Jer	51	18	1	70	
Ezek	43	28	3	74	
Hos	1	1	–	2	
Joel	2	–	–	2	
Amos	3	1	–	4	
Obad	–	–	–	–	
Jonah	1	–	–	–	1
Mic	7	1	–	8	
Nah	1	–	–	1	
Hab	5	–	–	5	
Zeph	–	–	–	–	
Hag	1	1	–	2	
Zech	20	2	–	22	
Mal	1	–	–	1	
Psa	17	17	–	34	
Job	22	6	–	28	
Prov	6	5	–	11	
Ruth	3	1	–	4	
Song Sol	4	–	–	–	4
Eccl	4	1	–	5	
Lam	3	–	–	3	
Esth	9	–	–	9	
Dan	6	1	–	7	
Ezra	–	5	–	5	
Neh	7	3	–	10	
1 Chron	19	5	–	24	24
2 Chron	35	14	–	49	49
OT	785	278	5	1,068	

Noms. occur as follows: *yôṣēʾt* 1x, *yāšîʾ* 1x, *šeʾṣāʾîm* 11x (Isa 7x, Job 4x), *môṣāʾ* 27x (Psa 6x, Ezek 4x), *môṣāʾâ* 2x, and *tôṣāʾôt* 23x (Josh 14x, Num 5x).

3. (a) The manifold usages of *yš*ʔ qal are never far removed from the chief meaning “to go out” (for the details of the usages see the lexicons). Because Hebr. does not indicate the standpoint of the speaker in general, verbs of motion such as → *ʾlh* “to go up” and *yrd* “to go down,” or → *bô*ʔ, the counterpart of *yš*ʔ, as e.g., Ger. does by an additional oppositional pair of morphemes (“hence” from the speaker’s viewpoint, “hither” in the speaker’s direction) or as Akk. does through specialized ventive endings (GAG §82), but at most by different verbs (*hlk* “to go,” *bô*ʔ “to come”), it is inappropriate to distinguish lexically between usages of *yš*ʔ as “to go out” or “to come out” (as in KBL 393). A better classification would be achieved through an investigation of personal and impersonal subjs. (cf. GB 310f.; Zorell 321f.).

The various nuances of the verb correspond largely to the specialized meanings that the abstracts *môšā*ʔ (*môšā*ʔâ) and *tôšā*ʔôt can assume: for per. subjs. one may compare the usual “to go out” of a house, a city, etc. (usually with *min* “out,” but occasionally also with the acc. of place, Gen 44:4; Exod 9:29, 33; Num 35:26; Job 31:34; on Gen 34:24 see E. A. Speiser, *BASOR* 144 [1956]: 20–23; G. Evans, *ibid.* 28–33) with *môšā*ʔ “exit” (Ezek 42:11; 43:11; 44:5; cf. *tôšā*ʔôt Ezek 48:30), “to set out, emigrate” from a place, a country, etc. (Gen 10:11; 11:31; 12:4f.; 15:14, etc.); with *môšā*ʔ “departure” (Ezek 12:4) and “point of departure” (Num 33:2[bis]), “to undertake something” (Judg 2:15; 2 Kgs 18:7, etc.; “to appear” 1 Sam 17:4; Zech 5:5, etc.; cf. L. Köhler, *TZ* 3 [1947]: 471; G. Ch. Aalders, *TZ* 4 [1948]: 234; often “to go out to war” Gen 14:8; Num 1:3, 20ff.; Deut 20:1; 23:10; 1 Sam 8:20; 18:30; 2 Sam 18:2–4, 6; Amos 5:3, etc.); with *môšā*ʔ “purpose, departure” (2 Sam 3:25 alongside *mābô*ʔ, cf. the usage “to go in and out” to describe the entire action, at first in the military sphere [Josh 14:11; 1 Sam 18:13, 16; 29:6], but then also cultically [Exod 28:35; Lev 16:17] and very generally [→ *bô*ʔ 3; cf. P. Boccaccio, *Bib* 33 [1952]: 173–90]), “to come away unwounded” (Judg 16:20; 1 Sam 14:41; 2 Kgs 13:5; Ezek 15:7; Eccl 7:18; cf. “to become free,” Exod 21:2–11; Lev 25:28ff.; 27:21; Isa 49:9); with *tôšā*ʔôt “escape” (Psa 68:21 from death), and “to originate from” (see 1, “to be born”); with *môšā*ʔâ “origin” (Mic 5:1).

The same distinction is true of usages with imper. subjs.; the meaning “to rise” (sun: Gen 19:23; Judg 5:31; Isa 13:10; Psa 19:6; stars: Neh 4:15) is comparable with *môšā*ʔ “rise” (Psa 19:7; 75:7 “east”; cf. Hos 6:3; Psa 65:9), “to be led out” (1 Kgs 10:29 qal and hi. “to lead out”; cf. Noth, BK 9, 234) and *môšā*ʔ “export” (1 Kgs 10:28), “to stream forth” of water, etc. (Gen 2:10; Exod 17:6, etc.) with *môšā*ʔ “well” (2 Kgs 2:21; Isa 41:18; 58:11; Psa 107:33, 35; 2 Chron 32:30), “to grow” (see 1) with Job 38:27 “ground where the grass grows” (txt?; cf. also Job 28:1, silver “mine”), “to tower up” (the

arms of the lampstand: Exod 25:32f., 35; 37:18f., 21; a spear: 2 Sam 2:23); with *tôšāʾôt* “foothills” (of a mountain, 1 Chron 5:16), “to extend” (border: Num 34:4, 9; Josh 15:3f., 9, 11, etc.); with *tôšāʾôt* “extension, extremity” (of the border: Num 34:4f., 8f., 12; Josh 15:4, 7, 11, etc.), “to be pronounced” (words, etc.: Num 30:3; 32:24; Josh 6:10, etc.); with *môšāʾ* “statement” (Num 30:13; Deut 8:3; 23:24; Jer 17:16; Psa 89:35; Dan 9:25), “to come into being” (fire: Exod 22:5; Lev 9:24; 10:2, etc.; cf. also S. Esh, VT 4 [1954]: 305–7; folly: 1 Sam 24:14; “to come about” Gen 24:50; Isa 28:29; cf. Eccl 10:5); with *tôšāʾôt* “point of departure, origin” (Prov 4:23 of life; cf. Josh 17:18, “what results,” Noth, HAT 7, 102); cf. further “to cease, be finished” (Prov 22:10; Dan 10:20) and *šēʾt haššānâ* “end of the year” (Exod 23:16; cf. E. Kutsch, ZAW 83 [1971]: 15–21) and “to vanish” (wine: 1 Sam 25:37; vitality: Gen 35:18; Psa 146:4; Song Sol 5:6; courage: Gen 42:28); with *šēʾtēk* “your departure (= end)” (Ezek 26:18).

(b) The hi. of the verb represents most of the usages of the qal in the corresponding causative meaning (“to lead out, bring out, cause to come out,” etc.). Relatively rare are the causative meanings that correspond to “to come out” in the sense of “to grow” or “to be born,” e.g., “to bring forth (plants, etc.)” (earth, ground: Gen 1:12, 24; Isa 61:11; Hag 1:11; branch: Num 17:23) or “to bring forth (progeny)” (Isa 65:9, from Jacob). On the usage that is more markedly theological than the qal, see 4b.

4. (a) *yšʾ* qal with Yahweh as subj. (16x) accents not so much departure from a specific place in order to abandon it (most likely Mic 7:15 “as at the time you departed from Egypt”; cf. otherwise Ezek 10:18, where Yahweh’s glory departs from the temple), but, as is often the case in colloquial speech, departure to undertake something, e.g., to fight against the enemies. In this meaning the verb is a typical element of descriptions of theophany and their derivatives (Judg 5:4; Isa 26:21; 42:13; Mic 1:3; Hab 3:13; Zech 14:3; Psa 68:8; cf. also Judg 4:14; 2 Sam 5:24 = 1 Chron 14:15 in reports concerning Yahweh wars; in the context of the exodus tradition, the verb occurs not only in Mic 7:15 but also in Exod 11:4 and Psa 81:6; cf. F. Schnutenhaus, “Das Kommen und Erscheinen Gottes im AT,” ZAW 76 [1964]: 2–5; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie* [1965], 7, 10f. etc.; → *bôʾ* 4). Points of departure are Seir (Judg 5:4), “his place” (Mic 1:3 and Isa 26:21; probably the heavenly abode); yet the context does not emphasize the point of departure but the goal: battle against and judgment upon the enemies or assistance for his people. Correspondingly, the communal lament declares: “You do not go out with our armies” (Psa 44:10; 60:12 = 108:12).

*yšʾ* also occurs in the same meaning when the “messenger of Yahweh” (→ *malʾāk*) starts out on a mission (Num 22:32; 2 Kgs 19:35 = Isa 37:36; cf. also Dan 9:22 of Gabriel). The case is somewhat different when Yahweh’s

activity is described as the origin (“to come from”) of a circumstance from Yahweh (a providential dispensation, Gen 24:50; Isa 28:29) or as the origin (“to be sent out”) of an abstract theological entity from Yahweh (Yahweh’s wrath, Num 17:11; Jer 4:4; 21:12, etc.; Yahweh’s hand, Ruth 1:13; “my word that proceeds from my mouth” Isa 55:11; “my salvation” Isa 51:5; righteousness, Isa 45:23; cf. 62:1; instruction, Isa 51:4; from Zion, Isa 2:3 = Mic 4:2).

(b) Almost half of all passages with *yšׁ* hi. express a divine activity. P. Humbert (“Dieu fait sortir,” *TZ* 18 [1962]: 357–61 [supplemented in *ibid.* 433–36]) offers a good summary of the verb’s spheres of application in theological usage.

The verb does not refer to the creative activity of God in the sense of an initial bringing into being (Humbert, *op. cit.* 359), but only to a current activity in nature (Psa 104:14 “bread from the earth”; Jer 10:13 = 51:16 and Psa 135:7 “wind from his chambers”; water from the rock, Deut 8:15; Psa 78:16; Neh 9:15; stars, Isa 40:26; cf. Job 38:32). *yšׁ* hi. designates not only a change in locale (Gen 15:5, etc.; also being carried away in the spirit: Ezek 37:1; cf. 42:1, 15; 46:21; 47:2) but also means esp. “to lead out” = “to liberate, deliver” and thus becomes an important verb of deliverance and redemption (cf. J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im AT* [1940], 18, 97, 103; C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des AT* [1947], 126f.; → *gׁl*, → *yšׁ*, → *nsl*, → *pdh*, → *pl̄t*). A series of texts in the psalms of lament and thanksgiving that petition or praise God for deliverance from all sorts of distress and danger should also be mentioned (2 Sam 22:49, deliverance from enemies [the par. passage Psa 18:49 uses *pl̄t* pi.]; guidance into an open place: 2 Sam 22:20 = Psa 18:20; Psa 66:12; out of the net, out of affliction: Psa 25:15, 17; 31:5; 107:28; 143:11; from imprisonment, etc.: Psa 68:7; 107:14; 142:8; cf. Mic 7:9, to the light), as well as the majority of passages that speak of the deliverance from Egypt (76x; tables in Humbert, *op. cit.* 358; and J. Wijngaards, *VT* 15 [1965]: 92) or, influenced thereby, from dispersion among the nations (Ezek 20:34, 38, 41; 34:13).

The formula “Yahweh, who led Israel out of Egypt” refers to Yahweh’s fundamental saving act for his people and constitutes “Israel’s primary confession” (M. Noth, *History of Pentateuchal Traditions* [1972], 47–51; von Rad, *Theol.* 1:175–77). It occurs already in a number of variants in the old narratives (Exod 13:3, 9, 14, 16; 18:1; 20:2; 32:11f.; Num 20:16; 23:22; 24:8; Josh 24:5f.), then primarily in Deut (Deut 5:6, 15; 6:12, 21, 23; 7:8, 19; 8:14; 9:26, 28[bis], 29; 13:6, 11; 16:1; 26:8; 29:24), in the Dtr history (Deut 1:27; 4:20, 37; Judg 2:12; 6:8; 1 Kgs 8:16, 21, 51, 53; 9:9), and in P (Exod 6:6f.; 7:4f.; 12:17, 42, 51; 14:11; 16:6, 32; 29:46; Num 15:41; in H: Lev 19:36; 22:33; 23:43; 25:38, 42, 55; 26:13, 45); it appears in the

Prophets only since Jeremiah (Jer 7:22; 11:4; 31:32; 32:21; 34:13; Ezek 20:6, 9f., 14, 22); finally, late passages are Psa 105:37, 43; 136:11; Dan 9:15; 2 Chron 6:5 (= 1 Kgs 8:16); 7:22 (= 1 Kgs 9:9); *yšʾ* hi. occurs with Moses and Aaron as subjs. in Exod 3:10–12; 6:13, 26f.; Deut 9:12; 1 Sam 12:8 (Wijngaards, op. cit. 91n.3).

Some investigations of the formula emphasize the concept of liberation that resonates in the exodus (cf. the addition “out of the house of bondage,” Exod 13:3, 14; 20:2; Deut 5:6; 6:12; 7:8; 8:14; 13:6, 11; Judg 6:8; Jer 34:13; also Exod 6:6f.; Lev 26:13) and are particularly concerned with the function and history of the formula, esp. with its relationship to the exodus formula with *ʾlh* hi. “to lead out” (about 40x), which occurs already in the older prophets and beginning with Deut was largely replaced by the exodus formula (→ *ʾlh*; see P. Humbert, *TZ* 18 [1962]: 357–61, 433–36; H. Lubsczyk, *Der Auszug Israels aus Ägypten* [1963]; J. Wijngaards, *VT* 15 [1965]: 91–102; W. Richter, *FS Schmaus* 175–212; B. S. Childs, *FS Baumgartner* 30–39; H. J. Boecker, *Die Beurteilung der Anfänge des Königtums in den deuteronomistischen Abschnitten des 1. Samuelbuches* [1969], 39–43).

*yšʾ* qal “to depart” is used less frequently in reference to Israel’s exodus from Egypt, mostly in the sense of a citation of a salvation-historical datum (cf. e.g., Exod 12:41; 13:3f., 8; 16:1; 19:1; 23:15; 34:18; Num 1:1; 9:1; 33:38; Deut 9:7; 16:3, 6; 1 Kgs 6:1; 8:9 = 2 Chron 5:10; Jer 7:25; Hag 2:5; Psa 114:1); Deutero-Isaiah refers frequently to the new exodus (Isa 48:20; 52:11[bis], 12; 55:12).

5. *yšʾ* occurs frequently in the Qumran literature as a technical military term among other uses (1QM 1:13; 2:8; 3:1, 7, etc.); *yšʾ* also occurs in the self-description of the religious group as those “who have emigrated from the land of Judah” (CD 4:3; 6:5; cf. 20:22; cf. the Islamic “Kharijites” = “Separatists,” from Arab. *ḫrj* “to move out”).

Heb 11:8 esteems Abraham’s migration as an act of faith. The chief equivalents of *yšʾ* qal and the noms. are *exerchomai* (see J. Schneider, *TDNT* 2:678–80), *ekporeuomai* (see F. Hauck and S. Schulz, *TDNT* 6:578f.), and *exodos* (see W. Michaelis, *TDNT* 5:103–9); of *yšʾ* hi., *exagō*.

E. Jenni

## יָצָא *yšr* to form

S 3335; BDB 427b; *HALOT* 2:428b; *TDOT* 6:257–65; *TWOT* 898; *NIDOTTE* 3670

1. The stem *yšr* occurs primarily in Can. and Akk.: the Ug. (*WUS* no. 1229; *UT* no. 1142) and Phoen. (*DISO* 110) subst. *yšr* “potter” (cf. also the PNs in Gröndahl 146; Huffmon 89, 214); Akk. *ešēru* “to draw, form, determine” and derivatives (*AHW* 252f., here and KBL 396a with reference to Arab. *wišr* “arrangement”).

In addition to the verb (qal. ni., pu., and ho. [or qal pass.]), the OT knows the subst. *yēšer* “form, notion” (in the Mid. Hebr. meaning “impulse” also in Jew. Aram. and Syr. *yašrā*; cf. Th. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 40 [1886]: 722), *yēšūrîm* “members (of the body)” (only in Job 17:7), and the PNs *yēšer/yišrî* (Gen 46:24; Num 26:49; 1 Chron 7:13; 25:11 txt?; *IP* 172, 247).

2. The root is well represented in the pre-exilic era in the Yahwistic creation account (Gen 2:7f., 19; also Amos 7:1, etc.). It frequently occurs later in Deutero-Isa (20x), but is absent from Deut (and largely from Dtr), P, and wisdom literature (Prov, Eccl, Job). The verb occurs 60x in the qal (incl. Isa 49:8 and Jer 1:5; cf. BL 379; Lis. derives from *nšr*), Isa has 26x, Jer 13x, Psa 7x, very often in the ptcp. (substantivized “potter,” 17x), and only 1x each in the ni. (Isa 43:10), pu. (Psa 139:16), and ho. (Isa 54:17). *yēšer* occurs 9x, *yēšūrîm* 1x. Cf. P. Humbert, “Emploi et portée bibliques du verbe *yāšar* et de ses dérivés substantifs,” *FS Eissfeldt* (1958), 82–88.

3. *yšr* indicates (a) the work of the potter; Jer 18:2ff. (cf. Wis 15:7) describes his activity (at the pottery foot wheel). The fact that handiwork involves clay influences fig. language (Isa 64:7; Lam 4:2; Psa 95:5, etc.). As already in Ug. and Phoen., the ptcp. *yôšēr* serves as a professional designation (1 Chron 4:23, etc.), and in various combinations “potter’s vessel” (= earthenware) has become a fixed expression (2 Sam 17:28; Isa 30:14; Jer 19:1, 11; Psa 2:9; cf. Lam 4:2).

Yet *yšr* also refers (b) to the “formation or casting” of a figure (of metal with the “hammer,” Isa 44:12; cf. 44:9f.; Hab 2:18 in a similar idol polemic from a later period) or to the production of weapons (Isa 54:17). Correspondingly, the ptcp. once means “caster, smelter” (Zech 11:13; see C. C. Torrey, *JBL* 55 [1936]: 247–60; Eissfeldt, *KS* [1963], 2:107–9). This activity could be described with the same verb as the work of the potter because both professions bring pliable (moist or fluid) material to a fixed form.

Whereas the concrete, basic meaning increasingly lost prominence, *yšr* acquired the general sense “to form, create” and thus achieved numerous uses (see 4). Because the verb was already capable of encompassing both act and thought (cf. Jer 18:11 par. → *ḥšb*), the subst. *yēšer* was the preferred designation for “the constructions (= notions, aspirations) of the heart” (Gen 6:5; 8:21; cf. 1 Chron 28:9; 29:18; Deut

31:21; similarly Isa 26:3 “firm, unshakable mind”).

Humbert (op. cit. 85) catalogs verbal pars. of *yšr*.

4. On the one hand, *yšr* is an important term (a) in the theology of creation, as well as (b) of history, and, on the other hand, (c) it describes metaphorically the relationship between God and human.

(a) The usage of *yšr* to represent the creation of the mountains (Amos 4:13), the earth or the dry land (Isa 45:18; Jer 33:2; Psa 95:5), but not of the sea, continues to reflect the basic meaning of “forming.” In addition, *yšr* (in distinction from  $\rightarrow br^{\text{c}}$  in P) need not indicate that the final form has been reached; rather, a second act of stabilization can be required (Jer 33:2; Isa 45:18). But the concept of “formation” becomes so broad that *yšr* can also express the creation of the universe (Jer 10:16 = 51:19). In the same way the contrast “summer and winter” (Psa 74:17) encompasses the whole. The formula in Isa 45:7, unusually abrupt for the OT, “I form the light and create the darkness,” by which Yahweh declares himself the creator of salvation and misfortune in history, need not be viewed as directed against Pers. dualism (cf. the similar question of Zarathustra to Ahura Mazda: “which master created light and darkness?” Yasna 44:5).

Psa 104:26 demythologizes the sea dragon Leviathan into a creature, even into Yahweh’s toy. Amos 7:1 and Gen 2:19 also speak of a creation (*yšr*) of the animals. In accordance with an anthropological notion dispersed through the ancient Near East and beyond, Gen 2:7f. states that God also “formed” humankind from the earth. Yet only humanity (not the animals) received the “breath of life,” which alone makes the person a “living soul,” i.e., an individual, and which establishes the person’s unique position between God and world as a combination of earthly and divine. Furthermore, Gen 2:7 inconsistently follows the received image: for the material of the potter is not “dust” (*‘āpār*). This addition is meant to prefigure the curse (3:19b); the person will once against become “dust” (cf. 18:27 J; Psa 103:14, etc.).

Similarly, Zech 12:1 refers to life itself, the “spirit” formed by God within the person. Because God forms the heart (Psa 33:15), he knows people’s hidden thoughts and aspirations (cf. also Psa 94:9 of the eye). Finally, God’s mercy can be motivated by the confession that the person is only a “product,” i.e., a creature (Psa 103:14).

(b) Esp. in prophecy *yšr* also describes God’s historical activity and can therefore refer to the future (Jer 18:11 of misfortune; cf. Psa 94:20). His historical activity is thus described as a creative act. He forms “from the womb” individuals, prophets (Jer 1:5), and the servant of Yahweh (Isa 49:5;

cf. 49:8), as well as Israel (frequently in the preaching of Deutero-Isa, who conceives of election and redemption as a unity: 44:2, 24; cf. 43:1, 7, 21, etc.; also 27:11). Election or selection for a mission occurs, accordingly, without one's involvement. Similarly, "formation" has priority over events of which God had foreknowledge and which he brought about (2 Kgs 19:25 = Isa 37:26; Isa 22:11; 46:11). Psa 139:16 seems to apply this confession to the life span of the individual: God's omniscience encompasses not only the hidden (vv 13ff.) but also the future.

(c) In comparison, the activity of the potter or his work becomes an image for relationship to God. This usage maintains the difference between divine and human behavior more consistently than do statements concerning creation that conceive of divine activity in analogy to human "forming." Corresponding to the potter's superiority over his material, the image represents (1) God's might and freedom in his involvement with the nations (Jer 18, esp. v 6; cf. Isa 41:25, of Cyrus; also Sir 33[36]:13ff.). The fragility of the clay vessel—in contrast to moist clay, which can be newly formed after an unsuccessful attempt (Jer 18:4)—becomes (2) a symbol for frailty, emptiness (Lam 4:2; cf. Jer 22:28), or powerlessness (Psa 2:9; cf. Job 4:19; 10:9; 33:6). In a more general usage, the image indicates the difference between creator and creature in order to preclude any claim or prerogative on the part of the creature (Isa 29:16; 45:9, 11; cf. 64:7).

5. Paul takes up the OT image in a similar sense in order to present the impossibility of human contradiction of or resistance to God, who has the freedom to exercise mercy as well as to harden (Rom 9:19ff.; cf. H. Braun, "πλάσσω," *TDNT* 6:254–62).

On *yqr* in the intertestamental literature and at Qumran, see R. E. Murphy, *Bib* 39 (1958): 334–44.

W. H. Schmidt

יָקָר *yqr* **to be heavy, costly** → כָּבֵד *kbd*

יָרָא *yrʾ* **to fear**

S 3372; BDB 431a; *HALOT* 2:432b; *TDOT* 6:290–315; *TWOT* 907; *NIDOTTE* 3707

I. 1. The root *yrʾ* "to fear" occurs in Hebr. and Ug. (*KTU* 1.6.VI.30,

*yru bn il mt* “El’s son Mot is afraid”; 1.5.II.6, *yraun aliyn bʿl* “the mighty Baal frightened him”; *WUS* no. 1234; as a Can. gloss perhaps in EA 155:33).

Various Arab. roots adduced as evidence of an original meaning (cf. GB 315a; J. Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT* [1965], 1f.) “may hardly be in any way semantically related any longer” (Becker, *op. cit.* 2).

M. Dahood (*PNSP* 23f.; *id.*, *Bib* 46 [1965]: 321f.) postulates a root *yrʿ* II “to be fat” for Prov 22:4.

With reference to content, the Hebr. *yrʿ* corresponds to the Akk. *palāḫū*, Aram. *dḥl* (KBL 1064a; *Bibl. Aram. pe.* Dan 5:19; 6:27; pa. “to frighten” Dan 4:2; *dḥl* “frightful” Dan 2:31; 7:7, 19; cf. Hebr. *zḥl* “to have fear” Job 32:6; *HAL* 257a).

2. In addition to qal “to fear, be afraid (of),” the root *yrʿ* occurs in the pi. “to make afraid, frighten,” the ni. “to be frightened” (with the ptc. *nôrāʿ* “frightened, frightful,” which was no longer perceived as a ptc. but as an adj.; see III/2), the verbal adj. *yārēʿ* (often in the combination *yʿrēʿ yḥwh/ʿlōhîm*, pl. *yirʿê yḥwh*), the substantivized fem. inf. *yirʿâ* “fright” (cf. GKC §45d; Joüon §49d; the normal inf. form *yʿrōʿ* is attested only in Josh 22:25; 1 Sam 18:29), and the noun *môrāʿ* “fright, horror” formed on the *maqṭal* pattern.

A few consider the place-name *yirʿôn* (Josh 19:38) and the PN *tîrʿyāʿ* (1 Chron 4:16) to be proper names derived from *yrʿ* (so GB 315b; Becker, *op. cit.* 4; contra *IP* 163).

II. The following statistical summary exhibits a concentration of occurrences of *yrʿ* qal in Deut and Psa, of ni. (*nôrāʿ*) and *yārēʿ* in Psa, and of *yirʿâ* in Prov:

	qal	ni. + <i>nôrāʿ</i>	pi.	<i>yārēʿ</i>	<i>yirʿâ</i>	<i>môrāʿ</i>	total
Gen 20	1	—	1	1	1	24	
Exod 11	2	—	1	1	—	15	
Lev 8	—	—	—	—	—	8	
Num 4	—	—	—	—	—	4	
Deut 32	6	—	1	1	4	44	
Josh 11	—	—	—	—	—	11	
Judg 6	1	—	1	—	—	8	
1 Sam	21	—	—	1	—	—	22
2 Sam	6	1	1	—	2	—	10
1 Kgs8	—	—	—	—	—	8	
2 Kgs19	—	—	—	—	—	19	

Isa	22	4	–	1	5	2	34	
Jer	21	–	–	–	1	1	23	
Ezek	5	1	–	–	2	–	8	
Hos	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	
Joel	2	2	–	–	–	–	4	
Amos	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	
Jonah		4	–	–	–	2	–	6
Mic	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	
Hab	1	1	–	–	–	–	2	
Zeph	3	1	–	–	–	–	4	
Hag	2	–	–	–	–	–	2	
Zech	3	–	–	–	–	–	3	
Mal	2	2	–	3	–	2	9	
Psa	30	1+15	–	27	8	2	83	
Job	8	1	–	3	5	–	17	
Prov	5	–	–	3	14	–	22	
Ruth	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	
Eccl	7	–	–	2	–	–	9	
Lam	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	
Dan	3	1	–	–	–	–	4	
Neh	6	3	3	–	2	–	14	
1 Chron		3	2	–	1	–	–	6
2 Chron		6	–	1	–	1	–	8
OT	284	1+44	5	45	45	12	436	

III. Of the two extensive investigations of the root *yr* (S. Plath, *Furcht Gottes: Der Begriff jr im AT* [1963]; Becker, op. cit.), the former treats not only the fear of God (see IV/1–6) but also fear of people or things (see below III/1 *yr* qal, III/2 *nôrā*, III/3 *môrā*).

1. (a) *yr* qal yields the relatively uniform translation “to be afraid, fear someone/something, be afraid of someone/something, be afraid to do something” with some syntactic variation. Its original meaning, now obscure in the OT, seems to some to have been “to shiver, shake” (see Becker, op. cit. 1).

Passages with *yr* caused by things or people exhibit the following syntactical structures:

(1) an abs. usage wherein the obj. of fear or the cause of fear is often to be taken from the context (cf. esp. Gen 31:31; 32:8; 43:18; Exod 2:14; 14:10; Deut 13:12; 17:13; 19:20; 20:3; Josh 10:2; 1 Sam 17:11, 24; 28:5; 2 Kgs 10:4; Jer 26:21; Amos 3:8; Neh 2:2; 6:13; 2 Chron 20:3);

(2) constructions with the acc. (relatively rare; cf. Gen 32:12; Lev 19:3; Num 14:9[bis]; 21:34; Deut 3:2, 22; Judg 6:27; 1 Sam 14:26; 15:24; 1

Kgs 1:51; Ezek 3:9; 11:8; Dan 1:10);

(3) constructions with the preps. *min* (cf. Deut 1:29; 2:4; 7:18; 20:1; Josh 10:8) and *mippēn* (cf. Deut 5:5; 7:19; Josh 9:24; 11:6; 1 Sam 7:7; 21:13; 1 Kgs 1:50; 2 Kgs 25:26; Jer 41:18; 42:11[bis]);

(4) in a few passages *yr* occurs with *le* + inf. (cf. Gen 19:30; Num 12:8; Judg 7:10; 2 Sam 1:14; 10:19; 12:18).

(b) The following are the primary realms in which *yr* is used as a (psychic) reaction to threats:

(1) fear of animals and things: Amos 3:8; Jer 42:16; Ezek 11:8; Job 5:22; Prov 31:21; Eccl 12:5;

(2) fear of death: Gen 26:7; 32:12; Deut 13:12; 17:13; 19:20; 1 Kgs 1:50f.; Jer 26:21; Jonah 1:5; Dan 1:10; Neh 6:13;

(3) according to Plath (op. cit. 19), Exod 2:14 and 2 Sam 12:18 may refer more to “uncontrollable feelings of anxiety,” incl. fear of death as the final consequence;

(4) fear of enemies (in combat): Exod 14:10; Deut 2:4; Josh 10:2; 1 Sam 7:7; 17:11, 24; 28:5; 2 Sam 10:19; 2 Kgs 10:4 (amplified by *m<sup>e</sup>ōd m<sup>e</sup>ōd*).

Passages with the formula *ʾal-tîrā* “do not be afraid” in the so-called pre-battle address, which will be treated under IV/2, may also be mentioned here. Deut 20:8 and Judg 7:3 sound a tone of cowardice or at least lack of courage in *yārē* (cf. G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* [1991], 121).

(5) In a few passages *yr* expresses anxiety in the face of the unknown, even the sinister, e.g., Gen 18:15; 19:30; 42:35 (esp. if, with M. Noth, *History of Pentateuchal Traditions* [1972], 36, v 28b is to be placed after v 35); Psa 91:5 (cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:223).

(c) A few passages exhibit an ethical transformation. In Job 32:6 *yr* expresses the honor of youth before age (cf. in addition *zhl* [see I/1], customarily “glide away, creep,” KBL 254a). The translation “to shy away” suggests itself here. The formulation in the commandment to love mother and father in Lev 19:3 signifies “to maintain a reverent humility” or somewhat weakened “to hold in esteem” (on the background of the commandment, see Noth, *Lev*, OTL, 140; cf. also Exod 20:12 *kbd pi*. “to honor”).

(d) Finally, Prov 14:16 exhibits a thoroughly banal meaning, where *yr* is best rendered “to be careful” (so Becker, op. cit. 235f.; Plath, op. cit. 64; similarly also Ringgren, ATD 16, 62).

\*(e) Becker (op. cit. 6–18) enumerates a large number of terms denoting fright, more or less closely related in meaning, some used par. to *yr*. Only the closest synonyms are mentioned here:

(1) *gûr* qal “to be afraid” (10x; *māgôr*, *m<sup>e</sup>gôrâ* “dread,” 8 and 3x, resp.);  
(2) *ḥrd* qal “to shake” (23x; hi. “to startle” 16x; *ḥārēd* “anxious” 6x;  
*ḥ<sup>a</sup>rādâ* “shaking, anxiety” 9x);

(3) *ḥtt* qal/ni. “to be terrified” (17x and 30x, resp.; pi. “to terrify,” etc., Job 7:14; *ḥat* “terror-filled” 2x; subst. in the meaning “terror”: *ḥat* 2x; *ḥittâ* Gen 35:5; *ḥathattîm* Eccl 12:5; *ḥ<sup>a</sup>tat* Job 6:21; *ḥittîṭ*, 8x, only in Ezek; *m<sup>e</sup>ḥittâ*, 11x);

(4) *ygr* qal “to be afraid” (5x; *yāgôr* “fearful” 2x);

(5) *ʿrṣ* qal “to scare/be afraid” (11x; ni. ptcp. “frightening” Psa 89:8; hi. “to fear” 2x; *ma<sup>a</sup>rîṣ* “fright” Isa 8:13; *ma<sup>a</sup>rāṣâ* “terror” Isa 10:33);

(6) → *pḥd* qal “to be afraid, shake” (22x; pi. “to shake” 2x; hi. “to make shake” Job 4:14; *paḥad* “shaking, terror” 49x; *paḥdâ* “terror” Jer 2:19 txt?);

(7) a newly recognized cognate of Ug. *tt<sup>c</sup>* (*UT* no. 2763) and Phoen. *št<sup>c</sup>* (*DISO* 322) in Isa 41:10, 23 is *št<sup>c</sup>* qal “to be afraid” (cf. Meyer 2:123).

2. The ni. ptcp. *nôrâ<sup>ʔ</sup>*, in use as an independent adj., belongs in the realm of numinous fear and means “frightful, frightening.” Only in Isa 18:2, 7 and Hab 1:7, where it refers to a people, may the translation “feared” be recommended (cf. KBL 400a). *nôrâ<sup>ʔ</sup>* characterizes the wilderness (Isa 21:1; Deut 1:19; 8:15), the ice (Ezek 1:22), the martial deeds of the kings (Psa 45:5), although it could already have the hackneyed meaning “astonishing, wonderful, majestic” in the last case (cf. Becker, op. cit. 47; Plath, op. cit. 23; LXX *thaumastōs*).

3. The subst. *môrâ<sup>ʔ</sup>* (with *BHS*, Psa 9:21 should be read -<sup>ʔ</sup> instead of -*h*) signifies “fear, terror,” “that which causes terror” and is exclusively a term for numinous fear. It characterizes the animals’ fear of people (Gen 9:2 par. *ḥat*) and the fear of Israel (Deut 11:25 par. *paḥad*).

IV. The vast majority of *yr<sup>ʔ</sup>* passages (about 4/5) exhibit a theological usage. The following characteristic usages will be treated: IV/1 the numinous character of *yr<sup>ʔ</sup>*, 1V/2 the formula *ʔal-tîrâ<sup>ʔ</sup>* “do not fear!”; IV/3 *yr<sup>ʔ</sup>* in the Dtn-Dtr literature; IV/4 *yir<sup>ʔ</sup>ê yhw<sup>h</sup>* “Yahweh fearers” in the Psa; IV/5 *yr<sup>ʔ</sup>* as “cultic reverence”; IV/6 *yr<sup>ʔ</sup>* in wisdom texts; IV/7 the legal concept of the fear of God.

1. In various passages the original numinous character of the “fear (of God)” is still clear: (a) for the adj. *nôrâ<sup>ʔ</sup>*, (b) for the subst. *môrâ<sup>ʔ</sup>*, and (c) for the verb *yr<sup>ʔ</sup>*.

(a) *nôrâ<sup>ʔ</sup>* “frightful” is used over 30x as an attribute of Yahweh (Exod 15:11; Deut 7:21; 10:17; Zeph 2:11; Psa 47:3; 68:36; 76:8, 13; 89:8; 96:4 = 1 Chron 16:25; Job 37:22; Dan 9:4; Neh 1:5; 4:8; 9:32), of his name (Deut 28:58; Mal 1:14; Psa 99:3; 111:9), of his deeds (Exod 34:10; Deut 10:21; 2 Sam 7:23 = 1 Chron 17:21; Isa 64:2; Psa 65:6; 66:3; 106:22; 145:6), and of

his eschatological day of judgment (Joel 2:11; 3:4; Mal 3:23); the term hardly occurs in pre-exilic texts (it would admittedly be improper to infer from this a relatively late semantic development). *nôṛāʾ* parallels other terms expressing God's numinous character: *qādôš* (→ *qdš*) "holy" (Psa 99:3; 111:9; Exod 15:11), *gādôl* (→ *gdł*) "great" (Deut 7:21; 10:17, 21; 2 Sam 7:23 = 1 Chron 17:21; Psa 96:4 = 1 Chron 16:25; Psa 99:3; 106:21f.; 145:6; Dan 9:4; Neh 1:5; 4:8; 9:32), *na<sup>c</sup>ārš* "frightful" (Psa 89:8; see III/1e).

As an attribute of Yahweh, *nôṛāʾ* belongs to the typical vocabulary of the Zion and Yahweh-is-king psalms (see Psa 47:3; 76:8, 13; 96:4; 99:3; also 68:36; 89:8). "This justifies seeing *nôṛāʾ* as a cultic term" (Becker, op. cit. 48, with reference to J. Hempel, *Gott und Mensch im AT* [1926], 30; from here *nôṛāʾ* has entered the Dtn framework; cf. Deut 7:21; 10:17, 21; 28:58). It occurs in the fixed formula *hāʾēl haggādôl w<sup>e</sup>hannôṛāʾ* "great and frightful God" in Dan 9:4; Neh 1:5; 4:8; 9:32; this statement refers to the gracious God.

*nôṛāʾ* as a characterization of the "frightful" deeds of God usually refers to occurrences that benefit Israel, whether alluding to the exodus from Egypt (Deut 10:21; Psa 66:3, cf. v 6; 106:22; 2 Sam 7:23 = 1 Chron 17:21) or to Yahweh's mighty acts in history and creation in general (Psa 145:6; 65:6).

A curtailment of the numinous content may occur in the adv. use of *nôṛāʾôt* (cf. GKC §118p) in the meaning "wonderfully, majestically" in Psa 139:14 (cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:510; Becker, op. cit. 34n.91). According to Judg 13:6 the appearance of God's messenger, as well as the sites of God's revelation (Gen 28:17), are *nôṛāʾ* "terrible, sinister" (so Plath, op. cit. 111n.330).

(b) *môṛāʾ* in quasi-confessional Dtn formulations that refer to the exodus from Egypt describes the "frightening acts" of God (Deut 4:34; 26:8; 34:12; cf. Jer 32:21; von Rad, *Deut*, OTL, 47, 156, 209: "terror[s]," "great and terrible deeds"). Becker (op. cit. 31n.73) would like to see a distinction between the pl. *môṛāʾîm* in Deut 4:34 and the sg. in the other passages, in that he relates the former to the deeds per se and the latter to the terror that accompanied Yahweh's deed.

If *môṛāʾ* is retained in Psa 76:12 (cf., however, *BHS*), then Yahweh himself is called "terror."

(c) The verb *yrʾ* "to fear" is sometimes used abs. (e.g., Gen 28:17; 1 Sam 4:7; Isa 41:5; Psa 40:4; 52:8); in most cases it is constructed with an acc. obj. (Exod 14:31; Lev 19:30; 26:2; 1 Sam 12:18; 2 Sam 6:9; Isa 25:3; 59:19; Psa 67:8), in various passages with the preps. *min* or *mipp<sup>e</sup>n* (cf. Exod 34:30; Deut 28:10; Mic 7:17; Psa 33:8; 65:9, etc.).

The markedly numinous character of *yr*<sup>2</sup>, which can often be rendered “to quiver,” appears (1) in contexts of the experience of God’s theophanic presence (Exod 20:18 [txt em], 20; Deut 5:5; cf. Psa 76:9), of dream and visionary experiences (Gen 28:17; cf. Dan 10:12, 19), and of fear before God’s lethal appearance (Exod 3:6); (2) in the context of Yahweh’s deeds as historical activity and demonstration of power (Isa 25:3; 41:5; Jer 10:7; Hab 3:2; Zech 9:5; Psa 65:9; 76:9; Job 6:21, horror before the one smitten by God), and esp. of the exodus from Egypt (Exod 14:31; Mic 7:17; cf. 1 Sam 4:7ff.), of intervention on behalf of the individual and punishment upon the evildoer (Psa 40:4; 52:8; 64:10), and of the acts of creation (Jer 5:22, 24; Psa 33:8; 65:9; cf. 1 Sam 12:18); (3) in relation to the sanctuary (Lev 19:30; 26:2; 2 Sam 6:9 = 1 Chron 13:12), to people who stand in a special relationship with Yahweh (Exod 34:30, Moses; Josh 4:14, Moses and Joshua; 1 Sam 12:18, Samuel; 31:4 = 1 Chron 10:4; 2 Sam 1:14; cf. 1 Sam 24:7, the king as the anointed), and to the people of Yahweh, because they are called by his name (Deut 28:10).

Becker (op. cit. 38f.) demonstrates how, on the one hand, the numinous fear of God’s deeds appears as the starting point of a semantic development to “moral fear of God” and through “the notion of the acknowledgment of Yahweh and orientation toward him approximates the cultic concept (fear = honor)” (cf. e.g., Exod 14:31; Jer 10:7), so that, on the other hand, even if markedly attenuated, a basic note of numinous fear is always present in the spheres to be treated in IV/3–6 (with reference to the development in extra-Israelite pars., particularly in Akk. *palāhu*, op. cit. 78–80; cf. *AHW* 812f.; further, e.g., R. H. Pfeiffer, “Fear of God,” *IEJ* 5 [1955]: 41–48).

2. (a) The formula *ʿal-tîrāʿ* “do not fear” is first a formula of encouragement used in the profane realm (about 15x) that occurs predominantly in the sg. and abs. (only 2 Kgs 25:24 = Jer 40:9 with *min*) and that is grounded through a succeeding independent clause (Gen 43:23; 50:21; Ruth 3:11) or by a dependent clause introduced by a causal *kî* (Gen 35:17; 1 Sam 4:20; 22:23; 2 Sam 9:7; 2 Kgs 6:16). It frequently averts the fear of death (cf. Judg 4:18; 1 Sam 22:23; 23:17; 2 Sam 9:7). Gen 35:17 and 1 Sam 4:20 (of a birth) may be “a general word of encouragement that has become a fixed formula” (Plath, op. cit. 114), promising courage in time of need, and that can be rendered “be of good courage” (cf. ZB). In Psa 49:17, *ʿal-tîrāʿ* means a weakened “just wait patiently” (Becker, op. cit. 52n.219), “don’t let it bother you” (ZB).

(b) The theological usage of the formula *ʿal-tîrāʿ* (about 60x, in a few cases *lōʿ tîrāʿ*) occurs predominantly in Deutero-Isa (41:10, 13f.; 43:1, 5; 44:2; 54:4; cf. 44:8; 51:12), in Jer, and in Deut (cf. Plath, op. cit. 115–22; Becker, op. cit. 50–55); it is noteworthy in this context that it occurs only

once in wisdom literature (Prov 3:25) and that the formula is totally absent from the Psa.

As in the profane realm, the expression is a formula of comfort spoken in common situations of need or a word of encouragement; it occurs primarily (about 2/3 of the texts) as God's statement—rarely as a word of God's messenger (Gen 21:17; 2 Kgs 1:15; Dan 10:12, 19)—and as a human statement to a person under special commission of Yahweh (e.g., Moses, Joshua, Samuel, Elijah, Nehemiah, a priest; only in historical books except for Isa 35:4; Joel 2:21f.; Zeph 3:16; Prov 3:25).

As a word of God, the formula appears in the revelation formula promising salvation and comfort. It normally introduces a speech (as the conclusion, Hag 2:5; Zech 8:13, 15; Dan 10:19) and occurs in close relation to the self-predication formula of Yahweh (Gen 15:1; 26:24; 46:3; Isa 41:10, 13f.; 43:1, 5; Jer 30:10f.; 46:27f.). The formula usually precedes a justification (Gen 21:17; 26:24; Deut 3:2; Josh 8:1; 11:6; Isa 10:24; 41:10, etc., in Deutero-Isa; cf. IV/2a). An abs. usage occurs in Gen 15:1; 21:17; 26:24; Josh 8:1; Judg 6:23 and in the Deutero-Isa passages; otherwise it occurs with the preps. *min* and *mipp<sup>e</sup>n* or the nota accusativi (cf. Num 21:34; Deut 3:2; Josh 10:8; 11:6; 2 Kgs 19:6; Isa 10:24; Jer 42:11, etc.).

The formula as a human statement displays the same characteristics. Remarkable here are expansions in series through par. terms with negative or positive connotations. Particularly noteworthy are the verbs → *ʾms* “to be strong” (Deut 31:6; Josh 10:25; 1 Chron 22:13; 28:20; 2 Chron 32:7), → *h<sup>z</sup>q* “to be firm” (Deut 31:6; Josh 10:25; Isa 35:4; 1 Chron 22:13; 28:20; 2 Chron 32:7), *h<sup>t</sup>t* ni. “to be disheartened” (Deut 1:21; 31:8; Josh 8:1; 10:25; Jer 30:10; Ezek 3:9; 1 Chron 22:13; 28:20; 2 Chron 32:7), *ʿrs* “to be afraid” (Deut 1:29; 20:3; 31:6), and *rkk* “to be fainthearted” (Deut 20:3; Isa 7:4).

After H. Gressmann had already recognized the formula *ʾal-tûrā* as an element of revelatory discourse in the literary analysis of Deutero-Isa (ZAW 34 [1914]: 254–97, esp. 287–89) and its origins in the salvation oracle of the priests, appealing to Bab. antecedents (cf. e.g., AOT 281f.; ANET 449f.), J. Begrich (“Das priesterliche Heilsorakel,” ZAW 52 [1934]: 81–92 = GS [1964], 217–31) introduced evidence of the institution of the priestly salvation oracle in the Israelite realm. A significant proof text is Lam 3:57 (cf. Begrich, op. cit. 82 [= GS 219]).

L. Köhler's derivation of the formula from the numinous experience of the theophany (“Die Offenbarungsformel ‘Fürchte dich nicht!’ im AT,” SThZ 36 [1919]: 33–39) is less probable in itself, esp. because one can adduce only Exod 20:20; Judg 6:23; Dan 10:12, 19, and perhaps Gen 26:24 in support of it.

Occurrences of the formula in the so-called battle address (cf. H. W. Wolff, *Immanuel* [1959], 15) within the tradition of the Yahweh war (von

Rad, *Holy War* 45f.) also deserve special mention: Exod 14:13; Num 21:34; Deut 1:21, 29; 3:2, 22; 20:1, 3; 31:6, 8; Josh 8:1; 10:8, 25; 11:6; Isa 7:4; Neh 4:8; 2 Chron 20:15, 17; 32:7; further also 1QM 10:3; 15:8; 17:4. Here too *ʔal-tîrāʔ* should be understood as a salvation oracle, more precisely as a war oracle, which, as corresponding extra-Israelite pars. make clear, is a common ancient Near Eastern genre.

The following references may simply be mentioned (cf. H. Wildberger, *ZTK* 65 [1968]: 135 and → *ʔmn* B.IV/2; also H. Cazelles, *RB* 69 [1962]: 321–49; O. Kaiser, *ZAW* 70 [1958]: 107–26): the oracle of Ishtar of Arbela to Esarhaddon (*ANET* 450a; *AOT* 282, III:38–IV:10): “Fear not (*lā tapallah*), O king, I said to you, ‘I have not abandoned you.’ . . . I shall not let you be disgraced. . . . with my own hands, your foes shall I crush”; from the Aram. realm the ZKR inscription (*KAI* no. 202A.12–14; *ANET* 655b): “Be’elshamayn [said to me]: ‘Do not fear (*ʔltzhl*), for I made you king, and I shall . . . deliver you from all [these kings]”; cf. also the letter of Šuppiluliuma to Niqmadu of Ugarit (RS 17:132.3–5): “Even if Nuhaš and Mukiš are at war with me, you do not fear, Niqmadu” (*PRU* 4:35f.).

Supplementary mention may be made in this context of the form *lōʔ ʔirāʔ* (only Psa 46:3 pl.) “I am not afraid” (as freedom from any fear of people, in particular, and of natural catastrophes), characteristic of some Psa, which occurs in songs of confidence (Psa 23:4; 27:1, here as a question) and in declarations of confidence in the songs of thanksgiving (Psa 118:6). Some relationship with the salvation oracle seems likely (cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:397, who wants to understand the confession “Yahweh is for me, I am not afraid” in Psa 118:6 as “an echo to . . . an oracle of salvation”).

3. “Fear of God” passages in the Dtn-Dtr literature are uniform with reference both to meaning and to linguistic form (Deut 4:10; 5:29; 6:2, 13, 24; 8:6; 10:12, 20; 13:5; 14:23; 17:19; 28:58; 31:12f.; Josh 4:24; 24:14; Judg 6:10; 1 Sam 12:14, 24; 1 Kgs 8:40, 43 = 2 Chron 6:31, 33; 2 Kgs 17:7, 25, 28, 32–39, 41; Plath, op. cit. 33–45; Becker, op. cit. 85–124).

Only verbal forms are used; the inf. cs. with *l<sup>e</sup> (l<sup>e</sup>yirʔâ)* characterizes Deut. The obj. of the verb—when expressly named—is always Yahweh or the phrase “Yahweh your/our God.” The following are important par. terms (supra-, co-, or subordinated; cf. Plath, op. cit. 33): → *ʔhb* “to love” (Deut 10:12), → *dbq* “to cling to” (Deut 10:20; 13:5), → *hlk bidrākāyw* “to walk in his ways” (Deut 8:6; 10:12), *hlk ʔaḥʔrê* “to follow” (Deut 13:5), → *ʔbd* “to serve” (Deut 6:13; 10:12, 20; 13:5; Josh 24:14; 1 Sam 12:14), → *ʔšh haḥuqqîm* “to keep the commandments” (Deut 6:24), → *ʔšb<sup>c</sup> ni. bišmô* “to swear by his name” (Deut 6:13; 10:20), → *ʔšm<sup>c</sup> b<sup>c</sup>qōlô* “to listen to his voice” (Deut 13:5; 1 Sam 12:14), and → *ʔšmr* “to keep (commandments, etc.)” (Deut 5:29; 6:2; 8:6; 13:5; 17:19; 31:12).

The close relationship of “fearing Yahweh” and observing the law is noteworthy. The interrelationship of the two can be properly defined and understood on the basis of the so-called covenant formula (cf. K. Baltzer, *Covenant Formulary* [1971], esp. 12f., 37f.), in which one of the terms is *yrʾet-yhwh* “to fear Yahweh” (cf. → *hb*, → *dbq*), which expresses the basic declaration of Israel’s relationship to Yahweh. Thus *yrʾet-yhwh* should be understood solely as “the worship of Yahweh with particular attention to the concept of faithfulness to him as the covenant God” (Becker, op. cit. 85).

In 2 Kgs 17:36, 39, *yrʾ* exhibits the same meaning of “worship” as faithfulness to Yahweh, while the other passages in the chapter display *yrʾ* as a cultic technical term describing both the worship of strange gods and an illegitimate Yahweh cult (cf. Plath, op. cit. 43; Becker, op. cit. 123).

4. A typical expression in the Psa is *yirʾé yhwh* “those who fear Yahweh” (a verbal adj. *yārēʾ* in the pl. cs. with a subst. meaning; cf. Joüon 415 §1211; Plath, op. cit. 84–103; Becker, op. cit. 125–61). In addition to *yirʾé yhwh* (Psa 15:4; 22:24; 115:11, 13; 118:4; 135:20; cf. Mal 3:16[bis]; probably also originally in 66:16 in the Elohist Psalter), the equivalent suf. forms “who fear you/him” (Psa 22:26; 25:14; 31:20; 33:18; 34:8, 10; 60:6; 85:10; 103:11, 13, 17; 111:5; 119:74, 79; 145:19; 147:11) or “who fear my/your name” (Mal 3:20; Psa 61:6), also occur 27x (perhaps also Psa 119:63 txt em).

*yirʾé yhwh* refers to the community of those who worship Yahweh in the cult, in particular: (a) originally the cultic community assembled in the temple “in actu” (Psa 22:24, 26; 31:20; 66:16); (b) broadened, the entire people of Yahweh (cf. Psa 60:6 par. *ʿam* “people” v 5; 61:6 [cf. Weiser, *Psa*, OTL, 444]; 85:10); (c) in unmistakably late psalms, the term designates those “faithful to Yahweh,” the “pious” of the community (Psa 25:14; 33:18; 34:8, 10; 103:11, 13, 17; 111:5; 119:74, 79; 147:11; cf. also Mal 3:16, 20), a usage that sometimes has moral-wisdom (Psa 25:12, 14; 34:8, 10; cf. v 12; see 6a) or nomistic connotations (cf. Psa 103:17; 119:74, 79; see 7); (d) it is questionable whether *yirʾé yhwh* in Psa 115:11, 13; 118:4; 135:20 indicates the so-called proselytes (cf. A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* [1896], 182; further Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:378, 381; Weiser, *Psa*, OTL, 724), the more so because the usual technical term for this is *gērîm* (→ *gûr*, cf. E. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, rev. ed. by G. Vermes et al. [1986], 3/1:169ff.). It is more probable that *yirʾé yhwh* should be seen as the collective term for post-exilic, hierarchically structured participants in the cult (with Plath, op. cit. 102f.; Becker, op. cit. 160).

5. Beyond the Dtn-Dtr realms and the usages of *yirʾé yhwh* in the

Psalter (see 3 and 4), the meaning “to fear” in the sense of “to worship Yahweh faithfully” may occur in 1 Kgs 18:3, 12; 2 Kgs 4:1; Jer 32:39f.; Neh 1:11 (in Jer and Neh likely under direct Dtr influence). The simple meaning “cultic worship” is displayed in Isa 29:13 (Duhm, *Jesaia*, HKAT [19224], 186; Fohrer, *Jesaja*, ZBK, 2:77), and Jonah 1:9 exhibits the limited technical meaning “cultic, religious membership.”

6. (a) *yr*<sup>ʔ</sup> passages in the wisdom tradition are noteworthy for characteristic linguistic forms: (1) the adj. *yārē*<sup>ʔ</sup> in the combination *y<sup>ʔ</sup>rē*<sup>ʔ</sup> *yhwh* (according to Becker, op. cit. 126f., 188, the pl. *yir<sup>ʔ</sup>ē yhwh* in the Psa would by analogy be a gen. possessivus, the sg. *y<sup>ʔ</sup>rē*<sup>ʔ</sup> *yhwh* a gen. objectivus), e.g., Isa 50:10; Psa 25:12; 128:1, 4; Prov 14:2; *y<sup>ʔ</sup>rē*<sup>ʔ</sup> *ʔlōhîm*, e.g., Job 1:1, 8; 2:3; Eccl 7:18; notably—in contrast to the Psa—no suf. forms and only two pl. forms occur (Exod 18:21; Eccl 8:12); (2) the subst. *yir<sup>ʔ</sup>â*, esp. in the dominant phrase *yir<sup>ʔ</sup>at yhwh* “fear of Yahweh” (Prov 1:7, 29; 2:5; 8:13; 9:10; 10:27; 14:26f.; 15:16, 33; 16:6; 19:23; 22:4; 23:17; cf. Isa 11:2f.; 33:6; Psa 34:12; 111:10; 2 Chron 19:9), and in *yir<sup>ʔ</sup>at šadday* (Job 6:14), *yir<sup>ʔ</sup>at ʔadōnāy* (Job 28:28), and the abs. *yir<sup>ʔ</sup>â* (Job 4:6; 15:4; 22:4), which, however, may represent *yir<sup>ʔ</sup>at ʔlōhîm* (Plath, op. cit. 55; Fohrer, KAT 16, 138, 267, 355); (3) the verb *yr*<sup>ʔ</sup> with the obj. “God” (Job 1:9; Eccl 5:6; 12:13; with *millipn*<sup>ʔ</sup> “before”: Eccl 3:14; 8:12f.) or “Yahweh” (Prov 3:7; 24:21).

(b) The following characteristics demonstrate a close relationship to wisdom: (1) *yir<sup>ʔ</sup>at yhwh* parallels wisdom terms closely, esp. in the collection of sayings in Prov 1–9, and can also be used as a synonym for *da<sup>ʔ</sup>at* → *yd<sup>ʔ</sup>* “knowledge” (cf. Prov 1:7, 29; 2:5; 9:10; 15:33; also Isa 11:2; 33:6; Job 28:28; cf. Gemser, HAT 16, 25; Ringgren, ATD 16/1, 43; Becker, op. cit. 217ff.); (2) *yir<sup>ʔ</sup>at yhwh* appears in the deed-consequence pattern of wisdom literature (Prov 10:27; 14:26; 15:16; 16:6; 19:23; 22:4).

(c) Expressions for “fear of God” mentioned above occur in wisdom texts variously in par. to *tām* “right,” *yāšār* “upright,” *šaddîq* “righteous,” *sûr mēra<sup>ʔ</sup>* “to keep oneself from evil,” *śn<sup>ʔ</sup>ra<sup>ʔ</sup>* “to hate evil” (cf. Prov 3:7; 8:13; 10:27; Job 1:1, 8; 4:16; 28:28; also Psa 34:12, 15; 2 Sam 23:3; in opposition to *rāšā<sup>ʔ</sup>* “guilty” in Prov 10:27), so that “fear of God” should be understood here as “a fixed term for just, ethical behavior” (Becker, op. cit. 187; cf. also Plath, op. cit. 78).

(d) Although part of the wisdom tradition, Qohelet (in addition to *yr<sup>ʔ</sup>/y<sup>ʔ</sup>rē*<sup>ʔ</sup> *ʔlōhîm*, Eccl 5:6; 7:18; 12:13, here too the expression *yr<sup>ʔ</sup> millipnē* [*ʔlōhîm*], “to be afraid before God,” which does not occur elsewhere in wisdom, Eccl 3:14; 8:12f.) nevertheless goes his own way to the extent that, impressed by the distance between God and human (cf. e.g., 5:1), he reemphasizes the numinous element as fear in the face of the ineffability of

God which points to an awareness of dependency (cf. Zimmerli, ATD 16/1, 174; Becker, op. cit. 249f.; esp. E. Pfeiffer, “Die Gottesfurcht im Buche Kohelet,” FS Hertzberg 133–58).

(e) With respect to linguistic usage, the Elohist in the Pentateuch exhibits the same characteristic forms as the wisdom literature (*yrʾ ʿet-hāʿlōhîm* Gen 42:18; Exod 1:17, 21; *yʿrēʾ ʿlōhîm* Gen 22:12; *yirʾē ʿlōhîm* Exod 18:21; *yirʾat ʿlōhîm* Gen 20:11) and seems, according to Becker (op. cit. 209), “to be grounded in wisdom” (contra Plath, op. cit. 46f. etc., who explains it against the background of a “nebiistic” tradition; he too, however, with A. Jepsen, *Die Quellen des Königsbuches* [19562], 78, 98f., sees connections and reciprocal influences between Prophets and Wisdom; cf. Plath, op. cit. 72n.181). Here too the concern is with moral fear of God, in respect to which Gen 20:11 and 42:18 designate a general moral-human attitude (cf. von Rad, *Gen*, OTL [19722], 229, who characterizes *yirʾat ʿlōhîm* in Gen 20:11 as “reverence and regard of the most elementary moral norms, whose severe guardian was everywhere considered to be the divinity”; Gunkel, *Gen*, HKAT [19103], 444, sees “a certain international religious morality” in Gen 42:18).

Similarly, “God-fearing men” in Exod 18:21 may have connotations of “conscientious,” taking the par. terms into account (“able men . . . men who are trustworthy, and who hate a bribe,” Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 145; cf. Becker, op. cit. 197).

(f) Finally, in addition to Mal 3:5, the formula, “You shall fear your God, I am Yahweh,” which occurs in H in the context of commandments regulating human life generally (Lev 19:14, 32; 25:17, 36, 43), demonstrates a close relationship between fear and moral behavior. The motivational → *ʾnîyhw* as an “explication of the central self-introduction of Yahweh, the God who summons his people—or better . . . the God who sanctifies his people” (W. Zimmerli, *I Am Yahweh* [1982], 12) characterizes *yrʾ* not only as general moral behavior but as obedience to the revelation of Yahweh’s will.

7. In a few wisdom psalms, in which the law appears as “an absolute entity during the late period” (cf. M. Noth, *Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* [1966], 85ff.), the concept of the “fear of God” becomes a “nomistic” concept and refers exclusively to the law. *yrʾ* designates those who have pleasure in Yahweh’s commandments (Psa 112:1), those faithful to the law (Psa 119:63) who walk in his paths (Psa 128:1). In Psa 19:10 *yirʾat yhw* signifies the law itself; cf. the par. terms (→ *tôrâ*, etc.; there is no reason to emend *yirʾat* to *ʾimrat* “word,” as Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:268, among others, suggests).

V. Early Judaism adopts various meanings of *yrʾ* and, in part,

develops them further (cf. J. Haspecker, *Gottesfurcht bei Jesus Sirach* [1967]). Thus e.g., rabbinic usage knows *môraʿ* and *môraʿâ* as common terms for moral fear of God (cf. *WTM* 3:57a; R. Sander, *Furcht und Liebe im palästinischen Judentum* [1935]). The rare occurrence in Qumran is noteworthy (cf. S. J. de Vries, “Note Concerning the Fear of God in the Qumran Scrolls,” *RQ* 5 [1965]: 233–37; 1QSb 5:25 as a citation of Isa 11:2; CD 20:19 as a citation of Mal 3:16; cf. the passages in the tradition of the holy war in 1QM [see IV/2b]; according to J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* [1960], 2:54, *yrʿ* ירע “one who fears God” in CD 10:2 means something like “cultically fit”; cf. IV/6a[3]).

The LXX renders *yrʿ* primarily with *phobein* and derivatives, less often one finds *sebesthai*, *theosebēs*, etc. On the NT cf. G. Bertram, “θεοσεβής,” *TDNT* 3:123–28; W. Foerster, “σέβομαι,” *TDNT* 7:168–91; H. R. Balz and G. Wanke, “φοβέω,” *TDNT* 9:189–219; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the NT* (1951–55), 1:320–22; 2:213f.; K. Romaniuk, *Il timore di Dio nella teologia di San Paolo* (1967).

H.-P. Stähli

ירד *yrđ* to descend → עלה *ʿlh*

ירה *yrh* hi. to instruct → תורה *tôrâ*

ירש *yrš* to inherit

S 3423; BDB 439a; *HALOT* 2:441a; *TDOT* 6:368–96; *TWOT* 920; *NIDOTTE* 3769

1. The root \**wrt*, manifest in Hebr. *yrš* “to inherit, take possession,” is well attested in WSem.; in older NWSem. cf. Ug. *yrt* (*WUS* no. 1248 “to seize”; *UT* no. 1161 “to inherit, acquire”; Gröndahl 145), Moab. *yrš* (Mesha inscription [= *KAI* no. 181], ll. 7f.: “and Omri had seized the entire region of Medeba”; cf. *ANET* 320b), Old Aram. *yrt* (Sef. [= *KAI* no. 222] 1.C.24f.: “and his descendants shall not inherit a name”; cf. Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 77; R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik* [1969], 43).

A relationship to the Akk. *rašû* (Zimmern 17) should probably not be assumed (cf.

GAG §106r); in Late Bab. *jāritu* “inheritance” occurs as an Aramaism (AHw 412a).

The verb occurs in qal and hi., less often also in ni. and pi. Nom. derivatives are *y<sup>e</sup>rēšâ*, *y<sup>e</sup>ruššâ*, *môrāš*, and *môrāšâ* (cf. the place-name *môrešet gat*, Mic 1:14), all in the meaning “possession.” On the fem. name *y<sup>e</sup>rûšâ* (“the one taken into possession [by adoption]”) cf. *IP* 231f.; J. J. Stamm, FS Baumgartner 327.

*rešet* “(hunting) net” is farther removed semantically (22x, 8x in Psa; Ug. *rtt* ), although it is usually also derived from *yrš* (not in *UT* no. 2361). On *tîrôš* see 3b.

2. The word family—preferred particularly by Dtn-Dtr—is attested a total of 258x in the OT; qal 159x (excl. Num 21:32 K; Judg 14:15; Deut 63x, Josh 12x, Isa and Psa 10x, Gen and Judg 9x), ni. 4x, pi. 2x (incl. Judg 14:15; cf. *HP* 212f.), hi. 66x (incl. Num 21:32 Q; Josh and Judg 17x each, Num 8x, Deut 7x), *y<sup>e</sup>rēšâ* 2x (Num 24:18), *y<sup>e</sup>ruššâ* 14x (Deut 7x, Josh 3x), *môrāš* 2x (Isa 14:23; Obad 17; excl. Job 17:11 “wish,” root *yrš*, → *wh* 3), and *môrāšâ* 9x (Ezek 7x, also Exod 6:8; Deut 33:4).

3. (a) The qal of the verb is translated in the majority of cases with “to take into possession,” etc.; the obj. is usually “the land” (formulaically in Dtn-Dtr diction; cf. J. G. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium* [1967], 83) or a particular land, both primarily in the context of statements concerning the conquest.

Grammatical objs. are: → *ʿereš* “land” in general (Gen 15:7f.; 28:4; Num 13:30; 33:53; Deut 1:8, 21, 39; 3:18, 20; 4:1, 5, 14, etc.; Josh 1:11, 15, etc.; Jer 32:23; Ezek 33:24–26; Psa 44:4; Ezra 9:11; Neh 9:15, 23; cf. Isa 60:21; Jer 30:3; Psa 37:9, 11, 22, 29, 34, etc. [cf. Matt 5:5]), *ʿereš* of a people or ruler (Sihon, Num 21:24; Deut 2:24, 31; 4:47, etc.; Og, Num 21:35; cf. Deut 3:12; Amorites, Josh 24:8; Amos 2:10 [Dtr? cf. W. H. Schmidt, *ZAW* 77 [1965]: 178–83; Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 152, 169f.], etc.), → *ʾdāmâ* “land” (Lev 20:24; Deut 28:21, 63; 30:18; 31:13; 32:47; → *naḥʾlâ* “inheritance,” Num 27:11; 36:8), → *ʿîr* “city” (Judg 3:13; Obad 20; Psa 69:36), *šar* “gate” (Gen 22:17; 24:60), also “houses” (Ezek 7:24; Neh 9:25), “fortress” (Isa 57:13), and “fields” (Obad 19), etc.

The obj. is occasionally a people, in which case *yrš* is generally rendered “to expel, force out of possession”: the Rephaim (Deut 2:21), Horites (Deut 2:12, 22), Amorites (Judg 11:23), generally the peoples inhabiting the land (Deut 9:1, 5; 12:29; 18:14; 19:1), etc.

Only one passage has an obj. other than a people or its possession (land), i.e., slaves (Lev 25:46), yet the context consistently uses terms that otherwise describe real property.

In many cases the hi. (which occurs almost exclusively in the Dtr history and in Num) is almost identical in usage and meaning with the qal. In these instances many translators exaggerate the “expulsion” of peoples into “annihilation” or “extermination.”

This category of usage includes the nom. derivatives *y<sup>c</sup>rēššâ*, *y<sup>c</sup>ruššâ*, *môrāšš*, and *môrāššâ*, all of which mean “possession,” primarily in the sense of “property” (par. to <sup>ʾ</sup>*ḥuzzâ* [→ *ḥz*], → *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ*, *ḥēleq* [→ *ḥlq*], *ḥebel*, etc.). The ni. has the privative meaning “to be deprived of possession, become poor” (Gen 45:11; Prov 20:13; 23:21; 30:9); the hi. can be used for “to make poor” (1 Sam 2:7; Zech 9:4; cf. *rûš*, which is attested only in Hebr.; → *nh* II).

(b) The use of *yrš* for “to inherit” (Gen 15:3, 4[bis]; 21:10; Jer 49:1f.; cf. the substantivized ptcp. *yôreš* “inheritance,” 2 Sam 14:7; Jer 49:1) seems to be unconnected to the meanings treated above.

One must regard the meaning “to inherit” as original, not only because the admittedly few OT attestations of this meaning are the oldest, but because the other usages and the evidence in the other Sem. languages are most easily explained on this basis: property, esp. real property, to which reference is most often made, is basically inherited property in the OT and outside Israel (thus also the semantic proximity of *y<sup>c</sup>ruššâ*, *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ*, and <sup>ʾ</sup>*ḥuzzâ*). Cf. further F. Dreyfus, “Le thème de l’héritage dans l’AT,” *RSPT* 42 (1958): 3–49 (esp. 5–8).

In the Gk. realm, the phenomenon is represented by the semantic range of *klēros*, which means “portion, possession” (and “lot”) and, at the same time, “inheritance” (cf. *klēronomia* “inheritance, heritage, property” and *klēronomein* “to inherit”; cf. the Gk. lexicons and W. Foerster, “κλήρος,” *TDNT* 3:758ff.).

In a manner similar to *nḥl*, *yrš* has separated from the more limited process of inheritance in Hebr. and designates the “inherited property” or the (at times military) acquisition of property in general.

With regard to *tûrôš* “new wine, wine,” etc., it is not necessary to assume “to tread down, press” as the basic meaning of the root (as does P. Haupt, *AJSL* 26 [1909/10]: 215, 223 on Mic 6:15, followed by L. Köhler, *ZAW* 46 [1928]: 218–20; KBL 406b). *tûrôš* “wine” (cf. Ug. *trt* par. *yn* “wine” in *KTU* 1.17.VI.7 and 1.114.4, 16; Phoen. *trš* in the Karatepe inscription [= *KAI* no. 26] III.7, 9; *ANET* 654a) must derive from another root (B. Hartmann orally; cf. also Jew. Aram. *mēr<sup>c</sup>tā<sup>?</sup>*, Syr. *me<sup>r</sup>ritā* “new wine,” LS 406a; perhaps also Ug. *mrt*, *UT* no. 1558; J. C. de Moor, *UF* 1 [1969]: 170), if one accepts it as a Mediterranean agricultural term (like *yayin* “wine”) with C. Rabin (*Or* 32 [1963]: 137f.; cf. *UT* no. 2613). On Ug. *trt* as a divine title (*KTU* 1.102.9), cf. M. C. Astour, *JAOS* 86 (1966): 283; M. Dahood, *ETL* 44 (1968): 53 (on Hos 7:14); cf. earlier already

Zimmern 40; GB 877b; W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 139 (1955): 18.

4. The word family is theologically relevant in the context of the formulaic Dtn-Dtr presentation of the conquest. Although Israel usually appears as the grammatical subj., it is nevertheless clear that in the final analysis Yahweh gives the land as (an inherited) possession. The most frequent formulae are: “you will enter and take possession of the land” (Deut 4:1; 8:1; 11, 8; sg. 6:18); “the land to which you will pass (over the Jordan), in order to take it into possession” (Deut 4:14, 26; 6:1; 11:8, 11; 31:13; 32:47); “the land to which you go to possess it,” etc. (Deut 7:1; 11:10, 29; 23:21; 28:21, 63; 30:16; pl. 4:5; Ezra 9:11); Yahweh gives Israel the land *l<sup>c</sup>rištāh* “to possess it” (Gen 15:7; Deut 3:18; 5:28; 9:6; 12:1; 19:2, 14; 21:1; Josh 1:11; obj. *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lā*. Deut 15:4; 25:19). Similar stereotypical formulations occur with the inf. without suf. (*lārešet*) and unique verb forms.

Yahweh is often the subj. of hi. references to his expulsion of the nations before the Israelites (formulaically in 1 Kgs 14:24; 21:26; 2 Kgs 16:3; 17:8; 21:2; 2 Chron 28:3; 33:2, etc.).

5. Qumran continues OT linguistic usage, and some examples appear in OT quotations. In the NT the word group per se is no longer apparent outside a clear echo in Matt 5:5; in general, it fused with *nḥl/naḥ<sup>a</sup>lā* and *gōrāl* in *klēros*. Cf. W. Foerster and J. Herrmann, “κλήρος,” *TDNT* 3:758–85 (esp. 769; see also references to the translation of the root in the LXX); J. D. Hester, *Paul’s Concept of Inheritance* (1968).

H. H. Schmid

## יִשְׂרָאֵל *yisrā<sup>a</sup>ēl* **Israel**

S 3478; BDB 975a; *HALOT* 2:442a; *TDOT* 6:397–420; *NIDOTTE* 3776

1. *yisrā<sup>a</sup>ēl* is a sentence name of a type that is not unusual among the oldest Israelite personal and tribal names known to us, but it also has precise counterparts among place-names (*IP* 207–9; M. Noth, *History of Israel* [19602], 4). Noth considers it probable that “Israel” may have originally been a tribal or national name formed in analogy to PNs, or more correctly, a comprehensive collective designation for several tribes, and not a PN that only secondarily became the name of a people, esp. because “Israel” never occurs in the OT as an actual PN.

The oldest inscriptional evidence of the name Israel occurs in the victory song of Merneptah on the so-called Israel Stele in his burial temple

at Thebes dating to ca. 1225 BCE (now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo). While conquering some Palestinian cities, the pharaoh claims to have destroyed “Israel”: “Israel is laid waste, his seed is not” (l. 27: translation of the text in *ANET* 378a; *AOT* 20–25; *TGI* 2 39f.; for pictures of the stele see *AOB* no. 109; *ANEP* nos. 342f.). Whether this Israel is already identical with the tribal league known from the OT or signifies an even older sociological entity remains uncertain. The Israel of the Moabite inscription from the mid-9th cent. BCE emerges more clearly into the light of history (*KAI* no. 181.5, 7, 10f., 14, 18, 26; *ANET* 320b).

Even the meaning of the word may not be ascertained with certainty. The interpretation in Gen 32:29 and Hos 12:4 makes the theophoric component the obj.: “striver with God,” which is unlikely, because  $\text{ʔ}l$  is otherwise always the subj. of PNs. Opinions concerning the meaning of the verb are also divided: “El/God is upright/shines/heals/rules/contends” (a summary of interpretations in G. A. Danell, *Studies in the Name of Israel in the OT* [1946], 22ff.). Perhaps the name should be understood as a liturgical cry in the context of the holy war: “May El contend!” i.e., prove to be a victorious warrior and fighter (J. Heller, “Ursprung des Namens Israel,” *CV* 7 [1964]: 263f.) The Ug. PN *yšriḷ* suggests new interpretative possibilities (*KTU* 4.623.3; cf. O. Eissfeldt, *Neue keilalphabetische Texte aus Ras Schamra-Ugarit*, *SDAW* 6 [1965], 28).

2. Israel occurs more than 2,500x in the OT (incl. Aram. portions), distributed as follows (with separate entries for the frequent expression *b<sup>c</sup>nē yiśrāʔēl* “sons of Israel”; Lis. omits Gen 47:31 and the second occurrences in 1 Kgs 9:7 and 16:29):

*b<sup>c</sup>nē yiśrāʔēl yiśrāʔēl* (all occurrences)

Gen 7	43	
Exod 123	170	
Lev 54	65	
Num 171	237	
Deut 21	72	
Josh 69	160	
Judg 61	184	
1 Sam	12	151
2 Sam	5	117
1 Kgs21	203	
2 Kgs11	164	
Isa 5	92	
Jer 9	125	

Ezek	11	186	
Hos	6	44	
Joel	1	3	
Amos	5	30	
Obad	1	1	
Jonah		–	–
Mic	1	12	
Nah	–	1	
Hab	–	–	
Zeph	–	4	
Hag	–	–	
Zech	–	5	
Mal	–	5	
Psa	2	62	
Job	–	–	
Prov	–	1	
Ruth	–	5	
Song Sol	–	–	1
Eccl	–	1	
Lam	–	3	
Esth	–	–	
Dan	1	4	
Ezra	4	40	
Neh	9	22	
1 Chron	4	114	
2 Chron	23	187	
OT	637	2,514	

Various gen. phrases occur besides *b<sup>e</sup>nê yiśrāʿēl*, incl.: *ʾadmat yiśrāʿēl* “land of Israel” 17x (only in Ezek); *ʾēlōhê yiśrāʿēl* “God of Israel” 201x (Jer 49x, Chron/Ezra/Neh 46x); *bêt yiśrāʿēl* “house of Israel” 146x (Ezek 83x; apparently formed after the expression “house of Judah” on the basis of the coexistence of the states of Israel and Judah; cf. M. Noth, *History of Israel* [19602], 59n.1); *hārê yiśrāʿēl* “mountains of Israel” 16x (only in Ezek); *q<sup>e</sup>dôš yiśrāʿēl* “the holy one of Israel” 31x (Isa 25x).

3. “Israel” does not always refer to the same entity in the OT. Historical processes that were significant for the identity of Israel were mirrored in shifts of usage. The starting point is “Israel” as a designation of the OT league of 12 tribes (Noth, op. cit. 85ff.). The majority of occurrences are in this category. According to OT thought, the tribes that constituted

Israel had arisen from the families of a common ancestor, from whom, at the same time, the name derives. This heros eponymus "Israel" was equated very early—but as a tradition-historical consequence of a secondary process—with the patriarch Jacob (Noth, op. cit. 71n.2), so that "Israel" was also used as a PN. In Gen 32:29–50:25 "Israel" appears 34x and "Jacob" 75x as the name of the patriarch.

As a designation for God's people "Israel" has competition, albeit infrequent, in "Jacob." Apart from gen. phrases with Jacob as the nomen rectum ("God of Jacob," "house of Jacob," "Mighty One of Jacob," etc., about 60x), in which personal and ethnic designations may not always be clearly distinguished, about 60x "Jacob" stands freely as the name of a people (nomen populi; Deutero-Isa 15x, Psa 12x, Jer 9x). These occurrences are exclusively in poetical texts, and in 2/3 of the passages "Israel" or "remnant of Israel" occurs as a par. (Gen 49:7, 24; Num 23:7, 21, 23[bis]; 24:5, 17; Deut 33:10; Isa 9:7; 14:1; 27:6; 40:27; 41:8, 14; 42:24; 43:1, 22, 28; 44:1, 21, 23; 45:4; 48:12; 49:5; Jer 30:10; 31:7; 46:27; Mic 2:12; 3:8; Psa 14:7 = 53:7; 78:5, 21, 71; 105:10 = 1 Chron 16:17; Psa 135:4; 147:19; Lam 2:3; among the gen. phrases cf. e.g., Gen 49:24; Exod 19:3; Num 23:10; 2 Sam 23:1; Isa 29:23; 44:5; 49:6; Jer 2:4; Ezek 39:25; Mic 1:5; 3:1, 9; Nah 2:3; Psa 22:24). "Sons of Jacob" occurs very rarely as an ethnic designation: Mal 3:6; cf. Psa 105:6 = 1 Chron 16:13.

The political division of Israel into two parts signified a division of usage for the name Israel. While the prophets chiefly maintain the previous idiom in their religiotheological statements and continue to use "Israel" as a designation of the entire sacral tribal league, politically oriented terminology occurs in Kgs that limits "Israel" to a particular political entity, the northern kingdom. This usage may continue an older usage; cf. 2 Sam 2:9; 3:17, where "Israel" designates a particular northern tribal group (cf. L. Rost, *Israel bei den Propheten* [1937], 1). The prophets use the designation "Ephraim" for the northern kingdom (esp. Isa and Hos, but sporadically also in Jer, Ezek, Zech, and 2 Chron; lacking in Kgs).

4. In contrast to "Judah," which is primarily the name of a state and adheres firmly to the Davidic kingdom (Rost, op. cit. 3f.), "Israel" is used as a politiconational term only secondarily and as a consequence of a particular historical process. As a designation for a sacral tribal league subject to a divine law that cannot be sufficiently characterized either as "people" or as "state," "Israel" is not, in the first instance, a political term but a religious one (cf. A. R. Hulst, "Der Name 'Israel' im Deuteronomium," *OTS* 9 [1951]: 65–106, esp. 103f.). "Israel" is the "people" as a religious entity, as bearers of the traditions of the fundamental deeds of God in history, and could also, as such, survive after the end of national independence in the form of a cultic community (cf. Noth, op. cit. 1f., 172f.).

5. Qumran literature attests "Israel" quite frequently in 1QS, 1QM,

and CD. The Qumran sect did not identify itself ethnically or religiously with Israel, but regarded itself as a select portion of Israel (1QS 6:13; 8:9; 9:6; CD 1:7; 3:19; 6:5). Meanwhile “Israel” stands as an ideal term in contrast to the national-geographical “Judah”: “the repentant of Israel, which have gone out of the land of Judah” (CD 6:5). The “two houses of Israel” are designated as “Ephraim” and “Judah” (CD 7:12f.).

In continuation of the OT usage, “Israel” in the NT designates the Jewish people in its character as people of God; cf. G. von Rad, K. G. Kuhn, and W. Gutbrod, “Ἰσραήλ,” *TDNT* 3:356–91; R. Mayer, “Israel,” *DNTT* 2:304–16; A. George, “Israël dans l’oeuvre de Luc,” *RB* 75 (1968): 481–525.

G. Gerleman

ישב *yšb* to sit, dwell → שכן *škn*

ישע *yš<sup>c</sup>* hi. to help

S 3467; BDB 446a; *HALOT* 2:448b; *TDOT* 6:441–63; *TWOT* 929; *NIDOTTE* 3828

1. The root was originally probably \**yš<sup>c</sup>*; aside from Hebr., it is attested only in Moab. (*KAI* no. 181.3f. [*y/š<sup>c</sup>* “deliverance”?; l. 4 *hš<sup>c</sup>ny* “he delivered me”; cf. *ANET* 320b; *DISO* 112) and as an element in Amor. (Huffmon 215f.), Ug. (Gröndahl 147), and Old SArab. (Conti-Rossini 165a) PNs.

The usual etymology sees the basic meaning in the Arab. *wasī<sup>c</sup>a* “to be wide, spacious” (e.g., GB 325b; C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des AT* [1947], 127; *SNHL* 40: “make wide > save, deliver”; G. Fohrer, *TDNT* 7:973f.). This etymology is indeed enticing (cf. the antonyms *šrr* “to be narrow,” hi. “to oppress”; in contrast to *yš<sup>c</sup>* e.g., in Isa 63:8f.; Jer 14:8), but it encounters difficulties on account of the discrepancies in the correspondence of consonants (Old SArab. *yš<sup>c</sup>*: Arab. *ws<sup>c</sup>*; cf. J. Sawyer, *VT* 15 [1965]: 475f., 485n.1); it is better consequently to disregard etymological interpretations.

The Hebr. verb is attested in the hi. and the ni.; the basic stem is preserved only in PNs (*yš<sup>a</sup>a<sup>c</sup>yâ/hû*], shortened form *yīš<sup>c</sup>î*, *šlīšā<sup>c</sup>* < *šlyāšā<sup>c</sup>*; cf. *IP* 36, 155, 176; Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 4f.; also with *yš<sup>c</sup>* hi.: *hōšā<sup>c</sup>yâ*, *hōšēa<sup>c</sup>*; cf. also subst. *mēšā<sup>c</sup>* [= “help”]). Derived substs. are *yēšā<sup>c</sup>*,

*yěšûĀ, mōšāōt, and těšûĀ* (BL 496), all in the meaning, “help, salvation.”

2. Statistics: hi. 184x (27x substantivized ptcp. *mōšāō*; Psa 51x, Isa 25x, Judg 21x), ni. 21x (Jer and Psa 6x), *yěša* 36x (Psa 20x), *yěšûĀ* 78x (Psa 45x, Isa 19x, other books 1–2x), *mōšāōt* 1x (Psa 68:21), and *těšûĀ* 34x (Psa 13x, other books 1–3x). Of the 354 occurrences of the root (apart from PNs), 136 fall to Psa, 56 to Isa, 22 to Judg, and 20 each to 1 Sam, 2 Sam, and Jer.

3. In many cases, *yš* hi. (the ni. has a pass. meaning and is used in the same contexts as the hi.) designates help between persons, e.g., at work (Exod 2:17), frequently in war (Josh 10:6 par. → *zr*; Judg 12:2; 1 Sam 11:3; 23:2, 5; 2 Sam 10:11, 19; 2 Kgs 16:7; 1 Chron 19:12, 19); a hero (*gibbôr*) is expected to be able to assist in battle (Jer 14:9).

*yš* hi. also plays a role, however, in legal matters. If one experiences injustice, one raises a cry for assistance (“hue and cry, outcry”), whereupon those who hear it are obligated to render aid; the term for the hue and cry is → *šq* (von Rad, *Gen*, OTL [1972], 106, 211). Deut 22:27 describes a legal case of this type (using the verbs *šq* and *yš* hi.); cf. also Deut 28:29, 31: the curse formula mandates, among other things, that this legal institution becomes invalid for the accursed.

The king is also an authority to whom one can address such a legal claim; the fixed expression is *hōšĀ hammelek* “help, King!” (2 Sam 14:4; 2 Kgs 6:26; cf. H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT* [1964], 61–66; I. L. Seeligmann, FS Baumgartner 274ff.).

The function of the king is seen chiefly in his responsibility to “help” his people (1 Sam 10:27; Hos 13:10, both statements in crises in which the monarchy neglected this responsibility, yet the positive intention of the monarchy is reflected in them; cf. also Judg 8:22; Jer 23:6, here a statement concerning the king of the future era of salvation). One should think of aid in both the military and the juridical senses.

4. (a) The lament of the Psa is structured basically like profane legal contests. The cry for assistance as an element of the request is *hōšĀ* “save” (often in addition to par. expressions: → *nsl* hi. “to deliver” Psa 59:3; 71:2; → *nh* I “to answer” 20:7; 22:22; 60:7; → *brk* pi. “to bless” 28:9; → *pl* pi. “to save” 37:40; 71:2; → *dĭn* or → *špt* “to give justice” 54:3 or 72:4, resp.; → *šmr nepes* “to preserve” 86:2; → *g* “to redeem” 106:10; together with *qûm* “to stand up” 3:8; 76:10; the opposite is *bōš* hi. “to make ashamed” 44:8). The person’s cry is described as in the profane realm (→ *qr* and → *šq*: 55:17; 107:13, 19; alongside *šāwĀ* “hue and cry”: 145:19). The supplicant in distress then awaits the answer and the saving intervention of Yahweh indicated by allusions to theophany (“let your countenance shine” Psa 31:17; 44:4; 80:4, 8, 20; *qûm* also belongs in this context). God’s

assistance is available esp. for the king (20:7, 10; in historiography cf. 2 Sam 8:6, 14), who is responsible for executing divine justice, and for the poor and suffering (Psa 18:28; 72:4; 109:31; cf. also Job 5:15), who have particular need of it.

In narrative psalms of praise, the motif of God's deliverance assumes a position that corresponds to that in the lament: the obj. of the request there is experienced here (Psa 18:4; 98:1; also in the eschatological song of praise in Jer 31:7).

The Psalter's usage of noms. related to the verb may be categorized here. In the salvation oracle, which originally belonged to the lament as God's response, God makes himself known as the one who provides *yēša* "help" (Psa 12:6; cf. also oracular accusations with the verb in Jer 30:10f.; 42:11; 46:27; on the form, see J. Begrich, "Das priesterliche Heilsorakel," *ZAW* 52 [1934]: 81–92 = *GS* [1964], 217–31). The confession of confidence frequently calls God *ʾlōhē yišʿ/ʾyišʿenū* "God of my/our help" (Psa 18:47; 25:5; 65:6; 79:9; 85:5, etc.). The usage of *yēšūʿā/tēšūʿā* is similar; these forms seem esp. to describe God's assistance already granted and experienced; indeed, they are often associated with the expression of joy (with *gīl* "to rejoice" Psa 9:15; 13:6; 21:2; with other similar verbs, 1 Sam 2:1; Isa 25:9; Psa 20:6; 35:9; 42:6, 12).

Par. expressions demonstrate the content associated with divine assistance: most frequent is *šedeqā* "righteousness" (Isa 45:8; 46:13; 51:5 [*šedeq*]; 56:1; 61:10; Psa 71:15; according to Isa 45:8, the notion of fertility is also associated with *yēša*, which should be understood in terms of the influence of the term *šedeqā*; cf. H. H. Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung* [1968], 15ff.), then also *ʿōz* "might" (Psa 21:2; 28:8; cf. Psa 140:8), *mišpāt* "justice" (Isa 59:11), *bērākā* "blessing" (Psa 3:9), *ḥesed* "grace" (Psa 119:41), and *ʾôr* "light" (Psa 27:1, reminiscent of the light of the theophany; see above). Many picturesque expressions for Yahweh's assistance such as "tower," "bulwark," etc., occur with *yēša* (Psa 18:3; Isa 17:10; 61:10, etc.). These expressions can accordingly convey the whole saving activity of God mediated in the cult: His activity from Zion is *yēšūʿā* for Israel (Psa 14:7); God is called "the one who does saving acts (*yēšūʿōt*) in the midst of the earth" (Psa 74:12, with the assistance of the concept of the temple as the center of the world). In all these cases, then, *yš* is closely linked with the cult. This conceptual horizon has a marked effect in prophetic texts, which, probably under Dtr influence (cf. e.g., Judg 10:12ff. and in general the polemic against the cult of foreign gods), emphasize the fact that Yahweh, and no other god, delivers, esp. in Jer (Jer 2:27f.; 8:20; 11:12; 15:20; 17:14) and Deutero-Isa (the motifs of lament and resulting aid are taken up in Isa 45:17, 20, 22; 46:7; the expression *môššā* is frequent:

43:3, 11; 45:15, 21; 47:15; 49:26). Yahweh's help becomes an eschatological-apocalyptic act of salvation in later texts, esp. in the post-exilic era (e.g., Isa 25:9; 33:22; 35:4; 60:16; 63:1; Zech 8:7, 13; 9:16, etc.).

The term *môšîa*<sup>ç</sup> appears only once in Hos loosely connected with the Egypt tradition (Hos 13:4) and antithetically to native gods. One may speculate that the *môšîa*<sup>ç</sup> title originally pertained not to the "God of Egypt" but, indeed, to the gods of the land. *yš*<sup>ç</sup> *hi.* also occurs only once in the exodus pericope: Yahweh saves Israel from the hand of the Egyptians (Exod 14:30 J); here holy war terminology is used (see 4b).

(b) *yš*<sup>ç</sup> *hi.* occurs frequently in the narration of Israel's wars in the period between Samuel and David. The Israelites expect Yahweh and the ark to deliver them in the Philistine war (1 Sam 4:3); later wars and victories are likewise due to Yahweh's intervention (1 Sam 14:6, 23, 39; 17:47). Deut 20:4 states generally that Yahweh accompanies Israel in holy war, "to provide you with help." An independent stream of tradition may be evident here, in which *yš*<sup>ç</sup> *hi.* was original.

(c) *yš*<sup>ç</sup> *hi.* also functions in relation to the so-called major judges. Othniel is called *môšîa*<sup>ç</sup> "savior" in Judg 3:9, Ehud in 3:15. The assumption is probably correct that all the major judges were originally not called *šōpēṭ* but *môšîa*<sup>ç</sup>, and that the latter designation was eliminated during redaction (W. Beyerlin, "Gattung und Herkunft des Rahmens im Richterbuch," FS Weiser 7). The function of "saving" was also attributed to other judges: Shamgar (Judg 3:31), Gideon (6:14f, 31, 36f.), Tola (10:1), Samson (13:5); Saul too was at first a charismatic hero (1 Sam 9:16); the motif of deliverance may be secondary with reference to the "minor judges" mentioned in Judg.

If the charismatic heroes were long called "saviors," the present framework of Judg develops the concept even further: after the departure of each savior Israel turned away from Yahweh, fell into distress as a consequence, raised a cry of complaint (*s*<sup>ç</sup>*q*), whereupon Yahweh sent another savior. The framework, then, is constructed on the model of the civil and cultic formula of lament (Judg 2:16ff.; 10:10ff.; 2 Chron 20:9; cf. also the priestly variant in Num 10:9; also 1 Sam 7:8; Neh 9:27). Many passages that speak of the fact that Yahweh renders assistance through human agency (2 Sam 3:18; 2 Kgs 14:27; with the expression *môšîa*<sup>ç</sup> in 2 Kgs 13:5, where it remains unclear who this "savior" is; the singular notion of an eschatological savior occurs in Isa 19:20) stand under the influence of this complex of statements.

(d) Sometimes this motif is refined through an emphasis upon the fact that Israel's help comes from God and not from its own might. This image occurs already in the old narratives (Judg 7:2ff.; 1 Sam 17:47, even further

developed here: Yahweh does not help by “sword or spear,” thus the help comes quite wondrously; this conceptual world may echo in 1 Sam 25:26, 31, 33; 2 Kgs 6:27); it returns again as a psalm motif (Psa 33:16; often formulated with the subst. *tšûâ*; Psa 60:13; 108:13; 146:3), is adopted by prophecy (Isa 30:15; 31:1; Hos 1:7; 14:4), and finally appears even as a wisdom theme (Prov 21:31; cf. the thoroughly distinct, original wisdom usage of the term *tšûâ* in Prov 11:14; 24:6). This motif, too, should be understood against the holy war tradition; it found entry into Jerusalemite cult tradition and then into the Psa and crossed over thence into other modes of thought (cf. G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* [1991], esp. 94ff., 115ff.).

5. The tendency, already observable in later OT documents, to relate *yšc* and its derivatives increasingly to God’s eschatological activity, intensifies in early Judaism. Qumran used *yšc* hi./ni., *yēšaç*, and *yšûâ*, one of these words often refers to the imminent decisive battle between godly and ungodly forces (1QM 10:4, 8; 11:3; also 1QM 1:5; 13:13; 18:7; CD 20:20). This usage is still partially perceptible in the NT, although very often many types of Greco-Hellenistic thought adhere to the expressions *sōzein*, *sōtēria*, and *sōtēr* (the dominant translations of the *yšc* word family in the LXX), as do early Jewish-apocalyptic elements (cf. W. Foerster and G. Fohrer, “σώζω,” *TDNT* 7:965–1024).

F. Stolz

## יָשָׁר *yšr* to be straight, right

S 3474; BDB 448b; *HALOT* 2:449b; *TDOT* 6:463–72; *TWOT* 930; *NIDOTTE* 3837

1. The root *yšr* “to be straight” is common Sem. (KBL 413b, *Suppl.* 159a, 166a); the fig. meaning “to be right,” etc., also occurs in Akk. (*ešēru*, *AHW* 254–56; *CAD* E:352–63), Ug. (*KTU* 1.14.I.13; *WUS* no. 1252: *yšr* “integrity”; *UT* no. 1163, etc.: *mtrḥt yšrh* “his rightful bride”; Gröndahl 146), Phoen. (*DISO* 112f.; *KAI* no. 4.6f.; *ANET* 653a; *mlk yšr* “an upright king”).

In the OT, one finds the verb (qal., pi., pu., hi.; cf. *HP* 104f.) as well as the adj. *yāšār* “straight,” the abstract *yōšer* “straightness” (once in 1 Kgs 3:6, also the fem. *yīšrâ*), and the substs. with the *m*- prefix, *mīšôr* “that which is straight,” “flat,” and *mēšārîm* “that which is right” (plurale tantum [invariable pl.], abstract pl.).

Two praise names formed on *yšr* occur in the OT: Solomon's palace administrator is named <sup>ʔ</sup>*hīšār* (= "my brother [= God] is upright"; *IP* 189n.5 reads <sup>ʔ</sup>*ahyāšār*) in 1 Kgs 4:6; according to 1 Chron 2:18, one of Caleb's sons bears the name *yēšer*, which Noth (*IP* 189) interprets as an abbreviation of the name *ywyšr* (= "Yahweh is upright"), attested in the Samaria ostraca.

*y<sup>ʕ</sup>šūrûn* (= "the upright") is an honorific name for Israel in Deut 32:15; 33:5, 26; Isa 44:5; Sir 37:25, perhaps as a counterpart for Jacob (= "the deceiver"); cf. Isa 40:4 (*ʕāqōb* "uneven" beside *mīšôr*) and W. Bacher, *ZAW* 5 (1885): 161–63; G. Wallis, *BHH* 2:858.

Whether the territorial designation *šārôn* derives from *yšr* (so KBL 1011; K. Gallig, *RGG* 5:1370f.) or from *šrh* II (so KBL Suppl. 191b; Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 48n.2) must remain uncertain (cf. also K. Elliger, *BHH* 3:1673f.).

2. The verb occurs in the OT 25x (qal 13x, pi. 9x, excl. Job 37:3 [from *šrh* ], pu. 1x, hi. 2x; Isa 45:2 Q counted as pi.), *yāšār* 119x (Psa and Prov 25x each, 2 Chron 11x, 2 Kgs 10x, Job 8x, Deut 7x, 1 Kgs 6x), *yōšer* 14x, *yīšrâ* 1x, *mīšôr* 23x (Psa and Josh 5x each), and *mēšārîm* 19x (Psa 7x, Prov 5x).

3. The root *yšr* originally had the plain meaning "to be straight, straight" (antonym "crooked"), but it occurs in the OT predominantly in the fig. meaning "to be right, right" (antonym "bad, false," etc.); cf. the similar relationships between *nākōah* "straight, the straight" (→ *ykh* 1) and *tqn* pi. "to set right" (Eccl 7:13; 12:9; Sir 47:9; qal Eccl 1:15 [read ni.]; cf. Wagner no. 328).

(a) The plain meaning appears in Ezek 1:7, "straight leg" (Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:83, 126) and in the pi. of the verb "make level" (Isa 40:3 par. *pnh* pi.; 45:2 par. *šbr* pi.; 45:13; Prov 3:6; 9:15; 11:5); the usage of *yšr* pi. "to guide water straight out" in 2 Chron 32:30 should also be mentioned here. *mīšôr* usually occurs in the graphic meaning "plain"; it indicates, on the one hand, the fertile plateau situated north of the Arnon (Deut 3:10; 4:43; Josh 13:9, 16f., 21; Jer 48:8, 21; 2 Chron 26:10), on the other hand, the plain generally in contrast to the mountains (1 Kgs 20:23, 25; Zech 4:7; par. and contrasting terms are concentrated in Isa 40:4; 42:16; usages in Psa 26:12; 27:11; 143:10 should probably be understood as already fig.: "plain" = "security"). *mēšārîm* also displays a graphic meaning in one case: Prov 23:31 and Song Sol 7:10 discuss the "straightness," better "smoothness," of the wine.

The obj. of *yšr* pi. is already often the path or the road; the expression "straight path" is still graphic, e.g., in Ezra 8:21, but should usually already be understood as fig. (1 Sam 12:23; Jer 31:9; Hos 14:10; Psa 107:7; Prov 12:15; 14:12; 16:25; 21:2, perhaps a typical wisdom idiom;

cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 239).

(b) The sense is clearly fig. in the phrases “straight heart” (2 Kgs 10:15), “straight work” (Prov 20:11; 21:8), just as in the probably colloquial formula *yšr b<sup>c</sup>ēnē* “to be right in (someone’s) eyes,” in which all examples of *yšr* qal occur (Judg 14:3, 7; 1 Sam 18:20, 26; 2 Sam 17:4; 1 Kgs 9:12; Jer 18:4; 1 Chron 13:4; 2 Chron 30:4; see 4), with only one exception (1 Sam 6:12). The adj. *yāšār* occurs both in per. and objective meanings, objective in the expression *šh hayyāšār b<sup>c</sup>ēnē* “to do right in (someone’s) eyes,” related to the formula just mentioned. This formula is primarily Dtn-Dtr (Deut 12:8; Josh 9:25; 2 Sam 19:7; Jer 26:14; 40:4f.), but also occurs in the “tendentious refrain” (von Rad, *Theol.* 1:332n.9 with M. Buber) of the appendices to Judg (Judg 17:6; 21:25); cf. CD 3:6; 8:7; 19:20. The pl. *y<sup>c</sup>šārîm* occupies the foreground in the per. usage of *yāšār*: “the upright one, the just.” One can consider *y<sup>c</sup>šārîm* a psalm or wisdom term: Psa 33:1; 107:42; 111:1; 112:2, 4; 140:14; Job 4:7; 17:8; Prov 2:7, 21; 3:32; 11:3, 6, 11; 12:6; 14:9, 11; 1QS 3:1; 4:2; 1QH 2:10; CD 20:2. The expanded expression *yîšrê lēb* “the upright of heart” is esp. characteristic of the Psa (Psa 7:11; 11:2; 32:11; 36:11; 64:11; 94:15; 97:11; cf. 125:4; 2 Chron 29:34).

*sēper hayyāšār* “book of the upright (or worthy)” is the title of a collection of songs from the period of the conquest and the early monarchy (Josh 10:13; 2 Sam 1:18; 1 Kgs 8:13 LXX?; cf. O. Eissfeldt, *Intro.* [1965], 133f.; L. Rost, *BHH* 1:279).

*yāšār* often accompanies *tôb* “good” (Deut 6:18; Josh 9:25; 1 Sam 12:23; 29:6; 2 Kgs 10:3; Jer 26:14; 40:4; Psa 25:8; 125:4; Neh 9:13; 1QS 1:2); *y<sup>c</sup>šārîm* often *šaddîq(îm)* “righteous one(s)” (Psa 32:11; 33:1; 64:11; 97:11; 140:14; cf. Deut 32:4; Psa 94:15; 119:137); in Job 4:7; 17:8 *nāqî* “innocent” parallels *yšr*, in Job 8:6; Prov 20:11; 21:8, *zak* “pure.” The series → *tmm* “(to be) blameless”/*yšr* occurs in Job 1:1 = 1:8 = 2:3 as well as in Prov 2:7, 21 (Horst, BK 16/1, 4, 9, “a common expression”). Antonyms of *y<sup>c</sup>šārîm* are esp. *bōg<sup>c</sup>dîm* “unfaithful” (Prov 11:3, 6; 21:18) and *r<sup>c</sup>šā<sup>c</sup>îm* “evildoer” (Prov 11:11; 12:6; 14:11; 15:8; 21:29).

The parallelism of *šaddîq* and *tām* with *yāšār* demonstrates that *yāšār* also belongs among those relational terms that express socially appropriate behavior (von Rad, *Theol.* 1:372n.6).

Typical for *yōšer*, which has only a fig. usage, is the expression “uprightness of heart” (Deut 9:5; 1 Kgs 9:4; Psa 119:7; Job 33:3; 1 Chron 29:17); in Deut 9:5 *yōšer* accompanies *š<sup>c</sup>dāqâ* (→ *šdq*), in 1 Kgs 9:4; Psa 25:21 *tōm* (cf. von Rad, *PHOE* 216–18).

*mēšārîm* is also characteristic for Psa and Prov (par. to *š<sup>c</sup>dāqâ/šedeq* in Psa 9:9; 58:2; 99:4; Prov 1:3; 2:9; Isa 33:15; 45:19; par. to *mišpāt* [→ *špt*] in Psa

17:2; 99:4; Prov 1:3; 2:9). Following the abstract pl. *mēšārîm*, *mîšôr* has also assumed the meaning “straightness” = “integrity” in Isa 11:4; Mal 2:6; Psa 45:7; 67:5; (Jer 21:13?).

4. Some of the usages and meanings examined are also employed in specifically theological ways in the OT; the fig. meaning is almost always present in these cases.

The formula “to do the right thing in the eyes of Yahweh” is almost exclusively Dtn-Dtr (Exod 15:26; Deut 12:25, 28; 13:19; 21:9; 1 Kgs 11:33, 38; 14:8; 15:5; 2 Kgs 10:30; Jer 34:15; cf. A. Jepsen, *Die Quellen des Königsbuches* [19562], 85). It is primarily a component of the assessment in the Dtr framework of Kgs (1 Kgs 15:11 = 2 Chron 14:1; 1 Kgs 22:43 = 2 Chron 20:32; 2 Kgs 12:3 = 2 Chron 24:2; 2 Kgs 14:3 = 2 Chron 25:2; 2 Kgs 15:3 = 2 Chron 26:4; 2 Kgs 15:34 = 2 Chron 27:2; 2 Kgs 16:2 = 2 Chron 28:1; 2 Kgs 18:3 = 2 Chron 29:2; 2 Kgs 22:2 = 2 Chron 34:2; 2 Chron 31:20 varies the formula independently). The negative assessment is “to do evil in the eyes of Yahweh” (→ *r<sup>cc</sup>*), e.g., 2 Kgs 13:2; cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 1:350f. The related formula “to be right (*yšr* qal) in God’s eyes” occurs in Num 23:27; Jer 27:5.

A per. usage of the adj. characterizes God as *yāšār* (Deut 32:4; Isa 26:7?; Psa 25:8; 92:16). Yahweh’s commandments, his word, etc., are also “straight” (Psa 19:9; 33:4; 119:137; Neh 9:13). Yahweh judges the nations (→ *špt* and → *dîn*) with *mēšārîm* (Psa 9:9; 75:3; 96:10; 98:9; cf. 58:2) and *mîšôr* (Psa 67:5; cf. Isa 11:4); cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:84f.

5. The use of the root at Qumran corresponds to that in the OT. On early Judaism and the NT, cf. H. Köster, “ὀρθοτομέω,” *TDNT* 8:112f.; W. Foerster, “ἀρέσκω,” *TDNT* 1:455–57; H. Preisker, “ὀρθός,” *TDNT* 5:449–51; BAGD 321 s.v. εὐθύς. Isa 40:3 plays a particular role; cf. e.g., 1QS 8:14; Mark 1:3 par.; John 1:23.

G. Liedke

כִּי *ke* **like** → דָּמָה *dmh*

כָּבֵד *kbd* **to be heavy**

S 3513; BDB 457a; HALOT 2:455a; TDOT 7:13–22; TWOT 943; NIDOTTE 3877

## יָקַר *yqr* to be heavy, costly

S 3365; BDB 429b; HALOT 2:431b; TDOT 6:279–87; TWOT 905; NIDOTTE 3700

1. The root *kbd* is common Sem.; it occurs in Akk. (*kbd* > *kbt*; cf. GAG Suppl. 8\*\*; AHW 416f., 418), Ug. (WUS no. 1274; UT no. 1187; Gröndahl 148), and Phoen.-Pun. (DISO 114; Harris 110). \**kabid*-(*at*-) “liver” is in use in all the languages (Berg., Intro. 214; P. Fronzaroli, AANLR 8/19 [1964]: 257f., 272, 279); for *qal* “to be heavy,” *pi* “to honor,” etc., Aram. prefers the root *yqr* (\**wqr*) “to be heavy, costly” (DISO 110; KBL 1083a).

The verb occurs in all stems except the *ho*. The most important nom. derivatives are the adj. *kābēd* “heavy” and the subst. *kābôd* “weight, honor, majesty”; more rarely used are *kābēd* as a designation for the “liver” as the “heavy organ” (in Akk. in an expanded meaning *kabattu/kabittu* also “interior, mind”; cf. Dhorme 128–30; the meaning “soul” can also be assumed in Hebr. through emendation of *kābôd* to *kābēd* in Gen 49:6; Psa 7:6; 16:9; 30:13; 57:9; 108:2; cf. KBL 420a; F. Nötscher, VT 2 [1952]: 358–62), and the abstracts *kōbed* “weight,” *k<sup>e</sup>bēdut* “difficulty,” and *k<sup>e</sup>būddâ* “valuable.” On the PNs *ʾikābôd* (1 Sam 4:21 with a popular etymology; 14:3) cf. Stamm, HEN 416a (“where is the glory” as a substitute name), on *yōkebed* (Exod 6:20; Num 26:59), see J. J. Stamm, FS Baumgartner 315.

Derivatives of the root *yqr* in Bibl. Aram. are *yaqqîr* “difficult” (Dan 2:11), “honored” (Ezra 4:10), and *y<sup>e</sup>qār* “worth” (Dan 2:6, 37; 4:27, 33; 5:18, 20; 7:14); both terms also occur in Hebr. as Aramaisms (*yaqqîr* Jer 31:20, “precious, valuable”; *y<sup>e</sup>qār* 17x; cf. Wagner nos. 120a, 121) together with verbal *yqr* *qal* “to be difficult, costly” (9x), *hi* “to make precious, rare” (2x) and *yāqār* “rare, costly” (35x, excl. Isa 28:16).

2. The verb occurs 114x (Isa 20x, 1 Sam and Psa 11x each, Exod 10x), *qal* 23x (incl. 2 Sam 14:26), *ni* 30x, *pi* 38x, *pu* 3x, *hitp* 3x, and *hi* 17x. Statistics for the noms. are: *kābôd* 200x (Psa 51x, Isa 38x, Ezek 19x, Prov 16x), *kābēd* I “heavy” 40x (Exod 12x, Gen 9x), *kābēd* II “liver” 14x (Exod 29:13, 22 and 9x in Lev “lobes of the liver”; cf. L. Rost, ZAW 79 [1967]: 35–41; also Ezek 21:26; Prov 7:23; Lam 2:11), *kōbed* 4x (Isa 21:15; 30:27; Nah 3:3; Prov 27:3), *k<sup>e</sup>būddâ* 3x (Judg 18:21; Ezek 23:41 txt?; Psa 45:14), and *k<sup>e</sup>bēdut* 1x (Exod 14:25).

3. (a) The adj. *kābēd* can coincide in meaning with Eng. “heavy,” but it also demonstrates characteristic peculiarities of usage. It means lit. “heavy in weight” in only a few passages (1 Sam 4:18 of Eli: “he was old

and heavy”; also Exod 17:12, Moses’ hands; Prov 27:3, chagrin because of the foolish in comparison to stone and sand). But even these passages already demonstrate that “heavy” does not give objective information; *kābēd* actually means weight as burdensome, weight in its function. If someone places a heavy yoke upon someone else, it is considered heavy in the sense of burdensome, as we speak of the “tax burden” (cf. 1 Kgs 12:4, 11 = 2 Chron 10:4, 11.)

Because *kābēd* refers to the function of weight, however, it may be semantically ambivalent: the weight of something can be experienced positively or negatively. In this regard, it is not accidental that the linguistic expression of the negative experience is the more developed and the more frequent. The primitive person experiences weight (1) as a burden that must be born bodily, or (2) as that which comes upon one, weight falling upon one. Passages concerning the heavy yoke belong to category (1) (see above) as does the fig. usage that speaks of sins as a heavy burden (Psa 38:5; cf. Isa 1:4). A task too large is a heavy burden (Exod 18:18; cf. Num 11:14). Heavy to bear is “chagrin at fools” (Prov 27:3; cf. G. Rinaldi, *BeO* 3 [1961]: 129). *kābēd* can also mean “awkward”: Moses resists the commission, arguing “heavy is my mouth and my tongue” (Exod 4:10); cf. “people with dark speech and heavy tongue” (Ezek 3:5f.); finally, the heart of the pharaoh is “heavy” in the sense of “stubborn” (Exod 7:14). Category (2) includes the elemental experiences of being overcome with the weight of a hailstorm (Exod 9:18, 24), a swarm of horseflies (8:20) or locusts (10:14), an epidemic (9:3) or famine (Gen 12:10; 41:31; 43:1; 47:4, 13); a cloud lying on a mountain can give the impression of a burden (Exod 19:16), as can a mighty rock (Isa 32:2).

Heaviness is a positive experience when it lends weight. Thus it can signify wealth (Gen 13:2) or numbers, greatness (Gen 50:9; Exod 12:38). The queen of Sheba comes with a “heavy,” i.e., a very great, imposing, entourage (1 Kgs 10:2 = 2 Chron 9:1); a great army esp. can be described as “heavy” (Num 20:20; 2 Kgs 6:14; 18:17 = Isa 36:2; cf. 1 Kgs 3:9 “your powerful people”). Heaviness in the sense of solemnity is also intended by the description of a funeral as “heavy” (Gen 50:10 “a great and solemn funeral lament”; similarly v 11). Hebr. often uses “heaviness” or “heavy” where Eng. uses “greatness.”

There is no theological usage of the adj. *kābēd*.

(b) The verb *kbd* is a stative verb meaning “to be/become heavy”; all occurrences of the verb may be understood against this basic meaning.

The qal is rarely used for physical heaviness (2 Sam 14:26; in Job 6:3, Job compares the weight of his misfortune with the weight of the sand of the sea; cf. Prov 27:3); the burden of work (Exod 5:9) or the corvée approaches the physical usage (Neh 5:18; cf. Judg 1:35; *kbd* hi. of making

a yoke heavy; 1 Kgs 12:10, 14 = 2 Chron 10:10, 14; Isa 47:6; cf. Lam 3:7; thus *kbd* hi. can become an expression for “to oppress,” Neh 5:15). *kbd* qal in 2 Sam 13:25 means “to be burdensome to someone” (cf. Job 33:7); it can describe the heaviness of sin (Gen 18:20; Isa 24:20; cf. Hab 2:6 hi., of a burden of guilt; Psa 38:5); as in Eng., fighting in war can be called “heavy” (Judg 20:34; 1 Sam 31:3; 1 Chron 10:3).

Heaviness can also be intended positively (Ezek 27:25; Job 14:21, rich and well respected; Prov 8:24 ni., wells rich in water).

Body organs can also be termed heavy; similar to Eng. “sluggish,” such statements declare that the pertinent organ either functions no longer or functions improperly (Gen 48:10, eyes; Isa 59:1, God’s ear; cf. Zech 7:11 hi.), like Pharaoh’s heart, Exod 9:7; in the pi. (1 Sam 6:6) and in the hi. (Exod 8:11, 28; 9:34; 10:1; Isa 6:10) it describes the hardening of the heart (→ *lēb* 4d).

For the theological usage see 4a.

(c) The pi. means “to honor,” i.e., “to lend someone weight” or “to acknowledge someone as weighty” in most passages. The Decalogue commands, “Honor your father and your mother” (Exod 20:12; Deut 5:16; cf. Mal 1:6); according to the Torah liturgy in Psa 15:4, whoever honors those who fear God gains entry. When Saul begs Samuel in 1 Sam 15:30: “but still honor me before the elders of my people,” he means that Samuel should acknowledge him publicly in his position as king. In diplomatic intercourse, respect should also be shown for the kings of neighboring lands (2 Sam 10:3 = 1 Chron 19:3). When the man of God accuses Eli in 1 Sam 2:29, “you honor your sons more than me (God),” he means that the honor due God, Eli gives to his sons by his great leniency toward them. Honor can be offered in the context of a ritual (Judg 9:9). Honor can be the same as Eng. “remuneration” (Num 22:17, 37; 24:11). Wisdom lends honor (Prov 4:8).

The usage of the pi. corresponds to that of the ni.: people are honored by people. A person has respect among relatives (Gen 34:19; 1 Sam 9:6; 22:14; 1 Chron 4:9) or in a military unit (“among the thirty” 2 Sam 23:19, 23; 1 Chron 11:21, 25); one is among those honored, i.e., those respected (Num 22:15; Isa 3:5; 23:8f.; Nah 3:10; Psa 149:8). Wisdom teaches the means by which one achieves respect (pu. Prov 13:18; 27:18). If one is honored, one should be satisfied (2 Kgs 14:10 ni.; cf. 2 Chron 25:19 hi. txt?). Prov 12:9 (hitp.) warns against putting on airs when one does not even have anything to eat. Two concepts of honor could conflict (2 Sam 6:20, 22).

That people honor people almost as often in the OT as people honor God (see 4a) already indicates that the two must not compete with one another. In some contexts (e.g., Exod 20:12), honoring people is as much a

component of existence as honoring God. To be sure, the two can conflict; but even 1 Sam 2:29 shows that beyond the conflict the two coexist in balance. The Eng. word “honor” cannot render this balance exactly. *kbd pi.* in the OT is not an award that elevates one person above another; rather it is an acknowledgment of the other’s status in the community.

(d) One can treat the subst. *kābôd* in terms of three major categories of usage: (1) in the physical meaning “heaviness,” (2) majesty or honor in human interaction, and (3) God’s majesty or honor (see 4b-f). All categories of usage, without exception, may be explained in terms of the basic meaning “heaviness.” In contrast to the verb and the adj., *kābôd* is not used ambivalently; *kābôd* never means “heavy” in the sense of the burdensome, oppressive (contrast *kōbed* “heavy” Prov 27:3; “pressure” Isa 21:15; 30:27; “large quantity” Nah 3:3; *k<sup>e</sup>bēdut* “inconvenience, difficulty” Exod 14:25).

(1) The physical meaning “heaviness” or “quantity” appears in Nah 2:10 “a burden (or quantity?) of all the delicacies”; Isa 22:24 “and the whole burden (or number?) of his tribe will cling to him”; Hos 9:11 “Ephraim is like the flock of birds, its numbers fly away” (Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 160, translates “his glory takes flight,” but then explains on p. 166: “The following words interpret *kābôd* in concrete terms as a large number of offspring” [cf. Prov 11:16]—an example of how near the meaning “number” can be to the meaning “majesty”). Notably, the concrete meaning of *kābôd* is not unmistakably “heaviness” in any of these passages; instead, it is used in each case in the sense of a “great number,” i.e., an “imposing number.”

(2) Passages in which *kābôd* signifies “wealth” and “respect” approach the concrete meaning (Gen 31:1; 45:13; Isa 10:3; 61:6; 66:12; Psa 49:17f.; Esth 1:4; 5:11; cf. Num 24:11, rich reward; similarly *k<sup>e</sup>bûddâ* Judg 18:21 “wealth” or “valuable possession”). Trees and woods or mountain forests also have *kābôd* (Isa 10:18; 35:2; 60:13; Ezek 31:18). The forest, as well as the individual tree, is somehow impressive (one must remember the climate and the landscape); it gives the impression of fully fertile life, and at the same time the impression of beauty that Eng. “glory” suggests, and that is implied by *kābôd* in this category of texts (similarly Psa 85:10 “so that fullness may dwell in our land”). A human product can also make this impression of glory or majesty (Isa 22:18, splendid chariot; Hos 10:5, image of a bull; the temple in particular: Jer 14:21; 17:12; Hag 2:3, 9; of the dwelling place of the eschatological king, Isa 11:10; cf. also *k<sup>e</sup>bûddâ* in Ezek 23:41 txt?; Psa 45:14).

Although the *kābôd* of a forest very nearly approximates the concrete meaning, the word acquires a more general and abstract meaning when *kābôd* is attributed to an entire land: “in three years the majesty of Moab will be despised” (Isa 16:14; cf. Jer 48:18; of Kedar, Isa 21:16; of Asshur,

Isa 8:7; 10:16; Hab 2:16). The majesty of Israel is also discussed in these terms (Isa 17:3f.; 62:2; 66:11; Mic 1:15; particularly poignantly in the lament: “the glory of Israel has departed!” 1 Sam 4:21f.). This *kābôd* of a land is not as directly perceptible by the senses as that of a forest; rather it is evidenced in a multitude of phenomena that constitute the flowering of the people and the land, the size and fortification of the cities, the blossoming of the culture, political stature, trade, military, etc. The aristocracy is also an element of the land’s prosperity; thus Isa 5:13 can describe the nobles of the people as *kābôd*. The seat of honor belongs to the nobility (Isa 22:23); *kābôd* is also attributed to the king (Psa 21:6).

A variation of this usage reflects the great fissure in Israel’s history. In a group of passages *kābôd* no longer describes the present reality; the majesty of the land, of the people, of the temple, is now expected or proclaimed as a future reality: Isa 4:2, “And in that day that which Yahweh causes to sprout will become an ornament and a glory” (also Isa 11:10; 24:23; 61:6; 62:2; 66:11; Mic 1:15; Hag 2:7, 9; Zech 2:9; Psa 85:10?; this discussion of the future majesty of Israel and Zion is particularly characteristic for Trito-Isa).

Passages in which one may translate *kābôd* with “honor” constitute another category. That “honor” and “majesty” are two meanings of one Hebr. word may be explained as follows: one may attribute *kābôd* to a person in reference to his/her wealth, but also to his/her significance in a broader sense (so e.g., Gen 45:13), paralleling Eng. “weighty.” This weightiness of a person is identical for the Hebrews to the respect one has among one’s acquaintances; one’s weightiness *is* one’s respect, one’s honor. On the basis of this holistic thinking, *kābôd* can encompass both meanings. Honor, then, proceeds not from those honoring but from those honored; it is a reflection of a person’s significance.

The usage of *kābôd* in the sense of “honor” may be categorized around two focal points. The one lies in the usage of *kābôd* in proverbial wisdom. Here *kābôd* designates the valued position that a person has among acquaintances, the woman (Prov 11:16) as well as the man (Prov 3:35; 15:33; 18:12; cf. 29:23; Eccl 10:1). One can lose this honor through misconduct (Prov 26:1, 8; cf. Hab 2:16); it is manifest in conduct (Prov 20:3; 25:2); life and honor belong together (Prov 21:21; 22:4; cf. Psa 112:9; 149:5; Job 29:20). The final honor is paid the honorable at death (2 Chron 32:33); they rest in honor (Isa 14:18). A group of passages in the Psa belong here (individual laments), in which one laments the reduction or destruction of honor (Psa 4:3; 7:6; cf. Job 19:9); in contrast, in the confession of confidence, the one who laments acknowledges that the preservation of his/her honor is in good hands with God (Psa 3:4; 62:8; 73:24; 84:12; cf. 1 Chron 29:12 and Eccl 6:2). But such speech occurs only

in extraordinary situations; otherwise honor is purely interpersonal.

The other focal point is characterized by the pair “wealth and honor.” This usage occurs frequently in the Chr history (1 Chron 29:28 “he died in a good age, with a full life, wealth, and honor”; also 1 Chron 29:12; 2 Chron 1:11f.; 17:5; 18:1; 32:27; cf. Prov 3:16; 8:18; 22:4; Eccl 6:2). These passages are mostly late. The pair occurs first in 1 Kgs 3:13 in the report of Solomon’s dream (“in addition I give you what you have not requested, wealth and honor”). It is certainly not accidental that this pair appears for the first time at the beginning of the monarchy. It marks a social change dependent upon the monarchy: a class of wealthy and powerful families arises, and respect for this rich upper class is now designated by “honor.” It is also surely not accidental that the pair “wealth and honor” appears in Prov precisely in the later collection, Prov 1–8 (3:16 and 8:18). That the powerful person honors the one who acknowledges him/her is also a component of this aristocratic honor (Dan 11:39).

4. (a) The theological usage of the verb is variously configured according to the stem form. *kbd* pi. can be used as a par. for verbs of praise (in the impv. call to praise, Isa 24:15; Psa 22:24; in the vow of praise, Psa 86:12; 91:15; the praise of the nations is prefigured in Psa 86:9; cf. Isa 25:3; praise of the animals, Isa 43:20; reaction to deliverance or the fulfillment of a promise, Judg 13:17; Psa 50:15). It can describe the worship of God in general (Dan 11:38; cf. Deut 28:58 ni.). But the truly characteristic usage should be understood against the background of the basic meaning “to make weighty.” To honor God is to give him the weight due him, to acknowledge him in his divinity (negatively, Isa 29:13 “they honor me with their mouth and with their lips”; 43:23 “you have not honored me with your offerings” cf. further Isa 58:13; Psa 50:23; Prov 14:31 “whoever has mercy on the poor honors the creator”; cf. Prov 3:9). 1 Sam 2:29 also belongs here (see 3c). Consequently, honor can also be reciprocal: “(only) the one who honors me will I honor” (1 Sam 2:30).

In reference to God, the ni. has a reflexive, not a pass. (as in reference to people), meaning: God provides himself with weightiness. This usage occurs only late. Against the background of long experience that God is not given the appropriate honor, the recognition dawned that God provides himself with the appropriate honor. A group of texts with this usage occurs in P: God magnifies himself through the destruction of a power at enmity with Israel (Exod 14:4, 17f.); the same meaning is present in Exod 28:22; 29:13; this usage seems to be adopted in Isa 26:15; 66:5 txt em; Hag 1:8. It is therefore limited to the exilic and immediately post-exilic periods.

In another usage God is the subj. of the verb *kbd*, although not in the pi. but only in the qal and twice each in the ni. and hi. The qal has the basic meaning “to be heavy,” indeed, in the sense of a burden, as in the majority

of the nontheological passages. It involves a fixed idiom, “The hand of God was heavy upon X” (1 Sam 5:6, 11; Psa 32:4; Job 23:2; 33:7; closely related is Lam 3:7 hi., “he made my bonds heavy”; cf. Judg 1:35; see 3b). In this usage heaviness describes not God but the force exercised by God (→ *yād*), with which he acts against someone. An important distinction becomes apparent in this context: on the one hand, 1 Sam 5:6, 11 refers to God’s activity in history; he exercises force against Israel’s enemies. This statement is an old, often attested notion. On the other hand, in Psa 32:4; Job 23:2; 33:7; Lam 3:7, God exercises force against individuals, even against members of his own people; in every case, the phrase is part of the individual lament. A profound change is presupposed here: a member of God’s people can experience the burden of God’s power directed against the people. The drama has shifted from the level of Israel’s struggle with its enemies to the level of existence afflicted by suffering and opposition.

Two late promises announce against the background of the long period of shame of the downtrodden land that God will restore the land (the people) to honor (Isa 8:23; cf. J. A. Emerton, *JSS* 14 [1969]: 151–75; Jer 30:19; both hi.); and in a promise of salvation, Deutero-Isaiah proclaims to Israel that it is regarded as valuable in God’s eyes (Isa 43:4 ni.; the same of the Servant of Yahweh, Isa 49:5).

(b) The literature concerning the theological usage of the subst. *kābôd* (4b-f) is rather extensive, particularly from an early period (cataloged in C. Westermann, “Die Herrlichkeit Gottes in der Priesterschrift,” *FS Eichrodt* 227); of these works the following may be mentioned: A. von Gall, *Die Herrlichkeit Gottes* (1900); W. Caspari, *Die Bedeutungen der Wortsippe KBD im Hebräischen* (1908); H. Kittel, *Die Herrlichkeit Gottes* (1934); B. Stein, *Der Begriff Kebod Jahweh und seine Bedeutung für die atl. Gotteserkenntnis* (1939); T. A. Meger, “Notion of Divine Glory in the Hebrew Bible” (diss., Louvain, 1965). The following will be treated below: the present honor and worship of God (4c), God’s future *kābôd* (4d), *k<sup>e</sup>bôd yhwh* in P (4e), and *k<sup>e</sup>bôd yhwh* in Ezek (4f).

(c) A theological usage is indicated in passages, some of them early, in which *kābôd* stands in the context of demonstrations of honor. It approximates the usage of *kbd* pi. (see 4a) and expresses the fact that God’s *kābôd* demands an appropriate response, an acknowledgment. Thus in the account of Achan’s theft, Joshua demands, “Give Yahweh, the God of Israel, *kābôd*!” (Josh 7:19; similarly in the ark narrative 1 Sam 6:5). The similarity of these two early accounts suggests that Israel very early had the notion that the weight, the worth, or the respect of Yahweh (*kābôd* here is difficult to pinpoint in translation) could be injured and that one must take care to exhibit the honor due him, namely by means of a response elicited by the situation. This usage occurs again in prophecy. In the justification of

an announcement of judgment against Jerusalem, Isaiah says (3:8), “Their tongues and their deeds are against Yahweh, provoking the eyes of his majesty.” It is the same notion: Yahweh’s prestige is injured by a behavior. It should be noted that the usage of *kābôd* in this passage can be explained as genuinely Israelite. It is also the basis of Jer 13:16: “Give Yahweh, your God, *kābôd*, before it is dark!” The same usage also occurs in Mal: “And if I am father, where is my honor?” (Mal 1:6; cf. 2:2 “. . . and have not taken care to give my name honor”; cf. also Prov 25:2 in wisdom). The notion persisted from the early period into the post- exilic era. It corresponds to the usage in the interpersonal realm, and there is no reason to assume an extra-Israelite influence behind this usage.

A similar usage of *kābôd* in reference to God’s significance demands that *kābôd* be demonstrated to Yahweh, but expects this demonstration of honor not in a behavior but in cultic reverence, esp. in the acknowledgment of God as God in the praise of God. Thus in Psa 29: “Bring Yahweh honor and might!” (v 1 = Psa 96:7 = 1 Chron 16:28; v 2 and par.: “Bring Yahweh the honor of his name!”). Now, *kābôd* is a theme for Psa 29: v 3 “the God of majesty thunders,” and v 9 “and in his palace all cry *kābôd*!” (reminiscent of Isa 6:3). The distinction from the earlier category is evident primarily in that we translate “honor” in the impv. clauses vv 1f., but in v 3 the divine predicate *ʿēlhakkābôd* “God of majesty.” *kābôd* comprises both, then, in this psalm. In addition, God’s *kābôd* refers to his relationship not only with people but also with creation: “the God of majesty thunders”; cf. vv 4–9. It has long been recognized that Psa 29 was adopted by Israel from Canaan or that it at least had a prior Can. existence. This usage of *kābôd*, then, is a Can. usage that depicts the importance of a god, esp. in his activity in nature. Worship demonstrates the majesty of this God, it acknowledges him in his majesty. Although Psa 29 is the sole OT text in which God’s *kābôd* is manifested so directly and so extensively in a natural phenomenon, the fact that God’s majesty is honored in worship and that such is demanded is in total accord with Israelite thought and consequently occurs often (e.g., Psa 66:2 “sing the honor of his name!”; for other passages see below). All these passages can be explained in par. to the first, except that reverence here consists not of behavior but of declaration or singing, the acknowledgment of God’s honor in liturgical veneration.

Some Psa show, however, that the Can. *kābôd* concept of Psa 29, which portrays the *kābôd* particularly in its effect in natural phenomena like the storm, continues to exert influence. As in Psa 29, *kābôd* becomes a theme in Psa 24:7–10, once in vv 7, 8, 9 and twice in v 10, but here, each time in the cs. relation *melek hakkābôd*. This designation suggests that the psalm belongs in the Jerusalem temple cult, which preserved elements of the Can. cult. A further correlation to Psa 29 is

evident in the fact that vv 1f. speak of the creator and his rule over the creation. As in Psa 29, *kābôd* also has more of a connotation of “majesty” than “honor” in Psa 24; consequently, it is usually translated justifiably “king of majesty.” The same meaning and the same connotation occur in Psa 19:2, where the *kābôd* stands again in the context of the act of creation, and in the refrain in Psa 57:6, 12 “exalt yourself above the heavens, God, and your *kābôd* over all the earth,” which is poorly suited to the individual lament and seems to be an isolated element in this psalm (cf. also Psa 108:6).

This passage resembles Isa 6:3: “The entire land is full of his *kābôd*.” Psa 57:6 (cf. 97:6) also speaks of extension over the entire land; it echoes in 19:2. The place from which the *kābôd* extends over the entire land is the temple (whether the earthly or the heavenly need not be considered here). The reference is to the majesty of God that is honored in the temple, whereby Yahweh is represented as “enthroned.” One may assume, then, that this clause in the call vision of Isaiah relates to Jerusalemite temple traditions that echo a pre-Israelite, Can. notion of El’s *kābôd*. R. Rendtorff states, “In the older conception, which was likely developed from the Temple tradition in Jerusalem, the *kābôd* of Jahweh, which was visible to all men, was praised. It is that aspect of the activity of Jahweh that could be perceived by all men and in which he himself is revealed in his power” (“Concept of Revelation in Ancient Israel,” *Revelation as History* [1968], 37). If we remember, however, what has been said concerning Isa 3:8, then a genuinely Israelite and a Can.-influenced usage of *kābôd* converge in Isaiah; this genuine Israelite sense can also then be heard in Isa 6:3.

This is also true for the pre-exilic usage of the word as a whole. The two streams converge; the one is an earlier, specifically Israelite usage, in which *kābôd* signifies Yahweh’s importance, which must be respected, primarily in behavior. This usage persists into the post-exilic era. The other par. stream is a specifically liturgical diction concerning Yahweh’s *kābôd* that rests upon a pre-Israelite, Can. concept of El’s *kābôd*, which celebrates his activity particularly in natural phenomena. Concerning this concept Rendtorff (op. cit. 50n.33) says, “El is king in the Canaanite pantheon; cf. Psalm 29:10b. On Psalm 29:2 cf. the Ugaritic texts in which *kbd* . . . belongs to the stereotyped form of the declaration of reverence before the throne of El (cf. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*, Text 49.I.10; 51.IV.26) and also other gods (51.VIII.28f.; 2 Aqht V.20, 30; ʿnt III.7; VI.20).” Cf. W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel* (19662), 25f.; Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 266f. But these two streams are so interfused in the OT discussion of Yahweh’s *kābôd* that in the majority of passages an unequivocal attribution to only one stream is no longer possible. Rendtorff also calls attention to the fact that the specifically Israelite stream dominates to the extent that history is regarded as the special realm of the activity of the *kābôd*, as demonstrated, e.g., by the unique parallelism of 97:6: “The heavens proclaim his *šedeq*, and the nations see his *kābôd*.” One can, however, still distinguish between categories of usage in which one or

the other stream dominates; in one (1) *kābôd* refers esp. to historical effect, in the other (2) more to the majesty revered in worship.

(1) Psa 115:1: “Not to us, Yahweh, not to us, but to your name give honor.” The clause stands in the context of the request for God’s intervention in the (highly divergent) communal lament; the intention is to request God’s delivering intervention for the sake of his honor. His *kābôd* manifests itself in the saving intervention for his people, as also in the communal lament Psa 79:9, “Help us, God of our salvation, for your name’s sake.” Cf. passages in Deutero-Isa like Isa 42:8 “and my honor I give to no other”; cf. 48:11; 43:7 “I created him for my honor.” The clause from a judgment saying of Jeremiah also belongs to this category: “my people exchanged its honor for a useless thing” (Jer 2:11), which also occurs in Hos 4:7 and is taken up in Psa 106:20. Yahweh is Israel’s honor, insofar as the people can celebrate his honor; at the same time, however, Yahweh’s activity on behalf of his people is meant as a demonstration of his *kābôd*.

(2) Characteristic for the liturgical veneration of the *kābôd* of Yahweh are phrases in the Psa such as Psa 138:5: “for Yahweh’s *kābôd* is great,” or Psa 145:5: “they sing of the exalted splendor of your *kābôd*”; cf. vv 11f. These passages point clearly to the pre-Israelite concept of the *kābôd* of the god enthroned in his sanctuary. Psa 26:8 explicitly calls the temple “the location of your house, the place where your *kābôd* dwells”; cf. 63:3. The word also occurs in the psalms of Yahweh’s kingship: Psa 96:3 = 1 Chron 16:24 “tell of his majesty among the nations” and Psa 97:6 (see above). It can also express God’s majesty in general as in Psa 113:4: “Yahweh is exalted above all nations, and his majesty above the heavens” (so also in the late doxology Psa 72:19 and in Neh 9:5). Additional passages are Psa 66:2; 79:9; 104:31; cf. Isa 42:12.

(d) A large group of passages expect or announce the manifestation of the *kābôd* in the future. This category is based upon the notion that God’s *kābôd* is manifest in his historical activity, but that this *kābôd* lies in the future. A series of passages occurs here too that exhibit the marked influence of the other concept of the majesty venerated in the temple. Isa 40:5 is a particularly pregnant passage. Isa 40:3f. portrays God’s intervention in the leveling of the way to facilitate the return of God’s people; and in this act itself “the *kābôd* of Yahweh will be revealed and all flesh will see it.” *glh* ni. “to be revealed” does not mean here that something present, previously hidden, will become visible, but that an event will transpire before all eyes. God’s significance was imperceptible in the debased situation of Israel in the exile; with Israel’s liberation it will once again be perceptible, indeed by the whole world. Isa 40:5 also refers to *kābôd* in a thoroughly historical context; similarly 42:8 and 43:7 (see 4c), except that here reference is more to the reflex of this significance so that it should be translated “honor” (likewise in 42:12, which speaks of the acknowledgment of this activity of God).

In Trito-Isa, however, the connotations of the word are somewhat

different. When Isa 60:1f. parallels *kābôd* with *ʾôr* “light,” it apparently lends an entirely new nuance: the appearance of the *kābôd* is compared to a luminary phenomenon (the same parallelism in Isa 58:8). “There is something odd about the way in which the verbs denoting coming and appearing (equivalent to the rising of a star) in vv. 1 and 2b pass over into one another. . . . The old concept of the epiphany, which presupposes that Yahweh does actually draw near, is almost entirely obliterated by that of a star’s rising” (Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 357). Thereby, however, *kābôd* acquires in Trito-Isa an abstract, objective meaning, which is further strengthened in P and Ezek. It is equally apparent in 58:8: “the *kābôd* of Yahweh will bring up the rear.” Isa 62:2 “and all kings see your *kābôd*” and 59:19 (similarly Isa 35:2) speak of the acknowledgment of this *kābôd*. Although the event to which Trito-Isa refers is still conceived as a historical phenomenon, Isa 66:18f. (“they will come and proclaim my majesty among the nations”) refers to an event beyond present history; here the concept of *kābôd* enters into the context of apocalyptic discourse—it presupposes the coming of God to judge the world (v 15). Similar wording occurs in a late insertion in Psa 102 (vv 14–23); here too the gathering of the nations is discussed (v 23), “when Yahweh has rebuilt Zion and manifest himself in his *kābôd*” (v 17), “all the kings of the earth will fear your *kābôd*” (v 16). Ezek 39:21 (cf. v 13) also belongs in this category.

A group of late passages, which all speak of a future *kābôd*, evidences the influence of P’s *kābôd* concept. Isa 4:5, a late salvation oracle, discusses the appearance of Yahweh on Zion that will transform everything; after a description of Yahweh’s appearance in the fashion of the Sinai theophany, it is declared: “For the majesty of Yahweh is a refuge and shelter over all.” The P concept is clearly inserted secondarily in the late addition in 1 Kgs 8:11: “For the *kābôd* of Yahweh filled the house of Yahweh.” In the only passage in Deut (Deut 5:24), the Sinai event is recalled with the words, “Behold, Yahweh our God has shown us his majesty and greatness”; this statement could be the language of the Psa, but an influence by P is also possible here.

Exod 33:18–23 is much debated. It begins: “Let me see your *kābôd*.” Pars. in v 19 are *kol-ṭûbî* “all my beauty” and in v 20 *pānāy* “my countenance,” then v 22: “when my *kābôd* passes by.” In Moses’ request to be permitted to see God, the terms *kābôd*, *ṭûb*, and *pānîm* have the intention only of mitigating or relativizing the directness of seeing God; they have no independent significance. It is beyond the realm of possibility, in accord with the history of usage presented here, that this pericope belongs to one of the old sources, J or E. It is a late insertion concerned with the exaltation of Moses, whose unique relationship with God is portrayed.

(e) *kābôd* occurs 13x in P (*k<sup>e</sup>bôdyhwh* 12x, also Exod 29:43 *k<sup>e</sup>bôdî*); and four passages have the verbal usage in a theological meaning. *kābôd* acquires central significance in P; the concept is definitive of P's theology as a fixed term in the combination *k<sup>e</sup>bôd yhwh*. It occurs in P in two contexts: (1) in passages linked to the Sinai experience that treat the establishment of the cult (Exod 24:16f.; 40:34f.; Lev 9:6, 23, cf. vv 4b, 24; in addition to the secondary expansion in Exod 29:43); (2) in the narrative of events in the wilderness wandering (Exod 16:7, 10; Num 14:10; 16:19; 17:7; 20:6; in addition to the secondary expansion in Num 14:21f.); (3) in addition the verb *kbd* ni. occurs: Yahweh shows himself to be majestic in historical acts (Exod 14:4, 17f.; Lev 10:3).

(1) The use of *k<sup>e</sup>bôdyhwh* in Exod 24:15b–18; 40:34–35; and Lev 9 is attributed to *one* sequence of events. It begins with the mention of a place-name, Mt. Sinai, and reports the arrival of the people at Mt. Sinai (Exod 19:1, 2a). Sinai has two functions here: it is a station in Israel's wandering, and it is a holy mountain. The arrival at Sinai is a historical event; the holy mountain establishes the cult. Everything that follows participates in both structures, the inaugural and the continuation. The "for the first time" is described by the *kābôd* event; it characterizes the particular event of the bestowal and the confirmation of the cult (so also Rendtorff, op. cit. 35f.). (a) P uses *kābôd* to describe the majesty of the God Israel encountered for the first time at the summit of the mountain. Exod 24:15–18 is the P account of the Sinai experience, par. to ch. 19 (J and E). *kābôd* marks the peculiarity of this event over against everything that Israel had previously experienced or encountered. That which transpired at Sinai will be described thenceforth as *k<sup>e</sup>bôd yhwh*. (b) The goal of this process was God's address to Israel. The novelty of this address achieved expression in the peculiarity of the address at the holy place in a holy time. It requires a mediator, who approaches the holy place alone, through whom the speech is mediated to the people. In this event the fundamental structures of holy (cultic) events are established. (c) The address delivered in the holy place is a commission issued to Moses and through him to the people to build the tent of meeting (25:1ff.). After its construction, the *k<sup>e</sup>bôd yhwh* fills the dwelling; thus the holiness of the holy place is confirmed for Israel (40:34f.). (d) The holy place facilitates the holy act. Again, the commission is issued to Moses; then after the exodus, the first execution of the holy act is confirmed by the appearance of the *k<sup>e</sup>bôd yhwh*. Thus the liturgical procedures, which are now to remain valid for Israel, are constituted and sanctioned (Lev 9).

(2) Exod 16 (the manna), Num 14 (partially P; the spies), Num 17:6–15 (uproar on account of Korah's destruction), and Num 20:1–13 (the adder water), which describe events during the wilderness wandering, are very

similar in sequence: (a) occasion; (b) setting at the tent of meeting; (c) appearance of the *k<sup>e</sup>bôd yhwh*; (d) Yahweh's word to Moses; (e) an act of Yahweh. In each of these texts, the appearance of the *k<sup>e</sup>bôd yhwh* is central, effecting the transformation to a threatening moment. In points (b), (c), and (d), the structure of the event is adapted from Exod 24:15–18. P uses the structure of the verbal revelation to shape event revelations. Each case concerns an intervention of God in history. P is thus able to present the fact that one fundamental revelation of God defines all other events. Through the phrase *k<sup>e</sup>bôd yhwh*, P connects the events in the wilderness wandering with the foundational experience at Sinai. *k<sup>e</sup>bôd yhwh* was, then, equally perceptible for P in both modes of experience, the cultic and the historical: the majesty of God's self-manifestation. *k<sup>e</sup>bôd yhwh* refers neither to the light nor to the fire phenomenon as such (thus Elliger, HAT 4, 131; G. von Rad, *TDNT* 2:240; Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:123f., etc.), but to the majesty of the God encountered on both occasions. In Exod 24:15–18, v 17, which speaks of the light phenomenon, is a parenthesis; the event is also complete without it.

(3) The verbal usage in Exod 14:4, "Thus I will prove myself majestic to Pharaoh and all his might," also reflects this meaning alone (cf. vv 17f.; Lev 10:3).

The significance of P's adaptation of the *kābôd* concept lies in the association of the name of Yahweh with the basic components of holy events, the holy place, the holy time, the mediator of the holy, which Israel had not known prior to events at Mt. Sinai (Exod 24:15–18). It finds linguistic expression in the cs. phrase *k<sup>e</sup>bôd yhwh* (on this whole theme see C. Westermann, "Die Herrlichkeit Gottes in der Priesterschrift," FS Eichrodt 227–49).

(f) *kābôd* occurs in Ezek only in a few limited contexts, but usually repeatedly: (1) at the conclusion of the call vision in 1:28, as well as at the conclusion of the commissioning in 3:23, which refers back to 1:28; (2) in chs. 8–11 in the context of the abandonment of the temple, and (3) in chs. 43f. of the return to the temple. The last two categories are closely related.

In 8:1–3 Ezekiel is transported in a vision to the gate of the temple court, "and behold, there was the *kābôd* of the God of Israel, just as . . . (an allusion to 1:28)" (v 4). Ezek 10:4 reports that the *kābôd* arose from the cherub near the threshold of the temple "until the court was full of the brilliance of the *kābôd*." In 10:18f. the *kābôd* departs from the threshold of the temple and in 11:22f. abandons the city. In 43:2 the *kābôd* returns again from the east, "and its sound was as the sound of a great river and the land shined from his *kābôd*"; in 43:4 the *kābôd* reenters the temple, "and behold, the temple was filled with the *kābôd* of Yahweh" (v 5; so once again

in 44:4).

The underlying concept is the same as in P: the *kābôd* is God's majesty in which he appears to people (1:28; 3:23; 8:4), but which has its proper place in the temple; as *kābôd* above the cherubim it is the majesty of the God enthroned in the temple (9:3; 10:4; 11:22). The peculiarity of Ezekiel's usage lies in the fact that this very majesty of the God enthroned in the temple becomes something like an independent being and abandons the temple, just as it returns to it later. This peculiarity is grounded in Ezekiel in the convergence of prophetic and priestly diction; it is a thoughtful theological treatment of the conflict between the prophetic message of judgment upon the temple in Jerusalem and the sanctuary theology that links the majesty of the enthroned God with the sanctuary. The prophet saw the "departure of Yahweh from his sanctuary, and therewith the completion of the judgement upon the city" (Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:252, on 11:23). This presentation demonstrates that in the execution of the judgment on Jerusalem announced by Ezekiel himself, the majesty of the God enthroned in the temple was unaffected, for it had already abandoned the temple and the city. When the new sanctuary is erected, the majesty of God can return again, unaffected by the judgment upon the temple.

A second peculiarity is related. The form in which the departure and return of the *kābôd* are presented is that of the vision narrative. The prophet is transported (8:1–3) and sees how the *kābôd* abandons the temple. Thus the fact is established that in this presentation the *kābôd* itself is a visible phenomenon (8:4; 10:4; 43:2 "and the land was illuminated by his *kābôd*"; 43:5). Ezekiel appropriates, then, the older P concept that at particular high points of the cultic process the temple is filled by Yahweh's *kābôd* (10:4b; 43:5), although this concept conflicts with Ezekiel's notion that Yahweh's *kābôd* appears to someone (8:4).

The latter notion is determinative for the usage of *kābôd* in chs. 1–3 in the call and commission of the prophet. Here *kābôd* has another sense and another function; 1:28 and 3:23 present a theophany in three acts (1) appearance, (2) proskynesis (worship), and (3) a word pronounced by the one appearing. This structure parallels Isa 6 (even if *kābôd* is used somewhat differently there) and belongs in the context of the prophetic call narrative. But Ezekiel surpasses Isa 6 in that the *kābôd* here too is like an independent being, almost a hypostasis of God: the majesty of God represents God himself. The usage in Ezekiel 1–3 is linked with that in 8–11 and 43–44 by this hypostatization and by the manner of the appearance, a luminary phenomenon (as 1:27 preceding v 28 shows). *kābôd* as a luminary phenomenon is not, then, the underlying concept but the further development effected by Ezekiel. He is the first to depict the *kābôd* as an

independent being representing God and appearing in brilliant light.

5. On the further effects of OT concepts in Judaism and in the NT, cf. J. Schneider, *Doxa* (1932); H. Kittel, *Die Herrlichkeit Gottes* (1934); H. Kittel and G. von Rad, “δοκέω,” *TDNT* 2:232–55; J. Schneider, “τιμή,” *TDNT* 8:169–80; S. Aalen, “Glory, Honour,” *DNTT* 2:44–52.

C. Westermann

## קָנָן *kûn* ni. **to stand firm**

S 3559; BDB 465b; *HALOT* 2:464a; *TDOT* 7:89–101; *TWOT* 964; *NIDOTTE* 3922

1. In almost all Sem. languages (cf. Berg., *Intro.* 216), words of the root *kûn* indicate firmness, verity, correctness, and existence, in a surprisingly limited range of meaning (cf. → *ʾmn* l/7, → *hyh*, and → *ḥzq*).

Cf. Akk. *kânu* “to be/become lasting, true, faithful” (*AHw* 438–40), Ug. *kn* “to be” (L stem *knn* “to create”; *WUS* no. 1335; *UT* no. 1213), Phoen.-Pun. *kûn* qal “to be” (*DISO* 117), in later Aram., e.g., Jew. Aram. *kwn* pa. “to make straight” (Dalman 194b; cf. *LS* 321f.; Drower-Macuch 207f.), Arab. *kāna* “to be, happen” (*WKAS* 1:451–73), Eth. *kōna* “to be, happen” (Dillmann 861–65; W. Leslau, *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* [1969], 46). Sem. words that may derive from the consonant cluster *kn* with a long medial vowel form an impressive genus; if one includes by-forms and conceivably related roots such as *knn* (Hebr. *kēn* “frame, position, office”), → *škn* (Hebr. “to dwell”), → *tkn* (Hebr. pi. “to position firmly”), the root spreads.

For the OT, the act. verbal stems po. “to establish, found, anchor, assure” and hi. “to equip, care for, prepare, arrange,” and the more stative than pass. ni. “to be firm, true, certain” must be emphasized. The verbal adj. *kēn* “firm, right, just” (of an otherwise idle qal, so *KBL* 442) is less frequent; it should be distinguished from the frequent (also in Old Aram.) declarative particle *kēn* “thus” (*lākēn* “therefore,” *ʿal-kēn* “for this reason,” *Bibl. Aram.* *kēn* and *k<sup>c</sup>nēmā* “thus”), which derives from a demonstrative element *k*. Pass. verbal stems are represented only sparsely; po<sup>c</sup>lal (Ezek 28:13 txt? cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:85; Psa 37:23 txt? cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:403), ho., and hitpo. (reflexive “to place one’s self,” “to prove to be firmly grounded”). Derived subst. with preformatives are: *mākôn* “place,” *m<sup>c</sup>kônâ* “(holy) place” (Zech 5:11; Ezra 3:3; cf. Ug. *mknt*) and “chassis, tanker” (1 Kgs 7:27–43, etc.; cf. G. Fohrer, *BHH* 2:944; Noth, *BK* 9/1, 156ff.), and *t<sup>c</sup>kûnâ* “place, dwelling” (Job 23:3), “arrangement, equipment”

(Ezek 43:11; Nah 2:10).

PNs are formed on the po. and the hi. (incl. by-forms based upon *kûn* qal and *knn* qal; cf. *IP* 179, 202): *kônanyâhû*, *k<sup>c</sup>nanyâ(hû)*, *k<sup>c</sup>nânî*, and *y<sup>c</sup>hôyâkîn*, *yôyâkîn*, *yâkîn*, *y<sup>c</sup>konyâ(hû)*, *konyâhû*; cf. also *nākôn* (2 Sam 6:6; cf. Rudolph, HAT 21, 112 on 1 Chron 13:9) and the place-name *m<sup>c</sup>kônâ* (Neh 11:28). On Akk., Amor., Ug., and Phoen. analogies, cf. Stamm, AN 356b; Huffmon 221f.; Gröndahl 153; Harris 110.

2. The three most important forms of the root *kûn* are rather evenly distributed in the OT. The ni. occurs 66x (excl. Job 12:5 *nākôn* “blow,” from *nkh* hi. “to strike”; it is completely absent—excl. Deut 13:15; 17:4—in legal texts and highly concentrated in Psa [18x], Prov [11x], and Job [5x]), the po. 29x (Psa 17x, esp. in hymnic statements concerning the creation), and the hi. 110x (incl. 2 Chron 35:4 Q; the concentration in 2 Chron [23x] and 1 Chron [20x] can be explained by the fact that, in the Chr’s opinion, a great deal must be prepared and acquired for the construction of the temple: 1 Chron 22; 29; 2 Chron 1–3 contain *kûn* hi. 15x, 2 Chron 35, chiefly in the context of Passover preparations, an additional 6x). Po<sup>qal</sup> occurs 2x (see 1), ho. 6x, hitpo. 4x, *mākôn* 17x, *m<sup>c</sup>kônâ* 25x (incl. 15x in 1 Kgs 7:27–43), *t<sup>c</sup>kûnâ* 3x (see 1), and *kēn* 24x (according to Lis. 684b).

*kēn* “thus” occurs 340x (Exod 40x, Isa 26x, Num 24x, Jer 22x, Gen 21x), *lākēn* 200x (Ezek 63x, Jer 55x, Isa 27x, Minor Prophets 21x, 2 Kgs and Job 6x), and *al-kēn* 155x (Gen and Isa 22x, Jer 15x, Psa 13x); Bibl. Aram. *kēn* 8x and *k<sup>c</sup>nēmā<sup>?</sup>* 5x.

3. (a) *kûn* ni. means concretely “to be firm, firmly grounded, anchored” (Judg 16:26, 29, roofs or walls resting upon columns; Ezek 16:7, a maiden’s breasts; Isa 2:2 and Psa 93:1, the mountains and the earth).

The idiom “the earth stands firm (*tikkôn*), it cannot perish” (Psa 93:1; 96:10 = 1 Chron 16:30) must not—esp. in a hymnic context—be emended following Psa 75:4 to *tikkēn* (*tkn* pi.) “he founded the earth”; one may compare direct statements concerning the mountain of God in hymns: Psa 48:3; 68:16; Isa 2:2.

Abstracts can also mean “fortified” and thus “lasting, dependable”: the continuation of the family (Job 21:8); human character (Psa 51:12); royal dominion (1 Sam 20:31; 2 Sam 7:16, 26); the light of day (Hos 6:3; Prov 4:18); a dream message (Gen 41:32); an accusation (Deut 13:15). The last two passages deal with whether a thing that can be uncertain “stands firm” (*nākôn haddābār*). Similarly, in 1 Sam 23:23 Saul says, “Come back to me as soon as you are certain (*ʿel nākôn* = with respect to the firmly established).”

A few idioms are comprehensible in terms of the concept that a good

thing must be well grounded: *n<sup>e</sup>kônâ* (ni. fem. ptcp.) is the truth that one speaks (Psa 5:10; Job 42:7f.), it endures (Prov 12:19 *tikkôn*). Cf. the Eng. expression “It does not go that way” with the Hebr. expression “It is not right (*nākôn*) to do it that way” (Exod 8:22). The course of life can be straight, determined (Psa 119:5; Prov 4:26). One’s endeavor (Prov 16:3; 20:18) or cultic procedures (2 Chron 29:35; 35:10) should be in order.

Semantically, the verbal adj. *kēn* fits here. It has always been difficult to identify: cf. GB with KBL and Lis.; already the LXX reinterpreted a few passages as the more common *kēn* = *houtōs* “thus” (cf. Josh 2:4; 2 Kgs 7:9; 17:9; Jer 8:6; 23:10). The adj. means “firm” (Prov 11:19), “true” (Num 27:7; 36:5), “correct” (Judg 12:6), “honorable” (Gen 42:11, 19, 31, 33f.: in the pl.); *kēn* “thus” as a syntactic relative can assume all sorts of deictic functions.

That which exists or stands firm will also produce the appropriate effect; *kûn* ni. can also mean therefore “to stand ready.” Misfortune is ready to break in upon the godless (Job 18:12; cf. Psa 38:18; Job 15:23; Prov 19:29). Help can be at hand (Psa 89:22). One directs one’s attention (→ *lēb*) to something (Psa 57:8; 78:37; 108:2; 112:7), i.e., one is ready to act upon that which has been under consideration. The challenge to get ready can consequently be cast in the words *w<sup>e</sup>hāyûn<sup>e</sup>kônîm<sup>e</sup>* (Exod 19:11, 15; cf. Exod 34:2; Josh 8:4) or be expressed by the impv. *hikkôn* (Amos 4:12; Ezek 38:7).

(b) The po. expresses the fact that someone produces firmness. The manufacturing aspect sounds strongly in passages dealing with the foundation or the reconstruction of buildings and cities (Isa 62:7; Hab 2:12; Psa 48:9; concerning statements about creation that belong here see 4a), or with the placement of a (heavy) object (Psa 9:8, the throne of Yahweh). Naturally, one may “found” in many fig. ways. *kûn* po. *hēš* means “to string an arrow” (Psa 7:13; 11:2), used abs. “to aim the arrow at” (Psa 21:13). Yahweh can establish “a person’s step” (Psa 40:3) or set a land upon its feet again (Psa 68:10). One can “propose” to do something (*kûn* po. + inf. with *le*: Isa 51:13; Job 8:8; cf. M. Dahood, *Bib* 46 [1965]: 329).

(c) The hi. is broad and prosaic in meaning. When used abs., the complementary obj. must be determined from the context; cf. Gen 43:16.

Josh 3:17 uses the inf. abs. in a simple auxiliary function: “they stood . . . still” (*hākēn*; in Josh 4:3 the verb is probably to be stricken as dittography). Psa 68:11 refers to the distribution or preparation of nourishment; cf. Psa 65:10. In Job 15:35 the godless “prepares” deceit (par. “he brings forth”); in Judg 12:6 *yākîn* should apparently be emended to *yākōl*.

Often it involves the preparation of implements or materials (usually

*kûn* hi. with acc. and *le* ): for the construction of the temple (1 Kgs 5:32; see 2), for meals (Exod 16:5; Psa 78:20; Job 38:41; Prov 6:8), of gifts (Gen 43:25), sacrificial animals (Num 23:1), equipment (Ezek 7:14; Nah 2:4; Psa 7:14), hunting equipment (Psa 57:7), rain (Psa 147:8), clothing (Job 27:16), and gallows (Esth 6:4; 7:10). Or it involves the completion of a project, e.g., an idol (Isa 40:20), the holy of holies (1 Kgs 6:19), the altar (Ezra 3:3). In reference to interior rooms, it means the completion of the interior furnishings (2 Chron 31:11; 35:20).

Fig. meanings signify (1) “to arrange, order” (cf. Jer 10:23; 51:12; Psa 65:10; Prov 16:9; 21:29), (2) “to establish, determine” (cf. Exod 23:20; Deut 19:3; Josh 4:4; 2 Sam 5:12; 1 Kgs 2:24; Psa 68:11; 1 Chron 15:1, 3, 12), (3) “to stabilize, secure” (cf. 1 Sam 13:13; Isa 9:6; Jer 46:14; Psa 89:5; 2 Chron 17:5; similarities to the po.), (4) “to pay attention to, examine, seek” (1 Sam 23:22; Ezra 7:10; 2 Chron 12:14; 19:3). The expression *kûn* hi. *libbô ʿel* originally signified “to direct his attention to”; cf. the possibly elliptical expression in 1 Sam 23:22, the similar expression *kûn* hi. *pānāyw* “to direct his countenance toward” (Ezek 4:3, 7), and 3a above, *kûn* ni. *libbô*. The formula acquires a theological coloration.

4. Genuine theological content can be demonstrated only for phrases, not for individual forms of the root *kûn*. Religious language assumes the semantic values described above and develops them further.

(a) In statements concerning creation, po. and hi. forms of *kûn* appear as synonyms for verbs of creation and formation. The emphasis of *kōnēn* or *hēkîn* lies on the stability and dependability of the work. The earth stands firm (cf. also 3a, *kûn* ni.): Isa 45:18 *kûn* po. with → *yšr*, → *śh*, → *br*?, Psa 24:2 with → *yšd*; Psa 119:90 with → *śmđ*, cf. the similar usage of hi. forms: Jer 10:12; 33:2; 51:15; Psa 65:7. The danger of chaos persists; Yahweh established the world against the destructive powers, he is the *mēkîn* (hi. ptcp.) of the world (Jer 51:15; Psa 65:7). The heavens and the stars also “stand firm” (Psa 8:4 po.; 74:16 hi.; Prov 3:19 po.; 8:27 hi.; in the cases of the sun and the moon, this apparently does not mean “to be immobile”). Because Israel merges its salvation history with the creation of the world, we find not only statements concerning the origin of people (Psa 119:73 po.), but also that of the whole nation (Deut 32:6 po.; 2 Sam 7:24 po., purpose is indicated by *I<sup>c</sup>kā* “for you”). Even the foundation of the city of Zion belongs in the context of creation-salvation history (Psa 48:9; 87:5), as well as the comprehensive statement “you have established the orders of life (*mēšārîm*)” (Psa 99:4 po.; one is reminded of the Eg. Maat and the Akk. *kittu umēšaru* “justice and righteousness”; cf. *AHw* 494f., 659f.).

(b) The hi. becomes almost a technical cultic term: *kûn* hi. in the context of sacrificial preparations (Num 23:1, 29; Zeph 1:7) does not

achieve quite the range and independence of *ʿrk* “to equip” (Lev 6:5; Psa 5:4; 23:5) or of the cultic-technical *ʿšh* (cf. Gen 18:7; Lev 6:15; Judg 6:19; in contrast to the usage of *kunnu* in Akk., *AHw* 439f.). Only Chron substitutes the usually widely distributed *kûn* hi. for the cultic *ʿšh*.

(c) Whoever “sets his heart upon Yahweh” (*kûn* hi. *libbô ʿelyhwh*, the full formula; cf. 1 Sam 7:3) has the right attitude toward Israel’s God (1 Chron 29:18; 2 Chron 30:19). The expression is also used then specifically of liturgical worship (Job 11:13, together with “to spread out the hands” as a gesture of prayer); cf. the objection against the people who “do not direct their heart” (abbreviated formula in Psa 78:8; cf. 2 Chron 20:33).

5. For information concerning the semantic history of the Gk. equivalents for members of the *kûn* family, see the appropriate articles in *TDNT*, esp. W. Grundmann, “ἔτοιμος,” *TDNT* 2:704–6; W. Foerster, “<F“GreekSpicq”%0>kti/zw,<F255>” *TDNT* 3:1000–1035, esp. 1009; H. Preisker, “ὀρθός,” *TDNT* 5:449–51.

E. Gerstenberger

## כזב *kzb* to lie

S 3576; BDB 469a; *HALOT* 2:467b; *TDOT* 7:104–21; *TWOT* 970; *NIDOTTE* 3941

1. The root *\*kdb* “to lie” is widely distributed in Sem. languages. Extra-Hebr. examples occur with particular frequency in Arab. (*kdb*; *WKAS* 1:90–100; M. A. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT* [1964], 179f.) and Aram. (*kdb* pa.; Jew. Aram. also *kzb* < Hebr.; Imp. Aram.: *DISO* 115, 117; Klopfenstein, op. cit. 180–82; Bibl. Aram. *kidbâ* “lie” Dan 2:9; KBL 1084; 1QapGen 2:6f.; Syr.: *LS* 318a; Mand.; Drower-Macuch 203f.), isolated as a Canaanite loan word in the Akk. of the Amarna Letters (*kazābu* II “to lie” and *kazbūtu* “lie,” *AHw* 467a).

Hebr. *kzb* occurs in qal (only ptc.) and pi. “to lie,” ni. “to prove to be a liar, be found guilty of a lie,” hi. “to accuse someone of a lie, find someone guilty of a lie”; nom. derivatives are *kāzāb* “lie” and *ʿakzāb* “lying, deceitful,” substantivized “deception” (Jer 5:18; Mic 1:14; Klopfenstein, op. cit. 243–52).

There are also the place-names *ʿakzîb* (Josh 15:44; Mic 1:14, in Judah; Josh 19:29; Judg 1:31, in Asher), *k<sup>e</sup>zîb* (Gen 38:5), and *kōzēbāʿ* (1 Chron 4:22), probably “(site of) the deceitful (waterless) streambed” (Noth, *HAT* 7, 142; Klopfenstein, op. cit.

252f.; on Gen 38:5 cf. also G. R. Driver, FS Robert 71f.).

2. *kzb qal* occurs 1x (Psa 116:11), *pi.* 12x, *ni.* 2x (Job 41:4; Prov 30:6), *hi.* 1x (Job 24:25), *kāzāb* 31x (Prov 9x, Ezek 7x, Psa 6x), *ʾakzāb* 2x, and Aram. *kidbā* 1x. The distribution of the total of 50 occurrences is concentrated in Psa, Job, and Prov on the one hand (24x), and in the prophetic corpus (incl. Dan) on the other (22x). The remaining four passages are Num 23:19, 2 Kgs 4:16 (*pi.*), and Judg 16:10, 13 (*kāzāb*).

3. (a) *kzb qal/pi.* is used abs. 7x; once it explicitly governs an acc. obj. and twice implicitly (“to lie to someone about something” Ezek 13:19; Mic 2:11; Psa 78:36); it is accompanied by a prep. clause twice (with *le* or *be* and the person: “to deceive someone, lie to someone” Psa 89:36; 2 Kgs 4:16), and *kzb pi.* *ʿal-p<sup>e</sup>nē*, which corresponds exactly to Eng. “to lie to someone’s face,” occurs once (Job 6:28). In 2/3 of its occurrences the noun *kāzāb* depends on a verb of speech or hearing (as a gen. or in apposition); cf. the tables in Klopfenstein, op. cit. 210f.

The dominant dependence of the noun *kāzāb* on terms of speech and hearing confirms the chief meaning of the root *kzb* also supported by extra-OT materials: “to lie” = “to pronounce verbal lies, speak untruth, maintain something that does not suit the facts.” A line leads from this basic meaning through the meaning “to be in the wrong” (the opposite of *šdq qal*, Job 34:5f.) to the meaning “to be faithless” and thus to a harmonization with the meaning of → *šqr* (in Isa 57:11). Another line leads to the description of the inner essence of a thing, characterized as ineffectual by *kzb*; revelation can cease (Hab 2:3), water can “deceive, dry up” (Isa 58:11; cf. *ʾakzāb* “dry stream”; see 1).

Although *kzb* often belongs in the semantic field “lie in court” (→ *ʿēd* “witness”; also *yāpîaḥ* in Prov 6:19; 14:5, 25; 19:5, 9; cf. Hab 2:3; Psa 27:12; Prov 12:17, now often translated following Ug. *yph* as “witness,” cf. *UT* no. 1129; S. E. Loewenstamm, *Leshonenu* 26 [1962]: 205–8, 280; *ibid.* 27 [1963]: 182; M. Dahood, *Bib* 46 [1965]: 319f.), the *Sitz im Leben* should not be sought here, but in the daily intercourse of people one with another, in everyday life, which always offers an abundance of tempting opportunities for the misuse of speech. In this context, *kzb* means the discrepancy between statement and actuality or between promise and fulfillment; → *šqr* describes the lie as an aggressive “breach of confidence” intended to injure the neighbor, and → *khš* depicts the lie in the form of illegal “silence, concealment, denial” (Klopfenstein, op. cit. 2ff., 254ff.). Texts for this *Sitz im Leben* are e.g., Judg 16:10, 13 and Dan 11:27; it is also reflected in the maximlike wisdom request: “Keep delusion (*šāwʿ*) and lie (*d<sup>e</sup>bar-kāzāb*) far from me” (Prov 30:8) and in the prophetic hope that the

remnant of Israel will one day “no longer speak lies” (Zeph 3:13).

(b) As *pars pro toto*, a lying tongue can reveal the attitude, even the essence, of a person. Accordingly, *kāzāb* can acquire a more comprehensive meaning than verbal lie. Such is the case when a thing is described as “lying.” For example, the “man of lies” (*ʾiṣ kāzāb*) of Prov 19:22—assuming that the verse refers to dishonest business (cf. Klopfenstein, op. cit. 220; contra Dahood, *PNSP* 42f.)—has to answer for even more deceptions than mere verbal lies; so too probably Psa 62:5. The “lying bread” (*leḥem k<sup>e</sup>zābîm*) on the ruler’s table (Prov 23:3) is so called because it “appears to secure for him (the protégé) the lasting favour of princes, and often enough herein deceives him” (KD, *Prov* 105).

(c) The plaintiff or witness standing in court appears as a realm of usage for *kzb* set apart from the everyday usage. The “lying witness” (*ʿēd k<sup>e</sup>zābîm* Prov 21:28; more often *ʿēd š<sup>e</sup>qārîm*, → *šqr*) is particularly abhorrent to OT legal thought. The expression *yāpîaḥ k<sup>e</sup>zābîm*, common in Prov (see 3a; usually interpreted as a type of standing attributive clause or as a relative clause with the verb *pûaḥ* in the impf., which has become fixed: “who utters lies” = “a lying witness”), is a technical term for “lying witness.” In opposition to this stands the *ʿēd š<sup>e</sup>met/š<sup>e</sup>mûnâ* (Prov 14:5, 25) or the *yāpîaḥ š<sup>e</sup>mûnâ* (Prov 12:17), the “truthful witness.” “Liars” also appear in actual legal proceedings in passages from “prayers of the innocent accused” (H. Schmidt, *Das Gebet der Angeklagten im AT* [1928]), e.g., Psa 5:7 and 4:3, and the legal dispute as a governing stylistic element of the composition of Job still influences the terminology in e.g., Job 6:28; 24:25; 34:6.

(d) A fig. usage describes an object with a verbal statement: revelation (Hab 2:3), hope (Job 41:1), the water of the eschatological source of life (Isa 58:11; as well as the phenomenon of the “lying stream,” *ʾakzāb*, which is impressively described in Job 6:15–20); the contrasting image to such “deceitful water”—in Jer 15:18 “water that cannot be depended upon”—is “living water” (Gen 26:19, etc.), “dependable water” (Isa 33:16), or “cool, flowing water” (Jer 18:14).

(e) The following antonyms may be listed in summary: root → *ʾmn* and derivatives (Psa 58:2, 4; 78:36f.; 89:36, 38; cf. 3c, d), root → *šdq* and derivatives (Prov 12:17; Job 6:28–30; 34:5f.; cf. 3a), *n<sup>e</sup>kônâ* (→ *kûn* ni.; Psa 5:7, 10), *mišpāṭ* (→ *špṭ*, Job 34:5f.). *kāzāb* is paralleled by → *hebel* (Psa 62:10), → *šāw<sup>ʿ</sup>* (Prov 30:8, etc.; in Ezek see 4d), and *tarmîṭ* “deceit” (Zeph 3:13).

4. (a) A clear distinction of the theological and the profane usages is not possible, although the passages treated under 3a-d permit one to deduce from the context that “profane” lies also stand under theologicoethical condemnation. This verdict is formulated indirectly in a

theological contrast, “God is no human that he should lie” (Num 23:19; cf. Psa 89:36), directly in the axiom, “All people are liars” (Psa 116:11). The former means: God brings about what he promises; the latter: in contrast to God, all people are necessarily failures with respect to the final assistance that one may expect from them (thus also Psa 62:10).

(b) If *kāzāb* is absolutely denied in God’s nature, humanity is burdened precisely by *kāzāb* in its relationship with God. Lies, then, are a characteristic of sin, which always tries to gain power over the righteous too. Thus those who “speak lies” in Psa 58:4, who as the “godless” (*r<sup>e</sup>šā’îm*) hatefully oppose the “righteous” (*šaddîq*), provoke the righteous through their stubborn denial of a just God. But lies do not solely involve the denial of God; they may accompany acknowledgment of and prayer to God: namely dishonest confessions of sin that do not correspond to repentance in deed (Hos 7:13; cf. 6:1–3 and Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 127; similarly Psa 78:36). If the passages just mentioned may already have reference to a false cult—half Baal, half Yahweh—then Isa 57:11, where *kzb* refers to cultic apostasy, certainly does. In continuation of this trend, then, *kāzāb* can describe “idols” themselves concretely in Amos 2:4 (V. Maag, *Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos* [1951], 11, 81; *k<sup>e</sup>zābîm* here represents the *h<sup>a</sup>bālîm* of the Dtr history; cf. Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 133, 163f.).

The reference in Psa 40:5 to the *šāṭê kāzāb* is controversial. The usual interpretation is “those turning aside to lies” or “those entangled in lies.” If M. Dahood (*Psa*, ABC, 1:243, 245f.) is correct in translating “fraudulent images” (*šāṭîm* = *s/šēṭîm* in Psa 101:3; Hos 5:2 = “images”), however, *kāzāb* would be the gen. modifying the term for idolatry and the step to Amos 2:4 would be shortened.

(c) Isaiah (28:15, 17 txt?) and Hosea (12:2) use *kāzāb* as a theological assessment of a failed policy contradictory to confidence in Yahweh only: the anti-Assyrian pact of King Hezekiah with Pharaoh Shabaka or the foreign policy of King Hoshea that alternated between Assyria and Egypt. “Genuine relationship with God consists . . . in the truth, in the openness and the uprightness of an unreserved relationship of confidence that does not entertain the possibility of other sources of aid besides God and behind his back. . . . The absolute nature of the divine claim is reflected in this basic biblical requirement of truth in relation to God” (Weiser, ATD 24, 74).

(d) The assessment *kāzāb* applies with particular theological keenness to unqualified and irresponsible involvement with God’s word of revelation. Wisdom makes such an assessment in Prov 30:6: mysterious, ecstatic reception of verbal revelation should be evaluated against

Yahweh's definitive revelation in history and word (cf. Gemser, HAT 16, 103–5; contra Wildeboer, *Die Sprüche*, KHC [1897], 86). Above all, however, prophecy, evaluates verbal revelation in these terms (cf. G. Quell, *Wahre und falsche Propheten* [1952]): *kāzāb* in combination with *šāw'* is a veritable technical term in Ezek (Ezek 13:6–9, 19; 21:34; 22:28), where *kāzāb* appears as an acc. with *qsm* qal “to give an oracle” or as a gen. with *miqsām* “oracle,” whereas *šāw'* occurs with → *hzh* “to see” or *hāzôn* “vision” (otherwise only in Ezek 13:8). Ezekiel apparently uses this dual expression to characterize the reception of revelation (*hzh*) as “vain imagination” (*šāw'*) and the following oracle giving (*qsm*) as “a lie” (*kāzāb*). Jeremiah uses the more dynamic term *šeqer* “breach of confidence, perfidy,” which may better reflect the “hot breath” (Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:292) of this more passionate prophet, for the same reality.

In religiohistorical terms, the usage of *kidbā* for false dream interpretation in Dan 2:9 belongs marginally in the same context.

5. (a) Qumran used the verb *kzb* only in the fig. sense of “nondeceiving water sources” (see 3d) in 1QH 8:16 and 1QSb 1:4. These are metaphors for the esoteric eschatological salvation doctrine of the Qumran community, the “knowledge of the holy ones” (1QSb 1:4). Both passages evidence dependence upon Isa 58:11. Among other uses, the noun occurs 3x in the combination *maṭṭīp hakkāzāb* “the lying prophet” (1QpHab 10:9; CD 8:13; 1Q14 10:2) and 3x in the combination *ʾiš hakkāzāb* “the man of lies” (1QpHab 2:2; 5:11; 11:1, unclear; CD 20:15). According to H. H. Rowley, this “man of lies” may be identified with Antiochus IV Epiphanes (cf. J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* [1960], 2:139). The technical term “false prophet,” not attested in the OT (LXX *pseudoprophētēs*), occurs for the first time in 1QH 4:16 (pl. *n<sup>o</sup>bîʿêkāzāb*).

(b) The translations of *kzb* and its derivatives in the LXX (Klopfenstein, op. cit. 253f.) confirm the semantic field of the root *kzb* sketched above in 3a: of 46 correct renderings, 32 have the root *pseud-* (chief meaning “to lie, be a liar”), 7 have *mataia* or *kena* and one has *ekleipein* (a development of meaning in the direction of “ineffectuality of a thing”), one has *kakia*, and one *enkalein adikōs* (in the direction “to be in the wrong”).

(c) Rom 3:4 cites Psa 116:11 in the context of the doctrine of justification (see 4a) and may also have Num 23:19 (see 4a) in view: “God must show himself to be truthful, but every person a liar.” According to John 14:6 Christ is “the truth”; by contrast, according to 8:44 the devil is “a liar and the father of lies.” Whether one falls under the verdict “truth” or “lie” depends, accordingly, on one’s stance with respect to Christ (1 John 1:6;

2:21f.). If one includes the Johannine terminology of “light-darkness,” these passages seem to echo Qumran. One’s stance with respect to Christ is also decisive with regard to the characterization “false Christs” and “false prophets” in the eschatological discourses (Mark 13:22; Matt 24:11). Even though the Johannine literature does not share the technical term for the OT false prophets—which stems from Qumran and LXX—it nevertheless shares the fact that these prophets also are guilty of the misuse of the word of revelation. The “lying prophet” of 1QpHab 10:9, etc., may have presaged “*the* lying prophet” in Rev (Rev 16:13; 19:20; 20:10).

M. A. Klopfenstein

### כֹּחַ *kōaḥ* power

S 3581; BDB 470b; HALOT 2:468b; TDOT 7:122–28; TWOT 973a; NIDOTTE 3946

### חַיִל *ḥayil* power

S 2428; BDB 298b; HALOT 1:311a; TDOT 4:348–55; TWOT 624a; NIDOTTE 2657

1. The singulare tantum (invariable) *kōaḥ* “power” occurs only in Hebr. and in Jew. Aram. (*kōḥā*?, borrowed from Hebr.).

Potentially related roots in Arab. and Eth. are given by GB 340 and KBL 430a. *kōaḥ* II in Lev 11:30 designates a species of lizard.

2. Of 124 occurrences 21 fall to Job, 13 to Dan, and 12 to Isa (9x in Deutero-Isa), 11 to Psa, 8 to 2 Chron; the distribution is otherwise normal; the 8 examples in Judg occur in Judg 16, except for 6:14.

3. All other meanings derive from the chief meaning, which may best be defined as “vital power” (the dead are described in Job 3:17 as “bereft of power”). Thus *kōaḥ* means the human capacity to reproduce (Gen 49:3) and the farmland’s capacity to yield produce (Gen 4:12; Job 31:39), as well as food’s capacity to nourish (1 Sam 28:22; 1 Kgs 19:8); ordinarily, however, it refers to the physical power of an animal (Job 39:11; Prov 14:4) or a person (of the human hand, Job 30:2; of the arm, Isa 44:12; in general, Judg 16:6ff.; 1 Sam 28:20; 30:4; Isa 44:12, etc.; of a people, Josh 17:17). Mental power is also often intended (Gen 31:6; Isa 40:31; 49:4; Psa 31:11), so that *kōaḥ* (often in conjunction with *śr* qal “to retain”; cf. E. Kutsch, “Die

Wurzel  $\zeta r$  im Hebräischen,” VT 2 [1952]: 57–69, esp. 57) can develop the meaning “competence, suitability, capability” in later literature (Chron, Dan).

One’s power is concretely manifested in one’s material wealth (Job 6:22; Prov 5:10; Ezra 2:69; of the people’s military and economic reserves, Hos 7:9).

Here *kōaḥ* has affinities with *ḥayil* “power, wealth, army” (245x, Jer 32x, 1 Chron 28x, 2 Chron 27x, Psa 19x, 2 Kgs 17x, Ezek 14x, 2 Sam 13x), which, however, in contrast to *kōaḥ*, does not describe God’s might (HAL 298b).

Also comparable are *kelah* “full strength, vigor” (Job 5:26; 30:2) and *m<sup>e</sup>ōd* “power, ability” (300x; beside Deut 6:5 and 2 Kgs 23:25 only adv. “very,” often repeated; Gen 38x, Psa 35x, 1 Sam 31x, 2 Sam 20x, Josh, 1 Kgs, Jer and 2 Chron 16x each, Exod and Ezek 14x each); cf. further *ʾōn* “sexual potency, physical strength, wealth” (→ *ʾāwen*), and the roots → *ʾmš*, → *gbr*, → *ḥzq*, → *ʿzz*, as well as → *yād*, and → *z<sup>e</sup>rôa*  $\zeta$ .

4. As reflected in its relatively frequent occurrence, *kōaḥ* is virtually thematic in Job for divine omnipotence (Job 9:19; 36:22; cf. 42:2), which far transcends all human power. This divine omnipotence extolled in songs of praise (Exod 15:6; Psa 111:6; 147:5; 1 Chron 29:12) is a topic of Deutero-Isaiah’s message: he appeals to the exiled people to place its hope in Yahweh (Isa 40:26, 29, 31; 41:1; 50:2). It is manifest in the created world (Jer 10:12; 51:15; Psa 65:7) and in history (Exod 9:16; Deut 4:37; Psa 111:6; Neh 1:10), and finds expression in the stereotypical formulations “with great power and a strong hand” (Exod 32:11) and “with great power and an outstretched arm” (2 Kgs 17:36; cf. Jer 27:5; 32:17; Deut 9:29), which sometimes refer to creation (Jer passages), sometimes to the exodus from Egypt.

*kōaḥ* occurs in the Psalter predominantly in isolated individual laments with reference to dissipated human might that occasions the pious to pray for God’s assistance (Psa 22:16; 31:11; 38:11; 71:9; 102:24; cf. Lam 1:6, 14).

Wisdom and power are closely related in wisdom literature (Prov 24:5; cf. Job 9:4), even in reference to God (Job 36:22; cf. 12:13; 36:5; also Isa 10:13; P. Biard, *La puissance de Dieu dans la Bible* [1960], 75ff.).

The OT warns against arrogance with respect to his power (Deut 8:17; Isa 10:13; Hab 1:11); neither a great army nor great power will be able to help if God does not help (Psa 33:16ff.; 1 Sam 2:9). Dan particularly emphasizes that the *kōaḥ* of a ruler is not his own power (Dan 8:22, 24).

In Mic 3:8 the words “Spirit of Yahweh” should probably be regarded as a gloss on *kōaḥ*, which refers to the unshakable power that God grants the prophet, empowering him to preach judgment.

B. Hartmann (OTS 14 [1965]: 115–21) translates Zech 4:6b, “there is no power and no might except with me” (p. 120). The usual interpretation “not by power and not by might, but by my spirit,” contrasts God’s power with human might. On the text, see also K. Galling, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels im persischen Zeitalter* (1964), 141f. = FS Rudolph 83f. (an earlier version).

5. Qumran literature continues the usage of *kōah* treated above (Kuhn, *Konk.* 99). On the NT, cf. W. Grundmann, “ἰσχύω,” *TDNT* 3:397–402.

A. S. van der Woude

### שׁוּחַ *khš* pi. **to deny**

S 3584; BDB 471a; *HALOT* 2:469b; *TDOT* 7:132–35; *TWOT* 975; *NIDOTTE* 3950

1. The root *khš* in the meaning “to deny, conceal” has not yet been identified outside Hebr.

The relationship posited by KBL 431 and GB 341a (cf. also J. Blau, *VT* 7 [1957]: 99) between *khš* qal “to waste away” and *khš* pi. “to deny” had already been rejected by W. J. Gerber (*Die hebräischen verba denominativa* [1896], 26f.) along with the assumption of a common basic meaning “deficere.” Accordingly, Zorell 352 offers two separate roots. This position will be the basis of the treatment here because the identity of the roots remains uncertain.

W. F. Albright (*BASOR* 83 [1941]: 40) cites Ug. pars., about which one may make the following observations: (1) a meaning analogous to “to waste away, wither away” is not assured for *tkh* (*WUS* no. 2863 understands all Ug. occurrences on the basis of a fundamental meaning “to find, meet”; contra *CML* 1 151b: “wilted”; *CML* 2 160: “was hot [sexual], burnt up [sky]”; cf. also *UT* no. 2673); (2) if it were assured, nothing would be gained for an understanding of *khš* pi., given the distinction in the qal and pi. stems of *khš*.

Jew. Aram. *khš* ap. “to prove to be a liar” and itpa. “to be shown to be a liar” (Dalman 196b) are Hebraisms.

In addition to the verb (pi., ni., hitp.) are the subst. *kaḥaš* “lie” and the adj. *keḥāš* “denying” (for the nom. form, see BL 479).

2. The entire word family occurs 27x in the OT: *khš* pi. 19x, ni. 1x (Deut 33:29), hitp. 1x (2 Sam 22:45, par. Psa 18:45 pi.), *kaḥaš* 5x, and *keḥāš* 1x (Isa 30:9). The distribution is quite uniform; only Hos exhibits a

significant concentration (5x; pi. Hos 4:2; 9:2; subst. 7:3; 10:13; 12:1).

3. The basic meaning of *khš* pi. is ambivalent. One can paraphrase it in Eng. with the pair “to say/do that . . . not,” on the one hand, and “not to say/do that . . . ,” on the other. Neither of the semantic tendencies seems to be primary; rather, both probably coexisted from the beginning as inverse functions. The basic sense results, on the one hand, in the meanings “to dispute, contest, call into question, deny, disclaim, disavow, refuse”; on the other, in the meanings “to keep secret, conceal, hide, keep a secret, suppress” (similar to *khđ* pi. “to hide” and its Arab. and Eth. equivalents; cf. M. A. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT* [1964], 254–310, concerning the relation between *khš* and *khđ*: 258–60, 278f.). Also related to the second of these meanings are the pi. meanings “to dissemble, hide one’s true intention, pretend, feign (something)” (1 Kgs 13:18; Zech 13:4), which can then acquire the more specific meaning “to flatter, act like a friend, feign submission” in the Psa (Psa 18:45; 66:3; 81:16) in the context of the ritual submission of vanquished enemies before the victor (Klopfenstein, op. cit. 284–97). The hitp. (2 Sam 22:45) and the ni. (Deut 33:29) have the same meanings; it is unnecessary, however, to deny this meaning for the pi. in the Psa passages and to emend it to a ni. form. Substantive and adj. confirm the ambivalent series of meanings: *kaḥaš* means both “denial” of Yahweh or his covenant or “falsification” of the true state of affairs, as well as “to dissemble” with respect to fellow human beings; *keḥāš* “denying, faithless” belongs to the first group of meanings and was rendered more adequately by Aquila with *arnētēs* than by the LXX with *pseudēs*.

*khš* is constructed with *be* 7x, followed 5x by the person, 1x by the thing, 1x with repeated *be* followed by the person and the thing; in Job 31:28 *le* represents *be*. In all these cases the verb is governed by the prep.: “to deny (a thing),” “to renounce (a person).” Elsewhere (an additional 6x) *le* actually introduces a dative of the person: “to dissemble with respect to someone,” etc. One can presuppose either an implicit obj. or a reflexive meaning for the pi. used abs. (6x): “to hide (stolen property)” (Josh 7:11), “to dispute (an objection)” or “to dissemble” (Gen 18:15).

In contrast to → *šqr*, which refers to the destruction of a legal or a trust relationship, and to → *kzb*, which intends a statement or mode of behavior that contradicts or falls short of the reality, *khš* is distortion or misrepresentation, denial or concealment of a given state of affairs despite more accurate awareness. In this context, 11 of the total of 27 occurrences exhibit *khš* as a legal or sacral law term. The original *Sitz im Leben* may be found here. Profane law occurrences—although a strict distinction from “sacral” is foreign to the OT—are Lev 5:21 (“denial” of goods deposited in trust or stolen), 5:22 (“concealment” of found objects), 19:11 (“concealment” of stolen goods), Hos 4:2 (the prohibition of “fencing” is

designed to protect goods and property as well as life, freedom, and marriage; contra Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 100). Offshoots in extralegal contexts are “denying” in Gen 18:15, “dissembling” in 1 Kgs 13:18, and the usage applied to things in Job 8:18; Hos 9:2; Hab 3:17. Sacral law connotations may be involved in “playing the role” of prophet (Zech 13:4), military law in “feigning submission” as the gesture of loyalty of the vanquished (see above). “Cunning” in business and foreign policy (Nah 3:1), “intrigue” in domestic policy (Hos 7:3), “misrepresentation” in the accusation against the innocent (Psa 59:13; contra S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* [1921], 1:57f.) are the profane usages of the noun.

4. The theological usage is closely tied to the “profane”; here too one may distinguish a (sacral) law usage from an expanded application. Nevertheless, one may regard the sacral law setting as equally original with that of profane law (see 3).

As a sacral law term, *kḥš* functions with particular clarity in Josh 7:11, where “concealment” of stolen banned goods appears as an extreme sacrilege. This old etiological Achan text is without doubt the origin of the root (cf. Noth, HAT 7, 43–46). In Josh 24:27 (*kḥš pi. bēʾlōhîm*) and Job 31:28 (*kḥš lāʾēl*), “God is denied” by apostasy to a strange cult or to an astral cult, a crime under sacral law here too; Hos 12:1 is similar (as interpreted by Sellin, KAT 12/1 [19293], 118; Weiser, ATD 24, 73; contra Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 225).

*kḥš bʿyhwh* in Isa 59:13 signifies “denial of Yahweh” in the broader sense of unfaithfulness to his covenant; *kaḥaš* in Hos 10:13, where the word parallels *rešaʿ* and *ʿawlātâ* and contrasts with *šedeq/šʿdāqâ*, *ḥesed*, and *daʿat* (v 12 txt em; cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 180, 185–87), should also be understood in this way. The “disloyalty” of the *bānîm keḥāšîm*, the “denying sons,” is manifest in Isa 30:9, specifically in terms of unwillingness to heed Yahweh’s Torah; Jer 5:12 (*kḥš pi. beyhwh*) and Prov 30:8f. call the failure to take Yahweh into account at all “denial.” The theme of “forced submission of the enemy before the victor”—form- and tradition-critically an element of the hymn, esp. of the song of victory—appears in a theological interpretation of submission to God in Psa 66:3.

5. Up to this point, Qumran has yielded only two instances of the noun *kaḥaš*: in 1QS 4:9 in a catalog of vices of those who belong to the “spirit of evildoing,” and in 1QS 10:22 in the series of vows in a song of praise. In the first passage *kaḥaš* accompanies *rʿmîyâ* “deception,” in the second, a trespass with the “lips” is indicated by “sinful deceit” (*kaḥaš ʿawōn*). The word seems to have lost its specific significance.

The LXX translates ambiguously with the root *pseud-*; only Gen 18:15 offers the more precise *arneisthai* (cf. the *arnētēs* of Aquila in Isa

30:9), so that at least one aspect of the root's ambivalence is marginally expressed.

In the NT the theological usage is conceived christologically (cf. H. Schlier, “ἀρνέομαι,” *TDNT* 1:469–71). God is denied when Christ is denied (1 John 2:23). Whoever denies Christ will be denied by him before his Father (Matt 10:33 par.; 2 Tim 2:12). Although one may think first of a denial in word (cf. 1 John 2:22), Titus 1:16 demonstrates that, as in the OT, this denial can also consist of an act.

M. A. Klopfenstein

## כָּל *kāl* **totality**

S 3605; BDB 481a; *HALOT* 2:474a; *TDOT* 7:135–43; *TWOT* 985a; *NIDOTTE* 3972

1. The common Sem. subst. \**kull-* “totality” (Berg., *Intro.* 220), whose original meaning is thought to be “circle” (*GVG* 2:253) or “circumference” (BL 267), belongs to the root *kll*, which produces the Hebr. verb *qal* “to finish, make complete” (Akk. and Aram. *kll* Š “to finish”; Bibl. Aram. *šap<sup>ʿ</sup>el* and *ištap<sup>ʿ</sup>al* “be finished,” KBL 1085f.) and the nom. derivatives *kālîl* “complete; whole sacrifice,” *miklôl* “perfection” (Ezek 23:12; 38:4), *miklāl* “perfection, crown” (Psa 50:2), and *maklûlîm* “magnificent garments” (Ezek 27:24); cf. also the PN *k<sup>ʿ</sup>lāl* (Ezra 10:30; *IP* 224: “perfection”).

In addition to *kalû*, *kalâma*, and *kullatu* (*AHW* 423f., 427, 501f.), Akk. has an entire series of synonyms: *gimru*, *gimirtu*, *kiššatu*, *nagbu*, *napharu* (*GAG* §134h). On Ug. *kl*, *kll*, cf. *WUS* no. 1320; *UT* no. 1240; on the NWSem. inscriptions, see *DISO* 118–20.

2. *kll qal* occurs only in Ezek 27:4, 11, *kālîl* 15x, *miklôl* 2x, *miklāl* and *maklûlîm* 1x; Bibl. Aram. *kll šap<sup>ʿ</sup>el* 5x, *ištap<sup>ʿ</sup>al* 2x.

According to Mandl. 563–83, 1328f., 1535, *kāl/kol-* occurs 5,404x in Hebr. (*kāl* 843x, with sufs. 214x), Aram. 82x (Dan 67x, Ezra 15x). One can expect that a word of such general usage will occur in the individual OT books in proportion to the scope of these books. When books that constitute less than 1% of the OT are disregarded, significant deviations from the expected values result: on the high side for Deut (353x) and esp. Eccl (91x), on the low side for Job (73x) and Prov (77x), which can be explained topically, on the one hand (Deut: “with the whole heart, the whole soul, and with all your might”; Eccl: “everything is vanity”), and in terms of

poetic diction, on the other.\*

3. (a) The adj. *kālîl* means “full, complete” (Isa 2:18 “everything”; Judg 20:40 “the whole city”). The beauty of a city can be termed *kālîl* “complete” (Ezek 16:14 and Lam 2:15, Jerusalem; Ezek 27:3 and 28:12, Tyre); cf. also the usage of the verb *kll* qal “to finish, make complete” in Ezek 27:4, 11 (Tyre), further 1QapGen 20:5 Aram. *klyln* “complete,” of Sarah’s hands in a description of her beauty.

For Exod 28:31 and 39:22 (probably also Num 4:6), G. R. Driver (“Technical Terms in the Pentateuch,” *WO* 2/3 [1956]: 254–63) proposes the meaning “woven in one piece” (p. 259).

The subst. *kālîl* indicates a type of sacrifice (Lev 6:15f.; Deut 13:17; 33:10), probably the “whole sacrifice,” which accompanied the *‘ōlâ* (“burnt sacrifice” Psa 51:21), and which finally replaced it (1 Sam 7:9; cf. Köhler, *Theol.* 184; R. de Vaux, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* [1964], 45f., 110f.). *miklôl* describes the rider clothed and equipped in “perfection” (Ezek 23:12; 38:4). *maklûlîm* is connected with *miklôl* and describes the magnificent garments in which Tyre trades (Ezek 27:24). *miklâl* (Psa 50:2), derived from Aram. *kll* “to surround,” may be accordingly translated “crown, wreath” (with most commentators, contra GB 421b and KBL 521b; cf. *klyl* at Qumran [see 5]).

(b) For the usage and syntax of *kōl*, cf. the lexicons and grammars. *kōl* rarely occurs alone in the meaning “the whole, entire, all” (Exod 29:24; Lev 1:9; 2 Sam 1:9, etc.; cf. *GVG* 2:253f.); it occurs primarily in combination with other noms., originally as a governing noun preceding a gen., but then also appositionally before and after another subst. (*GVG* 2:214–16). If this noun is undetermined, the meaning “any, all sorts of” ensues. If the following noun is determined, however, *kōl* in the sg. should be rendered “whole,” in the pl. “all.” When accompanied by a negation, it acquires the meaning “no.” When *kōl* follows the other nom., a suf. is quite often appended referring back to the first nom., e.g., *yisrāʿēl kullōh* “all Israel,” 2 Sam 2:9, etc.; this type of construction is distributed quite widely in other Sem. dialects (cf. e.g., Akk.: *GAG* §134h; Ug.: O. Eissfeldt, *El im Ugaritischen Pantheon* [1951], 42f.; Aram.: Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 29).

A detailed listing of the noms. associated with *kōl* is superfluous, because all the natural phenomena of this abundant life can be used for this purpose. Besides the Hebr. concordances, the lists in K. Huber and H. H. Schmid, *Zürcher Bibelkonkordanz* [1969], 1:39ff., 638ff., categorized largely according to individual phrases, can provide an overview.

4. Esp. when used abs. and with the article, *kōl* serves in some

(exilic and post-exilic) theological statements to describe the entire creation, without becoming either a theological or a cosmological technical expression for “universe” (C. R. North, *IDB* 4:874b; id., *Second Isa* [1964], 145f.). Thus e.g., Jer 10:16 = 51:19 (exilic; see Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 75) speaks of “creator of all”; Isa 44:24 says, “I, Yahweh, make all, stretch out the heavens,” and 45:7, “I who form the light and create the darkness. . . . It is I, Yahweh, who brings about all of this”; cf. also Psa 103:19 “his dominion governs all”; 119:91 “everything is in your service”; 1 Chron 29:14 “everything comes from you”; v 16 “everything is yours”; Job 42:2 “I have recognized that you are capable of all”; finally also Psa 8:7 of humanity, “you have placed everything under its feet.”

5. At Qumran *kōl* occurs over 800x (primarily plene, *kwl*; in CD *kl*). Usage parallels the OT very closely. On *klyl* “complete (beautiful)” see 3a; in addition, *klyl* is used in 1QS 4:7 and 1QH 9:25 in the meaning “wreath, crown” (*k<sup>c</sup>l̄l̄kābôd* “crown of honor”).

Gk. translations are numerous, reflecting the sense of the context: the word *pas* and its derivatives dominate, of course.

On the NT, cf. B. Reicke and G. Bertram, “πᾶς,” *TDNT* 5:886–96.

G. Sauer

## כֹּל *klh* to be at an end

S 3615; BDB 477a; *HALOT* 2:476b; *TDOT* 7:157–64; *TWOT* 982; *NIDOTTE* 3983

1. Hebr. does not make a sharp morphological distinction between *klh* “to cease” and *klʔ* “to hold back,” as the numerous assimilations in inflection indicate (BL 375, 424; KBL 436a). Both roots occur in Ug. (*WUS* no. 1311: *kla* “to close”; no. 1317: *kly* “to be at an end”); Akk. *kalû*, which also combines the meaning “to cease” with the basic meaning “to hold back,” should probably be treated as \**klʔ* (*GAG* §105c; *AHw* 428f.). Like Akk., Aram. also knows only the (common Sem.) root *klʔ*, in the senses “to hold back” and “to come to an end.” In Neo-Pun., *klh* pi. is not attested with certainty (*KAI* no. 145.11; *DISO* 121).

A glance at the semantic spheres of the two verbs indicates that they are closely related semasiologically. There seems to be an elemental semasiological process wherein the notion of “limiting” and “ending” develops from the basic meaning of “holding back” and “blocking off”; cf. Ger. “schliessen” and Lat. “claudere” with the same characteristic double meaning “to enclose” and “to close off.” A corresponding

semasiological process lies behind the antonym → *hll* hi.: “to unloose, release” > “to begin”; cf. e.g., Eng. “to open” and Lat. “aperire” for the beginning of talks.

The relationship between the two verbs in Hebr. also receives its simplest explanation through the assumption that “to cease” developed secondarily from the local, more original “to hold back,” and that the expansion in meaning resulted in a corresponding, although not always strictly executed, morphological division of the roots.

Several nom. forms derive from the verb: the adj. *kāleh* “languishing” (Deut 28:32, of the eyes), the subst. with *mi-* prefix *miklôt* “completion” (2 Chron 4:21), an *-ôt* that can be explained as a sg. abstract ending or as a pl. of intensification (cf. BrSynt 16; in addition to *kl<sup>ʔ</sup>miklâ[ʔ]* “fence, pen”; cf. *claudere* > *clausula* and *claustrum*); *tiklâ* (Psa 119:96) and *taklît* (Barth 295; BL 496) also mean “completion”; *kālâ* and *killāyôn* (Barth 326) indicate malicious termination, “annihilation.” The PN *kilyôn* is comparable to *mahlôn* (→ *hll* 1).

2. The root appears only in the Hebr. OT (Bibl. Aram. has *kll* šap. “to complete” Ezra 4:12; 5:3, 9, 11; 6:14; išt. pass., Ezra 4:13, 16; *šlm* qal “to be finished” Ezra 5:16). The verb occurs 207x in a normal distribution, qal 64x, pi. 141x, pu. 2x. Of the nom. forms, *kāleh* appears 1x, *kālâ* 22x (Jer 7x, Ezek 3x), in particular 15x as the obj. of *śh.* “to make an end” (esp. in the Prophets: Jer 7x, Ezek 2x, Isa and Zeph 1x), *taklît* 5x (Job 3x, as well as Psa 139:22 and Neh 3:21), *killāyôn* 2x (Deut 28:65; Isa 10:22), *tiklâ* and *miklôt* 1x each (see above).

3. As a secondary expansion of the notion “to close off, set limits,” *klh* is usually used as a trans. (*klh* pi., with the less frequent *klh* qal as an intrans.) and means primarily “to close off,” i.e., “to make an end” to a thing or a process (often accompanied by an inf. with or without *le*). *klh* qal “to cease” has highly varied concrete or abstract subjs.

Semantically related verbs include: *ʔps* qal “to cease, be at an end” (Gen 47:15f., money; Isa 16:4, oppressors, par. *klh* qal; 29:20, tyrant, par. *klh* qal; Psa 77:9, grace, par. *gmr* qal “to be at an end” (Psa 7:10; 12:2; 77:9), “to bring to an end” (Psa 57:3; 138:8; cf. O. Loretz, “Das hebräische Verbum GMR,” *BZ* 5 [1961]: 261–63); cf. → *tmm*, → *qēš*.

The neutral notion of “concluding” is often modified in various ways, first, positively in the sense of “to make ready, complete,” which primarily regards the conclusion as attainment of a pursued goal (Gen 2:2; 6:16); qal “to be completed, be fulfilled” is used esp. by the Chr (1 Chron 28:20, etc.). An expansion of meaning corresponding to Eng. “to be concluded, decided” occurs 4x (1 Sam 20:7, 9; 25:17; Esth 7:7, always with *rā‘â* “evil” as subj.;

contra L. Kopf, *VT* 9 [1959]: 284, on *klh* <sup>ʿel/ʿal</sup> in 1 Sam 25:17 and Esth 7:7: “to attain”); cf. 1 Sam 20:33, where the subst. *kālā* means a “concluded matter”; so also apparently Exod 11:1 “if his release is a settled matter.”

Almost as frequently, however, a negative estimation is attributed to the conclusion: pi. “to prepare an end” = “to annihilate,” qal “to perish” (Gen 41:30; Exod 32:10, 12). In this sense, the verb, esp. the qal, can function hyperbolically as a designation for an agonizing decline. In accord with the context, either a passionate desire and longing (Psa 84:3; Lam 4:17) or, even more frequently, a deprived state of oppression (Jer 14:6; Psa 69:4) assumes the foreground; cf. here too the adj. *kāleh* “languishing” in Deut 28:32.

The temporal aspect is totally repressed in the verbal abstract *kālā*; everywhere in the OT the word means “end” in the sense of “annihilation.” It is used once in the Qumran texts of a temporal cessation: <sup>ʿên</sup> *kālā* “without end” (1QH 5:34, = OT <sup>ʿên</sup> → *qēš*).

4. Theological usage employs the qal in rough equivalence to → <sup>ʿbd</sup> “to perish” in regard to the fate of the sinner. The pi. has God/Yahweh as subj. about 30x and occurs, with few exceptions, in the sense of “to annihilate” with a per. obj. In a few passages, chiefly in Ezek, *klh* pi. occurs with the “wrath” of God as the obj.: “to execute wrath” (Ezek 5:13; 6:12; 7:8; 13:15; 20:8, 21; Lam 4:11).

*kālā* is used twice of the divine word that is fulfilled (Ezra 1:1; 2 Chron 36:22; cf. Ezra 9:1 pi.; cf. otherwise → *qûm* hi. or → *mlʿ* pi.).

Neither the qal nor the pi. of the verb, nor the nom. forms, occur as specialized theological terms, e.g., for the final judgment.

5. On the NT cf. G. Delling, “τέλος,” *TDNT* 8:49–87 (esp. 62–64 on συντελέω). It becomes apparent that early Jewish and early Christian eschatology used *klh* much less than → *qēš*, which was apparently better suited to anchor an eschatologically oriented interpretation.

G. Gerleman

## כָּנָפַי *kānāp* wing

S 3671; BDB 489a; *HALOT* 2:486b; *TDOT* 7:229–31; *TWOT* 1003a; *NIDOTTE* 4053

1. The root \**kanap*- “wing” is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 212; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 274, 279; *ibid.* 23 [1968]: 283; Akk. *kappu*,

AHw 444; Ug. *knp*, WUS no. 1345; UT no. 1273; Yaudi and Imp. Aram. *knp*, DISO 123).

A denominative *knp* ni. “to hide (oneself)” occurs in Isa 30:20.

2. *kānāp* is attested 109x in the OT in its various forms and meanings (sg. 38x, dual 66x, fem. pl. 5x; Ezek 26x; 1 Kgs and Psa 12x each, 2 Chron 10x, Isa 7x). Most passages occur in writings of priestly authors or others interested in the temple (Gen 2x, only P; Exod 5x, 4x P; Lev 1x and Num 2x only P; 1 Kgs 6–8 and 2 Chron 3:11–13; 5:7f. 22x in the description of the wings of the temple cherubim; 16x in Ezek 1 and 10). Cf. also post-exilic occurrences in Hag, Zech, and Mal (in all 7x) in contrast to 1x (Hos) in the pre-exilic minor prophets (Isa 7x, 2 are non-Isaianic; absent from Deutero-Isa; Jer 3x).

3./4. (a) The OT discusses not only wings of birds (fig. Prov 23:5; on Isa 8:8 see the comms.; cf. Ezek 17:3, 7), but repeatedly also of mythological figures like the two-winged or four-winged (Ezek) cherubim mentioned in connection with the ark (Exod 25:20; 37:9; 1 Kgs 6; 2 Chron 3) and in Ezek (R. de Vaux, *MUSJ* 37 [1960–61]: 91–124; P. Dhorme and L. H. Vincent, *RB* 35 [1926]: 328–58; *BRL* 382–85), the six-winged serpentine seraphs (Isa 6:2), the four-winged creatures mentioned in Ezek 1, 3, and 10 (L. Dürr, *Ezechiels Vision von der Erscheinung Gottes [Ez c. 1 u. 10] im Lichte der vorderasiatischen Altertumskunde* [1917]; Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:81ff. on Ezek 1), and the winged female figures in Zech 5:9. Apart from the temple or tabernacle cherubim, winged mythological figures appear only in vision reports. Like the synonymous terms *k<sup>c</sup>rûb* “cherub” (2 Sam 22:11 = Psa 18:11; *BHH* 1:298f.) and *‘āb* “cloud” (Psa 104:3; → *‘ānān*), the “wings of the wind” mentioned in hymnic texts (2 Sam 22:11 = Psa 18:11; 104:3) indicate Yahweh’s vehicle used in the divine epiphany and are reminiscent of the wings of the south wind in the Adapa myth (*ANET* 101b; Hos 4:19 alludes to this mythological concept in a judgment saying). The “wings of the dawn” (Psa 139:9) may correspond to the beneficial wings of the rising “sun of righteousness” (Mal 3:20). In this text “the juristic usage of *šdq*, according to which the *šaddîq* who fears Yahweh’s name will be delivered in the execution of the final judgment, is combined with the usage of the root to designate the general state of well-being. The association with the sun takes up an ancient mythologoumenon, in which the sun god is often made the protector of justice and order” (H. H. Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung* [1968], 142). The motif of the winged sun may be traced through millennia in the graphic art of the Near East (O. Eissfeldt, “Die Flügelsonne als künstlerisches Motiv und als religiöses Symbol,” *FF* 18 [1942]: 145–47 = *KS* [1963], 2:416–19; *ANEP* nos. 281,

320f., 351, 442f., 447, 477, 486, 493, 532–36, 653, 705f., 855; *AOB* nos. 307–11, 331–33; *BRL* 338, no. 3). The question as to whether the picture of the “shadow under the wings” of Yahweh encountered particularly in individual laments (Psa 17:8; 57:2; 61:5; cf. also Psa 36:8; 63:8; in the didactic confession of Psa 91:4) and in Ruth 2:12 derives from the protective bird (cf. Deut 32:11; Isa 31:5; J. Hempel, *ZAW* 42 [1924]: 101–3) or whether it goes back in the final analysis to the notion of a winged god (*ANEP* nos. 526, 829; *AOB* nos. 35, 197, 258; F. C. Fensham, “Winged Gods and Goddesses in the Ugaritic Tablets,” *Oriens Antiquus* 5 [1966]: 157–64), should probably be decided in favor of the former alternative (cf. also Matt 23:37), esp. because the Ug. literature does not discuss the protective function of the gods’ wings. The assumption that this image involves only an original asylum confession in relation to the protective realm of Yahweh in the sanctuary symbolized by the cherubim’s wings (so Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:399, following von Rad, *Theol.* 1:402f.) seems uncertain despite Psa 36:8.

*ʿēber* (Exod 17:3 par. *kānāp*; Isa 40:31 and Psa 55:7 alone) and *ʿebrâ* (Deut 32:11; Psa 68:14; 91:4; Job 39:13, always par. *kānāp*) “wing” occur as poetic synonyms for *kānāp*; cf. also the denominative *ʿbr* hi. “to soar” (Job 39:26).

(b) In a broadened sense, *kānāp* refers to the fold of a garment. As a legal custom the man spreads it over the chosen bride (Ruth 3:9 txt em; Ezek 16:8; A. Jirku, *Die magische Bedeutung der Kleidung in Israel* [1914], 14ff.). The tassels (*šîšîṭ* Num 15:38f.; *g<sup>c</sup>dîlîm* Deut 22:12) on the four corners of the outer garment with the attached violet-purple cords originally had an apotropaic significance (P. Joüon, “*kānāf* ‘aile’, employé figurément,” *Bib* 16 [1935]: 201–4; R. Gradwohl, *Die Farben im AT* [1963], 71f.; Noth, *Num*, OTL, 117f.), but were reinterpreted in Yahwism as a reminder of the divine commandments (Num 15:39f.). In the apodictic prohibition in Deut 23:1 and in the ancient series of prohibitions in the Shechemite Dodecalogue in Deut 27:20, the uncovering of the corners of the father’s garment refers to marital relations with the stepmother (on similar prohibitions, cf. Lev 18 and K. Elliger, *ZAW* 67 [1955]: 1–25).

In combination with *hāʾāreš*, *kānāp* (pl. fem. cs. *kanpôt*) refers to the (four) corners or ends of the earth (Ezek 7:2; Isa 11:12; Job 37:3; 38:13; sg. Isa 24:16; only in late texts) and is used in analogy to—if not dependent on—the Akk. expression *kippat erbetti* (*AHw* 482b).

5. OT usage continues at Qumran (e.g., “wings of the wind,” 1Q35 19:3) and in the NT (*pteryx* as in LXX; protective, Matt 23:37 par. Luke 13:34; of heavenly figures, Rev 4:8; 9:9; 12:14).

כְּסִיל *k<sup>e</sup>sîl* fool

S 3684; BDB 493a; HALOT 2:489a; TDOT 7:264–69; TWOT 1011c; NIDOTTE 4067

1. If the root *ksl* originally meant “to be thick, fat” (cf. Arab. *kasila* “to be heavy”), as is generally suggested (see the lexicons), this basic meaning partially explains the accepted, semasiologically quite varied Hebr. derivatives (cf. also *SNHL* 37); it does not occur itself in Hebr., however.

*kesel* I “loins” approximates the corporeal “being fat” most closely (Lev 3:4, 10, 15; 4:9; 7:4; Psa 38:8; Job 15:27; cf. Dhorme 132f.; Ug. *ksl* “loins,” *WUS* no. 1357; *UT* no. 1280: “the back”). The fig. meaning, however, predominates entirely both in the positive and esp. in the negative sense (“heavy” > “sluggish” > “dumb, foolish”?; → <sup>wîl</sup> 1). *kesel* II sometimes means “confidence” (Psa 49:14 txt?; 78:7; Job 8:14; 31:24; Prov 3:26), sometimes “folly” (Eccl 7:25), and *kislâ* also sometimes “confidence” (Job 4:6) and sometimes “folly” (Psa 85:9 txt?; cf. also Psa 143:9 txt em). The single instance of the verb *ksl* qal “to be foolish” (Jer 10:8), the noun *k<sup>e</sup>sîlût* “folly” (Prov 9:13), and the noun *k<sup>e</sup>sîl* I (see 3), in particular, have solely negative connotations; similarly, *k<sup>e</sup>sîl* II describes the constellation “Orion as outrageous, insolent” (KBL 447b; Amos 5:8; Job 9:9; 38:31; pl. Isa 13:10; cf. Fohrer, *KAT* 16, 198, with bibliog.; G. R. Driver, *JTS* NS 7 [1956]: 1–11). Cf. also the PN *kislôn* (Num 34:21; *IP* 227: “heavy”).

The most important noun, in terms of frequency and meaning, is *k<sup>e</sup>sîl* I, which (contrary to Barth 44) also occasionally functions as an adj., “foolish” (Prov 10:1; 14:7; 15:20; 17:25; 19:13; 21:20; Eccl 4:13; cf. also 5:2, see comms.), but otherwise functions as a subst. “fool.” The formation *k<sup>e</sup>sîl* need not be understood either as a loanword (cf. BL 471), or as an Aramaism (so Meyer 2:28; more cautiously Wagner 122; cf. Barth 44; GKC 84ao).

2. The incidence of *k<sup>e</sup>sîl* I is remarkable: it occurs a total of 70x, all but 3x (Psa 49:11; 92:7; 94:8) in Prov (49x, only 4x in Prov 1–9, in contrast to 30x in the collection 10:1–22:16 and 11x in the profile of the fool in 26:1–12) and Eccl (18x).

Apart from the semantically distant *kesel* I (7x) and *k<sup>e</sup>sîl* II (4x), the root occurs a total of 80x (*ksl* qal 1x, *kesel* II 6x, *kislâ* 2x, *k<sup>e</sup>sîlût* (1x).

3. The per. term *k<sup>e</sup>sîl*, whose chief meaning is “fool; foolish,” exhibits

a pronounced wisdom usage. Whether it replaced the older → *nābāl* “fool” remains uncertain (cf. W. Caspari, *NKZ* 39 [1928]: 674f.; G. Bertram, *TDNT* 4:834); it is noteworthy, however, that the adj. usage as a modifier occurs precisely in the older portions of Prov; the determination of the subst. by the article occurs only in the late portions (11 of 18x). Thus a semasiologically significant development may be present: *k<sup>e</sup>sîl* gradually became a specific personality, in particular the opposite of the *ḥākām*, the “wise one” (→ *ḥkm*), of which *k<sup>e</sup>sîl* appears as the most important antonym (cf. U. Skladny, *Die ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel* [1962], 12, 21f., 33ff., 50f., 60f.; T. Donald, *VT* 13 [1963]: 285–92).

This contrast appears in Psa 49:11; Prov 3:35; 10:1; 13:20; 14:16, 24; 15:2, 7, 20; 21:20; 26:5; 29:11; cf. 10:23; 17:16; 28:26; as well as Eccl 2:14–16; 4:13; 6:8; 7:4f.; 9:17; 10:2, 12; other antonyms in Prov (in Eccl *ḥākām* predominates) are *nābôn* “insightful” (14:33; 15:14) and *mēbîn* “understanding” (17:10, 24; → *bîn*), *ʿarûm* “clever” (12:23; 13:16; 14:8); cf. also *sēkel* “insight” (23:9). Synonyms worthy of mention are *baʿar* “bestial, dumb” (Psa 49:11; 92:7; cf. 73:22; Prov 12:1; 30:2) and *bʿr qal* “to be bestial, dumb” (Jer 10:8; Psa 94:8), both words denominatives from *b<sup>e</sup>ʿr* “cattle”; in Prov: *p<sup>e</sup>tāyîm* “simpletons” (1:22, 32; 8:5; → *pth*), *lēšîm* “scoffers” (1:22; 19:29; cf. H. N. Richardson, *VT* 5 [1955]: 163–79), → *nābāl* “fool” (17:21; cf. W. M. W. Roth, *VT* 10 [1960]: 394–409, esp. 403: *nābāl* “is by his very fate an outcast”).

The derogatory characterization through these synonyms, which corresponds to the cynical impression of the profile of the fool in Prov 26:1–12, intensifies the negative image of the *k<sup>e</sup>sîl* offered elsewhere: the *k<sup>e</sup>sîl* is not silent like the “wise”; rather his mouth reveals his “foolishness” (→ *ʿwîl* 3; e.g., 12:23; 13:16; 14:7, 33; 15:2, 14; 18:2; 29:11, 20), and his false, evil (→ *raʿ*) heart (15:7; 19:1; cf. Eccl 10:2) leads others “into conflict” and is a “downfall” and “trap” for the *k<sup>e</sup>sîl* himself (18:6f.; cf. 10:18). He spreads evil gossip (10:18), is dangerous to his neighbors (13:20; 17:12), disdains his mother (15:20), is grief and misfortune for his parents (10:1; 17:21, 25; 19:13). He is useless (26:6; cf. v 10; Eccl 10:15b) and takes pleasure in acts of shame (Prov 10:23; 13:19). He hates “knowledge” (1:22; 18:2) and is “wise” in his own eyes (26:5, 12; 28:26), an attitude that only more sharply emphasizes his folly.

4. Last but not least, the thoroughly negative image of the *k<sup>e</sup>sîl* is theologically shaped and determined, as is already the case in the wisdom polarity of *k<sup>e</sup>sîl* and *ḥākām*, esp. because it corresponds to the contrast of *rāšāʿ* “evildoer”—who approximates the “fool”—and *ṣaddîq* “righteous” (see e.g., Prov 10:23; 15:7; Skladny, op. cit. 12, 21ff.), particularly in view of the fateful consequences of the attitudes and actions of the “fool.” Not only does he receive—from a social perspective—“shame” instead of honor

(3:35; cf. 26:1, 8; also 19:10) and is he dangerous for his neighbors (see 3), but he also ruins himself; his mouth is a downfall and trap for him (see 3), his folly is “deceit” (*mirmâ*, 14:8), his hybrid security ruins him (1:32 *ʿbd* pi.; cf. 14:16b). “Fools” can be called to reform (8:5), but more often such calls are declared futile because the “fool” is hopelessly bound to his “folly” (cf. 14:24; 17:10, 16; 23:9; 26:11). Thus his “folly” is a sinister power of evil and is, as such, also personified as “Lady Folly” (9:13 *k<sup>e</sup>sîlût*, cf. G. Boström, *Proverbiastudien* [1935]; G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* [1972], 166ff.).

5. The LXX primarily renders *k<sup>e</sup>sîl* with *aphrōn*, less often by *asebēs* and other terms; see G. Bertram, “*phrēn*,” *TDNT* 9:220–35; id., “*mōros*,” *TDNT* 4:832–47, where the meaning of the term in Judaism and the NT is treated further (cf. also W. Caspari, *NKZ* 39 [1928]: 668–95; U. Wilckens, *Weisheit und Torheit* [1959]).

M. Sæbø

## כעס *k<sup>ʿ</sup>s* to be angry

S 3707; BDB 494b; *HALOT* 2:491a; *TDOT* 7:282–88; *TWOT* 1016; *NIDOTTE* 4087

1. Outside Hebr. and Aram. (Imp. Aram.: Aḥ. 189 *k<sup>ʿ</sup>s* qal ptc., “Let him that is vexed be satisfied with bread,” Cowley 225; *AOT* 462; Jew. Aram.: Dalman 204b; Jastrow 656), the verb has no assured etymological counterparts. Reference is often made to Arab. *kašīʿa* “to be anxious” (e.g., KBL 449a), yet this relationship is uncertain. The root always denotes an excited emotion (J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT* [1955], 32–34). In addition to the verb (qal, pi., hi.), the subst. *ka<sup>ʿ</sup>as* “offense” occurs (written *ka<sup>ʿ</sup>aś* in Job).

2. *k<sup>ʿ</sup>s* qal occurs 6x, pi. 2x, hi. 46x (Jer 11x, 1 Kgs 10x, 2 Kgs 7x, Deut 5x); *ka<sup>ʿ</sup>as/ka<sup>ʿ</sup>aś* appears 25x. The root is absent from Gen–Num, Amos, Isa, and Deutero-Isa, but is preferred, in contrast, in Dtr and related literature; Hos, Jer, and Ezek use it, as do wisdom texts.

3. (a) The qal of the verb means “to be excited, angry.” Par. expressions are (2 Chron 16:10 with *ʿel* “concerning”; Eccl 7:9 alongside *rûaḥ* “spirit”) *ḥrh* qal “to be wrathful” (Neh 3:33) and *ḥrq* qal *šinnîm* “to grind one’s teeth” (Psa 112:10); in the latter case, the par. expressions describe the fate of the godless (in a wisdom psalm). The antonym of *k<sup>ʿ</sup>s* is *šqṭ* qal “to be calm” (Ezek 16:42). In Eccl 5:16 the subst. should be read instead of the verb.

The pi. means “to excite, offend”; the expression is used once in the interpersonal realm (1 Sam 1:6) and once for the relationship between Israel and God (Deut 32:21 par. → *qn*<sup>ʾ</sup> pi.; see 4).

The hi. has a meaning and usage similar to the pi. (cf. *HP* 68–70): offense among people (1 Sam 1:7) and offense against God by Israel (Hos 12:15 and frequently in the Dtr literature; see 4). Once Yahweh is the subj. of the verb; according to Ezek 32:9, Yahweh “excites the heart of many nations” through his judgmental activity against Egypt; other expressions are *šmm* hi. “to fill with horror” and (on the part of the horrified) *sʿr* “to shudder,” *hʿrd* “to shake.” The verb describes, then, a very intense emotional excitement.

(b) The subst. *kaʿas* occasionally appears with the verb as an intensifier (1 Sam 1:6; 1 Kgs 15:30; 2 Kgs 23:26). Once again, it describes offense between persons (1 Sam 1:6), and, more generally, despair (1 Sam 1:16 par. *šīah* “sorrow”). This meaning can be encountered in forms of the lament; *kaʿas* is classed with the burdens that the supplicant must bear (Psa 6:8; 10:14 par. *ʿāmāl* “hardship”). Job 6:2 and 17:7 are also cast in the diction of the individual lament (in 6:2 txt em par. *hawwâ* “misfortune”).

Conversely, the text can discuss God’s *kaʿas* directed against Israel (according to Deut 32:27 the enemies also contribute). The communal lament requests the end of divine animosity (Psa 85:5; cf. also Job 10:17 under the influence of the individual lament). Considerations of the relationship between divine *kaʿas* and human behavior always exhibit Dtr influence (Deut 32:19; 1 Kgs 15:30; 21:22; 2 Kgs 23:26; Ezek 20:28; see 4).

Wisdom literature sees *kaʿas* as a dangerous emotion; the fool’s *kaʿas* murders him (Job 5:12 par. *qinʾâ* “zeal”), the wise does not display it (Prov 12:16). Not only the subjective feeling but also the objective occasion for it is called *kaʿas*. Thus the foolish son is a *kaʿas* for the father (Prov 17:25 par. *memer* “annoyance”), as the fool is for the wise (Prov 27:3), and a wife can also become one (Prov 21:19).

(c) For semantically related roots, namely *šb* qal/pi. “to grieve” (qal 1 Kgs 1:6; Isa 54:6; 1 Chron 4:10; pi. Isa 63:10 “they grieved his holy spirit”; Psa 56:6 txt?; ni. “to harm oneself, sadden oneself,” 7x; hi. “to offend” Psa 78:40; hitp. “to feel offended” Gen 6:6; 34:7; in addition to various nom. derivatives, e.g., *ʿaššebet* “pain,” 5x) and *ygh* hi. “to grieve” (Isa 51:23; Job 19:2; in Lam 1:5, 12; 3:32 with Yahweh as subj.; likewise Lam 3:33 pi.; ni. ptcp. Zeph 3:18 txt?; Lam 1:4; *yāgôn* “trouble,” 14x; *tûgâ* “trouble,” 4x), see Scharbert (op. cit. 27–32, 35f.: “*ygh* refers to a deep psychological impact per se, and signifies a purely passive attitude of the effected person. *šb* is a transitive verb, *kʿs* intransitive. With *šb* the speaker depicts the corporeally or psychologically injurious objective experience, but also signifies, according to the context, resignation,

defensiveness, or wrath; but *k<sup>cs</sup>* communicates the emotional state directly, the bad mood, the agitation with a strong inclination to wrath, although it can also refer back to the cause of this mood, hostile intention, folly, or psychological pain, according to the context”; op. cit. 35f.)\*

4. Dtr diction, which uses the verb (in the hi., once in the pi.) to describe a human misdeed before God and his corresponding reaction, acquires a specifically theological significance. This Dtr theme is already prefigured in Hos (Hos 12:15 “Ephraim has bitterly offended! His bloodguilt burdens him, his Lord will repay him for his insults”; the verse is the summary conclusion of the series of sayings 12:1–15, an accusation that contains all the elements of the Hoseanic theology in contrast to the dominant Can. piety). Hosea’s original formulation becomes stereotypical in Dtr theology; various states of affairs are mentioned as objects of offense to Yahweh: service to other gods (Judg 2:12; 1 Kgs 22:54; 2 Kgs 17:11; 22:17), production of idols (Deut 4:25; 1 Kgs 14:9) and Asherahs (1 Kgs 14:15; 16:33), the construction of high places (2 Kgs 23:19), or, formulated more generally, deeds “that displease Yahweh,” “sins,” etc. (Deut 9:18; 31:29; 1 Kgs 15:30; 16:2, 7; 2 Kgs 17:17; 21:6, etc.).

All these circumstances revolve around the first and second commandments, the center of Dtr theology; violations are described as deliberate offenses against Yahweh, so that he is excited to wrath. Although Deut passages warn against such acts, the books of Kgs occasionally describe the effects of Yahweh’s excited indignation (in various contexts: 1 Kgs 16:2, 7, 13; 2 Kgs 17:11, 17; 21:15).

Jeremiah makes use of the same concept. Most Jer passages may be attributable to the Dtr redaction, yet two passages are genuine: In Jer 7:18f. the prophet contemplates what “offending God (through idolatry)” actually signifies for the people; he concludes that the Israelites harm themselves through such debasing actions. Thus an existing linguistic complex is interpreted from an anthropological perspective. The prophetic liturgy indicated in Jer 8:18ff. may also be authentic. Even if the expression “to offend Yahweh with images and foreign idols” is a Dtr formula (8:19), it still functions here in a critical dialogue with the Jerusalemite temple tradition, familiar in Jer (e.g., Jer 7), but not in the Dtr literature. Jer 11:17; 25:6f.; 32:29f., 32; 44:3, 8 can be attributed to the Dtr redaction of the book.

Ezekiel knows the same idiom. In 16:26 the formulation and sense are wholly under the influence of Dtr usage (it involves the cult of foreign gods and nature); 8:17 is somewhat different: the content of the “offense against God” is described here with expressions from priestly-cultic (*tô<sup>c</sup>ēbâ* “abomination”) and juristic (*hāmās* “injustice”) diction.

Other texts also use the expression in connection with the Dtr concept: Psa 78:58 (par. *qn<sup>o</sup>* hi.); 106:29; both of which involve the worship

of foreign gods, also in 2 Chron 28:35; 33:6; 34:25; in Neh 3:37 the “offense against God” consists not of idolatry but of other types of insubordination to Yahweh’s plans. Finally, the Dtr-influenced prophetic liturgy in Isa 64f. uses the expression in 65:3 in Yahweh’s response to the communal lament; here too the expression concerns idolatry.

The history of the motif of “offense against God” is difficult to trace. On the one hand, it is clear that the linguistic complex is known in prophecy (Hos, Jer, and Ezek; in the last two prophets the formulation is not stamped every time by Deuteronomistic influence); on the other hand, the motif has a place within Dtr theology. It should be noted, however, that in Deut itself the expression is rare, although it is more frequent in the (later) Dtr redactions of Judg and Kgs. One may conclude that the motif stems from prophetic circles (in the northern kingdom) and was adopted at some point by Dtr theology.

5. In early Judaism and in the NT, the theological usage of the “offense against God” described here is no longer encountered; other OT notions of the “wrath of God” (cf. O. Grether and J. Fichtner, “ὀργή,” *TDNT* 5:395–412) occupied the foreground (E. Sjöberg and G. Stählin, *ibid.* 412–47).

F. Stolz

### כפר *kpr* pi. to atone

S 3722; BDB 497a; *HALOT* 2:493b; *TDOT* 7:288–303; *TWOT* 1023; *NIDOTTE* 4105

1. (a) A number of investigations concerning the origin and meaning of the verb are available. The following are esp. thorough: D. Schötz, *Schuld- und Sündopfer im AT* (1930), 102–6; J. Herrmann, *TDNT* 3:302–10 (cf. *id.*, *Die Idee der Sühne im AT* [1905], 35–37); J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im AT* (1940), 59–66; L. Moraldi, *Espiazione sacrificale e riti espiatori nell’ambiente biblico e nell’AT* (1956), 182–221; S. Lyonnet, “De notione expiationis,” *VD* 37 (1959): 336–52; 38 (1960): 65–75 (on *kpr* pi.: 37 [1959]: 343–52); K. Koch, *Die isr. Sühneanschauung und ihre historischen Wandlungen* (1956); Elliger, *HAT* 4, 70f.

(b) In the attempt at an etymological explanation, neither association with a non-Hebr. word nor the analysis of the biblical evidence has yet lead to a generally accepted result. For the time being, it is not possible to decide finally between the two possible derivations from another Sem. language: Akk. *kuppuru* “to uproot, wipe away” and also “to cleanse

(cultically)“ (*AHw* 442f.) and Arab. *kfr* “to cover, hide” (*WKAS* 1:261–64; Lane 1/7:2620f.). The word is common in Arab. in the sense “to atone” only since Islamic times. Most assume a relationship between *kpr* pi. and Arab. *kfr* “to cover.” The notion underlying this relationship would be that sin is covered (thus e.g., Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 270 on Isa 6:7), or that the sinner must be covered against the effects of the sin-disaster sphere (Elliger, HAT 4, 71). Objections to the derivation from Akk. *kuppuru* arise from ostensibly weak support in the OT evidence (according to Stamm, op. cit. 62, only the problematic passage Isa 28:18; see 3g); yet comparative materials would be much more extensive if more consideration were given to the notion of cleansing associated with *kpr* pi.; according to Lev 14:19; 16:18f.; Ezek 43:26, etc. “atonement” is simultaneously a cleansing (in an exhaustive comparison with Bab. concepts, Moraldi, op. cit. 184–92, esp. emphasized this point). Often cited as the strongest OT support for the basic meaning “to cover” are Gen 32:21 (esp. in comparison with Gen 20:16) and Jer 18:23 (cf. Neh 3:37). Nevertheless, an argument against the meaning “to cover” also derives from Gen 32:21 (Jacob wants [lit.] to “atone” Esau’s face): it could not have this sense here, because the statement that Jacob wants to see Esau’s face follows immediately (cf. J. Herrmann, *TDNT* 3:304). The discussion concerning this passage demonstrates the speculative nature of such inferences regarding an original meaning. The observation that Neh 3:37 cites Jer 18:23 and replaces *kpr* pi. with the verb *ksh* pi. “to cover” is noteworthy.

A third option is the derivation of the verb from the old subst. *kōper* “ransom,” etc. (see c below); it is usually refuted with reference to the observation that *kōper* has nothing to do with the cultic realm and should more likely be regarded as a secondary derivation from *kpr* pi. (before its cultic fixation).

The Ug. texts have not yet clarified the etymological explanation of *kpr* pi. (*UT* no. 1289; *WUS* no. 1369; *kpr* “Cyprus blossom[?]”). The significance of examples in NWSem. is also uncertain (*DISO* 126). In later Mid. Hebr. and Jew. Aram. texts—as in Islamic Arab.—OT concepts dominate.

(c) The subst. *kippūrîm* “atonement” derives from *kpr* pi. It is limited to P (Exod 29:36; 30:10, 16; Num 5:8; 29:11, and in the phrase *yôm kippūrîm* “day of Atonement,” Lev 23:27f.; 25:9; as in this term, *kippūrîm* occurs only in cs. relationships, apart from Exod 29:36, “for the atonement”: “sin offering/ money/ram of atonement”).

The Covenant Code and Amos already use *kōper*, probably also derived from *kpr* pi.; it is at home in civil law and signifies “reparation, ransom” (Exod 21:30; 30:12; Num 35:31f.; Isa 43:3; Psa 49:8; Job 33:24; 36:18; Prov 6:35; 13:8; 21:18) or “bribe” (1 Sam 12:3; Amos 5:12).

The derivation of *kappōret* from *kpr* pi. is dubious. *kappōret* in the OT is a specialized term for the platform with two cherubim located above the ark; it occurs a total of 27x, only in P (Exod 25–31; 35–40; Lev 16; and Num 7:89), except for 1 Chron 28:11. It seems to have originally been not the lid of the ark (Exod 25:17, 21) but an independent sanctuary (it is not mentioned in 1 Kgs 8).

(d) The hapax legomena *kōper* “asphalt” and *kpr* qal “to coat with asphalt” in Gen 6:14 represent another root; it has precise equivalents in Akk. (also in Gilg. XI:65, upon which Gen 6:14 is in some way dependent): *kapāru* II “to coat with asphalt” (AHw 443a), a denominative from *kupru* “asphalt” (AHw 509).

Aram. knows an additional root *kpr*, to which *kāpār* (Song Sol 7:12; cf. Gerleman, BK 18, 207; 1 Chron 27:25) and *kōper* (1 Sam 6:18) “village” may be traced at any rate (cf. Wagner nos. 134f.). *kōper* in the meaning “cyprus blossom” or “panicle” (Song Sol 1:14; 4:13; cf. Gerleman, BK 18, 111f.) should be associated with Gk. *kypros*. Finally, *k<sup>c</sup>pîr* “young lion” (→ *אֵי*. “covered with a mane?”), as well as *k<sup>c</sup>pôr* “goblet” (Ezra 1:10; 8:27; 1 Chron 28:17) and *k<sup>c</sup>pôr* “ripe” (Exod 16:14; Psa 147:16; Job 38, 29) are also involved in speculation concerning the etymology of *kpr* pi.

2. The verb occurs 101x in the OT, 92x pi. (Lev 49x, Num 15x, Exod 7x, Ezek 6x), 7x pu. (Isa 4x), and 1x each hitp. (1 Sam 3:14) and nitp. (Deut 21:8). Almost 3/4 of all instances appear in P (70x pi., 2x pu.); the others are divided among Ezek (6x), Isa (5x, pi. only 47:11), Deut, Psa, and Chron 3x each, E (Gen 32:21; Exod 32:30), Sam, Prov 2x each, Jer, Dan, and Neh 1x each. Thus the ratio of pre-exilic to exilic and post-exilic passages is 1:10.

3. *kpr* pi. in the meaning “to atone” is always resultative in the OT (“never used to describe a current process, rather always with a view to the result to be achieved,” *HP* 241). The grammatical construction of the verb is treated here first (a), then its usage in P (b-e), in Ezek (f), and in the remaining texts (g).

(a) In P the verb is constructed 53x with *al*. The subj. is usually the priest; in most cases, the prep. points to an individual or a group to be atoned and corresponds—if *kpr* pi. is rendered “to effect atonement”—to Eng. “for” (or to the dative; GKC §119bb; BrSynt 106f.).

In the phrase “the priest effects atonement for him” (Lev 4:26, 31, 35; 5:6, 10, 13, 18, 26; 14:18, 20; 15:15; 19:22), which occurs 12x—together with the following “so he will be forgiven”—R. Rendtorff (*Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel* [1967], 230) sees the “Grundform” or basis of the *ḥattāʾt* and *ʾāšām* rituals.

P associates *kpr* pi. *al* with the altar 6x (Exod 29:36f.; 30:10[bis] [horns of the altar and altar]; Lev 8:15; 16:18), once with the temple (*qōdeš* and *ʾōhel mōʿēd*, Lev

16:10), and once with the house cleansed from leprosy (Lev 14:53). Lev 16:10 directs that the goat be presented live before Yahweh “in order to effect atonement for it (the scapegoat)”; this is “senseless” (Elliger, HAT 4, 201). It could be interpreted, however, as “in order to carry out the atonement rites through it”; this expression would, however, be formally and substantively unusual; the passage is usually regarded as secondary.

Less often, P construes *kpr* with other preps.: with *ba<sup>ca</sup>d* “for” (6x), with *be* and *ʔet* (3x each), or without an obj.

The construction *kpr cal* does not occur in a clear majority in any other document or group of documents. Rather, the various constructions occur in a remarkable variety; no consistency may be demonstrated, therefore, if only because of the sparsity of instances, although it is noteworthy that one passage in Neh and two in Chron are formulated identically, that E uses only the cohortative, and Isa (except for Deutero-Isa, 47:11) only the pu. The attempt to determine the specific age of individual phrases must also be criticized.

(b) The formula “the priest effects atonement for him” (pf. cons. + *cal*) is a fixed component of the sacrificial law in Lev 4:1–5:13. The sacrifice must be offered if one has intentionally sinned against a commandment (prohibition) of Yahweh (4:2). The law regulates the ceremony for the four different cases of a transgression of the “anointed (= high) priest” (4:3–12), of the Israelite community (4:13–21), of the “ruler” (*nāšîʔ*, 4:22–26), and of all other Israelites (4:27–35); three appendixes provide for lighter transgressions (imprudent silence and speech and—in the first instance unconscious—defilement, 5:1–6), for the poor (5:7–10), and the poorest (5:11–13). The final five of these seven pericopes end with the cited formula supplemented by “and he will be forgiven” (the pl. is used instead of the sg. in the second pericope, 4:20, as dictated by the sense; the passage is absent from directions for the *ḥattāʔt* of the high priest).

The ceremony provides for: presentation of the animal (cattle, sheep, or goat; for the poor, two doves or vegetables) at the entrance of the tent, laying on of hands and slaughter (by the presenter), sevenfold sprinkling with blood “before Yahweh” at the curtain of the sanctuary, and smearing the incense altar with blood, as well as pouring the rest of the blood on the base of the burnt sacrifice altar, separation and burning of the fat, and the removal of the carcass from the camp (all by the priest). If everything is executed properly, “the priest” will have “effected atonement” for the one presenting the sacrifice and “he will be forgiven.”

From this sequence of formalities one may not infer what notion of the process of atonement the lawgiver, priest, and presenter had. Newer, mutually conflicting hypotheses demonstrate only that the text does not convey what one might like to learn from it. The *waw* cons. in *wekipper* must not have the sense of “thereby,” an observation that could imply that

only the legitimate execution of the procedure effects atonement. With reference to the rites, the broadest concessions are made for the poor; even the blood ritual is omitted in the sacrifice of the poorest (5:11–13). This state of affairs does not argue for belief in an atonement *ex opere operato*. One ought not therefore deduce from the text that the one making sacrifice transfers his sin by means of laying on the hands to the animal and that it dies vicariously (so P. Volz, *ZAW* 21 [1901]: 93–100; K. Koch, *EvT* 26 [1966]: 217–39). The rite is usually explained otherwise today: the sacrificer is required to participate personally (B. J. van der Merwe, “Laying on of the Hands in the OT,” *OuTWP* [1962]: 34–43); the gesture is a “solemn attestation that this victim comes from this particular individual who is laying his hands on it” (de Vaux 2:416); on the earlier discussion see E. Lohse, *Die Ordination im Spätjudentum und im NT* (1951), 23f. But no indication is given concerning a required humility, remorse, or repentance of the one for whom atonement is made. It is presupposed, however, that he is aware of his guilt. That atonement (and forgiveness) depends upon God must be inferred from the constantly repeated “before Yahweh” (and the pass. “he will be forgiven,” → *slh*; cf. H. Thyen, *Studien zur Sündenvergebung* [1970], 34f.).

(c) The construction *kpr* pi. pf. *ʿal* occurs, then, 4x in regulations for declaring the one healed of leprosy clean (Lev 14:18, 20 and 14:19, 31). The complicated procedure in Lev 14:1–20 prescribes 16 individual rites; the most important are manipulations of blood and oil, washings, a total shave, and sacrifice (→ *thr*). The pericope ends with the clause “thus the priest effects atonement for him and he is clean.” The contraction of leprosy also requires atonement (Moraldi, *op. cit.* 203–9, also recognizes in P and Ezek affinities to the notion of cleansing). Most of these rites have no ties to the notion of substitution. The one cleansed from a bodily emission is likewise obligated to cleansing and sacrifice: “thus the priest effects atonement for him on account of his emission” (Lev 15:15); intercourse with a slave betrothed to another requires a guilt offering of a goat, which effects atonement (Lev 19:22); the Nazirite who is near someone who dies suddenly has “sinned” through the corpse and must be atoned for through cutting the hair, sin offering, and guilt offering (Num 15:25).

(d) Next, an overview of the impf., inf., and impv. forms with *ʿal* in P may be offered, with the exceptions of Lev 16 and 17:11. Lev 5:16 gives rise to objections that the necessity of compensation plays a role in the notion of atonement. Whoever sins intentionally against sanctuary property must bring a ram as guilt offering and must replace that which was misappropriated with a 20% surcharge. Num 5:7f. refers to the same obligation. The removal of sin, purification, and atonement are prerequisites for service as a Levite (Num 8:21); Aaron atones for the people with fire

from the altar in his censer (Num 17:12), as Moses had charged him to do (Num 17:11); Phinehas made atonement for the people with his spear (Num 25:13). The inf. with *ʿal* occurs in Lev 1:4 (often eliminated as an addition to the burnt offering law); 8:34; and 10:17 (of priests' cultic obligations by which the priests effect atonement for themselves and for the community); 14:21, 29 (eased regulations for the purification of the needy, which also effect complete atonement, nonetheless); 23:28 (atonement through the Day of Atonement; see f); Num 8:12, 19 (the Levites are atoned for by sin offering and burnt offering and should effect atonement for the Israelites through service in the tent of meeting); Num 15:28 (a goat as sin offering for various transgressions); 28:22, 30 and 29:5 (a ram as sin offering for atonement at the feasts of Passover, Firstfruits, and New Year's). *ʿal nepeš* "for the life" also appears in Exod 30:15f. (blood money during the census "to atone for your lives"; von Beer, HAT 3, 148, regards this as a secondary addition; cf., however, E. Speiser, "Census and Ritual Expiation in Mari and Israel," *BASOR* 149 [1958]: 17–25) and Num 31:50 (out of gratitude [!] for the fact that no one has fallen in the battle with the Midianites, the leaders bring a sacrifice [*qorbān*] of jewels "to atone for our lives"). The fact that atonement's intention to dedicate, to sanctify, for Yahweh stands alongside the intention to reestablish a destroyed relationship with God may be deduced from prescriptions for the atonement of the altar (Exod 29:36f.; 30:10; Lev 8:15; 16:18); sanctuary and tent are not to be accountable for the impurity and infidelity of the Israelites, but they must nevertheless be atoned for (Lev 16:16); so also the house cleansed from leprosy (Lev 14:53).

*kpr* pi. with *baʿad* "for" occurs, apart from Lev 16 (4x; see e) only twice in Lev 9:7 (beyond P only in Ezek 45:17); in all passages P uses this construction exclusively of the atonement of the priesthood and the people. *kpr* pi. occurs with *be* "with, through" in Lev 7:7 ("thereby" e.g., with the guilt sacrifice), 17:11b (see e), and pu. pf. in Exod 29:33 (the priests are atoned for through the portions of the ordination sacrifice apportioned to them and consumed by them). *kpr* pi. with *ʾet* occurs only 3x in P in Lev 16 (see e), *kpr* without obj. in Lev 6:23 (yet the clause states that the blood of the sin offering atones), Num 35:33 (pu. impf.; the land participates in the sin of one who shed blood only through the blood), and 3x in Lev 16 (vv 17a, 27, 32).

(e) In Lev 16 *kpr* pi. occurs 16x (vv 6, 10, 11, 16, 17[bis], 18, 20, 24, 27, 30, 32, 33[3x], 34). The continuous variations of the construction (even within the various layers that may be posited, e.g., the three Elliger suggests) is remarkable: 6x with *ʿal*, 4x with *baʿad*, 3x with *ʾet*, and 3x without obj. Vv 1–19 deal with the atonement procedure. Aaron must present a bull as a sin offering and a goat as a burnt offering, the people two rams as a sin offering and a goat as a burnt offering. With the

presentation of the bull, Aaron effects atonement for himself and his house (vv 6, 11). One of the rams is chosen by lot for Yahweh and one for Azazel (vv 7f.). “To effect atonement for him” in v 10 is usually regarded as secondary (see a). Aaron is to bring incense into the holy of holies (cf. Num 17:12) and is to sprinkle blood of both his bull and the people’s *ḥaṭṭāʾt*-ram seven times on the *kappōret* (vv 12–15); thus he effects atonement for the sanctuary and the tent of meeting (v 16). No one other than he may be in the sanctuary during this process; he effects atonement for himself, his house, and the entire Israelite community (v 17). Afterward, he also effects atonement through the blood ceremony for the altar of burnt sacrifice (v 18) and purifies and sanctifies it (v 19). The expulsion of the scapegoat into the wilderness follows (vv 20–28). The beginning of this pericope explicitly indicates the conclusion of the atonement ritual. The scapegoat ritual is therefore independent. V 24 speaks of the atonement for Aaron and the people through the two burnt sacrifices; and in the regulations concerning the removal of the carcass, v 26 once again mentions the atoning power of the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* in retrospect; vv 29–34 (“final redaction”) speak in summary fashion of the atonement procedures; here the commandment concerning “penance” (→ *ḥh* II pi.) and the complete cessation of labor on this Day of Atonement (vv 29, 31) are new.

The text does not justify the explanation of the expulsion of the scapegoat as a vicarious atonement by means of the animal; it concerns a rite of elimination, attested repeatedly in the OT (Lev 14:7, 53; Zech 5:5–11) and clearly also in Hitt. substitution rituals (H. M. Kümmel, *Ersatzrituale für den hethitischen König* [1967], 191–95, etc.; id., *ZAW* 80 [1968]: 289–318, esp. 310f.). The atonement process reaches its climax in the the sprinkling of the blood of the sin offering on the *kappōret* (vv 14–16) and the altar (vv 18f.).

The central significance of the treatment of the blood in the atonement rites is explained in Lev 17:11: “The life of the flesh is in the blood, and I myself have given it to you as a rite of the altar, so that you may effect atonement for yourselves; for it is the blood that atones through the life” (the 1st per. sg. speech of Yahweh, which is inconsistent with legal style, indicates a secondary—homiletical—expansion; cf. H. Reventlow, *Das Heiligkeitsgesetz* [1961], 47). This text provides the foundation for the prohibition of the consumption of blood; there are two grounds: (1) life is in the blood, (2) the blood and the life inherent in it are designated for purposes of atonement. The former may still betray the aversion to the primitive inclination to incorporate the life of others; the idea of the second, that the blood (subj.!) atones through the life (*bannepesš*), seeks to explain the atonement process. Yet the key to the ancient Israelite concept of atonement has not yet been given. Atonement procedures described in the

OT do not confirm the statement made in Lev 17:11; one may not deduce from them that the intention of the blood rite is to return life to Yahweh in order to effect atonement. If this notion were the general conviction, no other atonement rite would have been necessary. The importance of the blood ceremony for atonement is beyond doubt; but one can judge Lev 17:11 only an insufficient—apparently very late—attempt to explain the ancient Israelite institution of atonement (cf. D. J. McCarthy, “Symbolism of Blood and Sacrifice,” *JBL* 88 [1969]: 166–76, esp. 169f.).

(f) In contrast to P, Ezek 40–48 also regards *minḥâ* “oblation” and *šelem* “peace offering” to be atoning sacrifices (Ezek 45:15, 17), as well as *ʿolâ* “burnt sacrifice,” which P expressly incorporates in the atonement law only in Lev 1:4bβ, which is often held to be secondary. The atonement idea was even more prominent in the cult. According to Ezekiel’s “written program,” the altar (Ezek 43:20, 26), Israel (45:15, 17), the intentional and unintentional individual sinner, and the temple (45:20) must be atoned for. “Atonement (must) be effected” for the altar on the day in which it is erected (43:18). Although *ḥṭ’* pi. “to remove sin” and *ṭhr* pi. “to cleanse” (43:26) are used in addition to *kpr* pi., one is reminded of the notion of an act of dedication. It involves less a cleansing or removal of sin as such than an accommodation of the locale to Yahweh’s holiness. The chief agent should be the addressee, the *ben-ʾādām*, “(son of) man”; the priests assist. The central ritual is the application of the blood of the sin offering to the altar. Ezek 45:13–17 treats the *tʿrûmâ* “dedicatory gift” to the *nāšîʾ* “prince, ruler,” who as lord of the sacrifice presents the sacrifice from it (*nāšîʾ* may be a later insertion; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:478). All sacrifices atone for Israel (*ḥaṭṭāʾt* and *ʾāšām* are not mentioned here). Ezek 45:19 legislates the atonement of the house (of the temple) by smearing the doorposts with *ḥaṭṭāʾt* blood. V 18 cursorily discusses the purification of the sanctuary on the 1st day of the 1st month; v 20 begins, “So should you also do on the 7th day of the month” (on the change to the 1st day of the 7th month, which would result in the year having two days of atonement in the 1st and 7th months, cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:483), and continues, “on account of those who sin intentionally and unintentionally, and you should effect atonement for the (temple-) house” (apparently inserted).

In Ezek 1–39, *kpr* pi. occurs only once (16:63): through the establishment of a new, eternal covenant (16:60–62) God makes atonement for those who violate covenant.

(g) A review of the remaining 22 instances according to who grants atonement, and through whom, by what means, for what reason, and for whom it is effected, indicates that the Chr’s history conforms to the image

derived from P and Ezek (1 Chron 6:34; 2 Chron 29:24; 30:18; Neh 10:34). Yahweh grants atonement (2 Chron 30:18), the agents are the priests, the medium is the blood ceremony, the beneficiary Israel. The account concerning Hezekiah accentuates the activity of the king: he gives impetus to the purification of the temple (2 Chron 29:5), to the sacrifice of atonement, and to the atonement itself (vv 21, 23f.); and he asks Yahweh to grant atonement for the celebration of Passover contrary to the law, without prior purification (30:18). 1 Sam 3:14 alludes to the possibility of atonement through *zēbah* “animal sacrifice” and *minḥā* “oblation.”

Seven texts treat atonement purely as an act of God. Human action (besides prayer and contrition) is not considered, apparently because it is inconsequential. Three Psalm texts belong in this category. If guilt becomes too great, Yahweh intervenes and “atones” (65:4); that later in the psalm the temple and the courts (moreover, the entire creation) are discussed does not prove that this procedure involves a cultic rite (so K. Koch, *EvT* 26 [1966]: 225f.). Psa 78:38 (“he atoned for the guilt because he is merciful”) and 79:9 (“deliver us and atone for our sins”) also exclude such a possibility. *kpr pi.* should be translated contextually in these passages as “to forgive” (examined in great detail by J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im AT* [1940], and S. Herner, *Sühne und Vergebung in Israel* [1942]).

Moses (Exod 32:30) wants to effect “atonement” (= forgiveness; cf. v 32 *nšʿ*) for the people with Yahweh on account of their great sin. He offers his life but not as a substitute; instead, he demands of God: if you do not forgive them, then strike my life also from the book. Through vengeance against Israel’s oppressors (Deut 32:43) and through smashing the foreign cults (Isa 27:9) Yahweh atones for “the land (txt em) of his people” and the guilt of Jacob. Dan 9:24 treats eschatological atonement.

The last two occurrences stem from the Maccabean era; Psa 79 is surely exilic or post-exilic; discussion concerning the age of the other passages is open. That witnesses indisputably from the later period understand atonement as the sole act of God argues against the notion that P’s atonement ritual transmits all the essentials of the post-exilic atonement concept.

Isa 28:18 *wekuppar* (pf. cons. with acc. obj. without *ʔet*) is not taken into account here. It may have the meaning “to lift up, remove” (“your covenant with death”). Although it is a pass. construction, the context indicates that Yahweh is the sole actor. The text is usually emended following the Tg. to *wʿtūpar* “will be broken” (*pr* ho.).

Four texts negate prospects for atonement. According to God’s oath, the guilt of Eli’s house cannot be atoned by any means (1 Sam 3:14); it is revealed to the prophet that lukewarm inattention to Yahweh will not be atoned (Isa 22:14); Jeremiah prays that the guilt of his oppressors may

remain unatoned (Jer 18:23); Deutero-Isaiah announces to Babylon that it cannot “atone” for (= avert) its destruction (*hōwâ* Isa 47:11).

According to three old texts, the conferral of atonement is independent of ritual procedures. Because of an unsolved murder, the elders of the nearest city must slaughter a young cow in an uncultivated valley with a perpetual water source (an old cultic site?); they must wash their hands and pray to Yahweh that he may atone for his people and not lay the guilt upon them (Deut 21:8[bis]).

By means of the slaying of the seven Saulides, David effects atonement and averts Yahweh’s wrath against the land (2 Sam 21:3; cf. v 14; see W. Preiser, “Vergeltung und Sühne im altisraelitischen Strafrecht,” FS Schmidt 7–38, who also interprets this text in a juristic investigation, judges that the repeal of the “private regulation” and the subordination of all atonement procedures under sacral penal law represents “a remarkable exception” in the ancient Near East [p. 38]). Isaiah, who fears death because, as an unclean individual, he has seen Yahweh, must be atoned for through the seraph’s miraculous deed (Isa 6:7).

“Atonement” is an interpersonal process on three occasions in the OT. Jacob wants to “atone” Esau’s “countenance” with gifts, i.e., to placate or appease (Gen 32:21); Prov teaches that one can “atone for” (= repay) a debt through goodness and faithfulness (*b<sup>h</sup>hesed we<sup>c</sup>met*, Prov 16:6) and that a wise man can “atone for” (= appease) the king’s wrath (16:14); 16:6 could refer to a relationship with God.

The fourth Servant Song in Deutero-Isa, which does not use the stem *kpr*, characterizes the representative suffering of the Servant as an atoning guilt offering (→ *ʾāšām*). The atoning power of voluntary vicarious suffering has been experienced, therefore; yet this testimony is unique in the OT (cf. G. Fohrer, “Stellvertretung und Schuldopfer in Isa 52,13–53,12 vor dem Hintergrund des AT und des Alten Orients,” *Das Kreuz Jesu* [1969], 7–31).

4. The most important results of the overview of the *kpr* passages in the OT may be summarized in the following statements (forgoing the attempt at a self-contained atonement theory):

(a) God is the decisive actor, the grantor of atonement. This claim is not expressly made in P’s sacrifice rituals, but one may deduce it with certainty and it was probably never seriously questioned. It also emerges clearly from passages in Deut, Sam, the Prophets, and Psa. The eschatological witnesses bring it to its most forceful expression (Ezek 16:63; Dan 9:24). Even where the syntax prevents one from discerning it at first sight, there can be no question about it; Lev 4–5: the priest effects atonement, God grants it; Lev 17:11: the blood atones (through the life), but God has given it and designated it for the purposes of atonement. Only the

two passages that concern a purely interpersonal behavior (Gen 32:21; Prov 16:14) do not attribute “atonement” to God. The attribution of atonement to God, then, involves no essential difference between the oldest and the latest texts. It follows that the atonement process cannot be fully transparent and rational for the Yahweh worshiper; God remains free to decide.

(b) The impetus for the atonement enterprise is not only the desire to reestablish an acutely disturbed relationship with God, but also the Yahweh worshiper’s own awareness of being unworthy of relationship with God, of being constantly in need of being equipped for encounter with God. Thus the atonement ceremonies became a fixed institution not only of the Day of Atonement but also of the feasts of Passover, Firstfruits, and New Year’s (Num 28:22, 30; 29:5). Installation and service of the priests and Levites require atonement, purification, and healing (Lev 8:34; Num 8:21). Anyone unauthorized and unqualified who touches the altar, which has become most holy through atonement rites, shall “fall to the sanctuary” (Exod 29:37). One may approach God only with the appropriate attitude and preparation, which are attained through atonement (Isa 6:7).

(c) “Atonement” can refer to a dedication to Yahweh, for which one can hardly posit a genuine or logical relation with a removal of sin. This claim may be made of the “atonement” of the newly erected altar (Ezek 43:18), but may also be the sense of the “atonement” of the temple (Ezek 45:19), the tent, and the holy of holies (Lev 16:16), although the impurities and transgressions of the Israelites are under discussion here.

(d) An effort is required of the one seeking atonement. It is not demonstrably an attempt at self-redemption, but it is renunciation and sacrifice. For the harmless, unconscious, or unintentional transgressions that occur daily (Lev 5:1–5), the individual should offer a sheep or a goat (5:6); the recovered leper who seeks atonement must deliver an additional three lambs to the priest (Lev 14:10f.). Whoever is guilty of misappropriating sanctuary property (Lev 5:15) must bring the value of a ram and the misappropriation with a surcharge of 20% in order to be atoned.

(e) Atonement is not only in the interests of the community, but also of the individual. Collective and individual transgressions are precisely distinguished (Num 15:26f. and the sin offering ritual). The currently popular hypothesis, that the sphere of the individual’s unatoned guilt-disaster threatened the entire people and land like a decimating epidemic or nuclear contamination and that the community must insist on continuous atonement, is difficult to maintain. Although the Elides, for example, were not exterminated, not even removed entirely from altar service (1 Sam 2:33), their guilt would remain unatoned according to God’s oath (1 Sam 3:14). The concern that the entire community could be in danger of falling

because of this guilt leaves no trace. The recovered leper may return once again to the community (the camp) during purification yet prior to atonement, but he may not enter the tent (Lev 14:8, 20), a fact that also fails to indicate any fear of burdening the community.

(f) Whoever undertakes the process of atonement indicates thereby an awareness of the necessity for atonement. The rituals are silent concerning how the process of atonement is set in motion. Lev 5:2–4 enumerate purely private matters, of which often only the one involved could have been aware. He must have set the atonement process into motion himself in these cases. The situation in the Psa passages and Isa 6:7 is clear.

(g) The individual participated consciously in the atonement process. One may draw this conclusion even from the rituals whose main concern is the establishment of the rites. According to Lev 5:5 the one seeking atonement must confess (*ydh hitp.*); self-mortification is elevated to an eternal statute (Lev 16:29 “you shall afflict yourselves,” so Noth, *Lev*, OTL, 116). According to Exod 32:30, Deut 21:8, the Psa passages, and 2 Chron 30:18, lament, supplication, and prayer belong together with atonement.

(h) It is unlikely that atonement was perceived essentially as transferal of guilt upon the animal to be slaughtered. All the atonement procedures in the atonement regulations in P and in Ezek, which required no animal, contradict this notion (Num 17:11f.; Lev 5:11–13; Ezek 45:15, 17). The broad range of usage of the word in P is also indicated by the fact that it refers once to a “registration fee” (Exod 30:15f.) and once to a thank offering (Num 31:50). Most instances outside P do not envision the slaughter of an animal as a requirement for atonement (Ezek 32:30; Deut 32:43; the Isa and the Psa texts; the eschatological witnesses).

5. The institution of atonement, as represented in P and Ezek 40–48, shaped Judaism for half a millennium. Instead of *kpr pi.*, the extracanonical Gk. texts—like the LXX—usually use *hilaskesthai*. According to common belief, the atoning sacrifice produces the strongest effects (*Jub.* 6:2, 14; 50:11; Pr Azar 17; 2 Macc 3:33); even the slain could be redeemed from their sins through an atonement sacrifice (2 Macc 12:45). Sir emphasizes Aaron’s assignment to effect atonement for Israel and Phinehas’s atoning deed (Sir 45:16, 23; cf. Koch, *Sühneanschauung* 99ff.). The possibility of atonement through representative suffering was perceived (4 Macc 6:29; 17:22).

Pharisaism too participated in this belief, although limitations were already made in the early period (*b. Ber.* 55a; *Yoma* 5a; *Sûabb* 5b); both *kpr qal* “to cover, deny” and *kpr pi.* “to forgive, appease, atone” are very common (*WTM* 2:383–85; Aram. pe. “to deny, wipe off” and pa. “to atone,” *ibid.* 385f.).

To date, 27 instances of *kpr pi.* have been identified in the published

texts at Qumran (Kuhn, *Konk.* 105; addenda RQ 4 [1963]: 202). Atoning sacrifices were not fundamentally rejected (1QS 9:6f.); yet the condition is membership in the Qumran community—only it can atone (1QS 5:6f.). In addition to conservative statements, the demand for a replacement of the bloody sacrifice by the “wave offering of the lips” appears (1QS 9:4f.; cf. 4QTL<sup>Levi</sup> 3:6 “the bloodless sacrifice of words”; cf. S. Lyonnet, *VD* 37 [1959]: 349–52; H. Braun, *Qumran und das NT* 1/2 [1966], esp. 2:220f., 315).

This claim is not sectarian; rather, it appeared with increasing emphasis in the whole of Judaism prior to 70 CE; this development was certainly influenced by the ascendance of Pharisaism. The collapse of the sacrificial apparatus barely disturbed Judaism; rather, it blossomed anew in the Tannaitic period. Atonement is effected through repentance, prayer, fasting, and almsgiving; without them, cultic rites are ineffective (Sir 3:30; Tob 4:10f.; *m. Yoma* 8:8f.; }Abot R. Nat 4:2; cf. J. Schmid, “Sünde und Sühne im Judentum,” *Bibel und Leben* 6 [1965]: 16–26).

On the NT, cf. J. Herrmann and F. Büchsel, “ἵλεως,” *TDNT* 3:300–323.

F. Maass

## כרת *krt* to cut off

S 3772; BDB 503b; *HALOT* 2:500b; *TDOT* 7:339–52; *TWOT* 1048; *NIDOTTE* 4162

1. *krt* occurs beyond Hebr. and Phoen. (a 7th-cent. BCE incantation from Arslan Tash [= *KAI* no. 27; *ANET* 658b], ll. 8f., 10) in Akk. (*AHW* 448b, 451b: *karātu* “to cut off,” etc., verbal adj. *kartu* “cut up”) and in Tigre (Littmann-Höfner 401a: *karta* “to come to an end”).

On the basis of the context, Moab. *krty* and pl. subst. *mkrtt* (*KAI* no. 181.25; cf. *ANET* 320b) are probably derived from the root *krh* “to dig” (in the OT: wells, Gen 26:25; Num 21:18; cisterns, Exod 21:33; Psa 7:16; cf. S. Segert, *ArOr* 29 [1961]: 242, contra *DISO* 127). A Pun. subst. *krt* (“stone breaker”?) is uncertain in terms of epigraphy and significance (*DISO* 127).

Isolated forms of the ni. (Josh 3:13, 16; 4:7[bis]; Job 14:7) and the pu. (Judg 6:28; Ezek 16:4) are used as pass. of the qal. The hi. is used more intensively than causatively (in the absence of the pi.) with the meaning “to annihilate” (which the qal also has in Jer 50:16; but cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 302); in addition to the ho. (Joel 1:9 “to be/become annihilated”), the pass.

of the hi. is primarily the ni.

Verbal substs. of the root *krt* in the OT are: *k<sup>c</sup>rūtôt* “cut off and carved beams(?)” (1 Kgs 6:36; 7:2, 12; cf. KBL 458a), perhaps more precisely “short, cut pieces (of cedar trunks) in contrast to long planks” (Noth, BK 9/1, 102); *k<sup>c</sup>rîtût* “divorce” (Deut 24:1, 3; Isa 50:1; Jer 3:8; cf. Mid. Hebr. *krt* “to break up a marriage, divorce”).

The name of a brook *k<sup>c</sup>rît* (1 Kgs 17:3, 5) probably derives from *krh* “to hollow out, dig” rather than from *krt* (KBL 454b).

2. The verb *krt* occurs throughout the OT, except for Jonah, Hab, Song Sol, Eccl, Lam, and Esth. Employed from J (or the traditions redacted by J) up until Dan, it occurs in great numbers around the 6th cent. Statistics: qal 134x (Jer 16x, Deut 15x, 1 Sam and 2 Chron 12x), about 80x in the expression *krt* → *b<sup>c</sup>rît*; ni. 73x (Lev 13x, Num 7x, Isa 6x, Exod, Josh, and Psa 5x), pu. 2x, hi. 78x (Ezek 14x, 1 Kgs and Jer 7x, Lev 6x), and ho. 1x; in all 288x (in addition to *k<sup>c</sup>rūtôt* 3x, *k<sup>c</sup>rîtût* 4x; see 1).

The text of 1 Sam 20:16a makes sense, but, viewed contextually, it is hardly original.

3. The translation of *krt* is governed by the obj.: “to cut down” trees (Deut 19:5, etc., 17x), “to cut off” shoots (Num 13:23), “to chop off” head and hands (1 Sam 5:4), “to divide” an animal (in two; Jer 34:18; *btr* qal and pi. “to slice up”; for this sense in Gen 15:10, see *HP* 130).

“Annihilation”—*krt* hi. and ni.—is mentioned mostly in announcements of judgment against the nations (also against Israel: e.g., 1 Kgs 9:7 hi.; Hos 8:4 ni.) and against evildoers, esp. in the “annihilation formula”: “this/the man/person (*nepeš*) will be annihilated” (cf. Elliger, HAT 4, 101), etc., in the sphere of P and H (not in Deut), as well as in the “nonannihilation formula” (Josh 9:23, etc., 10x). Another nuance is the “extermination” of name, memory, and hope (cf. further KBL 457f.; on the synonyms, see esp. → *šmd*).

4. Like the other Hebr. verbs (*gZR* “to cut up”; in Job 22:28 “to decide”; cf. Esth 2:1 ni.; *hrš* in 1 Kgs 20:40; Isa 10:22; Job 14:5 “to determine”; *h<sup>c</sup>tk* ni. Dan 9:24 “to be determined”; Mid. Hebr. *psq* “to divide” and “to establish, determine”; cf. also → *hqq* 3a, → *y<sup>c</sup>d* 3d), Aram. (Old Aram., Bibl. Aram., and Jew. Aram. *gZR*, Jew. Aram. *psq*), Akk. (*ḥarāšu*, *parāsu*), *krt* also develops from the basic meaning “to cut off,” etc., the fig. sense “to establish, determine, conclude” (cf. Lat. *decidere* and the development of the meaning of Akk. *parāsu* “to separate [to divide] > to differentiate > to decide,” *AHW* 831), as in 2 Chron 7:18 (cf. LXX, Syr.; for *dbr* pi. 1 Kgs 9:5), also probably in Isa 57:8 (and also in Phoen., *KAI* no. 27.10; *ANET* 658b), and esp. in the expression *krt b<sup>c</sup>rît*.

With reference to Gk. *horkia temnein*, Lat. *foedus icere* (*ferire, percutere*) (cf. Gesenius, *Thesaurus* 2:718a, etc.), the expression is often rendered “to make an alliance.” In this case, *krt b<sup>c</sup>rit* would derive from a ritual that could be executed in the establishment of a *b<sup>c</sup>rit* (i.e., an “obligation”; → *b<sup>c</sup>rit*): the subject of the *b<sup>c</sup>rit*, the one who “cuts” the *b<sup>c</sup>rit*, passes between the opposing halves of an animal that has been cut up for this rite (*krt*, Jer 34:18) but that is not perceived as a sacrifice (cf. e.g., G. Quell, *TDNT* 2:108f., 116f.; S. E. Loewenstamm, *VT* 18 [1968]: 500–506; contra GB 364b; KBL 457, etc.; Jer 34:18; Gen 15:17).

This ritual does not signify (a) the unification of the two parties through passing the flame between the two portions in Gen 15:17 (thus e.g., KD, *Gen* 216f.), because this significance does not fit Jer 34:18 (J. J. P. Valeton, *ZAW* 12 [1892]: 227); (b) the “mythical-sacramental union” of two parties (Duhm, *Jer*, KHC [1901], 284; J. Henninger, *Bib* 34 [1953]: 344–53, esp. 352f.), because only the subject of the *b<sup>c</sup>rit* passes through in Gen 15:17 and Jer 34:18, not the partner as well; (c) the “purification” of the one who passes through the animal halves (cf. O. Masson, “A propos d’un rituel hittite pour la lustration d’une armée,” *RHR* 137 [1950]: 5–25); (d) that the life force flowing from the slain animal is communicated to this party in order to increase his capabilities (W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites* [19562], 313; E. Bickerman, “Couper une alliance,” *Archives d’histoire du droit oriental* 5 [1950/51]: 133–56; F. Horst, *Gottes Recht* [1961], 309), because the contexts of the two texts provide no basis for the argument (D. J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant* [1963], 55ff.); rather, it signifies (e) the self-execration of the one who passes through the parts in an analogous procedure: the fate of the animal should befall him in the event that he does not maintain the *b<sup>c</sup>rit* (= assumed obligation; thus already Rashi and most exegetes today). This interpretation is suggested by Jer 34:18 and supported by pars. in classical antiquity (cf. R. Kraetzschmar, *Die Bundesvorstellung im AT* [1896], 44f.; e.g., Livy 1.24) and in Israel’s environment (cf. e.g., E. Kutsch, “*kārat b<sup>c</sup>rit* ‘eine Verpflichtung festsetzen,’” *Wort und Geschichte*, FS Elliger [1971], 124n.26).

With respect to the derivation of the expression *krt b<sup>c</sup>rit* from *krt* in Jer 34:18, one must assume that the actual obj. of *krt* (an animal) is replaced by a designation of the result or goal of the ritual (*b<sup>c</sup>rit* = obligation). The expression thus understood “to cut a *b<sup>c</sup>rit*” results, however, in a paradox, whether one understands *b<sup>c</sup>rit* as “covenant” or as “obligation.” This difficulty is removed by the fact that *krt* also means “to establish, determine”; *krt b<sup>c</sup>rit* means, then (with *b<sup>c</sup>rit* as the direct obj. of *krt*): “to establish an arrangement, an obligation” (P. Mühlau and W. Volck,

*Gesenius' Hebräisches und chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT* [18788], 413b; K. Siegfried and B. Stade, *Hebr. Wörterbuch zum AT* [1893], 301a; J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten* [1914], 46; Kutsch, op. cit.; contra: Holzinger, *Gen*, KHC [1898], 150; Quell, op. cit. 108n.18; M. Buber, *Kingship of God* [1967], 203n.20), as in the Sum. *nam-erīm- TAR* “to cut the ban = to make an (assertive) oath” (A. Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden* [1956–57], 1:64, 67; 3:144f.), in Old Aram. *gʿzr ʿdn* “(to cut =) to conclude a pact or treaty” (Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 32f.), correspondingly then *gʿzar qʿyām* “(to cut =) to establish a decree” in the Tgs. and also *diathēkēn diatithesthai* in the LXX (of the omission of the element of the last will and testament, as in the case of Aristophanes *Aves* 440f. [see E. Kutsch, *KerD* 14 (1968): 167n.30]; *Gen* 15:18, etc.; Kutsch, op. cit. 164ff.).

*bʿrīt* as the obj. of *krt* in 1 Sam 11:2 results from v 1 and should be supplied logically in 1 Sam 20:16a (MT!); 22:8 (cf. the prep. *ʿim*). In 1 Kgs 8:9 = 2 Chron 5:10, *bʿrīt* may be conjectured as the noun represented by the relative pron. obj. of *krt* (see *BH* 3; cf. *Deut* 9:9).

Counterparts to the expression *krt bʿrīt* include *krt* → *ʾālā* (*Deut* 29:11, 13; *Phoen.*: *KAI* no. 27.8; *ANET* 658b) “to establish a curse,” *krt dābār* “to establish a word (= a promise)” (*Hag* 2:5), and *krt ʾmānā* “to establish a (firm) agreement” (*Neh* 10:1; 11:23 par. *mišwā* = “commandment”).

Verbs that parallel *krt bʿrīt* synonymously in mostly later texts are → *qūm* hi., → *ntn*, and → *śīm* with the obj. *bʿrīt* “to set up, give, set a covenant, an obligation.” In particular, → *pr* hi. *bʿrīt* “to break an obligation” (→ *bʿrīt* III/6c; → *pr* hi.) is used as an antonym.

5. The religious language of the Qumran texts uses *krt* almost exclusively in the meaning “to eradicate” (hi., with a ni. pass.), mostly with Yahweh as the actual or logical subject of the punitive act. Instead of *krt bryt* (1QM 13:7; CD 15:8 with a view to Israel’s early history), *ʿbrbbryt* and *bwʾbbryt* “to enter into the *bryt* (obligation)” are preferred.

Among the extraordinarily numerous renderings of the LXX for *krt* in the concrete meaning “to cut off, eradicate,” *exolethreuein* and *koptein* (and compounds) stand out, although they acquire no particular weight in the NT (cf. J. Schneider, “ὄλεθρεύω,” *TDNT* 5:167–71; G. Stählin, “ἀποκόπτω,” *TDNT* 3:852–60), while *diatithesthai* is common for *krt* with the obj. *bʿrīt* (cf. G. Quell and J. Behm, “διατίθημι,” *TDNT* 2:104–34).

E. Kutsch

## לב *lēb* heart

S 3820; BDB 524a; HALOT 2:513b; TDOT 7:399–437; TWOT 1071a; NIDOTTE 4213

1. The word \**libb-* is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 214; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 272, 279); the meaning “heart” is widely represented (Akk. *libbu* “interior,” reduced to a prep. expression, cf. *AHW* 549–51; Arab. *lubb* “interior, core, mind,” etc.; cf. Wehr 854). For the older NWSem. specimens, cf. *WUS* no. 1434; *UT* no. 1348; *DISO* 134.

In OT Hebr. (and Aram.) *lēb* (\**libb-*) occurs alongside *lēbāb* (\**libab-*, Aram. *lebab*); the chronological sequence of the two terms may not be determined (contra C. A. Briggs, “A Study of the Use of LEB and LEBAB,” *FS Kohut* 94–105; cf. F. H. von Meyenfeldt, *Het Hart (LEB, LEBAB) in het OT* [1950], 207–12): J seems to use only the form *lēb* (a source distinction in Exod 14:5?); E, to the contrary, *lēbāb*; Isa uses predominantly *lēbāb*, Deut and Dtr almost exclusively *lēbāb*; Deutero-Isa, however, almost exclusively *lēb*, etc.

*libba*® appears in Ezek 16:30 as a fem. form. G. R. Driver (*JTS* 29 [1928]: 393; 32 [1931]: 366) calls attention to Akk. *libbātu* (pl. only) “rage” (*AHW* 548b, in addition to *labābu* “to rage,” *ibid.* 521b), a meaning he then assumes for Ezek 16:30 (followed by *KBL* 471b). Are Akk. *libbu* and *labābu* related, however? Ezek 16:30 probably refers to the heart as the seat of desires (cf. F. Stummer, *VT* 4 [1954]: 34–40).

A verb *lbb* is a denominative from *lēb*: ni. “to become insightful” (Job 11:12) and pi. “to gain understanding” (Song Sol 4:9[bis]).

2. *lēb* and *lēbāb* occur 853x (resp., 601x and 252x, 7 and 1x in pl.; cf. the tables in von Meyenfeldt, *op. cit.* 209f., which should read 24x instead of 2x for Chron), *libbā* 1x, *lbb* ni. 1x, and pi. 2x. In addition, Bibl. Aram. has *lēb* 1x and *lebab* 7x (all in Dan).

Particular concentrations appear in Deut, Jer, Ezek, Psa, Prov, Eccl, and Chron (*lēb*, *lēbāb*, resp.): Psa 102x, 35x; Prov 97x, 2x; Jer 58x, 8x; Deut 4x, 47x; Isa 31x, 18x; Exod 46x, 1x; Ezek 41x, 6x; 2 Chron 16x, 28x; and Eccl 41x, 1x.

3. (a) *lēb* originally signified the bodily organ. Thus Israel knew of the “heart attack” (1 Sam 25:37), without deeper medical knowledge concerning the heart (as was the case in surrounding cultures; cf. J. Hempel, *NAWG* [1958]: 253f.). The heartbeat was regarded a sign of excitement (Psa 38:11). Discussions of cardiac injuries (2 Sam 18:14 = Psa

22:15; Psa 3:7, etc.; Hos 13:8 mentions a *s<sup>c</sup>gôr lēb*, properly a “covering of the heart” = rib cage?) refer not specifically to the heart but to the heart region, the “breast,” for which Hebr. has no specific word (*ḥāzeh* only of sacrificial animals, 13x in P; Bibl. Aram. *ḥ<sup>a</sup>dēh* “breast” in Dan 2:32; originally “anterior”; cf. Dhorme 105); this region can be indicated by *lēb* (Exod 28:29f.; P. Joüon, *Bib* 5 [1924]: 49ff., would also like to assume this meaning as original for the expression *ʿal-lēb*, e.g., in *śîm ʿal-lēb* “to take to heart” Deut 11:18, and in several similar expressions; cf., however, von Meyenfeldt, op. cit. 135ff.). According to H. L. Ginsberg (FS Baumgartner 80), *lēb* also means the throat as an organ of speech; this suggestion is uncertain, however. The heart of the animal is also called *lēb* (2 Sam 17:10; Job 41:16, both times used fig. for the essence of the animal in question).

(b) *lēb* signifies fig. not only the “heart” but also the “midst,” esp. in the expressions *b<sup>e</sup>leb-yām* (Exod 15:8; Prov 23:34; 30:19), *b<sup>e</sup>lēb yammîm* (Ezek 27:4, 25–27; 28:2, 8; Psa 46:3; cf. Jonah 2:4) “in the midst of the sea”; cf. also *lēb haššāmayim* “in the midst of heaven” (Deut 4:11).

(c) Physical, psychological, and intellectual functions are attributed to the human *lēb*. *lēb* signifies “vitality” in the expression *s<sup>c</sup>d lēb* “to support the heart” in the sense of “to eat” (Gen 18:5; Judg 19:5, 8; Psa 104:15). Similarly, the *lēb* is an organ of sexual might and desire (Hos 4:11; Job 31:9; Prov 6:25 with *ḥmd* “to desire”; cf. also Ezek 16:30; see 1).

(d) The psychological aspect of the *lēb* is evidenced in that it accommodates the most varied emotions: pain (1 Sam 1:8; Isa 1:5; 57:15; Jer 4:18; 8:18; Psa 13:3; 34:19, etc.; the Psa texts belong to the lament category), joy (Exod 4:14; Judg 16:25; Isa 24:7; Jer 15:16; Psa 4:8; Prov 14:10, etc.), fear (Deut 20:3, 8; Josh 2:11; Isa 7:2; Psa 25:17, etc.), doubt (Eccl 2:20; cf. 1:20), courage (Psa 40:13), etc. Emotionally accentuated appeals based on trust made to a person by God or by another person make ready use of the word (e.g., *db̄r pi. ʿal-lēb* “to speak to” Gen 34:3; Isa 40:2, etc.; also *śîm ʿal-lēb*; see 3a).

(e) The intellectual functions of the *lēb* include, first of all, perception. Various verbs with a prep. and *lēb* can express “to take note (of a thing)” (*šît* Exod 7:23; 1 Sam 4:20; *śîm* Exod 9:21; 1 Sam 21:13; *ntn* Eccl 1:13, 17). Recognition or remembrance also occurs in the *lēb* (Deut 4:9; Isa 33:18; 65:17; Jer 3:16; Psa 31:13). This function of the *lēb* can be further specified by the depiction of the artisan’s skills as a matter of the *lēb* (in the expression *ḥ<sup>a</sup>kam lēb* “skilled”—therefore not to be understood as a wisdom expression—Exod 28:3; 31:6; 35:10, etc.).

Strictly intellectual capacities are also a matter of the *lēb*: insight

(Deut 8:5; Job 17:4; Prov 2:2; Eccl 7:2), the capacity to evaluate a matter critically (Josh 14:7; Judg 5:15f.; Eccl 2:1, 3, 15), and juristic equilibrium (1 Kgs 3:9; 2 Chron 19:9). This aspect of the *lēb* is esp. significant for wisdom thought: the *lēb* is the organ of *ḥokmâ* (Prov 2:10; 14:33; 16:23; Eccl 1:16; cf. 1 Kgs 10:24). The *lēb* of the sage enables sound speech (Prov 16:23; 23:15f.), he gains insight in the nature of the time and its events (Eccl 1:16; Psa 90:12). Egyptian wisdom joins Israelite wisdom in attributing this significance to the heart (cf. H. Brunner, "Das hörende Herz," *TLZ* 79 [1954]: 697–700; C. Kayatz, *Studien zu Proverbien 1–9* [1966], 43–47; on other aspects of the Eg. view of the heart, see A. Hermann, *Altägyptische Liebesdichtung* [1959], 95–97, with bibliog.).

Finally, the *lēb* is also the seat of the will and deliberation (2 Sam 7:3; 1 Kgs 8:17; Isa 10:7; Jer 22:17; Psa 20:5; 21:3, etc.).

(f) The *lēb*, then, encompasses all dimensions of human existence (cf. Dhorme 109–28 on the rich Akk. and Hebr. materials; W. H. Schmidt, "Anthropologische Begriffe im AT," *EvT* 24 [1964]: 374–88, esp. 383ff.). Statements can be made concerning it, therefore, that refer to the entire person: the *lēb* staggers (*mûg* Ezek 21:20), it "melts" (*mss ni*. Deut 20:8; Josh 2:11; 5:1; 7:5; Isa 13:7; 19:1; Ezek 21:12, etc.), it is "agitated" (*raggāz* Deut 28:65), and one can "disquiet" it (*k<sup>s</sup> hi*. Ezek 32:9). The *lēb* can also indicate the person in a thoroughly attenuated sense and can almost become a replacement for a per. pron. (par. to such a pron. e.g., in Psa 22:15; 27:3; 33:21; 45:2). Yet the word can indicate that the essence of the person lies precisely in the *lēb* (Judg 16:15, 17f.; 1 Sam 9:19; this too is a notion that is not limited to Israel; cf. H. Brunner, "Das Herz als Sitz des Lebensgeheimnisses," *AfO* 17 [1954/55]: 140f.). The expression *b<sup>l</sup>lēb* (with a per. suf.) and a verb of thought or speech (e.g., Gen 17:17; 27:41; Deut 7:17; Psa 4:5, etc.) indicates thoughts that one keeps to oneself and does not wish to communicate. The dream too, which reveals the most hidden and inaccessible regions of a person, plays out in the *lēb* (Song Sol 5:2). Thus wisdom is aware of the unfathomability of the *lēb* (Jer 17:9; Psa 64:7; Prov 20:5). To the extent that the person decides and responds in the *lēb*, the word should often be understood in the sense of "conscience" (Gen 20:5f.; 1 Sam 24:6, etc.; cf. Köhler, *Theol.* 202).

Because the OT does not usually regard human existence individualistically, it can discuss not only the *lēb* of an individual but also of an entire group (Gen 18:5; 42:28; Ezek 35:29; cf. Köhler, *Theol.* 161).

(g) Par. terms supplement the image. The following are frequent: → *nepes* (originally "gullet," then "vital force," "person," with a range of meaning similar to *lēb* in Psa 13:3; 84:3; Prov 2:10; 19:8, etc.), → *rûah* (originally "breath," then "wind," on the one

hand, and “vital force,” “spirit,” on the other; cf. Exod 35:21; Deut 2:30; Josh 2:11; 5:1; Isa 65:14; Psa 34:19, etc.). *qereb*, “interior, midst,” etc., appears less often (Jer 31:33; Prov 14:33). In addition to *kābēd* “liver” (→ *kbd*), particular reference should be made to *k<sup>e</sup>lāyôt* “kidneys,” which often parallels the “heart,” indicating the most private, hidden being of a person, accessible only to God (Jer 11:20; 12:2; 17:10; 20:12; Psa 7:10; 16:7; 26:2; 73:21; 139:13; Job 16:13; 19:27; Prov 23:16; Lam 3:13; an additional 16x in Exod–Lev as a sacrificial animal’s body part; also Deut 32:14; Isa 34:6; cf. → *bḥn* 3a; Dhorme 131).

4. Naturally, such a major anthropological term serves to describe the relationship between God and person.

(a) The word *lēb* has theological significance in the psalms of lament, particularly as a term either for the clear conscience of the one lamenting (frequent are the expressions *yišrē lēb* “the upright of heart,” Psa 7:11; 11:2, etc.; [→ *yšr* 3b], *bar lēbāb* “pure of heart,” Psa 24:4 in an entrance liturgy; 73:1; wisdom influence is clear in many passages) or for the penitence of the worshiper confessing his/her unrighteousness (*nišbar lēb* “broken of heart” Psa 34:19; 51:19).

(b) Wisdom literature strongly accentuates God’s awareness of the emotions of the human *lēb* (Prov 17:3; 21:2) and holds firm to the observation that Yahweh’s will rather than the plans of the human *lēb* are realized (Prov 16:1; 19:21).

(c) The *lēb* acquires special theological significance when the focus is on anthropological issues.

Such is the case in Deut. Persons are called here to hear and act “with the whole heart and the whole soul” (Deut 4:29; 6:5; 10:12; 11:13). One’s knowledge of Yahweh’s deeds should be preserved in the heart (4:9, 39; 6:6; 8:5, etc.). The rite of circumcision (*mûl* “to circumcise”) is spiritualized and applied to the heart (Deut 10:16; 30:6; cf. Lev 26:41; Jer 4:4; Ezek 44:7, 9 with *‘ārēl* “uncircumcised” in reference to the heart; see H.-J. Hermisson, *Sprache and Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult* [1965], 64–76). This insistence on the participation of the entire *lēb* has its place in a period of a new consciousness of the original relationship between God and his people on the one hand and incipient individualization on the other.

Conditions are similar in Jer and Ezek, whose theological interests in this respect coincide with those of Deut. Jeremiah too demands the *lēb* of those who hear him (Jer 3:10; 4:4, adaptation of the Dtn motif of circumcision of the heart; see above; 29:13, etc.). Yet he speaks very clearly of the “obstinacy of the heart” (*šrîrût lēb* 3:17; 7:24; 9:13; 11:8, etc.). The difficulty of the obedience required by legal parenesis is clear to the prophet. Such a renewal of the relationship between God and person can no longer be expected, therefore, in the present, and thus becomes the

object of future hopes (Jer 31:31ff.; 32:38f.): covenant and law shall be incorporated entirely into the *lēb* (cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 2:211ff.).

Ezekiel thinks very similarly. He too has experienced the obstinacy of the *lēb* of his audience (Ezek 2:4; 3:7); he too awaits a future in which God will replace the human “heart of stone” (*lēb hāʿeben*) with a “heart of flesh” (*lēb bāsār*) (Ezek 36:26ff.).

Consequently, the prophetic concept of the obstinacy of the human *lēb* (which, in all these cases and in contrast to the “hardening of the heart” mentioned below, results from human free will) is also taken up elsewhere (Zech 7:12; Psa 95:8, both passages in Dtr diction).

(d) According to Israelite faith, Yahweh grants the human *lēb* its choices (so e.g., Psa 51:12); he can also limit these choices. This motif of “hardening the heart” has one setting in the exodus tradition. The Yahwist (Exod 8:11, 28; 9:34; 10:1) formulates with *kbd* hi. *lēb* “to cause the heart (of the pharaoh) to become heavy.” The subj. is either Yahweh or the pharaoh himself. In contrast, the author of P differentiates more precisely: Yahweh hardened the heart of the pharaoh (→ *ḥzq* pi. *lēb* Exod 9:12; 10:20, 27; 11:10, etc.; also *qšh* hi. *lēb* “to make the heart hard” Exod 7:3), and the heart of the pharaoh becomes hard (*ḥzq* qal Exod 7:13, 22; 8:15, etc.). Thus P consistently contends that only Yahweh is active. The theological significance of hardening in P is most clearly seen in Exod 14:4. The motif occurs also in Exod 4:21 (in an older addition) and is applied in Deut to an episode of the conquest (Deut 2:30, *qšh* hi. and *ʾmš* pi.).

According to both documentary sources, the content of the motif of hardening the heart in the exodus pericope is the fact that Yahweh deprives the pharaoh of the intellectual and psychological capacities to understand the significance of the plagues and to act accordingly. Its goal is to demonstrate Yahweh’s historical power in its total compass: this power reaches even to his enemy’s capacities for thought and perception.

The same motif returns in prophecy. The statement concerning the hardening of the heart now applies to Israel (without anthropological terminology already in 1 Kgs 22:21; with *šmn* hi. *lēb* “to fatten the heart” Isa 6:9f.; adapted in Deut 29:4). As in Jer and Ezek, the prophetic experience that Israel does not wish to hear is mirrored here. But this noncomprehension is interpreted as Yahweh’s judgment; thus guilt and punishment coincide (cf. F. Hesse, *Das Verstockungsproblem im AT* [1955]; von Rad, *Theol.* 2:151ff.).

(e) The OT speaks not only of the human *lēb* but also of the divine *lēb* (von Meyenfeldt, op. cit. 193f.). Its functions remain the same: located in Yahweh’s *lēb* are emotions (concern, Gen 6:6; compassion, Hos 11:8),

recognition and memory (1 Kgs 9:3; Jer 44:21, etc.), and will and forethought (Gen 8:21; Jer 7:31, etc.). Jeremiah speaks particularly frequently of Yahweh's *lēb* (8x); the use of anthropomorphisms for God corresponds to the anthropological interests.

5. Early Jewish usage of *lēb* does not vary essentially from that of the OT (J. B. Bauer, "De 'cordis' notione biblica et judaica," *VD* 40 [1962]: 27–32). Yet anthropological and psychological interests increase further. In Qumran (more than 120x) the notion of the *š'ṛrūt lēb* "hardening of the heart" plays an essential role; it describes those who do not belong to the sect (1QS 1:6; 2:14, 26; 3:3, etc.). In contrast to OT usage, the introversion of the ungodly powers of the world into the heart is new; thus the "idols of the heart" (1QS 2:11) are mentioned; the spirits of wisdom and darkness do battle in the *lēb* (1QS 4:23), the pious must expel "Belial" from his/her *lēb* (1QS 10:21); the law is within one's *lēb* (1QH 4:10). Similar concepts appear in rabbinical speculations concerning the *yēšer tōb* and the *yēšer ra*<sup>c</sup>, the good and the evil impulse, both of which reside in the *lēb* and struggle with one another (StrB 4:466ff.). The apocalyptic variant of the concept appears in 4 Ezra 3 (esp. vv 20ff.).

On the NT usage of *kardia*, see F. Baumgärtel and J. Behm, "καρδία," *TDNT* 3:605–14.

F. Stolz

## לבוש *Ibš* to clothe oneself

S 3847; BDB 527b; *HALOT* 2:519a; *TDOT* 7:457–68; *TWOT* 1075; *NIDOTTE* 4252

1. The root *Ibš* "to clothe oneself" is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 218). In the OT era it is well attested among Israel's neighbors (with the exception of Phoen.-Pun.), also in some metaphorical usages (Akk.: *AHW* 523f., 561; Ug.: *WUS* no. 1444; *UT* no. 1353; Can.: EA 369:9; cf. *DISO* 151; Aram.: *DISO* 135; *KBL* 1089f.).

*Ibš* occurs in Hebr. in the qal (a stative pf. *lābēš* also in Lev 16:4; Psa 93:1[bis]; cf. Berg., *HG* 3:77, otherwise *lābaš*, on the pass. ptcp. or verbal adj. *lābûš* "clothed," cf. Joüon §121o), pu. (ptcp. "clothed"), and hi. (causative "to clothe"), post-OT also in the hitp. (Sir 50:11 "to clothe oneself"). Nom. derivatives in the meaning "dress, clothing, garment" are *I'buš* (< \**lubūš*; cf. Joüon §88Eh; contra BL 473: perhaps *la* + *bûš* "for shame"), *malbûš*, and *tilbōšet* (only Isa 59:17; cf., however, *BHS*). Bibl.

Aram. has *lbš* pe. (Dan 5:7, 16), ha. (Dan 5:29), and *l<sup>e</sup>bûš* “garment” (Dan 3:21; 7:9).

1. Eitan (*HUCA* 12/13 [1938]: 63 [on Isa 14:19]) and J. Reider (*JJS* 3 [1952]: 79 [on Judg 6:34]) have suggested homonymous roots based on the Arab.; cf. *CPT* 330.

2. Of the 152 instances of the root in the Hebr. OT, 60 fall to the qal (excl. *lābûš*; Lev 9x, Psa 8x, Isa 7x, Ezek and Job 6x each), 4 to the pu. (1 Kgs 22:10 = 2 Chron 18:9; Ezra 3:10; 2 Chron 5:12), 32 to the hi. (Judg 5x, Gen 4x, Isa and Esth 3x each); *lābûš* occurs 16x (Ezek 9x), *l<sup>e</sup>bûš* 31x (Job 7x, Psa and Esth 6x each), *malbûš* 8x, *tilbōšet* 1x (see 1). The root occurs 5x in Bibl. Aram. (see 1).

3. Together with *beqed* “dress” (→ *bgd* 1), *lbš* “to clothe oneself” (constructed with the acc.; cf. GKC §117v, y; consequently also translated “to put on”; only Esth 6:8 with *be*) dominates the semantic field of dressing, which cannot be treated extensively here (cf. the material in H. W. Hönig, *Die Bekleidung des Hebräers* [1957]). Semantically related terms that appear with *lbš* are either more general in meaning (*ʿth* “to wrap oneself” Isa 59:17 and Psa 104:2, fig. of God; Psa 109:19, 29, of the enemy of the one lamenting; *ksh* hitp. “to cover oneself” Jonah 3:8; *ntn ʿal* “to put [something] on someone” Lev 8:7) or more specific (e.g., *hgr* “to gird” Lev 8:7, etc.; Psa 65:13, fig. of the hill with joy; Prov 31:17, with power; of God, Psa 76:11 txt?; *ʿzr* qal “to gird [oneself],” 1 Sam 2:4 “the wavering gird themselves with power”; ni. Psa 65:7, God with power; pi. “to gird” 2 Sam 22:40; Psa 18:33, 40, God girds the king with power; Psa 30:12, God girds the worshiper with joy; hitp. “to gird oneself” Psa 93:1, God with power; *ʿdh* “to adorn,” with *lbš*; Jer 4:30; Ezek 16:11, 13; Job 40:10). The most important antonyms are *pšt* “to undress” (with *lbš*: Lev 6:4; 16:23; Ezek 26:16; 44:19; Song Sol 5:3) and *ʿarôm* “naked” (16x; on Gen 2:25 see J. de Fraine, FS Robert 53f.; as well as *ʿrôm* “naked” Gen 3:7, 10f.; Ezek 18:7, 16 and 5x in the meaning “nakedness”; *ʿeryâ* “nakedness,” 6x; *ʿûr* ni. “to be uncovered” Hab 3:9). On the individual spheres of usage of the verb *lbš*—from daily dress (dress and nourishment as basic necessities of life: Gen 28:20; Isa 4:1; cf. Hag 1:6; hi. 2 Chron 28:15) to mourning attire (2 Sam 14:2; with *šaq* “sackcloth” Jonah 3:5; Esth 4:1) and fine garments (e.g., Isa 52:1; Jer 4:30; Esth 5:1; 6:8), from cultic garments (Exod 29:30 etc.) to the prophetic mantle (Zech 13:4) and the armor of the warrior (Jer 46:4)—and on the concepts and symbolic values associated with clothing, cf., in addition to Hönig (op. cit.), *BRL* 332–37 and G. Fohrer, *BHH* 2:962–65, as well as E. Haulotte, *Symbolique du vêtement selon la Bible* (1966); R. von Ungern-Sternberg, *Redeweisen der Bibel* (1968), 83–95.

4. Poetic diction in the OT uses *lbš* in fig. or picturesque usages that are unfamiliar to us. In particular, one may be clothed with abstract entities such as *ʿōz* “power” (Isa 51:9; 52:1; see on *hgr* and *ʿzr*), *gēʾūt* “majesty” (Psa 93:1), *hōd wʿhādār* “glory and majesty” (Psa 104:1; Job 40:10), *šēdāqâ/šedeq* “righteousness” (Isa 59:17 “like armor” alongside “clothing of vengeance”; Job 29:14), *tšûʿâ* (2 Chron 6:41), and *yešaʿ* “salvation” (hi. Isa 61:10 “garments of salvation”; Psa 132:16), but also with *bōšet* or *kelimma*® “shame” (Psa 35:26; 109:29; Job 8:22; hi. Psa 132:18), *qʿlālâ* “curse” (Psa 109:18), and *šēmāmâ* “horror” (Ezek 7:27; probably also *hʾrādôt* Ezek 26:16; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:30). More difficult is the image of Zion clothing itself with the returnees as with jewelry (Isa 49:18), or of the mountains “clothing” themselves with herds (Psa 65:14; cf. v 13; also *lābûš* in Isa 14:19 in the fig. meaning “covered [with the smitten]”). The images in Isa 50:3 hi. (“I clothe heaven in black”; cf. 1QH 5:31), Job 7:5 (“my body is clothed in sores and boils”), or, with *lbš* hi. of God’s creative activity, in Job 10:11 (“you have clothed me with skin and flesh”) and 39:19 (“do you clothe his [the stallion’s] neck with the mane?”) lie within the realm of our sensibilities.

Passages that speak concretely of God’s “garment” (from the root *lbš*; *lʿbûš* Isa 63:1f.; *malbûš* v 3; cf. Aram. *lʿbûš* Dan 7:9, of the snow-white garment of the “ancient of days”) remain within the common anthropomorphic realm and are conditioned by the content of the image of the comparison or vision. In addition, the objectification of abstract entities mentioned above also occurs in reference to God (Isa 51:9; 59:17; Psa 93:1; 104:1).

Three passages depict the activity of God’s Spirit in a person such that the Spirit resides in the person like the person in the garment (Judg 6:34; 1 Chron 12:19; 2 Chron 24:20; thus *lbš* here, as elsewhere, means “to clothe oneself with,” not the trans. “to clothe someone,” wherein the Spirit would be the garment; cf. e.g., C. F. Burney, *Judg* [19202], 203; Rudolph, HAT 21, 107; contra e.g., Hertzberg, ATD 9, 183, 193; → *rûah*).

5. The chief translation of *lbš* in the LXX is *endyein*. On the NT, cf. A. Oepke (and G. Bertram), “δύω,” *TDNT* 2:318–21; A. Oepke and K. G. Kuhn, “ὄπλον,” *TDNT* 5:292–315.

E. Jenni

לִּי *lûn* to rebel

S 3885; BDB 534a; HALOT 2:524b; TDOT 7:509–12; TWOT 1097; NIDOTTE 4296

1. The verb *lûn* ni./hi. “to murmur, rebel” is not attested with certainty outside Hebr. (in Qumran 1QS 7:17; 1QH 5:25; Mid. Hebr. hitp. too).

A relationship with Arab. *lwm* “to scold” (GB 382b; KBL 477c) is unlikely; the instance in the Kilamuwa inscription from Zinjirli (*KAI* no. 24.10) is disputed (see S. Herrmann, *OLZ* 48 [1953]: 295–97: “in view of the former kings, the Muškabim murmured like dogs”; cf. Psa 59:15f.; *ANET* 654b; *DISO* 136 with bibliog.; *KAI* 2:33).

The verb (in the ni. and, mostly with gemination of the first radical, in the hi.) is customarily derived from a root *lûn* (distinct from *lîn* “to lodge”), yet *lnn* has also been suggested (*BS* 42; P. Joüon, *Bib* 1 [1920]: 361f.; Berg., *HG* 2:151). Besides the verb, there is the fem. abstract with *t* preformative *t<sup>l</sup>lunnôt* (only pl.; BL 496: < *t<sup>l</sup>lûnôt*).

2. The verb occurs 14x (Q), ni. 5x (only impf. pl.: Exod 15:24; 16:2 Q; Num 14:2; 17:6; Josh 9:18), hi. 9x, 4x ptc. (Exod 16:8; Num 14:27[bis]; 17:20), 1x pf. (Num 14:29), otherwise impf. (Exod 16:7; 17:3; Num 14:36 Q; 16:11 Q); in Exod 16:2, 7; Num 14:36; 16:11 the orthography varies between ni. and hi. The noun is attested 8x (Ezek 16:7, 8[bis], 9, 12; Num 14:27; 17:20, 25).

Exod 15:24 and 17:3 stem from J or J/E; all other instances belong to P. Significantly, the term is used only in accounts of events during the wilderness wandering, apart from Josh 9:18 and Psa 59:16, where the hi. impf. of the verb is often assumed.

3. Distinctions between the verbal stems seem to relate partly to tensions in the transmission of the text. Num 14:36 has a causative meaning (“to mislead into murmuring”); otherwise, the stems seem to have no difference in meaning.

Judging from context, *lûn* always has the character of open and plaintive rebellion against a person (consistently in constructions with the prep. *‘al* “against”) with the intention of undermining this person. It belongs to the genre and situation of pre-judicial dispute, which nevertheless presses toward an official, judicial clarification. Although the etymology of the term is unclear, its meaning is certain: “to rebel against someone.” The customary translation “to murmur” seems too weak. Analogous terms are → *mrh* “to be rebellious” (cf. Num 20:10) and → *mrd* “to resist, revolt” (Num 14:9).

The Korahites appear as rebels (Num 16:11); thereafter, however, the term is always used of all Israel (in Psa 59:16 txt em, dogs). The persons against whom Israel rebels are Moses or Moses and Aaron (Exod

15:24; 16:2, 7; 17:3; Num 14:2, 36; 16:11; 17:6, 20), Israel's leaders (Josh 9:18), and Yahweh (Exod 16:7f.; Num 14:27, 29; 17:25). The reasons for the revolt are, from the outset, the experiences of the wilderness period: shortages of water and bread (Exod 15:24; 16:2–7; 17:3), fear of the dominant inhabitants of the land (Num 14:2ff.) or of allying with them (Josh 9:18), and finally the leadership of Moses and Aaron (Num 16).

One may seek the origins of the term's usage in the tradition of the Korahites' rebellion against Moses' leadership in the wilderness (Num 16f.). This tradition may also be the historical core of the rebellion tradition. From this limited episode, the interpretation of the rebellion of all Israel—not just against Moses, but against the events of the exodus-wandering-conquest as a whole—developed in Yahwist (perhaps Jerusalemite) and priestly theology.

4. Throughout, the pentateuchal sources give the term heavy theological content. In threatening situations in the wilderness Israel charges Moses (and Aaron) and Yahweh with leading them into the wilderness in order to let them die there (Exod 16:3b; 17:3b; Num 14:3), and demands return to Egypt (Num 14:4). The rebellion is grounded in a total misinterpretation of liberation as ruin and aims at its reversal. Thus it is essentially aimed at Yahweh (see 3), even when it attacks the leaders (Num 16:11). It acknowledges Yahweh and his representatives as bringers of ruin instead of as deliverers. The term *lûn* consequently discloses at the center of OT theology a type of sin in which God's people as a whole rejects the liberation effected by him and thereby its own redemptive future in the dangers of the interim (wilderness), between liberation (exodus) and fulfillment (conquest) out of blindness and impatience, misunderstanding its God. This type of rebellion calls the deliverer God into court (a pretrial charge that leads to trial) and rejects salvation as a whole. It is therefore deadly for the rebels (Num 14:27ff.).

In Josh 9:18 the people rebel against the damage done to sacral traditions by the leadership. The context hides, rather poorly then, the fundamental character of this rebellion.

On the entire subject, see G. W. Coats, *Rebellion in the Wilderness* (1968).

5. Examples from Qumran (see 1) imply rebellious behavior (1QH 5:25 par. *srr* “to be obstinate”).

The LXX translates *lûn* with *(dia)gongyzein*. The weakened meaning “to murmur” is introduced here, which also occurs in the NT (cf. 1 Cor 10:10; cf. K. H. Rengstorf, “*γογγύζω*,” *TDNT* 1:728–37).

R. Knierim

לחם *lḥm* ni. **to fight** → צבא *šbʿ*

## למד *lmd* to learn

S 3925; BDB 540b; HALOT 2:531a; TDOT 8:4–10; TWOT 1116; NIDOTTE 4340

1. Hebr. *lmd* qal “to become accustomed, learn” and pi. “to teach” have counterparts in Akk. (*AHW* 531f.), Ug. (*WUS* no. 1469; *UT* no. 1385), and Eth. (Dillmann 35). The *ʾlp* “to be accustomed, learn” in use in Aram. (cf. *DISO* 15) also entered Hebr. as an Aramaism (qal Prov 22:25; pi. “to teach” Job 15:5; 33:33; 35:11; Wagner no. 18).

A divergent meaning “to bind oneself, join” occurs in Mid. Hebr. and Syr. and may be related to Ug. *mdl* (J. C. Greenfield, *Bib* 45 [1964]: 527–34; *UT* no. 1429; contrast the prior position of M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, *Bib* 41 [1960]: 64–66).

The factitive *lmd* pi. “to accustom, teach” (*HP* 22) and the corresponding pu. pass. “to be accustomed, taught” occur in addition to the qal. Nom. derivatives are *limmûd* “student, disciple,” *malmād* “cattle prod,” etc. (Judg 3:31), and, as an Aram. loanword, *talmîd* “student” (1 Chron 25:8; Wagner no. 326).

2. *lmd* qal occurs 24x in the OT (Deut 7x, Isa 5x), pi. 57x (Psa 23x, Deut 10x, Jer 9x), pu. 5x, *limmûd* 6x (Isa 4x, Jer 2x), *malmād* and *talmîd* 1x each (see 1). Of the total of 94 instances of the root, 27 fall to Psa, 17 to Deut, 15 to Jer, 13 to Isa (other books 0–3x).

3. All passages are easily explained on the basis of the fundamental meaning: qal “to become accustomed, learn,” pi. “to accustom, train, teach.” Even if usage in religioethical contexts dominates in the OT, at least three realms are still perceptible in which *lmd* indicates the process of learning and teaching in daily life: (a) of the training of animals, (b) of training for battle, and (c) of teaching and rehearsing songs.

(a) In contrast to *yṛh* hi. “to instruct, teach” in the context of linguistic communication (Prov 6:13, through signals; on the distinction between *yṛh* hi. and *lmd tôrâ*, see *HP* 119–22), *lmd* also occurs in reference to animals (the text of Jer 2:24 is corrupt): Jer 31:18 pu., “like an unbroken calf”; Hos 10:11 pu., Ephraim resembles a “trained calf, which threshed gladly”; cf. also *malmād* “cattle prod” (Judg 3:31; a basic meaning “to drive, goad,”

etc., may not be inferred; cf. Rudolph, HAT 12, 195, contra M. D. Goldman, *ABR* 1 [1951]: 139, and Greenfield, op. cit. 530, contra G. R. Driver, FS Nötscher 52). Ezek 19:3, 6, “he (the young lion) learns to prey,” makes the transition to the next category.

(b) In several passages *lmd* stands in relation to the learning and practice of the martial arts (qal: Isa 2:4 = Mic 4:3 “they will no longer learn war”; 1 Chron 5:18 *l<sup>c</sup>mûdê milhāmā* “battle seasoned”; pi.: Judg 3:2 “in order to teach them war, which they did not understand previously”; 2 Sam 22:35 = Psa 18:35 “who teaches my hands to struggle”; Psa 144:1 “who teaches my hands for battle”; pu.: Song Sol 3:8 “practiced in battle”; contra Greenfield, op. cit. 532f.).

(c) A third usage concerns the intellectual acquisition and rehearsal of songs (pi.: Deut 31:19, 22, Song of Moses; 2 Sam 1:18, David’s lament; Jer 9:19, lament of the daughters of Zion; Psa 60:1, a superscription; pu.: 1 Chron 25:7 “practiced in singing for Yahweh”; cf. v 8 *talmîd*).

That *lmd* pi. does not merely signify intellectual learning is shown by passages in Jer that speak of a habituation to evil, lies, worship of Baal, etc. (pi.: Jer 2:33; 9:4, 13; 12:16; 13:21; *limmûd* “accustomed” 13:23). *lmd* has the strongest scholarly connotation in Dan 1:4 (the pages at the court of Nebuchadnezzar should be instructed in the literature and language of the Chaldeans), yet one detects little elsewhere concerning institutionalized instruction and learning (cf. e.g., the substantivized pi. ptc. *m<sup>e</sup>lammēd* in the meaning “teacher” in Psa 119:99 par. “the elders” in v 100; Prov 5:13 par. *môreh*, ptc. → *yrt* hi.; in addition to *talmîd* “student” in 1 Chron 25:8, “the expert [*mēbîn*, → *bîn*] like the student”). In addition to the wise (Eccl 12:9), the father is particularly charged with teaching his children (Deut 4:10; 11:19; cf. 31:13 qal; on Song Sol 8:2 “to instruct” of the mother, or, with an erotic significance, of the beloved; cf. Gerleman, BK 18, 212, but also Rudolph, KAT 17/2, 178).

4. *lmd* qal is not a preferred term in either wisdom (Prov 30:3 [txt?], “I have not learned wisdom”; in contrast e.g., to Gemser, HAT 16, 102; G. Sauer, *Die Sprüche Agurs* [1963], 99: “but I learned wisdom there”) or in prophetic preaching (Isa 1:17 “learn to do good”; 26:9f. righteousness; 29:24 insight; Jer 10:2 way of the nations; 12:16 ways of my people), but belongs in Deut and in Psa 119 in the series of the typical verbs for observing the law (to learn to fear Yahweh: Deut 4:10; 14:23; 17:19; 31:12f.; decrees and laws: Deut 5:1; similarly Psa 119:7, 71, 73; not to become accustomed to the abomination of the nations: Deut 18:9; cf. Psa 106:35 “and learned their actions”; N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot* [1963], 68, 299–302).

*lmd* pi. occurs in a theological usage in the more limited sense in old hymnic predications of Yahweh, who leads the king to battle (2 Sam 22:35

= Psa 18:35; Psa 144:1); it also occurs in later prophecy and in a few Psa passages in which Yahweh is spoken of as a “teacher” (Isa 48:17 “who teaches you what comes”; Jer 32:33[bis] “although I taught them morning and night”; Psa 71:17; 94:10, 12; cf. *ʔp* pi. Job 35:11), whom, however, no one can instruct (Isa 40:14[bis]; Job 21:22). Deut, again in addition to a few Psa (esp. Psa 119), uses *lmd* pi. characteristically with a human or divine subj. and with expressions for God’s will (“statutes and laws,” “fear of Yahweh,” “way,” etc.) as the obj. On Yahweh’s commission, Moses teaches Israel the statutes and laws, the Israelites teach their children (Deut 4:1, 5, 10, 14; 5:31; 6:1; 11:19; in addition Deut 6:7 *šnn* pi. “to inculcate”; cf. 20:18, the repulsion of heathen influences); in the Psa, God teaches (Psa 25:4f., 9; 119:12, 26, 64, 66, 68, 108, 124, 135, 171; 132:12; 143:10), less often the worshiper (Psa 34:12, as a wisdom teacher; 51:15). Finally, Ezra appears as a teacher of statute and law (Ezra 7:10), and according to the Chr, Jehoshaphat sends teachers of the law to the cities of Judah (2 Chron 17:7, 9[bis]). In wisdom diction, one is more likely to encounter *ʔp* pi. (Job 33:33) or → *ysr*.

The limitations of human instruction were seen primarily by the prophets: Isa 29:13 pu. speaks of a “learned human statute,” and in the promise of the new covenant and the law written upon the heart, instruction is declared superfluous in the era of salvation (Jer 31:34).

K. H. Rengstorf (*TDNT* 4:426ff.) has examined the fact—and the reasons for it—that the OT rarely speaks of a teacher-student or master-disciple relationship for the men of God. The subst. *limmûd* “disciple, student” describes a prophet’s students at best in the thematically difficult passage Isa 8:16; otherwise, *limmûd* refers to those instructed directly by God (Isa 50:4[bis], the servant of God as speaker and hearer; 54:13 [txt em], the builders of the new Zion).

5. Military and wisdom-scribal usages, in particular, occur at Qumran (Kuhn, *Konk.* 111b). On the LXX, early Judaism, and the NT, cf. K. H. Rengstorf, “μανθάνω,” *TDNT* 4:390–461; id., “διδάσκω,” *TDNT* 2:135–65; K. Wegenast and D. Fürst, “Teach,” *DNTT* 3:759–81.

E. Jenni

לקח *lqh* **to take**

S 3947; BDB 542b; *HALOT* 2:534a; *TDOT* 8:16–21; *TWOT* 1124; *NIDOTTE* 4374

1. *lqh* “to take” is common Sem., although it is widely replaced by other verbs in the later languages (Arab. *laqiḥa* “to conceive [sexually],” as well as *ḥad* “to take”; Syr. *nsb, šqt*; cf. KBL 1101b on Bibl. Aram. *nšʿ*).

For occurrences in the environment contemporary with the OT, cf. *AHW* 544–46 (Akk. *leqû*); *AHW* 537b (*laqāḥu* as a Can. loanword in EA 287:56); *WUS* no. 1482; *UT* no. 1396 (Ug. *lqh* is frequent); *DISO* 139f. (Phoen.-Pun., Moab., Lachish Letters, Yaudi, Old and Imp. Aram. *lqh*).

The pass. of the qal is formed by the ni. and the pu. (probably a qal pass.); in addition, *lqh* hitp. occurs with a specialized meaning “(to be taken back and forth =) to flicker” (of fire). Derived subst. also sometimes have highly specialized meanings: *leqaḥ* “instruction, insight” (“undertaking,” as a term of the wisdom tradition), *malqôaḥ* “plunder” (military language), *malqôḥayim* “gums” (dual), *melqāḥayim* “wick shears” (dual), *miqqāḥ* “acceptance” (action noun), and *maqqāḥôt* “wares” (commercial language).

2. The qal of the verb is attested 939x (Gen 137x, Exod 79x, 1 Sam 74x, Num and 2 Kgs 70x, Jer 63x, Ezek 62x, Lev 56x, Deut 45x, Judg 43x, 2 Sam 39x, 1 Kgs 38x, Josh 22x, Prov 12x, Isa 17x, Job and 2 Chron 16x, 1 Chron 15x, Psa 13x, Hos 9x, Zech and Neh 7x, Amos 6x, Esth 4x, Ruth 3x, Mic and Zeph 2x, Joel, Jonah, Hag, Mal, and Ezra 1x each; absent from Obad, Nah, Hab, Song Sol, Eccl, Lam, and Dan); 3/4 of the instances occur in the historical books. Other forms occur as follows: *lqh* ni. 10x, pu. (qal pass.) 15x, hitp. 2x; *leqaḥ* 9x (Prov 6x, as well as Deut 32:2; Isa 29:24; Job 11:4, in wisdom contexts), *malqôaḥ* 7x (Num 31:11f., 26f., 32; Isa 49:24f.), *malqôḥayim* 1x (Psa 22:16), *melqāḥayim* 6x, *miqqāḥ* 1x (2 Chron 19:7), and *maqqāḥôt* 1x (Neh 10:32).

3. (a) *lqh* means, first of all (constructed with an acc. and *be*) “to take, grasp, seize” (manually). Objs. are: staff (Exod 4:17, 20; 17:5; 2 Kgs 4:29), tablets (Exod 34:4), spear (Num 25:7; 2 Sam 18:14), fruits (Deut 1:25), axe (Judg 9:48), lute (1 Sam 16:23), rod (1 Sam 17:40), food (1 Kgs 14:3; 17:11), gifts (2 Kgs 5:5; 8:8f.), money purse (Prov 7:20), animals for sacrifice (Gen 15:9f.; 1 Sam 16:2), others, e.g., in Gen 22:6; 32:14; 43:12; Judg 7:8; 1 Sam 16:2; Jer 38:10f.; cf. also passages like Gen 8:9 “he stretched out his hand, grasped it (the dove; *lqh*), and took it in.”

Synonyms for *lqh* in this meaning are listed under → *ḥz* 3; cf. further → *ḥzq* hi., → *nšʿ* in some of its meanings, as well as the more specialized verbs *rdh* II “to take (in hand)” (Judg 14:9[bis]; Jer 5:31?), *qmš* “to take a handful (*qōmeš*)” (Lev 2:2; 5:12; Num 5:26).\*

(b) The verb acquires the more precise meaning “to take forth, take away, take with one” with the following objs.: goods (Gen 14:11; 34:28; cf. Josh 7:23; 1 Sam 27:9), blessing (Gen 42:24, 36), land (Deut 3:8; 29:7; Judg 11:13, 15), corpse (1 Sam 31:12), garment (Prov 27:13), etc.; in a military sense: “to conquer (cities, land)” (Num 21:25; Josh 11:16, 19; Amos 6:13, etc.); cf. also the subst. *malqôah* “plunder.”

Semantically related verbs are esp. numerous here; cf. e.g., in addition to → *yrš* and *tpš, lkd* “to grasp, seize” (qal 83x, ni. 36x [incl. Isa 8:15, listed by Lis. under qal], hitp. “to become entangled with one another” Job 38:30; 41:9; *leked* “trap” Prov 3:26; *malkōdet* “snare” Job 18:10); also *šp* “to gather, harvest,” in a few passages “to take away” (e.g., Gen 30:23; Judg 18:25; 1 Sam 14:19; 15:6; Isa 4:1; Jer 16:5; Zeph 1:2f.; Psa 26:9; 85:4; 104:29; Job 34:14), *šl* qal “(to set aside =) to take away” (Num 11:17, 25), *grz* ni. “to be taken away” (Psa 31:23), *grc* qal “(to trim =) to take away” (Deut 4:2; 13:1, etc.), *y<sup>h</sup>* qal “to take away (?)” (Isa 28:17), *sph* qal “to carry off, take away” (Gen 18:23f.; Deut 29:18; Isa 7:20; Psa 40:15; ni. pass. 9x); *gzl* and *h<sup>t</sup>p* “to rob” and *gnb* “to steal” are more specialized.\*

(c) *lqh* can be rendered less actively “to accept, receive (from someone’s hand).” Objs. are e.g., lambs (Gen 21:30), money (Gen 23:13), goods (Gen 33:10), a bribe (Exod 23:8; Deut 10:17; 16:19; Ezek 22:12; Psa 15:5), ransom (Num 35:31f.; Amos 5:12); a gift (2 Kgs 5:15, 20), instruction (Job 22:22), reproof (Jer 2:30; 5:3; 7:28; 17:23; 32:33; 35:13; Zeph 3:2, 7; Prov 1:3; 8:10), etc.; cf. also the subst. *miqqāh* “acceptance” (2 Chron 19:7, of a bribe).

*qbl* pi. “to accept, receive” should be mentioned as a synonym (11x, only in late texts; cf. Wagner no. 250).

(d) With an acc. and *le*, the verb signifies “to take something/someone to/for/as something”: as a slave (Gen 43:18; 2 Kgs 4:1; Job 40:24), as a daughter (Esth 2:7, 15; cf. G. Rinaldi, *BeO* 9 [1967]: 37f.; H. Donner, *OrAnt* 8 [1969]: 104f.), as wife (Gen 4:19; 6:2; 11:29; 12:19; 1 Sam 25:43, etc., elliptically *lqh* “to marry”; Exod 2:1; cf. further Exod 21:10; 34:16; in later texts → *nš<sup>ʿ</sup>* instead of *lqh*; Ruth 1:4; Ezra 10:44; 2 Chron 11:21; 13:21; elliptically Ezra 9:2, 12; Neh 13:25 etc.; further par. terms in W. Plautz, *ZAW* 76 [1964]: 311f.).

(e) Expressions with fig. meanings occur such as *lqh nāqām/n<sup>c</sup>qāmā* “to take vengeance” (Isa 47:3; Jer 20:10); *lqh herpā* “to take shame upon oneself” (Ezek 36:30); *lqh mārim* (Prov 2:1) or *dābār* (Jer 9:19) “to accept words” (Job 4:12 *šēmeš* “whispering?”); cf. also the subst. *leqaḥ* “instruction, persuasion, insight”; *lqh t<sup>c</sup>pillā* “to accept the prayer” (Psa 6:10); *lqh lammāwet* “to drag to death” (Prov 24:11); *lqh nepes* “to take life”

(Ezek 33:6; Jonah 4:3; Psa 31:14; Prov 11:30 txt?); *lqh* abs. “to carry off” (Isa 57:13; Jer 15:15; 43:10).

(f) In most cases, the verb is used very generally and occasionally serves— followed by a second verb—to prepare for another, more significant action. Cf. e.g., Gen 2:15 “Yahweh God took the man and placed him in the garden”; 6:21 “take from all foods and lay in a supply”; Gen 9:23; 11:31; 12:5; 16:3; 17:23; 18:7f.; Deut 4:20; 15:17; 2 Sam 17:19; 18:18, and many other passages. Occasionally *lqh* occurs elliptically: “to take (and bring)” = “to fetch”: Gen 7:2; 18:5; 27:13; 42:16; Exod 25:2; 35:5; 2 Kgs 2:20, etc.; “to cause to fetch”: Gen 20:2; 27:45; 1 Sam 17:31; Jer 38:14; 40:2.

4. (a) Relatively infrequently God is the subj. of the verb (something over 50x); remarkably, the majority of cases are in the prophetic and poetic books, which employ the word family as a whole much less than the historical books (see 2). The usage of the verb may be grouped in a few categories:

(1) Anthropomorphic language about Yahweh (Gen 2:15, 21f.);

(2) “Taking” in the sense of “choosing”: Abraham (Gen 24:7; cf. Josh 24:3), Israel out of Egypt (Deut 4:20; cf. Hos 11:3), David (2 Sam 7:8 = 1 Chron 17:7; Psa 78:70), Amos (Amos 7:15), Zerubbabel (Hag 2:23), and the Levites (Num 8:16, 18; 18:6); cf. Exod 6:7 “to take (accept) as a people,” as well as Deut 30:4; Isa 66:21; Jer 3:14;

(3) Acceptance of sacrifices (Judg 13:23; Psa 50:9; cf. Psa 68:19 and Job 35:7) and acceptance of prayers (Psa 6:10);

(4) Removal in the word of judgment: wives (2 Sam 12:11; Ezek 24:16), the kingdom (1 Kgs 11:34f., 37; 19:4), wheat and wine (Hos 2:11), the king (Hos 13:11), and the remnant of Judah (Jer 44:12); cf. also Amos 9:3;

(5) Removal in a salvation oracle: the cup of reeling (Isa 51:22);

(6) In the lament: death (Jer 15:15; cf. Jonah 4:3) and grasping to deliver (2 Sam 22:17 = Psa 18:17);

(7) Unique instances include: Yahweh does not accept bribes (Deut 10:17), he takes vengeance (Isa 47:3), he brings a people from the north (Jer 25:9), he takes away his Holy Spirit (Psa 51:13).

(b) Special reference should be made to the abs. usage of *lqh* in the sense of “to rapture” in Gen 5:24 (Enoch) and 2 Kgs 2:3, 5 (Elijah).

The rapture of Utnapishtim in the Gilgamesh Epic is also reported with the analogous Akk. verb *lequ* (E. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das AT* [1903], 551; B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* [1925], 2:149); on rapture in the Gk. realm, see F. R. Walton, *RGG* 2:499f.

It is disputed whether this meaning should be accepted for Psa 49:16

and 73:24 as well (cf. the comms.; C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des AT* [1947], 158–63; contra V. Maag, “Tod und Jenseits nach dem AT,” *SThU* 34 [1964]: esp. 26ff.; von Rad, *Theol.* 1:405ff.).

If the PN *liqhî* in 1 Chron 7:19 is correct (contra *IP* no. 818; cf. GB 390b), then it should also be mentioned here as a shortened form of \**l<sup>e</sup>qahyâ* “Yahweh has raptured” (KBL 486a).

5. No peculiarities may be identified in the usage of the verb (and of the noun *leqah* in the meaning “doctrine,” 1QS 11:1) at Qumran. On the counterpart in the LXX and the NT, *lambanein*, in which the element of exchange (“to receive, acquire”) is even more emphatic than in the Hebr. *lqh*, see G. Delling, “λαμβάνω,” *TDNT* 4:5–15.

H. H. Schmid

## 𐤌𐤍𐤔 *m<sup>ʔ</sup>s* to reject

S 3988; BDB 549a; *HALOT* 2:540b; *TDOT* 8:47–59; *TWOT* 1139; *NIDOTTE* 4415

I. 1. *m<sup>ʔ</sup>s* also occurs outside the OT in Mid. Hebr. and Jew. Aram. The Akk. *mašû* (Assyr. *mašāʾu*) “to forget” should be distinguished from Hebr. *m<sup>ʔ</sup>s* (it is related to Hebr. *nšh*; see *AHW* 631a). The same is also true of Akk. *m<sup>ʔ</sup>su* “to throw down” and *mēšū* “to disregard” (the consistent orthography with *e* excludes the possibility of a middle *aleph* verb; cf. *GAG* §98a), although the semantic range of *mēšū* coincides largely with *m<sup>ʔ</sup>s*.

On possible Arab. counterparts (*maʿasa* “to think little of” and *maʿsun* “one who rejects advice”) see A. Guillaume, *Abr-Nahrain* 1 (1959): 11; 4 (1963/64): 8.

Besides *m<sup>ʔ</sup>s* I, the OT knows a ni. root *m<sup>ʔ</sup>s* II “to be lost” (by-form of *mss*).

2. In addition to the qal, the ni. occurs in the OT in the pass. sense: “to be rejected.” Nom. derivatives do not exist; the qal inf. abs. in Lam 3:45 is used uniquely as a subst.: “you make us a horror” (*māʾôs* par. *s<sup>ʕ</sup>hî* “rubbish, refuse”).

II. The verb *m<sup>ʔ</sup>s* is used in the OT in profane and in theological contexts. Yahweh can be the subj. in theological usage (see IV/2a-h), as

can Israel or another collective, or an individual (see IV/1a-c); thus one can distinguish between a theological usage with God (ThG) or with a person (ThP) as the subj. of the rejection (where the dividing line between profane and ThP is occasionally imprecise). An overview results in the following picture (passages with *mʿs* ni. in parentheses):

	Profane	ThG	ThP	Total
Lev	– 1	2	3	
Num	– –	2	2	
Judg	1 –	–	1	
1 Sam	–	4	5	9
2 Kgs	– 2	1	3	
Isa 1–39	4 –	4	8	
Isa 40–55	– (1) 1	–	1 (1)	
Jer	1 (1) 8	2	11 (1)	
Ezek	2 –	4	6	
Hos	– 2	1	3	
Amos	– 1	1	2	
Psa	1 (1) 4	2	7 (1)	
Job	7 3	1	11	
Prov	1 –	1	2	
Lam	– 3	–	3	
OT	17 (3)	29	26	72 (3)

The oldest occurrence may be in Judg 9:38 (profane, still premonarchial). The distribution in the OT is unremarkable, except for the complete absence in the old source documents of the Pentateuch (Num 11:20 is an addition). The relative frequency in 1 Sam, Isa, and Jer should be noted. The Job passages indicate that *mʿs* remained firmly anchored in everyday language, even long after it had developed into a technical theological term (see L. J. Kuyper, *VT* 9 [1959]: 91–94).

III. 1. (a) The verb can be used abs. (Job 42:6 “to recant”), but is usually constructed with *be* or (more frequently) with a simple acc. One notes no distinction in the usage of these two possibilities (cf. GKC §§117u, v, 119k, and BrSynt §106d).

*mʿs* requires rather varied translation according to the context. The crucial point for the semasiological development lies with the theological notion of rejection. In addition, however, Eng. counterparts such as “to overlook, disdain, disregard, cast away, deny, consider worthless, not want, recant” often approximate the meaning. Even in theological usage the translation “to reject,” which is further defined by the antonym “to choose,” should be used only with caution; semantically, *mʿs* is an even less sharply bounded technical term in a theological system than → *bhr*.

Characteristically, an astonishingly large number of equivalents occurs in the LXX; *apōtheomai* “to throw back, reject” (19x), *exoudeneō*, etc. “to consider naught, disregard” (16x), *apodokimazō* “to refuse” (7x), *apeitheō* “to be disobedient” (4x), *apopoieomai* “to set aside” (3x), as well as 3 other verbs with 2 occurrences each and 13 isolated renderings.

(b) Par. terms, antonyms, and other words from the semantic field of *mʾs* suitable for elucidating its meaning offer a similar picture.

Par. terms include: *gʿl* “to abhor” (Lev 26:15, 43f.; Jer 14:19), → *nʾs* “to disdain” (Isa 5:24 pi.; Jer 33:24 qal), → *tʿb* pi. “to abhor” (Job 19:19), *ntš* “to abandon” (1 Sam 12:22; Isa 2:6; Jer 7:29; 12:7; 23:33, 39; Psa 78:59f.), *bzh* “to despise” (1 Sam 15:9 txt em), → *sūr* hi. “to clear away” (2 Kgs 17:18, 23; 23:27), → *pr* hi. *bʿrīt* “to break the covenant” (Lev 26:15; Isa 33:8), → *škḥ* “to forget” (Hos 4:6[bis]), *znḥ* “to reject” (Psa 89:39), → *snʾ* “to hate” (Amos 5:21), → *šlk* hi. *mippʿn* “to cast out of one’s presence” (2 Kgs 17:20).

Antonyms include: → *bḥr* “to choose” (1 Sam 16:8; 2 Kgs 23:27; Isa 7:15f.; Psa 78:67f.; 106:23; Job 34:33), → *rʾh* “to select” (1 Sam 16:1), → *ydʿ* “to know, be concerned for” (Job 9:21), → *ḥšb* “to regard, consider” (Isa 33:8).

The following occur in relation to *mʾs*: → *mrh* “to be rebellious” (Ezek 5:6), *br* hitp. “to be indignant about” (Psa 89:39), → *qsp* “to be angry” (Lam 5:22), *šq* “to oppress” (Job 10:3), *db* pi. *be* “to sneer” (Job 19:18), and *qûs* “to be discouraged” (Isa 7:16). “Rejecting” Yahweh’s statutes is synonymous with “rebellious” (*mrh* hi.) against Yahweh’s laws and failing to walk in his statutes (Ezek 5:6; cf. 20:13, 16; 2 Kgs 17:19), not doing (Ezek 20:24) or not keeping the commandments (2 Kgs 17:19; Amos 2:4). The “rejection” of the Torah of Yahweh is demonstrated by the fact that one does not heed it (*qšb* hi., Jer 6:19). To reject Yahweh’s statutes is “to be stiff-necked” (*qšh* hi. *ōrep* 2 Kgs 17:14f.), etc.

(c) The rather rich spectrum of usages indicates that one can assume the basic meaning “to want nothing to do with”; the construction of the verb with *be* may be original. The verbal notion has a marked emotionally charged, irrational aspect; one rejects something because one neither no longer can nor wishes to identify inwardly with it.

Reasons for this distaste need not be stated and often are not. Yet the LXX’s relatively frequent translation of *mʾs* with *exoudeneō* should be noted: one abhors something because one has come to the awareness that it has no significant value for one. *apodokimazō* points even more clearly in this direction. The simple form means “to test, assay” (*dokimos* “tried, proved, dependable, trustworthy”); the composite means “to reject in trial, find worthless” (cf. W. Grundmann, “*dokimos*,” *TDNT* 2:255–60). The sense of Hebr. *mʾs* is also covered well by this notion (Psa 118:22; Job 30:1; cf. 19:18). One chooses the good and rejects the evil; one must have developed to some maturity

before one can make this choice, which requires a corresponding capacity for judgment. Israel disdains the “land” (Num 14:31) on the basis of the (admittedly false) judgment that life there would be dangerous. Jer 4:30 is a profound example of the affective content of the verb: no one wants to be concerned with a rape victim; or Isa 54:6: a man may reject his wife, perhaps even the beloved of his youth, yet such would be a thoroughly incomprehensible and unnatural act. One will obviously attempt in such a case to justify the act motivated by emotion with a rationale. In contrast, Gaal’s evaluation of Abimelech and his people as militarily insignificant (Judg 9:38) is a judgment deceived by uncontrolled wishful thinking. Job allows himself to become carried away and declares that he disdains life (Job 7:16; 9:21); he maintains that he has good reasons for his attitude, but his dialogue partners contest the accuracy of his evaluation of the situation. Nevertheless, that “rejection” can be based upon a justifiable, even experimentally verifiable, judgment is demonstrated by Jer 6:30 (*kesepe nimʾās*, silver that proves to be useless in the smelting process).

The material presented shows that the subj. of *mʾs* can consider his/her own sensitivities as the criterion for the rejection of a person or thing; in other cases, however, one decides on the basis of considerations that are oriented toward a recognized norm or experiences that cannot be overlooked. One cannot fail to notice, however, that, on the one hand, the attempt is made to justify the emotionally laden act and, on the other, that the rejection undertaken on the basis of apparently transparent rational grounds is actually driven by emotions.

2. A more specialized usage of *mʾs* can be discerned in the ethical sphere of the wisdom philosophy of life. As Job complains, when young children despise him and his relatives abhor him (Job 19:18f.), it contradicts the moral order according to which the younger should honor the elder (cf. 30:1) and relatives should respect one another (31:13). Individuals cannot be permitted to choose or reject according to their own discretion (34:33); the will of God must be determinative (cf. also 36:5 txt?). Only the evildoer fails to reject the evil (Psa 36:5); by contrast, the God-fearer abhors evil or the one who is rejected (by God?) (Psa 15:4, text and interpretation disputed), and disdains extorted gain (Isa 33:15). The wise (or pious) one knows that life can be successful (or blessed) only if it remains nestled in the established order; consequently, he/she does not cast “reproof” to the wind but regards himself/herself with appropriate humility (*mʾs* Prov 15:32). He instructs his sons not to reject the reproof of the Almighty, for God’s instruction brings well-being (Prov 3:11; Job 5:17). One should be thankful when God calls one back to his order through “reproof.”

Thus Israel stands in the wisdom tradition of the ancient Near East. Comparable are e.g., the Babylonian Theodicy (also called “Dialogue about Human Misery,” *ANET* 439b) ll. 78–81: “In reality, (O) sharp-witted one . . . ; you have rejected the truth [*kitta ta-at-ta-du*, Gtn from *nadû* ‘to throw’], you have despised the decree of the god. Not to observe the ordinances of the god was the wish of your soul, The correct purifications of

the goddess you have [neglected]" (*temēšu* from *mēšu* supplied in the last line, B. Landsberger, ZA 43 [1936]: 54). One reads in an Eg. burial inscription: "I have practiced righteousness and abhorred unrighteousness; I have known . . . what pleases (God)" (F. von Bissing, *Altägyptische Lebensweisheit* [1955], 146f.); "I am one who . . . heeds righteousness and banishes the evil from my heart" (op. cit. 150); "I have not done that which God abhors, rather that which people praise and with which the gods are pleased" (op. cit. 154).

IV. 1. (a) The boundaries between neglect of the world order and neglect of the explicitly revealed will of God are fluid. The Israelites encounter the will of God primarily in the form of definite demands made by one of his representatives, a priest or a prophet, who claims to proclaim Yahweh's instruction (*tôrâ*) or word (*dābār*). Correspondingly, the rejection of God's will is manifest in the refusal of instruction and word. Saul "rejects" the word of Yahweh that Samuel presents to him. Hosea must accuse the people of "rejection" of knowledge (Hos 4:6; cf. N. Lohfink, *Bib* 42 [1961]: 303–32, esp. 320ff.). Isaiah bases his judgment message on the "rejection" of Yahweh's instruction (Isa 5:24, par. the mocking of the word of the Holy One of Israel, which refers not to a specific law but to the contextual prophetic word). The alternatives to *mʾs*, *ʾmn* hi. "to have trust" and *šʿn* ni. *ʿal* "to rest upon" (cf. Isa 10:20), indicate that a law-oriented obedience is in no way intended as the opposite of *mʾs*; rather, "faith" would be the proper response to the prophetic call. When Isaiah charges the people with refusing the gently flowing waters of Shiloah (Isa 8:6), he means not only the refusal of the specific prophetic word, but the concomitant refusal of Yahweh's assurance of well-being for Israel as expressed in the tradition of the invincibility of the city of God. In other words, behind Israel's no to Yahweh's instruction stands its no to the awareness granted it of being hidden in God.

Jeremiah also speaks of the rejection of Yahweh's instruction that can bring only destruction (Jer 6:19). He sees this rejection practiced esp. by the "wise" of his time. Indeed, the truly wise must seek after Yahweh's *tôrâ*; the "wisdom" that arrogantly thinks it knows from the outset what is proper human action and inaction blocks thereby the way to knowledge of God.

In contrast to Isaiah or Jeremiah, Ezekiel actually speaks of the rejection of the commandments (*mišpāṭîm* Ezek 5:6; 20:13, 16) or statutes (*ḥuqqôt* 20:24). The expression sounds formulaic and the par. statements are also formulaic ("not walking in Yahweh's statutes" 5:6; 20:13, 16). The intention of this statement is indicated by 20:16: Yahweh's Sabbaths are profaned and Israel's heart clings to idols (cf. also Lev 26:43). Here Ezekiel's more legalistic orientation in comparison to Isaiah becomes apparent. It should be maintained, however, that despite the incisiveness of

his accusations, Ezekiel does not speak of the people's rejection of Yahweh himself, and that the theme of rejection is entirely omitted from the second half of the book.

(b) In accord with the unique theological position of Deutero-Isaiah, the theme of rejection is no longer expressed; he directs all his efforts at making Israel certain of and joyous in belief in its election (→ *bhr* IV/3b).

In contrast, Deut (approximately contemporary with Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah) is concerned with making Israel aware that the collapse of 587 did not come upon it accidentally and undeservedly. The establishment of the monarchy as a result of pressure from the people is already interpreted as rejection of Yahweh. This act was Israel's fall, so to speak (1 Sam 8:7; 10:9; cf. Hos 9:15, 17). This understanding signifies an escalation in comparison with the older tradition, which spoke of Saul's rejection of Yahweh's word in 1 Sam 15:23ff. One must ask, however, whether the usual translation "reject" is too pointed; the reference cannot be to an absolute rejection of Yahweh (cf. the rendering with *exoudeneō* "to hold in contempt" in LXX). Num 11:20 speaks similarly, using *mʿs* of the underestimation of Yahweh. In 2 Kgs 17 the Dtr summarizes the behavior of Israel after the portrayal of the demise of the northern kingdom: it did not heed Yahweh's warnings through the prophets, it stiffened its neck, it disregarded Yahweh's statutes, and it practiced idolatry (vv 14ff.). In this regard, it parallels Ezekiel's position. But it surpasses this prophet in seeing the grounds for the disobedience in lack of trust in Yahweh and conceives of it as a rejection of the covenant that Yahweh made with the fathers. It charges Israel with having abandoned the fundamental relationship that God had established with Israel. The Dtr insertion in Amos 2:1–4 also sees the basis for the judgment that Judah had experienced in the rejection of Yahweh's *tôrâ* and in the failure to keep his statutes. *tôrâ* here no longer means prophetic instruction, as in Isa and Jer, but, as the par. clause indicates, the totality of the declaration of God's will, the law. Although the passage does not speak of the violation of covenant, it still refers to the denial of the norms for life established by Yahweh (on breach of the covenant, cf. W. Thiel, *VT* 20 [1970]: 214–29).

(c) It is well worth noting that with Dtr the theological usage of the verb *mʿs* with a person almost completely ceases. Only Num 14:31 and the dependent Psa 106 (v 24) at least continue to speak of the fact that Israel has disdained the land, which may have reflected a shortage of trust in Yahweh. Still, this episode belonged to a history long since past. That generation was punished for its doubt, but the descendants have found mercy; one tells of those evil times only in order to praise the wonders and mighty deeds of Yahweh (Psa 106:2) and to assure oneself of the validity of the covenant. Exilic Israel also knows of its faithlessness to God, but no one still dares to interpret this disobedience as rejection of the law or of Yahweh himself. The disappearance of *mʿs*

from less fundamental accusations as well may be related to the fact that the verb has meanwhile become an increasingly pregnant theological term connoting the denunciation of Yahweh. An Israelite behavior that could be reprimanded using this word must evoke anew the reaction of God's rejection of his people. The post-exilic community is, however, aware of its election and is confident that it rests in its God.

2. (a) When Samuel sees Eliab, Jesse's son, Yahweh says to him: "I do not want him." Of Eliab's brothers who follow, God declares: "These too I have not chosen" (1 Sam 16:7ff.). *mʿs* cannot be translated "reject" here; the term is sufficiently represented by "not choose." For one can be rejected only if one has been previously chosen. One should doubtless interpret *mʿs* in this way also in Jer 2:37; the statement may not be translated, as it usually is: "Yahweh has rejected those in whom you trusted"; one may best translate here: "he has not chosen them."

(b) But these are isolated cases. As a rule, the translation "to reject" in the theological usage with God as subj. is totally appropriate, because the obj. is the one chosen by Yahweh, whether the king, the people, or an individual. Thus one ought not be surprised that, just as Israel first discussed election in relation to the king, it also seems to have first discussed rejection in relation to the king. Such is already the case in the Saul tradition of 1 Sam 15: "Because you have rejected the word of Yahweh, he has rejected you as king" (v 23; cf. also the later passage 16:1). This statement presupposed that Saul had been the elect. One may observe already here, however, that Yahweh's rejection is not capricious; unlike election, it is not ultimately grounded in Yahweh's freedom. It is a reaction to the failure of the king. This failure, however, does not consist of his lack of politicomilitary success—to the contrary, 1 Sam 15 can report Saul's significant military victory; rather, the rejection of Saul is a consequence of a specific act of disobedience. The criterion by which the king will be evaluated is not success or failure but respect for God's law, of which Samuel is the attorney. The problem of how one of God's elect can fail does not occupy the narrator; at any rate, according to him, election does not have such permanence that it cannot be called into question by the improper behavior of the elect.

(c) The possibility of the rejection of the Davidides was hardly envisioned. The other structural element of the Jerusalemite monarchy, which established itself as a hereditary monarchy, may be mirrored in this phenomenon. Only once, in Psa 89:39f., does Yahweh's "no" appear to be pronounced to the Davidides: "Now you have cast off (*znḥ*), rejected (*mʿs*), you are full of indignation (*ʿbr hitp.*) against your anointed; you have abandoned your covenant with your servant." The psalm must have come into existence in a period of great weakness for the Davidides. One may conclude from this situation that the relationship between monarchy and

Yahweh must have been disturbed. This disturbance does not mean, however, that Yahweh's anointed could have forfeited his preferred status, e.g., on account of his infidelity. The Davidic covenant is indeed a covenant for "eternity" (vv 5, 29f.). Yahweh's grace is established "forever," his faithfulness founded in the heavens (v 3). Consequently, vv 39f. cannot refer to a revocation of election, and it is not unusual that the psalm concludes with the petition to Yahweh to remember the reproach of his servant.

Just as Psa 89 can speak of the deity's "rejection" of the king, Israel's neighbors can speak of the deity turning away from the ruler in the context of the petition for renewed attention. Thus Ashurnasirpal I pleads to Ishtar in a lament: "Look at me, Lady, for on account of your inattention the heart of your servant would be grieved." Just as Psa 89 refers back to the election of David, the Assyrian king appeals to his status with the goddess: "I am Ashurnasirpal, your greatly aggrieved servant, the humble, who fears your deity, the circumspect, your darling" (SAHG 265).

Thus this Jerusalemite concept stands in marked tension to the Saul tradition, as well as to the prophetic voices of the OT that subject the monarchy to a stringent critique, if they do not go so far as to deny it divine legitimation (cf. Hos 8:4).

(d) Although Deut discusses the election of Israel extensively (→ *bhr* IV/2b), the opposite—rejection—is not discussed at all. It strives to see that Israel draws the necessary consequences from its election and thereby fully realizes election. But the cancellation of election lies beyond its purview. It counts on the harshest punishments for disobedience (cf. the curse-threats in Deut 28:16ff.), yet without drawing the apparently unavoidable conclusion that Yahweh could also absolve the covenant. Israel is Yahweh's people and cannot one day cease to be so. The approximately contemporary H does not shy away, however, from threatening this final consequence: "if you disregard my statutes and abhor my commandments . . . and thus break the covenant with me, then I will also deal with you likewise" (Lev 26:15f.). This statement accords thoroughly with the logic of the covenant scheme in which OT law is incorporated: if a partner proves to be disloyal, then the covenant is "broken." The tension between covenant and election theology is not, then, maintained here as in Deut, but is resolved in favor of the inner consistency of the covenant notion.

(e) The pre-exilic prophets avoid discussing election altogether. Without question, however, Israel is the chosen people for them; thus they can also use the theme of rejection. Amos, for whom the election of Israel certainly became an issue (cf. e.g., Amos 9:7), speaks of Yahweh's disdain for Israel's feasts (5:21). But it is certainly not accidental that he does not consider Israel's rejection as an abrogation of its election. Hosea first

threatens the priests with rejection (Hos 4:6) because they had rejected “knowledge.” In 9:17 he also speaks expressly of the rejection of Ephraim. The reminder of Saul, inherent in the preceding v 15, may have suggested the term *mʿs* to him. The statement is intensified by the mention not of Yahweh and not of “your” God, but of “my” God (cf. 1:9 “not-my-people”). Nevertheless, in the light of Hosea’s total message, this statement cannot mean that the relationship between Yahweh and Israel may have come to a radical end (cf. 11:8 and Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 189). *mʿs* here too cannot be the precise logical opposite of *bhr*. As established above, Isaiah charges Israel with the rejection of the prophetic word. But he does not conclude that Israel (or the Davidic king) will be rejected. It is uncertain whether the prophet himself is the author of Jer 7:29, or whether the passage must be attributed to the Dtr redaction (cf. also 7:15). In 14:19 it is doubtless Jeremiah himself who places the lament in the mouth of the people: “Have you then totally rejected Judah? Has your soul become weary of Zion?” The passage is an expression of the cultic piety discussed above in reference to Psa 89 that cannot conceive of the notion that Yahweh could have good grounds to dissolve his relationship with Israel. Jeremiah’s own intention is naturally distinct. Despite the harshness of his answer to the communal lament in 15:1–4, he still does not explicitly deny belief in Israel’s election. Yet 6:30 remains: “She is called rejected silver, for Yahweh has rejected her.” One may not overestimate this passage theologically: “reject” indubitably signifies deliverance to judgment; it marks a final breach in the history of Yahweh and his people.

(f) The author of the historical Psa 78 sees the problem in yet another light. He is confronted by the harsh reality that the northern kingdom has come to an end: “(God) rejected Israel entirely, he scorned (*nš*) his dwelling at Shiloh” (vv 59f.). In v 67 he repeats the statement: “he rejected the tent of Joseph,” but now he interprets (apparently consciously, regardless of how unlikely the statement may be), “he had not chosen the tribe of Ephraim.” Election was valid only for Judah, Zion, and Yahweh’s servant, David (vv 68–72). As questionable as this thesis is, it still attests to the author’s awareness that it is theologically inconceivable that Yahweh could repeal his election.

(g) The author of Psa 78 found it easy to abandon or deny the election of the northern kingdom because he could regard Judah, which survived the Assyrian threat, as the true Israel for whom all God’s promises were valid. But after 587, Israel’s belief in election found itself confronted with the end of independence for Judah, the destruction of the temple, and the end of the dominion of the Davidic kings. God is accused in the songs of lament: “You made us trash and horror in the midst of the nations” (Lam 3:45). The small collection ends with the harsh question: “Or have you totally rejected us, are you exceedingly angry with us?” (5:22). But the

speaker of the lament songs stands immediately in the Jerusalemite cultic tradition; he knows that such a rejection cannot be reality.

A Sum. prayer already laments that the monarchy has been removed from the land, its face directed to enemy territory, and, in accord with the command of An and Enlil, "law and order" has ceased to exist, all of this because the gods have removed their favor from the land of Sumer (cf. *ANET* 612b, ll. 19ff.)

The Dtr questioned what was once an article of faith much more harshly. Yahweh rejected the entire people Israel and cast them from his presence (2 Kgs 17:20). In 2 Kgs 23:27 he interprets the events of 587 more precisely: "I will remove Judah, too, from my presence, as I have removed Israel, and I will reject Jerusalem, the city that I chose." Therewith, the files concerning Israel seem to be finally closed. The thrust of the Dtr history seems to many exegetes to be to demonstrate that it must come to this conclusion because Yahweh's patience has been abused to the point of exhausting it. Yet this cannot be the case (→ *bhr* IV/3a); the Dtr intends to effect a fundamentally new consciousness that will see the extreme harshness of the recent judgment and acknowledge its necessity.

Lev 26:44 expressly emphasizes the notion that this judgment may be understood as abandonment to destruction. The dissolution of the covenant is not at issue. Secondary portions of Jer speak even more emphatically of the fact that Yahweh will not reject Israel (Jer 31:37). The author of the perhaps somewhat older passage 33:23ff. sharply opposes the saying current among the people that Yahweh has rejected the two families that he chose, and contends that even David's family continues to stand under the sign of election. Israel, which had become unsure of itself in the catastrophes of 721 and 587, found its way back to assurance of its status with its God.

Deutero-Isaiah also makes a significant contribution to this end. He not only urgently stresses that Israel/Jacob is Yahweh's chosen and servant (cf. H. Wildberger, "Die Neuinterpretation des Erwählungsglaubens Israels in der Krise der Exilszeit," FS Eichrodt 307–24), but he emphasizes: "I have not rejected you" (Isa 41:9). He attests to the inherent impossibility of the notion that Yahweh could reject his people with the rhetorical question: "can one reject the wife of one's youth? says your God" (54:6). Admittedly, Israel resembles an abandoned, deeply grieved woman; one may even speak of its widowhood (v 4), but it is not rejected (cf. the image in Jer 2:2).

(h) In the post-exilic era, the notion of Israel's rejection is hardly visible on the horizon of the OT witness. As burdened as Israel's relationship with its God was, faith in election was still a firm fundamental for Israel. Yet election faith underwent some individualization in this era (→

*bhr* IV/4c) that one can also observe in linguistic usage. Older texts never speak of the rejection of an individual, except kings. Laments used in the temple cult may have occasionally mentioned the rejection of the godless. One reads in Psa 53:6 that the wicked will come to shame because they have rejected Yahweh (Psa 14, virtually identical with Psa 53, does not speak of this rejection; it may represent an older version). Psa 15:4 also seems to presuppose that rejection was discussed in the cultic community. Unfortunately, the text of this passage is uncertain, as is Job 36:5; apparently one should translate the latter: “behold, God rejects the defiant” (cf. the comms.), further testimony that individuals were considered rejected by God on account of their behavior. Job 10:3 has clear affinities with the phraseology of cultic prayers: “Is it then to your advantage that you oppress, that you reject the work of your hands and entertain the counsel of the godless?” The evidence demonstrates that the moment Israel’s election was no longer thoroughly treated, the question of the identity of the entity “Israel” and thereby that of membership in the people of God was raised with new force, if not raised for the first time.

According to this analysis, in addition to faith in its election, Israel seriously considered the possibility of rejection and occasionally reckoned with it as a real threat. It was never understood, however, as God’s capricious act, but only as Yahweh’s reaction to the termination of the relationship of trust with him. The notion that rejection could signify final exclusion from Yahweh’s presence turns up only on the fringes and is limited by awareness of Yahweh’s faithfulness and the “eternity” of his gracious attention. When rejection is nevertheless threatened or described as an actuality, it cannot be meant as Israel’s absolute end, but must be understood as consignment to harsh judgment. Thus Lev 26:44 can declare: “Even when they are in the land of the enemy, I will not reject and abhor them such that I prepare an end for them and break my covenant with them, for I am Yahweh, their God.” Statements of rejection are finally not statements concerning the annulment of election; rather, they must be understood as necessary attempts to guard the election concept against false conclusions. Chosenness does not lend the people of God a status of invincibility or of immunity from God’s judgments; he emphatically demands Israel’s response in faithfulness, obedience, and love.

V. 1. The marked dominance of the theological usage with a person (ThP) is noteworthy in the Qumran literature (15 of 19 passages mentioned in Kuhn, *Konk.* 113f.). Objs. of this usage are primarily equivalents for “law,” “covenant,” etc. Here, as in the two passages with a theological usage with God (ThG) (1Q34bis 3 II.4f., God rejects those once chosen by him; cf. F. Nötscher, *BZ* 3 [1959]: 225; 1QS 1:4), the nuance of the correct delimitation of the Qumran community as the true people of God is clear in

statements concerning the rejection of individuals. One should love all that he has chosen and hate all that he has rejected (1QS 1:4).

2. Of the LXX equivalents for *mʾs* (see III/1a), *exouthencō* (as well as *exoudeneō* 1x) occurs 11x in the NT; *apodokimazō* is used 9x. Of these, 6 cases speak of the rejection of the Son of Man with citations from Psa 118:22 (the cornerstone = Christ). Heb 12:17 describes Esau as rejected in a sharpening of the OT passage Mal 1:2. Cf. H. Gross, “Verwerfung,” *BLex* 2 1845f.

H. Wildberger

## מות *mût* to die

S 4191; BDB 559a; *HALOT* 2:562a; *TDOT* 8:185–209; *TWOT* 1169; *NIDOTTE* 4637

1. The root *mût* “to die” is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 214; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 249, 263) and has counterparts in Eg. It has no plausible etymology.

Besides the qal, the Hebr. verb exhibits the po. and the hi. (with ho. pass.) with the meaning “to kill.” Three verbal abstracts derive from the verb: first the segholate formation of the *qatl* type, \**mawt-* > *māwet* “death,” then the prefixed fem. *t<sup>e</sup>mûtâ* “dying” (Barth 300) and the plurale tantum (invariable pl.) *m<sup>e</sup>môtîm* “death; the dead.”

2. The enumeration of occurrences is difficult because a distinction between the verb (inf.) and the noun (cs. st.) is neither possible nor useful in many cases. We follow the categorization of Lis., which, in contrast to Mandl., attributes 12 passages to *mût* instead of to *māwet*, but we include the 72 occurrences of the substantivized qal ptcp. *mēt* “dead person” listed separately in Lis. with the verb (incl. Psa 55:16 Q; excl. *ʿal(-)mût* in Psa 9:1 and 48:15; Prov 19:16 listed with Q as qal, not with K as ho.) With the one Bibl. Aram. occurrence of *môt* “death” in Ezra 7:26, the result is precisely 1,000 occurrences (“other” includes: *t<sup>e</sup>mûtâ* Psa 79:11; 102:21; *m<sup>e</sup>môtîm* Jer 16:4; Ezek 28:8):

	qal	po.	hi.	ho.	<i>māwet</i>	othertotal
Gen 73	–	5	1	6	–	85
Exod 44	–	5	10	1	–	60
Lev 27	–	1	15	1	–	44

Num	67	–	6	10	5	–	88	
Deut	35	–	4	7	9	–	55	
Josh	8	–	2	1	3	–	14	
Judg	30	1	6	2	4	–	43	
1 Sam	32	2	21	4	6	–	65	
2 Sam	54	3	14	3	9	–	83	
1 Kgs	38	–	18	1	3	–	60	
2 Kgs	34	–	15	8	5	–	62	
Isa	18	–	3	–	8	–	29	
Jer	30	1	15	1	13	1	61	
Ezek	42	–	1	1	5	1	50	
Hos	1	–	2	–	2	–	5	
Joel	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Amos	5	–	–	–	–	–	5	
Obad	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Jonah	1	–	–	–	–	3	–	4
Nah	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Hab	1	–	–	–	1	–	2	
Zeph	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Hag	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Zech	2	–	–	–	–	–	2	
Mal	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Psa	10	2	3	–	22	2	39	
Job	13	–	3	–	8	–	24	
Prov	6	–	2	–	19	–	27	
Ruth	10	–	–	–	2	–	12	
Song Sol	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1
Eccl	11	–	–	–	4	–	15	
Lam	1	–	–	–	1	–	2	
Esth	–	–	1	–	1	–	2	
Dan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Ezra	–	–	–	–	1	(Aram.)	–	1
Neh	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
1 Chron	22	–	–	3	–	2	–	27
2 Chron	15	–	–	8	4	6	–	33
OT	630	9	138	68	150	+1	4	1,000

3. (a) In comparison with both Akk. and modern usage, the semantic range of *mût* qal “to die” is more limited and more sharply defined. In the OT, the primary subj. of the verb is people, then animals (about 20x, e.g., Gen 33:13; Ezek 7:18, 21; 22:9). Only one passage relates dying to the

plant world, not to the blooms or the foliage but to the root (Job 14:8). A fig. usage of *mût* is rare in the OT (Gen 47:19, field; Job 12:2, wisdom). The Akk. description of the invalidation of a document as “dying” (*AHW* 635a) never occurs in the OT, nor does the increasingly frequent contemporary application to various spheres of nature (fire, color, light) or to acoustic phenomena (speech, song, tone). The idiom in 1 Sam 25:37 is unique: “Nabal’s heart died” as a hyperbolic expression for fatal fright; cf. the corresponding usage of “to live” in Gen 45:27; Judg 15:19.

A related verb is *g<sup>w</sup>c* qal, whose semantic field is even more restricted; it became more common in later speech (24x; 12x in P in Gen, Num, and Josh 22:20; 8x in Job; also Zech 13:8; Psa 88:16; 104:29; Lam 1:19) and is paired once with *mût*. It describes chiefly violent death, “to lose one’s life,” whether through an accident or as the result of privation, etc. (cf. B. Alfrink, *OTS* [1948]: 123; G. R. Driver, *JSS* 7 [1962]: 15–17). Frequent euphemisms for dying include “to be gathered (*ʔsp* ni.) to his fathers/relatives” (→ *ʔāb* III/2a, IV/2a) and “to depart” (→ *h<sup>l</sup>k* 3a).

(b) Of the two causative stems, the po. acquires a special significance: to give one almost dead or fated to die the fatal, releasing blow.

“To kill” is normally indicated by the hi. The verb rarely appears abs.: 3x in the expression “to kill and to bring alive” (Deut 32:39; 1 Sam 2:6; 2 Kgs 5:7, always with God as subj.), also in Job 9:23. The obj. is always per. (people or animals) and consequently the verb always occurs in the proper sense. Things or abstractions rarely appear as subjs. (which cause the death): “ark” (1 Sam 5:11), “whip” (Job 9:23), “jealousy” (Job 5:2), “desire” (Prov 21:25), and similarly 4x of an animal: “cattle” (Exod 21:29), “lion” (1 Kgs 13:24, 26; 2 Kgs 17:26). With a per. subj. *mût* hi. signifies “to kill” in the broadest sense, incl. military and judicial killing (e.g., Josh 10:26; 11:17; 2 Sam 8:2; 2 Kgs 14:6).

Although only a few semantically related terms are associated with intrans. *mût* qal, several expressions are approximately synonymous for *mût* hi. The closest term semasiologically is *hrg* (qal 162x; Gen and Judg 16x each, 2 Chron 12x, Exod, Num, and 1 Kgs 11x each [Lis. omits 1 Kgs 19:14]; ni. 3x, pu. 2x; *hereg* and *h<sup>a</sup>rēgā* “to kill” 5x each), although it places greater emphasis on killing as a violent, bloody act (cf. Isa 14:30). *ršh* (40x qal, 33x in the regulations concerning cities of refuge: 20x in Num 35, 8x in Josh 20–21, also Deut 4:42[bis]; 19:3f., 6; besides the Decalogue commandment, Exod 20:13; Deut 5:17 [cf. Jer 7:9; Hos 4:2], there remain only Deut 22:26; 1 Kgs 21:19; Job 24:14; ni. 2x, pi. 5x, *rešah* “murder” 2x) expresses a moral and religious assessment (killing as an evil act; cf. J. J. Stamm, *TZ* 1 [1945]: 81–90), which *mût* hi. per se does not imply.

Only rarely and in later times does *qtl* “to kill” occur as an Aramism (Wagner nos. 254f.; qal Psa 139:19; Job 13:15; 24:14; *qetel* “murder” Obad 9); it is the normal term in Bibl. Aram. for “to kill” (pe. Dan 5:19, 30; 7:11; pa. 2:14; 3:22; hitp. 2:13[bis]).

The distinction is clearer with respect to *nkh* hi. “to smite,” which often pairs with *mût* hi.; it does not express actual killing but the action that leads to death (Josh 10:26; 11:17; 2 Sam 4:7; 18:15; 21:17; 1 Kgs 16:10; 2 Kgs 15:10, 30).

On the expression *môt-yûmat* “he shall be killed” (*mût* ho.) in the sequential law codes, cf. Alt, *EOTHR* 109–14; V. Wagner, *OLZ* 63 (1968): 325–28; H. Schulz, *Das Todesrecht im AT* (1969).

(c) The subst. *māwet* refers to dying and being dead, whether from natural causes or from violence, quite often in explicit contrast to life (Deut 30:19; 2 Sam 15:21; Jer 8:3; Jonah 4:3, 8; Psa 89:49; Prov 18:21).

A particular concretization of the concept occurs chiefly in poetic diction but within narrow limits. Only traces of personification occur, such as expressions like “firstborn of death” (Job 18:13), “to make an agreement (*b<sup>e</sup>rît*) with death” (Isa 28:15, 18). A few expressions relate death to a spatial realm: “gates of death” (Psa 9:14; 107:18; Job 38:17), “ways of death” (Jer 21:8; Prov 14:12 = 16:25; cf. Akk. *uruḫ mūti*), and “chamber of death” (Prov 7:27). *māwet* apparently represents → *š<sup>e</sup>ōl* in such passages; cf. *ḥadrê š<sup>e</sup>ōl* “chambers of the realm of the dead” (1QH 10:34; cf. 2 Sam 22:6; Isa 28:15; Hos 13:14; Psa 6:6; 22:16; Job 30:23, where *māwet* also equals *š<sup>e</sup>ōl* (cf. C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des AT* [1947], 89). Personifying attributes, e.g., references to corporality, equipment, etc., are entirely absent, which is remarkable in comparison with the audacious usage in Akk. and Ug. texts (the Ug. Mot is a god who kills Baal and is then killed by Anat). The few descriptions of death are almost exclusively indicated by predicative statements and are limited to the activities and effects of death (Jer 9:20; Psa 49:15; Job 28:22).

*māwet* occurs once in a weakened sense as a mere intensifier, e.g., “impatient to death” (Judg 16:16; cf. D. W. Thomas, *VT* 3 [1953]: 219ff.; 18 [1968]: 123; S. Rin, *VT* 9 [1959]: 324f.).

4. Although the semantic field of “death” is of extraordinary theological significance, one cannot speak of a specifically theological sphere of usage, and a distinction between profane and theological usage is impossible. Among the OT theologies, cf. esp. von Rad, *Theol.* 1:275–

77, 387–91, 405–8; further G. Quell, *Die Auffassung des Todes in Israel* (1925); L. Wächter, *Der Tod im AT* (1967) (exhaustive concerning the emotional attitude toward death and the religious evaluation of death, incl. attention to the ancient Near Eastern surroundings).

5. On the concepts “to die” or “death” in Judaism and in the NT, cf. J. Lindblom, *Das ewige Leben: Eine Studie über die Entstehung der religiösen Lebensidee im NT* (1914); R. Bultmann, “θάνατος,” *TDNT* 3:7–25.

G. Gerleman

מים *mayim* **water** → תְּהוֹם *t<sup>e</sup>hôm*

### מלא *ml<sup>l</sup>* to be full, fill

S 4390; BDB 569b; *HALOT* 2:583a; *TDOT* 8:297–308; *TWOT* 1195; *NIDOTTE* 4848

1. The root *ml<sup>l</sup>* “to be full, fill” is common Sem. It is attested in the entire linguistic realm: Akk. (*AHw* 597–99), Ug. (*WUS* no. 1568; *UT* no. 1479), Phoen., Yaudi, Aram. (*DISO* 151; *KBL* 1093), Syr. (LS 388–90), Arab., Eth. (Berg., *Intro.* 220).

In addition to the verb (qal, ni., pi., pu., and hitp.), the OT has the adj. *mālē<sup>l</sup>* “full” and the subst. *m<sup>e</sup>lō<sup>l</sup>* “fullness,” *m<sup>e</sup>lē<sup>l</sup>â* “full yield,” *millū<sup>l</sup>â*/*millū<sup>l</sup>îm* “(stone) trimming” (from *ml<sup>l</sup>* pi. in a technical meaning), *millū<sup>l</sup>îm* “consecration” (from *ml<sup>l</sup>* pi. *yād* “to consecrate”; see 4), *millē<sup>l</sup>î* “fullness” (cf. Gerleman, BK 18, 174), *millō<sup>l</sup>* “promontory, acropolis” (on the disputed archaeological expression, cf. *BRL* 7; G. Sauer, *BHH* 2:1217f.; Noth, BK 9/1, 219f.). There is also the PN *yimlā<sup>l</sup>/yimlâ* (“may [the deity] fulfill”; *IP* 246).

*ml<sup>l</sup>* pe. “to fill” (Dan 2:35) and hitp. “to be filled” (Dan 3:19) are attested in Bibl. Aram.

2. The verb occurs 246x in the Hebr. OT: qal 97x (distinctions from the adj. *mālē<sup>l</sup>* follow Lis.; Jer 51:11 counted as qal instead of pi. in contrast to Lis.; Isa 14x, Jer and Ezek 11x, Psa 9x, Gen 8x), ni. 36x, pi. 111x (incl. Job 8:21 with the by-form *mlh*; Exod 15x, Jer, Ezek, and Psa 9x, 1 Kgs and Job 8x), pu. 1x (Song Sol 5:14), and hitp. 1x (Job 16:10).

Noms. occur as follows: *mālē* 67x (Num 25x, Jer and Ezek 6x), *m<sup>l</sup>ō* 38x (Isa, Ezek, and Psa 5x each), *m<sup>l</sup>ē<sup>ʔ</sup>â* 3x, *millū<sup>ʔ</sup>â* 3x, *millū<sup>ʔ</sup>îm* 15x, *millē<sup>ʔ</sup>t* 1x, *millō* 10x; the whole root 383x, as well as 2x in Bibl. Aram. (see 1).

3. (a) Corresponding to the proper and the fig. usages of the root, an area can be filled with all manner of things in both the lit. and the fig. sense, e.g., the water of the sea with animals (Gen 1:22) or the land with violence (Gen 6:13). As in other Sem. languages, the qal can have a trans. meaning, but it is usually used intrans. (that which fills is indicated by the acc.; cf. BrSynt 80). In the intrans. meaning, it introduces the acc. obj. (e.g., Exod 40:34f.; Jer 51:11; Ezek 8:17), with or without the particle *ʔēt*. On the details of the various usages cf. the lexicons.

(b) In the trans. usage, the verb frequently assumes a technical, particularly military or cultic significance (see 4a). Thus Jer 51:11 “fill the shields” means, in the military sense: “fill the shields with your bodies,” i.e., “arm yourselves with your shields.” This military usage also characterizes the ni.; cf. 2 Sam 23:7 “he fills his (supply ‘hand’) with an iron bar and a spear shaft,” i.e., “he arms himself”; similarly the pi. in Zech 9:13 (cf. Akk. *mullû qašta* “load the bow with an arrow,” *AHW* 598a). In all these cases, the Hebr. verb *ml<sup>ʔ</sup>* meaning “to arm” or “to arm oneself” is followed by an acc. obj. (also “hand” with the weapon indicated by *be*; cf. 2 Kgs 9:24). The verb can also be used abs., however, as in Jer 4:5, where the impv. occurs in a martial context “arm yourselves”; cf. D. W. Thomas, “*mwl<sup>ʔ</sup>w* in Jer 4:5: A Military Term,” *JJS* 3 [1952]: 47–52).

(c) *šlm* and *tmm* are comparable as synonyms of *ml<sup>ʔ</sup>* in the sense of “to be complete,” etc. An antonym of “to be full” is *rîq* “to be empty” (in the OT only in hi. “to empty,” 17x; ho. 2x; in addition the adjs. *rîq* and *îq* “empty, nought,” 12x and 14x, resp., and the adv. *rêqām* “with empty hands, without success, without cause,” 16x; in Ruth 1:21 in contrast to *mālē<sup>ʔ</sup>*. “I went away rich, and Yahweh brought me back poor”).

4. (a) One of the specialized religious meanings of *ml<sup>ʔ</sup>* is “to dedicate someone to God’s service.” In this case the verb precedes (Exod 32:29 qal, otherwise pi.) the word *yād* “hand” and the prep. *le* (cf. Ezek 28:41; 32:29; 1 Chron 29:5). Thus one says in the fullest form: “to fill someone’s hand for Yahweh”; the oldest text with this expression in the simple form “to fill the hand” is Judg 17:5, 12. V 5 treats the entry of one of Micah’s sons into priestly functions. The expression occurs again then in Exod 32:29; 1 Kgs 13:33; and in priestly texts (Exod 28:41; 29:9, 29, 33, 35; Lev 8:33; 16:32; 21:10; Num 3:3; cf. 2 Chron 13:9). It loses any concrete connotation in Ezek 43:26 and is used of the dedication of the altar. Accordingly, the subst. *millū<sup>ʔ</sup>îm* “filling (of the hand)” serves to describe the initiation of

priests (cf. Exod 29:22–34; Lev 7:37; 8:22–33).

The original sense of the expression may no longer be determined with certainty (the lit. translation of the LXX offers no help here). Exod 29:24f. and Lev 8:27f. offer an explanation, but unfortunately they are late texts and one may surmise that they offer secondary interpretations of an expression whose meaning has long since been forgotten. According to these texts, Moses placed portions of the sacrifice intended for the altar in the hands of Aaron and his sons, executed the gesture of presentation with them, took the offerings from their hands again, and burned them on the altar. According to this *millūʾim* sacrifice, “to fill the hands” would mean that the offerings were placed in the hands of the priest for the first time on the occasion of his initiation into the priesthood. Another explanation relates to the priests’ compensation made in this manner. This hypothesis is supported by Judg 17:10; 18:4, where the Levite whose “hands (Micah) fills” is engaged for ten shekels of silver per year, in addition to clothing and board. A third explanation rests upon a Mari Letter in which *mīl qātīšunu* “filling your hand” refers to a portion of the plunder due each officer (ARM 2, no. 13.17). For the priest, this expression would refer to a share in the income of the sanctuary and in the sacrificial offerings (de Vaux 2:346f.; M. Noth, “Office and Vocation in the OT,” *Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* [1966], 231f.; id., BK 9/1, 304f.).

(b) A few other usages of the root in theological contexts are based upon the usual fig. meaning of *mlʾ* pi. “to fill,” without constituting a specifically theological usage. Just as Nathan “fulfills” i.e., “confirms” Bathsheba’s words in 1 Kgs 1:14, the fulfillment of a prophecy is the confirmation of its authenticity, and often an event occurs in the OT to “fulfill” Yahweh’s word through a prophet, e.g., 1 Kgs 2:27 “so that the word of Yahweh may be fulfilled, which he spoke against the house of Eli in Shiloh”; 8:24 “what you have promised with your mouth, you have fulfilled with your hand, as is now apparent”; 2 Chron 36:21 “thus the word of Yahweh shall be fulfilled that he spoke through Jeremiah.”

Often temporal spheres that “become full” (*mlʾ* qal) are mentioned (e.g., *yāmîm* “days, time” in Gen 25:24; 29:21; 50:3, etc.; *šābūʿîm* “weeks” Dan 10:3); correspondingly, times can be fulfilled in eschatological contexts (Isa 40:2; Jer 25:12, 34; 29:10; Dan 9:2 pi.), a reference to completion not brought about by human agency but by an act of God.

(c) The subst. *m<sup>l</sup>ōʾ* “fullness” is favored in hymnic diction in expressions like “the sea and what fills it” (Isa 42:10; Psa 96:11 = 98:7 = 1 Chron 16:32) and “the earth and what fills it” (Deut 33:16; Isa 34:1; Mic 1:2; Psa 24:1; 50:12; 89:12). Isa 6:3 equates “the fullness of the earth, what fills the earth” with Yahweh’s majesty (*kābôd*; cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 249, 267), without giving the expression any pantheistic overtones. God’s

omnipresence is expressed once in an unusual manner in Jer 23:24: “Is it not I who fills heaven and earth? An utterance of Yahweh.” Finally, Exod 40:34f.; 1 Kgs 8:11 = 2 Chron 5:14; Ezek 43:5; 44:4; 2 Chron 7:1f. state that Yahweh’s *kābôd* fills the tabernacle or the temple; this “majesty” concretizes the presence of God in the sanctuary.

5. The LXX renders *mlʾ* chiefly through *plērēs*, *plēroun*, and derivatives. In the NT, the fulfillments of times and prophecies plays a greater role than in the OT, as does the theologically stamped expression *plērōma* (in the LXX for *mʾlōʾ*); cf. G. Dellings, “πλήρης,” *TDNT* 6:283–311.

M. Delcor

### מַלְאָךְ *malʾāk* messenger

S 4397; BDB 521b; *HALOT* 2:585a; *TDOT* 8:308–25; *TWOT* 1068a; *NIDOTTE* 4855

### בָּשָׂר *bśr* pi. to bring a message

S 1319; BDB 142a; *HALOT* 1:163b; *TDOT* 2:313–16; *TWOT* 291; *NIDOTTE* 1413

1. *malʾāk* “messenger” derives from the root *lʾk*, well attested in Ug., Arab., and Eth., as are the related abstract *malʾākūt* “office of messenger” (Hag 1:13; cf. Gulkowitsch 43) and the semantically polyvalent fem. subst. *mʾlāʾkâ* “sending, undertaking, business, work.” The equation of the predecessor of Yahweh mentioned in Mal 3:1 with the anonymous author of the book of Mal in the superscription Mal 1:1 led over time to an understanding of the appellative *malʾākî* “my messenger” as the apparent PN *malʾākî* “Malachi” (Sellin-Fohrer 469).

On Ug. *lʾk* “to send,” *mlak* “messenger” and *mlakt* “message,” cf. *WUS* no. 1432; *UT* no. 1344. *mlʾk* “message” also occurs in Phoen. and Old Aram. (*DISO* 151), and *malʾak* “angel” in Bibl. Aram. (Dan 3:28; 6:23). In the meaning “heavenly messenger, angel,” the word has also entered into Jew. Aram., Syr., Mand., Arab., and Eth. (LS 354b; *MG* 129 n. 1; contra P. Boneschi, *JAOS* 65 [1945]: 107–11).

2. The Hebr. OT attests *malʾāk* 213x (in addition to *malʾākî* 1x and *malʾak* 2x in Bibl. Aram.), *malʾākūt* 1x (see 1), and *mʾlāʾkâ* 167x (Exod 33x, Neh 22x, 1 Chron 20x, Lev and 2 Chron 16x each, 1 Kgs 10x, Num 8x, 2

Kgs 6x, etc.). *m<sup>l</sup>ā<sup>l</sup>kā* occurs primarily in later texts, although it is not entirely unknown in older times, but *mal<sup>l</sup>āk* occurs frequently in older narrative texts: Judg 31x, 2 Kgs and Zech 20x each, 1 Sam 19x, 2 Sam 18x, Gen 17x, Num 15x, 1 Chron 12x, Isa 10x, 1 Kgs 9x, Psa 8x, Exod 6x, etc. (2 Kgs 6:33 and 1 Chron 21:20 have *mal<sup>l</sup>āk* incorrectly for *melek*; in Zech 3:2 *mal<sup>l</sup>āk* should be inserted prior to *yhwh* with the Syr. text; see BH 3).

The expression *mal<sup>l</sup>āk yhwh* (always sg.) occurs 58x: Gen 16:7, 9–11; 22:11, 15; Exod 3:2; Num 22:22–35, 10x; Judg 2:1, 4; 5:23; 13:3–21, 10x; 2 Sam 24:16; 1 Kgs 19:7; 2 Kgs 1:3, 15; 19:35 = Isa 37:36; Hag 1:13; Zech 1:11f.; 3:1, 5f.; 12:8; Mal 2:7; Psa 34:8; 35:5f.; 1 Chron 21:12, 15f., 18, 30. The combination *mal<sup>l</sup>āk (ha)<sup>l</sup>ōhīm* is attested 11x: Gen 21:17; 31:11; 32:2; Exod 14:19; Judg 6:20; 13:6, 9; 1 Sam 29:9; 2 Sam 14:17, 20; 19:28; also in pl. Gen 28:12; 32:2.

3. (a) *mal<sup>l</sup>āk* or *mal<sup>l</sup>ākîm* describes persons who, as representatives of an individual (Gen 32:4, 7; Num 22:5; 1 Sam 16:19; 19:11ff.; 2 Sam 3:26, etc.) or a community (Num 21:21; 1 Sam 11:3ff.), are charged with representing at some distance the interests of their principals to others, whether individuals (Gen 32:4, 7; Num 22:5) or communities (Judg 6:35; 7:24; 1 Sam 11:7).

The spanning of spatial distances through their mission is an essential function of the *mal<sup>l</sup>ākîm* (cf. C. Westermann, *God's Angel Needs No Wings* [1979], 13f.), as reports of sending messengers make clear (cf. *BFPS* 98ff.). The report of sending of messengers usually contains the identification of the sender and the recipient, often with information concerning the locale from which the message is sent (Num 20:14; Deut 2:26) or the locale of the recipient (Gen 32:4) following the paradigm: “X sent (→ *šlh*) *mal<sup>l</sup>ākîm* to Y” (cf. Gen 32:4; Num 20:14; 22:5; Deut 2:26; Judg 11:12ff.; 1 Sam 19:20f., etc.). The report of the commissioning of the messenger follows the report of the sending of the messenger in Gen 32:5; the *mal<sup>l</sup>ākîm* are authorized by the sender to fulfill their commission: “and he commanded them: so shall you say to Esau, my lord” (cf. 2 Kgs 1:2; 19:10; Isa 37:10). Usually the report of the commissioning of the messenger is lacking, however, and the commission that the *mal<sup>l</sup>ākîm* are to execute follows directly after the report of the sending of messengers (Num 20:14; 22:5; 1 Sam 6:21; 11:7; 16:19; 2 Sam 2:5, etc.).

(b) These commissions can be of highly varied natures. Most often, *mal<sup>l</sup>ākîm* are sent to communicate news or messages of the most varied kinds; thus they could assume the function of “messengers” (Gen 32:4ff.; Num 22:5; Judg 9:31ff.; 11:12ff.; 1 Sam 6:21; 11:3ff.; 25:14; 2 Sam 12:27; 2 Kgs 19:9ff., etc.). In these cases the message to be transmitted is often

introduced through the messenger formula *kōh ʾāmar* X “thus says X” and thereby legitimated as the word of the sender (Gen 32:5; Num 20:14; Judg 11:15); often, however, the messenger formula is omitted prior to the text of the message, which is appended by means of *lēʾmōr* (“as follows”) to the report of the sending of a messenger (Num 22:5; Deut 2:26; 1 Sam 6:21, etc.). Messages could have an informative character (cf. Gen 32:5ff.; Num 22:5; Judg 9:31; 1 Sam 6:21; 2 Sam 11:19, 22f., 25; 12:27), or they can often serve as the grounds for a demand, a command (Num 22:5f.; Judg 9:31ff.), or even a request (Gen 32:5f.; Num 20:14ff.). Genuine commands (1 Sam 16:19) or requests (Deut 2:26) can also be transmitted.

The *malʾākîm* play an essential role as bearers of news in the political realm. For example, they can announce the call to holy war (Judg 6:35; 7:24; 1 Sam 11:7). *malʾākîm* could also function diplomatically as the king’s emissaries. Jephthah conducts negotiations with the Amorite king via emissaries (*malʾākîm*, Judg 11:12ff.); in 1 Kgs 20:2ff. *malʾākîm* transmit Benhadad’s conditions for surrender to Ahab (cf. 2 Kgs 19:9ff.; 2 Sam 3:12). Furthermore, *malʾākîm* could be sent to inquire of a deity (2 Kgs 1:2). *malʾākîm* are, however, not merely sent under commission of the sender in order to deliver information to a recipient (i.e., their function as “messenger”); they could also be commissioned to gather information for their employer, i.e., they could also function as “spies.” Josh 2:1 reports that Joshua sent two men as scouts (*m<sup>c</sup>ragg<sup>c</sup>lîm*); Josh 6:17, 25 describes these scouts as *malʾākîm*. In 2 Kgs 7:15 the *malʾākîm* are also apparently sent as scouts. Finally, *malʾākîm* could be sent to act in the name of their employers. Saul sends *malʾākîm* charged to watch David (1 Sam 19:11ff.); Joab’s *malʾākîm* return Abner from the cistern of Sirah (2 Sam 3:26); in 2 Sam 11:4 David also sends *malʾākîm* to bring Bathsheba (cf. 1 Kgs 22:9, 13; 2 Chron 18:12). The *malʾākîm* can also function to accompany a person to their employer (1 Sam 25:42).

(c) The *malʾākîm* stand in a close relationship to their employers. They are authorized by them to speak or act in their names; through them the employer himself speaks or acts. Consequently, *malʾākîm* can be identified with him and addressed as if they were the employer himself (Judg 11:13; 2 Sam 3:12f.; 1 Kgs 20:2ff.); an affront to the *malʾākîm* is an affront to the employer (1 Sam 25:14ff.). The employer can also be held accountable for the actions of his *malʾākîm* (2 Kgs 19:23; cf. A. S. van der Woude, “De *Malʾak Jahweh*: een Godsbede,” *NedTT* 18 [1963/64]: 6f.; M. S. Luker, “The Figure of Moses in the Plague Traditions” [diss., Drew University, 1968], ch. 11: “The Messenger Figure in Sum. and Akk. Literature”).

\*(d) Among semantically related terms, → *šlh* “to send” must be

mentioned first; it surpasses the semantic range of the root *ʾk* and it has a history of usage in Mid. Hebr. *šālîaḥ* and Gk. *apostolos* as comprehensive as *malʾāk* and the Gk. *angelos*.

*šîr* occurs a few times in the specialized meaning “messenger” (Isa 18:2; 57:9; Jer 49:14; Obad 1; Prov 13:17 par. *malʾāk*, 25:13), as well as occasional euphemisms like *maggîd* (hi. ptc. from → *ngd*; Jer 51:31; cf. 2 Sam 1:5f., 13, etc.). Cf. also the PN *ʿazgād* (= Pers. *izgad* “messenger,” KBL 694a).

The specific activity of delivering a message is indicated by the common Sem. root *bšr*, which had a neutral meaning at first but which often evolved into “to bring good news” (esp. well-known in Deutero-Isa: Isa 40:9[bis]; 41:27; 52:7[bis]; cf. 60:6; 61:1; Psa 96:2 = 1 Chron 16:23; Elliger, BK 11, 33–35; cf. Akk. *bussuru* “to bring/send a message,” *AHW* 142b; Ug. *bšr* D, *WUS* no. 599; *UT* no. 535; Hebr. *bšr* pi. “to bring [good or bad] news” 23x, incl. the frequent substantivized ptc. *m<sup>e</sup>baśśēr*, hitp. “to report in,” 2 Sam 18:31; subst. *b<sup>e</sup>śōrâ* “report” and “carrier’s fee,” 6x; cf. also G. Friedrich, “εὐαγγελίζομαι,” *TDNT* 2:707–37; R. W. Fisher, “A Study of the Sem. Root BŠR” [diss., Columbia University, 1966]; P. Stuhlmacher, *Das paulinische Evangelium, I. Vorgeschichte* [1968]).

4. (a) In the phrases *malʾak yhwh* and *malʾak ʾlōhîm* (for texts see 2), the noun has a special meaning: it describes one commissioned by God to carry out his mission among people, a mission that can consist—as it does for *malʾākîm* sent by people to people—of the delivery of a message (Gen 16:9ff.; 21:17f.; 22:11f., 15ff.; Judg 6:11; 13:3ff.; 1 Kgs 13:18; 2 Kgs 1:3, 15) or of an act that the *malʾāk* executes (Gen 24:7, 40; Exod 14:19; 2 Sam 24:16f.; 2 Kgs 19:35 = Isa 37:36; 1 Chron 21:12ff.). The *malʾak yhwh* incarnates the discourse and activity of God as it affects the world (cf. C. Westermann, “Engel,” *EKL* 1:1071–75). The *malʾākîm* sent by people usually appears in the pl., but the *malʾak yhwh* is always sg. Only twice is the *malʾak ʾlōhîm* mentioned in the pl. (Gen 28:12; 32:2). In addition a few passages describe a number of *malʾākîm* as “his (Yahweh’s) *malʾākîm*” (Isa 44:26; Psa 91:11; 103:20; 104:4; 148:2; Job 4:18); finally, the two *malʾākîm* in Gen 19:1, 15 must also probably be regarded as Yahweh’s *malʾākîm*.

(b) In many cases, the appearance of the *malʾak yhwh* (= *m.y.*) signifies deliverance from danger or distress (Gen 19; Exod 14:19; Num 20:16) or the announcement of deliverance (Judg 13). The announcement of deliverance through a *m.y.* can occur in several ways. The *m.y.* can commission a deliverer: Gideon is commissioned to deliver Israel from the hand of the Midianites through a *m.y.* (Judg 6:11ff.). The *m.y.* is even mentioned in the context of the theophany at the call of Moses (Exod 3:2).

The *m.y.* can also challenge, even impel, the threatened party to save himself/herself from impending danger (Gen 19), or his appearance opens the threatened party's eyes so that the possibility of deliverance may be recognized, e.g., Hagar when threatened with dehydration (Gen 21:17ff.; cf. also 1 Kgs 19:5, where Elijah is challenged to eat in the wilderness). Very closely tied to the announcement of deliverance is the announcement of the birth of a son by a *m.y.* The *m.y.* who finds Hagar at the well on the way to Shur (Gen 16:7ff.) gives her the promise of the increase of her descendants (16:10; cf. 21:17f.). The prerequisite for numerous descendants is the birth of a son, which the *m.y.* announces in very formal language: "Behold, you are pregnant and will bear a son and you will call his name Ishmael" (16:11). In similar terms, a *m.y.* announces the birth of a son to the wife of Manoah: "Behold, you are infertile and have no children, but you will become pregnant and will bear a son" (Judg 13:3). The announcement of the birth of a son here signifies deliverance in two ways. The wife of Manoah will be delivered from the distress of childlessness and, simultaneously, the announced son is dedicated to God, who will begin to deliver Israel from the hand of the Philistines (13:5). Reference should be also be made in this context to Gen 18, where the three men announce to Abraham that his wife will have a son.

The *m.y.* not only announces deliverance, however; he can also execute deliverance through his own actions. Because Lot delayed executing the charge of the *mal'ākîm* to save himself, they grabbed him and led him out of the city (Gen 19:16). The people of Israel were also delivered from oppression in Egypt through Yahweh's attention to the cries of the people and his sending of his *mal'āk*, who led them out of Egypt (Num 20:16). The intervention of the *m.y.* delivers Jerusalem from the acute danger of siege by Sennacherib's army (2 Kgs 19:35 = Isa 37:36). Israel's blessing on Joseph and his sons Ephraim and Manasseh describes the *mal'āk* as one "who redeemed me from every distress" (Gen 48:16; cf. Psa 34:8). In addition to the function of delivering from distress limited to a particular point in time, the *m.y.* can also exercise a function over a longer period of time. He can protect individuals on their way (Psa 91:11) as the one sent by God ahead of the one to be protected (Gen 24:7, 40; cf. Exod 32:34); likewise, he is sent before the entire people in order to protect them (Exod 14:19; 23:20, 23; 32:34; 33:2; cf. Num 20:16).

Furthermore, the *m.y.* can deliver a commission (1 Kgs 13:18; 1 Chron 21:18) or a word of God that the recipient should transmit (2 Kgs 1:3). In chs. 1–6 of the post-exilic book of Zechariah, the *m.y.* has a peculiar function and is usually called in these cases *hammal'āk haddōbēr bî* "the angel who spoke with me" (Zech 1:9, 13f.; 2:2, etc.). His task consists of explaining the prophet's night visions in response to his questions (Zech

1:9; 2:2; 4:4; 5:5f., 10; 6:4).

The *m.y.*, who primarily delivers and protects, can also, however, bring ruin and destruction in a few passages. In 2 Sam 24:16f. the *m.y.* smites the people as a punishment for David's crime (cf. 1 Chron 21:15f.); in 2 Kgs 19:35 the *mal'āk* also brings ruin upon the army of Sennacherib, which signifies deliverance for Jerusalem (see above; cf. Isa 37:36). A similar destructive function can be posited for Psa 35:5f. and 78:49.

The appearance of the *m.y.* is never linked to a specific place or time; instead he encounters people wherever they are: on the way (Gen 16:7; 32:2), in the wilderness (Gen 21:17; 1 Kgs 19:5, 7), at work (Judg 6:11ff.), in the field (Judg 13:9ff.). People do not immediately recognize the *m.y.*; rather, they first recognize who they are dealing with when the *m.y.* has departed from them (Gen 16; Judg 6; 13) or when their eyes are opened so that they recognize the *m.y.* (Num 22:31). The recognition of the *m.y.* occasions fear (Judg 6; 13).

(c) The determination of the relationship between Yahweh and his *mal'āk* is particularly difficult because a series of texts do not precisely distinguish between Yahweh and the *m.y.* (Gen 16:7ff.; 21:17ff.; 22:11ff.; 31:11ff.; Exod 3:2ff.; Judg 6:11ff.; 13:21f.). This problem has been extensively treated in the research (on the various attempts at a solution, see van der Woude, op. cit. 4ff., with additional bibliog.), which offers various solutions that are more or less satisfying. Patristic literature understood the *m.y.* in terms of the divine Word (logos theory); in the Roman Catholic realm, the explanation that the *m.y.* is a creaturely messenger who acts in the name and on the commission of God has found many adherents (representation theory). For E. Kautzsch (*Biblische Theologie des AT* [1911], 83–87) and W. G. Heidt (*Angelology of the OT* [1949]; cf. also R. North, "Separated Spiritual Substances in the OT," *CBQ* 22 [1967]: 419–49), the *m.y.* is an appearance of Yahweh, it "is Jahweh himself appearing to human beings in human form" (von Rad, *Theol.* 1:287) (identity theory). Others see the *m.y.* as a hypostasis of Yahweh (hypostasis theory). G. van der Leeuw ("Zielen en Engelen," *ThT* 11 [1919]: 224–37) and A. Lods ("L'ange de Jahwe et l'âme extérieure," *FS Wellhausen* 263–78) represent the theory of the "external soul," which maintains that an angel is essentially a freed soul; the *m.y.* is understood as an external divine power. Others see the *m.y.* as a later interpolation for Yahweh undertaken in order to counter an overly anthropomorphic depiction of Yahweh (interpolation theory: B. Stade, H. Gunkel; cf. W. Baumgartner, "Zum Problem des Yahwe-Engels," *SThU* 14 [1944]: 97–102 = *Zum AT und seiner Umwelt* [1959], 240–46). Of these theories, the representation theory probably has the most justification, because it best accounts for the function of the *m.y.* as one commissioned to speak and

act for God. The difficulty that Yahweh and his *malʾāk* are sometimes identified no longer exists when one considers that a *malʾāk* can generally be identified with his employer (see 3c). The representation theory, then, need not be seen as a categorical contradiction of the interpolation theory, because it attempts to explain the function of the *m.y.*, while the interpolation theory proceeds from the assumption that the *malʾāk* was inserted in the texts only later and attempts to explain these insertions.

The *m.y.* should be strictly distinguished from the other heavenly beings on account of its peculiar function: he intervenes directly in the life of people. A particular function in history accrues to this unique, religiously well-defined, personal figure among the heavenly beings; wherever it is mentioned, it stands at the center of events (cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 1:286). The distinction between the *m.y.* and the other heavenly beings is only obscured by the idiom of the LXX that also designates other heavenly beings as *angelos* (see 5).

5. The LXX usually translates *malʾāk* with *angelos* (as well as *presbeis* “emissary” Num 21:21; 22:5; Deut 2:26; *kataskopeusantes* “spy” Josh 6:25; *paides* “servants” 1 Sam 25:42). *m.y.* is usually rendered *angelos kyriou*, *malʾak ʾēlōhîm*, *angelos tou theou*. Like Hebr. *malʾāk*, Gk. *angelos* serves to indicate both an emissary of a person as well as an emissary of God. The Vg. is the first to make a distinction between the human messenger (*nuntius*) and the heavenly messenger (*angelus*; cf. Baumgartner, op. cit. 98 = *Umwelt* 241).

Besides the *malʾāk* sent by God, other heavenly beings are also designated as *angeloi* in the LXX. *angelos* can be an equivalent for *bʿnē ʾēlōhîm* (Gen 6:2; Deut 32:8; Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7), for *ʾabbîr* (Psa 78:25), for *ʾēlōhîm* (Psa 8:6; 97:7; 138:1), and for *śar* (Dan 10:21; 12:1). This phenomenon begins a development concluded in the Vg. wherein *angelos* becomes a technical term. Cf. further W. Grundmann, G. von Rad, and G. Kittel, “ἄγγελος,” *TDNT* 1:74–87; H. Ringgren, *RGG* 2:1301–3.

R. Ficker

מִלַּט *mlṭ* pi. **to deliver** → פִּלַּט *plṭ*

מֶלֶךְ *melek* **king**

S 4428; BDB 572b; *HALOT* 2:591a; *TDOT* 8:346–75; *TWOT*

1199a; NIDOTTE 4889

## משח *mšḥ* to anoint

S 4886; BDB 602b; HALOT 2:643b; ThWAT 5:46–59; TWOT 1255; NIDOTTE 5417

1. (a) *mlk* is a common Sem. root (Berg., *Intro.* 210), but means “to be king” only in NW- and SSem. In Akk. *malāku* II consistently means “to advise” (AHw 593f.; also e.g., *māliku* “counselor, advisor,” *malku* II “counsel”); *šarru* and less often *malku* I, which corresponds to a *malāku* III (probably a WSem. loanword) attested once in the Akk. texts from Ugarit (PRU 3:135.16), refer to the king and his office. A WSem. origin should also be assumed for names composed with *mlk* attested in the Mari region, unless the root has the common Akk. meaning (Huffmon 230f.).

NWSem. also has the meaning “to advise,” however; it appears in Hebr. in *mlk* ni. “to deliberate with oneself” (Neh 5:7; an Aramaism according to Wagner no. 170; contra L. Kopf, VT 9 [1959]: 261f.) and perhaps also in *melek* in Eccl 1:12, if the translation of the word as “counselor, advisor” suggested by W. F. Albright (SVT 3 [1955]: 15n.2) and regarded as noteworthy by R. Kroeber (*Der Prediger* [1963], 5) is accurate. In addition, we find it in Bibl. Aram. *melak* “counsel” (Dan 4:24), in Jew. Aram., Mid. Hebr., and Syr., in addition to the usual sense “to rule.” Whether and to what extent contacts exist between the two meanings cannot be ascertained with certainty.

(b) Based upon the same root as *melek* in the OT are the verb *mlk* (qal [ni.; see 1a], hi., and ho.) and the following noms., some of which derive from *melek*: the fem. *malkâ* “queen” (also Bibl. Aram.), the rare, perhaps artificial *meleket* (*haššāmayim*) “queen (of heaven),” *m<sup>e</sup>lûkâ* “kingship” (*potestas regia*), *malkût* “kingdom” (Bibl. Aram. *malkû*), *mamlākâ* “dominion” or “royalty,” less often *mamlākût*. The last four words are not always easy to distinguish from one another. In addition, we have the etymologically disputed sacrificial term *mōlek*, particularly attested in Phoen.-Pun. (see 4e).

Since the Mari era, PNs formed with *mlk* are frequently attested in NW- and SSem. (Huffmon 230f.; Gröndahl 157f.; Harris 118f.; IP 114f., 118f.). In addition to the divine name *milkōm* (see 4f), the fem. names *milkâ*, *mōleket*, and the masc. names *melek*, *mallûk*, and esp. compounds such as *malkî<sup>ʿ</sup>ēl*, *malkîyā(hû)*, *malkîšedeq*, and <sup>a</sup>*bîmelek*, <sup>a</sup>*ḥîmelek*, and <sup>e</sup>*lîmelek* occur in the OT.

\*2. *melek* follows *bēn* and <sup>e</sup>*lōhîm* as the third most frequent subst. in

the Hebr. OT (2,526x, incl. 1 Kgs 15:9b, excl. 1 Chron 21:20; Lis. 814b has Jer 32:4a twice). Some concentrations result from lists; thus *melek* occurs e.g., 39x in Josh 10 and 37x in Josh 12. It occurs 27x in Gen 14; in contrast, P uses the word only for the pharaoh.

In the following table, which does not take account of *mlk* ni. (Neh 5:7), *mōlek* (8x, 5x in Lev 18 and 20), and the PNs, m. = *melek*, f. = *malkâ*, (f.) = *meleket*, I = *m<sup>e</sup>lûkâ*, II = *malkût*, III = *mamlākâ*, IV = *mamlākût*.

	qal	hi. (ho.)	m.	f. (f.)	I	II	III	IV	total
Gen	12	—	41	—	—	—	2	—	55
Exod	1	—	14	—	—	—	1	—	16
Lev	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Num	—	—	20	—	—	1	2	—	23
Deut	—	—	26	—	—	—	7	—	33
Josh	3	—	109	—	—	—	2	5	119
Judg	5	3	37	—	—	—	—	—	45
1 Sam	12	5	86	—	5	1	6	1	116
2 Sam	11	1	284	—	2	—	6	1	305
1 Kgs	56	6	305	4	7	1	12	—	391
2 Kgs	81	9	370	—	1	—	5	—	466
Isa	4	1	80	—	2	—	14	—	101
Jer	10	1	269	(5)	1	3	17	1	307
Ezek	1	1	37	—	2	—	4	—	45
Hos	—	1	19	—	—	—	—	1	21
Joel	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Amos	—	—	8	—	—	—	3	—	11
Obad	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Jonah	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
Mic	1	—	5	—	—	—	1	—	7
Nah	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	2
Hab	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
Zeph	—	—	4	—	—	—	1	—	5
Hag	—	—	2	—	—	—	2	—	4
Zech	—	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	9
Mal	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
Psa	6	—	67	—	1	6	6	—	86
Job	1	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	9
Prov	2	—	32	—	—	—	—	—	34
Ruth	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Song Sol	—	—	—	5	2	—	—	—	—
Eccl	1	—	12	—	—	1	—	—	14
Lam	—	—	3	—	—	—	1	—	4
Esth	3	1	196	25	—	26	—	—	251
Dan	1	(1)	52	—	1	16	—	—	71
Ezra	—	—	32	—	—	6	1	—	39
Neh	—	—	43	—	—	2	1	—	46
1 Chron	—	20	7	69	—	1	11	3	—
									111

2 Chron	66	13	277	4	–	17	19	–	396
Hebr.	297	49	2,526	35	24	91	117	9	3,154
OT	(1)		(5)						

In Bibl. Aram. *melek* occurs 180x (Dan 135x, Ezra 45x), *malkâ* 2x (Dan), *malkû* 57x (Dan 53x, Ezra 4x), total 239x.

3. The subst. *melek* and the verb *mlk* in the qal and the hi. appear most often in conjunction with people, less often with Yahweh; the situation is similar with the derived noms. The first category involves monarchy in the political sense (3a-b); in the second, the kingship of Yahweh, a definitive theological concept (4a-d). *mōlek* (4e) and *milkōm* (4f) are special cases. Among semantically related words, in addition to → *mšl*, whose meaning often coincides with that of *mlk*, *māšîaḥ* “anointed” should be treated in particular (3c and 5).

(a) The monarchy appears as a political entity relatively late in Israel, toward the end of the 2nd millennium or beginning of the 1st, a few centuries after the conquest and settlement; consequently, it was hardly an element of Israel’s basic ideological stance or an existential necessity. According to the Sumerian King List, Sumer was governed from the beginning by a monarchy descended from heaven (*ANET* 265b; S. N. Kramer, *Sumerians* [1963], 43–53, 328–31); Eg. religion saw the early monarchy as the incarnation of the heavenly regime of Horus (H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* [1948], 148ff.; E. Hornung, *Einführung in die Ägyptologie* [1967], 76–78); in Syria, the city-state of Ugarit attests to the adoption and suckling of the king by the deity and the king’s office as necessities for the fertility of earth and flock (J. Gray, *Krt Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra* [1964], 5ff.). By contrast, the OT knows a long premonarchical period that later historiography valued positively.

The Israelite monarchy arose for political reasons: on the one hand, it represented the result of the process begun with the conquest and settlement (G. Buccellati, “Da Saul a David,” *BeO* 1 [1959]: 99–128); on the other hand, this development was hastened by the military pressure of the Philistines (1 Sam 8:20; 9:17b; Alt, “Formation of the Israelite State in Palestine,” *EOTHR* 171–237). The absence of an original theology of the monarchy explains why prophets and Dtr attacked many kings: they perceived the institution itself to be questionable (1 Sam 8:1ff.; 10:17–27). The failure of the monarchy in the 6th cent. was soon interpreted less as a national-religious tragedy than as divine judgment upon the people and its representatives (Isa 40:2).

Tendencies toward a Can. concept of monarchy are also attested, however (cf. Psa 2:7; 21:5; 45:7 [cf. the comms.]; 72:6, 16; also 2 Sam

21:17 and perhaps 1 Sam 24:11b par. 26:11a). At issue are a few notions in the south, presumably the result of the adoption of ideas from the conquered city-state, Jerusalem, concerning the diffusion of which we have no information. Even in the NT era, Israel's abhorrence of any attempt to exhibit divine honor to a king is marked (cf. Josephus *Ant.* 19.8.2 = §§343–52). Issues concerning priestly authority were viewed differently, although they were not permitted the king without resistance (1 Kgs 6:1ff.; 8:1ff.; the reform efforts of Hezekiah and Josiah, etc.; cf. J. A. Soggin, *ZAW* 78 [1966]: 193n.35).

(b) Nevertheless, one may not interpret this tendency in terms of a purely sacral institution; at the outset stands a divine endowment and call of the king, which may indeed be described as charismatic: 1 Sam 11, directly by the Spirit of Yahweh; 9:15–26, by a vision received by Samuel; 10:20f., by the lot. These signs were assessed by the community and led to acclamation. Even in the case of David and Jeroboam I, enthronement followed an oracle concerning the candidate (2 Sam 3:9, 18; 5:2b; and 2:1–4; 5:1–3) or designation by a prophet (1 Kgs 11:26–40 and 12:20). The attempt to reinstate this form in the north after the division of the kingdoms soon failed because the populace and the army were comprised predominantly of Canaanites, so that Israelite assemblies were rarely able to be properly constituted and to impose their will. In the southern kingdom the charismatic call of the king was replaced once and for all by the promise issued to the Davidic dynasty in 2 Sam 7, without stripping the assemblies of their authority, a state of affairs that led to a great stability lasting to the end of the 7th cent.

On the entire subject, cf. J. de Fraine, “L’aspect religieux de la royauté israélite,” (1954); K.-H. Bernhardt, *Das Problem der altorientalischen Königsideologie im AT* (1961); A. R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel* (1967); G. Buccellati, *Cities and Nations of Ancient Syria* (1967); J. A. Soggin, *Das Königtum in Israel* (1967); also some of the works listed under 4a.

\*(c) The multiple forms of monarchy within and beyond Israel just described do not correspond, from a linguistic perspective, to a similar multiplicity of designations. Rather, *melek* covers all sorts of royal figures of a city-state, a country or a territory, a tribe or a people (cf. KBL 530b). Superlative forms like “king of kings” (Ezek 26:7 and Dan 2:37, the king of Babel; Ezra 7:12, the king of Persia) or “the great king” (Isa 36:4, the king of Assyria) go back to the corresponding titles of the ancient Near Eastern empires (cf. Seux 298–300, 318f. on Akk. *šarru rabû* and *šar šarrāni*; Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:35f.); on “lord of kings” (Dan 2:47), see K. Galling, *ZDPV* 79 (1963): 140–51.

No proper adj. “royal” was formed; instead, *melek* as a gen. in the cs. st. occurs

frequently (see the lexicons; the Pers. loanword *ḥašt-rān* “majestic, royal” is used in Esth 8:10, 14 of horses).

*melek* is used outside the human (or divine) realm in only a few cases, as in the fable in Judg 9:8, 15 of the trees that place a king over themselves, in Job 41:26 of the hippopotamus that is “a king over all proud animals,” and in Prov 30:27 of the locusts that have no king. The metaphorical usage *melek ballāhôt* “king of terrors” as a poetic figure for death is very rare (Job 18:14; cf. Horst, BK 16/1, 273).

In the light of what has been said, *melek* has very little competition from semantically related terms. Expressions used in series or parallelisms are either broader (“leader,” etc.) or narrower (e.g., “judge” → *špṭ*) and usually describe persons who are not the king’s equals (cf. e.g., *śar* “official, superior,” customarily “prince,” → *mšl* 3b; *rōzēn* “dignitary,” par. *melek* in Judg 5:3; Hab 1:10; Psa 2:2; Prov 8:15; 31:4; par. *šōpēṭ* in Isa 40:23; on *nāgîd* → *ngd*; on *nāśîʿ* → *nśʿ*).

The root *mšḥ*, which offers many equivalents to *mlk* hi. “to make king” and *melek* “king” in the verb *mšḥ* qal “to anoint” (64x) and in the subst. *māšîaḥ* “anointed,” also requires special treatment here (E. Kutsch, *Salbung als Rechtsakt im AT und im alten Orient* [1963], esp. 7–9, 52–66). A few passages use *mšḥ* in noncultic contexts (Isa 21:5, anointing the shield; Jer 22:14, painting a house; Amos 6:6, hygiene; Psa 45:8, fig. anointing with oil of joy; cf. Kutsch, op. cit. 63–65; also Bibl. Aram. *m<sup>ʿ</sup>saḥ* “anointing oil” Ezra 6:9; 7:22; = Hebr. *šemen* and *yīšhār*; cf. L. Köhler, *JSS* 1 [1956]: 9f.); Exod, Lev, and Num use it of cultic rites of anointing objects and persons (24x; also *mšḥ* ni. 5x, *mišḥâ* and *mošḥâ* “anointing,” 21x in Exod–Num, of which 2x in Exod; Elliger, HAT 4, 117f.; cf. also Gen 31:13, anointing a pillar; Dan 9:24, anointing a “most holy [place]”). Otherwise, two texts mention the anointing of a prophet (1 Kgs 19:16; Isa 61:1, in a fig. meaning; cf. Kutsch, op. cit. 62) and 32x the anointing of kings, esp. in 1 Sam–2 Kgs (in addition to Judg 9:8, 15; Psa 89:21; 1 Chron 11:3; 29:22; 2 Chron 22:7; 23:11; anointing of the *nāgîd*, 1 Sam 9:16; 10:1; 1 Chron 29:22; of the *melek*, Judg 9:8, 15; 1 Sam 15:1, 17, etc.). Correspondingly, *māšîaḥ* “anointed” refers in late texts (39x) to the high priest (Lev 4:3, 5, 16; 6:15; Dan 9:25f.) and to the patriarchs (as prophets? Psa 105:15 = 1 Chron 16:22), but in most cases to the king (Isa 45:1, Cyrus; otherwise an Israelite king; 2 Sam 1:21 txt?).

The basic form of the title is *m<sup>ʿ</sup>šîaḥ yhwḥ* “Yahweh’s anointed” (Saul: 1 Sam 24:7[bis], 11; 26:9, 11, 16, 23; 2 Sam 1:14, 16; David: 2 Sam 19:22; Zedekiah: Lam 4:20). In context it becomes “my (1 Sam 2:35; Psa 132:17)/your (Hab 3:13; Psa 84:10; 89:39, 52; 132:10; 2 Chron 6:42)/his (1 Sam 2:10; 12:3, 5; 16:6; 2 Sam 22:51 = Psa 18:51; Isa 45:1; Psa 2:2; 20:7; 28:8) anointed” and once “anointed of the God of Jacob”

(2 Sam 23:1), as well as “my anointed ones” (Psa 105:15 = 1 Chron 16:22).

The expression reflects the close connection between Yahweh and the king. Invincibility (1 Sam 24; 26; 2 Sam 1:14, 16; 19:22) and endowment with the Spirit of Yahweh (1 Sam 16:13) are mentioned as results of anointment. A specifically eschatological-messianic significance of the title is not yet discernible in the OT, not even in Isa 45:1. Cyrus is not equated with the expected eschatological king (this expectation is totally absent from Deutero-Isa), but acquires an esp. lofty title as Yahweh’s chosen instrument (*mšḥ* in the fig. meaning “to authorize”; cf. Kutsch, op. cit. 61f.; Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 159).

Thus the further development of the title as a designation of the “Messiah” (hellenized from Aram. *m<sup>ʿ</sup>šīḥā* = Hebr. *hammāšīaḥ*) does not belong to OT usage, but to its later development in early Judaism (see 5). The OT messianic expectation knows various, sometimes only allusive or fig. descriptive, expressions (like *ḥōṭer* “shoot” Isa 11:1, *ḥōtām* “signet ring” Hag 2:23) for the expected eschatological king, among which *mōšēl* “ruler” (Mic 5:1; → *mšl* 4d), *šemaḥšaddīq* “righteous shoot” (Jer 23:5; Rudolph, HAT 12, 134f.: “true shoot” [of David]; later Zech 3:8 and 6:12 *šemaḥ* as a technical term), and also *melek* (Ezek 37:22, 24 [on the text and exposition see Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:269f., 275f., 277–79]; Zech 9:9) are the most important.

4. (a) Religiohistorically and theologically significant is the designation of Yahweh as King.

Of the almost unmanageable literature, cf. P. Volz, *Das Neujahrsfest Jahwes* (1912); S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien 2* (1922; repr. 1961); H. Schmidt, *Die Thronfahrt Jahwes am Fest der Jahreswende im alten Israel* (1927); F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl, *Nieuwjaarsfeest en Koningsdag in Babylon en in Israël* (1927) = *Opera Minora* (1953), 263–81; O. Eissfeldt, “Jahwe als König,” *ZAW* 46 (1928): 81–105 = *KS* [1962], 1:172–93; Gunkel-Begriff 94–116; I. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East* (1943; repr. 1967); J. Muilenburg, “Psalm 47,” *JBL* 63 (1944): 235–56; A. Alt, “Gedanken über das Königtum Jahwes,” *KS* [19643], 1:345–57; I. Engnell, *Call of Isaiah* (1949); A. Bentzen, “King Ideology—’Urmensch’—’Troonsbestijgingsfeest’,” *ST* 3 (1949): 143–57; M. Noth, “God, King, and Nation in the OT,” *Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* [1966], 145–78; A. Weiser, “Zur Frage nach den Beziehungen der Psalmen zum Kult,” *FS Bertholet* 513–31 = *Glaube und Geschichte im AT* (1961), 303–21; H.-J. Kraus, *Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im AT* (1951); L. Köhler, “*Jahwāh mālāk*,” *VT* 3 (1953): 188f.; J. Ridderbos, “*Jahwāh malak*,” *VT* 4 (1954): 87–89; R. Hentschke, “Die sakral Stellung des Königs in Israel,” *ELKZ* 9 (1955): 69–74; G. Widengren, *Sakrales Königtum im AT und im Judentum* (1955); W. S. McCullough, “The ‘Enthronement of Yahweh’ Psalms,” *FS Irwin* 53–61; D. Michel, “Studien zu den sogenannten Thronbesteigungspsalmen,” *VT* 6 (1956): 40–68; R. Press, “Jahwe und sein Gesalbter,” *TZ* 13 (1957): 321–34; Eichrodt 1:194–200, 436–56; A. Caquot, “Le Psaume 47 et la royauté de Yahwé,” *RHPR* 39 (1959): 311–37; de Vaux 2:504–6; D.

Michel, *Tempora und Satzstellung in den Psalmen* (1960), 215–21; Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:45f., 82–89; 2:475–79; T. H. Gaster, *Thespis* (19612), 450–52; K.-H. Bernhardt, op. cit. (see 3b), 183–242; Westermann, *PLP* 145–51; H.-J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel* (1966), 205–8; S. Mowinckel, *Psalms in Israel's Worship* (1962), 1:106–92; E. Lipiński, “*Yāhweh mālāk*,” *Bib* 44 (1963): 405–60; J. Schreiner, *Sion-Jerusalem Jahwes Königssitz* (1963), 191–216; A. S. Kapelrud, “*Nochmals Jahw mālāk*,” *VT* 13 (1963): 229–31; E. Lipiński, *La royauté de Yahvé dans la poésie et le culte de l'ancien Israël* (1965); Gray, *Legacy* 86ff.; J. D. W. Watts, “*Yahweh Mālāk Psalms*,” *TZ* 21 (1965): 341–48; W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel* (19662), 66ff., 80ff.; Weiser, *Psa*, OTL, 33f., 62f.; Vriezen, *Theol.* 330f.; A. Gelston, “*Note on Jhwh mlk*,” *VT* 16 (1966): 507–12; A. R. Johnson, op. cit. (see 3b), 70f.; W. H. Schmidt, *Faith of the OT* (1983), 144–52; H. Bardtke, *BibOr* 25 (1968): 289–302; J. H. Eaton, *Kingship and the Psalms* (19862).

Cf. further the summaries of research by J. de Fraine, op. cit. 122ff.; J. J. Stamm, *TR* 23 (1955): 46–50; E. Lipiński, “*Les Psaumes de la Royauté de Yahvé dans l'exégèse moderne*,” in *Le Psautier* (1962), 133–272; id., *Royauté* 11–90; J. Coppens, “*Les Psaumes de l'intronisation de Yahvé*,” *ETL* 42 (1966): 225–31; id., “*La date des Psaumes de l'intronisation de Yahvé*,” *ETL* 43 (1967): 192–97.

This designation is relatively rare (cf. also → *mšl* 3a[3]): Yahweh is the subj. of *mlk* qal 13x, 7x in the *yhwh mālāk* Psalms and related passages (Exod 15:18; 1 Sam 8:7; Isa 24:23; 52:7; Ezek 20:33; Mic 4:7; Psa 47:9; 93:1; 96:10 = 1 Chron 16:31; Psa 97:1; 99:1; 146:10); he is given the title *melek* in Num 23:21 (E?); Deut 33:5 (E?); Isa 6:5; 41:21; 43:15; 44:6; Jer 8:19; Zeph 3:15; Psa 5:3; 10:16; 24:7–10; 29:10; 44:5; 47:3, 7; 48:3; 68:25; 74:12; 84:4; 89:19; 95:3; 98:6; 99:4; 145:1; 149:2; Dan 4:34. The *malkût yhwh* is mentioned in Psa 103:19 (par. “his throne”) and 145:11–13 (par. *memšālā*); according to Psa 22:29 and Obad 21, Yahweh is due the *m<sup>e</sup>lūkā*, and the *mamlākā* belongs to Yahweh according to 1 Chron 29:11 (cf. Dan 3:33 and 4:31 *malkû* par. *šolṭān* “dominion”). Isa 10:10 mentions the “kingdoms (*mamlākôt*) of the idols.” The kingship of Yahweh is also emphasized through references to his throne (*kissē*?, Isa 6:1; 66:1; Jer 3:17; 17:12; Ezek 1:26; Psa 9:5, 8; 47:9; 89:15; 93:2; 103:19); cf. also *kābôd* (→ *kbd*). A few passages emphasize Yahweh's kingship over Israel, others his cosmic dominion.

(b) Because deities with the royal title are attested in the entire Sem. world, and archaic passages (Exod 15:18; Num 23:21; Deut 33:5) attest this usage in premonarchial Israel, there is no reason to maintain that the title appeared in Israel only after the initiation of the monarchy. The same is true in part of the Dtr's thesis that the people had a theocratic government in the premonarchial period (Judg 8:22f. → *mšl*, 1 Sam 8:7; 10:18f.; 12:12), so that the introduction of the political monarchy interposed a third entity between Yahweh and the people (esp. in Judah, where, on the basis of the

promise of Nathan, 2 Sam 7, the monarch attained a place in the state cult and theology). This connection of the divine with the earthly monarchy did not transpire without resistance, and the reservation with which the prophets and Dtr indicated Yahweh by the royal title is suggestive (cf. also H. J. Boecker, *Die Beurteilung der Anfänge des Königtums in den deuteronomistischen Abschnitten des 1. Samuelbuches* [1969]). The introduction of the *mōlek* cult (see 4e) may have also contributed to this reservation, as it did with respect to the Baal title.

The title and the verb were then adopted by Deutero-Isaiah in order to proclaim Yahweh's imminent, mighty liberating act through which he proclaims his dominion over the world, as in the primordial period.

(c) The pre-exilic *yhwh mālak* Psalms present a special problem indeed, since P. Volz and S. Mowinckel independently explained their *Sitz im Leben* as a Judean par. to the New Year's festival attested in the entire ancient Near East that celebrated the enthronement of the vanquisher of chaos. The relevant questions are repeatedly posed anew because a satisfactory solution to the problem has not yet been found. This uncertainty results, first, from the inherent difficulties of the Psa in question, but also from the sometimes unclear nature of the components of the festivals outside Israel that are often regarded as equivalent without sufficient recognition of nuances.

The point of departure is the phrase *yhwh mālak* (Psa 93:1; 96:10 = 1 Chron 16:31; Psa 97:1; 99:1) or *mālak ʾlōhîm* (Psa 47:9); cf. also Psa 146:10, which has *yimlōk yhwh*. Following S. Mowinckel, H. Schmidt, F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl, the scholars of the myth and ritual school, and those of the Uppsala school translated it as "Yahweh has become king" and interpreted it as an enthronement cry. In addition, OT passages containing linguistically related phrases were adduced: 2 Sam 15:10; 1 Kgs 1:11; 2 Kgs 9:13 ("Absalom/Adonijah/Jehu has become king!"). Further pars. in the ancient Near Eastern world were also found: the cry in the Bab. *akîtu* festival, *dMarduk-ma šarru* (Enuma Elish IV:28; ANET 66a) and a similar cry attested at Asshur *dAššur šar*; later a few Ug. texts were included: KTU 1.2.IV.32 *ym lmt bʿlm yml[k]* "Yamm is really dead now, now Baʿal shall reign"; 1.2.III.22 *tpṭ nhr mlkt* "O lord River, you are king now," etc.

A. Alt and M. Noth (op. cit.) had already lodged a general criticism, but since the early 1960s many scholars have treated the question only from a grammatical-syntactic point of view. With one exception, the Psa passages mentioned exhibit the *X-qatal* construction, but passages from 2 Sam and Kgs the *qatal-X* construction; the two constructions are not synonymous according to traditional grammar, because a preceding subj. in a verbal clause should be understood emphatically. The Bab. quotation,

as a nom. clause, is not an exact par. and can only be translated “Marduk is king.” The Assy. phrase and the Ug. passages are *X-qatal* clauses. Their similarity to our Psa indicate that this form was widely distributed in the Sem. world. Because the subj. emphatically precedes the verb in all these cases, however, one may translate either “Yahweh is king” (in contrast to other kings; Köhler, McCullough, Johnson), or “Yahweh is (since long ago) king” (Ridderbos, Schreiner, Watts, Gray), or “Yahweh is the one who exercises dominion” (Michel). Despite the divergence of interpretation, it is still clear that this statement is not a cry announcing the periodic reinstatement of Yahweh as king but a cultic-kerygmatic proclamation of the eternal kingship of Yahweh (so also W. H. Schmidt, although he continues to translate “Yahweh has become king”). In fact, Yahweh is often represented as the king of the gods in the passages in question (Psa 95:3; cf. 96:4; 97:7–9).

(d) The question of the content and the form of the festival, whose existence is suggested by the passages mentioned, cannot be satisfactorily answered. Kraus and Weiser have postulated a royal Zion festival (with a procession of the ark) or a covenant festival, which would have been celebrated in relation to the Feast of Booths. With Weiser and N. Poulssen (*König und Tempel im Glaubenszeugnis des AT* [1967], 64ff.) one must maintain, however, that the evidence for extrapolating a royal Zion festival is insufficient, and the same is also true of the covenant festival, esp. in view of questions concerning the age of the covenant notion per se (→ *b<sup>c</sup>ri<sup>t</sup>* ).

(e) A *molk* sacrifice has long been known from Phoen.-Pun. sources (cf. O. Eissfeldt, *Molk als Opferbegriff im Punischen und das Ende des Gottes Moloch* [1935]; id., *RGG* 4:1089f.; R. Dussaud, *CRAIBL* [1946]: 371–87; R. de Vaux, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* [1964], 73–90). According to de Vaux (on the basis of the Karatepe inscription, *KAI* no. 26.II.19; cf. A. Alt, *WO* 1/4 [1949]: 282f.) the root is not *mlk* but *hlk* (Phoen. yi. “to offer”), yet the expression was related to a God *mlk* when adopted by Israel (op. cit. 76f., 88f.; the Hebr. vocalization *mōlek* [LXX *moloch* ] is probably formed on analogy to *bōšet* “shame” and hardly conveys the original). That it involved child sacrifice is demonstrated by, among other things, the discovery of numbers of child skeletons in the various excavations of Phoen.-Pun. cultic locations (*tōpet*). Because the sacrificed individual was considered the object of an apotheosis, a cult of the dead may have also been practiced at these sites.

OT passages to be considered include Lev 18:21; 20:2–5; 1 Kgs 11:7; 2 Kgs 23:10; Jer 32:35. *tōpet* is mentioned in 2 Kgs 23:10; Isa 30:33; Jer 7:31, 32[bis]; 19:6, 11–14. The often attested expression “to cause to pass through the fire” (→ *ʿēš* 3a) refers to this type of sacrifice.

On the entire subject, cf. also E. Dhorme, "Le dieu Baal et le dieu Moloch dans la tradition biblique," *Anatolian Studies* 6 (1956): 57–61; S. Moscati, "Il sacrificio dei fanciulli," *Pontificia Accademia romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti* 38 (1965–66): 61–68; id., "Il 'tofet,'" *FS Rinaldi* 71–75. It may be that Jer 2:23 should also be interpreted in reference to this sacrifice; see J. A. Soggin, *OrAnt* 8 (1969): 215–17.

(f) An Ammonite deity *milkōm* is attested in 1 Kgs 11:5, 33; 2 Kgs 23:13 (cf. also the emendations suggested for 2 Sam 12:30; 1 Kgs 11:7; Jer 49:1, 3; Zeph 1:5). It is probably a form of *melek* with mimation. Milkom is attested only in the OT and on two Aram. seals; we know nothing of his cult.

Cf. Gray, *Legacy* 171–73; N. Avigad, "Seals of Exiles," *IEJ* 15 (1965): 222–28; G. Garbini, "Un nuovo sigillo aramaico-ammonita," *AION* 17 (1967): 251–56; H. Gese, *Die Religionen Altsyriens* (1970), 139, 214f.

5. (a) In the published Qumran literature, the word family does not appear prominently (besides the rare *mlk qal*, only *melek* and *malkût*, see Kuhn, *Konk.* 124f.). The divine designation *mlk kwl ʿmym* "king of all ages/worlds" occurs in 1QapGen 2:4, 7, *mlk šmyʿ* "king of heaven" in 2:14 (cf. Fitzmyer, *Gen.Ap.* 84, 89).

In the LXX, *basileus* and its derivatives dominate, of which *basileia* "kingdom" (Hebr. *malkût*) became an esp. significant term in early Judaism and in the NT (cf. H. Kleinknecht, G. von Rad, K. G. Kuhn, and K. L. Schmidt, "βασιλεύς," *TDNT* 1:564–93; K. Gallig and H. Conzelmann, "Reich Gottes," *RGG* 5:912–18; C. Westermann and G. Schille, *BHH* 3:1573–77).

(b) The close connection between the divine and the earthly king established in the Jerusalem cult and the accentuation of the cosmic-supratemporal dimensions of the former as early as the pre-exilic era created the preconditions in Judaism for the eschatological expectation of a realized kingdom of God, governed by a divine anointed figure (*māšīaḥ*, Gk. *Messias*, *Christos*). The pseudepigraphical and Qumran literatures in particular attest to this development. Cf. e.g., the overview of A. S. van der Woude, *BHH* 2:1197–1204, with supplementary bibliog. It is obvious that nontheological, even foreign, concepts, such as political frustration or Pers. ideology, also contributed to this new configuration, but these contributions do not explain the total situation: for a consistently conceived and deepened belief in the kingship of God alone must lead to a hope in an actualized kingdom of God.

J. A. Soggin

## מַעַל *mʿl* to be unfaithful

S 4603; BDB 591a; HALOT 2:612b; TDOT 8:460–63; TWOT 1230; NIDOTTE 5085

1. The verb *mʿl* qal “to be/become unfaithful” occurs only in Hebr. (and, dependently, in Jew. Aram.; Mid. Hebr. also *mʿlâ* “faithlessness, misappropriation”).

Attempts to establish an etymological relationship with Arab. verbs remain uncertain (cf. GB 445a; KBL 547b; Zorell 457b) or with *mʿl* “overgarment” (GB 445a; SNHL 10; basic meaning “to cover”? → *bgd*).

The OT attests the segholate *maʿal* in addition to the verb (only in qal).

2. The verb occurs 35x (2 Chron 8x, Ezek 7x, Josh 4x, Lev, Num, and 1 Chron 3x, Ezra and Neh 2x, Deut, Prov, and Dan 1x), the noun 29x, 20x in a figura etymologica (cognate acc.) with the verb (Ezek 6x, Josh 4x, Lev and Num 3x, 2 Chron 2x, and Dan and 1 Chron 1x).

*mʿl* does not appear in the narrative works (except Josh), in Psa, in the prophetic books (except Ezek), and only 1x each in Deut 32:51 qal; Job 21:34 subst.; Prov 16:10 qal. These instances belong almost without exception to exilic and post-exilic literature, and more specifically, to priestly diction (Prov 16:10 is chronologically indeterminate; the Josh passages may be Dtr).

3. (a) The basic meaning can be deduced from Num 5:12: “a man whose wife goes astray (*šth*; otherwise only in Num 5:19f., 29; Prov 4:15; 7:25) and commits unfaithfulness against him.” “Going astray” is explained as “being unfaithful.” *mʿl* refers, then, to the legally definable relationship of trust that exists between two persons. Prov 16:10 and Job 21:34 also refer to unfaithfulness in human relationships. Only in Josh 7:1 does *mʿl* refer to a thing, the ban (cf. 22:20; 1 Chron 2:7).

(b) The relationship of trust also finds expression when *mʿl* qal or *maʿal* is combined with *be* and an accompanying per. obj. (27 of 44 passages); one is “faithless with” someone, esp. in the legal texts (except for Lev 5:15) and also in Josh, where the combination of verb and noun dominates (see 2). The usage is most pronounced in these texts; the term appears increasingly in an abs. usage in nonlegal texts (*mʿl* qal: Ezek 14:13; 15:8; 18:24; Prov 16:10; Ezra 10:10; Neh 1:8; 2 Chron 26:18; 29:6; 36:14; *maʿal*: Lev 5:15; Job 21:34; Ezra 9:2, 4; 10:6; 1 Chron 9:1; 2 Chron 29:19; 33:19).

(c) Par. terms include: *ḥēṯ/ḥaṯṯāʾt* “transgression” (Lev 5:15, 21; Num 5:6; Ezek 14:13; 18:24; 2 Chron 33:19), *ʿawōn* “guilt” (Lev 26:40), *tmʾ* “to be unclean” (Num 5:27; 2 Chron 36:14), *mered* “rebellion” (Josh 22:22), *ʿawel* “evil” (Ezek 18:24), *tôʿebā* “abomination” (2 Chron 36:14; cf. Ezek 18:24); *gdp* pi. “to deride” (Exod 20:27), *raʿ* “evil” (2 Chron 29:6), and *znh* “to play the harlot” (1 Chron 5:25).

Par. terms indicate that, on the one hand, *mʿl* is a categorically formal term (Lev 5:15; Num 5:6) that describes a wide range of various forms of unfaithfulness (cf. Num 31:16; Deut 32:51; Josh 22:20, 22; Ezek 18:24; Ezra 9:2, 4; 1 Chron 5:25; 2 Chron 26:16; etc.), and that, on the other hand, *mʿl* modifies the par. expressions in terms of its own unique character.

4. Disregarding exceptions, the word refers to “unfaithfulness” against Yahweh/God/the God of Israel. Thus it is by nature an explicitly theological term.

Characteristic is the formula *mʿl (maʿal) byhwh* “to commit unfaithfulness against Yahweh” (Lev 5:21; 26:40; Num 5:6; Deut 32:51; 1 Chron 10:13; 2 Chron 12:2; 26:16; 28:19, 22; 30:7; cf. Josh 22:16; Ezra 10:2; Neh 13:27; 1 Chron 5:25). The genres that use the word are highly varied: introductions to cultic regulations (Lev 5:15; Num 5:6, 12, 27), instructions concerning the confession of individual and communal sin (Lev 26:40; Ezra 10:2; Dan 9:7), accusations (Deut 32:51; Ezek 14:13; 15:8; 17:20; 20:27; 39:23; Ezra 10:10; 1 Chron 9:1; 2 Chron 12:2), legal proclamations (Ezek 18:24), acquittals (Josh 22:31), and announcements of salvation (Ezek 39:26).

Direct references to Yahweh in the various genres indicate an advanced state of theological thought in which inherently inappropriate actions are further evaluated in specific reference to the relationship of trust with Yahweh. In other words, the theological uniqueness of the concept “unfaithfulness” consists in the fact that the legal implication of the shared relationship with God can be transferred to the plane of the ethical criterion of faithfulness, indeed, of personal faithfulness toward God himself.

On the question of the relationship of mistaken and intentional unfaithfulness, see Elliger, *HAT* 4, 75f. The customary translation “unfaithfulness” is preferable, however, to Elliger’s translation “violation of duty.”

5. The usage and significance of the word in the available Qumran literature (verb and noun; see Kuhn, *Konk.* 127) continue the development notable in post-exilic texts. The Mishnaic tractate *Meʿilah* deals with misappropriation of things sanctified.

The LXX employs over a dozen different Gk. words to translate *mʿl*. The various translators are consistent in their choice of translations (e.g.,

Josh, Dan, and Sir, *plēmmelein* “to make an error,” Ezek usually *parapiptein* “to transgress,” Ezra-Neh *asynthetein* “to be in violation of a contract”), and only the translations of Lev, Num, and Chron are relatively flexible. On the whole, however, no Gk. term reflects the basic meaning of the Hebr. term.

R. Knierim

## מצא *mšʿ* to find

S 4672; BDB 592b; HALOT 2:619a; TDOT 8:465–83; TWOT 1231; NIDOTTE 5162

1. The common Sem. root *mšʿ* occurs only as a verb in the OT (qal, pass. ni., causative hi.). Although the spatial character of Hebr. *mšʿ* is only sparsely attested, as is also true of Akk. *mašû*, it is highly probably that it was originally a verb of motion meaning “to come to.” This inference is supported by passages such as Isa 10:10, 14; Psa 21:9; Job 11:7, as well as the hi. occurrences, which can be understood only as causatives of a verb of motion (the spatial sense is best preserved in Eth. *mašʿa* “to come”).

The etymological question is complicated by the existence of another root \**mzy* (cf. G. Garbini, *Il semitico di nord-ovest* [1960], 30) “to come, reach,” which is well attested in Ug. *mgy* (*UT* no. 1520; *WUS* no. 1627) and in Aram. *mty* (Imp. Aram. Bibl. Aram., *mʿ* pe. “to come to, enter, arrive” [8x in Dan], Syr., etc.: KBL 1092f.; cf. also Huffmon 232; Gröndahl 156; according to G. R. Driver, *ZAW* 50 [1932]: 146, followed by KBL 515b, also in *māteḥ* “reaching,” Prov 24:11; a relationship with Arab. *maḍā* “to go” is disputed; see e.g., P. Fronzaroli, *La fonetica ugaritica* [1955], 35).\*

The root *mšʿ* is missing in Arab. and is rare in Aram.: Eg. Aram. “to find(?)” (*DISO* 164); Syr. and Mand. “to be able, find” (*LS* 398f.; Drower-Macuch 276b); Jew. Aram. pe./itp. “to be able,” ap. “to cause to find” (Dalman 248a); cf. also Akk. *mašû* “to correspond, suffice, be adequate” (*AHW* 621f.); Ug. *mšʿ* D “to let succeed” (*WUS* no. 1634; by-form *mzʿ* “to meet someone,” *WUS* no. 1649; cf. *UT* no. 1524, also Old SArab.); Eth. “to come” (Dillmann 226f.). No conclusive explanation of the relationship of the roots to one another or any mutual influence has yet been achieved.

Aram. normally uses *škh* for “to find” (Bibl. Aram. ha. 9x, hitpe. pass. 9x; KBL 1130a). The Akk. semantic equivalent is not *mašû* but *kašādu*, which underwent the same development as Hebr. *mšʿ*. “to come to (to arrive at an objective) > to find”; cf. Lat. *venire–invenire*.

2. The OT has 454 instances of the verb in a normal distribution, specifically qal 306x (Gen 44x, 1 Sam 27x, Prov 24x, Psa and Eccl 17x each, Deut 16x, 1 Kgs 14x, incl. 1 Kgs 18:5 qal impf. 1st per. pl. [Lis. ni. perf.]), ni. 141x (2 Chron 20x [Lis. does not list 2 Chron 21:17]), hi. 7x (excl. 2 Sam 18:22 [*yš*<sup>ʔ</sup> hi.]).

3. (a) The semantic range of *mš*<sup>ʔ</sup> “to find” exhibits a remarkable affinity with that of → *bqš* pi. “to seek.” If “finding” is preceded or accompanied by an explicitly stated “seeking,” *bqš* pi. is used with only a few exceptions (about 35 passages); → *drš* and other verbs of seeking appear only sporadically as opposites of *mš*<sup>ʔ</sup> (*HP* 249). Just as *bqš* pi. refers primarily to the search for something lost or missed and can have persons, animals, or things as objs., the corresponding “finding” may be established as the chief meaning of *mš*<sup>ʔ</sup>. In about 1/3 of all occurrences, it concerns the finding of something sought whose location was unknown, e.g., Gen 19:11 (Lat. *invenire*).

The numerous passages in which *mš*<sup>ʔ</sup> refers to an accidental discovery with no prior searching contain an expansion of meaning, e.g., Gen 30:14 (Lat. *reperire*).

Alongside this primarily local usage, *mš*<sup>ʔ</sup> has a second major sphere of usage that lies chiefly outside the spatial sphere. It describes the goal and result of any endeavor in the broader sense: “to achieve, procure” (e.g., Job 31:25); cf. *nšg* hi. (“to attain, achieve,” 49x [excl. Job 24:2]), which often occurs as a close synonym for *mš*<sup>ʔ</sup>, whose obj., however, is envisioned not as lost but as fleeing, running away. This usage corresponds to a usage of *bqš* pi. in an emotional-volitional sense (“to strive after something, attempt to gain something”).

Just as “seeking” can be a malevolent pursuit, “finding” quite often acquires the sense “to gain power over,” e.g., 2 Sam 20:6 (Lat. *usurpare*). Abstracts can also stand as subjs. of this usage: “disaster” (Gen 44:34; Deut 31:17, 21; Job 31:29; Esth 8:6), “guilt” (Num 32:23; 2 Kgs 7:9), “hardship” (Exod 18:8; Num 20:14; Neh 9:32), and “fear” (Psa 116:3; 119:143).

(b) The ni. serves primarily as a pass. of the qal (“to be found” and “to be reached”), and as a pass. to malevolent “finding,” e.g., “to come under control” (Jer 50:24). S. Iwry (*Textus* 5 [1966]: 34–43) sees the ni. ptcp. *nimšā*<sup>ʔ</sup> as a technical term for “prisoner, displaced person.”

A reflexive usage of the ni., “to show oneself,” occurs predominantly in the Chr literature (Ezra 10:18; Neh 13:1; 1 Chron 24:4; 2 Chron 2:16).

*mš*<sup>ʔ</sup> ni. very often has an attenuated sense: “to be located somewhere” (with a local designation about 30x), in later diction even “to

be present” (2 Chron 35:7, 17f.). About 50x *mšʿ* ni. is synonymous with → *hyh* qal “there is” (Gen 41:38; Deut 21:17).

4. A specifically theological usage of *mšʿ* does not exist. God stands as the subj. of the finding only 13x, without distinction from the profane usage (Gen 2:20; 18:26, 28, 30; 44:16; Deut 32:10; Jer 23:11; Ezek 22:30; Hos 9:10; Psa 17:3; 89:21; Job 33:10; Neh 9:8; further Isa 10:10, 14, “my [God’s] hand”). Regarding the “foundling (or discovery) tradition” inferred by R. Bach (“Die Erwählung Israels in der Wüste” [diss., Bonn, 1951]; cf. *TLZ* 78 [1953]: 687) on the basis of Deut 32:10 and Hos 9:10 (as well as other passages without *mšʿ*) and independent of the exodus tradition, cf. E. Rohland, *Die Bedeutung der Erwählungstraditionen Israels für die Eschatologie der atl. Propheten* (1957), 27–32; Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 164f.; von Rad, *Deut*, OTL, 196f.; critically, Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:336f.; Rudolph, *KAT* 13/1, 185.

God is the obj. of *mšʿ* even more rarely (Deut 4:29; Jer 29:13; Hos 5:6; Job 23:3; 37:23); attention must be given to the following objs. from wisdom literature, where *mšʿ* often has the cognitive sense “to recognize”: “the depths of God” and “the fullness of the Almighty” (Job 11:7), “knowledge of God” (Prov 2:5), “God’s work” (Eccl 3:11; 8:17); also “word of God” (Amos 8:12).

“To find favor with someone” is attested 40x, 13x in reference to God (Gen 6:8; 18:3; 19:19; Exod 33:12, 13[bis], 16f.; 34:9; Num 11:11, 15; Judg 6:17; 2 Sam 15:25). The phrase, which appears exclusively in narrative texts, is merely a polite formulation with no religious significance (→ *hēn* 3a).

5. The 16 occurrences in the published Qumran texts (Kuhn, *Konk.* 130b) diverge from bibl. usage only to the extent that they exhibit a marked concentration of the pass. (3x qal, 13x ni.). The LXX translates *mšʿ* predominantly with *heuriskein* (about 385x), but at least twenty other equivalents also occur; see H. Preisker, “εὐρίσκω,” *TDNT* 2:769f.

G. Gerleman

מָרַע *mārēʿ* (Aram.) **lord** → אֲדוֹן *ʿādôn*

מָרַד *mrd* **to rebel**

S 4775; BDB 597b; *HALOT* 2:632a; *ThWAT* 5:1–6; *TWOT* 1240;

## NIDOTTE 5277

1. The root *mrd* “to rebel” occurs only in NW and Ssem., with a single meaning.

The oldest extrabibl. examples stem from Imp. Aram. (DISO 167; cf. also 1QapGen 21:27). In addition to Hebr. and Aram., the root also occurs in Arab., Old SArab., and Eth. (KBL 564c).

In OT Hebr., the verb (only in qal) occurs together with the subst. *mered* (Josh 22:22) and *mardût* (1 Sam 20:30) “rebellion.” Bibl. Aram. knows a *merad* “rebellion” (Ezra 4:19 par. *ʿeštaddûr* “insurrection”) and *mārād* (BLA 191; *qattāl* nom. form) “rebellion” (Ezra 4:12, 15).

2. Statistics: *mrd* qal 25x (Josh 5x, 2 Kgs and Ezek 4x, Neh 3x, Dan and 2 Chron 2x; Gen 14:4; Num 14:9; Isa 36:5; Jer 52:3; Job 24:13), *mered* and *mardût*, 1x each; Bibl. Aram. *merad* 1x, *mārād* 2x; total, 30x.

The oldest instances are Num 14:9 (J); 2 Kgs 18:7, 20 = Isa 36:5; 2 Kgs 24:1, 20 = Jer 52:3. The rest belong to the exilic and post-exilic eras.

3. (a) *mrd* is a term from international law (12x as well as Ezra 4:12, 15, 19 and 1 Sam 20:30 in a nontheological usage). This character is clearly implied by the contexts in which it occurs: The rebel became the vassal (*ʿebed*) of a king (Gen 14:4; 2 Kgs 18:7; 24:1; 2 Chron 13:6) through a treaty (Ezek 17:13–15) and through an oath to God (2 Chron 36:13) and was obligated to observe the treaty (Ezek 17:14f.). Through rebellion he breaks the treaty and the oath to God and attempts to establish political independence. Cf. also Ezra 4:12, 15, 19. A par. term in political contexts is → *qûm* “to rise up” (2 Chron 13:6).

Instances in the Aram. portion of the Behistun inscription of Darius I refer to the civil war conditions following the death of Cambyses (*mrdyʿ* “rebels,” Cowley 251ff., ll. 1, 3, 5, 7f., 44; the Akk. equivalent *nekru* “enemy” [AHW 776a] has a more general meaning); those in the texts in Cowley no. 27.1; Driver, *AD* no. 5.6; no. 7.1 (in each case *mrd* pe.) to the chaotic conditions of 411/410 BCE in Egypt (Driver, *AD* 9). 1QapGen 21:27 (*mrd* pe.) cites Gen 14:4 (see Fitzmyer, *Gen.Ap.* 164).

The verb is almost always accompanied by the prep. *be*, only in later periods the prep. *ʿal* “against” (Neh 2:19; 2 Chron 13:6); it occurs unaccompanied in Gen 14:4 and Neh 6:6.

The term occurs in the diction of royal chronicles (Gen 14:4; 2 Kgs 18:7; 24:1, 20 = Jer 52:3; 2 Chron 36:13), in disputes (1 Sam 20:30; 2 Kgs 18:20 = Isa 36:5; Neh 2:19; 2 Chron 13:6), in a didactic narrative (Ezek 17:15), and in a letter (Neh 6:6).

(b) *mrd* refers basically to incomplete rebellion. With the exception of 2 Chron 36:13 it always fails. Cf. esp. the debate over success (see 3a).

Even 1 Sam 20:30 (*mardût*) has political implications, as the context (vv 30f.) shows: In Saul's view, Jonathan rebels against Saul and his kingdom through his faithfulness to David.

(c) The understanding of the term sketched in 3a-b determines its translation and its distinction from semantically related terms. The appropriate translation is "to rebel" (*be* = "against") or "rebellion" in contrast to "to fall away, become apostate," which refers more to a completed reality and is represented by another Hebr. term.

The ZB (cf. also NEB) is highly inconsistent in its translation (incl. the theological occurrences) when it translates *mrd*: (1) "to rise in revolt" (Josh 22:16, 18f., 29; Ezek 20:38; Neh 9:26; 2 Chron 13:6), (2) "to be rebellious" (Num 14:9), Hebr. → *mrh*, (3) "to revolt against" (2 Kgs 18:7, 20 = Isa 36:5; Ezek 2:3; Dan 9:5, 9), or "to fall away" (Gen 14:4; 2 Kgs 24:1, 20 = Jer 52:3; Ezek 17:15; Neh 2:19; 6:6; 2 Chron 36:13), Hebr. → *pšc*.

On the one hand, then, *mrd* is distinct from *pšc* "to break with" in the sense of an accomplished reality (only later theological discourse blurs the distinction); on the other hand, it is semantically related to → *lûn* ni./hi. "to rebel": *lûn* points to the revolutionary replacement of the one attacked by the attacker, but *mrd* refers only to the independence of the rebel.

(d) The political rebellion of the Israelite and the Judean kings, which involved a treaty violation from the perspective of the empire, is assessed variously in the texts: positively in 2 Kgs 18:7, 20ff.; negatively in 2 Kgs 24:1, 20; Ezek 17:15; 2 Chron 36:13. Political rebellion per se is neither good nor evil (so that chronicles can report it neutrally, Gen 14:4), instead it is evaluated—contextually—from the perspective of the rebel's relationship with Yahweh. The political act, then, has a thoroughly theological dimension.

4. Rebellion against Yahweh is always illegitimate (12x, as well as Job 24:13: rebellion against the light). In terms of relationship with Yahweh, *mrd* means rebellion against the relationship of faithfulness and service to Yahweh, the attempt to distance oneself from him.

Here, too, the combination with the prep. *be* dominates (Num 14:9; Josh 22:16, 18, 19b $\alpha$ , 29; Ezek 2:3a $\alpha$ ; 20:38; Dan 9:9; Neh 9:26); Josh 22:19b $\beta$  has  $\text{et}$ , Ezek 2:3a $\beta$  and Dan 9:5 stand abs.

Rebellion consists of unfaithfulness (Num 14:9), in (suspected) idol worship (Josh 22:18–29); or it is a more fundamental term for the behavior of God's people, as in the prophetic accusation (Ezek 2:3; 20:38) or in the communal confession of sin (Dan 9:5, 9; Neh 9:26).

Semantically related terms are employed in this late phase of usage in great numbers and in a generalized manner. The generalizing, theologically denigrating intent obscures the specific origins of the term. The best par. concept is *maʿal* “infidelity” (→ *mʿt*; Josh 22:16, 22 [*mered*]), which occurs, significantly, only in theological contexts, where the term *mrd*, neutral in the political realm, automatically disqualifies the act of rebellion. Ezek 2:3 has *pšʿ bʿ*; in 20:38 as a hendiadys with *mrd* (“rebels and apostates/disloyal ones”). Later, the par. expressions become even more general and concentrated (cf. Josh 22:16, 29 P; Neh 9:26; Dan 9:5).

5. The available Qumran texts attest the verb 3x according to Kuhn, *Konk.* 133: 1QpHab 8:11 (against God); 8:16; CD 8:4.

The LXX translates the verb predominantly with *aphistanai* (9x), which is already no longer quite precise, as well as with *athetein* “to rise up, set aside” (2 Kgs 18:7, 20; 24:1, 20; 2 Chron 36:13) and various isolated verbs and expressions. Cf. also H. Schlier, “ἀφίστημι,” *TDNT* 1:512–14.

R. Knierim

## מרה *mrh* to be obstinate

S 4784; BDB 598a; *HALOT* 2:632b; *ThWAT* 5:6–11; *TWOT* 1242; *NIDOTTE* 5286

1. The root *mrh* (\**mry*) in the meaning “to be obstinate” is limited to Hebr.; Brockelmann, etc. (*LS* 402a; *KBL* 565a), associate Hebr. *mrh* with Jew. Aram. *mry* ap. “to make angry,” Syr. *mry* pa. “to compete,” Arab. *mry* III “to dispute.”

The following are attested in OT Hebr.: the verb in the qal and the inner-causative (internal, inwardly trans.) hi. (GKC §53d; Berg., *HG* 2:102) and the segholate noun *mʿrî* “obstinacy” (BL 577ff.).

Regarding the PNs *mʿrāyâ* and *mʿrāyôt*, cf. *IP* 250: Rudolph, *HAT* 20, 66f. (“obstinate person?”), regarding *yimrâ* (1 Chron 7:36 txt?), *IP* 246; Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 74; regarding the place-names *mʿrātayim* (for Babel, a play on words with Akk. *nār marrātu*), see Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 302f.

2. The verb (qal 22x, as well as Zeph 3:1 with the by-form *mrʿ*; hi. 22x, as well as Exod 23:21, now pointed as a form of *mrr*) occurs 10x in Psa, 8x in Deut, 4x each in Isa, Ezek, and Lam, as well as in isolated occurrences mostly in the historical books. *mʿrî* occurs 23x, 16x in Ezek.

Clearly pre-exilic are: Deut 21:18, 20; 1 Sam 15:23; 1 Kgs 13:21, 26; Isa 1:20; 3:8; 30:9; Jer 4:17; 5:23; Hos 14:1; perhaps also Psa 78:8, 17, 40, 56; 107:11; Prov 17:11.

3. (a) As expressions of a basic mental attitude, *mrh* “to be obstinate, stubborn” and *m<sup>c</sup>ri* “angry, defiant obstinacy” belong in the sphere of anthropological concepts. Because the word consistently implies a conscious and willful attitude, it calls attention to the active, subjective participation of the person in his/her position (cf. Deut 21:18, 20; Isa 30:9; Jer 5:23; Psa 78:8). “Obstinacy” appears, then, as a fundamental, stubborn opposition.

(b) Obstinacy expresses itself either in open contradiction as a verbal phenomenon (Num 17:25; 20:10; cf. vv 3–5; 27:14; Deut 1:26; Psa 78:17–20) or in deeds (Deut 21:18–21; 1 Sam 12:14f.; 1 Kgs 13:21, 26; 2 Kgs 14:26; Jer 4:17f.; Ezek 5:6; 20:8, 13, 21). Cf. Isa 3:8 “because your tongues and your deeds are against the Lord, to defy the eyes of his majesty” (cf. ZB, NEB, JPSV).

(c) Of about 20 semantically related words in the contexts of *mrh/m<sup>c</sup>ri*, the most important are: *lō<sup>ʿ</sup>* → *šm<sup>c</sup>* “to fail to heed” (very often, e.g., Deut 9:23; Josh 1:18; Isa 30:9; Ezek 20:8); *m<sup>n</sup>* pi. “to refuse” (Isa 1:20; Neh 9:17); → *riḅ* “to quarrel” (Num 20:3, 10); → *lūn* “to rebel” (Num 17:25 *l<sup>c</sup>lunnōt*); *lō<sup>ʿ</sup>* → *ʾbh* “to be unwilling” (Deut 1:26; Isa 30:9); *srr* “to be stubborn” (Deut 21:18; Psa 78:8; cf. *sārā* “obstinacy”); → *m<sup>ʾ</sup>s* “to reject” (Ezek 20:13); cf. further Deut 1:26f.; 9:23; 31:27; Isa 30:9; 63:10; Hos 14:1; Psa 106:7; Lam 3:42; Neh 9:26. Cf. also the expressions with *ʿōrep* “back of the neck” and *qšh* hi. “to harden” (e.g., Exod 32:9) or *qāšā* “hard” (e.g., Deut 10:16) as a paraphrase for obstinacy as “stiff-necked.” On *sārāb* “obstinate” Ezek 2:6 txt?, cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:90f.; Wagner no. 205; on *ʿēšā* II → *y<sup>c</sup>š* 1.

4. (a) Apart from exceptions (Deut 21:18, 20; Job 17:2; 23:2; Prov 17:11), *mrh /m<sup>c</sup>ri* refers consistently to stubbornness toward God. Cf. the formulaic usages *mrh ʿim-/ʿet-/b<sup>c</sup>yhwh* “to be obstinate with Yahweh” (Deut 9:7, 24; 31:27; Jer 4:17; Ezek 20:8, 13, 21; Psa 5:11; 78:40; with God: Hos 14:1; Psa 78:56; with the Spirit of God: Psa 106:33; against the eyes of his *kābôd*, Isa 3:8).

(b) The oldest instances (see 2) indicate that the term was first used for limited situations: the son’s rebelliousness against his parents (Deut 21:18, 20), rebelliousness as soothsaying (1 Sam 15:23 par. to the unexplained *hapšar* = *pšr* hi.), as disobedience of a specific word of Yahweh (1 Kgs 13:21, 26; Isa 1:20). In 8th- and 7th-cent. prophecy, the word was expanded to include the people’s whole relationship with Yahweh (Isa 3:8; 30:9; Hos 14:1; Jer 4:17; 5:23).

(c) From this point onward, the word occurs in texts that express accusations against Israel’s rebelliousness with respect to Yahweh’s public

historical deeds, esp. those in the wilderness: Num 17:25; 20:10, 24; 27:14 (P); Deut 9:7, 23f.; 31:27; Isa 63:10; Psa 78:8, 17; 106:7, 43. Obstinacy is directed primarily, however, at Yahweh's word itself: Isa 30:9; 50:5; Ezek 2:4ff.; 5:6; 20:13, 21; Psa 105:28. The accusatory formula *mrh qal/hi. ʿet-pî yhwh* "to be rebellious against the mouth (= word, commandment) of Yahweh" is characteristic (qal Num 27:14; 1 Kgs 13:21, 26; hi. Deut 1:26, 43; 9:23f.; Josh 1:18; 1 Sam 12:14f.). Cf. the expression "to fail to give heed" (see 3c). The original tradition of the rebelliousness against the word of Yahweh given to the prophet (1 Kgs 13:21, 26; Isa 30:9) is—conversely—taken up in Isa 50:5 "the Lord Yahweh opened my ear and I am not rebellious" (similarly Ezek 2:8).

Finally, for Ezekiel obstinacy regarding the prophetic word (Ezek 2:5, 8; 3:9; 5:6; 20:13, 21) became the stigma of God's people as expressed in the stereotypical declaratory formula "house of stubbornness" (Ezek 2:5–7; 3:9, 26f.; 12:2f., 9, 25; 17:12; 24:3; 44:6); cf. also Isa 30:9; Psa 78:8. Here the attitude of the entire people of God in its total history is characterized negatively as obstinacy with respect to Yahweh's revealed word; similarly, then, in the confession of sin as well (Lam 1:18, 20; 3:42; Neh 9:17, 26).

In these occurrences *mrh/m<sup>o</sup>rî* becomes a central term for sin characterizing the relationship of Israel to Yahweh in a very specific manner, namely as fundamental, evil opposition to everything revealed by Yahweh. The term closely parallels the terminology of stubbornness.

5. The Qumran texts available use only the verb (4x; CD 9:10 has *ʿmr* "to say"). The meaning is retained, although in the original, more limited sense of obstinacy in relation to the neighbor's counsel, the word of God, or repentance.

The LXX translates *mrh /m<sup>o</sup>rî* with a wide variety of Gk. words, most often with *parapikrainein* "to embitter" (consistently in Psa and in Ezek—except for Ezek 5:6; 12:2; 20:13, 21—as well as in Deut 31:27; 1 Kgs 13:21, 26; Lam 1:18, 20; cf. *pikros* in 2 Kgs 14:26), which has broadened the meaning of *mrh* under the influence of *mrr* (see W. Michaelis, "πικρός," *TDNT* 6:122–27).

R. Knierim

משח *mšh* to anoint → מֶלֶךְ *melek*

משל *mšl* to rule

S 4910; BDB 605b; HALOT 2:647b; ThWAT 5:73–77; TWOT 1259; NIDOTTE 5440

1. The root *mšl* II “to rule, govern” (Lat. *dominari*) is to be distinguished from *mšl* I (< \**mł* “to be like,” → *dmh* 3a). *mšl* II has been identified to date only in NWSem. (Phoen., Pun., Old Aram.: *DISO* 171; not in Ug.) and even there only relatively rarely. It appears in the OT chiefly in the qal, less often in the hi.; the ptcp. *mōšēl* tends toward becoming an independent subst. (“ruler”). The subst. *mōšēl* “region of dominion,” *mimšāl* “dominion, ruling,” and *memšālâ* “kingdom, government” are formed from *mšl*.

Instead of *mšl*, Bibl. Aram. uses the root *šlt* (also Akk., Ug.; on the numerous loanwords in Hebr., Arab., and Eth. see Wagner nos. 306–9): pe. “to rule,” ha. “to make lord,” *šiltōn* “official,” *šoltān* “dominion,” *šallit* “mighty” (KBL 1131); *šlt* qal/hi., *šiltōn*, and *šallit* “potentate,” and *šalleṭet* “mighty” occur in Hebr. (KBL 977).

2. The verb occurs 77x in the qal (excl. Isa 28:14), 3x in the hi.; in the 43 passages that employ the qal act. ptcp. (33x sg.), instances of the substantivized usage may not be clearly distinguished (according to Lis. 24x). Of the substs., *mōšēl* occurs 2x (late: Zech 9:10; Dan 11:4), *mimšāl* 3x (late: Dan 11:3, 5; 1 Chron 26:6), and *memšālâ* 17x.

3. (a) According to the context, the meaning of *mšl* has the following nuances:

(1) “To rule” in the general, not the political, sense, usually constructed with *be* “over”: (a) the human being over creation: Psa 8:7 hi. “you place him as lord over the work of your hands”; (b) the human being over fellow human beings (e.g., husband over wife, brother over siblings, master over slaves, country over others): Gen 3:16; 37:8 (par. → *mlk*); Exod 21:8; Deut 15:6; Joel 2:17; Hab 1:14 (negatively; cf., however, 1QpHab); Psa 106:41; Prov 12:24; 17:2; 19:10; 22:7; Lam 5:8; (c) in the sense of self-government: Gen 4:7 txt?; Psa 19:14; Prov 16:32 (ptcp.); (d) in the sense of “to administer” (ptcp.): Gen 24:2; Psa 105:21;

(2) “To rule” in the political sense: Gen 45:8, 26 (both ptcp.); Josh 12:2, 5 (both ptcp.; subj. → *melek*); Judg 8:22–23; 9:2; 14:4 (ptcp.); 15:11 (ptcp.); 2 Sam 23:3 (ptcp.); 1 Kgs 5:1 (ptcp.); Isa 3:4, 12; 14:5 (ptcp.); 16:1 (ptcp.); 19:4 (subj. *melek*); 49:7 txt? (ptcp.; par. *melek*); Jer 22:30 (ptcp.; par. “one who sits on the throne of David”); 30:21 (ptcp.); 51:46 (ptcp.); Ezek 19:11 (ptcp.); Zech 6:13 (alongside “seated on the throne”); Job 25:2; Prov 23:1 (ptcp.); 29:2, 12 (ptcp.), 26 (ptcp.); Eccl 9:17; 10:4 (both ptcp.); Dan 11:3–5 (par. *melek*), 39, 43; Neh 9:37; 2 Chron 7:18 (par. “throne of your dominion”); 9:26; 23:20 (the last 4 texts all ptcp.);

(3) “To rule” with Yahweh as subj. or in reference to him: Isa 40:10; 63:19; Psa 22:29 (par. *m<sup>e</sup>lûkâ* “kingdom”); 59:14 (ptcp.); 66:7 (ptcp.); 89:10 (ptcp.); 103:19 (subj. “his royal power”); 1 Chron 29:12 (ptcp.); 2 Chron 20:6 (“over all kingdoms of the nations”);

(4) Of an eschatological ruler: Mic 5:1 (ptcp.).

(b) In the last three meanings, then, *mšl* often coincides with *mlk* “to rule (as king)” (and derivatives).

Additional semantically related terms are:

(1) *rdh* “to tread (the winepress)” (Joel 4:13) and “to rule” (21x; Gen 1:26, 28, the human being over the animals; Psa 72:8, worldwide dominion of the king; not with God as subj.; hi. Isa 41:2 txt?);

(2) *šrr* qal “to rule” (Judg 9:22; Isa 32:1; Prov 8:16; Esth 1:22; 1 Chron 15:22, *srr* “to preside over”; hitp. “to make oneself ruler,” Num 16:13[bis]; hi. “to make *šar*,” Hos 8:4 par. *mlk* hi.), as well as the subst. *šar* “official, superior” (421x: Jer 56x, 2 Chron 51x [Lis. 1386b mistakenly lists 2 Chron 35:25], 1 Chron 47x, Gen, 1 Kgs, and 2 Kgs 25x each, Dan 18x, Num, 1 Sam, Isa, and Neh 17x each, 2 Sam and Esth 15x, Ezra 11x, Exod 10x, Judg and Psa 9x, Hos 8x, Deut 5x, Job and Lam 4x, Ezek, Prov, and Eccl 3x, Josh, Amos, and Zeph 2x, Mic 1x; thus predominantly in the narrative books; Josh 5:14f. and Dan 8:25[bis]; 10:13, 20[bis], 21; 12:1 of angelic beings) and *šārâ* “princess” (Judg 5:29; 1 Kgs 11:3; Isa 49:23; Lam 1:1; Esth 1:18; cf. the PN *šāray/šārâ*); cf. Akk. *šarru* “king”;

(3) *mišrâ* “dominion” (Isa 9:5f.; root *šrh*);

(4) *šlt*, see 1; cf. also → *špt*. \*

4. (a) “Ruling” in the general sense often has theological relevance. E.g. Psa 8:7 speaks of the dominion of human beings created in the image of God (→ *selem*) over the subordinate creation (Gen 1:26, 28, *rdh* “to rule,” v 28 alongside *kbš* “to subordinate, subject”; cf. also Gen 1:18 of the dominion [*mšl*] of the two great “luminaries” over day and night, likewise from P). One should not overlook the fact that the root *mlk* is not used here, because P avoids the use of this root (→ *mlk* 2); in the Psalter its application to humanity could have led to confusion with its application to Yahweh’s exercise of dominion. This circumstance also explains the fact that often (e.g., esp. by the Scandinavian and the myth and ritual school) the figure of the primal man can be described as a king or bearer of royal powers on the basis of the portrayal of the primal man in Ezek 28:12b–16 (cf. vv 2b–5). Such an interpretation, entirely possible on its face, cannot, however, be offered with certainty.

With reference to the other passages, the dominion of a person or of

a people over others is often represented as judgment upon the sin of the latter, and not just in the context of the Dtr theory of retribution: Gen 3:16; Deut 15:6; Psa 106:41.

(b) In the political sense, *mšl* is used several times in apparently conscious avoidance of the root *mlk* (e.g., Judg 8:22f.; 9:2), presumably in accordance with the Dtr thesis that Israel was theocratically governed in the premonarchical era and there could have been no king designated as *mlk* (→ *melek* 4b); in addition, perhaps, because *mlk* was discredited by the secondary negative evaluation of the development of the monarchy, in the view of the Dtr it should not be used for the constitutive primal era. Ezek deals similarly with the “princes” of the restoration, who are not described as *melek* but as *nāšîʿ*?

(c) *mšl* appears with Yahweh as subj. or associated with his dominion in texts that belong ideologically to the special theological material that describes Yahweh as *melek* (→ *melek* 4a).

(d) Esp. significant is the eschatological *môšēl* “ruler,” Mic 5:1ff., brought forth by Yahweh (→ *melek* 3c); again this designation involves the avoidance of the root *mlk*, perhaps for the reasons mentioned above in 4b.

5. The root and most of its derivatives are also well attested in the Qumran texts. Among the LXX translations, *archein* (*archōn*) and *kyrieuein* are the most important (cf. G. Delling, “ἄρχω,” *TDNT* 1:478–89; W. Foerster, “κυριεύω,” *TDNT* 3:1097f.). The text mentioned above (4d), Mic 5:1ff., cited in Matt 2:6 (cf. John 7:42), helped to establish a connection between *mšl* and the NT (cf. F. Büchsel, “ἡγέομαι,” *TDNT* 2:907–9).

J. A. Soggin

## מָתַי *mātay* when?

S 4970; BDB 607b; *HALOT* 2:654a; *ThWAT* 5:110–12; *TWOT* 1266; *NIDOTTE* 5503

1. The temporal interrogative adv. *mātay* “when?” belongs to the common Sem. base (Berg., *Intro.* 222; Moscati, *Intro.* 121).

Apart from Hebr. and Akk. (*AHw* 632b; *GAG* §§113k, 119a), no instances have as yet been identified in the older texts (Ug.; Phoen.-Pun.; Aram. *mt* “when” occurs first on the 5th-cent. ostrakon *RES* 1793; cf. A. Dupont-Sommer, *REJ* 7 [1946/47]: 39–51; *BMAP* 96; P. Grelot, *VT* 4 [1954]: 378n.1; *DISO* 18).

The local adv. *ʔānâ* (or *ʔān*, Job 8:2) can also be used in connection with *ʕad* “until” (→ *ʔayyēh* 2); cf. further *ʕad-mâ* (Num 24:22 txt?; Psa 74:9; 79:5; 89:47), *ʕad-meh* (Psa 4:3), and *kammâ* (Psa 35:17; Job 7:19) in the meaning “until when, how long.”

2. *mātay* occurs 43x in the OT, most frequently in Psa (13x), as does *ʕad-ʔān(â)* (5 of 14x).

3. Genuine questions expecting a specific answer are formed with *mātay* “when?” even less often than with → *ʔayyēh* “where?” (only Exod 8:5; Dan 8:13; 12:6; Neh 2:6[bis]; cf. also Isa 6:11; the texts of Jer 23:26 and Psa 101:2 should be emended). The vast majority of cases involving *mātay* “when?” or *ʕad-mātay* “until when, how long?” and regularly those involving *ʕad-ʔān(â)* “how long?” are rhetorical questions expressing unwitting or impatient accusations in various degrees. This question often begins an address (cf. Exod 10:3, 7; Num 14:27 “how long shall I forgive this evil congregation?”; 1 Sam 1:14 “how long will you carry on drunk?” 16:1 “how long will you mourn for Saul?”; 2 Sam 2:26 following two other rhetorical questions; 1 Kgs 18:21 “how long will you waver between two opinions?”; Jer 47:5; Zech 1:12; Psa 41:6; 82:2; Prov 1:22; in Amos 8:5; Job 7:4; and Prov 23:35 the usage is probably in the context of self-deliberation; with *ʕad-ʔān[â]*. Exod 16:28; Num 14:11[bis]; Josh 18:3; Jer 47:6; Hab 1:2; Psa 13:2[bis], 3[bis]; 62:4; Job 8:2; 18:2; 19:2); less often it offers a summary conclusion of the conversation (Gen 30:30; Jer 13:27). In the lament and the exhortation the positioning of the adv. is less rigid (Jer 4:14, 21; 12:4; 31:22; Hos 8:5; Hab 2:6; Psa 6:4; 42:3; 74:10; 80:5; 90:13; 94:3[bis], 8; 119:82, 84; Prov 6:9[bis]). Also worthy of note are the aposiopeses (Jer 23:26 txt?; Hab 2:6; Psa 6:4; 90:13) and the concentrations of questions (Num 14:11; Jer 47:5f.; Psa 13:2f.; 74:9f.; 94:3; Prov 6:9).

4. The reproachful and agonizing question to God “when, how long . . . ?” in the community lament (*ʕad-mātay*. Psa 74:10; 80:5 “how long will you be angry with the prayer of your people?”; 90:13; 94:3[bis]; cf. *ʕad-mâ* Psa 79:5) and in the individual lament (*ʕad-mātay*. Psa 6:4; 119:82, 84; cf. Jer 12:4; Zech 1:12; perhaps also Isa 6:11; cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 273–74; *ʕad-ʔānâ*. Hab 1:2; Psa 13:2[bis], 3[bis]; cf. *ʕad-mâ* Psa 89:47; *kammâ* Psa 35:17; Job 7:19) should be viewed against the background of the analysis above. This formal element, long observed by form critics of the Psa (cf., among others, Gunkel-Begrich 127, 230; E. Baumann, *ZAW* 61 [1945–48]: 126–31; Westermann, *PLP* 165–213, esp. 176ff., 183f.), should be juxtaposed, on the one hand, with the element of the *lāmmâ/lāmâ* “why?” question directed to God (cf. A. Jepsen, “Warum? Eine lexikalische und theologische Studie,” *FS Rost* 106–13, with a list of passages and a distinction of the reproachful question with *lāmmâ* from the inquisitive or

astonished question with *maddûa*<sup>ç</sup>, → *yd*<sup>ç</sup> l/3f), and should be viewed, on the other hand, in terms of its connection with the style of Bab. laments and supplications (cf. e.g., the analogy to a Lament to Ishtar in E. Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie "Handerhebung"* [1953], 132–35, ll. 56, 59, 93f. [= *AOT* 259f.; *SAHG* 331, 333; transl. here according to *ANET* 384f.: “How long, O my Lady, shall my adversaries be looking upon me . . . ? How long, O my Lady, shall the crippled and weak seek me out? . . . How long, O my Lady, wilt thou be angered so that thy face is turned away? How long, O my Lady, wilt thou be infuriated so that thy spirit is enraged?”)

5. The OT background of the resentful or lamenting rhetorical question *heōs pote* “until when?” may also be noted in 1 Macc 6:22; Matt 17:17(bis) par.; John 10:24; Rev 6:10.

E. Jenni

### נָאֵם *n<sup>e</sup>um* utterance

S 5002; BDB 610a; *HALOT* 2:657b; *ThWAT* 5:119–23; *TWOT* 1272a; *NIDOTTE* 5536

1. The etymology of the word is uncertain. Most scholars relate *n<sup>e</sup>um* “utterance” to Arab. *n<sup>l</sup>m* “to whisper” and understand it either as a qal pass. ptcp. of *n<sup>l</sup>m* “something whispered” (GB 477a; cf. BL 472) or (following Jer 23:31, the only passage with *n<sup>e</sup>um* in the abs. st.) as a *qutūl* form, “a whisper” (Barth 129), from which *n<sup>l</sup>m* qal “to speak” (only Jer 23:31) is a denominative.

No Akk. equivalent may be identified (W. von Soden according to F. Baumgärtel, *ZAW* 73 [1961]: 290n.35).

According to DJD 3:66, the dominant spelling *nw<sup>l</sup>m* in 1QIsaa suggests a later pronunciation \**nûm* (cf. also Mid. Hebr. *nûm* “to say, speak”).

2. *n<sup>e</sup>um* occurs in the OT 376x (Mandl. omits one instance each in Jer 3:12; 23:32; Hag 2:4, 23), 365x in the formula *n<sup>e</sup>um* ( . . . ) *yhwh* (incl. expansions with an inserted *hammelek* [Jer 46:18; 48:15; 51:57], *hā<sup>l</sup>ādôn* [Isa 1:24; 19:4] or *ḏōnāy* [Isa 3:15; 56:8; Jer 2:19, 22; 49:5; except for 13:6f.; 16:58; 37:14, always in Ezek = 81x; Amos 3:13; 4:5; 8:3, 9, 11]; unexpanded then 269x): Jer 175x, Ezek 85x, Isa 25x (Deutero-Isa 8x, Trito-Isa 5x), Amos 21x, Zech 20x, Hag 12x, Zeph 5x, 2 Kgs and Hos 4x each, 1 Sam, Obad, Mic, and Nah 2x each, also Gen 22:16; Num 14:28; Joel 2:12;

Mal 1:2; Psa 110:1; and 2 Chron 34:27.  $n^{\text{e}}um$  occurs as a governing noun in other phrases 10x: Num 24:3(bis), 4, 15(bis), 16 (Balaam); 2 Sam 23:1(bis) (David); Psa 36:2 txt?; Prov 30:1 (Agur); Jer 23:31 uses  $n^{\text{e}}um$  abs. as the obj. of the unique  $n^{\text{m}}$  qal.

3. A general categorization of  $n^{\text{e}}um$  as a prophetic idiom (S. Mowinckel, *ZAW* 45 [1927]: 43–45; O. Grether, *Name und Wort Gottes im AT* [1934] 85ff.; O. Procksch, *TDNT* 4:94f.) conflicts with the history of the term, which indicates that the expression was not originally an element of prophetic style (J. Lindblom, *Die literarische Gattung der prophetischen Literatur* [1924], 67). The question of its origins (in the “saying of the magician and the mantic” according to S. Mowinckel, *ZAW* 48 [1930]: 266n.9, following G. Hölscher, *Die Profeten* [1914] 79ff.; in the visionary’s pronouncement according to E. Schütz, “Formgeschichte des vorklassischen Prophetenspruchs” [diss., Bonn, 1958]; *BFPS* 188f.; F. Baumgärtel, *ZAW* 73 [1961]: 288; D. Vetter, “Untersuchungen zum Seherspruch” [diss., Heidelberg, 1963]; J. Lindblom, *ZAW* 75 [1963]: 282f.) is answered by the ancient sayings in Num 24:3f., 15f. (W. F. Albright, “Oracles of Balaam,” *JBL* 63 [1944]: 207–33), which have preserved the original form and function of the formula. In conjunction with the name (and the further description) of a human speaker and its position directly at the beginning of a speech, the visionary saying formula underscores the speaker of the saying and thus the fact that response to the saying must be directed to the speaker.

Later, wisdom circles seem to have claimed the terminology (2 Sam 23:1; Prov 30:1).

Other Hebr. words for “saying, utterance” have a broader semantic range; cf.  $\text{ʔimr}^{\text{a}}$  ( $\rightarrow \text{ʔmr}$  3c),  $\rightarrow \text{d}^{\text{a}}\text{b}^{\text{a}}\text{r}$ ,  $\text{m}^{\text{a}}\text{s}^{\text{s}}\text{a}^{\text{ʔ}}$  ( $\rightarrow \text{n}^{\text{s}}\text{ʔ}$  4b) and esp.  $\text{m}^{\text{a}}\text{s}^{\text{s}}\text{a}^{\text{l}}$  “saying, proverb, parable” ( $\rightarrow \text{dmh}$  3a; 39x in the OT: Ezek 8x; in the narrative introduction to the sayings of Balaam 7x: Num 23:7, 18; 24:3, 15, 20f., 23; Prov 6x; Psa 4x).

4. The transformation of the old visionary pronouncement formula into the Yahweh pronouncement formula (the placement in Psa 110:1 suggests an imitation of Num 24:3f., 15f.) is not attested prior to Amos (Baumgärtel, op. cit. 287–89, considers it to have always been a “nebiistic” expression and refers to 1 Sam 2:30; 2 Kgs 9:26; 19:33, which A. Jepsen, *Nabi* [1934] 121ff.; id., *Die Quellen des Königsbuches* [19562] 76ff., attributes to the “nebiistic redaction”). It is absent in the early form of the messenger saying (*BFPS* 189). Amos was apparently the first to use  $n^{\text{e}}um \text{y}hwh$  to strengthen the 1st-per. reference to God speaking in the prophetic saying, namely in the place of the concluding messenger formula  $\text{ʔ}^{\text{a}}\text{m}^{\text{a}}\text{r}^{\text{y}}hwh$  (of 13 cases, it is relatively certain in Amos 2:16; 3:15; 4:3, 5; 9:7); it is redactional in introductions to sayings and connective formulae (Wolff, *Amos*, Herm,

92, 143). The formula seems to have the same origin in Hosea (Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 40f.), since otherwise the dominant form of divine speech would suggest a more frequent occurrence. Nor is it original in Micah (T. H. Robinson, HAT 14, 141, 145). *n<sup>e</sup>um yhwh* occurs rarely in Isa (as an introduction: Isa 1:24; 30:1; as a concluding formula: 3:15; 17:3, 6; 19:4; 31:9); this circumstance accords with the observation that Isa uses few formulae of introduction and conclusion (Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 66f.; cf. R. B. Y. Scott, FS Robinson [1950], 178f.). The phrase first appears frequently in Jer and Ezek: in Jer 5x concluding a speech of Yahweh, 31x in introductions, 42x between the elements of a parallelism, as well as in other functions (R. Rendtorff, ZAW 66 [1954]: 27–37; cf. H. Wildberger, *Yahwehwort und prophetische Rede bei Jeremia* [1942], 48f., 102f.; O. Loretz, UF 2 [1970]: 113, 129), in Ezek about 40x in final position, about 20x as a contextual formula, 13x to emphasize the *ḥay-ʾānî* in the divine oath, an additional 9x in 43:19–48:29 in units cast in “prophetic formulaic language” (Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:26f., 176; 2:430, 556, with Baumgärtel, op. cit. 286). Later, only Hag and Zech use the formula frequently. Mal replaces it completely with the widespread use of *ʾāmar yhwh*.

At the beginning of its history in Amos, *n<sup>e</sup>um yhwh* replaced the messenger formula, which was a weaker conclusion; at the apex of its history it displaced *ʾāmar yhwh* (Jer 8x, Ezek 0x); but at the end it succumbed to all other formulae.

5. On LXX equivalents for *n<sup>e</sup>um* (usually *legei kyrios*), see Baumgärtel, op. cit. 278f. *n<sup>m</sup> ʾl* only occurs once in the published Qumran literature (CD 19:8).

D. Vetter

## נָסַף *n<sup>š</sup>* to disdain

S 5006; BDB 610b; HALOT 2:658a; ThWAT 5:130–37; TWOT 1274; NIDOTTE 5540

1. Outside the OT, *n<sup>š</sup>* “to disdain, denigrate, scorn” also occurs in postbibl. Hebr. (yielding the Tg. Aram. subst. *nīʾūšāʾ* “scorn”), as well as in Ug. (*naš* “to disdain,” WUS no. 1731) and Akk. (*naʾāšu/nâšu* “to look down on,” AHW 758a; contrary to KBL 585b, *naʾāšu* “to bite off, chew up” should be distinguished; cf. Arab. *nhš* “to bite,” Wehr 1003b).

The verb occurs in the OT in the qal and pi. and once in the form

*minnōʾāš* (Isa 52:5; according to BL 198, 366 a hitpo. ptcp. with an assimilated *t*; according to Meyer 2:126, on the contrary, a mixed form, suggesting a choice between the po<sup>al</sup> and hitp. ptcp.; according to Zorell 491a, a pu. ptcp. should perhaps be read). The OT offers the nom. formations *n<sup>e</sup>ʾāšâ* “shame” and the Aramaizing pi. inf. *neʾāšâ* (a *qattālā* form, BL 479) “invective.”

2. The qal verb occurs 8x (Prov 3x, Jer 2x, Deut, Psa, and Lam 1x each), pi. 15x (Psa 4x, Num and Isa 3x each, 2 Sam 2x, Deut, 1 Sam, and Jer 1x each), hitpo. 1x (Isa 52:5; see 1). *n<sup>e</sup>ʾāšâ* occurs 2x (2 Kgs 19:3 = Isa 37:3), *neʾāšâ* 3x (Ezek 35:12; Neh 9:18, 26). Thus the entire root is attested 29x.

3. (a) The central meanings seem to be “to fail to perceive, misjudge the significance of something” for *n<sup>š</sup>* qal and “to treat with contempt” for *n<sup>š</sup>* pi. The profane usage occurs only for the qal (without a divine subj. or obj. Jer 33:24; Prov 1:30; 5:12; 15:5; see 3b–c); both stems are theologically significant when they approximate the concept “to reject” (see 4).

Parallels and antonyms produce a highly varied picture: twice each → *m<sup>š</sup>* “to reject” (Isa 5:24; Jer 33:24), → *pr* hi. *b<sup>š</sup>īt* “to break the covenant” (Deut 31:20; Jer 14:21), and *h<sup>š</sup>p* pi. “to abuse, revile” (Psa 74:10, 18); once each → *ʿz* “to abandon” (Isa 1:4), → *mrh* hi. “to be rebellious” (Psa 107:11; *mrh* and *mrd* “to rebel” also parallel *neʾāšâ*, Neh 9:26, where the expression *šlk* hi. *ʾah<sup>š</sup>rêgaw* “to throw behind [his] back = to reject” also occurs [elsewhere also 1 Kgs 14:9; Ezek 23:35; with *gēw*, Isa 38:17; → *šlk* hi. 3]) and → *sn<sup>š</sup>* “to hate” (Prov 5:12). Antonyms are → *mn* hi. “to trust” (Num 14:11, negated), → *zkr* “to remember” (Jer 14:21), → *b<sup>š</sup>hr* “to choose” (Jer 33:24), → *ʾbh* “to comply” (Prov 1:30, negated), and → *šmr* “to keep” (Prov 15:5).

Semantically related is the Aramaizing verb *slh* “to disdain, reject” (qal Psa 119:118; pi. Lam 1:15, both with God as subj.; cf. Wagner no. 201; *HP* 226). Cf. further *g<sup>l</sup>* “to loathe” (Lev 26:11, 15, 30, 43f.; Jer 14:19; Ezek 16:45[bis]) and the verbs of deprecation treated with → *qll*.

(b) Whether and how the verb was used in everyday life may not be determined. Passages with no divine subj. or obj. allow for the identification of only two specific spheres of the verb’s usage. In Jer 33:24, Yahweh complains that there are those who “disdain” his people so much that they no longer consider his people a people. This category also includes the usage of *n<sup>e</sup>ʾāšâ* in 2 Kgs 19:3 = Isa 37:3, where Hezekiah complains that “a day of distress, of rebuke, and of disgrace” is come (not of “rejection,” as *n<sup>e</sup>ʾāšâ* is often rendered here, e.g., NASB). Here one should classify Ezek 35:12, where Yahweh holds against Edom the insults that Edom spoke “against the mountains of Israel,” with the subst. form *neʾāšâ* (on the form

*nāʾāšôteykā*, cf. GKC §84b, e). These passages concern, then, the slander that Israel must bear because its worth as God's people is not recognized. Yet one may assume that *nʾš* was also used in Israel to speak of the denigration of a people in a very general sense. The letter of Rib-Addi to the pharaoh indicates as much since the ruler of Byblos complains that he is disdained because of his military weakness (EA 137:14, 23 with Akk. *naʾāšu*). The usage in these OT passages is, then, apparently more specific in comparison to a general usage and testifies to the special worth of which Israel was aware.

(c) From the three passages in Prov one may deduce the other profane sphere in which the qal was used: the disdain of "correction" as exercised by the father (Prov 15:5) or by Wisdom (1:30; 5:12). The Eng. "disregard" best renders this sense. It refers to the misperception of the significance associated with integration into the order intended by wisdom. In the Babylonian Theodicy the sufferer complains of people's disdain, including the way in which the wealthy disregard him, so that his friends accuse him of departing from justice and spurning the will of god (*BWL* 76.79; 86.253, with Akk. *nâšu*, transl. also in *AOT* 289f. and *ANET* 603f.). The passages in Prov should indubitably be interpreted similarly: disregard for "instruction" is, in the end, misperception of the good intentions of God.

4. (a) If even these profane passages have theological significance, others in which the qal refers to God's activity are clearly theological: Yahweh "rejects" his people (Deut 32:19; Jer 14:21) or king and priests (Lam 2:6). Here the verb is used as a technical theological term in the more limited sense, a distinctive development in which *nʾš* has become synonymous with → *mʾs*.

(b) The usage of the qal with a divine obj. may be identified only once: Psa 107:11 speaks of disregard for the "counsel of the Most High.": Otherwise, the pi. always depicts human attitudes toward God or his decrees; this category of usage is without doubt the most important in the OT. This categorization, qal for a divine subj. and pi. for a divine obj., is no accident: the qal indicates the actual completion of an act, the pi. limits the activity to volitional intention (cf. *HP* 225f.). The individual songs of lament accuse the "godless" of disdaining Yahweh (Psa 10:3, 13); the communal laments charge his enemies with speaking lightly of his name (Psa 74:10, 18). This disdain results from the arrogance that leads evildoers to conclude that they need not regard God. Such disregard even characterizes those who ought to know better: the priests who do not offer sacrifice according to regulations (Num 16:30; 1 Sam 2:17), and David, who transgressed against Uriah (2 Sam 12:14). Even Israel itself can disdain its God through its behavior (Num 14:11, 23 J). Isa uses the verb exclusively to describe a radical breach with God (Isa 1:4 par. *ʿzb* "to

abandon”) so that it becomes a synonym for → *mʾs* “to reject” here too. Thus “disregard” for Yahweh can finally be equated with breach of the covenant (Deut 31:20).

(c) The hitpo. in Isa 52:5 is generally translated “to be blasphemed” (in reference to Yahweh’s name; e.g., AV, NIV; LXX *blasphēmein* ), and correspondingly AV translates Psa 74:10 (cf. v 18) “shall the enemy blaspheme thy name” (LXX here *paroxynein* ). Yet one should avoid the notion of blasphemy; one can very well translate “to disregard, speak lightly of.”

5. *nʾs* occurs in Qumran literature published to date in 6 passages (Kuhn, *Konk.* 139a; in addition to the quotation in DJD 5, no. 162.II:8 from Isa 5:24). The usage corresponds to the OT, except for 1QH 4:12, which praises God as the one who disdains all Belial’s plans.

Remarkably, the LXX translates *nʾs* most often (15x) with *paroxynein* “to spur on, excite,” a verb never used to translate the semantically related → *mʾs*; twice it offers *myktērizēin* “to turn up one’s nose”; all other translations are unique and similarly somewhat remote from the basic meaning of the Hebr. The LXX equivalents also appear in the NT, mostly in similar usages (cf. H. Preisker and G. Bertram, “μυκκτηρίζω,” *TDNT* 4:796–99; H. Seesemann, “παροξύνω,” *TDNT* 5:857). The hapax legomenon *myktērizēin* in Gal 6:7 deserves special mention. The meaning of this parenthesis in its wisdom context corresponds precisely with those of the two translations of *nʾs* in Prov 1:30 and 15:5 (see 3c).

H. Wildberger

## נָבִיא *nābîʾ* prophet

S 5030; BDB 611b; *HALOT* 2:661b; *ThWAT* 5:140–63; *TWOT* 1277a; *NIDOTTE* 5566

I. The noun *nābîʾ* “prophet” is attested extrabibl. in the Lachish Letters (III:3 [= *KAI* no. 193]; XVI:5?), also in Aram./Syr. (Bibl. Aram. *nʾbîʾ*), Arab., and Eth., in each case probably as a Hebr. loanword. Men and women with similar functions are indicated by the terms *mahhû(m)* in Akk. (at Mari *muhhûm*, fem. *muhhûtum*) “ecstatic” or *āpilu(m)* (fem. *āpiltum*) “respondent” (cf. F. Ellermeier, *Prophetie in Mari und Israel* [1968], with bibliog.; *AHw* 58a, 582f.), in Assyr. *raggimu* (fem. *raggintu*) “exclaimer” (*AHw* 942a), in the Old Aram. inscription of King Zakir of Hamath *hzyyn* “seer” and *ʿddn* “interpreter of the future” (*KAI* no. 202A.12).

The etymology of the noun *nābîʾ* is still uncertain. Older attempts to derive the noun from the root *nbʿ* “to gush forth” (Gesenius, *Thesaurus* 2/2:838a; H. Hackmann, *NTT* 23 [1934]: 42) or from the pass. of the verb *bôʾ* “to enter” (“the one overcome, possessed by”: J. P. N. Land, *ThT* 2 [1868]: 170ff., etc.), were motivated by an interest in establishing the ecstatic element of prophetic activity as its origin.

In contrast, *nābîʾ* is almost universally associated today with Akk. *nabû(m)* (Old Akk. *nabāʾum*) “to name, call” (*AHW* 669f.). It is still disputed, however, whether the noun should be understood actively (“speaker, proclaimer”; Barth 184; *GVG* 1:354; E. König, *Der Offenbarungsbegriff im AT* [1882], 71ff.) or passively (“ecstatic, commissioned by the spirit”; H. Torczyner, *ZDMG* 85 [1931]: 322; “called one”: W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* [19572], 303; “entrusted with a message”: A. Guillaume, *Prophecy and Divination* [1938], 112f.; similarly J. A. Bewer, *AJSL* 18 [1901/2]: 120: “one led by a supernatural power” [derived from Akk. *na/epûm* “to lead”]); newer literature concerning both interpretations in A. R. Johnson, *Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel* [19622], 24f. The current preference is, correctly, the pass. understanding, given (1) the numbers of corresponding nom. formations such as *ʾāsîr*, *māšīah*, *nāgîd*, *nāzîr*, *nāšîʾ*, *pāqîd* (Joüon §88b), (2) Akk. *nabûm/nabû(m)* “called” (used in PNs of kings; cf. *AHW* 697f.; Seux 175), and (3) that the verb *nbʿ* occurs only in reflexive and pass. stems.

The verb *nbʿ*, which occurs in the ni. and the hitp. (Bibl. Aram. in the hitpa., Syr. in the pa.), is probably a denominative from *nābîʾ*. Derivative forms include the fem. *nʿbîʾâ* “prophetess” and the abstract *nʿbûʾâ* “prophetic word” (also Bibl. Aram.).

II. The noun *nābîʾ* (315x; Lis. omits 1 Kgs 19:14 and Hos 12:11b) is distributed widely but unevenly. It occurs only 4x in the Tetrateuch (Gen 20:7; Exod 7:1; Num 11:29; 12:6), 10x in Deut, 99x in the older historical books (Judg 1x, 1 Sam 12x, 2 Sam 3x, 1 Kgs 50x, 2 Kgs 33x), less often in the poetical books (Psa 3x, Lam 4x), 35x in the Chr history (Ezra 1x, Neh 5x, 1 Chron 3x, 2 Chron 26x; Aram. *nʿbîʾ* 4x in Ezra), and 4x in Dan. It occurs most often in prophetic literature, esp. in Jer (95x) and Ezek (17x); elsewhere: Isa 7x, Hos 8x, Amos 5x, Mic 3x, Hab 2x, Zeph 1x, Hag 5x, Zech 12x, and Mal 1x.

Although the abstract *nʿbûʾâ*, as the latest formation, occurs only 3x in Hebr. in the Chr history (Neh 6:12; 2 Chron 9:29; 15:8; also Sir 44:3) and 1x in Aram. (Ezra 6:14), and the fem. *nʿbîʾâ* occurs 6x dispersed across the entire OT (Exod 15:20; Judg 4:4; 2 Kgs 22:14; Isa 8:3; Neh 6:14; 2 Chron 34:22; Ezek 13:17 avoids it intentionally), the two stems of the verb *nbʿ* have distinct focal points. The hitp. occurs 14x in the older historical books (10x in 1 Sam 10:5–13; 18:10; 19:20–24; 4x in 1 Kgs 18:29; 22:8–18), 3x in Num 11:25–27, 4x in the Chr history (2 Chron 18:7, 9, 17; 20:37; also Aram. 1x, Ezra 5:1), and only 7x in prophetic literature (5x in Jer, 2x in

Ezek); by contrast, the *ni.* appears 80x in the Prophets (Jer and Ezek 35x each, Amos 6x, Zech 3x, Joel 1x), only 3x in the older historical books (1 Sam 10:11; 19:20; 1 Kgs 22:12), and 4x in the Chr history (1 Chron 25:1–3; 2 Chron 18:11).

III. The OT uses the common subst. *nābîʿ* (III/1–5) as well as the verb *nbʿ* (III/6)—mostly with no perceptible interest in differentiating between the two—for men who practice highly varied types of prophetic activities. Ecstatic raptures elicited by the Spirit, the communication of actual divine sayings, legal and repentance preaching, inquiries and intercessions addressed to Yahweh, wondrous deeds, etc., can be cited as the essential functions of the *nābîʿ*. The translation “prophet” (dependent on the LXX) is only an expediency. Indeed, it is often difficult to decide whether *nābîʿ* is a life-style or functional designation (merely cf. the proverb: “Is Saul also among the prophets?” 1 Sam 10:11f.; 19:24) or a professional designation in the stricter sense (see III/3). A related point is that both various periods in the history of Israel and various literary layers of the OT attribute essentially distinct spheres of activity to the *nābîʿ*, although no seamless history of prophecy may be written on the basis of these scattered materials. In addition to the historical and literary-historical differences in the image of the *nābîʿ*, there is a fundamental distinction: some of the functions cited are primarily attributed to prophetic groups; by contrast, others are attributed to the individual *nābîʿ*. On *n<sup>e</sup>bîʿā* see III/3b, 4a, 5; IV/13.

On the history of research, cf. H. H. Rowley, *HTR* 38 (1945): 1–38 = *Servant of the Lord* (19652), 95–134; G. Fohrer, *TRu* 19 (1951): 277–346; 20 (1952): 193–271, 295–361; 28 (1962): 1–75, 235–97, 301–74; J. Scharbert, *FS Coppens* (1969), 58–118 = *ETL* 44 (1968): 346–406.

1. (a) The OT itself indicates that Israel’s neighbors had prophets. In Elijah’s time a number of “Yahweh prophets” (1 Kgs 18:4, 13) were opposed by 450 “Baal prophets” (vv 19f.; a later hand supplements: “and 400 Asherah prophets”), who “eat at Jezebel’s table,” i.e., who are employees of the royal court. Jer 27:9 describes the entourages of the kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon as including prophets, “oracle specialists” (*qōs<sup>e</sup>mîm*; → *gôrāl* 3a), “dream specialists” (cj. *hōl<sup>e</sup>mîm*), “conjurers” (*ʿōn<sup>e</sup>nîm*), and “magicians” (*kaššāpîm*), trained specialists who interpret the immediate future for the king through technical means.

Although Israelite prophetic circles considered the last two practices pagan and irreconcilable with Yahwism (2 Kgs 9:22; Isa 2:6; Mic 5:11; cf. Lev 19:26; Deut 18:10, 14; 2 Kgs 21:6, etc.), dream specialists and prophets are associated with one another (Deut 13:2, 4, 6; cf. 1 Sam 28:6, 15, dreaming and being a prophet [*nbʿ ni.*]; Joel 3:1), and, according to Num 12:6, Yahweh speaks to the prophets in dreams and visions (cf.,

however, Jer 23:25ff.). Israel's prophets even performed the oracular practices indicated by *qsm* (cf. Johnson, op. cit. 31ff.; Mic 3:6f., 11; Jer 14:14; Ezek 13:6, 9, 23, etc.; cf., however, Num 23:23; Deut 18:10, 14; 1 Sam 15:23; 28:8; 2 Kgs 17:17), and *qōs<sup>e</sup>mîm* appear alongside *n<sup>e</sup>bî<sup>l</sup>îm* in Isa 3:2; Jer 29:8; Ezek 22:28; cf. 21:34.

(b) Israel's prophets are occasionally identified with the older "seers" (*ḥōzîm*, → *ḥzh*; 2 Sam 24:11; 2 Kgs 17:13; Mic 3:5, 7; etc.; but cf. 4a and G. Hölscher, *Die Profeten* [1914], 125ff.). 1 Sam 9:9 speculates that "seer" (here, however, *rō<sup>l</sup>eh*; cf. Isa 30:10) was formerly the common designation for the *nābî<sup>l</sup>* who assumed the seer's functions. Synonymously with *dābār* (see IV/2; cf. Ezek 7:26 with Jer 18:18), *ḥāzôn* (less often *ḥzh*) later characterizes, then, the fundamental essence of prophetic authority (Hos 12:11; Lam 2:9; Ezek 13:6ff., etc.; → *ḥzh* 4a).

Even more frequently, the title "man of God" (*ʾiš hā<sup>l</sup>ōhîm*) alternates with *nābî<sup>l</sup>*, esp. in the Elisha and the later Elijah traditions (cf. also 1 Kgs 20:28 with vv 13, 22; 1 Kgs 13:1ff. with v 18; 1 Kgs 12:22 with 2 Chron 12:5ff.; R. Rendtorff, *TDNT* 6:809) and seems to be interested in emphasizing the individual's gift of divine (miracle) power (→ *ʾlōhîm* III/6).

(c) Priest and prophet are mentioned together about 30x—esp. in the late monarchic period—and must have assimilated to one another in this period (cf. already 1 Kgs 1:8ff. and esp. the expression *gam-nābî<sup>l</sup> gam-kōhēn* in Jer 14:18; 23:11, and *minnābî<sup>l</sup> w<sup>e</sup>ad-kōhēn* in Jer 6:13; 8:10; cf. also O. Plöger, "Priester und Prophet," *ZAW* 63 [1951]: 157–92 = *Aus der Spätzeit des AT* [1971], 7–42). Together priest and prophet oversaw the orthodoxy of preaching in the temple (Jer 26:7ff.), together they were consulted in the temple (Zech 7:3), together killed in the sanctuary (Lam 2:20). The priests act "side by side" with the prophets (Jer 5:31; Johnson, op. cit. 64: "under their direction"); indeed, a priest can even "prophesy" (*nb<sup>l</sup>* ni., Jer 20:6). Together with the king and the high officials, the priests and prophets constitute the aristocracy of the people in Jer (Jer 2:26; 4:9; 8:1, etc.; cf. in the exile Jer 29:1 and Neh 9:32).

(d) Prophets may occasionally be recognized by their external characteristics: hairy mantle (*ʾadderet šē<sup>e</sup>ār*, Zech 13:4; cf. 1 Kgs 19:19; 2 Kgs 1:8; 2:8, 13f.; on pars. from Mari, cf. M. Noth, *JSS* 1 [1956]: 327–31 = *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde* [1971], 239–42), wounds on the chest (Zech 13:6, or on the back, so H. L. Ginsberg, *JPOS* 15 [1935]: 327; cf. M. Sæbø, *Sacharja 9–14* [1969], 105n.8), and perhaps also a mark on the forehead (1 Kgs 20:38ff.; J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* [1962], 66–69).

2. Prophetic groups bearing the designation *n<sup>e</sup>bî<sup>l</sup>îm* are attested in three different historical contexts—each with distinct characteristics and functions.

(a) During the transitional period between the judges and the monarchy (1 Sam 10; 18; Num 11), the pl. *n<sup>e</sup>bî<sup>ʾ</sup>îm* (and even more frequently the verb *nb<sup>ʾ</sup>*: 15x) was used for ecstasies who travel in bands (*ḥebel*, 1 Sam 10:5, 10) or who assemble in houses (19:20). Musical instruments seem to serve as the means for inducing prophetic inspiration (1 Sam 10:5; cf. 18:10; Exod 15:20; 2 Kgs 3:15); effects can include lying unclothed for a limited period (1 Sam 19:24); no comprehensible saying from them is attested. The precipitating factor of the ecstasy, however, is the “Spirit of God” (1 Sam 10:10; 19:20, 23) or “Yahweh’s Spirit” (Num 11:29; 1 Sam 10:6), which can also “overcome” other persons and “rest” upon them if they come into accidental or even distant contact with such prophetic mobs (1 Sam 10:6, 10; 19:20f., 23; Num 11:25f.).

1 Sam 18:10f. indicates the inescapable might of the “Spirit”: an “evil spirit” brings an individual’s frenzy (*nb<sup>ʾ</sup>* hitp.) to a culmination in a wild attempt at murder. Since such wild frenzy was otherwise familiar to Israel as characteristic of the Baal prophets (see 2b), one can understand the contempt with which Israel regarded these prophets (1 Sam 10:11f.; 19:24; cf. later 2 Kgs 9:11; Hos 9:7; Jer 29:26; etc.). In contrast, Num 11:16f., 24ff. legitimate ecstatic rapture as Mosaic by attributing the *nb<sup>ʾ</sup>* hitp. of the 70 elders (cf. Exod 18) to Moses’ spirit, which is identical with Yahweh’s Spirit (Num 11:17, 25, 29; cf. Noth, *History of Pentateuchal Traditions* [1972], 128–30; G. von Rad, *ZAW* 51 [1933]: 115f.; von Rad, *Theol.* 2:8f.).

(b) 1 Kgs 22 (= 2 Chron 18) furnishes evidence for the existence in the middle monarchic period of about 400 prophets at the court of the Israelite king, whom he can assemble at any time (v 6; cf. 1 Kgs 18:19f.), who perform their acts “before him” (v 10), and who are consequently called “his prophets” (vv 22f.). They are led by a spokesman, mentioned specifically (vv 11, 24), and the king can “inquire of (the word of) Yahweh” through them (vv 5, 7f.; → *drš* 4b), i.e., attain the will, agreement, and promise of God before important political and diplomatic decisions through their prayer, in order to assure the success of his endeavor. The activity of these prophets is also considered the product of the Spirit and is called *nb<sup>ʾ</sup>* ni./hitp., but the Spirit is placed “in their mouth” (v 22), “speaks with them” (v 28), and correspondingly, *nb<sup>ʾ</sup>* ni. and hitp. here mean “to speak through prophetic inspiration, prophesy” (vv 8, 12, 18), while *nb<sup>ʾ</sup>* hitp. can retain the older meaning “to behave or perform prophetically” (vv 10f.).

The 450 “Baal prophets” at Jezebel’s court may have exercised similar functions (1 Kgs 18:19ff.). Admittedly, *nb<sup>ʾ</sup>* hitp. in v 29 means “to fall into an ecstatic frenzy,” since the state is induced through cultic dance and self-mutilation (vv 26, 28), but it is depicted as if it were only a means to gain a “response” to the “invocation of God’s name” (vv 24–29; cf. 2 Kgs 1:2).

(c) The circle of the *b<sup>c</sup>nê hann<sup>e</sup>bî<sup>ʔ</sup>im* (“disciples of a prophet, members of a prophetic guild”) surrounding Elijah should be considered separately. They dwell with their families (2 Kgs 4:1ff.), in larger communities (2:7), in modest circumstances (4:41ff., 38ff., etc.), and at various (cultic) sites (Bethel, Jericho, 2:3ff.; Gilgal, 4:38); they assemble in communal halls “before” their master, whom they address as “father” (2:12; 6:21; 13:14), for instruction (4:38; 6:1), and are available to him for errands (9:1ff.); but they could also receive and transmit sayings of Yahweh individually (1 Kgs 20:35ff.). These circles were concerned with definite eschatological expectations for a specific future (2 Kgs 2:21; 3:16f.; 4:43; 7:1; cf. W. Reiser, *TZ* 9 [1953]: 321–38).

3. *nābî<sup>ʔ</sup>* in the sg. appears in the older historical books mostly with the definite art. in appositional position behind the name of a prophet and is then a professional designation. Such prophets usually appear individually; functions and activities—characterized with the verb *nb<sup>ʔ</sup>* except for 1 Kgs 22—are nevertheless highly varied.

(a) Gad and Nathan, the two most frequently called *hannābî<sup>ʔ</sup>* (11x in 2 Sam 7:2; 12:25; 1 Kgs 1:8–45; additionally, Psa 51:2; 1 Chron 29:29; 2 Chron 9:29; 29:25), belong to David’s immediate entourage (Gad already before David became king, 1 Sam 22:5) at his court. Gad can be called “David’s seer” (2 Sam 24:11); Nathan participates actively in the intrigue surrounding the succession to David’s throne (1 Kgs 1:8ff.; cf. 2 Sam 12:25) and assists in the anointing of Solomon (1 Kgs 1:32, 34, 38, 44f.; cf., however, v 39). David consulted both men prior to important decisions (2 Sam 7:2; cf. S. Herrmann, *WZ* [Leipzig] 3 [1953/54]: 57ff.; 1 Sam 22:5); they sometimes offered uninspired advice (1 Sam 22:5; 2 Sam 7:3). Yet they did not become dependent on the king: like their successors, both prophets confronted the king with harsh condemnations (2 Sam 12; 24:11ff.).

(b) In contrast, Ahijah of Shiloh (1 Kgs 11:29; 14:2, 18), Jehu (16:7, 12), Elijah (1 Kgs 18:36; cf. Mal 3:23; 2 Chron 21:12), Elisha (2 Kgs 6:12; 9:1), a disciple of Elisha (2 Kgs 9:4), Jonah (2 Kgs 14:25), and Isaiah (2 Kgs 19:2; 20:1, 11, 14 = Isa 37:2; 38:1; 39:3) are called *hannābî<sup>ʔ</sup>* and Huldah is called *hann<sup>e</sup>bî<sup>ʔ</sup>â* (2 Kgs 22:14 = 2 Chron 34:22), although they have no permanent position at court. The nature of the tradition influences the fact that special attention is given to reporting chance encounters between king and prophet (1 Kgs 11:29) and to visits by royal messengers bearing gifts paid to the prophet at home (1 Kgs 14:1ff.; cf. 1 Sam 9:6ff.), sometimes located precisely (2 Kgs 22:14), or at a place where the prophet had just arrived (2 Kgs 8:8ff.); in extreme cases, the entire country must be searched to find the prophet (1 Kgs 18:3ff.; cf. 2 Kgs 3:11). To be sure, the prophet definitively influences political events not only through war oracles

(1 Kgs 20:13f.; 2 Kgs 3:16ff., etc.) but also through commissioning (Noth, *Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* [1966], 173f.) and anointing (2 Kgs 9) future kings. Prophets are sought in crises—if private in nature, such as illness, by confidants of the king (1 Kgs 14:1ff.; 2 Kgs 8:8ff.); if public in nature, by officials and priests (2 Kgs 22:13f.; 19:2ff.; cf. Jer 21:1ff.; 37:3ff.; 42:1ff.)—so that “inquiry” may be made of Yahweh (see III/2b), i.e., to effect Yahweh’s intervention in the crisis through the prophet’s fully authorized intercession (→ *pll hitp. be ‘ad*), namely to “Yahweh, your God” (2 Kgs 19:14; Jer 42:2f., 5). In private crises festival days were preferred (2 Kgs 4:23), in official crises the prophetic prayer presumably occurred in the context of fasts in public worship (Jer 14; Psa 74:9, etc.). With regard to inquiry of Yahweh and intercession, cf. C. Westermann, *KerD* 6 (1960): 16ff.; G. C. Macholz, *FS von Rad* (1971), 313ff.; G. von Rad, *ZAW* 51 (1933): 109–20; P. A. H. de Boer, *De Voorbede in het OT* (1943); F. Hesse, *Die Fürbitte im AT* (1951); H. Reventlow, *Liturgie und prophetisches Ich bei Jeremia* (1963), 143ff.; on the relationship between inquiry and intercession, cf. J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels* (1970), 140–50.

Later Jeremiah (21:1ff.; 37:3ff.; 42:1ff.) and, in the exile, Ezekiel (8:1ff.; 14:1ff.; 20:1ff.) exercise the same function, rendering their links to earlier prophets unmistakable.

That prophets assumed older functions of the seers and priests is indicated, e.g., by 1 Sam 9:9 or 28:6,(15), respectively; cf. 1 Kgs 20:13f. with 1 Sam 14:38ff. and Westermann, *op. cit.*; R. Rendtorff, *ZAW* 74 (1962): 173.

The tradition often referred to Elijah and Elisha as “man of God” (see 1b); only foreigners call them *nābîʿ* (2 Kgs 5:3, 13; 6:12), contrasting them with the Baal prophets as true prophets (1 Kgs 18:22, 36; cf. “prophet in Israel,” 2 Kgs 5:8; 6:12), or as masters of disciples (9:1). Several unique or infrequent motifs express their relationship to one another: the report of Elijah’s call of Elisha (1 Kgs 19:19–21), the metaphorical discussion of Elisha’s “anointing” (19:16; cf. later Isa 61:1; Psa 105:15 = 1 Chron 16:22), the bequest of Elijah’s gift of the Spirit to Elisha (2 Kgs 2), and the Spirit’s rapture of the prophet (1 Kgs 18:12; 2 Kgs 2:16; cf. Ezek 3:12ff.; 8:3f.; 37:1; 40:1ff.).

4. Whether the so-called writing prophets before Jeremiah (and the Dtn reform) understood themselves as *nābîʿ* and whether the title means the same thing in reference to each of them (A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Mündliche und schriftliche Tradition der vorexilischen Prophetenbücher* [1959], 98ff.) is not clear. Other *nābîʿim* regarded most of the writing prophets (except for Hosea) almost exclusively as opponents.

(a) The priest Amaziah addresses Amos as a “seer” (*hōzeh*; Amos

7:12), who, in the disputed statement in Amos 7:14f., at least guards against being understood as a professionally educated prophet; presumably, however, he also rejects the title *nābîʿ* itself in this statement—in the sense of a professional designation (cf. Zech 13:5; bibliog. in Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 305f.; Rudolph, KAT 13/2, 249ff.). In contrast, he adopts the related verb *nbʿ*, which Amaziah also uses for Amos’s activity (vv 13f., 15; cf. 3:8). On the later verses, 2:10–12; 3:7, see IV/11.

Hosea is more likely to have called himself *nābîʿ* because he saw himself in relation both to earlier prophets ranging back to Moses and to contemporary *nʿbîʿîm* (Hos 6:5; 12:11, 14) in a “community of opposition” (Wolff, GS 233ff.), and his opponents usually referred to him as *nābîʿ* (9:7,[8?]). He does not use the verb *nbʿ*, however.

Isaiah is called *hannābîʿ* only in the “Isaiah legends” (2 Kgs 19f. = Isa 37–39). He may have seen himself (like Amos) as a “seer” (*ḥōzeh*; cf. 1:1; 2:1, and esp. 30:10 with 28:7), although his wife is called “prophetess” (8:3).

(b) In contrast, Jeremiah considered himself called to be a *nābîʿ* (Jer 1:5; see IV/7) and commissioned by Yahweh, at the same time to “appear as a prophet” (19:14) or to “proclaim the prophetic word of God” (*nbʿ ni. ʿel*, e.g., 26:12). The narrative portions of Jer often call him—like his opponent Hananiah (Jer 28)—*hannābîʿ* (31x). He sees himself as one of a long series of like-minded *nʿbîʿîm* (28:8; cf. 2:30; 5:13; 26:17ff.).

(c) For the first time the heading of a book describes Jeremiah’s contemporary Habakkuk, who participates in marked cultic traditions, as *hannābîʿ* (Hab 1:1; cf. 3:1 and after the exile Hag 1:1; Zech 1:1); this circumstance may be related to his special status among the writing prophets as a cultic or temple prophet (Jeremias, op. cit. 90ff., esp. 104).

(d) Ezekiel surely also regarded himself as a *nābîʿ*. Although Yahweh’s general objective regarding Ezekiel is for Israel and the whole world “to recognize that I am Yahweh,” this formulation is replaced in 2:5 and 33:33 (cf. 1 Kgs 17:24; 2 Kgs 5:8) by the related formulation: “they will recognize that a prophet has been in their midst” (cf. Ezek 14:4). He describes Yahweh’s commission to speak almost stereotypically with the formulaic *ni. impv.* of the verb *nbʿ*, usually with the prep. *ʿel* or *ʿat*: “to prophesy concerning” or “against” or with the pf. cons. of *ʾmr*: “appear as a prophet and speak.”

(e) The tradents call Haggai and Zechariah *hannābîʿ* in the superscriptions to their books (cf. W. A. M. Beuken, *Haggai-Sacharja 1–8* [1967]; Hag 1:1, 3, 12; 2:1, 10; Zech 1:1, 7; cf. Ezra 5:1f.; 6:14). The verb does not occur in these books.

5. The various functions and concepts associated with the term *nābîʿ* are clearly expressed when early figures are called *nābîʿ* or *n<sup>ʿ</sup>bîʿâ*: Abraham as intercessor (Gen 20:7), Aaron as spokesman in God's (i.e., in the metaphor: Moses') stead, Miriam as a singer of songs with music and dance (Exod 15:20), Deborah (Judg 4:4) most likely as the commissioner of a military leader, and Samuel as a spokesman whose words Yahweh executes (1 Sam 3:19f.; cf. 2 Chron 35:18).

Because of his uniqueness, the term *nābîʿ* may at least approximate a description of Moses: he is more than prophet and, in particular, he enjoyed a closer relationship with Yahweh (Num 12:6–8; Deut 34:10; but cf. Hos 12:14 and L. Perlitt, "Mose als Prophet," *EvT* 31 [1971]: 588–608), although his call (Exod 3f.) and some of his addresses and acts can be described like those of a prophet, and the prophets can be legitimized through him (Num 11:16f., 24ff.; Deut 18:15, 18).

6. In its basic meaning, the verb *nbʿ* means "to behave like a prophet, act prophetically, appear as a prophet" (cf. e.g., ni.: Amos 7:12f.; Jer 19:14; 26:18; Zech 13:3; hitp.: 1 Kgs 22:10; Jer 29:26f.). It is not possible to draw a clear distinction between the basic meanings of the ni. and of the hitp. (cf. the oldest examples, 1 Sam 10:5f., 10, 13 with 10:11; also 19:20f., 23f. with v 20), although the two stems are not simply used indiscriminately. Most instances of the ni. describe prophetic discourse, whereas the hitp. rarely does so, instead usually referring to externally visible aspects of prophetic activity.

Only rarely does the verb apply to people who are not prophets (Saul: 1 Sam 10:5ff.; 18:10; 19:23; elders: Num 11:25ff.; priests: Jer 20:6; the men and women of Israel: Ezek 13:17ff.; Joel 3:1; cf. Jer 29:26; singers: 1 Chron 25:1–3).

(a) *nbʿ* ni., which frequently appears in the ptc. (or pf.) directly after the pl. of the subst. *nābîʿ*, describes the normal activity of the prophet, whether this consists of "ecstatic frenzy" and "prophetic emotion" (1 Sam 10:11; 19:20; Zech 13:4) or, as in almost all other passages, of "inspired prophetic discourse, proclamation, prophecy."

The last meaning usually results from the direct obj. ("these words," Jer 20:1; 25:13, 30, etc.; "as follows," Jer 26:9; 32:3, etc.; "thusly," 1 Kgs 22:12; "deceit" [*šeqer*], Jer 14:14; 23:25, etc.; "deceitful dreams" 23:32; "self-conceived deception," 23:26) or from the preps. used:

*ʿel* with a statement of the subject of the prophetic message ("to prophesy concerning," Jer 26:11f.; 28:8, etc.) or *ʿal*, if the message is threatening ("to prophesy against," Jer 25:13; 26:20); the two preps. are often used synonymously; cf. Ezek 6:2; 13:2, etc. with 4:7; 11:4, etc., and already Amos 7:15 with 7:16;

*le* with a statement of the addressees (“you,” Jer 14:16; 23:16, etc.) of the content (“to prophesy about,” Jer 28:8f.), of the goal (“for a distant time,” Ezek 12:27), or of the result (“falsely,” Jer 27:15; cf. *be* in 29:9);

*be* (with a determined subst.) with a statement of authority (“under the commission of, through”: Jer 2:8 [Baal; cf. hitp. 23:13]; 5:31; 20:6 [deceit]; 14:14f.; 23:15, etc. [“in the name of Yahweh”]).

On the stereotypical usage of the verb in Ezek, see 4d.

A restricted meaning of *nbʿ* occurs only in Joel 3:1 (“to receive prophetic revelation”), a fig. meaning in 1 Chron 25:1–3, “to sing inspired praise (with cultic song and music)” (which can be explained by the incorporation of the cultic prophets into the musician guilds of the post-exilic period; see IV/13).

(b) The hitp., at first more common but since the so-called writing prophets more rare, usually describes (A. Jepsen, *Nabi* [1934], 7, permits only two exceptions: Jer 26:20a; 2 Chron 20:37) a circumstance of rapturous excitement, ecstatic inspiration and frenzy, into which one falls fortuitously and perhaps by coercion (inchoative or inceptive; finite verb forms with waw consecutivum: Num 11:25f.; 1 Sam 10:6, 10; 18:10; 19:20ff.; 1 Kgs 18:29) or in which one is “beside oneself” for a limited time (cf. *ʔš ʔahēr*, 1 Sam 10:6; with ptcps. and infs.: Num 11:27; 1 Sam 10:5, 13; 1 Kgs 22:10 = 2 Chron 18:9; cf. 1 Sam 10:11; 19:20, ni.).

The hitp. can also describe discourse in the later period and be constructed like the ni. It is rarely synonymous with the ni., however (Jer 14:14; Ezek 37:10; 2 Chron 20:37; Aram., Ezra 5:1), and more often depicts “prophesying” derogatorily (1 Kgs 22:8, 18 = 2 Chron 18:7, 17; Jer 23:13), just as the first meaning discussed can be used disparagingly (“to play the prophet,” Jer 29:26f.; Ezek 13:17).

Jer 26:20 indicates clearly that the distinction between the hitp. and the ni. was also known in later periods: the hitp. describes externally observable prophetic activity in the name of Yahweh; the ni. indicates prophetic discourse.

IV. 1. The prophet’s mediatory role between God and people is expressed linguistically by the fact that in suffixed forms they are called both “prophets of Israel” (Jer 2:26, 30; Ezek 13:4; Neh 9:32, etc.) or “of Jerusalem” (Mic 3:11; Zeph 3:4; Lam 2:9, 14; 4:13; Ezek 22:28) and “prophets of Yahweh” (1 Kgs 19:10, 14; Psa 105:15; 1 Chron 16:22, etc.); likewise in cs. phrases, on the one hand “prophets of Israel” (Ezek 13:2, 16; 38:17) or “of Samaria” and “of Jerusalem” (Jer 23:13–15) and on the other hand “prophets of Yahweh” (1 Kgs 18:4, 13, cf. *nābîʿ Iʿyhwh*, v 22; 1 Sam 3:20; 1 Kgs 22:7 = 2 Chron 18:6; 2 Kgs 3:11; 2 Chron 28:9). Only 1 Kgs 22:22f. (= 2 Chron 18:21f.) describe them with sufs. as prophets of the king

(“the prophets of your parents,” 2 Kgs 3:13, refers to the prophets to whom the king’s parents turned).

2. The primary mark of all Israel’s prophets—except for the oldest group of ecstasies—is the word received from Yahweh (*dābār*, Jer 18:18; 27:18; *ḥāzôn*, Ezek 7:26; cf. O. Grether, *Name und Wort Gottes im AT* [1934]), which they transmit to the intended addressees. It “comes to” the prophets (2 Sam 24:11; 1 Kgs 13:20; Jer 37:6, etc.), is “in them” (Jer 5:13), Yahweh “relates it to them” (Jer 46:13, etc.), so that they “speak in the name of Yahweh” (Deut 18:20, etc.) or “Yahweh speaks through (them)” (Jer 37:2; cf. Hag 1:1, 3, etc.). Yahweh fulfills his word by “watching over it” (Jer 1:12), “establishing it” (28:6), “executing it” (Ezek 12:25, 28), or “confirming it” (Dan 9:24). Cf. esp. Isa 55:10f.

3. Of decisive importance in this context is whether the initiative to transmit the word of God originates with the prophet or with Yahweh.

(a) The first case applies in instances where people in distress seek the prophet in order to “inquire” of Yahweh through him, in order to motivate him to intercede or to “compel” (*ḥāzôn*) Yahweh (see III/2b, 3b). Prayer and the proclamation of the will of Yahweh belong together indissolubly here; the prophet is a mediator between God and people as a spokesman for Israel, on the one hand, and as a mouthpiece for Yahweh, on the other; and this task is often represented as the prophetic function per se (1 Sam 9:9; Gen 20:7; 2 Kgs 3:11; Jer 27:18). Cf. the prophetic words in the Psa and S. Mowinckel, *Psalmstudien* 3 (1923); Jeremias, op. cit. 110ff.

(b) More often, however, Yahweh himself sends the prophets with an unsolicited message to particular persons. The prophets, from Gad and Nathan onward (2 Sam 7:5, 8; 12:7, 11; 24:12) claimed legitimacy for this activity through the messenger formula *kōh ’āmar yhwēh* “thus says (or has spoken) Yahweh”—borrowed from diplomatic language—which they often preface with their own justifications and motivations or conditions for the message (cf. *BFPS* with bibliog.). Through symbolic acts (1 Kgs 11:29ff.; Isa 20; Ezek 4:1ff.; 5:1ff., etc.), which could fundamentally reshape their own lives (Hos 1; 3; Jer 16:1f., etc.), they underscore the certainty that the events they proclaim will occur (G. Fohrer, *Die symbolischen Handlungen der Propheten* [1968]).

A similar unsolicited appearance of prophetic figures is known among Israel’s neighbors from the travel narrative of Wen Amon (11th cent.; *ANET* 25–29) and from the correspondence archive at Mari (18th cent.; cf. Ellermeier, op. cit.). Involuntarily overcome by the deity, these people also understand themselves as commissioned messengers, claim legitimacy with the messenger formula, and speak in the divine 1st per. The addressee of the letter messages is the king, to whom both promises (of

victory) and demands (esp. with respect to the cult) are addressed; divine threats in the event of disobedience underscore these promises and demands. This activity compares to the prophecy of Gad, Nathan, or Ahijah from Shiloh because oracles of judgment at Mari are also always issued as conditional threats, never because the king has already transgressed against the god's will (cf. 2 Sam 12; 24:11ff.).

4. In the prophet and his word, Yahweh encounters people; he is glorified in the prophet (2 Kgs 5:8; Ezek 8:5; 33:33; cf. 1 Kgs 17:24; 18:36), and he punishes those who hinder the prophet from speaking, because God is thereby hindered from speaking (Amos 7:12ff.; Jer 20:1ff., etc.).

5. The variety of traditions—usually extraordinary prophetic sayings prior to Amos scattered throughout individual narratives, systematic collection of prophetic words since Amos by schools of disciples—reflects the manner in which the addressees, the content of the prophetic message, and the attitude toward tradition evolve decisively with Amos and the arrival of the so-called writing prophets (cf. E. Würthwein, *ZAW* 62 [1950]: 10–52 = *Wort und Existenz* [1970], 68–110; W. H. Schmidt, *EvT* 31 [1971]: 630–50).

(a) Before Amos, the prophetic message was directed without exception to individuals, in harmony with the nature of the tradition primarily to the king, exposing his guilt and pronouncing harsh penalties in the name of Yahweh (2 Sam 12:1ff.; 1 Kgs 14:10ff.; 20:38ff.; 21:19, etc.); to be sure, the penalty can also affect Israel (2 Sam 24:11ff.; 1 Kgs 22:17f.). In addition, promises to the king refer to the duration of the dynasty (2 Sam 7), victory (1 Kgs 20:13, 28), or recuperation (2 Kgs 20:5f.).

In contrast, the pre-exilic writing prophets rarely confront individuals (Amos 7:14ff.; Isa 22:15ff. etc.) or specific professional groups (Mic 3; Jer 23:9ff., etc.) with judgment and collapse because of guilt; they usually confront all of Israel. With unsurpassable severity, Israel's "end" is announced (Amos 8:2; cf. Ezek 7) in terms of a variety of specifics (earthquake, invasion, pestilence). The prophetic purpose is not to predict precisely but to demonstrate that Israel's future, which God directs, determines Israel's attitude toward God and people in the present.

(b) Prophetic accusations are directed against crimes in the social realm (Amos, Mic, Ezek 22) and even more frequently against disregard for Yahweh in the form of the mixture of Yahweh with Baal (Elijah, Hos, early Jer, Ezek), of inquiry after strange gods (2 Kgs 1; 3:11; Hos 4:12; Jer 2:22, etc.), of arrogant confidence in one's own political skills (Isa, Jer), and of forgetting Yahweh's saving acts (Amos 2:9; Hos 9:10ff.; 11:1ff.; Isa 5:1ff., etc.). Finally, for these prophets, Israel fails Yahweh (von Rad, *Theol.* 2:395ff.). Israel's guilt is considered to be so great that repentance is regarded as impossible (Hos 5:4, 6; Isa 6:10; 29:9f.; Jer 2:22; 13:23); exhortations (Amos 5:4f.; Hos 14:2, etc.) also occur comparatively

infrequently. Ezekiel is the first to offer individuals the choice between “life” and “death” (3:17ff.; 18; 33; cf. Zimmerli, *GO* 178ff.) and the exilic secondary layers of Jer voice specific calls to repentance (see 11b; cf. Wolff, *GS* 130ff.).

(c) Prophetic oracles against Israel’s cult assume a broad scope. Whereas Israel believed itself safe from all evil because of its acts of worship (Mic 3:11; Jer 7, etc.), a central concept of the prophetic critique of the cult is the notion that the worship of an Israel estranged from Yahweh no longer reaches its God and thus becomes senseless (Amos 4:4f.; 5:21ff.; Isa 1:10ff., etc.). Hosea and early Jeremiah also argue against the cult in its Baalized form.

(d) Oracles of judgment against foreign nations in the writing prophets, probably originally spoken to assure Israel’s well-being (cf. e.g., Num 24:20; Psa 60:10), generally signify that, like Israel, the nations are ripe for judgment and their approaching fall mirrors Israel’s fate (Amos 1:3ff.; Zeph 1f., etc.).

(e) Salvation—except for Hosea (11:8f.; 14)—is awaited and expected only beyond the judgment (Jer 30f.; 32:15; Ezek 37, etc.) or only conditionally for a small portion of Israel (the faithful: Isa 28:16; 7:9; the humble: Zeph 2:3; cf. there and in Amos 5:15 the restrictive “perhaps”; → *ʾūlay*), until the proclamation of salvation dominates the foreground in the exile with Deutero-Isaiah. Salvation is nevertheless—as for Hosea—even now grounded in God alone, not in Israel’s transformed behavior; cf. S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im AT* (1965).

(f) The prophetic word is issued in concrete situations. Both announcement of judgment (e.g., Isa 30:1ff.; Ezek 17:11ff.) and salvation oracle (e.g., the Cyrus oracle of Deutero-Isa) often refer to the circumstances of world affairs. The various world powers appear as the instruments of Yahweh, the Lord of history (Isa 7:18ff.; 10:5ff.; Jer 27:1ff., etc.). At the same time, the prophets state positions concerning the significant political questions (Isa 7:1ff.; 31:1ff.; Jer 21:8ff., etc.).

(g) While the earlier prophets, appealing to old traditions (tent tradition: 2 Sam 7:6f.; Yahweh-war traditions: 1 Sam 15; 2 Sam 24; 1 Kgs 20:35ff.; first commandment: 1 Kgs 18:21ff.; legal traditions: 2 Sam 12; 1 Kgs 21; cf. R. Rendtorff, *ZTK* 59 [1962]: 145ff.), wanted to protect Yahwism from Can. adulteration, the new message of the prophets since Amos can often use the tradition only by subverting it: Yahweh now conducts war against Israel (Isa 28:21; Jer 4:5ff., etc.), leads it back into Egypt (Hos 8:13), takes away its land (Amos 7:11, 17, etc.), invalidates the covenant promise (Hos 1:9), etc.

The prophetic expectation of salvation adopts the language of the Psa (Deutero-Isa), of the priestly Torah (Ezek), of statements concerning

the health of the king, concerning the covenant, etc., but by displacing them to the future (messianic promises, new covenant, Jer 31:31ff.), expanding them to all Israel or even the nations (e.g., Isa 2:2ff.), it markedly transforms them. In view of Yahweh's new acts, Deutero-Isa can even demand that the "former things" be forgotten (Isa 43:18).

6. (a) While the early prophets traced their authority for various discourses, acts, and surprising appearances mostly to the activity of the Spirit (1 Sam 10:6, 10; 19:20ff.; 1 Kgs 18:12; 22:21f.; 2 Kgs 2:9, 16, etc.), the writing prophets, except for Ezek (cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:567f.), avoid this theologoumenon (only Hos 9:7 on the lips of the audience, Mic 3:8 in an interpretative addition, and later in Isa 48:16; 61:1; Joel 3:1; cf. S. Mowinckel, *JBL* 56 [1937]: 261ff.). Instead, they speak of the word-event, of being sent by Yahweh (Amos 7:15; Isa 6:8f.; Jer 1:7, etc.), of visionary dialogues with Yahweh (Amos 7f.; Jer 1, etc.), of the grasp of Yahweh's hand (Isa 8:11; Ezek 1:3; 3:14, 22, etc.; cf., however, already 1 Kgs 18:46; 2 Kgs 13:15f.), of the word coming down (Isa 9:7), of the word as fire and hammer (Jer 23:29), etc., in order to express the compulsion to speak from which they cannot free themselves (Amos 3:8; Jer 17:16; 20:7ff.; 23:9).

(b) Since Yahweh sometimes prohibits them from interceding (Jer 7:16f.; 11:14; 14:11; 15:1; cf. Amos 7:1–6 with 7:7f.; 8:1f.), they side with Yahweh entirely, although—esp. in Hos and Jer—laments over the fate of their people (Hos 7:8f.; 8:8; Jer 4:19ff.; 8:18ff.; 14:17f., etc.) and—esp. in Jer—over the burden of the undesired commission (17:16; 20:7ff., etc.) saturate their proclamation of judgment.

7. Jeremiah receives a special task. He is called to be a prophet to the nations (*nābî' laggôyim* Jer 1:5), a prophet who, like the king, is chosen from the womb as Yahweh's proxy (cf. Sir 49:6f.), who executes divine dominion over the world by calling forth with his divine word the building and destruction of the nations (1:10).

8. (a) Like Micaiah ben Imlah had earlier done (1 Kgs 22), the pre-exilic writing prophets—except for Hosea—sharply oppose contemporary prophets and prophetic groups (cf. e.g., G. Quell, *Wahre und falsche Propheten* [1952]; E. Osswald, *Falsche Prophetie im AT* [1962]). Their objections against them mention bribery (Mic 3:5; Ezek 13:17ff.), transgression of fundamental ethical regulations (Isa 28:7f.; Jer 23:14; 29:23), and neglect of intercession (Jer 27:18; Ezek 13:5), but focus on their salvation preaching in a situation of judgment in which Israel has failed Yahweh. While 1 Kgs 22:19ff. and Mic 3:5 base this charge on the fact that Yahweh has deceived the prophets (cf. Ezek 14:9) or that the prophets have perverted their authority (cf. Ezek 13:17ff.), Jeremiah first disputes whether Yahweh has sent his opponents at all (14:14; 23:21, etc.; cf. J. Jeremias, *EvT* 31 [1971]: 314ff.), and Ezekiel follows him (13:3, 6f.; 22:28).

They speak words of “peace” (*šālôm*, 14:13, etc.), and this message now means—as Jeremiah refers to it stereotypically—“to prophesy deceit” (*nbʾ ni. šeqer*) or “to see wishful visions” (14:14; 23:25ff., etc.; cf. Isa 9:14; Ezek 13:2ff., 17), which only entangles Israel deeper in guilt instead of enabling it to attain awareness of its guilt (Jer 23:14, 22, 27; 28:15; 29:31; Ezek 13:10ff., 22); hence “deceit”—even Baal (2:8)—is the source of their discourse (5:31; 20:6), not Yahweh (cf. M. A. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT* [1964]; T. W. Overholt, *Threat of Falsehood* [1970]).

(b) Yet these prophets also appear, claim to speak God’s word, and use the “thus says Yahweh” and “saying of Yahweh” forms to legitimate their message (Jer 28; Ezek 13:6f.; 22:28, etc.). The call narratives of the writing prophets, which refer to their reticence regarding God’s commission (Jer 1:6; cf. Exod 3f.; Judg 6:11ff.; Amos 7:14f.) or to their visionary participation in the divine council (Isa 6; Ezek 1–3; cf. 1 Kgs 22:19ff.; Jer 23:22), indicate by virtue of their character as “legitimation documents” (H. W. Wolff) that the authority of these prophets was also doubted (Isa 5:19; 28:9ff.; 30:10; Jer 5:13; 11:21; 17:15; Ezek 12:27; Mic 2:6f., etc.). This doubt found visible expression in the persecution of the prophets to the point of death (1 Kgs 18:4, 13; 19:10, 14; Jer 2:30; 26:20ff., etc.). The strife between prophet and prophet was decided for outsiders only by the fall of Jerusalem; the “writing prophets” were recognized as true messengers of Yahweh and, as the “former prophets” (*hann<sup>o</sup>bîʾîm hāriʾšōnîm*, Zech 1:4; 7:7, 12), were distinguished from the prophets in and after the exile.

9. The book of Lamentations laments the death of the prophets who were killed with the priests in the temple (Lam 2:20). With no prophet, Israel is incapable of learning the duration of the punishment (Psa 74:9), and the remaining prophets receive no word from Yahweh (Lam 2:9). Following Jeremiah, the prophets’ guilt is acknowledged in the claim that they envisioned “deceit” for Israel instead of pointing to its transgression (Lam 2:14; cf. 3:14). This period witnessed the great message of salvation of Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah.

10. Twice Deut takes a stance on intraprophetic disputes. It prescribes the execution (Deut 13:6; 18:20) of prophets who—even if accompanied by credible wonders—guide Israel to break the first commandment (13:2ff.) or who appear in Yahweh’s name without Yahweh’s authorization (18:20). The word legitimized by Yahweh, promulgated without interruption (18:15), will be authenticated by its realization (18:22; cf. Jer 28:8f., but with a different emphasis), and Israel’s fate is determined by obedience to it (18:19).

11. Dtr circles in the exile make use of the theological impetuses of Deut (a) by depicting Israel’s history during the monarchy as a history determined by precise fulfillment of all prophetic oracles (1 Kgs 14:18;

16:12; 2 Kgs 14:25, etc.; texts in *PHOE* 209ff.); and (b) by speaking of an uninterrupted sequence of prophets whom Yahweh “sent as his servants” (2 Kgs 17:13, 23; 21:10; 24:2; cf. 9:7; Jer 7:25; 25:4; 26:5; 29:19; 35:15; 44:4) or “established” (*qûm* hi., Deut 18:15, 18; Amos 2:11; Jer 29:15), and who, with exact knowledge of Yahweh’s plans (Amos 3:7; Zech 1:6), exhorted the people to repentance, penitence, and obedience to the law—although without success (Judg 6:8ff.; 2 Kgs 17:13f.; Zech 1:4f.; Jer 25:5; 35:15, etc.; cf. Amos 2:12; Ezek 38:17). This presentation intends to lead Israel to affirm the judgment it has experienced and to embrace the new possibility of repentance if it does not wish to be totally annihilated (cf. W. Herrmann, “Die Bedeutung der Propheten im Geschichtsaufriß des Dtr” [diss., Berlin, 1957]; H. W. Wolff, “Kerygma of the Deuteronomistic Historical Work,” in W. Brueggemann and Wolff, *Vitality of OT Traditions* [1982], 83ff.).

12. Following Dtr circles, the book of Daniel and the Chr speak of the prophets as exhorting “servants” of Yahweh who found no hearing (Neh 9:26, 30; 2 Chron 24:19; 36:15f.; Dan 9:6, 10), who even suffered derision and death (2 Chron 36:15f.; Neh 9:26, etc.; cf. O. H. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten* [1967]). The Chr often allows prophetic figures, both known to the tradition (2 Chron 12:5; 15:1ff.; 21:12ff.; 24:20; 28:9ff) and anonymous (Ezra 9:11ff.; 2 Chron 25:15f.), to deliver sermon-like exhortations and judgment speeches, equates confidence in prophets with confidence in Yahweh (2 Chron 20:20; cf. Exod 14:31), has prophets arrange the temple music (2 Chron 29:25), and cites prophetic literature among his sources (1 Chron 29:29; 2 Chron 9:29; 12:15; 13:22; 26:22; 32:32).

For the book of Daniel, Jeremiah’s predictions are fulfilled in the present as the beginning of the end time (Dan 9:2, 24).

13. Prophecy ebbed after the exile, after circles of Deutero-Isaiah’s disciples had reinterpreted his message and lamented, simultaneously, a deep division in Israel (Isa 56–66), Haggai and Zechariah had proclaimed the beginning of the construction of the temple as Yahweh’s will and acclaimed Zerubbabel as the king of the era of salvation, and Malachi had insisted on Yahweh’s displeasure with Israel’s indolence in disputation oracles. The Nehemiah memoir describes prophets and prophetesses very negatively: They speak on the command of political leaders (Neh 6:7, 10ff., 14), and Zech 13:2ff. equates—syncretistically stamped—prophecy with idolatry (Elliger, ATD 25, 2:162–64). Other prophets entered the ranks of the Levites (cf. 2 Chron 34:30 with 2 Kgs 23:2 and see Mowinckel, *Psalmstudien* 3:17f., 21f., 24ff.; Johnson, op. cit. 66ff.; Plöger, op. cit. 190ff., etc.). Ezek 38f., Deutero-Zech (Zech 9–14), Joel, Isa 24–27, and particularly Dan exemplify incipient apocalypticism.

V. The LXX consistently renders *nābîʿ* with *prophētēs*, the verb (except for 1 Chron 25:1–3) with *prophēteuein*. The opponents of the writing prophets, esp. those of Jeremiah, are often called *pseudoprophētēs* (in the Tg. often *nbyyšqrʿ*).

Qumran uses the subst. (16x) more often than the verb (1x ni.), according to the available texts; in addition to quotations from the prophets cited by name (CD 3:21; 4:13; 7:10; 19:7; 4QFlor 1:15f.), Dtr (1QpHab 2:9; 7:5, 8; 1QS 1:3; 4QDibHam 3:13) and Jeremianic usages (CD 6:1; 1QH 4:16) are continued; furthermore, Qumran literature mentions “books of the prophets” (CD 7:17), awaits an eschatological prophet in accord with Deut 18:15 (1QS 9:11), and attributes prophetic revelation to Yahweh’s “Holy Spirit” (1QS 8:16).

For the continued impact of OT diction in postbiblical literature as a whole and in the NT, cf. E. Fascher, *Prophetes* (1927); R. Meyer, *Der Prophet aus Galiläa* (1940); H. A. Guy, *NT Prophecy* (1947); F. Gils, *Jésus prophète* (1957); F. Hahn, *Titles of Jesus in Christology* (1969), 352–406; H. Krämer et al., “προφήτης,” *TDNT* 6:781–861.

J. Jeremias

## נָבָל *nābāl* fool

S 5036; BDB 614b; *HALOT* 2:663b; *ThWAT* 5:171–85; *TWOT* 1285a; *NIDOTTE* 5572

1. No unanimous response has yet been given to the question of the etymology of *nābāl* “fool, foolish”; various suggestions have been made (e.g., J. Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen zum hebräischen und aramäischen Lexicon* [1902], 28f.; P. Joüon, *Bib* 5 [1924]: 356–61; W. M. W. Roth, *VT* 10 [1960]: 394–409). The older Sem. languages exhibit no sufficient counterparts (the Akk. verb suggested by Roth, op. cit., should be read *napālu* “to bring down, break off, destroy” and be compared with Hebr. *npl* “to fall”; cf. *AHw* 733b).

Disregarding the etymologically unexplained nouns *nēbel* I “jug” and *nebel/nēbel* II “harp, etc.” (cf. the lexicons and *DISO* 173; *UT* no. 1598), some researchers postulate a single root for OT words with the radicals *nbl*; in this case, *n<sup>e</sup>bēlâ* “corpse,” as well as *nābāl* “fool, foolish,” *n<sup>e</sup>bālâ* “folly,” and the unique *nablût* “(a woman’s) nakedness” (Hos 2:12) can be regarded as derivatives of the one verb *nbl* “to wilt” (so Barth, op. cit.; W. Caspari, *NKZ* 39 [1928]: 668–95; A. Caquot, *RHR* 155 [1959]: 1–16; *KBL* 589; Zorell 494; more cautiously also Joüon and Roth, op. cit.). Others assume two

*nbl* roots, *nbl* I “to wilt” (qal 20x; for the traditional translation, cf. Joüon, op. cit. 357) with *n<sup>c</sup>bēlâ* “corpse” (48x, of which 19x in Lev, 10x in 1 Kgs) and *nbl* II “to be foolish” (qal, Prov 30:32; pi., Deut 32:15; Jer 14:21; Mic 7:6; Nah 3:6) with the noms. *nābāl*, *n<sup>c</sup>bālâ*, and usually also *nablût* (cf., however, Roth, op. cit. 397n.8; cf. KBL Suppl. 170, contra P. Steininger, ZAW 24 [1904]: 141f.; GVG 1:382; Meyer 2:35), as do e.g., GB 480b; K. H. Fahlgren, *S<sup>c</sup>dāḳā, nahestehende und entgegengesetzte Begriffe im AT* (1932), 28–32 (= *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des AT*, ed. K. Koch [1972], 115–20). Whether the PN *nābāl* (interpreted in 1 Sam 25:25 as “fool”) also originally belonged to *nbl* II (so IP 229; Benz 146, 358) is disputed; cf. Buccellati 152f.; H. Schult, *Vergleichende Studien zur atl. Namenkunde* (1967), 93f.

One should perhaps not discount the possibility of a single *nbl* root, but it is difficult to find evidence for it, as can be seen from the rather varied attempts at etymology mentioned. Explanations of the context also clearly play a decisive role. From a semasiological viewpoint, two distinct word fields associated with *nbl* terms can be categorized according to the two roots cited (cf. Roth, op. cit. 398ff.). Thus one may be well advised to assume two at least semasiologico-functionally distinct (homonymous) roots; the second is of interest here.

*nbl* II produces predominantly nom. formations: the personal term *nābāl*, which is used both adj. and subst., and the abstract noun *n<sup>c</sup>bālâ*. The verb occurs in the qal and the pi., although *nbl* pi. is more often regarded as a denominative from *nābāl* (cf. Barth, op. cit. 29; Roth, op. cit. 407; Zorell 494a).

2. Of 36 instances of the root *nbl* II (disregarding *nablût*), 5 fall to the verb (qal 1x; pi. 4x; see 1), 18 to *nābāl* (Psa 5x, Prov 3x, Deut, 2 Sam, Isa, and Job 2x each, Jer and Ezek 1x each), and 13 to *n<sup>c</sup>bālâ* (Judg 4x, Isa 2x). With 13 occurrences in the Dtr history, 10 in prophetic, 7 in wisdom books (except for Eccl), 5 in Psa, and 1 in Gen (Gen 34:7), the word family has a relatively broad distribution.

3. The chief meaning of the personal term *nābāl* is usually cited as “foolish” (adj.: Deut 32:6, 21; Ezek 13:3; Psa 74:18; perhaps also Jer 17:11) and “fool” (subst.): the remaining 14 or 13 passages). Yet *nābāl*—like the rest of the word family—is much more subtle than the other words for “fool, foolish” in the OT (→ *wîl*, → *k<sup>c</sup>sîl*, → *pth*; Fahlgren, op. cit.; U. Skladny, *Die ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel* [1962], 10–12, 32ff., 50ff.; T. Donald, “Semantic Field of ‘Folly,’” VT 13 [1963]: 285–92). A balanced assessment must simultaneously account for several features. Whether the history of the term may be traced (cf. Roth, op. cit. 402ff.) remains uncertain.

(a) The basic stem of the verb (qal) expresses an unconsidered (both inappropriate and stupid) act (Prov 30:32; cf. McKane, *Prov*, OTL, 664), the opposite of the wise and considered act (antonym: *zmm* “to consider”;

cf. *mezimma*® “plan, prudence”). Elsewhere these “exhortations to cleverness” (Gemser, HAT 16, 107) express the wisdom ideal of proper silence (cf. G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* [1972], 84f.).

In contrast to the basic stem, the doubled stem (pi.) hardly functions factitively, e.g., “to produce the status of the *nbl*, stupefy, demean” (W. Richter, *Recht und Ethos* [1966], 56, in reference to Mic 7:6), but more estimatively (cf. *HP* 41: “to consider insignificant”; so, at any rate, in Deut 32:15; Mic 7:6); yet an external act is also involved (esp. in Jer 14:21 and Nah 3:6, probably also in Deut 32:15; Mic 7:6), so that one may best translate with KBL 589b “treat with contempt.” Deut 32:15 (concerning the emphatic “to become fat” in the negative sense, → <sup>c</sup>*wîl* 1; cf. Psa 73:3–11; Jer 5:28) and Mic 7:6 (rebellion against the established order; cf. von Rad, *Wisdom* 74ff.) exhibit a degree of wisdom influence. The four pi. texts are even more strongly religio-ethically oriented, however. Deut 32:15 depicts God as the obj. of the people’s act of apostasy through *nbl* pi. with the par. *nš* “to reject”, and Jer 14:21 and Nah 3:6 depict him as the subj. of the act; the verb here expresses God’s act of judgment, his destruction under dishonorable circumstances.

(b) The nom. most nearly related to the verb is the abstract noun *n<sup>e</sup>bālâ*. The abstract—like the verb—can occasionally be used of God’s action toward people; such is the case with the difficult text Job 42:8, where *n<sup>e</sup>bālâ* is a conspicuous term for God’s attitude and behavior toward Job’s friends, namely in a judgmental/punitive and dishonorable sense (cf. Fahlgren, op. cit. 30–32 [= *Prinzip* 118–20]; Roth, op. cit. 408; Fohrer, KAT 16, 538, 540: “I will disgrace you”) unless the indefinite inf. construction refers to a punitive act to be carried out by others at God’s instigation (cf. Caspari, op. cit. 672). The formulation is nearly analogous to the expression *šh n<sup>e</sup>bālâ (b<sup>e</sup>yisrâ’el)* “to do a *n<sup>e</sup>bālâ* (in Israel).” This expression, which occurs formulaically 8x in reference to gross acts of shame and is provided an apodictic rationale an additional 2x (Gen 34:7; 2 Sam 13:12), refers particularly to sexual misconduct: Gen 34:7; Deut 22:21 (par. *hārâ* “the evil”); Judg 19:23 (par. *r<sup>c</sup>* hi. “to act reprehensibly”), 24; 20:6 (par. *zimmâ* “shameful act”), 10; 2 Sam 13:12 (see below); it refers to sexual matters, etc., in an accusation against false prophets in Jer 29:23 (cf. Rudolph, HAT 12, 185; see also Ezek 13:3, where attributive *nābāl* serves as a general characterization of the false prophets in a woe oracle; cf., however, Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:285); Josh 7:15 refers to theft of the “banned” (→ *ḥērem*; conspicuous par. expression: *br <sup>c</sup>et-b<sup>c</sup>rit* “to break the covenant”). All passages concern a fateful breach of Israel’s “firmly ordained ethical code” (cf. Richter, op. cit. 50f.); these abominations bring only disaster and dishonor on the perpetrators (cf. Fahlgren, op. cit. 29ff. [= *Prinzip* 117ff.]; Roth, op. cit. 404ff.).

The personal term *nābāl* appears with the abstract term *n<sup>e</sup>bālā* twice (2 Sam 13:12f.; Isa 32:5f.); this construction focuses attention more on the person or group behind the act. Isa 32:6 expresses the rationale quite generally, “the fool (*nābāl*) speaks folly (*n<sup>e</sup>bālā*),” and the prophetic accusation in Isa 9:16 says of the people in the northern kingdom, “every mouth speaks *n<sup>e</sup>bālā*” (par. *ḥānēp* “godless” and *mēra<sup>c</sup>* “evildoer,” → *r<sup>c</sup>* hi.). This “speech,” which occasions a blanket religious disqualification, hardly refers merely to “certain foolish sayings” (cf. *HP* 170; Roth, op. cit. 407); instead, this almost abs. usage of the abstract noun together with the personal term may strive for a total characterization, namely of the basic attitude underlying a person’s actions and of the reciprocal relationship between act and actor, as is also the case of the personal characterization through the name Nabal in 1 Sam 25:25. The context of the brief statement of rationale in Isa 32:6 concerning the nature and deeds of the *nābāl* explicates it more thoroughly; it describes the *nābāl* in list fashion as the opposite of the “honorable” (*nādīb* v 5, cf. v 8; par. *kīlay* “deceiver”; cf. v 7 and R. Berger, *AfO* 18 [1958]: 416); the fool causes “disaster” (→ *ʾāwen*) and “apostasy” (*ḥōnep*, → *ḥnp*; KBL 317b: “alienation [from God]”) and speaks “perversion” (*tō<sup>c</sup>ā*, → *t<sup>h</sup>*) concerning Yahweh; the fool allows the hungry to hunger and deprives the thirsty of drink (v 6). The *nābāl* actualizes a *n<sup>e</sup>bālā* nature whose nadir is godlessness. The fool is not a “wise one” (*maškil*, → *skl*) who “seeks God” (Psa 14:2); rather the fool denies the reality and effectiveness of God (Psa 14:1 = 53:2; cf. 12:2ff.; 73:3ff.). Since the same can also be said of the “evildoer” (*rāšā<sup>c</sup>*, → *rš<sup>c</sup>*; Psa 10:4), *rāšā<sup>c</sup>* seems to be a rough synonym for *nābāl*, which is not surprising for wisdom (cf. → *ʾwīl* 4; *ḥkm* 4). Otherwise, → *k<sup>e</sup>sīl* “fool” is a wisdom synonym (Prov 17:21), *ḥākām* “wise one” an antonym (*lō<sup>ʔ</sup>ḥākām* “unwise,” Deut 32:6, in reference to one’s own inattentive people, par. *ʿam nābāl* “foolish people,” a statement made of a strange, enemy people in Psa 74:18; cf. also Deut 32:21; Psa 74:22; see above concerning Isa 9:16). This expanded usage involves the religious aspect even more prominently, though in wisdom phraseology.

In addition to the most significant religio-ethical (and wisdom) component, the personal word *nābāl* also has a social component to which recent research has been devoted (cf. esp. the works by Joüon, Roth, and Caquot already cited, as well as those by Caspari, Fahlgren, and Skladny). The socially inferior status of the *nābāl* may be inferred both from the two juxtapositions with *nādīb* “noble, superior” (Isa 32:5, see above; Prov 17:7; cf. McKane, op. cit. 507) and from the numerical saying in Prov 30:21–23 with the par. terms *ʿebed* “slave,” *ś<sup>e</sup>nū<sup>ʔ</sup>ā* “spurned woman,” and *šiphā*

“slave” (vv 22f.); the synonym *b<sup>e</sup>l-šēm* “nameless (people)” is also important (Job 30:8; cf. Fohrer, KAT 16, 418). The *nābāl* is a sufferer (cf. Barth, op. cit. 28f.; Joüon, op. cit. 358–61: “base, vile, ignoble”), an outcast from society (Roth, op. cit. 403: “by his very fate an outcast”), whose ignominious death becomes a proverbial symbol of suffering (2 Sam 3:33; Jer 17:11).

Semasiologically, then, the word group *nbl* II produces a colorful spectrum that is difficult to render precisely. It is hardly possible, however, to find a better common expression of this multiplicity than the traditional word family “fool/foolish/folly,” although it does not verbalize various aspects of the root’s meaning. Conversely, *nbl* II fundamentally enriches the total word field of “fool/folly” in the OT.

4. As the discussion to this point suggests, the usage of the word *nābāl* II inseparably interweaves profane and religious aspects; its theological relevance has already been substantially treated in the general overview (see 3). While that section focused on distinctions within the range of meaning, it may be appropriate to treat briefly those elements common to the various nuances.

The more significant elements have proven to be the religio-ethical, as well as the wisdom and social aspects. Theologically, however, these elements are not as far removed from one another as they might first seem: the various aspects of the *nābāl*—e.g., social sufferer, morally base, or religiously godless—and of the *n<sup>e</sup>bālâ*—abomination or godlessness—rest on a single concept of order, which otherwise primarily characterizes wisdom doctrine (→ *ḥkm*). *n<sup>e</sup>bālâ* refers to breach of a relationship (cf. Fahlgren and Roth), or more actively, to rebellion against an established order. This breach or rebellion is “folly”; it is a deficiency of insight and integration into the good order guaranteed by God. The person who breaks free or must be cast out is *nābāl* “foolish,” “base,” and “irrational” (cf. von Rad, *Wisdom* 64f.). The totally negative word family *nbl* II belongs to the larger semantic field of “folly” in the OT that contrasts with that of “wisdom” contrapuntally; yet *nbl* II, more than other words in this semantic field, is legally and socially stamped, namely in the negative sense of “criminal” (cf. Donald, op. cit.); this observation warns against an intellectualistic minimalization of OT “folly.” *n<sup>e</sup>bālâ* is also a dangerous power; and the *nābāl*, like the *rāšā<sup>c</sup>* “evildoer,” is a “universally dangerous” person who brings disaster, a “carrier of ruin” for both self and others (cf. Caspari, op. cit. 671, 673f.).

5. The ancient versions have largely understood the word family in the sense of “fool/foolish/folly.” Thus the LXX (disregarding the verb, which is rendered in quite a variety of ways) rendered *nābāl* 11x with *aphrōn* and

3x with *mōros*, *n<sup>e</sup>bālā* with 9 words, 7x with *aphrosynē* (cf. Caspari, op. cit.; Joüon, op. cit. 357; Roth, op. cit. 401; cf. G. Bertram, “μωρός,” *TDNT* 4:832–47; id., “φρήν,” *TDNT* 9:220–35). In the Qumran literature, the word group occurs a total of 4x (Kuhn, *Konk.* 139c; *GCDS* 419). For the NT, special reference should be made to U. Wilckens, *Weisheit und Torheit* (1959).

M. Sæbø

## נגד *ngd* hi. to communicate

S 5046; BDB 616b; *HALOT* 2:665b; *ThWAT* 5:188–201; *TWOT* 1289; *NIDOTTE* 5583

1. Attempts to derive the Hebr. word family *ngd* hi. “to communicate” (ho. “to be communicated”), *neged* “opposite,” and *nāgîd* “leader,” together with Aram. *ngd* “to draw” (trans. and intrans.; Bibl. Aram. pe. “to flow,” Dan 7:10; cf. KBL 1098a; E. Vogt, *Lexicon linguae Aramaicae Veteris Testamenti* [1971], 109b; *LS* 413; Drower-Macuch 288b) and additional Arab. and Eth. terms from one, common, basic meaning remain more or less hypothetical (e.g., *NB* 197f.; GB 482: “to raise oneself, be high”; H. Gese, *ZTK* 61 [1964]: 12f.n.7: “to come forward,” “to move out”). The verb *ngd* hi. “to proclaim, communicate,” attested only in Hebr. (also in Lachish Letter III:2, hi., 13, ho.), is apparently a denominative from the (originally subst.) prep. *neged* “(opponent, counterpart >) opposite” (W. J. Gerber, *Die hebr. Verba denominativa* [1896], 139; Zorell 495b); the question of the etymology of *nāgîd* remains unresolved (e.g., GB 483b: “lofty”; Alt, *EOTHR* 195n.54: “made known”; J. J. Glück’s suggestion, “shepherd,” is untenable [*VT* 13 (1963): 144–50]; cf. W. Richter, *BZ* NS 9 [1965]: 72f.nn.6f.).

Bibl. Aram. also has the verb and the prep. *neged* “against,” perhaps, however, as a Hebraism or a gloss (Dan 6:11; cf. F. Rosenthal, *Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* [1961], 37). The meaning “to declare, communicate” is expressed by *ḥwh* pa./ha. (4x/10x in Dan; *ḥwh* pi. “to declare” occurs as an Aram. borrowing in Psa 19:3; Job 15:17; 32:6, 10, 17; 36:2; cf. Wagner nos. 91f.; J. A. Soggin, *AION* 17 [1967]: 9–14; *HP* 112–19).

2. The verb occurs 335x in the hi. (1 Sam 47x, 2 Sam 33x, Gen 31x, Isa 29x [Deutero-Isa 21x], Jer 28x, Judg 26x, 2 Kgs and Psa 20x each, Job 17x, Esth 14x, 1 Kgs 10x) and 35x in the ho. (Gen, 1 Sam, and 1 Kgs 5x

each, 2 Sam 4x), most often in the narrative literature. *neged* occurs 151x (Psa 36x, Neh 19x, elsewhere under 10x), *nāgîd* 44x (1 Chron 12x, 2 Chron 9x, 1 Sam 4x, 2 Sam, 1 Kgs, and Dan 3x each, Job and Prov 2x each, 2 Kgs, Isa, Jer, Ezek, Psa, and Neh 1x each).

3. (a) The basic process is the same in all uses of *ngd hi.*: A verbally communicates something (C) to B. *ngd hi.* is a personal word event; it always includes the three elements A, B, and C, even when they are not all explicitly mentioned. The simplest construction is a verb form of *ngd hi.* with *le* of the person and the communication in the acc. (Gen 44:24 “and we communicated the words of my lord to him”), although other constructions also occur (see the lexicons). The communication is often an obj. clause (frequently introduced by *kî* “that”) or direct address (e.g., Gen 45:26; 2 Sam 11:5). The communication can also be deduced from the context; the announcer or communicator need not always be indicated; the communication can be expressed impersonally (e.g., 1 Sam 23:1, 25 alongside v 13, ho.). The omission of the addressee may be esp. noted in the Psa passages (e.g., Psa 30:10); the emphasis lies on the declaration of God’s activity, and the addressee need not be specified.

If the verb is a denominative from *neged* “opposite” (“to bring before someone, bring forward”), a restriction of the usual local meaning of *neged* (cf. also the semantically related *nōkaḥ* [→ *ykh*] and *lipnî* “before” [→ *pānîm*]) to the communicative meaning has taken place. Cf., on the contrary, the usage of *neged* to express a knowledge of something (in a theological context, e.g., 1 Sam 12:3; 2 Sam 22:25 = Psa 18:25; Isa 49:16; 59:12; Hos 7:2; Psa 38:10; 69:20; 109:15; Job 26:6; Prov 15:11; Lam 3:35).

In accord with the simple structure of the process, the meaning of the verb is usually clear; yet the relationship of various groups of usage to one another and to the major usage is not immediately clear. Since *ngd hi.* refers to a personal word event, it frequently parallels verbs of speech: *ʔmr* “to say” (1 Sam 23:1), *dbr* “to speak” (Isa 45:19), *spr pi.* “to narrate” (Psa 19:2), *qrʔ* “to call” (Isa 44:7); of these *yd<sup>c</sup> hi.* “to cause to know” = “to inform” (Psa 145:4, 12; Job 26:3f.; 38:3f.) and *šm<sup>c</sup> hi.* “to cause to hear” = “to declare” (Isa 41:22, 26; 42:9, etc.) approximate *ngd hi.* most closely. A significant distinction from the verbs of speech consists in the fact that *ngd hi.* is usually a communication from a distance; in quite a few cases, the one who communicates something comes from elsewhere, as indicated by the verbs of motion that often precede *ngd hi.*: *bôʔ* “to come” (e.g., 1 Kgs 18:12), *hlk* “to go” (1 Kgs 18:16), *šûb* “to return” (2 Kgs 7:15), *ʔh* “to go up” (Gen 46:31), *yrd* “to go down” (Jer 36:12f.), and *rûš* “to run” (Num 11:27). A second peculiarity is closely related: the movement that precedes *ngd hi.*, esp. the swift running of the messenger, indicates that the

communication is important to the addressee, often vital. The communication reveals something that the addressee must know: “One runner runs to meet the other, and one messenger the other, in order to inform the king of Babel that his city is conquered from end to end” (Jer 51:31).

*ngd hi.*—at least in one group of passages—implies, then, this quality of significant information for the addressee. This aspect of meaning clarifies two special usage groups: (a) the interpretation of a dream (Gen 41:24; the specific verb is *ptr qal* “to interpret,” Gen 40:8, 16, 22; 41:8, 12f., 15; subst. *pittārôn* “interpretation,” 40:5, 8, 12, 18; 41:11; cf. Bibl. Aram. *pšr pe./pa.* “to interpret,” Dan 5:12, 16; subst. *pšar* “interpretation,” Dan 2:4–5:26, 19x; cf. *hwh pa./ha.* “to declare, interpret”; see 1) and the solution of a riddle (Judg 14:12ff.; 1 Kgs 10:3; otherwise *pth* “to open” = “to solve,” Psa 49:5); (b) a statement in a legal process: “to speak against someone” (1 Sam 27:11 with *al* “against”), “to expose transgressions” (Isa 58:1; Mic 3:8), “to give testimony” (Lev 14:35; Prov 12:17), “to bring charges” (Jer 20:10; also Deut 13:10 according to LXX; cf. I. L. Seeligmann, FS Baumgartner 261f.).

\*(b) The title *nāgîd* at the time of Samuel and Saul indicated the designated future king in contrast to → *melek* (Alt, *EOTHR* 195: “In addition to this, the accounts of Saul’s rise to power reveal very clearly in other expressions that they are able and intend to differentiate between what Saul had become through the designation of Yahweh and the status he was given by the acclamation of the people; as the chosen of Yahweh he was merely called *nāgîd*, and it was the nation which conferred upon him the title of *melek*, ‘king.’ A clear distinction is made between his divine ordination and his human rank”). The expression occurs 10x in 1 Sam–2 Kgs (1 Sam 9:16; 10:1; 13:14; 25:30; 2 Sam 5:2; 6:21; 7:8; 1 Kgs 1:35; 14:7; 16:2; also 2 Kgs 20:5 txt?) in the context of a formula whose history and semantic significance has been investigated by W. Richter (“Die *nāgîd*-Formel,” *BZ NS* 9 [1965]: 71–84). While early in Israel’s history (and in later echoes: Isa 55:4; Dan 9:25f.; 11:22) the title indicated the king’s ties to Yahweh and provided the authentically religious component of the royal titulary (so Richter, op. cit. 77, 83f., who attributes the *nāgîd* title to a hypothetical premonarchic office of deliverer in the north prior to David’s appropriation of the title), the conceptual precision of the term fades in later times; the expression diminishes in the Chr (already Jer 20:1) to a royal epithet or to an expression for various types of leaders and can also be used of foreigners (Ezek 28:2; Psa 76:13; 2 Chron 32:21; the word has not yet been clearly identified extrabiblically [on Sef. 3.10 cf. Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 112f., but also M. Noth, *ZDPV* 77 [1961]: 150; R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik* [1969], 21: *ngry* “my officers”]); in wisdom literature it means merely “nobles” (Job 29:10; 31:37; Prov 8:6; 28:16; on the whole subject,

cf. Richter, op. cit. 82f.).

4. The use of *ngd hi.* is predominantly nontheological; *ngd* is essentially and properly an interpersonal occurrence. Only rarely is Yahweh the subj. (e.g., 1 Sam 23:11; Psa 111:6) or the addressee of the verb (Exod 19:9, where Moses communicates the people's answer to Yahweh). Since God's speech to people was of such dominating significance in the OT, it is by all means conceivable that *ngd hi.* could have become a term for this divine speech to people, to his people, to individuals; but such is not the case. It would be equally conceivable that *ngd hi.* could have become a term for the declaration of God's word through the prophets; this too is not the case. *ngd hi.* has theological significance in only a few, limited semantic groups (cf. also H. Haag, *TZ* 16 [1960]: 256–58):

(a) *ngd hi.* can indicate the response to inquiries of God (1 Sam 23:11 "Will Saul come down . . . ? Declare it to your servant!"; Jer 42:3, 20; cf. Hos 4:12). But the subj. of *ngd hi.* is usually the one mediating the response, e.g., Moses (Deut 5:5), the seer (1 Sam 9:6, 8, 18f.; 10:16), or the prophet (1 Kgs 14:3; Jer 38:15; 42:4, 21).

(b) Remarkably, *ngd hi.* is usually not used in the context of the announcement of judgment. When judgment falls on an individual (the king), it can be communicated to him (judgment on the house of Eli through Samuel, 1 Sam 3:13, 15, 18; Saul's rejection, 1 Sam 15:16; Gad's word of judgment against David, 2 Sam 24:13). The prophet can once be compared with a scout who reports what has been seen (Isa 21:6, 10; cf. v 2, ho.). The oracles against the nations challenge others to announce the approaching destruction (Jer 46:14; 48:20, etc.).

(c) *ngd hi.* acquires its own significance as divine proclamation in only one prophetic context: as the announcement of the future in Deutero-Isa's judgment speeches. Yahweh is capable of that which the gods of the nations cannot do (Isa 41:22f., 26, etc.): He announces the future, as he announced the past (42:9; 43:12; 44:8; 45:19; 48:3, 5). This usage exemplifies abstract-theological conceptualization. The context of the judgment speeches (the opponents are Yahweh and the gods of the nations) produces the shift in meaning: here *ngd hi.* no longer means that someone communicates, reveals, something to another; rather, the issue involves who is capable of predicting the future because this capability alone constitutes the dependability, and thus the divinity, of the one overseeing and governing history. The new meaning "to declare (the future)" follows closely on the older specialized meaning "to reveal (something unknown, a dream, a riddle)" and encompasses prophetic judgment oracle and salvation oracle in this notion of the declaration of the future with God as subj. This pregnant usage of the term remains limited, however, to Deutero-Isa. An apparent echo surfaces in a later, expanded

usage: God declares his works (Psa 111:6), his commandments (147:19), his covenant (Deut 4:13), and great and incomprehensible things (Jer 33:3) to his people; cf. also the apocalyptic Dan 10:21.

(d) The most significant and frequent theological usage of *ngd hi.* occurs not in prophetic but in liturgical language in the context of the verbs and forms of God's praise. This usage does not involve abstract conceptualization; the verb is employed in its simple basic meaning. Because the declaration of Yahweh's acts belongs to narrative praise, *ngd hi.* can par. the specific verbs of praise or even replace them (→ *hll pi.* 4a). Such is the case in the call to praise (Psa 9:12; 50:6 txt em; 145:4; Isa 42:12; 48:20), in the context of the vow of praise (Psa 22:32; 51:17; 71:18; 92:16), and in other passages (19:2; 30:10; 40:6; 64:10; 71:17; 92:3; 97:6). In addition to the declaration of the basis of a commission or a charge (prophetic declaration), the OT knows a declaration of God's acts that requires no commission or charge but is expected as an immediate reaction to God's acts on the part of the one who has experienced them and to which the declarer calls the circle who hear the narration of the events.

5. Qumran can refer to earlier revelations with *ngd hi.* (1QM 11:5, 8). In the concept of Haggada, the later rabbinical technical term for the nonlegal portion of bibl. interpretation, *ngd hi.* once again acquired great significance in Judaism (cf. W. Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur* [1899], 1:30–37; E. L. Dietrich, *RGG* 3:23f.). The LXX translates *ngd hi.* almost as a rule with *anangellein* or *apangellein*; on the LXX and on the NT, where the essential categories of OT usage are continued, see J. Schniewind, "ἀγγελία," *TDNT* 1:56–73.

C. Westermann

## נגע *ng<sup>c</sup>* to touch

S 5060; BDB 619a; *HALOT* 2:668a; *ThWAT* 5:219–26; *TWOT* 1293; *NIDOTTE* 5595

1. The verb *ng<sup>c</sup>* "to touch, strike" is not common Sem. Outside Hebr., it occurs only in Aram. (Imp. Aram.: Ah. 165–66; Dalman 263a; cf. Drower-Macuch 25a). Phonetically and semantically similar Hebr. terms include *ngḥ* "to push," *ngn* "to play (a stringed instrument)," *ngp* "to push, strike," and *nk<sup>h</sup>/nkh* (hi.) "to strike."

The verb occurs in the qal, ni., pi., pu., and hi.; the derived subst. is

*nega*<sup>ç</sup> “blow, plague.”

2. Statistics: *ng*<sup>ç</sup> qal 107x (Lev 27x, Num 10x, Job 7x; Exod 4:25 is listed as a hi. in Lis. 899b), ni. 1x (Josh 8:15), pi. 3x (Gen 12:17; 2 Kgs 15:5; 2 Chron 26:20), pu. 1x (Psa 73:5), hi. 38x (10x in the meaning “to reach”), *nega*<sup>ç</sup> 78x (61x in Lev 13–14 alone; Deut and Psa 4x each).

3. *ng*<sup>ç</sup> qal is often constructed with *be* and with *ʔel* (e.g., Num 4:15; Hag 2:12), *ʕal* (Judg 20:34, 41 “to overtake,” subj. “disaster”), *ʕad* (e.g., Isa 16:8 “to reach to”), with the acc. (Isa 52:11; Job 6:7), or without obj. (Esth 3:1; Neh 7:72 “to reach”). The local principal meaning “to touch” varies from static contact (1 Kgs 6:27 “so that the wings of one cherub touch one wall, and those of the other the other wall, while wing touched wing in the middle”), to simple contact (e.g., Lev 5:2, with unclean things), to violent blows (Gen 32:26, 33, of the thigh; Job 1:19, of the storm; militarily, Josh 8:15, ni.; “to injure, do harm,” Gen 26:11, 29). The expression “to touch a woman” is a euphemism for sexual relations (Gen 20:6; Prov 6:29; cf. E. König, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik in bezug auf die biblische Literatur komparativisch dargestellt* [1900], 39; cf. *haptesthai gynaikos*, 1 Cor 7:1). *ng*<sup>ç</sup> is used fig. or metaphorically, e.g., in 1 Sam 10:26 “the brave, whose hearts God has touched.” Temporal usage occurs in Ezra 3:1 and Neh 7:72 with the meaning “to arrive,” yet *ng*<sup>ç</sup> hi. is more common than the qal in this usage (Ezek 7:12; Song Sol 2:12; Eccl 12:1; Esth 2:12, 15; always in later texts). The meaning “strike” gives rise to the meaning “to strike with a plague, punish” with a divine subj. (e.g., 1 Sam 6:9; Job 19:21); the subst. *nega*<sup>ç</sup> also has the basic meaning “blow” (e.g., Deut 17:8; 21:5; 2 Sam 7:14), as well as the meaning “plague, suffering” (e.g., 1 Kgs 8:37), which often refers specifically to the plague of leprosy (Lev 13–14; Deut 24:8). Corresponding to the qal pass. ptcp. *nābûa*<sup>ç</sup> in the meaning cited “stricken (by God with a plague)” (Isa 53:4; Psa 73:14), *ng*<sup>ç</sup> pi. acquires the factitive meaning “to make stricken (with a plague)” (Gen 12:17; 2 Kgs 15:5; 2 Chron 26:20; the last two texts treat leprosy; cf. *HP* 208; pu. “to be plagued,” Psa 73:5).

The hi. is causative (“to cause to touch,” e.g., Isa 6:7) and inner-causative or inwardly trans. (“to touch,” Gen 28:12). For the individual usages (“to reach, arrive at, come to,” etc.), cf. the lexicons; on the temporal meaning, see above.

4. With Yahweh as the subj., *ng*<sup>ç</sup> acquires theological significance. On the one hand, earthquakes are attributed directly to God; he touches the earth or the mountains (Amos 9:5; Psa 104:32; 144:5). On the other hand, Yahweh reaches into the human realm; he touches the hearts of those who follow Saul (1 Sam 10:26), and he sends plagues (on the pharaoh, Gen 12:17; on Job, Job 1:11; 2:5; 19:21; with the “hand of God”

as subj., cf. 1 Sam 6:9; → *yād* 4a). In reference to the suffering of God's servant in Isa 53:4, *nāgûa*<sup>ç</sup> "punished" parallels *nkh* ho. ptcp. "stricken" and *ñh* pu. ptcp. "humbled." Cf. also the usage of *nega*<sup>ç</sup> in the sense of God's punishment (Exod 11:1; Psa 39:11; 89:33, etc.).

5. The expression "to touch the purity of the many," etc., occurs at Qumran (e.g., 1QS 6:16; cf. Kuhn, *Konk.* 140), esp. in the *Rule of the Community*, probably in reference to contact with the ritually pure objects of the Qumran community (cf. P. Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline* [1957], 96n.52).

The LXX renders *ng*<sup>ç</sup> as a rule with *haptesthai* (*nega*<sup>ç</sup> with *haphē*); the NT uses the verb as in the OT, often for a transferal of power mediated through contact.

M. Delcor

## נדר *ndr* to vow

S 5087; BDB 623b; *HALOT* 2:674b; *ThWAT* 5:261–74; *TWOT* 1308; *NIDOTTE* 5623

1. As in Hebr. (*ndr* qal "to vow" and *neder*, less often *nēder*, "vow"), the root occurs both verbally and substantively in Ug., Phoen.-Pun., and Aram. (*WUS* no. 1758; *UT* no. 1618; *DISO* 174f.; *LS* 416a).

Although Aram. *ndr* corresponds phonetically to Hebr. *nzr* (→ *nāzîr* 1), the assumption of a relationship between the roots *nzr* and *ndr* in Can. *ndr* must take into account the possibility of dissimilation (*GVG* 1:237) or dialectical variants (see P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/20 [1965]: 250, 262; → *nāzîr* 1).

The verb and the corresponding subst. occur frequently in Phoen.-Pun. dedicatory inscriptions, often in the context of human sacrifice (e.g., *KAI* nos. 103–8) and esp. with the cognate acc. reminiscent of the OT, "the vow that . . . has vowed" (*KAI* no. 40.5; no. 103.2, etc.). The inscriptions often emphasize that the deity has "heard the voice (of the one vowing)" (e.g., *KAI* nos. 47, 68, 88, 98, 103–8, 110f., 113); one may conclude that these are cases of conditional vows. Notably, similarly formulated inscriptions occasionally replace the word "vow" with "gift" (*KAI* no. 102.2 *mtnt* ṣ<sup>h</sup>*tn*?, no. 113.1f. *mtnt* ṣ<sup>h</sup>*ndr*).

2. The root *ndr* is attested in Hebr. 91x: *ndr* qal 31x (Num 7x, Deut 5x, Eccl 4x) and *neder/nēder* 60x (Num 20x, Psa 9x, Lev and Deut 6x each). The verb with cognate acc. "vow a vow" occurs no less than 19x.

If one categorizes according to the individual literary genres and

compositions, the following distribution results: pre-exilic narratives 17x (Gen 28:20 E; 31:13 E; Num 21:2 J; Judg 11:30, 39; 1 Sam 1:11, 21; 2 Sam 15:7f.), late narratives 2x (Jonah 1:16), late pre-exilic, exilic, and post-exilic prophets 8x (Isa 19:21; Jer 44:25; Nah 2:1; Mal 1:14), psalms (incl. Jonah 2:10) 12x, wisdom literature 9x (Job 22:27; Prov 7:14; 20:25; 31:2; 5x in Eccl 5:3f.), Deut 11x (in chs. 12 and 23), P 32x (6x in Num 6 and 16x in Num 30). The sparse and more critical usage in the prophetic and wisdom literature is noteworthy.

3. As in Israel's environment, in the OT one must distinguish two types of vows: "unconditional" and "conditional" vows. The unconditional vow (cf. J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten* [1914], 119–27), clearly present, e.g., in Psa 132:2, practically equals an oath (→ *šb<sup>c</sup>*) or a ceremonial promise and exhibits the same form. In Num 30:3 *š<sup>c</sup>bū<sup>c</sup>â* "oath" and *ʾissār* "obligation" appear as par. expressions (Wagner no. 24; usually interpreted—without reason—as "vow of abstention"). The conditional vow, clearly described in the OT and also preferred in Israel's environment, links a specific action of the votive to a prior specific action of the deity: "If (*ʾim*) God . . . gives, then I will . . ." (on this form, which reflects the essence of the conditional vow, cf. W. Richter, *BZ NS* 11 [1967]: 22–31).

Once spoken, a vow "counts" (*qûm*, Num 30:5ff.), and must be fundamentally fulfilled, i.e., the debt of the votive must be "paid" (*šlm* pi./pu., about 20x with the obj. *neder*; cf. in Pun., e.g., *KAI* no. 115). It is never stated that the conditional vow is valid only if Yahweh "hears" the request of the votive (→ *šm<sup>c</sup>*, Num 21:2f.; Psa 61:6; cf. 65:2f.): the texts do not envision at all the possibility that God may not "hear." The expression *pl<sup>p</sup>* pi./hi. *neder*, common in Lev and Num (Lev 22:21; 27:2; Num 6:2; 15:3, 8) may indicate the obligatory nature of the vow if the relevant supposition proves true that the sense of the expression is "to make a vow effective," i.e., to declare it valid and thereby to obligate oneself to fulfill it (cf. H. J. Stoebe, *TZ* 28 [1972]: 15f.). The vow or its fulfillment is "laid upon" the votive (*ʿal*, Num 30:5, 7, 9; Psa 56:13); nevertheless, according to Num 30, under some circumstances a vow made by a woman can be voided, i.e., made ineffective, by her father or husband. The vow is holy; to "break" (*pr<sup>r</sup>* hi., Num 30:9) a vow is consequently to "profane it" (*ḥll* hi., Num 30:3). God "demands" (*drš*, Deut 23:22; cf. Eccl 5:5) an unfulfilled vow and condemns it as a religious transgression (*ḥēf<sup>ʿ</sup>*, Deut 23:22).

The promise inherent in the vow is always of a religious, cultic nature (dedication of people, sacrifice). Consequently, the root *ndr* appears with terms like "offering" (*qorbān*, Num 6:21), "gift" (*mattānâ*, Lev 23:38), "freewill offering" (*n<sup>c</sup>dābâ*, Lev 7:16; 22:18, 21, 23; Deut 12:6; 23:24, etc.), "offering" (*minḥâ*, Isa 19:21), "(slaughtered) sacrifice" (1 Sam 1:21; Isa 19:21; Jonah

1:16; 2:10; Prov 7:14, etc.), “burnt offering” (Deut 12:6; Psa 66:13), “thanksgiving sacrifice” (*tôdâ*, Psa 50:14; 56:13), “tithe” (Deut 12:6), but also “praise” (*tehilla*®, Psa 22:26; 65:2) and “festival” (*ḥag*, Nah 2:1).

In most cases, the vow should be defined simply as “a freewill offering in fulfillment of a promise.” Israelites offered such sacrifices to foreign gods (Jer 44:25) and foreigners to the Israelite God (Jonah 1:16; cf. Isa 19:21).

4. The few narratives dealing with vows suggest that the conditional vow was formulated in a situation of need, e.g., childlessness (1 Sam 1:11; cf. also perhaps Prov 31:2; similarly in Ug. Krt = *KTU* 1.14), war (Num 21:1–3; Judg 11:30), the ban (2 Sam 15:7f.), and on journeys (Gen 28:20). The votive “requests” (*šʾl*, 1 Sam 1:27; cf. v 11) assistance from God, i.e., that he may “give” (*ntn*; cf. Gen 28:20; Num 21:2; Judg 11:30) what is necessary; in return, the votive promises a particular offering. Modes of thought and action manifest in these procedures are never criticized, not even when the votive vows a person to God (Num 21; Judg 11; cf. 1 Sam 1).

The unconditional vow may have been made in thanks for benevolence (probably 1 Sam 1:21 and Jonah 1:16) or in religious zeal (cf. Psa 132:2): in high emotion one promised to bring God a particular offering on a specific occasion (e.g., on the annual family sacrificial festival, 1 Sam 1:21).

The Psa reflect both types of vow. Psa 66:13f. clearly refers to distress that motivated the worshiper to make a vow, and one can observe similar phenomena in the songs of thanksgiving in Jonah 2:10; Psa 65:2; 116:14, 18. One can also assume distress as the background for vows mentioned in the hymnic conclusions of songs of lament (Psa 22:26; 56:13; 61:6, 9). In all these cases one may certainly assume conditional vows whose fulfillment occurs in public cultic assemblies as confessions of the helping God. In contrast, the call for everyone to perform vows in hymns, for example, seems to involve unconditional vows (Psa 76:12). The “prophetic” Psa 50:14 underscores the thanksgiving and praise character of all vows.

Deut (Deut 12:6, 17) and P (e.g., Lev 23:37f.; Num 29:39) mention the vow without elaboration as one type of sacrifice among many others. They seem concerned mostly with unconditional vows. The absolute need to perform a vow is often stressed (Num 30:3ff.; Deut 23:22–24); attention is also paid to the quality of the vow’s fulfillment (Lev 22:23; Deut 23:19; cf. Mal 1:14). The volitional nature of the vow is also underscored: it can be heard in the frequent parallelism “vows and freewill offerings” (*n<sup>e</sup>dādôt*, Deut 12:6, 17; 23:22–24; P uses only “freewill offering” in this combination: Lev 7:16; 22:18, 21, 23; 23:38; Num 15:3; 29:39) and is explicitly stated in

Deut 22:23. Yet the vow is more significant than the freewill offering since some animals may be offered as freewill offerings but not as vows (Lev 22:23). The practice of dedicating people presents special problems treated in Num 6 (Nazirite vows) and Lev 27 (redemption of a dedicated person through—presumably annual—monetary payments).

So-called wisdom thought assumes a reserved attitude toward vows. As an element of popular religion, i.e., as a spontaneous and often lightly made and soon-forgotten promise, vows must be questionable to the “wise.” Eccl 5:3f. makes this claim bluntly: the circumspect makes no vow whatsoever, and if one should happen to do so, then one at least makes the effort to redeem the promised vow. Prov 20:25 even censures the haste and thoughtlessness with which some people make vows (cf. Jephthah). Indeed, the attribution of vows to the seductive and dangerous “strange woman” in Prov 7:14 characterizes the attitude of the wise.

5. The LXX almost always translates the word group with *euchomai/euchē*, yet Jer 44(LXX 51):25 and Lev 22:18 translate with *homologia* and *homologeîn*, resp., which is thoroughly consistent with the function of a vow.

Qumran also underscores the volitional nature of the vow and simultaneously prohibits vowing illegitimate property to the sanctuary (CD 16:13). CD 6:15 warns against retaining illegitimate property as the result of an unfulfilled vow.

On the vow in Judaism and in the NT, cf. I. Gold, “Das Gelübde nach Bibel und Talmud” (diss., Würzburg, 1925); A. Wendel, *Das israelitisch-jüdische Gelübde* (1931); StrB 2:80–88, 747–51, 755–61; H. Greeven, “εὐχομαι,” *TDNT* 2:775–78.

C. A. Keller

## נָחַ *nûaḥ* to rest

S 5117; BDB 628a; *HALOT* 2:679a; *ThWAT* 5:297–307; *TWOT* 1323; *NIDOTTE* 5663

1. The root *\*nūḥ* “to rest” is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 216f.); it can be used, for the most part, in reference to both bodily and psychic states of rest.

The two chief meanings of the qal “to rest” and “to settle down” correspond to two formally distinct forms in the hi. (and ho.), hi. I *hēnîaḥ* “to cause to rest” and hi. II *hinnîaḥ* “to lay down” (BL 400; Joüon §80p). Nom.

derivatives are *mānôah*/*m<sup>c</sup>nûhâ* “resting places” and the substantivized inf. *naḥat* “rest” (qal inf. fem.), *nîḥôah* “quieting” (po. inf., BL 475; also Bibl. Aram. as a Hebr. loanword), and *h<sup>a</sup>nāhâ* “tax exemption” (Aram. ha. inf., BL 486). The PNs *nôah* (M. Noth, *VT* 1 [1951]: 254–57; J. H. Marks, *IDB* 3:555f. with bibliog.), *nôhâ*, *naḥat*, *mānôah*, *mānaḥat*, and *yānôah* (somewhat differently, *IP* 228f.; cf. Huffmon 237) also occur.

2. The verb occurs 144x, specifically qal 35x (incl. 2 Sam 17:12 [*naḥnû* not “we,” but 1st pl. pf. “to pounce on,” par. *npl* “to fall”; cf. S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* [19132], 323]; Isa 7:2 [cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 283; contra e.g., O. Eissfeldt, *STU* 20 (1950): 71–74 = *KS* (1966), 3:124–28; KBL 606a; *HAL* 30a, → *ʾāh* 1; L. Delekat, *VT* 8 (1958): 237–40; H. Donner, *SVT* 11 (1964): 8; Lis. 914b lists it under *nḥh*]; Esth 9:17f. [inf. abs. like v 16 txt? cf. A. Rubinstein, *VT* 2 (1952): 363]; 2 Chron 6:41 [inf. cs. with suf., cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 214f.]), hi. I 33x, hi. II 71x, ho. I 1x, ho. II 4x. The following derivatives are attested: *mānôah* 7x, *m<sup>c</sup>nûhâ* 21x, *naḥat* 7x (excl. Isa 30:30, from the root *nḥt* “to descend,” Wagner no. 188), *nîḥôah* 43x (always in the phrase *rēah nîḥôah* “pleasing odor,” 38x in Exod–Num, 4x in Ezek, 1x in Gen), Aram. 2x (Dan 2:46 and Ezra 6:10 “incense offering”), *h<sup>a</sup>nāhâ* 1x (Esth 2:18 “tax exemption”; cf. Bardtke, *KAT* 17/5, 307f.).

3. (a) The qal verb primarily signifies “to settle down” (said of the ark, Gen 8:4; of the ark of the covenant, Num 10:36, antonym *ns<sup>c</sup>* “to set out,” v 35). It refers to flying animals (Exod 10:14; 2 Sam 21:10; Isa 7:19) and somewhat differently to people or their feet (“to touch the ground,” Josh 3:13). “To set upon, pounce on” aggressively is intended in 2 Sam 17:12 and Isa 7:2 (see 2).

The term also refers to abstract concepts: “wisdom” or a “moodiness” settle on the heart of the wise or the fool, resp. (Prov 14:33; Eccl 7:9); Yahweh’s hand will one day rest on Mt. Zion (Isa 25:10; cf. Psa 125:3 “scepter of godlessness”); the Spirit of Yahweh rests on the elders (Num 11:25f.), on the prophet (2 Kgs 2:15), and on the king (Isa 11:2).

In the more comprehensive sense, the word means “to have rest”; pars. include *šqt* “to rest” (Isa 14:7; Job 3:13, 26), *yšn* “to sleep,” and *škb* “to lie down” (Job 3:13; cf. Isa 57:2), *šlh* “to have rest” (Job 3:26); *rgz* “to be disturbed” is an antonym (Job 3:17, 26). This “rest” can have various nuances: the deceased has come into rest (Job 3:17; Prov 21:16; *nûah* in Dan 12:13 refers esp. to the interim state of the dead, who await resurrection). *nûah* can also describe rest from work on the Sabbath (→ *šbt*, Exod 20:11; 23:12; Deut 5:14; contra G. R. Berry, *JBL* 50 [1931]: 207–10); finally, the term can refer to the status of those who, not threatened by their enemies, can enjoy peace (Isa 23:12; Esth 9:16 [txt?], 22; Neh 9:28).

One can translate 1 Sam 25:9 “to wait,” also probably Hab 3:16 “to wait persistently” (J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit* [1970], 87n.2, against textual emendation and the assumption of a by-form of *נח* “to mourn,” *nûah* II, proposed by G. R. Driver, *JTS* 34 [1933]: 377, and KBL 602b).

(b) The hi. I means (causatively) “to cause to rest, sink,” e.g., “to cause the hands to sink” (Exod 17:11, antonym *rûm* hi. “to raise”), “to cause a staff to come down on” (Isa 30:32), “to place a blessing on a house” (Ezek 44:30; cf. Psa 125:3 txt em).

It can also mean “to bring something into a state of rest” in the broadest sense: in conjunction with  $\rightarrow$  *ḥēmâ*, it means “to give wrath free rein” (Ezek 5:13 par. *klh* “to have full effect” with subj. *ʔap* “wrath”; 16:42; 21:22; 24:13; in Zech with *rûah* instead of *ḥēmâ*). People can also be the obj. of *nûah* hi., e.g., Prov 29:17 “to refresh” par. “to occasion joy”; for other texts, see 4a.

(c) The hi. II can be rendered by the meanings “to bring, lay down, leave.” Objs. include people (Gen 2:15; 19:16, etc.) or things (Gen 39:16; Exod 16:23, etc.). The expression *hinnâh lāʔāreš* “to strike down” has a specialized meaning (Isa 28:2; Amos 5:7). The ho. II ptc. signifies “that which is set free,” “free room” (Ezek 41:9, 11[bis]; a hi. should be read in Zech 5:11).

(d) The derivatives *mānôah* and *m<sup>c</sup>nûhâ* usually mean “resting place, stopping place” and, more generally, “rest, calm” (cf. also Phoen. and Old Aram. *nht* “rest, peace,” *DISO* 177; Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 87; M. Metzger [*UF* 2 (1970): 153f., 157f.] points to the relationship between throne and *m<sup>c</sup>nûhâ* in Isa 66:1; Psa 132:8, 14; 1 Chron 28:2; perhaps Isa 11:10; cf. Ug. *nht* “rest[ing place]”; cf. J. C. de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʕlu* [1971], 120). Passages in which the expressions connote encouragement deserve mention. Ruth 3:1 (cf. 1:9) offers insight on this usage: here *mānôah* means “home” in all aspects, reflecting a sense of well-being, *yṯb qal*. The temple and related spheres of Yahweh worship are the “resting place” of the soul (Psa 116:7; cf. 23:2). Finally, the conquest also appears under the notion of *m<sup>c</sup>nûhâ*, implying a comprehensive relationship of well-being between God and people in this context (Deut 12:9; Psa 95:11; see 4a).

4. (a) In many cases, Yahweh creates rest for his people (cf. G. von Rad, “There Remains Still a Rest for the People of God,” *PHOE* 94–102; G. Braulik, “Menuchah—Die Ruhe Gottes und des Volkes im Lande,” *Bibel und Kirche* 23 [1968]: 75–78). This statement often occurs in relation to the (usually Dtr shaped) speeches concerning the conquest of Palestine (*nûah*

hi. I: Exod 33:14; Deut 3:20; 12:10; 25:19; Josh 1:13, 15; 21:44; 22:4; 23:1; Isa 63:14; *m<sup>c</sup>nûḥâ*. Deut 12:9; Psa 95:11). This “creation of rest” through the bestowal of the land implicitly includes the grant of victory over Israel’s enemies; after Israel possesses the land, this element assumes the foreground in Dtr theological formulation: Yahweh creates rest from enemies (hi.: 2 Sam 7:1, 11; 1 Kgs 5:18; 1 Chron 22:9, 18; 23:25; 2 Chron 14:5f.; 15:15; 20:30; *m<sup>c</sup>nûḥâ*. 1 Kgs 8:56; 1 Chron 22:9; cf. Lam 5:5 ho., negated). Yet this formulation does not refer merely to an external political well-being but to a complete, life-encompassing state of well-being. The notion is also used eschatologically (Isa 14:3, hi.; cf. 32:18 “undisturbed resting places” [*m<sup>c</sup>nûḥōt ša<sup>ʾ</sup>nannôt*] par. “pastures of well-being, safe dwellings”).

But Yahweh also commands people “to create rest for the weary” (Isa 28:12 hi. and *m<sup>c</sup>nûḥâ*, par. *margēʿâ* “resting place” [only here; cf. also *margôa<sup>c</sup>* in the same meaning, Jer 6:16]); this statement is not related to the Dtr notion discussed but arises from prophetic interests for social justice.

(b) The phrase *rēaḥ nîḥôaḥ* expresses a specific cultic concept: a “pleasing aroma” arises from the sacrifice to the deity, setting the relationship between people and God in order; the antiquity of the concept is self-evident (feeding God through the aroma). The expression occurs in Gen 8:21 (J) but is already attested in pre-Israelite flood traditions (Akk. *erīšu* “aroma” in Gilg. XI:159f.). Elsewhere, the formula occurs primarily in priestly law in relation to various types of offerings (Exod 29:18, 25, 41; Lev 1:9, etc.; cf. Elliger, HAT 4, 35f.). Ezekiel accuses his fellow-citizens of offering such “pleasing aromas” to foreign gods (Ezek 6:13; 16:19; 20:28), but he expects a time in which Yahweh will again receive legitimate sacrifice (20:41).

5. The theme of the rest created by God has echoes in the NT, esp. in Matt 11:28f. and Hebr 4 (cf. *PHOE* 99–102; O. Bauernfeind, “ἀναπαύω,” *TDNT* 1:350f.; id., “καταπαύω,” *TDNT* 3:627f.).

F. Stolz

## נִסַּח *nûs* to flee

S 5127; BDB 630b; *HALOT* 2:681b; *ThWAT* 5:307–15; *TWOT* 1327; *NIDOTTE* 5674

## ברח *brḥ* to flee

S 1272; BDB 137b; HALOT 1:156a; TDOT 2:249–53; TWOT 284; NIDOTTE 1368

1. Sem. languages do not use one particular verb for the notion “to flee” (e.g., Akk. *nābutu* [AHW 700b]; Old Aram. *qrq* [DISO 266], later *ʿrq* [Fitzmyer, *Gen. Ap.* 237a; Dalman 325a; LS 550a], Arab. *farra/haraba* [Wehr 701b, 1025]). The equivalents of Hebr. *nûs* “to flee” cited in the lexicons diverge either in meaning (Syr. *nās* “to quake” [rare], LS 421a; Arab. *nāsa* “to hang, dangle,” Wehr 1010b) or in form (Arab. *nāṣa* “to avoid, flee,” Wehr 1010a). The closest etymological equivalent is Old Aram. *nûs* ha. “to drag away” (KAI no. 202B.20; 225.6; 226.8f.; DISO 68; cf. Hebr. *nûs* hi. “to flee with something”). To date, no certain Ug. occurrences have been identified (cf. CML 1 157a; CML 2 153a; WUS no. 1798; UT no. 1660).

Besides the qal, a po. (Isa 59:19 “to drive, hunt”) and a hi. (Deut 32:30 “to force to flee”; cf. 1QM 3:5; Exod 9:20, and Judg 6:11 “to bring something into safety”; cf. Judg 7:21 K and Jer 48:44 K) derive from Hebr. *nûs*. The noms. *mānôš* “refuge” (Jer 46:5 txt? “flight”) and *m<sup>e</sup>nûsâ* “flight” (BL 493) derive from the same stem.

2. Of 159 occurrences of the verb, 155 are qal (chiefly in the historical books: 2 Sam 16x, Josh and Jer 13x each, Judg, 1 Sam, and Isa 12x each, 2 Kgs 11x, Deut 9x, Num, and 1 Chron 8x each, Gen 7x, and 1 Kgs 6x), 1 is po., and 3 are hi. (see 1). *mānôš* occurs 8x (Jer 3x), *m<sup>e</sup>nûsâ* 2x (Lev 26:36; Isa 52:12).

3. (a) *nûs* has a limited range of meaning. It is used for “to remove oneself quickly from a region of danger,” thus “to avoid, flee.” Subjs. are usually people; fig., however, also the sea (Psa 114:3, 5), water (Nah 2:9; Psa 104:7), shadows (Song Sol 2:17; 4:6), pain and suffering (Isa 35:10 = 51:11), and vitality (Deut 34:7). The appropriate preps. usually indicate what one flees (enemies, e.g., Exod 14:25; animals, Exod 4:3; Amos 5:19; all types of danger, e.g., Gen 19:20; 39:12f., 15, 18; God’s reprimand, Psa 104:7 par. *hpz* ni. “to flee in fright”), and where one flees (the cities of refuge for the killer; see 4c).

\*(b) The semantically related verb *brḥ* (qal 59x, Gen 9x, 1 Sam 8x, 2 Sam and 1 Kgs 6x each; translated in Exod 36:33 “to slide,” otherwise usually “to flee”; hi. 6x, Exod 26:28 “to slide,” otherwise “to drive away”; for divergent interpretations of individual passages, cf. HAL 149b; CPT 323) can be distinguished from *nûs* quite easily. While *nûs* indicates flight from danger (esp. in battle), *brḥ* refers to avoidance of appropriate relationships (status, marriage, governmental district), in order to continue life elsewhere

as a refugee and emigrant (e.g., Gen 16:6, 8, Hagar; 27:43, etc. Jacob; Exod 2:15, Moses; 1 Sam 19:12, 18, etc., David; Amos 7:12, Amos; Jonah 1:3, 10; 4:2, Jonah; 2 Sam 4:3 “the Beerothites, however, emigrated to Gittaim and have remained there to this day”). Only a few passages refer to a fight, e.g., Job 20:24; 27:22. The distinction in relation to *nûs* is mitigated only in fig. usages (Job 9:25, days flee away; 14:2, people disappear like shadows). Judg 9:21 uses the two verbs in sequence: after his speech Jotham flees (*nûs*) from immediate danger and emigrates (*brḥ*) to Beer, beyond the territory of his brother Abimelech. Moses avoids the region Pharaoh controls (Exod 2:15 *brḥ*), but he flees the serpent (Exod 4:3 *nûs*).

On *mibrāḥ* “fugitive” (Ezek 17:21 txt?), cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:358. On *bārīḥ* “fleeing, agile, fast,” an epithet for Leviathan (Isa 27:1; Job 26:13; in Ug. *KTU* 1.5.I.1), cf. *HAL* 149b; Fohrer, *KAT* 16, 382f.; H. Donner, *ZAW* 79 (1967): 339; P. J. van Zijl, *Baal* (1972), 158.

*ndd* is another verb meaning “to flee” with counterparts in Ug., Aram., and Arab. (cf. *WUS* no. 1755; *KBL* 596, 1098b; qal 21x, 8x Isa; po. “to flee,” Nah 3:17; hi. “to drive away,” Job 18:18; ho. “to be banished,” 2 Sam 23:6; Job 20:8; subst. *n<sup>c</sup>dūdîm* “restlessness,” Job 7:4). It often refers to birds (Isa 16:2; Jer 4:25; 9:9; Isa 10:14 “to beat the wings”; Nah 3:17 po., locusts) and denotes rapid movement, dispersal, and banishment. Except for the fig. use with the subj. “sleep” (Gen 31:40 “sleep fled from my eyes”; Esth 6:1; Bibl. Aram., Dan 6:19), the verb occurs only in poetic texts. In addition to *ndd*, Bibl. Aram. also has *nûd* “to flee” (Dan 4:11, of animals and birds). Cf. also *mlt* ni. “to escape” (→ *plṭ* 3b).

4. (a) *nûs* found no developed theological usage in the OT. Since the verb predominantly occurs in contexts involving war, mention should first be made of the Yahweh war in which the enemy must flee before Israel because Yahweh is the actual combatant in these wars (Exod 14:25 “Let us flee from the Israelites, for Yahweh is fighting for them against Egypt”; Josh 10:11 “and when in their flight from Israel they came to the cliff of Beth-horon, Yahweh caused great stones to fall on them from heaven all the way to Azekah”; Judg 1:6; 4:15; 7:21f.; 1 Sam 14:22, etc.; cf. G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* [1991]; R. Smend, *Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation* [1970]). But Israel must also flee before its enemies when Yahweh refrains from helping because of violation of the ban (Josh 7:4); and in the amphictyonic war, Benjamin flees before the members of the tribal league (Judg 20:45, 47).

From its origins in the Yahweh war, flight language became associated with the concept of the day of Yahweh (cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 2:119–25; R. Martin-Achard, *BHH* 3:1923–25; → *yôm* 4b), but now

Yahweh's sword is directed against his people—the general flight extends to each individual (Amos 2:16; 5:19; 9:1). In later times the enemy must flee again in the traditional sense (Isa 13:14), a notion particularly emphasized in oracles against the nations in Jer 46–51; of 13 occurrences within this section (it does not occur in the rest of Jer), 4 appear in the so-called call to flight (cf. R. Bach, *Die Aufforderung zur Flucht und zum Kampf im atl. Prophetenspruch* [1962], 15–50). In these calls, which always contain several impvs., *nûs* appears together with *nûd* “to become homeless” (49:30; cf. 50:8), *mlt* pi. *ncpeš* “to save one's life” (48:6), *mlt* ni. “to save oneself” (51:6; cf. Zech 2:10f.), and *pnh* ho. “to turn away” (Jer 49:8).

(b) *nûs* belongs also to legal diction. In particular, after Israel came to distinguish between murder and homicide, the perpetrator of a homicide was afforded the option of flight to a city of refuge (Exod 21:13; Num 35:6ff.; Deut 4:42; 19:3–5, 11; Josh 20:3f., 6, 9; cf. 1 Kgs 2:28f.; N. M. Nicolsky, “Das Asylrecht in Israel,” *ZAW* 48 [1930]: 146–75; M. Löhr, *Das Asylwesen im AT* [1930]).

\*(c) The notion of flight to God occurs in texts that describe Yahweh as *mānôš* “refuge” (2 Sam 22:3; Jer 16:19; Psa 59:17); more common and more specific, however, are *maḥsch* and *mā'ôz* “refuge” (→ *ḥsh*, → *ûz*). Flight from God in the sense of disobedience is not expressed with *nûs* “to flee danger” but with *brḥ* “to flee (from a region of control)” (Jonah 1:3, 10; 4:2; Psa 139:7 “where can I flee from your presence?”) or *ndd* (Hos 7:13 “woe to those who have turned away from me,” par. *pšc* “to fall away”).

5. Qumran literature rarely uses the verbs *nûs* and *brḥ*; *mānôš* occurs somewhat more frequently (Kuhn, *Konk.* 36b, 126a, 142a). The LXX translates *nûd* chiefly with *pheugein*, *brḥ* also with *apodidaskein*. In the NT the meaning of *pheugein* foreshadowed in e.g., Sir 21:2, “to avoid, shy away from,” has been applied to the ethical realm (1 Cor 6:18; 10:14; 1 Tim 6:11; 2 Tim 2:22).

S. Schwertner

## נָזִיר *nāzîr* consecrated person

S 5139; BDB 634b; *HALOT* 2:683b; *ThWAT* 5:329–34; *TWOT* 1340b; *NIDOTTE* 5687

1. The root *nzr* (*\*ndr*) is common Sem. (P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/20 [1965]: 250, 262; on the relationship to → *ndr* see *ibid.* 267). It occurs in

Akk. in the meaning “to curse” (*nazzāru*), in WSem. in the meaning “to vow” (Old Aram. *nzr*, *KAI* no. 201.4; Arab. *ndr*, Wehr 953; otherwise → *ndr*). The basic meaning may be “to withhold from wonted use” (KBL 605a).

Hebr. exhibits the ni. and hi. of the verb and the substs. *nēzer* and *nāzîr*.

2. *nzr* ni. occurs 4x (“to consecrate oneself [through abstention],” Ezek 14:7; Hos 9:10; Zech 7:3; “to prove cautious,” Lev 22:2), *nzr* hi. 6x (“to consecrate oneself as a *nāzîr*,” Num 6:2f., 5f., 12; on Lev 15:31 txt? cf. Elliger, HAT 4, 192; contra L. Kopf, VT 8 [1958]: 183; G. Rinaldi, BeO 9 [1967]: 95). *nāzîr* occurs 16x in the OT (6x in Num 6 alone, also Gen 49:26; Lev 25:5, 11; Deut 33:16; Judg 13:5, 7; 16:17; Amos 2:11f.; Lam 4:7), *nēzer* 25x (in the meaning “consecration” 15x, 13x in Num 6; in the meaning “diadem” 10x).

3. *nāzîr* referred originally to something removed from everyday life, elevated above the customary and set aside for something special, dedicated. The old blessings in Gen 49:26 and Deut 33:16 describe Joseph as *nāzîr*, hence as one who assumes a special, extraordinary position “among his brothers” (cf. also Lam 4:7, if one does not prefer to emend the text; cf. Kraus, BK 20, 67).

This usage provides the basis for understanding the fig. use of *nāzîr* in Lev 25:5, 11 to indicate the “untended and unpruned vine”: it is the vine removed (in the Sabbath and Jubilee year) from normal usage (Noth, Lev, OTL, 186). The context (v 4) makes clear that the meaning and purpose of this removal lies in the fact that it is set aside, consecrated, “for Yahweh.”

4. (a) Already in Israel’s early period people were designated *n<sup>e</sup>zîr<sup>im</sup>* *lōhîm* “dedicated to God,” e.g., Samson (Judg 13:5, 7; 16:17; cf. Eichrodt 1:303–6; von Rad, *Theol.* 1:62f.; G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* [1972], 153).

The word field is characterized by expressions like “from the womb on” (Judg 13:5, 7; 16:17; i.e., lifelong consecration; cf. 13:7 “until the day of his death”), as well as by prohibitions like “drink no wine nor strong drink” (13:7; cf. vv 4, 14) and “no razor shall touch his head” (13:5; cf. 16:17). The same word field, though without the term *nāzîr*, occurs in 1 Sam 1:11.

Amos accuses his contemporaries of giving the *n<sup>e</sup>zîr<sup>im</sup>* wine to drink (Amos 2:11f.), a violation of an ancient commandment of Yahweh. In Amos 2:11f. the *n<sup>e</sup>zîr<sup>im</sup>* parallel the *n<sup>e</sup>bi<sup>im</sup>* “prophets,” suggesting both the significance of the *n<sup>e</sup>zîr<sup>im</sup>* and the magnitude of Israel’s guilt.

(b) Occurrences of the root *nzr* are concentrated in Num 6. In contrast to Judg 13, *nāzîr* status here is not lifelong but continues only for a specific period of abstention, a period determined by the *nāzîr*’s vow.

The two major prohibitions of Judg 13 (against wine and the razor) recur here, though sharpened by a series of supplementary regulations in addition to the prohibition against pollution through contact with a corpse. Regulations governing abstention to which the *nāzîr* subscribes assume such prominence that the segholate form *nēzer*, “consecration,” can assume the meaning “abstinence” (the essence of consecration lies in abstinence according to Num 6). The same expansion of meaning may also be observed in the 5 occurrences of the verb (all hi.) in Num 6: the *nāzîr* should “abstain” from specific things in order to worship Yahweh (*leyhwh*: vv 2, 5f., 12).

Conversely, *nēzer* can also be used in a limited sense to indicate only the hair that the devotee has not cut during the period of consecration (Num 6:12b, 19; in conjunction with *rōš* “head,” vv 9, 18; in Jer 7:29 *nēzer* has the weakened meaning “hair, hair of the head”).

(c) *nēzer* can also be a sign borne by the one whose head is dedicated, thus a diadem. But no *nāzîr* is said to have worn a *nēzer*. At first, the kings wore a diadem to signify their extraordinary status in comparison to normal people: 2 Sam 1:10; 2 Kgs 11:12 = 2 Chron 23:11; Psa 89:40; 132:18 (cf. the basic meaning of *nzr*; cf. *BRL* 125–28; on the original meaning of *nēzer*, cf. Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 225f. on Exod 28:36–38). In 2 Kgs 11:12 = 2 Chron 23:11, *nēzer* often parallels *ēdūt*, at his enthronement the king received both diadem and “royal protocol” (von Rad, “Royal Ritual in Judah,” *PHOE* 222–31).

After the end of the monarchy in Israel *nēzer* occasionally designated the headdress of the high priest: Exod 29:6; 39:30; Lev 8:9.

In 3 texts the term appears in conjunction with a modifier as *nēzer haqqōdeš* “holy diadem,” an even greater emphasis on consecration.

In Exod 39:30 and Lev 8:9 *nēzer haqqōdeš* occurs as an explication of the preceding term *šîš* “blossom”; in Exod 28:36 *šîš* occurs without the explanatory *nēzer* (the verb *šîš* “to blossom” also occurs in conjunction with *nēzer* in Psa 132:18). This phenomenon supports the conclusion drawn by Noth (*Exod*, OTL, 225) regarding Exod 28:36: *nēzer* does not mean “diadem” but “only ‘consecrated,’ ‘consecration’ and is in fact a ‘flower.’ This is particularly clear in Ps. 132:18.”

The inscription of the *šîš* (Exod 28:36) or *nēzer* (39:30) reads: *qōdeš l'yhwh* “holy to Yahweh.” As in Judg 13 and Num 6, this phrase expresses the theological element of “consecration.”

The term *āṭārâ* “wreath, crown” (23x) that occurs in a similar meaning is not used solely to designate the royal diadem (Psa 21:4) but also in the much broader sense of a piece of jewelry (e.g., Ezek 16:12; 23:42; Prov 4:9) or in a fig. usage (Isa 62:3; Prov

16:31).

(d) Interestingly, prophecy uses the verb *nzr* ni. to describe Israel's devotion to strange gods (other than Yahweh): "they dedicated themselves to shame" (Hos 9:10); "every one who is consecrated to others and adheres to idols" (Ezek 14:7).

5. A NT counterpart for the OT *nāzîr* occurs in Acts 21:23f., here too in conjunction with the motif of cutting the hair. The term *euchē* "vow" and the fact that this text refers to a temporally limited Nazirite indicate that Acts 21:23f. continues the tradition of Num 6 (cf. H. Greeven, "εὐχόμεαι" *TDNT* 2:777; G. Dellling, "Nasiräer," *BHH* 2:1288f. with bibliog.).

J. Kühlewein

### נָהַח *nḥh* to lead

S 5148; BDB 634b; *HALOT* 2:685a; *ThWAT* 5:334–42; *TWOT* 1341; *NIDOTTE* 5697

1. Hebr. *nḥh* qal/hi. "to lead, guide" can be compared with Arab. *naḥā* "to wend one's way, . . . turn, go in the direction" (Wehr 948a) and Old SArab. *mnḥy* "in the direction of" (Conti Rossini 186a; W. W. Müller, "Die Wurzeln mediae und tertiae y/w im Altsüdarabischen" [diss., Tübingen, 1962], 104). Less likely is J. F. A. Sawyer's (*Semantics in Biblical Research* [1972], 39) suggested consideration of *nḥh* as a by-form of *nûaḥ*; in several passages a form of → *nûaḥ* hi. should be read despite the pointing (1 Sam 22:4; 1 Kgs 10:26; cf. 2 Chron 9:25; 2 Kgs 18:11; Isa 57:18; Psa 61:3; cf. the comms. and KBL 606a, etc.).

The verb occurs in the qal (pf. and impf.) and in the hi. (pf. only in Gen 24:48 and Neh 9:12, otherwise inf. and impf.; cf. Joüon §85b); the distinction in meaning is difficult to express in translation (cf. *HP* 255). No derivatives or PNs derive from the root.

2. Of the 30 occurrences of the verb (qal 11x [excl. Exod 13:21; Neh 9:19, which should be listed under hi. in Lis. 914, and Isa 7:2; → *nûaḥ* ]; hi. 28x), 18 appear in Psa (qal 6x, hi. 12x), 4 in Exod (3x qal, 1x hi.), and 3 each in Job and Prov (all hi.).

3. Truly nontheological contexts only rarely use the verb *nḥh* "to lead, guide," esp. if one accepts the emendations mentioned above (in the Balaam oracle in Num 23:7 "Balak led me here from Aram"; Prov 18:16 "One's gift opens doors and gains access to the mighty"). An origin in the

language of shepherds, as can be assumed for *nhg* and *nhl* (see below), is not certain given the rather general meaning of the root in S<sup>Sem.</sup>, although the verb often occurs in this sense in the context of the application of the shepherd image to Yahweh (Psa 23:3 par. *nhl* pi. v 2; 31:4 par. *nhl* pi.; 77:21 “like a flock”; 78:72 par. → *rʿh* “to pasture”; cf. the antonym → *tʿh* hi. “to lead astray,” Jer 50:6).

Synonyms beside → *hlk* hi. “to guide” and other causatives of motion verbs include primarily *nhg* qal/pi. “to drive, lead, guide” (qal 20x, pi. 10x; *minhāg* “manner of driving,” 2 Kgs 9:20[bis]) and *nhl* pi. “to lead, escort, transport, bring through” (pi. 9x; hitp. “to continue on,” Gen 33:14; *nahʾlōl* “watering place,” Isa 7:19 and as a place-name). Both may have originated in shepherding (cf. Arab. *manhal* “watering place”) but also became common both in the proper and in the fig. usages in other spheres; like *nḥh* both often refer to God’s guidance and direction (see 4; *nhg* pi. par. *nhl* pi. in Isa 49:10).

4. Although the concept of God’s guidance is deeply rooted in Israelite faith from the patriarchal religion and the exodus and wilderness traditions to the novelistic layers dealing with guidance in the Joseph narratives and in the book of Ruth (von Rad, *Theol.* 1:172–75, 280–85), neither *nḥh* nor any other related verb developed into a theological term. OT texts exhibit no formulaic usages of *nḥh*; expressions that speak of Yahweh as a shepherd (→ *rʿh*) who leads his people or individuals reflect contemporary piety that expresses Israel’s confidence in its God with ever-new variations (J. Jeremias, *TDNT* 6:487).

Several texts refer to guidance during the exodus from Egypt and in the wilderness wandering, sometimes mentioning the pillar of cloud by which Yahweh led the people (→ *ʿānān*): Exod 13:17, 21; 15:13 par. *nhl* pi.; 32:34 through Moses; Deut 32:12; Psa 78:14, 53 par. *nhg* pi. v 52; Neh 9:12, 19. Gen 24:27, 48 attest to the wondrous guidance of an individual. The promise of future guidance occurs in Isa 57:18 and 58:11; the majority of examples occur in the piety of the Psa (Psa 5:9; 23:3; 27:11; 31:4 par. *nhl* pi.; 43:3 par. → *bōʿ* hi. “to bring”; 60:11 = 108:11; 61:3 txt?; 73:24; 78:72 par. *rʿh*; 107:30; 139:10 txt?, 24; 143:10; with a universal expansion in 67:5 “and leads the nations upon earth”; cf. Job 12:23 txt?; on Job 31:18 cf. Fohrer, *KAT* 16, 424f.); Prov 6:22 and 11:3 exhibit wisdom ideas.

The verb *nhg* can also refer to “driving” in a punitive sense (qal, Lam 3:2; pi., Deut 4:27; 28:37); Psa 80:2 (qal); Isa 49:10; 63:14; Psa 48:15; 78:26, 52 (pi.) speak of God’s gracious guidance of his people. *nhl* pi. is used theologically in Exod 15:13; Isa 40:11; 49:10; Psa 23:2; 31:4.

5. Qumran attests *nḥh* once (1QS 9:18 “to lead them with insight”) in the available texts. The LXX translates predominantly with *hodēgein*, which

can have, in the NT as in the OT, a lit. sense (Matt 15:14 “if the blind lead the blind, however, both fall in a ditch”) and a fig. sense (John 16:13 “he will guide you into the whole truth”), but which exhibits more markedly than in the OT the fig. meaning “to direct, teach” (cf. W. Michaelis, “ὁδηγός,” *TDNT* 5:97–102).

E. Jenni

## נָחַל *nah<sup>a</sup>lâ* possession

S 5159; BDB 635a; *HALOT* 2:687b; *ThWAT* 5:342–60; *TWOT* 1342a; *NIDOTTE* 5709

1. The root *nḥl* is attested outside Hebr. in Ug., Phoen., Old SArab., and Arab.; it derives, then, from WSem. languages. It occurs in Akk. only within the Mari texts as a Can. loanword (*AHw* 712b; A. Malamat, *JAOS* 82 [1962]: 147–50).

The basic meaning of the root can be given only with reservation: “to receive/transfer property,” apparently excluding purchase transactions (see F. Horst, *FS Rudolph* 135–52, regarding ARM I:91; V:4; VIII:11–14; and *KAI* no. 3; yet cf. the various interpretations of *KAI* no. 3 in *KAI* 2:5; W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 73 [1939]: 9–13; J. Obermann, *JBL* 58 [1939]: 229–42).

From the root *nḥl* the OT forms the qal “to obtain something as a possession,” pi. “to make someone an owner,” hi. “to let someone have something as a possession,” ho. “to be made an owner,” and hitp. “to bring into one’s possession,” as well as the subst. *nah<sup>a</sup>lâ* “possession.”

2. The verb occurs 59x: qal 30x (Num 8x, Josh 5x, Prov 4x), pi. 4x (Josh 3x, Num 1x), hi. 17x (Deut 7x), ho. 1x (Job 7:3), hitp. 7x (Num 4x); *nah<sup>a</sup>lâ* occurs 222x (Josh 50x, Num 46x, Deut 25x, Psa 23x, Ezek 15x, Jer 12x). The root *nḥl* does not occur in Hos, Amos, Obad, Jonah, Nah, Hab, Hag, Song Sol, Esth, or Ezra.

3. The various meanings of the verb *nḥl* in the OT are influenced by the usage of the subst. *nah<sup>a</sup>lâ* and its association with other words. *nah<sup>a</sup>lâ* is essentially inalienable, thus enduring, property, esp. land, which devolves (*npl*) upon individuals or a group as a grant (→ *ntn*, → *lqh*, → *ḥlq*), as an inheritance (→ *ʿbr*), or through dispossession of the prior owner. *nah<sup>a</sup>lâ* properly implies an enduring claim to possession (→ *yrs*, → *ḥz*). *nah<sup>a</sup>lâ* is, however, also an apportionment (of property) insofar as one acquired it by grant or allotment and the claims of the collective to which

the individual belongs are still valid in some way. In an expanded usage *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* can refer to inheritance generally (conditioned on municipal circumstances; Prov 17:2; 19:14; 20:21; Lam 5:2; cf. Josh 14:13f.) as well as to enduring claims to subordinate persons or peoples (Josh 23:4; Psa 2:8, etc.). The fig. usage of *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* is largely determined by its relationship with the word *ḥēleq* “portion” (→ *ḥlq*) and includes a person’s fate (Job 20:29; 27:13; 31:2), a portion or participation in something (2 Sam 20:1; 1 Kgs 12:16), or something granted to a person (Psa 127:3).

The verbal usage of the root *nḥl* depicts various types of events involving *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* and, consequently, frequently replaces phrases involving *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* mentioned above. The qal means “to receive *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ*” and “to possess *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ*” (par. *ḥlq, ntn, yrš*), with land as the most common obj. (Exod 23:30; 32:13; Num 18:20, etc.), less often nations (Exod 34:9; Zeph 2:9; Psa 82:8) and other objs. like deceit, honor, wind, folly, goodness (Jer 16:19; Prov 3:35; 11:22; 14:18; 28:10). The pi. is factitive (*HP* 213) “to grant *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ*,” “to make someone an owner of *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ*” (in reference to real property). The hi. is usually accompanied by a double acc., “to give someone something as *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ*” (here, too, *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* property is often land; otherwise only in 1 Sam 2:8; Zech 8:12; Prov 8:21 and, for the ho., Job 7:3). The hitp. has the reflexive meaning “to take possession of something as *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* property” (land or slaves, Lev 25:46; Isa 14:2).

Depending on which of the many aspects implicit in the *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* concept one emphasizes, quite distinct translation options present themselves, e.g., “to possess, grant, inherit, have a portion.” The spectrum of meaning of Hebr. *nḥl* has no counterpart in the other Sem. languages due to the limited number of occurrences. They underscore, however, various emphases of the Hebr. word, such as Akk. and Old SArab. “real property” and Ug. “inheritance” and “inherited goods.”

On the root as a whole, cf. esp. F. Horst, *FS Rudolph* 135–56; on 4a–c, also J. Herrmann, *TDNT* 3:769–76; von Rad, “Promised Land and Yahweh’s Land in the Hexateuch,” *PHOE* 79–93; H. Wildberger, *EvT* 16 (1956): 404–22; F. Dreyfus, *RSPT* 42 (1958): 3–49; H. Langkammer, *Bibel und Leben* 8 (1967): 157–65.

4. (a) The root *nḥl* acquires theological significance—esp. in its nom. form—in its usage to characterize Israel’s possession of the land based on the hexateuchal traditions of the claim to the land and the conquest in Priestly and Dtn theology. P frequently uses *nḥl* in regulations concerning the distribution of the land, cast as Yahweh speeches (Num 26:52–56; 33:50–34:29), and in the descriptions of the territories of the individual tribes (Josh 13:23, 28, 32; 14:1–3; 15:20; 16:4f., 8f.; 18:20, 28; 19:1–51\*), in which P speaks consistently of the tribes’ *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* in terms of the clans that

obtain them through allotment (→ *ḥlq*) by lot (→ *gôrāl*). The same is true for plans for the distribution of the land transmitted in Ezek 40–48 (45:1; 47:13–48:29), which, as decrees of Yahweh, cite the patriarchal promise. In its description of tribal and clan *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ*, P employs an old, if rarely attested, usage of the *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* concept (Num 32:18f. E; Josh 14:9, 13f. E; 17:14 N; 18:2, 4; 24:28, 32 E; Judg 18:1; 21:23), which also includes the *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* of individuals (cf. Judg 21:23f.; 1 Kgs 21:3f., etc.; cf. Horst, op. cit. 145ff.).

In contrast, Dtn discussion of Israel's *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* seems to have no precursor (pre-Dtn only Exod 23:30, *nḥl* qal; Judg 20:6). With the formulaic expression “the land that Yahweh (your God) will give you” (Deut 4:21, 38; 12:9; 15:4; 19:10; [20:16, cities; 21:23, <sup>a</sup>*dāmâ*]; 24:4; 25:19; 26:1; cf. Dtr 1 Kgs 8:36 = 2 Chron 6:27), Dtn emphasizes that Israel possesses the land only on the basis of the grant of its God, and that its claim to the land rests solely on the promise of Yahweh. In addition, Dtn understands the possession of the land as a realization of the promises to the patriarchs (6:10, 18, 23, etc.). It departs from this language only in dependence on firmly fixed traditions (10:9; 12:12; 14:27, 29; 18:1f.; 29:7).

Moreover, one encounters Palestine as Israel's *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* in Jer (e.g., Jeremiah contemplates the possibility of the removal of the *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ*, 3:19; 12:14f.; 17:4), in Ezek (Ezek 35:15; 36:12), and often in Psa (Psa 105:11 = 1 Chron 16:18; Psa 135:12; 136:21f.; cf. 47:5; 69:37; 111:6). Only rarely are nations named as *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* of Israel, its tribes, or its king (resp., Isa 14:2, hitp., and Psa 78:55; Josh 23:4; Psa 2:8).

(b) In contrast to the richly attested concept that Yahweh is the grantor and guarantor of the *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* of Israel and its tribes, the statement that Palestine is Yahweh's *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* is remarkably rare. It occurs only in Jer (Jer 2:7; 12:7–9; 10:16 = 51:19; 16:18; 50:11) and in the post-exilic Psa 68:10.

The notion of Mt. Zion (with Yahweh's sanctuary) as Yahweh's *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* (Exod 15:17; Psa 79:1) is adapted from the Can. surroundings; the Ug. texts *KTU* 1.3.III.30, IV.20; 1.4.VIII.13f.; 1.5.II.15f. speak of the habitations of Baal and Mot as the mountain or the land of their *nḥlt*.

This discrepancy may have arisen from the fact that the word *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* implies a claim of ownership, so that the one named as the owner of a *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* is usually the one who directly represents this claim, while the origin of the claim plays only a secondary role in shaping the concept. This phenomenon also explains why Israel is then often called Yahweh's *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ*. Yahweh has a claim to his people (*naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* in conjunction with *ʿam*, Deut 4:20; 9:26, 29; 1 Kgs 8:51; Isa 47:6; Joel 2:17; 4:2; Mic 7:14; Psa 28:9;

78:62, 71; 94:5, 14; 106:4f., 40). Dtn-Dtr literature justifies this claim of Yahweh by Israel's exodus from Egypt (Deut 4:20; 9:26, 29; 1 Kgs 8:51) and Psa 33:12 by the election (→ *bḥr*, cf. 1 Kgs 8:53, *bdl* hi. "to set aside").

The radically distinctive basis for Yahweh's *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* in Deut 32:8f. surely rests on the very old concept of Elyon's distribution of the peoples (*nḥl* hi.; *ḥēleq*) to the gods.

The close association of the words *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* and *ʿam* in this context and the basis for Yahweh's *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* underscore the unique personal relationship between Yahweh and Israel as well as the unique status of Israel among the nations. Israel is a *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* people (Deut 4:20) and a *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* tribe (Isa 63:17; Jer 10:16 = 51:19; Psa 74:2 par. *ʿēdâ*). Whoever lives in this community has a relationship with Yahweh (1 Sam 26:19; 2 Sam 14:16). Saul is anointed *nāgîd* ("ruler") over Yahweh's *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ*, and David seeks to obtain the blessing of the Gibeonites for it (1 Sam 10:1; 2 Sam 21:3). In older texts (cf. also 2 Sam 20:19) and in contrast to the more considered theological language of Dtn and later examples, the legal character of the *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* concept assumes lesser significance than the personal aspect.

(c) The Levites assume unique status in relation to the claim to land. The older sources of the Hexateuch already emphasize that the Levites obtain no portion of the land; their *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* is Yahweh's priesthood (Josh 18:7). Even P emphasizes that Aaron and the Levites have no claim to the land; their *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* is Yahweh and the tithe that they receive for their service (Num 18:20f., 23f., 26; 26:62; Josh 14:3); in addition, the other tribes are obligated to cede cities from their *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* to the Levites (Num 35:2, 8; Josh 21:3). That Yahweh is Levi's *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* also serves Dtn as a justification for the Levites' exclusion from exercising any claim to the land (Deut 10:9; 12:12; 14:27, 29; 18:2; Dtr, Josh 13:14, 33; Deut 18:1 and Josh 13:14 interpret further: they should support themselves with the sacrifices and offerings as their *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ*). The appendix to Ezek also knows this notion of the Levites' *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* (Ezek 44:28 txt em) as related to the tribal *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ*, property within the Jerusalem sanctuary precincts excluded from the tribal *nahala*®, however, can be ceded to the Levites (45:5; 48:13).

5. Qumran rarely uses the root *nḥl* for real property or to designate God's people (1QM 10:15; 12:12; 19:4; 1QH 6:8); it occurs more often in the fig. meaning (1QS 4:15f., 24, 26; 11:7; 1QH 14:19; 17:15; cf. 4QpPsa37 3:10).

On the usage of *nḥl* in Judaism and in the NT, cf. J. Herrmann and W. Foerster, "κλήρος," *TDNT* 3:758–85; H. Langkammer, *Bibel und Leben* 8 (1967): 157–65.

נחם *nḥm* pi. **to comfort**

S 5162; BDB 636b; *HALOT* 2:688a; *ThWAT* 5:366–84; *TWOT* 1344; *NIDOTTE* 5714

1. The root *nḥm* occurs in Hebr., Jew. Aram., and Christ. Pal. (rarely in Syr., where *nḥm* pa. usually means “to restore to life”; cf. *LS* 423b with bibliog.) as a pi./pa. with the meaning “to comfort,” as well as in PNs in Ug., Phoen., and Eg. Aram. (Gröndahl 165; Huffmon 237–39; Benz 359f.; F. Vattioni, *Bib* 50 [1969]: 387f.; on the OT see below).

The etymological relationship to Arab. *nḥm* “to breathe pantingly” (D. W. Thomas, *ET* 44 [1932/33]: 191f.; 51 [1939/40]: 252; also N. H. Snaith, *ET* 57 [1945/46]: 48; cf. Zorell 510) offers little insight, given the semantic development in the OT (despite Thomas, *op. cit.* 192); the emotional element implied in it seems unlikely to be the presumable semantic foundation of the Hebr. verb. The meaning “to change opinions” (trans.) assumed by Jenni (*HP* 247) as the original meaning also fails to satisfy totally. The notion of human presence and support could also be implied in the root, although it does not always play a significant role.

In the OT the verb occurs in the pi. as “to comfort” (pu. “to be comforted,” hitp. “to find comfort”), in the ni. both as “to (let oneself) be comforted” and “to be sorry” in the broadest scope (also hitp. “to let oneself be sorry”). The possibility of scribal errors and mixed forms cannot be categorically ruled out. Nom. derivatives are *nōḥam* “compassion,” *neḥāmā* “comfort” (BL 479: an Aramaizing pi. inf.), *niḥūmîm* “comfort” (abstract pl., verbal noun of the pi.; cf. BL 480), and *tanḥūmîm/tanḥūmôt* “comfort” (again cf. BL 497). The stem is also well represented in the OT in PNs (incl. well-known names like *n<sup>e</sup>ḥemyâ*, *m<sup>e</sup>naḥēm*, and *naḥûm*, also *naḥam*, *naḥ<sup>a</sup>mānî*, *tanḥūmet*). These names were—at least originally—so-called substitute names (*BS* 99f.; *IP* 175, 222; H. Schult, *Vergleichende Studien zur atl. Namenkunde* [1967], 96f.; Stamm, *HEN* 421f.).

In accord with the two major meanings of the root in the OT, the meaning “to comfort” is treated in 3a–d and the meaning “to be sorry” in 4a–b.

2. The 119 occurrences of the root (excl. PNs) are distributed as follows in the OT books (the ni. passages with the meaning “to take comfort” [and “to take revenge,” Isa 1:24] are in parentheses; subst. include *nōḥam*, Hos 13:14; *neḥāmā*, Psa 119:50 and Job 6:10; *niḥūmîm*,

Isa 57:18; Hos 11:8; Zech 1:13; *tanhûmîm*, Isa 66:11; Jer 16:7; Psa 94:19; *tanhûmôt*, Job 15:11; 21:2):

	ni.	pi.	pu.	hitp.	subst.
Gen 4(2)	3	–	–	2	–
Exod 3	–	–	–	–	–
Num –	–	–	–	1	–
Deut –	–	–	–	1	–
Judg 3	–	–	–	–	–
1 Sam	4	–	–	–	–
2 Sam	2(1)	3	–	–	–
Isa 2(2)	13	2	–	–	2
(Deutero-Isa)				(8)	(1)
Jer 12(2)	2	–	–	–	1
Ezek 4(3)	2	–	–	1	–
Hos –	–	–	–	–	2
Joel 2	–	–	–	–	–
Amos2	–	–	–	–	–
Jonah	3	–	–	–	–
Nah –	1	–	–	–	–
Zech 1	2	–	–	–	1
Psa 4(1)	6	–	–	2	2
Job 1	6	–	–	–	3
Ruth –	1	–	–	–	–
Eccl –	2	–	–	–	–
Lam –	6	–	–	–	–
1 Chron	1	4	–	–	–
OT	48(11)	51	2	7	11

3. (a) *nîm* pi. commonly means “to comfort.” Beginning with the oldest texts, the subj. is a person, the occasion a death (Gen 37:35; 2 Sam 10:2f. = 1 Chron 19:2[bis], 3; 2 Sam 12:24; Jer 16:7) or another less specific reason for sorrow (Gen 50:21; Isa 22:4; 61:2 “all the sorrowing”; Jer 31:13 “after their sorrow”; Ruth 2:13; Job 2:11; 7:13; 29:25; 42:11; Eccl 4:1[bis] “oppressions”; Lam 2:13).

Such comfort transpired largely in fixed rituals (Jer 16:7, *kôs tanhûmîm* “cup of comfort”; Job 42:11, eating bread); cf. also the similarly employed *nûdI*° “to indicate sympathy to someone (by shaking the head)” (Isa 51:19; Jer 15:5; 16:5; 22:10; 48:17; Nah 3:7; Psa 69:21 txt em; Job 2:11; 42:11; cf. *nîd* “sympathy,” Job 16:5; *mānôd* “shaking of the head,” Psa 44:15).

These fixed forms also underlie the visit of Job’s friends (Job 2:11). Such comfort intends to be more than a well-meaning but unengaged

address; in Gen 50:21 and Isa 40:1 the par. expression, *ḥal-lēb* “to speak to the heart,” means a comfort that penetrates to the heart and thus becomes a reality. The basic prerequisite of statements made with *nḥm* pi. seems to be the personal willingness and presence of the one for the other (note also the phrase with → *ḥesed* in Psa 119:76). Even though Job 42:11 may have been displaced from its original context (cf. A. Alt, *ZAW* 55 [1937]: 267f.), the passage still indicates how real such comfort could become. Precisely because the expectation was great, it could be disappointed by inappropriate and useless attempts to comfort; cf. the “harmful comforters” in Job 16:2 and 21:34 (Zech 10:2 “windy comfort”); in a way Job 7:13 (the bed as a comforter) and 15:11 (“the soft word” par. *tanḥûmôt ʾēl* “God’s comfort”) also belong in this category. Eccl 4:1 (the repeated *m<sup>c</sup>naḥēm* is intentional) suggests, moreover, that comfort, if necessary and possible, includes real assistance. The stereotypically recurrent *ʾēn m<sup>c</sup>naḥēm* “there is no one to comfort” in Lam 1:2, 9, 17, 21 (v 16 “far from me is the comforter”) also points in the same direction; the lovers (v 2) on whom Jerusalem relied for assistance have withdrawn, so that *m<sup>c</sup>naḥēm* means precisely the “helper” (cf. 1:6 *mēšîb napšî* “who restores me”). This concrete assistance probably also provides the background for understanding Psa 23:4 (“your rod and staff comfort me”), as well as 71:21 (“increase my esteem and turn to comfort me”) and 86:17 (par. *ʿzr* “to help”).

Lam 2:13 falls slightly outside this scheme because in it those whose lives are endangered offer comfort (“to what shall I . . . compare you to comfort you”; the pi. indicates only the result for the obj., not the process; cf. *HP* 247). The idea has affinities with Ezek 14:22 (ni.), 23 (pi.), and 31:16 (ni.), probably also with Ezek 16:54 (pi.), where Jerusalem’s grievous sins constitute a “comfort” for the two sisters Sodom and Samaria (cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:351).

The form of comfort depends on the means of the comforter. If one (re)establishes a social relationship (Ruth 2:13), *nḥm* pi. approaches the meaning of → *rḥm* pi. “to have mercy.” This meaning is clear in Isa 66:13 (“like a mother comforts, so I will comfort you”; cf. Isa 49:15). This developed understanding is present everywhere Yahweh himself comforts, for through his comforting care God renews the grace relationship with those whom he has rejected in wrath (Isa 12:1). This concept clarifies the meaning that *nḥm* pi. acquires in the proclamation of Deutero-Isaiah (cf. also the frequency of PNs formed with *nḥm* in the post-exilic era). With the exception of Isa 51:19 txt em (read 3d pl.), Yahweh is the grammatical (49:13; 51:3[bis], 12; 52:9) or at least the logical subj. (40:1[bis]), so that the obj. of *nḥm* pi. can be “Zion” and “ruins” (51:3; cf. Zech 1:17, par. *bḥr*

“to choose”). Isa 49:13 (*rḥm* pi. in synonymous parallelism; cf. 52:9 par. → *gʾl*) illustrates, however, that the two are not entirely synonymous and that the nuance of support is always involved in *nḥm* pi. At any rate, a general formal usage became less pronounced (perhaps Isa 22:4; 66:13; Psa 112:82).

In Gen 5:29 the etymological usage of *nḥm* pi. to explain the name Noah is indeed surprising, though consistent with J (there is no basis for textual emendation; cf. Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:347). The comfort envisioned seems similar to that of Ezek 14:14 (despite Prov 31:6f., the general tenor of OT statements prohibits one from thinking of Gen 9:20—the wine as comforter).

(b) As for the pu. passages, Isa 54:11 recalls, formally as well as topically, Hos 1:6; but Isa 66:13 is obscure since it is an addition.

In accord with its semantic range (Berg. *HG* 2:98), *nḥm* hitp. has various nuances. It is reflexive in Gen 37:25 (Jacob will not be comforted by his children, hence does not desire their presence) and Psa 119:52 (cf. v 50; → *zkr* depicts the *mišpāṭîm* “ordinances” as really present and effective; cf. A. Deissler, *Psa 119 (118) und seine Theologie* [1955], 153). With Yahweh as the subj. (Deut 32:36; Psa 135:14), *nḥm* hitp. assumes the meaning “to pity” (see 3a; contra H. L. Ginsberg, FS Baumgartner 78). For Gen 27:42, which falls outside this schema, one could think, in terms of the topically similar Isa 1:24 (ni.), of a weakened form of *nqm* “to avenge oneself” (A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur Hebr. Bibel* [1908], 1:133: a guttural pronunciation of *mitnaqqēm*), yet the idea of “creating comfort for oneself” seems more appropriate here too (contra D. W. Thomas, *ET* 51 [1939/40]: 252). The contrary notion obviously present here (*NB* 86) may be explained in terms of the reference to comfort, not in the presence of a pleasant companion but in the absence of a vexing one (v 42 “to kill you”). If *hinneḥāmtî* in Ezek 5:13 (on the form, cf. BL 198, 367) is not a dittography of the preceding expression, it represents a similar notion. Num 23:19 belongs in the semantic field of the ni. (God does not regret anything; cf. Isa 15:29, 35; see 4a).

(c) Some of the hi. passages (see parenthetical figures in the table in 2) approximate the meaning of the pi. (“to comfort”). Gen 24:67; 38:12; 2 Sam 13:39 (“to take comfort”); Isa 57:6 (“to calm oneself”); Jer 15:6 (“to pity”) offer reflexive usages, Jer 31:15 and Psa 77:3 (“to let oneself be comforted”) probably tolerative. The extent to which one can speak of a close relationship between the ni. and the pi. (Berg. *HG* 2:90), however, is difficult to decide given the semantic range of the ni. The meaning “to take comfort” is also present in Ezek 14:22; 31:16; and 32:31; one can see a specific distinction, however, in that comfort consists not of a forthcoming

real alteration of one's fate but of solidarity in suffering. One should not understand this comfort as malicious glee, however, but as the result of the fact that one is no longer alone in one's suffering.

Isa 1:24 is highly unusual (see 3b on Gen 27:42). The translation "I will take comfort on my opponents" is generally accepted (cf. e.g., AV, NASB, NEB) but probably too general. The idea could be, again with a degree of inconsistency, that Yahweh "comforts" himself in relation to his enemies, i.e., he will no longer feel regret for his patience that delays punishment.

(d) In accordance with the affinity of *t*-forms with the intensive stem (BL 494f.), the nom. form *tanḥûmîm/tanḥûmôt* generally has the meaning "comfort" (Isa 66:11 "the breast of comfort," to be understood against v 13; Jer 16:7 "cup of comfort"; more generally Psa 94:19 "so your comfort refreshes my soul"; Job 15:11 "God's comforts"; Job's perception of simple listening as comfort is in line with concrete conceptions, Job 21:2).

The same is true of *niḥûmîm*. In every case Yahweh originates the comfort. Consequently, the word implies more than simple "comfort." The "amiable, comforting words" of Zech 1:13 promise mercy; similarly, Isa 57:18 (par. *ipʿ* "to heal") and Hos 11:8 (*kmr* ni. "to be excited," otherwise with *rah<sup>a</sup>mîm* "mercy": Gen 43:30; 1 Kgs 3:26).

*neḥāmâ*, which occurs only 2x, is the least concrete term (Psa 119:50, comfort quickened by the word; in contrast to Job 6:10, comforting death; cf. 30:28 txt em).

4. (a) In the majority of passages, the ni. signifies "to feel pain (about something), regret (something)" (30x of God, 7x of people). The degree to which one can establish a relationship to the basic concept of human presence assumed for *nḥm* pi. must remain undecided (see 1). An explicit emotional element is also absent here.

Yahweh is usually the subj.; the obj. appended by *ʿal/ʿel* is imper., a resolved disaster (*rāʿâ*, Exod 32:12, 14 "then Yahweh regretted the disaster with which he had threatened his people"; 2 Sam 24:16 [= 1 Chron 21:15]; cf. v 14, *rah<sup>a</sup>mîm* "mercy"; Jer 18:8; 26:3, 13, 19; 42:10; Joel 2:13; Jonah 3:10; 4:2; *zōʿt* "this [disaster]," Amos 7:3, 6) or (rarely) an intended or demonstrated beneficial act (Jer 18:10). In Jer 8:6 one regrets one's misdeed (*rāʿâ*). Given Yahweh as the subj., on the one hand, and the basic meaning of the stem, on the other, *nḥm* ni. is never sorrowful resignation but always has concrete consequences. Consequently, "and he regrets the evil" can elaborate "he is gracious and merciful" (Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2; cf. in the broad sense also Psa 106:45).

If the obj. appended with *ʿal/ʿel* is per. (Judg 21:6, 15 subj. people; Psa 90:13 subj. Yahweh; cf. Judg 2:18 "on account of the laments"; Jer 20:16 negated), *nḥm* ni. is usually translated "to have mercy," although it is

not entirely suitable from an OT perspective (see 3a). The translation “to be sorry, feel sympathy for” is more correct.

The meaning of the word shifts toward intolerability if the object of regret is a completed action of Yahweh (introduced by *kī*, Gen 6:6f.; 1 Sam 15:11, 35), the revocation of which is based in and introduced by this regret. Samuel’s reaction (1 Sam 15:11b) illustrates the irrational threat implicit therein.

With the abs. usage, the meaning expands in scope, but at the same time loses precision. The sense, then, is generally “to regret.” On the one hand, if a person is the subj., then the reason is human fickleness (Exod 13:17; 1 Sam 15:29b), or sinfulness necessitates the regret (Jer 31:19; Job 42:6). On the other hand, with Yahweh as the subj. (1 Sam 15:29a, cf. Num 23:19 hitp.; Jer 4:28; Ezek 24:14; Zech 8:14; Psa 110:4), the statement is negated. Joel 2:14 and Jonah 3:9 (“who knows, perhaps Yahweh will yet relent”) are exceptions that, despite the abs. usage of the word, approximate passages with *rā‘ā* mentioned above.

Despite frequent claims, there is no inherent contradiction between a more anthropomorphic statement of God’s regret and a more spiritual understanding. This coexistence is based in the polarity of the experience of God. Yahweh is, on the one hand, the “jealous God” (→ *qn’*), so he neither needs to regret a decision nor is he bound by it (Gen 6:6f.; 1 Sam 15:11, 35); and he is, on the other hand, “gracious and merciful” (→ *rḥm*), so plans for disaster need not be his last word.

(b) The subst. *nōḥam* “compassion” in Hos 13:14 should be mentioned here. Although Ginsberg (op. cit. 78f.) wants to explain the word as “vengeance” following his interpretation of Deut 32:36; Psa 135:14 (see 3b), the understanding “compassion” is more likely (Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 239).

5. Among the relatively few instances of *nḥm* from Qumran (to date, see Kuhn, *Konk.* 142f.), 1QH 5:3 and 9:13 with *nḥm* ni. “to regret” in reference to sinners should be emphasized.

The LXX principally translates *nḥm* pi. with *parakalein* “(to call alongside >) to comfort”; the rendering *eleein* (Isa 12:1; 49:13; 52:9; Zech 1:17; otherwise chiefly for → *hnn* or → *rḥm* pi.) is also interesting. In accordance with the two chief meanings, but not in consistent agreement with the delineation in 3c and 4a, the ni. is represented largely either by *parakaleisthai* or by *metanoein* or *metamelesthai*, resp. With regard to the translations, cf. R. Loewe, *VT* 2 (1952): 261–72; on early Judaism and the NT, see O. Michel, “μεταμέλομαι,” *TDNT* 4:626–29; J. Behm and E. Würthwein, “μετανοέω,” *TDNT* 4:975–1008; O. Schmitz and G. Stählin, “παρακαλέω,” *TDNT* 5:773–99; J. Behm, “παρακλήτος,” *TDNT*

5:800–814.

H. J. Stoebe

## נֶכָר *nēkār* stranger

S 5236; BDB 648b; HALOT 2:700a; ThWAT 5:454–63; TWOT 1368b; NIDOTTE 5797

1. The subst. *nēkār* “stranger, foreign land” and the (often subst.) adj. *nokrî* “strange, foreign” have counterparts in all Sem. languages (cf. Berg., *Intro.* 210); older extrabibl. instances are Ug. *nkr* “stranger” (*WUS* no. 1786; *UT* no. 1649) and Imp. Aram. *nkry*’ “strangers” (Aḥ. 139; *DISO* 179). Akk. *nakru* means primarily “malevolent, enemy” (*AHW* 723) in addition to “strange.” The abstract nouns *nōker* (Obad 12, par. *ʾbd* “to perish”) and *nēker* (Job 31:3, par. *ʾēd* “misfortune”), perhaps “(strange, adverse) misfortune,” have other deprecatory nuances.

The verbal meanings of *nkr* ni. “to dissemble” (Prov 26:24), pi. “to make strange” (Jer 19:4), “to misrepresent” (Deut 32:27; 1 Sam 23:7 txt?), and hitp. “to dissemble” (Gen 42:7; 1 Kgs 14:5f.), may be denominatives from *nokrî* (W. J. Gerber, *Die hebr. Verba denominativa* [1896], 97f.; Zorell 518a).

Nöldeke (*NB* 96), P. Humbert (*Opuscules d’un hébraïsant* [1958], 117), and KBL (617b; contrast e.g., GB 505b; Zorell 517f.) suggest a relationship with *nkr* hi. “to notice, recognize, acknowledge” (38x; also ni. “to be recognized,” Lam 4:8; pi. “to regard,” Job 21:29; 34:19; hitp. “to present oneself to be recognized,” Prov 20:11; subst. *hakkārâ* “regard[?],” Isa 3:9; cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 125; perhaps also *makkār* “acquaintance[?],” 2 Kgs 12:6, 8, but cf. Gray, *Kgs*, OTL [19702], 586), reflecting a contrary semantic development in the varied treatments of the strange, the extraordinary (cf. Ruth 2:10).

2. The OT uses *nēkār* 36x (Psa 6x, Isa 5x, Gen 4x), *nokrî* 45x (Prov 9x, Ezra 10:2–44 7x, Deut 5x, 1 Kgs 4x); on *nēker/nōker* (2x) and on the verb (7x) see 1.

Although already attested in the pre-exilic period, both *nēkār* and *nokrî* seem to have acquired great significance only in the post-exilic period when the problem of relationship to foreigners confronted Israel in a particular way.

3. (a) Like → *zār*, *nēkār* indicates something “strange,” according to Humbert, op. cit. 117f., “that which one does not recognize as one’s own,”

while *zār* denotes “that which is different” or “that which belongs to another.” *nēkār*, always the governing noun of a cs. phrase, refers consistently to the ethnically strange. The expression *ben/b<sup>c</sup>nē-nēkār* (19x) indicates the (ethnically) strange; it occurs in priestly texts concerning the status of the foreigner in the cult (Gen 17:12, 27, of a slave purchased abroad who must nevertheless be circumcised; Exod 12:43, Passover law; Lev 22:25; cf. Ezek 44:7, 9[bis] par. *ārēl* “uncircumcised”) and in late texts in Isa that treat the relationship between foreigners and Israel (Isa 56:3, 6, proselytes; 60:10; 61:5; 62:8 par. *ʾōy<sup>b</sup>bīm* “enemies”; cf. Neh 9:2) and in the royal psalms (2 Sam 22:45f. = Psa 18:45f.; Psa 144:7, 11). In Psa 137:4, *ʾadmat nēkār* means the “strange land” of the exile; Neh 13:30 speaks generally of “everything foreign.” Moreover, esp. in Dtr diction, the expression “a strange god” or “strange gods” is frequent (Gen 35:2, 4; Deut 31:16; 32:12; Josh 24:20, 23; Judg 10:16; 1 Sam 7:3; Jer 5:19; Mal 2:11; Psa 81:10; Dan 11:39; 2 Chron 33:15; cf. *hablē nēkār* “foreign idols” [→ *hebel* 3c], Jer 8:19; also 2 Chron 14:2 “strange altars”).

(b) In the vast majority of cases, *nokrî* “strange/stranger” refers to another people (Exod 2:22; 18:3; Deut 14:21; 15:3; 17:15; 23:21; 29:21; Judg 19:12; 2 Sam 15:19; 1 Kgs 8:41, 43; 11:1, 8; Isa 2:6; Obad 11; Zeph 1:8; Ruth 2:10; Lam 5:2; Ezra 10:2, 10f., 14, 17f., 44; Neh 13:26f.; 2 Chron 6:32f.), less often to someone who does not belong (any longer) to the circle of the family or the clan (Gen 31:15, Laban treats his daughters as strangers; Exod 21:8, prohibition of the resale of an Israelite woman; Psa 69:9, “I have become strange to my brothers, a *nokrî* to my mother’s sons”; similarly, Job 19:15). *nokrî* can, however, signify simply “another” or “another’s” (Prov 5:10; 20:16 K; 27:2; Eccl 6:2); *nokrîyâ* “strange woman” (Prov 2:16; 5:20; 6:24 txt em; 7:5; 23:27; 27:13, cf. 20:16 Q) does not indicate a pagan foreigner (so G. Boström, *Proverbiastudien* [1935]) but the (adulterous) wife of another (Israelite) (Humbert, op. cit. 111–18; id., *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques* [1937]: 49–64) or a woman of unknown origins whose unusual behavior, foreign to the life of the clan, is socially disqualified (L. A. Snijders, *OTS* 10 [1954]: 60–110; on the whole question, cf. the adj. → *zār* [3b] used in par.). Fig. usage of *nokrî* occurs in Jer 2:21 (“wild vine”) and Isa 28:21 (“strange,” of God’s activity; → *zār* 3d).

4. The overview of the usage of *nēkār/nokrî* in the OT largely confirms what was said of → *zār* (4) concerning Israel’s relationship to the strange and foreign: it is usually marked by an attitude ranging from cautious to defensive. This attitude is evident, particularly, in Dtr influenced texts that emphasize the ruinous role of the “strange gods” (see 3a), in Trito-Isa texts that assign a subordinate, servile role to non-Jews in the time of the reestablishment of Jerusalem and Judah (cf., however, the positive tone in

Isa 56:3, 6), or in priestly texts that establish the status of the *ben-nēkār* within or, more often, outside the cultic community.

5. *nēkār* has been identified in the Qumran texts 5x (Kuhn, *Konk.* 143c; id., *RQ* 14 [1963]: 210a; cf. *GCDS* 424) in continuation of OT usage; cf. 4QFlor 1:4, “the house that no Ammonite or Moabite or bastard or foreigner (*bn nkr*) or stranger may enter, forever,” with Deut 23:2ff.

On “strange” in early Judaism and in the NT, cf. the literature cited under → *zār* 5.

R. Martin-Achard

### נִשָּׂא *nsh* pi. to test

S 5254; BDB 650a; *HALOT* 2:702a; *ThWAT* 5:473–87; *TWOT* 1373; *NIDOTTE* 5814

1. The root *nsh* appears in addition to Hebr. (extrabibl. also in the Lachish Letters, *KAI* no. 193.9) only in Aram. and as a loanword in Eth. (*LS* 433b; Dillman 642f.).

The verb may not be identified with certainty in Ug. (cf. *UT* no. 1661; A. van Selms, *UF* 2 [1970]: 264).

The etymology is uncertain; a conjectural relationship to *nśʿ* is improbable, for it would require that “to lift, weigh” be understood as a test (W. J. Gerber, *Die hebr. Verba denominativa* [1896], 30). A relationship with the subst. *nēs* “emblem, banner” is equally improbable.

The verbal abstract *massâ* “test” derives from the verb, which is attested only in the pi. Popular etymology associates the homonymous place-name (Exod 17:7; Deut 6:16; 9:22; 33:8; Psa 95:8; cf. S. Lehming, *ZAW* 73 [1961]: 71–77) with *nsh* pi.

2. The verb occurs 36x (Deut 8x, Psa 6x, Exod 5x, Judg 4x; only in Isa 7:12 in the Prophets). The noun (only pl. *massôt*) appears 3x (Deut 4:34; 7:19; 29:2).

3. In reference to sections 3–5, cf. I. V. Oikonomos, *Πειρασμοὶ ἐν τῇ Παλαιᾷ Διαθήκῃ* (1965).

(a) The verb with a per. obj. basically means “to test, put to the test.” One person can test another to see whether the other proves worthy (1 Kgs 10:1 = 2 Chron 9:1; Dan 1:12, 14).

Among words semantically related to *nsh* pi., → *bḥn* “to test” should

be mentioned first. The two verbs are par. in Psa 26:2; 95:9; and 1QH 2:13f. In contrast to *nsh* pi., whose per. obj. is always the entire person or God, *bhn* often refers to various parts of the human being (heart, kidneys, words, behavior).

*hqr* “to investigate” (→ *bhn* 3b), which places much more emphasis on the cognitive aspect, refers to a test of a different nature. While *nsh* pi. directs attention primarily to the obj. and its behavior (trial), *hqr* emphasizes with equal force the examining subj. and its activity.

(b) *nsh* pi. appears with an imper. obj. in a weakened meaning: “to examine, conduct a test” (Job 4:2; Eccl 7:23). The same meaning also occurs in abs. usages of *nsh* pi. (Judg 6:39; 1 Sam 17:39[bis]; Eccl 2:1 txt?; cf. Galling, HAT 18, 87; Hertzberg, KAT 17/4, 79) or in combinations involving an inf. (Deut 4:34 with *le*; 28:56 without *le*).

Semantically related to *nsh* pi. in this attenuated usage (*tentare*), *yʿ* hi. “to set (about something)” (*conari*) expresses primarily an ingressive sense (properly “to make a beginning”). 1 Sam 17:39 clarifies the distinction: “(For the first time) David set about (*yʿ* hi.) walking (in the armor) for he had never attempted (*nsh* pi.) it before.”

O. Eissfeldt (VT 5 [1955]: 235–38 = KS [1966], 3:356–58) wants to explain *nsh* pi. here and in a few other passages as a technical military term: “to practice, exercise.” But the point of the statement is not that David was an unpracticed armor wearer but that he had never before worn armor. The translation “to practice” is also dispensable for the other passages (Exod 15:25; Deut 33:8; Judg 3:1).

4. Often God tests people in order to determine their intentions (Gen 22:1 [cf. D. Lerch, *Isaaks Opferung, christlich gedeutet* (1950), 98–101]; Exod 15:25 [cf. Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 129]; 16:4; 20:20 [cf. M. Greenberg, *JBL* 79 (1960): 273–76]; Deut 8:2, 16; 13:4; 33:8; Judg 2:22; 3:1, 4; Psa 26:2; 2 Chron 32:31).

Almost as often, God is the obj. of *nsh* pi.; as the contexts clearly indicate, “to test God” means to await or desire a wonder (Exod 17:2, 7; Num 14:22; Deut 6:16[bis]; Isa 7:12; Psa 78:18, 41, 56; 95:9; 106:14; regarding the cultic linkage of the proclamation of the chief commandment and the warning against behavior like that at Massah, cf. N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot* [1963], 80; on the prohibition against testing God in Deut 6:16, cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 305: “In this way, a very important point is brought out clearly, which distinguishes Israelite faith from that of those who lived nearby [cf. also the way Jesus judges those who seek after miracles and demand signs, Matt 16:4], for whom giving interpretations of signs played an extremely important role”).

Precisely within this “wonder” realm of meaning, the derivative *massôt* “tests” functions to indicate Yahweh’s mighty deeds (Deut 4:34; 7:19; 29:2),

which could easily be regarded an exclusively Dtr term. It always appears in combination with *ʾōtōt* “signs” and *môpʿûm* “tokens” (→ *ʾôt* 4b).

5. As in Sir 36(LXX 33):1 and 44:20, the abstract noun of the doubled (pi.) stem *nissûy* “test” also occurs in Qumran in addition to the verb (see 3a; 1QS 1:18; 4QDibHam 5:18; 6:7).

The LXX normally translates the verb with *(ek)peirazein* or *peiran*. *massâ* is represented by *peirasmos*, by *peira* only in Deut 33:8. Regarding the NT usage of these terms, cf. H. Seesemann, “πεῖρα,” *TDNT* 6:23–36.

G. Gerleman

### נֶפֶשׁ *nepes̄* **soul**

S 5315; BDB 659a; *HALOT* 2:711b; *ThWAT* 5:531–55; *TWOT* 1395a; *NIDOTTE* 5883

\*I. Hebr. *nepes̄* (fem.) has counterparts in all Sem. languages (Berg. *Intro.* 214; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 246–48, 263, 275f.). The various meanings that Hebr. *nepes̄* exhibits (see III/1–6) also occur for the most part in the related languages; cf. e.g., Akk. *napištu* “throat, life” (*AHW* 738; Dhorme 18f., 92; L. Dürr, “Hebr. *nepes̄* = Akk. *napištu* = Gurgel, Kehle,” *ZAW* 43 [1925]: 262–69), Amor. *napš-* “breath, life” in PNs (Buccellati 176; Huffmon 240f.), Ug. *npš* “throat, appetite, soul, living being,” etc. (*WUS* no. 1826; *UT* no. 1681; G. Widengren, *VT* 4 [1954]: 97–102); on Phoen.-Pun. and (Old) Aram. *npš/nbš*, cf. *DISO* 183f. (on the form *nbš*, cf. M. Weippert, *Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine* [1971], 78 with bibliog.; R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik* [1969], 31f.; also on a Hebrew ostrakon from Arad, see Y. Aharoni, *BASOR* 197 [1970]: 20); on Arab. *nafs* cf. Wehr 985 (also R. Blachère, “Note sur le substantif *nafs* ‘souffle vital,’ ‘a@me,’ dans le Coran,” *Semit* 1 [1948]: 69–77); on Eth. *nafs* cf. Dillman 707.

The meaning “grave monument, grave stele” occurs in Mid. Aram. and Hebr. and also in Old SArab. (*DISO* 183f.; B. Lifshitz, *ZDPV* 76 [1960]: 159f.; *LS* 441; E. Jenni, *TZ* 21 [1965]: 385; Conti Rossini 189; G. Ryckmans, *Muséon* 71 [1958]: 132–38); it probably does not rest on the notion of the grave as the jaws of the underworld (Fronzaroli, op. cit. 247) but on the notion of the stele “into which the soul of the deceased is banished” (W. Caskel, *Lihyan und Lihyanisch* [1954], 139). The word also occurs on the Copper Scroll from Qumran (J. T. Milik, *DJD* [1962], 3:212, 247, 273, 284f., regarding 3Q15 1:5).

The verb *npš* ni. “to exhale” may be a denominative from the subst. (Fronzaroli, op. cit. 247; contra e.g., D. W. Thomas, “A Study in Hebrew Synonyms: Verbs Signifying ‘to Breathe,’” *ZS* 10 [1935]: 311–14; D. Lys, *Nèphèsh* [1959], 119). Cf. also Akk. *napāšu* “to blow, breathe (out); to become broad” (*AHW* 736, without reference to *napištu*).

\*II. The noun occurs 754x (see table), the verb *npš* ni. 3x (Exod 23:12; 31:17; 2 Sam 16:14); cf. also the statistical information in Lys, op. cit. 116–19. The pl. *n<sup>e</sup>pāšôt* occurs 50x (*n<sup>e</sup>pāšîm* in Ezek 13:20 should be emended).

Gen 43	Ezek 42	Psa 144
Exod 17	Hos 2	Job 35
Lev 60	Joel –	Prov 56
Num 50	Amos3	Ruth 1
Deut 35	Obad–	Song Sol 7
Josh 16	Jonah	5 Eccl 7
Judg 10	Mic 3	Lam 12
1 Sam	34 Nah –	Esth 6
2 Sam	17 Hab 3	Dan –
1 Kgs23	Zeph –	Ezra –
2 Kgs15	Hag 1	Neh –
Isa 34	Zech 2	1 Chron 5
Jer 62	Mal –	2 Chron 4

III. *nepēš* is one of the most studied words in the OT. The following bibliog. offers only a selection of the rich literature that treats the term: C. A. Briggs, “Use of *npš* in the OT,” *JBL* 16 (1897): 17–30; J. Schwab, “Der Begriff der *nepēš* in den heiligen Schriften des AT” (diss., Munich, 1913); M. Lichtenstein, *Das Wort nepēš in der Bibel* (1920); L. Dürr, *ZAW* 43 (1925): 262–69 (see I); *ILC* 1–2:97–181, 246; J. H. Becker, *Het Begrip Nefesj in het Oude Testament* (1942); M. Seligson, *Meaning of nfš mt in the OT* (1951); cf. G. Widengren, *VT* 4 (1954): 97–102; A. Murtonen, *Living Soul* (1958); D. Lys, *Nèphèsh* (1959); A. R. Johnson, *Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (1949, 19642); W. H. Schmidt, “Anthropologische Begriffe im AT,” *EvT* 24 (1964): 374–88; O. Sander, “Leib-Seele-Dualismus im AT?” *ZAW* 77 (1965): 329–32; Eichrodt 2:134–42; Köhler 142–45; J. Scharbert, *Fleisch, Geist und Seele im Pentateuch* (1966); H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* (1974), 10–25.

The description of the soul concept in the OT and in its surroundings would exceed the scope of a dictionary article. Material and bibliog. citations on the subject can be found in many of the works mentioned above (cf. e.g., Johnson, op. cit. 8f.; moreover, R. Dussaud, “La notion

d'a®me chez les Israélites et les Phéniciens,” *Syria* 16 [1935]: 267–77; A. Kammenhuber, “Die hethitischen Vorstellungen von Seele und Leib, Herz und Leibesinnerem, Kopf und Person,” *ZA* 56 [1964]: 151–212; E. Hornung, *Einführung in die Ägyptologie* [1967], 64f. with bibliog.; G. Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie* [1969], 427–39).

The summary of the meanings and usages of *nepēš* (abbreviated *n.*) in the OT are structured as follows:

- III/1. Concrete meanings: (a) breath, (b) throat/gullet;
- 2. Longing/desire/craving: (a) hunger, (b) vengeance, (c) desire/wish/choice, (d) negative aspects, (e) fixed expressions;
- 3. Soul: (a) desirous, (b) hungry/sated, (c) melancholy/happy, (d) hoping, (e) loving/hating, (f) alive, (g) summary;
- 4. Life: (a) deliverance/protection/maintenance, (b) threat/detriment, (c) summary;
- 5. Living being/person: (a) in laws, (b) in enumerations, (c) general expressions, (d) pron. usage;
- 6. *n.* (*mēt*) corpse.

1. The question of the concrete meaning is difficult because *n.* is almost unattested in Hebr. in the meaning “breath,” but (a) the verb *npš* hi. suggests that meaning, although uncommon, (b) the concrete meaning “throat, gullet” can be demonstrated for *n.*

(a) The three occurrences of the verb *npš* ni. “to exhale, recover” (Exod 23:12; 31:17; 2 Sam 16:14; the qal does not occur) imply that *n.* once had (at least) the (additional) meaning “breath” (normally *n<sup>c</sup>šāmâ*, later also *rûah*; → *rûah* III/7–8). This meaning of *n.* occurs in the OT, however, only in Gen 1:30, “whatever has the breath of life” (*n. ḥayyâ*; Zorell 526a: read *n. ḥayyîm*) and Job 41:13 txt em, “his breath scorches like glowing coals” (so also Widengren, op. cit. 100; Johnson, op. cit. 11, with reservations).

The expression *bāttê hannepēš* in Isa 3:20 probably does not belong in this category. It is traditionally rendered “perfume bottles” (cf. W. von Soden, *ZAW* 53 [1935]: 291f.; Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 153f.: “containers for souls”; → *bayit* 3c).

A series of texts in which *n.* should be translated “soul/life” or “living being” indicates the proximity of these meanings to “breath, breath of life,” e.g., 1 Kgs 17:21f., “let this boy’s soul return to him . . . the boy’s soul

returned” (cf. Johnson, op. cit. 11) and esp. the phrase that summarizes the creation of humanity in Gen 2:7, “thus the man became a living being (*l<sup>c</sup>nepes<sup>š</sup> ḥayyâ*),” i.e., by means of the breath that the creator breathed into him.

Although the expression *n. ḥayyâ* in Gen 2:7 J (apparently a gloss in v 19) sounds like a coined phrase, it is a common expression in P for “living being” as a description of people or animals and only in the context of the creation and the flood (Gen 1:20f., 24; 9:10, 12, 15f.; similarly, Lev 11:10, 46; Ezek 47:9; elsewhere only Jer 38:16 discusses the creation of the *n.* ). The passages mentioned (to be categorized under 3f or 5) suggest that the OT was still aware of the relationship of *n.* to an earlier meaning “breath,” although *n.* was almost never used in this meaning.

The small group of texts with the *n.* as the subj. of *qsr* qal “to be short” point in the same direction (Num 21:4 “on the way, however, the people became impatient”; Judg 10:16 “then he became indignant”; Judg 16:16 “then he became impatient to die”; Zech 11:8[bis] “then I [God] lost patience with them, and they also became weary of me”) or the object of *rk* hi. “to lengthen” (Job 6:11 “and what is my end, that I can be patient?”). The original concept is that of the breath (cf. similar expressions with *ʾappayim* [→ *ʾap* 3a] and → *rûaḥ* [III/9a]); in their fig. meaning, the expressions pertain to the polarities of the “soul’s” behavior (see 3g).

The relationship of *n.* to → *dām* (4b) “blood” is different. The declarations in Deut 12:23, “for the blood is the *n.*,” and twice in Lev 17:14 (delete *b<sup>c</sup>napšô*), “for the *n.* of all flesh is its blood” (contrast v 11a, “for the soul of the flesh is in the blood”; v 11b, “through the soul [therein]”; cf. Elliger, HAT 4, 228 and n.30 on the use of *n.* in Lev), clearly involve a secondary interpretation of the blood in terms of the *n.*; these statements reflect another tradition that identifies the blood, not the breath, with life or the seat of life. Gen 9:4 already prohibits the consumption of blood for this reason. These same explanations indicate that *n.* never had the meaning “blood” in Hebr.; rather the blood was secondarily related to *n.* in the sense of “life” (*dām* par. to *n.* in Ezek 22:27; Jonah 1:14; Psa 72:14; 94:21; Prov 1:18).

(b) The concrete meaning “throat, gullet” can be certainly although irregularly demonstrated for *n.* in individual fixed usages (see Dürr, op. cit.; cf. also the Ug. pars. to “gullet of the underworld” in N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the OT* [1969], 36, 104f.). Two prophetic passages discuss the opening (unlocking) of the gullet of Sheol (Isa 5:14; Hos 2:5), and in two psalm passages (Psa 69:2; Jonah 2:6) the one threatened with death complains that the water reaches “up to my throat”; the same meaning and the same context still echo in Psa 124:4f. The only weakly attested meaning “breath” easily combines with the

meaning “throat, gullet” reflecting the various functions of the throat (in the OT otherwise *gārôn* [8x] or *lōa<sup>c</sup>* [only Prov 23:2; → *šth* 3c]; cf. Dhorme 18f., 92). That various categories of the use of *n.* still evidence the effects of both functions of the throat, swallowing and breathing, confirms this relationship. One function echoes in the meaning “desire, wish, craving” (see 2) and in a series of expressions associated with *n.* that presume the original meaning “throat, jaws, gullet” (e.g., *šb<sup>c</sup>* hi. “to sate,” Isa 58:11; *ml<sup>o</sup>* pi. “to fill,” Prov 6:30; *rēq* “empty,” Isa 29:8; *šôqēq* “thirsty,” Isa 29:8; Psa 107:9; par. to *peh* “mouth,” Eccl 6:7; par. to *gargārôt* “neck,” Prov 3:22; cf. also Num 21:5; 1 Sam 2:33; Jer 4:10; Psa 105:18; Prov 23:7 txt?), the other in the three instances of the verb and in association with *qsr* and *ʔk* (see 1a).

On *kābôd* or *\*kābēd* “liver” as another term for “soul” derived from an anatomical term (Gen 49:6 and Psa 7:6 par. *n.*; Psa 16:9 par. → *lēb* “heart”; 30:13; 57:9; 108:2 par. *lēb*), cf. → *kbd* 1.

2. In a series of passages *n.* means “desire, wish, craving.” This group most nearly approximates the meaning “throat, gullet”; neither the translation “soul” nor “life” is possible here. Here *n.* is the force of desire that arises from the emptiness of the throat, of the gullet, although the force of desire extends beyond hunger and thirst. For synonyms cf. → *ʔwh*, → *ḥmd*.

(a) *n.* can simply mean hunger: Deut 23:25 “then you may eat grapes according to your hunger”; Hos 9:4 “for their bread is only for their hunger”; Prov 12:10 “righteous ones understand the desires of their livestock”; similarly, Prov 10:3; 16:26; cf. the passage mentioned in 1b, Isa 29:8 “like the hungry one who dreams of eating and awakes to find hunger unabated (to find an empty throat).”

(b) The *n.* of the enemy is experienced as a thirst for vengeance and as pursuit of destruction: Exod 15:9 “the enemy said: I will pursue, will satisfy my desire!”; Ezek 16:27 “I abandoned you to the desire of your enemies”; cf. Psa 17:9, *b<sup>e</sup>nepeš* “desirous”; 27:12; 41:3.

(c) *n.* can have the somewhat attenuated sense of “desire, wish, choice”: Psa 35:25 “they should not say in their hearts: Aha! That’s what we want (*he<sup>o</sup>ʔāḥ napšēnū*)!”; cf. also Deut 21:14; 1 Sam 2:35; Jer 34:16 txt?; Psa 78:18; 105:22. The expression *ʔim-yēš ʔet-napš<sup>e</sup>kem*, “if you are willing” (NRSV)— better, “if it suits your desire” (Gen 23:8; cf. 2 Kgs 9:15)— belongs here. Closely related to this usage is the unique expression “you know the *n.* of the stranger” (Exod 23:9), usually translated “you know the mood of the stranger.” Apparently the meaning “desire, craving” also underlies this expression, and the idea involves the desire for humane

treatment.

(d) Wisdom thematizes *n.* as desire and lends it a negative connotation. Desire itself is not condemned, but the desire of the godless is: Prov 21:10 “the desire of the godless seeks evil” (cf. 13:2, 4; 19:2; Eccl 6:9). Qohelet’s thoughts differ (Eccl 6:7); he sees the *n.* as a human phenomenon in context with his motto “all is vanity”: “all human toil serves the mouth, and still desire is not quieted.” He sees the phenomenon of unquenchable desire, of ever-increasing demand, which, in the end, means only toil (*‘āmāl*) for those who are never satisfied. Here *n.* is esp. near the concrete meaning (par. *peh* “mouth”; cf. also the verb *ml’* ni. “to be filled”); one could even translate *n.* here with “gullet.” These passages indicate that even in later times the concrete meaning “throat, gullet” was not forgotten.

(e) The importance of this semantic category is indicated by the fact that it includes several fixed expressions with *n.*: the particularly lustful person is called *ba‘al n.* (Prov 23:2; cf. L. Kopf, *VT* 8 [1958]: 183) or *‘az n.* (Isa 56:11); the one who cannot get enough is called *r’ḥab-n.*, the “greedy” (Prov 28:25). If this meaning, “craving, desire, want,” is not a secondary development of the term (so Eichrodt 2:138) but a close approximation of the basic meaning, then *n.* “craving, desire” designates a basic aspect of humanity. A fundamental distinction to an understanding of humanity that essentially juxtaposes the “soul” with desire and views the latter (Gk. *epithymia*) negatively from the outset is already apparent here. But this understanding of humanity stands nearer to modern psychology and sociology to the extent that it also regards craving and desire as fundamentally human.

3. Passages in which *n.* can be translated “soul” follow.

(a) About 20 passages link *n.* with → *wh* pi./hitp. “to desire” or *awwâ* and *ta’awâ* “desire.” This semantic category resembles 2a–e; there *n.* was desire, here desire is attributed to the *n.* This association of *n.* with *wh* implies a specific aspect of its meaning, i.e., desire, will, longing. *n.*, then, is not fundamentally a passive state of being but an active pursuit of something. Just as *n.* can mean “hunger” (2a), here the *n.* can desire (hunger; Mic 7:1 “no figs for which my heart longs”). In a similar but broader sense, *n.* appears with *wh* pi. in Deut 12:20; 14:26 (alongside *š’l* qal “to require”); 1 Sam 2:16; 20:4 txt em, “take what your heart desires”; 2 Sam 3:21; 1 Kgs 11:37; Job 23:13; Prov 21:10; with *wh* hitp., Prov 13:4 txt?; with *awwâ*, Deut 12:15, 20f., “whatever your heart desires”; 18:6; 1 Sam 23:20; Jer 2:24 txt?; with *ta’awâ*, Psa 10:3; Prov 13:19, “satisfied desire is sweet to the soul”; with *hawwâ* “desire,” Mic 7:3, “the powerful decide according to their desire.” Only in a very late passage, in a psalm in the Isa

Apocalypse, is this desire directed toward God: Isa 26:8 txt? (*ta<sup>ʔa</sup>wâ*); v 9 “my soul longs (*ʔwh* pi.) for you in the night, and my spirit within me craves (*šhr* pi.) for you” (see IV/3).

(b) *n.* in the meaning “desire, longing” could refer to the longing of the hungry, et al. (see 2a); thus the “soul” can now be said to hunger or be satisfied. The translation “soul” fits in this passages only as a makeshift; passages in category 3b combine the meanings “desire” and “soul.”

Psa 107:9 speaks of physical hunger: “for he satisfies the withered (languishing) soul, and he fills the hungry soul with good things.” Prov 19:15; 25:25; 27:7b also mention the “hungry soul.” Num 11:6 describes the languishing of the hungry during the wilderness wandering: “and now, our soul withers (*ybsš*)” (cf. Psa 107:9); the concrete meaning is also close at hand here, even when the satisfaction of hunger is described as “filling” (*ml<sup>ʔ</sup>* pi., Prov 6:30). The fullness of the *n.* corresponds to its emptiness as expressed in Isa 32:6, “to leave the *n.* of the hungry empty.”

Hunger can also be an intentional act, namely in fasts (→ *sûm*); the expression for “to fast” (→ *nh* pi. *n.*), then, originally expressed a suppression or repression of desire (for nourishment). Yet one could assign passages with *nh* pi. *n.* “to mortify oneself” (Lev 16:29, 31; 23:27, 32; Num 29:7; 30:14; Isa 58:3, 5; Psa 35:13) to the pron.-reflexive usage of *n.* (see 5d; cf. Elliger, HAT 4, 319) on account of Lev 23:29, “everyone who does not practice self-mortification (*nh* pu.) . . . shall be eradicated” (see 5a).

In a few passages, thirst or yearning is directed toward God: Psa 42:2f.; 63:2; 119:20, 81; 143:6; for the courts of the temple, Psa 84:3; see IV/3.

A small group in which *nš<sup>ʔ</sup>* qal/pi. *nepesš* means “to yearn, long after” may be included here (→ *nš<sup>ʔ</sup>* 3d; qal: Deut 24:15; Hos 4:8; Psa 24:4 txt em; Prov 19:18; pi.: Jer 22:27; 44:14; cf. also Ezek 24:25, *maššā<sup>ʔ</sup> napšām* “the desire of their heart” [v 21 *maḥmal napš<sup>ʔ</sup>kem* with the meaning of the root *hml*, Arab. “to bear,” parallel to *nš<sup>ʔ</sup>*; cf. Zimmerli, Ezek, Herm, 1:503]). The expression refers to hopeful, desirous attention to God in Psa 25:1; 86:4; 143:8 (*nš<sup>ʔ</sup>* qal).

A few of the phrases that mention hunger and thirst also go on to discuss the counterpart, satisfaction or refreshment (Isa 56:11; Psa 107:9; Prov 6:30; 25:25; 27:7). A corresponding group of passages speak explicitly of the satisfaction, restoration, or refreshment of the *n.* (Jer 31:14; 50:19; Psa 63:6; 88:4; 123:4; Eccl 6:3; pi. Ezek 7:19; hi. Isa 58:10; *šābēa<sup>ʔ</sup>* “satisfied,” Prov 27:7; *šōba<sup>ʔ</sup>* “satiation,” Prov 13:25); with *ng* hitp. “to take refreshment” (Isa 55:2); with *rwh* pi. “to satisfy with drink” (Jer 31:14 par. *šb<sup>ʔ</sup>* qal; cf. v 12 “like a well-watered garden”; hi. Jer 31:25 par. *ml<sup>ʔ</sup>* pi.);

with *dšn* pu. “to be made fat = to be satiated” (Prov 11:25; 13:4b). A few of these passages mention the satiation of physical hunger, e.g., Prov 27:7 “the sated *n.* treads honeycombs.” Here *n.* very nearly approximates the meaning “desire”: if hunger is stilled, one pays no attention to nourishment. Passages that make promises also refer to the satisfaction of physical hunger (Isa 55:2; Jer 31:14, 25; 50:19). The satisfaction of the *n.* can also be used fig., parabolically, both negatively (Psa 88:4 “my soul is sated with suffering”; 123:4 “our soul is oversated with mockery”) and positively (Psa 63:6 “my soul is sated as with marrow and fat”; Prov 11:25 “the soul that does well will be richly sated”). The translation “soul” is more appropriate for these passages.

The specific idea of the expression *šûb* hi./po. “to restore, revive” with the obj. *n.* is not entirely certain. That which is restored, reestablished, can only properly be (healthy) life; *n.* would then be understood here as “life.” Lam 1:16 can be understood best in this way: “for the comforter who could revive me (*mēšîb napšî*) is far from me”; so also Ruth 4:15 “he will restore your life.” It is also possible, however, that *n.* as the obj. of *šûb* hi./po. actually means “desire”; thus ZB translates Psa 23:3 (po.) “he quiets my desire.” This meaning is also more appropriate for Lam 1:11: “they give their treasures for food in order to quiet hunger,” although “to prolong life” is also conceivable (so e.g., Rudolph, KAT 17/3, 205). Cf. moreover Psa 19:8 “the law of Yahweh revives (hi.) the soul”; Prov 25:13 “a dependable messenger . . . revives (hi.) the heart of his lord.” The usage in this group stands in the middle between the meanings “soul” and “life”; the translation “life force, vitality” may correspond best (cf. the title of Johnson’s study listed in III).

(c) Only the group of passages that speak of the misery and sorrow (less often the joy and comfort) of the *n.* may be unequivocally and always appropriately translated “soul” in accord with Eng. usage.

*n.* appears with terms from the root *mrr* “to be bitter” in 15 passages, 10x in the fixed combination *mar n.* (Judg 18:25; 1 Sam 1:10; 22:2; 2 Sam 17:8; Isa 38:15; Ezek 27:31; Job 3:20; 7:11; 10:1; Prov 31:6), also *n. mārâ* (Job 21:25), with *mrr* qal (1 Sam 30:6; 2 Kgs 4:27), *mrr* hi. “to embitter” (Job 27:2), and *môrâ* “bitterness” (Prov 14:10); *mar n.* “with a sorrowful heart” often occurs in lament contexts (cf. Hannah in 1 Sam 1:10; Job in Job 7:11; 10:1), yet the same expression has a somewhat different meaning in *ʾîš/ʾnāšîm mar/mār n.* “desperate men, outcasts” (Judg 18:25; 1 Sam 22:2; 2 Sam 17:8). One may translate “desperate people” in every case allowing for various nuances (cf. Eng. “embittered” and “resentful,” “grief” and “to become angry”).

The sense of the combination of *n.* and *mrr* can be inferred from the verbal formulation of Job 27:2: “the Almighty, who has made my *n.* bitter.”

The healthy and whole *n.* can be altered when God makes it bitter. The person has become bitter at the center, at the core, and thus in totality (“sorrowful” is actually too weak a translation of the Hebr. *mar*). By no means accidentally, the fixed expression *mar n.* indicates a typical element of the OT understanding of *n.*: melancholy, desperation, and bitterness demonstrate the humanity of the individual with particular clarity; these very elements constitute the “uniqueness” (M. Heidegger) of humanity.

In addition to the combination of *n.* with *mrr*, a series of expressions depict human sorrow, suffering, despair, and hardship by attributing them to the *n.* Expressions that occur in the laments should be mentioned first: Jer 13:17; Psa 6:4; 13:3; 31:10 (*n.* par. *beten* “belly”; cf. 44:26); 42:6f., 12; 43:5; 44:26; 57:7; 119:25, 28; Lam 3:20; cf. Job 14:22; Prov 27:9 txt?; Song Sol 5:6; reflecting on the lament, Jonah 2:8 “as my soul despaired (‘*tp hitp.*) within me”; cf. Psa 107:5, 26. The chapter of curses, Deut 28, announces: “Yahweh will give you there languishing eyes and despairing souls” (v 65; *d°ābôn* “failure” only here; cf. *d°b* qal “to languish,” Jer 31:25). An announcement of judgment in Isa 19:10 speaks of *°agmê-n.* “the troubled” (*°āgēm* “sorrowful” only here). In the Joseph narrative, the brothers reflect: “we saw the distress (*šārâ*) of his soul” (Gen 42:21). The connotation is “we saw his distress”; in the context of the sober, prosaic diction of the passage, the expression “the distress of his soul” can only mean “we saw him in all his distress, distress that gripped his entire existence.” Isa 53:11 mentions the “hardship (*°āmāl*) of (the servant’s) soul”; the sense corresponds to Gen 42:21. On Psa 105:18 cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:307.

A description peculiar to the OT lament is “to pour out (*špk*) the heart (soul)” (1 Sam 1:15; Psa 42:5; Job 30:16). According to Pedersen’s explanation (*ILC* 1–2:149f.), laments empty their souls in order to merit mercy in this emptiness and powerlessness; it would then be one of the gestures of self-denigration intended to effect assistance. This explanation does not correspond, however, to the overall usage of *n.* Psa 102:1, in particular, suggests the contrary: “the prayer of a sufferer, when . . . pouring out a lament before Yahweh.” This is the same expression with the substitution of *šāh* “lament” for *n.* That the pouring out of the lament can be mentioned just as the pouring out of the soul indicates that *n.* here is the lamenting self; the lament in which one “expresses oneself” is itself a pouring out. *n.* here means, then, the I, the self.

One may note here the remarkable phenomenon that the large and highly varied group that depicts the soul as melancholy, embittered, troubled, has virtually no counterpart that portrays the soul rejoicing, experiencing delight, bliss, etc. The request in Psa 86:4a, “gladden the soul of your servant,” pleads for joy. Something can occasionally be described as “sweet for the soul” (Prov 16:24); knowledge is “pleasant” for the soul (*n°m* qal; Prov 2:10); cf. Prov 29:17 (*ma°dannîm* “bliss”). Passages in

which the soul finds comfort and power are also infrequent (Judg 5:21 txt?; Jer 6:16; Psa 77:3; 94:19; 116:7; 138:3). The only significant group consists of the verbs of praise often associated with *n.* and corresponding to the lament, the pouring out of the heart, e.g., esp. in the self-adjunction to praise, “praise Yahweh, O my soul” (Psa 103:1f., 22; 104:1, 35; cf. also Isa 61:10; Psa 34:3; 35:9; 71:23; 146:1). Evildoers are said to praise themselves (= their own souls), Psa 49:19. These passages actually belong, however, to the category in which the *n.* is the I or the self (see 5d).

(d) Hope in Yahweh (→ *qwh* pi.) can be described as the soul’s hope in him (Psa 130:5f. txt em: *napšî* “my soul” = “I”), also with *drš* “to seek” (Lam 3:25 par. *qwh* ) and *hkh* pi. “to wait” (33:20). In terms of content, this usage corresponds to 62:2, “for God alone is my soul still” (cf. v 6; 131:2 also belongs here).

The soul’s search can also be discussed without orientation toward God: Eccl 7:28 “what my soul perpetually sought (*bqš* pi.)”; the reference here is clear: “what I continually sought with all intensity.” The yearning, the longing, of the soul can be seen together with hope; it also closely resembles thirst in the fig. sense, however, esp. when despair and yearning coincide (see 3b).

(e) Several passages discuss the inclination or the aversion of the soul.

In Song Sol the *n.* is the subj. of the love between man and woman (“you, whom my soul loves [→ *ḥb* III/2]“ = “my beloved,” Song Sol 1:7; 3:1–4; cf. Jer 12:7, *y<sup>c</sup>dîdût napšî* “the darling of my soul”; with → *dbq* “to cling to,” Gen 34:3; with *ḥšq* “to cling to,” Gen 34:8). The *n.* is also discussed in the context of the friendship between David and Jonathan: 1 Sam 18:1 “Jonathan’s *n.* was bound (*qšr* ni.) to David’s *n.*, and Jonathan loved him like his own *n.*” (cf. v 3 and 20:17; Deut 13:7; similarly Gen 44:30 with *qšr* qal).

This category is esp. characteristic of *n.* The translation “soul (or heart)” is entirely appropriate here; but it is also clear at the same time that *n.* in these passages is not something existent, present, but a movement toward something; *n.* here corresponds totally to the meaning “desire.”

*dbq* “to cling to” rarely applies to relationship with God, e.g., Psa 63:9 “my soul clings to you” (Isa 66:3 with *ḥpš* “to be pleased” with the idols), or conversely, to God’s pleasure (*ršh*) in the servant of God in Isa 42:1 “in whom my soul takes pleasure.” The inclination of the soul can also be expressed nom.; cf. Jer 15:1, reversed in 6:8. In Job 30:25 *ḡm* qal “to have sympathy” indicates partiality toward the poor (the verb occurs only here).

The expression *bekol-n.* “with the whole soul” belongs in this category. Deut 6:5 and 30:6 (“love Yahweh . . . with your whole soul”) illustrate the relationship. Since *n.* is the subj. of love in many passages, “love with the whole soul” can be understood as an expansion. The expression is also a relatively late construction, as indicated by the addition of → *lēb* “heart” with *n.* in the same expression mitigating the specific meaning of the individual words: the subj. of love in Hebr. is *n.*, not *lēb*; the combination has a rhetorical character and first occurs, apparently, in Dtn diction (cf. also 1 Chron 22:19; 28:9, *b<sup>c</sup>nepēš ḥ<sup>a</sup>pēšâ* “with a willing soul” alongside “with the whole heart”).

The usage of the expression must be analyzed in terms of a distinction between a fully meaningful usage and a usage gradually becoming formulaic. It is fully meaningful when it directly expresses a personal relationship between God and an individual (*ʾḥb* “to love,” *ʿbd* “to serve,” etc., already somewhat more formulaic in *hkl l<sup>c</sup>pānay* “to walk before me,” *šûb ʾēlay* “to return to me,” etc.): Deut 4:29; 6:5; 10:12; 11:13; 13:4; 26:16; 30:2, 6, 10; Josh 22:5; 23:14; 1 Kgs 2:4; 8:48 = 2 Chron 6:38; 2 Kgs 23:25; 2 Chron 15:12; the expression has become formulaic in association with the observance of the commandments (2 Kgs 23:3 = 2 Chron 34:31); it is merely an empty formula in Jer 32:41, “and I (God) will plant them in this land with the whole heart and the whole soul.” The gradual devaluation of this formula indicates that *n.* could become far removed from its precise original meaning in fixed parenetic diction. Deut 11:18 (in a later insertion) also evidences this formulaic diction: “write these my words in the heart and in the soul.” Here *n.* has become something present in the person; an objectifying tendency is manifest.

The following verbs characterize the inclination of the *n.*: *śn<sup>ʾ</sup>* “to hate” (2 Sam 5:8; Isa 1:14 “my soul hates [= ‘I hate’] your new moons and your feasts”; Psa 11:5), *g<sup>ʾ</sup>* “to abhor, have disgust for” (Lev 26:11, 15, 30, 43; “to become weary,” Jer 14:19), *qûš* “to feel aversion to” (Num 21:5; cf. Psa 106:15, where many exegetes postulate a word for “aversion” instead of *rāzôn* “emaciation”), *t<sup>ʿ</sup>b* pi. “to abhor” (Psa 107:18; cf. *tô<sup>c</sup>ēbâ*, Prov 6:16 “seven are an abomination to his soul”), *zhm* pi. “to disgust, make loathsome to” (Job 33:20, bread, the verb occurs only here; cf. Job 6:7 “my soul is unwilling to touch them”), *qûṭ* “to be disgusted” (Job 10:1), *bḥl* “to despise” (Zech 11:8 txt?), and *yq<sup>c</sup>/nq<sup>c</sup>* “to become weary” (Ezek 23:17, 18[bis], 22, 28); cf. also *š<sup>c</sup>ʾāṭ* “disdain” (Ezek 25:6, 15; 36:5, only here, always with *n.*).

(f) The group with *n.* as the subj. of → *ḥyh* qal “to remain alive” or the obj. of *ḥyh* pi./hi. “to keep alive” constitutes a bridge between the meanings “soul” and “life” (see 4). *n./n<sup>c</sup>pāšôt* with *ḥyh* qal occurs in Gen 12:13 (“so

that it may go well with me on your account, and through you my *n.* may remain alive”); 19:20; 1 Kgs 20:32 (“may my *n.* yet live” = “let me stay alive”); Isa 55:3; Jer 38:17, 20; Ezek 13:19; Psa 119:175; with *hyh* pi., 1 Kgs 20:31 (“perhaps he will let you live”); Ezek 13:18f.; 18:27; Psa 22:30 txt?; with *hyh* hi., Gen 19:19; cf. also 2 Sam 1:9 “my soul (my life) is still in me”; Hab 2:4 txt?; Psa 66:9 “he brought our souls to life”; Job 12:10 “in whose hand are the souls of all living things”; Job 24:12 txt?; in addition, 1 Kgs 17:21f. and Ezek 47:9 mentioned in 1a.

The phrase “your *n.* will remain alive” should not be understood as a tautology; the connotation is your “I” that loves and hates, sorrows and rejoices, will remain alive. This usage group should be understood against the background of threat and danger to life: the *n.* threatened by death and striving for life is discussed here. In most passages in this group *n.* can also be rendered by per. prons. (see 5d; e.g., 1 Kgs 20:32, see above; Psa 119:175 “let me live so that I may praise you”).

(g) If one surveys the categories in which “soul” translates *n.*, one notes, first of all, a peculiar polar character of the usage of *n.* The soul thirsts/becomes sated; it desires/finds peace; it sorrows/rejoices; it loves/hates, etc. In these categories *n.* exists only in such contrasts. An additional observation is that an intensive orientation toward something dominates this usage. It can have a more passive (thirst, famish, etc.) or a more active sense (hate, abhor, etc.). The commonality is the intensity of the experience. Both observations belong together and point to the characteristic element of *n.* “soul.” They indicate that this category of usage closely resembles that in which *n.* denotes “desire, longing, yearning” (see 2), but that the Eng. translation “soul” is, in part, only a makeshift. Only in 3c-d do the usage of Eng. “soul” and Hebr. *n.* coincide to a degree. *n.* appears once alongside → *bāsār* “body” (Isa 10:18 “he will destroy soul and body”) as a merism in the sense of “entirely.”

4. The meaning “life” for *n.* is attested more often, more densely, and more uniformly than the meaning “soul”; the term would have been heard first and foremost in this sense in Hebr., although the word does not fully coincide with Eng. “life.” An essential distinction from the prior categories with *n.* = “soul” consists in the fact that *n.* is usually the subj. in the former; by contrast, in the latter it is usually the obj.

(a) A number of passages speak of the deliverance of life, whether one saves another’s life (e.g., 2 Sam 19:6), one’s own life (e.g., 1 Sam 19:11), or God saves one’s life (often in the Psa; with a fluid transition between “save oneself” and “be saved by God,” Ezek 14:14, 20). Almost all the verbs of deliverance can have *n.* as obj.: *nsl* pi. “to deliver” (Ezek 14:14 txt?), hi. “to deliver” (Josh 2:13; Isa 44:20; 47:14; Ezek 3:19, 21; 14:20; 33:9; Prov 14:25; 23:14; subj. God: Jer 20:13; Psa 22:21; 33:19;

56:14; 86:13; 116:8; 120:2; ni., Gen 32:31); *mlt* pi. “to deliver” (1 Sam 19:11; 2 Sam 19:6; 1 Kgs 1:12; Jer 48:6; 51:6, 45; Ezek 33:5; Amos 2:14f.; Psa 89:49; subj. God: Psa 116:4; ni., Psa 124:7); in the following always with God as subj.: *hlš* pi. “to deliver” (Psa 6:5), *plš* pi. “to deliver” (Psa 17:13), *yš<sup>c</sup>* hi. “to help” (Psa 72:13), *pdh* qal “to redeem” (2 Sam 4:9; 1 Kgs 1:29; Psa 34:23; 49:16; 55:19; 71:23; Job 33:28), *g<sup>l</sup>* qal “to redeem” (Psa 69:19; 72:14), *š<sup>u</sup>b* hi. “to return” (Psa 35:17; Job 33:30), *šlh* pi. “to set free” (Ezek 13:20), *yš<sup>g</sup>* hi. “to lead out” (Psa 142:8; 143:11), *lh* hi. “to lead up” (Psa 30:4, from the world of the dead), and *ip<sup>g</sup>* qal “to heal” (Psa 41:5), *hšk* qal “to restrain” (Psa 78:50 of death; Isa 38:17 txt em from *hšq*); cf. Lam 3:58 “you have pursued my cause (*rīb*)”; with the king as subj.: *ntn* ni. “to be given” (Esth 7:3).

Passages that treat the preservation of life belong here: with *šmr* qal “to preserve” (Deut 4:9; cf. v 15 ni.; Job 2:6 “only spare his life”; Prov 13:3; 16:17; 19:16; 21:23; 22:5; subj. God: Psa 25:20; 86:2; 97:10; 121:7), *smk* qal “to support” (Psa 54:6), *hšk* qal (Job 33:18 “to keep his soul from the grave”), and *hsh* qal “to hide oneself” (Psa 57:2); cf. also the expressions in Psa 74:19 “do not abandon the soul of your dove to the predator”; 1 Sam 25:29 “so may the *n.* of my lord be preserved in the bundle of the living (*š<sup>r</sup>ôr haḥayyîm*) by Yahweh your God” (cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *JNES* 18 [1959]: 121–28; O. Eissfeldt, *Der Beutel der Lebendigen* [1960]) and *ntn/hyh l<sup>š</sup>ālāl* “to give/become plunder” (Jer 45:5 or 21:9; 38:2; 39:18, resp.).

In 2 Kgs 1:13f. the captain pleads with Elijah to spare him and his people: “may my *n.* and the *n.* of the people be dear in your eyes” (also with *yqr* qal “to be precious,” 1 Sam 26:21, where David spares Saul’s life; with *gd*l “to be great, valuable” in v 24; cf. *yqr* also in Psa 49:9 “the purchase price for their life is too high”; Prov 6:26 txt? *n. y<sup>c</sup>qārâ* “precious life”; and Job 2:4 “one would give everything one has for one’s life”). No quality makes life precious—life itself is precious. Because the *n.* is dear and precious, it requires attention (*drš* Psa 142:5; *yd<sup>c</sup>* Psa 31:8; Job 9:21; *nšr* Prov 24:12; cf. also Ezek 16:5 with *gō<sup>c</sup>al* “disregard,” “because no one attended to your life”).

Mention can also be made in this context of Psa 22:21 and 35:17 (see 4a) with the occasional *y<sup>c</sup>hîdâtî* “my only treasure” (lit. “my only”) par. *napšî*.

A series of prep. locutions express “life and death” urgency (with *l<sup>c</sup>*: 1 Kgs 19:3; 2 Kgs 7:7; with *be*: Jer 17:21; Prov 7:23; with *le*: Deut 4:15; Josh 23:11; with *l<sup>c</sup>*: Gen 19:17; Lam 2:19; Esth 7:7; 8:11; 9:16; somewhat differently with *be* “under threat to life,” 2 Sam 23:17 = 1 Chron 11:19; Lam

5:9, or “with loss of life,” Num 17:3; 1 Kgs 2:23). Additional expressions for risking life are *šîm b<sup>c</sup>kap* “to take in hand” (Judg 12:3; 1 Sam 19:5; 28:21; Job 13:14; similarly Psa 119:109), *h̄rp* pi. “to scorn” (Judg 5:18), and *šlk* hi. “to throw away” (Judg 9:17).

The formulation *n. (taḥat/b<sup>c</sup>) n.* “life for life” (Exod 21:23; Lev 24:18; Deut 19:21), a clause from the old talion law (cf. V. Wagner, *Rechtssätze in gebundener Sprache und Rechtsatzreihen im isr. Recht* [1972], 3–15; an example of the execution of this law is reported in 2 Sam 14:7; cf. also Gen 9:6 and v 4; also Jonah 1:14) again demonstrates the preciousness of life. *n.* here cannot abstractly mean “life” but only the individual “I” whose destruction demands this retribution. The offer of one’s life as a guarantee for someone or something expresses the same understanding and the same evaluation of the *n.* (*n. taḥat n.*, 1 Kgs 20:39, 42; 2 Kgs 10:24; similarly Josh 2:14; significantly, Deut 24:6 “one should not take the handmill . . . as a pledge, for thereby one would take the *n.* as a pledge”). Under some circumstances ransom may be paid for a life (*pidyôn*, Exod 21:30; *kōper* Exod 30:12; *kpr* pi. vv 15f.; Lev 17:11; this is explicitly forbidden for the life of a murderer, Num 35:31). Prov 13:8 states that for some, wealth is a ransom for life. Israel is so precious to Yahweh that he gives nations for its life (Isa 43:4). Isa 53:10 can be understood against the background of all these passages that presuppose the value of life (also Mic 6:7 “shall I give the fruit of my body as a sin offering for my life?”): “when he offers his life as a guilt offering (*ʿāšām*). “

(b) Statements concerning deliverance, preservation, and treasuring life may be compared with those concerning threat to and loss of life.

Fear for life is evident in Josh 9:24 (→ *yr<sup>c</sup>I<sup>e</sup>* “fear for”), Isa 15:4 (*yr<sup>c</sup>* “to tremble,” only here), and Ezek 32:10 (*h̄rdI<sup>e</sup>* “to tremble for”).

Passages describing a threat posed by enemies are very common. They usually involve → *bqš* pi. “to seek after” (Exod 4:19; 1 Sam 20:1; 22:23[bis]; 23:15; 25:29; 2 Sam 4:8; 16:11; 1 Kgs 19:10, 14; Jer 4:30; 11:21; 19:7, 9; 21:7; 22:25; 34:20f.; 38:16; 44:30[bis]; 46:26; 49:37; Psa 35:4; 38:13; 40:15; 54:5; 63:10; 70:3; 86:14) but may also involve a wide variety of disparate verbs: *ʔrb* “to lie in wait” (Psa 59:4), *gdd<sup>c</sup>al* “to conspire against” (Psa 94:21), *h̄prI<sup>e</sup>* “to dig a pit” (Psa 35:7), *ygh* hi. “to plague” (Job 19:2), *krh šûḥâ* “to dig a pit” (Jer 18:20), *nqš* hitp. *be* “to ambush” (1 Sam 28:9), *šdh* “to ambush” (1 Sam 24:12), *šûd* pil. “to hunt down” (Ezek 13:18, 20), *špnI<sup>e</sup>* “to lie in wait for” (Prov 1:18), *šrr* “to alienate” (Psa 143:12), *qwh* pi. “to lie in wait” (Psa 56:7), *rdp* “to pursue” (Psa 143:3), *štn* “to be hostile to” (Psa 71:13), *šʔl* “to require, demand” (1 Kgs 3:11 = 2 Chron 1:11; Job 31:30), and *šmr* “to watch for” (Psa 71:10); cf. also *môqēš* “trap” (Prov 18:7; 22:25) and *paḥ* “trap” (Psa 124:7).

The following verbs indicate violent loss of life: *nkh* hi. “to smite” (Gen 37:21; Lev 24:17f.; Num 35:11, 15, 30a; Deut 19:6, 11; Josh 20:3, 9; Jer 40:14f.), *lqh* “to take away” (Ezek 33:6; Psa 31:14; Prov 1:19; 11:30), uniquely *ʔbd* pi. “to destroy” (Ezek 22:27), *ʔkl* “to devour” (Ezek 22:25), *hrg* “to kill” (Num 31:19; cf. Jer 4:31), *krt* hi. “to exterminate” (Ezek 17:17), *mût* hi. “to kill” (Ezek 13:19), and *rsh* “to slay” (Deut 22:26); cf. also the circumlocution in 1 Kgs 19:2 and the picturesque expression with *ql<sup>c</sup>* pi. “to sling forth” in 1 Sam 25:29 (see 4a on the opposite, “to keep in the bundle of the living”). Less formulaic expressions for dying with *n.* occur: with *mût* “to die” (Judg 16:30; Job 36:14; “the death of the righteous,” Num 23:10), *ys<sup>ʔ</sup>* “to go out” (Gen 35:18), *nph* “to expire” (Jer 15:9; hi. Job 31:39; cf. Job 11:20, *mappah-n.* “the expiration of the *n.* “), *špk* hitp. “to expire” (Lam 2:12); cf. also Isa 53:12 (“to surrender his life,” *ʔth* hi. “to pour out”); Psa 94:17 (“to live in a quiet land”); Job 33:22 “his soul approaches the grave,” par. *hayyâ* “life” (→ *hyh* 3d); 1 Kgs 19:4; Jonah 4:8; Job 7:15 of the wish for death.

The following passages depict God’s destruction of life: with *ʔsp* “to carry off” (Psa 26:9, a negative request), *dûb* hi. “to cause to languish” (Lev 26:16, punishment), *drs<sup>ʔ</sup>* “to require” (Gen 9:5b), *znh* “to offend” (Psa 88:15, an accusation; Lam 3:17, lament), *lqh* “to take away” (1 Kgs 19:4 and Jonah 4:3, a positive request), *ns<sup>ʔ</sup>* “to carry off” (2 Sam 14:14, statement of confidence; Job 27:8 txt em), *ʔzb* “to abandon (to death)” (Psa 16:10, statement of confidence), *ʔth* pi. “to pour out” (Psa 141:8, negative request), *qb<sup>c</sup>* “to rob” (Prov 22:23), and *ql<sup>c</sup>* pi. “to sling forth” (1 Sam 25:29, see above).

(c) A review of passages in which *n.* means “life” (or in which it can be translated with the Eng. word “life”) reveals a surprising circumstance: *n.* does not mean “life” in the general, very broad sense in which modern European languages use it (life in terms of divergent forms of the phenomenon; cf. “big-city life,” “course of life,” etc.). Instead, usage is strictly confined to the limits of life; *n.* is life in contrast to death. Consequently, occurrences of *n.* in this meaning divide naturally into two major categories (see 4a and b); one concerns deliverance or preservation, the other threat or destruction of life.

On the similar, yet still largely distinct, usage of *hayyîm* “life,” cf. → *hyh* 3e, 4b; by contrast, *hayyâ* in the meaning “life” is practically synonymous (Psa 74:19; 78:50; 143:3; Job 33:18, 20, 22, 28; 36:14; → *hyh* 3d). On the meaning “lifetime, life span,” → *yôm* 3g.

5. According to the holistic OT understanding of the person, the *n.* is not set apart as a distinct aspect of the human (Gen 2:7 “then the man

became a *n. ḥayyā*”; cf. Köhler 142: “Soul is the nature of man, not his possession”; W. H. Schmidt, *EvT* 24 [1964]: 381). One can easily understand, therefore, that *n.* should be translated “living being (animal or human)” in several texts, but then also “person, individual, self, someone” in a very general and more abstract, even sometimes a pron. sense; with the relevant suf., the word often serves as a substitute for “I, you,” etc., while the intentionality and intensity characteristic of the word remain constant (Johnson, op. cit. 18: “a *pathetic* periphrasis for such a pronoun”). In addition to the passages already mentioned in 1a (Gen 2:7, 19 and priestly texts), usages in (a) casuistic laws, (b) lists, (c) general phrases, and (d) as a substitute for a pron. should be mentioned in particular.

(a) If casuistic law seeks to designate the given actor as generally as possible, both in the determination of the circumstance and in the determination of the consequence, the original collective → *ʾādām* (the formula *ʾādām kî* . . . “if someone . . .” occurs in the OT in Lev 1:2; 13:9; Num 19:4; see Elliger, HAT 4, 34) or the gender-exclusive → *ʾiš* (cf. Lev 17:4, 9) is not very suitable; *n.* “human, person, someone” serves here as a more abstract juristic term.

The protasis often has *n. kî* or *n. ʾāšer* “if someone” (Lev 2:1; 4:2; 5:1f., 4, 15, 17, 21; 7:20f., 27; 17:15; 20:6a; 22:6; 23:29f.; Num 15:30; cf. also Lev 4:27; 7:18; Num 5:6; 15:27f.; 19:22), the apodosis describes the punishment with *krt* ni. “to exterminate” (Gen 17:14; Exod 12:15, 19; 31:14; Lev 7:20f., 25, 27; 18:29; 19:8; 22:3), with *ʾbd* hi. (Lev 23:30), and with *ntn pānayb<sup>c</sup>* “to direct my countenance against” (17:10; 20:6b).

(b) The use of *n.* in lists is similar (Isa 52:29 “in the 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar, 832 souls from Jerusalem,” of the deportation) and tabulations (Exod 12:4 “according to the number of souls”); with *kōl* the meaning “all” or “every” results (e.g., Exod 12:16; Ezek 18:4). In addition to the examples mentioned, the following passages belong here: Gen 46:15, 18, 22, 25f., 27(bis); Exod 1:5(bis); 16:16; Lev 17:2 (“no one”); Num 31:28, 35(bis), 40(bis), 46; Deut 10:22; Josh 10:28, 30, 32, 35, 37(bis), 39; 11:11; 1 Sam 22:22; Jer 43:6; 52:30(bis); 1 Chron 5:21.

(c) *n.* “person, individual, human” and in the pl. “people” also occurs when the terminology should be kept as general as possible (Lev 27:2; Num 19:18; 35:30b; Deut 24:7; 2 Kgs 12:5; Judg 18:25; Isa 49:7 txt?; Jer 2:34; Ezek 18:4, 20; Prov 28:17). In enumerations of those subordinate to the head of a family, *n.* can be contrasted either with a member of the immediate family (Gen 36:6) or the family’s belongings (Gen 14:21) and indicates, then, the slaves (Gen 12:5); also in Lev 22:11 and Ezek 27:13 *n.* or *n. ʾādām* should be translated “slave.”

(d) It is often a matter of judgment whether one should translate *napšî* as “my soul” or as the pron. “I” (e.g., see 3f; in the Psa, esp.,

semasiological and stylistic factors must be taken into account). With this reservation, the following passages may be categorized as pron. usages:

1st-per. sg.: Gen 19:19f.; 27:4, 25; 49:6; 2 Sam 18:13 Q; 1 Kgs 20:32; Isa 1:14; Jer 4:19; 5:9, 29; 9:8; Ezek 4:14; Psa 3:3; 7:3, 6; 11:1; 35:3, 12; 57:5; 66:16; 109:20; 119:129, 167, 175; 120:6; 139:14; Job 16:4; Eccl 7:28; Lam 3:24, 51; reflexive: Psa 35:13; Eccl 4:8; Song Sol 6:12 txt?;

2d-per. sg.: Gen 27:19, 31; Isa 51:23; Prov 3:22; 24:14 txt?; along with the oath formula, “as surely as you live,” 1 Sam 1:26; 17:55; 20:3; 25:26; 2 Sam 11:11; 14:19; 2 Kgs 2:2, 4, 6; 4:30; reflexively “yourself”: Judg 18:25; Hab 2:10; cf. Esth 4:13 “you only”;

3d-per. sg.: Psa 25:13; 109:31 txt?; Prov 29:10; Eccl 6:2; reflexively “oneself”: Num 30:3–13; Isa 58:5; Jer 3:11 (fem.); 51:14; Amos 6:8; Job 18:4; 32:2; Prov 6:32; 8:36; 11:17; 15:32; 19:8; 20:2; 29:24;

1st-per. pl.: Num 31:50; reflexively: Isa 58:3; Jer 26:19;

2d-per. pl.: Job 16:4; reflexively: Lev 11:43f.; 16:29, 31; 20:25; 23:27, 32; Num 29:7 (cf. 30:14); Jer 37:9; 42:20; 44:7; cf. Gen 9:5a “your own blood”;

3d-per. pl.: Isa 3:9; 46:2; reflexively: Lam 1:19 txt em (cf. Rudolph, KAT 17/3, 208); Esth 9:31.

6. In a series of legal ordinances concerned with pollution through contact with a corpse (Lev 19:28, lacerations as a mourning custom), *n.* apparently designates the deceased (*n.* or *n. ʾādām*: Lev 19:28; 21:1; 22:4; Num 5:2; 6:11; 9:6f., 10f., 13; Hag 2:13; *n. mēt*: Lev 21:11; Num 6:6). The group of texts in which *n.* means a deceased or a corpse is difficult to explain because *n.* otherwise refers to vitality. The usage probably derives from the general meaning “person” (see 5c); one could regard this designation as a euphemism designed to avoid direct reference to the corpse: Lev 21:11 “he (the high priest) may not approach the ‘person’ of the deceased”; Num 19:11 “whoever touches a dead body, the ‘person’ of anyone,” etc. Other explanations of a linguistic (Johnson, op. cit. 22: “semantic polarization”; contra Seligson, op. cit. 78ff.) or religiohistorical nature (e.g., Elliger, HAT 4, 288: “a technical expression . . . ‘soul’ . . . perceived as spiritually near its abandoned body”) are less satisfactory.

IV. Given the large number of passages with *n.*, it is impossible to define a theological usage. While, e.g., “Yahweh’s arm,” “Yahweh’s countenance,” and “Yahweh’s spirit” could have specific meanings in fixed usages, *n.* does not; the phrase *n. yhwh* does not occur in the OT. The absence of this phrase is grounded in the fact that *n.* in the meaning “desire, wish, longing” describes a unique human characteristic that cannot be attributed to God.

Nevertheless, a number of passages associate *n.* with God and with the events that transpire between God and people. This theological usage

occurs in three major categories: (1) discussions of God's *n.*, (2) of God's action on the human *n.*, and (3) of the attitude of the human *n.* toward God.

1. The use of *n.* in reference to God is rare and sporadic. A small group of passages portray God's aversion to his people with such intensity and passion that God's *n.* is the subj. of the act: Jer 6:8 "be warned, O Jerusalem, lest my soul be estranged from you"; 1:1 "my soul will not incline to this people"; Jer 5:9, 29; 9:8: "should my soul not take vengeance on such a people?"; 14:19 "is your soul weary of Zion?"; cf. also Lev 26:11, 30; Isa 1:14; Ezek 23:18; Zech 11:8. These passages correspond to the category with people as the subjects of intensely passionate aversion (see III/3e). In each of these clauses, the per. pron. could replace *n.* (see III/5d); Isa 1:14 "my soul hates your feasts" means the same as Amos 5:21 "I hate your feasts." The noun *napšî* instead of the pron. serves to intensify the statement; Ezek 23:18 "then my soul became disgusted with you" could also be translated: "then I became thoroughly disgusted with you." This group of texts that describe God's passionate aversion to his people in prophetic language (all passages except Lev 26 are prophetic) with *n.* as the subj. indicates that *n.* is not something that pertains to people (or God) or is in people, but the intensity of a behavior or feeling; *n.* is the intensely purposive "I."

Interestingly, the positive counterpart occurs only rarely with *n.* as the subj. The first Servant Song, Isa 42:1, has "in whom my soul is well pleased"; 1 Sam 2:35 has "I will raise up for me a dependable priest who will act according to my will (*lēb*) and according to my pleasure (*n.*)."

Otherwise *n.* occurs only as a reflexive pron.: God swears by himself, e.g., Amos 6:8 and Jer 51:4.

2. God acts on the human *n.* (a) to save, (b) to bless, or (c) to punish.

(a) The category of texts describing God's activity as the deliverance and preservation of a human life is larger than the first category; these texts deal exclusively with an individual life. Passages are listed above under III/4a: petition for deliverance from death, e.g., Psa 116:4 "Ah, Yahweh, save my life"; praise of God, e.g., Psa 116:8 "indeed, you have saved my life from death." In the face of the richness and multiplicity of the usage of *n.*, this group alone firmly associates the human *n.* in the meaning "life" with the general tenor of OT thought concerning God's activity. The constant precariousness of life characterizes humanity; aware of this danger, one also knows that a stronger power can counteract this threat. In the intensification of this danger to the threat of death and in the resolution of this threat of death, one turns to the God who is a saving God and cries: "who redeems my *n.* from every distress" (2 Sam 4:9; 1 Kgs 1:29). God's

saving activity limits the distress of human endangerment. Here one encounters the most elementary statement of God's activity in the OT, a statement in which the person as *n.* in mortal danger becomes aware of the presence of God's saving and preserving activity: "my life is hidden in you" (Psa 57:2); "in distress, you attend to my *n.*" (Psa 31:8). A person in an unusual situation can be promised the preservation of life, as in the word to Baruch in Jer 45:5: "I will give you your life as booty." Once, in Isa 43:4, "so I will give lands (txt em) for you and nations for your life," God's care is directed at the life of a people; but Israel is addressed here, as often in Deutero-Isa, as a person.

(b) God's activity to bless the *n.* is only rarely discussed, e.g., in Psa 23:3 "he restores my soul" (Luther, NASB) or "he satisfies my desires" (ZB). One can, however, understand the parallelism such that *napsî* "my soul" is a synonym for the previous pron. (suf.) "me," so that the sense would simply be "he revives me" (similar statements in Psa 86:4a; 94:19; 138:3). The unique phrase in Ezek 18:4 "all souls are mine" also belongs in the context of God's preserving activity (Zimmerli [Ezek, Herm, 1:370] translates "every person belongs to me" and emphasizes [p. 379] that this claim to power signifies: "In this way life is protected").

Jer 38:16 uniquely discusses God's creation of the *n.* in an oath formula ("as surely as Yahweh lives who created these our souls for us"). Cf. also Isa 57:16 "the souls that I created indeed" (with obj. *n<sup>c</sup>šāmôt*, → *rûaḥ* III/8).

(c) But even the statement in Ezek 18:4 implies that God can also take life. One should note here, however, that this has not become a general designation for the death of a human being. That God saves, protects, preserves life is a frequent and emphatic statement in the OT, but it has no counterpart to the effect that God takes away, extinguishes, destroys life. This claim is never made generally but only in some special cases and only rarely. God demands a human life (Gen 9:5) only because this person's life has been forfeited because of murder (so also Job 27:8). God punishes the evildoer by taking the evildoer's life (Lev 26:16; Deut 28:65; 1 Sam 25:29). Consequently, the sufferer can complain: "he cast my life out of peace" (Lam 3:17; cf. Psa 88:15; Job 27:2). Sufferers plead with God not to throw away their lives (Psa 26:9; 141:8), or they declare confidently, "you will not abandon my soul to the underworld" (Psa 16:10; cf. 2 Sam 14:14). One can also come to the point, however, where one asks God to take one's life (1 Kgs 19:4; Jonah 4:3). None of the multitude of verdicts, proclamations of judgment, etc., besides the few passages just mentioned, attribute the destruction of the *n.* to God's activity. God's saving and preserving activity of the human *n.* dominates overwhelmingly.

3. Among passages with the human *n.* as the subj. and God as the obj., one group that directs the *n.*'s hope, desire, and yearning toward God

stands out: Isa 26:9 “my soul longs for you in the night”; Psa 33:20 “our soul waits on Yahweh”; 42:2f.; 62:2, 6; 63:9; 84:3; 119:20, 81; 130:5f.; 143:6; Lam 3:25 (see III/3). The meaning “to desire” underlies this entire group, and the comparison with the stag that yearns for water (Psa 42:2) still displays contact with this meaning. That these passages (all in Psa) discuss the human *n.* in relation to God almost exclusively in terms of its hope, desire, thirst for God indicates with particular clarity that *n.* refers precisely to the intense human struggle for life. It is directed toward God because for these people God saves and protects life (see 2). Closely related to this group is the expression in Psa 25:1 “to you, Yahweh, I lift up my soul” (cf. Psa 86:4; 143:8). The same relationship applies to the fixed expression “to pour out the heart before Yahweh” (1 Sam 1:15; cf. Psa 102:1; see III/3c).

In the cultic-rhetorical expression “praise Yahweh, O my soul” (Psa 103:1f., etc., see III/3c), *n.* no longer has a distinct meaning but only the attenuated significance of the per. pron.

The expression “to love God with one’s whole soul” (e.g., Deut 6:5; see III/3e) is a considered construction. It is not meant in the sense of interiority, etc.; instead it refers to the intensity appropriate to the concept of the *n.*

A comparison of IV/2 and IV/3 indicates a remarkable and suggestive circumstance: in reference to God’s activity with the human *n.*, *n.* refers exclusively to “life,” the behavior of the human *n.* directed toward God, always in the sense of “soul.” This circumstance of theological usage confirms the relationship of the categories to one another found above (III/3, 4). The life that God saves and protects, as well as the desire of the soul for God, is life in intentionality. The soul desires life. Both groups occur in the language of the Psa. God’s inclination corresponds to human devotion; *n.* is human selfhood in this reciprocal event.

V. 1. The use of *n.* in the Qumran texts corresponds largely to OT usage, except for the appearance of the new formulation *qûm hi. ‘al-napšô* “to commit oneself to do something” (e.g., CD 16:4; H. A. Brongers, “Das Wort ‘NPŠ’ in den Qumranschriften,” *RQ* 15 [1963]: 407–15).

2. The LXX translation of *n.* with *psychē* has been investigated by N. P. Bratsiotis, *SVT* 15 (1966): 181–228; and D. Lys, *VT* 16 (1966): 181–228, among others.

With great unanimity, OT scholars (a few examples cited in Bratsiotis, op. cit. 58–60) regard the translation of *n.* with *psychē* insufficient or even misleading because it introduces the “Greek doctrine of the soul” or Gk. spiritualism or dualism. If one begins with the pre-Platonic usage of *psychē*, however, this judgment does not hold, as Bratsiotis demonstrates. The basic meaning of *psychē* is “breath”; it often occurs in the meaning “life”

and can indicate the seat of desire, of emotions, and the “center of religious expression” (op. cit. 76); it can also stand for “person” or in place of a pronoun Bratsiotis reaches the conclusion “that there is an astonishing correspondence between the Hebr. term *n.* and the . . . Gk. term *psychē*. “

Lys investigates the translation of *n.* in the LXX. Of 754 passages in the Hebr. OT, about 680 use *psychē*. The more frequent usage of the pl. in the LXX indicates the tendency to individualize that can be observed elsewhere in the LXX. When the LXX translates *n.* with something other than *psychē*, it does not use any other term with significant regularity; the various divergent translations can all be explained in terms of the context and all remain within the range of nuances that *n.* has in Hebr. The largest group of divergent translations results from the fact that the LXX uses “person” or a pron. (“self”) more often than the Hebr. The LXX employs *psychē* in 62 passages for some term other than *n.* (e.g., for *lēb* “heart”). This very phenomenon indicates, however, that for the LXX translators *psychē* has more of an OT than a specifically Gk. meaning. At any rate, the translation *psychē* was chosen in each case because of its Hebr. connotation. “The LXX never goes in the direction in which ‘soul’ would be understood as opposite to ‘body’ (as in Platonic dualism)” (Lys, op. cit. 227).

3. On *psychē* in the NT and in its surroundings, cf. A. Dihle et al., “*ψυχή*,” *TDNT* 9:608–66 (with bibliog.). Regarding the discussion sparked by E. Fascher (*Seele oder Leben?* [1960]) concerning the translation of *n.* in Luther’s Bible, cf. esp. J. Fichtner, “Seele oder Leben in der Bibel,” *TZ* 17 (1961): 305–18.

C. Westermann

נָצַל *nṣl* hi. **to rescue**

S 5337; BDB 664b; *HALOT* 2:717a; *ThWAT* 5:570–77; *TWOT* 1404; *NIDOTTE* 5911

1. The root *nṣl* occurs with any regularity only in NWSem. and Arab., in Hebr. and Aram. primarily in the causative stem in the meaning “to snatch away, rescue,” in Arab. in the basic stem “to fall out, fall off” (Wehr 971b).

On additional or questionable occurrences of the root, cf. Dillman 698; *AHw* 755a; *UT* no. 1688; *LS* 443a; also G. R. Driver, *FS Baumgartner* 62f.

According to GB 517f., the basic meaning in Hebr. is “to extricate, pull out” (with C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des AT* [1947], 124f.). Since the meaning “to extricate” is limited to the construction with *min* “out of,” however (Psa 86:13; 91:3; 144:7, etc.), while the process of snatching or taking away is expressed both with (Gen 31:16; Exod 18:4; Psa 22:21, etc.) and without *min* (Gen 31:9; Deut 25:11; 1 Sam 30:8, etc.), “to take away, snatch away” should be assumed as the basic meaning, indicating the process of extricating only in conjunction with *min* (cf. U. Bergmann, “Rettung und Befreiung” [diss., Heidelberg, 1968], 294f.).

The hi. form (Bibl. Aram. ha.) predominates in the OT, occasionally the ni., with single occurrences of the pi., ho., and hitp. The only subst. is the hi. abstract *haṣṣālâ* “deliverance” (Esth 4:14; see 3), a formation probably resulting from Aram. influence. No PNs formed with *nsl* occur in the OT; but cf. *hšlyhw* in Lachish Letter I:1.

2. *nsl* hi. occurs 191x in Hebr. (concentrated 27x in 2 Kgs 18–19 par. Isa 36–37 par. 2 Chron 32; otherwise evenly distributed: Psa 43x, Isa 20x, 1 Sam 17x, Ezek 14x, 2 Kgs 12x, Exod 11x, Prov 10x) and 3x in Aram. (ha. Dan 3:29; 6:15, 28). The deity is the subj. in about 120 cases (2 Kgs 18–19 always par. except for 18:29 = Isa 36:14; in the Psa 38x of 43x), people in about 60 cases, occasionally also things (silver and gold, Ezek 7:19; Zeph 1:18; a bush, Jonah 4:6; righteousness or wisdom, Ezek 33:12; Prov 2:12, 16; 10:2; 11:4, 6; 12:6). The people are the obj. about 75x, and individuals about 75x (36x in Psa), things about 15x (property, Gen 31:9, 16; territory, cities, Judg 11:26; plunder, e.g., Isa 5:29). *nsl* ni. occurs 15x, pi. 4x, ho. 2x, and hitp. 1x, *haṣṣālâ* an additional 1x.

3. (a) *nsl* hi. indicates removal or liberation from all types of restrictions. The basic meaning “to snatch away, take away” occurs relatively often (even in Deut 32:39 and Isa 43:13) and continues into the late period (Psa 119:43). Removal that benefits the obj. (cf. Deut 25:11; 1 Sam 30:8, 18) produces the meaning “to rescue.” Many cases still echo the meaning “to snatch away” (cf. 1 Sam 30:18), although this nuance can also disappear entirely (often with a divine subj.; cf. 1 Sam 12:21 par. *yq* hi. “to benefit,” Isa 31:5 par. *gnn* “to protect,” Zeph 1:18 “on the day of wrath,” etc.); Exod 12:27 should also be understood in this way; the specialized meaning “to spare,” as sometimes indicated by the lexicons, is unnecessary. In later times it can even be constructed contrary to the specific nuance of snatching away with *be* “in,” as in Job 5:19 “in six crises he rescued you.” The transition from the specific nuance to the general “to rescue” is fluid (cf. 2 Kgs 18–19). The frequent construction with *min* is typical (about 115x, about 70x *miyyad* or *mikkap* “from the hand/power”); *nsl* hi. *min* (or *miyyad*) “to rescue from” (Exod 18:4; 1 Sam 4:8, etc.) is idiomatic. It is not linked to particular form- and tradition-critical contexts.

Although in the semantic field “to rescue” → *yšc* hi. signifies the

removal of the oppressor and *mlt* / → *plṭ* pi. liberation, *nsl* hi. signifies, like → *pdh*, removal from the realm of oppression. It is distinct from the latter to the extent that *nsl* hi. does not always refer to something negative for the obj. (e.g., property in Gen 31:9, 16).

Synonyms in Psalm language that should also be mentioned include: *hls* pi. “to rescue” (2 Sam 22:20 = Psa 18:20; Psa 6:5; 34:8; 50:15; 81:8; 91:15; 116:8; 119:153; 140:2; Job 36:15; cf. *HP* 138) and *psh* in the Aram. loan meaning “to liberate” (Psa 144:7, 10f.; cf. Wagner no. 231); cf. further on the semantic field Barth, op. cit. 124–40; J. Sawyer, *VT* 15 (1965) 479f.; id., *Semantics in Biblical Research* (1972); → *yšc* hi., → *ʕr*, → *plṭ*.

(b) *nsl* ni. has the tolerative/pass. meaning “to be rescued” and occasionally the reflexive meaning “to rescue oneself” (Deut 23:16; Hab 2:9; Psa 33:16); connotations of snatching away also clearly resound in this usage (Prov 6:3, 5) and permit a biting irony in Amos 3:12.

*nsl* pi. stretches from the meaning “to snatch to oneself” to “to plunder, rob” (Exod 3:22; 12:36; 2 Chron 20:25); in Ezek 14:14 it means “to rescue,” although a hi. should be read as in v 20.

The ho. ptcp. twice refers to the firebrand snatched from the fire (Amos 4:11; Zech 3:2). *nsl* hitp. in Exod 33:6 probably means “to pull off oneself, be rid of a thing,” although the context is not entirely clear.

(c) That only Esth 4:14 exhibits a subst. presumably results from the long-term association with the notion of “to snatch away”; in addition, no typical sphere of usage would have occasioned the formation of a subst. (in contrast e.g., to *yšc* hi. in the realm of war).

4. The background for the usage of *nsl* hi. with a divine subj. is Israel’s expectation that Yahweh will free the people and individuals from various types of distress and will deliver them from threats. Such saving activity is reported (Exod 18:4ff.; Psa 18:18; 34:5; 56:14) and called to memory (Judg 6:9; 1 Sam 10:18; 2 Sam 12:7); it is announced (Exod 3:8; 6:6; 1 Sam 7:3; Jer 39:17); one pleads to Yahweh for it (Gen 32:12; Psa 7:2; 31:16 etc.); one depends on it (2 Kgs 18–19); or one complains that Yahweh has not saved one’s people (Exod 5:23). Yet in all these contexts, *nsl* hi. never becomes a specifically theological term; neither can it be described as a “technical term for the deliverance from Egypt,” despite Exod 3:8; 5:23; 6:6; 18:4ff.; Judg 6:9; 1 Sam 10:18, etc. (contra J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im AT* [1940], 18, accepted by Barth, op. cit. 125). It is one word among numerous others that express Yahweh’s saving activity (cf. the list in Barth, op. cit. 124ff.). One can assume, however, that the general meaning “to rescue” is required for use with a divine subj. On account of its general realm of usage (from any type of

restraint) *nšl* hi. also applies to divine salvation from any distress (Exod 18:18, toil; 1 Sam 17:37, jaws of the lion; Ezek 34:12, destruction; Psa 22:9 and 109:21, illness?; Psa 39:9 and 40:14, sin?). Indeed, Yahweh rescues “from every oppression and distress” (Psa 34:18, 20). That deliverance from human oppression dominates depends on the substance of OT tradition, not on the meaning of *nšl* hi.

5. The LXX primarily translates with *rhyesthai* (about 85x) and *exairein* (about 75x), corresponding to the meanings “to snatch away” and “to rescue.” The NT rarely uses the two terms; *rhyesthai* does occur in an OT phrase (“from evil”), however, in the Lord’s Prayer in Matt 6:13 (cf. W. Kasch, “ῥύομαι,” *TDNT* 6:998–1003). Early Judaism employs *nšl* hi. primarily for human deliverance, *yš<sup>c</sup>* hi., in contrast, for divine deliverance (W. Foerster, *TDNT* 7:987).

U. Bergmann

## נָצַר *nšr* to guard

S 5341; BDB 665b; *HALOT* 2:718a; *ThWAT* 5:577–87; *TWOT* 1407; *NIDOTTE* 5915

1. The root *nšr* (with an original emphatic interdental; Akk., Hebr., Eth. > *š*, Aram. > *ṣ*, Arab. > *z*) is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 220f.) and generally means “to guard, protect” (cf. *AHW* 755f.; *WUS* no. 1811; *UT* no. 1670; *DISO* 178, 185), in Ssem. “to regard” (Wehr 975f.; Dillmann 701f.; on the entire subject, cf. W. J. Odendaal, “Comparative Study of the Proto-Semitic Root *nšr*” [M.A. thesis, Stellenbosch, 1966], announced in *Bibl* 48 [1967]: 355\*, no. 4689).

Hebr. has only the qal of the verb. It is questionable whether *n<sup>e</sup>šûrîm* in Isa 65:4 should be understood as a subst. (KBL 629b: “watch-huts?”); if it is not a substantivized pass. ptcp. (e.g., Zorell 530a: “hidden places”) or a textual error (e.g., *BHS* following LXX: *bēn šûrîm* “between rocks”), it would be the only nom. derivative in Hebr. (Isa 49:6 read Q; KBL 558a suggests yet another subst., *maššārâ* “guard,” in Isa 29:3 and Nah 2:2). Regarding Isa 1:8; Jer 4:16; and Prov 7:10, cf. also the suggestion by C. Rabin, *Textus* 5 (1966): 44–52.

The OT also exhibits the rarely used by-form *nšr* (4x in Song Sol) with the same meaning, which may have been borrowed from Aram. (cf. Wagner nos. 189f.; *Bibl. Aram.* *nšr* pe. “to protect,” Dan 7:28); the subst. *maššārâ* “guard” (11x in Jer 32–39, also

Neh 3:25; 12:39; meaning “goal, target,” 1 Sam 20:20; Job 16:12; Lam 3:12) derives from it. It is disputed whether *ntr* II, “to be angry” (Lev 19:18; of divine wrath: Jer 3:5, 12; Nah 1:2; Psa 103:9), is related (e.g., “to keep [wrath],” KBL Suppl. 172a, with an implied *ʿap* “wrath”) or constitutes a separate root (e.g., O. Rössler, ZAW 74 [1962]: 126).

2. *nsr* occurs 62x in the OT (incl. Isa 49:6 Q; 65:4 txt?; excl. Isa 49:8 and Jer 1:5 [→ *ysr* 2]; Psa 24x, Prov 19x, Isa 8x; moreover Exod 34:7; Deut 32:10; 33:9; 2 Kgs 17:9; 18:8; Jer 4:16; 31:6; Ezek 6:12; Nah 2:2; Job 7:20; 27:18), Aram. *ntr* pe. 1x (Dan 7:28); on Hebr. *ntr* and *maṭṭārâ* see 1.

3. The meaning of *nsr* in OT Hebr. is clearly established, “to protect, guard, preserve”; it corresponds roughly to the meaning of → *šmr*.

Concrete meanings involve a field guarded from a hut (Job 27:18) or a watchtower (2 Kgs 17:9; 18:8; cf. Jer 31:6); fruit trees also require a guard (Prov 27:18; cf. *ntr* in Song Sol 1:6[bis]; 8:11f. of the huts in a vineyard; similarly, perhaps, in Isa 65:4, see 1; Ug. also knows this usage—cf. e.g., *KTU* 1.23.68; texts or interpretations are questionable in Isa 1:8; Jer 4:16; Nah 2:2). The image or the fig. usage is more frequent; protection from sword and pestilence (Ezek 6:12); guarded information is not yet apparent and thus hidden (Isa 48:6). In wisdom literature, understanding and insight protect against evil (Prov 2:11; 4:6; 13:3, 6; 16:17; 20:28). Instruction may be accepted and guarded (3:1, 21; 4:13; 5:2; 6:20); thus the heart remains guarded (4:23). The heart can, however, also be guarded in evil intention, i.e., hidden and thus deceitful (7:10). Daniel guards the sayings communicated to him (Dan 7:28; cf. Mary in Luke 2:19).

In Akk. and Ug. letters, the introduction often expresses a wish for the protection of the gods (cf. B. Hartmann, FS Baumgartner 102–5; S. E. Loewenstamm, *BASOR* 194 [1969]: 52–54; A. F. Rainey, *UF* 3 [1971]: 157f.). In the Old Aram. inscriptions from Sefire, *nsr* expresses the necessity of keeping agreements and arrangements (*KAI* no. 222B:8 and C:15, 17; Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 61, 75).

4. The religious realm manifests a predilection for the verb as an expression, like → *šmr*, for God’s care for his people (Deut 32:10 “like the apple of his eye”; Isa 27:3[bis]; 49:6; Psa 12:8; Prov 24:12) and for individuals (Exod 34:7; Isa 42:6, Yahweh’s servant; Psa 31:24; 32:7; 40:12; 64:2; 140:2, 5; Prov 2:8). He preserves peace (Isa 26:3) and (good) insight (Prov 22:12). The address “you guardian of people” in Job (Job 7:20) implies the recognition of God’s surpassing might. Metaphorically, innocence and uprightness (Psa 25:21), grace and faithfulness (Psa 61:8), could also protect the pious.

Conversely, the task of the pious is to guard and keep or follow God’s words and commandments (Psa 78:7; 105:45; 119:2, 22, 33f., 56, 69, 100,

115, 129, 145; Prov 23:26; 28:7). The Levites guard the covenant (Deut 33:9), as do all the pious (Psa 25:10). One should guard the tongue from evil speech (Psa 34:14); one can pray for God's assistance in guarding the tongue (141:3).

5. The Qumran documents published to date do not have the verb *nšr*, and they have *ntr* only in the meaning "to be angry" (Kuhn, *Konk.* 143). The LXX renders *nšr* primarily with *(dia)tērein* and *(dia)phylassein*. In reference to keeping God's commandments, it prefers *(ek)zētein*. On the NT, cf. H. Riesenfeld, "τηρέω," *TDNT* 8:140–51.

G. Sauer

## נִקְהַּ *nqh* ni. **to be innocent**

S 5352; BDB 667a; *HALOT* 2:720a; *ThWAT* 5:591–602; *TWOT* 1412; *NIDOTTE* 5927

1. The root *nqh* (*\*nqy*) is attested only in the meaning "to be free, innocent" in Hebr. (incl. extrabibl. Hebr. according to F. M. Cross, *FS* Glueck 302, 306n.16), in the divergent meaning "to be pure, clean, unblemished," however, also in Aram. (*DISO* 186; *KBL* 1101) and Arab. (*Wehr* 996f.).

Derivatives of the root in the OT besides the ni. "to be free (of something), remain unpunished" (once a qal inf. abs. alongside the ni. in Jer 49:12) and the pi. "to leave unpunished" include the adj. *nāqî*, "guiltless, innocent" (Bibl. Aram. *n<sup>e</sup>qē* "pure," Dan 7:9), often used subst., and the subst. *niqqāyôn* "guiltlessness, purity."

It is possible that the subst. *m<sup>e</sup>naqqît* "offering cup" (Exod 25:29; 37:16; Num 4:7; Jer 52:19) derives from the same root, esp. if the original meaning of the root is assumed to be "to free/empty" or "to be freed" (GB 520a). In this case, Akk. *naqû* "to make a libation, sacrifice" together with derivatives (*AHW* 744f.) and, as an Akk. loanword, Syr. *nq<sup>o</sup>* pa. "to sacrifice" (*LS* 444b) would be attributable to the same root, as well as Arab. *nq<sup>o</sup>* "to get marrow from a bone" alongside *nqy* "to be clean." Ug. texts published to date do not exhibit the root.

2. Statistics: qal 1x (inf. abs.), ni. 25x (Prov 7x, Jer 6x, Num 3x, Gen 2x), pi. 18x (Jer 4x, Exod 3x), 5 of which are inf. abs.; verb a total of 44x. Adj. *nāqî* 43x (Deut, Jer, and Job 6x each, Psa 5x, Josh and 2 Kgs 3x each), 8x pl. and 21x in conjunction with → *dām* "blood"; Bibl. Aram. *n<sup>e</sup>qē* 1x (Dan 7:9, "pure as wool"); subst. *niqqāyôn* 5x. The root is absent from

Lev, Ezek, and the Chr history et al.

3. The assumed basic meaning “to empty out” or the like has developed both positive and negative connotations in the OT. *nqh* ni. occurs in the (rare) malevolent sense in Isa 3:26; the city Jerusalem depicted as a mourner will sit on the ground “robbed” of men (KBL 632b) or children (Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 159); cf. *niqyôn šinnayim* “useless teeth” in Amos 4:6, i.e., robbed of nourishment (par. “lack of bread”).

The sense of *nqh* pi. in Joel 4:21 may also be unfavorable: “and I will pour out their blood that I have not (yet) poured out” (G. R. Driver, *JTS* 39 [1938]: 402), if one does not regard v 21a as a question (“and should I leave their bloodguilt unpunished?”; W. Rudolph, FS Baumgartner 250) or as a gloss referring to Judah’s innocence (v 19; Wolff, *Joel*, Herm, 73, 84). At any rate, there is no reason to emend to *niqqamtî* (contra *BH* 3, *BHS*, and KBL 632b), a reading not required by LXX.

Other occurrences always involve a favorable freeing. *nqh* ni. (or *hyh nāqî*) *min* expresses withdrawal of a sworn duty (Gen 24:8; Josh 2:17, 20), a curse accompanying an oath (Gen 24:41), the curse effect of the ordeal water (Num 5:19, 28), or the “guilt-punishment” consequence of a crime (Num 5:31). Judg 15:3 probably also intends the latter meaning, although *mipp<sup>c</sup>lištîm* “from the Philistine perspective” implies only the “guilt-punishment” concept. Other passages do not specify the thing that will be (or is) withdrawn from someone, and the context determines the sense: thus *hyh nāqî* in Deut 24:5 means that the newly married “is to be removed from military and similar obligations” (cf. 1 Kgs 15:22), and in Gen 44:10 “to leave free” in contrast to “to become a slave” (a semantically related technical term is *ḥopšî* “free, freed,” 17x in the OT in the slave laws in Exod 21:2, 5, 26f.; Deut 15:12f., 18 and their application in Jer 34:9–11, 14, 16; moreover, 1 Sam 17:25, “tax free”; Isa 58:6, mistreated; Psa 88:6 txt?, cf. P. Grelot, *VT* 14 [1964]: 256–63; Job 3:19, “the servant is free from his lord” in death; 39:5, fig. of the wild donkey; *ḥpš* pu. “to be set free,” Lev 19:20; *ḥupšâ* “release,” Lev 19:20; on *bēt haḥopšît*, 2 Kgs 15:5 = 2 Chron 26:21, cf. Montgomery and Gehman, *Kings*, ICC, 448, 454; Gray, *Kgs*, OTL [19702], 618–20; on the entire subject, cf. de Vaux 1:88 with bibliog., xxxi). Otherwise, the translation “to remain unpunished” suits the intention of *nqh* ni. (Prov 6:29; 19:5, 9; 28:20), esp. in the casuistic legal ordinances of the Covenant Code (Exod 21:19; cf. *nāqî* in the nom. clause in 21:28), and of (*hyh*) *nāqî* (Num 32:22; Josh 2:19; in 2 Sam 14:9, “to be without guilt”).

Par. terms in this context are: *mlt* ni. “to escape” (Prov 19:5) and *rabb<sup>c</sup>rākôt* “rich in blessings” (Prov 28:20); antonymous expressions announce the arrival of punishment (Num 32:22f.; Josh 2:19; 2 Sam 14:9) or destruction (*ʾbd* “to be destroyed,” Prov 19:9).

As the predicate of a nom. clause, *nāqî* often has the subst. meaning “the guiltless, the innocent.” The opinion of some wisdom circles that such an “innocent” could not be destroyed (Job 4:7) and will even “divide the silver of the evildoer” (Job 27:17) was disproved by the harsh reality of Israelite society. The *nāqî* repeatedly appears as the victim of bribery (Psa 15:5) or as the guiltless whose life is threatened unjustifiably by “sinners” or the “evildoer” (Prov 1:11 or Psa 10:8, resp.) and who must therefore be taken under the protection of the law (Exod 23:7).

*dām hannāqî* “blood of the innocent” (Deut 19:13; 2 Kgs 24:4) or (usually) *dām nāqî* “innocent blood” refers to guiltless people threatened with intentional homicide or murder (Deut 19:10; 27:25; 1 Sam 19:5) or killed (Deut 19:13; 2 Kgs 21:16; 24:4; Jonah 1:14). The expression often occurs—particularly in Jer—in the prophetic accusation, both against one’s compatriots (Jer 2:34; 19:4; cf. Isa 59:7; Psa 94:21; 106:38; against Jehoiakim, Jer 22:17) and against other nations (Joel 4:19, against Egypt and Edom, who have spilled the “innocent blood” of the Judeans), in the warning “do not spill innocent blood” (Jer 22:3; cf. the conditional form in 7:6), and in the threat “if you kill me, you bring innocent blood upon yourselves” (Jer 26:15).

The precise identity of the threatened or killed innocent is not always clear. It can be one who has committed unintentional manslaughter and is now pursued by the avenger of blood (Deut 19:10), or a person threatened by personal jealousy or hatred (David in 1 Sam 19:5; Jeremiah in Jer 26:15). It could also refer to the child sacrificed in idol worship (Psa 106:38 and perhaps also in 2 Kgs 21:16; 24:4; Jer 19:4; cf. v 5); it usually refers, however, to Israel’s poor, the victims of the violent injustice of Israelite society (Deut 27:25; Isa 59:7; Jer 2:34, *ʿebyônîm*; 7:6; 22:3, 17). Shedding innocent blood brings *dāmîm* “bloodguilt” not only on the perpetrator (Deut 19:10) but also on his entire family (2 Sam 14:9)—indeed, on the entire land (Psa 106:38) and people, esp. if an unknown agent (Deut 21:8) or the king has shed the blood (Manasseh, 2 Kgs 24:3f.). Consequently, “innocent blood” with its fateful effects should be removed from Israel (Deut 19:13).

The following par. terms for *nāqî* appear in this context: *šaddîq* “righteous one” (Exod 23:7; Psa 94:21; Job 17:8f.; 22:19; 27:17), *yāšār* “upright one” (Job 4:7; 17:8), *tām* “innocent one” (Job 9:22f.), *ʿānî* “poor one” (Psa 10:8f.); antonyms: *rāšāʿ* “guilty one” (Exod 23:7; Job 9:22f.; 22:18f.; 27:13, 17) and *ḥānēp* “wicked one” (Job 17:8).

The examples of usage and the par. and contrary terms indicate that *nqḥ* is at home in OT legal language and that it indicates freedom from (socio)ethical obligations, punishment, or guilt. Although it appears

occasionally in cultic contexts (*nqh* ni. in the ordeal ritual, Num 5; *dām nāqî* in the ritual of atonement for a murder committed by an unknown hand, Deut 21:8f.), the word still has no inherent Levitical-cultic connotations, as does e.g., → *thr* “to be clean.” It is certainly no accident that *nqh* does not occur in Lev at all. Psa 26:6 (par. going around the altar; a symbolic hand washing? so I. L. Seeligmann, FS Baumgartner 258; or “with clean water”; cf. Exod 30:17ff., so N. Ridderbos, *GTT* 50 [1950]: 92) and Psa 73:13 imply a cultic-ritual sense (according to Seeligmann, op. cit., so does *n<sup>e</sup>qî kappayim* “with clean hands,” in Psa 24:4, where the context is certainly cultic [v 3]), but the term is ethical (par. “a pure heart”; antonyms “deceit” and “false oath”), just as *b<sup>e</sup>niqyôn kappay* “with clean hands” (par. *šaddîq*, v 4) has an ethical connotation. Hos 8:5, where *niqqāyōn* contrasts with idol worship, is unclear.

4. When *nqh* ni. (or *nāqî* in nom. clauses) means “to go unpunished,” the court decides to punish or acquit (Exod 21), or the deed itself predetermines the outcome (Num 5:31; 32:22f.; Josh 2:19), wherein Yahweh participates, however (Num 32:22f.); he also participates in the release from a curse that is, after all, pronounced in God’s name. Going unpunished is often portrayed as Yahweh’s affair (1 Sam 26:9; 2 Sam 3:28, *nāqî mēšim yhw* “innocent before Yahweh”; Prov 16:5; 11:21, “the evil do not go unpunished,” par. “an abomination to Yahweh,” v 20; 17:5), esp. in the divine words of condemnation communicated by the prophets to Judah (Jer 2:35), to thieves and perjurers (Zech 5:3), or to the nations (Jer 25:29; 49:12), and in prayer (Psa 19:14).

*nqh* pi. “to leave unpunished” always occurs in prayers calling on Yahweh to “pronounce me innocent” (Psa 19:13), or in statements that Yahweh (with one exception, 1 Kgs 2:9, where Solomon is addressed) “does not leave (the sinner) unpunished” (always in negated clauses): (a) in the Decalogue against those who misuse Yahweh’s name (Exod 20:7; Deut 5:11); (b) in the formula *w<sup>e</sup>naqqēh lō<sup>ʔ</sup> y<sup>e</sup>nāqqeh* “but he does not let go entirely unpunished” in the midst of a series of expressions that attest first to God’s grace and then to his punishment of paternal guilt (Exod 34:7; Num 14:18; cf. Nah 1:3); (c) in the divine judgment saying “I will not let you go entirely unpunished” par. “I will chastise you” (Jer 30:11; 46:28); and (d) in the address “you do not pronounce me innocent” (Job 9:28 par. “I should indeed be guilty,” v 29; 10:14, “of my guilt”).

Yahweh also commands the protection of innocent blood (Deut 19:10, 13; Jer 22:3; cf. 7:6); punishment for innocently shed blood (2 Kgs 24:4; Jer 2:34f.; 19:3f.; 22:17f.; Joel 4:19; Jonah 1:14; Psa 94:21ff.; 106:38ff.; cf. the curse in Deut 27:25) and atonement for innocent blood are his affairs (Deut 21:8f.), for he hates “hands that shed innocent blood” (Prov 6:17). Conversely, he delivers the *š nāqî* (Job 22:30, instead of *š-*

*nāqî*) and mocks the *nāqî* of “evildoers” who perish (Job 22:19), although in despair one can say that God kills the innocent and mocks their despair (Job 9:23).

5. *nqh* ni. occurs in the Qumran literature in CD 5:14f.: “whoever approaches them (i.e., sinners) does not go unpunished.” In early Judaism, Hebr. *nqh* pi. means both “to cleanse” and “to leave unpunished”; *nāqî* has the meaning “free, innocent, pure” and also the Syr. idea of “young lamb” (Jastrow 932).

The LXX most often translates this group of terms with *athōos/athōoun*. Clear connections with OT *nāqî* occur in the NT only in the expressions *haima athōon* “innocent blood” in Matt 27:4 (cf. v 24) and *haima dikaion* in Matt 23:35 (cf. the quotation of Isa 59:7 in Rom 3:15, where the LXX omits “innocent”). Moreover, *katharos* in Acts 18:6, following the expression “your blood be on your head,” should probably be understood in the sense of *nāqî*, “innocent of (blood)guilt” (cf. 20:26; cf. F. Hauck and R. Meyer, “καθαρός,” *TDNT* 3:413–31).

C. van Leeuwen

## נקם *nqm* to avenge

S 5358; BDB 667b; *HALOT* 2:721a; *ThWAT* 5:602–12; *TWOT* 1413; *NIDOTTE* 5933

1. The root *nqm* “to avenge (oneself)” occurs only in WSem. (cf. also *AHw* 721b); it is attested in Amor. (Huffmon 241–43), Ug. (Gröndahl 168), and Phoen. (Benz 363) only in PNs. Beyond Hebr. (cf. also J. Prignaud, *RB* 77 [1970]: 50–59), usage is frequent only in Arab. (Wehr 996; on Old SArab., cf. Conti Rossini 191a; on the Eth. by-form *qîm*, cf. Dillmann 458), while usage of the root diminishes in later Aram. (Old Aram. in Sef. 3.11f., 22; cf. *DISO* 186; elsewhere, dependent on the OT, in Tg. Aram., Christ.-Pal., rare in Syr.; cf. *LS* 446b).

Hebr. uses the verb in qal “to avenge, avenge oneself, take revenge,” ni. “to avenge oneself” or “be avenged” (Exod 21:20 alongside a qal inf. abs.), pi. “to take vengeance” (cf. *HP* 144), and hitp. “to avenge oneself”; occurrences regarded as (pu. or) ho. forms in Gen 4:15, 24; Exod 21:21 may be qal pass. (GKC §53u; BL 286; KBL Suppl. 173a). Derived substs. are the verbal noun *nāqām* “vengeance” (BL 463) and the fem. abstract *n<sup>e</sup>qāmâ* “vengeance” (BL 463).

2. *nqm* occurs in the OT as a verb 35x, qal 13x, qal pass. 3x (see 1),

ni. 12x, pi. 2x, hitp. 5x (for suggested textual emendations, see KBL 633a); the subst. *nāqām* occurs 17x (always in the sg.), *n<sup>c</sup>qāmā* 27x (7x in the pl. “acts of vengeance, acts of retribution”: Judg 11:36; 2 Sam 4:8; 22:48 = Psa 18:48; Ezek 25:17; Psa 94:1[bis]). More than half the total of 79 occurrences of the root are in the Prophets (Jer 18x, Ezek 12x, Isa 7x, Nah 3x, Mic 1x), an additional 9 in Psa.

Combinations of the verb with the substs. *nāqām* and *n<sup>c</sup>qāmā* occur frequently (qal: Lev 26:25; Num 31:2; Ezek 24:8; 25:12; ni.: Judg 16:28; Jer 46:10; Ezek 25:15; pi.: Jer 51:36; cf. Deut 32:43 and the figura etymologica [internal or abs. obj.] in Exod 21:20).

3. The original meaning of the root *nqm* may have been legal. Punishment rectifies and thus cancels an injustice (cf. C. Westermann, “Rache,” *BHH* 3:1546; F. Horst, “Vergeltung,” *RGG* 6:1343–46). According to F. Horst (“Recht und Religion im Bereich des AT,” *EvT* 16 [1956]: 49–75 = *Gottes Recht* [1961], 260–91 [esp. 73 or 289, resp.]), the concept of vengeance refers to the “typical private penalty that properly pertains to persons located outside one’s own jurisdiction and authority,” in contrast, e.g., to “visitation” (→ *pqd*, *pequdda*®), the “official investigation executed in one’s own jurisdiction that holds those concerned responsible for failures and offenses and takes action against them.” *nqm* as a legal measure including even blood vengeance (→ *dām*; → *g<sup>ʔ</sup>t*; E. Merz, *Die Blutrache bei den Israeliten* [1916]) is clearest in Exod 21:20f. (the killing of a slave; cf. G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung atl. Rechtssätze* [1971], 48f.); cf. also the sevenfold blood vengeance for Cain (Gen 4:15, 24; Westermann, op. cit. 423f.). A similar circumstance is apparent in an Old Aram. treaty inscription from Sefire (*KAI* no. 224.11f.: the duty of one treaty partner to exact blood vengeance upon the authors of a rebellion against the other; I. 22: the threat of blood vengeance in the event that one participates in an attack on the other).

The majority of cases do not involve vengeance for an individual (e.g., Judg 15:7 and 16:28, Samson) or against an individual (Jer 20:10) but a community’s dispute with its enemies (Israel with its enemies: Num 31:2; Josh 10:13; 1 Sam 14:24; 18:25; Jer 50:15; Esth 8:13; Israel’s enemies with Israel: Ezek 25:12, 15; Lam 3:60; cf. in Psa 8:3 and 44:17 the hitp. ptcp. *mitnaqqēm* “one avenging oneself” alongside → *ʾōyēb*, “enemy”). Emotionally laden action often assumes the foreground and largely determines the meaning of *nqm*, as can be seen with special clarity in Prov 6:34 (the merciless vengeance of a jealous husband); but Lev 19:18 warns explicitly against vengefulness and vindictiveness (*ntr*) toward one’s compatriots in conjunction with the love commandment (cf. Elliger, *HAT* 4, 259).

For semantically related terms, one should refer to derivatives of the

root → *gml*, → *šml* (pi.), → *pqd*, as well as of → *šûb* (hi.).

4. One may not strictly distinguish profane and religious usages of *nqm*, since both successful and desired human vengeance always require divine authorization or permission (cf. e.g., Num 31:2, a command to Moses; Judg 11:36, *šh n<sup>c</sup>qāmôt*, “to grant vengeance”; 2 Sam 4:8; 22:48 = Psa 18:48). The discussion of God’s punitive intervention should be understood in analogy to statements concerning divine wrath (→ *ʾap* 4b; on the treatment of the problem in the history of exegesis, cf. G. Sauer, *Die strafende Vergeltung Gottes in den Psalmen* [1961], 9–51). God primarily punishes his people’s breach of covenant (Lev 26:25; Isa 1:24, cf. → *nḥm* 3c; Jer 5:9, 29; 9:8; Ezek 24:8), but he also avenges any individual’s transgression (Psa 99:8). He avenges the blood of his prophets (2 Kgs 9:7). He also punishes Israel’s enemies, however, and thus avenges his people (Num 31:3; Deut 32:35, 41, 43; cf. Rom 12:19; Heb 10:30), esp. in the exilic and post-exilic prophets (Isa 34:8; 35:4; 47:3; 59:17; Jer 46:10; 50:15, 28; 51:6, 11, 36; Ezek 25:14, 17; Joel 4:21 txt em; Mic 5:14; Psa 149:7). The *yôm nāqām/n<sup>c</sup>qāmâ* “day of vengeance” (Isa 34:8; Jer 46:10; → *yôm* 4b) signifies comfort for the sorrowful people (Isa 61:2; 63:4). The contention that such vengeance means to reestablish the old legal relation still shines through occasionally. Individuals frequently ask God for vengeance (Judg 16:28; Jer 11:20; 15:15; 20:12; Psa 79:10); thus people need not exercise retribution themselves (1 Sam 24:13), and the righteous may rejoice (Psa 58:11). God’s zeal (→ *qn<sup>ʾ</sup>*) concerning and for his people underlies all these processes (Nah 1:2, *nōqēm* “avenger”; Psa 94:1, *ʿēl n<sup>c</sup>qāmôt* “God of vengeance” in an appellative cry to Yahweh the judge; cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:239f.).

5. The documents from Qumran know an extensive use of the root, reflecting the separatist attitude of the community, esp. in reference to divine wrath that executes covenant vengeance with the avenging sword (CD 19:13, etc.; cf. Kuhn, *Konk.* 146). The LXX usually translates with *ekdikein* and its derivatives. On the NT situation, cf. F. Büchsel, “ἀποδίδωμι,” *TDNT* 2:167–69; G. Schrenk, “ἐκδικέω,” *TDNT* 2:442–46; H. Preisker and E. Würthwein, “μισθός,” *TDNT* 4:695–728.

G. Sauer

## **נָשָׂא *nśʾ* to lift, bear**

S 5375; BDB 669b; *HALOT* 2:724a; *ThWAT* 5:626–43; *TWOT* 1421; *NIDOTTE* 5951

1. The verb *nśʾ* is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 216f.; in later Aram. replaced by other verbs, KBL 1101b) and is richly attested in texts of the OT era (*AHW* 762–65; Huffmon 239f.; *WUS* no. 1859; *UT* no. 1709; *DISO* 169, 186f.); the meaning “to lift, bear, bear away” is fundamental throughout (Arab. *nšʾ* is intrans., “to rise,” Wehr 963f.; cf. L. Kopf, *VT* 8 [1958]: 186f.).

All verbal stems occur in OT Hebr. except the pu. and ho., in Aram. only the pe. and the hitpa<sup>ca</sup>l. The noms. *nāśīʾ* “prince,” *maśśāʾ* “load” and “(raising the voice =) utterance,” *maśʾēt* “elevation” (Jer 6:1, “smoke signal”; cf. Judg 20:38, 40 and Lachish Letter IV:10 = *KAI* no. 194.10) and “delivery” are common, less frequent are *maśśōʾ* “regard (of the countenance)” (2 Chron 19:7), *maśśāʾâ* “elevation” (Isa 30:27), *n<sup>e</sup>śīʾîm* “clouds, fog banks” (Jer 10:13 = 51:16; Psa 135:7; Prov 25:14; cf. R. B. Y. Scott, *ZAW* 64 [1952]: 25), *ś<sup>e</sup>ēt* “loftiness” and “rash, blemish,” *śīʾ* “loftiness” (Job 20:6; contra C. Rabin, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8 [1961]: 399). *maśʾôt* in Ezek 17:9 is grammatically and textually difficult.

2. The verb occurs 654x in the OT (as well as 3x in Aram.: pe. 2x, hitpa<sup>ca</sup>l 1x), specifically 597x in qal (incl. *n<sup>e</sup>śūʾôt* in Isa 46:1; also Ezek 8:3, which Lis. lists as ni.; excl. Gen 4:7, *ś<sup>e</sup>ēt*, Ezek 17:9, *maśʾôt*, Mandl. omits Ezra 10:44 Q), ni. 33x (incl. 2 Sam 19:43, *nīśśēʾt*), pi. 12x, hitp. 10x, and hi. 2x. The qal occurs most often in Ezek (68x, also Gen 46x, Psa 45x, Num and Isa 44x each, Exod and 1 Sam 32x each, Job 28x) and the ni. in Isa (14x, Ezek 5x).

Statistics for the noms. are: *nāśīʾ* “prince” 130x (Num 62x, Ezek 37x [Lis. omits Ezek 12:12], Josh 13x), *n<sup>e</sup>śīʾîm* “clouds” 4x, *maśśāʾ* “load” 45x (Jer 12x, Num 11x), *maśśāʾ* “utterance” 21x (Isa 11x), *maśśōʾ* 1x, *maśśāʾâ* 1x, *maśʾēt* 16x (incl. Ezek 17:9), *ś<sup>e</sup>ēt* 14x (7x in the meaning “blemish” in Lev 13–14), and *śīʾ* 1x.

3. (a) The basic meaning of the root “to lift, bear” is well documented in the qal: people raise a standard (Jer 4:6; 50:2, etc.), rising water raises a ship (Gen 7:17), etc. The antonym → *šlk* hi. “to let fall” occurs in Psa 102:11. *nśʾ* seems to have a specialized technical meaning in relation to scales (Job 6:2, *nśʾ b<sup>e</sup>mōz<sup>e</sup>nayim* “to lift on the balances” par. *šql* “to weigh”). The meaning “to bear” also has a wide variety of subjs. and objs.: people bear an idol image (Amos 5:26; cf. Isa 46:1 *n<sup>e</sup>śūʾôt*), trees bear fruit (Ezek 17:8), etc. *sbl* “to bear” occurs as a par. expression (Isa 46:4[bis], 7; 53:4; also Gen 49:15; Isa 53:11; Lam 5:7; pu. Psa 144:7; hitp. Eccl 12:5, “to drag oneself along”; in addition to the derivatives *sēbel/siblâ/sōbel* “burden[some work]” [cf. also T. N. D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials*

[1971], 137–39], *sabbāl* “burden bearer” par. *nōšēʿ*, 1 Kgs 5:29; cf. Noth, BK 9, 87; Aram. *sbl* po<sup>c</sup>el in Ezra 6:3 is unclear; on *zbl* see 3e), as well as *ʿms* “to lift, carry, load” (Isa 46:1, 3; Neh 4:11; also Gen 44:13; Zech 12:3; Psa 68:20; Neh 13:15; hi. “to load,” 1 Kgs 12:11 = 2 Chron 10:11; *ʿeben ma<sup>c</sup>māsâ* “stone weight,” Zech 12:3).

Among the semantically related words, cf. also *nʿl* qal “to load” (2 Sam 24:14; Lam 3:28) and “to weigh” (Isa 40:15), Aram. pe. “to lift” (Dan 4:31; 7:4), pi. “to lift” (Isa 63:9 par. *nśʿ* pi.), *nāʿīl* “laden” (Zeph 1:11) and *nēʿel* “burden” (Prov 27:3); somewhat more remote is *ybl* hi. “to bring” (7x, Aram. ha. 3x; ho. pass. 11x; *y<sup>c</sup>būl* “produce” 13x; *yābāl* [Isa 30:25; 44:4] and *yūbal* [Jer 17:8] “water conduits”). The etymology of *k<sup>c</sup>nā<sup>c</sup>â* or *kin<sup>c</sup>â* “burden, bundle” in Jer 10:17 is uncertain. In Psa 31:12, G. R. Driver (*JTS* 32 [1931]: 256) suspects a subst. *māʿôd* “burden” (KBL 489a) instead of *m<sup>c</sup>ôd*.

The OT mentions the ark of God as the obj. with particular frequency (Josh 3:3ff.; 2 Sam 6:3f., 13, etc.). Expressions for “weapon/shield bearer” are formed with the ptcp. *nōšēʿ* and the appropriate obj. (Judg 9:54; 1 Sam 14:1ff., etc.; 17:7, 41, etc.).

The nuance “to carry away” can be understood against the meaning “to bear” (e.g., 2 Sam 5:21; often with the subj. → *rūaḥ* “wind” or “Spirit of God” 1 Kgs 18:12; 2 Kgs 2:16; Isa 41:16; 57:13 par. → *lqh* “to take”; Ezek 3:12, 14; 8:3; 11:1, 24; 43:5; Aram., Dan 2:35; with *s<sup>c</sup>ārâ* “storm,” Isa 40:24; with *qādīm* “east wind,” Job 27:21, par. *śʿr* pi., “to blow away”). The verb occasionally appears in this meaning in the expression “to take a wife” (Ruth 1:4; Ezra 9:2, 12; 10:44 Q; Neh 13:25; 2 Chron 11:21; 13:21; 24:3; → *lqh* 3d). The “taking” can be portrayed negatively and approximate “theft” (Judg 21:23; 1 Sam 17:34; Song Sol 5:7; Dan 1:16; in Ezek 29:19 *šll* and *bzz* “to plunder” occur in the context).

The expression *nśʿ rōʿš/mispār* (Exod 30:12; Num 1:2, 49; 4:2, 22; 26:2; 31:26, 49 or Num 3:40; 1 Chron 27:23, resp.; always in relation to registration) means “to count”; it may well be due to Akk. influence (cf. *AHW* 762f.; F. X. Steinmetzer, *OLZ* 23 [1920]: 153).

(b) The verb quite often indicates a gesture. A fig. meaning frequently results in which the verb refers to that designated by the gesture. Lifting the hands can indicate animosity (2 Sam 20:21); the gesture commonly accompanies oaths (Exod 6:8; Num 14:30; Deut 32:40; Ezek 20:5ff.; Psa 106:26, etc., often in reference to Yahweh in an anthropomorphic conception), prayers and supplications (Psa 28:2; 63:5; Lam 2:19, etc.; Psa 134:2 uses *brk* pi. “to praise” in a similar manner), and beckonings (Isa 49:22).

The expression “to lift the head” refers to free, powerful, self-confident individuals (Judg 8:28; Zech 2:4; Psa 83:3; Job 10:15). The formulation can

also be trans.: someone lifts another in some way (2 Kgs 25:27 = Jer 52:31). Gen 40:13, 19f. uses the multivalence of *nśʾ* in a wordplay (*nśʾrōʾš* is used in the sense under discussion, but it also means “to take the head = execute”).

*nśʾ pānîm* “to lift the face” (cf. I. L. Seeligmann, FS Baumgartner 270–72) refers primarily to a clear conscience (2 Sam 2:22; Job 11:15; cf. Gen 4:7, *śʾēṭ*) or to an expectation (2 Kgs 9:32; Job 22:26). The formulation can also be used trans.; it then acquires the meaning “to be favorably disposed toward someone, gratify” (Gen 19:21; 32:21; Job 42:8f.; par. expressions are *ḥnn* “to be gracious,” Deut 28:50; *šm<sup>c</sup>b<sup>e</sup>qôl* “to give heed to the voice,” 1 Sam 25:35; *ršh* “to be pleased with,” Mal 1:8f.; *knh* pi. “to flatter,” Job 32:21; *nkr* pi. in the sense of “to prefer,” Job 34:19; *nbt* hi. “to regard [amiably],” Lam 4:16). The expression can be used in a positive (2 Kgs 3:14, “to take into consideration”; see also above) or a negative sense (“to take sides, be partisan,” Mal 2:9; Psa 82:2; Job 13:8, 10; Prov 6:35; 18:5; par. *hḏr pānîm*, Lev 19:15, “you should not regard the person of the lowly, nor show partiality to the mighty”—both dangers are of equal weight; par. *lqh šōḥad* “to accept a bribe” in Deut 10:17). Quite frequent is the expression *n<sup>c</sup>śūʾ* (pass. ptc.) *pānîm* “esteemed, well regarded” (2 Kgs 5:1 alongside *gādôl*, “great, esteemed”; Isa 3:3 in a list of dignitaries; Isa 9:14 alongside *zāqēn*, “elders”; Job 22:8 par. *šz<sup>c</sup>rôa<sup>c</sup>* “man of the arm = mighty one”). Yahweh’s raised countenance has beneficial significance for people (Num 6:26; Psa 4:7; at Qumran the concept refers both to God’s blessing and cursing, 1QS 2:4, 9).

Finally, the expression *nśʾ ʿenayim* “to raise the eyes” refers to yet another motion (very often with *rʾh* “to see,” Gen 13:10, 14; 18:2, etc.; → *ʿayin* 3a). The expression can also indicate a particular emotion such as the desires of love (Gen 39:7; Ezek 23:27) and longing for Yahweh (Psa 121:1; 123:1) or other gods (Ezek 18:12).

(c) *nśʾ* occurs often with an expression for speech. *nśʾ qôl* “to raise the voice” occurs with particular frequency (combined with *bkh* “to weep” it refers to a loud, audible weeping: Gen 21:16; 27:38; 29:11; Judg 2:4; 21:2; 1 Sam 11:4; 24:17, etc.; with *qrʾ* “to call,” Judg 9:7; with *ś<sup>c</sup>q* “to cry,” Isa 42:2; with *rnn* qal “to rejoice,” Isa 24:14; pi. 52:8). Other objs. with acoustic significance include *qînâ* “lament” (Jer 7:29; 9:9; Ezek 19:1; 27:2, 32; 28:12; 32:2; Amos 5:1; with *n<sup>c</sup>hî*, Jer 9:9, 17), *t<sup>c</sup>pillâ* “prayer” (2 Kgs 19:4 = Isa 37:4; Jer 7:16; 11:14), *māšāl* “saying” (Num 23:7, 18; 24:3, 15, 20f., 23; Isa 14:4; Mic 2:4; Hab 2:6; Job 27:1; 29:1), a figura etymologica (inner or abs. obj.) *maśšāʾ* “utterance” (2 Kgs 9:25; see 4b), *ḥerpâ* “invective” in Psa 15:3, *šēma<sup>c</sup>* “rumor” in Exod 23:1, and probably also *nśʾ šēm* “to pronounce

the name” (Exod 20:7; Deut 5:11; cf. Psa 16:4; 139:20 txt em; cf. J. J. Stamm, *TRu NS 27* [1961]: 288f.). The term can also be used without obj. (elliptical expressions: Isa 3:7; 42:2, 11; Job 21:12).

(d) The use of the verb for bodily movements can be transferred to the mind. *nś' nepes'* means, then, “to be oriented toward a thing,” with various nuances: “to desire” (Deut 24:15; Hos 4:8), “to be occupied with thoughts” (Psa 24:4; Prov 19:18), and “to trust” (Psa 25:1f. and 143:8 par. → *bth*; Psa 86:4). The concept can also be reversed so that the mental organ itself compels a person to a thing (of *leb* “heart”: positively, Exod 35:21, 26; 36:2; negatively, 2 Kgs 14:10 = 2 Chron 25:19).

(e) The meaning “to bear” yields the fig. meaning “to produce” (of the land: Gen 13:6; 36:7; Prov 30:21; of people and God: Deut 1:9; Isa 1:14; Jer 44:22; Mic 7:9; Job 21:3). According to L. Köhler (*TZ 5* [1949]: 395; *KBL 250a*), *zbl* (Akk. and Arab. “to bear”) in Gen 30:20 demonstrates the same development from “to bear” to “to produce” (contra M. David, *VT 1* [1951]: 59f.; *HAL 252b*; M. Held, *JAOS 88* [1968]: 90–96; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *OLZ 62* [1967]: 539: “to present”; cf. Akk. *zubullû*, “wedding present”).

(f) The expression *nś' awôn/hēt'* belongs to cultic terminology (see the extensive treatment by R. Knierim, *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im AT* [1965], 50–54, 114–19, 193, 202–4, 217–22, 226; → *h't'* 3b). Developed from the meanings “to load” and “to carry,” it means on the one hand “to load sin upon oneself,” and on the other “to (have to) bear (the punitive consequences of) one’s guilt” (Lev 5:1, 17; 7:18; 17:16; 19:8, 17; 20:17, 19f.; 22:9; 24:15; Num 5:31, etc., Ezek 14:10; 18:19f., etc.). Priests (Exod 28:38), sons (Num 14:33), prophets (Ezek 4:4–6), and finally the servant of God (Isa 53:12 par. *pg<sup>c</sup> hi.* “to intercede for,” which envisions the active aspect of representation by the servant of God) can represent the sinner in a wide variety of ways. The origin of this usage and of the corresponding concept can be sought in the priest’s cultic declaration characterizing transgressions (cf. W. Zimmerli, *ZAW 66* [1954]: 9–12 = *GO 157–61*).

(g) The meaning “to carry away” also yields the fig. meaning “to forgive (sin)” with the obj. *hēt' / awôn / pesa<sup>c</sup>* (also elliptical; cf. Gen 4:13; 18:24, 26; 50:17[bis]; Ezek 10:17; 23:21; 32:32; 34:7; Lev 10:17; Num 14:18f.; Josh 24:19; 1 Sam 15:25; 25:28; Isa 2:9; 33:24; Hos 1:6[bis]; 14:3; Mic 7:18; Psa 25:18; 32:1, 5; 85:3; 99:8; Job 7:21; cf. J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im AT* [1940], 67f.). Par. expressions are: → *nqh pi.* “to declare innocent” and → *slh* “to forgive” (Num 14:18f.), → *kpr pi.* “to atone” (Lev 10:17), *ksh pi.* lit. “to cover” (Psa 85:3; cf. Psa 32:1), and *br hi.* *awôn* “to allow guilt to depart” (Job 7:21). Expressions of this type belong in the lament addressed to God asking for forgiveness of guilt (Psa 25:18; 32:1,

5; 85:3; cf. Job 7:21), in the context of cultic-priestly declarations (Lev 10:17), in parenetic (probably Dtr-colored) addresses (Exod 23:21; Num 14:18f.; Josh 24:19), and in prophetic proclamations of salvation and judgment (Isa 2:9; 33:24; Hos 1:6); observations concerning “forgiveness” in Gen 18:24, 26 are difficult to categorize in terms of the history of theology (the piece certainly belongs in temporal and thematic proximity to Deut and Ezek, hardly to J; contra von Rad, *Theol.* 1:394f.). Hymnic formulations even refer to God as  $\text{ʔēlnōśēʔ}$  “God of forgiveness” (Psa 99:8).

(h)  $nśʔ$  ni. has a reflexive and a pass. meaning. The wheels of Ezekiel’s chariot vision (Ezek 1:19–21) and the gates of the temple (Psa 24:7, 9 txt em, both par. to  $nśʔ$  qal) are said to rise. Isa 40:4 exhibits a pass. meaning (“to be raised,” contrast “to be lowly”), as do 2 Sam 19:43; 2 Kgs 20:17, etc. (“to be taken, carried away”). The ptcp.  $nīśśāʔ$  “lofty” is a common description in Isa and related literature (sometimes together with  $\rightarrow rūm$  or  $\rightarrow gbh$  “to be high”; Isa 2:2, 12–14; 6:1; 30:25; 57:7) of the mountain (2:2) and the throne of God (6:1), or, in contrast, of powers opposing God (2:12–14; the same terminology also applies to the servant of God in 52:13,  $nśʔ$  alongside  $rūm$  and  $gbh$ ); the same expressions—with no theological significance—could describe a hill (Isa 30:25; 57:7).

Some passages speak of Yahweh’s “rising”; the concept of the theophany lies in the background (with  $qûm$ : Isa 33:10; Psa 7:7; with  $rūm$  hitpo.: Isa 33:10; with  $yp^c$  hi.: Psa 94:1f.). Psa 7:7 and 94:2 request God’s appearance; Isa 33:10 announces it in a prophetic Yahweh word.

(i) In the pi., which means “to lift, raise,” the par. expressions  $nʔl$  pi. “to lift” and  $gdʔ$  pi. “to make great” are attested (Isa 63:9; Esth 5:11, resp.). The hi. occurs only twice in the meaning “to let one bear (one’s sin)” (Lev 22:16; cf. also 1QS 5:14) and “to bring” (2 Sam 17:13 txt?). The hitp. means “to rise up” (Num 23:24 par.  $qûm$ ; 24:7 par.  $rūm$ , both in the lit. and in the fig. sense: one of a lion, the other of a kingdom; the antonym, according to Ezek 17:14, is  $špl$ ).

4. (a) The origin and meaning of the word  $nāśīʔ$  are disputed (cf. e.g., M. Noth, *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels* [1930], 151–62; J. van der Ploeg, *RB* 57 [1950]: 40–61; M. H. Gottstein, *VT* 3 [1953]: 298f.; E. A. Speiser, *CBQ* 25 [1963]: 111–17). Noth interprets it against the expression  $nśʔ qôl$  (see 3c; e.g., as “speaker”) and attributes it to the hypothetical old Israelite twelve-tribe amphictyony. He mentions the lists with twelve  $n^c śīʔîm$  each (Num 1:5–16; 13:4–15; 34:17–28) and refers to Gen 25:16, which discusses twelve Israelite  $n^c śīʔîm$ ; they too are assumed to have functioned as amphictyonic spokesmen. In contrast, it seems more likely that the meaning “(covenant) spokesman” does not suit relatively old texts (Gen 34:2; 1 Kgs 11:34; cf. the usage in Ezek). An Ishmaelite amphictyony is

hardly conceivable; it is more likely that the tradition of twelve Ishmaelite princes was known (Gen 17:20; 25:16). One can assume the basic meaning “lofty one, prince.” The expression seems not to have been firmly anchored in Israelite tribal organization (old instances: Exod 22:27; 1 Kgs 8:1) but to have later become a designation for the leader within the religious national community; in this regard, passages related to P (those in Exod, Lev, Num, Josh) probably conceive of twelve *nśîʾîm* subordinate to the priestly office of Aaron or Moses (cf. e.g., Exod 16:22; 34:31; Num 1:16, etc.), while Ezek knows only of one *nāśîʾ* who will do priestly service in the coming era of salvation and who was probably regarded as a cultic successor of the Israelite king (e.g., Ezek 45:7, 16f.; 46:8, 10, 17).

(b) The term *maśśāʾ* “judgment proclamation” is a prophetic technical term (one should probably not think of origins in *nśʾ qôl* “to speak” [so e.g., M. Tsevat, *HUCA* 29 [1958]: 119, 130; G. Rinaldi, *Bib* 40 [1959]: 278f.], but in the meaning “to lift”; *maśśāʾ* is the “burden” of judgment loaded on the addressee through the prophetic word; cf. P. A. H. de Boer, *OTS* 5 [1948]: 197–214; G. Lambert, *NRT* 87 [1955]: 963–69). As a rule it indicates the oracle against the nations (with the addressee designated: Isa 13:1; 15:1; Nah 1:1; cf. Isa 14:28, etc.). Yet it can (probably secondarily) refer quite generally to prophetic address (Zech 9:1; 12:1; Mal 1:1; cf. Hab 1:1, where *maśśāʾ* is the context of the prophetic vision, → *hzh*). The false oracles against the nations of undependable prophets are lamented (Lam 2:14). In one case, the prophetic announcement of judgment to an individual is called a *maśśāʾ* (2 Kgs 9:25).

(c) Through imagery and comparisons various passages mention God “carrying” in the sense of protecting and preserving. *nśʾ* appears in the context of the exodus from Egypt and the wilderness wandering in Exod 19:4, “as I bore you on eagle’s wings” (cf. Deut 32:11), and in Deut 1:31, “where Yahweh, your God, bore you, as one carries a child.” *nśʾ* appears together with *ms* and *sbl* (see 3a) in Isa 46:3f. (see Westermann, *Isa* 40–66, OTL, 177–82, with the superscription to 46:1–4: “Bearing and Being Borne”): “listen to me, house of Jacob . . . , who have been born since the womb, carried since your birth; even into your old age I am the one, and even when you are gray haired, I will carry you.” Psa 91:12 uses *nśʾ* of the angels; in Isa 63:9 *nśʾ* pi. appears alongside *nʾl* pi. (cf. also *ybl* hi. in Jer 31:9). *ms* “to bear” also occurs in Psa 68:20, “the God who is our help bears us.” The concepts and images of God’s protective activity expressed here probably also underlie the theophoric PNs formed with verbs of bearing; in the OT cf. *ʿmasyâ* (2 Chron 17:16) and the short forms *ʿmāsâ*, *ʿmāsay*, and *ʿāmôs* (*IP* 178f.; for extrabibl. analogies, cf. M. Noth, *JSS* 1 [1956]: 325; Huffmon 198; Gröndahl 109; Harris 134).\*

5. OT usage continues for the most part at Qumran; it influences the NT expression *aphienai* (cf. R. Bultmann, “*aphiēmi*,” *TDNT* 1:509–12); it also underlies the usage of *airein* in John 1:29, which also reflects the multivalence of *nśʾ* (cf. J. Jeremias, “*αἴρω*,” *TDNT* 1:185f.; moreover, K. Weiss, “*φέρω*,” *TDNT* 9:56–87).

F. Stolz

## נתן *ntn* to give

S 5414; BDB 678a; *HALOT* 2:733a; *ThWAT* 5:694–712; *TWOT* 1443; *NIDOTTE* 5989

I. 1. The verbal stem exhibits a variety of forms in the various Sem. languages (on Hebr. and Aram. *ntn* cf. *DISO* 188f.; *KBL* 1102; on Amor. cf. Huffmon 244; on Ug. and Phoen.-Pun. *ytn* cf. *WUS* no. 1255; *UT* no. 1169; *DISO* 113; on Akk. *ndn* cf. *AHw* 701ff.).

Various formations in Hebr. (the PNs *yitnān* and *yatnîʿēl*, probably also the terms *ʿētān* < \**ʾaytān* “always flowing with water, constant,” formed with a prosthetic *ʾalep*, the PN *ʿetnî/ʿetnān*, and the subst. *ʿetnan/ʿetnâ* “gift” [contra *HAL* 99b], as well as the verb *tnh* I “to give wages,” Hos 8:9f. [not a denominative from *ʿetnan/ʿetnâ*, contra H. S. Nyberg, *ZAW* 52 (1934): 250; C. van Leeuwen, *Hos*, POT, 175]), in Ug. (inf. *tn*; see J. C. de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu* [1971], 150; cf. Psa 8:2), and Akk. (secondary verbal formation *tadānum*; cf. *GAG* §§51c, 102m, 103d) suggest an original biradical *tn* or *dn* (< *tn*, *GVG* 1:153), while the first radical *n/y/ʾt* is a secondary accretion in all languages (cf. e.g., F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, *JBL* 72 [1953]: 32n.91; N. M. Sarna, *JBL* 74 [1955]: 273; S. Segert, *ArOr* 24 [1956]: 133f.; D. W. Young, *VT* 10 [1960]: 457–59; B. Kienast, *ZA* 55 [1963]: 140f., 144; J. MacDonald, *ALUOS* 5 [1963/65]: 63ff.; a more extensive etymological analysis in C. H. Gordon, *RSO* 32 [1957]: 273f. [derivation from an Eg.-Sem. monoradical noun *d* “hand”]; contra C. J. Labuschagne, *OuTWP* [1967]: 60 [*t* > *tn*]).

2. The verb *ntn* occurs in Hebr. only in the qal and in the ni. The form *yuttan* (cf. e.g., *yu-da-an* in EA 89:58, etc.) should not be explained as a ho. but as a qal pass. (Berg. *HG* 2:87; Joüon §§58a, 72i; Meyer 2:117, 135). On the declarative pf., (e.g., Gen 1:29, “hereby I give”), cf. → *ʾmr* 3a.

In addition to *ʿetnan* or *ʿetnâ* “gift” (see 1), nom. derivatives include the subst. verbal adj. *nātîn* “that given, consecrated” (see III/1c) and the substs. *mattān/mattānâ/mattat* “gift, present” (Bibl. Aram. *nʿtîn* and *mattena*®; Hebr. *nādān* “gift” in Ezek 16:33 could be an Akk. loanword; cf. *KBL* 597b); a number of PNs also occur: *nātān*, *ʿelnātān*, *nʿtanʿēl*, *yʿ(h)ônātān*,

*n<sup>c</sup>tanyâ(hû)*, *netan-melek*, *yitnân*, *yatni<sup>h</sup>êl*, *mattân*, *mattenay*, *mattanyâ(hû)*, *mattattâ*, *mattityâ(hû)*, and the place-name *mattânâ* (cf. *IP* 170; Huffmon 216f., 244; Gröndahl 147; Benz 328f., 364; Stark 101a; see IV/1).

3. In Aram. *yhb* (pe. and hitpe. in Bibl. Aram.) replaced the pf. of *ntn* very early on (KBL 1081, 1102; *DISO* 105f., 188f.; *LS* 298f.; for the etymology, cf. Labuschagne, op. cit. 62).

*yhb* occurs in Hebr. only in the impv. (sg. and pl.) and is often calcified as an interjection (*HAL* 226f.). On *y<sup>c</sup>hâb* “burden, concern(?)” cf. Wagner no. 120 (contra Dahood, *Psa*, ABC [19732], 2:38, who reads *yôhêb* “benefactor”).

II. With around 2,000 occurrences, *ntn* is the fifth most common verb in the OT. It occurs (except in Nah) in all OT books (*nittena*® in Gen 29:27 is categorized as a ni. pf. 3d fem. sg. with BrSynt §35e, not as a qal cohortative 1st common pl.; 2 Sam 21:6 Q as qal, not K as ni.; excl. *Psa* 8:2 txt? *tena*®; Lis. lists Job 9:24 as qal instead of ni.):

	qal	qal poss.	ni.	total
Gen	147	–	3	150
Exod	113	–	2	115
Lev	81	1	4	86
Num	117	2	1	120
Deut	176	–	–	176
Josh	88	–	1	89
Judg	69	–	–	69
1 Sam	70	–	2	72
2 Sam	28	7	–	30
1 Kgs	110	1	–	111
2 Kgs	55	1	4	60
Isa	49	–	7	56
Jer	131	–	17	148
Ezek	196	–	12	208
Hos	12	–	–	12
Joel	8	–	–	8
Amos	4	–	–	4
Obad	1	–	–	1
Jonah	2	–	–	2
Mic	7	–	–	7
Nah	–	–	–	–
Hab	1	–	–	1
Zeph	2	–	–	2
Hag	1	–	–	1
Zech	7	–	–	7

Mal	3	–	–	3	
Psa	94	–	–	94	
Job	30	1	2	33	
Prov	34	–	–	34	
Ruth	8	–	–	8	
Song Sol	7	–	–	–	7
Eccl	23	–	2	25	
Lam	9	–	–	9	
Esth	15	–	14	29	
Dan	14	–	3	17	
Ezra	18	–	1	19	
Neh	41	–	2	43	
1 Chron	38	–	2	40	
2 Chron	110	–	4	114	
OT	1,9198	83	2,010		

Nom. derivatives of *ntn* occur relatively infrequently: *nātîn* 17x (only pl. in Ezra/Neh and 1 Chron 9:2), *mattān* 5x (Prov 3x), *mattānâ* 17x (Ezek 5x), *mattat* 6x, *ʿetnâ* 1x, and *ʿetnan* 11x.

In Bibl. Aram. *ntn* pe. occurs 7x (impf. and inf.), *yhb* pe. 12x (pf., impv., and ptcp.), *ntn* pe. pass. 9x, hitpe. 7x; *n<sup>c</sup>tîn* 1x (Ezra 7:24 pl.), *mattena*® 3x. In the Hebr. OT *yhb* is attested 33x (only impv.: *hab* 2x in Prov 30:15; *hābâ* 12x, 5x as an interjection, “well!”; *hābî* 1x in Ruth 3:15; *hābû* 18x).

III. The lexicons usually distinguish three chief meanings of *ntn*: (1) “to give,” (2) “to place,” “to establish,” “to lay,” and (3) “to make,” “to do” (cf. GB 522–31 and Zorell 539–41; contra KBL 642f., which accepts “to give” as the primary meaning). *ntn* basically indicates the process through which an object or a matter is set into motion. This basic meaning produces two major clusters of meaning: one series of usages indicates the “setting in motion” or “placement” of an object (“to set something in motion in the direction of,” “to [dis]place,” “to lay,” and in reference to persons “to cause something to come to someone,” “to give”; see III/1); another series of usages refer to the “setting in motion” or “putting into motion” of a matter in the sense of “to cause,” “to effect,” “to occasion,” “to do,” etc. (see III/2). Because of the common basic meaning, the two sets may not be absolutely distinguished, however, the less so since it is often difficult to draw a clear line of demarcation between object and matter (e.g., between “to give to” and “to bring about for” in cases where *ntn* has an abstract obj.; see 1b and 1d). In addition, *ntn* usually occurs in close conjunction with preps., esp. in the first category, so that either the context influences the meaning of the verb or fixed expressions develop in which the first category

idiomatically influences the second. One must also remember that verbs used as often as *ntn* have, over the course of time, given birth to technical terms in various arenas that enjoyed their own long lives. One must consult the lexicons for a detailed treatment of *ntn*. A brief overview of the “simple” usage of the verb as it appears in discourse must suffice so that greater attention may be paid to its specialized usages.

1. (a) In the case of the first major meaning “to set into motion” in the sense of “to (dis)place,” “to lay,” “to give,” *ntn* occurs with the preps.  $\lambda l, l^c$ , *be*, *beqereb*, *betôk*,  $\acute{a}l$ , *ba<sup>c</sup>ad*, *taḥat*,  $\text{ʔ}ē\text{t}$ , and *ʿim* (on *lipn<sup>í</sup>* and *be* in conjunction with *yād*, see III/3, on *be* pretii see 1f) describing the direction, the conditions, or the location of the obj.’s placement. The use of *ntn* with the acc. assumed in KBL 642a (s.v. 2) in the major meaning under discussion “to give someone something” or “to present someone with something” must be considered unproved. The recipient in the passages cited by KBL (Josh 15:19; Isa 27:4; Jer 9:1; Ezra 9:8) is indicated by means of a suf. that can be understood in every case as a dative suf. appended to the verb. Other examples are Ezek 16:38; 17:19; 21:32; Lam 5:6, etc. (cf. Joüon 366f.n.2; M. Bogaert, *Bib* 45 [1964]: 220–47; H. J. van Dijk, *VT* 18 [1968]: 24; Dahood, *Psa*, ABC, 1:12; contra GVG 2:322 and GKC §117x, ff). The dative suf. occurs a few times as a pron. suf. attached to the noun indicating the given obj., e.g., Ezek 27:10; Esth 2:3 (additional examples in Joüon §129h). In the few cases in which *ntn* in this meaning takes two accs., e.g., Exod 40:8 and 1 Kgs 10:17 (in 2 Chron 9:16 with the prep. *be*), the second acc. must be seen as an accusativus loci, which is normally indicated by the *he* locale or directional *he* (cf. Exod 30:18), but which would not be possible in these cases because of the cs. phrase. Although the verbal forms of *ntn* in the meaning “to (dis)place,” “to give” follow an acc. in almost all cases, the verb occurs sporadically in the absolute sense, esp. in the technical meaning “to loan” (Deut 15:10; Psa 37:21). Prov 9:9 clearly presupposes the obj. (knowledge; contra GB 529b [s.v. f] “to teach,” “to impart knowledge”; according to G. R. Driver, *ETL* 26 [1950]: 352, *tan* “praise” should be read instead of *tēn*).

(b) In some cases with fluids or abstracts like “blood,” “rain,” “spirit,” “horror,” “shame,” “jealousy,” “sign,” “wonder,” etc. (see the extensive investigations by H. J. van Dijk, *VT* 18 [1968]: 16–30; and S. C. Reif, *VT* 20 [1970]: 114–16) as obj. of *ntn*, the verb can mean “to pour out,” “to bring upon,” esp. in those cases in which the verb is equated with *špk* “to pour” and *msk* “to mix,” on the one hand, and *šim/sît* “to lay” and *šlh* “to send,” on the other. This apparent technical meaning corresponds fully, however, with the first chief meaning “to set something in motion.” Nonetheless, when followed by an abstract subst., *ntn* can often be better understood in the sense of the second chief meaning (“to set in motion” of

a matter in the sense of “to bring about,” “to cause,” “to arrange”), although it is always difficult to distinguish between the major meanings (see 2).

(c) With a per. obj. the *ntn* concept broadens into a technical term: “to put in prison” (with *ʿal*, Jer 37:18; with *be*, 52:11 [Q omits *be*]; with a local acc., 37:4, 15, cf. also 2 Sam 20:3; 2 Chron 16:10) and “to extradite,” esp. someone found guilty or charged with a crime (2 Sam 14:7; 20:21; Judg 20:13—the same construction with *yšʿ* hi. in Judg 6:30; these cases involve the demand for the surrender of the suspect; cf. H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT* [1964], 21–24; Boecker overlooks 2 Sam 20:21), also “to surrender” in the judgmental sense of “to hand over,” esp. with Yahweh as the subj. (Num 21:3; 1 Kgs 13:26; 14:16; Isa 34:2; Jer 15:9; 25:31; Ezek 16:27; 23:46; Mic 5:2; Psa 27:12; 41:3; 118:18), and finally “to surrender, make available, consecrate” (esp. to a deity): all firstborn, Exod 22:28f. (cf. *ʿbr* hi., Exod 13:11; *qđš* hi., Num 3:13; 8:17; Deut 15:19); a child dedicated to Yahweh through a special vow, 1 Sam 1:11; children dedicated to Moloch, Lev 20:2; horses dedicated to the sun, 2 Kgs 23:11. *n<sup>c</sup>tûnîm* “those dedicated, consecrated” belongs in this context as a technical term for the Levites (Num 3:9; 8:16[bis], 19; 18:6; 1 Chron 6:33) and *n<sup>c</sup>tûnîm* as a technical term (not for the temple slaves but for) a particular class of “consecrated persons” (cf. E. A. Speiser, *IEJ* 13 [1963]: 69–73; B. A. Levine, *JBL* 82 [1963]: 207–12). The latter term also occurs in Aram. (*DISO* 188) and corresponds to Ug. *ytnm* (*UT* no. 1169; *WUS* no. 1255); in Bibl. Hebr. it is attested only in the Chr history (Ezra-Neh 16x and 1 Chron 9:2).

(d) In a distinctive nuance of the first major meaning, *ntn* often refers to the act of retribution, i.e., “to set (something) in motion” regarding or against someone: to bring one’s abomination to bear upon (*ʿal*) one, Ezek 7:3; to bring one’s behavior (*derek*) to bear upon one, Ezek 7:4, 9; to bring one’s behavior (*derek*) on one’s head (*b<sup>c</sup>rōš*), 1 Kgs 8:32 = 2 Chron 6:23; Ezek 9:10; 11:21; 16:43; 22:31 (cf. Ezek 17:19 without *derek* and the synonymous expression with → *šûb* hi. Judg 9:57; 1 Sam 25:39; Joel 4:7; qal Psa 7:17; cf. also 1 Kgs 2:33). In other expressions for retribution, the meaning of *ntn* has developed from the second major meaning “to set into motion, give impetus to, do”: to “do” something (punishment) to someone (with *le*), Hos 9:14; Psa 120:3; “to do” something to one in accord with (*ke*) one’s righteousness (1 Kgs 8:32 = 2 Chron 6:23), in accord with (*ke*) the work of one’s hands (Psa 28:4), in accord with (*ke*) one’s behavior (*derek*, 1 Kgs 8:39; Jer 17:10; 32:19).

(e) “To let (something) come (to someone)” leads to the specialized meaning “to intend for, assign”: to intend royal honors for (*ʿal*) someone (Dan 11:21), to attribute unseemliness to (*le*) God (Job 1:22), to attribute righteousness (Job 36:3; so Pope, *Job*, ABC [1973], 266; contra Fohrer,

KAT 16, 471), or majestic power (<sup>ʿ</sup>ōz Psa 68:35; → <sup>ʿ</sup>zz), honor (1 Sam 6:5; Jer 13:16; Mal 2:2; Psa 115:1; profane: Prov 26:8; with <sup>š</sup>īm, Josh 7:19; with *yhb*, Psa 29:1; 96:7f.), or greatness (with *yhb*, Deut 32:3) to God. This sphere also includes the expression “to bring (thanks) to God,” a technical expression for the honor or recognition that the accused offers God at the conclusion of the legal proceeding (Josh 7:19; Ezra 10:11; <sup>š</sup>m<sup>ʿ</sup> hi., Psa 26:7; cf. H.-J. Hermisson, *Sprache und Ritus im altisraelitischen Kult* [1965], 42; F. Horst, *ZAW* 47 [1929]: 50f. = *Gottes Recht* [1961], 162f.; → *ydh* 4h).

(f) *ntn* also has a technical legal meaning, esp. in the realm of commerce, wages and prices, marriage and inheritance. The expression *ntn le* consistently means “to let someone acquire something,” either through exchange (1 Kgs 21:2), as a loan (Deut 15:10, cf. v 8; Psa 37:21), or through purchase for (*be*) a sum of money, etc. (Gen 23:9; 47:16; Deut 14:25f.; 1 Kgs 21:15, etc.; par. <sup>š</sup>ql ni. *kesep*, Job 28:15; par. *mkr* “to sell,” Joel 4:3; Prov 31:24). Conversely, *ntn* also refers to “giving” money in the sense of “paying” or “compensating” (Exod 21:19, 30; 22:6, 9; Num 5:7; Prov 6:31 par. <sup>š</sup>lm pi.), primarily in relation to fines (Exod 21:22 *biplîlîm*, “in accord with the judgment of the authorities[?]“; cf. G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze* [1971], 44f.), tribute (2 Kgs 15:20; 23:35), payment for services rendered (2 Sam 18:11), carrier’s fees (*b<sup>e</sup>šōrâ*, 2 Sam 4:10), wages (*šākār*, Gen 30:28; Exod 2:9; 1 Kgs 5:20; *pō<sup>ʿ</sup>al*, Jer 22:13), passage (Jonah 1:3), or payment to a prostitute (*nēdeh*, Ezek 16:33; <sup>ʿ</sup>etnan, Ezek 16:34, 41; cf. Hos 2:14). Commercial language also includes the expressions *ntn b<sup>e</sup>nešek*, “to lend at interest” (Ezek 18:8; Psa 15:5; prohibited in Israel: Exod 22:24; Lev 25:35–38; Deut 23:20f.; cf. H. Gamoran, *JNES* 30 [1971]: 127–34), *ntn b<sup>e</sup>marbît* “to sell (food) at a profit” (Lev 25:37), *ntn ʿiz(z)<sup>e</sup>bônîm* “to trade for wares” (Ezek 27:12, 14, 22; with *be*, 27:16, 19; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:64), and *ntn (b<sup>e</sup>)ma<sup>ʿ</sup>rāb* “to trade as/for bartered goods” (27:13, 17, 19); cf. the related expressions for the regular exchange of goods under a trade agreement, Psa 72:10.

*ntn* occurs with an appended *l<sup>e</sup>ʾiššâ* in the context of marriage to describe the activity of the bride’s parents or of others with authority over the bride (Gen 16:3; 29:28; 30:4, 9; 34:8, 12; 38:14; 41:45; Exod 2:21, etc.), just as *lqh* “to take” describes the actions of the bridegroom or his parents (Gen 12:19; 25:20; 28:9; 34:4, 21, etc.). The bridegroom or his parents also use *ntn* as stereotypical language for the purchase of a bride (Gen 34:8, 12; 2 Kgs 14:9 = 2 Chron 25:18; with *lqh*, cf. Gen 34:4; Judg 14:2; see Boecker, op. cit. 170–75). *ntn* also indicates the presentation of the dowry to the daughter marrying (*šillûḥîm*, 1 Kgs 9:16; elsewhere only Mic 1:14; cf. A. S. van der Woude, *ZAW* 76 [1964]: 190) or a wedding present representing a

blessing (*b<sup>c</sup>rākā*, Josh 15:19; in Judg 1:15 with *yhb*; *b<sup>c</sup>rākā* is not limited to wedding presents, but in other circumstances other verbs are used, Gen 33:11; 1 Sam 25:27 [both with *bō<sup>ʔ</sup>* hi.]; 2 Kgs 5:15 [with *lqh* ] and 1 Sam 30:26 [with *šlh* pi.], → *brk* III/4; H. Mowvley, *Bible Translator* 16 [1965]: 74–80). *ntn* is also the specific legal term for the delivery of the certificate of divorce (Deut 24:1, 3, with *b<sup>c</sup>yād*, Jer 3:8 with *ʔel*, but LXX presupposes *b<sup>c</sup>yād* ) and of the bill of sale in legal procedures involving the purchase of real estate (Jer 32:12).

*ntn* refers to bequests in the absolute sense “to bequeath, designate” (Gen 25:5; Deut 21:17). Objs. can be *ʔhuzzā*, “property” (Num 27:4, 7) and *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lā* “inheritance” (Num 27:9ff.; 36:2; Josh 17:4; Job 42:15). The term shifts from the realm of family bequests to the realm of tribal and Israelite property. *ntn* occurs 11x in this sense in conjunction with *ʔhuzzā* and 30x with *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lā* (exceptions: Lev 25:45f., slaves; Num 18:21, 24, the tithes of the Levites; Psa 2:8, nations; Ezek 47:23, inheritance of foreigners; 1 Kgs 21:3f., sale of an inheritance; see IV/1; → *ʔhz*, → *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lā* ). The expression *ntn naḥ<sup>a</sup>lā* corresponds to *br* hi. (Num 27:7) and, naturally, to *nḥl* hi. (Josh 19:9). → *lqh* usually describes the reception of an inheritance; cf. Num 34:15; Josh 13:8; 18:7 (Prov 17:2, however, → *ḥlq*, and Num 34:2, *npl* be “to fall to someone as an inheritance”). *ntn* often does not indicate an actual gift but merely the essential willingness to give (“to allocate, bequeath”; cf. the use of *ʔmr* in the same sense in 1 Kgs 11:18; 2 Chron 29:24; Deut 33:8 txt em). Only the context determines the meaning in these cases.

(g) Substs. indicating a present or a gift only rarely constitute the obj. of *ntn*. Apart from the expressions *ntn šillûḥîm* and *ntn b<sup>c</sup>rākā* already discussed, *ntn mattānā* or *mattānôt* indicate gifts to dependents in addition to or aside from (Ezek 46:16f.) or instead of inheritances (Gen 25:5; Isaac inherits but Abraham gave gifts to the sons of the concubines; 2 Chron 21:3: Jehoshaphat granted Jehoram royal honors but he gave his other sons many gifts; in Num 18:6f. the expression refers to the Levites and their duties); *ntn m<sup>c</sup>nāt* refers to the presentation of an extraordinary contribution to priests, Levites, singers, and guards (Neh 12:47; 13:10; 2 Chron 31:4, 19); *ntn maś<sup>ʔ</sup>ēt* “to distribute presents” (Esth 2:18; the king gives to his subjects; cf. 2 Sam 11:8: David gives presents to Uriah; Jer 40:5: the commandant of the bodyguards gives presents to Jeremiah; Ezek 20:40 txt?; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:403); *ntn qorbān* occurs only once, Ezek 20:28, and refers to the presentation of sacrificial gifts to the gods; elsewhere the verbs *qrb* hi. (Lev and Num passim), *śh* (Lev 9:7), and *bō<sup>ʔ</sup>* hi. (Lev 4:23, 28, 32; 5:11; 7:29; 23:14; Num 5:15; 7:3) replace *ntn*; cf. S. Zeitlin, *JQR* 59 (1968): 133–35. *n<sup>c</sup>dābā* occurs twice as the direct obj. of

*ntn*, “to give a freewill offering” (Lev 23:38; Deut 16:10; with *bôʿ* hi., Deut 12:6; with *qrʿ*, Amos 4:5; with *zbh*, Psa 54:8; often together with *nēder*, Lev 7:16; 22:18f.; 23:38; Num 29:39; Deut 12:6, 17). The expression *ntn tʿrûmâ* occurs 14x as an indication of the presentation of an offering in the cult, as a “wave offering” or perhaps “present” (cf. W. von Soden, *UF* 2 [1970]: 271).

*tʿrûmâ* occurs with *ntn* in Exod 30:13–15; Lev 7:32; Num 15:21 (vv 19f., *rûm* hi.); 18:8, 11, 19, 24, 28 (also with *lqh*); 31:29, 41 (*tʿrûmâ* par. *mekes*); Neh 13:5; 2 Chron 31:14, “to distribute.” *rûm* hi. occurs with *tʿrûmâ* 12x: Exod 35:24; Num 15:19f.; 18:24, 26, 28f.; 31:52; Ezek 45:1, 3; 48:8f., 20; Ezra 8:25. *qrb* hi. *tʿrûmâ* occurs in Lev 7:14 (Isa 40:20 txt?). *bôʿ* hi. accompanies *tʿrûmâ* 8x: Exod 35:5, 21, 24; Deut 12:6, 11; Neh 10:40; 2 Chron 31:10, 12. For *tʿrûmâ* with *lqh* see Exod 25:2f.; 35:5; Num 18:28; with *ʕl*, Lev 22:12; Num 18:11; with *drš*, Ezek 20:40. The term *mekes* (cf. Akk. *miksu*), which occurs only in Num 31:28, 37–41 (6x), indicates the exceptional offering in the cult taken from the plunder of war.

It is particularly noteworthy that *ntn* has *minhâ* as an obj. only 4x (Num 5:18, of the priest who “places” the grain offering of jealousy in the hands of the wife suspected of adultery; Neh 13:5, of the large chamber where one “brought” the grain offering, the incense, the implements, etc.; 2 Chron 17:5, of the gifts Judah “brought” to Jehoshaphat; 2 Chron 26:8, of the tribute the Ammonites “paid” to Uzziah). Notably, too, Yahweh is said to “take” a *minhâ* (Judg 13:23), to “attend to” one (Num 16:15; Mal 2:13), or to “look upon” one (Gen 4:4f.), but *ntn minhâ* never refers to Yahweh. Other verbs occur in this context (*bôʿ* hi., *nûp* hi., *ngš* hi., *nśʿ*, *bd*, *ʔh* hi., *šh*, *qrb* hi., *qtr* hi., and *ʔh*).

The subst. *minhâ* is attested 211x, 174x as “sacrifice”; it occurs 2x as a loanword in Bibl. Aram. (Dan 2:46; Ezra 7:17) and is remarkably absent from Deut; cf. KBL 538f.; GB 437; *UT* no. 1500; also N. H. Snaith, *VT* 7 (1957): 314–16; R. Hentschke, *RGG* 4:1641–47 (bibliog.). Other terms, which do not occur with *ntn* and consequently are not treated, are: *zēbed* “present” (only Gen 30:20), *megeḏ* “gift of nature” (Deut 33:13–16; Song Sol 4:13, 16; 7:14; the verb *mgd* does not occur in Hebr.; see, however, F. Horst, *ZAW* 47 [1929]: 49 = *Gottes Recht* [1961], 160, on Amos 4:12), *nādān* “present, wages of love” (only Ezek 16:33), *nēsek* “oblation” (KBL 620f.; GB 508a), *šeker* “wage” (only Isa 19:10 and Prov 11:18), *šōḥad* “present” (23x, 18x in the sense of “bribe” and 9x with *lqh* as a technical term for taking a bribe; never constructed with *ntn*), *šay* “gift, present” (3x: Isa 18:7; Psa 68:30; 76:12, always with *ybl*; cf. Ug. *tʿy*, *UT* no. 2715), *šalmōnîm* “presents” (only Isa 1:23 par. *šōḥad*; cf. Ug. *šlm(m)*, *UT* no. 2424), and *tʿšûrâ* “present” (only 1 Sam 9:7; GB 816a, 891b; KBL 1043b).

Specialized expressions for delivery include: *middâ* II “delivery” (only Neh 5:4; Aram. *middâ/mindâ* 4x in Ezra, 3x with *b<sup>el</sup>ô* and *h<sup>al</sup>lāk*; all three terms are Akk. loanwords), *ʿeškār* “regular tribute” (only Ezek 27:15 and Psa 72:10 paralleling *minḥâ*; Akk. *iškaru*: CAD I/J:249; AHW 395f.), *maššāʾ* (lit. “load, freight,” “burden,” but potentially “delivery” [on the basis of 2 Chron 17:11, where *minḥâ* appears par. to *maššāʾ* and the reference seems to be more likely to a “gift of silver” than to “silver freight”]), and apparently also *ʾnwš* “tax” or “produce of the land” (Isa 33:8 cj.; as an Akk. loanword [*unuššu*], see D. R. Hillers, *HTR* [1971]: 257–59).

(h) Closely associated with *šʾl* “to ask, seek,” *ntn* acquires the meaning “to give what is sought, agree to a request.” In the context of interpersonal negotiations concerning wages and prices one encounters stereotypical expressions like “what will you give/pay me?” (e.g., Gen 38:16, where Tamar and Judah negotiate the wages for prostitution) and “what should I give/pay you?” (e.g., Gen 30:31, where Laban and Jacob negotiate wages). Both colloquial expressions entered religious language: in Gen 15:2 Abraham asks, “What will you give me?” and (conversely) in 1 Kgs 3:5 = 2 Chron 1:7 Yahweh challenges Solomon, “Ask me what I shall give you.” The willingness to agree to the request is formulated as a promise: “What you ask of me, I will give/pay you” (Gen 34:11f.), “Set your wages and I will give/pay you” (Gen 30:28), or even “What is your request? It will be granted you” (Esth 5:6; 7:2); in religious language: “Ask of me, and I will give you” (Psa 2:8, contra Dahood, *Psa* 1:12, who reads *māmōnī* and translates correspondingly, “Ask wealth of me”; see, however, Psa 21:5, where *min* occurs as in Psa 2:8, “He asked life of you, you gave it to him.” Dahood rightly refers to Ug. pars.: *KTU* 1.17.VI.17, 27, “Ask silver [‘life’ in l. 27] and I will give it to you”).

Abs. *ntn* can express agreement to a request (1 Kgs 3:12f.), although it usually takes an obj.: *š<sup>e</sup>ʿelâ* “request” (1 Sam 1:17, 27; Psa 106:15; Esth 5:8; cf. Esth 7:3), *mišʾālâ* (Psa 37:4; in 20:6 with *ml<sup>l</sup>* pi.), and *taʾwâ* (Prov 10:24), cf. also *ntn k<sup>el</sup>ēbāb* (Psa 20:5); for a possible synonymous expression in Amos 4:12, cf. F. Horst, *Gottes Recht* (1961), 160, who reads this passage *m<sup>e</sup>maggēd lāʾādām ma-ḥešḥô* “who richly grants people what they want or need.”

(i) Combination with the verb *lqh* “to take” produces the stereotypical expression “to take and to give,” which assumed a specifically juridical meaning in some passages as a sort of hendiadys; cf. Akk. *našū—nadānu* “to take, make available . . . to give” (AHW 764 s.v. III/5), an expression used esp. in Ug. legal documents in reference to the transferal of property executed by the king and the rights and duties associated with it (cf. *PRU* 3:224; E. A. Speiser, *JAOS* 75 [1955]: 157–61; C. J. Labuschagne, *Die*

*seggenkap van die koning oor eiendom in Ugarit* [1959], 65–69). Although the expected Hebr. equivalent *nšʿ . . . ntn* does not occur in the OT, it is frequent in later Hebr. (see Speiser, op. cit. 161; Jastrow 937b, 944b). The Bibl. Hebr. equivalent *lqh . . . ntn* occurs frequently in a ceremonial sense, but even more often in everyday usage (e.g., Gen 18:8; 21:14; Exod 12:7; Num 6:18f.; 19:17; Judg 17:4; 1 Sam 6:8; 2 Sam 21:8f.; Ezek 4:1, 3, 9; 45:19), although it clearly involves the transferal of property and the related rights and duties in those instances where the prince “takes and gives” (1 Sam 8:14f.; cf. 2 Sam 9:9; 1 Kgs 9:16; perhaps also Gen 20:14; 21:27) or where Yahweh as sovereign Lord “takes and gives” (Lev 7:34; Num 8:18f.; 2 Sam 12:11; 1 Kgs 11:35; in Job 1:21 the words “Yahweh has given, Yahweh has taken” also clearly indicate Yahweh’s sovereign authority). The combination *lqh . . . ntn* has similar connotations in Exod 30:16; Num 7:6; 31:47 in reference to Moses’ authority. A second Bibl. Hebr. equivalent to *našū . . . nadānu* consists of the combination *nš/ hi . . . ntn* (Gen 31:9, of Yahweh, who “took” Laban’s herds and “gave” them to Jacob; Num 11:25, also of Yahweh, who “took away” [cf. *BH* 3] a portion of the Spirit that was upon Moses and “placed” it upon the 70 elders).

2. In the second major semantic category, *ntn* indicates “setting in motion” or “giving impetus to” a matter in the (factitive) sense of “occasioning (something),” “bringing about,” “making,” “causing,” “effecting,” “creating,” and the (causative) sense of “making (something or someone into),” “appointing,” “installing/designating,” or “commissioning.” This semantic category may be generally said to involve no longer the movement or displacement of things but the being of things. Naturally *ntn* here has mostly abstract and per. objs. In some cases, however, quasi-abstract substs. such as “rain,” “ice,” “hail,” and “voice” constitute the obj. of *ntn*.

In a number of cases where the obj. of *ntn* is an abstract subst. related to a verb that occurs in the hi. (or pi.), it should be noted that two combinations are possible: either *ntn* + noun or the hi. of the related verb, i.e., either an analytic (nominalized) or a synthetic (verbalized) combination. On account of the scope and the complexity of the problem, which would require a monograph, I cannot investigate details here. It must suffice to refer to the phenomenon and to emphasize that it is not only philologically but also theologically important not to assign the same significance to the two phraseologies but to note the difference between them, because this difference can be essential in some cases.

Examples include cases such as *ntn nʿnûḥâ* “to give/effect/create rest” and *nûḥ hi*. “to give rest,” “to let rest,” *ntn nahʿlâ* “to give an inheritance” and *nḥl hi*. “to cause to inherit” or *nḥl pi*. “to bring someone into possession” (*HP* 213), *ntn tʿšûʿâ* “to give/effect salvation” and *yšʿ hi*. “to deliver” (cf. J. F. A. Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research*

[1972], 60–70), *ntn śimḥâ* “to give joy” and *śmḥ* pi. “to gladden,” hi. “to permit someone to rejoice”; *ntn māṭār* “to give/make rain” and *mṭr* hi. “to let rain,” etc. On the problem, see esp. Sawyer, op. cit. 60–70; also *HP* 33–40; M. Z. Kaddari, *Leshonenu* 34 (1969/1970): 245–56; and B. Kedar-Kopfstein, *ZAW* 83 (1973): 196–219, esp. 206f., 213, on the analytic and synthetic renditions of the Hebr. causative in the Vg. Although the precise distinction between the analytic and synthetic constructions must be determined from case to case on contextual bases, one may state grammatically that the analytic construction, i.e., *ntn* (occasionally also *śh*, *pʿ*, and *brʿ*, and, of course, synonyms of *ntn*) + noun + acc. (or *le/be*), indicate a particularly close relation between the active subj. and the action, while the recipient of the object of the action is a rather pass. dative obj. In the synthetic construction, i.e., the hi. of the related verb + acc., the recipient of the object of the action is activated, however, and involved in the action, so that it simultaneously becomes a secondary subj. instead of dative obj. (see *HP* 34). The grammatical subj. in this case is thus not the sole active subj.

Although it is not always possible to determine the difference between factitive and causative (a distinction that is more valid in the limited sense as a description of the basic difference between pi. and hi.; cf. *HP*), in order to gain a good overview the summary of this semantic category is nevertheless offered in the form of a division into two major groups: (a) “to effect/make” something and (b) “to make (something) into” or “to let (something) become.” Naturally, one cannot always clearly distinguish “abstract,” “semi-abstract,” and “concrete” because the modern distinction does not always correspond to ancient Near Eastern concepts.

(a) Some passages use *ntn* with a direct obj. but no dative obj.: Prov 10:10 “whoever closes the eye causes trouble”; 13:10 “the careless cause conflict”; 13:15 “good insight gains goodwill”; 29:15 “rod and reproof give wisdom”; also 29:25 “fear of people makes a trap”; 23:31 Q of wine in the cup that “gives luster (lit. ‘eye’),” i.e., sparkles (cf. P. Auvray, *VT* 4 [1954]: 4f.). Similar cases in Ezek 30:21 of the arm that should not be bound “in order to create healing for it,” and esp. in expressions describing natural phenomena, e.g., “to give” fragrance (Song Sol 1:12; 2:13; 7:14; cf. P. A. H. de Boer, *SVT* 23 [1972]: 37–47), “to give” fruits or produce (*p<sup>e</sup>rî* Lev 25:19; Ezek 34:27; Zech 8:12; *y<sup>e</sup>bûl* Psa 67:7; 85:13, etc.), God “makes” ice (Job 37:10), “effects” or “brings forth” thunder and rain (1 Sam 12:18; cf. Lev 26:4; Jer 5:24 Q, etc.), the rock “gives forth its water” (Num 20:8), etc.

The expression *ntn qôl*, lit. “to give (forth) a sound, produce/make sound(s),” is important in this context.

On Ug. *ytn ql*, cf. *WUS* no. 2407; J. C. de Moor, *UF* 1 (1969): 172n.31; on *ytn gh*, cf. *UT* no. 1169; *WUS* no. 612. Synonyms are *šm<sup>c</sup>* hi. (*qôl*) (e.g., 1 Kgs 15:22; Jer 51:27), *nš<sup>2</sup> qôl* (Gen 27:38; Judg 9:7; Isa 24:14), and *rûm* hi. (*qôl*), “to raise the voice.” The expression *ntn qôl* is attested 28x (10x of Yahweh) and *ntn b<sup>e</sup>qôl* 3x (Jer 12:8; Psa 46:7; 68:34); in this expression *qôl* constitutes the instrument (“to bring forth with the aid of”; cf. Joüon §125m). Jer 10:13 = 51:16 must present an ellipsis of *qôl*, as in Ug.

(cf. de Moor, op. cit.): “with the sound of his raised (voice)”; → *qôl*. The expression *ntn ʾōmer* in Psa 68:12 is related (“the Lord sounds his word of command”). Gen 49:21 is difficult to interpret, yet “Naphtali delivers beautiful young animals” is a more probable translation than “Naphtali causes beautiful words to be heard” (cf. HAL 65a). The meaning “to let sound” also underlies the expression *ntn tōp* (Psa 81:3), for which again an ellipsis of *qôl* must be assumed.

*ntn* has a similar referent in the expression *ntn mōpēt* “to give a sign,” Exod 7:9; 2 Chron 32:24 (Exod 11:10 and Deut 34:11 with *śh* in the same meaning; in 1 Kgs 13:3, 5 and Deut 13:2 *ntn* means “to offer,” “to announce”; cf. Bab. *nadānu itti* “to announce a sign,” AHW 702b) and in *ntn bʿrît* “to establish a *bʿrît*” (Gen 9:12 [cf. v 17, *qûm* hi.]; 17:2; Num 25:12; cf. also *śîm bʿrît*, 2 Sam 23:5, → *bʿrît* III/6; in the expression *ntn librît* in Isa 42:6 and 49:8, *ntn* means “to make into”).

The meaning “to create” becomes prominent with an abstract subst. obj., e.g., Exod 3:21, “I will create favor for this people in the eyes of the Egyptians” (so also Exod 11:3; in both cases, the gen. construction expresses the dative idea; see Joüon §129h); Gen 39:21, “Yahweh created goodwill for him in the eyes of the prison warden” (lit. “his goodwill” with a dative poss. pron.; cf. Joüon, op. cit.); so also Lam 1:13, “he brought me relief”; with *le*: Deut 13:18, “he granted me mercy” (cf. Gen 43:14); Psa 78:66, “he brought everlasting disgrace on them”; 1 Kgs 8:56, “Yahweh, who gave his people rest” (cf. *nûah* hi., Josh 1:13); 2 Sam 4:8, “Yahweh got vengeance for the king.”

Cf. Num 31:3 with *be* and Ezek 25:17, where *ntn nʿqāmâ bʿ* occurs in the same word field as *śh nʿqāmâ bʿ*, and other expressions such as *ntn hittît lʿ* (or *be*) “to make terror for or among (someone)” (Ezek 26:17; 32:23–26, 32) and *ntn mûm bʿ* “to do (someone) injury” (Lev 24:19f.). Cases such as Deut 7:15 are difficult: *ntn be* and *śîm bʿ*, which mean either “to bring upon” or (perhaps better) “to effect among.”

In the sexual realm, *ntn* also occurs in the meaning “to perform”: *ntn šʿkōbet bʿ* “to perform intercourse with” (Lev 18:23; 20:15; Num 5:20; with *ʾel*, Lev 18:20; cf. the related expression *škb śîm*, e.g., Exod 22:18).

(b) When *ntn* means “to make into, let become,” three different combinations are possible (in order of frequency): *ntn ke*, *ntn* + double acc., and *ntn* + acc. + *le*. The phrase *ntn ke* occurs in the meaning “to make like,” Isa 41:2; Jer 19:12; Ezek 3:9; 16:7; 26:19; 28:2, 6; Hos 11:8; Ruth 4:11 (in Psa 44:12 *ntn* can also be understood in the sense of “to abandon”; but cf. KBL 642b) and “to encounter someone,” “to treat as,” Gen 42:30.

In 1 Sam 1:16 *ntn lipnʿ* occurs in the same meaning (cf. P. Joüon, *Bib* 7 [1926]:

290f.). In this context cf. the expression *ntn kēn* with acc. in Jer 24:8, “so I will treat Zedekiah.” Synonymous expressions are *šim k<sup>c</sup>* (Gen 13:16; 1 Kgs 19:2; Isa 50:7) and *štk<sup>c</sup>* (Hos 2:5; Psa 21:10; 83:12, 14, etc.). Both mean “to make like.”

The combination *ntn* + double acc. occurs a few times in the sense of “to command, designate,” i.e., “to make someone into something” (Jer 1:5; 6:27; Ezek 3:17; 12:6; 33:7; perhaps also Isa 55:4; Psa 89:28), otherwise, however—apart from two passages in which *ntn* means “to turn over” (Isa 51:12) or “to abandon” (Mic 6:7)—only in the meaning “to make into”: Gen 17:5, Abraham into the father of nations; Num 21:29, sons into fugitives; 1 Kgs 9:22, people into slaves; Psa 69:12, mourning attire into a dress; 79:2, a corpse into carrion; 105:32, rain into hail; the expression is particularly frequent in Ezek in prophetic threats and pronouncements of judgment (Ezek 22:4; 26:19, 21; cf. 32:15; 33:29; 35:9); the phrase sometimes occurs in the context of the expression *nṯh yād* “to stretch out the hand against” (Jer 51:25; Ezek 25:7, 13; 35:3; → *yād* 4c). The second acc. is occasionally an adj. or ptc.: Num 5:21, “when Yahweh causes your womb to collapse”; Deut 26:19, “for he wants to place you high above all nations”; Jer 49:15 = Obad 2, “I will make you small among the nations”; Ezek 3:8, “I will make your countenance hard in accord with their countenance”; Psa 18:33, “he makes my path beyond reproach.”

The distinction between the expressions *ntn* + double acc. and *ntn* + acc. + *le* consists in that the former expresses a factitive act, the latter a causative. The two major meanings of *ntn* often intermix in the expression *ntn* + acc. + *le*, as indicated by the fact that *ntn* in this usage can often be understood in accord with the first major meaning as “to hand over” or “to abandon” (e.g., Deut 28:7, 25; Isa 43:28; Jer 24:9 Q; Ezek 15:6; 23:46; 25:4; 29:5; 33:27; 39:4; Neh 3:36), although the expression is based on the second major meaning “to cause (someone or something) to become. . . .” This expression occurs more often, particularly with Yahweh as subj.: Gen 17:6, 20, Abraham into a nation; Gen 48:4, Jacob into a large nation; Exod 7:1, Moses into a god for Pharaoh; Isa 49:6, the servant into a light for the nations; Jer 1:18, the prophet into a fortress; Jer 15:20, the prophet into a wall; Zeph 3:20, Israel into fame and praise among all the nations; 1 Chron 17:22, Israel into a nation (2 Sam 7:24 however, *kûn* po. “to establish”). In a few of the instances already mentioned, *ntn* can also be rendered “to determine” (cf. N. Lohfink, FS von Rad [1971], 297n.79, who finds an election term in 1 Chron 17:22, “to determine legally”; see also Lev 17:11; 1 Chron 21:23, etc.). The expression occurs most often in prophetic threats or pronouncements of judgment, esp. in Jer and Ezek (Jer 5:14; 9:10; 15:4 Q; 20:4; 25:18; 26:6; 29:18 Q; 34:22; Ezek 5:14; 7:20; 26:14; 28:17, 18; but cf. also Mic 6:16). It also occurs, however, in priestly pronouncements of

judgment (Num 5:21). A number of later texts have the expression *ntn lʿraḥ<sup>a</sup>mîm lipné* “to cause (someone) to be the object of mercy before” (1 Kgs 8:50; Psa 106:46; Dan 1:9; Neh 1:11).

*šîm* and *šît* form similar expressions (KBL 921a s.v. 16; 967 s.v. 4). There are several synonyms for “to appoint, install”: *ntn* + acc. + *le* “to appoint as” (2 Kgs 23:5; Ezek 33:2; 2 Chron 25:16;); *ntn* + acc. + *ʿal* “to set over” (Gen 41:41, 43; 2 Chron 32:6; Deut 17:15b: with *šîm* in v 15a); *ntn rōš* “to install a leader” (Num 14:4; Neh 9:17; cf. J. R. Bartlett, *VT* 19 [1969]: 1–10; contra KBL 643a s.v. 11: “puts into his head to”); *ntn bʿrōš* “to make someone leader” (Deut 1:13); and finally the technical expression for the installation of Levites and priests, *mlʾ pi. yād* “to fill the hands” (→ *yād* 3d[3]; M. Noth, “Office and Vocation in the OT,” *Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* [1966], 229–49, esp. 231–33; L. Sabourin, *Priesthood* [1973], 137f.). Combined with an abstract noun as obj. in this context, *ntn* means “to carry out,” e.g., Lev 25:24 *ntn g<sup>e</sup>ullâ* “to carry out a ransom” (cf. F. Horst, *Gottes Recht* [1961], 213ff.; O. Loretz, *BZ* NS 6 [1962]: 269–79). On *ḥqq* “to determine” (Jer 31:35) and *ntn lʿḥôq* “to make an ordinance” (2 Chron 35:25), cf. G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze* [1971], 158–75.

The technical meaning of *ntn* + acc. + *le*, “to allow (something) to be done,” “to permit (someone) to do (something),” also belongs here (contra GB 529b; like Assyr. *nadānu*, see *AHW* 702 II/6). In discourse the expression usually involves the acc. with a suf., while an inf. cs. follows the prep. *le*, e.g., Gen 20:6, “I did not let you touch her” (furthermore, Gen 31:7; Exod 3:19; Num 22:13; Josh 10:19; Judg 1:34; 15:1; 1 Sam 18:2; 24:8; also Hos 5:4, see *BH* 3). Yet a noun often replaces the pron. suf. (e.g., Eccl 5:5 “do not permit your mouth to plunge your body into sin”; cf. also Psa 16:10; 66:9; 121:3; Job 31:30), or *le* + noun replaces the acc. (e.g., Esth 8:11 “the king permitted the Jews to assemble”; cf. also 2 Chron 20:10), or a simple inf. cs. replaces *le* + inf. cs. (e.g., Num 21:23 “Sihon did not allow Israel passage”; also Num 20:21; it remains unclear whether an inf. cs. instead of an inf. abs. [cf. Psa 55:23 and Job 9:18] is used in these texts, or whether *le* should be supplied before *ʿbōr*; see *BH* 3; but cf. Joüon §123q and p. 366n.2; GKC §157b, n.1). The use of *ntn* in Deut 18:14, “Yahweh did not permit you this (*kēn*),” may also belong here; also Prov 6:4 “permit your eyes no sleep” (cf. Psa 132:4) and 1 Kgs 15:17 “to prevent anyone from going out or coming in to King Asa” (NRSV).

Fossilized as an optative particle (cf. Syr. *man nettel*, *LS* 299a), the expression *mî yittēn*, which occurs 25x (10x in Job and 4x with a dative suf.: Isa 27:4; Jer 9:1; Job 29:2; Song Sol 8:1), continues to exhibit many of the various nuances of *ntn* (an extensive treatment by B. Jongeling, *VT* 24 [1974]: 32–40): “to give” (Judg 9:29; Psa 55:7; Job 31:35, etc.), “to make into” (with two acc.: Num 11:29; Jer 8:23; with *ke*: Job 29:2; Song Sol 8:1, etc.), “to permit” (e.g., Job 11:5), and esp. “to bring about” (Exod 16:3; Deut 28:67; 2 Sam 19:1; Psa 14:7 = 53:7). In Job 14:4 and 31:31 the original “has anyone ever brought it about that” has the sense of “has it every happened that,” which does not mean, however, that *ntn* ever means

“there is.” The formerly accepted impersonal meaning of *yittēn* in the sense of “there is” is very uncertain (see GB 530a).

3. The use of *ntn* in reference to body parts, resulting in a number of idiomatic expressions, requires special treatment (on Akk. *nadānu* with body parts as objs. cf. *AHW* 702 II/3; the Hebr. equivalent of the Akk. *nadānu šēpē* “to get underway” is not formed by *ntn regel* but by *nśʹregel*; cf. Gen 29:1):

(a) Expressions that occur only rarely: *ntn kātēp sōreret*, Zech 7:11; Neh 9:29, “they made their shoulders rebellious”; the idiom is taken from rebellious animals that resist the yoke on their necks (to resist stubbornly; cf. the expression *qšh hi. ʿōrep* “to make the neck stiff,” Neh 9:29); *ntn ʿōrep* “to turn the back,” 2 Chron 29:6 (cf. *rʿh hi.*: “to show the neck,” Jer 18:17); *ntn ʾōtô ʿōrep ʾel* “to make it so that someone must show their back,” i.e., “to cause someone to flee,” Exod 23:27 (with *le* instead of *ʾel*, 2 Sam 22:41 = Psa 18:41); *ntn ʿayin* “to make eyes” in the sense of “to glitter” of wine, Prov 23:31 Q (see 2a). On *ntnrōʿš* see 2b.

(b) *ntn* is used more often with *yād* “hand” (as the obj. of the verb): “to extend the hand” (Gen 38:28); “to offer someone the hand” as a sign of friendship (2 Kgs 10:15) or as a sign of an obligation accepted (Ezra 10:19), esp. in the context of agreements and treaties (Ezek 17:18; Lam 5:6; 2 Chron 30:8, → *yād* 4d; cf. E. Kutsch, *Verheissung und Gesetz* [1973], 11; and the expression *tqʿ kap* “to give a handshake” as a guarantee, Prov 6:1; 17:18; 22:26; bibliog. in Gemser, HAT 16, 36); cf. also *ntn yād taḥat* “to submit to someone in a vow” as a sign of faithfulness (1 Chron 29:24; → *yād* 3d[2]), *ntn yād* “to give the hand” as a sign of surrender (Jer 50:15), and *ntn yād bʿ* “to lay a hand on” (Exod 7:4). The expression *ntn bʿyād* (→ *yād* 3d[4]), which can have various meanings, is esp. significant: “to give into the hand,” “to hand out” (Gen 27:17; Deut 24:1, 3; Judg 7:16), “to make available” (Gen 9:2; Exod 10:25), “to commission” (2 Sam 16:8; Isa 22:21; 2 Chron 34:16), “to give authority over, charge with the care of (or oversight over)” (Gen 30:35; 32:17; 39:4, 8, 22; cf. *ntn ʿal yād* in the same meaning, Gen 42:37; Esth 6:9), militarily, “to place under orders” (2 Sam 10:10; 1 Chron 19:11).

Psa 10:14, *lātēt bʿyādekā*, is difficult. H. Schmidt (HAT 15 [1934], 16) reads “in order to place it in your hand” and Kraus (*Psa*, CC, 1:190f.) reads “you . . . take it in hand,” but it probably means “in order to entrust it to your care.” Concerning the expression *mlʹ pi. yād* “to fill the hands,” which refers elsewhere to the installation of Levites and priests (→ *yād* 3d[3]), it may be further observed that it has nothing to do with dedication in 1 Chron 29:5 and 2 Chron 29:31 but means “to fill the hands (for),” i.e., in order to give; cf. Noth, op. cit. 231n.6.

The expression *ntn b<sup>e</sup>yād* is primarily used, however, in the military and legal realms and refers to the extradition or abandonment of a person or matter to the control of others: Yahweh places the enemies (Deut 7:24; 21:10; Josh 21:44; Judg 3:28, etc.) or the land under Israel's control (Josh 2:24; Judg 1:2; 18:10); Dagon places Samson under the control of the Philistines (Judg 16:23f.); one is placed under the control of the avenger of blood (Deut 19:12); the prophet Jeremiah under the control of the people (Jer 26:24; 38:16); cf. the synonymous *ntn bekap* "to abandon to the control of" (Judg 6:13; Jer 12:7) and the expression of subjugation, *ntn taḥat kappôtraglayim* "to lay under the soles of the foot" (e.g., 1 Kgs 5:17).

In reference to the varied usage of *ntn b<sup>e</sup>yād* as a general expression, it seems incorrect to regard it as a "formula," either of "surrender" or "transferral" (cf. W. Richter, *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch* [1963], 21ff.; J.G. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium* [1967], 61ff.; P. Diepold, *Israels Land* [1972], 61; cf. the critical comments in F. Stolz, *Jahwes und Israels Kriege* [1972], 21f.; and P. D. Miller, *Int* 23 [1969]: 455; moreover, see 3d for the difference between *ntn b<sup>e</sup>yād* and *ntn lipn*).

(c) *ntn* occurs in conjunction with → *lēb* "heart" in the following expressions: *ntn lēb b<sup>e</sup>* "to direct (one's) attention to," Eccl 1:17; 7:21; 8:9, 16; Dan 10:12; 1 Chron 22:19; 2 Chron 11:16; with *šît*, Exod 7:23; 1 Sam 4:20; Job 7:17; with *šîm*, Exod 9:21; Deut 11:18; *ntn b<sup>e</sup>lēb* "to place in the mind (heart)," always with Yahweh as subj., Exod 35:34; Ezra 7:27 (both times abs.); Neh 2:12; 7:5 (both times abs., with *ʔel* instead of *be*); Exod 36:2; 2 Chron 9:23 (obj.: "wisdom"); Jer 32:40 ("fear"); Psa 4:8 ("joy") (with *šîm* in 1 Sam 21:13, however, with a human subj.).

(d) *ntn* occurs in the following expressions with *pānîm* "countenance": *ntn pānîm I<sup>e</sup>* + inf. "to direct the countenance toward" in the sense of "to make ready to travel to," 2 Chron 20:3 (Jehoshaphat to Yahweh in order to seek counsel; on the Akk. see *AHW* 702; the synonymous *šîm pānîm I<sup>e</sup>* occurs more often, however, 2 Kgs 12:18; Jer 42:15; Dan 11:17); *ntn pānîm ʔel* "to turn the countenance toward/against," Gen 30:40; Dan 9:3 (*šîm* is also used more often in this case: 9x in Ezek; in Num 24:1, however, *šît*, in Dan 10:15 the *he* locale occurs instead of *ʔel* in conjunction with *ntn pānîm*); *ntn pānîm b<sup>e</sup>* "to turn the countenance against" (in animosity) has Yahweh as subj. in Lev 17:10; 20:3, 6; 26:17; Ezek 14:8; 15:7 par. *šîm* as in Lev 20:5 (*šîm* also in Jer 21:10; 44:11; cf. Psa 34:17).

In conjunction with the prep. *lipn* "before," *ntn* exhibits various meanings. This expression occurs as a synonym of *ntn ke* "to encounter as" (only 1 Sam 1:16; see above) but more often means "to place/set before" (Exod 30:6, 36; 40:5f.; Lev 19:14; Zech 3:9 [see below], etc.; with

the prep. *nōkaḥ* only in Ezek 14:3, but cf. vv 4 and 7 with *šîm* ) and esp. “to present” or “to serve,” e.g., of food and drink (2 Kgs 4:43; Jer 35:5; Ezek 16:18 Q, 19). In Deut only Moses appears as the subj. of the expression when he “presents” Israel with blessing or curse (11:26; 30:1), life and good fortune or death and misfortune (30:15, 19), the *tôrâ* (4:8), statutes and laws (11:32). Otherwise, the OT describes only Yahweh as the one who “presents” or “offers” Israel something: the ways of life and death (Jer 21:8), the *tôrâ* (Jer 9:12; 26:4; cf. 31:33, *beqereb*; pl. Dan 9:10 txt?), the *tôrâ* and statutes (Jer 44:10), commandments and statutes (1 Kgs 9:6 par. 2 Chron 7:19). In these cases one can also render the expression “to leave to,” esp. in Ezek 23:24, “I will give them (the nations) authority to execute judgment (*mišpāṭ*)” (so Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:475; cf. H. Cazelles, FS Davies 245: “I have committed to them the legislative power”) and perhaps also in Zech 3:9 in reference to the stone that Yahweh leaves to Joshua. *lipn’* occurs in the meaning “to extradite” or “abandon” in the military sense only with Yahweh as subj. (Deut 2:33; 7:2, 23; 28:7, 25; 31:5; Josh 10:12; 11:6; Judg 11:9; 1 Kgs 8:46 = 2 Chron 6:36; Isa 41:2). The obj. is always the enemy(ies) or his (their) king. The expression *ntn lipn’* hardly differs in meaning in these cases from *ntn b<sup>e</sup>yād* (cf. Deut 2:33 with 2:24; 7:23 with 7:24; Josh 10:12 with 10:30, 32; 11:6 with 11:8; Judg 11:9 with 11:21, 30, 32; 12:3). Deut has *ntn lipn’* only as a legal expression always in reference to Yahweh’s transferal of property in the sense of “to give someone something as property” or “to make something available to someone”: 1:8, 21, the land to the people of Israel; 2:36, the Ammonite cities; 2:31, Sihon (!) and his land. The last verse cited contains a mixed usage of the expression (2:36, misunderstood by Sam. and LXX as “to hand over”), which can be explained by the fact that the legal expression is simply used in a military context. The expression may not be described as an “abandonment formula” without further evidence (Plöger, op. cit. 62f.; but cf. Miller, op. cit. 455, and N. Lohfink, *Bib* 41 [1960]: 125f.), because *ntn* has a variety of nuances in this “formula” and because a clean distinction should be made between a military “handing over” (used indiscriminately with *ntn b<sup>e</sup>yād*) and a legal Dtr “transferal,” even if the legal term appears in a military context.

4. Apart from the synonyms of *ntn* already mentioned, the following should be listed: \**ʾûš* “to give” (*HAL* 25; cf. B. Rocco, *AION* 20 [1970]: 396–99) occurs in Bibl. Hebr. only in PNs (*y<sup>e</sup>hōʾāš, yōʾāš*); *zbd* “to present (someone with something)” (only Gen 30:20; on PN cf. *HAL* 250); *ḥlq* “to distribute” (Deut 4:19; 29:25), “to divide among” (Neh 13:13), and with *be* “to give a portion in” (Job 39:17); *ḥnn* “to present to someone graciously” (Gen 33:5; Psa 119:29); *mgn* pi. “to deliver” (Gen 14:20; cf. *DISO* 142), “to

hand over” (Hos 11:18), and with a dative suf. “to present to someone” (Prov 4:9); *mkr* (as a commercial term) “to sell,” applied to Yahweh in the religious realm (Yahweh subj., the people obj.): “to hand over, abandon” (Deut 32:30; Judg 2:14; 3:8; 4:2; 4:9 [with a person as obj.]; 10:7; 1 Sam 12:9; Isa 50:1; Psa 44:13; Ezek 30:12 [land as obj.]; cf. KBL 522f.; GB 422f.); *ndb* hitp. “to give freely” (only Ezra 1:6; 2:68; 3:5 [Aram. 7:15f.]; 1 Chron 29:9, 14, 17); *šhd* “to let take,” “to present” (Ezek 16:33; Job 6:22; cf. F. Rundgren, *AcOr* 21 [1953]: 331–36; C. J. Labuschagne, *OuTWP* [1967]: 60); → *šlh* “to give” (Ug. *šlh* “to give,” *UT* no. 2419; A. S. van der Woude, *ZAW* 76 [1964]: 188–91; par. to *ntn*, Gen 38:16f.; Joel 2:19; Job 5:10); *špt* “to lay,” “to give” (cf. GB 859b; B. Ullendorff, *VT* 6 [1956]: 197; A. F. L. Beeston, *VT* 8 [1958]: 216–17); *šwh* II pi. “to place” (cf. GB 813a; KBL 954b); on the substs. see III/1g.

IV. 1. As its Lord and Creator, Yahweh possesses the earth and its fullness (Psa 24:1; 50:9–12; cf. 97:5 and 1 Chron 29:14). As the only true owner of all creation, he is also the sovereign controller and grantor. Indicative of his control over his creation is the fundamental statement of Jer 27:5: “I created the earth, humanity, and the animals . . . and I give them to whom I will” (cf. Psa 115:16; Eccl 2:26). As the Lord of history, he controls what happens. Thus creation and history intertwine because both lie in God’s hands. It is no wonder, then, that *ntn* can have Yahweh as subj. in both of the major meanings (i.e., “to set in motion” = “to present, give” and “to set in motion” = “to effect, cause to be”). This “giving” and “effecting” of Yahweh may be noted first in the realms of humanity in general or of the individual: Yahweh gives the breath (*n<sup>e</sup>šāmâ*) and the spirit of life (→ *rûaḥ*; cf. Isa 42:5; Ezek 37:6; *ntn nepesš* does not occur; Esth 7:3, “so my life [*napšî*] was given to me,” refers to sparing life); *ḥayyîm* “life” (→ *ḥyh* 3e, 4b; with *ntn* only in Psa 21:5; → *śh*, Jer 38:16); *yāmîm* “days of life” (→ *yôm* 3f; cf. Psa 39:6; Eccl 5:17f.; 8:15; 9:9); physical capacities such as hearing, sight, etc. (Deut 29:3; Isa 50:4f.; cf. *śh* in Prov 20:12); the capacity, the readiness, and the will to do something (see III/3c); power (→ *kôaḥ*) and strength (→ *ʿzz*, cf. Deut 8:18; Isa 40:29; Psa 29:11; 68:36); grace (→ *ḥnn* 4a); mercy (→ *rḥm*); peace (→ *ślm*); retribution (*nqm*); illness (*ḥlh*); etc. Yahweh’s gifts to humanity involve not only the natural sphere (he—and no other; cf. Jer 14:22—gives rain, food, and the other blessings of the earth), but also the human realm, often one’s entire personal history: he gives a man a wife (Gen 3:12), children (Gen 17:16; Isa 8:18), and descendants (Gen 15:3).

The many PNs formed with *ntn* or its synonyms *ʿûš*, *zbd*, *ḥnn*, and *ndb*, in particular, bear witness to this belief (see I/2 and III/4); cf. also the PN *ʿabîšay* (?), *ʿabîšûr*

(?), *qûšāyāhû* (cf. Akk. *qašû* “to present”), foreign names like *mitr<sup>c</sup>dāt* (“gift of Mithra”) and *pôfî-pera<sup>c</sup>* (Eg. *p<sup>o</sup>dy p<sup>o</sup>r<sup>c</sup>* “which Re has given”), and perhaps also PNs such as *miryām* and *yirm<sup>c</sup>yāhû* “(God’s) gift” and “Yahweh has given,” resp.; cf. W. von Soden, *UF* 2 (1970): 269–72.

Israel experienced Yahweh’s gifts and appropriations primarily in its national existence, in that Yahweh gave Israel a land and guided its existence in every respect. The basic assumption of Dtn and Dtr theology with respect to the so-called conquest is not that Israel (albeit with Yahweh’s assistance) conquered the land nor that God “abandoned” the land in the military sense, like enemies are abandoned in a military operation (Plöger, op. cit. 63), but that Yahweh, as owner of the land, “transfers” it: it is not a conquest, then, but a grant (see III/1i and III/3c, d; for an overview of the land-grant formulae, cf. J. N. M. Wijngaards, *Formulas of the Deuteronomic Creed* [1963], 28–34; id., *VT* 15 [1965]: 91–102; idem, *OTS* 16 [1969]: 68–105; and esp. Diepold, *Israel’s Land* [bibliog.]; further, J. G. Plöger, “אֲדָמָה, <sup>a</sup>*dhāmāh*,” *TDOT* 1:88–98 [bibliog.]; P. D. Miller, *Int* 23 [1969]: 451–65; and W. Zimmerli, *OT Theology in Outline* [1978], 64–69). Yahweh acts as the proper owner who “transfers” the land or “makes (it) available” in the legal sense.

For the analogous act of an emperor in relation to his vassals, attested particularly in the ancient Near Eastern state treaties, cf. K. Baltzer, *Covenant Formulary* (1971), 9–18; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (1972), 71–81, (bibliog.). Yahweh’s sole right to grant the land (but cf. Judg 11:24) is true not only for Israel but for all other nations (Deut 2:5, 9; Josh 24:4; Ezek 29:20). The verb *ntn* in this sense is not just used with Yahweh as subject. Moses, as Yahweh’s representative, also “gives” (Deut 3:19, cities; 3:20, property; never land in Deut; Num 32:33 [cf. Josh 13:15ff.; 14:3], the kingdoms of Sihon and Og [to the tribes beyond the Jordan]; Num 32:40, Gilead [to Machir]; Josh 14:13, Hebron [to Caleb]). Joshua also “gives” (Josh 11:23; 12:7, the land [!] to the nation of Israel in accord with the distribution to the tribes). In these cases, *ntn* means “to distribute” (cf. Josh 18:10, *hlq* pi.; see Plöger, op. cit. 79n.77), cf. also Gen 47:11, which states that Joseph distributed property to his brothers.

Just as land grants in the state treaties depend on certain conditions, at least the loyalty of the recipient, Israel’s land grant is also conditional in the Dtn and Dtr view (cf. Diepold, op. cit. 76ff.; Miller, op. cit. 454ff.; cf. also Weinfeld, op. cit. 71ff., however, who recognizes an unconditional grant in some cases as a reward for demonstrated faithfulness). On account of the conditional nature of possession of the land and Israel’s absolute dependence on Yahweh, the grantor, Israel never developed an autochthonic consciousness in the land (Zimmerli, op. cit. 64f.). The land is always Yahweh’s gift, and Israel’s relationship to its land rests on Yahweh’s disposition to give Israel the land as a concrete blessing of the covenant

relationship. As the proper owner of the land, he could also remove it again.

The notion that Yahweh gives or creates rest for his people *m<sup>e</sup>nûhâ* (→ *nûah*) is most closely related to the gift of the land, insofar as *m<sup>e</sup>nûhâ* occasionally describes the land materially as “resting place” (cf. Deut 12:9 par. *nah<sup>a</sup>lâ*; Mic 2:10; Zech 9:1; Psa 95:11; 132:8, 14) and rest as the coming-to-rest after the difficulties of the wandering period coincides temporally with the gift of the land (cf. von Rad, “There Remains Still a Rest for the People of God,” *PHOE* 94–102; and esp. A. R. Hulst, “Schrift en kerk,” FS Gispen 62–78). Relatedly, Yahweh guides history, positively by means of his gift of the *tôrâ* (see above), *mišpāt*, *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* (cf. K. Koch, FS von Rad [1971], 236–57, esp. 249ff.) and the charismata of guidance and instruction (Zimmerli, op. cit. 81–108), negatively in that he “abandons” his people in judgment (1 Kgs 14:16; Jer 15:9; Ezek 16:27; Mic 5:2).

2. It is noteworthy, in relation to the amount that Yahweh “gives,” how little the person “gives” God. The verb *ntn* occurs relatively infrequently in this sense. Indeed, sacrifices are regarded as “gifts” offered to Yahweh by people (cf. *ILC* 3–4:322ff.; R. Hentschke, *RGG* 4:1642; von Rad, *Theol.* 1:254ff.) and the Israelites may not appear before Yahweh “with empty hands” (*rēqām*; Exod 23:15; 34:20; Deut 16:16f.; cf. Exod 22:28, *ḥr pi.*), yet *ntn* occurs only rarely in relation to sacrifices. It occurs occasionally with *zabah* “animal sacrifice” (Psa 51:18; Eccl 4:17), *iššeh* “burnt offering” (Lev 22:22; on the so-called burnt sacrifice cf. J. Hoftijzer, FS Baumgartner 114–34), and various other gifts (Lev 23:38), *qōdeš I<sup>e</sup>yhw<sup>h</sup>* “something holy to Yahweh” (Lev 27:9, 23), *kōper* “atonement” (Exod 30:12f.; Psa 49:8; cf. *ntn* Mic 6:7), *rēšît* “the best” (Num 18:12; *bô<sup>ʔ</sup>* hi., v 13; *qrb* hi., v 15; Deut 26:10, however, *nûah* hi.), most often, however, with *t<sup>e</sup>rûmâ* “contribution, gift” (14x with *ntn*; 12x with *rûm* hi.; 8x with *bô<sup>ʔ</sup>* hi.; Lev 7:14 *qrb* hi.; see III/1g). In many of these texts, *ntn* means “to determine” or “to place at one’s disposal” (on the other meanings of *ntn*, see III).

*ntn* is never a technical expression for the “giving” of sacrifices as gifts presented to Yahweh, with the possible exception of phrases with *t<sup>e</sup>rûmâ*. In reality, everything belongs to Yahweh (Psa 50:9–12); consequently one gives every gift to Yahweh “from his own hand” (1 Chron 29:14). The surrender of the firstfruits includes the recognition that Yahweh is the actual owner of the land (see O. Hanssen, *BHH* 1:434f. with bibliog.).

In reference to *ntn* in the sense of “to hand over, relinquish” or “to dedicate” (see III/1c), the firstborn to be given Yahweh (Exod 22:28f.; cf. 13:1f., 12; 34:19) plays a significant role. Although all firstborn, animal and human, are Yahweh’s, a clear distinction is made between animal and human firstborn: the former are slaughtered, the latter redeemed (→ *pdh*),

even though redemption is not always (Exod 22:28f.) entertained (see de Vaux 2:443–46; M. Weinfeld, *UF* 4 [1972]: 133–54).

With a view to child sacrifice, it is important to establish that “to hand over, relinquish, dedicate” does not imply “to sacrifice” per se (cf. Judg 11:31, where the two concepts are clearly distinguished). With regard to the conjecture expressed by a few researchers, although incorrectly, that Yahwism knew of a legitimate child sacrifice, see the discussion of de Vaux 2:443–46; G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* (1972), 53 (bibliog.); L. Delekat, *BHH* 1:434 (bibliog.); Weinfeld, *op. cit.* 151ff., 154.

V. Kuhn (*Konk.* 147f.) lists 58 occurrences in the documents from Qumran published to date that continue OT usage. The LXX uses primarily *didonai* but also other verbs in accordance with the various nuances of *ntn*. On the NT, cf. F. Büchsel, “δίδωμι,” *TDNT* 2:166–73; H. Conzelmann, “χάρισμα,” *TDNT* 9:402–6; and J. Behm, “ἀνάθεμα,” *TDNT* 1:354f.

C. J. Labuschagne

### סְגֻלָּה *segullâ* property

S 5459; BDB 688b; *HALOT* 2:742a; *ThWAT* 5:749–72; *TWOT* 1460a; *NIDOTTE* 6035

1. Hebr. *segulla*® was formerly associated with Akk. *sugullu* “cattle herd” (cf. H. Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften und das AT* [19033], 651; GB 536a; KBL 649a). According to a more recent understanding, however, it relates to Akk. *sikiltu(m)* (perhaps *siqiltum* and the verb *sak/qālu*; cf. M. Greenberg, *JAOS* 71 [1951]: 172–74; A. Goetze, *JCS* 4 [1951]: 227; E. A. Speiser, *Or NS* 25 [1956]: 1–4; A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 52 [1957]: 328; M. Held, *JCS* 15 [1961]: 11f.). In the Code of Hammurapi §141, *sakālu sikilta* means “to acquire a private fortune”; in the titulature of king Abban-AN from Alalakh, *sikiltu* designates the king as the “special, personal property,” as a “worshiper” of the deity (Seux 261f.; cf. in addition the PN *sikilti-adad* in Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* [1914], 195). In addition, Ug. *sglt* fits as an indication of the vassal of the emperor in *KTU* 2.39.7, 12 (in a fragmentary context; M. Dahood, *Bib* 46 [1965]: 313; 50 [1969]: 341; H. B. Huffmon and S. B. Parker, *BASOR* 184 [1966]: 37; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *OLZ* 62 [1967]: 544).

The subst. *segulla*® or *segulleta*® “possession” as well as the doubtless denominative pi. or pa. of the verb *sgl* in the meaning “to lay back, store up” occurs in Mid. Hebr. and Jew. Aram. (cf. Greenberg, *op. cit.*).

2. *segulla*® occurs in the OT 8x: Exod 19:5; Deut 7:6; 14:2; 26:18; Mal 3:17; Psa 135:4; Eccl 2:8; 1 Chron 29:3.

3. As *sikiltu* and the usage of *segulla*® in the Talmud clearly suggest, *segulla*® designates property in a qualified sense: personally gained, carefully tended, private property (see Greenberg, op. cit.). This is precisely the meaning of *segulla*® in the two OT passages in which it occurs in a profane context: David vows to make available the gold and silver that he possesses as a *segulla*® (in addition to what he has already procured as means) for the construction of the house of God (1 Chron 29:3). This reference is indubitably to royal private property, which would not normally be released for public construction. In Eccl 2:8 the author speaks of “silver and gold and the *segulla*® of kings and lands” that he has assembled. The word indicates “a particular portion of one’s possessions not used for ordinary purposes but saved for a special purpose” (A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglosses zur hebr. Bibel* [1908], 1:336f.) and is thus distinguished from other terms in the realm of “possession, property” like *ḥuzzâ* (→ ḥz), → *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ, y<sup>c</sup>ruššâ* (→ yrš), and *qinyān* (→ qnh).

The LXX translation points in the same direction. Admittedly, it once has *peripoiēsis* “acquisition, property” (Mal 3:17; cf. 1 Pet 2:9) and once *peripoieisthai* “to acquire” (1 Chron 29:3). But it uses *periousios* “richly selected, chosen” 4x (Exod 19:5; Deut 7:6; 14:2; 26:18; cf. also the expansion in Exod 23:22; moreover Titus 2:14; 1 Clem 64) in the phrase *laos periousios* “the people which constitutes the crown jewel of God” (H. Preisker, *TDNT* 6:57), and *periousiasmos* “acquisition, property” twice (Psa 135:4; Eccl 2:8).

4. *segulla*® almost became a technical term in the OT describing Yahweh’s ownership of Israel (cf. the Akk. royal epithets and the PN *sikilti-adad* mentioned above). Since it occurs in three passages in Deut (each time in the phrase *lihyôt lô l<sup>c</sup>am s<sup>e</sup>gullâ* “so that you become his own people”), it seems to be a characteristic of Dtn language. But the phrase also occurs in a somewhat altered form in Exod 19:5, indeed within a section (19:3–6[, 8]) that some regard as a Dtr addition (so G. Fohrer, “Priesterliches Königtum,” *TZ* 19 [1963]: 359–62) but that is more likely to have preserved an older tradition (cf. H. Wildberger, *Jahwes Eigentumsvolk* [1960]: 10ff.; W. Zimmerli, “Erwägungen zum ‘Bund,’” *FS Eichrodt* 171–90, esp. 175f.) already available to the Dtr (contra L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT* [1969], 171ff.). If Exod 19:6 depends on Dtn, one would expect *am qādôš* instead of *gôy*. The claim that *segulla*® in Exod 19:5 represents an abbreviation of the original *am s<sup>e</sup>gullâ* of the Dtn—with Perlitt, op. cit. 171—is not helpful in view of the fact that Israel can be consistently described as Yahweh’s *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* (disregarding the relatively late passage in Deut 4:20

where *ʿam nah<sup>3</sup>lâ* appears). Psa 135:4 also speaks of *segulla*®: “Yahweh chose (→ *bhr*) Jacob, Israel for his *segulla*®.” Presumably this psalm (in its present form post-exilic) incorporates a formulation firmly fixed long before. At any rate, it is notable that the par. term *bhr* elucidates the theological content of *segulla*® (as in Deut 7:6 and 14:2). In Mal 3:17 *segulla*® serves the notion of Yahweh’s new interest in Israel in the future (cf. → *bhr* IV/4b) and has thus become the content of the promise of salvation.

The theological content of *segulla*® is clearly paraphrased by the far-from-literal LXX translations *laos periousios* (Exod 19:5; Deut 7:6; 14:2; 26:18; also in Exod 23:22 for a simple *ʿam*) or *eis periousiasmon* (Psa 135:4). The formulation *eis peripoiēsin* in Mal 3:17 clearly expresses that Israel must again be “acquired” by Yahweh through an act of grace.

5. The available Qumran texts do not attest the expression. On rabbinic usage cf. Greenberg, op. cit. In the NT *laos periousios* occurs in Titus 2:14, doubtlessly inspired by the LXX: through Jesus’ redemptive act God creates a people as his precious possession. In 1 Pet 2:9 the NT church is addressed as *laos eis peripoiēsin* despite a marked dependence on Exod 19. The usual translation “a peculiar people” is not faithful to the Gk. text since the choice of the expression here instead of the one in Titus 2:14 undoubtedly seeks to express the fact that God must bring his people into his possession through his redemptive act.

H. Wildberger

## סוד *sôd* **secret**

S 5475; BDB 691b; HALOT 2:745a; ThWAT 5:775–82; TWOT 1471a; NIDOTTE 6051

1. The noun *sôd* is an etymological crux. One either makes no suggestion (apart from references to other Sem. languages) regarding possible derivations (GB 537f.; Zorell 547b), or one suggests a root *\*sûd*, which may also appear in Psa 2:2 and 31:14 (cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:124; P. Humbert, FS Baumgartner 136f.) or which is linked with *ysd* (e.g., BDB 691a) or *ysd* II “to combine” (KBL 386b, 651a).

*sôd* is otherwise generally compared to Arab. *sāwada* “to speak secretly” and with Syr. *s<sup>c</sup>wādā/suwādā* “a confidential discussion.” Fohrer (KAT 16, 269) refers to Old SArab. *mšwd* “council assembly” (cf. BDB 691a; R. E. Brown, CBQ 20 [1958]: 418). DISO 190 (cf. 191) cautiously mentions Pun. *swb* (or *swd*) “(round, circle →) celestial

vault.” For the difficult passage Psa 25:14, where LXX has a unique *krataiōma* for *sôd*, G. R. Driver (*JBL* 55 [1936]: 102; *ETL* 26 [1950]: 345) adduces Arab. *sūd* “chieftaincy” (cf. *CPT* 251; S. Jellicoe, *Septuagint and Modern Study* [1968], 326).

Sir has a pi. (Sir 7:14) and a hitp. (8:17; 9:3, 14; 42:12), denominatives from *sôd*. In addition, there are the PNs *sôdî* (Num 13:10) and *b<sup>s</sup>sôd<sup>c</sup>yâ* (Neh 3:6; cf. *IP* 32, 152).

2. The noun *sôd* occurs a total of 21x, 8x in wisdom documents (Prov 5x, Job [incl. 29:4] 3x, absent from Eccl), 6x in Psa, 4x in Jer, and 1x each in Gen, Ezek, and Amos. With one exception, then, the word is absent from the Pentateuch, completely from the Dtr and Chr histories, and from the apocalyptic literature (in Dan, however, 9x Bibl. Aram. *rāz* “secret,” rendered *mystērion* by LXX; see 5).

3. The word *sôd* occurs only in the sg.; it is subj. 2x (Psa 25:14; Prov 3:32, in a nom. clause) and obj. 6x (Amos 3:7; Psa 83:4; Prov 25:9, in a verbal clause; cf. also Psa 55:15; further, Prov 11:13; 20:19, in a nom. clause), 4x with *glh* “to reveal” (2x each qal and pi.; cf. *HP* 202f.). Job 29:4 may be a textual error; cf. *BH* 3, *BHS*, and e.g., Fohrer, *KAT* 16, 402.

Semasiologically, the word has a relatively broad semantic range. In addition to the concrete usage of the word, dominated by the meaning “assembly”/“circle,” a significant group of expanded usages also occurs—in reference to both humans and God; particularly noteworthy are abstract usages such as “decision” or “secret,” which also became the most significant theologically (see 4).

The supposition of a base stem *sûd* “to combine” seems to correspond best to the concrete usage of *sôd*, for *sôd* primarily means assemblies of various kinds. In reference to people, it does not involve so much “free meeting together in time of leisure of the adult men” in the village (L. Köhler, *Hebrew Man* [1956], 87) as assemblies of people who are somehow closely related; thus it refers to the narrow circle of people who meet (Psa 55:15; Job 19:19; see Fohrer, *KAT* 16, 307: “circle of confidants”; cf. Gemser, *HAT* 16, 32); through them harmonious social relations were maintained (Jer 15:17; opposite “to sit alone”). In reference to the “circle of the evil” (*sôd m<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>îm*, Psa 64:3), it has a negative significance (regarding their attacks against the pious, vv 4ff.; cf. 1:1; 31:14). The first expanded usage to be considered is the old, collective usage in reference to the “assembly” of two tribes in Gen 49:6 (par. *qāhāl* “assembly, community”) and the later reference to Israel (Ezek 13:9) and the temple community (Psa 111:1; see 4); then, however, the general usage to indicate a crowd as in Jer 6:11 (“circle of the young men” = the young men in general or as a whole; perhaps Psa 64:3 should also be categorized here). One should also understand concretely the discussion of

God's heavenly council (cf. H. W. Robinson, *JTS* 45 [1944]: 151–57; see 4).

More significant than the concrete usage, however, may be the abstract; decisive here is not the assembly or the circle per se but the “discussion” that takes place there and esp. the “decision”/“plan” that results from the discussion (see 1 on the related words in Syr. and Arab.; cf. G. Fohrer, FS Thomas 103). Prov 15:22 associates *sôd* “discussion” with *mah<sup>3</sup>šābôt* “plans” and *yō<sup>c</sup>šîm* “counselor” (cf. P. A. H. de Boer, *SVT* 3 [1955]: 43ff.; on the political aspect cf. W. McKane, *Prophets and Wise Men* [1965], 55ff., 124; also Prov 11:14; 20:18; 24:6). Furthermore, as a rule it was true of older wisdom that things discussed in secret may not be discussed abroad, so that *sôd* acquired the meaning “secret” (Prov 11:13; 20:19; cf. *HP* 202f.; 25:9 in a warning). Negatively, Yahweh's enemies are said “to conduct a secret discussion” (Psa 83:4a; par. → *y<sup>c</sup> hitp.* “to consult”; cf. v 6; 2:2). Of particular theological significance are statements concerning God's decision/plan (see 4).

4. The specifically theological usage already becomes distinctive when *sôd* appears in human society cast in terms of religious characteristics; in this context *sôd* in the sense of “community” can refer to or even express, negatively, a hindrance to, or, positively, a means for true community with God—its religious significance in the final analysis.

It can connote religious disqualification in discussions of the circle and evil plan of evildoers in Israel and the enemies outside Israel (Psa 64:3; 83:4; see 3), or in prophetic judgment speeches about the faulty community of false prophets with the people of God through the phrase “not enter the community of my people [*b<sup>c</sup>sôd ammî*],” Ezek 13:9 (par. “not listed in the book of the house of Israel” and “not enter into the land of Israel”; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:294: they “would be excluded from the trusted circle of the people of God”). Conversely, the community (*‘ēdâ* as a par. term; cf. Psa 1:5) as the “circle of the upright” (→ *yšr* 3b) is the setting for the praise of Yahweh, Psa 111:1. Similarly, Prov 3:32, in the theological portion of Prov, maintains that Yahweh has “a confidential relationship” (*sôd*) “with the upright” (*‘et-y<sup>c</sup>šārîm*) (opposite “abomination for Yahweh”; cf. McKane, *Prov*, OTL, 300f.). The difficult Psa 25:14 (see 1) refers similarly to those “who fear (Yahweh)” (par. *b<sup>c</sup>îrît* “covenant”; according to Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:322, *sôd* here is Yahweh's “decree to show the way”).

Since *sôd* refers to Yahweh's heavenly “council” and his divine “decision/ plan/secret” and thus directly to his action and being, it acquires essential significance for the development and content of the OT concept of God.

The confessional statement in Psa 89:8 that Yahweh is a God feared

“in the great circle/council of the holy” (*b<sup>e</sup>sôdq<sup>e</sup>dôšîmrabbâ*; cf. *BHS*) may be associated with similar descriptions of his surroundings (in addition to the more general “his entire surroundings,” cf. “in the assembly of the holy” and “among the divine beings,” vv 6f.; Psa 82:1 “God stands in the assembly of the gods, in the midst of the gods he holds court”; cf. v 6), through which, in varying phraseologies resulting from a long religious polemic, the notion of Yahweh’s lofty and incomparable status in the circle of divine beings has developed (cf. G. Cooke, *ZAW* 76 [1964]: 22–47; also W. Herrmann, *ZRGG* 12 [1960]: 242–51; H.-P. Müller, *ZNW* 54 [1963]: 254–67; W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel* [1966], 26ff., etc.). Nonetheless, in his majesty, Yahweh consults with those around him (1 Kgs 22:19–22; see also Cooke, *op. cit.*). For Jeremiah, whether the prophet has “stood in the council of Yahweh” is a criterion of true prophecy (Jer 23:18, 22); only thus can he be a messenger with Yahweh’s word (23:21f.; cf. Isa 6; E. C. Kingsbury, *JBL* 83 [1964]: 279–86) after God “has revealed his decision/plan/secret” to him (Amos 3:7; cf. W. H. Schmidt, *ZAW* 77 [1965]: 183–88). “Wisdom” can also be acquired in God’s council (Job 15:8).

5. In Qumran literature, the noun *sôd* in alternation with *yswd* (13x) occurs over 40x (about 30x in 1QH; according to Kuhn, *Konk.* 90, 150; *id.*, *RQ* 14 [1963]: 212; also *GCDS* 430).

The LXX, which omits Prov 20:19 and offers another text for Prov 25:9, renders *sôd* with 12 Gk. words (*boulē* 4x; cf. G. Schrenk, “βουλή,” *TDNT* 1:633–36; *synedrion* 3x; cf. E. Lohse, “συνέδριον,” *TDNT* 7:860–71; the others 1x each). The twofold translation in Prov 11:13 is remarkable (*boulas en synedriō*). In addition, a twofold translation with *paideia* occurs (Ezek 13:9; Amos 3:7; *yissûr* “correction” may have mistakenly been read; cf. otherwise G. Bertram, *FS Krüger* 48f.; *id.*, *TDNT* 5:611). It is never translated *mystērion* (cf. however, G. Bornkamm, *TDNT* 4:814; R. E. Brown, *CBQ* 20 [1958]: 417–43).

M. Sæbø

## סור *sûr* to deviate

S 5493; BDB 693a; *HALOT* 2:747b; *ThWAT* 5:803–10; *TWOT* 1480; *NIDOTTE* 6073

1. The root *sûr* is attested in Hebr., Mid. Hebr., and Phoen.-Pun. (yi. “to remove,” *DISO* 121; *KAI* no. 10.13f.; no. 79.7). Cf. also Akk. *sâru* “to

circle, dance” (*AHW* 1031b).

*zûr* II “to turn aside” should be compared as a verb with a similar meaning (→ *zār* 1). *sûr* in Hos 9:12 is unclear; GB 781a et al. see it as an aberrant spelling of *sûr* (cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 160; Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 182).

Forms of *sûr* in the OT are the qal “to avoid,” hi. “to arrange for someone to avoid = to remove,” ho. “to be removed,” and pil. “to confuse” (Lam 3:11), also the verbal adj. *sûr* “stubborn” and the noun *sārâ* “stoppage, cessation” (only Isa 14:6).

The many textual difficulties in MT in passages that use *sûr* are remarkable (cf. e.g., Exod 14:25; 1 Sam 21:7; 22:14; 2 Sam 7:15; 22:23; Isa 17:1; 22:3; 49:21; Jer 2:21; 6:28; 17:13; Hos 4:18; 7:14; Job 15:30b; 2 Chron 35:12; cf. the lexicons and *BHS*).

2. The verb, with 299 occurrences (qal 159x, hi. 134x, ho. 5x, pil. 1x; incl. *sûr* Hos 9:12; excl. 2 Kgs 11:6 txt? a PN; Exod 8:27 counted as hi. with Lis., not as qal with Mandl.), exhibits no particular concentration (qal: 2 Kgs 21x, Judg and Prov 14x each, 1 Sam 13x, Deut 12x, Isa 10x; hi.: Isa and 2 Chron 13x, 2 Kgs 11x). The adj. *sûr* occurs 3x (Isa 49:21 txt?; Jer 2:21 txt?; 17:13 Q), the noun *sārâ* 1x.

3. The basic meaning of *sûr* “to turn aside from the direction one has set out on” (1 Sam 6:12) has developed broadly. The semantic scale reaches from “to go away” to “to stay overnight.” Four connotations develop from the basic meaning: (1) “to deviate” (abs., Judg 14:8; with *min*, Exod 32:8, etc.); (2) “to abandon” (with *min*, 1 Sam 15:6; with *mēʿal*, Num 12:10, etc.); (3) “to avoid” (Lam 4:15); (4) “to turn to” (with *ʿel*, Gen 19:2f.; *le*, Judg 20:8; *šām[mâ]*, Judg 18:3, 15; *ʿal*, 1 Kgs 22:32). The meanings in the hi. depend primarily on (2): “to distance, remove, do away with.”

The verb can be associated with various subjs.; it primarily involves persons (for the details see the lexicons).

The terms most closely related semantically are *šth* “to deviate” (which can also be constructed with *min* [Prov 4:15] and *ʿel* [7:25]; used fig. in Num 5:12, 19f., 29) and *mûš* “to withdraw from a place” (20x, distinctions between *mûš/mûš* qal and hi. [cf. GB 408f. with KBL 506b and Zorell 421]; in Mic 2:3, however, probably hi. “to cause to withdraw, remove”).

4. *sûr* per se has no marked theological meaning; it appears frequently, however, in definite theological contexts. Understandably, it is associated less with the qal (a), on account of the intrans. meaning, than with the hi. (b).

(a) That Yahweh himself can withdraw from a person is stated in

relation to Samson (Judg 16:20) and Saul (1 Sam 18:12; 28:15f.); the withdrawal of Yahweh's Spirit from Saul (1 Sam 16:14) has the same significance. In addition, there are statements that his hand does not desist (1 Sam 6:3), he does not remove his grace (2 Sam 7:15), and his zeal withdraws (Ezek 16:42).

The verb is used much more often of the behavior of the people or of an individual toward Yahweh. It is firmly anchored in Dtn-Dtr terminology (cf. N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot* [1963], 71f.): for "apostasy" from Yahweh (1 Sam 12:20; cf. Jer 5:23; 17:5; Ezek 6:9; Job 34:27; 2 Chron 25:27), for "deviation" from the ways that Yahweh commanded (Exod 32:8; Deut 5:32; 9:12, 16; 11:28; 31:29; cf. Josh 1:7; Judg 2:17), for "deviation" from the law (*mišwâ*, Deut 17:20; *dābār*, Deut 17:11; 28:14; *ḥuqqâ*, 2 Sam 22:23) or from the book of the law (Josh 23:6). 2 Kgs (2 Chron) uses it in relation to the evaluation of the kings who do not desist from sin (2 Kgs 10:29, 31; 13:2, 6, etc.) or from the high places (14:4; 15:35, etc.). The expression *sûr mēra*<sup>c</sup> "to avoid evil" belongs to wisdom terminology (Psa 34:15; 37:27; Job 1:1, 8; 2:3; 28:28; Prov 3:7; 13:19; 14:16; 16:6, 17).

(b) Yahweh/God acts in about 40 usages of *sûr* hi., primarily in the historical and prophetic books, less often in Psa and Job. While he acts primarily against or on behalf of Israel/Judah in the first two categories, he acts toward the individual in Psa and Job.

*sûr* hi. does not figure prominently in relation to the activity of the people or individuals. It appears with some degree of regularity in contexts concerned with the removal of sanctuaries at the high places, altars, and pillars of Baal (esp. 2 Kgs and 2 Chron; 2 Kgs 18:22 = Isa 36:7 concerns Yahwistic cult objects). Does the verb stand in some terminological relationship to the renunciation requirement in Gen 35:2 and Josh 24:14, 23 (cf. Alt, *KS* 1:79–88)? It should also be mentioned that *sûr* hi. is highly concentrated in the sacrificial rituals in Lev 3f. and 7 in the ordinances concerning the "removal of fat" (R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel* [1967], 157f.).

5. *sûr* has no specific equivalent in the LXX. The various stems of the verb are rendered by over 50 terms. A theological usage related to meanings (1) and (2) (see 3) and reminiscent of Dtr terminology dominates in the Qumran texts (see 4a).

S. Schwertner

סלח *slḥ* to forgive

S 5545; BDB 699a; HALOT 2:757a; ThWAT 5:859–67; TWOT 1505; NIDOTTE 6142

1. *slh*, “to forgive, pardon” in Hebr., is a common Sem. verb. In Akk. it means “to sprinkle” (texts in J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im AT* [1940], 57; *AHW* 1013), perhaps the original concrete significance of the verb. It also survives in Aram. and Syr., where the verb appears with an altered sibilant as *zlh* and means “to sprinkle, pour out” (Stamm, op. cit. 58n.2). Dillmann (1034) translates the related Eth. *zlh* “to draw out.”

In Ug. the expression *slh npš* occurs in a ritual text (*KTU* 1.46.1). C. H. Gordon (*Ugaritic Literature* [1949], 113) translates it “forgiveness of soul.” It remains unclear, however, owing to the incomplete context. In *UT* no. 1757 Gordon also suggests the additional translation “to sprinkle,” so that Ug. would also have preserved the old concrete meaning. With reference to Hebr. *slh*, J. Gray (*SVT* 15 [1966]: 191) associates Ug. *slh* with an Arab. verb *slh* “to unclothe” and “to come to an end.” *WUS* no. 1914 offers *slh* without translation.

*slh* occurs in the OT in qal and ni. The adj. of habit *sallāh* “ready to forgive” (Psa 86:5) and the abstract subst. *s<sup>l</sup>lāhā* “forgiveness, pardon” (Psa 130:4; Dan 9:9; Neh 9:17) are attested only sporadically and late.

To the instances of the qal may be added the common PN *yslh* (= *yislah*) in the Elephantine Papyri (cf. Cowley 291a; *BMAP* 306a). Noth (*IP* 210f.) understands the name as a wish: “may (the deity) forgive.” Yet it could also be a thankful declaration: “He (Yahweh) has forgiven,” which may refer to a sin that the parents perceive to have resulted in a long period of childlessness or in the serious illness of the bearer of the name and from which they are now freed. Cf. also Huffmon 43, 246.

2. Statistics: *slh* qal occurs 33x (Jer and 2 Chron 6x each, Num and 1 Kgs 5x each, 2 Kgs 3x, Psa 2x, Exod, Deut, Deutero-Isa, Amos, Lam, and Dan 1x each), ni. 13x (Lev 10x, Num 3x), *sallāh* 1x, and *s<sup>l</sup>lāhā* 3x.

3. (a) *slh* is the only OT term for “to forgive” (cf. Köhler 217f.; Th. C. Vriezen, “Sündenvergebung im AT,” *RGG* 6:507–11). It has only Yahweh as subj.; the qal explicitly states Yahweh’s involvement, yet the ni. also implies it unmistakably in the so-called *kipper* formulae in Lev and Num, where *w<sup>c</sup>nislāh lô/lāhem* “and it will be forgiven him/them” refers to Yahweh in contrast to the atonement-effecting priests (on this formula and its basic form in e.g., Lev 4:31, “and the priest will effect atonement for him, and it will be forgiven him,” see R. Rendtorff, *Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift* [19632], 76).

One can ask whether the extreme terminological peculiarity of the verb results in its relative disuse as an expression for the refusal to forgive

(Deut 29:19; 2 Kgs 24:4; Jer 5:7; Lam 3:42). At any rate, it describes the offer of forgiveness much more often, either in association with priestly intercession (Lev 4f.; 19:22; Num 15:25f., 28) or not (Num 14:20; 30:6, 9, 13; 2 Chron 7:14). *slh* appears only slightly less often in a wish or request (Exod 34:9; Num 14:19; 1 Kgs 8:30, 34, 36, 39, 50 = 2 Chron 6:21, 25, 27, 30, 39; Amos 7:2; also 2 Kgs 5:18[bis]; Psa 25:11; Dan 9:19). *slh* also occurs in prophetic promises for the coming era (Jer 31:34; 33:8; 50:20), and in the prophetic view it can also be the content of an option that Yahweh offers the people in the present (Jer 5:1; 36:3; Isa 55:7). The verb occurs in hymnic praise only in Psa 103:3; yet the adj. *sallāh* (86:5) and the subst. *s<sup>e</sup>līhā* (130:4; Dan 9:9; Neh 9:17) can be included here.

(b) With 46 occurrences *slh* is not a frequent verb and it appears much less often than appropriate for the significance of the message of forgiveness in the OT (cf. Eichrodt 2:443ff.). In fact, several roughly synonymous expressions parallel the specific *slh*. They refer to covering or atoning for sin (→ *kpr pi.*), removing it (→ *ns<sup>ʿ</sup>*), letting it pass (→ *ʿbr*), wiping it out, washing it away, cleansing it, and forgetting it. These marked expressions, which, like *slh*, derive from cultic rites, contrast with isolated, independent fig. expressions. They speak of Yahweh removing sin (Psa 103:12) and throwing it behind his back (Isa 38:17) or into the depths of the sea (Mic 7:19). The verb → *rp<sup>ʿ</sup>* “to heal” should also be included in this category since it often refers to a comprehensive restoration of the person that includes guilt (e.g., Isa 57:18; Jer 3:22; Hos 7:1; Psa 41:5; 107:20; 147:3; ni. Isa 53:5; the verbs and expressions mentioned above are discussed in Stamm, op. cit. 66ff.; Vriezen, *RGG* 6:508). As further emphasized below (see 4), the OT does not know of forgiveness in the modern sense of a spiritual phenomenon; rather, it knows it only as a concrete, comprehensive process that also effects the individual or society externally. This perspective may relate to the fact that *slh*, having become an abstract term, could not displace the fig. expressions. Of these, *ns<sup>ʿ</sup>* (*ʿāwôn*) “to take away (sin)” and *kpr* “to cover, atone” could occasionally acquire the meaning “to forgive.” For *ns<sup>ʿ</sup>* in the sense of forgiveness by God, cf. Exod 32:32; 34:7; Num 14:18; Josh 24:19; Hos 14:3; in the sense of forgiveness by people, Gen 50:17; Exod 10:17; 1 Sam 15:25; 25:28. For *kpr pi.* “to forgive” cf. Ezek 16:63; Psa 65:4; 78:38; 79:9; 2 Chron 30:18; pu. Isa 22:14.

4. (a) As the statistics indicate, *slh* occurs most regularly in the sacrificial regulations in Lev and Num, a factor grounded simply in the subject matter. Within these regulations, the verb is at home in the so-called *kipper* formula, “and the priest will effect atonement for him/them, and it will be forgiven him/them” (see 3a). The first clause of this expression

summarizes the priestly sacrifice and sprinkling rituals, and the second describes its recognition by God. The sequence of the two clauses is noteworthy, but it should hardly be interpreted (with S. Herner, *Sühne und Vergebung in Israel* [1942], 3) such that the atonement process strips forgiveness of its full force. In contrast, the entire context must be taken into account (with Eichrodt 2:444). In context, the atonement rites are valid as “means ordained by God himself for the removal of sin; and they thus acquire their effective power no longer by a quality inherent in themselves, but because this effect has been bestowed on them by God. . . . In this way *the concept of atonement acquired an eminently personal quality*. Expiation is not a removal of sin independent of the forgiveness of the sin, but constitutes *one method of forgiveness*” (ibid.).

Linked to a cultic institution, atonement resulting in forgiveness was susceptible to selfish and alienating misuse by people. As a precaution, atonable sins were limited to errors—perhaps an intentional restriction (cf. Eichrodt 2:446). A required confession of guilt may have also served as a safeguard against the indicated abuse. Such a requirement is mentioned, however, only in relation to the atoning sacrifice in Lev 5:5 (and 16:21). This rather noteworthy factor may be explained with Vriezen (*RGG* 6:509) as follows: “the presentation of sin and guilt offerings may presuppose or include a confession of sin.”

Cultic regulations also include those concerning women’s vows (Num 30:2–17). They promise Yahweh’s forgiveness to a woman who withdraws a vow because either her father or her husband does not acknowledge it. According to the text, this promise is valid independent of sacrifice and priestly mediation. It is motivated solely by consideration of the dependence of the woman. This motivation justifies paraphrasing *slh* here as “to exercise consideration” or “shows indulgence,” with Köhler 218.

One of the latest layers of Deut (Deut 28:69–29:28) threatens a curse in the event of disobedience. Its manifestation or consequences include Yahweh’s unwillingness to forgive (29:19), a harsh threat that does not, however, exclude the prospect of repentance and resultant forgiveness in another layer of Deut (ch. 30) and in Dtr literature (1 Kgs 8:14ff.; see b).

(b) Related to and more or less bound to the cult are prayers, including the Psa (25; 86; 103; 130) and the prose prayers in 1 Kgs 8 (= 2 Chron 6); Neh 9; and Dan 9.

That only four passages in the Psa may be mentioned (see 3b) only illustrates once again that *slh* is merely one among many other expressions for “to forgive.” This point is indicated by Psa 25, where the request of v 11, “for the sake of your name, Yahweh, forgive my sin, even if it is great,” is accompanied by the requests in v 7 that Yahweh no longer remember youthful sins and in v 18 that he remove all sins. Aware of the

power of sin, which extends beyond an individual's act and determines one's life, the psalmist can base the request (v 11) only on Yahweh's name, i.e., on Yahweh's acts of revelation intended for his honor (cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:321). In this case one may infer the effects of forgiveness from the requests in vv 4f.: it is a new life according to the trustworthy ordinances of the covenant people.

The introduction to Psa 103 (vv 1a, 3), "praise Yahweh, O my soul, . . . who has forgiven all your sins, who has healed all your infirmities," differs. Here healing confirms the forgiveness granted the psalmist, just as the OT elsewhere clearly understands the relationship between healing and forgiveness (cf. Stamm, op. cit. 78ff.). Yet the convalescent was not just physically restored but guided from the realm of the dead back into community with Yahweh (cf. Ch. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des AT* [1947], 146ff.).

The statement of confidence in Psa 86:5 addresses Yahweh as "gracious and ready to forgive" (*tôb w<sup>c</sup>sallāh*), and Neh 9:17 states similarly "and you are a forgiving God" (*ʿlôah s<sup>c</sup>lîhôt*). Both texts appropriate the old mercy formula from Exod 34:6f. and Num 14:18, modifying it and actualizing it for the supplicant, as do the probably late passages Psa 86:15 and 103:8.

Psa 130:4 is also an expression of confidence: "yet with you there is forgiveness so that you are feared." The psalmist is beset by what v 1 describes as the "deep." It depicts the human proclivity for sin (v 3) and simultaneously the distress afflicting the supplicant. With and through forgiveness the supplicant experiences deliverance from internal and external attack, an insight that does not contradict the often accentuated sublimity of the psalm (cf. C. Westermann, *Forschung am AT* [1964], 241). The justification "so that you are feared" should be understood in prospect of the period after deliverance, since praise of past events attracts new worshipers to Yahweh (cf. Psa 22:23–25).

The prose prayer in Neh 9:17 resembles Dan 9:9, which, within an expanded admission of guilt, juxtaposes the supplicant's apostasy and God's mercy and readiness to forgive (*s<sup>c</sup>lîhôt*). The pair of terms, "mercy" and "readiness to forgive," establish the fundamental OT perception—it already determines the mercy formula of Exod 34:6f.; Num 14:18—that without mercy there can be no forgiveness. The hymns from Qumran express the same notion by repeatedly combining the words "mercy" and "forgiveness" (e.g., 1QH 7:18, 30, 35; 9:34; 10:21; 11:9, 31f.).

In the great Dtr prayer for the dedication of the temple in 1 Kgs 8:14–66 (2 Chron 6:3–42), the request for forgiveness occurs 5x—indeed, in a way that, as a rule, forgiveness includes not only the removal of sin but also the simultaneous diversion of the punishment experienced in a crisis.

Thus it corresponds to the Dtr understanding of sin, as also expressed in Judg 2; 1 Sam 7; 12; 2 Kgs 17. The perspective of this author includes the notion that confession of sin or supplication and repentance precede the request for forgiveness (e.g., vv 33f., 35f., 37–40, 48); cf. H. W. Wolff, “Kerygma of the Deuteronomistic Historical Work,” in W. Brueggemann and Wolff, *Vitality of OT Traditions* [1982], 83–100, esp. 89ff.). In contrast, the relationship between acknowledged prayer and forgiveness of sin in 1 Kgs 8:30 is unique and unparalleled. Nevertheless, it presumes the awareness, otherwise characteristic of the Dtr, of the power of sin’s effect on the people’s history.

The request in the prayer in Dan 9:4–14, “O Lord, hear! O Lord, forgive!” (v 19), should also be mentioned. According to v 18 it rests solely on God’s mercy (cf. Plöger, KAT 18, 138; see 139 on the question of the originality of the prayer in the context).

Only once does cultic language use *slh* to discuss God’s hesitance to forgive: Lam 3:42 “We fell away and were rebellious, therefore you have not forgiven.” This clause is in the “collective lament,” Lam 3:42–47, in which the community accepts responsibility, without reservation, for causing the distress afflicting them. This confession presupposes the prophetic threat of judgment and parallels the Dtr view of history.

(c) *slh* occurs in the Prophets first in the intercession of Amos (Amos 7:2), “Lord, Yahweh, please forgive! How can Jacob withstand, since he is so small?” It does not effect the forgiveness of the people’s sin, however, but a change in Yahweh’s plan (v 3) so that he further delays the threatening judgment.

In chronological order, the next to be mentioned in this context is Jeremiah, who uses *slh* more than any other prophet. This verb twice depicts forgiveness as an ever-present possibility with God (5:1; 36:3). According to 5:1, part of the unit 5:1–6, it would be a given if *one* righteous person could be found in Jerusalem (cf. H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT* [1964], 154), and according to 36:3 forgiveness would be the divine response to penitence elicited by the prophetic word. Since the early Jeremiah only rarely sounded the call to penitence—e.g., 4:14—the intention of the prophet may have been transmitted somewhat crudely (so A. Baumann, *ZAW* 80 [1968]: 369). On the basis of older tradition (cf. Exod 34:6ff.) the people casually trusted in Yahweh’s willingness to forgive. In 5:7–11 the prophet addresses this misunderstanding by grounding the end of the possibility of forgiveness in apostasy and the predominant immorality.

Jer 29:1–14 and 32:1–15 clearly demonstrate that the late Jeremiah gave clearer indication of his hope (cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 2:209ff.). Thus forgiveness also appears now in 31:31–34 as a promise. Granted by

Yahweh, it is the requirement for life in the new covenant, characterized only by free and, at the same time, natural obedience. Jer 31:31–34 has undoubtedly been transmitted in a Dtr redaction and is not an original component of the so-called Book of Consolation. This recognition does not exclude the possibility, however, that the basic form of the pericope goes back to Jeremiah (cf., on the one hand, P. Buis, “La nouvelle alliance,” *VT* 18 [1968]: 1–15; and on the other, S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im AT* [1965], 179ff., 193ff.).

In the prophecy of salvation in Jer 33:1–13—its core could stem from Jeremiah—forgiveness is also an eschatological gift (v 8), which takes external shape in the reconstitution of Judah and Israel (Jerusalem according to LXX). In the surely post-Jeremianic text, 50:18–20, the same is true for the remnant of the people returned after the fall of Babylon.

For Deutero-Isaiah, deliverance and forgiveness belong together, indeed the latter constitutes the background or prerequisite for the former. “The change in Israel’s fortunes is based on the divine forgiveness” (Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 35). The prophet does not use the verb *slh* to speak of forgiveness. Instead, twice (43:25; 44:22) he uses the image of wiping away sin (*mhhpcša*), an image arising in part from the legal realm—the erasure of sins from Yahweh’s book of guilt—and in part from cultic cleansing (cf. Stamm, *op. cit.* 73f.).

Isa 55:7 bases the warning to evildoers to abandon their ways on a reference to God’s willingness to forgive, a reference formulated with the verb *slh*. That the verse stems from Deutero-Isaiah is doubtful. While J. Begrich (*Studien zu Deuterojesaja* [1938], 50f.) judges Isa 55:6f. to be an independent and authentic exhortation, Westermann (*op. cit.* 288) accepts Isa 55:6–11 as a unit in which the addition of v 7 interrupts the relationship between vv 6 and 8. Although I followed Begrich earlier (Stamm, *op. cit.* 52), I now believe that Westermann’s reasoning must be acknowledged. Thus *slh* is excluded from the vocabulary of Deutero-Isaiah.

In a chronological ordering of the instances in the narrative literature, 2 Kgs 5:18 may take precedence. It is Naaman’s wish that Yahweh forgive him if he were to bow down to the god Rimmon on a visit to Rimmon’s temple with his lord. With the somewhat general *lēk l’šālôm* “go confidently” or “go at ease” (cf. Stamm, *op. cit.* 48n.5), Elisha does not directly promise his guest forgiveness; it is more correct to say that he gives him reason to hope for a degree of consideration from Yahweh (cf. Köhler 217).

Related passages in the Pentateuch (Exod 34:9; Num 14:19f.) may be included here in terms of age because they do not belong to disputed portions of the older sources (J and E; on Exod 34:6aβb, 7, 9, cf. Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 261; on Num 14:11–25, cf. Noth, *Num*, OTL, 101f., 108f.). According to Exod 34:9, Moses asks forgiveness for the sin of apostasy to

the golden calf (cf. O. Eissfeldt, *KS* [1968], 4:234n.2). In the opinion of the redactor who inserted v 9 between vv 8 and 10, the request was granted when Yahweh promised to enter into a covenant. In Num 14:19 the fulfillment follows the request for forgiveness immediately (v 20); it removes the destruction threatening the people (v 12) but does not include the punishment of the generation responsible for unbelief (vv 21–23a).

According to 2 Kgs 24:2aβb–4, the Dtr sees the events of the end of Jehoiakim's reign as the effect of Yahweh's wrath for Manasseh's misdeeds. They do not permit forgiveness (v 4). Were forgiveness granted, it would be demonstrated in the removal of the punishment for the age-old sins of the people (cf. 4b on 1 Kgs 8:14ff.).

2 Chron 7:14 should be mentioned as the latest instance. It contains Yahweh's promise that he "will forgive sins and heal the land," if the people admonished by blows are moved to repentance. The Chr himself inserted v 14 together with vv 13 and 15 into a narrative taken from 1 Kgs 9:1–9 (the second theophany to Solomon at Gibeon), with a clear allusion to Solomon's prayer dedicating the temple (2 Chron 6) in vv 13–15. According to v 14 forgiveness brings "healing," i.e., the land will be freed from the plagues of draught, locust, and pestilence to which Yahweh has subjected it. In unabbreviated fashion, the OT understanding of forgiveness is once again stated: an act of God in response to humanity that, along with liberation from sin and the removal of punishment, also brings a comprehensive restoration or renewal.

5. Postbibl. Hebr. preserves *slh* and *s<sup>e</sup>lîhâ* (e.g., Sir 5:5 *slyhh* = *exilasmōs*). In the available texts from Qumran, the verb occurs 2x, according to Kuhn, *Konk.* 151b (1QS 2:8; 1QH 14:24) and the subst. 12x (10x in 1QH and 1x each in 1QS 2:15 and CD 2:4). In view of the OT, this distribution represents a remarkable preference for the subst. over the verb. This preference is repeated in Modern Hebr., where *s<sup>e</sup>lîhâ* becomes a much-used colloquial term in the sense of Eng. "pardon me."

No single term dominates the LXX translation of *slh*. The most common are *hileōs einai/hilaskesthai*, etc. and *aphienai* (cf. R. Bultmann, "ἀφίημι," *TDNT* 1:509–12; J. Herrmann and F. Büchsel, "ἴλεως," *TDNT* 3:300–323).

The NT greatly prefers *aphienai/aphesis* over other terms. Yet just as *slh* was not the sole dominant term in the OT, neither do these terms dominate in the NT. They hardly occur in Paul and John, both of whom express the matter in other terms (cf. Bultmann, op. cit. 512). In contrast to *slh* (see 3a), *aphienai* also regularly occurs with a human subj. (e.g., Matt 6:12b, 14a; 18:21–35; Mark 11:25, etc.). Just like the Hebr. verb, the Gk. verb can also indicate God's forgiveness (e.g., Matt 6:12a, 14b; Mark 11:25; Luke 12:10; Acts 8:22). The NT witness surpasses the OT by

associating *aphienai/aphesis* and other terms with Jesus. Thus the NT declares: Jesus has the authority during his lifetime to grant God's forgiveness (Mark 2:5ff. par.), and through his saving act the community obtains forgiveness (Eph 1:7; Col 1:14), which it then offers or bestows through him (Matt 26:28; Luke 24:47; Acts 2:38; 10:43; 1 John 2:12; etc.; cf. Bultmann, op. cit. 512). According to Mark 2:5ff., healing can still be a sign of forgiveness granted, but on the whole the external confirmations of forgiveness important to the OT diminish in the NT; it no longer needs them since Jesus himself is the confirmation of forgiveness.

J. J. Stamm

### סמך *smk* to support

S 5564; BDB 701b; HALOT 2:759a; ThWAT 5:880–89; TWOT 1514; NIDOTTE 6164

1. The root *smk* “to support” is attested in Hebr., Aram. (*DISO* 194; *LS* 480), and SSem. (Conti Rossini 255; Dillmann 355f.).

Besides the verb (qal, ni., pi.), the PNs *s<sup>e</sup>makyāhû*, *yismakyāhû*, and *ʾhîsāmāk*, in which “to support” is synonymous with “to help,” appear in the OT (*IP* 176; extrabibl. occurrences: *KAI* 2:194; Harris 121, 127; Cowley 154).

The roots of Ug. *smkt* (according to *WUS* no. 1923, “canopy of heaven”) and Hebr. *s<sup>e</sup>mîkâ* “cover [?]” (Judg 4:18; cf. A. Penna, *Guidici e Rut* [1962], 83) are uncertain.

2. The verb is attested 41x in the qal (Lev 14x, Psa 10x), 6x in ni., and 1x in pi.

3. (a) The meaning “to support” in the lit. sense is attested in Amos 5:19: the weary rests a hand against the wall (see also 4). The word often has a fig. meaning, in the sense of “to support, help” (Gen 27:37 with food and drink; Isa 63:5a and Psa 54:6 par. → *ʿzr* “to help”; Isa 59:16 and 63:5b par. *yš<sup>c</sup>* hi. “to help”; Psa 145:14 par. *zqp* “to set up”). Yahweh is often the subj. of such expressions: Yahweh “supports” the righteous and the humble (Psa 37:17, 24; 119:116; 145:14), the lamenter hopes for this support (51:14; 54:6; an incubation oracle and ordeal are suspected as the content of this “support” in 3:6; cf. H. Schmidt, *Das Gebet des Angeklagten im AT* [1928], esp. 21ff.; W. Beyerlin, *Die Rettung der Bedrängten in den Feindpsalmen der Einzelnen auf institutionelle Zusammenhänge untersucht*

[1970], 75ff.). Ezek 24:2 and Psa 88:8 represent another tradition; here the verb roughly means “to lie (on something)” (of an enemy king who lays siege and of God’s wrath that rests on people).

The pass. ptcp. *sāmûk* means “firm, lasting” (Isa 26:3; Psa 111:8; 112:8).

(b) In the ni. the verb means “to rest upon” in the lit. and the fig. senses (cf. Judg 16:29 “to lean [against pillars],” in contrast to Isa 48:2; Psa 71:6; and 2 Chron 32:8 “to trust [in God or the words of Hezekiah]”; 2 Kgs 18:21 = Isa 36:6 uses “to rest on a staff” fig. alongside → *bṯh* “to trust”).

The verb appears once in the pi. in the meaning “to refresh” (Song Sol 2:5 par. *rpđ* pi. “to refresh”; cf. *smk* qal in Gen 27:37).

(c) The verb *sʿd* qal “to support, strengthen” (used only fig. in the OT) has a meaning similar to *smk* qal (12x; obj. kingdom, throne: Isa 9:6; Prov 20:28; “to support the heart” = “to strengthen [oneself]”: Gen 18:5; Judg 19:5, 8; Psa 104:15; without *lēb* 1 Kgs 13:7; Yahweh supports the supplicant: Psa 18:36; 20:3; 41:4; 94:18; 119:117; Aram. pa. “to support,” Ezra 5:2; on the unexplained *mišʿād* in 1 Kgs 10:12, cf. Noth, BK 9, 228; on the etymology, cf. KBL 662a, 1103b; Huffmon 245). *smk* ni. corresponds largely to *rpq* hitp. “to lean on, rest on” (Song Sol 8:5) and *šʿn* ni. “to rest upon” (22x, both lit. [Judg 16:26; 2 Sam 1:6; 2 Kgs 5:18, etc.; “to lie down propped up = to rest,” Gen 18:4] and fig. [Num 21:15; par. *bṯh* “to trust,” Isa 30:12; 31:1, etc.; to lean on Yahweh/God: Isa 10:20b; 50:10; Mic 3:11; 2 Chron 13:18; 14:10; 16:7f.]; furthermore, the derivatives *mišʿān* “support” [Isa 3:1[bis]; of Yahweh, 2 Sam 22:19 = Psa 18:19], *mašʿēn*, *mašʿēnâ* [Isa 3:1; cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 128f.], and *mišʿenet* “staff on which one rests” [11x]).\*

4. *smk* qal has particularly broad usage in the cultic realm; it refers here, however, to the gesture of laying on hands prior to the slaughter of sacrificial animals (Lev 1:4; 3:2, 8, 13, etc.); the rite is prescribed for all types of sacrifice in which animals are slaughtered: for *ʿôlâ* “burnt offering” (e.g., Lev 1:4), *zebah šʿlāmîm* “sacrifice of completion” (e.g., 3:2f.), and *ḥaṭṭāʾt* “sin offering” (e.g., 4:4). Under some circumstances, even the priests must execute the rite and the accompanying sacrificial slaughter: for the dedicatory sacrifice to consecrate a priest (Exod 29:10, 15, 19; Lev 8:22) and for the great atonement sacrifice on the annual day of atonement celebrated in the post-exilic period (Lev 16:21); on this occasion, however, a ram was not sacrificed but driven into the wilderness for the demon Azazel. Num 8:10, 12 describe a somewhat different rite: In the context of the dedication of the Levites, the Israelites must lay hands on the Levites and the Levites on the sacrificial bull; thus expression is given to understanding the Levites as Israel’s firstborn (set aside for Yahweh and actually liable to sacrifice). When a blasphemer is executed, the witnesses must lay hands on the criminal prior to the stoning (Lev 24:14). Moses lays

hands on his legal successor Joshua in order to transfer functions to him. One can actually speak of a genuine ordination in these priestly documents (cf. E. Lohse, *Die Ordination im Spätjudentum und im NT* [1951], esp. 19ff.; Num 27:18, 23; Deut 34:9).

The background common to all these concepts consists in the fact that an intensive relationship of a magical-objective nature is established between the two figures who participate in the ritual (regarding the religiohistorical background of contact magic, cf. A. Bertholet and C.-M. Edsman, *RGG* 4:595ff.; contra B. J. van der Merwe, "Laying on of the Hands in the OT," *OuTWP* 5 [1962]: 34–43). This relationship can be established to transfer one's own guilt to the sacrificial animal as an atoning act (for the sin offering and the expulsion of the ram on the day of atonement; many see the origin of the rite here, e.g., P. Volz, *ZAW* 21 [1901]: 93–100); to transfer the sacrificial animal to the deity as the ultimate gift of the worshiper, who identifies with the offering (for the burnt offering), so that the worshiper may participate in the communion with the deity created by the sacrifice (for the slaughtered sacrifice); to return the curse that one has heard to the one who pronounced it; or to transmit the charisma of the leader of the people. This last concept may have arisen only late (attested in P for the concept of a comprehensive priestly ruler office), although great antiquity should be assumed for the other concepts (cf. Elliger, *HAT* 4, 34).

5. On *smk* in the Qumran texts and on LXX translations, cf. G. Harder, "στηρίζω," *TDNT* 7:653–57. The rite of laying on hands also plays an important role in the NT, particularly in the literature with incipient catholic tendencies and esp. in the context of the ordination ceremony (Lohse, op. cit. 67ff.). In addition, laying on hands has a place in healing by the *theios anēr* originating in Hellenistic religion. Cf. C. Maurer, "ἐπιτίθημι," *TDNT* 8:159–61.

F. Stolz

## סֵפֶר *sēper* book

S 5612; BDB 706b; *HALOT* 2:766a; *ThWAT* 5:929–44; *TWOT* 1540a; *NIDOTTE* 6219

1. The etymology of the word group *spr* "to count," *sēper* "document," and *sōpēr* "scribe" is complicated and disputed.

While it has been common since F. Hommel (*NKZ* 1 [1890]: 69) to derive *sēper*

as a loanword from Akk. *šipru* “sending, work, message” (e.g., GB 550b; BDB 706b; KBL 1104a and Suppl. 175a; Zorell 560a; LS 493a; WUS no. 1947; also H. H. Rowley, *BZAW* 66 [1936]: 175–90; G. Rinaldi, *Bib* 40 [1959]: 282) and accordingly *sōpēr* often from Akk. *šāpiru* (“employer, directorate,” ptcp. of *šapāru* “to send”; e.g., H. H. Schaeder, *Esra der Schreiber* [1930], 39, 45f.; KBL 1104a; W. McKane, *Prophets and Wise Men* [1965], 25ff.; cf. J. A. Soggin, *BeO* 7 [1965]: 279–82), T. N. D. Mettinger (*Solomonic State Officials* [1971], 42–45) rejected this etymology on account of deficient semantic agreement and argued for an internal NWSem. semantic development. Accordingly, the subst. *sēper* “renumeration, list” is formed on the verb *spr* with the basic meaning “to count” (Hebr. and Ug.; cf. *UT* no. 1793; Eth. *spr* “to measure,” Dillmann 404; Old SArab. *sprt* “measure,” Conti Rossini 199a). The meaning of the subst. generally expands to “document” (Ug.; Phoen.-Pun., and Old Aram. *spr* “inscription, letter, document,” *DISO* 196; K. Euler, *ZAW* 55 [1937]: 281–91; Arab. *sipr* is a loanword from Aram.; cf. Fraenkel 247). *sōpēr* “scribe, secretary” is a direct denominative from *sēper* (Mettinger, op. cit. 18; also Ug., Phoen.-Pun., and Imp. Aram., *DISO* 196), and *spr* qal “to write” in Psa 87:6 is merely a back-formation from the subst. (contrary to WUS no. 1947, Ug. *spr* in the colophon in *KTU* 1.6.VI.53 should not be understood as a pf. of the verb but with *UT* §9.23 and H. Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone* [1968], 22, as a professional designation, “scribe”).\*

Terms in this word group can be categorized according to the chief meanings “to count” and “document/scribe”: on the one hand *spr* qal “to count” (ni. “to be counted, be numerable,” pi. “to enumerate, recount,” pu. “to be recounted”) with the substs. *mispār* “number” (in Judg 7:15, “account”), *s<sup>c</sup>pār* “enumeration” (2 Chron 2:16; cf. Wagner no. 204a), *s<sup>c</sup>pōrâ* “number(?)” (Psa 71:15; contra L. Delekat, *VT* 14 [1964]: 32f.), on the other hand, *sēper* “writing, inscription, letter, book, document” (Bibl. Aram. *separ* “book”), *siprâ* “book” (Psa 56:9), *sōpēr* (Bibl. Aram. *sāpar*) “scribe, secretary,” *spr* qal “to write” (perhaps in Psa 87:6), also the PN *sōperet*, probably based on an appellative “scribe (scribal office)” (Ezra 2:55; Neh 7:57; cf. H. Bauer, *ZAW* 48 [1930]: 80; Mettinger, op. cit. 51). The focus of the following is on the second group (3b–e, 4b–e), while the meaning “to count,” etc. is treated more briefly (3a, 4a).

Divergent meanings are often posited: L. Kopf (*VT* 9 [1959]: 267–69) finds the meaning “to send” analogous to Akk. *šapāru* in *spr* qal in Ezra 1:8 (usually: “to count out”) and in the pl. *s<sup>c</sup>pārîm* in 2 Kgs 20:12 = Isa 39:1, “missives” (usually: “letters”). *mispār* in Deut 32:8 should mean “boundary” in analogy to Aram. *s<sup>c</sup>pār*, according to F. Zimmermann (*JQR* 29 [1938/39]: 241f.; cf. *CPT* 331). For *sēper* in Isa 30:8 and Job 19:23, the meaning “brass, copper” has been suggested in analogy to Akk. *siparru* (e.g., E. Dhorme, *Job* [1984], 281f.; S. Terrien, *Job* [1963], 149 with bibliog.; in contrast, cf. Hölischer, *Hiob*, HAT 17 [19522], 48; Fohrer, KAT 16, 307f., 317).\*

\*2. In the statistical tables, *sōpēr* in Isa 33:18(bis) is counted as a ptcp. of the verb *spr* qal, not as the subst. *sōpēr*. (In Lis. *sēper* in Neh 8:5

should be moved from col. 992c to 1005c). The hapax legomena *s<sup>c</sup>pār* (2 Chron 2:16), *siprâ* (Psa 56:9), and *s<sup>c</sup>pōrâ* (Psa 71:15), and Bibl. Aram. *separ* (5x, 4x in Ezra) and *sāpar* (6x in Ezra) are not listed.

	<i>spr</i>	qal	ni.	pi.	pu.	<i>mispār</i>	<i>sēper</i>	<i>sōpēr</i>
Gen	3	2	8	—	2	1	—	
Exod	—	—	4	—	2	4	—	
Lev	5	—	—	—	4	—	—	
Num	—	—	1	—	34	2	—	
Deut	2	—	—	—	4	11	—	
Josh	—	—	1	—	2	7	—	
Judg	—	—	2	—	5	—	1	
1 Sam	—	—	—	1	—	3	1	—
2 Sam	—	1	—	—	—	5	3	2
1 Kgs	—	2	2	—	1	16	1	
2 Kgs	—	—	3	—	—	44	10	
Isa	3	—	2	1	3	12	3	
Jer	—	1	4	—	6	26	12	
Ezek	1	—	1	—	5	1	2	
Hos	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	
Joel	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	
Nah	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	
Hab	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	
Mal	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	
Psa	4	—	30	2	6	3	1	
Job	3	—	4	1	13	2	—	
Song Sol	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Eccl	—	—	—	—	3	1	—	
Esth	—	—	2	—	1	11	2	
Dan	—	—	—	—	1	5	—	
Ezra	1	—	—	—	4	—	3	
Neh	—	—	—	—	1	9	7	
1 Chron	1	1	1	1	—	21	1	4
2 Chron	3	3	1	—	—	5	23	6
OT	27	8	67	5	134	185	54	

3. (a) *spr* qal/ni. “to count/be counted” in the OT refers to finite (e.g., Lev 15:13, 28, etc., cultic regulations; 2 Sam 24:10; 1 Chron 21:2; 2 Chron 2:1, 16, census; ni. only in 1 Chron 23:3) and (negated) to infinite quantities (Gen 15:5; 41:49; Psa 139:18; and the remaining ni. passages).

*mnh* “to count” is substantially synonymous (qal 12x, ni. 6x; Bibl. Aram. *pe.*, Dan

5:26, *minyān* “number,” Ezra 6:17; *mnh* ni. parallels *spr* ni. in 1 Kgs 8:5 and 2 Chron 5:6; cf. *mnh* qal in 2 Sam 24:1 alongside *pqd* qal in vv 2, 4 and *spr* qal in v 10), while *mdd* (qal 43x, 36x in Ezek 40–47; ni. 3x, pi. 5x, hitpo. 1x; *middā* “extent, quantity,” 53x; *m<sup>c</sup>mād* “quantity,” Job 38:5) has the basic meaning “to measure (off)” (ni. par. to *spr* ni. in Jer 33:22; Hos 2:1). Cf. further *kss* qal “to take something into account for someone” (Exod 12:4), → *hšb* 3, → *nś* 3a, → *pqd*.

The meaning of the qal verb corresponds to the meaning of the subst. *mispār* “number, quantity.” Occurrences concentrate in those bibl. books that devote special attention to enumerations (Num 34x, 1 Chron 21x). Reference should be made to the fixed expression *‘ēn mispār* “without number, innumerable” (Gen 41:49; Judg 6:5; 7:12; Jer 2:32; 46:23; Joel 1:6; Psa 40:13; 104:25; 105:34; 147:5; Job 5:9; 9:10; 21:33; Song Sol 6:8; 1 Chron 22:4, 16; 2 Chron 12:3) and to the use of *mispār* (independently or as the second member of a cs. phrase) in the meaning “small number, some, a few” (Gen 34:30; Num 9:20; Deut 4:27; 33:6; Isa 10:19; Jer 44:28; Ezek 12:16; Psa 105:12 = 1 Chron 16:19; Job 16:22). In Judg 7:15 the meaning of *mispār* derives from the pi. meaning of the verb (“narration”). *spr* pi. assumes the meaning “to count again, enumerate” (Psa 22:18; Job 28:27; 38:37) or usually “to recount” (cf. *HP* 218f.); in the latter meaning and in the pu. pass. it is semantically related to a series of verba dicendi (verbs of speaking); cf. e.g., → *zkr* hi. (3d) and → *ngd* hi.

(b) The basic meaning of *sēper* in Hebr. and in related languages is “document,” i.e., a piece of writing material (*BRL* 460–69) on which something is written. The verb is rendered variously in accord with the context, in the NWSem. inscriptions and papyri with “inscription” or “letter,” in the OT as a rule with “letter” or “book” (with “document, deed,” e.g., in Exod 17:14; Isa 30:8 par. *lûah* “tablet, board” [43x in the OT]; Job 19:23, see comms.; cf. J. A. Soggin, *BeO* 7 [1965/66]: 279f. with bibliog.).

*sēper* does not occur in the meaning “letter” in the Pentateuch and in the premonarchic period. In Israel’s early period, messages were communicated orally through messengers (Gen 32:3ff.; Num 22:5ff.; Judg 6:35, etc.). Written messages are mentioned only since the monarchic period (2 Sam 11:14f., David’s letter concerning Uriah; 1 Kgs 21:8ff., Jezebel’s letter; 2 Kgs 5:5ff.; 10:1ff.; 19:14; 20:12; Jer 29:1ff., Jeremiah’s letter to the captives in Babylon).

*sēper* can also be used in the sense of a legal memorandum as “legal document,” as in the phrase *sēper k<sup>c</sup>ritût* “certificate of divorce” (Deut 24:1, 3; Isa 50:1; Jer 3:8) or *sēper hammiqnâ* “bill of sale” (Jer 32:11ff.).

Letters are written, sealed, sent, received, and read. Correspondingly, the following verbs occur with some regularity in the word field: *ktb* “to write” (Deut 24:1, 3;

2 Sam 11:14f.; 1 Kgs 21:8f., 11; Jer 32:10, etc.; *ktb* qal occurs 204x in the OT, 30x in 2 Kgs, 27x in 2 Chron, 22x in Deut, 20x in Jer, 16x in 1 Kgs; ni. 17x, 9x in Esth; pi. 2x in Isa 10:1; in addition, *k<sup>c</sup>tāb* “writing, document,” 17x [9x in Esth]; *k<sup>c</sup>tōbet* “tattoo,” 1x in Lev 19:28; *miktāb* “writing, document,” 9x; Bibl. Aram. *ktb* pe. 8x, *k<sup>c</sup>tāb* 12x; on the expressions *ktb sēper* or *ktb hassēper*, cf. K. F. Euler, ZAW 55 [1937]: 281–91); *ḥtm* qal “to seal” (1 Kgs 21:8; Jer 32:10f., 14, 44, etc.; in the OT, qal 23x, ni. 2x, pi. 1x, hi. 1x; in addition, *ḥôtām* “seal,” 14x, *ḥōtenet* “seal,” 1x); → *šlh* “to send” (2 Sam 11:14; 1 Kgs 21:8, 11, etc.); → *lqh* “to receive” (Isa 37:14); → *qr<sup>v</sup>* “to read” (2 Kgs 5:7; 19:14; Isa 37:14; Jer 29:29).

In the post-exilic period *sēper* can be used in the sense of a royal edict (Esth 1:22; 3:13, etc.). Only in this later period does the term exhibit par. terms, all in the sense of an official edict: *ḥiggeret* (Esth 9:26, 29; Neh 2:7–9; 6:5, 17, 19; 2 Chron 30:1, 6; Bibl. Aram., *ḥigg<sup>c</sup>rā*, Ezra 4:8, 11; 5:6; on the etymology, cf. Wagner no. 3a), *miktāb* (Ezra 1:1; 2 Chron 21:12; 35:4; 36:22), and *mišt<sup>c</sup>wān* (Ezra 4:7; 7:11; Pers. loanword; cf. Wagner no. 193).

(c) In the vast majority of cases, *sēper* should be translated “book.” The verbs *ktb* “to write” (Exod 32:32; Deut 17:18; 1 Kgs 11:41, etc.), *ḥtm* “to seal” (Isa 29:11; Dan 12:4), and *qr<sup>v</sup>* “to read” (Exod 24:7; 2 Kgs 22:16; 23:2; Jer 36:1ff., etc.) also occur in the word field involving this meaning.

*megilla*® (21x) occurs occasionally as a synonym for *sēper*; it serves to characterize the book more precisely as a “scroll.” *megilla*® can appear alone (Jer 36:6ff.; Ezek 3:1–3; Zech 5:1f.) or with *sēper* in a cs. relationship (Jer 36:2, 4; Ezek 2:9; Psa 40:8). Once each, the subst. *siprā* (Psa 56:9) and *k<sup>c</sup>tāb* (Dan 10:21) appear as synonyms in this meaning.

In order to indicate the content of the respective books, *sēper* forms usually fixed expressions with other noms., e.g., *sēper milḥ<sup>a</sup>môt yhw<sup>h</sup>* “book of Yahweh’s wars” (Num 21:14), *sēper hayyāšār* “book of the upright” (Josh 10:13; 2 Sam 1:18), *sēper dibrē š<sup>c</sup>lōmōh* “book of Solomon’s deeds” (1 Kgs 11:41), etc. The books mentioned in the OT are for the most part lost or only partially preserved. One can only speculate with regard to their contents. Thus “the book of Yahweh’s wars” and the “book of the upright” probably contained military reports and songs, while the “book of the deeds” = “the chronicle of Solomon” and the “chronicle of the kings of Israel/Judah” served the present books of Kgs as exemplars (cf. O. Eissfeldt, *Intro.* [1965], 132–34, with bibliog.). The “book of generations” (*sēpertôlédôt*) probably served as a pattern for the priestly document; it may have originally contained only genealogies (von Rad, *Gen.* OTL [1972], 70). For additional phrases see 4.

(d) In a shift of meaning, *sēper* can be used in the sense of “writing,

script” (Isa 29:11f. with *yd<sup>c</sup>* “to be able to read”; Dan 1:4, 17 “to instruct in the script and language of the Chaldeans”). Synonyms are *k<sup>c</sup>tāb* (Esth 1:22; 3:12; 8:9; Ezra 4:7) and *miktāb* (Exod 32:16 “God’s writing”; 39:30 “signet-engraver script”).

(e) *sōpēr* “scribe” indicates both a general function (e.g., Psa 45:2) and a high official of the royal court since David’s time (2 Sam 8:17; 20:25; Judg 5:14 is textually uncertain). Occasionally we learn that scribes were also responsible for other activities beside the preparation of letters and edicts (2 Kgs 12:11, counting money; 18:18, 37; 19:2; 22:3ff., diplomatic service; 25:19, census taking). In later times (first in Jer 8:8), esp. the post-exilic period, the term occurs in an expanded sense. *sōpēr* is no longer just the scribe but also the one learned in the “scriptures” or the “law,” e.g., particularly Ezra, described as *sōpēr māhîr b<sup>c</sup>tōrat mōšeh* “learned, well-skilled in the law of Moses” (Ezra 7:6; similarly, v 11; cf. Neh 8:1ff.; H. H. Schaeder, *Esra der Schreiber* [1930], 39–59; on *sōpēr* in general, cf. e.g., J. Begrich, *ZAW* 58 [1940/41]: 1–29 = *GesStud*, 67–98; de Vaux 1:131f. with bibliog. [xxxiv]; Mettinger, op. cit. with bibliog.).

An analogous development from a designation for an activity to an official title may be observed for *ṭipsār*, the designation for a Bab. official in Jer 51:27 and Nah 3:17 (from Akk. *tupšarru*, derived in turn from Sum., lit. “tablet scribe”; cf. G. R. Driver, *Semitic Writing* [19763], 71f.; M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the OT* [1962], 78f.) and for *šōṭēr* “overseer, commissioner” (KBL 964b: “record-keeper, [organizing] officer”), an official title used in the military and less often also in the juristic spheres (25x in the OT: Exod 5:6, 10, 14f., 19; Num 11:16; Deut 1:15; 16:18; 20:5, 8f.; 29:9; 31:28; Josh 1:10; 3:2; 8:33; 23:2; 24:1; Prov 6:7; 1 Chron 23:4; 26:29; 27:1; 2 Chron 19:11; 26:11; 34:13; cf. J. van der Ploeg, *OTS* 10 [1954]: 185–96; J. T. Milik, *Bib* 38 [1956]: 266f.; de Vaux 1:155, 225; 2:394; Mettinger, op. cit. 20, 51; *mišṭār* “dominion,” or according to another interpretation “script,” Job 38:33, derives from the same root; cf. Fohrer, *KAT* 16, 508); *šōṭēr* and also Aram. *štr* “to write”/š<sup>c</sup>ṭār “document” (*DISO* 295f.; *LS* 773a) originate in Akk. *šaṭāru* “to write” (Zimmern 19, 29; Driver, op. cit. 70; Arab. *str* “to write” as a loanword from Aram.; cf. Fraenkel 250).\*

4. (a) Regarding the theological context of *spr* (qal/ni.) “to count” (see 3a), one should first refer to the patriarchal narratives in Gen. The verb has a firm setting here in the promise of increase (the promise of many descendants; cf. C. Westermann, “Types of Narratives in Genesis,” *Promises to the Fathers* [1980], 1–94, esp. 11ff.); the patriarchs are promised so many descendants (like the stars in heaven, like the sand of the sea) that they can no longer be “counted”: Gen 15:5; 16:10; 32:13; adapted in 1 Kgs 3:8; Jer 33:22; and esp. in Hos 2:1; cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 26f.

2 Sam 24 regards the census of the people (*mnh* v 1; → *pqd* vv 2, 4; *spr* v

10; *mispār* vv 2, 9) conducted by David as a sin. A census and enrollment of those obligated to participate in holy war, as reported here, violates the Yahweh-war principle of volition (cf. G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* [1991], 78f.)

The Psa and Job occasionally mention a census by Yahweh, e.g., in the lamenter's expression of confidence (Psa 56:9 "you have counted the days of my suffering"; Job 14:16 "then you counted my steps"; cf. 31:4). The worshiper's statement that Yahweh counts the nations (Psa 87:6) or the months (Job 39:2) underscores Yahweh's greatness and majesty; cf. also Isa 40:26; Psa 104:25; 147:4; Job 25:3, which each use *mispār*; moreover, Psa 147:5; Job 5:9; 9:10; 36:26.

In the pi. meaning ("to narrate"), *spr* has a specifically theological setting in the Psa: in the vow of praise and in reports that people communicate God's mighty acts that they have experienced or heard of to others (cf. C. Westermann, "'Re-presentation' of History in the Psalms," *PLP* 214–49, esp. 220ff.). Objects of the narration are Yahweh's name (Psa 22:23; 102:22; cf. Exod 9:16), his wonders (Psa 9:2; 26:7; 40:6; 75:2), famous acts (9:15; 78:4; 79:13; cf. Isa 43:21), majesty (Psa 96:3 = 1 Chron 16:24; cf. Psa 19:2), faithfulness (88:12 pu.), deeds (107:22; 118:17; cf. Jer 51:10; Psa 66:16), works (73:28), greatness (145:6 Q), righteousness (71:15), regulations (119:13; cf. Exod 24:3), and decree (Psa 2:7). In addition, some instances clearly state that this communication of experience first took place within the family from fathers to children and grandchildren: Exod 10:2; Judg 6:13; Joel 1:3; Psa 22:31 (pu.); 44:2; 48:14; 78:3, 6. At any rate, the frequency of occurrences indicates that such communication of experiences with Yahweh was an essential element in the formation of OT tradition.

In the laments concerning the enemies in the Psa, the godless enemies tell lies (59:13) and discuss plots (64:6; cf. 69:27; 73:15); according to 50:16 the godless also pay lip service to Yahweh's decrees, but their accounts do not correspond to their behavior. Reminiscent of the lament concerning the enemies, Jeremiah accuses the false prophets of recounting deceptive dreams (Jer 23:27f., 32).

(b) *sēper* "letter" found little theological usage. The term *sēper k<sup>e</sup>rîrût* "certificate of divorce," which occurs in Deut law, is used twice in the Prophets as an image in a theological statement (Isa 50:1; Jer 3:8): Israel is compared to a rebellious wife to whom Yahweh, her husband, gives a certificate of divorce. Twice Jeremiah speaks of a letter. Once it is a bill of sale (Jer 32:10ff.) that he writes and seals to confirm the purchase of land in Anathoth. It serves as a symbolic act to reinforce his salvation message: "For thus says Yahweh . . . : Houses and land and vineyards will be bought in this land once again" (v 15). Jeremiah's other letter is a message of

Yahweh cast in the form of a letter Jeremiah sends to the exiles in Babylon. They are encouraged to establish themselves in the foreign land.

(c) Usages of *sēper* in the meaning “book” (4c) in the prophetic sphere and (4d) in the law provide evidence of various stages in the development of a religion of the book.

Some prophetic instances offer insights into the literary fixation of the prophetic sayings (cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 2:40ff.). In Isa 30:8 the message the prophet has preached (to that point) without success is written down “for a future day,” i.e., so that later generations may know that they were fulfilled, and so that they may better heed Yahweh’s words (Isa 8:16 also belongs here in terms of content, although the word *sēper* does not occur).

Jeremiah’s words were also written down in a scroll (Jer 36); it consists of “all the words that I (Yahweh) have spoken to you (Jeremiah) concerning Jerusalem, Judah, and all nations . . . from the days of Josiah until today” (v 2). The literary fixation is intended to provide the house of Judah the opportunity still to hear and repent (v 3), if all Jeremiah’s words are preserved textually and can be read once again. But the report in Jer 36 indicates that the prophet’s book receives the same response as the prophets themselves: it does not produce the repentance of the people; rather it is destroyed. But this destruction does not mean the end; instead it is the occasion for the prophet to publish the book again in a form expanded by “many similar words” with the help of the scribe Baruch (v 32; cf. 45:1). The publication of the book here represents the publication and suffering and constant renewal of God’s word in general. Several other texts in Jer attest to the literary fixation of at least portions of his message, e.g., the salvation oracles (Jer 30:2) or the oracles against the nations (51:60, 63; cf. 25:13).

This material may also provide the background for understanding the command to the prophet Ezekiel (2:8–3:1) to eat the scroll on which are written “laments, sighs, and woes.” This passage presupposes that the word of God issued to the prophet has become a book (cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:137); in contrast to Isaiah and Jeremiah, this word of God was not first written down at the end of a period of prophetic activity but is issued from the outset in book form.

The superscription of the prophetic booklet Nah (Nah 1:1) indicates that all these prophetic sayings against Nineveh may have been composed in book form. The date of the superscription is uncertain, however; the designation *sēper* could easily stem from a period later than the collected sayings themselves.

The book of Dan (Dan 9:2) already presupposes “the word of Yahweh that was issued to the prophet Jeremiah” and probably the words to other prophets in the form of *s<sup>c</sup>pārîm* “documents” that one can carefully

investigate (*bîn*). It is unclear whether the term *sēper yhw* in the definitely post-exilic Isa 34:16 also refers to a collection of prophetic words or to an even larger complex of literarily fixed Yahweh words.

(d) Collections of laws are already attested very early (decalogues; Deut 27:15ff.; cf. Jer 35:6f.) and were probably prepared at first as an aid for instructing children within the extended family (E. Gerstenberger, *Wesen und Herkunft des "apodiktischen Rechts"* [1965]). The designation "book" for such collections appears, however, only much later. The complex Exod 20:22–23:19 was essentially collected in the premonarchic era (Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 174f.), the designation of this collection as "book of the covenant" (from Exod 24:7) may stem from a substantially later period, however, for it also functions to incorporate an originally independent collection into the course of a cultic event (24:3–8) and also to connect it with the events at Sinai. Based on investigations of the term → *b<sup>ê</sup>rît* (J. Begrich, "Berît," ZAW 60 [1944]: 1–11 = GS 55–66, esp. 62ff.), one may determine that the phrase *sēper b<sup>ê</sup>rît* in this context (i.e., the combination of *b<sup>ê</sup>rît* and the legal code, so that Israel and Yahweh are related as partners) did not occur in the early period (Begrich attributes Exod 24:7 to the E source).

The *sēper tôrat ʾēlōhîm* "book of God's law" mentioned in Josh 24:26 also belongs here; this book, too, is understood in the context of a covenant making as a treaty document between Yahweh and Israel. The content of this document may no longer be clearly determined, however.

In the Dtn-Dtr period, the language was adapted along with the substance. Thus the law book found in the temple under Josiah is described not only as *sēper hattôrâ* (2 Kgs 22:8, 11; 2 Chron 34:15) and simply as *sēper* (2 Kgs 22:10, 13, 16; 23:3, 24; 2 Chron 34:15f., 18, 21, 24, 31) but as *sēper habb<sup>ê</sup>rît* (2 Kgs 23:2, 21; 2 Chron 34:30) and as *sēper tôrat yhw b<sup>ê</sup>yad mōšeh* "book of Yahweh's law through Moses" (2 Chron 34:14). The recovered law book may have been identical to the core of our Dtn code. The context in which this book was read is strongly reminiscent of Exod 24 and Josh 24 (Alt, KS 2:250–75; M. Noth, *Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* [1966], 1–107, esp. 41ff.).

The latest literary layers of Deut indicate that now the totality of this very complex construction is understood as *sēper hattôrâ*, as a written declaration of Yahweh's will (Deut 28:61; 29:20; 30:10; 31:26; Josh 1:8). Josh 8:31, 34 also take up this expanded usage: the entire book of Deut is understood as *sēper hattôrâ*, for Josh 8:30ff. reports the execution of the commands of Yahweh depicted in Deut 27:1ff.; 31:9ff. The expression *sēper tôrat mōšeh* appears for the first time in Josh 8:31 (cf. 23:6; 2 Kgs 14:6; according to Deut 31:24 the law book was written by Moses; cf. Exod 24:7).

The understanding of *sēper* expressed in Psa 40:8 may also belong here, if one considers the parallelism with the term *tôrâ* in v 9. The date of the psalm is uncertain, however.

This linguistic usage also recurs in the post-exilic era, which employs the phrases “book of the law” (Neh 8:3), “book of the law of Moses” (8:1), “book of Moses” (13:1; cf. 2 Chron 25:4; 35:12), “book of God’s law” (Neh 8:8, 18), and “book of Yahweh’s law” (9:3; 2 Chron 17:9) without distinction. The content of the law that Ezra read, whether the whole Pentateuch known to us (so e.g., Eissfeldt, *Intro.* 557) or only a portion thereof (so, e.g., M. Noth, *History of Israel* [1960], 334–36), may no longer be determined. One must apparently reckon with an already advanced state of literary fixation.

(e) Finally, a few passages should be mentioned that discuss a book of Yahweh (“my/your book,” Exod 32:32f.; Psa 139:16), a “book of life” (Psa 69:29), or a “memorial book” (Mal 3:16; “book” alone: Dan 12:1, 4), in which people’s names are noted. The word field of these passages is informative: *ktb* “to inscribe” (Mal 3:16; Psa 139:16; Dan 12:1), *mhh* “to erase” (Exod 32:33; Psa 69:29), also *h̄tm* “to seal” (Dan 12:4). According to Exod 32:32f., the notion involves Yahweh’s catalog of all those living; whoever is erased from this book dies. Yet the idea is already implied here that the sinner is erased from this book, although the erasure from the book and the death of the sinner need not coincide temporally. Psa 139:16 expands the notion so that not only the names but also the deeds (“all my days”) are listed in the book; while according to Psa 69:29 only the delivered appear in the “book of life”—as the parallelism suggests—and according to Mal 3:16 and Dan 12:1, 4 only the righteous are registered (cf. also Isa 4:3; 56:5 without *sēper*). Cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 169f. on the entire concept.

5. *spr* qal “to count” and *mispār* “number” are represented in the LXX and in the NT by *arithmein* or *arithmos*; cf. O. Rühle, “ἀριθμέω,” *TDNT* 1:461–464. The LXX renders *spr* pi. “to recount” with *diēgeisthai* (in the NT 8x; cf. e.g., Luke 8:39 with its language reminiscent of the Psa).

For *sēper* (even in the meaning “letter”) the LXX uses *biblos* or *biblion*, without apparent distinction. In the NT *biblos* also designates individual OT books (Mark 12:26; Luke 20:42; etc.). *biblion* occurs esp. frequently in Rev (“book with seven seals,” “book of life,” etc.); cf. G. Schrenk, “βίβλος,” *TDNT* 1:615–20.

J. Kühlewein

סתר *str* hi. **to hide**

S 5641; BDB 711a; HALOT 2:771a; ThWAT 5:967–77; TWOT 1551; NIDOTTE 6259

1. The root *str* occurs in NW- and Ssem. (Ug.: cf. J. C. de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu* [1971], 169f., on KTU 1.4.VII.48; Phoen.: DISO 161; Imp. Aram.: DISO 198; Syr.: LS 502f.; Mand.: Drower-Macuch 338b). Its usage suggests a common meaning “to conceal” (cf. Akk. *šataru* for an article of clothing[?], GB 553b; Eg. *mištr.t* “apron,” Erman-Grapow 2:152); the more specialized connotations “to hide,” on the one hand, and “to protect,” on the other, may be explained as developments of the general meaning.

In the OT the hi., ni., hitp., pi., and pu. (Aram. pa.) verb forms occur. While in Hebr. the hi. is primarily used as a trans., the pa. dominates in the Aram. languages. The nom. derivatives *sēter* “hiding place, cover, shelter,” *sitrâ* “shelter,” *mistôr* “refuge,” *mistâr* “hiding place,” and *mastēr* “concealment” occur. Regarding the PNs *sitrî* (Exod 6:22) and *s<sup>c</sup>tûr* (Num 13:13), cf. IP 158; Huffmon 253f.

2. In the Hebr. OT, the hi. (44x) and the ni. (30x) occur primarily. In addition, the hitp. appears 5x and the pi. (Isa 16:3) and the pu. (Prov 27. 5) 1x each. In Aram. the pa. occurs only 1x (Dan 2:22; *str* pe. “to destroy” [Ezra 5:12] corresponds to Hebr. *štr* [ni., “to break out,” etc. in 1 Sam 5:9]). There is a degree of concentration in the Psa (hi. 17x, ni. 5x, hitp. 1x) and in Isa (hi. 8x, ni. 3x, hitp. 2x., pi. 1x). *sēter* (35x, 10x in Psa, 5x each in Isa and Job) and *mistâr* (10x, Psa 4x, Jer 3x) are the most frequent nom. forms; *sitrâ* (Deut 32:38), *mistôr* (Isa 4:6), and *mastēr* (Isa 53:3) occur only 1x.

3. Like the Eng. “to hide,” *str* has both negative and positive nuances. On the one hand, it can mean to prevent a person or thing from being perceived by another; on the other hand, it can also mean to protect the person or thing.

(a) Corresponding to the trans. use of the Eng. verb, Hebr. almost exclusively employs the hi. (only Isa 16:3 has the pi. in this function). In the concrete sense, *str* means first of all “to hide”: Jehosheba hides Joash from (*min*) Athaliah, so that he will not be killed (2 Kgs 11:2 = 2 Chron 22:11). Fig. usages of the word also imply this meaning. Evildoers hide their plan deeply from Yahweh (*mq* hi. with *le* and inf.) and believe then that they will not be seen and recognized (Isa 29:15). Job curses the night of his birth because it did not hide suffering from his eyes (Job 3:10). This usage relates to statements that God hides and thus protects people (6x; see 4d; the original local significance is indicated by the use of the prep.

be, Isa 49:2; Psa 17:8; 27:5; 31:21; the text of the LXX should probably be followed for Jer 36:26: “they hid themselves”; cf. Rudolph, HAT 12, 232).

Whether there is a substantial distinction between the usage of the causative hi. (“to cause to be hid”) and the factitive pi. (“to make hidden”) cannot be determined with certainty due to the sparsity of material.

In reference to verbally announcing a circumstance, or refraining from doing so, the word acquires the meaning “to keep secret” (1 Sam 20:2: Saul keeps nothing from Jonathan, par. → *glh ḥōzen*). The pu. indicates the same situation passively: “Reproof spoken openly (*glh pu.*) is better than love not expressed openly (*str pu.*)” (Prov 27:5).

In conjunction with *pānīm* “countenance,” *str hi.* means “to conceal.” The expression occurs in the lit. sense in Isa 50:6. The servant of God does not conceal his countenance from those who revile and abuse him, just as he presents (*ntn*) his back and cheeks to those who smite him. Moses conceals his face during the encounter with God on Horeb, “for he was afraid to look upon God” (Exod 3:6). Just as turning the face toward someone signifies friendliness and favor, turning away or concealing the countenance expresses displeasure. The OT does not apply this concept to earthly rulers but, with contrasting frequency, to God (26x; see 4a).

(b) With per. subjs. (Psa 89:47 of Yahweh; see 4b) the ni. almost always has a reflexive meaning. With an indication of location, it should be translated “to hide oneself” (David hides “in the country,” 1 Sam 20:5, 24, or “there,” 1 Sam 20:19; Elijah at the brook Cherith, 1 Kgs 17:3; “on the bottom of the sea,” Amos 9:3; fig.: “in deceit,” Isa 28:15; “in secret,” Jer 23:24; “in darkness and gloom,” Job 34:22). That from which one is hiding is expressed by *min* (from one’s hater, Psa 55:13; from Israel, Deut 7:20; from Yahweh’s countenance, Gen 4:14; Jer 16:17; Job 13:20; from Yahweh’s eyes, Amos 9:3).

Used abs., *str ni.* means “to get to safety” (Jer 36:19 “go and hide yourselves”; Prov 22:3 Q = 27:12 txt em “the wise sees misfortune coming and hides”; 28:28 “when evildoers succeed, people hide”).

In reference to things or abstractions, the ni. describes being hidden. First, that not perceived remains hidden (Num 5:13, the woman who has intercourse with another man remains undiscovered; Deut 29:28, “that which is hidden is with Yahweh, our God”; in Psa 19:13 *nistārôt* “the hidden” is negatively characterized by the par. *šēgîḥôt* “error” and means, then, the “hidden error”). Failure to perceive may be grounded in the incapacity of the observer (Job 28:21: wisdom is hidden from the birds of the air; 3:23: one’s fate from a human). In reference to God, this expression means, however, that he does not wish to see certain circumstances (see 4c).

*str* ni. also refers twice to persons in the nonreflexive sense (Gen 31:49; Zeph 2:3). In accord with the lit. meaning of the ni., this use simply states that the subj. is acted upon without specifying the agent. Gen 31:49 depicts the fateful separation of two persons in this way (“when we are hidden from one another” = “when we do not see one another”) and Zeph 2:3 the puzzling possibility of being spared on the day of God’s wrath. In the second case, the meaning shifts to “to remain hidden” (otherwise *str* hi.; see 4d).

(c) The hitp. is used analogously to the hi. except that it is less concerned with the act of hiding than with the continuous process of remaining hidden (1 Sam 23:19 “David stays hidden with us in the hills”; also 26:1; Psa 54:2). In this way, then, Isa 29:14 depicts the enduring hiddenness of insight and Isa 45:15 the fundamental hiddenness of God (see 4b).

(d) The noun *sēter* means concretely the “hiding place” (Job 40:21; Song Sol 2:14; 1 Sam 25:20 “in the hiding place of the mountain” = “covered by the mountain”; cf. *mistār* in Hab 3:14; Psa 10:9 or the pl. *mistārîm* in Jer 23:24; 49:10; Psa 10:8; 17:12; 64:5), then the “cover” (Psa 18:12; 81:8; Job 22:14; 24:15; cf. *mastēr* “hiding,” Isa 53:3) and the “shelter” (par. *maḥsēh* “refuge,” Isa 28:17; *maḥ<sup>a</sup>bē<sup>o</sup>* “hiding place,” 32:2; *sukkâ* “hut,” Psa 18:12; 27:5 [Q *sōk* ]; 31:21; *ʾōhel* “tent,” Psa 61:5; *ṣēl* “shadow,” Psa 91:1; *māgēn* “shield,” Psa 119:114; perhaps also Psa 32:7 [see BHS ]; in Isa 16:4 *gûr* “to be a guest” corresponds to the noun, in Psa 32:7 *nṣr* “to preserve”; also *sitrâ* in Deut 32:38 par. *ṣûr* “rock,” and *mistôr* in Isa 4:6 par. *maḥsch* “refuge,” with *ḥuppâ* “cover” [v 5] and *sukkâ* “hut”). It occurs more often, however, with *be* in the adv. sense “in hiding,” “secretly” (Deut 13:7; 27:15, 24; 28:57; 1 Sam 19:2; 2 Sam 12:12; Isa 45:19; 48:16; Jer 37:17; 38:16; 40:15; Psa 101:5; 139:15; Job 13:10; 31:27; with *mistār* in Jer 13:17 [txt? cf. Rudolph, HAT 12, 92]) or as the governing noun in a cs. relationship in the sense of “secret” (Judg 3:19 “secret communication”; Prov 9:17 “bread eaten in secret”; 25:23 “tongues that speak in secret”; with *mistārîm*, Isa 45:3 “hidden riches”).

(e) The most common antonym of *str* is → *glh* “to uncover” (the stems correspond: pi. Isa 16:3; pu. Prov 27:5; ni. Deut 29:28; cf. 1 Sam 20:2; Dan 2:22). The others can be explained in terms of the specialized meanings of *str* (*nṣr* “to protect,” Psa 64:2f., and *ḥqr* “to investigate,” Prov 25:2, par. *str* hi.; *rbh* “to become mighty,” Prov 28:28, par. *str* ni.).

Genuinely par. terms are *ṣpn* (par. *str* hi., Psa 27:5; 31:21; Job 14:13; par. *str* ni., Jer 16:17), *ḥb<sup>o</sup>* (par. *str* hi., Isa 49:2; *str* ni. Amos 9:3; cf. 1 Sam 19:2), and *ʿIm* ni. (par. *str* ni., Num 5:13; Job 28:21). In addition, the hi. parallels *sgr* “to close up” (Job 3:10), and the ni. *brmin* “to escape”

(Isa 40:27) and *škh* ni. “to be forgotten” (Isa 65:16; on the many pars. for *str* hi. *pānîm*, see 4a).

Words related to *str*, i.e., *ḥbʿ*, *ṭmn*, *kḥd*, *ʿlm*, and *špn* (also → *ḥsh*) exhibit rather characteristic differences from one another in a broad spectrum of meanings:

(1) *ḥbʿ* (ni. 16x, pu. 1x, hi. 6x, ho. 1x, hitp. 10x) or *ḥbh* (qal 1x, ni. 3x) functions most like *str* and apparently originally meant “to hide (oneself)” (primarily of persons).

(2) The sense of *špn* (qal 27x, incl. Ezek 7:22; Psa 17:14 Q; 56:7 Q; Job 20:26; Prov 2:7 Q; ni. 3x; hi. 2x) stretches from “to hide” (Exod 2:2; Josh 2:4, etc.; hi. Exod 2:3; of God, Job 14:13; on PNs such as *š<sup>c</sup>panyâ[hû]* cf. *IP* 178) to “to store up, reserve,” on the one hand (e.g., Psa 119:11; Prov 2:1; 7:1; of God, Psa 31:20; Job 21:19; Prov 2:7; cf. the shift in the meaning of the verb *špn* from “to cover” to “to store up,” Deut 33:21) and “to lie in wait,” on the other (Psa 10:8; 56:7 Q; Prov 1:11, 18).

(3) *ʿlm* (qal 1x, ni. 11x, hi. 10x [Lis. 1072b: Deut 28:61 and Judg 16:3 belong to *ʿlh* hi.], hitp. 6x) involves the cognitive realms to a greater degree (2 Kgs 4:27, opposite of *ngd* hi. “to announce,” of Yahweh’s withheld self-revelation). More often “the eyes” are the obj. (of *ʿlm* hi. Lev 20:4; 1 Sam 12:3; Isa 1:15; Ezek 22:26; Prov 28:27; there is apparently a semantic relationship between darkness and ignorance; *ʿlm* ni. in Nah 3:11 means “to be benighted”). Thus “hiding” means, first, “to withdraw from the field of vision”; other meanings then develop such as “to overlook” (Lev 20:4), “to neglect” (Ezek 22:26), and “to pay no attention” (Isa 1:15).

(4) *kḥd* (ni. 11x, hi. 6x, pi. 15x) often has a markedly negative accent (ni. “to be hidden from,” 2 Sam 18:23; Hos 5:3, etc.; pi. “to conceal,” Josh 7:19; 1 Sam 3:17f., etc.), so that the meaning can shift to “to annihilate” (hi. Exod 23:23; 1 Kgs 13:34, etc.) or “to be annihilated” (ni. Exod 9:15; Job 4:7, etc.).

(5) *ṭmn* (qal 28x, 7x pass. ptc.; ni. 1x, hi. 2x [qal according to BL 297]; cf. *maṭmôn* “treasure,” 5x) often means “to bury, bury secretly” (qal Gen 35:4; Josh 7:21f.; Jer 43:9f., etc.; hi. 2 Kgs 7:8[bis]), then it indicates the preparation of traps, etc. (Jer 18:22; Psa 31:5; 35:7f., etc.), and finally means “to hide” (qal Exod 2:12; Deut 33:19; Josh 2:6, etc.; ni. Isa 2:10). This verb never has fig. meanings and is not used in theological statements.

4. In accord with the dual meanings of *str*, theologically relevant statements essentially fall into two groups: (a-c) those concerning the hiddenness of God and (d) those concerning treasure kept by him (cf. H. Schrader, *Der verborgene Gott: Gottesbild und Gottesvorstellung in Israel und im Alten Orient* [1949]; L. Peritt, “Die Verborgene Gottes,” FS von Rad [1971], 367–82).

(a) God conceals his countenance from a person as an expression of wrath.

Expressions that parallel and contrast with *str* hi. *pānîm* make this concept esp. clear: par. *škh* “to forget,” Psa 10:11; 44:25; *ʿzb* “to abandon,” Deut 31:17; Psa 27:9; *nkh* hi. “to smite,” Isa 57:17 (*pānîm* should be supplied with LXX); Jer 33:5; *qsp* “to be angry,” Isa 57:17; *bzh* “to scorn,” Psa 22:25; *šqs* pi. “to abhor,” Psa 22:25; *nth* hi. “to turn away,” Psa 27:9; *nš* “to reject,” Psa 27:9; *znḥ* “to cast aside,” Psa 88:15; antonyms: *ʿnh mahēr* “to heed quickly,” Psa 69:18; 102:3; 143:7; *rḥm* pi. “to have mercy,” Isa 54:8; *rʿh* “to see,” Psa 10:11; *šm<sup>c</sup>* “to hear,” Psa 22:25; *nth ʿōzen* “to incline the ear,” Psa 102:3; *šqt* hi. “to hold one’s peace,” Job 34:29).

It does not involve, then, a general statement of the incomprehensibility of God’s ways, but of concrete acts of divine punishment (Deut 32:20; Ezek 39:23f.; Mic 3:4; Job 34:29; in a hymnic generalization, Psa 104:29).

Yahweh’s removal of his countenance, his benevolent attention, is the subject of the lament of the pious (Psa 13:2; 44:25; 88:15; Job 13:24). The actual distress of the righteous is not the threat posed by enemies themselves but the absence of God. In the song of thanksgiving, therefore, the righteous praises the reversal of the situation (Psa 30:8; according to Psa 22:25 the worshiper is thankful that God has not hidden his face, despite appearances to the contrary; cf. Ezek 39:29). Accordingly, the prayer requests that God not conceal his face in the future, i.e., that he not withhold his helpful presence (Psa 27:9; 69:18; 102:3; 143:7). In accordance with the theology of the psalm, Psa 119:19 formulates the request such that Yahweh should not hide his “commandments.”

Isa 59:2 consciously alters the image of Yahweh concealing his face: he does not remove his helpful presence from the people, but they themselves, their sins, cover his (txt em with *BHS*) countenance, so that he does not hear them. Yahweh’s will is not to turn away from his people but to pay them continuous attention: he has hidden his face from Israel “for a moment” in his boiling anger, yet he has mercy on his own with eternal grace (Isa 54:8). This certainty expressed by Deutero-Isaiah is already implicit in Isaiah, who, after all, hopes in (→ *qwh* pi.) and depends on the God who “has hidden his face from the house of Jacob” (8:17).

The analogous expression formed with *ʿIm* hi., “to hide the eyes,” refers apparently to a less fundamental withdrawal of God from people. When Yahweh closes his eyes before the supplicant (Isa 1:15), it means that he does not wish to observe them (because of their guilt), just as a person approached by a poor person seeking alms “overlooks” the poor one (Prov 28:27). Because the pious hopes to be “heard,” the pertinent prayer can be for Yahweh not to close his “ear” to the pleading of the righteous (Lam 3:56).

(b) Relative to the frequent statement that Yahweh conceals his face, he is rarely said to hide *himself*. Psa 89:47 uses *str* ni. in a lament in

precisely the same way in which *str* ni. *pānîm* appears elsewhere: “How long, Yahweh? Will you hide forever, will your wrath burn like fire?” Psa 10:1 similarly uses *Im* hi. (the hitp. may be the better reading; par. *Imd b<sup>e</sup>rāhōq* “to stand far off”). Psa 55:2 employs *Im* hitp. to request God’s gracious attention, otherwise often expressed by “do not conceal your countenance” (par. *zn* hi. “to give heed”). In contrast, the content of Isa 45:15 surpasses passages treated so far. Here the special meaning of the hitp., staying continuously hidden, may be consciously expressed. Yahweh does not just stay away in anger for a time; rather Israel’s God, as the helper (*môšîa*), remains hidden; i.e., Yahweh’s activity in history is not immanently demonstrable, instead it is evident only in faith (according to Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 170f., Isa 45:15 is the response of Deutero-Isaiah himself, or of a glossator, to the Cyrus oracle, 44:24–45:7, which consciously affirms Yahweh’s action through a pagan ruler). Similar statements maintain that Yahweh is, by nature, hidden. The description of theophany in Psa 18:8–16 portrays Yahweh as the one who “makes darkness his concealment (*sēter*)” (v 12; presupposed by LXX in 2 Sam 22:12 also). This reference clearly alludes to the Sinai theophany (Exod 19:16, 18; cf. Psa 18:10; 97:2). This thematic complex also includes discussion of Yahweh’s response from the secret place of thunder (*b<sup>e</sup>sēter ra<sup>am</sup>*, Psa 81:8; cf. Exod 20:21). The meaning that may result, i.e., that the God hidden in the darkness of the clouds (*ābîm sēter lô*) is incapable of intervening in the destiny of the world, is explicitly repudiated by Eliphaz as a godless statement (Job 22:14; cf. Isa 40:27 *str* ni.). For the evildoer, God’s hiddenness (*str* hi. *pānîm*) means, in fact, that he has “forgotten” injustice, “he does not see it forever” (Psa 10:11). In contrast, wisdom emphasizes the conclusion that God’s unsearchability is fundamental to his nature: “It is God’s glory to hide a thing” (in contrast to *hqr* “to examine,” Prov 25:2).

(c) While God’s turning away from the pious is otherwise understood as an expression of divine wrath, Psa 51:11 uses the expression “to conceal the face” in the positive sense, such that one can hope to be spared punishment: “hide your face from my sins” (par. *mhh* “to wipe out”).

The statement that something is hidden from Yahweh does not mean, by reason of content, that Yahweh could not see through a matter, but that he does not want to see it (*str* ni., Hos 13:14 “compassion is hidden from my eyes” = “I know no compassion”; in Isa 40:27 “destiny is hidden from Yahweh” par. *br min* “to move away from”; Isa 65:16 “distress is hidden from my eyes” = “removed” par. *škḥ* ni. “to be forgotten”). Fundamentally, however, nothing remains hidden from God (Deut 29:28 “hidden things are matters for Yahweh, our God”; Dan 2:22 “he reveals the deepest and most

hidden things”; Psa 38:10 “my sighing is not hidden from you”; with *kḥd* ni. Hos 5:3 “Israel is not hidden from me”; Psa 69:6 “my transgression is not hidden from you”; 139:15 “my bones were not hidden from you”; always par. *yd<sup>c</sup>* “to know”). It is wicked, therefore, to think that one’s deeds (*‘ēṣā* “plan”) can be kept secret from Yahweh (*str* hi., Isa 29:15).

(d) That *str* became one of the most important terms for treasure kept by Yahweh probably originally involved the asylum function of the sanctuary. Here, “in the shadow of your wings” (Psa 17:8; yet → *kānāp* 3/4a), “in the shelter of his tent” (27:5), “in the shelter of his countenance” (31:21), Yahweh gives the oppressed and suffering refuge. In particular, statements of confidence in the Psa laud the protection Yahweh offers (*str* hi., 27:5; 31:21; both times par. *spn b<sup>c</sup>sukkâ* “to hide in the hut”; *sēter*, 27:5; 31:21; 32:7; cf. 91:1; 119:114; *mistôr*, Isa 4:6 alongside *maḥseh*, *ḥuppâ*, and *sukkâ*; *sitrâ*, Deut 32:38 of the supposed protection of the gods), while the laments request it (*str* hi., Psa 17:8; 64:3; *str* pi., Isa 16:3; *sēter*, Isa 16:4; Psa 61:5). That such shelter is in no way tied to the sanctuary but that God’s helpful presence can also be experienced directly is particularly clear in the confession of God’s servant in Isa 49:2: “In the shadow of his hand he has concealed me (*ḥb<sup>ʿ</sup>* hi.), . . . he has hidden me (*str* hi.) in his quiver”; cf. Job 14:13 “in the realm of the dead.”

5. The LXX essentially has only the root *kryptein* to translate the various Hebr. terms for “to hide” (*str* is also translated 7x with *skepazein*). Thus their nuances are largely obscured; there is, however, no significant difference in substance.

The NT also maintains that God remains hidden even in his revelation (Matt 13:44 “the kingdom of God is like a treasure hidden in a field”; this notion is expressed more definitely than by derivatives of *kryptein*, however, by the statement that God is invisible, i.e., not available to people; cf. e.g., John 1:18); he reveals himself in the crucifixion event. Accordingly, the new life of the Christian is “hidden with Christ in God” (Col 3:3). Only in the eschatological consummation will God’s hiddenness end; then we will “see him as he is” (1 John 3:2). Cf. A. Oepke, “κρύπτω,” *TDNT* 3:957–78.

G. Wehmeier

עֶבֶד *‘ebed* **servant**

S 5650; BDB 713b; *HALOT* 2:774b; *ThWAT* 5:982–1012; *TWOT* 1553a; *NIDOTTE* 6269

אָמָה *ʾāmā* **maidservant**

S 519; BDB 51a; HALOT 1:61b; TWOT 112; NIDOTTE 563<R>

I. The root *ʿbd* (verb and subst. \**ʿabd-* “servant”) is distributed throughout all WSem. languages (except for Eth., which uses *gabr* for “servant”); *abdu* occurs occasionally in Akk. as a WSem. loanword (Zimmerman 47; CAD A/1:51a; AHW 6a) alongside (*w*)*ardu(m)*, the common word for “servant, slave.” The noun almost always means both “servant, slave” in the interpersonal realm and “servant, worshiper” of a god (cf. W. W. Baudissin, *Kyrios* [1929], 3:176–78, 196–200, 228–31, 524–55). Whether the Hebr. verbal meaning is a denominative and how the meanings “to be servant, serve” and “to work on, work” (in Aram. more generally “to do, make”) interrelate are disputed (bibliog. in C. Lindhagen, *Servant Motif in the OT* [1950], 41f.; *ibid.* 6–39 on extrabibl. comparative material; on the entire question cf. also W. Zimmerli, *TDNT* 5:654–77 with bibliog.).

Beside *ʿebed* “servant, slave” (see III/1; IV/1) and the verb *ʿbd* (in qal, ni., pu., hi., and ho.; see III/2; IV/2), the Hebr. OT also has the following derivatives of the root: the fem. noun of action *ʿbōdâ* “work, service” (BL 474; see III/3; IV/3), the collective subst. *ʿbuddâ* “servants” (Gulkowitsch 18, 25, 30; see III/1a), as well as the Aram. loanwords *ʿbād* “deed,” *maʿbād* “deed,” and *ʿabdūt* “servanthood” (Wagner nos. 208–11). Besides the verb (pe. “to do, make,” hitpe. “to be made”), Bibl. Aram. has the subst. *ʿbēd* “servant,” *ʿbīdâ* “work, administration,” and *maʿbād* “deed.”

In addition, numerous PNs are formed with *ʿebed* or the qal ptcp. *ʿōbēd* (*ʿabdīʿēl*, *ʿabdôn*, *ʿōbadyâ[hû]*, *ʿōbēd-ʿdôm*, etc.) as “self-declarations” (*IP* 137f.; Lindhagen, *op. cit.* 276f.) which have many counterparts in related languages (cf. e.g., Huffmon 189; Gröndahl 104–6; Benz 369–72; A. Caquot, *Syria* 39 [1962]: 238f.; Stark 102b; cf. the material in Baudissin, *op. cit.* 524–55).

\*II. In the following table, in addition to the figures for the total occurrences of *ʿebed* (or Aram. *ʿbēd*), occurrences in which *ʿebed* (*ʿbēd*) refers to Yahweh/God (apart from the appearances of God and his messenger in Gen 18:3, 5; 19:2; Josh 5:14; Dan 10:17) are listed under SG (Servant of God); the ni. (4x: Deut 21:4; Ezek 36:9, 34; Eccl 5:8), pu. (2x: Deut 21:3; Isa 14:3), and ho. (4x: Exod 20:5; 23:24; Deut 5:9; 13:3), and Aram. hitpe. (9x) are listed under “other verbs”; and *ʿbuddâ* (2x: Gen 26:14; Job 1:3), *ʿbād* (Eccl 9:1), *maʿbād* (Job 34:25; also 1x Aram. in Dan 4:34), and *ʿabdūt* (3x: Ezra 9:8f.; Neh 9:17) are listed under “other substs.”

		<i>ʿebed</i> SG ( <i>ʿabēd</i> )	<i>ʿbd</i>	<i>ʿbd</i> qal	other hi.	<i>ʿabōdâ</i> verbs ( <i>ʿabîdâ</i> )	other substs.	
Gen 88	3	23	—	—	2	1		
Exod 43	3	27	2	2	23	—		
Lev 9	3	3	—	—	7	—		
Num 11	4	21	—	—	50	—		
Deut 29	5	31	—	4	1	—		
Josh 27	19	21	—	—	1	—		
Judg 6	2	17	—	—	—	—		
1 Sam	62	6	13	—	—	—	—	
2 Sam	106	14	6	—	—	—	—	
1 Kgs76	28	8	—	—	1	—		
2 Kgs58	15	18	—	—	—	—		
Isa 40	33	6	2	1	4	—		
(Deutero-Isa)		(21)	(20)	(—)	(2)	(—)	(—)	(—)
Jer 32	14	35	1	—	—	—		
Ezek 8	7	8	1	2	3	—		
Hos —	—	1	—	—	—	—		
Joel 1	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Amos1	1	—	—	—	—	—		
Obad—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Jonah	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Mic 1	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Nah —	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Hab —	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Zeph—	—	1	—	—	—	—		
Hag 1	1	—	—	—	—	—		
Zech 3	2	1	—	—	—	—		
Mal 2	1	4	—	—	—	—		
Psa 57	54	8	—	—	2	—		
Job 12	7	3	—	—	—	2		
Prov 10	—	2	—	—	—	—		
Ruth —	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Song Sol	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Eccl 4	—	1	—	1	—	1		
Lam 1	—	—	—	—	1	—		
Esth 7	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Dan 7	4	—	—	—	—	—		
Ezra 5	1	—	—	—	1	2		
Neh 22	11	1	—	—	4	1		
1 Chron	27	15	2	—	—	30	—	

2 Chron	44	15	10	2	–	15	–
Hebr. OT	800	268	271	8	10	145	7
Aram. OT	7	4	19	–	9	6	1

III. 1. *ʿebed* “servant” is governed within the word field of social order by the antonym → *ʾādôn* “lord” in its meaning as a term of relation and, consequently, may not be limited—at least not in the first instance—to a precisely defined designation of status (“slave,” e.g., Exod 21:2, 32) or a descriptive functional designation (“worker”; cf. Job 7:2 “*ʿebed* who longs for the shadows” par. “day laborer, who hopes for wages”). This imprecision is also indicated by the largely dominant usage of the term with a successive gen. or a poss. suf. (or in a construction with *le* of possession). The OT rarely uses *ʿebed* except in reference to persons (cf. Josh 9:23 “slaves of the house of my God”; Zimmerli, *TDNT* 5:658f.); the OT does not attest a fig. usage for dependence on abstract entities (cf. “servant of sin,” John 8:34; Rom 6:17, 20; “slave of destruction,” 2 Pet 2:19). As a term of relation, *ʿebed* is given content (“bondsman, subordinate, subject, vassal, mercenary, official, minister”) by the context in which one is the subordinate of one’s lord (or lady). One can speak of an *ʿebed* relationship in the realms of (a) society, (b) domestic politics, and (c) foreign relations, although several areas overlap.

The familial realm has no actual *ʿebed* relationship; in the family, it is abnormal, extraordinary. Canaan, who committed an outrage against his father, is placed under the curse: “Cursed be Canaan, may he be the servant of servants for his brothers!” (Gen 9:25; cf. vv 26f.). The curse consists of the fact that Canaan becomes the servant of *his brothers*. Esau must serve his brother Jacob (Gen 27:37; cf. vv 29, 40). Even if this statement foreshadows political relations, it rests on the fundamental conviction that a brother should not be the servant of his brother (cf. also Gen 37ff.). It survived in the contention that an Israelite should not be the servant of another Israelite (Lev 25:39ff.).

This notion is contradicted by another linguistic usage in which a brother describes himself in address as his brother’s servant, e.g., esp. Jacob in addressing his brother Esau in Gen 32:5, 19 and 33:5, 14 (although, according to the blessing, Esau should serve Jacob). This self-designation in address as *ʿabd<sup>c</sup>kā* “your (sg.) servant” (as distinct from the common “your (pl.) servant”); in the polite form in the 3d per. also “his servant,” e.g., Gen 33:14; always with the verb in the 3d per., although the speaker can resort to the 1st per. in the further course of the discussion; cf. Gen 33:5 and v 10) is very common in the OT, so that one can speak of a formulaic usage (L. Köhler, *ZAW* 40 [1922]: 43f.; Lande 68–71: “formula of

submission”; the polite address “my lord,” → *ʾādôn* III/3 parallels this usage). This usage is instructive for the OT *ʿebed* concept. It indicates, esp. in those passages in which a brother describes himself as his brother’s servant, but also in a multitude of other situations, that the lord-servant relationship is determined by the situation, i.e., it refers to a function, not a status. At the same time, it becomes clear that the *ʿebed* concept does not have solely negative connotations. When a brother in a dangerous situation describes himself to his brothers as *ʿebed* in Gen 32f., he does not merely subjugate himself; rather he acknowledges his brother’s lordship—his superiority resulting from the situation—and takes shelter in it; he entrusts himself to this superiority and appeals to the obligation that superiority or lordship places on the other.

(a) In the social sphere, *ʿebed* commonly designates the slave in the OT. It is not, however, a technical term in the sense of Eng. “slave,” which necessarily involves a negative preconception. One may never forget either that the same word can describe the officer and the minister of the king or the nuance of the term in the self-designation “your servant.” The institution of slavery (I. Mendelsohn, *Slavery in the Ancient Near East* [1949]; de Vaux 1:80–90 with bibliog. [xxxii]) predated Israel and was adopted when Israel settled in Canaan. This adoption is indicated by Israel’s adaptation of the slave law of its neighbors (Exod 21:2–11, 20f., 26f., 32). Israel’s slave law tended toward the most humane treatment of slaves possible. This tendency probably results from the fact that the slave was originally integrated into the family and was a member of the family, even cultically. Consequently, the primary element of the existence of slaves was not captivity but membership and security. The degree of respect that the status of slave could command is indicated by Gen 24, where Abraham’s servant, sent out to procure a bride, acts as his representative. Gen 16 also indicates the possible significance of the female slave (see 1d). Israel also shared, however, the ancient notion that slaves were property (as in the inventory of possessions in 12:16; 20:14; 24:35, etc.; the expression *ʿabuddâ rabbâ* “many servants,” which occurs twice [Gen 26:14; Job 1:3], also belongs here; for other interpretations see Lindhagen, op. cit. 55n.3). Outside the legal traditions (Exod 21; Deut 15:12–18; Lev 25, etc.; cf. Jer 34), Prov mentions slaves generally (Prov 29:19, 21; 30:10, etc.).

(b) In domestic policy, the *ʿebed* of the king is most important. This *ʿebed* relationship has precursors in the premonarchic period of transition from tribe to nation when one’s servants fought one’s wars, e.g., Gen 14:15; Judg 6:27. The *ʿabādîm* of the king are free men; they are not underprivileged persons but could hold high position and status. The servants of the king are his followers who freely choose royal service (1 Sam 27:5, 12), based not on compulsion but on faithfulness (2 Sam 15:21)

and on the king's confidence in his followers (1 Sam 27:12). This relationship of personal loyalty between the king and his men plays a particular role in the David traditions. The *ʿebed* (follower) of the king has such broad independence—in contrast to the slave's relationship to his lord—that he quite often attained a leading role in the history of the monarchy. The servants of the king have both civil and military functions. The refinement of the governmental apparatus brought with it the differentiation of the functions of the king's servants. Informatively, however, they were all designated by the same word *ʿebed*: *ʿebed* is the simple soldier and the officer and commander, *ʿebed* is the messenger, the official, or the minister, who himself has many servants. Here one sees that the personal aspect remains dominant: they are all servants of the king, obligated to him, and loyal to him.

(c) In the realm of foreign relations, *ʿebed* has a negative tone equal to the unequivocally positive tone it has in the domestic realm (servant of the king). The subj. here is a group, a tribe, or a people. Texts that speak of Israel's servitude in Egypt are fundamental (Deut 5:15; 15:15; 16:12; 24:18, 22). Egypt is the house of bondage (*bêt ʿabādîm*), from which Israel was led (Exod 13:3, 14; 20:2; Deut 5:6; 6:12; 7:8; 8:14; 13:6, 11; Josh 24:17; Judg 6:8; Jer 34:13; Mic 6:4; cf. N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot* [1963], 100f.). But Israel also makes *ʿabādîm* first ethnic groups (the Gibeonites, Josh 9) and then nations (2 Sam 8:2, 6, 14, Moabites, Arameans, Edomites). At the end of the monarchy, Israel once again became a servant under foreign conquerors (cf. the formula of submission in 2 Kgs 16:7; → *bēn* III/2b; moreover, perhaps, Ezra 9:9; Neh 9:36).

\*(d) Semantically related terms in the OT besides *m<sup>ʿ</sup>šārēt* "servant" (→ *šrt*) and *y<sup>ʿ</sup>līd bayit* "son of the house" = "home-born slave" (→ *yld* 3c; in Gen 14:14 alongside *ḥānīk* "follower"; cf. R. de Vaux, *Early History of Israel* [1978], 217) include only the terms *naʿar* "boy, youth," originally a designation of age and then "(young) servant" (a Can. word; cf. *UT* no. 1666; *DISO* 181; Lindhagen, op. cit. 31f., 42f.; L. Kopf, *VT* 8 [1958]: 183; 239x in the OT, most often in the narrative books: 1 Sam 60x, Gen 27x, 2 Sam 26x, 2 Kgs 24x, Judg 23x, 1 Kgs and Isa 11x each; fem. *naʿarâ* "maiden, servant," 63x in the OT: Deut 14x, Esth 13x, Gen 9x, Judg and Ruth 7x each) and *ʿelem* "youth" (1 Sam 17:56) and "lad" (1 Sam 20:22, par. *naʿar*, v 21; a WSem. word; cf. KBL 709; fem. *ʿalmâ* "maiden, young woman," 9x). Neither has a theological usage (the Ug. PN *nʿiril* is unclear; cf. Gröndahl 163f.).

Hebrew does not use a fem. form of *ʿebed* (as does Arab.) for female slaves but either the common Sem. word *ʾāmâ* "maid, slave" (Berg., *Intro.* 210f.) or the term *šiphâ*, which has close relatives only in Can. (cf. Hebr.

*mišpāḥâ* “tribe, family”; *WUS* no. 2664; *DISO* 316). The distribution of the two words in the OT exhibits no fundamental differences (*ʾāmâ* 56x: 1 Sam 10x, Exod 9x, Deut 8x, Gen 7x; *šiphâ* 63x: Gen 28x, 2 Sam 7x, Isa and Jer 6x each). According to A. Jepsen (*VT* 8 [1958]: 293–97), they were originally two legally distinct classes: *šiphâ* “is the yet untouched bondwoman, esp. in the service of the woman of the house”; *ʾāmâ* “is the bondwoman, both the concubine as well as the captive wife of a captive husband, a slave” (op. cit. 293). Both words “are employed on the woman’s lips interchangeably as an indication of submission. This usage probably led to the interchangeability of the words” (op. cit. 296). Only *ʾāmâ* occurs as a submissive self-designation in relation to God (1 Sam 1:11, thrice on Hannah’s lips; cf. Psa 86:16; 116:16 “son of your maid”; in contrast to names in the surrounding ancient Near East, PNs with *ʾāmâ* or *šiphâ* are totally absent; cf. J. J. Stamm, *FS Baumgartner* 321f.).

2. The verb *ʿbd* and its derivatives have a broad semantic scope. It encompasses Eng. “to work” and “to serve,” work and service in all areas of life. In reference to God, it is, as “serving God,” both a comprehensive term for relationship to God (see IV/2a) and at the same time a designation for the cult, for service at the sanctuary (see IV/2d). It is significant in the OT in both its profane and its religious dimensions; *ʿbd* indicates an essential and inalterable characteristic of human life.

The nontheological use of the verb divides into two groups: (a) an objective and (b) a personal usage.

(a) The fundamental significance for existence is indicated by the objective usage as encountered in the Yahwist’s creation account: in the exposition in Gen 2:5, “there were not yet any people to cultivate the earth”; in the commission to cultivate and care for the ground (v 15); and in the repetition of this commission at the conclusion (3:23). Cain is a farmer (4:2, 12). In addition, working the flax is mentioned (Isa 19:9), as well as cultivation of land (the vineyard) in Deut 28:39; 2 Sam 9:10; Isa 30:24; Jer 27:11b; Zech 13:5; Prov 12:11; 28:19; ni.: Ezek 36:9, 34; Eccl 5:8. The creator directs the human being to the land for nourishment, and the land requires cultivation (Gen 2:15). To the extent that concern for nourishment is a component of creatureliness, cultivation of the land that nourishes humanity is also a necessary and indispensable aspect of being human. Thus work receives great value in the OT from the basic act of cultivating the land.

The trans. usage described is closely related to the concept of work disassociated from the object of the work as known in the Sabbath commandment: “Six days shall (may) you labor” (Exod 20:9 = Deut 5:13). This usage, too, is objective, except that the obj. is not named here because, with the division of labor, the objs. of labor can vary greatly. This

usage corresponds exactly to the Eng. “to work” (other passages: Exod 1:14; 5:18; Deut 15:19; Jer 22:13; Ezek 48:18f.; ni.: Deut 21:4; pu.: Deut 21:3; hi: Exod 1:13; 2 Chron 2:17). The qal ptc. in Eccl 5:11 corresponds to Eng. “worker.” Ezek 29:18 (hi.) describes the siege of Tyre as work.

(b) In the second major category of usage *ʿbd* refers to persons: one person serves another person. The service of individuals must be distinguished from the service of groups (i.e., a people): the one signifies the social realm, the other the political realm. *ʿbd* in reference to persons cannot be described as fundamental to human nature; it can either benefit or restrict life.

The OT distinguishes between temporally limited (Gen 29–31, Jacob with Laban) and enduring individual servitude, the service of slaves (Exod 21:2, 6; Lev 25:39f., 46; Deut 15:12, etc.). The law limits the service of Israelite slaves temporally to six years and qualitatively to hired labor (like Gen 29–31; cf. also Jer 34:9f., 14). The tendency is also apparent elsewhere to limit lifelong servitude, i.e., slavery, as much as possible or to confine it to non-Israelites; Lev 25:42 offers the reason: “For my servants are those whom I brought out of Egypt.” Animals could also serve people (Jer 27:6; Job 39:9). Service rendered the king plays an important role in the OT (see 1b). A distinction should be made here between the service of the people that serves its king and the special service of individuals in the king’s service. Texts critical of the king negatively portray the former (e.g., 1 Sam 8); Samuel warns against it. Nor is it self-evident that the northern Israelites should serve the Judean king (1 Kgs 12:4, 7). Otherwise, however, the people’s acknowledgment of the king as lord and service to him are fully affirmed. Much is said of individual servants of the king (usually nom.; see 1b); in this context, the term does not distinguish between lofty and lowly servants of the king, nor between civilian and military service.

The servitude of one people to another (or to its ruler) is accepted as a fact but negatively assessed for the most part. Israel’s history began with servitude in Egypt (Exod 1:13 “then the Egyptians forced the Israelites into servitude”); periods of servitude interlace the relatively brief epoch of Israel’s history in Palestine (Judg 3:14 “the Israelites served Eglon eighteen years”); the servitude of the remnant under Babylon concludes it, as often announced, e.g., in Jer 27. The typical image for political servitude is the yoke (*ʿōl*, 40x in the OT, almost always used fig.), which expresses both aspects: working for another and captivity. “Service” in the sense of political servitude (the OT also has the abstract *ʿabdūt* for this concept, Ezra 9:8f.; Neh 9:17) signifies an existence not worthy of humans, inhibited and limited; the end of this “service” is experienced as deliverance, liberation (Ezek 34:27; cf. Isa 40:2 → *ṣābāʿ* in the sense of “forced labor”). But in

David's offensive wars, Israel itself subjugated other peoples, and even hopes for the future include the submission of other nations to Israel (Isa 60:12; cf. Zech 2:13).

The fact that people serve other people assumes a wide variety of forms: it occurs in the family, in the tribe, in the nation, in social and political realms. Service can be attributed to the slave, the free person, the minister, the brother, a group, or a people. While the objective *ʿbd* is fundamentally human, normal, and unproblematic, however, the personal use of *ʿbd* reflects the full ambiguity of social and political existence. The primeval history already indicates this ambiguity in the curse on Canaan: "May he be the servant of servants for his brothers" (Gen 9:25; cf. vv 26f.). It is proper and good for a son to serve his father (Mal 3:17); but this service is limited temporally and qualitatively. A brother actually should not serve his brother, however, and it always indicates a disturbance, both in the social realm (slavery) and in the political realm (political servitude).

3. The subst. *ʿbōdâ* means "work, labor, service" and largely agrees with the significance and usage of the verb. It indicates the work of the farmer (Psa 104:23 "then people go out to their work, to their labor until evening"; so also Neh 10:38; 1 Chron 27:26). It can emphasize the burden of difficult labor (Exod 1:14; 2:23, etc.). In the sense of "service," it refers to work undertaken for someone, e.g., Jacob's service with Laban (Gen 29:27; 30:26). On the cultic and theological significance of the word, see IV/3.

Regarding semantically related words for "work," see → *ʿāmāl*, → *ʿšh*, → *šābāʿ*, → *šrt*. In addition to *sēbel/siblôt* "forced labor" (→ *nśʿ* 3a), the originally Can. word *mas* "forced laborers (collective)" and "forced labor" (23x in the OT) should be mentioned here; on this term and the expression *mas ʿōbēd* (Gen 49:15; Josh 16:10; 1 Kgs 9:21; according to D. Künstlinger, *OLZ* 34 [1931]: 611f., *ʿōbēd* in this expression has nothing to do with *ʿbd* "to work, serve," but should be attributed to *ʿbd* II [→ *ʿbd* 1] and means "forever, perpetual"), cf. the investigation by T. N. D. Mettinger, *Solomonic State Officials* [1971], 128–39 (with bibliog.). The meanings "serf" for *ygb* *qal* ptc. (2 Kgs 25:12 = Jer 52:16) and "compulsory service" for *yāgēb* (Jer 39:10) are uncertain; cf. KBL 361a (GB 282b: "ploughmen, farmers" and "field[?]").

IV. 1. The fact that one can understand and describe oneself as God's *ʿebed* ("your servant") or can be described as God's "servant" is the natural counterpart to the OT understanding of God as Lord shared with all Sem. religions (→ *ʿādôn* IV). The primary connotation of the word *ʿebed* is not subordination but belonging to the Lord and security with the Lord. One cannot say that the religious usage derives from the profane; both are equally original. The only essential difference in the *ʿebed* relationship between people and that between people and God consists of the fact that

being *ʿebed* to a person can also signify the harshest limitation of existence, but being God's *ʿebed* always means having a good Lord. It can never mean servitude in the negative sense.

(a) Since the noun *ʿebed* describes first and foremost an individual person in relationship to one's lord, *ʿebed* in relationship to God also describes first and foremost an individual person (so with Zimmerli, *TDNT* 5:663n.41, contra Lindhagen, *op. cit.* 82ff.). This understanding is confirmed by the major category of passages in which one describes oneself in address to God as God's servant and by the category in which a particular individual is described as God's servant (see IV/1b).

The close affinities with a person's self-designation as another's servant (see III/1) is evident in passages in which one encounters God or God's messenger and describes oneself in address to him as his servant: Gen 18:3, 5; 19:2; Josh 5:14; 1 Sam 3:9; cf. Dan 10:17. The "your servant" of the Psa (over 25x) can be understood against this background. The expression occurs most often in the individual lament, esp. in the request (Psa 86:2 "help your servant who trusts in you!" etc.), developed in Psa 123, and in the confession of confidence (116:16 "Ah, Yahweh, I am your servant!"). It can also be a contrasting motif in the lament (Num 11:11; Judg 15:18). This setting in the lament psalms (only examples have been mentioned) clearly indicates its function: supplicants have recourse to their Lord, from whom they expect and bid help, deliverance, protection, and preservation. The self-understanding in relation to God implied in the word *ʿebed* is particularly clear in Psa 123:2f.: "Like the eyes of the servant on the hand of his lord, like the eyes of the maiden on the hand of her lady, so are our eyes on Yahweh, our God, until he is merciful to us. Be gracious to us, Yahweh, be gracious to us." Just as a plurality approaches God in this psalm, the community can understand and describe itself as God's *ʿabādîm* in liturgical prayer (34:23; 69:37; 113:1; 135:1, 14). In the post-exilic period, this description becomes a designation for the pious in contrast to the godless, i.e., in Trito-Isa (Isa 56:6; 65:8f., 13–15; 66:14; cf. Mal 3:18, *ʿbd qal*). This plurality is conceived in terms of the individual *ʿebed*, as indicated by Psa 123 in particular.

(b) A large group of passages (almost half the passages in which *ʿebed* refers to God) describe a particular individual (or a group of such) as Yahweh's servant(s). This usage differs from the category in which the supplicants describe themselves as God's servant in that the service envisioned here is usually by commission; this service, however, usually stands in relationship to God's activity on behalf of his people. Thus Moses in particular—in addition to other figures from the early period, e.g., esp. the patriarchs, then the kings and the prophets—is called God's servant. Remarkably, the priests are not so designated because the cultic activity of

the priests is distinguished from God's historical activity through the previously mentioned *ʿabādīm*.

Moses is most often designated God's servant (Exod 14:31; Josh 1:2, 7, 13, 15, etc., in all 40x). The functional significance is esp. clear in Num 12:7f.; the context of the passage, the comparison between Moses and the prophets, also indicates, however, that this is a secondary interpretation of Moses' function (the designation, then, is also most often Dtn and Dtr). Other figures from the early period are also similarly described in retrospect as Yahweh's servants: Abraham (Gen 26:24; Psa 105:6, 42), Isaac (Gen 24:14; 1 Chron 16:13), Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Exod 32:13; Deut 9:27), Job (Job 1:8; 2:3; 42:7f.). "My servant David" occurs frequently (2 Sam 3:18; 7:8; 1 Kgs 11:13, 32, 34, 36, 38, etc.). From the exile onward, prophets are described as God's servants (usually pl.), esp. in the Dtr history (1 Kgs 14:18; 15:29; 2 Kgs 17:13, 23, etc.). This designation represents the Dtr interpretation of pre-exilic prophecy: the prophets remained faithful to Yahweh in a period of increasing apostasy and labored in his service. With reference to this usage, cf. Zimmerli, *TDNT* 5:663–66.

(c) Only against the background of this usage that describes a specific person or kings and prophets as God's servants is the usage of Deutero-Isa, which describes Israel in the sg. as *ʿebedyhw*, possible. This astonishing expansion of the *ʿebed* concept is facilitated in Deutero-Isa by the salvation oracle form using 1st-per. style so that Israel can be addressed as an individual (the personification of Israel in the Prophets and the Psa is comparable). The *ʿabd<sup>ka</sup>* "your servant" of the individual lament (see a) is represented here by *ʿabdī* "my servant" in Yahweh's address to Israel: "And you, Israel, my servant, Jacob, . . . you are my servant" (Isa 41:8f.; further 44:1f.; 45:4; cf. 44:21; 48:20; the influence of this usage is perceptible in Jer 30:10; Psa 136:22; a few other passages are questionable). The description of Israel in these passages in the same way in which Moses is called Yahweh's servant indicates Israel's significance for others, just as Moses is called Yahweh's servant as the one who labors for his people under God's commission. A connection with the *ʿebed-yhw* songs is apparent here.

(d) The significance of the *ʿebedyhw* in the Servant Songs (Isa 42:1; 49:3, 5f.; 52:13; 53:11) can be settled only by the texts as a whole, 42:1–4; 49:1–6; 52:13–53:12, to which should be added 50:4–9, although the expression does not occur here; the *ʿebed* speaks here in the 1st per. A treatment of these texts and of the problem of God's servant is not possible here (on the history of research until 1900, cf. E. Ruprecht, "Die Auslegungsgeschichte zu den sog. Gottesknechtliedern im Buche Dtnes" [diss., Heidelberg, 1972]); only two issues may be examined: (1) how the usage of the word relates to the use of the verb in general, and (2) how the

*ʿebed yhw* in the four passages relate to the usage in the rest of Deutero-Isa.

(1) The first analogy offered is the category of usage in which Yahweh designates a particular individual as “my servant”; this is precisely what occurs in the presentation oracle in 42:1–4 in which God designates the servant for a task. Correspondingly, 49:5f. directs the servant from a service intended first for Israel to one for the nations. Both 42:3f. and 50:4f. speak of the performance of the service; this service is unmistakably reminiscent of that of the prophets. Elements of the royal office are also evident; 42:1–4 is also linguistically reminiscent of the designation of a king (Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 93f.) and of the execution of a legal decision (*mišpāṭ*, 42:1, 3f.; cf. J. Jeremias, *VT* 22 [1972]: 31–42). These royal motifs in the Servant Songs can be interpreted in relation to the fact that the OT also describes the king elsewhere as God’s servant (see IV/1b). The servant’s spokesman role is more heavily accentuated, esp. in 49:1–6, which refers to the apparently futile labors of the prophets in the pre-exilic period. This spokesman role is most closely associated with the suffering of the servant discussed in 42:4a; 49:7; 50:4–9; and 52:13–53:12. Here the allusion to Jeremiah’s suffering and laments are unmistakable (G. von Rad, Zimmerli, etc.). In contrast to the suffering of the prophet Jeremiah, however, the suffering of the servant receives a positive, beneficial significance in 52:13–53:12 through his representative function affirmed by God and confirmed through his death. This is the first such statement in the OT and it surpasses everything previously said of a servant in Yahweh’s service.

(2) A relationship with the proclamation of Deutero-Isaiah (apart from the relationship in language and style; cf. Zimmerli, *TDNT* 5:666) consists in the discussion of Israel as Yahweh’s servant in the salvation oracle (see IV/1c). A collective interpretation of the figure of God’s servant in the songs may not be based on this feature (despite 49:3, now predominantly regarded as a secondary collective interpretation of the servant); but this discussion of Israel as Yahweh’s servant probably indicates Israel’s future task in service to Yahweh. The collective interpretation may, in a limited way, prove correct to the extent that the labor of God’s servant in the songs, even if he is explicitly described as an individual figure, simultaneously involves Israel’s future task. A more distinct and more direct relationship consists in that 43:22–28 uses the verb *ʿbd* hi. of God for the first time: “You made me serve by your sins.” Because Israel’s service of God failed (“you have not served me”), God himself assumes the work (service) consisting of the elimination of the people’s sin. The labor of God’s servant has the same concern in the songs; here the representative suffering of the servant removes the sin. Through his servant, however,

Yahweh works, confirming the exaltation of the servant.

2. Although the verb *ʿbd* in reference to service between persons (see III/2) is thoroughly ambivalent and can have both positive and negative connotations, *ʿbd* directed toward God is absolutely positive. This positive value constitutes a par. to the objective *ʿbd* (III/2a): like it, service to God is an essential aspect of being human. Being human without serving God is as impossible as being human without being active. In the OT, “serving God” comprehensively describes relationship to God. If one compares it with the “believing in God” familiar to us, the essential distinction lies in the fact that “serving God” does not have an antonym corresponding to unbelief. The question is never whether a person (or a group) serves a god; the only question is which god one serves. Since “serving God” indicates one’s relationship to God as a whole, it cannot mean “to do God a service.” Instead, it signifies acknowledgment of God as Lord, an acknowledgment that requires one’s entire existence. Whereas “believing in God” describes a purely spiritual process, “serving God” is possible only with one’s entire existence.

The following categories of the theological use of *ʿbd* may be identified: the major categories (2a, b, d) “serving Yahweh (God)” and (2c) “serving other gods” may be distinguished. The category “serving Yahweh” may be subdivided into (2a) a one-time and (2b, d) an enduring service; the latter may be further divided into (2b) the existential acknowledgment of Yahweh and (2d) the cultic performance of service to God; this distinction provides the basis for (2e) the prophetic critique of the cult.

(a) One-time “service to God” refers to offering sacrifice to Yahweh in the wilderness (15 passages in Exod 3–12) and once to a family sacrificial festival in 2 Sam 15:8. The translation “to serve” does not adequately convey the intention here; the intention is that the acknowledgment of Yahweh as the Lord requires a specific deed as an act of acknowledgment. This category surely encompasses the older usages of *ʿbd* directed toward God. Here *ʿbd* in reference to God does not yet signify a continual action established within the framework of cultic institutions; rather it signifies the acknowledgment of God as the Lord expressed in an act when proper and necessary. This early usage determines the later differentiation into two varied concepts of “serving God” and “worship service” that continues in the OT, in the NT, and in the language of the church until the present: “serving God” in a specific, regular cultic action and “serving God” in a contingent, everyday act, usually designated “cultic” and “ethical” service to God. In Exod 3ff. the sacrificial offering required by Yahweh is a contingent event that plays a role in a historical process. Here both concepts are still intertwined. The two are distinguished only with the transition to a sedentary life-style: serving God becomes a regular act at a fixed place at

fixed times; the contingent element lives on in a concept of “serving God” that refers to an acknowledgment of God as the Lord in a contingent situation, service to God with one’s existence.

(b) The usage in Josh 24 constitutes the transition; in this chapter *bd* is the key term in reference to God (it occurs 16x). The procedure portrayed in this chapter indicates that *bd* refers to a choice of Yahweh as Israel’s God and therefore Lord. This choice initiates an enduring service to God, but in this enduring service to God the choice of Yahweh as Lord continues to be effective. *bd* consists not solely of the execution of cultic acts but also of the affirmation of Yahweh as Israel’s Lord in moments of decision that reembody the situation of Josh 24. Only the persistence of the decision for Yahweh preserves *bd* intact. Josh 24 makes it clear that “to serve God” means both at once, but that from this point on in settled life the performance of cultic service to God and the choice of Yahweh with one’s life could individuate; this individuation presents the possibility that the cultic service of God may no longer be an unequivocal expression of the acknowledgment of Yahweh with one’s life, and thus the possibility of the prophetic critique of the cult.

The service of God with one’s existence acquires its peculiar configuration in Deut, e.g., in the central ch. 6, in v 13: “Yahweh, your God, shall you fear, him shall you serve, and by his name swear.” Since Deut accentuates service through one’s life so markedly (e.g., Deut 10:12 “to serve your God with all your heart and all your soul”), one may conclude that such formulations already reflect the concern that the cultic service of God no longer unequivocally expresses the acknowledgment of Yahweh as Lord over the whole of existence. This concern also explains why this service to God is discussed largely in exhortations and warnings, as in the Dtr section in 1 Sam 12, which repeats the statement “serve Yahweh with your whole heart” (vv 20, 24). The exhortation corresponds to the addressees’ promise (vow), Josh 24:18, 21, 24; 1 Sam 12:10. This promise endured only “as long as Joshua lived” (Josh 24:31; Judg 2:7). Israel later refuses to serve Yahweh (Jer 2:20). Thus the service of Yahweh can become an eschatological promise (Jer 30:9; Ezek 20:40); it can extend to non-Israelites (Isa 19:21, 23; Zeph 3:9).

(c) A large group of texts contrast this “service to Yahweh” with “service to other gods.” The basis is the commandment: “you shall not pray to them nor serve them” (Exod 20:5 = Deut 5:9 ho.; cf. Exod 23:33). For Deut service to other gods is the great temptation on which Israel’s destiny hangs; in the Dtr history it is the “sin of Jeroboam” that underlies the evaluation of all kings. The warning against serving other gods runs throughout all of Deut (Deut 4:19; 7:4, 16; 8:19; 11:16; 12:30; 13:3[ho.], 7, 14; 28:14, etc.; cf. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot* [1963], 74f., 303f.); it is always

synonymous with apostasy from Yahweh (→ *škh* “to forget,” → *ʿzb* “to abandon,” etc.). The expression “to serve other gods” means not only to practice a foreign cult but also to acknowledge other gods (or another god) as lord, to choose the lordship of another god. Serving other gods is the rejection of the first commandment.

There is an additional usage: the same expression can also signify involvement in another life-style or conversion to another life-style. Deut 12:2, 30 presupposes that other nations serve other gods: Israel’s patriarchs served other gods (Josh 24:2, 14f.), and leaving the land means serving other gods (Deut 4:28; 28:36, 64; 1 Sam 26:19). Here “serving other gods” does not involve culpability; rather it is a fate that can come upon one. This small group of texts makes clear once again that serving a god is fundamental to humanity; if one leaves the dominion of one’s own god, service to another god or gods is unavoidable. It also indicates that the prohibition against serving other gods intends solely to safeguard the unconditional exclusivity of Yahweh’s dominion over Israel (Deut 6:4). The first commandment may be rejected, consequently, only in the region in which the commandment is valid.

(d) While the expressions “to serve God” and “to serve other gods” are related by the fact that they are governed by the decision for or against Yahweh as presented in Josh 24, the other aspect of *ʿbd* in relation to God has developed another emphasis of priestly-cultic language in which *ʿbd* signifies service at the sanctuary. This usage occurs in P (Elliger, HAT 4, 358n.52) and Chron. The Levites are designated for service in the sanctuary, described synonymously as service to Yahweh (Num 8:11; the figura etymologica [also called cognate acc., internal or abs. obj.] *ʿbd* <sup>ʿbōdā</sup> occurs frequently, Num 3:7f.; 4:23, 30, 47, etc.). Serving Yahweh and cultic service are identical here. The subjs. of this service are always priests and Levites. More precise characterizations of this service are usually of a technical nature; it involves the performance of sacrifice or other cultic acts; discussion concerns the locale, the necessary implements, and the times of this service. Linguistically, this cultic service closely approximates the modern profane concept of “service.”

(e) The remarkable individuation of service to God, as meant in Josh 24 and the central passages in Deut, and of service to God in the technical cultic sense is reflected in the prophetic critique of the cult. Admittedly, the verb *ʿbd* does not occur in the cultic critique of the 8th- and 7th-cent. prophets, but it does occur retrospectively in the key passage in Deutero-Isa: “I did not have you serve with sacrificial offerings . . . you have me serve—with your sins” (Isa 43:23f.). The divine speech reverses the argument that Israel offered in its complaint against God: we have indeed served you faithfully with our sacrifices! Yahweh responds: You did not

really serve me. You made me a servant! Or: I did not have you work (serve)—you had me work (serve)! This statement is extraordinarily daring; the use of the hi. of *ʿbd* in reference to God is actually impossible; God cannot be *ʿebed*. But precisely in this dispute of the authenticity of the cult that Israel offered to God, Deutero-Isa offers this properly impossible expression with God as the subj. of *ʿbd*. This passage is the most important connection between the proclamation of Deutero-Isa and the Servant Songs (see IV/1d[2]).

3. In most of its occurrences *ʿabōdâ* indicates service in the sanctuary, cultic service. Passages that address the construction of the temple and work thereon constitute a transition (Exod 27:19; 36:5; 38:21; Num 3:26). Num 4:4, 19; 2 Chron 8:14 discuss the service of priests and Levites; numerous passages in P (cf. J. Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology*, I [1970]) and in the Chr history (cf. also Ezek 44:14) discuss service in the sanctuary (tent, dwelling, etc.). The Eng. “worship service” corresponds to *ʿbōdat yhwh* (Num 8:11; Josh 22:27; 2 Chron 35:16).

The unique and peculiar designation of God’s activity as *ʿabōdâ* in a clause concerning the opus alienum Dei in Isa 28:21 should be emphasized: “to work his work, strange is his work!” (par. *maʿśeh*, → *śh*). As far as we know, the notion of the action and work of God is conceptualized for the first time here.

V. In the hymns from Qumran, “your servant” is the self-designation of the worshiper (1QH 5:15, 28; 7:16, etc.). The LXX translation indicates the manner in which the connotations of the Hebr. verb *ʿbd* disentangle into a variety of terms. When *ʿbd* means “to work, labor,” the LXX usually renders it with *ergazesthai*. *douleuein* in the LXX generally indicates the service of slaves; servitude in Egypt is also so designated. Although *douleuein* has no relationship to religious language in extrabibl. piety, in the LXX it can indicate the dependence and servitude of one’s relationship to God. *latreuein* signifies “to serve cultically, to worship.” In contrast to *douleuein*, the LXX uses *latreuein* only of service directed to God; it also employs *latreia* only of cultic service, for which *leitourgia* can also be used. *doulos* and *pais* dominate as translations for *ʿebed*, on this usage and on the NT, cf. W. Brandt, *Dienst und Dienen im NT* (1931); S. Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante* (1966); H. Rengstorf, “δοῦλος,” *TDNT* 2:261–80; G. Bertram, “ἔργον,” *TDNT* 2:635–55; H. Strathmann, “λατρεύω,” *TDNT* 4:58–65; H. Strathmann and R. Meyer, “λειτουργέω,” *TDNT* 4:215–31; A. Oepke, *TDNT* 5:637f. (on *pais* in the LXX); W. Zimmerli and J. Jeremias, “παῖς θεοῦ,” *TDNT* 5:654–717.

## עבר *ʿbr* to pass by, pass over

S 5674; BDB 716b; HALOT 2:778b; ThWAT 5:1015–33; TWOT 1556; NIDOTTE 6296

1. *ʿbr* occurs in all Sem. languages (except Eth.; on the older texts cf. e.g., AHW 182 [Akk. *cbēru*]; Ug.: WUS no. 1990; J. C. de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu* [1971], 156; NWSem. inscriptions: DISO 202).

The root occurs in the OT in the qal “to pass by, over,” ni. “to be walked over,” pi. (see 3c), hi. (causative to qal), and the substs. *ʿber* (Aram. *ʿbar*) “opposite side,” *ʿbārâ* “ford, crossing,” *maʿbār* “(movement of the staff =) blow” (Isa 30:32) and “ford, passage” (Gen 32:23; 1 Sam 13:23), *maʿbārâ* “ford, ravine,” as well as the place-name *ʿbārîm* “crossing”; → *ʿbrâ*.

The origin of the word *ʿbrî* “Hebrew” is obscure. For the most part an equation with the Akk. *ḥab/piru*, Ug. *ʿprm*, Eg. *ʿpr* is considered possible (strictly opposed by Berger, ZDPV 74 [1958]: 121–32). Although a derivation from *ʿāpār* “dust” (R. de Langhe, *Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit* [1945], 2:465; Borger, op. cit. 130f.) or from *ʿbr* (J. Lewy, HUCA 28 [1957]: 1–13) is sometimes suggested, yet “all the suggestions proposed so far seem to me to be unsatisfactory” (M. Weippert, *Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine* [1971], 81; cf. J. Bottéro, *Le problème des Hîabîru* [1954]; M. Greenburg, *The Hîab/piru* [1955]; R. de Vaux, *Early History of Israel* [1978], 105–12; id., *Bible et Orient* [1967], 165–74; Weippert, op. cit. 63–102; K. Koch, VT 19 [1969]: 37–81).

2. Statistics: *ʿbr* qal 465x (incl. Jer 2:20 Q [K: *ʿbd*]; omit Ezek 16:37 in Lis. 1021b [*ʿrb*]; Josh 53x, Deut 46x, 2 Sam 39x, Isa 34x, Num 31x, Jer and Psa 25x each, Judg 23x, Ezek 22x, 1 Sam 21x, Gen 20x), ni. 1x (Ezek 47:5), pi. 2x, hi. 80x (incl. 2 Sam 19:41 Q; Ezek 48:14 Q; Ezek 13x, 2 Sam 9x), the verb a total of 548x; *ʿber* 90x (Josh 24x, Deut 12x), Aram. *ʿbar* 14x (in Ezra always *ʿbar nahʿrâ*; see 3e), *ʿbārâ* 2x (2 Sam 15:28 K; 19:19), *maʿbār* 3x (see 1), and *maʿbārâ* 8x.

3. (a) Various Eng. translations are possible for the qal depending on context and the prep. used. All translations group around the (spatial) meaning “to walk over, cross over, pass over”: with the acc. obj. or abs. “to walk over, pass through” (about one-third of the passages with acc. concern the Jordan; cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel* [1966], 154–59); with

the acc. of direction, “to pass over toward, extend toward” (Amos 5:5 par. → *bôʕ*; 6:2 par. → *hllk*; Jer 48:32 par. *ng<sup>c</sup>* “to reach to”; cf. 1 Sam 14:1 with *ʕel*); with the obj. “way,” “to travel the path” (Isa 33:8; Psa 8:9; Prov 9:15); with a per. obj. “to overtake” (2 Sam 18:23); with *be* (Gen 12:6; 30:32; Num 13:32; Deut 2:4; Isa 62:10); with *ʕal* “to cross over something” (Num 6:5; Jonah 2:4; Psa 88:17), “to pass by/cross over to someone/something” (Gen 18:3 [*mēʕal*], 5; 2 Sam 15:18; 1 Kgs 9:8; Jer 18:16); with *lipn<sup>ʕ</sup>* “to pass before someone/something” (Gen 32:17; 33:3, 14; Exod 17:5; 1 Sam 9:27; 2 Kgs 4:31); with *ʕah<sup>ʕ</sup>re<sup>ʕ</sup>* “to follow after” (2 Sam 20:13); with *min* “to avoid, escape” (Isa 40:27; Psa 81:7).

Expressions that tend to calcify as technical terms should be mentioned in particular, e.g.: *ʕōbēr yām* “seagoing” (Isa 23:2; cf. Psa 8:9; Akk. *ēbirtāmti* “seagoer,” *AHW* 182b); *kesep ʕōbēr* “currency” (Gen 23:16; 2 Kgs 12:5 txt?; cf. KBL 675b); *mōr ʕōbēr* “liquid myrrh” (Song Sol 5:5, 13; P. Katz, *Gnomon* 30 [1958]: 541; Gerleman, BK 18, 167): “passing through” in Ezek 39:15 suggests the meaning “examiner, controller” (par. *hqr* “to examine,” v 14; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:293, 318); *ʕbr ʕal-happ<sup>c</sup>qūdīm* (Exod 30:13f.; 38:26) “to enter the ranks of the enrolled” (so Noth, ATD 5, 193) is a priestly technical term for registration (cf. also CD 10:1f.; 15:6).

(b) Closely related to 3a, the following possible meanings in fig. usages should be noted: “to transgress, disregard a commandment” (Psa 148:6; Esth 3:3); “to pass by, pass away” in a temporal sense (Gen 50:4; 2 Sam 11:27; 1 Kgs 18:29; Isa 26:20; Jer 8:20 par. *klh* “to be at an end”; Amos 8:5; Job 17:11; Song Sol 2:11 par. *hlp* “to pass away”); “to expire, become invalid” (Esth 1:19); “to elapse, be exhausted” (Job 6:15; 11:16); “to scatter” (of chaff: Isa 29:5; Jer 13:24; Zeph 2:2; of shadows: Psa 144:4); “to pass away” (Job 34:20 par. *mūt* “to die”); cf. *ʕbr baššelaḥ* (Job 33:18, 28 [txt em]; 36:12), according to KBL 976b and Fohrer, KAT 16, 454, 458 (with reference to Ug. *šlh* in Krt = *KTU* 1.14.20) actually “to run into the spear” (contra M. Tsevat, *VT* 4 [1954]: 43; and D. Leibel, *Tarbiz* 33 [1963/64]: 225–27: “to pass over to the underworld river” = “to die”).

(c) 1 Kgs 6:21 uses the pi. in the technical meaning “to pass through (with golden chains)” (cf. Noth, BK 9, 96, 122; *HP* 140) and Job 21:10 of the bull “mounting” (cf. Jew. Aram. *ʕbr* pa. “to impregnate”; Wagner no. 212; perhaps also *KAI* no. 162.4).

The hi. exhibits the causative meanings corresponding to the qal (“to cause to walk over, lead over, let pass by,” etc.). The following special meanings should be mentioned: the technical term for child sacrifice *ʕbr* hi. (Exod 13:12; Lev 18:21; Jer 32:35; Ezek 16:21; 20:26; 23:37) or *ʕbr* hi. *bāʕēš* “to pass through the fire” (e.g., Deut 18:10; see passages under → *ʕēš* 3a); also with the obj. *šōpār* “horn” (Lev 25:9) or *qôl* “voice” (Exod 36:6;

Ezra 1:1; 10:7; Neh 8:15; 2 Chron 30:5; 36:22; cf. also 1 Sam 2:24) “to let sound”; “to rip out, take away” (2 Sam 3:10; Esth 8:2 par. *sûr* hi. “to remove”); “to do away with, set aside” (1 Kgs 15:12 par. *sûr* hi.; Jonah 3:6; Zech 13:2 par. *krt* hi. “to eradicate”); “to turn aside, keep away” (Psa 119:37, 39; Eccl 11:10).

(d) Semantically related verbs include: *gûz* “to pass by” (Num 11:31; Psa 90:10; see HAL 175a with cjs.); *hlp* I “to go on, travel by, travel toward, transgress” (qal 14x, par. *br* in Isa 8:8; 24:5 “to transgress [a commandment]”; Hab 1:11; Job 9:11; Song Sol 2:11); *ʿtq* “to go on, advance” (Job 14:18; 18:4; fig. “to age,” Psa 6:8; Job 21:7; cf. Wagner no. 228).

(e) *ʿeber* “the other side,” “the opposite side” of a valley (1 Sam 31:7), sea (Jer 25:22), river (Isa 8:23; contra B. Gemser, VT 2 [1952]: 349–55), as an acc. of location (Deut 4:49; Josh 13:27), or with *min/be* (Gen 50:10f.; Num 22:1; 34:15; Deut 1:1, 5; Josh 13:32; Judg 11:18, etc.) tending toward a prep., “on the other side of,” occurs as a geographical designation, esp. in the phrases *ʿeber hayyardēn*, which can refer—according to the perspective of the speaker—to both east (Gen 50:10f.; Num 22:1; 32:32; Deut 1:1, 5; Josh 1:14; 2:10, etc.) and west of the Jordan (Num 32:19; Deut 3:20, 25; 11:30, etc.), and *ʿeber hannāhār* (Aram. *ʿabar nahʿarā*, Akk. *eber nārī*, AHW 181b) “the land west of the (Euphrates) River, Beyond the River” (1 Kgs 5:4; Ezra 8:36; Neh 2:7, 9; 3:7; Aram., Ezra 4:10f., 16f., 20, etc.), which came into use as a geopolitical technical term in Syria-Palestine “most likely only with the bureaucratic language of the Persian empire” (Noth, BK 9, 76; cf. J. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT* [1959], 33; in a few pre-exilic texts the expression indicates the region east of the Euphrates: Josh 24:2f., 14f.; 2 Sam 10:16 = 1 Chron 19:16; 1 Kgs 14:15; Isa 7:20).

4. The theological use of the verb *br* (qal and hi.), with affinities to the meanings treated in 3a–c, occurs rarely. The following realms are typical:

(1) The passage of God (or of his → *kābôd*) in the theophany (Exod 33:22; cf. v 19 hi.; 34:6; 1 Kgs 19:11; cf. J. Jeremias, *Theophanie* [1965], esp. 112–15);

(2) God’s punitive intervention (Exod 12:12, 23; Amos 5:17; cf. J. L. Crenshaw, ZAW 80 [1968]: 206);

(3) God’s advance in holy war (Deut 9:3; 31:3; cf. G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* [1991], 44f., 115ff., 122f.);

(4) *br* hi. *ʿāwōn* “to remove sin, cause sin to pass” can be described as a technical term for forgiveness (2 Sam 24:10 = 1 Chron 21:8; Zech 3:4 par. *sûr* hi. “to remove”; Job 7:21 par. → *nśʿ pešaʿ* “to remove

transgression”; with the obj. *ḥattāʾ* “sin,” 2 Sam 12:13). *ʿbr* qal *ʿalpešaʿ* “to pass over sin” also approximates “to forgive” (Mic 7:18 par. *nsʾ* *ʿawōn*; cf. Prov 19:11 with a human subj.; cf. also *ʿbr* qal *le* “to spare,” Amos 7:8; 8:2). Admittedly, *ʿbr ʿal* is “only an incomplete image for forgiveness, and thus not widely distributed; for it only describes the oversight and disregard of guilt, not its removal” (J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im AT* [1940], 72).

(5) The person is the subj. of *ʿbr* qal in reference to the transgression of the covenant (→ *bʿrît* III/6c; Deut 17:2; Josh 7:11, 15; 23:16; Judg 2:20; 2 Kgs 18:12; Jer 34:18; Hos 6:7 par. → *bgd* “to act treacherously”; 8:1 par. *pšʿ ʿal* “to commit an outrage against”; cf. CD 1:20 hi.; 16:12 qal) or God’s commandments (*pīyhwḥ*: Num 14:41; 22:18; 24:13; 1 Sam 15:24 [→ *peh*]; *mišwâ*: Deut 26:13; 2 Chron 24:20 [→ *šwh* pi.]; → *tôrâ*: Isa 24:5 par. *ḥlp*, → *ḥôq*, and *pr* hi. *bʿrît*, Dan 9:11; cf. 1QS 5:7, 14; 8:22; 1QH 4:27).

(6) The expression *ʿbr bibrît yhwḥ* “to enter into the covenant of Yahweh” (Deut 29:11; cf. 1QS 1:16, etc.) may also ultimately refer to the rite of passage between the parts of a butchered animal associated with covenant making (*ʿbr bêḥ*, Gen 15:17; Jer 34:18f.; cf. M. Noth, “OT Covenant-Making in the Light of a Text from Mari,” *Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* [1966], 108–17).

5. Qumran uses *ʿbr* much as the OT does. The LXX most often translates the root with *diabainein* and *parerchesthai*. The latter verb is theologically relevant in the context of transgression against God’s commandments and of manifestations. Perhaps Luke 18:37 should be understood in this way (cf. J. Schneider, “παρέρχομαι,” *TDNT* 2:681f.; id., “παρβαίνω,” *TDNT* 5:736–44). In the meaning “to pass away” the word often acquires an eschatological tone.

H.-P. Stähli

## עִבְרָה *ʿebrâ* **wrath**

S 5678; BDB 720b; HALOT 2:782a; ThWAT 5:1033–39; TWOT 1556d; NIDOTTE 6301

1. The subst. *ʿebrâ* “wrath” derives from a verbal root *ʿbr* whose meaning may not be determined with certainty. On the one hand, attempts are made to derive it from → *ʿbr* I “to walk over, pass over,” since a verb *ʿbr* hitp. with the meaning “to prove to be arrogant, angry” (“to let oneself

become carried away”?) is attested a few times in Hebr. A subst. *‘ebrâ* I “arrogance, abundance” (Isa 16:6; Jer 48:30; Prov 21:24) could also derive from this root (GB 561a; O. Grether and J. Fichtner, *TDNT* 5:392n.62). On the other hand, a more appropriate hypothesis involves an independent root *‘br* II “to be angry,” which occurs only in Arab. (*‘gbr*; Wehr 664b: *iġbirār* “rancor”; J. A. Emerton, *ZAW* 81 [1969]: 189; whether Old Aram. *y‘brnh* (Sef. 3.17) derives from *‘br* “to be angry” is questionable; cf. *DISO* 202; R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik* [1969], 68n.54; in the Tg. to Isa 9:18 and 13:9 Aram. *ta‘abôr* “wrath” occurs; cf. Jastrow 1683b). A derivation from Arab. *ġariba* “to bear rancor” (KBL 676b?) or Arab. *ġarb* “passion, vehemence” (GB 560?; cf. Wehr 668b: “vehemence . . . impetuosity”) involving an exchange of the 2d and 3d radicals hardly seems possible.

The subst. *‘ebrâ* is a fem. segholate form in Hebr. (*qitl*). The pl. cs. *‘abrôt* (Psa 7:7, in contrast to Job 40:11, *‘ebrôt*) could suggest a segholate *qatl* form (BL 604).

2. The verb *‘br* hitp. is attested 8x in the OT (Psa 4x, Prov 3x, Deut 1x), the subst. *‘ebrâ* 34x (Isa 6x, Ezek, Psa, and Prov 5x each), only 3x in the pl. (Psa 7:7; Job 21:30; 40:11).

3. (a) *‘br* hitp. clearly occurs in the meaning “to show oneself angry” only 5x and always of divine wrath: Deut 3:26; Psa 78:21, 59, 62; 89:39. The three other occurrences refer exclusively to human emotional turmoil. Only Prov 20:2 is unequivocal; the Vers. presuppose a form of *‘rb* in Prov 14:16 and 26:17 (cf. Gemser, *HAT* 16, 67, 95). The human behavior indicated by *‘br* hitp. in Prov is always conducted with a certain arrogance or even impetuosity. The fool underestimates evil (Prov 14:16). Those who rise up impetuously and angrily against the king endanger their lives (20:2).

(b) The subst. *‘ebrâ* describes divine wrath 22x (Isa 9:18; 10:6; 13:9, 13; Jer 7:29; Ezek 7:19; 21:36; 22:21, 31; 38:19; Hos 5:10; 13:11; Hab 3:8; Zeph 1:15, 18; Psa 78:49; 85:4; 90:9, 11; Prov 11:4; Lam 2:2; 3:1) and human wrath 12x (Gen 49:7; Isa 14:6; Amos 1:11; Prov 11:23; 14:35; 22:8; in addition to the pl. occurrences [see 2] and the passages in which *‘ebrâ* has more the meaning “arrogance, impetuosity” [see 1]).

Passages with the subst. also express the fact that wrath can lead only to ruin and punishment: Simeon and Levi are dispersed because of their wrath (Gen 49:7), just as the wrath of Babel (Isa 14:6), Moab (Isa 16:6; Jer 48:30), Edom (Amos 1:11), indeed of all people (every reference in Prov), is punished. The pl. forms describe additional human actions carried out in wrath, against which Yahweh is asked to intervene (Psa 7:7); on the day of these acts, the evil will not be spared (Job 21:30). As a feeble person, Job cannot carry out wrath in the same way God can (Job 40:11).

*ʿbr/ʿbrâ* occurs together with other terms in the same sphere: with *gaʿwâ* and *gâʿôn* (→ *gʿh*), Isa 16:6; with → *ʿap* in a cs. relation, Job 40:11, and in parallelism, Isa 14:6; Amos 1:11).

4. (a) In theological usage, the statements gain poignancy. Characteristically, except in Deut 3:26, where it denotes God’s wrath against Moses because of the people’s disobedience, *ʿbr* hitp. occurs only in Psa, again to depict God’s reaction to the people’s apostasy.

(b) It is no wonder, then, that the prophets, in particular, use the term *ʿbrâ* (15x), with a notable concentration around the period of the exile, as is also true for other terms for “wrath.” The term occurs in the following fixed combinations: *ʿbrat yhw* “Yahweh’s wrath” (Isa 9:18; 13:13; Ezek 7:19; Zeph 1:18); *ʿam/dôr ʿbrâtî/ʿbrâtô* “people/generation of my/his wrath” (Isa 10:6; Jer 7:29); *yôm ʿbrâ* “day of wrath” (Ezek 7:19; Zeph 1:15, 18; Prov 11:4; in substance also Isa 13:9, 13); *ʿš ʿbrâtî* “fire of my wrath,” only in Ezek: 21:36; 22:21, 31; 38:19.

*ʿbrâ* occurs in association with other expressions for wrath: with → *ʿap*, Hos 13:11; Psa 78:21; 90:11; with *ʿap* and → *hrh*, Hab 3:8; with *hʿrôn ʿap*, Isa 13:9; Psa 85:4; with *hʿrôn ʿap* and *zaʿam*, Psa 78:49; with → *zaʿam*, Ezek 21:36; 22:31; with → *qin ʿâ*, Ezek 38:19; with → *ʿš qin ʿâ*, Zeph 1:18.

5. The Qumran documents know *ʿbrâ* as a designation for divine wrath much like the OT (1QS 4:12; 1QM 4:1; 14:1; CD 8:3; 19:16). For the NT cf. → *ʿap* 5; → *hēmâ* 5.

G. Sauer

## 𐤁𐤀 *ʿad* always

S 5703; BDB 723b; HALOT 2:786a; ThWAT 5:1066–74; TWOT 1565a; NIDOTTE 6329

1. Attested only in Hebr., principally in an adv. usage (Ug. *bʿd Im* in *KTU* 5.9.1.6 may be an exception; cf. *WUS* no. 1999; *UT* no. 1813), the subst. *ʿad* “eternity, always” is usually associated (e.g., GB 563a; Zorell 571b, 573a) with the prep. *ʿad* “until” and the root *\*ʿdy* “to continue, pass by” (Hebr. only *ʿdh* qal “to walk,” Job 28:8; hi. “to strip off (clothing),” Prov 25:20; Aramaism? cf. Wagner no. 214); thus it is understood as “everlasting continuation,” etc. (cf. also G. R. Driver, *WO* 1/5 [1950]: 412).

2. The 48 occurrences of *ʿad* are distributed very irregularly in the OT: 29x in Psa, 8x in Isa, 2x each in Mic, Job, and Prov, 1x each in Ezek

15:18; Amos 1:11; Hab 3:6; Dan 12:3; 1 Chron 28:9. The similar distribution of the synonyms → *dôr wādôr*, → *ʕólām*, and *neṣaḥ*, should be noted, the last in the meaning “duration, eternity,” etc. 40x: 18x in Psa, 7x in Isa (Isa 34:10 *I<sup>e</sup>nēṣaḥ n<sup>e</sup>ṣāḥîm*), 6x in Job, 3x in Jer, also 2 Sam 2:26; Amos 1:11; 8:7; Hab 1:4; Prov 21:28; Lam 5:20.

3. Like → *ʕólām*, which it often accompanies, *ʕad* is used only in conjunction with preps., as an adv. acc., or as a gen. representing such an expression. It occurs only once in reference to the past: Job 20:4, *minnî-ʕad* “(have you not known it) for a long time” (par. “since he placed people on the earth”). Otherwise, it always refers to the unforeseeable future, in the following expressions: *ʕadê-ʕad* “forever” (Isa 26:4; 65:18; Psa 83:18; 92:8; 132:12, 14; cf. Isa 17:2 txt em; in Isa 45:17 intensified *ʕad-ʕól<sup>e</sup>mê-ʕad* “into all eternity”), *lāʕad* “forever” (Isa 30:8, here it should probably be pointed *I<sup>e</sup>ʕēd* “as a witness,” however; 64:8; Amos 1:11; Mic 7:18; Psa 9:19; 19:10; 21:7; 22:27; 37:29; 61:9; 89:30; 111:3, 8, 10; 112:3, 9; 148:6; Job 19:24; Prov 12:19; 29:14; 1 Chron 28:9), *leʕólām wāʕad* (a peculiar pausal form; cf. BL 548), and *ʕólām wāʕad* “forever and ever” (Exod 15:18; Mic 4:5; Psa 9:6; 10:16; 21:5; 45:7, 18; 48:15; 52:10; 104:5; 119:44; 145:1f., 21; Dan 12:3), as well as in a few cs. phrases in which the second element *ʕad* constitutes the modifier “forever” (Isa 9:5, *ʕābî-ʕad* “father forever”; → *ʕāb* III/3; cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 404f.; Isa 47:7 txt em *g<sup>e</sup>beret ʕad* “lady forever”; Isa 57:15 *šōkēn ʕad* “who reigns forever”; Hab 3:6 *har<sup>e</sup>rê-ʕad* “the eternal mountains,” so also Gen 49:26 txt em).

Expressions that parallel *ʕad* are → *ʕólām* (besides the phrases already mentioned, also in Isa 26:4; 30:8; 45:17; 47:7; Hab 3:6; cf. Gen 49:26 txt em; Psa 92:8f.; 111:8; 148:6), (*lā*)*neṣaḥ* (Amos 1:11; Psa 9:19), *bekol-dôr wādôr* (Psa 45:18), *yôm yôm* “every day” Psa (Psa 61:9), *kîmē šāmayim* “like the days of heaven” (Psa 89:30), *tāmîd* “ever” (Psa 119:44), and *b<sup>e</sup>kol-yôm* “every day” (Psa 145:2). In Prov 12:19 *lāʕad* contrasts with an expression involving *rg<sup>c</sup> hi.* in the meaning “only a moment long.”

The synonymously used word *neṣaḥ* offers a similar picture. It refers to the past in the cs. phrase *maššûʔôt neṣaḥ* “ancient ruin” or “eternal ruin.” Otherwise, *lāneṣaḥ* “forever” occurs 32x with a view to the future (in addition to Isa 34:10 with the intensifying formula *I<sup>e</sup>nēṣaḥ n<sup>e</sup>ṣāḥîm*), as well as the adv. acc. *neṣaḥ* (Jer 15:18; Amos 1:11; Psa 13:2; 16:11) and the prep. phrase *ʕad-neṣaḥ* or *ʕad-nēṣaḥ* (Psa 49:20; Job 34:36) with the same meaning. Here too par. expressions occur often: *I<sup>e</sup>ʕólām* (Isa 57:16; Jer 3:5; Psa 9:6, 8 par. v 7; 49:9 par. v 10 txt?; 103:9), *lāʕad* (see above), *ʕad-I<sup>e</sup>dôr wādôr* (Isa 13:20; Jer 50:39; Psa 77:9; cf. *middôr lādôr*, Isa 34:10), and *I<sup>e</sup>ʔōrek yāmîm* (Lam 5:20).

4. Most usages of *ʿad* occur in theological contexts, concerning which reference can be made to the treatment of → *ʿōlām* in general. Special attention should be given to that fact that there is no evidence of a well-conceived theological concept of time and eternity; instead often only the finality and inalterability of a matter is emphasized. This emphasis accords with the dominant usage of the word in psalmody in hymnic contexts (e.g., Exod 15:18 “Yahweh is king always and forever”; cf. Isa 26:4; 57:15; Mic 7:18; Psa 9:6, 19; 10:16; 19:10; 48:15; 111:3, 8, 10; 112:3, 9; 132:14) or confessional, lament, and petition contexts (Mic 4:5 “we, however, we walk in the name of Yahweh, our God, always and forever”; cf. Isa 64:8; Psa 22:27; 37:29; 45:18; 52:10; 61:9; 83:18; 92:8; 119:44; 145:1f., 21), less often in prophetic promises of salvation (Isa 45:17; 65:18; cf. also Dan 12:3) or in wisdom (Prov 12:19; 29:14). In the literary spheres mentioned, general statements concerning God, the righteous, and the godless occur alongside more specialized statements: concerning the eternal duration of creation (Gen 49:26 txt em; Hab 3:6; Psa 104:5; 148:6) and the monarchy established by God (Psa 21:5, 7; 45:7; 89:30; 132:12; cf. in contrast Isa 47:7 txt em; the messianic honorific <sup>ʾabî-</sup>*ʿad* in Isa 9:5 [see 3] also belongs here); regarding the adaptation of extrabibl. courtly expressions, cf. → *ʿōlām* 4b. Juristic usages of *ʿad* do not occur (cf., however, Job 19:24); usages in prophetic accusations are rare (Amos 1:11). Only 1 Chron 28:9 is cast in prose (David to Solomon: “then he will reject you forever”).

M. Dahood’s (*Bib* 50 [1969]: 346f.; *Psa*, ABC, 3:174, 179f.) assumption of a divine designation *ʿad* “the Eternal, Everlasting” in Psa 119:8, 43, 51 and Lam 5:22 is unfounded (cf. J. C. de Moor, *UF* 2 [1970]: 202, 314; O. Loretz, *BZ* NS 16 [1972]: 245–48).

The theological use of *neṣaḥ* is much less contoured. Various contexts discuss eternal destruction, eternal wrath, and forgetfulness (Isa 13:20 = Jer 50:39; Isa 34:10; 57:16; Jer 3:5; Psa 9:19; 13:2, etc.). Among salvation-eschatological statements, Isa 25:8 (“he will destroy death forever”) and Psa 16:11 (“pleasures in your right hand forever”) are prominent.

5. → *ʿōlām* 5.

E. Jenni

## עֵד *ʿēd* witness

S 5707; BDB 729b; *HALOT* 2:788a; *ThWAT* 5:1107–30; *TWOT*

1. The root  $\text{ʿwd}$  is broadly distributed in Sem. languages (e.g., Arab.  $\text{ʿāda}$  “to return,” Eth.  $\text{ʿōda}$  “to go around,” Phoen./Hebr./Aram.  $\text{ʿōd}$  “yet”; cf. KBL 685f., 1106b; *DISO* 203f.; *LS* 515a; *WUS* no. 1999; cf. J. A. Thompson, *JSS* 10 [1965]: 224–27; on Akk.  $\text{ad}$  see 4d), but is attested only in Hebr. in the meaning “witness” ( $\text{ʿēd}$ ) or “to be a witness” or “to call as a witness” ( $\text{ʿūd hi.}$ ).

While  $\text{ʿūd pi.}$  “to surround, encompass” (Psa 119:61; cf. the Eth. meaning “to go around”) and  $\text{po.}$  “to surround with concern, help out” (Psa 146:9; 147:6;  $\text{hitpo.}$  “to help one another out,” Psa 20:9) more nearly represents the putative basic meaning,  $\text{ʿūd hi.}$  with its various meanings could be a denominative from  $\text{ʿēd}$  “witness.” The meaning “to give testimony” (1 Kgs 21:10, 13; Job 29:11; see 3b) or “to be a witness” (Mal 2:14 of Yahweh; see 4b) is rare. Somewhat more frequently  $\text{ʿūd}$  means “to call witnesses” (of witnessing a legal document in Jer 32:10, 25, 44; Isa 8:2; see 3a) and “to call as witnesses” (the heavens in Deut 4:26; 30:19; 31:28; see 4c). GB 568b, etc. derive the most common meaning “to assert, exhort, warn” from  $\text{ʿūd}$  as an expression of repetition (see above) in the sense of “to state repeatedly and urgently.” It may be better derived from the summons of God as witness (see 4c).

Nom. derivatives include, first, the subst.  $\text{ʿēd}$  “witness” (either a *qatil* form with contraction, BL 464, or in analogy to a *qatil* verbal adj., Joüon §80d, s),  $\text{ʿēdâ}$  “witness,” and  $\text{t}^{\text{e}}\text{ʿūdâ}$  “testimony” (BL 496). The subst.  $\text{ʿēdût}$  “testimony, commandment,” etc. (see 4d) is usually regarded as an abstract form of  $\text{ʿēd}$  (cf. Gulkowitsch 38–40), but it derives from  $\rightarrow y\text{ʿd}$  “to determine” according to H. Zimmern (see GB 565b), G. Widengren (*Sakrales Königtum im AT und im Judentum* [1955], 94n.69), etc. Although GB 565b and Lis. 1028 derive the pl. form  $\text{ʿēdôt}$  “legal decrees,” etc. (see 4d) from an unattested sg.  $\text{ʿēdâ III}$ , it is now usually listed with the pl.  $\text{ʿēd}^{\text{c}}\text{wôt}$  (in 11QPsa  $\text{ʿdwwt}$ ) under  $\text{ʿēdût}$  (KBL 683a; cf. BL 605); on  $\text{ʿēdût}/\text{ʿēdôt}$  cf. the investigation by B. Volkwein, *BZ* NS 13 (1969): 18–40.

The PN  $\text{yôʿēd}$  (Neh 11:7) may also be mentioned; Noth (*IP* 162f.) compares Job 16:19 and 19:26 txt em.

Hebr. (and Bibl. Aram.)  $\text{ʿōd}$  is originally a subst. with the meaning “duration, repetition” (cf. Arab.  $\text{ʿaud}$  “repetition”), which developed into the adv. “yet, again.”

In Aram. the root  $\text{šhd}$  represents the concept of testimony; it is attested in Bibl. Aram. only by the abstract  $\text{šāh}^{\text{a}}\text{dû}$  “testimony” (Gen 31:47; KBL 1126a). Hebr.  $\text{šāhēd}$  “witness” (Job 16:19 par.  $\text{ʿēd}$ ) is an Aram. loanword (Wagner no. 295).

One may ask whether 2 Kgs 11:12 = 2 Chron 23:11 involves another *ʿēdūt*, alongside *nēzer* “diadem,” one might expect a noun for “jewelry” (from *ʿdh* “to bejewel oneself”; cf. BL 505). For the many other explanations of this *ʿēdūt* cf. Volkwein, op. cit. 27–31.

It is not easy to decide which meaning of the root provides the basis for the notion of “(being) a witness.” One could envision a basic meaning “to be present” (cf. Lat. *testis* < *tri-stis* “the third party at an event”), or the Arab. meaning “to return,” which would mean “to bring back” in the hi.; *ʿēd* would then be the one who brings an event back (or repeats it) in word; cf. Lat. *referre*; Fr. *rapporter*.

2. The verb occurs a total of 44x: pi. 1x (Psa 119:61), po. 2x (Psa 146:9; 147:6), hitpo. 1x (Psa 20:9), hi. 39x (Jer 8x, Neh 6x, Deut 5x), and ho. 1x (Exod 21:29).

The substs. occur as follows: *ʿēd* 69x (Deut 14x, Prov 11x, Isa 8x [Deutero-Isa 6x], Jer 6x, Josh 5x, Gen 31:44–52 4x), *ʿēdâ* 4x (Gen 21:30; 31:52; Josh 24:27[bis]), *t<sup>e</sup>ʿūdâ* 3x (Isa 8:6, 20; Ruth 4:7), *ʿēdūt* 83x, sg. *ʿēdūt* 46x (defective spelling [27x] occurs only in Exod/Lev/Num; Exod 21x, Num 12x, Psa 7x, Lev and 2 Chron 2x each, Josh and 2 Kgs 1x each, 2x in Sir), pl. *ʿēdōt* (almost always with suf.) 23x, 2x written *plene* (Psa 19x, 14x in Psa 119; Deut 3x; 2 Chron 34:31), *ʿēd<sup>e</sup>wōt* 14x (always with suf.; in Psa 119 8x, also 1 Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 17:15; 23:3; Jer 44:23; Neh 9:34; 1 Chron 29:19). *ʿōd* occurs 490x (Ezek 58x, Gen and Jer 54x each, Isa 48x, 2 Sam 35x, Psa 22x, Job 18x, 1 Sam 17x), and 1x in Bibl. Aram. (Dan 4:28).

The pl. forms *ʿēw<sup>e</sup>dōt* and *ʿēdōt* apparently represent merely variants in the Masoretic tradition and probably have the same meaning (cf. 2 Kgs 23:3 with 2 Chron 34:31; Volkwein, op. cit. 19).

3. The term *ʿēd* is at home in the legal language of the OT. The *ʿēd* appears in both (a) civil matters and (b) criminal proceedings, usually before the assembled judicial forum (after the conquest in the city gate).

(a) In proceedings dealing with family and property law, the judicial forum assumes the function of notary. In ancient times (Ruth 4:7ff.) the participants agreed orally on the purchase or redemption of property, and they confirmed it (→ *qûm* pi.; cf. *qûm* qal for legally binding transferal of property, Gen 23:17–20; Lev 25:30) through the act of removing and transferring a shoe (= a symbolic transferal of property, or a symbolic payment, as E. A. Speiser, *BASOR* 77 [1940]: 15–20, deduced from Nuzi texts?). The act of *t<sup>e</sup>ʿūdâ* “testimony” took place only later. Through it, the participants in the judicial forum, i.e., the elders and residents of the city

assembled in the gate, were charged in the words of the fixed formula *‘ēdīm ʾattem hayyôm*, “you are witnesses today,” with fulfilling their function as notary. With the formula of willingness *‘ēdīm* “(we are) witnesses,” they then declared that the transferal of property had occurred legally and was valid from this day on (*hayyôm*; cf. the similar dating formula in the Akk. juristic texts from Ras Shamra, J. Nougayrol, *PRU* 3:24) and forever (G. M. Tucker, “Witnesses and ‘Dates’ in Israelite Contracts,” *CBQ* 28 [1966]: 42–45), and that they would confirm this transferal later before a court if necessary (I. L. Seeligmann, *FS Baumgartner* 265).

That *qûm* pi. and *ʿūdâ* refer to two different acts is obscured in Ruth 4 by v 8, which disturbs the relationship of *wʿzōʾhattʿūdâ* (v 7) with v 9.

When this oral contract was replaced in later times by a written document, the participants called on witnesses (*‘ūd* hi. *‘ēdīm*, Jer 32:10, 25, 44; cf. Isa 8:2) to sign the bill of sale (→ *sēper* 3b; Jer 32:12). The participants could also engage animals (Gen 21:30) or lifeless things as witnesses through the formula *‘ēd(â) . . . bēnî ûbēnekā* “be a witness between me and you” (e.g., the heap of stones and the pillar in the covenant between Laban and Jacob), so that they could henceforth remind the parties to the contract of their obligation (Gen 31:44, 48, 52; in v 48 with the same *hayyôm* as in Ruth 4:9). In a similar manner, an altar functions as *‘ēd* between the eastern and western tribes of Israel, reminding the descendants of the Reubenites and Gadites that Yahweh is also the God of the tribes east of the Jordan (Josh 22:27f., 34).

(b) In ancient Israel, where prosecution of crimes by the state was unknown, charges could be brought before the court either by the injured party (Deut 22:14; cf. 1 Kgs 3:17–21)—if possible with the support of witnesses—or by the *‘ēd*, i.e., by the one who saw or heard the crime (Lev 5:1; *‘ūd* hi. in 1 Kgs 21:10, 13; H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT* [1964], 18–20; F. Horst, *RGG* 2:1429). The witness before the court is almost always the one who brings charges or corroborates the testimony of the victim (Seeligmann, *op. cit.* 262f.; cf. A. B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel* [1908], 1:345). This situation is clear in the regulations concerning proceedings against an adulterous wife, Num 5:13, where “there is no witness against her” parallels “she was not caught in the act.”

The ninth (eighth) commandment of the Decalogue also has the concrete juristic meaning: “you shall not testify against (*nh bʿ*) your neighbor as a false witness/accuser (*‘ēd šeqer*, Exod 20:16; *‘ēd* → *šāwʿ*, Deut 5:20)” (cf. Prov 25:18). Such a false prosecution witness is called *‘ēd*

*šeqer* (Exod 20:16; Deut 19:18; Psa 27:12; Prov 6:19; 14:5; 25:18), *ʿēd šēqārîm* (Prov 12:17; 19:5, 9), or *ʿēd kēzābîm* (21:28; → *kzb*). Par. terms are *yāpîaḥ kēzābîm* “lying witness” (Prov 6:19; 14:5, 25; 19:5, 9) and *yēpēaḥ ḥāmās* (Psa 27:12; on *yāpîḥ* “witness” after Ug. *yph* see → *kzb* 3a, c, although in Prov 14:5 *yāpîḥ* fits better as a verb than *yēkazzēb*). Antonyms are *ʿēd ʾemet* (Prov 14:25), *ʿēd ʾemûnîm* (14:5), or *yāpîḥ ʾemûnâ* (12:17) “true, dependable witness.” The descriptions of the accuser/ witness as *ʿēd bēlîyaʿal* “worthless witness,” a witness whose accusations are intended to be not useful but destructive and who therefore mocks justice (Prov 19:28 par. *rēšāʿîm* “evildoer”; cf. the *bēnē bēlîyaʿal*, 1 Kgs 21:10ff., who testify against Naboth), or *ʿēd ḥāmās*, a witness who intends the violent death of the accused (Exod 23:1; Deut 19:16; Psa 35:11; Prov 24:28 txt em following LXX; cf. Psa 27:12), seem to refer to the possible consequences of such a false witness. False accusations as attempts at murder were apparently such a widespread evil in Israelite society (cf. Jer 18:18; 20:10; Psa 37:32f.; Seeligmann, op. cit. 263f.) that apodictic law sought to avert it by prohibiting assistance to an evildoer as *ʿēd ḥāmās* (Exod 23:1); wisdom seekers did so by referring to the retribution that must follow such a murder attempt: the false *ʿēd* will suffer the very punishment intended for the accused (cf. Deut 19:19f.); such a one will not go unpunished (Prov 19:5) but will die (21:18; cf. 19:9). The later ruling that evidence for the prosecution in capital cases (such as homicide and idolatry) is valid only if given not by one but by two or three witnesses (Num 35:30; Deut 17:6; 19:15) may have had the same objective of checking this evil (Seeligmann, op. cit. 264; Boecker, op. cit. 50, 72), just as the Code of Hammurapi contains relevant penalties for false accusations and false testimony (§§1–4). In ancient Israelite law, which did not strictly distinguish the various legal functions, the *ʿēd* whose testimony proved true could also participate as a judge in reaching the verdict (cf. 4b) and assist in executing the death sentence (Deut 17:7).

Notably, *ʿēd* does not occur in the OT in reference to a (human) witness for the defense. This phenomenon need not mean, however, that there were never defense witnesses in Israelite law. In any case, *ʿūd hi* in Job 29:11 probably means “to give good testimony” (cf. also the defenders in Jer 26:17–19; Boecker, op. cit. 95f.), and *ʿēd* in Exod 22:12 has the sense of “evidence for the defense”; here it is the animal torn (by a predatory animal) that the herdsman must bring the owner in order to show that he has not abducted the animal himself.

4. (a) Because the ancient Near East considered law to be an expression of the will of the gods and Israel considered it an expression of Yahweh’s will, the ordinances that discuss the profane *ʿēd* naturally have a

theological basis too. This background applies explicitly to the prohibition against bringing charges as an *‘ēd šeqer*, a prohibition that appears even in the Decalogue, i.e., in Yahweh’s apodictic commandments (Exod 20:16; cf. 23:1; Deut 5:20); cf. Prov 6:19, which includes the same crime among the things Yahweh hates and finds abhorrent (*tô‘ēbâ*, → *t‘b*). The decree that a single witness is insufficient for a capital judgment (Num 35:30) is also expressly attributed to a word of Yahweh (Num 30:9). That the witnesses can bring about the death of an idolater (Deut 17:2–7) also clearly demonstrates the religious significance of the role.

(b) Just as one could produce people or lifeless things in witness of a contract (see 3a), one could also—through a similar formula—describe God as a witness. The agreement between Laban and Jacob concludes with the statement: “God is a witness between me and you” (Gen 31:50; cf. vv 44, 48). Mal 2:14 alludes to a marriage (a family law contract) to which Yahweh was a witness. After the assembled people had ceremoniously confirmed Samuel’s lawful administration in 1 Sam 12:3–5, he called upon Yahweh and his anointed to witness this confirmation: “Yahweh is *‘ēd* against you and his anointed is *‘ēd* today, that you found nothing in my hand.” The formula reflects the fixed charge to the witnesses (*‘ēdīm ’attem*) and the temporal declaration of validity (*hayyôm*) from Ruth 4:9ff. (see 3a), just as the affirmative response of the people (*‘ēd*) corresponds to the declaration of willingness (*‘ēdīm*) in Ruth. Since Yahweh is called as a witness in this manner, the confirmation of Samuel’s administration pronounced by the people cannot be revoked (Boecker, op. cit. 161f.), no more than when Yahweh as a faithful “witness in the clouds” guarantees his own promise to the Davidic dynasty (Psa 89:38).

Conversely, on three occasions in the prophetic oracles in Deutero-Isa, Yahweh challenges the exiled Israelites as witnesses to confirm his claim to be the sole God who has proclaimed and effected Israel’s deliverance (Isa 43:10, 12; 44:8). Through the words *’attem ‘ēday* “you are my witnesses,” which allude to the familiar charge formula of Israelite law, Yahweh reminds them of his words and deeds that the exiled Judeans witnessed and that they can consequently confirm to the nations (cf. David as “witness for the nations” in Isa 55:4 [cf. J. H. Eaton, *ASTI* 7 (1968/69): 25–40], and the altar and pillar as *‘ēd* for Yahweh in Egypt, Isa 19:20), who cannot produce such witnesses of the might of their gods (Isa 43:9; 44:9).

The charge to bear witness and the declaration of willingness also appear in the covenant ceremony in Josh 24, even though in an altered form; with the words “you are witnesses against yourselves” (Josh 24:22) Joshua charges one party, Israel, to be witness to its own promise to serve only Yahweh, so that, in the event of unfaithfulness to its promise, Israel must bear witness against itself. This function (“against Israel”) also applies

to the stone that Joshua set up as *‘ēdā* “witness” against the Israelites so that they would not deny their God (24:27), to the song (Deut 31:19, 21), and to the book of the Torah placed beside the ark (v 26), both of which Yahweh commissioned as “witnesses” against the Israelites in the future when they would reject Yahweh and serve other gods. The emphasis lies here on the future accusatory function of these witnesses: they must appear like the “heaven and earth” in Deut 31:28 (see 4c) as prosecution witnesses in a criminal trial (cf. 3b). Job also knows of such witnesses for the prosecution that God introduces against him (Job 10:17); indeed, he perceives his suffering as a witness (16:8) that brings charges against him in his legal dispute with God, although he simultaneously places hope in the same God, the “witness in heaven,” as his defense witness (16:19). Prophetic literature occasionally portrays Yahweh himself as witness/plaintiff in a criminal trial. In a message formulated with legal terms, in which Yahweh simultaneously accuses as a witness (Jer 29:23) and passes judgment as judge (v 21; see 3b), he declares as *‘ēd* that he knows about the shameful deeds (adultery and false prophecy) that the false prophets have practiced. The same combination of witness/plaintiff and judge occurs in Micah’s (1:2–7) proclamation of Yahweh’s judgment against Israel’s sin and in the Yahweh oracle in Mal 3:5, where, as a “swift witness,” he brings charges against magicians, adulterers, perjurers, oppressors of the weak, and all those who do not fear him.

(c) The verb *‘ūd* hi. occurs 3x (in addition to Mal 2:14, where Yahweh “is witness”; see 4b) in the sense that Moses “calls heaven and earth as witnesses” against Israel (or the elders, Deut 31:28) in order to assert to the Israelites that they will be eradicated if they provoke Yahweh with their idolatry (4:26; 31:28) and in order to exhort them to choose life rather than death (30:19). This call for two witnesses may stem from the time when at least two witnesses before the court had become a requirement (Seeligmann, *op. cit.* 266; contra M. Delcor, *VT* 16 [1966]: 8–25, who sees the influence of old extrabibl. covenant formulae here) and goes back to the practice of calling on Yahweh himself to witness an agreement (Gen 31:50; Jer 42:5 “may Yahweh be a true and certain witness against us”). The assertion of God’s testimony functions either as a conditional self-curse in which the partner speaking invokes God’s punishment upon oneself in the event that one does not keep the agreement (as in the oath, e.g., Gen 31:53b) or as a threat of God’s punishment upon the other in the event of unfaithfulness (Gen 31:50). From this invocation of God as witness as a threat of punishment, *‘ūd* hi. may have then developed the more general meaning “to warn” or “to exhort” (Gen 43:3; Exod 19:21; Deut 8:19; 32:46; 1 Sam 8:9; 1 Kgs 2:42; Jer 6:10; 42:19; Amos 3:13; Zech 3:6; Neh 9:26; 13:15, 21; 2 Chron 24:19; ho. “to be warned,” Exod 21:29). From the notion

of the self-imposed curse, *ʿûd hi.* could also be attenuated to an exhortative affirmation (Lam 2:13; cf. Kraus, BK 20, 33, who proceeds, however, from a *hi.* meaning “to repeat words”; cf. KBL 686a). When the original meaning of *ʿûd hi.* was no longer known, it also came to be used with God as the subj. of the warning (Exod 19:23; 2 Kgs 17:13, 15; Jer 11:7; Psa 50:7; 81:9; Neh 9:29f., 34; cf. Seeligmann, op. cit. 265f.).

(d) In the vast majority of texts, the noun *ʿēdūt*, usually translated “testimony” but often also “law,” etc. (cf. Volkwein, op. cit. 19f.), describes the content of the ark according to the priestly tradition: Yahweh commissioned Moses to place the *ʿēdūt* that he would give him in the ark (Exod 25:16, 21; cf. 40:20). According to Exod 31:7, Bezalel and Oholiab were to make the ark for the *ʿēdūt*. Consequently, the ark is called the *ʾrôn hāʿēdūt* (25:22; 26:33f.; 30:6, 26; 39:35; 40:3, 5, 21; Num 4:5; 7:89; Josh 4:16), the mobile sanctuary in which the ark was located, the *miškan hāʿēdūt* (Exod 38:21; Num 1:50, 53; 10:11) or the *ʾohel hāʿēdūt* (Num 9:15; 17:22f.; 18:2; 2 Chron 24:6). Moreover, Aaron should place a jar of manna (Exod 16:34), Moses’ incense burner (Exod 30:36), and Aaron’s staff (Num 17:19, 25) “before the *ʿēdūt*”; the cover plate that lay over the *ʿēdūt* (Exod 30:6; Lev 16:13) or on the ark (Num 7:89), and the curtain located above the *ʿēdūt* (Exod 27:21; cf. Lev 24:3) or before the ark (Exod 30:6) are mentioned. Although these passages and the superscriptions to Psa 60 and 80 give little indication what *ʿēdūt* signifies, Exod 31:18 (cf. 32:15; 34:29), according to which Yahweh presented the two stone *lūḥōt* (“tablets”) *hāʿēdūt*, written with the finger of God, to Moses, at least makes clear that the term refers to written texts. The expression recalls *lūḥōt habbʿrît* in Deut 9:9, 15, which apparently refers to the same things (cf. *ʾrôn bʿrît* instead of *ʾrôn hāʿēdūt*, e.g., Num 10:33; Deut 10:8; 1 Sam 4:3), namely—according to Deut 10:4 and Exod 34:28—the Decalogue, i.e., a reminder both of Yahweh’s saving acts and esp. of the obligation that he placed on Israel (→ *bʿrît* IV/4).

The term → *tôrâ*, which parallels *ʿēdūt* in Psa 19:8 and 78:5 (cf. *tʿûdâ* par. *tôrâ* in Isa 8:16, 20), points in the same direction. It is guidance with a view to Yahweh’s saving deeds and will, although the emphasis in later times lay upon the law, the expression of Yahweh’s will. *ʿēdūt* may have involved the background notion that the *tôrâ*, particularly the Decalogue, functioned for Israel as a “witness” or “testimony” of God’s saving activity (Exod 20:2; cf. Psa 81:7f., 11) and, esp., of his will (Exod 20:3ff.; cf. Psa 81:10). Volkwein (op. cit. 38f.) concludes otherwise: that *ʿēdūt* is simply an alternative for *ʿēdōt* (see below), although *ʿēdūt* clearly occurs in Sir with the meaning “witness” in reference to a person’s behavior (Sir 34:23f. [=

LXX 31:23f.]) and in the meaning “testimony” of God in reference to his creation of Israel (Sir 36:15 [LXX 14]).

The pl. *‘ēdōt* (or *‘ēd<sup>e</sup>wōt*, see 2) almost always occurs with a suf. and always refers to Yahweh’s *‘ēdōt*. The word occasionally parallels the term *b<sup>e</sup>rīt* (2 Kgs 17:15 in the series *ḥuqqîm/b<sup>e</sup>rīt/‘ēd<sup>e</sup>wōt*, in Psa 132:12 *b<sup>e</sup>rīt* is the obligation Yahweh placed on the Israelites that they should “keep” [*šmr*]; cf. Psa 25:10 “all of Yahweh’s ways are grace and faithfulness to those who keep [*nšr*] his *b<sup>e</sup>rīt* and his *‘ēdōt*”; cf. 119:2). Psa 78:56; 93:5; 119:2, 79, 119, 129 exhibit no direct par. terms. In every other case, *‘ēdōt* accompanies or parallels *ḥuqqîm* (→ *ḥqq*, in 99:7 par. sg. *ḥôq* “statute,” and *‘ēdūt* in 81:5f. par. *ḥôq* and *mišpāt*), *mišpāṭîm* (→ *špt*), *mišwôt* (→ *šwh*), and *piqqûdîm* (→ *pqd*), all words that refer to Yahweh’s statutes, laws, commandments, and ordinances, so that a similar meaning can be assumed for *‘ēdōt*. Yahweh himself “commanded” (*šwh* pi., Deut 6:17, 20) the *‘ēdōt*, etc., proclaimed by Moses to the Israelites (Deut 4:45; in Deut 5 applied to the Decalogue; cf. N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot* [1963], 57f.; G. Braulik, *Bib* 51 [1970]: 63f.); consequently, the Israelites should “keep” (*šmr*) them. This obligation applies to the entire people (Deut 6:17; 2 Kgs 23:3), esp. to the leaders (Psa 99:7) and the king (Solomon: 1 Kgs 2:3; 1 Chron 29:19; Josiah: 2 Kgs 23:3; 2 Chron 34:31). But the Israelites were repeatedly faithless; they did not heed Yahweh’s *‘ēdōt* (*qšb* hi. *ʔel*, Neh 9:34), they did not walk in his *‘ēdōt* (*hlk be*, Jer 44:23), they did not keep them (*šmr*, Psa 78:56); instead they disregarded them (*mʔs*, 2 Kgs 17:15). The pious poet of Psa 119 has not strayed (*nṯh*, v 157), however, from the eternally established (v 152) *‘ēdōt* of Yahweh; the poet has kept them (*nšr*, v 22; *šmr*, v 167), loved them (*ʔhb*, vv 119, 167), held fast to them (*dbq be*, v 31), rejoiced (*šûs*, v 14) in their path; the poet pays attention to them (*bîn*, hitpo., v 95) and directs his steps by them (v 59). He even wants to speak of them before kings (v 46), for they are eternally just (v 144; cf. v 138), they are his pious thoughts (v 99), his delight (v 24); they are a wonder to him (v 129), a joyous, eternal heritage (v 111). He is aware of his dependence on Yahweh to keep the *‘ēdōt* (v 146) and petitions that Yahweh will incline his heart to the *‘ēdōt* (v 36) so that he may understand them (v 125; cf. v 79).

The pl. *‘ēdōt* is now usually associated with the Akk. plurale tantum (invariable pl.) *ad*, attested only in the Neo-Assyr. and the Neo-Bab. periods, as “a type of formal agreement” (*CAD* A/I:131; Volkwein, op. cit. 32ff.). According to *CAD* A/I:133, the word occurs only in contracts between a superior (god, king, member of the royal family) and his subordinates (slaves, subjects) and, according to R. Frankena (*OTS* 14

[1965]: 134) is a technical term for a vassal treaty; according to D. J. Wiseman (*Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon* [1958], 3, 81) *ad* means “terms of a treaty” or more precisely “terms of a law or commandment to which a sovereign ceremoniously subjects a vassal or a people in the presence of divine witnesses.” In the Old Aram. Sef. inscriptions (ca. 750 BCE), the pl. *ʿdn/ʿdy/ʿdy* occurs over 30x in the same meaning as the Akk. *ad* (*DISO* 203f.; Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 23f.; Volkwein, op. cit. 34–37).

Both the OT par. terms and the extrabibl. occurrences argue for the meaning “legal conditions” (more likely than “covenant terms,” so Volkwein, op. cit. 39f., because “covenant” presumes a reciprocal agreement, while *adé/ʿdy/ʿedōt* places all the emphasis on conditions imposed by the suzerain or the god, conditions that the partner must only accept and follow). The designation of such conditions with the root *ʿwd* may be explained in terms of the appeal to divine witnesses that occurred during the imposition of the conditions; because this background was later forgotten, *ʿedōt* itself could also be used of the conditions imposed by God himself (cf. *ʿūd* hi. 4c).

5. Sir uses the verb *ʿūd* hi. in the meanings “to call (God) as a witness” (46:19; cf. *ʿed* 1 Sam 12:5) and “to admonish” (Sir 4:11 par. *lmd* pi. “to teach”) and uses both *ʿedūt* “testimony” (see 4d) and *ʿedōt* (par. *ḥuqqîm* and *mišpāṭîm*) for God’s ordinances that Moses must teach Jacob (45:5).

In the Qumran literature, *ʿūd* hitpo. appears in the meaning “to become upright” (1QH 4:22, 36) and *ʿūd* hi. in the meaning “to bear witness (to the statutes of the *tôrâ*)” (1QSa 1:11) or “to testify against” (CD 19:30; in 9:20 in an incriminating sense; see below).

As in the OT, *ʿed* in the Qumran literature means “prosecution witness, accuser.” Here too condemnation for serious crimes requires two credible witnesses (hi. ptcp. of *ʿūd* in CD 9:20), whereas a single witness suffices in property cases, although the testimony of two witnesses is preferred (CD 9:22f.). In capital cases, the witness must also be a full member of the community (CD 10:1–3). Moreover, the *ʿedîm* reprimand a guilty person before the matter is brought before “the many” (1QS 6:1; CD 9:3); the members of the community are “witnesses of the truth for the court . . . in order to atone for the land” (1QS 8:6). The pl. *ʿedōt* occurs in the same meaning as in the OT (1Q22 2:1; CD 3:15; 20:31).

*t<sup>e</sup>ʿūdâ* occurs much more often than in the OT. The meaning is not always clear: in 1QSa 1:25 it probably means the “convocation” of the assembly of the people; in 1QSa 1:26, the “call-up” to war (cf. 1QM 4:5; pl. 1QM 2:8; 3:4), in 1QM 15:1 (a defective text), the “declaration (of war)” among all the nations. In 1QM 11:8 the prophets are

called “seers of the divine revelations (?)”; in 1QH 6:19 the pious at Qumran are “those bound to my (God’s) testimony.” In 1QM 13:8 “the testimonies of your majesty” probably refers to God’s saving acts (cf. 1QM 14:4f.). *t<sup>e</sup>‘ûdâ* occasionally has the meaning “conditions,” e.g., 1QH 1:19 “you have established their conditions” (cf. the pl. in 1QS 3:16) and perhaps in those passages that speak of the festival and cultic times determined by God (1QS 1:9; 3:10; 1QM 14:13; 4QMa 11; cf. 1QH 12:9). The meaning is difficult to ascertain in the fragmentary texts 1QH 2:37; frg. 59:3; cf. 5:11; 1Q36 1:2. Cf. also B. Dombrowski, *RQ* 28 (1971): 567–74.

Early Judaism uses *‘ēd* either in the sense of “witness” or of “evidence,” in a specialized sense for the piece of cloth women used to determine their cleanness or uncleanness (Jastrow 1042f.). *‘ēdût* also signifies “witness” or “evidence” (Jastrow 1043). As in the OT, *m. (Pirqe) }Abot* 4:22 describes God (see 4b) as both judge and *‘ēd* “accuser/witness,” but now in the context of the judgment beyond.

The LXX almost always translates the word group with *martyrs*, *martyrion*, etc. On the LXX and on the usage in the NT, see H. Strathmann, “μάρτυς,” *TDNT* 4:474–514.

C. van Leeuwen

## נָצַח *‘ûz* to seek refuge

S 5756; BDB 731b; *HALOT* 2:797a; *ThWAT* 5:1130; *TWOT* 1578; *NIDOTTE* 6395

1. The verb, which occurs a total of 5x in the OT (1x qal; 4x hi. “to shelter, bring to safety”; cf. the unique ni. form in 1QH 6:25), is also not significantly represented in the other Sem. languages. So far, it has been identified only in Arab.: *‘āda* “to seek the protection (of someone), take refuge” (Wehr 655b). On account of the phonetic and semantic proximity to the root → *‘zz* “to be strong,” derivatives of *‘ûz* are disputed (the possibility of a denomination of the verb should be kept in mind). At issue are: (a) *mā‘ôz* “refuge, place of refuge” (contra KBL 545a, which thinks it is more likely from *‘zz*); comparable are Arab. *ma‘ād* (Wehr 656a) and Phoen. *m‘z* “refuge” (*KAI* no. 42.1, “Anat, refuge of the living”; yet cf. *DISO* 205); (b) *‘ôz* “refuge, protection” (so KBL 693a in contrast to GB, Zorell, and most commentators); in Ug. *‘d* IV “protection” may be a par. (*WUS* no. 2000). The PN *ma‘azyâ(hû)* “Yahweh is a refuge” (cf. *IP* 157) occurs only in the late texts Neh 10:9; 1 Chron 24:18; cf. the PNs *m‘wzy*, *m‘wzyh*, and *m‘zyh* from Elephantine (Cowley 297b; *BMAP* 306b).

2. Given the limited number of occurrences, little more can be said concerning distribution and precise meaning. The sole qal inf. cs. in Isa 30:2 can only suggest the pre-exilic usage of the word (“to flee to someone”; par. → *ḥsh b<sup>e</sup>*). Gunkel’s cj. regarding Psa 52:9 (H. Gunkel, *Psa* [19264], 231) is not helpful. The hi. forms occur without exception in judgment sayings or curses (Exod 9:19; Isa 10:31; Jer 4:6; 6:1; cf. R. Bach, *Die Aufforderungen zur Flucht und zum Kampf im atl. Prophetenspruch* [1962], 20f.); the Jer passages are a type of alarm cry (cf. also Exod 9:19) “save yourselves,” nestled in descriptions of war and curse (→ *nûs* “to flee”). These occurrences suggest a genre-specific and milieu-oriented usage for the hi., as far as can be determined.

The noms. are more frequently but unevenly represented: *māʿôz* 36x, *ʿôz* II according to KBL 693a (apart from conjectures) 14x (Isa 12:2; 49:5; Jer 16:19; Psa 21:2; 28:7f.; 29:11; 46:2; 59:17f.; 62:8; 68:35; 81:2; 118:14).

Even if one, or both, of the forms trace etymologically to *ʿzz* (on Exod 15:2 cf. also C. Rabin, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8 [1961]: 387; contra S. E. Loewenstamm, *VT* 19 [1969]: 464–70; → *ʿzz*), intentional semantic echoes of *ʿûz* are perceptible in OT usage: for *māʿôz* cf. Isa 25:4; 30:2f.; Joel 4:16; the par. *maḥseh* (→ *ḥsh*) speaks for itself, and in *šûr māʿôz* “rock that offers refuge” (Isa 17:10), *māʿôz* is likewise the goal of refuge. In other contexts the semantic component “strong, mighty” (place of refuge) may also be involved. With regard to *ʿôz* II, cf. Gunkel, op. cit. 87 (on Psa 21:2); similarly, Dahood (*Psa*, ABC, 1:50) postulates the meaning “fortress, stronghold” for Psa 8:3 (thus also: “place of refuge” and not abstractly “might”; cf. L. Wächter, *ZAW* 78 [1966]: 65), without appealing to *ʿûz*.

Both words are distributed rather unequally in the OT. The early narratives and the legal collections rarely use it. In contrast, an astonishing concentration of the noms. in cultic-liturgical and prophetic texts may be observed. The word *māʿôz* appears 10x in Isa, 9x in the Psa. Together with 2 Sam 22:33; Jer 16:19; Ezek 24:25; 30:15; Joel 4:16; Nah 1:7; 3:11, then, a total of 26 out of 36 passages (incl. also the fixed expressions in Dan 11) are cultic-liturgical or prophetic in nature (the latter group principally includes 7 judgment sayings in Isa). The situation is similar for *ʿôz* II: all 14 passages are cultically-liturgically influenced.

3. The semantic development of the noms. may be traced with a degree of certainty: Judg 6:26 envisions an “eminence” for the construction of the altar that “offers shelter to the fugitive” (*rōʾš hammāʿôz*, cf. → *šûr māʿôz*, Isa 17:10; Psa 31:3). The basic meaning “place of refuge” recurs in every instance, even if the “place of shelter” is rendered more specific in nature by context, discourse level, and speech genre. It is “city of refuge” (Isa 17:9) and “temple” (Ezek 24:25 according to the par. in v 21; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:507f.); as protection for the head it means “helmet” (Psa

60:9); then, it can be applied to the person who offers shelter (Isa 25:4; 27:5 with *ḥzq* hi. “to seize”; 30:2f.) or in the spiritual-ethical sense it can mean “a sure norm for living” (Prov 10:29), or “security in the events of the feast day” (Neh 8:10). The materially and phonetically (<sup>zz</sup>) proximate notion of “strength” played an increasing role, so that in the end *māʿōz* became, among other things, a technical term for “(refuge tower →) fortress” (Isa 23:11, 14; Ezek 30:15; Dan 11).

Par. expressions are e.g., *mišgāb* “height, fortress, refuge” (17x in the OT, 13x in Psa; except for Isa 25:12; 33:16; Jer 48:1, always of God; also *šgb* pi. “to shelter,” 6x, always with God as subj.), *mānōs* (→ *nūs*), *maḥseh* (→ *ḥsh*), *m<sup>c</sup>šûdâ* “mountain fort” (18x, 2 Sam 22:2 = Psa 18:3; Psa 31:3f.; 66:11 txt?; 71:3; 91:2; 144:2 of God in a fig. sense; *m<sup>c</sup>šād* [11x] and *māšôd* [Ecc 9:14] are used only concretely), and in a broader sense also *māgēn* “shield” (59x in the OT, about 20x of God; also *gnn* “to protect,” 8x, always with a divine subj.) and *šēl* “shadow” (53x, of God Isa 49:2; 51:16; Hos 14:8; Psa 17:8; 36:8; 57:2; 63:8; 91:1; 121:5; cf. also the PN *b<sup>c</sup>šalʿēl* “in the shadow [= protection] of God”; see *IP* 32, 152).

*ōz* II can serve in this context as a synonym for *māʿōz* (cf. Jer 16:19; Psa 62:8); the semantic distinction from *ōz* I “strength” is not always clear, however.

4. Like the noun *maḥseh*, both *māʿōz* and *ōz* II occur in confidence and confession formulae: “you are my refuge” appears in prayers to Yahweh (Psa 31:5; cf. 43:2; Isa 25:4; with only *ōz* II, Psa 59:18). Various expressions in the 3d per. correspond to expressions in hymnic language: “Yahweh (God) is my/our/your refuge, etc.” (2 Sam 22:33; Jer 16:19; Joel 4:16; Psa 27:1; 28:8; 37:39; with *ōz* alone: Psa 28:7; 46:2; 62:8; Isa 49:5). The formula “my shelter and (my) song is Yahweh,” which occurs 3x (Exod 15:2; Isa 12:2; Psa 118:14; cf. S. E. Loewenstamm, *VT* 19 [1969]: 464–70), deserves special attention. On the whole complex of questions concerning the statement of confidence, cf. Gunkel-Begrich 233ff., etc.; P. Hugger, *Jahwe, meine Zuflucht* (1971). Because the prophetic (cf. Jer 16:19; Nah 1:7, etc.) and the wisdom (cf. Prov 10:29; Psa 52:9) usages take the cultic-liturgical meaning of these two words as their point of departure, one can regard this usage as a decisive further development of the sense treated in section 3.

5. The LXX uses a rich palette of words to render *māʿōz* and *ōz*. They may be divided into two groups: those meaning “power, might” (e.g., *ischys* renders *māʿōz* 16x, *ōz* 28x; W. Grundmann, *TDNT* 3:397), and those meaning “shelter, place of refuge” (cf. derivatives of *boēthein* “to help,” Isa 30:2; Jer 16:19; Psa 52:9, and the frequent translation *hyperaspistēs* “helper,” Psa 27:1; 28:8; 31:3, 5; 37:39). In the NT, this pair of

words plays only a limited role because liturgical texts are only sporadically preserved.

E. Gerstenberger

## עָוָל *āwel* perversity

S 5766; BDB 732a; HALOT 2:797b; ThWAT 5:1135–44; TWOT 1580a; NIDOTTE 6404

1. The root occurs outside the OT only in later Sem. texts (Mid. Hebr., Jew. Aram., Syr., Arab. [*ʿwl* “to deviate”], and Eth. [*ʿlw* “to ruin”]).

The OT exhibits the masc. and fem. segholates *āwel* and *awlâ* “incorrectness, injustice, perversity” (BL 583, 601; on the by-forms *awlâtâ* and *ôlâtâ* and the metathesis of *alwâ* in Hos 10:9, cf. BL 528, 604; Meyer 1:100; 2:23), the denominative *wl* pi. “to act unjustly,” and the noun of agency *awwâl* “unrighteous one” (BL 479).

2. *āwel* occurs 21x (Ezek 10x, Psa 3x), *awlâ* 33x (incl. *alwâ*, Hos 10:9; excl. Isa 61:8 txt em; Job 10x, Psa 9x, the other books under 3x), *wl* pi. 2x (Isa 26:10; Psa 71:4), and *awwâl* 5x (Job 4x, Zeph 1x). Of a total of 61 instances of the root, 40 appear in three books: Job (16x), Psa (13x), and Ezek (11x); the remainder are dispersed in prophetic and legal texts (in addition to 2 Sam and Prov 2x each). Eleven occurrences are from the pre-exilic period, 6 of *āwel* (Lev 19:15, 35; Deut 25:16; 32:4; Jer 2:5; Psa 82:2) and 5 of *awlâ* (2 Sam 3:34; Hos 10:9; Mic 3:10; Psa 43:1; 89:23). The two noms. represent, then, not just the only pre-exilic occurrences but also the major portion of the root, 54 of 61 instances.

3. (a) *āwel/awlâ* have their oldest and most precise usage in the context of social law.

The prominent fixed phrase → *šh āwel/awlâ* “to do injustice (etc.)” refers to a concrete, juristically definable act (cf. Lev 19:15, 35; Deut 25:16; Ezek 3:20; 18:24; 33:13, 15, 18; Zeph 3:13; Psa 7:4; 37:1). Only later were the noms. associated with *pʿl* “to do” (Psa 58:3; 119:3; Job 34:32; 36:23), → *tʿb hi*. “to act abominably” (Psa 53:2), and then with expressions for speaking (cf. Isa 59:3; Mal 2:6; Psa 107:42; Job 5:16; 6:30; 13:7; 27:4). According to Ezek 18:8; Psa 7:4; 125:3, the “hand” commits *āwel*.

The deed can be committed in a legal proceeding, either by the judge (Lev 19:15) or by the accuser (Psa 71:4; Job 5:16; 6:29; 13:7; 27:4), or it can result in a judicial verdict. In this context, one should note the rich legal

terminology accompanying the term.

Related concepts are: *ʿnh pi* “to oppress” (2 Sam 7:10), *rāšāʿ/rešaʿ* “guilty person, guilt” (Isa 26:10; Ezek 18:24; 33:12f., 15, 18f.; Psa 125:3; Job 27:7; 34:10), *pešaʿ* “transgression” (Ezek 33:12f.), *ḥāmās* “violent act” (Ezek 28:15f.; Psa 58:3), *dām* “bloodguilt” (Mic 3:10; Hab 2:12), *ḥms qal* “to oppress” (Psa 71:4), *mirmâ* “deceit” (Psa 43:1), *kāzāb* “lie” (Zeph 3:13), and *rʿmīyâ* “deception” (Job 13:7); cf. also *ʿāwôn* (Ezek 28:18), → *ʾāwen* (Job 11:14; 31:3; Prov 22:8), → *nābāl* (2 Sam 3:33f.; Psa 53:2).

Contrasting terms are: *ṣedeq/ṣʿdāqâ* “social faithfulness, righteousness” (Lev 19:15, 35f.; Isa 26:10; 59:3f.; Ezek 3:20; 18:8f., 24; 33:12f., 15f.; Job 6:29), *ṣaddīq* “righteous person, socially faithful person” (Deut 32:4; Ezek 3:20; 18:24, 26; 33:13; Zeph 3:5; Psa 125:3; Prov 29:27), *ʿmûnâ* “dependability, uprightness” (Deut 32:4; Isa 59:3f.), *yāšār* “straight” (Deut 32:4; Psa 107:42), *mišpāt* “law, judgment” (Deut 32:4; Ezek 33:14f.; Zeph 3:5), *špṭ* “to judge” (Mic 3:11; Psa 43:1; 82:2), and *nākôaḥ* “straight, right” (Isa 26:10); cf. passages with concentrated terminology, e.g., Isa 59:2ff.; Hos 10:13; Mic 3:9ff. *ʿawlâ* probably retains its legal character even when committed “in tents” (Job 11:14; 22:23; cf. 18:21).

As has been said, the word is situated primarily in legislation (Lev 19:15, 35; Deut 25:16; Ezek 3:20; 18:8, 24, 26; 28:18; 33:13, 15, 18) and from this origin also appears in legally based prophetic accusations (Isa 26:10; 59:3; Ezek 28:15; Hos 10:9, 13; Mic 3:10; Hab 2:12) or in forms of the declaration of innocence (Deut 32:4; Mal 2:6; Psa 7:4; 43:1; 71:4; Job 34:32; cf. also Zeph 3:5).

In poetic texts, then, the generalized expressions *bʿnê ʿawlâ* (2 Sam 3:34; 7:10; Hos 10:9; Psa 89:23; 1 Chron 17:9) or *ʾiṣ ʿawlâ* (Psa 43:1; Prov 29:27) occur first, and finally later the adj. *ʿawwāl* (Zeph 3:5; Job 18:21; 27:7; 29:17; 31:3). In cases where the nature of the transgression is more nearly perceptible, it consistently involves crimes of a social, property, or commercial nature (cf. Lev 19:15, 35; Deut 25:16; Isa 59:3; all Ezek passages, e.g., Ezek 28:15: commerce; Mic 3:10 and Hab 2:12: blood; Psa 71:4).

The legal character of the term does not conflict with the fact that it appears occasionally in the realm of the concept of deed-consequence (cf. 2 Sam 3:34; Hos 10:13; Ezek 18:24; 33:12f.; Psa 37:1f.; 125:3; Job 18:21; 22:23; 27:7; 31:3; Prov 22:8). A legal proceeding can be the realization of a deed-consequence process.

(b) The basic meaning of the term is usually rendered “injustice, unrighteousness, perversity, crime.” The translation “injustice, unrighteousness” overemphasizes the root’s relationship to legal categories, while “crime” is too general. The basic meaning apparently goes back to an objective category, that of the *in-correct*, which is then complemented by the legal component of the *il-legal*. *ʿwl* would then be a

term for “to behave incorrectly” or “to pervert, falsify.”

This concept seems to be contained in Lev 19:35f. and Deut 25:15f., where the contrasting terms *šedeq* and *‘āwel* refer only secondarily (i.e., in the context of *mišpāt*) to the juristically correct; they refer primarily to the matter described, “correct” and “false” measures. In Lev 19:15 *‘āwel* has a dual meaning: incorrect judgment of the humble and the powerful in the court is simultaneously an illegal judgment. According to Ezek 18:8 *‘āwel* is confronted by *mišpāt* <sup>‘emet</sup> “a true verdict.” According to 28:15f. perversity in commercial conduct causes failure; cf. also Zeph 3:5, 13; Psa 7:4; 71:4; 82:2; Job 5:16; 6:29f.; 27:4. The deed-oriented translation “to pervert, falsify; perversion, counterfeit; perversity, falsity; false” may be used generally. It may therefore represent the basic meaning, while “to behave unjustly,” etc. may be a fig. meaning whose usage depends on the given context.

Actual usage does not distinguish between *‘āwel* and *‘awlā*.

4. *‘wl* always has theological significance in the OT. This circumstance is expressed, first, by the fact that terms appear in the context of the law of Yahweh (Lev, Deut, Ezek), prophetic proclamation, prayers to Yahweh (Psa), or disputes concerning Yahweh’s righteousness (Job). The way Yahweh understands a “falsification, injustice” depends entirely on the circumstances presumed in the context. Moreover, a number of texts make direct statements concerning Yahweh’s attitude toward doers of *‘āwel*. If Yahweh delivers the humble, “the weak can have hope, but incorrectness closes her mouth” (Job 5:16). The *‘ōsēh ‘āwel* or *‘is ‘āwel* is an abomination to Yahweh (Deut 25:16; Prov 29:27). If a righteous person “does injustice and I allow him to stumble, then he must die” (Ezek 3:20). Here Yahweh’s exercise of influence is expressed in the categories of legal and deed-consequence thought; Job 18:21 treats the fate of the “dwellings of the *‘awwāl*” and the “places of those whom God does not know” entirely in the style of deed-consequence thought. These passages are preceded by older statements, according to which (in the style of the declaration of innocence) Yahweh has nothing to do with “falseness, injustice”: “All my ways are right, a God of faithfulness, without falsehood” (Deut 32:4; cf. Zeph 3:5; Job 34:10; 2 Chron 19:7). According to Jer 2:5 Yahweh asks whether the fathers could attribute “falsehood” to him on the basis of their history. According to perhaps the oldest occurrence, Psa 82:2, Yahweh becomes judge of the earth and Lord of the nations (v 8) because he proves to be the God of justice in the assembly of the gods who judges and displaces the gods because of their “false” magistracy (esp. with respect to the humble, v 3). Thus at the beginning of the history of the term, Yahweh is specifically characterized by his justice compared to

the “false” judgment of the gods and legitimated as the God of the nations. Cf. the analogy between this mythic setting and the approximately contemporary social law situation in Lev 19:15.

Finally, doing *ʿāwel* functions theologically as a concept of extreme reprehensibility in contrast to the salvation granted by Yahweh, the liberation from Egypt (Lev 19:35f.); hence the statement, “If the godless finds grace he does not learn righteousness; in the just land he practices injustice and does not regard Yahweh’s majesty” (Isa 26:10).

5. The verb does not occur in the available Qumran literature. In contrast, the substs. *ʿāwel* and *ʿawlâ* occur roughly as often as in the OT, *ʿawwāl* once in 1QH 1:26. The subject matter confirms the statistical evidence: the term became a central concept for the theme of the eschatological separation of the spirit or children of truth from the spirit or children of falsehood (1QS 3:19; 4:9, 17f., 20, 23; 8:13, 18; 9:9, 21; 1QH 14:15, 25). These texts make no distinction between *ʿāwel* and *ʿawlâ*. With reference to meaning, the same observation made for the OT applies: *ʿāwel/ʿawlâ* is often an antonym for *ʾemet* and means “falsehood” (1QS 3:19; 4:17–20, 23; 6:15; 1QH 11:26). In 1QS 3:20f.; 1QH 1:36; 5:8 it opposes *ʿsedeq*. 1QS 3:19–21 uses *ʿāwel* in its traditional dual sense of “falsehood” and “injustice” (cf. also 1QS 4:24; 1QH 1:26). Elsewhere a traditional formulaic usage occurs.

The LXX renders the root most often with *adikia*, etc. See G. Schrenk, “ᾧδικος,” *TDNT* 1:149–63.

R. Knierim

## עוֹלָם *ʿōlām* **eternity**

S 5769; BDB 761b; *HALOT* 2:798b; *ThWAT* 5:1144–59; *TWOT* 1631a; *NIDOTTE* 6409

1. The subst. *\*ʿālam-* “most remote time,” etc. is distributed among all the NWSem. languages (Ug.: *WUS* no. 2036; *UT* no. 1858; *KTU* 1.108.21f.; 2.42.7, 9; Phoen.-Pun., Moab., Aram. from Sef. 3.24f. onward: *DISO* 213f.); it entered Arab. and Eth., sometimes with the later meaning (see 5), as a loanword from Aram. (cf. E. Jenni, “Das Wort *ʿōlām* im AT” [diss., Basel, 1953] = *ZAW* 64 [1952]: 197–248; 65 [1953]: 1–35; regarding the original and extrabibl. usage of the word, see 199–221; since then numerous new occurrences have been identified).

The etymology of the word is uncertain. In terms of the older derivation from the verb *ʿlm* “to be hidden,” attested only in Hebr., the nom. form is sg. (cf. also W. F. Albright, *Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions and Their Decipherment* [1966], 32, 42: an augmented form \**ʿawlām* > *ʿōlām*, transformed in Aram. to an overly correct *ʿālam*); the understanding of the word as an adv. form with *-ām* cannot appeal to semantically similar uses of adv. forms of Akk. *ullû* “that”; the equation of a form of Hurrian \**alam(u)*- with Akk. *dūriš* “forever” in an Akk.-Hurrian bilingual text from Ugarit (*PRU* 3:311, 318n.2) only occasions cj.

The OT has the Hebr. *ʿōlām* (*I<sup>e</sup>ʿēlōm* in 2 Chron 33:7 is a scribal error; cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 314; contra A. Dotan, *UF* 3 [1972]: 297) and the Bibl. Aram. cognate *ʿālam* (KBL 1109a).

2. The statistical table arranges the 440 Hebr. and 20 Aram. instances (incl. Jer 49:36 K [read Q: *ʿēlām* ] and 2 Chron 33:7; see 1) according to their usage with the preps. *le* (in 1 Chron 23:25; 28:7, *ʿad-I<sup>e</sup>ʿōlām*), *ʿad*, and *min*, as the governed noun (g.n.) in a cs. relationship, or as an adv. acc., the latter under “other” grouped together with the textual errors Isa 64:4 (see *BHS* ) and Jer 49:36 K (see above), as well as the singular passages Eccl 3:11 (*hāʿōlām* as obj.; see 4g) and 12:5 (*ʿōlām* with suf.; see 4g).

	<i>I<sup>e</sup></i>	<i>ʿad</i>	<i>min</i>	g.n.	other	total	
Gen 2	1	1	9	–	–	13	
Exod 6	2	–	9	–	–	17	
Lev 1	–	–	20	–	–	21	
Num –	–	–	10	–	–	10	
Deut 3	4	–	5	–	–	12	
Josh –	2	1	1	–	–	4	
Judg 1	–	–	–	–	–	1	
1 Sam	–	8	1	1	–	10	
2 Sam	2	9	–	1	–	12	
1 Kgs4	3	–	–	1	–	8	
2 Kgs2	–	–	–	–	–	2	
Isa 9	7	6	23	1	–	46	
Jer 5	5	5	19	1	–	35	
Ezek 6	3	1	8	–	–	18	
Hos 1	–	–	–	–	–	1	
Joel 3	–	1	–	–	–	4	
Amos–	–	–	1	–	–	1	
Obad 1	–	–	–	–	–	1	
Jonah	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
Mic 2	1	–	2	–	–	5	
Nah –	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Hab	–	–	–	2	–	2	
Zeph	–	1	–	–	–	1	
Hag	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Zech	1	–	–	–	–	1	
Mal	–	1	–	1	–	2	
Psa	99	15	7	10	12	143	
Job	1	–	–	2	–	3	
Prov	2	–	1	3	–	6	
Ruth	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Song Sol	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Eccl	5	–	–	–	2	7	
Lam	2	–	–	1	–	3	
Esth	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Dan	1	–	–	4	–	5	
Ezra	1	2	–	–	–	3	
Neh	1	2	1	–	–	4	
1 Chron		8	14	2	1	–	25
2 Chron		11	1	–	–	1	13
Hebr. OT		181	81	27	133	18	440
Aram.							
Dan	8	3	1	6	–	18	
Ezra	–	–	–	2	–	2	

3. (a) The Eng. translation “eternity” used in the heading is inappropriate for a number of OT passages with *‘ōlām*, and, even when it seems appropriate, it may not be permitted to introduce a preconceived concept of eternity, burdened with all manner of later philosophical or theological content (cf. J. Schmidt, *Der Ewigkeitsbegriff im AT* [1940]; J. Barr, *Biblical Words for Time* [19692], 68ff., 86ff., 123ff., critical of C. von Orelli, *Die hebr. Synonyma der Zeit und Ewigkeit genetisch und sprachvergleichend dargestellt* [1871]).

Except for a few late passages in Eccl (see 4g), *‘ōlām* in the OT (as in the contemporary NWSem. inscriptions) has the basic meaning “most distant time,” either with a view to the past (3b–c), to the future, or to both (3d–g). Characteristically, this concept of extremity is not stated independently (as subj. or obj.) but only in combination with local preps. (*min* “since,” see 3b; *‘ad* “until,” see 3d; *le* “until about,” see 3e), as an adv. acc. of direction (see 3f), or, finally, as the second element of a cs. phrase, i.e., as a gen. representing a prep. expression (see 3c, g). In the latter case, *‘ōlām* alone can express the meaning of the entire adv. expression “since/until the most remote time,” i.e., it can assume the meaning “(unlimited, unforeseeable) duration, eternity,” although only in an

attributive usage (“enduring, eternal”; cf. Barr, op. cit. 73n.1: “We might therefore best state the ‘basic meaning’ as a kind of range between ‘remotest time’ and ‘perpetuity’”). One may demonstrate that the “remotest time” is a relative concept in the context of the given temporal horizon for *ʿōlām* in reference both to the future and esp. to the past. As with other temporal terms (→ *yôm*, → *ʿēt*), one may not think of a purely abstract notion of time so that the usage of *ʿōlām* would imply any qualitative connotation such as “endurance, finality, unalterability,” etc. (see 3b, c, e, g).

The pl. *ʿōlāmîm* (in the Hebr. OT 12x; with *ʿad* Isa 45:17b in the intensive expression *ʿad-ʿōlēmēʿad* “unto all eternity”; with *le* Psa 77:8; Eccl 1:10; as adv. acc. 1 Kgs 8:13 = 2 Chron 6:2; Psa 61:5; as nomen rectum Isa 26:4; 45:17a; 51:9; Psa 77:6; 145:13; Dan 9:24) does not refer to a plurality of “temporal realms” (except, perhaps, for Eccl 1:10; see 4g) but stands as an intensive emotive pl. in line with intensive formulae such as *lʿōlām wāʿēd* (see 3e, f), → *dôr dôrîm* (e.g., Isa 51:8), *lʿnēṣaḥ nʿṣāḥîm* “for time eternal” (Isa 34:10), etc.; and, like them, it is subject to a degree of depreciation; in later OT literature (also at Qumran) it is more frequent, perhaps under the influence of the Aram. preference for the pl. (Bibl. Aram. 8x with *le* in Dan, also Dan 7:18 intensive *ʿad-ʿālēmāʿwʿad ʿālam ʿālʿmayyāʿ*, also Eg. Aram. in *BMAP* 3:11 and 12:23 *ʿd ʿImyn*, and *ʿd ʿIm* in e.g., 2:4, from the hand of another scribe; on Nab. see *DISO* 213; cf. Fitzmyer, *Gen.Ap.* 83, 237). No difference in meaning between the pl. and the sg. is perceptible (Jenni, *ZAW* 64 [1952]: 243–45; Barr, op. cit. 69f.).

In the later period (first in Jer 28:8), *ʿōlām* is also determined with the art. (15x: with the prep. *min* and/or *ʿad* 13x; Dan 12:7 “the ever-living” with determination of the entire cs. phrase; Eccl 3:11 as obj.). Neither here nor in Bibl. Aram. (8x: sg. with prep., Dan 2:20[bis]; 7:18; nomen rectum, Dan 4:31; Ezra 4:15, 19; pl., Dan 2:44; 7:18) does the determination suggest a change in meaning (except for Eccl 3:11; see 4g).

(b) Like the synonyms → *ʿad* (Job 20:4) and → *dôr* (Exod 17:16), *ʿōlām* joins the prep. *min* “since” to indicate origins in the most remote past (extrabibl. only in the Mesha inscription l. 10: “And the people of Gad lived from time immemorial [*mʿIm*] in the land of Ataroth” [*KAI* 2:169; cf. *ANET* 320b]); in the OT, 27x Hebr. and 1x Aram., 10x in a double formula with *min* and *ʿad* “since eternity and until eternity”: Jer 7:7; 25:5; Psa 41:14; 90:2; 103:17; 106:48 = 1 Chron 16:36; Neh 9:5; 1 Chron 29:10; Aram., Dan 2:20; cf. Sir 39:20; see 3d).

In all passages, *min* may have retained the ablative meaning “from . . . on, since” (contra e.g., Gemser, *HAT* 16, 46, on Prov 8:23: “in the primeval era”); at any rate, *ʿōlām* never indicates a defined earliest period,

but, even in the translation “from the primeval era on,” the extreme terminus a quo (“from time immemorial”). Only in theological contexts that presuppose a beginning of creation or God’s preexistence may one translate the term “from the beginning on” (Isa 44:7 txt em; 46:9; 63:16; cf. Prov 8:23) or “since eternity” (Psa 25:6; 90:2, in the double formula; 93:2; cf. Sir 42:21; 51:8); in the other cases, adv. expressions such as “in olden times” (Gen 6:4), “for a long time” (Isa 42:14), “since long ago” (Jer 28:8), “long before” (Jer 2:20), “since time immemorial” (Josh 24:2; Mesha inscription l. 10), attributive “ancient” (Jer 5:15; Ezek 26:20; 32:27 txt em; Psa 119:52), or, in negative statements, “never” (Isa 63:19; 64:3; Joel 2:2; textual corruptions eliminate 1 Sam 27:8 and Isa 57:11). When “now/then, however” or “(not) just now” correlates to *mēʿōlām*, the purely temporal meaning assumes the foreground (Josh 24:2; Isa 42:14; 63:19; 64:3; Jer 2:20; 28:8; Joel 2:2); in addition, however (in implicit contrast to “new, insignificant,” etc.), the great age and thus special quality of the entity that reaches back into antiquity can be emphasized (ancient peoples and heroes: Gen 6:4; Jer 5:15; Ezek 26:20; 32:27 txt em; the wisdom that recommends itself to people because of its age: Prov 8:23; God’s being, deeds, and characteristics, see the other passages above).

(c) For *ʿōlām* in the gen. construction, the past meaning “primeval era, antiquity” and, adj., “ancient” (about 25x) can be recognized only from the context, thus only with little certainty, except when the governing noun already contains a temporal determination (“days,” “years,” “generations”; Deut 32:7 “remember the days of old”; Isa 51:9; 61:9, 11; Amos 9:1; Mic 5:1; 7:14; Mal 3:4; Psa 77:6; Aram., Ezra 4:15, 19 “since ancient days = since long ago”; cf. Sir 44:1f.). If *ʿōlām* describes persons or things that do not in themselves imply a temporal determination, the issue of its relationship to the future or to the entire duration is more difficult, since something “ancient” can also be regarded as “eternal” thanks to its duration. With this reservation, the following expressions belong here: “people of old” (Ezek 26:20), “ancient ruins” (Isa 58:12; 61:4; cf. Jer 49:13 “ruins forever”), “long dead,” (Psa 143:3; Lam 3:6), “ancient hill” (Gen 49:26; Deut 33:15; Hab 3:6), “ancient portals” (Psa 24:7, 9); “ancient borders” (Prov 22:28; 23:10 txt em), “ancient paths” (Jer 6:16; 18:15; Hab 3:6 txt?; Job 22:15 txt em); on Deut 33:27 txt? “ancient arms,” see 4a. Except for Ezra 4:15, 19, which have a purely temporal significance, all these texts imply the notion of the peculiar quality of the ancient, irretrievable, etc.

(d) Like its synonyms (→ *ʿad*, Isa 17:2 txt em; 26:4, etc.; → *dôr wādôr*, Isa 13:20; Jer 50:39; Psa 100:5; *neṣaḥ*, Job 34:36; cf. Num 24:20, 24 *ʿad ʾōbēd* “perish forever”; → *ʾbd* 1) and as in the NWSem. inscriptions (Ug. *ʿd ʿlm* “for ever,” *KTU* 2.19.5, 15; 3.5.14, 19f., etc. in records along with *ʿm*

*Im* in 1.3.V.31; 1.4.IV.42; Phoen. *KAI* no. 43.12 “month by month forever”; Eg. Aram. often formulaically “from now on and forever,” in records, *DISO* 213; R. Yaron, *Introduction to the Law of the Aramaic Papyri* [1961], 47), the prep. *ad* “until” and *ôlām* combine in the expression *ad-ôlām* “forever, always, into eternity” (negated “never”: Exod 14:13; Deut 23:4; 1 Sam 3:14; 20:15; 2 Sam 12:10; Isa 45:17; 59:21; Jer 35:6; Ezra 9:12a; Neh 13:1). In this expression, “eternity” means nothing more than the unlimited future. One could translate 1 Sam 1:22 “always, lifelong” since the temporal horizon is limited to a human lifetime, yet one may not infer the meaning “lifetime” for *ôlām* from this sense (cf. Gk. *aiōn*). In contrast to *I<sup>e</sup>ôlām* with its static significance of final duration (see 3e), *ad-ôlām* almost always indicates successive temporal continuation in the future, as already demonstrated by the frequent expressions that refer to a sequence of generations (e.g., Gen 13:15: “the whole land . . . I will give you and your descendants *ad-ôlām*”; similarly in the NWSem. inscriptions, e.g., *KAI* no. 224.25 “to . . . and to his son and his grandson and his descendants *d Im*”). 1 Kgs 2:33 may serve as an example of the distinction between *ad-ôlām* and *I<sup>e</sup>ôlām*. Here the irrevocably effective curse intended to inhibit the continued existence of the accursed and his descendants is associated with *I<sup>e</sup>ôlām*, but the positive wish for the king and his dynasty with *ad-ôlām*.

The dual formula with *min* and *ad* (see 3b) occurs in Psa 90:2 (cf. Sir 39:20) in the full sense of “from eternity and into eternity” (par. “before the mountains were born”; cf. Psa 102:26ff.); by contrast, other passages have a somewhat attenuated sense “always, in all eternity” (Jer 7:7; 25:5; Psa 103:17); it occurs primarily in doxologies (in the introductions to prayers: Neh 9:5; 1 Chron 29:10; Aram., Dan 2:20; in concluding doxologies: Psa 41:14; 106:48 = 1 Chron 16:36), which generally prefer duplication and intensification.

(e) Both in the OT (see 2) and in the contemporary Phoen. and Aram. texts, by far the largest category of usage for *ôlām* involves the prep. *le*.

A few interpreters accept the same meaning for *bIm* in a difficult context (*KAI* no. 1.1; *KAI* 2:2f., meaning unclear: “when he laid him down in eternity”) as for *IIm* (cf. Harris 84, 133); but see 4g. Aramaic *bImy* in the Hadad inscription (*KAI* no. 214.1) should be translated with *DISO* 214 “in my youth” (contra *KAI* 2:214, 217: “for my endurance”) and should be derived with Hebr. *elem* “youth,” *almâ* “maiden,” *lûmîm* “youth” (*Im* II [\**gIm*]).

The prep. *le* “up to, toward” used temporally is not as forceful as *ad* “up until” (cf. the intensive *ad-I<sup>e</sup>ôlām* in the late passages 1 Chron 23:25; 28:7), and in *I<sup>e</sup>ôlām* it produces the more static meaning “forever, ever,

always” (only in expressly theological and doxological contexts to be translated “eternally, in eternity”) in comparison to *ʿad-ʿōlām* (see 3d). *ʿōlām* again indicates the most remote future, not a definite future time period—simply the future, or continuation itself—while in a restriction of the temporal horizon *Iʿʿōlām* can also occasionally mean practically the same as “lifelong” (Exod 21:6 “then he is a slave forever”). The formula *Iʿʿōlām wāʿed* “(for)ever and always” occurs as a ceremonial formula of conclusion and confirmation (Exod 15:18; Mic 4:5; Psa 9:6; 45:18; 119:44; 145:1f., 21; Dan 12:3; see 3f). Negation can refer either directly to *Iʿʿōlām* (“not forever”: Gen 6:3; Isa 57:16; Jer 3:12; Psa 103:9; Job 7:16; Prov 27:24; Lam 3:31) or to the entire predicate (“forever not = never”: Deut 23:7; Judg 2:1; Isa 14:20; 25:2; Jer 31:40; Joel 2:26f.; Psa 15:5; 30:7; 31:2; 55:23; 71:1; 112:6a; 119:93; Prov 10:30; Aram., Dan 2:44a; cf. Sir 7:36; 45:13).

Verbal and nom. clauses use *Iʿʿōlām* to indicate a (preserved, produced, unalterable) constant status and also frequently the qualitative significance of durability, finality, unalterability (e.g., Gen 3:22 “so that he may not live eternally”; Exod 3:15 “that is my name eternally”; 32:13 “they should possess it forever”; cf. Phoen., e.g., *KAI* no. 26.V.5f. “However, the name of Azitawadda shall endure forever like the name of sun and moon” [ANET 654b]; *KAI* no. 14.20 “so that they would belong to Sidon forever” [ANET 662b]; cf. I. 22). Regarding the frequent formulae ending with *kî Iʿʿōlām ḥasdô* “for his mercy endures forever” (Jer 33:11; Psa 100:5; 106:1; 107:1; 118:1–4, 29; 136:1–26; Ezra 3:11; 1 Chron 16:34, 41; 2 Chron 5:13; 7:3, 6; 20:21; cf. Sir 51:12), cf. K. Koch, *EvT* 21 (1961): 531–44; → *ḥesed* III/4b.

(f) A simple *ʿōlām* appears synonymous to *Iʿʿōlām* in a few passages as a mere adv. acc., “forever” (Psa 61:8; 66:7; 89:2f., 38; in the formula *ʿōlām wāʿed*. Psa 10:16; 21:5; 45:7; 48:15; 52:10; 104:5; pl. *ʿōlāmîm*: 1 Kgs 8:13 = 2 Chron 6:2; Psa 61:5; cf. v 8); cf. *dôr dôrîm* (Psa 72:5), *neṣaḥ* (Jer 15:18; Psa 13:2; 16:11), and *kol-hayyāmîm* (→ *yôm* 3f) in the same grammatical construction and a similar meaning.

Extrabibl., the adv. acc. *ʿIm* occurs in the Mesha inscription I. 7: “while Israel hath perished for ever” (ANET 320b). In Ug. *ʿImh* occurs with the local suf. *-h* (KTU 1.19.III.48, 55; 1.23.42, 46, 49; see also 1.19.IV.6: *lht wʿImh* “from now on and forever”; cf. Meyer 2:49f.; Dahood [UHP 16] attains a corresponding Hebr. form through textual emendation in Job 13:14 txt?); in addition, the expression *šḥr ʿImt* in KTU 3.5.15 (WUS no. 2036: “from this morning on forever”; cf. J. J. Rabinowitz, *JNES* 17 [1958]: 145f.) may contain a synonymous adv. ending *-t* (cf. *UT* 102).

(g) In instances of *ʿōlām* as a governed noun with a future meaning, the cs. phrase usually corresponds to a statement with *Iʿʿōlām*, less often

with *ʿad-ʿôlām* (cf. Gen 9:16, *b<sup>ʿ</sup>rît ʿôlām* “eternal covenant,” with Psa 105:8; 111:5, 9; also Gen 17:8 and 48:4, *ʔahuzzat ʿôlām* “eternal possession,” with Exod 32:13). Here *ʿôlām* signifies, then, “most remote time (in the future)”; the concept of an infinitely long time span results only from the combination of a governing noun, which already implies the notion of duration, with the governed noun, which, representing a prep. expression, extends this duration into infinity. In a few passages where topical considerations do not permit an indication of a starting point in the present (of God and his characteristics), the cs. phrase may signify the entire duration of time in the past and future.

The Priestly document, in particular (see 4f), prefers expressions for “statute,” “obligation,” etc. with *ʿôlām* (about 45x; → *b<sup>ʿ</sup>rît*. Gen 9:16; 17:7, 13, 19; Exod 31:16; Lev 24:8; Num 18:19b; outside P: 2 Sam 23:5; Isa 55:3; 61:8; Jer 32:40; 50:5; Ezek 16:60; 37:26a; Psa 105:10 = 1 Chron 16:17; cf. Sir 44:18 txt em; 45:15; *hōq* [→ *hqq* ]: Exod 29:28; 30:21; Lev 6:11, 15; 7:34; 10:15; 24:9; Num 18:8, 11, 19a; outside P: Jer 5:22; cf. Sir 45:7; *hūqqâ*. Exod 12:14, 17; 27:21; 28:43; 29:9; Lev 3:17; 7:36; 10:9; 16:29, 31, 34; 17:7; 23:14, 21, 31, 41; 24:3; Num 10:8; 15:15; 18:23; 19:10, 21; outside P: Ezek 46:14). In addition, situations of well-being and disaster are described as “enduring” (e.g., *šimḥat ʿôlām* “eternal joy”: Isa 35:10; 51:11; 61:7; *šim<sup>ʿ</sup>môt ʿôlām* “wilderness forever”: Jer 25:12; 51:26, 62; Ezek 35:9; 36:2 txt em; etc.). In expressions concerned with divine matters, the meaning “eternal” develops as a result of the retroversion of the wholly unemphasized beginning point (e.g., Isa 54:8, *ḥesed ʿôlām* “eternal mercy”; here also in combination with the pl.: Isa 26:4 “eternal rock”; 45:17a; Psa 145:13).

The expression *ʿebed ʿôlām* “slave forever,” “permanent slave (with no right to liberation)” occurs in Deut 15:17; 1 Sam 27:12; Job 40:28; regarding the apparent restriction of the concept of “eternity” to that of “lifetime” cf. 1 Sam 1:22 (see 3d), Exod 21:6 (see 3e), and Ug. *ʿbd ʿlm* (KTU 1.14.II.2, III.23, 35f., VI.6; cf. *dʿlmk* par. *ʿbd*, 1.5.II.12, 20).

4. Theologically relevant passages are treated (summarizing Jenni, ZAW 65 [1953]: 1–29) in the following sections: (a) *ʔēl ʿôlām* (Gen 21:33) and extrabibl. statements concerning divine eternity; (b) *ʿôlām* as a royal predicate in courtly language; (c) in pre-exilic literature; (d) in Deutero-Isaiah and his followers; (e) in Psa; (f) in the Priestly document; and (g) in Eccl.

(a) The brief note in Gen 21:33 J suggests a pre-Israelite cult of *ʔēl ʿôlām* in Beersheba that the Israelites transferred to Yahweh (→ *ʔēl* III/2; F. M. Cross, HTR 55 [1962]: 236–41; O. Eissfeldt, KS [1968], 4:196f.; R. de

Vaux, *Early History of Israel* [1978], 275f.). According to the closest analogies, the designation should be understood as a cs. phrase, “the eternal El/god,” not as “the god *ʿōlām*” with *ʿōlām* as an independent appellative, “the Eternal” or “the Ancient,” of which there are no certain examples (contra Cross, op. cit. 236, 240: “El, the Ancient One,” and Deut 33:27 *zʿrōʿōt ʿōlām*, not “eternal/ancient arms” but “arms of the Ancient One”; in *PNSP* 45; *UHP* 36; *Psa*, ABC, 1:322; 2:386; 3:476, Dahood works liberally with the assumed divine name *ʿōlām* “the Eternal,” e.g., *Psa* 31:2, *Iʿōlām* “O Eternal One” with a vocative particle *le*). Late references in the cosmogonies of Damascius and Philo of Byblos to a god *Oulōmos* or *Aiōn* permit no certain conclusions (H. Gese et al., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäers* [1970], 113, 203); a firmer basis is provided by the Ug. and Phoen. divine designations *špš ʿIm* “Eternal Sun” (*KTU* 2.42.7; cf. Akk. *šarru dšamaš dārītum* “the king is the eternal sun” as an homage to the pharaoh in EA 155:6, 47), or *šmš ʿIm* in the 8th-cent. BCE Karatepe inscription (*KAI* no. 26.III.19; cf. IV.2f.), and perhaps *ʾlt ʿIm* “eternal goddess” on the 7th-cent. BCE incantation from Arslan Tash (*KAI* no. 27.9f.; cf., however, *KAI* 2:44f.: “covenant of eternity”; still uncertain are the preliminary reading and interpretation of the 15th-cent. BCE Sinaitic inscriptions, in which Albright, op. cit. 24, and Cross, op. cit. 238f., find an *ʾil dū ʿōlāmi* “El, the ancient [or Eternal] One,” and of the difficult Ug. text *KTU* 1.10.III.5f.; cf. *CML* 2 133 iii.6).

According to analogies known from the surroundings, to which one could also reckon the Ug. title *mlk ʿIm* “eternal king” (*KTU* 2.42.9, for *nmry* = Amenophis [Amenhotep] III; 1.108.1, 21f., in reference to a god; cf. 1.2.IV.10 *mlk ʿImk* “your eternal kingdom,” of Baal’s dominion; cf. J. C. de Moor, *UF* 1 [1969]: 175f.), the predicate of eternity is associated with the concept of unalterability, constancy, and continuity of existence gained, in the final analysis, from the observation of nature. Consequently, this concept corresponds to the cyclical concept of time that Israel could have borrowed from its surroundings but that does not contribute much to the specifically Israelite understanding of God expressed in Deutero-Isa (see 4d; on the “concept of eternity” in Eg., cf. G. Thausing, *Mélanges Maspéro* [1934], 1:35–42; E. Otto, *Die Welt als Geschichte* 14 [1954]: 135–48; E. Hornung, *FF* 39 [1965]: 334–36; in Sum., cf. R. Jestin, *Syria* 33 [1956]: 117; in Bab., e.g., the material in *CAD* D:111–18, 197f.).

(b) A few OT texts express a wish for “eternal” life for the king, to which extrabibl. courtly terminology has pars., e.g., in the Amarna correspondence. In addition to the homage formula “May the king live!” (1 Sam 10:24; 2 Sam 16:16; 1 Kgs 1:25, 34, 39; 2 Kgs 11:12 = 2 Chron 23:11), an intensification with *Iʿōlām* occurs on Bathsheba’s lips in 1 Kgs

1:31: “May my lord, King David, live forever!” (Lande 33f.; cf. Joab’s blessing in a similar situation in 2 Sam 14:21f.). At the Pers. court the greeting formula was “May the king live eternally!” (Neh 2:3) or “O king, may you live eternally!” (Aram. Dan 2:4; 3:9; 5:10; 6:7, 22). Even if the formula may have originally once implied the deification of the king, it has already become a hyperbole of courtly speech in pre-Israelite usage (cf. EA 21:22f., 39 “and may my brother live in eternity . . . for 100,000 years”; cf. 149:24ff. of the life of the servant), and certainly so in Israel, where the longing for eternity is canceled by statements concerning the God-ordained finitude of all human life (Gen 3:22; 6:3; Job 7:16).

Wishes and statements in the royal psalms should be evaluated in essentially similar terms, not as a hope for immortality but as an exuberant wish for the king’s long life and for the continuation of the dynasty: Psa 21:5, “He sought life from you, you gave it to him, length of days forever and eternally”; 61:7f., “Add days to the days of the king, may his days be like (txt em) the days from generation to generation; may he reign forever before God”; cf. 72:5. Other passages refer to the king’s name, his blessing, his throne, and his descendants and dynasty (2 Sam 22:51 = Psa 18:51; Psa 45:3, 7, 18; 72:17; 89:5, 37f.; 110:4; cf. Psa 28:9; with → *ʿad*. Psa 21:7; 132:12); they can be understood in the context of Nathan’s promise and the concept of the Davidic covenant (2 Sam 7; 23:5; Psa 89; 132) alone and should not be measured by later eschatological-messianic criteria.

(c) Even disregarding passages already treated, pre-exilic literature occasionally uses *ʿōlām* in more-or-less theologically significant contexts, although theological language has not yet adopted and shaped the word. In a few passages such as Gen 13:15 (“the entire land . . . I will give to you and your descendants forever”), Isa 30:8 txt em (“as witnesses forever”), and Hos 2:21 (“I betroth you to myself forever”), the influence of juristic language may be perceptible. Historical writing and Deut prefer the more dynamic expression *ʿad-ʿōlām* to *lʿōlām*, a feature that may be related to the orientation of the time concept to the people’s history. The older writing prophets use *ʿōlām* rarely (cf. Isa 9:6; 30:8; 32:14; Hos 2:21; Mic 2:9; 5:1) and not in the technical prophetic-eschatological sense. Jer and Ezek first prepare the way for a new usage of *ʿōlām* as a description of God’s final eschatological act, initially from the standpoint of judgment (Jer 18:16; 20:11 “lasting disgrace”; 23:40, 40; 25:9, 12; 49:13; 51:26, 39, 57, 62; Ezek 35:9; 36:2 txt em; cf. also Jer 49:33; Ezek 26:21 txt em; 27:36; 28:19).

(d) In the proclamation of Deutero-Isaiah, *ʿōlām* acquires no new meaning (contra H. Sasse, *TDNT* 1:199f.) but a somewhat new theological status. The word is placed in the service of the doctrine of the universal God of history; Isa 40:28 declares to the despairing exiles, “Do you not

know or have you not heard? An eternal God (*ʿēlōhē ʿōlām*) is Yahweh, the creator of the ends of the earth; he does not become weary and does not become faint.” Just as Yahweh is the Lord over the ends of the earth—all the more so over the regions in which dispersed Israel lives—as the God of eternity, he is also Lord over the history of all peoples—all the more so then over Israel’s fate; he remains untiringly true to his intention to redeem. The singular expression “eternal God,” which occurs only in Deutero-Isa, does not attest an interest in an abstract concept of time or eternity or even in a timelessness, but seeks to express God’s absolute freedom from becoming and passing, his lordship over all temporality, and the element of faithfulness to the believer. The more the absolute uniqueness of this God and, simultaneously, his eternity as lordship over all time was recognized, the closer “eternal” drew in proximity to “divine” and greater grew the tendency to reserve the word for religious language (cf. Isa 40:8; 45:17[bis]; 51:6, 8; 54:8; 55:3, 13). *ʿōlām* become the code word for God’s world and God’s activity that will survive as solely determinative in the eschaton.

The impact of Deutero-Isa is most noticeable in Isa 60:15, 19–21; 61:7f.; also in 35:10; 51:11. In addition to other widely varied usages, *ʿōlām* became a preferred, sometimes also a somewhat hackneyed, epithet for God and the highest religious values (e.g., Deut 32:40; 33:27; Isa 63:16; Jer 10:10; Lam 5:19; often and almost exclusively in Dan). The word indicates the finality of the coming salvation or judgment (except in the Trito-Isaianic passages mentioned, e.g., in Isa 14:20; 25:2; 32:17; 34:10, 17; Joel 2:26f.; 4:20; Obad 10; Mal 1:4; Dan 2:44; 7:18; 12:3). With the increasing development of eschatological concepts in apocalypticism, *ʿōlām* became a constant attribute of the world beyond (cf. Dan 12:2 “and many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth will awake, one to eternal life, the other to shame, to eternal horror”). *ʿōlām* occurs rarely in genuinely messianic passages (cf. Ezek 37:25 “and my servant David will be your prince in eternity”).

(e) In Psa, a few passages recall Deutero-Isa (Psa 90:2 “before the mountains were born and the earth and the firmament were brought forth, you are God from eternity to eternity”; 92:8f.; 102:12f.), yet echoes of an older tradition also occur, e.g., in passages that celebrate Yahweh as the king who reigns in eternity and destroys his enemies forever (9:6, 8; 10:16; 29:10; 66:7; 93:2; 145:13; 146:10; cf. Exod 15:18; Mic 4:7). In addition, some statements concern God’s enduring grace, covenantal faithfulness, etc. (Psa 25:6; 33:11; 89:3; 103:17; 105:8, 10; 111:5, 8f.; 117:2; 119:89, 142, 144, 152, 160; 125:2; 135:13; 138:8; 146:6; 148:6; moreover, passages with *kî lʿōlām ḥasdô*, see 3e), and some refer to the eternity of Zion as the place of God’s saving presence (Psa 48:9 [cf. v 15]; 78:69; 125:1; 133:3).

Characteristic of the style of Psa are passages with *ʿôlām* that describe the ideal of the pious as an “eternal” constancy, resolve, etc. (15:5; 30:7; 31:2; 37:18, 27; 41:13; 55:23; 61:5, 8; 71:1; 73:26; 112:6[bis]; 121:8; 139:24); there is no clear demarcation between this group and related passages that discuss the “eternal” confidence and praise of the psalmist or the community or in which the pious promises a desire to keep the law “forever” (5:12; 30:13; 44:9; 52:10f.; 75:10; 79:13; 86:12; 89:2; 115:18; 119:44, 93, 98, 111f.; 131:3; 145:1f.). One should not relate *I<sup>e</sup>ʿôlām* (or adv. *ʿôlam [wā<sup>c</sup>ed]* ) in these passages to a continued individual existence after death; rather it involves hyperbole, as in stylized liturgical usage (104:31; 113:2; concluding doxologies of the first four books of the Psalter: 41:14; 72:19; 89:53; 106:48). In the heightened emotions of the prayer setting and the cultic experience, it seeks to make absolute an experience of salvation, a promise, or a decision by removing all temporal inconstancy and characterizing it as unalterable and final (the question of whether 73:26 implies a hope for immortality may not be answered on the basis of *I<sup>e</sup>ʿôlām* ).

(f) The Priestly document uses *ʿôlām* in stylized expressions (45x *ʿôlām* in cs. phrases, also *I<sup>e</sup>ʿôlām* in Exod 31:17; Lev 25:46; never *ʿad-ʿôlām* ) that point to the language of legal intercourse, with no particularly religious nuance, as an expression for immutable ordinances, the statutory and constant, which is central to Priestly thought (cf. Lev 25:32, *g<sup>e</sup>ullat ʿôlām* “permanent right of repurchase”; Gen 17:8; 48:4; Lev 25:34, *ʿahuzzat ʿôlām* “lasting possession”; the expressions → *b<sup>e</sup>rît/hôq/huqqat ʿôlām* [see 3g] can be similarly interpreted). The predicate *ʿôlām* does not signify a transcendentalization of the entities “law” or “covenant,” as comprehensive as the Priestly concept of law and covenant as ordinances of divine grace may be.

(g) Finally, the use of *ʿôlām* in Eccl presents a few problems. Eccl 1:4, “one generation goes and another generation comes, and the earth remains constant forever,” exhibits *I<sup>e</sup>ʿôlām* in its usual static meaning of unalterable constancy (similarly 3:14 “all that God does is forever/will be unceasingly so”; in negated clauses, 2:16; 9:6). By contrast, in Eccl 1:10 *I<sup>e</sup>ʿôlāmîm* (pl.) appears in an unusual past meaning and is modified by a relative clause (in the sg.): “long since has that been *I<sup>e</sup>ʿôlām*, which was before us.” Beside the suspicion that *ʿôlām* here has assumed the meaning “time period, age, era” under the influence of Gk. *aiōn* (Jenni, op. cit. 24), the possibility must be considered that Qoheleth has independently used the word as an appellative (not just as previously in adv. and gen. constructions that contain an indication of direction; see 3a, g) and in a slightly altered meaning (“distance, unfathomable time” or “duration,” no

longer merely attributive; F. Ellermeier, *Qohelet* [1967], I/1:210, 319f.: “in the unfathomable time”; J. R. Wilch, *Time and Event* [1969], 18: “it has already belonged to distant times that have been before us”).

This understanding could then shed light on the difficult and much-discussed passage, Eccl 3:11: “He (God) made everything beautiful in its time (*‘ēt*), he even placed the *‘ōlām b<sup>‘</sup>libbām*, except that human beings cannot comprehend the work that God does from beginning to end.” Of the numerous interpretations offered (summaries in O. Loretz, *Qohelet und der Alte Orient* [1964], 281ff.; Ellermeier, op. cit. 309–22), those which see *‘ōlām* (alongside → *‘ēt* “proper moment” and “from beginning to end”) as a temporal concept may lay claim to greatest probability. Depending on whether the statement with *b<sup>‘</sup>libbām* (“in their heart” or “in them”) relates to people or to things (“everything”), one may translate “eternity” (Zimmerli, ATD 16/1, 168, 172: “the person must question beyond the present moment”), “duration” (Loretz, op. cit. 281, 284: “strive for enduring fame and name”; Barr, op. cit. 124n.1: “perpetuity . . . the consciousness of memory, the awareness of past events”), “permanence” (Ellermeier, op. cit. 320f.), or “continuance” (Galling, HAT 18, [19692], 93, 95: “set unalterably in an unending sequence”).

In 12:5 *bēt ‘ōlām* “eternal house” designates the grave. The expression stems originally from Egypt; it occurs widely since Hellenistic times in grave inscriptions and other texts (Jenni, op. cit. 207f., 217 and 27–29; on the possible instance in the 10th-cent. BCE Ahiiram inscription [see 3e], cf. H. Tawil, *JANES* 3 [1970/71]: 32–36; on the Syr. inscriptions cf. H. J. W. Drijvers, *Old Syriac [Edessaen] Inscriptions* [1972], 79, 107; in the Aram. marriage contract from Murabba’at, DJD 2, no. 20.7 [cf. no. 21.12] “to go to the house of eternity” = “to die”; cf. DJD 2:110f., 113). In the OT, Psa 49:12 clearly contains the same idea: “Graves (txt em) are their houses forever”; cf. further Tob 3:6; *Jub.* 36:1. The expression does not contain a hope for eternal life.

5. The OT Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the pre-Christian era (cf. Jenni, op. cit. 29–35) and the Qumran texts (Kuhn, *Konk.* 159f.; id., *RQ* 14 [1963]: 214; Fitzmyer, *Gen.Ap.* 237; cf. Barr, op. cit. 67, 118) largely continue OT usage (at Qumran, individual authors prefer the synonymous pl. to the sg., e.g., in 1QM and in 1QS cols. 2–4). Texts from the 1st cent. CE first exhibit the new meanings “aeon” and soon also “world” corresponding to the Gk. *aiōn* and *kosmos* (cf. H. Sasse, *TDNT* 1:204ff.; Palm. *mr<sup>’</sup> ‘lm<sup>’</sup>* “Lord of the world” in 2nd-cent. CE inscriptions), meanings that become common in Mid. Hebr., Aram., Arab., and Eth.

The LXX has *aiōn/aiōnios* for *‘ōlām* almost throughout (cf. also R. Loewe, “Jerome’s Rendering of *‘wlm*,” *HUCA* 22 [1949]: 265–306); on this and on the NT, cf. H. Sasse, “*αἰών*,” *TDNT* 1:197–209; Barr, op. cit. 65ff.

E. Jenni

## 𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤍 *āwōn* perversity

S 5771; BDB 730b; HALOT 2:800a; ThWAT 5:1160–77; TWOT 1577a; NIDOTTE 6411

1. Hebr. *āwōn* (abstract formation with ending *-ān* > *-ōn*, BL 498) and Bibl. Aram. *āwāyā* (Dan 4:24 “transgression” par. *ḥṯāy* “sin”; BLA 187), attested only in the OT and the dependent Mid. Hebr. and Jew. Aram. literature, belongs to Hebr. *wh* qal “to be perverted, transgress” (pi. “to pervert, bend”; ni. “to be disturbed”; hi. causative “to cause to be perverted,” Jer 3:21 and Job 33:27, otherwise inner-causative, “to prove to be perverted”; cf. HP 106) and Arab. *awā* “to bend” or *ḡawā* “to diverge from the way” (cf. S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and Topography of the Books of Samuel* [19132], 170f.; GB 569b; Zorell 578a).

For possible Akk. equivalents, cf. AHw 267a, 408a; J. J. Finkelstein, JCS 15 (1961): 94.

Additional nom. derivatives in Hebr. are *ʿwʿm* (pl.) “reeling” (Isa 19:14), *awwā* (Ezek 21:32, 3x), *ʿ* (Jer 26:18; Mic 1:6; 3:12; Psa 79:1; Job 30:24; Mesha inscription, KAI no. 181.27; cf. also related place-names e.g., *ʿay* “Ai,” etc.), and *mʿʿ* (Isa 17:1 txt?) in the meaning “ruin” (cf. W. L. Moran, *Bib* 39 [1958]: 419f.).

The suggestions of S. D. Goitein (JSS 10 [1965]: 52f.) regarding *māʿōn* in Psa 90:1 and M. Dahood (*Bib* 50 [1969]: 351) regarding *ʿōn* in Ezek 18:17 txt? should also be mentioned.

2. The verb occurs in the OT 17x (qal: Esth 1:16; Dan 9:5; ni.: 1 Sam 20:30; Isa 21:3; Psa 38:7; Prov 12:8; pi.: Isa 24:1; Lam 3:9; hi.: 2 Sam 7:14; 19:20; 24:17; 1 Kgs 8:47 = 2 Chron 6:37; Jer 3:21; 9:4; Psa 106:6; Job 33:27). 2 Sam 19:20 and 24:17 (1 Sam 20:30 txt?) are old; all other instances are exilic and post-exilic.

The noun *āwōn* is attested 231x (and 2x in 1 Sam 14:41 LXX; excl. Hos 10:10 Q, *ʿōnōtām* txt?): Ezek 44x, Psa 31x, Isa 25x (Deutero-Isa 6x, Trito-Isa 9x), Jer 24x, Lev 18x, Job 15x, Num 12x, Hos 10x, 2 Sam 7x, Exod, 1 Sam, and Lam 6x each, Gen 4x, Dan and Ezra 3x each, Deut, Josh, Mic, Zech, Prov, and Neh 2x each, 1 Kgs, 2 Kgs, Amos, Mal, and 1 Chron 1x each.

The oldest occurrences are: 1 Sam 20:1, 8; 25:24; 28:10; 2 Sam 3:8; 14:9, 32;

(16:12); 19:20; (22:24 = Psa 18:24); 24:10; in the 9th/8th cent. belong: Gen 4:13; 19:15; 44:16 (J); Exod 20:5 (E); 1 Kgs 17:18; 2 Kgs 7:9; Isa 1:4; 5:18; 6:7; 22:14; 30:13; Hos (10x); Amos 3:2; 1 Sam 3:(13), 14. The majority of instances fall at the end of the 7th cent. and in the exilic/post-exilic period.

3. (a) The basic meaning of the verb, “to bend, curve, turn aside, twist,” is lit. apparent in Psa 38:7 ni. “I am bent”; Isa 24:1 pi. “Behold, Yahweh devastates the earth, ravages it; he twists its countenance.” In the fig. sense it means “to twist the course (of life)” (Lam 3:9 pi.), “to pervert the right” (Job 33:27 hi.), “to be of perverse intention” (Prov 12:8 ni.; cf. Isa 21:3 ni.). Correspondingly, the noun *ʿāwōn* means “bending, curving, turning, twisting,” although it occurs only in a fig. sense (cf. the similar meanings of *lûz* qal/hi. “to diverge” [Prov 3:21 or 4:21], ni. ptcp. *nālôz* “twisted” [Isa 30:12; Prov 2:15; 3:32; 14:2] and the subst. *lāzût* “perversity,” [Prov 4:24]). In this sense, the verb and the noun are mostly used to formally disqualify certain actions, behaviors, or circumstances and their consequences—and thus in expressly theological contexts. For this reason, *ʿāwōn* is usually translated “guilt, iniquity (resulting in guilt).” On the entire issue, cf. S. Porččan, *Sin in the OT* (1963); R. Knierim, *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im AT* (1965), 185ff.

(b) The term is inseparably rooted in dynamistic holistic thought, apparently because it is a term of motion that essentially expresses a process of movement. Holistic thought is most often expressed in the act-consequence relationship (cf. Gen 15:16; 1 Kgs 17:18; Isa 30:13; 64:6; Jer 13:22; Hos 5:5; Psa 32:2, 5, etc.).

Cf. the formulaic expressions *ʿāwōn qēš* “final punishment” (Ezek 21:30, 34; 35:5; cf. Job 22:5), *nsʾ ʿāwōn* “to bear guilt” (Gen 4:13; Exod 34:7; Hos 14:3; Psa 85:3, etc.), *br* hi. *ʿāwōn* “to let guilt pass by” (e.g., Zech 3:4), *pqd ʿāwōn* “to visit guilt” (Exod 20:5; Amos 3:2, etc.), etc. The *ʿāwōn* as “deed” is the occasion for “punishment” (Isa 30:13; Ezek 18:30; 44:12; Hos 5:5; 10:10 txt em; Job 31:11, 28, etc.); it is the “punishment” (Gen 19:15; Jer 51:6; Psa 39:12; 106:43; Job 13:26; 19:29; Ezra 9:7); it is the state between “deed” and “punishment”; cf. e.g., the confession of guilt in 1 Sam 25:24; 2 Sam 14:9; the affirmation of innocence or defense speech, 1 Sam 20:1, 8; Psa 59:5; Job 33:9; the conditional self-condemnation, 1 Sam 14:41 LXX; 2 Sam 3:8; 14:32; formulae such as *zkr ʿāwōn* “to remember guilt” (1 Kgs 17:18; Hos 8:13; 9:9, etc.), *rōb ʿāwōn* “the fullness of guilt” (Hos 9:7), and *glh ʿāwōn* “to reveal guilt” (Hos 7:1; Lam 2:14); cf. Ezek 39:23; Lam 4:22, etc.

But the *ʿāwōn* relationships between the individual and the community (cf. Lev 16:22; 22:16; Isa 53:5; Ezek 4:4ff.) and, finally, between the generations (cf. Lev 26:39f.; Isa 14:21; 53:11; Jer 11:10; Ezek 18:17,

19 Dan 9:16; Neh 9:2, etc.) also express holistic thought.

(c) In view of the unified usage of the term *ʿāwōn* for various phases of a misdeed-consequence process (deed-consequence-completion) in consonance with holistic thought, customary, even lexicographical, translation praxis becomes problematical. It translates *ʿāwōn* contextually with “transgression”-“guilt”-“punishment.” But, first, “guilt” and “punishment” can be regarded only as free interpretations of the basic meaning. Furthermore, the implications of the unity of the course of an event and the unity of a sole Hebr. concept in various contexts is in danger of being lost in the variety of translations. Given the basic meaning, a translation “bend” (deed and consequence)-“being crooked/crookedness” (fate, punishment)-“twisting/being twisted” or “perversion/perversity/being perverted” seems most consistent. It is essential if one wishes to render precisely the Hebr. idiom for disqualifying the pertinent processes with this type of metaphor.

(d) In a large number of instances *ʿāwōn* can be identified as a conscious divergence from the right way (cf. Eichrodt 2:381; cf. e.g., for the verb: 1 Kgs 8:47; Jer 3:21; 9:4; Psa 106:6; Job 33:27; Prov 12:8; Esth 1:16; Dan 9:5; for the noun: Gen 44:16; Num 14:19; Josh 22:20; 1 Sam 25:24; 2 Sam 3:8; Isa 22:14; Jer 11:10, etc.).

Nevertheless, the assumption that the term per se emphasizes consciousness of the act and thus is an advanced anthropological and psychological term may not be tenable: (1) Several instances clearly presuppose an act to have been unconscious and unintended: Gen 15:16; 19:15; Lev 22:16; Num 18:1, 23; 1 Sam 14:41 LXX; 20:1; 2 Sam 14:32; 1 Kgs 17:18; Isa 6:7. (2) Many cases are concerned not with the issue of conscious/unconscious but with the relationship between deed and consequence: Gen 4:13; Deut 19:15; 2 Kgs 7:9; Isa 5:18; Psa 25:11; 31:11, etc. (3) Passages like Deut 19:15; Amos 3:2; Psa 103:3, etc., emphasize the totality of all transgressions, regardless of the type. (4) The term *ʿāwōn* can occasionally interchange with the term *ḥattāʾt* ( $\rightarrow$  *ḥtʾ* 3d). (5) Since the term refers not only to deeds but also to their consequences, the conscious-volitional factor is nonessential, because the consequence often occurs unknowingly, or at any rate unintentionally. The emphasis on consciousness does not characterize the term, then, but lies in the nature of the—always historically conditioned—context that makes the issue of guilt comprehensible (Gen 3; Hos; Jer; Ezek).

(e) The oldest instances use *ʿāwōn* in the genres of confession of guilt (1 Sam 25:24; 2 Sam 14:9), discussion (1 Sam 20:1, 8; 2 Sam 3:8; 14:32), apology (1 Sam 28:10), and request for forgiveness (2 Sam 19:20; 24:10). The term was first used in everyday speech, although shaped in a variety of ways in specific situations.

From the second stage of usage onward, then, *ʿāwōn* increasingly

becomes a theological term. This situation applies, first, to the genres of confession of sin (Gen 4:13; 44:16; 2 Kgs 7:9), discussion (1 Kgs 17:18), and request for forgiveness (Hos 14:3) already mentioned. In addition, the term now appears in the genres of accusation (or justification for judgment; Hos 4:8; 5:5; 7:1; 9:7; 12:9; 14:2; Isa 1:4; 5:18), announcement of judgment (1 Sam 3:14; Isa 22:14; 30:13; Hos 8:13; 9:9; 13:12; Amos 3:2), pronouncement of forgiveness (Isa 6:7), and self-predication of Yahweh (Exod 20:5).

The continued history of the term is marked by its incursion into additional genres and by great fluidity of formal language. The following should be mentioned: confessions (Lev 16:21; 26:40ff.; Isa 53:5f.; 64:5; Psa 32:5; 38:5, 19; 40:13; 51:7; 90:8; 130:3; Dan 9:13; Ezra 9:6, 13a; the expressions occur without exception in cultic procedures or in cultic language, and *ʿāwōn* is always the constitutive term), declarations of innocence or loyalty (Psa 59:5; Job 33:9), disputations (Jer 16:10; Job 7:21; 13:23; 31:33), accusations (quite often with great fluidity of expression; Lev 26:39; Isa 43:24; Jer 5:25; 11:10; Ezek 4:17; Psa 65:4), and announcements of judgment (Isa 13:11; 26:21; Jer 2:22; 25:12; 36:31; Psa 89:33). New usages in judgment or legal formulations also appear (e.g., Jer 31:30; Ezek 3:18f.; 7:16; 18:17f.; 33:8f.). Particular reference should be made here to the judgment formula with *nśʿ ʿāwōn* “to bear guilt” (cf. Knierim, op. cit. 219). In addition to the request for forgiveness (Exod 34:9; Num 14:19; Isa 64:8; Psa 25:11; 51:4, 11; 79:8), novelties include the request not to forgive (Jer 18:23; Neh 3:37), the announcement of forgiveness (Isa 40:2; Jer 31:34; 33:8; 36:3; 50:20; Ezek 36:33; Zech 3:9, etc.), the promise of forgiveness (Zech 3:4), forms of doxological and wisdom discussion of God’s forgiveness (Exod 34:7; Num 14:18; Mic 7:18; Psa 32:2; 78:38; 103:3, 10; Prov 16:6; Ezra 9:13), and the confessions of hope and lament (Isa 64:6; Jer 14:7; Mic 7:19; Psa 130:8; Lam 2:14; 4:22; Ezra 9:7).

About 25 formulaic expressions or phrases bear eloquent witness to the widely distributed and yet fixed usage of the term in various genres and settings in life (cf. Knierim, op. cit. 259–61).

4. *ʿāwōn* becomes a theological term because it indicates a guilt-process seen as a fate to which God (Yahweh) delivers one. This usage of the term becomes ever-more consistent during the course of its history (see 3e). It dominates completely in the prophets (Hos, Isa, Deutero-Isa, Trito-Isa, Jer, Ezek), in the Psa, and in P, where either the relationship between person and God per se is the chief concern, or the term is used in cultically oriented texts. This usage by no means signifies, however, that *ʿāwōn* refers only to cultic transgression. The word is originally a noncultic term and was first used for evidence of guilt of a noncultic nature. Besides,

it is a formal concept that can refer to all manner of transgressions. An examination of its use in J, E, the books of Sam, and Job indicates, however, that transgressions in the extracultic realm are also disqualified in the judgment of Yahwism. In the final analysis, there is no nontheological understanding of an *ʿāwōn* process when Yahweh's all-encompassing influence on the world is confessed.

Finally, the recognition of the magnitude of the *ʿāwōn* no longer depends on the ontological concepts presupposed by the dynamistic understanding of reality, and certainly not on the psychological notion of subjective comprehension of an act, but on the awareness of being confronted by God and thus on a theological criterion. If this awareness is lacking, "evildoers say: 'We intend to be godless.' They know no fear of God; for they flatter themselves in the delusion that their *ʿāwōn* will not be discovered, not hated" (Psa 36:2f.). When one is aware, however, of being unavoidably confronted by Yahweh, one is overcome by the oppressive burden of *ʿāwōn* and one comprehends what actually transpires in *ʿāwōn*: "You have burdened me with your transgressions, made trouble for me with your guilt" (Isa 43:24b); "It is your guilt that erects a dividing wall between you and your God; because of your transgressions he hides his countenance from you so that he does not hear" (Isa 59:2); "Against you alone have I transgressed, have done that which is evil in your eyes—so that you maintain justice in your word, stand pure in your judgment. Behold, I was born in guilt, in transgression my mother conceived me" (Psa 51:6f.); "We fade away in your wrath, pass away in your anger. You have placed our guilt before you, our most secret things in the light of your countenance" (Psa 90:7f.); → *ḥtʿ*, → *pšʿ*.

5. The available Qumran texts use the verb 7x: once in the confession of sin in 1QS 1:24 and 6x in the fig. use of the lit. sense: "twisted without insight" (1QH 1:22), "twisted spirit" (3:21; 11:12; 13:15; cf. 12:6), "twisted heart" (7:27). The noun occurs over 40x, mostly in traditional formulaic expressions; *ʿāwōn* appears in concentration with other terms for "sin" in 1QS 3:22; 11:9; the multitude of *ʿāwōnôt* is discussed in various ways in 1QS 3:7f., 22; 11:14; 1QH 1:32; 17:15.

The LXX translates *ʿāwōn* primarily with *hamartia*, *anomia*, and *adikia*. Although the original meaning of the Hebr. is no longer preserved here, the limited number of Gk. equivalents indicates that *ʿāwōn* was a key term for sin that could be rendered only with key Gk. terms. By contrast, the verb exhibits irregular translation, for the most part conditional on the Hebr. stems.

Regarding the LXX and the NT, cf. G. Quell et al., "ἁμαρτάνω," *TDNT* 1:267–316; W. Gutbrod, "ἀνομία," *TDNT* 4:1085f.; G. Schrenk,

“ᾄδικος,” *TDNT* 1:149–63; W. Günther and W. Bauder, “Sin,” *DNTT* 3:573–87, with bibliog.

R. Knierim

## עָזַב *ʿzb* to abandon

S 5800; BDB 736b; *HALOT* 2:806b; *ThWAT* 5:1200–08; *TWOT* 1594; *NIDOTTE* 6440

1. *ʿzb* “to abandon” occurs only in Hebr. and Akk. (*ezēbu*, *AHw* 267–69; *CAD* E:416–26); Arab. has *ʿzb* “to be far” and *ʿazab* “single” (Wehr 610a); cf. also Eth. *māʿsab* “single, widowed” (Dillmann 973f.). The semantic scope of Aram. *šbq* roughly coincides with that of Hebr. *ʿzb* (*DISO* 289f.; *KBL* 1128b; *Bibl. Aram.*: pe. “to leave behind,” Dan 4:12, 20, 23; “to leave alone,” Ezra 6:7; hitpe. “to be left over,” Dan 2:44).

In the OT, beside the qal, the root also forms a ni. “to be abandoned” and a pu. “to be abandoned, devastated,” as well as the pl. subst. *ʿizbōnîm* “(stored) goods” (BL 498; Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:64, following H. P. Rüger, “Das Tyrusorakel Ez 27” [diss., Tübingen, 1961]; discussion and further suggestions in H. J. van Dijk, *Ezekiel’s Prophecy on Tyre* [1968], 75f.) and the fem. PN *ʿazûbâ* (*IP* 231; J. J. Stamm, *FS Baumgartner* 327).

Whether Akk. *šūzubu* “to deliver” and, adopted from Akk. into Aram., *šēzib* “to deliver” (*DISO* 296; *KBL* 1129b; *LS* 762b; Huffmon 192; Wagner no. 180; *Bibl. Aram.* 9x of the saving intervention of God or the king in Dan 3:15, 17, 28; 6:15, 17, 21, 28) belongs to the same root is uncertain (*CAD* E:426).

*ʿzb* in Neh 3:8, 34 may derive (*KBL* 694a) from a second root *ʿzb* = \**ʿdb* attested in Old SArab. (Conti Rossini 202f.: “to restore, repair”) and Ug. (*ʿdb* “to lay, prepare, make,” *WUS* no. 2002; *UT* no. 1818). Some want to postulate the same root in other passages as well, e.g., U. Cassuto (*Exodus* [1967], 297) does for Exod 23:5b (*ʿzr* “to help” is conjectured here; otherwise, cf. *BH* 3 and Noth, *ATD* 5, 138), C. H. Gordon (*UT* no. 1818) for 1 Chron 16:37, and M. Dahood (*JBL* 78 [1959]: 303–9) for Job 9:27; 10:1; 18:4; 20:19; 39:14 (Fohrer, *KAT* 16, 199 rejects the suggestion in the last four passages). Cf. also *CPT* 140f., 332.

2. *ʿzb* qal occurs in the OT 203x (excl. Neh 3:8, 34; see 1: Jer 24x, 2 Chron 23x, Psa 21x, Isa 18x, 1 Kgs 12x, 2 Kgs and Prov 11x each), ni. 9x (Isa 4x), pu. 2x, *ʿizbōnîm* 7x (Ezek 27:12–33), hence the verb a total of 214x.

3. (a) Depending on the context, various Eng. translations are

available for the relatively consistent chief meaning of the *qal* “to abandon, release” (Gen 2:24; 1 Sam 31:7; 1 Kgs 19:20; 2 Kgs 8:6; Jer 25:38; Zech 11:17; Psa 38:11; 40:13; Prov 2:17, etc.): “to desert” (Num 10:31; Deut 12:19; 14:27; Jer 14:5), “to abandon = disregard (advice)” (1 Kgs 12:8, 13 = 2 Chron 10:8, 13; cf. Prov 4:2), “to leave behind” (Gen 39:12f., 15, 18; 50:8; 1 Sam 30:13; 2 Sam 15:16; 2 Kgs 7:7; Ezek 24:21); “to hand (something) over” (Gen 39:6 with *beyad*; Exod 23:5a with *le*; Job 39:11 with *ʿel* par. *bṯh* “to trust”), “to leave over” (Lev 19:10; 23:22; Judg 2:21; Mal 3:19), “to leave behind” (Psa 49:11), “to let go” (2 Kgs 2:2, 4, 6; 4:30), “to let lie” (Ezek 23:29; Ruth 2:16), “to give up” (Ezek 23:8; Prov 28:13), “to set free” (2 Chron 28:14), “to let alone” (2 Chron 32:31), and “to forgive (a debt)” (Neh 5:10).

*ʿzb* occurs 5x in the semantically difficult expression *ʿāšûr w<sup>c</sup>ʿāzûb*, etc. (Deut 32:36; 1 Kgs 14:10; 21:21; 2 Kgs 9:8; 14:26). The couplet “retained and released,” apparently a legal expression, may “represent a description of a totality expressed through two opposites” (Noth, BK 9, 316 discusses earlier suggestions; cf. e.g., L. Delekat, *Asylie und Schutzorakel am Zionheiligtum* [1967], 320–42; G. R. Driver, FS Kahle 94; Noth’s family-law interpretation “minor and adult” follows E. Kutsch, “Die Wurzel *ʿsr* im Hebr.,” VT 2 [1952]: 57–69, esp. 60–65).

The expression (*ʿiššâ*) *ʿazûbâ* “abandoned (woman)” occurs 3x in imagery (Isa 54:6; 60:15 par. → *śn*’ “to reject [a woman]”; 62:4; cf. 49:14).

*ʿzb* here probably means a temporary abandonment, neglect and, paralleled with *śn*’, a rejection and disregard of others, although the textual evidence is hardly sufficient to support the conclusion that it is a fixed legal term for divorce, as it may clearly be shown to be in Akk. (cf. *AHW* 267b, 408b; Driver-Miles 1:291f.; 2:54f., 219, 366a).

(b) *ʿzb* ni. has a pass. meaning: “to be abandoned” (Lev 26:43; Isa 7:16; 27:10; 62:12; Ezek 36:4; Job 18:4), “to be left over” (Isa 18:6), “to be neglected” (Neh 13:11); *ʿzb* pu. means “to be devastated, abandoned” (Isa 32:14; Jer 49:25).

(c) The following semantically related verbs should be mentioned: *nṯš* *qal* “to leave something alone, give up” (33x, par. to *ʿzb* in 1 Kgs 8:57; Jer 12:7; Psa 27:9; 94:14; pu. “to be abandoned,” Isa 32:14 par. *ʿzb* pu.) and *rph* hi. “to let fall, give up, desert” (21x, par. to *ʿzb* in Deut 31:6, 8; Josh 1:5; Psa 37:8; 1 Chron 28:20). On Aram. *šbq* see 1.

4. In about 100 passages *ʿzb* appears in a theological usage, whether God abandons people (about 40x), or people abandon God or his covenant, his commandments, etc. (about 60x). The following realms may be mentioned in order of prominence:

(a) *ʿzb* is chiefly at home in the covenant tradition. In the statement of

the abandonment of Yahweh or his covenant (Deut 29:24; Jer 22:9), it implies an accusation of apostasy and breach of covenant (cf. in Deut 31:16 → *pr* hi. *b<sup>c</sup>î* “to breach the covenant” parallel to *ʿzb*). The term first appears in Hos 4:10, in a characteristically Hoseanic phrase with → *znh* “to commit harlotry” (cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 81f.). Isa 1:4 (cf. v 28) uses it together with → *n<sup>ʿ</sup>s* pi. “to scorn” to express the “abandonment of the living relationship with Yahweh” (cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 23f.). Jeremiah adopts the term (cf. Jer 1:16; 2:13, 17, 19; 5:7 and, if Jeremianic—otherwise the passages are to be attributed to Dtr-influenced language—5:19; 9:12; 16:11; 17:13; 19:4; 22:9) to characterize the abandonment and thus the disruption of the covenant relationship as devotion to heathen deities. Dtr literature continues the same usage in a marked manner and sees it as the justification for Yahweh’s abandonment of the people and for their punishment (Deut 29:24; 31:16f.; Josh 24:16, 20; Judg 2:12f.; 10:6, 10, 13; 1 Sam 8:8; 12:10; 1 Kgs 9:9; 11:33, etc.; cf. Isa 65:11; Psa 89:31; 119:53, 87; Ezra 8:22; 9:10; Neh 10:40; 1 Chron 28:9; 2 Chron 7:19, 22, etc.; in the Qumran texts, CD 1:3; 3:11; 8:19).

(b) In the song of lament, *ʿzb* occurs in the lament that God has abandoned the worshiper (Psa 22:2; Lam 5:20 par. → *škh* “to forget”; cf. Isa 49:14), or as a request not to be forgotten (Psa 27:9 par. *n<sup>t</sup>š*, 38:22 par. → *r<sup>h</sup>q* “to be distant”; 71:9 par. *šlk* hi. “to reject”). In connection with this use, *ʿzb* occurs as a statement that God will not abandon someone in formulae that may originally go back to a salvation oracle (Isa 41:17, according to C. Westermann, *Forschung am AT* [1964], 120; “announcement of salvation”; cf. 54:7), specifically to a war oracle (Deut 31:6–8; cf. Josh 1:5 par. *r<sup>ph</sup>* hi.). Cf. the theological use of the preps. *ʿet* and → *ʿim* “with.”

5. Qumran adopts the OT usage of the verb. The LXX renders it primarily with *enkataleipein* and *kataleipein*. The lament of Psa 22:2, “My God, my God, why have you abandoned me?” appears in Matt 27:46 par. Mark 15:34 in Aram. form as one of Jesus’ cries from the cross (cf. J. Jeremias, *NT Theology* [1971], 5).

H.-P. Stähli

## 𐤆𐤆 *ʿzz* to be strong

S 5810; BDB 738a; HALOT 2:808b; ThWAT 6:1–14; TWOT 1596; NIDOTTE 6451

1. The root *ʿzz* “to be strong, powerful” is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro*.

220f.; cf. e.g., *WUS* no. 2021; *UT* no. 1835; *DISO* 205f.). In Akk. it connotes wrathfulness, rage, and frightfulness (*ezēzu/ezzu*, *AHw* 269f.), while Old SArab. *ʿzt* means “fame” (Conti Rossini 204b; cf. W. Leslau, *Lexique Soqotri [sudarabique moderne]* [1938], 304).

The verb occurs in the OT in the qal and in the hi., as well is in a by-form *yʿz* in the ni. (ptcp. *nôʿāz* “insolent, impudent,” Isa 33:19). Nom. derivatives are: the adj. *ʿaz* “strong,” the abstract noun formed from the adj. *ʿōz* “strength” (BL 455), the subst. *ʿzûz* “strength,” and the adj. *ʿizzûz* “strong”; on *māʿōz* see below.

For the subst. *ʿōz*, KBL 692f. distinguishes etymologically between an *ʿōz* “strength” derived from *ʿzz* and a homonym derived from the root *ʿwz* (= Arab. *ʿāda*) “to take refuge” with the meaning “protection, refuge.” The distinction in meaning may be accounted for semasiologically, however, without appeal to two different roots (see 4b and → *ʿûz*).

That Hebr. had a biconsonantal by-form *ʿûz* (not to be confused with the *\*ʿûd* just mentioned) in addition to *ʿzz*, however, is suggested by Gen 49:7, where *ʿaz* alongside *qāšʿtâ* “is strong” can hardly be understood as anything other than a 3d masc. sg. of *ʿûz* qal “to be strong.” If one presumes such a biradical root in addition to the triradical (*ʿzz*), the question becomes superfluous as to whether *māʿōz* “stronghold, shelter” should be derived entirely (Joüon §88Le [p. 204]) or in part (GKC §85k; GB 443a) from *ʿûz* (*\*ʿûd*) “to take refuge” or rather from *ʿzz* “to be strong” (KBL 545a).

*ʿēz* “goat” has nothing to do with the root *ʿzz* according to the evidence of Akk. *enzu* and Arab. *ʿanz* (contra KBL 692a).

In addition to *ʿzz*, Arab., Old SArab., and Syr. have a third radical *w/y* form of the root (*ʿzw/y*) meaning “to be strong, endure” (cf. Wehr 611f.; W. W. Müller, “Die Wurzeln Mediae und Tertiae *y/w* im Altsudarabischen” [diss., Tübingen, 1962], 79; LS 519a).

Regarding the numerous PNs composed with forms of the root *ʿzz* such as *ʿazzyāhû*, *ʿuzzîyâ(hû)*, *ʿuzzîʿēl*, *ʿazîzâ*, etc., cf. *IP* 160f., 190, 225; Huffmon 160; Gröndahl 112; Benz 374f.; Stark 105.

2. Pure verbal instances of the root *ʿzz* occur relatively rarely in the OT and only in later texts (qal 9x: Judg 3:10 and 6:2 in the Dtr framework; Psa 9:20; 52:9; 68:29 txt em; 89:14; Prov 8:28 txt em [read pi.; cf. Gemser, HAT 16, 46; contra K. Aartun, *WO* 4/2 (1968): 297]; Eccl 7:19; Dan 11:12; hi. 2x: Prov 7:13; 21:29).

*ʿōz* is attested rather frequently: 94x, in Psa alone 44x; moreover, Prov 9x,

Ezek 8x, Isa 7x, (incl.  $\bar{a}z$  Gen 49:3 as a pausal form of  $\bar{o}z$  according to GKC §29u; H. Gunkel, *Gen* [19698], 479; Berg. *HG* 1:161).  $\bar{a}z$  occurs 22x in all (incl. Gen 49:7, but see 1),  $\bar{c}z\bar{u}z$  3x (Isa 42:25; Psa 78:4; 145:6; cf. Sir 45:18),  $\bar{c}zz\bar{u}z$  2x (Isa 43:17; Psa 24:8); on  $m\bar{a}\bar{c}o\bar{z}$  (36x) and  $\bar{o}z$  II (included above), cf.  $\bar{u}z$  2.

3. In profane usage, qal instances of the root  $\bar{c}zz$  express the powerfully manifest might of natural forces (Prov 8:28), the oppressive power of the enemy (Judg 3:10; 6:2, with subj.  $\rightarrow y\bar{a}d$ ), and the vehemence of wrath (Gen 49:7; see 1); on the mighty shelter of wisdom (Prov 7:19) see 4c.  $\bar{c}zz$  appears in the hi. only in connection with  $p\bar{a}n\hat{m}$  “countenance” and means bold and shameless behavior (Prov 7:13; 21:29; cf. D. R. Ap-Thomas, *VT* 6 [1956]: 240; Sir 8:16).

In profane usage, the abstract  $\bar{o}z$  means the physical power of an animal (Job 41:14) or a person (only rarely: on the clever housewife, Prov 31:17; cf. Judg 5:21; according to 2 Sam 6:14 and 1 Chron 13:8, David danced before the ark “with all his might,” i.e., with total devotion; according to 2 Chron 30:21 txt em, the Levites praise Yahweh in this manner), the royal might symbolized in the scepter (Jer 48:17; Psa 110:2), the solid, protective strength of a city (Isa 26:1; Jer 51:53; Prov 18:19) or fortifications (Judg 9:51; Amos 3:11; Prov 21:22), the strength of a branch (Ezek 19:11f., 14), inner strength (of the soul, Psa 138:3), and the hardness of face (with  $p\bar{a}n\hat{m}$  “countenance,” Eccl 8:1, i.e., the defiant facial expression). The expression  $g^{\bar{e}}\bar{o}n \bar{c}uzz^{\bar{e}}kem$  (or with other sufs.) occurs only in P (Lev 26:19) and Ezek (Ezek 7:24 txt em; 24:21; 30:6, 18; 33:28) in reference to “the glory in which you are defiant” (land, temple) as a supposed guarantee of well-being.

In addition to strength as physical power (Judg 14:18), the might of a people (Num 13:28; Isa 25:3), and the force of the elements (waters: Isa 43:16; Neh 9:11; east wind: Exod 14:21), the adj.  $\bar{c}az$  often indicates the overpowering nature (love, Song Sol 8:6) and vehemence of the emotions (Prov 21:14; Isa 56:11 of lustful dogs), as well as the harshness of behavior (Isa 19:4; 25:3) and corresponding harsh facial expressions (with  $p\bar{a}n\hat{m}$ , Deut 28:50; Dan 8:23).

Apart from synonyms of  $\bar{o}z$  mentioned under 4,  $\rightarrow \lambda m\bar{s}$ ,  $\rightarrow gbr$ ,  $\rightarrow hzq$ , and  $\rightarrow q\bar{s}b$  function as the chief pars. On the word field of “strength,” cf. also  $\rightarrow \lambda abb\hat{r}$  and the terms mentioned in relation to  $\rightarrow k\bar{o}a\bar{h}$  (3), as well as a few rarer terms:  $\bar{c}y\bar{a}l$  (Psa 88:5) and  $\bar{c}y\bar{a}l\hat{u}t$  (Psa 22:20) “power” (cf. Wagner nos. 11f.); on  $\bar{c}el$  “might” see  $\rightarrow \bar{c}el$  1;  $\bar{c}ap\hat{q}$  “strong” (Job 12:21);  $\bar{d}\bar{o}b\bar{e}$  “strength” (Deut 33:25; cf. HAL 199b and F. M. Cross, *VT* 2 [1952]: 162–64);  $z\bar{m}r\hat{a}$  “strength” (Gen 43:11; Exod 15:2; Isa 12:2; Psa 118:14; cf. HAL 263a);  $\bar{h}^{\bar{a}}s\hat{m}$  (Psa 89:9) and  $\bar{h}\bar{a}s\bar{o}n$  (Isa 1:31; Amos 2:9) “strong” (cf. Wagner no. 106; HAL 324b);  $tq\bar{p}$  qal “to overpower” (Job 14:20; 15:24; Prov 4:12; 6:10 hi.),  $taqq\hat{p}$

“strong” (Eccl 6:10), and *tōqep* “might, power” (Esth 9:29; 10:2; Dan 11:17) are Aramaisms (cf. Bibl. Aram. *tq̄p* pe. “to be/become strong,” Dan 4:8, 17, 19; 5:20; pa. “to make strong, place in power,” Dan 6:8; *taqqîp* “strong,” Dan 2:40, 42; 3:33; 7:7; Ezra 4:20; *t̄qōp* “strength,” Dan 2:37; *t̄qāp* “strength,” Dan 4:27; Wagner nos. 329–31). On *šm* “to be strong, numerous” and *āšûm* “mighty, numerous,” cf. → *rab*; in contrast, the subst. *šem* (Deut 8:17; Nah 3:9; Job 30:21) and *šmâ* (Isa 40:29; 47:9) “strength” should be mentioned here (cf. also *šûmôt* “evidence,” Isa 41:21; *tašûmôt* “exuberance,” Psa 68:36). Finally, attention should be called to *qeren* “horn” (in the OT 75x in Hebr. and 14x Aram.) as a frequent symbol of strength (1 Sam 2:1, 10 etc.; Yahweh as the “horn of my salvation,” 2 Sam 22:3 = Psa 18:3).\*

4. The theological significance of *šz* reflects the various aspects of Yahweh’s strength and might, manifest to persons and his people as overpowering-majestic on the one hand, and as helpful-protective on the other. *šz* is attested in the sense of (a) “majestic power, honor,” primarily in hymns, while the element of (b) help and refuge appears primarily in individual laments and psalms of confidence. The first usage of *šz* corresponds to the usage of synonyms such as *kābôd* “honor” (→ *kbd*), *gāʾôn* “majesty” (→ *gʾh*), → *hādār* “splendor,” → *hōd*, “majesty,” and *tipʾeret* “splendor” (→ *pʾr*); and the second to the usage of terms like *maḥseh* “(place of) refuge,” (→ *hsh*), *yšûʿâ* “help” (→ *yšʿ*), *mišgāb* “high ground, refuge,” and → *šûr* “rock.” The usage of *šz* (c) in the wisdom literature is distinctive in character.

(a) Many hymns sing of God’s majestic *šz* manifest in creation (Psa 68:34; 74:13; 150:1; cf. 78:26) and history: his enemies bow (66:3; cf. 77:15; 89:11; and also Ezra 8:22) before the strength with which Yahweh girds himself (Psa 93:1), by which he swears (Isa 62:8), and which is manifest in the heavenly sanctuary (Psa 96:6). Through it his people are led in majesty (Exod 15:13). The chosen king and the chosen people of God enjoy the power granted them by Yahweh (1 Sam 2:10; Psa 21:2; 29:11; 68:36; 89:18). The majestic strength that God will grant the messianic king will also one day characterize his reign (Mic 5:3). In the context of the reciprocal relationship between God and his worshipers in the cult, the “honor” and “majesty” granted in this way produce a situation in which Yahweh’s strength praised in hymns engenders injunctions to honor him (Psa 29:1; 68:35; 96:7 = 1 Chron 16:28) or to seek his honor (→ *drš*; only in later texts: Psa 105:4 = 1 Chron 16:11). The formulaic expression *šzî wʿzimrāt Yāh* (Exod 15:2; Isa 12:2; Psa 118:14) simultaneously extols Yahweh as the source of and as the object of honor and song (cf. S. E. Loewenstamm, “The Lord is my strength and my glory,” VT 19 [1969]: 464–70).

The meaning “majesty, honor” then results in Isa 52:1 in a more or less profane

usage meaning “jewelry” in parallel to *bigdê tip’artēk* “your splendid garments” (cf. also Prov 31:25; contra e.g., Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 246f.). Outside Psa 96:6, *tip’eret* “splendor” also occurs in Psa 78:61 as a par. to *‘ōz*, which here denotes specifically the holy ark as God’s “honor, majesty,” as implied by *’rôn ‘uzzekā* “your majestic ark” in Psa 132:8 = 2 Chron 6:41.

The overpowering might of Yahweh, which God’s enemies fear, can also affect Israel itself when he punishes the people in his wrath (Psa 90:11, communal lament).

(b) In individual laments and petitions and in the psalms of confidence, Yahweh’s *‘ōz* appears as the help and refuge he grants those who call on him (Psa 28:7, 8; 46:2; 59:10 txt em; 62:8, 12; 71:7; 81:2; 84:6; 86:16; cf. Jer 16:19).

Passages treated under (a) and (b) suggest that differences in the meaning of *‘ōz* in the sense of “majestic power, honor” and “help, refuge” may be explained *semasiologically* in terms of usages in various literary genres. For this reason the distinction on the basis of *etymological* considerations suggested by KBL 692f. seems inappropriate.

(c) Also characteristic is the phrase involving *‘ōz* and “wisdom” in the wisdom literature. The concept of wisdom as life and shelter in Eg. wisdom literature (C. Kayatz, *Studien zu Proverbien 1–9* [1966], 102ff.) also occurs in the OT (cf. Eccl 7:12). Because *‘ōz* and insight are with God (Job 12:16), he or his name (→ *šēm*) appears as a strong, sheltering, refuge-offering tower (Prov 18:10; cf. Psa 61:4 and Papyrus Insinger 19:12: “The fortification of the pious in the year of distress is God,” cited in Gemser, HAT 16, 75). One can therefore trust in the wisdom originating in God better than in gold (cf. Prov 18:11 following 10:15), because it proves to be stronger (cf. 21:22; cf. also Eccl 7:19). On the whole issue, cf. P. Biard, *La puissance de Dieu* (1960), 75–81.

5. The LXX usually renders *‘ōz* with *ischys* and *dynamis*, often also with *kratos* and (reflecting the meaning “help”) with *boēthos* “helper.” In the Qumran literature, the latter meaning disappears almost entirely and the idea of power dominates. On the NT, cf. W. Grundmann, *Der Begriff der Kraft in der neutestamentlichen Gedankenwelt* (1932); Biard, op. cit. 105–90; W. Grundmann, “δύναμις,” *TDNT* 2:284–317; id., “ἰσχὺς,” *TDNT* 3:397–402; W. Michaelis, “κράτος,” *TDNT* 3:905–15.

A. S. van der Woude

עֲזַר *‘ōz* to help

S 5826; BDB 740a; HALOT 2:810b; ThWAT 6:14–21; TWOT 1598; NIDOTTE 6468

\*1. All Sem. languages except Akk. and Eth. attest the root \**ḏr* “to help” (Ug.: WUS no. 2115; UT no. 1831; Old SArab.: Conti Rossini 203; Arab. “to pardon,” etc.: Wehr 600; Phoen.-Pun. *ḏr*, Aram. *ḏr/dr*: DISO 206; LS 513; Akk. *izirtu* “help” in EA 87:13; 89:18 is a Can. loanword; cf. *Ahw* 408b; CAD I/J:319a), esp. in numerous proper names such as Hadadidri, Azariah, Ezra, Hasdrubal (for the older period cf. e.g., Buccellati 130f.; Huffmon 193; Gröndahl 107, 113; Harris 131f.; IP 154, 175; W. Baumgartner, ZAW 45 [1927]: 95 = *Zum AT und seiner Umwelt* [1959], 82f.; Wagner nos. 215–17).

Because of Ug. *ḡzr* “youth, warrior,” etc. (WUS no. 2138; UT no. 1956; H.-P. Müller, UF 1 [1969]: 90f.; J. C. de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu* [1971], 76 with bibliog.), derivation from a root *ḏr* II = \**ḡzr* “to be strong” has been strongly suspected (summarized in P. D. Miller, UF 2 [1970]: 159–75 with bibliog.) since H. L. Ginsberg (JBL 57 [1938]: 210f.n.4) for various OT instances of the qal ptc. *ḡzēr* (e.g., Ezek 30:8; 32:21; 1 Chron 12:1, 19) or of the subst. *ḡzer* (Ezek 12:14; Psa 89:20). The philological possibility involves the fusion in Hebr. of some consonants that are still distinct in Ug.; an exact demarcation between “helper/help” and “hero, warrior/might” continues to be difficult because of the proximity of meaning (cf. also CPT 139f., 332), which would also explain the ultimate displacement of any root *ḏr* II by *ḏr* I.

In addition to the dominant qal, the OT also has the ni. and the hi. (?); the substs. *ḡzer* and *ḡzrâ* “help” are attested. The subst. *ḡzārâ* “enclosure,” etc. (6x in Ezek 43:14–20; 45:19) and “forecourt” (2 Chron 4:9[bis]; 6:13) is, if related to the root at all (G. R. Driver, Bib 35 [1954]: 307f.), omitted here on account of its divergent meaning.

2. *ḏr* qal occurs 76x (Psa 16x, Isa and 2 Chron 12x, 1 Chron 10x, other books under 5x), ni. 4x (Psa 28:7; Dan 11:34; 1 Chron 5:20; 2 Chron 26:15), hi. 1x (2 Chron 28:23 txt? read qal; 2 Sam 18:3 Q counted as qal), *ḡzer* 21x (Psa 11x, Deut 3x), *ḡzrâ* 26x (Psa 14x, Isa 4x). Of 128 occurrences of the root, 42 appear in Psa, 17 in Isa, 15 in 2 Chron, 11 in 1 Chron, and 6 in Job.

3. Determinative for the meaning of the verb and the subst. is the element of the common action or cooperation of subj. and obj. when the strength of one is insufficient (Josh 10:4f. “Come up here to me and help me smite Gibeon . . . then they assembled and went up”; Isa 41:6 “One helps the other and says to his companion: Take hold”; 41:10 “I am with you . . . I strengthen you, I help you, I support you”). Connotations can vary from “to support” (Ezra 10:15), “to help out” (Josh 1:14; cf. Gen 2:18), “to

assist” (Gen 49:25) to “to stand with to deliver” (Dan 10:13; cf. Lam 4:17) and “to come to aid” (2 Sam 21:17; cf. Psa 60:13 = 108:13). To this extent, the Hebr. terms coincide with the Eng. terms “to help” and “help.” Since the emphasis is on cooperation, not the duration or nature of the action, both verb and subst. could refer either to continuous or punctiliar events (cf. e.g., 1 Sam 7:12 “Yahweh has helped us to this point”). In this respect *ʕr* is distinct from the more punctiliar verbs of helping and delivering (→ *yšc* hi.; → *nsl* hi.; → *pdh*; → *gʕ*, etc.); in Josh 10:6, e.g., *yšc* hi. indicates deliverance and *ʕr* joint movement against the enemy.

No special form-critical contexts are evident. A distinct realm of usage involves unity in war (1 Kgs 20:6; Isa 31:3; Ezek 32:21; Psa 35:2, etc.), which again can involve the element of cooperation or coming to assistance. The texts do not permit one to regard this context as the original realm of usage, however.

*ʕr ʔahʔrê* “to stand behind someone as a partisan” (1 Kgs 1:7) and *ʕr min* “to shelter from” (Ezra 8:22, apparently a contamination of *ʕr* [*ʕal* “against”] and *nsl* hi. *min* “to deliver from”) are unique constructions.

4. God is the subj. of *ʕr qal* about 30x (also Deut 32:38 and 2 Chron 28:23, the gods; Dan 10:13, an angel), particularly concentrated, in addition to Gen 49:25 (par. → *brk* pi. “to bless”) and 1 Sam 7:12 (in an etiology), in Deutero-Isa (7x in Isa 41:10–50:9), in Psa (all passages except for Psa 22:12; 72:12; and 107:12 with *ʔen ʕzêr*, “without a helper”), and in 1/2 Chron (8x). In accord with the context, God is also the agent (elsewhere people) of *ʕzer* and *ʕzrâ* in the Psa (and in Exod 18:4; Deut 33:7, 26, 29), and of *ʕr* ni. (except for Dan 11:34), although this stem does not emphasize the agent.

Two reasons may be forwarded for this noteworthy concentration in later usage (Psa, Deutero-Isa, Chron), in which the more general meanings “to help” and “help” dominate: (a) the generically conditioned uniqueness of the Psa that generates formal language and concentrations of terms, in this case esp. in petitions and confessions of confidence (cf. e.g., Psa 38:23; 79:9; 86:17); this setting apparently influenced the use of the word in Deutero-Isa (where *ʕr* occurs esp. in the salvation oracles), and (b) the theology of 1/2 Chron, according to which life is increasingly shaped by conventional and formal piety, but God is fundamentally remote. Relatedly, Chron’s increased use of *ʕr* with a divine subj. juxtaposes a decreased use of *yšc* hi. (only 2 Chron 20:9; 32:22, alone, and 1 Chron 11:14, in contrast to the *Vorlage*) and *nsl* hi. (2 Chron 25:15 alone, 1 Chron 16:35; 2 Chron 32:11, 17, supplementing the *Vorlage*). In this regard, Chron’s language coincides with contemporary liturgical usage in which a simple

“help” also constitutes one of the most common terms for God’s beneficial activity (cf. the prayer formulation “help . . . !” or the affirmation “with God’s help”). This usage and the underlying theology do not correspond to the general tenor of OT terminology. Elsewhere the difference between God’s delivering activity (verbs of deliverance) and God’s blessing activity (terms of blessing, presence, facilitation) is clearly distinguished; by contrast, *ʕr* with a divine subj. occurs rarely.

On *ʕr* in PNs (see 1) as an expression of confidence and thanksgiving, cf. *IP* 154, 175f.

5. Qumran’s use of *ʕr* (Kuhn, *Konk.* 162) exhibits no peculiarities (in the available texts). The LXX translates primarily with *boēthein* and derivatives. This word is much less prominent in the NT, whereas Josephus, for example, uses it frequently. The NT, then, does not adopt the late OT and Jewish usage (cf. F. Büchsel, “βοηθέω,” *TDNT* 1:628, with a citation from A. Schlatter, *Wie sprach Josephus von Gott?* [1910], 66).

U. Bergmann

## 𐤀𐤃 *ʕayin* **eye**

S 5869; BDB 744a; *HALOT* 2:817b; *ThWAT* 6:31–48; *TWOT* 1612a; *NIDOTTE* 6524

1. \**ʕayn-* “eye” is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 212f.; also in the meaning “spring”: P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 256, 270; 23 [1968]: 273, 288).

In addition to the primitive noun (GKC §82) *ʕayin* (Hebr. and Bibl. Aram.), the OT exhibits: a denominative verb *ʕyn* qal “to regard with suspicion” (only ptcp. *ʕyēn*, 1 Sam 18:9 Q; denominative verbs with various meanings also occur in Mid. Hebr., Aram., Arab., and esp. in Ug.: *ʕn* “to see,” *WUS* no. 2055a; *UT* no. 1846), the denominative noun *maʕyān* “spring” (also Old Aram., *DISO* 161), and a few derived proper names, incl. the post-exilic PN *ʕely(h)ôʕēnay* “my eyes are with Yahweh,” formed according to an Akk. pattern (*IP* 163, 216, 224).

2. In the statistical tables, the meaning “spring” (distinguished from place-names [about 40x] following Lis., incl. Judg 7:1; 1 Sam 29:1; 1 Kgs 1:9; Neh 2:13) are listed separately from the meaning “eye,” etc. (incl. 2 Sam 16:12 Q; excl. Hos 10:10), the latter with a separate category for fig. usages of *b<sup>e</sup>ʕēnē* “in the eyes of = in the opinion of” (not “in/with the eyes” in

the lit. sense: Num 33:55; Deut 3:27; 34:4; Josh 23:13; 2 Kgs 7:2, 19; Isa 6:10; Ezek 40:4; 44:5; Psa 91:8; Job 40:24; Prov 6:13; 20:8; Eccl 8:16; Ezra 3:12; 2 Chron 29:8) and *l'ēnē* "in the presence of, before" (except for Psa 50:21; 132:4; Job 31:1; Prov 6:4). Bibl. Aram. *ayin* occurs 5x (Dan 4:31; 7:8[bis], 20; Ezra 5:5).

	<i>ayin</i>	<i>ayin</i>			
	"eye"	<i>b'ēnē</i>	<i>l'ēnē</i>	"spring"	<i>ma'yān</i>
Gen 70	36	5	10	2	
Exod 34	15	9	1	–	
Lev 16	2	3	–	1	
Num 39	11	9	1	–	
Deut 58	13	11	2	–	
Josh 11	6	2	–	2	
Judg 19	15	–	1	–	
1 Sam	42	31	1	1	–
2 Sam	40	26	7	–	–
1 Kgs31	21	–	1	1	
2 Kgs49	34	1	–	2	
Isa 45	7	2	–	2	
Jer 54	13	15	–	–	
Ezek 70	1	31	–	–	
Hos 2	–	1	–	1	
Joel 1	–	–	–	1	
Amos3	–	–	–	–	
Obad–	–	–	–	–	
Jonah	1	–	–	–	–
Mic 2	–	–	–	–	
Nah –	–	–	–	–	
Hab 1	–	–	–	–	
Zeph 1	–	1	–	–	
Hag 1	1	–	–	–	
Zech 19	3	–	–	–	
Mal 2	1	–	–	–	
Psa 66	8	2	–	5	
Job 46	6	1	–	–	
Prov 47	13	1	1	3	
Ruth 4	3	–	–	–	
Song Sol	7	1	–	–	2
Eccl 9	–	–	–	–	
Lam 10	–	–	–	–	
Esth 13	13	–	–	–	

Dan 7	–	–	–	–	
Ezra 2	–	–	–	–	
Neh 3	1	1	4	–	
1 Chron	11	7	3	–	–
2 Chron	30	20	1	1	1
Hebr. OT	866	307	107	23	23

3. The sg. *ʿayin* and the dual *ʿenayim* (about 7/8 of occurrences) designate in numerous lit. and fig. usages (cf. Dhorme 75–80) the eye first (a) as the organ of sight (also of animals, e.g., Job 28:7 and 39:29 of birds of prey, Aram. Dan 7:8, 20 of the visionary “fourth animal”), less often (b) as the organ of other functions (sleep, crying, expressive emotion, etc.). Shifts of meaning occur particularly (c) in prep. usages and (d) in a few other instances.

(a) As (1) a (valuable, sensitive) body part, the eye not only indicates (2) (normal or disturbed) sight and observation but also indicates (3) psychic emotions such as desire, pride, joy, mercy, etc.

(1) The eye is mentioned as a body part in many contexts: Psa 94:9, creation of the eye; Job 10:4, *ʿenê bāsār* “eyes of flesh” = physical, mutable eyes; in the combination mouth-eyes-hands, 2 Kgs 4:34 (cf. also → *ʾōzen* “ear”); in the erotic descriptive song, Song Sol 1:15; 4:1, 9; 5:12; 7:5; beauty, 1 Sam 16:12 (cf. Gen 29:17 “weak eyes”); as the object of cosmetics, 2 Kgs 9:30 and Jer 4:30 with *pūk* “makeup,” Ezek 23:40 *khl qal*, “to use makeup”; in criminal law, Exod 21:24, 26 and Lev 24:20 (on the talion law “an eye for an eye,” cf. Alt, *KS* 1:341–44; Elliger, *HAT* 4, 335); in the expression *bēn ʿenayim* “between the eyes” = “on the forehead,” etc., Exod 13:9, 16; Deut 6:8; 11:18; 14:1; Dan 8:5, 21 (cf. Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 101; Ug., *UT* no. 1846); cf. also Gen 46:4; Num 33:55; Josh 23:13; Judg 16:28; Job 40:24; Prov 10:26; Eccl 2:14.

Fig. representations of eyes are mentioned in Ezek 1:18; 10:12 (cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:129; contra P. Auvray, *VT* 4 [1954]: 1–6); Zech 3:9.

The eye consists of pupil (*ʾšōn* Deut 32:10; Psa 17:8; Prov 7:2 [→ *ʾš* I]); *bābā* Zech 2:12; *bat* Psa 17:8; Lam 2:18), eyelid (*šmūrā* Psa 77:5), and eyebrows (*gabbôt* Lev 14:9). The traditional translation “eyelashes” for *ʿap ʿappayim* (10x in the OT, also Ug. *pʿp*, *WUS* no. 2072) has recently been challenged in favor of the translation “(sparkling) eyes” or “pupils” (cf. KBL 723b; J. M. Steadman, *HTR* 56 [1963]: 159–67; M. Dahood, *Bib* 50 [1969]: 272, 351f.).

Defects and injuries of the eye are described with: *khh* qal “to become weak, cloudy” (Gen 27:1; Deut 34:7; Zech 11:17; Job 17:7; adj.

*kēheh* “weak, cloudy,” 1 Sam 3:2), *klh* qal “to weaken” (Jer 14:6; Psa 69:4; Job 11:20; 17:5; Lam 4:17; pi. “to cause to languish,” Lev 26:16; 1 Sam 2:33; Job 31:16; *kilyôn* “languishing,” Deut 28:65), *kbd* qal “to become heavy” (Gen 48:10), *qûm* qal “to become fixed” (1 Sam 4:15; 1 Kgs 14:4), *šš* qal, usually “to become weak/darkened” perhaps “to become swollen” (so L. Delekat, *VT* 14 [1964]: 52–55; Psa 6:8; 31:10), *dʾb* qal “to languish” (Psa 88:10), *hšk* “to become dark” (Psa 69:24; Lam 5:17), *mqq* ni. “to decay” (Zech 14:12), *nqr* qal “to put out” (1 Sam 11:2; pi. Num 16:14; Judg 16:21), *šbr* qal “to break” (Ezek 6:9), and *ʿwr* pi. “to blind” (Deut 16:19; 2 Kgs 25:7 = Jer 39:7 = 52:11; adj. *ʿwwēr* “blind,” of people: Isa 29:18; 35:5; 43:8; cf. 59:10 “without eyes”; of the eyes, Isa 42:7); cf. also *tʿballūl* “with a speck (in the eye)” (Lev 21:20).

Terms from the root *ʿwr* (pi. “to blind,” 5x; *ʿwwēr* “blind,” 26x; *ʿwwārôn* “blindness,” 2x; *ʿawweret* “blindness,” 1x) are sometimes used in a fig. sense (Exod 23:8 and Deut 16:19 “bribery makes blind”; in Deutero-Isa, among others, Isa 43:8 “the blind people that has eyes, however”; cf. W. Herrmann, *Das Wunder in der evangelischen Botschaft: Zur Interpretation der Begriffe blind und taub im Alten und Neuen Testament* [1961]).

The saga tradition in Gen 19:11 and 2 Kgs 6:18 refers to a sudden blinding by God with the word of unknown origin *sanwērîm* (on the numerous attempted etymologies, e.g., by E. A. Speiser, *JCS* 6 [1952]: 89; F. Rundgren, *AcOr* 21 [1953]: 325–31, cf. C. Rabin, *Tarbiz* 39 [1968/69]: 214f.).

(2) Naturally, *ʿayin* appears frequently in combination with expressions for seeing (→ *rʾh*): Gen 45:12; Lev 13:12; Num 11:6; Deut 3:21; 4:3, 9; 7:19; 10:21; 11:7; 21:7; 28:32, 34, 67; 29:2; Josh 24:7; 2 Sam 24:3; 1 Kgs 1:48; 10:7; 2 Kgs 22:20; Isa 6:5, 10; 11:3; 30:20; 33:17, 20; 64:3; Jer 5:21; 20:4; 42:2; Ezek 12:2, 12; 23:16; 40:4; 44:5; Mal 1:5; Psa 17:2; 35:21; 50:21; 91:8; 94:9; 115:5; 135:16; 139:16; Job 7:7, 8a; 10:18; 13:1; 19:27; 20:9; 21:20; 24:15; 28:7, 10; 29:11; Prov 20:8, 12; 22:12; 23:33; 25:7; Eccl 5:10; 6:9; 11:7, 9; to see with one’s own eyes: Deut 3:27; 29:3; 34:4; 1 Sam 24:11; 2 Kgs 7:2, 19; Zech 9:8; Job 42:5; Ezra 3:12; 2 Chron 9:6; 29:8; 34:28; to see eye to eye: Num 14:14; Deut 19:21; Isa 52:8; Jer 32:4; 34:3; with overtones of feasting one’s eyes or taking a good long look: Mic 4:11; 7:10; Psa 54:9; 92:12; or Prov 27:20; Eccl 1:8; 4:8; text-critical criteria eliminate 2 Sam 16:12 Q; 20:6; Zech 5:6; 9:1; Psa 73:7.

The expression → *nśʾ ʿênayim* “to lift the eyes = to look up, glance,” which occurs about 50x, usually indicates the act that initiates the subsequent *rʾh* “seeing”: Gen 13:10, 14; 18:2; 22:4, 13; 24:63f.; 31:10, 12; 33:1, 5; 37:25; 43:29; Exod 14:10 (supply *rʾh*); Num 24:2; Deut 3:27; Josh 5:13; Judg 19:17; 1 Sam 6:13; 2 Sam 13:34; 18:24; Isa 40:26; 49:18; 51:6

(with *nbṭ* hi. “to look”); 60:4; Jer 3:2; 13:20; Ezek 8:5(bis); Zech 2:1, 5; 5:1, 5, 9; 6:1; Job 2:12 (with *nkr* hi. “to perceive”); Dan 8:3; 10:5; 1 Chron 21:16; *rḥ* is often followed by *w<sup>c</sup>hinnēh* “and behold”; for corresponding Akk. and Ug. expressions see, resp., *AHW* 762b; *WUS* no. 2055. It can also indicate desire, longing, attachment, etc., and thus approximates the cases treated under (3): Gen 39:7; Deut 4:19; 2 Kgs 19:22 = Isa 37:23; Ezek 18:6, 12, 15; 23:27; 33:25; Psa 121:1; 123:1; Aram. with *nṭl* “to lift,” Aḥ. 169 and Dan 4:31.

Directing the eyes at something refers to noticing, testing, being attached to, or being concerned for something in a wide variety of different expressions (Gen 44:21; Deut 11:12; 1 Kgs 1:20; 9:3 = 2 Chron 7:16; Isa 17:7; Jer 16:17; 24:6; 39:12; 40:4; Ezek 20:24; Amos 9:4, 8; Psa 10:8; 11:4; 17:11; 25:15; 32:8; 33:18; 34:16; 66:7; 101:6; 123:2; 141:8; 141:15; Job 7:8b; 17:2; 24:15, 23; 34:21; 39:29; Prov 4:25; 15:3; 17:24; 23:5, 26; Ruth 2:9; 2 Chron 16:9; 20:12; Aram., Ezra 5:5).

Expressions for open eyes or opening the eyes are frequent: → *glh* qal, Num 24:4, 16 of seeing visions (par. *štm* “to open”[?] vv 3, 15); *glh* pi., Num 22:31; Psa 119:18; *ptḥ* “to open,” only in 1 Kgs 8:29, 52; Neh 1:6; 2 Chron 6:20, 40; 7:15, otherwise *pqh* qal (except for Isa 42:20 always in reference to the eyes); Gen 21:19; 2 Kgs 4:35; 6:17(bis), 20(bis); 19:16 = Isa 37:17; 42:7; Jer 32:19; Zech 12:4; Job 14:3; 27:19; Prov 20:13; Dan 9:18; cf. Psa 146:8; ni., Gen 3:5, 7; Isa 35:5 (cf. the adj. *piqqēah* “clear-sighted,” Exod 4:11; 23:8, and the subst. *p<sup>c</sup>qaḥqôah* “opening,” Isa 61:1; Old Aram. in Sef. 1.13; cf. Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 39; *DISO* 234). Expressions for closing, covering, and turning away, also in lit. and fig. senses, occur too: *šm* qal/pi. “to close,” Isa 29:10; 33:15; *šm* hi. “to hide, cover,” Lev 20:4; 1 Sam 12:3; Isa 1:15; Ezek 22:26; Prov 28:27; *thḥ* qal “to be plastered over,” Isa 44:18; *š<sup>cc</sup>* qal “to be plastered over,” Isa 32:3 txt em; cf. hitpalpel, Isa 29:9; hi. “to plaster over,” Isa 6:10; cf. also Psa 119:37; Job 36:7; Song Sol 6:5; *p<sup>a</sup>ēr* “bandage over the eyes,” 1 Kgs 20:38, 41; *k<sup>c</sup>sūt c<sup>n</sup>ayim* “covering for the eyes = appeasement gift,” Gen 20:16.

(3) Among the psychic emotions expressed by phrases involving *ayin*, foremost are the various nuances of desire: Gen 3:6; Num 15:39; 1 Kgs 20:6; Jer 5:3; 22:17; Ezek 20:7f.; 24:16, 21, 25; Job 31:1, 7; Eccl 2:10; Lam 2:4 (opposite “to lose sight of,” Prov 3:21; 4:21). Moreover, expressions also occur for compassion (Gen 45:20; Deut 7:16; 13:9; 19:13, 21; 25:12; Isa 13:18; Ezek 5:11; 7:4, 9; 8:18; 9:5, 10; 16:5; 20:17), pride (2 Sam 22:28 txt em = Psa 18:28; Isa 2:11; 5:15; 10:12; Psa 101:5; 131:1; Job 22:29; Prov 6:17; 21:4; 30:13), defiance (Isa 3:8), derision (Prov 30:17), longing (Psa 119:82, 123, 148), purity (Hab 1:13), kindness (Prov 22:9), and evil, envy (Deut 15:9; 28:54, 56; Prov 23:6; 28:22). Brilliant,

shining eyes are mentioned as signs of life and joy: Gen 49:12; 1 Sam 14:27, 29; Psa 13:4; 19:9; 38:11; Job 41:10; Prov 15:30; 29:13; Dan 10:6; Ezra 9:8 (→ *ʾôr*).

(b) The eye is relatively rarely mentioned in relation to wakefulness and sleep; cf. Gen 31:40; Psa 77:5; 132:4; Prov 6:4; Eccl 8:16.

The eye appears somewhat more frequently as the source of tears (*dm<sup>c</sup>* qal “to shed tears,” Jer 13:17[bis]; *dim<sup>ca</sup>* “tears,” 23x in the OT; cf. *dema<sup>c</sup>* “juice,” Exod 22:28), which early engendered the metaphor *ayin* = “spring.” Several passages merit attention: Isa 38:14 txt em; Jer 8:23; 9:17; 13:17; 14:17; 31:16; Psa 116:8; 119:136; Job 16:20; Lam 1:16; 2:11, 18; 3:48f. (cf. Prov 23:29, red eyes; Lam 3:51, painful eyes). The eye is never the subj. of → *bkh* “to cry” (apparently because crying includes crying out); only Jer 8:23; 13:17; 31:16; Lam 1:16 parallel “(crying) eyes” and “to cry.”

Further expressions include: *šqr* pi. “to blink,” Isa 3:16 (cf. also Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 149); *qrš* “to squeeze shut, blink,” Psa 35:19; Prov 6:13; 10:10; *lš* “to rub,” Job 16:9 (metaphorically); *rzm* “to roll,” Job 15:12; *šh* “to squeeze shut,” Prov 16:30.

(c) Combination with preps. produces prep. expressions in which *ayin* tends away from its lit. meaning toward the metonymic abstract concepts of “viewpoint, opinion, assessment” or “view, eyewitness status, presence,” etc. The first meaning occurs in the frequent expression *b<sup>cc</sup>enê* “in the eyes of = in the viewpoint, opinion, judgment of” (Gen 6:8; 16:4–6; 18:3; 19:8, 14, 19, etc.; see 2 with table); expressions for “to please” (16:6; 19:8; 20:15, etc., → *ṭôb* 3d) and “to displease” (21:11f.; 28:8, etc.) are formed with *ṭôb* “good”/*yṭb* “to be good” and *ra<sup>c</sup>* “evil”/*r<sup>cc</sup>* “to be evil.” The expression *mē<sup>c</sup>enê* “without knowledge of” (Lev 4:13; Num 5:13; 15:24) should be included here. The second meaning “view, presence” is perceptible in *l<sup>c</sup>enê* “before the eyes of = in the presence of” (Gen 23:11, 18; 30:41, etc.); *l<sup>c</sup>enê* becomes synonymous with *lipnî* “before” (→ *pānîm*). (*l<sup>c</sup>eneged enê* (2 Sam 22:25 = Psa 18:25; Joel 1:16; Psa 5:6; 26:3; 36:2; 101:3, 7; Job 4:16) and *nōkah enê* (Prov 5:21) have the same sense. The opposite is expressed by *mē<sup>c</sup>enê* or *minneged enê* “out of the eyes of, away from” (Judg 6:21; Isa 65:16; Hos 13:14; Job 3:10; 28:21 or Isa 1:16; Jer 16:17; Amos 9:3; Jonah 2:5; Psa 31:23).

(d) A few noteworthy images and fig. usages are yet to be mentioned. Num 10:31 (as leader in the wilderness, Hobab should be an “eye” for the Israelites), Zech 4:10 (the seven lamps in the prophet’s vision are “the eyes of Yahweh, which roam the entire earth”), and Job 29:15 (“I was an eye for the blind and a foot for the lame”) describe persons metaphorically as “eyes.”

The metaphors in which *ayin* should be translated “appearance,”

“shine,” or “surface” are not entirely clear. Lev 13:5, 37, 55 discuss the “appearance” of a rash and Num 11:7 that of the manna. The meaning “shine” occurs in the descriptions of visions in Ezek 1:4, 7, 16, 22, 27; 8:2; 10:9; and Dan 10:6, as well as the shimmer of the wine in Prov 23:31. The meaning varies yet again in *ʿên hāʾāreš* in Exod 10:5, 15 and Num 22:5, 11, where *ʿayin* apparently replaces *pānîm* in reference to the surface of the earth. It is possible to subsume all these passages under the concept of “the visible,” yet the metonymy remains remarkable.

The old, fixed metaphor “eye” = “spring” has already been mentioned in 1 and 3b (cf. Dhorme 75f.). Apart from a series of place-names, it occurs in Gen 16:7(bis); 24:13, 16, 29f., 42f., 45; 49:22; Exod 15:27; Num 33:9; Deut 8:7; 33:28; Judg 7:1; 1 Sam 29:1; 1 Kgs 1:9; Prov 8:28; Neh 2:13f.; 3:15; 12:37; 2 Chron 32:3.

4. (a) The OT mentions God’s eyes about 200x (*ʿên/ʿênê yhw̄h* 100x; rarely *ʿênê [hā]ʾlōhîm*, Num 23:27; Prov 3:4; 1 Chron 21:7; *ʿênê ʾdōnāy [yhw̄h]*, 1 Kgs 3:10; Amos 9:8; Aram. “eye of their God,” Ezra 5:5; otherwise “my eye,” Jer 24:6; Ezek 5:11; 7:4, 9; 8:18; 9:10; 20:17; Amos 9:4; Psa 32:8; “his eye,” Deut 32:10; often “my/your/his eyes”; cf. also Hab 1:13). In most cases, however, it involves the same expressions used of human eyes in which the concrete meaning is markedly diminished. Thus *bʿʿênê* “in the eyes of = in the judgment of” appears often, esp. in the expression *mšʾhēn* “to find favor” (texts, → *mšʾ* 4, also Prov 3:4) and in the evaluative statements with *ʾōb/yʾb* “good” (→ *ʾōb* 3d[1]; also Mal 2:17), *yāšār/yšr* “right” (→ *yšr* 4, also Jer 34:15), *raʿ/ʾrʿʿ* “evil” (→ *raʿ* 3a), *gd̄l* “to be great” (1 Sam 26:24), *qtn* (2 Sam 7:19 = 1 Chron 17:17), *qll* ni. (2 Kgs 3:18) “to be insignificant,” *kbd* ni. “to be honored” (Isa 49:5), *plʾ* ni. “to be wondrous” (Zech 8:6), and *yqr* “to be valuable” (Isa 43:3; *yāqār* “valuable,” Psa 116:15). Cf. also the expressions “purity in his eyes” (2 Sam 22:25 = Psa 18:25; Job 11:4; 15:15; 25:5) and “a thousand years are in your eyes like yesterday” (Psa 90:4).

Only rarely does God’s “eye” occur in the concrete sense: in a fig. comparison, Deut 32:10 “he guards it like the apple of his eye”; negated in Job 10:4 “do you have an eye of flesh, then, or do you see like men see?”; “eye to eye” in Num 14:14 describes direct encounter with God (otherwise with → *pānîm*, Gen 32:31; Exod 33:11; Deut 5:4; 34:10; Judg 6:22; Ezek 20:35).

A series of the expressions mentioned in 3a(2) describe Yahweh’s protective presence and his omniscience: Jer 16:17(bis); 32:19; Psa 66:7 “his eyes watch over the nations”; 139:16; Job 7:8; 14:3; 34:21; 36:7; Prov 5:21; 15:3; 22:12; 2 Chron 16:9 “Yahweh’s eyes roam the entire earth”; cf. the symbolic imagery in the night vision of Zech 4:10. Other expressions

such as “to direct his eyes toward someone” (at the royal court in the meaning “to care for someone,” Gen 44:21; Jer 39:12; 40:4), “to keep his eyes open,” or “to hide his eyes” signify the various modes of God’s activity: saving intervention (Jer 24:6 “I set my eye on them for good”; Zech 9:8, 12; Psa 11:4 and 17:2 with → *hzh*; 32:8 [cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:371]; 33:18 [cf. v 19]; 34:16) and judgment (Isa 1:15f.; Amos 9:4, 8; Job 16:9; cf. 2 Sam 22:28 txt?), blessing and protection (Deut 11:12 “a land, on which the eyes of Yahweh, your God, rest at all times”; Ezra 5:5). Statements that Yahweh’s eyes are open over the temple in order to hear prayers should also be understood against the background of blessing (1 Kgs 8:29, 52; 9:3; 2 Chron 6:20, 40; 7:15f.; the promises correspond to the petitions for response in 2 Kgs 19:16 = Isa 37:17; Dan 9:18; Neh 1:6).

(b) The fundamental theological use of *ayin* in reference to human eyes is linked with the appeal to God and occurs primarily in the language of the Psa. To a degree, Israel uses linguistic expressions that shaped the same procedures in the Bab. court and cult (cf. F. Nötscher, “*Das Angesicht Gottes schauen*” nach biblischer und babylonischer Auffassung [1924], also regarding 4a). The phrase “lift his eyes,” etc. describes turning to God (Psa 123:1f.; cf. 121:1 and the PN *ʔelyʕhōʕenay*, see 1), “lift the eyes to the idols of the house of Israel,” apostasy (Ezek 18:6, 12, 15). Those who have “arrogant eyes” do not seek Yahweh’s assistance (cf. Isa 2:11; 10:12; Psa 18:28; 101:5; Prov 6:17, etc.; → *gbh*, → *rûm*). *ayin* reappears in the lament in a variety of expressions. False witnesses “wink the eyes” when they assert: “we have seen it with our own eyes” (Psa 35:19, v 21 perhaps a legal expression). Suffering causes “the eyes to be dimmed with care” (Psa 6:8; 31:10, etc.), hinders the eye “from ever seeing good again” (Job 7:7), for whoever pays regard to God and people experiences good fortune (v 8). Just as the eyes of the supplicant search for God’s intervention, they also marvel at its arrival (e.g., *Iʕʕnê*, Exod 4:30; *bʕʕnê*, Psa 118:23; Isa 33:17 with *hzh*; Isa 52:8, *ayin bʕayin* with *rʕh*; Isa 64:3 “no ear has heard, no eye has seen a god beside you”).

*ayin* occurs in the context of visionary experience in Num 24:3f., 15f.; Isa 6:5; Ezek 10:2; Job 4:16; on the usage of the term in apocalypticism, cf. also Dan 4:31; 7:8, 20.

5. On “eye” in the LXX and in the NT, cf. W. Michaelis, “ὀφθαλμός,” *TDNT* 5:375–78.

E. Jenni (1–3)/D. Vetter (4–5)

עִיר *ayin* city

S 5892; BDB 746a; HALOT 2:821a; ThWAT 6:56–74; TWOT 1615; NIDOTTE 6551

1. The word *ʕr* “city” (pl. *ʕarîm*) occurs in several Sem. languages: Ug. and Phoen. *ʕ* (*WUS* no. 2091; *UT* no. 1847; *DISO* 221), extrabibl. Hebr. in Lachish Letter IV:7, *hʕyrh* “to the city (= Jerusalem)” (*KAI* no. 194.7), and Old SArab. *ʕ* “fortress” (Conti Rossini 213a). According to GB 584a and KBL 701a one may not exclude a relationship to Sum. *uru*. Nothing may be said with certainty concerning a basic meaning; at any rate, *ʕr* must refer to some form of fortification.

Bibl. Aram. uses *qiryâ* for “city” (9x in Ezra 4:10–21); this word is also attested in Hebr. (30x: 10x in Isa, 5x in Prov, 3x in Hab; par. to *ʕr* e.g., in Isa 1:26); cf. Hebr. *qeret* (Job 1x, Prov 4x), Ug. *qrt/qryt* (*WUS* no. 2462), and Phoen.-Pun. *qrt* (*DISO* 267). Moab. has *qr* for “city” (*KAI* no. 181.11f., 24, 29), while *qîr* in Hebr. means “wall” (74x: Ezek 25x, 1 Kgs 13x). In the event of a relationship between *qîr* and *qiryâ*, *qiryâ* would refer to a walled settlement. Assuming an exchange of *ʕ* and *q*, some have sought to relate the root *qr* to *ʕr* and assume the meaning “that protected by a stone wall” for *ʕr* (H. J. Dreyer, FS van Selms 17–25), but such a relationship is questionable.

Of the various modifiers associated with the word, only those involving PNs (esp. *ʕrdāwîd* “city of David,” e.g., 2 Sam 5:7), regional names (e.g., *ʕr ʕmālêq*, 1 Sam 15:5), and those that indicate peculiar status (e.g., *ʕr hammʕlûkâ* “residence,” 2 Sam 12:26; *ʕr miqlâṭ* “city of refuge,” Num 35:6, 11ff., etc.) are discussed here. It is remarkable that *ʕr* is hardly used in place-names and then apparently as a nickname (e.g., *ʕr hattʕmārîm* “city of palms” for Jericho, Deut 34:3, etc.; *ʕr šemeš*, Josh 19:41 alongside *bêt šemeš*); in contrast, *qiryâ* occurs frequently in place-names (Kiryath-Arba, Kiryath-Sepher, Kiryath-Jearim, etc.).

\*2. If one follows Lis. 1651c in the delineation of place-names and assigns *ʕr* e.g., in “city of David” and “city of palms” to the appellatives, the following statistics result for *ʕr* (incl. Josh 8:12 K, 16 K; and 2 Kgs 20:4 K; excl. Judg 10:4 [the second *ʕyārîm* is probably a scribal error for *ʕarîm*; contra e.g., BL 620: pl. *ʕyārîm* is a neologism as a wordplay with *ʕyārîm* “foal of an ass”]; Psa 73:20 and *ʕr* “excitement” in Jer 15:8; Hos 11:9 from the root *ʕûr*):

	sg.	pl.	total
Gen	39	9	48

Exod 2	1	3	
Lev 7	7	14	
Num 15	34	49	
Deut 30	28	58	
Josh 70	88	158	
Judg 49	7	56	
1 Sam	31	7	38
2 Sam	38	7	45
1 Kgs38	13	51	
2 Kgs51	15	66	
Isa 30	16	46	
Jer 79	58	137	
Ezek 43	18	61	
Hos –	4	4	
Joel 1	–	1	
Amos8	3	11	
Obad–	1	1	
Jonah	8	–	8
Mic 1	3	4	
Nah 1	–	1	
Hab 1	–	1	
Zeph 2	2	4	
Hag –	–	–	
Zech 5	4	9	
Mal –	–	–	
Psa 18	2	20	
Job 1	1	2	
Prov 4	–	4	
Ruth 4	–	4	
Song Sol	3	–	3
Eccl 5	–	5	
Lam 5	1	6	
Esth 12	2	14	
Dan 6	–	6	
Ezra 3	4	7	
Neh 11	10	21	
1 Chron	16	21	37
2 Chron	41	48	89
Hebr. OT	678	414	1,092

3. The characterization of *šr* as a settlement fortified with walls fits in many cases, but it may not be presented as a generally valid definition. It

does not always refer to artificially erected fortifications as we have come to know them through excavations in the Near East. At any rate, one should not think of cities in the modern sense. Any settlement, more-or-less permanently inhabited, protected by the erection of a “fortress” or a simple wall, can be called *‘îr*. In addition to cities fortified with high walls, gates, and bars, Deut 3:5 mentions the many *‘ārê happ<sup>‘</sup>rāzî* “settlements of the country population,” probably unwalled, offering little protection, or only primitively enclosed (cf. also Ezek 38:11). Lev 25:29, 31 distinguishes *‘îr ḥômâ* “walled city” from *ḥāṣēr* “enclosure” without walls, but probably with some sort of shelter from wild animals and hostile people (cf. M. Noth, *OT World* [1966], 145). One can often compare Hebr. *‘îr* with Akk. *ālu* (see *AHW* 39a, etymologically related to Hebr. *‘ōhel* “tent”); it could, then, also refer to more-or-less permanent “tent cities” (e.g., 1 Sam 15:5 “city of Amalek”; 30:29 “cities of the Kenites”). The dwelling places of the Israelites settled in Canaan were at first several primitive settlements; only later, in the monarchic period, did the immigrants gradually turn more to city life and urban culture.

The LXX translates *‘îr* with *polis*, but this word, as a counterpart to Hebr. *‘îr*, is depoliticized because the political structure of a “city” played no constitutive role by Israelite standards (cf. H. Strathmann, *TDNT* 6:522ff.). The OT does speak of the kings of Can. cities, but in the Israelite era only the men, the elders of the city, exercised judicial authority. The significance of the city lay, rather, in the protection that it could offer in times of distress not only to the inhabitants but also to those who dwelt in the immediate vicinity. Only in the course of time did the cities also become the economic, intellectual, and cultural center for the Israelites. Urbanization progressed as the former seminomadic structures of life became more remote. At the same time, this process raises the question of the assessment of the city and its culture in the OT.

4. (a) The note concerning the foundation of the city by Cain in the Yahwistic primeval history (Gen 4:17 MT, yet cf. Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:327f.) is often understood as antipathy to urban life, even as a rejection of the city. City and human pursuit of security, mastery, concentration of power, and rebellion against God go together (11:1–9). Loathsome sins are at home in the city (chs. 18f.). The city brings with it a dissolution of the old tribal order and provides vice with freedom of opportunity. Israel “apparently never found an authentic and progressive relationship to the city and its society” (G. Wallis, “Die Stadt in den Überlieferungen der Genesis,” *ZAW* 78 [1966]: 133–48, citation, 148). The prophetic critique is also directed against the city and its decadence (Amos 4:1ff.; Mic 6:9ff.; Isa 3:16ff.; 5:8ff.; Hab 2:12, etc.). One should also remember the Rechabites’ rejection of sedentary culture (Jer 35).

Such a negative assessment of the city is one-sided, however, and does not do justice to the OT witness. The founding of the city in Gen 4:17 (in terms of the history of culture, it probably deals only with a fixed, secured central location to which nomadic groups could retreat in times of distress) can also be understood in a positive sense (cf. Westermann, *op. cit.* 327f.). Even in Gen 11, the construction of the city itself is not a sinful act. To be sure, the foundation of cities in the OT is not regarded as a given aspect of creation, but Israel may assume the cities already present in Canaan because Yahweh places them at their disposal (Deut 6:10). If dwelling in houses and cities was not itself sinful, urban culture was still dangerous and seductive for the people, as history clearly indicates. Agrarian and cultural prejudices may indeed have played a role, but the prophetic critique cannot be explained in these terms in the final analysis; rather, it is grounded entirely in religious criteria. The sin was self-security, the development of power, mastery as apostasy from God. The cities with high and secure walls do not themselves signify evil—the wickedness was confidence in these walls (Deut 28:52). It does not involve a security gained through human might, but the protection that only Yahweh can give (cf. Psa 127:1 “If Yahweh does not guard the city, the guards watch for naught”; Zech 2:9).

(b) The “fortress of Zion” (→ *šiyyôn* 3) was called *šr dāwīd* “city of David” after David conquered it (2 Sam 5:2); the ark found its place here (6:12ff.). In the city of David, David and the Judean kings were buried (1 Kgs 2:10; 11:43, etc.). A few late passages even call Jerusalem *šr haqqōdeš* “holy city” (Isa 48:2; 52:1; Neh 11:1, 18; cf. Dan 9:24, 26; so also CD 20:22; [12:1f. *šr hammiqdāš* “city of the sanctuary”]; in the NT, Matt 4:5; 27:53; Rev 21:1; cf. also the Arab. name for Jerusalem, *el-quds* ).

The reason for this expression was the fact that the city was the location of Yahweh’s temple and the ark. One should not think of an Israelite notion of a city with a primeval sanctity; it can be described as holy only as the city chosen by Yahweh. In later times, this description can be understood in terms of the need to keep the city free of any impurity (cf. CD 12:1f.; perhaps also in 2 Chron 8:11: the daughter of the pharaoh must move out of the sacred precinct in the limited sense).

The designation for Jerusalem *šr yhw* “city of Yahweh” also occurs occasionally: Psa 101:8; Isa 60:14 (on the lips of Israel’s oppressors); doubtful in Jer 31:38 and Psa 48:9. 1 Kgs 8:16; 11:13, 32, 36; 14:21; 2 Kgs 21:7; 23:27; 2 Chron 6:5; 12:13; 33:7 discuss Yahweh’s election of Jerusalem; cf. also Psa 78:68; 132:13 (→ *bhr* IV/2d). 2 Kgs 23:27 speaks of the rejection of the city; Zech 1:17; 2:16 of a new election. The “city of God” in Psa 46:5; 48:2, 9 refers concretely to Jerusalem (Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:89–92, an excursus on Psa 46). Cf. further: G. von Rad, “City on the Hill,”

PHOE 232–42; A. van Selms, *Hervormde Theologische Studies* 8 (1952): 79–89; Th. C. Vriezen, *Jahwe en zijn stad* (1962); L. M. Muntingh, FS van Selms 108–20; → *šyḡyôn*.

5. On the LXX (see 3) and the NT, cf. H. Strathmann, “πόλις,” *TDNT* 6:516–35.

A. R. Hulst

## עלה *ʿlh* to go up

S 5927; BDB 748a; *HALOT* 2:828b; *ThWAT* 6:84–105; *TWOT* 1624; *NIDOTTE* 6590

## ירד *yrd* to descend

S 3381; BDB 432b; *HALOT* 2:434b; *TDOT* 6:315–22; *TWOT* 909; *NIDOTTE* 3718

1. The root *ʿlh* (*\*ʿly*) is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 218f.; Akk. *elû*, *AHW* 206–10; Ug. *ʿly*, *WUS* no. 2030; *UT* no. 1855; Phoen. *ʿly*, *DISO* 211, etc.), as indicated particularly by the distribution of the prep. *ʿal* “on, concerning, against.” The verbal stem has been largely replaced in Aram. by *slq* (KBL 1103b; in Psa 139:8 *slq* “to climb up” is an Aram. loanword; cf. Wagner no. 202).

The most common conjugations are qal and hi.; in addition, ni. and ho. occur occasionally (the hitp. only in the extremely uncertain text of Jer 51:3; cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 306).

Nom. derivatives are *ʿal* “height,” *ʿāleh* “leaves,” *ʿōlâ* “burnt offering,” *ʿēlî* “pestle,” *ʿālyâ* “upper room,” *maʿal* “the upper,” *mōʿal* “lifting,” *maʿāleh* “ascent, rise,” *maʿālâ* “ascent, step,” and *t<sup>e</sup>ʿālâ* “healing (scarring).” *ʿillî* “superior” and *ʿlyôn* “superior” are, as a rule, used as adjs.

In Bibl. Aram. *ʿillî* and *ʿlyôn* occur as Hebr. loanwords; in addition to the prep. *ʿal* and the adv. *ʿēllāʾ* “above,” *ʿillāy* “highest” and *ʿālāwān* (only pl.) “burnt offerings” also occur.

Proper names derived from this root are the masc. PN *ʿēlî* (1 Sam 1:3–4:16; 14:3; 2 Kgs 2:27; cf. *IP* 146) and the place-names *ʿalwâ/ʿalyâ* (Gen 36:40 or 1 Chron 1:51) *ʿēlʿāleh* (Num 32:3, 37, etc.).

2. The verb occurs in all portions of the OT, yet some concentration

of the qal forms in the narratives portions (Judg 57x) seems apparent:

	qal	hi.	ho.	ni.	total	
Gen	44	7	–	–	51	
Exod	36	23	–	3	62	
Lev	4	10	–	–	14	
Num	23	12	–	7	42	
Deut	24	8	–	–	32	
Josh	48	7	–	–	55	
Judg	57	14	1	–	72	
1 Sam		48	22	–	–	70
2 Sam		22	13	–	1	36
1 Kgs	38	15	–	–	53	
2 Kgs	52	7	–	–	59	
Isa	34	6	–	–	40	
Jer	41	20	–	2	63	
Ezek	18	19	–	2	39	
Hos	6	1	–	–	7	
Joel	7	–	–	–	7	
Mic	5	6	–	–	11	
Obad	1	–	–	–	1	
Jonah		3	1	–	–	4
Mic	2	1	–	–	3	
Nah	1	1	1	–	3	
Hab	1	1	–	–	2	
Zeph	–	–	–	–	–	
Hag	–	1	–	–	1	
Zech	6	–	–	–	6	
Mal	–	–	–	–	–	
Psa	12	9	–	2	23	
Job	6	2	–	–	8	
Prov	6	1	–	–	7	
Ruth	1	–	–	–	1	
Song Sol		5	–	–	–	5
Eccl	2	–	–	–	2	
Lam	1	1	–	–	2	
Esth	–	–	–	–	–	
Dan	3	–	–	–	3	
Ezra	8	5	–	1	14	
Neh	10	3	–	–	13	
1 Chron		11	13	–	–	24
2 Chron		25	27	1	–	53
OT	612	255	3	18	888	

Qal and hi. may not be clearly distinguished in every case. Yet the hi. should surely be read (contra Lis.) in 1 Sam 28:11a; 1 Kgs 8:4b; 10:5; Jer 52:9; Ezek 19:3; Psa 51:21; 2 Chron 5:5a; and probably also in Isa 40:31 (cf. Elliger, BK 11, 100f.); and on the contrary, apparently the qal in 2 Kgs 16:12 and Jer 46:8 (contra Mandl.; further divergences from Mandl. with Lis.: Lev 6:2; Isa 32:13; 2 Chron 1:17; 9:4; 32:5). The text of 2 Sam 15:24, assigned here to the hi. with Lis. (cf. Hertzberg, *Sam*, OTL, 343n.a), is highly uncertain. Lis. omits the hi. forms in Deut 28:61 and Judg 16:3 (classified with *Im*); he parses 1 Chron 26:16 as a nom. form (*ōlâ*, here treated as a qal ptcp.). The uncertain occurrence of the hitp. (Jer 51:3) is not included here.

*ōlâ* occurs 287x, esp. in texts in which cultic regulations figure prominently (Lev 62x, incl. 6:2b; Num 56x; 2 Chron 30x; Ezek 19x, excl. 40:26 txt?; Exod 17x); *ma<sup>al</sup>* occurs 141x (Num 38x, Ezek 15x, Exod 13x), *elyôn* 53x (31x as a divine predicate, 21x in Psa), *ma<sup>alâ</sup>* 47x (15x as a pl. in the superscriptions to Psa 120–134), *ālyâ* 20x, *ma<sup>alch</sup>* 19x (incl. Ezek 40:31, 34, 37 Q), *āleh* 18x, *al* subst. 6x (2 Sam 23:1; Hos 7:16 txt?; 11:7 txt? see comms.; *mē<sup>al</sup>* “up there,” Gen 27:39; 49:25; Psa 50:4; cf. the usage of *ma<sup>al</sup>*), *illî* 2x (Josh 15:19; Judg 1:15), *t<sup>e</sup>ālâ* 2x (Jer 30:13; 46:11), *mō<sup>al</sup>* 1x (Neh 8:6), and *elî* 1x (Prov 27:22).

Aram. *illāy* occurs 10x (in addition to *elyôn* 4x), *ellā* 1x (Dan 6:3), *illî* 1x (Dan 6:11), and *ālāwān* 1x (Ezra 6:9).

3. (a) *lh* qal, indicating movement from a lower to a higher place, has a relatively limited semantic spectrum. Only a translation problem forces Eng. to use various expressions reflecting the standpoint of the narrator: “to go up,” etc., if the movement is away from the observer (as is the rule), “to come up” if the speaker is located at the higher place (e.g., Exod 24:2; Josh 10:4).

The verb regularly describes the migration from Egypt to Palestine or to the stations on the way there (Gen 13:1; 45:25; Exod 1:10 [see below]; 12:38; 13:18; Num 32:11; Judg 11:13, 16; 19:30; 1 Sam 15:2, 6; 1 Kgs 9:16; Isa 11:16; Hos 2:17, etc.) and the entry from the desert into the land of Canaan (Exod 33:1; Num 13:17, 21, 30; Deut 1:21, 26, 41; Judg 1:1–4). This expression is used so stereotypically that topographical data can be omitted entirely (Gen 44:17, 24, 33f.; 45:9; 50:5–7, 9, 14, etc.). Similarly, the return of the exiles is regarded as “going up” (Ezra 2:1, 59; 7:6f., 28; 8:1; Neh 7:5f., 61; 12:1).

The use of this term is so enlightening in view of the geographical circumstances that one may reject the suggestion of G. R. Driver (*ZAW* 69 [1957]: 74–77; cf. also W. Leslau, *ZAW* 74 [1962]: 322f.; S. Shibayama, *Journal of Bible and Religion* 34 [1966]: 358–62) that *lh* qal may occasionally have had the specialized meaning “to go north.”

Since cities often lie on hills, going there is often indicated by *ʾlh* (e.g., Josh 7:2; 8:1, 3, 10f.; Timnah: Gen 38:12f.; conversely, one goes down [*yrđ*] to the Timnah mentioned in Judg 14:1, 5), as is the entry of a city from outside (Josh 6:5, 20; 1 Sam 9:11, 14; 1 Kgs 1:35, 40, 45; cf. Jer 48:15; Prov 21:22). When the location of a sanctuary is involved (Bethel, Gen 35:1, 3; Judg 20:18, 23 txt em; Hos 4:15 txt em [*yet yrđ* appears in 2 Kgs 2:2]; Beer-sheba, Gen 26:23; Shiloh, 1 Sam 1:3, 7, 21f.; 2:19; Jerusalem, 1 Kgs 12:27f.; Zech 14:16–19; one also goes up to the temple from the palace mount, 2 Kgs 12:11; 19:14; 20:5, 8; 23:2 and par.; Jer 26:10), the spatial concept is not exclusively determinative; instead the notion of the encounter with the God who dwells “on high” also plays a role (Deut 17:8; cf. 1 Sam 10:3 “to God at Bethel”; Judg 21:5, 8 “to Yahweh at Mizpah”). From here, the verb even acquires the technical meaning “to go on a pilgrimage” (e.g., Exod 34:24; Jer 31:6; Psa 122:4).

*ʾlh* used in a corresponding fig. manner describes approaching a significant (“high-placed”) personality; whereas the journey to Egypt is otherwise considered to be a descent, Joseph goes “up” to the pharaoh according to Gen 46:31 (conversely, *ʾlh* in v 29 refers to the journey to Goshen). One must also ascend to avail oneself of the legal institution of the elders in the gate (Deut 25:7; Ruth 4:1). The notion that Assyria is a mighty partner may have been decisive for the choice of words in Hos 8:9.

*min* usually indicates the point of origin (Gen 13:1; 19:30; 41:2f., etc.; with persons *mēʿal*, Gen 17:22; 35:13; Jonah 4:6). The destination is often indicated by the acc. of direction (e.g., Gen 26:23; 35:1, 3; 38:12f.), rarely with *le* (1 Sam 25:35; Isa 22:1; Ezek 40:40; Ezra 1:3; cf. Hab 3:16). The dominant notion associated with *ʿal* is that one is located on the surface of an object or at the highest position (Exod 20:26; Josh 2:8; Judg 9:51; 1 Sam 2:28, etc.; cf. Gen 31:10, 12: rams mount the sheep; Exod 10:12, 14: locusts cover the land), while *be* describes movement of or within an object (Gen 28:12; Exod 7:29; 19:12; Deut 5:5; 2 Sam 2:1; 15:30, etc.; also instrumental, e.g., Exod 20:26; Num 20:19; Deut 1:22; Ezek 40:22). *ʾel* primarily describes movement toward a person (Gen 44:17, 34; 45:9; Josh 10:4; Judg 16:18, etc., yet it also has an adversative sense like *ʿal*, see below), God (Exod 2:23; 19:3; 1 Sam 10:3; Yahweh: Exod 19:24; 24:1, 12; 32:30; Deut 10:1; Judg 21:5, 8), or a holy place (mountain of God, Exod 24:13; Mt. Sinai, Exod 19:23; 34:2, 4; cf. Exod 24:15, 18; mountain of Yahweh, Isa 2:3 = Mic 4:2; Mt. Hor, Num 20:27; 33:38; Carmel, 1 Kgs 18:42; cultic site, Deut 17:8; Jerusalem, Ezra 7:7; temple vestibule, Ezek 40:49; altar, Lev 2:12).

*ʾlh* frequently accompanies other verbs of locomotion: *bōʾ* “to come” (Gen 45:25; Exod 7:28; Deut 1:24, etc.) *hlk* “to go” (Exod 33:1; Judg 11:16; 2 Sam 17:21; Isa 2:3; 8:7; Mic 4:2), *pnh* “to turn around” (Deut 1:24; 3:1), *ysʾ* “to go out” (1 Kgs 10:29), and *ngš* “to approach” (Josh 8:11); cf. the combination with *qûm* “to stand up” (Gen 35:1, 3; Deut 17:8; Josh 8:1, 3, etc.).

The use of *ʾlh* corresponds to that of its opposite *yrd* “to descend” (qal 307x, 1 Sam 35x, Judg 29x, Gen 25x, 2 Kgs 24x, Ezek 23x, Psa 20x, Exod and Isa 19x each; excl. Joel 4:13; hi. “to lead away,” 67x, Gen 13x, 1 Sam and 1 Kgs 7x each; ho. “to be lead away,” 6x; the verb a total of 380x; the subst. *môrād* “slope” occurs an additional 5x).

*yrd* describes the journey from Palestine to Egypt (Gen 12:10; 26:2; 42:2; 43:15; 46:3, 4; Num 20:15; Josh 24:4; Isa 30:2; 31:1), from the mountains into the wilderness (Num 14:45; 1 Sam 25:1; 26:2), into cities on lower sites (like Gilgal, 1 Sam 10:8; 13:12; 15:12; Keilah, 1 Sam 23:4, 6, 8), leaving a city (1 Sam 9:27; Ruth 3:3, 6), descending to a well (Gen 24:16, 45; 2 Sam 17:18) or to a river (Exod 2:5; 2 Sam 19:32; 1 Kgs 2:8; 2 Kgs 5:14), or into the world of the dead (see 4b).

One’s point of origin is also indicated by *min* (e.g., Exod 19:14; 32:1, 15; 34:29; of persons, Gen 38:1; cf. *mēʿal* “from . . . to,” Judg 4:15; Ezek 26:16), one’s destination with the acc. of direction (Gen 12:10; 24:16, 45; 26:2, etc.), with *ʾel* “to, toward” (of places, Judg 15:11; 1 Sam 25:1; 26:2; 2 Sam 5:17, etc.; of persons, Gen 37:35; 45:9; Exod 11:8; 19:25, etc.), *le* “to” (of places, 2 Sam 11:8; Ezek 26:11; Song Sol 6:2; Eccl 3:21; of persons, Judg 5:11), *be* “on, in” (Gen 28:12; Exod 15:5; Judg 7:9, 11; 1 Sam 9:27, etc.), and *ʿal* “upon” (Gen 15:11; Exod 19:18, 20; Judg 11:37; Isa 31:4, etc.).

The relatively few passages depicting opposite movements in succession or in parallel still sufficiently demonstrate that *ʾlh* and *yrd* are antonyms (Gen 24:16; 28:12; Exod 19:24; Num 20:27f.; Deut 28:43; Judg 14:1f., 19; 16:31; 2 Kgs 1:4, 6, 16; 1:9, 11; Jer 48:18; Psa 104:8; 107:26; Job 7:9; Prov 30:4; Eccl 3:21; 2 Chron 18:2; cf. Gen 46:4 [*ʾlh* hi.] and Isa 14:13–15 [*yrd* ho.]).

Thus the spatial concept is also in view when *ʾlh ʿal* acquires the technical meaning “to go to battle” (Josh 22:12, 33 with the addition “into battle”; Judg 6:3; 15:10; 18:9; 1 Kgs 14:25 = 2 Chron 12:9; 1 Kgs 15:17 = 2 Chron 16:1; 1 Kgs 20:22; 2 Kgs 12:18; 17:3; 18:13 = Isa 36:1; 2 Kgs 18:25 = Isa 36:10; 2 Kgs 18:25; 23:29; Jer 50:3, 21; Ezek 38:11, 16; Joel 1:6; Nah 2:2; 1 Chron 14:10; with *ʾel*, Num 13:31; Josh 15:15; Judg 1:1; 12:3; 20:23, 30; 1 Sam 7:7; 2 Sam 5:19; 2 Kgs 16:9; Jer 35:11; 49:28, 31; with *be*, Isa 7:6b): the enemy is usually found in defensive positions on higher ground (cf. Eng. “to go up against,” “to storm against”). *ʾlh lʿhillāḥēm* “to march up to fight” (2 Kgs 3:21; 2 Chron 35:20), *ʾlh lammilḥāmâ* (1 Kgs 20:26; 2 Kgs 16:5; Isa 7:1) or *ʾlh bammilḥāmâ* (1 Sam 29:9) “to go to war,” and *ʾlh bammaḥʾneh* “to go to the field” (1 Sam 14:21) are also used in the same sense. Similarly, an absolute *ʾlh* can occasionally mean “to go out to battle” (Judg 20:28 par. *yšʾ lammilḥāmâ*; 1 Sam 17:23, 25; 1 Kgs 12:24 = 2 Chron 11:4 par. *lḥm* ni.; Isa 21:2; Jer 6:4f.).

Often verbs from the realm of warfare occur in conjunction with *ʾlh*: *lhm* ni. “to fight” (Deut 1:41f.; Josh 10:36; 19:47; Judg 1:3; 1 Kgs 12:24; 20:1; 2 Kgs 12:18; 2 Chron 11:4), *šûr* “to besiege” (1 Kgs 20:1; 2 Kgs 6:24; 16:5; 17:5; 18:9; Isa 21:2), *tpś* “to capture (a city)” (2 Kgs 16:9; 18:13; Isa 36:1), *nkh* hi. “to smite” (Josh 7:3; Judg 8:11), *bq<sup>c</sup>* “to seize” (Isa 7:6), *ḥnh* “to encamp against” (1 Sam 11:1), *ḥrb* “to murder” (Jer 50:21), *ḥrm* hi. “to execute the ban” (Jer 50:21), *yrš* “to possess” (Deut 9:23), *šdd* “to annihilate” (Jer 49:28), and *šrp* “to burn” (Judg 15:6).

In order to emphasize the fact that the enemy is located in a lower position, *yrđ<sup>c</sup>al* “to descend against” can also be used (2 Chron 20:16; cf. Judg 1:9, *yrđ<sup>c</sup>hillāḥēm*; 1 Sam 26:10; 29:4; 30:24 *yrđ bammilḥāmâ*, 1 Sam 17:28 “in order to see the war”).

The opposite of *ʾlh<sup>c</sup>al* in a military sense is not *yrđ min* but *ʾlh mē<sup>c</sup>al* “to withdraw from” (1 Kgs 15:19 = 2 Chron 16:3; 2 Kgs 12:19; Jer 21:2; 34:21; 1 Sam 14:46 *mē<sup>c</sup>ah<sup>2</sup>rē* [cf. 2 Sam 20:2 *ʾlh mē<sup>c</sup>ah<sup>2</sup>rē* “to fall away from”]; 2 Sam 23:9 *ʾlh* “to withdraw”; Ezek 11:24, the vision withdraws from [*mē<sup>c</sup>al*] the seer; with *ʾlh* ni., Jer 37:5, 11; 2 Sam 2:27 [*mē<sup>c</sup>ah<sup>2</sup>rē*]).

The assumption of a special meaning for *ʾlh min* in Exod 1:10 and Hos 2:2 in the sense of “to seize” (M. Lambert, *REJ* 39 [1899]: 300; following him, e.g., Beer, *Exod*, HAT 3, 14; Noth, *ATD* 5, 9; Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 24, 28; contra K. Rupprecht, *ZAW* 82 [1970]: 442–47) is unnecessary in the context and should be rejected on account of the usage of the prep. *min* elsewhere.

In the fig. sense, *ʾlh* means “to become great, strong” (Gen 49:9), “to prosper” (Deut 28:43, in contrast to *yrđ* “to diminish in significance”), or “to excel” (Prov 31:29). Conversely, the description of someone “springing up” in the balances (Psa 62:10) expresses worthlessness.

With material subjs., a plethora of translation possibilities result. All should be understood, however, as movement from below upward: the dawn breaks (Gen 19:15; 32:25, 27, etc.), plants sprout (Gen 41:5, 22; Deut 29:22; Isa 5:6; 34:13, etc.), blooms open (Gen 40:10) and vanish (Isa 5:24), a cloud builds (1 Kgs 18:44; Jer 4:13, a metaphor; cf. Jer 10:13; 51:16; Psa 135:7 hi.), the sea floods (Jer 51:42; cf. Ezek 26:3 hi.), a city goes up in flames (Judg 20:40), landscapes slope upward (Josh 11:17; 12:7; 15:3, 6–8; 16:1, etc.), the lot falls (= rises out of the cup [→ *gôrāl*], Lev 16:9f.; Josh 18:11; 19:10), a trap springs up (Amos 3:5), flesh covers the bones (Ezek 37:8; cf. v 6 hi.), a razor comes upon the skin (Judg 13:5; 16:17; 1 Sam 1:11), etc.

Correspondingly, the word is also used fig.: wrath boils up (2 Sam 11:20; 2 Chron 36:16; Psa 78:21, 31; cf. Prov 15:1 hi.), etc., labor cries pour forth (Exod 2:23; 1 Sam 5:12; Jer 14:2), evil comes before Yahweh

(Jonah 1:2; cf. Psa 74:23), the height reaches to heaven (Job 20:6), a battle breaks out (1 Kgs 22:35 = 2 Chron 18:34), a chariot costs (Eng. “comes to,” 1 Kgs 10:29), and renovations make progress (2 Chron 24:13).

One must often translate passively in Eng.: an article of clothing is worn (Lev 19:19; Ezek 44:17), a yoke is laid on (Num 19:2; 1 Sam 6:7; cf. Lam 1:14), a grain or cereal (NRSV oblation) offering is presented (1 Kgs 18:29, 36; 2 Kgs 3:20), a wound is covered (with flesh) (Jer 8:22; cf. Jer 30:17; 33:6 [*ʾh* hi.] and Jer 30:13; 46:11 [subst. *t<sup>e</sup>ālā* ]), sheaves are brought in (Job 5:26), a number is entered (1 Chron 27:24; cf. 2 Chron 20:34, ho.), and a hand is raised to strike (Zech 14:13).

*ʾh ʿallēb* means “to come to mind” (2 Kgs 12:5; par. to *zkr* “to remember”: Isa 65:17; Jer 3:16; 44:21; 51:50); par. to *šwh* pi. “to command”: Jer 7:31; 19:5; 32:35; cf. *ʾh ʿallēbāb* Ezek 38:10 and *ʾh ʿalrûaḥ* Ezek 20:32).

(b) Almost all the usages of the qal recur in the causative hi.; the ho. is the corresponding pass. With per. objs. *ʾh* hi. means “to cause to ascend” (on a scale, 1 Kgs 20:33; 2 Kgs 10:15; on a roof, Josh 2:6; on a wall, Neh 12:31; from a cistern, Jer 38:10, 13; from the water, Isa 63:11; cf. Ezek 29:4; 32:3; Hab 1:15; from the underworld, 1 Sam 2:6; Jonah 2:7; Psa 40:3; 71:20; cf. Ezek 37:12f.; of the necromancer’s art, 1 Sam 28:8, 11[bis], 15) or “to lead up” (Gen 37:28; Num 20:25; 22:41; Josh 7:24, etc., cf. Nah 2:8 ho.). The verb occurs in the latter sense 42x in reference to the historical exodus and 4x with a view to the coming exodus (see 4c).

The technical use of *ʾh* hi. in the sense of Eng. “to conscript” derives from the spatial meaning (of forced laborers, 1 Kgs 5:27; 9:15; 9:21 = 2 Chron 8:8). Corresponding to the qal, *ʾh* hi. *ʿal* also means “to lead into battle” (Jer 50:9; Ezek 16:40; 23:46; 26:3; 2 Chron 36:17; cf. Jer 51:27; Nah 3:3).

With material objs., the meaning “to bring up” assumes the foreground, particularly if objs. are transported to a higher place (the mountains of Palestine, the temple, etc.; the ark, 2 Sam 6:2, 12; 1 Kgs 8:1, 4[bis]; 1 Chron 13:6; 15:3, 12, 14, 25, 28; 2 Chron 1:4; 5:2, 5[bis]; sacred implements, Jer 27:22; Ezra 1:11; the tithe, Neh 10:39; Joseph’s bones, Gen 50:25; Exod 13:19; Josh 24:32; Saul’s bones, 2 Sam 21:13; wood, 2 Chron 2:15; scales, 2 Chron 1:17). The verb’s other usages may also be explained in this way: to bring something upon someone (frogs, Exod 8:1, 3; pestilence, Deut 28:61), to throw dirt on one’s head (Josh 7:6; Ezek 27:30; Lam 2:10), to install lamps (Exod 25:37; 27:20; 30:8; 40:4, 25; Lev 24:2; Num 8:2f.), to clothe (with golden jewelry, 2 Sam 1:24; with a sackcloth garment, Amos 8:10; with ornaments, 2 Chron 3:5, 14; with gold [to indicate the quantity utilized, “so much goes on”], 1 Kgs 10:16f. = 2 Chron 9:15f.), to bring tribute (2 Kgs 17:4), to chew the cud (Lev 11:3, 4[bis], 5f., 26; Deut 14:6, 7[bis]), and to rear (animals, Ezek 19:3; cf. Isa

40:31, to let feathers grow). *ʾlh* hi. *ʿal lēb* means “to take to heart” (Ezek 14:3f., 7; cf. Psa 137:6).

In more that one-fourth of occurrences (77x), the *hi.* indicates the presentation of a sacrifice (cf. Ug. *ʾly* Š in *KTU* 1.19.IV.23, 30). This construction refers primarily to the burnt offering (*ʿōlâ*, 33x with pl. *ʿōlôt*, 28x with sg. *ʿōlâ*, 2x *lʿōlâ*, Gen 22:2, 13), while other verbs usually indicate the presentation of other types of sacrifice. Together with these other verbs, *ʾlh* hi. clearly elucidates the various concepts of sacrifice (*ʾlh* hi. with *zbh* “to slaughter”; Exod 24:5; Deut 27:6f.; Josh 8:31; 1 Sam 6:15; 10:8; with *qtr* hi. “to burn as incense,” Jer 33:18; 48:35; 2 Chron 29:7; with *ngš* hi. “to offer,” Exod 32:6; *šh šʿlāmîm*, 1 Kgs 3:15; *šh zebaḥ*, Jer 33:18).

Nevertheless, *ʾlh* hi. can also refer to other types of sacrifice, esp. various types mentioned in sequence whose purposes are not clearly distinguished (with *minḥâ*, Isa 57:6; 66:3; *ʿōlâ* and *minḥâ*, Exod 30:9 [also *qʿtoret* ]; 40:29; Lev 14:20; Josh 22:23; Jer 14:12; *ʿōlâ* and *šʿlāmîm*, 1 Chron 16:2; *ʿōlâ* and *hʾlābîm*, 2 Chron 35:14; *ʿōlôt* and *šʿlāmîm*, Judg 20:26; 21:4; 2 Sam 6:17; 24:25 = 1 Chron 21:26; 1 Kgs 9:25; *ōlôt* and *minḥôt*, Amos 5:22). But other verbs occasionally accompany *ʾlh* (*zbh*, Exod 20:24; *qtr* hi., 2 Kgs 16:13, 15; cf. Aram. *qtr* ha., Ezra 6:9f.), particularly general terms that encompass various acts (*šh* “to arrange,” Exod 10:25; Lev 9:7, 22; 16:24; Num 6:16; 29:2; Deut 12:27, etc.; *qrb* hi. “to present,” Lev 7:8; 10:19; 23:37; Num 28:11, 27; 29:8, 13, 36, etc.; *ngš* hi. “to present,” 1 Sam 13:9).

Used without further modification, *ʾlh* hi. acquires the general meaning “to sacrifice” in such contexts (Num 23:2, 4, 14, 30; Judg 13:19; 2 Sam 15:24; 24:22; Jer 48:35 txt?; Psa 51:21, etc.; cf. Judg 6:28, *ʾlh* ho.).

The designation *ʿōlâ* for the holocaust or burnt offering may be explained as an abbreviation of an original *hamminḥâ hāʿōlâ*, a “present that ascends (in the fire)” to God (so Köhler 184); cf. the “definition” in Exod 29:18, “let the entire ram go up in smoke (*qtr* hi.) on the altar; it is an *ʿōlâ* for Yahweh”; similarly, Lev 1:9, 13, 17; 8:21, 28; 9:17. Regarding the burnt offering, cf. W. B. Stevenson, FS Bertholet 488–97; de Vaux 2:415–17, 527f. (bibliog.); id., *Studies in OT Sacrifices* (1964), 27–51; L. Rost, FS Eissfeldt (1958), 177–83; id., *BHH* 2:1345–50.

The use of the opposites *yrd* hi. (67x; 1 Sam 2:6 par. *ʾlh* hi.; Amos 9:2 and Prov 21:22 with *ʾlh* qal) and *yrd* ho. (4x) corresponds to that of *ʾlh*. Thus *yrd* hi. means “to lead down, bring down” (of persons, Gen 39:1; 43:7; 45:13; Judg 16:21, etc.; cf. *yrd* ho., Gen 39:1; of animals, Deut 21:4; cf. Jer 51:40; of things, Gen 37:25; 43:11, 22; Deut 1:25, etc.); “to drop” (persons through a window, Josh 2:15, 18; 1 Sam 19:12; corpse from a stake or tree, Josh 8:29; 10:27; load from a wagon, 1 Sam 6:15; the “sea”

from the oxen, 2 Kgs 16:17), “to let climb down” (from the altar, 1 Kgs 1:53), “to carry down” (from the upper room, 1 Kgs 17:23), “to topple over” (Jer 49:16; Amos 3:11; 9:2; Obad 3f.; cf. Zech 10:11, ho.), “to lay down” (of sacks, Gen 44:11; of jewelry, Exod 33:5), “to dismantle” (a dwelling, Num 1:51; cf. Num 10:17 ho.), “to take away” (of the curtain, Num 4:5), “to let flow” (1 Sam 21:14; Isa 63:6; Lam 2:18), “to cause to rain” (Ezek 34:26; Joel 2:23), “to sink” (of the head, Lam 2:10), “to conquer someone” (2 Sam 22:48; Isa 10:13 txt?; Psa 56:8; 59:12; cf. Isa 43:14; Prov 21:22). The statement that someone brings another into the world of the dead—causes death—occurs repeatedly (see 4a).

(c) One can usually render the *ni.* in Eng. as a reflexive: “to raise oneself” (of clouds, Exod 40:36, 37[bis]; Num 9:17, 21[bis], 22; 10:11; of God’s majesty, Ezek 9:3), “to move oneself away” (Num 16:24, 27; 2 Sam 2:27; Jer 37:5, 11). Even the two forms generally regarded as pass. in Ezek 36:3 and Ezra 1:11 may be understood in the medial sense: “to become a subject of discussion among the people” (Ezek 36:3) or “to set out from Babylon toward Jerusalem” (Ezra 1:11; emendation to the *hi.* [so *BHS*] is unnecessary). Usage in reference to Yahweh produces the declaration of status, “he is majestic” (Psa 47:10; 97:9).

(d) *ʿelyôn* (antonym *taḥtôn* “lower,” Josh 16:3, 5; 1 Chron 7:24; 2 Chron 8:5; with *taḥtôn* “lower” and *tîkôn* “middle,” Ezek 41:7; 42:5) occurs in a local meaning in both the comparative (the upper gate, 2 Kgs 15:35 = 2 Chron 27:3; Jer 20:2, etc.; the upper pool, 2 Kgs 18:17 = Isa 36:2; Isa 7:3, etc.; cf. *ʿillî*, Josh 15:19; Judg 1:15) and the superlative senses. In fig. usage, the word always represents the superlative “the highest” (of Israel, Deut 26:19; 28:1; of David, Psa 89:28; 31x of God; see 4b).

4. In essence, three themes are theologically significant: (a) statements concerning Yahweh’s ascent and descent and the related notions of ascent to heaven and descent into hades, (b) divine predicates formed with *ʿelyôn*, and (c) references to the exodus formed with *ʾlh*.

(a) Because heaven was considered the dwelling of Yahweh since most ancient times (cf. Eichrodt 2:186–94; → *šāmayim*), *yrd* and *ʾlh* could indicate God’s appearance to people and the return to his dwelling.

Admittedly, statements with *ʾlh* occur rather infrequently. The priestly document uses *ʾlh mēʿal* for God’s departure after an encounter with one of the patriarchs (Gen 17:22; 35:13; his appearance is expressed in each case by *rʾh ni.* “to appear,” Gen 17:1; 35:9): God returns to his heavenly dwelling. Accordingly, the ascension of Yahweh’s messenger, i.e., his manifestation, in flames is mentioned (Judg 13:20); that the flames ascended “from the altar to heaven” is explicitly stated here.

According to the Yahweh-*mlk* hymn, Psa 47, Yahweh’s ascension substantiates (v 6) his powerful status as Lord of the world (v 3).

The text does not indicate whether in *ʿlh* “the procession of the ark must surely be described” (Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:468); the usual meaning “to ascend (to heaven)” is more likely. The mention of the “sound of jubilation” and the “sound of a trumpet” need not refer to cultic activities; they belong, rather, to the theme of the enthronement of an earthly king (Num 23:21; 2 Sam 15:10; 2 Kgs 9:13) with which Yahweh’s entry into dominion is compared.

Circumstances surrounding Psa 68:19, i.e., Yahweh takes captives with him in his ascension to the heights (*mārôm*) and receives homage, indicate that it, like Psa 47, concerns his universal dominion. Consequently, one should think not only of Yahweh’s ascent to his earthly dwelling (according to Psa 68 probably Mt. Tabor), but (at least also) of his ascent to heaven. Thoroughly Old Can. concepts of the deity’s ascent to heaven and the throne may be evident here. Yet, in distinction to the “ever newly enthroned Baal of heaven,” Yahweh does not come from the underworld but from Sinai (Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:54), i.e., God’s powerful status rests not on a mythical event but on his historical activity.

The confession of God’s universal dominion implied in references to his ascension to heaven is clearly perceptible in the two ni. passages. They occur, significantly, in Yahweh-*mlk* psalms (Psa 47:10; 97:9) that also describe God as *ʿlyôn* (47:3; 97:9). The par. clause in Psa 47:10 interprets Yahweh’s majesty as dominion over the “shields of the earth,” i.e., over all those who exercise political and military power. Psa 97:9 further emphasizes Yahweh’s superiority over all gods.

In the light of such statements concerning God’s majesty, human impudence that seeks to climb “to heaven” becomes particularly obvious (as an expression of hubris, Isa 14:13f.; Jer 51:53; of flight, Amos 9:2; purely fig., in contrast, Psa 107:26).

More frequent than references to Yahweh’s ascent are references to his descent (esp. in J, Gen 11:5, 7; 18:21; Exod 3:8; 19:11, 18, 20). In such contexts, *yrd* even has the technical meaning “to descend from heaven” so that God’s dwelling as the point of departure need not be mentioned. In particular, the Yahwistic description of the Sinai theophany (Exod 19:11, 18, 20; 34:5; cf. Neh 9:13) indicates that the mount of God is understood as the locus of his appearance, not as his permanent dwelling. The same picture results from statements concerning Yahweh’s approach to the tent of meeting (Num 11:17, 25; 12:5, probably additions to J; cf. Noth, *Num*, OTL, 83, 93). The allusion to volcanic phenomena characterize this series of statements: Yahweh appears in the fire (Exod 19:18) or in the cloud (Exod 34:5; Num 11:25; 12:5). In contrast, the description of a theophany in Psa 18:10 = 2 Sam 22:10 (cf. the petition for Yahweh’s descent in Isa 63:19) is more reminiscent of a storm phenomenon. The petition for a theophany in Psa 144:5 (as in Psa 18:10 = 2 Sam 22:10 *yrd* appears

alongside “to bow the heavens”) combines both concepts. In each case, the mention of accompanying phenomena indicates that Yahweh’s descent is not directly observable.

The discussion of God’s descent is not actually, then, an anthropomorphism but a stylistic means for expressing God’s superiority over the world. Gen 11:5, 7 demonstrate precisely this aspect of terminology. Yahweh’s need to “descend” in order to “see” the works of people that have reached “up to heaven” (v 5; cf. 18:21) resounds with a “grand irony” (Procksch, *Gen*, KAT [19243], 90). Significantly, Yahweh’s descent serves primarily as an exhibition of his might: he comes to liberate and to aid (Exod 3:8; Isa 31:4; 63:19 [64:2 is a repetitive gloss]; Psa 144:5–8) or to punish (Gen 11:7; Mic 1:3 [with “breaks out from his dwelling,” → *yš*’ 4a]; cf. Mic 1:12).

The ascent of a person in the proper sense (Deut 30:12 refers only to the superfluity of such a procedure for the reception of the law) is discussed only in relation to the assumption of Elijah (*ʾlh* qal, 2 Kgs 2:11; *ʾlh* hi. 2 Kgs 2:1; cf. statements with → *lqh*, Gen 5:24; 2 Kgs 2:3, 5). In contrast, *yrd* is a technical term for the descent of the dead to the underworld (*yrd* qal, Gen 37:35; Num 16:30, 33; Isa 5:14; 3:18; Ezek 26:20; 31:14–17; 32:18–30; Psa 22:30; 28:1; 30:4, 10; 55:16; 88:5; 115:17; 143:7; Job 7:9; 33:24; Prov 1:12; 5:5; 7:27; cf. Psa 49:18; Job 17:16; *yrd* hi. with a human subj., Gen 42:38; 44:29, 31; 1 Kgs 2:6, 9; Ezek 28:8; 32:18; with a divine subj., 1 Sam 2:6; Ezek 26:20; 31:16; Psa 55:24; *yrd* ho., Isa 14:11, 15; Ezek 31:18). *yrd bôr* “to descend to the grave” (Isa 38:18; Psa 28:1; 30:4, etc.), *yrd š’ôl(â)* “to descend to the realm of the dead” (Gen 37:35; Job 7:9; 17:16; cf. *yrd* hi., Gen 42:38; 44:29, 31), etc., usually indicate the process of death by natural causes. In contrast, Num 16:30, 33; Psa 55:16 speak of people descending alive into the world of the dead (→ *š’ôl*) because of divine judgment. In a similar manner, death is often considered God’s punishment—for human arrogance (with *yrd* hi., Ezek 26:20; 31:16; Psa 55:24; *yrd* ho., Isa 14:11, 15; Ezek 31:18; cf. *yrd* qal, Isa 5:14; Ezek 26:20; 31:14–17; 32:18–30.)

The world of the dead (cf. Eichrodt 2:210–12) is the sphere in which there is no connection between people and God (cf. Isa 38:18; Psa 28:1; 30:10; 115:17). Yet it is fundamentally maintained that even this realm is not removed from Yahweh’s power: he cannot only enter the world of the dead but also exit from it (1 Sam 2:6; Jonah 2:7; cf. Amos 9:2 *lqh*). Yet such contexts do not always envision death but various types of suffering already experienced as present spheres of death, so that liberation from them is considered deliverance from death (with *ʾlh* hi., Psa 40:3; 71:20; cf. C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des AT* [1947], 93–110, 130). In all, however, Israel’s faith

seems notably disinterested in the world of the dead (cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 2:349f.; Eichrodt 2:221–23).

(b) The divine predicate *ʿElyôn* refers even more pronouncedly than discussion of Yahweh’s ascent and descent to the powerful status of the God enthroned in heaven.

Of the 31 passages in which *ʿElyôn* refers to God, the epithet appears 22x alone (Num 24:16; Deut 32:8; 2 Sam 22:14 = Psa 18:14; Isa 14:14; Psa 9:3; 21:8; 46:5; 50:14; 73:11; 77:11; 78:17; 82:6; 83:19; 87:5; 91:1, 9; 92:2; 97:9; 107:11; Lam 3:35, 38) and elsewhere as an attribute to other divine names (5x to *ʿEl*, Gen 14:18–20, 22; Psa 78:35; 2x to *Yhwh*, Psa 7:18 [the divine name should apparently be deleted; cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:167f.]; 47:3, and 2x to *ʾĪhîm*, 57:3; 78:56). Used in conjunction with Yahweh, *ʿElyôn* is certainly not a component of the name but an apposition. In 57:3 and 78:56, the Elohist redaction apparently replaced the original divine name with the appellative.

*ʿElyôn* as a divine designation or divine predicate is known from the Syro-Can. realm: from the Old Aram. inscription, Sef. IA.11, where *wqdm ʿl wʿlyn* “and before El and ‘Elyān” occurs in the list of divine witnesses to an oath (*KAI* no. 222; Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 37f.; → *ʿEl* III/3); by contrast, according to Philo of Byblos, Elyon is clearly distinct from El, who is two generations older (cf. C. Clemen, *Die phönikische Religion nach Philo von Byblos* [1939], 25–32, 62–75). Regarding the religiohistorical evidence, cf. e.g., G. Levi della Vida, *JBL* 63 (1944): 1–29; M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts* (1955), 55–58; O. Eissfeldt, *JSS* 1 (1956): 28n.1; F. M. Cross, *HTR* 55 (1962): 241–44; R. Lack, *CBQ* 24 (1962): 44–64; R. Rendtorff, *ZAW* 78 (1966): 277–91; W. H. Schmidt, *Faith of the OT* (1983), 139f.; H. Gese et al., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer* (1970), 116f.; R. de Vaux, *Early History of Israel* (1978), 275.

The Ug. counterpart of *ʿElyôn* is *ʿly* (*KTU* 1.16.III.5–8, twice par. to Baal). This abbreviated form should also be presupposed for Psa 7:9, 11; 57:3, according to M. Dahood, *ThStud* 14 (1953): 452–57.

The pre-Davidic Jerusalem cult apparently used the epithet *ʿEl ʿElyôn*, which was accepted into Israel’s liturgy (cf. H. Schmid, *ZAW* 67 [1955]: 168–97; F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem* [1970], 157–63). Gen 14:17–20, in particular, suggests this relationship (cf. W. Schatz, *Genesis 14* [1972], 207ff.). The polytheistic background of this predicate becomes esp. apparent in Psa 97:9, which emphasizes Elyon’s superiority “over all gods.” Significantly, *ʿElyôn* occurs as a divine predicate outside Gen 14 only in poetic texts in which the use of extra-Israelite tradition would be more permissible. In addition, this title usually

accompanies other divine predicates so that it undoubtedly refers to the God of Israel (with Yahweh, Deut 32:8f.; 2 Sam 22:14 = Psa 18:14; Psa 9:2f.; 21:8; 77:11f. [*yāh*]; 83:19; 87:5; 91:9; 92:2; 97:9; with <sup>e</sup>*lōhîm*, Psa 46:5; 50:14; 78:35; with <sup>e</sup>*l*, Num 24:16; Psa 73:11; 78:17f.; 107:11; with *šadday*, Num 24:16; Psa 91:1; with <sup>a</sup>*dōnāy*, Lam 3:35–38).

According to O. Eissfeldt (*KS* [1966], 3:441–47), Elyon and Shaddai were not yet identified with Yahweh in Psa 91.

The epithet *elyôn* is associated with the following concepts in particular: According to Gen 14:19 Yahweh, as <sup>e</sup>*l* *elyôn* —v 22 explicitly equates the two names—is creator of heaven and earth. Consequently, he is the lord “over the entire earth” (Psa 83:19; 97:9). He distributes territory to the nations (Deut 32:8). He guarantees the continuation of the royal house and the city of God (Psa 21:8; 46:5; 87:5), and he offers legal protection to the pious (57:3; 91:1, 9). The righteous struggle with his apparent impotence (73:11; 77:11). He dwells “above the high clouds” (Isa 14:14) and sounds his voice from heaven (Psa 18:14 = 2 Sam 22:14). As ruler of the world, he is due praise (Psa 7:18; 9:3; 50:14; 92:2). Rebellion against his majesty is the crudest evil (78:17, 56; 107:11).

If the divine predicate *elyôn* occurs only in the older layers of the OT in old or archaizing liturgical passages, it enjoys noteworthy popularity in the latest book in the OT and in the apocryphal books (see 5). This title occurs 14x in the Aram. portions of Dan, 6x in the abs. form *ʿillāʾā* (always Q, Dan 4:14, 21f., 29, 31; 7:25), 4x in combination with <sup>e</sup>*lāhāʾ* (Dan 3:26, 32; 5:18, 21), and 4x in the Hebraism *qaddîšē ʿelyônîn* (a doubled pl. or assimilated to <sup>e</sup>*lōhîm*, Dan 7:18, 22, 25, 27). This divine predicate, which bears no specifically Israelite stamp, accommodates the concepts of the environment; consequently, it is esp. appropriate for the Jewish Diaspora (cf. Eichrodt 1:182).

Here, too, the term refers to the universal power of God (Dan 4:14, 22, 29, “the Most High is Lord over the kingdom of people”; cf. 5:21; 4:31, “whose power never ends and whose dominion survives all generations”; 5:18, he grants royal honors and power).

The identity of the “holy ones of the Most High” (Dan 7:18–27) is disputed. Although this expression is usually related to the faithful members of the Jewish people (so R. Hanhart, FS Baumgartner 90–101), M. Noth (“Holy Ones of the Most High,” *Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* [1966], 215–28) in particular has argued that it involves heavenly beings (such as the *bʾnē ʿelyôn* in Psa 82:6).

(c) Israel’s fundamental confession (Noth, *History of Pentateuchal Traditions* [1972], 47) of Yahweh “who led Israel out of Egypt” occurs in

two forms in the OT. The act of leading out is depicted by either the verb → *yš' hi.* (76x) or *ʾlh hi.* (42x) in relatively fixed forms despite numerous variations.

The most important forms are the confession “Yahweh brought us out of the land of Egypt” (Josh 24:17; Judg 6:13; Jer 2:6), the divine saying “I brought you (sg.) out” (Mic 6:4; Psa 81:11 [with a self-presentation formula]; cf. Gen 46:4; “you [pl.],” Gen 50:24; Exod 3:17; Lev 11:45; Amos 2:10; Judg 2:1; 6:8; “them,” 2 Sam 7:6; Amos 3:1, etc.; cf. Exod 3:8), and the declaration “Yahweh led Israel out” (1 Sam 12:6; 2 Kgs 17:7; Jer 16:14; 23:7; Hos 12:14; “you [sg.],” Deut 20:1; “you [pl.],” 2 Kgs 17:36).

The introductions indicate that the formulae were often used in liturgical contexts (cf. the cultic exclamation “Israel, these are . . .” Exod 32:4, 8; 1 Kgs 12:28; “this is . . .” Neh 9:18; “where is Yahweh . . . ?” Jer 2:6; “has not Yahweh . . . ?” Judg 6:13; cf. Amos 9:7; the oath formula “as surely as Yahweh lives . . .” Jer 16:14; 23:7; the messenger formula “thus says Yahweh” introduces the divine saying in Judg 6:8; 1 Sam 10:18; cf. Amos 9:7); cf. J. Wijngaards, *VT* 15 (1965): 99.

Yahweh is usually the subj. of the activity. There is no substantial difference, however, when Yahweh’s angel (Judg 2:1) or Moses (Exod 17:3; 32:1, 7, 23; 33:1, 12; Num 16:13; 20:5 [and Aaron]) appears as the actor; for through them God himself is at work (cf. Hos 12:14, “Yahweh led Israel out of Egypt through a prophet”). Num 21:5, then, concerns both God and Moses. Thus the following discussion does not distinguish between the various grammatical subsjs.

Forms with *ʾlh hi.* apparently antedate those with *yš' hi.* They already occur in the older narratives (J, Exod 3:8, 17; 33:12, 15; Num 16:13; JE, Gen 46:4; 50:24; Exod 17:3; 32:1, 4, 7f., 23; Num 20:5; 21:5), in the early writing prophets (Hos 12:14; Amos 2:10; 3:1; 9:7; Mic 6:4), and in pre-Dtr passages of the Dtr history (Josh 24:17; Judg 2:1; 6:8, 13; 2 Sam 7:6; 1 Kgs 12:28). In the later monarchy, the frequency of the expression recedes markedly behind that of *yš' hi.*, particularly in the legal portions of the OT (Deut only Deut 20:1 [in contrast to 17x *yš' hi.*]; Dtr history, Exod 33:1; 1 Sam 8:8; 10:18 [on this and the entire problem, cf. H. J. Boecker, *Die Beurteilung der Anfänge des Königtums in den deuteronomistischen Abschnitten des 1. Samuelbuches* (1969), 39–43]; 12:6; 2 Kgs 17:7, 36; Jer 2:6; 11:7; 16:14; 23:7; Psa 81:11; P, Lev 11:45; Num 14:13; Chr: Neh 9:18; cf. Exod 32:4; 1 Chron 17:5 = 2 Sam 7:6); cf. the tables in Wijngaards, *op. cit.* 98. In Judg 6:8 the “bringing up” and “bringing out” formulae occur together.

The distribution suggests that the formulae with *ʾlh hi.* was northern and was transmitted at the sanctuaries there (cf. Wijngaards, *op. cit.* 100). Apparently, it had a firm place in the tradition of the erection of the “golden

calves” in Bethel and Dan (1 Kgs 12:28; the occurrence of the unsuitable pl. [“these are the gods who . . . ”] in Exod 32:4, 8 indicates the tradition-critical dependence of this section on 1 Kgs 12; Neh 9:18 uses the expected sg.). The association with the illegitimate cult in the north may have been the reason that the formula was increasingly suppressed or replaced by the formula with *yš*’.

The “leading up” formula is best suited to combining the tradition complexes of “exodus from Egypt” and “conquest.” The formula indicates the inner relationship of Yahweh’s two acts particularly in passages that mention the points of origin and destination together (with *min* and *ʔel*, Gen 50:24; Exod 3:8, 17; 33:1). Israel’s entry into the land (with *bô*’ hi. *ʔel*) is also mentioned alongside the exodus from Egypt (Num 16:13f.; 20:5; Judg 2:1; Jer 2:6f.). The people’s lament, transmitted in various contexts, that it was led out into the wilderness instead of into the fullness of the cultivated land (cf. Num 16:13; 20:5; 21:5) already indicates the way in which the concept of the possession of the land was implied from the outset. Jer 2:6 and Amos 2:10 establish a link with the theme of “guidance in the wilderness” (*hlk* hi.).

The “leading up” of Israel as the fundamental act of God to deliver his people is certainly not as prominent as in the formula with *yš*’ hi. associated tradition-historically with the wonder at the sea, but it finds sufficiently clear expression in liturgical language and in the significance of contexts with the leading-up formula (with *nsl* “to liberate,” Exod 3:8; 1 Sam 10:18).

Also closely related to the theme of “leading up out of Egypt” are statements that Yahweh accompanies Israel on the journey there and back (*yrd* qal, Gen 46:4; *ʔh* qal, Exod 33:3, 5 [negative]; positive with *hlk*, Ezek 33:14f.).

Jeremiah consciously juxtaposes the first and the second exodus (Jer 16:14f. = 23:7f.). He values Israel’s return from the exile as such a great manifestation of God’s might that it overshadows the fundamental act of the exodus from Egypt. In the future, this very act of salvation will represent the fundamental datum of Israel’s confession; consequently, oath formulae appeal to the God of Israel who brought his people home from the Diaspora.

Ezekiel uses the image of the revivification of the dead bones for Israel’s return from the exile (Ezek 37:12f. “I will lead you, my people, out of your graves”; in v 12 the image changes to the immediate referent, “and bring you into the land of Israel”).

*ʕîyâ* remained throughout the centuries, then, the technical term for the return of the dispersed members of the people of God to the land of their fathers.

5. As a rule, the LXX renders *ʿlh* and *yrđ* with the contrasting pair *anabainein* and *katabainein*; *ʿelyôn* is represented by *hypsistos*.

The divine name Elyon enjoys wide usage in the Apocrypha (Sir about 50x, Wis, and 1 Esd) and Pseudepigrapha (*Enoch*, *Jub.*, and *4 Ezra*). This divine predicate also enters the Hellenistic realm through Jewish mediation and becomes the common designation for the God of the Jews (texts in A. B. Cook, *Zeus* [1914–40], 2/2:876–90; 3/2:1162f.).

Moreover, in apocalypticism, the concept of a human's ascent to heaven acquires greater significance (Moses' ascension, etc.), in Gnosticism the notion of the ascent of the soul.

The NT adheres strictly to OT usage (incl. even Semitisms; cf. "to arise in the heart," Acts 7:23; 1 Cor 2:9), cf. J. Schneider, "βαίνω," *TDNT* 1:518–23; G. Bertram, "ὕψος," *TDNT* 8:602–20.

G. Wehmeier

### גוֹי/עַם *ʿam/gôy* **people**

S 5971; BDB 766a; *HALOT* 2:837a; *ThWAT* 6:177–94; *TWOT* 1640a; *NIDOTTE* 6639

### גוֹי *gôy* **people**

S 1471; BDB 156b; *HALOT* 1:182b; *TDOT* 2:426–33; *TWOT* 326e; *NIDOTTE* 1580

I. *ʿam* and *gôy*, often translated "people" or "nation," can best be examined in relation to one another. Only in this manner can one successfully determine their commonalities and distinctions and their peculiarities of development.

1. (a) The word *ʿam* (\**ʿamm-*) occurs in several Sem. languages, e.g., Akk. (as a WSem. loanword, Old Bab. *ʿammum/hammum* "people[?]" ; cf. *AHW* 44b; *CAD* A/2:77a), Amor. (Huffmon 196–98), Ug. (*ʿm* "people"; cf. *WUS* no. 2042; *UT* no. 1864), Phoen./Pun., Moab., and Aram. (*ʿm* "people," *DISO* 216; *LS* 529a), Arab. (*ʿamm* "paternal uncle," Wehr 640b), and Old SArab. (*ʿm* "patruus," Conti Rossini 208f.). With → *ʿāb*, → *ʿāḥ*, etc., it is one of the terms of relationship and means the paternal uncle. The word soon came also to mean "tribe," "(paternal) relatives," "relatives" in a collective sense (Lane 1:2149: "a company of men, a tribe, a numerous

company”; according to *WUS* no. 2042, Ug. *ʿm* means “tribe, relatives”).

Most likely, the meaning “paternal uncle” is the original Hebr. meaning and “tribe” is a later development; at any rate, *ʿam* emphasizes the relationship of the members. This feature suggests that “people,” the common translation of the word, is less precise and can be retained only if one is clear about its connotations. GB 596f. lists *ʿam* I “people” alongside *ʿam* II “fellow tribe member, relative,” although with the observation, “originally probably the same word as *ʿam* I”; KBL 710f. distinguishes *ʿam* I “fellow tribe member” (note that the Eng. tr. from KBL here—“kinsman”—is inaccurate and inadequate) is from *ʿam* II “kinsman (protector, in theophorical names),” and *ʿam* III “people,” apparently regarding the last two as developments of *ʿam* I. Such a differentiation in the lexicons may be appropriate if one is aware that in essence only one word is involved, a designation of relationship; the meaning “paternal uncle” is original. R. de Vaux (*Early History of Israel* [1978], 153f.) describes the situation as follows: “There is no reason to indicate these two uses by employing two different words, as is often done in lexicons and dictionaries, because the ‘people’ was thought of as an extension of the family on the paternal side. . . . The movement from the meaning of close relation to that of family, clan and people is imperceptible.”

(b) *ʿam* appears in WSem. nomenclature quite often; it is apparently a theophoric element. Such is the case, e.g., in Amor. names in the Mari texts, and in Ug., Phoen., and Pun. names.

The question of whether a god *ʿAmmu* or the use of a term of relationship in an appellative sense for a deity is involved has not yet been fully clarified. Much seems to argue that here, too, the designation of relationship was original, and the application of this term to a deity attests to the close relationship of the worshiper with this deity. Thus the ancients regard the god as their near relative and expect from him protection and assistance such as the paternal uncle is prepared to give. That *ʿammu* (or *ḥammu*) in Amor. names means the paternal uncle is “the most probable explanation,” according to Huffmon (196), but “the sense ‘kindred, people’ . . . can also be argued.” The notion that it involves a proper divine name seems to be excluded by the absence of the divine determinative, and one cannot deduce it from the fact that *ʿammu* stands in the position of a divine name or from the fact that characteristics and activities are ascribed to him that one normally ascribes to deities. Thus Gröndahl (82f.; cf. 109) concludes: “In Ugaritic names *ʿAmmu* is called ‘lion,’ ‘strong,’ ‘light’; he is a ‘healer’ and is asked ‘to make great,’ ‘to be fruitful,’ ‘to be enduring, constant,’ ‘to return’; ‘he names (by name)’; one calls oneself ‘son’ and ‘shoot’ of *ʿAmmu*.” For Phoen.-Pun. names, cf. Benz 379; for the Qatabanian moon-god *ʿAmm*, cf. M. Höfner in H. Gese et al., *Die Religionen Altisriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer* (1970), 282f., 377.

As in WSem. nomenclature, *ʿam* often occurs in OT PNs chiefly, at least originally, as a theophoric element (cf. *IP* 76ff.; J. J. Stamm, *SVT* 7

[1960]: 177f.; id., FS Landsberger 418f.). Examples include *ʿammîʿēl* (e.g., Num 13:12), *ʿammîhûd* (e.g., Num 1:10), *ʿammînādāb* (e.g., Exod 6:23), *ʿammîšaddāy* (e.g., Num 1:12), *ʿamrām* (e.g., Exod 6:18), *y<sup>e</sup>qam<sup>ā</sup>m* (1 Chron 23:19; 24:23), *yārob<sup>ā</sup>m* (Jeroboam, e.g., 1 Kgs 11:26), and *r<sup>e</sup>ḥab<sup>ā</sup>m* (Rehoboam, e.g., 1 Kgs 11:43). The meanings of the last two names are disputed; either *ʿam* is a theophoric element or it signifies “people” in both cases (cf. Gröndahl 109, 179; *UT* no. 2330; J. J. Stamm, FS Albright [1971], 443–52). For the name *ʿammôn*, cf. J. J. Stamm, *ArOr* 17 (1949): 379–82; von Rad, *Gen*, OTL (1972), 223 on Gen 19:38.

These OT names suggest, however, that the old meaning of *ʿam*, at least in the ancient period and at the beginning of the monarchy, was not forgotten but was still known even later. The observation that this meaning was only sparsely preserved in Hebr. (von Rad, op. cit.) is not correct; rather one must allow for the possibility that it actually occurred in several texts or at least played a more-or-less significant role.

2. (a) In contrast to *ʿam*, which occurred widely in the OT milieu, the word *gôy* occurs in the Sem. realm outside Hebr. only in the Mari texts (*gāʾum/gāwum*, ARM IV:1.13, 15; VI:28.8; M. Birot, *RA* 49 [1955]: 16ff.; cf. ARM V:87.5). Several interpretations have been offered over the course of time: “tribe” (Dossin, Kupper), “clan” (A. Falkenstein, *BO* 13 [1956]: 31), “people” (*AHw* 284a), “group, gang (of workmen),” (*CAD* G:59). A. Malamat (*JAOS* 82 [1962]: 143f.n.3) thinks that “the term originally designated a gentilic unit, though in the Mari documents it is already used in the context of territorial and administrative organization.” According to D. O. Edzard (*ZA* 56 [1964]: 144), it refers to a clan segment. Thus the precise definition of the term remains unclear. Consequently, this situation hardly offers a positive contribution to the illumination of the OT word *gôy*, esp. since the relationship between *gôy* and *gāʾum* is unclear. Does *gôy* derive from the (WSem.) *gāwum/gāyum* (R. E. Clements, *TDOT* 2:426) or is *gāʾum* a Canaanism (*AHw* 284a)? Or do the two words share a common origin, so that one should not speak of derivation, etc.? No basic etymology may be offered. Thus, e.g., *gēw* “society, community, corporation” (in the OT only Job 30:5; cf. Phoen.-Pun. *gw*, *DISO* 48; *HAL* 174b), even if one assumes a relationship to *gôy*, offers no help.

(b) In reference to the distinction between *ʿam* and *gôy* the following suggestion may be offered: as a relational term, *ʿam* per se implies membership and need not be determined from external circumstances, while *gôy* does not seem to indicate a natural unit because other factors are involved (either territorial or, esp., political?). E. A. Speiser (*JBL* 79 [1960]: 160) reduces the difference to the formula: *ʿam* —subjective and

per., *gôy*—objective and imper. Translations such as “people” for *am* and “nation, population, state” for *gôy* are hardly satisfactory and can be considered appropriate only in some contexts or when amplified. An interpretation of *am* as a religious community and of *gôy* as a political community is no more appropriate.

II. Instances are distributed in the OT as follows (incl. *gôyîm* in Gen 14:1, 9; Josh 12:23; Judg 4:2, 13, 16; *am* in Hos 10:14 txt? listed as a sg.):

	<i>gôy</i>			<i>am</i>			
	sg.	pl.	total	sg.	pl.	total	
Gen 9	18	27	23	10	33		
Exod 4	2	6	170	5	175		
Lev 2	5	7	29	14	43		
Num 1	4	5	83	4	87		
Deut 13	33	46	82	25	107		
Josh 5	8	13	67	3	70		
Judg 1	6	7	65	2	67		
1 Sam	—	2	2	110	—	110	
2 Sam	1	4	5	102	1	103	
1 Kgs2	3	5	77	6	83		
2 Kgs5	12	17	53	—	53		
Isa 20	53	73	105	25	103		
Jer 28	59	87	162	3	165		
Ezek 1	86	87	69	29	98		
Hos —	3	3	15	3	18		
Joel 2	8	10	11	2	13		
Amos1	3	4	7	—	7		
Obad—	4	4	1	—	1		
Jonah	—	—	—	1	—	1	
Mic 2	7	9	12	7	19		
Nah —	2	2	2	—	2		
Hab 1	6	7	2	4	6		
Zeph 4	3	7	5	2	7		
Hag 1	3	4	8	—	8		
Zech —	17	17	10	9	19		
Mal 1	4	5	2	—	2		
Psa 7	53	60	83	37	120		
Job 1	2	3	5	3	8		
Prov 1	—	1	8	1	9		
Ruth —	—	—	10	—	10		
Song Sol	—	—	—	1	—	1	
Eccl —	—	—	2	—	2		

Lam	1	6	7	9	2	11	
Esth	–	–	–	24	7	31	
Dan	3	–	3	16	–	16	
Ezra	–	1	1	16	7	23	
Neh	–	6	6	46	7	53	
1 Chron		3	6	9	40	5	45
2 Chron		3	9	12	106	6	112
OT	123	438	561	1,639	229	1,868	
	22%	78%	100%	88%	12%	100%	

*ʿam* occurs 15x in the Aram. portions of the OT (Dan 10x, Ezra 5x), 8x sg. and 7x pl. (in Dan).

Sg. occurrences of *ʿam* dominate; the reverse is true of *gôy*. A further characteristic distinction involves the fact that *ʿam* is often provided with a per. suf., while per. sufs. virtually do not occur with *gôy* (only Gen 10:5, 20, 31f. “their nations” and Ezek 36:13–15 “your nations”; further, Zeph 2:9 and Psa 106:5, “my/your people,” both par. *ʿam*, which is mentioned first).

In reference to the distribution in the Pentateuch, the large number of sg. occurrences of *ʿam* (Exod, Num, Deut) in contrast to the few sg. occurrences of *gôy* is remarkable. That approximately half of all pl. specimens occur in Deut, with *ʿammîm* and *gôyîm* in near equal distribution, also deserves attention.

The same circumstance may also be noted in Josh–2 Kgs: the small incidence of sg. *gôy* in contrast to the numerous instances of *ʿam* (14 to 474). Notably, too, pl. passages seem to indicate a preference for *gôyîm* (cf. esp. 2 Kgs, where *ʿammîm* does not appear).

Regarding the prophetic books, reference may be made to the large number of sg. *ʿam* instances in Jer in contrast to the few pl. instances; in contrast, there are few sg. instances of *gôy* in relation to the numerous pl. occurrences. More than half of the pl. occurrences of *gôy* occur in Deut, Isa, Jer, and Ezek. In the Psa, the relatively large number of *ʿammîm* texts are remarkable alongside the many instances of *gôyîm*.

III. The investigation of the two words *ʿam* and *gôy* is arranged as follows: III/1 *ʿam* as a term of relationship; III/2 *ʿam hā’āreṣ* “the people of the land”; III/3 *ʿam* as a designation for “warriors, army”(?); III/4 *ʿam yhw* “the people of Yahweh”; III/5 *ʿam qādôš* “a holy people”; IV/1 *gôy* in statements of promise; IV/2 the semantic distinction between *ʿam* and *gôy*; IV/3 pl. *ʿammîm* and *gôyîm*.

With respect to the topic as a whole, attention may be directed to the

following literature (a selection, without comms. and OT theologies): M. Krenkel, "Das Verwandtschaftswort *‘am*," *ZAW* 8 (1888): 280–84; J. Boehmer, "Dieses Volk," *JBL* 45 (1926): 134–48; von Rad, *Gottesvolk = GS* (1973), 2:1–108; L. Rost, "Die Bezeichnungen für Land und Volk im AT," *FS Procksch* 125–48 = *KC* 76–101; N. W. Porteous, "Volk und Gottesvolk im AT," *FS Barth* (1936), 146–63; A. Causse, *Du groupe ethnique la communauté religieuse* (1937); N. A. Dahl, *Das Volk Gottes* (1963); W. Eichrodt, *Gottes Volk und die Völker* (1942); O. Eissfeldt, "Volk und 'Kirche' im AT," *TSK* 109 (1947): 9–23; H. W. Wolff, "Volksgemeinde und Glaubensgemeinde im AT," *EvT* 9 (1949/50): 65–82; H. W. Hertzberg, *Werdende Kirche im AT* (1950); A. R. Hulst, "Der Name 'Israel' im Deuteronomium," *OTS* 9 (1951): 65–106; Th. C. Vriezen, *Die Erwählung Israels nach dem AT* (1953), new Dutch ed.: *De verkiezing van Israel* (1974); J. D. W. Kritzing, *Qahal Jahwe* (1957); R. Martin-Achard, *Light to the Nations* (1962); E. A. Speiser, "'People' and 'Nation' of Israel," *JBL* 79 (1960): 157–63; H. Wildberger, *Jahwes Eigentumsvolk* (1960); O. Bächli, *Israel und die Völker* (1962); R. Smend, *Die Bundesformel* (1963); id., *Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation* (1970); G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* (1991); F. Stolz, *Jahwes und Israels Kriege* (1972).

In reference to individual problems, cf. the following literature in addition to the literature cited in the pertinent sections below: D. E. Hollenberg, "Nationalism and 'the nations' in Isaiah XL–LV," *VT* 19 (1969): 23–36; H. G. May, "'This people' and 'This nation' in Haggai," *VT* 18 (1968): 190–97; H. M. Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker* (1968); G. Schmitt, *Du sollst keinen Frieden schliessen mit den Bewohnern des Landes* (1970); J. T. Willis, "Micah 2,6–8 and the 'People of God' in Micah," *BZ NS* 14 (1970): 72–87; G. W. Anderson, "Israel: Amphictyony: *‘AM*; *KAHAL*; *‘EDAH*," *FS May* 135–51; N. Füglistner, "Strukturen der atl. Ekklesiologie," *Mysterium Salutis* IV/1, ed. J. Feiner and M. Löhrer (1972), 25–28.

1. In accord with the discussion in I/1a, the starting point in reference to *‘am* is the use of the word as a term of relationship. It is worthwhile to demonstrate concretely the meaning "relationship" on the basis of statements in the OT; in addition to isolated passages (see 1c), two fixed figures of speech are significant (1a–b).

(a) The first is *‘sp ni. ‘el ‘ammîm* "to be gathered to one's *‘ammîm*." Abraham is said to have departed, died, been gathered to his *‘ammîm*, and buried (Gen 25:8f.); similar statements are made of Ishmael (25:17), Isaac (35:29), Jacob (49:29, 33), Aaron (Num 20:24; Deut 32:50), and Moses (Num 27:13; 31:2; Deut 32:50). It involves a probably old formula preserved in P. The *‘ammîm* here are the (dead) relatives with whom the deceased is united; the connection with one's ancestors is clearly accentuated in this

manner. The notion that this formula presupposes the concept of the grave of the fathers and the family, as often maintained (R. de Vaux, *La Genèse*, Bible de Jérusalem [19622], 118 regarding Gen 25:8: “the expression . . . originates from the family tomb”; cf. also von Rad, *Gen*, OTL [19722], 262), is disputed for good reasons by B. J. Alfrink (*OTS* 5 [1948]: 118ff.). According to him, this statement does not refer to “the reunion with the ancestors in the family tomb” but “to the reunion with the ancestors in Sheol.”

In contrast to the pl. in MT, the Tg. and the LXX have the sg. (LXX *laos* in Gen 25:17 and *genos* in 35:29), usually also the Vg. The Sam. text has *ʿmk* and *ʿmw* with a 2d- or 3d-per. suf.; these forms can be understood both as sg. and pl. (written defectively). The Masoretic textual tradition, however, places value on the pl. forms and thus preserves the original form of the statement. For this very reason the pl. should be retained and *ʿammay* should be restored in Gen 49:29 in place of *ʿammî*. The sg. rendering indicates that the formula was either no longer comprehensible or was regarded as a mere stereotypical expression.

For comparable formulae such as “to be laid with one’s fathers,” etc., → *ʿāb* IV/2a.

(b) The second formula (with some variation) is *krt ni. mēʿammāw* “to be cut off from one’s relatives” (Gen 17:14; Exod 30:33, 38; 31:14; Lev 7:20f., 25, 27; 17:9; 19:8; 23:29; Num 9:13, all texts in P or H). The transgressions for which the evildoer is excluded from the circle of relatives are of a religious and sacral nature, offenses against certain taboo regulations and certain cultic and ritual practices, offenses that threaten the tribe as a religious and cultic community. Through this act, the guilty party steps outside this community and is left to his or her fate.

Now this formula is also transmitted with sg. *ʿam* instead of the pl. *ʿam* (with *krt ni.*, Lev 17:4; 18:29; 20:17f.; Num 15:30; with *krt hi.*, Lev 17:10; 20:3, 5f.; cf. Ezek 14:8f.). On this ban formula, cf. W. Zimmerli (*ZAW* 66 [1954]: 17ff.; id., *Ezek*, Herm, 1:302ff.). According to him, the pl. may represent the old form of the statement and refer to the tribe as the cultic community, while the sg. formulation refers to the covenant people Israel as the actual cultic community. One may ask, however, whether the situation is not somewhat more differentiated; perhaps not all pertinent passages represent indisputable references to the people as a whole. Do the passages with *krt hi.* and *ʿam* with 3d-per. sufs. refer to the entire people Israel or only the tribe of the transgressor? The latter understanding can be substantiated by the fact that *ʿam* also alternates with *ʿammîm* in the pass. form of the ban formula; sg. *ʿam* means then “tribe, family” collectively, and this possibility must be considered. The sg. formulation of the ban formula permits both interpretations: either it refers, like the pl.

form, to the tribal community, or it can, as mentioned, refer in later times to the religious community of Israel. This interpretation is also probably the intention of the sg. translation of all variants of the ban formula in the LXX and the Tg.

(c) *ʿam* also indisputably exhibits the meaning “relatives” in 2 Kgs 4:13 “I live among my relatives.” The circle of one’s own people offers shelter and security (it is unnecessary to read *ʿammay* instead of *ʿammî*, *ʿam* is used collectively). The godless will have no descendants in the tribe to care for their memory and hold their names in honor (Job 18:19; cf. v 17). By contrast, in Jer 37:12 the meaning of *ʿam* is somewhat uncertain. According to Rudolph (HAT 12, 238), it relates to the fact that the prophet must arrange an inheritance “in the circle of the family” (v 4, where *ʿam* refers to the population of Jerusalem, in no way determines the meaning of *ʿam* in v 12). Even if somewhat doubtful, the meaning “family” is still highly probable here. In Ruth 1:10, 16 the meaning “relatives” is also notable in the context of the family narrative, even though it stands in the background.

In Ezek 18:18 *ʿammîm* doubtlessly refers to the relatives. “The glance at the circle of the family is not out of place in this explanation, which is so strongly concerned with the question of corporate guilt in a family” (Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:372; the sg. translation of the LXX is a secondary application to the people of God).

According to Lev 21:1, 4 a priest may not be made impure by a death among his relatives (*ʿammîm*); the high priest may marry only a virgin from his family (Lev 21:14f.; cf., however, the probably later proscription in Ezek 44:22 and the Sam. text as well as LXX B on Lev 21:15). Finally, cf. also Lev 19:16, “You shall not behave as a slanderer in your clan”; here, too, the notion “people, compatriot” is a later expansion of the original meaning.

The meaning “relatives” was important from the outset; its impact in the priestly material could be associated with the fact that particular value was placed upon familial community in the post-exilic period.

The (probably later) word *ʿamî* (Lev 5:21[bis]; 18:20; 19:11, 15, 17; 24:19; 25:14[bis], 15, 17) hardly means “fellow clan member,” more likely “member of the community, compatriot” (Elliger, HAT 4, 241n.19). In Lev 19:11–18 it parallels “neighbor,” “brother,” “sons of your people.” In Zech 13:7 it may mean “confidant”; some also think of an abstract “society,” (cf. M. Sæbø, *Sacharja 9–14* [1969], 279f.; LXX has *politēs* here, elsewhere *plēsion*).

The meaning “relative” for *ʿammîm* has also been suggested for Deut 33:3 (J. Wijngaards, *Deuteronomium* [1971], 350), but this passage is too uncertain. Still the pl., because it is better attested text-critically than the sg., should be retained; the argument that the *ʿammîm* “could not be the object of Yahweh’s love” (Steuernagel, *Deuteronomium*, HAT [19232], 174) is irrelevant so far as a text-critical decision is

concerned.

2. (a) The designation *‘am hā’āreš* “people of the land” is often understood as a technical term and interpreted as the assembly of the men of a territory for political action or, somewhat more generally, as the upper class with the rights of citizenship (cf. e.g., E. Würthwein, *Der ‘amm ha’arez im AT* [1936]; R. Meyer, *Judaica* 3 [1947]: 169–99; de Vaux 1:70–72, xxx–xxxi [bibliog.], id., “Le sens de l’expression ‘Peuple du pays’ dans l’AT et le rôle politique du peuple en Israël,” *RA* 58 [1964]: 167–72; L. A. Snijders, “Het ‘volk des lands’ in Juda,” *NedTT* 12 [1957/58]: 241–56; J. A. Soggin, “Der judäische *‘am ha’areš* und das Königtum in Juda,” *VT* 13 [1963]: 187–95; E. W. Nicholson, “Meaning of the Expression *‘m h’rš* in the OT,” *JSS* 10 [1965]: 59–66; Ihromi, “Die Königinmutter und der *‘amm ha’arez* im Reich Juda,” *VT* 24 [1974]: 421–29). But a critical examination of the texts (75x, *‘am(-)hā’āreš* 51x [excl. Neh 9:10 and Ezek 45:16 txt em], *‘ammē hā’āreš* 16x, *‘ammē hā’rāšôt* 8x) encourages the necessary caution. Thus Gen 42:6 and Num 14:9 probably concern the total population of a region, while Exod 5:5 is certainly to be associated with Exod 1:7, 9f.; it is not restricted to the men. If the phrase has a technical sense, then it involves a specialized meaning occasioned and shaped by specific, but not necessarily similar, circumstances. Abraham trades with the *‘am hā’āreš* in Hebron, i.e., fully enfranchised, land-owning citizens (Gen 23:7, 12f.). 2 Kgs 11:14ff. (cf. 2 Chron 23) concerns the totality of the Jewish citizenry; a political component is involved, and reference could be made, in particular, to leading circles of the country population outside Jerusalem (cf. 2 Kgs 21:24; 23:30; 25:19).

This special meaning is already doubtful in 2 Kgs 15:5 and 16:15 because here it seems to refer much more generally to the country population per se. Moreover, 2 Kgs 23:35 seems to refer to a general taxation, “not . . . from the men of property alone” (Gray, *Kings*, OTL [1970], 751). Finally, one must certainly think of the entire population in 2 Kgs 24:14; 25:3, 12.

(b) In Jer the expression refers to the country population or their representatives in conjunction with the king, ministers, priests, etc. (Jer 1:18; 34:19; 37:2; 44:21). In Ezek the situation is somewhat more complicated. Ezekiel knows the *‘am hā’āreš* as the country people in relation to the king, e.g., 7:27. He refers specifically to members of the upper classes in the context of 12:19; 22:29. Ezek 39:13 intends, however, the entire people, no longer just the upper class (cf. esp. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:318); so also essentially do 45:22 and 46:3, 9, because these contexts concern the entire cultic community conceived as newly constituted on the soil of Palestine (Zimmerli, op. cit. 2:484). Texts in Lev

may be best included at this point (Lev 4:27; 20:2, 4), in the event that they involve the entire cultic or legal community (thus, correctly, Elliger, HAT 4, 73: “The old political technical term *‘am hā’āreṣ* . . . apparently no longer refers only to the landed and fully enfranchised ‘upper-class’ but simply to the totality of the Jewish community, so that *‘am hā’āreṣ* has become an alternative term for *qāhāl* and *‘ēdā* 4:13, and *‘am* 4:3”; cf. op. cit. 273 on Lev 20:2ff.).

(c) In Hag 2:4 and Zech 7:5 *‘am hā’āreṣ* also probably refers to the early post-exilic population and not specifically to the upper class in the pre-exilic technical sense; cf. Hag 2:4 with v 2 (contra Elliger, ATD 25, 86). One should not speak of the “nobility” in this context, because there is no basis for limiting the designation to a certain group or social class among the people. If, indeed, the notion of the *‘am hā’āreṣ* in the technical sense really requires a certain political independence or at least the possibility of political activity, this is no longer the situation in the post-exilic period. This consideration must be weighed because it accounts for the post-exilic shift in meaning mentioned below. Only a non-Jewish population (or concretely: their representatives) can now be designated the *‘am hā’āreṣ* in contrast to the returning exiles and the Jewish religious community in general, as the people of Samaria are in Ezra 4:4 (because the political component mentioned above was present here). The expression even occurs in the pl. (*‘ammē hā’āreṣ* or *‘ammē hā’āreṣ*) to indicate several non-Jewish societies; notably, it concerns those peoples described, e.g., in Deut 7, as *gōyîm* (cf. Ezra 3:3; 9:1f.; 10:2, 11; Neh 9:30; 10:29; H. C. M. Vogt, *Studie zur nachexilischen Gemeinde in Esra-Nehemia* [1966], 152–54). Members of the religious community are obligated to live in God’s law; the prohibition against marriage in Neh 10:29 also belongs in this context (cf. also the formulation in Exod 34:15f. and Deut 7:3f.). The post-exilic transfer of the designation *‘am hā’āreṣ* to the population not accepted into the new Jewish cultic community is already evident here, a development that clearly prefigures the application common in later times to the people who do not know or who are unfaithful to the law. On this later usage, cf. R. Meyer, “ὄχλος,” *TDNT* 5:582–84, 585–90.

3. Indisputably, *‘am* often does not mean the entire people but only a portion thereof; in most cases, the context alone, then, clearly indicates its significance (cf. the lexicons). Given this consideration, one has no reason to assume a more-or-less independent special meaning “warriors, army.” A “people” as a group of relatives, whether family, clan, or tribe, can, if the situation requires it, go to war as an entity, even if only the men capable of bearing arms actually participate; the *‘am*, as a group of relatives, clearly stands in the background (cf. de Vaux 1:214: “Among nomads there is no

distinction between the army and the people”). The phrase *ʿam milḥāmā* “warriors” (Josh 8:1, 3, 11 [txt?]) itself indicates that *ʿam* in and of itself comprises all the members of the “people”; in this case *milḥāmā* restricts the term to fighting men. In the continuation of the narrative context, then, the word *ʿam* suffices (Josh 8:5, 9, 13). Otherwise, even without the full statement with *ʿam milḥāmā*, the context clearly indicates when warriors are intended; of several examples, the narratives concerning Sihon and Og may be mentioned (Num 21:23, 35; Deut 2:32f.; 3:1–3), as well as 1 Sam 15 and 2 Sam 10. *ʿam* always refers to the fighting unit accompanying a person, belonging to him, and standing under his leadership.

A certain independent status can arise however—under some circumstances—for this meaning of *ʿam* as “fighting unit.” For example, such is the case in Num 20:20 (*ʿam kābēd* “mighty army” or “heavily armed warriors”). Since *ʿam* <sup>ʾāser</sup> *ʾittī* “my people” in Gen 33:15 are identical with the “four hundred men” in 32:7; 33:1, the expression refers to the fighting men Esau can summon—they may not have all been members of his family in the more limited sense. Do the reports concerning Sihon and Og involve a similar phenomenon? Even in cases that preserve ancient designations, one must consider the possibility of semantic development in contexts involving politically conditioned concentrations of groups and the formation of states. Nonetheless, one should maintain that the usage of *ʿam* in the sense of “fighting unit” can be understood only situationally, that an entire group united by relationship (*ʿam*) occasionally takes up arms as a fighting unit.

1QM 1:5; 3:12 mention the *ʿam ʾēl*, cf. Yadin 44: “the term *ʿam* . . . marks, as in the OT, the military character of the congregation organized for war.” His remark that “the *ʿam ʾēl* of DSW [= 1QM] corresponds to the OT *ʿam Yahweh*” (44n.5) leads directly to the next section.

4. (a) Regarding the designation *ʿam yhwh* “people of Yahweh” and suf. forms referring to Yahweh, *ʿammî/ʿammēkā/ʿammô* “my/your/his people,” which presuppose this term, cf. N. Lohfink, “Beobachtungen zur Geschichte des Ausdrucks *ʿm Jhwh*,” FS von Rad (1971), 275–305 (texts listed on p. 276) with bibliog. The expression, favored in prophetic language and the Psa but absent in the priestly legal literature and in the wisdom books, “belongs chiefly in the linguistic setting of the dialogue between Yahweh and Israel, less in the setting of objective discourse concerning Israel” (Lohfink, op. cit. 280) and has more than one meaning. The oldest certain occurrence seems to be Judg 5:13, according to Lohfink, where *ʿam yhwh* is not identical with the people Israel but must be understood instead as the “army of Yahweh” (op. cit. 282; cf. R. Smend, *Die Bundesformel* [1963],

11ff.). Lohfink suggests, although with the caution appropriate to this explanation, a connection with war lyric (ibid.). For the meaning “army of Yahweh, troops in Yahweh’s war,” one may also refer to 2 Sam 1:12 if *ʿam yhwh* and *bētyiśrāʾēl* are distinct.

Since one cannot maintain that *ʿam yhwh* with the meaning “army of Yahweh” is not interchangeable with Israel as Yahweh’s people in a few passages, caution is in order. The categorical claim that Judg 5:13 is the oldest certain occurrence (op. cit. 281) should, in my view, be affirmed; for it is presumed, first, that Judg 5:11 does not belong to the original text of the Song of Deborah; and, second, that the MT of v 13 is problematical and the often accepted emendation of the current vocalized text, in particular, can hardly be defended. A reconstruction of the “original text” remains, then, hypothetical. Furthermore, is a tautology entirely out of the question in 2 Sam 1:12?

(b) As the next meaning of *ʿam yhwh* Lohfink mentions “Yahweh’s clan, Yahweh’s relatives.” “If Yahweh hears the cry of distress of a group of his worshipers and decides to deliver, he does so because he regards this distressed group of people as his own clan” (op. cit. 289). A use of this designation in statements of deliverance is involved. A third usage, although associated with and explainable in terms of the second, indicates the socially weak and needy within Israel in particular as *ʿam yhwh* (op. cit. 293). The second of the three meanings is esp. prominent and broadly distributed.

The meaning “clan of Yahweh” can hardly be derived from the meaning “army of Yahweh”; the reverse derivation is, however, equally risky (so Lohfink, op. cit. 293). It seems problematical to me that, in relation to the semantic differentiation of *ʿam* (uncle, family, clan, people, warriors), Lohfink speaks of two different meanings of the word *ʿam* and reckons with the semantic coexistence of an *ʿam yhwh* I (“army of Yahweh”) and *ʿam yhwh* II (“clan of Yahweh”; op. cit. 294). Essentially, these two different meanings of *ʿam* do not exist at all because *ʿam* “warriors, armed troops” in some contexts represents concretely de facto only a secondary specialized meaning of the basic meaning “group of relatives, clan, people,” certainly an ancient semantic differentiation. A more-or-less freestanding or even independent military usage of the expression is hardly present. Besides, even Lohfink states that *ʿam yhwh* I “disappeared from the scene”; not, however, because *ʿam yhwh* II gained usage in new contexts (so Lohfink, ibid.), but probably because usage in the meaning “army of Yahweh” existed from the outset only as a special case of the common use in the sense of “clan of Yahweh.” In my view one may quite simply speak with O. Procksch (*Theologie des AT* [1950], 503ff.) of “God’s family”: discussion of “Yahweh’s people” or Yahweh’s acknowledgment of his people implies the acknowledgment of the relationship between him and

Israel (op. cit. 506); cf. also Th. C. Vriezen, *De verkiezing van Israel* (1974), 43, 90ff.

(c) The designation *‘am yhwh*, then, clearly presents the notion of family relationship. The circumstance so indicated is considered a given with no basis for it expressly defined. It would be esp. hasty to explain this circumstance in terms of the notion of covenant; this notion plays no prominent role here whatsoever. Rather, the so-called covenant formula portrays the initiation (“you shall be my people”) of this state of affairs (so Lohfink). “The element of initiation or becoming is the decisive innovation that the ‘covenant formula’ contributes to the history of the usage of *‘am yhwh*” (op. cit. 297f.). This analysis would mean, however, that one finds two conceptual matrices in the OT—on the one hand Israel *is* Yahweh’s people because of a family relationship with Yahweh; on the other, Israel *becomes* an *‘am yhwh* because of the covenant. It then becomes problematical how these two lines may be conjoined, or at least, how they interrelate. If it is correct that Yahweh delivers Israel from Egypt because it *is* his people, and accordingly does not first *become* a people of Yahweh through the exodus from Egypt, then one could also well say that Yahweh makes a “covenant” with Israel because he regards it and acknowledges it as his people; thus Israel does not first become the people of God through the covenant. Even in this case, then, *‘am yhwh* would be a reality already established by God because Yahweh has acknowledged this group of people as his *‘am*, as belonging to him. In response to the question of why, then, precisely this people Israel belongs to Yahweh, one can refer to the theologoumenon of election as an act of grace, or, somewhat differently and probably more deeply, to the love of God—the fundamental concept that resists further analysis.

Lohfink says that Israel “repeatedly (became) *‘am yhwh* (through) a *b<sup>c</sup>rit* rite . . . in the sense of a cultic renewal, in the sense of a cultic ‘today.’ . . . This process never contradicted the fact that Israel was already *‘am yhwh*, . . . Israel is never described as having once not yet become *‘am yhwh*” (op. cit. 302f.). This citation, in my view, clearly indicates that the ingressive-fientive translation of the verb *hyh* (“to become”) in the covenant formula, as Lohfink (op. cit. 297) suggests, is at least dubious and should be fundamentally questioned. It would then become apparent that the translation question—either “to become” or “to be”—is essentially a nonissue. Lohfink’s observations (op. cit. 297n.79) are not very convincing and indicate the weakness of his opinions; nor does the ingressive-fientive translation seem necessary in Deut 27:9; Jer 7:23; and Zech 2:15. At best one could say: the significance of *hyh* in the covenant formula concerns becoming what one already is (in faith); Israel must be in the world in the

life of obedience and faith what it is in God's eyes. Consequently, the translation "be" can be retained, if one is clear that it is a statement of faith.

(d) One can define "people" as a community of persons linked by the ties of common origin, basis of existence, language, culture, and history. This definition corresponds to the notion of *ʿam* as family, clan, relatives, which even plays a significant role in the expression *ʿam yhw̄h*. Just as the Moabites can be called "people of Chemosh" (Num 21:29), Israel can also be described as the people of Yahweh. The general idea involves the deity's ties to an entire people (not merely to the fighting men), a type of kindred relationship between God and people. Accordingly, Israel is the clan that belongs to Yahweh, just as other peoples could have the same concept and be regarded as the *ʿam* of their gods; the concept is probably not specifically Israelite in any way. One must also account for the danger that such a statement may be perceived as a natural reality to a degree, in the sense that the deity must automatically protect, bless, and preserve his people as a matter of course on the very basis of this close relationship. Certainly, Israel forcefully relativized and rectified such a popular-national concept, esp. from the prophetic standpoint; instead of "my people," "this people" often appears of Yahweh's lips, which does not embody a rejection but a correction (cf. Vriezen, op. cit. 99). Nonetheless, *ʿam yhw̄h* as "clan belonging to Yahweh" remains a thoroughly legitimate statement in the OT.

The context of the relationship between God and people also includes passages such as Deut 14:1 (Israel as sons, children, in relation to Yahweh, belonging to him; → *bēn* IV/3b); 32:5f. (Yahweh as father; → *ʾāb* IV/3); 32:19 (Israel as Yahweh's sons and daughters; cf. Num 21:29, which speaks of the sons and daughters of Chemosh); Hos 11:1 ("out of Egypt I called my son"); Deut 1:31 ("in the wilderness . . . where Yahweh, your God, carried you like one carries one's child"); Isa 1:2; 30:1, 9 (the people as rebellious, lying sons); Jer 3:14, 19; also Isa 43:6f. (Yahweh's sons and daughters who bear his name). One must always remember that these contexts do not involve an original blood relationship between God and people (cf. Procksch, op. cit. 506; Vriezen, op. cit. 44; also P. A. H. de Boer, *OTS* 18 [1973]: 197f., 201: "the intimate relationship is being emphasized rather than physical descent"). In the foreground stand, fig., paternal love and paternal care, the behavior of the children toward the father, and familial legal protection, also clearly expressed in the designation of Yahweh as *gōʾēl* (e.g., in Deutero-Isa; → *gʾl*). Only a reference to the equally clear NT idiom ("children of God," etc.) is necessary to support this point. It is correct, then, to attribute broad scope to this notion of kinship in terminology describing the relationship between God and people (*ʿam yhw̄h*).

5. (a) Deut 7:6; 14:2, 21; 26:19; 28:9 describe Israel as *ʿam qādōš*

“holy people.” Deut 14:21 begins in the pl. with the prohibition against eating carrion and concludes in the sg. with the declaration “you are indeed a holy people in relation to Yahweh, your God.” This statement certainly involves not a characteristic inherent in Israel but *qādōš* as a relational concept. Just as Israel can be called *‘am yhw* only as a result of Yahweh’s word and deed, so, analogously, the designation *‘am qādōš* can be understood only in terms of the fact that Israel belongs to Yahweh and has been separated by him from the ranks of the nations. Admittedly, Deut 14:21 is a ritual commandment, but universally valid concepts of pure and impure do not provide the basis for it—rather it is associated with Israel’s peculiar relationship to Yahweh. In Deut 14:2 the formula *‘am qādōš* accompanies a clear reference to Israel’s election from all the nations of the earth to be Yahweh’s own people (*‘am* → *segulla*®). “Israel is set apart from all the activity of the heathen cults and practices and now stands under Yahweh’s exclusive claim, which determines all spheres of its being and activity” (H.-J. Kraus, “Das heilige Volk,” *Biblisch-theologische Aufsätze* [1972], 39).

The question concerning the tradition in which the designation *‘am qādōš* originated is probably impossible to answer with certainty. The theology of election surely plays a large role in Deut. The assumption of a connection with the tradition of the holy war does not seem expedient to me because the holy war itself is a disputed concept. One should consider whether the concept could not also have developed from the statement “you are Yahweh’s children” (Deut 14:1), so that the community so indicated represents a community belonging to Yahweh, set apart for him, thus a “holy” community that must avoid rites and practices that do not please him.

The extent to which Deut 14:1 and 14:2 belong together is a question in itself. V 2 is occasionally regarded as the conclusion of ch. 13 and 14:1 as the introduction to the ritual commandments in ch. 14. But 14:3 is better seen as such. Moreover, the par. Lev 11 has no introduction roughly comparable to Deut 14:1, while the holiness declaration concludes both passages (Lev 11:44f. and Deut 14:21). Despite the shift in number (the sg. in v 2 can be understood against 7:6), the two verses should be taken together, in my view. Wijngaards (*Deuteronomium*, HAT [1971], 139) regards this passage as an old prohibition against participation in the ritual practices of the Baal cult: the Israelites can expect nothing from Baal; they are Yahweh’s children, his relatives, his select people. He refers to an Ug. text (*UT* 125 = *KTU* 1.16.I.20–22; cf. H. L. Ginsberg, *ANET* 147) that describes Krt as El’s son, as his shoot, and as *qdš* “holy,” in a phrase comparable to *bānīm* and *‘am qādōš* in Deut 14:1f. It must be noted that this interpretation is valid only if his interpretation of the Ug. text is correct.

The wording of Deut 7:6 agrees with that of 14:2. The prohibition against connubium with the Can. population derives from the fact that Israel

is an *ʿam qādôš*, and these marriage relationships would only promote the worship of strange gods. Israel must be a people set apart to serve Yahweh, thus a holy people. Because Yahweh wants to be the God of this people, it is his *ʿam s<sup>e</sup>gullâ* “a peculiar people,” dedicated to him and placed at his disposal (Deut 26:18f.). Obedience is the consequence, not the condition, for this *ʿam qādôš* status. Deut 28:9 probably does not contradict this understanding, despite the apparently conditional formulation (“if you keep the commandments”). The people’s observance of the commandments and enduring obedience are possible only in the framework of the fact that it is a holy people; in an analogous manner, Yahweh maintains (*qûm hi.*) Israel’s status as an *ʿam qādôš*. In this way the reciprocal relationship between Yahweh and Israel is guaranteed.

One should not emphasize, then, the apparently conditional significance of the particle *kî* in this passage, as some translations do on occasion (“if,” “on the condition that,” “provided that”). A more-or-less conclusive sense may not be ruled out; there is no noteworthy distinction from a conclusive *we* (cf. e.g., Deut 27:9f.).

(b) In order to accentuate the specifically Dtr shape of the declarations of holiness, reference is often made to comparable statements in H and in the priestly literature. *ʿam qādôš* does not occur, but the Israelites are called “holy.” One may recognize remarkable differences: if “in Deut Israel’s holiness is the presupposed fact called to memory, in priestly law Israel’s holiness is a chief demand, in turn, based on and defined by Yahweh’s holiness” (Kraus, op. cit. 41). Thus, e.g., Lev 19:2 says: “you shall be holy people (*q<sup>e</sup>dôšîm*), for I, Yahweh your God, am holy.” “Holy” human behavior is bound closely to Yahweh’s sanctification of his people. In reality, however, the statements under consideration do not permit such a distinct differentiation of two traditio-historically separate complexes. Indeed, Deut markedly emphasizes the fact of holiness, but here, too, this holiness is closely linked to the knowledge that one must be a holy people. While Israel confesses in faith that Yahweh’s act of election distinguishes it from the nations as Yahweh’s people, it is also called on to live as his holy people. Israel should be as Yahweh intended it.

In contrast, one should note that priestly statements concerning holiness should not be regarded merely as demands on the people; cf. Num 16:3, *kullâm q<sup>e</sup>dôšîm* “you are all holy.” Even the clause *q<sup>e</sup>dôšîm tihyû* in Lev 19:2 need not be understood as a commandment; the wording leaves open whether an indicative or a juss. is intended (Noth, *Lev*, OTL, 139f.). It is probably correct to interpret the impf. of the verb *hyh* in this statement as “be holy because you are holy,” i.e., because you belong to me, the Holy One, and are sanctified by me. That God regards Israel as holy even undergirds the emphasis on the element of demand (cf. Lev

20:26; 22:16; 23:31ff.). Nor may indicative translations be ruled out, in my view, e.g., in Exod 22:30 and Lev 21:6, and may even be required in Lev 23:20. Instead of significant distinctions in statements concerning Israel's holiness, one should preferably speak of shifts of accent. Essential differences in the understanding of the notion of holiness per se are not apparent.

IV. 1. The usage of the word *gôy* in promises should be treated first ("holy/great/strong people").

(a) After *ʿam qādôš*, the meaning of *gôy qādôš* may now be investigated. It is not advisable to associate hastily the unique designation of Israel in Exod 19:6 with the Dtn *ʿam qādôš* and to interpret it in this context. Nor is the choice of the word *gôy* in reference to *mamleket (kôh<sup>a</sup>nîm)* "kingdom (of priests)" in the same verse sufficiently elucidated. Instead, a connection with the terminology of the promises in Gen, etc., may be posited.

The promise of becoming a great people (*gôy* → *gādôl* [4c]) is made to Abraham and also to Ishmael, Jacob, and Moses. The simple short formula *gôy gādôl* occurs in Gen 12:2 (Abraham); 17:20 and 21:18 (Ishmael); 46:3 (Jacob); Exod 32:10 (Moses). An expanded form *gôy gādôl w<sup>e</sup>ʿāšûm* "a great and mighty people" occurs in Gen 18:18 (Abraham); Num 14:12 (Moses); *gôy gādôl ʿāšûm wārāb* "great, strong, and numerous people" occurs in Deut 9:14 (Moses) and 26:5 (Jacob). Finally, *gôy ʿāšûm* "strong people" in Mic 4:7 and Isa 60:22 may be mentioned as echoes of promise terminology.

In all these passages, the modifiers *gādôl*, *ʿāšûm*, and *rab* clearly indicate the relationship of *gôy* to other peoples or groups. The people may be great in and of itself, but it is esp. great, mighty, numerous, in comparison with others. This is clearly the case in Num 14:12 ("greater and stronger than they"); cf. also Num 22:6 (Israel is mightier than or too mighty for Balak) and Exod 1:9 (the Israelites are too numerous and strong for the Egyptians). In addition, the (more limited or broader) context refers to this comparison, i.e., Gen 12:2f.; 18:18 and the entire section Num 22–24 (cf. 22:3, 5, 11; 22:6; and the Balaam oracles).

References to the large number of descendants underscore the fact that statements of promise emphasize the strength and greatness, the reputation, etc. of the promised people (e.g., Gen 13:15f. *zeraʿ*; 15:5; 16:10; 17:2, 6a; 22:17; 26:4; the associated component of might also occurs in 22:17; 26:4). Might and reputation stand in the foreground in 13:6 (*r<sup>e</sup>kûš rāb* "great possessions"); 17:4f. (the precise intention of *h<sup>a</sup>môn gôyîm* remains uncertain); 17:6b; 35:11 (is the king of Israel envisioned?); according to 17:20, Ishmael will beget twelve *n<sup>e</sup>šîʾîm*, high tribal authorities

(cf. 25:16). The word *ʿāšûm* itself refers to might; together with *gādôl* it amplifies the element of strength denoted in the root *gd* per se. In this context attention should also be given to 26:16 (*šm*) and to 24:35 and 26:13 (*gd* “to be rich, well-off”).

Thus the verbal motifs of the promises from Gen 12 onward find clear echoes in narrative declarations that the realization of the promise of becoming a *gôy gādôl* is already manifest. The word *gôy* in Num 14:12 should definitely be understood against the background of the promise terminology, while the context describes Israel as *ʿēdâ* (v 10) and *ʿam* (e.g., v 11) and *gôyîm* refers to the non-Israelite peoples. Moreover, this terminology clearly resounds in Exod 1:1ff. (cf. vv 7, 9, 20); the fulfillment of the promise to the patriarchs is already visible in Egypt, as announced in Gen 46:3 and declared in the confession of Deut 26:5; Exod 1:9 even places such a declaration on the lips of the king of Egypt (cf. recently, W. H. Schmidt, BK 2:32f.)

In view of the fact that these texts value a characterization of the descendants of the fathers in relation to other nations, the choice of the word *gôy* is self-evident; the sources from Gen 12:2 onward are unified on this point. The statement of L. Rost (FS Procksch 141 = KC 89) should be remembered: “*gôy* applies to a group of people united according to origin, language, land, worship, law, and military and distinguished from outsiders.” It should be accentuated that the promise texts place common origin in primary position; they are also concerned, however, with the might and reputation of this community in the world, and consequently the choice of the word *gôy* can be easily understood. Promise terminology would undoubtedly have been very popular in the glorious time of David and Solomon (10th cent. BCE). Given the possibility that the brief formulation *gôy gādôl* may be very old, the expansions with *ʿāšûm* and *rab* may have arisen during that period; it is not necessary to consider a later period and to attribute the expansion of the formula to the Dtn redactor at the earliest, as R. P. Merendino (*Das deuteronomische Gesetz* [1969], 361) suggests concerning Deut 26:5.

The discussion above suggests that the significance of the modifier *gādôl*, etc., refers esp. to the territory (one thinks of the promise of the land in the promise texts) and to the state as a political entity. Precisely in a time in which one must reckon with the might of the Israelite state and the dominion of the Israelite kings, this significance would certainly have been valid. As Israel’s might and greatness in the political realm visibly contracted, however, and the people, instead of remaining independent of other powers, were increasingly threatened by these powers and became dependent, such a nationalistic interpretation of the promise formulae gradually lost real value. It probably survived chiefly as a hope for the

future, because, after all, Yahweh could allow none of his promises to come to naught.

Another interpretation, however, born of specifically religious convictions, was represented in the Dtr era by some circles. Deut 4:6ff. speaks of Israel as a *gôy gādôl* in a new manner; Israel itself and also the surrounding peoples are aware of this greatness. It obviously involves not Israel's political greatness or national reputation but its religious greatness apparent in its wisdom and insight, its just laws, and esp. in the fact that its God is near. According to 4:32ff. its greatness derives directly from its relationship to the great and mighty God. Israel is *ʿam yhwh* because Yahweh is Israel's God; Israel is a *gôy gādôl* in relation to the *gôyim* because Yahweh revealed his greatness and might in the deeds and wonders that liberated his people and in his selection of Israel from the nations. Thus Israel's "greatness" consists solely in the fact that it belongs wholly and only to Yahweh and must obey him alone. Is Deut 4, where the expression *gôy gādôl* reminds one of the promise terminology, intended at the same time to clarify a particular aspect of *ʿam qādôš*? Is the combination of *gôy* and *qādôš* in Exod 19:6 thus illuminated to a degree? Whatever the case may be, in Exod 19:6 *gôy* undoubtedly recalls the promise terminology, and *qādôš* in this passage must be understood against the background of Dtn thought.

In regard to *gôy qādôš*, L. Peritt (*Bundestheologie im AT* [1969], 172ff.) also refers to the conceptual horizons of Deut 4. Israel numbers among the *gôyim* precisely in the context of its peculiarity and election. In the exilic situation, the *ʿam* became a *gôy*, while the substance of the "God's people" theology was retained. "In contrast, in this stage of its life among the *gôyim* Israel claimed its special status with Yahweh more energetically than before, but now in terms of the unique element: a *gôy* is chosen! And this very kerygma is introduced for the exilic reader into the Sinai narrative in Exod 19:6" (op. cit. 174). This observation requires a late date for the passage in question: "Exod 19:6a is . . . not an early but the final phase of the development of Deut 7:6" (ibid.). Instead of seeking an explanation for this usage of the word *gôy*, I would like once again to emphasize the relationship to the old promise terminology; indisputably, the usage of *gôy* in Exod 19:6 was legitimate and meaningful in these later times.

(b) As is well-known, Exod 19:6 describes Israel not only as a *gôy qādôš* but also as a *mamleket kôh<sup>a</sup>nîm*, as a "kingdom of priests." Regarding the problem of the grammatical construction and translation of *mamleket kôh<sup>a</sup>nîm*, already apparent in the ancient Vers., one may refer to R. B. Y. Scott, "Kingdom of Priests (Exodus 19,6)," *OTS* 8 (1950): 213–19; J. Bauer, "Könige und Priester, ein heiliges Volk (Ex 19,6)," *BZ NS* 2 (1958): 283–86; G. Fohrer, "Priesterliches Königtum, Ex 19,6," *TZ* 19 (1963):

359–62.

All attempted explanations proceeding from the notion that *gôy* and *mamleket* are the major concepts in the context of Exod 19:6 are misguided. If one considers the parallelism of the two designations and esp. the fact that the word *qādôš* modifying *gôy* in the expression *gôy qādôš* is decisive for interpretation, it continues to be most probable that the second word in the expression *mamleket kôh<sup>a</sup>nîm* is equally instrumental for exegesis (it can remain open whether it is a pure gen. construction). Consequently, the translation “kingdom of priests” deserves preference. Noth (*Exod*, OTL, 157) paraphrases the sense as follows: “Israel is to be the special possession of Yahweh (v. 5), to whom the whole earth and so all nations belong; she is therefore a ‘holy’ people, i.e., set apart from the rest of the nations (v. 6). . . . Israel is to have the role of the priestly member in the number of earthly states. Israel is to have the special privilege of priests, to be allowed to ‘draw near’ God . . . ; this is the purpose for which Israel has been chosen.” Isa 61:6 (“you, however, will be priests of Yahweh, you will be called servants of our God”) also belongs in the same context.

Many other researchers conclude similarly, e.g., Vriezen (op. cit. 49). The people were set apart from the nations to serve God; as “priests” they are dedicated and sanctified to Yahweh to carry out his service in the world. In this way they will signify blessing for the nations of the earth; in my view, the significance of Exod 19:6 coincides with that of Gen 12:2; one can assume the influence of promise theology, if late, at this point also. The people is not called to rule in the usual sense but to serve.

The identification of sources and dating are still much in dispute. A decision in this regard also depends on the interpretation of the individual expressions; those who think in terms of state and monarchy tend to assume an earlier date than those who place less weight on these concepts. Much speaks for a late date for the broader context as long as one remembers that the content of these peculiar formulations must be understood in terms of old concepts (more in the literature cited; cf. also 1 Pet 2:9 and the idea of the so-called priesthood of the believer).

(c) Discussion concerning *‘am qādôš* and *gôy qādôš* has shown that, even if the knowledge of a kindred relationship is involved, in the final analysis the unity of the people was grounded in God’s gathering and unifying activity. Because the bond with Yahweh is the essential fact, Israel is not a “profane” people like any other; it is exceptional. Israelite self-consciousness endangers its religious function if confused with a profane nationalism. The decisive factor is not the ethnic, the natural, but solely its relationship to Yahweh. This element must be emphasized precisely because the joyous recognition of the promises that speak of *gôy gādôl* and

the election of the people as a *gôy*/*ʿam qādôš* could easily lead to a feeling of grandeur and superiority. Such is a fundamental misunderstanding of the promises, however, because their purposes are the glorification of God through Israel, service to him as blessing for the nations, and the whole world’s acknowledgment of God’s greatness and majesty. From Yahweh’s perspective, *ʿam qādôš*, *gôy gādôl*, and *gôy qādôš* are a demand on Israel; from the people’s perspective, it is an assignment to be in the world what God has made it. It must be stated clearly that, according to OT tradition, Israel can be regarded as one people alongside others, but that it can never be like the other nations. Those who live less in God’s power and more in their own power are quite prone to try to overcome a difficult and dangerous situation through purely human measures; in this regard, the monarchy itself signified the danger of a false politicization and secularization of the people of God (cf. 1 Sam 8). From the outset, Israel is more *ʿam yhwh*, *ʿam qādôš*, *gôy qādôš*, *ʿam* → *s<sup>e</sup>gullâ*, *ʿam* → *naḥ<sup>a</sup>lâ* (the various modifiers are decisive!) than “people” in the neutral sense of the word—more a community of faith. This viewpoint explains the fact that blood relationship and common possession of a land and territory, as important as they may be in some circumstances, are not themselves of constitutive significance. This is esp. true of territory as Israel’s own possession, because Israel is also “God’s people” apart from territory. It thanks not the land for its existence but the historical acts of Yahweh (cf. N. A. Dahl, *Das Volk Gottes* [1941], 19).

2. The semantic distinction between *ʿam* and *gôy* has already frequently been pointed out. It is summarized by A. Cody (*VT* 14 [1964]: 5) as follows: “while *ʿam* throughout the Old Testament refers to a people or nation in its aspect of centripetal unity and cohesiveness, *gôy* is linked inseparably with territory and government and what we would today call foreign relations” (“inseparably” is, indeed, somewhat too absolute). The question should now be raised of the extent to which this difference, which undoubtedly exists, has actually determined word choice and was thus apparent to the author in every context that uses either *ʿam* or *gôy*.

(a) The question should certainly not be answered affirmatively without exception. The two words often appear together in parallelism in such a way that one cannot speak of a clear and significant distinction in meaning. Examples of the sg. usage include: Deut 32:21; Josh 3:14, 16 alongside 3:17; 4:1 (*kol-haggôy* here something like “everyone”) alongside v 2; Josh 5:4 alongside v 6 (to be read *gôy* or *dôr* ?); 5:5 alongside v 8; Isa 1:4; 18:2, 7; Jer 6:22; 50:41; Zeph 2:9; Hag 2:14; Psa 33:12 (cf. v 12a with 144:15b); 105:13; 106:5 txt?; the same circumstance occurs in usages of pl. *ʿammîm* with *gôyîm* (see IV/3).

Jer 50:41 and Psa 105:13 point to yet another noteworthy par. in relation to

the word *gôy*. The situation is clearest in Jer 50:41: the text has the sequence *ʿam, gôy, m<sup>l</sup>ākîm* (“kings”); in Psa 105:13 one finds *gôy, mamlākâ* (“kingdom”), *ʿam. gôy* can be linked not only with *ʿam* but also with *mamlākâ*; this circumstance indicates the real, or at least potential, importance of the element of statehood in the interpretation of *gôy*. These pars. typical of *gôy* do not mean, however, that in order to constitute a *gôy* every “people” absolutely must have an independent government, let alone a monarchy. The pars. cited confirm, however, the tendency to use *gôy* in relation to political or territorial elements.

Regarding the par. terms *gôy* and *mamlākâ*, cf. 1 Kgs 18:10; Jer 18:7, 9; 27:8; Isa 60:12; for *gôyîm* and *mamlākôt*, Jer 1:10; 29:18; 51:20, 27; Ezek 37:22; Nah 3:5; Zeph 3:8; Hag 2:22 (txt?); Psa 46:7; 135:10f.; for *gôyîm* and *m<sup>l</sup>ākîm*, Isa 41:2; Jer 25:14; Psa 135:10.

Concerning the fact that Israel can be described not only as *ʿam* but also as *gôy*, Cody states: “In particular contexts which deal with the Chosen People . . . *ʿam* bespeaks: 1) all the internal relations of the people with one another (fraternal aid, and so forth), their internal administration and organization, including that of liturgy and public worship; 2) the relations of the Chosen People with God (‘vertical’ theological relations). *Gôy* is used of the Chosen People by semantic necessity as a complement of a word expressing ruling power, with land tenure as a foundation, constituting a political unity capable as such of entering into relations with other *gôyîm* (‘horizontal’ socio-political relations)” (op. cit. 5). These observations can be helpful in many cases, yet they are not totally accurate since, e.g., the word *gôy* as used in promise terminology describes “vertical theological relations.”

(b) A few remarks concerning individual texts may be appended here: Exod 15:16 *ʿam-zû qānîṭā* can be translated “the people that you created.” From “birth” on, Israel belonged to Yahweh (for *qnh* “to call into being” cf. e.g., Gen 4:1; Psa 74:2; H. L. Ginsberg, *BASOR* 98 [1945]: 22n.68; P. Humbert, *FS Bertholet* 259ff.; contra → *qnh* 4a).

Exod 33:13: alongside *hāʿām hazzeh* in v 12, *haggôy hazzeh* in v 13 probably has derogatory significance; one could translate: “remember it is your people [*ʿam*], this crowd.” Other passages concerned with the disobedience and unfaithfulness of the people of Israel also use *gôy* in this reproving sense. Thus this is not simply an indiscriminate usage of *ʿam* and *gôy*.

Deut 32:21: *lōʿ-ʿām* “no-people” and *gôy* → *nābāl* are par.; cf. G. Gerleman, “Der Nicht-Mensch: Erwägungen zur hebr. Wurzel NBL,” *VT* 24 (1974): 147–58. “Deut 32:21 also suggests that the basic meaning of *nābāl* rests in

the negative realm . . . *gôy nābāl* is a people just like *lō<sup>2</sup>-ām*, but a people that loses everything which makes a people a people. One hears a note of disapproval” (op. cit. 152f.). The translations “foolish” or “godless” are not accurate, then, nor is the remark by S. R. Driver (*Deuteronomy*, ICC, 365): “with a heathen nation, unworthy to be called a people, will Jehovah now provoke Israel’s jealousy.” Cf. Psa 74:18: *ām nābāl* as a people that denies God (cf. Gerleman, op. cit. 151; Psa 14:1).

Jer 31:36: As long as the orders of creation are maintained, Israel will not cease to be a *gôy* in Yahweh’s presence, i.e., in community with him. Can one conclude from the usage of the word *gôy* in this context that the political future of the people is involved here (cf. e.g., Rudolph, HAT 12, 204; in contrast, Weiser, ATD 21, 297)? The exegesis of Jer 33:24 can have no influence on the understanding of 31:36. An allusion to the promise terminology may also be heard in 31:36; in this no doubt late text, political components can hardly have played a considerable role.

3. (a) A few remarks concerning the number and distribution of the pl. occurrences (*ammîm* and *gôyîm*) have already been made under II.

Conclusions drawn in reference to the usage of *ām* and *gôy* together in parallelismus membrorum or in par. statements are also valid for the pl. forms. Examples are: Deut 4:27 (Israel will be scattered among the *ammîm*, only a small number of them survive among the *gôyîm*); 28:64f.; 30:1, 3; Isa 2:2, 4 *gôyîm* alongside Mic 4:1, 3 *ammîm*, also Isa 2:3f. *ammîm* alongside Mic 4:2f. *gôyîm*; Isa 14:6; 25:7; 30:28; 33:3; 49:22; 61:9; Ezek 20:34, 41; 25:7; 28:25; 29:12f.; 32:9; 36:15 (the reproaches of the *gôyîm* and mockery of the *ammîm*); post-exilic: Mic 5:6f.; Hab 2:5 (he gathers all the *gôyîm* and assembles all the *ammîm* to him); 2:8; Zech 8:22; 12:3; 14:12, 18; finally a few passages in the Psa: 33:10; 67:3f.; 96:3, 10; 106:34f.

Reference should also be made to the following word pairs: *ammîm* – *l<sup>e</sup>ummîm* (Gen 27:29; Psa 47:4; 57:10; 108:4), *gôyîm* – *l<sup>e</sup>ummîm* (Gen 25:23; Isa 34:1; 43:9; Psa 2:1; 44:3, 15 txt?; 105:44; 117:1 txt?; 149:7), *gôyîm* – *rāšôt* “lands” (Ezek 29:12; 30:23, 26; 36:19, 24; Psa 106:27), *gôyîm* – *ereš* (Isa 14:26; 66:8; Hab 3:6, 12), *gôyîm* – *m<sup>e</sup>lākîm/ mamlākôt* (Isa 41:2; 45:1; 52:15; 60:3, 11, 16; 62:2; Jer 1:10; 25:14; 27:7; 29:18; 51:20, 27; Zeph 3:8; Psa 46:7; 72:11; 79:6 *mamlākôt*, par. Jer 10:25 *mišpāḥôt*, Psa 102:16; 135:10; but *mamlākôt* alongside *ammîm* in 102:23), *gôyîm* – *mišpāḥôt* (Jer 10:25, see above; Ezek 20:32; Nah 3:4).

In addition to *ām* and *gôy*, other semantically related words occur, such as *l<sup>e</sup>ôm* (pl. *l<sup>e</sup>ummîm*) “people” (35x, only in poetry; cf. HAL 488), *ummâ* “tribe, nation” (pl. *ummôt*, Gen 25:16; Num 25:15; cf. HAL 60a; A. Malamat, JAOS 82 [1962]: 144; pl. *ummîm* Psa 117:1, corresponding to Bibl. Aram. *ummâ* “people, nation,” pl.

*ʾummayyāʾ*, 8x in Dan 3:4, 7, 29, 31; 5:19; 6:26; 7:14; Ezra 4:10; cf. KBL 1051a), *mišpāhā* “extended family, clan” (300x in the OT, 159x in Num, 47x in Josh, 19x in 1 Chron, 12x in Gen; cf. HAL 615); *maṭṭeh* (252x, 111x in Num, 59x in Josh, 27x in Exod, 23x in 1 Chron; HAL 542f.), and *šēbeṭ* (190x, 33x in Josh, 18x in Deut, 16x each in Judg and Ezek, 13x in Psa) have the fig. meaning “tribe” in addition to the concrete, lit. meaning “staff, stick” (cf. de Vaux 1:4ff.; K.-D. Schunck, *BHH* 3:1851f. with bibliog.).\*

(b) It should be noted in regard to the juxtaposition of *ʿammîm* and *gôyîm* (see above): A few passages suggest no, or very little, difference in meaning between *ʿammîm* and *gôyîm* in some contexts; variation is a favored stylistic device in parallelism. As a consequence, it is surely not permissible to introduce particular elements of the meaning of *ʿammîm* and *gôyîm* into these texts from outside and thus to burden the interpretation with the claim to know more and other than the author of the statement in question. The LXX displays a particular preference for *ethnē* even as a translation of *ʿammîm*; it displays, however, no consistency in the translation of *ʿammîm* and *gôyîm*. Such consistency is also lacking in translations up to our time. The attempt has been made to make the difference clear, e.g., with *ʿammîm* “peoples” over against *gôyîm* “nations,” but *gôyîm* “heathen” is already far afield again; no clear rule for the usage of “nations” in contrast to “heathen” can be stated. The possibility (or even the certainty) that *ʿammîm* refers to “peoples” in the general sense with no further specific nuance, while *gôyîm*, in contrast, refers more to “peoples” as social entities, states, kingdoms, sociopolitical entities, must be acknowledged in some cases. Nuances of meaning are esp. apparent for *gôyîm*. That the number of *gôyîm* texts far exceeds the number of *ʿammîm* texts already makes this probable. Moreover, the *gôyîm* often stand in relation to Israel, in which case not only national but also religious distinctions play a significant role. A shift of meaning results in a usage in which *gôyîm*, in contrast to Israel, does not mean “peoples, nations” in the neutral sense but designates other peoples from a religious perspective, those who do not serve Yahweh, thus those who, from the Israelite perspective, are “heathen peoples” (see further 3d).

(c) *ʿammîm* refers to the peoples of the earth in Exod 19:5; Deut 2:25; 4:19; 7:6f., 14; 14:2 (Israel chosen from all the peoples of the earth); also in Deut 4:6; 28:10; Josh 4:24; 1 Kgs 8:43, 53; Ezek 31:12; Zeph 3:20; Psa 49:2; 96:3; 98:9; 2 Chron 6:33. This usage refers either to the nations including Israel (e.g., in Dtn and Dtr statements concerning election, also in the P texts, Lev 20:24, 26) or to the (other) nations beside Israel. *ʿammîm* is restricted to Can. and neighboring peoples, e.g., in Exod 15:14; Deut 6:14; 13:8.

The designation *q<sup>hal</sup> ʿammîm/gôyîm* in the P texts Gen 28:3; 35:11; and 48:4 (Jacob will become a “community” of peoples) is most often understood in terms of the (twelve) tribes or (more likely) peoples of Israel. Does the designation imply “some sort of Messianic outlook” (Skinner, *Genesis*, ICC [19302], 375), or does it refer to “a universal eschatological cultic community of nations” (von Rad, *Gen*, OTL [19722], 282)? In Ezek 23:24 and 32:3 the expression refers to foreign enemies.

*ʿammîm* in Gen 49:10 also refers either to the tribes of Israel or to the nations. The decision is complicated by the difficulty of the entire passage (*šîlôh*!) and can hardly be made with any certainty (see comms.).

The *ʿammîm* in Deut 33:19 can be understood as tribes, family groups; one recalls the practice of entertaining neighboring Israelite tribes on the mountain (Tabor?). Many exegetes, however, see foreigners here too (Driver, op. cit. 408f.: “these two Northern tribes . . . were in the habit of holding sacrificial feasts, in which foreign nations were invited to take part”). The passage remains unclear.

With regard to Psa 47:10, *n<sup>e</sup>dîbê ʿammîm* “the nobles/princes of the nations,” see comms.; it may well be that the nations pay homage to Yahweh in faith and in this way can themselves be counted among the people of Abraham’s God.

(d) A careful examination of the *gôyîm* texts indicates that in most cases the given context determines the meaning of the word. With no claim to thoroughness in reference to nuances of meaning and occurrences, the following may be observed:

*gôyîm* refers to the nations in the general sense, with no clear special meaning in e.g., Deut 26:19; 28:1; 32:8; Isa 14:26; 40:15ff.; 60:3; Psa 22:28f.; 86:2; 94:10. Jer 10:7, which calls God “king of the nations,” also probably belongs in this category.

*gôyîm* represents the non-Israelite nations, foreigners who do not dwell in Canaan in e.g., Deut 30:1; Jer 29:14; 30:11; 43:5; 46:28; Ezek 4:13; 6:8f.; 11:16; 12:16; Joel 4:2ff.; par. to the foreign lands in Ezek 20:23, 41; 22:15; *gôyîm* for the other nations also in Gen 48:19; Num 23:9; Deut 28:12; Psa 18:50; 106:41. Sometimes the nations’ animosity toward Israel is also emphasized (Lev 26:33, 38; Num 24:8; Psa 2:1; 79:1, 10; Lam 1:10); the *gôyîm* move against Jerusalem (Zech 12:3, 9; 14:2; cf. v 12). Jerusalem’s status in the midst of the *gôyîm* and in relation to them is treated e.g., in Ezek 5:5, 14f.; 7:24; 16:24; Zech 1:15. The *gôyîm* will turn to Yahweh (Zech 2:15; 8:22f.). Misfortune comes upon Israel when it wants to be like the nations (in a religious sense, Ezek 20:32; from a political perspective, 1 Sam 8:5; cf. Deut 17:14).

It is esp. important that the *gôyîm* are entirely different from Israel in

the area of religion: they are foreign and offensive (cf. 2 Kgs 17:33; 18:33; 19:12, 17; Jer 3:17; 31:10). The *gôyîm* do not call on God's name (Jer 9:25; 10:2, 25; 14:22; 16:19; Ezek 23:30; Psa 79:6). In the context of Psa 9–10, the *gôyîm* are comparable to the *r<sup>e</sup>šā'îm*, the God-forsaken.

Passages in which *gôyîm* refers specifically to the peoples who formerly inhabited Canaan deserve particular attention. They involve the well-known septad of the Hittites, Girgashites, Amorites, etc., which Yahweh drove out before his people so that Israel could enter the land already promised to the fathers (Deut 4:38; 7:1, 17, 22; 8:20; 9:1, 4f.; 11:23; 12:2, 29f.; 18:9, 14; 19:1; 31:3; also Josh 23:3ff.; Judg 2:21, 23; 3:1, 3; cf. also 1 Kgs 14:24; 2 Kgs 16:3; 17:8, 11; 21:2, 9; Psa 78:55). These texts assume that the conquest did not involve a total annihilation of these peoples and that it was only possible gradually to displace them either militarily or politically, while Israelites and autochthonous groups also coexisted peacefully in part. The great danger these peoples (occasionally also the peoples near Palestine, 1 Kgs 11:1f.) posed for Israel consisted for the Dtn and Dtr writers in the fact that they seduced Israel to religious and cultic apostasy from Yahweh. Consequently the Israelites were not permitted to show them mercy, to conclude any "covenant" with them, or to intermarry with them (Deut 7:1ff.; also Exod 34:11–17). These texts attempt, then, to avoid the danger of confrontation with foreign religions and cultic practices by prohibiting connubium and maintaining distance from the nations, on the one hand, and by advocating the destruction of sanctuaries and cultic objects in order to render the practice of the cults impossible, on the other. Reality looked different, however. The experience of the centuries led to placing value, if one desired the preservation of the purity of one's own faith, on avoiding any association with foreign religious practices, if they could not be eliminated. The fact that one, convinced of the high and exclusive value of one's own Yahweh religion, came to debase rigorously the foreign cultic practices is only all too understandable. One spoke of the "abominations" of the *gôyîm*, not only in relation to Yahweh but also as something inferior and abominable per se. Finally, one came to feel, as the people chosen and loved by Yahweh, far superior to the *gôyîm* and to denigrate them; they are the nonbelievers, the "heathen." In this manner, a sharp distinction arose between "Jews" on the one hand and *gôyîm* on the other, esp. in post-exilic literature. This derogatory significance of *gôyîm* as "heathen" can easily be understood against the process of thought described above. One may recall in this context, e.g., the problem of intermarriage in Ezra 9 and Neh 13:23ff.; one desired to be and remain "holy seed" and sought power in isolation.

Now, Israel's separation is deeply rooted in the OT; it has not yet been established, however, that election faith, understood as though

Yahweh was devoted exclusively to Israel and Israel to Yahweh, seems to have restrained Israel from turning to the *gôyîm*. Indeed, Deut never mentions that Israel may have the assignment of bringing salvation, to call the *gôyîm*, near and far, to faith in the one and universal God. One sees the *gôyîm* as potential seducers, thus an impending danger. The *gôyîm* could at most admire Israel (Deut 4:6); preferably they should be satisfied with their own religion and not burden Israel.

As is well-known, however, another trend is also visible in the OT in other passages, those which are aware that Yahweh chose his people so that it could be a means for him to proclaim salvation to the peoples of the earth and thus to bring the whole world to a recognition of God's majesty. Beginning with the basic promise in Gen 12 and continuing through later statements in Exod 19, this line leads to Isa 60. But here too a feeling of religious superiority easily arises. One must go through the depths to be rid of this feeling and to come to a correct view of Israel's task of bringing blessing in relation to the salvation of the *gôyîm*. Exile and diaspora can be valued positively in this regard. The servant of Yahweh is the light of the *gôyîm* (Isa 49:6), of all humanity; suffering for the well-being of the world comes into view.

Being the people of God, *ʿam qādôš* may not lead to religious egoism or even to hatred for foreigners; it can assume proper form in obedient faith and service to the benefit of the *gôyîm*. One does not exist for oneself but only for Yahweh and thus for other peoples. God retains freedom, which he does not forfeit in choosing a people, and through which, in the end, he offers his salvation to foreigners and enemies. His people, in particular, must be ready to serve him to this end. This attitude of service "signifies the greatest possibility for Israel in relation to the other nations: openness to a new work of God that is beyond Israel's power to initiate" (G. Schmitt, *Du sollst keinen Frieden schliessen mit den Bewohnern des Landes* [1970], 162; this work deserves special mention in reference to this problem). We have now come to the limits of the OT; further treatment of the question would lead us into the realm of the NT message concerning the relationship of the church and the world.

(e) In conclusion, a few more observations may be made concerning individual passages.

The table of nations in Gen 10 (P) has the sequence lands-language-race-people in reference to the sons of Japhet (Gen 10:5); territory comprises, then, the basis for a community of people. In 10:20, 31, in contrast, the sequence race-language-land-people occurs; kinship and language are apparently of greater significance here than established possession of territory. May this difference be explained by the fact that Ham and Shem continued a "nomadic" existence longer than Japhet? That

Gen 10, which incorporates the nations into a genealogical schema, speaks not of *ʿammîm* but of *gôyîm* probably reflects the fact that, despite this genealogical element, the political-historical demarcation of the nations from one another plays an important role (cf. von Rad, op. cit. 139ff.).

*gôyîm* does not refer to the Egyptians in 2 Sam 7:23; the word (without prep.) should not be taken with *pdh min* “to redeem from,” but probably as the obj. of *grš pi*. “to drive out” (cf. LXX and 1 Chron 17:21), which should be restored to the phrase *I<sup>e</sup>aršekā*.

It is not very probable that *gôyîm* in Jer 4:2 (and perhaps also 3:17) refers to the (ten) tribes of Israel and not to foreign nations (so e.g., van Selms, *Jeremia*, POT, 1:74, 82).

In Jer 22:8 *gôyîm* does not mean “nations” but “people (individual non-Israelites)” (a later usage). In Ezek 35:10 and 37:22 it clearly has to do with Judah and Israel as the two portions of Israel as a whole; territorial and national aspects are involved (cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:235f., 275).

In Jer 1:5, Jeremiah is commissioned as a prophet to the nations. The verse refers to the *gôyîm* including Israel, not to foreign nations alone (cf. Jer 25:13, 15–17).

V. 1. In the Qumran texts *ʿam* designates the people of God (e.g., in suf. forms; *ʿam p<sup>e</sup>dût ʾēl* “people of God’s redemption,” 1QM 1:12; cf. 14:5; also 6:6; 10:9; 12:1; 16:1). *ʿam* also refers occasionally concretely to the warriors, the army (3:13; 8:9; 9:1; 10:2; 1QpHab 4:7). Finally, *ʿam* also indicates a particular group of community members: 1QS 2:21 with the priests and the Levites; 1QS 6:8f. with the leading classes of the priests and the elders; on the basis of CD 14:3ff. *ʿam* apparently includes the *b<sup>e</sup>nē yiśrāʾēl* and the proselytes (*gēr*), if the latter do not constitute a group in themselves.

*ʿammîm* are the nations, sometimes without distinction from the *gôyîm* (cf. 1QpHab 3:5 with 3:6; see also 1QH 5:17 alongside 4QpNah 1:1; Israel is chosen from all the *ʿammē ʾrāšôt*, 1QM 10:9; cf. 1QH 4:26).

Regarding *gôy/gôyîm*: 1QM 6:6 speaks of *gôy hebel* “people of nothingness” in contrast to *q<sup>e</sup>dōšē ʿammô* “the saints of his people”; 1QM 11:8f. mentions “seven vain nations” (cf. Deut 7:1). The *gôyîm* are the enemies of God (1QM 12:11); they are subject to judgment (1QpHab 5:4); in a few passages *gôyîm* undoubtedly has the meaning “heathen nations,” e.g., 1 QpHab 12:13; 13:1, which discuss the idols of the *gôyîm*; they worship wood and stone and can be equated with the *r<sup>e</sup>šāʿîm* “godless” (1QpHab 13:4; cf. 1QM 14:7; 15:2). One may not sell clean animals and birds for sacrifice to the *gôyîm* (CD 12:9). In CD 9:1 someone should be killed according to the laws of the heathen (*ḥuqqē haggôyîm*); the sense of

this statement may be that the execution of the death penalty will be left to the heathen authorities.

2. For the designation for “people” in the LXX, in early Judaism, and in the NT, reference may be made to the lexicon articles and the literature cited there: W. Grundmann, “*δῆμος*,” *TDNT* 2:63–65; G. Bertram and K. L. Schmidt, “*ἔθνος*,” *TDNT* 2:364–72; H. Strathmann and R. Meyer, “*λαός*,” *TDNT* 4:29–57; R. Meyer and P. Katz, “*ὄχλος*,” *TDNT* 5:582–90; H. Bietenhard, “People,” *DNTT* 3:788–805.

A. R. Hulst

### םי *im* with

S 5973; BDB 767a; *HALOT* 2:893a; *TDOT* 1:449–63; *TWOT* 1640b; *NIDOTTE* 6640

### את *et* with

S 854; BDB 85b; *HALOT* 1:101a; *TDOT* 1:449–63; *TWOT* 187; *NIDOTTE* 907

1. While the preps. *im* and *et/et* “with” are used interchangeably (H. D. Preuss, *ZAW* 80 [1968]: 140; id., *TDOT* 1:449: in later texts *et* gives way to *im*), their counterparts occur separately in the related languages: Akk. *itti* (*AHW* 405a), Phoen.-Pun. *ʾt* (*DISO* 29) in contrast to Ug. *im* (*WUS* no. 2041; *UT* no. 1863), Aram. *im* (*KBL* 1109b; *DISO* 215f.; Syr. *am*, *LS* 529a), Arab. *maʿa* (Moscatti, *Intro.* 121), Old SArab. *im* (Conti Rossini 208a).

In addition to the 1st per. sg. suf. form *immî* (45x), the longer form *immādî* (→ *imd* 1) occurs with equal frequency.

*et* occurs as an element of PNs in (Phoen.) *\*ittōbaʿal > etbaʿal* (1 Kgs 16:31; cf. *IP* 32; *KAI* no. 1.1; Benz 281; on *ʾtʾel* and *ʾtay*, cf. *HAL* 43a) and *im* in the symbolic name *immānū ʾel* (Isa 7:14; cf. *IP* 160, in reference to extrabibl. pars.; Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 311).

2. According to Mandl. (881–85, 1338, 1539) *im* occurs 1093x in the Hebr. OT (incl. *immādî* 45x, excl. Isa 7:14) and 22x in Aram. *et* is attested about 900x (Gen 138x, Jer 99x, Ezek 70x, 2 Sam 64x, 2 Kgs 56x, Num

55x, Isa 50x, 1 Kgs 47x; cf. *ʿim* 2 Chron 115x, Gen 97x, 1 Sam 92x, 2 Sam 78x, Psa 71x).

3. For the general use of the preps., cf. the lexicons, as well as the summaries in BrSynt 11f., 115f. and Preuss, *TDOT* 1:449f. The basic meaning for *ʿim* of presence and community (e.g., Gen 13:1; 18:16; 1 Sam 9:24) is applied to hostile relationships (Exod 17:8, esp. with *lhm* ni. “to fight”), location (Judg 19:11), simultaneity (Psa 72:5), equipment (1 Sam 16:12; Psa 89:14), intellectual processes (*ʿim lēb/lēbāb*: Deut 8:5; 1 Kgs 8:17). The prep. *ʾēt* primarily indicates location (Judg 4:11); it acquires secondarily the meaning of companionship (Gen 7:7). On the preps. with the expression → *krt bʿrīt* “to make a covenant,” cf. E. Kutsch, *ZAW* 79 (1967): 24f.n.26.

4. The discussion of God’s presence with a person or a group of persons is attested over 100x in the OT (*ʿim* about four times more frequently than *ʾēt*; cf. W. C. van Unnik, FS Manson 270–305, esp. 276, 300f.n.37; H. D. Preuss, “. . . ich will mit dir sein!” *ZAW* 80 [1968]: 139–73; id., *TDOT* 1:449–63; W. Richter, *Die sogenannten vorprophetischen Berufsberichte* [1970], 146–51). The expression is always cast as a nom. clause (subj. Yahweh/God, predicate often with *hyh* as a more precise indication of tense and mood).

The motif of God’s presence (on the background, cf. C. Westermann, *Promises to the Fathers* [1980], 26n.19; Preuss, *ZAW* 80:161ff.) stems from nomadic life; accordingly, it belongs to the structure of events that determine the existence of migratory families, the blessing (C. Westermann, *Blessing in the Bible and the Life of the Church* [1978], 1–14); it is manifest in the preservation and enhancement of physical life, not in those unique occurrences experienced as God’s saving acts (D. Vetter, *Jahwes Mit-Sein—ein Ausdruck des Segens* [1971]; contra K. W. Neubauer, *ZAW* 78 [1966]: 292–316; Preuss, op. cit.; cf. H. E. von Waldow, “. . . den ich erlöse dich” [1960], 39f.)

The patriarchal narratives use the formula in relation to the migration of people. It indicates Yahweh’s protection in the dangers of the journey (Yahweh’s promise, Gen 26:3; 28:15; 31:3; cf. 26:24; oath, 28:20; praise, 31:5; 35:3; blessing, 48:21; declaration of success, 21:20, 22; 26:28). The formula also displays its original link with migration in the tradition concerning the period between the exodus and the beginning of the formation of the state (promise, Exod 3:12; cf. E. Kutsch, *TLZ* 81 [1956]: 75–84; W. Beyerlin, *VT* 13 [1963]: 6ff.; Deut 31:8, 23; Josh 1:5, 9; 3:7; desire of the tribes, Josh 1:17; irony, Exod 10:10; declaration, Deut 2:7; 32:12; Judg 1:22; description of salvation in the visionary’s oracle, Num 23:21). The same is also true for the realm of the Yahweh war (Deut 20:1, 4; 31:6, 8; Josh 1:17; 14:12); here God’s presence as protection and power

brings victory over the enemies (so *ILC* 1/2:194f.; contra Waldow, op. cit. 39; Preuss, op. cit. 154); the two modes of God's activity occur together: deliverance (cf. Exod 14:14, 25; 15:21) and blessing (= presence; promise, Deut 20:1; Judg 6:12, 16; 1 Sam 10:7 [cf. H. Seebass, *ZAW* 79 (1967): 162f.]; 17:37; Jer 1:19; 15:20; 20:11 txt em [cf. Preuss, op. cit. 143, 151]; Zech 10:5; 2 Chron 13:12; 20:17; 32:7f.; negatively, Num 14:43; Josh 7:12; 2 Chron 25:7; lament, Judg 6:13; declaration, Judg 1:19; 2:18; retrospective, 2 Sam 7:9 = 1 Chron 17:8; 1 Chron 22:18; statement of confidence, Josh 6:27; Isa 8:8, 10 [cf. 7:14]; 2 Chron 35:21). In the context of migration and Yahweh war, the formula provides the basis for the promise of salvation to the endangered ("Fear not!" Gen 26:24; Deut 20:1; 31:8; Josh 1:9; 2 Chron 20:17; 32:7f.); the reference to a threat is also clear in other passages (Isa 41:10 [cf. Westermann, *Forschung am AT* 118f.; id., *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 71–73]; 43:5; Jer 1:8f.; 30:10f.; 42:11; 46:28; Psa 23:4; 46:4 [txt em], 8, 12; cf. Isa 43:2; Amos 5:14; Hag 1:13; 2:4).

Yahweh's companionship means success for people. God's blessing already manifests itself in success in the patriarchal narratives (see above; cf. G. Wehmeier, *Der Segen im AT* [1970], 136, 170; not first in a later period, so Preuss, op. cit. 156). Other traditions adopt the old motif (Gen 39:2f., 21, 23 [cf. L. Ruppert, *Die Josephserzählung der Genesis* (1965), 44ff.; C. Westermann, *Calwer Predigthilfen* 5 (1966): 46f.]; 1 Sam 3:19; 16:18; 18:12, 14, 28; 2 Sam 5:10; 7:3 = 1 Chron 17:2; 2 Sam 14:17; 2 Kgs 18:7; 1 Chron 11:9; 2 Chron 1:1; 15:2, 9; 17:3). The expression serves the "realization of history" by providing a basis for God's presence through a reference to the past (Josh 1:5, 17; 1 Sam 20:13; 1 Kgs 1:37; 8:57). In the post-exilic period, the formula appears both in frequent relation to battles (see 3) and with no particular point of contact (1 Kgs 11:38; Zech 8:23; Ezra 1:3; 1 Chron 22:11, 16; 28:20; 2 Chron 19:6 [cf. Exod 18:19]; 2 Chron 36:23; as a greeting, 1 Chron 9:20; 2 Chron 19:11; cf. Ruth 2:4).

The Immanuel pericope, Isa 7:1–17, cannot be examined in detail here. The symbolic name Immanuel "God (is) with us" should be understood against the background of the Jerusalemite cultic tradition (cf. Psa 46:8, 12); the context also suggests the Yahweh war (cf. Deut 20:4) and Davidic traditions (cf. 2 Sam 23:5; cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 311f.).

5. For the NT use of the formula, cf. W. C. van Unnik, FS Manson 270–305; W. Grundmann, "σύν-μετά," *TDNT* 7:766–97.

D. Vetter

עמד *md* to stand

S 5975; BDB 763b; HALOT 2:840a; ThWAT 6:194–204; TWOT 1637; NIDOTTE 6641

1. The root *ʿmd* is used verbally outside Hebr. (qal “to take one’s stand, stand, stand still,” etc.) in Akk. (*emēdu* “to lean against, lay on,” *AHW* 211a) and Arab. (“to support, intend,” *Wehr* 641b).

While Hebr. distinguishes between *ʿmd* “to stand” and → *qûm* “to stand up,” Aram. has *qûm* for both meanings (*ʿmd* pe. in Aḥ. 160 [cf. *DISO* 216] is uncertain; see P. Grelot, *RB* 68 [1961]: 190; id., *Documents araméens d’Égypte* [1972], 444). E. Y. Kutscher (*Tarbiz* 33 [1963/64]: 118ff.; id., *Current Trends in Linguistics*, ed. T. A. Sebeok [1970], 6:359) attributes the late meaning “to stand up” for *ʿmd* in Neh 8:5; Dan 12:13; and in Mid. Hebr. to Aram. influence as an “inverted calque.”

Nom. derivatives in the OT are: *ʿammûd* “pillar, support, column” (common Sem.; cf. Berg., *Intro.* 216f.; *DISO* 216f.), *ʿōmed* “position, place,” *ʿemdâ* “site,” *ma<sup>ʿ</sup>mād* “post, position,” *mo<sup>ʿ</sup>mād* “station, stop,” perhaps also *ʿimmād* with 1st per. sg. suf. -î “beside me, with me,” as an intensive in place of the prep. *ʿim* with suf. (*BL* 644; *KBL* 713b; contra Joüon §103i).

2. Statistics: *ʿmd* qal 435x (Dan 39x, Ezek 32x, 2 Chron 31x, 2 Kgs and Jer 28x each, 1 Kgs and Psa 26x each, Josh 20x, Exod, Deut, 1 Sam, and Isa 17x each, Gen and 2 Sam 15x each, Num 13x, Zech 12x, Esth 11x), hi. 85x (2 Chron 20x, Neh 18x, Num 8x, Psa and 1 Chron 6x each, Lev, Ezek, Dan, and Ezra 4x each), ho. 2x (Lev 16:10; 1 Kgs 22:35); *ʿōmed* 9x (Dan, Neh, and 2 Chron 3x each), *ʿemdâ* 1x (Mic 1:11), *ʿammûd* 111x (Exod 39x, 1 Kgs 22x [all occurrences in ch. 7], 2 Chron 8x), *ma<sup>ʿ</sup>mād* 5x (1 Kgs 10:5 = 2 Chron 9:4; Isa 22:19; 1 Chron 23:28; 2 Chron 35:15), and *mo<sup>ʿ</sup>mād* 1x (Psa 69:3).

The verb occurs in a rather balanced distribution throughout the OT, concentrated esp. (in a specialized usage) in the late language (Chr history, Esth, Dan) and preferred in descriptions (1/2 Kgs 58x) and vision reports (Ezek 36x; Dan 43x, 20x in ch. 11).

3. For the manifold uses of the verb in the chief meanings “to take a position, stand, remain standing” and the specialized meanings and usages that develop from them, one may refer to the lexicons. The verb occurs absolutely about 200x; it often accompanies other descriptive verbs (3a, b) and acquires unusual meanings when constructed with some preps. (4a–c).

(a) On the one hand, the basic meaning can be illustrated through the following par. verbs: “to step forth, take a position” of a soldier, a guard (par. *yšb* hitp., 2 Sam 18:30; Hab 2:1); “to stand firm, remain standing” of a

house (par. → *qûm*, Job 8:15; in general, Nah 1:6); “to stand still, remain standing” of the sun and moon (par. *dmm*, Josh 10:13); “to stand without moving” of an idol image (par. to a negated *mûš* “to move,” Isa 46:7, following → *nûah* hi. II “to set down”); “to set in” of an event (par. → *hyh* “to occur,” Psa 33:9; cf. 2 Sam 21:18 *hyh* with 1 Chron 20:4 *ʕmd* and 2 Sam 24:16 *hyh* with 1 Chron 21:15 *ʕmd*, so J. C. Greenfield, *Bib* 50 [1969]: 101, following Z. Ben-Hayyim). The pars. → *qrb* “to approach” (Deut 4:11; Ezek 44:15) and → *ʕbd* “to serve” (Num 16:9) point to the cultic significance of *ʕmd lipnê* (see 4c[3]).

(b) On the other hand, *ʕmd* serves as an antonym for numerous verbs of motion: → *hlk* “to go” (Psa 1:1), → *bôʔ* “to enter” (Gen 24:31), → *yšׁ* “to go out” (2 Sam 15:17), *rûš* “to run” (1 Sam 17:51), *nsׁ* “to set out, continue on” (Exod 14:19), etc. The verb describes the cessation of movement, standing still (Josh 3:13; 1 Sam 17:8, etc.). Connotations of stability and endurance are underscored through opposition to *hpk* “to topple” (Prov 12:7; cf. Matt 7:24–27), *brh* “to flee, disappear” (Job 14:2), *mûr* ni. “to change” (Jer 48:11), → *ʔbd* “to perish” (Amos 2:14f.; Psa 102:27), and → *mût* “to die” (Exod 21:20f.). The notion of resistance to the enemy’s attack occurs in the context of the war narrative, where *ʕmd lipnê* means “(to be able) to withstand” (2 Kgs 10:4; cf. 1 Sam 6:20; see 4c[4]).

(c) The elliptical usage of the verb alone to indicate the unaltered consistency and continuity of a matter is related: of a document (Jer 32:14), Jerusalem (1 Kgs 15:4), the Israelites (Isa 66:22), or the fear of Yahweh (Psa 19:10).

4. In conjunction with a prep., *ʕmd* acquires specialized meanings:

(a) With local preps. *ʕmd* qal indicates stopping or remaining at a particular place: “outside” (Gen 24:31), “beside the altar” (Ezek 9:2), “beside the gate” (2 Sam 18:4), “they stood on their feet” (Ezek 37:10), “each remained standing in his place” (Judg 7:21). If this place is associated with a particular function, *ʕmd* qal describes the behavior of one who fulfills one’s assignment at one’s post: the guard on the tower (Hab 2:1), the defender in the breach (Ezek 22:30), and the believer in the temple (Psa 134:1). Correspondingly, *ʕmd* hi. with a prep. indicates the installation of an official in office, e.g., 1 Kgs 12:32, the priest at Bethel; 2 Chron 8:14, the priests and Levites in their service. On *ʕmdbׁ* cf. also P. A. H. de Boer, FS Baumgartner 25–29.

(b) *ʕmd* in conjunction with the prep. *le* and an inf. cs. can express appearance to perform a specific assignment: the tribes appear at Shechem to bless and curse (Deut 27:12f.), Jeroboam at Bethel to sacrifice (1 Kgs 13:1), and Jeremiah to intercede (Jer 18:20). Legal contexts

mention the appearance of the parties before the judge (1 Kgs 3:16) and the appearance of the judge to pronounce a verdict (Ezek 44:24; cf. Num 35:12). *ʿmd* qal appears twice with Yahweh as subj. in this manner: Isa 3:13 txt em “he stands to pronounce judgment upon his people”; Psa 109:31 “he stands to judge the poor” (the few other usages of Yahweh as the subj. of *ʿmd* qal are either concretely anthropomorphic like Exod 17:6; Num 12:5; Hab 3:6 txt em “he stands forth and makes the earth shake,” visionary of the majesty of Yahweh, Ezek 3:23; 10:18; 11:23; or in imagery and metaphor: Psa 10:1 “why, Yahweh, do you stand far off?”; 102:27 “they will perish, but you remain”).

(c) With the prep. *lipnî* “before,” *ʿmd* describes more precisely the behavior of servants who stand before their masters and receive orders (cf. the figures on the Hammurapi Stele, *ANEP* no. 515; a relief of Barrakib, *ANEP* no. 460; of Darius, *ANEP* no. 463). The expression occurs in four typical situations:

(1) In daily life, servants stand before their lords: e.g., Joshua in Moses’ service (Deut 1:38), the Shunammite at Elisha’s disposal (2 Kgs 4:12), Naaman in service to the man of God (2 Kgs 5:15), the Levites at the disposal of the people (Ezek 44:11).

(2) At the royal court, the minister stands before the king: Solomon’s ministers (1 Kgs 10:8); Gedaliah under Chaldean hegemony (Jer 40:10); Daniel and his companions prepare for service at the court (Dan 1:5); the heavenly royal court stands before Yahweh (1 Kgs 22:19, 21; cf. also Acts 7:55, Jesus “standing,” not “sitting,” at the right hand of God).

(3) In the cult, the priest stands before God, a circumstance that provides the background for the expressions “to stand before the ark of the covenant” (Judg 20:28) or “to stand before Yahweh” (Ezek 44:15 par. → *qrb*, → *šrt* pi.; cf. Num 16:9 par. → *ʿbd*). Analogously, “to stand before idols” means the same as “to serve idols” (Ezek 8:11). The phrase “to stand before Yahweh” in the Dtn-Dtr literature commonly describes the service of the Levites (Deut 10:8; 18:7) as successors of Moses at Horeb (Deut 4:10; 5:5; Psa 106:23). The formula also describes the prophetic service of Elijah and Elisha (1 Kgs 17:1; 18:15; 2 Kgs 3:14; 5:16; cf. 1 Kgs 19:11). It refers to Jeremiah’s intercessory office (Jer 15:1; 18:20), similarly already to Abraham’s intercession for Sodom (Gen 18:22 J). It is finally expanded to include the entire community assembled in the cult (Lev 9:5; 2 Chron 20:13; cf. Rev 20:12), indeed, even to the whole creation (Isa 66:22f.). On the question of the position for prayer in the OT, cf. D. R. Ap-Thomas, *VT* 6 (1956): 225–28.

(4) In eschatological settings, the phrase *ʿmd lipnê yhw* has several varied meanings. It indicates, on the one hand, the (negated) resistance to Yahweh in battle (Amos 2:15; Nah 1:6; Mal 3:2; see 3b) or in judgment

(Psa 76:8; 130:3; cf. Rev 6:17; see 4b); on the other, the service of praise to God (Isa 66:22f.; see 3). It can also vigorously express the hope of the faithful (Jer 35:19; cf. Luke 21:36).

5. The LXX renders *ʿmd* most often with *histanai* and its compounds, less often also with *menein* (Gen 45:9) or *diamenein* (Psa 19:9) in a temporal meaning (see 3c). Both verb groups occur in similar usages in the NT, too; cf. A. Oepke, “καθίστημι,” *TDNT* 3:444–47; F. Hauck, “μένω,” *TDNT* 4:574–78; W. Grundmann, “στήκω,” *TDNT* 7:636–53; id., “Stehen und Fallen im qumranischen und neutestamentlichen Schrifttum,” *Qumran-Probleme*, ed. H. Bardtke (1963), 147–66.

S. Amsler

## עָמַל *ʿāmāl* **toil**

S 5999; BDB 765b; *HALOT* 2:845a; *ThWAT* 6:213–20; *TWOT* 1639a; *NIDOTTE* 6662

1. *ʿāmāl* “work, toil” is a verbal noun from the intrans. verb *ʿml* qal “to work, toil” (Barth 105; BL 462f.) with the verbal adj. *ʿāmēl* “toiling” (substantivized, Judg 5:26; Prov 16:26 “worker”; Job 3:20 “burdened”; Job 20:22 read *ʿāmāl*).

The root *ʿml* is broadly distributed in Sem. languages. The verb also occurs in Aram. (*DISO* 217; *LS* 530) and in Arab. (Wehr 644f.). Akk. has a noun *nēmelu* “gain, profit” (*AHW* 776b), Aram. *ʿml* (Old Aram. in Sef. IA.26 “misfortune,” Imp. Aram. in Cowley no. 40.2 “exertion”), and Eth. *māʿbal* “tool” (*GVG* 1:226).

In 1 Chron 7:35 *ʿāmāl* is a masc. PN (cf., however, *IP* 253); a possible par. is the Palm. PN *ʿml* (Stark 45, 106), while the reading of the conjectured Edomite name *qwsʿml* is quite uncertain (Th. C. Vriezen, *OTS* 14 [1965]: 331).

2. The subst. *ʿāmāl* occurs 55x in the OT, 4x in the historical books (Gen 41:51; Num 23:21; Deut 26:7; Judg 10:16); it occurs most often in Eccl (22x), followed by Psa (13x), Job (8x), Isa (3x), Hab and Prov (2x each), and Jer (1x). This distribution indicates clearly that, on the whole, *ʿāmāl* belongs to late language. The verb occurs 11x (8x in Eccl, 1x each in Jonah, Psa, and Prov), the verbal adj. 9x (Eccl 5x, Job 2x, 1x each in Judg and Prov). Of the 75 occurrences of the root, 35 appear in Eccl, 14 in Psa, and 10 in Job.

3. *ʿāmāl* encompasses a semantic range that has subdivided in German only since Luther (cf. H. Geist, “Arbeit: Die Entscheidung eines Wortwertes durch Luther,” *Luther-Jahrbuch* 13 [1931]: 83–113): “work” alongside “toil, trouble, distress.” Hebr. shares the notion that work = trouble with many old languages (cf. also Lat. *labor*; on the German cf. e.g., Kluge 29; H. Malige-Klappenbach, *FF* 35 [1961]: 51–54).

The basic meaning can be summarized as follows: *ʿāmāl* indicates primarily the process of work (almost exclusively in Eccl; cf. the verb in Prov 16:26 and the verbal adj. in Judg 5:26; Prov 16:26) and the trouble that it causes (par. → *ʾāwen* “trouble,” Psa 90:10; Job 5:6), then the result of work: either the gain, property for which one has worked (Psa 105:44; cf. Isa 45:14, where *y<sup>e</sup>gîā<sup>c</sup>* stands in a similar context; in Eccl often in the formulaic phrase *ʿml ʿāmāl*, 2:11, 18ff.; 5:17; 9:9), or the distress, the suffering, one causes others (par. *ʾāwen*, Isa 10:1; Hab 1:3; Psa 10:7, etc.; cf. G. Fohrer, FS Thomas 102; for the meaning “possession, wealth,” cf. H. L. Ginsberg, *Studies in Koheleth* [1950], 3; id., “Supplementary Studies in Koheleth,” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 21 [1952]: 35f.; O. Loretz, *Qohelet und der Alte Orient* [1964], 235, 265, 280).

It is doubtful whether one can attribute the element of “work” (with no qualitative assessment; cf. Judg 5:26; Prov 16:26) solely to the later and that of “toil, trouble” to the older language on the basis of OT evidence (cf. GB 600b). Sociologically, one could argue the reverse: the work of the farmer became toil, suffering for the Israelite tribes.

The most important of the semantically related terms (cf. → *ʿbd*, → *ʿśh*, → *pʿl*, on the one hand, and *lʾh qal* “to become tired,” ni. “to toil,” hi. “to make tired,” *t<sup>e</sup>lāʾā* “toil,” on the other) derive from the root *y<sup>e</sup>g<sup>c</sup>:y<sup>e</sup>g<sup>c</sup>* qal “to be wearied, take pains” (20x, Isa 10x), pi. “to weary” (Josh 7:3; Eccl 10:15), hi. “to weary” (Isa 43:23f.; Mal 2:17[bis]), *y<sup>e</sup>gîā<sup>c</sup>* “toil, work” and “yield, property, wealth” (16x in a broad distribution), *yāgā<sup>c</sup>* “gain” (Job 20:18), *y<sup>e</sup>gî<sup>c</sup>ʿā* “exertion” (Eccl 12:12), *yāgēa<sup>c</sup>* “tired, painstaking” (Deut 25:18; 2 Sam 17:2; Eccl 1:8), and *yāgîā<sup>c</sup>* “exhausted” (Job 3:17).

Bibl. Aram. uses *ʿbîdâ* “work” (→ *ʿbd*) and *ʾns qal* “to cause trouble” (Dan 4:6).

4. (a) In address to God, *ʿāmāl* can express the concrete distress of an individual or a people: it is pointed out to him in plaintive reproach (Job 7:3 par. → *šāwʾ*, Jer 20:18 par. *yāgôn* “affliction”); he is asked to deliver from it (Psa 25:18 par. *ʿnî* “suffering”); it can be mentioned in the confession of confidence (Psa 10:14 par. *kaʿas* “illness”). God regrets Israel’s distress (Judg 10:16); deliverance from it is reported with praise (Psa 107:12; Deut 26:7 par. *ʿnî* “suffering” and *laḥaṣ* “oppression”; cf. also Gen 41:51). These passages often leave the specific nature of the distress

unclear (apart from the relationship between God and people, *ʿāmāl* designates distress in Num 23:21 “one does not see trouble in Israel,” par. *ʾāwen*; Isa 53:11 “for the sake of the toil of his soul”; Prov 31:7).

(b) *ʿāmāl* becomes a description of the human condition, probably as a result of the lament’s tendency to generalize (lament concerning transience) and of the recognition that toilsome labor defines life (Psa 73:5; 90:10); this generalization occurs esp. in Eccl, however, where the positive significance of work often stands in the background (e.g., 3:13; 5:17; 8:15; 9:9).

(c) In the lament over the enemy and the description of the enemy arising from it, *ʿāmāl* often designates the evil, deceitful, and violent activity of the enemies. Like the enemies themselves, their *ʿāmāl* cannot usually be defined in terms of specific acts. The noun in this usage parallels *ʾāwen* “trouble” (Isa 59:4; Psa 10:7; 55:11; Job 15:35), *šeqer* “deceit” (Psa 7:15), *mirmâ* “deceit” (Job 15:35; cf. Psa 10:7; 55:11f.), and *ḥāmās* “injustice” (Psa 7:17; cf. Hab 1:3). Otherwise, *ʿāmāl* also stands in immediate proximity to *tōk* “oppression” (Psa 10:7; 55:11f.), *hawwâ* “ruin” (Psa 55:11f.), *mādôn* “strife,” and *rîb* “dispute” (Hab 1:3). The actions of the evildoer can also be described in the same manner (Prov 24:2 par. *šōd* “violent act”; cf. Hab 1:3).

(d) The enemy and the evildoer not only cause *ʿāmāl*, they also reap it. Job 4:8 portrays this deed-consequence relationship in the form of a “proverb” (Horst, BK 16, 69): “Those who plow injustice (*ʾāwen*) and sow trouble (*ʿāmāl*) also reap it” (cf. Gal 6:7). Job 15:35 adduces the sequence of pregnancy and birth as a metaphor for this phenomenon: “They are pregnant with toil (*ʿāmāl*) and bear trouble (*ʾāwen*), and their wombs prepare deceit (*mirmâ*)”; similarly also Psa 7:15; Isa 59:4. Psa 140:10 txt? also apparently belongs in this category. Concerning the difficult passage Job 5:6f., cf. Horst, BK 16, 80f.

5. In the Qumran texts, *ʿāmāl* occurs with a semantic range similar to its usage in the OT (1QpHab 8:2; 10:12; 1QS 9:22; 1QH 10:32; 11:1, 19; 4QDibHam 6:12). The LXX renders *ʿāmāl* 23x with *mochthos* (Deut 26:7; 22x in Eccl), 14x with *ponos* (Gen 41:51; Num 23:21; 2x each in Isa, Hab, Job, Prov; 4x in Psa), 13x with *kopos* (Judg 10:16; Jer 20:18; 2x in Job, 9x in Psa), 3x with *odynē* (Job), 1x each with *ponēria* (Isa 10:1) and *kakos* (Job 16:2). Cf. F. Hauck, “κόπος,” *TDNT* 3:827–30.

S. Schwertner

## ענה *nh* I to answer

S 6030; BDB 772b; HALOT 2:851b; ThWAT 6:233–47; TWOT 1650; NIDOTTE 6699

1. The usual distinction presumed in the lexicons between four homonymous roots *nh* I “to answer,” *nh* II “to be bowed down,” *nh* III “to be occupied with,” and *nh* IV “to sing” (cf. GB 603ff.; KBL 718ff.; Zorell 612f.; also Lis. 1094ff.; contra Mandl. 899ff., who distinguishes between I and II, assigns IV to I, and divides III between I and II) is anything but uncontested. The separation of *nh* IV “to sing” from the other homonymous roots may be insightful in view of the Arab. *ǧannā* “to sing” (cf. GB and KBL; CPT 127; L. Delekat, VT 14 [1964]: 37f.), esp. when considered together with the fact that Ug. has no corresponding root *ǧny* and the fact that the Ug. root *ny* related to the Hebr. root *nh* may also mean “to sing” (so F. I. Andersen, VT 16 [1966]: 109ff.; cf. J. C. de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu* [1971], 93f.; id., UF 1 [1969]: 224n.2). *nh* II “to be bowed down” can also be separated from the other homonymous roots on practical grounds. The attempt to identify *nh* I and *nh* II (L. Delekat, op. cit. 35–39 with bibliog.) certainly deserves consideration but is not yet completely convincing (cf. C. Barth, FS von Rad [1971], 49n.25). There are no grounds for the differentiation of a root *nh* III “to be occupied with” (examples only in Eccl 1:13; 3:10; 5:9) from *nh* I because such a “root” together with its derivatives may be attributed to *nh* I both etymologically and semasiologically (cf. Delekat, op. cit. 38f.).

The root *nh* I, which also occurs in Aram. (cf. KBL 1110a; DISO 218) and in Ug. (*ny* “to answer, respond”; UT no. 1883; WUS no. 2060), is etymologically related to Eg. *n(n)* “to turn around” (cf. W. A. Ward, JNES 20 [1961]: 37) and Akk. *enū* “to turn around, alter” (AHw 220f.), despite the fact that Akk. “to answer” is *apālu* (AHw 56f.) and *awātaturru* (AHw 89b; cf. Hebr. *šûb* hi. *dābār*).

Proceeding from the supposition that *nh* meant originally “to turn around,” in particular either turning the countenance in order to display attention or turning the eyes in order to observe a person or a thing, one can deduce on semasiological grounds (see 3) a basic meaning “to react, respond” underlying all the meanings of *nh* I and III together with their derivatives: “to turn around” > “to react” > “to turn attention to someone or something” > “to be occupied with” > “to react willingly,” i.e., “to hear,” “to answer,” etc.

This semasiological chain also includes Arab. *ʿanā* “to be on someone’s mind; . . . to . . . interest,” VIII “to . . . go to trouble; . . . to . . . devote one’s attention” (cf. Wehr 650).

Mal 2:12 txt? *ʿēr w<sup>c</sup>ōneh* “watcher (?) and responder (?)” is very problematical. Which root is involved? Cf. also A. Malamet, *SVT* 15 (1966): 211–13; B. Hartmann, FS Baumgartner 104f.; regarding I. Eitan, *HUCA* 12/13 (1937/38): 59, cf. *CPT* 165, 243, 250. Eccl 10:19, usually interpreted as “money affords everything” (GB 603b; O. Loretz, *Qohelet und der Alte Orient* [1964], 266n.228) but probably better explained as “money lets everyone react willingly” (thus hi.), is also difficult.

The verb *ʿnh* occurs in the Hebr. OT in the qal (intrans. and trans.), ni., and hi. The following may be listed as derivatives: from *ʿnh* I, the subst. *ma<sup>c</sup>neh* I “answer” (cf. Ug. *m<sup>c</sup>n* “answer”; *UT* no. 1883; *WUS* no. 2060a); traditionally from *ʿnh* III: *ma<sup>c</sup>neh* II “purpose”; *ma<sup>c</sup>nâ* “furrow” (cf. GB 447a; KBL 549b), also *ʿinyān* “occupation” (cf. Wagner no. 222) and *ōnâ* “willing involvement, marital intercourse” (contra GB 605a and KBL 720a), and the particles *ya<sup>c</sup>an* “on account of, because” (see 3b; treated extensively by M. J. Mulder, *OTS* 18 [1973]: 49–83; cf. also D. E. Gowan, *VT* 21 [1971]: 168–85) and *I<sup>c</sup>ma<sup>c</sup>an* “for the sake of” (treated extensively by H. A. Brongers, *OTS* 18 [1973]: 84–96). Bibl. Aram. attests only *ʿnh* pe.

It is unclear whether the noun → *ʿēt* “time” also belongs here (KBL 745b with bibliog.; cf. also J. Muilenburg, *HTR* 54 [1961]: 234; and J. Barr, *Biblical Words for Time* [19692], 86–109; contra J. R. Wilch, *Time and Event* [1969], 155–60). The PNs *ʿnāyâ* and *ya<sup>c</sup>nay* (cf. *IP* 185, 198) should also be mentioned.

The name of the goddess *ʿnāt* is associated, in my view, with *ʿnh* in the meaning “sexually willing/responsive” (cf. Hos 2:17; Exod 21:10; see 3a); contra A. S. Kapelrud, *Violent Goddess* (1969), 28 (cf. de Moor, *UF* 1 [1969]: 224).

2. Statistics: The Hebr. verb *ʿnh* occurs 316x in the OT (qal 309x, Job 57x, Psa 36x, 1 Sam 35x, Gen and 1 Kgs 19x each, Isa 16x, Zech 14x, etc. [the qal is remarkably absent in Ezek]; ni. 5x; hi. 2x [Job 32:17; Prov 29:19; contra Mandl.]; on the distinction of the roots [with Lis.] → *ʿnh* II); the 3 occurrences of *ʿnh* III (Eccl 1:13 qal; 3:10 qal; 5:19 hi.) are not included here. The Aram. verb occurs 30x in Dan, always in conjunction with *ʾmr*.

Owing to the stereotypical formula *ʿnh . . . w<sup>c</sup>mr* “respond . . . and say,” a marked concentration of *ʿnh* appears in the books of Sam, Kgs, Zech, and Job. In Hebr. this construction occurs 142x, about 100x as a dialogue formula (cf. P. Joüon, *Bib* 13 [1932]: 309–14). In 5 cases (Gen 24:50; 31:14; Exod 24:3; 1 Sam 30:22; 1 Kgs 18:24) with collective and pl. subjs., *ʿnh* appears in the sg. and *ʾmr* in the pl. (cf. R. J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax* [19762], §230; Joüon §150q). Exod 19:8 and Deut 27:15

have a collective subj. and both verbs are in the pl. *ḏbr* pi. *ʔel* occurs 6x instead of *ʔmr* (Josh 22:21; 1 Kgs 12:7; 2 Kgs 1:10–12; Gen 34:13 without *ʔel*, gloss?; cf. Jer 23:35, 37).

The noms. occur only rarely: *ma<sup>c</sup>neh* I “answer” 6x; even less often *ma<sup>c</sup>neh* II “purpose” (Prov 16:4), *ma<sup>c</sup>nâ* “furrow” (1 Sam 14:14; Psa 129:3), and *ʕnâ* “marital intercourse” (Exod 21:10); further, *ʕinyân* “occupation” 8x (only Eccl); the particles *ya<sup>c</sup>an* 99x and *l<sup>c</sup>ma<sup>c</sup>an* 270x (details in Mulder, op. cit. 67f. and Brongers, op. cit. 85f.).

3. (a) The verb *ʕnh* does not primarily mean “to answer” but “to react.” This basic meaning is clearly manifest in the many cases in which *ʕnh* occurs in a context that does not involve dialogue. It describes a person’s reaction to another in a certain situation. This reaction need not involve words: the expression *ʔen ʕneh* means “there was no reaction” (Judg 19:28; 1 Sam 14:39; 1 Kgs 18:26, 29; Isa 50:2; 66:4). The reaction takes the form of act or behavior, usually in a beneficial sense. Thus *ʕnh* in Hos 2:17 means the “willing response” (in a sexual sense) of the young bride (contra Wolff, *Hosea*, Herm, 31, 43; cf. C. van Leeuwen, *Hosea*, POT, 68), a meaning that also underlies the noun *ʕnâ* “marital intercourse” (Exod 21:10; contra GB 605a and KBL 720a). Hos 2:23f. “to react willingly in reference to” also belongs here (contra A. Guillaume, *JTS* 15 [1964]: 57f.). Many of the 78 passages (35 in Psa) with Yahweh as the subj. of *ʕnh* that do not necessarily refer to a verbal reaction involve this semantic content. In particular, cases where *ʕnh* is usually rendered “to hear” (texts in Delekat, op. cit. 40n.3), but where “to react willingly” represents a better translation (*šm<sup>c</sup>* and *ʕnh* are distinguished in Isa 30:19; 65:24; Jer 7:13; 35:17; Jonah 2:3) belong in this category. Verbs in the word field of *ʕnh* (whether or not par. to *ʕnh*) often confirm the meaning suggested here.

Cf. e.g., *šûr* “to attend to” (Hos 14:9), *nbṭ* hi. “to regard” (Psa 13:4), *nṭh ʔōzen* “to incline the ear” (86:1; 102:3), *ʔzn* hi. “to hear” (143:1; Job 9:16), *qšb* hi. “to notice” (Psa 55:3), *bîn* hitpo. “to give attention to” (Job 30:20), *ʕzr* “to help” (Isa 49:8), *ʕzb* “to abandon” (Isa 41:17; cf. 1 Sam 28:15), *pnh ʔel* “to turn to” (Psa 69:17; → *pānîm* III/3), *ʕm* hitp. “to distance oneself” (Psa 55:2f.), *str* hi. *pānîm* “to hide one’s countenance” (Psa 69:18; cf. Mic 3:4); *ḥnn* “to be merciful” (Isa 30:19; Psa 27:7), *yš<sup>c</sup>* hi. “to help” (2 Sam 22:42 = Psa 18:42; Isa 46:7; Psa 20:10; 22:22; 60:7 = 108:7; cf. 69:14; 118:21; 2 Sam 22:36 = Psa 18:36; according to Dahood [*Psa*, ABC, 1:116 with bibliog.], *ʕnh* means “to conquer” in these cases); “not to react” is a synonym of *ḥrš* hi. “to be deaf” (2 Kgs 18:36 = Isa 36:21).

Even in cases where verbs of calling and seeking and even *ḏbr* pi. “to speak” precede *ʕnh*, *ʕnh* with Yahweh as subj. only rarely expresses a verbal reaction.

Examples: *qr*<sup>ʔ</sup> “to call,” Isa 58:9; 65:24; 66:4; Jer 7:27; 33:3; Jonah 2:3; Psa 3:5; 4:2; 17:6; 20:10; 22:3; 81:8; 86:7; 91:15; 99:6; 102:3; 118:5; 119:145; 120:1; 138:3; Job 5:1; 9:16; 12:4; 13:22; 19:16; Prov 1:28; 21:13; Song Sol 5:6; with *b<sup>š</sup>ēm*, 1 Kgs 18:25ff. (cf. v 36); Zech 13:9; Yahweh as subj. of *qr*<sup>ʔ</sup> and the person subj. of *nh*, Isa 50:2; 65:12; Jer 7:13; 35:17; Job 14:15; *z<sup>q</sup>* “to cry out,” 1 Sam 7:9; 8:18; Isa 30:19; Mic 3:4; *s<sup>q</sup>* “to cry out,” Isa 46:7; Job 35:12 (cf. 19:7); *šw<sup>c</sup>* pi. “to cry out,” Psa 18:42 (cj. 2 Sam 22:42); Job 30:20; *drš* “to seek,” Ezek 14:7 (cf. v 4); Psa 34:5; *š<sup>l</sup>b<sup>e</sup>* “to inquire of,” 1 Sam 14:37; 23:4; 28:6; *pll* hitp. “to pray,” Jer 42:4; *db<sup>r</sup>* pi. Exod 19:19.

Cases should also be included here in which *nh* has as a second obj. *šālôm* “peace” (Gen 41:16; Deut 20:11), *qāšâ* “harsh (words)” (1 Sam 20:10; 1 Kgs 12:13; 2 Chron 10:13; cf. *azzôt*, Prov 18:23) or *nôrā<sup>ʔ</sup>ôt* “awesome mighty acts” (Psa 65:6): i.e., “to react with . . . in reference to” (but cf. *dābār* as an explicit second obj. in 1 Kgs 18:21; 2 Kgs 18:36; Isa 36:21; Jer 42:4; 44:20; Psa 119:42; pl. Zech 1:13 Job 33:13) and also the “response” to a greeting (2 Kgs 4:29; Neh 8:6).

(b) If a verbal reaction is involved, *nh* undergoes modification through *mr*<sup>ʔ</sup> “to say” or *db<sup>r</sup>* pi. *el* “to speak to,” as in the dialogue formula (see 2). Since this formula was understood as a hendiadys, *nh* could also be used in this meaning without *mr*<sup>ʔ</sup>. In many cases a mere *mr*<sup>ʔ</sup> occurs in dialogues instead of *nh w<sup>e</sup>mr*<sup>ʔ</sup> (see B. O. Long, *JBL* 90 [1971]: 129–39).

The expression *šûb* hi. *dābār* means “to make a report, give information” (Num 22:8; Josh 14:7; 22:32; 1 Sam 17:30, etc.; cf. L. R. Fisher, *Ras Shamra Parallels* [1972], 1:300f.; with *mārîm* Judg 5:29). On the question of the meaning of *annôt* in Exod 32:18, cf. F. I. Andersen, *VT* 16 (1966): 108–12; R. Edelman, *VT* 16 (1966): 355; R. N. Whybray, *VT* 17 (1967): 122, 243.

The verbal reaction expressed by *nh* can also result from experience, perception, or observation, e.g., Judg 18:14; 1 Sam 14:28; 2 Sam 13:32; Isa 14:10; 21:9; Zech 1:10–12; 4:11f.; 6:4; Job 3:2; Song Sol 2:10; Esth 10:2. 1 Sam 9:17 belongs here, too, and the five cases in which one reacts verbally to the performance of a ritual procedure (Deut 21:7; 25:9; 26:5; 27:14f.) as well as others, e.g., Prov 26:4f. In this context, the use of *nh* as a legal expression in the sense of “to be a witness,” i.e., “to react before the court on the basis of the observation of a situation,” is esp. important.

This is often the significance of the verb in Job where *nh* in the dialogue formula exhibits forensic content and also in 9:13ff., 32; 15:2; 19:7; 23:5; 32:1, 12; 40:2 (the last two passages par. *ykh* hi. “to reprimand”); esp. with *be*, at first neutrally, i.e., without attention to whether it occurs to benefit or detriment, “to testify in reference to” (as *ed* “witness,”

Exod 20:16; Deut 5:20; also 1 Sam 12:3; Mic 6:3), then also “to testify against” (Num 35:30; Deut 19:16, 18; Job 15:6; Prov 25:18; cf. the even more emphatic expression *b<sup>e</sup>pānîm*, Hos 5:5; 7:10; Job 16:8; in Deut 31:21, however, *lipnî* [“in reference to”] *I<sup>e</sup>cēd* [“as witness”]). Regarding *nh* in the realm of legal proceedings, cf. H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT* (1964), 103; Horst, BK 16/1, 148; with *al* “against,” only in Exod 23:2 and in a fig. sense 2 Sam 19:43 “to turn against.” *nh* moves from the legal realm into daily speech in Gen 30:33; 2 Sam 1:16; Isa 3:9; 59:12; Jer 14:7; Ruth 1:21. The particle of substantiation *ya<sup>an</sup>* arises from this usage: originally a juss. “may he witness” introducing the accusation, later a fixed verbal form “witness” > “on account of” (cf. Mulder, op. cit. 49ff.; for the *Sitz im Leben*, see esp. Gowan, op. cit. 168ff.).

4. In by far most cases with Yahweh as the subj. of *nh* (62 of 78, 30 in Psa), God “reacts” in response to human initiatives, i.e., on the basis of human “calling,” “seeking,” etc. (for texts see 3a). Included are the 14 cases in Psa of *‘nēnî* “answer me!” (12x in individual songs of lament and 2x in the related psalms of confidence), which asks Yahweh to react willingly (also 1 Kgs 18:37). Cases that imply a “calling” should also be included: Gen 35:3; 1 Sam 28:15; Isa 41:17; 49:8; Psa 20:2; 22:22; 81:8; 99:8; 119:26.

Yahweh himself is only rarely (6x) said to take the initiative: in 1 Sam 9:17 Yahweh reacts in a specific moment and reveals the chosen king; Joel 2:19 “Yahweh reacted willingly and promised his people”; Hos 2:23 “I will react willingly in regard to heaven”; Hos 14:9 “It is I who react willingly and who will care for him”; Zech 10:6 “I, Yahweh, am their God and I will react willingly toward them”; Psa 65:6 “you reacted in righteousness with frightful acts toward us.”

Whether Yahweh or a person takes the initiative is difficult to determine in 2 Sam 22:36 (cj. Psa 18:36; cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:255; contra Dahood, *Psa*, ABC, 1:103, 116); Psa 20:7; 38:16; 118:21. Not included are Jer 23:35, 37; Zech 1:13; Job 38:1; 40:1, 6, which involve a dialogue; nor are Job 23:5; 33:13; Ruth 1:21, where *nh* appears in a legal sense.

In all cases that discuss Yahweh’s “failure to react,” the initiative lies with the person who “calls”: 1 Sam 8:18; 14:37; 28:6, 15; 2 Sam 22:42 = Psa 18:42; Mic 3:4; Psa 22:3; Job 30:20; 35:12; cf. also Prov 1:28 (of Wisdom) and Song Sol 5:6 (profane), further, 1 Kgs 18:26, 29; Isa 46:7 (of the gods who do not react).

It is of great theological interest when a person is the subj. of *nh* but Yahweh, who “calls,” takes the initiative (→ *qr*?, Isa 50:2; 65:12; Jer 7:13; 35:17; Job 14:15; also Mic 6:3: “testify in reference to me”). This usage

always involves an address by Yahweh prior to the person's reaction, perhaps expressed through a mediator. For extensive reflection concerning the theme of "Israel's response," cf. C. Barth, FS von Rad (1971), 44–56, esp. 48ff.

5. The LXX translates *ʿnh* primarily with *apokrinomai*, but also with other verbs, reflecting the various meanings of *ʿnh* (e.g., Gen 30:33; Exod 20:16; Job 9:3, 14f.); except for a few passages (e.g., Job 33:5; 35:4; cf. John 1:22; 19:9), *šûb hi. dābār* is also rendered with *apokrinomai*. On the NT, cf. F. Büchsel, "ἄποκρίνω," *TDNT* 3:944f. In the published documents from Qumran *ʿnh* occurs 12x (texts in Kuhn, *Konk.* 167), 8x in the dialogue formula. In accordance with later language influenced by Aram., *ʿnh<sup>l</sup>* occurs here for the first time instead of *ʿnh* with the acc. (1QH 4:18). Regarding the meaning of *ma<sup>ʿ</sup>neh* in the sense of "verbal speech" (1QH 11:34; 17:17), which arose under the influence of Prov 16:1 *ntn ma<sup>ʿ</sup>neh lāšôn*, cf. Barth, op. cit. 47n.12.

C. J. Labuschagne

## ענה *ʿnh* II to be destitute

S 6031; BDB 776a; *HALOT* 2:852b; *ThWAT* 6:247–70; *TWOT* 1652; *NIDOTTE* 6700

## דל *dal* poor

S 1800; BDB 195b; *HALOT* 1:221b; *TDOT* 3:208–30; *TWOT* 433a; *NIDOTTE* 1924

1. The root *ʿnh* II (*\*ʿnw*), whose basic meaning is apparently "to be bowed down, oppressed," occurs in Can. (Phoen.: *ʿnh* pi. "to oppress, subjugate," *KAI* no. 26.A.I.18–20 = Karatepe inscr.; Moab.: *ʿnh* pi. "to press hard," *KAI* no. 181.5f.), Aram. (Old Aram.: uncertain, *KAI* no. 202A.2 "lowly/humble/ submissive"; cf. *DISO* 218; R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik* [1969], 82; A. Jepsen, *MIO* 15 [1969]: 1f.; Imp. Aram.: *ʿnwh* "poverty," Aḥ. 105; cf. *DISO* 218; Bibl. Aram.: *ʿnēh* "destitute," Dan 4:24; later dialects: cf. KBL 1110a; LS 534b; Drower-Macuch 26b), Arab. (*ʿanā* "to be humble, submissive," Wehr 650a), and Old SArab. (*ʿnw* "to be humble, submit oneself," W. W. Müller, "Die Wurzeln Mediae und Tertiae y/w im Altsüdarabischen" [diss., Tübingen, 1962], 81), but not in Ug.

(regarding CML 1 141b cf. *UT* nos. 1846, 1883).

In general, one distinguishes *ḥnh* II “to be destitute” as a separate root from *ḥnh* I “to answer” and the less common roots *ḥnh* III “to take pains” (qal Eccl 1:13; 3:10; hi. “to give to do,” Eccl 5:19; also *ḥnyān* “business, matter,” 8x in Eccl; cf. Wagner no. 222; *ma<sup>a</sup>neh* “purpose,” Prov 16:4) and *ḥnh* IV “to sing” (qal 13x, pi. 3x, delineation according to Lis. 1098), thus e.g., GB 603f.; KBL 781f.; Zorell 612f. Contra L. Delekat (VT 14 [1964]: 35–49), who combines *ḥnh* I-III, cf. already H. Birkeland (*ḥānî und ḥānāw in den Psalmen* [1933], 10f.); E. Bammel (TDNT 6:888): “*ḥānî* from the stem *ḥnh* describes the situation of answering and readiness for this; in the more developed form it then describes the position of inferiority in the face of one who demands the answer”; cf., in contrast, E. Kutsch, ZTK 61 (1964): 197.

The verb occurs in the OT in all stems except the ho. (see 3a); the adjs. *ḥānî* and *ḥānāw* (3b–d) and the substs. *ḥnî* (3e), *ḥnāwâ/ḥanwâ*, *ḥnût*, and *ta<sup>a</sup>ḥnît* (3f) also occur.

2. Statistics are complicated because of the disputed assignment of individual passages to the various roots or terms. If one attributes 2 Sam 22:36 with Lis. to *ḥnh* I qal, Isa 25:5 and Psa 55:20 to *ḥnh* II hi., Psa 119:67 to *ḥnh* II qal, and Prov 3:34 (Q) to *ḥnāw*, the following figures result: *ḥnh* qal 4x (Isa 31:4; Zech 10:2; Psa 116:10; 119:67). ni. 4x (Exod 10:3; Isa 53:7; 58:10; Psa 119:107), pi. 57x (Psa 8x, Deut 7x, Exod, Judg and 2 Sam 5x each, Gen, Lev, Num, and Isa 4x each), pu. 4x (Lev 23:29; Isa 53:4; Psa 119:71; 132:1), hi. 4x (1 Kgs 8:35 = 2 Chron 6:26; Isa 25:5; Psa 55:20), hitp. 6x (Gen 16:9; 1 Kgs 2:26[bis]; Psa 107:17; Dan 10:12; Ezra 8:21), the verb a total of 79x (Psa 13x); *ḥānî* 75x (Psa 29x, Isa 13x, Job 7x, Prov 5x), *ḥnāw* 21x (Psa 12x, Isa, and Prov 3x each), *ḥnî* 36x (Psa 10x, Job 6x), *ḥnāwâ* 4x (Zeph 2:3; Prov 15:33; 18:12; 22:4), *ḥanwâ* 2x (Psa 18:36; 45:5), *ḥnût* 1x (Psa 22:25), and *ta<sup>a</sup>ḥnît* 1x (Ezra 9:5), nom. forms then a total of 140x.

3. (a) *ḥnh* qal refers to a lion (“to crouch,” Isa 31:4) and to people (“to be bowed down, suffer”; see 2); *ḥnh* ni. is used reflexively (“to humble oneself,” Exod 10:3) and pass. (“to be oppressed, bowed down,” all other occurrences). *ḥnh* hi. is causative: “to humble” (also probably 1 Kgs 8:35 par.; Isa 25:5 and Psa 55:20 are textually difficult). A factitive *ḥnh* pi. is used most often and with numerous nuances of meaning (with a pass. pu. and reflexive hitp.; only the hitp. in Psa 107:17 has a pass. meaning: “to be tormented”): “to oppress, treat poorly, humble, debase,” etc., also “to force” (Judg 16:5f.) and “to rape” (Gen 34:2; Deut 22:24, 29, etc.); the verb refers both to God’s punitive acts (Deut 8:2f., 16; 1 Kgs 11:39, etc.) and to cultic self-effacement (*ḥnh* pi. *nepeš*, Lev 16:29, 31; 23:27, 32; Num 29:7; 30:14; Isa 58:3, 5; Psa 35:13; pu. Lev 23:29; hitp. Dan 10:12; Ezra 8:21; cf. *ta<sup>a</sup>ḥnît*

“fasting,” Ezra 9:5; → *šûm*; on the “self-abasement rites” cf. E. Kutsch, *ThStud* 78 [1965]: 25–37).

(b) The meaning and interrelationship of the two expressions *ʿānî* and *ʿānāw* have often been discussed in OT scholarship; cf. e.g., A. Rahlfs, *ʿānî und ʿānāw in den Psalmen* (1892); A. Causse, *Les “pauvres” d’Israël* (1922); H. Birkeland, *ʿānî und ʿānāw in den Psalmen* (1933); A. Kuschke, “Arm und reich im AT mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der nachexilischen Zeit,” *ZAW* 57 (1939): 31–57; J. van der Ploeg, “Les pauvres d’Israël et leur piété,” *OTS* 7 (1950): 236–70; A. Gelin, *Poor of Yahweh* (1964); J. J. Stamm, *TRu* 23 (1955): 55–60 (bibliog. survey); E. Kutsch, “*ʿānāwāh* ‘Demut,’ ein Beitrag zum Thema ‘Gott und Mensch im AT’” (1960, typescript); P. van den Berghe, “*ʿAni et ʿAnaw dans les Psaumes*,” *Le Psautier*, ed. R. de Langhe (1962), 273–95; Delekat, op. cit.; Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:92–95; J. M. Liaño, “Los pobres en el Antiguo Testamento,” *Estudios Bíblicos* 25 (1966): 117–67; K. Aartun, *BO* 28 (1971): 125f.; Ihromi, “*ʿamm ʿānî wādāl* nach dem Propheten Zephanja” (diss., Mainz, 1973; esp. 30–53).

Three major problems arise in reference to the two expressions: (1) Are they two completely different designations (*ʿānî* “poor” in contrast to *ʿānāw* “humble”)? In contrast to earlier authors, scholars are now more inclined to equate the two expressions and to see *ʿānāw* as a dialectal variant or perhaps a late Aramaizing by-form of *ʿānî* (thus Birkeland, op. cit. 14–20; A. George, *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément* [1961], 7:387; E. Bammel, *TDNT* 6:888; contra Delekat, op. cit. 44–48; regarding the nom. form more recently also Aartun, op. cit.). (2) Should one assume a semantic development of *ʿānî/ʿānāw*, from the original profane meaning “poor, without means” or “without sufficient property” (Delekat) to the post-exilic meaning “humble, pious”? The concept of poverty would then, probably under prophetic influence, have been spiritualized (thus e.g., Kittel, *Psalmen*, KAT (19296), 284–88; Humbert, op. cit.; Gelin, op. cit.). Here too caution is appropriate: the term “poor” may have retained its material and sociological significance even after the exile; religioethical connotations constitute a secondary component whose weight must be measured on a case-by-case basis in view of the context. (3) Which role did the “poor” play in Israel? Did they constitute a party or at least a movement, esp. in the post-exilic era (thus in varied ways, e.g., Rahlfs, Kittel, Causse)? No unequivocal answer can be given to this question either, according to the investigations of van der Ploeg, Kuschke, etc.: the “poor” surely play an important role in the history of their people and in OT tradition, both directly and also more or less passively, yet one cannot speak of them as an organization, at least not in the framework of the

canonical texts. Thus scholarship is not in a situation to reach clear-cut conclusions in all three problem areas given the present state of knowledge and in view of the complex situations to which the OT terms refer.

(c) *ʿānî* indicates “one in a circumstance of diminished capacity, power, and worth” (Birkeland, op. cit. 8), someone “suffering from current or permanent distress, economic poverty, or illness, prison, oppression” (George, op. cit. 387); it can thus be translated “poor, suffering, pitiful, unfortunate,” etc.

The word is attested from the Covenant Code (Exod 22:24) onward throughout the entire OT period, in laws (7x: Exod 22:24; Lev 19:10; 23:22; Deut 15:11; 24:12, 14f.), in the prophets (25x: Isa 3:14f.; 10:2, 30; 14:32; 26:6; 32:7 Q; 41:17; 49:13; 51:21; 54:11; 58:7; 66:2; Jer 22:16; Ezek 16:49; 18:12, 17; 22:29; Amos 8:4 Q; Hab 3:14; Zeph 3:12; Zech 7:10; 9:9; 11:7, 11), in the Psa (30x: Psa 9:19 Q; 10:2, 9[bis]; 12:6; 14:6; 18:28 = 2 Sam 22:28; Psa 22:25; 25:16; 34:7; 35:10[bis]; 37:14; 40:18 = 70:6; 68:11; 69:30; 72:2, 4, 12; 74:19, 21; 82:3; 86:1; 88:16; 102:1; 109:16, 22; 140:13), and in wisdom literature (13x: Job 24:4, 9, 14; 29:12; 34:28; 36:6, 15; Prov 15:15; 22:22; 30:14; 31:9, 20; Eccl 6:8); it does not occur in narrative texts. The pl. occurs in one-fourth of the cases.

*ʿānî* often parallels *ʿebyôn* (→ *ʾbh* 4; Deut 15:11; Amos 8:4; Psa 9:12, etc.; the probably late double formula *ʿānî w<sup>o</sup>ʿebyôn* occurs 15x; → *ʾbh* 4c) and other synonymous expressions for “poor” (see 3g) e.g., *dal* (Isa 10:2; 26:6; Zeph 3:12; Psa 82:3f.; Job 34:28; Prov 22:22) and *rāš* (Psa 82:3). The *ʿānî* is associated with those who do not have full rights in Israel: with the stranger (Lev 19:10; Ezek 22:29; Zech 7:10, etc.), the orphan (Isa 10:2; Zech 7:10; Job 24:9, etc.), the widow (Isa 10:2; Zech 7:10), and with the hungry, homeless, and naked (Isa 58:7), the oppressed (Psa 74:21 *dak*), the helpless (Job 29:12), those who are “broken in spirit” (Isa 66:2), etc. The *ʿānî* appears as the victim of social oppression when “crushed” (Isa 3:15 *ṭhn* qal; Prov 22:22 *dkʾ* pi.), “robbed” (Psa 35:10 *gzl*), “devoured” (Hab 3:14 *ʾkl*), “oppressed” (Deut 24:14; Zech 7:10 *šq*), “dragged away” (Psa 10:9 *ḥtp*), “killed” (Job 24:14 *qtl*), etc.; the *ʿānî* is involved with the “evildoer” (*rāšāʿ* Psa 10:2; 37:14; Job 36:6), the “scoundrel” (*kēlay* Isa 32:7; cf. v 5 *kīlay*; cf. R. Borger, *AfO* 18 [1958]: 416); cf. also Isa 3:14f.; 10:2; Psa 18:28; and perhaps Job 24:4–14.

In addition to texts that describe the concrete situation of the *ʿānî*, mention should also be made of those depicting the spiritual attitude of the *ʿānî*. One cries out to Yahweh (Psa 34:7), despairs before him (Psa 102:1), seeks refuge in Zion (Isa 14:32) or in the name of Yahweh (Zeph 3:12), praises his name (Psa 74:21), etc.; the Psa are full of their cries for assistance and songs of thanksgiving. The *ʿānî* belongs to the people

Israel, Yahweh's people, and thus to Yahweh himself (Exod 22:24; Isa 3:15; 49:13; Psa 72:2, 4, etc.): the poor are the "poor of my/his people" (Isa 10:2; 14:32). Yahweh has mercy on them (Isa 49:13), he hears their cries (Job 34:28), he heeds them (Isa 41:17), does not forget them (Psa 74:19), and does not conceal his face from them (Psa 22:25); rather, he delivers them (Psa 35:10), creates justice for them (Job 36:6), helps them (Psa 34:7), etc. In agreement with the common ancient Near Eastern concept of the monarchy, the ruler is expected to protect the poor, to seek justice for them, and to come to their assistance (Psa 72:2, 4); consequently, Zion should rejoice over the coming of its king who is "righteous and victorious" as well as *ʿānî* (Zech 9:9, here probably "humble"; contra E. Lipiński, *VT* 20 [1970]: 50f.).

(d) Of 21 passages with *ʿānāw* in the OT, only Num 12:3 Q, the sole occurrence in the narrative literature, appears in the sg. (of Moses' "humility," probably a later addition; cf. J. Schildenberger, "Moses als Idealgestalt eines Armen Jahwes," *FS Gelin* 71–84). The pl. rarely occurs in wisdom texts (Prov 3:34 Q; 16:19 Q; 14:21 Q), a few times in the prophets (since Amos: Isa 11:4; 29:19; 61:1; Amos 2:7; Zeph 2:3), and often in the Psa (Psa 9:13 Q; 10:12 Q, 17; 22:27; 25:9[bis]; 34:3; 37:11; 69:33; 76:10; 147:6; 149:4).

*ʿānāw* is fundamentally indistinct from *ʿānî* in meaning: "poor, lowly, bowed down, insignificant, humble," also "meek" (cf. the LXX translation with *praus*; see 5). Like *ʿānî*, it is associated with *ʿebyôn* (Isa 29:19; Psa 69:33f.) and with *dal* (Isa 11:4; Amos 2:7), with those who are "brokenhearted" (Isa 61:1), who seek Yahweh (Psa 22:27; 69:33), etc. The *ʿānāwîm* contrast with the proud (Prov 16:19 Q), the mockers (Prov 3:34 Q), and the evildoers (Psa 147:6). Their rights are violated (Amos 2:7), but Yahweh does not forget them (Psa 10:12 Q); he heeds their longings (Psa 10:17), teaches them his way (Psa 25:9), delivers them (Psa 76:10; 149:4), gives them a righteous king (Isa 11:4), etc. Consequently, the *ʿānāwîm* praise their God (Psa 22:27), they rejoice in him (Isa 29:19; Psa 34:3; 69:33), they receive gifts (Psa 22:27; 37:11), etc. The poor in the OT are not just poor, then; they increasingly become the "poor of God," esp. in the Psa, but not solely in late witnesses to Israelite piety (cf. Gelin, *op. cit.*; R. Martin-Achard, "Yahwé et les *ʿānāwîm*," *TZ* 21 [1965]: 349–57).

(e) *ʿōnî* is a general expression for suffering in various forms (affliction, suffering, debasement, oppression, etc.). The word occurs primarily in the Psa (Psa 9:14; 25:18; 31:8; 44:25; 88:10; 107:10, 41; 119:50, 92, 153), the songs of lament (Lam 1:3, 7, 9; 3:1, 19), and wisdom literature (Job 10:15; 30:16, 27; 36:8, 15, 21; Prov 31:5), but also in the narrative portions of the OT (Gen 16:11; 29:32; 31:42; 41:52; Exod 3:7, 17; 4:31; Deut 16:3; 26:7; 1 Sam 1:11; 2 Kgs 14:26; Neh 9:9; 1 Chron 22:14),

and, in contrast, only once in the prophets (Isa 48:10). According to D. W. Thomas (*JTS* 16 [1965]: 444f.),  $\text{ʿnî}$  in Psa 107:10 and Job 36:8 does not mean “suffering” in general but specifically “imprisonment.”

$\text{ʿnî}$  indicates both individual suffering (Hagar, Leah, Jacob, Joseph, Hannah, Job, psalmists) and the suffering of the people Israel (in Egypt, during the time of Jeroboam II) and the city Jerusalem after the catastrophe of 587 BCE (Lam). In the majority of cases, the suffering of the people or the believer is seen in relation to Yahweh: God cares about the suffering of his people and frees them from it (e.g., Gen 16:11; 29:32; Exod 3:7, 17; Deut 26:7; Psa 9:14; 25:18; 31:8; 44:25, etc.).

(f)  $\text{ʿnāwâ}$  indicates humility and debasement; as a par. term one finds the fear of Yahweh (Prov 15:33; 22:4), and as an opposite term, pride (18:12). The word also occurs in Zeph 2:3, a passage that Gelin gives great weight (op. cit. 33ff.) but whose authenticity many commentators dispute (in contrast once again, C. A. Keller, *Commentaire de l’AT* 11b, 199: in the language of Israelite humanism, Zephaniah turns attention to the small, unnoticed, and unloved people who alone are capable of comprehending the prophetic challenge.

The texts of passages with  $\text{ʿanwâ}$  “gentleness (?)” Psa 18:36 (cf. 2 Sam 22:36) and 45:5, are disputed, as is 22:25  $\text{ʿnût}$  “suffering (?)” (cf. *BHS* and comms.).

$\text{ta}^{\text{ʿnî}}$  “fasting” (Ezra 9:5) is a verbal noun from  $\text{ʿnh}$  pi./hitp. (see 3a).

(g) The word field of poverty includes, in addition to derivatives of the root  $\text{ʿnh}$  and to  $\text{ʿbyôn}$  ( $\rightarrow$   $\text{ʿbh}$ ), a few other less frequent terms, some of which have already been mentioned in 3c-d as pars. of  $\text{ʿānî}/\text{ʿānāw}$  and which are used more or less as synonyms in expressive series:

(1)  $\text{dal}$  “insignificant, undistinguished, poor,” etc. (root  $\text{dll}$  with a broad distribution in the Sem. languages; cf. *HAL* 212f., 214; *WUS* no. 744; *UT* no. 664; *DISO* 58) occurs 48x in the OT, like the following adjs. limited more to the economic and sociological realm (Prov 15x, Job 6x, Isa and Psa 5x each, Amos 4x, also Gen 41:19; Exod 23:3; 30:15; Lev 14:21; 19:15; Judg 6:15; 1 Sam 2:8; 2 Sam 3:1; 13:4; Jer 5:4; 39:10; Zeph 3:12; Ruth 3:10; also the collective subst.  $\text{dallâ}$  “the insignificant,” 2 Kgs 24:14; 25:12; Jer 40:7; 52:15f.;  $\text{dll}$  qal “to be insignificant,” 6x: Judg 6:6; Isa 17:4; 19:6; Psa 79:8; 116:6; 142:7).  $\text{dal}$  already occurs in the Covenant Code (Exod 23:3), in old narratives (Gen 41:19; Judg 6:15; 2 Sam 3:1), and in the 8th-cent. prophets (Isa 10:2; Amos 2:7; 4:1; 5:11; 8:6). It often accompanies  $\text{ʿbyôn}$  (1 Sam 2:8; Isa 14:30; 25:4; Amos 4:1; 8:6; Psa 72:13; 82:4; 113:7; Job 5:15f.; Prov 14:31) and  $\text{ʿānî}$  (see 3c) or  $\text{ʿānāw}$  (see 3d), also  $\text{rāš}$  (Psa 82:3f.),  $\text{yātôm}$  “orphan” (Psa 82:3), and  $\text{ʿalmānâ}$  “widow” (Job 31:16).  $\text{dal}$  occurs both in very profane and in more-or-less religious

contexts (Gen 41:19, poor cows; Judg 6:15, an insignificant family; Isa 10:2; Amos 2:7; 4:1; 5:11; 8:6, prophetic protests against the oppression of the poor; Isa 11:4; Psa 72:13, legal protection by the king; Isa 14:30; 25:4; Zeph 3:12; Psa 113:7, help and refuge with Yahweh).

(2) *rāš* “poor” (21x, 14x in Prov, also 1 Sam 18:23; 2 Sam 12:1, 3f.; Psa 82:3; Eccl 4:14; 5:7) is the ptcp. of the verb *rûš* “to be poor” (qal Psa 34:11; Prov 10:4; hitp. “to make oneself poor,” Prov 13:7; cf. also → *yrš* ni. “to be poor,” Gen 45:11; Prov 20:13; 23:21; 30:9; hi. “to impoverish,” 1 Sam 2:7; subst. *rēš/rîš* “poverty,” 7x in Prov), which occurs only in Hebr. Of all the synonyms, *rāš* is the most neutral designation of the poor in terms of the social and economic situation, a wisdom term that also occurs, however, in the David narratives. *rāš* is the most common antonym of *‘āšîr* “rich” (2 Sam 12:1–4; Prov 14:20; 18:23; 22:2, 7; 28:6; cf. *rēš* “poverty” alongside *‘ōšer* “wealth” in Prov 30:8; *šr* qal occurs 2x in the OT, Hos 12:9; Job 15:29; hi. “to enrich,” 14x, hitp. “to make oneself rich” 1x, Prov 13:7; *‘āšîr* “rich,” 23x, *‘ōšer* “wealth,” 37x); less common antonyms are *dal* (Exod 30:15; Prov 10:15; 22:16; 28:11; Ruth 3:10) and *‘ebyôn* (Psa 49:3). To the extent that *rāš* appears in theological contexts, it reflects the traditional doctrine of wisdom poetry concerning poverty (see 4); only Prov 30:8 “give me neither poverty nor wealth,” with the theological basis in v 9, need be specifically mentioned here.

(3) *miskēn* “poor” occurs only in Eccl (Eccl 4:13; 9:15[bis], 16; also *miskēnût* “poverty,” Deut 8:9; *m<sup>e</sup>sukkān* in Isa 40:20 is uncertain; cf. Elliger, BK 11/1, 60–62). Regarding the semasiologically interesting pre- and post-history of the word (Akk. *muškēnu* “palace slave, poor,” *AHW* 684a; > Aram./Hebr./Arab. “poor” > Ital. *meschino* /Fr. *mesquin* “wretched, petty”), cf. Wagner nos. 177f. (with bibliog.); E. Littmann, *Morgenländische Wörter im Deutschen* (19242), 101.

(4) *hāsēr* “lacking” (17x) is a verbal adj. from *h<sup>s</sup>r* “to dispense with, take away” (qal 19x, pi. “to cause to do without,” Psa 8:6; Eccl 4:8; hi. “to lack,” Exod 16:18 and “to cause to lack,” Isa 32:6; *heser* “lack,” Job 30:3; Prov 28:22; *hōser* “lack,” Deut 28:48, 57; Amos 4:6; *hesrôn* “lack,” Eccl 1:15; *maḥsôr* “lack,” 13x, 8x in Prov; Bibl. Aram. *hassîr* “lacking, of little value,” Dan 5:27) and belongs only peripherally to the word field of poverty on account of its more general meaning.

4. The overview in 3a–g depicts a multifaceted picture of statements concerning the phenomenon of poverty from the premonarchic into the post-exilic eras. It is difficult, consequently, to trace a coherent history of the OT’s attitude with respect to poverty (in addition to the literature cited in 3b, cf. also e.g., W. W. Baudissin, “Die atl. Religion und die Armen,” *Preussische Jahrbücher* 149 [1912]: 193–231; H. Bruppacher, *Die*

*Beurteilung der Armut im AT* [1924]; P. A. Munch, "Die Beurteilung des Reichtums in den Psalmen 37, 49, 73," *ZAW* 55 [1937]: 36–46; S. Wibbing, *EKL* 1:115f.; E. Kutsch, *RGG* 1:622–24; 2:77f.; C. U. Wolf, *IDB* 3:843f.); one must be esp. cautious not to contrast a concept of poverty originally assessed in wholly profane terms with a post-exilic, spiritualized ascetic piety. In evaluating the passages, one must certainly also take into account the variety of genres.

With the background of ancient Near Eastern concepts (→ *ʾbh* 4), wisdom literature observes the phenomenon of poverty and also occasionally mentions a few causes of it (laziness, Prov 20:13; cf. 10:4 txt em; drunkenness, 23:21; idle talk, 14:23, etc.). Although divine blessing is evident in success and well-being, a poor person is still God's creation who must be helped (22:9; 29:13; cf. Job 29:12, 16; 31:19f.); what one does for him, one does for God (Prov 14:31; 19:17).

Israelite law also sees a connection between the poor and the God of the chosen people; it intervenes on the behalf of persons whose rights are diminished or endangered, as does already the Covenant Code (Exod 23:3, 6, 11), followed by Deut (esp. 15:1–18; 24:10–22) and the Holiness Code (Lev 19:9ff.; 23:22).

In the tradition of covenant law, the prophets particularly emphasize the defense of the lowly who have come to suffering and misfortune. Amos (Amos 2:6f.; 4:1, etc.) and following him Isaiah (1:17; 10:2, etc.), Jeremiah (2:33f.; 5:26ff., etc.), and Ezekiel (16:49; 22:29, etc.) fight the oppression of the poor and the perversion of their rights and proclaim that Yahweh is on their side.

The psalmists count on this very divine intervention in their distress at the hands of enemies, who are usually defined no further; they complain, call for help, and praise God for his intervention (Psa 9:10, 13, 19; 10:8ff.; 12:6; 22:25; 35:10; 69:33f., etc.).

In one way or the other, then, the larger bodies of OT texts, the Law, prophetic preaching, and the piety of the Psa, relate the poor to Yahweh. The notion that those who are weak and without means should be supported, esp. by the ruler, is indeed evident and influential throughout the ancient Near East, but the prophetic intervention on behalf of the poor associates it definitively with Yahweh. Israel's prayers rest on this very conviction and attest that the only hope of oppressed believers lies in the faithfulness of Yahweh toward them. The poor consider themselves to be God's "clients," not because of their merits, which are insignificant enough, but because of God's goodwill toward them. For the OT, the poor are not simply poor, but the "poor of God," who can expect liberation and joy from him (Psa 34:19; Isa 29:19; 61:1ff.).

5. In the postcanonical literature, OT trends are extended further: the

poor belong to God, they confess his name and await everything from him; their “poverty” signifies at the same time, or esp., a spiritual attitude of “humility” before God. In Qumran and in other Jewish circles at the beginning of the Common Era (cf. the Ebionites), “poor” thus became a type of religious honorific (cf. e.g., J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* [1960], 2:83–87 with bibliog.).

The LXX also tends to underscore the spiritual character of poverty before God, without establishing an absolute distinction; in addition to *ptōchos* (I) and *penēs* (II) “poor,” it uses esp. *tapeinos* (III) “humble” and *praus* (IV) “gentle” (or their derivatives). According to LiaÖo (op. cit. 162–67), the following statistics result:

	I	II	III	IV
<i>ānî</i> 38	14	8	5	
<i>ānāw</i>	4	3	5	8
<i>ʿebyôn</i>	11	29	2	–
<i>dal</i> 20	8	4	–	
<i>rāš</i> 10	7	1	–	

The differences and convergences indicate the way in which the concept of poverty can be understood in both economic and spiritual senses. Cf. further on the LXX and the NT, F. Hauck, “πένης,” *TDNT* 6:37–40; F. Hauck and S. Schulz, “πραΰς,” *TDNT* 6:645–51; F. Hauck and E. Bammel, “πτωχός,” *TDNT* 6:885–915; W. Grundmann, “ταπεινός,” *TDNT* 7:1–26.

R. Martin-Achard

### 𐤀𐤍𐤍 *ānān* **cloud**

S 6051; BDB 777b; *HALOT* 2:857b; *ThWAT* 6:270–75; *TWOT* 1655a; *NIDOTTE* 6727

1. Hebr. *ānān* “clouds, cloud” (BL 470) and Aram. *ānān* “cloud” (Dan 7:13; cf. e.g., Jastrow 1095f.; *LS* 533) have a counterpart in Arab. *ānān* “clouds (collectively).” *ʿnn* pi. “to gather clouds” (Gen 9:14; BL 220, 437) is a denominative; a relationship between *ʿnn* po. “to soothsay, do magic” remains uncertain (GB 606a; Zorell 615; contra KBL 721b; cf. also L. Kopf, *VT* 8 [1958]: 190). The fem. *ānānâ* occurs once as a nomen unitatis or singulative (Job 3:5; cf. the pl. Jer 4:13).

2. *ʿānān* occurs 87x (also 1x Bibl. Aram. *ʿānān*), concentrated in Exod and Num (20x each), also Ezek 11x, Job 6x, Deut 5x, Gen and Psa 4x each. *ʿānānā* and *ʿnn* pi. are hapax legomena (see 1).

*ʿānān* is the most common of the terms in the semantic field of “cloud,” followed by *ʿāb* with 30 (Job 8x, Isa 7x, Psa 5x) and *šahaq* with 21 occurrences (Psa 9x, Job 5x).

3. The various designations for cloud, mist, fog, etc. in the OT are treated in the lexicons and in Dalman, *AuS* 1:110–14; R. B. Y. Scott, “Meteorological Phenomena and Terminology in the OT,” *ZAW* 64 (1952): 11–25; Ph. Reymond, *L’eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l’AT* (1958), 11–18, 29–31, 35–41; J. Luzarraga, *Las tradiciones de la nube en la Biblia y en el Judaísmo primitivo* (1973), 15–41. In addition to *ʿāb* “(rain-)cloud” and *šahaq* “(dust-/cirrus-) cloud,” etc., more specialized and rare words should also be mentioned: *ʿrāpel* “dark cloud” (→ *ʾôr* 3), *qîṭôr* “smoke” (Gen 19:28) or “fog” (Psa 148:8), *nāsîʿ* “mist, cloud” (→ *nśʿ*), and *ḥāzîz* “storm cloud,” etc. (Zech 10:1; Job 28:26; 38:25). For our purposes, it may suffice to suggest that *ʿānān* apparently indicates the clouds and fog more as an extended, opaque mass, while the individual, contoured rain clouds are indicated with *ʿāb* (Scott, op. cit. 24f.; Reymond, op. cit. 14).

Apart from specifically meteorological contexts (cf. also E. F. Sutcliffe, “Clouds as Water-Carriers in Hebrew Thought,” *VT* 3 [1953]: 99–103), *ʿānān* and its synonyms are often used in similes and metaphors. These terms characterize transience (e.g., Isa 44:22 “I have swept away your misdeed like a cloud [*ʿāb*], and your sins like a fog [*ʿānān*]”; Hos 6:4 “your love is like the morning cloud”), terrible darkness (e.g., *ʿānān* in the descriptions of the day of Yahweh: Ezek 30:3; Joel 2:2; Zeph 1:15), immense expanse (Ezek 38:9, 16 “you will come like a cloud to cover the land”), and towering height (Psa 36:6 “your mercy reaches up to the heavens, and your faithfulness to the clouds”; cf. 57:11), cf. Reymond, op. cit. 29–31; Luzarraga, op. cit. 32ff.

4. One may distinguish roughly two realms regarding the use of *ʿānān* in theological contexts (cf. e.g., A. Oepke, *TDNT* 4:905f.; Reymond, op. cit. 35–41; H. W. Hertzberg, *BHH* 3:2181; Luzarraga, op. cit. 45ff.), (a) on the one hand, statements of belief in the creator concerning God’s dominion over the clouds, and (b) on the other hand, the concept of the clouds as the medium of God’s revelation found in various traditions.

(a) *ʿānān* and (even more frequently) the semantically related terms (*ʿāb*, *šahaq*) occur in general statements concerning Yahweh’s power over the clouds, particularly in Job (Job 26:8f.; 37:11, 15; 38:9; cf. 36:29; 37:16; 38:34, 37) but also in various places, sometimes in descriptions of the theophany and God’s acts of judgment (Gen 9:14; Psa 97:2; cf. 2 Sam

22:10, 12 = Psa 18:10, 12f.; Isa 5:6; Psa 68:35; 77:18; 78:23; 147:8; Prov 8:28; regarding Yahweh's "riding" on the clouds, cf. Nah 1:3, also Deut 33:26; Isa 19:1; Psa 104:3; and → *rkb* 4). Descriptions of the day of Yahweh with *ʿānān*, as well as *ʿrāpel*, can also be classified here (Ezek 30:3, 18; 32:7; 34:12; Joel 2:2; Zeph 1:15; cf. also Jer 13:16; Job 3:5). The notion that God could also be separated from the world by the clouds occurs in various forms in Job 22:13f.; Lam 3:44. Regarding Yahweh's dwelling in the darkness of the clouds (1 Kgs 8:12 = 2 Chron 6:1), cf. Noth, BK 9, 181f.

(b) The cloud as the special medium of revelation and simultaneously of concealing the presence of God occurs in traditions concerning the Mosaic era (Exod 13:21f.; 14:19f., 24; 16:10; 19:9, 16; 24:15f., 18; 33:9f.; 34:5; 40:34–38; Lev 16:2, 13; Num 9:15–22; 10:11f., 34; 11:25; 12:5, 10; 14:14; 17:7; Deut 1:33; 4:11; 5:22; 31:15; Psa 78:14; 99:7; 105:39; Neh 9:12, 19), echoed also in statements concerning the Jerusalem sanctuary (1 Kgs 8:10f. = 2 Chron 5:13f.; Ezek 1:4; 10:3f.; eschatologically, Isa 4:5; cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 171f.). Unlike the passages treated in (a), the word *ʿānān* dominates here almost exclusively (*ʿāb* still in Exod 19:9; *ʿrāpel* in Exod 20:21; Deut 4:11; 5:22). The tradition of the guidance of the people through the wilderness in JE and dependent passages speak of a pillar of cloud (*ʿammûd ʿānān* or *ʿānān* alone). The priestly tradition of God's presence in the cloud at the tabernacle uses only *ʿānān*. The tradition-historical origin of this concept is disputed. Noth (*Exod*, OTL, 109) attributes the pillar of cloud and fire to the Sinai theophany: "the phenomenon of the pillars of cloud and fire presumably goes back to observation of an active volcano, to which allusion is without doubt made in the account of the events on Sinai." Other authors proceed from the cultic-ritual presentation of the Sinai revelation in the festival cult in which the incense clouds have a firm place (A. Weiser, FS Bertholet 523f.; W. Beyerlin, *Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions* [1965], 123f., 134f., 142, 156f.; H.-P. Müller, VT 14 [1964]: 183f.; cf. also G. H. Davies, IDB 3:817f.).

5. For the post-history of OT statements with *ʿānān*, cf. A. Oepke, "νεφέλη," TDNT 4:902–10; E. Manning, "La nuée dans l'Écriture," *Bible et Vie Chrétienne* 14 (1963): 51–64; Luzarraga, op. cit. 212–45.

E. Jenni

עָפָר *ʿāpār* dust

S 6083; BDB 779b; HALOT 2:861b; ThWAT 6:275–84; TWOT 1664a; NIDOTTE 6760

אֶפֶר *ʿēper* **dust**

S 655; BDB 68a; HALOT 1:80a; TWOT 150a; NIDOTTE 698

1. \**ʿapar-* in the meaning “loose earth, dust” is attested outside Hebr. in Akk., Ug., Arab., Aram., and Syr., and is a common Sem. nom. stem (P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/23 [1968]: 271, 287, 298).

The OT forms the subst. *ʿāpār* and the denominative verb *ʿpr* pi. “to cover (with dirt)” from this root.

Only Hebr., Jew. Aram., and Eth. also have *ʿēper* “loose earth, dust,” which is phonetically and semantically related to *ʿāpār* (W. Leslau, *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon* [1958], 11) and which may have gained entry into Hebr. via Akk. *eperu* (*AHw* 222f.; *CAD* E:184–90, 246; J. Heller, *VT* 12 [1962]: 339–41; *HAL* 77f.).

2. *ʿāpār* is attested 110x in the OT (Job 26x, Isa 15x, Psa 13x, Gen 9x), *ʿpr* pi. 1x (2 Sam 16:13), and *ʿēper* 22x (Job 4x, Isa 3x; apart from Gen 18:27 and 2 Sam 13:19, first used from Jer and Ezek onward).

3. The basic meaning of *ʿāpār* “loose earth, dust” relates closely to the semantic realm of → *ʾdāmâ* “cultivable” (cf. Gen 2:7; 3:19) and → *ʿereṣ* “earth” (Gen 13:16; 28:14, etc.), so that the words are occasionally interchangeable (cf. 1 Sam 4:12; 2 Sam 1:2 with Josh 7:6; Ezek 27:30) or par. (Isa 47:1; Job 5:6; 14:8).

The broader use of the word is governed by an emphasis on various facets of the basic meaning so that, on the one hand, *ʿāpār* can mean “mortar, plaster” (Lev 14:41f., 45), and on the other, the residue of destruction, like the “dust” of destroyed cultic apparatus (Deut 9:21; 2 Kgs 23:4, 6, 12, 15), the “debris” of a destroyed city (1 Kgs 20:10; Psa 102:15; Neh 3:34; 4:4), and the “ashes” of a burnt sin offering (Num 19:17 par. *ʿēper* vv 9f.). *ʿāpār* is also considered the food of the serpent (Gen 3:14; Isa 65:25; Mic 7:17). The pl. occurs only twice in the OT: *ʿaprôt zāhāb* “gold nuggets” (Job 28:6) and *ʿaprôt tēbēl* “dirt clods” (Prov 8:26).

The meanings “volume” and “territory,” which occur in Akk. (*AHw* 223; *CAD* E:189f.), are not attested in the OT.

*ʿēper*, which is closely related to *ʿāpār* (cf. Num 19:9f., 17 and Gen 18:27; Job 30:19; 42:6), differs from *ʿāpār* in that it primarily means “dust.” *ʿēper* is used for “ashes”

with certainty only in Num 19:9f. (cf. also Ezek 28:18; A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebr. des AT* [1954]: 129: “in  $\text{עָפֵר}$  only the meaning ‘ashes’”).

On  $\text{אָבָאָה}$  “(powdery) dust” (Deut 28:24 with  $\text{עָפָר}$ , Isa 5:24; 29:5; Ezek 26:10; “soot” Exod 9:9;  $\text{בָּאָהָה}$  “[spice] powder,” Song Sol 3:6), cf. Schwarzenbach, op. cit. 129f.; HAL, 9a.

$\text{עָפָר}$  occurs in the OT as an image for quantity and abundance (Gen 13:16; 28:14; Num 23:10 [but cf. Arab. etymologies in A. Guillaume, *VT* 12 (1962): 335–37, “warrior”; C. Rabin, *Tarbiz* 33 (1963/64): 114, “quantity”]; Isa 40:12; Zech 9:3; Psa 78:27; Job 27:16; 2 Chron 1:9; cf. Exod 8:12f.; similarly  $\text{חֹל}$  “sand” [22x, always an image for quantity, except in Exod 2:12; Deut 33:19; Jer 5:22; Prov 27:3]), for total annihilation (2 Sam 22:43 = Psa 18:43; 2 Kgs 13:7; Isa 41:2), for worthlessness and nothingness (Zeph 1:17; Psa 7:6; Job 22:24), and for debasement and humiliation (2 Sam 16:13; Isa 25:12; 29:4; 47:1, etc.). The expression “to lick the dust” (Isa 49:23; Psa 72:9) occurs as an image for subjugation and “to shake off the dust” for the opposite, the reversal of subjugation (Isa 52:2).

$\text{עָפֵר}$  also occurs as an image for incomprehensible quantity (Isa 44:20; Psa 147:16?), for worthlessness (Job 13:12), and for humiliation (Mal 3:21).

4. (a) Fig. uses of the word facilitate the theological usage of  $\text{עָפָר}$  in the limited sense: Yahweh debases, humiliates, destroys (casts into the dust, Isa 25:12; 26:5), and removes the abasement of the insignificant (lifts up out of the dust, 1 Sam 2:8; 1 Kgs 16:2; Psa 113:7).

(b) The use of  $\text{עָפָר}$  and  $\text{עָפֵר}$  in rites of mourning, repentance, and self-debasement should be categorized as a broadly theological usage (E. Kutsch, *ThStud* 78 [1965]: 23–42; G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* [1972], 218); included are: scattering dust on one’s head, sitting in the dust, rolling in the dust (Josh 7:6; 2 Sam 13:19; Isa 58:5; 61:3; Jer 6:26; Ezek 27:30; Jonah 3:6; Mic 1:10; Job 2:8, 12; 30:19; 42:6; Lam 2:10; Esth 4:1, 3; Dan 2:3).

(c) The notion that human beings are formed from  $\text{עָפָר}$  and became living beings only through the breath of life that God breathed into them, a notion first formulated in the OT by J, also belongs to broader theological usage (Gen 2:7; 3:19; 18:27; Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:205f., 266). This notion was adopted primarily in the Psa and in Job with the intention, already expressed in J, of depicting human transience and nothingness before Yahweh. The human being is dust (Gen 3:19; Psa 103:14; Job 4:19; 8:19) and returns to dust (Gen 3:19; Job 10:9; Eccl 3:20; with  $\rightarrow$   $\text{דָּמָה}$  Psa 146:4; with  $\text{דַּקְקָה}$  “crushed, dust,” Psa 90:3) when Yahweh withdraws the

breath (→ *rûaḥ, n<sup>e</sup>šāmâ*) he gave (Psa 104:29; Job 34:15; Eccl 12:7). In Qohelet's view, humans and animals are indistinguishable on this point (Eccl 3:18–20)—both die. Thus the OT equates the dead with dust (Psa 30:10), calls the dead “those who dwell in dust” (Isa 26:19), “those who sleep in the land of dust” (Dan 12:2), and describes the dying as “those who lie down in the dust” (Job 7:21; 20:11; 21:26), “those who descend, sink into the dust” (Psa 22:30; Job 17:16); the worshiper facing death feels as though Yahweh has laid him in the dust (Psa 22:16). From this perspective, *‘āpār* could also be understood as a designation for the underworld (Isa 26:19; Job 17:16 par. → *š<sup>e</sup>’ôl*, Dan 12:2; cf. Akk. *bīt eprī* “house of dust = underworld,” Gilg. VII:4.40, 45; N. H. Ridderbos, “*‘āpār* als Staub des Totenortes,” *OTS* 5 [1948]: 174–78).

5. Early Judaism and the NT (Rev 18:19 with *chous*, the most common translation of *‘āpār* in the LXX) occasionally mention dust in conjunction with mourning rites (cf. *WTM* 1:148b). The notion that humans are dust and return to dust plays a greater role in Qumran (1QS 11:21f.; 1QH 3:21; 10:4f., etc.).

G. Wanke

## עץ *‘ēṣ* tree

S 6086; BDB 781b; *HALOT* 2:863b; *ThWAT* 6:284–97; *TWOT* 1670a; *NIDOTTE* 6770

1. The primitive biradical root *\*‘īḏ- > \*‘īṣ-* is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 216f.; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/23 [1968]: 276, 290) and refers to everything in the plant world that consists of wood and has anything to do with wood. The derivation of the word from an assumed, rarely (not at all in the OT) attested verbal root *‘ṣh* II (thus BDB 781) is unlikely and unproductive.

The fem. *‘ēṣâ* in Jer 6:6 should probably be read as *‘ēṣâh* (with a 3d fem. sg. suf.) “her trees, her forest” (cf. Deut 20:19; Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 42; on Isa 30:1, → *y<sup>‘</sup>ṣ* 3c).

In Aram. (*DISO* 21, 219; *KBL* 1053a) *‘q* (Eg. Aram.) or *‘ā<sup>c</sup>* (Dan 5:4, 23; Ezra 5:8; 6:4, 11) is limited to the meaning “wood, beam,” while *‘lān* is used for “tree” (Dan 4:7f., 11, 17, 20, 23).

2. *‘ēṣ* occurs 330x in the OT (incl. 1 Sam 17:7 Q; Ezek 45x, Exod 31x, Gen 30x, 1 Kgs 29x, Lev 21x, Deut 20x, Isa 17x, Jer 15x), also *‘ēṣâ* 1x

(Jer 6:6; see 1).

\*3. As in Akk. (*iṣu*, *AHW* 390f.), Ug. (𐎓, *WUS* no. 2078), and Eth. (ፎፍ, *Dillmann* 1025f.), the full semantic scope of Hebr. עֵץ is covered by the two chief meanings “trees (collective), tree” and “wood,” while innovations have arisen in Aram. (see 1) and Arab. (šajar[a], *Wehr* 455b) for “tree.” The meaning “tree” emphasizes only the genus, while individual species of trees (e.g., עֵרֶז “cedar,” עֵשֶׂל “tamarisk,” בְּרוֹשׁ “cypress,” גֶּפֶן “grapevine,” זַיִת “olive tree,” לֵז “almond tree,” שִׁימָא “sycamore,” תְּעֵנָה “fig tree,” תַּמָּר “date palm”) or tree shapes (e.g., סֶבַק/סְבֹק “bush” or the word group עַיִל/עֵלֹן/עֵלָא/עֵלֹן [contra G. Greiff, *ZDPV* 76 (1960): 161–70] “large tree,” usually understood as “oak/terebinth”) acquire specific designations. Cf. further *BRL* 83–87; A. E. Rühly, *Die Pflanze und ihre Teile im biblisch-hebräischen Sprachgebrauch* (1942); M. Zohary, *IDB* 2:284–302 (bibliog.).

The manifold usages of the word עֵץ can only be sketched here. The tree is discussed together with the fruit (Gen 1:11f., 29; Psa 148:9, etc.) and the shade (Judg 9:15, etc.) that it provides; they serve as points of orientation (1 Sam 14:2; 22:6) and are the object of laws governing war (Deut 20:19f.). Numerous individual, localized trees play some role in the cult or as symbols (Gen 12:6; 21:33; 35:4, 8; Josh 24:26, etc.). The prophets and Dtn/Dtr inveigh against the worship of trees and wooden idols (cf. e.g., Deut 4:28; 12:2; 16:21; 28:36, 64; 29:16; Judg 6:26; 1 Kgs 14:23; 2 Kgs 16:4; 17:10; 19:18 = Isa 37:19; Isa 44:13ff.; 45:20; 57:5; Jer 2:20, 27; 3:6, 9, 13; 10:3, 8; 17:2; Ezek 6:13; 20:28, 32; Hos 4:12f. [contra H. L. Ginsberg, *FS Baumgartner* 74]; Hab 2:19; *Bibl. Aram.*, Dan 5:4, 23). עֵץ in the meaning “wood” refers to fuel wood (Gen 22:3; Deut 19:5; Neh 10:35), lumber (Hag 1:8; *Aram.* עֵץ, Ezra 5:8, etc.), as material for all types of objects (Deut 10:1; 19:5, etc.), as a medication (Exod 15:25), as gallows (Gen 40:19; Deut 21:22f.; Esth 5:14, etc.), etc. Poetic language uses עֵץ in simple similes (Jer 17:8; cf. Job 18:16) and in extended metaphors (Ezek 15; 31 [cf. F. Stolz, “Die Bäume des Gottesgartens auf dem Libanon,” *ZAW* 84 (1972): 141–56]; Dan 4, *Aram.* עֵלָא); cf. also the two fables in Judg 9:8–15 and 2 Kgs 14:9.

4. Two special trees with mythical origins are attested in the OT: (a) the “tree of life” and (b) the “tree of the knowledge of good and evil.”

(a) עֵץ (הַ)חַיַּיִם “tree of life” appears in Gen 2:9b and 3:22b (J), also in Prov 3:18; 11:30; 13:12; 15:4. While Prov uses it fig. to describe the value of wisdom, in the paradise story it is one of the two trees in the Garden of Eden whose interrelationship has not yet been clarified; the problem is often solved by assuming two sources (cf. O. Loretz, *Schöpfung und Mythos* [1968], 109ff.; for a consistent attempt at source distinctions,

see W. Fuss, *Die sogenannte Paradieserzählung* [1968], 32ff.). It undoubtedly involves “one of the many ancient Near Eastern symbols for life” (Gemser, HAT 16, 29; cf. also Ch. Kayatz, *Studien zu Proverbien 1–9* [1966], 105f.). The tree cult attested in ancient Israel may be related (James; see below) and the seven-armed candelabra (*m<sup>c</sup>nôrâ*) may even be a stylized and symbolic representation of the tree of life. At any rate, the tree bestows immortality, a notion also attested in the OT in Gen 3:22 (Vriezen, Widengren; see below) and in early Judaism. This element is illuminated by the many myths and sagas in Mesopotamia, e.g., which report the search for the tree or plant of life. In the Gen narrative, however, as in the entire OT, the tree plays a subordinate role. The situation differs in Hellenistic Judaism and esp. in apocalypticism and results in numerous speculations: *T. Levi* 18:10f. promises that God will once again reveal the path to paradise and the tree of life; in 4 Ezra 8:52 the seer and his brothers, in contrast to the inhabitants of the world, have access to paradise and the tree of life; *Pss. Sol.* 14:3 allegorically identifies paradise and the tree of life with the community of the pious; in 1QH 8:5f. the singer hopes to abide in the vicinity of the “trees of life” (pl.). It is not accidental that the term appears in the NT in the Apocalypse; cf. Rev 2:7 and 22:1ff.

Regarding the “tree of life” theme, cf. e.g.: W. Staerk, “L’arbre de la vie et l’arbre de la science du bien et du mal,” *RHPR* 8 (1928): 66–69; Th. C. Vriezen, *Onderzoek naar de Paradijsvoorstelling bij de oude semietische Volken* (1937, index, s.v. levensboom); P. Humbert, *Etudes sur le récit du paradis et de la chute dans la Genèse* (1940), 21ff.; G. Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion* (1951); G. Pidoux, “Encore les deux arbres de Genèse 3,” *ZAW* 66 (1954): 37–43; I. Engnell, “‘Knowledge’ and ‘Life’ in the Creation Story,” *SVT* 3 (1955): 103–19; E. O. James, “Tree of Life,” *Essays in Honor of G. W. Thatcher*, ed. E. MacLaurin (1967), 103–18; F. Vattioni, “L’albero della vita,” *Augustinianum* 7 (1967): 133–44; W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift* (1967), 207ff.; additional bibliog. in Westermann, *Genesis*, CC, 1:211f.

(b) The “tree of the knowledge of good and evil” (*‘ēš hadda‘at tōb wārā‘*) appears only in Gen 2–3 (J), where, in contrast to the tree discussed above, it plays a significant role (2:9, 17; → *tōb* 3e; → *yd<sup>c</sup>* III/1c). It is inappropriate to correct the text by omitting the final two words from the expression (so Schmidt, op. cit. with bibliog.). Even though the current construction seems difficult to many exegetes, it is still thoroughly correct: a cs. st. governs an inf. cs. with two objs. Moralistic, pedagogical, and purely sexual explanations of the nature of the tree and thus of the divine prohibition against consumption go awry, even though elements of each of these interpretations, esp. the last, are present: “Knowledge” must be

understood here in the fullest sense of the root *yd<sup>c</sup>* (“to possess, have power over, have access to,” etc.). The merism that constitutes the obj. generally expresses that contained between the two extremes, here then “everything,” i.e., whatever lies between good and evil. Whoever enjoys the fruit of the tree will thereby gain omnipotence, as the serpent’s promise makes clear: “you will be like gods (or ‘divine beings’), in that you will know good and evil,” thus “will possess power over everything.” The ancient Near Eastern pars. often cited are all dubious, yet the sense of the root *yd<sup>c</sup>* indicated may reveal a possible setting in life. It apparently involves anti-Can. polemics; in Canaan, where the life-giving serpent (*nāḥāšš*) empowers people to act as gods in the sexual cult and, even if only in a limited way, to intrude into the divine sphere, the same activity in relation to the God of Israel engenders frustration and death.

Additional bibliog. regarding the “tree of knowledge”: Vriezen, op. cit.; M. Buber, “Tree of Knowledge,” *On the Bible* (1982), 14–21; Engnell, op. cit.; H. G. Leder, “Arbor scientiae,” *ZNW* 52 (1961): 156–82; J. A. Soggin, “The Fall of Man in the Third Chapter of Genesis,” *OT and Oriental Studies* (1975), 88–111; id., “Philological-linguistic Notes on the Second Chapter of Genesis,” *ibid.* 169–78; Schmidt, op. cit. 223f.; also the bibliog. under → *yd<sup>c</sup>* III/1c and in Westermann, op. cit. 240–45.

5. 1QH 8:4ff. combines various OT motifs in the key word *‘ēš*. The LXX normally translates *‘ēš* with *dendron* “tree” and *xylon* “wood.” Regarding the NT and its concept of the tree of life, cf. J. Schneider, “ξύλον,” *TDNT* 5:37–41.

J. A. Soggin

## עשה *śh* to make, do

S 6213; BDB 793b; *HALOT* 2:889b; *ThWAT* 6:413–32; *TWOT* 1708; *NIDOTTE* 6913

1. The root \**śy* “to make, do” occurs in ancient Hebr. inscriptions, in Moab. (*DISO* 222f.), and in Old SArab. (and additional SSem. dialects; cf. W. W. Müller, “Die Wurzeln Mediae und Tertiae y/w im Altsüdarabischen” [diss., Tübingen, 1962], 79). The main branches of the Sem. languages use various roots for “to make, do” (Akk. *epēšu*, Phoen.-Pun. → *p<sup>l</sup>*, Aram. → *‘bd*, Arab. *‘ml/‘l* [→ *‘amāl*], Eth. → *gbr*).

Occurrences of the root in Ug. (regarding *WUS* no. 2113, cf. e.g., P. van Zijl,

*Baal* [1972], 123f.) and in Amor., Pun., and Eg. Aram. PNs are uncertain (Huffman 201; Benz 385; M. Lidzbarski, *Phönizische und aramäische Krugaufschriften aus Elephantine* [1912], 19).

Regarding older efforts to relate the root to Arab. roots, cf. GVG 2:514; GB 622a; for newer proposals to explain individual OT passages by various Arab. verbs, cf. *CPT* 333 (bibliog.).

In the OT the qal occurs as well as the ni. (see 3c), one pu. (Psa 139:15 “to be created,” probably a qal pass.; cf. Zorell 632b), and a nom. derivative *ma<sup>ca</sup>śch* (see 3d). Ezek 23:3, 8 (pi.) and v 21 (qal) should probably be attributed to a distinct root *śh* II “to press” (GB 624; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:471; *HP* 131f.; G. Rinaldi, *BeO* 10 [1968]: 161).

Regarding the PNs *ʔel<sup>ca</sup>śā, ya<sup>ca</sup>śīʔēl, ma<sup>ca</sup>śēyâ(hû), <sup>ca</sup>śāyâ*, etc., cf. *IP* 171f.; the names *m<sup>ca</sup>śyh(w)* and *śy/śyhw* are also attested on seals (F. Vattioni, *BeO* 50 [1969]: 387f.).

2. With 2,627 occurrences, *śh* “to make, do” is the third most common verb in the OT, behind → *mr* “to say” and → *hyh* “to be.” It occurs in all the books of the OT; a higher concentration may be identified, however, in the narrative texts (esp. Exod 25–31, 35–40; see table; incl. 1 Kgs 22:49 Q; Mandl. has Exod 25:24 twice; 2 Chron 33:2 in supplement; Num 9:3a and 1 Sam 14:32 K are omitted). Of 235 occurrences of the noun, just over one-third are pls.

	qal	ni.	pu.	<i>ma<sup>ca</sup>śch</i>	total	
Gen	150	3	–	6	159	
Exod	316	7	–	40	363	
Lev	78	16	–	2	96	
Num	120	7	–	4	131	
Deut	160	3	–	13	176	
Josh	63	–	–	1	64	
Judg	89	2	–	4	95	
1 Sam		85	3	–	4	92
2 Sam		83	2	–	–	85
1 Kgs	153	1	–	13	167	
2 Kgs	155	3	–	4	162	
Isa	100	2	–	27	129	
(1–39)		(52)	(1)	–	(17)	(70)
(44–55)		(31)	(1)	–	(2)	(34)
(55–66)		(17)	–	–	(8)	(25)
Jer	151	2	–	14	167	
Ezek	208	8	–	7	223	

Hos	15	–	–	2	17	
Joel	4	–	–	–	4	
Amos	10	–	–	1	11	
Obad	1	1	–	–	2	
Jonah	7	–	–	–	1	8
Mic	6	–	–	2	8	
Nah	2	–	–	–	2	
Hab	3	–	–	1	4	
Zeph	4	–	–	–	4	
Hag	2	–	–	2	4	
Zech	8	–	–	–	8	
Mal	8	1	–	–	9	
Psa	108	1	1	39	149	
Job	36	–	–	5	41	
Prov	34	–	–	3	37	
Ruth	13	–	–	–	13	
Song Sol	4	–	–	–	1	5
Eccl	29	14	–	21	64	
Lam	2	–	–	2	4	
Esth	43	12	–	1	56	
Dan	21	3	–	1	25	
Ezra	10	1	–	1	12	
Neh	51	4	–	1	56	
1 Chron	39	–	–	–	2	41
2 Chron	156	3	–	–	10	169
OT	2,527	99	1	235	2,862	

3. The semantic field of *śh* is very large, the range of nuances extraordinarily broad. The Eng. word field “to make, do” is sufficiently equivalent to represent the semantic content of the Hebr. word and its context in almost all cases. The manifold meanings of *śh* may be classified according to the various subs., objs., and preps. with which the verb is constructed. The vast majority of occurrences name people (occasionally also organs of the human body), groups of people, or nations as subj. About one-sixth of occurrences involve an explicitly theological usage with Yahweh as subj. A relatively small group of instances occur with various other subs.: animals, plants, objects, and abstractions.

(a) In accord with the basic meaning of *śh* “to make, do,” *śh* is used, first of all, for the production of widely varied objects, even of an idol image (with *ʿlōhîm*, Exod 32:1, 23, 31; Judg 18:24; with *pesel*, Exod 20:4 = Deut 5:8; Deut 4:16, 23, 25; Judg 17:3f.; the gods of the nations, 2 Kgs 17:29ff.). *śh* with a double acc. means “to produce from, make into,” with

an acc. and a purposive *le*, “to make for” (Isa 44:17). Somewhat more broadly, *šh* can also express the preparation of food, banquets, and sacrifices (Gen 18:8; 19:3; Exod 10:25). Depending on the obj., *šh* can quite often assume the meaning “to acquire” (with *kābôd* “wealth,” Gen 31:1; *ḥayil* “wealth,” Deut 8:17; *nepesš* “people,” Gen 12:5, where the connection with *nepesš* underscores the slave’s property status in Hebr. thought; cf. M. Dahood, *Bib* 43 [1962]: 351 on Eccl 2:8 and Phoen. *pI* in Karatepe, *KAI* no. 26.I.6f.). In constructions with *šabbāt* “Sabbath,” *pesaḥ* “Passover,” *ḥāg* “feast,” etc., *šh* acquires the meaning “to conduct, celebrate” (Exod 12:48; 31:16), with *yāmîm* “to pass” (Eccl 6:12). The translation of expressions such as *šh* with the objs. *s<sup>o</sup>pārîm* “books” (Eccl 12:12), *miḥāmâ* “war” (Gen 14:2), *šālôm* “peace, friendship” (Josh 9:15), *ʿebel* “sorrow” (Gen 50:10), and *šēm* “name” (Gen 11:4) involves only a question of Eng. usage of “to make,” which is substantially richer in nuance than the Hebr. The combination *šh m<sup>o</sup>lākâ* “to work, produce a work” occurs relatively often in the OT.

The realm of personal relationship, personal responsibility in one’s actions and attitudes toward God, is addressed by the verb *šh* in many ways: in the reproachful question (Gen 12:18), with a relative clause (Exod 24:7), with a whole series of noms. in the acc. and with the particles *le*, *im*, *ʿet*, *be*, etc. The following noms. appear more frequently in connection with *šh* (the occurrences with Yahweh as subj. are also taken into account): *ra<sup>c</sup>* (75x; frequently in the Dtr expression “to do that which displeases Yahweh”) or *rā<sup>c</sup>â* “evil,” *mišpāṭ* “justice” (over 50x), *ḥesed* “goodwill, grace” (36x), *yāšār* “the right” (34x), *ṭôb* or *ṭôbâ* “good” (32x), *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* “righteousness” (23x), *mišwâ* “commandment” (16x), *tô<sup>c</sup>ebâ* “abomination” (15x), *ḥôq* “regulation” (10x, *huqqâ* 3x), *ʿemet* “faithfulness” (7x), *rāšôn* “wish,” *šālôm* “well-being,” and *tôrâ* “law” (4x each). The more concrete the obj., the more often other verbs replace the unspecific *šh* (→ *ʿhb*, → *bqš*, → *gml*, → *drš*, → *hlk*, → *ʿbd*, *rdp* “to pursue,” → *šm<sup>c</sup>*, → *šmr*).

R. Gordis (*Koheleth* [19683], 232) disputes the claim that *šh ṭôb* in Eccl 3:12 “to let it be well for oneself” is a Hellenism (*eu pratein*, so K. Budde, *Megilloth* [1898], 134; Hertzberg, *KAT* 17/4, 100) with a reference to 2 Sam 12:18 *šhrā<sup>c</sup>â* “be miserable.” Yet this reference is unconvincing since the translation suggested by Gordis does not suit the sense of the phrase well. Cf. also, however, O. Loretz, *Qohelet und der Alte Orient* (1964), 47f.

Among the particles, the use of *le* with or without a definite obj., “to do something to someone,” dominates. *le* indicates the person at whom a deed or attitude is directed (Gen 20:9; 31:12). Less often and even more

pregnant is the use of *ʿim*, often with *ḥesed* (Gen 24:12, 14; 40:14; 47:29, etc., in all 24x), occasionally also with *tôb(â)* (Gen 26:29; Judg 9:16; Psa 119:65) and *râ(â)* (Gen 26:29; 31:29). *ʿim* underscores the social relationship that exists between persons and obligates them to appropriate action. *ʿet* (1 Sam 24:19; 2 Sam 2:6; Ezek 22:14, read *ʿittāk*), *be* (Esth 6:6), and *ʿal* (1 Sam 20:8, perhaps *ʿim* should be read) also occur in a few passages.

*ʿsh* does not often occur with an abs. meaning “to act, intervene, accomplish” (Gen 41:34; 1 Sam 26:25; Ezra 10:4), “to be active” (Prov 31:13), “to go to work” (1 Chron 28:10), or “to set to work” (1 Kgs 20:40; cf. Montgomery and Gehman, *Kings*, ICC, 330, contra textual emendations; contrast G. R. Driver, FS Nötscher 55; cf. also *CPT* 246f.).

(b) Plants, plantings, or seeds are occasionally said to *ʿsh*, i.e., “to produce, bear, yield” (fruit, Gen 1:11f.; Isa 5:2, 4, 10; Jer 17:8; Ezek 17:23; nourishment, Hab 3:17; cf. Gen 41:47; Lev 25:21), “to yield” (grain, Hos 8:7), also “to sprout” (twigs, Ezek 17:8; Job 14:9). Animals appear as subjs. less often (Deut 1:44; 2 Sam 24:17).

The following concrete and abstract subjs. are attested: *ʿereṣ* “land” (Gen 41:47), *qeren* “horn” (Dan 8:12), *bāśār* “flesh” (Psa 56:5), *ʿōṣeb* “idol image” (Isa 48:5), *kōaḥ* “might” (Deut 8:17), *rūaḥ* “spirit; storm wind” (1 Kgs 22:22; Psa 148:8), *m<sup>ʿ</sup>šūbâ* “apostasy” (Jer 3:6), and *śimḥâ* “joy” (Eccl 2:2).

Of the 16 occurrences of the pass. ptc., Neh 3:16 deserves mention. Here the ptc. assumes the meaning “artificially prepared” (of a pool).

(c) The ni. consistently has a pass. meaning or is used imper. The following meanings in addition to those analogous to the qal may be listed: materials are used or processed (Lev 7:24; 13:51; Ezek 15:5). In conjunction with *m<sup>ʿ</sup>lākâ* “work” the resultative aspect is occasionally expressed: “to become complete, finished, to come to be” (Neh 6:9, 16). Fruit is harvested (Num 6:4 of the vine). In association with a legal case, *ʿsh* acquires the meaning “to be tried” (Exod 21:31; Num 15:11; Ezra 10:3); a law or a decree is performed (Esth 9:1; Dan 11:36), a sentence executed (Eccl 8:11). In the prejuristic realm, *ʿsh* can assume the meaning “to be the practice, customary” (Gen 29:26). Moreover, *ʿsh* can indicate the fulfillment of a request or a wish (Judg 11:37; Esth 5:6; 7:2; 9:12).

Thus *ʿsh* can express correlation to an action, a behavior, classically formulated in the sense of the jus talionis in Lev 24:19 (cf. Isa 3:11; Obad 15). In this context, it acquires the meaning “to result” (Deut 25:9; 1 Sam 11:7; Jer 5:13).

Finally, *ʿsh* ni. assumes the meaning “to be, come about” and, esp. in later texts, “to occur”: Isa 46:10; Ezek 12:25, 28; Esth 4:1; Dan 9:12; 13x in Eccl, here in a comprehensive sense (Eccl 1:9) with the expressions “under

the sun” (8x), “under the heavens” (1:13), or “on earth” (8:14, 16).

(d) The noun *ma<sup>caśeh</sup>* means the obj. of *śh*, its completion and the result of completion (cf. G. Fohrer, “Twofold Aspects of Hebrew Words,” FS Thomas 101). It describes, esp. in Exod 26–30, 36–39, and 1 Kgs 7, a great variety of handiworks, manufactured, prepared from a particular material, a stuff. In these cases, the abs. st. in the pertinent cs. phrases represents either the producer, a more precise description of the product, or much less often, of the stuff. *śh* can indicate, then, something artificially produced (Isa 3:24, coiffure; Num 31:51) and be rendered as an adj. in Eng. With or without the comparative particle *ke*, it can mean “pattern” (with *ke*, Exod 28:8, 15, etc.; without *ke*, 1 Kgs 7:28, cf. Noth, BK 9, 142). Then, too, *ma<sup>caśeh</sup>* can mean “work” (Gen 5:29, opposite: rest; Exod 5:4, 13; Judg 19:16; Ezek 46:1, *y<sup>e</sup>mē hamma<sup>caśeh</sup>* “work days”). In accord with the multidimensional usage of Hebr. noms., *ma<sup>caśeh</sup>* also means the product of work (Exod 23:16, of field work; Isa 65:22; Ezek 27:16, 18 “produce”). In Hab 3:17 it assumes the meaning “fruit” (the only passage in the OT where *ma<sup>caśeh</sup>* refers to plants). Further, *ma<sup>caśeh</sup>* refers generally to “activity,” “business” (Gen 46:33; 47:3) and correspondingly, as its result and product, to “property” (1 Sam 25:2, so Budde, *Sam*, KHC, 164; Eccl 2:4). In Psa 45:2 it describes the song of the singer.

As a verbal abstract *ma<sup>caśeh</sup>* means one’s deeds, behavior, and work, which are always ethically qualified and which define one. Conversely, one’s ethics and oneself define one’s deeds and work (Ezek 16:30; Eccl 8:14). One’s *ma<sup>caśeh</sup>* either corresponds to or contradicts ethical expectations; one is good or evil (even though phrases involving the corresponding adjs. or noms. are rare, 1 Sam 19:4; Eccl 4:3; 8:11; Ezra 9:13; Isa 59:6, *ma<sup>caśe</sup> ’āwen*).

The typical OT phrase *ma<sup>caśeh</sup> yād(ayim)* “work of the hands” occurs 54x in the MT (15x of Yahweh). Only a few passages have the phrase with no theological qualification. The work of one’s hands is the object of Yahweh’s blessing, his wrath, his vengeance. *ma<sup>caśeh</sup>* occurs, particularly in usage shaped by Dtn and Dtr, in conjunction with *yād* “hand” or *ḥārāš* “craftsman”—heightened in the expression *ma<sup>caśeh</sup> y<sup>e</sup>dē ’ādām* or *ḥārāš*—in polemic against idols to describe scornfully the invalidity of the pagan gods or idol images: “the product of human hands” (Deut 4:28; 27:15; 2 Kgs 19:18 = Isa 37:19; Jer 10:3; Psa 115:4; 135:15; 2 Chron 32:19; cf. Isa 2:8; Jer 1:16; 25:6f.; 44:8; Hos 14:4; Mic 5:12). They are the work of mockery (Jer 10:15 = 51:18), their deeds are naught (Isa 41:29, the only discussion of the *ma<sup>caśim</sup>* of the gods).

Qoheleth skeptically questions the sense of human action, indeed, fundamentally the sense of everything that occurs under the sun. Thus

*ma<sup>ca</sup>śch* in a few passages—once in conjunction with *śh* ni.—acquires the meaning “event” (Eccl 1:14; 2:17; 4:3; 8:9, 17).

4. (a) Implicitly theological language occurs in contexts where Yahweh commands or prohibits a person’s action. Thus the construction of the ark (Gen 6:14, 22), of the tabernacle (Exod 25:8), and the execution of sacrificial instructions (Lev 4:20), cultic procedures (Lev 8:34), and regulations (Num 1:54; 8:7) are prescribed acts, the production of images of God (Exod 20:4) a proscribed act. Yahweh commands the observance of the → *b<sup>e</sup>riṯ* and obedience to the ten “words” (Deut 4:13, *d<sup>e</sup>bārîm*), his commandments (Deut 28:1) and regulations (Deut 28:15), the *tôrâ* (Deut 28:58), and that his will be done (cf. Psa 143:10). Yahweh commands *mišpāt* “justice” (Mic 6:8) and *ś<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* “righteousness” (Gen 18:19), *ḥesed* “grace” and *rah<sup>a</sup>mîm* “mercy” (Zech 7:9), and acts of justice (1 Kgs 11:33) and goodness (Deut 6:18). Human action is subject to Yahweh’s judgment; it is qualified *b<sup>e</sup>enēyhw<sup>h</sup>* (→ *ayin* 3c, 4a). The expression *b<sup>e</sup>enēyhw<sup>h</sup>* or “in my/your/his eyes” occurs over 100x in the OT in conjunction with *śh*, predominantly in language shaped by Dtn and Dtr. Human action (*ma<sup>ca</sup>śch*) corresponds to Yahweh’s blessing (Deut 2:7; 14:29; 15:10; 16:15; 24:19; 28:12) or displeasure (Deut 31:29; 1 Kgs 16:7; 2 Kgs 22:17; Jer 25:6f.; 32:30; 44:8; 2 Chron 34:25). Yahweh requites one for one’s action (Jer 25:14; Psa 28:4; 62:13; Lam 3:64). A person’s actions or deeds are the object of God’s remembrance (Neh 6:14; cf. Amos 8:7; Psa 33:15), his judgment (Isa 57:12; Eccl 12:14).

One relates to God by one’s actions and demonstrates one’s character; one does the first commandment or commits apostasy with other gods (1 Sam 8:8; 2 Kgs 22:17; Jer 44:8; Hag 2:14; Psa 106:35, 39), one expresses faith in or return to Yahweh (cf. Jonah 3:10) or confidence in one’s own deeds and treasures (Jer 48:7). Doing Yahweh’s commandments bears the promise of life (Lev 18:5; Deut 4:1; Neh 9:29; cf. Exod 20:12; Ezek 18:32; Amos 5:14).

(b) Explicitly theological language speaks of Yahweh’s action. In accord with its unspecific character, the verb *śh* can indicate God’s action in all realms: his activity in history and nature, both in the world of people and nations and in creation, in past, present, and future. It describes his saving activity in Israel at the beginning of patriarchal history (Gen 12:2) and in the exodus from Egypt (Exod 14:13, 31; 15:11), Yahweh effects *y<sup>e</sup>śū<sup>ca</sup>* “help” (Exod 14:13), *t<sup>e</sup>śū<sup>ca</sup>* “well-being, victory, deliverance” (1 Sam 11:13; 2 Sam 23:10, 12), *pele<sup>’</sup>* a “wonder” (Exod 15:11), *nīplā<sup>’</sup>ôt* “wonders” (Exod 3:20; 34:10; Josh 3:5; Psa 72:18), *g<sup>e</sup>dôlâ* a “great feat” (Deut 10:21; 2 Sam 7:21), *ś<sup>e</sup>dāqôt* “saving acts” (1 Sam 12:7; Psa 103:6), *’ôt* a “sign” (Num 14:11, 22; Josh 24:17; Judg 6:17), *š<sup>e</sup>pāṯîm* “judgments” (Exod 12:12;

Num 33:4), *kālâ* “annihilation” (Isa 10:23; Jer 4:27; 5:18; 30:11; 46:28; Ezek 11:13; Zeph 1:18), *hāri* <sup>š</sup>*šōnôt* “the former things” (Isa 48:3), *h<sup>a</sup>dāšâ* a “new thing” (Isa 43:19).

*šh* is the most general expression for creation in the OT (W. Foerster, *TDNT* 3:1008).

The specific verbs → *qnh*, → *br<sup>ʔ</sup>*, and → *yšr* never replaced the unspecific *šh* during any period of OT literature; indeed, to some extent they were not even able to hold ground in later texts (*br<sup>ʔ</sup>* and *yšr* are absent from Job). *yšr* and *br<sup>ʔ</sup>* are not even used more often than *šh* in Deutero-Isa and P. No distinction in usage may be identified: Deutero-Isa employs *šh*, *yšr*, and *br<sup>ʔ</sup>* in par., but such that *šh* indicates God’s creative activity in the most comprehensive sense (Isa 45:7; 44:24 with the obj. *kōl* “everything”; cf. Isa 43:7, where the series concludes emphatically with *ʔap-<sup>c</sup>šitūw*, if one strikes the last two verbs with Fohrer [*Jesaja*, ZBK, 3:59], and 46:11, where *šh* also ends the series). P seems, indeed, to prefer the specific *br<sup>ʔ</sup>* (Gen 1:1, 27; 2:4a; 5:1f.) but also uses *šh* in equally significant passages (1:26, 31; 2:2; 5:1; 9:6; cf. Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:174). J uses *šh* in the sense of *yšr* (Foerster, op. cit.).

*šh* describes Yahweh’s creative activity in all its dimensions: Yahweh made the earth (Exod 20:11; 31:17; 2 Kgs 19:15; Isa 45:12, 18; Jer 10:12 = 51:15), the sea (Exod 20:11; Jonah 1:9; Psa 95:5), and the dry land (Jonah 1:9), heaven (Exod 20:11; 31:17; 2 Kgs 19:15; Psa 96:5), the “firmament” (*raqîa<sup>c</sup>*, Gen 1:6f.), the heavenly bodies (Gen 1:16; Job 9:9), sun and moon (Psa 104:19), the “windows (in heaven)” (*ʔrubbôt*, 2 Kgs 7:2, 19), the animals (Gen 1:25; 3:1; Job 40:15), humanity (Gen 1:26; 5:1; 6:6; 9:6; Jer 27:5; individuals, 1 Sam 12:6), and the nations (Deut 26:19; Psa 86:9). Yahweh creates *ḥayyîm* “life” (Job 10:12).

The verb *šh* indicates Yahweh’s control over history, his cosmic activity, and his activity in individual lives. Yahweh practices → *ḥesed* (Gen 24:12; Exod 20:6; 2 Sam 2:6) and *ʔemet* (2 Sam 2:6; Neh 9:33), he works *mišpāt* (Deut 10:18; Psa 146:7), *šālôm* (Isa 45:7; Job 25:2), and *rāʕâ* (1 Sam 6:9; Amos 3:6). Yahweh demonstrates who he is in his *šh*. His actions explicate his name (Jer 14:7; Ezek 20:44; cf. Isa 48:11). Deutero-Isa in particular bases Yahweh’s uniqueness in his works (41:4, 20; 44:24; 45:7; 48:3, 11).

Gen 3:21 occupies a special position because it is the only passage in the OT in which *šh* refers to God manufacturing, preparing from materials at hand (see Westermann, op. cit. 269).

Yahweh’s divinity is manifest in the agreement between his speech and his action. Yahweh says what he does and does what he says (Gen 21:1; Num 23:19; 2 Kgs 10:10; Amos 3:7; Ezek 17:24; cf. Isa 46:11, *yšr*).

Yahweh does what he wants (Psa 115:3).

(c) The ptcp. *ʿōśeh* applies to Yahweh about 80x, about 20x in the technical meaning “creator.” Yet the technical meaning may not be established with certainty in every case since ptcp. style characterizes the hymn and such ptcps. can be resolved verbally. Even when the ptcp. has the force of a governing noun and in the cs. st. stands in a gen. relation to a noun, it is not always used technically (note the contexts in Amos 4:13; 5:8; Psa 136:4–7). Yet one may assume a technical usage for constructions with per. sufs.: Hos 8:14; Isa 17:7 (gloss; see Duhm, *Jesaia*, HKAT [19685], 133); 27:11; 44:2; 51:13; 54:5; Psa 95:6; 149:2; Job 4:17; 31:15; 35:10; Prov 14:31; 17:5; 22:2; also in the formulaic expression *ʿōśeh šāmayim wāʾāreṣ* (Psa 115:15; 121:2; 124:8; 134:3) and in the question “does the work speak to its creator?” (Isa 29:16). In reference to the makers of idols, one does not speak of “creators” (Psa 115:8; 135:18).

Thus the technical usage is not widely distributed: the oldest examples are Hos 8:14 (see Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 146) and Isa 29:16, also Deutero-Isa 3x, Psa 6x, Job 3x, Prov 3x, and 2x in post-exilic texts within Isa 1–39.

The ptcp. of *qnh* is used technically 2x (Gen 14:19, 22), that of *brʿ* 3x (Isa 43:1, 15; 45:18), *yṣr* 2x (Jer 10:16 = 51:19), and *pʿl* 1x (only Job 36:3).

(d) The theological use of *śh* occurs about 56x in the OT (the text of Psa 104:13 is dubious; see *BHS* and comms.). Yahweh’s total activity in the human world and creation, as well as in individual lives, is subsumed under the term *maʿśeh* (cf. G. von Rad, “Das Werk Jahwehs,” FS Vriezen 290–98).

Deut and Dtr usage addresses Yahweh’s saving acts at the foundation of Israel’s history (Exod 34:10, post-Yahwistic, see Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 261f.; Deut 3:24; 11:3, 7; Josh 24:31; Judg 2:7, 10).

In Isaiah’s preaching, *maʿśeh* becomes a “definitive term in the prophetic theology of history” (W. H. Schmidt and G. Delling, *Wörterbuch zur Bibel* [1971], 654; cf. von Rad, op. cit. 292f.) and refers to the events that Yahweh will soon bring about (Isa 5:12, 19; 28:21). Yahweh’s *maʿśeh* can be perceived (5:12), but the prophet emphasizes its foreignness because he judges Israel. In post-Isaianic texts, *maʿśeh* refers to the era of salvation (10:12, insertion [see Wildberger, *Isa 1–11*, CC, 413f.]; 29:23), to Assyria’s conversion described as an act of God (19:25), and to the righteous people Yahweh will create (60:21; 64:7).

The term occurs in the Psa primarily in the hymn (14x), the song of thanksgiving (8x), and the song of lament (6x). In the hymn it indicates creation both in whole (8:7; 103:22) and in part (heaven, 8:4; 102:26; stars, 19:2; the entirety of the works of creation, 104:24, 31), or it summarizes

Yahweh's righteous reign (92:5), his mighty acts in the human realm and in nature (145:4, 17). *ma<sup>ca</sup>śeh* can occasionally be personified and mean "creation" (145:9f.). In the song of thanksgiving, the worshiper uses the term to designate the act of healing or deliverance that motivates thankful address to Yahweh (107:22; 118:17; 138:8). Yahweh's great historical acts are also discussed (111:2). In the song of lament, the supplicant reminds Yahweh of his beneficial *ma<sup>ca</sup>śeh* in the past (143:5) or of his acts of judgment (28:5; 64:10) in order to motivate Yahweh to intervene now, too, in the supplicant's distress. One lauds the incomparability of Yahweh's works (86:8; cf. 139:14).

In Job *ma<sup>ca</sup>śeh* means God's control over nature (37:7). In addition, human beings are described as "the work of his hands" (of Job, 14:15; of humans in their social relations, 34:19).

In Eccl, God's *ma<sup>ca</sup>śeh* cannot be understood by humans; it transcends the boundaries of human inquiry and investigation (3:11; 8:17; 11:5).

The notion that Yahweh is just in his *ma<sup>ca</sup>śeh* (Dan 9:14; cf. Psa 92:5; 145:17), dependable (Psa 33:4), prevails throughout the OT—even though rarely emphasized. According to Prov 16:11 all scale weights are Yahweh's work, i.e., Yahweh establishes the norms of just measurement.

5. Qumran's usage of *śh* corresponds to that of the OT (*śwt ḥdśh* 1QS 4:25 "new creation"). Yet the technical use of the noun *mśh*—chiefly in the pl.—in the sense of human products stands out (1QS 1:5; 11:16; CD 2:8).

The LXX renders *śh* almost exclusively with *poiein*, in addition to isolated instances of *chran*, *ergazesthai*, *prassein*, never with *ktizein*, the equivalent of the specific verbs *br<sup>2</sup>*, *yśd*, *yśr*, *kûn*, and *qnh*.

On the NT see H. Braun, "ποιέω," *TDNT* 6:458–84; Chr. Maurer, "πράσσω," *TDNT* 6:632–44; G. Bertram, "ἔργον," *TDNT* 2:635–57.

J. Vollmer

## תָּעַ *ēṭ* time

S 6256; BDB 773a; *HALOT* 2:899b; *ThWAT* 6:463–86; *TWOT* 1650b; *NIDOTTE* 6961

1. The subst. *ēṭ* "time" is attested only in Hebr. (extrabibl. in Lachish Letter VI [*KAI* no. 196], l. 2, *ṯhṯhzh* "at this time" as a temporal acc.; cf. H.-P. Müller, *UF* 2 [1970]: 234f.n.62) and Phoen.-Pun. (*DISO* 224;

Phoen.: Karatepe [KAI no. 26] A.III.2 *bʿt qsr* “at harvest time”; cf. C.IV.5; KAI no. 14.3, 12, *blʿty* “[I was snatched away] before my time”). The more recent lexicons do not recognize an Akk. subst. *inu/ittu* (*enu/ettu*) “time” (AHw 382b, 405f.; CAD I/J:153b., 304–10).

Derivatives in the OT include the adj. *ʿittî* “one present at a definite time; standing ready” (Lev 16:21; the emendation in J. R. Wilch, *Time and Event* [1969], 138, is unjustified) and the adv. *ʿattâ* “now” (on the form, cf. GVG 1:464; Joüon §§32f, 93g; K. Beyer, *Althebräische Grammatik* [1969], 66: \**ʿittâ*), while Noth (*IP* 191) derives the PN *ʿattay* (e.g., 1 Chron 2:35f.) otherwise.

*ʿattâ* is well attested extrabibl. in the spelling *ʿt* (according to F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman [*Early Hebrew Orthography* (1952), 52f.] a colloquial form \**ʿat*; according to L. A. Bange [*Study of the Vowel-Letters in Alphabetic Consonantal Writing* (1971), 127], a historical spelling with no indication of the unstressed *-â*; cf. Ezek 23:43 K and Psa 74:6 K), cf. *wʿt* “and now” in the pre-exilic Hebr. texts from Murabbaʿat (P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, DJD 2:96 no. 17.2; 8th cent. BCE), Tell ʿArad (cf. J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* [1971], 1:49–54), and Lachish (Letter IV [= KAI no. 194], l. 2) and the expression *ʿkym* “now in this day” (KAI no. 192.3[bis]; no. 194.1; cf. Müller, op. cit. 235: \**ʿattâkayyôm*; → *yôm* 3e[7]).

The etymology of *ʿēt* is disputed (cf. the summaries in GB 628a; KBL 745f.; Wilch, op. cit. 155–60). Assuming an Ug. noun *ʿnt* used adv. in the meaning “now” (*KTU* 1.19.III.48, 55f., IV.6; cf. *UT* 102n.3 and no. 1888; contra *WUS* no. 2065) and related to Hebr. *ʿēt* and Aram. *kʿn/kʿnt/kʿt* “now” (*DISO* 125; also *wkʿt* often in Hermop., no. 1–6, 8, *wkʿn* in no. 7.2; Bibl. Aram. *kʿan* 13x, *kʿenet*, Ezra 4:10f.; 7:12; *kʿet*, Ezra 4:17; cf. KBL 1086b), a biradical root *ʿn* + fem. ending *-t* would be possible (most recently Wilch, op. cit.). The older etymology from the root → *yʿd* “to determine” seems more evident (\**ʿid-t* > \**ʿitt* > *ʿēt*, properly “term”), as assumed e.g., by BL 450 (cf. also Zorell 636; E. Vogt, *Lexicon Linguae Aramaicae Veteris Testamenti* [1971], 85b; J. C. de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu* [1971], 149); Aram. *kʿnt* would then have arisen through dissimilation of the geminates, and *kʿn* would be a back-formation from it (so BLA 255).

2. *ʿēt* appears 296x in the OT (excl. Ezek 23:43 K; Psa 74:6 K; Lis. omits Psa 4:8; Eccl 40x, 31x in ch. 3; Jer 36x, Psa 22x, Deut and Ezek 18x each, Dan and 2 Chron 16x each, 2 Kgs and Isa 11x each, Gen, Judg, and Job 10x each, 1 Chron 9x), *ʿittî* 1x (Lev 16:21), *ʿattâ* 433x (incl. Ezek 23:43 Q; Psa 74:6 Q; most often in narrative books: 1 Sam 46x, Gen 40x, 2 Sam 30x, Isa and 2 Chron 29x each, Judg 24x, 1 Kgs 23x, 2 Kgs 22x, Exod 20x, Josh 19x, Job 18x, Jer 16x, Num 15x).

3. In answer to the question “when?” (→ *māṭay*) and in order to locate an event temporally, Hebr. uses a wide number of adv. and prep. expressions that may only be partially treated in this dictionary (ʿāz “then,” → *yôm* 3e; → *ḥr*, → *yôm*, → *qedem*, → *qēš*, → *rōʿš*). But the point in time or period of time in question can also be indicated with a subst. Most often this designation involves → *yôm* “day, time,” which, however, never totally lost its basic meaning, but also the more general subst. ʿēt, which is independent of a natural temporal unit and whose chief meaning can be described as “(a definite point in) time of/for.” This lexical meaning is the starting point for the following semasiological discussion of the word and the distinction of it from semantically related terms. Its three components (a) “point in time,” (b) “fixed,” and (c) “of/for” can be emphasized or deemphasized according to the circumstances of the contextual word field and can thus actually result in various meanings (cf. W. Schmidt, *Lexikalische und aktuelle Bedeutung* [1963]). The use of the pl. will be treated separately (see d).

(a) ʿēt is obviously a temporal term judging both from the common usage of the word (cf. e.g., its combination with the preps. *min* “since” and ʿad “up to” [see below] and with the adjs. *qārôb* “near” [Isa 13:22; Ezek 7:7; → *qrb* 3c, 4e] and *rāḥôq* “far” [Ezek 12:27, pl.; → *rḥq* 3]) and from its derivation from ʿattâ “at this time = now” (see 3e). Its temporal character is never disputed (on Wilch see 3c). In contrast to the Ger. word “Zeit” or the Eng. “time,” however, ʿēt has a more limited range of meaning, insofar as it does not refer to temporal duration or to an extended period of time (responses to the question “how long?” prefer expressions with *yāmîm* “days, duration, period of time” [→ *yôm* 3f-i]; cf. also → *dôr*, → ʿad, → ʿôlām), but to some definite point in time or period of time. In this context “point” naturally should not be understood mathematically as the smallest possible period of time (this sense is conveyed by *rega* “moment,” which also responds to the question “how long?”; 21x in the OT, excl. Job 21:13 *rega* “rest”; Bibl. Aram. *šāʿâ* “moment,” Dan 3:6, 15; 4:16, 30; 5:5). In Judg 11:26 ʿēt does not refer to the glossator’s addition of the “300 years” of Israelite possession of the Arnon region but to the “then” of Balak’s time in contrast to the contemporary situation (contra Wilch, op. cit. 60). ʿēt refers no more to duration than its local counterpart *māqôm* “place” does to area.

In contrast to → ʿôlām (“remotest point in time”), ʿēt does not occur solely in conjunction with preps. (or as an adv. acc.) but also as a grammatically independent element in a sentence (subj., obj., predicate; 73 of 278 occurrences in the sg.). In the former, an event is located at a definite point in time; in the latter, the point in time appears objectively as an independent entity in statements concerning its presence, arrival, being

known, or value.

The most common prep. associated with *‘et* is *be* (137x). The expression *bā‘et hahî’* “at that time” alone occurs 68x (in addition to Zeph 3:20 txt em), usually in reference to a moment in the past (52x, 15x in Deut; see 4c; as a loosely connected formula introducing a narrative with impf. cons., Gen 21:22; 38:1; 1 Kgs 11:29; as a more precise reference to time, esp. in annalistic style with the pf., 1 Kgs 14:1; 16:6; 18:16, etc.; 1 Kgs 8:65 alongside *bayyôm hahû’* “in that day,” v 64; Esth 8:9 with the date), less often in reference to the future (16x in prophetic threats and promises, usually with the impf.; Mic 3:4 alongside *‘az* “then”; in Jer 33:15; 50:4, 20; Joel 4:1 in the double formula *bayyāmîm hāhēm(â) ūbā‘et hahî’* “in those days and at that time”). The expressions *b<sup>e</sup>kol-‘et* “at that time” (see 3b) and *be* + *‘itt-* + suf. (see 3c) occur 15x, and a cs. phrase *b<sup>e</sup>‘et* + subst./inf./verbal clause 35x (Gen 31:10; 38:27; Judg 10:14; 1 Sam 18:19; Isa 33:2; 49:8, etc., esp. frequent in Jer [14x, e.g., Jer 6:15, *b<sup>e</sup>‘et p<sup>e</sup>qadtîm* “at the time when I visit,” with a gen. clause; cf. BrSynt §144]), negated 2x: *b<sup>e</sup>lō’ ‘et-* “not at the time of” (Lev 15:25) or *b<sup>e</sup>lō’ ‘ittekâ* “not at your time = before the time determined for you” (Eccl 7:17; see 3c); and 1x each *bā‘et* “at the right time” (Eccl 10:17; see 3c) and *bā‘et hazzō’* “in such a time” (Esth 4:14a).

*le* also indicates the moment of activity (BrSynt §107b), with a sg. of *‘et* 20x (Gen 8:11; 24:11[bis]; Deut 32:35 “at the moment your foot slips”; Josh 10:27; 2 Sam 11:1f.; 1 Kgs 11:4; 15:23; Isa 17:14; Zech 14:7; Psa 21:10 txt?; 32:6 txt?; 71:9; Ruth 2:14; Eccl 9:12; 1 Chron 12:23 [see 3b]; 20:1[bis]; 2 Chron 18:34; *le* does not serve to indicate the point in time but to introduce the independent dative obj. in Jer 8:15; 14:19; Job 38:23; Esth 4:14b; Dan 8:17), also with *ke* (BrSynt §109b; not a comparative particle, as Wilch, op. cit. 34–40, argues) with no observable difference in meaning from *be* and *le* (22x): 8x in the expression *kā‘et māḥār* “tomorrow at this time” (with a demonstrative art.: Exod 9:18; 1 Sam 9:16; 20:12; 1 Kgs 19:2; 20:6; 2 Kgs 7:1, 18; 10:6; cf. Josh 11:6 *māḥār kā‘et hazzō’* “tomorrow at this time”), 4x in the similar expression *kā‘et ḥayyâ* “next year at this time” (Gen 18:10, 14; 2 Kgs 4:16f.; for the meaning of *ḥayyâ*, cf. the bibliog. in → *hyh* 3c), 5x *kā‘et* “at this time = now” (Num 23:23 [cf. Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 169, 187]; Judg 13:23 txt?; 21:22; Isa 8:23 txt? [cf. J. A. Emerton, *JSS* 14 (1969): 151–75; contra Wildberger, op. cit. 384f.: “As the previous time” with masc. attributive *hārî’šôn* ]; Job 39:18 txt? [read *k<sup>e</sup>‘et* with a succeeding gen. clause]; cf. also *k<sup>e</sup>mô ‘et* in Ezek 16:57 txt? [read *k<sup>e</sup>mô ‘attâ*; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:333]), and 3x followed by a gen. (1 Sam 4:20; Dan 9:21; 2 Chron 21:19). Other preps. associated with *‘et* are: *‘ad* “until” (12x: Josh 8:29; 2 Sam 24:15; Ezek 4:10f.; Mic 5:2; Psa 105:19; Dan

11:24 [see 3b]; 11:35; 12:1, 4, 9; Neh 6:1), *min* “since” (Isa 48:16; Ezek 4:10f. [see 3b]; Psa 4:8; Dan 12:11; Neh 13:21; 1 Chron 9:25; 2 Chron 25:27), and *ʔel* “to” (1 Chron 9:25; see 3b). In four cases *ʔet* stands as an adv. acc. (Jer 51:33; Ezek 27:34 txt? [read *ʔattâ* ]; Hos 13:13 txt? [cf., however, Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 239, “at the right time”]; Psa 69:14).

As an independent sentence component *ʔet* functions, first, in statements that evaluate a point in time qualitatively (Jer 30:7 “it is a time of distress for Jacob”; 51:6; Amos 5:13; Mic 2:3; Dan 12:1; cf. also Ezra 10:13 “but the people are numerous and it is the time of rains” with the expression *wʔhāʔet gʔšāmîm* in the sense of “it is the time of heavy rains,” cf. GKC §141d; BrSynt §14b; Rudolph, HAT 20, 94; J. Barr, *Biblical Words for Time* [19692], 119); second, in a variety of statements concerning the presence of a particular point in time (negated, Gen 29:7 “it is not yet time to . . .”; Job 22:16; in a question, 2 Kgs 5:26 txt? [cf. e.g., Gray, *Kgs*, OTL, (19722), 509: read *haʔattâ lāqaḥtā*]; Hag 1:4; positively, Ezek 16:8[bis]; 30:3; Hos 10:12 txt? [but cf. Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 200f.: “and it is time to seek”]; Psa 81:16 txt?; 102:14; 119:126; a further 33x in the general statements of Eccl 3:1–8, 17; 8:6, 9; 9:11), concerning its arrival (with *bôʔ* “to come”: Isa 13:22; Jer 27:7; 46:21; 49:8 [hi. “to bring”; cf. 50:31; others regard it an adv. acc.]; 50:27, 31; 51:33; Ezek 7:7, 12; Hag 1:2[bis] txt em; with *ngʔ* hi. “to enter”: Song Sol 2:12), with *ʔet* as the obj. of the verbs *ydcʔ* “to know” (Job 39:1f.; Eccl 8:5; 9:12), *šmr* “to keep” (Jer 8:7), *qwh* pi. *le* “to hope for” (Jer 8:15; 14:19), *ḥsklʔ* “to save up for” (Job 38:23), and with a dative *le* in Esth 4:14b “for such an occasion,” and in Dan 8:17 “the vision pertains to the end time.” Some of these passages already contain the connotation of “right time” to be treated in 3c).

(b) The connotation of “definite time” in the sense of “a time somehow recognizable, definitively conceived” is almost given in the first nuance “point in time” but can be neutralized in particular contexts, as in some cases of the pl. and in general and collective usages: *bʔkol-ʔet* “anytime” (Exod 18:22, 26; Lev 16:2; Psa 10:5; 34:2; 62:9; 106:3; 119:20; Job 27:10; Prov 5:19; 6:14; 8:30; 17:17; Eccl 9:8; Esth 5:13, *bʔkol-ʔet ʔšer* “as long as”; cf. also the 1st-cent. CE Neo-Pun.-Lat. bilingual Trip. 32 [= KAI no. 126] from Leptis Magna, l. 4 *lk[lḥʔt* = *perpetuus*, l. 9 *klḥʔt* = *semper*), *mēʔet ʔad-ʔet* “from time to time” (Ezek 4:10f.; somewhat differently, 1 Chron 9:25, *mēʔet ʔel-ʔet* “[every seven days] from term to term”), *lʔet-yôm bʔyôm* “day by day” (1 Chron 12:23; Wilch, op. cit. 44f.: “contradiction in itself”); in Dan 11:24, however, *wʔad-ʔet* does not refer indefinitely to “a period of time” but means “up to a point in time (determined by God)” (cf. Montgomery, *Dan*, ICC, 452).

Conversely, the characteristic of definiteness can also be stressed (2

Sam 24:15 txt?  $\text{ʿad-}^{\text{c}}\text{ē}t\ \text{mô}^{\text{c}}\text{ē}d$  “up to a certain time”; Ezra 10:14 and Neh 10:35  $\text{ʿittîm}\ \text{m}^{\text{c}}\text{zummānîm}$ , Neh 13:31  $\text{ʿittîm}\ \text{m}^{\text{c}}\text{zummānô}t$  “established times,” with the ptcp. of  $\text{zmn}$  pu. “to determine,” a denominative from the subst.  $\text{z}^{\text{c}}\text{mān}$ ), while the meaning “period, term, date, [intentionally] established times” is conveyed by the specific words  $\text{z}^{\text{c}}\text{mān}$  (Aram. loanword; cf. Wagner nos. 77f.; HAL 262b; originally from Akk.  $\text{simānu}$  “[right] moment, time” [AHW 1044b, root  $\text{wsm}$  “to belong, suit”] or from the Pers. [e.g., G. Widengren, *Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung in parthischer Zeit* (1960), 106]; in the Hebr. OT 4x: Eccl 3:1 par.  $\text{ʿē}t$ , Esth 9:27, 31; Neh 2:6, the only passage with a specific time in response to the question  $\text{mā}t\text{ay}$  “when?”; in Bibl. Aram. 11x  $\text{z}^{\text{c}}\text{mān}$  “time, moment, period” and “occasion,” cf. KBL 1072a) and  $\text{mô}^{\text{c}}\text{ē}d$  ( $\rightarrow\ \text{y}^{\text{c}}d$ , also regarding Aram.  $\text{ʿiddān}$  “time, year”); cf. also the hapax legomenon  $\text{ʿ}^{\text{c}}\text{sūn}$  “(point in) time” in Prov 20:20 Q (cf. HAL 91a).

(c) The assertion of a third semantic element “(time) of/for” argues, first, that  $\text{ʿē}t$  (like  $\rightarrow\ \text{yōm}$  4a) normally appears in concrete temporal designations specifying the pertinent temporal content, not in abstract statements concerning time per se (general statements concerning the “right moment” occur only late in Eccl, see 4; on the pl. in general expressions, see 3d). Temporal content is specified in many ways through demonstrative prons., poss. sufs., adjs., gen. substs., inf., and dependent clauses (for examples see 3a) or is implied in the context.

If one attempts to arrange the sg. passages (omitting general expressions mentioned in 3b and abstract statements concerning time in Eccl) according to indications of temporal content, two major categories result: one refers to a point in time already named or presumed known (past, present, or future) and regularly uses preps. and the art. (92x; otherwise the art. occurs only 3x with  $\text{hā}^{\text{c}}\text{ē}t$  as subj.: Ezek 7:7, 12; Ezra 10:13); the other encompasses passages that specify content (usually through poss. suf., successive gen., inf. with or without  $\text{le}$ , or dependent clause with or without  $\text{ʿ}^{\text{c}}\text{sēr}$ ; cf. also Esth 4:14b; Dan 11:24; Job 22:16 with specification by comparison or from the context) and is anarthrous.

This characteristic content orientation can diminish when  $\text{ʿē}t$  is further qualified by another temporal term, e.g., in  $\text{I}^{\text{c}}\text{ē}t\ \text{ʿereb}$  “in the evening” (Gen 8:11; 24:11; Isa 17:14; Zech 14:7; cf. Josh 8:29; 2 Sam 11:2) or  $\text{b}^{\text{c}}\text{ē}t\ \text{ʿoh}^{\text{c}}\text{rayim}$  “at midday” (Jer 20:16); these cases only slightly revise and clarify the corresponding simple temporal designation  $\text{bā}^{\text{c}}\text{ereb}$  “in the evening” (Gen 29:23; 30:16, etc.) for stylistic reasons, but they underscore neither the particular situation nor its facticity (contra Wilch, op. cit. 21f.). The same characteristic can be stressed, i.e.,  $\text{ʿē}t$  with a poss. suf. can denote the characteristic, suitable, correct point in time for

someone/something (21x sg. with suf., 15x with *be*; with 2d per. sg. suf.: Ezek 16:8, fem.; Eccl 7:17; 3d per. sg.: Deut 11:14; 28:12; Isa 13:22, fem.; 60:22, fem.; Jer 5:24; Ezek 22:3, fem.; 34:26; Hos 2:11 par. *b<sup>e</sup>mô<sup>c</sup>dô*; Psa 1:3 “which produces its fruit in its time”; 104:27; 145:15; Job 5:26; 38:32; Prov 15:23; Eccl 3:11; 9:12; 3d per. pl.: Lev 26:4; Jer 33:20; Psa 81:16 txt?); some cases specifically indicate the time of death or judgment (Isa 13:22; Ezek 22:3; Psa 81:16; Eccl 7:17; 9:12; cf. Phoen. *bl ʿty*, see 1), although *ʿet* per se does not assume this meaning (this slightly euphemistic usage is well suited to the Eng. translation “hour” in its traditional meaning “moment”; cf. also Jer 27:7 “his land’s hour”; Ezek 30:3 “the hour of the nations”); cf. also *bāʿet* “at the right time” in Eccl 10:17. An isolated, specialized expression in the OT also has this special meaning “right time”: *ʾōpen* Prov 25:11 (“a word spoken *ʿal ʾopnāw*”; cf. HAL 76b; Gemser, HAT 16, 90f.).

The connotation “right time for” or “opportunity for” can also be implied in other passages besides those mentioned, e.g., Hag 1:2 “opportunity to build the temple”; Esth 4:14b “for such an opportunity.” Even in these cases *ʿet* remains a purely temporal term; the clear orientation toward temporal content does not require that the temporal content be incorporated in the meaning of the word *ʿet*.

At this point the main thesis of the book by Wilch, *Time and Event*, should be evaluated. According to him *ʿet* refers not only to the moment of an event but also to the “occasion,” “occurrence,” “opportunity,” “situation” (p. 164: “the word *ʿeth* was used in the OT in order to indicate the relationship or juncture of circumstances, primarily in an objective sense and only secondarily in a temporal sense, and to direct attention to a specifically definite occasion or situation”). Now the plan (p. 20) and the arrangement of the study (chs. 2–4: use of *ʿet* within the natural and social orders, in relation to a singular historical event, in the context of the last things . . . ) already indicate that Wilch is not actually interested in the word’s meaning but in contexts in which the word occurs. The entities described, i.e., the “definite occasion,” “juncture of occasions,” “situation,” etc., together with the resulting consequences with respect to phenomenology, historicity, etc., do not actually apply to the meaning of *ʿet* but to the referent of *ʿet* (and the context), the matter intended (concerning the distinction between “meaning” [or “information”] and “reference,” naturally more difficult for abstract entities than for concrete things, cf. CPT 118, 291f.; further, e.g., H. Geckeler, *Strukturelle Semantik und Wortfeldtheorie* [1971], 41–83). The methodological confusion and occasional infusion of the word’s context into the word’s meaning (even in the special case when the situation incorporated into the meaning of the word is itself defined as a “significant situation” [p. 64]) occasionally lead to overemphasis of content (e.g., Judg 4:4; *bāʿet hahîʾ* “in the same situation,” pp. 48f.) and often to forced distinctions between very similar expressions e.g., *bayyôm hahîʾ* and *baʿet hahîʾ* (pp. 56–59), but do not hinder valuable observations on the referential level and in relation to the OT concept of time.

(d) The pl. occurs only in late texts (18x, alongside the more common *ʿittîm* in Psa 9:10; 10:1; 31:16 also *ʿittôt*). Most passages may be understood in terms of the sg. meanings of *ʿēt* without further comment. *Iʿittîm mʿzummānîm/-ôt* “at certain times” (Ezra 10:14; Neh 10:35; 13:31 “for the delivery of the wood at certain times”) is a numerical pl., “points in time,” probably also in Job 24:1: *ʿittîm* “times (of judgment)” (set aside by the Almighty) par. *yāmāw* “his days (of judgment)” (cf. Fohrer, KAT 16, 367). If the text of Neh 9:28 is correct (*rabbôt ʿittîm* “at many times = repeatedly”), *ʿittîm* even acquires the meaning “instance” attested for Aram. *zʿmān* (Dan 6:11, 14, *zimmîn tʿlātâ bʿyômāʾ* “three times daily”; cf. Rudolph, HAT 20, 164; contra BH 3), for which Hebr. otherwise uses *paʿam* (118x in the OT, 100x in the meaning “instance” and 18x in the other meanings “foot, step, stroke, anvil”), in addition to the rarer *ʿšeret mōnîm* “ten times” (Gen 31:7, 41) and *šālōš rʿgālîm* “three times” (Exod 23:14; Num 22:28, 32f.).

More often, however, individual, indefinite points in time are combined into a sum of *ʿittîm*, which, like the pl. *yāmîm* “days” (→ *yôm* 3f) practically indicates a “period of time,” as in Ezek 12:27 *Iʿittîm rʿḥôqôt* “(the prophecies) concerning distant times” (par. *Iʿyāmîm rabbîm*) and in the phrase *bāʿittîm hāhēm* “in those times” (Dan 11:14; 2 Chron 15:5; cf. also Dan 11:6 txt? *bāʿittîm* “in the(se) times” and 11:13 txt? “after a period/a few years”). *Iʿittôt baššārâ* “in the times of drought” (Psa 9:10; 10:1) also belongs here, as do, if the texts are in order, two passages that more precisely qualify temporal content: Isa 33:6 txt? “and your times will be stable” (Kaiser, *Isa 13–39*, OTL, 337, 344) and Dan 9:25 txt? “but in the distress of the times” (Plöger, KAT 18, 133f.). Esth 1:13, “the wise, who understand the times,” and 1 Chron 12:33, “who understand the times so that they know what Israel must do,” may intend both the “(right) points in time” and more generally the “times = junctures in time.”

The pl. of *ʿēt* seems to have shifted from the temporal meaning to a more content-filled term in only two passages: Psa 31:16 “my fate is in your hand” (*ʿittôtāy* = “the points in time fixed for me”) and 1 Chron 29:30 “(the history of King David, from beginning to end is recorded, however . . .) together with his powerful reign and the *ʿittîm* that came upon (*br* qal) him and Israel and all the kingdoms of the lands,” where one must reckon with a general designation for the events of the times or for destinies (cf. Barr, *Biblical Words for Time* 123).

(e) The use of *ʿattâ* “now” in the OT is treated by L. Köhler, ZAW 40 (1922): 45f.; Lande 46–52; A. Laurentin, *Bib* 45 (1964): 168–95, 413–32; H. A. Brongers, VT 15 (1965): 289–99; E. Jenni, TZ 28 (1972): 1–12; cf.

also P. Tachau, *“Einst” und “Jetzt” im NT* (1972), esp. pp. 21–70.

The adv., always used in direct address, serves to initiate discourse, either for an entire clause (over 220x *w<sup>e</sup>cattâ* “and now,” e.g., Josh 1:2 “my servant Moses is dead; and now—rise up”; also independent *cattâ* “now: . . .” about 40x, e.g., 1 Sam 9:6) or to modify the predicate below the clause level, i.e., “now” stands in semantic opposition to prior time (Gen 46:34; Exod 9:18; Josh 14:11; 2 Sam 19:8b; 15:34; Isa 16:13f., etc.; in the formula “now I know,” Gen 22:12; Exod 18:11; Judg 17:13; 1 Kgs 17:24; Psa 20:7; “now” in name etiologies, Gen 26:22; 29:32, 34; contrasting present and former states in the lament, Isa 1:21; 16:14; Ezek 19:13, etc.), to later time (Exod 5:5; 6:1; Num 11:23; 22:4, etc.; “from now on into eternity,” Isa 9:6; 59:21; Mic 4:7; Psa 113:2, etc.; prophetic actualizations of the future, Isa 33:10; 43:19; 49:19; Jer 4:12, etc.), to both aspects of time (the category of contemporary reality in contrast to a constant; as with “but now” *w<sup>e</sup>cattâ* in Deutero-Isa, which introduces a paragraph and conveys an awareness of a salvation-historical process, Isa 43:1; 44:1; 49:5; cf. 48:16b; 52:5; Tachau, op. cit. 34–41), or to an unspecified time (category of reality in hypothetical statements in Gen 31:42; 43:10; Exod 9:15, etc.; an extensive classification of *cattâ* passages according to the characteristics of the word field in Jenni, op. cit. 10–12).

4. (a) It may be appropriate to append a treatment of the so-called Hebr. concept of time to the examination of *cēt*, the most important word next to → *yôm* and → *ôlām* in the word field “time.” There is no lack of literature on this theme, from the now largely surpassed work by C. von Orelli (*Die hebr. Synonyma der Zeit und Ewigkeit genetisch und sprachvergleichend dargestellt* [1871]) to the monograph, already mentioned, by Wilch (*Time and Event*), which offers an overview of the more important publications (pp. 2–17, incl., among others: *ILC* 1–2:487–91; G. Delling, “καίρός,” *TDNT* 3:455–64; id., “χρόνος,” *TDNT* 9:581ff.; W. Vollborn, *Studien zum Zeitverständnis des AT* [1951]; J. Marsh, *Fullness of Time* [1952]; G. Pidoux, “A propos de la notion biblique du temps,” *RTP* 3/2 [1952]: 120–25; C. H. Ratschow, “Anmerkungen zur theologischen Auffassung des Zeitproblems,” *ZTK* 51 [1954]: 377–85; W. Eichrodt, “Heilserfahrung und Zeitverständnis im AT,” *TZ* 12 [1956]: 113–25; T. Boman, *Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek* [1960]; J. Muilenburg, “Biblical View of Time,” *HTR* 54 [1961]: 225–71; M. Sekine, “Erwägungen zur hebr. Zeitauffassung,” *SVT* 9 [1963]: 66–82; cf. also comparative studies of culture and religion like M. P. Nilsson, *Primitive Time-Reckoning* [1920]; S. G. F. Brandon, *Time and Mankind* [1951]; id., *History, Time and Deity* [1965]).

The discussion is characterized by the repeated attempts to postulate a concept of time in the OT that differs partially or totally from the modern

one as the key to some exegetical difficulties or in order to eliminate the tension between extratemporal divine reality and the experience of salvation mediated temporal-historically. So-called chronological time is contrasted variously with a “filled,” “concentrated,” “realistic,” “psychological,” or “inner” time, often in connection with modern philosophical-theological trends. The desired suspension of temporality or of temporal distance from the events of salvation is achieved either through the equation of time with its content (*ILC* 1–2:487f.: time “is identical with its substance. . . . Times of the same substance are therefore identical”) or through overemphasis of the *kairos* aspect of time and its decisive character. In contrast, it must be emphasized with Eichrodt (op. cit. followed by e.g., E. Jenni, “Time,” *IDB* 4:642–49; Wilch, op. cit. 169–71; cf. Barr, *Biblical Words for Time* 150f., 158) that the postulation of a sense of time opposed to the modern one is unnecessary, that the OT always remained interested in the temporal and historical peculiarities of events and in the distinction of time and content, present and future (cf. also H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* [1974], 83–92; for the theological view of the time problem underlying Eichrodt, cf. e.g., E. Brunner, *Christian Doctrine of God* [1950], 266–71; id., *Eternal Hope* [1954], 42–58).

Whatever the case, it is clear that such discussions concerning the OT concept of time cannot be based solely on word studies or other observations concerning available linguistic media (tenses, advs.) but only on concrete textual statements and a systematic evaluation of them. At least since Barr (*Biblical Words for Time* [1962, 1969]), the methodological deficiencies and dangers involved in the immediate transition from word studies to the discussion of general concepts and structures of thought have become clear. Whether and how often an OT text (on the sentence level) situates events in time and differentiates them from one another can be much more significant than the lexical and syntactical media (e.g., *ke* + inf., temporal advs., or phrases in which subst. for “time,” etc. occur). The comparison of available Hebr. and, e.g., Eg. terms for “time” (cf. E. Otto, “Altägyptischen Zeitvorstellungen und Zeitbegriffe,” *Die Welt als Geschichte* 14 [1954]: 135–48) alone is also insufficient for explicating the essence of OT thought. Apart from the somewhat larger quantity of words for periods of time, Eg. seems to be equipped with a similar inventory of linguistic media (Hebr. *ʿēt* can best be compared to Eg. *tr*), although the Eg. awareness of time and history may differ from that of the OT on many points (H. Brunner, “Zum Zeitbegriff der Ägypter,” *Studium Generale* 8 [1955]: 584–90; E. Hornung, *Geschichte als Fest* [1966]); Egyptology automatically bases statements of the peculiarity of Eg. thought on textual relationships, not just on the consideration of available lexical materials. A similar situation prevails with regard to

comparisons with Bab. or Gk. concepts of time; regarding the inadequate attempt by Boman, cf. the justified critique by Barr (*SBL* 46–88). Under these circumstances, the discussion of the use of *ʿēt* in theological contexts can include only the presentation of a few characteristic statements and formulae in individual authors, not a treatment of the OT time concept as such.

(b) In the realm of creation doctrine, God is confessed as Lord over natural phenomena. Day and night arrive “at their time” (Jer 33:20), he produces the stars “at the right time” (Job 38:32); in contrast, human beings do not know when the ibex gives birth (Job 39:1f.). A recurrent theme of the blessing promise is God’s authority over the rain “in its time” (Lev 26:4; Deut 11:14; 28:12; Ezek 34:26; cf. Jer 5:24). Hymns praise the creator for providing his creatures with nourishment at the right time again and again (Psa 104:27; 145:15 “all eyes wait upon you and you give them their food in its time”). The statement of confidence in Psa 31:16 is even more personal and comprehensive: “my fate is in your hand” (see 3d).

The theme of the “right moment” assumes special prominence in Eccl (cf. e.g., K. Galling, “Das Rätsel der Zeit im Urteil Kohelets,” *ZTK* 58 [1961]: 1–15; id., *HAT* 18 [19692], 93–95; Zimmerli, *ATD* 16/1, 167–74; O. Loretz, *Qohelet und der Alte Orient* [1964], 186–88, 251–54; Wilch, op. cit. 117–28; G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* [1972], 138–43, 226–37; Wolff, *Anthropology* 89–92). The anaphoric “*mashal* of the ‘moment’” demonstrates through its universally formulated instruction (Eccl 3:1; cf. vv 11, 17) and explicatory sequence of fourteen antitheses (3:2–8) that “everything occurs at the right time and God determines the appropriate moment” (Loretz, op. cit. 182, 200, 253). This statement, by no means fatalistic or deterministic in form, corresponds entirely to the wisdom tradition adapted by Qohelet; for both ancient Near Eastern and OT wisdom teachers, a concern for the recognition of the right moment is fundamental (Loretz, op. cit. 200, on passages from Sir; von Rad, op. cit. 140f., mentions e.g., the pedagogical poem concerning the farmer’s activities in Isa 28:23–29; also Jer 8:7; Ezek 16:8; Amos 5:13; Job 5:26; Prov 15:23; 25:11; cf. also Eccl 10:17; one could also include here the “wise who know the times” in Esth 1:13 and the “sons of Issachar who understand the times so that they know what Israel must do” in 1 Chron 12:33; cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 108f.). Only the reflections appended to the *mashal* (3:9ff.) manifest Qohelet’s specific problem: “he made everything beautiful in its time . . . only humans cannot comprehend the totality of the work that God made” (v 11). In other passages, Eccl uses *ʿēt* to indicate specifically the unexpected moment of death (8:5f. alongside *mišpāt* “judgment,” 9:11 with *pega*<sup>c</sup> “mishap, misfortune,” otherwise only in 1 Kgs 5:18; 9:12a *ʿittô* “his moment”; v 12b *Iʿēt rāʿā* “at an evil moment”; cf. also

7:17); this use, too, is still largely within the bounds of traditional doctrine (Loretz, op. cit. 255ff.).

(c) In addition to moments that are always possibilities in nature and in human lives, some moments play a particular role in God's history with his people. No fixed terminology, such as → *yôm yhwh*, can be identified, however.

The phrase *bā'ēt hahî'*, esp. favored in Dtn-Dtr literature, refers only to the past (cf. J. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium* [1967], 218–25). In Deut 1–10 it refers 15x to particular events in the people's early period (1:9, 16, 18; 2:34; 3:4, 8, 12, 18, 21, 23; 4:14; 5:5; 9:20; 10:1, 8), events contrasted with the speaker's "today" in an awareness of the course of salvation history (2:30; 4:20, 38; 6:24; 8:18; 10:15; 29:27).

The present as the time for decisive action can be indicated in such passages as Hos 10:12 txt? "and it is time to seek Yahweh" (if MT is accepted; cf. Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 201); Hag 1:4 "has the time come for you, to dwell in paneled houses while this house lies in ruins?"; Psa 102:14 "it is time to pardon her"; 119:126 "it is time for the Lord to intervene"; cf. Esth 4:14; also *w<sup>e</sup>attâ* "but now" in Isa 43:1; 44:1; 49:5; see 3e). This expression has *hayyôm* "today" more often than *ēt*, however. It demands "the decisive seizure of the moment through the decision to obey" (Eichrodt, op. cit. 116, on Deut 5:1; 8:19; 11:2, 26, 32; 15:15; 26:16f., 18; 27:9f.; cf. Wolff, op. cit. 86–88).

*ēt* designates a singular moment in God's future activity primarily in the late pre-exilic/exilic period. The introductory adv. phrase *bā'ēt hahî'* "at that time" is used in threats (Jer 4:11; 8:1; Zeph 1:12; not as in introductory formula in Mic 3:4) and in promises (Isa 18:7; Jer 3:17; 31:1; Zeph 3:20; combined with "in those days," Jer 33:16; 50:4, 20; Joel 4:1; cf. H. Gressmann, *Der Messias* [1929], 83f.; H. D. Preuss, *Jahweglaube und Zukunftserwartung* [1968], 174f.). Other passages with *ēt* almost never contain announcements of salvation (Isa 49:8 "time of goodwill" alongside "day of salvation"; 60:22 "I will cause it to come quickly in its time"). Designations for moments of disaster and judgment often parallel those with → *yôm* (3d, 4b) and are varieties thereof (Deut 32:35; Jer 46:21; 50:27, 31; in close proximity with the concept of the "day of Yahweh" only in Isa 13:22 and Ezek 7:7, 12 [with the art.]; 21:30, 34; 30:3 "the day of Yahweh is near, . . . it will be the hour for the nations"). Jeremiah characterizes judgment as the time of visitation (Jer 6:15; 8:12; 10:15; 46:21; 49:8; 50:27, 31; 51:18), of wrath (18:23), of vengeance (51:6), of harvest (51:33). Jer 27:7, "the hour of his land, too" and Ezek 22:3, "so that their hour comes," use the pregnant characterization of the moment through a per. gen., as do Isa 13:22, "their time," and Ezek 30:3, "hour of the nations" (see 3c). Also

typical for Ezekiel is, finally, the phrase *b<sup>e</sup>ēṭ ṣ<sup>a</sup>wōn qēṣ* “at the time of the final punishment” (Ezek 21:30, 34; 35:5 par. “at the time of their destruction”; cf. also Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:446). But neither here nor in Dan (*ēṭ qēṣ* “end time,” Dan 8:17; 11:35, 40; 12:4, 9) is *ēṭ* itself an eschatological technical term (although → *qēṣ* [4c] probably is).

5. In the Hebr. book of Sir and in the available Qumran literature (about 40x each), *ēṭ* largely retains its OT usage (Wilch, op. cit. 138–51). Concerning the difficult expression *mwldyṭ* “the births of time (?)” (1QH 12:8, alongside *yswdy qṣ* “the foundations of time”), cf. M. Delcor, *Les Hymnes de Qumran (Hodayot)* (1962), 247f.; hypostases and personifications of time occur here, at any rate, no more than in Eccl 9:11 (*ēṭ* subj. of → *qrh* “to meet, encounter”). In later Jewish literature, *ēṭ* is replaced by *z<sup>e</sup>mān* (Barr, *Biblical Words for Time* 125).

The LXX most often translates *ēṭ* with *kairos* (Wilch, op. cit. 151–55); on this and the NT, cf. G. Delling, “καίρος,” *TDNT* 3:455–64; id., “χροῖνος,” *TDNT* 9:581ff.; Barr, *Biblical Words for Time* 21ff., 125ff. (bibliog.), et al.

E. Jenni

## עִתַּר *tr* to pray

S 6279; BDB 801b; *HALOT* 2:905a; *ThWAT* 6:489–91; *TWOT* 1722; *NIDOTTE* 6983

1. The Hebr. root *tr* “to pray” has generally been associated with the Arab. *atara* “to slaughter a sacrifice” since J. Wellhausen (*Reste arabischen Heidentums* [18972], 118, 142). Yet no particular relationship between the root and sacrifice can be demonstrated in the OT, including even the textually problematic example of *ātār* “incense fragrance” in Ezek 8:11 (“to be fragrant” in Syr. and Arab. is *tr* with *t*, 2 Sam 24:25 only alludes to sacrifice); cf. J. Herrmann, *TDNT* 2:785; P. A. H. de Boer, *OTS* 3 (1943): 135; D. R. Ap-Thomas, *VT* 6 (1956): 240f.

2. The verb occurs 20x in the OT (5x qal, 8x ni., 7x hi.). Mandl. (939d) also includes Prov 27:6 qal and Ezek 35:13 hi., which Lis. (1143, with GB 630b) attributes to a root *tr* II “to be abundant,” yet both passages are textually uncertain. The noms. *ātār* “worshiper” (Zeph 3:10) and *ateret* “wealth (?)” (Jer 33:6) are also problematical. The verb is concentrated in Exod 8–10 (2x qal, 6x hi.); it does not occur in Psa.

3./4. *ʿtr* is synonymous in the qal and the hi. (qal always in impf. cons. forms, hi. esp. impv. forms) “to request, pray,” in the ni. tolerative “to allow oneself to be beseeched.” It is used only theologically; the addressee of the request is always Yahweh (with *le* or *ʿel*), and it is always God who allows Israel or individuals (with *le*) to make requests of him. The affinity with verbs of lament and request is demonstrated by the par. usage with → *šʿq* “to lament” (Exod 8:4f. and v 8), “to lift (*prś*) his hands to Yahweh” (Exod 9:28 and vv 29, 33); cf. also → *pll* hitp. “to pray” and *tʿhinnâ* “supplication” (2 Chron 33:13), as well as *tʿpillâ* “prayer” (2 Chron 33:19), or → *šmʿ* “to heed (a lament)” (Job 22:27; 2 Chron 33:13). Like *hnn* “to be gracious”/hitp. “to ask for grace,” *ʿtr* encompasses both aspects of the lament process; but God’s attention is primary with *hnn*, human request with *ʿtr*.

*ʿtr* is a general designation for prayer in only a segment of the OT, esp. in the late texts (qal, Judg 13:8; Job 33:26; hi., Job 22:27; ni., Isa 19:22; Ezra 8:23; 1 Chron 5:20; 2 Chron 33:13, 19). In addition, a more specialized usage may be identified. In the early period, *ʿtr* is, next to *pll* hitp., one of the most important designations for intercession (with the prep. *lʿnōkaḥ*, Gen 25:21; *baʿad*, Exod 8:24; *le*, Exod 8:5): Isaac intercedes with Yahweh for his infertile wife (Gen 25:21 qal) and Moses on Pharaoh’s behalf for the aversion of the plagues (qal, Exod 8:26; 10:18; hi., 8:4f., 24f.; 9:28; 10:17). The frequent use in the plague narratives (J) suggests a usage that diverges from the normal process of prayer: it is always presumed that the plagues stem from God (contrast *zʿq* in Exod 2:23f.) and can be lifted only with the help of a man of God. Yahweh does not heed a plea in distress (cf. → *šʿq*) but acts “according to the word of Moses” (8:9, 27) and removes the plague (*sûr* qal, 8:25; hi. 8:4, 27). *ʿtr* here, then, describes the powerful, appeasing effect on God of a man of God. It always transpires in private (Moses leaves Pharaoh, 8:8, 26; 9:33; 10:18), and its moment can be determined ahead of time, a demonstration of the might of the man of God (8:5f.). Clear elements of “religious magic,” the origins of intercession, are undoubtedly evident here (cf. de Boer, op. cit.; F. Hesse, *Die Fürbitte im AT* [1951]). Even more remote from the process of prayer are 2 Sam 21:14 and 24:25 (ni.); in 2 Sam 21 David requites the unavenged bloodguilt of the house of Saul against the Gibeonites; in 2 Sam 24 he purchases an altar site and sacrifices, in both cases in an attempt to avert a plague (famine or pestilence) from Israel. Both cases relate: “Then Yahweh was appeased on behalf of the land.” Thus *ʿtr* apparently indicated originally quite varied types of a representative, placating effect on the enraged God, which need not have anything to do with prayer. Only later was this specific procedure brought to the level of the general act of prayer; its original proximity to

magical activity could, however, have hindered the usage of *ʿtr* for prayer in worship (Psa). The divergent course of semantic development in Arab. (see 1) may also be easily explained against the assumed “basic meaning.”

5. In the LXX, the essential meaning of *ʿtr* is diminished even further. It translated *ʿtr* qal/hi. with *deisthai*, *euchesthai*, the ni. with *eis-* or *epakouō*.

R. Albertz

## פָּאֵר *pʿr* pi. to glorify

S 6286; BDB 802a; HALOT 3:908b; ThWAT 6:494–99; TWOT 1726; NIDOTTE 6995

1. The verb *pʿr* occurs only in the pi. in a trans. and in the hitp. in a reflexive meaning (“to glorify” or “to glorify oneself, boast”) and, like the related subst. *tipʿeret* (Isa 28:5 and Jer 48:17 *tipʿārâ*) “ornament, honor, pride” (BL 495), has no immediate counterpart in related languages (older etymologies in J. Barth, *Etymologische Studien* [1893], 21f.; W. J. Gerber, *Die hebr. Verba denominativa* [1896], 133f.; NB 186; cf. GB 631f.; like Barth, op. cit., Zorell 639b associates *pʿr* with Arab. *flr* “to boast”).

The subst. *pʿēr* “headband, turban” (Exod 39:28; Isa 3:20; 61:3, 10; Ezek 24:17, 23; 44:18) may be distinguished from the other terms as an Eg. loanword (KBL 750).

2. *pʿr* appears 13x in the OT (pi. 6x: Isa 55:5; 60:7, 9, 13; Psa 149:4; Ezra 7:27; hitp. 7x: Exod 8:5; Judg 7:2; Isa 10:15; 44:23; 49:3; 60:21; 61:3), *tipʿeret* (incl. *tipʿārâ*) 51x (Isa 18x [Deutero-Isa 3x, Trito-Isa 7x], Ezek and Prov 6x each, Jer 5x, Psa 4x, 1 Chron 3x, Exod and Zech 2x each, Deut, Judg, Lam, Esth, and 2 Chron 1x each). Verb and subst. are concentrated in Isa (27 of 64 occurrences of the root).

3. Only the hitp. of the verb occurs in nontheological usages (Isa 10:15 “to boast” par. *gdI* hitp. “to brag”; Exod 8:5 impv. with *ʿal*, usually understood as a polite formula “glorify oneself” = “be pleased” [on other interpretations and textual emendations, cf. Beer, *Exod*, HAT 3, 48; C. Rabin, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8 (1961): 397: “to choose”; cf. Akk. *pâru*]). *tipʿeret* refers to everything that brings joy and pride: “jewelry, brilliance, splendor, pride,” etc., of the victor (Judg 4:9), the king (Jer 13:18; Esth 1:4), the bride (Isa 62:3; Ezek 16:12, 17, 39), celebrants (Isa 28:1, 4; 52:1; Prov 4:9), rich women (Isa 3:18); the Chaldeans’ “jewel” is Babylon (Isa 13:19),

the Moabites', their youth (Jer 48:17).

4. Most examples of *pʿr* and *tipʿeret* reflect Israel's joy in God's activity, esp. in Trito-Isa.

(a) In descriptive praise, the verb indicates God's attention to or deliverance of Israel (cf. the statement of the reason for praise in Psa 149:4 pi. or Isa 44:23 hitp.); in blessing language, the new, constant covenant activity through which God glorifies himself in Israel (Isa 55:5 pi.; cf. Deut 26:19 *tipʿeret*); in the form of the call of God's servant, Yahweh's paradoxical acts (Isa 49:3, hitp.). Trito-Isaiah adopted the verb from Deutero-Isaiah in his salvation preaching, esp. in the description of the new state of well-being (Isa 60:[7], 13, pi.; 60:21; 61:3, hitp.), rarely in the announcement of an event (Isa 60:7, 9, pi.). The community (Psa 149:4) and Deutero-Isa describe God's activity as a glorification, Trito-Isa describes it as "God's glorifying of himself in and through the glorification of Zion" (Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 359).

(b) *tipʿeret* is one of many terms for beauty that Israel uses to confirm the work of its God: Yahweh himself is Israel's *tipʿeret* (descriptive praise, Psa 89:18; description of salvation, Isa 60:19; request for attention in the communal lament, 63:15; proclamation of salvation, 28:5); Israel experiences his work in history (proclamation of salvation, 46:13; 52:1; 62:3; Jer 33:9; historical retrospective in the communal lament, Isa 63:12, 14; historical psalm, Psa 78:61; descriptive praise, 96:6; individual lament, 71:8; even in accusations, Jer 13:11; Ezek 16:12, 17; and proclamations of judgment, Ezek 16:39 [23:26]; in Trito-Isa and Ezek esp. in the parable of the bride) and in his acts of blessing as *tipʿeret* (announcement of a state of well-being, Isa 4:2 [60:7]; temple lament, Isa 64:10; cf. the effects of blessing in Prov 16:31; 17:6; 19:11; 20:29; 28:12). *tipʿeret* characterizes Yahweh (descriptive praise, 1 Chron 29:11, 13); also the temple building occurs to his *tipʿeret* (1 Chron 22:5; 2 Chron 3:6; cf. *pʿr* pi., Ezra 7:27; cf. also Exod 28:2, 40). God's rejection of the site of his blessing presence is simultaneously a rejection of "Israel's splendor" (funeral lament, Lam 2:1).

(c) Verb and subst. also depict joy and pride resulting from acts in which people dispute God's actions (*pʿr* hitp.: Judg 7:2; *tipʿeret*: announcement of judgment, Isa 3:18; 10:12; 13:19; 28:4; Jer 13:18, 20; Ezek 24:25; accusation, Isa 20:5; 28:1; song of derision, Isa 44:13; cf. also Zech 12:7).

(d) *tipʿeret* occurs frequently with *ʿatārâ* "diadem" (Isa 28:1, 3f., 5; Prov 17:6) or in the cs. relation *ʿaṭeret tipʿeret* "majestic crown," etc. (Isa 62:3; Jer 13:18; Ezek 16:12; 23:42; Prov 4:9; 16:31); it often appears in series with a variety of semasiologically related terms (cf. Esth 1:4; 1 Chron 29:11), e.g., with *kābôd* "honor" (Exod 28:2, 40; Isa 4:2), → *šēm* "fame"

(Deut 26:19; Isa 63:12, 14; Jer 13:11; 33:9; 1 Chron 22:5; 29:13), *tehilla*® “praise” (Psa 71:8; formulaically with *šēm*, Deut 26:19; Jer 13:11; 33:9), *gāʾôn* “majesty” (Isa 4:2; 13:19; cf. *gēʾūt*, 28:1), *šʿbî* “ornament” (4:2; 13:19; 28:1, 4f.), *ʿôz* “might” (52:1; Jer 48:17; Psa 78:61; 89:18; 96:6), *hādār* “splendor” (Psa 96:6; Prov 20:29), and *hôd* “majesty” (Psa 96:6; 1 Chron 29:11), etc.

5. Of the numerous translation options in the LXX for *pʾr* and *tipʾeret*, *doxazein* and *doxa* stand out; on this and on the NT cf. G. von Rad and G. Kittel, “δοκέω,” *TDNT* 2:232–55; R. Bultmann, “καυχάομαι,” *TDNT* 3:645–54.

D. Vetter

### פָּדָה *pdh* to redeem, liberate

S 6299; BDB 804a; *HALOT* 3:911b; *ThWAT* 6:514–22; *TWOT* 1734; *NIDOTTE* 7009

1. In contrast to → *gʾl, pdh* (*\*pdy*) is a common Sem. verb that occurs in all Sem. languages except for Aram. In some languages it has a more specifically legal and in others a more generally beneficial meaning. The former is clearly apparent in Arab. (*fadā* “to redeem [a person or a thing] by presenting something of equivalent value”; the corresponding subst. should be translated “ransom”; cf. Lane 6:2353f.) and similarly in Eth. (Dillmann 1378–80) and Old SArab. (*pdyt* “ransom, payment”; cf. Conti Rossini 217b). The general sense occurs in Akk., where it appears in the form *padû/pedû* “to spare, release” (*AHW* 808b). Examples that may be mentioned include the PN *ilī-ipdianni* “my god has spared/freed me” and the request in a prayer to Ishtar, “Deliver (*pi-di-š*) from the jaws of destruction!” (*AfO* 19 [1959/60]: 53, 163). The Epic of Creation, *Enuma Elish* (VII:29), uses *padû* for the release of the rebellious gods made possible by the creation of humanity, i.e., according to the par. passage VI:34 (with *wašāru* D “to release”), they are freed from service to the other gods.

In Ug. the verb *pdy* occurs in the document concerning a redemption, *KTU* 3.4.2, 12). With R. Yaron (*VT* 10 [1960]: 83–90), *pdy* should be translated in context “he redeemed.” This one passage can hardly support the conclusion, however, that the verb had only this meaning in Ug. and thus agreed with Arab. and Eth. This conclusion is unlikely because of the PNs *pdy* and *bn-pdy* (*UT* no. 2013) = *pa-di-ya* (*PRU* 3:253a) and *bin-pī-di-ya* (*PRU* 3:195.15), and also the probably related king’s name

Padi (from Ekron; cf. also W. Baumgartner, *TZ* 2 [1946]: 57n.1). Indeed, it can hardly be doubted that these PNs contain the root *pdy* corresponding to Hebr. *pdh*, which would then mean not only “to redeem” but also “to liberate.” Whether it is permissible, however, to translate the Ug. PN *pdy* with “he (the god) has freed/delivered” is questionable owing to the cuneiform rendering. Both forms are more likely to have a nom. character, either of the *qatîl* type, i.e., “redeemer/liberator,” or of the *qatîl* type, i.e., “redeemed/liberated” (Gröndahl 71 understands the form in the first sense). Given the above, one must consider the possibility that Ug. used the root *pdy* in both a more specific and a more general sense, as is also true of Hebr.

On *pdy* in Pun., cf. *KAI* 2:92, 114 regarding no. 73 and no. 103 (l. 2 the PN *bʿpdʿ* “Baal redeemed/freed him”).

The verb occurs in the OT mostly in the qal, less often in the ni. (Psa 49:8 should be read as ni. instead of qal), hi. (only Exod 21:8; hi. has been suggested for Num 18:15[bis], 16f. instead of qal), and ho. (only Lev 19:20, inf. abs., probably to be vocalized ni. in accord with the subsequent ni. pf.). The substs. *p<sup>e</sup>dûyîm* “ransom,” *p<sup>e</sup>dût* “redemption,” and *pidyôn* “ransom” (by-form, *pidyôm*, Num 3:49a, 51 K, in the light of vv 48, 49b, 51 Q, probably to be read *p<sup>e</sup>dûyîm*) also occur. Regarding the proper names formed with *pdh*, see 4c.

2. *pdh* (excl. proper names) occurs 70x in the OT (verb 58x, subst. 12x), representing a significant disparity in comparison with the 118 occurrences of  $\rightarrow g^l$ .

	qal	ni.	hi.	ho.	subst.	total
Exod 7	–	–	1	–	2	10
Lev 1	–	2	–	1	–	4
Num 5	–	–	–	–	6	11
Deut 6	–	–	–	–	–	6
1 Sam	1	–	–	–	–	1
2 Sam	3	–	–	–	–	3
1 Kgs1	–	–	–	–	–	1
Isa 3	3	1	–	–	1	5
Jer 2	2	–	–	–	–	2
Hos 2	2	–	–	–	–	2
Mic 1	1	–	–	–	–	1
Zech 1	–	–	–	–	–	1
Psa 14	14	–	–	–	3	17
Job 3	3	–	–	–	–	3
Neh 1	1	–	–	–	–	1
1 Chron	2	–	–	–	–	2
OT	53	3	1	1	12	70

The subst. *pedûyîm* occurs 5x (Num 3:46, 48f., 51 Q; 18:16), *p<sup>e</sup>dût* 4x (Exod 8:19 txt em [see *BHS*, contra A. A. Macintosh, *VT* 21 (1971): 548–55]; Isa 50:2, LXX understands it as a qal inf. *p<sup>e</sup>dôt*, Psa 111:9; 130:7), *pidyôn/pidyôm* 3x (Exod 21:30; Num 3:49 [see 1]; Psa 49:9).

3. (a) The list above indicates that the root is firmly entrenched in the legal literature and occurs here, in particular, in regulations concerning marital and cultic law. I treat the former (Exod 21:8; Num 19:20) first because Exod 21:8 belongs to the laws (*mišpāṭîm*) in the Covenant Code and thus to the old secular law. In this way the profane use of *pdh* may be reconstructed; Job 6:23 will also be useful in this effort.

Exod 21:7–11 continues the laws concerning slavery (vv 2–6). Both sections concern members of the people of Israel who must become slaves because of economic distress. With respect to a male (vv 2–6), who can act as an independent legal personality, the words *‘ebed ‘ibrî* designate this situation; *‘ibrî* in legal language “designates the economically and socially diminished who must temporarily or permanently relinquish freedom” (so A. Alt, *RGG* 3:105; cf. id., *EOTHR* 93ff.; also F. Horst, *Gottes Recht* [1961], 97; somewhat differently, K. Koch, *VT* 19 [1969]: 78).

By contrast, the legally dependent maiden must be represented by her father (vv 7–11). He could allow his daughter to become a (debt) slave. In contrast to the male slave, such a female slave is not automatically freed in the seventh year. No liberation is envisioned for her normally (v 7). Yet some options were open to her (vv 8–11), including the possibility that her master may at first have intended her for himself (v 8 Q) but then became—it is presumed—wary of her. In this case, he can allow her to be redeemed (*pdh* hi.), but he is not permitted to sell her to an *‘am nokrî*. This phrase means either “a strange people,” i.e., concretely “foreigners” (so Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 169, 179), or “a strange family” (so A. Jepsen, *Untersuchungen zum Bundesbuch* [1927], 28n.2; J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im AT* [1940]: 8n.2). In the second case, the strange family is necessarily contrasted with the slave’s own family, which would be responsible for her redemption. In the first case, however, it is difficult to imagine another group that could be responsible for her. This situation requires the term *g’l* rather than *pdh*; cf. 3d.

The marriage law regulations in Lev 19:20 may also stem from old civil or secular law. They are then provided with a cultic supplement in the spirit of the Holiness Code in vv 21f. and thus integrated into this corpus. The old legal norm of v 20 regulates the case of “sexual intercourse with a female slave already selected for marriage by someone, but not yet redeemed (*pdh* ni.) or liberated by her master” (Noth, *Lev*, OTL, 142f.). Because no legal marriage yet exists, it is not adultery requiring the death penalty. The penalty is described by the word *biqqōret*, whose meaning is

unclear. Does it mean “damage liability” (so *HAL* 145b) or “censure” (Elliger, *HAT* 4, 243, 260n.51)? This secular penalty is supplemented by a cultic act of penance according to vv 21f.

Without already seeking to differentiate between the verbs *pdh* and *gʾl*, one may say that the choice of *pdh* here reflects the indeterminacy of the redeemer, as indicated by the pass. mode of expression “but she is not redeemed.”

Job 6:23, Job’s hypothetical question to his friends, may be included here: “Did I say . . . deliver me from the hand of the oppressor and redeem me from the power of the tyrant?” This passage certainly lies outside legal literature, but it presumes a situation like those envisioned in the law: the redemption of a poor person from debt slavery. The language could also describe a person who has fallen into the hands of robbers (cf. Fohrer, *KAT* 16, 173). Whether the one or the other is correct, the context depicts redemption as an act of friendship, not the redemption of a family member.

In addition to the verb, the subst. *pidyôn* “ransom” is also attested in the old common law, Exod 21:30, where it describes the ransom (*pidyôn napšô*) that the owner of a goading ox who was warned to no avail can pay instead of suffering the death penalty if the ox fatally wounds someone. V 29 reflects an older viewpoint. Redemption by ransom thus corresponds to the provisions known only in the Laws of Eshnunna (§54) and the Code of Hammurapi (§251). The significance of *pidyôn* according to Exod 21:30 is clear: it indicates ransom for the redemption of a life subject to the death penalty.

The expression *pidyôn napšô* (with LXX instead of *napšām*) in Psa 49:9 is synonymous. Although it occurs in a psalm, one may mention the phrase here because it appears in a wisdom and thus a noncultic maxim: “No one can redeem oneself, one cannot give God one’s ransom (*koprô*). The ransom of one’s soul is too dear, and one is unable to live forever” (vv 8–10a; on the text, cf. Duhm, *Psa*, KHC [1922], 201; Stamm, op. cit. 16n.5; a somewhat different but still noteworthy emendation in Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:478f.). The unavoidable mortal fate, which no human achievement can avert, is the abiding fact for the psalmists to which even the wealthy must submit (v 7). According to v 16, the poet is aware, however, of a new possibility, breaching the limits of death (see 4b).

(b) In the cultic law, the term *pdh* applies to the redemption of human and animal firstborn. According to the older regulations of Exod 34:19f., which may not have been an original component of the corpus of 34:14–26, human firstborn must be redeemed with a sheep, as must those of the ass (which is unsuitable for sacrifice). Although there is no exception for humans, it is permissible not to redeem an ass but to kill it, removing it from profane usage. The manner by which the human firstborn are to be

redeemed remains unspecified; only a later prescription (Num 18:16) establishes the sum of 5 shekels of silver. One may speculate, however, that such a redemption involved the sacrifice of a head of livestock in older times (so e.g., Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 102).

The material in Exod 13:2, 12f., which essentially agrees with 34:19f., is more extensive and may be later than and dependent on the older text (regarding the Dtr origins of 13:1–16, cf. L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im AT* [1969], 227). Earlier and later statements address the case of the adult, cultically fit Israelite through *tipd* “you shall redeem.” This statement agrees with the provisions of the apodictic law and also accords with earlier cultic practice such as may be inferred from prohibitions in Deut 16:21–17:1. Later, the role of the laity gave way to that of the priests, for which reason it has been suggested that the original *tipd* “you shall redeem” in the P redemption prescription in Num 18:15–18 should be emended to *tapd* “you shall cause to be redeemed (hi.)” (see 1). Not the layperson but the priest is addressed.

Num 18:15–18 emphasizes the priest’s right to the flesh of the nonredeemable firstborn, and v 16 (an addition to the context), as already mentioned, permits the redemption of human firstborn through a monetary ransom.

In Lev 27:27 *pdh* parallels *gʿl* in reference once again to the redemption of the firstborn of unclean animals that, here too, no longer involves a sacrifice but money (→ *gʿl* 4b). Finally, Lev 27:29 prohibits the redemption (*pdh*) of a person subject to the ban. This prohibition—so Noth, *Lev*, OTL, 207—echoes the old, strict, ban commandment. In post-exilic times, it was no longer practiced, however, since, according to Ezra 10:8, exclusion from the community replaces execution, while one’s property fell to the sanctuary.

The subst. *p<sup>e</sup>dûyîm* “redemption” in the P section Num 3:40–51 corresponds to the verb *pdh* in the sense of the monetary redemption of a living being. Here the word, an abstract pl. of a presumed sg. *pādûy* (on this function of the pl., cf. GKC §124f), occurs in vv 46, 48f., 51. *p<sup>e</sup>dûyîm* refers to the redemption of the firstborn of the people, who belong to Yahweh, through the Levites (cf. already vv 11–13). The text assumes that the 22,000 Levites mentioned in v 39 could replace 22,000 laypersons for Yahweh. Now according to v 43, the laypersons number 22,273, and the section in question (vv 40–51) governs the monetary redemption of the excess 273 with the help of the term *p<sup>e</sup>dûyîm*, i.e., redemption through the payment of 5 shekels per capita to the priests. Although the factual and ideological circumstances that underlie the chapter are unclear, the specific content of *p<sup>e</sup>dûyîm* is still clear: it refers to the redemption of persons to whom Yahweh had a claim. That this redemption involves money reflects

the secularizing viewpoint of later times. It coexists in Num 3:11–13, however, with the underlying, older understanding that a living being can be replaced only by another living being.

This observation leads to 1 Sam 14:45, a passage that may be appended here because of its cultic-ritual content, although it appears in historical literature. Jonathan, who has unconsciously violated the curse associated with Saul's vow of abstinence, is subject to death according to the word of the king (v 39), "but the people (i.e., the army) redeemed Jonathan so that he need not die" (v 45). The text does not give details; it is unclear whether a person—an Israelite or a prisoner of war—or an animal was sacrificed. A monetary ransom is hardly possible for this early period (contra R. J. Thompson, *Penitence and Sacrifice in Early Israel outside the Levitical Law* [1963], 109).

(c) A review, first, of the previous section (3b) indicates that *pdh* in the cultic realm primarily denotes the redemption of the firstborn, which are Yahweh's. In the older period, it involved the substitutionary sacrifice of a head of small livestock and later a monetary payment. Thus *pdh* includes a reference to the payment of an equivalent sum. In reference to the differentiation of *pdh* from *gʿl* (attempted in 3d), it may be pointed out that one redeems the firstborn to which one never had rights.

If the redemption of the firstborn involves property that did not belong to the cultic community, the redemption of a person from death involves one over whom the legal community no longer has a claim. According to Lev 27:29 and 1 Sam 14:45, this redemption pertains to the cultic realm, according to Exod 21:30 to the realm of secular law, and according to Psa 49:8 to wisdom maxims. In an ironic, threatening question, Job 13:14 rejects liberation from death. One should note this usage of *pdh*, the more so because it has no independent counterpart in the usage of *gʿl*. Only Hos 13:14 constitutes an exception, but here *gʿl* parallels *pdh*. Nevertheless, this text does not support the general description of the verb *pdh* as a "reference to the liberation or redemption from invisible bindings in which people or animals have become so enmeshed that they can no longer free themselves" (A. Jepsen, "Die Begriffe des 'Erlösens' im AT," FS Hermann 153–63 [citation, p. 154]; cf. also O. Procksch, *TDNT* 4:333). Exod 21:30, as well as 21:8; Lev 19:20; Job 6:23 (see 3a), in which *pdh* means liberation from direct and concrete human power, contradict this conclusion. These considerations lead to the question of the original sense of *pdh* and to the attempt to differentiate it from *gʿl* (3d).

(d) In religious language (see 4), *pdh* concerns redemption by God that no longer involves the exchange of something of equivalent value. In this way, the specifically legal content diminishes in significance and the notion of liberation/deliverance assumes the foreground. The same

development may also be traced for → *gʾl* (4a), and, correspondingly, the two verbs may be paralleled in the OT (Isa 35:9f.; 51:10f.; Jer 31:11; Hos 13:14; Psa 69:19). Otherwise, *pdh* parallels *nsʾl* hi. “to deliver” (Isa 50:20), *mlʾ* pi. “to deliver” (Job 6:23), and, loosely, *yšʾ* hi. “to lead out” (Deut 7:8; 9:26; 13:6). How has the development from the specific to the general meaning come about?

It seems plausible to assume a path for *pdh* similar to that of *gʾl*, which leads from a profane, limited, legal usage to the expanded religious use. The origins of *gʾl* in family law are well established (→ *gʾl* 3b). Since the profane and the cultic uses of *pdh* emphasize the payment of the ransom and not the participants in the legal proceedings—they could be members of the family of the one redeemed (Exod 21:8) but need not be (Lev 19:20; Job 6:23)—it does not share origins with *gʾl*. One should probably think of commercial law as the point of origin, an assumption confirmed by the usage of the verb in Arab., Eth., and, in part, Ug. (see 1). These languages would have maintained the original meaning of the verb, which Hebr. preserved only in remnants and Akk. not at all. The development of *pdh* has been understood largely in this way, with individual peculiarities, by O. Procksch, *TDNT* 4:328–35; and J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im AT* (1940), 10f. Jepsen (op. cit. 154) has rejected this interpretation. He considers problematic an ancient Israelite distinction between a profane and a religious realm and, correspondingly, a distinction between varied usages of *pdh*. He believes that the single meaning “to redeem” or “to liberate” suffices.

One might agree with Jepsen if there were no other Sem. languages. He underestimated their significance; yet it must be conceded to him that the development of *pdh* did not proceed as directly from the sphere of commercial law as I, and Procksch, assumed earlier.

This interpretation is supported by the analogy of the Akk. verb *paṭāru* (see *AHW* 849–51). From an original concrete meaning “to separate, divide,” it came to mean “to (set) free, redeem” in Akk. The liberation can refer in a profane sense to things, e.g., chains, and in religious language to spiritual realities like sin, wrath, and punishment. In the political-legal sense, it means “to set (captives) free” and “to grant leave (to soldiers),” furthermore “to redeem with money, ransom.” Redemption can be undertaken by a family member on behalf of a related person or things, e.g., a field (cf. examples cited under → *gʾl* 3b), by a master on behalf of a slave, or by a king on behalf of a servant (cf. *PRU* 4:110.25 and 165.7). This evidence indicates that *paṭāru* was not originally a legal term but in some applications could become one.

The situation may be similar with respect to *pdh*. From a no longer perceptible (concrete) basic meaning, it acquired the sense “to loose, set free, liberate,” preserved with slight variations in several Sem. languages.

The specialized meaning “to redeem (by payment of something of equal value),” which gains dominance in Arab. and Eth. but is unable to replace the general tone involved in the concept of release in Ug. and Hebr., diverges from the general sense. In comparison with *gʾl*, *pdh* is the broader term not anchored in a specific legal sphere. Because the two verbs always have related content, they approximate one another to the extent that *pdh* can be used, e.g., where one expects *gʾl*, as in Exod 21:8.

If *pdh* “to ransom (by offering something of equal value)” involves a derived and not the original meaning, then the term can no longer be defined a priori as a “commercial law term” (see Stamm, op. cit. 11). It is not such a term, but it becomes one in some usages. This statement must be maintained because *pdh*, in contrast to *gʾl*, “the emphasis is on the action, not the subject” (so Procksch, op. cit. 331). No firm relationship between the participants need exist prior to and motivating redemption. This feature explains the fact that *pdh* can indicate the redemption of the firstborn, for through it Yahweh frees something to which people have no claim. Just as this claim is not yet a reality, the claim to the one under penalty of death is no longer a reality, and the usage of *pdh* derives equally from this circumstance (cf. already 3c).

Job 6:23 depicts liberation from the hand of a tyrant as an act of friendship for which *pdh*, not *gʾl*, was the appropriate verb. Lev 19:20 does not specify the redeeming authority, accounting for the preference for *pdh* (cf. 3a). The distinction between the two verbs is also impressively marked by the fact that only *gʾl* forms the ptcp. *gōʾēl* as a common epithet for Yahweh. The ptcp. of *pdh* (*pōdeh*) does indeed occur once in Psa 34:23 but only as an occasional form (cf. also Deut 13:6).

4. (a) As already indicated (3d), religious usage is distinct from profane and cultic usages in that only Yahweh is the subj. of redemption and accordingly never offers something of equal value.

If one arranges the pertinent occurrences of *pdh*, as for *gʾl*, according to types of people who experience redemption/liberation and also takes cognizance of the time period in which it appears, the following picture results:

(1) Deliverance of an *individual*:

a. In the past: 2 Sam 4:9; 1 Kgs 1:29; Isa 29:22; Psa 55:19; 71:23; Job 33:28; Sir 51:2;

b. In the present or near future: Jer 15:21; Hos 7:13; 13:14; Psa 25:22; 26:11; 31:6; 34:23; 44:27; 49:16; 69:19; 119:134; 130:8; Job 5:20;

(2) Deliverance of the *nation*:

a. In the past: Deut 7:8; 9:26; 13:6; 15:15; 21:8; 24:18; 2 Sam 7:23 = 1 Chron 17:21; Mic 6:4; Psa 78:42; 111:9; Neh 1:10;

b. In the eschatological future: Isa 35:10 = 51:11; 50:2; Jer 31:11; Zech 10:8 (a past lying in the future).

(b) If one attempts to arrange instances roughly according to age, 2 Sam 4:9 and 1 Kgs 1:29 may be oldest, since one passage belongs to the “narrative of David’s rise” and the other to the so-called Succession Narrative, so that both may have arisen in the time of Solomon. According to these sources, David twice supplemented oaths by the life of Yahweh with the statement of praise: “who redeemed my life from every distress.” As Budde (*Sam*, KHC, 216) observed, this statement does not occur elsewhere in the OT; consequently, one may not determine whether it was freely composed by David or it represents an adapted liturgical formula.

In any case, the statement has close affinities with the use of *pdh* in the Psa. *pdh* occurs most often in the request “Redeem me!” (26:11; 69:19; 119:134), said by the individual psalmist who is ill and under attack (69:5, 27, 30), oppressed by other people (119:134), or faces a false accusation (apostasy from Yahweh, 26:11).

The communal lament in Psa 44:27 states the request, “redeem us for the sake of your mercy!” in the name of the community. Its background is harsh distress at the hands of enemies. The request, “O God, redeem Israel from all its distress!” (v 22) is also oriented toward the community in Psa 25, which is otherwise defined more by the motifs of the individual song of lament.

The thanksgiving in the form “you have redeemed” occurs in Psa 71:23 in the anticipatory vow of praise (vv 18–24; Psa 71 is generically a song of lament and petition). According to v 20, this thanksgiving refers to a threat to life, perhaps an illness, and also to persecution by enemies (vv 4, 10ff.). The thanksgiving in the song of lament and petition in 55:18b, 19a, “and he heard my voice and set my life free in peace,” also has a prospective orientation according to the transmitted text; the reference is again to liberation from the intrigues of enemies, including an erstwhile friend (v 14), and *šālôm* “peace” indicates lasting security from them (MT should be retained, with Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:518f., against Stamm, op. cit. 14n.5).

In the songs of thanksgiving in Job 33:27b, 28 and Sir 51:2, the ransom to which the saved refers in retrospect involves liberation from the power of the underworld. This liberation clearly does not refer to the continued existence of the dead but to healing from serious illness (cf. Stamm, op. cit. 15f.). According to Hebr. thought, however, since death

exercises its power over people through illness, the sick person can be regarded as dead and healing can be described as deliverance from the underworld. This language involves more than a mere fig. expression (as Ch. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des AT* [1947] has shown). Such merely fig. language is also far removed from the praise of God's delivering acts in famine and war (Job 5:20).

Between request and thanksgiving stands the declaration of assurance or confidence that Yahweh is willing and also able to liberate. Such a declaration occurs in the song of lament in Psa 31:6, which can be translated (with D. Michel, *Tempora und Satzstellung in den Psalmen* [1960], 92): "Into your hands I commit my spirit, you will redeem, Yahweh, God of faithfulness." The distress of the supplicant is occasioned by enemies (vv 9, 12, 14, 19) and probably also by illness (vv 10f.). One expects to be freed from it. Kraus (*Psa*, CC, 1:362) sees the psalmist as a persecuted innocent, probably correctly. Psa 130, another song of lament, voices the confidence in question (v 7). It is based in the mercy (*hesed*) and the redemption (*p<sup>e</sup>dût*), i.e., the willingness or ability to redeem, which characterize Yahweh. These characteristics give rise to the expectation in the adjoining salvation oracle (v 8), "indeed, he will redeem Israel from all its sins," of a final, probably eschatological, liberation. This is the only passage where *pdh* does not refer to distress but to sins. Nevertheless, in the holistic thought of the OT, when they are removed, the distress also comes to an end.

With a perspective on redemption, the song of thanksgiving Psa 34 finds its beautiful conclusion: "Yahweh redeems the soul of his servant, no one who trusts in him must pay the penalty" (v 23).

As we saw, deliverance from death in the thanksgiving songs Job 33:27b, 28 and Sir 51:2 signifies liberation from illness. It seems appropriate, with Barth (op. cit. 158–61), to assume the same also for Psa 49:16, "yet God redeemed my soul, he snatched me from power of the underworld." Yet the verb → *lqh*, also used elsewhere for the transport of a deceased person, and the totality of the psalm, described at the outset (v 5) as a "riddle," speaks for an expectation transcending usual belief, of a final liberation from death associated with a transport (cf. Stamm, op. cit. 16f.; von Rad, *Theol.* 1:406f.; Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:483f.).

Jeremiah's confessions are unthinkable without the individual lament psalms. It is therefore permissible to include here the promise of deliverance from evil and violent people (Jer 15:21) that was made to the prophet in response to his complaint (vv 10–12, 15–18). *nsl* hi. from the call (Jer 1:19) is now supplemented and strengthened by *pdh*. This addition reflects the animosity that has grown since Jeremiah's beginnings.

There is no reason, then, to omit v 21 with P. Volz (*Jer*, KAT [19282], 173n.1) as an “weak, broad expansion.”

Statements concerning redemption in the Psa refer largely to concrete, mundane distresses, which most often include enemies, illness, and death. A general statement looking beyond the individual instance is rare: only in Psa 34:23, in a horizon which hardly extends beyond this world, and in 130:7f., in an eschatologically oriented outlook. That the concrete, mundane situation dominates is no limitation. It is a consequence of the awareness that the human being depends on God in all experiences of good fortune and ill. If misfortune, distress, and animosity lose their finality in this awareness, they are nonetheless severe attacks. One can see the extent to which this understanding applies in that their removal is described not solely as a deliverance (*ns̄l hi./ml̄t pi.*) but also as a ransom or a liberation.

(c) Thanksgiving as expressed in the Psa also occurs in PNs. The following examples occur in the OT: *p<sup>e</sup>dāyâ(hû)*, *p<sup>e</sup>da<sup>ʔ</sup>ēl/p<sup>e</sup>dâ<sup>ʔ</sup>ēl* (*pdh<sup>ʔ</sup>l*) “Yahweh/EI has liberated,” *p<sup>e</sup>dâšûr* “The Rock has liberated” (regarding the theophoric element → *šûr*, which also occurs at Mari, cf. M. Noth, FS Alt 148). It is uncertain whether the impf. PN *yipdeya*® should also be translated as a statement concerning the past or as a wish, “May Yahweh liberate.” The abbreviated form *pādôn* derives from the verbal-clause names. Two of the names above also occur outside the OT: *pdyh* at Elephantine (Cowley no. 43.12; also *pdyh* on seals no. 45 and 235 in F. Vattioni, *Bib* 50 [1969]: 365, 384) and *pd<sup>ʔ</sup>l* on an 8th-cent. seal (*EEA* 56, no. 13; Vattioni, op. cit. 373). Already mentioned in 1a above were the Akk. par. *il̄-ipdianni* “My God has spared/liberated me” and the Pun. *b<sup>ʔ</sup>pd<sup>ʔ</sup>* “Baal freed/redeemed him” (cf. Benz 97, 389).

It may be speculated (with *IP* 180) that the names may refer to the dangers of birth itself. Because PNs in Akk., as in Hebr., often make use of verbs common in religious language, however, one need not understand *pdh* here differently than in the Psa in order to relate it to the situation of the mother or the child; cf. observations concerning the PN *yig<sup>ʔ</sup>āl* under → *g<sup>ʔ</sup>l* (4i). If the mother’s thanksgiving is involved, the reference could have been to liberation from barrenness, among other things; if that of the child, healing from illness is esp. likely.

(d) With 9 instances of the qal and one of the ni., slightly less than the 14 in the Psa (13x qal, 1x ni.), *pdh* is infrequent in the Prophets. It is even rarer than *g<sup>ʔ</sup>l*, which occurs 27x in the prophetic literature (incl. the ptcp. *gō<sup>ʔ</sup>ēl* 14x). Deutero- and Trito-Isa alone have 22 occurrences (incl. the ptcp. *gō<sup>ʔ</sup>ēl* 13x). This distribution represents the preference for *g<sup>ʔ</sup>l* anchored firmly in the message of Deutero-Isaiah (→ *g<sup>ʔ</sup>l* 4f), which *pdh*

was unable to attain either in any of the prophets or elsewhere in the OT. Religious language included several semantically related verbs that the prophets used more often: → *yšʿ* hi., → *nšl* hi., *mlt* pi. (→ *plṯ*) “to deliver,” and → *ʿzr* “to help” (cf. Stamm, op. cit. 98ff.).

At any rate, *pdh* occurs in the three temporal perspectives distinguished previously, i.e., it represents the liberation of the people in the past, in the present open to the future, and in the eschatological future.

For Israel, the foundational past event of deliverance is the liberation from Egypt, for which Deut first used *pdh* (see 4e). This usage occurs in the Prophets only in Mic 6:4, where Micah has his God say in self-defense against the people: “For I led you out of the land of Egypt, redeemed you from the house of bondage.” The question whether the judgment speech in Mic 6:1–8, of which vv 3–5 comprise a subsection, stems from Micah, and the related question of how to explain the Dtr language in v 4—as the result of a common tradition or as direct dependence—must be left unanswered here; see on the one hand W. Beyerlin, *Die Kulttraditionen Israels in der Verkündigung des Propheten Micha* (1959), 69–74; and on the other O. Kaiser, *Intro.* (1975), 229.

Isa 29:22 alludes to a different type of past liberation through the hymnic-laudatory phrase “who redeemed Abraham.” It appears in vv 16–24, a context hardly attributable to Isaiah. The referent of this redemption is uncertain. “Although an early Jewish saga tells of Abraham’s redemption from Ur in Chaldea as the ‘fire of the Chaldeans,’ the reference may simply be to various acts of deliverance and protection in the biblical narratives” (Fohrer, *Jesaja*, ZBK [19622], 2:87; regarding the saga mentioned, cf. R. Meyer, *TDNT* 3:465).

Hosea uses the verb *pdh* in 7:13 and 13:14 in relation to a near and a no longer possible liberation from present distress. Although 7:13 “and I shall ransom them” does not name the opposing power, the context (5:8–7:16) suggests that only the approaching Assyrian, Tiglath-pileser III, can be intended (cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 111). In Hos 13:14, where *pdh* and *gʿl* appear together, the opposing power is mortal fate (*šʿôl* and *māwet*). According to the further content of v 14, it is manifest as a pestilence (cf. Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 245). Yet 13:15 and 14:1 also leave open the possibility that manifestation of this power as pestilence may be joined by a manifestation in the form of foreign nations, esp. the Assyrians (cf. Wolff, op. cit. 228f.). In both 7:13 and 13:14, *pdh* appears in a dismissive question, and thus as a prospect for redemption no longer possible in God’s viewpoint (with Rudolph and Wolff, this interpretation may also be assumed for 13:14, a passage that Weiser, ATD 24 [19562], 98ff., understands as a promise).

The prophets use *pdh* 5x in relation to eschatological deliverance.

They begin with Deutero-Isa (Isa 50:2; 51:11), who usually prefers *gʿl*. When he nevertheless uses a form derived from *pdh* in 50:2 (*p<sup>e</sup>dût* or *txt em p<sup>e</sup>dôt*), he surely does so because he wants to refer in the rhetorical question “is my hand too short to liberate, or have I no power to deliver?” to the great redemptive power of Yahweh not exhausted in an individual event.

The language of Isa 51:11 agrees largely with Isa 35:10. Those returning to Zion are “liberated by Yahweh.” Since Isa 34–35 has other affinities with Deutero-Isa, 35:10 may be dependent on 51:11. Since, 51:11 does not follow well upon v 10, however, the opposite is also possible, i.e., that 35:10 is original and was secondarily inserted after 51:10 (so Eichrodt, *Isa 13–23,28–39: Der Herr der Geschichte* [1967], 224). Westermann (*Isa 40–66*, OTL, 243) does not deny 51:11 to the prophet, yet he provisionally transposes the verse behind 52:3. In the text of 35:10 *pdh* is certainly not distinct in content from the preceding *gʿl* and serves to reprise the thought of the par. lines 9b and 10a. In the event that 51:11 originally continued v 10, the *p<sup>e</sup>dûyê yhw*, those who experience the second, eschatological exodus, are contrasted with the *g<sup>e</sup>ʿûlîm*, a reference to those delivered at the Reed Sea (→ *gʿl* 4e). Even if 51:11 is transposed behind 52:3, the *p<sup>e</sup>dûyê yhw* cannot be characterized otherwise.

The promise of salvation in Jer 31:11 links *pdh* and *gʿl* once again. Liberation from the power of a stronger party and, as a consequence, the return of the Diaspora are announced to the exiles of Israel (Jacob). The message of Deutero-Isaiah is doubtlessly reflected here and its hope extended in accord with a new situation beyond the horizon of the Babylonian exile.

More general, but surely also eschatologically oriented, is the expectation for Zion and its returnees in Isa 1:27. It represents a reinterpretation of 1:21–26 and reveals a perspective on the new people of Zion, who will be constituted of those who decide for divine righteousness. They do not redeem themselves, however; rather they are redeemed, an indirect yet clear reference to Yahweh as the one who effects liberation. The power from which he liberates is not specified. It is certainly political in nature; it could then be more precisely identified if the verse could be dated. The Babylonians, Persians, or Greeks are all possibilities.

Zech 10:8 offers probably the latest instance of *pdh* in an eschatological context. The phrase “for I redeemed them” appears in the promise announcing the return of the Diaspora in 10:3–12. Whether it belonged there from the outset or was only secondarily inserted, it names the conditions under which return will be possible. V 10 mentions Egypt and Assyria, i.e., the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, as enemy peoples; the Diaspora are to be ransomed from them, then, a matter that Yahweh

makes his concern.

(e) As an innovation, Deut applied the verb *pdh* to the liberation from Egypt (7:8; 9:26; 13:6; 15:15; 21:8; 24:18). As von Rad (*Theol.* 1:177) demonstrates, the concept of “ransom” no longer views the salvation event from a military perspective but as Yahweh’s liberating legal action. By employing *pdh* in this sense, Deut supplements the older usage for which the verbs → *yšʿ* hi. “to lead out,” → *ʿlh* hi. “to bring up,” and *nsʾ* hi. “to deliver” were sufficient (cf. Stamm, op. cit. 18f.; regarding *yšʿ* hi. and *ʿlh* hi., cf. P. Humbert, *TZ* 18 [1962]: 357–61, 433–36; also H. J. Boecker, *Die Beurteilung der Anfänge des 1. Samuelbuches* [1969], 39–43). The inclusion of *pdh* in no way excluded the older *yšʿ* for Deut. It occurs often, and even *ʿlh* hi. is attested at least once (20:1). This use of *pdh* also then attained prominence in later literature. P does not use it, preferring *yšʿ* hi., which, along with *ʿlh* hi., retains a place in post-Dtr literature (cf. esp. Humbert, op. cit. 357f.).

The phenomenon just described is also reflected in the rare occurrence of *pdh* in relation to the Egypt experience in documents either directly or indirectly influenced by Deut. The texts are: in historical literature, 2 Sam 7:23 = 1 Chron 17:21; Neh 1:10; in the Psa, 78:42 and 111:9. The prophetic text already discussed, Mic 6:4, should also be included.

5. (a) Postbibl. Hebr. also continues to use *pdh* (e.g., Sir 51:2). One may adduce a number of texts from Qumran (cf. Kuhn, *Konk.* 174), esp. from the *Thanksgiving Hymns* and the *War Scroll*. In the former, *pdh* primarily depicts thanksgiving for redemptive events (1QH 2:32, 35; 3:19; 1Q45 1:2 = DJD 1:144; 4QpPs 37 2:19), and a request seems to occur once (1QH 17:20). The *War Scroll* prefers the subst. *p<sup>e</sup>dūt* “redemption” to the verb. It refers either to God’s eschatological redemption (1QM 1:12; 14:10; 15:1; 18:11; 4QMa 8 = ZAW 69 [1957]: 135), or it describes the sons of light as the “people of redemption” (1QM 1:11f.; 11:9; 14:5; 17:6; 13:14 is unclear; cf. also DJD 1:95; 4:2). In the Damascus Document (CD 16:8) *pdh* refers to the oath that cannot be invalidated even at the cost of death. This unique usage does not occur in the OT.

(b) The language of the NT cannot preserve the specifically Hebr. distinction between *gʾl* and *pdh*. Among verbs for redemption the NT only rarely uses *lytrousthai*, the LXX’s preferred translation for *gʾl* and *pdh*, and even less often *rhyesthai*, the translation of *pdh*. By far most often, however, the NT employs *sōzein*, which the LXX does not use for *gʾl* at all and only twice for *pdh*. This evidence supports no observations concerning *pdh* in view of the NT beyond what has already been said concerning *gʾl*; cf. therefore → *gʾl* 5.

J. J. Stamm

## 𐤑𐤅 *peh* mouth

S 6310; BDB 804b; HALOT 3:914a; ThWAT 6:522–38; TWOT 1738; NIDOTTE 7023

1. The monosyllabic noun *peh* “mouth” (Berg., *Intro.* 212f.; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 255, 269, 278), whose cs. st. *pî* is formed like the cs. st. of → *ʾāb* and → *ʾāḥ* (in contrast to *śeh* “a head of small livestock” with the cs. st. *śēh*), occurs as *p* in Ug. (*WUS* no. 2180; *UT* no. 1992) and as *pū* in Akk. (*AHW* 872–74), while Old Akk. and Old Assy. *pāʾum* and *pīʾum*, as well as Arab. *fam*, Aram. *pum*, and Eth. *ʾap* exhibit biconsonantal forms (cf. J. Barth, *ZDMG* 41 [1887]: 633f.; regarding Phoen.-Pun. *py* and Aram. *pm* in inscriptions contemporary with the OT, cf. *DISO* 227, 229; regarding PNs, cf. Huffmon 128, 254; Gröndahl 170). The following pls. occur: *pîyôt* (Prov 5:4), *pēyôt* (Judg 3:16), and the reduplicated form *pîpîyôt* (Isa 41:15; Psa 149:6), always used of two-edged swords, etc.

An etymological relationship with *pēʾâ* “side, edge,” *pôt* “forehead” (1 Kgs 7:50; Isa 3:17), and → *pānîm* “face” may not be ruled out entirely (cf. *GVG* 1:333, 421; somewhat differently, H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im assyrisch-babylonischen* [1911], 13f.) but is doubtful.

2. *peh* is attested 500x in the Hebr. OT (incl. the reduplicated pl., see 1; excl. 1 Sam 13:21), *pum* 6x in the Aram. of Dan. *peh* does not occur in Jonah, Hab, Hag, and Ruth; a concentration may be identified in Num (49x, 19x in the phrase *ʿal-pî yhwḥ* “according to Yahweh’s command”), Psa (68x, incl. Psa 149:6), Job (36x), and Prov (56x). Of all these passages, about 85 refer to God (3 to gods), 270 to people, 10 to animals, and 90 to things (35x in the chiefly Dtr expression *lʿpî ḥereb* “with the edge of the sword”); the other occurrences are prep. phrases. *pîm*, a unit of weight in 1 Sam 13:21, is not included in these figures (KBL 759a; H. J. Stoebe, *KAT* 8/1, 255: “one-third”; in contrast to earlier interpretations in GB 634b; Zorell 642f.).

3./4. First, *peh* as an anatomical term refers to the orifice that offers access to the interior of the body, the mouth. The term is used in a fig. sense of the earth (Gen 4:11; Num 16:30; etc.), → *šʿōl*, the “underworld”

(Isa 5:14; Psa 69:16; 141:7; cf. M. Dahood, *Bib* 51 [1970]: 395; J. B. Burns, *VT* 22 [1972]: 245f.), a cave (Josh 10:18), a well (Gen 29:2), an ephah vessel (Zech 5:8), a sack (Gen 42:27), the neck opening of a garment (Exod 28:32; Psa 133:2), the gate of a city (Prov 8:3; cf. Gemser, *HAT* 16, 44; the expression *peh lāpeh* “from one end to the other” derives from this usage, 2 Kgs 10:21; 21:16; *mippeh ʿel-peh*, Ezra 9:11, so KBL 753a; cf. GB 635a and Zorell 643a), also of the bank of a river (Isa 19:7, so Zorell and GB contra KBL), a ravine (Jer 48:28), and of the sharp edges of the threshing sledge (Isa 41:15) and a sword (Judg 3:16; Psa 149:6; Prov 5:4; regarding Akk. *pū* in the same meaning, see *AHW* 874b; regarding the metaphorical usage of the word in Akk. and Hebr. in general, cf. Dhorme 83–86); the last usage produces the expression *lʿpī ḥereb* “with the edge of the sword” (contra T. J. Meek, *BASOR* 122 [1951]: 31–33; G. Fohrer, *BHH* 2:1249: “because the sword consumes the flesh”; Zorell 643a: *secundum ius belli*). In Amos 6:5 *peh* does not mean “sound, noise” (so GB 635a) but is a prep. usage (“according to”; cf. Rudolph, *KAT* 13/2, 217). Concerning *peh* in conjunction with the preps. *ke*, *le*, and *ʿal*, see the lexicons.

The human mouth, never God’s mouth, is the organ of kissing (with *nšq qal*, 1 Kgs 19:18; Job 31:27; Song Sol 1:2) and eating (Ezek 3:3; 4:14; Nah 3:12; Zech 9:7 par. *šēn* “tooth”; cf. Mic 3:5; Psa 58:7; Lam 2:16; on Ug. pars. see L. R. Fisher, *Ras Shamra Parallels* [1972], 1:310: of animals, Psa 22:14), so that the expression *bekol-peh* (Isa 9:11) means “voracious,” and *peh* in the expression *pī šʿnayim* (Deut 21:17; 2 Kgs 2:9; Zech 13:8, not “double portion” but “two-thirds”; cf. GB 635a; A. Jirku, *ZAW* 37 [1917/18]: 110; F. Rundgren, *JCS* 9 [1955]: 29f.; somewhat differently, KBL 754a) means “mouthful, portion” (see Dhorme 86).

*peh* parallels *lāšôn* “tongue” as the human organ of speech (Exod 4:10; Psa 73:9, cf. H. Donner, *ZAW* 79 [1967]: 336–38; Psa 78:36, etc.; for additional texts and Ug. pars. cf. Fisher, op. cit. 309f.; *lāšôn* “tongue, speech” occurs 117x in the OT, incl. 35x in Psa, 19x Prov, 15x Isa, 9x Job; Aram. *liššān* “tongue, language,” 7x in Dan) and *sāpā* “lip” (Isa 11:4; 29:13; Mal 2:6f.; Psa 51:17, etc.; cf. Fisher, op. cit. 311; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* [1974], 77; Dhorme 84–89; J. Oelssner, “Benennung und Funktion der Körperteile im hebr. AT” [diss., 1960]). Regarding the expression *peh ʿehād* “unanimously” (1 Kgs 22:13 = 2 Chron 18:12) and “harmoniously” (Josh 9:2), see Joüon §126d; Dhorme 84; B. Couroyer, *RB* 61 (1954): 559; on Aram. *kʿpum ḥad*, see *DISO* 229; on Akk., see *AHW* 872f.

*peh* occurs in conjunction with a large number of verbs in either the meaning “mouth” or in the derived meaning “what is in the mouth, what

comes out of the mouth,” thus “word, statement, command” (cf. Wolff, op. cit. 77f.). Notably, the verb → *ʔmr* “to say” is never used in conjunction with *peh*, although the expression *ʔimrê-pî* “words of my mouth” occurs a few times (Deut 32:1; Psa 19:15; 54:4, etc.; of Yahweh, Hos 6:5; cf. Psa 138:4; Job 23:12). In connection with *dbr* pi., *peh* is emphatic so that “to speak with the mouth” acquires the connotation “to promise solemnly” (Deut 23:24; Jer 44:25; of Yahweh, 1 Kgs 8:15, 24 = 2 Chron 6:4, 15) or “to speak personally” (Gen 45:12; Psa 145:21). Isa uses the expression primarily of Yahweh (Isa 1:20; 40:5; 58:14; cf. also Mic 4:4; and Jer 9:11). Uses of *peh* as the subj. or obj. of *nqb* “to determine” (Isa 62:2, of Yahweh), *šwh* pi. “to command” (Isa 34:16, of Yahweh), *šʔl* “to ask” (Gen 24:57; of Yahweh: Josh 9:14; Isa 30:2), *ršh* “to be pleased with” (Psa 49:14; contra Zorell 643a), *hll* pi. “to praise” (Prov 27:2), *ʕnh* “to bear witness” (2 Sam 1:16), *ršʕ* hi. “to pronounce guilty” (Job 15:6), *spr* pi. “to narrate” (Psa 71:15), and *šdq* “to be in the right” (Job 9:20) are of the same character. This personal aspect is also expressed in phrases such as *dbr* pi. *peh ʔel-peh* (Num 12:8) and *dbr* pi. *peh ʔet/ʕim-peh* “to speak mouth to mouth” (Jer 34:3 and 32:4 par. “face to face” → *pānîm*). *peh* is sometimes a poetic flourish (Isa 9:16; Psa 49:4; 66:14; 144:8, 11, etc.). Despite the full appreciation of the relationship between mouth and heart (Psa 54:4; Prov 16:23), the external word is differentiated from an inner attitude (Isa 29:13; Jer 9:7; 12:2; Ezek 33:31; Psa 62:5). Combined with → *qrʔ*, *peh* has an emphatic significance in Jer 44:26, a poetic effect in Psa 66:17 and Prov 18:6, but a technical meaning in the sense of “to dictate” in Jer 36:18 (cf. *ktb mippeh* “to take dictation,” Jer 36:4, 6, 17, 27, 32; 45:1). The phrase *kebad peh* “cumbersome mouth” denotes incapability as an orator (Exod 4:10). In addition to *pšh* “to unblock,” which means “to speak,” among other things, in conjunction with *peh* (Judg 11:35f.; Job 35:16), *pth* “to open” often occurs in the same sense (Isa 53:7; Ezek 21:27; 24:27; Psa 38:14; 39:10; 78:2; Job 3:1; 33:2; Prov 24:7; 31:8f., 26; Dan 10:16), also in reference to Yahweh opening someone’s mouth (Ezek 3:27; 33:22; cf. Num 22:28); cf. the expression *pithôn peh* “opening the mouth” (Ezek 16:63; 29:21) and *pithê peh* “gates of the mouth” (Mic 7:5). Other verbs that occur in combination with *peh* are: *pʕr* “to open wide” (Job 16:10), *rḥb* hi. “to open wide” (Isa 57:4; Psa 35:21; 81:11; cf. 1 Sam 2:1 qal), *šît peh baššāmayim* “to set the mouth against the heavens” for “to boast” (Psa 73:9; cf. H. Donner, ZAW 79 [1967]: 336–38; P. A. H. de Boer, VT 18 [1968]: 260–64; cf. Judg 9:38); further, *gdł* hi. “to sound a lofty tone” (Ezek 35:13; Obad 12), *nbʕ* hi. “to disparage, speak derogatorily” (Psa 59:8), and verbs like *hgh* “to ponder” (Psa 37:30), → *hll*, → *ngd*, → *ydh*, → *ydʕ*. The phrase “to come forth from the mouth” with → *yšʔ* (Josh 6:10) is usually used as a

technical expression in relation to a promise or vow (Num 30:3; 32:24; Judg 11:36; Jer 44:17; cf. Deut 23:24) and always refers to Yahweh (Deut 8:3; cf. H. Brunner, *VT* 8 [1958]: 428f.; Isa 45:23; 48:3; 55:11; only Job 37:2 of thunder). *ml*<sup>ʔ</sup> “to be full” with *peh* as a subj. finds profane use in Psa 10:7; 71:8, etc., but *ml*<sup>ʔ</sup> pi. “to fill” with “mouth” as obj. is used of Yahweh in Psa 81:11.

Yahweh creates the human mouth (Exod 4:11) and places words in one’s mouth (Exod 4:15a; Num 22:38; 23:5, 12, 16; Isa 51:16; 59:21a). The last expression arises from the profane realm in which it denotes the commission to speak in a precise manner (2 Sam 14:3, 19; Ezra 8:17; cf. Deut 31:19). For this reason, the prophet is *k<sup>c</sup>pî* “like a mouth” for Yahweh (Jer 15:19; cf. Exod 4:16) and speaks “like the mouth of Yahweh” (2 Chron 36:12; cf. Ezra 1:1; 2 Chron 35:22) in contrast to the false prophet (Jer 23:16). The word of Yahweh is in the mouth of the prophet (2 Chron 36:21f.) and the *tôrâ* in the mouth of Israel (Exod 13:9; Deut 30:14). Cf. also Isa 53:9; Mic 6:12; Zeph 3:13; Psa 5:10; 34:2; 38:15; Prov 4:24; and 6:12 for other things that are in the mouth. Thus a word can also be removed from someone’s mouth (*nšl* hi. Psa 119:43) and be lost (*krt* ni. Jer 7:28) out of the mouth (cf. *mûš* “to depart,” Josh 1:8; Isa 59:21b; *škh* ni. “to be forgotten,” Deut 31:21; further *lqh* “to receive,” Job 22:22; *bqš* pi. “to seek,” Mal 2:7; *šm<sup>c</sup>* “to hear,” Ezek 3:17; 33:7; Zech 8:9; cf. ni. Exod 23:13). The phrase *mrh peh* “to oppose a command” occurs once in relation to Joshua’s instructions (Josh 1:18) but usually in reference to Yahweh’s command (Num 20:24; 27:14; Deut 1:26, 43; 9:23; 1 Sam 12:14f.; 1 Kgs 13:21, 26; Lam 1:18; with *br* “to transgress,” Psa 17:3; 1 Sam 15:24). The expression *al-pî yhw* “as Yahweh commanded” characterizes priestly language (Exod 17:1; Num 3:16, 39, 51; 4:37, 41, etc.; cf. S. Schwertner, *ZAW* 84 [1972]: 31). In conjunction with *peh*, *qps* “to shut” (Isa 52:15; Psa 107:42; Job 5:16), *hšk* “to keep back” (Job 7:11), *skr* ni. “to be closed” (Psa 63:12), and esp. *šîm yād al-peh* “to place one’s hand on one’s mouth” (Judg 18:19; Mic 7:16; Job 21:5; with *kap*, Job 29:9; cf. also Job 40:4; Prov 30:32) mean virtually “to cease speaking” (cf. B. Couroyer, *RB* 67 [1960]: 197–209). For the use of *šmr* and *nšr* in this context (“to keep in check”), cf. Psa 39:2; 141:3; Prov 21:23; or Prov 13:3.

5. The LXX usually renders *peh* lit. with *stoma* but also with *rhēma*, *prostagma*, and *logos*. For an overview of the use of “mouth” in the LXX, the Tgs., rabbinic texts, in the available Qumran literature (Kuhn, *Konk.* 174f. counts about 120 occurrences of *peh*; see also *GCDS* 462), and in the NT, see K. Weiss, “στόμα,” *TDNT* 7:692–701.

## פחד *pḥd* to shake

S 6342; BDB 808a; HALOT 3:922a; ThWAT 6:552–62; TWOT 1756; NIDOTTE 7064

1. *pḥd* “to shake” is attested only in Hebr. and Jew. Aram. (AHw 810a also lists Akk. *paḥādu* “to be frightened, shake” as a Canaanism in *Ugaritica* 5:32h).

In addition to the qal, pi. (*HP* 224: “a recurrent shaking”), and hi. (to promote shaking) of the verb, the root occurs in the derived noun *paḥad* “shaking, terror” (a verbal form should be read instead of the fem. subst. *paḥdâ* in Jer 2:19; cf. Rudolph, HAT 12, 18) and perhaps also the PN *š<sup>c</sup>lophād* (Num 26:33; 27:1, 7, etc.; LXX: *salpaad*; but cf. *IP* 256 against the interpretation *šēlpaḥad* “protection from terror”).

*paḥad yiṣḥāq* (Gen 31:42, 53) designates the God worshiped by Isaac, an example of the patriarchal god typology (Alt, *EOTHR* 25–29). *paḥad* was traditionally derived from the same root *pḥd* and rendered “Terror of Isaac,” and thus understood as “an archaic title of the numen whose appearance terrified Isaac and thereby bound him to himself for ever” (Alt, *EOTHR* 26), or, with a diminution of the numinous content, in the cultic sense as “the object of worship” (J. Becker, *Gottesfurcht im AT* [1965], 177–79). L. Kopf (*VT* 9 [1959]: 257) offers the interpretation “the refuge of Isaac,” yet this derivation is uncertain. W. F. Albright’s suggestion (*From the Stone Age to Christianity* [1957], 248n.71) is more probable: the name derives from \**pḥd* II (cf. KBL 757b) and should be interpreted in terms of Palm. *paḥdā* “clan, family” (cf. *DISO* 226) and Arab. *fahid* as “Kinsman of Isaac” (so also O. Eissfeldt, *JSS* 1 [1956]: 32n.2 = *KS* [1966], 3:392n.4; H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* [1966], 21; H. Weidmann, *Die Patriarchen und ihre Religion* [1968], 129n.18; G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* [1972], 38; R. de Vaux, *Early History of Israel* [1978], 271; the last two contra N. Krieger, *Judaica* 17 [1961]: 193–95).

2. Statistics: *pḥd* qal 22x (Isa 7x, Psa 5x, Jer 3x), pi. 2x (Isa 51:13; Prov 28:14), hi. 1x (Job 4:14); *paḥad* 49x (or 47x without Gen 31:42, 53; Job 10x, Psa 9x, Isa 5x, Jer, Prov, and 2 Chron 4x each), *paḥdâ* 1x (see 1).

3. The original meaning of the root, evident throughout, is “to quiver, shake” (cf. Job 4:14 hi.; P. Joüon, *Bib* 6 [1925]: 175; Becker, op. cit. 7f.). It produces both the meaning “to shake with joy” (Isa 60:5 “your heart will shake and become wide [*rḥb* qal]”; Jer 33:9 par. *rgz* “to tremble”) and the dominant meaning “to shake with terror” (Deut 28:66; Isa 33:14), “to be terrified” (Jer 36:24; Prov 3:24; intensified by means of the figura etymologica [cognate acc.] with *paḥad* in Psa 14:5 = 53:6; Job 3:25; cf.

Deut 28:67), “to be terrified of” (with *min* or *mipp<sup>en</sup>*, Isa 19:16f.; Psa 27:1; 119:161; Job 23:15). *phd* <sup>ʿ</sup>*el* occurs as an elliptical (pregnant) construction (GKC §119ee-gg) in the meaning “to go trembling to meet someone” (Jer 2:19 txt em; Hos 3:5; Mic 7:17; cf. Jer 36:16), which may also involve connotations of refuge (cf. Kopf, op. cit. 257).

In analogy to the verb, the subst. *paḥad* has the meaning “shaking” (Job 4:14 par. *r<sup>e</sup>ādā*), “terror” (Isa 24:17 = Jer 48:43 in assonance with *paḥat* “pit” and *paḥ* “snare”; Prov 3:25; Lam 3:47, also a play on words with *paḥat*) that one has of someone (Deut 2:25 par. *yir<sup>ʾ</sup>ā*; 11:25 par. *môrā<sup>ʾ</sup>*; Esth 8:17; 9:2f.), or that someone (Psa 31:12) or something (Psa 91:5) occasions. According to P. Joüon (*Bib* 2 [1921]: 338) *paḥad* should be understood in Psa 53:6 and Song Sol 3:8 with nuances of the modern notion of “danger,” for which Hebr. has no specific word. The same meaning may also be present in Psa 91:5; Job 3:25; 39:22; Prov 1:26f., 33; 3:25 (so Becker, op. cit. 8n.65). *b<sup>e</sup>lî-paḥad* “without terror” (Job 39:16) occurs in the diminished sense of “untroubled.”

Par. terms for the root *phd* include esp. *rgz* “to shudder” (Exod 15:14; Deut 2:25; Jer 33:9; Mic 7:17), → *yr<sup>ʾ</sup>* “to fear” (Isa 51:12f.; Mic 7:17; Psa 27:1), *ra<sup>e</sup>ad* or *r<sup>e</sup>ādā* “shaking” (Exod 15:15f.; Isa 33:14; Job 4:14), *ḥrd* “to shake” (Isa 19:16; *ḥ<sup>ʾ</sup>rādā* “shaking, fear,” Jer 30:5), *bhl* ni. “to terrify” (Exod 15:15f.; Job 23:15; cf. *bhl* pi. in Job 22:10); cf. also *ygr* qal “to fear” (Job 3:25), *rhh* qal “to be afraid” (Isa 44:8, cf. Becker, op. cit. 17), and *ḥoggā* “fear, trembling” (Isa 19:17; cf. GB 213b; HAL 278b: “humiliation”). On the terms of fear, cf. also → *yr<sup>ʾ</sup>* (III/1e).

The opposite can be expressed by e.g., → *bṭḥ* “to be confident” (Isa 12:2 qal; *bṭaḥ*, Prov 1:33 alongside *š<sup>ʾ</sup>n* pil. “to be calm”; cf. Psa 78:53), and → *ʾmn* hi. “to be certain” (Deut 28:66).

4. The following realms are chiefly relevant to the theological use of the root:

(a) *phd* qal or *paḥad* are used as terms for numinous terror of God (Job 23:15) and in the presence of his deeds, historical acts, and demonstrations of power (Exod 15:16; Isa 19:16; 33:14; Mic 7:17). The obj. of the numinous terror can be Israel or the Jews (Deut 2:25; 11:25; Psa 105:38; 119:120; Esth 8:17; 9:2f.), David (1 Chron 14:17), or the law (Psa 119:161; cf. Becker, op. cit. 41f.).

(b) *paḥad* characterizes God’s frightfulness in relation to his majesty and kingship (Isa 2:10, 19, 21 par. *h<sup>ʾ</sup>dar<sup>e</sup>ōnō* “lofty majesty,” → *g<sup>ʾ</sup>h* 4b and → *hādār* 4; Job 25:2 par. *hamšēl* “dominion” [substantivized hi. inf. of *mšl*]).

(c) *paḥad* functions as a term for the terror produced by God (Job 31:23 txt em), for which the typical expressions are *npl* <sup>ʿ</sup>*al* “to fall upon”

(Exod 15:6 with *ʿēmā* “terror”; 1 Sam 11:7; Job 13:11; cf. Esth 8:17; 9:2f.) and *hyh ʿal* “to come over” (2 Chron 14:13; 17:10; 20:29). The Yahweh-war tradition should be cited in particular (cf. G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* [1991], 46ff., 109ff.); in it *paḥad* (with a subj. gen.) occurs in the cs. phrase *paḥad yhw* (1 Sam 11:7; 2 Chron 14:13; 17:10) and *paḥad ʿlōhîm* (2 Chron 20:29), or even absolutely (Exod 15:16; cf. Jer 49:5; for the terminology, cf. → *hmm* 4 and Becker, op. cit. 66–72 with reference to Akk. *ḥattu, pirittu, and puluḥtu*). The terror produced by God can also, as Deut 2:25 and 11:25 demonstrate, imply a terror of people (*paḥad* with suf. as an obj. gen.; cf. also Esth 8:17; 9:2f.; Ringgren, ATD 16/2, 140).

(d) *pḥd* (an otherwise typical term for the Chr for divine terror) should be understood in a weakened usage in 2 Chron 19:7 (par. *yirʿat yhw* in v 9) as ethical fear of God (with connotations of conscientiousness). *paḥad ʿlōhîm* has the same meaning in Psa 36:2; “The ‘fear of God’ proves itself in wise and good conduct in keeping with the principles of *ḥokmā*” (Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:398). In Prov 28:14 *pḥd* pi. means human anxiety and caution (Becker, op. cit. 236).

5. The texts from Qumran know the same use of the root as the OT (Kuhn, *Konk.* 176b; id., *RQ* 14 [1963]: 218). The LXX renders the root primarily with *phobos/phobein*, a few times with *ekstasis* (1 Sam 11:7; 2 Chron 14:13; 17:10; 20:29) and *tromos* (Deut 2:25; Isa 19:16). Regarding the NT, cf. A. Oepke, “ἔκστασις,” *TDNT* 2:449–58; G. Bertram, “θάμβος,” *TDNT* 3:4–7; further → *yr* 5.

H.-P. Stähli

## פלא *plʿ* ni. to be wondrous

S 6381; BDB 810b; *HALOT* 3:927a; *ThWAT* 6:569–83; *TWOT* 1768; *NIDOTTE* 7098

1. The etymology of *plʿ* is uncertain; Syr. *pʿlētā* “riddle” and particularly Arab. *fāʿl* “omen” are too far removed semantically from the Hebr. root to provide evidence for an assured derivation. It is also disputed whether one must assume one or more Hebr. roots. Whereas GB (641f.) and Lis. (1154f.) distinguish a *plʿ* II “to fulfill (a vow)” and a *plh* “to separate” from *plʿ* “to be wonderful” (with the by-form *plh* in Psa 4:4 hi.; 17:7 hi.; 139:14 ni.), KBL (759b), G. Quell (“Das Phänomen des Wunders im AT,” FS Rudolph 253–300 [p. 297]), and Jenni (*HP* 231) attempt to

derive all occurrences from a single root “to be different, noticeable, remarkable.” The assumption of several roots seems more likely (see 3b).

In the OT *plʿ* I is attested in the ni., hi., and hitp., in addition to the nom. *peleʿ* “wonder,” *pilʿi* “wonderful,” and the questionable *miplāʿâ* “wonder” (Job 37:16, a misspelling of *niplēʿôt*). In addition, there are the proper names *p<sup>ē</sup>lā(ʿ)yâ*, *pallûʿ* (*IP* 191), and perhaps *ʿlîp<sup>ē</sup>lĕhû* (*HAL* 54b).

2. The verb *plʿ/plh* occurs a total of 78x: *plʿ/plh* “to be wondrous” 69x (ni. 57x, hi. 11x, hitp. 1x), *plʿ* “to fulfill (a vow)” 5x (pi. 3x, hi. 2x), and *plh* “to separate” 4x (ni. 1x, hi. 3x). The noun *peleʿ* occurs 13x, *miplāʿâ* 1x (see above), and the adj. *pilʿi* 2x (Judg 13:18; Psa 139:6). The substantivized ni. fem. pl. ptcp. *niplāʿôt* “wondrous things” is used with special frequency (44x of 57x ni.).

The root is not attested in Bibl. Aram., which uses *temah* for “wonder” (Dan 3:23, 33; 6:28); in Hebr. *tmh* qal “to astonish” indicates strange, terrible astonishment (8x; hitp. “to stare,” Hab 1:5; subst. *timmāhôn* “confusion,” Deut 28:28; Zech 12:4).

The statistical distribution of the root *plʿ/plh* I is significant: just over half of all occurrences (41x) are in the Psa; if one adds the psalm genres in the other books, the portion increases to two-thirds. In contrast to → *ʿôt* “sign” and *môpĕt* “wonder” (→ *ʿôt* 4), *plʿ/plh* occurs remarkably rarely in the historical books and is almost entirely absent from prophecy.

3. (a) In the large, major category of its usage, the root *plʿ/plh* indicates an event that a person, judging by the customary and the expected, finds extraordinary, impossible, even wonderful. *peleʿ* never hinges on the phenomenon as such but includes both the unexpected event as well as one’s astonished reaction to it (cf. Eng. “wonder” and “to wonder [at]”; contra H. J. Stoebe, “Anmerkungen zur Wurzel *plʿ* im AT,” *TZ* 28 [1972]: 13–23, who speculates “that *plʿ* implies the aspect of an effectuality that proceeds from the agent or is linked with him”). Consequently, the language of *peleʿ* is the language of joyous reaction (praise). The wonder, the astonishment, includes the recognition of the limits of one’s own power to conceptualize and comprehend. Since the *peleʿ* event signifies a transcendence of customary, normal expectations, it is predominantly understood as God’s activity (see 4).

An unusual comparative construction with *plʿ* ni. occurs primarily in the limited profane usage, although in no wise restricted to it. Here the element of human finitude assumes the foreground: the local judge for whom “a legal case is too difficult” should turn to the centralized priestly judiciary in Jerusalem propagated by Deut (Deut 17:8). In the numerical proverb in Prov 30:18f., the wisdom observer is astonished by phenomena

that are puzzling and unexplainable (par. → *yd<sup>c</sup>* negated): the mysterious purposefulness by which the winding, apparently purposeless path of the eagles, serpents, ships, and people on amorous adventures come to their goals. It seems impossible, i.e., outside the bounds of propriety and court etiquette, to Amnon, infatuated with his sister, to pursue his wish (lit. “but it was [too] wonderful in Amnon’s eyes”; 2 Sam 13:2); similarly Deut 30:11; Psa 131:1 (ni. ptcp.). Thus this comparative usage points directly to the customary in experience and ethics. Zech 8:6 clarifies the close relationship to the wondrous activity of God: the despondent remnant of the people sees no possibility according to human criteria for a change in the disconsolate situation; therefore Yahweh asks: “If it seems impossible to the remnant of this people, must it then seem impossible (too wonderful) to me?” (cf. Gen 18:14). One can summarily confess many such experiences: “Yahweh . . . to you nothing is impossible” (Jer 32:17; cf. v 27), and people repeatedly admit in astonishment that God’s activity on their behalf exceeds their ability to conceptualize (Psa 139:6 with adj.; Job 42:3 with ni. ptcp.).

*pl<sup>ʔ</sup>* occurs in a profane usage outside this category only rarely: David’s praise for Jonathan’s love, more wondrous than the love of women (2 Sam 1:26), concurs fully with the semantic field under discussion: love too is indeed a power transcending normal human experience. Some passages that use *pl<sup>ʔ</sup>* in a malevolent sense go a step further: it can characterize the inconceivable downfall of Jerusalem (Lam 1:9) and the monstrosities that Antiochus IV speaks against God (Dan 11:36; 8:24 txt?). Here too *pl<sup>ʔ</sup>* shatters human expectations, but in the other direction (see 4c). *pl<sup>ʔ</sup>* refers not to an event but to an object in only a few isolated and late texts (2 Chron 2:8): the temple shall be large and wondrous.

(b) Two smaller groups of texts are distinct from this self-contained semantic field:

(1) In Lev 22:21; Num 15:3, 8 *pl<sup>ʔ</sup>* pi. means “to fulfill a vow (*nēder*)”; the hi. meaning in Lev 27:2; Num 6:2 seems identical but is not entirely clear. KBL (760a) and Quell (op. cit. 297) postulate a situation involving a “special vow” or an “extreme sacrificial practice,” in order to maintain a connection to the meaning of the root elsewhere. Yet the context gives no indication to this effect; in contrast, *pl<sup>ʔ</sup>* pi. *nēder* appears to be the normal expression for the fulfillment of a vow in the Holiness Code and the Priestly Code, since the otherwise common expression with *šlm* pi. is completely absent here. It is distinct, priestly technical language; the assumption of a second root *pl<sup>ʔ</sup>* is therefore probable.

(2) *plh* has yet another meaning in the plague narratives: Yahweh makes a distinction between the land and property of the Israelites and the Egyptians with respect to the plagues (Exod 8:18; 9:4; 11:7). This sober, clearly separative meaning may be associated with *pl<sup>ʔ</sup>* only if one proceeds, as does KBL, from an abstract “basic

meaning"—"to be different," which is, however, never attested. Otherwise *plʿ* hi. means "to act in an inconceivable manner, wondrously, strangely." A third root *plh* may be assumed on good grounds. The classification of Exod 33:16 ni. is very difficult. Is the intention "we are set apart from all nations on the earth" or "we are affected through wonders above all nations"? But the author, certainly of late date, may be intentionally playing with various meanings of the root.

4. (a) In the vast majority of cases, *peleʿ* or *niplāʿôt* characterize Yahweh's acts of deliverance (Jer 21:2), both the great acts of deliverance of the people in the early period of Israel's history (Mic 7:15; Psa 77:12; 78:12; 106:7, 22; Neh 9:17, etc.) and the various acts of deliverance experienced by individuals (Psa 4:4 hi.; 9:2; 17:7 hi.; 31:22 hi.; 107:24; 118:23 ni., etc.).

This phenomenon already clearly establishes two features: (1) Wonders in the OT relate predominantly to God's historical action, not to his efforts in "nature." The popular classification of wonders under "creation" (so e.g., O. Procksch, *Theologie des AT* [1950], 454ff.) or "maintenance of the world" (so Eichrodt 2:162ff.) is misleading. Even though it is repeatedly acknowledged that the OT does not define wonders in terms of the violation of natural law (Eichrodt 2:163; W. Vollborn, *RGG* 6:1833), contemporary alternatives always incorrectly result in relating wonders in the OT primarily to creation and "nature" (so H. Clavier, *BHH* 3:2188f.; Vollborn, op. cit. 1833f.; Procksch, op. cit. 457).

(2) Wonders in the OT do not primarily relate to theophany and verbal revelations; *peleʿ* does not belong to the realm of the holy, sacral, and numinous (contra Quell, op. cit. 294f.). Nowhere does the OT describe a theophany as a wonder (only a detail of an angelophany once, Judg 13:18; Judg 13:19 is unclear), and the only combination of *plʿ* and *qdš* occurs in Josh 3:5: "Sanctify yourselves, for tomorrow Yahweh will perform a wonder in your midst!" This coupling arises from the secondary transformation of an act of deliverance (crossing the Reed Sea) into a cultic procedure (ark processional).

The primary relationship of *plʿ* to God's act of deliverance demonstrates that wonders in the OT do not refer to the breach of an objectively established order (e.g., natural law) but to exceeding one's specific expectations or what one considers possible in one's situation. The concrete situation here is distress. In the distress of barrenness Sarah expects, according to human criterion, to remain childless in Gen 18. The wonder is that God reveals an unexpected possibility by announcing the birth of a child to her (v 14). The process of deliverance itself can then be entirely "natural"; it need not be, however (cf. e.g., 2 Kgs 6:6). *plʿ* refers to the unexpected possibility that God reveals to the person "in the abyss" (Psa 107:24).

The delineation from the other terms for wonder is not entirely clear. *nôrāʾôt* (par. Psa 106:22; cf. Deut 10:21; 2 Sam 7:23; Isa 64:2) or *môrāʾ* (Deut 4:34; 26:8; Jer 32:21), *môpēt* (par. only Psa 105:5 = 1 Chron 16:12), and *ʾôt* (esp. often *ʾôt ûmôpēt*, Deut 7:19; 26:8, etc.) could also describe Yahweh's acts of deliverance for Israel, esp. in Dtn and Dtr language. Sometimes the different terms represent only a different linguistic tradition; sometimes they refer to different aspects of the wondrous event. This alternation certainly applies to → *ʾôt*, which properly refers to the sign but also to the wondrous omen; *môrāʾ* probably refers to the frightful effect (→ *yrʾ*). The peculiar connotation of *môpēt* is uncertain; like *ʾôt* it can mean "omen" (Isa 20:3; Ezek 12:6, 11), but it can also refer to the wonder as the demonstration of power of a man of God or of God (Exod 4:21; 7:3, 9; 11:10), a meaning only peripheral to *peleʾ* (Exod 3:20; 34:10).

If *peleʾ* and *nīplāʾôt* refer primarily to Yahweh's acts of deliverance, the virtual absence of the terms from the numerous accounts of deliverance and wonders in the OT (Gen 18:14, already considered; 2 Chron 26:15) demands explanation: The referent of *peleʾ* is not God's act as such (contra Quell, op. cit. 290f.), the immediate experience of deliverance, but one's astonished reaction to God's unexpected intervention in one's hopeless situation of distress. Because the joyous, exuberant reaction of the delivered is a component of *peleʾ*, Yahweh's wonders are discussed and sung predominantly in psalms of praise.

In accordance with its comprehensive character, *plʾ* occurs frequently in the motivations of the collective (Psa 98:1 "sing Yahweh a new song, for he has done wonders"; cf. Psa 72:18; Joel 2:26) and individual cries of praise (Psa 31:22 "Yahweh be praised, for he has shown me wondrous mercy"; Isa 25:1), then in the impv. (Psa 96:3 "tell . . . his wondrous acts among the nations"; Psa 105:2 = 1 Chron 16:9; jussive, Psa 89:6; 107:8, 15, 21, 31) and cohortative cries (Psa 9:2 "I will praise Yahweh . . . tell all his wondrous acts"; Psa 75:2; 139:14?). *plʾ* occurs less often in the bodies of the psalms of praise (Psa 107:24; 118:23; cf. 40:6), which usually refer specifically to acts of deliverance. A broadening of the concrete experiences of deliverance to all of God's acts may be esp. noted in the hymns so that *plʾ* can also finally encompass creative activity (Psa 136:4; Job 5:9 = 9:10). That God does wonders became a motif intended to magnify him above all gods (Exod 15:11; Psa 86:10). A similar development may be observed in the laments: if retrospectives on God's acts of salvation to which the distressed lamenter clings are still quite concrete ("I will remember your wondrous acts from of old," Psa 77:12), the confessions of confidence are already much more general ("You are the God who does wonders," Psa 77:15; 86:10; Jer 32:17). In addition *plʾ* occurs in requests ("Demonstrate wonders of your grace, savior of those who seek refuge," Psa 17:7; Mic 7:15) and in vows of praise (Psa 26:7;

71:17; 88:11, 13). The amazed remembrance of early wonders becomes a sign of Israel's faithfulness in historical psalms (Psa 78:4, 12; 105:5 = 1 Chron 16:12), and forgetting Yahweh's wondrous acts is evidence of apostasy (Psa 78:32; 106:7, 22; Neh 9:17). In the post-exilic era, *pl*<sup>ʔ</sup> even broadens to include the laws for which the pious longs (Psa 119:18, 27, 129).

(b) Later theological wisdom links the astounded observation of nature (Prov 30:18) with the hymnic praise of God's wondrous acts. Only here do God's wonders lose their association with the historical acts of deliverance and are seen in his mysterious activity in "natural processes" (Job 37:5) and in the amazing, wise arrangement of his creation (Job 37:14, 16; cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 1:449f.).

(c) In prophecy, *pl*<sup>ʔ</sup> gained a degree of significance only in Isaiah. The metaphor in Isa 28:23–29 belongs properly in the tradition of awed observation of nature. In response to accusations that his proclamation of judgment has not been realized, the prophet refers to the farmer's work, which is not always the same but varies from time to time. Thus Yahweh does not always punish; his historical activity is beyond comprehension: "wondrous is his counsel, great his wisdom" (v 29). Such a wondrous government will also be exercised by the king of salvation (9:5). *pl*<sup>ʔ</sup> occurs in Isaiah's judgment prophecy only in 29:14, but here in such a concentration that it is almost untranslatable: Yahweh will once again act incomprehensibly and entirely unexpectedly (*yôšîp l'haplîʔ. . . haplêʔ wāpeleʔ*) against his hypocritical people, who believe that they can appease him with superficial piety. Here Isaiah reappropriates the negative meaning that *pl*<sup>ʔ</sup> can also have; it becomes a consciously ambivalent expression for Yahweh's acts of judgment (cf. Deut 28:59 and Job's accusation in Job 10:16 hitp.).

In apocalypticism, *pl*<sup>ʔ</sup> also once indicates eschatological deliverance (Dan 12:6).

5. The word field with which the LXX renders *pl*<sup>ʔ</sup> is quite broad. The dominant terms are *thaumasios*, *thaumastos*, and *thaumastoō* (Quell, op. cit. 291n.115, wrongly describes the evidence), which, like the Hebr., understand wonder in terms of the astonished human reaction (contra G. Bertram, *TDNT* 3:31f.). The more objective *teras* translates *pl*<sup>ʔ</sup> only twice but quite often translates *môpēt*. The element of exuberance in the discussion of wonders is expressed by words such as *endoxos*, *exaisios*, and *megas*. The comparative usage is usually indicated by *adynateō*, etc.

Qumran texts adopt motifs from the language of the Psa, in particular, in their usage of *pl*<sup>ʔ</sup> (Kuhn, *Konk.* 144, 176f.). Regarding terms for "wonder" in the NT and its environs, cf. G. Bertram, "θαῦμα," *TDNT* 3:27–

42; H. Clavier, *BHH* 3:2188–91 (bibliog.); W. Mundle, O. Hofius, and C. Brown, “Miracle,” *DNTT* 2:620–35 (bibliog.).

R. Albertz

### פלט *plṭ* pi. **to save**

S 6403; BDB 812a; *HALOT* 3:930b; *ThWAT* 6:589–606; *TWOT* 1774; *NIDOTTE* 7117

### מלט *mlṭ* pi. **to deliver**

S 4422; BDB 572a; *HALOT* 2:589b; *ThWAT* 6:590–606; *TWOT* 1198; *NIDOTTE* 4880

1. The root *\*plṭ* “to escape” is common Sem., if one agrees with Fronzaroli, etc., and includes Akk. *balātu* “to live” (*AHw* 98f.; *CAD* B:46–63) as an ESem. innovation (P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 248f.; 20 [1965]: 250, 263, 267; → *hyh* 1; cf. also EA 185:25, 33; *WUS* no. 2223; *DISO* 228: Yaudi *plṭ* pa. in *KAI* no. 215.2 “the gods of Yaudi have saved him from destruction”).

*plṭ* occurs in the OT in the qal (see 3a), pi., and hi. (see 3c), as well as in the nom. derivatives *pālîṭ/pālêṭ* “escapee” (3d), *p<sup>l</sup>êṭâ* “group of escapees; escape” (3e), *miplāṭ* “place of refuge” (3f), and a series of PNs formed with *plṭ* (*<sup>l</sup>lpeleṭ*, *yaplêṭ*, *palî<sup>l</sup>ēl*, *p<sup>l</sup>atyâ*, etc.; cf. *IP* 155f., 180; H. Schult, *Vergleichende Studien zur alttestamentlichen Namenskunde* [1967], 114–16, with extrabibl. analogies).

*mlṭ* pi./hi. is so similar to *plṭ* pi./hi. in meaning and construction that a single treatment of the two verbs is justified (see 3c; cf. also the PN *m<sup>l</sup>atyâ*, Neh 3:7). The ni. is attested for *mlṭ* only in the meaning “to escape” (see 3b), as well as one hitp. “(to run away), spray forth” (Job 41:11).

It is uncertain whether *mlṭ* developed from *plṭ* (so KBL 529a; cf. G. Fohrer, *TDNT* 7:972) or reference should be made to Arab. *mls* “to glide, slide/slip away” (Wehr 921a; so Zorell 441b; cf. Fohrer, op. cit. 972n.24). Following Arab. *mlṭ* “to have little hair,” KBL 529b identifies *mlṭ* hitp. “to show to be bald” (Job 19:20) as a distinct root *mlṭ* II (contra G. R. Driver, *SVT* 3 [1955]: 80).

2. The verb *plṭ* occurs 27x in the OT (qal only in Ezek 7:16; pi. 24x; hi. 2x, Isa 5:29 and Mic 6:14); pi. passages concentrate in Psa (19x, also in

the psalm in 2 Sam 22:2, 44; further, Mic 6:14 alongside a hi.; Job 23:7; in Job 21:10, in the meaning “to calve” < “to bring forth”). The nom. derivative *pālîṭ* occurs 19x (Ezek 7x, Jer 3x, Judg 2x), *pālêṭ* 5x (Jer 3x), *p<sup>e</sup>lēṭâ* 28x (Isa 5x, Ezra 4x), and *miplāṭ* 1x (Psa 55:9).

Statistics for *mlṭ* are: ni. 63x (1 Sam 12x, Jer 8x, Gen and Job 5x each), pi. 28x in a broader distribution (Jer and Psa 5x, Job 4x, Isa 3x), hi. 2x (Isa 31:5 “to save”; 66:7 “to bear”), hitp. 1x (Job 41:11; regarding Job 19:20, see 1). Thus the root *mlṭ* occurs 94x in contrast to 80x for *plṭ*.

3. (a) *plṭ* qal is attested only in Ezek 7:16 in the meaning “to be secure, to have come out of danger.” But Job 23:7 can better be vocalized as a qal than a pi. (see *BH* 3): “I would always be free from (*min*) my judge” (contra Fohrer, KAT 16, 362f.).

(b) The concrete basic meaning of *mlṭ* ni. “to slip out of a strait, to slip through a dangerous strait” is perceptible in 2 Sam 4:6, where the murderers “slip through,” past a sleeping guard. In the causative or factitive this concrete basic meaning “to cause to slip out of a strait” is clear in verbal descriptions of the birth process: Isa 66:7 *mlṭ* hi. “to bear”; Isa 34:15 *mlṭ* pi. “to lay eggs” (cf. *BH* 3); cf. Job 21:10 *plṭ* pi. “to calve.”

Otherwise, the ni. is primarily used of those fleeing from enemies, those who “escape” and thus “elude” fatal danger, usually in relation to the events of war. Here too it involves a concrete movement: from the straits of distress. The person one flees is indicated by the prep. *min* (usually *miyyad/mikkap* “out of the hand [or power],” only Jer 41:15, *mipp<sup>e</sup>n*), as is the place one flees. The place to which one escapes stands in the acc. of direction or with *ʔel*. Often a verb of flight is par. in the preceding clause (→ *nûs*: 1 Sam 19:10; 1 Kgs 20:20; Jer 46:6; 48:19; Amos 9:1; Zech 2:10f.; cf. Gen 19:20; 1 Sam 30:17; 2 Sam 1:3f.; with *mlṭ* pi. *nepeš*: Jer 48:6; 51:6; Amos 2:15f.; *brḥ*: 1 Sam 19:12, 18; cf. 22:20). *nûs* and *brḥ* refer only to the process of flight; by contrast, *mlṭ* ni. refers to successful escape, “to escape the oppressors” (Judg 3:26). This distinction is particularly apparent in the two images in Psa 124:7 (“Like a bird, our soul escaped the net of the fowler; the net tore and we were free”).

*mlṭ* ni. occurs in concentration in narratives of David’s flight from Saul (11x in 1 Sam 19:10–27:1). When flight is only being contemplated (e.g., 1 Sam 27:1), one can better translate “to gain safety.” Synonymous with *mlṭ* ni. is the phrase *mlṭ* pi. *nepeš* “to save his life” (1 Sam 19:11; 2 Sam 19:6; 1 Kgs 1:12; Jer 48:6; 51:6, 45; Ezek 33:5; Amos 2:14f.; Psa 89:49).

The impv. of *mlṭ* ni. or of *plṭ* pi. *nepeš* occurs repeatedly in the call to flight, literally in the oracles against the nations in the prophetic books (Jer 48:6; 51:6, 45; Zech 2:11 read with LXX “escape to Zion you who dwell with daughter Babylon,” cf. *BHS*; cf. Gen 19:17). This usage is a fixed genre, as

R. Bach has shown (*Die Aufforderung zur Flucht und zum Kampf im alttestamentlichen Prophetenspruch* [1962], 15–50). 1 Sam 15:6 describes the original setting of the call to flight: the call goes forth to a group in the war zone who are amicable or who stand in a covenant relationship with the attacker so that this group will not be effected by the execution of the ban. *mlt* ni. has a rather firm relationship to this genre.

A further fixed category of usage involves *mlt* ni. with a negation in the command to execute the punishment of a group (1 Kgs 18:40 “none of them shall escape”; analogously, 2 Kgs 10:24 txt em, pi. for ni.), esp. in the prophetic word of judgment announcing Yahweh’s decision to eradicate (Jer 32:4; 34:3; 38:18, 23 in reference to an individual, the king; cf. also Ezek 17:15, 18, where, however, the king represents the people; cf. also Amos 2:14f. pi.; 9:1 in reference to one’s own people; furthermore 1 Kgs 19:17). Jer 42:17 and 44:14a formulate the same notion with the subst. *pālīt* (“there will be no escape”), similarly in Ezek 7:16 with *plīt* qal.

Picturesque and fig. usages of *mlt* ni. in the meaning “to get away, be spared, delivered” occur in Isa 20:6; Jer 48:8; Ezek 17:15, 18; Dan 11:41; 12:1; an abs. usage in the sense of “to escape the disaster understood as divine punishment” occurs in wisdom literature in the antithetical depiction of the evildoer and the righteous (Prov 11:21; 19:5; 28:26; cf. Job 22:30; Eccl 7:26; in an ironic reversal, Mal 3:15).

(c) *mlt/plīt* pi. has the factitive meaning “to allow to escape,” “to bring to safety = to save” (on the distinction between the pi. and the hi., see *HP* 106f., esp. on Mic 6:14). The accent lies on the result: “to bring to safety” in the face of impending destruction. In the language of Psa (see 4a), this usage has become a general expression for deliverance.

As with the ni., the prep. *min* “from” with the pi. also indicates the threat from which someone saves. Frequently → *nsl* hi. “to snatch from (the power or the impending violent grip of another)” parallels *mlt/plīt* pi. (2 Sam 19:10, in a victory song; Jer 39:17f., in a prophetic promise of salvation; Psa 18:49; 22:9; 31:2f.; 71:2; 82:4). The construction with *min* is typical of both verbs; it demonstrates that in both cases salvation is a process of movement (out of something; in contrast, e.g., to *pdh* “to redeem”). The two verbs are so closely related in meaning that no difference is apparent in texts where they occur in parallelism.

A further par. term in the Psa is → *yšc* hi. “to save” (Psa 31:2f.; 37:40; 71:2; 107:19f.). In Isa 31:5 “to save” (*nsl* hi. and *mlt* hi.) complement *gnn* “to protect” and *psh* “to spare,” without equating the constant, protective activity with the punctiliar/present saving act. Similarly, the two verbs parallel one another in Isa 46:4: “I will carry (*sbl* [→ *nś* 3a, 4c]) and save.” By contrast, the difference between God’s constant and present activity is

hardly perceptible in Psa 41:2f. and 107:20, so that yet another leveling of the meaning appears here (similarly 91:14; 144:2). *mlt* pi. is also a general word for “to save” in Eccl 9:15 (“a wise person saves the city through wisdom”).

*mlt* pi. in 2 Kgs 23:18, “thus they spared his bones,” is a special case; the meaning “to spare” results here because the subj. is a destroyer. Amos 2:15a and Job 20:20 should probably be vocalized ni. instead of pi.

(d) *pālîṭ/pālêṭ* is an “escapee,” almost without exception one who escaped the sword in war, who barely survived the defeat in war by flight (*p<sup>e</sup>lîṭê ḥereb*, Jer 44:28; Ezek 6:8; cf. Jer 51:50). A synonym is *šārîd* “escapee” (28x, 9x in Josh 8:22 and 10:20–40, Jer and Job 4x each; cf. *šrd qal* “to run away,” Josh 10:20), frequently in formulaic cries *šārîd ûpālîṭ* (Josh 8:22; Jer 42:17) or *pālîṭ w<sup>e</sup>šārîd* (Jer 44:14a; Lam 2:22; cf. Obad 14). An “escapee” is occasionally the messenger who reports devastating defeat (Gen 14:13; Ezek 24:26f.; 33:21f.).

The basic verbal meaning “to slip away” is still evident in 2 Kgs 9:15. In the taunt in Judg 12:4f. that the Gileadites are Ephraimites who “fled the banner,” the military background is still clear. In Gen 14:13 it refers to escape from captivity (cf. Isa 49:24f. *mlt* ni.), otherwise always to escape from the mortal danger of the sword. In Gen 14:13; Josh 8:22; and 2 Kgs 9:15 *pālîṭ/pālêṭ* appears in reports of victory or defeat, in addition to appearances in Num 21:29 in a song of victory and Lam 2:22 in a communal lament. Otherwise, apart from Amos 9:1, the word occurs only in exilic prophets (16x: Isa 40ff. 2x, Jer 6x, Ezek 7x, Obad 1x). The Ezek passages all occur in judgment oracles or their contexts, stylized as proof sayings, and refer to the events of 587. In the other prophetic passages, *pālîṭ* is also the escapee from divine punishment executed in the catastrophe of war (→ *šʾr*).

(e) *p<sup>e</sup>lêṭâ* (the origin of the Ger. *Pleite*; cf. Kluge 555a) is usually the “group of escapees” (20x) or concretely “the escapee” (Exod 10:5; Joel 2:3); less often the word describes the process of escape, “deliverance” (Gen 45:7; 2 Sam 15:14; Jer 25:35; Joel 3:5; Obad 17; 2 Chron 12:7). Here too it consistently involves escape from the catastrophe of war barely with one’s life (by flight). Only once (Neh 1:2) does it refer to Judeans escaped from captivity. In Exod 10:5 and Joel 2:3 it applies to natural catastrophes (hail, locusts); here the word indicates the remnant of the harvest that has escaped destruction. The expression, which otherwise refers only to people, applies to a land in Dan 11:42 (Egypt).

Par. terms are *š<sup>e</sup>ērîṭ* (→ *šʾr*, Gen 45:7; 2 Kgs 19:31; Isa 15:9; Ezra 9:14; 1 Chron

4:43), *š'ār* (Isa 10:20), and *yeter* (Ezra 9:8 txt em) “remnant,” *mānōs* “refuge” (Jer 25:35), as well as forms of the verb *š'r* (ni. “to be left over,” Gen 32:9; Exod 10:5; Judg 21:17 txt em; 2 Kgs 19:30 = Isa 37:31; Isa 4:2f.; Ezra 9:15; Neh 1:2; 2 Chron 30:6; hi. “to leave over,” Ezra 9:8).

(f) *miplāt* “place of refuge” is attested only in Psa 55:9; according to Gunkel et al., however, it also should also be read in 2 Sam 22:2 = Psa 18:3 without emending the consonants. In the latter passage it is a divine predicate in a series of synonymous predicates in the song of thanksgiving. The first passage stands in an individual lament (wish of the oppressed).

4. (a) Theological usage has already been partially treated in 3, esp. the use of the two verbs and their derivatives in the prophetic oracle of judgment. In the pi., God is often the deliverer (*mlt* pi. 7x, *plt* pi. 18x). Psa 22:6 (*mlt* ni. with God as the logical subj.) and Isa 31:5 (*mlt* hi., in 1QIsaa *plt* hi.) are further examples.

In the Psa, God is always the subj. (except for 33:17 and 89:49 with *mlt* pi., 82:4 with *plt* pi.; 32:7 and 56:8 are textually uncertain). Seven of the Psa passages occur in individual laments (request, Psa 17:13; 31:2; 71:2, 4; retrospective on past saving acts, 22:5; nom. contrast motif, 40:18; 70:6), five in thanksgiving songs in the report of deliverance (2 Sam 22:44 = Psa 18:44; Psa 18:49; 107:20; 116:4), one in a communal lament (89:49, in the lament concerning transience), and one in a hymn (33:17), as well as two in wisdom psalm sayings (37:40; 41:2) and one in the divine promise of salvation to an individual (91:14; cf. Jer 39:18, the promise of salvation to Ebed-melech).

(b) *mlt/plt* pi. and related derivatives also occur repeatedly in prophetic oracles of salvation. In 2 Chron 12:7 it refers to a concrete historical situation: Jerusalem will be protected from the threat of destruction by the Egyptians. The promise in Isa 31:5 that Yahweh will “spare and save” Jerusalem seems to relate to a particular historical moment. By contrast, other salvation oracles look forward to an eschatological event. The announcement of salvation formulated as a dispute in Isa 49:24f. refers to imminent liberation from the Babylonian exile but understands the entire event as one that will create a final reality; the word to the “escapees of the nations” in 45:20 as well as the corresponding word to the remnant of Israel in 46:4 (cf. also Jer 50:28; 51:50) are similar. In an expansion of the oracle against Edom, Obad 15b–18 expects “the day of Yahweh against all nations,” in which “salvation” will be found only on Zion. The “day of Yahweh” is expected to be a worldwide catastrophe that will create a final reality, a day in which only those who call on the name of Yahweh will escape (Joel 3:5). The presumably post-exilic sayings in Isa 4:2 and 10:20 also seem to belong to this conceptual horizon with

their introductory formula “on that day” and their expectation for the “escapees” of Israel. Isa 37:30–32 = 2 Kgs 19:29–31 may be a post-exilic hope for salvation for the “escapees and remnant of the house of Judah” linked to the historical situation of Hezekiah. Isa 66:19 expects that the “escapees” of the final judgment will go out to proclaim Yahweh’s majesty to the distant nations. Finally, Daniel the apocalypticist should be mentioned. He expects an incomparable political catastrophe in his vision of the future, a catastrophe from which, however, the chosen people “escapes” (Dan 12:1).

A firm linkage is evident, then, between *mlt/plt* and their derivatives and a group of post-exilic prophetic salvation oracles that announce salvation for an escaped remnant of Israel after a worldwide judgment of the nations.

5. Qumran literature repeatedly uses *plt* as a verb and a subst. in the *Hodayot* in a manner similar to the usage in the thanksgiving songs of the Psalter, e.g., 1QH 5:18 “you have saved the life of the poor,” where the “salvation” of the individual is understood as “preservation”; 9:33 “your beneficent protection saves my soul” (cf. 6:25; 9:29). The *Damascus Document* discusses the escape (*mlt*) of a group in depictions of past (CD 7:14, 21) as well as future (19:10) military visitations. In contrast, the godless are predicted to have “no remnant and no escapees” (CD 2:7; the same formula also in 1QM 1:6 and 1QS 4:14; cf. 1QH 6:32). Nevertheless, God has raised up individuals, namely the members of the community, “in order to leave a host of escapees for the land” (CD 2:11). *mlt* hi. “to bear” is attested in 1QH 3:9 (cf. 3:10 *plt* ni. of the fruit of the womb).

In the LXX *sōzein* and composites (otherwise for *yš<sup>c</sup>* hi.) are the primary translations. On usage in early Jewish literature and in the NT, cf. W. Foerster and G. Fohrer, “σώζω,” *TDNT* 7:965–1024.

E. Ruprecht

## פָּלַל *hitp.* to pray

S 6419; BDB 813a; *HALOT* 3:933a; *ThWAT* 6:606–17; *TWOT* 1776; *NIDOTTE* 7137

1. *pll* *hitp.* “to pray” and the derived subst. *t<sup>c</sup>pillâ* “prayer” are attested only in Hebr. (perhaps also in Neo-Pun. *tplt* “prayer, request”; cf. *KAI* no. 162.4; *KAI* 3:26b).

*pll* *hitp.* should probably not be distinguished from the root *pll* that occurs

in the OT (and perhaps in Akk.; cf. *AHw* 813b, 816a) in a few passages verbally, nominally, and in proper names (cf. *IP* 187f.; J. J. Stamm, FS Baumgartner 319), largely with a juridical usage (as do the lexicons: Zorell 651f. et al.; contra KBL 763, where two different roots are assumed). Etymology and meaning of this root are, however, somewhat disputed (cf. e.g., P. A. H. de Boer, *OTS* 3 [1943]: 126ff.; M. D. Goldman, *ABR* 3 [1953]: 1–6; D. R. Ap-Thomas, *VT* 6 [1956]: 230–39; *SNHL* 59f.; E. A. Speiser, “The Stem *pll* in Hebrew,” *JBL* 82 [1963]: 301–6). According to Speiser (op. cit. 302ff.), the starting point is Exod 21:22 *p<sup>e</sup>lîlîm* “estimation” (cf. LXX; Tg. Onkelos: “judge”); the abstract noun in the pl. (also Deut 32:31 “even in our enemies’ estimation”) conforms to the nomen unitatis (or singulative) *p<sup>e</sup>lîlâ* “decision” (Isa 16:3 par. *‘ešâ* “counsel”), as do the adj. *p<sup>e</sup>lîlî* (Job 31:11 [txt em], 28 *‘awôn p<sup>e</sup>lîlî*, according to Fohrer, *KAT* 16, 423, 425: “guilt that should be brought before a judge”) and the derived abstract *p<sup>e</sup>lîlîyâ* “decision,” etc. (Isa 28:7). The basic meaning “to estimate” results in the additional meanings for *pll* pi. “to expect” (Gen 48:1) and “to be an arbiter, mediate, intercede for” (1 Sam 2:25; Ezek 16:52; Psa 106:30; likewise hitp. in 1 Sam 2:25), for Mid. Hebr. *pilpēl* “to investigate, dispute,” and finally for *pll* hitp. “to intercede with petitions on behalf of, pray” (< “to ask for a favorable estimation/decision”; cf. *hnn* hitp. “to ask for *ḥēn*”; cf. also *SNHL* 59f.; I. L. Seeligmann, FS Baumgartner 278).

In this way speculative etymologies that associate *pll* hitp. with the root *npl* “to fall” (“to fall before” > “to worship”; cf. K. Ahrens, *ZDMG* 64 [1910]: 163) or with Arab. *falla* “to make incisions” (cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* [18972], 126n.5, whose suggestion is often accepted; reference may be made to 1 Kgs 18:28, which does not use *pll* hitp., however, but *gdd* hitpo.; *pll* hitp. never occurs in the context of a reference to the ritual practice of self-inflicted wounds) become pointless.

2. *pll* hitp. occurs 79x (excl. 1 Sam 2:25, see 1; 2 Chron 14x, 1 Kgs and Jer 10x each, 1 Sam 9x, Isa 7x, 2 Kgs 6x), *t<sup>e</sup>pillâ* 77x (Psa 32x, 2 Chron 12x, 1 Kgs 8x, Isa 5x). The terms are esp. concentrated in Solomon’s prayer dedicating the temple in 1 Kgs 8 (2 Chron 6).

3. (a) According to most authors, the primary meaning of *pll* hitp. is “to make intercession (on behalf of)” (on intercession in general, cf. N. Johansson, *Parakletoi* [1940]; P. A. H. de Boer, *De Voorbede in het OT*, *OTS* 3 [1943]; F. Hesse, *Die Fürbitte im AT* [1951]; Eichrodt 2:448ff.; cf. also J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels* [1970], 140–50; G. C. Macholz, FS von Rad [1971], 313ff.). More than 25 passages belong in this category; the obj. of intercession is introduced in older texts by *b<sup>e</sup>‘ad* “on behalf of, for” (Gen 20:7; Num 21:7b; Deut 9:20; 1 Sam 7:5; 12:19, 23; 1 Kgs 13:6; Jer 7:16; 11:14; 14:11; 29:7; 37:3; 42:2, 20; Psa 72:15; Job 42:10), in later texts by

ʿal “on account of” (Job 42:8; cf. v 10; Neh 1:6; 2 Chron 30:18; with no direct mention of the obj.: Gen 20:17; Num 11:2; 21:7; Deut 9:26; 2 Kgs 4:33; 6:17f.; Jer 42:4; Neh 1:4).

Intercession is always directed to God, who can be explicitly addressed in various ways involving ʿel yhw/ʿlōhîm (Gen 20:17; Num 11:2; 21:7; Deut 9:26; 1 Sam 7:5; 12:19; 2 Kgs 4:33; 6:18; Jer 29:7; 37:3; 42:2, 4, 20).

The subjs. of intercession in older texts are esp. the powerful men (of God): Abraham (described as → *nābîʿ*, Gen 20:7, 17 E), Moses (Num 11:2 J; 21:7 E; Deut 9:20, 26), Samuel (1 Sam 7:5; 12:19, 23; cf. Jer 15:1 regarding Moses and Samuel), a man of God (1 Kgs 13:6), Elisha (2 Kgs 4:33; 6:17f.). Jeremiah takes up this (“early prophetic”) tradition of the intercessory office once again (Jer 7:16; 11:14; 14:11, Jeremiah is forbidden to intercede in this text, however; 37:3; 42:2, 4, 20; it is understandable, then, that in 2 Macc 15:12–16 Jeremiah has continued in the memory of the people as a great intercessor). Simultaneously, however, he expands the office of intercessor to include the people in general (Jer 29:7; cf. Hesse, op. cit. 48). Finally, other intercessors include an unnamed group addressed by the singer of a psalm (Psa 72:15), in later texts Job (Job 42:8, 10), Nehemiah (Neh 1:6), and Hezekiah (2 Chron 30:18). It is noteworthy that *pll hitp.* never describes intercession as a priestly function.

The obj. of intercession is normally Israel (Num 21:7; 1 Sam 7:5; 12:19, 23; Jer 7:16; 11:14; 14:11; 42:20) or its remnant (Jer 42:2), in addition to the king (Jer 37:3; Psa 72:15), individuals (Job 42:8, 10; Gen 20:7, a non-Israelite), and an enemy, pagan people (Jer 29:7).

Intercession usually occurs in the face of the wrath and punishment of God for the people’s sin; the context suggests that it did not matter for the old institution of intercession whether the one concerned acknowledged guilt. Hesse (op. cit. 19) speaks consequently of a kind of “magical” concept of intercession. The confession of guilt first becomes relevant in 1 Sam 12:19.

(b) In a second development, *pll hitp.* acquires the more general meaning “to pray.” Prayer is directed, explicitly or implicitly, to God (otherwise only in Isa 16:12; 44:17; 45:20, where prayer is addressed to a foreign deity, an idol, and Isa 45:14, where Israel is the obj.; Duhm, *Jes*, HKAT [19224], 317f., and Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 168f., differ insofar as they render *pll hitp.* here with “to plead” and “to pay homage,” resp.).

*pll hitp.* is sometimes used abs. (1 Sam 2:1; Isa 16:12; Dan 9:20; Ezra 10:1; 2 Chron 7:1, 14); it occurs a few times in the figura etymologica (cognate acc.) *pll hitp. tʿpillâ* “to pray a prayer” (2 Sam 7:27; 1 Kgs 8:28f.,

54; 2 Chron 6:19f.). It is usually used with the prep. *ʔel* “to” (1 Sam 1:26; 8:6; 2 Sam 7:27; 1 Kgs 8:33, 44, 48, 54; 2 Kgs 19:20 = Isa 37:21; 2 Kgs 20:2 = Isa 38:2; Isa 37:15; 45:20; Jer 29:12; 32:16; Jonah 2:2; 4:2; Psa 5:3; 32:6; Neh 2:4; 4:3; 2 Chron 6:34; 32:24; 33:13), a few times with *lipn* “before” (1 Sam 1:12; 1 Kgs 8:28; 2 Kgs 19:15; Neh 1:4; 1 Chron 17:25; 2 Chron 6:19, 24), only once with *ʕal* “to” (1 Sam 1:10), and once with *le* “to” (Dan 9:4). The topic of prayer is usually indicated by *ʔel* (1 Sam 1:27; 2 Kgs 19:20 = Isa 37:21; by *ʕal*, 2 Chron 32:20). A few passages in Solomon’s prayer dedicating the temple indicate that prayers were directed from a distance toward the land of Israel, the chosen city, or the temple (1 Kgs 8:29f., 35, 42, 44, 48 par. 2 Chron 6:20ff.); the earthly temple is understood as the “site of the reception of the prayers of the king and the people” (Noth, BK 9, 185).

The subj. of *p// hitp.* can be both individuals and the people. Only a few passages contain the general meaning “to pray” (cf. e.g., 1 Sam 8:6; 2 Sam 7:27). In one instance the meaning “to pray” in the sense of a prayer of thanksgiving seems appropriate (1 Sam 2:1). The contexts of most passages, however, suggest that *p// hitp.* be understood as a qualified prayer of petition or lament, whether an individual prayer (1 Sam 1:10, 12, 26f.; 2 Kgs 19:15, 20 and par.; 20:2 and par.; Jonah 2:2; 4:2; Psa 5:3; 32:6; 2 Chron 32:24; 33:13), or a communal prayer (1 Kgs 8:33, 35, 44 and par.; Isa 16:12; cf. Dan 9:4) brought before God in view of a crisis (on the communal lament, cf. Gunkel-Begriff 117ff.).

(c) “The noun *t<sup>e</sup>pillâ* came into use only when *p// hitp.* had already come to mean ‘to pray’ in general” (Hesse, op. cit. 94). It occurs only in a few passages with the meaning “intercession,” e.g., Psa 35:13; 84:9; 109:4, but esp. in the phrases *ns<sup>ʔ</sup>t<sup>e</sup>pillâ b<sup>e</sup>ʕad* (2 Kgs 19:4 = Isa 37:4) or *ns<sup>ʔ</sup>rinnâ ût<sup>e</sup>pillâ* (Jer 7:16; 11:14; according to Hesse, op. cit. 94, this phrase may have been “a fixed term for official intercession” alongside *p// hitp.*).

Almost half of the *t<sup>e</sup>pillâ* passages (see 2) occur in Psa in which the supplicant in distress (in the individual laments) asks Yahweh to hear (→ *šm<sup>ʕ</sup>, ʔzn* hi. [→ *ʔōzen* ], → *qšb* hi., → *ʕnh* l) the *t<sup>e</sup>pillâ* (4:2; 17:1; 39:13; 54:4; 55:2; 61:2; 69:14; 86:6; 88:3, 14; 102:2; 141:2; 143:1; cf. 42:9; 109:7; 141:5 txt?; Lam 3:8), rejoices in the certainty of being heard (Psa 6:10), or gives thanks that Yahweh has accepted the *t<sup>e</sup>pillâ* (Psa 65:3; 66:19f.; 102:18; Jonah 2:8). *t<sup>e</sup>pillâ* here clearly indicates the prayer of request and lament (cf. also Job 16:17).

From this point, *t<sup>e</sup>pillâ* then became a technical term in the psalm superscriptions for the genre of the individual lament (Psa 17:1; 86:1; 102:1; 142:1; cf. Hab 3:1), as Psa 102:1 demonstrates with particular clarity: “*t<sup>e</sup>pillâ* of a sufferer who is despondent and who pours out his

lament before Yahweh.”

The term *t<sup>e</sup>pillâ* is admittedly not limited exclusively to the lament of the individual. It also designates the related genre of the communal lament in the context of public distress (1 Kgs 8:45, 49 = 2 Chron 6:35, 39; Psa 80:5; Lam 3:44; cf. Psa 90:1) or the lament of their representative (1 Kgs 8:28f. and par.; Dan 9:3, 17, 21; Neh 1:6, 11; the meaning “intercession” resonates here). In 1 Kgs 8, “so you will forgive” (v 30) “characterizes future prayers as (primarily) penitential prayers” (Noth, BK 9, 185).

Furthermore, the prose prayer of the individual (“which essentially differs from the song of lament only in outward form,” Gunkel-Begrich 260) is also called *t<sup>e</sup>pillâ* (cf. 2 Sam 7:27; 2 Kgs 20:5 = Isa 38:5; cf. 2 Chron 33:18, 19; Gunkel-Begrich 119, 259f.; Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:26).

Finally, the concluding formula of Psa 72:20 characterizes the collection of Psalms that concludes there as *t<sup>e</sup>pillôt dāwîd*.

*t<sup>e</sup>pillâ* appears in the general meaning “prayer” in only a few passages (*t<sup>e</sup>pillâ* indicates the communal prayer per se in Prov 15:8, 29; 28:9; Neh 11:17; cf. Isa 1:15; 56:7; 2 Chron 30:27).

(d) The following terms appear primarily as pars. for *t<sup>e</sup>pillâ*, which in turn describes them as prayers of lament and request: *t<sup>e</sup>hinnâ* “supplication” (1 Kgs 8:28, 38, 45, 49, 54; 9:3; Psa 6:10; 55:2; Dan 9:20; → *hnn* 3g, 4e), *taḥ<sup>a</sup>nûnîm* and *taḥ<sup>a</sup>nûnôt* “supplication” (Psa 86:6; 143:1; Dan 9:3, 17), *rinnâ* “cry of lament” (1 Kgs 8:28; Psa 17:1; 61:2; 88:3; → *rnn* ), *šaw<sup>á</sup>* “cry for help” (Psa 39:13; 102:2), *dim<sup>á</sup>* “tears” (2 Kgs 20:5 = Isa 38:5; Psa 39:13).

In addition to *pll* hitp. the following terms also occur: → *bqš pānîm* “to seek the countenance” (2 Chron 7:14), *z<sup>á</sup>q* “to cry out” (2 Chron 32:20; → *š<sup>á</sup>q*), *ḥlh* pi. *pānîm* “to appease” (1 Kgs 13:6; → *ḥlh* 3b), *ydh* hitp. “to confess” (Dan 9:4, 20; Ezra 10:1; Neh 1:6; → *ydh* 4h), → *qr<sup>á</sup>* “to call” (Jer 29:12), and → *š<sup>l</sup>* “to request” (1 Sam 1:27). Cf. also the collocation of the word field of prayer in J. Herrmann, *TDNT* 2:785–90; → *tr*.

Prayer gestures mentioned in relation to *t<sup>e</sup>pillâ* or *pll* hitp. are: → *md* “to stand” (1 Kgs 8:22; cf. *nšb* ni. “to stand,” 1 Sam 1:26), *kr<sup>á</sup>* “to kneel down” (1 Kgs 8:54), → *ḥwh* hišt. “to cast oneself down” (Isa 44:17; 45:14), *npl* hitp. “to cast oneself down” (Ezra 10:1), *sgd* “to bow down” (Isa 44:17), *kn<sup>á</sup>* ni. “to humble oneself” (2 Chron 7:14), *pr<sup>á</sup> kappayim* “to spread one’s hands” (1 Kgs 8:38, 54; Isa 1:15), and *maš<sup>á</sup>at kappayim* “raising one’s hands” (Psa 141:2). Regarding prayer gestures, cf. the figures in *BHH* 1:521f.; also D. R. Ap-Thomas, *VT* 6 (1956): 225–30.

Actions accompanying prayer include weeping (→ *bkh* ) and fasting (→ *šûm* ), fasting in sackcloth and ashes (→ *āpār*; cf. Dan 9:3f.; Ezra 10:1; Neh

1:4), and sacrifice (Job 42:8).

Prayers were normally said aloud; consequently, silent prayer was noteworthy (1 Sam 1:12f.).

(e) The normal word for “to pray” in Bibl. Aram. is *šlh* pa. (KBL 1116a; on the etymology and distribution in Sem. languages, cf. P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/20 [1956]: 254, 264, 268; *WUS* no. 2317; *DISO* 245; Fitzmyer, *Gen. Ap.* 128, 237b), both as a designation for cultic intercession (Ezra 6:10 with *le* “for”; cf. Cowley no. 30.26 with *ʿ* “for”) and for private prayer (Dan 6:11 with *q°dām* “before”; cf. Cowley no. 30.15 with *le* “to”). Cf. also *sgd* “to pay homage” (→ *hwh* hišt. 3) and *ydh* ha. “to praise” (→ *yhd* hi. 1).\*

5. The relatively few examples from Qumran continue OT usage (incl. *pll* hitp. in 1QH 17:18; *t°pillâ* 5x, see Kuhn, *Konk.* 177c, 236a). In Judaism the Eighteen Benedictions as the major prayer became the *tepillā*®. The so-called phylacteries (cf. K. G. Kuhn, *BHH* 1:525f.), for which Exod 13:16; Deut 6:8; 11:18 were considered the basis, are called *t°pillîn* (sg. *t°pillâ*). The etymology of the word is admittedly not entirely certain. According to G. Lisowski, *Jadajim* (1956), 48f., the term *t°pillâ* “prayer” “was first applied to the phylacteries because of the significant sections of prayers contained in them, then to the entirety of the ritual” (contra J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* [1966], 2:550; cf. also StrB 4:250ff.).

The LXX renders *pll* hitp. chiefly with *proseuchesthai*, a few times with *euchesthai*, *tepillā*® usually with *proseuchē*, a few times with *euchē*. Regarding prayer (in the OT and) in the NT, cf. H. Greeven and J. Herrmann, “εὐχόμεαι,” *TDNT* 2:775–808; H. Schönweiss and C. Brown, “Prayer,” *DNTT* 2:855–86.

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## פָּנִים *pānîm* face

S 6440; BDB 815b; *HALOT* 3:938b; *ThWAT* 6:629–59; *TWOT* 1782a; *NIDOTTE* 7156

I. The originally biradical stem \**pan-* (H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im assyrisch-babylonischen* [1911], 13; Dhorme 44n.6; F. Nötscher, “Das Angesicht Gottes schauen” nach biblischer und babylonischer Auffassung [1964], 4; cf. GB 646; J. Reindl, *Das Angesicht Gottes im Sprachgebrauch des AT* [1970], 16) is attested in all branches of the Sem. languages (cf. P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 255, 269), but

occurs in some of them only in verbal (Eth.) or nom. usages (Ug.; with respect to the presumed verbal specimen in *WUS* no. 2230, cf. *UT* no. 2059 and *CML* 1 103; cf. also S. E. Loewenstamm, *UF* 1 [1969]: 75; J. C. de Moor, *ibid.* 171). The verbs, attested only as forms with a weak 3d radical (Hebr. *pnh* “to turn”; Aram. *pny* “to turn, return” [Sef. 3.7; cf. Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 110f.; *DISO* 230; *LS* 578]; Akk. *panû* “to turn to, take the lead” [*Ahw* 822b]; Arab. *faniya* “to pass away” [Wehr 729a]; Eth. *fannawa* “to go away” [Dillmann 1371]) are all considered denominatives (Dhorme op. cit.; Nötscher op. cit.; Reindl op. cit.; *Ahw* 822b; GB 646; contra KBL 766).

In Hebr., as in the other WSem. languages (cf. also *DISO* 229f.; Friedrich §225), the noun occurs only as a pl. (according to BL 524f.; Meyer 2:49, even in the place-names *p<sup>c</sup>nû<sup>ʔ</sup>ēl* or *p<sup>c</sup>nî<sup>ʔ</sup>ēl*, where the old pl. cs. *\*panû* [nom.] or *\*panî* [gen./acc.] persists; contra GKC §90k; cf. also *IP* 255, no. 1164; and L. Kopf, *VT* 8 [1958]: 209f.). The Akk. sg. *pānu(m)*, however, means “anterior, surface,” etc., pl. *pānū* “face” (*AHW* 818–22).

Nom. formations of the Hebr. root are: *p<sup>c</sup>nîmâ* (*pānîm* with a *he* – locale) in the adv. meaning “into, within” with the adj. *p<sup>c</sup>nîmî* “inner” (GB 650a; KBL 768), as well as the conjunction *pen* “lest, otherwise,” originally probably a subst. “turn (away), reversal,” then “in the opposite case, otherwise, differently.” It is questionable whether Hebr. *pinnâ* “corner, corner tower” derives from *pnh* “to turn” (thus KBL 767b); owing to the doubled *n*, *pnn* is a more likely basis (thus GB 649b; it is possible, however, that *pnn* represents a by-form of *pnh*; cf. GB 650a).

Bibl. Aram. uses *\*<sup>ʔ</sup>nap* for “face” (Dan 2:46 and 3:19, *ʔanpôhî*, → *ʔap* 1).

PNs formed with *pānîm* do not occur in the OT apart from the name *p<sup>c</sup>nû<sup>ʔ</sup>ēl* attested only in late texts (1 Chron 4:4; 8:25 Q; cf. Luke 2:36); regarding Ug., Phoen.-Pun., and Akk. PNs, cf. Gröndahl 173; Benz 392; Stamm, *AN* 231. On the fem. name *peninna*®, cf. J. J. Stamm, *FS Baumgartner* 328; E. Lipiński, *VT* 17 (1967): 68–71.

II. With over 2,100 occurrences, *pānîm* is one of the most common words in the OT. But by far the largest number of occurrences falls to passages in which *pānîm* has been fused with a prep. (usually *le*, *min*, or *ʕal*) to form a new expression with prep. character and has often completely or almost completely lost its nom. significance. The following table cites total occurrences of *pānîm* first (incl. 1 Kgs 6:17 txt? cf. Noth, BK 9, 100; excl. 1 Kgs 6:29; incl. Prov 15:14 K *pny* [Q: *pî*]), then the figures for *lipnî* and *millipnî* and their suf. forms, and finally for *l<sup>c</sup>pānîm* “formerly” (incl. Isa 41:26, *mill<sup>c</sup>pānîm* “since long ago”).

	<i>pānīmlipné millipné</i>				<i>l°pānīm</i>
	(total)				
Gen	141	56	5	—	
Exod	128	62	3	—	
Lev	107	76	4	—	
Num	119	83	3	—	
Deut	132	67	5	3	
Josh	91	51	2	3	
Judg	46	22	—	4	
1 Sam	98	62	3	2	2
2 Sam	73	41	1	—	—
1 Kgs	100	56	3	—	
2 Kgs	73	32	2	—	
Isa	89	27	2	1	
Jer	128	44	4	1	
Ezek	155	38	2	—	
Hos	9	1	—	—	
Joel	8	5	—	—	
Amos	7	2	—	—	
Obad	—	—	—	—	
Jonah	4	1	3	—	—
Mic	5	3	—	—	
Nah	5	1	—	—	
Hab	3	1	—	—	
Zeph	3	—	—	—	
Hag	2	1	—	—	
Zech	16	9	—	—	
Mal	10	3	—	—	
Psa	133	49	6	1	
Job	70	16	—	2	
Prov	43	22	—	—	
Ruth	2	—	—	1	
Song Sol	2	1	—	—	—
Eccl	21	10	5	—	
Lam	11	3	—	—	
Esth	37	30	4	—	
Dan	33	15	1	—	
Ezra	10	7	1	—	
Neh	31	23	1	1	
1 Chron	63	40	4	2	2
2 Chron	119	71	9	1	1

It is often difficult and a matter of subjective criteria to distinguish between passages with *pānîm* in an original subst. meaning and those in which the word has entirely, or almost entirely, lost this meaning in conjunction with preps. Besides *lipnî* and *millipnê*, (*mê*)<sup>ʿ</sup>*al-p<sup>ê</sup>nê* (over 200x), *mipp<sup>ê</sup>nî* (over 300x), and phrases involving other preps. also occur (about 100x), so that about 400 passages remain to *pānîm* in its original meaning. If one categorizes passages with *pānîm* according to the sphere of usage, barely half of them appear in relation to people (and animals), about three-tenths in relation to God (divine beings), and somewhat more than one-fifth in relation to things and abstractions.

The verb *pnh* occurs 134x: qal 116x (Deut 16x, Ezek 13x, Judg, 1 Kgs, Psa, and 2 Chron 8x each [excl. 2 Chron 25:23]), pi. 8x, hi. 8x (Jer 5x), ho. 2x; furthermore, *pen* 133x (Deut 28x, Prov 18x, Gen 17x, Exod 13x, Psa 9x), *p<sup>ê</sup>nîmâ* 14x (incl. *millipnîm* 1 Kgs 6:29 txt?; 2 Chron 29:18 should be transposed from Lis. 1174c to b), and *p<sup>ê</sup>nîmî* 32x (Ezek 24x).

III. Six usages of *pānîm* may be delineated: (1) “face” in the proper sense, (2) “appearance,” etc. in an expanded usage, (3) “glance (with the eyes),” (4) “person, someone,” (5) “anterior, surface,” etc. in a fig. meaning, and (6) the various prep. usages.

1. (a) In the proper sense *pānîm* means “face,” the anterior of a being’s head. The term occasionally refers to animals (Gen 30:40; Ezek 1:10; 10:14; 41:19; Job 41:6 txt?; 1 Chron 12:9; cf. also Phoen. *pn* in the Kilamuwa inscription, *KAI* no. 24.11), a few times to heavenly beings (Isa 6:2; Ezek 1:6, 10; 10:14, 21; 41:18f.; Dan 10:6), or their images (Exod 25:20; 37:9; 2 Chron 3:13 of cherubim; cf. also 1 Sam 5:3f. of Dagon’s image), but otherwise—if not used anthropomorphically for God’s face (see IV)—to human faces (e.g., Gen 9:23; 43:31; Exod 34:29f., 35; Lev 13:41; 2 Kgs 4:29, 31; 8:15; Isa 25:8; Ezek 1:10; 8:16; 10:14; Hos 2:4; Job 4:15; 16:16; 24:15; 34:29; see comms. regarding Prov 27:19). *pānîm* applies to cities or a people only when they are personified (Jer 13:26; Hos 2:4; Nah 3:5).

The referent is thus the part of the head with which one sees and which is seen by others (cf. the Sum. ideogram IGI for “eye” and “face” and Gk. *prosōpon* “that which is seen in the front”). Consequently, in addition to “face,” “anterior,” “surface,” and “person,” *pānîm* can also mean “glance (with the eyes)”; synonyms can be not only terms like → *rōš* “head,” *ʾappayim* “nose” > “face” (→ *ʾap*), and *mēšaḥ* “forehead” (Ezek 3:8; the word occurs 13x in the OT), but also *ʿênayim* “eyes” (→ *ʿayin*) and *nepeš* “soul” (because the eyes are a mirror of the soul). *ʿōrep* “neck” can be used

as an antonym for *pānîm* (Jer 2:27; 18:17; 32:33).

The derivation of the word *pānîm* from → *peh* “mouth” sometimes suggested (GVG 1:333) is uncertain (cf. Holma, op. cit. 13n.1; GB 646a).

*pānîm* occurs a few times as a quantitative pl. (Isa 13:8; Ezek 1:6, 8, 10; 8:16; 10:22; 41:18).

(b) *pānîm* has a lit. meaning in the following expressions: *sbb hi. pānîm* “to turn the face, turn around” (Judg 18:23; 1 Kgs 8:14 = 2 Chron 6:3; 1 Kgs 21:4; 2 Kgs 20:2 = Isa 38:2; cf. Ezek 1:9; in a fig. sense 2 Chron 29:6; 35:22); *yrq b<sup>c</sup>pānîm* “to spit in the face” as a sign of disrespect and horrible derision (Num 12:14; Deut 25:9; cf. Isa 50:6; Job 30:10; Mark 10:34 par.; 14:65 par.; 15:19 par.); *ksh pi. pānîm b<sup>h</sup>ēleb* “to cover the face with fat” as a mark of corpulence, also “to allow to become fat” (Job 15:27; cf. Fohrer, KAT 16, 275; Horst, BK 16/1, 231f.; not the application of grease for particular magical rites and practices; cf. S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* [1921], 1:109); *npl <sup>al</sup>-pānîm* “to throw oneself on the face (of a decedent)” (Gen 50:1; cf. 2 Kgs 13:14 and Gen 23:3). Often (25x) *npl <sup>al</sup>-pānîm* (with suf.) means “to fall on one’s face (to the ground)” (Gen 17:3, 17, etc.; for similar expressions, cf. → *ʔap* 3a; → *hwh* hišt. 3). The phrase describes the highest act of homage in greeting (Josh 5:14; 2 Sam 9:6 [cf. 1:2]; 14:4; 1 Kgs 18:7; Ruth 2:10; 1 Chron 21:16) and in prayer (Num 14:5; 16:4, 22; Josh 7:6, 10; Ezek 11:13; cf. also Job 1:20; 1 Sam 5:3f. Dagon before the ark of Yahweh); one also falls to the ground on one’s face, however, in terror before the appearance of the divine majesty (Lev 9:24; Num 17:10; 20:6; Ezek 1:28; 3:23; 43:3; 44:4), before any other frightening phenomenon (Judg 13:20; 1 Kgs 18:39; Dan 8:17; cf. also 1 Sam 28:20), and in astonishment at the proclamation of a divine promise (Gen 17:3, 7).

(c) *pānîm* should also be understood lit. in discussions of hiding the face. This function is served either by the coat (1 Kgs 19:13) or the cloak (Gen 38:15). One hides one’s face as a sign of sorrow (2 Sam 19:5 *lût* “to hide”; cf. BL 403) and during a theophany (1 Kgs 19:13 *lût* hi.; cf. Qurʾan 73:1 and 74:1). A married woman who offers herself to strange men for sacral reasons sits cloaked by the wayside (Gen 38:15, *ksh pi.* “to cover”). According to Pers. custom, the face of one condemned to die was covered (Esth 7:8 *hph* “to conceal”; cf. Bardtke, KAT 17/5, 359; contra Reindl, op. cit. 11). In contrast, *str hi. pānîm* does not mean concealing one’s face but averting one’s glance (see 3), e.g., from a theophany (Exod 3:6), from insults (Isa 50:6), and from a despised person at whom one does not look (Isa 53:3; on the theological usage, see IV/2d).

2. (a) The human face as the “mirror of the soul” (cf. Sir 13:25)

implies one's psychic and physical condition, thus mirroring one's mood, attitude, and health status. As a result, *pānîm* in an expanded sense often means "look, appearance" (Reindl, op. cit. 10f.; Nötscher, op. cit. 9f; Dhorme 42ff.; A. R. Johnson, "Aspects of the Use of the Term *pānîm* in the OT," FS Eissfeldt [1947], 155–59). The reference is almost always to living persons. Yet *pānîm* also refers in this sense to rigor mortis (Job 14:20); one can turn (*sbb* pi.) the face of a matter, i.e., give it another appearance (2 Sam 14:20).

(b) One sees heartache in a gloomy face (*pānîm rā'îm*, Gen 40:7; Neh 2:2; cf. v 3), an inferior sense of well-being in a brooding face (*pānîm zō<sup>a</sup>pîm*, Dan 1:10). Secretive talk produces brooding faces (*pānîm niz<sup>a</sup>mîm*, Prov 25:23). Jacob recognizes in Laban's face the change in his attitude (Gen 31:2, 5; on the interpretation of Prov 27:19, cf. Gemser, HAT 16, 97; Dhorme 49; Nötscher, op. cit. 9n.2). *pānîm* without modifier can also mean a sorrowful or somber face (1 Sam 1:18; Job 9:27; for Akk. counterparts, cf. Nötscher, op. cit. 10). In fright the face becomes deathly pale (Jer 30:6; cf. Isa 29:22), disturbed (Ezek 27:35; cf. comms. on 2 Kgs 8:11), or distorted (Job 14:20). It can be embarrassed (Psa 34:6 *hpr*; cf. M. A. Klopfenstein, *Scham und Schande nach dem AT* [1972], 177–80) or it can "gather redness" (*qbs* pi. *pā<sup>a</sup>rûr*), i.e., become discolored (Joel 2:6; Nah 2:11). "Gathering redness" either means "to be radiant, red" (cf. "faces aflame," Isa 13:8) or, conversely, "to gather up, draw in redness" means "to become pale (in fright)." In this case, however, one would expect *šp* "to gather in" rather than *qbs* pi. "to assemble"; cf. Rudolph, KAT 13/2, 52, and for a different interpretation of these passages, R. Gradwohl, *Die Farben im AT* (1963), 25f.

(c) A joyous heart makes the countenance bright (Prov 15:13). A shining countenance (lit. *šôr pānîm* "the light of the countenance," Prov 16:15 [cf. 15:30]; Job 29:24) means the beaming, bright countenance that reveals good intentions and signifies quite concretely life and good fortune for the one concerned (Reindl, op. cit. 137; on the theological use of the word, see IV/2 and → *šôr* 4b). One's wisdom makes one's disposition bright (Eccl 8:1). The oil that Yahweh bestows on people along with his other gifts causes their countenances to shine from satisfaction (Psa 104:15; cf. also 1 Sam 14:27). For the corresponding Akk. usages, cf. Dhorme 51ff.; Nötscher, op. cit. 11–13.

(d) Facial expressions also express humiliation or the absence of shame. The fixed expression *bōšet pānîm* "shame of face" describes shame as a publicly observable matter and refers, then, to the loss of public reputation, thus to "loss of face," public disgrace or humiliation (Jer 7:19; Psa 44:16; Dan 9:7f.; Ezra 9:7; 2 Chron 32:21; cf. also 2 Sam 19:6 "you

have publicly insulted all your servants”; Klopfenstein, op. cit. 35f., 47f., 66, 93, 105). Disgrace that covers the countenance (*kelimma*®, Jer 51:51; Psa 69:8; *bûšâ*, Ezek 7:18, probably originally concretely the shame cloth; cf. Klopfenstein, op. cit. 71f.; cf. *qālôn*, Psa 83:17) is more than a mere psychological reaction to the environment; it is an objective loss of prestige (cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:208; cf. also *ILC* 1–2:241f.). The expressions mentioned occur primarily in relation to a political catastrophe produced by enemies, which is, however, often caused by apostasy from Yahweh. It appears, as a result, esp. in penitential prayers (Dan 9:7f.; Ezra 9:7) and songs of lament (Psa 44:16; 69:8; cf. Jer 51:51), occasionally also in oracles of reproach and threat (Jer 7:19; Ezek 7:18).

Those who lack shame, reserve, and compassion exhibit a hard face. A people who mercilessly mistreats the aged and children in war is *ʿaz pānîm* (Deut 28:50; → *ʿzz* ). The adulterous wife, behaving like a professional prostitute, approaches the naive young man with a shameless countenance (*ʿzz* hi. *pānîm*, Prov 7:13). The godless also puts on an impudent countenance (*ʿzz* pi. *b<sup>c</sup>pānîm*, Prov 21:29). The faithless betray the hardening of their hearts by displaying hardened countenances (*q<sup>šc</sup> pānîm*, Ezek 2:4) and by making their countenances harder than stone (Jer 5:3). Hardness of countenance can also be manifest in a prophet who refuses to surrender to mood swings and displays an ineluctable rigidity in his message (Ezek 3:8f.; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:138). In contrast to that of Ezekiel (Ezek 3:8f.; cf. also Jer 1:18), the servant of Yahweh’s hardness or resistance that guards against fear or shame (Isa 50:7) grows out of the blows and abuse that he suffers (cf. Westermann, *Isa* 40–66, OTL, 231).

3. (a) As the seat of sight, *pānîm* can also mean the glance (with the eyes) and thus appear as a synonym for *ʿēnayim* “eyes” (e.g., Isa 5:21). Thus *pānîm b<sup>o</sup>/ʿel-pānîm* “face to face” (see IV/1b) corresponds to the expression *ʿayin b<sup>c</sup>ʿayin* “eye to eye” (Num 14:14; Isa 52:8; cf. also Jer 32:4). The phrase *nš<sup>o</sup>pānîm* (if not used like Akk. *wabālu pānî* “to exercise oversight”; see below), like *nš<sup>o</sup>ʿēnayim*, means “to raise one’s sight, glance (up)” (with *pānîm*: 2 Sam 2:22; 2 Kgs 9:32; of the guilty who dares not freely look up to God, Job 11:15; 22:26; with *rûm* hi., Ezra 9:6; cf. Luke 18:13; with *ʿēnayim*: Gen 13:10, 14; 18:2, etc., → *ʿayin* 3a[2]). Both expressions are synonymous with Akk. *našū ēnā* “to raise one’s eyes” and, like it, often (in conjunction with the prep. *ʿel*) mean “to look at lovingly (or desirously)” (with *pānîm* said only of God, Num 6:26; cf. also → *nepeš* III/3b).

In contrast to a glance upward, an expression of cheerfulness, good fortune, joy, and assurance, stands the downcast glance (Gen 4:5f.; cf. also

*npl* hi. *pānîm*, Jer 3:12, of God; Job 29:24), which testifies to wrath and displeasure.

(b) The meaning “glance (with the eyes)” for *pānîm* can also be demonstrated by the synonymous expressions *śîm pānîm* and *ntn pānîm* (→ *śîm*, → *ntn*). The meanings of the two expressions vary according to the prep. governed by the verb (Reindl, op. cit. 110–19). Thus *ntn pānîm ʔel* means “to direct a glance toward” (Dan 9:3; cf. 10:15; Gen 30:40), *śîm pānîm* with an acc. of direction “to set out toward” (Gen 31:21; cf. also *śît pānîm ʔel* “to set out toward,” Num 24:1), *śîm pānîm ʕal* “to have a view to, intend” (1 Kgs 2:15), *śîm pānîm* in combination with *le* + inf. cs. “to intend to do something,” esp. with reference to travel plans (2 Kgs 12:8; Jer 42:15, 17; 44:12; Dan 11:17, 18 Q, 19 Q; 2 Chron 20:3 *ntn pānîm lʕ* + inf. cs. of Jehoshaphat’s intention to seek Yahweh; by contrast, *sbb* hi. *pānîm* “to abandon the intention,” 2 Chron 35:22); cf. also the abbreviated expression *derek hēnnâ pʕnēhem* “the path toward it is their goal” (Jer 50:5) and *pānāw lammilhāmâ* “his (Sennacherib’s) intention was war” (2 Chron 32:2; cf. EA 295, rev. 9; Dhorme 47; see also Hab 1:9 txt?).

*śîm pānîm ʔel/ʕal* “to set one’s face against” has special significance in Ezek 6:2; 13:17; 15:7 *śûm*, 21:7; 25:2; 28:21; 29:2; 35:2; 38:2 (cf. 21:2 and *kûn* hi. *pānîm*, 4:3, 7). According to evidence in the Balaam narrative, this expression originally concerned the prophet’s concrete visual contact with the one his powerful word concerned (Num 22:41; 23:13; 24:2), a survival of old notions of the effectiveness of the evil look. In Ezek the force of the expression has been diminished and the once independent element of the symbolic act has become an accompaniment of the spoken word of the prophet (Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:182f.). The statement that Daniel turned his countenance toward God to pray (*ntn pānîm ʔel*, Dan 9:3) may also be based on an original notion of actual sight of the sanctissimum visible in the worship phenomenon (Zimmerli, op. cit.).

In constructions with *be*, the phrase *śîm* or *ntn pānîm* is used only of God (see IV/2).

4. (a) Because one’s countenance expresses and characterizes one’s nature, *pānîm* in an expanded sense can also describe the entire person. 2 Sam 17:11 constitutes a paradigmatic example of this usage of *pānîm*: “All Israel from Dan to Beersheba shall gather around you (Absalom), as numerous as the sand of the sea; you yourself (*pāncykâ*) will then go to battle in their midst.” Cf. also Gen 32:21; Jer 49:5 (“everyone for oneself”); Job 40:13; Prov 27:17 (one’s behavior; cf. Gemser, HAT 16, 97).

(b) The meaning “person, someone” also seems to be involved in the phrase *nkr* hi. *pānîm* “to acknowledge, honor, consider someone” (Prov

28:21). *nkr hi.* can also be used in this meaning without *pānîm* (Jer 24:5; Ruth 2:10, 19; cf. Isa 61:9; cf. also the synonymous terms *yd<sup>c</sup> pānîm* Prov 27:23, said of animals, and *yd<sup>c</sup>* Prov 12:10; *hdr pānîm* “to honor someone,” Lev 19:32; ni. Lam 5:12; and *hdr qal*, Exod 23:3). The phrase *nkr hi. pānîm* originated in daily speech but then shifted to the legal sphere, albeit with the limitations that the legal setting is always explicitly indicated (*bammišpāt*) and that the term is used in this realm only in the negative sense as “to side with (the guilty party)” (Deut 1:17; 16:19; Prov 24:23; cf. 17:15; 18:5; cf. also *hdr pānîm* Lev 19:15). *nkr hi. pānîm* also functions pejoratively, although as an everyday expression, in Prov 28:21.

The phrase → *nś<sup>ʔ</sup> pānîm*, when not synonymous with *nś<sup>ʔ</sup> ʕēnayim* (see 3), corresponds largely to the expression *nkr hi. pānîm*. The phrase did not originate in the legal realm (contra I. L. Seeligmann, FS Baumgartner 270ff., and many others), hence one should not regard it as evidence that the judge lifted the head of the accused, who had been kneeling with head to the ground, when pronouncing an acquittal. It occurs only in the fig. sense “to accede to, favor, show consideration, make allowances” (Gen 19:21; 32:21; Num 6:26; Deut 28:50; 1 Sam 25:35; 2 Kgs 3:14; Mal 1:8f.; Job 32:21; 42:8f.; Lam 4:16; cf. also Prov 6:35), corresponding to Akk. *wabālu pānî* “to make allowances,” is no more characteristic of the legal sphere than *nkr hi. pānîm* (see above), and constitutes the opposite of the similarly colloquial phrase *šûb hi. pānîm* “to turn someone down, refuse to grant someone’s request” (1 Kgs 2:16f., 20[bis]; Psa 132:10 = 2 Chron 6:42). The phrase *nś<sup>ʔ</sup> pānîm* is, then, essentially unrelated to *nś<sup>ʔ</sup> → rō<sup>ʔ</sup>š* (trans.) “to bring honor to” (Gen 40:13, 20; 2 Kgs 25:27 = Jer 52:31; cf. Akk. *našû rēšā*) or *nś<sup>ʔ</sup> rō<sup>ʔ</sup>š* (intrans.) “to raise one’s head” (Zech 2:4; Job 10:15; cf. Judg 8:28; Psa 83:3; contra Seeligmann, op. cit. 268f.). Like *nkr hi. pānîm*, however, *nś<sup>ʔ</sup> pānîm* can also occasionally refer to unjustified partisanship (of the judge, Lev 19:15; Prov 18:5; cf. Job 13:10; of the gods, Psa 82:2; of the priests, Mal 2:9; God may not be bribed, Deut 10:17; Job 34:19; 2 Chron 19:7).

The expression *n<sup>ʕ</sup>šū<sup>ʔ</sup> pānîm* (2 Kgs 5:1; Isa 3:3; 9:14; Job 22:8) should not be interpreted either as “favorite (of the king)” (so Dhorme 47), or as “one who may lift one’s countenance” or “whose countenance was lifted (by others)” (Nötscher, op. cit. 17), but as “with a lofty reputation,” thus “respected.” It designates people who assume a leading position in society.

(c) According to the evidence offered by the passages treated above, *pānîm*, as the most important part of a person’s body, can by synecdoche represent the entire person; thus the word is often used quite blandly with no particular emphasis, or it becomes a stylistic flourish lending the phrase a particular solemnity (cf. Psa 42:6, 12; 43:5; *y<sup>ʕ</sup>šû<sup>ʔ</sup> ʕôt pānāy/pānāw* “my/his

salvation”; cf. Reindl, op. cit. 13; Johnson, op. cit. 157f.). Thus *pānîm* can, esp. in conjunction with a per. suf., replace the per. pron. (with → *rʕh* “to see, appear in view,” Gen 32:21; 33:10; 46:30; 48:11; Exod 10:28f.; 2 Sam 3:13; 14:24, 28, 32; *rʕh pānîm* in reference to influential persons also “to be permitted an audience,” Gen 43:3, 5; 44:23, 26; Exod 10:28; or “to be admitted to court,” 2 Sam 3:13; 14:24, 28, 32). Cf. also the standard expression *rōʕê pʿnê hammelek* “those who see the king’s face” (2 Kgs 25:19 = Jer 52:25; Esth 1:14, of the royal servants who are constantly near him; for Akk. pars., cf. Nötscher, op. cit. 77ff., and Dhorme 48; on the entire motif, see Reindl, op. cit. 149f.; with *bqš* pi. “to seek [out],” 1 Kgs 10:24; Prov 29:26 [cf. Johnson, op. cit. 158]; and *šhr* pi. *pānîm* “to seek out,” Prov 7:15; with *qdm* pi. “to confront”: antagonistically, Psa 17:13; amiably, Psa 89:15; 95:2). *pānîm* can occasionally represent the reflexive pron. (*qûṭ* ni. *bipn̄hem* “to abhor oneself,” Ezek 6:9; cf. 20:43; 36:31; *ʕnh bʿpānāw* “to testify against oneself,” Hos 5:5; 7:10; *rʕh hitp.* “to confront one another [in battle],” 2 Kgs 14:8, 11).

5. In a fig. sense *pānîm* refers to the side of an object, a region, an assembly of people, a circumstance, or an event facing the observer. One can consider this a fig. use, however, only if one presumes that *pānîm* originally meant the face of a living being, esp. of a person, and this assumption may not be demonstrated with sufficient certainty. It is entirely possible that the noun originally meant “anterior” and then more specifically “face” (cf. Akk. *pānum* “anterior,” pl. *pānū* “face”).

(a) Thus *pānîm* denotes the front of a scroll (Ezek 2:10, yet adv. in contrast to *ʔahôr* “back”), of the temple (41:14; 47:1, etc.), of a gate (40:6, 15, 20, 22, 44; 42:15; 43:4), of a temple chamber (40:45f.), of a curtain (Lev 4:6, 17), of the candles in the sanctuary (Num 8:2f.), of the entrance to a tent (Exod 26:9; Num 17:8; 19:4), the mouth of a well (2 Sam 17:19), or for the disk of the full moon (Job 26:9 txt em). But it can also mean the edge of a sword (Ezek 21:21) or of an implement (Eccl 10:10). One can alter the appearance of a matter, i.e., give the matter another face (2 Sam 14:20). The *pānîm* of a battle is occasionally mentioned, i.e., the front lines (2 Chron 13:14; cf. 2 Sam 11:15) or the enemy front (2 Sam 10:9 = 1 Chron 19:10). Correspondingly, *pānîm* can also mean the vanguard (Joel 2:20; cf. Reindl, op. cit. 14; Nötscher, op. cit. 5).

(b) Esp. in conjunction with terms like land, earth, sea, and heaven, *pānîm* means “surface,” particularly in the phrase *ʕal-pʿnê* (see 6). → *ʕayin* (3d) “eye” appears occasionally as a synonym. Without *ʕal* the OT also uses *pānîm* of the surface of the primordial waters (Job 38:30), of farmland (Gen 2:6; 8:13; Isa 28:25; Psa 104:30), of the earth (Isa 14:21; 27:6), and of the surface of a vineyard covered with weeds (Prov 24:31).

6. In many cases (see II), *pānîm* in the cs. st. is so closely associated with a series of preps. that the term has often lost its nom. character and become a new prep. phrase. At issue are phrases with *le* (see a), *min* + *le* (= *mille-*), *min*, *ʿal* (see b), *min* + *ʿal* (= *mēʿal*), *ʿel*, *b<sup>e</sup>*, (*mē*)*ʿēt*, *min* + *mûl* (= *mimmûl*), *ʿel-mûl*, *min* + *ʿim* (= *mēʿim*), *nōkaḥ*, *neged*, *ʿal/ʿel-ʿēber*, and *I<sup>e</sup>ummat*. Regarding the use of these preps. with *pānîm*, see esp. GB 647–49; Reindl, op. cit. 17–52.

(a) The prep. *lipnî* “before (the face of),” with verbs of motion “toward (the face)” or “away from (the face),” is used in a local sense “always in order to indicate location precisely, because *le* alone is too ambiguous” (Reindl, op. cit. 19); cf. Exod 7:9f.; Num 3:38; 1 Sam 8:11; 14:13, etc.

Regarding the expression *ʿmd lipnê*, cf. → *ʿmd* 4c. *lipnî* often occurs with verbs of motion; cf. → *ntn*, → *hlk*, → *yrd*, → *ʿbr*, also in a fig. sense: *śîm lipnê* of presenting the law (Exod 19:7; 21:1), esp. in Dtn-Dtr literature in the phrase *ntn lipnî*; → *ntn* III/3d.

In association with place-names, *lipnî* often means “opposite” (Gen 23:17; Exod 14:2, 9; Num 33:7, 47, etc.) and alternates in this sense with *ʿal-p<sup>e</sup>nê*.

In association with persons, *lipnî* (like *I<sup>e</sup>ʿênê*) often means “before the eyes of,” “in the presence of” (Exod 4:21; 11:10; Deut 25:2; 1 Sam 19:24; 2 Kgs 5:3; 25:29), then also “under the supervision of” (Num 8:22; like *ʿet-p<sup>e</sup>nê*, 1 Sam 2:11, 18).

The military use of *lipnî* is noteworthy (cf. Akk. *lapān* with verbs of flight, *AHw* 534b; and Ug., *KTU* 2.33.29, *lpn ib* “[to hand over] to the enemy”), i.e., → *qûm lipnê* “to stand fast before” (Lev 26:37; Josh 7:12f.), *yšb hitp. lipnî* “to stand fast before” (Deut 9:2), → *ʿmd lipnê* “to stand fast before” (Judg 2:14); → *nûs lipnê* “to flee before” (Josh 7:4; 2 Sam 24:13), *pnh lipnî* “to flee before” (Judg 20:42), *npl lipnî* “to fall before” (1 Sam 14:13; 2 Sam 3:34; cf. Jer 19:7); → *yš<sup>ʿ</sup> lipnê* “to march against” (1 Chron 14:8; 2 Chron 14:9), *ngp pi.* “to be defeated” (Lev 26:17; 1 Sam 4:2; 7:10; 2 Sam 10:15, 19, etc.); the enemy is always named. Since the enemy is often identified as an individual (cf. Judg 4:15; 1 Sam 14:13), *pānîm* here hardly means “(enemy) front” but rather “(before the) eyes (of the enemy).”

*lipnî* is often used in a temporal sense (Gen 13:10; 27:7, 10; 29:26; 30:30; 36:31; 50:16; Num 13:22; Deut 33:1; 1 Sam 9:15; Isa 18:5, etc.). Accordingly, *I<sup>e</sup>pānîm* has the adv. meaning “previously” (Deut 2:10; Josh 11:10, etc.).

Like *I<sup>e</sup>ʿênê* (Deut 4:6) and *b<sup>e</sup>ʿênê* (Gen 19:14; 21:11; 28:8, etc.), *lipnî* occasionally means “in the eyes of,” i.e., “in the estimation of, in the view of” (Gen 10:9; 1 Sam 20:1; 2 Kgs 5:1; Jer 33:24; Psa 19:15; Prov 14:12;

Eccl 9:1), esp. in combination with terms like *rah<sup>a</sup>mîm* “mercy” (Gen 43:14; 1 Kgs 8:50; Psa 106:46; Dan 1:9; 2 Chron 30:9), “goodwill and grace” (Esth 2:17), “satisfaction” (Exod 28:38; Lev 1:3), and in the expression *y<sup>t</sup>b lipnê* “it seems good (to him)” (Neh 2:5f.).

*lipnê* also sometimes means “at the disposal of” (Gen 13:9; 24:51; 34:10; 47:18; Jer 40:4) or “to the benefit of,” “in the service of” (Gen 24:12; 27:20; 2 Kgs 5:2; Isa 42:16; Esth 2:23); cf. also Prov 22:29 and *h<sup>l</sup>k hitp. lipnê* “to act in someone’s service” (1 Sam 12:2; Psa 116:9).

Like *mipp<sup>e</sup>nê*, *lipnê* sometimes seems to have a causal meaning, e.g., Joel 3:4 (“on account of,” “in view of,” instead of “before,” “prior to”; cf. 2:10f.).

Finally, *lipnê* is sometimes a reverential expression, as in devout language such as “to speak in Yahweh’s presence” (Exod 6:12, 30; cf. Beer, HAT 3, 42).

(b) The prep. *‘al-p<sup>e</sup>nê* (cf. Reindl, op. cit. 40–46; GB 649) means “on (the surface of)” or “onto/over (the surface)” in combination with terms like *‘adāmâ* “ground, arable land” (Gen 6:1, 7; 7:4; 8:8, etc.), *‘ereṣ* “earth,” “land” (7:3; 8:9; 11:4, 8f., etc.), *mayim* “water” (1:2; 7:18, etc.), *t<sup>e</sup>hôm* “primordial waters” (e.g., 1:2). *‘al-p<sup>e</sup>nê* in the sense of “on the anterior (surface) of” also belongs in this category. It can refer to the firmament facing the earth (1:20), buildings (1 Kgs 6:3; 2 Chron 3:17), and the wind (Psa 18:43 “like dust before the wind”). In descriptions of the location of places *‘al-p<sup>e</sup>nê* means “opposite” (Gen 23:19; 50:13, etc.; cf. Reindl, op. cit. 43; GB 649; not always “eastward”).

In relation to persons *‘al-p<sup>e</sup>nê* often means “before or under the eyes of” (Exod 20:20, contra Reindl, op. cit. 41; Lev 10:3; Deut 11:4; Jer 6:7; Psa 9:20; with *‘br* “to cross over before someone,” Gen 32:22; Exod 34:6; 2 Sam 15:18; cf. Exod 33:19). “Before the eyes of” leads to the meaning “under the supervision of” (Num 3:4b) and “in the lifetime of” (Gen 11:28; cf. Speiser, *Gen*, ABC, [19642], 78; U. Cassuto, *Gen*, [1964], 2:271; GB 649).

Also in relation to persons, *‘al-p<sup>e</sup>nê* occasionally means “at the expense of,” “to the advantage of” (Gen 25:18; Deut 21:16; probably also Gen 16:12, so Speiser, op. cit. 118, 188; H. Gunkel, *Gen* [19698], 188; Procksch, *Gen*, KAT [19243], 112; and von Rad, ATD 3 [19729], 148: “he will be in his brothers’ face”), also in the malevolent sense “toward someone” (Psa 21:13). In Job 1:11; 6:28; 21:31, *‘al-p<sup>e</sup>nê* corresponds to the prep. expression *‘el-p<sup>e</sup>nê*, cf. 2:5 “in the face, open, unfrightened” (Reindl, op. cit. 49f.).

IV. “Discussion of ‘God’s face’ is associated with the most varied concepts and statements; it is used in the same ways as it is of people. . . .

Usages of the word *pānîm* exhibit the same elements and nuances of meaning; they result in the same metaphorical usages and the same diminishment of the concrete meaning culminating in complete vacation of the original sense” (Reindl, op. cit. 198). Although one may identify preferences for particular expressions involving *pānîm* in either religious or profane realms, “in no case did this preference or specialization produce a distinct notion of ‘God’s face’ that may be clearly differentiated from other usages” (ibid. 198). Thus the concept of “God’s face” did not become an independent theological concept but exists only as an idiom (ibid. 200). At issue are passages in which “God’s face” is the subj. of a statement (IV/1); the obj., either of an act of God (IV/2) or of a person (IV/3); or is associated with prep. expressions (IV/4); or the phrase *leḥem pānîm* “bread of the presence” (IV/5).

1. (a) A developed theological significance for *p<sup>ē</sup>n yhwḥ* “Yahweh’s face” can be most likely posited for the few passages where the expression is the active subj. of a statement (Exod 33:14; Deut 4:37; Isa 63:9; Lam 4:16).

Exod 33, a chapter burdened with difficult literary-critical problems, consisting of various components (concerned with the theme of God’s presence in the midst of his people), addresses primarily the fact that Yahweh will send a messenger (→ *mal’āk*) along with his people, but he will not accompany them himself. Vv 12–17 (from another source) state, however, that after Moses’s repeated remonstrances Yahweh promised: “My face (*pānay*) shall also accompany you, and I will create rest for you” (v 14; cf. also v 15). V 16 suggests that *pānîm* does not refer to Yahweh’s representative (cf. “in that you go [with us]”) but only to the personal presence of God, just as in profane usage and in the same phrase with *hlk* “to go (along with)” *pānîm* indicates the personal presence of an individual (Absalom) among his people (2 Sam 17:11). Appropriately, then, the LXX renders *pānîm* in Exod 33:14f. with *autos*. Thus one should not interpret *pānîm* as a “manifestation of the super-earthly God” (cf. Reindl, op. cit. 64; Nötscher, op. cit. 47–49; contra Beer, HAT 3, 159; cf. Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 256f.; Hyatt, *Exod*, NCBC [1980], 316: “the presence of Yahweh is in the angel who goes before them”).

Correspondingly, Isa 63:9 also speaks of the fact that “no messenger (read *šîr*) and no angel,” thus no mediator, but “he (Yahweh) himself” (*pānāw*) has helped his people (Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 388; Nötscher, op. cit. 51; extensive treatment in Reindl, op. cit. 80–84; contra e.g., Duhm, *Jesaja*, HKAT [1968], 466: “envoy, representative, ambassador of the deity”). The notion that *pānîm* here represents a manifestation of Yahweh distinct from a messenger or angel is suggested

neither by the context nor by the Pentateuchal traditions known to us. The latter never mentions a representative of Yahweh described as *pānîm* in relation to the exodus from Egypt (Exod 33:14, which is often adduced in comparison refers to the leadership through the wilderness and, taken alone, does not support an interpretation of *pānîm* as an intermediate being; see above).

Nor does Deut 4:37 indicate that Yahweh led Israel out of Egypt through a representative. The exodus resulted “from his personal intervention” (*b<sup>ê</sup>pānāw*); cf. v 34 and LXX *autos* (Reindl, op. cit. 76–79; Nötscher, op. cit. 49f.; contra Steuernagel, *Deut*, HKAT [19232], 69: “Yahweh’s *pānîm* is his manifestation and earthly representative”; similarly Bertholet, *Deut*, KHC, 19f., cf. also von Rad, *Deut*, OTL, 48).

*p<sup>ê</sup>n yhw<sup>h</sup>* can also accentuate his personal activity in Lam 4:16 (so Reindl, op. cit. 85–88; Kraus, BK 20, 66; Plöger, HAT 182, 155; Rudolph, KAT 17/3, 246, 249; Weiser, ATD 16, 351), although one may not rule out the possibility that the phrase in this context refers to the “wrathful glance of God” (cf. 2c and Nötscher, op. cit. 39).

In the event that the transmitted *pen yipqōd* in Isa 27:3 should be emended to *pānaypōqēd* (so W. Rudolph, *Jesaja 24–27* [1933], 23; E. S. Mulder, *Die Theologie van die Jesaja-Apokalipse* [1954], 58) instead of *pen yippāqēd* “lest it be visited” (so BH 3; BHS; M. L. Henry, *Glaubenskrisis und Glaubensbewährung in den Dichtungen der Jesajaapokalypse* [1967], 195; Kaiser, *Isa 13–39*, OTL, 223n.d), this text would also represent an example of the usage of *pānîm* in the meaning treated above (“I myself am concerned with . . .”).

None of these passages, then, involves a term that would indicate God’s presence via an intermediary designated *pānîm* (somewhat like Yahweh’s messenger); rather the idiom corresponds to the profane usage of *pānîm* expressing personal presence. Consequently, the notion that in Exod 33:14f. (and the other passages mentioned) the “face of Yahweh” appears independently and that “Yahweh’s consuming holiness, which would annihilate the sinful people, is in a sense ‘mediated’ in his countenance” (so W. Zimmerli, *OT Theology in Outline* [1978], 73) is unconvincing and furthermore cannot be supported by the epithet *pn b<sup>l</sup>* attributed to the goddess Tinnit on a few Carthagian votive steles. The precise meaning of this formula is still disputed. It has been thought that this designation of Tinnit intends to distinguish her from another goddess of the same name by describing the placement of her cultic image “before Baal,” or that it is an indication that Tinnit is Baal’s consort or essentially a likeness of the male deity (cf. *KAI* 2:96). According to W. F. Albright (*Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* [repr. 1969], 130) *tnt pn b<sup>l</sup>* means

“Radiance of the Presence of Baal” (*tnt* > *tmnt*; cf. Psa 17:15; *ibid.* 42n.86).

(b) The phrase *pānîm ʔal-pānîm* “face to face” (Gen 32:31; Exod 33:11; Deut 34:10; Judg 6:22; Ezek 20:35) or *pānîm b<sup>e</sup>pānîm* (Deut 5:4) depicts the immediate and personal relationship between God and his chosen (Reindl, *op. cit.* 70–75; Nötscher, *op. cit.* 54f.; see also III/3a regarding *ʕayin b<sup>e</sup>ʕayin* and → *peh*). God speaks (*dbr* pi.) “face to face” with Moses in Exod 33:11 (“as one speaks with one’s friend”; E) and God communicates (*yd<sup>ʕ</sup>*) just as personally with him in Deut 34:10. Accordingly, Moses’ prophetic status is elevated above Aaron’s and Miriam’s when Num 12:8 (J or L) states that Yahweh spoke with Moses “mouth to mouth,” and Moses saw Yahweh’s form (cf. also Exod 34:29–35). Exod 33:12–23 (J) represents a certain contradiction to this ancient concept according to which Moses is “graced with an honor bordering on the mythical” (O. Eissfeldt, “Israels Führer in der Zeit vom Auszug aus Ägypten bis zur Landnahme,” FS Vriezen 63); in Exod 33 Moses is denied the opportunity to view God’s face (*pānîm*) and his majesty (*kābôd<sup>ʕ</sup>*, “for no one can see me and live,” v 20; cf. Gen 32:21; Judg 6:23; cf. Nötscher, *op. cit.* 22–25, 43–47), and he is permitted to see only Yahweh’s back. In other saga narratives, the heavenly being seen by a person “face to face” is designated as *ʔîš* “man” (Gen 32:25 J or L), *ʔlōhîm* “divine being” (Gen 32:31 J or L), or “Yahweh’s messenger.” Other passages contain clearly fig. usages of the phrase, as suggested by a comparison of Deut 5:4 (“Yahweh spoke to me face to face out of the fire on the mountain”) and 4:12, 15 (v 12 “but you were unable to perceive a figure, only a voice”; v 15 “you have not seen . . . any figure”). Isa 52:8 and Ezek 20:35f., however, refer to God’s direct communication with his people.

2. “God’s face” appears in numerous passages as the obj. of a statement. They involve either *pānîm* as the obj. of a divine act or of a human activity (see 3). All these cases represent fig. usages that do not make a statement concerning God’s face per se but concerning God’s relationship to people or the person’s relationship to him. All these expressions may be explained on the basis of profane language or they correspond to expressions that were common among Israel’s neighbors.

(a) Statements in which “God’s face” appears as the obj. of an action concern the bestowal of his grace or life-giving or disaster-bringing glance. The request “look on me graciously” occurs often in Bab. prayers. In substance, the deity’s gracious look in contrast to the harmful effects of the evil look of demons and people means gracious divine attention to the supplicant and is consequently identical with a positive response to prayer (cf. e.g., “your glance is response, your word is light” in a prayer to Ishtar; see B. A. van Prossdij, *L. W. King’s Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* [1952],

62–63; and esp. Nötscher, op. cit. 119–26, who cites additional examples). The deity’s gracious look means mercy and care for persons and things (temple, land) so that they do not fall victim to ruin (examples in Nötscher, op. cit. 122; for Sum. pars., *ibid.* 123f.), it produces life or (for the king) a long reign (*ibid.* 124–26). By contrast, the deity’s wrathful glance leads to destruction. Disaster results when they turn their necks, their faces, or themselves (see e.g., “How long [yet] will your face be averted?” in a prayer to Ishtar; cf. S. H. Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* [1909], 268; Nötscher, op. cit. 121; cf. also Psa 13:2).

“The light of the countenance” (Akk. *nūr pānī*<sup>†</sup>) reveals an attitude of goodwill and favor and thus denotes favor granted (Dhorme 53; cf. Ug. *wpn špš nr bym*<sup>ʾd</sup> “the face of the sun [= of the king] shines brightly on me,” *KTU* 2.16.9f.; cf. also 2.13.17f. and Reindl, op. cit. 278n.369, further L. R. Fisher, ed., *Ras Shamra Parallels* [1972], 1:55f.). References to the deity’s raised eyes can mean the same (cf. Nötscher, op. cit. 142f.; for the profane usage of the phrase see III/3a).

Comparable usages in the OT may therefore be explained on the basis of ancient Near Eastern diction, where the expressions had already long been rooted in cultic and prayer terminology. The assumption that the pertinent expressions all originated in profane language or the royal court is suggested by the fact that they all also constitute elements of everyday speech, even the phrase “shining face,” which hence should not be derived from astral phenomena (as J. Boehmer, *Gottes Angesicht* [1908], 331–37, suggested; see Reindl, op. cit. 143f.; cf. also Dhorme 51f.; Nötscher, op. cit. 11ff.). Consequently, these expressions do not provide a basis for the claim that the “conceptual world and linguistic forms of the Psalms are determined by the theophany as the center of the cultic salvation event and experience” (contra A. Weiser, FS Bertholet 519). Because in the pertinent OT expressions (“to raise the face,” “to let shine,” “to direct against,” “to avert,” “to sink”) *pānîm* refers substantially to God’s look, par. expressions with *ʿênayim* (“eyes,” → *ʿayin*) may often be identified.

(b) In the Aaronic blessing in Num 6:26, *nśʾ pānîm* “to lift up the countenance” (similar to Akk. *našū ʿnā*) refers to loving regard and relates to the divine grant of concrete benefits (Reindl, op. cit. 130). The expression *ʾôr hi. pānîm* “to make the face to shine,” also used in the Aaronic blessing in Num 6:25 and in Psa 31:17; 67:2; 80:4, 8, 20; 119:135; Dan 9:17, has the same meaning. This divine act produces the bestowal of blessing (Psa 67:2) and deliverance (31:17; 80:4, 8, 20), the reconstruction of the “devastated” sanctuary (Dan 9:17), and (spiritualized) the achievement of the benefits of the knowledge of Yahweh’s ordinances (Psa 119:135); cf. also subst. *ʾôr pānîm* “light of the face”: profanely of the king in Prov 16:15 in reference to life-giving mercy (cf. also Prov 14:35; 19:12); of

Job in Job 29:24 txt? (cf. Fohrer, KAT 16, 401, 403) in reference to goodwill (cf. v 25); of God in Psa 44:4 in reference to mighty, delivering acts; 89:16 of “walking” in God’s beneficial presence; regarding 4:7 txt? cf. comms.; on the passages discussed see the extensive treatment in Reindl, op. cit. 127–45.

(c) The phrases *ntn pānîm* and *šîm pānîm* “to set the face against” are used in conjunction with the prep. *be* only in reference to God (cf. Ug. *wbhm pn bʿl*, KTU 1.12.I.33, which Dahood [Psa, ABC, 1:133] would like to translate “and with them was the fury of Baal,” but which is more likely a par. to Psa 34:17; see I. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East* [19672], 126n.4; see also below). The two synonymous expressions (Ezek 15:7) characterize the Holiness Code (Lev 17:10; 20:3, 6; 26:17, or 20:5) and Ezek (Ezek 14:8; 15:7a or 15:7b); otherwise only in Jer 21:10; 44:11 (*šîm pānîm*, but with the supplement *lʿrāʿâ* “for evil”); cf. Dhorme 44; Nötscher, op. cit. 128–31; Reindl, op. cit. 110. The phrases always constitute the “introductory formula of a pronouncement of judgment”; this formula “also maintains its character when adopted from its proper place in sacral law into prophetic judgment discourse. It always announces the coming judgment: ‘eradication’ (ban), abandonment (in the comprehensive sense or specifically to an enemy), annihilation” (Reindl, op. cit. 119). The term *pānîm* in these expressions represents the punitive wrath of the judging God (cf. also Psa 34:17; see Dhorme 47), although this meaning is not determined here by *pānîm* per se but by the prep. *be* (cf. Psa 34:16, where *ʿênayim* has precisely the same meaning as *pānîm* in v 17, but *ʿel* expresses Yahweh’s merciful intention; cf. also the expansion *lʿrāʿâ* “for evil,” Jer 21:10; 44:11; see Dhorme 44 and Amos 9:4).

As in profane usage (cf. III/2), *pānîm* alone can refer to Yahweh’s wrathful glance (Psa 21:10; cf. 9:4; 80:17; Jer 4:26; see Nötscher, op. cit. 39). In Psa 80:17 the meaning of *pānîm* is determined, however, by *gaʿrat* “threat,” in Eccl 8:1 by *ʿôz* “harshness” (contra Dahood, Psa, ABC, 1:133, 207; id., *Bib* 44 [1963]: 548). On Lam 4:16, see 1a.

(d) God’s contact with people is interrupted when he “hides his glance” (→ *str* hi. *pānîm*), “averts” it (*sbb* hi. *pānîm*), “removes” it (→ *sûr* hi. *pānîm*), “does not show his face” (*lōʾrʿh* hi. *pānîm*), or “lowers his glance” (*npl* hi. *pānîm*).

The phraseology of “hiding” or “concealing” the countenance (Exod 3:6; Isa 50:6; 53:3), also used in profane discourse, does not refer to covering the face, e.g., with a coat (Hebr. has other expressions for this act; cf. III/1c), but hiding the glance so that the relationship with a person or a thing is dissolved; cf. Isa 59:2 (“Your sins separate you and God! And your evil deeds conceal [Yahweh’s] look from you so that he does not

heed”). The expression corresponds to *ʿIm hi. ʿenayim* “to cover the eyes, remain inactive, neglect, fail to help” (profane, Lev 20:4; 1 Sam 12:3; Ezek 22:26; Prov 28:27; of God, Isa 1:15; cf. Psa 10:1) and *ʿIm hi. ʾōzen* “to cover the ear” (Lam 3:56). Thus the expression *str hi. pānîm* is tantamount to total aversion to a person or a circumstance (cf. LXX’s standard translation *apostrephein to prosōpon* and Akk. *suḥḥuru pānî* “to turn the face [away]”; see Nötscher, op. cit. 133). Thus the theological significance of *str hi. pānîm* does not contrast with profane usage because there too it relates primarily to the concept not of protection but of aversion (contra Reindl, op. cit. 91, 107).

The derivation of *histîr* in the phrase *histîr pānîm* from *sûr* “to avert” (a hi. with a *t* infix) suggested by Dahood (*Psa*, ABC, 1:64) is contraindicated, apart from the question of whether such infix forms are possible in OT Hebr., by the synonymous expression *ʿIm hi. ʿenayim*. Cf. also S. B. Wheeler, “The infixed *-t-* in Biblical Hebrew,” *JANES* 3 (1970/71): 28–31, who rejects Dahood’s thesis.

Because humans, like all living beings (Psa 104:29), can live only by the grace of the attentive countenance or look of God (Num 6:25f.), they must perish from the averted glance of God. As a result, the idiom *str hi. pānîm* characterizes the lament in which the supplicant pleads with Yahweh not to hide his gracious glance. According to the evidence of the par. elements of the verse, this request is for Yahweh to heed (Psa 102:3; cf. 22:25), to respond (69:18; 143:7), not to forget (13:2; 44:25; cf. 10:11), not to cast aside (88:15), not to reject and abandon (27:9), and not to regard the supplicant as an enemy (Job 13:24). This aversion of Yahweh is not a capricious act of God but is determined by human sins that have provoked his wrath (Deut 31:17; 32:20; Isa 8:17; 54:8; 59:2; 64:6; Jer 33:5; Ezek 39:23f., 29; Mic 3:4; Job 13:23f.; 34:29). Precisely because sins kindle Yahweh’s wrath, the supplicant can petition him to hide his glance from misdeeds committed, i.e., not to note them (Psa 51:11; cf. 39:14). Otherwise Yahweh’s beneficial care would be lost to the supplicant (13:2ff.), the petitioner would fall into dismay (30:8; cf. 104:29) and would lack vitality (143:7; cf. 13:4). For details concerning all these passages see Reindl, op. cit. 90–109; and L. Perlitt, “Die Verborgtheit Gottes,” FS von Rad (1971), 367–82.

God is said to have “averted” (Ezek 7:22) or “removed” (2 Chron 30:9) his face only once each. The former expression is common in profane discourse (Judg 18:23; 1 Kgs 8:14; 2 Chron 29:6, etc.) and constitutes the opposite of “to turn the back” (*ntn ʿorep* 2 Chron 29:6). Its meaning corresponds substantially to *str hi. pānîm*, only *pānîm* here is almost representative of the entire person. By contrast, *sûr hi. pānîm* probably

means “to remove the glance (attention) from someone.” Profane discourse has no direct par. for this unique expression; cf., however, *mēsîr ’oznô* “who removes one’s ear (from hearing instruction),” Prov 28:9.

Equivalent to the expressions mentioned is the saying that in his wrath God “shows the back and not the face” to his people (Jer 18:17, read hi.; cf. Jer 2:27; Reindl, op. cit. 124f.) and that his facial expressions “sink” in wrath against his people, i.e., “darken” (Jer 3:12; Reindl, op. cit. 125f.).

3. God not only turns his attention to a person, his people, or all living beings, but human activities are also intended to reach him. People wish to “view” (*rʔh* or *hzh*), to “seek” (*bqš* pi.), “to dispose favorably” (*hlh* pi.), “to come before” (*qdm* pi.), or to “favor” (*nśʔpānîm*) God’s face.

(a) The idiom “to view God’s face” (*rʔh/hzh p<sup>e</sup>nē yhw<sup>h</sup>/ʔ<sup>e</sup>lōhîm*) does not occur in the OT in old theophany narratives, apart from Exod 33:20, but is a technical term in cultic language. Israel borrowed it from neighboring cultures. Although the corresponding expression has not yet been identified in the Can. realm, it occurs frequently in Bab. cultic language, esp. in prayer texts (*amāru pānî ili*). There the expression means lit. “to view the cultic image,” but then also (because one expects that the deity will graciously and beneficially turn its face to the petitioner; cf. Gen 33:10) “to request grace and assistance” (on details of the topic of viewing a god’s face in Egypt and Babylon, see Nötscher, op. cit. 60–76). The meaning “to seek out the sanctuary” reflects the lit. sense, esp. in the OT, because Israel cannot speak of viewing Yahweh’s face on account of the aniconic nature of the Yahweh cult. Since viewing Yahweh’s face is tantamount to death for a human being (Exod 33:20), the Masoretes (but. cf. already LXX) have revocalized the qal forms of *rʔh* in the expression *rʔh p<sup>e</sup>nē yhw<sup>h</sup>/ʔ<sup>e</sup>lōhîm* as ni. forms for dogmatic reasons (further in Reindl, op. cit. 147–49).

Naturally, the phrase *rʔh p<sup>e</sup>nē yhw<sup>h</sup>* characterizes regulations concerning cultic festivals: one should not view God’s countenance with empty hands, i.e., one should bring gifts when visiting the sanctuary (Exod 23:15; Deut 16:16), and three times per year all male Israelites should view God’s face, i.e., make pilgrimages to the (central) sanctuary (Deut 16:16; Exod 23:17; 34:23; cf. v 24 and Deut 31:11; the phrase occurs only in Dtn-Dtr literature). The phrase also relates to visiting the sanctuary in Isa 1:12 and Psa 42:3 (regarding these passages and 1 Sam 1:22, see comms. and Reindl, op. cit. 155–57). While Job 33:26, which by means of a vision of God’s face intimated a cultic experience, is already “an expression of the gracious reality in the relationship of the person to God” (Reindl, op. cit. 157), *hzh p<sup>e</sup>nē yhw<sup>h</sup>* always refers to a fortunate life in gracious relationship to God and is thus the “content of well-being in the most comprehensive sense” (Psa 11:7; 17:15; Reindl, op. cit. 158ff.). Indeed, the phrase is rooted in cultic language, but it never means “to visit the sanctuary.”

(b) The idiom “to seek the face of God” (*bqš* pi. *p<sup>é</sup>né yhw<sup>h</sup>/<sup>é</sup>lōhîm*; 2 Sam 21:1; Hos 5:15; Psa 24:6; 27:8; 105:4 = 1 Chron 16:11; 2 Chron 7:14; on forms with ptcp., see below) alternates with the more frequently attested expression “to seek God” (→ *bqš* pi. *yhw<sup>h</sup>/<sup>é</sup>lōhîm*, i.e., without *pānîm*). This alternation suggests that *pānîm* in the idiom under consideration signifies the “person”; cf. Psa 105:3f. = 1 Chron 16:10f., where *bqš* pi. *yhw<sup>h</sup>* and *bqš* pi. *pānāw* appear in par. Consequently, one should not relate the “face of God” in this expression to the image that the pious endeavors to view in the sanctuary (contra Reindl, op. cit. 174), esp. since no corresponding expression has yet been identified in the literature of Israel’s neighbors (Nötscher, op. cit. 136). The expression, used in a profane meaning for seeking out a king (1 Kgs 10:24 = 2 Chron 9:23; Prov 29:26), compares in some cases to → *drš yhw<sup>h</sup>* “to seek Yahweh” (never *drš p<sup>é</sup>né yhw<sup>h</sup>*) but never to → *š<sup>l</sup> yhw<sup>h</sup>* “to inquire of Yahweh by lot” (cf. Reindl, op. cit. 165, contra C. Westermann, “Die Begriffe für Fragen und Suchen im AT,” *KerD* 6 [1960]: 2–30). It displays a series of connotations: (1) It can mean to inquire of God through a mediator (2 Sam 21:1; without *pānîm*, Exod 33:7; Lev 19:31); the expression thus corresponds to *drš yhw<sup>h</sup>*. (2) In by far most cases *bqš* pi. (*p<sup>é</sup>n*) *yhw<sup>h</sup>* means “to seek Yahweh’s mercy and assistance,” once when, in distress, the falsely accused appeals to Yahweh in the temple precincts in order to acquire a salvation oracle (Psa 27:8), then also when the genuinely repentant people of God seek Yahweh (Hos 5:15 par. *šhr* pi. “to seek [God]”; cf. also Isa 26:9; Psa 63:2; 78:34; Job 8:5). Hosea contrasts the external search for Yahweh in the temple involving sacrifices of sheep and cows with a search in genuine repentance and consequently often associates “to repent” (→ *šûb*) with the search for Yahweh (Hos 3:5; 5:6 [cf. v 4]; 7:10). This association was adapted by Dtn/Dtr/Chr circles (Deut 4:29; Jer 29:13 [cf. 50:4]; 2 Chron 15:4, 15; cf. 7:14; Reindl, op. cit. 169). (3) *m<sup>é</sup>baqq<sup>é</sup>šé (p<sup>é</sup>né) yhw<sup>h</sup>/<sup>é</sup>lōhîm* (par. *dōr<sup>é</sup>šé yhw<sup>h</sup>*) occurs as a static expression, not related to a concrete unique act but describing the pious adherents of Yahweh (Psa 24:6; without *pānîm*, Isa 51:1; Psa 40:17 = 70:5; 69:7; 105:3 = 1 Chron 16:10; Prov 28:5; cf. this static meaning also in Psa 105:4 = 1 Chron 16:11; Zeph 1:6; 2:3). Whether this static expression may be described as weakened and derived from a fixed usage in the sense of seeking out the sanctuary (Hos 5:6) remains uncertain in view of the probable great antiquity of Psa 24, which already exhibits the expression *m<sup>é</sup>baqq<sup>é</sup>šé pānāw* “those who seek his (God’s) face” (contra Reindl, op. cit. 171–74). Westermann’s thesis (op. cit.) that the expression *bqš* pi. *p<sup>é</sup>n yhw<sup>h</sup>* was employed under the influence of the profane expression used in relation to the royal audience has significant support.

(c) The expression *hlh* pi. *p<sup>é</sup>n yhw<sup>h</sup>* “to dispose favorably the face of

God” occurs only in Dtn/Dtr and later texts.

One can best relate *hlh* in this expression etymologically to *hlh* II “to be sweet, pleasant,” pi. “to make sweet, pleasant” (so Zorell 242b) instead of to *hlh* I “to be ill, weak,” pi. “to make weak,” which suggests “to make soft, appease” (so, e.g., KBL 300; HAL 303f.; Reindl, op. cit. 175; → *hlh* 1, 3b). At any rate, the notion that *hlh* pi. *pānîm* refers to stroking the face of the deity or the image as a ritual appeasement is entirely misdirected, as noted correctly by Reindl, op. cit. 184; contra Boehmer, op. cit. 327; and A. E. Gulin, *Das Angesicht Gottes* (1922), 7f.

Religious usage arose from profane usage in which *hlh* pi. *pānîm* means “to pay homage to someone, favorably dispose someone” (Psa 45:13; Job 11:19; Prov 19:6). Accordingly, the phrase in religious usage signifies “to favorably dispose” God, “to pay (him) homage,” and “to worship (him).” One cannot demonstrate that the expression was originally used in contrast to discussions of “hardened” countenances (see III/2d) and that, consequently, the concept of God’s wrath stood in the background; nor can this notion be confirmed by profane usage (contra Reindl, op. cit. 176–83). The expression characterizes intercession (Exod 32:11; 1 Kgs 13:6) and prayer for deliverance (2 Kgs 13:4; Jer 26:19; 2 Chron 33:12). The expression occurs in reference to sacrifice only in 1 Sam 13:12 (cf. Mal 1:9). In the post-exilic prophet Zechariah it also then means “to worship Yahweh in the cult” (Zech 8:21 [par. *bqš* pi.], 22). Finally, it can mean “to worship Yahweh” in a spiritualized usage (Psa 119:58; Dan 9:13).

Neither semantic usage of the expression nor etymological considerations suggest that *hlh* pi. *pānîm* refers to changing the attitude of or appeasing the wrathful God (the phrase relates to sacrifice in 1 Sam 13:12, which does not, however, mention a sin offering; cf. R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im AT* [1967], 124f.; Mal 1:9 may be explained against the background of the profane use of the term; cf. the comparison to a gift for the ruler). The notion that the expression points to an older, ritualistic stage in Israel’s conceptualization of the cult governed by ideas of satisfaction and placation (so Vriezen, *Theol.* 268) finds no support, then; moreover, it seems uncertain because the phrase occurs only in later literature.

(d) The expression *qdm* pi. *p<sup>é</sup>n(yhwh)* “to come before (God’s) face” is attested only twice (Psa 89:15; 95:2). The phrase arose from profane usage, where *qdm* pi. can also mean “to come before” (both beneficially and malevolently, although *qdm* pi. occurs in conjunction with *pānîm* only in a malevolent sense, 17:13). The idiom, with no counterpart in the extra-Israelite realm, means: to come before the God-king sitting on his throne (either the heavenly [89:15] or the earthly throne [95:2] of Yahweh). Here the term *pānîm* indubitably means “person.”

(e) In one passage (Job 13:8; cf. v 10), the phrase *ns'pānîm* applies to God in the sense of “to favor someone as a partisan” (see III/4b). Job asks whether his friends wish to act as God’s legal representatives in one-sided partisanship (Horst, BK 16/1, 199; Fohrer, KAT 16, 248; Reindl, op. cit. 190).

4. (a) In reference to Yahweh, the prep. phrase *lipn'* has the same connotations as in profane usage, although the temporal sense occurs only once (Isa 43:10); the use of *lipn' yhwh* in relation to military language is directly governed by the profane use in the same verses (1 Chron 22:18; 2 Chron 14:12; Reindl, op. cit. 25).

*lipn' yhwh* occurs occasionally in a local sense in old theophany narratives (Gen 18:22 J; 1 Kgs 19:11; cf. also Hab 3:5; Psa 50:3; 97:3), in visions (1 Kgs 22:21), or in descriptions of God’s majesty (Psa 96:6) and benevolent goodwill (Psa 85:14), but the phrase is very common, esp. in the legal portions of P, as a cultic technical term. In these cases, it means substantially “in the sanctuary” or “at the sanctuary,” occasionally also “before the ark,” thus “before” the locus of God’s presence. “Before Yahweh” sacrifices are presented (Lev 3:1, 7, 12, etc.), animals are slaughtered (1:5, 11; 3:8, 13, etc.), cultic implements stand (table of shewbread, Exod 25:30; lamps, Exod 27:21; Lev 24:3; altar, Lev 4:18), and people gather (Num 16:16; cf. v 18). *lipn' yhwh* also occurs in this meaning in sources other than P, although less frequently: “before Yahweh,” i.e., in the sanctuary, sacrifice is made (Judg 20:26; 1 Sam 11:15), prayers are offered (1 Sam 1:12; 2 Sam 7:18), one weeps, i.e., performs a mourning liturgy (Deut 1:45; Judg 20:23, 26), Hezekiah spreads out Sennacherib’s letter (2 Kgs 19:14), the lot is cast (Josh 18:6), and Saul hacks Agag to pieces (1 Sam 15:33, at Gilgal). “Before Yahweh,” in the sense of “before the ark,” David dances (2 Sam 6:5, 14, 16, 21), the Israelites pass over the Jordan (Num 32:21, 27), and one goes forth to battle (Num 32:29). In all these usages *lipn'* is already so diluted that the phrase makes no statement concerning God’s face but only concerning the locus of his presence. The expression is so diluted, esp. in later literature, that the relation to the cult or to holiness can even be lost; Nehemiah fasts and prays in a strange land “before the face of Yahweh” (Neh 1:4).

Blessing, cursing, and covenant making also sometime occur *lipn' yhwh* with no connection to the cult. In relation to blessing and curse, the expression per se may have had no relation to the cult (see, however, Num 5:12–28; 1 Kgs 8:31), but a causal meaning (“blessed by Yahweh”; Gen 27:7 [blessing]; Josh 6:26 [curse]; cf. Nötscher, op. cit. 109f.). Covenants were originally made in the sanctuary, but David and Jonathan made their covenant in the wilderness *lipn' yhwh* (1 Sam 23:18). Cf. G. Wehmeier, *Der Segen im AT* (1970), 108–10; Reindl, op. cit. 30; → *brk*, → *ʔr*, → *b'rit*.

As in the profane realm, *lipn' yhwh* sometimes means “in the eyes, in the estimate, according to the viewpoint, of Yahweh” (Gen 6:11, 13; 7:1; 10:9; Lev 16:30; Deut 24:4; Isa 66:22; Psa 143:2) or “in Yahweh’s service,” esp. in the expression *‘md lipnê yhwh* in the Elijah-Elisha legends (1 Kgs 17:1; 18:15; 2 Kgs 3:14; 5:16; otherwise only in Jer 35:19; opposite *millipn' yhwh* “away from Yahweh’s service,” Jonah 1:3).

Regarding *hlk hitp. lipn' yhwh*, cf. Nötscher, op. cit. 103, 112–14, and → *hlk* (4b). Regarding “to have status before Yahweh’s face” and “to dwell before Yahweh’s face,” see Nötscher, op. cit. 114–16; → *kûn*, → *yšb*.

(b) As is sometimes the case in profane usage (see III/6b), *‘al-pānāy* in the first commandment of the Decalogue (Exod 20:3; Deut 5:7) seems to mean “to my disadvantage” (cf. J. J. Stamm, *Der Dekalog im Lichte der neueren Forschung* [19622], 39). This explanation of the expression is more probable than “in defiance of me” (so e.g., König, *Deut*, KAT, 86f.; L. Köhler, *TR* 1 [1929]: 174), “beside me” (so e.g., Beer, *HAT* 3, 98; this meaning for *‘al-p<sup>e</sup>nê* is never attested with certainty), “before me” (so E. Nielsen, *Ten Commandments in New Perspective* [1968], 98), or locally “opposite me” (so R. Knierim, “Das erste Gebot,” *ZAW* 77 [1965]: 20–39).

(c) Regarding other prep. expressions with *pānîm* in reference to Yahweh, see Reindl, op. cit. 36ff.

5. Finally, the expression *leḥem happānîm* “bread of the countenance,” “bread of the presence” (NRSV), “shewbread” (KJV) (Exod 35:13; 39:26; 1 Sam 21:7; 1 Kgs 7:48; 2 Chron 4:19) requires special consideration; cf. *leḥem pānîm* (Exod 25:30), *leḥem hattāmîd* “permanent bread” (Num 4:7), *leḥem hamma<sup>a</sup>reket* “rows of bread” (Neh 10:34; 1 Chron 9:32; 23:29), *ma<sup>a</sup>reket leḥem* “bread row” (2 Chron 13:11), and *ma<sup>a</sup>reket tāmîd* “permanent rows (of bread)” (2 Chron 2:3). The referents are the slices of bread placed on a table (*šulḥan happānîm* Num 4:7; cf. 2 Chron 29:18) as gifts “before God” (cf. Exod 25:30), which fall to the priests in the Israelite cult as “most holy food” (Lev 24:9; 1 Sam 21:4ff.; cf. Mark 2:25f.; one cannot demonstrate, however, that this consumption was “an essential part of the rite,” contra P. A. H. de Boer, “An Aspect of Sacrifice. I. The Divine Bread,” *SVT* 23 [1972]: 27–36, esp. 31). The expression *laḥem happānîm*, like *šulḥan happānîm* and early Jewish *mal’ak pānîm* (see V), means the bread of the personal presence (of Yahweh), as Johnson (op. cit. 155) correctly notes: “Yahweh’s ‘personal’ bread.” The notion that the bread was furnished with an image of the deity (“stamped with an image of the deity”), as de Boer suggests (op. cit. 35), is untenable. It is contradicted by the facts that the prohibition against images in Exod 20:4 bars any image of Yahweh in the Israelite cult (esp. in priestly-Levitical circles), that Jer 44:19

(cf. 7:18) does not mention bread “stamped with an image of the deity” (rather, bread in the form of a star seems to be intended), and that the *šulḥan happānîm* does not display an image of Yahweh but is so called because it stands “before Yahweh’s face,” i.e., in his presence (Ezek 41:22). One may not argue that *lipn’ yhw* following *leḥem happānîm* (cf. Exod 25:30) would be tautological because of the many diluted meanings of *lipn’* (contra de Boer, op. cit. 34).

V. Most phrases with *pānîm* attested in the OT recur in the Qumran literature (cf. Kuhn, *Konk.* 178f.; also GCDS 464f.). The expression *ʾôr hi. pānîm* in the sense of the divine illumination of the pious deserves particular emphasis, however (1QH 3:3; 4:5 [“for your covenant”], 27 [“through me,” i.e., through the teacher]; cf. O. Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* [1960], 111–14), as does *pānîm* meaning “battle line” (e.g., 1QM 5:3f.), and the phrase *malʾak pānîm* (1QSb 4:25f.; 1QH 6:13; cf. *Jub.* 1:27, 29; 31:14; *T. Jud.* 25:2; *T. Levi* 4:2; *1 Enoch* 40:2ff.) as a designation for the angel of the divine presence, i.e., the highest angel before his throne. One should also note that *ḥsdyw* “his grace” modifies *nsʾ pānîm* in the blessing in 1QS 2:4 (“may he [God] raise his gracious countenance”) and that the phrase precedes the curse formula *nsʾ pny ʾpw* “may he raise his wrathful countenance” in 1QS 2:9.

On the use of “face” in the LXX, by Philo and Josephus, in the Pseudepigrapha and Rabbinic literature, and in the NT, see E. Lohse, “πρόσωπον,” *TDNT* 6:768–80.

A. S. van der Woude

## פעל *pʿl* to make, do

S 6466; BDB 821a; *HALOT* 3:950a; *ThWAT* 6:697–703; *TWOT* 1792; *NIDOTTE* 7188

1. The root *pʿl* is attested in the Ssem. and NWSem. languages. The verb occurs frequently in Phoen. and Pun. inscriptions (*DISO* 231f.). In Ug. the root occurs only in composite PNs (Gröndahl 171), in the verbal form *bʿl* (*WUS* no. 546; cf. nos. 1595, 2242; *UT* nos. 494, 2075; the use of *bʿl* in the sense of *pʿl* in Job 31:39 and other texts is questionable; cf. M. Dahood, *Bib* 43 [1962]: 361f.; 44 [1963]: 303; *HAL* 136f.; contra *CPT* 100f.). *pʿl* is attested only in late Aram. (*LS* 585f.; regarding *CIS* 2:138A.1, cf. *KAI* [no. 271] 2:324 [Canaanism]; *DISO* 213 [reading?]). In

all the Sem. examples *pʿl* has the basic meaning “to make, do.”

P. Humbert (“L’emploi du verb *pāʿal* et de ses dérivés substantifs en hébreu biblique,” *ZAW* 65 [1953]: 35–44) speculates that the root *pʿl* entered Hebr. from Phoen. and Can. and sees its relative infrequency in the OT (→ *śh* is preferred) as a reflection of the concern for the purity of “classical” Yahwism.

As derived nouns, there occur, besides the segholate *pōʿal* “doing, work, earnings,” the qatul-formation *pʿullâ* “doing, earnings, reward,” as well as the formation with the *m*-prefix *mipʿāl* “deed” (only pl.). For the PNs *ʿlpaʿal* (1 Chron 8:11f., 18) and *pʿullʿtay* (1 Chron 26:5), see *IP* 172, 189 n.3; Humbert, *op. cit.* 44.

2. The verb *pʿl* is attested 57x in the OT, only in the qal. Psa (26x) and Job (12x, incl. Job 37:12 inf.; see KBL 770b; Fohrer, *KAT* 16, 479) combine for two-thirds of all occurrences. The remaining one-third are distributed in Deutero-Isa (5x), Prov (4x), and Isa 26:12; 31:2; Hos 6:8; 7:1; and isolated occurrences in Exod 15:17; Num 23:23; Deut 32:27; Mic 2:1; Hab 1:5; Zeph 2:3. *pʿl* does not occur in either narrative or legal texts. It is elevated, poetical speech (Isa 44:9–20 is also verse; cf. Fohrer, *Jesaja*, *ZBK*, 3:75ff.; Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, *OTL*, 144ff.). The dominant usage points to the exilic/post-exilic period.

Hos 6:8; 7:1; Isa 31:2; Psa 28:3; 101:8; Hab 1:5 are certainly pre-exilic. Because of the notion that Yahweh has prepared himself a dwelling in Jerusalem, the temple, Exod 15:17 may be placed in the late pre-exilic period, at the earliest (cf. Sellin-Fohrer, *Intro.* [1968], 189). Num 23:23 is an insertion (cf. Holzinger, *Num*, *KHC*, 118; Noth, *Num*, *OTL*, 186f.). The expression *pōʿlêraʿ* in Mic 2:1 is an ill-advised gloss (Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, *KHC*, 272; Weiser, *ATD* 24, 245, etc.). Zeph 2:3 is likewise secondary (Marti, *op. cit.* 367f.; Elliger, *ATD* 25, 69).

The subst. *pōʿal* occurs 37x in the OT, 35x in the sg. and 2x in the pl., exclusively in elevated speech (in the phrase *rab-pʿālîm* [see 3b] characterizing Benaiah, one of David’s thirty heroes, 2 Sam 23:20 = 1 Chron 11:22; in a blessing, Ruth 2:12) or in metrical language (Psa 11x, Isa 6x [Deutero-Isa 3x], Job 5x, Prov 5x [incl. 21:6, which should be vocalized *pōʿēl*; see *BHS*], Jer 3x; Deut and Hab 2x each; 2 Sam, Ruth, and 1 Chron 1x each).

*pʿullâ* is attested 14x, 12x in sg. and 2x in pl., always in metrical language, except for 2 Chron 15:7, a very late narrative text, and Lev 19:13, an equally late legal text.

*mipʿāl* occurs 3x, always pl. (Psa 46:9 and 66:5 fem.; Prov 8:22 masc.).

The oldest instances of *pōʿal* are 2 Sam 23:20; Deut 33:11; Isa 5:12; Psa 28:4; of *pʿullâ*, Psa 28:5; Jer 31:16.

3. The meanings of *pʿl* depend on the subj. and obj. used and the context. Subjs. are people and God, and in one passage, rain clouds that do God's commands (Job 37:12).

(a) *pʿl* indicates a human action and behavior that qualifies one before Yahweh. In the taunt or mocking song of Isa 44:9–20 *pʿl* refers to the production and manufacture of an idol image. In the lament in Psa 7, the petitioner, oppressed by an enemy who makes his arrows fiery (v 14) and digs a pit (v 16), appeals to the righteous judgment of Yahweh. In Prov 21:6 *pʿl* acquires the meaning “to gain” but is not used neutrally; instead it describes misbehavior (to gain treasures through deceit). Besides → *ʾāwen* in the formulaic expression *pōʿlê ʾāwen*, objs. are *šeqer* “deceit” (Hos 7:1), *rāʿ* “evil” (Mic 2:1), *ʿawlâ* “injustice” (Psa 119:3; Psa 58:3 txt?), *ʿāwel* “injustice” (Job 34:32), *mišpāt* “justice” (Zeph 2:3), *šedeq* “righteousness” (Psa 15:2). As a rule, *pʿl* describes a human action and behavior that is perverse because it does not conform to Yahweh's expectations. *pʿl* is constructed twice with a prep. (*le* Job 7:20; *be* Job 35:6) and should be translated “to do to,” both times in reference to Job's potential guilt. In the interrogative clauses in Psa 11:3 and Job 11:8, *pʿl* approximates the meaning “to be able, accomplish” in terms of the impotence of the righteous and of Job, resp. In two passages, certainly not old, *pʿl* describes a human act that conforms to Yahweh's will: Psa 15:2 speaks of the *pōʿlê šedeq* who may approach Yahweh; the addition in Zeph 2:3 speaks of the humble of the land who do Yahweh's will.

Predominantly, but not “always” (so Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 122; cf. Humbert, op. cit. 44), *pʿl* in the OT is “suggestive of enmity against Yahweh or is connected with the pagan cults.” Correspondingly, this verb can form the formulaic expression *pōʿlê ʾāwen*. It occurs 23x in the OT (→ *ʾāwen* 3a). The *pōʿlê ʾāwen* do not constitute a precisely defined group among the enemies in the individual laments. Their behaviors and actions are described like those of the other enemies (*ršāʿîm*, *ʾōyʿbîm*, *mʿrēʿîm*; cf. K.-H. Bernhardt, *TDOT* 1:140ff.). Their “actions” consist of an abuse of the word. They speak lies (Psa 101:7f.), sharpen their tongues like a sword (64:3f.); their throats are open graves (5:10); they speak *šālôm* while they plan harm (28:3). Psa 141:1 expresses clearly the oneness of speech and action. They harm the petitioner by means of slander, evildoing, false declarations, on the one hand because their word possesses effective power, on the other because their word leads to action. The ruinous actions of the *pōʿlê ʾāwen* are directed against the *šaddîq* and thus ultimately against Yahweh himself. The *pōʿlê ʾāwen* are Yahweh's enemies (14:4f.; 92:8–10; Job 34:8f.). They deny God, do not seek after Yahweh, and

depend on human power (Isa 31:1f.).

(b) *pō'al* is used in three respects: first, it describes the execution, the “action, procedure,” then the result of the action “deed, work,” and finally that which is gained by the action, “wage, earnings” (cf. G. Fohrer, “Twofold Aspects of Hebrew Words,” FS Thomas 95ff., 102). One defines oneself through one’s *pō'al*—for good or for evil. The *pō'al* is *yāšār* “right” (Prov 20:11; 21:8) and *zak* “pure” (Prov 20:11) or *ḥāmās* “an act of violence” (Isa 59:6). Yahweh will requite one according to one’s *pō'al* (Jer 25:14; Psa 28:4; Job 34:11; Prov 24:12; Ruth 2:12; of people, Jer 50:29; Prov 24:29); indeed, one’s sinful *pō'al* already contains the germ of disaster (Isa 1:31; see Fohrer, *Jesaja*, ZBK, 1:49). Concretely, *pō'al* assumes the meanings “work, day’s work” (Psa 104:23) and “wage” (Jer 22:13; Job 7:2). The metaphor in Isa 45:9 txt? speaks of the potter’s work.

The phrase *rab-p'ālîm* (2 Sam 23:20 = 1 Chron 11:22) is interpreted variously from the perspective of the different aspects of *pō'al*: “great in deeds” (so most of the comms.) or “gifted” (so Budde, *Sam*, KHC, 322, who calls attention to the fact that the immediate context speaks only of Benaiah’s origins). Yet the total context and the relative antiquity of 2 Sam 23:20 suggest the first interpretation (cf. K. Elliger, “Die dreissig Helden Davids,” *PJB* 31 [1935]: 64ff. = *KS zum AT* [1966], 107ff.).

(c) *p'ullâ* indicates “work,” “toil” (Jer 31:16; 2 Chron 15:7), the “deed” (Psa 17:4 pl.), then the “wage” for work (Lev 19:13; Ezek 29:20), also “gain” or “earnings” (Prov 10:16; 11:18).

(d) While the verb *II po*. “to act toward” and “to glean” (10x; *ōlêlôt* “gleaning,” 6x), hitp. “to do something to someone, commit mischief against someone” (7x; *ta'ulîm* “mischief,” Isa 3:4; “mistreatment,” Isa 66:4), hitpo. “to carry out” (Psa 141:4), usually has negative connotations, the substs. derived from this root—*alîlâ* “deed, procedure” (24x, 8x in Ezek; also Jer 32:19 txt? *alîlyâ*) and *ma'alâlîm* “deeds” (41x, 17x in Jer)—indicate both good and evil deeds and are not infrequently also used for God’s deeds.

4. (a) In its theological usage, *p'I* is limited to Yahweh’s acts on the human and international horizons. The verb appears with Yahweh as subj. with successive objs. or in the following contexts: Exod 15:17 (temple); Num 23:23 (?); Deut 32:27 (Yahweh’s acts of reproof and punishment against Israel); Isa 26:12 (“all our deeds”); Isa 41:4 (the call of Cyrus); 43:13 (absolutely: “I act—who will change it?”); Hab 1:5 (*pō'al*, Yahweh’s intervention on the international scene); Psa 31:20 (*tûb* “goodness”); 44:2 (*pō'al*, conquest); 68:29 (txt?); 74:12 (*y'šû'ôt*, apparently in relation to cosmological myths and fundamental events in Israel’s history; cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:99f.); Job 22:17 (*mâ*, a question); 33:29 (forgiveness of sins and redemption from death); 36:3 (*pō'alî* “my creator”); 36:23 (*awlâ*, in a

modal interrogative clause: “Who could say: ‘You have acted perversely!’?”); Prov 16:4 (“Yahweh has created everything [*kōl*] for its purpose”).

As a rule *pʿl* depicts Yahweh’s intervention in the history of Israel and the world and in the life of individuals. With the exception of the pre-Israelite tradition in Psa 74:12ff., it never alludes to the creation of the world (see Humbert, op. cit. 38). Israel has other verbs for Yahweh’s initial creative activity (→ *brʿ*, → *ysd*, → *yšr*, → *śh*, → *qnh*). Prov 16:4 refers to Yahweh’s present creative activity in the sense of his providence; Job 36:3 involves Elihu’s personal confession (“my creator”).

(b) Yahweh’s *pōʿal* is discussed in 14 passages (always in the sg.; cf. G. von Rad, “Das Werk Jahwes,” FS Vriezen 290ff.); once the gods’ *pōʿal* is discussed (Isa 41:24 in a nullification). The term *pōʿal* is typical of prayer language. One remembers Yahweh’s work (Psa 44:2; 77:13; 143:5) or petitions for (Psa 90:16) or praises Yahweh’s work (Deut 32:4; Psa 64:10; 92:5; 111:3). *pōʿal* describes Yahweh’s activity on the international scene (Isa 5:12; Hab 1:5), his approach in judgment (Hab 3:2); *pōʿal* can allude to the conquest (Psa 44:2), to Yahweh’s mighty acts in the past (77:13; 95:9, in the wilderness period; in marked generalizations in 111:3; 143:5); it can appear in appeals for his liberating activity in the future (90:16); it can depict his righteous rule (Deut 32:4; Psa 64:10; 92:5; Job 36:24). *pōʿal* describes Yahweh’s activity in history, the world of humanity and the nations, usually in the sense of his mighty acts in Israel’s past and his mighty intervention and righteous rule in the present and future. The term has connotations of the “res gestae” (cf. Humbert, op. cit. 42, and probably the oldest instance, 2 Sam 23:20). In one passage, however, Yahweh’s *pōʿal* unfolds in the framework of creation and history, in relation both to the creation of the world and to the imminent historical crisis marked by the call of Cyrus (Isa 45:11; regarding this peculiarity of Deutero-Isaiah, cf. R. Rendtorff, “Die theologische Stellung des Schöpfungsglaubens bei Deuterocesaja,” ZTK 51 [1954]: 3–13).

(c) The subst. *pʿullâ* is used of Yahweh 7x. Psa 28:5 discusses Yahweh’s acts of judgment, which the evildoers overlook (cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:339, 341, who reads a sg., however). In Isa 40:10 and 62:11 it refers to the liberated returnees, Yahweh’s “wage” for his effort and work with Israel (see Elliger, BK 11, 37). Yahweh distributes “wages” (Isa 49:4; 61:8), hence *pʿullâ* can also assume the meaning “punishment” (Isa 65:7; Psa 109:20).

(d) *mipʿāl* is used only of Yahweh. In Prov 8:22 the subst. refers to wisdom, the first of the works that Yahweh created. Psa 46:9 and 66:5 speak of the *mipʿālôtyhwh* and *ʾlōhîm*, resp., in the call to “come and see.”

Psa 66:6ff. allude to the saving acts associated with the passage through the Reed Sea and the crossing of the Jordan (cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:35f.) and to Yahweh's unlimited dominion in the world. Psa 46:10ff. develop the *mip<sup>c</sup>lôt* with a view to Yahweh's eschatological deeds as foreshadowed in faith (cf. G. Wanke, *Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten* [1966], 118). This one term, then, describes Yahweh's creative acts, his saving deeds in the past and in the eschatological future, and his rule over the world of nations.

5. *p<sup>c</sup>l* occurs 4x in the available Qumran literature, *p<sup>c</sup>ullâ* more often (according to Kuhn, *Konk.* 179a; id., *RQ* 14 [1963]: 219a). The usage corresponds to that of the OT, except that the ptcp. is not combined with *ʾāwen* but with *reša<sup>c</sup>* (1QH 14:14).

The LXX usually renders *p<sup>c</sup>l* with *ergazesthai*. In the absence of a definite obj., it employs primarily *poiein*, whose usage is entirely unspecific.

The LXX renders the subst. *pō<sup>c</sup>al* and *p<sup>c</sup>ullâ* predominantly with *ergon* (usually in the pl.). For *mip<sup>c</sup>āl* the LXX uses *erga* in all three cases.

On Judaism and the NT, cf. G. Bertram, “ἔργον,” *TDNT* 2:635–55; H. Braun, “ποιέω,” *TDNT* 6:458–84; C. Maurer, “πράσσω,” *TDNT* 6:632–44; H. Preisker, “μισθός,” *TDNT* 4:695–728.

J. Vollmer

## פקד *pqd* to visit

S 6485; BDB 823a; *HALOT* 3:955a; *ThWAT* 6:708–23; *TWOT* 1802; *NIDOTTE* 7212

1. (a) The root *pqd* is also attested outside Hebr. in Akk., Ug., Phoen.-Pun., Aram., Arab., and Eth., although not apparently in Old SArab.

The interpretation of the Old SArab. official designation (or PN? cf. E. Glaser, *Altjemenitische Nachrichten* [1908], 98n.1, 174f.; N. Rhodokanakis, *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* 198/2 [1922]: 49; G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques* [1934], 1:312) *fqḏn* (*CIS* 4:418.1, 4) or (collectively?) *fqḏtn* (Glaser, op. cit. no. 1606: 6x) as a nom. form of the root *pqd* with the meaning “officeholder, official, overseer, inspector” (Glaser, op. cit. 175; L.-H. Vincent, *RB* 49 [1940]: 104; cf. also GB 654a) fails because of the divergent third radical of the root underlying this word.

Akk. *paqādu(m)* means “to hand over, entrust to; to provide, care for; to scrutinize, inspect; to install in an office, commission” (*AHW* 824b–26b). In the older WSem. dialects, the verb occurs only sparsely and mostly in

damaged contexts. Consequently, the true breadth of its meaning here—in contrast to Akk.—is no longer sufficiently clear.

Ug. *pqd* in 1.16.VI.14 means “to arrange, demand” (*WUS* no. 2257; cf. *UT* no. 2090: “to give orders”).

Phoen. attests the qal “to commission” in *CIS* 1:88.4f. (Friedrich §131; contra *DISO* 233: “to conduct surveillance”; cf. Harris 138) and the pass. *yop<sup>al</sup>* (= ho.) “to be commissioned” (Friedrich §148; *DISO* 233; contra Harris 138). The occurrence of the ni. *npqd* in *KAI* no. 119 (= *Trip.* no. 37), l. 3, is disputed (cf. *DISO* 233f. and *KAI* 2:124f.).

In older Aram. or Imp. Aram., the basic stem means “to command” (*DISO* 233), in *KAI* no. 233.17 (7th-cent. BCE ostrakon from Asshur) and in *Ah.* 192 (cf. also the pass. *ptcp.*: *Ah.* 103); the ho., attested in Cowley no. 20.7, means “to be deposited, placed under someone’s charge” (*DISO* 233).

The basic stem of the Arab. verb *faqada* means “to fail to find; to lose; to have lost, miss,” while the semantic field “to seek; to examine, inspect, investigate; to visit, review,” is reserved for the 5th verbal stem (Wehr 722a). The Eth. verb means “to seek, investigate” (Dillmann 1360f.).

Regarding the nom. forms of the root in the Sem. languages, see 1c.

(b) The basic meaning of the root *pqd* is disputed. The following have been suggested: “miss, worry about” (*KBL* 773a), “to look upon something with concern or interest” (H. Fürst, *Die göttliche Heimsuchung* [1965], 20f., 28f.; cf. Zorell 662b and E. A. Speiser, *BASOR* 149 [1958]: 21 = *Oriental and Biblical Studies* [1967], 178: “to attend to with care”), “to have a look; be intensively concerned with something; undertake extensive oversight” (J. Scharbert, *Bib* 38 [1957]: 139), or “to inspect, correct someone/something; see after the right” (J. Scharbert, *BZ* NS 4 [1960]: 222 = *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des AT*, ed. K. Koch [1972], 295), “to seek (out), visit” (*GB* 654a; K. H. Fahlgren, *S<sup>e</sup>dāḳā, nahestehende und entgegengesetzte Begriffe im AT* [1932], 66; *AHw* 824b), and “to arrange” (M. Buber, *Moses* [1958], 142).

Attempts in older lexicography to trace the root *pqd* to a biradical basis with the meaning “to split, divide in two in order to evaluate or investigate” (J. Fürst, *Hebräisches and chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das AT* [1863], 2:232a, 233a) or “to look for” (P. Haupt, *AJSL* 26 [1909/10]: 228) are errant.

(c) The Hebr. verb *pqd* occurs in all verbal stems. The *hitp.* and the semantically equivalent *hotpa<sup>al</sup>* “to be inspected” present a peculiarity, however. Because of the absence of a reduplication of the middle radical, they should be understood as the reflexive stems not of the *pi.* but of the *qal* with an infix -*t*- (cf. H. Yalon, *ZAW* 50 [1932]: 217; Meyer 2:123,

125f.; contra GKC §54l).

Nom. forms of the root in Hebr. are:

(1) the abstract formation *pequdda*®, which means “visitation” in the sense of “official inspection(s) carried out in one’s own jurisdiction that holds those concerned responsible for negligence and errors and intervenes against them” (F. Horst, *Gottes Recht* [1961], 289 = *Prinzip* 210; cf. also Horst, *RGG* 6:1344), but also “inspection” (2 Chron 26:11), “commission to serve” (Num 3:32, 36; 4:16[bis]), “care” (Job 10:12), “stores, reserves” (Isa 15:7 par. to *yitrâ* “remnants”), and “guard” (2 Kgs 11:18; Ezek 44:11; 2 Chron 23:18; 24:11, cf. B. Stade, *ZAW* 5 [1885]: 281–83, and see Jer 52:11: *bēt-happ<sup>e</sup>quddôt* “prison”); moreover, “oversight (authority), administration” (Num 4:16; Isa 60:17 par. to *nōg<sup>e</sup>śîm* “dominion”; 1 Chron 26:30; 2 Chron 17:14) and “office, official class, official division” (Psa 109:8; 1 Chron 23:11; 24:3, 19; cf. F. Horst, *RGG* 1:335); this subst. corresponds to Akk. *piqittu(m)* “transferral, delivery; scrutiny, examination, inspection; commission; administrative region, area of concern” (*AHW* 865);

(2) the subst. *mipqād*, attested in 2 Sam 24:9; 1 Chron 21:5 in the expression *mispar mipqad-hā<sup>c</sup>ām* “result of the census,” and in 2 Chron 31:13 in the meaning “commission, arrangement,” which occurs in Ezek 43:21 as the designation for part of the temple precincts in Jerusalem (“inspection site,” “arranged site”?) and in Neh 3:31 as the name of a gate that probably leads to this area (cf. M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 4 [1954]: 247; yet see also J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the OT* [1952], 340–42); the analogous Phoen.-Pun. noun *mpqd*, which may also indicate a portion of the temple in *CIS* 1:88.4f. (cf. *DISO* 163), means “magistrate” on coins from the city Leptis Magna (L. Müller, *Numismatique de l’Ancienne Afrique* [1861], 2:10; [1862], 3:192; cf. Harris 139; *DISO* 234; and see also *KAI* no. 119 = *Trip.* 37, l. 3);

(3) the pl. *\*piqûdîm* “(divine) commands” attested only in late Psa (Psa 19:9; 103:18; 111:7; 119: 21x), which occurs as an alternative for other expressions—concentrated in Psa 19:8–15 and 119 (cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:274; 2:411)—for God’s “law” and “word” like *tôrâ* “instruction,” *‘ēdôt* and *mišwôt* “commandments,” *b<sup>e</sup>rît* “obligation,” *‘imrâ* “word,” also for *‘emet* “faithfulness,” *mišpāṭ* “legal decision,” *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* “demonstration of justice,” *niplā<sup>o</sup>ôt* “wondrous acts,” *‘rāḥôt* “(Yahweh’s) ways”;

(4) the official designation *pāqîd* “commissioner, official, overseer, inspector,” which, without being tied to a definite official sphere, is used for officials with civil (Gen 41:34; Judg 9:28; Esth 2:3; Neh 11:9), military (2 Kgs 25:19 = Jer 52:25), and cultic (Jer 20:1; 29:26; Neh 11:14, 22; 12:42; 2 Chron 24:11; 31:13) functions; this title corresponds to Akk. *paqdu(m)*

“commissioner, administrator” (*AHw* 827a; W. Eilers, *AfO* 9 [1933/34]: 333n.4) and Aram. *pqd* (*KAI* no. 224.4, 10, 13) /*pqyd* “commissioner, officer, administrative functionary” (*DISO* 234: “officer, magistrate”), both of which are attested frequently in the Pers. period, in particular (Neo-Bab.: G. Cardascia, *Les archives des Murašû* [1951], 235b; Aram.: Cowley no. 37.6; *RES* 248A = 1798A.1; Driver, *AD* 103; cf. *ibid.* 15–17, 88–90; and, regarding the Pers. background of this title, see O. Klîma, *ArOr* 23 [1955]: 481);

(5) the subst. *piqqādôn* “deposit” (Lev 5:21, 23), “stocks” (Gen 41:36), with Sem. equivalents in Akk. *puquddû(m)* “formal transferral, entrusted goods” (*AHw* 880a) and Aram. *pqdwn* “deposits” (Cowley no. 20.7; cf. *DISO* 234; on Nab. *pqdwn* in the grave inscription from Petra, *CIS* 2:350.4, see J. T. Milik, *RB* 66 [1959]: 560, “deposit, custody, care, responsibility,” contra J. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen* [1932], 2:137b, “order”; cf. also A. Parrot, *Malédiction et violations de tombes* [1939], 85–88);

(6) the abstract formation *p<sup>o</sup>qîdût* “oversight, guard,” attested in Jer 37:13 in the cs. phrase *ba<sup>o</sup>al p<sup>o</sup>qîdût* “official of the watch” and comparable to the Akk. *piqittûtu* “commissioned status” (*AHw* 865b; the Hebr. cs. phrase *ba<sup>o</sup>al p<sup>o</sup>qîdût* corresponds to the Akk. phrases *bēl piqitti* “commissioner” and *bēl piqittûti* “official”; see *AHw* 120 and E. Klauber, *Assyrisches Beamtentum nach Briefen aus der Sargonidenzeit* [1910], 39f.).

Reference should also be made to Akk. *piqdu* “transfer, allotment” (*AHw* 865a), *pāqîdu(m)* “guardian” (*AHw* 827a), and *pitqudu* “circumspect” (*AHw* 870b).

2. Forms of the root *pqd* occur a total of 381x in the OT, only in the Hebr. portions: qal 234x (Num 97x; Jer 37x), ni. 21x, pi. 1x (ptcp.: Isa 13:4), pu. 2x, hi. 29x (Jer 10x), ho. 8x, hitp. 4x (Judg 20–21), and hotpa<sup>o</sup>al 4x. The noms. of the root are attested as follows: *pequdda*® 32x (Jer 9x), *mipqād* 5x, *\*piqqûdîm* 24x (only Psa), *pāqîd* 13x, *piqqādôn* 3x, and *p<sup>o</sup>qîdût* 1x (Jer 37:13). No forms of the root occur in Joel, Obad, Jonah, Nah, Hab, Hag, Mal, Song Sol, Eccl, or Dan.

The verbal statistics listed above follow Mandl.; Lis. counts 2 Kgs 12:12 twice: once as a qal (= K) and once as a ho. (= Q); moreover, he classifies occurrences of the qal pass. ptcp. in Exod 38:21; Num 4:49; 7:2 with Barth §82e and GB 655b as occurrences of an abstract noun *\*p<sup>o</sup>qûdîm* “inspection” (cf. H. Fürst, *op. cit.* 31n.2).

3. The verb *pqd*, as the overview of the meanings of the nom. forms of the root already indicates, covers a notable breadth of meaning in Hebr.

(a) The obvious meaning “to seek out, visit, see to someone/something” seems to underlie the meaning “to see attentively or

in an examining manner to someone/something” (with a successive acc. or indirect interrogative clause: 1 Sam 14:17; 20:6; 2 Kgs 9:34 or a prep. expression with *ʿal* of an intention to examine negatively: 2 Sam 3:8; Isa 27:3), which is particularly manifest in the theological language of the OT. This meaning occurs in the Samson narrative in Judg 15:1, where *pqd* describes the husband’s visit of the wife in a *ṣadiqa* marriage (cf. W. Plautz, *ZAW* 74 [1962]: 24f.); in the narrative of David’s ascension in 1 Sam 17:18, where the verb refers to visiting relatives in order to learn of their status (*pqd lʿšālôm* “to see to someone’s well-being”); moreover—in later texts applied metaphorically to the king and the leading officials (Jer 23:2; Zech 11:16) and to Yahweh (Zech 10:3b)—in reference to a shepherd’s search for lost animals from his herd; and furthermore for the investigative visitation of the region where one dwells and lives (Job 5:24; of Yahweh: Zeph 1:12).

In these usages *pqd* parallels first *ydʿ* “to perceive, take notice of” (Job 35:15), *nbʿ* hi. “to regard, look at” (Psa 80:15), and *rʿh* “to see (after something)” (Exod 4:31; 1 Sam 14:17; Psa 80:15); then *bḥn* “to examine, put to the test” (Psa 17:3; Job 7:18), *glh* pi. “to uncover” (Lam 4:22), and *srp* “to test (by fire)” (Psa 17:3); and finally *bqš* pi. “to seek, locate” (Zech 11:16), *ḥps* pi. “to seek (thoroughly)” (Zeph 1:12). Cf. also Bibl. Aram. *bqr* pa. “to investigate” (KBL 1059a), and Hebr. *bqr* pi. as an Aramaism (*HAL* 144b; Wagner no. 45; → *bqš* 1), which assumes a meaning analogous to *pqd* “to care for, be entrusted with” (see 4a) in Ezek 34:11f. (comparison of God to a shepherd).

The following details should be noted regarding the nuances of meaning to be listed here:

(1) The meaning “to miss,” which one may posit for the qal only in 1 Sam 25:15 and Isa 34:16 but is more often appropriate for the ni. (“to be missed, be mislaid, lack, remain empty,” etc.: Num 31:49; Judg 21:3; 1 Sam 20:18[bis], 25, 27; 25:7, 21; 2 Sam 2:30; 1 Kgs 20:39; 2 Kgs 10:19; Jer 23:4), is (contrary to KBL 773a) hardly the basic meaning of the verb but the result of the unsuccessful search for something that has disappeared or been mislaid (cf. Scharbert, *BZ* 4:215 and n.41 = *Prinzip* 285f. and n.41; Fürst, op. cit. 20f.).

(2) The verb indicates emphatic involvement in the sense of “to long for,” approximating “to miss,” in Jer 3:16 (obj.: the lost ark) and in Ezek 23:21 (obj.: the innocence of lost youth)—par. to *ʾlh ʿal-lēb* “to come to mind” (Jer 3:16) and *zkr* “to remember” (Jer 3:16; for *zkr*, the most frequent par. in the word field of *pqd*, see also Isa 23:16f.; 26:14; Jer 14:10; 15:15; Hos 8:13; 9:9; Psa 8:5; 106:4; and cf. *škh* “to forget” as an antonym for *pqd* in Isa 23:15–17).

(3) With over 100 occurrences, 75 of which are the pass. ptcp. (pl.) *p<sup>e</sup>qūdīm* “inspected,” the technical meaning “to inspect” associated with military and administrative practice is esp. well represented among occurrences of the qal. Almost half the occurrences of the qal, concentrated in P, particularly in the census portions of Num, involve this meaning (Exod 30:12–14; 38:25f.; Num 1–4: over 60x; 7:2; 14:29; ch. 26: 19x; outside P: Josh 8:10; 1 Sam 11:8; 13:15; 15:4; 2 Sam 18:1; 24:2, 4; 1 Kgs 20:15[bis], 26; 1 Chron 21:6; 23:24; 2 Chron 25:5). The hotpa<sup>c</sup>al (Num 1:47; 2:33; 26:62; 1 Kgs 20:27) and the hitp., limited to the final two chapters of Judg (Judg 20:15[bis], 17; 21:9), serve as pass., “to be inspected” (see 1c).

In this usage *pqd* replaces *ns<sup>ʔ</sup>rō<sup>ʔ</sup>š* “to take, count the number, sum” (Exod 30:12; Num 1:2, 49; 26:2; cf. also the synonymous *ns<sup>ʔ</sup>mispār* in Num 3:40) and corresponds to the Akk. expression (*šābam*)*paqādu(m)* “to inspect (soldiers),” which occurs in the Old Bab. letters from the Mari archives (texts: *AHw* 825b) alongside *šābam šaṭāru(m)* “to register soldiers (in a list of conscripts)” and *ebēbu(m)* (D stem) “to cleanse”/*tēbibtu(m)* “cleansing” (regarding this term cf. J.-R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* [1957], 23–29; *CAD* E:4–8; *AHw* 180b–81b). The latter term, implying a lustration on the part of those affected by the census, would confirm—if it should not be generally assigned the technical meaning “numeration, inspection, census” in the Mari Letters (so J.-R. Kupper, *Studia Mariana* [1950], 99–110) or understood in the sense of “to free (tribes) from (additional) requirements (by precisely defining their obligations)” (so *AHw* 181b; cf. *CAD* E:6a–7a)—the perilous character associated with such a census in the awareness of those concerned. The pestilence resulting from David’s census of the people (2 Sam 24; 1 Chron 21) accentuates this peril in the OT (see G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* [1991], 78f.) as does the “levy for Yahweh” prescribed by P in Exod 30:11–16 for everyone so registered as an “atonement for one’s life” (*kōper napšō* Exod 30:12; cf. 30:15f. and see E. A. Speiser, *BASOR* 149 [1958]: 17–25 = *Oriental and Biblical Studies* [1967], 171–86) to avert a comparable plague.

As in Mari, such levies in Israel involve regular inclusion of able-bodied men in conscription lists (cf. the designation of those subject to recruitment as *kol-yōšē<sup>ʔ</sup> šābā<sup>ʔ</sup>* “each one who goes out to military service,” Num 1:3, 45, and *š<sup>e</sup>bā<sup>ʔ</sup>ô ûp<sup>e</sup>qūdēhem* “his hosts and [even] their recruits,” 2:4, 6, 8, 11, etc.) or obtaining an overview of the number of fighting men available in an actual military campaign (so apart from P, 2 Sam 24 and 1/2 Chron), but also procuring the bases for a division of the land (Num 26:52–56).

(4) Difficult are Jer 6:6, where it may be that *hî' hā'ir hopqad* (ho.) should be rendered “this is the city that stands firm (as the result of an examination)” (Rudolph, HAT 12, 42; yet see LXX and cf. BHS ), and Exod 38:21, where the form of *pqd* that occurs should be translated, according to the usual interpretation, “This is the accounting (of the costs) of the tabernacle (*p<sup>c</sup>qûdê hammiškān*), the tabernacle of witness, which was undertaken (*pqd* pu.) according to Moses’ instructions” (see KBL 773b, 774a; cf. Galling, HAT 3, 172; Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 279; yet see contra: K. Koch, *Die Priesterschrift von Exodus 25 bis Leviticus 16* [1959], 41n.3: \**pāqūd* = “that which is stringently tested, arranged, and prepared”; and Fürst, op. cit. 31n.2: *p<sup>c</sup>qūdīm* = “record, account.”).

(b) In addition, *pqd* in Hebr. par. to *mr* “to say” (Job 36:23)—as in Ug. and in Old Aram. (yet hardly under Aram. influence, contra GB 654b; Fürst, op. cit. 21f.)—means “to instruct, order, command” (Num 4:27, 49; Job 36:23) and, esp. in expressions for the military levy, “to call to arms” (Jer 51:27; the pass. of this idea is the meaning of the ni. in Ezek 38:8 and of the pu. in Isa 38:10). *pqd* hi. *le* in Isa 10:28 may also belong here: “to order to go to” (KBL 774a; cf. Kaiser, *Isa 1–12*, OTL [19832], 245, 250; Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 446f.; yet cf. H. Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern* [1964], 30f.).

Specialized realms of usage yield the following meanings:

(1) Administrative and military language widely uses *pqd* in the sense of “to entrust with a task or office, promote to, install.” This meaning characterizes the qal (Num 3:10; Deut 20:9, and see the pertinent expressions: *pqd ʾēt* “to assign [as servant],” Gen 40:4 and *pqd b<sup>e</sup>šēmôt* “to commission by name,” Num 4:32) and esp. the hi. (1 Sam 29:4; 2 Kgs 25:23; the task, office, or area of responsibility to which one is commissioned is indicated by prep. expressions with *be*: Gen 39:5; Jer 40:5, 7; 41:2, 18; Esth 2:3; with *le*: 1 Kgs 11:28; but esp. with *ʿal*: Gen 39:4f.; 41:34; Num 1:50; Josh 10:18; 2 Kgs 7:17; 25:22; Isa 62:6; Jer 40:11; 1 Chron 26:32). Passives of the qal and hi. in this usage are formed not only by the qal pass. ptc., which occurs in the expression *p<sup>c</sup>qûdê haḥayil* “officers of the army” in Num 31:14 (cf. Num 31:48; 2 Kgs 11:15; 2 Chron 23:14, yet see W. Rudolph, FS Bertholet 475; id., HAT 21, 273), but by the ni. (Neh 7:1; 12:44) on one hand, and the ho., attested in the pl. ptc. *hammupqādīm* “those commissioned” in 2 Kgs 12:12 (Q); 22:5, 9; 2 Chron 34:10, 12, 17, on the other.

The use of *pqd* in this meaning corresponds to that of Akk. *paqādu(m) ana* “to commission for” (AHw 826a) or *anapiqittūti paqādu(m)* “to install in a commission, an office” (AHw 865b; Klauber, op. cit. 39f.). Zimmern (10; cf. also Fürst, op. cit. 22–25) suspects Akk. influence on the Hebr. usage on account of this semantic affinity; yet this meaning of *pqd* is also known

elsewhere in WSem. (see 1a).

(2) Particularly in the language of business and commerce, *pqd* also occurs in the sense of “to transfer, entrust to, store.” This use of *pqd* is analogous to that of Akk. *paqādu(m) ana* “to transfer, entrust to (for storage, for transport, etc.)” (*AHW* 824b–25a), for which reason Zimmern (18) attributes it to Akk. influence. But it also occurs in WSem. in Aram. (see 1a and 1c[4]).

The *qal* occurs in the linguistic realm under consideration in 2 Kgs 5:24 and the hi. in Jer 36:20 as technical terms with the meaning “to put in the storehouse, store away” (cf. also *pqd* hi. *ʿal-yad* “to hand over,” 1 Kgs 14:27 = 2 Chron 12:10, and the pass. construction *pqd* ho. *ʾēṭ* “to be stored away with,” Lev 5:23). In addition, the hi. in Jer 37:21 means “to store away” in reference to a prisoner, while the hi. construction with *ʾēṭ* in Jer 40:7; 41:10 means “to subjugate” in reference to the Jewish populace subjugated after 587 BCE to Babylon and its relationship to Gedaliah, the (deputy) governor installed by Nebuchadnezzar II. The relationship of this use of *pqd* to the meaning underlying it “to instruct, command” is still apparent for the *qal* in Job 34:13, where the verb in the sense of “to command” parallels *šim* (*ʿal*) “to place (upon)” (cf. Fohrer, *KAT* 16, 464).

4. (a) In the ancient Near Eastern environment of the OT, Mesopotamian literature already uses *pqd* widely in a religious sense: Akk. *paqādu(m)* in the sense of “to care for, look after” often refers to the great gods of the Mesopotamian pantheon (cf. Tallqvist 152f.; *AHW* 825b), as in the frequently attested Middle to Late Bab. divine predicate “who cares for the totality of heaven and earth” (e.g., R. Borger, *AfO Beiheft* 9 [1956], 95, l. 13; H. Hunger, *Babylonische und assyrische Kolophone* [1968], no. 328.1; E. Ebeling, *ArOr* 21 [1953]: 365, l. 13; W. G. Lambert, *AfO* 18 [1957/58]: 386, l. 18, etc.) or in predications like the Old Bab. “the great Anunnaki, who administer destinies” (W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Atra-ḫasīs, the Babylonian Story of the Flood* [1969], 58f., ll. 219f.) or the Neo-Bab. “Nabû . . . you look after all humanity, you hear their prayers, you grant them well-being” (*KAR* no. 25:ll.27ff. = E. Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie “Handerhebung”* [1953], 16f., ll. 9b–12), and “You care for all the peoples of the lands, And everything that Ea, king of the counsellors, had created is entrusted to you. Whatever has breath you shepherd without exception, You are their keeper in upper or lower regions. . . . You care for the counsellors of Kusu, the Anunnaki, Above, you direct all the affairs of men, Shepherd of that beneath, keeper of that above, You, Šamaš, direct, you are the light of everything” (Šamaš Hymn = *BWL* 126–29, ll. 23–34; *SAHG* 241).

In the WSem. realm, occurrences of comparable divine predications or concepts

that use *pqd* to “describe the deity as ‘overseer,’ ‘governor,’ or the like and thus also express their ruling power as well as responsibility for and solidarity with the worshiper” (H. Gese et al., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer* [1970], 225), are limited, so far, to the divine name *Pakeidas* in the Gk. inscriptions from Gerasa (cf. Vincent, op. cit. 98–129; O. Eissfeldt, *AO* 40 [1941]: 24f.), a rendering of the Aram. emphatic st. *pāqîdāʾ* (see 1c[4]), and the composite divine name *Pakeidokōsos* in a Delian dedicatory inscription (cf. Vincent, op. cit. 102f.), which is probably less an attempt to identify *Pakeidas* with the Edomite high god Qaus than an expression of his functional relationship to this god.

*pqd* already occurs in the OT in older narratives in theological use as a term for Yahweh’s beneficial attention to individuals or to the people Israel in the sense of “to see to attentively, regard or look upon, see after someone” (followed by an acc.). Such attention of Yahweh is experienced concretely in the pregnancy that averts the distress of an infertile wife (Sarah, Gen 21:1 J; Hannah, 1 Sam 2:21) or in the assistance that meets the people’s concrete distress (Israel’s oppression in Egypt in J and E: Gen 50:24f.; Exod 3:16; 4:31; 13:19; a famine: Ruth 1:6). In exilic/post-exilic prophecy or in glosses and additions to older prophetic books from this period, *pqd* in this usage indicates the imminent act of Yahweh’s renewed attention to Israel, an act that will initiate the return of the exiles or the Diaspora (Jer 29:10; Zech 10:3b; Zeph 2:7 par. to *šûb š’bût* “to alter fate”); to the deported king Zedekiah (Jer 32:5, Zedekiah here perhaps—in comparison with 2 Kgs 25:27–30—in an erroneous exchange with Jehoiachin; yet contrast Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 208); moreover, to the temple implements taken to Babylon (Jer 27:22) that will be returned as a result (cf. Ezra 1:7–11; 6:5); but also to the city of Tyre, which has sunk into oblivion (*škh* ni. “to be forgotten,” Isa 23:15f.) and insignificance (Isa 23:17), which shall thereby regain its former significance, even if only so that Israel can benefit from the profits of its commercial activity.

The relationship between this use of *pqd* in the OT and the outlined religious usage of the verb in Akk. is particularly illustrated by examples from cultic lyric poetry in the OT: for in them the notion of the deity’s concern for people and their territory expressed in the Akk. divine predication with *pqd* also occurs, as well as the specific relationship that exists in the prayer oath in *KAR* no. 25:ll.27ff. between this divine concern for people, response to prayers, and the grant of salvation. Thus in the individual (Jer 15:15; Psa 106:4) and in the collective (Psa 80:15) songs of lament, *pqd* occurs in the sense of the—real—beneficial attention of Yahweh to the supplicant and is the explicit obj. of the request of the lamenter (cf. esp. the petition in Psa 106:4, “take concern for me with your help”). In an abstraction from the concrete situation, Yahweh is praised generally in the hymn because he “takes care of” the land through fertility-bringing rain (Psa 65:10; cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:30f.) and because he

“remembers” (*zkr*) one and “regards (one) benevolently” (*pqd* Psa 8:5; see also Psa 144:3, where a formal analogy in the form of the question “what is a human being that . . .” using *ydʿ* “to know [perceive], care for” and *hšb* pi. “to treasure, attend to” expresses the same idea; cf. W. H. Schmidt, *TZ* 25 [1969]: 6–10). Job 10:12 also belongs here. It takes up the idea of Psa 8:5 (ironically? cf. Fohrer, KAT 16, 217) using *pequdda*® “guardianship,” whose meaning in context approximates “the concept of sustained providence” (Fohrer, op. cit.).

The word field of *pqd* in this passages is characterized by the par. and contrasting terms *zkr* “to remember” (Isa 23:16; Jer 15:15; Psa 8:5; 106:4), *nbʿ* hi. “to look down (from heaven)” (Psa 80:15), *rʿh* “to see (after)” (Exod 4:31 in the expression *rʿh ʿnî* “to regard suffering”; Psa 80:15), and *škḥ* ni. “to be forgotten” (Isa 23:15f.); with the subst. *pequdda*® “care” Job 10:12 has *ḥayyîm wāḥesed* “(happy) life and solidarity.” In addition to this pair of terms, the beneficial intention attributed to the attention of Yahweh as described by *pqd* is illustrated in particular by the subsequent reference to the divine promise in Gen 21:1 and Jer 29:10, the par. expressions *šûb šʿbût* “to alter the fate” in Zeph 2:7, and the interpretative phrase “with your help (*yʿšûʿâ*)” in Psa 106:4.

(b) Much more widely dispersed in OT theological language is the use of *pqd* “to visit” in the sense of Yahweh’s coming to examine and to call to accountability and responsibility for transgressions and omissions. In this usage, passages that employ the verb abs. (Exod 32:34; Isa 26:14; Job 31:14; 35:15 txt em; cf. Fohrer, op. cit. 472; pass.: ni. Isa 24:22; 29:6; Prov 19:23) or construct it with the per. acc. (Jer 6:15; 49:8; 50:31; Psa 17:3; 59:6; Job 7:18) give more prominence to the aspects of examination and discovery of (hidden) transgressions. By contrast, passages that indicate the person who is the target of Yahweh’s intervention by *ʿal* (Isa 24:21; 27:1; Jer 9:24; 11:22; 21:14; 23:34; 27:8; 29:32; 30:20; 44:13, 29; 46:25; 51:44, 47, 52; Hos 12:3; Amos 3:14b; Zeph 1:8f., 12; Zech 10:3a; cf. the ni., Num 16:29; Isa 27:3) or equivalently (cf. BrSynt 104) *ʿel* (Jer 46:25; 50:18), and those that have the evil deeds committed as the obj. of the verb (1 Sam 15:2; Isa 10:12; Jer 14:10; Hos 8:13; 9:9; Psa 89:33; Lam 4:22) or those with the expression *pqd ʿawōn* (*ḥattāʿt*, etc.) *ʿal* “to visit guilt (transgressions, etc.) against . . .” (Exod 20:5; 32:34; 34:7; Lev 18:25; Num 14:18; Deut 5:9; Isa 13:11; 26:21; Jer 5:9, 29; 9:8; 23:2; 25:12; 36:31; Hos 1:4; 2:15; 4:9; Amos 3:2, 14a; cf. also Hos 4:14, where an obj. clause introduced by *kî* replaces a subst. obj. of the thing) emphasize the aspect of vengeance for (already well-known) transgression. Yet no strict demarcation of meanings may be undertaken on the basis of the syntax alone.

(1) The notion of examination is particularly illustrated by passages like Psa 17:3, where the confession of innocence in the prayer of the accused describes Yahweh's examination of the heart (by night) with *pqd* and *bhn* "to examine, put to the test" and *šrp* "to test (by fire)," and Job 31:14, where Job in the context of his oath of purity—in analogy to Psa 17:3—refers to the ever-possible testing intervention of God, as well as passages like Isa 26:21 and Lam 4:22, where *pqd* parallels the "discovery" (*glh* pi., negated *ksh* pi.) of spilled blood and transgressions, and Zeph 1:12, where the connotation of the verb is explicated by the "scouring" (*hps* pi.) of Jerusalem by night with the (oil) lamp. Job 7:17f. also belongs here, where as in Psa 8:5 (144:3), it converts the question encountered in hymnic praise, "What is a human being that . . ." (as also in 15:14), into the negative: the fact that God allows a person "to become great, grow" (*gd* pi.) and "turns his attention to him" (*šît libbô ʿel*, Job 7:17) in the process is not an occasion for praise, in contrast to the two hymnic passages, but is experienced as oppression because, as Job 7:18 extends the statement, in Job's experience God's attention signifies enduring oversight (*pqd*) and examination leading to responsibility (*bhn*).

(2) More frequent, however, are passages in which interpretive elements and par. terms for *pqd* guarantee the sense of a direct, requiring intervention of Yahweh against transgressions and those who have committed them.

These texts are not merely concerned—as are the texts listed above—with the fact that Yahweh "brings (one's deed) to the light of day"—not even merely with "the setting in motion of the consequences," "by allowing the deed to become effective on the doer, by directing it back to the doer and bringing it to completion" (*šûb* hi., *pqd*, *šlm* pi.), nor thus with the "setting in motion and bringing to completion the sin-disaster connection" (so K. Koch, "Is There a Doctrine of Retribution in the OT?" *Theodicy in the OT*, ed. J. Crenshaw [1983], 57–87 [citations 66, 67, 62; third citation not in Eng. transl.; see *ZTK* 52 [1955]: 31 = *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des AT*, ed. Koch [1972], 167).

Indeed, passages in which *pqd* parallels *šûb* hi. (*k<sup>e</sup>*)*ma<sup>ca</sup>lālāw I<sup>e</sup>* "to requite, repay one (according) to one's deeds" (Hos 4:9; 12:3) or *pequdda*® parallels *šillūm* "repayment, requital" (Hos 9:7), or in which the degree of Yahweh's intervention is described by an expression like "according to the fruit of your deeds" (Jer 21:14; cf. Hos 12:3: "according to his behavior") could point to the "powerful sphere of influence in which the built-in consequences of an action take place" in Koch's terms ("Retribution" 78), as the conceptual framework involved here (but contrast F. Horst, *Gottes Recht* [1961], 287–90 = *Prinzip* 208–11; J. Scharbert, *Bib* 38 [1957]: 139–42; id., *BZ NS* 4 [1960]: 209–26 = *Prinzip* 278–99).

But the intensity of Yahweh's involvement with people and their deeds expressed by *pqd* (cf. for the Psa: E. Pax, *Studii biblici Franciscani Liber Annuus* 11 [1960/61]: 72–74) as well as the characteristics of his intervention described by *pqd* markedly exceed a participation merely of the type and for the purpose of pushing “an action . . . on toward its conclusion” (Koch, “Retribution” 73). This broader concept is indicated not only by the remaining terms that parallel *pqd* such as *zkr* “to remember” (Jer 14:10; Hos 8:13; 9:9), *ydʿ* “to perceive, pay attention to” (Job 35:15), and *nqm* hitp. “to avenge oneself” (Jer 5:9, 29; 9:8), and by the antonyms that occur in the word field of the verb in this usage such as *hnn* “to be gracious” (Psa 59:6), *nqh* pi. “to leave unpunished” (Exod 34:7; Num 14:18), *nšr/šh ḥesed* “to keep solidarity, grace” (Exod 34:7) or “to demonstrate” it (Exod 20:6; Deut 5:10; cf. Num 14:18, and see also Psa 89:33), *nšʾ ʿāwōn* (etc.) “to remove, forgive guilt (etc.)” (Exod 34:7; Num 14:18), and *ršh* “to be pleased” (Jer 14:10; Hos 8:13), but esp. by interpretive elements that designate the means Yahweh uses in his requiting intervention. These interpretive elements involve prep. expressions introduced with *be*: “(to visit) with his heavy, great, and harsh sword” (Isa 27:1), “with the sword, with hunger, and with pestilence” (Jer 27:8; 44:13), “with the rod . . . and with blows” (Psa 89:33), and—“for the ni.—”(to be visited) with thunder and earthquakes and loud noise, wind and storm and consuming flame of fire” (Isa 29:6; on the controversial question of whether the visitation of Ariel or Jerusalem has a benevolent or a malevolent connotation here, see the contrary positions of, on the one hand, Donner, op. cit. 154f.; Fohrer, *Jesaja*, ZBK, 2:75; Kaiser, *Isa 13–39*, OTL, 264–66, 268; and, on the other hand, H.-M. Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker* [1968], 100–110). Finally, Jer 36:31, where Yahweh's threatened visitation consists in the fact that “I will bring on you . . . all the evil that I have declared to you but you have not heard” (cf. also Jer 49:8), also rests clearly on some concept other than the immanent relationship between deed and consequence.

If one also considers that the discussion of Yahweh's “departure from his place” (Isa 26:21) in order to requite the guilt of the inhabitants of the earth alludes apparently to the image of a (royal) punitive expedition (Scharbert, *BZ* 4:219 = *Prinzip* 291; see also J. Jeremias, *Theophanie* [1965], 19, 132, 160), the conceptual sphere addressed in the theologoumenon of Yahweh's requiting visitation is more likely “the official inspection carried out in one's own sphere of authority,” “which holds those concerned responsible for negligence and error and intervenes against them” (Horst, *Gottes Recht* 289 = *Prinzip* 210; id., *RGG* 6:1344; cf. Scharbert, *BZ* 4:217–19 = *Prinzip* 289–92).

The verb *pqd* occurs in this usage in the context of the prohibition

against images in the Decalogue (Exod 20:5f.; Deut 5:9f.) and in secondary insertions in the confessional formula (Zimmerli, GO 239f.) or call to prayer (Scharbert, *Bib* 38 [1957]: 130–50) transmitted in J (Exod 34:7; Num 14:18) that maintains that Yahweh visits “the guilt of the fathers on the sons (Exod 34:7 adds ‘and on the grandchildren’), to the third and fourth member” (in the sequence of generations). In the text’s present form, this formula is juxtaposed with the pre- or postpositioned contrary statement that also refers to Yahweh: “who demonstrates grace to the thousandth member of those who love me and keep my commandments” (Exod 20:6; Deut 5:10), “who keeps grace to the thousandth member, forgives guilt, rebellion, and transgression, but does not allow it to go entirely unpunished” (Exod 34:7), or “who is patient and rich in mercy, who forgives guilt and rebellion, but does not allow it to go entirely unpunished” (Num 14:18; → *hesed* IV/2a, b; and cf. the variants of the formula in Deut 7:9f. and Jer 32:18 that exhibit *šlm* pi. “to repay, requite” instead of *pqd*, with no perceptible difference in meaning).

The formula concerning ancestral guilt may have been only secondarily applied to Yahweh and transplanted into the cult. It may originally have been an apodictically formulated warning in the legal community intended to hold “not only the guilty head of a tribe but also all members . . . of his tribal community” responsible (L. Rost, FS Herrmann 229–32), in which case the solidarity in responsibility for guilt at first did not relate to four successive generations (J. Scharbert, *Solidarität in Segen und Fluch im AT und in seiner Umwelt* [1958], 1:127f.) but to the four generations living together under one (tent) roof.

Instances of the theologoumenon of Yahweh’s requiting visitation concentrate esp. in prophecy. Apart from 1 Sam 15:2, where Yahweh’s assurance, “I will visit (on Amalek) what Amalek has done to Israel” (GKC §106m; contra Hertzberg, *Sam*, OTL, 120n.b; Stoebe, KAT 8/1, 283), occurs in the context of a Yahweh-war “call to battle” that Samuel, characterized as “prophet,” addresses to Saul (cf. R. Bach, *Die Aufforderungen zur Flucht und zum Kampf im atl. Prophetenspruch* [1962], 94, 101–12), Yahweh’s threatened visitation, at least in pre-exilic prophecy since Amos, pertains consistently to Israel (Amos 3:2, 14; Hos 2:15; 8:13; 9:9; 12:3 txt em, cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 206) and Judah (Jer 5:9, 29; 14:10) themselves and their transgressions. Individuals (Hos 1:4, the house of Jehu; Jer 29:32, the prophet Shemaiah and his descendants; Jer 36:21, King Jehoiakim, his descendants, and his servants; cf. also the visitation with rod and blows threatened in Psa 89:32f. against the descendants of David in the event that they fail to heed Yahweh’s statutes and commandments) or particular groups within the people (Zeph 1:9, 12; Jer 11:22; 44:13, 29), esp. its responsible leadership (Hos 4:9; Zeph 1:8; Jer 6:15; 23:2, 34; for the post-exilic period, cf. the redactional interpolation in

Zech 10:3a and Elliger, ATD 253, 158; Horst, HAT 143, 250), are often emphasized, either in addition to the people or exclusively, as the objs. of Yahweh's visitation. Hos 4:14 makes an explicit exception from such requiting visitation for the daughters and daughters-in-law enticed to adultery.

In contrast, Jer 27:8 extends Yahweh's visitation with sword, hunger, and pestilence to "a(ny) people and kingdom that does not serve Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon and that does not place its neck in the yoke of the king of Babylon" (on the text, see Rudolph, HAT 12, 177) and leads to the exilic/post-exilic prophetic usage that consistently threatens Yahweh's punitive visitation against foreign nations and their rulers (Isa 10:12; Jer 9:24; 25:12; 30:20; 46:25; 49:8; 50:18, 31; cf. also the petition in Psa 59:6: "Awake, visit all nations"), as well as the gods of the foreign nations (Jer 46:25; 51:44, 47, 52). Finally, when prophecy turns into apocalyptic, Yahweh's visitation is against the foreign rulers who govern Israel in Yahweh's stead (Isa 26:13f.) and, extended universally, against "the host of the heights on high and the kings of the earth on earth" (24:21f.), the evil of the earthly realm and the guilt of the evildoers (13:11), or the guilt of the inhabitants of earth (26:21) and of Leviathan (27:1), probably a mythical cipher for "evil itself" (Kaiser, *Isa 13–39*, OTL, 223; contra his earlier view in *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel* [1962], 148f.); here the expectation of divine visitation relates to the eschatological "day of Yahweh" (13:9) or "that day" (24:21; 27:1). From this starting point, visitation then becomes the "technical term for this arrival on his great day" in apocalyptic literature (P. Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* [1934], 164f.; W. Harnisch, *Verhängnis und Verheissung der Geschichte* [1969], 308n.3; regarding Qumran see J. Daniélou, *Dead Sea Scrolls and Primitive Christianity* [1958], 115f.; H. Braun, *Spätjüdisch-häretischer und frühchristlicher Radikalismus* [1957], 1:103n.2; H. Ringgren, *Faith of Qumran* [1963], 152f.; H. Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament* [1966], 1:92).

The association of Yahweh's visitation with a definite moment in time that it introduces relates to a concept already developed in the pre-exilic era, a concept concerned, however—in contrast to apocalypticism—with a term within time, not at the end of time. Thus Exod 32:34 and Amos 3:14 speak of the "day of my visitation" (*yôm poqdî*, cf. also Zeph 1:8f.; Jer 9:24) and Jer 6:15; 49:8; 50:31 of the "time when I will visit them (or the like)" (*ʿēt-p<sup>ē</sup>qadtîm*). The frequent cs. phrases with temporal terms and *pequdda*® "visitation" in particular must be included here: *yôm p<sup>ē</sup>quddâ* "the day of visitation" (Isa 10:3; Hos 9:7; Mic 7:4 txt em; cf. Weiser, ATD 24, 285), *ʿēt p<sup>ē</sup>quddātām* "the time of their visitation" (Jer 8:12; 10:15; 46:21; 50:27;

51:18), and *š<sup>e</sup>nat p<sup>e</sup>quddātām* “the year of their visitation” (Jer 11:23; 23:12; 48:44). The disastrous character of this moment of visitation threatening Israel (Hos 9:7), Judah (Mic 7:4), and particular groups within the people (Isa 10:3; Jer 8:12; 11:23; 23:12), in exilic/post-exilic prophecy then also Egypt (Jer 46:21), Babylon (Jer 50:27), and its idols (Jer 10:15; 51:18), is illustrated by par. terms like: *yômām* “their day” (Jer 50:27), *yôm ʿēdām* “the day of their misfortune” (Jer 46:21), *y<sup>e</sup>mê haššillūm* “the day of retribution” (Hos 9:7), and *rāʿā* “disaster” (Jer 11:23; 23:12) as substantive designations of Yahweh’s intentions for this appointed time. Even the announcement “the visitations (*p<sup>e</sup>quddôt*) of the city (Jerusalem) have come near” in Ezek 9:1 apparently belongs in this category (cf. 7:7; 12:23; and see Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:222f.), although the initial temporal element that functions as a governing noun is absent and the pl. *p<sup>e</sup>quddôt* (to be understood either as an intensive, with Fohrer, HAT 13, 53, or as a polyvalent allusion to the “group of assistants in judgment” named later, with Zimmerli, op. cit.) remains difficult (see Eichrodt, *Ezek*, OTL, 106, 129).

(3) In contrast, the noun *pequdda*® and *pqd* ni. rarely refer to negative experiences that do not originate with Yahweh.

Thus, with a view to the imminent evil end of the rebels Dathan and Abiram, Num 16:29 J distinguishes divine visitation from natural death as a misfortune (*pqd* ni. *ʿal*) “which befalls all people” (*p<sup>e</sup>quddat kol-hāʿādām*). According to the wisdom saying in Prov 19:23, fear of Yahweh protects against being affected (*pqd* ni.) by disaster (*rāʿ*); similarly, in Isa 27:3 Yahweh promises the vineyard: “so that no suffering may come on it (cf. Marti, *Jesaja*, KHC, 197), I guard it day and night.”

(c) In comparison with these two usages, the remaining meanings of the root *pqd* in OT theological usage are encountered much less often.

(1) Thus the extraordinarily widely dispersed meaning “to inspect” (see 3a[3]) for the qal in profane usage occurs only once for the pi. ptc. in reference to Yahweh—Isa 13:4, in the context of the concept of the eschatological “day of Yahweh” (cf. Isa 13:6): “Yahweh Sabaoth inspects the battle force” (cf. *HP* 228f.).

(2) *pqd* (followed by *ʿal*) occurs only in isolated cases in the theological language of the OT with the meaning “to instruct, order, command.”

Apart from the noun *\*piqqûdîm* “(divine) commands” (see 1c[3]) related to this meaning of the verb, this use of the verb *pqd* is attested only in Zeph 3:7 in reference to the sum of the revelation of the divine will to Israel and in relation to Cyrus’s edict concerning the construction of the temple in Ezra 1:2 = 2 Chron 36:23 in reference to the command issued by

Yahweh to the Pers. king to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem.

(3) Often one encounters passages, however, in which *pqd* (followed by *ʿal* or *ʿel*) applies to Yahweh in the sense of “to install, commission, summon.”

In Moses’ dialogue with Yahweh in Num 27:16f. this usage concerns the commission of a successor for Moses. Jer 1:10 employs the synonymous and syntactically similar hi. for Jeremiah’s commission as a prophet to the nations (on the history of the text and the interpretation of the verse, esp. the following inf. construction that is unusual for *pqd*, occurring only one other time with the hi., Josh 10:18, see W. L. Holladay, *JBL* 79 [1960]: 363f.; R. Bach, *FS von Rad* [1961], 7–32; E. Vogt, *VD* 42 [1964]: 242–47; S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im AT* [1965], 165–69; Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 4, 7f.).

The textually difficult passages Jer 13:21 and 49:19 = 50:44 may also belong here, if one retains the MT of 13:21, “what will you say when he installs over you as chief those whom you have come to know as trusted friends?” (cf. Weiser, *ATD* 20, 115, 124; contra Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 92), and reconstructs the text of 49:19 = 50:44 as *ûb<sup>h</sup>hîrî ʿeléhā ʿepqōd* “and I commission my chosen over them” (cf. *BH* 3, contra *BHS*).

A malevolent sense pertains to the following *ʿal* with the qal and the hi. in the threat oracle in Jer 15:3, “I commission four kinds against you—saying of Yahweh—the sword to kill, dogs to carry away, the birds of the heavens and the animals of the land to consume and to destroy”; in the divine curse threat in Lev 26:16, “I will summon terrors, consumption, and fever that waste the eyes and cause life to waste away”; and in Psa 109:6 in the psalmist’s citation of the enemy’s curse, “Commission an evildoer against him, let an accuser stand at his right!”

(4) Finally, the meaning “to transfer, entrust, enjoin” also occurs rarely in OT theological language.

Thus the second Elihu discourse in Job 34:13 expressly rejects the notion that God’s care for the world (cf. 34:14f.) could be conditional upon a commission with the rhetorical question, “Who entrusted his earth to him (*pqd ʿal*), who committed to him (*sîm ʿal*) all the firm ground?” and thus contrasts with divine predications from Mesopotamia that trace such concern on the part of some gods to an explicit commission, e.g., the statement concerning Nergal, “Enlil, your father, has given you the black-headed, the totality of all living beings, the cattle of Sumuqan, the animals he has entrusted into your hand” (E. Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie “Handerhebung”* [1953], 114 ll. 9f.; cf. also—for Shamash—the passage from the great Shamash Hymn cited above in 4a).

The declaration of confidence in Psa 31:6, “into your hand I commit my spirit,” also belongs here. It corresponds to the expression of

confidence in Ashurbanipal's prayer to Nabû, "My life is written down before you, my soul committed to the lap of Ninlil" (M. Streck, *VAB* 7 [1916]: 346, l. 21; *SAHG* 293) and to the petitions to various gods common in Mesopotamian prayer-oaths, such as "Shamash . . . commit me to the gracious hands of my god and my goddess for well-being and life!" (A. Schollmeyer, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš* [1912], 96, 98, ll. 1–3) or "Nusku, son of Ekur . . . Enlil is gracious, I entrust myself (to him) for well-being!" (Ebeling, *op. cit.* 40f., ll. 19, 22).

Aside from Psa 31:6 (hi.), Isa 26:16 is the only passage (qal) in which people are the subj. of *pqd* in the theological language of the OT. Yet the transmitted MT, *yhwh baššar p<sup>c</sup>qādûkâ* "Yahweh, in distress they sought you," is not beyond dispute (cf. E. Leibmann, *ZAW* 24 [1904]: 77–80; Kaiser, *Isa* 13–39, OTL, 209n.e; see also *BHS*).

5. For the continued history of the term in Judaism and the NT, see H. W. Beyer, "ἐπισκέπτομαι," *TDNT* 2:599–622; in specific reference to apocalypticism and Qumran, see 4b(2) above; regarding the LXX, see Koch, *ZTK* 52 (1955): 38 = *Prinzip* 175; H. Fürst, *op. cit.* 33–46; H. S. Gehman, *VT* 22 (1972): 197–207.

W. Schottroff

## פרר *pr* hi. **to break**

S 6504; BDB 825a; *HALOT* 3:974b; *ThWAT* 6:773–80; *TWOT* 1829; *NIDOTTE* 7233

1. *pr* occurs in Hebr. (hi. "to invalidate, break [an obligation, a commandment]") and in Akk. (*AHW* 829f.: *parāru* G "to be detached," etc., D "to undo").

Occurrences in Ug. (*UT* no. 2121) and Pun. (*DISO* 237) are uncertain.

The OT uses only the hi. (causative) and the ho. of *pr*. *pûr* hi. "to destroy" appears as a by-form (Ezek 17:19; Psa 33:10; 89:34 txt? cf. *BHS*).

Mid. Hebr. also knows a pi. "to crumble" and a pil. "to crumble, crush," as well as the derivative *pērûr* "crumbling, crumbled, crumb"; Jew. Aram. has the ap. "to invalidate," the itpa. "to crush," and the itpalpel "to be crumbled," as well as the derivative *pērûrâ* "mush."

*pr* II should be regarded as an independent root (with GB 662; KBL 782; contra Gesenius, *Thesaurus* 1131; *WTM* 4:131f., 140): *qal* and *hitpo*. “to waver back and forth” (Isa 24:19), *po*. “to stir up” (Psa 74:13), *pil*. “to shake, drag back and forth” (Job 16:12). The verb also occurs in Mid. Hebr. (*pil*.), Jew. Aram. (*palpel*), and Syr. (*etpēʿel*) in the meaning “to jerk, wallow, be in the throes of death.”

2. *pr* hi. occurs 43x, 8x in Num (Num 15:31 and 30:9–16, twice with an inf. abs.), 5x in Ezek, 4x each in Isa and Jer, 3x in Job; *pr* ho. occurs 3x (Isa 8:10; Jer 33:21; Zech 11:11); *pûr* hi. 3x (see 1).

The oldest occurrences are 2 Sam 15:34 and 17:14; pre-exilic occurrences include 1 Kgs 15:19; Isa 14:27; Jer 14:21; 31:32; Ezek 16:59; 17:15f., 18; Isa 8:10 (ho.); three-fourths of the passages are exilic and post-exilic.

3. In contrast to the use of corresponding stem forms oriented toward concrete objs. in Akk., Mid. Hebr., and Jew. Aram., in OT Hebr. *pr* hi. and ho. are linked with abstract substs. Translation in Eng. depends on the obj.: one “invalidates” advice (2 Sam 15:34; 17:14; Ezra 4:5; Neh 4:9; ho. Isa 8:10; cf. Isa 14:27 and *pûr* hi., Psa 33:10), plans (Job 5:12; Prov 15:22), Yahweh’s justice (Job 40:8), and the signs of the oracle priest (Isa 44:25); one “ruins” the fear of God (Job 15:4), “ends” his wrath (Psa 85:5 txt em [see *BHS*] is not necessary), “dissolves” brotherhood (Zech 11:14), “transgresses” Yahweh’s instruction (Psa 119:126) or commandment (Num 15:31; Ezra 9:14), (one does not “transgress” but) “invalidates” a vow (Num 30:9, 13[bis], 14, 16), but, esp., one “breaks” a commitment (*bʿrît*, see 4).

With regard to objs., *pr* hi. is markedly distinct from e.g., *šbr* “to break” (cf. *HP* 176–78) and *šht* pi. “to annihilate” (yet cf. also *šht* pi. *bʿrît* Mal 2:8).

Only Eccl 12:5 seems to use *pr* hi. intrans.: the caper fruit “breaks, bursts” (see KBL 781).

4. In half of all occurrences *pr* hi. has the obj. → *bʿrît* “commitment.” One “breaks” the commitment that one has made to another person (1 Kgs 15:19 = 2 Chron 16:3; Isa 33:8), that has been placed on one by another person (vassal conditions, Ezek 17:15f., 18) or by Yahweh (law, Gen 17:14; Lev 26:15; Deut 31:16, 20; Isa 24:5; Jer 11:10; 31:32; Ezek 16:59; 44:7). Yahweh does not “break” his promises to the Israelites (Lev 26:44; Judg 2:1; Jer 14:21), to David (Jer 33:21), to the nations (Zech 11:10). Yahweh’s determinations (= ordinances) concerning day and night cannot be lifted (Jer 33:20; it may be that ho. *tūpar* should be reconstructed instead of the hi. form).

None of the occurrences concerning a commitment between God and people is pre-Dtn. With 22 passages, *pr* hi. *bʿrît* is the most important

expression for the breach of a commitment ( $\rightarrow b^{\text{c}}r\hat{t}$  III/6c). The assumption of a *Sitz im Leben* for this usage in the legal practice of ancient Near Eastern covenant making (W. Thiel, “*Hēfēr b<sup>c</sup>rīt*. Zum Bundbrechen im AT,” *VT* 20 [1970]: 214–29) becomes superfluous in view of the circumstance that here too (with the possible exception of 1 Kgs 15:19b)  $b^{\text{c}}r\hat{t}$  means “commitment,” not “covenant, agreement.”

5. Qumran continues OT usage with the expressions “to break a promise ( $b^{\text{c}}r\hat{t}$ )” (4QDibHam 5:8; 6:7; subj. Yahweh) and “to break a statute ( $h\hat{o}q$ )” (CD 1:20). *qayyāmê qedem* “that which has long existed” (1QH 13:12) also appears here as the obj. of *pr*. Even with “arrows” as the subj. of *pr* hi. (1QH 2:26; 3:27), it is not necessary to postulate an independent *pr* hi. stem “to impel” (as does Kuhn, *Konk.* 181); here too the meaning “to destroy” is present. *pr* hitp. in the sense of “to shatter, be destroyed” (1QHfrg. 3:5) is new.

The chief LXX translation of *pr* hi., *diaskedazein* “to destroy, disintegrate,” does not occur in the NT.

E. Kutsch

## עָשָׂה $pe\check{s}a^{\text{c}}$ crime

S 6588; BDB 833a; *HALOT* 3:981b; *ThWAT* 6:791–810; *TWOT* 1846a; *NIDOTTE* 7322

1.  $p\check{s}^{\text{c}}$  occurs outside postbibl. Hebr. and Jew. Aram. only in Syr., with a divergent meaning (*LS* 613b: “to be numb, terrified; to act foolishly”), and to date once in the Ug. subst.  $p\check{s}^{\text{c}}$  (*KTU* 1.17.VI.43 par. *gan* [ $\rightarrow g^{\text{h}}$  1]: *WUS* no. 2287: “crime, sin”; *UT* no. 2128: “sin”).

The OT has  $p\check{s}^{\text{c}}$  qal and ni., as well as the masc. segholate  $pe\check{s}a^{\text{c}}$ .

2. The verb is attested 41x in the OT, 40x in the qal and 1x in the ni. (Prov 18:19); conjectures are possible in 1 Sam 13:3; Isa 64:4; Job 35:15; Eccl 3:16 (see *BH* 3).  $p\check{s}^{\text{c}}$  qal occurs most frequently in Isa (9x, 5x in Deutero-Isa, 2x in Trito-Isa), followed by 2 Kgs 6x, Jer and 2 Chron 4x, Ezek and Hos 3x, 1 Kgs, Amos, and Psa 2x each, isolated occurrences in Zeph 3:11; Prov 28:21; Lam 3:42; Dan 8:23; Ezra 10:13. Amos 4:4(bis); Hos 7:13; 8:1; 14:10; Isa 1:2, 28; Prov 28:21; and a few passages in 1/2 Kgs are the oldest. Thus the verb appears in the 8th cent. in historiography and prophetic proclamation and achieves its broadest distribution around

600 BCE.

The noun *peša*<sup>c</sup> dominates in the narrative and poetical books with 93 occurrences (Psa 14x, Prov 12x, Isa 11x, Ezek, Amos, and Job 10x each, Mic 6x, Gen, Exod, Lam, and Dan 3x each, Lev and 1 Sam 2x each, Num, Josh, 1 Kgs, and Jer 1x each). The oldest occurrences are: Gen 31:36; 50:17(bis); Exod 22:8; 1 Sam 24:12; 25:28; Amos 1:3–2:6; 3:14; 5:12; Mic 1:5(bis), 13; 3:8; Prov 28:2, 13, 24; 29:6, 16, 22; perhaps Josh 24:19.

3. The term *peša*<sup>c</sup> is almost universally translated “dispute, rebellion” on the basis of an exegesis of Exod 22:8 by L. Köhler (ZAW 46 [1928]: 213–18), which has broadly affected OT hamartiology. This interpretation has, however, proved to be untenable. For overviews of the problem, cf. S. Pořbčan, *Sin in the OT* (1963); R. Knierim, *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im AT* (1965; see 143n.81 for further literature, and e.g., H. W. Hertzberg, FS Rudolph 97–108).

(a) First, one may not overlook other old instances besides Exod 22:8 in the determination of the basic meaning. In Gen 31:36, an almost complete illustration of Exod 22:8, *peša*<sup>c</sup> can relate only to the act of theft (key term *gnb* “to steal”) given the context in vv 31–37, not to Jacob’s disputation of the charge. According to 1 Sam 24:10–14, *peša*<sup>c</sup> refers to *šlh yād b<sup>e</sup>* “to lay a hand on” and to *hrg* “to kill.” According to Prov 28:24 a son who has “robbed” (*gzl*) his parents disputes the charge that he has committed *peša*<sup>c</sup>. In Gen 50:17 the term refers to kidnapping. Instances in Amos 1:3, 6, 9, 11, 13; 2:1,(4,)6 (cf. the excursus in Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 152f.) all refer to criminal acts; cf. Amos 5:12; Mic 1:13; 3:8; Zeph 3:11 qal. In all these instances, it is impossible to translate *peša*<sup>c</sup> with “dispute, rebellion.” Moreover, the antiquity of the texts and the specific situations indicated in them prohibit one from assuming that the term has been used in a secondarily expanded meaning.

(b) But even the customary exegesis of Exod 22:8 itself is untenable. First, the assumption of a “dispute” rests on an inconsistent and highly self-contradictory exegesis of the verse. In substance, the following translation presents the fewest difficulties: “In reference to any case of property offense (*peša*<sup>c</sup>), whether it involves a head of cattle, a donkey, a sheep, a coat, or anything whatsoever that has been lost, concerning which one says: ‘This one did (or has) it’—the matter involving these two shall come before God. If God pronounces him (the accused) guilty, he shall repay his neighbor doubly.” The oldest exegesis of Exod 22:8, which appears in Deut 22:1–3, confirms this interpretation. Deut 22:1–3 deals with the case of embezzlement of another’s property but not with the dispute of a property claim.

The context of Exod 22:6–14 treats property offenses, not cases of disputes.

Materially oriented terms also appear here: *ʔbd* “to be lost,” *gnb* “to steal” (v 6), and *šlh yād b<sup>e</sup>* “to lay hands on”; cf. 1 Sam 24:11. This theme was the material basis for the expansion of vv 6f. by v 8, as, e.g., the two determinations of judgment concluding the argument in v 8b indicate.

(c) The verb also offers only apparent justification for the translation “to rebel.” 2 Kgs 8:20, 22 raises the question whether *pš<sup>c</sup>mittaḥat yād* refers to the basic process of completed disengagement from a social union or only to the process of rebellion, of protest against the union, whether successful or not. Consequently, the definition of the term must involve a distinction between (completed) separation and (attempted) rebellion. The phrase “*pš<sup>c</sup>* out of the hand of . . .” and the context of 2 Kgs 8:20, 22 (cf. 2 Chron 21:8, 10) demonstrate clearly, however, the fact of completed separation, self-extrication from foreign dominion, and thus a type of property removal. The prep. phrase *pš<sup>c</sup> b<sup>e</sup>* in other texts only seems to oppose this interpretation. But *be* “with” does not denote the direction of motion, but an association. K. H. Fahlgren (*S<sup>e</sup>dāḳā, nahestehende und entgegengesetzte Begriffe im AT* [1932], 19) has then correctly translated the apparently paradoxical circumstance of disengagement, separation, with “to break with.” This translation stands the test in all the occurrences in this category: Hos 7:13 (par. *ndd min* “to turn aside from”); Isa 1:28 (par. *šeber* “shattering,” *ʔzb* “to abandon”); Jer 2:29–31 (par. *rūd* “to wander freely”); 3:13f. (par. *šūb* “to return”). Thus the verb also designates situations involving property offenses or breaks with someone (cf. 1 Kgs 12:19; 2 Kgs 1:1; 3:5, 7). The phrase *pš<sup>c</sup> ʔal* in Hos 8:1 is unique and may represent a secondary usage. KBL 785a has accurately rendered the circumstance presented here by suggesting the meaning “suffer revolt?” for *pš<sup>c</sup> ni*. (Prov 18:19).

(d) The circumstances described may permit the basic meaning of the term to be deduced. First, it is clear that *pš<sup>c</sup>* is not identical with the par. terms mentioned (specifically *gzl* “to rob,” *gnb* “to steal,” *šlh yād b<sup>e</sup>* “to lay a hand on”). Rather, *pš<sup>c</sup>* designates a formal category encompassing the various types of material and personal crimes indicated by those terms. That the use of the term, esp. in Exod 22:8, presupposes a precise definition indicates that it was already very early a legal technical term for crimes that were subject to legal penalties. The verb in 2 Kgs 8:20, 22, etc. is correspondingly a term from international law indicating the loss, the removal, of a segment of a state structure (cf. also I. Plein, *ZAW* 78 [1966]: 10). The translation of the verb that reflects the intention and that, at the same time, implies the social element presupposed in the word is then: with the prep. *be* “to break with,” with *mittaḥat yād* “to break away from,” and abs. “to behave criminally.” The *ni*. has the pass. meaning “to suffer loss, crime, breach (of the fraternal relationship).”

(e) The history of the term begins with its usage in legal contexts: the request for forgiveness (in various forms and phrases, e.g., → *nśʹ* “to bear,” Gen 50:17; 1 Sam 25:28), the defense, justification, or discussion (Gen 31:36; 1 Sam 24:12; Prov 28:24; legal forms of discourse within or outside a legal proceeding), and the legal declaration (Exod 22:8). Thus the term first appears indeed as a technical term, in the framework of noncultic, legal regulation, of legal procedures and transactions with legal implications.

It then underwent expansions of meaning in other life situations. Wisdom uses the formulaic expression *ksh pi. pešaʹ* “to cover offenses” (Prov 10:12; 17:9; 28:13; Job 31:33; cf. Prov 19:11, *br ʹal* “to pass by”). Here *pešaʹ* is not necessarily a legally punishable crime. “Covering” or “confessing and forsaking” (28:13) can also transpire outside legal proceedings. This concept is apparently grounded in the endeavor of wisdom thought to include all possible cases of *pešaʹ* and to determine the means for overcoming their disastrous effects. Cf. also Prov 12:13; 28:2; 29:6. In this sphere the originally legal term is finally used in the sense of objectionable, immoral behavior. In parenthesis, usually in the form of a divine discourse, the term (with a 2d per. pl. suf.) then progresses to explicitly theological contexts. First, it serves in (conditional) announcements of the unforgivable nature of *pʹšaʹim* (Exod 23:21; Josh 24:19; Amos 5:12), then in the cry for repentance (Ezek 18:30f.) and in the announcement of forgiveness (Isa 43:25; 44:22; cf. also 50:1; Job 35:6). The early prophets of judgment adopt the term in various forms in their proclamation of judgment. Amos apparently links the formulation of his justifications for judgment with the form of the old covenant law (Exod 22:8) and thus points to the origin and authority of his proclamation (cf. Amos 1–2). Micah defines his prophetic mission as “notification of *pešaʹ*” (Mic 3:8; cf. Isa 58:1; Job 36:9; Lam 1:5, 22). Regarding the proclamation of judgment, cf. also Mic 1:5; Isa 50:1; Jer 5:6; Ezek 14:11; 37:23; 39:24. The verb is common in Yahweh’s accusation “they broke with me” (Isa 1:2; 43:27; 66:24; Jer 2:8, 29; 33:8; Ezek 2:3; Zeph 3:11; cf. also Isa 46:8; 48:8; 53:12; 59:13; Jer 3:13; Ezek 18:31; 20:38; Hos 14:10; Amos 4:4).

In the exilic/post-exilic period, the term occurs primarily in cultic and cultic-legal texts (apart from Job): in the doxology concerning God’s forgiveness (→ *nśʹ pešaʹ*), in the liturgy of the post-exilic Festival of Booths or of the preceding Day of Atonement (Exod 34:7; Num 14:18; Mic 7:18–20; cf. Lev 16:16, 21; Psa 32:1), in the petition for God’s forgiveness (1 Kgs 8:50; Psa 25:7; 51:3), in the affirmation (Psa 59:4b–5a) and discussion of innocence (Job 7:21; 13:23; 33:9f.; 34:6), and in the confession (Isa 53:5; 59:12; Ezek 33:10; Mic 6:7; Psa 25:7; 32:5; 39:9; 51:3, 5; 65:4; 103:12; Job 14:17; Lam 1:14, 22).

4. (a) *pešaʹ* is a theological term because the deeds it describes

affect Yahweh or his sovereignty and consequently require his judgment or forgiveness. That the term increasingly appears in explicitly theological contexts is only of secondary significance, for it fundamentally applies to all types of legally definable criminal acts. Such deeds are subject to Yahweh's verdict, however, primarily because the relationship between Yahweh and Israel (and people) is understood in legal categories and because even a "profane" crime is theologically disqualified per se since Yahweh was the Lord of justice. Moreover, *peša*<sup>◌</sup> became—e.g., for Amos—the most serious term for "sin" because Israel's relationship to Yahweh was most explicitly defined in the legal sphere. This theological understanding is not always specifically visible and is developed variously, but it is clear often enough even in noncultic procedures (cf. Gen 31:36; 50:17; Exod 22:8; 1 Sam 24:12; 25:28; Job 7:21; 13:23; Prov 28:13 "confess and forsake").

(b) The specific theological character of the term is determined by the basic meaning portrayed above: Whoever commits *peša*<sup>◌</sup> does not merely rebel or protest against Yahweh but breaks with him, takes away what is his, robs, embezzles, misappropriates it. Although it always implies a conscious behavior, the term per se does not describe the attitude but the criminal act that consists in removal of property or breach of relationship. As a result, in the OT the most serious aspect of the sin phenomenon is the offense as breach but not "the revolt of the human will against the divine will" (Köhler 170).

(c) The understanding of *peša*<sup>◌</sup> just outlined determines its relationship to the other major terms for "sin." → *ḥṭ*<sup>◌</sup> means "to miss a goal." It passes by the goal. *wh* (→ *āwōn*) means "to bend, twist." It contorts the course of things. *pš*<sup>◌</sup> means "to break (with)." It disengages from a social partner or his property. The difference among the terms lies not in varied psychologies but in their varied origins: colloquialism, dynamistic expression, legal term. Finally, then, *peša*<sup>◌</sup> does not mean "sin." For just as surely as the term has a theological dimension, the OT is in general interested in speaking of "sin" in such a way as to call deeds and procedures by their proper names.

(d) The history of the theological meaning of the term displays a development from the specific to the comprehensive. This development is not only apparent in the transition of usages from a clearly delimited "profane" case (e.g., request for forgiveness: Gen 50:17; 1 Sam 25:28; defense: Gen 31:36; 1 Sam 24:12; Prov 28:24) to cultic procedures in which a particular offense is no longer apparent (1 Kgs 8:50; Psa 25:7; 51:3; 59:4; in which more is confessed than disputed in the cult: Psa 25:7; 32:5; 39:9; 51:3, 5, etc.). It is also apparent in the transition from the sg. form (47 of 93 instances) to the pl. form (cf. e.g., Isa 53:5; 59:12; Ezek

33:10; Psa 32:5; 39:9; 51:3, 5; 65:4; 103:12; Lam 1:14, 22; cf. also the modifiers *kōl* “entirety” and *rōb* “multitude,” Lev 16:21; 1 Kgs 8:50; Jer 5:6; Ezek 14:11; 18:30f.; 37:23; Psa 5:11, etc.). The disassociation of the term from individual cases is most apparent in Amos: While he consistently uses the word in its original severity (“crime”) and evidences its origin in individual cases, he is the first to use it in grand style as a key term in the form of Yahweh’s verdict marking the deeds of an entire historical period as crimes. In accord with this development, the theological conception of *pešaʿ* is increasingly concerned with the *totality* of the crimes of an epoch, the people, or an individual, and with the totality of their break with Yahweh. So stated, however, totality is a radical theology of judgment. This theology of judgment is shattered, however, when Yahweh’s forgiveness is proclaimed, offered, and praised with the same word in liturgical statements (Exod 34:7; Lev 16:16; Num 14:18; 1 Kgs 8:50; Isa 43:25; 44:22; Mic 7:18; Psa 32:1).

5. In the available Qumran texts, the verb occurs 3x (1QS 1:25, a communal confession of sin) and the noun about 40x. About half of the occurrences have a traditionally formulaic character. This circumstance indicates that the term, in a consistent extension of its earlier development, has now become a fixed, largely formulaic term in the cultic language of the Qumran community.

The LXX offers a wide variety of terms for the verb and the noun, esp. *asebeia*, *anomia*, *hamartia*, and etymologically related words. Clearly, the LXX not only translated the Hebr. term inconsistently but also lost its basic meaning. Cf. G. Quell et al., “ἁμαρτάνω,” *TDNT* 1:267–316; W. Gutbrod, “ἀνομία/ἄνομος,” *TDNT* 4:1085–87; W. Foerster, “σέβομαι,” *TDNT* 7:168–96.

R. Knierim

## פִּתְּה *pth* to be gullible

S 6601; BDB 834b; *HALOT* 3:984a; *ThWAT* 6:820–31; *TWOT* 1853; *NIDOTTE* 7331

1. It is disputed whether Hebr. *pth* “to be gullible, foolish” and the related noms. should be associated with the well-attested Aram. root \**pty* “to be broad” (*DISO* 239; *KBL* 1114f.; *KBSuppl.* 206a; Fitzmyer, *Gen.Ap.* 134f.; *LS* 615b) and with Arab. *fatān* “youth” (Wehr 696b) (so e.g., Zorell 674f.; J. Hoftijzer, *OTS* 12 [1958]: 25f.; cf. also E. Ullendorff, *VT* 6 [1956]: 193) or should be treated as a distinct root (so GB 666; *KBL* 786) that could also be attested in Ug. (*UT* no. 2129; cf. *WUS* no. 2289) in addition to

equivalents in postbibl. Hebr. and Jew. Aram.

If one accepts two distinct roots, *pth* hi. “to broaden” in Gen 9:27 (an etymology for Japheth) should be considered a loanword from the Aram. root (Wagner no. 242), *pth* qal ptcp. in Prov 20:19 may also be a loanword (GB 666b: “to open the lips”; contra KBL 786a: “silly chatterer”), and *pth* pi. in Prov 24:28, often read as a hi. (BDB 834b with reservations; cf., however, McKane, *Prov*, OTL, 573f.).

The verb occurs in the qal “to be gullible, foolish,” ni. “to allow oneself to be persuaded,” pi. “to fool, mislead,” and pu. “to be fooled.” In addition, the abstract noms. *petî* II and *p<sup>e</sup>tayyût* “simplicity” and the personal term *petî* I “simpleton,” whose pausal form has entirely displaced the contextual form *\*p<sup>e</sup>tî* (BL 583; Joüon §96Aq; regarding the variants of the pl. form, cf. GKC §93x; BL 579).

The PN *p<sup>e</sup>tû<sup>l</sup>ēl* (Joel 1:1) is unexplained in *IP* 255, linked by KBL 786b with *p<sup>e</sup>tî* “youth” (cf. also W. W. Müller, *ZAW* 75 [1963]: 313; Stark 109; Benz 396).

2. The verb occurs a total of 27x (incl. Prov 20:19; 24:28; qal 5x, ni. 2x, pi. 17x, pu. 3x), *petî* I 18x (Prov 14x, Psa 3x, Ezek 1x), *petî* II 1x (Prov 1:22), and *p<sup>e</sup>tayyût* 1x (Prov 9:13), the root, then, a total of 47x. The noms. concentrate more markedly in Prov than the verb (verb 5x, noms. 16x; *petî* in Psa 19:8 and 119:130 also bears a wisdom stamp).

3. The personal word *petî* characterizes a type of person who is youthful, imprudent, and hasty, therefore gullible and foolish, but also in need of instruction and capable of learning: the “simpleton,” for whom there is still hope (McKane, op. cit. 265, 342, 563, etc.: “an untutored youth”). Of OT wisdom terms for “fool,” it is the mildest (cf. U. Skladny, *Die ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel* [1962], 35, etc.; T. Donald, “Semantic Field of ‘Folly,’” *VT* 13 [1963]: 285–92).

The semasiological profile of the term is well illuminated by its synonyms and antonyms. The “simpleton” is a *na<sup>c</sup>ar* “boy, youth” (Prov 1:4; 7:7), “poor in understanding” (*h<sup>a</sup>sar-lēb* 7:7; 9:4, 16); he falls imprudently into misfortune (22:3; 27:12); naively “he trusts every word” (14:15) and is a “fool” (→ *k<sup>e</sup>sîl*, 1:22, 32; 8:5). The opposite is the “clever” (*‘arûm* Prov 14:15, 18; 22:3; 27:12), the “wise” (→ *hākām* 21:11), and the “insightful” (*nābôn* 19:25; → *bîn*). Although the “simpleton” loves his “simplicity” (*petî* II, Prov 1:22) and inherits “folly” (*‘iwwelet* 14:18; → *‘ewîl*), he is challenged to learn “cunning” (*‘ormâ* 8:5), which involves, negatively, noting the fate of the “mockers” (*lēs* 19:25; 21:11; cf. 1:22), and, positively, the wisdom doctrine of “sayings” (*m<sup>e</sup>šālîm* 1:1, 4), just as “Yahweh’s dependable witness” will otherwise “make (him) wise” (→ *hkm* hi. ptcp., Psa 19:8).

The basic stem of the verb, which describes the status of the easily misled, the foolish, is closest to the noun that bears a thorough wisdom imprint. This relationship applies particularly to the ptcp. forms of Prov 20:19 and Job 5:2 (par. → <sup>c</sup>wîl “fool/foolish”), and to the caustic accusation in Hos 7:11, which compares Ephraim to “a foolish dove,” “without insight” (<sup>c</sup>ên → lēb). The exhortation in Deut 11:16 (cf. Job 31:27) warns against a “foolish heart,” because it breeds apostasy.

The reduplicated stem, which denotes the production of a gullible, foolish status in a person, transitively and factitively (cf. *HP* 21), refers to an active “misleading, seduction, delusion,” or also “persuasion” because the means are often words; the power exercised in this activity may not be misperceived, however, esp. if God is the actor.

Applied to people, *pth* pi. means seductive or deluding persuasion in the sexual (in the Covenant Code, Exod 22:15, in reference to a virgin; cf. Job 31:9 ni.), the legal (cf. Prov 16:29 in reference to a violent act; otherwise 24:28; positively in 25:15, pu.; more generally in Judg 14:15; 16:5; 2 Sam 3:25), and the religious realms (of the alluring persuasion of the sinner, Prov 1:10; cf. Psa 1; of the people’s false confession, Psa 78:36 par. → *kzb* pi. “to lie”). In particular, however, the term refers to God’s compelling persuasion: metaphorically in reference to God’s judging and saving activity toward Israel (like a wife, Hos 2:16), but esp. of God’s mighty activity through particular prophets that can even be manifest in delusion, as in negative references to the false prophets (1 Kgs 22:20–22 par. 2 Chron 18:19–21; cf. Ezek 14:9 pu.) and in Jeremiah’s positive though plaintive final confession (Jer 20:7, 10 pi., ni., and pu.).

4. The “simpleton” is never compared to → *nābāl*, the wicked “fool,” or to *rāšāʿ*, the “godless”; rather, he enjoys God’s protection (cf. Psa 116:6) and errs “because of ignorance” (cf. Ezek 45:20). His “simplicity” is not, however, without religious significance or danger for himself and his associates: through it he falls into misfortune (Prov 22:3; 27:12); his “apostasy” (*mšûbâ*) kills him (1:32); only if he leaves the community of “simpletons,” sets out on the way of insight, and learns cunning (8:5; 9:4, 6, 16) can he live (9:6), just as, conversely, “simplicity” (*pʿtayyût*) is associated with Lady Folly, whose way leads to death (9:13). Although some possibilities for education and well-being remain open to the “simpleton,” one may not overlook that at the same time the attitude of “simplicity” as folly can only in the final analysis produce a disastrous fate, a consequence more distinctly explicated by the largely negative religio-ethical usage of *pth*, esp. in the reduplicated stem. Discussions or complaints concerning God’s compelling persuasion seem all the more puzzling against this background.

5. Regarding the available Qumran literature (verb and noun *pty* or

*pwt*; Kuhn, *Konk.* 182f.; id., *RQ* 14 [1963]: 220), LXX (verb usually rendered with *apatan*, *petî* primarily with *aphrōn*, *akakos*, and *nēpios*), and the NT (Matt 11:25 par.), cf. e.g., G. Bertram, “νήπιος,” *TDNT* 4:912–23; I. D. Amusin, *Vestnik drevnej istorii* (1961), 3–22 (cf. *ZAW* 73 [1961]: 322); J. Dupont, “Les ‘simples’ (*petâyim*) dans la Bible et Qumra<sup>n</sup>,” *FS Rinaldi* 329–36 (with bibliog.).

M. Sæbø

## שָׁבָאׁ *šābāׁ* army

S 6635; BDB 838b; *HALOT* 3:994b; *ThWAT* 6:871–76; *TWOT* 1865a; *NIDOTTE* 7372

## לָחַם *lḥm* ni. to fight

S 3898; BDB 535a; *HALOT* 2:526a; *TDOT* 8:334–45; *TWOT* 1104; *NIDOTTE* 4309

1. Almost all branches of the Sem. languages attest the root *šbׁ* (Akk.: *šabāׁu* “to go to war,” *šābu* “people, workers, army,” *CAD* S:41b, 46–55; Ug.: *šbׁ* “army, warriors,” *WUS* no. 2299; *UT* no. 2138; Hebr.: *šbׁ* “army” also in Lachish Letter III = *KAI* no. 193, l. 14; Old SArab.: *ḏbׁ* “to make war”/“war,” Conti Rossini 226b; A. Jamne, *Cahiers de Byrsa* 8 [1958/59]: 161; Eth.: *šabׁa/ḏabׁa* “to make war,” Dillmann 1281–83).

Regarding a possible Phoen. occurrence of *šbׁ*, cf. *DISO* 240; *KAI* no. 46.5; M. G. Guzzo Amadasi, *Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in occidente* (1967), 86.

Eg. *dabiׁu* “army” is a Sem. loanword; cf. W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. u. 2. Jt. v. Chr.* (1962), 577.

The OT attests the qal and the hi. of the verb (see 3a); only the subst. *šābāׁ* occurs as a nom. derivative (see 3b).

2. Statistics: *šbׁ* qal occurs 12x (Num and Isa 4x each), hi. 2x (2 Kgs 25:19 = Jer 52:25), *šābāׁ* 486x, according to the following table (excl. *šibׁôt*, Jer 3:19 [Mandl. 983b]; cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 28; incl. 2 Kgs 19:31 Q; Zech 9:8 txt?; Dan 8:13 txt? cf. Benzen, *HAT* 19, 56; under “pl.” [with *-ôt*] also Psa 103:21 and 148:2 with a masc. ending; DE = the divine epithet *šׁbāׁôt*

):

	<i>ṣābā'</i> pl.	DE	
Gen 4	–	–	
Exod 5	5	–	
Num 77	16	–	
Deut 4	1	–	
Josh 5	–	–	
Judg 4	–	–	
1 Sam	10	5	5
2 Sam	15	6	6
1 Kgs14	4	3	
2 Kgs10	2	2	
Isa 70	62	62	
Jer 87	82	82	
Hos 1	1	1	
Amos9	9	9	
Mic 1	1	1	
Nah 2	2	2	
Hab 1	1	1	
Zeph 3	2	2	
Hag 14	14	14	
Zech 54	53	53	
Mal 24	24	24	
Psa 23	21	15	
Job 3	–	–	
Dan 6	–	–	
Neh 2	–	–	
1 Chron	26	4	3
2 Chron	12	–	–
OT	486	315	285

*ṣ<sup>e</sup>bā'ôt* occurs as a divine epithet in the following phrases:

(1)	<i>yhwh</i>	<i>ṣ<sup>e</sup>bā'ôt</i>	240x	
(2)	<i>hā'ādôn</i>	<i>yhwh</i>	<i>ṣ<sup>e</sup>bā'ôt</i>	5x
(3)	<i>ḏōnāy</i>	<i>yhwh</i>	<i>ṣ<sup>e</sup>bā'ôt</i>	15x
(4)	<i>ḏōnāy</i>	<i>yhwh</i>	<i>haṣṣ<sup>e</sup>bā'ôt</i>	1x
(5)	<i>yhwh</i>	<i>lōhîm</i>	<i>ṣ<sup>e</sup>bā'ôt</i>	4x
(6)	<i>lōhê</i>	<i>ṣ<sup>e</sup>bā'ôt</i>	2x	
(7)	<i>yhwh</i>	<i>lōhê</i>	<i>ṣ<sup>e</sup>bā'ôt</i>	14x
(8)	<i>yhwh</i>	<i>lōhê</i>	<i>haṣṣ<sup>e</sup>bā'ôt</i>	2x

(9)	<sup>ʾ</sup> dōnāy	yhwh	<sup>ʿ</sup> lōhē	haṣṣ <sup>ʿ</sup> bāʾōt	1x	
(10)		yhwh	<sup>ʿ</sup> lōhē	ṣ <sup>ʿ</sup> bāʾōt	<sup>ʾ</sup> dōnāy	1x

(5) and (6) replace an original *yhwh ṣ<sup>ʿ</sup>bāʾōt* in the Elohistc Psalter (59:6; 80:5, 20; 84:9; and 80:8, 15, resp.); (4) = Amos 9:5; (8) = Hos 12:6; Amos 6:14; (9) = Amos 3:13; (10) = Amos 5:16; cf. B. N. Wambacq, *L'pithète divine Jahv S<sup>ʿ</sup>baʾōt* (1947), 55; and see 4.

The statistical table indicates that *ṣ<sup>ʿ</sup>bāʾōt* does not occur as a divine epithet in the Pentateuch, Josh, and Judg. Ezek does not have the epithet either, in contrast to Isa, which has a total of 62 (Deutero-Isa 6x, Trito-Isa 0x), and Jer, with a total of 82 instances. The concentration of the divine designation shortly after the exile is remarkable (Hag, Zech, Mal). Apart from 1 Chron, where it occurs only in a text dependent on 2 Sam, the predicate does not occur in late OT literature. In the Psa, the epithet dominates in the Zion songs and related genres (46:8, 12; 48:9; 24:10; 84:2, 4, 9, 13; 89:9). The manifold usage in Psa 80 (vv 5, 8, 15, 20) is noteworthy in a psalm that apparently stems from northern Israel and dates (according to O. Eissfeldt, *KS* [1966], 3:221–32) to 725 BCE (see 4). In 1/2 Kgs, the divine designation appears only on the lips of the prophets Elijah (1 Kgs 18:15; 19:10, 14), Elisha (2 Kgs 3:14), and Isaiah (2 Kgs 19:31 Q). The authenticity of Hos 12:6 is disputed (cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 213), while the predicate in Mic 4:4 occurs on the lips of pseudoprophets (cf. A. S. van der Woude, *FS de Liagre Böhl* 396–402). Apart from Proto-Isaiah, the divine predicate occurs in the prophets primarily in fixed formulae (cf. F. Baumgärtel, “Zu den Gottesnamen in den Büchern Jeremia und Ezechiel,” *FS Rudolph* 1–29 [with tables]). For the history of the divine designation, see 4.

3. (a) The verbal instances of the root *ṣb<sup>ʾ</sup>* in military language mean “to go to war” in the qal (Num 31:7, 42; Isa 29:7[bis], 8; 31:4; Zech 14:12) and “to recruit for war” in the hi. (2 Kgs 25:19 = Jer 52:25). In the sacred realm *ṣb<sup>ʾ</sup>* qal means either the work performed by the Levites for the sanctuary (Num 4:23; 8:24; not cultic service—cf. Num 8:26 and J. Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology* [1970], 1:61) or the activity of women who assist at the entrance of the tent of meeting (Exod 38:8[bis]; 1 Sam 2:22). The notion that these women were “sacred prostitutes” (so R. Dussaud, *Les origines cananéens du sacrifice israélite* [1921], 15; cf. also K. Gallig, in G. Beer, *HAT* 3, 172, who interprets the mirror mentioned in Exod 38:8 as an “Aphrodite” mirror; cf. 2 Kgs 23:7) instead of those who “have the task of keeping the entrance clean; this was particularly important for what took place in the sanctuary” (Hertzberg, *Sam*, OTL, 36) is improbable, because *ṣābā<sup>ʾ</sup>* never refers to cultic, but always to profane, service.

(b) The subst. *šābāʿ*, whose basic meaning can be described by the often overlapping terms “mass, weight, magnitude, might” (Eissfeldt, *KS* 3:110f.), means the service “that one does not do of one’s own volition but that is required of one by a superior. As a rule it was service in war, but it could also be labor” (Elliger, *BK* 11, 14). The term has both a concrete and an abstract meaning. Thus *šābāʿ* means “military service” (esp. in conjunction with → *yšʿ* “to go out to serve in the military,” Num 1:3, 20, 22, etc.; cf. also → *ʾlh laššābāʿ* Josh 22:12 and → *bôʿ laššābāʿ* Num 4:30, 35, 39, 43; moreover, *ḥʾlûš(é) šābāʿ* Num 31:5; 32:27; Josh 4:13; 1 Chron 12:25; 2 Chron 17:18; and *ḥālûš laššābāʿ*, 1 Chron 12:24 “equipped for military service”), but then also “military campaign” (in conjunction with *milḥāmā* “war,” Num 31:14; Isa 13:4; 1 Chron 7:4; 12:38) and “army (hosts)” (Num 31:21, 32, 48, 53; 2 Sam 3:23, etc.; cf. also *šar šābāʿ* “army commander, general,” e.g., Gen 21:22). The fem. pl. in several passages should be interpreted militarily in the sense of “armed hosts” (Deut 20:9; 1 Kgs 2:5; Psa 44:10; 60:12; 68:13; 108:12; 1 Chron 27:3). The same meaning is apparently appropriate for the sg. and fem. pl. forms frequently encountered in Num 1, 2, and 10, since the census in Num 1 apparently had a military objective (cf. Num 1:3; D. Kellermann, *Die Priesterschrift von Numeri 1,1 bis 10,10* [1970], 15), although for P the census for military purposes represents merely one element of the outward organization of the people (Noth, *Num*, OTL, 19f.) and *šʿbāʿôt* in other P texts means the hosts of Yahweh or the hosts of Israel in general (Exod 6:26; 7:4; 12:17, 41, 51), so that Wambacq (op. cit. 140) assumes the latter meaning for Num 1, 2, and 10 too.

Psa 68:12 (cf. Isa 43:2) shows that *šābāʿ* can have the nonmilitary meaning “a vast multitude.” Accordingly, *šʿbāʿ haššāmayim* indicates the stars as the “host of heaven.” This expression is particularly common in the Dtn-Dtr literature and always refers there (as also in Zeph 1:5 and 2 Chron 33:3, 5) to the astral realm as the object of idolatrous worship (Deut 4:19; 17:3; 2 Kgs 17:16; 21:3, 5; 23:4f.; Jer 8:2; 19:13). The designation of the angels congregated around Yahweh’s throne as *šʿbāʿ haššāmayim* (1 Kgs 22:19 = 2 Chron 18:18; Neh 9:6) also reflects the ancient Near Eastern concept of the stars as heavenly powers. Dan 8:10 describes God himself as the prince of this *šābāʿ*, while Josh 5:14 mentions the prince of Yahweh’s host in the context of a theophany, a reference to a → *malʾak yhwh*-like figure who, as Yahweh’s messenger, is envisioned as simultaneously distinct from and identical with him. Psa 103:21 and 148:2 txt em also understand angelic powers as God’s servants.

*šʿbāʿ haššāmayim* has an entirely different meaning when used to imitate the terminology of the patriarchal promise of descendants instead of *kôkābîm*

“stars” to designate the innumerable stars (Jer 33:22; cf. also Dan 8:10). Without *šamayim*, *šābāʿ* sometimes means all heavenly bodies in contexts accentuating Yahweh’s creative power (Isa 40:26; 45:12; Psa 33:6). Through zeugma, the expression can then also be extended to the earth (Gen 2:1 P). Isa 24:21 uses apocalyptic language in the statement that Yahweh will one day hold “the host of the heights” (*šēbāʿ hammārôm*) responsible, most likely a reference to the astral deities that question God’s dominion (cf. O. Plöger, *Theocracy and Eschatology* [1968], 59f.).

In accordance with the verbal usage of *šbʿ*, the subst. can also refer to the profane labor performed by the Levites at the sanctuary (Num 4; 8:24f.; always P). Finally, later literature also uses *šābāʿ* to designate the toilsome service of the day laborer (Job 7:1), of the corvée (Job 10:17; 14:14; cf. Isa 40:2; see Elliger, op. cit. 14), and great trouble (Dan 10:1).

\*(c) Among the terms related semantically to *šbʿ* qal and *šābāʿ*, a few words of varied weight for “army,” “battle, war,” and “to fight” should be mentioned: *ʾgāp* “army” (HAL 11a) occurs only in Ezek (7x: 12:14; 17:21; 38:6[bis], 9, 22; 39:4); *gʿdūd* indicates both the “raid” and the “patrol unit, army unit” (HAL 170a; 33x); *maḥʾneh* means “camp (generally),” “army camp,” and “army” (216x in the OT, Num 49x, Judg 28x [excl. the place-name in 18:12], 1 Sam 22x, Exod 19x, Lev 18x, Josh 17x, 2 Kgs 15x, Deut 10x, Gen and 1 Chron 8x each, only 6x in all the Prophets); regarding *ḥayil* “power, capacity” and “army,” → *kōaḥ* 3.

*milḥāmā* is the common word for “battle, war” (319x, 1–2 Chron 32x each, 1 Sam 31x, 2 Sam 29x, Jer 24x, 1 Kgs 23x, Judg 20x, Deut and Josh 18x each, Isa 14x, Num 12x, 2 Kgs and Psa 10x each); cf. also the uncertain *lāḥem* in Judg 5:8, the hapax legomenon *naptûlîm* “fight (wrestling match)” (Gen 30:8; cf. *ptl* ni. “to wrestle,” Gen 30:8, in the wordplay on the name Naphtali; otherwise *ʾbq* ni. “to wrestle,” Gen 32:25f.), and the Aram. loanword *qʿrāb* “fight” (Wagner no. 270; 8x in the Hebr. OT, 1x in Bibl. Aram. in Dan 7:21).

The normal term for “to fight” is *lḥm* ni. (167x, with a distribution similar to that of *milḥāmā* and a concentration in the books Num–Jer: Judg 31x, 1 Sam 21x, Josh 17x, Jer 16x, 2 Chron 15x, 2 Kgs 12x, 2 Sam and 1 Kgs 9x each, Deut and Isa 7x each); *lḥm* qal “to fight” is rare (Psa 35:1; 56:2f., ptcp. in each case).

4. The theological use of words for “army” and “to fight/war” concentrates in (a) the realm of the “Yahweh war” and in (b) the divine designation *yhwh šēbāʿôt*.

\*(a) Words like *lḥm* ni. “to fight” and *milḥāmā* “war” constitute only a portion of the vocabulary characteristic of the concept of the “Yahweh war” (cf. e.g., → *hmm* 4; → *ḥrm* 4a; → *yšʿ* 4a; → *ntn* III/3b; → *pḥd* 4c). Worthy of

mention are the formula “Yahweh fights (*lhm* ni.) for you” (Exod 14:14, 25; Deut 1:30; 3:22; 20:4; Josh 10:14, 42; 23:3, 10; Neh 4:14) and the expressions *ʾiš milhāmā* “warrior” (Exod 15:3 of Yahweh; cf. Isa 42:13; → *ʾiš* IV/1), *gibbôr milhāmā* “war hero” (Psa 24:8; → *gbr* 4e), *milhāmôt yhwh* “the wars of Yahweh” (1 Sam 18:17; 25:28; “Book of the Wars of Yahweh” Num 21:14; → *sēper* 3c), as well as statements such as “Yahweh is at war with Amalek throughout the generations” (Exod 17:16 in the so-called banner song) and “for the war is Yahweh’s” (1 Sam 17:47).

Overviews of all the materials and the older literature concerning war in the OT, specifically regarding the “Yahweh war,” are offered by e.g., O. Bauernfeind, “πόλεμος,” *TDNT* 6:502–15 (id., “μάχομαι,” *TDNT* 4:527f.); H.-J. Kraus, *RGG* 4:64f.; cf. also W. H. Schmidt, *Faith of the OT* (1983), 31f., 96–100. The investigation by G. von Rad (*Holy War in Ancient Israel* [1991; Ger. 1951]) is still fundamental; subsequent important works include R. Bach, *Die Aufforderungen zur Flucht und zum Kampf im atl. Prophetenspruch* (1962); R. Smend, *Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation* (1970); F. Stolz, *Jahwes und Israels Kriege* (1972).

(b) The question of the significance of *š<sup>e</sup>bāʾôt* as a divine epithet in the phrase *yhwh š<sup>e</sup>bāʾôt* (267x, incl. the passages in which *ʾēlōhîm* replaces an original *yhwh*) or *yhwh ʾēlōhē š<sup>e</sup>bāʾôt* (18x; see 2) is highly disputed and has received the most varied responses. The attributive addition to *yhwh*, *ʾēlōhē š<sup>e</sup>bāʾôt*, is without doubt a cs. phrase. Whether *yhwh š<sup>e</sup>bāʾôt* should be explained as a gen., or, to the contrary, as an attributive, i.e., as “the Yahweh of the *š<sup>e</sup>bāʾôt*” or as “Yahweh, (who is) *š<sup>e</sup>bāʾôt*,” may not be decided at the outset because a gen. interpretation in association with a proper name may not be ruled out (cf. Eissfeldt, op. cit. 106; M. Tsevat, *HUCA* 36 [1965]: 49–58; contra G. R. Driver, *JBL* 73 [1954]: 125–28). It is also unclear whether *yhwh š<sup>e</sup>bāʾôt* represents an abbreviation of the tripartite formula and should consequently be explained on the basis of it (so Köhler 50), or, to the contrary, *yhwh ʾēlōhē š<sup>e</sup>bāʾôt*, attested less significantly in numerical terms, constitutes a secondary expansion of the bipartite formula (so Wambacq, op. cit. 100).

W. R. Arnold (*The Ephod and the Ark* [1917], 142–48) interprets the bipartite formula as a gen., but he understands the pl. *š<sup>e</sup>bāʾôt* as a gen. with a generic or adj. meaning (“Yahweh, the warlike”). Although this explanation is grammatically possible, Arnold himself must admit that his interpretation of the divine epithet agrees poorly with the use of the phrase in the Prophets. That the divine predicate is not attested in the Pentateuch, Josh, and Judg also runs against the interpretation of *yhwh š<sup>e</sup>bāʾôt* as “Yahweh, the warlike.”

Of an entirely different nature is the interpretation of the divine designation that

explains *yhwh* verbally or as a noun of agency (cf. F. M. Cross, *HTR* 55 [1962]: 256: *\*dū yahwī šabaʾôt* “he who creates the [heavenly] armies”; D. N. Freedman, *JBL* 79 [1960]: 156: “[the one enthroned upon the cherubim] creates the Hosts [of Israel]”; cf. also W. F. Albright, *JBL* 67 [1948]: 379–81; id., *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* [repr. 1969], 170f.; J. Obermann, *JBL* 68 [1949]: 309: “Sustainer of the Armies”). This interpretation (rejected by R. de Vaux, *Early History of Israel* [1978], 458), which presumes *yhwh šēbāʾôt* as the older formula, makes it difficult to understand the development of the tripartite formula *yhwh ʾlōhéšēbāʾôt*.

The many interpretations suggested for *šēbāʾôt* as a divine predicate (see Wambacq, op. cit. 4–45) may be divided into three groups. The proponents of the first group relate *šēbāʾôt* to the armies of Israel (cf. 1 Sam 17:45 “with the name of the Lord of the hosts, the God of the armies of Israel”) and refer to the close affinity of the divine epithet with the ark understood as Israel’s war sanctuary (E. Kautzsch, “Zebaoth,” *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* [1908], 21:620–27; E. König, *Theologie des AT* [1922], 161; D. N. Freedman, *JBL* 79 [1960]: 156). Representatives of this military interpretation usually refer, however, to the fact that the cultic name underwent an expansion or reorientation of meaning over the course of time because the prophets often use the divine designation in a context in which Yahweh turns *against* his own people.

This assumed semantic development accords with the opinion of the second group of proponents who relate *yhwh šēbāʾôt* from the outset to cosmic hosts, whether the stars as astral powers (A. Jeremias, *The OT in the Light of the Ancient East* [1911], 2:272; B. Duhm, *Israels Propheten* [1922], 64; Köhler 51: “the repudiation of the heathen belief that the stars are gods”), the angels as the heavenly army constituting Yahweh’s court (O. Borchert, “Der Gottesname Jahve Zebaoth,” *TSK* 69 [1896]: 619–42; F. M. Cross, *HTR* 55 [1962]: 256), the “mythical nature powers of Canaan stripped of their potency” (V. Maag, “Jahwäs Heerscharen,” *SThu* 20 [1950]: 27–52 [citation, p. 50]: the formula addresses Yahweh as the Lord of these numinous powers), the daemons (F. Schwally, *Semitische Kriegsaltertümer* [1901], 1:46; cf. also J. Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten* [1898], 77: “perhaps actually the Lord of the daemons”), or the totality of all earthly and heavenly beings (Eichrodt 1:192–94; cf. Wellhausen, op. cit. 77: “apparently the world and all that is in it”; Wambacq, op. cit. 272ff., who relates *šēbāʾôt* from the outset to the “masses” of the people Israel, which was then interpreted by the prophets, however, in reference to creatures in general). This cosmological interpretation conflicts with the fact that the OT never describes heavenly hosts (however understood) as *šēbāʾôt* but always either as *šēbāʾhaššāmayim* “heavenly hosts” or (in later texts) as *šēbāʾāw* “his hosts” (Psa 103:21;

148:2; masc. pl.).

Consequently, the third interpretation of the divine predicate is most likely. It understands the term  $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{bā}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{ōt}$  as an intensive pl. abstract (like e.g.,  $\text{ē}\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{ōt}$  “[true] cunning,”  $\text{dē}^{\text{e}}\text{ōt}$  “[profound] knowledge,”  $\text{ḥ}^{\text{a}}\text{mūd}^{\text{d}}\text{ōt}$  “[greatly] beloved,” Dan 9:23) and has been extensively justified by Eissfeldt, op. cit. 110–13 (cf. also Vriezen, *Theol.* 298f.; Tsevat, op. cit. 55: “plural of extension and importance”; cf. 2 Kgs 13:14). This explanation of the epithet as “Yahweh, the Mighty” or “Yahweh, the Almighty” accords not only with the rendition of the divine designation frequently encountered in the LXX *kyrios pantokratōr* “Lord, Ruler of all,” but also with the fact that  $\text{yhwh}\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{bā}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{ōt}$  is a characteristic designation for the God-King enthroned on the cherub throne (1 Sam 4:4; 2 Sam 6:2 = 1 Chron 13:6; cf. 2 Kgs 19:15 = Isa 37:16; Psa 80:2; 99:1); accordingly,  $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{bā}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{ōt}$  is a predicate of royal dominion. Instances of the epithet in Sam and Psa confirm that as soon as Israel used it for its God “it became the name of a god whose principal attribute was royal majesty” (J. P. Ross, *VT* 17 [1967]: 92).

One may no longer ascertain with certainty whether this divine epithet, which designates the God-King Yahweh worshiped in the sanctuary at Shiloh enthroned on the cherub throne, represents a divine predicate borrowed by Israel from the Canaanites through the transferal of the title of an  $\text{ʔēl}\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{bā}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{ōt}$  originally worshiped at Shiloh, or whether it developed in their own cult (see Eissfeldt, op. cit. 119–21; R. de Vaux, “Les chérubins et l’arche d’alliance, les sphinx gardiens et les trônes divins dans l’ancien Orient,” *MUSJ* 37 [1960/61]: 91–124 = *Bible et Orient* [1967], 231–59; W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel* [19662], 89f.; Ross, op. cit. 92). Although the epithet also survived later in northern Israel (in prophetic circles: 1 Kgs 18:15; 19:10, 14; 2 Kgs 3:14; cf. also the northern Psa 80), the divine designation was primarily linked with the sanctuary in Jerusalem after David’s introduction of the ark there, as is confirmed by the frequent usage of the predicate in the prophet Isaiah, who was strongly influenced by Zion theology, and in the Zion songs (Psa 46; 48; 84). In some later prophets, the free use of the title diminishes significantly in favor of a formulaic usage (Jer, Hag, Zech, Mal; cf. Baumgärtel, op. cit.). They particularly prefer this divine designation, frequently combined with other predications, when they wish to give special emphasis to the scope of Yahweh’s power (Eissfeldt, op. cit. 122; cf. Isa 6:3; 54:4f.; Mal 1:11). The peculiar absence of this divine designation in Trito-Isa and in Ezek in contrast to its frequent usage in Jer is difficult to explain (cf. Baumgärtel, op. cit. 27ff.). According to W. Kessler (“Aus welchen Gründen wird die Bezeichnung ‘Jahwe Zebaoth’ in the späteren Zeit gemieden?,” *WZ* [Halle] 7 [1957/58]: 767–71 = *Gottes in der Orient: FS Eissfeldt* [1959], 79–83) one finds an illuminating answer to this

question only if one may presuppose that the term *yhwh š<sup>e</sup>bāʾôt* continued to recall integrated numinous powers and perhaps also pagan gods (cf. Maag, op. cit.). Thus Ezekiel understandably avoids the formula “because he wants to free the ancient Judeans entirely from relationship with such dark powers and lead them back to the sole worship of Yahweh” (op. cit. 771 or 83, resp.). Yet the resurrection of the formula in the early post-exilic prophets is difficult to explain in this case, while the interpretation of *š<sup>e</sup>bāʾôt* as a designation that grew out of Yahwism’s struggle with the “mythical nature powers of Canaan stripped of their potency” is also subject to serious doubt because such a stripping of potency is without parallel in the ancient Near East and because “assembly of the gods” and “court (of a god)” are interchangeable (cf. A. S. van der Woude, “De mal’ak Jahweh: een Godsbede,” *NedTT* 18 [1963]: 11).

5. The LXX usually translated *yhwh š<sup>e</sup>bāʾôt* with *kyrios pantokratōr* and also with *kyrios (theos) sabaōth* (esp. in 1 Sam and Isa). The isolated translation of the divine designation with *kyrios tōn dynamēōn* may stem from the Hexaplaric recension, except in Psa and 2 Kgs (cf. Wambacq, op. cit. 60 and the literature cited there). *kyrios (theos) pantokratōr* occurs often in OT Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, but a simple *pantokratōr* is the usual term (texts in Bousset-Gressmann 312n.2). *yhwh š<sup>e</sup>bāʾôt* is not attested with certainty in the available Qumran literature (cf., however, 1QSb 4:25), while *kyrios pantokratōr* occurs once in the NT in an OT quotation (2 Cor 6:18) and otherwise only in Rev (cf. W. Michaelis, *TDNT* 3:914f.). *kyrios sabaōth* is also attested (Rom 9:29; Jas 5:4, although in a quotation).

A. S. van der Woude

## קִדְּוָה *šdq* to be communally faithful, beneficial

S 6663; BDB 842b; *HALOT* 3:1003a; *ThWAT* 6:898–924; *TWOT* 1879; *NIDOTTE* 7405

I. 1. *šdq* is a WSem. root; it occurs only in Akk. in PNs of WSem. origin (Buccellati 179; Huffmon 92f., 96–99, 123, 256f.) and as a noun only in the letter of a pre-Israelite king from Jerusalem (EA 287:32; *CAD* S:59b). Arab. uses *šdq* in particular for the “truth” of statements and thus it has a specialized meaning (H. H. Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung* [1968], 69f.), as have Jew. Aram. and Mid. Hebr., where the noun *šidq<sup>e</sup>tâ/š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* means primarily “charity, alms” (*WTM* 4:173a; Jastrow 1263f.; see IV/6) and develops a series of new derivatives beyond those in Bibl. Hebr. that

refer to a juristic conception of justification in the sense of God's assessment or judgment (*šdq* pi., *šiddûq*, *šadqān*). Since, however, the Peshitta (cf. Dan 8:14) and the Targumim (e.g., Amos 5:7, 12, 24) as a rule do not use the Aram. *šdq/zdq* for Bibl. Hebr. *šdq*, i.e., they perceive differences in meaning and usually use the Aram. root *zkh/zky* in these cases, one must be cautious in making inferences from later phases of the language.

In the OT, the verb is common in the qal, pi., and hi. (cf. *HP* 41ff.); it occurs only once each in the ni. (Dan 8:14 “to be restored to its right,” of the sanctuary) and the hitp. (Gen 44:16 “to prove oneself *šaddîq*”). Among the nom. derivatives, the substs. *šedeq* (masc.) and *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* (fem.) are apparently synonymous, hence they are treated together here (cf., however, the attempt to distinguish them by A. Jepsen, “*šdq* und *šdqh* im AT,” FS Hertzberg 40: “*šdq* refers to the proper order, *šdqh* to correct behavior that aims at order. Only in the later period does *šdq* assume the function of *šdqh* as it became concretized” [in the meaning “almsgiving”]); there is also the adj. *šaddîq* (BL 479).

2. In Old Aram. the subst. *šdq* and the corresponding adj. signify the “loyalty” of a king or high priest as servant (*bd*) to his personal god or in relation to the Assy. emperor as the “lord” (*KAI* no. 215.11, 19; 216.4f.; 217.3, 5; 219.4; 226.2; 228A.15 *šdqh* “gift of loyalty”; cf. *DISO* 243).

Only the adj. and subst. appear in Phoen., in exclusive reference to a king or crown prince (W. W. Baudissin, *Kyrios* [1929], 3:379–428). It describes the proper loyal behavior toward the gods (*KAI* no. 4.6; 10.9) or kings (*KAI* no. 26A.I.12), which at the same time forms the basis for a long life (*KAI* nos. 4 and 10), and seems then to represent not just a mode of behavior but an enduring strength of good kings. Expressions concerning a *šdq* son (*KAI* no. 16, probably “legitimate son, heir”) and *šdq* offspring (*KAI* no. 43.11; cf. Jer 23:5; A. van den Branden, *BeO* 6 [1964]: 60–72; id., *OrAnt* 3 [1964]: 245–61; J. Swetnam, *Bib* 46 [1965]: 29–40) are unclear.

The only clear Ug. occurrence (*KTU* 1.14.I.12; unclear *UT* 32.5 [= Herdner, *CTA* 60.5; but cf. *KTU* 2.8.5, which does not question the reading]) refers to the queen (regarding the manifold interpretations see Schmid, op. cit. 70). Since the OT also frequently associates *šdq* with the monarchy, there are undoubtedly connections. Yet they offer little for an understanding of the term because the inscriptions never elucidate *šdq* further.

3. *šdq* constitutes the theophoric element in numerous PNs (cf. Gröndahl 187f.; Benz 398f. with bibliog.; *IP* 161f., 189; Schmid, op. cit. 70f., 74; see I/1). Examples like *šdqdkr* “*Šdq* remembers” or *šdqyd<sup>c</sup>* “*Šdq* knows” (Old SArab., Conti Rossini 162b, 222b) suggest that it refers to a

deity who not only does good deeds but also sees to it that the doer's deeds are not forgotten. The deity is mentioned independently together with her "brother" *Mišôr* "straightness" not only in Philo of Byblos but also in Ug. (*Ugaritica* 5:585A.14; H. Gese et al., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer* [1970], 169f.). The theophoric royal names *malkî-šedeq* (Gen 14:18) and <sup>2</sup>*dōnî-šedeq* (Josh 10:1) also attest it in pre-Israelite Jerusalem (cf. R. A. Rosenberg, "The God Sedeq," *HUCA* 36 [1965]: 161–77; Benz 399).

4. The pair of gods are indistinguishable from the Akk. goddess *kittu(m)* "right, righteousness" (*AHW* 494f.) and the god *mī/ēšaru(m)* "righteousness, right" (*AHW* 659f.), who are not only expressions in daily usage of proper behavior and fair legal proceedings reflecting little of their divine nature, but in cultic songs they are children of the sun-god who enter at his right and left in epiphanies (*SAHG* 320; cf. the summary, p. 222) and thus prepare the "way" of the earthly king so that he not only receives the capability to govern righteously but—the deed-consequence relationship—the well-being and wealth that arise from it (*SAHG* 289; H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom* [1947], 53–59). When *šedeq* and *mīšôr* appear together in the OT (Isa 11:4; Psa 45:7f. of the king; cf. Phoen. *KAI* no. 4.6) or—more markedly Hebraized—"to set (up)right (in) *šedeq* and *mēšārîm* (pl. or fixed loanword? → *yšr*)" is discussed (Psa 9:9; 58:2; 98:9, always divine actions), the relationship to Akk. usage is obvious. The common Hebr. phrase *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* (fem.) *ûmišpāt* (masc.; also in reversed order) may also be a translation of the Akk. expression.

5. Maat, an entity which not only embraces "truth" and "righteousness" and is fundamental for ethics and justice but which Egyptologists often interpret as "the world order" (bibliog. in Schmid, op. cit. 50n.263), plays an even greater role in Eg. religion. It stands in a particularly close relationship to the pharaoh, whose reign sustains not only the people but the world through Maat. At the same time, Maat is the totality of all the correct activity of the private citizen. The interpretation as world order implies, however, a (methodologically not yet substantiated) demythologization. Maat is primarily a goddess, daughter of the sun-god Re, who is the highest god (in contrast to his status in Babylon), and she is an indispensable sacrificial food for gods and kings. "I have offered the maat which he loved, since I know that he (Amun) liveth by it. (Also) it is my bread and I drink from its dew. I am of one body with him" (Hatshepsut; S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* [1973], 120; cf. H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der äg. Religionsgeschichte* [1952], 430–34; *AOB* no. 104; *ANEP* no. 572). One does not normally feed the world order.

The normal Egyptian, like the king, is called on to do and speak Maat constantly. In the background stands the concept of a constant "circulation"

between the divine and human realms produced by responsible action (S. Morenz, *Gott und Mensch im alten Ägypten* [1964], 122). Moreover, as doctrine Maat is the object of instruction, esp. in the wisdom literature. Affinities with the OT are perceptible in Maat's role as the foundation of the royal throne, in analogy to the support of the royal or divine throne by *ṣedeq* in the OT (Psa 89:15; 97:2; Prov 16:12; 20:28 txt em; H. Brunner, "Gerechtigkeit als Fundament des Throns," *VT* 8 [1958]: 426–28; contra Z. W. Falk, *VT* 10 [1960]: 72–74). In addition, one should take into account that the concept of the teachability of Maat strongly influenced Israelite wisdom and its discussion both of *ḥokmâ* (→ *ḥkm*) and *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*.

II. The root occurs 523x in the Hebr. OT (excl. proper names) plus 1x Aram. *ṣidqâ* (Dan 4:24):

	qal (ni.)	pi. (hitp.)	hi.	<i>ṣaddîq</i>	<i>ṣedeq</i>	<i>ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ</i>	(pl.)	total
Gen	1	(1)	–	10	–	3	15	
Exod	–	–	1	3	–	–	4	
Lev	–	–	–	–	5	–	5	
Deut	–	–	1	4	7	6	18	
Judg	–	–	–	–	–	2	(2)	2
1 Sam	–	–	–	–	1	–	2	(1) 3
2 Sam	–	–	–	1	2	–	4	7
1 Kgs	–	–	1	2	–	3	6	
2 Kgs	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	
Isa	3	–	3	14	25	36	(3)	81
Jer	–	1	–	3	6	8	(1)	18
Ezek	1	2	–	16	4	20	(3)	43
Hos	–	–	–	1	2	1	4	
Joel	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	
Amos	–	–	–	2	–	3	5	
Mic	–	–	–	–	–	2	(1)	2
Hab	–	–	–	3	–	–	3	
Zeph	–	–	–	1	1	–	2	
Zech	–	–	–	1	–	1	2	
Mal	–	–	–	1	–	2	3	
Psa	3	–	1	52	49	34	(2)	139
Job	14	2	1	7	7	4	35	
Prov	–	–	1	66	9	18	94	
Eccl	–	–	–	8	3	–	11	
Lam	–	–	–	2	–	–	2	
Dan	(1)	–	1	1	1	3	(2)	7
Ezra	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	

Neh	–	–	–	2	–	1		3
1 Chron	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1
2 Chron	–	–	1	2	–	2		5
OT	22(1)	5(1)	12	206	119	157	(15)	523

A preliminary glance at this table already indicates a concentration of the root in Isa, Ezek, Psa, and Prov, where more than two-thirds of the instances occur. These books are primarily dominated by Jerusalemite traditions, particularly by those that are wisdom in nature (Prov; cf. Job and Eccl) that esp. emphasize the adj. *šaddîq*, and also by those of a cultic nature in which the subst. is prominent (Psa; some instances from the historical books are also hymnic in nature and belong in this category, as do numerous passages in Ezek and Deutero-Isa). An investigation of theological significance should begin with these complexes.

III. 1. The lexicons and Bible translations take pains, guided by the Gk. translation *dikaïosynē* and the Lat. *iustitia* (LXX, Vg., resp.), to render the verb *šdq* with “to be right,” the subst. with “righteousness, right.” Indubitably, *šdq* values some human and divine modes of behavior positively. But from which perspective? Since the beginning of Hebr. historical linguistics, the response has been disputed (summary of the literature in Schmid, op. cit. 1f.).

(a) Although they use the root sparingly, only the historical books offer concrete examples of which behavior is *šdq* and which is not. The usage for a beneficial relationship between king and subject (see I/2), for reciprocal faithfulness and loyalty that takes different forms of expression given the distinction in status, is old. The highest task of the king is the creation of a “favorable order (*mišpāt*) and *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* for his whole people” (2 Sam 8:15; cf. Deut 33:21; 1 Kgs 10:9; Jer 22:3, 15; 23:5; 33:15; Ezek 45:9; Prov 21:3; the expression has been “democratized” since Ezek 18:5, 19, 21, 27; 33:14, 16, 19).

As *môšēl šaddîq*, the king has an invigorating effect on his land, like the rising sun (2 Sam 23:3); and as the highest court of appeal (or as patron of the legally underprivileged?) he intervenes in legal proceedings and by his verdict makes *šdq* the one in the right (2 Sam 15:4 hi.). Conversely, a subject who does not rebel (*pš<sup>c</sup>* 1 Sam 24:18; cf. v 12) or even extend a hand against the anointed (1 Sam 26:23 *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*) is *šaddîq*. As long as one is faithful, one has *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* with the king (2 Sam 19:29).

(b) *šdq* is also used, however, outside the political realm, e.g., in reference to every other lord-servant relationship. The subst. refers to a servant (*‘ebed*) like Jacob who offers faithful assistance in excess of external obligations to his lord, even one’s own father-in-law (Laban): “My



whether accuser or accused, to  $\text{ṣ}^{\text{e}}\text{dāqâ}$  is enjoined by a (cultic?) series of apodictic commandments. A  $\text{ṣaddîq}$  whose sound, reputable existence ( $\text{ṣ}^{\text{e}}\text{dāqâ}$ ) is publicly contested and thus destroyed is a contradiction in itself and a source of harm to the surroundings (Exod 23:7f.). Only later interpretations of such commandment series relate the  $\text{ṣdq}$  predicate not only to the legal opponents but also to the judicial assembly that must conduct itself “in  $\text{ṣedeq}$ ” in relation to the compatriot unjustly entangled in the dispute (Lev 19:15). The juridical usage, however, never emphasizes the “righteousness” of the judge (as would correspond to Eng. usage) but the reconstitution of the  $\text{ṣ}^{\text{e}}\text{dāqâ}$  of the accuser or the accused by acquittal and the reestablishment of undiminished existence as a citizen, including the damnation of the “unjust,” i.e., evil, opponent. The background seems to be a concept of justice according to which each legal proceeding arises from a disruption of social relationships to be restored. As a consequence, no legal proceeding (in theory) should end merely with the acquittal of one party without the condemnation of the other. If the  $\text{ṣaddîq}$  party is acquitted and thus restored to reputation and favorable living conditions ( $\text{ṣdq}$  hi.), the opposing party is simultaneously condemned (if only for bringing false charges) as an evildoer ( $\text{rš}^{\text{c}}$  hi.), e.g., to 39 lashes (Deut 25:1–3; cf. 19:19). To judge in  $\text{ṣedeq}$  does not mean, then, to acquit or punish “without partisanship” but to dispense with a conflict in the common interest, so that the party impaired in the conduct of life is restored to justice, the troublemaker is rendered harmless, and a maximal state of universal, public understanding and welfare results.

2. (a) The interpretation and translation of the human behavior described as  $\text{ṣdq}$  has long occasioned difficulties for exegetes. The ancient translations (see III/1) suggest a just behavior, i.e., in conformity with the norms, which would have arisen then from the divine law as the norm or at least from an absolute concept of righteousness. The antonym  $\rightarrow \text{rš}^{\text{c}}$  was consequently considered a designation of god- and lawlessness (LXX *anomos*). Modern exegetes are still of the opinion that  $\text{ṣdq}$  involves a fixed norm (G. Quell, *TDNT* 2:177; Jacob 75ff.). The nature of such a norm, however, has become increasingly unclear to bibl. scholarship. E. Kautzsch (*Abhandlung über die Derivate des Stammes ṣdq im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauch* [1881], 53) is typical: “Concerning this term, we cannot proceed beyond the notion of subjection to some norm.” No relation to a definite fixed norm, i.e., to divine commandments, may be demonstrated in the pre-exilic era and is ruled out when  $\text{ṣ}^{\text{e}}\text{dāqâ}$  exceeds obligatory behavior in old narratives (e.g., Gen 38:26). Furthermore, it is astonishing how rarely even late texts relate  $\text{ṣdq}$ —in contrast, e.g., to the term “fear ( $\text{yir}^{\text{â}}$ ) of God”—to  $\text{tôrâ}$ , etc. (exceptions: Deut 4:8; Psa 19:10; Psa 119). Linkage

with a fixed norm is thus indemonstrable (in modern, sociologically influenced language, in contrast to the tradition of historical theology, more or less fluid norms of relation are taken into account, i.e., customs and practices are understood as norms. In this sense *šdq* behavior is naturally, like any customary behavior, norm-bound).

(b) H. Cremer was the first to interpret *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* as a functional term, more precisely as socially appropriate behavior (*Die paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre im Zusammenhang ihrer geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen* [19092]). This interpretation found widespread acceptance (Eichrodt 1:248f.; Köhler 34; von Rad, *Theol.* 1:370–83; K. Koch, “Gemeinschaftstreue’ in Israel der Königszeit,” *ZEE* [1961]: 72–90; id., “*šdq* im AT” [diss., Heidelberg, 1953]). In fact, the texts cited that concretize *šdq*-behavior refer to institutionalized social relations maintained and preserved through *šdq*-action. The term “society” requires more precise definition. *šdq* is not attested in reference to blood ties (in Gen 30:33 Jacob stands in a labor relationship to his father-in-law), but it is attested for reciprocal support in the local community, for the relationship between lord and servant, king and subject, even patron and protégé (Deut 1:16), householder and guest (Gen 44:16; 20:4?); not, however, in relation to international relations and commerce. Passages that call for weights and measures “of *šedeq*” (Lev 19:36; Deut 25:15; Ezek 45:10) are disputed. Do they involve the unimpaired existence of Israelite society in economic practices (cf. the context), or do they intend to indicate the opposite, that the “correct measure” should be used independent of any social relationship (Schmid, op. cit. 99, contra Koch)? The frequent use of the root *šdq* for proper human conduct toward God (and conversely) but rarely in conjunction with the term *b<sup>e</sup>rît* (“covenant”) is also difficult (except for e.g., Psa 50:5f.). → *ḥesed* usually describes Yahweh’s covenant faithfulness, which corresponds occasionally to the *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* of the human partner (e.g., 1 Kgs 3:6).

(c) H. H. Schmid suggests an original solution. He understands *šedeq* in analogy to the ancient Near Eastern concept of order as world order that has existed since the beginning of the world and is manifest in the realms of law, wisdom, nature and fertility, war and blessing, cult and sacrifice. The highest God guarantees the world order and installs the king as his earthly representative. Every individual person must participate in this comprehensive order (similarly, already, A. Jepsen, “*šdq* and *šdqh* im AT,” FS Hertzberg 78–89). It is not easy to explain, however, why e.g., a widow who prostitutes herself does not transgress the world order (Gen 38:26; Schmid, op. cit. 92f.), while a simple theft does (Gen 44:16; Schmid, op. cit. 104n.119). Moreover, the OT limits *šdq* to particular social phenomena and

never applies it to cosmic orders such as stars and sea (which can, however, be associated with Yahweh's law, Jer 5:22; cf. 31:35).

(d) A further difficulty for Western thought involves the observation that the subst. *šedeq/š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* never encompasses merely an ethical behavior but from the outset (see regarding Gen 30:33 above; also Phoen.; see I/2) a circumstance of sound, unassailed, and favorable success. In Psa and prophetic texts this aspect occasionally dominates to the extent that translators feel compelled to render the subst. "well-being" (e.g., Isa 51:1–5, ZB; cf. RSV). How may the duality be explained? J. Pedersen has understood *šdq* as a self-affirmation of the "soul" oriented toward a good life and reputation, which, according to the Hebr. viewpoint, governs the human being, and has interpreted ethical conduct and well-being in the word *šdq* as the unity of means and goal (*ILC* 1/2:378ff. = "Die Behauptung der Gerechtigkeit," *Das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des AT*, ed. K. Koch [1972], 8–43 [hereafter *Prinzip* ]).

K. H. Fahlgren pointed to the consistent coupling of good and evil action, on the one hand, and beneficial or harmful results, on the other, in relation to the theologically significant terms in the OT, and inferred a "synthetic concept of life" that regards deed and consequence as indissolubly linked (*Sedākā, nahestehende un entgegengesetzte Begriffe im AT* [1932], excerpt in *Prinzip*, 87–129). "Everything good in life is produced, obtained, and distributed by society. To behave contrary to the social principle is harmful in any relationship, simultaneously evil and misfortune, crime and punishment" (*Prinzip* 127).

K. Koch extrapolated these thoughts and pointed to the fact that not only are cause and effect thought of as one here, but the ethically requisite deed is simultaneously conceived as a sphere that enshrouds the actor so that one must assume a concept of "actions with built-in consequences" ("Gibt es ein Vergeltungsdogma im AT?" *ZTK* 52 [1955]: 1–42 = *Prinzip* 130–80; partial Eng. transl.: "Is There a Doctrine of Retribution in the OT?" *Theodicy in the OT*, ed. J. Crenshaw [1983], 57–87): "By one's deed, one 'creates' a sphere that produces well-being and misfortune and that continues to surround one. This sphere is substantial and belongs to oneself in a manner resembling one's property" (*Prinzip* 176). God participates by quickly and thoroughly initiating the deed-consequence relationship (for a discussion of this thesis, cf. the other contributions to *Prinzip*, esp. those of F. Horst and H. Gese). It should be emphasized concerning Koch's essay that the capacity to do good and thus the prerequisite for a relationship between good deed and well-being must first be granted to individuals or the people Israel (see below regarding the Psa). With von Rad (*Theol.* 1:376), then, one can understand *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* as "something like a sphere, or power-charged area, into which men are

incorporated and thereby empowered to do special deeds.”

(e) Finally, the extent to which *šdq* implies a reciprocal behavior as a type of distributive justice, thus also, or even primarily, signifying legal righteousness, is disputed. Significantly, such an interpretation is applied almost exclusively to passages that speak of God’s *šedeq/š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* (F. Nötscher, *Die Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei den vorexilischen Propheten* [1915]; A. Dünner, “Die Gerechtigkeit nach dem AT,” *Schriften zur Rechtslehre und Politik* 42 [1963]; Schmid, op. cit. 175f.; contra H. Cazelles, “A propos de quelques textes difficiles relatifs la justice de Dieu dans l’Ancien Testament,” *RB* 58 [1951]: 169–88). Passages that relate *šdq* to legal proceedings also suggest such an interpretation, although the *šaddîq*—status of the accuser or the accused plays a greater role in the OT than that of the judge (see III/1d), as do passages that describe Yahweh as *šōpēṭ*, normally not only translated in Eng. Bibles by “judge” but also understood by exegetes in the sense of a Western judicial ideal. The object of the divine *špṭ* in the OT, however, is often only the poor, the legally powerless, and the innocent, a circumstance that may, indeed, suggest a different translation. Von Rad’s assessment is therefore pertinent: “No reference to the concept of a punitive *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* can be adduced—that would be a *contradictio in adiecto*” (*Theol.* 1:377).

IV. 1. Nowhere is the root *šdq* used as frequently, as emphatically, or as multifacetedly as in the Psa. Only here does the interplay of divine and human *šedeq* attain prominence; the erratic language of some prophetic passages can be interpreted from this basis.

(a) Only in the Psa does the masc. form *šedeq* outnumber the fem. *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*, the distinction in meaning is unmistakable, not easily set aside, and probably not always perceived in the same way in the various periods of the poetry of the Psa. The song of thanksgiving (40:10f.) declares: “I proclaim *šedeq* in a great cultic assembly . . . I will not hide your *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* deep inside my heart”; here *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* seems to refer to the details of the divine action on behalf the speaker that are based in a comprehensive *šedeq* (without suf.; cf. 89:15–17). A *šedeq* state can be not only the prerequisite (from the divine perspective) but also the result (from the human perspective) of *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*. The royal intercession in Psa 72 hopes for a gift of *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* for the king that will equip him to govern his people in *šedeq* and to bring the hills fertility in *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* (vv 1–3). Similarly, the context of the late Psa 119 (v 142 “your *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* is *šedeq* forever and your Torah is constancy”) suggests that the communication of the Torah in the Mosaic era signified a *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* deed that established a lasting *šedeq* state for the Israelites (vv 141–44). Nevertheless, the king’s *šedeq* in 18:21, 25

corresponds to *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* in the par. 2 Sam 22:21, 25—was no distinction perceived at times?

(b) Collective, esp. hymnic, songs glory in the fact that a *šedeq/š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* located in heaven (Psa 89:17; 97:2; Jepsen, op. cit. 86) descends to earth in the course of a theophany to bestow anew on Israel the apparently exhausted *šedeq* (85:11–14; 99:4 fem.), an act that the other nations witness (98:2 fem.). The heavens (described as if alive; 50:6; 85:12; 97:6), the gigantic hand of Yahweh (48:11), or the light of the divine countenance (24:4f. fem.; 85:14) function as mediators. Subordinate divine beings could also mediate (for the non-Israelite nations? 58:2; 82:3 hi.). As the universal divine king, Yahweh thus permits his people to share in a power that surrounds him (9:5; 89:15–17; 99:4; 103:17–19). The object of such a theophanic bestowal is the cultic community assembled on Zion (for the fall festival?). Similar concepts are associated with the Eg., Bab., and Can. “righteousness” deities associated with the sun-god. Exegetes usually regard these conceptual relationships in the OT as poetical imagery. But could an entity worshiped in Jerusalem up until the time of David as a living and indispensable deity have suddenly sunk to the level of a mere abstraction? At any rate, Israelite usage stripped *šedeq* of personality and venerability and thus demythologized it, but it remains a spatial and substantial sphere that can be categorized as an effective entity (or hypostasis). Typically, no article is used with it, as is also true of proper names (exceptions: Isa 1:26; 32:17; 61:3; Eccl 3:16; Dan 9:7).

If *šedeq/š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* has come to rest on the people and the land during the festival, it bestows on them (1) life and fertility (Psa 65:6ff.; 72:1ff.; 103:6; rain, Hos 10:12; Isa 45:8; Joel 2:23f.), (2) victory over potential enemies (Psa 48:11f.; 129:4f. [*šaddîq*], Mic 7:9f.; Judg 5:11; Deut 33:20f.), (3) ability to do good (Psa 99:4; Hos 2:21; Isa 1:21, 27; 33:5; Job 33:26). The third point is decisive and prerequisite for the first two. Because cult members (as such they are called *šaddîqîm*, Psa 33:1; 142:8) gifted with *šedeq* conduct themselves in daily life in faithfulness to society and moral goodness, they produce welfare and victory for themselves and their environs by virtue of the sphere of influence in which the built-in consequences of action take place. From the outset, such a concept excludes the notion that moral behavior among people is self-evident; rather, the Israelite reckoned with an equally natural human compulsion to self-destructive egoism. Morals must be regularly reawakened. What is sufficient is not intellectual instruction but only a totally comprehensive experience surmounting every alienation between persons, between people and reality on the whole, and thus between people and God. Only such an experience can awaken the will and the consciousness to live in social faithfulness, because one becomes aware of being hidden in the

sphere of divine social well-being. The arrival of *ṣedeq* on the earth occurred first and without prerequisite in relation to the creation (Psa 33:4–6; 89:11–17). The renewal through the theophany (in the fall festival?) presupposes, however, a reciprocity: only one who has conducted oneself as *ṣaddîq* in everyday life will be admitted through the *ṣedeq* temple gates (118:19f.) and subsequently receive anew blessing and *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* (24:5f.; 68:3f., *ṣaddîq*). The bestowal of the divine effect sphere on human bearers apparently transpired in the sacramental sacrificial meal (*zibḥê ṣedeq* Psa 4:6; 51:21; Deut 33:19; cf. Psa 65:5f.; 132:8f.; Koch, *ZEE* [1961]: 83–87; contra Schmid, op. cit. 100–102). The bestowal of *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* on a *rāššā<sup>c</sup>*, i.e., a “vindication of the godless,” is unthinkable, not only in the Psa but in the entire OT (contra H. Reventlow, *Rechtfertigung im Horizont des AT* [1971]).

(c) Songs of the individual use *ṣdq* even more frequently. The correspondence between divine and human *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* stands in the foreground. If one takes pleasure in Yahweh’s *ṣedeq*, Yahweh takes pleasure in one’s *šālôm* (→ *šlm*; Psa 35:27). The psalmist suffering distress pleads to be heard “in (divine) *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*” (31:2f.; 71:2; 143:1; cf. 119:40), “hear, Yahweh-*ṣedeq*” (17:1; the identification of the two entities? Schmid, op. cit. 76), or even “answer me, God of my *ṣedeq*” (4:2). The vast *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* located in heaven may become life for those faithful to Yahweh (36:7–11). If it does, the vacillating *ṣaddîq* will be firmly established once more (7:10); one’s *mišpāt* (= external existence) will return to *ṣedeq*, the state of well-being (94:15).

In this context, a concept of the “way” (*derek*) is important, a concept that includes conduct of life and course of life in one, thus encompassing the deed-consequence relation in its historical sequence. Whoever casts one’s way on Yahweh (Psa 37:5–7; cf. 23:3) will one day see one’s *ṣedeq* break forth like light. A visit to the temple is necessary because it permits Yahweh’s way and *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* to become a determining power for one’s own history (5:9; cf. v 13).

The reciprocity of divine and human *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* makes it clear that the bearer can no longer be distinctly expressed in some passages. Yahweh loves (*ḥb* Psa 11:7; 33:5) *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*—does this statement mean that he gladly performs saving acts, or that he loves human *ṣaddîqîm* (146:8)? Yahweh’s face may be seen in *ṣedeq* (17:15)—the supplicant’s (11:7) or God’s, which radiates from his face?

*ṣdq* plays a particular role in the prayer of the accused (Psa 7; 17; perhaps also Psa 35 and 69). This usage seems to be based on the practice of a divine court in cases that are opaque to the local community and

consequently must be decided by ordeal in the temple (1 Kgs 8:31f.). In these cases Yahweh apparently examines not only guilt or innocence in the specific conflict but also conduct toward friend and foe in the entire prior course of life (Psa 7:4–6; 17:3–5). Yahweh’s judgment (*špt*) results in an immediate execution of the deed-consequence relation with respect to the *šaddîq* and the *rāšā<sup>c</sup>* (7:9f., 17f.; 69:28f.), involving a peculiar use of theophany terminology (7:7f.; 17:13–15; 35:23f.).

Another occasion for discussing the *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* of the individual was the temple entrance liturgy, in which priests interrogated the visitor to the sanctuary concerning the righteousness of his life (Psa 15; 24), and subsequent to an affirmative answer presumably pointed the visitor to the imminent reception of well-being through a declaratory evaluation: “he is mutually faithful/ qualified for well-being” (*šaddîq hû<sup>?</sup>*, preserved only in Ezek 18:9). This phrase attributes *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* to God (→ *hšb* 4a). The same formula may have been used in divine judgment; in this way, one may at least understand the application of the historical deed of Phinehas, whose bloody intervention against idolatry was reckoned as *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* on behalf of the people (Psa 106:31). In contrast, the famous clause in Gen 15:6 (E? Dtr?) probably alludes to the situation of the temple-gate: “He believed Yahweh and it was reckoned to him as *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*.” Abraham believes with respect to an unlikely sounding promise of descendants. He is certified “qualified for well-being” because such an act of faith corresponds to the *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* of an entire lifetime (G. von Rad, “Faith Reckoned as Righteousness,” *PHOE* 125–30; K. Koch, “Tempeleinlassliturgien,” FS von Rad [1961], 45–60).

A few passages make clear that *šdq* includes not only the individual’s deed but also its result: for one’s act prepares the way for one’s destiny. The *šaddîq* “sprouts” (*prh* Psa 72:7; 92:13), enjoys the fruit of deeds over the course of time (58:12); one’s horn (*qeren*), an image of one’s strength, rises up (75:11; 112:9); one receives a light that is in turn *šaddîq* = beneficial (112:4; cf. 97:11). The *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* of a righteous person remains in one’s house and begets means and wealth (112:3).

The conversion of the *šdq* deed to *šdq* result transpires only by means of Yahweh’s contribution, who, because of such participation, is praised as *šaddîq*. A concept of distributive justice is often suspected as the background for this predicate (e.g., Schmid, op. cit. 148). This assumption is not certain. If Yahweh’s intervention on behalf of the *šaddîq* results in the weakening and destruction of the *rāšā<sup>c</sup>* (Psa 71:24 [*š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*]; 129:4), there is still no text in which the punishment of the evildoer per se, i.e., without relation to a *šaddîq* who is aided thereby, is an outflow of divine *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*. This circumstance also prevails in texts that laud Yahweh as *šōpēṭ šaddîq*

(7:12; cf. v 10; 9:5), which does not simply mean “righteous judge,” as suggested by modern Bible translations, but the “establishment” and sustenance of the loyal subject that is the duty of the ruler. Par. expressions that laud Yahweh’s *šp̄t b<sup>e</sup>šedeq* “establishment (on the strength of the) *šedeq* sphere” had the fertile land as obj. (*tēbēl* 9:9; 96:13; 98:9); why should precisely this entity be the object of a forensic judgment? Passages like 69:28f., according to which the *šaddîq*, but not the evildoer, attains Yahweh’s *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*, and 143:1, according to which the supplicant will not be judged for the sake of God’s *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*, exclude the possibility of a distributive justice. When Yahweh is praised as *šaddîq*, the par. terms are “gracious” (*ḥannûn* 116:5) and “faithful” (*ḥāsîd* 145:17), while the antithetical term is his “wrath” (7:12).

If the supplicant has encountered Yahweh’s aid, experienced divine *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*, and regained his own *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*, at the cultic site he publicly praises the divine *šedeq/š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* granted him (Psa 22:32; 35:28; 40:10f.; 51:16; 71:15f., 19, 24; 88:13; 145:7).

(d) In the royal psalms, the ruler plays a mediating role between God’s salvation and Israel. He is the preferred recipient of the gift of salvation, *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*. It equips him not only to establish his people for the *šedeq* sphere but mysteriously to effect the fertility of the mountains and valleys, and finally to awaken a reciprocal conduct in *šālôm* and *šedeq* (Psa 72:1–6). When he goes out to war, his rush onward has theophanic elements. He is accompanied by *šedeq*, as Yahweh is (45:4–8). But *šedeq* is not self-evidently characteristic of the king. Only if he has preserved the ways and laws of Yahweh, has clean hands with respect to God and people, does that *šedeq* characterize him in which he can expect Yahweh will permit him to mature (*gml*) and thus return the deed to the doer, or permit his light to radiate (18:21–30).

2. The book of Prov voices another viewpoint. Here the concern is the *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* that one creates for oneself through one’s wise conduct; Yahweh participates to bless only on the periphery (*šaddîq*: 3:33; 10:3, 6f.; 18:10).

The masc. *šedeq* relates to the king with noteworthy frequency (in 5 of 9 cases). He bases his throne on *šedeq* according to Prov 25:5 but on *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* according to 16:12f., which elucidates the latter as “delight in the lips of the *šedeq*” (in Prov, a distinction between the two forms of the subst. is hardly perceptible; cf. also 8:15f. with v 18). The royal act (*šh*) of *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* and legal order (*mišpāt*) is better (for gaining well-being?) than sacrifice (21:3). It is expressed esp. in support of the poor (31:9).

The wisdom sayings primarily treat, however, the individual representative of the ruling class of society, who is *šaddîq* if wise and vice

versa (Prov 9:9; 11:30; 23:24; Hos 14:10). This individual displays *šdq* conduct in liberal giving (Prov 21:26), in avoiding false speech (13:5), in concern for the poor (29:7), and even for domestic animals (12:10). The wise who participates as a jurist in a legal proceeding prevents the abasement of a (another) *šaddîq* (18:5; 24:23f.; cf. 17:15). Naturally, the wise shares *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* with others (12:17).

In wisdom's view, the possession of *šedeq* is not a given. Instruction and insight are necessary (Prov 1:3; 2:9). Even for wisdom, morally good conduct is not a self-evident matter. In order to recognize the good or evil in specific situations, one needs enlightenment through the vital and formative wisdom effective in all wise doctrine and ultimately originating from Yahweh. Wisdom (*ḥokmâ*) replaces the cultic transferal of the Psa. It permits, then, the concept of a universally human, not just Israelite, *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*. In particular, Prov 8 describes personified wisdom as a mediator of *šedeq* (vv 8, 15f., 20).

The wise are more concerned with the consequences for the doer than with the specification of *šdq* conduct. In the effort to trace and examine the principles of the conduct of human life, the chief goal of wisdom, the most important theme is the definition of an individual Good Action-Blessings-Connection and a corresponding Sin-Disaster-Connection (von Rad, *Theol.* 1:418–41; Koch, "Retribution" 58–64; Schmid, op. cit. 157–60). One who lives as *šaddîq* "sprouts" (Prov 11:28), sows a seed that bears a future (11:18f.), and will enjoy the fruit of one's deeds (11:30; Isa 3:10f.); one stands firmly established forever (Prov 10:25, 30; 12:3, 7, 12 LXX). One's entire house is filled with a positive force (15:6). Of course, temporary injury is not excluded; a *šaddîq* may possess little (16:8 *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*), can even fall seven times, but stands up again (24:16). As a matter of "natural" law, consistent *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* leads finally to life in the full sense of the word (*ḥayyîm*) and shields against premature death (10:2, 16; 11:4, 19, 30; 12:28). The mouth of the *šaddîq* can even become a source of life for others (10:11; cf. vv 21, 32).

As in the Psa, the unity of conduct and course of life (→ *derek*, *ṽoraḥ*) is an important theme. When one practices *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*, one creates for oneself a sphere of benefit-bringing good deeds that permits one's "way" to become complete (Prov 13:6; cf. 11:5; Isa 26:7), so that it leads to good life (Prov 12:28), even to advanced age (16:31; cf. 2:20; 4:18; 20:7). The concept of actions with built-in consequences is pregnantly summarized in 21:21: "Whoever strives after *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* and covenant faithfulness (*ḥesed*) experiences life, *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*, and honor (*kābôd*). "

3. (a) The pre- and early post-exilic prophets speak much less of *šedeq/š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* than one would expect. Only Amos makes the shortage of *šdq*

conduct the center of his critique of Israel. In particular, he complains of offenses against *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* or the corruption of it into bitterness (Amos 5:7; 6:12). This context considers *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* a previously granted, real potential, to be preserved and maintained by one's own good action. This position may presuppose a tradition that the history of salvation guided by Yahweh ended not merely with the gift of the promised land but with an initial transferal of *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*; from then on, Israel could continue the divine history through communally appropriate conduct (*š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* linked with the house of Joseph and Bethel in Amos 5:4–7; a corresponding Torah to Jacob in Bethel concerning the now impossible *mišpāt* in Hos 12:5; cf. 10:4f., 11–15; a demonstration of divine *š<sup>e</sup>dāqôt* in Gilgal that elicits human *mišpāt*, Mic 6:5–8). Isaiah associates the history of salvation with the city and the sanctuary through the election of Zion and the conferral of the community-bound sphere of salvation (Isa 1:21; cf. 28:16f.; K. Koch, "Die Entstehung der sozialen Kritik bei den Profeten," FS von Rad [1971], 249–57).

Yet the heritage has been wasted. The details of the invalidation of the *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* can be seen in the fact that less privileged *šaddîq* citizens have been cheated and robbed of their free existence in the assembly of the local community in the gate (Amos 2:6; 5:11f.; Isa 5:23; 29:21). When *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* is perverted into its opposite in this manner, contrary to all reason (Amos 6:12; Isa 5:7), only the sin-catastrophe relationship remains determinative for the future and will be quickly and completely brought by Yahweh to its fatal conclusion—catastrophe for people and state.

Is there any escape? In relation to the *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* concept, Amos 5:21–24 may indicate a possibility: "I hate, I despise your feasts. . . . Remove from me the noise of your songs and the sound of your harps that I do not heed. Thus *mišpāt* will pour forth like water and *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* like a perpetual stream." Paradoxically, abstinence from false cultic practices would be a decisive step for God's renewed attention and for a new endowment with *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* (v 24 is usually freely translated: "Rather may [your] *mišpāt* pour forth . . . ,") although the grammar knows no other example of an adversative use of the copulative impf.; bibliog. in Schmid, op. cit. 113n.162).

(b) Hosea and Isaiah place greater emphasis on the *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* that will break through in the future. Together with similar effective spheres, it will become the turning point of a new salvation history. For Hosea it is the bride price that Yahweh bequeathes to his people with the new covenant and whose effects extend to the fertility of the land (Hos 2:20–25). For Isaiah it enshrouds the future king of salvation and thence disseminates the capability to do good and to gain victory over all evildoers (Isa 9:6; 11:4–9; 16:5; 32:1). At the same time, *šedeq* fills the newly chosen Zion and opens to its inhabitants the possibility of living henceforth in *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* (1:26f.).

(c) Concerning the *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* that has disappeared from Israel, which from a historical perspective is represented as even weightier than the prior sins of northern Israel (*ṣdq* pi.: Jer 3:11; Ezek 16:51f.), the prophecy of the Bab. epoch emphasizes that God still remains *ṣaddîq* (Jer 12:1), and, just as before, he daily bestows the luminous *mišpāt* (Zeph 3:5; cf. Jer 9:22) and stands beside the individual pious *ṣedeq* in support (Jer 11:20; 20:12).

From this perspective, the call is to turn from the evil to the socially faithful way, to the new pursuit of *ṣedeq* (Jer 4:1f.; Zeph 2:3). For Ezekiel this return requires observation of a series of apodictic commandments—indeed, divine laws in general, which appear in this context for the first time here. The commandment shows people which acts are beneficial, which lead to life, so that the *ṣaddîq* lives “in his *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*” (Ezek 14:14; 18:5–9, 14–17, 20, etc.). Whoever now returns to it can be assured of surviving the coming catastrophe (Ezek 18; 33:12ff.). The famous saying in Hab 2:4 should probably be interpreted similarly, a saying that refers to the prophets’ visions and prophecy: “The *ṣaddîq* will survive through his faith (in the prophetic word).”

Jeremiah expects the actual breakthrough of *ṣedeq/ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* on earth only in the eschatological future. Again, it is preliminarily associated with the king of salvation (Jer 23:5; J. Swetnam, *Bib* 46 [1965]: 29–40) and the newly consecrated Zion (31:23; 50:7). Ezekiel (like the contemporary P and Dtr literature) notably makes no mention of a breakthrough of divine *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* in the era of salvation or of its bestowal on people. Is an aversion to particular Jerusalemite cultic traditions in the background?

4. The language of the Psa most nearly approximates Deutero- and Trito-Isa texts (see also J. J. Scullion, *UF* 3 [1971]: 335–48). Here the entire people is described as distant from *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* (Isa 46:12; 48:1; 51:1, 7). Nonetheless, Deutero-Isaiah regards his audience to be already in pursuit of *ṣedeq* (51:1) and even senses a desire for it among the pagans (51:5), and thus expects the breakthrough of the divine effective entity in the immediate future (46:13; 51:5); but Trito-Isa statements suggest a distant expectation of the eschatological *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* (59:14), because the people are far from *ṣaddîq*. Here a new tone also appears that sarcastically portrays the people’s present *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*, which covers them like dirty clothing (57:12; 64:5) and has thus been perverted into its opposite.

For Deutero-Isaiah the dawn of salvation marked by Yahweh’s return to Zion simultaneously brings the revelation of *ṣedeq/ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* associated with theophany and esp. with the divine (right) hand (Isa 41:10f.; 51:5; 59:16; as a breastplate, 59:17). Deutero-Isaiah does not think of the manifestation of an abstract, divine characteristic, but of a sphere of power that streams over the faithful people like a flood of water and multiplies it exceedingly

(48:18) and makes it unassailable to its enemies (54:14–17; 45:24f.). Masc. and fem. substs. are so arranged that *ṣedeq* drips from heaven and *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* sprouts on earth (45:8; cf. 61:11), or so that *ṣedeq* is the victorious power that vanquishes heaven and earth but permits *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* continued existence (51:5–8; cf. 58:2). Trito-Isaiah regards *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* even more substantially, formatively; it breaks in as a shining appearance in the eschatological theophany (58:8; 62:1f.; cf. 59:9), becomes Yahweh's bridal gift to the people and the land (61:10f.); indeed, together with *šālôm* it governs the eschatological Israel (60:17; cf. 1:7 and 1:26f.).

The human figures preordained and appointed for the dawn of salvation are also gifted with *ṣedeq*. *ṣedeq* assists the Pers. king Cyrus to a wondrous victory over all enemies and compels him to intervene for Israel (Isa 41:2; 45:13). Yahweh allows the mysterious servant of God to become *ṣdq* after a period of debasement (hi. 50:8), calls him in *ṣedeq* and takes him by the hand so that he becomes the mediator of the covenant and a light for the nations (42:6), and his vicarious suffering makes “the many” *ṣdq* (hi. 53:11). The same is true for the one “endowed with the Spirit” (61:1–3).

That Deutero-Isaiah understands not only the eschatological dawn of salvation itself as a manifestation of divine *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* but also its announcement through current prophecy (Isa 45:23; cf. 63:1) reflects a high esteem for prophecy. Similarly, he includes the (traditional priestly or prophetic?) Torah issued as a word of God (42:21; 51:7). It would be incorrect to seek here a contrast between an already present and an eschatological appearance of *ṣedeq/ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*. Rather, Deutero-Isaiah seems to understand the conferral of God's salvation gifts on people as a historically mediated process; even the eschaton, then, does not break in independent of prior history but in a particular continuity with it (an element of human *ṣedeq* is consequently the remembrance of Yahweh's ways in history, 64:4; also 48:1?).

Deutero-Isaiah uses the adj. and the verb (in the qal) for those who emerge as victors from a legal process (dispute?) by the acclamation of the audience (?) (Isa 41:26; 43:9, 26), a unique meaning that does not seem to be linked with the usage of the subst.

5. The post-exilic wisdom books Job and Eccl break with the concept of actions with built-in consequences that was almost universally accepted to that point. In Job the friends continue stubbornly to defend the notion even to the point of stating that it means nothing to God if a person is *ṣaddîq*; it has meaning only to the person (Job 22:2f.; cf. 27:16; 36:6f.; 33:26; 35:6–8). In contrast, Job attempts obstinately to maintain his *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*, although his disastrous fate seems to be punishment for his lies (27:5f.; 29:14); yet he must reach the conclusion that no person is *ṣdq* before God

(9:2; 40:8).

Farther removed from a personal existential crisis but more radical in consequence is Qohelet, who determines empirically that human deeds do not affect fate: “The *ṣaddîq* perishes in his *ṣedeq* and the *rāšā*<sup>c</sup> lives long in his evil” (Eccl 7:15; cf. 8:14; 9:1f.). This observation results in the odd maxim: Do not be too *ṣaddîq* nor too evil (7:16f.).

By contrast, Jesus ben Sirach returns to the standpoint of older wisdom. Only fools maintain that the works of *ṣedeq* may not be experienced (Sir 16:22). “Birds only flock with their kind, thus righteousness (?) comes to those who practice it” (27:9). According to this new concept of compensation, superfluous good deeds can, under some circumstances, replace past sins: *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* atones for sins (3:30; cf. v 14).

6. For apocalypticism, *ṣedeq* becomes a fundamental term for eschatological salvation. Daniel already maintains that after sin is sealed and guilt atoned, eternal *ṣedeq* will be introduced and thus all prophecy fulfilled (9:24; cf. 4 Ezra 7:114). “In Eth. En. (38:2; 53:6) one of the basic themes is that righteousness is a mark of the Messianic period” (G. Schrenk, *TDNT* 2:187). The term also has particular significance in 4 Ezra, which characterizes the end time in terms of the complete absence of righteousness among people (5:11) and emphasizes the works of the *ṣaddîqîm* that, under some circumstances, constitute a temporary treasure in heaven distinct from the doer (7:34, 77, 83). God’s righteousness is not punitive in this late period either, but it becomes evident in the fact that God has mercy on those who have no treasure of good works (8:48f.).

In Dan 4:24 the Aram. *ṣidqâ* may already have the meaning “benevolence, alms,” which is significant in early Judaism and which may be traced to a specifically Aram. prehistory (F. Rosenthal, “Sedaka, Charity,” *HUCA* 23/1 [1950/51]: 411–30).

V. 1. In Qumran the substs. *ṣedeq* and *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*, as well as the pl. *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqôt* used of God’s deeds in the history of salvation, play a central role. The qal and hi. of the verb are also used (Kuhn, *Konk.* 185f.). The founder of the community is never called by his name but only by the title *môreh haṣṣedeq* (about 10x), and the members of the “union” proudly call themselves “sons of *ṣedeq*” (1QS 3:20, 22; 9:14); God is celebrated as *ʾl ḥṣdq* (1QM 18:8). The source of *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* is hidden to normal eyes, but the singer of the song of thanksgiving has seen it and learned how his *mišpāt* (state of well-being?) has come thence to him (1QS 11:5f.). It is esp. significant that the OT correlation—God conveys *ṣedeq* only on the one who is *ṣaddîq*—has dissolved. The divine *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* is associated with the forgiveness of sins: “Through his *ṣ<sup>e</sup>dāqôt* my sins are wiped out” (1QS 11:3, 12–14; cf. 10:11). Such statements stand on the threshold between the OT

and the NT and are already distantly reminiscent of the Pauline discussion of the *dikaiosynē theou* (P. Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus* [19662], 154–66 and the bibliog. cited on p. 149).

2. Regarding the translation of *šdq* in the LXX (*dikaios, dikaiosynē*, etc.) and the usage of the Gk. terms in the NT and its environs, cf. e.g., G. H. Dalman, “Die richterliche Gerechtigkeit im AT,” *Kartellzeitung akademisch-theologischer Vereine an deutschen Hochschulen* 7 (1897): 89–94, 121–25 (still useful); G. Quell and G. Schrenk, “δικη,” *TDNT* 2:174–225; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the NT* (1951–55), 1:270–87; R. Mach, *Der Zaddik in Talmud und Midrasch* (1957); Stuhlmacher, op. cit.; H. Seebass and C. Brown, “Righteousness,” *DNTT* 3:352–77 (with bibliog.); H. Thyen, *Studien zur Sündenvergebung im Neuen Testament und seinen alttestamentlichen und jüdischen Voraussetzungen* (1970).

K. Koch

## צוה *šwh* pi. **to command**

S 6680; BDB 845a; *HALOT* 3:1010a; *ThWAT* 6:936–59; *TWOT* 1887; *NIDOTTE* 7422

1. The verb *šwh* “to command” occurs only in Hebr. (yet cf. *DISO* 244, and Leander 74 regarding *šwt* “command” in Cowley no. 37.14; with transposition of the consonants, Arab. *wšy* II “to commission,” Wehr 1075a; L. Kopf, *VT* 8 [1958]: 197f.; Eg. *wḏ* “to command,” A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Äg. Handwörterbuch* [1921 repr. 1961], 43). The fem. verbal noun *mišwâ* “order, command” with the prefix *m-* derives from the verb that occurs in the pi. and the pu. (BL 492; regarding the fem. forms of legal terms see K. Albrecht, *ZAW* 16 [1896]: 98). Nothing may be determined with certainty concerning the base stem (*HP* 248). The pi. of trans. base stems normally has a resultative function (*HP* 126; G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung alttestamentlicher Rechtssätze* [1971], 192n.2).

2. The verb *šwh* occurs in the OT 485x in the pi. and 9x in the pu., the subst. *mišwâ* 181x. Verb and subst. are concentrated in Deut and in the Dtr literature (*šwh* pi.: Deut 88x, Exod 53x, Num 46x, Josh 43x, Jer 39x, Lev 33x, Gen 26x; *mišwâ*: Deut 43x, Psa 26x [22x in Psa 119], 2 Chron 19x, Neh 14x, 1 Kgs 12x, Lev and Prov 10x each).

3. (a) *šwh* pi. is a verb of speech that describes a specific form of speech: a superior’s discourse ordering and commanding a subordinate.

→ *ʔmr* and → *dbʔr* pi. also sometimes assume the specific meaning “to command.”

Like other specific verbs of speech (e.g., → *ʕnh* or → *šʔl*), *šwh* pi. governs the dual acc. of the addressee and the subject matter (Meyer 3:76; cf. Gen 3:17; 7:9; Exod 16:16; Deut 1:18, etc.). The addressee can also be indicated by *le* (Exod 1:22; 2 Kgs 20:1; Jer 47:7), by *ʔel* (Exod 25:22; 2 Sam 17:23; 1 Kgs 11:10; Jer 27:4), and by *ʕal* (Gen 2:16; 1 Kgs 11:11; Isa 5:6; Jer 35:6; Amos 2:12; Esth 2:10, 20; 4:8, 17; cf. BrSynt §108c); the same preps. also indicate the persons and matters concerning which a command is issued—much as with → *ʔmr* and → *dbʔr* pi.

That things can be “commanded” (passages in KBL 797a, no. 2) involves personification (cf. Amos 9:3f.; Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 341) and is no cause for assuming a meaning “to place an order, summon” underlying the meaning “to command” (so KBL; contra Liedke, op. cit. 192n.2; cf. G. Östborn, *Tōrā in the OT* [1945], 47n.2, with bibliog.).

Superiors who give orders or commands are: kings (Gen 12:20; 26:11; 45:19; 47:11; Exod 1:22; 5:6; 1 Sam 18:22; 21:3; 2 Sam 4:12; 9:11; 13:28f.; 18:5, 12; 21:14; 1 Kgs 2:43, 46; 5:20, 31; 22:31; 2 Kgs 11:5, 9, 15; 16:15f.; 17:27; 22:12; 23:4, 21; Jer 36:26; 37:21; 38:10, 27; 39:11; Esth 3:2; 4:5; Ezra 4:3; Neh 5:14; 2 Chron 19:9), tribal and familial patriarchs (Gen 18:19; 28:1; 49:33; 50:16; 1 Sam 17:20; Jer 35:6ff.) and matriarchs (Gen 27:8; Ruth 3:6), brothers (1 Sam 20:29), army officers (Josh 1:10; 3:3; 6:10; 8:4; 10:27; 2 Sam 11:19; 2 Kgs 11:5, 9, 15), and priests (Lev 13:54; 14:4f., 36, 40). Subordinates who receive the order or the command are: servants (Gen 32:18, 20; 50:2; 1 Sam 18:22; Ruth 2:9, 15; Jer 32:13, etc.), sons (see texts above for patriarchs and matriarchs), soldiers (see army officer), et al.

Both order and command are acts of superiority but are distinguishable in that the order produces a unique action in a particular situation, but the command has lasting validity beyond a unique situation. The command establishes a limit and, as a result, is by nature a prohibition; the execution (fulfillment) of an order can be reported, making the order irrelevant (cf. *BFPS* 110f.; Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:223f.; O. H. Steck, *Die Paradieserzählung* [1970], 87f.). Both are indicated by *šwh* pi. (regarding the syntax of the pertinent phrases, see KBL 797, no. 3): the order, e.g., 2 Sam 13:28f. “Absalom ordered his servants: Give heed! If Amnon becomes merry from the wine and I say to you: Strike Amnon down! Then kill him! . . . And Absalom’s servants did to Amnon as Absalom had ordered” (similarly, Gen 50:2; 2 Kgs 16:15f., etc.); the command, e.g., Amos 2:12b “And you have commanded the prophets: Do not prophesy!” (similarly, Gen 2:16f.; 2 Kgs 14:6 [a prohibition from Deut 24:16]; 2 Kgs 17:35, etc. [Liedke, op. cit. 193f., 194n.3]).

Orders are usually issued in the impv./vetitive, commands usually in the prohibitive and the corresponding positive form of the “optative present”

(cf. Liedke, op. cit. 36, 187ff.).

The structure “order–execution of the order” is reflected in formulaic expressions that have been described as “fulfillment formulae” (Noth, ATD 5, 76, 78; Liedke, op. cit. 192): *X* acts “according to all that *Y* ordered” (2 Sam 9:11; 21:14; 2 Kgs 11:9; 16:16; Jer 35:8, 10, 18; 36:8; Ruth 3:6; Esth 3:12; 4:17), and *X* acts “as *Y* ordered” (Num 32:25; Josh 4:8; 1 Sam 17:20; 2 Sam 13:28f.; Ezra 4:3).

Particularly characteristic situations for orders are battles and war (e.g., 2 Sam 18:5, 12; 1 Kgs 2:46; and see above re: army officers) and the sending of emissaries (Gen 32:5, 18, 20; 50:16—here *šwh* pi. does not refer to the content of the message but to the order to deliver the message; hence it relates to → *ʾmr*). The last words of the father of a household before his death are characterized by *šwh* pi. in accordance with their character as binding testament: Gen 49:29, 33; 2 Sam 17:23; 1 Kgs 2:1; 2 Kgs 20:1 = Isa 38:1.

In view of the semantic horizon outlined, it is not surprising to find *šwh* pi. in conjunction with the following roots: → *dābār* and *dbr* pi. (e.g., 1 Sam 21:3), → *ʾmr* (*ʾmr* usually indicates the beginning of the order or command), → *šh* (e.g., 2 Sam 21:14; Isa 48:5; see the formulae of execution), → *šlh* (Exod 4:28; 1 Sam 21:3; Isa 10:6, etc.).

(b) The same characteristics apply to *mišwōt/mišwâ*. Those who issue *mišwâ* to the pertinent subordinates are kings (1 Kgs 2:43; 2 Kgs 18:36; Esth 3:3; Neh 11:23; 12:24, 45; 2 Chron 8:14f.; 24:21; 29:15, 25; 30:6, 12; 35:10, 15f.; these passages have, indeed, led O. Procksch [*Theologie des AT* (1950), 564f.] to the thesis that *mišwâ* may have originally been a term from royal law; the thesis is hardly convincing, because the passages are primarily late, Chr), fathers (Jer 35:6ff.), and wisdom teachers (Prov 2:1; 3:1; 4:4; 7:1f.; cf. G. Bauckmann, *ZAW* 72 [1960]: 37f.). When the context communicates the wording of a *mišwâ*, it involves commands and prohibitions; cf. 2 Kgs 18:36: the Israelites’ silence in reaction to the Assyrians’ insults is based on Hezekiah’s *mišwâ*, “you shall not answer him” (similarly, 1 Kgs 2:43, 46, etc.; see Liedke, op. cit. 189ff.). In comparison to Num 15:22, the formulation “*mišwōt* that may not be carried out” (Lev 4:2ff.; 5:17) demonstrates that *mišwâ* can indicate both commands and prohibitions (Liedke, op. cit. 191). Otherwise, only about 10% of the occurrences of the subst. do not relate to Yahweh, incl. the particularly interesting wisdom passages (J. Fichtner, *Die altorientalische Weisheit* [1933], 82ff.; KBL 556, no. 1; W. Zimmerli, “Concerning the Structure of OT Wisdom,” *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom*, ed. J. Crenshaw [1976], 201n.7; → *tôrâ* also occurs as a human term only in Prov).

4. (a) The most frequent subj. of *šwh* pi. by far is Yahweh/God. Recipients of the *šwh* pi. are the Israelites, esp. Moses (in the Pentateuch), prophets (Jer 1; 14:14, etc.), and priests (e.g., Ezek 9:11), but also foreign peoples (Isa 10:6; Jer 50:21; Lam 1:17, etc.) and Yahweh's angel (Psa 91:11). Yahweh's question in the dispute with his people in Isa 45:11, "Do you want to make rules (*šwh* pi.) for the work of my hands?" depicts the impossibility of making Yahweh the recipient of an order. Yahweh's commandment and the "command of human beings" are incomparable (Isa 29:13). Finally, Yahweh's *šwh* pi. is a creative word (Isa 5:6; 45:12; Psa 33:9; 78:23; 148:5; Job 36:32?; 37:12) that "makes history" (Isa 48:5). The most numerous usage of the verb is as a term for Yahweh's proclamation of the commandments and laws (esp. in Exod 25:22; 27:20; Lev 7:38, etc.; in Dtn: Deut 4:5, 13f., 23; 5:12, 15f. [Decalogue], etc.; in Dtr: Josh 1:7; 8:35; 22:2, 5; Judg 3:4, etc.). For P, this sphere of usage for *šwh* pi. is particularly constitutive. "The word of command has a special significance that colors the whole of P's theology. Everything that happens has its source in God's word of command" (Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:85). While in history God's commandment is issued to a person (e.g., Noah, Gen 6:22; 7:16; Abraham, Gen 21:4; Moses and Aaron, Exod 6:13, etc.) or to a mediator (Moses, Exod 25ff.), there is no human partner for the creative order, for which reason P does not use *šwh* pi. in Gen 1 but the more general *ʾmr*.

P's accentuation of the mediation of the commandment is reflected in the fact that the "fulfillment formulae" (see 3a) occur with Yahweh as subj. primarily in the P fulfillment reports in Exod 36ff. and Lev 8–9 (passages in Liedke, op. cit. 192nn.6f.), although they also occur elsewhere in the OT (Deut 1:19, etc.; Jer 13:5; 1 Chron 24:19; cf. Gen 7:5 J; Deut 1:3, 41, etc.; 1 Kgs 9:4; Jer 11:4; Sir 7:31). An additional P formula with *šwh* pi. is the "transmission command": "command X to say," in which God passes the *šwh* pi. on to a person (Lev 6:2; 24:2; Num 5:1f.; 28:2; 34:2; 35:2; R. Rendtorff, *Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift* [19682], 68f.; R. Kilian, *Literarkritische und formgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Heiligkeitsgesetz* [1963], 4). Peculiar to Deut is the formulaic expression "*mišwōt* (par. other terms), which I (Moses?) commanded you (today)" (ptcp. formula or "promulgation formula"; see N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot* [1963], 59–63, 297f.): Deut 4:2, 40; 6:2, 6; 7:11; 8:1, 11; 10:13; 11:8, 13, 22, 27f.; 12:11, 14, 28; 13:1, 19; 15:5, 11, 15; 19:7, 9; 24:18, 22; 26:16; 27:1b, 10; 28:1, 13f.; 30:8, 11, 16; also Gen 27:8. The phrase "the way that I commanded you" is similarly Dtn-Dtr (Exod 32:8; Deut 9:12, 16; 13:6; 31:29; Jer 7:23; → *derek*).

Yahweh commands → *tôrâ* (Lev 7:37f.; Num 19:2, etc.), → *b'rit* (Josh

7:11; 23:16, etc.), *ḥuqqîm* (Num 30:17; Deut 6:20, etc., → *ḥqq* ), *mišwôt* (Lev 27:34; Judg 3:4, etc.; see ptcp. formula; cf. 1 Kgs 8:58; 11:11, 38), and *mišpāṭ* (Psa 7:7; → *špṭ* ).

Not only the communication of the commandments but also the prophetic word rests on God's *šwh* pi. The fulfillment reports in Ezek 12:7; 24:18; 37:7 demonstrate this relationship, as do Jer 1:7, 17; 13:5f.; 14:14; 23:32; 26:2, 8; 29:23. The prophet transmits Yahweh's command: Jer 27:4. Interestingly, Lev 17:1f. introduces a legal corpus (H) as the sending of a messenger with the messenger formula formulated with *šwh* pi. (S. Wagner, *TDOT* 1:340).

(b) The pl. of the subst., *mišwôt*, occurs in Deut, Dtr, and Chr, usually in series with other terms for commandment and law (→ *ḥqq* 4d). If *mišwâ* was originally a technical term to indicate the commandment (so Liedke, op. cit. 187ff.; earlier already J. Morgenstern, *HUCA* 33 [1962]: 59ff.), all terms are equalized here and designate synonymously the entirety or portions of the "law." The combination *mišwôt/ḥuqqôt* characterizes Dtn (Deut 6:2; 8:11, etc.), *ḥuqqîm/ḥuqqôt/mišpāṭîm/mišwôt* occur in almost every possible combination in Dtr, and similarly so in Chr, where *tôrâ* also appears (2 Chron 14:3; 19:10, etc.). Cf. the tables in Liedke, op. cit. 13ff.

Dtn also uses the sg. *mišwâ* in addition to the pl. to designate a corpus of laws and commandments, indeed, to designate the "law" as a whole (similarly, → *tôrâ*, cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 1:220). This usage is apparent in Deut 5:31; 6:1; and 7:11, where *mišwâ* appears as a comprehensive designation together with *ḥuqqîm/mišpāṭîm*, as well as in the formulation *kol-hammišwâ* in Deut 5:31; 6:25; 8:1; 11:8, 22; 15:5; 19:9; 26:13; 27:1; 31:5; in Dtr cf. Josh 22:3, 5; 2 Kgs 17:19, 37; and Jer 32:11. Lohfink (op. cit. 55ff.) surmises that *mišwâ* may be the key word in Deut for "law" (cf. J. van der Ploeg, *CBQ* 12 [1950]: 258). Chr imitates this usage: Ezra 10:3; 2 Chron 8:13; 14:3; 19:10; 29:25; 31:21.

Yahweh's *mišwôt/mišwâ* should be heeded (→ *zn* hi.: Exod 15:26; → *šm*<sup>c</sup>: Deut 11:13, 27f.; Judg 2:17; 3:4, etc.), done (→ *šh*: Lev 4:2ff.; 5:17; 22:31; Deut 27:10; Josh 22:5, etc.), and kept (→ *šmr*: Gen 26:5; Exod 12:17 txt em; 20:6; Deut 4:2; 5:29; 6:2ff.; 7:9, etc.; → *nšr*: Psa 78:7; cf. Prov 3:1; 6:20). People break them, however, (→ *pr*: Num 15:31; Ezra 9:14), transgress them (→ *br*: Esth 3:3; 2 Chron 24:20), and abandon them (→ *zb*: 1 Kgs 18:18; 2 Kgs 17:16; Ezra 9:10; 2 Chron 7:19). For other verbs see Psa 119.

5. In Qumran, *šwh* pi. and *mišwâ* occur only in the "legal" sense. Significantly, the fulfillment formula, "as he commanded," occurs frequently in 1QS but never contains the name of God, in contrast to P (1QS 1:3;

3:10; 8:21; 9:15, 24; 1QSb 3:24). Cf. M. Delcor, *RB* 61 (1954): 543.

Regarding early Judaism, LXX, and NT, cf. G. Schrenk, “ἐντέλλομαι,” *TDNT* 2:544–56; G. Delling, “διατάσσω,” *TDNT* 8:34f., esp. 34n.6; O. Schmitz, “παραγγέλλω,” *TDNT* 5:761–65.

G. Liedke

## צוֹם *šûm* to fast

S 6684; BDB 847a; *HALOT* 3:1012a; *ThWAT* 6:959–63; *TWOT* 1890; *NIDOTTE* 7426

1. The verb *šûm* “to fast” occurs in Hebr. and Aram. (the oldest Aram. only in the Elephantine Papyri, Cowley, no. 30.15, 20, thus in the sphere of OT religion) and has entered Arab. and Eth. as a religious technical term (*NB* 36; A. J. Wensinck and J. H. Kramers, *Handwörterbuch des Islam* [1941], 650).

In addition to the verb, there is a subst. *šôm* “fasting.”

2. *šûm* qal occurs 21x, *šôm* 26x (the verb in older narratives: Judg 20:26; 1 Sam 7:6; 31:13 = 1 Chron 10:12; 2 Sam 1:12; 12:16, 21–23; 1 Kgs 21:27; the subst. in 2 Sam 12:16; 1 Kgs 21:9, 12; in the Prophets: Isa 58:3–6, verb 3x + subst. 4x; Jer 14:12 qal; 36:6, 9, subst.; Joel 3x, Jonah 1x, subst.; Zech, verb 3x + subst. 4x; in the Writings, somewhat more frequently in Esth [verb 2x + subst. 2x], Psa [subst. 3x]; isolated occurrences in Dan–2 Chron).

3./4. Fasting is an element of unofficial and official religion in Israel; funeral customs count among the former (cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 1:275ff.). Fasting, with durations of one day (2 Sam 1:12) or seven days (1 Sam 31:13; one abstains from nourishment—as still today in the Islamic Ramadan—only during the day), has survived as a remnant of the Can. cult of the dead. *šûm* accompanies the verb → *bkh* “to weep” (2 Sam 1:12), yet other practices were also elements of mourning (cf. H. Schmid, *RGG* 6:1000f.; W. C. Robinson, *BHH* 1:465f.).

Elements of the lament for the dead—including fasting—become components of the regular cult, as in the self-abasing lament of one who has incurred guilt and hopes for divine forgiveness and assistance (“rites of self-deprecation”; 2 Sam 12:16, 21–23; 1 Kgs 21:27; cf. E. Kutsch, *ThStud* 78 [1965]: 25ff.). In the two cases mentioned, a prophetic announcement of judgment precedes the rite of self-deprecation; the first passage suggests that the lament, which includes fasting and weeping, is performed reclining

(perhaps while seeking an oracle, if *bqš* pi. <sup>ʿ</sup>*lōhîm* “to seek God” [v 16] may be so interpreted; cf. also Ezra 8:23); the second points to the donning of mourning clothes (*śaq*).

Fasting was also a component of the normal, cultically regulated performance of the individual lament (Psa 35:13; 69:11; 109:24, with mention of mourning clothing; the goal of the fast is self-abasement, *ʿnh* pi. *nepeš*, Psa 35:13; → *ʿnh* II). Finally, prayer and fasting were loosed from the cultic situation and became a private matter, an exercise of individual piety (Dan 9:3, which mentions *śaq* in addition to ashes [<sup>ʿ</sup>*ēper*, → *ʿāpār*]; Neh 1:4, in addition to → *bkh*, → <sup>ʿ</sup>*bl* hitp., → *pll* hitp.; 9:1). Sometimes, the elements of sorrow are a secularized expression of despair with no religious dimensions (Esth 4:3; cf. also Bibl. Aram. *ʿwāt* “with fasting,” Dan 6:19).

Fasting also plays a role in the cultic life of the community, in the first instance in relation to the communal lament. The expression → *qr*<sup>ʿ</sup>*śôm* can indicate the proclamation of a day of communal mourning (Jer 36:9; cf. v 6; Jonah 3:5, with a reference to wearing *śaq*; in Joel 1:14 and 2:15, *qdš* pi. *śôm*). As in the individual lament, the goal of the fast is self-abasement (*ʿnh* pi. *nepeš* Isa 58:3ff.; the divine oracle indicated calls for “fasting” in a spiritualized manner and denounces all external trappings). The ritual also includes sacrifice (Jer 14:12 *ʿôlâ* and *minḥâ*), blowing the *šôpār*, weeping and lamenting (Joel 1:14; 2:12ff.). 1 Sam 7:6 also presupposes a situation of communal lament (because of severe oppression by the Philistines). Distress is interpreted (Deuteronomistically) as punishment for apostasy from Yahweh and for idolatry, so that fasting acquires a penitential character; the account preserves, probably with a degree of historical accuracy, the memory that prophetic intercession was associated with such occasions (cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 2:51f.).

In the post-exilic era, fasting and the related communal lament rites seem to have been a component of every great Yahweh festival (Zech 7:5; 8:19).

The function of fasting in Judg 20:26; 1 Kgs 21:9, 12 is unclear. In the first passage it probably concerns the practice of seeking an oracle in relation to the “holy war” (sacrifice is also involved; fasting may have been a component of the “holy war” in general, cf. F. Schwally, *Semitische Kriegsaltertümer 1: Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel* [1901], 50f.). A communal lament following a military defeat may also be described here. The second passage may be governed by the purely literary motif of the substitute king ritual that included fasting; the notice would then bear no historical value (cf. M. A. Beek, *SVT* 15 [1966]: 27f.; contra most exegetes, see H. Schulz, *Das Todesrecht im AT* [1969], 115–17).

5. At Qumran, fasts were held in feast times, yet fasting was apparently unknown as an exercise of individual piety (*šôm* only in 1QpHab 11:8; cf. the substance, however, of CD 6:19 [*ta<sup>a</sup>nî*, cf. → *nh* II], perhaps also 11:4). By contrast, the NT presumes fasting of this nature; Jesus and the community disagree over it (cf. esp. Matt 6:16–18; Mark 2:18–20; see J. Behm, “*νήστεις*,” *TDNT* 4:924–35).

F. Stolz

### צוּר *šûr* **rock**

S 6697; BDB 849b; *HALOT* 3:1016a; *ThWAT* 6:973–83; *TWOT* 1901a; *NIDOTTE* 7446

### אבן *eben* **stone**

S 68; BDB 6a; *HALOT* 1:7b; *TDOT* 1:48–51; *TWOT* 9; *NIDOTTE* 74

1. Direct counterparts of *šûr* “rock” (originally with a voiceless emphatic interdental) are attested only in the NWSem. realm (Amor. and Phoen. in PNs; cf. Huffmon 258; Benz 402; Ug. *gr* “mountain”; cf. *WUS* no. 2166; *UT* no. 1953; G. Garbini, *Il Semitico di Nord-Ovest* [1960], 29f.; A. Jirku, *ZDMG* 113 [1964]: 481f.; J. C. de Moor, *JNES* 24 [1965]: 362f.; W. von Soden, *FS Baumgartner* 291–94; Hebr. also in the Siloam Inscription, ll. 3 and 6; cf. also N. Avigad, *IEJ* 5 [1955]: 165f.; H.-P. Müller, *UF* 2 [1970]: 234; Aram. *tûr* “mountain”; cf. *DISO* 100; KBL 1078b; E. Vogt, *Lexicon Linguae Aramaicae Veteris Testamenti* [1971], 68b); the related *šôr* “pebble” (*\*šurr-*; regarding *šôr* “Tyre,” cf. Garbini, op. cit. 32f.; W. Röllig, *BO* 19 [1962]: 23; E. Y. Kutscher, *JSS* 10 [1965]: 35–37; W. T. Claassen, “Die rol van *lš/* (Tsade) in de Noordwes-Semitiese tale” [*Stellenbosch*, 1969; typescript], 104ff.) is widespread in Sem. languages (P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/23 [1968]: 271, 287, 298).

2. Apart from place designations composed with *šûr* “rock” (Judg 7:25 and Isa 10:26 “Raven Rock”; 1 Sam 24:3 “Rocks of the Mountain Goats”; 2 Sam 2:16 txt?) and place-names and PNs that contain *šûr* as a theophoric or predicative element (*bêt-šûr*, Josh 15:58, etc.; *p<sup>c</sup>dāhšûr*, Num 1:10, etc.; *š<sup>e</sup>lîšûr*, Num 1:5, etc.; and others; cf. *IP* 129f., 156f.; M. Noth, *FS Alt* 148; H. Schmidt, *Der heilige Fels in Jerusalem* [1933], 87), *šûr* occurs

70x in the OT (Psa 24x, Isa 12x, Deut 9x [8x in Deut 32], 2 Sam 7x, Job 6x). Bibl. Aram. *tûr* is attested 2x (Dan 2:35, 45). *šôr* “pebble” or “flint knife” occurs 6x (Exod 4:25; Josh 5:2f.; Ezek 3:9; Psa 89:44 txt? *šûr* [cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:200]; Job 22:24 *šûr*, cf. Fohrer, KAT 16, 351).

Setting aside place designations (incl. Josh 15:6; 18:17; 1 Sam 20:19; 1 Kgs 1:9), *ʿeben* “stone” occurs 269x (Exod 33x, Deut 25x, 1 Kgs 24x, Josh 22x, Ezek 17x, Gen 15x, Isa and 2 Chron 14x each, Job and Prov 11x each, Lev, 1 Sam, and 1 Chron 10x each, Zech 9x); in addition, the dual form *ʿobnayim* occurs in Exod 1:16 and Jer 18:3.

3. (a) *šûr* “rock” (occasionally also “block of stone” or “mountain [of rock]”; cf. A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebr. des AT* [1954], 113f.) occurs in the strict sense, e.g., in relation to the water miracle in the wilderness (Exod 17:6[bis]; Deut 8:15; Psa 78:15, 20; 105:41; cf. also Isa 48:21 and Psa 114:8). The rock flowing with honey and oil is an image of abundance (Deut 32:13; Psa 81:17; Job 29:6). Moreover, the rock appears as a locus of divine epiphany (Exod 33:21f.), as a holy place (Judg 6:21), as a place of sacrifice (Judg 13:19), and as a place of refuge (Psa 27:5; 61:3; Job 24:8; on the day of Yahweh: Isa 2:10, 19, 21).

Semantically related to *šûr* are *selā* “rock” (60x, as well as Judg 1:36; 1 Sam 23:28; 2 Kgs 14:7; Isa 16:1 in place designations; *selā* refers to God 5x: 2 Sam 22:2 = Psa 18:3; Psa 31:4; 42:10; 71:3; cf. Schwarzenbach, op. cit. 114–16), *kēp* “rock” (Jer 4:29; Job 30:6; Aram. loanword; cf. Wagner no. 130), *ḥallāmîš* “pebble” (Deut 8:15; 32:13; Isa 50:7; Psa 114:8; Job 28:9; cf. HAL 308a); moreover, *ʿeben* “stone” (see b), *har* “mountain” (→ *šiyyôn* 3c), *gibʿā* “hill” (Num 23:9 par. *šûr* as in Ug.; cf. S. Gervitz, *Patterns in the Early Poetry of Israel* [1963], 56f.), and, in the fig. sense, *maḥsch* “refuge” (→ *ḥsh*), *yʿšûʿā* “help” (→ *yšʿ*), *ʿôz* “strength, refuge” (→ *ʿzz*, → *ʿûz*), and *mišgāb* “height, refuge” (→ *ʿûz* 3).

(b) *ʿeben* “stone” (Gen 11:3; Exod 15:5, etc., used as a collective sg.) is common Sem. (Arab. only in toponyms, otherwise replaced by *ḥajar*; cf. Fronzaroli, op. cit. 271, 287, 298) and never signifies “rock” (or “mountain”) in contrast to *šûr*. The term designates field stones (Psa 91:12; Gen 28:11 as a head rest; Zech 12:3 as a stone for lifting to test physical strength), marker stones (Gen 31:46; Josh 24:27; 1 Sam 7:12), sling stones (1 Sam 17:49; Zech 9:15; 1 Chron 12:2), cult stones (Gen 35:14; more specifically *maššēbâ* [36x in the OT]; cf. L. Delekat, *BHH* 2:1169), altar stones (1 Sam 6:14; 14:33), stone idols (Jer 2:27; Ezek 20:32; Dan 5:4, 23), building stones (2 Sam 5:11; Isa 28:16; Jer 51:26), stone seals (Gen 29:3, 8, 10, of a well; Josh 10:27, of a cave; Zech 5:8, of a lead platter), ore (Deut 8:9; Job 28:2) and gem stones (Gen 2:12; Exod 28:9ff.; 1 Kgs 10:10f.; Ezek 1:26),

amulet stones (Isa 54:12), stone tablets (Exod 24:12; 31:18; Deut 4:13), weights (Lev 19:36; Deut 25:13, 15; Mic 6:11; Prov 20:10, 23; cf. A. Strobel, *BHH* 2:1166–69 with bibliog.; R. B. Y. Scott, “Weights and Measures of the Bible,” *BA* 22 [1959]: 22–40; regarding the “royal weight” in 2 Sam 14:26 as an official standard, cf. Scott, *op. cit.* 34), and stones used as plumb lines (Isa 34:11; cf. Zech 4:10, where K. Galling, *FS Rudolph* 91, does not interpret *hāʿeben habb<sup>c</sup>dîl*, however, as “plummet” but as “a piece of priestly ornamentation, more precisely, the Urim and Thummim stones for discriminating lots that rest in the ‘pocket of decision’”; accordingly, he reads *habbādîl* or *habb<sup>c</sup>dîlâ* “[of] separation”). A terrified person becomes like stone (Exod 15:16). A stone, i.e., hardened, heart can be discussed fig. (Ezek 11:19; 36:26).

According to the regulation in Exod 20:25 (cf. Deut 27:5f.; Josh 8:31; 1 Macc 4:47), the stones of a stone altar should be unhewn, probably because “working with human tools would do away with their original condition and integrity and hence their requisite holiness” (Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 176). Because v 24 presupposes farmland, the prohibition may have originated in circles of nomadic shepherds who moved their flocks from pasture to pasture (Noth, *op. cit.*). The assumption that the prohibition should be explained in terms of an understanding of the stones as the seat of numina (cf. A. S. Kapelrud, *TDOT* 1:49) is contradicted by the fact that hewn altars were already present in the Can. realm in the Late Bronze Age (as at Hazor; cf. Hyatt, *Exod*, NCBC [1980], 226).

Stoning (*sq/ qal* “to stone,” 12x, in Deut 13:11; 17:5; 22:21, 24; Josh 7:25 *bāʿabānîm* “with stones”; *ni*. “to be stoned” Exod 19:13; 21:28f., 32; *pu*. “to be stoned” 1 Kgs 21:14f.; in later literature *rgm* 16x, with or without [*bāʿeben*]) is a particular form of banishment of transgressors who can no longer belong to the collective union (cf. R. Hirzel, “Die Strafe der Steinigung,” *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 27 [1909]: 223–66); accordingly, it occurs in the OT, in Judaism, and in the NT, if not as a case of vigilante justice (Num 14:10; 1 Kgs 12:18), as sacral execution (A. Phillips, *Ancient Israel’s Criminal Law* [1970], 23–25). The law prescribes stoning for blasphemy (Lev 24:14, 16, 23; 1 Kgs 21:10–14, execution of an innocent person), idolatry (Deut 17:5), seduction to apostasy from Yahweh (Deut 13:11), violation of the Sabbath (Num 15:35f.), magic and soothsaying (Lev 20:27), sacrifice to Molech (Lev 20:2), and transgression of a taboo commandment (Exod 19:13; Josh 7:25). It is also applicable to crimes in the sexual realm, including esp. adultery (Deut 22:21; Ezek 16:40; 23:47; cf. Deut 22:24), and persistent infringement on paternal authority by a rebellious son, a reference to the rejection of the reverence for Yahweh handed down by the parents (R. H. Kennett, *Deuteronomy and the Decalogue* [1920], 66f.; Phillips, *op. cit.*

80f.; Deut 21:18–21).

The traditional explanation of *ʿeben bōḥan* (Isa 28:16) as “tested stone” is no more tenable than the interpretation as “shale gneiss” (which is not indigenous to Palestine; → *bḥn* 1; cf. also Gallin, op. cit. 73: construction terminology). Rather, it refers to a foundation stone in the sense of the ashlar characteristic of the construction of fortresses in the monarchic period (M. Tsevat, *TDOT* 2:71f.; cf. 1QS 8:7f.; 1QH 6:26; 7:9).

It may be that *ʿbn* in a few OT passages should be interpreted as → *bēn* “son” with a prosthetic *ʿaleph* (cf. Arab. *ibn* and isolated occurrences of Phoen.-Pun. *ʿbn*; see Friedrich 37; Benz 258; regarding the OT passages, see A. S. van der Woude, *NedTT* 20 [1966]: 249–52). In this case, *ʿbny ʿēš* in Ezek 28:14 should be interpreted not as “flint” but as “fiery being”; *ʿbny bōr* in Isa 14:19 not as “stones of the underworld” but as “inhabitants of the underworld”; and *ʿbny sādeh* in Job 5:23 not as “field stones” but as “demons of the field” or “dwarves” (cf. J. Reider, *HUCA* 24 [1952/53]: 102). Thus one should not interpret *ʿbn yisrāʿēl* in Gen 49:24b as a divine epithet corresponding to *šûr yisrāʿēl* “Israel’s rock” (2 Sam 23:3; Isa 30:29; see 4) but, assuming a defective spelling, as “Israel’s children”; hence the verse should be translated: “by the might of the Mighty One of Jacob, by the help of the Shepherd of Israel’s children.” Accordingly, one may also speculate whether *ʿbny* in Exod 1:16 (the meaning “potter’s wheel” that fits Jer 18:3 is not possible here) does not mean “children” (→ *bēn* III/2a). The usual explanations, e.g., of a stone used as a birthing stool, of the female genitalia, or of a bed of bricks on which the newborn was lain after the umbilicus was cut (cf. comms. and H. A. Brongers, *NedTT* 20 [1966]: 241–49), are hardly satisfying.

4. Primarily in hymns, individual songs of thanksgiving, of confidence, and of lament, the firm, unshakable rock is a stereotypical image for God’s help (Psa 18:47; 62:3; 89:27; 95:1), the protection that he offers (Isa 17:10; Psa 28:1; 31:3; 62:8; 71:3), the refuge found with him (Psa 18:3, 32; 94:22; 144:1), his saving activity (Psa 19:15; 78:35), and his unshakable faithfulness (Isa 26:4; Psa 73:26; 92:16); cf. *IP* 156f.; J. Begrich, *ZAW* 46 (1928): 255; D. Eichhorn, “Gott als Fels, Burg und Zuflucht” (diss., Marburg, 1969). In poetry (as in a few PNs; see 1), an honorific *šûr* also replaces one of the usual divine designations (Deut 32:4, 15, 18, 30f.; 1 Sam 2:2; 2 Sam 22:32 = Psa 18:32; Isa 44:8; Hab 1:12; Psa 75:6 txt em; cf. *šûr yisrāʿēl* 2 Sam 23:3; Isa 30:29). Even foreign gods are designated in this way (Deut 32:31, 37). This usage of *šûr* occurs esp. in statements of incomparability (Deut 32:31; 1 Sam 2:2; 2 Sam 22:32 = Psa 18:32; Isa 44:8; see C. J. Labuschagne, *Incomparability of Yahweh in the OT* [1966], 70f., 115f.). In all these cases, *šûr* should not be interpreted cosmologically or mythologically in the sense of the divine progenitor, because almost all passages emphasize Yahweh’s protection and majestic strength (H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* [1966], 85; contra G. Ahlström, *Psalms* 89 [1959], 115). A similar explanation also fits Deut 32:18, because there “the

Rock that bore me” does not describe Yahweh as the mythological progenitor but as the God whom Israel can thank for its existence as God’s people (→ *yld* 4c).

The characterization of Abraham as *šûr* in the sense of Israel’s progenitor or ancestor is of an entirely different nature (Isa 51:1; cf. Matt 3:9; N. A. van Uchelen, *ZAW* 80 [1968]: 183–90; C. R. North, *Second Isaiah* [1964], 209; contra P. A. H. de Boer, *OTS* 11 [1956]: 58–67, who reads “the rock that you have carved out” and, pointing to CD 6:9f., interprets it as a reference to “those who pursue rights, who seek Yhwh,” op. cit. 65). The mythological and legendary concept of the rock as birthplace may underlie this use of the word (van Uchelen, op. cit. 188; Volz, *Jesaja*, KAT, 2:110n.1).

5. Because rock and stone occur in the hellenistic religions as symbols of the incarnation of a god, the LXX usually replaces the fig. *šûr* with terms intended to convey the sense of the image (cf. O. Cullmann, *TDNT* 6:95f.; G. Bertram, *ZAW* 57 [1939]: 101) in order to prevent possible misunderstandings. Correspondingly, early Jewish exegesis interpreted *šûr* in these instances as *šayyār* “sculptor, creator” (C. Wiegand, *ZAW* 10 [1890]: 85–96). The NT never describes God as a rock, Qumran literature only once (1QH 11:15). 1 Cor 10:4 interprets the rock in the wilderness, mentioned e.g., in Exod 17:6, as Christ. In the background lies the legend of the miracle rock that followed Israel along and issued water (O. Cullmann, “πέτρα,” *TDNT* 6:95–99; also J. Jeremias, “λίθος,” *TDNT* 4:268–80), a legend attested in early Judaism (StrB 3:406ff.) and already used in the OT (Isa 48:21; Psa 81:17; 114:8).

A. S. van der Woude

## צִיּוֹן *šiyyôn* **Zion**

S 6726; BDB 851a; *HALOT* 3:1022a; *ThWAT* 6:994–1028; *TWOT* 1910; *NIDOTTE* 7482

## הַר *har* **mountain**

S 2022; BDB 249a; *HALOT* 1:254a; *TDOT* 3:427–47; *TWOT* 517a; *NIDOTTE* 2215

1. The OT always uses *šiyyôn* anarthrously, indicating that the term is a proper name. The etymology is uncertain; as with other place-names, it

may be a formation with an affirmative *\*-ān* (cf. BL 500; Meyer 2:37); cf. e.g., *ᶜqqrôn*; these names often describe the characteristics of the place. *ṣiyyôn* could, then, contain the root *\*ṣyy* “to be dry.” G. Fohrer (*TDNT* 7:292–95 [bibliog.]) treats the etymology more extensively.

2. The name occurs a total of 154x in the OT in a very irregular distribution: Isa 47x, Psa 38x, Jer 17x, Lam 15x, Mic 9x, Zech 8x, Joel 7x, further 2 Sam 5:7 = 1 Chron 11:5; 1 Kgs 8:1 = 2 Chron 5:2; 2 Kgs 19:21, 31; Amos 1:2; 6:1; Obad 17, 21; Zeph 3:14, 16; Song Sol 3:11. It does not occur at all in Gen–1 Sam, Ezek, Hos, Jonah, Nah, Hab, Hag, Mal, Job, Prov, Ruth, Dan, Ezra, and Neh.

The phrase *bat ṣiyyôn* is rather common; it involves the personification of the place (26x), as does the form *b<sup>ct</sup>ûlat bat-ṣiyyôn* “virgin daughter Zion” (Isa 37:22 = 2 Kgs 19:21; Lam 2:13); for the gen. relationship present here, see GKC §128k.

*harṣiyyôn* “Mount Zion” (or pl., Psa 133:3) occurs 20x, a characterization of the topography of the place.

A comparison with occurrences of the name Jerusalem highlights the concentration of Zion in Isa, Psa, and Lam, and the diminishment in Jer and esp. in Ezek. *y<sup>ct</sup>rûšālēm* is attested 643x in the Hebr. OT, together with Aram. *y<sup>ct</sup>rûš<sup>ct</sup>lem* 26x, for a total of 669x (2 Chron 127x, Jer 107x [Lis. overlooks the duplication in Jer 38:28], 2 Kgs 63x, Isa 49x, Ezra 48x, Zech 41x, Neh 38x, 2 Sam 30x, 1 Kgs 29x, Ezek 26x, 1 Chron 24x, Psa 17x, Dan 10x, Josh 9x, Mic and Song Sol 8x each, Lam 7x, Joel 6x, Judg and Eccl 5x each, Zeph 4x, Amos, Obad, and Mal 2x each, 1 Sam and Esth 1x each). Jerusalem does not occur in Gen–Deut, Hos, Jonah, Nah, Hab, Hag, Prov, and Ruth.\*

3. (a) The oldest localization of the name Zion occurs in 2 Sam 5:7 (= 1 Chron 11:5). Here the old Jebusite city is described as *m<sup>ct</sup>ṣūdat ṣiyyôn* “Fortress Zion.” The phrase is elucidated by → *ᶜr dāwīd* “city of David” (the same equation of Zion and “city of David” occurs in 1 Kgs 8:1 = 2 Chron 5:2, the report that the ark has been brought thence into the newly constructed temple).

The location of this “Fortress Zion” is clear today: it is the southern end of the eastern hill of Jerusalem. The entire ridge was apparently called Zion; a somewhat more elevated place must have born the name Ophel (probably not what was later the temple mount). Solomon constructed the temple to the north of “Fortress Zion” on the highest elevation of the ridge and enclosed the area between the old city and the temple into the settlement. This old city retained the name “city of David” (a total of 44x in the OT), which is often mentioned as the locus of the royal burial sites, etc.; cf. the map in *BHH* 2:831f. Regarding the archeology of old Jerusalem, see K. Kenyon, *Jerusalem* (1967), esp. 19ff.; id., *Digging up Jerusalem*

(1974), 76ff.

(b) It is notable that except for the instances just mentioned, the name Zion occurs in the OT only in texts that are cultically shaped.

In many passages Zion indicates simply the city Jerusalem; accordingly, the two names are often par. (e.g., Isa 2:3; 4:3; 30:19; *bat šiyyôn* also occurs alongside *bat y<sup>ʿ</sup>rûšālēm* 2 Kgs 19:21; Isa 52:2; Lam 2:13; *har bat šiyyôn* alongside *gib<sup>ʿ</sup>at y<sup>ʿ</sup>rûšālēm* Isa 10:32 Q). In Psa 76:3 *šālēm*, a variant of the city name Jerusalem, parallels *šiyyôn*. In all, over 30 passages mention Zion in some association with Jerusalem.

Judah (or the cities of Judah) is occasionally mentioned with Zion (Jer 14:19; Psa 69:36), so that the place is seen as the political center of the southern kingdom. Combination with the name Israel is also attested (Zeph 3:14). When “daughter Zion” and “daughter Edom” are juxtaposed, they are also envisioned as political entities (Lam 4:22).

Amos 6:1 is disputed. The prophet polemicizes against those “confident on Zion and carefree on Mount Samaria.” One may safely assume that Amos addresses this word only to the city of Samaria. Has “Zion” become a technical term for a capital city located on a mountain (Fohrer, op. cit. 295)? Such a usage would be very peculiar. The most likely assumption is a late gloss that sought to apply Amos’s word to Jerusalem too (so Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 269f.; cf. also, however, the other solution by Weiser, *ATD* 24 [19675], 175).

(c) In particular, however, Zion designates Jerusalem as the city of Yahweh and his dwelling, the temple. *har haqqōdeš* parallels Zion (Psa 2:6 “my holy mountain”; 110:2, etc.), probably in reference to the temple mount (cf. Mic 3:12 = Jer 26:18: here Zion, Jerusalem, and *har habbayit* “the temple mount” are par.; Isa 2:2 = Mic 4:1 *har b<sup>t</sup>-yhwh*).

The subst. *har* “mount, mountain” is used 558x in the OT (excl. Judg 1:35 in the place-name *har-heres*; Isa 57x, Psa 54x, Deut 53x, Josh 52x, Exod 48x, Ezek 47x, Judg 34x, Num 27x, Gen and Jer 21x; Bibl. Aram. *tûr* “mountain,” Dan 2:35, 45). A. Schwarzenbach (*Die geographische Terminologie im hebräischen des AT* [1954], 6–9) offers an extensive treatment of the word field of *har*; on the religiohistorical significance of mountains in the OT and its environs, see e.g., W. Foerster, “ὄρος,” *TDNT* 5:475–87.\*

The phrase *har hā<sup>ʿ</sup>lōhîm* in Exod 3:1; 4:27; 18:5; 24:13; 1 Kgs 19:8 refers to the “mountain of God” of the Sinai-Horeb tradition, as does *har yhwh* in Num 10:33, while *har yhwh* in Isa 2:3 = Mic 4:2; Isa 30:29; Zech 8:3; and Psa 24:3 indicates Zion (2 Sam 21:6 txt em: at Gibeon). By contrast, in Ezek 28:14, 16 *har (qōdeš) <sup>ʿ</sup>lōhîm* refers to the mythical mountain of the gods in the north (cf. Isa 14:13, *har mō<sup>ʿ</sup>ēd* “mountain of

assembly [of the assembly of the gods]“; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:92f.), which Psa 68:16 also mentions (localized on Tabor? cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:49–51, 53). In Psa 36:7 (and 50:10 txt em) *har<sup>a</sup>re<sup>l</sup> ʿēl* “mountains of God” is a type of “superlative form” (Kraus, op. cit. 1:487; → *ʿēl* III/4). The reverse cs. phrase *ʿēlōhē hārîm* “God of the mountains” (or “gods of the mountains”) occurs in contrast to “God of the plains” in 1 Kgs 20:23, 28 on the lips of the Syrian enemies; the section seeks to testify that Yahweh is mighty everywhere, not just in mountainous terrain.

“Zion” in the OT refers, then, above all to the city of Jerusalem in its political and historical existence, particularly in the realm of cultic language and thus religious thought: it is concerned with the city of Yahweh. Zion is the place where Yahweh dwells or at least may be reached—hence, in the first instance, the temple site.

4. (a) The name Zion apparently already acquired a theological quality from the beginning of Israelite dominion over Jerusalem.

It is highly likely that David captured Jebusite Jerusalem with cunning and did not do it substantial damage; “Fortress Zion” remained intact and became the “city of David” (cf. H. J. Stoebe, *ZDPV* 73 [1957]: 73–99). But the inhabitants of the city also continued to dwell there; one of their number even became a priest under David (Zadok; cf. H. H. Rowley, *JBL* 58 [1939]: 113–41; id., FS Bertholet 461–72; additional bibliog. in K. Koch, *BHH* 3:2200). According to Psa 110, which applies Jebusite royal ideology explicitly to the Israelite king of Jerusalem, Yahweh guarantees the dominion of the king from Zion over the antagonistic foreign nations that threaten the kingdom (v 2).

(b) In what manner is Zion characterized in the conceptual world of the Jerusalem cult?

First of all, Zion is Yahweh’s dwelling and throne (with the verb *škn*, Isa 8:18; Psa 74:2; cf. 135:21; with *yšb*, Psa 9:12; cf. 132:13; Psa 146:10; both verbs and their derivatives also occur in the cultic terminology of Can. Ugarit; cf. W. H. Schmidt, *ZAW* 75 [1963]: 91f.; id., *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel* [1966], 70n.6 and 82n.8). Psa 76:3 discusses Yahweh’s dwelling (*sōk* and *māʿōn*) on Zion (see F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem* [1970], 213).

Zion is an object of Yahweh’s election (Psa 132:13; cf. 78:68). It is disputed whether this notion was already a component of the tradition in the pre-Israelite period, or it involves a typical ancient Israelite reinterpretation, or only a late Deuteronomizing concept (cf. → *bhr* IV/2d; E. Rohland, *Die Bedeutung der Erwählungstraditionen Israels für die Eschatologie der atl. Propheten* [1956], 145ff.; Kraus, op. cit. 2:475ff.; Fohrer, op. cit. 309f.). At any rate, this notion is the origin of the Dtr theology of Jerusalem’s election. It avoids the name Zion, however.

Zion is the locus of Yahweh's beneficial activity (in association with terms like *š<sup>c</sup>dāqâ* Isa 1:27; *tôrâ* 2:3, etc.). This circumstance becomes particularly apparent in his appearance described with nuances of a storm theophany (Isa 31:9; Amos 1:2; Psa 50:2).

Yahweh's aid for his people is linked with the theophany. This statement has dual significance: first, Yahweh offers help from Zion (Psa 14:7; 20:3), so God's dwelling place is in the field of view; second, Yahweh's help applies to Zion (69:36). On the one hand assistance is available to the king in his battle with the hostile foreign nations (Psa 2:6; 110:2; as a motif in intercession for the king, 20:3), yet the king is not necessarily mentioned in discussion of Yahweh's triumph over the nations (48:3ff.; 76:3ff.; 99:2; also without reference to Zion, 46:6ff.; Isa 17:12ff.). On the other hand the peaceful pilgrimage of the nations for Yahweh's instruction on Zion can also be discussed (Isa 2:2ff.).

The individual also expects Yahweh's help from Zion (Psa 9:15). Finally, Yahweh's blessing goes forth from Zion into the land (128:5; 134:3).

Zion as dwelling place and throne has specific qualities. It constitutes the peak of Zaphon (the famed mountain of God at Ugarit in northern Syria; cf. Psa 48:3), resulting in claims concerning its towering height (cf. Isa 2:2; Psa 78:68). It is the quintessence of beauty and the center of the world (Psa 48:3; 50:2; cf. S. Terrien, *VT* 20 [1970]: 315–38). Yahweh created Zion (with *kûn* po., Psa 87:5; with → *ysd*, Isa 14:32; 28:16, which discusses the fact that Jerusalem is the site of the "cornerstone" of the foundation, which has particular significance for the structure of creation; cf. Job 38:6); consequently it does not waver (Psa 125:1). Indeed, one should understand the creation of Zion and of the world as one process; the verbs cited are used for both events and, again, stem from Can. cultic vocabulary (Stolz, op. cit. 171ff.).

The notion that the "world mountain," the central locus of the cosmos, is a component of the temple is not, once again, specifically Israelite. Monarchy, temple, creation, world mountain, and triumph against the enemies are also elements of the same conceptual complex in Mesopotamia; cf. Stolz, op. cit. 78ff., 109ff.

Israel worships Yahweh on Zion. Here the nation can see God's deeds (Psa 84:8). Here Yahweh receives Israel's praise (65:2; 97:8; 147:12). Psa 132 and 48:13 probably discuss a procession to Zion.

Other texts speak more clearly of such a procession without using the name Zion. Many hypotheses endeavor to clarify the underlying festival event. Does it involve a festival of Yahweh's enthronement, comparable to several other ancient Near Eastern New Year's festivals (the foundational work is S. Mowinckel, *Psalmstudien* 2 [1922]; also F. Stolz, *Jahwes und*

*Israels Kriege* [1972], 38ff.)? At any rate, Yahweh's royal title is associated with the name Zion (Jer 8:19). Does it involve a "royal Zion festival" centered primarily on the specifically Israelite themes of the election of Zion and the Davidic dynasty (H.-J. Kraus, *Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im AT* [1951], 27ff.)? Many exegetes energetically reject such hypotheses; cf. e.g., E. Kutsch, "Das Herbstfest in Israel" (diss., Mainz, 1955).

The antiquity and significance of the so-called Zion tradition is also otherwise highly disputed. The question of the origin of the theme "battle against the foreign nations at Zion" is particularly controversial. Does this theme stem from the pre-exilic Jerusalem cultic tradition? Or is it attributable to a theology of war that came to Jerusalem with the ark? Yet only Psa 132 directly relates the ark to Zion theology. Did the deliverance of Jerusalem from the enemies ca. 701 produce these statements? On that occasion, however, it did not even come to military conflict. For the details, cf. esp. Rohland, op. cit. 119ff.; G. Wanke, *Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten* (1966), esp. 70ff.; H. J. Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker* (1968; bibliog.); Stolz, op. cit. esp. 72ff.; J. Jeremias, "Lade und Zion," FS von Rad (1971), 183–98. Regarding the entire tradition complex, cf. also J. Schreiner, *Sion-Jerusalem: Jahwes Königssitz* (1963); von Rad, *Theol.* 2:155ff.

The following discussion presupposes that all the themes mentioned belonged to the Jerusalem cult tradition from the outset.

(c) The prophets adapt the Zion tradition in various ways. Isaiah has a positive relationship with it at first; he understands his appearance as a commission of the God dwelling on Zion (8:18) and promises the city Yahweh's protection (14:32). Yet this protective relationship is not valid if the Jerusalemites do not conduct themselves in accord with Yahweh's will and action; that Yahweh enacts his order will bring the city to judgment (1:27). The pressing enemy becomes an instrument of judgment in Yahweh's hand (10:32ff.). Indeed, Isaiah maintains that Zion is Yahweh's most original creative product, but this order of creation becomes the fall of those who do not orient themselves in relation to it (28:16ff.). At the end of his activity Isaiah declares that Yahweh nearly abandoned Zion and left it to complete destruction (1:8f.). The authenticity of 2:2–5 is contested. Does Isaiah make Zion ideology the theme of his hope for the future in this manner? Cf. e.g., Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 81–96; contra Fohrer, *Jesaja*, ZBK, 1:50–54; and Kaiser, *Isa 1–12*, OTL (1982), 49–56.

By contrast, Micah, a prophet from the Judean countryside, has an unambiguously negative relationship to the Zion tradition. Zion and Jerusalem were built with blood and injustice (3:10—hence Yahweh did *not* create Zion); accordingly, the city shall be completely destroyed and depopulated (3:12; the word left a deep impression on Israel; see the quotation in Jer 26:18). Further announcements of judgment occur in Mic

4:10 (the second half of the verse is secondary), probably also in 1:16 (the name Zion should probably be supplied here and deleted in 1:13; cf. K. Elliger, *ZDPV* 57 [1934]: 95f., 98f. = *KS zum AT* [1966], 20f., 24).

For Hosea, the northern prophet, Zion naturally plays no role; the authenticity of Amos 1:2 is disputed (cf. Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 121f.; Rudolph, *KAT* 13/2, 117f.).

Jeremiah speaks once again of judgment against Zion: the attacking nations are thus seen as executors of Yahweh's malevolence (4:6, 31; 6:2, 23; 9:18). The prophet reflects on the fate of the city in his complaint (14:19).

(d) The Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem in 587 authenticated the threats of judgment against Zion. Now lamentation over the destroyed Zion is voiced (Lam 1:6, 17; 2:1, 4, 6, 8, 10, 13, 18; 4:11, 22; 5:11, 18; Isa 64:9; regarding the passages in Lam, cf. B. Albrektson, *Studies in the Text and Theology of the Book of Lamentations* [1963], 214ff.). Yet hope for Yahweh's initiative to rebuild (Psa 51:20; 102:14, 17, 22) and to deliver generally (126:1) is soon awakened.

In exile, one sang the old songs of Zion in the face of the enemy's mockery (137:1) and expected Yahweh's vengeance for Bab. misdeeds against his sanctuary (Jer 50:28; 51:10, 24).

The message of Deutero-Isaiah appeared in this situation. Salvation is promised to Zion: Yahweh returns and he resumes his royal dominion (Isa 40:9; 41:27; 46:13; 51:11, 16; 52:7f.). Zion's lament will be finally quieted by Yahweh's effective response; salvation dawns, the exiles return (49:14ff.). The majesty of Zion will transcend all categories of experience and assume aspects of paradise (51:3).

Notably, Ezekiel, the other great exilic theologian—like Deut, and for the most part, Deuteronomisticism—does not use the term "Zion," although he consistently uses elements of the Zion tradition (regarding Ezek, see Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:41; Deut treats the election of Jerusalem in particular). Is "Zion" too political a term here?

(e) In the post-exilic era, the hope for Zion newly awakened by Deutero-Isaiah becomes definitive in some circles. One speaks once again of Yahweh dwelling on Zion (Zeph 3:14ff.; Zech 2:14; 8:2f.). One still awaits the return of the exiles (Mic 4:7; Isa 35:10; 60:14; Jer 3:14; 31:12, etc.). Yahweh will impose his kingdom with might (Mic 4:7; Isa 24:23); the king he anoints will succeed with wondrous non-violence (Zech 9:9). On the one hand the judgment on enemy nations will be carried out on Zion (Mic 4:11–13; Zeph 3:14–16; Zech 1:14ff.; 9:13); on the other hand one expects the arrival of the subdued, compliant nations (Isa 18:7; cf. Isa 60) that submit to Yahweh's dominion. The sinners in one's own ranks will be destroyed (33:14). Zion will then have significance as a sanctuary for the northern kingdom too (Jer 31:6). The old themes become rather universal elements

of future hopes here, too—as in Deutero-Isa. Circumstances after the reconstruction of the city and the temple apparently did not permit the empirical realization of the concepts linked with the Zion idea.

It is also remarkable that the term “Zion” does not occur in P or in the Chr’s history, excluding the Chr’s citations of older sources. This absence could again result from the political value of the name.

5. Post-exilic hopes remain alive to a degree in post-OT Judaism, but they play no decisive role in the NT—with the possible exception of Rev. Cf. G. Fohrer and E. Lohse, “Σιὼν,” *TDNT* 7:292–338.

F. Stolz

### חָלַץ *šlh* to succeed

S 6743; BDB 852a; *HALOT* 3:1025b; *ThWAT* 6:1042–46; *TWOT* 1917; *NIDOTTE* 7503

1. The root *šlh*, whose unity and semantic development is disputed, finds a few equivalents in SSem. and NWSem. that offer insights into the Hebr. (Arab. *šlh* “to be good, . . . in order; . . . to be well, thrive,” Wehr 521b; Old SArab. *šlh* “to prosper,” Conti Rossini 224b; Phoen. only in PNs; see Benz 400; Imp. Aram. *šlh* pa. in Aḥ. 125; see below; Bibl. Aram. *šlh* ha. “to cause to prosper, make progress,” KBL 1116; in later Aram. “to divide” as well as “to have success”; cf. the lexicons and J. Blau, *VT* 7 [1957]: 100f.; E. Puech, “Sur la racine ‘*šlh*’ en hébreu et en araméen,” *Semit* 21 [1971]: 5–19). While BDB 852 distinguishes between the roots *šlh* I “to penetrate, advance” and *šlh* II “to be in a good condition, prosper” (cf. *LS* 629f.; *KBSuppl.* 182), a unified semantic development “to force in” > “to penetrate” > “to succeed” is currently accepted (as already by e.g., GB 683; Zorell 691f.; more recently, Blau, op. cit.; Puech, op. cit., omitting the late meaning “to divide,” which GB 683a considers original).

Blau (following GB 683b, etc., and with reference to the Vers.) assumes a distinct root *šlh* “to burn” for Amos 5:6 (followed by Rudolph, *KAT* 13/2, 189). This one, textually difficult passage is hardly sufficient, however, to establish such a root in Hebr., esp. since Syr. *šrh* “to burn” and Akk. *šclū* “to burn” adduced here are not phonetically similar and the Vers. could have translated freely on the basis of *kāʾēš*. Puech (op. cit. 8–12) who includes Sir 8:10 in his treatment of the passage, proceeds from the basic meaning “to penetrate” for *šlh*, which can assume the meaning “to ignite” in contexts that discuss fire. The same meaning also applies then to Aram. *šlh* pa. in Aḥ. 125, which was previously translated “to cut, divide” (Cowley 224; *DISO* 245); cf. Puech, op.

cit. 12ff.; and P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d’Égypte* (1972), 440: “a person ignites some logs in the darkness without being seen.”

The root occurs in the OT only as a verb (Hebr. qal and hi., Aram. ha.); it does not occur as a component of proper names.

2. The Hebr. verb occurs a total of 65x, 25x in the qal (1 Sam, Jer, and Ezek 5x each, Judg 3x) and 40x in the hi. (2 Chron 10x, Gen 7x); Aram. *šlh* ha. occurs 4x (Dan 3:30; 6:29; Ezra 5:8; 6:14).

The qal focuses on the concrete meaning “to penetrate into,” etc., in Judg and 1 Sam (with subj. *rûah*: Judg 14:6, 19; 15:14; 1 Sam 10:6, 10; 11:6; 16:13; 18:10; cf. also 2 Sam 19:18; Amos 5:6; see 1) but on the fig. meaning “to succeed, have success” in the prophets (Isa 53:10; 54:17; Jer 12:1; 13:7, 10; 22:30, 30; Ezek 15:4; 16:13; 17:9f., 15; also Psa 45:5 in an uncertain text, and Num 14:41 and Dan 11:27). The hi. is concentrated in Gen (7x in 24:21, 40, 42, 56; also in 39:2f., 23), in Dan (4x, as well as 2x Aram.), and in the Chr history (15x, and 2x Aram.).

3. With its relatively limited occurrence, the verb exhibits a somewhat wide-reaching usage that is not easily classified. The fig. sense “to succeed” (b) dominates. Particularly problematic is the concrete usage (a), at least in a few passages. Yet the concrete usage itself seems to be an appropriate starting point for the semasiological explanation of the word. Its appearance in phrases involving → *derek* “way” is also informative here. The uniformity of the word may thus be understood despite its broad usage.

(a) Concretely, in the qal the verb can be used trans. of crossing the Jordan (2 Sam 19:18 txt?; Puech, op. cit. 6–8: “to penetrate into” in order to transport the royal family across) and intrans. of the prophetic-charismatic coming of the Spirit of Yahweh/God “over” (ca. Judg 14:6, 19; 15:14; 1 Sam 10:6, 10 with *nb* hitp.; 11:6) or “to” a person (ca. 1 Sam 16:13 of the charismatic preparation of King David; by contrast, 18:10, of an evil spirit sent by God to Saul). Both cases describe the subj.’s movement forward or toward a goal (cf. Blau, op. cit. 100n.4, against the assumption in KBL 803b that *šlh* signifies “to be fit, strong, effective”; similarly Puech, op. cit. 6: “to penetrate”; cf. Gen 41:38).

The same concept seems to shine through in uses of the causative hi. to state that God causes someone’s “way” (*derek*) on a journey to “progress,” “reach the goal,” i.e., “succeed” (Gen 24:21, 40, 42, 56; Judg 18:5). One can also be the agent of the success of one’s own way (Deut 28:29, *derek* in the proper sense; Josh 1:8 and Psa 37:7 fig. of “intention” or “conduct”); either God (with text em; cf. *BHS*) or the way itself (with an intrans. *šlh* hi. “to succeed”) is the subj. in Isa 48:15; in the latter case, the qal is normally used with *derek* (Jer 12:1, “Why does the way of the

evildoer progress well/succeed?”).

(b) The fig. meaning “to have success, succeed” occurs in the qal 15x (for texts, see 2), and in the intrans. hi. 25x (regularly in Dan and 1/2 Chron; also Aram. in Dan 6:29; Ezra 5:8; 6:14); apart from the passages with the obj. *derek* mentioned, the causative hi. in the meaning “to cause someone to succeed” occurs 6x (Gen 39:3, 23; Psa 118:25; Neh 1:11; 2:20; 2 Chron 26:5; also Aram. Dan 3:30).

An expanded use in relation to things occurs occasionally, as of a tree that grows (Ezek 17:9f. qal; Psa 1:3 hi.), negatively of the missing effects of a weapon (Isa 54:17 qal), and of a loincloth spoiled and thus “no longer useful” as a symbol for the ruined people that will be without “success” (Jer 13:7, 10 qal). In most cases, it concerns people or their intentions; notably, these statements often have a theological reference. Thus the successful progress of an intention, e.g., a military campaign (1 Kgs 22:12, 15 = 2 Chron 18:11, 14; negated Jer 32:5; cf. Isa 48:15; Dan 8:12, 24, all hi.), a construction project (hi.: 1 Chron 22:11; 2 Chron 7:11; 14:6; Aram. ha.: Ezra 5:8; 6:14), or even a person’s activity in general (Psa 1:3 hi. “and everything that one does succeeds”; similarly, 2 Chron 7:11; 31:21; 32:30; also 1 Chron 29:23; 2 Chron 26:5; cf. the *le* of the person in Neh 1:11; 2:20) can be based on God’s presence or assistance or depend on his equipping the person (see 4). In addition to this indirect effect of God, his direct causation of success can be asserted (passages with causative hi.; see above); his “will” (*ḥēpeš* Isa 53:10) and his issued “word” (Isa 55:11) can effectively “progress,” “reach the goal” (see 4). As with the “way” concept, however, one can also more or less effect one’s own success, either in dependence on God through personal piety and faithfulness to the law (cf. Josh 1:8; 1 Chron 22:13; 2 Chron 31:21; also Num 14:41 qal and 2 Chron 24:20) or through the wisdom produced by God’s law (Psa 1:3), but also in opposition to God (cf. Jer 22:30 qal; Ezek 17:15 qal; also 2 Chron 13:12; 24:20), as is esp. the case with evildoers (Jer 12:1 qal; 37:7 hi.; cf. Psa 1:4; also Prov 28:13 hi.) and figures opposed to God in Dan (cf. Dan 8:12, 24f.; 11:36). Conversely, Israel had pious “fortunate ones” for whom “everything succeeded” because God was “with them” (Joseph was *ʾiš mašlîaḥ*, Gen 39:2; further, Solomon, 1 Chron 29:23, and Hezekiah, 2 Chron 32:30, in reference to their reigns).

\*(c) The word field of success also includes the verbs *kšr* qal “to be right, succeed” (Eccl 11:6; Esth 8:5, verbal adj. *kāšēr* “right”; hi. Eccl 10:10 txt?; also *kišrôn* “success,” 2:21; 4:4; “gain,” 5:10; probably an Aramism; cf. Wagner nos. 139f.) and → *skl* qal “to have success” (1 Sam 18:30), hi. “to have results, success” (Deut 29:8; Josh 1:7f.; 1 Sam 18:5, 14f.; 1 Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 18:7; Isa 52:13; Jer 10:21; Prov 17:8), in addition to its other meaning “to have understanding, insight, act cleverly” and “to make clever”

(Psa 32:8; Prov 16:23; 21:11; Dan 9:22; Neh 9:20; 1 Chron 28:19); *śkl* hi. is (according to Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 258) “one of the Hebrew verbs which denote both an action and its results. This wider meaning enshrines the lesson taught by experience, that prudence in action leads to success.”

A similar vacillation between the meanings “cunning, prudence” and “results, success” is exhibited by the subst. *tûššîyâ*, etymologically uncertain (now usually associated with *yēš* “to be present,” following H. Bauer, *ZAW* 48 [1930]: 77; contra BL 496; cf. Horst, BK 16/1, 84: “that ‘which is at hand’ would be, on one hand, that which ‘is available’ in terms of power, ability, and cunning, as, on the other, that which ‘becomes available’ in terms of success and result”) and variously rendered in the Vers. (cf. the list in Hölscher, HAT 17, 20), which is a component of wisdom language (12x, excl. Mic 6:9 and Job 30:22 Q for textual reasons). The meaning “cunning, prudence,” etc. seems appropriate in Prov 3:21 (par. *mezimma*® “discretion”); 18:1 (contra Gemser, HAT 16, 24, 74: “power”); and Job 11:6 (cf. Horst, BK 14/1, 163, 168); the meaning “success, results” in the other passages (Isa 28:29 with *ēšâ* “advice,” → *yš* 4a; Prov 2:7; 8:14; Job 5:12; 6:13; 12:16; 26:3; cf. Sir 38:8; on the entire issue cf. e.g., K. J. Grimm, *JAOS* 22 [1901]: 35–44; J. F. Genung, *JBL* 30 [1911]: 114–22; *ILC* 1–2:517f.; G. Kuhn, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des salomonischen Spruchbuches* [1931], 3f.; Zorell 894a; Fohrer, KAT 16, 133; G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* [1972], 79n.8).

4. As has already become apparent from the general semasiological overview, the OT use of the verb *šlh* bears a marked theological imprint in the vast majority of its occurrences. It may be generally and somewhat unproblematically stated then that “success” comes—directly or indirectly—from God, in particular when God is “with” someone (*ʔet*. Gen 24:40; 39:2f., 23; → *im*. 1 Chron 22:11), an expression of God’s blessing (cf. H. D. Preuss, *ZAW* 80 [1968]: 139–73; D. Vetter, *Jahwes Mit-Sein—ein Ausdruck des Segens* [1971]; C. Westermann, *Blessing in the Bible and the Life of the Church* [1978], 8ff.). Yet “success” is also associated with God’s saving acts (Psa 118:25 “let there be success” alongside the prayer “deliver now”; cf. Jer 2:37; also 1 Kgs 22:12, 15 = 2 Chron 18:11, 14) and mercy (Prov 28:13, forgiveness of sins). In contrast to the certainty that God’s Spirit (see 3a) and word (Isa 55:11) are successful according to God’s will and thus are expressions of God’s sovereign reign, the “success” of evildoers is a serious problem (cf. Jer 12:1), concerning which one can encourage patience (Psa 37:7) or warn against disobedience to God’s commandment (Num 14:41; esp. 2 Chron 13:12; 24:20 and 20:20 “thus it will go well for you” par. “thus will you abide” with *ʔmn* ni.; cf. Isa 7:9), while a close relationship between deed and consequence is accepted (see e.g.,

2 Chron 24:20; 26:5; see 3c; cf. K. Koch, “Is There a Doctrine of Retribution in the OT?” *Theodicy in the OT*, ed. J. Crenshaw [1983], 58–87; von Rad, *Wisdom* 128ff.).

5. *šlh* occurs only twice in the fig. sense in the extrabibl. literature available from Qumran (1Q27 1:2.5; CD 13:21). The LXX translates the verb over 40x with *euodoun* and derivatives; see W. Michaelis, “εὐοδόω,” *TDNT* 5:109–14.

M. Sæbø

## שֵׁלֶם *šelem* image

S 6754; BDB 853b; *HALOT* 3:1028a; *ThWAT* 6:1046–55; *TWOT* 1923a; *NIDOTTE* 7512

1. Substs. related to Hebr. *šelem* may occur in Ug. (*PRU* 2, no. 2.59) and Phoen. (*CIS* 1:34 = *RES* 1533; according to A. van den Branden, *FS Rinaldi* 69, also in *CIS* 1:88.5), but certainly in Akk. (*šalmu* “statue, relief, drawing, constellation, cultic figure, physical form,” fig. “image”; cf. *CAD* S:78–85) and Aram. (7th-cent. burial steles from Nerab with relief depictions, *KAI* no. 225.3, 6, 12; no. 226.2 “this is his image”; Bibl. Aram. in Dan 2–3 “statue”; Dan 3:19 *š'elem* *ʿanpôhî* “his facial expression”; cf. 1QapGen 20:2; also in Nab., Palm., Syr., etc.; cf. *KBL* 1116b; *DISO* 245; *LS* 630a); Arab. *šanam* “idol, graven image” is an Aram. loanword (Fraenkel 273); cf. also Old SArab. *šlm* “statue” (Conti Rossini 224b).

Derivation from *šēl* “shadow” (e.g., by W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift* [19672], 133n.1; cf. P. Bordreuil, *RHPR* 46 [1966]: 368–91) is untenable (see the fundamental misgivings of F. Rosenthal, *Or* NS 8 [1939]: 148–50, concerning the original biliterality of the Sem. languages, suggested once again and applied to this example by A. S. Marmardji). In reality, the word should be derived from a Sem. (but not identifiable in Hebr.) root *šlm* (Arab. *šlm* “to cut off, hew, cut, carve,” so Th. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 40 [1886]: 733f.; id., *ZAW* 17 [1897]: 186f.). But F. Delitzsch wanted to associate *šelem* with Akk. *šalāmu* / Arab. *zalima* “to become black, be dark” (*Prolegomena eines neuen hebräisch-aramäischen Wörterbuchs zum AT* [1886], 140n.4; contra e.g., J. Cantineau, *Syria* 14 [1933]: 171n.2), while P. Humbert (*Études sur le récit du paradis et de la chute dans la Genèse* [1940], 156) wanted to accept this etymology at least for the two occurrences of *šelem* in the Psa (Psa 39:7; 73:20; see also *KBL* 804b and Suppl. 133b). Yet separation into two roots is not likely, and the consistent derivation from *šlm* “to cut off” is illuminating, esp. because Akk. *šalmu* clearly means “statue.”

2. *šelem* occurs 17x in the Hebr. OT (Gen 5x, 1 Sam and Ezek 3x each, Psa 2x, 1x each in Num 33:52; 2 Kgs 11:18 = 2 Chron 23:17; Amos 5:26). Bibl. Aram. also has 17 occurrences in Dan 2:31f., 34f.; 3:1–19. The oldest texts are in the ark narrative (1 Sam 6:5[bis], 11); all others may be exilic and post-exilic.

3. On the basis of Akk. and the root meaning of *šlm*, one easily arrives at the meaning “statue,” for *šelem*. According to 2 Kgs 11:18 = 2 Chron 23:17, altars and *š<sup>l</sup>āmîm*, which must mean “statues of the gods,” were destroyed in Baal’s temple in Jerusalem. One must understand *šalmê tō<sup>c</sup>bōtām* (manufactured of silver and gold) in Ezek 7:20 as “their abominable idols/images.” The *šalmê massēkôt* of Num 33:52 must also involve “idols/images,” although in this case not sculptures but castings. Thus the basic meaning of the verbal root *šlm* was no longer perceived. Unfortunately, the text of the probably secondary passage, Amos 5:26, is rather uncertain; the reference may be to images of the Bab. deities Kawan (*kayawānu*) and Sakkuth. Remarkably, however, the word can indeed be used occasionally for idols/graven images but did not become a proper designation for them (cf. → *t<sup>r</sup>āpîm* and the terms cited under → *š<sup>l</sup>l* 4 as the final group of synonyms for “idol”). Even farther removed from the presumed basic meaning is Ezek 23:14, which mentions *šalmê kaśdîm* “images of the Chaldeans,” figures whose outlines are etched on a wall the surfaces of which may have been filled in with red lead. One is even more unsure of the precise connotation of *šalmê zākār* “images of a man” in Ezek 16:17; these are also manufactured of silver and gold and with them Jerusalem has “played the whore.” Some exegetes do not see this as a reference to idols/images or statues (so e.g., Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:344) but to phallic symbols (so e.g., Fohrer, HAT 13, 89). In 1 Sam 6:5, 11 the *š<sup>l</sup>āmîm* are “images” of the boils and mice that ravage the land of the Philistines, naturally resembling the prototypes. These boils and mice were dispatched with the misfortune-bringing ark out of the land. The magical understanding of images may still be clearly perceived: by removing the images one hopes to rid oneself of the matter itself. The description of these contributions to the ark as atonement offerings (*šāšām*) in vv 3f. is without doubt a secondary theological interpretation. The “mice” may be symbols for the “boils,” but two different plagues may be seen as one. *šelem* is thus more than “image” in our understanding: in it, that which is depicted is itself present; by controlling the image one can exercise power over the original. One must undoubtedly account for the aftereffects of this magical worldview in any discussion of a *šelem*.

The two Psa passages (Psa 39:7; 73:20) stand alone. In both cases *šelem* describes the futility of the human being. “A human being only goes

about like a *šelem*” (39:7, par. → *hebel* “breath”; NRSV translates “shadow,” which is not poorly suited to the sense, although a relationship to *šēl* was rejected above [1]). The text of 73:20 is uncertain; *šelem* seems to be used in a comparison of human life with a fleeting dream apparition. A word that means “image” could obviously be used at the end of a long semantic development to indicate a person’s insubstantiality. Yet *šelem* is thus far removed from the original understanding of an image, and it becomes apparent that remarkable flexibility characterizes the term.

Par. terms (beside → *hebel* in Psa 39:7, already mentioned) include: *d<sup>e</sup>mût* “likeness, image” (Gen 1:26; 5:3; → *dmh* ) and *mškt* “image, figure” (Num 33:52; from *škh* “to watch,” Psa 35:12 cj.). Additional semantically related terms for “figure” are: *qešeb* (1 Kgs 6:25; 7:37; in Jonah 2:7, “foundation”; with a basic meaning similar to *šlm/šelem*: cf. *qšb* qal “to cut off,” 2 Kgs 6:6; “to shear,” Song Sol 4:2), *t<sup>e</sup>mûnâ* (Exod 20:4 = Deut 5:8; Num 12:8; Deut 4:12, 15f., 23, 25; Psa 17:15; Job 4:16), and *tô<sup>ʿ</sup>ar* (15x; e.g., Gen 29:17, in the esthetic sense).

4. In addition to the passages already treated in which *šelem* means idol/image, the Gen passages (3x in 1:26f.; 5:3; 9:6) in which P uses the word are theologically relevant (for the history of research, cf. J. J. Stamm, “Die Imago-Lehre von Karl Barth und die atl. Wissenschaft,” *Antwort: FS zum 70. Geburtstag von Karl Barth* [1956], 84–98; id., “Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen im AT,” *TS* 54 [1959]; H. Wildberger, “Das Abbild Gottes,” *TZ* 21 [1965]: 245–59, 481–501; O. Loretz, *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen* [1967]; Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:147–55; these works cite the most important literature on the “divine image”). Gen 1:26f. testifies that God created humanity in his *šelem*. The passage is unique in the OT, if one disregards echoes in Gen 5 and 9, but, as the basis for the church’s *imago Dei* doctrine, elicited the greatest interest in the history of exegesis. Precisely because Gen 1:26f. stands in such isolation, it has given free rein to theological speculation.

In v 26 *b<sup>e</sup>šalmēnû* is interpreted to some degree by *kidmûtēnû*. The LXX translates *kat ‘ eikona kai kath ‘ homiōsin* (Vg. *ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram* ); the two preps. *be* and *ke* may in fact have the same connotation (one may note that Gen 5:3 exchanges the terms, *bidmûtēnû k<sup>e</sup>šalmēnû* ). One should not translate “after our image” but “as our image” or “in the capacity of our image” (*be* *essentiae*).

The meanings of the two terms *šelem* and *d<sup>e</sup>mût* are also doubtless quite close. On the basis of the meaning of the root, *d<sup>e</sup>mût* means “likeness” (→ *dmh* 3b). *šelem* and *d<sup>e</sup>mût* are by no means essentially distinct statements in terms of content such that they should be distinguished as the church has distinguished between *imago* and

*similitudo* (see U. Luz, “Das Gottesbild in Christus und im Menschen im NT,” *Concilium* 5 [1969]: 763–68). One can hardly see in *d<sup>e</sup>mût* a mitigation of the statement, perceived as altogether too bold, that human beings are God’s image.

Two aspects of the formulation are noteworthy: in v 26 the pl. “let us make human beings after *our* image,” and in v 27 the addition *b<sup>e</sup>šelem <sup>e</sup>lōhîm*. The latter can make sense only if it intends to correct, as it were, the preceding *b<sup>e</sup>šalmô*: the human being is not a direct image of God but of divine beings. This interpretation is assured by Psa 8:6 “you made humanity a little lower than *lōhîm*,” which cannot mean “God,” but only “divine beings.” God created humanity “*lōhîm* -like.” The well-known Bab. and Can. concept of the “assembly of the gods” lies in the background: the king of the gods is surrounded by divine beings subordinate to him (or in a mitigated form: God is surrounded by servile spirits) that fulfill his will (cf. Psa 103:19–21). But this interpretation suggests that the pl. of v 26a is neither a pl. of majesty nor a pl. of deliberation (Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:144f.), but that God involves his heavenly court in his decision.

In responding to the question of the content of humanity’s divine image, one may not overlook the context in which *šelem <sup>e</sup>lōhîm* appears. The human being as God’s image should rule over other creatures (*rdh*, vv 26, 28) or subdue the earth (*kbš*, v 28). The verbs indicate that humanity is seen as the ruler, one might say as king, over creation. This viewpoint is confirmed, once again, by Psa 8, whose anthropological statements apparently stand in the same stream of tradition as Gen 1:26f.: “you have crowned them with honor and glory; you made them ruler [→ *mšl* 4a] over the work of your hands, you have placed everything under their feet” (vv 6b, 7). A glance at the psalm in question also demonstrates that the statements of Gen 1 concerning the commission of humanity to exercise dominion over the rest of creation stand in an original relationship with its creation (contra Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:156f.); humanity’s divine image and “investiture” are closely related. This perspective finds further support in the fact that the *king* was described as the image of god among Israel’s neighbors. Yet a few texts do speak of the creation of humanity in general in the image of the deity (for Babylon, cf. V. Maag, “Sumerische und bab. Mythen von der Erschaffung des Menschen,” *Asiatische Studien* 8 [1954]: 85–116; id., “Atl. Anthropogonie in ihrem Verhältnis zur altorientalischen Mythologie,” *Asiatische Studien* 9 [1955]: 15–44; Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:154; for Egypt, cf. E. Hornung, “Der Mensch als ‘Bild Gottes’ in Ägypten,” in Loretz, op. cit. 123–26; E. Otto, “Der Mensch als Geschöpf und Bild Gottes in Ägypten,” FS von Rad [1971], 335–48). The king or pharaoh is described as the “image” of the deity much more often, however. In the Akk. realm, the king is praised as the image of the deity Bel or Shamash

(e.g., “the father of the king, my lord, was the very image of Bēl, and the king, my lord, is likewise the very image of Bēl,” *CAD* S:85b; cf. Wildberger, op. cit. 253ff.). The title occurs even more frequently in Egypt, esp. in the 18th Dynasty: the pharaoh is the “image of Re,” “holy image of Re,” “my living image on earth,” etc. Two aspects of this usage are significant in view of Gen 1:26f.: (1) such contexts discuss the dominion of Pharaoh in terms similar to the manner in which Gen 1 speaks of the dominion of humanity, e.g., “the king, bodily (son of Re) . . . the good god, image of Re, son of Amun, who tramples down the foreigners” (W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Übersetzung zu den Heften 17–22* [1961], 176) or “the earth is subject to you because of your prowess” (op. cit. 385); (2) the *creation* of the king is discussed (cf. also Psa 2:7), e.g., “splendid image of Atum, which Harakhti himself created; divine king, lord of the great dual crown; with beautiful face, when he has appeared with the 3<sup>rd</sup> -crown; whose might is broad” (op. cit. 213). One may determine, then, that the origins of the concept of humanity’s divine image are associated with ancient Near Eastern concepts of the king as the son, the representative, viceroy, proxy of God on earth (cf. W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift* [1967], 127–54).

This origin also indicates the course for interpreting the *imago Dei* concept. The likeness of God does not consist in particular intellectual capacities, a particular spiritual nature, external form, or specifically in the upright gait of humans (Humbert, op. cit. 153–75; L. Köhler, *TZ* 4 [1948]: 16–22). Nor can one say that the passage describes the human being as one whom God is “addressing . . . as a Thou and making him responsible as an I” (K. Barth, *Church Dogmatics* [1958], III/1:20), nor that the personhood of the human being (e.g., F. Horst, “Der Mensch als Ebenbild Gottes,” in *Gottes Recht* [1961], 230) or the human capacity to communicate with God foreshadow the “predisposition toward religion” (W. Riedel, *Die Gottesebenbildlichkeit des Menschen* [1902], 42).

As the image of divine beings, humans participate in the fullness of power given to these beings. Just as the might of the god, his brilliance, and his splendor are present in the image (cf. Psa 8:6) and radiate from it, so divine authority, divine “lord-ship,” is granted to humans. “Just as earthly rulers erect images of themselves in provinces . . . as signs of their claims to dominion, so humans in the likeness of God are placed on earth as signs of God’s majesty and are called to maintain and carry out God’s claim to dominion on earth” (G. von Rad, “Vom Menschenbild des AT,” *Der alte und der neue Mensch* [1942], 5–23, citation, p. 7). Or, as H. van den Bussche (“L’homme créé l’image de Dieu (Gen 1,26–27),” *Collationes Brugenses et Gandavenses* 31 [1948]: 195) put it: “God created humanity as his representative, his vizier, and it resembles its master after a certain

fashion. . . . Humanity receives a proxy of God's power that it administers for good."

5. As a rule the LXX translates *šelem* with *eikōn* "image." It chooses *eidōlon* "idol" twice (Num 33:52; 2 Chron 23:17, the par. 2 Kgs 11:18 has *eikōn* instead); in 1 Sam 6:5 it translates with *homoioōma* "image, figure," and in Amos 5:26 it offers *typos* "form, image."

In the available Qumran texts, *šelem* occurs 3x (CD 7:15, 17[bis]), as an adaptation and interpretation of Amos 5:26. In contrast, the idea of God's likeness was adopted in early Judaism in reference to wisdom, particularly in Wis 7:25f.: She is "a breath of God's power, a pure effluence of the majesty of the Almighty; . . . she is the reflected splendor of the eternal light, a flawless mirror of divine activity, and an image of his goodness." In Philo, too, Sophia is God's image, yet the Logos is also called *eikōn tou theou*. But Philo's anthropology also offers the concept of image, whether human beings are the direct image of God or *eikōn* of the Logos.

The same duality may also be identified in the NT. On the one hand Christ is described as *eikōn tou theou* (2 Cor 4:4; Col 1:15; cf. also Phil 2:6); on the other hand human beings can also be called God's likeness (Jas 3:9; here, however, not *eikōn* but *homoioōsis*). According to 1 Cor 11:7, the man is the image and reflected splendor (*eikōn* and *doxa*) of God; in contrast, the woman is the *doxa* of the man. NT *eikōn* statements doubtlessly depend less on OT passages than on rabbinic exegesis of Gen 1:26f. (1 Cor 11:7 and Jas 3:9) and Jewish-hellenistic speculation concerning the Logos and Wisdom (2 Cor 4:4; Col 1:15; cf. Luz, op. cit. 763) in which Eg. royal ideology seems to have been influential once again (cf. Wildberger, op. cit. 496–501).

Regarding the NT and its environment, cf. G. Kittel, G. von Rad, and H. Kleinknecht, "εἰκόν," *TDNT* 2:381–97; W. Mundle et al., "Image," *DNTT* 2:284–93; F. W. Eltester, *Eikon im NT* (1958); J. Jervell, *Imago Dei: Gen 1:26 im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen* (1960); H. Hegemann, *Die Vorstellung vom Schöpfermittler im hellenistischen Judentum und im Urchristentum* (1961); E. Larsson, *Christus als Vorbild* (1962); P. Schwanz, *Imago Dei* (1970; with bibliog.).

H. Wildberger

## צמח *smḥ* to sprout

S 6779; BDB 855a; *HALOT* 3:1033b; *ThWAT* 6:1068–72; *TWOT*

1. The root *\*šmh* “to sprout, grow” is attested in NWSem. (Ug. in the PN *yšmh*; cf. Gröndahl 59, 189, causative: “may he cause to grow/sprout”; Phoen. and Neo-Pun., *šmh* “descendant, sprout,” *KAI* no. 43.11; 162.2; 163.3; *DISO* 246; Mid. Hebr., Jew. Aram., Christ. Pal., Syr., *šmh* “to sprout,” Syr. usually “to shine, gleam,” *LS* 631f.). Regarding Akk. *šamāhu* “to grow upward, prosper,” → *šmh* 1.

The OT uses the verb in the qal, pi. (cf. *HP* 50f.), and hi. (causative); the subst. *šemaḥ* “sprout, growth” also occurs.

2. Statistics: *šmh* qal 15x (Isa 4x, Gen 3x), hi. 14x (Isa 4x, Psa 3x), pi. 4x, *šemaḥ* 12x (Ezek 3x, Isa and Jer 2x each; incl. Zech 3:8 and 6:12, classified in Mandl. with the names). Of the total of 45 occurrences, 10 are in Isa (the verb 5x in Deutero-Isa), 6 each in Gen and Ezek, 5 in Psa, 3 each in Jer, Zech, and Job.

3. The root *šmh* belongs to the vocabulary concerning plant life (cf. A. E. Rūthy, *Die Pflanze und ihre Teile im biblisch-hebräischen Sprachgebrauch* [1942], 9, 48f.; see p. 75 regarding the semantically related subst. *šēb* “sprout” in Job 8:12 and Song Sol 6:11). It describes the sprouting of plants out of the ground (Gen 2:9 hi.; par. *yš* hi. “to cause to go forth”: Isa 61:11 hi.), the way they grow (Deut 29:22 hi. alongside *lh* “to go up, grow”), produce leaves (Ezek 17:9), and bear fruit (Exod 10:5). The expression does not specifically concern the germ of the seed kernel (*zera*<sup>c</sup> is never the subj. of *šmh*) or the bloom (indicated by *prḥ*, which, in addition to “to sprout,” means more specifically “to bloom” [in the OT qal 29x, hi. 5x, *perah* “sprout, blossom,” 17x]; other terms for “to bloom”: *nšš* hi., Song Sol 6:11; 7:13; Eccl 12:5; *šûš* qal Ezek 7:10; hi. Num 17:23; Isa 27:6; Psa 72:16; 90:6; 92:8; 103:15; for “blossom,” etc.: *gib*<sup>c</sup>*ol* Exod 9:31; *nēš* Gen 40:10; *niššâ* Isa 18:5; Job 15:33; pl. *niššānîm* Song Sol 2:12; *šîš* Num 17:23; 1 Kgs 6:18, 29, 32, 35; Isa 28:1; 40:6–8; Psa 103:15; Job 14:2; *šîšâ* Isa 28:4) but the entire dynamic phenomenon of the development and unfolding of the plant (Hos 8:7 “stalks without sprout yield no grain”). The Israelite is astonished at this growth, which seems all the more wonderful since the rhythm of vegetation is accelerated in the Palestinian climate (Isa 35:1f.; 40:6f.). Thus *šmh* has connotations of excess, of the unfolding of life (Ezek 17:6; Eccl 2:6), of beauty and success in a fortunate existence (Isa 44:4; Ezek 16:7). The author of this growth is the earth (*šādamâ* Gen 3:18; 19:25) with its rich fertility (Job 8:19); but decisively significant are the water and esp. the rain, which fertilize the ground and cause it to produce plants (Gen 2:5; Isa 55:10; Job 38:27). After rainfall, one can expect the arrival of

this phenomenon; consequently, it becomes an image for hope (Isa 55:10; Psa 104:14). While the force of vegetation was attributed to the gods Baal or Dagan in Ugarit, Israelite theology traced it to the work of Yahweh: he causes it to rain and causes plant growth to sprout forth from the ground (Gen 2:5; Isa 44:4; Psa 65:11; 104:14; 147:8; Job 8:19).

(b) In an analogous application, *ṣmḥ* can also be used in the realm of human physiology: it describes the growth of the beard (*zāqān*) and the hair (*šē'ār*; Lev 13:37 qal; otherwise pi.: Judg 16:22; 2 Sam 10:5; Ezek 16:17; 1 Chron 19:5), or the healing of a wound by new flesh (*ʾrūkâ* Isa 58:8).

(c) In comparisons of the entire person to a plant, *ṣmḥ* describes the unfolding of life (Ezek 16:6f. par. *hyh* “to remain alive”), good fortune (Isa 44:4), or even military successes (2 Sam 23:5), while the absence of *ṣemaḥ* is an image of destruction and death (Hos 8:7f.; Job 8:18f.). Cf. the fig. usages of *prḥ* in Isa 27:6; Psa 72:7, etc., of *ṣûš* in e.g., Psa 92:8.

4. (a) A specialized usage occurs in the context of royal ideology. The “last words of David” (2 Sam 23:1–7), which apparently make use of a pre-Israelite Jerusalemite royal tradition, depict the political success granted David with *ṣmḥ* hi. (v 5). Psa 132:17 uses it to express the expectation of a renewal of the Davidic dynasty. Then Jeremiah employs the expression *ṣemaḥ ṣaddîq* “righteous sprout” to designate the expected king who will perform the royal office, so poorly administered at the moment by the Davidides, namely by Zedekiah, in the fullest sense (Jer 23:5). The usage of the expression in a Phoen. inscription from Cypress (see 1) to designate the legitimate heir of the dynasty conforms well to Jeremiah’s usage (cf. *KAI* 2:60f. and the literature cited in → *ṣdq* l/2). In contrast to a simple *zera* “seed, descendants,” which indicates the uninterrupted series of descendants of the dynasty (2 Sam 7:12), the prophet announces a legitimate heir with *ṣemaḥ ṣaddîq*. Through him the threatened and attacked dynasty will be completely renewed and reinstalled in its preferred status. Zechariah adapts the Jer oracle and relates it to Zerubbabel; in this way *ṣemaḥ* becomes a proper title (Zech 3:8) that expresses the beneficial reign of the Messiah as the bearer of the renewal of the entire community (Zech 6:12). Finally, Jer 33:15 relates this title to the dual lines of king and priest that shall reign forever in Jerusalem (par. *bēn* “son,” v 21, and *zera* “descendant,” v 22; cf. J. G. Baldwin, *VT* 14 [1964]: 93–97).

(b) Because of the interruption of the continuity of the Davidic dynasty, the title *ṣemaḥ* disappears during the exilic period; it does not occur in Ezek or Deutero-Isa. In contrast, the verb finds a new usage in Deutero-Isa in testimony to the activity of Yahweh in the history of his people: As surely as plant growth sprouts up after the rain, the salvation of

the people will follow immediately upon Yahweh's personal intervention (Isa 45:8; cf. 42:9; 43:19; 61:11). The coming salvation for the people will be just as wondrous as the growth of the trees on the bank beside the water (44:4). Yahweh's creative power will be demonstrated anew (Isa 4:2). The vocabulary of plant life is applied entirely here to the historical realm, where it does not express a continuous development, however, but the wonder, the harmony, and the certainty of Yahweh's saving activity.

5. In early Judaism, the royal title *šemaḥ* recurs in the framework of the messianic expectation, as in the Bab. version of the Eighteen Benedictions that cites Jer 33:15 and Ezek 29:21: "Let the sprout of David your servant sprout quickly and let his horn be lifted high by your help! May you be praised, Lord, who causes a horn of salvation to sprout!" (cf. G. Dalman, *Words of Jesus* [1902], 290).

At Qumran, 4QP Bless 1:3f. and 4QFlor 1:11 use the title "sprout of David" to designate the legitimate ruler who will reestablish the Davidic dynasty in the place of the Herodian and who will restore them to their appropriate place among the people. Cf. L. Moraldi, *RSO* 45 (1970): 209–16.

The NT did not adopt the title *šemaḥ*, perhaps in opposition to the hope for a political reestablishment of the Davidic monarchy. In contrast, the kingdom of God parables use the vegetation image of the growth of plants to illustrate the wondrous unfolding (Mark 4:30–32) and the sure coming of the kingdom (4:26–29). The chief translation of *šmḥ* in the LXX, *anatellein*, may be translated "to sprout" in the NT only in Heb 7:14 (cf. also Luke 1:78 *anatolē*); cf. H. Schlier, "ἀνατέλλω," *TDNT* 1:351–53.

S. Amsler

## שָׁנַח *šn<sup>c</sup>* to be careful

S 6800; BDB 857a; *HALOT* 3:1039a; *ThWAT* 6:1078–80; *TWOT* 1936; *NIDOTTE* 7570

1. The root *šn<sup>c</sup>* occurs in Mid. Hebr. and in later Aram. as a verb and in derived nom. forms in the meaning "to be secret, hidden" (verb) and "one who lives withdrawn," who is "humble, pious" (noun); in Syr. (*LS* 633a) the term emphasizes more the aspect of cunning, craftiness. One may trace back to this spectrum of meaning the usual translation of Mic 6:8: "to walk humbly" (Vg. *sollicitum ambulari*). The rendering "to walk in purity" (J. H. Hertz, *EvT* 46 [1934/35]: 188) also lies in the same vein. In contrast, the *hetoimon einai* of the LXX (Theodotion: *asphalizesthai*; Quinta:

*phrontizein* ) emphasizes a volitional element. From this basis, D. W. Thomas (*JJS* 1 [1948/49]: 182–88) assumed the basic meaning of the root to be “to empower, preserve” and referred to Arab. *ṣn*<sup>ᶜ</sup> “to make, prepare” (> Nab.; cf. *DISO* 246), Eth. *ṣan*<sup>ᶜ</sup>*a* “to be firm,” and Old SArab. *mṣn*<sup>ᶜ</sup> “fortified camp.” A series of factors decisively contradict this derivation, however (cf. H. J. Stoebe, *WD NS* 6 [1959]: 183f.).

2. The root occurs only twice in the OT itself: in Mic 6:8 as a hi. inf. abs. *haṣnēa*<sup>ᶜ</sup>, and in Prov 11:2 as a pl. adj. of the *qatûl* form (*ṣ<sup>ᶜ</sup>nû<sup>ᶜ</sup>îm*). It occurs somewhat more frequently in Sir (Sir 34:22 [LXX 31:22] and 42:8, nominal like Prov 11:2; in Sir 16:25 and 35:3 [LXX 32:3], hi. inf. like Mic 6:8). It also occurs in 1QS 4:5; 5:4; 8:2 (*hṣn*<sup>ᶜ</sup>*lkt*, like Mic 6:8, although with a different application of the statement). These occurrences outside the OT must be adduced to understand the term. The general affinity to expressions for “wisdom, cunning” should be noted (*ḥokmâ* Prov 11:2; *śkl* Sir 35:3; *d<sup>ᶜ</sup>y* Sir 16:25; *ormâ* 1QS 4:5f.).

3. *ṣānûa*<sup>ᶜ</sup> in Prov 11:2 can hardly mean “humble,” despite the witness of LXX ([*stoma*] *tapeinōn*) and Vg. (*humilitas*; cf. Theodotion: *epieikōn*; Symmachus: *epimelesin*); rather, it must be understood in accord with the analogously structured Prov 13:10 (*y<sup>ᶜ</sup>ṣ* ni. “to receive instruction”) as an expression for insightful behavior opposed to *zādôn* “audacity.” Sir 42:8 confirms this understanding (“a person considered clever by all alive”; the referent is insight into relationships in which one may expose oneself to malicious slander), and 34:22 does not refute it (“in everything that you do, be circumspect”; cf. Stoebe, op. cit. 188).

4. The inf. abs. *haṣnēa*<sup>ᶜ</sup> in Mic 6:8 should be understood as an adv. modifier of the following inf. *leket* (→ *hlk*; contra J. P. Hyatt, *ATR* 34 [1952]: 232–39). One should understand the phrase in relation to Yahweh’s saving acts mentioned in vv 3–5; it signifies a walk with God that insightfully recognizes God’s attentions and that affirms the consequences for one’s behavior, incl. behavior toward other people. This statement constitutes a connection with the knowledge of God in Hos (Stoebe, op. cit. 191f.; cf. also Th. Lescow, *Micha* 6:6–8 [1966]). Notably, the verb *ṣn*<sup>ᶜ</sup> hi., more wisdom in nature, is chosen; this choice could be grounded in the emphasis on interpersonal relationships.

Of the Sir passages with *ṣn*<sup>ᶜ</sup> hi., 16:25 in particular points in this direction (“insightfully I will proclaim my knowledge”); the insight into the wondrous divine works permits one to understand one’s punishment and finally makes repentance possible.

5. The three passages from the Qumran texts (see 2) focus on the behavior of the members within the community, yet here too insight into and understanding of the requirements of society are involved. Proceeding

from these very texts, Hyatt (op. cit. 236) also concluded that *hšn<sup>c</sup>* is an expression for “wise, clever,” etc.

Regarding the LXX rendering of Mic 6:8 (see 1), cf. Lescow, op. cit. 56, 60f., and W. Grundmann, “ἔτοιμος,” *TDNT* 2:704–6.

H. J. Stoebe

### שָׁעַק *š<sup>c</sup>q* to cry out

S 6817; BDB 858a; *HALOT* 3:1042a; *TDOT* 4:112–22; *TWOT* 1947; *NIDOTTE* 7590

### זָעַק *z<sup>c</sup>q* to cry out

S 2199; BDB 277a; *HALOT* 1:277a; *TDOT* 4:112–22; *TWOT* 570; *NIDOTTE* 2410

1. *š<sup>c</sup>q* “to cry out” and the by-form *z<sup>c</sup>q*, which occurs with equal frequency in the OT and apparently points to a dialectical distinction (BL 28), have counterparts in Arab. (Wehr 342b, 468a) and Aram. (subst. *š<sup>c</sup>[qh]* supplied in Sef. IIA.8f.; cf. Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 48, 86; *š<sup>c</sup>q* pe. in Cowley no. 52.6, with *z<sup>c</sup>q* qal in no. 71.17; cf. *DISO* 79, 246; Bibl. Aram. *z<sup>c</sup>q* pe. in Dan 6:21; cf. KBL 1072b; Syr. *z<sup>c</sup>q*, *LS* 202).

In addition to *š<sup>c</sup>q/z<sup>c</sup>q* qal “to cry out,” both forms occur in the OT in the ni. “to be called together, summoned,” and in the hi. “to call together, summon” (*z<sup>c</sup>q* hi. in Zech 6:8 and Job 35:9 in the meaning of the base stem), *š<sup>c</sup>q* also occurs once in the pi. “to emit (successive) cries” (2 Kgs 2:12; cf. *HP* 154f.). *š<sup>cc</sup>āqâ* and *z<sup>cc</sup>āqâ* serve as substs., while *zā<sup>c</sup>aq* in Isa 30:19 and 57:13 should not be viewed as an independent subst. (so Mandl. 360b; KBL 263b) but as a qal inf. (Berg. *HG* 2:116; Zorell 214a; *HAL* 266a).

2. The verb occurs in both phonetic variants 128x (*š<sup>c</sup>q* 55x, *z<sup>c</sup>q* 73x): qal 107x (47x + 60x, resp.), ni. 12x (6x + 6x), hi. 8x (1x + 7x), pi. 1x (*š<sup>c</sup>q*), as well as 1x Bibl. Aram. *z<sup>c</sup>q* pe.; the noun occurs 39x (*š<sup>cc</sup>āqâ* 21x, *z<sup>cc</sup>āqâ* 18x). The root occurs in almost all books of the OT (in all 167x Hebr. and 1x Aram.: *š<sup>c</sup>q* 76x, *z<sup>c</sup>q* 91x + 1x Aram.); concentrations occur in Jer (21x), Judg (19x), Exod (16x), Isa (15x), 1 Sam (14x), and Psa (11x). In the Pentateuch *z<sup>c</sup>q* qal (Exod 2:23) and *z<sup>cc</sup>āqâ* (Gen 18:20) occur only once each alongside 27 forms of *š<sup>c</sup>q*; otherwise, no preferences for one form or

the other are apparent. In the following  $\text{ṣ}^{\text{c}}\text{q}$  represents both phonetic forms.

3.  $\text{ṣ}^{\text{c}}\text{q}/\text{ṣ}^{\text{c}}\text{āqâ}$  always designates a loud, emotion-laden expression (“crying, cry”); cf. e.g., the roaring of the ruler in Eccl 9:17 and the comment ( $\text{b}^{\text{e}}\text{qôl gādôl}$  “with a loud voice,” 1 Sam 28:12; 2 Sam 19:5; Ezek 11:13; Neh 9:4. Crying can be both articulate (with  $\text{lē}^{\text{m}}\text{ôr}$ , Exod 5:8, 15; with  $\text{wayyô}^{\text{m}}\text{er}$ , 2 Kgs 6:5; citation without introduction, Jer 48:3f.; Job 19:7, etc.) and inarticulate (crying out in pain, Isa 26:17).

The specific meaning of  $\text{ṣ}^{\text{c}}\text{q}$  becomes apparent only when one delineates it from the other terms for loud expressions.  $\text{ṣ}^{\text{c}}\text{q}$  distinguishes itself from  $\rightarrow \text{qr}^{\text{v}}$  in that it does not primarily focus on the effort to make oneself heard across a distance; rather, it is chiefly determined by a situation of acute distress (cf. the terrified cry of the disciples of Elisha: “Death is in the pot!” 2 Kgs 4:40).  $\text{ṣ}^{\text{c}}\text{q}$  distinguishes itself from the verbs of reaction to pain ( $\text{ḥnh}$  “to sigh,”  $\rightarrow \text{bkh}$  “to weep,”  $\text{yll}$  hi. “to howl,” etc.; see below) in that it is usually not limited to mere reaction to the experience of pain but seeks to reach another who may be able to alter the situation (the verb is explicitly [usually with  $\text{ʔel}$ , less often with  $\text{le}$  or an acc. obj.] or implicitly addressed to a person in two-thirds of its occurrences). Thus the root  $\text{ṣ}^{\text{c}}\text{q}$  refers to the process of the human cry of distress, simultaneously a cry of pain and a plea for help ( $\text{ṣ}^{\text{c}}\text{q}$  par.  $\text{šw}^{\text{c}}$  pi. “to call for help,” Hab 1:2; Job 19:7; Lam 3:8; cf. also W. Richter, *Die Bearbeitungen des “Retterbuches” in der deuteronomischen Epoche* [1964], 18–20). Sometimes one or the other element dominates. Both aspects are grounded in the primitive awareness of the creaturely solidarity of humanity, with the result that everyone who hears the cry of pain of another person quite naturally rushes to assistance.

Hebr. has more than twenty roots available to indicate crying, groaning, complaining, etc., some of which occur only rarely. This multiplicity rests in part on onomatopoeic variations (cf. e.g., the use of the  $n$  sound:  $\text{rnn}$ ,  $\text{ḥnn}$ ,  $\text{ḥnh}$ ,  $\text{ḥḥ}$ ,  $\text{n}^{\text{v}}\text{q}$ ,  $\text{nhq}$ ,  $\text{nhg}$ ,  $\text{nhm}$ ,  $\text{nhh}$ ) and on metaphors from the realm of animal sounds (cf.  $\text{nhm}$ ,  $\text{nhq}$ ,  $\text{š}^{\text{v}}\text{g}$ ). The terms semantically closest to  $\text{ṣ}^{\text{c}}\text{q}$  are the two common Sem. verbs  $\text{ṣwh}$  qal “to cry aloud” (Isa 42:11;  $\text{ṣ}^{\text{c}}\text{wāḥâ}$  “cry,” Isa 24:11; Jer 14:2; 46:12; Psa 144:14) and  $\text{ṣrh}$  qal “to cry” (Zeph 1:14; hi. “to sound the war cry,” Jer 42:13 par.  $\text{rûa}^{\text{c}}$  hi.; the subst.  $\text{*ṣerah}$  has been conjectured in Jer 4:31 and Ezek 21:27), as well as the much more versatile  $\text{rû}^{\text{a}}\text{c}$  hi. “to cry, raise the battle cry, rejoice” (40x; pil. Isa 16:10; hitpa<sup>c</sup>el Psa 60:10; 65:14; 108:10;  $\text{rē}^{\text{a}}\text{c}$  “cry,” Exod 23:17; Mic 4:9; Job 36:33;  $\text{t}^{\text{c}}\text{rû}^{\text{c}}\text{â}$  “[war/festival/trumpet] alarm,” 36x; cf. P. Humbert, *La “Terrou<sup>c</sup>a”* [1946]) and the more specialized  $\text{šw}^{\text{c}}$  pi. “to call for help” (21x, 9x in Psa and 8x in Job;  $\text{šewa}^{\text{c}}$  “call for help,” Psa 5:3;  $\text{šaw}^{\text{c}}\text{â}$  “call for help,” 11x). Terms that originally referred to animals are:  $\text{š}^{\text{v}}\text{g}$  “to roar” (of the lion,  $\rightarrow \text{ḥt}$ , 20x, often fig. of Yahweh or his thunder, of enemies in Psa 38:9, also of the lament of the supplicant;  $\text{š}^{\text{c}}\text{āgâ}$  “roaring,” 7x, usually of lions; Psa 22:2 and 32:3 of the lament of the

supplicant; Job 3:24 in the pl., of Job's laments), *nhq* "to cry, bray" (Job 6:5, wild donkey; 30:7, mob), *nhm* "to growl" (Isa 5:29f. and Prov 28:15 of the lion, also *naham* "growling," Prov 19:12; 20:2; in Ezek 24:23 and Prov 5:11 "to sigh, lament," in reference to people), and perhaps also *ʕt* "to fall upon (with a cry)" (cf. Arab. *ʕt* II "to cry out loudly"; 1 Sam 14:32; 15:19; 25:14; *ʕayit* "predatory bird," 8x). Of designations for lamenting, a few general verbs for loud expressions are mentioned first (→ *qôl*), then the more specialized verbs of groaning, sighing, etc.: *hgh* qal "to coo (dove), growl (lion), murmur, brood," etc. (23x; also Isa 59:13 txt em; hi. Isa 8:19; subst. *hegeh* 3x, *higgâyôn* 4x, *hâgût* "deliberation," Psa 49:4; in a few passages *hgh* should be translated "to whimper" [Isa 16:7; Jer 48:31], *hegeh* "sighing" [Ezek 2:10]; cf. further *hâgîg* "sighing," Psa 5:2; 39:4), *hmh* qal "to make noise," etc. (34x; in Psa 55:18 and 77:4 "to groan"), *ʔnh* ni. "to groan" (12x; *ʔnâhâ* "sighing, groaning," 11x), *ʔnq* "to groan" (qal Jer 51:52; Ezek 26:15; ni. Ezek 9:4; 24:17; *ʔnâqâ* "groaning," Mal 2:13; Psa 12:6; 79:11; 102:21), *nʔq* qal "to groan" (Ezek 30:24; Job 24:12; *nʔqâ* "groaning," Exod 2:24; 6:5; Judg 2:18; Ezek 30:24), *nhg* pi. "to groan" (Nah 2:8), *pʔh* qal "to groan" (Isa 42:14); *yll* hi. "to howl, lament" (30x, only in the prophets; par. *ʕq/zʕq* in Isa 14:31; 65:14, etc.; *yʕl̄l̄* "howling," Deut 32:10; *yʕl̄l̄â* "howling," Isa 15:8[bis]; Jer 25:36; Zeph 1:10; Zech 11:3), *ybb* pi. "to lament" (Judg 5:28), *ʔnh* qal "to lament, mourn" (Isa 3:26; 19:8; *ʔnî* "mourning," Deut 26:14; Hos 9:4; *taʔnîyâ* and *ʔnîyâ* "lament" together in Isa 29:2; Lam 2:5), *ʔmn* hitpo. "to complain" (Num 11:1; Lam 3:39), *ʔlh* qal "to bewail" (Joel 1:8; Aram. loanword; cf. Wagner no. 15), *nhh* qal "to bewail" (Ezek 32:18; Mic 2:4; *nʕhî* "lament," Jer 9:9, 17–19; 31:15; Amos 5:16; Mic 2:4; > *nî* Ezek 27:32 txt?; cf. also *hî* in Ezek 2:10; see Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:91f.).\*

(a) A cry of distress can be addressed to a person in widely varying circumstances. Thus all Egypt cries to Pharaoh during a famine (Gen 41:55), and a prophetic disciple cries to Elisha when he loses a borrowed axe (2 Kgs 6:5; cf. Gen 27:34; Num 11:2; 2 Kgs 4:1, 40).

(b) A specialized usage is apparent when a person falls into distress because of the unjust act of another. Here the cry of distress is not just a cry for help, but it also has legal consequences. Thus the cry "→ *hāmās* (*wāšōd*)" of one threatened by an act of violence is simultaneously an appeal for the legal community to intervene (Jer 20:8; Job 19:7; cf. Hab 1:2; Gen 16:5; see von Rad, *Gen*, OTL [19722], 106, 192, 211), and the cry of the rape victim becomes evidence in the legal investigation (Deut 22:24, 27; I. L. Seeligmann, FS Baumgartner 259). Within this linguistic realm, the root *ʕq* designates specifically the cry for legal assistance (often directed to the king: 2 Sam 19:29; 1 Kgs 20:39; 2 Kgs 6:26; 8:3, 5; cf. Esth 4:1; to others: Isa 5:7; Job 34:28; Prov 21:13; Neh 5:1, 6; without *ʕq*, 2 Sam 14:4; to God: see 4). This cry can be some distance from the situation of acute distress and can become a conscious means of complaint esp. by persons with diminished legal status (cf. 2 Kgs 8:1ff.), yet the linkage with the "genuine" cry of distress is maintained (cf. 2 Kgs 4:1ff.).

Following von Rad, many have closely related this usage to the

Germanic hue and cry (*Zetergeschrei*) and have concluded “that the Hebrew root  $\text{זָעַק}$  or  $\text{זָעַק}$  is the OT technical term for the hue and cry” (H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT* [1970], 62; cf. Seeligmann, *op. cit.* 257ff.; J. Jeremias, *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit* [1970], 72; G. C. Macholz, *ZAW* 84 [1972]: 174). Yet it seems to me that caution is in order concerning this common opinion: the Germanic hue and cry was not a uniform (the original meaning of “hue and cry” is disputed; a military cry of alarm is apparently intended) and broadly distributed legal institution (cf. L. L. Hammerich, *Clamor* [1941], 186ff.; contra W. Schulze, *Kleine Schriften* [1934], 160–89), nor did the cry for legal assistance ever become a fixed institution in Israel (so Boecker, *op. cit.* 62, 64), as did the “report” in medieval Saxon-Thuringian law. Significantly, then, the cry for legal assistance is not legally defined as the cry of distress in the OT (cf., in contrast, *Sachsenspiegel* 1:53 §1), and the cry of distress in the OT never becomes a formal announcement stating potential measures to be taken on one’s own behalf (as in the Magdeburg-Breslauer Code of 1261, §40; texts in Hammerich, *op. cit.* 194ff.). Consequently, one may translate  $\text{זָעַק}$  “hue and cry” only with reservation. It is certainly incorrect to see this usage as the “original” meaning of  $\text{זָעַק}$  from which all other usages derive (so Boecker, *op. cit.* 65f.). The root  $\text{זָעַק}$  is not “the technical term for the hue and cry”; its usage is much broader. It has acquired a meaning in a specialized realm that is remotely comparable to the “hue and cry,” but it never became jargon for a precisely defined legal institution.

(c)  $\text{זָעַק}$  acquired another specialized meaning in the military arena: here it indicates the “mobilization of the army” ( $\text{זָעַק}$  qal, Judg 12:2, and incl. Zech 6:8 and Job 35:9 all occurrences of  $\text{זָעַק}/\text{זָעַק}$  ni./hi., e.g., ni. Judg 6:34f.; 7:23f., and hi. Judg 4:10, 13). This call is also predicated on a situation of distress (cf. Judg 12:1ff.), namely the threat by enemies of superior strength, but it pertains to a larger group and is thus less direct. The cry of distress becomes the alarm (to arms!) of the army commander, and the assistance becomes the response of the tribes. Thus  $\text{זָעַק}$  becomes a political act; the military structure of command and execution is superimposed on the personal structure of distress and deliverance.

R. Smend also wants to incorporate this semantic variant into the “hue and cry” (*Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation* [1970], 20f.); this effort goes too far even for Boecker (*op. cit.* 65n.2). The “hue and cry” involves an individual-legal process; this usage involves a political-military process.

(d) In about one-third of all occurrences the emphasis lies entirely on the reaction of terror, while the element of the cry for assistance fades

markedly. Thus *šq* can once describe the lament for the dead (2 Sam 19:5; cf. Ezek 27:30) and frequently the reaction to a plague devastating the land (Exod 11:6; 1 Sam 5:10), or an impending (Isa 14:31; Jer 25:34; Ezek 21:17) or realized (1 Sam 4:13f.; Isa 15:4f., 8; Jer 48:3–5, 20, 34) total military defeat. In these contexts, the *ša<sup>a</sup>qat-šeber*, the “cry of collapse,” is raised. In this group of texts the root *šq* (the noun more frequently than the verb) has a meaning similar to the other expressions of pain (*bkh* Isa 33:7; Jer 48:31f.; *yll* hi. Isa 14:31; Jer 47:2; 48:20, 31; 49:3; Ezek 21:17).

4. In almost half of all occurrences, the root *šq* (verb 64x; noun 10x) explicitly or implicitly addresses God. Here it indicates the lament to God in all its varied forms: the communal lament (Exod 2:23f.; 3:7, 9; Judg 10:10; Joel 1:14; Neh 9:4), the individual lament (Jonah 1:5; Psa 9:13; 77:2; 88:2; 142:2, 6), and intercessory lament (Exod 8:8; 15:25; 1 Sam 7:9; Ezek 9:8; Hab 1:2). That *šq* could become one of the most important designations for the lament procedure in the OT has important consequences for the understanding of prayer in the OT: *šq* is the most emotionally colored of all expressions for “to pray” (cf. → *pll* hitp. 2 Chron 32:20; *hnn* hitp. Psa 142:2; *šw<sup>c</sup>* pi. Hab 1:2; Lam 3:8; and → *tr*); it is not a fundamental component of religious language (contra e.g., → *tr*). Its broad usage indicates that the OT perceived no essential distinction between the everyday cry of distress and the prayer addressed to God: lament in the OT is not the liturgical request for this or that but primarily a cry for help in an acute situation of distress. This characteristic is most clear in the lament at the beginning of Israel’s history (Exod 2:23f. P; 3:7 J; 3:9 E); it is identical with the cry of pain of the Israelites enslaved by the Egyptian taskmasters. Later, in the course of the institutionalization of the lament as a specific worship event, the two were differentiated in such a way that *šq* lost some of its immediacy (*šq* also indicates, then, the lament as it had evolved into the confession of sin [Judg 10:10] and the penitential prayer [Neh 9:4]), yet it never lost its relation to the situation of acute distress despite all perceptible specialization (cf. e.g., the ritual surroundings of the communal lament in Joel 1:13f.).

*šq* also elucidates another aspect of the lament procedure in the OT: God hears the lament (*šm<sup>c</sup>* Exod 3:7; Num 20:16; Psa 34:18; *nh* 1 Sam 7:9; Isa 30:19; *zn* hi. Psa 77:2; *tr* ni. 1 Chron 5:20) and intervenes to save (*yš<sup>c</sup>* hi. Judg 10:12, 14; 1 Sam 7:8; 2 Chron 20:9; *nsl* hi. Psa 34:18; *hnn* Isa 30:19; *mlt* ni. Psa 22:6; *zr* 2 Chron 18:31) as the result neither of a capricious “mood” nor of God’s legal obligation (so Boecker, who seeks to derive the lament from the “hue and cry,” op. cit. 65f.), but because he is touched, just like any person, by the cry of distress of someone in agony.

This fact is one of Israel's most important discoveries: it begins with the acknowledgment of the *šq* of the enslaved Israelites in Egypt (Exod 3:7ff.), governs the confessions that commemorate this deliverance (Num 20:16; Deut 26:7; Josh 24:7; cf. Neh 9:9), and continues in the declarations of confidence and songs of praise of the individual (Psa 9:13; 22:6; 34:18) and of the community (107:6, 13, 19, 28). For the Deuteronomists, the only constant in Israel's history threatened by apostasy is the relationship of lament and acknowledgment (Judg 3:9, 15; 4:3; 6:6f.; 10:10; 1 Sam 12:8; cf. Neh 9:27f.). But that is only one side. Israel must have also discovered that Yahweh does not acknowledge lament: a few descriptions of the lament depict this experience impressively (Lam 3:8; Job 19:7; cf. Psa 77:2, 8ff.; 88:2; 142:2, 6; Job 35:12), and the lack of response to lament is a component of the proclamation of judgment that the prophets announced to the disobedient people (1 Sam 8:18; Jer 11:11f.; Mic 3:4; cf. with other verbs Jer 7:16; 14:12). Israel's apostasy is also characterized by the fact that in its distress it no longer turns to Yahweh "from the heart" (Hos 7:14; 8:2) but to other gods that cannot help (Judg 10:14; Isa 57:13; cf. 46:7). In the late period, the response to lament was an element in descriptions of the era of salvation (Isa 30:19), yet it is no longer limited to Israel but also extends to foreign nations (Isa 19:20). Thus the event of *šq* and *šm* runs throughout the history of Yahweh and his people like a scarlet thread.

In addition to the lament in all life's conceivable distresses, God can also respond to the cry in legal distress. The notion that Yahweh hears the cry of the blood of one murdered in secret seems ancient (Gen 4:10; Hab 2:11; Job 16:18). In addition, Yahweh offers his legal assistance to the poor, widows, and orphans who are powerless in the legal community (Exod 22:22, 26; Job 34:28).

5. The LXX primarily translates the root *šq* with *boan* and *krazein*, incl. composites and noms. *boē* corresponds precisely to *š<sup>e</sup>āqâ*; it can signify noise, cry of lament, cry for assistance, and alarm; *boēthein* "to run toward of cry of distress" indicates the reaction to the cry of distress. The usage of *boan* in Luke 18:1–8 (parable of the unjust judge) and Mark 15:34 (Jesus' cry of lament on the cross) indicates that the NT like the OT could also understand prayer as impulsive and direct.

R. Albertz

שָׁפוֹן *šāpôn* north

S 6828; BDB 860b; HALOT 3:1046a; ThWAT 6:1093–1102; TWOT 1953b; NIDOTTE 7600

1. The etymology of the word *šāpôn* “north” is uncertain; two chief possibilities are discussed. According to a derivation from *špn* “to hide, preserve” (→ *str* 3e), a pass. meaning is most likely: “a place hidden (from the sun?).” The connection with *šph* “to spy, stand lookout/guard” is more probable, so that the subst. would mean “lookout” (BL 499) or concretely “lookout point” (O. Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer* [1932], 17f.).

Eissfeldt identifies the mountain *špn* attested in the Ras Shamra/Ugarit texts with ancient Mons Casius, modern Jebel Aqra, on the north Syrian Mediterranean coast, and this equation (based only on indirect witnesses) has gained widespread acceptance (op. cit. 5ff; cf. *KS* [1963], 2:265, 503; de Langhe, Albright et al. [listed in 3/4]; critique in A. Lauha, *Zaphon: Der Norden und die Nordvölker im AT* [1943], 14, 80, 84f.).

Thus like *yām* “west” or *negeb* “south,” *šāpôn* would have developed from a geographic proper name into a compass point.

Since *šāpôn* parallels “heaven” a few times in the OT (Isa 14:13) or approximates the meaning “heaven” (cf. Job 26:7; Ezek 1:4), J. de Saignac (*VT* 3 [1953]: 95f.) and E. Vogt (*Bib* 34 [1953]: 426) have also suggested the translation “cloudy heaven.”

The local interpretation is supported by the “circumstance that *šāpôn* is not a common Semitic name for the northerly direction, but is used outside Hebr. only in Phoen. and Aram., i.e., the word was distributed only among those West Semites who viewed the matter through Canaanite eyes” (Lauha, op. cit. 13; cf. *DISO* 246; Benz 401f.).

According to Isa 43:6 (cf. Song Sol 4:16 of the north wind; otherwise Psa 89:13), *šāpôn* is fem. (cf. K. Albrecht, *ZAW* 16 [1896]: 41).

Adj. derivatives are *š<sup>e</sup>pônî* “northern” (Joel 2:20, substantivized: “the northern”; see 3/4c).

2. Excluding the place-names *šāpôn* (Josh 13:27; Judg 12:1) and *ba<sup>al</sup>š<sup>e</sup>pôn* (Exod 14:2, 9; Num 33:7), the word occurs 152x in the OT (Ezek 46x, Josh and Jer 25x each, Dan 9x); *š<sup>e</sup>pônî* also occurs once.

3./4. Since the usage of the word in simple geographical references (often in series with the other directions, e.g., Gen 13:14; 28:14; Deut 3:27) or designations of the north wind (Song Sol 4:16) requires no particular treatment, only (a) the extrabibl. mythological concepts in Ugarit, and the OT concepts (b) of the mountain of God in the north and (c) of the enemy from the north are treated here.

The following literature may be consulted: H. Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie* (1905), 113ff., 174ff.; id., *Der Messias* (1929), 164ff.; G. Westphal, *Jahwes Wohnstätten nach den Anschauungen der alten Hebräer* (1908), 44ff.; H. H. D. Stocks, "Der 'Nördliche' und die Komposition des Buches Joel," *NKZ* 19 (1908): 725–50; F. Wilke, "Das Skythenproblem im Jeremiabuch," *FS Kittel* 222–54; S. Mowinckel, *Psalmstudien* (1922), 2:261ff.; Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon*; B. Alfrink, "Der Versammlungsberg im äussersten Norden," *Bib* 14 (1933): 41–67; Lauha, *Zaphon*; R. de Langhe, *Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs rapports avec le milieu biblique de l'A.T.* (1954), 2:217ff.; A. S. Kapelrud, *Joel Studies* (1948), 93–108; H.-J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel* (1966), 201f.; J. Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis* (1964), 97ff.; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie* (1965), 116f.; W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel* (1966), 32ff.; G. Wanke, *Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten* (1966), 64ff., 87ff.; H. M. Lutz, *Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker* (1968), 125ff.; W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (repr. 1969), 118ff.; A. Ohler, *Mythologische Elemente im AT* (1969), 33ff., 154ff.; F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem* (1970), 90ff.; R. J. Clifford, *Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the OT* (1972), esp. 57–79, 131–60.

(a) In the Ug. texts, Zaphon appears as the dwelling place of the god Baal. The god is already closely linked with the mountain through his name: *bʿl ʿšpn* or *bʿl(ʿšrt) ʿšpn* "Lord of (the height of) Zaphon." Indeed, the place-name *ʿšpn* can be used as the proper name of the god. Baal rules as king in his palace or temple on Zaphon and there he is buried (cf. the texts in *UT* no. 2185; *WUS* no. 2345; J. C. de Moor, *UF* 2 [1970]: 190ff.; A. S. Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts* [1952], 57; Schmidt, op. cit. 32f.). The only dispute concerns whether the name *il ʿšpn* indicates a relationship between the god El and Zaphon (U. Oldenburg, *Conflict between El and Baʿal in Canaanite Religion* [1969], 104f.; Stolz, op. cit. 145), or whether it should be translated "god of Zaphon" and understood as a reference to Baal. Regarding Baal Zaphon, cf. also H. Bauer, *ZAW* 51 (1933): 97f.; W. F. Albright, *FS Bertholet* 1–14; Eissfeldt, *KS* (1968), 4:53–57; Haussig 1:256ff.; M. J. Mulder, *Baʿal in het Oude Testament* (1962), 155f.f.; M. H. Pope, *JBL* 85 (1966): 461f.; L. R. Fisher and F. B. Knutson, *JNES* 28 (1969): 158n.8; H. Gese et al., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer* (1970), 123ff.; W. Helck, *Betrachtungen zur grossen Göttin und den ihr verbundenen Gottheiten* (1971), 175f., etc.; J. C. de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu* (1971), 53f., etc.; P. J. van Zijl, *Baal* (1972), 332ff., etc.

According to Exod 14:2, 9; Num 33:7, a place Baal-zephon—probably a sanctuary of the god also worshiped in Egypt—lay in the vicinity of the Lake Sirbonis (variously located; cf. Mulder, op. cit. 156n.183). Josh 13:27 and Judg 12:1 mention a place Zaphon in Transjordan (cf. N. Glueck, *BASOR* 90 [1943]: 19ff.; 92 [1943]: 26f.; F. V. Filson, *BASOR* 91 [1943]: 27f.).

(b) The north plays a role in the OT in various tradition complexes, remarkably independent of one another. So far, no clear relationship on the level of transmission has been identified between the concepts of the mountain of God and (→ c) the enemy from the north; e.g., Jer 4–6 does not mention the mountain of God.

The Ug. texts take precedence in religiohistorical comparisons (also Wanke, op. cit. 65f.) because, like the OT, they contain the term *špn*. Nevertheless, just as prior to the discovery of Ras Shamra, Bab. pars. to the mountain of God continue to be adduced often (e.g., Krinetzki, op. cit. 86f.). Lauha appeals emphatically “to the common Near Eastern cosmological view of Babylonian origins” (op. cit. 80; cf. 36f.). Yet Mesopotamian concepts of the mountain of God seem to be shaped by characteristically distinct aspects (cosmologically, the corresponding relationship or union of heaven and earth; astrologically, the relationship to the north pole or polar star; see Alfrink with bibliog.). A more carefully differentiated comparison is called for here.

A citation in the song of derision to the king of Babylon alludes to the myth of the rise and fall of a divine being: “I will rise to heaven, elevate my throne above the stars of El, install myself on the mountain of assembly, on the peaks(?) of Zaphon” (Isa 14:13). The oracle is late not only literarily but also tradition-historically: it unites various, hardly originally related motifs (Schmidt, op. cit. 34f.; R. Rendtorff, *ZAW* 78 [1966]: 281). Even the concepts of the mountain of the gods and Mount Zaphon that reaches into heaven (cf. M. Metzger, *UF* 2 [1970]: 146f.) do not seem to be attested in Ugarit. Thus one can hardly use this text for the reconstruction of the oldest religious viewpoint (Baal expelled El from Zaphon; M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts* [1955], 102f.; responses by A. Caquot, *Syria* 35 [1958]: 52ff.; Oldenburg, op. cit. 104ff.; in contrast, cf. the linkage with Greek mythology in J. W. McKay, *VT* 20 [1970]: 451ff.).

In the Zion song, Psa 48:2f., the city of God or the mountain of God is praised with the epithets “Mount Zion, peak of Zaphon, city of a great king,” among others. “This statement may only be understood as the application of the attributes of the mythological mountain of god to Zion” (Westphal, op. cit. 46). Since Zaphon was considered the throne of the god-king, one may be even more precise: “Baal is dethroned and Yahweh assumes his place” (Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon* 20; cf. Schmidt, op. cit. 33f.; Lutz, op. cit. 164f.).

Other OT allusions to the mythical significance of *šāpôn* remain uncertain.

In Ezekiel’s visions “the storm comes from the north” (1:4). Remarkably, the point of departure for the theophany of Yahweh is neither Sinai in the south nor Zion. “The prophet knows the mountain of God in the north and has his God depart from there because the sanctuary on Zion is destroyed” (Gressmann, *Messias* 168). Yet *šāpôn*

means “north” only in a diminished sense; the statement remains ambiguous or meager, and it does not even seek to give precise information concerning Yahweh’s point of departure (cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:119f.; Ohler, op. cit. 33f.).

A similar echo occurs in the description of a theophany in Job 37:22: “From the north comes golden brilliance,” namely God’s majesty.

Eissfeldt (*Baal Zaphon* 11f.; cf. Fohrer, HAT 13, 181) understands “the princes of the north” (Ezek 32:30; cf. Jer 1:15; see Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:177) as “the princes (in the land of) Mount Zaphon.” Eissfeldt et al. also find a reference to the mountain of God in Psa 89:13a (cf. the mention of Tabor and Hermon, v 13b); yet the translation “north” seems more appropriate because of the parallelism with *yāmîn* “south.” The pair of antonyms “north-south” encompasses the whole.

In the hymnic creation predicate “who stretched out the north over the waste, hung the earth over nothingness” (Job 26:7), the verb (cf. Isa 40:22; 51:13, etc.) suggests understanding *šāpôn* as heaven in contrast to earth (Fohrer, KAT 16, 382, 384); yet the underlying concept (is a mountain “stretched out”?) does not permit an exact determination.

The small geographical treatise in Gen 2:10–14 seems to locate the paradisiacal garden in the north (in contrast to Gen 2:8; 3:24), but does not use the term *šāpôn*.

According to Lev 1:11 the northern side of the altar is designated specifically for the sacrifice of small livestock; yet this special regulation is hardly associated with the notion of the mountain of God. Cf. also the cultic locations mentioned in Exod 40:22; 2 Kgs 16:14; Ezek 8:3, 5, 15.

Finally, according to Jer 15:12 iron comes from the north.

(c) In the so-called Scythian songs (B. Duhm) in Jer 4:5–6:26, Jeremiah expects an unnamed “enemy from the north,” and similar concepts also occur in other prophets.

Characteristic features are: the enemy comes from afar (Jer 4:16; 5:15; 6:22; cf. Isa 5:26; 10:3; 13:5; 30:27; 39:3; Hab 1:8; Deut 28:49), from the north (Jer 4:6; 6:1, 22; cf. 1:14f.; 10:22; 13:20; 25:9, 26; 46:20, 24; 47:2; 50:3, 9, 41; 51:48; Isa 14:31; 41:25; Ezek 26:7; 32:30; 38:6, 15; 39:2), speaking an incomprehensible language (Jer 5:15; cf. Isa 28:11; 33:19; Deut 28:49), moving as fast as the wind (Jer 4:13, 20; 6:26; cf. Isa 5:26; Ezek 38:9, 16; Hab 1:8; Deut 28:49) on horses or chariots (Jer 4:13, 29; 6:23; cf. 8:16; 47:3; 51:27; Isa 5:28; Ezek 38:4, 15; Joel 2:4; Hab 1:8), is unmerciful (Jer 6:23; cf. Joel 2:3; Deut 28:50), besieges or destroys cities (Jer 4:16; 5:17; 6:4ff., 23; cf. Isa 14:31; Joel 2:7; Deut 28:52), etc.

The chief goal of scholarship was to identify this enemy historically. Yet none of the various suggested identifications—Scythians (only reference Herodotus 1.105; cf. the place-name “Scycho-polis” = Beth-shean attested only later), Medes, Chaldeans, or even Alexander the Great

(literature reviewed in Rudolph, HAT 12, 47ff.; H. H. Rowley, *Men of God* [1963], 134n.4, 140ff.)—gained undisputed acceptance. As a consequence, one must take the anonymity seriously: “Jeremiah does not wish to describe a definite, politically definable enemy. He received the announcement from God that a military power will break in from the north. He knows nothing more and does not wish to know” (Volz, *Jeremia*, KAT [19282], 58; similarly, Rudolph, HAT 12, 49; Lutz, op. cit. 126, etc.). But: “Without question, Jeremiah saw the appearance of the Chaldeans as the fulfillment of the prophecies concerning the enemy from the north” (Wilke, op. cit. 254). In fact, the prophet seems to have become increasingly specific regarding the imminent judgment: if the vision and interpretation of Jer 1:13f. generally announce “the disaster from the north” (v 15 is probably an expository expansion), Jer 4–6 define it as a foreign nation; later it relates even more precisely to the Babylonians (25:9ff., 32; cf. 3:12, 18; 10:22; 13:20; 16:15; 23:8; 31:8; 46:6, 10, 20, 24; 47:2, etc.), and Nebuchadnezzar can even be named personally (27:5f.; 43:10).

The tradition histories of the announcement of the enemy (cf. esp. affinities with Isa 5:26ff.) and its northern origins (cf. Jer 1:13f.) should be distinguished. It is disputed whether the descriptions of the enemy operate “at the limits of empirical categories or even beyond them” (Lauha, op. cit. 66; cf. H. Reventlow, *Liturgie und prophetisches Ich bei Jeremia* [1963], 101ff.) or at first bore no mythic elements (cf. esp. B. S. Childs, “The Enemy from the North and the Chaos Tradition,” *JBL* 78 [1959]: 187–98). Excluding extrapolations of the tradition in later times, the character of the enemy is not mythic but at most its place of origin. According to Lauha (85ff.; cf. Wanke, op. cit. 89ff.), the primary basis is a legendary concept tracing to a historical event, the invasion of the Sea Peoples ca. 1200 BCE.

In fact, the origins of the expectation of the enemy from the north remain uncertain. It is not attested at Ugarit; at best, one may adduce remote pars. from the Mesopotamian realms and the history of religions in general (Lauha, op. cit. 53f.). One may be able to infer some precursors to the expectation in the OT itself: according to the proclamation of the day of Yahweh in Isa 2:12–17, the theophany seems to proceed from the north toward the south over Palestine. Amos too, who likewise never specifically names the threatened enemy (Amos 3:11; 6:14), announces a deportation “beyond Damascus” (5:27; cf. 4:3; 6:2), envisions judgment, then, breaking in from the north but without using the term *šāpôn*.

Finally, the concluding strophe of the refrain in Isa 5:26ff. has the effect of a precursor to the announcement of the enemy from the north. Again, the name of the enemy people (Asshur) is withheld and its characteristics (remote origins, speed, stamina, invincibility) are the same.

In Zephaniah’s similarly indefinite threats, the oracles against the

nations end with the announcement that Yahweh “extends his hand against the north, destroys Asshur, makes Nineveh a waste” (2:13). Whether the invading “mighty people” of Joel 2 embodies a swarm of locusts once again (as in Joel 1) or more probably an enemy army is disputed. *hašš<sup>c</sup>pônî* “the northern,” which Yahweh promises “to remove from you” (2:20), is related even more diversely (cf. the review of research in Kapelrud, op. cit. 93ff.) to the locusts, the north wind, a mythic-divine being (G. W. Ahlström, *Joel and the Temple Cult of Jerusalem* [1971], 33f.), Yahweh himself or his messenger (Rudolph, *KAT* 13/2, 64f.), or—probably most likely—to an enemy army (e.g., Wolff, *Joel*, Herm, 62; Lutz, op. cit. 38, 129f.). In Ezek 38f. Gog, brought from the extreme north (39:2; cf. 38:6, 15), no longer appears as a punitive instrument commissioned by Yahweh (cf. e.g., Jer 4:6) but will itself be affected by judgment “on the mountains of Israel” (cf. Joel 2:20; already Isa 14:25, etc.). Here the Gog motif and the concept of the “enemy from the north” must be tradition-historically distinguished (Lutz, op. cit. 69f., 127ff.; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:65f., 2:299ff.). Zechariah expects an effusion of the spirit in the north (6:6, 8) that will produce the return of the Diaspora dwelling there (2:10; cf. Jer 16:15; 23:8; 31:8, etc.). Finally, Dan 11:6ff. calls the rulers of the Seleucid empire “kings of the north.”

5. Regarding the NT, see W. Foerster, “ὄρος,” *TDNT* 5:475–87.

W. H. Schmidt

## צָרַר *šir* to show hostility toward

S 6887; BDB 865b; *HALOT* 3:1058b; *ThWAT* 6:1122–26; *TWOT* 1974; *NIDOTTE* 7675

1. One should distinguish the common Sem. root *šir* II “to show hostility toward,” etc. from *šir* I “to bind together; be constricted” (with the subst. *šārâ* “distress,” which occurs 70x in the OT, 22x in Psa) because of the divergent first radical (the former originally had a voiced emphatic interdental; cf. Berg., *Intro.* 210f.; Akk.: *šerru* “enemy,” *šerretu* “rival-wife, rival”; cf. *CAD* S:137f.; Ug.: *WUS* no. 2353; *UT* no. 2200; M. Dahood, *Bib* 51 [1970]: 403f.; Phoen. and Aram.: *DISO* 247; KBL 1111a; *LS* 544b; Arab.: *darra* “to harm”; cf. Wehr 537b; cf. also KBL 818b; W. A. Ward, *Or NS* 31 [1962]: 405f.).

The verb *šir* qal “to show hostility toward” (with the often subst. ptcp. *šōrēr* “enemy”), the by-form *šûr* II “to be hostile toward,” and the substs. *šar*

“enemy” and *šārâ* “rival-wife” (*šrr* qal in Lev 18:18 may be denominated from this noun; cf. KBL 818b and Elliger, HAT 4, 240) occur in the Hebr. OT, *šār* “adversary” (Dan 4:16 par. *šānē* “enemy”) occurs in Bibl. Aram.

2. The word group (excl. 1 Sam 2:32; Isa 5:30; 59:19; Psa 32:7; Esth 7:4: according to Lis. to be assigned to *šar* I or *šûr* I) is particularly widespread in the Psa: *šrr* II qal 27x (of these, 17x subst. *šōrēr*), 14x in Psa and 4x each in Num and Esth; *šûr* II qal 5x (Exod 23:22; Deut 2:9, 19; Judg 9:31; Esth 8:11); *šar* II 70x (26x in Psa, 9x in Lam, 6x in Isa, 4x each in Deut and Jer), and *šārâ* II 1x (1 Sam 1:6).

3./4. Like → *šōyēb*, *šar* is a general designation for “enemy, opponent,” but, except for Esth 7:6 (Haman; cf. also Lam 2:4, which compares Yahweh to an enemy; in both cases *šar* parallels *šōyēb*), it is not used of individuals but generally or collectively (likewise *šōrēr*; again apart from passages referring to Haman, Esth 3:10; 8:1; 9:10, 24).

The enemies are usually politico-military enemies of Israel or Judah (Num 10:9; 24:8; Deut 32:27; 33:7; Josh 5:13; 2 Sam 24:13 = 1 Chron 21:12; Isa 9:10 txt em; 63:18; Jer 30:16; [48:5 txt?]; 50:7; Ezek 30:16 txt em; 39:23; Amos 3:11; Mic 5:8; Zech 8:10; Psa 44:6, 8, 11; 60:13f. = 108:13f.; 74:10; 78:42, 61; 81:15; 105:24; 106:11; 107:2; 136:24; Lam 1:5, 7, 10, 17; 2:17; Esth 7:6; Ezra 4:1; Neh 4:5; 9:27[bis]; with *šrr/šûr* qal: Exod 23:22; Num 10:9; 25:17f.; 33:55; Deut 2:9, 19; Judg 9:31; Isa 11:13[bis]; Psa 74:4, 23; 129:1f.; Esth 8:11), less often the enemies of individuals like Abraham (Gen 14:20), David (2 Sam 24:13 = 1 Chron 21:12; Psa 89:24, 43; 1 Chron 12:18), a psalmist (Psa 3:2; 13:5; 27:2, 12; 112:8; 119:139, 157; with *šrr* qal: Psa 6:8; 7:5, 7; 23:5; 31:12; 42:11; 69:20; 143:12), Job (Job 6:23; 16:9), the innocent (Amos 5:12), or the godless (Psa 10:5). Yahweh’s enemies are mentioned in Deut 32:41, 43; Isa 1:24; 26:11; 59:18; 64:1; Jer 46:10; Nah 1:2; Psa 78:66; 97:3; Job 19:11 (with *šrr* qal: Psa 8:3).

The major par. expressions are → *šōyēb* (2, 3a; cf. also Isa 59:18; Psa 89:23f.), → *šn* pi. ptc. (Deut 32:41; Psa 44:8; 89:24), *qām* (→ *qûm*; Psa 3:2; 44:6), *gōyîm* “nations” (Num 24:8; Isa 64:1), *rōdēp* “persecutor” (Psa 119:157), *šārîš* “tyrant” (Job 6:23); cf. also *qn* pi. (→ *qin*â) accompanying *šrr* qal in Isa 11:13.

The theological usage of *šrr/šar*, esp. in the Psa, compares to the more common par. → *šōyēb* (4).

5. The LXX most often renders *šrr/šar* with *echthros* and derivatives, also with *thlibein* (under the influence of *šrr* I) and *hypenantios*, like *thlibein* used in order to avoid repetition of *echthros* in parallelisms involving *šōyēb* (but cf. Psa 89:43); cf. W. Foerster, “ἐχθρός,” TDNT

2:811–15; H. Schlier, “θλίβω,” *TDNT* 3:139–48.

E. Jenni

### קבש *qbš* to assemble

S 6908; BDB 867b; *HALOT* 3:1062b; *ThWAT* 6:1144–49; *TWOT* 1983; *NIDOTTE* 7695

### קבש *šp* to collect

S 622; BDB 62a; *HALOT* 1:74a; *TWOT* 140; *NIDOTTE* 665

1. Hebr. *qbš* “to assemble, gather” (with an originally voiced emphatic interdental) has counterparts in Ug. (*WUS* no. 2386; *UT* no. 2205) and in SSem. (Arab. *qbd* “to grasp,” Wehr 738b; Eth. *qbs* “to gather together,” Dillmann 438f.; Old SArab. *qbd* in proper names); *LS* 643 also includes Aram. *qb<sup>c</sup>* “to arrange” (followed by G. R. Driver, *JTS* 36 [1935]: 294, regarding Isa 57:13 txt? *qibbûš*; cf. *CPT* 122, 334).

The verb *šp* “to gather, remove,” which also deserves treatment here, is attested in Akk. (*esēpu*, *AHw* 248f.) and Can. (Ug.: *WUS* no. 332; *UT* no. 283; Phoen.-Pun.: *DISO* 141, 173, regarding the subst. *mšpt* and *nšpt*, also newly regarded as a verb; cf. J. Starcky, *MUSJ* 45 [1969]: 263f.).

*qbš* and *šp* occur together frequently only in Hebr. In Aram., where *šp* appears only sparingly in Jew. Aram. (Jastrow 95a), *knš* usually represents “to assemble” (*DISO* 123; Bibl. Aram. pe. “to gather,” Dan 3:2; hitpa. “to gather together,” Dan 3:3, 27; 1QapGen 12:16; cf. Fitzmyer, *Gen.Ap.* 56f., 101, 211; KBL 1086a; *LS* 335f.).

The element *qbš* occurs in the Hebr. place-names *qabš<sup>e</sup>el* (Josh 15:21; 2 Sam 23:20 = 1 Chron 11:22) and *qibšayim* (Josh 21:22; 1 Chron 6:53; cf. also Huffmon 146, 258; G. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques* [1934], 1:28, 188, 365). The root *šp* forms the basis of the PNs *šāšāp* (2 Kgs 18:18, 37 = Isa 36:3, 22; Psa 50:1, etc.; also on a Can. seal from Megiddo; cf. Diringier 168f.; F. Vattioni, *Bib* 50 [1969], 360 no. 7) and *šbīšāšāp* (Exod 6:24; cf. 1 Chron 6:8, 22; 9:19; *IP* 181f. with reference to Psa 27:10; cf. the Phoen. fem. PN *špt* in *KAI* no. 59.1; Benz 272).

All stems for *qbš* are attested except the hi./ho., as are the subst. *q<sup>e</sup>bûšâ* “gathering” (Ezek 22:20) and, although textually disputed, *qibbûš* “assembly” (Isa 57:13). The same stem forms of *šp* occur, in addition to

the subst.  $\text{ʔāsîp}$  “ingathering” (also in the Gezer calendar [*KAI* no. 182.1]; cf. *DISO* 20; S. Talmon, *JAOS* 83 [1963]: 183n.46),  $\text{ʔāsōp}$  “supply,”  $\text{ʔōsep}$  “ingathering,”  $\text{ʔāsēpâ}$  “incarceration,”  $\text{ʔāsuppâ}$  “assembly,” and  $\text{ʔāsapsūp}$  “mob” (BL 483).

2. Apart from the proper names, the root  $qbs$  is attested 129x in the OT: qal 38x (incl. Neh 13:11, pi. in Bombergiana), ni. 31x (Isa 8x), pi. 49x (Isa and Ezek 11x each), pu. 1x (Ezek 38:8), hitp. 8x,  $q^{\text{b}}būšâ$  1x (Ezek 22:20),  $qibbūš$  1x (Isa 57:13 txt?).

The root  $\text{ʔsp}$  occurs 209x (excl. 1 Sam 15:6; 2 Sam 6:1; incl. Jer 8:13 and Zeph 1:2 inf. abs.; incl. 2 Kgs 22:20 = 2 Chron 34:28, the latter passage classified under  $ysp$  hi. in Lis. 616a): qal 103x, ni. 81x, pi. 8x, pu. 5x, hitp. 1x,  $\text{ʔāsîp}$  2x (Exod 23:16; 34:22),  $\text{ʔāsōp}$  3x (Neh 12:25; 1 Chron 26:15, 17),  $\text{ʔōsep}$  3x (Isa 32:10; 33:4; Mic 7:1),  $\text{ʔāsēpâ}$  (Isa 24:22),  $\text{ʔāsuppâ}$  (Eccl 12:11), and  $\text{ʔāsapsūp}$  (Num 11:4) 1x each.

3. (a)  $qbs$  is used relatively rarely in the general sense of “to gather” (obj.: impersonal things like food, money, etc.; qal: Gen 41:35, 48; Deut 13:17; Psa 41:7; Prov 13:11; 28:8; 2 Chron 24:5; pi.: Isa 22:9; 62:9; Joel 2:6; Mic 1:7; Nah 2:11; cf.  $q^{\text{b}}būšâ$  Ezek 22:20). More common is the meaning “to assemble” (obj.: people or living beings), often with reference to the location (e.g., 1 Sam 7:5, Mizpah; 1 Kgs 18:20, Carmel) or purpose (e.g., 1 Sam 28:1, war; 2 Chron 20:4, cult).

(b)  $\text{ʔsp}$  has a broader semantic range than  $qbs$ : in addition to “to gather” and “to assemble,”  $\text{ʔsp}$  also signifies “to harvest” (Exod 23:10, 16; Deut 16:13; Job 39:12, etc.), “to accept” (Psa 27:10, of God; the antonym is  $\text{ʕzb}$  “to abandon”), and “to withdraw, remove” (1 Sam 14:19, hand; Judg 18:25, life; Gen 30:23 and Isa 4:1, shame [cf. *IP* 181f.]; etc.), which give rise to the meanings “to free” (2 Kgs 5:3, 6f., of leprosy), as well as “to take away (life) = cause to die” (Psa 26:9 with  $nepes̄$ ; 104:29 with  $rûah$ ; Job 34:14 with  $n^{\text{c}}šāmâ$ ) and “to eradicate” (Zeph 1:2 with  $sûp$  hi.). One encounters this ambivalence in Isa 49:5: K  $lô\text{ʔ}yē\text{ʔ}āsēp$  “will not be carried off” or Q  $lô\text{ʔ}yē\text{ʔ}āsēp$  “will be gathered to him.” A few passages use  $\text{ʔsp}$  in the context of burial (2 Sam 21:13 qal; Jer 8:2 ni.; 25:33 ni.; Ezek 29:5 ni. with  $qbs$  ni.; cf. Pun.  $m^{\text{ʔ}}spt$   $\text{ʕsm}y$  “the gathering place of my bones,” *DISO* 141; cf. Sir 38:16).  $\text{ʔsp}$  ni.  $\text{ʔel}^{\text{c}}ammāyw$  signifies “to be gathered to his relatives = to die” (Gen 25:8, 17, etc.; →  $\text{ʔāb}$  III/2a, IV/2a; →  $\text{ʕam}$ ). Regarding  $\text{ʔsp}$  qal/pi. “to conclude the retinue, bring up the rear” (qal: Isa 58:8, of Yahweh; pi.: Num 10:25; Josh 6:9, 13; Isa 52:12, of Yahweh), cf. *HP* 159f.

(c)  $kns$  qal occurs in late texts as a synonym of  $\text{ʔsp}$  and  $qbs$  in the general senses “to gather things” (Psa 33:7; Eccl 2:8, 26 [with  $\text{ʔsp}$ ]; 3:5, antonym,  $\text{šlk}$  hi. “to throw away”; Neh 12:44) and “to assemble (people)”

(Esth 4:16; 1 Chron 22:2), pi. “to assemble” (Ezek 22:21; 39:28; Psa 147:2, each with Yahweh as subj.); cf. Aram. *knš* (see 1).

All other synonyms of gathering have specific objs.: (1) *ʔrh* qal “to pluck (fruits)” (Psa 80:13; Song Sol 5:1); (2) *lqt* qal “to glean (something on the ground)” (14x, 9x in Exod 16 of manna), pi. “to glean, gather” (21x, 11x in Ruth 2 of heads of grain), pu. “to be gleaned” (Isa 27:12, imagery), hitp. “to gather together” (Judg 11:3, men); cf. *leqet* “gleaning” (Lev 19:9; 23:22); (3) *qwh* ni. “to gather together (water); flow together” (Gen 1:9; in imagery, Jer 3:17, of the nations); cf. *miqweh* “accumulation (of water)” (Gen 1:10; Exod 7:19; Lev 11:36) and *miqwâ* “collecting place (for water)” (Isa 22:11); (4) *qšš* po. “to gather (straw, wood)” (Exod 5:7, 12; Num 15:32f.; 1 Kgs 17:10, 12; cf. Zeph 2:1 txt? qal/hitpo.); (5) *rkš* qal “to gather (possessions)” (Gen 12:5; 31:18[bis]; 36:6; 46:6); cf. *r<sup>c</sup>kûš* “possessions” (28x); → *y<sup>c</sup>d*, → *qāhāl*.

4. Only Ezek 22:19f. (cf. Hos 8:10 pi.) uses *ʔsp* qal metaphorically for Yahweh’s judgmental activity. In contrast, *qbs* pi. has Yahweh as subj. in most passages (other subjs. only in Isa 13:14; 22:9; 62:9; Jer 49:5; Hos 9:6; Joel 2:6; Mic 1:7; Nah 2:11; 3:18; in Isa 34:16 Yahweh’s Spirit) and finds particular usage in the soteriological language of exilic and post-exilic literature; the hope for an ingathering of the Israelite or Judean Diaspora provided the impetus for this usage (Deut 30:3f. Dtr [cf. von Rad, *Deut*, OTL, 183f.]; Isa 11:12; 40:11; 43:5; 54:7; 56:8[bis]; Jer 23:3; 29:14; 31:8, 10; 32:37; Ezek 11:17; 20:34, 41; 28:25; 29:13, the Egyptians; 34:13; 36:24; 37:21; 39:27; Mic 2:12; 4:6; Zeph 3:19, 20 txt em; Zech 10:8, 10; Psa 106:47 = 1 Chron 16:35; Psa 107:3; Neh 1:9; cf. Ezek 38:8 pu.). Such passages use *qbs* pi. with general or metaphorical expressions for assistance/deliverance (→ *yš<sup>c</sup>* hi.) or redemption (→ *g<sup>l</sup>*, → *pdh*; cf. Jer 31:10f.; Zeph 3:19; Zech 10:8; Psa 106:47 = 1 Chron 16:35, etc.). In contrast to the qal, the pi. underscores the unexpected or inconspicuous realization of the result (*HP* 186–88).

*ʔsp* qal exhibits the same soteriological usage in Isa 11:12; Ezek 11:17; Mic 2:12; 4:6, in each case accompanying *qbs* pi., as does *kns* pi. in Ezek 39:28 (cf. v 27 *qbs* pi.) and Psa 147:2. Other passages with Yahweh as the subj. of *qbs*, usually in the meaning “to remove” (Gen 30:23; 2 Kgs 22:20, etc.) are not particularly noteworthy theologically; yet cf. perhaps Psa 85:4 “you have removed all your fury” and *ʔsp* qal “to accept” in Psa 27:10.

5. The available Qumran texts use *ʔsp* about 20x, but *qbs* only 3x—indeed, always in reference to the accumulation of wealth by the priests in Jerusalem (1QpHab 8:11; 9:5; 4QpNah 11; cf. the published texts in Kuhn, *Konk.* 20f., 189). The most common LXX translation of *qbs* and *ʔsp* is *synagein*, also used in the NT for the assembly of the community (e.g.,

Acts 11:26; 14:27).

J. F. A. Sawyer

## קִדְמָה *qedem* past times

S 6924; BDB 869b; HALOT 3:1069a; ThWAT 6:1163–69; TWOT 1988a; NIDOTTE 7710

1. The root *qdm* is represented in all branches of the Sem. languages, often in several parts of speech (subst. “front side,” adj. “former,” prep. “before,” etc.), in spatial and temporal meanings (cf. Berg., *Intro.* 218f.; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/20 [1965]: 258, 265, 269; for the older linguistic periods, cf. e.g., *AHw* 891b, 926a; *WUS* no. 2389; Gröndahl 175; *DISO* 251–53; *LS* 646–48).

In the Hebr. OT the verb is attested only in the pi. (“to come before someone, encounter,” etc., in the meaning “to anticipate, do early” [Psa 119:147f.] and “to do for the first time” [Jonah 4:2], perhaps under Aram. influence; cf. Wagner nos. 252f.) and hi. (“to transport” Amos 9:10; textually uncertain in Job 41:3). The substs. have spatial or temporal meanings: *qedem* “anterior = east; former time, times past,” *qēdem* in the locative form *qēd<sup>e</sup>mâ* “eastward,” *qadmâ* “former status, origin,” *qidmâ* as a prep. *qidmat* “over against,” *qādîm* “east, east wind,” *q<sup>e</sup>dûmîm* (only in Judg 5:21 in an unexplained meaning describing the brook Kishon), *qadmôn* “east,” and *qadmônî* “east” and “formerly.” Bibl. Aram. has *qadmâ* “former time” (as prep. *qadmat* “before”), *qadmāy* “first, former,” and the prep. *q<sup>o</sup>dām* “before” (temporal and spatial).

On the PN *qadmî<sup>ʔ</sup>el* (e.g., Ezra 2:40), see *IP* 256 (no. 1216).

2. Of 204 occurrences of the word group in the Hebr. OT (as well as 47 in the Aram. portions), a full one-third occur in Ezek as a result of the preference for *qādîm* “east” (48x) in Ezek 40–48. *qdm* pi. occurs 24x (12x in Psa), hi. 2x (see 1); the nom. *qedem* occurs 61x (almost equally in spatial and temporal senses, in the former 9x in Gen, in the latter 9x in Psa and 6x in Isa), *qēdmâ* 26x (Num 8x, Josh 4x), *qadmâ* 6x (Ezek 4x), *qidmâ* 4x, *q<sup>e</sup>dûmîm* 1x, *qādîm* 69x (in the meaning “east,” Hab 1:9 and 49x in Ezek; in the meaning “east wind,” 19x, 3x each in Gen, Exod, Ezek, and Job), *qadmôn* 1x (Ezek 47:8), and *qadmônî* 10x (6x in a spatial and 4x in a temporal sense); Bibl. Aram. *qadmâ* 2x (Dan 6:11; Ezra 5:11), *qadmāy* 3x

(Dan 7:4, 8, 24), and *q°dām* 42x (Dan 38x, Ezra 4x).

3./4. (a) Of terms in this word group, *qedem/qādîm* “east” attained no particular theological significance (cf., however, the attribution of the origins of wisdom, as well as soothsaying, to the east: 1 Kgs 5:10; Isa 2:6; regarding the solar interpretation of Yahweh in Ezek 8:16 *qēdmâ*, see Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:243f.; on the east wind as Yahweh’s tool, see e.g., Exod 10:13; 14:21; Isa 27:8; Hos 13:15; Jonah 4:8; Psa 48:8). By contrast, *qdm* pi. “to come before someone (amicably or antagonistically), meet” is used as the general designation of the relation between humans and God (see also → *qrh*). The expression “meet someone with something” is also attested in profane usage (Deut 23:5; Isa 21:14); consequently, origins in the cultic realm should not be assumed for Mic 6:6 (“with what shall I appear before Yahweh . . . shall I appear before him with burnt sacrifice?”; Th. Lescow, *Micha* 6:6–8 [1966], 21, also discusses *kpp* ni. “to bow down” used in par.; → *hwh* hištap<sup>al</sup> 3), even though the language of the Psa uses the verb a few times in dependence on cultic language (Lescow, op. cit. 21 n.63 regarding Psa 95:2, “let us appear before his countenance with thanksgiving”; cf. 88:14; 89:15). Psa 21:4; 59:11 Q; and 79:8 discuss Yahweh’s approach with blessing, goodness, and mercy.

(b) Like → *ôlām* (3bc), in a temporal meaning *qedem* “former time, times past” can have overtones that bring the entities described in proximity to the divine sphere to a greater or lesser degree. According to Deut 33:27 God himself is an ancient-eternal God, <sup>°</sup>*lōhé qedem* par. *z°rō°ôt ôlām*; cf. Hab 1:12; *qedem* alone should not be taken as a divine designation, however (contra M. Dahood, *CBQ* 30 [1968]: 513, regarding Prov 8:23). Correspondingly, his works of creation could also acquire this predicate, as do wisdom (Prov 8:22f.), the mountains (Deut 33:15), and heaven (Psa 68:34; the interpretation of *naḥal q°dûmîm* in Judg 5:21 is uncertain). As with *ôlām*, here too the temporal distance from the present is relative; it can concern mythical antiquity (Isa 51:9; cf. Psa 74:12) or just a former period of one’s own life (Job 29:2). Ancient origins were considered a particular qualification for Eg. royal families (Isa 19:11), the city Sidon (Isa 23:7), and the coming messianic ruler (Mic 5:1; it is not entirely clear which traditions were used here). Other passages relate the word to the patriarchal period (Mic 7:20), the beginning of the people (Psa 44:2; 74:2), the time of David (Neh 12:46), or the time of the prophets (Ezek 38:17 *yāmîm qadmônîm*). Psa 77:6, 12; 78:2; 119:152; 143:5 remain temporally rather indefinite. In addition to the positive assessment of the former times in the people’s current times of distress (Jer 30:20; 46:26; Lam 1:7; 5:21), Deutero-Isa demands that the earlier period no longer be remembered in view of the coming period of salvation (Isa 43:18). God’s almighty acts of judgment are often attested with reference to the fact that he has long since proclaimed

(Isa 45:21; 46:10) and ordained (2 Kgs 19:25 = Isa 37:26; Lam 2:17) his work.

5. In the Qumran texts, the increasing usage of *miqqedem* *ʿôlām* “from ancient times” is an innovation (1QH 13:1, 10; CD 2:7). The LXX often translates *qedem* with phrases involving *archaios*; see G. Delling, *TDNT* 1:486.

E. Jenni

## קֹדֶשׁ *qdš* **holy**

S 6942; BDB 871a; *HALOT* 3:1072b; *ThWAT* 6:1179–1204; *TWOT* 1990; *NIDOTTE* 7727

I. 1. Sem. forms of the root *qdš* (cf. Berg., *Intro.* 220f.; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/20 [1965]: 249, 262, 267) apparently rest on two proto-Sem. ground forms, *\*qadiš* and *\*qaduš*, both of which belong to the descriptive class of words (see *GAG* §52a).

The form *\*qadiš* is suggested by the Akk. noun *qadištu(m)* “pure, consecrated” and the verb forms *qa-d-iš* “is consecrated” (stative G stem) in *Ugaritica* 5:9.22, *qa-di-šu* “are holy” (also stative G stem) in EA 137:32, and, with metathesis of the consonants *dš*, *lā qašid* “is unclean” in *BWL* 215:13. The Hebr. verbal adj. (qal act. ptcp.) *qādēš* “holy one” and the verb form *qādēšû* “are holy” in Num 17:2 (in contrast to *w<sup>c</sup>qādaš* in Exod 29:21) are significant in this respect, as are the Aram. and Syr. adj. *qaddiš(āʿ)* “holy” (as an intensive form of *\*qadiš*; cf. BLA 192) and the isolated Arab. *qiddīs* for Christian “holy one(s),” which may be borrowed from Aram.-Syr.

The form *\*qaduš* underlies Hebr. *qādōš* “holy” with the abstract *qōdeš* (*\*qudš*) “holiness, sanctuary,” as do Syr. *qudšā* “holiness, sanctuary,” Arab. *qadusa* “to be holy, pure” (impf. *yaqdušu*) with the adj. intensive form *al-qaddūs* “the most holy, most pure,” and again the abstract *quds* or *qudus* “holiness, purity.”

*\*qadiš* seems to be indigenous to ESem. and WSem., *\*qaduš/s* to WSem.

2. The proto-Sem. root apparently already describes the status or character of holiness; it indicates, then, a conception of numinous quality *sui generis*. The fundamental unity of the term governs the substantially self-contained semantic spectrum of the derivatives of the root. Only the esthetic connotation of purity, esp. prominent in Akk. and Arab., modifies this basic unity, but even it reflects the essence of the numinous. The concept of ethical purity is probably secondary everywhere.

Adjs. and stative verbs indicating numinous qualities seem to be relatively frequent in the *qatil* and *qatul* paradigms. Comparisons to \**qadiš* may be made with Hebr. *ʾāmēn* “dependable” (?), *dāweh* “ill, menstruating” (as a negative assessment), *ḥānēp* “unholy,” *ṭāmēʿ* “unclean,” *yāpeh* “(splendid >) pretty,” *kābēd* “weighty,” *ʿārēl* “uncircumcised,” *šālēm* “whole,” *šāmēm* “desolate”; and to \**qaduš* with *ʾāyōm* “horrible,” *gābōah* “high,” *gādōl* “great,” *ṭāhōr* “pure,” and *ʿāmōq* “deep, secret.”

The often-accepted basic meaning “set apart” (cf. e.g., Eichrodt 1:270–72) may only be inferred: the holy is set apart from the profane in a *temenos*, for example, to protect it and to protect against it as soon as the corresponding need for protection is perceived; the experience of the holy as the “wholly other” presupposes, for the most part, a point of departure in an understanding of the profane that has been suggested only by the absence of the numinous in modern concepts of normalcy.

3. (a) From the adj. \**qadišum* > \**qadšum* > *qaššu(m)*, fem. *qadištu(m)* “consecrated, holy,” Akk. formed the stative verb *qadāšu(m)* “to be holy, pure,” which occurs significantly in the G stem only as a stative. Its D stem “to purify” forms the basis for the verbal adj. *quddušu* “sanctified, purified.” According to GAG §36b, the adj. \**qadšum* becomes through euphonic metathesis *qašdu(m)* with the stative verb *qašādu(m)*, which again occurs in the G stem only as a stative, and the D stem derivative *quššudu* “most holy” (cf. *AHW* 891f., 906a, 926a, 930a).

(b) Among the NWSem. languages, Ug. has the adj. *qdš* “holy,” used in the pl. to indicate status (see III/3). In the phrase *šph ltpn wqdš* “shoot of the amiable and (of the?) holy” (*KTU* 1.16.10f., 21f.), *qdš* seems to have been the epithet or the name of a goddess (*WUS* no. 2394); it would have functioned thus alongside the more expected *qdšt* (181.17; cf. the PN *bn qdšt* in 4.69.V.11) and the use of *qdš* in conjunction with *amrr* for a male deity (1.4.IV.16f.; cf. *qd<š> wamr[r]* l. 8 and *qdš amrr* 1.3.VI.11). The noun *qdš* in *bn qdš* as a par. to *il* (passages: M. Dahood, *RSP* 2:110 §33b) apparently has the abstract meaning “holiness,” thus *bn qdš* “son of holiness” > “holy one”; this abstract meaning then secondarily became concrete in the frequent *qdš* “sanctuary” (also as a place-name). The preformative form *mqdšt* is used for “sanctuary” in *KTU* 4.609.15.

In Phoen.-Pun. (*DISO* 165, 253f.) the adj. *qdš* dominates. The subst. *qdš* once again indicates “the sanctuary” in *KAI* no. 17.1; no. 78.5 (*kdš* !); no. 145A.1f. A verb *qdš* is attested only in the yi., with the meaning “to dedicate, present, best described as causative (with a dative of the recipient, differently in Neo-Pun., *KAI* no. 121), in dedicatory inscriptions, and once in Pun. in a reflexive-causative hitp. “to present oneself” (*KAI* no.

138.1).

Within the Aram. linguistic realm, the adj./subst. *qaddīš(ā)* “holy/holy one” may appear in *bʿl qdšn* “the lord of the holy ones,” Ah. 95 (*DISO* 253f.; see the discussion here also), and surely and often (13x) occurs in Dan, in Jew. Aram., in *qdyš ʔylʔ* “holy God,” in the gnostic confession concerning *waw*, I. 2 (see V/2), in Palm., Syr., and Mand. The abstract noun *qudšā* has the meaning “holiness, sanctuary” in Jew. Aram. and as the determinate “the Holy One” (J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* [1868], 2:348) stands for God as the bulwark of holiness. The ground stem of the verb does not occur at all. The pa. in Jew. Aram., Syr., and Mand. has the factitive meaning common for stative verbs “to make holy, sanctify”; in addition, it is used estimatively (“to consider holy”) and declaratively (“to declare holy”; Levy, op. cit. 347; *LS* 649), in Palm. also causatively with a dative of the recipient (“to dedicate”; cf. *DISO* 253). The itpa. or etpa. is the pass. or reflexive of the pa. The ap. “to dedicate” and “to declare holy” also occurs in Jew. Aram. (Levy, op. cit.), as well as in the meaning “to dedicate” in two Palm. burial inscriptions. Jew. Aram. also uses the preformative forms *maqdaš/maqdešāʔ* (as does Syr.) and *muqdēš(āʔ)* for the “sanctuary.”

4. The Hebr. qal pf. of the verb *qdš* indicates the present (Num 17:2 [Isa 65:5 should be read as a pi.]) or future (Exod 29:21 [pf. cons.]) status of holiness and thus corresponds, perhaps as an archaism, to the Akk. (*GAG* §77d) and Ug. (*UT* §13.25) stative of stative verbs (on the stative pf. in Hebr., see Meyer 1:20; 3:49f.). The impf. is ingressive (“to become holy”) and timeless (Exod 29:37; 30:29; Lev 6:11, 20; Hag 2:12), for the present (1 Sam 21:6) or the future (Deut 22:9), while Num 17:3 uses the impf. cons. for the past. The pi. is factitive, i.e., it indicates the creation of the state designated by the qal pf. (“to make holy, sanctify,” as in Akk. and Aram.); in addition, the estimative meaning “to consider holy” also occurs in Exod 20:8; Deut 32:51, etc., and the declarative meaning “to declare holy” in e.g., Exod 19:23 (*HP* 41, 59f.), both as in Aram.-Syr. The pu. is the pass. of the factitive (“to be made holy”), the hitp. is the reflexive (“to sanctify oneself, dedicate oneself,” of people, as in Pun.; “to show oneself to be holy” Ezek 38:23, of God). The latter meaning is otherwise represented by the ni., if it is not simply synonymous with the ingressive (impf.) qal, as in Isa 5:16 (cf. Berg. *HG* 2:90), which is also the case for stative verbs; furthermore, the ni. functions like the pu. as the pass. of the factitive (“to be made holy, dedicated”) in Exod 29:43 or of the estimative in Lev 22:32 (“to be treated as if holy”). The causative concept “to dedicate, present” with God as the dative of the recipient dominates the hi. (like Phoen.-Pun. yi.); moreover, the factitive meaning “to make holy, dedicate” also occurs (e.g., Josh 20:7; 1 Chron 23:13; 2 Chron 29:19; 30:17), as in

the Aram. realm, while “to consider holy” diminishes in significance (Num 20:12; 27:14; Isa 29:23; cf. *HP* 59f.).

The adj. *qādôš* quite often gives way to the abstract *qōdeš* as a gen. attribute (on the relationship of *qatul* adjs. and *qutl* abstracts, see BL 460f.); *qōdeš* is also adj., however, in the abs. usage (Lev 10:10) or as the predicate of *hyh* “to be” (Lev 21:6). As in other Sem. languages, the abstract *qōdeš* “holiness” assumes the concrete meaning “sanctuary” or designates other things characterized by holiness, even in the intensive chain *qōdeš* (*haq*)*q°dāšîm* “holy of holies.”

The noun *miqdāš* with a \**ma-* preformative designates, as in Ug., Aram.-Syr., and Arab *maqdis*, “what is holy” (on the preformative \**ma-*, cf. GKC §85e; *GVG* 1:375ff.), esp. the holy place as “sanctuary,” holy things like sacrificial offerings (Num 18:29), Yahweh as the bulwark of holiness (Ezek 11:16), and probably also “holiness” as such (Lev 19:30; 26:2).

Regarding Mid. Hebr. see V.

Because the concepts of all the root’s derivatives are not far removed from the basic meaning, they are treated together below. For the older literature concerning holiness in the OT, cf. e.g., Jacob 69; F. Horst, *RGG* 3:148–51; J. A. Soggin, *BHH* 2:681f.

Apart from an early dynamistic concept of holiness (see III/1–5), the emphasis on the holiness of divine figures seems traceable to Can. influence, both with respect to the holiness of El and Yahweh himself (see IV/1) and to that of a number of divine figures (IV/2). The pre-exilic writers use the root with reticence; only Isaiah, who has other affinities with the Can. tradition of Jerusalem, demonstrates a relatively frequent usage of the word that continues into the inauthentic portions of the book of Isa, incl. Deutero-Isa. The holiness of numinous locales (IV/3), times (IV/4), consecrated people (IV/5), and gifts (IV/6) admittedly has primitive roots but finds subtle definitions and regulations in Ezek, P, and in the Chr’s history; as a result, observation of the use of *qdš* yields information concerning the early Jewish concept of the sacred in which *the* holy itself claims an objective interest in addition to its relationship to the personal deity.

II. Derivatives of the root are distributed in the individual bibl. books as follows (Ezek 7:24 is classified as pi. with Mandl.):

	qal	ni.	pi./pu.	hi.	hitp.	<i>qōdeš</i>	<i>qādôš</i>	<i>q°dēšâ</i>
<i>miqdāš</i>								
Gen	–	–	1	–	–	–	3	–
Exod 3		1	22	1	1	70	2	–
Lev 2		2	15	10	2	92	20	–
Num 2		1	3	4	1	57	7	–

Deut	1	–	2	1	–	4	7	2	–	
Josh	–	–	1	1	2	2	1	–	1	
Judg	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	
1 Sam	1	–	–	2	–	1	3	2	–	–
2 Sam	–	–	–	–	2	1	–	–	–	–
1 Kgs	–	–	1	2	–	12	–	3	–	
2 Kgs	–	–	1	1	–	3	2	1	–	
Isa	1	1	–/1	3	2	23	38	–	4	
Jer	–	–	7	2	–	6	2	–	2	
Ezek	–	6	8/1	–	1	57	2	–	30	
Hos	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	1	–	
Joel	–	–	4	–	–	3	–	–	–	
Amos	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	2	
Obad	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	
Jonah	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–
Mic	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	
Nah	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Hab	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	–	–	
Zeph	–	–	–	1	–	2	–	–	–	
Hag	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	
Zech	–	–	–	–	–	5	1	–	–	
Mal	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	
Psa	–	–	–	–	–	45	15	–	5	
Job	–	–	1	–	–	–	3	1	–	
Prov	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	–	–	
Ruth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Song Sol	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Eccl	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	
Lam	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	3	
Esth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Dan	–	–	–	–	–	13	3	–	3	
Ezra	–	–	–/1	–	–	6	–	–	–	
Neh	–	–	3	2	–	7	3	–	1	
1 Chron	–	–	–	–	6	2	17	–	–	2
2 Chron	–	–	–	4/2	7	11	30	1	–	5
Hebr. OT	11	11	11	76/5	45	24	469	116	11	74

Aram. *qaddiš* “holy” occurs 13x, only in Dan; no other derivatives occur.

III. For a dynamistic-magical religiosity, *qdš* is primarily associated with the concept of might. Forms of the root compete with forms of *nzr* in positive assessments (ni. “to dedicate oneself,” perhaps in relation to a

lower, illegitimate numen in Hos 9:10; cf. the noms. *nēzer* “dedication, diadem” and → *nāzîr* “dedicated one”) and forms of *ḥrm* in negative assessments “for the sphere which is utterly incompatible with what is sacred” (ILC 3–4:272).

1. The “holy” in the sense of that imbued with mana includes, first, objects. In 1 Sam 21:5 the priest from Nob distinguishes between “normal bread” (*leḥem ḥōl*) and “holy bread” (*leḥem qōdeš*), which was periodically offered to Yahweh as *leḥem happānîm*; in order to be able to consume the latter, one must have refrained from sexual intercourse: the body of the consumer must itself be holy (v 6), as is also the case when going to battle in the holy war. But even this provision is an exception conditional on need. Originally, everything had its own “force”; for this reason, Deut 22:9 prohibits planting a vineyard with two kinds of crops lest “all of it become holy.” Holiness is esp. associated with valuables: the parallelism in Lam 4:1 indicates that gold and the precious metal *ketem* are “holy stones” (cf. J. A. Emerton, ZAW 79 [1967]: 233–36).

The same evaluation may underlie the meaning “(nose or ear-) ring” for Akk. *qudāš(t)u(m)*, Jew. Aram. *q<sup>e</sup>dāšāʾ/qādāšāʾ/qāddīšāʾ*, and Syr. *q<sup>e</sup>daš(t)ā* (J. Jeremias, “Mt 7,6a,” FS Michel 271–75).

2. In addition, some processes establish power matrices and are consequently taboo. Such is true of menses, from whose uncleanness (*ṭumʾā*) Bathsheba had just freed herself (*qdš* hitp.) when David came in to her (2 Sam 11:4), a circumstance that makes his crime even more serious. War is and makes “holy” (1 Sam 21:5f.; cf. the abstentions in 1 Sam 14:24ff.; 2 Sam 11:11). Accordingly, the summons to arms is *qadd<sup>e</sup>šû milḥāmâ ʿal* “sanctify war against” (Jer 6:4; Joel 4:9; Mic 3:5); cf. Josh 7:13 “sanctify the people” (furthermore, Jer 51:27f.) and the phrase related to the people’s opponent summoned by Yahweh in Jer 22:7 (J. Braslavi, *Beth Miqra* 10 [1965]: 43–47 [Modern Hebr.]). If the warriors possess something *ḥērem* “taboo,” they cannot withstand their enemies until they have removed it, according to Josh 7:12f. Those prepared in this manner are called *m<sup>e</sup>quddāšîm* “sanctified” in Isa 13:3; an ordinary march in contrast to a military campaign is called *derek ḥōl* in 1 Sam 21:6. The hi. in Jer 12:3 signifies “presenting” someone, here the prophet’s enemies, for destruction on the day of slaughter, while in Zeph 1:7 it means the consecration of that brought for sacrifice on the day of Yahweh (cf. *HP* 61). Like a war, one also consecrates an *ʿašārâ* “(abstention >) festival assembly”: *qadd<sup>e</sup>šû ʿašārâ* (2 Kgs 10:20, in reference to Baal), *qadd<sup>e</sup>šû-šôm qirʾû ʿašārâ* (Joel 1:14; 2:15), and *qadd<sup>e</sup>šû qāhāl* (Joel 2:16) are formulae of summons to communal lament (see H. W. Wolff, ZAW 76 [1964]: 48–56).

3. Among the consecrated individuals of a more archaic character, the OT knows the → *nāzîr* “consecrated” and the *qādēš* or *q<sup>e</sup>dēšâ*.

The *nāzîr* is “holy” (*qādôš*) “until the time he is dedicated to Yahweh” (*nzr* hi. as a denominative) has transpired, Num 6:5 (8). If he has become unclean through contact with a corpse, (the hair of) the Nazirite’s head, where his power is concentrated, should be made holy (*qdš* pi.) once again by the priest through the sacrifice of doves.

In contrast, the *qādēš* and the *q<sup>e</sup>dēšâ* seem to number among the cultic functionaries active for their entire lifetimes.

*qaššum* already indicates a cultic functionary in Old Assyri.; the Akk. fem. *qadištu(m)* (*qašdatu*, *qaššatum*, *qadiltu*) indicates a class of women whose activity is related to sexual matters but apparently not specifically to the Ishtar cult. Its Sum. designation *NU.GIG* indicated a higher social status in pre-Bab. times; in later periods much also speaks against a simple classification of the *NU.GIG* /*qadištu(m)* as cultic prostitutes, according to J. Renger (ZA 58 [1967]: 179–84). Yet it is remarkable that, according to B. Landsberger (*Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon* [1937], 1:99.7; 100.11), the *qadištu* spent time on the streets, where she adopted a boy; she also appears in the text AOAT I:4.11 in no finer level of divine and human society.

For the Ug. *qdšm* (only masc.), mentioned in 4 of 5 passages after priests (*khn*) and 3x with the work of their hands, W. von Soden’s translation “cultic prostitute” (*UF* 2 [1970]: 329f.) is unconvincing.

Gen 38:21f. unmistakably indicates that Hebr. *q<sup>e</sup>dēšâ* refers to the prostitute; yet it is not related to the cult (H. L. Ginsberg, FS Baumgartner 75n.2) and thus there was no objection to it. In the prophetic accusation in Hos 4:14, *q<sup>e</sup>dēšôt* parallels *zōnôt* “whores,” and involvement with them is associated with sacrifice; Hos 12:1 associates the *q<sup>e</sup>dēšîm*, in the event that this is the correct reading (with J. Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten* [18983], 128), with the El cult in Judah (but also cf. IV/2). The *q<sup>e</sup>dēšîm* have their own rooms in the Jerusalem temple; here women wove clothing for Asherah (2 Kgs 23:7). Josiah terminated the institution of the *q<sup>e</sup>dēšîm* with the same superficial success that observant kings prior to him had known (1 Kgs 15:12; 22:47; cf. 14:24). The prohibition against *q<sup>e</sup>dēšîm* of both sexes in Deut 23:18 also refers to prostitutes, as clearly indicated by the par. prohibition (v 19) against bringing earnings from prostitution and “dog money” (on the expression, see D. W. Thomas, *VT* 10 [1960]: 424ff.) in fulfillment of a vow. Job 36:14 seems to presuppose that the *q<sup>e</sup>dēšîm* die an early death from disease resulting from their behavior (?); the expression can also, however, be used metonymically for “youth” (abstract pl.; E. Dhorme, *Job* [1984], 543f.; Fohrer, *KAT* 16, 473).

4. The firstborn in Num 18:17, who may have originally been

eliminated in order to maintain and augment the blessing particularly effective in them (cf. Lev 19:25; Ezek 44:30), may be “holy” in the dynamistic sense (cf. Pun. *qdm̄t qdš̄t* “holy firstborn” in the sacrificial lists from Marseille and Carthage, *KAI* nos. 69.12; 74.9). They are to be “dedicated” (Exod 13:2 *qdš̄ pi.*) or “offered” (Num 3:13; Deut 15:19 *qdš̄ hi.*) to Yahweh; they belong to him (Exod 13:2; Num 3:13; 8:17). No profane usage is permitted; consumption may be linked to the holy places (Deut 15:19f.). According to Lev 19:23f. the first three years’ production of trees may not be eaten; the fourth year is *qōdeš̄ hillûlîm l’yhw̄h*, an offering dedicated to Yahweh at the thanksgiving festival that goes to the cultic personnel (Elliger, HAT 4, 261).

5. In an accusation of participants of illegitimate cults, Isa 65:5 cites their warning to nonparticipants: “Keep back! Do not come near me! For I make you holy” (read *qiddaštîkâ* as a declarative pf. or a coincidental case). The warned or the warner apparently disapproved of such a holiness: the former feared either contamination by foreign (demonic?) holiness and perhaps the formalities of particular behavioral precautions; the latter feared the loss of numinous energy.

The manner in which those concerned come to this precarious holiness is indicated by the secondary verse 66:17: they “sanctify” (*mitqaddēšîm*) and “purify themselves” (*miṭṭāhārîm*) in preparation for cults practiced in gardens and in which one lines up “behind a (priest? mystagogue?) in the midst” (txt? cf. Ezek 8:10f.).

IV. 1. A personal religiosity in relation to the holy first appears when the holy power takes shape in the deity and thus becomes simultaneously volitional and addressable for people.

(a) The oldest passage that calls Yahweh *qādōš̄* is 1 Sam 6:20. After 70 men (50,000 according to a gloss) were smitten by Yahweh in Bethshemesh because Jeconiah’s sons did not participate in the universal joy at the arrival of his ark (LXX), the sorrow of the inhabitants is expressed by the phrase: “Who can stand before (withstand) Yahweh, this holy God?” Such holiness continues to be dynamistic to the extent that it adheres to a cultic object (cf. 2 Sam 6:6f.); at the same time, however, the destructive power proceeding from this object is understood as the power of a God who is personally offended by the indolence of the unimpressed.

A Pun. votive tablet (*KAI* no. 104.1) and a door inscription from Maktar (*KAI* no. 145.4) link similar attributes to divine names: *l’nhqdš̄* and *l’lmhqdš̄* “the holy god.”

(b) The figure of the holy God has become detached from the force-bearing object when Yahweh manifests himself as the Holy One in the epiphany. When Yahweh appears to the prophet Isaiah, apparently in the Jerusalem temple, as a high and majestic enthroned king with the seraphim

as court, the man hears how they praise their Lord as *qādôš*; the interpretation is appended: “his significance (*k<sup>e</sup>bôdô*) fills the whole earth” (Isa 6:3). In the presence of the purity of this holy, significant God, the prophet perceives himself and his people as “unclean,” particularly with respect to the lips as the organ of the prophetic discourse to which he is commissioned (v 5). Thus the dynamistic concept of holiness, according to which holiness is manifest in *kābôd* (cf. Exod 29:43), is not, in fact, transposed into a general ethical concept, but Yahweh’s intentionality is satisfied in that his holiness forms the counterpart to the impurity of human discourse.

The description of a god as holy was particularly common in pre-Israelite Canaan. Regarding Ug., reference can be made to the corresponding designation for Baal’s voice in *KTU* 1.4.VII.29 (reconstructed also in l. 31 according to e.g., *CML* 1 101, *CML* 2 65), the use of *bn qdš* as a homonym for *il*, and of *qdš* in composite divine names like *ltpn wqdš* and *qdš(w)amrr* (see l/3b). Phoen. (*KAI* no. 14.9, 22 [cf. *šd/r qdš* as an epithet for Eshmun, l. 17] and *KAI* nos. 15f.) and Pun. (e.g., *KAI* nos. 104.1; 114.3; 145.4; for a goddess, 162.3) also used *qdš* as a divine attributive. With a view to the Pun. pars. to 1 Sam 6:20 mentioned above, but esp. because of the high probability that one may assume for the Can. origins of the contextual concept of Yahweh’s kingship (Isa 6:1–5) and his court (H.-P. Müller, *ZNW* 54 [1963]: 254–67), one may speculate that the emphasis on Yahweh’s holiness, esp. in Isaiah, goes back to Can. influence (cf. O. Procksch, *TDNT* 1:89; W. Schmidt, “Wo hat die Aussage: Jahwe ‘der Heilige’ ihren Ursprung?” *ZAW* 74 [1962]: 62–66).

In the description of the epiphany in Hab 3:3 a freestanding *qādôš* parallels the subj. *ʔlôah*; similar to Isa 6:3, the same verse declares that Yahweh’s praise (*t<sup>e</sup>hillātô*) fills the earth, while his splendor (*hôdô*) covers heaven. The current context relates Yahweh’s self-manifestation as holy or majestic in the citation from Lev 10:3 to a fire epiphany. Num 20:13 links the self-manifestation as holy with the saving and simultaneously judging appearance of the *k<sup>e</sup>bôd yhw* (v 6b) when Moses smites water out of the rock (v 11); this appearance becomes judgment because, in their unbelief, Moses and Aaron did not “treat (Yahweh) as holy” (hi.), as would have been appropriate for him (v 12; cf. Isa 8:13 MT).

(c) As Yahweh’s holiness is extolled in the descriptive (hymnic) praise of God in Isa 6:3, an enthronement psalm (Psa 99:5, 9) calls for praising Yahweh because he is holy (cf. the corresponding calls to praise his name, 99:3; 103:1; 105:3; 106:47; 111:9; 145:21, or his holy memory [*zēker*], 30:5; 97:12). According to 89:19 the “Holy One of Israel” bears the epithet “our king”; according to 47:9 he exercises kingship over the nations “on his

holy throne” (cf. Isa 57:15). Psa 71:22 is a vow of praise to the “Holy One of Israel,” to which the eschatological song of praise in Isa 12 alludes in v 6. This hymnic motif also betrays the influence of Can. tradition. Praise of Yahweh’s incomparable holiness is also a component of descriptive praise in 1 Sam 2:2; cf. the rhetorical questions in Exod 15:11; Isa 40:25; Hab 1:12; Psa 77:14. In Psa 22:4 and 33:21 Yahweh’s holiness motivates a confession of confidence; yet Yahweh’s holiness, “above Israel’s songs of praise” and untouched by human distress, can also be an object of cautious reproach in Psa 22:4.

In the prophetic lament in Jer 23:9, the holiness of Yahweh’s words becomes the reference point for one’s own destruction. By contrast, Job (Job 6:10b) asserts that he has not kept “the words of the Holy One” hidden. In view of crippling propensity to sin, the request for attention in the individual lament in Psa 51:13 can assume the form: “Do not remove your holy Spirit from me!” Cf. the lament in Isa 63:11 concerning the absence of the holy Spirit as a saving force in the charismatics.

(d) But Yahweh’s holiness also has an obligatory character. Thus the Covenant Code (Exod 22:30) and, programmatically, the Holiness Code (Lev 17–26) require human holiness corresponding to that of Yahweh. “You shall be holy; for I, Yahweh, your God, am holy!” (Lev 19:2). Here “holy” assumes the significance of ethical purity. The juss. *q<sup>e</sup>dōšîm tihyû* is plerophorically varied in 11:44f. and 20:7 with the aid of the hitp.; Lev 20:26 amplifies the reason with the clause: “I have set you aside from all the nations so that you belong to me.”

(e) The obligatory character of Yahweh’s holiness becomes effective negatively, esp. in the prophetic proclamation of judgment, as a criterion for the accusation against Israel.

Isaiah uses the epithet “the Holy One of Israel” in this manner. Israel has abandoned or rejected him (1:4); instead of looking to him, they look to Egypt with its horses, chariots, and drivers (31:1). Announcements of judgment in his name elicit derision (5:19, 24) and prohibitions against speaking (30:11); even the call to confidence in relation to him meets only with animosity (30:11). According to the insertion 5:15f., Yahweh has become great, or as *hāʾēl haqqādōš* has “become holy” (ni.) through judgment executed against Israel. Secondary constructions such as 10:20; 17:7; and 29:19 announce the people’s future confidence in the “Holy One of Israel” (cf. 29:23 “they will keep holy the Holy One of Jacob”).

Yahweh’s holiness also becomes a norm for the accusation directed against Israel when Ezek 13:19 accuses the women of profaning (*ḥll* pi.) Yahweh among his people through forbidden magic (cf. 43:8 and the Dtr insertion in Amos 2:7; further, Isa 63:10). According to Ezek 36:20f. a profanation of the holy name of Yahweh also determines the history of

judgment that Israel has brought upon itself through its behavior. Thus according to Ezek 11:16, Yahweh has become for the exiled people “a *miqdāš*, i.e., a bulwark of saving holiness, only to a lesser degree.”

Finally, in Josh 24:19 Dtr acknowledges that, on account of Yahweh’s holiness, identical here with a jealousy disinclined to pardon, Israel cannot serve this God at all.

(f) Finally, Yahweh’s holiness also provides the foundation for a new situation of salvation for Israel, when, e.g., the Isaiah of the legend in 37:23 accuses Sennacherib, Israel’s enemy, of hubris toward the “Holy One of Israel”; cf. 10:17; 47:4; Jer 50:29; 51:5. According to Ezek 28:22 Yahweh will be “holy (sanctified)” (*qdš* ni.) and “honored” (*kbd* ni.) by the condemned Sidon; he will be “manifest as holy” completely by Gog (*qdš* hitp. Ezek 38:23). Correspondingly, Yahweh’s holiness motivates the salvation oracle to Israel. Already Hos 11:9 explains a mere limitation of the threat of judgment with the words: “I am God and not a man, holy in your midst; I do not come with terrors” (cf. Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 212). According to Ezek 28:25, Yahweh will be “holy (sanctified)” in the eyes of the heathen through his saving activity toward his people; cf. 36:23; 39:7, 25. By providing for Israel’s future obedience himself, he hinders the further profanation of his holy name (20:39; 43:7f.). With the same intention, Deutero-Isaiah’s salvation oracles call Yahweh “the Holy One of Israel” (41:14, 16, 20; 43:3; 48:17; 54:5; 55:5; cf. 47:4 and 60:9, 14); Salvation oracles are given in the name of the “Holy One of Israel” in 43:14; 45:11; 49:7 (cf. 57:15 and the freestanding *qādōš* in the disputation 40:25).

Yahweh occasionally affirms an announcement by his holiness, as in the judgment oracle in Amos 4:2 and in the varied prophecy of Nathan in Psa 89:36; Psa 105:42 calls the promise to Abraham a “holy word” in the same sense.

(g) The concept of God’s holiness is not entirely foreign to wisdom either. According to Prov 30:3 (LXX), El taught the speaker a wisdom specified as *daʿat q<sup>e</sup>dōšim* “knowledge of the holy” (pl. of majesty); in 9:10 *yirʾat yhw* “fear of Yahweh” and *daʿat q<sup>e</sup>dōšim* parallel one another. Regarding Job 6:10, see 1c. In Dan 4:5f., 15; 5:11 heathens attribute the legendary wisdom of the mantic Daniel to the “spirit of the holy gods.”

2. The pl. *q<sup>e</sup>dōšim* is frequently applied to numinous figures that have replaced the Can. pantheon in Yahwism.

Unfortunately, some texts were apparently consciously distorted. The reading *w<sup>e</sup>ittô rib<sup>e</sup>bôt qōdeš* is preferable for Deut 32:2aβ following the Peshitta (“and with him holy hosts”): Yahweh will then be accompanied on his journey from Sinai/Seir/Paran by a group of subordinate numina who are also presumed in the statement (v 3 txt em) “all the Holy Ones are in his power.” In the event that MT is roughly correct (but cf. also III/3), Hos

12:1 relates EI and the *q<sup>e</sup>dōšîm* to one another; yet MT could also be regarded as an abstract pl. as in Prov 9:10; 30:3 (cf. IV/1g). While *q<sup>e</sup>dōšîm* in Job 5:1 refers to a plurality of gods to whom Job could turn in prayer, Psa 16:1–3 seems to use EI and Yahweh, on the one hand, and the *q<sup>e</sup>dōšîm* and *ʾaddîrîm* (cj.), on the other, in opposition: the former are the legitimate object of pious confidence (vv 1, 2a), but the “Holy Ones” and the “lordly” are not (H. Gunkel, H. Schmidt, et al.; C. Schedl, ZAW 76 [1964]: 171–75). M. Dahood (RSP 1:323 §483) points to the parallelism of *qdš* and *ʾdr* in UT 125 (= KTU 1.16.I) ll. 7f., where they are used as adjs. modifying *ḥl(m)*, a great bird (?).

According to Psa 89:8, EI is “frightful in the counsel of the Holy Ones,” described in the par. verse as “his entire surroundings”; accordingly, *q<sup>e</sup>hal q<sup>e</sup>dōšîm* “assembly of the Holy Ones” in v 6 stands as a par. term for *šāmayim* “heaven” (cf. *q<sup>e</sup>dōšāw* par. to *šāmayim* in Job 15:15). V 7b praises Yahweh as incomparable *bibnē ʾēlîm* “among the sons of the gods” or “sons of EI” (depending on whether the pl. *ʾēlîm* represents the sg. as in Phoen. according to Friedrich-Röllig §§240:4; 306:1) who are with Yahweh “in the clouds” according to the par. verse.

The Yçimilk inscription (KAI no. 4.4f.) also knows of an “assembly of the holy gods of Byblos” (*mpḥrt gbl qdšm*) who surround the “Baal of heaven” and the “Lady of Byblos.” Regarding Hebr. *b<sup>e</sup>nē ʾēlîm* in Psa 89:7, cf. the expressions *kl bn ʾlm* par. to *qdšm/t* for the members of the counsel of the gods in KAI no. 27.11f., the notion of a “circle of the sons of the gods/EI” (*dr bn ʾlm*) in KAI no. 26A.III.19, and perhaps the Aram. phrase *bʾl qdšn* “Lord of the Holy Ones” in Ah. 95 (see I/3).

Zech 14:5 transforms Yahweh’s approach with “all the Holy Ones,” which I suspect is behind Deut 33:2f., into an eschatological concept.

In Dan, Aram. *qaddîš* (4:10, 20; par. *ʿîr* “watcher”) and Hebr. *qādōš* (8:13) represent an individual angel; the Aram. pl. *ʿîrîn* parallels *qaddîšîn* in 4:14 for the heavenly counsel. With O. Procksch, S. Mowinckel, M. Noth (“Holy Ones of the Most High,” *Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* [1966], 215–28), etc., one may consider the *qaddîšē ʿelyônîm* “Holy Ones of the Highest” (regarding the pl. *ʿelyônîm* see BLA 305) in 7:18 to be a reference to the angelic counsel; as their representative, the Son of man receives “might, honor, and dominion” (v 14) that are immediately transferred to the “people of the Holy Ones of the Highest,” observant Israel (v 27); *ʿam qōdeš* (12:7; 8:24 cj.) also refers to Israel. By contrast, the usage of the term “Holy Ones (of the Highest)” as the obj. of *ʿāb<sup>e</sup>dâ q<sup>e</sup>rāb ʿîm* “makes war against” (7:21) and of *y<sup>e</sup>ballēʾ* “he will cut to pieces” (v 25; like Hebr. *blh* pi. in 1 Chron 17:9) envision persecuted believers (F. Hanhart,

FS Baumgartner 90–101); vv 21f., 25 belong to the latest layer of the literarily multilayered text with direct reference to the events of the years 167–164 BCE, and esp. vv 21f., as a supplement to the vision narrative, fall outside the framework of the interpretation.

Concerning the concept of the “Holy Ones,” esp. in the Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, and the literature from Qumran, cf. C. Brekelmans, *OTS* 14 (1965): 305–29; L. Dequeker, *OTS* 18 (1973): 108–87.

3. (a) The presence of a god lends a place its holiness, just as, conversely, the numinous terror hovering about a place raises the questions of whether a god dwells there and who the god may be. Thus in Exod 3:5 J Moses hears the voice of Yahweh in the fire in the thorn bush demanding that he remove his shoes; the instructions that Joshua receives from the “leader of Yahweh’s army” at Jericho are in almost the same words (Josh 5:15). According to Exod 19:12, 23 J, Moses should place a boundary around Sinai against unauthorized contact and thus “sanctify” it.

(b) Zion was a holy mountain of Can. provenance that Israel occupied for Yahweh. Exod 15:(13)17 praises it as the goal of divine guidance; cf. Psa 78:54. The expression *har qōdeš* + pronom. suf. of the deity seems originally to have been a component of the Zion tradition, Psa 48:2; pl. 87:1, also 2:6; 3:5; 15:1; 43:3; 99:9; outside the Psalter, it occurs in the announcements of salvation in Isa 11:9; 56:7; 57:13; Ezek 20:40; Joel 4:17; Obad 16; Zeph 3:11; and, with the extension of holiness to the surrounding countryside, in Jer 31:23; Zech 2:16.

That Zion’s sacral honor was transferred from another (Can.) mountain is suggested not only by the pl. expression in Psa 30:8; 36:7 (*har<sup>c</sup>ré-<sup>l</sup>ēl*); 50:10; 76:5; 87:1; Isa 14:25; 65:9 but esp. from its location in the “extremities of Zaphon” (Ug. *špn* = Jebel <sup>c</sup>Aqra in northern Syria). Ezek 28:14 places the king of Tyre identified with the primal man on the *har qōdeš<sup>c</sup> lōhîm*, where he seems to be associated with the cherub in the midst of fiery stones.

Josh 20:7 reports the consecration of six cities of refuge for (unintentional) killers; cf. *bdl* hi. in Deut 4:41. Interestingly, the killer does not seem to become holy through contact with the altar in the sanctuary.

(c) The cultic cry “Yahweh (is) in his holy temple” (Psa 11:4; Hab 2:20) indicates what makes the temple holy; simultaneously, however, Yahweh’s throne is in heaven, according to Psa 11:4, and Hab 2:20 draws the enthusiastic conclusion that the whole world must become silent before Yahweh. According to Psa 46:5, the city of God is “the (most) holy dwelling place of the Highest”; according to Exod 15:11, Yahweh is “majestic

(acclaimed)“ above the *ʿēlîm* in the sanctuary (see Psa 77:14; cf. Dahood, *Psa*, ABC [19732], 2:230). Psa 68:6 draws conclusions for the law of asylum from God’s presence “in his holy dwelling.” The sanctuary is the starting point of the salvation oracle, Psa 60:8 = 108:8, or of Yahweh’s assistance, 20:3 (cf. 68:36); the lamenter lifts the hands to the Most Holy, 28:2, just as one genuflects “toward your holy temple,” 5:8; 138:2 (cf. 65:5; 150:1). Hymnic predications depict the holiness of the temple (Psa 93:5); Isa 64:10 is a segment of a lament concerning the holy temple. The formula “I am Yahweh who sanctifies them (the sanctuaries)“ (Lev 21:23) seems to be the basis of a ritual commandment. Announcements of disaster against sanctuaries of Israel in Amos 7:9 (cf. the threat in Lev 26:31) or of Moab in Isa 16:12 have counterparts in accusations concerning the defilement of the temple in Ezek 28:18; Mal 2:11 (cf. Lev 20:3; 21:12, 23). By contrast, Deutero-Isaiah summons the “holy city” Jerusalem to don splendid clothing (52:1). According to the Dtr, Yahweh consecrates the temple built by Solomon in order to place his name there, 1 Kgs 9:3 (2 Chron 7:16; 30:8; 36:14). In Exod 25:8 Yahweh instructs Moses to build a sanctuary “so that I may dwell among you.” According to Ezek 42:20, a wall should divide the holy (*qōdeš*) from the profane (*ḥôl*); for the corresponding division of the land of Judah, see 48:15. Concerning the consecration of the previously defiled temple, see 2 Chron 29:5, 17, 19.

(d) The areas and inventory of the temple are also holy. According to Judg 17:3 Micah consecrates a quantity of silver to Yahweh in order to make an idol image from it. Information concerning this process is given in detail in the post-exilic era. Ezek 42:13; 44:19; 46:19f. foresee holy rooms (*liškôt haqqōdeš*) where the priests will prepare and eat the most holy sacrifices (*qodšê haqqōdāšîm*) or where the priestly garments will be stored. Exod 29:36f. regulates the atonement (*kpr* pi.) of the altar (cf. Lev 16:33): it is consecrated (*qdš* pi.) by atonement and thus becomes most holy (*qōdeš qōdāšîm*) so that it confers its holiness on everyone who touches it (for holy implements, cf. Exod 30:29). The tent of meeting becomes “holy (sanctified)“ through Yahweh’s *kābôd*, and its holiness is conferred on the altar and the priests, Exod 29:43f. Holy oil (*šemen qōdeš* Exod 30:22–33; cf. 37:29) is for anointing of holy objects. P knows of a temple unit of weight called *šeqel haqqōdeš* in Exod 30:13, etc.; *kesep haqqōdāšîm*, 2 Kgs 12:5, is probably gold as a consecrated offering; *ʿôš<sup>c</sup>rôt haqqōdāšîm*, 1 Chron 26:20, may indicate the supply of consecrated offerings in contrast to the temple treasures (*ʿôš<sup>c</sup>rôt bêthā<sup>c</sup>lôhîm*; Rudolph, HAT 21, 177).

The *d<sup>c</sup>bîr*, the back room of the temple, is called *qōdeš* (Lev 16:2f., 16f., 20, 23, 27; Ezek 41:21, 23), *qōdeš haqqōdāšîm* (Exod 26:33f.; 1 Kgs 6:16; 7:50; 8:6; Ezek 41:4; 2 Chron 4:22; 5:7), *bêt qōdeš haqqōdāšîm* (2

Chron 3:8, 10), or *miqdašhaqqōdeš* (Lev 16:33); cf. *d<sup>o</sup>bîrqodšekā* Psa 28:2.

4. 2 Kgs 10:20 associates the root *qdš* with the concept of time, of festival time, when Jehu deceitfully commands the sanctification (*qdš* pi.) of an *šārâ* “festival assembly” for Baal; concerning the summons to communal lament, see III/2. The simile in Isa 30:29 concerning the future joy in victory speaks of the “night, when one sanctifies oneself for a dance (roundelay).” The “feast day” in Ezra 3:5 is termed (*kol-*)*mô<sup>o</sup>dé yhw* *ham<sup>o</sup>quddāšîm*.

In distinction to the older Sabbath commandments in Exod 23:12 and 34:12, Exod 20:8 (= Deut 5:12) commands explicitly that the Sabbath be “sanctified”; this commandment seems to point to the (relatively late) appearance of a cultic Sabbath celebration. Ezek 20:12, 20 knows the Sabbath as a sign (of the covenant) and thus as a divine gift; the commandment to sanctify the Sabbath (v 20a) pursues the goal of the recognition that “it is I who sanctifies her (Israel)” (v 12b); likewise Exod 31:13 links the understanding of the Sabbath as a sign (of the covenant) with this formula. Trito-Isaiah (58:13) calls the Sabbath Yahweh’s holy day. The expansion of the Sabbath commandment with the warning *miqdāšî tîrâ<sup>o</sup>û* “fear my holiness” in Lev 19:30; 26:2 is unusual (cf. I/4). In Gen 2:3 P (Exod 20:11) “he sanctified” (*qdš* pi.) seems to be synonymous with “he blessed” (*brk* pi.); thus, in accord with the use of *brk* in Gen 1:22, 28, the concept of holiness is linked to the concept of power, which may correspond to the designation of the Sabbath as *qōdešlākem* in Exod 31:14 (35:2) or *qōdešI<sup>o</sup>yhw* in 31:15 with the disproportionate threat of death in the event of defilement.

Nehemiah, Ezra, and the Levites proclaim the holiness of the feast of Booths as a day of joy (Neh 8:9, 11). The commandment for the silence of the Levites is reminiscent of the cultic cry in Hab 2:20 (cf. 3c). Lev 25:12 designates the year of Jubilees as *qōdešlākem*.

5. God’s holiness is also conferred on people who are involved with him.

(a) Before Yahweh can appear to people in an epiphany, a mediator must sanctify them (*qdš* pi., Exod 19:10, 14 J; cf. Josh 7:13); one must sanctify oneself (usually hitp.) when a wonder (Num 11:18 J; Josh 3:5), a war (Deut 23:15), or a sacrifice (1 Sam 16:5) is imminent. If one does not bring oneself into accord with the holy God, misfortune results (Exod 19:22).

By contrast, only since Deut is Israel discussed programmatically as a people holy for Yahweh its God (Deut 7:6; 14:2, 21; 26:19 [28:9]); the ground of such holiness is the election of Israel as Yahweh’s peculiar people (7:6; 14:2), the reciprocal proclamation of the covenant (26:17–19),

or Yahweh's own oath (28:9). Corresponding statements appear as justifications for commandments (7:6; 14:2, 21; 26:19), or the benefit of salvation is conditioned on the fulfillment of the commandment (28:9; cf. Exod 19:5f. Dtr). In terms of content, commandments such as Deut 7:6 (the prohibition against strange gods) and 14:2, 21 (concerning pagan practices) are more cultic-juridical than ethical.

In the demands for holiness in Exod 22:30 and the Holiness Code (IV/1d), the necessity of reflecting God's holiness is simultaneously perpetuated and made an ethical issue.

According to the recognition formula in Exod 31:13; Ezek 20:12; 37:28, Yahweh sanctifies Israel, which recognizes him in the context of the institution of the Sabbath (Exod 31:13; Ezek 20:12) and in the reconstruction of the temple (Ezek 37:28). In Lev 20:8; 21:8 (?); 22:32 the formula "(for) I am Yahweh who sanctifies you" serves as the basis of the commandment.

Conversely, Isa 4:3 calls the remnant of Zion/Jerusalem "holy" after "Yahweh has washed away the filth of daughter Zion . . . through the spirit of judgment and cleansing": the holiness of the new people of God is now its ethical spotlessness, as established through the atonement of guilt, not actually through forgiveness. Through the same means, according to Lev 10:3, Yahweh becomes "holy (sanctified)" or "majestic (magnified)" (both times *ni.*) for the priests standing near him and for the whole people; cf. Num 20:12f.

The pl. *q<sup>e</sup>dôšîm* becomes a synonym for "believer" in Psa 34:10 and Dan 7:21, 25 (cf. 2), as does *hoi hagioi* in Wis 18:9. The term *zera<sup>c</sup> (haq)qōdeš* tends toward the national in Ezra 9:2; Isa 6:13 (gloss). The notion of individual "saints" does not occur in the OT, although the concept is present in the prophet and martyr legends in canonical and noncanonical literature.

(b) Portions of the OT have developed specific concepts and terms in view of the holiness of the priests.

When the ark entered the house of Abinadab, he consecrated (*qdš* pi.) his son so that he could guard the ark of Yahweh (1 Sam 7:1); regarding *qdš* pi. as a term for the consecration of priests, cf. Exod 28:3, 41; 29:1, 33, 44; 30:30; 40:13; Lev 8:12, 30; 21:15. Psa 106:16 calls Aaron *q<sup>e</sup>dôš yhw<sup>h</sup>* (cf. Lev 21:6f.; Num 16:7). Despite Exod 30:32, the high priest is anointed with holy oil according to Num 35:25 (for David see Psa 89:21). Lev 21 promulgates comprehensive regulations for the protection of priestly holiness against defilement (for which *tm<sup>o</sup>* hitp. vv 1, 3f., 11, *hll* pi. v 15, *hll* hi. vv 4, 9), etc., with the formulaic justification that Yahweh himself sanctifies the priests (v 8; cf. 22:9, 16) or the high priest (21:15).

The priest's holiness becomes visible in the holy garments (Exod

28:2, 4; 31:10; 35:19, 21; 39:1, 41; 40:13; Lev 16:4, 32; cf. Exod 29:21) that protect the serving priest against defilement from guilt and death (Exod 28:38, 43). They are bestowed along with the *nēzer*, the diadem, at the consecration of the priests (Exod 29:5f.). A list of the high priestly garments occurs in Lev 16:4; regarding the headdress with the inscription *qōdeš l'yhwh*, cf. Exod 28:36f.; 39:30; Lev 8:9. Lev 16:23f. and Ezek 44:19 envision the desacralization of the priest after the performance of his service by removing the garments; by contrast, Lev 10:7 and 21:12 entirely prohibit him from leaving the sanctuary.

The priest's primary duty is to offer sacrifice (Exod 28:38; Lev 21:6, 8; cf. Ezek 46:20). The comprehensive list of priestly duties in Ezek 44:15–31 also lists the instruction of the people in the difference between “holy” (*qōdeš*) and “profane” (*ḥôl*), “clean” and “unclean” (v 23; cf. the accusations in Zeph 3:4; Ezek 22:26); regarding the priestly distinction of the two, see also Lev 10:10; Hag 2:12–13. Exod 29:37; 30:29; Lev 6:11, 20 declare that whoever touches the sacred becomes holy; thus priestly terminology is linked to primitive-dynamistic viewpoints.

The expression *m<sup>e</sup>leket haqqōdeš* “holy service” (Exod 36:4; 38:24) and its variants (36:1, 3; 1 Chron 6:34) parallel Phoen. *mlktqdšt* (KAI no. 37A.7).

Exod 19:5f. (Dtr) extends priestly holiness to the entire people; conversely, Num 16 explicitly excludes it (cf. King Uzziah's aversion to offering incense, 2 Chron 26:18, and the restriction in 2 Chron 23:6).

(c) Nonpriestly religious persons are only rarely described with terms from the root *qdš*, e.g., Elisha on the lips of a lady from Shunem (2 Kgs 4:9) and Jeremiah in the call narrative (1:5; *qdš* hi. with Yahweh as subj.).

6. Finally, the gifts one offers to Yahweh are holy, e.g., Josh 6:19, the portion of the plunder of war that goes to “Yahweh's treasury.” Regarding the holiness of that which is vowed hastily, cf. Prov 20:25. The small livestock to be sacrificed on feast days are called *šō'n q<sup>o</sup>dāšîm* (Ezek 36:38). Ezek 42:13 catalogs the *qodšê q<sup>o</sup>dāšîm* to be consumed in the holy rooms (see 3d) by the priests. P frequently uses the expression *qōdeš q<sup>o</sup>dāšîm* for the sacrifice (elsewhere in Ezek 44:13; Ezra 2:63; Neh 7:65; 2 Chron 31:14). Exod 28:38 deals with the possibility of defilement from guilt through the *q<sup>o</sup>dāšîm* that the Israelites consecrate (*qdš* hi.) or through the *mattnōt qodšêhem* (cf. Lev 22:2); the priest can bear the guilt on account of his headdress (see 5b).

Specific regulations for handling holy sacrificial offerings are contained in Exod 29:27ff.; Lev 6f.; 8:31ff.; 14:13; for handling consecrated fruits, Lev 19:24f.; for votive offerings, 27:9, 26; for the destruction of containers made holy through sacrifice, Lev 6:21.

*t<sup>o</sup>rûmat haqqōdeš* (Ezek 45:6f.; 48:10, 18, 20; Exod 36:6) and *t<sup>o</sup>rûmat haqq<sup>o</sup>dāšîm* (Lev 22:12; pl., Num 18:19) should probably not be understood as “holy wave offerings” but simply as “holy offerings,” involving a root *rîm* II “to give” corresponding to Akk. *riāmu(m)/rāmu* “to give (a present)” (W. von Soden, *UF* 2 [1970]: 269–72). The same root occurs in the phrases *rîm* hi. *t<sup>o</sup>rûmâ* (Ezek 45:1, 13; 48:8f., 20; Exod 35:24; Num 15:19f.; 18:19, 26, 28f.), *rîm* hi. *z<sup>o</sup>hab hatt<sup>o</sup>rûmâ* (Num 31:52), *rîm* hi. *ma<sup>o</sup>šār* (Num 18:24, etc.), and in *rîm* hi. *le* “to donate” (Lev 22:15; 2 Chron 30:24; 35:7–9), all of which apparently do not involve *rîm* I qal “to be high,” hi. “to raise.”

V. 1. Regarding the root *qdš* in the Qumran texts, see the literature cited under IV/2 and F. Nötscher, “Heiligkeit in den Qumranschriften,” *Vom Alten zum Neuen Testament* (1962), 126–74; and S. Lamberigts, “De heiligheidsgedachte in de teksten van Qoemran” (diss., Leuven, 1963).

2. Regarding the term in the LXX (*hagios* and derivatives) and in the NT, cf. A. Fridrichsen, *Hagios—Qadoš* (1916); E. Williger, *Hagios* (1922); R. Asting, *Die Heiligkeit im Urchristentum* (1930); W. Staerk, *Soter* (1933), 1:109f. as well as the pertinent lexicon articles (e.g., O. Procksch and K. G. Kuhn, “ἁγίος,” *TDNT* 1:88–115); *SBL* 283–86; and P. Jovino, “L’Église Communauté des Saints dans les ‘Actes des Apôtres’ et dans les ‘Épîtres aux Thessaloniens,’” *RivB* 16 (1968): 495–526.

The designation of Jesus as *ho hagios tou theou* (Mark 1:24; Luke 4:34; John 6:69) has a counterpart in the predication of the gnostic savior designated numerologically with *waw* in a 1st-cent. CE confession edited by A. Dupont-Sommer (*La doctrine gnostique de la lettre “Wâw” d’après une lamelle araméenne inédite* [1946], 13), where the savior is titled *qdyš yl<sup>o</sup>* “Holy God” (l. 2), *brt<sup>o</sup>wn* “son of God,” *br(w)t<sup>o</sup>wn(w)y<sup>o</sup>l<sup>o</sup>* “son of the Lord God,” and *yr* “light.” The direction of dependency must remain undetermined.

3. Rabbinic Hebr. and Aram. formed a few technical terms from the root *qdš* that became established components of Jewish religious language. The Aram. adj. *qaddîš(ā<sup>o</sup>)* indicates an Aram. prayer of praise to be said following the morning and evening prayers or after a haggadic address (*b. Soṭa* 49a). The Hebr. verbal noun of the factitive (pi.), *qiddûš*, Aram. *qiddûš(ā<sup>o</sup>)*, refers to the blessing spoken at the beginning of the Sabbath or other holy days; and with lustrations, the preparation of the water of lustration; initiations such as the announcement of the new moon and of the year of Jubilee, and weddings (*WTM* 4:252f.; J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* [19663], 2:349). The Aram. abstract *q<sup>e</sup>dûš(š)â* indicates the recitation of the bibl. passages Isa 6:3; Ezek 3:2; Exod 15:18 at the conclusion of the morning prayer.

קָהָל *qāhāl* **assembly**

S 6951; BDB 874b; HALOT 3:1079a; ThWAT 6:1204–22; TWOT 1991a; NIDOTTE 7736

I. 1. Among NWSem. languages the primary noun *qhl* seems to be indigenous only in Hebr.: it does not occur in Ug., Phoen., or older Aram.; Mid. Hebr., Jew. Aram., Christ. Pal., and Syr. usages of the word depend on Hebr.

The basic meaning of *qāhāl* is “assembly, assembled group of people.” No occurrence of the word indicates the process of summoning (contra L. Rost, *Die Vorstufen von Kirche und Synagoge im AT* [1938], 31); the fact that *qāhāl* never occurs in the pl. and only rarely (see III/4b) denotes the constitution of the group apart from its assembly does suggest, however, a corresponding older meaning. *maqhēlîm* (Psa 26:12) and *maqhēlôt* (Psa 68:27), which have no sgs., are used instead of the pl. The by-form *qehilla*®, of which Mid. Hebr. forms a pl., is synonymous with *qāhāl*.

The etymology suggested by H. Bauer (*ZAW* 48 [1930]: 75) of *qāhāl* < \**qal* “calling” confronts the difficulties of a semantic shift “caller” > “assembly,” but esp. of the absence of a verb *qûl* in Hebr. Objections against the reversed derivation \**qahlu* > *qôl* (W. F. Albright, *SVT* 4 [1957]: 256) are that a \**qahlu* “call” is not attested and that a primary verb *qhl* “to call, assemble” is furthermore improbable because of the denominative formation *qhl* hi. “to assemble.”

A frequent synonym of *qāhāl* since P is *‘ēdâ* (→ *y<sup>‘d</sup>*); in P it is a technical term for the cultic community assembled around the *‘ōhel mō‘ēd* (concerning the coexistence of the two terms, cf. Rost, op. cit. 87–91; regarding their semasiological relationship, cf. P. Azzi, “La notion de l’ ‘Assemblée’ dans l’AT,” *Melto: Recherches Orientales* 1 [1965]: 7–23). The post-exilic era also uses *miqrā’*, see IV/2b.

2. The denominative verb *qhl* occurs only in the qal in the artificial form *qōhelet* (see III/3). The hi. refers to the production of that which the noun indicates: “to summon a *qāhāl*” (synonyms → *qbs* and *kns* pi.); in contrast, the ni. is tolerative: “to attend the *qāhāl*” (synonyms *‘sp* ni., → *y<sup>‘d</sup>* ni., and *qbs* ni.).

3. Old SArab. *qhl/qhlt* “assembly” represents an isogloss; it occurs in the phrases *gw(y) qhlm* (*CIS* 4:570.9; *RES* 3566.13), indicating a “council

assembly,” and *qhl* *ʿttr dyhrq* (RES 2970.1; 2975.1), “the community of (the god) *ʿattar dū yuharîq*” (fragmentary also in RES 2957.1; 2967.1; 3003; according to a written communication from W. W. Müller).

4. Akk. *paḥāru(m)* II “to assemble,” with the noun *puḥru(m)* “assembly” (not “community”), takes the place of the root *qhl*, which does not occur in Akk.; AHW 810f., 876f.

Ug. counterparts are the noms. *(m)pḥr(t)* and *dr* “circle” (often par.), the first of which can be associated with *mʿd* (cf. Hebr. *môʿēd*). Ug. *ʿdt* is associated with Hebr. *ʿēdā*; Ug. *pqr yḥd* may refer to the leader of a religious community (UT no. 1087). That *ʾsp* (PRU 2, no. 2.49) seems to be attested only once as a verbal counterpart (the Ugarit Research Institute in Münster kindly called my attention to this phenomenon) indicates the predominance of the nom. terminology in this realm too.

In Aram. the primary verbal root *knš* dominates; it entered Hebr. in the form *kns* with the well-known derivative *keneset* for the “community” and the Israeli parliament.

Regarding Arab. *jamaʿa* and its many derivatives, cf. Lane I/2:455–59; Wehr 134–37.

II. The root *qhl* occurs 173x, the nom. 134x, the verb forms 39x. All derivatives occur only rarely in the pre-exilic era. The use of *qāhāl* for the cultic community, which was decisive for the Dtn tradition, determines its more frequent use in the Psalter, in P (noun about 20x, verb about 12x), and in the Chr history.

The most important gen. constructions are distributed as follows: *qʿhal yiśrāʾēl* occurs 13x, 1x in Deut (Deut 31:30), 1x in P (Lev 16:17), and 4x in the Chr history (cf. the similar usages in Exod 12:6 P; Num 16:3 P; Judg 20:2; 2 Chron 24:6); *qehal yhw* occurs 10x, 6x within Deut 23:2–9, 2x in P, and 1x in the Chr history (1 Chron 28:8); *kol-haqqāhāl* occurs 21x, 1x in 1 Sam 17:47, 1x in P (Exod 16:3; cf. Lev 16:33), and 19x in the Chr history; *kol-qehal* + gen. occurs an additional 20x, 4x in Ezek, 3x in P, and 5x in the Chr history.

On the whole, occurrences are distributed as follows:

	<i>qhl</i>	ni.	hi.	<i>qāhāl</i>	<i>qehillâ</i>	<i>qōhelet</i>	<i>maqhēlîm/</i> <i>maqhēlôt</i>
Gen	–	–	4	–	–	–	–
Exod	1	1	2	–	–	–	–
Lev	1	1	5	–	–	–	–
Num	3	6	12	–	–	–	–
Deut	–	3	11	1	–	–	–
Josh	2	–	1	–	–	–	–

Judg 1	–	3	–	–	–	
1 Sam	–	–	1	–	–	–
2 Sam	1	–	–	–	–	–
1 Kgs1	2	6	–	–	–	
2 Kgs–	–	–	–	–	–	
Isa	–	–	–	–	–	
Jer 1	–	4	–	–	–	
Ezek 1	1	15	–	–	–	
Joel	–	1	–	–	–	
Mic	–	1	–	–	–	
Psa	–	9	–	–	2	
Job	–	1	–	–	–	
Prov	–	3	–	–	–	
Eccl	–	–	–	7	–	
Lam	–	1	–	–	–	
Esth 5	–	–	–	–	–	
Dan	–	–	–	–	–	
Ezra	–	5	–	–	–	
Neh	–	5	1	–	–	
1 Chron	–	3	7	–	–	–
2 Chron	2	2	26	–	–	–
OT	19	20	123	2	7	2

III. 1. Gen 49:6 already uses *sôd* “counsel” and *qāhāl* in relation to war (see 4). *qhl* hi. in 1 Kgs 12:21a refers to the summons of the army; cf. ni. 2 Sam 20:14 Q; 1 Kgs 12:21b. The pre-Dtn ground stratum of Deut 23:2–9 seems to concern a martial *qāhāl* (see IV/2); according to Mic 2:5, the distribution of the land occurred after the *qehal yhw*, as Josh 13ff. makes apparent. 1 Sam 19:20 txt em seems to apply *qehilla*® to the prophetic group accompanying the army. In contrast, the *q<sup>e</sup>hal yisrā’ēl* as royal “court” in 1 Kgs 12:3 hardly has martial character, although martial formulae may resonate in v 16 (G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* [1991], 50).

Exilic prophecy also uses *qāhāl* in proclamations of disaster: while according to Ezek 17:17 the expected Eg. assistance *b<sup>e</sup>ḥayil gādôl ûb<sup>e</sup>qāhāl rab* will fail to materialize during the siege of Jerusalem, according to 23:24 Yahweh summons Babylon with wagons, chariots, and a *q<sup>e</sup>hal ‘ammîm* against his people. In close relation to an old war prophecy against Israel’s enemies, Ezek 26:7 says something similar with a view to Nebuchadnezzar’s campaign against Tyre (cf. the gloss in 32:3); the martial *qāhāl* of the city falls into the sea during this campaign according to 27:27 (a secondary verse; cf. the gloss v 34b). Asshur’s *qāhāl* has long

since Iain defeated around its grave (32:23; cf. v 22); according to Jer 50:9 Yahweh will summon a *q<sup>e</sup>hal gôyîm* against Babylon too. The announcement of the summons of Gog and his *qāhāl rab* (Ezek 38:4) becomes an eschatological prophecy of salvation when Yahweh deceitfully challenges him to battle against Judah (v 7) until his *qāhāl* falls prey to the derision of the merchant nations (v 13); cf. 1QM 11:16.

Post-Dtn war ideology underlies the use of the term in 1 Sam 17:47 and 2 Chron 20:5, 14 (*qhl* ni. v 26), priestly usage in Judg 20:2; 21:5, 8 (cf. *qhl* ni. with subj. *ēdā*, 20:1). 2 Chron 28:14 uses *qāhāl* for the army of enemy northern Israel. Esth 8:11; 9:2, 15f., 18 use *qhl* ni. for the assembly of the Jews in exile in order to save their lives via an antipogrom and to avenge the murderous intentions of their opponents.

2. Since the monarchic era, *qāhāl* was also used for the legal community (Prov 5:14; 26:26, *qhlh* Sir 7:7, 2x with the synonym *ēdā*), like Akk. *puḫru(m)* (AHw 876b s.v. A3a, 4). The “people” banding together (*qhl* ni.) in the temple (Jer 26:9), together with the “princes of Judah” (v 10), becomes a tribunal that seems to be designated as *kol-q<sup>e</sup>hal hā<sup>c</sup>ām* (v 17). The *qāhāl* that, according to Ezek 16:40, “will summon” its former partner nations to war against Israel, is also judicial; similarly 23:46f., where *ēben qāhāl* (anarthrous) is the means of execution. Job 11:10 links *qhl* hi. “to summon (judgment)” with God as subj.: which judgment is envisioned?

The repeated use of *qāhāl* for the assembled political “nobility” in the Chr history may be understood in terms of a (capital) city-aristocratic judicial office (cf. Deut 17:8f.), although religious grounds are always apparent. According to 1 Chron 13:1 the *q<sup>e</sup>hal yīsrā<sup>ʿ</sup>ēl* mentioned in vv 2, 4 in relation to the transportation of the ark also includes the army commanders. The *qāhāl* that accompanies Solomon to Gibeon in 2 Chron 1:3, 5 is first called *kol-yīsrā<sup>ʿ</sup>ēl* but is then specified through explicative apposition as “the commanders of thousands and hundreds, the judges, and all the princes of all Israel, the heads of families” (v 2; regarding the explicative *lamed*, see F. Nötscher, VT 3 [1953]: 378). 2 Chron 23:1f. lists dignitaries and their followers who, according to v 3, as *qāhāl* are responsible for anointing Joash. The *qāhāl* mentioned in 2 Chron 29:23 together with the king consists, according to v 20, of *śārē hā<sup>c</sup>īr*: a representative group, not the entire people, performs the rite of conferral described. According to an apposition in 2 Chron 24:6, Moses and *haqqāhāl* appear before Israel with a tax decree for the *ōhel mō<sup>c</sup>ēd* (on the construction, see Rudolph, HAT 21, 274). Finally, Neh 5:13 juxtaposes *kol-haqqāhāl* and *hā<sup>c</sup>ām*. Conversely, 2 Chron 28:14 and Ezra 10:14 distinguish between the *śārîm* and *kol-haqqāhāl*.

*qhl* hi. already applies to tribal elders and *šōṭrîm* in Deut 31:28; cf. 1 Chron 28:2, where a reading with *qāhāl* instead of MT *ʿal-raglāyw* apparently underlies *en mesō tēs ekklēsias* in LXX.

3. The form *qōhelet* raises the question of whether there was a wisdom *qāhāl*, which may also be envisioned in Sir 15:5. The expression in Eccl 12:8 and 7:27 txt em, in both cases with the definite art., designates those who perform an activity indicated by the *qal* (!) of *qhl*, perhaps, in accord with the obj. *hāʿām* (12:9), the convener and leader of a public assembly for instruction; *mḡhyl qhlwt* in *b. ʿAbod. Zar.* 18a also signifies a rabbi convening those seeking to learn. In Eccl 1:1f., 12; 12:8–10, which are anarthrous, the official designation has become a PN.

*sōperet* is used with the art. and in the same fem. formation in Ezra 2:55, anarthrously in Neh 7:57; cf. *pōkeret haššʿbāyîm* in Ezra 2:57. Concerning masc. names with *-t*, see also O. Loretz, *Qohelet und der alte Orient* (1964), 146n.53. A par. Phoen. form is *mmlk[t]* (KAI no. 14.9) with the concrete meaning “king” (Friedrich-Röllig §306.2); for Arab. pars., cf. Joüon §89b.

4. *qāhāl* is apparently always used nontechnically.

(a) The term already has a harmful connotation in Gen 49:6 and Num 22:4 J: “(bad) society, company.” Psa 26:5 speaks of *qʿhal mʿrēʿîm* “band of evildoers”; cf. 1QH 2:12. The context of Num 20:12 P lends the word a pejorative connotation. On the similar usage of *ʿedā*, cf. KBL 682b, 2.

(b) The *qāhāl* of Jer 44:15 is a chance gathering of people; likewise *qāhāl gādōl* in 1 Kgs 8:65 also signifies simply “a great crowd (of people),” although the context involves a sacral assembly; similarly 2 Chron 30:13; Ezra 10:1. Even more generally, *qhl* in Sir 34:11; 44:15; 46:7 seems to denote “public”; on *baqqāhāl* in Job 30:28 see IV/3.

In the later period, despite contrary terminological usages, *qāhāl* becomes a quantitative term with no notion of an actual assembly (cf. again Akk. *puḥru(m)*, *AHw* 877a s.v. C), e.g., in P in *qʿhal ʿammîm*, Gen 28:3; 48:4, *qʿhal gôyîm*, Gen 35:11 “multitude of nations,” and in the plerophoric expressions *kōl qʿhal ʿdat-yisrāʿēl*, Exod 12:6 (LXX: *pan to plēthos* . . .); Num 14:5, where *ʿdat* connotes the concept “community.” *kol-haqqāhāl* “the totality” in Ezra 2:64 = Neh 7:66 at the end of the list of returnees is also related to this usage (contra H. C. M. Vogt, *Studien zur nachexilischen Gemeinde in Esra-Nehemia* [1966], 98), as is *lʿkol-haqqāhāl* “namely, the entire number” (with an explicative *lamed*) in 2 Chron 31:18 after a catalog of groups of people to be registered.

IV. 1. Whereas Akk. *puḥru(m)* often refers to an assembly of divine beings (*AHw* 876b s.v. A1, 2), as is also true of the Ug. terms mentioned

under l/4 (*UT* nos. 697, 1512, 1816, 2037; cf. Phoen. *mphrt ʾl gbl qdšm* “the assembly of the holy gods of Byblos,” *KAI* no. 4.4f., and *dr bn ʾlm* “circle of the sons of the gods/El,” no. 26A.III.19), a corresponding Hebr. expression involving *qāhāl* occurs only in *q<sup>e</sup>hal q<sup>e</sup>dōšīm* “assembly of the Holy Ones” in Psa 89:6 (→ *qdš* IV/2), who correspond to the *b<sup>e</sup>nc ʾēlīm* in v 7 and the *sōd-q<sup>e</sup>dōšīm* in v 8: the “Holy Ones” are subordinate to Yahweh as his court (*s<sup>e</sup>bībāyw* v 8), as to El his predecessor in the history of religions, whose name he assumes in v(v) 8(, 27; cf. *ʿadat ʾēl* Psa 82:1). *q<sup>e</sup>hal r<sup>e</sup>pāʾīm* “the assembly of the shades” (Prov 21:16) resembles Akk. *puhur eṭemmē* (*AHW* 876b s.v. A2).

2. In the legal literature and its sphere of influence, *qāhāl* usually indicates the cultic community with a firmly demarcated membership.

(a) The community law, Deut 23:2–9, in its (again disunified) pre-Dtn ground stratum seems to have been decisive for this meaning; according to it one “emasculated by crushing or with a mangled member” and a bastard (?) are as fundamentally excluded from the *q<sup>e</sup>hal yhwh* (vv 2, 3a) as an Ammonite or a Moabite (v 4a), and that in contrast to the Edomites and Egyptians (v 8), as a later regulation (v 9) makes even more precise. Genital and genetic integrity may have thus originally been a prerequisite for the dynamistic capacity of the army (with which precautions such as Deut 20:5–8; 1 Sam 14:24; 21:5f.; 2 Sam 11:11 were also concerned), in contrast to which the admission of foreigners may rest on old regulations in (border?) sanctuaries that the *qāhāl* frequented (see K. Gallig, *FS Bertholet* 176–91; contra for Edom, e.g., J. R. Bartlett, *JTS* 20 [1969]: 1–20).

While Deut 23:5f. secondarily justified the regulations with more incidental events in the history of salvation, 18:16 attributes the “(founder’s) day of the community” (*yôm haqqāhāl*) to the data of the Horeb event, which 9:10 and 10:4 repeat and expand, and 5:22 and 33:4 associate with the bestowal of the Decalogue or the Torah. The martial male community becomes an observant community; it is only consistent, then, when Isa 56:3ff. loosens the old strict limitations on admission.

Regarding M. Noth’s derivation of *qāhāl* from the language of the ancient Israelite amphictyony (*Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels* [1930], 102f.n.2), G. W. Anderson (“Israel: Amphictyony: ʿAM; KAHAL; ʿEDAH,” *FS May* 135–51) correctly adopts a critical stance.

In Josh 8:35, Dtr depicts the *kol-q<sup>e</sup>hal yiśrāʾēl*, which now also includes women, children, and *gērīm*, as hearers of the law read by Moses; in 1 Kgs 8:14(bis), 22, 25 Dtr uses the same expression for the community attending the dedication of the Solomonic temple.

In Num 16:33bβ, an addition to J that terminologically reinforces the information in v 33abα, Dathan and Abiram, who have rebelled against Moses, disappear *mittôk haqqāhāl*. Lam 1:10 laments that heathen “whom you have commanded not to enter your *qāhāl*” have even intruded into the sanctuary.

(b) Although the P narrative also uses *qāhāl* nontechnically (see III/4b), the term here is usually a synonym for the even more concretely fixed *‘ēdâ* “(cultic) community.” Prior to the consecration of the Aaronites, Lev 8:3 commands Moses to assemble (*qhl* hi.) *kol-hā‘ēdâ*, which takes place *‘el-petaḥ ‘ōhēlmô‘ēd* (*qhl* ni., v 4); for *qhl* hi. + obj. *‘ēdâ* in P, cf. Exod 35:1; Lev 8:3; Num 1:18; 8:9; 16:19; 20:8, 10; for *qhl* ni. + subj. *‘ēdâ*, see Num 17:7 (Josh 18:1; 22:12). For the constitutive relationship in which *haqqāhāl* (as well as *hā‘ēdâ*) stands to the *‘ōhēlmô‘ēd*, Num 20:6 as well as the legal texts Lev 4:14; 16:33; Num 10:3, 7 are also characteristic. In Num 20:10 *haqqāhāl* or *hā‘ēdâ* (v[v 1f., 8,]11) functions as a witness of the manner in which water streams forth from the rock because of Moses’ staff; since the people’s dispute with Moses provoked the wonder (vv 3–5), he may not lead *‘et-haqqāhāl hazzeh* into the promised land (v 12). The words of rebellion against Moses and Aaron in Exod 16:3; Num 16:3; 20:4 introduce the important idea of *qehal yhwh* or *kol-haqqāhāl hazzeh* against their claims to authority or failed leadership, respectively. Aaron averts the destruction threatening another gathering (*qhl* ni.; Num 17:7) of the *‘ēdâ* (vv 6f., 10f.) when he runs *‘el-tôk haqqāhāl* with a means of atonement (v 12).

The “eradication” of the unatoned unclean individual *mittôk haqqāhāl* in the legal portions of P (Num 19:20, par. v 13 *mîyîsrā‘ēl*) compares to the permanent exclusion of groups of people in Deut 23:2, 3a, 4a, 8: normally, lustration remedies uncleanness (cf. 1QSa 2:4; CD 11:22). The offering called *ḥattā‘t haqqāhāl* “community sin offering” in Lev 4:21 becomes due according to the text when *kol-‘<sup>a</sup>dat yîsrā‘ēl* violates a ritual taboo and the matter remains hidden from the *qāhāl* (v 13); it consists of a bull that the *qāhāl* slaughters before the *‘ōhēlmô‘ēd* in a transferal ceremony (vv 14f.). In Lev 16:17 *kol-q<sup>e</sup>hal yîsrā‘ēl* is the object of a high priestly atonement procedure, likewise *kol-‘<sup>a</sup>m-haqqāhāl* in v 33, together with the things of the sanctuary and the other priests (cf. the juxtaposition of sacrificing and blessing priests and *kl qhl yîsr’l* in Sir 50:13, 20). The threat to the integrity of the *qāhāl* and its remediation belong in the realm of dynamistic thought and behavior: its holiness is of a physical-material nature.

While *ʿēdā* is totally absent from Deut, it dominates in P with 100 more occurrences than *qāhāl*. In contrast to the two terms, *miqrāʾ qōdeš* in P means not so much an institutionally defined and sacral-legally protected society, but the actual sacral assembly in feast times; to this extent *miqrāʾ qōdeš* complements *ʿēdā* and *qāhāl*, whose meanings have shifted toward the habitual-static.

(c) Finally, in the Chr history (*kol-haq*)*qāhāl* is the model for the full assembly of the Jewish cultic community convened by the king or the post-exilic leadership for religious purposes in epochal moments in the history of salvation (1 Chron 28:8; 29:1, 10, 20; 2 Chron 29:28, 31f.; 30:2, 4, 17, 23, 24[2x], 25[2x]), incl. for purposes of reform in Ezra/Neh (Ezra 10:12, 14; Neh 8:2, 17; 13:1; with *qehilla*®, Neh 5:7). The verb *qhl* occurs in 1 Chron 13:5; 15:3; 2 Chron 5:2; 20:26 in reference to similar matters.

Women and children participate in such a full assembly (Ezra 10:1; Neh 8:2). *qāhāl* assumes the character of a limited community when Neh 13:(1f.,)3, in accord with the citation from Deut 23:3f., excludes *kol-ʿēreb* “all Bedouin” (?) *mîyîsrāʾēl*, with the example of the foreign wives, Nehemiah also then eliminates “everything foreign” (*kol-nēkār*) from the community (v 30). Ezra 10:8 threatens exclusion and the confiscation of property for those who are disobedient to religious authority; the expression *qʿhal haggôlâ* (cf. *kol-bʿnê haggôlâ* v 7) used here may be reminiscent of Jer 31:8, as may the apposition to *kol-haqqāhāl* in Neh 8:17; all the observant claim to be those to whom Jeremiah’s prophecy refers, a claim that does not, however, suggest a sectarian demarcation from those who did not go into exile or the bulk of the community (cf. Vogt, op. cit. 39f., 42f.; contra M. Smith, *NTS* 7 [1960/61]: 357f.).

*ʿēdā* occurs only once in the Chr history (2 Chron 5:6); this reflects its absence from Deut.

3. In liturgical literature *qāhāl* is the community assembled in worship. The summons to communal lament in Joel 2:16 calls for its consecration (H. W. Wolff, *ZAW* 76 [1964]: 48–56), as does the lament of the individual *baqqāhāl* in Job 30:28, if the expression does not simply mean “in public” (Fohrer, *KAT* 16, 422; see III/4b), corresponding to Akk. *ina puḫrim*. Conversely, in the vow of praise the lamenter promises to praise Yahweh in the *qāhāl* (Psa 22:23[, 26]; 35:18; with the pl. *maqhēlîm*, 26:12, as the one delivered from distress at sea should also do according to 107:32; regarding the praise situation, cf. also 40:10f.; 149:1; 1QH 2:30; with pl. *maqhēlôt*, Psa 68:27. Deut 31:30 presupposes the performance of the following Song of Moses *bʿoznê kol-qʿhal yîsrāʾēl*.

The *qʿhal ḥʾsîdîm* in Psa 149:1 (cf. *ʿnāwîm* v 4) and 11QPsa 18:10 (cf. the probable *qʿhal rabbîm* in v 1b of the Syr. text) is ecclesiola in ecclesia; the *qʿhal ḥʾsîdîm* is probably identical with the *synagōgē Asidaiōn* in 1 Macc 2:42 (M. Hengel, *Judaism and*

*Hellenism* [1974], 1:175–77).

4. *qāhāl* never describes the eschatological community of salvation in the OT; only 1QM 4:10 uses *qhl* ʾl as the inscription on a field standard of the eschatological warriors.

V. 1. The Qumran sect chooses, apparently to distinguish itself from the rest of Judaism, the self-designation *dh* (esp. 1QSa), and particularly constructions with *yhd* “union” (esp. 1QS), *śh* “counsel,” *hrbym* “the many” (esp. 1QS), or *bryt* “covenant” (esp. CD); cf. H. Braun, *Qumran und das NT* [1969], 2:145–49. *qhl* once again probably signifies the community assembly (1QH 2:30; 1QS 1:25; 2:4; CD 7:17; 11:22; 12:6); in addition, *qhl* (1QM 11:16; 14:5; 15:10; 18:1; 4QMa 3) or *qhlh* (1QM 1:10; 1QH 2:12) also refer to the enemy of God’s people.

2. In rabbinic literature *qāhāl* and *‘ēdā* have only minor theological significance: the designation for the assembled community (also for the high counsel), *keneset*, very rare in Qumran, corresponds to Aram. *k<sup>c</sup>nīštā<sup>?</sup>*, the assembly house is *bēt hakk<sup>c</sup>neset*. Nevertheless, the Talmud mentions a *qhl<sup>?</sup> qdyš<sup>?</sup> dbyrwšlm* “the holy community of Jerusalem” (*b. Ber.* 9b; *Yoma* 69a; *Beša* 14b, 27a), apparently a 1st-cent. CE Pharisaical community (Ph. Seidenstricker, “Die Gemeinschaftsform der religiösen Gruppen des Spätjudentums und der Urkirche,” *Studii Biblici Franciscani liber Annuus* 9 [1958/59]: 94–198, esp. 113).

On the use of *ekklēsia* and *synagōgē* in early Jewish literature, cf. W. Schrage, “Ekklesia’ und ‘Synagoge’: Zum Ursprung des urchristlichen Kirchenbegriffs,” *ZTK* 60 (1963): 178–202, esp. 190ff., specifically on the use of *synagōgē* for individual Jewish communities and the synagogue building, op. cit. 195f.; id., *TDNT* 7:806–8.

3. The notion that the choice of the term *ekklēsia* for the NT church derives primarily from LXX usage has been disputed for good reason (Schrage, op. cit. 178–89; cf. J. Y. Campbell, “Origin and Meaning of the Christian Use of the Word ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ,” *JTS* 49 [1948]: 130–42); according to Schrage (op. cit. 198) it originated with the Hellenistic-Christian community.

Notably, the gen. attributes of *ekklēsia* include (*tou*) *theou* 9x, *tou Christou* only 1x (Rom 16:16, but cf. also Gal 1:22; 1 Thess 1:1; 2:14), but never *tou kyriou*, although *ekklēsia kyriou* represents *qehal yhw* 6x in the LXX. To infer from this a prototype in the usage of *dh* in Qumran (so H. Kosmala, *Hebräer–Essener–Christen* [1959], 44–75) seems extremely speculative; *dh* would have led to *synagōgē* with at least the same probability.

Only Acts 19:32, 39f. uses *ekklēsia* for a profane gathering (synonym

*systrophē* v 40).

In the NT, *synagōgē* usually refers to the synagogue building (Schrage, op. cit. 196; id., *TDNT* 7:830). It occurs only in Jas 2:2 in reference to a Christian assembly, while the early church also used *synagōgē* for the Christian liturgical gatherings and assembly sites, even as a Christian self-designation (Schrage, *TDNT* 7:841); the LXX, which usually renders *qāhāl* with *ekklēsia* but never *‘ēdā* and conversely rarely renders *qāhāl* with *synagōgē* but frequently with *‘ēdā*, first becomes influential here.

H.-P. Müller

### קוה *qwh* pi. **to hope**

S 6960; BDB 875b; *HALOT* 3:1082a; *ThWAT* 6:1225–34; *TWOT* 1994; *NIDOTTE* 7747

1. Definite Sem. verbal pars. to *qwh* pi. “to hope” are Akk. *qu<sup>u</sup>û* “to expect, wait on” (also *quwwû*, *AHw* 931) and Syr. *qwy* pa. “to persevere, expect” (*LS* 651b); GB 706a, KBL 830, etc., also add Arab. *qawiya* “to be strong.”

According to an often-accepted suggestion by K. Ahrens (*ZDMG* 64 [1910]: 187), *qwh* pi. is a denominative from *qaw* “cord” (13x in the OT, also *tiqwâ* “cord,” Josh 2:18, 21), yet one must then, with Zimmern 35, see Hebr. *qaw*, Aram. *qawwā*?, and Arab. *quwwat*, together with denominated verbs, as borrowings from Akk., where *qu(m)* “thread, cord,” is in turn a loanword from Sum. *gu* (*AHw* 924b, not related to the verb *qu<sup>u</sup>û*).

Regardless of this etymology, one may determine that the basic meaning “to be tense” corresponds exceptionally well to the use of *qwh* pi.—better, at any rate, than the somewhat vague governing concept “solidity, coherence,” etc., suggested by P. A. H. de Boer (*OTS* 10 [1954]: 225–46 [esp. 241]), who also seeks to combine *qwh* II ni. “to gather together” (Gen 1:9; Jer 3:17; *miqweh* II “gathering,” Gen 1:10; Exod 7:19; Lev 11:36; *miqwâ* “assembly place,” Isa 22:11) with *qwh* I.

For Psa 52:11, J. Barth (*Etymologische Studien* [1893], 29f.), followed by Zorell 716a, etc., assumes a verb *qwh* III “to proclaim” (cf. Akk. *qabû* “to say”).

Nom. derivatives of *qwh* are *miqweh* and *tiqwâ* “hope.” The qal of *qwh* occurs only in the ptc. (cf. *HP* 171–73).

2. The verb *qwh* qal occurs 6x (Isa 40:31; 49:23; Psa 25:3; 37:9;

69:7; Lam 3:25, always in the pl. ptcp. with a gen. obj. “in Yahweh/me/you/him”), *qwh* pi. 41x (Psa 14x, Isa 13x, Job 5x, Jer 4x, and 1x each in Gen 49:18; Hos 12:7; Mic 5:6; Prov 20:22; Lam 2:16), in all 47x; 28 of these instances relate to Yahweh and 19 do not. Of 32 passages with *tiqwâ* (Job 13x, Prov 8x, Psa 3x), only two relate to Yahweh (Psa 62:6; 71:5); Yahweh is directly named in relation to *miqweh* (5x) in Jer 17:13; 50:7, implied in Jer 14:8; cf. Ezra 10:2; the hope is negated in 1 Chron 29:15.

If one takes passages with the verb and both noms. that refer to Yahweh, they seem, at first, to be about equally divided between the Psa and the prophets (also Gen 49:18; Prov 20:22; Lam 3:25); yet more precise classification (see 4g) indicates that 8 of the 14 prophetic passages belong to psalm forms of discourse; the same is true of Lam 3:25 and the only passage in the historical books, Gen 49:18. Thus precise statistics show that 26 of the 33 passages that refer to Yahweh belong to the language of the Psa.

Of the terms of waiting treated in 3f, which are almost synonymous with *qwh* in some circumstances (Eng. “to hope” and “to persevere”), *hkh* “to wait” occurs 14x (qal 1x, Isa 30:18; pi. 13x), 7x in reference to Yahweh (Isa 8:17; 30:18; 64:3; Hab 2:3; Zeph 3:8; Psa 33:20; Dan 12:12), *šbr* qal “to test” 2x (Neh 2:13, 15), pi. “to wait, hope” 6x (in reference to Yahweh: Isa 38:18; Psa 104:27; 119:166; 145:15; otherwise in Ruth 1:13; Esth 9:1), subst. *šēber* “hope” 2x (Psa 119:116; 146:5), Aram. *sbr* pe. “to strive for” 1x (Dan 7:25). For *hkh* 5 of 7 theological passages are psalm genres, 2 prophetic; 6 passages with the root *šbr* refer to Yahweh, all in the Psa or psalm motifs. If one includes the statistics of → *yhl* (verb 41x, 27x related to Yahweh; *tôhelet* 6x; Psa 39:8 and Lam 3:18, hope in Yahweh), more than half the passages with verbs of hope and perseverance refer to Yahweh, only about one-sixth of those with noms. The clear result is that hope in Yahweh occurs largely in Psa or psalm motifs. Occurrences in prophetic books are also chiefly in psalmic language. Hope in Yahweh is almost entirely absent from historical books and from wisdom, while hope not oriented toward Yahweh is common there.

3. The verb “to hope” is a prime example of how widely the intentions of an apparently synonymous word can diverge in different linguistic realms. The Eng. word “hope” can indicate both the process of hoping and the object of hope; the same is true for “expectation.” In contrast, the Gk. *elpis* means only the object of hope; thus R. Bultmann (*TDNT* 2:518, 521) summarizes the essence of the Gk. concept of hope as follows: “Expectations and hopes are man’s own projections of his future,” or, even more poignantly, “hope is simply man’s projection of the future.” This definition is altogether inappropriate for the Hebr. verbs and noms. of

hoping and waiting; the difference is already manifest in the fact that the Gk. notion is obviously conceived from the perspective of the noun, the Hebr. just as obviously from the verb. It is furthermore apparent in the fact that the Hebr. verbs of hoping and waiting are semantically very close to those of trusting (→ *bṭḥ*); Bultmann refers frequently to this phenomenon (op. cit. 521–23).

On the terms and the concept of hope in the OT, cf. e.g., C. Westermann, “Das Hoffen im AT,” *Theologia Viatorum* 4 (1952/53): 19–70 = *Forschung am AT* (1964), 219–65; J. van der Ploeg, “L’espérance dans l’AT,” *RB* 61 (1954): 481–507; P. A. H. de Boer, “Etude sur le sens de la racine *qwh*,” *OTS* 10 (1954): 225–46; W. Zimmerli, *Man and His Hope in the OT* (1971); more in reference to the content of hope, also Th. C. Vriezen, *TLZ* 78 (1953): 577–87; S. Pinckaers, *NRT* 77 (1955): 785–99; Zimmerli, *FS Vriezen* 389–403.

(a) In two passages *qwh* pi. relates to a person in a hostile sense: Psa 56:7 and 119:95 “evildoers lie in wait to destroy me”; cf. *ḥkh* pi. in Hos 6:9. The verb here describes the intense concentration on someone with the intention to destroy; the translation “to hope” would be inappropriate here.

(b) The same connotation of intense concentration on something is manifest in a group of passages in which this hope is disappointed: Job 6:19 “the caravans of Temah are on the lookout (*nbt* hi.), the travelers of Sheba hope for it (the dry stream)”; 30:26 “I hoped for good and evil came, I awaited (*yhl* pi.) light and darkness came”; further, Isa 59:9, 11; Jer 13:16; 14:19 = 8:15; Psa 69:21; Job 3:9. In any case, intense concentration on something is a potential, a yearning, a search for something necessary for existence. Hope indicates a need; it is expressed when the object of hope is still wanting.

(c) In the same way, one can speak of a futile concentration on something, i.e., God’s disappointed “hope,” as in the daring language of Isaiah’s Song of the Vineyard: “And he hoped that it (the vineyard) would produce grapes” (Isa 5:2, 4, 7). The object is God’s disappointment in Israel, his vineyard. The entire prophetic message is full of these disappointments for God, who placed high expectations on his people.

(d) It must be noted that hope is discussed in predominantly negative ways (otherwise with *qwh* pi. only Isa 64:2; Mic 5:6; Lam 2:16); hope must thus esp. have come to consciousness when the object of hope did not materialize. It becomes noticeable when it continues for a long period without finding fulfillment. Precisely this disappointment becomes a theme in the book of Job. Of 30 passages in which the noun *tiqwâ* occurs in no relation to Yahweh, 13 fall to the book of Job. In it, Job’s discussion of hope distinguishes itself markedly from that of his friends; two concepts of hope

appear here in rugged contrast. In 7:1–6 Job sees human life from the perspective of a sufferer in terms of the image “of the slave who yearns (*šʔp*) for shade, of the day laborer who awaits (*qwh pi.*) wages” (v 2). For him, all of life is only waiting on wages, only yearning for shade. This existence characterized by suffering can also be described at the end of the section as follows: “My days fly quicker than a weaver’s shuttle, they vanish without hope” (v 6). In an apparent contradiction, the same existence described in v 2 as a hope for something is an existence without hope according to v 6. This contradiction resolves itself, however, when one understands v 2: it is an enduring hope that never acquires the object. Verb and noun stand in a similar relationship to one another in 17:13, 15(bis). In 19:10 Job accuses God: “he uprooted my hope like a tree”; cf. Job 14:7 and 19: “he eradicates human hopes.” The finitude of human existence finds extreme expression here: hope does not extend beyond death. At this most extreme limit of existence, where only suffering exists, death can become hope: 6:8; cf. 3:21 (*ḥkh pi.*).

The friends’ discussion of hope contrasts markedly with the discussion of the sufferer and the one beset by suffering. They have a doctrine of hope and wait with it before Job. For them, everything is quite clear: The pious can hope, they have hope; the godless do not (4:6; 5:16; 8:13; 11:18, 20; 27:8). When Job complains, then, that his hope will be destroyed, it is a sure sign for the friends of his godlessness. The friends represent the doctrine of hope that occurs in pious wisdom, e.g., Prov 11:7: “When the evildoer dies, hope is over, and the expectation (*tôḥelet*) of the godless becomes invalid” (also 10:28; 11:23; 23:18; 24:14; 26:12; 29:20; cf. Psa 9:19). The author of Job regards this doctrinaire fixation of hope as dangerous; according to him, Job firmly maintains hope, even in his more skeptical discourses, that God gives hope and he takes it away. Since Job admits and endures the danger to hope in the reality of human existence, he holds fast to hope as a possibility given by God to people.

(e) A small group of passages (all from the period around the exile, apart from the unique metaphorical expression *petaḥ tiqwâ* “door of hope” in Hos 2:17) speak of Israel’s hope; here too the basic tone is that of lost or destroyed hope: Ezek 37:11 “our bones are dried up, our hope vanished; we are lost”; see also Jer 29:11; 31:17; Ezek 19:5; Zech 9:12; with *miqweh*, 1 Chron 29:15; cf. *sph pi.* “to look out,” Lam 4:17; *mabbāṭ* “prospect, hope,” Isa 20:5f.; Zech 9:5.

The phrase *yēš tiqwâ* “there is yet hope” (Prov 19:18; Ruth 1:12; Lam 3:29) speaks of the individual’s hope; one could also translate “prospect” here.

(f) Semantically related terms include, in addition to those pertaining to trust (→ *bḥ: biṭṭāḥôn* “assurance, hope,” 2 Kgs 18:19 = Isa 36:4; Eccl 9:4;

further, the positive usages of *kesel* and *kislâ* “confidence” [→ *k<sup>c</sup>sîl* 1], e.g., Job 4:6 *kislâ* par. *tiqwâ*) and to looking out (*šph* pi. “to watch,” e.g., Mic 7:7 par. *yhl* hi.; Lam 4:17; subst. *mabbâṭ* from *nbṭ* hi. “to look out”; see e), as well as the subst. *ʔah<sup>a</sup>rîṭ* “future” (alongside *tiqwâ* in Jer 29:11; Prov 23:18; 24:14; → *ʔhr* 4a), particularly the terms of waiting: → *yhl* pi./hi. (*tôḥelet*), *ḥkh* qal/pi. “to wait” (not oriented toward Yahweh: 2 Kgs 7:9; 9:3; Job 3:21; 32:4; Psa 106:13; Hos 6:9 txt? apparently “to lie in wait”; subj. Yahweh: Isa 30:18 “therefore Yahweh waits on the opportunity to be gracious to you”; in reference to Yahweh see 2; cf. also M. Wagner, FS Baumgartner 361f.), and *šbr* pi. “to hope, wait” with subst. *šēber* “hope” (see 2; Aram. loanword; cf. Wagner nos. 292f.), also *ktr* pi. in Job 36:2 with the specialized meaning “to wait, await” (probably an Aram. loanword; cf. Wagner no. 144).

The nearest antonym would be *yš* ni. “to despair” (1 Sam 27:1; Job 6:26 par. “a despairing one”; in Isa 57:10; Jer 2:25; 18:12 ptcp. with the meaning “futile, without prospect”; pi. “to bring to despair,” Eccl 2:20).

4. Thirty-three passages with *qwh* and derivatives discuss hope in Yahweh (qal/pi. 28x, incl. the duplications in Psa 27:14; 40:2; 130:5; *tiqwâ* 2x in Psa; *miqweh* 3x in Jer), 17x in Psa and Lam; *qwh* pi. also occurs in psalm motifs in Isa 25:9(bis); 26:8; 33:2; Jer 14:22; and *miqweh* occurs in Jer 14:8; 17:13; 50:7. Of the 28 occurrences of the verb, 13 are in the 1st per. sg./pl. (in addition, Psa 130:5 “my soul hopes”; Psa 62:6 and 71:5 *tiqwātî* “my hope”); this statistic reflects use in the confession of confidence.

(a) Several passages attest a pl. confession of confidence in the terms of hope within the communal lament: Jer 14:22 “Yahweh, our God, we hope in you”; v 8 “you, hope of Israel, you his savior in distress”; Isa 33:2 “Yahweh, be gracious to us; we hope in you”; further, Isa 25:9(bis); 26:8.

(b) The sg. confession of confidence occurs in Psa 39:8, “but now, what do I hope, Lord? My hope (*tôḥelet*)—it is placed in you”; 130:5f. txt em, “I hope in Yahweh . . . and I await his word, my soul hopes in Yahweh more than the guards hope for morning”; see also Psa 25:5, 21; 40:2(bis); 62:6; 71:5 (*tiqwâ* par. *mibṭāḥ* “confidence”); 143:9 txt em; standing alone in the marginal gloss in Gen 49:18.

(c) In Psa 39:8 and 130:5, *qwh* pi. and *yhl* hi./*tôḥelet* occur in parallelism (the two roots are also par. in Isa 51:5; Mic 5:6; Job 30:26; Prov 10:28; 11:7; Lam 3:25f.). They represent a pair of terms similar to Eng. “hope and expectation.” In the confession of confidence, verbs of waiting also appear in Mic 7:7; Psa 33:22; 38:16; 69:4 (*yhl* pi./hi.); Psa 33:20 (*ḥkh* pi.). The entire section in Lam 3:21–30 is a reflective expansion of the

confession of confidence in which verbs of hoping and waiting are concentrated. Waiting on Yahweh is a result of reflection: “for this reason I wait on him” (v 24 *yhl* hi., absolutized in v 21 “for this reason I await”); v 25 says reflectively that it is good to wait on (*qwh* pi.) Yahweh. The particular significance is esp. manifest in v 26 txt em (*yāhîl*): “it is good to await quietly Yahweh’s help.” Clauses concerning waiting on God in Psa 119 are also reflective developments: “you are my protection and my shield; I wait on your word” (v 114 *yhl* pi., also vv 43, 49, 74, 81, 147); with *śbr* pi., v 166 (cf. v 116 with *śēber*). All these passages are variations on the confession of confidence. That confidence is oriented toward God’s word in Psa 119 constitutes a particular further development. Notably, the “word of God” becomes an independent entity in this psalm. The many passages in Psa 119 indicate both the significance that the psalm motif of the confession of confidence attains in the later period and its gradual resolution; the vocabulary of waiting becomes concentrated.

(d) The autonomy of the motif becomes particularly apparent in two further developments. The promise for those hoping (waiting) grows out of the reflective expansion of the motif in Lam 3:21–30; vv 25f. “Yahweh is good to those who hope in him”; also *qwh* qal, Psa 25:3; 37:9; 69:7; *yhl* pi. Psa 33:18; 147:11; *śēber* Psa 146:5; cf. *qwh* pi. Mic 5:6. It is promised: “no one who hopes in me will be defeated” (Psa 25:3; the same clause in a wish form, Psa 69:7). The promise to the hopeful occurs repeatedly in Deutero-Isa: “those who hope in Yahweh, however, will be renewed in strength” (Isa 40:31 *qwh* qal; also 49:23). The form may have originated with Deutero-Isaiah. This development no longer has a necessary function in the structure of the psalm genre and thus no fixed place. It can follow the confession of confidence (*qwh* qal Psa 25:3; Lam 3:25f.) or parallel it (*yhl* pi. Psa 33:18); but it can also occur independently, as in the remaining passages, even in other psalm genres, such as Psa 25, 37 (wisdom psalm), and 33, 146, 147 (psalms of praise). The same expansion occurs with the verbs of confidence (e.g., 40:5 “blessed is the man who gives Yahweh his trust [*mibṭāḥ*]”). A further variation consists in the fact that the qal ptc. of *qwh* “those who hope in Yahweh” gradually becomes a designation for the pious, who are contrasted with evildoers in Psa 25:3; 37:9.

(e) The other expansion is the exhortation to hope (waiting). Its origin in the confession of confidence is manifest in Psa 42/43 in the refrain (42:6, 12; 43:5): “Why are you so bowed down, my soul . . . wait (*yhl* hi.) on God.” This verse is substantially a confession of confidence, transformed into a self-exhortation, in form an exhortation to hope. Thus this psalm also evidences the development of the exhortation to hope (waiting) from the confession of confidence. Typical of this exhortation is Psa 27:14, “Hope

(*qwh* pi.) in Yahweh; be strong, be firm of heart, and hope in Yahweh.” Psa 27, an individual psalm of lament, concludes in v 13 with the confession of confidence; in v 14 the psalmist turns to the community and calls it to hope: a particularly significant transition from prayer to parenesis (cf. 55:23) and thus to pious wisdom; so also in 37:7, 34; at the end of the Elihu discourses, Job 35:14; Prov 20:22 (*qwh* pi. or *yhl* hi. instead of *hîl*, → *yhl* 1). The exhortation to hope appears in the juss. in Psa 130:7; 131:3 (*yhl* pi.); similarly in the addition in Hos 12:7 (*qwh* pi.). The exhortation to confidence corresponds to the exhortation to hope (both together in Psa 37:3, 5, 7, 34; otherwise also 4:6; 62:9; 115:9–11, etc.).

(f) Verbs of hope occur rarely in other psalm genres: in Psa 71:14, *yhl* pi. in the vow of praise (also 52:11 *qwh* pi., here apparently a textual error; in accord with the context and parallelism, one expects a verb of praise), in Isa 38:18, *sbr* pi. in the motivation for the request. Both cases presumably represent the migration of the motif.

In contrast, the use of *sbr* pi. in Psa 104:27 and 145:15 (“all eyes wait on you, and you give them their nourishment in its time”) is unique. This usage is totally foreign to the rest of the OT; it may be the result of Eg. influence.

(g) Some verbs of hope and waiting in the prophetic books occur in psalm motifs (confession of confidence, promise to the hopeful, exhortation to hope; see 4a–e). A few passages with the verb in a recognizable relationship to the prophetic message may be distinguished from these occurrences in psalm motifs.

Isa 8:17, “and I will wait (*hkh* pi.) on Yahweh, who hides his countenance from the house of Jacob and I will hope (*qwh* pi.) in him,” can be understood in terms of the situation of Isa 7–8. The king did not believe the word of the prophet. Consequently, the prophet is commanded to give a sign that will ensure the preservation of the word for the future (8:1–4). A new situation arises now for the prophet himself; he must wait on the arrival of the word and thus its confirmation. Isaiah depicts this new situation in 8:17 in the language of the Psa (even the “hiding of the countenance” is psalm language); waiting and hoping are no longer directed at one’s own deliverance but the arrival and confirmation of God’s word. The confession of confidence is integrated into the prophetic office. Hab 2:3 (*hkh* pi.), where God warns the prophet to persevere, has close affinities with Isa 8:17. Zeph 3:8 (*hkh* pi.) addresses the exhortation to wait to the people. The promise to those who persevere in Isa 40:31 (*qwh* qal) enters into the prophetic message of salvation in such a way that it comforts Israel in exile during the wait for deliverance (an echo of this in Mic 5:6 [*qwh* pi.]).

While the relationship to the language of the Psa is clear in Isa 8:17 and 40:31, an entirely new usage occurs in 42:4 “and the isles wait (*yhl* pi.)

on his instruction” and in 51:5 “the coastlands await (*qwh* pi.) me, and they wait (*yhl* pi.) on my arm” (the text of 60:9 *qwh* pi. should be emended; cf. Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 354). Here the discussion centers on something entirely new in the history of prophecy—the nations wait for salvation from Yahweh, the God of Israel—resulting therefore in an entirely new linguistic idiom.

Apart from Isa 42:4 and 51:5, all other prophetic passages containing terms for hope and waiting exhibit evidence of origins in the language of the Psa. The language that has become universally common concerning prophetic expectations of salvation or the hope of salvation in prophecy has no support in the OT text. Prophecy has nothing to do with Israel’s hope or hopes. Rather, one may clearly determine that the vocabulary of hope and waiting in the OT is not indigenous to the prophetic proclamation; hope and expectations of Yahweh originated in the confession of confidence in the Psa.

(h) If one surveys the categories of usage of *qwh* as a whole, it becomes apparent that clauses with this verb related to God in the confession of confidence (e.g., “I hope in you”) represent a linguistic innovation characteristic of the OT understanding of and relationship to God. We have seen that *qwh* pi., when not related to God, is articulated negatively to a great degree. The discussion concerns primarily disappointed or lost hope, and the book of Job reflects on and radicalizes precisely this negative discussion of hope. In the whole of this non-God-oriented usage *qwh* pi. never has a person as the obj. or is never directed toward a person. Hope is never placed in a person but always in something. The object of hope is determined by the situation; in every case, however, it is something like well-being, deliverance, light, the end of distress, etc. The usage oriented toward God diverges in that hope is oriented directly toward the person of God: “I hope in you.” Properly, Hebr. requires an object of hope; the transformation then involves the fact that the object of hope is replaced by the one from whom it is hoped. Thus one could speak of an eloquent brevity: God is the one, then, whose being is help and deliverance. Without exception, however, hope in God is discussed positively. This use reflects Israel’s history with its God, a history in which this God has become hope for his people.

5. Information concerning the rendering of the Hebr. vocabulary of hope and waiting in the LXX may be found in the works by van der Ploeg, de Boer (also concerning the Tgs. and Peshitta), and Zimmerli (*Man and His Hope* 8–10) mentioned above (3). The primary translation of the verbs is not *elpizein* (in half of its occurrences for → *bth*, in approximately one-fifth each for → *hsh* and → *yhl*, only 2x for *qwh* pi. and *sbr* pi.), but (*hypo*)*menein* and derivatives (regularly for *qwh* in the Psa, for *hkh* with

one exception, frequently for *yhl* outside the Psa). *elpis* predominantly renders the substs., incl. *tiqwâ* in Job and Prov; in contrast, *hypomonē* translates *tiqwâ* in Psa.

On early Judaism and the NT, cf. e.g., W. Grossouw, *RB* 61 (1954): 508–32; R. Bultmann and K. H. Rengstorf, “ἐλπίζ,” *TDNT* 2:517–35; F. Hauck, “μένω,” *TDNT* 4:574–88; Chr. Maurer, “προσδοκάω,” *TDNT* 6:725–27.

C. Westermann

## קוֹל *qôl* voice

S 6963; BDB 876b; *HALOT* 3:1083b; *ThWAT* 6:1237–52; *TWOT* 1998a; *NIDOTTE* 7754

1. The noun *qôl* “sound, voice” (Bibl. Aram. *qāl*, KBL 1119b) is common Sem., with the possible exception of Akk., in which *qūlu* has the opposite meaning, “quiet, silence” (*AHW* 927b), and the related verb *qālu* does not mean “to call” (despite GB 706b and Zorell 717a, following F. Delitzsch; cf. Arab. *qāla* “to say”) but “to be silent, pay attention” (see *AHW* 895; cf. E. Reiner, *FS Landsberger* 247–51). A relationship between *qôl* and the noun → *qāhāl* “assembly,” which is attested, independently of Hebr., only in Old SArab. (cf. E. Ullendorff, *VT* 6 [1956]: 196) is nearly certain (see W. F. Albright, *SVT* 4 [1957]: 256; GB 705a; KBL 829a; contra BDB 847b and *SBL* 119–29) and is confirmed by analogies such as *nûr* and *nhr* “light,” *mûl* and *mhl* “to circumcise,” *mûr* and *mhr* “to deceive,” *rûm* and *rhm* “high,” *rûš* and *rht* “to run,” etc. (see H. Bauer, *ZAW* 48 [1930]: 75; S. Rin, *BZ NS* 7 [1963]: 27; C. J. Labuschagne, *OuTWP* [1967]: 60n.32). Regarding the relationship to *qôhelet* “speaker,” see H. H. Hirschberg, *VT* 11 (1961): 378; E. Ullendorff, *VT* 12 (1962): 215.

*qôl* does not occur as an element of PNs either in Hebr. or in Ug. The first element in the PN *qôlâyâ* (*IP* 32n.1) is incomprehensible (contra H. Bauer, *ZAW* 48 [1930]: 74, 79), and Ug. *ql bl* is not a PN (so M. C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica* [1965], 290f.; id., *JAOS* 86 [1966]: 277; cf. Gröndahl 176) but means “bring news” (see J. Blau and S. E. Loewenstamm, *UF* 2 [1970]: 32f.; M. Dahood, *Bib* 52 [1971]: 345).

2. *qôl* occurs in the Hebr. OT 505x, *qāl* in the Aram. of Dan 7x. The term does not occur in Hos, Obad, Mal, or Esth and occurs most frequently in Jer (81x), Psa (59x), Deut (38x), 1 Sam (37x), Isa (36x), Ezek (32x),

Exod (31x), Gen (25x), Job (21x), 1 Kgs (16x), and Dan (8x Hebr. + 7x Aram.).

3. In the basic sense *qôl* describes everything that can be perceived acoustically. The first major meaning is “sound.” Thus the term finds use in the realm of nature for the rumble of thunder (24x related directly to Yahweh, in contrast more or less independently in Exod 9:29, 33f.; 19:16; 20:18; Psa 77:18, although not disassociated from Yahweh; cf. Exod 9:28 *qôlôt ʾlôhîm* and Exod 9:23, which states that Yahweh causes peals of thunder; cf. 1 Sam 12:17f.; 2 Sam 22:14; Psa 18:14), the roar of waters (*qôl mayim rabbîm* Ezek 1:24; 43:2; Psa 42:8; 93:4; → *tʰôm* Hab 3:10), the sound of rain (1 Kgs 18:41), and a noise (Ezek 37:7, an earthquake according to O. Betz, *TDNT* 9:280; contra Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:261).

In addition, however, *qôl* indicates noises produced by human or animal movements (human steps: Gen 3:8, 10; 2 Kgs 6:32; 11:13; 2 Chron 23:12; the stomping of horses: Jer 4:29; 47:3; 2 Kgs 7:6; Ezek 26:10; the noise of the wings of heavenly beings: Ezek 1:24; 3:13; 10:5); also noises, sounds, and tones of wagons or tools of human manufacture (chariots of war: Ezek 26:10; cf. 3:13; Joel 2:5; an instrument of war associated with the war cry: Exod 32:17; Jer 50:22; *tʿrûʿâ* “war cry”: 1 Sam 4:6; Ezek 21:27; handmill: Jer 25:10; Eccl 12:4), and esp. musical instruments—ram’s horn (*šôpār* Exod 19:16, 19; 20:18; Josh 6:5, 20; 2 Sam 6:15; 15:10; 1 Kgs 1:41; Jer 4:19, 21; 6:17; 42:14; Ezek 33:4f.; Amos 2:2; Psa 47:6; 98:6; Job 39:24; Neh 4:14; 1 Chron 15:28), zither (*kinnôr* Ezek 26:13; cf. *DISO* 258), flutes (*ʿûgāb* Job 21:12), and trumpets (*hʾšōšʿrôt* 2 Chron 5:13). Series of sounds are mentioned in Exod 32:17f.; 1 Kgs 1:40–45; 2 Kgs 7:6; Ezek 1:24; 3:13; 26:10; Joel 2:5; Nah 3:2. If no sound at all can be perceived the Hebrew said *ʾēn qôl* (1 Kgs 18:26, 29; 2 Kgs 4:31); cf. also *qôl dʿmāmâ daqqâ* (1 Kgs 19:12 “the whisper of a light breeze”). *qôl* also indicates noise that is difficult to describe, such as the noise of a city (1 Kgs 1:41), a crowd of people (1 Sam 4:14; Ezek 23:42) or of the fall of a city or a tree (Jer 49:21; Ezek 26:15; 31:16).

*qôl* most often occurs in the major meaning mentioned above in the cs. st. (“noise of . . .”). The function of the modifier in these cases approximates the gen. The use of *qôl* as an interjection arose from this usage; at the beginning of a clause, the term acquires the significance of a deictic interjection (cf. *GVG* 2:7; *GKC* §146b; *Joüon* §162e). In view of the fact that such a usage of *qôl* may not always be surely identified, a precise count of the passages that exhibit this use of the term must be left aside (*GB* 707a mentions 15 passages; in contrast, *Zorell* 716b lists over 20; at any rate, Jer 4:15; 10:22; 25:36; Song Sol 2:8; 5:2 must be considered; C. Peters, *Bib* 20 [1939]: 288–93 also mentions Psa 118:15; Jer 31:15; and—incorrectly—Psa 3:5). Admittedly, *LXX* and *Tg.* never understood *qôl* as an interjection (cf. O. Betz, *TDNT* 9:281n.12).

The second major meaning of *qôl* is “voice,” not only the voice of people that indicates their identities (Gen 27:22; Judg 18:3; 1 Sam 24:17a; 26:17) but also of animals (1 Sam 15:14; Jer 2:15; 8:16; 9:9; 46:22; Amos 3:4; Zeph 2:14; Nah 2:8; Zech 11:3b; Psa 104:12; Job 4:10; Eccl 12:4b; Song Sol 2:12, 14), of a seraph (Isa 6:4), and anthropomorphically of God (see 4). When *qôl* occurs in a cs. relationship and the gen. more closely indicates the character of the noise produced by the voice, the meaning varies between “sound” and “voice,” e.g., the sound/voice of weeping, *b<sup>e</sup>kî* (Isa 65:19; Psa 6:9; Ezra 3:13; cf. Job 30:31), of the hue and cry, *š<sup>e</sup>qâqâ* or *z<sup>e</sup>qâqâ* (1 Sam 4:14; Jer 48:3; 51:54; Ezek 27:28; cf. Isa 30:19), of horror, *paḥad* (Isa 24:18; cf. Job 15:21), of sighing, *naḥâ* (Psa 102:6), and of rejoicing, *rinnâ* (Isa 48:20; Psa 47:2); cf. also the stereotypical phrase “the voice of rejoicing and joy, the voice of the bridegroom and the bride,” Jer 7:34; 16:9; 25:10; 33:11.

In a fig. sense, *qôl* acquires the meaning “news, proclamation” in the phrase *br* hi. *qôl b<sup>e</sup>* “to announce a report (or proclamation)” (Exod 36:6; Ezra 1:1; 10:7; Neh 8:15 par. to *šm<sup>c</sup>* hi.; 2 Chron 30:5; 36:22; 2 Chron 24:9 with *ntn* in the same meaning; Eccl 10:20 with *hlk* hi.; cf. Gen 45:16; on the Ug. *ql* “proclamation,” see Dahood, *Bib* 52 [1971]: 345). The term also occurs in a fig. sense in the phrase *qôlhāʾôt* “the witness of the sign,” Exod 4:8, but this use of *qôl* exhibits a clear relationship to the stereotypical phrase *šm<sup>c</sup> l<sup>e</sup>qôl* “to heed, obey” (see below). *qôl* has the same fig. meaning in conjunction with *d<sup>e</sup>bārîm* (Deut 1:34; 5:28; 1 Sam 15:1; Dan 10:6, 9; cf. Psa 103:20; regarding Aram. *ql dbry*, see *DISO* 258) and *millâ* (Job 33:8; 34:16; *qâl millayâʾ* Dan 7:11). In Deut 4:12 *qôl d<sup>e</sup>bārîm* indicates “the sound of the words,” i.e., “audible words,” just as in Lev 5:1 *qôl ʾālâ* means an “audibly pronounced curse” (according to A. Phillips, *Ancient Israel’s Criminal Law* [1970], 138, the “public proclamation of the curse”). *qôl* occurs in a number of idiomatic expressions in conjunction with particular verbs: *šm<sup>c</sup> l<sup>e</sup>qôl* (15x; only 4x in reference to Yahweh: Exod 15:26; Judg 2:20; 1 Sam 15:1; Psa 81:12), *šm<sup>c</sup> ʾel-qôl* (only Gen 21:17), and esp. *šm<sup>c</sup> b<sup>e</sup>qôl* “to heed the voice” (about 90x, about 60x of heeding Yahweh’s voice; the expression occurs in this usage primarily in Deut, the Dtr literature, and in Jer; with *šm<sup>c</sup>* hi., Ezek 27:30; in Psa 26:7 *be* has an instrumental significance, however), also *šm<sup>c</sup> qôl* (with acc.; over 60x, only Deut 4:36 in reference to Yahweh, who lets his voice be heard; with *šm<sup>c</sup>* ni. 10x). *qôl* occurs in conjunction with synonyms of *šm<sup>c</sup>* in the expression *qšb* hi. *b<sup>e</sup>qôl* (Psa 66:19; 86:6), or *l<sup>e</sup>qôl* (Jer 6:17; Psa 5:3; Song Sol 8:13), and *ʾzn* hi. *l<sup>e</sup>qôl* (Job 34:16). *qôl* occurs in conjunction with *nšʾ* in the phrase *nšʾqôl* “to raise the voice,” in an abs. usage, however, only once, Psa 93:3,

because the term is coupled with a second verb in all the other pertinent passages: with  $\rightarrow qr^{\prime}$  “to call” (Judg 9:7), with  $rnn$  “to rejoice” (Isa 24:14; pi. Isa 52:8), and esp. with  $bkh$  “to weep” (Gen 21:16; 27:38; 29:11; Judg 2:4; 21:2; 1 Sam 11:4; 24:17; 30:4; 2 Sam 3:32; 13:36; Job 2:12; Ruth 1:14; with  $ntn$ , Num 14:1; cf. Gen 45:2).  $qôl$  occurs with  $\rightarrow rûm$  hi. as a synonym for  $ns^{\prime}$  only in Gen 39:15, 18; Isa 37:23; cf. 1 Chron 15:16. Regarding  $ntn$   $qôl$ ,  $\rightarrow ntn$  III/2a.

In conjunction with verbs of calling, speaking, etc.,  $qôl$  usually has an adv. sense intensifying the action expressed by the respective verb, i.e., particularly  $qôl$   $gādôl$  in conjunction with  $qr^{\prime}$  “to call” (Gen 39:14; 1 Kgs 18:27f.; 2 Kgs 18:28; Isa 36:13; 2 Chron 32:18; without  $be$ , Ezek 8:18; 9:1), with  $z^{\prime}q$  “to cry for help” (1 Sam 28:12; Neh 9:4; without  $be$ , 2 Sam 19:5; Ezek 11:13; cf. Aram., Dan 6:21), with  $\lambda mr$  “to say” (Ezra 10:12; with  $qôl$   $rām$ , Deut 27:14), with  $bkh$  “to weep” (Ezra 3:12; without  $be$ , 2 Sam 15:23), with  $dbr$  pi. “to speak” (without  $be$ , Deut 5:22 with Yahweh as subj.), with  $hll$  pi. “to praise” (2 Chron 20:19), with  $brk$  pi. “to bless” (Prov 27:14; without  $be$ , 1 Kgs 8:55), with  $šb^{\prime}$  ni. “to swear” (2 Chron 15:14), and with  $r^{\prime}m$  “to thunder” (1 Sam 7:10, with Yahweh as subj.). The term  $qôl$   $\lambda eḥād$  “unanimously” (Exod 24:3) corresponds substantially to  $peh$   $\lambda eḥād$  ( $\rightarrow peh$ ).

The expression  $qôlî$   $\lambda el$  “my voice is to . . .” occurs in a few passages as a synonym for “to call” (par. to  $qr^{\prime}$ , Psa 3:5; Prov 8:4; cf. Psa 27:7; 141:1; par. to  $š^{\prime}q/z^{\prime}q$ , Psa 77:2; 142:2), in which cases  $qôl$  appears as an independent subj. (cf. GKC §144m; contra Joüon §151c; again differently, C. Peters, *Bib* 20 [1939]: 292, who attributes the force of an interjection to  $qôlî$  in Psa 3:4). It is difficult to decide whether  $qôl$   $yhwḥ$  in Mic 6:9 is an independent subj. or whether  $qôl$  has the force of an interjection in this passage (so Joüon §162e; cf. GKC §146b).

Other verbs used in conjunction with  $qôl$  are  $rû^{\prime}$  hi. “to rejoice” (Psa 47:2),  $šhl$  pi. “to let resound” (Isa 10:30), and  $š^{\prime}g$  “to roar” (Job 37:4, in reference to thunder).

4. Of more than 500 occurrences of the term, about 100 fall to passages that discuss God’s voice. Of these, 24 refer to thunder as God’s voice. Although the peal of thunder is viewed as  $qôl$   $yhwḥ$ , a viewpoint that ancient Israel shared with the Canaanites and the Assyrians (for the pars., see Betz, *TDNT* 9:282nn.17f. with bibliog.) and that the OT often used metaphorically in order to express the numinous suprahuman and majestic character of God (cf. 1 Sam 7:10; Isa 30:30; Joel 4:16; Amos 1:2; Psa 18:14; 46:7; 68:34; 77:18f.; 29:3–9, etc.; the last passage is often incorrectly cited as an example of the interjectional usage of  $qôl$ : see GB

707a; Zorell 716b; C. Peters, op. cit. 288ff.), the semantic content of the phrase is not yet exhausted by this determination. For while according to the depiction of the older Sinai tradition in Exod 19:16ff. the peals of thunder represent Yahweh's voice and constitute elements of Yahweh's intercourse with Moses and his people (cf. v 19), albeit an element that the people find intolerable (Exod 20:18–21), Deut distinguishes between Yahweh's voice and natural phenomena. The people hear the "sound of the words" (Deut 4:12; cf. Job 4:16; LXX understood Num 7:89 as "Yahweh's voice"). 1 Kgs 19 demonstrates an even greater distinction between epiphany phenomena and Yahweh's voice: after the appearance of some natural phenomena "a voice came to him and spoke" (v 13), a perspective that also characterizes Ezek (cf. Ezek 1:28) and occurs in Isa (Isa 6:8; cf. 40:3–8; 1 Kgs 22:19–23; Psa 103:20). Consequently, hearing audible words spoken by Yahweh plays no role otherwise in classical prophecy (cf. J. Lindblom, *ZAW* 75 [1963]: 263–88, esp. 282f.). The concept of the voice descending from heaven occurs in the book of Dan (Dan 4:28), a concept that became very important in early Judaism (see Betz, *TDNT* 9:285ff.). In Dtr parenthesis, in which the phrase *šm<sup>c</sup> b<sup>e</sup>qôl yhw<sup>h</sup>* is particularly characteristic for the Dtr sermon (already Exod 19:5), *qôl yhw<sup>h</sup>* means the will of Yahweh manifest in the instructional tradition elucidated in the contemporary event of the sermon (cf. Deut 4:40; 5:3; 6:6; 7:11, etc.; Psa 50:7ff.; 81:9ff.; 95:7). Finally, it should also be mentioned that the reverse notion, i.e., that Yahweh hears people's voices and heeds them, occurs 27x in the OT (Num 20:16; 21:3; Deut 1:34, 45; 5:28; 26:7; 33:7; Josh 10:14; Judg 13:9; Jonah 2:3; Psa 5:3f.; 6:9; 18:7; 27:7; 28:2, 6; 31:23; 55:18; 64:2; 77:2; 116:1; 119:149; 130:2; 140:7; 141:1; Lam 3:56).

5. Kuhn (*Konk.* 191f.) lists about 40 examples of the word in the texts from Qumran, which continue OT usage (cf. *GCDS* 477). Dtr obedience to the Torah is interpreted as "heeding the voice of the teacher of righteousness." On this and the use of *qôl* or *phônē* in rabbinic literature and the NT, resp., cf. O. Betz, "φωνή," *TDNT* 9:278–99.

C. J. Labuschagne

## קום *qûm* to stand up

S 6965; BDB 877b; *HALOT* 3:1086a; *ThWAT* 6:1252–74; *TWOT* 1999; *NIDOTTE* 7756

1. The root *qûm* "to stand up" occurs, usually richly developed, in all Sem. languages (although only as a Can. loanword in Akk.; cf. *AHw* 896b;

Huffmon 259; *WUS* no. 2417; *UT* no. 2214; Gröndahl 178; *DISO* 165, 254–58, 333; Benz 404; KBL 1118f.; *LS* 652–55; Wehr 798–802; W. W. Müller, “Die Wurzeln Mediae und Tertiae y/w im Altsüdarabischen” [diss., Tübingen, 1962], 94; Dillmann 451–55; etc.).

In the Hebr. OT *qûm* qal and hi. are most common; pi., po., hitpo., and ho. are more rare. The nom. derivatives comprise, besides common formations such as *qāmâ* “grain standing on the stalk” (qal fem. ptcp.), *qômâ* “height, high growth” (BL 458), and *māqôm* “standing place > place” (BL 491), another series of rarer or uncertain formations: *y<sup>e</sup>qûm* “existence, living being” (BL 488), *qîm* “opponent(?)” (Job 22:20 txt? cf. Fohrer, KAT 16, 351), *qîmâ* “standing” (fem. inf., BL 452), *qôm<sup>e</sup>mîyût* “upright posture” (BL 505; Gulkowitsch 110), *t<sup>e</sup>qûmâ* “standing” (BL 496), and *t<sup>e</sup>qômēm* (a textual error in Psa 139:21; cf. BL 497). Bibl. Aram. has the verb in the pe. “to stand up, stand there, exist” (cf. also → *ʿmd* 1), pa. “to set up,” ha. “to establish,” ho. “to be set up,” and the noms. *q<sup>e</sup>yām* “ordinance” and *qayyām* “lasting.”

Only a small segment of the PNs formed with *qûm* qal/hi., such as *ʾdônîqām*, *y<sup>(h)</sup>ôyāqîm* (short form *yāqîm*), etc., should probably be related to the helpful appearance of God (thus consistently *IP* 176f., 200f.); they are often so-called substitute names (*ʾhîqām* “my brother is risen [again]”; *ʾelyāqîm* “God has raised [again]”; cf. Stamm, *HEN*, 417–20).

2. The statistical table includes the substantivized act. ptcp. *qām* “one standing against someone = opponent” under qal (12x: Exod 15:7; 32:25; Deut 33:11; 2 Sam 22:40, 49 = Psa 18:40, 49; Jer 51:1; Psa 44:6; 74:23; 92:12; Lam 3:62), “other v(erbs)” include po. 4x (Isa 44:26; 58:12; 61:4; Mic 2:8), hitpo. 4x (Psa 17:7; 59:2; Job 20:27; 27:7), and ho. 3x (Exod 40:17; 2 Sam 23:1; Jer 35:14), “other n(ouns)” include *y<sup>e</sup>qûm* 3x (Gen 7:4, 23; Deut 11:6), *qôm<sup>e</sup>mîyût* (Lev 26:13), *qîm* (Job 22:20), *qîmâ* (Lam 3:63), *t<sup>e</sup>qûmâ* (Lev 26:37), and *t<sup>e</sup>qômēm* (Psa 139:21) 1x each.

	qal	pi.	hi.	other v	<i>māqôm</i>	<i>qômâ</i>	<i>qāmâ</i>	other n
Gen 41	–	–	10	–	47	1	–	2
Exod 13	–	–	6	1	10	10	1	–
Lev 5	–	–	2	–	24	–	–	2
Num 23	–	–	9	–	19	–	–	–
Deut 21	–	–	14	–	33	–	3	1
Josh 15	–	–	6	–	9	–	–	–
Judg 35	–	–	7	–	14	–	2	–
1 Sam	–	40	–	7	–	24	2	–
2 Sam	–	30	–	6	1	12	–	–

1 Kgs27	–	13	–	16	13	–	–	
2 Kgs19	–	4	–	13	3	1	–	
Isa 27	–	6	3	17	2	2	–	
Jer 24	–	18	1	46	2	–	–	
Ezek 3	1	5	–	17	8	–	–	
Hos 1	–	1	–	2	–	1	–	
Joel	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	
Amos5	–	5	–	2	–	–	–	
Obad2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Jonah	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mic 5	–	1	1	1	–	–	–	
Nah 2	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	
Hab 1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	
Zeph 1	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	
Hag	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	
Zech	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	
Mal	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	
Psa 40	2	7	2	8	–	–	1	
Job 18	–	2	2	21	–	–	1	
Prov 9	–	1	–	3	–	–	–	
Ruth 3	1	2	–	3	–	–	–	
Song Sol	4	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Eccl 1	–	2	–	9	–	–	–	
Lam 3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Esth 3	7	–	–	3	–	–	–	
Dan 1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	
Ezra 7	–	–	–	5	–	–	–	
Neh 8	–	2	–	6	–	–	–	
1 Chron	4	–	2	–	8	–	–	–
2 Chron	13	–	5	–	21	3	–	–
Hebr.								
OT	460	11	146	11	401	45	10	8

In addition to these 1,092 occurrences of the Hebr. root (verb 628x, noms. 464x), there are also 39 Aram. occurrences (pe. 13x, pa. 1x, ha. 19, ho. 2x, *q<sup>c</sup>yām* 2x, *qayyām* 2x; all passages except Ezra 5:2 pe. and 6:18 ha. are in Dan).

3. (a) The several uses of *qûm* can only be roughly described here (cf. GB 707f.; KBL 831–33). The basic meaning “to stand up, rise up” is manifest in statements in which *qûm* qal appears together with semantically related roots, e.g., Exod 33:8, “the entire people arose and everyone remained standing (*nšb* ni.) at the entrance of their tents”

(similarly Gen 37:7 of sheaves); Job 29:8, “the elders arose, remained standing (→ *ʿmd*)”; Isa 33:10, “now I will stand up, says Yahweh, now I will arise (→ *rûm*, hitpo.; cf. BL 405), now I will stand upright (*nšʿ* ni.)” In the basic sense, the verb refers to one who arises from one’s couch (1 Sam 3:8) or seat (Jonah 3:6) or to one who stands again after falling (Mic 7:8; Prov 24:16); in addition, a metaphorical usage occurs in the meaning “to appear,” applied to an entire generation (Judg 2:10; Josh 5:7 hi.) or to historical events (Psa 27:3, war; Prov 24:22, destruction; Ezek 7:11, a violent act; Nah 1:9, distress, etc.). From this usage develops the abs. meaning “to come to be, occur” (of an event, e.g., Isa 7:7 and 14:24 par. → *hyh* “to occur”; of a plan, Isa 8:10; 46:10; Jer 51:29; Prov 19:21).

The hi. has the causative meaning “to set up,” etc.; one sets up stones as idols (Lev 26:1; Deut 16:22), one sets up altars (2 Kgs 21:3) or the sanctuary (Exod 40:18); guards are posted (Judg 7:19; Jer 51:12); a fallen one is set up again (1 Sam 2:8; Amos 5:2; Psa 113:7), a collapsed hut is reconstructed (Amos 9:11).

Deutero-Isa uses *qûm* po. to describe the reconstruction of the ruins of Judah (Isa 44:26; cf. 58:12; 61:4, in each case par. *bnh* “to build”). In the later language the pi. occurs in the meaning “to strengthen” (Psa 119:28, 106; Ruth 4:7), “to cause to happen” (Ezek 13:6), and “to install, decree” (Esth 9:21–32, an Aramaism; cf. BL 394f.; Wagner 138).

(b) Numerous antonyms illustrate the basic meaning of the root: *škb* “to lie down, lie” (Deut 6:7; 1 Sam 3:6), → *yšb* “to sit down, sit” (Gen 19:1; Psa 139:2), → *hwh* hišt. “to bow down, prostrate oneself” (Gen 23:7; Exod 33:10), *kr* “to bow down, kneel” (1 Kgs 8:54), *npl ʿal pānîm* “to lie on the face” (Josh 7:10). Other antonyms accentuate particular nuances: in contrast to the collapse of the conquered enemy (*npl* Psa 18:39; 20:9), *qûm* indicates that which resists attack and endures (1 Sam 13:14; 2 Sam 23:10; Isa 28:18; Amos 7:2); in contrast to that which perishes (→ *ʾbd* Prov 28:28), *qûm* describes that which is valid and remains constant (Num 30:5ff., vows; 1 Sam 24:21, David’s kingdom; Isa 40:8 and Jer 44:28f., God’s word; see 4b), as well as that which has become fixed (1 Sam 4:15 and 1 Kgs 14:4, the eyes in old age), that which remains final (Deut 19:15, judgment). In the formula *npl . . . qûm* (Isa 24:20; Jer 8:4; 25:27; Amos 5:2; 8:14), *qûm* acquires the meaning of reestablishment that, in the hi., serves to describe a beneficial action: the brother-in-law permits the name of the deceased brother to arise again (Deut 25:7; Ruth 4:5, 10), Yahweh raises the poor from the dust (1 Sam 2:8; cf. Psa 41:11), and the servant of God reestablishes the tribes of Jacob (Isa 49:6; cf. v 8; see 4d).

(c) Active movement and self-locomotion presuppose that the actor has arisen; correspondingly, *qûm* often coordinates with verbs of action

and describes the beginning of the action or the movement, sometimes constructed with *le* + inf. (Gen 37:35; Josh 8:3), but usually with a consecutive *waw*: to arise in order to go (Gen 22:3), to go up (35:3), to take (32:23), to cross over (31:21), etc. But one can also say: to stand in order to speak (Jer 1:17), to hear (Num 23:18), to sit (2 Sam 19:9), to give oneself to strange gods (Deut 31:16), etc., whereby the verb *qûm* has lost its precise sense and become a kind of auxiliary verb alongside the verb of action proper. This auxiliary role is apparent in the command formulae with the impv. *qûm* placed without a connecting *waw* alongside the impv. of the verb of action: *qûm lēk* “go!” (Gen 28:2), *qûm rēd* “go down!” (Deut 9:12), *qûmû šûbû* “go back!” (Gen 43:13), *qûm rîb* “hold court!” (Mic 6:1), etc. The impv. *qûm* serves here only to accentuate the action described.

(d) The root combined with numerous preps. indicates the place where one arises. Some preps. give the verb a special meaning: with *ʿal*, *qûm* usually describes the attack against an enemy (Deut 22:26; Isa 14:22; Psa 3:2); this use gives rise to the use of the pl. ptcp. *qāmîm* + a per. suf. to indicate someone’s enemies (Exod 15:7; Psa 18:49; 44:6, etc.; with *ʿal* Psa 92:12). In the construction with *be*, the verb belongs to judicial vocabulary and indicates the accusation of a prosecution witness (Deut 19:15a, 16; Mic 7:6; Psa 27:12; cf. 35:11), while *qûm* + *le* refers to the intervention of a defense witness on behalf of the accused (Psa 94:16; cf. Job 19:25). In commercial language, *qûm* + *le* indicates the (permanent) transferal of a thing to the possession of another (Gen 23:17f., 20; Lev 25:30; 27:19).

\*(e) In addition to the derivatives of other roots with *m*-preformative such as *mākôn* “place” (→ *kûn*), *maššāb* “location, post” (10x, root *nšb*), *ma<sup>ʿ</sup>mād* “position”/*mo<sup>ʿ</sup>mād* “stand” (→ *ʿmd*), and *māʿôn* “stopping place” (19x, root *\*ʿwn*), *māqôm* is a rather general word for “place” (e.g., Gen 1:9; 1 Sam 5:3 “standing place”), concretely also for “locality” (e.g., Gen 18:24). Bibl. Aram. uses *ʾtar* for “place” (originally “trace,” still so in Dan 2:35; in Ezra 5:15; 6:3, 5, 7, “place”; cf. the related relative particle *ʾšer*, originally “place where . . .”; cf. HAL 94b with bibliog.). The frequent use of the word *māqôm* “place” in NWSem. inscriptions (*DISO* 165; J. G. Février, *Cahiers de Byrsa* 9 [1960/61]: 33–36; cf. Sznycer 53) and in the OT for burial sites or for sanctuaries still does not indicate that *māqôm* acquired the meaning “grave” or “sanctuary” (on the confusion of designation and meaning, cf. *CPT* 292, contra M. Dahood, *Bib* 43 [1962]: 360). Regarding *māqôm ʾahēr* “another place” as a circumlocution for God in Esth 4:14, cf. → *ʾhr* 3; P. R. Ackroyd, *ASTI* 5 [1967]: 82–85).

The word *nāweh* (→ *r<sup>h</sup>* 3) exhibits a generalization of the meaning of

“pastureland” to “place” (so also Akk. *nawûm*; cf. *AHW* 771). The original meaning occurs e.g., in 2 Sam 7:8 = 1 Chron 17:7, “I took you from the pasture, from following the sheep”; in a generalized sense, the “(dwelling) place” of Yahweh, etc. are mentioned (Exod 15:13 “to your holy place”; 2 Sam 15:25; Psa 83:13).

4. On a theological plane, the root *qûm* plays an important role in a few specific contexts:

(a) *qûm* qal anthropomorphically indicates Yahweh’s personal intervention (Isa 33:10; Psa 12:6; cf. F. Schnutenhaus, *ZAW* 76 [1964]: 6–8): Like a warrior who goes to battle (Isa 28:21), he arises in order to attack his enemies (Amos 7:9; Psa 68:2), in order to propagate the terror of God (Isa 2:19, 21), and in order to come to the aid of the weak (Psa 76:10; 102:14). Consequently, the request can be made for Yahweh to intervene for his own: *qûmâ* “arise!” (Num 10:35; Psa 3:8; 7:7; 9:20; 10:12; 17:13; 35:2; 44:27; 74:22; 82:8; 132:8; 2 Chron 6:41; cf. Deborah’s summons of Barak in Judg 4:14).

(b) Dtn-Dtr theology and Jer too use the hi. to express two aspects of Yahweh’s activity in history: (1) On the one hand, Yahweh raises up individuals to lead his people through them (cf. H. Bardtke, “Der Erweckungsgedanke in der exilisch-nachexilischen Literatur des AT,” *FS Eissfeldt* [1958], 9–24, also regarding *ûr* hi. “awaken”): prophets (Deut 18:15, 18; Jer 6:17; 29:15; cf. Amos 2:11), “judges” (Judg 2:16, 18; 3:9, 15), priests (1 Sam 2:35), and esp. kings (1 Kgs 14:14; Jer 23:4f.; Ezek 34:23; Zech 11:16). On the other hand, Amos (Amos 6:14) and Habakkuk (1:6) already use the expression to announce the coming of the enemy whom Yahweh summons against his people; the Dtr adopts the theme in his accusation against Solomon (1 Kgs 11:14, 23). (2) History itself is the work of Yahweh, who arranges events such that he may fulfill (lit. “set up”) the promise to the patriarchs (Deut 8:18; 9:5; Jer 11:5), to David (2 Sam 7:25; 1 Kgs 2:4; 6:12; 8:20), or even the words of the prophets (1 Sam 3:12; 1 Kgs 12:15; Jer 23:20; 28:6; 29:10; 30:24; 33:14; cf. Isa 44:26; Neh 9:8; Dan 9:12).

Only Gen 26:3b and Jer 11:5 associate *qûm* hi. with *šbûâ* “oath.” The phrase seems to belong to a later interpretation based on Dtr vocabulary appended to the Yahwistic narrative in the first case (cf. Deut 9:5; M. Noth, *History of Pentateuchal Traditions* [1972], 29; von Rad, *Gen*, OTL [1972], 270).

*qûm* hi. with the obj. *dābār* “word” also refers to the activity of people who are true to the provisions of the covenant (Deut 27:26; 2 Kgs 23:3) and keep the commandments (1 Sam 15:11, 13; 2 Kgs 23:24; cf. Jer 35:16; Neh 5:13). Isaiah already juxtaposes the plans that people are unable to realize (*qûm* qal; Isa 7:7; 8:10) with Yahweh’s will that he always fulfills (Isa

14:24 qal; cf. Jer 51:29 qal). Thus *qûm* hi. with the obj. *dābār* becomes one of the phrases that attest Yahweh's faithfulness to his word (Neh 9:8; cf. Psa 119:38; Prov 19:21 qal).

(c) The priestly tradition in P chooses *qûm* hi. → *b'rit* "to establish a covenant," where other traditions use → *krt* or → *ntn* (Gen 6:18; 9:9, 11, 17; 17:7, 19, 21; Exod 6:4; Lev 26:9). Through it P explicates the initiative of Yahweh, who establishes his dominion over the world, but also the unshakable validity of the order of salvation that makes life possible for people.

(d) In an expansion of the usage of *qûm* hi. "to set (something that has fallen) up (again)," the verb occurs par. to → *hyh* "to live/come to life again" in two passages that express hope in a return. In Hos 6:2, perhaps in allusion to the Can. myth of the dying and reviving Baal (cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 117f.), the Israelites express their hope in a rapid reconstitution (healing or resurrection?): "he will revive (*hyh* hi.) us anew, . . . he will reestablish us (*qûm* hi.)"; but Hosea illustrates the illusory character of this hope (v 4). The same verbal parallelism occurs in the Isaiah Apocalypse in the lament of Isa 26:19 txt em: "your dead may live again, my corpse may rise again!" Besides *qûm*, however, other verbs also describe resurrection: Ezek 37:10 uses the par. *md-hyh* and Dan 12:2 the image of awakening (*qîs* hi.) the sleeping.

5. The LXX most often renders *qûm* by *anistanai*, esp. in the qal (cf. Gen 4:8; 13:17, etc.) but also in the hi. (cf. Gen 9:9; 1 Sam 2:8; Ruth 4:10). One also encounters the simple form *histanai* and other composites. In the special meaning "to remain valid" it uses (*em*)*menein* (Isa 7:7; 8:10; 40:8; Prov 19:21). The hi. is often translated by (*ex*)*egeirein* (e.g., Gen 49:9; Judg 2:16; Hab 1:6; Zech 11:16).

In the NT, too, *anistanai* and *egeirein* correspond to most of the meanings of *qûm*. In the proclamation of Christ's resurrection, the pledge of the resurrection of the dead, the NT apparently transcends the OT affirmation with *qûm* hi. concerning Yahweh's power to awaken the instruments of his will (see 4b) and to raise the fallen (see 3ab, 4d). Cf. A. Oepke, "ἀνίστημι," *TDNT* 1:368–72; id., "ἐγείρω," *TDNT* 2:333–39.

S. Amsler

קלל *qll* to be light

S 7043; BDB 886a; *HALOT* 3:1103a; *ThWAT* 7:40–49; *TWOT* 2028; *NIDOTTE* 7837

## זעם *zsm* to curse

S 2194; BDB 276b; HALOT 1:276b; TDOT 4:106–11; TWOT 568; NIDOTTE 2404

1. The root *qll* “to be light, small, contemptible,” etc. is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 220f.; cf. *AHw* 893; *DISO* 259; attestation in Ug. is uncertain; cf. *WUS* no. 2409). In the factitive and causative stems, all the important dialects evidence the meaning “to have little regard for, despise, abuse,” etc.

The homonymous roots *qll* “to be smooth” will not be considered here (pil. “to sharpen,” Eccl 10:10; adj. *qālal* “smooth,” Ezek 1:7; Dan 10:6) and *qlql* “to shake” (pil. “to shake,” Ezek 21:26; hitpalpel “to be shaken,” Jer 4:24; cf. the much too far-reaching relationships posited by G. J. Botterweck, *Der Triliterismus im Semitischen* [1952], 40–44).

This root is attested in the OT in the *qal*, *ni.*, *pi.*, *pu.*, and *hi.*, in addition to the nom. derivatives *q<sup>o</sup>lālā* “mockery” (BL 463), *q<sup>i</sup>qālōn* “shame” (*GVG* 1:247), *qal* “light, insignificant,” etc. (BL 453), and *q<sup>o</sup>lōqēl* “insignificant” (*GVG* 1:370; BL 482). The word *qōl* occurs in Jer 3:9, which, although universally understood by tradition as a subst. “frivolity” (BL 455), should probably be interpreted as *qōl* “voice” (contra e.g., Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 22).

2. In the Hebr. OT, derivatives of the root occur a total of 128x: the verb 79x (*qal* 12x, *ni.* 11x, *pi.* 40x, *pu.* 3x, *hi.* 13x), the subst. *q<sup>o</sup>lālā* 33x, the adj. *qal* 13x, and once each *qōl* (Jer 3:9), *q<sup>o</sup>lōqēl* (Num 21:25), and *q<sup>i</sup>qālōn* (Hab 2:16).

The distribution across the various books and literary genres is rather uniform. *qll* *pi.* occurs most often in 2 Sam (8x) and Lev (7x), *q<sup>o</sup>lālā* in Deut (11x) and Jer (9x).

3. (a) The basic meaning may be determined as “to be light” (on the root cf. J. Scharbert, “Fluchen’ und ‘Segnen’ im AT,” *Bib* 39 [1958]: 8–14; H. C. Brichto, *Problem of “Curse” in the Hebrew Bible* [1963], 118–99), which can develop in a twofold sense, however: on the one hand “to be light” = “to be fast, fleet, move quickly, evaporate,” etc. can be said of agile animals (horses, female camels, birds) and fleeting phenomena (clouds, weaving shuttles, swiftly passing days [par. *klh* “to be at an end,” Job 7:6; par. *brh* “to flee,” Job 9:25]), and esp. of people (light-footed runners and fast troops); on the other hand “to be light” = “to be lightweight, small, insignificant, minor, despicable.” The root in this meaning stands in an

antithetical relationship to → *kbd* “to be heavy” (formally in 1 Sam 2:30; 2 Sam 6:22; 1 Kgs 12:10; Isa 8:23; 23:9; Hab 2:16), and the semantic development is opposite in every respect to that of *kbd*. Accordingly, it stretches from physical lightness and insignificance (e.g., Gen 8:8, 11 qal; Jonah 1:5 hi.) through a more moral insignificance, such as the meaninglessness of a matter, frivolity of a work, a task, etc. (hi.: Exod 18:22; 1 Kgs 12:4, 9f.; ni.: 1 Sam 18:23; 2 Kgs 3:18; 20:10; Prov 14:6), and low status on a scale of value (ni.: 1 Kgs 16:31; 2 Kgs 3:18; Isa 49:6) to frivolity (e.g., in the phrase *ʿal-n<sup>e</sup>qallâ* [ni. fem. ptcp.] “carelessly,” Jer 6:14; 8:11) and esp. scornfulness (qal: Gen 16:4f.; 1 Sam 2:30 par. *bzh* “to despise”; Nah 1:14; Job 40:4; ni.: 2 Sam 6:22 par. *šāpāl* “lowly”; hi.: 2 Sam 19:44; Isa 8:23; 23:9; Ezek 22:7). The last meaning (qal “to be disdainful”; hi. “to think little of, make despicable, scorn”; cf. *q<sup>e</sup>lōqēl* “despicable matter,” Num 21:5, and *qīqālōn* “shame, scorn,” Hab 2:16) should be particularly emphasized in respect to the use of the root in the pi. (see b). Moreover, the suspicion arises that the par. form *qlh* ni. “to be despised” (Deut 25:3; 1 Sam 18:23; Isa 3:5; 16:14; Prov 12:9, always par.; hi. “to despise,” Deut 27:16; *qālōn* “shame,” 17x, 8x in Prov) is connected directly to this nuance of the biconsonantal root *ql*.

(b) *qll* pi. (with the pass.) apparently has both a declarative and a factitive function; for “declarative” is identical here with “factitive.” To declare someone “light,” i.e., despicable, insignificant, meaningless, means nothing other than to make the person despicable (in contrast to the more estimative *bzh* “to scorn, disdain” [qal 32x, ni. 10x, hi. 1x; subst. *bizzāyōn* “disdain,” Esth 1:18; by-form *būz* qal, 14x, subst. *būz* “disdain,” 11x, *būzâ* “disdain,” 1x]). The word that represents another as contemptible results in the actual, one might say final, reprehensibility of the one concerned. Word and deed are entirely identical. The situation may be clarified by reference to the vital role of “weight” (*kābôd*, → *kbd*) for the Hebrews, i.e., “honor,” “reputation.” To lose such “importance” and thus to become “light,” i.e., despicable, dishonored, is synonymous for the Hebrews with the loss of existence (in Isa 65:20 *qll* pu. “to be made light” parallels *mût* “to die”). Although the mocking word is already effective per se, actions that underscore the word also coincide with it occasionally, thus e.g., the somewhat magical casting of stones and clods of dirt by which Shimei, who “makes (David) disdainful,” seeks to invalidate completely his sacrifice (2 Sam 16:5ff.).

In view of the existence-threatening effects of the scornful word, the translation “to curse, damn, execrate” seems appropriate in many passages. Yet one should always keep in mind the particular nuance just demonstrated and carefully distinguish the root from other roots such as →

$\text{ʔr}$  (“to designate as  $\text{ʔārûr}$ , cursed”; alongside  $qll$  pi. in Gen 12:3; Exod 22:27),  $\text{ʔlh}$  (“to pronounce a conditional curse,”  $\rightarrow \text{ʔālâ}$ ),  $z^{\text{ʕm}}$  (perhaps “to snap at in anger, to scold strongly”; qal 11x, ni. ptcp. “accursed” Prov 25:23; subst.  $z^{\text{ʕam}}$  “execration,” 22x),  $qbb$  (“to curse,” presumably with the support of magical actions; 14x, 10x in Num 22–24; concerning  $nqb$  “to revile,” Lev 24:11, 16[bis], cf. Elliger, HAT 4, 335n.9), further  $gdp$  pi. “to revile” (7x;  $giddûp/giddûpâ$  “taunts,” 3x/1x, resp.) and  $hxp$  (“to mock”; qal 4x, pi. 34x;  $hxpâ$  “mockery, insult,” 73x).  $qll$  pi. is the most common verb for mocking and reviling speech by which one who feels uncertain or weak seeks to elevate oneself above another. Thus the texts mention “making despicable, execrating” as an action and reaction of plundered slaves who attempt to distance themselves from their oppressors in this manner, as is the case with Shimei (2 Sam 16:5ff.), slaves (Prov 30:10; Eccl 7:21), vassals (Judg 9:27; Eccl 10:20; cf. Isa 8:21), debtors or creditors concerned for their money (cf. Jer 15:10), poor (Eccl 10:20), or as the outlet for despair and frustration in general (Eccl 7:22; cf. Jer 15:10) or for rage (Neh 13:25). Similarly, in deepest despair Job despises “his day”: he seeks to rid himself of this day, to dispatch it from the world (Job 3:1).

Since, however, every society, including the Israelite, recognizes and explicitly protects some hierarchies, the OT tradition prohibits despising and scorning persons of respect, such as parents (Exod 21:17; Lev 20:9; Prov 30:11; cf. Ezek 22:7 hi.), judges and political leaders (Exod 22:27, where  $\text{ʔlôhîm}$  alongside  $nâsî$  is often understood as “judges”; cf., however, C. H. Gordon, *JBL* 54 [1935]: 139–44;  $\rightarrow \text{ʔlôhîm}$  III/3; further 2 Sam 16:9; 19:22; Eccl 10:20), and plutocrats (Eccl 10:20). Artfully narrated stories teach that people who nevertheless behave in this way receive the punishment they deserve (e.g., Shimei, 1 Kgs 2:8, 41–46).

(c) Since despising, cursing, reviling a fellow human being is the opposite of encouragement and goodwill, i.e., of “pronouncing  $bārûk$ ” (= to call the other “blessed” and thus “to bless”;  $\rightarrow brk$  III/2),  $qll$  occurs 7x in formal opposition to derivatives of  $brk$ . This opposition is even more distinct in relation to the subst.  $q^{\text{ʕlālâ}}$ , above all formed according to the same nominal form as the subst.  $b^{\text{ʕrākâ}}$ . Thanks to this opposition,  $q^{\text{ʕlālâ}}$  became the proper term for the curse execrating another person. Jacob fears bringing a “curse” instead of a blessing on himself (Gen 27:12), while Balaam’s curse is converted into a blessing (Deut 23:6; Neh 13:2). If someone greets a neighbor in the morning too loudly, i.e., encounters the neighbor with a  $bārûk$  saying, this blessing can be interpreted as a malediction under some circumstances (Prov 27:14). In Dtn all  $\text{ʔārûr}$  sayings, i.e., curses in the event of disobedience, are embraced in the term  $q^{\text{ʕlālâ}}$  (Deut 11:26, 28f.; 27:13; 28:15, 45; 29:26; 30:1, 19; Josh 8:34) and

(with the exception of Deut 29:26) juxtaposed to the *b<sup>c</sup>rākâ*. A “reviled person,” who as a result of irresponsible behavior has become contemptible, accursed, becomes a personified, exemplary “curse” (*q<sup>e</sup>lālâ*) cited by others in maledictions. Such a statement is common in Jer, in the series of synonyms characteristic for Jer that threaten total dishonor, even destruction (Jer 24:9; 25:18; 42:18; 44:8, 12, 22; 49:13).

The arrival of a *q<sup>e</sup>lālâ*, i.e., a curse, a malediction, is described with the verb → *bô<sup>v</sup>* “to come”: the *q<sup>e</sup>lālâ* malediction “comes,” i.e., the *ʾārûr* formula is fulfilled (Deut 28:15, 45; 29:26 [hi.]; Judg 9:57; Psa 109:17). The wise teach, however, that a groundlessly pronounced malediction does not “come,” i.e., is ineffective; rather it dissolves into nothing. Here the belief in the effectiveness of the invective undergoes a certain corrective through the belief in the stronger power of truth (Prov 26:2).

4. The root (esp. *qll* pi. and *q<sup>e</sup>lālâ*) is theologically significant in these respects:

(a) If the social order sanctioned by the divine will already prohibits reviling respected persons (see 3b), reviling the highest authority—God—is particularly hazardous (Lev 24:10–23; cf. Exod 22:27). The wickedly terrible nature of blasphemous behavior explains the conscious garbling of the expression “to revile God” in 1 Sam 3:13 MT and perhaps also the Masoretic reading of Psa 37:22. Conversely, an appeal to God (rarely attested) can heighten the effectiveness of the invective (1 Sam 17:43, Goliath; 2 Kgs 2:24, Elisha).

(b) Yahweh, absolute Lord over all things, is also Lord over human invectives. He can permit Shimei to revile the humiliated king (2 Sam 16:10f.) and also reward with good the patient submission to such invectives (v 12). He can altogether convert an invective into a blessing (model example: Balaam), or even designate as *ʾārûr*, and hence curse, one who “reviles” Abraham and his descendants (Gen 12:3). Thus the reviled one can do nothing better than to trust God as David did. Relatedly, Yahweh can make some persons “maledictions” (2 Kgs 22:19; Jer 24:9; 25:18, etc.).

(c) The OT goes even farther. Yahweh is not only absolute Lord over invectives: he can himself “make (his creation) contemptible,” “execrate” it, and rob it of authentic existence. Psa 37:22 (MT) speaks of the “reviled,” those “cursed” by Yahweh, who in contrast to the “blessed” will be eradicated. After the flood, Yahweh decides (according to J) “never again to make the earth despicable,” i.e., not to devastate and destroy it again (Gen 8:21; cf. e.g., W. M. Clark, *ZAW* 83 [1971]: 207 with bibliog.; on the “malediction” of the ground see Job 24:18). The conviction that Yahweh could “make contemptible, execrate” also underlies Dtn language concerning the curse (*q<sup>e</sup>lālâ*) that Yahweh places on his people and that

will be fulfilled in the event of disobedience (Deut 27–30; 11:26ff.).

5. The relatively rare use of the root in Qumran, which is closely linked to OT prototypes, is unremarkable (cf. the “cursers” in 1QS 2:4–5, 10, according to the Dtn ritual: *ʔarûr* sayings, strengthened with a repeated “amen”).

The LXX renders the root in a wide number of ways, reflecting its variety of nuances. *qll* pi. and *qʿlālâ* are represented as a rule by derivatives of *ara*, thus rendering the expressions concerned indistinguishable from other words for “to curse” (cf. F. Büchsel, “ᾠρά,” *TDNT* 1:448–51). Significantly, however, a series of passages offer expressions such as *kakologeîn* (Exod 21:17; 22:27; 1 Sam 3:13; Prov 20:20), *kakōsereîn* (Lev 19:14; Isa 8:21), *kakōseipeîn* (Lev 20:9). Regarding the NT, cf. the literature concerning → *ʔr* 5 and → *ʔālâ* 5.

C. A. Keller

### קִנְיָהּ *qinʔâ* **fervor**

S 7068; BDB 888a; *HALOT* 3:1110b; *ThWAT* 7:51–62; *TWOT* 2038a; *NIDOTTE* 7863

1. Hebr. *qinʔâ* “fervor, jealousy” is a verbal abstract (Nyberg 213; with the abstract pl. *qʿnāʔôt* in Num 5:15, 18, 25, 29; cf. Joüon 417n.3) of a root *qnʔ*, which survives in the meaning “to act zealously, be zealous” only in post-OT literature (cf. also *LS* 675a) and in Eth. (Dillmann 445f.). The occurrence in Ug. is questionable (cf. *WUS* no. 2425; *UT* no. 2246, regarding 52.21 [= *KTU* 1.23.21]); Arab. *qnʔ* “to become dark red” should probably not be adduced to clarify the etymology (on this and the entire root, cf. F. Küchler, “Der Gedanke des Eifers Jahwes im AT,” *ZAW* 28 [1908]: 42–52; K.-H. Bernhardt, *Gott und Bild* [1956], 86–92; H. Brongers, “Der Eifer des Herrn Zebaoth,” *VT* 13 [1963]: 269–84; B. Renaud, *Je suis un Dieu jaloux* [1963]).

The OT uses the subst. *qinʔâ*, as well as the adj. *qannāʔ/qannôʔ* “zealous, jealous” (on the form, cf. BL 478f.; Meyer 2:30; O. Loretz, *Bib* 41 [1960]: 411–16) and the verb in the pi. and hi. (*qnʔ* pi. “to make jealous,” Deut 32:21 and 1 Kgs 14:22; otherwise “to be jealous, become excited,” etc.; cf. *HP* 70, 265, 270f.).

2. *qinʔâ* occurs 43x in the OT (Ezek 10x, Num 9x, Isa 7x); it concerns God’s zeal 24x, zeal that acts for or against his people with nearly equal frequency; it concerns human zeal about 19x. The adj. *qannāʔ* occurs 6x

(Exod 3x, Deut 3x), *qannô'* 2x (Josh 24:19; Nah 1:2); both are always used of God (except in Nah 1:2, always against his own people). The verb is used 30x in the pi. (Num 6x, 1 Kgs 5x, Prov 4x; 5x of God, 24x of people, and 1x in the parable of the trees, Ezek 31:9), also 4x in the hi. (Deut 32:21 with God, Deut 32:16 and Psa 78:58 with people, Ezek 8:3 with an idol as the subj. of the statement). In all, the root *qn'* occurs 85x in the OT, most frequently in Num (15x) and Ezek (13x).

3. In the interpersonal realm, the word family indicates the attitude, often accompanied by a strong emotional component, of one partner toward the other regular partner. The semantic range is rather broad, depending on the construction (*qn'* pi. with acc., *be*, and *le*) and the context (cf. E. M. Good, *IDB* 2:806f.; Brongers, op. cit.; A. Jepsen, *ZAW* 79 [1967]: 287f.), and is by no means limited to relations between the sexes (as was originally the case according to Küchler, op. cit.): with respect to *qn'* pi., it reaches from “to envy, be jealous of” (Gen 26:14, the Philistines of Isaac because of his many possessions; 30:1, Rachel, as long as she has no child, of her sister Leah; 37:11, the brothers of Joseph; Isa 11:13, Ephraim of Judah [cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 494]; Ezek 31:9, all the trees of Eden of Egypt’s strength; Psa 106:16, the Israelites of Moses and Aaron; Prov 24:1, the wise of the evil) through “to become agitated” (Psa 37:1, concerning miscreants; 73:3, concerning the arrogant; similarly Prov 3:31; 23:17; 24:19) to “to be devoted to” (Num 11:29, Joshua to Moses; 2 Sam 21:2, Saul to Israel and Judah; to Yahweh: Num 25:11, 13, Phinehas; 1 Kgs 19:10, 14, Elijah). *qn'* pi. and *qin'â* refer to marital jealousy in Num 5:14f., 18, 25, 29f.; Prov 6:34; 27:4; moreover, *qin'â* refers to passionate love in Song Sol 8:6, to economic competition in Eccl 4:4 and 9:6, to animosity among nations in Isa 11:13 and Ezek 35:11, to the blind passion of the fools in Job 5:2 and Prov 14:30, and finally to religious zeal in 2 Kgs 10:16 (Jehu); Psa 69:10; 119:139. The term does not itself imply an evaluation, although the translation must usually resort to evaluative expressions (Eng. “jealousy, envy,” etc., in contrast to “zeal” as a legitimate defense of rights, Ger. *Eifersucht* and *Eifer*; on Luther’s translation, cf. Bernhardt, op. cit. 89n.3).

4. The ancient Near East spoke, at most, of the gods’ envy of one another but never of a god’s zeal in relation to his worshiper. Here, in the context of the fundamental polytheistic viewpoint, the worship of one god can be linked without difficulty to the worship of another god or be replaced by it (regarding the exception of Akhenaton, cf. e.g., E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many* [1982], 244–50). This alternation is entirely unthinkable on OT soil. The God Yahweh who chose his people tolerates no rivals. He assumes the central position as the God who jealously guards his uniqueness. The justification of the

first commandment of the Decalogue makes this demand unmistakably clear. Yahweh wants to be the God of Israel who watches over every apostasy to another god with retribution.

The concept of Yahweh's jealousy that corresponds to his transcendence, majesty, and holiness (J. Hänel, *Die Religion der Heiligkeit* [1931], 134–236, esp. 196ff.: “jealous holiness”) is “the basic element in the whole Old Testament idea of God” (Eichrodt 1:210n.15; cf. Josh 24:19, *qannô*<sup>ʔ</sup> alongside *qādôš* “holy”). Regarding the theme of Yahweh's jealousy, cf., in addition to KÜchler, Bernhardt, Brongers, and Renaud (see 1), also e.g., G. L. Richardson, “Jealousy of God,” *ATR* 10 (1927): 47–50; W. Zimmerli, “Das zweite Gebot,” *FS Bertholet* 550–63; von Rad, *Theol.* 1:203–12; Vriezen, *Theol.* 302f.; W. H. Schmidt, *Faith of the OT* (1983), 73f.; id., *Das erste Gebot* (1969), 18f.; Wildberger, *Isa* 1–12, CC, 406f.

Yahweh's “jealousy” is first mentioned in the liturgically shaped formula *ʔēl qannā*<sup>ʔ</sup> or *ʔēl qannô*<sup>ʔ</sup> “jealous God” (Exod 20:5 = Deut 5:9; Exod 34:14[bis]; Josh 24:19; echoed in Deut 4:24; 6:15; Nah 1:2 par. *nōqēm* “avenger,” → *nqm* 4; → *ʔēl* III/3), which is difficult to date. Accordingly, it can be stated, rather anthropomorphically, that the worship of other gods incites Yahweh's jealousy (pi./hi.: Deut 32:16, 21; Psa 78:58; cf. Ezek 8:3); Ezek 8:3, 5 speak of a *sēmel haqqin*<sup>ʔâ</sup> “jealous image” in the temple precincts (regarding the cult polemic expression, cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:217f., 238f.; Renaud, op. cit. 154–56). The prophets use *qin*<sup>ʔâ</sup> to speak of the punitive retribution that God exercises against his apostate people (Ezek 5:13; Zeph 1:18; 3:8, concentrated in these passages with expressions for divine wrath; cf. the communal lament in Psa 79:5, the curse threat in Deut 29:19), while Ezekiel also uses the image of the marriage between God and people (Ezek 16:38, 42; 23:25; Hos and Jer do not use a word from the *qn*<sup>ʔ</sup> family). Yahweh's jealousy not only visits his people in retribution but is also oriented against the foreign nations and leads to salvation for his people when foreigners endeavor to harm his people and hence Yahweh himself. God thus completes his work (Isa 9:6 “the jealousy of the Lord of hosts will do this,” according to Renaud, op. cit. 106ff., a later addition). This perspective is particularly evident in and after the exile (pi.: Ezek 39:25; Joel 2:18; Zech 1:14; 8:2; *qin*<sup>ʔâ</sup>. 2 Kgs 19:31 = Isa 37:32; Isa 26:11; 42:13; 59:17; 63:15; Ezek 36:5f.; 38:19; Zech 1:14; 8:2).

5. Ancient Judaism in the intertestamental period particularly accentuated, under the influence of Hellenistic-Greek thought, the ethical aspect of jealousy, often in descriptions of the interrelationships of the two sexes (Sir 9:1, 11; *m. }Abot* 4:21, etc.; cf. Jastrow 1387f., 1390f.; M. Hengel, *Zealots* [1989], 59–62). In the religious realm, jealousy for God's affairs assumes the foreground in the time of the Maccabean wars (1 Macc 2:24, 26f., 50, 54, 58; 4 Macc 18:12; Hengel, op. cit. 149–77; A. Strobel,

*BHH* 1:376f. with bibliog.; B. Salomonsen, *NTStud* 12 [1965/66]: 164–76). The notion that God’s jealousy punishes his own people does not occur. In the literature from Qumran, jealousy for God’s affairs is of great significance (1QS 9:23; 1QH 14:14, etc.; cf. Kuhn, *Konk.* 193).

The LXX almost always represents the word group *qnʾ* with *zēlos* and its derivatives. Regarding the NT, see A. Stumpff, “ζήλος,” *TDNT* 2:877–88.

G. Sauer

## קנה *qnh* to acquire

S 7069; BDB 888b; *HALOT* 3:1111a; *ThWAT* 7:63–71; *TWOT* 2039; *NIDOTTE* 7864

1. The root \**qny* “to acquire” is common Sem. (on WSem. see *DISO* 165, 260f.; on Akk., where it rarely occurs, see *AHW* 898b). It is highly disputed, however, whether the meaning “to create” (in NWSem., Ug., Arab.?) is attested in addition to “to acquire, possess,” etc.

I mention only two of the Ug. occurrences (*UT* no. 2249; *WUS* no. 2426; *CML* 1 144; *CML* 2 157): Asherah, El’s spouse, bears the title *qnyt ilm* (*KTU* 1.4.I.23, III.26, 30, 35, IV.32; frg. 1.8.II.2), which is variously rendered: “Creatrix, Lady, Bearer of the gods” (cf. Gray, *Legacy* 177, 265; G. W. Ahlström, *Aspects of Syncretism in Israelite Religion* [1963], 74f.). It may be comparable to the predication of El as the father of the gods (→ *ʾāb* IV/3a). The expression *dyqnyddm* (*KTU* 1.19.IV.58) occurs in an uncertain context and is often translated “who created the mountains.”

The verb is attested in the OT in the qal, ni. (Jer 32:15, 43), and hi. (Zech 13:5, where the text should be emended to *ʾdāmā qinyānī* “the ground is my gain”; however, cf. *BHS* ). Substs. of the root are *qinyān* “possession, property” (BL 500; according to Wagner no. 266, possibly an Aramaism), *miqneh* “gain, property,” and *miqnâ* “gain through purchase.” In addition, the OT has the PNs *ʾelqānâ* and *miqnēyāhû* (cf. *IP* 172; regarding similar names in the environs, cf. H. Schult, *Vergleichende Studien zur atl. Namenkunde* [1967], 123f.; Gröndahl 176; F. Vattioni, *Bib* 50 [1969]: 361; Benz 404f.). Bibl. Aram. has *qnh* pe. “to buy” in Ezra 7:17.

2. *qnh* qal occurs 81x in the Hebr. OT (Prov 14x, Gen 12x, Jer 11x, Lev 9x, Ruth 6x), ni. 2x, hi. 1x (see 1), *qinyān* 10x, *miqneh* 76x (Gen 28x, Exod 13x, Num 8x), *miqnâ* 15x (10x in P [cf. Elliger, *HAT* 4, 353n.12] and 5x in Jer 32:11–16); in addition, *qnh* pe. occurs 1x in Aram.

3. (a) The semantic range of the verb in the OT, as in the related languages, is the chief problem; the ancient translations already failed to reach a unanimous assessment. Is “to acquire, possess” sufficient to embrace the content, or must one render *qnh* “to create” or even presume a corresponding independent root? Furthermore, “to be lord, govern” or “to produce, beget, bear” have been suggested as possible translations (besides the comms. and the lexicons, cf. e.g., Ahlström, op. cit. 71ff.; W. F. Albright, *BASOR* 94 [1944]: 34n.2; id., FS Mowinckel 7f.; id., FS Robert 23; id., *BASOR* 173 [1964]: 52; id., *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* [repr. 1969], 121, 123; H. Bauer, *ZAW* 51 [1933]: 89f.; C. F. Burney, *JTS* 27 [1926]: 160–77; H. Cazelles, *VT* 7 [1957]: 422, 429; Z. W. Falk, *JSS* 12 [1967]: 241–44; W. Foerster, *TDNT* 3:1007; H. L. Ginsberg, *BASOR* 98 [1945]: 22n.68; Ch. Hauret, *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 32 [1958]: 358–67; F. Hecht, *Eschatologie und Ritus bei den “Reformpropheten”* [1971], 11; R. Humbert, *Opuscules d’un hébraïsant* [1958], 166–74 [= FS Bertholet 259–66]; W. A. Irwin, *JBL* 80 [1961]: 133–42; P. Katz, *JJS* 5 [1954]: 126–31; L. Köhler, *ZAW* 52 [1934]: 160; id., *Theol.* 85; J. A. Montgomery, *JAOS* 53 [1933]: 107, 116; id., *HTR* 31 [1938]: 145; R. Rendtorff, *ZAW* 78 [1966]: 284ff.; G. Rinaldi, *Aegyptus* 34 [1954]: 61f.; H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom* [1947], 99ff.; J. de Savignac, *VT* 4 [1954]: 430f.; H. Schmid, *ZAW* 67 [1955]: 181f.; I. S. Stadelmann, *Hebrew Conception of the World* [1970], 6; F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem* [1970], 130ff., 149f., 168ff.; F. Vattioni, *RivB* 3 [1955]: 165–73, 220–28; 7 [1959]: 180f.; G. Levi della Vida, *JBL* 63 [1944]: 1–9; id., FS Friedrich 302ff.; D. H. Weiss, *HTR* 57 [1964]: 244–48).

If one accepts only one *qnh* root, one can establish a relationship between “to acquire” and “to create” in various ways: (1) “to acquire something through work” (Köhler, *ZAW* 52:160; G. von Rad, *TDNT* 5:504); (2) “the creator of something is also its owner” (Schmid, op. cit. 181); (3) “One may most closely approximate the basic meaning if one considers that *qny/w* can also mean ‘to bear,’ so that one can accept ‘to produce’ as the most general expression, from which the semantic variants ‘to possess, take into possession,’ ‘to bear,’ ‘to create’ differentiated themselves” (Stolz, op. cit. 132; cf. de Savignac, Irwin).

All three approaches are uncertain, if not improbable (already because of chief occurrences in the OT; see 3b–e). Just as unlikely, however, is the assumption (Humbert, Vattioni) of two homonymous roots (*\*qny* or *\*qnw* ?); hence the etymology and basic meaning of *qnh* remain ultimately unexplained.

The notion that *qnh* expresses paternity (Hauret, Irwin; also M. Dahood, *CBQ* 30 [1968]: 513; Stolz, op. cit. 132, etc.) is based—apart from the ambiguous Ug. occurrences—primarily on the difficult interpretation of the name in Gen 4:1, which

probably uses the verb only under the influence of folk etymology (see 4d). Besides, it must mean both “to bear” and “to beget” or have the general meaning “to produce” since it applies to both the mother (Gen 4:1) and the father (Deut 32:6); also in relation to birth cf. Psa 139:13 and perhaps Prov 8:22.

Since the appropriate criteria for the translation “to create” in the OT are disputed, the following presentation treats only briefly the pertinent statements in their various contexts (see 4).

(b) The verb *qnh* is primarily at home in daily language. Its chief meaning—and thus also its basic meaning?—is hardly the general “to acquire” but the precise “to purchase.” Accordingly, *qnh* constitutes the antonym of *mkr* “to sell” (Gen 47:20; Lev 25:14; Neh 5:8, etc.; *mkr* qal 57x in the OT, ni. 19x, hitp. 4x; *meker* “purchase price, merchandise,” 3x; *mimkār* “sale, merchandise,” 10x; *mimkeret* “sale,” 1x; cf. Aram. *zbn* pe. “to purchase,” Dan 2:8 alongside *zbn* pe. “to sell”) and is often combined with an indication of price (*be pretii*, GKC §119p: Gen 33:19; 47:19; 2 Sam 24:24 = 1 Chron 21:24; Isa 43:24; Jer 32:25, 44 [cf. v 9]; Amos 8:6). The objs. of purchase appear in the acc.: house (Lev 25:30), field (Gen 33:19; Jer 32:7ff.; Ruth 4:4f., etc.; following *qnh* ni. as subj.: Jer 32:15, 43), threshing floor (2 Sam 24:21), construction materials (2 Kgs 12:13; 22:6; 2 Chron 34:11), girdle (Jer 13:2, 4), bottle (Jer 19:1), lamb (2 Sam 12:3), etc., but also persons (Gen 39:1; 47:19, 23; Lev 22:11; Amos 8:6; Neh 5:8; cf. Deut 28:68; regarding Zech 13:5 hi., see 1), esp. slaves (Exod 21:2; Lev 25:44f.; Eccl 2:7). The unique situation involved in Ruth 4 (vv 5, 10) suggests that *qnh* (*l<sup>e</sup> iššā*) hardly means “to buy (by paying the bride-price)” (→ *ʔrś* 3) but more blandly “to acquire (as wife)” (Weiss, op. cit.; Rudolph, KAT 17/1, 64; → *gʔl* 3d). The person from whom one purchases something is indicated with the aid of the preps. *min* (Lev 25:44), *mīyad* (Gen 33:19; Ruth 4:5, 9, etc.), *mēʔēt* (Gen 25:10; Josh 24:32, etc.), or *mēʕim* (2 Sam 24:21). The future owner is indicated by *le* “(to buy) for” (Gen 47:20, 23; Isa 43:24; Jer 32:7f.; Ruth 4:8, etc.), and the transaction can occur *neged* “in the presence of” particular persons as witnesses (Ruth 4:4; cf. vv 10f.).

Repeated occurrences of the impv. “buy it (for yourself)” (Jer 32:7f., 25; Prov 4:5, 7; Ruth 4:4, 8) lead H. J. Boecker (*Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT* [1970], 168f.) to infer a fixed idiom common in legal transactions “that can be characterized in terms of its function as a formula of invitation to purchase.”

The purchase price is called *keseper miqnā* (Lev 25:51; cf. v 16). A document can be prepared concerning the purchase—at least in later times (is Ruth 4:7f. aware of an older usage?)—which according to Jer 32:11ff. is called → *sēper hammiqnā* “bill of sale” (on its appearance see Rudolph, HAT 12, 209ff., with bibliog.).

(c) In analogy to *mōkēr* “seller,” the qal act. ptcp. *qōneh* becomes a fixed term for “purchaser” (Lev 25:28, 50; Deut 28:68; Zech 11:5; Prov 20:14; cf. Sir 37:11). The juxtaposition “purchaser—seller,” like other pairs of opposites, serves as an image for the whole of daily human life (Isa 24:2; Ezek 7:12; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:207f.). At least the ptcp. has not only ingressive but also resultative significance: acquisition becomes possession. Thus *qōneh* means “owner, lord” (Isa 1:3; cf. Lev 25:30; Zech 11:5).

(d) *qnh* is then used metaphorically or fig. for the acquisition of wisdom and knowledge: “The acquisition (possession?) of wisdom is better than gold, and the acquisition of insight more costly than silver” (Prov 16:16; cf. 4:5, 7; 17:16; 18:15; also 1:5); “whoever acquires a heart (i.e., understanding) loves oneself” (Prov 19:8; cf. 15:32; → *lēb* 3e). The same is also true of truth: but it should never be sold (Prov 23:23)!

(e) The substs. *miqneh* “gain, possession” (of ground and land, Gen 49:32, esp., however, of cattle, e.g., Gen 29:7), and *miqnâ* “acquisition through purchase” (e.g., Gen 17:12f.) derive clearly from the meaning *qnh* “to gain (through purchase).” *qinyān* also consistently means “possession, property”; cf. the “stereotypical paronomastic phrase” (Noth, HAT 7, 78) *miqneh w<sup>c</sup>qinyān* “property and goods” attested in Gen 34:23; Josh 14:4; Ezek 38:12f. (cf. Gen 31:18). Psa 104:24 seems to present an exception, however (see 4b).

4. The significance of occurrences with God as the subj. of *qnh* — except for Gen 4:1—are particularly disputed. They consistently permit only a more-or-less probable, not a clearly compelling, translation. For methodological reasons, the following brief overview diverges from the chief meaning “to acquire” only when the context demands.

(a) In Moses’ so-called Song of the Sea in Exod 15:1–18, the predications “your people” and “the people whom you have acquired (*qnh*)” (v 16) occur within the description of the conquest (vv 13b–17). This translation is most likely because it best corresponds to the remarkably similar title “the people whom you have redeemed” (v 13; → *gʾl* 4e).

The usage in the communal lament in Psa 74 is similar. The introductory question “Why have you rejected us eternally?” is followed by request and justification (v 2): “Remember your community that you acquired previously, that you redeemed as the tribe of your possession.” “The . . . asyndetic relative clauses cite election as ‘motivation for intervention,’ which election, as the once-completed and still-valid decision, should influence God to intervene for Yahweh’s community and the Zion sanctuary” (W. Schottroff, “*Gedenken*” im Alten Orient und im AT [1967], 190). The parallelism (*gʾl*) speaks anew for the translation “to acquire, gain

for oneself,” etc. The context, as in Exod 15:16, seems far removed from the notion of a mythical production, of fatherhood, or of creation. In the event that the meaning “to create” pertained to *qnh* from the outset, it would have been applied here to history.

As in both the texts mentioned above, the historical retrospective in Psa 78 proceeds directly from the events of the early period, such as exodus and conquest, to the election of Zion (v 54): “He brought them into his holy region, to the mountain that his right hand had acquired.” Correspondingly, the reference in Exod 15:17 is hardly a general reference to the mountains of Palestine, but (at least also) to Jerusalem with its sanctuary. The object of God’s activity is the mountain instead of the people; yet according to the context the idea does not involve a cosmic creation (cf. Amos 4:13) but Yahweh’s historical acquisition (v 54a; Exod 15:17).

The insertion in Isa 11:11 expresses the expectation of the return of the Diaspora as a hope that Yahweh “will redeem the remnant of the people” (cf. Neh 5:8; Isa 43:3).

(b) The following examples lead to another semantic field.

The so-called Song of Moses in Deut 32 juxtaposes God’s faithfulness and the apostasy of the people. The address to the people in v 6 adopts a wisdom tradition: “Do you thus requite Yahweh, you foolish and unwise people? Is he not your father, who created you (*qnh*; cf. GKC §§20g, 75ll), did he not make (*šh*) and establish (*kûn* po.) you?” Israel thanks Yahweh “as the creative father of the people” (E. Baumann, *VT* 6 [1956]: 417) for its existence. A corresponding confession (also as a rhetorical question) occurs in the contrast to the faithlessness of the people in Mal 2:10. Thus the notion of begetting is associated not with the term “father” but with the notion of creation (cf. also Isa 64:7; → *ʾāb* IV/3c); mythical viewpoints are echoed, at most, in the manner in which Deut 32:18 applies the image of father *and* mother to God. Katz (op. cit. 127) and Ahlström (op. cit. 73), in particular, attempt to maintain the meaning “to acquire” for *qnh* in v 6—in reference to the more general use of the verb *kûn* po. “to establish” (→ *kûn* 4a) and the Ug. phrase *il mlk dyknnh* “EI, the king who established(?) him” (texts, → *ʾāb* IV/3a)—but they are hardly correct. As the immediate pars. *ʾāb* and *šh* indicate, the translation “to create” seems more appropriate, although vv 10ff. explicate God’s activity historically.

In Psa 139 the psalmist bases his insight that he encounters God’s presence always and everywhere with the confession of his own, personal-individual creatureliness: “for it is you who created (*qnh*) my kidneys, held (protected, wove?) me in my mother’s womb” (cf. J. Holman, *BZ* NS 14 [1970]: 64f.). As in Deut 32, the context in Psa 139 (v 14) is shaped by

wisdom thought, which could also make similar statements concerning creation (Job 10:8; Eccl 11:5). The mythical concept of the development of people in the (mother) earth that echoes in Psa 139:15f. is interpreted in anticipation in v 13 as an act of God; yet v 13 and vv 15f. have the same intention to trace humanity's complete candor before God to its origins. The kidneys are organs and symbols of the most inner, secret human emotions (cf. → *lēb* 3g). Thus the context suggests strongly the translation of *qnh* as "to create," etc. (cf. Ahlström, op. cit. 72: "either 'to form' or 'to give birth to'"), while the meaning "to acquire" (of "kidneys") seems hardly sensible.

In Prov 8:22ff. personified Wisdom praises herself in order (as in Psa 139:13ff.) to draw conclusions concerning her present significance (namely her authority, vv 32ff.) from her origins. The negative descriptions in the style of ancient Near Eastern cosmogonies (vv 24ff.) of the world's state prior to creation follow two positive clauses that characterize wisdom as the first, i.e., simultaneously the best, of God's works. God is emphatically the subj. of the clause (cf. Prov 3:19) so that the relationship of dependence is even emphasized syntactically: "Yahweh created (*qnh*) me as the beginning of his dominion(?), as the first of his works, long ago" (v 22; cf. the bibliog. in H. H. Schmid, *Wesen und Geschichte der Weisheit* [1966], 150; G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* [1972], 151–53). Wisdom precedes all creation (cf. vv 24f.), but she is not eternally preexistent; "it has no primal existence alongside God, who has to discover it" (G. Fohrer, *TDNT* 7:491; cf. Gemser, *HAT* 16, 49). Thus the translation of *qnh* as "to acquire" would introduce into the text the otherwise unattested idea that (personified) Wisdom must have first been acquired by God.

Accordingly, on the basis of context, the meaning "to create" for *qnh* is preferable for three texts with God as the subj. (Deut 32:6; Psa 139:13; Prov 8:22).

The subst. *qinyān* may provide an additional example. Psa 104:24 praises God in hymnic address: "How numerous are your works, Yahweh! You made them in all wisdom; the earth is full of your creation(s)." Regardless of whether the clause in the 2d per. (v 24aβ) represents an insertion, one may observe that the two surrounding clauses are par. so that *qinyānekā* explicates the pl. *ma<sup>a</sup>šeykā* "your works." Consequently, the translation "creation, creature" is more convincing than "possession" (Köhler, *ZAW* 52:160; cf. Humbert, op. cit. 170: "riches"). Or should one see the sg. pointing of *qinyānekā* as the result of the meaning "possession," while the pl. refers to "creatures"? Again, the wisdom background is noteworthy, and accordingly God is again the subj. of the clause.

(c) *qnh* also occurs as a divine predicate in the much-discussed title *ʿēl ʿelyōn qōnēh šāmayim wāʾāreṣ* "El the highest (or the highest God), creator of heaven and earth" (Gen 14:19, 22), which is so isolated that the context

can offer no substantial clarification.

El Elyon seems to have been the (a) city god of Jerusalem who was later identified with Yahweh (cf. e.g., Gen 14:22). At any rate, the interpretation has been forwarded that two different deities are combined in the dual name (cf. the bibliog. in W. H. Schmidt, *Dei Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift* [19672], 28n.2; → *ʿēl* III/3).

The title *ʿlqn ʿš* is attested in texts from Karatepe (*KAI* no. 26A.III.18) and Leptis Magna (*KAI* no. 129.1). The Hitt. god Elkunirsha should also probably be associated with this predicate (H. Otten, *MIO* 1 [1953]: 135ff.; *ANET* 519n.1), and a divine name *ʿlqwnr<sup>c</sup>* occurs in Palmyra (cf. the works of Levi della Vida and Albright [esp. FS Mowinckel 7f.] cited in 3a; Eissfeldt, *KS* 2 [1963], 426; M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts* [1955], 27, 51ff.; Haussig 1:280; *DISO* 260; Rendtorff, op. cit. 284ff.; Stolz, op. cit. 130ff.; U. Oldenburg, *Conflict between El and Baʿal* [1969], 16f.; H. Gese et al., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer* [1970], 113ff.; W. Helck, *Betrachtungen zur grossen Göttin und den ihr verbundenen Gottheiten* [1971], 194).

The translation “creator (also: owner, lord) of the earth” is disputed. An epithet such as “(Elyon) Creator of heaven,” which would have supplemented the often-attested title and resulted in the universal statement of Gen 14:19ff. (cf. at best “Baal Shamayim”), is unattested. Thus the origin and age of the *full* title in the OT is uncertain.

Within the OT itself, the phrase in Gen 14:19, 22 may be best paralleled by the formulaic divine predicate “(Yahweh) creator (*ʿōšēh*) of heaven and earth” (Psa 121:2; 124:8, etc.; cf. Schmidt, op. cit. 166n.1). If this comparison is justified, then, on the one hand, the meaning “creation” results once again for *qnh*; on the other, the suspicion arises that *qnh* had a prehistory among Israel’s neighbors and was interpreted or replaced in the OT by *ʿsh*. To this extent Humbert’s suggestion (op. cit. 174), that *qnh* “to create” may be “a relic of the mythological and cultic Canaanite and pre-Israelite language,” may be correct, although other OT examples offer no certain support for this viewpoint.

(d) In contrast to the witnesses mentioned so far, the etymology of the name in Gen 4:1b is difficult to understand, even unintelligible: “I have acquired/created/gotten (*qānîti*) a man (with the help of) Yahweh.” Any translation is only provisional.

Westermann (*Gen*, CC, 1:289ff.), who argues for the meaning “to create” but translates “to acquire” (p. 281), offers an overview of the many suggestions for understanding this clause. Cf. J. M. Kikawada, *JBL* 91 (1972): 35–37.

Even though the association with Gen 2–3 and the birth situation seem to argue for the equation *qnh* = “to create,” this understanding falls into conceptual difficulties because a correspondence of divine and human

activity is not otherwise described in the context, nor is it intended. Besides, God himself is always the subj. of creation in the other OT examples (cf. also the PN *ʿelqānâ*, whatever it means), and *qnh* does not occur at all in Gen 2–3. Is “to create” conceivable at all on the lips of the woman, and how is it that the obj. is “man”? Thus the translation “to create” is extremely uncertain, if not improbable; the clause remains obscure, in the final analysis, so that all arguments concerning the sense of *qnh* in Gen 4:1 remain highly questionable. Presumably, the verb occurs here in an unusual context forced by the folk etymology of the name Cain (= “smith”?); this presumption explains the unusual usage, at any rate.

5. The primary translation of *qnh* in the LXX is *ktasthai*. Regarding statements concerning creation in post-OT times, cf. the bibliog. on → *br*<sup>7</sup> 5; K. H. Schelkle, *Theology of the NT* (1971), 1:14ff.

W. H. Schmidt

קֵץ *qēš* **end**

S 7093; BDB 893b; HALOT 3:1118b; ThWAT 7:84–92; TWOT 2060a; NIDOTTE 7891

1. The noun *qēš*, also attested in Ug. as *qs* “end, tip” (*WUS* no. 2434), derives from the common Sem. root *qšš* “to cut off, cut to pieces” (KBL 848f.). It occurs in OT Hebr. 14x (4x qal, 9x pi., 1x pu.) and its by-form *qšh* “to break off, separate piece by piece,” so far attested only in Arab. and NWSem., 5x (1x qal, 2x pi., 2x hi.; KBL 846b; *DISO* 262).

Derivatives of *qēš* include the adj. *qîšôn* “last, extreme,” which occurs in P 4x (Exod 26:4, 10; 36:11, 17; a formation analogous to *rîšôn* “first”; cf. *GVG* 1:293). If one accepts the cj., *h<sup>a</sup>qîššôû* in Psa 139:18 “I am at an end” should probably also be understood as a denominative of *qēš* (KBL 849a: *qšš* II; Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:511).

2. The 67 examples of the noun are distributed throughout the entire OT and appear in slight concentrations only in Ezek and Dan: Pentateuch 10x, Josh–Kgs 6x, Prophets 20 (Ezek 9x), and Writings 31x (Dan 15x). If, as is usually and correctly the case, *qîšê* in Job 18:2 is related to *qîššê* (pl. cs.; gemination-dissimilation), the total rises to 68.

3. (a) In the form *miqqēš* the noun serves 22x to express a definite or an indefinite period of time: “after the course of . . . .” For this purpose, it is combined with the corresponding indication of days (e.g., Gen 8:6), months (e.g., Judg 11:39), or years (e.g., Gen 16:3), or absent a numeral, simply

with *yāmîm* “some time” (e.g., 1 Kgs 17:7; → *yôm* 3f). In the same meaning but always only as an indication of an indefinite time period, *l<sup>c</sup>qēš* occurs 4x in late texts followed by *yāmîm* (Neh 13:6), *šānîm* “years” (Dan 11:6; 2 Chron 18:2), and *ittîm* (Dan 11:13 txt?); cf. also the somewhat circumstantial word sequence in 2 Chron 21:19 (txt?).

(b) The temporal term “end” refers to Babel in Jer 51:13, to “windy words” in Job 16:3, to gossip in Job 18:2, to darkness in Job 28:3, and to perfection in Psa 119:96, while the negation *ʔēn qēš* concerns the kingdom of peace in Isa 9:6, guilt in Job 22:5, toil in Eccl 4:8, the people in 4:16, and the “making of books” in 12:12.

The term occurs in the spatial sense in the usage “last/farthest resting place” or “last/most extreme height” in 2 Kgs 19:23 and Isa 37:24. Jer 50:26 remains unclear: *miqqēš* may mean “from (the last/most extreme) end,” i.e., “from all ends” (so ZB; cf., however, e.g., Rudolph, HAT 12, 302).

(c) Psa 39:5 and Job 6:11 speak of the end of a human life. The two occurrences in Lam 4:18 also belong in this category, although the expression “our end” includes, in addition to death, the collapse of Jerusalem. In Gen 6:13 this concept finds further expansion in that “the end of all flesh” refers to the destruction of all life and all bases of life.

(d) The term relates to the end time once each in Amos and Hab, 8x in Ezek, and 13x in Dan. Amos 8:2 and Hab 2:3, and frequently Ezek and Dan, employ the term in this usage abs., while Ezek 21:30, 34 and 35:5 expand this concise expression to *ʕēt ʕwōn qēš* “time of the final punishment,” and Dan 8:17, etc. chooses the phrase → *ʕēt qēš*, 8:19 *mōʕēd qēš* “end time” (cf. 11:27), and 12:13 *qēš hayyāmîn* “the end of days.”

(e) The following synonyms may be mentioned: *qāšeh* (92x, Josh 15x, Isa 10x, Exod and Deut 9x, Num and Jer 8x), *qāšâ* (28x, Exod 21x), *qēšeh* (5x, always negated with *ʔēn*: Isa 2:7[bis]; Nah 2:10; 3:3, 9), *qāšû* (3x, only pl. *qašwê-ʔāreš* “the ends of the earth”: Isa 26:15; Psa 48:11; 65:6), *q<sup>c</sup>šôt* (7x; cf. J. Geyer, VT 20 [1970]: 87–90), and *q<sup>c</sup>šāt* (9x; Aram. loanword; cf. Wagner nos. 268f.; Bibl. Aram. *q<sup>c</sup>šāt* “end,” Dan 4:26, 31; “portion,” 2:42), all derivatives of the stem *qšh* (see 1) that always signify “end,” etc. (local or temporal) but never in reference to the end time. Nor are *ʔepes* “end” (also adv. as a negation or limitation and in the meaning “nothing”; *ʔepes kî* “only that”; 43x in the OT; → *ʔayin* 3; → *ʔereš* 3b) and *sôp* “end” (5x; Aram. loanword; cf. Wagner no. 199) eschatologically oriented; regarding *ʔah<sup>a</sup>rît* “end,” → *ʔhr* 4.

(f) Bibl. Aram. borrowed the expression *ʔah<sup>a</sup>rît yômayyâ* “the end of days” from Hebr. as a technical term in Dan 2:28 with an eschatological meaning (Plöger, KAT 18, 46); otherwise, Bibl. Aram. uses *sôp* 5x for “end”

(Dan 4:8, 19; 6:27; 7:26, 28) and *q̄ṣāt* 3x (see e), always in a noneschatological sense.

4. (a) The starting point for the question of theological usage is Amos 8:2, where the term “end” first appears in the sense of “end time.” Arising organically from the vision of the fruit basket, “the end (*q̄ṣ* in allusion to the preceding *k̄lûb qayis* ‘fruit basket’) is come upon my people” means essentially the same as the statement in 5:18–20 concerning the day of Yahweh, but characterizes it with final acuteness as the day of judgment for Israel.

Ezekiel is the first to take up this radical usage again and heighten it further: in Ezek 7:2, 3, 6 the threat of the “end” occurs no less than 5x, twice even without the art. (vv 2, 6); in 21:30, 34 and 35:5 again in the even more intense series of substs. *ḗt ʿawōn q̄ṣ* (see 3d). Notably, Ezek 7 addresses the “land of Israel” whose “end” will come, an end that will also invalidate any claim to possession of the promised land.

(b) This prophetic use of *q̄ṣ* is mirrored in P, which is closely related to Ezek, in Yahweh’s announcement to Noah at the beginning of the flood account in Gen 6:13, “the end of all flesh has come before me = has been decided by me”; similarly in the impressive conclusion “our end was near/had come,” Lam 4:18. Both usages are primarily concerned not with the eschatological judgment but still with an act of Yahweh’s judgment understood in an inner relationship with final judgment; *q̄ṣ* here acquires an ambivalent character; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:203f.; Kraus, BK 20, 76.

*q̄ṣ* is also semantically ambivalent in the somewhat difficult text Hab 2:3, “there is still a time set for revelation, yet it presses to an end” (cf. ZB). Zimmerli (op. cit. 204) goes too far when he remarks that *q̄ṣ* here “has become a time scale of apocalyptic reckoning,” for Habakkuk’s preaching on the whole is essentially distinct from apocalypticism. Rather, Hab 2:3 rests on the authentic distress, not unknown elsewhere in prophecy, resulting from the delay of Yahweh’s intervention and the kingdom of God (cf. Ezek 12:27f.), a delay that can be overcome only through *ṣ̄mûnâ*, persistent faithfulness (Hab 2:4; cf. M. A. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT* [1964], 204f.). Yet Zimmerli’s subsequent statement (ibid.) is correct that in Hab 2:3 *q̄ṣ* has “lost its threatening content.” This loss relates to the fact that the final judgment applies here only to the enemies, no longer to Israel, a factor that markedly differentiates Hab from Amos and Ezek, and that categorizes Hab with the prophecy of salvation on the one hand and, in this respect, with apocalypticism on the other.

(c) In an apocalyptic usage, Dan uses the word as a fixed technical term. The end time, which encompasses both the final time of distress and the dawning time of salvation, is elevated above normal earthly history and

stands in a more pronounced dualistic contrast to the ungodly world rushing toward collapse than in the other prophets. This end may be calculated since it has been precisely predetermined by God (cf. Dan 11:27; 12:7; 8:14; 12:12). The apocalypticist can understand secret revelations and yearn for the “wondrous end” in a kind of end-of-the-world sentiment (12:6f.) since it no longer brings judgment on Israel but vengeance on the enemies, redemption from oppression, and even the resurrection of the dead (12:13), i.e., the kingdom of God in the form of a glorified kingdom of Judah (cf. W. Baumgartner, *Das Buch Daniel* [1926], 27ff.; Plöger, KAT 18, 174ff.).

5. In the Qumran texts no eschatological use of a simple *qēš* has yet been identified. *ʔhrwn* is added to it to denote the end time. In contrast, *qēš* consistently encompasses eschatological concepts in rabbinic literature, where messianic expectations and the calculation of the “end time” (which meaning *qēš* can now acquire; cf. also the pl. *qiššîm* “calculated time”) receive great emphasis (G. Delling, *TDNT* 8:53f.; H.-G. Link, *DNTT* 2:56).

In Qumran literature, as elsewhere in postbibl. Hebr., *qēš* also acquires the meaning “time, time period, period” to a great degree (M. Wallenstein, *VT* 4 [1954]: 211ff.; N. Wieder, *JJS* 5 [1954]: 22; K. Elliger, *Studien zum Hab-Kommentar von Toten Meer* [1953], 182f., 192f.; G. Delling, *TDNT* 8:53n.28; Jastrow 1403f.), which does not, however, entirely replace the original meaning (cf. DJD 5, no. 169, II:6; Delling, op. cit.). This meaning may already be heard in some OT passages; cf. e.g., the term *miqqēš* “after the course of”; it must be taken into account in Dan, esp. e.g., in the sense of “end period” (cf. KBL Suppl. 184a; nonetheless, Wallenstein’s suggestion [op. cit.] to apply this interpretation to Gen 6:13, too, is unconvincing).

The LXX renders *qēš* primarily with *telos* (only in the noneschatological sense) and *synteleia* (also in the eschatological sense), and with *eschatos*, *kairos*, etc. *telos* never refers to *ʔahʔrît*, *eschatos*, however, usually does. Cf. W. C. van Unnik, FS Vriezen 335–49; G. Kittel, “ἔσχατος,” *TDNT* 2:697f.; G. Delling, “τέλος,” *TDNT* 8:49–67.

M. Wagner

## 𐤒𐤔𐤐 *qsp* to be angry

S 7107; BDB 893a; *HALOT* 3:1124a; *ThWAT* 7:95–104; *TWOT* 2058; *NIDOTTE* 7911

1. The verbal root *qsp* “to be angry” is also known outside Hebr. in the Amarna glosses (EA 82:51 and 93:5, N-forms par. Akk. *ašāšu* Št “to become worried,” CAD A/2:424b; DISO 262) and in Aram. (Aḥ. 101 *kšph* “his wrath,” said of the king; on the form, cf. Leander 17; Bibl. Aram. *qsp* pe. “to become angry,” Dan 2:12; *q<sup>c</sup>šap* “wrath,” Ezra 7:23; KBL 1119f.; LS 687b, etc.: Syr. *q<sup>c</sup>šîpā*’ “sorrowful”).

A relationship to Arab. *qašafa* “to break, shatter” (Wehr 769b) is doubtful; an Arab. etymology may be more probable for Hebr. *qešep* II “broken twig” (Hos 10:7; cf. J. Blau, VT 5 [1955]: 343; contra e.g., C. Cohen, JANES 2 [1969]: 25–29: “foam”) and *q<sup>c</sup>šāpā* “stump” (Joel 1:7).

The OT uses *qsp* in the qal, hi. (“to anger”), and hitp. (“to fall into a rage”); the verbal noun *qešep* “wrath” also occurs (BL 458; Bibl. Aram. *q<sup>c</sup>šap*, BLA 183).

G. R. Driver (JTS 36 [1935]: 293) offers a divergent interpretation of 2 Kgs 3:27 on the basis of comparative linguistics (not “wrath” but “sorrow” in accord with the Syr.; cf. CPT 122), and A. Guillaume (JSS 9 [1964]: 288f.) makes a similar suggestion concerning Isa 8:21 hitp. (“to lose weight” in accord with Arab. *qaḏuba*; Wildberger, Isa 1–12, CC, 376, retains the usual translation).

2. The verb occurs 34x in the Hebr. OT: qal 28x (11x of human and 17x of divine wrath), hi. 5x (people elicit divine wrath), and hitp. 1x (Isa 8:21). The subst. *qešep* occurs 28x, always in the sg. It describes human wrath only 2x; it denotes the wrath of Israel’s God 25x and the wrath of a strange god 1x (2 Kgs 3:27). Together with the two Aram. instances (see 1), 64 occurrences of the root *qsp* result (Isa 11x, Zech 7x, Deut and 2 Chron 6x each, Num and Jer 5x each).

3. Like other terms for wrath (→ *ʾap* → *ḥēmâ* → *ḥrh* → *ʿebrâ*), *qsp* indicates the human expression of the emotion of anger toward another person. The etymology does not permit a differentiation of the nuance of the various terms. The examples permit the conclusion, however, that it often concerns a quickly arising, forceful, and also quickly subsiding emotion. Thus Pharaoh becomes enraged concerning his unfaithful servants (Gen 40:2; 41:10), Moses becomes angry over the disobedience of the people (Exod 16:20) or of individuals (Lev 10:16; Num 31:14). Further, there are accounts of the wrath of the Philistine princes against Achish (1 Sam 29:4), of Namaan against Elisha (2 Kgs 5:11), of Elisha against Joash (2 Kgs 13:19), of the leaders of Jerusalem against Jeremiah (Jer 37:15), of King Ahasuerus against Vashti (Esth 1:12), and of the chamberlains against their king (Esth 2:21).

The hitp. occurs only in Isa 8:21. The fragmentary text complicates

interpretation (Wildberger, op. cit. 376–82). The apostate people (or the population of the regions subjected to Assyr. dominion, Wildberger, op. cit. 379f.) suffers distress and hunger. For this reason they become angry (GB 721b: “to be overcome with rage”) and “curse their king and their God.”

When the subst. *qešep* applies to human behavior, once alongside “darkness,” “distress,” and “illness,” it indicates “vexation” as the product of the frail human life (Eccl 5:16), and alongside *bizzāyôn* “contempt” it indicates the “annoyance” that could result from the disobedience of the princesses following Vashti’s example (Esth 1:18).

4. The 11 cases in which *qsp* qal refers to human wrath stand over against 17 occurrences in which it involves divine wrath. It arises in response to disobedience (Lev 10:6) and sin (Num 16:22; Eccl 5:5; Lam 5:22) and is mentioned esp. in the Dtr realm (Deut 1:34; 9:19; Josh 22:18) and by the prophets (Isa 47:6; 54:9; 57:17[bis]; Zech 1:2). The latter, in particular, also repeatedly point out, however, that wrath endures only for a short time (Isa 57:16) and will be replaced by mercy and assistance (Isa 64:4, 8; Zech 1:15[bis]).

In all passages with hi. forms, God’s wrath is elicited by the apostasy and sin of the people (Deut 9:7f., 22; Psa 106:32, each in reference to the events during the wandering in the wilderness; more generally in Zech 8:14). The affinity with Dtn thought is significant (→ *k<sup>s</sup>* 4).

The use of the subst. moves in the same context (25x of God). God’s wrath arises as the result of disobedience and sin (Num 1:53; 17:11; 18:5; Josh 9:20; 22:20; Psa 38:2; 102:11); the prophets esp. mention it (Jer 10:10; 21:5; 50:13; Zech 1:2, 15; 7:12). It is at work in the expulsion of the people from the land (Deut 29:27), but will also come to an end in the renewed assembly of the people (Jer 32:37). After the exile, it becomes clear that wrath does not endure forever but is removed by grace and mercy (Isa 54:8) so that goodwill replaces it (Isa 60:10). In later prophetic texts it also turns against the enemies in Israel’s favor (Isa 34:2). That the Chr history uses the word frequently to indicate the circumstance just mentioned (1 Chron 27:24; 2 Chron 19:2, 10; 24:18; 29:8; 32:25f.) could indicate that in the later period it was particularly at home in priestly thought. The usage in Num 1:53; 17:11; and 18:5 would support this assumption.

The statement in 2 Kgs 3:27, “and a great *qešep* developed against Israel” (after Mesha of Moab, oppressed by the Israelites, sacrificed his firstborn on the wall), is exegetically controversial. It is usually interpreted as a reference to the wrath of the Moabite god Chemosh, to whom the sacrifice was made (cf. Gray, *Kgs*, OTL [1970], 490f.). The Mesha inscription (l. 5) also speaks of the wrath of Chemosh, now against his own people (→ *ʾap* 4b).

5. The root *qsp* is infrequent in Qumran and in early Judaism (DJD 5, no. 176, 20:2; Jastrow 1406f.). Remarkably, *qeṣep* becomes the PN of the angel of destruction (Tg. Yerushalmi on Num 17:11f.). The most important equivalent in the LXX for *qsp* is *orgē*. Regarding the NT, → *ʿap* 5; → *ḥēmâ* 5.

G. Sauer

## קרא *qrʾ* to call

S 7121; BDB 894b; HALOT 3:1128a; ThWAT 7:117–47; TWOT 2063; NIDOTTE 7924

1. The root *qrʾ* “to call” is common Sem., with the exception of Eth. (regarding Akk. *qerū* “to invite,” cf. *AHW* 918; on Ug. *qrʾ* “to call,” cf. *UT* no. 2267 and *WUS* no. 2448; regarding Phoen.-Pun. and Aram. *qrʾ* “to call,” cf. *DISO* 263f.). Hebr. derivatives are: the act. ptcp. *qōrēʾ* “the caller,” which appears as a noun designating a species of partridge (cf. KBL 851b; GB 725a; also attested as the name of an animal in the PN *qōrēʾ*, cf. *IP* 230); the noun *miqrāʾ* “summons, exclamation, address, assembly place” (cf. E. Kutsch, *ZAW* 65 [1953]: 247–53; P. Katz, *ibid.* 253–55); the subst. pass. ptcp. *qārīʾ* “appointee, delegate,” which occurs only in the phrases *qārīʾê ḥāʿēdâ* (Num 1:16 K; 26:9 Q) and *qārīʾê mōʿēd* (16:2) and does not mean “announcer of the feast days” (so W. A. Irwin, *AJSL* 17 [1940]: 95–97), or “appointee to the assembly,” but “appointee of the assembly, delegate, deputy,” an official designation that also occurs in Ezek 23:23 (*qārūʾîm*) and in the Qumran literature (cf. Kuhn, *Konk.* 195); and finally the noun *qārīʾâ* “proclamation” (Jonah 3:2). It is uncertain whether the Ug. noun *qr* “call, cry, noise” (cf. *UT* no. 2263; *WUS* no. 2448) has a corresponding Hebr. equivalent (so M. Weippert, *ZAW* 73 [1961]: 97–99; cf. Dahood, *Psa*, ABC, 1:122), but it is probably unlikely that the noun *māqôr* in Psa 68:27 derives from a root *qûr* “to call together” (cf. Dahood, *Psa*, ABC, 2 [1973], 148; M. Dahood, *RSP* 1:329). Regarding the verbal form *qārāʾt* as a 3d fem. sg. in Isa 7:14, cf. GKC §74g; Wildberger, *Isa* 1–12, CC, 286; contra G. Rinaldi, *BeO* 10 (1968): 134.

2. The verb *qrʾ* occurs 730x in the Hebr. OT (qal 661x; ni. 62x; pu. or qal pass. 7x; cf. GKC §52e) and 11x in the Aram. OT (10x pe. and 1x hitp.). It does not occur in Obad and Nah but occurs often in Gen, Isa, Jer, and Psa, as the following survey indicates (excl. Num 1:16 Q; 26:9 K, s.v. *qārīʾ*, excl. Isa 41:2; Jer 4:20; Prov 27:16, s.v. → *qrh*): qal: Gen 105x, Isa 62x,

Psa 56x, Jer 51x, 1 Kgs 40x, 1 Sam 36x, Exod and 2 Kgs 34x each, Judg and 2 Sam 27x each, Deut 19x, Num, Josh, and Prov 15x each, 2 Chron 13x, 1 Chron 12x, Hos, Zech, and Job 10x each; ni.: Isa 15x, Jer 11x, Gen and Esth 6x each; pu.: Isa 6x and Ezek 10:13.

The nom. *miqrāʾ* occurs 23x (Lev 11x, Num 7x; 19x in conjunction with *qōdeš*), *qōrēʾ* 2x, *qārīʾ* 3x (Num 1:16 K; 16:2; 26:9 Q), and *qārīʾā* 1x.

3. The verb *qrʾ*, only rarely used of animals (cf. Psa 147:9; regarding Isa 21:8 and 34:14, see *BH* 3) and almost never in a fig. sense (with *tʰôm* “primal deep” as subj. in Psa 42:8; with *ḥokmâ* “wisdom” in Prov 1:21, 24; 8:1, 4; 9:3; with *kʿsîlût* “folly” in 9:15), is the common Hebr. expression for “to call.” Strictly speaking, *qrʾ* has no synonyms, apart from phrases like *ntn qôl*, *nśʾ qôl*, *qôl ʿel* (→ *qôl*), because terms that could potentially be considered all have specialized meanings, e.g., *hgh* “to read in an undertone,” → *zkr* “to mention, name,” → *qdš* pi. “to sanctify, summons” (used not only in relation to feasts par. to *qrʾ*, Joel 1:14; 2:15, with Kutsch, op. cit. 249n.2, but also in reference to a meal, 1 Sam 16:5), *šrq* “to whistle (as a summons)” (Isa 5:26; 7:18; Zech 10:8), → *šʿq* or *zʿq* “to cry for help” as a technical term for the hue and cry (cf. H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT* [1964], 61–66), and the other verbs that mean “to cry” (→ *šʿq* 3).

In Akk., where, as in Arab., the root *qrʾ* exhibits another semantic development, *qrʾ* has the specialized meaning “to invite,” while a number of other verbs are used for “to call,” such as *zakāru*, *nabû*, *ragāmu*, and esp. *šasû*, which best corresponds semantically to Hebr. *qrʾ*. While *pʿr* means “to open the mouth” in Hebr., the meaning “to call, state, mention” is attested for this verb in Ug.; cf. *UT* no. 2078; *WUS* no. 2245. Regarding the verb *\*qwh* II “to call” in Psa 19:5, see Dahood, *Psa*, ABC, 1:121–22.

The basic meaning of *qrʾ* is apparently “to draw someone’s attention with the sound of the voice in order to establish contact.” The reaction of the one called is → *ʿnh*, which means primarily “to respond,” or → *šmʿ* “to hear.” It is no wonder, then, that *qrʾ* is often used in close relation to *ʿnh* (cf. Isa 50:2; 58:9; 65:12, 24; 66:4; Jer 7:13, 27; 35:17; Psa 4:2; 17:6; 22:3; 91:15; 99:6; 102:3; 118:5; 119:145; 120:1; 138:3; Job 5:1; 9:16; 12:4; 13:22; 19:16; Prov 1:28; 21:13; Song Sol 5:6) or to *šmʿ* (Zech 7:13; Psa 4:4; 34:7). As the expression that describes the phenomenon of communication, *qrʾ* often precedes a verb of speech such as *ʾmr* “to say” (Gen 3:9; 12:18; 19:5; 21:17; 22:11, 15; 24:58, etc.; par. to *qrʾ* Isa 61:6 ni.; 62:4 ni.; Prov 1:21), *dbr* pi. “to speak” (Gen 20:8; Exod 34:31; Lev 1:1; par. to *qrʾ* Isa 65:24; 66:4; Jer 7:13, 27; 20:8; 35:17; Psa 50:1), *ngd* hi. “to proclaim” (1 Sam 19:7; 2 Sam 18:25; 2 Kgs 7:10f.), *spr* pi. “to recount”

(Gen 41:8), or *šim d<sup>e</sup>bārîm* “to present words” (Exod 19:7). In the case of a leper who should cry “unclean, unclean” (Lev 13:45), *qr<sup>ʔ</sup>* refers to the avoidance of contact instead of the establishment of it; cf. also Lam 4:15.

The verb *qr<sup>ʔ</sup>* has various nuances that do not primarily result from a particular semantic development but from use within a particular context, i.e., “to call to,” “to call out,” “to commission,” “to call on,” etc. These contextual meanings and realms of life are not always precisely distinct from one another in the details. The following section represents an effort to categorize them.

(a) If a communication by the sound of the voice is involved, *qr<sup>ʔ</sup>* means “to call to,” thus e.g., of people who are enemies: Goliath calls to the ranks of Israel’s army (1 Sam 17:8); Abner calls to Joab (2 Sam 2:26), the Assyr. marshal calls to the Judeans (2 Kgs 18:28); according to the rules of war, one should first of all “call to (the opponent) with reference to a peaceful solution” (Deut 20:10); after the conclusion of a conflict, one calls out “peace” to the opponent (Judg 21:13); cf. Mic 3:5, where the verb can as easily mean “to announce, proclaim.” Closely related to the nuance “to call to” is that of proclamation, declaration, and announcement: the content can involve a cry, e.g., “Attention!” (Gen 41:43), “Unclean, unclean!” (Lev 13:45; cf. Lam 4:15), “The sword of Yahweh and of Gideon” (Judg 7:20), an announcement such as “thus will the man be treated who wishes to honor the king” (Esth 6:9, 11), a solemn declaration such as “You are my father!” (Psa 89:27; cf. Dahood, *Psa*, ABC, 2 [1973], 317), or a genuine proclamation such as “Tomorrow is a feast for Yahweh!” (Exod 32:5). In the case of an official decree such as the one just mentioned, *qr<sup>ʔ</sup>* usually means “to proclaim”: i.e., in the absolute sense of the pronouncement of a proclamation (Lev 23:21), of the pronouncement of a decree of remission (*š<sup>e</sup>mittâ* Deut 15:2), of liberation (*d<sup>e</sup>rôr* Lev 25:10; Isa 61:1; Jer 34:8, 15, 17; cf. M. David, *OTS* 5 [1948]: 63–79), of a fast (*šôm* 1 Kgs 21:9, 12; Jer 36:9; Jonah 3:5; Ezra 8:21; 2 Chron 20:3), of a freewill offering (*n<sup>e</sup>dābôt* Amos 4:5), of a celebration (*š<sup>a</sup>šārâ* Joel 1:14; 2:15; cf. the excursus in Wolff, *Joel*, Herm, 21f., with bibliog.), of a feast (*mô<sup>e</sup>d* Lam 1:15), of a day (*yôm* Lam 1:21), of a year of Yahweh’s mercy (*š<sup>e</sup>nat-rāšôn l<sup>e</sup>yhwh* Isa 61:2), of an assembly (*miqrâ<sup>ʔ</sup>* Isa 1:13), of a holy assembly (*miqrâ<sup>ʔ</sup> qōdeš* Lev 23:2–4, 37; cf. Kutsch, op. cit. 247ff.), of the kingdom (*m<sup>e</sup>lûkâ* Isa 34:12; cf. Neh 6:7), and perhaps also of a war (*milhāmâ*, thus M. Dahood, *Bib* 52 [1971]: 348f.: “when war is declared,” Exod 1:10 txt? but cf. Mic 3:5, where *qdš* parallels *qr<sup>ʔ</sup>*; see Kutsch, op. cit. 249n.2; → *qrh* 3b).

In prophetic literature *qr<sup>ʔ</sup>* becomes a technical term for “to proclaim” (1 Kgs 13:32; 2 Kgs 23:16f.; Isa 40:2, 6; 58:1; Jer 2:2; 3:12; 7:2; 11:6; 19:2; 20:8; 46:17 txt?; 49:29; Joel 4:9; Jonah 1:2; 3:2, 4; Zech 1:4, 14, 17; 7:7

with Yahweh as subj.; Neh 6:7). In a few cases *qr* in this meaning occurs in conjunction with → *šēm yhw*. One must strictly distinguish these passages from those involving the often-employed expression *qr b<sup>e</sup>šēm yhw* “to call on Yahweh’s name” (see 4). The previously mentioned cases involve a proclamation or announcement of the significance of the name Yahweh: thus *qr šēm yhw* “to proclaim the name of Yahweh” (Deut 32:3), *qr b<sup>e</sup>šēm yhw* “to make the name of Yahweh known” (Isa 12:4; Psa 105:1 = 1 Chron 16:8), and another two passages in which Yahweh is the subj., Exod 33:19; 34:5 (cf. v 6). The prep. *be* here has the same meaning as in the phrase *dbr pi. be* Deut 6:7; 1 Sam 19:3f. (cf. GKC §119l).

(b) A frequent nuance is “to call on” in the sense of “to summon to oneself” or “to invite.” It occurs particularly in cases involving the establishment of contact over some distance: Pharaoh has Abraham summoned (Gen 12:18), Abimelech summons his servants (20:8); cf. also 24:57f.; 26:9; 27:1; 28:1; 39:14, etc. With no difference in meaning, *qr* is constructed in these passages either with the acc. or the prep. *el* and *le*. Sometimes the verb → *šlh* “to send” precedes the verb *qr* (e.g., 27:42; 31:4; Exod 9:27; Num 22:5, 37; 1 Kgs 2:42; 12:3; *šlh* par. *qr* Jer 9:16). If a meal is involved, *qr* acquires the nuance “to invite” (Exod 2:20; 34:15; Num 25:2; 1 Sam 16:3, etc.). This usage results in *qārū* (pass. ptcp.) as a technical term for “invitee” (1 Sam 9:13, 22; 2 Sam 15:11; 1 Kgs 1:41, 49; Zeph 1:7; Prov 9:18; regarding the distinction between *qārū* “called, invited” and *nīqrā* “named,” see Joüon 115n.2). If the call is intended for another purpose, *qr* acquires the meaning “to summon,” as in the juristic sense “to call someone before the court” (1 Sam 22:11; Isa 59:4; cf. K. Cramer, *ZAW* 27 [1907]: 81f.; Job 9:16; 13:22; see Boecker, op. cit. 58n.1). This juristic meaning is also present in Deut 25:8 (cf. P. Volz, *ZAW* 32 [1912]: 127). *qr* is also used in this sense in passages such as Isa 44:7 and Job 14:15. Moreover, *qr* means “to call up” or “to enlist” for military service, e.g., Judg 8:1; Jer 4:5 (cf. Isa 31:4 ni. and Hos 7:11); cf. R. Bach, *Die Aufforderungen zur Flucht und zum Kampf im atl. Prophetenspruch* (1962), 51ff. (although *qr* is not treated). With Yahweh as subj., *qr* can also mean “to commission” (Isa 41:9; 49:1 par. to *zkr* hi. *šēm*; 51:2; 54:6; cf. also 2 Kgs 3:10, 13; 8:1; Isa 13:3 par. to *šwh* pi.; 22:12, 20; 41:4; 42:6; Jer 1:15; 25:29; Ezek 38:21; Hos 11:1; 11:2 txt?; Joel 3:5; Amos 5:8; 7:4 txt?; 9:6; Hag 1:11; Psa 105:16). *qr* occurs in this sense in conjunction with *šēm* in the expression *qr b<sup>e</sup>šēm* “to call by name,” which indicates an intensive relationship between Yahweh as the “caller (commissioner)” and the commissioned one (cf. GKC §119k): as is the case with Bezalel (Exod 31:2; 35:30), with the stars (Isa 40:26), with Israel (Isa 43:1; but not in

45:3f., where *qr* means “to name”); in profane usage the expression means “to call by name” in the sense of “to point to, indicate” (Josh 21:9; Esth 2:14 ni.; 1 Chron 6:50).

(c) In conjunction with *šēm*, *qr* is a technical term for naming (→ *šēm*). Two phrases were involved originally: *qr* *šēm* + acc. of the name “to call the name X” (Gen 3:20; 4:25f.; 5:2f., 29, etc.) and *qr* *šēm* *l’el* “to designate a name for,” “to give someone a name” (Gen 2:20; 26:18; Isa 65:15; Psa 147:4; Ruth 4:17a). The latter expression is used abs. once, i.e., without a prep., in the sense of “to appear as a name giver” (Ruth 4:11; C. J. Labuschagne, *ZAW* 79 [1967]: 364–67). Abbreviated forms of the usages mentioned are common (with the ellipsis of *šēm*): *qr* *l’el* “to name” (Gen 1:5, 8, 10; 2:19; 33:20; 35:18; Exod 33:7; Num 13:16, 24, etc.); *qr* with a dual acc. “to name” is rare (Gen 26:33; Num 32:41; Isa 60:18). In relation to naming, *qr* *b<sup>e</sup>šēm* means “to call by a name” a few times (Num 32:38, 42; Isa 43:7 ni.; 44:5; 48:1 ni.; 48:2 ni. with *min*; 65:1 pu. txt?). The expression *qr* *al-šēmō* “to call one by one’s own name,” “to name after oneself” also belongs here (Deut 3:14; 2 Sam 18:18; cf. also Ezra 2:61 ni.; Neh 7:63 ni.; elliptically without *šēm* in 1 Chron 23:14 ni.; with *b<sup>e</sup>šēm* in Psa 49:12 txt?). The technical expression *qr* ni. *šēm al* “someone’s name is pronounced over, proclaimed over,” refers to the proclamation of the name of the new owner in the case of property transfer (2 Sam 12:28; Isa 4:1; see K. Gallig, *TLZ* 81 [1956]: 65, 70; Boecker, op. cit. 166–68). In reference to the name of Yahweh, this phrase expresses Yahweh’s dominion: over Israel (Deut 28:10; Isa 63:19 par. *mšl b<sup>e</sup>* “to rule”; Jer 14:9 par. to *beqereb* “in the midst of”; also 2 Chron 7:14), over the ark (2 Sam 6:2), over the temple (1 Kgs 8:43; Jer 7:10f., 14, 30; 32:34; 34:15; 2 Chron 6:33), over the city (Jer 25:29; Dan 9:18f.), over the nations (Amos 9:12), and over the prophets (Jer 15:16). For an overview of these and related expressions, cf. M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic School* (1972), 325.

“Naming the name” after a person’s death is an expression of continued existence. The seed of the evildoer will never again be “named” (Isa 14:20), Jacob’s name can be “named” by his sons (Gen 48:16, cf. 21:12), and the name of Boaz can be “named” in Israel (Ruth 4:14; in this case, the phrase has the additional meaning “to be famous”).

(d) The meaning “to read” developed from the connotation “to proclaim, announce,” apparently because “reading” was originally “reading aloud” in public, e.g., in the case of official decrees. In passages in which *qr* means “to read” it usually has the nuance of “to read aloud.” Characteristically, the LXX often translated *qr* “to announce” with “to read” (*anaginōskein*, Jer 2:2 Theodotion; 3:12; 7:2 Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion; 19:2). The meaning “to read for oneself” occurs only in Deut

17:19 and Hab 2:2 (both with *be* ) and 2 Kgs 5:7; 19:14; 22:8, 16; Isa 29:11f.; 34:16; 37:14 (with acc.). The Israelites apparently read aloud, even in the NT era (Acts 8:30: “he heard him reading the prophet Isaiah”), as e.g., the use of *hgh* in the sense of “to read quietly” indicates (cf. HAL 228a; L. Köhler, ZAW 32 [1912]: 240). Regarding the practice of reading aloud, see A. Tacke, ZAW 31 (1911): 312–13; E. König, ZAW 37 (1917/18): 163n.1.

In the meaning “to read aloud publicly,” *qrʾ* occurs in various idiomatic phrases: *qrʾ* + acc. “to read something aloud publicly” (Jer 36:8, 23; 51:61, 63), *qrʾ* + acc. + *bʿoznê* “to read something in the hearing of” (Exod 24:7; 2 Kgs 23:2 = 2 Chron 34:30; Jer 29:29; 36:6, 10, 13–15, 21), *qrʾ* + acc. + *neged* “to read something aloud publicly” (Deut 31:11; Josh 8:34f.), *qrʾ* + acc. + *lipnʾ* “to read something aloud in the presence of” (2 Kgs 22:10; 2 Chron 34:24; ni. Esth 6:1), and *qrʾ bʿ* “to read aloud from” (Neh 8:8, 10; 9:3; ni. 13:1). In Neh 8:8 *miqrāʾ* means “address,” a word that in later Hebr. usually means that which is read aloud, i.e., the Holy Scriptures (cf. Kutsch, op. cit. 252f.).

The meaning “to dictate” in Jer 36:18 (with *ʾel* ) also developed from “to proclaim, announce.”

4. *qrʾ* occurs as a designation for “calling” to Yahweh 98x, 47x in the Psa; the verb occurs only 5x of calling on other gods (1 Kgs 18:24–28; regarding the theory that *liqraʾt* in Amos 4:12 refers to calling to the gods, see G. W. Ramsey, JBL 89 [1970]: 187–91 [“prepare to call your gods”]; contra R. Youngblood, JBL 90 [1971]: 98; → *qrh* 3a). The verb in this meaning is used indiscriminately either with *le* or *ʾel* (with *ʾel*: Deut 15:9; 24:15; Judg 16:28; 1 Sam 12:17f.; 1 Kgs 8:43, 52, etc.; in conjunction with the acc.: Isa 55:6; Psa 17:6; 18:4, 7; 31:18; 50:15; 53:5 par. 14:4; 86:7; 91:15; 118:5; 145:18; Lam 3:57; a few passages use *qrʾ* abs., but the context clearly indicates a reference to calling to God: Psa 3:5; 27:7; 34:7; 56:10; 69:4; 102:3; 116:2), with *šēm* in the acc. (Psa 99:6; Lam 3:55; regarding Deut 32:3, see 3a), or with *bʿšēm yhwḥ*, in which case *be* does not have instrumental significance but depicts the close relationship between the caller and the addressee (see 3b). *qrʾ bʿšēm yhwḥ* in Jer 10:25 and Psa 79:6 corresponds to the term → *ydʿ*. The phrase *qrʾ bʿšēm yhwḥ* (or with suf.) occurs 17x as “to call on (the name of Yahweh)” (Gen 4:26; 12:8; 13:4; 21:33; 26:25; 1 Kgs 18:24; 2 Kgs 5:11; Isa 64:6; Jer 10:25; Joel 3:5; Zeph 3:9; Zech 13:9; Psa 79:6; 80:19; 116:4, 13, 17; not included are Exod 33:19; 34:5; Isa 12:4; Psa 105:1 = 1 Chron 16:8, where *qrʾ* means “to proclaim”; see 3a. Cf. also → *šēm* (bibliog.).

Precise connotations of *qrʾ* may often be determined only with difficulty in the cases discussed above: calling on Yahweh, which is not

always cultic, has varied connotations—to praise, thank, lament, cry, call for help, as the par. verbs such as *šw<sup>c</sup>* pi. “to cry” (Psa 18:7) and *ḥnn* hitp. “to plead” (Psa 30:9) and the various contexts suggest. Because *qr<sup>ʔ</sup>*, like *z<sup>c</sup>q* and *s<sup>c</sup>q* (see 3), can indicate the hue and cry (Gen 39:14f., 18), it is no wonder that *qr<sup>ʔ</sup>* “to call on” also occurs in the sense “to call (on) for help” (thus e.g., Deut 15:9; 24:15; Judg 15:18; 16:28; Ezek 8:18; Jonah 2:3; Psa 28:1; 30:9; 50:15; 57:3; 81:8; 86:7; 88:10).

Yahweh is the subj. of *qr<sup>ʔ</sup>* 75x, 20x in Isa (in contrast to Lis. Exod 34:5; 1 Sam 3:6–8; and Isa 41:4 are included); an angel is subj. only 3x (Gen 21:17; 22:11, 15), and a heavenly voice 2x (Isa 40:3, 6). Yahweh appears as a name giver in P (Gen 1:5, 8, 10; 5:2; Lis. incorrectly regards Yahweh as the subj. in Gen 11:9 because *qr<sup>ʔ</sup>* is used imper. here, as in 16:14; Exod 15:23; Isa 9:5). Regarding the significance of naming, → *šēm*.

Notably, *qr<sup>ʔ</sup>* as the designation of an act that establishes contact with Yahweh (apart from Gen 3:9, where Yahweh reestablishes the broken relationship with people [the protoevangelium]), has Moses as the exclusive obj. in the Pentateuch (Exod 3:4; 19:3, 20; 24:16; Lev 1:1; in Num 12:5, where Aaron and Miriam are objs., *qr<sup>ʔ</sup>* means “to call to oneself”), while Samuel is the obj. in the Dtr history, a fact that once again indicates that Samuel stands in the tradition of Moses (1 Sam 3:4, 6, 8–10; cf. M. Newman, FS Mulenburgh 86–97). In prophetic literature Yahweh calls Israel (Hos 11:1; Isa 54:6), the generations (Isa 41:4), the escapees (Joel 3:5), the tribal ancestor Abraham (Isa 41:9; 51:2), the servant of God (Isa 42:6; 49:1), the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 1:15), and the servant of Yahweh Eliakim (Isa 22:20).

5. Kuhn (*Konk.* 195; id., *RQ* 14 [1963]: 224) catalogs 20 occurrences in the published Qumran texts, all of which continue OT usage. The LXX renders *qr<sup>ʔ</sup>* primarily with *kalein*, less often with *boan* (*boan* usually represents *z<sup>c</sup>q/s<sup>c</sup>q*), but also with other verbs in accordance with the various connotations of *qr<sup>ʔ</sup>*: *kēryssein* and *anaginōskein*. On LXX and the NT, cf. K. L. Schmidt, “καλέω,” *TDNT* 3:487–536; E. Stauffer, “βοάω,” *TDNT* 1:625–28; W. Grundmann, “κράζω,” *TDNT* 3:898–903; O. Betz, “φωνέω,” *TDNT* 9:290–99; G. Friedrich, “κηρύσσω,” *TDNT* 3:694–714; R. Bultmann, “ἀναγινώσκω,” *TDNT* 1:343f.

C. J. Labuschagne

## קרב *qrb* to approach

S 7126; BDB 897a; HALOT 3:1132a; ThWAT 7:147–61; TWOT

1. *qrb* “to approach, be near” is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 218f.; on Akk., cf. *AHW* 901b, 915–17; regarding NWSem., cf. *WUS* no. 2429; *UT* no. 2268; *DISO* 264f.; KBL 1120; LS 691f.).

The verb occurs in OT Hebr. in the qal (with the ptcp. or verbal adj. *qārēb* “approaching”), ni., pi., and hi.; in Aram. in the pe., pa., and ha. Also occurring are the fem. verbal abstract *qirbâ* “approach,” the substs. *qorbān* “offering” and *qurbān* “delivery,” and the adj. *qārôb* “close.”

The subst. *q<sup>ê</sup>rāb* “battle” (2 Sam 17:11 txt?; Zech 14:3; Psa 55:22 txt?; 68:31; 78:9; 144:1; Job 38:23; Eccl 9:18) is an Aram. loanword (Bibl. Aram. in Dan 7:21; Wagner no. 270); Akk. *qarābu* also originated in Aram. according to W. von Soden (*Or NS* 37 [1968]: 264; the converse argument had been made previously by Zimmern 13; KBL 1120b). The pl. *q<sup>ê</sup>rôbîm* meaning “one ready for battle, warrior” in Ezek 23:5, 12 also apparently belongs here (Wagner no. 271).

*qereb* “inner, midst” (227x: Deut 41x, Psa 27x, Lev 24x, Josh 20x) and *ṣaqrāb* “scorpion” (quadriradical; cf. Meyer 2:32; contra KBL 731a; L. Köhler, *JSS* 1 [1956]: 17) do not derive from this root.

2. The verb (incl. *qārēb*; see 1) occurs 293x in the OT: qal 107x (Num 14x; Lev and Deut 13x each; Isa and Ezek 9x each, incl. Ezek 9:1; Psa 7x, incl. Psa 55:19), ni. 2x (Exod 22:7; Josh 7:14), pi. “to bring near” 7x (cf. *HP* 75f.), hi. 177x (Lev 89x, Num 50x, Exod and Ezek 8x each), 9x in the Aram. OT (pe. 5x; pa. “to present,” Ezra 7:17; ha. “to bring in,” Dan 7:13; “to present,” Ezra 6:10, 17). *qirbâ* occurs 2x (Isa 58:2; Psa 73:28), *qorbān* 80x (Lev 40x, Num 38x, Ezek 2x), *qurbān* 2x (Neh 10:35; 13:31), *qārôb* 77x (excl. Eccl 4:17 qal; Ezek 11x, incl. 23:5, 12; Psa 9x, Deut and Isa 8x each), and *q<sup>ê</sup>rāb* 8x Hebr. and 1x Aram.

3. (a) The basic meaning of the verb in the qal is “to approach, come near.” *qrb* is followed by *ʿel* as a rule, occasionally also by *le* (Exod 12:48), *lipnî* (Exod 16:9; Lev 16:1; Num 9:6, etc.), *be* (Judg 19:13), or *ʿal* (2 Kgs 16:12). In accord with this basic meaning, the hi. should be translated “to bring hither, bring close,” and the adj. *qārôb* “near”; the meanings of the rarer derivatives also result from this basic meaning.

*ngš* qal/ni. and hi. are used synonymously with *qrb* qal and hi. in several semantic contexts, occasionally also in parallelism with *qrb* (cf. Isa 41:1, 21; 65:5). In contrast to *qrb*, which is oriented only toward the spatial (or temporal) relationship, *ngš* is a motion verb with the basic meaning “to move hither,” which is not used in the temporal and rarely in the fig. sense

(impf./impv./qal inf. and ni. pf./ptcp. together constitute a paradigm; *ngš* qal occurs 68x [15x in Gen], ni. 17x [*ngš* in *BH* 3 1 Sam 14:24 is a printing error for *ngš*; cf. Hertzberg, *Sam*, OTL, 109n.i; accordingly, Lis. 902c should be transferred to 901c], hi. “to present,” 37x, ho. “to be brought,” 2x, hitp. “to approach,” 1x; for counterparts in Akk. and Ug., cf. *AHw* 710b; *WUS* nos. 1749f.; E. Ullendorff, *JSS* 7 [1962]: 340).

The opposite of *qrb* is → *rḥq* (regarding the meristic usage of *qārôb* and *rāḥôq*, see → *rḥq* 3).

(b) In most passages, *qrb* indicates approach in the spatial sense: when persons approach one another (Gen 37:18) or a particular object (Exod 3:5; also e.g., “to approach work” = “to get to work,” Exod 36:2), or also with a secondary meaning when a group of people come with a particular concern (Num 31:48; 36:1; Deut 1:22, etc.). A few special usages may also be mentioned in the following:

(1) Cultic terms often characterize the word field: one approaches the Passover (Exod 12:48; Lev 21:17f.; Num 17:5), the altar (Exod 40:32; Lev 9:7f.; 2 Kgs 16:12), the sacrifice (Lev 21:17), the holy tent (Lev 9:5; Num 18:22), the table (Ezek 44:15f.), the mountain (Deut 4:11), Yahweh (Exod 16:9; Lev 16:1; cf. Psa 65:5 pi.). In this context, primary synonyms are *ʿmd* (*lipn*) “to come (before)” (Lev 9:5; Deut 4:11; Ezek 44:15f.), as well as *bô* “to come” (Exod 40:32).

(2) The verb also occurs with some frequency in the context of military undertakings: one approaches (goes out to) battle (Deut 20:2; cf. *ngš* in Judg 20:23; 1 Sam 7:10; 2 Sam 10:13, etc.), one advances toward, approaches, the enemy (Deut 2:19, 37; 20:10; Josh 8:5; Judg 20:24; 1 Sam 17:48, etc.). The noun *qārāb* “battle” derived from this use of the verb also belongs in this category (2 Sam 17:11; Zech 14:3 par. *lḥm* ni.; Psa 55:22 txt?; 68:31; 78:9; 144:1 par. *milḥāmā* “war”; Job 38:23 with *milḥāmā*, Eccl 9:18 “wisdom is better than weapons of war”).

(3) Furthermore, a group of texts should be mentioned in which *qrb* indicates appearance in legal proceedings and for a legal decision: Josh 7:14; Isa 41:1, 5 (par. *ʾth* “to come”); 48:16; 57:3; in contrast to Mal 3:5, where Yahweh approaches in judgment. Cf. also *ngš* in Isa 50:8.

(4) Finally, *qrb* is used in a sexual sense as “to approach”: Gen 20:4 (cf. v 6 *ng*<sup>c</sup> “to touch”); Lev 18:6, 14, 19; 20:16; Deut 22:14; Isa 8:3; Ezek 18:6; cf. *ngš* Exod 19:15. Regarding the adj. *qārôb*, cf. Ezek 23:5, 12, in the event that it is not a derivative of *qārāb* “battle” (see 1).

(5) In a fig. meaning, one can also translate *qrb* “to meet” in 1 Kgs 2:7 (par. *šḥḥesed* “to show mercy”).

(c) *qrb* qal can also be used in the temporal sense to indicate the approach of an imminent event: days of mourning (Gen 27:41), Sabbath

year (Deut 15:9), the days announced by the prophet (Ezek 12:23), terrors (Isa 54:14), the time of death (Gen 47:29; Deut 31:14; 1 Kgs 2:1), the end (Lam 4:18), and Yahweh's decision (5:19 par. *bô* "to come"; Ezek 9:1).

The adj. *qārôb* also exhibits this temporal aspect (Num 24:17 par. *attâ* "now": Deut 32:35; Isa 13:6, 22; Ezek 7:7 [cf. v 8 *miqqārôb* "shortly"]; 30:3[bis]; Joel 1:15; 2:1; 4:14; Obad 15; Zeph 1:7, 14[bis]); regarding the depiction of the proximity of the day of Yahweh, see 4e.

(d) In a whole series of occurrences the adj. "near" describes a degree of relationship. *qārôb* is then the "relative." Thus *qārôb* parallels → *āḥ* "brother," → *ēm* "mother," → *bēn* "son," *bat* "daughter," etc. (Exod 32:27; Lev 21:2f.; 25:25; Num 27:11; 2 Sam 19:43; Psa 38:12; Job 19:14; Ruth 2:20; 3:12; Neh 13:4). The precise degree of relationship indicated by *qārôb* can vary with the context. As a rule, *qārôb* functions as a general term for all degrees of blood relationship, e.g., Lev 21:2: a priest may not defile himself through contact with any corpse except for his nearest relatives—mother, father, son, daughter, brother, and unmarried sister. Texts that require the nearest relative to intervene as "redeemer" should be similarly understood (Lev 25:25; Num 27:11; Ruth 2:20; 3:12). Psa 38:12 probably does not refer to kinship in the more limited sense (*qārôbay* "my closest [companions]" alongside *ōḥābay* "my friends" and *rēay* "my companions," → *rēa*); cf. also Prov 27:10 "better a close neighbor than a distant brother."

(e) *qrb* hi. primarily has a causative meaning: "to cause to approach" (Exod 28:1; 29:4, 8; 40:12, 14, etc.), "to bring" (Lev 2:8; Num 15:33; Josh 8:23; Judg 3:17f.; 5:25, etc.). The hi. can also be used in an inner-causative (inwardly trans. or internal) meaning similar to the qal, however: "to draw near" (Gen 12:11; Exod 14:10; Isa 26:17). On the distinction between *qrb* pi. and hi., cf. *HP* 75–77.

*qrb* hi. has now become primarily a technical term in cultic language to indicate the "presentation" of sacrificial gifts. Occurrences are concentrated in Lev–Num and Ezek 43ff. One encounters a series of synonyms here: *bô* hi. "to bring" (Lev 2:8), *ngš* hi. "to bring hither" (Mal 1:8), *ntn* "to lay (on the altar)" (Lev 22:22), and *šûb* hi. "to present" (Psa 72:10).

The noun *qorbān*, which should be translated "offering" but which can also indicate that which is offered, the "sacrifice," can be understood then in terms of this cultic meaning.

*qorbān* can stand alone and mean either burnt offering (Lev 1:2f., 10, 14, etc.), grain offering (Lev 2:5), peace offering (Lev 3:1), etc. *qorbān* can also be used as an inclusive term for quite varied types of sacrifice (Lev 22:18; Num 15:4; 15:25; 18:9). It also combines with other sacrificial terms (sacrifice of the firstborn, Lev 2:12; grain offerings, Lev 2:1, 4, 13; fire

offering, Lev 22:27). *qorbān* is often used in conjunction with *qrb* hi. (e.g., Num 6:14) or *bôʿ* hi. (Lev 4:23, 28; Num 5:15, etc.).

4. Forms of the root *qrb* occur in more-or-less distinctly theological usage in the realms of the cult (4a–b), the court (4c–d), prophetic eschatology (4e), and, with Yahweh as subj., esp. in hymns and prayers (4f).

(a) The notion that one may not approach Yahweh or the place where he is present is quite ancient and may occasionally be expressed with *qrb* qal: in the originally local tradition of the “holy place,” Exod 3:5 (cf. Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 39), which Moses may not approach and may tread only with bare feet. According to Deut 5:26f. the people refuse to approach the mountain because they fear for their lives; Moses, however, may approach (cf., however, Deut 4:11). This category also includes Gen 28:16f.; 32:31; Exod 19:12; Judg 6:22f., etc.; although none of these uses *qrb*, they clearly indicate that the one who approaches Yahweh or sees him face-to-face must die (cf. Isa 65:5). The same motif occurs with the verb *ngš* in Exod 24:2 and is adopted in the prophetic promise of salvation in Jer 30:21.

A similar statement is made of the mobile sanctuary of the “ark” (Josh 3:4; *qrb* is a secondary insertion, however; cf. 2 Sam 6:6f., without *qrb*). Such concepts are also associated with the “tent” (cf. Exod 33:8, 10, without *qrb*). The P portions of Num take up this notion, although with the modification that only one tribe, the Levites, may approach the “tent” (Num 1:51; 3:10, 38; 17:28; 18:7; *qārēb* in each case; cf. 18:3f.). Or only a certain group of priests (?) may approach (Lev 16:1ff.; cf. 10:1ff.) or only priests who have no physical deformity (Lev 21:17ff.) and are clean (22:3). Often such statements are accompanied by the stereotypical statement that one who has not been called and who approaches must die (→ *zār* 3c). One may also compare Exod 40:32, 46; 2 Kgs 16:12 (King Ahaz approaches a strange altar); Ezek 42:14; 44:15f. The people’s appearance before Yahweh (the tent) is occasionally required (Exod 16:9; Lev 9:5); in reality, however, one maintains distance, while—according to Lev 9:7f.—only Aaron and his sons draw near to the altar (regarding the entire complex, cf. Eichrodt 1:270ff., with additional bibliog.; von Rad, *Theol.* 1:204ff.).

Thus, one can clearly distinguish the following lines of thought: (1) No person may approach Yahweh or his dwelling place; whoever approaches must die (Exod 3:5; Josh 3:4; cf. Gen 28:16f.; 32:31); (2) Everyone (the people) appears before Yahweh (Exod 16:9; Lev 9:5; Deut 4:11), although one always has the impression that these texts refer to an appearance at a respectable distance (Exod 16:10 “they turned toward the wilderness, and behold, Yahweh’s majesty appeared in the cloud”). Deut 4:11 is restricted by 5:26f. (only Moses actually approached), Lev 9:5 by 9:7f. (only the priests draw near). (3) Only Moses may approach (Deut 5:27; cf. Exod

19:12); (4) Only priests (Num 1:51, etc.) or particular groups of priests (Lev 21:17ff., etc.) may approach.

(b) Primarily a technical term in cultic language, *qrb* hi. indicates the “offering” of the sacrifice. *qrb* hi. in this sense refers to every possible type of sacrifice, even to improper sacrifice (Lev 10:1; Num 15:7, 13; 26:61). Sacrifice is normally offered to Yahweh (*l<sup>e</sup>yhwh*, *lipn<sup>í</sup>yhwh*, or *rēah nîhōah l<sup>e</sup>yhwh* “as a pleasant odor for Yahweh”). Num 28:2 is very archaic in its description of the sacrificial offering (*qorbān*) as food for Yahweh. That a sacrifice not offered to Yahweh is tantamount to apostasy is self-evident (2 Kgs 16:12; Ezek 20:28).

*qrb* hi. can also occasionally signify in a broader sense the presentation of the sacrificial animal as a sacrifice (Lev 8:18, 22, etc.) or conducting someone to the holy tent (Exod 29:4, 8, etc.).

(c) A series of apodictically formulated laws indicates the boundaries Yahweh establishes for sexual contact (*qrb* qal in the sexual sense, see 3b[4]): with blood relatives (Lev 18:6), with the wife of the paternal uncle (18:14), with one’s wife during menses (18:19; cf. Ezek 18:6), with animals (20:16). *qrb* qal is used in these texts; elsewhere similar prohibitions use verbs like → *glh* pi. (4c) or *škb* “to lie with.”

(d) *qrb* is used to describe a disputed legal situation brought before Yahweh or the adversaries’ “appearance” before Yahweh. Thus Moses brings the matter of the heiresses before Yahweh (Num 27:5 *qrb* hi.). According to Deut 1:17 a matter that is too difficult for human adjudication should be brought before Yahweh (*qrb* hi.) so that he may hear it. The adversaries in such a case are required to appear before Yahweh (Exod 22:7 pi.; Josh 7:14 qal/ni., vv 16–18 hi.; 1 Sam 10:20f. hi.; 14:36 qal).

One encounters this situation once again in Deutero-Isa, where the approach for a legal dispute is demanded: Isa 41:1, 5; (48:16); cf. 41:21 and also 57:3. The nations are required to approach, however.

(e) The discussion of near disaster or salvation occupies a relatively broad realm, esp. in the prophetic literature; the adj. *qārôb* is used esp. here (see 3c). The near day of destruction or judgment is discussed in Deut 32:35; Isa 13:6, 22; Jer 48:16; Ezek 7:7; 12:23 qal; 22:4 hi.; 30:3; Joel 1:15; 2:1; 4:14; Obad 15; Zeph 1:7, 14 (→ *yôm* 4b on the concept of the “day of Yahweh”). The announcement that the day of Yahweh is *near* underscores the severity of the word of judgment. Yahweh himself can approach in judgment (Mal 3:5). Regarding possible precursors of the concept, cf. J.-G. Heintz, *VT* 21 (1971): 528–40 (on the basis of the Mari Letter ARM 10, no. 6).

In addition, reference can also be made to the nearness of salvation: Isa 51:5 “soon my salvation will approach, my deliver will go out”; 56:1 “soon my salvation will come and my righteousness will be revealed”; cf.

also 46:13; 54:14; Ezek 36:8.

(f) Finally, a series of texts should be mentioned according to which Yahweh himself is near. The notion that Yahweh draws near to his people to assist, to fight, is a very old theologoumenon (cf. the epiphanies), yet verbs like → *yšʿ* (Judg 5:4; Psa 68:8), → *qûm* (Psa 68:2), etc. are used here, but not *qrb*.

In the later period, *qrb* indicates the constant presence of Yahweh. God is near to those who call on him (Deut 4:7; Isa 55:6; Psa 145:18; Lam 3:57, always with *qrʿ* “to call on”; cf. Lev 10:3; Psa 148:14). The same concept occurs in the request for Yahweh to be near the supplicant (1 Kgs 8:59; Psa 22:12 “do not be far from me, for distress is near”; 69:19 “be near my soul”; 119:169), and in declarations of assurance (Isa 50:8 “he who makes right for me is near”; Psa 85:10 “his help is near those who fear him”; subst. *qirbâ* in Psa 34:19; 73:28; cf. Isa 58:2 in the prophetic exhortation).

Statements that Yahweh’s words, the law, are near and comprehensible (Deut 30:14) lie along the same lines; only the evil are distanced from the law (Psa 119:151).

The godless therefore cannot live near to God (Jer 12:2 “you are near their mouth, yet far from their heart”); whoever does not draw near to God is godless, and the prophetic woe is issued over that person (Zeph 3:2; *qrb* should be understood here in a broader sense, as indicated by the par. verb *bṯh*).

The statement that Yahweh is the near God may not be misunderstood, however, as though he sees only what occurs directly before his eyes (Jer 23:23 “Am I, then, only a God nearby and not a God far away?”). Neither does this statement mean that he can act only nearby (Isa 57:19 “I create well-being for those nearby and for those far away”).

5. The root *qrb* finds no uniform counterpart in the LXX: *proserchesthai* often occurs, then also *engizein*; *qrb* hi. “to present” is represented by *prosagein* and *prospherein* (cf. K. L. Schmidt, “προσάγω,” *TDNT* 1:131–33; H. Preisker, “ἐγγύς,” *TDNT* 2:330–32; J. Schneider, “προσέρχομαι,” *TDNT* 2:683f.; K. Weiss, “προσφέρω,” *TDNT* 9:65–68).

J. Kühlewein

## קרה *qrh* to happen

S 7136; BDB 899b; *HALOT* 3:1137b; *ThWAT* 7:172–75; *TWOT* 2068; *NIDOTTE* 7936

1. The root occurs in Hebr. in the two forms *qrh* (\**qry*) and *qrʔ* II (sometimes together: Gen 42:4, 38 *qrʔ* and 44:29 *qrh*; Dan 10:14 K *qrh*, Q *qrʔ*; in the fixed expression *le* + inf. cs. *liqraʔt* “against, opposite” always *qrʔ*). *qry* “to meet, encounter” occurs extrabibl. in Ug. (*WUS* no. 2454; *UT* no. 2277) and *lqrt* “(pick) against (pick)” in the Siloam inscription, l. 4. Additional (weak) attestations stem from Pun. (*Peon.* 1023, see *DISO* 264; uncertain, cf. Sznycer 144) and Imp. Aram. (Cowley no. 71.18 *qrh* “to occur”); regarding later Aram. and Ssem. counterparts, cf. *LS* 691a.

Both forms are attested in the OT in the qal “to oppose, meet, encounter,” ni. “to be met, be found,” and hi. “to cause to meet, direct.” Nom. formations are: *qāreh* “opposition,” *qʕrî* “(hostile) encounter,” *miqreh* “accident, fate,” and perhaps *yiqrâ* “meeting” (so L. Köhler, *TZ* 3 [1947]: 390–93, regarding Isa 28:16; KBL 399a; traditionally related to *yāqār* “valuable” [→ *kbd* 1], so e.g., Kaiser, *Isa* 13–39, OTL, 248: “precious”).

It is uncertain whether *qôrâ* “beams, framework” (Gen 19:8; 2 Kgs 6:2, 5; Song Sol 1:17; 2 Chron 3:7), *mʕqāreh* “framework” (Eccl 10:18), denominative *qrh* pi. “to frame, build with beams” (Psa 104:3; Neh 2:8; 3:3, 6; 2 Chron 34:11), and particularly *qiryâ* “city” (→ *ʕr* 1) belong to the root.

2. Statistics: *qrʔ/qrh* qal occurs 25x (12x + 13x, resp.; incl. Isa 41:2, attributed by others to → *qrʔ* I), ni. 12x (6x + 6x; incl. Jer 4:20, assigned by Lis. to *qrʔ* I; cf. also Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 36), hi. 4x (1x + 3x), *liqraʔt* 121x (incl. Josh 11:20 according to Mandl.; 1 Sam 20x, 2 Kgs 16x, 2 Sam 13x, Gen and Judg 11x each, Num 9x, Exod and 1 Kgs 7x each, Josh 5x), *qāreh* 1x (Deut 23:11), *qʕrî* 7x (only in Lev 26:21–41), *miqreh* 10x (Eccl 7x; 1 Sam 6:9; 20:26; Ruth 2:3), in all 180x (*qrʔ* 140x, *qrh* 40x).

3. (a) Hebr. expresses the concept of (hostile or amiable, intentional or accidental) meeting primarily through the verbs *pgʕ* “to meet someone, encounter someone” (Gen 32:2; Exod 5:20, etc.; often in a hostile sense, “to fall upon,” etc.), *qdm* pi. “to advance toward, confront” (e.g., Deut 23:5, often with gifts; → *qedem*), and → *mšʔ* “to reach, encounter, find” (e.g., Gen 4:14; cf. also *mhh* II “to stumble on, chance upon,” Num 34:11 of the course of a border; Wagner no. 159). In comparison, *qrh/qrʔ*, except for the prep. fixed inf. cs. *liqraʔt* “against, opposite,” places less emphasis on the per. subjs. (in the qal only in Deut 25:18 “as they [the Amalekites] encountered you on the way”). *liqraʔt* indicates the opposition of persons (Gen 15:10 of things: “he places each portion opposite the other”) in an amiable or hostile manner (often with verbs of motion: about 40x with → *yšʔ* “to go out,” 15x with → *hlk* “to go”; cf. also the fixed expression *hlk ʕim...* [+

*b<sup>e</sup>]*+*q<sup>e</sup>ri* “to oppose someone,” in Lev 26:21–41). The phrase “toward God” occurs in Exod 19:17, “then Moses led the people from the camp toward God,” and in Amos 4:12, “prepare to meet your God, O Israel!”

(b) Characteristic for most passages is the use of abstract entities as the subj. of *qrh/qr<sup>2</sup>*. All manner of events and vicissitudes of human life “oppose” and “encounter” one more-or-less accidentally or with no explicit indication of the author; these situations are discussed either in general summaries (Gen 42:29 “everything that he had encountered”; cf. Esth 4:7; 6:13; Gen 49:1 “everything that you will encounter in the future”; cf. Dan 10:14; Num 11:23; Isa 41:22 “what will occur”) or in specific statements concerning pleasant (Isa 41:2, *ṣedeq* “well-being”; Prov 27:16 txt?; Ruth 2:3 with *qrh* qal *miqreh* “it so happened that she came to Boaz’s plot of ground”) and less pleasant occurrences (*ʿāsôn* “misfortune”: Gen 42:4, 38; 44:29; *rāʿâ* “misfortune”: Deut 31:29; Jer 44:23; *milḥāmâ* “war,” Exod 1:10; *ʿawôn* “guilt,” 1 Sam 28:10; further, Lev 10:19; Isa 51:19; Jer 13:22; Job 4:14; cf. *qāreh* “[nocturnal] events,” Deut 23:11, a euphemistic description of ritual defilement through emission of semen; cf. 1 Sam 20:26 *miqreh*). 1 Sam 6:9 defines *miqreh* in explicit distinction to God’s dominion as “(bad) luck.” In Eccl *miqreh* becomes an expression for “fate” in the most general sense (Eccl 2:14f.; 3:19, 3x; 9:2f.).

*nh* pu. “to happen” appears as a synonym for *qrh* qal in Psa 91:10 (*rāʿâ* “misfortune”) and Prov 12:21 (*ʿawen* “disaster”), while *nh* pi. “to cause to happen” in Exod 21:13 (“God caused it to happen with his hand,” i.e., “he directed it”) is comparable to *qrh* hi. (see 4).

The verbal roots mentioned in 3a could also form semantically related terms: *pega<sup>c</sup>* “event” (1 Kgs 5:18 *pega<sup>c</sup>ra<sup>c</sup>* “misfortune”), “accident” (Eccl 9:11); *qdm* hi. “to occur” (Amos 9:10, *rāʿâ* “misfortune”).

(c) *qr<sup>2</sup>* ni. “to be met” accentuates the chance aspect: Deut 22:6, of the chance discovery of a bird nest; 2 Sam 1:6 “I came by chance on Mt. Gilboa”; 18:9 “then Absalom happened to come into the view of David’s servants”; 20:1 “now there happened to be an unworthy person there.”

Regarding other ni. passages and hi. passages with theological usage (besides *qrh* hi. “to cause to fall to oneself, choose” in Num 35:11), see 4.

4. In the presentation of the history of God and his people *qrh/qr<sup>2</sup>* describes contingent divine guidance and revelation in a few passages. The intervention of Yahweh’s word is recognized in the events during the wilderness wandering: Num 11:23 “But Yahweh said to Moses: Is Yahweh’s hand too short? You will soon see whether my word meets (*qrh* qal) you.” Even the accident (*miqreh*) of Ruth 2:3 “is divine guidance for

the narrator, of course (cf. v 20)“ (Rudolph, KAT 17/1, 48; *sibbâ* “turn” is a direct expression for God’s guidance in 1 Kgs 12:15 par. 2 Chron 10:15 *nesibba*®; cf. Th. Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung* [1972], 87).

*qrh/qrʾ* hi. expresses divine guidance and direction: Gen 24:12 “decree it for me today” (cf. von Rad, *Gen*, OTL [1972], 256f., 260 regarding the “remarkable profaneness of the expressions which the narrator uses for this guidance”); 27:20 “Yahweh, your God, caused it to come upon me”; Jer 32:23 “therefore you cause all this misfortune to come upon them.”

In two passages *qrh/qrʾ* ni. describe Yahweh’s personal intervention in human life: in the exodus from Egypt (Exod 3:18 “Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, has met us”; likewise 5:3; contra C. Rabin, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8 [1961]: 399: *qrh* “to invite to a feast”; cf. 2 Kgs 6:23, *krh kērâ* “to prepare a feast”; cf. *CPT* 102f.) and in the Balaam narrative (Num 23:3f., 15f.). In both cases Yahweh unexpectedly and personally meets someone and brings to obedience those to whom he appears.

5. The LXX translates *qrh* and *qrʾ* usually with *synantan* or *symbainein*. A few passages presuppose *qrʾ* I, e.g., Exod 3:18; 5:3 (*proskalein*); Amos 4:12 (*epikalein*). The NT follows the usage of the LXX (e.g., Matt 25:6; Mark 10:32; 14:13; Acts 20:22; 1 Cor 10:11).

S. Amsler

## קשב *qšb* hi. to pay attention

S 7181; BDB 904a; *HALOT* 3:1151a; *ThWAT* 7:197–205; *TWOT* 2084; *NIDOTTE* 7992

1. The root *qšb* occurs only in Hebr. (cf. L. Kopf, *VT* 8 [1958]: 201f.).

The hi. of the verb *qšb* may be attested extrabibl. in the Samaritan ostrakon C 1101 (= *KAI* no. 188) from shortly before 722 BCE, if l. 2 should be read with *KAI* as a hi. impv. sg.: *brk hpʿm hqšb w[ . . . ]* “Baruch, finally [?] be attentive and . . .”, or—in another understanding of this line of the text—the hi. impv. pl. *hqšbw* (see *DISO* 267; cf. S. A. Birnbaum in J. W. Crowfoot, G. M. Crowfoot, and K. M. Kenyon, *Objects from Samaria* [1957], 11–16; K. Gallang, *ZDPV* 77 [1961]: 173–85).

In addition to the qal “to be attentive” attested once (in Isa 32:2), the causative hi. stem of the verb “to pay attention, give heed” also occurs. Nom. derivatives of the root are the subst. *qšcb* “attentiveness, attention” (1 Kgs 18:29; 2 Kgs 4:31; Isa 21:7[bis]) and the intensive adjs. (cf. Barth 48–51; BL 479, 480) *qaššāb* (Neh 1:6, 11) and *qaššūb* (Psa 130:2; 2 Chron

6:40; 7:15; attested only in the fem. pl. *qaššūbôt* ) “attentive.”

2. Forms of the root *qšb* occur a total of 55x in the OT: qal 1x, hi. 45x (Isa, Jer, Psa, and Prov 8x each; Zech, Job, and 2 Chron 2x each; 1 Sam, Hos, Mic, Mal, Song Sol, Dan, and Neh 1x), *qešeb* 4x, *qaššāb* 2x, and *qaššūb* 3x.

3. (a) The specific semantic content of the root that distinguishes it from the semantically related verbs of hearing that often occur in series with it, i.e., *ʔzn* hi. “to use the ear (→ *ʔōzen* ), give heed” (Isa 28:23; 42:23; 51:4; Hos 5:1; Psa 17:1; 86:6; Prov 17:4 txt em) and → *šm*<sup>c</sup> “to hear” (1 Sam 15:22; Isa 28:23; 34:1; 42:23; 49:1; Jer 8:6; 18:19; 23:18; Hos 5:1; Mic 1:2; Mal 3:16; Psa 10:17; 17:1; 61:2; 66:19; 130:2; Job 13:6; 33:31; Prov 4:1; 7:24; Song Sol 8:13; Dan 9:19) lies in willful and consciously attentive listening.

This content is manifest in passages that parallel *qšb*, as the conscious and attentive use of the ears, with other expressions for turning attention such as *nṯh* hi. *lēb* “to turn the heart” (Prov 2:2) or *nṯh* hi. *ʔōzen* “to incline the ear” (Prov 4:20; 5:1; cf. also Dan 9:18f.), but esp. with expressions for an analogous disposition of the eyes that facilitates attentive observation, e.g., Isa 32:3 “then the eyes of the sighted will not (no longer) be closed (see *BHS* ), and the eyes of the hearing will be attentive (*qšb* qal)” (cf. the contrasting statements in Isa 6:10; 29:9f.), and Neh 1:6 “may your ear be attentive (*qaššāb*) and your eyes open so that you hear the prayer of your servant” (cf. the similar statements formulated with *qaššūb* in 2 Chron 6:40; 7:15).

Conversely, the faulty disposition of the auditory organ (Jer 6:10, an “uncircumcised” ear; cf. Zech 7:11), the refusal to hear (Zech 7:11, *mʔn* pi. *lʔhaqšîb*; see the similar Prov 1:24), and the effective rejection (*mʔs*) of the content of a speech (in Jer 6:19 the *tôrâ* ) hinder the attentive hearing expressed by *qšb*. Like the capacity of speech (*qôl*: 1 Kgs 18:29; 2 Kgs 4:31) and response (*ʔnh*: 1 Kgs 18:29), the capacity for such attention (*qešeb*) is lacking in the deaf (Zech 7:11), the sleeping (1 Kgs 18:27b, 29: jeeringly of the still-silent Baal), and the dead (2 Kgs 4:31).

Used abs. or constructed with a following acc. (Jer 23:18; Psa 17:1; 61:2; Job 13:6; cf. also Isa 21:7; furthermore Psa 10:17; Prov 2:2; and see GB 731b–32a) or with a prep. expression with *ʔel* (Isa 51:4; Jer 18:18f.; Zech 1:4; Psa 142:7; Neh 9:34; cf. Neh 1:11), *be* (Psa 66:19; 86:6), *le* (Isa 48:18; Jer 6:17; Psa 5:3; 55:3; Prov 2:2; 4:1, 20; 5:1; 7:24; Song Sol 8:13; Neh 9:34; cf. Psa 130:2; 2 Chron 6:40; 7:15), or *ʕal* (Jer 6:19; Prov 17:4; 29:12), the hi. of *qšb* in the meaning “to pay attention, give heed” characterizes the activity of the spy or guard (Isa 21:7; Jer 6:17) or the reaction of the inhabitants of a region suddenly overrun by an enemy army

who attentively note the cry of lament in the neighboring villages announcing the enemy's approach (Isa 10:30).

Other usages of the hi. of *qšb* are: to listen to a song (Song Sol 8:13); to listen attentively in order to come to a reasoned judgment concerning the statements and behavior of another (Jer 8:6); to hear a person out in order to judge one with one's own words (Jer 18:18); to listen to lies (Prov 29:12).

(b) Along with the par. terms or expressions *ʔzn* hi. "to give heed," *šm<sup>c</sup>* "to hear," *nṯh* hi. *lēb/ʔōzen* "to turn, incline the heart/ear" (see 3a), *qšb* hi. occurs frequently in two-part, rarely in three- (Hos 5:1; 2 Chron 20:15) or four-part (Isa 28:23; 34:1), summonses to hear that introduce wisdom (Isa 28:23; Prov 4:1, 20; 5:1; 7:24) or legal instruction (Job 13:6; 33:31), but that then also often occur at the beginning of prophetic units (Jer 34:1; 49:1; 51:4; Hos 5:1; Mic 1:2; 2 Chron 20:15) e.g., "give heed and hear my voice, pay attention and hear my pronouncement" (Isa 28:23); "hear this, you priests, pay attention, you from the house of Israel, and you from the royal court, give heed" (Hos 5:1); "hear, all you nations, pay attention, O earth and what is in it" (Mic 1:2).

In terms of their form-critical distinction, these summonses should less likely be categorized with L. Köhler (*Deuterjesaja stilkritisch untersucht* [1923], 111–13) as a "call for two witnesses" in the legal realm and understood here as the beginning of the judicial assembly (cf. also H. B. Huffmon, *JBL* 78 [1959]: 285–95; J. Harvey, *Bib* 43 [1962]: 172–96; E. von Waldow, *Der traditions-geschichtliche Hintergrund der prophetischen Gerichtsreden* [1963], 12–25; M. Delcor, *VT* 16 [1966]: 8–25), but presumably should more likely be considered with Wolff (*Hos*, Herm, 96f.) as a genuine wisdom "introductory 'summons to receive instruction'" (see also Horst, BK 16, 198f.; H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT* [1970], 83f.; I. von Loewenclau, *EvT* 26 [1966]: 296f.).

Comparable summonses also occur in the function of opening instructional formulae in ancient Near Eastern wisdom literature, thus e.g., in an anonymous Eg. instruction from the Middle Kingdom: "The beginning of the instruction that a man made for his son. He says: Listen to my voice. Do not pass by (my) words, do not be indifferent about what I shall say to you" (W. K. Simpson, ed., *Literature of Ancient Egypt* [1973], 337; H. Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung* [1957], 161; cf. also Amenemope 3:9f. = ANET 421b; H. O. Lange, *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope* [1925], 32f., and for the Mesopotamian realm, Babylonian Theodicy 3:25f.; 25:265f. = ANET 602a, 604a; *BWL* 72f., 86f.).

The significance that Eg. wisdom attributes generally to hearing as the way to wise knowledge (→ *šm<sup>c</sup>*; cf. Brunner, op. cit. 131f.) is reflected in Israel by the promise of the wisdom teacher in Prov 2:1–6: "My son, if you accept my words and keep my commandments, in that you lend your ear

attentively to wisdom, incline your heart to insight. . . . then you will understand the fear of Yahweh and find knowledge of God: for Yahweh gives wisdom, knowledge and insight proceed from his mouth.” Conversely, for wisdom, the negative consequences of attention oriented in the wrong direction are apparent: “The villain attends to wicked lips” (17:4); “a ruler who attends to a lying word—all his servants are scoundrels” (29:12); and in 1:24–27, personified Wisdom herself declares her sport and laughter over the misfortune imminent “because I called and you refused, I stretched out my hand and no one gave heed” (v 24).

4. In OT theological language *qšb* hi., said of Yahweh in the sense of “to pay attention, give heed,” constitutes, along with the frequently par. verbs *ʔzn* hi. “to give heed” and *šm*ʿ “to hear” (see 3a), characterizations of those “requests of a general nature . . . intended to motivate Yahweh to heed the prayer” (Gunkel-Begrich 218f.), such as “pay attention to my loud cry, my King and my God” (Psa 5:3; cf. also 17:1; 61:2; 86:6; 142:7) or, with a per. obj., “pay attention to me and respond (*nh*) to me” (Psa 55:3; cf. Jer 18:19 and see also the abs. use of the verb in Dan 9:19). A few late OT prayers use circumlocutions with *hyh* “to be” and the adjs. *qaššāb* (Neh 1:6, 11)/*qaššūb* (Psa 130:2; 2 Chron 6:40) “attentive” instead of *qšb*.

Closely related to these prayers, statements in Psa 10:17 and 66:19 have the notion that Yahweh inclines his ear or notes the pleas of the supplicant as the obj. of the assurance of response or of thanksgiving. This category also includes 2 Chron 7:15, where in response to the request made by Solomon in his prayer dedicating the temple in 2 Chron 6:40, Yahweh assures Solomon that his eyes will be open and his ears will be attentive to the prayer in this place, and Mal 3:16, which mentions that Yahweh listens attentively to the speech of his beleaguered community.

While the LXX, which renders *qaššūb* with *epēkoos*, “the one who hears (the prayers)” in 2 Chron 6:40; 7:15, thus interprets Yahweh as *theos epēkoos* (cf. O. Weinreich, *Athenische Mitteilungen* 37 [1912]: 1–68), 1 Kgs 18:29 conversely denies polemically that Baal is capable of such attentive listening: all the attempts of his prophets to elicit a reaction from him go unheeded and there ensues “no sound, no answer, no response.”

In reference to people, *qšb* hi. in OT theological usage closely approximates the meaning “to obey,” as in the cult-polemic dictum in 1 Sam 15:22, “Obedience is better than sacrifice, attention (better) than the fat of goats,” but esp. paralleling *šh tôrâ* “to keep the law” (Neh 9:34) and with designations for the divine commandments, i.e., *mišwôtay* “my commandments,” *dʿbāray* “my words,” etc., as objs. of the verb (Isa 48:18; Jer 6:19; Neh 9:34). Except for 1 Sam 15:22, all passages with this usage of the verb are exilic or post-exilic. Characteristic of this usage of *qšb* is

that, apart from the promise in Isa 32:3 and the exhortations in 42:23; 48:18, the verb always occurs in negative statements describing Israel's disobedience (Jer 6:10, 19; Zech 1:4; 7:11; Neh 9:34; 2 Chron 33:10).

The likely post-prophetic gloss, critical of prophecy, in Jer 23:18 is difficult: "For who has stood in the council of Yahweh so that he could see him and hear his word? Who has attended to (*qšb* hi.) and heard his word?" (cf. Rudolph, HAT 12, 152; yet contrast H.-J. Kraus, *Prophetie in der Krisis* [1964], 41–45).

5. Sir 3:29, "A wise heart understands the sayings of the wise, and an attentive ear rejoices in wisdom," is in the tradition of the examples of *qšb* mentioned above in the realm of OT wisdom. For Qumran, cf. CD 20:18 and 1QDibHam 5:21, which cite Mal 3:16 and Isa 48:18, resp. The most frequent equivalent for *qšb* in the LXX is *prosechein*.

W. Schottroff

## קשה *qšh* to be hard

S 7185; BDB 904a; HALOT 3:1151b; ThWAT 7:205–11; TWOT 2085; NIDOTTE 7996

1. The root *qšh* "to be hard" is attested outside Hebr. only in Aram. (*DISO* 267; *LS* 703; Drower-Macuch 416b) and in Arab. (*qasā*, Wehr 763b).

Eg. *ksn* "(to be) bad, evil, difficult" may be related (Erman-Grapow 5:69).

Semantically related, but perhaps also etymologically related, is *qšh*, which occurs only in the hi. (Job 39:16 "to treat harshly"; Isa 63:17 "to harden," of the heart by God); cf. F. Hesse, *Das Verstockungsproblem im AT* (1955), 17.

In addition to the verb (qal, ni., pi., and hi.), the OT has the adj. *qāšeh* "hard" and the subst. *qšî* "stubbornness." It is uncertain whether *miqšeh* "artfully braided hair" (Isa 3:24; cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 150) and *miqšâ* "turned work" (Exod 25:18, 31, 36; 37:7, 17, 22; Num 8:4[bis]; 10:2) belong to the same root.

2. *qšh* qal occurs 5x, ni. 1x, pi. 1x, hi. 21x (with obj. *ōrep* "neck" 11x, with obj. *lēb(āb)* "heart" 3x), *qāšeh* 36x (7x in conjunction with *ōrep* "neck," 5x in conjunction with *ʿbôdâ* "service, work," and 6x as a neutral subst. fem. adj., 2x pl.), *qšî* (Deut 9:27).

3. Verbal and nom. occurrences always have a fig. meaning and refer either to the severity of a matter that people perceive as oppressive or to the harshness that someone displays in interactions with others. Thus the qal refers to the passionate severity of wrath (Gen 49:7; cf. Song Sol 8:6 adj.), the difficulty of a legal matter (Deut 1:17; cf. Exod 18:26 adj.), the difficulty of a decision (Deut 15:18), and the severity of speech (2 Sam 19:44; cf. the use of the neutral subst. fem. adj. *qāšâ* “severe” for a “severe message,” 1 Sam 20:10; 1 Kgs 12:13; 14:6; 2 Chron 10:13). The formulaic usage of the hand heavily laid on someone (→ *kbd* 4a; → *yād*) to indicate oppression heavily burdening a people (1 Sam 5:7; cf. Judg 4:24 and the similar use of → *h̄zq*) may also underlie the unique ni. (Isa 8:21). The pi., which also occurs only once, depicts a difficult birth (Gen 35:16) and corresponds to the usage in the hi. (Gen 35:17). Apart from passages to be treated below (4), the hi. also refers to asking a difficult question that overtaxes the addressee (2 Kgs 2:10) or to intensifying the yoke of forced labor burdening a people (1 Kgs 12:4 = 2 Chron 10:4; cf. the expression *‘abôdâ qāšâ* for forced labor required of a people by a despot, Exod 1:14; 6:9; Deut 26:6; 1 Kgs 12:4; Isa 14:3; 2 Chron 10:4).

Apart from usages already mentioned in relation to the verbal occurrences, the adj. *qāšeh* describes a hard-hearted person (1 Sam 25:3; 2 Sam 3:39; Isa 19:4), the harsh fate of the poor (Job 30:25), the severity of war (2 Sam 2:17; of the sword of war, Isa 27:1), and the gruesome severity of a historical catastrophe (which God permits people to experience, Psa 60:5).

Synonyms of *qšh* are → *ʾmš*, → *h̄zq*, and → *‘zz*, cf. also *šānūm* “hard” in Gen 41:23 (of infertile heads of grain). The opposite of *qšh* is *rkk* “to be soft,” also often used fig. (qal “to be soft, tender, timid,” 6x; pu. “to become softened,” Isa 1:6; hi. “to discourage,” Job 23:16; subst. *rōk* “softness,” Deut 28:56; adj. *rak* “soft, weak, tender, mild, gentle” 16x, juxtaposed with *qāšeh* in 2 Sam 3:39; subst. *mōrek* “discouragement,” Lev 26:36).

4. *qšh* hi. occurs with *‘ōrep* “neck” as obj. (which can also occasionally be omitted: Exod 13:15; Job 9:4 “to defy someone,” constructed with *ʾel*) in the sense of “to make the neck hard,” esp. in Dtn-Dtr and Chr literature (Deut 10:16; 2 Kgs 17:14; Jer 7:26; 17:23; 19:15; Prov 29:1; Neh 9:16f., 29; 2 Chron 30:8; 36:13; cf. *‘ōrep qāšeh* “stubbornness” in Deut 31:27 and *qšeh-‘ōrep* “stubborn” in Exod 32:9; 33:3, 5; 34:9; Deut 9:6, 13; cf. Isa 48:4). The image derives from cattle used as draft animals, whose power seems to be concentrated in the neck (cf. Hos 4:16; Jer 5:5). Whoever resists the yoke is “hard-necked” (cf. Hesse, op. cit. 13). The metaphorical usage is particularly characteristic of the

parenetic sermon style. If the obj. *ʿōrep* always refers to the reflexive process of people's rebellion and disobedience to God's word, *qšh* hi. with the obj. *lēb* or *lēbāb* "heart" refers either to God's hardening (Exod 7:3 P; cf. Hesse, op. cit. 21–23, 40–79; K. L. Schmidt, "Die Verstockung des Menschen durch Gott," *TZ* 1 [1945]: 1–17) or one's own hardening of one's heart (Psa 95:8; Prov 28:14; cf. also Ezek 3:7). → *rûah* "spirit" is used as the obj. only once (Deut 2:30, God's hardening). On the entire issue, cf. Hesse, op. cit.; → *h̄zq* 4 and → *lēb* 4d.

Judg 2:19 speaks of a "hard way" (*derek qāšâ*), i.e., a difficult course: "This is a type of pregnant construction: Instead of merely saying that the person is stubborn and thus continues, unfazed, in the former path, it can be said that one has made one's course 'hard.' One sees that the image has already sacrificed its transparency here and is no longer even perceived as an image" (Hesse, op. cit. 14). The gen. combination of *qāšeh* with *pānîm* "face" occurs only in Ezek 2:4 (a secondary explanation; cf. also Aḥ. 101, of the king's wrath; P. Grelot, *RB* 68 [1961]: 183). The texts of 1 Sam 1:15 and Isa 27:8 are uncertain (see comms.).

5. The Qumran literature (1QS 5:5; 6:26; 1QH frg. 12:4) and the NT (cf. Schmidt, op. cit.) discuss stubbornness in the sense of a reflexive process; in the NT, however, it occurs primarily in OT citations. Hardening by God is also explicitly mentioned (Rom 9:18; cf. K. L. and M. A. Schmidt, "παχύνω," *TDNT* 5:1022–31).

A. S. van der Woude

## רָחַח *rʿh* to see

S 7200; BDB 906a; *HALOT* 3:1157a; *ThWAT* 7:225–66; *TWOT* 2095; *NIDOTTE* 8011

1. *rʿh* "to see" occurs in the SSem. languages and is attested with certainty in Can. only in Hebr. and Moab. (*DISO* 268f.; Aram. → *h̄zh*; Akk. and Ug.: → *ʾmr* 1).

The Hebr. verb appears in the qal, ni., pu., hitp., hi., and ho. Derived noms. are: *rōʿeh* I "seer" (subst. qal ptcp.), *rōʿeh* II "sight" (Barth 151; *GVG* 1:343), *rʿî* "mirror" (Job 37:18), *rʿî* "seeing," etc. (BL 461), *rʿût* "glance" (Eccl 5:10 Q, K *rʿût*), and *marʿeh* "seeing, appearance, vision" (Exod 38:8 "mirror"). The relationship of *tōʿar* "form, figure" (15x in the OT; in Gen 29:17; 39:6; Isa 52:14; 53:2; Esth 2:7 with *marʿeh*) to the root *rʿh* (see e.g., GB 869a; Montgomery and Gehman, *Kings*, ICC, 83) is questionable (cf.

Zorell 886b, 893a). *rēw* “appearance” occurs as a Can. loanword in Bibl. Aram. (Dan 2:31; 3:25; BLA 184; KBL 1123a).

*rāʾâ* in Deut 14:13 as a designation for a type of bird should be read as *dāʾâ* on the evidence of Lev 11:14 (cf. *BH* 3; *HAL* 199b).

Regarding the proper names formed on *rʾh, r<sup>e</sup>ʾāyâ, yirʾyâ*, etc., cf. *IP* 186, 198.

2. Of the verb forms represented 1,303x in the OT, the base stem occurs 1,129x (incl. Gen 22:14a; 1 Sam 14:27 K; Ezek 28:17 inf. *raʾwâ*; Job 7:8 qal ptcp.; 10:15 txt? qal impv., according to GB 736a and Lis. an adj. *rāʾeh*; excl. Gen 16:14, proper name; Exod 5:21 ni.; Neh 6:16 in Mandl. 505c and 1059a; 2 Chron 10:16, a variant reading). Of the 133 nom. forms, *marʾeh* occurs most often (103x; see table); in addition, *rōʾeh* I occurs 11x (1 Sam 9:9[bis], 11, 18f.; Isa 30:10; 1 Chron 9:22; 26:28; 29:29; 2 Chron 16:7, 10), *r<sup>o</sup>ʾ* 4x (Gen 16:13; 1 Sam 16:12; Nah 3:6; Job 33:21), *marʾâ* 12x (Gen 46:2; Exod 38:8; Num 12:6; 1 Sam 3:15; Ezek 1:1; 8:3; 40:2; 43:3; Dan 10:7[bis], 8, 16), while *rōʾeh* II, *r<sup>e</sup>ʾût*, and *r<sup>e</sup>ʾ* are hapax legomena (see 1).

	qal	ni.	hi.	other <i>marʾeh</i>	
Gen 123	14	3	1 hitp.		11
Exod 70	16	4	2 ho.	2	
Lev 37	10	–	1 ho.	11	
Num 39	5	3	–	4	
Deut 56	5	6	1 ho.	2	
Josh 15	–	1	–	1	
Judg 34	6	4	–	2	
1 Sam	74	2	–	–	2
2 Sam	43	3	1	–	3
1 Kgs25	11	–	–	–	
2 Kgs55	1	7	2 hitp.		–
Isa 74	4	4	–	3	
Jer 66	2	3	–	–	
Ezek 70	4	3	–	36	
Hos 4	–	–	–	–	
Joel 1	–	–	–	2	
Amos5	–	4	–	–	
Obad2	–	–	–	–	
Jonah	2	–	–	–	–
Mic 5	–	1	–	–	
Nah 1	–	1	–	1	

Hab	6	–	1	–	–	
Zeph	–	–	–	–	–	
Hag	2	–	–	–	–	
Zech	18	1	3	–	–	
Mal	2	1	–	–	–	
Psa	87	5	8	–	–	
Job	50	–	–	1 pu.	2	
Prov	12	1	–	–	–	
Ruth	2	–	–	–	–	
Song Sol	7	1	1	–	–	3
Eccl	46	–	1	–	2	
Lam	16	–	–	–	–	
Esth	12	–	3	–	4	
Dan	18	4	–	–	12	
Ezra	1	–	–	–	–	
Neh	6	–	–	–	–	
1 Chron	19	–	–	–	–	
2 Chron	24	6	–	2 hitp.	–	
OT	1,129	102	62	10	103	

3. (a) The chief meaning of *rʕh qal* is “to see.” Sensory perception precedes all other semantic developments. A distinction should be made between (1) simple “seeing (with the eyes [→ *ʕayin*])” (e.g., Josh 8:20; Judg 13:20), precisely: conspicuous seeing (1 Sam 16:7), regarding someone (Judg 16:27); (2) seeing and hearing (→ *šmʕ*) in the meaning “to become aware of” (e.g., Deut 4:28; Psa 135:16f.); (3) perception through other senses in the meaning “to hear” (e.g., Gen 2:19; 42:1), “to perceive, feel” (e.g., Isa 44:16, heat), “to enjoy” (e.g., Eccl 8:16, sleep; 9:9, life), “to undergo, experience” (e.g., Jer 5:12, war, famine; Job 7:7, good; Psa 90:15, bad; Psa 89:49, death).

(b) Various fig. usages developed from the chief meaning: (1) intellectual apprehension in the meanings “to determine, observe, note” (e.g., Gen 16:4f.; 1 Sam 26:12; Isa 29:15), “perceive, understand” (e.g., Gen 26:28; 37:20; 1 Sam 12:17), seeing and hearing together = “to take note of, perceive and understand” (e.g., Isa 52:15; Ezek 40:4), “to distinguish” (e.g., Mal 3:18), “to consider” (e.g., Exod 33:13), including the interjection “Behold!” (e.g., Gen 41:41); (2) general expressions of life in the meaning “to live” = “to see light” (positively: Job 33:28; Eccl 7:11 “to see the sun”; negatively: Psa 49:20; Job 3:16), “to experience, adapt to something” (e.g., Job 4:8; Eccl 1:16), “to see the countenance” = “to have confidential relations with” (2 Kgs 25:19 = Jer 52:25); (3) in the meaning “to inspect” (e.g., Gen 11:5; Lev 13:3ff.), “to see about something” (Job 37:24),

specifically “to take care of something” (Gen 39:23), with *be* “to regard with joy/pain” (e.g., Gen 21:16; 44:34; 1 Sam 6:19; cf. Psa 35:17 equivocally; Prov 23:32 [cf. *CPT* 257f., contra G. R. Driver, *Bib* 32 [1951]: 187; id., *JSS* 9 [1964]: 348f.]), “to visit” (e.g., 2 Sam 13:5f.; Psa 41:7), “to select, choose” (e.g., Gen 41:33; 1 Sam 16:17; pass. ptcp. *rāʾūy* “select, suitable,” Esth 2:9), with *ʿal* “to regard closely” (Exod 1:16), with *min* “to look to someone for something” (Judg 7:17), “to uncover” (Judg 16:5). Picturesque expressions occur in conjunction with personifications (e.g., Psa 114:3, of the sea; 97:4, of the earth).

(c) The *ni.* occurs in a tolerative modification of its major meaning: “to show oneself, appear” (e.g., of people, Lev 13:19; 1 Kgs 18:1f.), “to become visible, appear” (e.g., Gen 1:9, of dry land); the meaning “to be present” (negated, e.g., Judg 19:30; 1 Kgs 10:12) is remote from sensory perception. The passive sense has the single pu. passage (Job 33:21). Sensory perception is also contained in the meaning of the causative stems: *hi.* “to cause someone to see something, show someone something” (e.g., Num 13:26; Judg 1:24f.), “to cause someone to sense, experience something” (Eccl 2:24), *ho.* “to be shown to someone” (e.g., Lev 13:49). A reciprocal meaning fits the *hitp.* “to regard one another” (Gen 42:1), specifically “to measure one another in battle” (2 Kgs 14:8, 11 = 2 Chron 25:17, 21).

(d) The usage of the *nom.* derivatives is also based on the main meaning (see 1). In addition to various action nouns of a general nature, there are also more specialized meanings: *rʿî* (Job 37:18) and *marʾâ* (Exod 38:8) “mirror”; in relation to visionary seeing *rōʿeh* I “seer” (see 4e), *rōʿeh* II “sight” (Isa 28:7), *marʿeh* (e.g., Ezek 8:4), and *marʾâ* (all passages except Exod 38:8) “sight, vision” (see 4f).

\*(e) Additional verbs of seeing beside → *hzh* “to look” that should also be mentioned are: (1) *nbʿ* *hi.* “to glance, look at” (68x in the OT, Psa 17x, Isa 14x, Lam 6x, Hab and Job 5x each; *nbʿ* *pi.* “to glance,” Isa 5:30; subst. *mabbāʿ* “hope = that toward which one looks hopefully,” Isa 20:5f.; Zech 9:5) often also in theologically relevant contexts, e.g., Exod 3:6 “then Moses concealed his countenance, for he feared looking upon God,” and Num 12:8 “he (Moses) viewed the figure of Yahweh” (see 4a); Isa 63:15; Psa 13:4, etc., of God’s attention to people (see 4b); Isa 5:12; 22:11, etc., of people’s attention to God (see 4c); (2) *sph* *qal/pi.* “to spy” (8x and 9x, resp., also *šōpeh* “spy,” 19x, *mišpeh* “lookout,” Isa 21:8 and 2 Chron 20:24, *šippîyâ* “lookout,” Lam 4:17; cf. H. Bardtke, FS Eissfeldt [1958], 19–21); (3) *šgh* *hi.* “to glance” (3x: Isa 14:16; Psa 33:14, of God; Song Sol 2:9); (4) *šûr* “to observe, regard” (16x, 10x in Job); (5) *šzp* “to glimpse” (Job 20:9; 28:7; in Song Sol 1:6 “to tan” from the sun); (6) *šʿh* *qal* “to glance” (12x, Isa 5x; of God’s gracious or averted glance: Gen 4:4f.; Job 7:19; 14:6; *hi.* Psa 39:14 txt em; on the forms that were previously understood as *šʿh* *hitp.*, → *yrʿ* III/1e[7]); (7) *šqp* *ni./hi.* “to look (through the window)” (*ni.* 10x, *hi.* 12x, also *mašqôp* “lintel,” Exod

12:7, 22f.; and other construction terms in 1 Kgs 6:4; 7:4f.; cf. Noth, BK 9, 97f.).

4. The following categories of theological usage (cf. also H.-J. Kraus, “Hören und Sehen in der althebräischen Tradition,” *Studium Generale* 19 [1966]: 115–23 = *Biblisch-theologische Aufsätze* [1972], 84–101) are treated: (a) people seeing God, (b) God seeing people, (c) a person sees God’s activity, (d-f) visionary seeing, (g) *rʔh* ni. as a term for revelation, and (h) *marʔeh*, etc., in descriptions of blessing.

(a) Discussion of seeing God or his countenance occurs in various forms and functions.

(1) In older saga traditions, a person looks back on the moment of deliverance: Gen 32:31 “I (Jacob) have seen God face to face”; Gen 16:13 “Here I (Hagar) have looked on the one who beheld me” (etiologies of the places Peniel and Beer-lahai-roi, resp.). Gideon reacts to his encounter with God’s messenger with a shout that he justifies by referring to what he has experienced: “I saw Yahweh’s messenger face-to-face” (Judg 6:22; similarly 13:22). Each of these formulations occurs in a report of distress and its reversal through God’s activity.

(2) The cultic realm produces the formula *rʔh ʔet-p<sup>e</sup>nē yhw* “to see Yahweh’s countenance.” For dogmatic reasons (cf. Exod 33:20 “you cannot see my countenance, for no one who sees me survives”), an original qal seems to have been altered to a ni., as the construction with the acc. suggests (Exod 23:15, 17; 34:20, 23f., etc.; cf. *BH* 3; W. W. Baudissin, “‘Gott schauen’ in der atl. Religion,” *ARW* 18 [1915]: 173–239, esp. 181ff.). In non-Israelite cults, “seeing a god” referred to the worship of the divine image in the temple (Baudissin, op. cit. 173ff.; F. Nötscher, “*Das Angesicht Gottes schauen*” nach biblischer und babylonischer Auffassung [1924]). In contrast, Yahweh’s sovereignty excluded the possibility of objectifying him in statues and likenesses (Exod 20:4 = Deut 5:8; cf. G. von Rad, *TDNT* 2:381–83; W. Zimmerli, “Das zweite Gebot,” *FS Bertholet* 550–63 = *GO* 234–48). Nevertheless, seeing God may not be understood as a purely spiritual act in contrast to sensory perception. The usage treated under (1) indicates that God encounters one in the real world of one’s existence. However “seeing God” is to be conceptualized in the context of the Israelite cult (regarding Exod 33:18ff. and Psa 27:4 [*hzh*], cf. *PHOE* 257f.), it was not totally identical with the practice of the cult; it was related to the locus of Israel’s experience of God’s concerned activity: history. This observation is also confirmed by passages in the psalms of individual lament and confidence that combine → *hzh* “to look” with the obj. → *pānîm* “countenance” (Psa 11:7; 17:15) or *nōʕam* “friendliness” (27:4) of Yahweh, or *rʔh* with the *ʕōz* “strength” and *kābôd* “majesty” of God (Psa 63:3; cf. von Rad, *TDNT* 2:241; W. Michaelis, *TDNT* 5:326), as well as the expression

→ *bqš* pi. *p<sup>é</sup>n<sup>í</sup>yhw<sup>h</sup>* of turning to Yahweh in the expectation of his help (e.g., Hos 5:15; Psa 27:8; cf. also O. García de la Fuente, *Augustinianum* 8 [1968]: 477–540).

(3) In an attenuated usage, *r<sup>h</sup> <sup>é</sup>et-p<sup>é</sup>n<sup>é</sup>yhw<sup>h</sup>* assumes the meaning “to enter into the sanctuary” (e.g., Psa 42:3; cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:439).

(b) The history of deliverance in the OT begins with the fact that Yahweh “sees” the suffering of the oppressed (promise, Exod 3:7, with → *šm<sup>c</sup>* and → *yd<sup>c</sup>*) before he intervenes (v 8). “God sees” expresses the fact that Yahweh enters into events—in contrast to the idols, who have no relationship to people and time (Deut 4:28; Psa 115:5–7; 135:16f.). Help for Israel grows from personal encounter with God. Accordingly, the request for God’s attention to the supplicant precedes the plea for God’s intervention (1 Sam 1:11; Isa 37:17; 63:15 par. *nb<sup>t</sup>* hi. “to look”; also in the communal lament, Psa 80:15; cf. the individual lament in Psa 35:17, 22 *r<sup>h</sup>*; 13:4 *nb<sup>t</sup>* hi.). The awareness that the lofty God “sees into the depths” became the fundamental statement of praise in Israel (Gen 29:32; Psa 33:13; 113:6; cf. 9:14; 138:6; cf. *PLP* 116–32). In contrast, Israel has already turned away from God when it no longer strives after God’s attention (Ezek 8:12; 9:9 “Yahweh does not see us, Yahweh has abandoned the land,” as a quotation; cf. Psa 10:11).

Theophoric proper names formed with *r<sup>h</sup>* (thanksgiving names; see 1; cf. *IP* 186) also belong in this context of God’s assistance in response to distress.

(c) Just as *r<sup>h</sup>* can describe God’s attention, it can also be used with a view to the results of his action: those concerned “see” his act (e.g., Exod 34:10; Deut 3:21; 4:3, 9; 11:7; 28:34, 67; Isa 42:18, 20; 53:11; 62:2; Mic 7:9); Yahweh “shows” (hi., Deut 3:24; Mic 7:15; Psa 50:23; 59:11; 78:11; 91:16; cf. v 8). Because of the prophetic word, the nations “see” the historical deed as Yahweh’s “demonstration” (*r<sup>h</sup>* replaces → *yd<sup>c</sup>* in the recognition statement in Ezek 21:4; 39:21; cf. W. Zimmerli, “Knowledge of God According to the Book of Ezekiel,” *I Am Yahweh* [1982], 31). To disregard Yahweh’s activity in history, however, is to elicit his judgment (accusation, Isa 5:12b; *r<sup>h</sup>* par. *nb<sup>t</sup>* hi.). Failure to see (or failure to hear) characterizes the people that Isaiah was sent out to harden (Isa 6:9f.; cf. Deut 29:3; Jer 5:21; Ezek 12:2).

(d) *r<sup>h</sup>* qal can assume the meaning “to see visions” (Num 24:2; Josh 5:13; 2 Kgs 2:10, 12; 6:17; Isa 21:3, 6f.; Ezek 8:13, 15, etc.) or hi. “to show visions” (Num 23:3; Jer 38:21; Ezek 11:25, etc.; cf. Dan 8:1 *r<sup>h</sup>* ni. of the appearance of a vision). → *hzh* “to look” means the reception of vision and audition (e.g., Num 24:4, 16; Isa 1:1; Amos 1:1; Mic 1:1). In contrast, *r<sup>h</sup>* refers to the process of seeing, which also includes hearing as a rule (Num

23:3; Jer 38:21; Ezek 11:25, etc.). If *hzh* can indicate the reception of revelation in general (Isa 13:1; 29:10; Ezek 12:27, etc.; cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 5f.; Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 124), *rʔh* belongs to the vocabulary of the vision report (cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:27). Regarding earlier attempts to distinguish the meanings of the two roots, cf. J. Hänel, *Das Erkennen Gottes bei den Schriftpropheten* (1923), 7–13; T. H. Robinson, *Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel* (1923), 28, 41ff.; F. Häussermann, *Wortempfang und Symbol in der atl. Prophetie* (1932), 4–8; A. Jepsen, *Nabi* (1934), 43–56; A. R. Johnson, *Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel* (19622), 11–16.

Under the influence of visionary language (cf. Zech 2:1; 5:1, 9; 6:1; Dan 10:5 with Gen 31:10), *rʔh* qal intruded in a few passages in dream narratives, whose language is clearly distinct from that of vision reports (cf. Gen 41:5 with v 22; to *rʔh* hi., Gen 41:28; cf. *ngd* hi. v 25).

In the 1st-per. prophetic reports of visionary experiences an introductory formula (which usually follows *wʕhinnēh* “and behold”) begins the description of the vision (occasionally also a portion; regarding Ezek 1:15, cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:127). Their forms vary; in the introductory formula with *rʔh* qal the narrator of the vision describes himself as the one seeing (1st-per. sg. pf.: 1 Kgs 22:17, 19; Jer 4:23 [cf. vv 24ff.]; Ezek 37:8; Amos 9:1; Zech 1:8; on Hab 3:2; cf. *BHS*; 1st-per. sg. impf. cons.: Isa 6:1; Ezek 1:4, 15; 2:9; 8:2, 7, 10, etc.; Zech 2:1, 5; 5:1; 6:1). The introductory formula with *rʔh* hi. emphasizes the author of the vision (“so Yahweh caused me to see” Amos 7:1, 4, 7; 8:1; cf. 2 Kgs 8:10, 13; Jer 24:1; Zech 3:1, subj. the angel). Other portrayals without such introductory formulae describe that which was seen (Isa 21:1–10; Nah 2:2, 4–11; 3:1–3; regarding the visions of events, cf. F. Horst, “Die Visionsschilderungen der atl. Propheten,” *EvT* 20 [1960]: 193–205, esp. 202ff.).

The original context for the first form of the introduction is the seer’s oracle (contra Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 95n.35, who thinks of the “opening of one of the free witness-speeches”; cf. Amos 5:1). Characteristically, the seer reports his vision in his own words, as indicated by the legitimation formula → *nʕūm* combined with the name of the seer (Num 24:4, 16). *rʔh* with the “I” of the seer as subj. resolves the visionary experience into a report (Num 23:9 “for from the height of the rock I see it, behold, it . . .”; 23:21 [cf. *BH* 3]; 24:17). Later prophetic vision and audition reports use the speech forms of the seer’s oracle. The function of *rʔh* (in contrast to that of *nʕūm*) is preserved (with assimilation of the verb forms to the messenger saying). *rʔh* hi. occurs in the rare conclusion of a vision in Ezek 11:25 (cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:28).

In the formal scheme of the word-symbol or assonance visions (so F.

Horst), the description of the vision introduced by the opening formula precedes the “divine question of confirmation” to the prophet: “What do you see?” etc. (Jer 1:11, 13; 24:3; Amos 7:8; 8:2; Zech 4:2; 5:2). W. Zimmerli (“Word of Divine Self-Manifestation [Proof-Saying]: A Prophetic Genre,” *I Am Yahweh* 99–110; id., *Ezek, Herm*, 1:235) derives Yahweh’s question of confirmation in Ezek 8:6, 12, 15, 17 from the context of the “proof saying”; contra G. Fohrer, *Studien zur atl. Prophetie* (1967), 19.

(e) The old designations for the seer also survived: 1 Sam 9:9 explains *rōʿeh* as the older title for → *nābîʿ* “prophet” (cf. G. Hölscher, *Die Profeten* [1914], 125). The Chr used the noun as an epithet for Samuel (1 Chron 9:22; 26:28; 29:29) and others (2 Chron 16:7, 10). The term *ḥōzeh* can also apply to a *nābîʿ* (2 Sam 24:11; 2 Kgs 17:13; Isa 29:10; cf. R. Hentschke, *Die Stellung der vorexilischen Schriftpropheten zum Kultus* [1957], 150; R. Rendtorff, *TDNT* 6:809f.). In addition, both terms seem to refer to a charisma (perhaps that of the “seer”) that every *nābîʿ* did not possess: Amos distinguishes the gift and function of the *ḥōzeh* from that of the *nābîʿ* and *ben-nābîʿ* (Amos 7:12, 14; cf. Wolff, *Amos, Herm*, 312f.), as does Isaiah (cf. Isa 28:7) who, like other “seers” (30:10, *rōʿim* and *ḥōzîm* are par.) was forbidden visionary seeing (Wildberger, op. cit. 5f.).

(f) *marʿâ* designates the visionary experience of the prophets (Num 12:6 par. *ḥʾlôm* “dream”) or even a purely auditory experience (1 Sam 3:15; cf. Johnson, op. cit. 11n.9; Horst, op. cit. 196). The usage of *marʿôt ʿlōhîm* for seeing visions of God in Ezek (Ezek 1:1; 8:3; 40:2; on 43:3, cf. *BHS*) suggests an old formula from the seer tradition (cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek, Herm*, 1:117); cf. *marʿôt hallaylâ* “night vision” (Gen 46:2). The sg. term also represents visionary seeing (Dan 10:7f., 16). The masc. *marʿeh* can be used like the fem. *marʿâ* (Ezek 11:24; 43:3; in Dan 8:16f., 26f. indiscriminately with *ḥāzôn*; in Dan 9:23 and 10:1 par. *dābār* “word”). In the description of a vision *marʿeh* more often indicates the obj. of the vision: “appearance,” “something that looked like” (Ezek 1:5, 13, 27f.; 8:2, etc.; Nah 2:5; Job 4:16). The phrase *kʿmarʿeh* “to look like,” etc. emphasizes a merely approximate descriptive function (Ezek 1:13, 26–28; 8:2; 10:1; 40:3; under the influence of Ezek in Dan 8:15; 10:6, 18; Joel 2:4; cf. Dan 10:16 *kidmût*, → *dmh* 3b), as does the reduplication *marʿeh kʿmarʿeh* (Ezek 40:3; 41:21; 43:3).

The derived subst. *rōʿeh* II “vision” occurs once: in contrast to the “seers,” including Isaiah (Isa 30:10), the professional prophets fail and “err in vision” (28:7).

(g) *rʿh* ni. with God as subj. (about 45x, usually Yahweh/God, but also *kʿbôd yhwh* “Yahweh’s majesty” or *malʿak yhwh* “Yahweh’s messenger”; cf. F. Schnutenhaus, *ZAW* 76 [1964]: 10) is used in various

ways:

(1) as a technical term for God's appearance at a site that thus becomes holy (Exod 3:2; cf. H. Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit* [1913], 21ff.; R. Rendtorff, "Concept of Revelation in Ancient Israel," *Revelation as History* [1968], 23–53; cf. the reaction to the latter in W. Zimmerli, "'Offenbarung' im AT," *EvT* 22 [1962]: 15–31). Admittedly, the tradition preserves the cult-etiological schema (sequence: divine manifestation, construction of an altar, etc.); but already in the J narratives the report of Yahweh's appearance fades behind the new goal of the appearance, the divine promissory address (Gen 12:6f.; 26:24f.; JE version of Exod 3). P entirely abandons the link to a cultic site and uses the original components of the *hieros logos* only to frame the divine discourse (Gen 17:1bff.; 35:9ff.). Yahweh's *kābôd* appears—in an expansion of the Jerusalemite temple tradition (Isa 6; Psa 97)—in order to proclaim God's demonstration of power against the disobedient people (Exod 16:10; Num 14:10; 16:19; 17:7; 20:6). Stripped of its proper function, the isolated *rʕh ni.* serves, finally, merely as an introduction to an entire narrative culminating in divine discourse (e.g., with the motif of the announcement of the birth of a child, Gen 18:1–15; cf. C. Westermann, *Promises to the Fathers* [1980], 11f., 59ff.; cf. also Gen 26:2f.; Judg 6:12ff.; 1 Kgs 3:5ff.; 9:2ff.), as an optional addition (1 Kgs 9:2b; 11:9) or as a general statement (1 Sam 3:21). *rʕh ni.* is not attested in reference to a theophany of Yahweh in the cult (cf. Rendtorff, *op. cit.* 29).

(2) The late usage of *rʕh ni.* refers to God's appearance at Sinai or at the "tent of meeting" (Num 14:14, a secondary expansion of J [cf. Nötscher, *op. cit.* 23, 34]; Deut 31:15, frg. [cf. von Rad, *Deut*, OTL, 189]; Jer 31:3) and to Yahweh's epiphany (cf. *PLP* 93–101; also Zech 9:14; Mal 3:2; Psa 102:17; cf. Zeph 2:11 txt em; Schnutenhaus, *op. cit.* 10f.). The statement concerning God's appearance aroused objections; consequently, P contrasted the *rʕh ni.* of the patriarchal period with the *yd<sup>c</sup>* of the Mosaic era (Exod 6:3; cf. Rendtorff, *op. cit.* 29ff.; Zimmerli, *EvT* 22:17ff.; id., "I Am Yahweh," *I Am Yahweh* 7–10).

(h) The substs. *marʕh* and *r<sup>o</sup>ʕ* occur in the description of the blessing: physical beauty was perceived to be an expression of blessing (Gen 39:6; 1 Sam 16:12; cf. v 18 *ʕš tōʕar*); the community interpreted repulsive external appearance as the absence of blessing (Isa 52:14 "his appearance inhuman and his demeanor no longer human"; 53:2 "neither form nor beauty . . . nor reputation"; cf. Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 259, 261).

5. Counterparts of the Hebr. verb in the LXX are primarily *horan*, *idein*, and *blepein*. The manifold usages of *rʕh* and its derivatives are echoed in the NT (cf. W. Michaelis, "ὄρω," *TDNT* 5:315–82), frequently

in direct connection with OT usage but also with new significance. E.g., the vision (of the countenance) of God is reserved for the heavenly world (Rev 22:4); now we see only partially (1 Cor 13:12), but we already see the Father in the Son (John 12:45). The OT phrase “to see God” in the sense of visiting the temple applies to the heavenly sanctuary (Matt 18:10). “God sees” describes his attention here too (Matt 6:4, 6; Luke 1:48; Acts 7:34); the obstinate, however, do not “see” (Mark 4:12; 8:18). The style of the visions betrays OT influence (e.g., Mark 1:10; Acts 7:55f.; 9:10, 17; Rev 1:2, 11; 4:1; 9:17).

D. Vetter

### ראש *rōš* **head**

S 7218; BDB 910b; *HALOT* 3:1164b; *ThWAT* 7:271–84; *TWOT* 2097; *NIDOTTE* 8031

1. (a) The root *\*raš-* underlying Hebr. *rōš* is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 212f.; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964], 254f., 268).

It occurs in Arab. in the form *raš*; the exchange *a* > *ē* at the end of a syllable gives rise in Akk. to *rēšu(m)* alongside the rare *rāšu(m)* and Old Akk. *rāsum* (*AHW* 973b), with counterparts in Ug. *riš* (*UT* §5.16), Eth. *rešes*, and Aram.-Syr. *rēšā*?. While Eg. transliterations usually offer *rš* in addition to *riš* for Can. *rš* (Burchardt, nos. 635, 638; 605, 636), the pronunciation *\*rōš* is attested by EA 264:18 (*ru-šu-nu* “our head”), which is attributable to the exchange *a* > *ā* > *ō*; cf. *rūšum* “lintel,” a Can. loanword in Old Bab. from Mari (ARM 10:9.12', 15'), and Bab./Neo-Assyr. *rūštu(m)* “first-quality, best fine oil” (*AHW* 996f.). Regarding the root vowel, cf. also K. Beyer, *Althebr. Grammatik* (1969), 19, 26f. In addition to *rš*, *rwš*, and *rš*, Qumran knows the spellings *rwš* (= *\*rōš* with a secondary restitution of the *š*; cf. *roš* LXX 2 Sam 15:32; 16:1) and *ršwš* (cf. *rēš* in Sam. Hebr. on the basis of a regressive dissimilation of vowels; R. Macuch, *Grammatik des samaritanischen Hebräisch* [1969], 91, 384).

In contrast, the original root vowel *a* is preserved in the Hebr. and also partially in the Ug. pl., presumably because a vowel follows *š* here (GKC §23c; BL 620; *UT* §8.9). A fem. pl. ending corresponding to Ug. *rašt* or *rišt* seems to be present in *\*mērāšôtékem* Jer 13:18 txt em (*UHP* 15).

The specifics of the meaning of *\*raš-* in the Sem. languages are remarkably uniform. The lit. use for “head” is joined by fig. usages: in the social sense for “superior, leader,” the local sense for “peak, point,” the temporal sense for “beginning,” or the valuative sense for “the best.”

Arab. and Eth. formed separate forms for “superior, leader” that are used in addition to *raʿs* or *reʿes*, resp.: Arab. *raʿīs* and Eth. *raʿas/reʿūs*; only Arab. and Eth. derived the verb *raʿasa* with the chief meaning “to be superior, leader” from the nom. root.

(b) *rēʿšît* is the most important derivative; it is treated separately under 3e.

The *ē* of the root syllable may have arisen under Aram. influence for an older *ā* (cf. Sam. Hebr. *raʿšet*, Macuch, op. cit. 413). The affirmative *-ît* was transferred from roots III *î* + fem. ending *t* for abstracts to the root *rōʿš* (BL 504f.). Par. forms are Akk. *rēštu(m)* I “beginning, point, first quality” (AHW 972f.), Phoen.-Pun. *rʿšt* “choiceness” (Friedrich-Röllig §207), and Syr. *rēšîtā* “beginning.”

The *î* in *rîʿšôn* “first,” which also functions as an ordinal numeral, may correspond to Ug. *rîšn* (PN, UT no. 2296); the pronunciation traces back directly to the *rāʿšôn* of the Sam. tradition as attested by the Qumran spelling *rʿyšwn* (Macuch, op. cit. 24, 409). The affirmative *-ôn* characterizes denominative adjs. (Meyer 2:37).

In (*haššānâ*) *hārîʿšônît* in Jer 25:1, the affirmative has been supplemented by the fem. relative ending *-ît* in analogy to the formation of the other ordinal numerals.

*m<sup>c</sup>raʿšôt* with a sg. (1 Sam 26:7) or pl. suf. (Gen 28:11), or gen. (1 Sam 26:12), is used as an adv. of *rōʿš* in the lit. sense: “at the head.” The preformative *ma-* has a local function here (cf. Phoen. *mrʿš* “hood,” KAI no. 11); *-ôt* is hardly a pl. ending, despite Meyer 2:39; it is instead a rare affirmative. The opposite is *marg<sup>e</sup>lôt* (Ruth 3:4, 7f., 14; Dan 10:6).

Regarding *rōʿšâ*, see 3d(1); on *rîʿšâ*, see 3e(1).

2. *rōʿš* occurs in the MT of BH 3 596x (excl. Prov 13:23; Aram. *rēʿš* occurs 14x [Dan 13x, Ezra 1x]); there are also three texts in which *rōʿš* may be used as the name of a country (LXX Ezek 38:2f.; 39:1; contra Zimmerli, Ezek, Herm, 2:284, 305); *rîʿšôn* occurs 182x, *rēʿšît* 51x, *m<sup>c</sup>raʿšôt* 10x, *rîʿšônît* (Jer 25:1), *rōʿšâ* (Zech 4:7), and *rîʿšâ* (Ezek 36:11) once each.

Remarkably, the Chr history, esp. in its lists of people, uses *rōʿš* primarily in the social sense: at least 100 occurrences have the sense of “superior, leader,” sometimes for lower positions and functions, a mere 20 remain for lit., metonymic, and fig. usages.

(*mē*)*rōʿš* and *rēʿšît* occur only in the abs. usage for “beginning (of the world)” since Deutero-Isa.

The following table indicates the distribution of the terms among the books of the OT:

	<i>rō</i> 𐤠	<i>rē</i> 𐤠𐤓	<i>rī</i> 𐤠𐤓𐤌	<i>m<sup>c</sup>rā</i> 𐤠𐤓𐤌	
Gen	20	3	10	2	
Exod	26	2	11	–	
Lev	40	2	9	–	
Num	41	4	13	–	
Deut	17	7	12	–	
Josh	15	–	5	–	
Judg	28	–	4	–	
1 Sam	23	2	2	6	
2 Sam	32	–	6	–	
1 Kgs	23	–	5	1	
2 Kgs	17	–	3	–	
Isa	28	1	19	–	
Jer	13	6	10	1	
Ezek	37	4	5	–	
Hos	2	1	1	–	
Joel	3	–	1	–	
Amos	6	2	–	–	
Obad	1	–	–	–	
Jonah	3	–	–	–	
Mic	5	1	1	–	
Nah	1	–	–	–	
Hab	2	–	–	–	
Zeph	–	–	–	–	
Hag	–	–	2	–	
Zech	6	–	7	–	
Mal	–	–	–	–	
Psa	33	3	2	–	
Job	13	3	2	–	
Prov	10	5	2	–	
Ruth	–	–	1	–	
Song Sol	9	–	–	–	–
Eccl	3	1	2	–	
Lam	9	–	–	–	
Esth	5	–	3	–	
Dan	1	1	6	–	
Ezra	13	–	6	–	
Neh	16	2	3	–	
1 Chron		73	–	13	–
2 Chron		22	1	16	–
OT	596	51	182	10	

3. (a) *rō*𐤠 (Aram. *rē*𐤠) is used lit. for the “head” of a person (2 Sam 4:8, for the severed head), of an animal (e.g., Gen 3:15), of a statue (Dan 2:32, 38), of an idol (1 Sam 5:4), and of a vision of God (Dan 7:9). The *tannînîm* “dragons” (Psa 74:13), *liwyātān* “Leviathan” (v 14), and the “third animal” (Dan 7:6) have several heads.

The comparative description of the human head has a place in the erotic descriptive song (Song Sol 5:11; 7:6).

Some verbal usages with *rōš* as the obj. describe gestures made with the head.

Intrans. → *nśʹrōš* with a reflexive pronom. suf. appended to the noun “to lift (his) head” indicates the posture of the innocent (Job 10:15), the (anticipated) victorious mood (Psa 83:3; also *rûm* with subj. *rōš*, Psa 27:6), or, with a negated verb, the reaction to the loss of independence (Judg 8:28; Zech 2:4; contra Zorell 533b).

Trans. *nśʹrōš* + gen. “to lift the head (of someone)” refers to the ruler who restores his servant to office (Gen 40:13, 20, ironically with *mēʹāleykā* for “to hang,” v 19) or pardons his captives (2 Kgs 25:27), but it also refers to Wisdom (Sir 11:1) and to Yahweh (11:13, with the prep. obj. *brʹšw*).

*rûm* hi. *rōš* can be used correspondingly: intrans. in Psa 110:7 of the newly enthroned king (“therefore he lifted his head”) or intrans. of God in the confession of confidence in a lament psalm (Psa 3:4) and of the *daʹat* “knowledge” of the physician in Sir 38:3. The opposite of the intrans. usage is *yrd* hi. *rōš* + a reflexive pronom. suf. + *lāʹāreš* “to bow (his) head to the ground” (Lam 2:10).

*nûʹ* hi. *rōš* (also with a prep. obj.) + *ʔahʹrê* or *ʹal* of the one involved, “to shake the head (with the head) (concerning someone),” is a gesture of derision, as the par. verbs in the exclusively poetical texts indicate (*Iʹg* “to mock,” 2 Kgs 19:21; Psa 22:8, *bûz* “to despise,” 2 Kgs 19:21, *hyhʹherpâ* “to be an object of scorn,” Psa 109:25).

In contrast, *nûd* with *le* of the one concerned “to shake the head (concerning someone)” apparently indicates a gesture of compassion, as shown by association with *nḥm* pi. “to comfort” (Nah 3:7; Psa 69:21; Job 2:11; 42:11), and with *ḥml* “to feel pity” and *šʹlIʹšālômIʹ* “to inquire about (someone’s) status” (Jer 15:5). *nûd* hi. *bʹrōš* with *ʹal* of the person “to shake with the head (concerning someone)” in Jer 18:16 seems also to imply an attitude of aversion (par. *šmm* “to shudder, be appalled”). The gesture of *nûʹ* hi. *rōš* was apparently (originally?) clearly distinct from that of *nûd* qal/hi. (*bʹrōš*); at any rate, if *māšāl* in the par. line means “song of derision” (Psa 44:16), *mʹnôd-rōš* “shaking the head” in v 15 contains once again the element of derision.

(b) *rōš* stands metonymically:

(1) for the “hair of the head,” as the obj. of *glḥ* pi. (Lev 14:9; Num 6:9; Deut 21:12; Isa 7:20) or *gzz* (Job 1:20) “to cut” and of *nqp* II hi. “to surround” in the phrase *pʹcatrōšʹkem* “the edge of (the hair of) your head,” Lev 19:27;

(2) for the “individual,” in particular distributively *Iʹrōš* + gen. of the participant “per capita” (Judg 5:30; cf. *laggulgōlet* Exod 16:16; 38:26; Num 3:47), numeratively *Iʹrāšê* + gen. of the enumerated, “by head count” (1 Chron 24:4; cf. *Iʹgulḡlōtām* Num 1:2, 18, 20, 22; 1 Chron 23:3, 24), and to singularize *rōšʹḥʹmôr* “one donkey” (2 Kgs 6:25);

(3) for the “person” in the sense of pars pro toto in blessings and curses: in the blessing the subj. precedes *bʹrākâ* (or its pl.) *Iʹrōš* + gen. of the recipient (in a nom. clause in Prov 10:6; 11:26, in a verbal clause in Gen 49:26; Deut 33:16; cf. the curse in Jer 23:19); in the curse, the deed

that deserves the curse can be the subj., as in the formula *dāmô b<sup>ê</sup>rô<sup>š</sup>ô* Josh 2:19, etc. (cf. H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT* [1970], 138ff., with additional bibliog.) and in verbal clauses with *šûb b<sup>ê</sup>rô<sup>š</sup>* “to fall back on the head” (1 Kgs 2:33; cf. also J. J. Rabinowitz, *VT* 7 [1957]: 398f.; id., *VT* 9 [1959]: 209f.), *hûl <sup>al</sup>rô<sup>š</sup>* “to return on the head” (2 Sam 3:29). God is the subj. and the accursed deed is the obj. in verbal clauses with *šûb hi. <sup>al</sup>/<sup>el</sup>/b<sup>ê</sup>rô<sup>š</sup>* “to cause to fall back on the head” (e.g., 1 Kgs 2:32) and *ntn b<sup>ê</sup>rô<sup>š</sup>* (1 Kgs 8:32, often in Ezek). An intensification of *<sup>al</sup>rô<sup>š</sup>* in this context is *I<sup>ê</sup>ma <sup>al</sup>rô<sup>š</sup>* in Ezra 9:6.

(c) Regarding the fig. use of *rô<sup>š</sup>* as well as anatomical designations closely related in the word field such as *qodqôd* “crown” (11x in the OT), *gulgôlet* “skull” (12x), and *môah* “brain” (Job 21:24 “marrow”), cf. Dhorme 19ff.

When used of persons, *rô<sup>š</sup>* indicates the “superior,” the “leader” of a social group. Cf. J. R. Bartlett, “Use of the Word *rô<sup>š</sup>* as a Title in the OT,” *VT* 19 (1969): 1–10.

(1) Already in the most remote period *rô<sup>š</sup>* would have been used for the leader of the tribe. Corresponding designations are: *rô<sup>š</sup> hâ<sup>ê</sup>âm* “chief of the people” (Num 25:4 J), *rô<sup>š</sup> <sup>um</sup>môt* “tribal head” (Num 25:15 RJ, with the gloss *bêt-<sup>ab</sup>*), *râ<sup>š</sup>ê šib<sup>ê</sup>tekem* “heads of your tribes” (Deut 1:15; 5:23), *râ<sup>š</sup>ê hammattôt* “tribal heads” (1 Kgs 8:1). Exod 18:25 E reports how “wise men” from all of Israel were installed as *râ<sup>š</sup>îm <sup>al</sup>-hâ<sup>ê</sup>âm* “heads of the people,” for military and judicial functions (cf. Deut 1:15). In addition to “elders” (Deut 5:23; 1 Kgs 8:1) and *n<sup>ê</sup>šî<sup>im</sup>* (Num 25:14; 1 Kgs 8:1; → *nš<sup>’</sup>* 4a), jurists often appear later alongside the *râ<sup>š</sup>îm* (*šôp<sup>ê</sup>îm* and *šô<sup>ê</sup>rîm* Josh 23:2; 24:1; *q<sup>ê</sup>šînîm* Mic 3:1, 9). The Syr. transl. suggests that *nâšî<sup>’</sup>* in Ezek 38:2f. and 39:1 may be interpretive glosses (Cooke, *Ezek*, ICC, 409, 415); some translate *n<sup>ê</sup>šî<sup>’</sup>rô<sup>š</sup>* as “great prince” (but see 2). P knows the technical term *rô<sup>š</sup> bêt <sup>ab</sup>ôt* (Num 7:2; 17:18; similarly Exod 6:14, 25; → *ab* III/4), which appears in shortened form in the Chr (*râ<sup>š</sup>ê hâ<sup>ab</sup>ôt* 1 Chron 8:28; 24:31, etc.; *râ<sup>š</sup>îm <sup>ab</sup>ôt* Neh 11:13). 1 Chron 5:7, 12 use *hârô<sup>š</sup>* in a derived adv. sense: “at the top,” i.e., of the family lists (*tôlêdôt* v 7; cf. 1 Chron 8:28); the adv. opposite is *hammišneh* “in second place” (5:12). In 12:10 adv. *hârô<sup>š</sup>* replaces the ordinal numeral.

(2) *rô<sup>š</sup>* in a specialized meaning as the term for a military leader. David’s heroes included a “head of three” (2 Sam 23:8, 18) and (or?) a “head of thirty” (v 13 txt?; 1 Chron 11:11, 15; 12:19). The Chr also used the following designations for the Davidic era: *rô<sup>š</sup> hagg<sup>ê</sup>dûd* (1 Chron 12:19), *rô<sup>š</sup> hâ<sup>ab</sup>îm* (v 21), *rô<sup>š</sup> haššābā<sup>’</sup>* (v 15), *rô<sup>š</sup> heḥālûš laššābā<sup>’</sup>* (v 24), as well as *rô<sup>š</sup> haggibbôtîm* (11:10; cf. 2 Chron 26:12); he equates *rô<sup>š</sup>* and *šar* as

military titles in 1 Chron 11:6 (cf., however, *hārōš I<sup>e</sup>kol-sārê hašš<sup>e</sup>bā<sup>o</sup>t* 2 Chron 27:3). *rōš* alone indicates the military leader in 1 Chron 12:3, etc.

(3) The king is also called *rōš* in Hos 2:2; Isa 7:8f. (cf. Psa 18:44 *rōš gôyîm*, and Job 29:25 *rōš* par. *melek*). As Judg 10:18; 11:8; 1 Sam 15:17 show, the designation *rōš* is suitable for emphasizing the continuity of the monarchy with the old tribal confederation.

(4) Later, *rōš* was also used for higher cultic functionaries: in Isa 29:10 *rāšēkem* stands for the “seers,” according to the gloss in 2 Kgs 25:18 *kōhēn hārōš* for the “first priest” (opposite: *kōhēn hammišneh*), an expression that the Chr adopts (1 Chron 27:5 txt em; 2 Chron 19:11; 24:11; 26:20) and alters (*hakkōhēn hārōš* 2 Chron 31:10; Ezra 7:5; *hārōš* 2 Chron 24:6). Chr also mentions “first singers” (*rōš hatt<sup>e</sup>hillâ* Neh 11:17 txt em, opposite *mišneh mē<sup>o</sup>hāyw*, *rāšē hamm<sup>e</sup>sōr<sup>e</sup>rîm* Neh 12:46).

(5) Chr also uses *rōš/rēš* for various functionaries of other types, sometimes with ad hoc tasks, as in Ezra 5:10 for the leader of the temple construction, in 7:28 for the leader of the return, in 8:17 for a village chief (mayor), and in 8:16 generally for leaders. Neh 11:3 begins a list of *rāšē hamm<sup>e</sup>dînâ* (?) resident in Jerusalem.

(6) *rōš* is rarely used in the socially evaluative sense. In Isa 9:13 *rōš* stands in opposition to *zānāb* “tail” for the higher level of society; cf. 19:15. The *ābôt hārōš* in 1 Chron 24:31, opposite the *āhîw haqqāṭān*, are the “leading families.” According to Deut 28:13 Israel should be “head” and not “tail” in the community of nations (cf., however, v 44), corresponding to Jer 31:7 *rōš haggôyîm*.

(d) When used of things, a fig. *rōš* indicates the “top” or the “beginning” of such objects and entities and describes a spatial or temporal extension or evaluation.

(1) The fig. use of *rōš* (usually with a gen. attribute) in the spatial sense is particularly frequent.

Spatial *rōš* refers primarily to mountains (e.g., Exod 19:20), hills (Exod 17:9), rocks (2 Chron 25:12), mountain strongholds (Judg 6:26), etc.; it can also mean “peak” abs. (2 Sam 15:32; 16:1).

It then designates the “top” or the (upper) “end” of other natural or artificial objects. *rāšē habb<sup>e</sup>kāyîm* (2 Sam 5:24) are the “top of the balsam trees”; in addition *rōš* is also applied to the twig (Isa 17:6, contra GB 738a), the grain (Job 24:24), the tower of Babel (Gen 11:4), the stairs of heaven (28:12), the bed (47:31; cf. S. Bartina, *Estudios Eclesiasticos* 38 [1963]: 243–47), the supporting poles of the ark (1 Kgs 8:8), and the scepter (Esth 5:2). *rōš* indicates the lintel (Psa 24:7; = Akk. *rūšum*; cf. P. R. Berger, *UF* 2 [1970]: 335f.), the capital of columns (1 Kgs 7:19), and

perhaps also the roof (Hab 3:13 txt?). *b<sup>c</sup>rōš haqq<sup>c</sup>rūšim* “at the head of the guests” (1 Sam 9:22) suggests the upper end of the table; a corresponding adv. use is *šēšēb rōš* “I sit above,” Job 29:25. Other spatially extended entities, whose beginning or extremities are called *rōš/rēš*, are paths (Ezek 16:25; 21:24, 26; 42:12), *ḥûšôt* “squares, streets” (Isa 51:20; Lam 4:1), and the series of words in a document (Dan 7:1 with the opposite *sôpā* in v 28). The notion of the four “arms” of the primal river in Gen 2:10 is related.

Spatial *rōš* refers regularly to the army (on the march); cf. the personal meaning “army commander” (3c[2]). The *šārēš bāšôt* are located *b<sup>c</sup>rōš hāšām* (Deut 20:9); in Mic 2:13 adv. *lipnēm* “before them” and *b<sup>c</sup>rōšām* “at their head” parallel one another (cf. adv. *bārōš* “at the front” in 2 Chron 13:12). A liturgical assembly also provides for a position *b<sup>c</sup>rōš hāšām* “at the head” (1 Kgs 21:9, 12); according to Amos 6:7 the guiltiest go into exile *b<sup>c</sup>rōš gōlīm* “at the head of those banished.” The pl. *rāšim* refers to “divisions” of the army (Judg 7:16, 20; 9:34, 43; 1 Sam 11:11; 13:17f.; Job 1:17).

*rōš* designates occasionally the highest or the foremost exemplar of a category of objects. *rōš kôkābīm* in Job 22:12 seems to be the “highest star” (= polar star; Fohrer, KAT 16, 351; contra N. Peters, *Job* [1928], 242: “the total number of the stars”); the cornerstone is called *rōš pinnā* (Psa 118:22; for the details cf. Gunkel, *Psa*, HKAT [19685], 508, contra Dalman, *AuS* 7:66) and probably also *šēb hārōšā* (Zech 4:7; cf. *\*r[ʔ]št* LXX Sir 9:13). *hārōš* in Ezek 10:11 is “the foremost” wheel of the divine chariot-throne; cf. the use of *rōš* for the “chief” city in Isa 7:8f.

(2) Fig. *rōš* in the temporal sense indicates the “beginning” of a period of time or the “first” in a series of temporal units and actions that have come to a head (the results of actions).

First, it can refer to an objectively limited period of time. *b<sup>c</sup>rōš haššānā* “at the beginning of the year” refers to a terminologically designated unit of time (Ezek 40:1; cf. Num 10:10; 28:11, also Judg 7:19); *rōš ḥ<sup>o</sup>dāšim* in Exod 12:2 means “the first month.” The designation is less specific in adv. expressions e.g., *bārōš* “for the first time,” 1 Chron 16:7, and *mērōš* “previously,” Isa 41:26; 48:16.

Yet (*mē*)*rōš* can also refer to the beginning of time per se. *rōš aprôt tēbēl* in the context of statements concerning creation in Prov 8:26 means “the first clumps of soil” (contra Gemser, HAT 16, 46: “the mass of soil in the earthly realm”); in Prov 8:23 *mērōš* parallels *mēōlām* “since long ago” and is interpreted by the subsequent *miqqadmē-šāreš* “in the earliest period of the earth.” *mērōš* also means “at the beginning (of the world)” in Isa

40:21 (par. *môš<sup>c</sup>dôt hā<sup>ʔ</sup>āreš* “the foundation of the earth”); in Isa 41:4 Yahweh aretalogically calls himself *qōrē<sup>ʔ</sup> haddōrôt mērō<sup>ʔ</sup>* “who calls the generations from the beginning.” Cf. W. Eichrodt, *TZ* 20 (1964): 161–71; contra P. Humbert, *ZAW* 76 (1964): 121–31.

Also related to the fig. use of *rō<sup>ʔ</sup>* in a temporal sense is the adj. derivative *rī<sup>ʔ</sup>šôn* “first, former” (substantivized “the former = the ancestors,” → *ʔāb* III/2a) with its frequent adv. usages: *mērī<sup>ʔ</sup>šôn* “from the beginning” (Jer 17:12), (*bā-/lā-*)*rī<sup>ʔ</sup>šōnâ* “at first, previously, formerly,” etc. (Gen 13:4; 28:19; 33:2; 38:28, etc.).

In reference to children, young animals, and fruits, *rī<sup>ʔ</sup>šôn* competes with more specialized terms of the common Sem. root *bkr* (Berg., *Intro.* 210f.): *b<sup>c</sup>kôr* “firstborn” (122x, Num and 1 Chron 25x each, Exod 20x, Gen 16x, Deut 11x), *b<sup>c</sup>kîrâ* “the elder” (6x), *b<sup>c</sup>kôrâ* “(the right of) primogenitor” (10x; on the institution see de Vaux 1:41f.), *bikkûrâ* “early figs” (4x), *bikkûrîm* “firstfruits” (17x), *bēker* “young bull camel” (Isa 60:6), and *bikrâ* “young heifer camel” (Jer 2:23), as well as the denominative verbal forms *bkr* pi. “to bear firstfruits” (Ezek 47:12) and “to make firstborn” (Deut 21:16), pu. “to be designated the firstborn” (Lev 27:26), hi. ptc. “first-bearing” (Jer 4:31), and in a few PNs (*IP* 230).

(3) Fig. *rō<sup>ʔ</sup>* in the evaluative sense occurs in *rā<sup>ʔ</sup>šê b<sup>e</sup>sāmîm* “the best balsam” (Song Sol 4:14; cf. Ezek 27:22), *rō<sup>ʔ</sup>šîmḥâtî* “my greatest joy” (Psa 137:6), and pejoratively in *rō<sup>ʔ</sup>š keleb* “the worst dog” (2 Sam 3:8). Deut 33:15 associates the concept of the “best” (*rō<sup>ʔ</sup>š*) with the notion of the primal. *hyh l<sup>c</sup>rō<sup>ʔ</sup>š* Lam 1:5 means “to be at the top.”

Fig. *rō<sup>ʔ</sup>* in the qualitative competes with *b<sup>c</sup>kôr* in the meaning “preferred”: thus *b<sup>c</sup>kôr* parallels *ʿelyôn* in Psa 89:28; cf. *b<sup>c</sup>kôrê dallîm* “the poorest of the poor” (Isa 14:30).

*rō<sup>ʔ</sup>* used in this manner can even assume the abstract sense of “value,” i.e., as a reimbursement (*šlm* pi. + acc. + *b<sup>c</sup>rō<sup>ʔ</sup>šô* Lev 5:24, or *šûb* hi. in the same construction in Num 5:7 “to make restitution for the value of something”), in the meaning “total” (Psa 119:160) and esp. “sum” (Psa 139:17; perhaps also Job 22:12; Prov 8:26). In this regard, the phrase *nś<sup>ʔ</sup> rō<sup>ʔ</sup>š* “to sum up” (Exod 30:12; Num 1:2; 4:2; 26:2; 31:26) should be noted (cf. *nś<sup>ʔ</sup> mispār* Num 3:40).

(e) The meanings of the abstract *rē<sup>ʔ</sup>šît* correspond to those of the fig. *rō<sup>ʔ</sup>š* in the temporal and qualitative senses.

(1) Temporal *rē<sup>ʔ</sup>šît* again indicates, first, the “beginning” of an objectively delimited period of time, such as that of a terminologically defined unit (*rē<sup>ʔ</sup>šît haššānâ* “the beginning of the year,” Deut 11:12) or that of

life (*rēšîtô* Job 42:12; cf. 8:7); in each case the opposite is *ʔah<sup>a</sup>rît* (→ *ʔhr* 4). The period of time can also be characterized by the events that fill it, however: “the beginning of the conflict” (Prov 17:14), “the beginning of the reign” (Gen 10:10; Jer 26:1; 27:1; 28:1; 49:34), very generally in relation to *dābār* “(any) event” (Eccl 7:8); cf. *rîšōtēkem* “your former situation” (Ezek 36:11), pl. of an unattested *rîšâ*.

*rēšît* in Isa 46:10 concerns the beginning of time per se (par. to → *qedem*; cf. v 9 *rîšōnôt mēʕólām* “that which has been since long ago [that which occurred formerly]”). Gen 1:1 and Sir 15:14 (read *mršyt* with J. B. Bauer, *TZ* 20 [1964]: 2) also use the word abs. in this sense; regarding Gen 1:1, cf. H. Junker, *Bib* 45 (1964): 477–90; Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:97f. with bibliog.; contra P. Humbert, *FS Mowinckel* 85–88; W. R. Lane, *VT* 13 (1963): 63–73.

*rēšît* also indicates, then, the “first” of a series of results, esp. the firstborn, called the *rēšît ʔôn* “firstfruits of vigor” (Gen 49:3; Deut 21:17; Psa 105:36) or *rēšît ʔônîm* (Psa 78:51; each case in relation to *b<sup>e</sup>kôr*), and the firstfruits (Hos 9:10). *rēšît* understood in this way stands metonymically for the inheritance of the firstborn in Deut 33:21. Job 40:19 speaks of the Behemoth as *rēšît darkê-ʔēl*, the “firstfruits of El’s activity” (cf. Prov 8:22), corresponding to the abs. use of *rēšît* in Isa 46:10; Gen 1:1; Sir 15:14.

A technical specification of the term occurs in the meaning “sacrifice of firstfruits”: Neh 12:44; with a gen. of the materials sacrificed in Num 15:20; Deut 18:4; 26:2, 10; Ezek 44:30; Neh 10:38; 2 Chron 31:5; with gen. *t<sup>e</sup>bûʔâ* “produce” + suf., Jer 2:3; Prov 3:9; with gen. *qāšîr* “harvest” + suf., Lev 23:10. *rēšît* occurs occasionally with the gen. of another sacrificial term (1 Sam 2:29; Ezek 20:40; cf. Lev 2:12) or even with the synonym *bikkûrîm* (Exod 23:19; 34:26; Ezek 44:30); here *rēšît* assumes the qualitative meaning “the best” (cf. Num 18:12f., where *rēšît* and *bikkûrîm* occur with *heleb* “the chosen”).

(2) Qualitative *rēšît* is present in *rēšît hāʔāreš* “the best of the land” (Ezek 48:14) and *rēšît š<sup>e</sup>mānîm* “the best oil” (Amos 6:6); *rōš haggôyîm* in Jer 31:7 (see 3c[6]) corresponds to *rēšît (hag)gôyîm* in Num 24:20; Amos 6:1. *rēšît haṭṭāʔ* “the chief sin” in Mic 1:13 is pejorative (J. Wellhausen, *Die kleinen Propheten* [19634], 21, 137).

*rēšît* used in this way can assume the abstract sense of “totality,” e.g., *rēšît ḥokmâ* “totality of wisdom,” Psa 111:10 (contra G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* [1972], 66; cf. Prov 4:7), similarly *rēšît daʕat* in Prov 1:7 (contra O. Loretz, *BeO* 2 [1960]: 210f.); for Elam, the bow is *rēšît g<sup>e</sup>bûrātām* “the totality of his firepower” (Jer 49:35). The meaning “sum” seems to be present in Dan 11:41: *rēšît b<sup>e</sup>neʕammôn* “all Ammonites.”

4. (a) Although the OT occasionally speaks almost hypostatically of the “face of Yahweh” (→ *pānîm*), it has no actual concept of God’s head. Ezek 1:22, 25f.; 10:1 mention the heads of the cherubim only incidentally. The visionary sight of God’s head in Dan 7:9 is isolated in the OT: it anticipates God’s epiphany at the end of time; later apocalypticism is aware of the sight of God’s head on the part of the one transported into heaven (1 Enoch 71:10; cf. Rev 1:14).

(b) The relationship of the term *rōš* to viewing a military campaign can serve to designate Yahweh’s function in war. In Isa 7:8f. *rōš* seems to characterize Yahweh as the superior military commander in approximation of the meaning “king,” although the audience itself must draw the final implication. 2 Chron 13:12 combines the formula *‘immānū ʔēl* “God is with us” with the intervention of Yahweh “at the head” (*b<sup>e</sup>rōš*) of his army, which resembles a procession here, however. Mic 2:13 (post-exilic) places Yahweh and the king of salvation at the “head” of the returning exiles. The prose hymn in 1 Chron 29:11 praises Yahweh as the one who has elevated himself as the royal head of the universe (*l<sup>e</sup>kōll<sup>e</sup>rōš*).

(c) *rōš*, *rēšît*, and *rīšôn(â)* acquire their most important theological function when, used fig. in the temporal sense, they characterize Israel’s past period of well-being or the primal era of the world in contrast to the present and future.

With this group of words Deutero-Isaiah portrays the manner in which the future saving act of Yahweh on Israel’s behalf relates to past saving acts that serve as a model and, at the same time, will be superseded. *bārīšōnâ* in Isa 52:4 refers to the time of the saving events through which Yahweh founded Israel. In contrast, Israel should remember the *rīšônôt* (pl.) *mē<sup>c</sup>ôlām*, i.e., its entire past salvation history (46:9), in order to convince itself of the sole deity of Yahweh, who proclaimed the current “end” of this salvation history *mē<sup>rē</sup>šît* “from the beginning” (v 10) as well as its current new beginning through Cyrus (v 11). Other gods could not announce the *rīšônôt* “former things,” which encompass the period of time up to the present (41:22; 43:9), but Yahweh can (42:9). *mē<sup>rō</sup>š* “former” (41:26; 48:16) is oriented toward the goal of Cyrus’s appearance, which has foundational character for the new beginning of the history of Yahweh and his people. Accordingly, 43:18f. can demand, conversely, that the *rīšônôt* or *qadmōnîyôt* be forgotten because Yahweh now creates something new—a motif that Trito-Isaiah gives cosmic dimensions in 65:17. Deutero-Isaiah first demonstrates Yahweh’s superiority over the gods and their nations in view of the totality of history, as far as he is able to comprehend it; the object of this demonstration is Yahweh’s self-description as *rīšôn* and *ʔah<sup>a</sup>rôn* (48:12 “I am the first and the last”; cf. 41:4), to which

44:6 adds the phrase “there is no god beside me.”

Cf. C. R. North, “The ‘Former Things’ and the ‘New Things’ in Deutero-Isaiah,” FS Robinson 111–26; M. Haran, *Between Former Prophecies and New Prophecies* (Hebr., 1963); A. Schoors, “Les choses antérieures et les choses nouvelles dans les oracles deutéro-isaiïens,” *ETL* 40 (1964): 19–47.

When Deutero-Isaiah uses *mērōš* (40:21; 41:4) and *mērēšît* (46:10) with reference to the beginning of time per se, Israel’s history coincides for him with history itself; the “world” of his people is the sum of all reality. Gen 1:1; Prov 8:22; and Sir 15:14 push the term (*mē*)*rēšît* used in this sense, as Prov 8:23, 26 do (*mē*)*rōš*, to entirely mythical dimensions: in particular, the statement in Gen 1:1 defines the subsequent creation account as primeval, since the events it reports encompass and normatively foreshadow all subsequent time and events repeated in it.

(d) By contrast, wisdom literature can use *rēšît* in a devaluing manner: the moral world order and the activity of God foreseen in accordance with it become manifest at the end of a course of events, not at its “beginning” (Job 8:7; 42:12; Eccl 7:8).

In the sense of “totality” *rōš* (Psa 119:160) and *rēšît* (111:10; Prov 1:7) function systematically to encompass an entirety on the basis of a core motif: in the ethical realm.

(e) As in many cultures, among the Hebrews the human head and hair are the locus of particular numinous possibilities (Judg 16:13ff.) and therefore receive ritual care. The head of the Nazirite is specifically consecrated (*rōš nizrô* Num 6:9, 18 P; → *nāzîr*) and is cut only according to regulations after defilement or at the end of the Nazirite period (*glḥ* pi.).

Unbinding the hair (*pr<sup>9</sup>*) is a mourning rite prohibited for priests (Lev 10:6; 21:10). The hair of the forehead is apparently sacrificed to the dead (prohibitions, Lev 21:5; Deut 14:1), so that a bald forehead is a sign of mourning (Amos 8:10); this practice may involve a desacralization at the end of mourning similar to the cutting of the Nazirite’s hair (cf. J. Henninger, “Zur Frage des Haaropfers bei den Semiten,” *Die Wiener Schule der Völkerkunde* [1956]: 349–68). Cutting the hair (*gzz* Job 1:20), covering the head (2 Sam 15:30; Jer 14:3f.; Esth 6:12), covering it with dust (→ *‘āpār* 4b; Job 2:12; Lam 2:10) and ashes (*‘ēper* 2 Sam 13:19), and laying hands on the head (2 Sam 13:19; Jer 2:37) are gestures of lament that may have originally been intended to make one unrecognizable to malevolent powers; regarding 1 Kgs 18:42, see A. Jirku, *ZDMG* 103 (1953): 372.

Unbinding the hair (*pr<sup>9</sup>*) also accompanies the conditional self-execration of the ordeal (Num 5:18), is practiced by the leper (Lev 13:45), and may have been associated with the holy war (Judg 5:2); conversely,

shearing (*glh* pi.) the hair of the leper upon readmittance to society (Lev 14:9) and of the female captive at marriage (Deut 21:12) has a desacralizing character.

One blesses by placing a hand on the head of the one concerned (e.g., Gen 48:14); in the same way, harmful forces are transferred to the atoning sacrifice (e.g., Exod 29:10). The anointing of the head, which, like the blessing, presupposes the recipient's receptivity to greater power in the final analysis, also originally served to transfer numinous power: thus the "heads" of pillars (Gen 28:18), of the king and of Aaron (Lev 8:12) are anointed; in contrast, the anointing of the head in Psa 23:5 serves simply to revive (cf. Psa 141:5; Matt 6:17).

The king (2 Sam 12:30; 21:4) and the queen mother (Jer 13:18) wear a crown (*ʿtārâ*) on the head; drunkards probably wear a wreath according to Isa 28:1, 3, where *ʿtārâ* is interpreted by *špîrâ* "woven article, wreath" in v 5. The crown on the head is an objective linguistic symbol for *kābôd* "honor" in Job 19:9 (cf. Lam 5:16).

According to Ezek 13:18, 21, head coverings (?) of various sizes prepared by women serve the magical purpose of "hunting human lives (*n<sup>e</sup>pāšôṭ*)"; the referent is unknown.

The head is the site of spiritual impulses in the Daniel legends: for dreams and visions (Dan 2:28; 4:2, 7, 10; 7:1, 15), called *harhōrîn* "fantasies" once (4:2).

(f) In the meaning "peak" and "beginning," *rōš* distinguishes holy places and times; the numinous quality of such a place and time is heightened at such elevated points. The presence and epiphany of the deity on the peaks of mountains make them places of worship; in Exod 17:9 the "summit" is the place for a war blessing (cf. 1 Kgs 18:42). According to 2 Sam 5:24, Yahweh's steps could be heard "in the tops of the balsam trees." Sites of the lower cult are the "beginnings" of a course that the prophets abhor (Ezek 16:25; 21:26; cf. Lam 4:1).

At the beginning of periods of time lie the feasts, the New Year's festival (Ezek 40:1) or, according to the later calendar, the Passover-Matzoḥ festival (Exod 12:2 P). Regarding the rites for the beginning of the month, cf. e.g., Num 10:10; 28:11.

5. In the Mid. Hebr. of the Talmud and Midrashim, the social concept of *rōš* "head, leader" steps into the foreground as it already had in the Chr; in contrast to Bibl. Hebr., *j. Roš Haš.* 1:57b uses *rēšît* in the sense of "office." The other fig. usages of *rōš* are less frequent. Cf. *WTM* 4:407f.; on the similar evidence of Tg. Aram. see J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim* (19662), 2:397.

Regarding *ʿādām qadmônî* or *ʿādām hārîʿšôn* as macrocosmic beings, see C. Colpe, *TDNT* 8:410f.

The NT naturally uses *kephalē* objectively, e.g., in descriptions of visionary appearances of Christ (Rev 1:14; 14:14; 19:12), of the 24 elders around God's throne (4:4), and of other figures (e.g., 12:1). *kephalē* is used metonymically in the curse formula translated from the Hebr. in Acts 18:6. Fig. usages are dominated by the social use to the extent that it facilitates one of Christ's majestic titles: Christ is *kephalē* in relation to the church (Eph 4:15; 5:23; Col 1:18; 2:19), which is his body (Eph 1:22f.; 4:16), and in relation to the cosmos (*hyper panta* Eph 1:22, developed in v 23b) and to its *archai* and *exousiai* (Col 2:10). Just as Christ is the "head" of the church, the husband is the "head" of the wife (Eph 5:23); according to 1 Cor 11:3, God, Christ, the husband, and the wife are arranged hierarchically as *kephalē*. *rōš* and *rēšît* in temporal use are represented in the LXX and the NT by *archē*, both for the "beginning" of an objectively demarcated period of time and for the beginning of time per se, the latter in the phrases *ap' archēs ktiseōs* (Mark 10:6; 13:19; 2 Pet 3:4), *ap' archēs kosmou* (Matt 24:21), or in the abs. usages *en archē* (John 1:1) and *kat' archas* (Heb 1:10). Rev 3:14 calls Christ "the beginning of God's creation" (cf. *archēgos* Acts 3:15; 5:31; Heb 2:10; 12:2). *archē* in Jude 6 seems to mean "office," corresponding to *rēšît* in *y. Roš Haš.* 1:57b.

Cf. G. Delling, "ἄρχω," *TDNT* 1:478–90; H. Schlier, "<F"GreekSpicq"%0>kefalh/,<F255>" *TDNT* 3:673–82; BAGD 111f., 430.

H.-P. Müller

## רב *rab* many

S 7227; BDB 912b; *HALOT* 3:1170b; *ThWAT* 7:294–320; *TWOT* 2099a; *NIDOTTE* 8041

1. (a) The Hebr. root *rb* "to be many" also occurs in other Sem. languages (Arab.: Wehr 320f.; Old SArab.: Conti Rossini 235b; Ug.: *WUS* no. 2482; *UT* no. 2297; Gröndahl 179; Phoen. and Aram.: *DISO* 270–72), although always in the meaning "to be great, lord." Eth. constitutes an exception with the meaning "to expand" (Dillmann 286f.). It does not occur in Akk., where the related root *rby* dominates (*rabûm* "to be/become great"; *rabû* "prince," etc.; cf. *AHW* 934–40, 980b, 991f.; see also Huffmon 260). This root is also attested in Hebr. and Arab. (Wehr 324f.; W. W. Müller, "Die

Wurzeln Mediae und Tertiae y/w im Altsüdarabischen” [diss., Tübingen, 1964], 54; cf. Conti Rossini 236). Regarding the problem of the biconsonantal root in Sem. and its augmentation to a triconsonantal root through lengthening of the second radical or suffixing *w* or *y*, cf. J. Kury&islash;owicz, *Studies in Semitic Grammar and Metrics* (1972), 8–12 (see also Meyer 2:142). It is not possible to draw other conclusions from this linguistic distinction between WSem. *rbb* and ESem. *rby* (see P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/19 [1964]: 170). Syr. also presupposes an additional root *yrb* (*LS* 308f., 706–8).

(b) Hebr. *rbb* occurs only in the qal and pu. (Psa 144:13 *m<sup>e</sup>rubbābôt* “multiplied ten-thousandfold,” a denominative from *r<sup>e</sup>bābā* ). Nom. derivatives are *rab* “many,” *rōb* “fullness, quantity,” *r<sup>e</sup>bābā* “great quantity, ten thousand,” *ribbō* “ten thousand,” and perhaps *r<sup>e</sup>bîbîm* “gentle rain” (see 3d).

PNs include *y<sup>e</sup>rubby<sup>a</sup>al* (Judg 6:32; 7:1; 8:29, 35; 9x in Judg 9; 1 Sam 12:11; cf. *IP* 206f.: *rbb* must mean “to be great” here; but see Conti Rossini 236) or *y<sup>e</sup>rubbyešet* (2 Sam 11:21), *yārob<sup>a</sup>m* (1 Kgs 11:26, 28f., 31, 40, etc.; *IP* 206; J. J. Stamm, *FS Albright* [1971], 449–52), and *mērab* (Saul’s daughter: 1 Sam 14:49; 18:17, 19), whose name is unexplained, however (yet see J. J. Stamm, *FS Baumgartner* 333, who derives it from a root *yrb* “to be many”). The place-names *rabbā* (Deut 3:11; Josh 13:25; 15:60; 2 Sam 11:1, etc.; cf. also *šîdôn rabbā* in Josh 11:8; 19:28; *h<sup>a</sup>mat rabbā* Amos 6:2) and *rabbî* (Josh 19:20) are treated by W. Borée (*Die alten Ortsnamen Palästinas* [19682], 40, 109 and 50, resp.), F. M. Abel (*Géographie de la Palestine* [19382], 2:61), and J. Simons (*Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT* [1959], 120, 151 and 184f., resp.). Regarding the “gate of Bath-rabbim” in Song Sol 7:5, see Gerleman, *BK* 18, 194, 199; contra Rudolph, *KAT* 17/2, 167–69.

The root *rbh* is attested in the qal “to be/become many” and in the pi. and hi. “to make many, numerous” (on the difference, see *HP* 108f.). Nom. derivatives formed with preformatives are *arbeh* (*HAL* 80f.: properly “swarm” >) “locusts,” *marbeh* “increase, quantity,” *marbî* “majority,” *tarbût* “younger generation,” *tarbî* “surcharge, interest”; regarding a possible *mirbā* “breadth,” in Ezek 23:32, cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:477.

The root *rbh* II (GB 742a; KBL 870a), preserved only in the qal ptcp. (*rōbeh* “archer,” Gen 21:10; regarding Jer 50:29, cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 304) and may be related to *rmh* “to throw” (*GVG* 1:228: *m* > *b*), does not belong in this realm of meaning. A by-form may be *rbb* II “to shoot” (GB 740b; KBL 869a), attested only in the qal (Gen 49:23; Psa 18:15), with its noun *\*rab* II “projectile” (Jer 50:29; Job 16:13; on Prov 26:10 see Gemser, *HAT* 16, 94f.; on Amos 7:4 cj. see *CPT* 335).

2. *rbb* occurs 24x: 23x in the qal (Psa 6x, Isa 4x, Jer and Hos 3x each) and 1x in the pu. (Psa 144:13). Its nom. derivatives are attested as follows: *rab* 474x (classification of the forms according to Lis., but Job 36:18 under *rōb*; incl. Josh 11:8; 19:28; Amos 6:2a; Prov 26:10; Song Sol 7:5; passages where *rab* is a component of an Assyr.-Bab. title are also included), with the distribution Psa 57x, Ezek 47x, Jer 45x, Isa 32x, 2 Chron 30x, Dan 24x, Deut 22x, Prov 20x, 2 Kgs 19x, Num 17x, etc.; *rōb* 152x, 27x in 2 Chron, 17x in Psa, 12x each in Ezek and Prov, 11x each in Isa and 1 Chron, 10x in Job; *r<sup>e</sup>bābā* 16x, 4x in 1 Sam, 3x Deut, 2x Psa; *ribbō* 10x (excl. Hos 8:12 K), in Neh 3x, Ezra and 1 Chron 2x each, Jonah, Psa, and Dan 1x each; and *r<sup>e</sup>bîbîm* 6x (Deut 32:2; Jer 3:3; 14:22; Mic 5:6; Psa 65:11; 72:6).

*rbh* occurs 59x in the qal (I count 2 Sam 18:8 as hi. in contrast to Lis.; in Gen 13x, Deut 10x, Prov 6x); pi. 4x (Judg 9:29; Ezek 19:2; Psa 44:3; Lam 2:22); hi. 162x (Eccl 17x, Ezek 16x, Gen 15x, Deut 10x); *ʔarbeh* 24x (Exod 7x, Joel and Psa 3x); *marbeh* 2x (Isa 9:6; 33:23); *marbît* 5x (Lev 25:37; 1 Sam 2:33; 1 Chron 12:30; 2 Chron 9:6; 30:18); *tarbût* 1x (Num 32:14); *tarbît* 6x (Exod 18:8, 13, 17; 22:12; Lev 25:36; Prov 28:8); regarding *mirbâ*, see 1.

*rbh* pe. “to become great” occurs in the Aram. portion of the OT 5x (exclusively in Dan) and pa. “to make great” 1x (Dan 2:48); *rab* “great” in Dan 20x and 3x in Ezra; *ribbō* “myriad” in Dan 7:10(bis); *r<sup>e</sup>bû* “greatness” 5x in Dan.

3. (a) A glance at the frequency of the two verbs already indicates that *rbb* falls far behind *rbh*. It is also noteworthy that the former is attested only in the qal pf. and inf. and that beside the denominative pu. form (Psa 144:13; cf. KBL 868f.) exhibits no other modifications of the stem. No distinction in usage in conjunction with the same subj. may be identified (cf. Gen 1:28 with 6:1; Exod 23:29 with Deut 7:22). Consequently, neither of the roots seems to be secondary. The two constitute definite groups of forms. One cannot say they supplement one another—as does Berg. *HG* 2:171—even if *rabbâ*, which occurs 4x (Gen 18:20; Exod 23:29; Isa 6:12; Hos 9:7), can be compared only to one *rāb<sup>e</sup>tâ* (1 Sam 14:30).

The translation “many” does not always correspond to Eng. usage and must often be accommodated to it so that the adj. “great” is frequently most appropriate: cry (Gen 18:20), collapse (1 Sam 14:30), wisdom (1 Kgs 5:10), desolation (Isa 6:12), transgression (Isa 59:12), guilt (Hos 9:7), pain (Psa 16:4), the glory of a house (Psa 49:17), cattle herd (1 Chron 5:9); see also 1 Sam 25:10 (“there are enough servants”); Ezek 16:7 (“to become great” = “to grow,” par. *gdl* qal; cf. Job 39:4, par. *hlm* qal “to become powerful”); Job 33:12 (“God is greater than a human being”).

In accord with their stative character, both verbs can also be constructed comparatively, either with *min* “greater, more than” (Gen 43:34; Deut 7:7; 14:24 [“the way is too broad”]; 1 Kgs 5:10; Jer 46:23; Psa 69:5; Job 33:12), or with *ʿal* “too many” (Exod 23:29; Deut 7:22). *rbh* is used strictly formally in 2 Sam 18:8 (“and the forest consumed more people than”). With subsj. of time and extension, it forms idiomatic phrases such as “time passes” (*hayyāmîm*: Gen 38:12; 1 Sam 7:2; but cf. Prov 4:10; 9:11 with *šʿnôt hayyîm* or *yāmeykā* “to live long”) and “the way is too broad” (*derek*: Deut 14:24). The pi. has a factitive character that can be variously rendered in Eng.: “to multiply an army” (Judg 9:29), “to rear children (or young animals)” (Ezek 19:2; Lam 2:22, par. *tph* pi. “to care for”), “to set the purchase price high” (Psa 44:13). Regarding the understanding of these forms as accidental in contrast to the substantial hi., see *HP* 108f.

By far the most common stem modification with respect to the root *rbh* is the hi., although a good portion of the passages fall to the inf. *harbēh* (50x), which is almost always adv. and, either alone or with the fixed acc. *mʿōd* “very” with the noun and the verb, expresses quantity or intensity (on the verb, cf. 1 Sam 26:21 “to make a serious error”; 2 Kgs 10:18 “to serve better”; Hag 1:6 “sown much”; Eccl 5:19 “to think a great deal about something”; 7:17 “to be all too godless”). The inf. cs. *harbôt* exhibits the same usage once in Prov 25:27. In other passages *rbh* indicates, on the one hand, the increase of property (Num 26:54 “inheritance”; cf. 33:54; 35:8; Deut 17:16f.: horses, wives, silver, and gold; Ezek 28:5; Prov 13:11; 28:8: wealth), the elevation of the price (Gen 34:12: bride-price; Lev 25:16: purchase price), and the abundance of family members (1 Chron 7:4; 8:40; 23:11: “to have many children/wives”). But other things can also increase in number: altars (Hos 8:11; 10:1), cities (Hos 8:14), and businessmen (Nah 3:16). This usage also underlies phrases that apply the finite verb adv. and in which the nom. obj. now expresses the action: “to increase the *tʿpillā*” = “to pray much” (Isa 1:15); “to increase the *šîr*” = “to sing vigorously” (Isa 23:16); “to increase the *yāmîm*” = “to live long” (Job 29:18; cf. Eccl 11:8: *hyh šānîm harbēh*); see also Isa 57:9; Jer 2:22; Ezek 16:25f., 29, 51; 23:19; 24:10; Hos 12:2; Job 40:27; Prov 6:35; Eccl 10:14; Dan 11:39; Neh 6:17; 9:37; 2 Chron 33:23. The construction with *le* + inf. (perhaps with *min*) is a similar case (cf. J. Hoftijzer, *VT* 20 [1970]: 428f.): “to do something much (more than),” Exod 30:15 (*ntn*); 36:5 (*bôʿ* hi.); 1 Sam 1:12 (*pll* hitp.); 2 Sam 14:11 (*šht* pi.); 2 Kgs 21:6 = 2 Chron 33:6 (*šh*); Amos 4:4 and Ezra 10:13 (*pšʿ*); 2 Chron 36:14 (*mʿl*); with a finite verb in 1 Sam 2:3 (*dbr* pi.); regarding Exod 16:17f., see *HP* 47. *ʿad* “until” is an additional prep. (1 Chron 4:27 “to reach to”). *marbēh raglayim* in Lev 11:42 is the “many-footed.”

(b) The adj. *rab* expresses multitude of number and quantity. People and their groups (e.g., Gen 26:14; Num 22:15; Judg 8:30; 9:40; 16:30; 1 Kgs 11:1; 18:25; Isa 54:1; Jer 3:1; 12:10; 16:16[bis]; 50:41; Ezek 16:41; Amos 8:3; Psa 119:157; Job 1:3; 5:25; 36:28; Prov 7:26; 19:4; 28:2; 31:29; Esth 2:8; Dan 11:26; 1 Chron 4:27; 5:22; 28:5), animals (cattle: Gen 30:43; Jonah 4:11; Psa 22:13; 2 Chron 26:10; fish: Ezek 47:9), possessions (property in general: Gen 13:6; Num 32:1; Deut 3:19; Josh 22:8; Prov 13:7; 2 Chron 32:29; treasures: Josh 22:8; Prov 15:6, 16; gold/money: 1 Kgs 10:2; 2 Kgs 12:11 = 2 Chron 24:11; Psa 19:11; plunder: 2 Sam 3:22; Psa 119:162; 2 Chron 14:13; 20:25; 25:13; 28:8; houses: Isa 5:9; Amos 3:15; gifts: 2 Chron 21:3), lands (Jer 28:8), cities (Zech 8:20), islands (Ezek 27:3, 15; Psa 97:1; Dan 11:18), etc.—all can be *rab*. It also characterizes larger gatherings of people (*ḥayil* “army,” 2 Kgs 6:16; Dan 11:10; cf. Psa 68:12; Joel 2:11; *qāhāl* “assembly,” Ezek 17:17; 38:4; Psa 22:26; 35:18; 40:10f.; Ezra 10:1; *hāmôn* “tumult,” Isa 16:14; Psa 37:16; Job 31:34; Dan 11:11, 13; 2 Chron 13:8; 20:2, 12, 15; *‘am* or *gôy* “people,” Exod 5:5; Num 13:18; 21:6; Deut 2:21; 20:1; Josh 11:4; Judg 7:2, 4; 1 Kgs 5:21; Ezek 26:7), and quantities of liquid or solid materials (water: Num 20:11; Ezek 17:5, 8; 19:10; 31:5, 7; 2 Chron 32:4; wine: Esth 1:7; blood: 1 Chron 22:8; straw: Gen 24:25; iron: 1 Chron 18:8), although the phrase *mayim rabbîm* is also used stereotypically to characterize the sea (Isa 23:3; Ezek 27:26; 31:15; par. → *t<sup>h</sup>ôm, nāhār*) or the primal waters per se, from which all seas and streams arise (2 Sam 22:17 = Psa 18:17; Isa 8:7; 17:13; Jer 41:12; cf. Jer 51:55; Ezek 1:24; 26:19 par. → *t<sup>h</sup>ôm*, 32:13; 43:2; Psa 29:3; 107:23; par. *yām*; Hab 3:15; Psa 77:20; 93:4). This usage is reflected in *t<sup>h</sup>ôm rabbâ* in Gen 7:11; Isa 51:10; Amos 7:4; Psa 36:7. In Psa 18:17; 32:6; 144:7 (cf. Song Sol 8:7), *mayim rabbîm* refers generally to the hardship that the supplicant suffers. In conjunction with *yāmîm* “days” (cf. *KAI* no. 181.5: Moab. *ymn rbn*) it produces the adv. temporal designation “long time” (Gen 21:34; 37:34; Exod 2:23 [cf. Lev 25:51 *rabbôt baššānîm*]; Lev 15:25; Num 20:15; Deut 1:46; 2:1; 20:19, etc.; but 1 Kgs 3:11 = 2 Chron 1:11 “long life”).

It is used fig. then in conjunction with *rā‘ā* “evil” (Gen 6:5; Deut 31:17, 21; 1 Sam 12:17; Joel 4:13; Psa 34:20; Job 22:5; Eccl 2:21; 6:1; 8:6), *m<sup>h</sup>ûmâ* “dismay” (Ezek 22:5; Amos 3:9; Zech 14:13; 2 Chron 15:5), *peša‘* “rebellion” (Amos 5:12; Psa 19:14; Prov 29:22; cf. Psa 25:11; 2 Chron 28:13), *makkâ* “blow” (Num 11:33; 2 Chron 13:17), *māqôm* “place” (1 Sam 26:13), *derek* “way” (1 Kgs 19:7), etc.

The attributive use in relation to a subst. contrasts on the one hand with a predicative use (Num 22:3; 1 Kgs 4:20; Isa 54:13; Prov 14:20, etc.) and on the other with an abs. use as subj./obj. (Exod 19:21; 23:2[bis]; Josh

10:11; Isa 8:15; Jer 20:10, etc.; regarding the form *rabbātī* in Lam 1:1[bis], see BL 526, 599; in Psa 31:14; 55:19; 56:3; 119:157, the *rabbîm* represent the antagonists of the oppressed supplicant). The meaning “many” tends toward “majority,” “all,” e.g., in 1 Kgs 18:25; Psa 71:7; 109:30; Job 23:14; Prov 10:21; 19:6 par. → *kōt*, 29:26 par. → *כֻּל* “everyone”; Dan 9:27; cf. Job 4:14 *rōb*. The fem. sg. (cs.)/pl. often has an adv. nuance (Isa 42:20; Psa 62:3; 65:10; 78:15; 120:6; 123:4; 129:1f.; Job 16:2; 23:14; 1 Chron 18:8 [cf. 2 Sam 8:8 with *harbēh* ]; cf. also Psa 106:43 and Eccl 7:22 *p<sup>e</sup>cāmîm rabbôt*, and Neh 9:28 txt? *rabbôt ittîm* “many times”). Finally, *rab* can be constructed with the prep. *le* (“enough for”: Gen 33:9; Num 16:3, 7; Deut 1:6; 2:3; 3:26; 1 Kgs 12:28; Ezek 44:6; 45:9; see also Gen 45:48; Exod 9:28; 2 Sam 24:16 = 1 Chron 21:15; 1 Kgs 19:4) or *min* in a comparative sense (see 3a).

In a few passages *rab* corresponds to Aram. usage and can be translated “great”: Gen 25:23 (in the sense of “the elder”; par. *šā’îr* “small”); Josh 11:8; 19:28 (see 1b); 2 Sam 23:20 = 1 Chron 11:22 (*rab p<sup>e</sup>cālîm*; GB 652b “with great activity”; K. Elliger, *PJB* 31 [1935]: 67 “great in deeds”; → *p<sup>l</sup>* 3b); Isa 53:12 (cf. Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 269; contra E. Sellin, *ZAW* 55 [1937]: 210); Psa 48:3 *melek gādôl*; see Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:474); Job 32:9 (“long-lived”? par. *z<sup>e</sup>qēnîm* “aged”; so M. Dahood, *RSP* 1:336f., no. 514; but cf. Fohrer, *KAT* 16, 449); Job 35:9; 2 Chron 14:10 (par. *’ên kōah* “powerless”; see Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 240). Given the variation mentioned above between “many” and “great,” it is not possible to be more specific. One may not exclude Can.-Aram. influence (cf. Phoen. *rbt* in *KAI* no. 10.2ff.; 14.15; 17.1 as address to the goddess Astarte, and Ug. *rbt ’atrt ym* in *KTU* 1.4.I.13f., 21; 1.6.I.44f.47, 53; etc.). Regarding the cj. *malkîrab* in Hos 5:13; 10:6, see W. M. Müller, *ZAW* 17 (1897): 334–36; Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 104; G. R. Driver, *JTS* 36 (1935): 295.

Exclusively in 2 Kgs 18f.; 25; Isa 36f.; Jer 39f.; 52 and thus contingent on the historical situation, *rab* appears as a designation or title for the supreme commander of the Assy.-Bab. army (cf. also Jer 39:13 “the general of the king of Babylon”): *rab-šāqēh*, *rab-ṭabbāḥîm*, *rab-sārîs*, *rab-māg*; on this issue see E. Klauber, *Assyrisches Beamtentum nach Briefen aus der Sargonidenzeit* (1910), 52nn.2, 73ff.; Zimmern 6; id., *ZDMG* 53 (1899): 116–18; M. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words in the OT* (1962), 151f. Later texts such as Jonah 1:6 (*rab haḥōbēl* “captain”) and Esth 1:8 (*rab bayit* “palace administrator”; cf. Gerleman, *BK* 21, 61) involve either analogous formations or are based on the historical background. In Ug. *rb* can indicate the “master (of a guild)” (see A. Salonen, *BO* 27 [1970]: 43; *WUS* no. 2482; e.g., *rb khnm*, *KTU* 2.4.1; *rb nqdm*, 1.6.VI.55f.; *rb ḥršm*, 4.145.9; cf. *AHW* 938a).

(c) Of around 150 occurrences (Hos 8:12 txt? cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 133; KBL 870a) of *rōb* “fullness, quantity,” only about 10% are abs., i.e., as the subj. or obj. with no prep. or per. suf. *rōb* is most often constructed with *le* (= “in fullness”; 55x: 1/2 Chron 36x, 1 Kgs 5x, Deut and Judg 3x each), indicating large quantities of cattle, valuables, and orchard trees (1 Kgs 1:19, 25; 10:10, 27), gold, silver, and clothing (Zech 14:14), and indicating the quality of the real blessings of the farmland (Neh 9:25). 2 Chron 31:10 combines it with the prep. *ʿad* “until” in the meaning “exceeding many.” An additional prep. form is *mērōb* “on the basis of the quantity” (e.g., Josh 9:13 “from far away”; 1 Sam 1:16 “because of great displeasure”; Zech 8:4, *mērōb yāmîm* “on account of the age”; but Isa 24:22 “after many days”; exceptions: Ezek 23:42; Prov 16:8). Even though also present here incipiently, the richness of possible translations, esp. with respect to the other prep. phrases (*be* 40x, *ke* 7x, *ʿal* 5x), is preserved so that only *lārōb* develops into an adv. modifier. The discrepancy indicated above concerning the abs. use and the apparent competition with the adj. may be explained by the fact that Hebr. apparently preferred not to make a noun linked with an adj. the obj. of a prep. Such is the effect of the prep. in the verbal clauses in Jer 30:14f. and Hos 9:7, if the *rabbâ* of the latter passage is not, in fact, an adj. (contra Lis. 1310c). The same is true for Psa 106:7 and Esth 5:11, where the governed noun of the gen. phrase bears a per. suf.

(d) *r<sup>e</sup>bābâ* “very big multitude > ten thousand” (KBL 869a) and *ribbô* are the cardinal numbers for “10,000” (see Meyer 2:88; BL 503). Yet its meaning leans more toward an indefinite large number. It is a specific cardinal number only in Lev 26:8; Deut 32:30; Judg 20:10. The Ug. counterpart *rbt* (*UT* no. 2299) may correspond best to *ribbô*, which is a Canaanism in Hebr. and Aram. (so H. Bauer, *OLZ* 29 [1926]: 802; Meyer 2:42, 88; BL 503; contra GB 742a; Berg. *HG* 1:93; Wagner no. 275; concerning *rabbât/at* in the Alalakh tablets, cf. M. Tsevat, *HUCA* 29 [1958]: 127; *AHw* 980b). Late texts such as Jonah 4:11; Dan 11:12; Ezra 2:64, 69; Neh 7:66, 70f.; 1 Chron 29:7(bis) are not contradictory (cf. Bauer, op. cit.).

The extent to which *r<sup>e</sup>bîbîm* “gentle rain” relates to the root *rb* is not entirely certain (GB 742b: from *rb* II?). An etymology based on Akk. *rabābu* “to be weak, give up” (*AHw* 933) may not be verified in Hebr. Similarly, Ug. *rb/rbb* (cf. *UT* no. 2298; M. Dahood, *UF* 1 [1969]: 16n.3) alone offers no help. Regarding the meteorological identification of *r<sup>e</sup>bîbîm* as “rainlike dew,” see Dalman, *AuS* 1:94f., 313; P. Humbert, *TZ* 13 (1957): 488; P. Reymond, *L ‘eau, sa vie et sa signification dans l ‘Ancien Testament* (1958), 22; J. C. de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu* (1971), 83, 99.

(e) *marbeh* “increase, quantity” occurs only twice, in textually unreliable contexts (Isa 9:6; 33:23). *marbît* “majority” (1 Chron 12:30; 2 Chron 9:6; 30:18) in Lev 25:37 (par. *tarbît* and *nešek*; GB 459a “tax”; see also Meyer 2:35; GVG 1:383) and 1 Sam 2:33 assumes the nuance of “accretion” or “second growth.” *tarbût* “younger generation, brood” in Num 32:14 and *rbh* pi. in Ezek 19:2; Lam 2:22 (see 3a) are comparable. *tarbît* “surcharge, usury” always accompanies *nešek* “tax,” which functions as a modifier (see also Ug. *trbyt*, *UT* no. 2301; regarding the form, see BL 496; for Akk. counterparts, see Zimmern 18). *ʿarbeh* “locusts” also occurs in other older Sem. languages (*AHW* 234a; *UT* no. 332; *WUS* no. 377; *KAI* no. 222A.27; cf. P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/23 [1968]: 286, 296, 302). Regarding the uncertain zoological definition and classification, cf. L. Köhler, *ZDPV* 49 (1926): 328–33; B. Hartmann, *BHH* 2:715f. (with bibliog.).

(f) The common Aram. root for “many; to be many” (*šgʿ*, KBL 1125f.) is represented sparsely in the Hebr. OT: *šgh* qal “to grow” in Psa 92:13; Job 8:7, 11; hi. “to make great,” Psa 73:12; the variant *šgʿ* also only in hi. “to make great, praise” in Job 12:23; 36:24; and the adj. *šaggîʿ* “lofty” in Job 36:26; 37:23. Roots that parallel *rbh* are significant: *kbd* hi. “to make significant, numerous,” Jer 30:19; hitp. “to prove to be numerous,” Nah 3:15; *kābēd* “significant, numerous,” Exod 12:38; cf. Num 22:15; 1 Kgs 3:9; 10:2, etc.; *šm* “to be strong, numerous,” Exod 1:7; Isa 31:1; Jer 5:6; 30:14f.; Psa 38:20; 40:6; 69:5; *ʿāšûm* “strong, mighty (in quantity),” Exod 1:9; Deut 7:1; 9:14; 26:5; Isa 8:7; Joel 2:2, 11; Amos 5:12; Zech 8:22; Psa 35:18; 135:10, etc.; → *gādôl* “great,” Deut 2:21; 26:5; Josh 17:17; Jer 25:14; 27:7; 28:8; 32:19; 50:41; Ezek 17:17; 38:15; Psa 147:5, etc.; *kabbîr* “strong,” Job 31:25; *ʿammîš* “strong,” 2 Sam 15:12; and *dgh* “to abound,” Gen 48:16.

4. It is clear from the outset of an investigation of the theological use of the root *rbh/rbh* that to a great degree the root itself does not have theological significance, but related words do, i.e., the substs. supplied with the adj. or used as subj./obj., and that these must be the major focus of the investigation. Nevertheless, one may demonstrate a specific usage of the verb, in particular. This usage begins already in the P narrative of creation, where the creation of the birds, aquatic animals (Gen 1:22), and then humanity (1:28) is followed by God’s charge to fertility (*prh* “be fruitful”) and increase (par. *mlʿ* “to fill”). Gen 6:1 states the result of the divine commandment, which is in danger, however, of being revoked in the flood narrative. Still, God renews his promise in the Noachic covenant (9:1 [par. *brk* pi. “to bless”], 7; cf. 8:17) by linking it with the blessing. In relation to the patriarchs and esp. in P (for J, cf. 16:10), this word characterizes God’s

promise: Abraham, 17:2; 22:17 (par. *brk* pi.); Ishmael, 17:20 (par. *brk* pi.; *prh* hi. “to make fruitful”); Isaac, 26:3f., 24 (par. *brk* pi.; *hyh* → *ʿim/ʔēt* “to be with someone”); Jacob, 28:3; 35:11; cf. 48:4; Joseph, 48:16; for Laban, cf. 30:30. For more details concerning this usage, see → *brk* pi. IV/1b; H. D. Preuss, *ZAW* 80 (1968): 139–73; D. Vetter, *Jahwes Mit-Sein, ein Ausdruck des Segens* (1971).

The promise was not forgotten during the sojourn in Egypt, either, and is depicted as fulfilled: Exod 1:7 (P; cf. Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:140; par. *prh* “to be fruitful,” *šrš* “to be innumerable,” *šm* “to be strong,” *mlʔ* ni. “to be fulfilled”), 12 (par. *prš* “to expand”; GB 661b: “to break through the barriers because of fullness and quantity”), 20. The conclusion of the Holiness Code offers the prospect of God’s attention (*pnh* qal) and his support of the covenant (*qûm* ni. *bʿrît*) for keeping his commandments and regulations (Lev 26:9). Expository passages in Deut, e.g., the introduction (Deut 1:10; 6:3; 8:1, 13; cf. 10:22) and the final discourse (blessing and curse: 28:63, par. *tôb* hi. “to benefit,” in contrast to *ʔbd* hi. “to eradicate,” *šmd* hi. “to destroy”; 30:5, 16, par. *hyh* “to live”), promise Israel’s increase, usually as the consequence of keeping the commandments. For the fulfillment of a particular commandment, that of the ban, cf. 13:18 (par. *ntn raḥʾmîm* ). In the classic text for the doctrine of election, 7:6–8, the insignificance of the people even plays a role.

Impressed by Jerusalem’s end, Jeremiah prophesies the gathering and increase of Israel in the time of the righteous sprout of David (Jer 23:3). The description of circumstances in the new covenant is consonant with this prophecy (30:19). Regarding 33:22, cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 219. Ezekiel also limits the concept of increase to the time of pardon, the return from exile. The cities will be inhabited again and the ruins cleared away. “I (Yahweh) will do you more good than at the beginning, and you will recognize that I am Yahweh” (36:10f.; on the formula in v 11, cf. W. Zimmerli, “Knowledge of God According to the Book of Ezekiel,” *I Am Yahweh* [1982], 29–98). Grain, fruit, and trees will be multiplied along with the people (36:29f., 37). Cf. also Zech 10:8: “They shall be as numerous as they once were.” Isa 51:2 and Neh 9:23 can be understood as retrospectives on God’s activity in earlier times, incl. the increase of the early Israel as a fundamental statement concerning this activity. The preceding texts must also be regarded from this perspective. That these statements were remembered at this time was probably a function of the extreme political situation with its needs and hopes. An abs. *rabbîm*, the “many,” appears in the divine discourse in relation to the suffering servant of God in Isa 53:11f. (cf. 52:15) as the addressee of the saving activity of the servant of God (cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 2:256f.). Here too the expression can be understood in the inclusive sense of “all” (see 3b; J. Jeremias,

“πολλοί,” *TDNT* 6:536–38). A connection to the *rbym* of the Qumran texts (see 5; so J. Morgenstern, *VT* 13 [1963]: 331f.) is doubtful.

An additional peculiarity is the almost constant linkage of the adj. *rab* with → *‘am* or *gôy* “people.” One category of texts describes Israel as *‘am rab* to the extent that it is conceived as the product of fruitful increase (Gen 50:20; Exod 1:9; Josh 17:14f. [par. *brk pi.*], 17; 1 Kgs 3:8 [par. → *bhr* “to choose”; *spr ni.* “to be counted” *mērōb* ], 9; 2 Chron 1:9). Cf. also Deut 26:5 in the brief historical credo. The other, and by far the larger, category refers to the plurality of the nations (Ezek 3:6; 27:33), their place in the pilgrimage of the nations (Isa 2:3f. = Mic 4:2f.), in the attack of the enemy nations against Zion (Ezek 38:6, 8f.; 15:22; Mic 4:11, 13), and on the day of Yahweh (Joel 2:2). In Ezek 32:9f.; 38:23; 39:27, it indicates Yahweh’s universal activity. The concentrated incidence in Dan 11 is an expression of the violence of the events of the end time.

Finally, *rab/rōb* give statements concerning Yahweh’s essence of divine quality: *rah<sup>a</sup>mîm* “mercy” (2 Sam 24:14; Psa 119:156; Dan 9:18; Neh 9:19, 27, 31), *tûb* “goodness” (Isa 63:7; Psa 31:20; 145:7), *‘mûnâ* “faithfulness” (Lam 3:23), *kōah* “might” (Isa 63:1; Psa 147:5; cf. Isa 40:26), *gā’ôn* “majesty” (Exod 15:7). Regarding the formula “a merciful and gracious God, patient and great in grace and faithfulness” (Exod 34:6; Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2; Psa 86:15; 103:8; cf. 145:8 *g<sup>e</sup>dol-ḥāsed*; Neh 9:17; *rōb ḥesed* only in Isa 63:7; Psa 5:8; 106:7; Lam 3:32; Neh 13:22), → *ḥesed* IV/2a.

5. The LXX renders *rab* mostly with *megas* and *polys* together with their compounds. The verbal root is represented by *pleonazein* and *plēthynein* and composites. *rōb* is translated by *plēthos* for the most part. *hrbym* constitutes a special usage in the Qumran texts, where it appears repeatedly in 1QS—almost exclusively in cols. 6f.: “meeting of the many” (6:8, 11; 7:10), “supervisor of the many” (6:12), “council of the many” (6:16), etc. It characterizes here the full assembly of the regular members of the community (cf. perhaps Psa 40:4; 71:7; 109:30). See also R. Marcus, *JBL* 75 (1956): 200; J. Carmignac, *RQ* 28 (1971): 575–86. For the NT, see J. Jeremias, “πολλοί,” *TDNT* 6:536–45. J. W. Doeve (*BHH* 3:1541f.) and E. Lohse (“ῥαββί,” *TDNT* 6:961–65) treat the early Jewish title “rabbi.”

Th. Hartmann

## רוח *rûah* spirit

S 7307; BDB 924b; *HALOT* 3:1197a; *ThWAT* 7:385–425; *TWOT*

I. Counterparts of Hebr. *rûaḥ* “wind, spirit” occur in the entire WSem. realm, e.g., Ug. *rḥ* “wind; odor” (*WUS* no. 2494; *UT* no. 2308), Pun. *rḥ* “spirit” (*KAI* no. 79.11; *DISO* 276), Aram. *rwḥ* “wind, spirit” (since Sef. III.2; cf. Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 104; *DISO* 276; *KBL* 1123; *LS* 718), Arab. *rūḥ* “breath of life” and *rīḥ* “wind,” Eth. *rīḥa* “to fan” (P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/20 [1965]: 139, 145). The absence of the word in ESem. is noteworthy (in Akk. *šāru* “wind, breath”; cf. J. Hehn, “Zum Problem des Geistes im Alten Orient und im AT,” *ZAW* 43 [1925]: 210–25; Fronzaroli, op. cit.).

The Hebr. (and Bibl. Aram.) noun *rûaḥ* (fem.) may belong to the category of onomatopoeic words (cf. D. W. Thomas, *ZS* 10 [1935]: 311–14) and would then imitate the sound of the whistling wind and excited breathing (cf. D. Lys, “*Rûach.*” *Le souffle dans l’AT* [1962], 19ff.). In contrast, the verb *rûḥ* (only hi. “to smell”) and the subst. *rêaḥ* “smell” (also in Bibl. Aram.) already indicate a specialization: smelling by sniffing.

The degree of relationship to *rwḥ* qal “to be light, broad” (1 Sam 16:23; Job 32:20; pu. ptcp. “broad,” Jer 22:14), *rewaḥ* “breadth, space” (Gen 32:17) and “liberation” (Esth 4:14), and *r<sup>e</sup>wāḥâ* “relief” (Exod 8:11; Lam 3:56) is disputed. GB 748–50 and Zorell 760a assume two roots, *KBL* 877a only one. Lys (op. cit. 19) suggests the derivation “that which is accessible and open to the air, that which is airy, then spacious”; yet a connection with the process of breathing is more likely, eased breathing, then the unrestricted freedom experienced in “deliverance,” which can be filled with new vitality (cf. *KBL* 877a; J. H. Scheepers, *Die gees van God en die gees van die mens in die Ou Testament* [1960], 93–97); Akk. *napāšu*, which means both “to blow, breathe (out)” and “to become broad,” points in this direction (*AHW* 736f.; A. R. Johnson, *Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* [19642], 23n.2).

II. The word *rûaḥ* occurs 378x in the Hebr. OT and 11x in Aram. (only Dan), *rêaḥ* 58x in Hebr. (Num 18x, Lev 17x, Song Sol 8x, Gen, Exod, and Ezek 4x each, isolated in Jer 48:11; Hos 14:7; Job 14:9; all passages in Lev, Num, and Ezek, as well as Gen 8:21; Exod 29:18, 25, 41 offer *rêaḥ nîḥôaḥ*, → *nûaḥ* 4b) and 1x in Aram. (Dan 3:27); the verb also occurs in hi. 11x (of God, Gen 8:21; Lev 26:31; 1 Sam 26:19; Amos 5:21 as an expression for the gracious acceptance of the sacrifice; of idols that cannot smell, Deut 4:28; Psa 115:6).

The table indicates the distribution of Hebr. *rûaḥ* in the bibl. books.

Gen 11	Ezek 52	Psa 39
Exod 11	Hos 7	Job 31
Lev –	Joel 2	Prov 21

Num 14	Amos1	Ruth –		
Deut 2	Obad–	Song Sol –		
Josh 2	Jonah	2	Eccl 24	
Judg 10	Mic 3	Lam 1		
1 Sam	16	Nah –	Esth –	
2 Sam	3	Hab 2	Dan 4	
1 Kgs11	Zeph –	Ezra 2		
2 Kgs5	Hag 4	Neh 2		
Isa 51	Zech 9	1 Chron	5	
Jer 18	Mal 3	2 Chron	10	

These rough statistics are of only limited significance because they take into account neither the various semantic spheres of the word nor the chronological distribution of the books. They still indicate the rather broad distribution of the word in narrative, prophetic, and wisdom contexts; from the outset, this distribution prohibits any fixation in a particular tradition or diction. A concentration in the early historical books (Judg, 1 Sam), an almost complete absence in the prophecy of the 8th cent. (occurrences in Isa, except for two passages [see IV/3a], belong to later layers), and a marked increase in later salvation prophecy (beginning with Ezek), in the Psa, and in wisdom is observable. *rûah* reached the high point of its usage only in exilic/post-exilic times. The word is absent from legal texts (cf. also the more precise statistics, although burdened with many exegetical decisions, offered by Lys, op. cit. 330ff.).

III. 1. The basic meaning of *rûah* is both “wind” (III/2–6) and “breath” (III/7–11), but neither is understood as essence; rather it is the power encountered in the breath and the wind, whose whence and whither remains mysterious.

The question of whether the basic meaning is “wind” or “breath” has played a particular role in research (cf. Scheepers, op. cit. 88f.; P. van Imschoot, *Theology of the OT* [1965], 172f., esp. 173n.1), yet it has been rejected as impertinent (cf. Exod 15:8). Definitions of the basic meaning, e.g., “air in motion” (Johnson, op. cit. 23f.) or “the movement of the air” (P. van Imschoot, “L’action de l’esprit de Jahvé dans l’AT,” *RSPT* 23 [1934]: 553–87, citation p. 554), seek to bypass the alternatives; yet one must immediately add that the Hebrews were totally unaware of the “air” apart from this movement (L. Köhler, *ZAW* 32 [1912]: 12).

2. *rûah* as a designation for the wind is necessarily something found in motion with the power to set other things in motion.

Nom. modifiers relate, accordingly, on the one hand (a) to the direction, and on the other (b) to the magnitude of the wind’s movement.

(a) *rûah (haq)qādîm* (Exod 10:13[bis]; 14:21; Jer 18:17; Ezek 17:10;

19:12; 27:26; Jonah 4:8; Psa 48:8; *qādîm* par. *rûah*, Isa 27:8; Hos 12:2; 13:15; Job 15:2; *qādîm* alone, Gen 41:6, 23, 27; Psa 78:26; Job 27:21; 38:24; → *qedem* ) is the east wind that sets in from the desert (*rûah midbār* Jer 13:24; cf. Hos 13:15; Job 1:19). The reference is particularly to the sirocco that appears in Palestine in the spring (see e.g., M. Noth, *OT World* [1966], 32f.), which is so hot (Jonah 4:8; Jer 4:11) that with one gust it withers the vegetation of the spring rains (Isa 40:7; Ezek 17:10; 19:12; Psa 103:16), and so strong (Exod 14:21; Isa 27:8) that it can cause severe devastation (Psa 48:8; Job 1:19).

*rûah yām*, the west wind (lit. “sea wind”; cf. also G. Hort, *ZAW* 70 [1958]: 51), occurs only rarely (Exod 10:19); as the prevailing wind in Palestine it apparently merited little mention. One should bear it in mind when the accompanying phenomena of clouds (*ʿab* 1 Kgs 18:45; Psa 104:3; Job 30:15) and rain (*gešem* 1 Kgs 18:45; 2 Kgs 3:17; Prov 25:14; *zerem* Isa 32:2; *māṭār* Jer 10:13 = 51:16 = Psa 135:7) are mentioned; cf. also Gen 3:8.

That the north wind (*rûah šāpôn* Prov 25:23) brings the rain reflects other climatic conditions (perhaps Egyptian; cf. Gemser, *HAT* 16, 92).

The strength of the dynamic character of *rûah* is also indicated by the fact that the terms for direction attained independence from the direction of the wind only relatively late (from Ezek onward). The degree of abstraction varies highly: *zrh lʿkol-rûah* “strewn in every wind (= direction)” (Ezek 5:10, 12; 12:14; cf. 17:21) is still close to the concrete meaning “wind”; this concrete meaning is less prominent in *ʿarba rûḥôt haššāmayim* “in four directions” (Zech 6:5; Dan 8:8; 11:4; cf. Zech 2:10); *rûah* is a pure indication of direction as a designation for the sides of the temple (1 Chron 9:24; Ezek 42:16–20).

(b) *rûah* can also simply indicate a light breeze (Isa 57:13 par. → *hebel* “breath”; cf. Gen 3:8; contra N. H. Snaith, *Distinctive Ideas of the OT* [19473], 145f.), yet an intensification to a strong and powerful wind is much more frequent: adj. *rûah gʿdôlâ* (Jonah 1:4; Job 1:19), *rûah qāšâ* (Isa 27:8; cf. Exod 10:19; 14:21), adv. with *mālēʿ* (Jer 4:12); in a cs. phrase *rûah sʿārâ* (Ezek 1:4; Psa 55:9 txt em, cf. *BHS*; 107:25; 148:8; with pl. *sʿārôt*, Ezek 13:11, 13) should probably be understood pleonastically since *sʿārâ* also means “storm” without *rûah* (par. to *rûah* in Isa 41:16; similarly *saʿar* in Jonah 1:4; *sûpâ* “storm,” Isa 17:13; Jer 4:12f.; Hos 8:7; Job 21:18). But *rûah* can also mean “storm” without further modification (1 Kgs 19:11).

The divine designation also apparently has an intensifying function in a few passages: *rûah ʾēlōhîm* (Gen 1:2) and *rûah yhw̄h* (Isa 59:19) “God’s/Yahweh’s storm,” although this meaning is disputed (cf. Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:107f. with bibliog.; see D. W. Thomas,

“Consideration of Some Unusual Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew,” *VT* 3 [1953]: 209–24; Snaith, *op. cit.* 153).

3. Verbs associated with *rûah* are distributed, accordingly, almost exclusively in two categories: (a) verbs of movement and (b) verbs of placing in motion.

(a) The wind breaks out (*ns<sup>c</sup>* Num 11:31), breaks loose (*bq<sup>c</sup>* ni. Ezek 13:11 *txt em*, cf. v 13), comes (*bô<sup>v</sup>* Jer 4:12; Ezek 1:4; Hos 13:5; Job 1:19), is in a perpetual circular motion (*sbb, hlk, šûb*, Eccl 1:6), and brushes past (*br* Psa 103:16; Job 37:21; cf. Gen 8:1). Notably, the normal verbs of movement are encountered here; the fixed Eng. phrase “the wind blows” occurs only sporadically in Hebr. (*nšb* Isa 40:7; cf. hi. Psa 147:18). This phenomenon does not mean, however, that the particular nature of the movement is not decisive as opposed to the fact of movement per se.

This observation sheds light of the understanding of Gen 1:2. The verb *rhp* pi. does not indicate an initial act of creation, but it is used because even in the description of the situation of the “world before the creation” *rûah* is simply unthinkable without movement (“and God’s wind was moving to and fro over the surface of the waters,” Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:76, 106–9).

(b) The wind not only moves, it also sets other things in motion. The mysterious power at work in it becomes visible only in this way.

A process is often encountered that has been long used in threshing: the wind disperses dry straw (*ndp* Psa 1:4; *rdp* Isa 17:13; *pûš* hi. Jer 18:17). In the abbreviated formulation “like chaff before the wind” (*mōš/qaš/teben lipnê rûah*), this process becomes a favored metaphor for the fall of enemies and evildoers (Isa 17:13; Jer 13:24; Psa 1:4; 35:5; 83:14; Job 21:18; cf. Jer 18:17; 22:22; Hab 1:11 *txt?*; Job 15:30 *txt em*). A basic capacity of the wind is the ability to lift and bear something (*nš<sup>v</sup>* Exod 10:13, 19; Isa 57:13; 64:5; Aram., Dan 2:35). In addition, it has various, usually destructive, effects: the wind shakes the trees (Isa 7:2), lashes the stream (Isa 59:19), whips up the sea (Psa 107:25; Dan 7:2), breaks apart the largest ship (Ezek 27:26; Psa 48:8), and even rends mountains and rocks (1 Kgs 19:11). Regarding the devastating effect of the hot east wind, see 2a. Thus the destructive effects of the wind become a frequent image for God’s judgment (Isa 57:13; Jer 4:11f.; 49:36; Ezek 13:11, 13; 17:10; 19:12; Hos 4:19; 13:15; Psa 35:5; 48:8, etc.).

4. From a human perspective, the wind has an incomprehensible and fleeting character. This viewpoint is mirrored in the fact that the wind is frequently the object of a divine (see 5), but rarely of a human, action. A person can indeed observe the wind (2 Kgs 3:17; Eccl 11:4) but cannot control it (Eccl 8:8). When *rûah* is the object of human activity the intention

from the outset is to represent a senseless act: “to pasture the wind” (or “to befriend the wind”; see Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 149, 206 regarding Hos 12:2), “to sow the wind” (Hos 8:7), “to hide the wind” (Prov 27:16), “to inherit the wind” (Prov 11:29; cf. Isa 26:18).

*rûaḥ* can consequently become a designation of the nothingness (Isa 41:29 par. *ʾayin* [txt em], *ʾepes, tōhû*, cf. Mic 2:11), senselessness, and uselessness of human action and has thus undergone a shift in meaning similar to that of → *hebel* (par. to *rûaḥ* in Eccl 1:14; 2:11, 17, 26; 4:4, 16; 6:9), although to a lesser degree. Like *hebel*, *rûaḥ* occurs frequently in negative assessments: as in the construction with *le* in Jer 5:13 “the prophets are for wind = are good for nothing”; Job 6:26; Eccl 5:15; in a cs. phrase in Job 15:2; 16:3; then as the predicate in a nom. clause: Isa 41:29 (a judicial verdict concerning strange gods); Job 7:7; 30:15; cf. Psa 78:39 in a lament concerning the transience of life, also in Qohelet’s resigned assessments concerning human work:

The meaning of *r<sup>c</sup>ût rûaḥ* (Eccl 1:14; 2:11, 17, 26; 4:4, 6; 6:9) or *raʿyôn rûaḥ* (1:17; 4:16) is not entirely clear. One should apparently understand it as an objective gen. meaning “striving after the wind” = “senseless effort” (usually derived from Aram. *rʿh* [cf. Hebr. → *ršh*], as extant in *r<sup>c</sup>û* “will” in Ezra 5:17; 7:18). This understanding finds support in Hos 12:2; Prov 27:16, etc.

The precise nuance of the deprecatory term results in each case from the particular context.

5. Characteristically, OT thought can on the one hand observe the wind in its real physical manifestations, but on the other hand it can relate it, to a greater or lesser degree, to Yahweh. The mysterious power at work in the wind and its unknown origin are particularly suggestive of God’s activity in it and its effects.

(a) *rûaḥ* is the object, means, or accompanying phenomenon of a divine act. In contrast to people, God has control over the wind.

(1) The wind is the means of a concrete historical act of God to deliver (Exod 14:21; Num 11:31) or to punish his people (Ezek 13:11ff.). Yahweh causes its movement (causative stem of the verbs of motion: Gen 8:1 *ʿbr* hi.; Jer 49:36 *bôʾ* hi.; Ezek 13:13 *bq<sup>c</sup>* pi.; Psa 147:18 *nšb* hi.) or uses it as a means of his activity (instrumental *be* Exod 14:21; Isa 27:8); he commands (*mnh* pi. Jonah 4:8; cf. Psa 107:25) and hurls (*tûl* hi. Jonah 1:4) the wind; it comes through Yahweh’s agency (*le* Jer 4:12) or breaks forth from him (*ns<sup>c</sup> mēʾēt yhwḥ* Num 11:31). God’s activity and the wind’s action occasionally appear together almost self-evidently (Exod 10:13; Ezek 13:11, 13).

The cs. phrase *rûaḥ yhwḥ* in Isa 40:7 and Hos 13:15 probably also

means to indicate that the wind comes from God (gen. of author)—Yahweh’s very breath may even be envisioned (so Isa 27:8; 40:24)—nonetheless, the concrete, hot west wind is intended.

(2) The wind is God’s creation and a sign of his majesty as creator of the world. God created the wind (*br*<sup>3</sup> Amos 4:13) and has free access to it (Jer 10:13 = 51:16 = Psa 135:7; Psa 104:4; Job 28:25; Prov 30:4). Winds are his messengers (Psa 104:4), the wind performs his word in creation (148:8; cf. Psa 29), and as God’s breath it exercises his dominion over creation (147:18 par. *dābār* “word”).

(3) The strong wind signifies God’s terrifying majesty as a phenomenon accompanying theophanies (Ezek 1:4; Dan 7:2; cf. *s<sup>e</sup>cārā* in Job 38:1; 40:6).

(b) *rūaḥ* “wind” is identical with Yahweh’s breath. This unique identification (*rūaḥ* alongside → *ʾap, n<sup>e</sup>šāmā* “breath,” *nšp* “to blow”) appears in Exod 15:8, 10; 2 Sam 22:16 = Psa 18:16; Isa 11:15; 30:28 (cf. v 33); Job 4:9; 15:30; perhaps 26:13. Nevertheless, the effects of Yahweh’s breathing, blowing, or snorting closely resemble those of the wind and the storm: Exod 14:21 reports the evaporation of the sea by the wind, the song in Exod 15:8 sings of the same event as the damming of the waters by God’s breath (cf. Isa 11:15). 2 Sam 22:16 = Psa 18:16 even sounds mythical: Yahweh’s snorting and scolding uncover the seabed and the foundations of the earth; Isa 30:28 depicts the events of battle even more clearly: Yahweh consumes hostile Asshur with his fiery breath; Job 26:13 probably belongs to the battle-with-chaos motif. He also destroys evildoers with a snort (Job 4:9; 15:30; cf. the *sa<sup>c</sup>rat yhw*, which falls on the head of the evildoer, Jer 23:19 = 30:23).

How should this identification be evaluated? The wind can hardly be generally understood as God’s breath (P. van Imschoot, *Théologie de l’AT* [1954], 1:184), nor can this group of passages be dismissed as poetic-metaphorical language (Scheepers, op. cit. 130). Rather, it must be maintained that the concept of the wind was so open for the Israelite that one could easily—if only in particular contexts—perceive in it the breath of God himself.

The original context was apparently the concepts of epiphany (Isa 30:27–33; Psa 18:8–16 par.; see *PLP* 93–101; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie* [1965]). It does not involve, then, a theoretical derivation of the wind from God’s breath but a vitalization performed in God’s mighty arrival to deliver his people (on the individual concepts, some of which are adaptations, cf. *PLP* 98; Jeremias, op. cit. 73ff.); Yahweh’s arrival on the wings of the wind is also a feature of God’s approach (2 Sam 22:11 = Psa 18:11; cf. Job 30:22; in relation to the creation, Psa 104:3, see Jeremias, op. cit. 88f.). The epiphany tradition then joins the concept of the chaos battle (Job

26:13) in the song of praise in Exod 15:8, 10 (cf. Jeremias, op. cit. 96).

1 Kgs 19:11ff. apparently polemicizes against linking Yahweh too closely to strong wind phenomena, as in both the theophany and epiphany traditions (Isa 66:15; Nah 1:3; Zech 9:14).

6. *rûah* assumes an intermediate position between the basic meaning “wind” and the fig. meaning “spirit” in passages concerning the rapture and transport of a prophet (1 Kgs 18:12; 2 Kgs 2:16; Ezek 3:12, 14; 8:3; 11:1, 24; 43:5; cf. 37:1; Acts 8:39).

Verbs used suggest the wind: → *nśʿ* (1 Kgs 18:12; 2 Kgs 2:16; Ezek 3:12, 14; 8:3; 11:1, 24; 43:5), → *bôʿ* ni. (Ezek 8:3; 11:1, 24; 43:5), *šlk* hi. “to throw, drive off” (2 Kgs 2:16), see → *lqh* (Ezek 3:14), → *nûah* hi. (Ezek 37:1; cf. 40:1f.). All but the last two verbs are also attested as the effect of the normal wind.

Nevertheless, extraordinary effects (a man of God or a prophet transported to another place) and an unusual *rûah* (in the Elijah narratives *rûah yhw̄h*, in Ezek only *rûah*) are involved here, yet occasionally Yahweh’s hand and a figure seen in a vision (Ezek 8:3; 37:1; 40:1), and once even Yahweh himself (37:1), compete with it.

Once again, one must think in terms of a unique complex of concepts indigenous to popular traditions concerning the man of God, not of a theoretically derived usage. This complex occurs in the early period of Israelite prophecy but, significantly, only as other people’s expectation of the prophets (Elijah), and is only later reprised by Ezekiel (Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:567f.) in an effort to overcome the distance between his exilic dwelling place and Jerusalem, to whom he must announce judgment (Ezek 8:3; 11:24; cf. v 1). Yet for him the concept vacillates between the experience of a real and a visionary change of location; as a consequence, *rûah* shifts somewhat from a motive force to a type of visionary sphere (*bammārʿeh bʿrûah ʿlōhîm* “in the vision in the Spirit of God,” 11:24; cf. 8:3; *bʿrûah yhw̄h* 37:1). One should distinguish these conveyances from raptures to God (also → *lqh*, Gen 5:24; 2 Kgs 2:3); otherwise the misunderstanding of the prophet’s disciples in 2 Kgs 2:16 would not be at all possible. The apparently plebeian concept turns up in the NT era in Acts 8:39 and in Jesus’ raptures again.

7. The second basic meaning of *rûah* is “breath,” not as a constant phenomenon but as a force expressed in respiration. From the perspective of in- and exhalation, it is both “within” and “outside a person,” it both proceeds from one and effects one.

*rûah* does not indicate “normal” breathing, a component of human life (*nʿšāmâ*, 24x in the OT: Job 7x, Isa 4x, Josh 3x; *nšm* qal “to snort,” Isa 42:14; Aram. *nišmâ* “breath [of life],” Dan 5:23; cf. T. C. Mitchell, VT 11

[1961]: 177–87), but the particular process of breathing that expresses the human being’s dynamic vitality.

Snaith (op. cit. 144) proposed the thesis: “the word *ruach* stands for hard, strong, violent breathing as against *neshamah*, which means ordinary, quiet breathing.” Yet Isa 42:14, where the verb *nšm* refers to the panting of one in labor, calls this thesis into question. It is not two qualities of breathing that are involved but two different perspectives on breathing: *nšāmâ* refers to the breath that distinguishes the living from the dead (Deut 20:16; Josh 10:40; 11:11, 14; 1 Kgs 15:29; 17:17; Psa 150:6), thus a given creaturely fundamental reality with a more constant character. For this reason, *nšāmâ* occurred originally in the creation of humanity (Gen 2:7); only later can *rûaḥ* be used synonymously (see 8).

In contrast to *nšāmâ*, *rûaḥ* originally described breath strictly in terms of dynamic vitality. When the queen of Sheba sees Solomon’s enormous wealth, the narrative states: “and there was no longer breath in her” (1 Kgs 10:5 = 2 Chron 9:4), i.e., her breathing stopped in astonishment, she was “frozen in amazement.” Jer 2:24 and 14:6 deal with wild sniffing (*šṗ rûaḥ* “to gasp for, yearn for breath”), Job 8:2; 15:13; Isa 25:4 (“snorting”) with excited panting, laden with psychic vitality (rage; see 9a; cf. also Yahweh’s snorting; see 5b). The breath of a sick person can elicit repulsion (Job 19:17).

“The breath of the mouth/lips” can stand for the effective word (Psa 33:6; Isa 11:14); they also frequently parallel one another in Eg. and Bab. texts (cf. L. Dürr, *Die Wertung des göttlichen Wortes im AT und im antiken Orient* [1938]; J. Hahn, *ZAW* 43 [1925]: 218f.).

In a group of passages, which one must probably consider the oldest in this category, the vitality of the person resident in the breath assumes the foreground prominently: Gen 45:27; Judg 15:19; 1 Sam 30:12; 1 Kgs 21:5. *rûaḥ* here is the vital life force that returns (*šûb*) when the almost dehydrated Samson drinks (Judg 15:19) and the almost starved Egyptians receive something to eat (1 Sam 30:12); it is the élan, the psychic tension, the will to live, which can be revived (*ḥyh* Gen 45:27) by good news or diminished (*sûr* 1 Kgs 21:5) by “fatal” anger. Ahab’s pitiful circumstance in 1 Kgs 21:4f. highlights the complexity of physical-psychic vitality: he collapses completely in anger, lies in bed, turns to the wall because he does not want to see anyone, and stops eating (cf. Job 17:1; Prov 15:4; altered theologically in Ezek 2:2; 3:24).

Johnson (*Vitality* 23–37) wants to derive this meaning “vitality” directly from the basic meaning “wind”: “just as the *rûaḥ*, qua ‘wind,’ was observed to rise and sink, so this ebb and flow in one’s vitality was described in terms of the absence or presence of *rûaḥ*” (p. 25). He regards the meaning “breath” to be a late, possibly post-exilic abstraction (pp. 27–30). But it is unthinkable that the Israelites could conceive of the

force of vitality without a perceptible expression; yet Johnson is correct to the extent that *rûah* cannot designate the breath apart from the vitality underlying it.

8. The manner in which the dynamic character of *rûah* was assimilated to the more constant breath characteristic of life as such should be noted. This development appears on the one hand in the idol polemics from the late monarchy onward (Jer 10:14 = 51:17; Hab 2:19; Psa 135:17), and on the other in discussions of the primeval history of humanity. The old word for creaturely breath, the constitutive element of human life, was *n<sup>š</sup>āmâ* (see 7); God breathed it into humanity at creation (Gen 2:7; regarding the widely dispersed concept, see Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:206ff.). Only since the exilic period did *rûah* gain access to the context of the creation of humanity and could it, like *n<sup>š</sup>āmâ*, thenceforth describe the “breath of life”: God gives (*n<sup>tn</sup>* Isa 42:5), forms (*y<sup>sr</sup>* Zech 12:1), or creates (*š<sup>h</sup>* Isa 57:16) it to/for people, or God’s breath creates and enlivens the person as a whole (*š<sup>h</sup>* and *h<sup>yh</sup>* pi. Job 33:4); Job 27:3 identifies the two concepts with one another: Job’s life-breath is God’s breath. *rûah* was unable totally to displace the old usage with *n<sup>š</sup>āmâ* (the two words are par. in Isa 42:5; 57:16; Job 27:3; 33:4; cf. Job 32:8).

At most, Gen 6:3 and 7:22 are pre-exilic, yet both passages are uncertain. One may best explain the “wondrous expression” (so Gunkel, *Gen* [19698], 63 regarding 7:22) *mišmat rûah hayyîm* as a redactional admixture of *mišmat hayyîm* in Gen 2:7 J and *rûah hayyîm* in Gen 6:17; 7:15 P (this explanation has also been accepted by van Imschoot, *Théologie de l’AT* [1956], 2:5n.3, contra id., *RB* 44 [1935]: 482). Gen 6:3 is textually and substantively difficult and also stands isolated in the context, to some degree. *rûah* and → *bāšār* occur together only quite late otherwise (Gen 6:17; 7:15; Num 16:22; 27:16 P; cf. Job 10:12; 34:14; Psa 78:39) and indicate that the text in its current form has been redacted.

The earliest context with *rûah* in the meaning “breath of life” (8x alone), Ezek 37 may shed some light concerning the mechanism of this shift in meaning. Ezekiel’s announcement to the dry bones of their new creation (v 5) and his vision of the execution of this new creation are in response to a clause in the lament cited in v 11: “Our bones are withered and our hope has vanished” (Psa 22:15; 42:11; 102:4; Job 14:19; 17:15; Lam 1:13; 3:4, etc.). This lament refers precisely to the destruction of the vital life force that *rûah* originally described. To the extent that Ezek now describes the reversal of the distress with unusual realism as the revival of the dry bones, he transfers *rûah* to a new plane of meaning: In analogy to the creation of humanity, the returning life force becomes the breath of life that blows on the dead (*n<sup>ph</sup>*, as in Gen 2:7) and enlivens them (*h<sup>yh</sup>* pi. vv 5f., 9f., 14). One may trace a similar development in the announcement of

salvation in Isa 57:14–21. There is some support, then, for the assumption that *rûaḥ*, lent vitality by the prophet’s salvation message of deliverance and creation of humanity, has intruded into creation language, sometimes alongside *nšāmâ*, sometimes replacing it.

This shift was already complete in the terminology of P: The living beings (formerly *nepeš ḥayyâ* Gen 2:7, 10, etc.) are now called “flesh in which there is the breath of life (*rûaḥ ḥayyîm*)” (Gen 6:17; 7:15); God is addressed as the one who gives the breath of life to all flesh (Num 16:22; 27:16). The same is true for wisdom (Job 10:12; 34:14; Eccl 3:19, 21[bis]; 12:7) and some Psalms (104:29f.; 146:4).

A shift in the discussion of the creation of humanity may be related to this shift in meaning. The gift of the breath of life is now discussed more dynamically, corresponding to the ebb and flow of human vitality: at any time, God can remove this breath and send it forth again (Psa 104:29f.; Job 34:14). In this way, pious wisdom explicates the creature’s total dependence on its creator (Job 10:12); it moves thus entirely in the common Near Eastern framework (Hehn, op. cit. 213–18).

The designation of the king as the breath of life in Lam 4:20 results from Eg. influence (common in the Amarna correspondence; cf. Hehn, op. cit. 218; Dürr, op. cit. 104f.).

Job 32:8 associates the gift of the breath of life and the gift of special wisdom.

9. (a) The psychic component of the complex notion of vitality can assume the foreground more prominently. In this ramification *rûaḥ* forms a rich semantic field: it can describe an entire range of human frames of mind, from the strongest emotions to the failure of all vitality.

The original dynamic character of *rûaḥ* is also evident here: directly, *rûaḥ* indicates only impulsive, life-strengthening psychic forces such as anger, rage (Judg 8:3; Isa 25:4; Ezek 3:14; Prov 29:11; Eccl 10:4; of God, Zech 6:8), courage, perseverance (Num 14:24; Josh 2:11; 5:1; Prov 18:14), with → *gbh* even more intense arrogance (originally positive; attested negative only in Prov 16:18; Eccl 7:8; cf. Psa 76:13), as sometimes even manifest directly in excited breathing. In contrast, *rûaḥ* is always negatively characterized in relation to depressing, life-limiting frames of mind (usually through a cs. relationship, but also adj. and verbally): the fallen (root *špl*, Isa 57:15; Prov 16:19; 29:23), smitten (*dakkā*’ Isa 57:15; Psa 34:19; *nākē*’ Prov 15:13; 17:22; 18:14), broken (root *šbr*, Isa 65:14; Psa 51:19; Prov 15:4), and expiring (*khh* Isa 61:3; Ezek 21:12) *rûaḥ* always refers to the destruction of the élan, of psychic vigor (cf. also Gen 26:35; 1 Sam 1:15; Isa 54:6). Originally always negative, a distress, this process was later

reevaluated as a pious attitude: humility (Prov 16:19; 29:23) and contrition (Isa 66:2; Psa 34:19).

This usage of *rûaḥ* has frequent contact with that of → *lēb* (par., Josh 2:11; 5:1; Isa 65:14; Ezek 21:12; Psa 34:19; 51:19; Prov 17:22; cf. 15:13). *lēb* designated originally an organ (“heart”) but could then be expanded to a “focal point of a whole range of psychical activity” (Johnson, op. cit. 76). Yet this affinity should not lead to the false definition of *rûaḥ* as “seat of the emotions” in analogy to *lēb* (so van Imschoot, *Théologie* 2:34; cf. id., *RSPT* 23 [1934]: 554; F. Baumgärtel, *TDNT* 6:361f., etc.). From the outset, *lēb* relates to the person, it is somehow present; it can, then, participate in the dynamic and holistic conceptualization of OT anthropology. *rûaḥ* was not originally a component of the individual in the same manner, but a power that can govern a person not only from the inside but also from the outside (see 9b). Even if the animistic “double” theory, as represented e.g., by P. Torge (*Seelenglaube und Unsterblichkeitshoffnung im AT* [1909], 2f.), has been correctly discredited (so Eichrodt 2:133f.), one must still guard against over-hastily paralleling *rûaḥ* and *lēb*, a par. that certainly seems to have transpired later on (see 10).

The manner of breathing indicates yet another frame of mind: if “short” (root *qsr*, Exod 6:9; Job 21:4; Prov 14:29; of God, Mic 2:7) it indicates nervousness and impatience (cf. the Eng. “short-winded”); if “long” (root *ʔrk*, Eccl 7:8) it indicates caution and patience (cf. *qar* “cold,” Prov 17:27 K).

Association with organs of breathing is more common: *ʔappayim* (→ *ʔap* 3a; → *nepeš* III/1a).

(b) In accord with its ambivalence, *rûaḥ* can also act as an external psychic power; these effects are usually pathological. Emotional circumstances leading to illness are not readily perceived even today as “one’s own mood” but as susceptibility to external forces. The OT exhibits blind jealousy (Num 5:14[bis], 30), unbounded sexual desire (Hos 4:12; 5:4), and depression (1 Sam 16:14–16, 23[bis]; 18:10; 19:9); all are the effects of various forces: of the spirit of jealousy, of harlotry, and of the evil spirit of God.

The evaluation of this and a few other passages has been controversial in research. They mirror the two major tendencies in the understanding of the word *rûaḥ* in the research of the last hundred years. The older tendency originating in the comparative study of religions saw the original meaning of the word *rûaḥ*, “demon,” in these passages; it was then lost in the process of a subordination to Yahweh and regained independence later in Judaism (cf. B. Stade, *Biblische Theologie* [1905],

1:99; P. Volz, *Der Geist Gottes und die verwandten Erscheinungen im AT und im anschliessenden Judentum* [1910], 2ff.; Torge, op. cit. 14ff.; also J. Hempel, *Gott und Mensch im AT* [19362], 105). This viewpoint has been decisively rejected by the newer tendency (van Imschoot, *RSPT* 23:574ff.; id., *Théologie* 1:194; Eichrodt 2:52; Scheepers, op. cit. 96–119).

This viewpoint begins consciously from the bibl. evidence and points to the fact that, on the basis of the total usage (verbs in this meaning are almost always fem., never pl.), *rûah* is not understood here as a personal being but as an impersonal power (1 Kgs 22:22 is a special case). Yet the question arises whether these distinct alternatives are accurate (cf. e.g., the identification of wind and demons in Bab. thought, J. Hehn, *ZAW* 43 [1925]: 221). More significantly, the same existential experiences stand behind “demonism” and this bibl. *rûah* concept (even van Imschoot, *Théologie* 1:194, 2:29f., and Eichrodt 2:52n.3 concede this circumstance). This perspective justifies the classification of this group of passages made here (similarly, Johnson, op. cit. 31f.).

Even if the OT did not achieve a well-developed concept of the demonic, the independence of these powers is apparent in the fact that *rûah* is always described in terms of its various effects (spirit of jealousy, Num 5:14, etc.; of harlotry, Hos 4:12; 5:4; of staggering, Isa 19:14; of deep sleep, Isa 29:10; of impurity, Zech 13:2) but hardly ever in terms of its origin (only 1 Sam 16:14 “from Yahweh”; 16:15f., 23; 18:10 “evil spirit of God”; 19:9 “evil spirit of Yahweh”). Yahweh can indeed send these powers (Judg 9:23; 2 Kgs 19:7 = Isa 37:7), yet they retain a certain independence of action.

In the narrative of David’s rise, the motif of the evil *rûah* that overcomes Saul serves to explicate the curse of the one condemned to fall (1 Sam 16ff.); David comes to the royal court to alleviate the depressions, yet Saul’s murder attempts grow directly from them. Even more directly related to political events is the *rûah* that brings discord (Judg 9:23) and confusion (2 Kgs 19:7 par.; cf. Isa 19:14). The prophets use it to explain Israel’s incomprehensible apostasy (Hos 4:12; 5:4) and obstinacy (Isa 29:10; cf. Zech 13:2).

10. *rûah* is assimilated to the anthropological terms derived from names for organs (esp. *lēb* “heart”) to mean the center of human volition and action. Its original dynamic character is thus largely attenuated; it persists only to the extent that the entire OT anthropological understanding is dynamic. Only in this derived semantic context can *rûah* indicate the human “spirit” a few times, not so much as a component but as a human capacity. On the one hand *rûah* means the innermost aspect of the human being; on the other hand it means the entire existence; thus in poetic language it can become a synonym for “I.”

The rather large number of passages that belong here cannot hide the fact that a late and derivative usage is usually involved. Here too Ezekiel seems to have decisively advanced the expansive development of the *rûaḥ* concept when he termed the new center of volition necessary for repentance and new obedience to the commandments not only *lēb ḥādāš* “new heart” (Ezek 18:31; 36:26) and *lēb bāsār* “heart of flesh” (11:19; 36:26, in contrast to the old “heart of stone”) but also *rûaḥ ḥ<sup>a</sup>dāšâ* “new spirit” (11:19; 18:31; 36:26). This equation of *rûaḥ* and *lēb* dominates the later history of the word: Exod 35:21 (“with a free will,” with *lēb* vv 5, 22); Deut 2:30; Psa 51:12, 14; 78:8; Dan 5:20; cf. Prov 16:32; 25:28.

Ezekiel can also use *rûaḥ*, like *lēb*, more generally to refer to the intellectual center, the “intellect”: 11:5; 20:32 (with *lēb*, 14:4, 7). Along these lines, *rûaḥ* indicates the capacity for particular cleverness (Isa 19:3; 40:13, of God, par. *‘eṣâ* “counsel”; cf. Jer 19:7; Job 20:3?) or private thoughts (Prov 16:2; cf. with *lēb*, 1 Sam 16:7).

*rûaḥ* is one’s center of action that God can excite (*‘ûr* hi.) and thus bring one to decision or activity (Jer 51:11 [cf. v 1]; Ezra 1:1, 5; 1 Chron 5:26[bis]; 2 Chron 21:16; 36:22). The dynamic character of *rûaḥ* continues to exert influence here. The unique inner compulsion that influences the synchronization of animals and chariot in a secondary development of Ezekiel’s vision of the royal chariot (Ezek 1:12, 20f.; 10:17) is similar.

*rûaḥ* is the “interior” (Mal 2:15[bis], 16; Psa 32:2; 106:33; 142:4; 143:4 par. *lēb*; Eccl 7:9), not as a component but as that which constitutes the entire existence (Gen 41:8; Dan 2:1, 3; 7:15). Against the background of the OT’s holistic anthropology, it represents the entire existence, the I of the supplicant in the Psa, esp. in the individual laments (Isa 26:9; Psa 31:6; 77:4, 7; 143:7; Job 6:4; 7:11; 17:1; cf. 10:12).

11. Popular language could attribute extraordinary human capacities to a supernatural, even divine *rûaḥ*. Joseph and Daniel, who possess the special gift of dream interpretation, are described as men with the divine spirit (*rûaḥ <sup>e</sup>lōhîm* Gen 41:38) or the spirit of the holy gods (Dan 4:5f., 15; 5:11f., 14; cf. 6:4), in both cases by non-Israelites, so that one could suspect a non-Israelite idiom. This language may be related to the man-of-God traditions (2 Kgs 2:9, 15) and a popular understanding of prophets (Hos 9:7); language concerning the special capacities of the messianic king may also have roots here (see IV/4b).

IV. 1. Many passages exhibit the manner in which the concrete meanings “wind” and “breath” advance to a no longer empirically perceptible realm without, however, becoming less real. One may translate “spirit” here, or one can speak of a “fig. meaning,” yet one must be clear that the transitions are fluid because the force mysteriously effective in the

wind and the breath points toward God from the outset. Consequently, the specifically theological usage of *rûaḥ* as Yahweh's spirit or the spirit of God is markedly distinct neither terminologically nor materially from the profane usage.

*rûaḥ yḥwh* occurs 27x (incl. the dual tradition, 1 Kgs 22:24 = 2 Chron 18:23; the LXX diverges from the divine designation of MT in 1 Sam 11:6; 19:9; the modified form *rûaḥ ʾdōnāy yḥwh* occurs only in Isa 61:1). Three of these passages belong to the basic meaning "wind" (Isa 40:7; 59:19; Hos 13:15; see III/2b, 5a); the *rûaḥ yḥwh* assumes an intermediate position between "wind" and "spirit" in the transport of the prophets (1 Kgs 18:12; 2 Kgs 2:16; also Ezek 37:1; see III/6). Mic 2:7 "Yahweh's impatience" is one of the psychic reactions (III/9a); even the external depressive power that overcomes people can be called *rûaḥ yḥwh* (1 Sam 19:9 LXX *pneuma theou*; see III/9b). *rûaḥ* as a particular intellectual capacity can even be applied to Yahweh: Isa 40:13 (see III/10). Thus 18 or 19 passages remain for the specifically theological usage (Judg 3:10; 6:34; 11:29; 13:25; 14:6, 19; 15:14; 1 Sam 10:6; 16:13f.; 2 Sam 23:2; 1 Kgs 22:24 = 2 Chron 18:23; Isa 11:2; 63:14; Ezek 11:5; Mic 3:8; 2 Chron 20:14; also Isa 61:1).

*rûaḥ ʾlōhîm* occurs 16x, in addition to Aram. *rûaḥ ʾlāhîn* 5x (the LXX diverges in 1 Sam 11:6; 19:9). Gen 1:2 apparently belongs to the basic meaning "wind" (see III/2b). The power that pushes Saul into depressions is called *rûaḥ ʾlōhîm (rāʿâ)* 4x (III/9b). Regarding Ezek 11:24, see III/6; regarding Job 27:3, *rûaḥ ʾlōah*, and 33:4, *rûaḥ ʿēl*, see III/8. If one does not categorize the special gift of dream interpretation (Gen 41:38; Dan 4:5f., 15; 5:11, 14; see III/11) as theological usage in the limited sense, 9 passages remain to it (Exod 31:3; 35:31; Num 24:2; 1 Sam 10:10; 11:6; 19:20, 23; 2 Chron 15:1; 24:20).

In addition, 20 passages relate *rûaḥ* to Yahweh through a 1st-per. sg. suf. (Isa 30:1; 42:1; 44:3; 59:21; Ezek 36:27; 37:14; 39:29; Joel 3:1f.; Hag 2:5), a 2d-per. sg. suf. (Psa 51:13; 139:7; 143:10; Neh 9:20, 30), or a 3d-per. sg. suf. (Num 11:29; Isa 48:16; 63:10f.; Zech 7:12; passages that refer to Yahweh's breath are excluded here; see III/5b). Considering the subject matter, one must also include Num 11:17, 25(bis), 26; 27:18; 1 Kgs 22:21–23 = 2 Chron 18:20–22; 2 Kgs 2:15; Isa 31:3; Hos 9:7, so that a total of 60 passages of the theological usage result, although many uncertainties remain in the last group.

Highly varied experiences of *rûaḥ* are associated with God; nevertheless, this correlation was not indiscriminate but led to particular, if not always easily distinguished, traditions within OT history (IV/2–6).

2. In the early period, the spirit of God had a firm place in two contexts: (a) in the charismatic leadership and (b) in ecstatic prophecy (first

clearly characterized by van Imschoot, *RSPT* 23:556ff.; cf. id., *Théologie* 1:184f., 192; cf. also A. Jepsen, *Nabi* [1934], 12–40). In both contexts, *rûah* is a dynamically explosive force that overcomes a person and equips one for special acts for a brief period.

The verbs used indicate the dynamic character: *šlh ʿal* “to intrude on someone” (Judg 14:6, 19; 15:14; 1 Sam 10:6, 10; 11:6; with *ʿel*, 1 Sam 16:13; 18:10), → *Ibš* “to clothe” (Judg 6:34; 1 Chron 12:19; 2 Chron 24:20), *pʿm* “to push” (Judg 13:25), *hyh ʿal* “to come over” (Num 24:2; Judg 3:10; 11:29; 1 Sam 19:20, 23 [cf. 16:16]; 2 Chron 15:1; 20:14; with *ʿel*, 1 Sam 16:23), and *npl ʿal* “to fall on” (Ezek 11:5). One should note that, in respect to dynamic verbs, the *rûah yhwh* does not differ from the depressive power that overcomes Saul.

(a) The phenomenon of the charismatic leadership in Israel’s early period is necessarily linked with the *rûah yhwh*. It is the means by which Yahweh effects the deliverance of his people in this epoch: the men gripped by it become mediators of the act of deliverance. In their military actions Yahweh himself appears to take leadership; in the final analysis, their wars were “Yahweh’s wars” (see R. Smend, *Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation* [1970], esp. 26ff.).

The extent to which the *rûah yhwh* was linked with this epoch of Israelite history becomes evident in that the Dtr prefaces the narratives of the judges with a programmatic section (Judg 3:7–11) in which his schema of apostasy-judgment-lament-deliverance (2:11–16) is characteristically transformed: the *rûah yhwh* came upon Othniel (3:10). This epoch was also definitively marked by the *rûah yhwh* in the viewpoint of a later era. Its place in the Yahweh war is less clear in the tradition. It comes upon Jephthah immediately prior to the battle (Judg 11:29); it compels Gideon and Saul to assemble the army initially (Judg 6:34; 1 Sam 11:6). In all three cases, however, it sets the action in motion; its arrival climaxes a chain of verbal clauses. The relationship between call and inspiration also varies: while the spirit of Yahweh apparently falls on Saul by chance and thus raises him up as deliverer, the elders or the people have already commissioned Jephthah an army commander (Judg 11:10f.), and God has already called Gideon (Judg 6:14f.). Yet in all cases, inspiration remains a unique, transient event, which did not originally legitimate one in a permanent office; this characteristic does not exclude the fact that Gideon was unsuccessfully installed as king, Saul successfully (Judg 8:22ff.; 1 Sam 11:14), and that Jephthah assumed the office of a “lesser judge.” The development of a permanent political institution necessitated significant changes in the dynamic *rûah* concept (see 4 below).

The Samson narratives assume a special place in this context. Here the *rûaḥ yhwḥ* effects a momentary increase in vitality and strength in a manner more ancient than in the narratives of the Yahweh war (Judg 14:6, 19; 15:14), an increase only loosely associated with the history of Israel to the extent that it plays a particular role in relation to the Philistine occupation force, but that does not effect deliverance, being instead primarily a demonstration of power (tearing the lion, Judg 14:6; the bonds, 15:14). Furthermore, the narratives do not attribute the unusual strength exclusively to the *rûaḥ yhwḥ* (cf. 13:4f.; 16:3, 28). Regardless of whether one considers this usage a precursor of theological usage or its degeneration, these passages demonstrate clearly the fluid interchange between theological and anthropological usage: the *rûaḥ yhwḥ* produces an extraordinary human vitality, just as it induces a corresponding psychic excitement in Saul (1 Sam 11:6). Yet these phenomena became a constitutive element of the history of deliverance in the Yahweh-war tradition.

(b) In addition to the charismatic leaders, ecstatic prophecy was also apparently associated with the *rûaḥ*. This spirit was almost exclusively termed *rûaḥ ʾēlōhîm* (exception: 1 Sam 10:6), a possible reflection of the Can. origins of this phenomenon. The *rûaḥ* comes upon the entire group and induces ecstasy (*nbʿ hitp.*), but it is not restricted to this circle—it can also fall on nonparticipants found in the vicinity, such as Saul (1 Sam 10:10; 19:23) and his servants (19:20f.) The communicability of this phenomenon was apparently its most obvious feature. Although the effect of the *rûaḥ* (ecstasy) was only temporary (19:24), it was repeatable and to some degree inducible, as indicated by the musical instruments (1 Sam 10:5f.; cf. 2 Kgs 3:15ff.). This distinction with respect to the *rûaḥ yhwḥ* in the Yahweh wars may be touched on by the taunt, “Is Saul also among the prophets?” (1 Sam 10:12; 19:24), meant in the sense: can Saul induce the *rûaḥ yhwḥ* repeatedly in the Yahweh wars just as the ecstatic prophets do with the *rûaḥ ʾēlōhîm* so that he can lay claim to a permanent office of leadership in this manner? (as interpreted by E. Ruprecht). The proverb was later misunderstood and became the seed for narratives that characterize ecstatic prophecy extremely negatively (1 Sam 10:10–13a; 19:8–24; also negatively in 18:10, which associates this ecstasy with God’s evil spirit), although 10:6 regards it very positively; one must be cautious, therefore, in the interpretation of individual elements. It is clear only that *rûaḥ* in the context of this tradition does not relate to the communication of a word; consequently it is not firmly anchored in history, as is charismatic leadership (see IV/2a); the phenomenon as a whole remains episodic.

The “hand of Yahweh” (→ *yād* 4b) can also occasionally produce ecstatic phenomena (2 Kgs 3:15; cf. Ezek 8:1; 37:1; 40:1) and mediate extraordinary power (1 Kgs 18:46). Thus the spirit of God is not the only means for describing extraordinary phenomena of this nature.

This tradition resurfaces in a modified manner in the late addition in

Num 11:14–17, 24b–30. Here late prophetic groups are apparently interested in tracing the origins of their *rûaḥ* to the *rûaḥ* of Moses, who possessed it due to his office. Thus *rûaḥ* has become entirely permanent (cf. the verb *nûaḥ* “to rest,” 11:25f.; cf. 2 Kgs 2:15) and even ecstasy (*nbʿ hitp.*, 11:25–27) seems to have become a permanent condition, a pious attitude (read *wʿlōʾ yāsūpû* “and they did not cease”; cf. Noth, *Num*, OTL, 89n.). Another group claims the validity of the old dynamic element against the limitation of the *rûaḥ* to the seventy: it can produce ecstasy in Eldad and Medad from a distance (vv 26–28; a connection between interpretation and inspiration as in Isa 34:16?). An even later group desires the expansion of the possession of the *rûaḥ* to the entire people (v 29; see 5).

3. (a) By contrast, the *rûaḥ yhwḥ* did not originally relate to the communication of a divine word. This relationship occurs only in isolated but divergent cases in “preclassical prophecy”; it is completely absent in the writing prophets from Amos to Jeremiah. Only the post-exilic period understood prophecy as the obvious work of the divine spirit.

Although the remarkable circumstance of the virtual absence of *rûaḥ yhwḥ* in the writing prophets has long been observed and repeatedly noted (e.g., Volz, op. cit. [III/9b], 62ff.; van Imschoot, *RSPT* 23:570f.; J. Hänel, *Das Erkennen Gottes bei den Schriftpropheten* [1923], 172f.; Köhler 118), it is nevertheless repeatedly overlooked, sometimes by the same scholars. Thus Hänel can call the spirit “the impetus to speak” (p. 168), Scheepers “the mediator of divine words” (p. 312); cf. van Imschoot, 571–73; Snaith, op. cit. 154. One can understand this tendency only as an expression of the force of Christian tradition in which “spirit” belongs to the category “revelation” (as in van Imschoot, *Théologie* 1:183: “active agent of the divine revelation”; Hänel §11: “The Direct Reception of Revelation”; Köhler §39 (pp. 111–19): “God Reveals Himself Through the Spirit”).

The texts cited in justification are always Hos 9:7; Mic 3:8; Isa 30:1; 31:3. Yet Hos 9:7 attests only that in popular understanding the *nābîʾ* “prophet” could also be called *ʾiš hārûaḥ* “man of the spirit,” which, at best, suggests possible man-of-God traditions (2 Kgs 2:9, 15). In Mic 3:8 *kōaḥ* is syntactically overloaded: in addition to *rûaḥ yhwḥ*, *mišpāṭ* “justice” and *gʿbûrâ* “strength” also depend on *kōaḥ* “power” (cf. Isa 28:6). Although *rûaḥ yhwḥ* is sometimes stricken (J. Wellhausen, et al.), the dependent clause “in order to proclaim his transgression to Jacob and his sins to Israel” only distantly refers to prophecy (cf. Dtr); furthermore, the verb *mlʾ* “to be full” also clearly indicates that this is a gloss; it occurs with *rûaḥ* elsewhere only in P (Exod 31:3; 35:31; Deut 34:9).

The two passages Isa 30:1 and 31:3 remain; yet they hardly justify Köhler’s conclusion: “Isaiah is the prophet of the spirit of God” (Köhler 118).

For the most part, two possible interpretations of these passages are suggested:

(1) The spirit is the inner essence of God; this interpretation is based on the fact that “from me” parallels it in 30:1, *ʿēl* “God” in 31:3 (e.g., F. Baumgärtel, *TDNT* 6:364; Lys, op. cit. 84ff.; van Imschoot, *Théologie* 1:197).

(2) The reference is specifically to the spirit working through the prophets; the formulations “to ask (*šʾl*) my mouth” and “to inquire (*drš*) of Yahweh” support this interpretation (30:2; 31:1); thus e.g., van Imschoot, *RSPT* 23:572; Duhm, *Jesaia*, HKAT, 192 regarding 30:1.

The first interpretation is fundamentally contradicted by the fact that it involves an abstract concept foreign to the OT, even though moderns emphasize the dynamic aspect. In response to (2) one can ask whether it does not refer more to an effect of Yahweh’s might than to acting through the word (esp. in 31:3).

If one seeks concrete works of God’s power, the tradition of Yahweh war is readily apparent. The suspicion that Isaiah adapts this tradition in an abbreviated idiom finds support in the fact that he also refers to it in another comparable situation (esp. Isa 7:9), as G. von Rad has shown (von Rad, *Theol.* 2:158f.). In response to nervous political maneuvering, Isaiah firmly maintains that deliverance is possible only through the spirit of God by which Yahweh himself intervenes in the battle (31:4f.; cf. Judg 5:4f.). Treaties (30:1) and the military might of the allies (31:3) have nothing to do with this *rûah*, nor are they capable of anything even remotely similar (cf. also Zech 4:6). The Yahweh war also involved inquiring of God (Josh 9:14; Judg 1:1; 18:5; 20:18, 23, 26f.; cf. C. Westermann, *KerD* 6 [1960]: 10); these inquiries may have involved prophets (cf. 1 Kgs 22:5ff.; a mixture of *šʾl* inquiry and *drš* inquiry [→ *drš* 4b]; somewhat divergently, Westermann, op. cit. 21). Thus a great deal of evidence supports the notion that one should understand Isa 30:1 and 31:3 in relation not to prophecy but to the Yahweh wars.

(b) The reason for the remarkable absence of *rûah yhw* in the writing prophets (only Ezek constitutes an exception) may be sought in the fact that the “salvation prophecy” that these prophets combat sometimes appealed to *rûah*. The dispute between Micaiah ben Imlah and the court prophets of Ahab supports this view (1 Kgs 22 = 2 Chron 18).

In the dispute concerning the correct word of God, Micaiah introduces a vision that makes sense only if his opponents appeal to a communication of the word of God through the divine *rûah*. He admits: The spirit is indeed in your mouth, God has even given it (v 23), yet it is a lying spirit (*rûah šeqer* vv 22f.) that has come forth from the heavenly council on Yahweh’s commission in order to deceive Ahab (*pth* pi. vv 20–22). The

personalization (*hārûah* “the spirit,” v 21) may be an adaptation of old concepts; here it serves solely polemical purposes. The angry reaction of their spokesman Zedekiah shows that Micaiah has affected the center of his opponent’s theological legitimization. His question concerning how the *rûah yhwh* could have shifted (*br*) to Micaiah in order to speak with him (*dbr* pi. v 24) makes clear that the prophets of prosperity understood their words as the words of the spirit linked to their persons in some way; yet the text and the concept are not entirely certain. Micaiah appeals to Yahweh’s speech instead (vv 14, 28). The word of Yahweh, unmediated, then also becomes the sole legitimation of the writing prophets (cf. the messenger formula, → *mr* 4).

(c) The origin and nature of the *rûah* concept in this “preclassical” epoch of prophecy still remain largely obscure. The occurrence of *rûah* in relation to visionaries already contradicts a straight-line derivation from ecstatic prophecy (Num 24:2; cf. 2 Sam 23:2). Yet neither the terminology (Num 24:2 *rûah ʾġhîm*; 2 Sam 23:2 *rûah yhwh*) nor the concept (dynamic-static) is uniform in this branch of tradition. One must also take into consideration man-of-God traditions in reference to Elijah/Elisha (2 Kgs 2:9, 15); here the *rûah* is so firmly linked with a person that it can be inherited according to the rights of the firstborn; it does not produce a word but pure demonstrations of power (2 Kgs 2:14f.).

(d) Only in the post-exilic period, when the spirit of God had largely lost its specific functions, is prophecy also understood in retrospect as the work of the spirit (Neh 9:30; Zech 7:12, one may note the terminological fixation “through his Spirit by means of his prophets”; cf. Mic 3:8; Ezek 11:5, gloss). Thus Chron understands all prophetic discourse as inspired discourse (2 Chron 15:1; 20:14; 24:20), which is not, however, limited to prophets (1 Chron 12:19). The old usage of the early period was certainly continued (see IV/2), yet speeches of consolation and exhortation exhibit only too clearly an understanding of prophecy attested at the earliest since Dtr.

4. The development of the monarchy was accompanied by a decisive shift in the *rûah yhwh* concept. The formerly dynamic-eruptive force became something static: a permanent gift for Yahweh’s anointed, which bestows special capabilities on him and embodies a particular form of Yahweh’s presence. Thus *rûah* approximates blessing. *rûah* gained a firm place in exilic and post-exilic salvation oracles as the equipment of the messianic king (on the entire issue, cf. van Imschoot, *RSPT* 23:566ff.; id., *Théologie* 1:186ff., 192).

The verbs used also demonstrate the modification: *ntn ʿal* “to bestow on” (Num 11:25, 29; Isa 42:1) and *nûah ʿal* “to rest on” (Num 11:25f.; 2 Kgs

2:15; Isa 11:2); the old *šlh* “to penetrate” occurs once again in the context of transferal (1 Sam 16:13) but receives the addition “from this day onward,” which removes its original dynamic character. *ml<sup>ṣ</sup>* “to be full of” also occurs (Exod 31:3; 35:31; Deut 34:9; Mic 3:8).

(a) Even if somewhat remotely, the transition can be correctly located in 1 Sam 16:13f.: with the transition to the permanent office of David’s monarchy, the *rûah yhw<sup>h</sup>* becomes constant. It no longer comes spontaneously but is linked to rites (anointing, 1 Sam 16:13; Isa 61:1; laying on of hands, Deut 34:9) and thus to the succession of the office: with David’s anointing the *rûah <sup>ʿ</sup>lôhîm*, depicted statically in contrast to 1 Sam 11:6, withdraws (*sûr*) from Saul (cf. 2 Kgs 2:9, 15; Num 11:17ff.). Thus the transferal of the *rûah* from Saul to David equals the transferal of the blessing (1 Sam 18:12).

(b) One cannot estimate with certainty the extent to which this concept played a role for the historical kings; it occurs fully developed, however, in relation to the messianic king in prophetic oracles of salvation (Isa 11:2; 42:1; 61:1). The promised messianic king bears the spirit (11:2); it equips him with the capabilities for his entirely unpolitical government: wisdom, insight, counsel, strength, knowledge, and fear of Yahweh (28:5 secondarily expanded). The designated servant of God receives the spirit (42:1); he will bring *mišpāt* “justice” to the nations by his suffering (cf. Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 93–96). As a consequence of the amalgamation of charismatic, royal, and prophetic offices in the Servant Songs, Trito-Isaiah can position himself in the tradition of this promise with his message of comfort (61:1).

This promise results in the post-exilic understanding of the leaders of the early period (Moses and Joshua) as bearers of the spirit too (Num 11:17; 27:18; Deut 34:9); even the temple craftsmen were equipped for their artisanship through the divine spirit (Exod 31:3; 35:31). Here the relationship to the “anthropological” usage, in which *rûah* facilitates particular human capabilities (see III/11), becomes only all too clear.

5. In exilic and post-exilic salvation oracles, the endowment of a chosen individual with the spirit is supplemented by the bestowal of the spirit on the entire people of God (Ezek 36:27; 37:14; 39:29; cf. 11:19; 18:31; 36:26; Joel 3:1f.; Isa 32:15; 44:3; 59:21; Hag 2:5). Mutually exclusive in logical terms, the two concepts continue to coexist unreconciled. Although the first involves a relatively closed tradition, the second does not. Instead, it involves a complex of disparate concepts only partially connected to older usages. They agree that *rûah* has been leveled to a constant in all cases.

With reference to the variety of concepts, one should not be misled,

however, by the fact that *rûah* is almost always used with a 1st-per. sg. suf. This usage indicates only that the locus of this concept is Yahweh speech, specifically prophetic proclamations and descriptions of salvation. The verbs *špk* “to pour out” (Ezek 39:29; Joel 3:1f.), *yšq* “to pour out” (Isa 44:3), and *ʿth* ni. “to be emptied out” (Isa 32:15) portray *rûah* as a kind of fluid. The concept borders that of the external psychic force (Isa 19:14; 29:10; cf. Zech 12:10), although the concept of the beneficial rain (Isa 32:15; 44:3) may also have had influence. In addition, *ntn* “to give” (Ezek 36:26f.; 37:14) and *ʿal* “on” in a nom. clause (Isa 59:21) also occur.

(a) The promise of an eschatological bestowal of the spirit on the entire people of God is most richly developed in Ezek. Ezek 36:27 has affinities with the new usage he introduces in this regard (see III/10), in which *rûah* becomes the center of human volition along with *lēb* (11:19; 36:26; cf. 18:31). After the history of disobedience (ch. 20), repentance (18:31f.) is possible only if God implants a new center of volition in the people of God “so that they walk in my statutes” (11:19f.; cf. 36:27). In addition, there is some connection with the other use of *rûah* as breath of life also given prominence by Ezekiel (37:14; see III/8). The spirit that revives those in fatal despair is none other than the promised spirit of God. Ezek 39:29 probably refers to both aspects when it speaks of God’s permanent attention beginning with an outpouring of the spirit (cf. the concept of the new covenant in Jer 31:31ff., combined with the endowment of the spirit in Isa 59:21). The use of the *rûah* concept in Ezek suggests that the expansion of the bestowal of the spirit to the entire people has transpired via the essentially universal anthropological meaning of the term.

(b) Joel 3:1f. explicates the outpouring of the spirit with *nbʿ* ni. “to prophesy,” *hlm hʾlōmôt* “to dream dreams,” and *rʿh hēzyōnôt* “to see visions.” Joel certainly establishes a connection with the old tradition of ecstatic prophecy, but he fundamentally alters it too: “To be a prophet” becomes a permanent condition characterizing a particularly close relationship between God and his people (cf. Num 11:29) and eliminating all social distinctions (v 2; cf. Wolff, *Joel*, Herm, 65ff.).

(c) In Deutero-Isaiah’s promise of salvation in Isa 44:1–5, which neglects to describe the condition of well-being, *rûah* par. *bʿrākâ* “blessing” is the divine power of blessing that brings Israel, currently desolate in its despair, to new growth (v 3); it apparently refers to a natural growth through proselytes. *rûah* projects even farther into the realm of blessing language in the description of well-being in Isa 32:15–20: The spirit poured out from on high simultaneously effects the blooming of nature, justice, and healthy community (*šālôm* v 17).

The promise that God's spirit (and word) would abide in Israel's midst becomes an expression of his companionship and faithfulness in Hag 2:5.

6. In the late period *rûaḥ* becomes a comprehensive theological concept that no longer designates a specific divine act (Isa 34:16; 63:10f., 14; Psa 51:13; 139:7; 143:10; Neh 9:20; cf. also Mic 3:8; Zech 7:12; Neh 9:30); it often simply refers to "God" (cf. the expansion of the anthropological usage). Only now does the phrase "Holy Spirit" arise (Isa 63:10f.; Psa 51:13); it is actually an oxymoron, given the dynamic significance of *rûaḥ* and the static character of *qādôš* "holy."

V. The LXX translates *rûaḥ* in three-fourths of all instances with *pneuma*, which originally corresponded wholly to it even etymologically but which Hellenism loaded with a multitude of philosophical and worldview concepts whose adaptation the LXX prepared and enabled, though it did not complete them. Despite this harmonization, the varied breadth of the OT word field is preserved to a degree: the basic meanings appear in *anemos* "wind" and *pnoē* "wind, breath"; words that attempt to do justice to the variety of emotional states that *rûaḥ* can indicate are particularly numerous (e.g., *thymos*, *oligopsychos*); other anthropological terms appear rarely (*haima*, *nous*, *psychē*).

*rûaḥ* had a broad and particularly multilayered history in Judaism, whose development deserves separate treatment (cf. the overview offered by E. Sjöberg in *TDNT* 6:375–89; P. Schäfer, *Die Vorstellungen vom heiligen Geist in der rabbinischen Literatur* [1972]; on Qumran, cf. F. Nötscher, "Geist und Geister in den Texten von Qumran," FS Robert 305–15).

The NT primarily continues the two competing trends of late salvation prophecy: the *rûaḥ* associated with the designation of the messianic king in Jesus' baptism (Mark 1:10f. par.) and the outpouring of the spirit on the entire people of God in the bestowal of the pentecostal spirit on the primitive community (Acts 2); see H. Kleinknecht et al., "πνεῦμα," *TDNT* 6:332–455.

R. Albertz/C. Westermann

## רום *rûm* to be high

S 7311; BDB 926b; *HALOT* 3:1202a; *ThWAT* 7:425–34; *TWOT* 2133; *NIDOTTE* 8123

1. The root *rûm* "to be high" is attested in the entire WSem. linguistic realm (cf. e.g., Huffmon 261f.; *WUS* no. 2514; *UT* no. 2311; *DISO* 168,

275f., 280; KBL 1123b; LS 720f.; W. W. Müller, “Die Wurzeln Mediae und Tertiae y/w im Altsüdarabischen” [diss., Tübingen, 1962], 59f.). It transforms into Jew. Aram. *rʾm*; cf. also *rʾm* qal in Zech 14:10 (BL 404). *rmm* occurs in the OT as an additional by-form (qal Job 24:24; ni. Num 17:10; Ezek 10:15, 17, 19).

In addition to the verb stems qal “to be high, arise” (with the verbal adj. *rām* “high”; cf. Joüon §§50b, 80d-e), po. “to bring into the heights” (with po. pass.), hi. “to arise” (with ho. pass.), and hitpo. “to arise,” the Hebr. OT also has numerous nom. derivatives, of which, however, only *rûm* “height, pride” (subst. qal inf., BL 452), *rāmâ* “hill” (subst. fem. verbal adj.), *mārôm* “height” (BL 491), and *tʿrûmâ* “contribution” (BL 496) are common, while the remainder are hapax legomena: *rôm* “height” (Hab 3:10 txt?), *rômâ* “elevation” (Mic 2:3, adv. acc. “upright/proud”), *rāmût* (Ezek 32:5 txt? cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:155), *rômām* “elevation, exaltation” (Psa 149:6), *rômēmût* “elevation” (Isa 33:3), *tʿrûmîyâ* “contribution” (Ezek 48:12, subst. poss. adj.; cf. Zimmerli, op. cit. 2:522f.; contra Wagner 132).

Bibl. Aram. knows the verb in the pe., po., ha., and hitpolel, as well as the subst. *rûm* “height.”

The root also forms the basis for the place-names *rāmâ* (“hill”), *mērôm* (“high place”; cf. Noth, HAT 7, 148), etc., as well as for numerous PNs such as <sup>ʾ</sup>*bîrām*/<sup>ʾ</sup>*abrām*, <sup>ʾ</sup>*dônram*, <sup>ʾ</sup>*hîrām* → *hîrām/hîrôm*, *y(h)ôrām*, etc., and perhaps also *yirmʿyā(hû)* (IP 52, 145f., 201; Rudolph, HAT 12, 3; further, Huffmon 261f.; Buccellati 178; Gröndahl 182f.; Benz 408f.; but cf. also W. von Soden, *UF* 2 [1970]: 269–72). On the PN *rʿmalyāhû*, cf. D. M. Beegle, *BASOR* 123 (1951): 28; W. L. Moran, *FS Albright* (1961), 61.

2. The verb (incl. the verbal adj. *rām*) occurs in 189 Hebr. and 4 Aram. instances: qal 68x (excl. the verbal adj. [according to Lis.], 37x, 19x in Psa; also 1x Aram., Dan 5:20), po. 25x (13x in Psa), po. pass. 3x (Psa 66:17; 75:11; Neh 9:5; and 1x Aram., Dan 4:34), hitpolel 2x (Isa 33:10; Dan 11:36; and 1x Aram., Dan 5:23), hi. 88x (14x in Num, 11x each in Isa and Psa; also 1x Aram. ha., Dan 5:19), ho. 3x (Exod 29:27; Lev 4:10; in Dan 8:11 Q). Noms. (excl. *rām* 31x) occur 147x in Hebr. and 5x in Aram. (*rûm*): *rûm* 6x, *rāmâ* 5x (incl. 1 Sam 22:6 txt?), *mārôm* 54x (Isa 16x, Psa 13x), and *tʿrûmâ* 76x (Ezek 20x, Num 18x, Exod 17x, Lev 6x), the others 1x each (see 1).

3. All meanings of *rûm* and its derivatives group tightly around the basic meaning “to be high, arise.”

(a) *rûm* qal refers to stars (Job 22:12), cliffs (Psa 61:3), and streets (Isa 49:11), etc. The verbal adj. *rām* “high” refers primarily to mountains (Deut 12:2; Isa 2:14), hills (Ezek 6:13; 20:28; 34:6), and trees (Isa 2:13;

Ezek 17:22). In reference to people, it indicates great stature (Deut 1:28; 2:10, 21; 9:2; cf. *rāmēhaqqômâ* “those grown tall,” Isa 10:33).

The contexts suggest various possible translations for *rûm* po.: “to lift up” (Psa 27:5), “to let” a tree “grow tall” (Ezek 31:4), “to peak” the waves (Psa 107:25), “to erect” a building (the temple, Ezra 9:9 par. → *ʿmd* hi.; cf. Ug. *rmm hkl* “to erect a palace,” *KTU* 1.4.V.52, 54, VI.17 par. *bny* “to build”). In an extended meaning, it refers to the rearing of children (Isa 1:2; 23:4 par. *gdl* pi.).

(b) A causative hi. occurs in the objective realm in reference to lifting, raising a staff (Exod 14:16; 7:20 with *be*), a stone (Josh 4:5), a coat (2 Kgs 2:13), the hand (Exod 17:11; Num 20:11) lifted in an oath (Gen 14:22; Dan 12:7), the countenance (Ezra 9:6), and a yoke or a child (Hos 11:4; cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 199f.). The translation “to erect” seems appropriate for Gen 31:45 (obj. *maššēbâ* “memorial stone”); Isa 49:22; and 62:10 (obj. *nēs* “banner”; cf. → *nśʹ nēs*, Isa 11:12; 13:2); cf. Old Aram. *whmw šr* “they erected a wall” (*KAI* no. 202A.10).

In an extended usage, *rûm* hi. applies to raising the voice in the meaning “to speak loudly, cry out”: *rûm* hi. *qôl* (Gen 39:15, 18; Isa 40:9; 58:1 par. → *qrʹ* “to call”; Isa 13:2 with *le* of the person; Ezek 21:27; Job 38:34; Ezra 3:12) or *b<sup>e</sup>qôl* (1 Chron 15:16); cf. *qôlrām* “with a raised voice, loudly” (Deut 27:14). The context and par. terms *hṛp* pi. “to jeer” and *gdp* pi. “to deride” suggest the translation “to speak haughtily” for 2 Kgs 19:22 = Isa 37:23 *rûm* hi. *qôl ʿal* “to raise the voice against (someone).”

“To raise” also produces the meaning “to lift off, take away, remove” (Isa 57:14; Ezek 21:31; 45:9 par. → *sûr* hi.; ho. pass. Dan 8:11 Q; in sacrifice regulations in Lev 2:9; 4:8, 19, etc.).

Finally, in cultic regulations *rûm* hi. means “to present” (see 3g regarding *t<sup>e</sup>rûmâ*).

(c) One can still discern the original concrete meaning in the following phrases with fig. meanings:

*rûm* qal in conjunction with → *yād* “hand” produces the meaning “to be mighty, triumph (as a symbol of might and power)” (Deut 32:27; Mic 5:8; cf. also *b<sup>e</sup>yādrāmâ* “with raised hand,” Exod 14:8; Num 33:3). *rûm* hi. *yādb<sup>e</sup>* “to raise the hand against” (1 Kgs 11:26f.) “originally meant lifting the hand to deliver a (death-)blow, but then, fig. . . . taking the offensive against someone” (Noth, BK 9, 256; cf. ZB “to arise”; RSV “lifted up hand against”; NRSV, NIV, NEB “rebelled against”). Regarding *b<sup>e</sup>yād rāmâ* “deliberately,” cf. → *yād* 3d (2); → *z<sup>e</sup>rôa<sup>e</sup> rāmâ* “an arm raised high,” Job 38:15, indicates the haughty, evil attitude of the *r<sup>e</sup>šāʿîm* “godless.”

*qeren* occurs as the subj. of the qal (1 Sam 2:1; Psa 89:18 Q, 25; 112:9) and po. pass. (Psa 75:11) and as the obj. of the hi. (1 Sam 2:10; Psa

75:5f.; 92:11; Lam 2:17; 1 Chron 25:5); “the image is taken from the wild ox (Psa 92:11) who stands with uplifted horn feeling his full strength, challenging the opponent, an image also known to the Babylonians” (Gunkel, *Psa*, HKAT [19264], 327; on the metaphorical use of Hebr. *qeren* and Akk. *qarnu* “horn,” cf. Dhorme 34–41). The image describes positively concepts such as “to triumph” (e.g., 1 Sam 2:1) and “to bestow power” (cf. 1 Sam 2:10 par. *ntn* *ʿōz* “to give vitality”), negatively the immeasurable hubris of the *r<sup>ʿ</sup>šāʿim* (Psa 75:5f.).

*rûm* hi. *rōʾš* “to lift the head” applies in Psa 110:7 to the king—as “a gesture of beaming superiority” (Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:352)—and in 140:9f. txt em (cf. Gunkel, op. cit. 595) to the enemies of the accused and means virtually “to be proud, victorious, to triumph.” According to H. Schmidt (*Psa*, HAT 15, 7), “to raise someone’s head” was originally a legal act in which the judge lifts a defendant from the ground in acquittal, and in Psa 3:4 (subj. Yahweh) it produces the meaning “to distinguish someone, bring to honor, elevate to a position of power”; → *rōʾš* 3a; cf. Akk. *ullû rēša* “to be proud” (CAD E:126).

Various passages use *rûm* qal with → *lēb* “heart” (Deut 8:14; 17:20; Ezek 31:10; Hos 13:6; Aram., Dan 5:20) or *ʿēnayim* “eyes” (→ *ʿayin*; Psa 131:1; Prov 30:13) as subj. (cf. also *ʿēnayim rāmôt* Psa 18:28; Prov 6:17) to designate a haughty, arrogant, presumptuous attitude (cf. *rûm* “pride,” Isa 2:11, 17; *rûm lēb* Jer 48:29; *rûm ʿēnayim* Isa 10:12; Prov 21:4; *nś<sup>ʾ</sup> mārôm ʿēnayim* “to raise one’s eyes high,” 2 Kgs 19:22 = Isa 37:23).

It may be that Old Aram. Sef. III (= *KAI* no. 224), ll. 5f. *wlthrm nbšhm mny* should be similarly understood; so F. Rosenthal, *BASOR* 158 (1960): 29n.4: cf. *DISO* 275f.: “you will not lift their souls without me (i.e., disdainful of my concerns, not forgetful of my concerns)”; but one cannot rule out the meaning “to take away, withhold” (cf. *DISO* 275; *KAI* 2:267).

(d) *rûm* in a fig. meaning can be used positively or negatively (as can the usages already treated in 3c); cf. → *g<sup>ʾ</sup>h*, → *gbh*, → *nś<sup>ʾ</sup>*.

Positively, the resultant meaning is qal “(to ascend =) to come to honor” (Isa 52:13 par. → *śkl* hi., → *nś<sup>ʾ</sup>* ni., and → *gbh*), po. “to elevate a person in status, bring to honor” (1 Sam 2:7; 2 Sam 22:49 = Psa 18:49; Psa 9:14; Job 17:4 [on the form, cf. Horst, BK 16/1, 242]; Prov 4:8 par. *kbd* pi. “to honor”; 14:34), and the hi. similarly (1 Sam 2:8; 1 Kgs 14:7; Psa 75:8; 89:20; 113:7; Aram. ha., Dan 5:19). The antonym of this use is *špl* hi. “to debase” (1 Sam 2:7; Psa 75:8; Aram. ha., Dan 5:19; cf. 2 Sam 22:28; also Ah. 149f.: “If thou, my son, wouldst be [exalted, humble thyself before God] who humbles the lofty man and [exalts the humble man]” [Cowley 217, 225; similarly *ANET* 429b]).

Negatively, *rûm* indicates the arrogant, haughty attitude (*rām* 2 Sam 22:28; Isa 2:12; hitpo. “to exalt oneself proudly,” Aram. Dan 5:23; 11:36). Regarding par. terms and synonyms of arrogance, see → *gʿh* 3b.

(e) The subst. *rāmâ* occurs once in the meaning “hill” (1 Sam 22:6) and develops from this appellative into a place-name (see 1). In Ezek 16:24f., 31, 39 it should be understood, synonymous with *gab* “base,” in the context of the cultic sacrifice performed on altar platforms that entered Israel with the Assyr. worship of Ishtar, as a technical term for a “(walled; cf. *bnh* ‘to build’) altar (platform),” a “high place” (cf. O. Eissfeldt, *JPOS* 16 [1936]: 286–92 = *KS* [1963], 2:101–6).

(f) *mārôm* “height” (primarily used poetically) indicates concretely, first, the height of the mountains (2 Kgs 19:23 = Isa 37:24a; Jer 31:12; Ezek 17:23; 20:40; 34:14—the concept of the mythic mountain of the gods may stand in the background here, according to Zimmerli, *op. cit.* 1:417; cf. Ug. *mrym špn*, *KTU* 1.4.IV.19, V.23, etc.), of a hill (Jer 49:16; cf. Obad 3 txt?), of a city (Prov 9:3, 14; according to W. F. Albright, *SVT* 3 [1955]: 9; cf. *id.*, *JPOS* 14 [1934]: 134n.175, it refers to the acropolis), generally to a high place (Isa 22:16; 26:5), so that the translation “upward, in the heights” seems appropriate on occasion (2 Kgs 19:22 = Isa 37:23; Psa 75:6; in Hab 3:10 txt? *rôm* may be understood in the same sense).

The expanded usage of *mārôm* or *m<sup>ê</sup>rômîm* (e.g., in Psa 148:1; Job 16:19; 25:2; 31:2 as a pl. of spatial extension; cf. GKC §124a–b) describes the heights of heaven (Isa 24:18, 21; 32:15; 38:14; 58:4; Psa 18:17; 71:19; 93:4; 144:7; Job 16:19 par. → *šamayim* “heaven”; 31:2 par. *mimma<sup>al</sup>* “above, up there”; Lam 1:13) as God’s dwelling (Isa 33:5; 57:15; Jer 25:30 par. *m<sup>ê</sup>ôn qodšô* “his holy dwelling place”; Mic 6:6 “God of the heights”; Psa 7:8; 68:19; 92:9; 102:20; Job 25:2). In a few passages (Isa 32:15; 38:14; 58:14), *mārôm* may replace the divine designation (in reluctance to use it? cf. Fohrer, *Jesaja*, *ZBK* [19672], 2:132, 197n.35).

*mārôm* is used fig. as a social term for a person’s lofty status (Isa 24:4; Eccl 10:6; cf. also Job 5:11). In addition, the word characterizes a haughty attitude (2 Kgs 19:22 = Isa 37:23; Psa 73:8; 75:6; perhaps also Psa 56:3; cf. BDB 929a).

(g) The term *t<sup>ê</sup>rûmâ* “elevation, contribution,” also often rendered “wave (offering),” which occurs about one-third of the time in conjunction with Yahweh (*t<sup>ê</sup>rûmâ l<sup>ê</sup>yhwh* or *t<sup>ê</sup>rûmat yhwh*), occurs first in Deut, chiefly in Ezek and P (or additions to it), and in some later texts, almost exclusively in cultic regulations. It is constructed with the verbs *rûm* hi. (Num 15:19; 18:19, 24, 26, 28f.; 31:52; Ezek 45:1), → *bô<sup>ʿ</sup>* hi. “to bring” (Exod 35:5, 21, 24; 36:3; Deut 12:6; Neh 10:38; 2 Chron 31:10, 12), → *ntn* “to give” (Exod 30:13–15; Num 15:21; 31:29, 41), → *lqh* “to raise” (Exod 25:2f.; 35:5), and

→ *qrb* hi. “to present” (Lev 7:14). The term, already assumed to be well known in Deut 12:6, 11, 17, is never defined more precisely.

It may have originally referred to a particular kind of sacral presentation of gifts in which a portion was consecrated and symbolically transferred— not burned but placed at the priest’s disposal—through *t<sup>e</sup>rûmâ* “elevation,” i.e., by being lifted high before the altar of Yahweh (cf. Noth, *Lev*, OTL, 61f.; according to Elliger, HAT 4, 102f., *t<sup>e</sup>rûmâ* was a fiscal term from the outset; cf. Prov 29:4; contra G. R. Driver, *JSS* 1 [1956]: 100–105, who derives *t<sup>e</sup>rûmâ* from an Akk. verb *tarāmu* “to levy, remove,” and seeks to explain it as an Assy.-Bab. fiscal technical term borrowed by the Jewish exiles; but he overlooks the fact that the term is already attested in the pre-exilic period; cf. also Ug. *trmmt* “offering” according to *UT* no. 2311; W. von Soden, *UF* 2 [1970]: 271 mentions a relationship to Akk. *riānum/rāmu* II “to present” and an original meaning “present”).

*t<sup>e</sup>rûmâ* appears in the OT as a general term for various cultic contributions that go to the priests (Lev 7:14, 32; 22:12; Num 5:9; 18:8, 11, 19, 28; Ezek 44:30; 2 Chron 31:10, 12, 14; perhaps Mal 3:8) and the Levites (Num 18:24), in Ezek also to the prince (*nāšî’* Ezek 45:16), in particular a term for the animal sacrifice of the so-called “elevation thigh” (*šôq t<sup>e</sup>rûmâ* Exod 29:27f.; Lev 7:34; 10:14f.; Num 6:20 together with the “wave breast,” *h<sup>a</sup>zê t<sup>e</sup>nûpâ*), for agricultural products (Lev 7:14; Num 15:19f.; Neh 10:38, 40; cf. *š<sup>e</sup>dê t<sup>e</sup>rûmôt* 2 Sam 1:21 txt?), for the tithe paid to the Levites (Num 18:26–29), and for the spoils of war (Num 31:29, 41, 52). In Ezekiel’s schema, chs. 45 and 48 limit *t<sup>e</sup>rûmâ* specifically to the land, from which a portion is set aside as a holy dedication (*t<sup>e</sup>rûmathaqqōdeš* Ezek 45:6f.; 48:10, 18, 20b, 21a, c; only *t<sup>e</sup>rûmâ* 45:1; 48:8f., 20a, 21b) for the temple and for the use of the priests and the Levites. Moreover, *t<sup>e</sup>rûmâ* indicates contributions for furnishing the sanctuary (Exod 25:2f.; 35:5, 21, 24; 36:3, 6; Ezra 8:25), the cultic tax regularly exacted in the post-exilic community (Exod 30:13–15, cf. Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 236).

The Qumran texts exhibit a modification to the extent that the phrase *t<sup>e</sup>rûmat š<sup>e</sup>pātayim* (1QS 9:4; 10:6, 14) refers to the praise of God as “a heave offering of the lips.” On the rabbinic definition of the *t<sup>e</sup>rûmâ*, see StrB 4:646ff.

*t<sup>e</sup>rûmâ* occurs in the meaning “contribution, tax” in the profane realm in Prov 29:4 (*š<sup>e</sup>t t<sup>e</sup>rûmâ* “one out for contributions, taxes”) and Isa 40:20 (*m<sup>e</sup>sukkân t<sup>e</sup>rûmâ* “who can contribute only a little”).

4. The meanings of the word group *rûm* in the theological realm are closely related to the meaning examined in above in 3. The following areas should be mentioned primarily:

(a) *rûm* designates one's haughty, arrogant attitude (see 3c-d). While somewhat more general wisdom pronouncements maintain that God humbles the high and elevates the lowly (cf. 1 Sam 2:8; Psa 113:7; Aḥ. 150) and consequently encourage a humble attitude toward him (cf. Aḥ. 149), even that "arrogant eyes" are among those things that Yahweh hates (Prov 6:17; cf. 21:4; 30:13), a few passages characterize human *rûm* as the hubris of the godless (cf. Psa 75:5f.; Job 38:15; also the righteous person's affirmation of innocence, Psa 131:1) toward God that causes one to forget Yahweh (Deut 8:14; Hos 13:6) and take God's place (so Psa 73:8 according to H. Ringgren, *VT* 3 [1953]: 267). According to Isaiah, who has affinities with wisdom, the day of Yahweh results precisely because Yahweh, claiming to be "high" alone, brings judgment on this arrogance (Isa 2:12; cf. → *gʿh* and → *gbh*; Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 115).

(b) In statements concerning God (chiefly in hymnic texts), *rûm* describes his sole sovereign majesty (Psa 46:11; 99:2; 113:4; 138:6; cf. Isa 57:15; Job 25:2) in relation to the old tradition of God's kingship as the king of heaven and the Lord (cf. Isa 33:5) and judge of the world (cf. Psa 7:8; Jer 25:30; Job 21:22—here as judge over the *rāmîm*, which occurs only in this passage in the meaning "lofty ones" as the heavenly judicial assembly; cf. Fohrer, KAT 16, 345), who dwells—eternally (*I<sup>e</sup>cōlām* Psa 92:9)—in the heights, *mārôm* (see 3f; Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, KAT [19293], 1:342, sees the *ʿlōhê mārôm* in Mic 6:6 as a par. to the old divine designation *ʿēl ʿlyôn*), is present on Zion (cf. Psa 18:47; 99:2), and proclaims his lordly power (to deliver) (cf. Psa 18:17; 57:6, 12; 108:6; 144:7), and who, from on high, accepts the lowly (cf. Isa 57:15; Psa 102:20; 138:6).

Statements concerning Yahweh's nobility also occasionally use *šgb* ni. "to be high, noble" (Isa 2:11, 17; 33:5; his name: Isa 12:4; Psa 148:13; his omniscience: Psa 139:6; cf. Job 36:22 hi. "to act nobly"). *šgb* qal/ni. is otherwise common for lofty cities and walls (qal Deut 2:36; ni. Isa 26:5; 30:13; picturesquely in Prov 18:10f.; fig. of a fortunate person in Job 5:11, qal).

(c) "The act of venerating and petitioning the *rômēm* corresponds to what is fitting for the *rām*. . . . This means that Yahweh in every form is to be recognized and acknowledged as the 'high and uplifted one'" (Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:270 on Psa 99:5). *rûm* po. with God as obj. also occurs, then, in hymnic literature (cf. Exod 15:2; Isa 25:1; Psa 30:2; 34:4; 99:5, 9; 107:32; 118:28; 145:1; Aram., Dan 4:34; perhaps cj. Psa 18:2) and is best rendered "to exalt, praise." Cf. the par. terms → *brk* pi. (Psa 145:1), *gdI* pi. (34:4), → *hll* pi. (107:32; 145:2), → *ydh* hi. (Isa 25:1; Psa 118:28), Aram. *hdr* pa. and

*šbh* pa. (Dan 4:34). *rômām* (Psa 149:6; 66:17 txt em) should also be understood as the praise of God.

(d) The bibl. and extrabibl. theophoric nom. clause names formed with *rûm* should be classified as “confessional names” in the tradition of God’s nobility mentioned above (see 1).

5. Qumran and early Judaism continue the OT usage of the root. The LXX renders *rûm* primarily with *hypsoun*; the hi., however, variously with composites of *airein*. Regarding the NT, see esp. G. Bertram, “ὕψος,” *TDNT* 8:602–20.

H.-P. Stähli

### רחם *rḥm* pi. **to have mercy**

S 7355; BDB 933b; *HALOT* 3:1216b; *ThWAT* 7:460–77; *TWOT* 2146; *NIDOTTE* 8163

### חמל *ḥml* **to have compassion**

S 2550; BDB 328a; *HALOT* 1:328a; *TDOT* 4:470–72; *TWOT* 676; *NIDOTTE* 2798

1. Both *\*raḥm-* “womb, viscera” and derivatives that describe the mercy localized in this part of the body (Dhorme 134f.) are common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 218f.; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/20 [1964]: 257, 272, 279; G. Schmuttermayr, *Bib* 51 [1970]: 499–532; Akk. *rēmu/rēmu*, *AHw* 970f.; Eth. transposes: *mḥr*, Dillmann 157f.); the subst. occurs in Ug. as a *pars pro toto* designation for “maiden” (*WUS* no. 2502; *UT* no. 2321; A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature* [1954], 110f.), Hebr. (Judg 5:30 of female prisoners of war), and Moab. (*KAI* no. 181.17). The general meaning of the verb usually pertains to the superior’s love for the subordinate (“to have mercy”); esp. in Aram. the meaning is expanded to “to love” per se (*DISO* 277f.; *LS* 723f.). The root occurs as an element in PNs in Akk. (Stamm, *AN* 167f., 190, 291ff.), Amor. (Huffmon 261), and Hebr. (*IP* 187, 199).

The OT has the substs. *reḥem* “womb” (regarding Jer 20:17, cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 132) and *raḥam* “maiden” (see above; dual *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mātayim*), the abstract pl. *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mîm* “mercy” (Bibl. Aram. *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mîn*, Dan 2:18; cf. BLA 305), the adj. *raḥûm* “merciful” (BL 480), the Aramaism *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mānî* “merciful” (BL 501; Wagner no. 283), and the verb in the qal (only Psa 18:2 txt? in the

meaning “to love [God],” → *ḥb* III/1; IV/3; perhaps an Aramaism; contrast Schmuttermayr, op. cit.), pi., and pu.

The root occurs only rarely in PNs: *raḥam* 1 Chron 2:44 (according to *IP* 187, an abbreviated form; according to *BS* 86 it equals *raḥam* “vulture,” with an original *ḥ*), *r<sup>o</sup>ḥûm* Ezra 2:2, etc. (*IP* 38, 187: abbreviated name), and *y<sup>o</sup>raḥm<sup>o</sup>ēl* Jer 36:26, etc. (*y<sup>o</sup>rōḥām* in e.g., 1 Sam 1:1 is uncertain; *IP* 226: “soft, tender”).

2. Statistics: *rḥm* qal 1x (see 1), pi. 42x (Isa 12x, Jer 10x, Psa and Hos 4x each), pu. 4x (Hos 3x, excl. the symbolic name *lō<sup>o</sup>ruḥāmâ* in 1:6, 8; also Prov 28:13); *reḥem* 30x (Job 5x, Gen, Exod, Num and Jer 4x each), *raḥam* 2x (Judg 5:30), *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mîm* 39x (incl. 1 Kgs 3:26; Psa 11x, Neh 5x, Isa 4x), *raḥûm* 13x (Psa 6x), *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mānî* 1x (Lam 4:10); Bibl. Aram. *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mîn* 1x (Dan 2:18).

3. (a) *reḥem* indicates the womb as the point of origin for all human and animal life, often in conjunction with *peṭer* “that which opens (the womb), first birth” (Exod 13:2, 12, 15; 34:19; Num 3:12; 18:15; Ezek 20:26; *piṭrâ* Num 8:16). Fig. usages occur in Psa 110:3 txt? (“from the womb of the dawn”) and Job 38:8 (birth of the sea); the text of Job 24:20 should be emended (see *BH* 3). Most statements with *reḥem* assume that Yahweh is the Lord of birth and life (see 4a).

(b) *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mîm* generally indicates the emotion of mercy, at first probably the locus of the emotion (“viscera, entrails”); cf. fig. usages with *kmr* ni. “to kindle” (Gen 43:30; 1 Kgs 3:26; in Hos 11:8 with *niḥûmîm* “compassion”; cf. Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 212), probably in reference to the accompanying physiological phenomena of strong emotion (cf. Dhorme 134f.); the concrete meaning “entrails” or the like also makes better sense in Prov 12:10: “the ‘heart’ of the evildoer is cruel” (not: the furtherance of life brings death, with A. Jepsen, *KerD* 7 [1961]: 263). In an expanded parallelism, *mē<sup>o</sup>im*, the proper word for “viscera, entrails, body,” can approximate *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mîm* (Isa 63:15; cf. Jer 31:20 alongside *rḥm* pi.).

The intensity and character of the emotional element are determined by the nature of the subject and the degree of inner participation; at any rate, *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mîm* is primarily the “soft place” in the human being (Gen 43:30). This understanding also appears in the combination of *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mîm* with *ntn* “to give, bestow” (Isa 47:6 with *sîm*; in 2 Chron 30:9 a nom. clause or, assuming a textual error, with *hyh*; cf. Rudolph, HAT 21, 300): Yahweh allows one to find mercy with someone (in various constructions, Gen 43:14; Deut 13:18; 1 Kgs 8:50; Isa 47:6; Jer 42:12; Psa 106:46; Dan 1:9; Neh 1:11; cf. also Cowley no. 30.2 in the Aram. texts from Elephantine). The real consequence of this emotion was expressed by a continuing pf.

cons. in older (?) texts (Gen 43:14; Deut 13:18; 1 Kgs 8:50; Jer 42:12). *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mîm* is thus an emotion oriented toward a specific action (H. J. Stoebe, *VT* 2 [1952]: 246; Jepsen, op. cit. 261–64).

In Amos 1:11, “because (Edom) has destroyed his mercy,” *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mîm* is newly interpreted as a treaty term (cf. M. Fishbane, *JBL* 89 [1970]: 313–18; R. B. Coote, *JBL* 90 [1971]: 206–8).

(c) In the relatively few passages with a human subj., *rḥm* pi. “to have mercy” applies either to a mother (Isa 49:15), a father (Psa 103:13), or to enemies (1 Kgs 8:50; Isa 13:18; Jer 6:23; 21:7; 42:12; 50:42). The marked diminishment of fem. subjs. is probably accidental and necessitates neither textual emendation of Isa 49:15 nor the postulation of a denominative verb from *reḥem* (M. Dahood, *Bib* 44 [1963]: 204f.: \**m<sup>e</sup>raḥēm* “bearer”). This statement can be understood against the background of Lam 4:10, where *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mānî* probably means “maternal feelings” rather than “weak-hearted.” The cessation of maternal love rooted in natural affinity is the most unnatural thing imaginable. Isa 49:15 shows how Yahweh’s love transcends all human comparisons.

With a masc. subj., it refers primarily to the love of a father (Psa 103:13 in comparison to the love of God). Here the volitional aspect implied in this love is heavily emphasized, esp. in the symbolic names *lō<sup>ʔ</sup> ruḥāmā* “Not pitied” (Hos 1:6, 8; 2:25) or *ruḥāmā* (2:3; cf. *rḥm* pi. 1:6f.; 2:6, 25), formed with *rḥm* pu. This love does not concern an emotionally rooted fatherly tenderness but a volitional acknowledgment (or rejection) of paternity involving the resultant duties of providing security and protection for the child. The differentiation implied in the term may also be explained in relation to early magical notions of a “true life” transcending physical life (acceptance into the community; cf. C. H. Ratschow, *Magie und Religion* [1947], 32f.). It could also constitute the background for the various adoption rites symbolizing birth (e.g., Gen 30:3; 48:12; 50:23; cf. A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea* [1908], 3:214; cf. Stoebe, op. cit. 246).

The combination of *rḥm* pi./pu. with *yātôm* “orphan” in Hos 14:4 (addition), Isa 9:16 (orphans named before widows, otherwise usually the reverse; cf. Psa 68:6 “father of orphans”), and Jer 31:20 is directly related to this concept. Statements with an enemy conqueror as the subj. of *rḥm* pi. are naturally less profiled (positively, 1 Kgs 8:50 and Jer 42:12 with preceding *ntn* + (*I<sup>e</sup>*)*raḥ<sup>a</sup>mîm*; negated, Isa 13:18; Jer 6:23; 21:7; 50:42). But the notion of the preservation or facilitation of life always echoes in this usage too.

The OT always uses *rḥm* of the superior in relation to the inferior, never of a person in relation to God. Unless it should be emended

altogether (cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:254, 258f.), *rḥm* qal in *Psa* 18:2 can be explained as an Aramaism (cf. *HP* 222f.; contra Schmittermayr, op. cit.).

(d) Semantically related verbs used with and par. to *rḥm* pi. include chiefly → *ḥnn* qal “to be gracious to someone” (*Exod* 33:19; *2 Kgs* 13:23; *Isa* 27:11; 30:18; *Psa* 102:14; cf. *Psa* 116:5 *ḥannûn* “gracious” par. *m<sup>c</sup>rahēm* “merciful”; see 4 on *rahûm*), *ḥml* qal “to feel compassion, pardon, spare” (*Jer* 13:14; 21:7), and *ḥûs* qal “to be sad, have mercy, spare” (*Isa* 13:18; *Jer* 13:14; 21:7), also → *šûb* qal/hi. *š<sup>e</sup>bût* “to alter fate” (*Deut* 30:3; *Jer* 30:18; 33:26; *Ezek* 39:25), *nḥm* pi. “to comfort” (*Isa* 49:13), *yš<sup>c</sup>* hi. “to help” (*Hos* 1:7), etc.; for *śmḥ* “to rejoice” in *Isa* 9:16 an original verb *\*śmḥ* “to spare” has been suggested on the basis of Arab. *samuḥu* “to be kind, magnanimous” (KBL 986a; Wildberger, *Isa* 1–12, CC, 219, 221).

In contrast to *rḥm* pi., *ḥml* qal emphasizes more the aspect of sparing (“to feel pity, compassion, [to wish] to pardon, spare”; it occurs 40x in the OT, 7x in *Ezek*, 5x in *Jer*, 4x each in *1 Sam*, *Job*, and *Lam*; with God as subj. 17x, 13x negated; on its etymology, cf. *HAL* 315a, contra L. Kopf, *VT* 8 [1958]: 172; subst. derivatives include *ḥemlâ* [*Gen* 19:16; *Isa* 63:9] and *ḥumlâ* [*Ezek* 16:5] “compassion”; regarding the PN *ḥāmûl*, see *IP* 181). While *rḥm* pi. is trans. (“to cause someone to feel merciful”), the emotion expressed by *ḥml* is related to its goal by preps. or is stated abs. (cf. *HP* 223). The consequence of pity is not, as with *rḥm* pi., that one is (re)established in life-securing relationships but that one is spared from an impending fate or a decreed punishment. Finally, one can generally understand such pity as compassion, mercy (cf. e.g., *Jer* 15:5; *Joel* 2:18; *Mal* 3:17); the boundaries become particularly obscure in later texts (in *Ezek* 16:5, *ḥumlâ* comes very close to the meaning of *rḥm* pi., as does *ḥemlâ* in *Isa* 63:9). Regarding *maḥmāl* in *Ezek* 24:21, cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, *Herm*, 1:503; → *nepcš* III/3b.

Somewhat more remote in meaning from *rḥm* pi. is the verb *ḥûs* qal “to be concerned,” which often parallels *ḥml* qal (etymology is uncertain; cf. the bibliog. in *HAL* 286a; H. Cazelles, *GLECS* 12/13 [1967–69]: 132–34; 24x in the OT, 9x in *Ezek*, 5x in *Deut*; used positively only 6x). *‘ayin* “eye” is the subj. in two-thirds of the cases; expressions without *‘ayin* are synonymous (cf. L. Köhler, *OLZ* 32 [1929]: 617f.; contra D. Künstlinger, *OLZ* 33 [1930]: 969f.). It refers to an emotion that does not necessarily produce concrete measures (“to be concerned, worried” or, since thoughtlessness must often be understood as cruelty, “to regard sympathetically, feel compassion”). In the tripartite formula in *Jer* 13:14 and 21:7 with *ḥml* qal, *ḥûs* qal, and *rḥm* pi., the last appears appropriately at the end, while the first two could be interchanged.

The hapax legomenon *ʿgm* qal “to be sorrowful because of” = “to have sympathy for” (Job 30:25; cf. J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT* [1955], 60) operates in a similar semantic realm.

The adj. *ʾakzārî* “cruel” should be mentioned as a clear antonym for *rḥm* pi. (Jer 6:23; 50:42; *ʾakzār* occurs 4x in the OT, *ʾakzārî* 8x; also *ʾakzʿrîyûṭ* “cruelty,” Prov 27:4).

4. (a) Various expressions with *reḥem* acknowledge Yahweh as the Lord of life. He closes and opens the womb (Gen 20:18; 29:31; 30:22; 1 Sam 1:5f.; cf. Hos 9:14; Prov 30:16), he prepares the fruit of the womb (Gen 49:25) and cause it to come forth (Job 10:18). Rebellion against Yahweh can consequently be expressed as an objection against the womb (Jer 20:17f.; Job 3:11 “Why did I not die at birth, pass away as I came out of the womb?”). The mention of the *reḥem* can also be associated with the awareness of an ethical obligation toward one’s neighbor (Job 31:15 “Has not the one who created me also created him? Has not the same one prepared us in the womb?”; cf. also Amos 1:11 LXX; see Rudolph, KAT 13/2, 127). Even when *reḥem* indicates a period of time (“from the womb on”), this time is subject to Yahweh’s plan (Isa 46:3; Jer 1:5; Psa 22:11) or to his rejection (Psa 58:4).

(b) Four-fifths of all occurrences of *rḥm* pi. have God as subj.; God is always the agent of *rḥm* pu. The Hos passages demonstrate that the act of Yahweh described by *rḥm* pi. signifies installation (or the reinstallation) in the child-parent relation (Hos 1:6; 2:6, 25) that is not sentimental but thoroughly real (see 3c). In the exilic period *rḥm* pi. depicts the reestablishment of the damaged relationship to God characterized by return to the promised land (Jer 12:15; 42:12 LXX; Zech 10:6; cf. v 10) or remaining there (Jer 42:12 MT), as well as by the reconstruction of a destroyed city (Jer 30:18, Samaria; Psa 102:14, Zion). This reestablishment can also be generally depicted as → *šûb šʿbûṭ* “to change the fate” (Deut 30:3; Jer 30:18; 33:26; Ezek 39:25); one should note here that this change of fate is not the consequence of mercy but the precondition.

In contrast to e.g., *ḥesed* (IV/2), *rḥm* pi. stands in exclusive opposition to God’s wrath or replaces it because wrath suspends the proper relationship of the people to God (Deut 13:18; Isa 54:8; 60:10; Hab 3:2 [contra B. Margulis, *ZAW* 82 [1970]: 413]; Zech 1:12; 10:6; cf. Lam 3:32).

This background of installation in a new relationship or the reestablishment of an original relationship continues to be evident when the pi. ptcp. *mʿraḥēm* “one who pardons” becomes a divine predicate per se in later texts (Isa 49:10; 54:10 [cf. v 8 *gōʿēl*; → *gʾl*]; Psa 116:5). In general,

however, the verb *rḥm* pi. combines with other theological terms in statements concerning God, permitting much fuller predications. Thus in a few passages forgiveness, expressed by *rḥm* pi., constitutes the precondition for the reestablishment of community with God that was lost through sin (Isa 55:7; Mic 7:19; cf. also 1 Kgs 8:50, where Yahweh acts indirectly; Dan 9:9 *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mîm*; also Prov 28:13, where *rḥm* pu. encompasses forgiveness; cf. Stoebe, op. cit. 247). The combination of *rḥm* pi. with → *ḥesed* “grace” also belongs here (Isa 54:8, 10; Lam 3:32). God’s willingness to exercise *ḥesed* is apparently the prerequisite for mercy (see 4c). In Isa 14:1 the verb → *bḥr* “to choose” parallels *rḥm* pi., indeed with *ôd* “again,” as an expression of reelection.

(c) The combination of *rḥm* pi. with → *ḥnn* qal “to be gracious to someone” receives greater attention. It occurs in Exod 33:19; 2 Kgs 13:23; Isa 27:11 (negated here in reference to the creator); 30:18; Psa 102:14, sometimes dependent on a liturgically shaped form. Most often the adjs. of the two roots appear together (11x; *raḥûm* alone otherwise only in Deut 4:31 and Psa 78:38), either in the series *raḥûm w<sup>c</sup>ḥannûn* (e.g., Exod 34:6) or *ḥannûn w<sup>c</sup>raḥûm* (e.g., Joel 2:13; → *ḥnn* 4b; → *ʿel* IV/1; on the formula cf. J. Scharbert, *Bib* 38 [1957]: 130–50; R. C. Dentan, *VT* 13 [1963]: 34–51); the latter is probably the more organic (cf. Exod 33:19 and Psa 102:14). *raḥûm* always refers to Yahweh (Psa 112:4 is no exception; the righteous one mentioned is Yahweh; cf. 111:4; 116:5; and e.g., Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:362, 364).

(d) *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mîm* refers to God as the indirect (see 3b) or direct agent more often than does the verb. The word occurs primarily in the language of the Psa and prayers (Isa 63:7, 15; Psa 25:6; 40:12; 51:3; 69:17; 77:10; 79:8; 103:4; 106:46; 119:77, 156; 145:9; Lam 3:22; Dan 9:9, 18; Neh 9:19, 27f., 31; cf. the confession, 2 Sam 24:14 = 1 Chron 21:13), less often in prophetic proclamation (Isa 54:7; in Hos 2:21 and Jer 16:5 as a gift to Israel; Zech 1:16; in Zech 7:9 as Yahweh’s demand on people). One should note that most passages involve a close connection with *ḥesed*. Psa 119:77, 156 and 145:9 constitute exceptions; the notion of a historical demonstration of mercy is quite remote for these two very late psalms.

If *ḥesed* is sg. and the two terms constitute a unit, *ḥesed* precedes *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mîm* (Psa 103:4; Jer 16:5; Hos 2:21; Zech 7:9; cf. Dan 1:9). This principle of order remains constant even when the two terms are distanced from one another (Psa 51:3; 69:17; Lam 3:22; the exception in Psa 40:12 has formal grounds). This observation suggests that *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mîm* itself has now taken on the character of a concrete demonstration understood as the effluence of a *ḥesed* attitude (“demonstration of mercifulness”). This supposition is underscored by the attributive usage *raḥ<sup>a</sup>mîm rabbîm*

“much/great mercy” (2 Sam 24:14 = 1 Chron 21:13; Psa 119:156; Dan 9:18; Neh 9:19, 27, 28 [txt em], 31; cf. Isa 54:7) and by the gen. phrase *rōb rah<sup>a</sup>mîm* “abundance of mercy” (Psa 51:3; 69:17). The first modification occurs when *hesed* appears in the pl., acquiring the meaning “demonstrations of *hesed*.” Then *rah<sup>a</sup>mîm* assumes the first position and summarily characterizes the stance or attitude of a mercifulness that promotes life (Isa 63:7; Psa 25:6; Lam 3:22, which seems to argue to the contrary, is textually uncertain). Consistent with this usage is the late development of *rah<sup>a</sup>mîm* into a kind of hypostasis (Psa 79:8).

5. The Qumran texts, where *rah<sup>a</sup>mîm* occurs frequently in the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, continue the usage of the OT Psa (Kuhn, *Konk.* 204). On the one hand *rah<sup>a</sup>mîm* gains in significance and independence; on the other the contours of the individual terms become ever more obscure (cf. *hsdyrhmym* 1QS 1:22; *rhmymhsdw* 1QS 2:1).

The LXX regularly translates the root *rhm* with *oiktirein* or *eleein* (and *hûs* with *pheidesthai*; the rendition of *hml* is less consistent). On the LXX and the NT, cf. R. Bultmann, “ἔλεος,” *TDNT* 2:477–87; id., “οἰκτίρω,” *TDNT* 5:159–61; H. Köster, “σπλάγκνον,” *TDNT* 7:548–59; H.-H. Esser, “Mercy, Compassion,” *DNTT* 2:593–601; E. C. B. MacLaurin, “Semitic Background of Use of ‘*en splanchnois*,” *PEQ* 103 [1971]: 42–45.

H. J. Stoebe

## רחק *rĥq* to be distant

S 7368; BDB 934b; *HALOT* 3:1221a; *ThWAT* 7:490–96; *TWOT* 2151; *NIDOTTE* 8178

1. The root *rĥq* is common Sem. (replaced by *b<sup>c</sup>d* in Arab.; regarding *rahîq* “wine [from afar],” cf. Fraenkel 158).

In the near environs of the OT, one can refer to occurrences in Ug. (*WUS* no. 2505; *UT* no. 2324; *mrĥq* also in the temporal meaning “future”: M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *Ugaritica* 6:172; P. Fronzaroli, *JSS* 16 [1971]: 216) and Aram. (*DISO* 168, 278f. [in the texts from Elephantine, *rĥq* pe. is a common legal term in the meaning “to relinquish”]; *KBL* 1124a).

The OT has the verb in the qal “to be far, go away,” the pi./hi. “to remove” (cf. *HP* 74f.), and the ni. “to be removed” (only Eccl 12:6 K txt?), and nom. derivatives include the verbal adj. *rāhēq* “moving away” (Psa

73:27), the adj. *rāḥôq* “distant” (Bibl. Aram. *raḥîq* in Ezra 6:6), and the subst. *merḥāq* “distance.”

2. The verb occurs in the OT 58x (only 10x in the historical books, 18x in prophecy, 30x in the Writings): in the qal 29x (Psa 8x, Isa 5x, Job 4x, Ezek 3x), in the ni. 1x, in the pi. 4x (Isa 3x, Ezek 1x), in the hi. 24x (Psa, Job, and Prov 4x each, Exod 3x); *rāḥēq* occurs 1x (see 1), *rāḥôq* 85x (Isa 18x, Jer 8x, Psa 7x, Deut and Job 5x each, Exod, Josh, and Prov 4x each), *merḥāq* 18x (Isa 7x, Jer 5x), and Aram. *raḥîq* 1x.

3. The qal verb means basically “to be far, move away,” the hi. “to remove.” As a rule *rḥq* is constructed with *min* following. Reference should be made to the use of the hi. inf. abs. *harḥēq* as the adv. “far” (Gen 21:16; Exod 33:7; Josh 3:16). This use corresponds to the basic meaning of the subst., “distance,” and of the adj., “far” (usually in a spatial sense; temporally of the past, 2 Kgs 19:25 = Isa 37:26; Isa 22:11; 25:1; of the future, 2 Sam 7:19 = 1 Chron 17:17; Ezek 12:27; in a fig. meaning “inaccessible,” Deut 30:11; Eccl 7:23f.; “standing higher” Prov 31:10).

While no consistent par. terms occur, the root → *qrb* “to be near” often indicates the opposite (of the verb, e.g., Isa 54:14 qal; Isa 46:13 pi.; Psa 22:12, adj.; of the adj., Deut 13:8; Isa 33:13, etc.). In particular the two adjs. *rāḥôq* and *qārôb* combine to form a contrasting pair in the common expression “be it near or far” to indicate a totality (cf. Deut 13:8; 1 Kgs 8:46; Isa 57:19; Jer 25:26; 48:24; Ezek 22:5; Esth 9:20; Dan 9:7).

The word field of *rḥq* also frequently includes the verbs → *ʿmd* (in the phrase *ʿmd mērāḥōq* “to remain afar,” Exod 20:18, 21; 1 Sam 26:13; 2 Kgs 2:7; Isa 59:14; Psa 38:12; cf. Psa 10:1 with *be*), → *rʾh* (“to see from afar,” Gen 22:4; 37:18), or → *bôʾ* (qal “to come” or hi. “to bring,” Isa 13:5; 43:6; 49:12; 60:4, 9; Hab 1:8; Zech 6:15). → *ʾeres* “land” is a common noun in the word field of *rḥq* (*mēʾeres [ham]merḥāq* Isa 13:5; 46:11; Jer 4:16; 6:20; Prov 25:25; cf. Isa 8:9; 33:17; Jer 8:19; *mēʾeres rʾḥôqâ* Deut 29:21; Josh 9:6, 9; 1 Kgs 8:41 = 2 Chron 16:32; 2 Kgs 20:14 = Isa 39:3).

4. The theological use of the root concentrates in prophecy and the Psa.

(a) Prophetic accusation declares that, just as the fathers had already distanced themselves from Yahweh (Jer 2:5; Ezek 44:10), so has the present generation (Isa 29:13 pi.; Ezek 8:6; cf. Ezek 11:15 txt em, the ambivalent statement of those left behind in Jerusalem concerning the exiles). Prophetic accusation also refers occasionally to the fact that involvement with people and things from far away signifies apostasy from Yahweh (2 Kgs 20:14 = Isa 39:3; Ezek 23:40; cf. Jer 6:20).

The prophetic proclamation of judgment prophecies on the one hand catastrophe coming from afar: Isa 5:26; 10:3; Jer 4:16; 5:15; Hab 1:8; cf.

Isa 30:27; the motif is adapted in the context of the discourse concerning the curse in Deut 28:49. On the other hand it announces to Israel removal to a distant place: Isa 6:12; Jer 8:19 in a prophetic lament; 27:10; Joel 4:6; cf. Ezek 11:16 in retrospect (*rhq* hi. par. *pûs* hi. “to disperse”). In the oracles against the nations, the same judgment on the enemies (Isa 13:5; Joel 2:20) signifies salvation for Israel.

A precise counterpart in the prophetic proclamation of salvation mentions on the one hand that salvation will come on Israel from afar—Isa 46:11 “I call . . . the man for my purpose from a far country” (NRSV; cf. Jer 31:3)—and on the other hand that Yahweh will bring his people home from remote lands—Isa 43:6; 49:12; 60:4, 9; Jer 30:10; 46:27. The extension of this salvation to the “far shores” also belongs in this category (Jer 31:10; cf. Isa 49:1; 66:19; cf. Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 425f.).

(b) A few passages in the Psa speak of Yahweh’s remoteness. When Yahweh and his salvation or assistance remain distant from the supplicant, the supplicant laments (Psa 10:1; 22:2; cf. Isa 59:9, 11), but also when he keeps friends of the one fallen into difficulty at a distance (Psa 38:12; 88:9, 19). Correspondingly, the lamenter requests that Yahweh not continue to be distant (22:12, 20; 35:22; 38:22 [par. → *ʿzb* “to abandon”]; 71:12).

The description of the godless refers to Yahweh’s distance from the godless (in contrast to the pious): Jer 12:2; Psa 119:155; Prov 15:29.

(c) Three other contexts in which the root *rhq* occurs may also be mentioned:

(1) The Elohistic Sinai pericope (cf. Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 151–68) includes the motif, also evident in other contexts (e.g., Exod 19:12f. J; Judg 6:22; 2 Sam 6:6f.; Isa 6:5), that the people dare not approach God’s holiness but must stand at a distance (Exod 20:18, 21) or worship from afar (24:1).

(2) *rāḥôq* is occasionally used in a temporal sense as an expression of the fact that Yahweh has determined everything long ago (2 Kgs 19:25 = Isa 37:26 par. [*I*]*mîmê qedem* “since the olden days”; Isa 25:1; cf. 22:11 in the prophetic accusation: “you did not look to the one . . . who prepared it from afar”). Verbs used in this context are → *ʿsh* “to make, do, prepare” (2 Kgs 19:25 = Isa 37:26; Isa 22:11; 25:1) and → *yṣr* “form, shape, create” (2 Kgs 19:25 par.; Isa 22:11).

(3) In the context of the praise of God in Psa 138:6 and 139:2, *rhq* serves to underscore God’s greatness through reference to the fact that from a distance he topples the proud (138:6) and can understand people’s thoughts (139:2).

5. Neither the available Qumran texts (Kuhn, *Konk.* 133b, 204ac) nor the renderings in the LXX (most often by derivatives of *mikros*) present peculiarities. On the NT see H. Preisker, “μακρῶν,” *TDNT* 4:372–74.

## רִיב *rîb* to quarrel

S 7378; BDB 936a; HALOT 3:1224a; ThWAT 7:496–501; TWOT 2159; NIDOTTE 8189

1. The root *ryb* (cf. KBL 888b on Akk., Syr., and Arab. with verbs of varied meanings) is attested only in Hebr. and Old Aram. (*KAI* no. 224.17, 25) in the meaning “to quarrel,” etc. The verb occurs in the OT in the qal and the hi. (ptcp. *mērîb* “opponent”); the subst. *rîb* “dispute” should be understood as a subst. inf. (BL 452); *rîbôt/rîbôt* in Deut 17:8 and Job 13:6 is the pl. of a fem. form; *m<sup>e</sup>rîbâ* “dispute” is a verbal noun with *m-* prefix (BL 492); *yārîb* “opponent in a dispute” is formed with a *y-* prefix (BL 488); *yārēb*, which occurs only in Hos 5:13 and 10:6 (in the event that neither text should be emended [since W. M. Müller, *ZAW* 17 [1897]: 334ff.; Rudolph, *KAT* 13/1, 124f.]), should be equated with *yārîb* (GB 316a).

Amor. and Ug. (*WUS* no. 2478, 2479; *UT* no. 2330) PNs that might be pertinent are derived differently by Huffmon (260) and Gröndahl (178f.), as is, according to M. Dietrich and O. Loretz (*OLZ* 62 [1967]: 548), the Hebr. PN *y<sup>(h)</sup>ôyārîb* with the abbreviated forms *yārîb*, *y<sup>e</sup>rîbay*, *rîbay*, which Noth (*IP* 201) explains as “May Yahweh contest (on behalf of the bearer of the name).” *m<sup>e</sup>rîbâ* occurs as a place-name (cf. Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 139f.). The PN *y<sup>e</sup>rubba<sup>al</sup>* (Judg 6ff.) does not derive from *rîb* despite Judg 6:32 (KBL 401a, 868f.; *IP* 206f.; but cf. J. J. Stamm, FS Albright [1971], 449–52, who assumes the by-form *rûb* for the PNs Jerubbaal and Jeroboam, reflecting Judg 21:22 K and Prov 3:30 K); regarding *m<sup>e</sup>rî-ba<sup>al</sup>* (1 Chron 9:40b; in 8:34 and 9:40a *m<sup>e</sup>rîb ba<sup>al</sup>*), see *IP* 143n.2.

2. The verb *rîb* occurs 65x in the OT in the qal (equally distributed) and 2x in the hi. (1 Sam 2:10; Hos 4:4), the subst. *rîb* 60x (incl. Job 33:19 K; Prov 12x), the fem. pl. *\*rîbôt* 2x (see 1), *m<sup>e</sup>rîbâ* 2x (Gen 13:8; Num 27:14), *yārîb* 3x (Isa 49:25; Jer 18:19; Psa 35:1), *yārēb* 2x (see 1), in all (apart from the names), then, 136x.

3. *rîb* and its derivatives occur in the OT in three overlapping areas of life and language (*Sitz im Leben*): in the areas of (a) extra-judicial, (b) pre-judicial, and (c) judicial conflict. The process indicated by *rîb* plays out between two opposing parties who stand either on the same level (symmetric conflict) or on different levels (asymmetric conflict).

Examples: shepherds-shepherds (Gen 13:7; 26:20–22), brother-brother (Gen 13:8), Jacob-Laban (Gen 31:36), man-man (Exod 21:18; 23:2; Deut 19:17; 25:1; Isa 58:4; Prov 3:30; 25:8f.), Jerusalemite-Jerusalemite (2 Chron 19:8, 10), Ephraimites-Gideon (Judg 8:1), Balak-Israel (Judg 11:25), Jephthah-Ammonites (Judg 12:2), people of Shiloh-Benjaminites (Judg 21:22), Edom-Zion (Isa 34:8); fig.: the members of the body among each other (Job 33:19; cf. Fohrer, KAT 16, 453f.).

*rîb* differs from → *šp̄t* and → *dîn* primarily in that these words indicate different types of conflict *resolution*; *rîb* does not encroach on this realm.

(a) In the realm of extra-judicial conflict *rîb* indicates the dispute between individuals or between groups. The description of the situation in a casuistic law in the Covenant Code, Exod 21:18, “if men quarrel and one strikes the other with a stone,” indicates clearly that *rîb* describes the physical struggle between men associated with bodily injury. This observation must be maintained against many authors who see *rîb* solely as a judicial term (even KBL 888f.). Deut 25:1, “if there is a dispute (*rîb*) between men, and they appear before the court (*mišpāṭ*), and justice (*šep̄āṭûm*) has been pronounced, and the innocent has been acquitted (*šdq* hi.) and the guilty condemned (*rš<sup>c</sup>* hi.),” indicates clearly that *rîb* refers only to the events that occasion the judicial procedure (*mišpāṭ*). Psa 55:10–12 confirms this thesis: *rîb* here parallels → *ḥāmās*, → *ʾāwen*, → *ʿāmāl*, *tōk* “oppression,” and *mirmâ* “deceit”; in Deut 21:5, *nega<sup>c</sup>*. The (sometimes synonymous) parallelism with *mādôn* “dispute, quarrel” (→ *dîn*) in Prov 15:18; 17:14; 26:21; Jer 15:10; Hab 1:3 (cf. 1QH 5:23, 25), with *maššâ* “dispute, strife” in Isa 58:5, with *mah<sup>a</sup>lūmôt* “brawl” in Prov 18:6, perhaps also with → *qsp* “to be angry” and → *ʾap* “wrath” in Isa 57:16 and Prov 30:33, points to the same circumstance (with I. L. Seeligmann, FS Baumgartner 256). The cause of conflict in this realm is an evil act (→ *gml rā<sup>c</sup>â* Prov 3:30); the beginning of the conflict is described with *gl<sup>c</sup>* hitp. “to break out” and compared to unleashing water (17:14; 20:3); 30:33 metaphorically describes the origin of conflict in wrath; 26:21 expresses this transition with *ḥrr* pil. “to heat up”; the conclusion of the dispute is described with *šqt* hi. “to make rest” (15:18). *šalwâ* “carefreeness, rest” is the opposite of *rîb* in 17:1. The wise person is described in contrast to the fool as one who does not become entangled in *rîb* (esp. 20:3; 26:17; cf. Gemser, HAT 16, 24).

Typical of *rîb* as a dispute between *groups* are the remnants of the narratives, preserved in J, concerning conflicts over wells (Gen 13:7f.; 26:20ff.; cf. C. Westermann, *Promises to the Fathers* [1980], 65ff.). The parties to the dispute are Lot’s shepherds and the city of Gerar, resp., and Abraham’s shepherds; the dispute involves living space (Gen 13) and

provisions (Gen 26). This dispute is a “war” in the prenatal arena (Westermann, op. cit. 67f.). The battles of the Israelite tribes, described in Judg 12:2 (wars with the Ammonites) with *rîb*, represent the next level of development. *rîb* as a description for military conflict occurs in Judg 11:25 (Moab-Israel, par. *lhm* ni.; cf. also Psa 35:1), in Isa 34:8 (the destruction of Jerusalem by Edom, et al., in 587), and in 2 Sam 22:44 = Psa 18:44 (“wars of the nations” should be read with LXX).

No texts portray extra-judicial disputes between an individual and a group. This lack may be accidental or it may be due to the fact that the extra-judicial *rîb* is essentially only conceivable as a symmetric conflict. Disputes either do not take place at all in asymmetric situations or they transform immediately into processes described as “subjugation,” etc. (e.g., *kbš* pi., *rdd*; KBL 423, 874b)—or it is possible to convert it into a pre-judicial conflict with its established forms (see b).

(b) The use of *rîb* for pre-judicial conflict (on the fluid distinction between pre-judicial and judicial disputes, see H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT* [1964]) may primarily be identified by pre-judicial speech forms in the context. Thus *rîb* in Judg 6:31 indicates the “dispute for Baal” that begins with a “call to produce the accused” (Boecker, op. cit. 20ff.). In Judg 8:1 *rîb* appears with the pre-judicial “formula of accusation” (Boecker, op. cit. 30). Formulae of accusation also indicate the *rîb* in Neh 13:11, 17, 25; 5:7 as pre-judicial (Boecker, op. cit. 26, 28, 31). Jacob’s dispute with Laban (Gen 31:36 J) also begins with an “appeal of the accused” (vv 36ff.; Boecker, op. cit. 49; cf. also the legal term *ʿnh* in v 36; J. Begrich, *Studien zu Deuterocesaja* [1963 = 1938], 37f.).

In these passages (with the exception of Gen 31:36), an individual and a group quarrel with one another: Judg 6:31 the people of the city and Gideon’s father Joash; Judg 8:1 Ephraimites and Gideon; Neh 13:11, 17, 25; 5:7 Nehemiah and the leadership, nobles, etc. This circumstance may indicate that the loose institution of the pre-judicial dispute was particularly associated with cases in which the asymmetry of the conflict could result only in the detriment of the weaker partner (see a).

Even in Exod 17:2 J *rîb* occurs in the context of a “question of the accuser” (Boecker, op. cit. 42); in the oldest text of the *m<sup>c</sup>rîbâ* tradition, the people quarrel with Moses. The assumption that the legal term *m<sup>c</sup>rîbâ*, understood as “legal procedure,” does not suit the murmuring motif (so Noth, *History of Pentateuchal Traditions* [1972], 123n.348; Seeligmann, op. cit. 256, etc.) complicates the interpretation of the *m<sup>c</sup>rîbâ* tradition. This assumption is unnecessary if *m<sup>c</sup>rîbâ* can also indicate extra- and pre-judicial conflict. Regarding the *m<sup>c</sup>rîbâ* tradition, cf. Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 139; id., *Num*, OTL, 143–47, 212ff.; G. Morawe, *BHH* 2:1194.

(c) In the realm of the legal dispute, *rîb* designates the “hearing of a dispute before the court” (Begrich, op. cit. 37), usually the *entire legal process* (thus with L. Köhler, *Deuterijosaja stilkritisch untersucht* [1923], 110; B. Gemser, “The *rîb*- or Controversy-Pattern in Hebrew Mentality,” SVT 3 [1955]: 122–25; Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 33; Boecker, op. cit. 54n.2; A. Gamper, *Gott als Richter in Mesopotamien und im AT* [1966], 195; contra E. Würthwein, ZTK 49 [1952]: 4n.1). Support for this interpretation includes the two commandments from the Covenant Code’s “portrait of the judge,” Exod 23:3, 6; elsewhere 2 Sam 15:2, 4; Isa 1:23 (par. *mišpāṭ*); 50:8 (par. *mišpāṭ* and *šdq* hi.); Ezek 44:24 (par. *špṭ*); Job 31:13; Prov 18:17 (par. *šdq* hi.); 22:23 (“in the gate”); Lam 3:36 (par. *mišpāṭ*); cf. Deut 1:12; 19:17; 2 Chron 19:8, 10. Deut 17:8 also indicates the comprehensive character of *rîb* by subsuming the *mišpāṭ* matters → *dām*, *dîn*, and → *nega*<sup>c</sup> under the heading “matters of dispute.” Regarding the course of the Israelite judicial procedure, see Boecker, op. cit.; D. A. McKenzie, VT 14 (1964): 100–104. *rîb* can also designate *individual elements* of the judicial procedure, although never those elements that concern the conclusion of the procedure (see above): in Judg 21:22 Q; Hos 2:4; 4:4 the accusation (often with *be* in this meaning; Boecker, op. cit. 54n.2); in Isa 1:17; Job 29:16 legal assistance, intervention on behalf of the accused; in Isa 41:21 the matter in dispute (Elliger, BK 11, 177); in Job 13:6 dispute speeches made during the procedure (Horst, BK 16/1, 198f.); and in Exod 23:2 txt em; Jer 18:19 the parties to the dispute, otherwise called *šrîb* (Job 31:35).

The meaning of *rîb* may often be more precisely determined by accompanying preps.: *rîb* abs., *rîb* *ʿim*, and *rîb* *ʿet* usually indicate the entire procedure; *rîb* *b<sup>e</sup>* refers to the accusation; *rîb* *ʿel* “to file charges”; *rîb* *l<sup>e</sup>* “to dispute on behalf of” (cf. Boecker, op. cit. 54n.2; KBL 888f., also Suppl. 222a but still imprecise).

In the texts mentioned here, the disputants are again always (as in 3a) of equal status, usually individuals. This observation indicates that the conflict in regulated judicial procedures is symmetrical, even if the equality of the parties is not a given. Disruption of symmetry in the judicial procedure perverts justice (cf. Exod 23:3, 6; Job 31:13).

Thus a logical sequence of the three realms of *rîb* results: *rîb* is (a) a symmetrical extra-judicial dispute, (b) an asymmetrical pre-judicial dispute to which a weaker party can appeal and which can then lead to (c) a legal dispute made symmetrical through the judicial process. One may not determine whether this logical relationship also corresponds to the semantic development of *rîb*, because old examples occur in all three realms.

4. *rîb* can be used theologically in all three areas of life and

language: e.g., extra-judicially, Deut 33:7; Isa 19:20; 49:25 (par. expressions of assistance); pre-judicially, Isa 45:9 (accusatory question); Jer 12:1 (par. *ṣdq* hi. and *mišpāṭ*); judicially, 1 Sam 24:16; Isa 3:13 (par. → *dīn*, → *špṭ*), Mic 6:2 (par. → *ykh*). Yahweh can be either subj. or obj. of *rīb*. Yahweh as subj. occurs primarily in the individual psalms of lament—God should or does dispute with the enemies of the supplicant (Psa 31:21; 35:1, 23; 43:1; 119:154; Lam 3:58; cf. also Prov 22:23; 23:11; Jer 11:20; 20:12)—but it also occurs in the communal lament (Psa 74:22), in the announcement of salvation (Isa 49:25), and in the announcement of judgment against foreign nations (Jer 25:31; 50:34; 51:36). Just as in these texts, Yahweh also appears to render legal assistance in Deut 33:7; 1 Sam 24:16; 25:39; Isa 19:20; 51:22; Jer 11:20; Mic 7:9; cf. 1 Sam 2:10. Q. Theophoric PNs with *rīb* (see 1) belong in this context. Prophecy of the 8th/7th cent. knows of Yahweh's dispute with his own people (Isa 3:13; 27:8; 57:16; Jer 2:9; Hos 4:1; 12:3; Mic 6:2; cf. Gemser, op. cit. 128ff.).

The origin of prophetic judgment speeches and scenarios is controversial: while the majority of German scholars assume the profane judicial procedure as the background (Köhler, op. cit.; Begrich, op. cit.; *BFPS* e.g., 98ff.; Wolff, op. cit.; Boecker, op. cit.; etc.), Würthwein (op. cit.) et al. propose the thesis of a cultic origin. In addition, some theorize that international law (vassal treaties) may have served as a model for prophetic judgment speech, e.g., J. Harvey, "Le 'Rīb-Pattern,' réquisitoire prophétique sur la rupture de l'alliance," *Bib* 43 (1962): 172–96; J. Limburg, "The Root *ryb* and the Prophetic Lawsuit Speeches," *JBL* 88 (1969): 291–304; cf. R. North, *ZAW* 82 (1970): 31ff. (bibliog.). The linguistic usage of *rīb* argues for the first of these options.

One can understand the legal dispute between Job and God on the one hand as Yahweh's dispute with Job (Job 23:6; 31:35; 37:23; cf. the linguistically incorrect interpretation of the name Jerubbaal in Judg 6:32), and on the other hand as Job's dispute with God (Job 9:3; 33:13; 40:2)—*God*, then, as the *obj.* of *rīb*. Regarding Job, cf. G. Many, "Der Rechtsstreit mit Gott (Rib) im Hiobbuch" (diss., Munich, 1970). Jer 12:1 summarizes Job's situation precisely in Jeremiah's complaint: "You would be in the right (*ṣaddīq*), Yahweh, if I were to dispute with you." Creation's dispute with its creator (Isa 45:9) and the nations' dispute with Yahweh (Num 20:13; Jer 2:29) are similarly asymmetrical. In such a dispute, Yahweh is both accused and judge, just as in the prophetic accusation he is both accuser and judge (Boecker, op. cit. 87ff., 98, 132). Human legal assistance to God (Job 13:8) or to Baal (Judg 6:31) can be treated only as an impossibility.

Since a conflict involving Yahweh simply cannot be symmetrical (the Job problem!), the distinction symmetrical/asymmetrical becomes obscured in theological usage and thus also in the three areas of life and language.

5. For the published Qumran texts, Kuhn (*Konk.* 205) lists about 20 instances of the subst. The usage reflects precisely that of the OT: the extra-judicial meaning occupies the foreground (e.g., par. *lhm* ni. in 1QM 4:12; 1QH 7:23). The LXX renders *rîb*—in accord with the areas of life and language in the OT—on the one hand with *machesthai* and *loidorein*, and on the other with *dikē* and *krinein*. Regarding the LXX and the NT, cf. O. Bauernfeind, “μάχομαι,” *TDNT* 4:527f.; H. Hanse, “λοιδορέω,” *TDNT* 4:293f.; G. Quell and G. Schrenk, “δίκη,” *TDNT* 2:174–225; F. Büchsel and V. Herntich, “κρίνω,” *TDNT* 3:921–54.

G. Liedke

## רכב *rkb* to ride, drive

S 7392; BDB 938b; *HALOT* 3:1230a; *ThWAT* 7:508–15; *TWOT* 2163; *NIDOTTE* 8206

1. The root *rkb* is also attested in Sem. languages other than Hebr. (Berg., *Intro.* 218f.), as in Akk. (*rakābu* in the meaning “to mount,” also “to ride” and “to drive,” *AHw* 944f.) and in Ug. (*rkb* “to climb up” and “to drive in”; cf. *WUS* no. 2511; *UT* no. 2331); cf. also e.g., *DISO* 279f.; *LS* 730f.; E. Ullendorff, *VT* 6 (1956): 194f.

In the OT nom. derivatives of the verbal root *rkb*, attested in Hebr. in the qal and hi., are *rekeb* “(battle) wagon” (usually collective), *rakkāb* “driver” (nomen agentis, “noun of agency”), *rikbâ* “driving” (nomen actionis, “noun of action”), *r<sup>e</sup>kûb* “vehicle,” *merkāb* “wagon” (1 Kgs 5:6) and “saddle” (Lev 15:9; Song Sol 3:10), and *merkābâ* “wagon.”

2. The OT attests the verb *rkb* a total of 78x (excl. 2 Kgs 19:23 K; cf. Isa 37:24), qal 58x (2 Kgs and Jer 6x each, 2 Sam 5x) and hi. 20x (2 Kgs 5x). The noun *rekeb* occurs a total of 119x in the OT (Exod 15:21 should be transposed in Lis. from 1336b to 1335a), concentrated primarily in 2 Kgs (19x), 1 Kgs (16x), 2 Chron (14x), Isa (11x), Exod (10x), and Judg (9x). *rakkāb* and *merkāb* are attested 3x each, *rikbâ* occurs only in Ezek 27:20, *r<sup>e</sup>kûb* only in Psa 104:3; *merkābâ* occurs 44x (2 Chron 6x, 1 Kgs, 2 Kgs, and Zech 5x each).

3. The meaning of the verbal root *rkb*, often constructed with the prep. *‘al* “on” (cf. Lev 15:9; Num 22:22, 30; Judg 10:4; 12:14; 1 Sam 25:20; 30:17; 2 Sam 18:9; 19:27; Isa 19:1; Zech 1:8; Psa 45:5, etc.), can initially be generally described as “to move forward on.” The means of locomotion in relation to *rkb* are animals and vehicles (Akk. also ships), so that *rkb* qal

can be rendered “to ride” or “to drive” and *rkb* hi. causatively “to cause to ride, drive.”

Mounts beside the general *b<sup>h</sup>ēmâ* “animal” (Neh 2:12) mentioned in relation to *rkb* are: *h<sup>a</sup>môr* “donkey” (Exod 4:20; 1 Sam 25:20, 42; 2 Sam 16:2; 19:27; 1 Kgs 13:13; Zech 9:9), *ʾātôn* “female donkey” (Num 22:22, 30; Judg 5:10; 2 Kgs 4:24), *pered/pirdâ* “mule” (2 Sam 13:29; 18:9; 1 Kgs 1:33, 38, 44), *ayir* “jackass” (Judg 10:4; 12:14), *gāmāl* “camel” (Gen 24:61; 1 Sam 30:17), as well as *sûs* “horse” (Gen 49:17; 2 Kgs 9:18f.; 18:23 = Isa 36:8; Jer 6:23; 50:42; Ezek 23:6, 12, 23; 38:15; Hos 14:4; Zech 1:8; 10:5; 12:4; Job 39:18; Esth 6:8f., 11; cf. also Isa 30:16 *qal* “racer” and the homonymous subst. *pārāš* that means both “rider, driver” [47x] and “horse” [10x]; cf. BL 461, 479). It is disputed, however, whether *rkb* must always be translated “to ride” in relation to *sûs*. Thus one could posit that a few passages should be translated “to drive” or “to steer” (on this issue and others treated below, see S. Mowinckel, “Drive and/or Ride in OT,” *VT* 12 [1962]: 278–99) since *sûs* can refer not only to a mount but, esp. in relation to *rekeb* (cf. Exod 14:9, 23; 15:19; Deut 11:4; 20:1; Josh 11:4; 1 Kgs 20:1, 21, 25; 2 Kgs 2:11; 5:9; 6:14f., 17; 7:6, 14; Isa 31:1; 43:17; 66:20; Jer 17:25; 22:4; 46:9; 50:37; 51:21; Ezek 26:7, 10; 39:20; Psa 20:8; 76:6) or *merkābâ/merkāb* (cf. Josh 11:6, 9; 2 Sam 15:1; 1 Kgs 5:6; 10:29; Isa 2:7; Jer 4:13; Mic 5:9; Hab 3:8; Zech 6:1–3; 2 Chron 1:16f.; 9:25), also to horses that pull battle chariots (cf. M. Löhr, “Ägyptische Reiterei im AT?” *OLZ* 31 [1928]: 924). At any rate, in contexts with *sûs* and *rekeb* or *merkābâ*, *rkb* should be translated “to drive” or “to steer”: Jer 17:25; 22:4 “who drive wagons with horses”; in Jer 51:21 “horse and its handler” stand in synonymous parallelism with “wagon and its driver” (cf. Hag 2:22; Hab 3:8). Mowinckel deduced from the observation that the OT uses *sûs w<sup>e</sup>rekeb* as a fixed term that the word can also mean “horse that pulls a battle chariot” in passages with *sûs* alone and can represent *sûs w<sup>e</sup>rekeb* as a kind of pars pro toto; one must then translate the verb *rkb* either “to drive” or “to steer” in these passages (see Mowinckel, op. cit. 284ff.). Reference should be made in this context to Exod 15:1, 21, where the translation of *sûs w<sup>e</sup>rōk<sup>e</sup>bô* is disputed: “horse and rider” (e.g., NRSV, ZB, similarly Buber); “horse and chariot soldier” (e.g., Noth, ATD 5, 95f.; F. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel* [1969], 19 [cf. “horse and driver,” JPSV; Childs, *Exod*, OTL, 240, 242]); “horse and man” (the 1964 revision of the Luther-Bibel avoided the issue); and “horse and wagon” (e.g., Luther; H. Gressmann, *Die Anfänge Israels* [1922], 53, assuming the pointing *sûs w<sup>e</sup>rikbô*). The decision here and in Amos 2:15 (*rōkēb hassûs*) cannot be based solely on philological grounds. Rather, the translation “horse and rider” or “who rides on the horse” (Amos 2:15) is

called into question by historical-archeological factors. Both cases involve a military context, but the cavalry is a relatively late arrival in the ancient Near East while horse-drawn chariots were already in use quite early and continued to form the chief military unit even after the introduction of the cavalry in Syria and Palestine (in Assyria under Ashurnasirpal II, ca. 860); Israel itself had no cavalry (see J. Wiesner, “Fahren und Reiten in Alteuropa und im Alten Orient,” *AO* 38 [1939], 70f.; de Vaux 1:222–25; cf. also Löhr, *op. cit.* 923–27). Exod 15:1, 21 should then be translated “horse and its handler” or even “horse and chariot driver”; similarly Amos 2:15 “the one who steers the horse.” In contrast, the translation “to ride” is probably preferable for *rkb* in Isa 30:16 (contra Mowinckel, *op. cit.* 286; cf. Hos 14:4).

In comparison to the meaning “to ride,” “to drive,” the meaning “to mount,” more prominently represented in other Sem. languages, esp. Akk., diminishes significantly. The meaning “to mount” may be suspected, but not necessarily assumed, only in a few passages in which *rkb* occurs together with the verb of motion *hlk* (cf. Gen 24:61; 1 Sam 25:42; 2 Sam 19:27; 1 Kgs 13:13f.; 18:45; 2 Kgs 9:16). That the root *rkb* in Hebr. has not entirely lost overtones of the meaning “to mount” is evident in 2 Kgs 13:16, where *rkb* hi. *yād ʿal haqqešet* means “to lay hand on the bow” (contra S. P. Brock, “Νεφεληγερέτα = *rkb* ʿrpt,” *VT* 18 [1968]: 395–97, who assumes the meaning “to put together”). Even the noun *rekeb*, used usually in relation to military terms, has retained a meaning distantly related to the meaning “to mount” in three passages: in Deut 24:6; Judg 9:53; and 2 Sam 11:21 *rekeb* indicates the “upper millstone” (cf. K. J. Cathcart, “*Tikb qmh* in the Arad Ostrakon and Biblical Hebrew *rekeb*, ‘Upper Millstone’,” *VT* 19 [1969]: 121–23; B. Otzen, *VT* 20 [1970]: 239–42).

Driving or riding is not at all a widespread means of locomotion for everyone but was generally reserved for respected and upper-class persons. Thus it is apparently a special sign of a man’s status when his sons ride on jackasses (Judg 10:4; 12:14); the king receives donkeys for his family to ride as gifts in homage (2 Sam 16:2); the king (cf. 1 Kgs 18:45; Zech 9:9) and the princes (cf. 2 Sam 13:29; 18:9; 19:27; 1 Kgs 1:33, 38, 44) drive or ride; wealthy women also make use of the donkey as a mount (1 Sam 25:20, 42; 2 Kgs 4:24). Honorees are allowed to drive or ride (cf. Gen 41:43; Esth 6:9, 11).

4. The appearance of God to assist the oppressed can be described as Yahweh “driving along,” sometimes linked with storm phenomena. Thus Psa 18 depicts Yahweh’s appearance in response to the call of the oppressed in association with volcanic (vv 8f., 16) and meteorological (vv 10–15) phenomena; Yahweh “drives on the cherub and flies forth” (v 11; cf. 2 Sam 22:11; on the underlying picturesque concepts, cf. O. Keel,

*Symbolism of the Biblical World* [1978], 215f., figs. 295f.; cf. also Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:257f.). Isa 19:1 depicts Yahweh's approach against Egypt as driving on fast clouds. Similarly, Psa 68:5 describes God's approach as driving on the clouds ("rejoice over the one who drives on the clouds"; cf. Kraus, op. cit. 2:44, 46) or driving above the heavens (68:34 "who drives above the heavens, the primal heavens"; cf. also Deut 33:26 "no one compares to the God of Jeshurun who drives along in the heavens to help you" (cf. also Psa 104:3 "who makes clouds his vehicle"). All these texts speak of God's approach to render assistance or to move against enemies. The notion that Yahweh drives on the clouds or in heaven has close affinities with the designation of Baal as *rkb ʿrpt* known in Ug. texts (cf. Kraus, op. cit. 2:51; W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel* [1966], 84f., 89; H. Gese et al., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer* [1970], 122f.; J. C. de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu* [1971], 98; P. J. van Zijl, *Baal* [1972], 329–31). The interpretation of *rkb ʿrpt* as "cloud gatherer" (so Brock, op. cit.) is highly unlikely given the meaning of *rkb* in Akk., Ug. (see 1), and Hebr. *rkb* hi. "to cause to drive along" with Yahweh as subj. in Deut 32:13 and Isa 58:14 can almost be understood in the sense of "to cause to rule over" (so perhaps also in Psa 66:12).

5. *rkb* is attested a few times in the available Qumran texts in 1QM. LXX translates *rkb* qal with *epibainein* in about half its occurrences; the noms. *rekeb* and *merkābâ* are rendered with *harma* in almost all cases.

R. Ficker

## רנן *rnn* to rejoice

S 7442; BDB 943a; HALOT 3:1247b; ThWAT 7:538–45; TWOT 2179; NIDOTTE 8264

1. The root *rnn* "to rejoice, cry out," etc. also occurs outside the OT (and postbibl. Hebr. and Aram.) in Ug. (*PRU* 2, no. 1.(5,)6; *WUS* no. 2520; *UT* no. 2337 [cf. *KTU* 1.82.5f.]) and in Arab. (Wehr 361b).

A Palm. occurrence (*DISO* 281) and the relationship to Akk. *erni/ettu(m)* (W. von Soden, *Or* NS 16 [1947]: 68f.; *Ahw* 242f.; *CAD* I/J:178f.) are uncertain.

In addition to the verb in qal, pi., pu., and hi., derivatives formed from the root are the noms. *rinnâ* "loud cry," *r<sup>c</sup>nānâ* "exultation," and *r<sup>c</sup>nānîm* "ostrich hens" (only Job 39:13; cf. G. R. Driver, *PEQ* 87 [1955]: 12f.;

Fohrer, KAT 16, 514), as well as the PN *rinnâ* (1 Chron 4:20).

*rnh* qal “to rattle” occurs in Job 39:23 as a by-form. *ronn* in Psa 32:7 should be emended (see *BHS*).

2. The verb *rnn* is attested 53x in the OT: qal 19x (Isa 9x), pi. 28x (Psa 21x, Isa 4x), pu. 1x (Isa 16:10 “to be jubilant”), hi. 5x (Psa 65:9 and Job 29:13 causatively “to cause to rejoice”; otherwise “to rejoice”: Deut 32:43; Psa 32:11; 81:2). The bulk of the occurrences are in the Psa (25x) and in Isa 40–66 (8x). A similar picture results for the subst. *rinnâ* (33x, 15x in Psa and 7x in Isa 40–66). *r<sup>c</sup>nānâ* occurs 4x (Psa 63:6; 100:2; Job 3:7; 20:5), *r<sup>c</sup>nānîm* 1x (see above).

3. Considering the distribution of occurrences and also taking into account the fact that *rnn* occurs in poetic, psalmlike texts even outside the Psa (e.g., Isa 12:6; 24:14; Jer 31:7; Zeph 3:14; Zech 2:14), *rnn* clearly belongs predominantly to cultic language; nevertheless, the usage cannot be limited to the cult (cf. Prov 1:20; 8:3). *rnn* means primarily a loud expression, usually of joy, but in some passages also of lament or pain (Lam 2:19), or simply a loud cry (Prov 1:20; 8:3; cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:168) resulting in the suggestion that *rnn* should be regarded as an onomatopoeic word (see BDB 943) for “ringing cry” (see also N. E. Wagner, “*rinnâ* in the Psalter,” *VT* 10 [1960]: 435–41). It must be pointed out, however, that *rnn* does not solely mean a loud, in some circumstances inarticulate, unoriented cry; in Prov 1:20 and 8:3, *rnn* indicates wisdom’s wooing, inviting cry.

*rnn* parallels verbs that indicate a loud cry, a raised voice, or expressions of a more musical nature. In this sense, *rnn* parallels: *šhl* “(to whinny), to rejoice” (Isa 12:6; 24:14; 54:1; Jer 31:7); *rûa<sup>c</sup>* hi. “to cry loudly” (Isa 44:23; Zeph 3:14; Job 38:7; Psa 95:1 pi.; 81:2 hi.); *ntn qôl* “to give voice” (Prov 1:20); *nš<sup>o</sup> qôl* “to raise the voice” (Isa 52:8); *šwh* “to cry out (in joy)” (Isa 42:11); *šîr* “to sing” (Psa 59:17); *zmr* pi. “to make music” (71:23; 98:4); *mḥ<sup>o</sup> kap* “to clap the hands” (98:8). The par. use of verbs from the word field of “joy,” “to rejoice” also confirms that most examples of *rnn* indicate loud expressions of joy; thus the following terms parallel *rnn*: → *gîl* “to rejoice” (Isa 49:13 qal; 35:2 pi.; 16:10 pu.; Psa 32:11 hi.); *šmḥ* “to rejoice” (qal: Zeph 3:14; Zech 2:14; Psa 35:27; Prov 29:6; pi.: Psa 5:12; 67:5; 90:14; hi.: 32:11; cf. 92:5); *ʾls* “to exult” (5:12 pi.); *ʾlz* “to rejoice” (Zeph 3:14 qal; Psa 96:12 pi.; 149:5 pi.).

The noun *rinnâ* is used in a manner similar to *rnn*, i.e., the element of joy also dominates, although it can also represent a cry of lament or supplication (cf. 1 Kgs 8:28 = 2 Chron 6:19; Jer 7:16; 11:14; 14:12; Psa

17:1; 61:2; 88:3; 106:44; 119:169; 142:7). Since *rinnâ* can have not only the meaning “shout of joy” but also “shout of lament” or “shout of petition,” one could assume that homonyms are involved here; much more probably, however, these various meanings “find their point of contact in the fact that they are loud cries or shouts directed to YHWH in an attempt to achieve results” (Wagner, op. cit. 440). Given the observation that a few passages describe the content of a exclamation as *rinnâ* (or with *rnn*; cf. Psa 35:27; 118:15; cf. also 1 Kgs 22:36), one may posit that the noun *rinnâ* indicates a precise type of cultic exclamation (cf. Wagner, op. cit. 440).

Subjs. of *rnn* are (1) people, both individuals (Isa 54:1; Psa 59:17; 92:5; Prov 29:6; cf. also the passages in which body parts are subjs. as pars pro toto: *lāšôn* “tongue,” Isa 35:6; Psa 51:16; *šep̄tayim* “lips,” Psa 71:23; *lēb* and *bāsār* “heart” and “flesh,” 84:3) and groups of people (Lev 9:24; Isa 24:14; 42:11; 65:14; Jer 31:7; Psa 5:12; 20:6; 33:1, etc.). (2) Personified concepts also appear as subjs., i.e., “wisdom” in Prov 1:20; 8:3; the “daughter Zion” can also be the subj. of *rnn* (Zeph 3:14; Zech 2:14; cf. Isa 12:6; “Zion” alone, Lam 2:19), as can the “ruins of Jerusalem” (Isa 52:9). (3) Finally, creation is the subj. of *rnn*: heaven and earth (Jer 51:48), the entire earth (Psa 98:4). Individual realms of creation can also be the subj., i.e., heaven (Isa 44:23; 49:13), the morning stars (Job 38:7), the mountains (Psa 98:8), and the trees (Psa 96:12; 1 Chron 16:33).

4. A clear distinction between profane and theological uses of *rnn* is not possible since, except for the few passages that are not unequivocally theological (Isa 16:10; Jer 51:48; Job 29:13; Prov 1:20; 8:3; 29:6), it occurs almost exclusively in cultically situated language. For the same reason, it is not possible to demonstrate the semantic development of the term.

The majority of cases use *rnn* in the context of God’s praise. In this regard, one notes first that *rnn* appears in numerous passages that call for the praise of God. Thus *rnn* appears in the impv. in Isa 12:6; 44:23; 49:13; 54:1; Jer 31:7; Zeph 3:14; Zech 2:14; pi.: Isa 26:19; 52:9; Psa 33:1; 98:4; hi.: 32:11; 81:2; *rnn* occurs in the juss. in Isa 42:11; Psa 35:27; pi.: 5:12; 67:5; 71:23, etc. A series of these calls to praise are bipartite. They contain, first, the call to praise, usually expressed with an impv., followed in the second section—often connected with *kî* “for”—by the justification for the call to praise. Thus the call in Deut 32:43 hi., “rejoice to Yahweh, O heaven” (on the text, see F. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel* [1969], 42f.), precedes the justification introduced by *kî*, “for he avenges the blood of his servants” (on the justification of the call to praise with *kî*, see Gunkel-Begrich 42). Similarly, the call to praise in Isa 12:6 (cf. the structure of the preceding vv 4f.) precedes the justification: “Exult and rejoice, O dweller of Zion, for (*kî*) great in your midst is the Holy One of Israel” (cf. also the structure of 44:23;

49:13; 54:1; Zech 2:14; Isa 52:9 pi.). The reason for the call to praise is not always appended with *kî*, it can also consist of a pf. verb clause as in Isa 42:10ff., where the call to sing, praise, exult, rejoice, and proclaim in vv 10–12 precedes the reason clause: “Yahweh goes forth like a hero.”

The call to praise is based on an act of Yahweh. Thus the justification for the call to praise in Isa 44:23 is the fact that Yahweh has redeemed (*gâl*) Jacob and magnified himself (*pâr hitp.*) through his people; 49:13 and 52:9 base the call to praise on a reference to the fact that Yahweh comforts (*nĥm pi.*) his people; in 42:11, 13 the reason is Yahweh’s military activity, in Deut 32:43 the declaration that Yahweh avenges the blood of his servants. In Psa 96:12f. and 98:8f. the reason for the call to rejoice is Yahweh’s arrival to judge the earth and the nations (cf. also 67:5 “nations should rejoice and exult over the fact that you judge the nations righteously”). The term *rnn* is thus a call to joyful praise of God understood as a response to an act of Yahweh.

In Isa 12:6; 54:1; Zeph 3:14f.; and Zech 2:14, *rnn* is located in imperative hymns (on impvs. in hymns and the genre of the “imperative hymn,” cf. Gunkel-Begriff 32ff.; *PLP* 130–32; Crüsemann, op. cit. 19ff.) in which (a) the impv. is a fem. sg., (b) the *kî* clause following the impv. contains an address to the one called to rejoice (in these cases Jerusalem/Zion), and (c) the topic points to the fertility cult; these observations lead Crüsemann (op. cit. 55ff.) to speculate that these texts may have originally been a “kind of fertility oracle” (op. cit. 64) and that the terminology used in them may have originated in the fertility cult (cf. also P. Humbert, “Laetari et exultare dans le vocabulaire religieux de l’AT,” *Opuscules d’un hébraïsant* [1958], 144). Crüsemann seems to have established the probable relationship between *rnn* and the language of the fertility cult (cf. also Westermann’s comments concerning → *gîl*), yet I must emphasize that *rnn* also occurs frequently outside these contexts so that one cannot state unequivocally that *rnn* was originally and solely rooted in the language of the fertility cult.

It becomes particularly apparent in some individual laments that *rnn* is the loud, joyous response to an act, esp. Yahweh’s act of deliverance. Thus *rnn* appears in the lament in the confession of confidence or the vow of praise: “But I will sing of your might and rejoice (*rnn*) in the morning over your goodness, for you have become my fortress and my refuge in the day of my distress” (Psa 59:17; cf. also 51:16; 63:8; 71:23). In addition, *rnn* can appear in the petition of a lament when the worshiper asks that those who wish justice for him may indeed have occasion to rejoice and to praise Yahweh (35:27), or that those who trust Yahweh may exult and rejoice in Yahweh (5:12).

But *rnn* indicates not only the loud joy over Yahweh’s act of assistance in distress but also laudatory jubilation over Yahweh’s greatness (Isa 12:6), works (Psa 92:5), righteousness (51:16; 145:7), name (89:13),

or coming to judge (96:12f. = 1 Chron 16:33; Psa 98:8f.).

5. The Qumran texts attest both the verb *rnn* (1QS 10:14, 17; 1QM 14:2, 6; 1QSb 2:25) and the noun *rnh* (1QM 4:4; 12:13, 15; 19:7; 1QH 11:5, 14, 26); the usage resembles that of the OT.

The LXX does not render *rnn* in a uniform fashion. Nevertheless, the equivalent of *rnn* in the Psa is almost exclusively *agalliaomai*, the use of which in the NT corresponds to that of the LXX (cf. R. Bultmann, “ἀγαλλιάομαι,” *TDNT* 1:19–21). Outside the Psa, esp. in Deutero-Isa, *euphainō* often translates *rnn* (cf. R. Bultmann, “εὐφραίνω,” *TDNT* 2:772–75). In the NT it can often indicate profane joy, “sometimes . . . the joy of the festive meal” (R. Bultmann, op. cit. 774; cf. Luke 12:19; 16:19), but also cultic (Acts 7:41) and eschatological joy (Rev 12:12; 18:20).

R. Ficker

### רֵעַ *rēa*<sup>ᶜ</sup> companion

S 7453; BDB 945b; *HALOT* 3:1253b; *ThWAT* 7:545–55; *TWOT* 2186a; *NIDOTTE* 8276

1. Counterparts of *rēa*<sup>ᶜ</sup> “associate, friend, companion” are attested in other Sem. languages; in the OT milieu cf. Akk. *rū<sup>ᶜ</sup>u*, fem. *rūtu* (*AHW* 997f.); Ug. *r<sup>ᶜ</sup>* (*WUS* no. 2521; *UT* no. 2339); Hebr. *r<sup>ᶜ</sup>* (Siloam inscription = *KAI* no. 189.2–4); Aram. *r<sup>ᶜ</sup>* (Aḥ. 113, 222; *DISO* 281; according to Leander 77, a Hebr. loanword?); regarding the PNs, cf. Huffmon 260f.; Gröndahl 178; Benz 409f.; *IP* 10, 153f. (the fem. name *rūt* does not belong here; cf. H. Bruppacher, *TZ* 22 [1966]: 12–18; J. J. Stamm, *FS Baumgartner* 325f.).

OT Hebr. knows the substs. *rēa*<sup>ᶜ</sup>, *rē<sup>ᶜ</sup>eh*, *mērēa*<sup>ᶜ</sup> (BL 465), fem. *rē<sup>ᶜ</sup>â*, *ra<sup>ᶜ</sup>yâ*, *r<sup>ᶜ</sup>ût*, and a verb *r<sup>ᶜ</sup>h* II qal “to become involved with someone” (Job 24:21; Prov 13:20; 28:7; 29:3; apparently also Isa 44:20; Hos 12:2; cf. comms.), pi. “to serve as best man (*mērēa*<sup>ᶜ</sup>)” (Judg 14:20; cf. A. van Selms, *JNES* 9 [1950]: 65–75), hitp. “to become friends,” etc. (Prov 22:24).

2. *rēa*<sup>ᶜ</sup> occurs 187x in the OT (incl. Job 6:14; excl. 2 Sam 12:11; Psa 139:2, 17, *rēa*<sup>ᶜ</sup> III “intention, thought”; cf. Wagner no. 284; Prov 33x, Deut and Jer 21x each, Exod 20x, Job 14x, Zech and Psa 8x each, Gen and 1 Sam 7x each). The other substs. are attested as follows: *rē<sup>ᶜ</sup>eh* 4x (2 Sam 12:11; 15:37; 16:16; 1 Kgs 4:5), *mērēa*<sup>ᶜ</sup> 7x (Gen 26:26; Judg 14:11, 20; 15:2, 6; 2 Sam 3:8; Prov 19:7), *rē<sup>ᶜ</sup>â* 3x (Judg 11:37 Q, 38; Psa 45:15), *ra<sup>ᶜ</sup>yâ*

9x (only Song Sol) and *r<sup>c</sup>û<sup>t</sup>* 6x (Exod 11:2; Isa 34:15f.; Jer 9:19; Zech 11:9; Esth 1:19).

3. *rēa<sup>c</sup>* has a broad semantic range (J. Fichtner, “Der Begriff des ‘Nächsten’ im AT,” *WD NS* 4 [1955]: 232–52 = *Gottes Weisheit* [1965], 88–114; id., *TDNT* 6:311–15). Loosely defined, (a) a more limited, (b) a broader, and (c) a pronom. usage may be identified; the usually somewhat more specialized meanings of the etymologically related terms also fit into this schema.

(a) In a series of passages, *rēa<sup>c</sup>* has the more limited meaning “(personal) friend, confidant, companion, colleague.” Thus according to Gen 38:12, 20 Hirah of Adullam is Judah’s friend; cf. Exod 33:11 “face to face, like one speaks with a friend”; 2 Sam 16:17 “But Absalom said to Hushai: ‘Is that your love for your friend? Why did you not go with your friends?’”; cf. also Job’s friends (Job 2:11; 16:20; 19:21; 32:3; 35:4; 42:7, 10) and passages such as Exod 32:27; Deut 13:7; 2 Sam 13:3; 1 Kgs 16:11; Isa 3:5; Jer 9:3; 23:35; Mic 7:5; Psa 35:14; 88:19; 122:8; Job 17:5; Prov 17:17; 18:24; 19:6; 27:10. One can occasionally understand *rēa<sup>c</sup>* in a more sexual sense as “lover” (Jer 3:1; Hos 3:1; Song Sol 5:16 par. *dôd* “lover”; cf. *ra<sup>c</sup>yâ* “beloved” in Song Sol 1:9, 15; 2:2, 10, 13; 4:1, 7; 5:2; 6:4—except for 2:2 always in the address “my friend”).

*rēa<sup>c</sup>* occurs frequently in series with terms of relationship, e.g., Exod 32:27 “kill all, brothers, friends, and relatives”; Deut 13:7 “if your natural brother or your son or your daughter or the wife in your bosom or your friend whom you love as your life seeks to mislead you in secret”; 1 Kgs 16:11 “neither blood relatives (*gô<sup>a</sup>lîm*) nor friends”; → *ʾāḥ* “brother” (also Jer 9:3; 23:35; Psa 35:14; 122:8; Prov 17:17; 27:10, etc.); → *qrb* 3d (*qārôb* “relative,” Exod 32:27; Psa 15:3; 38:12, etc.); → *gʾl* 3d.

The most prominent synonym is *ʾôḥēb* “friend” (cf. e.g., Psa 38:12; 88:19; Lam 1:2; Prov 14:20; → *ʾḥb* III/1–3). *ʾallûp* in the meaning “personal friend” closely approximates the more specific meaning of *rēa<sup>c</sup>* (Jer 3:4; 13:21; Mic 7:5 par. *rēa<sup>c</sup>*; Psa 55:14; Prov 2:17; 16:28; 17:9). → *ʾôyēb* “enemy” should be mentioned as the leading antonym (together with *rēa<sup>c</sup>* in Lam 1:2).

Even when *rēa<sup>c</sup>* can be translated “associate, colleague” it does not accentuate membership in a more-or-less closed group (cf. 1 Kgs 20:35 of the disciples of the prophets; Zech 3:8 of the group surrounding the high priest Joshua; *mērēa<sup>c</sup>* Judg 14:11, 20; 15:2, 6, of Samson’s groomsmen or companions at a feast). In this meaning *ḥābēr* “associate” constitutes a more suitable comparison (Judg 20:11; Isa 1:23; 44:11, etc., 12x in the OT; *ḥabbār* “associate,” Job 40:30; *ḥ<sup>a</sup>beret* “companion,” Mal 2:14; Bibl. Aram. *ḥ<sup>a</sup>bar* “companion,” Dan 2:13, 17f.; *ḥabrâ* “companion,” 7:20) and Bibl.

Aram. *k<sup>c</sup>nāt* “colleague” (Ezra 4:9, 17, 23; 5:3, 6; 6:6, 13).

The expression “friend of the king” underwent an unusual development from honorific title to official title (*rēa<sup>c</sup>hammelek* 1 Chron 27:33; *rē<sup>c</sup>ehhammelek* 1 Kgs 4:5; cf. *rē<sup>c</sup>eh dāwīd* 2 Sam 15:37; 16:16; cf. also *mērēa<sup>c</sup>* in Gen 26:26), in the Davidic and Solomonic eras. It was probably later replaced by the official designation *yō<sup>c</sup>ēṣ* “counselor.” On this issue and the presumed (Eg.) prototype, cf. R. de Vaux, *RB* 48 (1939): 403–5 = *Bible et Orient* (1967), 198–201; de Vaux 1:122f.; E. Bammel, *TLZ* 77 (1952): 205–10; Fichtner, *Gottes Weisheit* 93; A. van Selms, *JNES* 16 (1957): 118–23; H. Donner, “Der ‘Freund des Königs,’” *ZAW* 73 (1961): 269–77; A. Penna, *RivB* 14 (1966): 459–66; Noth, *BK* 9/1, 64f.; S. Herrmann, *History of Israel in OT Times* (19812), 180.

(b) As a rule, one should understand *rēa<sup>c</sup>* in the broader sense of “fellow human being, neighbor,” while the precise relationship varies with the context but is not always precisely discernible. Thus *rēa<sup>c</sup>* can be a compatriot (Lev 19:16 par. *‘ammîm*; 19:18 par. *b<sup>c</sup>n’* → *‘am*; Deut 15:2 “he shall not compel his neighbor and brother”; cf. v 3 “you may compel the foreigner”); but it can also refer to a neighbor (Exod 11:2 *rēa<sup>c</sup>* and *r<sup>c</sup>ūt* of the Eg. neighbors; Deut 19:14 and 27:17 of next-door neighbors; Prov 3:29 “who lives amicably beside you”; 25:17). In most instances, even in the legal texts, one may not clearly determine, however, whether *rēa<sup>c</sup>* refers to a compatriot or simply to a fellow human being whom one encounters in the course of life (Exod 20:16f. = Deut 5:20f.; Exod 21:14, 35; 22:6ff.; Lev 19:13; 20:10; Deut 19:5, 11, 14; 23:25f., etc. Prov 3:28f.; 6:1, 3, etc.). Even if compatriots are in fact usually intended, *rēa<sup>c</sup>* has by no means become a technical term for the members of the people of God.

Even in the meaning “neighbor,” *rēa<sup>c</sup>* often stands in conjunction with an indication of relationship (see 3a) such as *‘āh*, which can also be employed in an expanded usage for nonrelatives (cf. Deut 15:2; Isa 41:6; Jer 23:35; 31:34; 34:17; Job 30:29 in reference to animals).

(c) The original semantic context of friendship and closeness is diminished in the frequent pronom. meaning “another” (e.g., 1 Sam 15:28 “Yahweh strips dominion over Israel from you today and will give it to another (*I<sup>c</sup>rē<sup>c</sup>akā*) who is better than you”; cf. 28:17 and Esth 1:19 fem. *r<sup>c</sup>ūt*; 2 Sam 12:11 *rē<sup>c</sup>eh*; in Prov 6:1 *rēa<sup>c</sup>* even parallels → *zār* “stranger”). Like → *‘iš* and → *‘āh* (3d), *‘iš* and *rēa<sup>c</sup>* are often used in many phrases to indicate reciprocity (*‘iš I<sup>c</sup>/el-rē<sup>c</sup>ehû* “one another,” Gen 11:3; 43:33; Exod 18:7; Deut 19:11, etc.; these and similar expressions occur about 70x in the OT and 3x in the Siloam inscription, see 1; also of inanimate objects as in Gen 15:10 “and placed the portions opposite one another”). The fem. counterpart is *‘iššā rē<sup>c</sup>ūtāh* “one . . . the other” (all passages with *r<sup>c</sup>ūt*

except for Esth 1:19; in Isa 34:15f. and Zech 11:9 also of animals).

4. (a) *rēa<sup>c</sup>* designates God himself only in one passage: Job 16:21 “that he may establish justice for the person in the dispute with God and mediate between a person and his *rēa<sup>c</sup>*,” where *rēa<sup>c</sup>* refers either to the “friend” (Fichtner, op. cit. 92; cf. Fohrer, KAT 16, 281, 291f.) or to the “(legal) opponent” (Horst, BK 16, 240, 253f.). Only Exod 33:11 compares Yahweh to a friend: “Yahweh spoke with Moses face-to-face like one speaks with a friend,” making clear the uniqueness of Yahweh’s relationship with Moses (cf. Num 12:6–8; Deut 34:10). It is an exception; the simile is not otherwise used in relation to Yahweh.

(b) Yahweh intercedes to ensure the protection of the rights of the neighbor within the Israelite legal community: Exod 20:16 = Deut 5:20 “you shall not bear false witness against your neighbor”; Exod 20:17 (cf. Deut 5:21) “you shall not covet your neighbor’s house”; Exod 21:35 “if someone’s ox gores another’s ox”; Lev 19:13 “you shall not oppress or rob your neighbor”; Deut 19:14 “you shall not displace your neighbor’s boundary that the ancestors drew”; 27:24 “cursed be the one who smites one’s neighbor in secret.” In these and similar passages in the legal texts, *rēa<sup>c</sup>* refers to the fellow human being, the neighbor, the one encountered by chance, without precisely defining the judicial application of the commandment, even though in context (namely, in Deuteronomy and in the Holiness Code) the limits of the ethnic community are not in fact exceeded (cf., however, the expansion of the commandment to love in Lev 19:18 to include the foreigner who dwells in the land; cf. v 34). Regarding the commandment to love one’s neighbor in the OT, see the extensive treatment under → *ʔhb* IV/1.

Injustice involving the neighbor becomes a point of contention in the prophets, involving *rēa<sup>c</sup>* particularly in Jer and Ezek (cf. Jer 5:8; 9:7; 22:13; 29:23; Ezek 18:6, 11, 15; 22:11f.; 33:26). Imminent judgment will disrupt healthy interpersonal arrangements (cf. Isa 3:5; Jer 9:3f.; 19:9; Mic 7:5).

Proverbial wisdom also inculcates proper behavior toward the neighbor (cf. e.g., Prov 3:28f.; 6:29; 14:20f.; 16:29; 26:19; Job 6:14 txt?).

(c) The prophetic accusation that Israel has abandoned Yahweh like an unfaithful wife (→ *ʔiššâ* 4f) and committed adultery with other lovers involves the term *rēa<sup>c</sup>* in Hos 3:1 and Jer 3:1, 20. The image of marriage, adapted from Can. mythology (Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 14f., 49f.59f.), is applied to the relationship between Yahweh and Israel but also serves to combat Israel’s inclination toward the Can. Baal cult and its cultic prostitution. It is completely incomprehensible that Israel would break faith with Yahweh (Jer 3:20 “just as a wife breaks faith with her friend, so have you broken faith with me, O house of Israel”) and grow close to other friends (Jer 3:1 “but you have committed harlotry with many lovers”), while, despite everything,

Yahweh begins anew with his people (Hos 3:1 “nevertheless, go, love a wife who loves another and is an adulteress, just as Yahweh loves the sons of Israel, even though they turn to strange gods”).

5. Regarding the adaptation of the term in the LXX, in Qumran, in Judaism, and in the NT, cf. Fichtner, *op. cit.* 104–14; J. Fichtner and H. Greeven, “πλησίον,” *TDNT* 6:311–18. The commandment to love one’s neighbor from Lev 19:18, combined with Deut 6:5, is adapted in Matt 22:34–40; Mark 12:28–31; Luke 10:25–28. Luke makes it particularly clear, however, that the NT does not identify the neighbor with the next-door neighbor or the compatriot but with everyone regardless of faith and nationality. The antithesis in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:43–48) extends the demand to love one’s neighbor even to enemies.

J. Kühlewein

## רעה *r<sup>h</sup>* to tend

S 7462; BDB 944b; *HALOT* 3:1258b; *ThWAT* 7:566–76; *TWOT* 2185; *NIDOTTE* 8286

1. *r<sup>h</sup>* (*\*r<sup>y</sup>*) “to tend, cause to graze, guard” (obj. cattle, fig. also people) is attested in most Sem. languages (Berg., *Intro.* 218f.). The subst. ptcp. *rō<sup>eh</sup>* “shepherd” belongs to the qal (cf. Akk. *rē<sup>u</sup>*; Ug. *r<sup>y</sup>*, *WUS* no. 2522; Phoen. and Aram., *DISO* 281); the derivatives *r<sup>eh</sup>* “pasture,” *mir<sup>eh</sup>* “pasture, feed,” and *mar<sup>it</sup>* “pastureland” are attested less often and relatively late.

2. *r<sup>h</sup>* qal occurs 168x (incl. 2 Kgs 10:12; excl. Isa 44:20 and Hos 12:2 with *r<sup>h</sup>* II “to get involved with,” → *rē<sup>a</sup>*), subst. *rō<sup>eh</sup>* occurs 83x (according to Lis.), and fem. *rō<sup>ah</sup>* “shepherdess” 1x (Gen 29:9). Marked concentrations occur in the “shepherd chapters” Ezek 34 (31x, otherwise in Ezek only in Ezek 37:24) and Zech 11 (10x of 14x in Zech), in contrast to normal distributions in Jer (27x), Gen (23x), Isa (16x), Psa (8x), and 1 Sam and Song Sol (7x each). *mir<sup>eh</sup>* is attested 13x (Ezek 34 4x), *mar<sup>it</sup>* 10x (Psa 4x), *r<sup>eh</sup>* 1x (1 Kgs 5:3).

3. Depending on subj. and obj., various translations of *r<sup>h</sup>* qal are possible: (a) subj. people: “to drive (cattle) to pasture, let graze, pasture” (trans.; Gen 29:7; 30:31, 36, etc.), abs. “to be a shepherd, to guard” (esp. in the ptcp.; Gen 37:2, 13, 16; 1 Sam 16:11, etc.), fig. “to guard (people) = to govern” (2 Sam 7:7 = 1 Chron 17:6; Jer 3:15, etc.), with a personified subj. “to nourish, refresh,” etc. (Hos 9:2, threshing floor and winepress; Prov

10:21, the lips of the pious), “to govern,” etc. (Jer 22:22, a storm; Psa 49:15, death); (b) subj. cattle: “to pasture” (intrans.; Gen 41:2, 18; Exod 34:3, etc.), “to feed” (Isa 30:23) fig. and metaphorically also of people (Isa 14:30; 49:9), and then, sometimes detrimentally “to graze = to devastate” (Jer 2:16; Mic 5:5, etc.), in which respect the boundaries between this metaphorical usage (e.g., Prov 15:14 “to graze = to be out for something,” etc.) and *rḥ* II “to become involved with someone/something” (Isa 44:20 “to graze on” ashes; Hos 12:2 “to graze” wind?) become obscured.

Among the designations for pasture animals that belong to the word field of *rḥ*, the most common is *šōḥn* “small cattle (consisting of sheep and goats),” usually translated “sheep” for stylistic reasons (274x in the OT; Gen 63x, Ezek 29x, 1 Sam 20x; also the by-form *šōneh* 2x); *bāqār* “cattle” (183x, often in series with *šōḥn*; Num 50x, 2 Chron 18x, Gen 17x, Lev, 1 Sam and 1 Kgs 12x each); individual categories of animals are mentioned less often in conjunction with *rḥ* (e.g., cattle, Exod 34:3; Jonah 3:7; 1 Chron 27:29; cows, Gen 41:2, 18; Isa 11:7; calf, Isa 27:10; lamb, Isa 65:25; kid, Song Sol 1:8; donkey, Gen 36:24; donkey mare, Job 1:14). The most general word for animals under the shepherd’s care is *‘ēder* “herd” (39x in the OT, 10x in Gen, 6x in Jer, 5x in Song Sol; with *rḥ*, 1 Sam 17:34; Isa 40:11; Jer 6:3; 31:10; 51:23, etc.).

Semantically related verbs are either more general (→ *šmr* Jer 31:10) or more specific; cf. the verbs of guidance such as *nḥh*, *nḥg* qal/pi., *nḥl* pi. (→ *nḥh* 3). *rō‘eh* has partial synonyms in the professional designations *bôqēr* “cattle farmer” (Amos 7:14; cf. H. J. Stoebe, *WD NS* 5 [1957]: 160–81) and *nôqēd* “sheep farmer” (2 Kgs 3:4; Amos 1:1; Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 123f.; Rudolph, *KAT* 13/2, 113f.; S. Segert, *FS Baumgartner* 279–83). In addition to derivatives of *rḥ*, *kar* “pasture” (Isa 30:23; Psa 37:20; 65:14; perhaps to be conjectured in Isa 14:30), *nāweh* “pasture,” and more generally “place” (pl. *nō‘ôt*, usually in poetic texts; 45x in the OT, Jer 14x, Isa 6x, Psa 5x; cf. also *nāwâ* in Job 8:6; *nāyôt* 6x in 1 Sam 19:18–23; 20:1; and Akk. *nawûm* in the Mari texts; cf. D. Edzard, *ZA* 53 [1959]: 168–73; A. Malamat, *JAOS* 83 [1962]: 146; M. Weiss, *TZ* 23 [1967]: 16f.), *migrāš* “pasture area (surrounding the city)” (114x, almost exclusively in lists; Josh 58x, 1 Chron 44x; Ezek 36:5 should be added to Lis.; also *migrōšôt* “meadows?” Ezek 27:28; for the more precise meaning of *migrāš*, see L. Delekat, *VT* 14 [1964]: 13–23) also indicate the pasture site.

4. In a community in which the economy consists chiefly of farming and rearing livestock, the title of shepherd could easily be applied to God, the king, and authorities in general (regarding this issue and the image in the OT and the ancient Near East, cf. e.g., Dalman, *AuS* 6:146–287; J. Jeremias, *TDNT* 6:485–502; V. Hamp, “Das Hirtenmotiv im AT,” *FS Faulhaber* 7–20; J. G. Botterweck, “Hirte und Herde im AT und im alten Orient,” *FS Frings* 339–52; D. Müller, “Der gute Hirte: Ein Beitrag zur

Geschichte äg. Bildrede,” ZÄS 86 [1961]: 126–44; Ph. de Robert, *Le berger d’Israël* [1968]; I. Seibert, *Hirt-Herde-König* [1969], regarding Mesopotamia).

(a) Yahweh is a shepherd, a concept that found classical expression in Psa 23:1–4; cf. also 28:9; 80:2; furthermore, Gen 48:15; 49:24; Isa 40:11; Hos 4:16; Mic 7:14 (cf. Eichrodt 1:524, s.v. “God, as Shepherd”; J. de Fraine, *L’aspect religieux de la royauté israélite* [1954], 137; V. Maag, “Der Hirte Israels,” *SThU* 28 [1958]: 2–28). From Gen 49:24, where *rō<sup>c</sup>eh ʿeben yísrāʿēl* (regarding the text cf. comms. and → *šûr*) parallels *ʾabîr ya<sup>a</sup>qôb* (→ *ʾabbîr* 4), one can infer that the title is very old, going back even to the period of patriarchal religion. Cf. also the less direct expressions of the idea in Isa 63:11; Jer 13:17; 23:1–4; 31:10; 50:19; Ezek 34:11ff.; Zech 9:16 txt em; Psa 68:8; 74:1; 77:21; 78:52f.; 79:13; 95:7; 100:3; 121:4, which speak of the people as the “flock” (*ʿēder*) or the “sheep (of his pasture)” (*šōʿn, marʿit*), or where terminology associated with the concept appears. In many cases the designation of Yahweh as a shepherd clearly represents a variant of the title → *melek* “king.”

(b) The king as the shepherd installed by the appropriate deity is frequently attested in the ancient Near East since the most ancient period (cf. e.g., S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* [1922], 2:306ff.; C. J. Gadd, *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East* [1948], 38ff.; de Fraine, op. cit. index s.v. “pasteur”; K.-H. Bernhardt, *Das Problem der altorientalischen Königsideologie im AT* [1961], 68n.1; Seux 189 [*nāqidu*], 243–50 [*re-û/rē-û*], 356 [*utullu*], 441–45 [Sum. *sipa*]). Enannatum I of Lagash (25th cent. BCE), Hammurapi of Babylon (18th cent.), and Ashurbanipal of Asshur (668–627), among others, bore the title “shepherd”; in other cases it even became a technical term for the deified monarchs, marking the bearer as a manifestation of the shepherd god Dumuzi/Tammuz. In Mesopotamia on the one hand the shepherd title refers to the cultic authority of the king as the head of the priesthood and the mediator between the gods and the people; on the other hand the king is a shepherd who gathers and protects his people, richly provides them with earthly goods, and preserves righteousness.

Such notions are also widely distributed in Israel; yet, although the king plays an important role in the state cult, his role is hardly comparable to that of his Mesopotamian counterpart. His functions with respect to world order are comparable, however; cf. 2 Sam 5:2 = 1 Chron 11:2; 2 Sam 7:7 = 1 Chron 17:6; Psa 78:71f.; of the promised king: Jer 23:4; Ezek 34:23f.; 37:24; Mic 5:3. Given this similarity (Jeremias, op. cit. 487f.), it is striking that no ruling king is known to have directly borne the title.

(c) Even the leaders of the people sometimes bear the title “shepherd”: Jer 2:8; 3:15; 10:21; 22:22; 23:1f.; 25:34–36; Ezek 34:2ff.;

Zech 10:3; 11:4ff.; 13:7 (cf. M. Sæbø, *Sacharja 9–14* [1969], 215, 237f., 278f.). Isa 44:28 uses it for Cyrus. Thus the usage is apparently limited primarily to the exilic period. As Israel’s officeholders, these leaders also often stand under judgment and will be replaced in the future by “true” shepherds.

5. The LXX renders this word group chiefly by *nemein/nomē* and *poimaincin/poimēn*, etc. Concerning the use of the terms in the NT and its environs, cf. J. G. S. S. Thompson, “The Shepherd-Ruler Concept in the OT and Its Application to the NT,” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 8 (1955): 406–18; J. Jeremias, “ποιμήν,” *TDNT* 6:485–502; E. Beyreuther, “Shepherd,” *DNTT* 3:564–69.

J. A. Soggin

## רעע $r^{CC}$ to be bad

S 7489; BDB 949a; *HALOT* 3:1269b; *ThWAT* 7:582–612; *TWOT* 2191; *NIDOTTE* 8317

1. In contrast to → *tôb* “good,” *ra<sup>C</sup>* “bad, evil” and the related verbal root  $r^{CC}$  are not common Sem. The adj. occurs in Akk. (*raggu* “evil, bad,” *AHw* 942; otherwise *lemnu* and *šēnu*) and Phoen. (Karatepe I.15 “evil people”; subst. I.9 “all the evil”; III.17 “from evil”; cf. *KAI* no. 26; *DISO* 281) but is entirely absent from Aram. (regarding Aḥ. 113 cf. *DISO* 281 and P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d’Egypte* [1972], 439; → *rēa<sup>C</sup>* 1), where the idea is represented by the root *b<sup>š</sup>* (*DISO* 31f.; Bibl. Aram. *b<sup>š</sup>* pe. “to be bad,” Dan 6:15; adj. *b<sup>e</sup>š<sup>š</sup>* > *bīš* “evil,” Ezra 4:12; cf. KBL 1056a).

The occurrence of the root  $r^{CC}$  in Ug. is uncertain (*WUS* no. 2523; contra *UT* no. 2606), as is the etymological relationship to Arab. *ra<sup>C</sup>ā<sup>C</sup>* “mob” that is occasionally suggested (Vollers according to GB 768a). A relationship to → *rēa<sup>C</sup>* must be rejected (contra W. L. Dulière, *FS Altheim* 2:1–26).

The OT has the verb in the qal, ni. (Prov 11:15 “to be treated badly”; 13:20 “to become bad”), and hi. (“to make bad, treat badly, do evil,” with a subst. ptc. “evildoer”). Noms. include *rōa<sup>C</sup>* “badness” (*qutl* abstract of *ra<sup>C</sup>*; BL 455) and *mēra<sup>C</sup>* “evildoing” (only Dan 11:27), also *ra<sup>C</sup>* “evil,” often subst.: *ra<sup>C</sup>* and fem. *rā<sup>C</sup>â* “evil, misfortune.”

2. Statistics: if one accepts Lis.’s categorization of the ambiguous forms of  $r^{CC}$  qal or *ra<sup>C</sup>* and *rā<sup>C</sup>â*, the following figures result (Mandl. assigns

Num 11:10; 22:34; Josh 24:15; 2 Sam 19:8; and Jer 40:4 to qal instead of to  $ra^c$ , as well as Jer 11:16 txt? to  $r^{cc}$  II “to break”);  $r^{cc}$  qal 24x, ni. 2x, hi. 68x (incl. ptcp.; Psa 14x, Jer 11x, Isa 8x),  $m\bar{e}ra^c$  1x,  $r\bar{o}a^c$  19x (Jer 11x),  $ra^c$  356x (Prov 47x, Jer and Psa 33x each, Deut 28x, Gen and 2 Kgs 26x each, Eccl 17x, Ezek 16x, 1 Kgs 15x, Isa and 2 Chron 14x each), and  $r\bar{a}^c\hat{a}$  311x (Jer 90x, Psa 31x, Prov 21x, 1 Sam 20x, Eccl 14x). Of the total of 781 occurrences of the root, then, 146 fall to Jer alone, an additional 80 to Psa, and 75 to Prov.

3./4. While Eng. at least roughly distinguishes between two aspects of nongoodness through the terms “bad” and “evil,” Hebr. unites them in a single expression. The fundamentally different concepts are held together, at least initially, by the fact that  $ra^c$  does not primarily involve evil per se but relates to life in such a way as to indicate the pertinent nuance (Deut 30:15 equates  $ra^c$  and “death,”  $\acute{t}ob$  and “life”; cf. also Mic 3:2). As a result, one decides between  $\acute{t}ob$  and  $ra^c$  (2 Sam 14:17; 19:36; 1 Kgs 3:9; Isa 7:15), and it is dangerous to call  $ra^c \acute{t}ob$  (e.g., Isa 5:20; on the questions that pertain to the “knowledge of good and evil” [Gen 2:9, 17], see →  $\acute{t}ob$  3e). Two other aspects of nongoodness are also terminologically indistinct in Hebr.: the more passively perceived “misfortune” and the more actively understood “evil.” The “synthetic understanding of life” and the emphasis on the deed-consequence relationship also certainly play roles here (specifically regarding  $ra^c$  see K. H. Fahlgren, *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des AT*, ed. K. Koch [1972], 122–26).

Without fundamentally distinguishing between profane and theological usage, I treat: (a)  $ra^c$  (and  $r^{cc}$  qal) in evaluations and decisions, (b)  $ra^c/r\bar{a}^c\hat{a}$  as “misfortune,” etc., (c) as “evil, evil act,” etc., and (d) the use of  $r^{cc}$  hi.

(a) In comparison with  $\acute{t}ob$ , the designation of the one for whom (*le*) something is  $ra^c$  occurs infrequently; it is entirely absent in wisdom but is also rare elsewhere (e.g., 2 Sam 19:8), and the fact that a verb form is involved (e.g., 2 Sam 20:6; Neh 13:8) results in a different emphasis from the outset. Indeed, for wisdom it is essential to seek the profitable and not the opposite (cf. also Amos 5:14). Similarly, there is no comparative *min* in the wisdom sense (with the possible exception of 2 Sam 19:8). One matter is not worse, less beneficial, than another, but one behaves worse than others (e.g., qal 2 Sam 20:6; hi. 1 Kgs 16:25; Jer 7:26; 16:12), or one treats someone worse than others (e.g., Gen 19:9 hi.).

This observation does not change the fact that statements with  $ra^c$  essentially involve a judgment or decision. Consequently, the declaration that something is bad in someone’s judgment ( $b^{cc}\acute{e}n\acute{e}$ , →  $\acute{a}yin$  3c) occurs frequently, first verbally (Gen 21:11f.; 38:10; 48:17; Num 11:10; 22:34; Josh

24:15; 1 Sam 8:6; 18:8; 2 Sam 11:25, 27; Isa 59:15; Jer 40:4; Prov 24:18; 1 Chron 21:7), but also with the adj. *ra*<sup>◌</sup>, either with a per. (e.g., Gen 38:7) or an imper. referent (indeterminate *ra*<sup>◌</sup> in reference to a future occurrence that could give offense, 1 Sam 29:7; determinate *ra*<sup>◌</sup> for the already committed, known offense, 1 Sam 15:19; 2 Sam 12:9).

The meaning of *r*<sup>◌◌</sup> *qal/ra*<sup>◌</sup> in these expressions depends on the person and the resources of the evaluator. If one is unable to alter that which seems bad, the verb may well be translated “to be concerned” (e.g., Gen 21:12; Num 11:10; 1 Sam 8:6). But if the evaluation involves a decision encompassing the possibility of a measure to effect change, then “to take offense, reject as annoying” may be appropriate (e.g., Josh 24:15; Jer 40:4). The adj. *ra*<sup>◌</sup> can be neutral, with no ethical accent (Gen 28:8; Exod 21:8); it need not state anything more than the fact that something seems inappropriate (1 Sam 29:7). By contrast, if Yahweh is the evaluator (e.g., Isa 65:12; 66:4; Psa 51:6), *ra*<sup>◌</sup> acquires the character of objective evil, sin, to be rejected and punished, for God’s judgment encompasses both the ultimate norm and the unlimited capacity for punishment (regardless of how Gen 38:7 = 1 Chron 2:3 was once understood, the tenor of the whole passage now prohibits any notion of capriciousness). This concept forms the background of the well-known, primarily Dtr, formula → *śh hāra*<sup>◌</sup> *b*<sup>◌◌</sup> *ēnē yhw* “to do evil in Yahweh’s judgment” (Num 32:13; Deut 4:25; 9:18; 17:2; 31:29; Judg 2:11; 3:7, 12; 4:1; 6:1; 10:6; 13:1; 1 Sam 15:19; 2 Sam 12:9; 1 Kgs 11:6; 14:22 and an additional 20x in the books of Kgs together with the corresponding par. passages in Chron, always in the Dtr characterization of the reign of the pertinent Israelite or Judean king; outside the historical books: Jer 32:30; 52:2; Isa 65:12; 66:4; Psa 51:6).

Significantly, there is no corresponding formula with *tôb*; → *yāšār* (3b, 4) appears instead. The formula with *ra*<sup>◌</sup> is fixed to a degree; *ra*<sup>◌</sup> already states a particular absolute (cf. Jer 18:10 K *rā*<sup>◌</sup>) that renders unnecessary the modification with *b*<sup>◌◌</sup> *ēnē yhw* as well as the more precise indication of the constitution of the *ra*<sup>◌</sup> (cf. e.g., Deut 9:18; 17:2; Judg 2:11; 3:7 in contrast to Judg 13:1, etc.).

(b) The same breadth of meaning as in the other cases may be expected of attributive *ra*<sup>◌</sup> and subst. *ra*<sup>◌</sup>/*rā*<sup>◌</sup> (cf. e.g., Deut 23:10 “guard yourself from all things inappropriate”; Mal 1:8 “there is nothing more to it”; 1 Kgs 22:8 = 2 Chron 18:7 “pure detriment”; contra Jer 2:19 “bitterly evil”). Seen as a whole, the sense of *ra*<sup>◌</sup> is differentiated according to whether the statement is more act. or pass., i.e., whether the experience of the one affected by *ra*<sup>◌</sup> or the one doing *ra*<sup>◌</sup> occupies the foreground.

In the first instance, *ra*<sup>◌</sup>/*rā*<sup>◌</sup> means “misfortune, disaster, difficulty” in the broadest sense. Illnesses are serious (e.g., Deut 7:15; 28:35; Job 2:7;

Eccl 6:2; 2 Chron 21:19), discipline is painful (Prov 15:10; cf. Ezek 14:21), fate is sorrowful (Eccl 9:3), an act seems senseless (Eccl 2:17), a business deal is bad (Prov 20:14; Eccl 1:13; 4:8; 5:13), weapons bring misfortune (Isa 32:7; Ezek 5:16; Psa 144:10), and wild animals are threatening (Gen 37:20, 33; Lev 26:6; Ezek 5:17; 14:21, etc.). Messengers bringing misfortune (Psa 78:49) and disastrous messages (Jer 49:23) also belong here. A land is infertile (Num 20:5), water is unhealthy (2 Kgs 2:19; cf. 4:41). Indications of quality formed with *ra*<sup>ç</sup> represent a separate group: animals or fruits have defects and are inferior (e.g., Gen 41:3f., 19f.; Lev 27:10ff.; Jer 24:2f., 8, the bad figs). The appearance can be bad (Gen 41:21 of animals; but also of people: Gen 40:7; Neh 2:2). Finally, the days of trouble must be mentioned (Gen 47:9; Prov 15:15), distinct from the days and time of misfortune (Amos 5:13; 6:3; in a cs. relationship with → *yôm* [3d]: Jer 17:17f.; 51:2; Psa 27:5; 41:2; Prov 16:4; cf. Eccl 7:14).

While *ra*<sup>ç</sup>/*rā*<sup>ç</sup>*â* acquires its specific nuance here from the given context, the sense of the subst. used abs. is more general and thus also more difficult to determine. One can note a particular difference in whether the statement takes into account the agent of this *ra*<sup>ç</sup>. If not, the blandest meaning is “trouble, harm” (e.g., Gen 44:34; Zeph 3:15; with *rā*<sup>ç</sup>*â*: Gen 44:29; Jonah 4:6; Eccl 11:10), the usual sense “misfortune, distress” (e.g., Gen 48:16; Psa 10:6; 23:4; 121:7; Job 5:19; Prov 5:14; 12:21, etc.; with *rā*<sup>ç</sup>*â*, e.g., 1 Sam 6:9 [there is some question as to whether this text involves God’s discipline or simply a misfortune]; 2 Kgs 14:10; Jer 15:11; 38:4; Zech 1:15; Job 2:11; Prov 17:20; 24:16; Neh 1:3; 2:17). With a view to the result of this misfortune, the translation “destruction” may be appropriate (e.g., Gen 19:19; Judg 20:34; 1 Sam 25:17, always *rā*<sup>ç</sup>*â*). In most cases, however, someone, whether explicitly named or clearly implied, causes the *ra*<sup>ç</sup> (e.g., Gen 31:29a, Laban; Jer 39:12; Ezek 11:2; Psa 56:6; Prov 13:17; 21:12; Eccl 8:9, etc.). The concept of an inflicted injury or the resulting harmful situation underlies *ra*<sup>ç</sup>. One can also inflict this misfortune on oneself through one’s behavior (Jer 7:6; 25:7). A precise distinction is hardly possible here, however. If one applies the somewhat crude but sufficient conceptual schema that whatever does harm to one will become misfortune for the other, then the idea varies depending on whether one thinks more of the act. or the pass. party. In numerous passages both options are possible (e.g., 1 Sam 20:7, 9, 13; 23:9; 24:10; 2 Kgs 21:12; 22:16; Esth 7:7; 8:3). It is also difficult to determine whether suf. forms involve a subj. gen. (“my misfortune”) or an obj. gen. (“the evil planned against me”) (cf. also e.g., Num 11:15; Jer 2:27f.; 11:12, 14; 48:16; Obad 13; Eccl 5:12). The same ambiguity applies to *rō*<sup>ç</sup>*â* in association with → *rû*<sup>ç</sup>*ah* “spirit” (Judg 9:23; 1 Sam 16:14–16, 23; does it concern a spirit

who works evil or whose effect is misfortune?).

The fem. pl. *rā'ôṭ* in the meaning “distress, suffering” occurs in Deut 31:17, 21; 32:23; Psa 34:20; 40:13; 71:20; 88:4, thus relatively rarely (see also 3/4c). Cf. also *r'cc* ni. “to suffer evil” in this context (Prov 11:15; 13:20).

According to the preceding discussion, tension must exist when Yahweh himself works *ra'* (Isa 31:2; 45:7 “I who work salvation and create disaster”) or *rā'â* (in most passages), for on the one hand he is the focal point of the statement, and on the other hand he cannot do evil nor indeed even detrimental things in the basic sense (cf. Jer 29:11). This concept occurs, though rare in preprophetic texts, even in early passages (e.g., Judg 2:15; 1 Kgs 9:9; 2 Kgs 22:20) that surely do not stand under Dtr influence (cf. the expression “Yahweh regrets the misfortune,” Exod 32:12, 14; 2 Sam 24:16 = 1 Chron 21:15; even Jer 18:8; 26:3, 13, 19; 42:10; Joel 2:13; Jonah 3:10; 4:2; → *nḥm* 4a; otherwise e.g., Exod 32:12; Deut 29:20; 31:29; Job 42:11). 2 Sam 17:14; 1 Kgs 21:29; 2 Kgs 6:33 are esp. important. Here one encounters the belief in the universal might of Israel’s God, which, already incipient very early, comes to full expression around the time of Jeremiah (Jer 16:10; 18:8; 19:15, etc.; Ezek 6:10; 7:5; 14:22; also Mic 2:3; cf. finally Isa 45:7). Notably, the verb *śh* “to do,” common with a human subj. (see 3/4c), occurs only in Jer 18:8; 26:3; 42:10; Ezek 6:10; *bô' qal* “to come” (Ezek 7:5) and hi. “to bring” (e.g., Jer 19:15; 32:42; 35:17; 36:31, etc.; also 1 Kgs 9:9; 21:21, 29; 2 Kgs 21:12; 22:16, 20; Ezek 14:22; Job 42:11) occur somewhat more frequently. Given that it usually involves the determined form of the subst. and that the verbs → *ḥšb* “to plan” (Mic 2:3; Jer 18:8; 26:3) or (among others) *dbr* pi. “to declare, threaten” (Jer 16:10; 19:15; 26:13, 19; 40:2; Jonah 3:10; cf. Josh 23:15) occur in this context, it becomes apparent that a punitive action, neither capricious nor accidental, is involved here and that misfortune signifies the revocation of a graciously given healthy order (cf. Isa 45:7).

(c) The situation differs when a person effects *ra' / rā'â*. Then *ra'* refers to active evil, usually in the comprehensive sense. The person’s activity can then be characterized in various ways; it usually involves expressions of action in the broadest sense (→ *śh* “to do” / *ma'śch* “work”: Isa 56:2; Mal 2:17; Psa 34:17; Prov 2:14; Eccl 4:17; 8:11f.; Neh 9:28; 2 Chron 33:9; cf. the Dtr formula *śh hāra' b'ēnē yhwḥ*; see 3/4a; → *p'l* “to do,” Mic 2:1; → *gml* “to do to,” Psa 7:5; Prov 31:12; *ḥrš* “to prepare,” Prov 6:14; 12:20; 14:22; cf. also the expression *rōa' ma'ālîm* “evil deeds,” Deut 28:20; Isa 1:16; Jer 4:4; 21:12, etc.; Hos 9:15; Psa 28:4; cf. 1 Sam 25:3) or of attitude, speech, and regard (Gen 8:21 [cf. Eccl 9:3]; Ezek 11:2; Hos 7:15; Psa 41:6; 109:20; Prov 15:26, etc.).

As the masc. form already suggests, this *ra<sup>ç</sup>* is conceived as a genuine, concrete reality, even though it is rarely explicated further (e.g., Mic 2:1f.; Prov 1:16). At any rate, evil is regarded in a dual relationship: evil against people simultaneously signifies evil against God (e.g., Isa 11:9; Mal 2:17; Psa 97:10). It is also difficult to establish a clear generalization of the sense for the fem. abstract form *rā<sup>ç</sup>â*, at any rate, Jer 26:19b and 44:7 (“great wickedness”), Isa 57:1 (“because evil reigns, the righteous are carried away”), and perhaps Psa 50:19; 52:3; Prov 16:30 may be mentioned. The verbal expressions are often the same: doing, devising, avenging (e.g., Gen 26:29; 44:4; 50:17, 20; Psa 15:3; 35:12; 38:21; Prov 3:29; Neh 6:2, etc.). Even when determined, *rā<sup>ç</sup>â* does not indicate disaster or is at least ambivalent (see 3/4b); evil should not be abstractly reduced to a proper designation but is usually concretely defined by the context (e.g., Gen 39:9; 50:15; Judg 20:3, 12; 2 Sam 3:39). This real concreteness permits the expression “to repay evil with good” (or vice versa), i.e., to juxtapose deed with deed (e.g., Gen 44:4; 1 Sam 24:18; Jer 18:20; Psa 35:12; 38:21; Prov 17:13—always with *rā<sup>ç</sup>â*). Consequently, evil can be “eradicated” (*b<sup>ç</sup>* pi.: Deut 13:6; 17:7, 12; 19:19, etc. with *ra<sup>ç</sup>*; Judg 20:13 with *rā<sup>ç</sup>â*, regarding the formula “you shall eradicate the evil from your midst” and its origins, cf. J. L’Hour, *Bib* 44 [1963]: 1–28; R. P. Merendino, *Das deuteronomische Gesetz* [1969], esp. 336–45). It is even understood spatially as avoidable (*sûr mēra<sup>ç</sup>* e.g., Psa 34:15; see the passages listed under → *sûr* 4a; cf. also Isa 59:15 and the divergent phrases in 1 Sam 25:39; Isa 59:7; Jer 4:14; 9:2; 18:8; 23:10; Prov 1:16).

In reference to a person (nation, group), adj. *ra<sup>ç</sup>* always describes the evil, never the unfortunate (Psa 5:5; 7:10; 140:12; Prov 11:21; 12:13, etc.). This function applies particularly to the pls. (Gen 13:13; Jer 6:29; 12:14; 15:21; Ezek 30:12; Prov 4:14; 12:12; 14:19; cf. Ezek 7:24 “the worst of the nations”; peculiarly, this pl. is entirely absent from the Psa [Psa 78:49 probably refers to demonic powers]). The adj. functions the same way in reference to that which pertains to evil persons (their deeds: 2 Kgs 17:11; Ezra 9:13; Neh 9:35, etc.; their ways: 2 Kgs 17:13; Ezek 20:44; 33:11; 36:31; Zech 1:4; 2 Chron 7:14, etc.; cf. also → *šēmra<sup>ç</sup>* “slander,” Deut 22:14, 19; Neh 6:13).

In the majority of cases, the abs. fem. pl. *rā<sup>ç</sup>ôt* refers to specific evil acts, misdeeds (e.g., Jer 2:13; 3:5; 44:9; Ezek 6:9; 20:43; Hos 7:1; Psa 55:16; 141:5; Prov 15:28, etc.; for the rarer meaning “hardships, suffering,” see 3/4b).

(d) The general meaning “to treat badly, make difficulties for someone, cause injury” may be noted for *r<sup>çç</sup>* hi. The dimension involved depends on the situation. At first, a relatively restricted realm of

interpersonal relationships is described by  $r^{\text{cc}}$  hi. followed by an obj. (Num 16:15; cf. the concretization in 1 Sam 12:3; Deut 26:6; 1 Sam 25:34; with prep.: “to do someone injury” 1 Sam 26:21; Psa 105:15 = 1 Chron 16:22; “to disadvantage someone, harm someone” Gen 31:7; Num 20:15, etc.). Evil intention is not always presupposed (e.g., Gen 43:6). One can also disadvantage oneself (Psa 15:4; 37:8). Particular irresponsibility is characterized as “to play a dirty trick” (Gen 19:9). With a thing as obj., it means “to destroy, annihilate” (Psa 74:3).

In a few passages, the verb as a direct or indirect modal characterizes another action as evil (Gen 44:5; 1 Kgs 14:9; Jer 16:12; 38:9; Mic 3:4).

The background reference is rarely specified. The sense depends usually on the other’s claim to life. The more general and absolute the term, the more clearly the act is measured against the law promulgated and enforced by God (e.g., Gen 19:7; Judg 19:23; 1 Sam 12:25; Isa 1:16; Jer 4:22; 7:26; 13:23; 16:12; 38:9). Prov 4:16 and 24:8 seem to be oriented more toward ethical norms.

While the hi. forms otherwise diminish in the Psa, the pl. ptcp.  $m^{\text{c}}r\bar{e}^{\text{c}}\hat{im}$  “evildoer” is relatively frequent (9x; also Isa 1:4; 14:20; 31:2; Jer 20:13; 23:14; Job 8:20; Prov 17:4; 24:19; in Isa 9:16 sg.  $m\bar{e}ra^{\text{c}}$ ). From the outset, it seems to be a fixed expression whose content may be determined on the one hand by the contrast to those who wait on God (Psa 37:9) and on the other hand by the parallelism with the  $r^{\text{c}}\bar{s}\bar{a}^{\text{c}}\hat{im}$  “evildoers” (Psa 26:5; 37:9f.; Prov 24:19), the  $p\bar{o}^{\text{c}}\hat{e}^{\text{c}}\bar{a}wen$  “evildoers” (Isa 31:2; Psa 64:3), or the  $\bar{o}s\bar{e}^{\text{c}}\bar{a}wl\hat{a}$  “doers of misdeeds” (Psa 37:1). Wisdom texts focus more on the dishonorable successful person over whom one should not become bitter (Psa 37:1; Prov 24:19; also 17:4). In contrast, lament psalms (Psa 22:17; 26:5; 64:3) speak of the mob of the  $m^{\text{c}}r\bar{e}^{\text{c}}\hat{im}$ , simultaneously making them a requisite of the threatening chaotic powers. They are seen more objectively in discussions of their offspring (Isa 1:4; 14:20) or their hand (Jer 20:13; 23:14; Job 8:20).

Yahweh is the subj. of  $r^{\text{cc}}$  in 12 passages (Exod 5:22; Num 11:11; Josh 24:20; 1 Sam 17:20; Jer 25:6, 29; 31:28; Mic 4:6; Zeph 1:12; Zech 8:14; Psa 44:2; Ruth 1:21; in addition Isa 41:23 and Jer 10:5 have the gods as subj.). Theologically unreflected statements that Yahweh causes suffering with no explicit reference to punishment (e.g., Ruth 1:21; nor does Mic 4:6 go beyond “to cause pain,” or Num 11:11 beyond “to make difficulties”) are remarkable. Yahweh can be accused not only of doing harm to someone but also of treating someone unfairly (e.g., Exod 5:22; Num 11:11; 1 Kgs 17:20). This line of thought is reflected in the opposite opinion of the godless that one can expect neither detriment nor support, i.e., neither harm nor profit, from Yahweh, a denial of any power to express

his deity (Zeph 1:12; cf. also Isa 41:23 and Jer 10:5, said of idols). In direct contrast stand passages such as Psa 44:3 and esp. Josh 24:20. Rare declarations, limited chiefly to prophetic texts, report a recognizable and also essentially acknowledged punitive act of God (Jer 25:6, 29; 31:28; Zech 8:14).

5. On *r<sup>c</sup>/ra<sup>c</sup>* and their equivalents in the LXX, Judaism, and the NT, cf. W. Grundmann, “<F“GreekSpicq”%0>kako/q,<F255>” *TDNT* 3:469–87; G. Harder, “πovηρός,” *TDNT* 6:546–66.

H. J. Stoebe

## רפא *rp<sup>ʾ</sup>* to heal

S 7495; BDB 950b; *HALOT* 3:1272b; *ThWAT* 7:617–25; *TWOT* 2196; *NIDOTTE* 8324

1. Ssem. knows the root *rp<sup>ʾ</sup>* (Arab., Eth., *r<sup>f</sup>*) in the meaning “to mend, repair, patch, sew up” (Wehr 348b.; Dillmann 320; Conti Rossini 243f.) and may reflect the original meaning of the term. The meaning “to heal” found in Phoen.-Pun. and Imp. Aram. (*DISO* 282; cf. *LS* 740b) probably derives from it and refers, in accord with the development of healing practices, to measures taken to care for a wound. The root does not occur in Akk. beyond PNs (*AHw* 956a; *ripûtu* “healing” in EA 269:17 is a Can. word, *AHw* 987b); *ašû*, common for “physician” in Akk., is a Sum. loanword (*AHw* 76b: “water expert”; derived forms replace *rp<sup>ʾ</sup>* in Aram.; cf. *HAL* 71a; *LS* 31f.; regarding Arab. and Eth., see Fraenkel 261). The degree of relationship between *rp<sup>ʾ</sup>* “to heal” and Hebr. *r<sup>c</sup>pāʾîm* “spirits of the dead” (Isa 14:9; 26:14, 19; Psa 88:11; Job 26:5; Prov 2:18; 9:18; 21:16; Phoen.-Pun.: *DISO* 282; Ug.: *UT* no. 2346) must remain open; on the problem of the (OT and) Ug. Rephaim, cf. H. Gese et al., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer* (1970): 90–92 with bibliog.; H.-P. Müller, *UF* 1 (1969): 90; A. van Selms, *UF* 2 (1970): 367f.; P. J. van Zijl, *Baal* (1972), 281.

The verb occurs in the OT in the qal (with a subst. ptcp. *rōpē<sup>ʾ</sup>* “physician”), ni. (pass.), pi. (cf. *HP* 139, 144), and hitp. (“to get healed”); the noms. *r<sup>c</sup>pûʾâ* “healing” (only pl.), *ripʾût* “healing” (Prov 3:8; cf. G. R. Driver, *Bib* 32 [1951]: 175; Gemser, *HAT* 16, 26), and *marpē<sup>ʾ</sup>* “healing” also occur. Regarding the root in a series of proper names (incl. *r<sup>c</sup>pāʾēl* 1 Chron 26:7; cf. the name of the angel *raphaēl* in Tob 3:16; 12:15; as a place-name *yirp<sup>e</sup>ʾēl* in Josh 18:27), cf. *IP* 179, 212; also outside Hebr.,

e.g., Huffmon 263f.; Gröndahl 180; Stark 112b with bibliog.

*t<sup>c</sup>rûpâ* “medication” (Ezek 47:12; Sir 38:4) seems to derive from a by-form of the root *rp*ʔ.

Orthographic similarities between *rp*ʔ and *rph* “to be limp” (BL 376, 426) do not require the assumption of a single root with contrary semantic developments (so R. Gordis, *JQR* 27 [1936/37]: 55); *marpē*ʔ “calmness” in Prov 14:30; 15:4; Eccl 10:4 belongs to *rph*. Regarding 2 Kgs 2:21f., cf. D. Sperber, *ZAW* 82 (1970): 114–16.

2. The verb occurs 67x in the OT in the following distribution: qal 38x (incl. 5x subst. ptcp. *rōpē*ʔ “physician,” Gen 50:2[bis]; Exod 15:26; Jer 8:22; 2 Chron 16:12; Psa 7x, Isa 6x, Jer and Hos 5x each), 29x with Yahweh as the actor; ni. 17x (Jer 5x, Lev 4x), pi. 9x (Jer 3x), hitp. 3x. *marpē*ʔ occurs 13x (Prov 6x, Jer 4x), *r<sup>c</sup>pûʔâ* 3x (Jer 30:13; 46:11; Ezek 20:21; also Sir 3:28), and *ripʔût* 1x (Prov 3:8; also Sir 38:14). Of the total of 84 instances of the root, 19 occur in Jer and 7 each in Isa, Psa, and Prov.

3. (a) Apart from religious-fig. and generalized usages (see 4), terms from the root *rp*ʔ refer mostly to the healing of wounds (e.g., 2 Kgs 8:29 = 2 Chron 22:6; 9:15 hitp.) and illnesses of all kinds (specifically infertility: Gen 20:17; skin diseases: Lev 13:18, 37; 14:3, 48; Num 12:13; Deut 28:27, 35; 1 Sam 6:3; Jer 30:13). In two contexts, *rp*ʔ qal/pi. also refers to making impure or salty water healthy or palatable (2 Kgs 2:21f.; Ezek 47:8f., 11). Application to repairing things is relatively rare (a destroyed altar: 1 Kgs 18:30 pi.; broken pottery: Jer 19:11; ruptures from an earthquake: Psa 60:4).

A rare synonym of *rp*ʔ is *ghh* qal “to heal” (Hos 5:13 par. *rp*ʔ qal) with the subst. *gēhâ* “healing” (Prov 17:22; cf. *HAL* 174b). The most common par. verb is *hbš* “to bind (wounds)” (qal Isa 30:26; 61:1 without *rp*ʔ, Ezek 30:21; 34:4, 16; Hos 6:1; Job 5:18; pi. Psa 147:3; pu. Isa 1:6 without *rp*ʔ, Ezek 30:21; cf. *hōbēš* “surgeon,” Isa 3:7); cf. also *ʔrûkâ* “healing” (Isa 58:8; Jer 8:22; 30:17; 33:6; applied to walls: Neh 4:1; 2 Chron 24:13; *HAL* 82b) and *t<sup>c</sup>ālâ* “healing” (Jer 30:13; 46:11). Regarding *rp*ʔ in the word field of “deliverance,” cf. J. F. A. Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research* (1972), 37, 47, 76f.

(b) In Israel, as in the entire ancient Near East, illness was attributed to the effects of divine or demonic powers; observable differences in the etiology of illness are grounded in the exclusivity of faith in Yahweh. To some degree, various injuries and breaks that must be given emergency treatment constitute an exception, i.e., all cases that both required treatment and could be treated (cf. statutes of the Code of Hammurapi, §§215–25). On account of the basic understanding mentioned above, the OT, like the ancient Near East, is no more aware of a natural, scientific

perspective on the causes and course of illness than of a systematic consideration of the possibilities of treatment (cf. P. Humbert, “Maladie et médecine dans l’AT,” *RHPR* 44 [1964]: 1–29). This situation does not, however, preclude the healing measures indicated by *rp*’ from association in the broader sense with empirical observations concerning appropriate means. At least, even when understood as punishments for sins, illnesses were distinguished (Lev 13–15; Deut 28:27f.) and sometimes described (1 Sam 5:6; 2 Chron 21:18f.) such that the (naturally uncertain) attempt can be made at a modern diagnosis. Although only in a modest beginning, there was also something like hygiene (cf. E. Neufeld, *BA* 34 [1971]: 42–66). Consequently, K. Stendahl’s (*Svensk Exegetisk årsbok* 15 [1950]: 5–33) denial of any reference to corporal healing for the term *rp*’ and restriction of it to health attained through cultic means seems overblown, amounting to disregard of an essential bibl. perception (on the question, cf. already W. W. Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* [1911], 385–90). If, as often emphasized (e.g., J. Hempel, “Heilung als Symbol und Wirklichkeit,” *NAWG* [1958]: 237–314), medicine in the OT remained far behind Eg. medicine, the reason could involve the fact that belief in demons and concepts rooted in magic (to which, after all, Eg. mummification may also be attributed; on Gen 50:2ff. see W. Spiegelberg, *OLZ* 26 [1923]: 421–24), if not entirely unknown (S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* 1 [1921]), still play no essential role in the OT.

In the regulations provided the priest for assessing the virulence of skin diseases (Lev 13:18ff., 37; 14:3f.), the underlying diagnoses presumably also contain the rudiments of a treatment. But the priest is not included among the healers because Yahweh makes the decisive contribution in every case. 2 Chron 16:12 charges that the ill Asa of Judah sought refuge from illness not with Yahweh but with physicians; it probably refers to foreign physicians (practicing at heathen cult sites? cf. 2 Kgs 1:2; cf. also Hempel, *op. cit.* 284). But even Sirach (38:1–15), influenced by Hellenistic culture, is concerned not only with elevating the social prestige of the medical profession but also with balancing faith and medicine.

(c) The most common medication that appears in relation to *rp*’ is *š’rî* “balsam” (Jer 8:22 with *rōpē*’, 46:11 with *r’pū’ôt*, 51:8 with *rp*’ ni.). The preparation of salves is described by terms from the root *rqḥ* (qal “to pestle salve,” *raqqāḥ* “salve preparer,” etc.); in the medical realm, however, the “pharmacist” (*rōqēaḥ*) who prepares “salve” (*mirqaḥat*) first occurs in Sir 38:8 along with the “physician” (*rōpē*’).

4. (a) The prophets esp. use *rp*’ “to heal” in relation to wounds, ulcers, and injuries as images for the critical status of a people (Hos 5:13, *ḥ’lî* “illness” and *māzôr* “abscess,” which the king of Assyria cannot heal; similarly Jer 30:13, 17; 33:6 with a more graphic description of the healing

of a wound). The concept of an injury from a blow (*ngp* and *nkh* hi. “to strike”) underlies Isa 30:26 (par. *ḥbš* “to bind”); Jer 14:19; 15:18; 30:17; cf. Isa 19:22; 57:17f., the notion of breaking (*šbr*), ripping (*trp*), and smashing (*mḥs*) lies behind Deut 32:39; Isa 30:26; Jer 6:14; Ezek 30:21; 34:4; Hos 6:1; Job 5:18; Lam 2:13. In a wisdom context, *ʿēn marpēʿ* “unhealable” characterizes a sudden, final collapse (Prov 6:15; 29:1).

In this picturesque usage, “blow” and “break” usually characterize external catastrophes that have overcome the people (Isa 19:22; 30:26; Jer 6:14; 30:13, 17; Lam 2:13). But malevolent effects are also Yahweh’s work (expressly Deut 32:39; Hos 5:13; 6:1; Isa 57:17f.; Jer 14:19; Ezek 30:21). Consequently, healing can come only from him (Isa 19:22; 30:26; Jer 30:17; 33:6); one expects it from people in vain (Jer 6:14; 30:13; Ezek 30:21; 34:4; Hos 5:13).

The use of the impressive images mentioned has two prerequisites. First, they are based on the viewpoint that incorrect treatment must be at least painful and for serious wounds, fatal. The contrast “heal . . . kill” (Eccl 3:3) also stands indirectly behind Prov 4:22 (*marpēʿ* with *ḥayyîm* “life”) and Jer 8:15; 14:19 (opposite *b<sup>c</sup>ātâ* “terror”). This notion also occurs less graphically in Psa 60:4 and 147:3. One may compare Hos 11:3, although *rpʿ* here does not entirely fit the preceding image of fatherly care.

The other presupposition is the awareness that Yahweh is both sovereign director of history and Lord over life and death (Deut 32:39; 1 Sam 2:6). Consequently, he is also the Lord of illness, this unmistakable matrix of phenomena whose causes may not be discerned and for which one has no hope of successful treatment.

1 Sam 6:9, which raises the question, in a markedly stylized presentation, of whether the pestilence was sent by Yahweh or merely a *miqreh* “accident,” is somewhat surprising. The notion that a variety of deities, even demons, could be responsible for illnesses apparently underlies this statement.

(b) Beyond the purely metaphorical use, *rpʿ* with Yahweh as subj. acquires even deeper content. Sufferers petition Yahweh for healing from an illness because they know that it is not God’s caprice but a response to the fact that their sins impugn his majesty. Thus Miriam’s leprosy (Num 12:9ff.) in particular is God’s punishment, not significantly distinct from a father spitting in his daughter’s face (v 14; cf. *ngp* “to strike,” 2 Chron 21:18 and the other expressions for striking); the same situation applies to other illnesses that Yahweh heals (Gen 20:17; cf. 12:17) or allows to run their course (Lev 26:16, 25; Deut 28:27, 35). Thus *rpʿ* is filled with new, deepened content, and healing comes also to mean forgiveness (cf. J. J. Stamm, *Erlösen und Vergeben im AT* [1940], 78–84). Similarly, the hymnic

literature uses *rōpēʿ* “physician” exclusively of Yahweh (Exod 15:26 “for I, Yahweh, am your physician,” in reference to the illnesses of Egypt; Psa 103:3 “who forgives all your guilt and heals all your infirmities”; 147:3 “who heals those with a broken heart and binds their wounds”; cf. also 2 Kgs 20:5, 8). In a situation-bound extremism, this notion can lead to an attitude such as the one expressed in 2 Chron 16:12 (see 3b).

It is essential, then, that this conception or understanding not remain limited to the symptomatology of the individual manifestations of illness but be sharpened to a fundamental insight into the status of human beings before God (cf. esp. Humbert, op. cit. 24f.; also Hempel, op. cit. passim). It is particularly significant that *m<sup>e</sup>šûbâ* “apostasy,” not “the consequences of apostasy,” appears as an obj. of *rpʿ* (Jer 3:22; Hos 14:5). This context also includes Isa 6:10, which suggests that the people could bring about their own healing through (impossible) repentance, and indirectly the mention of the “ways” of the people in Isa 57:18 (although *d<sup>e</sup>rākāyw* is not the direct obj. of *rpʿ*). Moreover, the Psa express the idea by combining the petition for healing with the confession of sin (Psa 41:5; in essence cf. also 30:3–6). Healing, then, is somewhat more than a medically verifiable physical process. As a result, Jer 17:14 combines the request for healing with the desire for comprehensive deliverance (→ *yš<sup>c</sup>* hi/.ni.), and 2 Chron 7:14 names forgiveness (→ *slh*) as the prerequisite for healing. If forgiveness is no longer possible, neither is healing (2 Chron 36:16). Further, in a very late, already highly hypostatized form, healing (*marpēʿ*) relates to righteousness (*š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*, Mal 3:20).

This situation also makes entirely clear, for the first time, the comprehensive scope of the metaphorically employed *šeber* “breach, break.” Psa 60:4 speaks fig. of cracks in the earth and the healing of the entire land (cf. 2 Chron 7:14). Passages that promise (or request) the healing of those with broken hearts (Psa 147:3), those whose bones are terrified (6:3), or those who are aware of being otherwise subject to death (107:18–20) are also characteristic. Consequently, the obj. of such divine healing (or the subj. of the ni.) generally need not be the individual; Isa 19:22; 57:18f.; Hos 7:1; 11:3; Zech 11:16?; 2 Chron 30:20 think of a people; Jer 51:9 of a city (Babel, which human helpers are unable to heal).

The notion of healing bears a particular stamp in Isa 53:5; it expresses the relationship of sin and illness, healing and forgiveness in an almost contradictory, dual manner. The servant is actually broken and thoroughly beaten, not because of his own sin but as a representative. Thus his illnesses are healed for those who did not bear them.

A transformation of the conceptual field of *rpʿ*, probably dependent on the nature of wisdom literature, occurs in Prov. The designation of the words of wisdom (Prov

4:22), the tongue of the wise (12:18), and the faithful messenger (13:17) as *marpē* ‘healing’ signifies a restriction of meaning, for the well-being meant here can indeed arise as the result of healing, but it does not refer to physical and spiritual healing in the proper sense. The metaphorical usage in 3:8 (*rip’ūt* ‘restorative’?) and 16:24 (*marpē* ‘refreshment’) goes even further. Meanwhile, the context of 4:22 has the word *ḥayyîm* and thus preserves a hint of the proper meaning. The same could be said of Ezek 47:8f., 11 (on *marpē* ‘calmness’ and on 2 Kgs 2:21, see 1).

5. In the available Qumran literature *rp’/marpē* play only a limited role. The LXX quite regularly renders the root with *īasthai*. Regarding illness and healing in the NT and its environs, cf. e.g., A. Oepke, “ἰάομαι,” *TDNT* 3:194–215; H. W. Beyer, “θεραπεύω,” *TDNT* 3:128–32; O. Michel, *BHH* 2:679–81.

H. J. Stoebe

## רָשָׁה *ršh* to be pleased with

S 7521; BDB 953a; *HALOT* 3:1280b; *ThWAT* 7:640–52; *TWOT* 2207; *NIDOTTE* 8354

1. The root *ršw/y* (with an original emphatic interdental, > Can. *s*, > Aram. *ṣ*, > SSem. *ḏ* is attested only in WSem. (cf. *AHw* 960a; Huffmon 265; *WUS* no. 2536; *UT* no. 2348; EA 127:25?; F. M. Cross, FS Glueck 301; Wehr 344; A. Jamme, *Cahiers de Byrsa* 8 [1958/59]: 164f.; W. W. Müller, “Die Wurzeln Mediae und Tertiae y/w im Altsüdarabischen” [diss., Tübingen, 1962], 55f.). It is uncertain (cf. *LS* 738; *KBL* 1124b) whether it has some etymological relationship with Aram. *rṣy* (Bibl. Aram. *r<sup>e</sup>ṣū* “will,” Ezra 5:17; 7:18; *raṣyôn* “thought,” Dan 2:29f.; 4:16; 5:6, 10; 7:28; Phoen. *rṣt* “decision” in *KAI* no. 60.4; and Hebr. *r<sup>e</sup>ṣūt/raṣyôn* “endeavor” in Eccl 1:14; 2:11, 17, 26; 4:4, 6; 6:9 and 1:17; 2:22; 4:16, resp., as well as *rēa<sup>c</sup>* “intention,” Psa 139:2, 17 as Aram. loanwords; cf. Wagner nos. 284–87; *DISO* 281), although it is probable for semasiological reasons.

A division of *ršh* into two different roots, I “to be pleased with,” II “to pay; be reimbursed” (so e.g., GB 771f.; *KBL* 906; contra Zorell 786), rests on weak etymological foundations and cannot withstand a semasiological examination. The few instances of *ršh* II may be subsumed without effort into the semantic scope of *ršh* I with the basic meaning “to accept,” with the distinction that, instead of a positive, an indefinite or negative assessment comes to light here: “to cause to come to one, to (have to) accept as one’s lot” (see 3a).

The verbal abstract *rāšôn* “well pleased” derives from *ršh* (BL 499). The proper names *rišyāʾ* and *tiršâ* (cf. *IP* 229; Huffmon 265; Stark 112b) should also be mentioned.

2. The verb *ršh* I occurs in the qal 42x (incl. Prov 23:26 K; Psa 13x, the other books under 4x, prophetic books a total of 13x), the ni. 6x (all in Lev), the pi. (Job 20:10 “to appease”) and hitp. (1 Sam 29:4 “to make oneself pleasing”) 1x each. Seven instances of *ršh* II are listed (qal 5x in Lev 26:34, 41–43 and 2 Chron 36:21; ni. 1x, Isa 40:2; hi. 1x, Lev 26:34). *rāšôn* occurs 56x (Prov 14x, Psa 13x, Lev 7x, and Isa 6x). Most instances of the verb and the noun are late; only a limited number belong clearly to the pre-exilic era.

3. (a) The basic meaning of the verb *ršh* may be “to accept.” The original context of the expression may be sought in the distribution of plunder or inheritance; recipients could find the portions distributed to them to be either good or poor, either be pleased to accept them or reject them. Lexical evidence suggests that the verb was used almost exclusively as an expression of a positive assessment: “to find something good, be pleased with something” (*ršh* I).

Lev 26 uses *ršh* II, “to let something come to one, to (have to) accept something as one’s portion,” in its negative and neutral meanings almost as if in a play on words: the Israelites must accept their *ʿāwōn* (“guilt/punishment,” vv 41, 43; cf. → *nśʾ* *ʿāwōn* in the same sense), the land will accept the Sabbath year as the portion due it (vv 34, 43). Even the ni. in Isa 40:2 may be understood in terms of the basic meaning: guilt has been accepted by Jerusalem, i.e., the punishment due it has been acknowledged, a fact judged to be a sign of remorse and penitence.

(b) For the distinction of the verb *ršh* I “to accept gladly, be pleased with” from the semantically related verbs of love, cf. → *hps* (3a) “to be pleased” and → *ʾhb* (III/4) “to love.” “In *ršh* there is strong emphasis on the element of recognition. *rāšûy* is less ‘loved’ than ‘liked’ or ‘favoured’ (Deut 33:24; Job 20:10; Esth 10:3); cf. hitp. ‘to gain for oneself favour,’ 1 Sam 29:4. Hence the aptness of the word for cultic usage” (so G. Quell, *TDNT* 1:22n.7).

Pleasure can relate to a person or a thing (about 20x each; in passages with a human subj.: Gen 33:10; Deut 33:24; Mal 1:8; Psa 50:18; Job 34:9; Prov 3:12; Esth 10:3; 2 Chron 10:7, with a per. obj.; Psa 49:14; 62:5; 102:15; Job 14:6; Prov 23:26 K; 1 Chron 29:3, with a material obj.). The obj. usually relates to the verb in the acc., but it can also be introduced with *be* (Ezek 20:41; Mic 6:7; Hag 1:8; Psa 49:14; 147:10; 149:4; 1 Chron 28:4; 29:3) or *ʿim* (Psa 50:18; Job 34:9); rarely *le* + inf. follows (Psa 40:14).

(c) The abstract form *rāšôn* most often indicates the subjective sentiment of pleasure, i.e., the mercy and grace of a superior or of God; *rāšôn* occurs objectified a few times: “that which is pleasing to someone” (cf. the analogy to *ḥēpeš*, → *ḥpš* 3b). The word first occurs in both meanings in theological language. A profane usage occurs almost exclusively only in wisdom (the mercy of a king: Prov 14:35; 16:13, 15; 19:12; that pleasing to someone: 10:32; 11:27).

Late diction introduced a shift in meaning; the word can refer to a capricious decision (Esth 1:8; 9:5; Dan 8:4; 11:3, 16, 36; Neh 9:24, 37, always preceded by *ke*; Gen 49:6 with *be*). The common use of the word in Qumran texts in the sense of “will” as the volitional force and capacity occurs only once (2 Chron 15:15 “they sought him [Yahweh] with all their will”).

4. The root finds greatest usage in theological language: to indicate divine pleasure (cf. also W. Zimmerli, “Concerning the Structure of OT Wisdom,” *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom*, ed. J. Crenshaw [1976], 186f.). God/Yahweh is the subj. formally or substantially of *ršh* about 30x (Deut 33:11; 2 Sam 24:23; Isa 42:1; Jer 14:10, 12; Ezek 20:40f.; 43:27; Hos 8:13; Amos 5:22; Mic 6:7; Hag 1:8; Mal 1:10, 13; Psa 40:14; 44:4; 51:18; 77:8; 85:2; 119:108; 147:10f.; 149:4; Job 33:26; Prov 16:7; Eccl 9:7; 1 Chron 28:4; 29:17). Objs. include things almost as often as persons (2 Sam 24:23; Isa 42:1, etc.). Imper. objs. include both abstractions (esp. ethical values, e.g., ways, deeds: Deut 33:11; Prov 16:7; Eccl 9:7; uprightness: 2 Chron 29:17) and concretions (Yahweh’s land, Psa 85:2; a person’s thigh, Psa 147:10; sacrificial offerings, Mic 6:7; Mal 1:10, 13; Psa 51:18).

Statements concerning Yahweh’s pleasure have an important and well-defined function in the cultic realm, esp. in priestly cultic theology where *ršh* ni. (Lev 1:4; 7:18; 19:7; 22:23, 25, 27) and *rāšôn* (Exod 28:38; Lev 1:3; 19:5; 22:19–21, 29; 23:11; cf. Isa 56:7; 58:5; 60:7, etc.) appear as technical terms. The effect of a sacrificial offering depends on whether it pleases God (cf. E. Würthwein, *TLZ* 72 [1947]: 147; von Rad, *Theol.* 1:261, with reference to the “cultic technical term” *ʿrb qal* “to be agreeable” in Jer 6:20; Hos 9:4; Mal 3:4, generalized in Psa 104:34). *ršh* qal has an additional, related sphere of usage in prophetic polemic against this so-called priestly transactional theology (Jer 14:10, 12; Hos 8:13; Amos 5:22; Mic 6:7; Mal 1:8, 10, 13; *rāšôn* Jer 6:20; cf. R. Rendtorff, *TLZ* 81 [1956]: 339–42).

5. In the Qumran texts *rāšôn* often quite generally indicates the divine will (1QS 5:1; 9:13, 15, 23, etc.; cf. G. Segalla, “La volont di Dio in Qumran,” *RivB* 11 [1963]: 377–95). Concerning Gk. (and Lat.) equivalents, cf. N. Walker, *JBL* 81 (1962): 182–84; G. Segalla, *RivB* 13 (1965): 121–

43; on the NT see G. Schrenk, “εὐδοκέω,” *TDNT* 2:738–51.

G. Gerleman

## רשע *rš* to be impious/guilty

S 7561; BDB 957b; *HALOT* 3:1294a; *ThWAT* 7:675–84; *TWOT* 2222; *NIDOTTE* 8399

1. The root *rš* “to be impious, guilty” is attested in this form and meaning only in Hebr. and, almost always postbibl., in Aram. (Eg. Aram. adj. *ršy* “transgressor” as the opposite of *šdyq* “righteous one” in *Ah.* 168, 171; cf. *DISO* 284; Jew. Aram., Christ. Pal., and Syr.; cf. *LS* 746a).

In Eth. and Arab. the root (*rs*) has the weakened meanings “to forget” or “to be limp, loose (of limbs)” (Dillmann 280f.; Zorell 790b; KBL 910b). The commonality of the various meanings could be the negative fact of nonfulfillment of obligations and functions.

*rš* qal and hi. (“to declare guilty” in addition to the inner-trans. meaning “to make oneself guilty, act impiously”; cf. *HP* 43–45) occur in the OT, as well as the subst. *reša* “evil, injustice” and *rišā* “evil, guilt” (cf. the dual in the PNs *kūšan rišātayim*, which may have been intentionally juxtaposed, 4x in Judg 3:8, 10; cf. W. Richter, *Die Bearbeitungen des “Retterbuches” in der deuteronomischen Epoche* [1964], 54f.; R. de Vaux, *Early History of Israel* [1978], 536), the adj. *rāšā* “impious, godless, guilty” (often subst. “transgressor”), and once *mirša* “godlessness” (2 Chron 24:7 of the infamous queen Athaliah; cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 274).

2. The statistical tables (excl. Judg 3:8, 10; *rišā* in Ezek 5:6 classified as a fem. qal inf.) demonstrate the relative frequency of the word group in the Psa and in wisdom literature (cf. → *šdq*):

	qal	hi.	<i>rāšā</i>	<i>reša</i>	<i>rišā</i>	<i>mirša</i>	total
Gen	–	–	3	–	–	–	3
Exod	–	1	4	–	–	–	5
Num	–	–	2	–	–	–	2
	qal	hi.	<i>rāšā</i>	<i>reša</i>	<i>rišā</i>	<i>mirša</i>	total
Deut	–	1	2	1	3	–	7
1 Sam	–	–	1	2	1	–	4
2 Sam	–	1	–	1	–	–	2
1 Kgs1	–	1	1	–	–	–	3

Isa	–	2	11	2	1	–	16
Jer	–	–	5	1	–	–	6
Ezek	1	–	28	4	4	–	37
Hos	–	–	–	1	–	–	1
Mic	–	–	1	2	–	–	3
Hab	–	–	3	–	–	–	3
Zeph	–	–	1	–	–	–	1
Zech	–	–	–	–	1	–	1
Mal	–	–	2	–	3	–	5
Psa	1	3	82	6	–	–	92
Job	3	8	26	3	–	–	40
Prov	–	2	78	5	2	–	87
Eccl	1	–	7	4	–	–	12
Dan	1	3	2	–	–	–	6
Neh	–	1	–	–	–	–	1
2 Chron		1	2	2	–	–	1
OT	10	25	263	30	14	1	343

3. The root  $rš^c$  appears in the OT as the most important antonym of  $\rightarrow sdq$  (cf. K. H. Fahlgren, *Sedāḳā, nahestehende und entgegengesetzte Begriffe im AT* [1932]; K. H. Richards, “Form and Traditio-historical Study of  $rš^c$ ” [diss., Claremont, 1970], mentioned in *ZAW* 83 [1971]: 402). In contrast to the positive root  $\rightarrow sdq$ ,  $rš^c$  expresses negative behavior—evil thoughts, words, and deeds—antisocial behavior that simultaneously betrays a person’s inner disharmony and unrest (Isa 57:20; cf. *ILC* 1–2:418f.).

(a) In the OT  $rāšā^c$  refers first to the person who threatens the life of a compatriot (e.g., Jer 5:26; Prov 12:6; cf. Psa 119:95, 110; 140:5, 9) or takes the life of an innocent person (e.g., 2 Sam 4:11). Sometimes the “poor” (Psa 37:14; 82:4) or the “righteous” (11:2; 37:12, 32; Prov 24:15) are described as the victims of the  $rāšā^c$  (or of the  $r^cšā^cīm$ ). The evil deeds of the  $rāšā^c$  invite bloodguilt so that blood vengeance or—in later times—the death penalty may be expected (Num 35:31; 2 Sam 4:11). This aspect—the infamous deed and the guilt and punishment necessarily linked to such an act—are all implied in the one root  $rš^c$ .

Besides murder and acts of violence (Prov 10:6, 11; 21:7), one could also prove to be a  $rāšā^c$  through other antisocial acts: rebellion against Moses (Num 16:26; cf. Psa 106:18), idolatry, injury of a neighbor’s wife, theft, oppression of the poor (e.g., crimes against regulations concerning pledges and interest rates), etc. (Ezek 18:5ff.; cf. 33:15), unfair commerce (Mic 6:10f.), the accumulation of wealth (Psa 73:12; cf. Jer 5:26f.), deceit (Prov 12:5), apostasy (Psa 58:4 txt?  $zûr$  qal “to turn aside”), and cruelty

(Prov 12:10).

Antonyms of *rāšā<sup>c</sup>* include: *ṣaddîq* “faithful to the community, righteous” (over 80x, half in Prov; cf. U. Skladny, *Die ältesten Spruchsammlungen in Israel* [1962], 7–10, 29–32, 53, 58–60, with citations concerning the distribution in the various collections and with lists of par. and contrary terms) and circumlocutions such as “who sows righteousness” (Prov 11:18), “who seeks after righteousness” (15:9); *tām* “whole” (Job 9:22; Prov 11:5), and other derivatives of → *tmm*; *yāšār* “upright” (Psa 37:37f.; Prov 2:21; 11:11, etc., → *yšr* 3b); but also: the “wise” (*maškil* Dan 12:10), the “poor” (*dal* Isa 11:4; *ānî* Job 36:6; *ānāyw* Isa 11:4; Psa 147:6), “sojourner, orphan, and widow” (Psa 146:9); see also 4.

Par. terms include: “those who hate the *ṣaddîq*” (Psa 34:22); “evildoers” (*pō<sup>c</sup>lē* → *āwen* Psa 28:3; 92:8; 101:8; 141:9f.; cf. Isa 55:7; Job 22:15, 18); “scoundrels” (*m<sup>r</sup>rē<sup>ġ</sup>im* Psa 26:5; 37:9f.; Prov 24:19; *ra<sup>c</sup>* Psa 10:15; Prov 4:14; 14:19; 24:20; → *r<sup>c</sup>*; *m<sup>e</sup>awwēl* Psa 71:4; *awwāl* Job 16:11 txt em; 27:7; Prov 29:27; → *āweṭ*; *ḥānēp* Job 20:5; → *ḥnp*); the “violent” (*ḥômēš* Psa 71:4; *ōhēb* → *ḥāmās* 11:5; *š ḥ<sup>a</sup>māsîm* 140:5; cf. 139:19 “bloody men”; Job 38:15 “raised arm”); “tyrant” (*ārîš* Isa 13:11; Job 15:20; 27:13; cf. Psa 37:35; *mōšēl* “ruler,” Isa 14:5; regarding *nādîb* “noble” in Job 21:28, see Fohrer, KAT 16, 347); the “proud” (*gē<sup>ġ</sup>im* Psa 94:2f.; cf. Job 40:12; → *g<sup>ġ</sup>h*; *zēdîm*, the “impudent” Isa 13:11; *hōl<sup>l</sup>îm*, the “blinded” Psa 73:3; 75:5); the “rich” (*āšîr* Isa 53:9 txt? cf. Psa 17:13ff.); “sinners” (*ḥaṭṭā<sup>ġ</sup>im* Psa 1:1, 5; 104:35); “mockers” (*lēš* Psa 1:1; Prov 9:7); the “rebellious” (*pōš<sup>e</sup>ġim* Psa 37:38); “liars” (58:4; 109:2); the “faithless” (*bōgēd* Jer 12:1; Hab 1:13; Prov 2:22; 21:18; → *bgd*); “good-for-nothing” (*b<sup>e</sup>lîya<sup>c</sup>al* Job 34:18; cf. Prov 19:28); “strangers” (→ *zār* Ezek 7:21); “heathen” (*gōyîm* Psa 9:6, 16–18); “enemies” (→ *ōyēb* 3:8; 17:9; 55:4); see also 4.

The *r<sup>š</sup>ā<sup>ġ</sup>im* described in the Psa as enemies and evildoers could be of various types: (1) the enemies of the people or the king, i.e., the enemy nations (e.g., 68:3); (2) the powerful oppressors of the poor, widows, orphans, and sojourners (e.g., 94:3); (3) former friends who have proven faithless (55:4; 109:2); people who speak cordially but intend evil (28:3): in secret they express their ruinous words (10:7ff.; 17:9ff.; 140:9f.), preferably at night when evil deeds have their greatest potency (36:5; cf. 11:2; 91:5); with their evil words they “dig graves” and “lay snares” (7:16; 9:16; 10:9; 140:6; 141:9), expressions common in Babylon for curses and magical arts that cause the people all manner of evil (*ILC* 1–2:448; cf. Psa 10:7; 109:17f.).

(b) On the basis of several sayings, one could conclude that the Hebrews perceived the relationship of evil, guilt, and punishment as an

independently effective principle in human life (e.g., Prov 10:24; 11:5; 13:6; 14:32; 18:3; 24:16, 20; 28:1; 29:16; Eccl 8:8). One can well speak therefore of a “sphere of actions with built-in consequences.” In the OT, however, it involves at least a fate that Yahweh has set in motion (Prov 16:4) or that depends on Yahweh’s curse (3:33). In Prov 11:31 → *šlm* pu. becomes “to be repaid” (or “to be made complete”?), and 1 Kgs 8:32 = 2 Chron 6:23 states that Yahweh causes the evil deed of the *rāšāʿ* to fall on the head of the *rāšāʿ*. On this question cf. K. Koch, “Is There a Doctrine of Retribution in the OT?” *Theodicy in the OT*, ed. J. Crenshaw (1983), 57–87; J. Scharbert, “*Šlm* im AT,” FS Junker 209–29 (repr. in *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des AT*, ed. K. Koch [1972], 300–324); von Rad, *Theol.* 1:262ff.; → *šdq* III/2d.

The effects of the “evil-guilt-punishment” sequence would have originally been regarded as a matter of collective responsibility. All Sodom must be destroyed on account of the evil deeds of some inhabitants (Gen 18:16ff.). Abraham asks God (also in accord with collective thought) whether the presence of righteous people could not have the reverse function with respect to the whole (von Rad, *Theol.* 1:394f.). Ezekiel is the first to deny emphatically that the consequences also affect later generations (cf. Exod 20:5): Every person stands independently before Yahweh with the decisive question of whether one is *rāšāʿ* or *šaddîq*, i.e., whether one confesses to death or to life (Ezek 18:5–20; cf. 3:18f.); in a human life the possibility of personal decision (in contrast to former behavior) is new (18:21ff.; cf. 33:12ff.), for it is Yahweh’s will that the *rāšāʿ* should repent and live (18:23, 32; 33:11).

Doubt concerning the validity of the sequence evil-punishment in the life of the *rāšāʿ* is expressed in Job 9:22; 21:7; Eccl 7:15; 8:10, 14; 9:2.

(c) Although *ršʿ* has no juridical significance per se (cf. e.g., Skladny, op. cit. 30), it occurs with some frequency in legal contexts (also in narratives, e.g., Exod 2:13; 9:27). In a dispute it always indicates one who has behaved antisocially, either the accused through evil conduct or the accuser through an unfounded accusation. Because this conduct endangers the status and the life not only of the guilty but also of the community, the judicial forum must publicly determine who is *šaddîq* “in the right” and who is *rāšāʿ* “in the wrong, guilty.” The court—or in difficult cases the divine court (1 Kgs 8:31f.)—has the task, then, of publicly “putting (the *šaddîq*) in the right” (*šdq* hi.) and of “declaring (the *rāšāʿ*) guilty” (*ršʿ* hi.), Deut 25:1 (cf. K. Koch, “*šdq* im AT” [diss., Heidelberg, 1953], 76ff.; Horst, BK 16, 159f.; H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT* [1964], 122f.; → *šdq* III/1d), and the law contains the apodictic prohibition against offering assistance to a *rāšāʿ* before the court (Exod 23:1 [cf. v 7]; Isa 5:23;

Prov 17:15; 18:5; 24:24; Job 34:17). The guilt of the *rāšā*<sup>◌</sup> absolutely must be expunged—by reparation for damages or corporal and capital punishment (cf. Num 35:31), so that the community’s vitality can be restored.

In 1 Sam 14:47 *rš*<sup>◌</sup> hi. means “to be victorious (over the enemies).” The idea is probably that God delivers a people that is *rāšā*<sup>◌</sup> to its guilt through the victory of the other party (contra e.g., BH 3 and Hertzberg, *Sam*, OTL, 119f.: textual emendation following LXX *esōzeto*).

4. The OT does not distinguish between a profane and a religious meaning of the root *rš*<sup>◌</sup>. In “pan-sacral” society, where the regulations of divine law governed all of life, every antisocial behavior was simultaneously antidivine behavior. In several passages, however, the emphasis lies on the religious significance of the *rš*<sup>◌</sup> behavior. Such is the case:

(a) in texts that describe the victim or the way of the *ršā*<sup>◌</sup> as “an abomination to Yahweh” (Prov 15:8f.; cf. v 29: “Yahweh is far from the *ršā*<sup>◌</sup>”; Eccl 8:13 “the *rāšā*<sup>◌</sup> does not fear Yahweh’s countenance”) and where—esp. in the Psa—the par. (“Yahweh’s enemies” Psa 37:20; cf. 68:2f.; “who hate Yahweh” 2 Chron 19:2; cf. Psa 68:2; Job 8:22; “who hate Zion” Psa 129:4f.; “who do not serve God” Mal 3:18) or contrary terms (“his pious ones” 1 Sam 2:9; Psa 37:28; “your people” Hab 3:13; “who love him” Psa 145:20; “who wait on Yahweh” 37:9f.; “who trust in Yahweh” 32:10; “fear of Yahweh,” Prov 10:27) clearly exhibit a religious sense. In such cases *rāšā*<sup>◌</sup> is the “godless”;

(b) where Israel turns to Yahweh in fixed liturgical formulae with the confession of guilt: “we have sinned (*hṭ*<sup>◌</sup> qal) and transgressed (*wh* hi.), have been godless (*rš*<sup>◌</sup> qal)” (1 Kgs 8:47 = 2 Chron 6:37; cf. Dan 9:15; in the same meaning with *rš*<sup>◌</sup> hi.: Psa 106:6; Dan 9:5 with an additional *mrd* “to fall away”; Neh 9:33 with *rš*<sup>◌</sup> hi.); cf. Jer 14:20 “we confess, Yahweh, our evil (*reša*<sup>◌</sup>) and the guilt (*āwōn*) of our fathers; indeed, we have sinned (*hṭ*<sup>◌</sup> qal) against you”;

(c) in the book of Job, where the friends represent the old belief that someone met by serious harm must be a *rāšā*<sup>◌</sup> (Job 11:20; 15:20ff.; 18:5; 20:5), who will be punished by God (20:29; 34:7ff., 26; 36:6, 17), who for his part is “far from *reša*<sup>◌</sup>” (34:10; cf. v 17). Job himself, however, is under attack in his own life in a faith struggle with God through his doubt in the validity of the deed-consequence relationship (Job 10:2f.). On the one hand even his faith is not free of the coupling *rš*<sup>◌</sup>-harm (21:16f.; 27:7, 13), and he perceives his suffering as a charge against him (16:8–11); on the other hand he often sees no difference between the fate of a *tām* and a *rāšā*<sup>◌</sup>

(9:22; it may be, then, that the *r<sup>e</sup>šā<sup>ʿ</sup>im* sometimes seem to prosper better, 9:24; 10:3; 21:7), and he cannot escape the notion that he “may be guilty” (*rš<sup>ʿ</sup>* qal 9:29; 10:7, 15) and that God “may pronounce him guilty” without reason (*rš<sup>ʿ</sup>* hi. 10:2; cf. 9:20f.; 15:6; 40:8).

5. In the dualism of the Qumran community, the root *rš<sup>ʿ</sup>* plays an important role (verb about 20x, *rāšā<sup>ʿ</sup>* about 55x, *reša<sup>ʿ</sup>* about 20x, *riš<sup>ʿ</sup>ā<sup>ʿ</sup>* about 40x; according to Kuhn, *Konk.* 209f.; id., *RQ* 14 [1963]: 227). Prominent among the enemies of the community are the “godless priest,” the opponent of the teacher of righteousness (*hakkôhên hārāšā<sup>ʿ</sup>* 1QpHab 8:8; 9:9, according to K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* [1953], 266, a distortion of the official title *hakkôhên hārōš* “high priest”; cf. 5:9; 9:1, 11; 10:5; 11:4f.; 12:2f.).

The LXX renders the word group in a wide variety of ways, *rāšā<sup>ʿ</sup>* primarily with *asebēs*, as well as with *hamartōlos* and *anomos* (statistics in K. H. Rengstorf, *TDNT* 1:320f.), the other terms most often with *asebein/asebeia*. Regarding the NT in its environment, cf. G. Schrenk, “ᾧδικος,” *TDNT* 1:149–63; K. H. Rengstorf, “ἁμαρτωλός,” *TDNT* 1:317–35; W. Gutbrod, “νόμος: ἄνομος,” *TDNT* 4:1086f.; W. Foerster, “σέβομαι: ἀσεβής,” *TDNT* 7:185–91.

C. van Leeuwen

## שבע *šb<sup>ʿ</sup>* to be sated

S 7646; BDB 959a; *HALOT* 3:1302b; *ThWAT* 7:693–704; *TWOT* 2231; *NIDOTTE* 8425

1. The root *šb<sup>ʿ</sup>* “to be/become sated” is common Sem. (Akk. *šebû*; Ug. *šb<sup>ʿ</sup>*, *WUS* no. 2579; *UT* no. 2380; Phoen.-Pun. and Aram., *DISO* 289; *LS* 456a; Arab. *šabi<sup>ʿ</sup>a*, Wehr 452; Old SArab., Conti Rossini 247; regarding Eth., see *GVG* 1:169, 239).

In the Hebr. OT, *šb<sup>ʿ</sup>* occurs in the qal, ni. “to become sated” (Job 31:31 ptc., in Mandl. 1112d under qal), pi. “to sate” (Ezek 7:19; Psa 90:14), and hi. “to cause to become sated,” and in the verbal adj. *šābēā<sup>ʿ</sup>* “sated” and the verbal abstracts *šābā<sup>ʿ</sup>*, *šōbā<sup>ʿ</sup>*, *šob<sup>ʿ</sup>ā*, and *šib<sup>ʿ</sup>ā* (Ezek 16:49) “satiating.”

The fem. PNs *šēšēba<sup>ʿ</sup>*, *bat-šēba<sup>ʿ</sup>*, and *y<sup>e</sup>hōšēba<sup>ʿ</sup>* do not belong to this root (contra J. Hehn, *FS Marti* 128–36: they are related to *šēba<sup>ʿ</sup>* “seven,” the “number of completion”; cf. *KBL* 944a; J. J. Stamm, *FS Baumgartner* 312f., with bibliog.).

2. *šb*<sup>c</sup> occurs in the OT in the qal 78x (Prov 18x, Psa 14x, Deut 7x), in the ni. 1x (see 1), in the pi. 2x (see 1), in the hi. 16x (Psa 8x), *šābēa*<sup>c</sup> 10x, *šābā*<sup>c</sup> 8x (6x in Gen 41:29–53; also Prov 3:10; Eccl 5:11), *šōba*<sup>c</sup> 8x, *šob*<sup>á</sup> 6x, *šib*<sup>á</sup> 1x (see 1). Of the total of 130 instances of the root, 25 occur in Psa, 22 in Prov, 10 in Isa, 9 each in Deut, Ezek, and Job, 8 in Gen, 6 in Jer, etc.

3. In almost half the instances of the qal, the word stands abs.: “to be/become sated.” Like other verbs of plenty or want, *šb*<sup>c</sup> can govern a direct obj.: “to be sated with something” (thus about 30x with the acc. of the material; cf. BrSynt §90d). Less often prep. modifiers replace the acc. (*min* 7x, *le* 3x). An inf. with *le* follows the verb only once: Eccl 1:8 “to become sated with seeing.”

In the great majority of passages, the verb indicates the easing of hunger and thus refers, like → *ʔkl* “to eat” and → *šth* “to drink,” to an elemental function of human and animal life. This background is clearly discernible in about three-fourths of the passages with *šb*<sup>c</sup> without obj. (about 35x). Even the Ug. texts and the inscriptional evidence from Karatepe and Sefire (8th cent. BCE) use the root almost exclusively in the limited sense: as a subst. “satiety” together with *mn*<sup>m</sup> “attractiveness” and *trš* “(new) wine” (*KAI* no. 26A.I.6; II.7, 13, 16; III.7, 9; C.IV.7, 9), as a verb for children and animal young who nurse “and do not become sated” (*KAI* no. 222A.22f.; no. 223A.1). In the OT “to eat and (not) become sated” is a fixed phrase with about 20 occurrences, particularly frequent in Deut (Deut 6:11; 8:10, 12; 11:15; 14:29; 26:12; 31:20). Objs. in the OT are, first of all, various foods: bread, grain, wine, oil, honey, fat, etc. *šb*<sup>c</sup> refers to drinking only in Amos 4:8 and Prov 30:16 (otherwise usually *rwh* qal “to drink one’s fill” (→ *šth* 3c).

By means of an expansion of the range of objs., the verb acquires the more general meaning “to have enough, be satisfied.” The shift in meaning seems slightest when the objs. remain limited to material goods (“goods” Jer 31:14; Psa 104:28; Prov 12:14; “burnt offering” Isa 1:11; “horse and rider, hero and warrior” Ezek 39:20; etc.), even when satiation (in an abs. construction) refers to plunder (Jer 50:10; Hab 2:5) or grazing (Jer 50:19; Hos 13:6). An additional semantic development involves the expansion of the range of objs. to include abstracts, as is particularly the case in wisdom: unrest (Job 7:4), plans (Prov 1:31), fruit of the lips (18:20), poverty (28:19), harlotry (Ezek 16:28f.), shame (Hab 2:16; cf. Job 10:15), disdain (Psa 123:3f.), days (1 Chron 23:1; 2 Chron 24:15; with *šābēa*<sup>c</sup> Gen 25:8 txt em; 35:29; Job 42:17; 1 Chron 29:28). Objs. adjoined with preps. in particular are almost exclusively abstract: the goodness of your house (Psa 65:5),

suffering (88:4), fruit of your deeds (104:13), the conduct of the rebellious (Prov 14:14), shame (Lam 3:30), and good fortune (Eccl 6:3). Regarding the satiation of the “soul,” → *nepes̄* III/3b.

This usage clearly provides the basis for the transition to the meaning “to be weary of,” prominent in passages such as Isa 1:11; Prov 25:16f.; 30:9. Almost in opposition to its original sense, *śb<sup>ç</sup>* approximates the verbs *g<sup>ç</sup>* qal “to abhor” (8x in the OT: Lev 26:11, 15, 30, 43f.; Jer 14:19; Ezek 16:45[bis]) and *qûš* qal “to loathe” (Gen 27:46; Lev 20:23; Num 21:5; 1 Kgs 11:25; Prov 3:11). Satiation is occasionally applied to seeing: “to be sated with seeing” (Psa 17:15; Prov 27:20b; Eccl 1:8; 4:8); → *ayin* 3a(2).

The proper sense of the verbal adj. *śābēa<sup>ç</sup>* (the opposite of *rā<sup>ç</sup>ēb* “hungry”) can be discerned only in a few cases (1 Sam 2:5; Prov 27:7; perhaps also Prov 19:23). All other passages have a fig. meaning that agrees almost entirely with the corresponding verbal meaning.

Of the verbal abstracts, *śābā<sup>ç</sup>* almost always has the general sense “plenty, overflow,” while *śōba<sup>ç</sup>*, *śob<sup>ç</sup>ā*, and *śib<sup>ç</sup>ā* are firmly attached, with a few exceptions (Psa 16:11; Ezek 16:28), to the concept “eating” and thus remain within the original semantic realm.

Regarding the antonym *r<sup>ç</sup>b* “to be hungry” and its derivatives, rarely used in a fig. sense (cf. Amos 8:11), see → *šth* 3c.

4. The word attains theological significance as a rather frequent indication of the enjoyment or bestowal of the benefits of Yahweh’s salvation. Such is the case when *śb<sup>ç</sup>* is used in its original sense, as in the combination “to eat and become sated” (Deut 6:11; 8:10, 12; 11:15; 31:20; Joel 2:26; Psa 22:27; 37:19; 78:29; Neh 9:25; 2 Chron 31:10). But *śb<sup>ç</sup>* in its more limited sense can also refer to God’s gifts. Theological significance becomes particularly apparent for the causative. With only two exceptions (Isa 58:10; Ezek 27:33), God is always the subj. of the 16 hi. passages. There is no fixed theological form, however.

5. The Qumran instances lie completely within the realm of OT usage (Kuhn, *Konk.* 211a; id., *RQ* 14 [1963]: 228a). The most common Gk. equivalents in the LXX are (*em*)*pimplanai* and *chortazein*; on NT usage see G. Dellings, “πίμπλημι,” *TDNT* 6:128–34.

G. Gerleman

𐤒𐤔𐤕 *śātān* **adversary**

S 7854; BDB 966a; HALOT 3:1317a; ThWAT 7:745–51; TWOT 2252a; NIDOTTE 8477

1. The root *štn*, whose basic meaning can be rendered “to be hostile to, oppose,” is attested in Hebr. and, independently (with an initial *s* or *š*), in Jew. Aram., Syr., Mand., Eth., and Arab. (NB 34, 47; regarding Arab. *šaitān* “Satan, devil,” cf. also J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen* [1926]: 120f.; A. J. Wensinck and J. H. Kramers, *Handwörterbuch des Islam* [1941], 671f.). The Akk. equivalent suggested in GB 782a and KBL 918b may be disregarded according to AHW 260b. *štm* occurs only in Hebr. and Jew. Aram.

In the OT the root *štn* forms the qal “to be hostile to,” and the noms. *šātān* “opponent” and *šitnā* “hostility” (in Gen 26:21 also as the name of a well); the by-form *štm* produces the qal and the noun *maštēmā* “hostility.”

One can no longer say with certainty whether the verb *štn* is a denominative or to which nom. paradigm *šātān* should be classified (cf. BL 500; G. von Rad, TDNT 2:73).

2. Statistics: *štn* qal 6x (Zech 3:1 and 5x in Psa), *šātān* 27x (Job 1–2 14x, 1 Kgs 4x, Zech 3:1f. 3x), *šitnā* 1x (Ezra 4:6); *štm* qal 6x (Gen 3x, Job 2x, Psa 1x), *maštēmā* 2x (Hos 9:7f.).

3. (a) In verbal usage *štn/štm* has the consistent meaning “to be hostile to, have animosity toward, be at enmity” (cf. Gen 27:41; 49:23; 50:15; Zech 3:1). In individual laments, the verb indicates the behavior of those who hate (*šnʿ*) the worshiper, repay (*šlm* pi.) good with evil, fight (*lhm* ni.), seek the supplicant’s downfall (*bqš* pi. *rāʿâ*), i.e., the behavior of enemies (→ *ʿōyēb*; Psa 38:21; 55:4; 71:13; 109:4, 20, 29).

(b) Persons or figures who behave as enemies or opponents can accordingly be called *šātān* “opponent, enemy”: military and political opponents (1 Sam 29:4; 1 Kgs 5:18; 11:14, 23, 25), opponents in legal matters (Psa 109:6; not “accuser,” contra von Rad, TDNT 2:73), persons who wish to counteract some advantage through malign behavior or opposition (Num 22:22, 32; 2 Sam 19:23).

One must decide on a case-by-case basis whether to regard the noun *šātān* as a designation of function (Horst, BK 16, 13) or of character (“quality,” von Rad, TDNT 2:73).

The noun *šitnā* (Ezra 4:6), usually translated “indictment,” probably means a “hostile objection” instead (Horst, op. cit. 14).

4. (a) Theological use of the verb (God as the subj. of *štm*) is rare. It corresponds to the use of the word in the individual laments: Job 16:9 (txt? cf. Horst, op. cit. 239, 241); 30:21 laments God’s hostile behavior toward Job.

(b) Similarly, the use of the noun *śātān* in the religious realm corresponds to its profane usage. Only the early post-exilic period knows of a figure who belongs to the heavenly council (*b<sup>c</sup>nē hā<sup>w</sup>lōhîm*) and is called *haśśātān* (Job 1:6). He appears in Job 1–2 as the “opponent” and “enemy” of Job, whose selfless piety he seeks to minimize and call into question with God through contradiction and objection; in Zech 3:1f. as “adversary” (opponent in court? cf. Psa 109:6 with Zech 3:1: *‘md ‘aly<sup>c</sup>mînô* “to stand at his right”) of the angel of Yahweh, apparently in order to diminish the angel’s advantage with Joshua. In both passages, “the satan” appears as a figure subject to God’s will; God decides whether “the satan” (*śātān* here always with art.) will be able to execute his fundamentally hostile conduct toward a person (Job 1–2) or not (Zech 3:1f.). He strikes the one handed over to him with disaster of every kind; he meets his superior with objections intended to hinder.

As in the profane realm, one cannot identify any specifically juristic usage of the word.

*śātān* first appears in 1 Chron 21:1 as the PN of this figure from the heavenly council, introduced here in the place of Yahweh’s wrath that, according to 2 Sam 24:1, incited David to a census (Rudolph, HAT 21, 142f.; contra T. H. Gaster, *IDB* 4:225: *śātān* “simply a common noun”). 1 Chron 21:1 is the first indication of the autonomy of the Satan figure characteristic of early Judaism.

Various concepts from the political and religious life of the ancient Near East have been adduced to explain the origin and significance of the OT Satan figure on account of the limited or lacking linguistic evidence in the OT and in the older Sem. languages. None of these attempts is more than conjecture, and opinions vary accordingly: the Satan as the evil demon, adversary of the individual’s patron god (H. Gunkel, *Folktale in the OT* [1987], 98f.; cf. Hölscher, HAT 17 [19522], 3), as accuser before the court (von Rad, *TDNT* 2:73; G. Molin, *BHH* 3:1674) applied to the heavenly council (Eichrodt 2:205f.), as “secret political official” (N. H. Tur-Sinai [Torczyner], *Job* [1957], 44), as a slanderer at the court of the emperor (A. Brock-Utne, *Klio* 28 [1935]: 219–27), and many others (bibliog. in Fohrer, KAT 16, 82f.)

5. Regarding the Satan figure in Qumran, early Judaism, and the NT, cf. G. von Rad and W. Foerster, “*δισβάλλω*,” *TDNT* 2:71–81; W. Foerster and K. Schäferdiek, “*σατανᾶς*,” *TDNT* 7:151–65.

G. Wanke

## שכל *śkl* hi. to have insight

S 7919; BDB 968a; HALOT 3:1328a; ThWAT 7:781–95; TWOT 2263; NIDOTTE 8505

1. The root *śkl* I “to have insight, be clever,” which should be distinguished from *śkl* II “to cross” (only Gen 48:14 pi.) despite J. Blau (VT 7 [1957]: 101), has counterparts in Aram. (Aḥ. 147 *skl* itpa. “to be clever”; cf. Leander 49; DISO 192; P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d’Égypte* [1972], 443; otherwise, because of the spelling with *s*, e.g., W. Baumgartner, ZAW 45 [1927]: 102 = *Zum AT und seiner Umwelt* [1959], 90: “do not behave foolishly”; in Bibl. Aram. and in later dialects: KBL 1126f.; LS 473b).

In Isa 44:25 (see BH 3) and Eccl 1:17 (see BH 3), forms of the antonymous root *skl* “to be foolish” are spelled with *ś* instead of *s* (*skl* occurs 23x in the OT: ni. “to behave foolishly” 1 Sam 13:13; 2 Sam 24:10 = 1 Chron 21:8; 2 Chron 16:9; pi. “to make foolish” 2 Sam 15:31; Isa 44:25; hi. “to act foolishly” Gen 31:28; 1 Sam 26:21; adj. *sākāl* “foolish,” Jer 4:22; 5:21; Eccl 2:19; 7:17; 10:3[bis], 14; subst. *sekel* “folly,” Eccl 10:6; *siklūt* “folly,” 1:17; 2:3, 12f.; 7:25; 10:1, 13).

Barr (CPT 244f., 336) has correctly questioned the interpretation of *śekel* in 1 Sam 25:3 as “form” (so F. Perles, JQR 17 [1926/27]: 233, referring to Arab. *šakl* “form”). Jer 50:9 should apparently be read *maśkîl* “successful” instead of *maškîl* “to make childless” (cf. BH 3; Rudolph, HAT 12, 300).

In the Hebr. OT, except for 1 Sam 18:30 (qal “to have success”), the verb always occurs in the hi. (see 3a). The subst. ptcp. form *maśkîl* is a fixed technical term in Psa superscriptions (see 3b). The abstract noun *śēkel* occurs as a subst. (*śekel* in 1 Sam 25:3; Job 17:4; Ezra 8:18; Neh 8:8; 1 Chron 26:14). In contrast, *śkl* hitpa. “to consider” (Dan 7:8) and the abstract *śokl<sup>e</sup>tānû* “insight” (BLA 198; Dan 5:11f., 14) occur in Bibl. Aram.

2. The root *śkl* (in all 90 Hebr. and 4 Aram. occurrences; excl. Isa 44:25; Jer 50:9; Eccl 1:17; see 1) is chiefly, but not exclusively, used in wisdom texts: qal 1x, hi. 59x (Prov 13x, Psa 11x, Dan 9x, Jer 5x, 1 Sam, Isa, and Job 3x each), *maśkîl* 14x (in Psa), and *śēkel/śekel* 16x (Prov 6x).

3. (a) The chief meaning of the verb can best be rendered “to be insightful, clever”; cf. the frequent par. verbs → *bîn* “to understand” (Deut 32:29; Isa 44:18; Psa 94:8) and → *ydc* “to know” (Isa 41:20; Jer 9:23; Dan 1:4; 9:25; cf. Isa 44:18; Job 34:35). Yet the emphasis often lies on the act of attentive observation, of perception and scrutiny, through which one becomes “insightful” (Psa 41:2; 64:10; 101:2; 106:7 par. → *zkr* “to

remember”; Job 34:27; Prov 21:12; Dan 9:13; Aram. hitpa., Dan 7:8). The resultative verbal sense “become insightful > to be intelligent, clever,” however, now bears the chief semasiological accent (cf. the parallelism of eye and heart in Isa 41:20; 44:18). In the effective sense, the “insightful” person acts cleverly and intelligently, thus successfully, then, as chiefly queens and other leaders are said to do (David: 1 Sam 18:5, 14f.; cf. v 30 qal; Solomon: 1 Kgs 2:3; Hezekiah: 2 Kgs 18:7; also Joshua: Josh 1:7f. par. → *šlh* hi. “to have success”; cf. Dan 8:25, *šēkel* with *šlh* hi.). While the failure of the bad “shepherds” results from the fact that they “are unwise” (*bḥr* ni. as an antonym) and have not turned to Yahweh (Jer 10:21), the coming righteous king (23:5; cf. also 3:15 and Psa 2:10; cf. W. McKane, *Prophets and Wise Men* [1965], 67f., 90–93) and the elevated servant of Yahweh (Isa 52:13; contra G. R. Driver, FS Kahle 90f.) will be characterized by insightful, successful leadership; this usage also occurs in the more general sense (cf. Deut 29:8; Prov 17:8).

In the causative sense, then, a person is the obj. of the creation of insight, instruction that can be intended as guidance for the conduct of one’s life (Psa 32:8 par. *yrh* hi. “to instruct” and *yḥs* “to advise”), or it is more generally “to be a wise one” (→ *ḥkm*), or it produces a specialized expertise (Prov 21:11; Dan 9:22; 1 Chron 28:19; cf. also 2 Chron 30:22 with the inner obj. or cognate acc. *šēkel tōb*). Instruction can be offered by a “wise one” (*ḥākām*) or by one’s heart as the organ of insight (cf. Prov 16:23; 21:11), yet it is often said that instruction issues from God or his Spirit (cf. Psa 32:8; Dan 9:22; Neh 9:20; 1 Chron 28:19), just as “insight” is dependent on or related to him in general (see 4).

Apart from *šēkel* (see 3c), “insight” is also expressed subst. by the inf. abs. *haškēl* (Jer 3:15 par. *dēʿā* “understanding,” of the “shepherds” preparation for office after God’s heart; Job 34:35 par. *daʿat*, Prov 1:3 with several par. terms with wisdom and social orientations in the framework of the prologue of Prov; cf. Gemser, HAT 16, 18f.; Prov 21:16 “way of cleverness”; cf. Psa 32:8; Dan 1:17 par. *maddāʿ* “knowledge,” given by God; the “insight” given refers to “all literature and wisdom”).

The tendency to use the verb subst. is represented by the ptcp. *maškîl*, which occurs esp. in Prov and Dan, in addition to the abstract *haškēl*. It is sometimes used attributively (Prov 10:5; 14:35; 17:2; 19:14 fem.; cf. 1 Sam 25:3), sometimes predicatively (1 Sam 18:14f.; Psa 41:2; Prov 10:19; 16:20; 21:12, probably with God as subj. [cf. *BH* 3 and comms.]; 2 Chron 30:22) in the sense of “insightful, intelligent, clever,” and sometimes subst. as a per. term “intelligent one, clever one” (Amos 5:13; Psa 14:2 = 53:3; Job 22:2; Prov 15:24; Dan 1:4; 11:33, 35; 12:3, 10). This usage characterizes a type of person whose opposites are the → *nābāl*

“fool” (Psa 14:1f. = 53:2f.; cf. Psa 94:8 → *k<sup>e</sup>sîl*) and the *rāšā<sup>c</sup>* “transgressor” (Dan 12:10; cf. Psa 36:4; Job 34:26f.; Prov 21:12) and who, like the “wise one,” is tranquil, taciturn (Prov 10:19; Amos 5:13), not only skilled and successful but also religious (see 4). According to Dan, it refers to specially trained and proved pious persons (Dan 1:4, 17; 11:33, 35; 12:3, 10). Dtr and later texts stress the relationship to the law (cf. Josh 1:8; 1 Kgs 2:3; Psa 119:99; Neh 8:13; also Deut 29:8; Prov 16:20; Dan 9:13).

(b) *maškil* not only refers to persons but is also a technical expression in the context of the superscriptions to Psa 32, 42, 44f., 52–55, 74, 78, 88f., and 142. It also occurs in 47:8 (as the obj. of *zmr* pi. “to sing, play”) and apparently refers to a specific type of psalm—although the psalms in question diverge widely in genres and content—but it has not yet been possible to explain satisfactorily the sense and function of this term. The cultic interpretation of G. W. Ahlström (*Psalm 89* [1959], 21–26) seems, however, to be unlikely in comparison to interpretations that associate the technical expression with “wisdom” (cf. S. Mowinckel, *Psalms in Israel’s Worship* [1962], 2:94, 209), whether in terms of content (cf. V. Maag, *SThU* 13 [1943]: 108–15) or—perhaps most likely—in reference to the artistic form (cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:25f., who renders the word “artfully molded song”; cf. also L. Delekat, *ZAW* 76 [1964]: 282f.; R. P. Carroll, *VT* 21 [1971]: 133f.; J.-B. Dumortier, *VT* 22 [1972]: 177).

(c) The abstract noun *šēkel/šekel* conforms largely to the connotations of the verb (cf. Zorell 800b: “quasi nomen verbale ad *škl* I”). The word, which itself probably refers neutrally to “insight, understanding” as an intellectual capacity (cf. Job 17:4a; also Prov 23:9b), has a positive context, apart from Dan 8:25, and is consistently understood positively, as is particularly evident in the expression *šēkel tōb* “good insight” (Psa 111:10 par. *ḥokmâ* “wisdom”; Prov 3:4 par. *ḥēn* “favor”; cf. Gemser, *HAT* 16, 26: “friendly approval”; McKane, *Prov*, OTL, 214, 292: “good success”; 13:15 with *ḥēn*; 2 Chron 30:22). The attributive noun characterizes skillful speech, which the “fool” (→ *k<sup>e</sup>sîl*) disregards (Prov 23:9), and particularly competent and successful persons (1 Sam 25:3; Ezra 8:18; 1 Chron 26:14; cf. also 1 Chron 22:12 and 2 Chron 2:11 par. *bînâ*, in reference to Solomon; see also 2 Chron 30:22 and Neh 8:8 of the teaching Levites). In contrast to “folly” (*ʾiwwelet*, → *ʾwîl* 4; Prov 16:22), “insight” brings those who possess it “favor” (*ḥēn* Prov 13:15) and “life” (*ḥayyim* 16:22), statements that accentuate its special theological tenor.

4. As the previous semasiological overview already indicates, the word family *škl* I bears a significant theological stamp. “Insight” can indeed often be an expression of a person’s competence, in which case it depends on experience/instruction on the one hand and is the prerequisite for success on the other. Yet it is related to God in many ways since it fundamentally influences the conduct of one’s life and becomes an

important conduct-shaping entity under God's care (Psa 14:2 = 53:3 "prudent person" par. "who seeks after God"; cf. Prov 21:12: God—if the subj.—"pushes the evildoer into ruin"). One who strays from the "paths of prudence" dies prematurely (Prov 21:16; cf. Gemser, HAT 16, 80f.); but one who travels "down the path of life" as a "prudent person" avoids the underworld, death; for "insight" is a "source of life" with saving character (16:22). A fateful relationship exists between deed and consequence that produces not only success or failure but also life or death (cf. K. Koch, "Is There a Doctrine of Retribution in the OT?" *Theodicy in the OT*, ed. J. Crenshaw [1983], 57–87; G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* [1972], 128ff.). God-related, salvation-bringing insight develops from the fear of God (Psa 111:10; Prov 16:20; cf. von Rad, op. cit. 53ff.). God not only encourages it but produces it in various ways: he accompanies and guides (cf. 1 Sam 18:14; 2 Kgs 18:7; Psa 32:8; Neh 9:20; → *šlh* 4); he can be perceived in his saving acts in history (cf. Psa 64:10; 106:7; Neh 9:20; also Isa 41:20; 44:18); he gives qualified leaders and servants (cf. Jer 3:15; 23:5; Ezra 8:18; Neh 8:8, 13); one also acquires "insight" through the "word" (Prov 16:20), through the "word of the covenant" (Deut 29:8), and esp. through God's "law" (Josh 1:7f.; cf. Psa 119:99; Neh 8:8; 1 Chron 22:12). There is no lack of possibilities to gain beneficial "insight"; consequently, the accusation against failed "insight/understanding" can be voiced (cf. Deut 32:29; Psa 94:8; 106:7).

5. The verb and the substs. occur rather often in the Qumran literature (cf. Kuhn, *Konk.* 134, 212; id., *RQ* 14 [1963]: 228; F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte* [1956], 55–58; J. A. Sanders, *ZAW* 76 [1964]: 65f.). The LXX renders the verb primarily with *synienai*, the noms. with *synesis*. Regarding the entire history of usage, see H. Conzelmann, "συνίημι," *TDNT* 7:888–96.

M. Sæbø

## שׂמַח *śmḥ* to rejoice

S 8055; BDB 970a; HALOT 3:1333b; ThWAT 7:808–22; TWOT 2268; NIDOTTE 8523

1. Hebr. *śmḥ* "to rejoice" is related to Ug. *šmḥ* "to rejoice" (*WUS* no. 2626; *UT* no. 2432; in *KTU* 1.17.II.9 "to beam [of the countenance]"; cf. P. J. van Zijl, *Baal* [1972], 120–22; regarding a suspected Pun. occurrence, cf. *DISO* 308 but also Sznycer 115–19), often used par. to → *gîl*, as in Hebr. It is disputed whether Akk. *šamāḫū* "to grow," Arab. *šmḥ* "to be high,

proud” (Wehr 485b; L. Kopf, *VT* 9 [1959]: 249, 276f.), and Aram./Syr. *šmḥ* “to grow upward; to beam, shine” (LS 631b) are related to Hebr. *šmḥ* and/or → *šmḥ* “to sprout.”

J. C. Greenfield (*HUCA* 30 [1959]: 141–51) mentions various examples from Sem. languages in support of the notion that the same word can mean “to grow upward, blossom” and “to shine, beam.” Consequently, he considers all the words cited above to be related to Hebr. *šmḥ*, for which he postulates secondary meanings “to be high, broad” and “to shine.” Cf. J. B. Bauer (*VD* 40 [1962]: 184–89) and V. Hamp (*WZ Halle* 10 [1961]: 1333f.), who also take these secondary meanings into account.

The verb occurs in the OT in the qal, the pi. “to rejoice,” and the hi. “to take joy”; they are joined by the verbal adj. *šāmēaḥ* “joyous” and the subst. *šimḥâ* “joy.” In Bibl. Aram. the root *\*ḥdy*, widely distributed in Aram. and other Sem. languages, is represented only by the subst. *ḥedwâ* “joy” (Ezra 6:16; KBL 1073f.; *DISO* 82), in Hebr. as the loanword *ḥedwâ* “joy” (Neh 8:10; 1 Chron 16:27) and *ḥdh* qal “to rejoice” (Exod 18:9; Job 3:6) and pi. “to rejoice” (Psa 21:7); cf. Wagner nos. 83–87.

2. Forms of the root *šmḥ* are attested 269x in the OT: the verb 154x (qal 126x, pi. 27x, hi. 1x, Psa 89:43) with a marked concentration of occurrences in the Psa (qal 43x, pi. 8x), the adj. *šāmēaḥ* 21x, and the subst. *šimḥâ* 94x (Isa 15x, Psa 13x); cf. the statistical overview in P. Humbert, *RHPR* 22 (1942): 185–214 = *Opuscles d’un hébraïsant* (1958), 119–45.

3. One should consider whether the basic meaning “to rejoice,” which describes an emotion, derives from the concrete meaning “to shine” as the expressive aspect of joy; e.g., Psa 19:9 parallels “to gladden the heart” with “to enlighten the eyes” (cf. also Prov 15:30; Sir 31:20 “a joy for the heart and a light for the eyes”). The suggestion is supported by two much-discussed texts.

Regarding Prov 13:9, H. L. Ginsberg (*BASOR* 98 [1945]: 15n.20; followed by e.g., Greenfield, *op. cit.* 147) has suggested translating, in accord with the Ug. occurrence cited in 1: “The light of the pious beams (*yīšmaḥ*),” as the parallelism also supports (cf. also M. Dahood, *FS Baumgartner* 40f.; Ginsberg, *ibid.* 72f.). Isa 9:16 is more difficult. The context requires the meaning “to be gracious, have mercy,” so that 1QIsaa interpretively inserts *yaḥmôl* “he has compassion” for *yīšmaḥ*. The text would be comprehensible if one could accept the meaning “to shine” in the sense of “to cause one’s countenance to shine, be gracious.” In addition to Isa 39:2 and Lam 2:17 (pi.), this is the only pre-exilic example of the construction *šmḥ* *ʿal*. But since *pānîm* “countenance” is attested as the subj. of *šmḥ* only in Ug., not in Hebr., this passage remains problematic. In contrast, the subst. *šimḥâ* should not be read in Prov 10:28 as a verb form with the meaning “to sprout” (contra G. R. Driver, *Bib* 32 [1951]: 179f.; Greenfield, Bauer, Hamp); rather, the nom. clause of MT, like Prov 11:23, etc., states the result of an expected process of change: “The expectation of the righteous (ends in)

joy.” Hos 7:3 refers to the festal joy of the king and his officials resulting from their own unauthorized and deceitful machinations (thus with Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 124). I have now mentioned all seriously disputed texts.

As a rule, *śmḥ* does not refer to a sustained emotion, a state, but to joy expressed spontaneously and fundamentally. It is primarily the festive joy at profane and religious feasts. It is expressed in leaps of joy (Jer 50:11), foot stamping and hand clapping (Isa 55:12; Ezek 25:6), dance, music, and cries of joy (e.g., 1 Sam 18:6; 2 Sam 6:12, 14; 1 Kgs 1:40, 45; Neh 12:27). This joy abounds to the degree that one is beside oneself with joy. Such Dionysian superabundance characterizes all festival joy, whether the occasion is a marriage (Jer 7:34; Song Sol 3:11), the wine harvest (Isa 9:2; 16:10), the reception of a victor (1 Sam 18:6), an honor escort on farewell (Gen 31:27) or on arrival (Psa 45:16), the coronation of a king (1 Sam 11:15; 1 Kgs 1:40, 45; 2 Kgs 11:14; Isa 9:2; 1 Chron 29:22), a pilgrimage (Psa 122:1; Isa 30:29), or a religious festival (see below). This characteristic becomes particularly apparent in passages mentioning that people “are joyous as from wine” (Zech 10:7) or “from wine” (Isa 22:13; pi. Judg 9:13; Psa 104:15; Eccl 10:19).

The most elementary expression of joy is the cry of joy or the shout of jubilation that contains no or only very brief verbal elements, e.g., the cry: “Long live King Solomon!” (1 Kgs 1:39). Consequently, *śimḥâ* (usually an abstract concept “joy”) can also be a technical term for the cry of joy (Gen 31:27; 1 Sam 18:6; 2 Sam 6:12; 1 Kgs 1:40; Isa 16:10; Jer 7:34 = 16:9 = 25:10 = 33:11; Psa 137:3; Ezra 3:12f.; 2 Chron 20:27; 23:18; probably also Isa 9:2; 22:13; 24:11; 55:12; Jer 48:33, etc.). Even when the translation “joy” seems appropriate for *śimḥâ*, the concrete expressions of joy are implied as a rule. The fact that *śmḥ* expresses primarily the cry of joy and the call of jubilation is also attested by par. verbs: → *gîl* “to shout with joy” (31x, only in poetic texts); *rnn* “to rejoice” (12x); *ʿlz* or *ʿlš* “to exult” (8x); *śûś* “to rejoice about something” (8x); *rûa*<sup>c</sup> hi. “to cry aloud” (2x); *šhl* “to guffaw” (2x); *pšḥ rinnâ* “to break out in jubilation” (1x). These terms all refer to impulsive vocal expressions. *hll* hitp. and *ydh* hi. “to praise” refer to a clearly distinct phenomenon (in Psa 5x each with *śmḥ*) that always involves articulated words and well-structured statements: narrative praise always stands at some temporal distance from its impetus and thus distinguishes itself from spontaneous reaction in the momentary experience of deliverance (cf. Psa 107:30f.).

Subjs. in the qal are always persons, occasionally the land representative of its inhabitants, → *lēb* “heart” (6x subj. in the qal, 5x obj. in the pi., as well as 1x *nepeš* “soul”). The occasion of the joy—whether an object, an event, or a person—is constructed with the prep. *be* (41x) or is

mentioned in a reason clause introduced with *kî* (10x); the prep. *le* (9x) indicates a person over whom someone rejoices (usually the conquered enemy).

In post-exilic texts, as is usually the case, the preps. vary. Consequently, one should be skeptical of M. Dahood's thesis (*Bib* 43 [1962]: 351f.) that the construction *śmḥ min*, attested in Prov 5:18; Eccl 2:10; and 2 Chron 20:27, should be regarded as a Canaanism on the basis of an Ug. text.

Additional typical occasions for joy are (a) seeing someone again after a long separation (Exod 4:14; Judg 9:13; 1 Sam 6:13; only the last two passages have the construction *śmḥ liqrātô* "he ran toward him in joy," typical for phrases with *liqrāt*, e.g., Judg 15:14) and greeting important guests (Isa 39:2 = 2 Kgs 20:13 txt em); (b) good news (1 Sam 11:9; 1 Kgs 5:21; Jer 20:15; Esth 8:15ff.); (c) the interjection of a pertinent word (Prov 12:20; 15:23) or success in work (Eccl 3:22); (d) victory over enemies (e.g., 1 Sam 19:5; 2 Sam 1:20; Amos 6:13) or the death of a tyrant (Isa 14:8); (e) good food and drink are such fundamental elements of the joys of a feast (Isa 22:13; Eccl 8:15; Esth 9:17–19) that *śimḥâ* can designate a festival banquet (Prov 21:17; Eccl 7:4). This usage also largely applies to the religious festival (see below).

When abundance of holiday food is a privilege of a social class, the wealthy, joy in the pleasures of earthly goods becomes a matter of status (Eccl 2:8–10; 5:17–19) and a synonym for luxury (Eccl 2:26; cf. 11:8; Prov 21:17). Joy over a person—the wife (Prov 5:18), the son (10:1; 23:15, 24f., etc.), or the king (Judg 9:19, ironically)—renewed in multiple daily situations can become permanent. The description of the state of well-being for all Israel in 1 Kgs 4:20 is also aware of enduring joy.

4. Theological usage concentrates (a) in the realm of cultic festivals, (b) in the expectation of future salvation, and (c) in the challenge presented by the triumph of the enemies in the laments.

(a) The expression *śmḥ lipnê yhwḥ* "to be joyous before Yahweh" is a fixed term for the celebration of cultic festivals, esp. in Deut (Lev 23:40; Deut 12:12, 18; 14:26; 16:11; 27:7; 1 Sam 11:15; Psa 68:4; but Isa 9:2 is questionable), often par. to → *kl lipnê yhwḥ* "to eat before Yahweh" (Deut 12:7, 18; 14:26; 27:7; 1 Chron 29:22). The common meal is often explicitly described as the community focal point of the festival (Deut 12:12; 33:18f.; Judg 16:23; 1 Sam 11:15; Neh 12:43; varied in Neh 8:10–12; Esth 9:17–22; 2 Chron 30:24f.; in contrast to Joel 1:16). A holiday could be called *yôm śimḥâ* "day of joy" (Num 10:10; Esth 9:19). Superabundant joy is repeatedly stressed as a characteristic of festival worship (Deut 16:14f.; 26:11; Joel 1:16, etc.). This characteristic also applies to Hos 9:1, which bars Israel

from such festival worship because Israel, which has forsaken its God, faces Yahweh's judgment and thus bitter distress.

The thesis suggested by P. Humbert (op. cit.) on the basis of this passage and further developed by D. W. Harvey (FS Muilenburg 116–27) and Wolff (*Hos*, Herm, 153), that the word pair *śmḥ-gîl* "is evidence for the originally Dionysian character of the Can. fertility cult" (Wolff, op. cit.), has been rejected by C. Westermann (→ *gîl* 4b) with the argument: "Jubilation as an expression of joy, esp. in the cult, is one of the most widely known phenomena common to religions" and is also thoroughly attested for Israelite worship (see above).

*śmḥ* occurs particularly often in the Psa. Joy is the immediate reaction to the deliverance of the one whose existence is threatened and to which narrative praise refers (30:12; 107:30). The lamenter mentions the joy of past deliverance as a contrasting motif (16:7f.; 42:5) and looks forward hopefully in the request and the confession of confidence to jubilation over deliverance (5:12; 16:9; 31:8; 33:21; 40:17; 51:10; 63:12; 64:11; 70:5; 86:4; 90:15; 109:28; in the communal lament 14:7 = 53:7; 126:3). The community responds to the narrative praise of the individual with brief shouts of praise such as those cited in 35:27 or 40:17. The lamenter can already anticipate this communal reaction (35:27; 40:17; 64:11). The speaker of narrative praise often explicitly challenges the community to such response in the call to praise (32:11; 34:3; 69:33; as a self-challenge in 9:3; 118:24). As Psa 136 indicates in a highly stylized manner, the community also responds to the performance of descriptive praise (hymn) with brief shouts of praise (cf. Ezra 3:11; 1 Chron 16:36b; 2 Chron 7:3b; Psa 106:48). This response can be directly enjoined (Psa 66:6; 67:5; 96:11; 97:1, 12; 105:3; 149:2). Psa 4:8 depicts "joy" as a spiritual entity in contrast to material joy, the "abundance of grain and wine" (cf. 16:11).

The frequent expression *śmḥ b<sup>c</sup>yhw* "to rejoice in Yahweh" involves an abbreviated form of "to rejoice in Yahweh's act of deliverance" (Psa 21:2; 31:8, the original full form; the abbreviated form in 40:17; 63:12; 64:11; 70:5 in the confession of confidence in an individual lament; 33:21 also in the confession of confidence in a mixed hymnic genre; 85:7 in a communal lament in an interrogative accusation against God; also 32:11 in a call to rejoice addressed to the community, reflected in the self-exhortation of the community in 118:24 as an echo both of jubilation and narrative praise, as in the Yahweh-king psalm, 97:12; the unique *b<sup>c</sup>yhw śimhâ*, Isa 29:19), in secondary pl. expansion in the hymn (Psa 66:6) "in the deeds of Yahweh," or even in his acts of creation (104:34; 149:2).

In the few passages where → *hll* hitp. or → *ydh* hi. accompanies *śmḥ*, the two processes are clearly distinguished, most clearly in 107:30f., which reviews the

jubilation (*šmḥ*) over the deliverance and calls on the delivered to give a report of it before the worshiping community (*ydh*). In 64:11 the lamenter looks forward to jubilation (*šmḥ*) after his deliverance and to the subsequent narrative praise (*hll*): “The righteous may rejoice over Yahweh because he has found refuge with him, and all who are upright of heart may boast”; also 43:4 (txt?) with *ydh*, similarly 106:5 (*hll*) in view of the deliverance of the people. In 34:3 the actions are divided among the supplicant, who “boasts of Yahweh” (*hll*) in narrative praise, and the community, who should rejoice (*šmḥ*). Psa 105:3 = 1 Chron 16:10 calls for both in view of all who still hope for deliverance (*bqš* pi. *yhwh* and *drš yhwh*) but are already called to praise Yahweh’s past acts of deliverance, similar to Psa 69:33ff. Psa 97:12 calls for eschatological praise, jubilation (*šmḥ*), and narrative praise (*ydh*). Because future events occasion praise, the call to praise here stands at the beginning and at the end of the psalm. Similarly, 67:4–6 (*ydh*) distinguishes between the two. In 63:12 *šmḥ* and *hll* as the acts of various subsj. stand as opposite poles.

(b) The eschatological words of salvation speak of the time when festival jubilation will be restored (Jer 33:11) and joyous feasts will replace fasts (Zech 8:19), when one will rejoice over deliverance (Isa 25:9; 30:29; 55:12; Zech 10:7). The tendency arises to describe the era of salvation as a permanent state of joy (Isa 29:19; 35:10 = 51:11; 51:3; 61:7; 65:13; Jer 31:13). Just as the besieged already break out in jubilation over the news of relief forces (1 Sam 11:9), the same reaction can be expected of the audience of an announcement of salvation. In various ways they are consequently called explicitly to such jubilation (Isa 66:10; Jer 31:7; Zeph 3:14; Zech 2:14).

On the basis of texts that call the “daughters of Zion” to rejoice, F. Crüsemann (*Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel* [1969], 55ff.) develops the fantastic reconstruction of a call-to-joy genre that would have originally been a promise of salvation addressed to women in the context of the fertility cult and may have been applied to other realms, as though there were ever a time in which the end of a woman’s infertility was the only possible content of an announcement of salvation and thus genre specific. Besides, all the texts cited by Crüsemann are addressed to collective entities. G. Mansfeld (“Der Ruf zur Freude im AT” [diss., Heidelberg, 1965]) appropriately, if one-sidedly, regards the call to rejoice in some of the same texts as related to the announcement of victory.

(c) The use of the prep. *le* already linguistically distinguishes malicious glee over another’s misfortune. The supplicant laments the malicious glee of his opponents (Psa 35:15; in the communal lament, Lam 2:17; Psa 89:43); he asks that they be unable to rejoice over him (35:19, 24; 38:17) and looks forward in the confession of confidence to his triumph over the enemies (58:11; cf. Job 22:19 and, with Israel as the speaker, Mic 7:8). The delivered are thankful that the enemies have not triumphed (Psa 30:2). In Isa 14:8 one rejoices over the death of the tyrant. The oracles against the nations charge the nations with malicious glee (Isa 14:29; Jer

50:11; Ezek 25:6; 35:14f.; 36:5; Obad 12; cf. Lam 4:21, also Amos 6:13 in the accusation against Israel). Prov 17:5 and 24:17 consider malicious glee objectionable, as does Job 31:29 in the profession of innocence.

5. In the literature from Qumran, as in the OT, *śmḥ* or *śimḥâ* occurs in the lament, praise, and esp. in eschatological words of salvation. They do not, however, characterize the present in terms of paradox (contra H. Conzelmann, *TDNT* 9:364). For the most part, the LXX translates with *euphrainein* and *euphrosynē*, only rarely with *chairein* and compounds or with *chara* (cf. R. Bultmann, “εὐφραίνω,” *TDNT* 2:772–75; H. Conzelmann, “χαίρω,” *TDNT* 9:359–72).

E. Ruprecht

## 𐤑𐤍𐤔 *śn*<sup>ʔ</sup> to hate

S 8130; BDB 971a; *HALOT* 3:1338a; *ThWAT* 7:828–39; *TWOT* 2272; *NIDOTTE* 8533

1. The root *śn*<sup>ʔ</sup> “to hate” is common in WSem. (except Eth.; cf. *WUS* no. 2648; *UT* no. 2449; *DISO* 311; KBL 925f., 1127; *LS* 483; Arab. *šn*<sup>ʔ</sup>, Wehr 487b; Conti Rossini 250); the Akk. counterpart is *šru* (*CAD* Z:97–99).

Like → *ʔhb* “to love,” *śn*<sup>ʔ</sup> occurs in the qal, ni. (“to be hated”), and pi. (ptcp. “enemy”; cf. *HP* 224). The qal ptcp. is often subst.: “hater” = “enemy” (also Moab. and Old Aram.). *śin*<sup>ʔâ</sup> “hate” (fem. qal inf.; cf. Ug. and Phoen.) and once the adj. *śānî*<sup>ʔ</sup> “hated, displaced (wife)” (Deut 21:15, probably a variant for the qal pass. ptcp.) occur as nom. derivatives.

2. The 164 instances of the root in the Hebr. OT are distributed as follows: *śn*<sup>ʔ</sup> qal (incl. *śônē*<sup>ʔ</sup>) 129x (Psa 32x, Prov 23x, Deut 18x, Gen and 2 Sam 7x each), ni. 2x (Prov 14:17 [txt?], 20), pi. 15x (Psa 9x), *śin*<sup>ʔâ</sup> 17x (Psa and Prov 4x each), *śānî*<sup>ʔ</sup> 1x (see 1). In Bibl. Aram. the pe. ptcp. *śānē*<sup>ʔ</sup> occurs once in the meaning “enemy” (Dan 4:16).

3. No other verbs compete seriously with *śn*<sup>ʔ</sup> qal in its general meaning “to hate” (obj. usually person; abs., Eccl 3:8; obj. things: Exod 18:21; Ezek 35:6; Amos 5:15, 21; Mic 3:2; Psa 45:8; 50:17; 97:10; 101:3; 119:104, 128, 163; 120:6; Job 34:17; Prov 1:22, 29; 5:12; 11:15; 12:1; 13:5; 15:10, 27; 28:16; Eccl 2:17f.), as is also true of its opposite *ʔhb* “to love,” with which it often appears (→ *ʔhb* III/1; cf. also Psa 97:10; Prov 14:20). By contrast, the subst. qal and pi. ptcps. *śônē*<sup>ʔ</sup> and *m<sup>e</sup>śannē*<sup>ʔ</sup> “hater” usually

parallel → *ʔōyēb* (3a) “enemy” and other synonyms such as *šar* (→ *šrr* [3/4]). In the meaning “to be hated,” derivatives of *bʔš* “to stink” also occur in metaphors (ni. 1 Sam 13:4; 2 Sam 10:6; 16:21; hi. 1 Sam 27:12; Isa 30:5 K; Prov 13:5; cf. hitpo. “to make oneself hated,” 1 Chron 19:6).

The semantic scope of *śnʔ* reaches from the strongly affective “to hate” (intensified by *śinʔâ* as an inner obj. [cognate acc.]: “with great hatred” 2 Sam 13:15; “with evil hatred” Psa 25:19; “with complete hatred” Psa 139:22), sometimes also ingressively “to begin to hate, learn to hate” (e.g., 2 Sam 13:15; Jer 12:8; Hos 9:15), to a somewhat diluted “to feel aversion for, not want, avoid” (e.g., Prov 11:15; 19:7; 25:17; with obj. *bešaʕ* “gain,” Exod 18:21; Prov 28:16); similar to Akk. *šru* (see 1), e.g., in Gilg. XI:26 “let riches go, seek life!” The nearest verbal par. of *śnʔ* is → *tʕ* pi. “to abhor” (Amos 5:10; 6:8 txt em; Psa 119:163; cf. *tôʕebâ* “abomination,” Deut 12:31; Jer 44:4; Prov 6:16); cf. also *qûṭ* hitpo. “to abhor” (Psa 139:21), *nqʕ min* “to be disgusted with” (Ezek 23:28), → *mʔs* “to despise” (Amos 5:21), → *nʔš* “to disdain” (Prov 5:12), and → *rḥq min* “to avoid” (Prov 19:7).

In reference to the relationship between man and woman, *śnʔ* usually implies a contrast to the expected or prior relationship of love: “to hate” (Ezek 23:29) signifies, then, “to love no longer, develop dislike for,” etc. (Deut 22:13, 16; 24:3; Judg 14:16; 15:2; 2 Sam 13:15). The qal fem. ptcp. *śʕnûʔâ* indicates an unloved, scorned woman (Prov 30:23; Sir 7:26; cf. Isa 60:15, Zion par. *ʕzûbâ* “abandoned”). A clearly relative usage of *śnʔ* describes one of a man’s two wives as *ʔhûbâ* “preferred,” and the other as *śʕnûʔâ* “less beloved, neglected, scorned wife” (Gen 29:31, 33, Leah; Deut 21:15–17, inheritance law).

*śnʔ* in these passages does not refer to divorce, although *śnʔ* in the Aram. Elephantine Papyri can assume the technical meaning “to divorce from” in juristic formulae (cf. e.g., *DISO* 311 with bibliog.; R. Yaron, *JSS* 3 [1958]: 32–34; id., *Introduction to the Law of the Aramaic Papyri* [1961], 101f.; A. Verger, *Ricerche giuridiche sui papiri aramaici di Elefantina* [1965], 118 with bibliog.).

4. (a) Yahweh can also be depicted anthropomorphically as hating not just ungodly things and acts (Deut 12:31; 16:22, heathen practices; Isa 1:14; Amos 5:21, feasts; Isa 61:8, theft; Jer 44:4, abomination; Amos 6:8, palaces as expressions of arrogance; Mal 2:16 txt em; Psa 36:3, guilt, expressed indirectly; Prov 6:16 and 8:13, evil) but also persons: his people and heritage (Jer 12:8; Hos 9:15 in the prophetic accusation; Deut 1:27; 9:28, citation of the false objection against God), Esau (Mal 1:3, emphasizing divine sovereignty; cf. Elliger, *ATD* 25, 179f.), evildoers (Psa 5:6; 11:5), idol worshipers (Psa 31:7 txt em).

(b) Yahweh appears as the object of his enemies’ hatred only in

general statements with the qal ptcp. (Exod 20:5 = Deut 5:9 [cf. J. Scharbert, *Bib* 38 (1957): 134ff.]; Deut 7:10[bis]; 2 Chron 19:2) or the pi. ptcp. (Num 10:35; Deut 32:41; Psa 68:2; 81:16; 83:3; 139:21); cf. also → *ʿōyēb* 4.

(c) *śnʿ* plays an important role in regulations describing legal or illegal killing (Num 35:20 “if he has pushed someone in hatred” [cf. v 21 *ʿēbā* “animosity”]; Deut 19:11; by contrast, Deut 4:42 “without having previously been his enemy”; 19:4, 6; Josh 20:5). A generally formulated prohibition against fraternal hatred appears first in the Holiness Code, Lev 19:17: “you should not hate your brother in your heart” (on this and the positive version of the commandment of brotherly love in v 18, cf. → *ʿhb* IV/1).

5. The LXX usually renders *śnʿ* with *misein*. The Qumran texts often speak of hatred in the context of the contrast between good and evil (Kuhn, *Konk.* 213). In Luke 14:26 (cf. Matt 10:37), “the negatived *misein* is a Sem.-type substitute for the comparative ‘love more than’” (J. Jeremias, *NT Theology* [1971], 224). Regarding the NT, cf. also O. Michel, “μίσέω,” *TDNT* 4:683–94.

E. Jenni

## לְשׂוֹן *śʿōl* realm of the dead

S 7585; BDB 982b; *HAL* 4:1274a; *ThWAT* 7:901–10; *TWOT* 2303c; *NIDOTTE* 8619

1. The fem. subst. *śʿōl* is one of the designations for the realm of the dead peculiar to Hebr. It appears as a loanword in Syr. (*LS* 773) and Eth. (Dillmann 376f.); regarding an instance in the Aram. Elephantine texts, see Cowley no. 71.15 (Leander 95; *DISO* 286).

The etymology of the word is an old and widely discussed problem. Despite all efforts, no final conclusion has yet been reached.

(1) The older attempts at derivation proceed from → *śʿl* “to ask, require”: “Place of inquiry” (König 474), “the craving” (mentioned in Gesenius, *Thesaurus* 3:1348, in reference to Prov 30:16 and orcus rapax in Catullus); cf. also W. F. Albright, *JBL* 75 [1956]: 257. Another Hebr. etymology rests on the assumption of a second root *śʿl* < *śʿl* “to hollow out” (Gesenius, op. cit.).

(2) Akk. etymologies have also been attempted (on this and the previous attempt, see L. Köhler, *TZ* 2 [1946]: 71f.; regarding the frequently appearing “ghost-word” *śuʿālu*, cf. W. von Soden, *UF* 2 [1970]: 331f.). An attempt to derive *śʿōl* from *śuʿāra*, the name

of Tammuz's dwelling in the underworld, mentioned by Albright and further developed by W. Baumgartner (*TZ* 2 [1946]: 233–35), at least deserves serious consideration.

(3) E. Dévaud (*Sphinx* 13 [1910]: 120f.) assumes an Eg. derivation.

(4) The most highly regarded explanation was suggested by Köhler (op. cit. 71–74; id., *JSS* 1 [1956]: 9, 19f.). He derives *š<sup>e</sup>ōl* from *š<sup>h</sup>* “to be desolate, be devastated.” The final *-l* would not be a root consonant, then, but a morpheme, as in *karmel* “orchard” (cf. *kerem* “vineyard”; BL 503). Regarding the vocalization, Köhler refers to *š<sup>e</sup>mōl* “left” as “companion until the end.”

If one accepts Köhler's etymology, *š<sup>e</sup>ōl* would belong to a richly developed family of words. The semantic range of *š<sup>h</sup>* is not entirely clear, however. GB 796b accepts a second root *š<sup>h</sup>* hitp. “to regard” (Gen 24:21) and thinks it necessary because of remaining lexical evidence to distinguish between two meanings of *š<sup>h</sup>* I: “to make a noise” and “to be desolate.” KBL 935a attributes the disparate meanings to three different roots: I “to be desolate,” II “to roar (rage),” III “to be gazing at (consider)”; cf. the derivation of *šā<sup>h</sup>ōn*, which KBL divides between the first two roots: I “waste, desolate country,” II “roar, din.”

It is questionable, however, whether the semasiological evidence supports such an etymological partition. An original semantic content in which audible and visible were combined seems to lie behind “to make noise” and “to be ruined.” The cohesive link seems to lie in the concept of disorder and disorganization manifest acoustically as “noise” and visually as “ruin,” i.e., degenerate, uninhabitable space. A similar semantic content is present in *hāmōn* “uproar, tumult, crowd” (85x in the OT, 26x in Ezek), which combines the concepts of noise and movement (cf. G. Gerleman, FS Elliger 71–75).

The word family *š<sup>h</sup>* includes the nom. forms: *šā<sup>h</sup>ōn* “ruin, uproar,” *š<sup>e</sup>ōyā* “destruction” (Isa 24:12), *šē<sup>h</sup>* “destruction” (Lam 3:47), *šō<sup>h</sup>ā* probably also “disaster, storm” (cf. R. B. Y. Scott, *ZAW* 64 [1952]: 24; J. T. Milik, *Bib* 38 [1957]: 249f.), *šō<sup>h</sup>* (Psa 35:17 txt?), *m<sup>e</sup>šō<sup>h</sup>ā* “destruction” (Zeph 1:15; Job 30:3; 38:27), and *t<sup>e</sup>šū<sup>h</sup>ōt* “noise” (Isa 22:2; Zech 4:7; Job 36:29; 39:7).

2. The subst. *š<sup>e</sup>ōl* occurs 66x in the OT (incl. Isa 7:11 *š<sup>e</sup>ālā*): Psa 16x, Isa 10x, Prov 9x, Job 8x, Ezek 5x, Gen 4x, Num, 1 Kgs, and Hos 2x each, also Deut 32:22; 1 Sam 2:6; 2 Sam 22:6; Amos 9:2; Jonah 2:3; Hab 2:5; Song Sol 8:6; Eccl 9:10. The word belongs primarily to poetic language; half the instances occur in Psa, Job, and Prov.

Other terms of the word family are rather weakly attested: the verb *š<sup>h</sup>* 6x (qal 1x, ni. 3x, hi. 2x), *šā<sup>h</sup>ōn* 18x, *šō<sup>h</sup>ā* 12x, *t<sup>e</sup>šū<sup>h</sup>ōt* 4x, *m<sup>e</sup>šō<sup>h</sup>ā* 3x, *šō<sup>h</sup>*, *šē<sup>h</sup>*, and *š<sup>e</sup>ōyā* 1x each.

3. The verb *š<sup>h</sup>* combines a dual semantic content: “to make noise” and “to be ruined.” Derivatives stress either the acoustic or the spatial

aspect. The former is almost exclusively the case for *šāʾôn* “noise, uproar” (only Psa 40:3 seems to mean “ruin”), the latter for the other derivatives (except for *tšūʾôt*), which express the concept of ruin, destruction (concretely or abstractly; for the synonymous verbs → *šmm*).

4. A restriction of the verbal meaning in the direction of “ruin” also seems present in *šʿôl*, if one derives the word as “nonregion” from *šʿh*; *šʿôl* is described as the negative counterpart of the earth (cf. N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and Nether World in the OT* [1969], 212; regarding the individual religious concepts that cannot be treated extensively here, and regarding the various designations for the underworld, cf. Tromp, op. cit. as well as e.g., T. H. Gaster, *IDB* 1:787f.; H. Schmid, *RGG* 6:912f.; S. Schulz, *BHH* 3:2014f.; H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* [1963], 222ff.; G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* [1972], 219f.; A. Heidel, *Gilgamesh Epic and OT Parallels* [1949], 137ff.; C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des AT* [1947], 76ff.; A. Martin-Achard, *From Death to Life* [1960], 36–46; L. Wächter, *Der Tod im AT* [1967], 48ff., 181ff. (with bibliog.).

Notably, *šʿôl* appears frequently, esp. with preps., in place designations that depict the underworld as the destination or origin of a movement and thus suggest a local understanding (“into *šʿôl*” in somewhat more than half the instances, “out of *šʿôl*” 8x, “in *šʿôl*,” 5x). Among the cs. phrases (where *šʿôl* always appears as the governed noun), a few could, indeed, suggest the notion of a living being: “jaws of *šʿôl*” (Isa 5:14) or the image of the eagerly waiting or insatiable *šʿôl* (Isa 14:9; Prov 30:16). More often, however, the local character of *šʿôl* is underscored: “ways/depths/gates of *šʿôl*.”

*šʿôl* “underworld” and → *šāmayim* “heaven” could be juxtaposed in order to indicate the lowest and the highest regions of the cosmos (Isa 7:11 txt em; Amos 9:2; Psa 139:8; for a similar usage of the Sum./Akk. *kigallu*, see K. Tallqvist, *Sumerisch-akkadische Namen der Totenwelt* [1934], 5).

As among the Babylonians, traces of a concept of the realm of the dead as a prison also occur in the OT, in discussions of the entangling bands of *šʿôl* (2 Sam 22:6 = Psa 18:6) or of ransom from the power of *šʿôl* (Hos 13:14; Psa 49:16; cf. Tallqvist, op. cit. 37f.).

*ʾabaddôn* “destruction, realm of the dead” (par. Job 26:6; Prov 15:11; 27:20 Q; otherwise Psa 88:12; Job 28:22; 31:12), which is attested only 6x and which, like *šʿôl*, suggests spatial concepts, appears as a synonym for *šʿôl*. Elsewhere various other expressions parallel *šʿôl*, although one cannot speak of proper, firmly established designations for the underworld. Instead, they involve incidental epithets such as *qeber* “grave” (Psa 88:12), *šahat* “pit” (Isa 38:17; Jonah 2:7; Psa 16:10; 30:10; Job 17:14, etc.), *bôr*

“pit, cistern” (Isa 14:15; 38:18; Ezek 32:18; Psa 30:4; 88:5, 7, etc.), *māwet* “death” (Psa 6:6; 9:14; 18:6; Job 28:22, etc.).

While *eršetu* is the favorite and most common name for the underworld and the realm of the death among the Babylonians (Tallqvist, op. cit. 8ff.), a corresponding usage of the Hebr. → *ʿereš* (3b) as a fixed designation cannot be demonstrated; yet cf. Exod 15:12; Isa 14:12; 29:4; Jonah 2:7; Jer 17:13 txt em; Psa 22:30 txt em. (cf. also Tromp, op. cit. 23–46; M. Ottosson, *TDOT* 1:399f.).

Regarding the theological value of *šʿōl* in the OT, cf. → *māwet* (3b, 4) and Barth, op. cit.; von Rad, *Theol.* 1:388f. Only rarely is the negative state in *šʿōl* more precisely depicted beyond isolated details and occasional fig. usages (Isa 14:9ff.; cf. H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the OT* [1974], 102f.; Ezek 32:20ff.; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:152, 172ff.). The most significant theological factor for those dwelling in *šʿōl* is exclusion from Yahweh’s cult and historical acts (Isa 38:18 “for the underworld does not praise you”; Psa 6:6 “for in death, one does not remember you; who will praise you in the underworld?”; cf. Psa 88:4ff.; von Rad, op. cit.), although Yahweh’s omnipotence also applies to *šʿōl* (Amos 9:2; Psa 139:8; cf. also Deut 32:22; Job 26:6; Prov 15:11). According to OT understanding, prior to physical death *šʿōl* already intrudes into life in illness, distress, imprisonment, etc. Both the lament and the praise of the deliverer in the Psa should be understood against this background (2 Sam 22:6 = Psa 18:6; Jonah 2:3; Psa 88:4; 116:3, etc.; further, 1 Sam 2:6; Psa 16:10; 30:4; 49:16; 86:13, etc.; cf. Barth, op. cit.).

5. The Qumran texts use *šʿōl* in a manner similar to the OT (8x in 1QH). The LXX normally translates the word with *hadēs*; *thanatos* occurs in 2 Sam 22:6; Isa 28:15; Prov 23:14. An expansion of the meaning of the word *šʿōl/hadēs* may be noted in the NT era: in addition to the old use as a designation for the entire world of the dead, the word can refer to the interepochal way station either of all the dead or of the souls of the godless; cf. J. Jeremias, “αἴθρῆς,” *TDNT* 1:146–49; H. Bietenhard, “Hell,” *DNTT* 2:205–10.

G. Gerleman

## שׂאֵל *šʿl* to ask, request

S 7592; BDB 981a; *HAL* 4:1276b; *ThWAT* 7:910–26; *TWOT* 2303; *NIDOTTE* 8626

1. The common Sem. root  $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}$  (Berg., *Intro.* 218f.; cf. *WUS* no. 2566; *UT* no. 2369; *DISO* 169, 286f.; Sznycer 58, 107; *LS* 748) appears in Hebr. primarily as a verb (qal “to ask, request,” ni. “to ask permission,” pi. “to ask, beg,” hi. “to allow oneself to be petitioned”). Two verbal abstracts derive from the verbal root:  $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}\text{ēlā}$  “request” (1 Sam 1:17, contracted  $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}\text{ēlā}$ ) and  $\text{miš}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}\text{ālā}$  “craving” ( $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}\text{ālā}$  Isa 7:11 derives from  $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}\text{ōl}$ ; cf. Joüon §32c; Nyberg 41; Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 285).  $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}$  qal “to ask, demand” and  $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}\text{ēlā}$  “question” occur in Bibl. Aram. (cf. KBL 1127).

The root also occurs in the PNs  $\text{šā}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}\text{ūl}$  (about 400x) and  $\text{yiš}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}\text{āl}$  (Ezra 10:29 K), perhaps also in the folk etymology of  $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}\text{altū}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}\text{ēl}$  (cf. *IP* 63, 136, 209; moreover, Gröndahl 191; Stark 113a). Regarding the place-name  $\text{ʔ}\text{štā}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}\text{ōl}$  (“place for requesting oracles”), cf. H. Bauer, *ZAW* 48 (1930): 77; *HAL* 96b.

2. The verb occurs 171x in the Hebr. OT with notable frequency in the historical books (1 Sam 31x, 1 Kgs 15x, Judg 14x, Gen 13x): qal 162x (1 Sam 26x, 1 Kgs 15x, Judg 14x, Gen 13x, Jer 11x, 2 Sam 10x, Psa 9x, Deut 8x, Isa and Job 7x each, Exod, 2 Kgs, and 2 Chron 6x each, Josh and 1 Chron 5x each), ni. 5x (1 Sam 20:6[bis], 28[bis]; Neh 13:6), pi. 2x (2 Sam 20:18; Psa 109:10), hi. 2x (Exod 12:36; 1 Sam 1:28).  $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}\text{ēlā}$  occurs 14x (incl.  $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}\text{ēlā}$  1 Sam 1:17; 6x in Esth),  $\text{miš}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}\text{ālā}$  2x (Psa 20:6; 37:4, both times in the pl.).  $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}$  pe. is attested 6x in Bibl. Aram.,  $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}\text{ēlā}$  1x (Dan 4:14).

3. (a) The two related meanings “to ask” and “to request” are in approximate equilibrium within the semantic realm of  $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}$ . An original basic meaning may underlie these two meanings that did not yet clearly distinguish between the concepts of asking and requesting (e.g., “to appeal to someone,” “to seek something”), which placed secondary importance on the goal of the appeal and thus did not generate a stratification of the term. Other related verbs are comparable, esp. →  $\text{drš}$  (cf. C. Westermann, “Die Begriffe für Fragen und Suchen im AT,” *KerD* 6 [1960]: 2–30). Lat. *rogare* and Fr. *demandeur* are also comparable. It can also be pointed out that Hebr. voluntative clauses are frequently formed as questions (BrSynt §9).

(b) In the sense “to ask” = “to turn to someone with the intention to learn about something,”  $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}$  (usually strengthened by →  $\text{ʔmr}$ ) is a verb of speech and usually introduces a direct or an indirect question. While the addressee stands as a direct obj., the topic of inquiry is introduced by *le* (Gen 32:20; 43:7; Deut 4:32; Judg 13:18; 2 Kgs 8:6; Jer 6:16; Job 8:8), rarely as a direct obj. (Isa 58:2; Jer 50:5).

With an attenuation of the cognitive significance,  $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔ}$  occurs in the sense of “to ask about something, be concerned about something” (cf. →  $\text{ydc}$ , whose range of meaning embraces both “to learn” as well as “to be concerned about”). The shift in meaning toward the emotional is less

prominent with *šʕl*, however, than with  $\rightarrow drš$  and is almost exclusively restricted to the formula of greeting “to inquire about someone’s status ( $\rightarrow šālôm$ )” (Gen 43:27; Exod 18:7; Judg 18:15; 1 Sam 10:4; 17:22; 30:21; 2 Sam 8:10 = 1 Chron 18:10; 2 Sam 11:7; cf. Jer 15:5; Psa 122:6).

Psa 35:11 seems to use the verb as a legal term, perhaps in the meaning “to accuse” (cf. T. H. Gaster, *VT* 4 [1954]: 73; on a similar usage in Aram. see J. J. Rabinowitz, *Bib* 41 [1960]: 73f.).

Regarding *bʕh qal* “to ask” in Isa 21:12, see *HAL* 135b; contra C. Rabin, *FS Rinaldi* 303–9.

(c) As a term of request, *šʕl* has a broad scope of usage, from the humble petition (1 Kgs 2:16, 20, 22) to the blunt demand (2 Sam 3:13; Mic 7:3). The semantic scope of *šʕl* also includes “to beg” (Psa 109:10 pi.; *HP* 145: “to live on credit”) and “to borrow, ask for a loan” (Exod 22:13; 2 Kgs 4:3; 6:5; cf. the PN *šāʕûl*, according to *IP* 136 not “to request” but, following 1 Sam 1:28, “lent (to Yahweh)”; Exod 3:22; 11:2; 12:35 probably not to the contrary).

Objs. include primarily concrete things (the verbal abstract *šʕēlâ* as an inner obj. [cognate acc.] in Judg 8:24; 1 Sam 1:17, 27; 1 Kgs 2:16, 20). The subj. is always a person, with the exception of Eccl 2:10 (“what my eyes desired”).

4. (a) In theological contexts *šʕl* means, first of all, the question of one seeking an oracle. This usage concerns requests for a decision that could be answered yes or no. The verb remarkably often indicates inquiries of God in this limited sense (in contrast e.g., to the interrogation of the priest in Hag 2:11) in 1 Sam (1 Sam 10:22; 14:37; 22:10, 13, 15; 23:2, 4; 28:6; 30:8; to be supplemented in Westermann, *KerD* 6:11f. by: 2 Sam 2:1; 5:19, 23 = 1 Chron 14:10, 14). For the details, cf.  $\rightarrow drš$  4b; Westermann, op. cit. 9–14; G. Turbessi, “Quaerere Deum: Il tema della ‘ricerca di Dio’ nella S. Scrittura,” *RivB* 10 [1962]: 282–96; J. Lindblom, “Lot-Casting in the OT,” *VT* 12 [1962]: 164–78; O. García de la Fuente, *La b’squeda de Dios en el Antiguo Testamento* [1971]).

The question of the one seeking an oracle can also be addressed to oracle givers other than Yahweh: to a tree (Hos 4:12), to a ghost (1 Chron 10:13), the  $\rightarrow tʕrāpîm$  (Ezek 21:23); cf. also Num 27:21 “the decision of the Urim.” The one asked is almost always indicated by *be*. The construction with a direct per. obj. is rare in theological contexts (Deut 18:11; Josh 9:14; Isa 30:2). Yahweh as the inquiring subj. occurs only in Job 38:3 and 40:7.

(b) As a verb of petition, *šʕl* occurs often in theological contexts. In contrast to  $\rightarrow pll$  hitp. (“to plead in distress”), *šʕl* always expresses a trans.

process (“to petition someone for something”). The theological realm coincides precisely, then, with profane usage; no specifically theological usage may be noted. This observation means that, in contrast to → *drš*, *šʾl* is never used either as a cultic term or as a comprehensive designation for relationship with God. Requests addressed to God can have various objs. (cf. e.g., 1 Kgs 3:11). In rare cases with Yahweh as the petitioner, *šʾl* (like *drš*) acquires the meaning “to demand” (Deut 10:12; Psa 40:7).

5. Of ten instances of *šʾl* at Qumran (published to date in Kuhn, *Konk.* 215), nine are in the ni. (“to be inquired of” 1QS 6:4, 9, 11, 15, 18; 7:21[bis]; 8:25; CD 14:6) and one in the qal (1QS 6:12 “to inquire”).

In accord with its dual sense, the LXX translates *šʾl* with *erōtan* or *aitein*; on NT usage of these verbs, cf. G. Stählin, “αἰτέω,” *TDNT* 1:191–195; H. Greeven, “ἐρωτάω,” *TDNT* 2:685–89.

G. Gerleman

## 𐤔𐤌𐤕 *šʾr* to remain

S 7604; BDB 983b; *HAL* 4:1280b; *ThWAT* 7:933–50; *TWOT* 2307; *NIDOTTE* 8636

1. The root *šʾr* “to remain” occurs outside Hebr. in Aram. (verb and subst. since the Elephantine texts; cf. *DISO* 287f.; *KBL* 1128a; *LS* 774a: Syr. only *šʿyārāʾ* “remnant”; regarding Jew.-Aram. *šʿār* “total, all,” see L. Prijs, *ZDMG* 117 [1967]: 283f.), in Arab. (*saʿira* “to remain,” Wehr 391a), and in old SArab. (ptcp. *sʿr* “remaining,” Conti Rossini 192b). It may not yet be definitely determined whether it also occurs in Ug. (cf. *WUS* no. 2570; J. C. de Moor, *Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu* [1971], 211).

Regarding the remnant concept in Mesopotamia, cf. the ample materials in G. F. Hasel, *The Remnant* (1972), 50–100 (pp. 1–44 bibliog. and summary of research on the OT). One can determine that it occurs in various literary genres since the oldest Sum. version of the flood narrative (epic, lament, hymn, historical texts, “prophecies”) and is often accompanied by the motif of survival. Terms for “remnant” appear only relatively late, however: Hasel first identifies significant usages of the Akk. verb *sātu* “to let remain” (also *sittu* “remnant”) and the subst. *rīhtu* “remnant” in the Erra Epic (op. cit. 82ff.). A few informative PNs should also be included: *dnabû-rīhta-ušur* “Nabû, protect the one(s) remaining!” etc. (a reference to the death of followers; cf. Stamm, *AN* 288), *rīhat-danu*, etc. (id., 305), *e-ri-ḥa-am* “He remains to me” (said by the mother, id., 306), *i-ši-ta-ma-an* (perhaps: “Who is left to me?” id. 306).

In addition to the verbal forms of the root in the qal (only 1 Sam 16:11 txt?), ni., and hi., the OT has the two subst. *š<sup>e</sup>ār* (BL 470; Wagner 122) and *š<sup>e</sup>ērîṭ* (BL 505) “remnant”; Bibl. Aram. has only *š<sup>e</sup>ār*.

2. The following table details the occurrences and distribution of the terms (incl. *š<sup>e</sup>ār* Isa 7:3; excl. Jer 15:11 Q):

	qal	ni.	hi.	<i>š<sup>e</sup>ār</i>	<i>š<sup>e</sup>ērîṭ</i>	total
				(Aram.)		
Gen –	5	–	–	–	1	6
Exod –	7	1	–	–	–	8
Lev –	4	–	–	–	–	4
Num –	1	2	–	–	–	3
Deut –	5	4	–	–	–	9
Josh –	8	9	–	–	–	17
Judg –	2	1	–	–	–	3
1 Sam	1	4	3	–	–	7
2 Sam	–	1	–	–	–	1
1 Kgs–	1	3	–	–	–	4
2 Kgs–	11	6	–	–	3	20
Isa –	8	–	13	6	–	27
Jer –	14	4	–	–	24	42
Ezek –	4	–	–	–	7	11
Hos –	–	–	–	–	–	–
Joel –	–	1	–	–	–	1
Amos–	–	2	–	–	3	5
Obad–	–	1	–	–	–	1
Jonah	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mic –	–	–	–	–	5	5
Nah –	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hab –	–	–	–	–	–	–
Zeph –	–	1	1	–	3	5
Hag –	1	–	–	–	3	4
Zech –	3	–	–	–	3	6
Mal –	–	–	–	1	–	1
Psa –	–	–	–	–	1	1
Job –	1	–	–	–	–	1
Prov –	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ruth –	2	–	–	–	–	2
Song Sol	–	–	–	–	–	–
Eccl –	–	–	–	–	–	–
Lam –	–	–	–	–	–	–
Esth –	–	–	–	2	–	2

Dan	–	3	–	–	(4)	–	3
Ezra	–	2	1	3	(8)	1	7
Neh	–	3	–	3	1	7	
1 Chron	–	1	–	–	2	2	5
2 Chron	–	3	–	–	2	2	7
OT	1	94	38	27	(12)	66	226

*šc ʿār* occurs exactly 13x in Isa 10–28, constituting about half the occurrences (the other passages with *š<sup>e</sup>ʿār* are all post-Isaianic). More than one-third of the *š<sup>e</sup>ʿērît* passages occur in the book of Jer (usually in secondary passages).

3. The basic meaning of the root is clearly “to remain” (so *qal* and *ni.*; *šʿr* *hi.* is causative: “to leave over, leave behind”; in Amos 5:3 “to have excess”). The *ni.* is readily used in the *ptcp.* form (14x in the *sg.*, 28x in the *pl.*), and occasionally this *ptcp.* does not differ from one of the two *subst.* (e.g., Isa 4:3). It is even less possible to distinguish a fundamental difference in meaning between the two *subst.* *š<sup>e</sup>ʿār* and *š<sup>e</sup>ʿērît* “excess, remnant”; both can be used as abstracts representing the concrete (“the remaining”), and similarly, the *ni. sg. ptcp.* *nišʿār* can appear as a collective.

In terms of meaning, *šʿr* closely approximates the root *ytr* (*ni.* “to remain over” [82x, incl. 2 Sam 17:12, where the verbal form can also be understood as a *hi.*, however]; *hi.* “to leave over” [24x]; *yeter* “remnant” [95x]; *yitrâ* “remainder” [2x]; *yitrôn* “gain, advantage” [10x in Eccl]; *yôtēr* “remnant, excess” [9x]; *yôteret* “lobes [of the liver]” [11x; cf. L. Rost, ZAW 79 [1967]: 35–41]; *môtār* “advantage” [3x]; Bibl. Aram. *yattîr* “extraordinary, very” [8x]; also a series of PNs such as *yitrô* and *ʿebyātār*, cf. *IP* 193), although with the nuance that *ytr* can indicate not only the remainder but also the excess (cf. e.g., *ni.* Josh 11:11, 22; Isa 4:3; Jer 34:7; *yeter* Exod 10:5; Deut 3:11, 13; Josh 23:12; with *hi.* Exod 36:7; Deut 28:11; 30:9; *yeter* Isa 56:12; Psa 31:24, etc.). This difference is reflected in the fact that *ytr*, but not *šʿr* (except for the symbolic name Shear-jashub), is used to form PNs (in the sense of “excess, wealth”). Nevertheless, *ytr* often parallels *šʿr*.

Second, *šʿr* is accompanied by the root → *plṭ* “to escape” (in verbal and *nom.* formations), esp. in equal proportions with *šʿr ni.* (Gen 32:9; 2 Kgs 19:30, etc.), *hi.* (Josh 8:22; Ezra 9:8), *š<sup>e</sup>ʿār* (Isa 10:20), and *š<sup>e</sup>ʿērît* (Gen 45:7; Isa 15:9, etc.). This phenomenon is easily explained: that which remains is often that which has been delivered or which has escaped, so that the *subst.* *šārîd* “escapee” (→ *plṭ* 3d) also occurs in proximity with *šʿr* (Num 21:35; Josh 8:22, etc.). Since the reduction of a people or a group of people is a consequence of a catastrophe of war, as a rule *nkh hi.* “to

strike” (Gen 32:9; Num 21:35; 1 Chron 4:43, etc.), *šmd* hi. “to destroy” (2 Sam 14:7), or *krt* hi. “to eradicate” (Isa 14:22) also naturally appear in the word field of *šr*. A remnant can be great or small; consequently, it can be said that “only” (*raq*) a small number remains as a remnant (so e.g., Deut 3:11). Under some circumstances, however, it can be maintained that no one remains (in various formulae with *šr* ni., e.g., Exod 14:28; Josh 8:17; Judg 4:16; 2 Kgs 10:21; with *šr* hi., Num 21:35; Deut 2:34; 3:3; Josh 8:22; 10:28–40; 1 Sam 14:36; 2 Kgs 10:14, etc.).

In everyday usage in the most varied situations, the OT speaks of a remnant, of what remains behind, or of what is left behind: the remnant of food (1 Sam 9:24 ni.; Judg 6:4 hi.; cf. Arab. *sṛ* IV, Lane 4:1282), grain, wine, oil, etc. (Deut 28:51 hi.), the gleanings of the grape harvest (Isa 17:6 ni.; Jer 49:9 = Obad 5, hi.; Jer 6:9 *š<sup>e</sup>ērîṭ*); money left over (Gen 47:18 ni.; 2 Chron 24:14 *š<sup>e</sup>ār*, cf. the usage of *šr* in the Elephantine texts, *DISO* 287), etc. (cf. also e.g., Num 9:12 hi.; Isa 44:17 *š<sup>e</sup>ērîṭ*, Isa 10:19 *š<sup>e</sup>ār*). The OT declares that at least one remains (Benjamin, Gen 42:38 ni.), that at least one or even none was able to escape a bloodbath (Deut 3:11; Judg 4:16; 2 Kgs 10:17 ni.; 1 Kgs 15:29 hi.). *šr* occasionally describes simply the fact that someone is still alive, while others have already died (Hag 2:3 ni.). *š<sup>e</sup>ērîṭ* can consequently assume the specialized meaning “descendants” (Gen 45:7; Jer 11:23; cf. *š<sup>e</sup>ār* Isa 14:22). The total dissolution of a family or of a people is described by a formulaic expression, e.g., that their name (*šēm*) and remnant (*š<sup>e</sup>ār* or *š<sup>e</sup>ērîṭ*) have been eradicated (2 Sam 14:7; Isa 14:22; cf. Zeph 1:4 txt?). One must take into account here the fact that for an ancient the complete destruction of the family or the people is a misfortune without equal, while one can take comfort, even in the most serious fate, if a “remnant” offers a prospect of continued existence and thus a future. This understanding of existence gives the question of the remnant in such contexts a significance that one can sense only with great difficulty against the background of the modern experience of existence (it persists, however, in the genocide concept of international law). Hasel’s conclusions concerning the Akk. material also hold true for the OT: “No remnant means no life and existence; a remnant means life and existence for the individual, community, tribe, city, or people” (op. cit. 100). The deliverance of a remnant signifies at least the possibility of survival for the totality.

Consequently, on the one hand it is hardly surprising that the concept and notion of the remnant appears repeatedly in OT discussions of serious threats to a people, occasionally through the experiences of war. Thus Amos threatens not only the Philistine cities with ruin but the *š<sup>e</sup>ērîṭ* of the Philistines with total destruction (Amos 1:8; cf. also Isa 14:30; Jer 25:20;

47:4f.). The eradication of even the remnant is announced to Babylon (Isa 14:22; Jer 50:26). The lion will come to the escapees of Moab or the remnant of Admah (Isa 15:9 NEB). On the other hand some circles in ancient Israel must have perceived as a difficult question of faith the fact that it did not find itself in sole possession of the land, rather that “remnants” of the former inhabitants survived. These circles hoped for the final expulsion of these remnants in view of the promise of the land (Deut 7:20ff.).

4. (a) The problem of the remnant must have gained even greater theological relevance for Israel in view of its own fate. Research since the beginning of the 20th cent. has devoted a great deal of effort to identifying the origin of this theologically significant remnant notion. According to H. Gressmann (*Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie* [1905], 233), it should be understood ultimately against the background of judgment eschatology whence it was adapted in salvation eschatology. In contrast, S. Mowinckel (*Psalmenstudien* [1922], 2:276–82) thinks that the remnant motif may have been a component of the enthronement myth from which Israelite eschatology arose. W. E. Müller (*Die Vorstellung vom Rest im AT* [1939]) believes that the starting point should be a concept of a political remnant that can also be identified in the ancient Near East in relation to the strategy of total annihilation. Following Sellin and Dürr, D. M. Warne (*Origin, Development and Significance of the Concept of the Remnant in the OT* [1958]; cf. the review in Hasel, op. cit. 32ff.) concludes that the remnant motif was grounded in early religious experience and was closely related to the concept of Israel’s election. It is indubitably futile, however, to seek an origin for the general remnant concept. Discussion of a remnant of Israel resulted directly from the fact that Israel could not enjoy its property and the integrity of its nationhood without threat. Thus in particular 2 Kgs and the narrative portions of the book of Jer speak often of the remnant left over or behind, without highlighting a particular theological problem. That the question of the remnant became a pressing theological problem in other cases depends, as E. Sellin (*Der atl. Prophetismus* [1912], 154ff.) has already seen, on the notion of Israel’s election, i.e., on the confrontation between the belief in election and the harsh reality of Israel’s actual fate, but also on Israel’s failure in faithfulness to Yahweh its God. The theologically ambivalent character of the remnant idea is thus comprehensible without further explanation: The survival of only a remnant of Israel, under some circumstances only a very small remnant, can be an expression of divine anger against Israel. The survival of a remnant can nevertheless be judged a sign of divine faithfulness or even of grace and forgiveness beyond all requirements of judgment. Consequently, the one-sided attribution of the theologically significant remnant idea either to the message of salvation or of judgment is erroneous; its theological locus is

both realms, often at the same time.

(b) This circumstance is already apparent in the first occurrence of *šʾr* (ni.) in the OT, in Gen 7:23 in the Yahwistic flood account: “Only Noah and that which was with him in the ark survived.” This statement, as the “only” (*ʾak*) emphasizes, concerns primarily the unprecedented harshness of the divine judgment. But Noah, who alone survived, indeed found grace (*ḥēn*) before Yahweh (6:8), and his pardon inaugurates the future of humanity; 8:22 even emphasizes an assured future in which humanity can depend on God’s faithfulness. By contrast, Gen 45:7 (E or J) unequivocally understands the survival of a *šʾerîṭ* as an act of grace. God sent Joseph to Egypt in order to “place” (*sûm*) “descendants” (*šʾerîṭ*) for his brothers in the land and to sustain them as a great number of the “delivered” (*pʾlētâ*). The association of the roots *šʾr* and *pʾl* (already in Gen 32:9) is just as significant for the gracious character of divine providence as the use of the phrase *sûm šʾerîṭ*. According to the larger context, it involves not just the fate of Jacob’s family but the future of Israel itself, foreshadowed in the patriarch’s family. Israel may cherish the certain belief that Yahweh will yet sustain a remnant as a band of those delivered through all tribulations.

The Elijah tradition significantly alters the remnant motif. The prophet, who complains that all Israel has abandoned Yahweh and he alone remains faithful to Yahweh (1 Kgs 19:10, 14 *ytr* ni., attributable to the compiler; cf. G. Fohrer, *Elia* [19682], 39), receives divine assurance that judgment will indeed bear fruit, yet “I will leave (*šʾr* hi.) seven thousand in Israel: all who have not bowed the knee before Baal” (v 18). The ambivalence is clear once again, but the remnant in this case is not merely an otherwise undefined group who assure the physical existence of the nation, but a group of the faithful who represent the core of the future people of God. This alteration already indicates that prophecy felt justified in rethinking the remnant idea.

(c) One can make the same observation concerning Amos. On the one hand, in Amos 5:3 the concept of the remnant serves solely to illustrate the severity of judgment. Nevertheless, it still allows for the fact that a remnant will survive, while according to 9:1 (*ʾahʾrîṭ* as a par. term here along with *pālîṭ*, cf. Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 335, 339f.) even the remnant is devoted to destruction (cf. also 3:12). On the other hand, 5:15 allows for the possibility that Yahweh may have mercy on a remnant (*šʾerîṭ*). The old motif of faith—at least a remnant of Israel will survive the catastrophe—is adopted here, but in a rejection characteristic of prophecy: Israel will not be spared judgment, God’s freedom cannot be restricted by dogmatically established articles of faith, and the possible (→ *ʾûlay* 4) deliverance of the remnant can only be an act of Yahweh’s grace (many exegetes, however,

question the authenticity of vv 14f.—see e.g., Wolff, op. cit. 231, 250f.—although hardly with convincing reasons).

(d) Isaiah also speaks of the remnant. J. Meinhold (*Studien zur israelitischen Religionsgeschichte 1: Der heilige Rest* [1903], 159) even thought it possible to determine that Isaiah himself originated the idea of the “holy remnant” as a clearly defined dogmatic concept, and V. Hertrich (*TDNT* 4:200f.) maintains that the notion of a holy remnant occupies a central position in Isaiah’s prophecy. It might be possible to say so if all passages in Isa 1–39 that speak of the remnant were Isaianic. In reality, as far as the root *šʾr* is concerned, only 17:3, 6 and the PN Shear-jashub may be claimed for Isaiah (cf. U. Stegemann, “Der Restgedanke bei Isaias,” *BZ NS* 13 [1969]: 161–86). Isa 17:3 speaks of a remnant of Aram, but it also announces that it will go no better for it than for the “glory of the sons of Israel.” V 6 compares this remnant with the meager gleanings of an olive tree. As in Amos 5:3, the concept of the remnant here merely explicates the severity of the expected judgment. Nor does this function change if one also includes Isa 30:17 with the par. term *ytr* (hi.). Yet even 1:8f. (*ytr* ni./hi.) should be considered. Admittedly, this passage speaks primarily only of the comprehensive nature of the judgment on Jerusalem, but v 9 alludes to the fact that even the small remnant would have fallen had not Yahweh left a small number of escapees (*śārîd*). One must understand 1:9 in terms of formulations such as those associated with holy war ideology (cf. Josh 8:22; 10:28–40; 11:8; Deut 2:34; 3:3). Because of unmerited divine grace, Israel does not suffer what other nations experience.

The interpretation of the name Shear-jashub (Isa 7:3) that Isaiah gave his son must also consider the ambivalence inherent in the term (on the difficulty of interpretation, see Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 296f.). Since the prophet receives the express command to take this son along to his meeting with Ahaz, it must be possible to understand his name as an adequate expression of the message that Isaiah was to present to the king at that time. Unfortunately, however, the sense of the Immanuel pericope, which would also be decisive for an understanding of *śeʿār*, is vigorously disputed, specifically whether it involves an announcement of disaster or of salvation. Yet one must understand the word to Ahaz in 7:7, 8a, 9 as a salvation oracle transformed by the conditional clause of v 9b into an exhortation to cling to Yahweh in faith. It is unlikely, therefore, that the name of Isaiah’s son should be understood as an expression of the certainty of repentance and thus of the surety of deliverance (cf. e.g., Meinhold, op. cit. 108f.). The contrary opinion, however, as represented by S. H. Blank (“Current Misinterpretation of Isaiah’s *Sheʿar Yashub*,” *JBL* 67 [1948]: 215) is no more justified: that the name is nothing other than a threat that only a remnant will return (from the battle). The reinterpretation

of this name in 10:21f. contradicts the understanding of *šûb* “to return” implicit in this interpretation. One must interpret it neither as an unconditional announcement of salvation nor as a prediction of unalterable judgment but as an exhortation and warning: There will be salvation, not as a fate determined by God for the remnant of Israel but only to the extent that the remnant that survives the expected catastrophe turns decisively to Yahweh. The name is, then, just as ambivalent as the Immanuel prophecy itself (cf. Wildberger, op. cit. 311ff.) and is, as it were, the positive converse of the negatively formulated clause in v 9b: “If you do not believe, you will not remain.”

(e) The collapse of the kingdom of Judah, with the severe decimation of the population by the preceding war and the exile of the upper class, confronted Israel very concretely with the question of the status of the surviving remnant. Is there any hope at all for it? The dispute concerning this question is reflected, first, in the additions to the treaty curses in Deut 28, which should be understood as vaticinia ex eventu. Israel was indeed promised that it would become as numerous as the stars of the heavens (v 62). If it is now only a small remnant, it should seek the reason in itself, in its disobedience (cf. also vv 51, 55). The curse—par. to the promise of blessing—under which it had lain since the beginning had become a reality. The fate of (exiled) Israel is even more hopeless for the supplementer of the curses in Lev 26: the remnant must live in anxiety-filled bewilderment (v 35) and will finally “decay” miserably in the lands of its enemies (cf. also Ezek 6:12; 17:21: the survivors will be scattered to the winds, “so that you will know that I, Yahweh, have spoken”; moreover, Jer 15:9; 44:12, 14).

The change to a hopeful estimation of the remnant took place in the spectacular reversal in Deutero-Isa. The woman Israel, robbed of children, infertile, who presumes herself to be completely abandoned, will see herself surrounded by sons and daughters (Isa 49:21ff.). The survivors of the house of Israel are promised Yahweh’s faithfulness and thus his “deliverance” (46:3). Notably, this *š<sup>e</sup>ērît* is addressed in the par. line as “house of Jacob.” The remnant is the true Israel; the promises made to the people of God since the beginning pertain to it.

In the first period of his activity, Ezekiel shared with Deut 28 and Lev 26 the gloomy prospects for the remnant, but the notion that Yahweh could bring the total end of the remnant distressed him severely (Ezek 11:13). Significantly, however, when after Jerusalem’s fall he spoke of Israel’s future, he not only used the remnant concept but understood it as the resurrection of the bones of the dead (37:1ff.).

(f) In contrast, the secondary portions of Isa 1–39 indicate that the post-exilic community was intensely concerned with the remnant notion. Indeed, it seems that circles of those who preserved the Isaianic tradition

even shaped the concept usually described too generally as the OT “remnant idea.” Isa 10:20–22 can even be understood as a post-exilic reformulation of the remnant concept. Dependent on Isaiah but also dogmatizing him, the remnant concept must have become a theological topic in the interim. The entirely unsystematic Isaianic discussion of the remnant is not strictly understood as a promise. Consequently, the sense of Shear-jashub is now unequivocally defined: “A remnant shall return, a remnant of Jacob, to the mighty God” (v 21). This remnant is, at first, simply equated with the “escapees (*p<sup>e</sup>lāṭâ*) of the house of Jacob” (v 20), i.e., the post-exilic community identifies itself with the remnant. The Isaianic heritage continues to be pertinent to the extent that the author expresses the confidence that the remnant will “lean on Yahweh,” namely “in faithfulness” (v 20). Subsequent verses (vv 22f.), whether from the same author or a glossator, testify to a deep discomfort with this equation; indeed they correct it: only a remnant will repent, even if Israel were to become as numerous “as the sands of the sea.”

Other statements in the book of Isa concerning the remnant are not as cautiously ensured against a dangerous objectification of salvation. The call narrative (Isa 6:1–11) spoke of a judgment in which the land would survive only as a desert (v 11b txt em). The difficult continuation in v 13ab $\alpha$  reenforces the radicalness of the judgment. But a final addition, v 13b $\beta$ , asserts: What remains is a “holy seed,” a basis from which the new Israel of the future can arise. The term “remnant” does not occur, however, in this passage, although 4:3 speaks explicitly of those “remaining” (*hannišʿār*, par. *hannôtār*, cf. also *p<sup>e</sup>lēṭat yiśrāʿel* in v 2) and expressly asserts that it is “holy.” V 3b again seems, however, to wish to limit this idea somewhat: the holy community includes those who are “recorded for life” (NRSV). The concept that the new community will be constituted of the remnant left behind in Judah/Jerusalem or of the escapees (*p<sup>e</sup>lēṭâ*) is also asserted in the “Isaiah legends,” 37:31f. = 2 Kgs 19:30f. The *š<sup>e</sup>ʿerîṭ* sends roots downward and puts on fruit above, i.e., Israel prospers supremely. “Remnant” here has become a theologoumenon of eschatological salvation expectations, a term for the community, culled and sifted by the great judgment of God proclaimed through the prophets, who represented the true Israel of the era of salvation. One learns something more of its brilliance in 28:5f., a secondary word that consciously juxtaposes the preceding threat of disaster for Samaria with the great good fortune of the delivered remnant of Israel. The community of salvation is magnificently adorned by God himself. It will be characterized by the “spirit of justice” and the “heroic power” of the defenders of the holy city.

It is no accident that the same hope has been recorded in the additions to the writings of another Jerusalemite prophet: Zeph 3:12ff. The

remnant is described here as a humble and small people who seek refuge with Yahweh. They are characterized by their ethical sincerity and can celebrate a fruitful peace free of all anxiety. Finally, another Jerusalemite prophet, Zechariah (8:11f.), explicates the degree to which the remnant lives in the fullness of divine peace.

5. (a) Qumran usage does not depart from that of the OT (cf. Kuhn, *Konk.* 215; also DJD 5:85 *šryt* in no. 185.II.2). Although the community can be repeatedly designated as a remnant (most impressively in 1QM 14:8f.: “But we are the remnant of your people . . . in all our generations you have wondrously demonstrated your mercies to the remnant of your people under the dominion of Belial”), the term gains no great theological significance. In view of the almost complete absence of the root in the canonical Psa, special reference should be made to the four passages with *š<sup>e</sup>ērîṭ* in 1QH (6:8, 32; 7:22; frg. 7:2).

(b) If one disregards insignificant exceptions, the LXX translates the verb and the subst. with derivatives of *leipein*: *kataleipō*, *hypoleipesthai*, *kata/hypoleimma*, *loipos*, and (more often) *kataloipos*.

(c) The remnant concept occurs in the NT in a theological adaptation of OT thought only in Rom 11:5, where Paul interprets the remnant as a gift of God’s grace through the expression “a remnant according to election from the standpoint of grace” and the acceptance of the 1st per. from the Masoretic reading of the Elijah tradition (1 Kgs 19:18; cf. U. Luz, *Das Geschichtsverständnis des Paulus* [1968], 80–83). Additional literature: V. Hertrich and G. Schrenk, “λεῖμμα,” *TDNT* 4:194–214; J. Jeremias, “Der Gedanke des ‘Heiligen Restes’ im Spätjudentum und in der Verkündigung Jesu,” *ZNW* 42 (1949): 184–94 = *Abba* (1966), 121–32; J. C. Campbell, “God’s People and the Remnant,” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 3 (1950): 78–85; B. F. Meyer, “Jesus and the Remnant of Israel,” *JBL* 84 (1965): 123–30; C. Müller, *Gottes Gerechtigkeit und Gottes Volk* (1964); W. Günther and H. Krienke, “Remnant, Leave,” *DNTT* 3:247–54.

H. Wildberger

## שבע *šb<sup>c</sup>* ni. to swear

S 7650; BDB 989a; HAL 4:1298b; *ThWAT* 7:974–1000; *TWOT* 2319; *NIDOTTE* 8678

1. The use of the root *šb<sup>c</sup>* seems to be specifically Hebr. (ni. “to swear,” hi. “to cause to swear,” subst. *š<sup>e</sup>bū<sup>c</sup>â* “oath”; the form *š<sup>e</sup>bū<sup>c</sup>é* in Ezek

21:28 txt? is unclear; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:437f.). Apparently unknown in older Aram. dialects (instead *ym*?, cf. *DISO* 108; 1QapGen 2:14; 20:30), it occurs otherwise only in isolation in Jew. Aram. (itp.) and in Mand. (ap. “to adjure,” Drower-Macuch 447a).

All speculation concerning a supposed relationship of the meaning “to swear” with the Sem. numeral *šb*<sup>c</sup> “seven” (M. R. Lehmann, “Biblical Oaths,” *ZAW* 81 [1969]: 74–92) should be rejected, for the following reasons, among others: (1) not a single OT text associates “swearing” with the number “seven”; indeed, explanations of the name “Beer-sheba” in Gen 21:23–31 and 26:31–33 involve both the idea of swearing and the number “seven” (perceived to be senseless and thus interpreted), yet they are entirely independent of one another; (2) the analysis of the verb *šb*<sup>c</sup> ni. indicates clearly that the Hebrews were not aware of a relationship to the numeral; it is, then, unscientific to accept such a relationship on a speculative basis; (3) that the number seven also played a particular role in covenant-making and religious rites outside Israel may derive solely from the privileged holiness of this number; since, however, no other Near Eastern language derived a verb for “to swear” from the numeral, it is not likely for Hebr. either.

It might seem appropriate to associate the verb *šb*<sup>c</sup> with Arab. *sb*<sup>c</sup>, which means “to tear, tear up (of a wild animal)” as well as “to insult, attack verbally, curse” (Lane 4:1296); the Hebr. ni. form could also refer to a self-execration, perhaps accompanied by an appropriate rite. But several observations call into question whether the Hebrews were still aware of an original relationship with a verb “to tear,” and deliberations to this effect should be assigned to the realm of speculation.

2. The root appears 216x in the Hebr. OT (incl. *šbū*<sup>c</sup> in Ezek 21:28; see 1): ni. 154x (Deut 33x, Gen and Jer 14x each, Josh and Psa 12x each, Isa 10x), hi. 31x (Gen and Song Sol 5x each, Josh and 1 Sam 4x each), *šbū*<sup>c</sup> 31x (8x in the expression “to [cause to] swear an oath” coupled with the verb: Gen 26:3; Num 5:21; 30:3; Deut 7:8; Josh 2:17, 20; 9:20; Jer 11:5).

The root concentrates in Gen (21x), Deut (34x), Josh (19x), 1/2 Sam (20x), Jer (15x), in Josh and Jer primarily in Dtr contexts. The sparse usage in wisdom literature is noteworthy: it does not occur at all in Prov and only 3x in Eccl (Eccl 8:2; 9:2[bis]). Apparently the “wise” had significant reservations concerning swearing; Eccl expressly questions its value (Eccl 9:2; cf. also Sir 23:10f.).

3. (a) *šb*<sup>c</sup> ni. can be precisely translated “to swear” provided one remembers on the one hand that the Hebrew practically never confirmed an existing circumstance with an oath but assumed a future obligation, and on the other hand that the verb often seems to mean only “to promise.”

Texts like Exod 22:10; Lev 5:22, 24 only seem to contradict the contention that in Hebr. “swearing” virtually always referred to the future. The first case involves the death of an animal committed to someone’s

safekeeping: if the responsible party has not mistreated it, “a Yahweh oath should decide between them (i.e., the responsible party and the owner).” The expression should be understood in analogy to 2 Sam 21:7 (cf. 1 Sam 20:42; Gen 21:31; 26:31) as a statement that future relations between the two should be normalized: the responsible party is freed from the obligation to make reparation and the owner receives the dead animal back (similar to Code of Hammurapi §266: the responsible party “should purify himself before God,” i.e., be freed from the obligation to make reparation). The “false oath” in Lev 5:22 does not refer to fencing stolen goods, etc., but, as v 24 indicates, a crime independent of the preceding case to be understood in analogy to other OT passages.

That *šb<sup>c</sup> ni.* does not always refer to “to swear, take an oath” in the formal sense is suggested by the fact that the use of this verb does not coincide with that of the so-called oath formulae. It is impossible to write a phenomenological study of the oath in the OT on the basis of the verb *šb<sup>c</sup> ni.* (cf. J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten* [1914]; F. Horst, “Der Eid im AT,” *EvT* 17 [1957]: 366–84 = *Gottes Recht* [1961], 292–314). As a rule, the oath formulae occur in contexts that do not use the word *šb<sup>c</sup> ni.*; conversely, the verb *šb<sup>c</sup> ni.* is not always followed by an oath formula.

The (self-) execration formula “thus Yahweh/God will do (to me/you) and even more,” which occurs 10x in the OT (1 Sam 3:17; 14:44; 20:13; 25:22; 2 Sam 3:9, 35; 19:14; 1 Kgs 2:23; 2 Kgs 6:31; Ruth 1:17), follows *šb<sup>c</sup> ni.* only twice (2 Sam 3:35 and 1 Kgs 2:23, followed by *kî ʔim* or a simple *kî*). The frequent “Yahweh lives!” (→ *ḥyh* 4a) occurs only 9x in more-or-less direct conjunction with *šb<sup>c</sup>* (3x followed by *ʔim*, 2x by *kî*, 4x with no supplement whatsoever). In addition, there are numerous possibilities for introducing a declaration involving *šb<sup>c</sup> ni.* *ʔim* appears most often (18x), then *kî* (9x), *ʔim lōʔ* (2x), *lōʔ* (2x), *kî ʔim* (1x), and *pen* (1x). Simple inf. constructions introduced by *le* (“to swear to do something,” 14x) or *min* or *l<sup>e</sup>biltî* (“to swear not to do something,” 2x and 1x, resp.) are also rather common. The statement is frequently appended simply to the verb in the form of a clause or a clause construction (e.g., 2 Kgs 25:24; Jer 40:9; Amos 6:8; Song Sol 5:8; cf. Gen 24:37; 50:5, 25), occasionally in the form of a conditional execration introduced by *ʔārûr* (→ *ʔr*; Josh 6:26; Judg 21:18; 1 Sam 14:28), or summarized in a subst. as an obj. (“to swear [to]” or “to promise” e.g., land, earth, a self-obligating *b<sup>e</sup>rît*, faithfulness, a matter, etc.). Finally, the verb can also stand abs., without supplementation (about 10x).

The summary indicates that a statement made with *šb<sup>c</sup> ni.* does not necessarily require an oath formula. A reference to the deity is equally unnecessary (see 4a). It follows that *šb<sup>c</sup> ni.* in many cases refers simply to

a solemn, irrevocable promise, the obligation to do or not to do something no matter the circumstance.

The three par. expressions in Judg 21 are notable: “the Israelites swear in Mizpah: None of us will give his daughter” (v 1); “we have sworn by Yahweh not to give our daughters (*l<sup>e</sup>biltî tēt*)” (v 7); and “the Israelites had sworn: Cursed (*ʿārûr*) be the man who gives” (v 18). The three expressions are apparently equivalent, whether with or without the curse formula or reference to Yahweh. The formula, then, plays no decisive role; only the intention is significant, i.e., the irrevocable, obligating expression of the will.

The following examples of such obligating expressions of will, in quite a variety of Hebr. formulations, may be mentioned: One often “promises” life to another, one guarantees it to another (Josh 2:12ff.; Judg 15:12; 1 Sam 19:6; 24:22f.; 28:10; 30:15; 2 Sam 19:24; 1 Kgs 1:51; 2:8; Jer 38:16; 40:9). David “solemnly promises” that Solomon will become king (1 Kgs 1:13, 17, 29f.); further, he will “find a place for Yahweh” (Psa 132:2–5), and he obligates himself not to eat for a day in sorrow over Abner (2 Sam 3:35). Esau “solemnly declares” to forego his right (Gen 25:33). Joab “swears by Yahweh” that the troops will abandon David if he does not immediately press the battle, i.e., he issues David an ultimatum to end his mourning for Absalom (2 Sam 19:8). David’s warriors “forbid” (“swear”) him from continuing to go into the field with them: they force him to comply with their irrevocable decision (2 Sam 21:17).

(b) Such binding declarations could be reciprocal when two parties “swear to one another,” i.e., when each assumes solemn obligations to the other. Covenants of friendships (1 Sam 20:17, 42; 2 Sam 21:7; Neh 6:18; 10:30) and political treaties (Gen 21:23, 31; 26:31; 31:53; cf. Josh 9:15–20; 2 Sam 21:2; 2 Chron 36:13) are established in this way.

(c) Par. expressions confirm that *šb<sup>c</sup> ni.* involves a solemn obligation accompanied under some circumstances by a conditional curse or strengthened by a reference to God. The following occur: “to assume an obligation” (*krt* → *b<sup>c</sup>rit*. Gen 21:27, 32; 26:28, 31; Josh 9:15ff.; 2 Kgs 11:4; Psa 89:4, 35f.; 105:9; Ezra 10:3, 5; → *bô<sup>c</sup> bib<sup>c</sup>rit*. Ezek 16:8; 2 Chron 15:11–15), “to curse,” i.e., to pronounce a conditional curse (→ *ʿālâ*. Gen 26:28, 31; Num 5:21; 1 Sam 14:24, 27; Dan 9:11; Neh 10:30), “to fulfill a vow” (→ *ndr*: Num 30:3; Psa 132:2), and “to make peace” (Josh 9:15). The par. expression in Isa 45:23 (“from my mouth comes justice, an irrevocable word”; cf. also Psa 132:11) indicates the degree to which the idea of formal “swearing” can be diminished and that of “promising” can dominate. Once a “solemn promise” is ensured by a “sign” in a semimagical way (Josh 2:12ff.). The requirement to touch the reproductive organs of the beneficiary as assurance of the sworn promise seems very ancient (Gen

24:2, 9; 47:29). *qûm* hi. (Gen 26:3; Jer 11:5) or pi. (Psa 119:106) signifies “to fulfill a promise,” and derivatives of *nqh* “to be innocent, pure” (Gen 24:8; Josh 2:17, 20; Zech 5:3; cf. also Num 30:3ff.) signify release from a promise (which will be fulfilled only under specific circumstances). Even a lightly spoken promise must fundamentally be fulfilled, without regard to good or bad consequences (Lev 5:4); for a promise made dishonestly or with false intentions, or one that simply cannot be fulfilled, is called “fraudulent” (*laššeqer*, *al-šeqer*) or “deceitful” (*lemirma*®) and will be harshly condemned by Yahweh (Lev 5:22, 24; 19:12; Jer 5:2; 7:9; cf. 4:2 Zech 5:4; 8:17; Mal 3:5; Psa 15:4; 24:4).

(d) As a rule the hi. signifies “to require an oath,” i.e., “to solicit a solemn, binding promise from someone.” The following persons solicit a “sworn promise” from others: Abraham from his slave (to seek a wife for Isaac among relatives, Gen 24:3, 9), the patriarchs from their descendants (to bury them in Palestine, Gen 50:5f., 25; cf. 47:31; Exod 13:19), Ahab from the prophet Micah (to tell the truth, 1 Kgs 22:16), the maiden in love to her friends (not to arouse “love,” Song Sol 2:7; 3:5; 8:4; or not to describe the condition of the one in love to the beloved, 5:8), Ezra and Nehemiah from their contemporaries (to divorce non-Jewish wives, Ezra 10:5; Neh 13:25; or to forego debt collection, Neh 5:12). Theoretically, such promises essentially always contain a curse in the event of violation; *šb*<sup>c</sup> hi. can even indicate the conditional curse in a few cases: one is accursed if one does this or that, e.g., drinks the water of the curse, although one has violated the marriage (Num 5:19ff.; cf. 1 Sam 14:27; 1 Kgs 2:42).

4. The root becomes theologically relevant from three perspectives:

(a) The deity can be mentioned as the guarantor and guardian of the solemn promise, as the so-called oath formulae indicate. One formula, “thus Yahweh will do to me and more if I do or do not do this or that” (as a rule abbreviated to the particle *ʾim* “if”), seems to point to a symbolic-magical rite of mutilation to be performed in the event of the violation of the oath. A second formula, “Yahweh lives, if I do or do not do this,” whose precise significance is disputed (cf. Horst, *EvT* 17:377f. = *Gottes Recht* 306f.; M. R. Lehmann, *ZAW* 81 [1969]: 83–85), calls directly on the “living” Yahweh to be witness and guarantor of the promise. It must be emphasized, however, that this formula was by no means obligatory (see 3a), even if it should be assumed that a declaration of the formal act indicated by *šb*<sup>c</sup> ni. usually invoked Yahweh as guarantor of the promise (a *šbū*<sup>c</sup>at *yhw*h Exod 22:10; 2 Sam 21:7; 1 Kgs 2:43; Eccl 8:2). Consequently, the Hebrew also occasionally “promised something by the name of Yahweh” (6x), or “by Yahweh” (5x), “by him” (Psa 63:12; 102:9), or the like (cf. Isa 65:16; Dan 12:7). Gen 31:52f. makes clear that the deity called on as a witness to the solemn agreement is considered to be present. In

poetic texts, other poetical figures can replace Yahweh as the guardian of the promise (Song Sol 2:7; 3:5: by the wild animals).

(b) Since *šb<sup>c</sup>* indicates an irrevocable, total obligation with inescapable consequences in the event of nonfulfillment, the god called on as guarantor and guardian must be able to exercise absolute control over the speaker, who must regard him- or herself as entirely subject to the god. As a result “to swear by Yahweh” is practically synonymous with “to confess allegiance to Yahweh.” This circumstance is precisely expressed in Isa 19:18; cf. 45:23; 2 Chron 15:14f. with “to obligate oneself to Yahweh” (*šb<sup>c</sup>* ni. *leyhwh*). In Deut “to swear in the name of Yahweh” parallels “to fear him, serve him, adhere to him” (Deut 6:13; 10:10). An entire series of descriptive par. expressions appears in Isa 48:1: “. . . called Israel, arisen from the seed of Judah, swearing in the name of Yahweh, calling on the God of Israel.” Cf. also Isa 65:16; Jer 4:2; 12:16; Hos 4:15 (“swear: Yahweh lives” as a typical expression of Yahwistic popular piety together with pilgrimages to Gilgal and Bethel); Zeph 1:5; Psa 63:12. Eccl mentions “the one who assumes an obligation” (*hannišbā<sup>c</sup>*, presumably in the name of “God.” although no name is specified) in one breath with the “righteous, good, pure, who sacrifices,” i.e., who fulfills religious and moral duties. “Who shuns oaths” parallels “the one who sins” (Eccl 9:2).

If, then, proper swearing is a confession of Yahweh, swearing by another god (a “nongod,” Jer 5:7) characterizes apostasy from Yahweh. The apostate swear by the following foreign gods: Baal (Jer 12:16), Milcom (Zeph 1:5), and perhaps the numina of Samaria, Dan, and Beer-sheba (Amos 8:14; the text is difficult).

(c) Yahweh is said to have “obligated himself by oath” 7x; notably, God is never the subj. of the verb in the hi.: God requires no sworn promise from people. Relatively few texts (12x, esp. in Amos and Jer) specify by whom or what Yahweh swears such self-obligations: by “himself” (Gen 22:16; Exod 32:13; Isa 45:23; Jer 22:5; 49:13), by “his just and powerful arm” (Isa 62:8), by “his personal life” (*napšô* Amos 6:8; Jer 51:14), by “his holiness” (Amos 4:2; Psa 89:36), by the “pride of Jacob,” i.e., himself (Amos 8:7), and perhaps also by “his faithfulness” (Psa 89:50). Obviously, Yahweh belongs only to himself, only he has control over himself, and thus only he himself may guarantee his promises.

In the majority of cases Yahweh obligates himself to benefit people. Particularly often it involves the so-called promise of the land (34x, esp. in the Dtr tradition) but also the intention to make Israel a great people (3x), a holy people (Deut 28:9), “his” people (29:12). The promise refers occasionally quite generally to good gifts (Isa 54:9f.; 62:8; Mic 7:20), peace (Josh 21:44), or blessing (Gen 22:16f.). Yahweh also makes sworn promises to benefit royal individuals such as David (2 Sam 3:9; Psa 89:4,

36, 50; 132:11) and the king-priest (Psa 110:4).

Nonetheless, the content of the “oath” can also be threatening: to Israel (Num 32:10; Deut 1:34; 2:14; 4:21; Josh 5:6; Judg 2:15; Jer 44:26; Amos 6:8; Psa 95:11, etc.), to foreign nations (Isa 14:24), to individual groups of people (women: Amos 4:2), to families (1 Sam 3:14), or to objects (temple: Jer 22:5). The use of the term indicates, then, that Yahweh announces his action in advance and this announcement is irrevocable, obligatory even for him.

5. The use of *šb<sup>c</sup> ni.* in Qumran follows OT prototypes (CD 8:15 cites Deut 7:8; 9:5). The entrant into the community assumes a binding and solemn obligation (*š<sup>e</sup>bū<sup>c</sup>at ʿissār*) to keep the law (1QS 5:8); the singer of the *Hodayot* assumes the obligation not to sin (1QH 14:17). CD 9:10ff. is also aware of the solemn conditional curse according to Zech 5:3; Lev 5:1. But swearing was also regulated by restrictive conditions that are unfortunately not always clear (CD 9:1ff.; 15:9). CD 16:10 offers a commentary on Num 30:9f.

The LXX almost always translates the *ni.* with *omnyein* (significantly and correctly, Isa 45:23 with *exomologeisthai*), the *hi.* with *horkizein* or *exorkizein*, the *subst.* with *horkos* or *enorkios* (Num 5:21; cf. Neh 6:18 *enorkos* for “oath partner”). On the use of these terms in the NT, cf. J. Schneider, “ὄμνύω,” *TDNT* 5:176–85; id., “ὄρκος,” *TDNT* 5:458–67.

C. A. Keller

## שָׁבַת *šbt* to cease, rest

S 7673; BDB 991b; *HAL* 4:1307b; *ThWAT* 7:1040–46; *TWOT* 2323; *NIDOTTE* 8697

1. The verb *šbt* “to cease” (*ni.* “to disappear,” *hi.* “to bring to a stop”) is attested only in Hebr. and Pun. (cf. Friedrich §146); in the meaning “to rest, keep the Sabbath,” influenced by *šabbāt* “Sabbath,” it has the Arab. counterpart *sbt* (*šabbāt* occurs as a loanword in Aram. *šbh* [Elephantine ostraca; cf. *DISO* 290; P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d’Égypte* [1972], 369–71; Syr. *šabb<sup>e</sup>tā<sup>ʿ</sup>* [LS 750]; Arab. *sabt* [Wehr 392f.]; Eth. *sanbat* [Dillmann 369f.], etc.).

Whether and how the noun *šabbāt* relates to the verb is disputed; both the derivation of the noun from the verb (E. Kutsch, *RGG* 5:1259) and the denomination of the verb from the noun (R. North, *Bib* 36 [1955]: 182ff.; also the unlikely suggestion that *šabbāt* may be related to *šeba<sup>c</sup>* “seven”) have been proposed. Apparently, there is some

relationship to Akk. *šab/pattum* (on the nom. formation cf. BL 476; Meyer 2:29; W. G. Lambert, *JTS* 16 [1965]: 297). The meaning “to cease” for Akk. *šabātu* (“to sweep, clean”) is not assured. A relationship to Indo-Germanic words (so M. Fraenkel, *Das Neue Israel* 22 [1970]: 801ff.) is unlikely.

At any rate, for OT sensibilities, the verb and the noun are related, as indicated by the frequent combination of the two. The subst. *mišbāt* “cessation” derives from *šbt* (only Lam 1:7), the subst. *šabbātôn* “Sabbath celebration” (Joüon §88b) as well as the PN *šabb<sup>e</sup>tay* (“born on the Sabbath”; cf. *IP* 222, 258; Stark 113a) from *šabbāt*.

2. The verb occurs in the qal 27x (in direct or indirect relation to the Sabbath: Gen 2:2f.; Exod 16:30; 23:12; 31:17; 34:21[bis]; Lev 23:32; 25:2; 26:34, 35[bis]; 2 Chron 36:21; otherwise: Gen 8:22; Josh 5:12; Isa 14:4[bis]; 24:8[bis]; 33:8; Jer 31:36; Hos 7:4; Job 32:1; Prov 22:10; Lam 5:14f.; Neh 6:3), in the ni. 4x (Isa 17:3; Ezek 6:6; 30:18; 33:28), in the hi. 40x (Ezek 10x, Jer 5x, Isa and Psa 4x each). *šabbāt* occurs 111x, only in legal texts or post-exilic passages primarily concerned with keeping the Sabbath commandment (Lev 25x, Exod and Ezek 15x each, Neh 14x), with the exception of 2 Kgs 4:23; 11:5, 7, 9(bis); 16:18 txt?; Isa 1:13; Hos 2:13; Amos 8:5. *šabbātôn* appears 11x (Lev 8x, Exod 3x; in the combination *šabbāt šabbātôn* 6x, only in P), *mišbāt* 1x (Lam 1:7).

3. (a) *šbt* qal means “to cease”; attested as par. expressions are *ḥdl* “to cease” (Isa 24:8; 58x in the OT, 8x in Judg, 7x in Job, 6x in 2 Chron; also *ḥādēl* “ceasing,” Isa 53:3; Psa 39:5; “failing,” Ezek 3:27; *ḥedel* “cessation = realm of the dead”? Isa 38:11 txt?) and *mûš* “to withdraw, go away” (Jer 31:36). In Neh 6:3 *šbt* appears as a result of *rph* hi. “to cause to cease.” Cessation can refer to various spheres: *šbt* indicates the end of a human activity (e.g., Hos 7:4; Job 32:1) or the end of things (e.g., Gen 8:22; Josh 5:12; Prov 22:10). The Aram. loanword *btl* qal “to cease, be inactive” is semantically related (Eccl 12:3; cf. Wagner no. 39).

In relation to the concept of the Sabbath or the Sabbath year, *šbt* indicates the pertinent rest and celebration of people (Exod 16:30; 23:12; 34:21, etc.), animals (23:12), land (Lev 25:2; in 26:34f. as a curse-threat: if the land is not permitted its Sabbath rest, it will recoup after the ruinous effects of the enemy), and God (Gen 2:2f.; remarkably, the noun *šabbāt* does not occur here, thus the institution of the Sabbath is not explicitly discussed, although God clearly fulfills the Sabbath rest; P speaks clearly of the institution of the Sabbath for people in Exod 31:12–17, where v 17 uses *npš* ni. “to take a breather” to indicate God’s rest, par. to *šbt*). This rest is not limited to the Sabbath; it applies also to the Day of Atonement (Lev 23:32; this day is *šabbāt šabbātôn*).

(b) *šbt* ni. means “to disappear”; the verb occurs 4x in prophetic announcements of judgment declaring the end of Israel’s might (Isa 17:3; Ezek 33:28) and of its idols (*gillûlîm* Ezek 6:6 par. *šbr* ni. “to be shattered”) or of the might of Egypt (30:18).

(c) *šbt* hi. has the causative meaning “to cause to cease” (in reference to work: Exod 5:5, only here in an indirect relationship to the cessation of work during a Yahweh festival; Ezek 34:10; Neh 4:5; 2 Chron 16:5) and “to cause to disappear, remove” (e.g., Exod 12:15, leavened bread for the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread; 2 Kgs 23:5, 11, idol priests and images; Lev 2:13, a charge not “to omit” salt with the sacrifice).

In the majority of cases, Yahweh is the subj. of *šbt* hi. These cases usually involve prophetic speech forms, esp. announcements of judgment. Yahweh will bring an end to Israel’s arrogance (Ezek 7:24), its jubilation and singing (Jer 7:34; 16:9; Ezek 26:13; cf. also Isa 16:10 and Jer 48:33, where, however, a *šbt* ho. may perhaps be better vocalized, as presupposed by the LXX of Jer 48:33), its speech addressed to God (Ezek 12:23), its idol worship (Ezek 16:41; 23:27, 48), its feasts (Hos 2:13, the Sabbath is mentioned among them—the play on words is noteworthy); Yahweh will bring an end to Jehu’s monarchy (Hos 1:4), he will destroy people and animals generally (Jer 36:29 par. *šht* hi.). The announcement of judgment also addresses Israel’s enemies: an end will be brought to the arrogance of hostile foreign nations (Isa 13:11, par. *špl* hi. “to bring down”), the might of Egypt and esp. its idols will be destroyed (Ezek 30:10, 13); similarly the Moabites, who want to sacrifice to their god Chemosh (Jer 48:35).

An additional group of statements occurs in the Psa. It involves the concept of God’s battle against the foreign nations, i.e., that he prepares an end for them (Psa 8:3; 89:45) or victoriously ends the battle against them (46:10). Indeed, here lies the root of the statements of prophetic announcements of judgment: That which is a present divine act of salvation in the Psa is announced for the future by the prophets and is often directed against Israel itself. The late wisdom psalm refashions the language of the Psa into the statement that Yahweh prepares an end for the evildoer (seen no longer politically but in the sense of Torah piety; Psa 119:119).

4. (a) The celebration of the *šabbāt* is certainly attested for the period of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah. All three prophets mention the new moon and the Sabbath together (Amos 8:5; Hos 2:13; Isa 1:13); they involves the only holidays that recur within a brief (not annual) period (*hōdeš* and *šabbāt* are mentioned together later on even in the Qumran texts: Isa 66:23; Ezek 46:1; Neh 10:32; 1QM 2:4, etc.). Amos 8:5 suggests that commerce was prohibited on this day (whether a general rest from work should be

envisioned is uncertain). In Isa and Hos new moon and Sabbath celebrations appear with other feasts that were surely held in the temple (in Isa 1:13f., *q<sup>ē</sup>rō<sup>ʾ</sup>miqrā<sup>ʾ</sup>* “convocation of an [extraordinary] festival assembly,” e.g., to a lament festival, etc., and *mô<sup>ca</sup>dîm*, which probably refers to the annual festival; in addition, v 14 should perhaps be read *ḥodšékem ḥaggékem*; cf. BH 3 and Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 35f.; in Hos too feasts with a brief period, Sabbath and new moon, are accompanied by the expressions *ḥag* and *mô<sup>ʾ</sup>ēd*, as well as *māsôs* “joy”). One may conclude that at the time the Sabbath was celebrated primarily at the sanctuary (Lam 2:6 also suggests this pre-exilic Sabbath temple celebration, here *mô<sup>ʾ</sup>ēd* par. *šabbāt*). Isa and Hos turn attention in their announcements of judgment against this institution of temple religion in general, while Amos attacks the greedy business people who cannot wait for the end of the Sabbath.

The Sabbath was apparently significant not only for the official cult, however, but also for private religious activities. For example, the man of God was consulted on new moon and Sabbath (2 Kgs 4:23).

(b) The Sabbath commandment, which prohibits work on the Sabbath, is transmitted first of all in the three versions of the Decalogue (also in the Covenant Code in Exod 23:12). The noun *šabbāt* occurs only in Exod 20:8 and Deut 5:12f. (linked in the first passage with *zkr* “to remember,” in the latter with *šmr* “to observe,” while Exod 34:21; 23:12 use the verb; see 3a). It has been suggested that the Sabbath commandment may have originally been negatively formulated, like almost all the other Decalogue commandments (first, Alt, *EOTHR* 118f.). The justifications of the commandment in Deut 5 and Exod 20 are usually judged to be secondary; the first argues salvation-historically with reference to the events of the exodus and aims, in remembrance of Israel’s former enslavement in Egypt, esp. at the observance of Sabbath rest for the slaves and animals (cf. Exod 23:12). The latter refers to the *Heptaemeron*: God’s rest upon completing creation is an archetype of the human Sabbath celebration.

The question of the age of the Sabbath commandment is disputed. Some assume that it, like the Decalogue as a whole, is very old and may even go back to Moses (e.g., Jenni). Others suspect that the commandment was secondarily inserted into the (older) Decalogue (e.g., Schmidt). Yet it should be maintained that such an advanced age for the present form of the Decalogue cannot be conclusively demonstrated; even the first two commandments are hardly very old. At any rate, they do not date to the period before the conquest. The theme of Sabbath rest is essential elsewhere only in post-exilic texts. The often-represented opinion that the Sabbath may have at least originally been a day of rest and not a cultically observed festival (e.g., W. H. Schmidt, *Faith of the OT* [1983], 88–92) is unfounded. Regarding the Sabbath commandment, cf. esp. H. Schmidt, *Eucharisterion* (FS Gunkel, 1923), 1:78–119; E.

Jenni, *Die theologische Begründung des Sabbatgebotes im AT* (1956); H. Reventlow, *Gebot und Predigt im Dekalog* (1962), 45–60; J. J. Stamm with M. E. Andrew, *Ten Commandments in Recent Research* (1967), 90–95; Stamm, *TR* 27 (1961): 290–95; E. Nielsen, *Ten Commandments in New Perspective* (1968), 84, 88f., 101–3; A. R. Hulst, *FS Vriezen* 152–64; N.-E. Andreasen, *OT Sabbath* (1972); A. Lemaire, *RB* 80 (1973): 161–85 (bibliog.).

The narrative material of the Pentateuch reflects the Sabbath commandment in Exod 16, an episode of the wilderness wandering: The manna should not be gathered on the 7th day, the ration for the 6th day will be sufficient for two days; as a rule, the narrative is divided among J and P (the mention of the Sabbath regulation in vv 5, 29ff. to J, vv 22ff. to P).

(c) The loss of the Sabbath celebration in the temple was felt to be of profound significance in the exile (Lam 2:6). The noncultic celebration of the Sabbath, the Sabbath rest, now gains even greater significance among the exiles. On the one hand nonobservance of the Sabbath commandments is seen as a reason for the judgment (Ezek 22:8, 26; 23:38); on the other hand the sanctification of the Sabbath in the present is seen as a positive sign of the difference between Israelites and non-Israelites (Ezek 20; the authenticity of the chapter is disputed; cf. W. Eichrodt, *FS Junker* 65–74). Ezekiel's plan for the coming era of salvation foresees a strict observance of Sabbath and new moon festival (44:24; according to 45:17 the execution of the festival is one responsibility of the *nāsî*?, the priest-prince; 46:1ff. mentions cultic and sacrificial regulations for the festival).

In the post-exilic priestly and legal literature the Sabbath plays a great role. P grounds the Sabbath in God's creation (Gen 2:2f.); the actual inauguration of the Sabbath for humanity follows in Exod 31:13–16 (repetition of the reference to God's rest at creation; death penalty for transgression of the Sabbath commandment; sign character for the relationship between God and Israel; on Gen 2:1–3 see, in addition to the literature cited, W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift* [1967], 154–59). Exod 35:2f. and Num 15:32ff. also demand the death penalty for Sabbath violators, while particularly forbidding the labor of making fire. Whether the justification of the Sabbath commandment in Exod 20:11 depends on P is disputed (cf. on the one hand Reventlow, op. cit. 60; Nielsen, op. cit. 97; contra Hulst, op. cit. 161). The Holiness Code mentions the Sabbath prominently (Lev 19:3, 30; by contrast, 23:3 is secondarily inserted into the festival calendar). Other legal texts explicitly mention the Sabbath sacrifice (Lev 24:8; Num 28:9f.; cf. Ezek 45:17; moreover, 1 Chron 23:31; 2 Chron 8:13; 31:3). On these days, the shewbread was also renewed (1 Chron 9:32; 2 Chron 2:3). The prohibition against commerce on the Sabbath was also emphasized in the

post-exilic period (Neh 10:32ff.; 13:15ff.).

Didactic and prophetic texts also treat the Sabbath theme. Parenetic treatment of the Sabbath inculcates the content and blessings of the Sabbath commandment (Isa 58:13f.), the prophetic announcement of salvation mentions the fulfillment of this commandment as a condition for the coming salvation (Isa 56:1f.), and a prophetic Torah proclamation decides that even the non-Israelite who observes the commandments, particularly the Sabbath commandment, should be counted among the people of God (Isa 56:3–8). At any rate, the Sabbath commandment seems to have been understood as the most important (Neh 9:14). Pilgrimage to Zion on each new moon and Sabbath is expected in the coming period of salvation (Isa 66:23).

(d) The Sabbath year corresponds to the weekly Sabbath: every 7th year the ground must rest (fallow year, Lev 25:2ff.; 2 Chron 36:21; if the fallow year is not observed, war and the resulting forced fallow of the land is threatened as a curse, Lev 26:34f., 43). Perhaps the oldest formulation of the Sabbath year commandment occurs in Exod 23:10f. (without the term *šabbāt*).

The age of the concept of the Sabbath year is uncertain. It was hardly already current in Canaan (on this point, correctly, E. Kutsch, *ZTK* 55 [1958]: 26f.). It probably involves a mere postulate of post-exilic theology (cf. G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* [1972], 203f., 314f.).

The day of Atonement on the 10th day of the 7th month also counted as a Sabbath celebration (*šabbāt šabbātôn*; Lev 16:31; cf. also 16:29; 23:32). New Year's Day and the 1st and 8th day of the Feast of Booths (1st, 15th, and 22nd days of the 7th month; the weekly rhythm and the festival calendar are apparently inseparably linked) are also *šabbātôn*.

(e) A great variety of theories exists concerning the origin of the Sabbath. The apparent relationship to Akk. *šab/pattu* (full-moon day) has led to the hypothesis that the Sabbath was also originally a full-moon day (esp. J. Meinhold, *Sabbat und Woche im AT* [1905]; id., *ZAW* 48 [1930]: 121–38), yet nothing in the OT points in this direction. Others have thought of a nomadic origin in the Kenite region (Exod 35:3; Num 15:32ff. P can only be understood in terms of the tribe of smiths that would have known of particular taboo days in reference to its craft; e.g., B. D. Eerdmans, *FS Marti* 79ff.). The textual evidence for this hypothesis is much too uncertain, however. Periodically recurring market days have also been suggested in comparison (Jenni, *op. cit.* 12f.), yet commerce is in fact forbidden on the Sabbath, and it is difficult to see why a day for trade should be made into its opposite and into a Yahweh festival. Finally, reference has been made to the fact that the earliest association of the Sabbath was with the two great Yahweh festivals in the spring and fall, so that the festival week would have been a model for the normal week (Kutsch, *op. cit.* 10ff.; H.-J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel* [1966], 78–88; Reventlow, *op. cit.* 48ff.). This observation can be supplemented with the

conjecture that it would have originally involved specifically the creation festival week, whose conclusion consisted of the Sabbath and that was repeated throughout the year and cultically celebrated (F. Stolz, *WD NS* 11 [1971]: 159–75).

5. In early Judaism, the Sabbath commandment continues to gain significance; casuistry encompasses an increasingly broad area (it is first indicated in the OT in Exod 35:2f.; Num 15:32ff.). In the dispute between Jesus and his opponents, the Sabbath commandment apparently played an essential role in that divergent understandings of the law become apparent here; the commandment was understood either as an incomprehensible demand of God or as his beneficial offer. Cf. E. Lohse, “σάββατον,” *TDNT* 7:1–35; W. Rordorf, *Der Sonntag* (1962); W. Stott, “Sabbath,” *DNTT* 3:405–15.

F. Stolz

## שגג *šgg* to err

S 7683; BDB 992b; *HAL* 4:1312b; *ThWAT* 7:1058–65; *TWOT* 2324; *NIDOTTE* 8704

1. In addition to *šgg*, a root chiefly attested as a nom. in Hebr. (qal “to err”; *š<sup>e</sup>gāgâ* “error”), the more common verbal root *šgh* also appears (qal “to err,” hi. “to lead astray”; *mišgeh* “error”); *š<sup>e</sup>gî<sup>l</sup>â* “error” and *m<sup>e</sup>šûgâ* “error” are also by-forms of the word group, while the meaning and etymology of *šiggāyôn* (in the superscriptions of Psa 7 and Hab 3) are unexplained (from Akk. *šegû* “song of lament”? cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:26; G. Rinaldi, *Bib* 40 [1959]: 285). The root *šgg* also occurs in Aram. (on Aḥ. 137 cf. *DISO* 290f.; *LS* 754f.; with reference to Eth. *sakwaya* cf. Dillmann 383f.).

2. *šgg* qal occurs 4x (Lev 5:18; Num 15:28; Psa 119:67; Job 12:16; excl. Gen 6:3; cf. Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:365, 375f.), *š<sup>e</sup>gāgâ* 19x (Num 9x, Lev 6x, Josh and Eccl 2x each), *šgh* qal 17x (Prov 5x, Isa 28:7 3x), hi. 4x; *š<sup>e</sup>gî<sup>l</sup>â* (Psa 19:13), *mišgeh* (Gen 43:12), and *m<sup>e</sup>šûgâ* (Job 19:4) are hapax legomena.

The oldest instances of the root are *šgh* qal/hi. in Deut 27:18; 1 Sam 26:21; Isa 28:7 (perhaps also Prov 19:27; 20:1; 28:10) and *mišgeh* in Gen 43:12 J; all other instances stem from the exilic/post-exilic period. Of 19 instances of *š<sup>e</sup>gāgâ*, 17 (incl. Josh 20:3, 9) belong to priestly ritual law; cf. also *šgg* in Lev 5:18; Num 15:28; Psa 119:67; *šgh* qal/hi. in Lev 4:13; Num 15:22; Psa 119:10, 21, 118; and *š<sup>e</sup>gî<sup>l</sup>â* in Psa 19:13.

3. (a) The basic meaning of *šgh* is lit. evident in Ezek 34:6, “on all mountains . . . my flock strayed around,” and in Deut 27:18 (hi.), “cursed be the one who leads a blind person astray in the way.” Used in imagery it occurs in Prov 28:10 (hi.), “who lead the upright astray on an evil way.” Isa 28:7 (qal 3x), “they stagger around from wine (par. → *tʰ*) . . . stagger around from strong drink . . . cannot see straight,” marks the transition from picturesque speech, which still implies the lit. meaning, to the fig. meaning. All other instances of the entire word group have the fig. meaning “error” in the sense of “unconscious, unintentional error” as the result of an act (qal and nom. forms) or as its cause (hi. forms). Cf. the similar development of → *tʰ* “to wander about,” which in fig. usage, however, places more emphasis on culpability and subjection to punishment.

(b) The phrase *ḥṭʾ bišʿgāgā* “to sin in error” is formulaic (Lev 4:2, 22, 27; 5:15; Num 15:27f.). While the error here relates to *ḥṭʾ* “to sin,” in Num 15:29 it involves an unintentional act (*šh*; cf. v 24) and in Num 35:11, 15 and Josh 20:3, 9 the unintentional killing of a person (*nkh* hi. *nepes̄*). All the instances mentioned are set in ritual or asylum regulations that regulate atonement or asylum for undeliberately, unintentionally committed errors or sins of negligence (cf. also Ezek 45:20; Psa 119:21, 118; and R. Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im Alten Israel* [1967], 200ff.).

(c) The following par. terms and expressions occur in context: “he does not know (*ydʿ*) it” (Lev 5:17f.); *bibʿlī daʿat* “without knowledge” (Josh 20:3; cf. *daʿat* also in Psa 119:66f.). Moreover, “and it remained hidden from him (*Im ni.*)” (Lev 5:2–4) and *šbʿ ni. Iʿbattēʾ* “to swear unwittingly” (Lev 5:4) must also be included as substantial pars.

The thesis of J. Milgrom (“Cultic *šʿgāgā* and Its Influence in Psa and Job,” *JQR* 58 [1967]: 115–25) that *šʿgāgā* presupposes a consciously committed act considered proper that subsequently proves to have been an error is hardly tenable: the majority of instances take no cognizance at all of the subjective state of the actor at the time of the act. When this is the case, however, it can be deduced only from the context, not from *šgg/šʿgāgā*. Furthermore, several instances imply an unintentional act, e.g., Gen 43:12; Num 35:11; Josh 20:3, 9; Isa 28:7; Ezek 34:6; cf. the usages “to slay inadvertently,” “to do inadvertently,” “to swear unintentionally” (see above). In Psa 19:13 *nistārôt* “hidden” can be a synonym for *šʿgāgā* “error,” which would parallel Lev 5:2–4. See further Elliger, *HAT* 4, 68, 74. Other instances, however, imply a conscious act, e.g., 1 Sam 26:21; Isa 28:7b; Ezek 45:20. On the whole, one may assume that the term describes the objective result of a deed as an undeliberate, unintended error, without reference to the subjective state of the actor (Rendtorff, op. cit. 202f.; cf. Gen 43:12; Isa 28:7; Psa 119:66f.; Prov 5:19–23; 20:1; Eccl 10:5; cf. also

the resultative term *šm* qal “to be guilty” (→ *šām*) in the context of *šgāgā*, Lev 4:22, 27; 5:17–19).

4. The significance of the theological meaning of the term finds various expressions. The curse on the one who misleads a blind person in Deut 27:18 is part of the old cultic curse ceremony. The wisdom saying in Prov 28:10 declares, in an indirectly theological manner, that misleading an upright person in an evil path constitutes a sphere of action with misfortune for the actor. The term also occurs in the prophetic accusation (Isa 28:7), in the declaration of innocence (implicitly before God: Job 6:24; 19:4), in the confession of guilt (1 Sam 26:21), centrally in atonement rituals (Lev 4–5; Num 15); in the sacral asylum regulation (Num 35:11, 15; Josh 20:3, 9), and finally in the justification of Yahweh’s judgment (Gen 6:3, supposing that an inf. of *šgg* is present here [cf. GKC §67p], *bšaggām* “in their error”).

The theological significance of an “error” is determined by the fact that even unintentional sins represent “an objective disruption of the divine world order” (Elliger, HAT 4, 68) and consequently require atonement. A sin of error does not signify diminished guilt or culpability but only a preferential offer of atonement. The act of atonement is lesser or greater in accord with the status of the wrongdoer (Lev 4:2, 22, 27; 5:15, 18; 22:14; Num 15:24–27). It is essentially true also of sins of error that: “The one who errs and who leads astray belongs to him (Yahweh)” (Job 12:16). The danger of unknown but no less fully responsible error demonstrates that people are totally dependent on God’s disclosure (Psa 19:13; 119:66f.), guidance (119:10), and judgment or forgiveness (119:21, 118). Openness to the disclosure of error thus becomes an important concern of bibl. anthropology. According to Eccl 5:5 one who excuses oneself by referring to an “error” incurs God’s wrath. The “error” of one in authority is a serious evil because it is not recognized and admitted (Eccl 10:5). If, finally, the person is understood entirely as → *bāsār* “flesh,” unreceptive to corrections of its “error” by God’s “Spirit” (Gen 6:3 P; see above), hope for one’s future vanishes.

5. The published Qumran texts (cf. Kuhn, *Konk.* 134b, 217b) contain 10 instances of the root (*mišgeh* 3x: 1QH 2:19; CD 3:5; 4QFlor 1:9; *šgh* 1x: 1QSa 1:5; *šgg* 2x: 1QS 8:26; 9:1; *šgāgā* 4x: 1QS 7:3; 8:24; 9:1; 1Q27 6:2). The significance that the *Rule of the Community (Manual of Discipline)* assigns to erroneous misdeeds is surprising. The opposite of “unintentionally” is, as in Num 15:29f., *b’yād rāmā* “intentionally” (lit. “with a high hand”; 1QS 9:1).

The LXX renders the word group with a number of different Gk. terms, *šgāgā* (with the prep. *be*) most often with *akousiōs*. Cf. R. Bultmann, “ἀγνοέω,” *TDNT* 1:115–21; G. Quell, “ἄμαρτάνω,” *TDNT* 1:267–86 (esp. 271, 274f., 280).

R. Knierim

## שַׁדַּי *šadday* (divine name)

S 7706; BDB 994b; HAL 4:1319b; ThWAT 7:1078–1104; TWOT 2333; NIDOTTE 8724

1./2. (a) The 48 OT examples of the divine designation *šadday* (8x) and *šadday* (40x) are distributed as follows. *Pentateuch* —independent of the sources (tribal sayings): Gen 49:25; J: Num 24:4, 16; P: Gen 17:1; 28:3; 35:11; 43:14; 48:3; Exod 6:3. *Psa* —68:15; 91:1. *6th-cent. prophecy* —Ezekiel’s school: Ezek 10:5, which engendered the insertion in 1:24 (regarding both passages see Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:88, 255); anonymous: Isa 13:6 = Joel 1:15. *Job* —31x, 6x in the speeches of Elihu (32:8; 33:4; 34:10, 12; 35:13; 37:23), never in the prose narrative framework or the prose introductions of the speeches. *Ruth* —1:20f.

*šadday* is limited to instances in P and Ezek 10:5. Given the textual witnesses cited in *BHS*, however, one should probably also restore *šadday* in Gen 49:25 instead of *šadday* (with most comms.; contra J. Blau, *VT* 6 [1956]: 212; one hardly expects *šadday* before the nom. in an old poetical text).

(b) In addition, three Hebr. PNs composed with *šadday* appear in the list of tribal representatives (*nšim*) in Num 1:5–16(19), which also underlies the secondary compositions Num 2:10–31; 7:12–83; 10:11–28 (cf. M. Noth, *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels* [1930], 15–18, 153–56): *šadday* “My *šam* (paternal uncle) is *šadday*,” the father of Ahiezer of Dan (Dan 1:12; also 2:25; 7:66, 71; 10:25); *šadday* “My mountain (!) is *šadday*” (“mountain” in the sense of place of refuge), the father of Selumiel of Simeon (1:6; also 2:12; 7:36, 41; 10:19); and *šadday* (probably better vocalized *\*šaddayšôr*, although LXX already has *Sediour*, etc.) “*šadday* shines” (with the emended text; MT is unexplainable), the father of Elizur of Reuben (1:5; also 2:10; 7:30, 35; 10:18). The Hebr. basis of the PN *sarasadai* (variants: *salasadai*, *sarisadai*) in Jdt 8:1 may not be reconstructed with certainty.

(c) So far, only a single prebibl. instance of *šadday* has been identified: in the Sem. PN of an Eg. servant of the late 14th cent. BCE (W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* [1890], plate 24; M. Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen* [1910], 2:43 no. 826), which, as Burchardt and Albright have

seen, corresponds to Hebr. \*šdy<sup>ς</sup>my. On this name cf. W. F. Albright in *The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion*, ed. L. Finkelstein (1949), 7, 56n.20 (= *Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra* [1963], 13, 99n.35); F. M. Cross, *HTR* 55 (1962): 245. Contrast, however, W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. and 2. Jahrtausend v.Chr.* (19712), 359n.9:28, who reads the name without <sup>ς</sup>; yet the understanding of Burchardt and Albright is superior in my view. Cf. also F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (1973), 53 with n.38.

(d) No certain decision can be made concerning whether <sup>ς</sup>ēlšadday or šadday represents the original form of the divine name. Nevertheless, the occurrence of the latter in old instances like the names and the Balaam oracles at least supports the notion that šadday in <sup>ς</sup>ēl šadday does not represent a gen. modification dependent on <sup>ς</sup>ēl but an apposition to <sup>ς</sup>ēl, and can consequently also appear alone.

(e) As the varied and somewhat even capricious translation of (<sup>ς</sup>ēl) šadday in the OT Vers. show, antiquity already no longer understood the meaning of the name.

The LXX regularly rendered <sup>ς</sup>ēlšadday with *theos* and a poss. pron. (Gen 17:1; 28:3; 35:11; 43:14; 49:25 [see 1/2a]; Exod 6:3; once *theos saddai* Ezek 10:5). Otherwise one finds *ho epouranios* (Psa 68:15), *theos* (Num 24:4, 16), *ho theos* (Isa 13:6), *ho theos tou ouranou* (Psa 91:1), (*ho*) *hikanos* (Ezek 1:24 LXXA; Job 21:15; 31:2; 40:2 [with an asterisk in the Job passages]; Ruth 1:20f.), (*ho*) *kyrios* (Job 6:4, 14; 13:3; 21:20; 22:3, 23, 26; 24:1; 27:10 [*autos* in reference to *kyrios*]; 31:35), *kyrios pantokratōr* (Job 15:25), *ho ta panta poiēsas* (Job 8:3), and *pantokratōr* (Job 5:17; 8:5; 11:7; 22:17, 25; 23:16; 27:2, 11, 13; 32:8; 33:4; 34:10, 12; 35:13; 37:23). Later Gk. transl. of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion have *hikanos* in every instance (cf. also *Gen Rabbah* 46:3 on Gen 17:1: *trgwm ϸqylws ϸsyws w<sup>λ</sup>nqws* [read \*<sup>λ</sup>qnws], i.e., for <sup>ς</sup>ēlšadday Aquila has *axios hikanos*). Cf. G. Bertram, *ZAW* 70 (1958): 20–31; id., *Akten des vierundzwanzigsten Internationalen Orientalistenkongresses* (1959), 211–13; id., *WO* 2 5/6 (1959): 502–13.

Jerome's understanding (Vg. and *Psalterium juxta Hebraeos*) of šadday depends entirely on LXX. He renders <sup>ς</sup>ēl šadday with *deus omnipotens*, once (Gen 43:14) with *deus meus omnipotens*, and šadday with *deus* (Job 22:3; 40:2), *dominus* (Isa 13:6; Job 5:17; 6:4, 14), *excelsus* (Psa 91:1), *omnipotens* (Gen 49:25; Num 24:4, 16; Job 8:3, 5; 11:7; 13:3; 15:25; 21:15, 20; 22:17, 23, 25f.; 23:16; 24:1; 27:2, 10f., 13; 29:5; 31:2, 35; 32:8; 33:4; 34:10, 12; 35:13; Ruth 1:20f.), *potens* (Joel 1:15), *robustissimus* (Psa 68:15), and *sublimis deus* (Ezek 1:24).

The Tgs. consistently have (<sup>ς</sup>ēl) šadday like MT. In the Syr. transl. the

transcription  $\text{ʔ}el\check{s}adday$  usually appears for  $\text{ʔ}el\check{s}adday$  (Gen 17:1; 28:3; 35:11; 43:14; 48:3; Exod 6:3; also Gen 49:25 [see 1/2a]), once (Ruth 1:20) also for  $\check{s}adday$ . Otherwise, the following “translations” are used:  $\text{ʔ}allāhā$  “God” (Num 24:4, 16; Ezek 1:24; 10:5 [ $\text{ʔ}el\check{s}adday$ ]; Joel 1:15; Psa 68:15; 91:1; Job 21:15, 20; 22:17, 23, 25; 24:1; 31:2, 35; 32:8; 33:4; 34:12; 35:13; 40:2),  $\check{h}assînā$  “Strong One” (Job 5:17; 6:4; 8:3, 5; 11:7; 13:3; 15:25; 27:2, 10, 13; 29:5; 37:23),  $\check{e}llāyā$  “Exalted One” (Job 6:14),  $\check{s}elyā$  (Isa 13:6, perhaps an error for  $\text{*}\check{e}llāyā$ , since the meaning “rest” does not fit at all).

(f) Like the ancient transl., the etymologies suggested more recently also differ rather considerably. No consensus has yet developed. Since the material presently available does not permit an assured decision concerning a given hypothesis, reference will be made in the following to the more important older—also in terms of the history of the discipline—and more recent explanations suggested and briefly to the pertinent critical objections.

(1)  $\check{s}adday$  = “the Powerful, Strong One,” from the root  $\check{s}dd$ . This derivation is based on the wordplay between  $\check{s}ōd$  and  $\check{s}adday$  in Isa 13:6 = Joel 1:15; yet the wordplay may not be intended in the modern etymological sense (cf. M. Weippert, *ZDMG* 111 [1961]: 44f.). This derivation has also found later proponents; cf. for older representatives J. Buxtorf II, *Dissertationes philologico-theologicae* (Basel, 1662), 275; C. Iken, *Dissertationes philologico-theologicae* (Leiden, 1749), 7–9; Gesenius, *Thesaurus* 1366f.; otherwise, e.g., F. Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* (1888), 293–95; GB 808f.; *IP* 130f. Arab.  $\check{s}adīd$  “strong,” which is often cited in this context, is entirely incomparable for phonetic reasons. It may be that the ancient transl. that express the concept “strong,” etc. should be included here: *kyrios, pantokratōr, dominus, omnipotens, potens, robustissimus, ḥassînā*, cf. also the Syr. rendition of  $\text{ʔ}el\check{s}adday$  with Išo<sup>c</sup> bar  $\check{C}$ Alī as  $\text{ʔ}allāhā$   $\check{g}abbārā$  “strong God” as well as  $\text{ʔ}allāhā$   $d^{\text{c}}\check{s}ūw^{\text{c}}dāye$  (Arab.  $\text{ʔ}ilāh$   $\text{ʔ}al\text{-}mawāʔid$ ) “God of the promises” ( $\text{ʔ}el\check{s}adday$  also only promised according to Gen 17:1ff., etc.; *yhwh* fulfilled the promises) and  $\text{ʔ}allāhā$   $\check{d}a\text{-}\check{s}mayyā$  “God of heaven” (G. Hoffmann, *Syrisch-arabische Glossen* [1874], 781). The nom. form of  $\check{s}adday$  may not be explained as a derivation from  $\check{s}dd$ , however. Besides, the root does not mean “to be strong,” etc. in the positive sense but implies the element of violence and destruction; cf. already Isaac Abrabanel in Buxtorf, op. cit. 275.

(2)  $\check{s}adday$  should be divided into  $\check{s}e\text{-}$  and *day* and means “who suffices.” This ancient Jewish understanding already underlies the translation *hikanos* in LXX (Ruth 1:20f.; elsewhere probably always a Hexaplaric addition) and the later Gk. transl., is attested in the Midrash

(*Gen Rabbah* 5:8 on Gen 1:11; 46:3 on Gen 17:1; 92:1 on Gen 43:14; cf. *Yalqût Šim'ônî* [Jerusalem ed.] 1:45 on Gen 17:1), and was also proposed by medieval Jewish exegesis (e.g., by Saadia Gaon in his translation of the Bible, where *šadday* = *ʿal-kāpî*, and by Rashi on Gen 17:1). Regarding various exegetical applications of this etymology, cf. G. Kittel, *TDNT* 1:467; Weippert, op. cit. 45–47. The derivation is obviously artificial; consequently it has found no proponents in recent times.

(3) The vocalization *šadday* is incorrect, since it reflects the derivation from *šdd* or *še-* + *day*, and should be emended to *\*šēdî* or *\*šēday* (in analogy to *ʿdōnāy*), on the assumption that *šēd* “demon,” etc., was originally also a positive being in Israel (regarding Bab. *šēdu*, the basis of Hebr. *šēd*, cf. W. von Soden, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 3 [1964/65]: 148–56) or can be associated with Arab. *saiyid* “lord.” Thus Th. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 40 (1886): 735f.; 42 (1888): 480f.; G. Hoffmann, *Über einige phönikische Inschriften* (1889), 53–55; Duhm, *Hiob*, KHC, 34. The OT uses the Akk. loanword *šēdîm* only for foreign gods or demons (Deut 32:17; Psa 106:37; precise meaning unclear). Bab. *šēdu* is not a great god in contrast to *šadday* (see 3/4). In addition, divine designations in stereotypical conjunction with the 1st-per. sg. suf. are not otherwise attested (except for *ʿdōnāy*).

(4) *šadday* is related to the Sem. word for “breast” (Ug. *td*, Hebr. dual *šādayim*, Aram. dual *t<sup>e</sup>dayyā*, Arab. *tady*) and is the name of a fertility deity. Cf. Buxtorf, op. cit. 276, who refers to the classical designation of goddesses (!) as *mammosa* (Ceres, Diana, Isis); cf. also P. Haupt, FS Wellhausen 212; and Albright and Zoller under (6). Since *šadday* is a masc. deity, this etymology deserves little attention.

(5) *šadday* derives either from *šdy* “to throw” (Aram. *šdʿ*) or from *šdy* (unattested) in the sense of *ʿšd* “to pour (forth)”; in the first case the name would mean “(lightning) hurler” (*kerauneios*), in the latter “the one who pours out (his blessing on all creation)”; cf. Buxtorf, op. cit. 276; Gesenius, *Thesaurus* 1367; F. Schwally, *ZDMG* 52 (1898): 136. The implied supplements to the translation indicate that this etymology can be upheld only with semantic difficulties. In addition, the root *šdy* is not Can.

(6) As the availability of Bab.-Assyr. texts in the 19th cent. revealed that the Akk. word for “mountain” was *šadû*, it too was adduced to explain *šadday*. F. Delitzsch (*Hebrew Language Viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research* [1883], 48n.1; id., *Prolegomena eines neuen hebräisch-aramäischen Wörterbuches zum AT* [1886], 95f.) deduced the root meaning of *šadû* as “to rise up” and explained *šadday* accordingly as the “(Most) High.” Later he also assumed the meaning “lord, master” and at the same time referred to the epithet of the god Enlil, “Great Mountain,” Sum. *KUR.GAL*, Akk. *šadû rabû* (*Assyr. Handwörterbuch* [1897], 642f.). On the

basis of Delitzsch's theses, F. Hommel (*Die altisraelitische Überlieferung in inschriftlicher Beleuchtung* [1897], 109f.) and J. Hehn (*Die biblische und babylonische Gottesidee* [1913], 265–69) suggested vocalizing *šadî* or *šaday* (in analogy to <sup>ʔ</sup>*dōnāy*) instead of *šadday* and regarding the word in the meaning “High, Most High” as a synonym of *ʿelyôn* (→ *Ih* 4b). They also referred to the epithet *šadûrabû* for the god *amurrû(m)* (Sum. *MAR.TU*), the god of the west (*māt amurri[m]* Syria-Palestine). According to E. Burrows (*JTS* 41 [1940]: 152–61), (<sup>ʔ</sup>*ēl*) *šadday* is identical with the god *amurrû(m)* (see below).

W. F. Albright (*JBL* 54 [1935]: 173–204) correctly objected to such hypotheses that *šadday* cannot directly derive from Akk. *šadû*, since in this case a Hebr. form such as *\*š<sup>e</sup>dî* would be expected. He found the Akk. model for *šadday* in the Neo-Assyr. gentilic *šaddā<sup>ʔ</sup>û/\*šaddāyû* (also *šaddû<sup>ʔ</sup>a*) “mountain dweller” and explained *šadday* (a phonetically correct form after the loss of the case ending) as “the one of the mountain.” Since the form *šaddā<sup>ʔ</sup>û* has not yet been found in the older texts, but Albright postulated the adoption of the divine name in the patriarchal period, he could refer only to a Bronze Age par. in the form of the Amorite tribal name *rabbāyū* (also *rabbû*) of the Mari texts with the meaning “archers” (*Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* [repr. 1969], 108n.140, 189n.77). Etymologically, Albright linked *šadû* “mountain” with the Sem. word for “breast” (root *tdy*, cf. also I. Zoller, *RSO* 13 [1931/32]: 73–75) according to semantic pars. and could thus explain both the initial *š* in Hebr. *šadday* and the *s* phoneme (conventionally transcribed *ś*) in the Eg. transcription *ś-d-î-* (cf. Cross, op. cit. 52n.36; regarding the initial phoneme in *šadû* cf. also A. F. Rainey, *Leshonenu* 30 [1966]: 272; id., *UF* 3 [1971]: 172, both times *UT* nos. 2387, 2654). Albright's thesis has been widely accepted; cf. esp. Cross, op. cit. 52–60; L. R. Bailey, *JBL* 87 (1968): 434–39; J. Ouellette, *JBL* 88 (1969): 470f.; H. Gese et al., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens and der Mandäer* (1970), 133f. But, while Bailey, Ouellette, E. L. Abel (*Numen* 20 [1973]: 48–59), and previously Burrows (see above) refer to the epithet of the god *amurrû(m)*, *bēlšadê* “Lord of the mountain/mountains,” equate it with (<sup>ʔ</sup>*ēl*) *šadday*, and think of a moon-god related to Sin of Harran, Cross prefers to see *amurrû(m)* and (<sup>ʔ</sup>*ēl*) *šadday* as the Amor. El, who has characteristics of the “weather-god” and should be classified with the “divine warrior” type (cf. generally P. D. Miller, Jr., *Divine Warrior in Early Israel* [1973]; but cf. Gese, op. cit.).

Albright's thesis must be subject to the criticism that the gentilic *šaddā<sup>ʔ</sup>û/\*šaddāyû*, on which his explanation is based, as well as the related by-form of *sadû, šaddû*, seem to represent Neo-Assyr. innovations that may

not be dated back to the Old Bab. period. The tribal name *rabbāyû/rabbû*, like the identical Akk. appellative *rabbû* “archer” (also as a constellation), is difficult to compare with *šaddāʔ/yû* since the former apparently involves nomen occupationis (noun of occupation, profession) of the form *\*pa<sup>c</sup>āl-* from a fientive verb and the latter a gentilic of a subst. of the obj. This difficulty can be circumvented, however, if one recognizes the reduplication of the *d* in *šadday* as secondary, with Cross (op. cit. 52n.33), and understands the *-ay* ending as the normal NWSem. gentilic (*\*ayyu*).

(7) According to N. Walker (*ZAW* 72 [1960]: 64–66), *šadday* derives via Aram. from the Sum. divine name or epithet *Š↓.ZU* “knower of the heart.” The derivation is phonetically impossible and not very likely historically; see the extensive treatment by Weippert, op. cit. 42–44.

(8) After P. Haupt (*Florilegium ou Recueil de travaux d'érudition dédiés M. le Marquis Melchior de Vogüé* [1909], 279) suggested incidentally that *šadday* may be related to the Hebr. *šādeh*, by-form *šāday*, Weippert (op. cit. 42–62) suggested a connection to the name of the Ug. goddess *ʔtrtšd* “Astarte of the field/meadow” (*KTU* 1.91.10; 4.182.55, 58), hence reading the divine name *\*ʔēlšādeh/šāday* (in the Late Bronze Age *\*ʔēlšadē*) and explaining it as “El of the meadow.” This suggestion overlooks the fact that *ʔtrtšd* is not an original NWSem. but a Hurrian and ultimately Sum. goddess, who also appears as *NIN.EDIN(.NA)* (Sum.), *bēlet šēri* (Akk.), and *awariwi šauška* (Hurrian), with *EDIN*, *šēru*, *awari*, *šd* in the meaning “steppe” or “battlefield.” Cf. also Weippert, *ZDPV* 82 (1966): 305n.172; H. Haag, *Bibel-Lexikon* (19682), 1530.

One should observe the following perspectives regarding etymological proposals. First, according to the evidence of the Eg. transcription *\*š3-d-*, the initial phoneme of the divine name in the 14th cent. BCE was not /š/, but /ś/ or /t/, and the final phoneme was vocalic (–~?), not a diphthong. Second, the lengthening of the dental is first demonstrable in the 6th cent. in the wordplay involving *šōd* (< *\*šudd-*) and *šadday* in Isa 13:6 = Joel 1:15 (although not with certainty, since the wordplay could also have depended simply on the consonant group *šd*). Third, the transcription *saddai* in Ezek 10:5 LXX is worthless for etymology, since it contrasts with the transcription *-sadaï* in PNs. These phenomena correspond best to Albright’s thesis (6) in Cross’s revision.

3./4. (*ʔēl*) *šadday* involves a pre-Yahwistic (Can.?) divine name whose prior history and original character are largely unknown. The appearance of the facultative component of the name *ʔēl* may imply that *šadday* belongs in the series of other cult forms of epithets of the great god El such as *ʔēl ʕōlām*, *ʔēlr<sup>o</sup>ʔ*, *ʔēl bēt-ʔēl*, *ʔēl ʕelyôn* (cf. Weippert, op. cit. 54–56;

Cross, op. cit. 46ff.; →  $\text{ʔēl}$  III/2). The identification of El and his various manifestations with Yahweh, the God of Israel (cf. O. Eissfeldt, *JSS* 1 [1956]: 25–37) in the course of early Israelite history resulted in the fact that the name ( $\text{ʔēl}$ ) *šadday* is consistently understood in the current form of the OT as a designation for Yahweh. This circumstance essentially finds expression in the theory of P that  $\text{ʔēl}$  *šadday* was the name by which the God of Israel revealed himself to the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob before he proclaimed his name *yhwh* to Moses (Exod 6:2b, 3). For P  $\text{ʔēl}$  *šadday* is the God of the patriarchal covenant, the promise of the land and descendants, thus the “God of the fathers” (cf. A. Alt, “God of the Fathers,” *EOTHR* 1–77; regarding  $\text{ʔēl}$  *šadday* as the “paternal god” in P, see L. Rost, *SVT* 7 [1960]: 356f.). P’s theory is usually understood as an archaic stylization; yet indications are that ( $\text{ʔēl}$ ) *šadday* played a significant role in Israel’s pre- and early history. In the list in Num 1:5–16, which probably goes back to the prenatal period (see 1/2b; contra D. Kellermann, *Die Priesterschrift von Numeri 1,1 bis 10,10* [1970], 155–59), which does not contain a single name with the element *yhwh*, nine PNs with  $\text{ʔēl}$  occur as well as three with the theophoric element *šadday*. In the Yahwistic Baalam oracles, which also probably go back to the period before Saul and David, *šadday* parallels  $\text{ʔēl}$  and  $\text{ʕlyôn}$  (to be supplied in Num 24:4 following v 16). In the Joseph (Ephraim?) oracle in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen 49:22–26), the most essential elements of which belong to the 11th cent. at the latest,  $\text{ʔēl}$  *šadday* parallels  $\text{ʔēl}$   $\text{ʔābīkā}$  and two other designations of the “God of the fathers,”  $\text{ʔābīr ya}^{\text{a}}\text{qōb}$ , and  $\text{rō}^{\text{c}}\text{eh } \text{ʔeben yīsrā}^{\text{ʔ}}\text{ēl}$  ( $\text{rō}^{\text{c}}\text{eh}$  and  $\text{ʔeben}$  probably variants; contra M. Dahood, *Bib* 40 [1959]: 1002–7). Thus one of the “gods of the fathers” was probably ( $\text{ʔēl}$ ) *šadday*, and here P, as often, used and generalized old material. One cannot demonstrate that the “gods of the fathers” (*theoi patrōoi*) were essentially nameless, as Alt assumed in his foundational study; evidence suggests that they bore the names of the great gods (Cross, op. cit. 3–12). The potentially old historical reminiscence in Psa 68:15 is obscure to us.

More recent contexts offer a dual usage of *šadday*. One group of passages uses the name as an archaic epithet of Yahweh (Isa 13:6 = Joel 1:15; Ezek 1:24; 10:5; Ruth 1:20f.; nothing may be said with certainty concerning the age of Psa 91:1f., where *šadday* parallels  $\text{ʕlyôn}$  and *yhwh*; but cf. the similar parallelism in Num 24:4, 16). In the authentic and the secondary (Elihu) discourses in the book of Job, *šadday*,  $\text{ʔēl}$  (36x, as well as 19x in the Elihu discourses),  $\text{ʔēlōah}$  (35x, as well as 6x in the Elihu discourses), and  $\text{ʔēlōhīm}$  (4x, 1x in the Elihu discourses) are divine designations on the lips of “pagans,” who naturally could not call God *yhwh*; the narrative framework and the prose introductions to the discourses use

<sup>e</sup>lōhîm (12x) and yhw<sup>h</sup> (30x).

5. A few remarks concerning the continued history of the term may suffice. Outside the Vers. (see 1/2e) and the exegetical concerns, esp. of Judaism (see 1/2f[2]), *šadday* and the other OT divine designations play a role as names with magical potency in ancient magic, indeed even in Muslim legends (cf. R. Basset, *Giornale della Societ Asiatica Italiana* 7 [1893]: 44, lines 9f.; I. Goldziher, *ZDMG* 48 [1894]: 359f.). It has not been explained whether the Palm. name *šdy*<sup>ʿ</sup> (Stark 61a) involves *šadday*. The understanding of *šadday* as *pantokratōr* mediated by Jerome's translation *omnipotens* is one root of Christian discussion of God as the "Almighty" (one should not overlook the fact, however, that *kyrios pantokratōr* is the usual translation of yhw<sup>h</sup>š<sup>e</sup>bā<sup>ʿ</sup>ô<sup>t</sup> in the LXX).

M. Weippert

### 𐤑𐤍𐤏𐤃 *šāw*<sup>ʿ</sup> **deceit**

S 7723; BDB 996a; HAL 4:1323b; ThWAT 7:1104–17; TWOT 2338a; NIDOTTE 8736

1. The Hebr. root *šw*<sup>ʿ</sup>, probably related to *nš*<sup>ʿ</sup> II (ni. "to be deceived," Isa 19:13; hi. "to deceive," Gen 3:13, etc., 12x; *maššā<sup>ʿ</sup>ôn* "fraud," Prov 26:26; *maššū<sup>ʿ</sup>ôt* "ruins," Psa 73:18; 74:3) and *šh* "to be ruined, devastated" (→ *š<sup>e</sup>ôl*), is also attested in SSem. (Arab. *sā<sup>ʿ</sup>a* "to be bad, evil," Wehr 438f.; Eth. *say*<sup>ʿ</sup> "wickedness," Dillmann 394). Cf. also Jew. Aram. *šah<sup>a</sup>wā<sup>ʿ</sup>* "waste" (WTM 4:515b) and Syr. *šh<sup>ʿ</sup>/šhy* "to be extinguished (fire, power)" (LS 759b).

2. According to KBL 951a, *šw*<sup>ʿ</sup> hi. "treat badly" (Psa 55:16; 89:23; according to GB 526a, *nš*<sup>ʿ</sup> hi. "to attack") occurs in the OT 2x. The noun *šāw*<sup>ʿ</sup> is attested 53x, for the most part in metrical texts (Psa 15x, Ezek 9x, Job 6x, Jer 5x, Isa 4x, Exod and Deut 3x each, Hos and Lam 2x each, Jonah, Zech, Mal, and Prov 1x each). The word occurs in Hos 12:2 and Psa 63:10 in texts emended in the light of the LXX (see *BH* 3), while the expression *ḥablê<sup>h</sup>aššāw<sup>ʿ</sup>* in Isa 5:18 is often regarded as a scribal error (*BH* 3; *BHS*; Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 192; M. J. Dahood, *CBQ* 22 [1960]: 75; G. R. Driver, *JSS* 13 [1968]: 38).

3./4. Bibl. Hebr. usually uses *šāw*<sup>ʿ</sup> in the rather general sense of "deceit" or "wickedness, falseness" (cf. M. A. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT* [1964], 315–20): in the context of the administration of justice

(Exod 23:1 “false report”; Deut 5:20 → *ʿēd šāw* “false witness” [cf. Exod 20:16 *ʿēdšeqer*, → *šqr* 4b]; Isa 59:4; Hos 10:4; cf. Psa 144:8, 11; Prov 30:8), of idol worship (Isa 1:13; Jer 18:15; Hos 12:12; Jonah 2:9; Psa 31:7), and of false prophecy (Ezek 12:24; 13:6–9, 23; 21:28, 34; 22:28; Zech 10:2; Lam 2:14[bis]). In Job 15:31(bis) the word refers to the failure of the plans of a malicious person and to the resulting evil itself (cf. → *ʿāwōn*); it also indubitably occurs in the same meaning in Isa 30:28 (MT).

The theory first formulated by S. Mowinckel (*Psalmenstudien* [1921], 1:50–57) that *šāw* indicated a magical power in ancient Israel (“disaster effected by an incantation”) is difficult to demonstrate. In almost every context, even in the Psa (cf. Psa 12:3; 26:4; 41:7; 119:37; 139:20; 144:8, 11), the word could be used in a general sense, as Mowinckel himself speculated in his later writings (*Psalms in Israel’s Worship* [1962], 2:250; cf. S. Pořbčan, *Sin in the OT* [1963], 47f.). Legislation (cf. Exod 22:17; Deut 18:10f.) and sermons (Isa 47:9; Jer 27:9; Psa 58:6, etc.) directed against magic and heathen soothsaying do indeed indicate the possibility that *šāw* may have had the meaning “magical power, magic” in some segments of ancient Israelite society. Thus the third commandment (Exod 20:7 = Deut 5:11, “you shall not pronounce (→ *nś* 3c) the name (→ *šēm* 4b) of Yahweh, your God, *laššāw* “), which makes specific reference to “the divine power present in the divine name to effect blessings and curses, adjurations and bewitchings and all kinds of magical undertakings” (Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 163; cf. von Rad, *Deut*, OTL, 57; A. Phillips, *Ancient Israel’s Criminal Law* [1970], 54ff.), can suggest a magical sense; Klopfenstein (op. cit. 315f.) includes not only Exod 20:7 = Deut 5:11 but also Isa 5:18; Psa 41:7; Job 11:11, as well as Psa 26:4 (*m<sup>ē</sup>tē-šāw* “magician, conjurer”) and Psa 24:4; Job 31:5 among the passages in which *šāw* probably means “disaster” and “magic.” Here too, however, the expression *laššāw* could describe not only magical power but its misuse (“for evil, improperly”).

At the other extreme of the semantic range, the usually accepted attenuated meaning “nothingness” or adv. “for naught, in vain” (resp., Psa 60:13 = 108:13; 89:48 txt?; Job 35:13 or Jer 2:30; 4:30; 6:29; 46:11; Mal 3:14; Psa 127:1[bis], 2; 139:20 txt?) is also somewhat problematic, then. On the basis of etymology (see 1), the translation most often attested in the LXX (*mataios*; see 5), and the majority of instances in the OT, the distinction between *laššāw* and the usual Hebr. words for “in vain” (*hinnām*, *rēqām*) seems to consist of the fuller sense of *šāw* “evil, deceit” (Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* 1:50). The Lat. translation *vanus* or *vanitas*, derived from the Gk. *mataios*, may be the origin of the modern interpretation.

5. The expression *hyy šw* (cf. Job 7:3) occurs in Sir 30:17 and *nty*

šw<sup>ʾ</sup> (cf. Psa 26:4) in 15:7. The published Qumran texts attest the word šāw<sup>ʾ</sup> 6x (Kuhn, *Konk.* 217; 3x written without ʾ; cf. K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* [1953], 67f.). Regarding the name *shewa* in Tiberian pointing, cf. BL 109; Meyer 1:61. Mod. Hebr. limits the word almost exclusively to phrases adapted from the Bible.

In the LXX *mataios*, *matēn*, etc. (about 30x), *pseudēs* (11x, usually in cultic and prophetic contexts), and *kenos* are the most common translations. Cf. O. Bauernfeind, “μάταιος,” *TDNT* 4:519–24; H. Conzelmann, “ψεῦδος,” *TDNT* 9:594–603; A. Oepke, “κενός,” *TDNT* 3:659–62.

J. F. A. Sawyer

## שוב *šûb* to return

S 7725; BDB 996b; *HAL* 4:1236a; *ThWAT* 7:1118–76; *TWOT* 2340; *NIDOTTE* 8740

1. The root *šûb* (*\*tûb*) is attested in several Sem. languages but is absent from Akk., Phoen.-Pun., and Eth. (Ug.: *WUS* no. 2828; *UT* no. 2661; Moab., Old Hebr., and Aram. inscriptions: *DISO* 293, 324; on the whole question, see W. L. Holladay, *The Root šûbh in the OT* [1958], 9–12; subsequent material includes e.g., Sef. 3.6, 20, 24f.; see B. A. Levine, “Notes on a Hebr. Ostrakon from Arad,” *IEJ* 19 [1969]: 49–51).

In the OT *šûb* occurs chiefly in the qal “to return” (intrans.) and hi. “to bring back” (trans.), rarely in the po. “to bring back” (also “to mislead”; po<sup>q</sup>lal “to be reestablished,” Ezek 38:8) and the ho. “to be brought back” (on the question of the trans. qal, see Holladay, op. cit. 114f.; regarding an intrans. hi., cf. L. Prijs, *TZ* 5 [1948]: 152f.; Holladay, op. cit. 115n.94). The following nouns derive from the root: *šûbâ* “return,” *šîbâ* (cs. st. *šîbat*, Psa 126:1; usually emended to *š<sup>c</sup>bît*, but cf. Sef. 3.24 and Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 119f.; M. Noth, *ZDPV* 77 [1961]: 149n.85; see 3c), *šôbâb* and *šôbēb* “apostate,” *m<sup>c</sup>šûbâ* “apostasy” (pl. “infidelities”; cf. Th. Sprey, *VT* 7 [1957]: 408–10), *t<sup>c</sup>šûbâ* “return” and “response” (BL 496); regarding *š<sup>c</sup>bît/š<sup>c</sup>bût* see 3c.

Regarding PNs formed with *šûb* (e.g., *ʿelyāšûb*, also the symbolic name *š<sup>c</sup>āryāšûb* Isa 7:3; cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 296f.), see *IP* 199, 213; Holladay, op. cit. 8f., 109f., 146; also Huffmon 266; Gröndahl 200.

Bibl. Aram. uses the verb in the same meaning as the Hebr. in the pe.

and ha., although in the Aram. pronunciation *tûb* (KBL 1136a).

2. For statistics, one should refer to the extensive tables in Holladay, op. cit. 6ff., 169–91. Incl. a few disputed passages (Jer 50:6 Q po.; Ezek 35:9 Q qal; Psa 23:6 qal; Dan 11:18a K hi.; 2 Chron 34:9 Q qal; also, in addition to Holladay’s list, Zech 10:6 hi. [a mixed reading; cf. BL 405]) and assigning the K/Q passages to a definite stem (K hi.: 2 Sam 15:8; Q qal: Psa 73:10; Q hi.: Jer 33:26; 49:39; Joel 4:1; Psa 54:7; Job 39:12; Prov 12:14), the following table results (“po.” also includes Ezek 38:8 po<sup>q</sup>al; *m.* = *m<sup>e</sup>šûbâ*, *t.* = *t<sup>e</sup>šûbâ*, “other” includes *šûbâ* Isa 30:15; *šîbâ* Psa 126:1; *šôbâb* 3x: Isa 57:17; Jer 3:14, 22; *šôbēb* 3x: Jer 31:22; 49:4; Mic 2:4):

	qal	hi.	ho.	po.	verb total	<i>m.</i> ( <i>t.</i> )	other
Gen 41	25	2	–	–	68	–	–
Exod 18	9	1	–	–	28	–	–
Lev 12	6	–	–	–	18	–	–
Num 21	9	1	–	–	31	–	–
Deut 21	14	–	–	–	35	–	–
Josh 33	3	–	–	–	36	–	–
Judg 20	9	–	–	–	29	–	–
1 Sam	29	16	–	–	–	45	(1) –
2 Sam	29	24	–	–	–	53	(1) –
1 Kgs39	23	–	–	–	62	(2)	–
2 Kgs42	13	–	–	–	55	–	–
Isa 32	16	–	3	–	51	–	2
Jer 76	32	1	3	–	112	9	4
Ezek 38	21	–	4	–	63	–	–
Hos 19	3	–	–	–	22	2	–
Joel 3	3	–	–	–	6	–	–
Amos6	9	–	–	–	15	–	–
Obad 1	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Jonah	4	1	–	–	–	5	– –
Mic 4	–	–	–	–	4	–	1
Nah 1	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Hab –	1	–	–	–	1	–	–
Zeph 2	–	–	–	–	2	–	–
Hag –	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Zech 14	4	–	–	–	18	–	–
Mal 5	2	–	–	–	7	–	–
Psa 42	28	–	2	–	72	–	1
Job 18	21	–	–	–	39	(2)	–
Prov 7	16	–	–	–	23	1	–

Ruth	13	2	–	–	15	–	–	
Song Sol		4	–	–	–	4	–	–
Eccl	10	–	–	–	10	–	–	
Lam	4	10	–	–	14	–	–	
Esth	4	4	–	–	8	–	–	
Dan	12	4	–	–	16	–	–	
Ezra	3	1	–	–	4	–	–	
Neh	12	8	–	–	20	–	–	
1 Chron		3	2	–	–	5	(1)	–
2 Chron		41	21	–	–	62	(1)	–
OT	683	360	5	12	1,060	12/(8)		8

The following are attested in Bibl. Aram.: *tûb* pe. 3x (Dan 4:31, 33[bis]), ha. 5x (Dan 2:14; 3:16; Ezra 5:5, 11; 6:5).

3. (a) As with other verbs of movement (→ *hlk*, → *bôʔ*, → *qûm*, → *yšʔ*, etc.), usages of *šûb* are numerous in both lit. and fig. meanings and with various subjs. (usually people, but also God, animals, things). Holladay's monograph (op. cit. 51ff.) offers an extensive treatment of the verb's usage with a detailed classification of meanings that may only be mentioned here. According to him the central meaning is: "having moved in a particular direction, to move thereupon in the opposite direction, the implication being (unless there is evidence to the contrary) that one will arrive again at the initial point of departure" (op. cit. 53); in contrast to the earlier study of E. K. Dietrich (*Die Umkehr [Bekehrung und Busse] im AT und im Judentum* [1936]), the major meaning embraces return to the point of departure, which can be significant for e.g., the theological meaning of *šûb* qal "to return (to God)." The use of *šûb* qal as a formal verb in close conjunction with another verb to express iteration (in this case, *šûb* may be best translated in Eng. with "again," etc.) may not always be easily distinguished from the chief meaning, e.g., Deut 24:4 "(after the dissolution of the second marriage) her first husband, who divorced her, may not take her as wife again (*lāšûb l'qahtāh*)" (cf. Joüon §177b and n.1).

(b) The verb form of *šûb* hi. (causative; ho. pass.) alone does not express the degree to which the obj. itself actively participates in the process ("to lead back" and "to bring back," etc.). With ellipsis of the obj. *dābār* "word," etc., the meaning "to respond" occurs (e.g., Job 13:22). While *šûb* po. can mean both "to bring back" and "to mislead" (Isa 47:10; Jer 50:6 Q), *šôbāb/šôbēb* "apostate" and *m<sup>e</sup>šûbâ* "apostasy" (from God: Jer 2:19; 3:6, 8, 11f., 22; 5:6; 8:5; 14:7; Josh 11:7 txt?; 14:5; Prov 1:32) have only the negative sense; in contrast, *t<sup>e</sup>šûbâ* can have a neutral or positive sense ("return" 1 Sam 7:17; "return of the year = spring" 2 Sam 11:1; 1 Kgs 20:22,

26; 1 Chron 20:1; 2 Chron 36:10; “response” Job 21:34; 34:36).

(c) The much-discussed usage of *šûb qal/hi. (ʔet-) š<sup>e</sup>bût/š<sup>e</sup>bît* “to turn fate, bring about a change,” etc. constitutes a special problem (summary of the material in Holladay, op. cit. 110–14; on the K/Q forms, see R. Borger, *ZAW* 66 [1954]: 315f.; regarding interpretation, cf. e.g., E. Preuschen, *ZAW* 15 [1895]: 1–74; E. Baumann, *ZAW* 47 [1929]: 17–44; N. Schlögl, *WZKM* 38 [1931]: 68–75; furthermore, e.g., N. H. Snaith, *Jewish New Year Festival* [1947], 73–75; G. Fohrer, *TLZ* 85 [1960]: 412 [= *Studien zur atl. Prophetie* (1967), 46]; A. Guillaume, *Abr Nahrain* 3 [1961/62]: 8; J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* [1962], 392f.; H. Cazelles, *GLECS* 9 [1960/63]: 57–60; H. D. Preuss, *Jahweglaube und Zukunftserwartung* [1968], 61 [n.115 with bibliog.], 141). The expression occurs 27x (with *šûb qal* 18x: Deut 30:3; Jer 29:14; 30:3, 18; 31:23; 48:47; Ezek 16:53; 29:14; Hos 6:11; Amos 9:14; Zeph 2:7; 3:20; Psa 14:7 = 53:7; 85:2; 126:1 [*šibat*, see 1], 4; Job 42:10; with *šûb hi.* 9x: Jer 32:44; 33:7, 11, 26 Q; 49:6, 39 Q; Ezek 39:25; Joel 4:1 Q; Lam 2:14), always with God as subj. The use of *šûb qal* with an obj. is noteworthy; the etymology of *š<sup>e</sup>bût/š<sup>e</sup>bît* is particularly disputed (from *šbh* “to lead away captive”; cf. Num 21:29, *š<sup>e</sup>bît* “captivity”; or from *šûb*, as suggested by the passage mentioned in 1, Old Aram. Sef. inscription 3.24f.: *wk<sup>t</sup> hšbw ʔhn by[t ʔby]* “now, however, the gods have reestablished my paternal dynasty”; cf. *KAI* 2:265, 271; Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 119f.; Noth, op. cit.).

Presumably a relatively late innovation (in the event that Amos 9:14 should be dated late; on the gloss in Hos 6:11 see Rudolph, *KAT* 13/1, 143f.), the usage has received several different interpretations. Those who derive the subst. *š<sup>e</sup>bût* (like *š<sup>e</sup>bît*) from *šbh* and translate “to end the captivity” (e.g., Preuschen, op. cit.) must reinterpret Job 42:10, which excludes this meaning. Those who translate “to turn fate, bring about a change” (Dietrich, op. cit.) assume a secondary, post-exilic assimilation to the phonetically similar *š<sup>e</sup>bît* to explain the reference to the exile and the restoration. Those who translate “to remove culpability” (Baumann, op. cit.; *KBL* 940b) wish thereby to attain the concept of liberation from the exile. The second solution is now almost universally accepted (Holladay, op. cit. 113), although it does not resolve the problem of the trans. use of *šûb qal*.

The expression should probably be compared with that which Fohrer (op. cit.) has described as “restoration of the former” in the context of a “restorative eschatology”; in Lindblom’s opinion (op. cit.), it has affinities with H. Gunkel’s concept of the correspondence between beginning time and end time.

\*(d) Verbs with similar meanings (change of the direction of motion) and partial agreement in some manners of usage are listed in Holladay (op. cit. 54f., 155f.) and

contrasted with *šûb*: (1) *sbb* qal “to turn around, go around” (qal 90x, ni. 20x, po. 12, pi. “to transform,” 1x, hi. 32x, ho. 6x, verb a total of 161x in the OT; the most important nom. derivative is *sābîb* “surroundings, environment; around,” 336x, 112x in Ezek, 28x in Jer, 19x each in 1 Kgs and Psa, 18x in Num); (2) → *sûr* “to turn aside from the direction taken”; (3) *pnh* “to turn” (→ *pānîm*); (4) *sûg* qal “to diverge, be rebellious” (3x; ni. “to pull back,” 14x; ni. “to disturb,” 7x, ho. “to be driven forth,” Isa 59:14); (5) *hpk* qal “to turn, turn around, transform,” also “to face about” (Judg 20:39, 41, etc.; in the OT qal 55x, ni. “to turn,” 34x, ho. “to turn,” Job 30:15, hitp. 4x; in all, the verb appears 94x).

4. (a) The theological use of the fig. meaning of *šûb* encompasses to a lesser degree apostasy from God (*šûb mēʾah<sup>a</sup>reʾe*, e.g., Num 14:43) and turning away from evil (*šûb min*, e.g., 1 Kgs 8:35), as well as, primarily, repentance and return to God (*šûb ʾel-/ʾad-*, etc., e.g., Deut 30:2). Holladay treats 164 passages (verb and noun) in this sense as examples of the “covenantal usage” (op. cit. 116–57), while most studies treat the concept of return to God predominantly under the heading “repentance” (in addition to other terms such as → *bqš* pi., → *drš* qal, etc.; cf. e.g., Dietrich, op. cit.; Eichrodt 2:466–74; G. Fohrer, “Umkehr und Erlösung beim Propheten Hosea,” *TZ* 11 [1955]: 161–85 = *Studien zur atl. Prophetie* [1967], 222–41; H. W. Wolff, “Das Thema ‘Umkehr’ in der atl. Prophetie,” *ZTK* 48 [1951]: 129–48 = *GS* 130–50; id., “Kerygma of the Deuteronomistic Historical Work,” in W. Brueggemann and Wolff, *Vitality of OT Traditions* [1982], 83–100, esp. 90ff.). The necessity of repentance is particularly emphasized (b) in the prophets and (c) in the Dtr and Chr histories.

(b) The object of repentance in the prophets is the “reestablishment of an original status,” namely “in the sense of return to the original relationship with Yahweh” (Wolff, “Thema,” 134 and 135, resp.). Naturally, one should not understand this statement as though everything must return to the old state but rather that “such a ‘return’ (constitutes) only the starting point for a completely new beginning” (Fohrer, op. cit. 164n.7 and 225n.7, resp.). The two ideas complement one another, the more so since we have only one, although important, concrete example of such a return: Josiah’s reform (2 Kgs 22–23 par. 2 Chron 34–35). Josiah’s willingness to return to the old ways is apparent, and yet something entirely new begins. According to those who now argue for the great antiquity of the covenant idea, this reform involves the reenforcement of old covenant regulations that the people settled in Canaan have abandoned.

In Amos *šûb* seems primarily to be a technical term for the people’s repentance (Amos 4:6–11, where the statement that the people do not want to repent has become the refrain of the unit). In Hos the idea is amplified and clarified by the marriage-law version in which it appears: here Yahweh is the abandoned, deceived husband to whom the unfaithful people should “return”; since, however, Israel does not wish to do so, it

shall “return” to Egypt under judgment (Hos 11:1–11; cf. also 5:4). The meaning of 6:1ff. is disputed: Does it involve a genuine repentance or is it a concern that the people have not confronted deeply and seriously enough and that is consequently useless, perhaps even harmful? Most scholars incline toward the second explanation since they find concepts from syncretistic piety in the text. Jeremiah newly develops the idea of marriage (Jer 3:1f.; cf. also 8:4–7; 14:2ff.; 15:15ff.); attention should be paid to wordplays with various terms of the root *šûb* (3:12, 14, 22; 8:4f.; 15:19). Isaiah also gives prominence to the return idea (Isa 30:15); the name of his first son *š<sup>e</sup>ar yāšûb* even becomes programmatic (7:3ff.; → *š<sup>r</sup>* 4d).

The pre-exilic prophets certainly considered such a return possible, for the most part, and placed great hope in it, even if fundamental doubts arise in Jer 13:23, “Can Ethiopians change (*hpk qal*) their skin?” (NRSV).

(c) The Dtr and Chr histories exhort repentance with similar force and place it before the hearers for decision; to this end, the pertinent words are often placed in the mouths of important persons from Israel’s past or the pertinent actions are attributed to them: Moses, Deut 30:1–10; Samuel, 1 Sam 7:3; Solomon, 1 Kgs 8:33ff., 46–53 par. 2 Chron 6:24ff., 36–39; Yahweh through anonymous prophets, 2 Kgs 17:13; Josiah, 2 Kgs 23:25; Yahweh himself through Moses and Nehemiah, Neh 1:9, etc.

The question of the possibility of such repentance is treated differently in the Dtr and Chr histories than in the prophets: for the Dtr the disaster that would have been averted by the people’s repentance has already arrived, and the task of proclamation is now to lead the people to the necessary recognition. Indeed, the Chr addresses the question later, yet still under similar conditions, with the difference that the entire argumentation of the Dtr history can be joined directly to the prophetic message. The exhortation to return to Yahweh, primarily positive in the prophets at first, is accompanied later by the negative counterpart: to turn away from the evil (sin, lechery, idol worship, etc.); this demand is particularly vital in Jer and Ezek and “is more concrete and urgent than the more abstract call for conversion” (namely, return) to Yahweh (E. Würthwein, *TDNT* 4:986).

5. The LXX and the other Gk. Vers. translate *šûb* primarily with *strephein* and derivatives (about 70%; Vg.: *vertere* and derivatives, about 60%; cf. Holladay, op. cit. 13–50). The use of *šûb* in the Qumran community is manifold (Kuhn, *Konk.* 134c, 217c–19a, 237b; id., *RQ* 14 [1963]: 208a, 229f.) in respect to the *šby<sup>2</sup>yšr<sup>2</sup>l* “the returnees of Israel” (CD 4:2, etc.). In hellenistic Judaism the return idea appears not only in the apocalyptic books, where it belongs almost self-evidently, but also in wisdom and other literatures (e.g., Sir 17:24–26). God demonstrates his grace to those who repent (Pr Man 13); indeed, with repentance as the

obj., he even overlooks one's sins (Wis 11:23); sometimes he even gives repentance himself (Wis 12:19; Pr Man 8) or makes it spiritually possible (Wis 12:10). Repentance is the goal of his control in history (Sir 48:14f.; Wis 11:23; 12:10, 18ff.). (Negative) turning away is also emphasized (Sir 48:15; Wis 12:19). "Conversion (i.e., repentance) is the presupposition of deliverance" (Würthwein, *TDNT* 4:992), certainly as an adaptation and development of prophetic thought, although it does not dispel the danger of legalism. Regarding the NT, cf. J. Behm and E. Würthwein, "μετανοέω," *TDNT* 4:975–1008; G. Bertram, "στρέφω," *TDNT* 7:714–29.

J. A. Soggin

### שחת *šht* pi./hi. **to ruin**

S 7843; BDB 1007b; *HAL* 4:1363a; *ThWAT* 7:1214–18; *TWOT* 2370; *NIDOTTE* 8845

1. The root *šht* "to ruin," etc. is represented in the NWSem. languages (Ug.: *UT* no. 2400, cf. *WUS* no. 2593; Phoen.: Kilamuwa [= *KAI* no. 24], ll. 15f.; cf. *DISO* 295; Aram., beginning with Old Aram.; cf. *DISO* 295; *KBL* 1129b; *LS* 771f.; Syr., in addition to *šht* pa./ap., also with partial assimilation *šht*, cf. Eth. *saḥaṭa* "to injure" [Dillmann 332f.] and Arab. *saḥata* "to destroy").

The assumption of an ESem. counterpart in Akk. *šētu* "to escape" (*LS* 771b) would require a semantic development of *šht* similar to that of → *ʾbd* "to be destroyed" (so GB 820a; *KBL* 962b); regarding the trans. basic meaning of *šht* in Hebr. (and Arab.), cf., however, *HP* 242f.

In the Hebr. OT *šht* ni., pi., hi., and ho. occur (on the distinction between pi. and hi., see *HP* 259–63), and the nom. derivatives *mišḥāt* "disfigurement" (Isa 52:14), *mašḥēt* "destruction" (Ezek 9:1), and *mošḥāt* "corruption" (Lev 22:25); the hi. ptcp. *mašḥîṭ* also often displays the abstract meaning "ruin." In Bibl. Aram. the subst. pe. pass. ptcp. *šḥîṭ* depicts "something bad."

2. *šht* hi. occurs 6x in the Hebr. OT (Gen 6:11f.; Exod 8:20; Jer 13:7; 18:4; Ezek 20:44), pi. 39x (Gen and Ezek 7x each), hi. 115x, 96x verbally and 19x with a subst. ptcp. *mašḥîṭ* (Jer 14 + 4x, 2 Chron 10 + 2x, Isa 9 + 1x, Deut and Psa 9x each, Gen 8x), ho. 2x (Mal 1:14; Prov 25:26), *mašḥēt*, *mišḥāt*, and *mošḥāt* 1x each, thus the verbal usage 143x of a total of 165

instances of the root. The pe. pass. ptcp. *šḥîṭ* also occurs in Bibl. Aram. 3x (Dan 2:9; 6:5[bis]).

3. (a) The trans. function of the two most often used stems, hi. and pi., are distinguished from the supposed qal meaning “to ruin suddenly” (*HP* 259) by the particular relationship that exists between the subj. and obj. of the action: in *šḥt* hi. the obj. caused to act coincides with the subj. of the caused action: “to cause oneself to ruin something suddenly” (inner-causative or cognate acc.; cf. *HP* 250ff.); in *šḥt* pi., the fully pass. obj. is shifted to the attained result: “to make suddenly ruined/destroyed” (resultative). *šḥt* hi. indicates potential, intended, and thus often modally expressed ruin; *šḥt* pi. the merely resultatively depicted production of the circumstance resulting from the act of destruction. Subj. elements of the verb forms (BrSynt §40e) indicate the relation between the destructive act and its subj. depicted in the hi. or the pi. and confirm the semantic distinctions deduced to this point: *šḥt* hi. used potentially appears predominantly in the emphatic use of the impf. (43x; also 17x as a verbally used ptcp.); in contrast, it occurs rarely in the declaratory perspective of the pf. (12x), while resultative *šḥt* pi. can appropriately realize its expressive intention in the pf. (20x) but is not attested in the impf. and ptcp.

The direct and indirect subjs. of *šḥt* pi./hi. occur mostly in the sg. and personally (hi. in an isolated case with animals, Psa 78:45), rarely objectively (pi. Gen 9:11, 15), never abstractly. Persons and circumlocutions for persons also dominate descriptions of the activity of the obj.; things (hi. Jer 6:5; Ruth 4:6) and abstracts (pi. Ezek 28:17; Amos 1:11) occur only a few times.

(b) The verb always refers to a ruin effected in the realm of community or individual experience: in battle (hi.: Judg 6:4; 20:21, 25, 35, 42; 2 Sam 11:1; 20:15; 2 Chron 24:23; pi.: 1 Sam 23:10; 2 Kgs 19:12), in public and private daily life (hi.: 1 Sam 6:5; 26:9; Isa 65:8; Jer 49:9; Mal 3:11; Prov 6:32; Ruth 4:6; 2 Chron 34:11; pi.: Exod 21:26; 2 Sam 14:11; Nah 2:3; ni.: Jer 13:7).

That *šḥt* is anchored particularly firmly in the conceptual realm of war is also perceptible in the development of the hi. ptcp. into a technical military term: it indicates a particular division in ancient Near Eastern armies (1 Sam 13:17; 14:15; Jer 22:7; cf. Ezek 21:36; see M. Th. Houtsma, *ZAW* 27 [1907]: 59).

(c) Nuances of *šḥt* become clearer in comparison with accompanying verbs and phrases that signify “destruction” or the opposite in their own ways. The following verbs, among others, accompany *šḥt* hi.: → *ʔkl* “to devour” (Jer 2:30; 15:3; Psa 78:45), *blʿ* pi. “to ruin” (2 Sam 20:20; Lam 2:8), → *krt* qal “to cut down” (Deut 20:19f.; Jer 11:19), → *rʿc* hi. “to do evil”

(Isa 1:4; 11:9; 65:25), → *šbt* hi. “to destroy” (Isa 36:29), → *šmd* hi. “to destroy” (Psa 106:23), → *ħrm* hi. “to annihilate” (Isa 37:11f.), *npš* pi. “to smash” (Jer 51:20), → *tʿb* hi. “to act abominably” (Psa 14:1 = 53:2); even more varied verbs of force accompany *šht* pi. (due to its resultative meaning): *bûs* po. “to trample” (Jer 12:10), *blʿ* pi. “to ruin” (Lam 2:5), *bqq* qal “to devastate” (Nah 2:3), *hpk* qal “to destroy” (Gen 19:29), *hrg* qal “to murder” (Isa 14:20), *hrs* qal “to slash” (Ezek 26:4), *ħms* qal “to devastate” (Lam 2:6), *ktr* ni. “to be eradicated” (Gen 9:11), *nkh* hi. “to strike” (Exod 21:26), *šhh* pi. “to sweep away” (Ezek 26:4), *šdd* qal “to devastate” (Jer 48:18), *šmd* hi. “to destroy” (2 Sam 14:11).

In opposition to *šht* pi./hi. stand e.g., → *nsl* hi. “to deliver” (2 Kgs 19:12 = Isa 37:12), → *šʾr* hi. “to leave over” (Judg 6:4; Jer 49:9), → *nħm* ni. “to have pity” (2 Sam 24:16; Jer 15:6; 1 Chron 21:15); cf. also e.g., 2 Kgs 13:23; Jer 13:14.

4. In theological usage, *šht* refers to God’s destructive judgment, indicated in each case by verb forms, but also to the “ruined” human deed (Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:414–16). Relationships to the use of the verb in the political and private realms are lively (ni.: Exod 8:20; Jer 13:7; 18:4; pi.: Isa 14:20; Jer 12:10; Ezek 26:4; hi.: Jer 2:30; 6:5; 15:3; 51:20; Ezek 23:11; Psa 78:45). The agent of the act of destruction is Yahweh/God or his assistant in judgment (flood, Gen 9:11, 15; animals, Exod 8:20; Jer 15:3; enemy army, 2 Kgs 18:25; Jer 6:5).

In the Passover tradition, Yahweh himself in the form of the angel of destruction moves against the Egyptians (Exod 12:23 J; v 13 P; cf. L. Rost, *ZDPV* 66 [1943]: 208f. = Rost, *KC* 104; O. Keel, *ZAW* 84 [1972]: 414–34); according to other conceptions, Yahweh brings the slayer against Israel (2 Sam 24:16; 1 Chron 21:15) or against Judah (Jer 4:7; 22:7). Concerning the tradition of a circle of seven destroyers (Ezek 9:1ff.), see Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:246f. The various concepts of the slayer (hi. ptcp.) probably go back to the function of the army unit with the same designation (see 3b).

The contexts of verbal *šht* are announcements of judgment (hi. Gen 6:13; 19:13f.; Jer 13:9, 14; 36:29; 51:20; 1 Chron 21:12; 2 Chron 25:16; pi. Jer 48:18; Ezek 5:16; 26:4; 30:11; Hos 13:9 txt em), accusations (hi. Jer 6:28; 51:25; Ezek 16:47; Zeph 3:7; pi. Exod 32:7; Isa 14:20; Ezek 22:30; 28:17; Hos 9:9; Amos 1:11; Mal 2:8), presentations of the theology of history (hi. Jer 15:6; Ezek 23:11; Psa 78:45), theological assessments (hi. Gen 6:12; Deut 4:25; Judg 2:19; 2 Chron 26:16; 27:2; pi. Gen 13:10; Deut 32:5; ni. Gen 6:12), complaints concerning the enactment of divine judgment (hi. Lam 2:8; cf. Isa 51:13; pi. Lam 2:5f.), intercessions of the mediator or the prophet (hi. Gen 18:28; Deut 9:26; 10:10; Ezek 9:8),

exhortations (hi. Deut 4:16; 2 Chron 35:21), apodictic (hi. Lev 19:27; Deut 20:19f.) or casuistic laws (pi. Exod 21:26).

Negated *šht* can form a distinct contrast in reference to God's act of deliverance or salvation. It implies Yahweh's beneficial intervention to the hearer against the very background of the act of destruction that its normal usage recalls. *šht* occurs in declarations of the intention to withhold judgment (hi. Gen 18:28, 31f., conditional; cf. 2 Chron 12:7; pi. Gen 9:11, 15; Hos 11:9), announcements of the partial divine act (hi. Isa 65:8; cf. Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 404), retrospectives (hi. Psa 78:38; pi. Ezek 20:17), theological assessments (hi. Deut 4:31; 2 Kgs 8:19; 13:23; 2 Chron 12:12; 21:7), and descriptions of the state of well-being (hi. Isa 11:9; 65:25).

The subst. *mišhāt* “disfigured” describes the effect of the humiliation of Yahweh's servant on people (Isa 52:14; see Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 258f.), the subst. hi. ptcp. “disfigurement” the effect of the vision on the viewer (Dan 10:8).

In apocalyptic, *šht* depicts the coming destruction (hi. Dan 8:24f.; 9:26; 11:17).

5. Counterparts of *šht* in the LXX involve primarily the word group *phtheirein* (91x; see G. Harder, *TDNT* 9:98f.). Regarding occurrences in the published Qumran literature, see Kuhn, *Konk.* 219f.; on the subsequent history of the term in talmudic and midrashic literature, as well as in the NT, see G. Harder, “φθείρω,” *TDNT* 9:93–106.

D. Vetter

## שׂיר *šîr* to sing

S 7891; BDB 1010b; *HAL* 4:1371a; *ThWAT* 7:1259–95; *TWOT* 2378; *NIDOTTE* 8876

1. The root *šîr* “to sing” is also attested outside the OT (and dependent on it in Jew. Aram. and Christ. Pal.) in Ug. (verb and subst.; cf. *WUS* no. 2682; *UT* no. 2409).

A Neo-Pun. occurrence is uncertain (*DISO* 298). *šîr* should not be associated with Akk. *sâru* “to circle, dance” (*AHW* 1031b; contra KBL 965b). G. Rinaldi (*Bib* 40 [1959]: 285f.; cf. Zorell 839a) derives *šîr* from Sum. ŠR/Akk. *šēru* “song,” etc.

The verb occurs in the OT in the qal (the ptcp. *šār[â]* “singer” is subst.

in the pl.), po., and hi.; the subst. *šîr* “singing, song” and *šîrâ* “(individual, particular) song” (fem. noun of the unit, Meyer 2:42) also occur.

2. The verb occurs 87x in the OT: qal 49x (subst. ptcp. 11x; 27x in Psa), po. 37x (Neh 17x, Ezra, 1 Chron, and 2 Chron 6x each; see Zeph 2:14; Job 36:24), ho. 1x (Isa 26:1). The subst. *šîr* occurs 77x (Psa 42x, 1 Chron and 2 Chron 7x each, Isa 5x), *šîrâ* 13x (Exod 15:1, Song of the Sea; Num 21:17, Song of the Well; Deut 31:19[bis], 21f., 30; and 32:44, Song of Moses; 2 Sam 22:1 = Psa 18:1, psalm of David; Isa 5:1, Song of the Vineyard; 23:15, song mocking the prostitute; Amos 8:3 txt em: *šārôt* “singers”).

Both the verb and the subst. *šîr* are attested chiefly in cultically defined contexts or contexts with a particular interest in the cult. Thus *šîr* qal occurs 27x in Psa, *šîr* po. 35x in the Chr history, the subst. *šîr* 42x in Psa and 17x in the Chr history.

3./4. One may not clearly distinguish a profane from a specifically theological usage of the verb *šîr*. Singing and instrumental music are fundamental components of the cult; sacral and profane music became distinct only later (cf. C. Westermann, *RGG* 4:1201–5, with bibliog.). Thus *šîr* refers to profane singing in only three passages (Isa 5:1; Zeph 2:14, the song of a bird; Prov 25:20). Already in Num 21:17 (the dedication of a well) and 1 Sam 18:6 (greeting a king after a battle), *šîr* refers to songs that are not of unequivocally profane nature but approach the sacral. In most passages *šîr* refers not to singing intended solely for aesthetic effect but to the musical performance of address to God formulated in fixed language, usually of praise. Thus impvs. call for singing “to Yahweh” (*šîrûl<sup>c</sup>yhwh* Exod 15:21; Isa 42:10; Jer 20:13; Psa 96:1b = 1 Chron 16:23a; Psa 96:1a, 2; 98:1; 149:1; cf. 33:3; 68:5, 33; 105:2 = 1 Chron 16:9), or the singer declares the intention to sing to Yahweh (*šîrâ<sup>c</sup>l<sup>c</sup>yhwh* Exod 15:1; Psa 13:6; cf. Judg 5:3; Psa 27:6; 101:1). *šîr* indicates joyous singing in praise of God, under some circumstances with instrumental accompaniment, as clearly demonstrated by the par. usage of *zmr* “to play music” (Judg 5:3; Psa 21:14; 57:8; 68:5, 33; 101:1; 104:33, etc.; already Ug. *šr* with *dmr* in *KTU* 1.108.3 [= *Ugaritica* 5:551]; cf. S. E. Loewenstamm, *VT* 19 [1969]: 464–70; *zmr* pi. 45x in the OT, additionally *zāmîr* “song,” 6x; *zimrâ* “melody, song,” 4x; *mizmôr* “psalm,” 57x, only in Psa superscriptions), → *hll* pi. “to praise” (Jer 20:13; cf. Isa 42:10 *tehilla*®), → *rnn* “to rejoice” (Psa 59:17), and → *brk* pi. “to praise” (Psa 96:2).

Except for 2 Chron 9:11 (= 1 Kgs 10:12) and 35:25 (qal ptcp.), the Chr history attests *šîr* exclusively in the po. ptcp. *m<sup>c</sup>šôrēr*, it designates the singer serving in the temple (Ezra 2:41, 65, 70, etc.; Neh 7:1, 44, 67, 72, etc.; 1 Chron 6:18; 9:33, etc.; 2 Chron 5:12f., etc.) and often occurs in lists

with other designations for cultic officials such as *kōh<sup>a</sup>nîm* “priests,” *l<sup>e</sup>wîyîm* “Levites,” *šō<sup>a</sup>rîm* “doorkeepers,” and *n<sup>e</sup>tîmîm* “temple servants” (cf. Ezra 2:70; 7:7; Neh 7:72; 10:29, 40; 12:44f.).

The subst. *šîr* also indicates primarily cultic song; in addition, however, *šîr* can be used in the general meaning of “singing, song” (cf. Gen 31:27; Isa 23:16; 24:9; Ezek 26:13; 33:32; Amos 8:10; Prov 25:20; Eccl 7:5; 12:4). *šîr* occurs 30x as a psalm designation in Psa superscriptions, often together with *mizmôr* (Psa 30; 45; 46; 48; 65–68; 75; 76; 83; 87; 88; 92; 108; 120–134). The par. use of *šîr* and *mizmôr* in some Psa superscriptions has led researchers to speculate concerning the interrelationship of the two terms. Thus L. Delekat (“Probleme der Psalmüberschriften,” ZAW 76 [1964]: 280–97) concluded that *mizmôr*, derived from *zmr* “to play music,” indicates “an art song with instrumental accompaniment” (op. cit. 280), sung by an individual, while *šîr* referred originally to an a capella recitative and had the meaning “folk song.” He bases this distinction on the reference to the intensive zeugma *šîrâ wa<sup>a</sup>zamm<sup>e</sup>râ* “I will sing and play music” (Psa 27:6; 57:8, etc.). Yet this thesis seems insufficiently grounded; one should not assume a distinction between *šîr* and *mizmôr* (cf. S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien* 4 [1923]; Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:21f.). *šîr* indicates not only a recitative but also instrumentally accompanied song. Thus various musical instruments are mentioned in relation to *šîr*: *kinnôr* “zither” and *tōp* “tambourine” (Gen 31:27), *nēbel* “harp” (Amos 5:23), *nēbel āsôr* “ten-stringed harp” (Psa 144:9), with *kinnôr*, *nēbel*, and *tōp*, also *m<sup>e</sup>šiltayim* “cymbals” and *ḥ<sup>a</sup>šōš<sup>e</sup>râ* “trumpets” (1 Chron 13:8). The expression *k<sup>e</sup>lê šîr* “musical instruments” (Amos 6:5; Neh 12:36; 1 Chron 16:42; 2 Chron 7:6; 23:13; 34:12), which appears in 1 Chron 15:16 and 2 Chron 5:13 together with a list of musical instruments, also indicates the instrumental accompaniment of cult songs (cf. also Kraus, op. cit. 1:21; regarding the musical instruments in the OT, cf. H. Gressmann, *Musik und Musikinstrumente im AT* [1903]; S. B. Finesinger, “Musical Instruments in the OT,” HUCA 3 [1926]: 21–76; M. Wegner, *Die Musikinstrumente des Alten Orients* [1950]; furthermore, BRL 389–94; C. Westermann, RGG 4:1201–5; E. Werner, IDB 3:457–76, with bibliog.; G. Wallis, BHH 2:1258–62).

Phrases with *šîr* suggest a close relationship to the cult: *šîr t<sup>e</sup>hillâ* “song of praise” (Neh 12:46); *šîr hamma<sup>a</sup>lôt* “pilgrimage song” (Psa 120–134; cf. Kraus, op. cit. 1:23f.); *šîr ḥ<sup>a</sup>nukkat habbayit* “temple dedication song” (30:1); *šîr šiyyôn* “Zion song” (137:3); *šîr bēt yhw<sup>h</sup>* “Yahweh temple song” (1 Chron 6:16; 25:6).

In a series of psalms, an impv. call to praise at the beginning of the

psalm calls for singing a “new song” (*šîr ḥādāš*) to Yahweh (Isa 42:10; Psa 96:1; 98:1; 149:1; cf. Psa 33:3; 40:4; 144:9; → *ḥādāš* 4b). This new song corresponds to God’s new deeds; only a new song can respond to Yahweh’s new act (cf. Kraus, op. cit. 2:264f.; Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 102).

The subst. *šîrâ* (see 2) designates not only cultic but also the most secular songs (Isa 5:1, Song of the Vineyard; 23:15 “prostitute song”) and in Deut 31 a didactic song.

5. The available Qumran texts do not attest *šîr*. The LXX translation of the verb is not uniform; *šîr* is predominantly rendered with *adein*, however. The subst. *šîr* is translated primarily with *ōdē*, in addition to *asma*, *hymnos* (Isa 42:10; Neh 12:46) and *psalmos* (Psa 46:1; 65:1) are also used occasionally. Cf. H. Schlier, “ὕδω,” *TDNT* 1:163–65; G. Delling, “ὕμνος,” *TDNT* 8:489–503.

R. Ficker

## שׁכַּח *škh* to forget

S 7911; BDB 1013a; *HAL* 4:1380a; *ThWAT* 7:1318–23; *TWOT* 2383; *NIDOTTE* 8894

1. The root *škh* is also attested outside Hebr. in Aram., although in a different meaning.

(a) The Aram. ha./ap. of the verb *škh* (see KBL 1130a) means “to find,” the equally common reflexive-pass. hitpe./itp. “to find oneself” (Cowley no. 34.4; J. Starcky, *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre* [1949], 10, no. 127.3 txt?) and “to be found.”

This meaning assumes two nuances in Bibl. Aram. (see E. Vogt, *Lexicon Linguae Aramaicae Veteris Testamenti* [1971], 165b–66a), as in Imp. Aram. (see *DISO* 299):

(1) “to find” in the sense of “to find by seeking, inquiring, investigating,” as e.g., in Ezra 4:14f., par. to *yd<sup>c</sup>* “to learn”: “we will communicate with the king so that the annals of your fathers may be searched (*bqr* pa.), and you will find in the annals and learn that this city is a rebellious city” (cf. 4:19), or in Ah. 34f.: “(This Ahiqar), you should seek (*h<sup>h</sup>*) a place where you will find him (and kill him)” (cf. P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d’Égypte* [1972], 449; and see Ah. 76); the verb is employed in this usage of the finding of persons (Dan 2:25; 6:12; cf. Cowley no. 34.4 and at Qumran, 1QapGen 22:7) and things (e.g., a scroll, Ezra 6:2; grounds for an accusation, Dan 6:5f.; cf. Cowley no. 27.2,

13; no. 38.6f.; or other things, Dan 2:35; 6:24; cf. Cowley no. 30.14; no. 38.3f.; and at Qumran, 1QapGen 21:19); moreover, of the discovery of particular capacities or characteristics of persons (the “illumination, insight, and extraordinary wisdom” of Daniel, Dan 5:11f., 14; Daniel’s innocence, 6:23; see also for the hitpe., 5:27 “you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting—i.e., too light”);

(2) “to find” in the sense of “to achieve, acquire” (cf. *Frahang-i-Pahlavik*, ch. XX9e; E. Ebeling, *MAOG* 14/1 [1941]: 47), as in Ezra 7:16 “everything gold and silver that you will acquire in the entire province of Babel” (cf. Cowley no. 13.5; no. 42.7f.) and at Qumran—in a religious usage—4QTL Levi 1:15 “[in order to find mercy before you” (J. T. Milik, *RB* 62 [1955]: 400); *škh* (ap.) with an adjoining inf. construction in 1QapGen 21:13 probably also belongs in this category: “I will make your seed like the dust of the earth, so that no one will find [it possible]/succeed to count them” (cf. Vogt, op. cit. 166a; yet see also Fitzmyer, *Gen.Ap.* 150f., who thinks of an ap. meaning “to be able” here—analogueous to the Gk. *heuriskein* with a subsequent inf. in Luke 6:7; cf. BAGD 325b).

(b) In contrast, the meaning of the root *škh* in Hebr. is “to forget.” In addition to the qal “to forget,” the verb *škh* also occurs here in the ni. “to sink into oblivion, be forgotten,” the pi. “to cause to sink into oblivion” (Lam 2:6; cf. Sir 11:25, 27; and see *HP* 229), the hi. “to make to forget” (Jer 23:27), and the hitp. “to be forgotten” (Eccl 8:10). The adj. *šākēah* “forgetting” (Isa 65:11; Psa 9:18), formed according to the *qatil* nom. paradigm (Meyer 2:25), is attested as a nom. derivative of the root.

2. Forms of the root *škh* occur in the OT a total of 122x, 104x in the Hebr. (qal 86x: Psa 31x, Deut 13x; ni. 13x; pi. 1x; hi. 1x; hitp. 1x; *šākēah* 2x) and 18x in the Aram. portions of the OT (ha. 9x; hitpe. 9x). The root does not appear in the books Exod–Num, Josh, 2 Sam, 1 Kgs, Joel, Obad–Mal, Ruth, Song Sol, Esth, and Neh–2 Chron.

3. As an antonym of → *zkr* “to remember” (Gen 40:23; Deut 9:7; 1 Sam 1:11; Isa 17:10; 23:16; 54:4; Psa 9:13; 137:5f.; Job 11:16; 24:20; Prov 31:7; cf. *zikkārôn/zēker* in Eccl 2:16; 9:5), *škh*—like the synonymous verb *nšh* (par. to *škh* in Deut 32:18 txt em; cf. GKC §75s)—means “to forget” in the sense of persons and things temporally or spatially “distant” (“far from people” Job 28:4, in reference to miners who are underground during the day) or “hidden from the eyes” (Isa 65:16), “not on one’s mind” (Deut 4:9), so that one is no longer conscious and aware of them (cf. the negated par. verbs *rʾh* “to see,” 1 Sam 1:11; Psa 10:11, and *yd<sup>c</sup>* ni. “to be perceived, sense,” Gen 41:30f.). In addition to this slipping from memory, *škh* can also refer to overlooking something lying before one’s eyes (a sheaf on the harvest field, Deut 24:19; ornament and sash[?], Jer 2:32). Or it results from the overpowering of the consciousness of present events and obligations through experiences and endeavors of a different nature and through the enjoyment of intoxicants (wine, Prov 31:5, 7). In particular, however, forgetting results from the conscious neglect of present persons,

things, obligations, empirical data (Job 39:15), and modes of behavior that one “casts behind one’s back, disdains” (*šlk* hi. *ʔahʔreʔgawwô* Ezek 23:35), from which one “conceals one’s countenance” (*str* hi. *pānīm* Psa 10:11; 13:2; 44:25), or “shuts off” one’s attention (*qps*, of Yahweh in reference to his mercy, Psa 77:10), so that the meaning “to omit” results for *škh* in reference to actions (Deut 25:19; Job 9:27; Prov 4:5).

Occurrences of *škh* with *nʔs* “to disdain, reject” (Lam 2:6 pi.), *nṯh min* “to turn aside from” (Prov 4:5), *ʕbr* “to transgress (commandments)” (Deut 26:13), *ʕzb* “to abandon” (Isa 49:14; 65:11 adj.; Job 9:27; Prov 2:17; Lam 5:20), *šqr* pi. *be* “to act deceitfully toward” (Psa 44:18), as an antonym of *nʔr* “to keep, observe (commandments)” (Prov 3:1), and in the context of verbs that express alienation (*zûr min* “to be alienated from someone”; *ḥšb lʔzār* “to consider a stranger”; *hyh nokrî* “to become a stranger”) and distance (*rḥq* hi. *mēʕal* “to move away from”; *ḥdl* “to stay away”) from a near and trusted person (Job 19:13–15), or in contrast to *drš* “to ask after, be concerned with” (Jer 30:14).

Descendants of the dead forget them (evildoers, Job 24:20; righteous, Eccl 8:10; generally, Psa 31:13; Eccl 2:16; 9:5), as do the contemporaries of the living (Gen 40:23; Isa 23:16 ni.; 49:15; Jer 30:14; Job 19:14; 28:4 ni.; the city Tyre, Isa 23:15 ni.) when they slip from the memory or no one cares any longer to be involved with them. In OT profane usage, objs. of *škh* also include: objects used in everyday life that one unintentionally overlooks (Deut 24:19; Jer 2:32), those of a native aspect of life forgotten abroad (Jer 50:6; Psa 45:11; 137:5), an empirical phenomenon (Job 39:15), an obligation (Deut 25:19; Prov 31:5), or the instruction of the wisdom teacher (Prov 3:1; 4:5) that one fails to take into consideration; esp., however, evil deeds that one has committed (Gen 27:45; Jer 44:9) and past or present success or good fortune (Gen 41:30 ni.; Sir 11:25, 27) and misfortune that has been displaced from memory by other types of experience, i.e., esp. “shame” (*bōšet*) and “disgrace” (*ḥerpâ* Isa 54:4), “distresses” (*šārôt* Isa 65:16 ni.), “lament” (*šîah*; cf. H. P. Müller, VT 19 [1969]: 365; Job 9:27), “poverty” (*rîš*) and “toil” (*ʕāmāl* Prov 31:7; cf. Job 11:16), and “disaster, misfortune” (*rʕh* Sir 11:25).

Conversely, expressions with a negated *škh* ni. (e.g., “everlasting, unforgettable disgrace” Jer 20:11; 23:40; “everlasting, unforgettable covenant” 50:5; and the statement in Deut 31:21 that the Song of Moses following in 32:1–43 will remain unforgotten “in the mouth” of posterity) emphasize the unbroken and unconditional duration of the circumstance described.

In these usages *škh* occurs consistently with a subsequent acc. obj. or obj.

clause (introduced with *šer* Gen 27:45; Deut 9:7; or *ki* Job 39:15), rarely used abs. (Deut 25:19; Psa 10:11; Prov 4:5), with an adjoining inf. construction, as—in reference to a neglected action—in Psa 102:5: “I have forgotten to eat my bread” (cf. also 77:10; Isa 49:15a).

4. (a) In OT theological usage *škh* “to forget” in reference to Yahweh is a topos of individual and communal laments (cf. Gunkel-Begrich 127f., 216–20) in which the supplicants attribute their experience of distance from God, which they name as the reason for their distress, to Yahweh’s forgetting them.

In this usage, *škh* occurs in questions typical for Israelite lament concerning the reason and the duration of Yahweh’s inattention (“Why do you conceal your countenance? Are you forgetting our misery and our distress?” [Psa 44:25; cf. 42:10; Lam 5:20]; “How long, O Yahweh, will you always forget me? How long will you conceal your countenance from me?” [Psa 13:2]; “Has God forgotten to be gracious, or has he shut off his mercy in wrath?” [77:10]); moreover, in the description of misery of the lament proper (“Yahweh has forgotten me, the Lord has forgotten me” Isa 49:14), in requests (“Do not always forget the life of your sufferers . . . do not forget the cry of your opponents, the roaring of your enemies that continually arises” Psa 74:19, 23; cf. 10:12 and the vow of Hannah, 1 Sam 1:11), and in the declaration of confidence (“For the poor will not always be forgotten, the hope of the suffering disappear forever” Psa 9:19 ni.).

These expressions of lament are reflected in the promise in the oracle of salvation (“Or does a woman forget her infant so that she does not have mercy on her own child? Even if she should forget, I will not forget you!” Isa 49:15; cf. v 14), and the statement in the hymn (“For [he is] an avenger of blood, he remembers them, he does not forget the cry for help of the suffering” Psa 9:13).

In contrast to the notion that “God has forgotten it, hidden his countenance, he sees it no more,” which, according to the petitioner of Psa 10:11, serves as the self-appeasement of evildoers with regard to their evil deeds, Amos 8:7, one of the rare passages in which prophecy applies *škh* to Yahweh, emphasizes the exact opposite, that Yahweh does not forget evil deeds, “Yahweh has sworn by the pride of Jacob, ‘If I ever forget all their deeds . . . !’” Hos 4:6 threatens the priest who has failed in the duties of office by rejecting knowledge (of God; *hadda‘at*) and forgetting divine instruction (*tôrâ*), that, in a symmetrical relationship to his transgressions, Yahweh will consequently reject him and forget his sons (regarding the talionlike formulation of this saying, cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 78–80; N. Lohfink, *Bib* 42 [1961]: 303–32).

That Yahweh “allows festival and Sabbath in Zion to slip into oblivion” (*škh* pi.

Lam 2:6), is one of the points of complaint that Lam emphasizes in respect to the events of 587 BCE. In contrast, the singer of Psa 137 in exile in Babylon affirms an unbreakable bond with Zion in the form of a self-execration: “If I forget you, Jerusalem, may my right hand be forgotten” (137:5 txt em; cf. *BHS*; yet contrast Delitzsch 91 [§95a]).

(b) Much more often in the theological usage of the OT *škh* applies to people, esp. in reference to Yahweh, but also in reference to Yahweh’s demonstrations of salvation and saving acts in history, to his *b<sup>ē</sup>rît* and his commandments. “Forgetting” refers in these contexts less to the human act of remembering than to practical behavior: active turning away and opposition.

This understanding becomes particularly evident in passages that contrast forgetting Yahweh, his saving acts, his *b<sup>ē</sup>rît*, and his commandments with “fearing” Yahweh (*yr<sup>ʿ</sup>*), “serving” him (*bd*), “swearing by his name” (*šb<sup>c</sup>* ni. *biš<sup>ē</sup>mô*) (Deut 6:12f.); moreover, with keeping (*nšr*, *šmr*) his commandments (Deut 8:11; Psa 78:7), praising (*brk* pi.) Yahweh (Psa 103:2), and waiting (*hkh* pi.) on his counsel (Psa 106:13), or passages that parallel *škh* with abandoning (*zb*) Yahweh (Isa 65:11; cf. Ezek 23:35), with turning to other gods (*hlk ʾah<sup>ʿ</sup>re ʾlōhîm*: Deut 8:19; Hos 2:15; cf. also Jer 23:27), with their cult (*bd* “to serve,” Deut 8:19; Judg 3:7; *yr<sup>ʿ</sup>* “to fear,” 2 Kgs 17:38; *hwh* hišt. “to worship,” e.g., Deut 8:19; cf. Deut 4:23; Jer 18:15; Hos 2:15; Psa 44:21), trusting in deceit (Jer 13:25; in palaces, Hos 8:14), false behavior (*wh* hi. *darkô* “to walk perversely,” Jer 3:21; cf. Ezek 22:12), and breach of the imposed covenant (*šqr* pi. *bib<sup>ē</sup>rît* “to behave deceitfully with regard to the covenant,” Psa 44:18). Finally, in Job 8:13 *šōkēah ʾēl* parallels *hānēp* as a designation for the godless. Only Deut 4:9, where *škh* appears with *sûr millēbāb* “to slip one’s mind,” and in comparable passages like Deut 9:7; Jer 44:9; Psa 59:12; 78:11, highlight the element of remembrance in discussions of forgetting Yahweh’s saving acts.

Dtn parenesis repeatedly exhorts not to forget Yahweh (Deut 6:12; 8:11, 14, 19) and his saving acts (4:9)—but also one’s own rebelliousness (9:7) and the duties imposed by Yahweh (*b<sup>ē</sup>rît* 4:23; in Dtr cf. 2 Kgs 17:38)—in the civilized land because of satiety and arrogance (Deut 8:10–14; cf. Hos 13:6) and in favor of other gods. The exhortation directed to Israel to remain faithful to Yahweh’s *b<sup>ē</sup>rît* (Deut 4:23) is reflected in the promise that Yahweh is “a merciful God,” who “will not abandon you, will not ruin you, and will not forget the promise (*b<sup>ē</sup>rît*) to your fathers that he swore to them” (4:31); in the assurance of the individual Israelite who stands in 26:13 in the context of a series of liturgical confessions on the occasion of the payment of the tithe in every third year, “I have

transgressed none of the commandments and forgotten none”; and in Dtr reviews of history the recurrent declaration that Israel has forgotten Yahweh (32:18; Judg 3:7; 1 Sam 12:9), which, in the understanding of the Dtr theology of history, is a statement of Israel’s fundamental historical failure (cf. M. Noth, *Deuteronomistic History* [19912], 134).

Theological usage of *škh* in prophecy occurs primarily in reprimands that confront Israel with the nucleus of the reason for the disaster threatening it, that it has forgotten Yahweh—in favor of other gods, false objects of confidence, or behavior in opposition to Yahweh (Hos 2:15; 8:14; 13:6; Isa 17:10; Jer 2:32; 13:25; 18:15; 23:27; Ezek 22:12; 23:35).

Other objs. of the verb in the context of such reprimands are: the instruction (*tôrâ*) of Yahweh (Hos 4:6), the evil that the fathers and the contemporary generation have committed (Jer 44:9), and the “holy mountain” in Jerusalem as the legitimate cult site (Isa 65:11).

The verb *škh* occurs rarely here in other genres, such as the communal lament: “Listen, on the heights one hears the plaintiff crying of the sons of Israel, that they have perverted their way, forgotten Yahweh, their God” (Jer 3:21), and “Come, let us cling to Yahweh in everlasting, unforgettable covenant” (Jer 50:5 txt em); or the salvation oracle: “Who are you that you fear men who die . . . and forget Yahweh, your creator” (Isa 51:12f.), and “You will forget the shame of your youth, no longer remember the disgrace of your widowhood” (54:4; cf. 65:16 ni.).

In the Psa one encounters the worshipers’ affirmation that they had not forgotten Yahweh and the proclamation of his will, occasionally as a protestation of innocence and as a motif for Yahweh’s intervention (cf. Gunkel-Begrich 132, 238f., 251) in the individual and communal lament (Psa 44:18, 21; 119:16, 61, 83, 93, 109, 141, 153, 176). Conversely, forgetting God in general (9:18; 50:22) and specifically forgetting Yahweh’s covenant (119:139; cf. also Prov 2:17) characterize the heathen nations and the worshipers’ opponents; according to the historical hymns (Psa 78:11; 106:13, 21), however, periodic forgetting of Yahweh’s historical demonstrations of salvation also occasionally characterizes Israel as a whole. In contrast, the hymn calls one not to forget Yahweh’s beneficial acts (78:7; 103:2; cf. also 59:12).

5. At Qumran, 1Q22 2:4 transforms the formulation of Deut 8:14, 4QpHosb 2:3, that of Hos 13:6. Regarding the LXX, which renders Hebr. *škh* primarily by *epilanthanesthai*, see BAGD 295.

W. Schottroff

שָׁכַן *škn* to dwell

S 7931; BDB 1014b; HAL 4:1386b; ThWAT 7:1337–48; TWOT 2387; NIDOTTE 8905

## יָשַׁב *yšb* to sit, dwell

S 3427; BDB 442a; HALOT 2:444a; TDOT 6:420–38; TWOT 922; NIDOTTE 3782

1. Several Sem. languages beside Hebr. attest the root *škn* “to dwell” (Ug.: WUS no. 2606; UT no. 2414; Aram.: DISO 299; KBL 1130a; LS 776; Arab. *sakana*, Wehr 418). Akk. has *šakānu* “to lay,” etc. in numerous stem forms in a wide-ranging usage.

According to Brockelmann, et al. (GVG 1:522; G. J. Thierry, OTS 9 [1951]: 3–5; L. Wächter, ZAW 83 [1971]: 382f.), it originally involved a *š* - form of *\*kûn* “to stand upright.” In Hebr. the resultant original meaning of *škn* would have been “to set up” with a subsequent further development: “to set up (the tent in the nomadic period)” > “to settle” > “to stay, dwell” (cf. Thierry, op. cit.). This etymology may or may not be correct, but the theory can certainly play no role with respect to semantic aspects of the root and its derivatives. A potentially determinable basic meaning has little or no significance in contexts in which one encounters the word.

Beside the basic meaning, the OT also has the pi. “to settle” (cf. HP 92f.) and the hi. “to cause to dwell,” as well as the subst. verbal adj. *šākēn* “nearby resident, neighbor” (BL 464) and the subst. *miškān* “dwelling.” Bibl. Aram. has *škn* pe., pa., and *miškan* in the same meaning. Regarding the PN *š<sup>c</sup>kanyâ(hû)*, see IP 194, 215, 219 (but also M. Noth, JSS 1 [1956]: 325); further Gröndahl 192; Stark 114a.

2. *škn* qal occurs 111x in the Hebr. OT (Psa 20x, Isa 13x, Jer and Job 10x each, Num 9x, Gen 7x, Deut 6x [only 12:5 txt? and 33:12–28, thus not in Dtn proper], Exod, Ezek, and Prov 5x each), pi. 12x (6x in Deut in the expression *I<sup>c</sup>šakkēn š<sup>c</sup>mô šām* “to cause his name to dwell there”: 12:11; 14:23; 16:2, 6, 11; 26:2; cf. Jer 7:12; Neh 1:9; of the other instances, Jer 7:3, 7 and Psa 78:60 are more or less dubious textually; elsewhere only in Num 14:30), hi. 6x, *šākēn* 20x (Psa 6x, Jer 5x), *miškān* 139x (pl. *miškānîm*: Ezek 25:4; Psa 46:5; *miškānôt* 18x; sg. designation of the central sanctuary over 100x in P: Exod 25–40 58x, Lev 4x [8:10; 15:31; 17:4; 26:11], Num 39x [outside P also redactionally in 16:24, 27; cf. Noth, Num, OTL, 121f., 126–28; and 24:5 J], Josh 22:19, 29; cf. Elliger, HAT 4, 374n.18). The three Bibl. Aram. instances are: *škn* pe. Dan 4:18; pa. Ezra 6:12; *miškan* Ezra 7:15.

Occurrences of the (theologically relatively insignificant) root *yšb* “to place oneself, sit, dwell, remain” are much more numerous, in accord with its more general meaning: qal 1,034x (incl. the subst. ptcp. *yôšēb* “inhabitant” in about one-third of the passages; incl. Ezek 35:9 K; excl. 2 Sam 19:33 and the PN *yôšēb baššebet* in 2 Sam 23:8; Lis. omits Josh 1:14; Jer 145x, Judg 71x, Gen 69x, Isa 66x, Ezek 55x, Psa 53x, Josh 52x, 1 Kgs 50x, 2 Chron 49x, Deut 46x, 1 Sam 44x, 1 Chron 43x, 2 Kgs 38x, Num 37x, 2 Sam 29x, Lev and Zech 23x each, Exod and Neh 20x each, Mic 11x, Ruth 10x; other books 1–9x), ni. 8x (Ezek 5x), pi. 1x (Ezek 25:4), hi. 38x, ho. 2x, *šebet* “sitting still” 7x (according to Lis.), *môšāb* “seat, dwelling place” 44x, *tôšāb* “sojourner” 14x; Bibl. Aram.: pe. 4x, ha. 1x.

3. Intrans. *škn* qal means “to stay, spend time, dwell” (usually with *be*), less often trans. “to occupy” (GKC §117bb; Isa 33:16; Psa 37:3; Prov 2:21, etc.). The verb indicates nothing concerning the nature and duration of the stay; only the context indicates these details. A permanent stay is indicated by e.g., Gen 35:22; 49:13; Judg 8:11; 2 Sam 7:10; Jer 25:24; Psa 68:7; 69:37. The lasting character of the habitation can be accentuated by the addition of *I<sup>c</sup>ôlām* (Psa 37:27), *lā<sup>c</sup>ad* (Psa 37:29), or *I<sup>e</sup>dôr wādôr* (Isa 34:17) with the meaning “forever, always,” etc. Under some circumstances, it involves dwelling in tents (e.g., Gen 9:27; Judg 8:11; cf. Gen 14:13; 16:12).

The ptcp. form *šākēn* means, first, “inhabitant” (as in Isa 33:24 par. *yôšēb* “dwelling”); the context or the usage of sufs. often produce the meaning “nearby resident, neighbor” (as in Jer 6:21; Psa 31:12 par. *m<sup>c</sup>yuddā<sup>c</sup>* “acquaintance”; 44:14; Prov 27:10, etc.).

In profane usage *miškān* means “dwelling, dwelling place,” e.g., in Isa 22:16; 32:18; Jer 51:30; Hab 1:6; Psa 78:28; Song Sol 1:8; par. → *bayit* “house”: Psa 49:12; Job 39:6; par. *māqôm* “place”: Job 18:21; par. *ʾōhel* “tent”: Num 24:5; par. *ʾīrâ* “encampment”: Ezek 25:4. An examination of the passages suggests that *miškān* does not mean “tent” per se but “dwelling” in the general sense, although a tent can be described as a *miškān*.

Whether the meaning “to submit” can be accepted for the difficult passage Psa 68:19 (KBL 971a following G. R. Driver, *JTS* 33 [1931/32]: 43) remains doubtful.

4. (a) The meaning “to dwell” is also the starting point for the religious usage of *škn*. God dwells in the camp in the midst of his people (Num 5:3), in the land in the midst of the Israelites (Num 35:34), among Israel (Exod 25:8; 29:45f.; Num 35:34; 1 Kgs 6:13; Ezek 43:9), on Mount Zion (→ *šiyyôn* 4b; Isa 8:18; Joel 4:17, 21; Zech 8:3; Psa 74:2; cf. Psa 68:17), in Jerusalem (Zech 2:14f.; 8:3; Psa 135:21; 1 Chron 23:25), on high, and with those who are contrite in spirit (Isa 57:15, but cf. Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 326,

328f.). It involves a proper dwelling, a lasting stay, not a passing transition. According to 1 Kgs 8:12, Yahweh dwells in the clouds (<sup>a</sup>*rāpeṭ*; cf. Ug. *ʿrpt* “cloud”; one should refer to Exod 20:21; 24:15; Psa 18:12; 97:2; see Noth, BK 9, 182; → *ʿānān*).

The statement in Deut 33:16, *šōk<sup>e</sup>nî s<sup>e</sup>neh* “who dwells in the thornbush” (GKC §90l), is difficult to understand. If the reference here is to God, the ready reference to Exod 3:2ff. hardly contributes anything decisive to the explanation, because nothing indicates that Deut 33:16 refers to a temporary stay as seems to be the case in Exod 3. As always in relation to God’s dwelling, *škn* has the meaning “to dwell” in this passage too (S. R. Driver, *Deut*, ICC, 406: “possibly survival of an ancient belief”; M. A. Beek, “Der Dornbusch als Wohnsitz Gottes,” *OTS* 14 [1965]: 155–61, thinks of roots in a nomadic religious conceptualization).

In Exod 40:35 the cloud resides on the tent of meeting, in Num 9:15ff. on the *miškān* (that this case involves something transitory has nothing to do with the meaning of the verb *škn* per se). According to Exod 24:16 Yahweh’s “glory” (*kābôd*) dwells on Mount Sinai; Psa 85:10 seems to speak of a dwelling of the *kābôd* in the land (read *k<sup>e</sup>bôdô* “his glory?”).

(b) With regard to the passages with *škn* pi., the formula “to cause his name to dwell” (see 2) must be mentioned first of all. The formula occurs outside Deut only in Neh 1:9 (dependent on Deut). Whether Jer 7:12 (Shiloh as the site where Yahweh once caused his name to dwell) also represents Dtn phraseology seems uncertain (cf. Jer 7:3, 7, where one can read either pi. or qal; the use of the verb in v 12 could be dependent). In Deut the formula alternates with *lāsûm š<sup>e</sup>mô* “to place his name” (Deut 12:21; 14:24; this phrase could be a Dtr addition) or is omitted following “the place that Yahweh . . . chooses.” It is attested neither in Dtr nor in the Chr history (here with either *sûm* or *hyh* with no distinction in meaning). The emphasis lies on the fact that Yahweh’s dwelling is limited to the dwelling of his name (so-called → *š<sup>e</sup>m* theology). This formula seems to involve a later expansion of the old cultic formula; the *škn* concept is not originally Dtn. One should consider whether a concept from the Jerusalemite temple tradition has been inserted later into the text. It remains doubtful whether the phrase known from the Amarna Tablets *šakan šumšu* (EA 287:60; 288:5f.) can be adduced to illuminate the formula.

(c) Under the name *miškān*, P presupposes a dwelling-sanctuary for the wilderness period in the sense of the later Jerusalemite temple tradition. Nevertheless, the relationship to an ancient tent tradition (*ʾōhel mōʿēḏ*, → *y<sup>ʿ</sup>d* 4b; understood as an epiphany sanctuary?) is a difficult problem (select bibliog.: A. Kuschke, “Die Lagervorstellung der priesterschriftlichen Erzählung,” *ZAW* 63 [1951]: 74–105; F. Dumermuth,

“Zur deuteronomischen Kulttheologie und ihren Voraussetzungen,” *ZAW* 70 [1958]: 59–98; L. Rost, “Die Wohnstätte des Zeugnisses,” *FS Baumgärtel* 158–65; W. H. Schmidt, “*miškān* als Ausdruck Jerusalemer Kultsprache,” *ZAW* 75 [1963]: 91f.; S. Lehming, “Erwägungen zur Zelttradition,” *FS Hertzberg* 110–32; M. Görg, *Das Zelt der Begegnung* [1967]; R. de Vaux, “Le lieu que Yahvé a choisi pour y établir son nom,” *FS Rost* 219–28, with bibliog.; M. Metzger, “Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes,” *UF* 2 [1970]: 139–58; R. von Ungern-Sternberg, “Das ‘Wohnen’ im Hause Gottes,” *KerD* 17 [1971]: 209–23; K. Koch, *TDOT* 1:118–130, with bibliog.).

It is not necessary that tent tradition and *miškān* tradition are both Israelite; it is conceivable that the tent tradition was genuinely Israelite, the other not. One can speculate that the Israelites came to know the word *miškān* in the specific meaning “God’s dwelling” in Jerusalem, thus at the beginning of the monarchy. Might it have been adopted from Jebusite tradition? The formula with *škn* pi. may finally be attributed to this cultic-religious realm.

In this context cf. *miškānē‘elyôn* “dwellings of the Most High,” *Psa* 46:5 and *Ug. dr il Imšknthm* “the generation of the gods in their dwellings” (*KTU* 1.15.III.19; cf. H. Schmid, “Jahwe und die Kulttraditionen von Jerusalem,” *ZAW* 67 [1955]: 168–97; Schmid, op. cit. 91).

(d) Additional terms in relation to the concept of God’s dwelling can be mentioned: *yšb* “to dwell” and “to be enthroned” (see 2; e.g., 1 *Kgs* 8:13 in reference to the temple at Jerusalem; *Psa* 9:12 *yōšēb šiyyôn* “who is enthroned on Zion”; 2:4 *yōšēb baššāmayim* “who is enthroned in heaven”; cf. 123:1) and *mōšāb* “dwelling place” (132:13; cf. also *Ezek* 28:2; the concept of enthronement that competes with the concept of dwelling is clearly implied in occurrences of the word *kissē’* “seat, throne,” e.g., *Isa* 6:1 [*kissē’* 135x in the OT: 1 *Kgs* 34x, *Psa* 18x, *Jer* 17x]), as well as *mākôn* “place” (*mākôn l’šibtēkā* “place of your enthronement,” *Exod* 15:17; 1 *Kgs* 8:13 = 2 *Chron* 6:2; similarly *mēkôn šibtēkā*, 1 *Kgs* 8:39, 43, 49 par. *Psa* 33:14; → *kûn*), *mā’ôn* “stopping place” (*Deut* 26:15; *Jer* 25:30; *Zech* 2:17; *Psa* 26:8, etc.); cf. also *Bibl. Aram. šrh* pe. *Dan* 2:22 “the light dwells with him”; → *bayit*; → *qdš*. Regarding the material and the historical relationship of the individual concepts, see Metzger, op. cit.

5. God dwells in heaven. The word *šēkînâ* is most often used in later times to refer to his presence and manifestation on earth (the “dwelling”). In this manner God’s transcendence is fully preserved on the one hand, and his earthly presence is expressed on the other. In a special sense the *šēkînâ*

is manifest in the sanctuary and in some objects perceived to be more-or-less sacral. Examples include Exod 25:8 MT “I will dwell among you,” in Tg. Onkelos “I will cause my *š<sup>e</sup>kînâ* to dwell among you.” The extent to which one can consider this designation a hypostasis remains uncertain. Regarding *š<sup>e</sup>kînâ*, cf. e.g., StrB 2:314f.; A. Cohen, *Everyman’s Talmud* (1949), 42ff.

The LXX and other Gk. transl. render *škn* most often with *(kata)skēnoun*, *šakēn* with *geitōn*. *skēnē* appears as a translation of *miškān* (about 100x; this word is also common for *ʾōhel*), less often *skēnōma*. These renderings do not suggest a later transformation of the concept of dwelling in the sense of a passing transition instead of an enduring habitation. The translation in the LXX could be influenced by the phonetic similarity of Hebr. *škn* and Gk. *skēnē*. Cf. W. Michaelis, “σκηνή,” *TDNT* 7:368–94, also regarding NT passages.

A. R. Hulst

## שלח *šlh* to send

S 7971; BDB 1018a; HAL 4:1399b; *ThWAT* 8:46–70; *TWOT* 2394; *NIDOTTE* 8938

1. The root *šlh* “to send” is distributed in NWSem. (Ug.: *WUS* no. 2610; *UT* no. 2419; Phoen., Hebr., and Aram. inscriptions and papyri: *DISO* 300–302; as a Canaanism perhaps *šuluhtu* “sending” in EA 265:8; cf. KBL 1130b; LS 780b). Supposed Akk. and Arab. counterparts are uncertain or too remote (cf. e.g., G. Dossin in A. Parrot et al., *Studia Mariana* [1950]: 58; Zorell 849b; L. Kopf, *VT* 8 [1958]: 207–9); the concept of sending is expressed outside NWSem. with other verbs, however, as in Akk. with *šapāru*, etc. (cf. also → *sēper* 1), in SSem. with *lʾk* (also Ug.; → *malʾāk*).

Hebr. *šlh* qal, ni., pi., pu., and hi. and Aram. *šlh* pe. (also pass.) occur in the OT. Nom. derivatives are the verbal abstracts *mišlāḥ* in the phrases *mišlāḥ šôr* “place where one sends cattle” (Isa 7:25) and *mišlāḥ yād* “where one places one’s hand” (“gain” Deut 12:7, 18; “business” 15:10; 23:21; 28:8, 20), *mišlôaḥ* “sending” (Esth 9:19, 22) and *mišlôaḥ yād* “that toward which one reaches one’s hand” (Isa 11:14), *mišlaḥat* “sending, delegation” (Psa 78:49), and “discharge” (Eccl 8:8). The pl. *š<sup>e</sup>lūḥôt* “tendrils” (Isa 16:8) and presumably *š<sup>e</sup>lāḥîm* “sprouts” in Song Sol 4:13 txt?

(cf. Gerleman, BK, 18, 159f.; contra Rudolph, KAT 17/2, 151) reflect the special meaning of *šlh* pi. “to send out (roots, shoots).” The verbal abstract of the reduplicated stem, *šillûhîm* (pl.), means apparently “gift, dowry” (1 Kgs 9:16 and Mic 1:14, according to G. del Olmo Lete, *Bib* 51 [1970]: 414–16; also in Exod 18:2, which is usually translated “discharge”), here too in agreement with the semantic nuances of *šlh* pi. (1 Kgs 20:34 “to present”; cf. A. S. van der Woude, *ZAW* 76 [1964]: 188–91, who refers to Ug. *šlh* in *KTU* 1.17.VI.18, 28; 1.24.21; but also cf. *tlh*, *UT* no. 2682).

The relationship of *šelah* “javelin (etc.)” to this root is uncertain (Joel 2:8; cf. Rudolph, KAT 13/2, 52f.; Job 33:18 and 36:12; cf. Fohrer, KAT 16, 453f., 473; Neh 4:11, 17 txt?; 2 Chron 23:10; 32:5), as is perhaps the relationship of *šelah* “aqueduct” (Neh 3:15; cf. Rudolph, HAT 20, 118; cf. *šlōah* Isa 8:6; Wildberger, *Isa* 1–12, CC, 343). *šulhān* “table” is definitely unrelated (71x; cf. Ug. *tlhn*, *WUS* no. 2870; *UT* no. 2681) nor is it related to Aram. *šlh* /Arab. *slh* “to remove the skin,” judging from the Ug. counterpart (KBL 976f., corrected in Suppl. 190a).

Regarding PNs composed with *šlh*, cf. *IP* 173; Benz 416.

2. The Hebr. verb occurs 847x in the OT (Aram. pe. an additional 14x): qal 564x (incl. 1 Chron 8:8; cf. Rudolph, HAT 21, 76; most often in the narrative portions: 2 Kgs 63x, Jer 62x, 2 Sam 53x, 1 Sam 45x, 1 Kgs 40x, Gen 36x, 2 Chron 33x, Exod 27x, Judg 26x, Psa 24x, Num 23x, Isa 20x, Josh 19x, Esth and 1 Chron 14x each, Ezek 13x, Neh 12x, Zech and Job 8x each, Deut 6x, Prov 5x, Joel and Mal 2x each, Hos, Amos, Obad, Mic, Hag, Song Sol, Lam, Dan, and Ezra 1x each), pi. 267x (Exod 46x, Gen 29x, Jer 27x, 1 Sam 22x, Deut 16x, Ezek 14x, Judg and Job 11x each, Isa 10x, Lev, 2 Sam, and Psa 9x each, 1 Kgs 8x, 2 Kgs and Amos 7x each, Num 6x, Prov 5x, Josh and 2 Chron 4x each, Mal and 1 Chron 3x each, Zech 2x, Hos, Joel, Obad, Eccl, and Neh 1x each), pu. 10x, hi. 5x, and ni. 1x. For the substs. see 1.

3. In all usages of the verb *šlh* an obj. is set in motion away from the actor. If the obj. remains linked to the actor, the meaning can be rendered in Eng. (a) “to extend (one’s hand/staff)”; the chief meaning “to send, dispatch,” which implies a complete separation, can differentiate between the dispatch (b) of an obj. perceived as pass. and (c) of a (usually per.) obj. that actively executes a mission. (d) The corresponding meanings in the pi./pu. are resultative.

(a) About 70x *šlh* has the meaning “to extend” just mentioned. Beside “hand” (*yād* Gen 3:22; 8:9; 19:10; 22:10, 12; 37:22; Exod 3:20; 4:4[bis]; 9:15; 22:7, 10; 24:11; Deut 25:11, etc.; *yāmîn* “right hand,” Gen 48:14; with an implied obj., 2 Sam 6:6; 22:17 = Psa 18:17; Obad 13 txt?; Psa 57:4a txt? cf. P. Humbert, “Entendre la main,” *VT* 12 [1962]: 383–95, with a list of

the various usages and a differentiation from *nth* qal/hi. “to incline, spread out, bend down” and “to extend”; an additional synonym with the obj. *yād* is the hapax legomenon *hdh* qal in Isa 11:8; cf. Wildberger, op. cit. 462, contra J. Reider, *VT* 2 [1952]: 115; → *yād* 4c), which sometimes occurs with a fig. meaning indicating a hostile act (“to lay a hand on someone/something, to assault” Gen 37:22; Exod 22:7, 10; 24:11; Esth 2:21, etc.; Aram., Ezra 6:12 “to dare”) or, less often, a more neutral action (Psa 144:7; Job 28:9; cf. 2 Sam 22:17 = Psa 18:17 and the expression *mišlah yād*, see 1; Aram., Dan 5:24), objs. include *ʿsba* “finger” (Isa 58:9, pointing with the finger as a gesture of contempt), *maṭṭeh* “staff” (1 Sam 14:27; Psa 110:2 “scepter”; cf. Judg 6:21, *mišʿenet* “staff”), *maggāl* “sickle” (Joel 4:13), and *z<sup>c</sup>môrâ* “tendril of a vine(?)” (Ezek 8:17; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:222, 244f.).

(b) In about 40 passages *šlh* qal with an imper. obj. describes sending gifts and wares (Gen 32:19; 38:17, 20, 23; 45:23, 27; 46:5; Judg 3:15; 1 Sam 16:20; 1 Kgs 15:9; 2 Kgs 16:8; Isa 16:1; Esth 4:4; Neh 8:10; 1 Chron 19:6; 2 Chron 2:2, 7, 14; 8:18; 16:3), shooting arrows (2 Sam 22:15 = Psa 18:15; Psa 144:6), and, always with God as subj., the sending and release of plagues (Exod 9:14; 23:28; Josh 24:12; Jer 25:16, 27; Psa 105:28; 135:9; Lam 1:13) or benefits (Joel 2:19; Psa 20:3; 43:3; 57:4b; 78:25; 111:9; Job 5:10; see 4b).

(c) Most passages (about 450x) exhibit *šlh* qal in the meaning “to send someone (on a specific mission, as messenger, etc.)” (Gen 24:7, 40; 32:4; 37:13f., etc.), or, often with ellipsis of the per. obj. and usually without the obj. “word” (Prov 26:6) or “letter” (2 Sam 11:14; 2 Kgs 5:5), in the meaning “to send a message” or “to give an assignment” (Gen 20:2; 27:42, 45; 31:4; 32:6; 38:25; 41:8, 14, etc.). On the use of preps. and the individual constructions, see the lexicons.

(d) In the pi. (and pu.), the meanings of the ground stem sometimes recur in a resultative modification (cf. *HP* 193–99), relatively rarely in accord with (a) in the meaning “to extend (one’s hand)” (Prov 31:19f. “to hold outstretched”) and “to hold (roots, twigs, tendrils) outstretched, expanded” (Jer 17:8; Ezek 17:6f.; 31:5 txt?; Psa 44:3 txt?; 80:12; see 1 regarding *š<sup>e</sup>lūhôt* and *š<sup>e</sup>lāhîm*) or in accord with (c) in the meaning “to send someone” (e.g., Isa 57:9; 66:19; pu. “to be sent,” Obad 1; Prov 17:11; Dan 10:11), more often in accord with (b) in the meaning “to send something, send forth,” etc. (about 70x; on the meaning “to present,” see 1; with Yahweh as subj. “to release (a plague) on someone/something,” Exod 15:7; 23:27; Lev 26:25; Num 21:6, etc.; see 4b). Most often, the pi. exhibits the meaning corresponding to the rare qal meaning “to release” (Gen 42:4; 43:8; 49:21 pass. ptcp. “fleet [?] hind”), “to send forth, conduct forth, release, set free, let flee, permit free movement, dismiss, let move” (about

175x; Gen 3:23; 8:7f., 10, 12; 12:20; 18:16, etc.; of divorcing a wife, Deut 22:19; 24:1, 3; Isa 50:1; Jer 3:1, 8; 1 Chron 8:8 txt em; pu. Isa 50:1; see 1 on *šillûhîm*).

The hi. is an inner-causative (or inwardly trans.) and thus closely approximates the qal in the meaning “to send, release (plagues) on” (Exod 8:17; Lev 26:22; 2 Kgs 15:37; Ezek 14:13; Amos 8:11; in each case with Yahweh as subj. and stressing the initial moment of the action; see *HP* 252f.).

4. About one-fourth of the qal and pi. passages have Yahweh/God as subj. Most usages of the verb also occur in theological language; the most important use (a) of the qal is the meaning “to send someone,” (b) of the pi., the meaning “to send/loose something against.”

(a) Of the meanings of the qal treated in 3a, the picturesque expression “to stretch out (one’s hand)” in a hostile (Exod 3:20; 9:15; 24:11; Psa 138:7; Job 1:11; 2:5; cf. 2 Sam 24:16 of the angel of death) or in a friendly sense (Psa 144:7 from the heights; cf. 2 Sam 22:17 = Psa 18:17; Psa 57:4a; in Jer 1:9 of the bestowal of the word on the prophets), or in the expression “to extend (the scepter)” (Psa 110:2) belong here.

Somewhat more common are instances of “to send something” (see 3b): “to shoot off (arrows)” (2 Sam 22:15 = Psa 18:15; Psa 144:6) and, also in a hostile sense, “to send (punitive forces)” (Exod 9:14 plagues; Exod 23:28 and Josh 24:12 *šir‘â*, traditionally “hornets” according to KBL 817a; cf. L. Köhler, *ZAW* 54 [1936]: 291; id., *Kleine Lichter* [1945], 17–22, probably “discouragement”; Jer 25:16, 27, sword; Psa 105:28, darkness; 135:9, signs and wonders; Lam 1:13, fire), as well as in a benevolent sense “to send (good)” (Joel 2:19, grain; Psa 20:3, help; 43:3, light; 57:4b, grace; 78:25, food; 111:9, redemption; Job 5:10, water). This group is comparable to the numerous instances with the pi. in the same meaning.

The most common meaning is that mentioned in 3c, “to send someone,” which can encompass the following variety of objs.: sending divine powers to protect or for other tasks (angel: Gen 24:7, 40; Exod 23:20; 33:2; Num 20:16; Judg 13:8; Zech 1:10; 1 Chron 21:15; 2 Chron 32:21; God’s → *pānîm* “countenance”: Exod 33:12; cf. v 14), sending people with a mission unrelated to the office of messenger (the people on a path: Deut 9:23; 1 Kgs 8:44 = 2 Chron 6:34; individual people as instruments of providence: Gen 45:5, 7 and Psa 105:17, Joseph; 1 Sam 25:32, Abigail; as deliverers: Judg 6:14, Gideon; 1 Sam 12:11 the series of judges; to anoint the future king: 1 Sam 9:16; particular people with a mission: 1 Sam 15:18, 20, Saul; Isa 19:20, a helper; Jer 16:16, “fishermen” and “hunters” to persecute the godless; Jer 43:10, Nebuchadnezzar; cf. 25:9), and finally sending God’s messengers, esp. prophets (Moses: Exod 3:14f.; 4:13, 28; 5:22; 7:16; Num 16:28f.; Deut 34:11; Josh 24:5; 1 Sam 12:8; Mic 6:4; Psa

105:26; anonymous individuals: Judg 6:8; Isa 42:19; 48:16; 61:1; Mal 3:1; individual known prophets: 1 Sam 15:1 and 16:1, Samuel; 2 Sam 12:1, Nathan; 2 Sam 24:13, Gad; 2 Kgs 2:2, 4, 6 and Mal 3:23, Elijah; Isa 6:8, Isaiah; Jer 1:7; 19:14; 25:15, 17; 26:12, 15; 42:5, 21; 43:1f., Jeremiah; Jer 28:15, Hananiah; Jer 29:31, Shemaiah; Ezek 2:3f. and 3:6, Ezekiel; Hag 1:12, Haggai; Zech 2:12 txt?, 13, 15; 4:9; 6:15, Zechariah; Neh 6:12, Shemaiah ben Delaiah; true and false prophets as a group: Jer 7:25; 14:14f.; 23:21, 32, 38; 25:4; 26:5; 27:15; 28:9; 29:9, 19; 35:15; 44:4; Ezek 13:6; 2 Chron 24:19; 25:15; 36:15; cf. W. Richter, *Die sogenannten vorprophetischen Berufsberichte* [1970], 156–58). Passages that speak of the spirit sent out by God (Judg 9:23, evil spirit), of his instruction (2 Kgs 17:13), and of his word (Isa 9:7; 55:11; Zech 7:12; Psa 107:20; 147:15, 18) should also be included here.

(b) Some of the meanings treated in 3d occur only in isolation for the pi. with God as subj., i.e., “to conduct away” (Gen 19:29, Lot; cf. 1 Sam 20:22, David), “to set free” (Ezek 13:20, souls; Zech 9:11, captives), “to drive out” (Gen 3:23, from the Garden of Eden; Lev 18:24 and 20:23, the heathen inhabitants of the land [cf. Psa 44:3]; Jer 24:5 and 29:20, into exile; 28:16, Hananiah from the land), “to divorce (a wife)” (Isa 50:1; Jer 3:8, Israel), “to reject” (1 Kgs 9:7 txt? temple), “to abandon” (Psa 81:13, of hardening the heart; Job 8:4, to the power of wickedness; 14:20, to death), “to send out” (Psa 104:30, breath of life), “to let (water) flow” (Psa 104:10, wells; Job 12:15, to cause water to break out), “to send (with a mission)” (Gen 19:3, an angel; Isa 43:14, without obj.), and “to send (as a messenger)” (Isa 66:19, escapees to the nations; cf. the numerous qal passages with this meaning).

All other pi. passages—mostly in curses and prophetic threats of disaster—concern the fact that God “sets loose” various punitive powers (summarized as four plagues in Ezek 14:21; described generally in Mal 2:4 “decision to punish,” or the like), incl. the sword (Jer 9:15; 24:10; 29:17; 49:37), enemies (Deut 28:48; 2 Kgs 24:2; Isa 10:6, the Assyrians; Jer 48:12, coopers; 51:2; Zech 8:10, people against one another), famine (Ezek 5:16f.), consumption (Isa 10:16; Psa 106:15), wild animals, snakes, and locusts (Num 21:6; Deut 32:24; 2 Kgs 17:25f.; Jer 8:17; Joel 2:25; Psa 78:45), pestilence (Lev 26:25; Ezek 14:19; 28:23; Amos 4:10; 2 Chron 7:13), fire (Ezek 39:6; Hos 8:14; Amos 1:4, 7, 10, 12; 2:2, 5), his wrath (Exod 15:7; Ezek 7:3; Psa 78:49; Job 20:23), curse (Deut 28:20; Mal 2:2), terror and discouragement (Exod 23:27; Deut 7:20 *šir‘â*, see 4a).

In similar circumstances the hi. instances mention plagues of flies (Exod 8:17 *‘ārōb*), wild animals (Lev 26:22), the enemies Rezin and Pekah (2 Kgs 15:37), and famine (Ezek 14:13; Amos 8:11). Cf. also in the 8th-cent. Aram. treaty inscription from Sefire the catalog of pests that the gods

should loose against Arpad in the event of breach of the covenant (Sef. IA [= *KAI* no. 222], ll. 30–32, with the verb *šlh*).

5. Reference should be made to the specialized usage in Qumran Hebr. of the expression *šlh yād* in 1QS 6:5, where the priest extends his hand to bless the meal. The member of the sect who speaks against the community must be expelled (1QS 7:16f., 25; 8:22). The verb *šlh* pi. here belongs to the language of excommunication; serving as opposites are → *qrb* “to draw near” (1QS 6:16, 19, 22, with → *rḥq* “to move away”) and *ngš* hi. “to bring hither” (→ *qrb* 3a; 1QS 9:16 with *qrb*; cf. 11:13; 1QH 12:23; 14:13, 18f.; 16:12; cf. M. Delcor, “Le vocabulaire juridique, cultuel et mystique de ‘l’initiation’ dans la secte de Qumra<sup>n</sup>,” *Qumran-Probleme*, ed. H. Bardtke [1963], 118–23).

The subst. *šālūah* (only as a pass. ptcp. in the OT) and *šālīah* “emissary, *apostolos*” first occur in postbibl. Hebr. (regarding the late Jewish legal institution of the *šālīah*, with the famous statement from *m. Berakot* 5:5 *š<sup>e</sup>lūhō šel ʿādām k<sup>e</sup>mōtō* “a person’s emissary is like the person,” see K. H. Rengstorf, “ἀποστέλλω,” *TDNT* 1:414ff.).

The LXX usually translates *šlh* with (ex-)*apostellein*, less often with (ek)*pempein*; see Rengstorf, op. cit. 400–402. “That which characterises the term in secular usage is not lost in biblical Greek but passes into it and links up with what is contributed by the OT equivalent. We may thus say that in the LXX the word is as little given a specifically religious flavour as *שָׁלַח* in the Heb. OT” (ibid. 401). Regarding the NT, cf. ibid. 398–447; E. von Eicken et al., “Apostle,” *DNTT* 1:126–37 (with bibliog.).

M. Delcor/E. Jenni

## שָׁלַח *šlk* hi. **to throw**

S 7993; BDB 1020b; *HAL* 4:1414a; *ThWAT* 8:84–93; *TWOT* 2398; *NIDOTTE* 8959

1. The verb *šlk* hi. “to throw” is attested with certainty only in Hebr. (ho. “to be thrown”; as an abstract formation in *Isa* 6:13, *šalleket* “felling” or “being felled” (of a tree), cf. BL 477; Wildberger, *Isa* 1–12, CC, 248, 251, 275); one should also note the word *šlkn* “attacker(?)” uncertain in reading and interpretation, in the Mesha inscription (= *KAI* no. 181), l. 4.

One should probably distinguish the verb under discussion from the root *šlk* (II) that occurs in Phoen.-Pun. PNs (cf. *IP* 181n.1: “to liberate”; *KAI* 2:66, 132: “to deliver,

keep”; Benz 416: “to nourish, provide,” with reference to Dahood, *Psa*, ABC [19732], 2:37f., 80 regarding *Psa* 55:23; cf. also G. R. Driver, *SVT* 3 [1955]: 85; and Zorell 852a [*šlk* II] regarding *Job* 29:17).

2. The statistics exhibit 112 instances in the *hi.* (2 *Kgs* 15x, *Jer* 12x, *Exod* 10x, *Psa* 9x, *Ezek* 8x, etc., with no peculiarities of distribution), 13 in the *ho.*, and *šalleket* 1x (*Isa* 6:13; cf. also the names of a gate in 1 *Chron* 26:16; see Rudolph, *HAT* 21, 172).

3. (a) The basic meaning “to throw” is universally evident. Every possible object can be thrown: staff (*Exod* 4:3; 7:9f., 12), piece of wood (15:25), tablets of stone (32:19), fishhook (*Isa* 19:8), measuring line (*Mic* 2:5), etc. The nuance “to throw away” can also appear (e.g., *Lev* 14:40; 2 *Kgs* 7:15; *Psa* 2:3). The targets of the throw are most often fire (*Num* 19:6; *Jer* 36:23, etc.; in order to smelt metal, *Exod* 32:24) and water (*Exod* 1:22; *Deut* 9:21; *Jer* 51:63, etc.). The verb can also have the meaning “to let fall” (“to scatter” salt or flour on food: 2 *Kgs* 2:21; 4:41; *Ezek* 43:24; cf., conversely, *npl hi.* “to let fall” and “to cast [the lot],” *Jonah* 1:7; *Psa* 22:19, etc.; similarly in *Job* 15:33 of the tree that drops its blossoms, a process perceived to be causative, not concessive as in Eng. [“to cause,” not “to let”], as indicated by the par. verb *ḥms* “to use force [to remove by force]”). Finally, the verb also means “to throw down, fell” (*Jer* 9:18; *Joel* 1:7; cf., however, W. Rudolph, *FS Baumgartner* 244, who emends the text in reference to *Aram. šlh* “to strip,” alongside *ḥšp* “to peel”).

If throws are directed at a person and result in death, one distinguishes between a considered, intentional throw (*Num* 35:20 with *š<sup>c</sup>dîyâ* “ambush, evil intention,” from *šdh* “to lie in wait for,” which occurs only in *Exod* 21:13 and 1 *Sam* 24:12; cf. L. Kopf, *VT* 8 [1958]: 196f.) and a careless throw (*b<sup>o</sup>lō<sup>o</sup>š<sup>c</sup>dîyâ* *Num* 35:22).

It is stated remarkably often that people are thrown somewhere, esp. as corpses (*Josh* 8:29; 10:27; 2 *Sam* 18:17; 2 *Kgs* 9:25f.; *ho.*: 1 *Kgs* 13:24f., 28; *Isa* 34:3), but also while alive (*Gen* 37:20, 22, 24; *Exod* 1:22). In a broader sense the verb can then mean “to expose, abandon” (*Gen* 21:15; *Jer* 38:6, 9; *ho.* *Ezek* 16:5). Passages in *Jer* clearly do not involve a “throw” in the proper sense (see M. Cogan, “Technical Term for Exposure,” *JNES* 27 [1968]: 133–35). *šlk hi.* or *ho.* in these contexts refers to disparaging, violent treatment of a person.

The act of throwing plays yet another role in two specific contexts: decision by lot is performed by throwing sticks (*Josh* 18:8, 10; → *gôrāl* 3a), and the change-of-property situation is indicated when a shoe is thrown to the purchaser (*Psa* 60:10 = 108:10; on the subject—without the verb—see *Deut* 25:9 and *Ruth* 4:7 too; cf. Rudolph, *KAT* 17/1, 67f. with bibliog.).

(b) In a few passages one cannot distinguish between the *lit.* and the

fig. meanings of the verb. Such is the case in discussion of the “rejection of the idols” (Isa 2:20 <sup>ʿ</sup>*lîlîm*; Ezek 20:7f. *šiqqušîm*); the obj. here is not only a material but also a spiritual reality. In many passages *šlk* hi. relates only to the latter realm. The expression *šlk* hi. <sup>ʿ</sup>*ah<sup>2</sup>re<sup>2</sup> gaw/gēw* “to throw behind oneself (or one’s back)” should be mentioned here (→ *n<sup>2</sup>s* 3a). On the one hand in three cases the obj. is Yahweh (1 Kgs 14:9; Ezek 23:35) or his Torah (Neh 9:26); it represents Dtr language and language dependent on Dtr (cf. similarly Psa 50:17, only *šlk* hi. <sup>ʿ</sup>*ah<sup>2</sup>re<sup>2</sup>*). On the other hand the expression occurs in Isa 38:17 in the language of individual praise of God (the thanksgiving of the delivered that Yahweh has “thrown [the sins of the worshiper] behind him”). The meaning “to throw away” is also evident in *šlk* hi. *nepeš minneged* “to place life at risk,” Judg 9:17, and in the religiously positive expression *šlk* hi. *peša<sup>c</sup>* “to remove sin,” Ezek 18:31 (conversely in Dan 8:12 “and it cast the truth to the ground”).

The fig. meaning can also refer to intentional throwing; supplicants are charged to cast their cares on God (Psa 55:23, call to confession of confidence in the lament; similarly otherwise *gll* qal <sup>ʿ</sup>*el/ʿal* “to shift to” in Psa 22:9; 37:5; Prov 16:3), or they acknowledge that they are cast on God (*šlk* ho. in the confession of confidence in Psa 22:11).

The notion “to cast down” underlies Job 18:7. Evildoers are brought down by their own counsel.

(c) In addition to the general verb *šlk* hi., the OT also uses the following verbs of throwing, some with a somewhat more specialized meaning: *tûl* hi. “to throw (far)” (9x; ho. 4x, pil. “to throw away,” Isa 22:17 with the subst. *taḥtêlâ* “throw”); *ydd* qal → *gôrâl* (3x) “to cast the lot” (Joel 4:3; Obad 11; Nah 3:10); *ydh* qal “to shoot” (Jer 50:14), pi. “to throw (down)” (Zech 2:4; Lam 3:53); *yrh* qal “to throw, shoot” (15x, incl. ptcp. *yôreh* “archer,” 1 Chron 10:3; 2 Chron 35:23), ni. “to be shot” (Exod 19:13), hi. “to shoot” (15x, incl. ptcp. *môreh* “archer,” 1 Sam 31:3[bis]; 2 Sam 11:24; 1 Chron 10:3); *rmh* qal “to throw” (Exod 15:1, 25; Jer 4:29; Psa 78:9; Bibl. Aram. pe. 7x, hitpe. 5x).

4. In one-fifth of the passages, Yahweh is the subj. of *šlk* hi. The verb is rarely used in the proper sense: according to a very old concept in Josh 10:11 Yahweh intervenes in the events of war by throwing stones at the enemy (secondarily interpreted as hail); according to Psa 147:17 he throws ice (hail) to the earth; according to Job 27:22 (it is not entirely clear that Yahweh is the subj.) he apparently hurls lightning (judging from the context; regarding the concept, cf. e.g., the storm theophanies in Psa 18:15; 48:8); according to Ezek 28:17 Yahweh casts the primal man down from the mountain of God; cf. also 2 Kgs 2:16, where the *rûah yhw<sup>h</sup>* “knocks” someone somewhere.

Yahweh throwing is understood less concretely in discussions of the

fact that Yahweh uproots (*ntš*) Israel and casts it into another land (into exile, Deut 29:27; also pass. with *šlk* ho., Jer 22:28 par. *tûl* ho.) or that he hurls disaster on Assyria (Nah 3:6).

Otherwise, the verb is applied entirely to the spiritual realm; it almost always indicates Yahweh's disastrous act. The complaint is made that Yahweh has "rejected" the supplicant (Psa 71:9; 102:11; in Jonah 2:4 with *m<sup>c</sup>šûlâ* "into the depths"); Lam 2:1 asserts that Yahweh has cast Israel's majesty (*tip<sup>c</sup>eret*) from heaven to the earth (overtones of rejection can be heard here). Treatment of Israel's enemies can be similarly described (Neh 9:11). The Dtr formula *šlk* hi. *mē<sup>c</sup>al/mippānîm* "to cast from his presence" is common (2 Kgs 13:23; 17:20; 24:20 = Jer 52:3; Jer 7:15; 2 Chron 7:20); it always concerns the rejection of Israel. The expression *šlk* hi. *mill<sup>c</sup>pānîm* (Psa 51:13 with the same meaning) is set in the individual lament.

The verb has a positive connotation in Mic 7:19: Yahweh casts Israel's sins away, i.e., he forgives them; the passage with Yahweh as subj. of the expression *šlk* hi. *ʔah<sup>a</sup>rēgēw* also belongs here (see 3b).

5. The LXX usually uses *rhiptein* (and composites) for *šlk* hi., less often *ballein* (and composites). Regarding the NT, cf. F. Hauck, "βάλλω," *TDNT* 1:526–29; W. Bieder, "ρίπτω," *TDNT* 6:991–93.

F. Stolz

## שלם *šlm* to have enough

S 7999; BDB 1022a; *HAL* 4:1418b; *ThWAT* 8:93–101; *TWOT* 2401; *NIDOTTE* 8966

1. The root *šlm* is firmly established and richly developed in the entire Sem. linguistic realm since the most ancient period (Berg., *Intro.* 220f.; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/20 [1965]: 251, 263, 267; W. Eisenbeis, *Die Wurzel šlm im AT* [1969], 8–51). A variety of verbal and nom. forms appear in Akk. in all historical periods; in addition to *šalāmu*, *salāmu* also exists (*AHW* 1013f., 1015f.: a secondary root of *šlm*, "to be/become friendly, peaceful," *salīmu* "peace, friendship"; cf. Noth, *Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* [1966], 113f.). In Ug. the root is common both as a noun and as a verb (*WUS* no. 2614; *UT* no. 2424; on the usage in introductions to letters, → *nšr* 3 [bibliog.]). For Phoen.-Pun. and extrabibl. Hebr. instances of the root and for the ample use of the root in Aram. inscriptional material, one can refer to *DISO* 303–5. In the Elephantine Papyri, *šlm* pa. "to pay" is

attested as a commercial term; the noun *š<sup>e</sup>lām* is often used in formulaic beginnings to letters. The root also has an abundance of forms in Syr., Arab., and Eth. covering a broad semantic range.

The question of the etymology of the root has receded markedly into the background behind efforts to establish its basic meaning. Regarding an etymological relationship between *šlm* and *šlh* “to be carefree, calm,” cf. H. Torczyner (*Die Entstehung des semitischen Sprachtypus* [1916], 1:243). The semantic range of *šlm*, which exhibits remarkably constant elements in various times and languages, suggests that it involves an elemental aspect of human life whose linguistic designation may not be further derived.

The Hebr. OT attests the qal, pi./pu., and hi./ho. of the verb, as well as the adj. *šālēm* and the substs. *šālôm*, *šelem* (as a sg. sacrificial term only in Amos 5:22, otherwise pl. *š<sup>e</sup>lāmîm*), and the verbal nouns related to the pi.: *šillûm*, *šillūmâ*, and *šillēm* “requital,” as well as *šalmônîm* “gifts.” Bibl. Aram. has *šlm* pe. “to be finished” (Ezra 5:16), ha. “to make complete” (Ezra 7:19), and “to abandon” (Dan 5:26; *šlm* hi. as an Aramism in Isa 38:12f.; cf. Wagner no. 310) and the subst. *š<sup>e</sup>lām* “welfare, hail (as salutation)” (KBL 1131b).

Regarding OT PNs formed with *šlm* (neglected in Eisenbeis, op. cit.), see 3h; regarding extrabibl. material, cf. Stamm, AN 152f., 176, 294ff.; Huffmon 246f.; Buccellati 182; Gröndahl 193; Benz 417f.; Stark 114b; regarding the deity Šalim, cf. Haussig 306f.; F. Stolz, *Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem* (1970), 181–218.

2. The following table sets forth an overview of the distribution of the 116 instances of the verb and the 358 instances of the noun in the Hebr. OT (qal incl. 2 Sam 20:19 txt?; “other” includes: *šillûm* Isa 34:8; Hos 9:7; Mic 7:3; *šillūmâ* Psa 91:8; *šillēm* Deut 32:35; *šalmônîm* Isa 1:23; cf. also Eisenbeis, op. cit. 57–80). Bibl. Aram. has 7 instances: pe. 1x, ha. 2x (see 1), *š<sup>e</sup>lām* 4x (Dan 3:31; 6:26; Ezra 4:17; 5:7).

	qal	pi./pu.	hi./ho.	<i>šālôm</i>	<i>šālēm</i>	<i>šelem</i>	other
Gen	–	1	–	15	3	–	–
Exod	–	18	–	3	–	4	–
Lev	–	4	–	1	–	30	–
Num	–	–	–	2	–	19	–
Deut	–	4	1	5	3	1	1
Josh	–	–	3	2	1	3	–
Judg	–	1	–	10	–	2	–
1 Sam	–	–	1	–	18	–	3
2 Sam	–	1	3	1	16	–	3

1 Kgs	1	1	11	5	5	–	
2 Kgs	–	2	–	20	1	1	–
Isa	1	7/1	4	29	1	–	2
Jer	–	8/1	–	31	–	–	–
Ezek	–	1	–	7	–	6	–
Hos	–	1	–	–	–	–	1
Joel	–	2	–	–	–	–	–
Amos	–	–	–	–	2	1	–
Obad	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
Jonah	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Mic	–	–	–	2	–	–	1
Nah	–	1	–	1	1	–	–
Hab	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Zeph	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hag	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
Zech	–	–	–	6	–	–	–
Mal	–	–	–	2	–	–	–
Psa	1	15/1	–	27	–	–	1
Job	2	7	1/1	4	–	–	–
Prov	–	7/2	1	3	1	1	–
Ruth	–	1	–	–	1	–	–
Song Sol	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Eccl	–	3	–	1	–	–	–
Lam	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
Esth	–	–	–	3	–	–	–
Dan	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
Ezra	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
Neh	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 Chron	–	–	–	1	6	4	3
2 Chron	1	–	–	–	6	5	5
OT	8	89/5	13/1	237	28	87	6

3. Of the extensive body of literature concerning the root *šlm*, esp. the subst. *šālôm*, that already exists, the following may be mentioned: W. Caspari, *Vorstellung und Wort "Friede" im AT* (1910); J. Nibel, *Der Friedensgedanke des AT* (1914); ILC 1–2:311–35; G. von Rad, *TDNT* 2:402–6; W. Eichrodt, *Die Hoffnung des ewigen Friedens im alten Israel* (1920); H. Gross, *Die Idee des ewigen und allgemeinen Weltfriedens im Alten Orient und im AT* (19672 = 1956); J. J. Stamm and H. Bietenhard, *Der Weltfriede im Lichte der Bibel* (1959); J. Scharbert, "ŠLM im AT," FS Junker 209–29 = *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des AT*, ed. K. Koch (1972), 300–324; Eisenbeis, op. cit.; C. Westermann, "Der

Frieden (shalom) im AT," *Studien zur Friedensforschung*, ed. G. Picht and H. E. Tödt (1969), 1:144–77; D. J. Harris, *Shalom: The Biblical Concept of Peace* (1970); J. I. Durham, "šālôm and the Presence of God," FS Davies 272–93; L. M. P. dozky, "Der Begriff 'Frieden' im AT und sein Verhältnis zum Kampfe," CV 14 (1971): 253–66; L. Rost, "Erwägungen zum Begriff šālôm," FS Jepsen 41–44; H. H. Schmid, šālôm "Frieden" im Alten Orient und im AT (1971, with bibliog.); O. H. Steck, *Friedensvorstellungen im alten Jerusalem* (1972). The treatment in 3a–g has appeared meanwhile as an essay: G. Gerleman, "Die Wurzel šlm," ZAW 85 (1973): 1–14.

(a) A glance in the lexicons conveys the impression that the semantic range of the subst. šālôm encompasses primarily two apparently related concepts, first "peace, friendliness," often in clear contrast to war and animosity; second, "well-being, success, good fortune," with a heavy emphasis often on concrete material goods. While a later conception, already implied in the LXX, regards the notion of "peace" as the basic meaning, the semantic realm of the word is now almost universally understood as widely broadened, with particular reference to the concept cluster of "good fortune" and "well-being." The concept of "totality" is considered almost without exception to be the basic meaning; thus already Caspari (op. cit.), also with particular force Pedersen (*ILC*), who seeks to represent šālôm as a fundamental concept of ancient Israel's thought world and psychic life. According to Pedersen, šālôm indicates everything that constitutes healthy, harmonious life, the full development of the powers of the healthy psyche. This interpretation has been accepted almost without exception as an assured result of research; cf. e.g., Eisenbeis (op. cit.), who finds the same basic meaning of "totality and entirety" everywhere in the whole Sem. linguistic realm, understanding this term as thoroughly formal, hence capable of being filled with various contents (see esp. pp. 355f.).

This interpretation is called into question, first, by the general and formal nature of the concept "totality." It involves an abstraction postulated almost intuitively as the least common denominator of the various usages of the word. This abstract concept could find recognition as a tolerable rendition in the individual concrete texts only thanks to its generality and indeterminacy. The concept "totality" is too imprecise and general to be helpful in describing the concrete content of šālôm. Instead of seeking, with the help of an abstraction, a formal minimal commonality appropriate everywhere, the reverse approach seems to be more correct methodologically; i.e., one must seek the basic meaning of the root in actual linguistic usage, where a clearly distinguished semantic content is evident. Only on the basis of a scrutiny of the entire semantic realm can one hope to find a concrete and perceptible usage of the word that can be

regarded as the central kernel and beginning of a demonstrable semantic development.

Thus it soon becomes apparent that the multifaceted semantic range of the noun שְׁלוֹם offers no advantageous starting point. The original and proper sense of this term has been overrun by a multitude of apparently secondary

usages and has consequently become difficult to identify; cf. von Rad: “Seldom do we find in the OT a word which to the same degree as *šālôm* can bear a common use and yet can also be filled with a concentrated religious content far above the level of the average conception. . . . If שְׁלוֹם is a general expression of a very comprehensive nature, this means that there is something imprecise about it in almost every instance” (*TDNT* 2:402).

A clearly profiled usage may most easily be identified for the verb, for *šlm* pi. with a clearly and sharply distinguished realm of usage: *šlm* pi. means consistently “to pay, repay.” As we will see, the concept of requital underlies all forms of the root *šlm*, and this semasiologically fertile term facilitated a great multitude of possible usages esp. for the much-utilized noun *šālôm*. Given all these observations, it is fitting to begin an overview of the various derivatives of the root with the often-attested, sharply distinctive D stem.

(b) The Covenant Code already richly attests *šlm* pi. as a significant legal term: “to pay, replace.” It involves legislation concerning property law devoted to the performance of restitution for damages and reparation: “If someone leaves a cistern uncovered, or if someone digs a cistern and does not cover it, and a head of cattle or a donkey falls into it, the owner of the cistern shall make restitution” (Exod 21:33f.). In all, fourteen laws in Exod 21–22 with a similar content use *šlm* pi.

*šālāmu* also appears in Bab. and Assy. legal texts as a fixed legal term, indeed already in the Code of Hammurapi, and as in the Covenant Code it means “to pay, replace.” All periods of Mesopotamian history often use both the G stem and the D stem in this sense (cf. Eisenbeis, op. cit. 303f.). In the Ug. texts the D stem of *šlm* appears as a commercial term, “to pay” (cf. *WUS* no. 2614).

It is questionable whether the legal usage reflects the original and proper basic meaning of *šlm* pi. or should be evaluated as a secondary specialized usage of a more comprehensive concept. At any rate, the use of the pi. is in no way restricted to legal affairs but refers to a much broader semantic sphere. “To pay” means essentially to satisfy obligations, claims, and promises of every kind. Thus *šlm* pi., like Eng. “to repay,” can have the twofold senses of a positive “to satisfy” and a negative “to requite.” “May

the Lord repay you with good,” Saul says to David when David grants him life (1 Sam 24:20). By contrast, Deut 32:41 says, “I will requite those who hate me.” The sense is frequently absolute: “to perform restitution” or “to exercise vengeance.” Often, however, the verb combines with a direct obj., indeed in most cases with the acc. of the means of payment, thus properly “to perform in satisfaction.” The obj., then, is almost always concrete (Exod 21:37 “he should pay five head of cattle for one”; by contrast, an abstract obj. in Isa 57:18).

With a slight shift in the orientation of the verb, it precedes the acc. of that for which substitution should be made. Then too the obj. can be concrete (2 Sam 12:6 “He should pay fourfold for the lamb”); usually, however, it involves deeds and modes of behavior that someone rewards or punishes (Ruth 2:12 “May Yahweh repay your deed”; Psa 137:8 “Blessed be the one who requites your deed”). Only two passages have as the direct obj. the person who receives the substitution or requital (Psa 31:24; Prov 13:21; regarding *šlm* hi., see 3d).

As an obj. of repayment, *neder* “vow” merits special mention (Deut 23:22; 2 Sam 15:7; Isa 19:21; Nah 2:1; Psa 22:26; 50:14; 61:9; 66:13; 76:12; 116:14, 18; Job 22:27; Prov 7:14; Eccl 5:3). “To pay a vow” probably means quite concretely: to present the things promised (cf. Jonah 2:10; Eccl 5:4f.). The expression “to repay a debt” is similar in nature, i.e., to return what one owes (2 Kgs 4:7), or to settle something still outstanding (Jer 16:18; 32:18). Wider-reaching applications are “to pay thank offerings” (Psa 56:13), “to pay the fruit of our lips” (Hos 14:3), and “to give restitution for the years of suffering” (Joel 2:25).

Only two passages raise the question of whether the concept of repayment is still vital. In the first, Job 8:6, Bildad speaks of the restoration of Job or, more precisely, of the restoration of the “dwelling place of his uprightness” that has suffered damage and injury. The restoration should probably not be understood as a “completion” but apparently has the character of a divine regulation of damages (cf. Horst, BK 16, 130).

The second passage in which the concept of “repayment” is not immediately illuminating is 1 Kgs 9:25. Proceeding from the assumed basic meaning of “wholeness,” many have regarded the final words of the verse as a late gloss or an unnecessary repetition: “He completes the house” or “completely fulfills the purpose of the house” (Noth, BK 9, 220f.). Derivation from the concept of “sufficiency” is also supported in this passage if one understands the obj. as an abbreviated idiom for “work on the house”; cf. the corresponding expression in the ground stem in Neh 6:15: a wall, i.e., probably “work on the wall,” can be satisfactorily completed; see also *m<sup>c</sup>lākâ* “work, task” as the subj. of a qal in 1 Kgs 7:51.

(c) The sparsely attested qal is intrans. and is used in a fig. sense: “to have satisfaction, have enough, be satisfied” or, negatively, “to bear requital (punishment), make amends.” A per. subj. occurs twice. In Job 9:4

the verb means apparently “to be enough for someone,” i.e., to be a match for someone in power (“Who has resisted him and was a match for him?”). In 22:21 the qal seems to have a negative sense: “surrender to him and have enough,” i.e., suffer requital, make amends.

“To have/be enough” can also apply to imper. subjs.: a completed task or work (*m<sup>l</sup>ākâ* 1 Kgs 7:51 = 2 Chron 5:1); moreover, “the days of your mourning” (Isa 60:20) and “the wall,” i.e., probably “work on the wall” (Neh 6:15; see 3b regarding Joel 2:25 and 1 Kgs 9:25).

(d) *šlm* hi. is grammatically distinct from *šlm* pi. in terms of its obj. orientation. While *šlm* pi. almost always takes that which is repaid as obj., the hi. refers to the person or thing that receives requital. Thus it properly signifies “to make the recipient of repayment.” It can involve quite varied payments. To designate the forced payment of a subordinate, political language uses the hi. particularly for payments of tribute (Josh 10:1, 4; 2 Sam 10:19). Three times the obj. is abstract, something potential, not yet enforced, which is now put into “effect” (Isa 44:26 “the plan of his messengers”; 44:28 “my intention”; Job 27:14 “what has been decided regarding me”). The causative in these passages signifies that Yahweh or Cyrus enacts, sets to work, his plans or decisions.

The denominative character of the causative (BrSynt §39c) becomes particularly clear in conjunction with a prep.: *šlm* hi. with *šim*, *šēt*, or *šel* is best explained as a synonym of *šh šālôm* “to reach an agreement” (Deut 20:12; Josh 11:19; 1 Kgs 22:45; Prov 16:7; 1 Chron 19:19). *šlm* hi. also means “to make a recipient of requital” in Isa 38:12(, 13), although in the negative sense of “to punish” (cf. 1).

(e) The verbal adj. *šālēm* is closely related semasiologically to the verb. The relationship extends both to the qal and the pi./pu. (D stem). The relationship to the qal occurs in Gen 15:16 with regard to the guilt of the Amorites that has not been balanced, has not been requited. Amos 1:6, 9 also speaks of negative, punitive requital. The deportations (*gālût š<sup>l</sup>ēmâ*) of which Gaza and Tyre are guilty should not be understood as total removals of entire localities (thus Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 129, 157) but as “retribution deportations” (for another interpretation see R. H. Smith, *ZAW* 77 [1965]: 144).

*šālēm* is used a few times with a shift to an internal meaning. Whoever has enough of life’s requirements, etc., is “satisfied,” joyous: “Jacob came joyously to the city of Shechem” (Gen 33:18). *šālēm* here is synonymous with the much more common *b<sup>š</sup>ālôm*; Gen 34:21, which concerns the relationship between the Shechemites and the Israelites, also belongs here.

*šālēm* appears with disproportionately greater frequency as a verbal noun

of the D stem, thus as a designation of those who repay. This word “payer” highlights an important semantic distinction that depends on whether the emphasis falls on the capacity or the compulsion. Whoever can pay “counts,” i.e., has value. Whoever must pay is dependent and submissive. Reference can be made here to the interesting speculation of R. H. Smith, who understands *melek šālēm* in Gen 14:18 as a designation for a vassal king or one prepared to submit (op. cit. 129–53).

*šālēm* appears as an indication of the submissive payer particularly when the word is used to qualify the heart. The expression *lēb(āb) šālēm* (14x), which always describes an attitude toward God, does not mean an “undivided” but a “paying,” i.e., submissive, willing heart. The interpretation “with a whole, undivided heart” cannot be supported by reference to Akk. *libbu qamru*, since the concept of payment is also vital to the Akk. expression (see *AHw* 279f.).

A surprising aesthetic expansion of meaning seems to be present in passages with *šālēm* as a construction term, namely as a modifier for *ʿeben* “stone.” The construction of the altar should involve stones that are *šēlēmôt*, i.e., stones “over which no iron has been swung” (Josh 8:31). Similarly, only *ʿeben šēlēmâ* were used in the construction of the temple (1 Kgs 6:7). The required characteristic of the temple stones is illuminated by the addition *massāʿ*: they should already be “easy to work with, manageable” when quarried, i.e., without dressing with tools.

*šālēm* acquires an entirely different sense when the emphasis lies not on the compulsion to pay but on the ability, the capacity. Such is the case when *šālēm* is used as a commercial expression, to characterize a stone weight or a measure. Stone and ephah should be *šēlēmâ*, i.e., valid (Deut 25:15; Prov 11:1); they must have qualities such that they can be paid, a generally recognized equivalence of value with the wares that they replace.

(f) The subst. *šālôm*, usually understood as “totality, entirety” or “peace,” also relates closely to the basic concept of payment and requital; as with the other forms, the “requital” is ambivalent here too: it can be (1) positive or (2) negative.

(1) The positive sense is most common: “satisfaction, sufficiency” describes abstractly the state in which one has enough, concretely that which is enough, satisfactory for someone. No sharp boundary between abstract and concrete exists here, however. Characteristically, the concept of *šālôm* implies that it transcends the merely sufficient and indicates the totality, the “sufficiency” measured according to a full or rich measure. Comparison could be made here to the semantically related term *day*, which means the “precisely sufficient,” the bare necessity. Just as *day* negates abundance, *šālôm* negates lack.

The multivalency of *šālôm* also becomes apparent in that it encompasses both external and internal sufficiency. The transition from outer to inner occurs effortlessly: whoever has sufficient for life's needs, etc., also has sufficiency per se, is "satisfied," joyous (cf. "Genüge," in J. Grimm and W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* [1897], 4:3506f.). Inner satisfaction has conceptual affinities with "desire, joy, pleasure." The expressions *b<sup>e</sup>šālôm* and *l<sup>e</sup>šālôm*, which combine esp. well with verbs of motion, belong here: "to enter into satisfaction, joy," etc. No semantic distinction seems to differentiate the two expressions. While *b<sup>e</sup>šālôm* is preferred with *šûb* "to return" and *bô'* "to come," *l<sup>e</sup>šālôm* is linked primarily with *hlk* "to go."

*šālôm* can serve as a direct or indirect obj. of many different verbs. The sense of *šālôm* shifts toward "desire, pleasure" esp. in association with verbs of speaking, e.g., *dbr pi. l<sup>e</sup>šālôm* "to speak to someone's liking" (Gen 37:4); in addition, with a direct obj., Jer 9:7; Psa 35:20; Esth 10:3.

The formula  $\rightarrow \text{š}l \text{ l}^e\text{šālôm}$  means "to inquire about someone's (external and internal) state of satisfaction." The expression is almost always, however, weakened to a formula of greeting, e.g., Judg 18:15; 1 Sam 10:4; 17:22; 25:5; 30:21; 2 Kgs 10:13. The formula of greeting can also appear without a verb, particularly with *le*—" (May there be) enough for you" (Judg 6:23; 19:20, etc.)—or adj. as in 1 Sam 25:6 (regarding the formulae of greeting, cf. Lande 3–9; Schmid, op. cit. 47–53; moreover, E. Salonen, *Die Gruss- und Höflichkeitsformeln in bab.-assy. Briefen* [1967]; H. Grapow, *Wie die alten Ägypter sich anredeten, wie sie sich grüssten und wie sie miteinander sprachen* [19602]).

A semantic shift of a different nature results when satisfaction is regarded primarily as a process. If the accent falls on the act, the nature and manner of the satisfaction, *šālôm* can mean a contract, an agreement. The expression "to make *šālôm*" should be mentioned first (Josh 9:15; Isa 27:5); cf. Noth, *Laws* 113f. One may also refer to Phoen. *št šlm ʿt* "to make an agreement (tribute?)" in the Karatepe inscription (*KAI* no. 26A.I.11). *šālôm* appears in a similar sense in conjunction with  $\rightarrow \text{qr}'$  and  $\rightarrow \text{nh}$  (I) "to offer or accept a peaceful agreement" (Deut 20:10f.).

If the situation produced by the performance of restitution receives the greater emphasis, even if the restoration of balance refers to inequality, war, etc., the meaning of *šālôm* shifts toward "peace," i.e., a state produced by reciprocal contributions. The opposite of war occasionally assumes prominence, e.g., 1 Kgs 2:5; 20:18; Isa 59:8; Psa 120:6f.; Eccl 3:8. Naturally, it is not always possible to differentiate sharply between "agreement" and "peace," i.e., between *šālôm* as a one-time act and as an enduring state, since "peace" always implies or presumes some kind of

agreement.

In this context the expression *b<sup>c</sup>rît šālôm* should also be mentioned (4x: Num 25:12; Isa 54:10; Ezek 34:25; 37:26). These passages allude to actions and events in the past that remain somehow uncompensated. Phineas committed a meritorious act that protected Israel from annihilation (Num 25:5ff.). His acquisition of the right of the priesthood in the form of a *b<sup>c</sup>rît šālôm* was apparently regarded as a fitting compensation. Isa 54 concerns the crises Israel had suffered that are not represented as well-deserved punishment but as an unfortunate consequence of divine wrath (54:7), which immediately requires compensation. Ezek 34 also speaks of the experience of undeserved suffering. The innocent sheep have been plagued by evil shepherds. As in Isa 54, the promise of salvation here is also understood as divine damage control. Ezek 37:15 also refers to the past, although the substitution idea is less prominent here. It is significant that all these passages speak of a specific covenant concept not based primarily on future obligations but which should be understood as the adjustment of a past process, thus “covenant of requital, obligation to make restitution” (on the concept of God giving satisfaction, see Joel 2:25; for a representation of two different covenant concepts—the obligatory type and the promissory type—see M. Weinfeld, “Covenant of Grant in the OT and in the Ancient Near East,” *JAOS* 90 [1970]: 184–203).

(2) *šālôm* means “requital,” then, and to this point the basic meaning has always been positive: “satisfaction, enough,” etc. But in some cases *šālôm* means requital in the negative sense, i.e., as penalty, revenge, vengeance. These cases include a few important passages in which *šālôm* has traditionally been understood as “peace” or “welfare,” although the contexts speak decisively against this interpretation.

In Mic 5:4 the customary translation causes significant difficulties: *w<sup>c</sup>hāyâ zeh šālôm* “the peace will be thus.” The subsequent description of a hypothetical future has nothing to do with any state of peace. To the contrary, a potential invasion of the Assyrians into Israel will provoke a regular act of retribution: “If the Assyrians invade our land and enter our palaces, we will oppose them with seven shepherds and eight princely men. They will shepherd the land of Assyria with the sword.”

Equally questionable is the customary interpretation of *šālôm* in Isa 53:5 in reference to Yahweh’s servant. *mûsar š<sup>cl</sup>ômēnû ʿālāyw* “our *šālôm* - correction came on him” can be interpreted only in a contrived manner as punishment that brings salvation. The reference is quite probably to “the correction we deserved as retribution.”

Whether *šar-šālôm* in Isa 9:5 should be understood as “Prince of Peace” depends on the answer to the question of the interpretation of the other throne names, esp. of *ʾabî-ʿad*. “Father of Eternity” or “Father of

Booty.” In the latter case (cf. 53:12) “Prince of Requit” or “Prince of Tribute” would give the better analogy (regarding the messianic throne names in 9:5, cf. H. Wildberger, *TZ* 16 [1960]: 314–32; id., *Isa 1–12*, CC, 403–6).

It also seems doubtful whether *šālôm* should be interpreted as “peace, well-being” in Psa 37:37. This psalm concerns the distinct fates of the righteous and the evildoer. In the end, each will receive the appropriate fate (“the end for a person is requital”). If this interpretation is correct, “requital” here would be a double entendre: “punishment” or “satisfaction.”

(g) The plurale tantum (invariable pl.) *š<sup>e</sup>lāmîm* or *zēbaḥ š<sup>e</sup>lāmîm*, which serves as a sacrificial term (sg. only in Amos 5:22), also belongs to the root *šlm*. Not only the sense of this word, but also the function and ideal significance of this special type of sacrifice lie largely in darkness. In order to explain the word, the supposed basic meaning “totality” has usually been adduced: “full sacrifice, community sacrifice, concluding sacrifice,” or also (proceeding from “peace”) “sacrifice of well-being, peace offering” (cf. e.g., R. de Vaux, *Studies in OT Sacrifice* [1964], 31–51; R. Schmid, *Das Bundesopfer in Israel* [1964]; A. Charbel, *RivB* 18 [1970]: 185–93; id., *BeO* 12 [1970]: 91–94, 132–37; J. C. de Moor, *FS Gispén* 112–17).

The sacrificial Torah in Lev 1–7, which describes *š<sup>e</sup>lāmîm* as the third type of sacrifice, indicates that the presentation of this sacrifice coincides with that of the burnt offering *‘ōlâ* except for one important difference: all the flesh of the sacrificial animal is not presented on the altar and burned, only the fatty portions. As Lev 6:5 indicates, burning the fat can be regarded as an independent sacrifice, as a burnt offering. One must apparently take into account that in the cultic language of P, and probably also outside it, the burnt offering can refer to a specific element of the *š<sup>e</sup>lāmîm*. Furthermore, these two sacrifices are linked and appear together with particular frequency (Deut 27:6f.; 1 Sam 10:8; 13:9; 2 Sam 6:17f.; 24:25; 1 Kgs 3:15; 2 Chron 29:35).

All appearances suggest that the *š<sup>e</sup>lāmîm* sacrifice had a much more important status in Israel’s ancient period than the relatively sparse references in P would indicate. In particular, this cultic ritual seems to have been a social occasion, the preferred sacrificial meal and as such *the* sacrifice (von Rad, *Theol.* 1:257).

The name *š<sup>e</sup>lāmîm* seems, however, to have been exclusively applied at first to the gift made to Yahweh, while the communal cultic meal of those offering sacrifice remains beyond the purview. Not only does the language of P suggest this distinction (Lev 3:1; 7:1, etc.), but numerous passages outside P also confirm it (Exod 20:24; 32:6; 2 Sam 24:25; 1 Kgs 3:15; 9:25, etc.). As one could expect, the designation is frequently expanded to include the entire sacrificial process or the entire sacrificial animal, as

indicated e.g., by expressions such as “the fatty portions of the *š<sup>e</sup>lāmîm*” (1 Kgs 8:64), “the blood of his *š<sup>e</sup>lāmîm*” (2 Kgs 16:13). One can hardly doubt that this usage is a secondary pars pro toto based on an original usage that associated the *š<sup>e</sup>lāmîm* with the sacrifice proper, i.e., with Yahweh’s portion, or more correctly, with the fatty portions, precisely cataloged and described, to be burned on the altar. These portions, and only these, were originally called *š<sup>e</sup>lāmîm*.

This observation casts a new light on the pl. form usually regarded as a so-called abstract pl. intensifying the basic concept (“well-being,” etc.). A better explanation of the pl. seems to be that it refers to the individual sacrificial portions presented.

But how does one explain the derivation of the sacrificial term from the root *šlm*? From the outset, one can probably explain *š<sup>e</sup>lāmîm*, like the other forms of the root, in terms of the concept of “payment.” The readiest assumption, then, seems to be that the fatty portions presented to Yahweh were regarded as a substitute for the entire sacrificial animal, which belonged essentially to Yahweh, a substitute that “paid for” and simultaneously redeemed the flesh to be consumed in the communal meal.

(h) The root *šlm* often appears as a component of PNs (cf. *IP* 145, 165, 174), e.g., in *ʿabšālôm/ʿabšālôm* “(my) father is sufficient,” *š<sup>e</sup>lūmîʿēl* “my satisfaction is God” (cf. Judg 6:24 *yhwh šālôm*), (*m<sup>e</sup>*)*šelemyâ(hû)* “Yahweh gives restitution, satisfies,” etc. Names formed with *šlm* pi. should be interpreted as so-called substitution names (Stamm, *HEN*, 421f., 424); so also the short form *š<sup>e</sup>lōmōh* “his substitute” (cf. J. J. Stamm, “Der Name des Königs Salomo,” *TZ* 16 [1960]: 285–97: “his entirety”).

4. (a) The examination of the semantic content of the root *šlm* has indicated that a sharp distinction between a profane and a theological realm of usage is not possible. The concept of payment and requital, which had fundamental significance for the question of the correlation between deed and consequence, has an inner relationship with belief in Yahweh. Explicitly or implicitly, Yahweh is the actual guarantor of the deed-consequence relationship. That God requites means that he rewards or punishes. Yahweh/God is the subj. in more than one-third of the pi. instances, with particular frequency in the book of Jer and in Trito-Isa. In most passages Yahweh’s requital is punitive. The basic meaning of *šlm* pi. “to perform an appropriate act in response” is still apparent, even though Yahweh stands as requiter, e.g., Isa 57:18; Joel 2:25; Job 8:6; 41:3; Ruth 2:12. In these passages Yahweh’s requital has the character of restitution of damages (regarding *b<sup>e</sup>rît šālôm*, see 3f).

One can discuss human requital in reference to God only in a limited sense: vows, sacrifices of thanksgiving (Psa 56:13), and the fruit of the lips

(Hos 14:3) are “paid.” Cf. further Joel 4:4 and Job 21:31, which fundamentally deny the possibility of human requital in respect to God.

(b) The noun *šālôm* in the sense of “agreement” or “requital” belongs to theological language although no established theological usage developed in the sparse occurrences. The attempt to find in *šālôm* a cultic term with particular reference to Yahweh’s cultic presence does not succeed (so Durham, op. cit.).

It is particularly difficult to make a sharp distinction between a profane and a theological scope of meaning in the frequent use of the noun in the sense of “sufficiency.” In order to gain a better profile of this important usage of *šālôm*, one must compare it with other semantically related terms.

First, *šedāqâ* (→ *šdq*), which occasionally parallels *šālôm* (Isa 48:18 “your *šālôm* would have become like the stream and your *šedāqâ* like the billows of the sea”; 60:17 “I will make *šālôm* your magistrate and *šedāqâ* your government”), deserves attention in this regard. Of course, one may not infer an actual symmetry from these highly poetic passages. For the most part the difference between the two terms is unmistakable, although not easily stated in a precise formulation. A significant distinction seems to be that *šedāqâ* refers consistently to persons and appears as a power or capacity characteristic of people or God, while *šālôm* is largely abstracted from any per. subj. and stands separate from the efforts of a per. participant. This differentiation is expressed grammatically by the fact that *šedāqâ* is provided with a poss. suf. much more often than is *šālôm*, i.e., *šedāqâ* is seen in terms of an acting subj., while *šālôm* is seen in terms of the prominence of pass. benefit. A *šaddîq* is one who “recognized and fulfilled claims made upon him by the community to which he belonged” (G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* [1972], 79). The relationship between the two terms is occasionally presented as that between effector and effect: “and the work of *šedāqâ* will be *šālôm*” (Isa 32:17), i.e., *šedāqâ* is linked to the concept of an action, while *šālôm* refers to a possession to be enjoyed or, more correctly, an appropriate recompense.

The semantic distinctives of the two terms are also expressed in that *šedāqâ* is used much more extensively as a subj. than *šālôm* is. While the former combines with a multitude of active and concretely graphic main verbs (dwell, exit, attain, stand at a distance, smooth the way, bubble forth, sprout, elevate, guard, deliver, bear witness, etc.), verbal statements with *šālôm* are almost limited to those with *hyh* “to be.” Only in one passage, indeed with *šedeq*, does a full verb appear as the predicate of *šālôm*: “Righteousness and *šālôm* embrace” (Psa 85:11).

One can make a corresponding observation with reference to the use of the two terms as objs. *šedāqâ* appears about 20x as the obj. of *šh* “to

make,” while other verbs are preferred with *šālôm*, esp. *ntn* “to give” (Lev 26:6; Jer 14:13, etc.; also *śim* Num 6:26; *špt* Isa 26:12) and → *bqš* pi./*drš* “to seek” (Deut 23:7; Ezek 7:25, etc.). Use of the two terms as subjs. or objs. seems to confirm that *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* is understood as something that can or should be performed, while the concept of a possession to be enjoyed or a requital to be undergone stands in the foreground in relation to *šālôm*.

The semantic sphere of *šālôm* also borders that of → *tôb* “good.” A par. usage occurs occasionally: “we hope for *šālôm*, yet nothing good comes” (Jer 8:15; cf. 14:19). A clear distinction also exists between these two terms, however. One should primarily understand *šālôm* as an objective entity, as a value that can pertain to those associated with it, whereas a subjective perspective figures prominently with *tôb*: it indicates that which is perceived as good. This distinction finds grammatical expression in the frequent association of *tôb* with a dative *le* or *b<sup>c</sup>ênê* “in someone’s eyes” indicating the pass. subj. There is no corresponding expression with *šālôm*.

5. The Qumran documents use the verb and the noun in the same sense as the OT (Kuhn, *Konk.* 221f.; also GCDS 501ff.; *šlwm* may represent both *šālôm* and *šillûm* “requital,” e.g., 1QM 4:12). In CD 9:20 *šālēm mišpāṭô* means “his judgment becomes valid.”

Mishnaic legal terminology includes various forms of *šlm*, most frequently the pi. used of payment of appropriate restitution.

In most cases the LXX translates *šālôm* with *eirēnē*, signifying a marked limitation of the semantic range of the Hebr. term. Gk. translations of the noun or of the adj. *šālēm* (*plērēs*, *teleios*, etc.) never highlight a relationship with the concept of “payment.” More than half the instances of *šlm* pi. are translated by *(ant)apodidonai* in the LXX. The legally more precise *apotinein* “to make restitution for damages” occurs about 25x.

An extrapolation of the tendencies in the NT must be linked chiefly to *eirēnē*, cf. W. Foerster and G. von Rad, “εἰρήνη,” *TDNT* 2:400–420. The semantic range of the Gk. word only partially coincides, however, with that of *šālôm*.

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𐤑𐤍 *šēm* **name**

S 8034; BDB 1027b; HAL 4:1432a; ThWAT 8:122–76; TWOT 2405; NIDOTTE 9005

1. The biradical subst. \*šim- “name” is common Sem. (NB 140–43; Berg., *Intro.* 218f.; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/20 [1965]: 264, 268). Old Can., Ug., and Phoen. šm apparently contained *u* (cf. transcribed PNs such as šu-um-a-na-ti; see *UT* no. 2426; *WUS* no. 2620; Gröndahl 31, 34, 193f.; Benz 419; for the Amor. PN see Huffmon 247–49), like Akk. šumu and Bibl. Aram. šum (Jew. Aram. šôm; regarding the assimilation of an original *i* in the following labial *m*, see BLA 41). Old Aram. also attests šm with a prosthetic *aleph* along with šm (Sef. IC.25; IIB.7; cf. F. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik* [1969], 42; cf. also Yaudi šm, *DISO* 306) like Arab. *ism* (cf. Mand. ʿšma, šuma, Drower-Macuch 454f.).

On the etymology of šēm cf. J. Boehmer, *Das biblische “Im Namen”* (1898), 20–27; O. Grether, *Name und Wort Gottes im AT* (1934), 1; GB 839b; KBL 983a. According to Nöldeke (NB 141), Syr. šmh pa. “to name” (LS 784b) is a denominative; cf. Arab. *sammā* “to name” (Wehr 432b) and Old SArab. *smy* “to be named” (W. W. Müller, “Die Wurzeln Mediae und Tertiae y/w im Altsüdarabischen” [diss., Tübingen, 1962], 63). Arab. *wsm* “to mark” could suggest an original meaning “distinguishing mark” for šēm (Boehmer, Grether).

A prosthetic ʾaleph is also apparent in the divine designation šmbyʾl from Elephantine (Cowley no. 22.124), cf. *sumbetylos* in the dedicatory inscription from Kafr Nebo near Aleppo (O. Eissfeldt, *KS* [1962], 1:224f.; J. T. Milik, *Bib* 48 [1967]: 565–70). In this case, šmbyʾl would signify “name of (the god) Bethel” and correspond to the name šmbʾl ascribed to Astarte (*KAI* 2:23).

PNs formed with šēm are rather rare in the OT: š<sup>c</sup>mûʾēl (Samuel, outside Num 34:20 and 1 Chron 7:2 only of known prophets; the meaning of the name is disputed, however; cf. L. Köhler, *ZAW* 32 [1912]: 16; L. Kopf, *VT* 8 [1958]: 209f.; H. J. Stoebe, *BHH* 3:1663; it may be that šm should not be interpreted as a theophoric element, contra *IP* 123) and š<sup>c</sup>mîdā<sup>c</sup> (Num 26:32; Josh 17:2; 1 Chron 7:19; consisting of šēm + *yd<sup>c</sup>*). The PN šēm (e.g., Gen 5:32) does not belong here (*IP* 123n.5; KBL 984b).

Regarding Akk. PNs formed with *šumu*, cf. Stamm, *AN* 40–42, 236, 261, 303f., 366f., and C. Saporetti, *Onomastica Medio-Assira* (1970), 2:162f.; regarding NWSem. PNs, see above.

2. As one could expect, šēm occurs in reference to people and things primarily in the historical books, while the name of God or Yahweh is primarily discussed in Lev (10x), Deut (23x), the Dtr history (cf. 1 Kgs 26x), Isa (over 30x), Jer (over 40x), Ezek (14x), most of the Minor Prophets (Amos 7x, Mal 10x), 2 Chron (27x), and esp. the Psa (about 100x), in total 3/7 of all instances. The phrase šēm yhw<sup>h</sup> represents 87 of these

occurrences.

	sg.	pl.	total	<i>šēm yhwh</i>	
Gen	103	10	113	6	
Exod	30	13	43	3	
Lev	11	–	11	1	
Num	17	32	49	–	
Deut	36	–	36	7	
Josh	11	1	12	1	
Judg	19	–	19	–	
1 Sam		33	–	33	2
2 Sam		32	2	34	2
1 Kgs	45	1	46	9	
2 Kgs	23	–	23	2	
Isa	54	–	54	8	
Jer	55	–	55	6	
Ezek	24	4	28	–	
Hos	4	1	5	–	
Joel	2	–	2	2	
	sg.	pl.	total	<i>šēm yhwh</i>	
Amos	7	–	7	1	
Obad	–	–	–	–	
Jonah	–	–	–	–	–
Mic	4	–	4	2	
Nah	1	–	1	–	
Hab	–	–	–	–	
Zeph	5	–	5	2	
Hag	–	–	–	–	
Zech	6	1	7	1	
Mal	10	–	10	–	
Psa	106	3	109	20	
Job	7	–	7	1	
Prov	7	–	7	1	
Ruth	14	–	14	–	
Song Sol	1	–	–	1	–
Eccl	3	–	3	–	
Lam	1	–	1	–	
Esth	8	–	8	–	
Dan	5	1	6	–	
Ezra	1	3	4	–	
Neh	7	–	7	–	
1 Chron		43	12	55	4

2 Chron	43	2	45	6
Hebr. OT	778	86	864	87

Bibl. Aram. attests *šum* 12x (6x each in Dan and Ezra), 2x in the pl. (Ezra 5:4, 10), and 4x in reference to God (Dan 2:20; 4:5; Ezra 5:1; 6:12).

3. (a) The thesis that in the entire ancient Near East the name is “not only a sign of the difference between various entities but a definition of the essence of the entity named” (J. Fichtner, “Die etymologische Ätiologie in den Namengebungen der geschichtlichen Bücher des AT,” *VT* 6 [1956]: 372; cf. H. Bietenhard, *TDNT* 5:253; id., *BHH* 2:1284; and esp. *ILC* 1–2:245: “the name is the soul”) requires correction. Apart from the fact that the meanings of some proper names were incomprehensible even to the Hebrews (esp. foreign names and ancient PNs), the name “often did not represent a designation of the essence of its bearer even among primitive peoples, but emphasized only an individual distinguishing characteristic of its bearer, memorialized the parents’ attitude toward the birth of the child named or an important political event at the time of birth, or, as a theophoric PN, made a statement concerning God” (O. Grether, *Name und Wort Gottes im AT* [1934], 2). PNs that are zoological or botanical designations hardly allow for an identification of name and essence of the named, not even with a symbolic interpretation (i.e., for Caleb “dog,” Deborah “bee,” Huldah “mole”; cf. J. Barr, “Symbolism of Names in the OT,” *BJRL* 52 [1969/70]: 11–29, esp. 20f.). 1 Sam 25:25 is often incorrectly adduced in support of the thesis that the name indicates the essence of its bearer. This text concerning Nabal does not mean, as often maintained, “As is one’s name, so is one” (thus Fichtner, op. cit. 372; Grether, op. cit. 2; Bietenhard, *TDNT* 5:254), but “As his name is, so is he: He is called Nabal, and he does *n<sup>e</sup>bālā*.” This statement is a wordplay on the (etymologically difficult to explain) PN and *n<sup>e</sup>bālā*. In addition, the latter term belongs to a semantic realm (the cultic) entirely different from that of *nābāl* “fool” (cf. Barr, op. cit. 25–28). The statement of 1 Sam 25:25 has nothing to do with a universally valid relationship between the name and the essence of a person. Rather, one must distinguish between a dianoetic (the significance of the name according to its meaning; see 3b–g) and a dynamic element (the significance of a name according to its force and effect; see 3h) in the name concept (cf. O. Procksch, *Theologie des AT* [1949], 451; A.-M. Besnard, *Le mystère du nom* [1962], 18ff.) and recognize that the meaning, the effect, and the “power” of a name lie not in the ominous character of the name per se but in the significance, the effect, and the “power” of the bearer of this name.

Knowledge of the name facilitates community: If one knows the name of a person or a god, one can summon, “invoke,” him/her. In this sense,

knowledge of the name signifies a degree of power over the person known. If this person is very powerful, then the person's name also has corresponding effect and can be used for good or evil purposes. This situation also results in the use of the name of significant persons, but esp. of Yahweh's name, in magic (cf. Eissfeldt, "Jahwe-Name und Zauberwesen," *KS* 1:150–71).

Because names represent the personality, bearers must be concerned with their names, i.e., their good reputations. One acquires a name in the sense of fame if one increases one's honor (→ *kbd*) through mighty deeds and property, incl. many children. One's name survives one's death in particular through descendants (Gen 48:16). But the names of those who are brought to justice (Ezek 23:10), who have no children (cf. 2 Sam 18:18), or who have lost their possessions (cf. Num 27:4) will be erased from the earth. In these cases and in this dynamic sense, the name can become an alternative for the person.

Israel knows of no secret divine names because magical use of the divine name is forbidden, and all believers, not just a particular group, e.g., the priests, can call directly on Yahweh in prayer.

(b) In the dianoetic sense *šēm* refers to the proper names of gods and people, the names of species of animals (Gen 2:20), and the names of cities (Gen 4:17; 11:9; 19:22; 26:33; 28:19; 36:32, 35, 39; 50:11; Josh 14:15; 15:15; Judg 1:10f., 17, 23, 26; 18:29; 1 Kgs 16:24; 2 Kgs 14:7; Ezek 48:35; 1 Chron 1:43, 46, 50), places (Gen 32:3, 31; 33:17; 35:15; Exod 15:23; 17:7; Num 11:3, 34; 21:3; Josh 5:9; 7:26; Judg 2:5; 2 Sam 5:20; 1 Chron 14:11; 2 Chron 20:26), mountains (Gen 22:14), mountain peaks (1 Sam 14:4), rock piles (Gen 31:48f.), rocks (1 Sam 7:12), sacrificial high places (Ezek 20:29), rivers (Gen 2:11, 13f.), watering places (Gen 26:18, 20–22; Judg 15:19), trees (Gen 35:8), altars (Exod 17:15), pillars (2 Sam 18:18), columns (1 Kgs 7:21 = 2 Chron 3:17), and days (Ezek 24:2; cf. → *yôm* 3b and *ktb šm hym* "record the name of the day" in an ostrakon from Tell Arad; J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* [1971], 1:51, l. 4; cf. Esth 9:26).

According to OT tradition, in ancient times the mother usually named the newborn (Gen 4:25; 19:37f.; 29:32f.; 30:8, 11, 13, 18, 20f., 24; 35:18; 38:3[txt em], 4f., 29[txt em], 30[txt em]; cf. Exod 2:10; Judg 13:24; 1 Sam 1:20; cf. 4:21). In contrast, Gen 4:26 J; 5:29 J; 16:15 P; 21:3 P; Exod 2:22 J; 2 Sam 12:24 attribute naming to the father. Thus the laws of OT naming correspond largely to those of the ancient Near East.

The problems of Israelite or ancient Near Eastern onomatology cannot be treated here in detail. A few brief comments must suffice. In terms of grammatical form, the PN may be divided into sentence names and designation names. Sentence names "are, in terms of origin,

statements made by the father or mother at the birth of the child named (cf. Reuben, i.e.,  $r^{\epsilon}\gamma\hat{u} b\bar{e}n$  ‘Look, a son!’) or they contain request, wishes, and statements of confidence placed on the lips of the name bearer (cf.  $y^{\epsilon}rahm^{\epsilon}\bar{e}l$  ‘May El have mercy’;  $^{\gamma}l\hat{i}^{\epsilon}ezer$  ‘My God is a help’)“ (J. J. Stamm, *RGG* 4:1301). Sentence names are constructed either as nom. or verbal clauses. Nom.-clause names were more common in early Israel than in later Israel (*IP* 16). The normal order in these names is subj.-predicate. The emergence of the anterior placement of the predicate in later times seems to have been due to an emphasis on the predicative statement, while the theophoric element of the name, which always indicated Yahweh, “diminished in significance as self-evident” (*IP* 20). Verbal-clause names divide into constructions with finite verb forms (pf. and impf.) and ptc. constructions (rather rare and late). The word order noun-verb dominates in the most ancient period in names composed with pf. forms. In names composed with impf. forms the impf. normally precedes the noun. In designation names “the name bearer is named sometimes after the day of birth (cf. *ḥaggay* ‘the one born on the feast’), sometimes after status in the family as firstborn, etc. Otherwise, the parent’s love for the child (cf. names composed with *yādīd* ‘darling’) as well their joy over it (cf. *šimšōn* ‘small sun’) find expression. Designations for physical advantages and weakness as well as for animals and plants are also numerous in this category” (Stamm, op. cit.).

Theophoric elements in names stemming from the old tribal religions include the words for relationship →  $\bar{a}b$  “(divine) father,” →  $\bar{a}ḥ$  “(divine) brother,” and →  $^{\epsilon}am$  “(divine) relative,” while →  $\bar{e}l$  became much less prominent as a theophoric element in PNs in the course of the monarchic period, becoming common again in the post-exilic period (*IP* 90). *Yahweh* as a theophoric element in names is never transmitted in its full form but either as  $-yāhū/-yâ$  or  $y^{\epsilon}hō-/yô-$  (see *IP* 101–8). Names formed with this element arise in premonarchic Israel only gradually, yet they completely dominate Israelite nomenclature from the beginning of the monarchic period onward. Theophoric elements of Can. origins (apart from the common Sem. words  $\bar{a}b$ ,  $\bar{a}ḥ$ , and  $^{\epsilon}am$ ) are →  $\bar{a}dôn$  “lord,” → *melek* “king,” and → *baʿal* “lord.”

In contrast to the environment, PNs describing the name bearer as the son or daughter of Yahweh do not occur in Israel; cf., however, in the extra-Israelite realm *ben-ʿanāt* “son of Anat” as a designation for the Hurrite Shamgar (Judg 3:31; 5:6) and *ben-hadad* “son of Hadad” as a designation for three kings of Aram (1 Kgs 15:18, 20; 1 Kgs 20:1ff.; 2 Kgs 13:3, 24f., etc.). These nicknames indicate qualities, represented by the pertinent deities, which the name bearer possesses or at least strives after (O. Eissfeldt, “Gottesnamen in Personennamen als Symbole menschlicher

Qualitäten,” *KS* [1968], 4:276–84).

One should not interpret the PNs Gad and Asher as theophoric PNs (so *IP* 126f., 131) but, in accord with the OT explanation, as acclamation names (“best wishes,” “good luck”); cf. Eissfeldt, *KS* 4:73–78.

Names were also often shortened in Israel, as everywhere: one element (often the theophoric) of bipartite names is omitted (e.g., *ya<sup>a</sup>qōb* “Jacob” instead of *ya<sup>a</sup>qōb-ʿēl*, but cf. Deut 33:28), and the other element is left unaltered, its vocalization is altered, or it is supplied with a vocalic ending (see *IP* 36–41).

Papponymy occurs first among Jews in Elephantine (perhaps under Eg. influence). In Palestine it first arose in the 3d cent. BCE (*IP* 56–60). Foreign names attested in the OT include Eg. (esp. for the members of the tribe of Levi: Moses, Aaron[?], Phinehas, Hophni), Aram., Akk., and Pers. names (*IP* 63f.).

To indicate naming, Hebr. uses → *qr<sup>ʾ</sup> šēm l<sup>e</sup>* or *qr<sup>ʾ</sup> š<sup>e</sup>mô/š<sup>e</sup>māh* “to call/give someone a name” or “to name his/her name” or *šîm šēm l<sup>e</sup>* (Dan 1:7) or *šîm š<sup>e</sup>mô* (Judg 8:31; 2 Kgs 17:34; Neh 9:7) “to assign/call someone a name” or “to assign/call his name.” The verb *knh* pi. means “to give an honorary name” (Isa 44:5, proselytes; 45:4, king on enthronement; Job 32:21f.; Sir 36:17; 44:23; 47:6).

To ask someone’s name (*š<sup>ʾ</sup>l l<sup>e</sup> šēm*) one can say either *ma-š<sup>e</sup>mekā* “What is your name?” (Gen 32:28; cf. Exod 3:13; Prov 30:4) or *mî š<sup>e</sup>mekā* (Judg 13:17). Joüon explains the latter expression as a contamination of two idioms, *mî ʾattā* “Who are you?” and *ma-š<sup>e</sup>mekā* “What is your name?” (§144b[1]: “this contamination is all the more explicable in that, for a Semite, the name is conceived as somewhat equivalent to the person”; cf. Aram. *man*, Ezra 5:4).

(c) In narrative style, persons in the OT are often indicated sometimes by their own names, sometimes as “X son of Y” (Abner, 2 Sam 2:14ff., in contrast to Abner son of Ner, 2 Sam 2:8; 3:37; Jeroboam, 1 Kgs 11:28f., in contrast to Jeroboam son of Nebat, 1 Kgs 11:26; 15:1; 16:31, etc.).

According to D. J. A. Clines (*VT* 22 [1972]: 266–87) the longer form “X son of Y” is used: (1) in order to differentiate an “X son of Y” from an “X son of Z” with the same name (2 Kgs 23:15?); (2) on account of the narrative style (in order to introduce a new figure into the narrative: Judg 3:15; 4:6; 9:26, etc.; in order to introduce a new scene in which the figure plays a role: Judg 5:1; 2 Sam 2:[8,]12, etc.; in introductory and concluding summaries: Judg 8:29, 32); (3) for formal reasons (in juristic formulations: Judg 6:29; in prophetic oracles: 1 Kgs 16:3; 21:22; in other formulaic expressions: 1 Kgs 15:1); (4) for contextual reasons (if the relationship expressed by “X son of Y” is meaningful in the context: 1 Sam 18:20; 2 Sam 3:13, etc.; or if the name Y is significant for the narrative: Judg 9:28,

30f., 35).

Notably, a person can occasionally be described as “son of Y.” This idiom is deprecatory in reference to older males (1 Sam 22:12) but not in reference to younger males (1 Sam 20:27; 22:9, etc., son of Jesse; 10:11, son of Kish) nor to women (1 Kgs 14:6). In other cases “son of Y” alternates stylistically with X and hence represents a subdivision of the fixed phrase “X son of Y” (Judg 5:12; 2 Sam 20:1; cf. Clines, op. cit. 282–87). Most exegetes consider “son of Remaliah” (Isa 7:4ff.; 8:6) and “son of Tabeel” (7:6) to be a case of a deprecatory idiom, but A. Alt (“Menschen ohne Namen,” *KS* 3:198–213) has demonstrated the likelihood that “son of Y” represents an ancient special designation of royal servants in hereditary positions (thus in Ug. lists; cf. also the list of overseers from the Solomonic era in 1 Kgs 4:7–19a, which mentions five people by the designation “son of Y” without their own names).

(d) In the books of Kgs and Chron, with few exceptions the mothers of the kings are named in the official information concerning the duration of the reign and the synchronism of the kings of Judah (1 Kgs 11:26; 14:21; 15:2, etc.; 2 Chron 12:13; 13:2; 20:31, etc.). This reference to the mother, who need not be the biological mother but could also be the grandmother (1 Kgs 15:10; cf. Noth, *BK* 9/1, 335f.), means the queen mother (*g<sup>e</sup>bîrâ*, → *ʿem* 4b) who exercised a great deal of influence on the king’s politics and theological attitude (cf. de Vaux 1:117–19, xxxiv [bibliog.]; on the position of the queen mother (*tavannana*) in the Hitt. empire, see A. A. Kampman, *JEOL* 7 [1940]: 432–42; G. Molin, *TZ* 10 [1954]: 161–75; H. Donner, *FS Friedrich* 105–45).

(e) The renaming of localities and persons occurs frequently in the OT and is based in the superior rights exercised by the renamer over the renamed. “The manner in which these superior rights were perceived can vary, sometimes implying domination, even the exploitation of the one named or renamed, sometimes implying patronal protection” (O. Eissfeldt, “Umnennungen im AT,” *KS* [1973], 5:69). Renamings of localities are usually occasioned by a change in ownership (Kiriath-Arba/Hebron, Gen 23:2; Kenath/ Nobah, Num 32:42; Leshem [or Laish]/Dan, Josh 19:47; Judg 18:29; Kiriath-Sepher/Debir, Josh 15:15, etc.; the case of Bethel involves the transferal of the theophanically related name of a yet unsettled location to the nearby city to the west, Luz; cf. Josh 16:2; Gen 28:19; Judg 1:22–26). Yet other circumstances could also provide the occasion for renaming (e.g., Rephidim/Massah-Meribah, Exod 17:1, 7; in prophetic oracles: Topheth or Valley of Ben Hinnom/Valley of Slaughter, Jer 7:32; 19:6; Travelers’ Valley/Valley of Gog’s Army: Ezek 39:11). People are often renamed when they change lords (Eliakim/Jehoiakim, 2 Kgs 23:34; Matthaniah/Zedekiah, 2 Kgs 24:17). Renaming could also be, at least

sometimes, a demonstration of particular honor (Joseph/Zaphenath-Paneah: Gen 41:45; Daniel/Belteshazzar, Dan 1:7, etc.). As with places, altered circumstances could effect renamings (Ben-Oni “son of disaster”/Benjamin “son of good fortune,” Gen 35:18; Naomi “lovely”/ Mara “bitter,” Ruth 1:20). In such cases the old and new names often stand in a relationship of phonetic or semantic plays on words (Abram/Abraham, Naomi/Mara; cf. Eissfeldt, *KS* 5:72f.), although in other cases they seem unrelated.

Hebr. uses *sbb* hi. as a technical term for “to rename” (2 Kgs 23:34; 24:17; 2 Chron 36:4; Num 32:38 txt? hi.); *qr* “to name” (Judg 1:17) and *šim šēm* “to name” (Dan 1:7) could also occasionally have this meaning.

(f) Under the influence of the gods’ establishment of a series of five “great names” upon the inauguration of an Eg. pharaoh, the Judean king also received throne names upon his enthronement according to evidence in Isa 9:5f. The lofty sense of at least one of the titles attested in the section rests on an Eg. prototype (*ʿēl gībbôr*; cf. Eg. *kʾnḥt* “strong bull”). Whether the corrupt beginning of 9:6 conceals yet a fifth royal name corresponding to Eg. royal titlature is disputed. The throne names of a few Judean kings have been preserved (Jehoahaz for Shallum, 2 Kgs 23:31; cf. Jer 22:11; 1 Chron 3:15; Uzziah for Azariah [or the reverse, so Montgomery and Gehman, *Kings*, ICC, 446], 2 Kgs 15:13; Isa 1:1, etc.; cf. 2 Kgs 14:21; 15:1, etc.; Jehoiakim in 2 Kgs 23:34 and Zedekiah in 2 Kgs 24:17 are also throne names; see A. M. Honeyman, *JBL* 67 [1948]: 12–25; regarding Assyr. dual names, see W. von Soden, *ZA* 58 [1967]: 243f.). According to M. Dahood (*Psa*, ABC, 1:11), the Israelites also knew the bestowal of throne names from Can. tradition, as in *KTU* 7.63.4–7: *bʿl šdq skn bt mlk tgr mlk bny* “legitimate lord, governor of the palace, king of the city, builder king.” Yet this text may involve honorifics such as those known from Assyr. inscriptions.

Bibliog.: S. Morenz, “Ägyptische und davidische Königstitulatur,” *ZÄS* 49 (1954): 73f.; G. von Rad, “Royal Ritual in Judah,” *PHOE* 222–31; A. Alt, *KS* 2:206–25; S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im AT* (1965), 131–35; H. Wildberger, “Die Thronnamen des Messias: Jes. 9,5b,” *TZ* 16 (1960): 314–32 (bibliog.); id., *Isa 1–12*, CC, 1:402f.; R. de Vaux, “King of Israel, Vassal of Yahweh,” *Bible and the Ancient Near East* (1971), 152–80; A. M. Honeyman, “Evidence for Regnal Names among the Hebrews,” *JBL* 67 (1948): 13–25; W. Zimmerli, *VT* 22 (1972): 249–52; K.-D. Schunck, *VT* 23 (1973): 108–10.

(g) Etymological name etiologies occur when the OT derives a name from an event that took place on the birth of a person or the founding of a city or sanctuary, or from a word spoken at that time, or from some other circumstance. In reality, however, the name is almost always primary; the

narrative appended to it or the explanation is derivative. Instances of name etiologies occur primarily in Gen (more than 40x, esp. J), also in Exod and Num (12x, esp. J), Josh (2x), Judg (5x), 1 Sam (5x), 2 Sam (3x), 1 Kgs (1x, but problematical: 9:13), 2 Kgs (1x, also problematical: 14:7), 1 Chron (5x), 2 Chron (1x), Ruth (1x), and Esth (1x); cf. J. Fichtner, “Die etymologische Ätiologie in den Namengebungen der geschichtlichen Bücher des AT,” *VT* 6 (1956): 372–96. Two chief forms may be isolated from the multitudinous formulations of etymological etiologies in reference to names: (1) “he called his/her name X, for he said (thought) . . . ,” followed by the etymological etiology (cf. Exod 2:22). This form is only infrequently preserved complete, since some components can be omitted; cf. the formulations in Gen 3:20; 5:29; 26:22; 31:49, etc.; (2) the report of an event can be followed by a concluding naming: “consequently (*‘al-kēn*) one calls the name (of that city) X” (Exod 15:23), sometimes with the addition of “until today” (Josh 7:26). This formulation appears usually in an expanded form in which the etymological motif is appended once again (Gen 11:9). While form (1) characterizes etiologies of PNs, form (2), with few exceptions (Gen 25:30; 29:34f.; 30:5f.), refers only to particular places. Etymological name etiology is at home in the saga tradition. Consequently, name etiologies of persons occur primarily in Gen, where (in J), in contrast to all other OT books, the names of all the more important people are explained. Place-name etiologies refer either to cult legends (Gen 22:14, Moriah; Gen 28:10ff., Bethel; Gen 32:31, Peniel, etc.) or to places that played an important role in the history of the tribes of Israel prior to or after the conquest (Exod 15:23, Marah; 17:7, Massah and Meribah; Josh 7:26, Achor, etc.); cf. Fichtner, *op. cit.* Etiologies of form (1) are never definitive for the explanation in which they appear. Form (2) never introduces an extensive narrative (cf. B. O. Long, *Problem of Etiological Narrative in the OT* [1968]).

Wordplays characterize explanations of names in the OT (Gen 2:7 *‘ādām* and *‘ādāmâ*; 3:20 *ḥawwâ* “Eve” as “mother of all alive” [*ḥayṯ*], cf. also e.g., Gen 4:1 [see R. Borger, *VT* 9 (1959): 85f.]; 5:29; 25:25f., etc.), as are allusions to already extant names that as such can acquire the force of motif words (cf. e.g., Gen 32:21 *pānīm* and vv 31f., Peniel; Gen 19:17–22, Lot and *mṯ* ni.; also Mic 1:10–16), ambiguous expressions (cf. “raising the head” in the sense of restoration to office and of execution, Gen 40:13, 19f., 22; on Zeph 3:1, 3 see B. Jongeling, *VT* 21 [1971]: 541–47), and, finally, for distorted proper names for gods, enemies, and places (divine names: *bōšet* “shame” instead of *ba‘al*, cf. Jer 3:24; 11:13; Hos 9:10; and the PN *‘iš-bōšet* [2 Sam 3:14f.] instead of Ishbaal [1 Chron 8:33], *m<sup>e</sup>pībōšet* [2 Sam 21:8] instead of Meri[b]-baal [1 Chron 8:34; 9:40]; tendentious vocalization may also be present [via *bōšet*] in the divine names *‘aštōret* [Astarte] and *mōlek* [Melek, as an epithet for Baal]; → *bôš* 3d; H.-F. Weiss,

BHH 1:267; GB 429b, 627b; cf. also Böhl 17, regarding the names of the enemy kings in Gen 14:1–2 and regarding Jer 50:21).

Distortion of proper names can also occur as the result of the exchange of the first letter of the Hebr. alphabet with the last, the second with the next to last, etc. (called atbash); cf. Jer 25:26 *šēšak* instead of Babel. (Bibliog.: Böhl 11–25; C. Westermann, *Promises to the Fathers* [1980], 36–44; B. S. Childs, “A Study of the Formula ‘Until This Day,’” *JBL* 82 [1963]: 279–92; J. Bright, *Early Israel in Recent History Writing* [1956]; M. Noth, *SVT* 7 [1960], 278ff. and the literature mentioned above in this section.).

(h) The effect that a name produces rests on the power possessed by the person who bears this name. The result is the usage of *šēm* in a dynamic sense as the sum of a person’s deeds and accomplishments, means and reputation (Besnard, op. cit. 22ff.; cf. *ILC* 1–2:245–59). As a “representative of the personality,” *šēm* consequently signifies dynamically not just “descendants” (Isa 66:22; cf. Akk. *šumu* in the sense of “descendants, son”) or “means” (Num 27:4) but esp. also (as in some modern languages) “fame, honor, reputation,” so that *šēm* often alternates with terms like *tehilla*® “fame, praise” (Deut 26:19; Jer 13:11; Zeph 3:19f.; of Yahweh, Psa 66:2; 102:22; 145:21; Isa 48:9; Jer 33:9, etc.) and *tip<sup>λ</sup>eret* “splendor, distinction” (Deut 26:19; Jer 13:11; of Yahweh, Jer 33:9; cf. 1 Chron 29:13). The famed heroes of the primeval period (Gen 6:4), renowned prestigious persons (Num 16:2), and famous men (1 Chron 5:24; 12:31) are described as *ʾanšē (haš)šēm* or *ʾanšē šēmôt*, cf. also 1 Sam 18:30; 2 Sam 23:18, 22. An (honored) name (*šēm*) is more precious than great wealth (Prov 22:1) and better than fine ointment (Eccl 7:1); cf. also Song Sol 1:3, where it is almost an alternative for the person, however. *maṭṭā<sup>c</sup> I<sup>ex</sup>šēm* (Ezek 34:29 txt?) indicates a garden that one praises. Cf. also *šēm* in the sense of a king’s fame (1 Kgs 1:47; 5:11; Psa 72:17; 1 Chron 14:17), Israel’s fame (Ezek 39:13), Jerusalem’s reputation (Ezek 16:14), and Abraham’s prestige (Gen 12:2). In contrast, insignificant and contemptible persons are “nameless” (*b<sup>c</sup>nē b<sup>c</sup>l<sup>i</sup>-šēm* Job 30:8). The name of a stillbirth is covered with darkness (Eccl 6:4), i.e., it is null and worthless. The unnamed is null, chaotic (cf. Enuma Elish 1:1), and unordered. The first person names the animals as “an act of appropriative ordering” (von Rad, *Gen*, OTL [1972], 83; cf. Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:228f.), not to attain power over them (Gen 2:20).

Because *šēm* in the dynamic sense signifies a person’s vital (one’s very existence, the family), material (means, property), and spiritual (fame, honor) aspects, the name can also survive one’s death; hence one is concerned for one’s name. Because Absalom had no son to herald (*zkr hi.*) his name after his death, he erected a memorial stone while still alive (2

Sam 18:18; → *yād* 3b). Yahweh promises the eunuchs a memorial (*yād wāšēm*) in the temple precincts (Isa 56:5) through which they will remain in the memory of God's community. If descendants survive, the name also survives (66:22). Total extermination of a person, a family, a group, or a people equals the eradication of the name, i.e., the vital, material, and spiritual aspects (*krt* hi. Josh 7:9; Isa 14:22; Zeph 1:4; Ruth 4:10 ni.; of idol images, Zech 13:2; *gr<sup>c</sup>* ni. Num 27:4; *ʿbd* qal Psa 41:6; hi. Deut 7:24; pi. Deut 12:3; *mhh* Deut 9:14; 2 Kgs 14:27; cf. *mhh zēker* Deut 25:19; *šmd* ni. Isa 48:19; hi. 1 Sam 24:22; *sūr* hi. Hos 2:19 of gods; cf. T. Thompson and D. Thompson, *VT* 18 [1968]: 79–99, esp. 84ff.). If a married man dies without leaving behind a son, the widow should be given to her brother-in-law and her firstborn should bear the name of the deceased, i.e., be considered his son (*qûm ʿal-šēm* Deut 25:6). The brother-in-law “begets descendants” (*qûm* hi. *šēm*) for his deceased brother (25:7; cf. also Ruth 4:5, 10, and *šîm šēm ûš<sup>e</sup>ērît le* “to leave name and descendants to someone,” 2 Sam 14:7). This regulation may have reference to the preservation of family property (von Rad, *Deut*, OTL, 154f.; Thompson and Thompson, op. cit.).

Those who accomplish much make a name for themselves (*śh šēm* Gen 11:4; 2 Sam 8:13) and consequently remain famous (on Sum. and Akk. pars. see Thompson and Thompson, op. cit. 85–87).

Because the name represents the personality, now this, now that aspect of *šēm* can be accented. In all these cases the context is determinative. Thus one can emphasize the aspects of fame (1 Sam 18:30; 1 Kgs 5:11; Ezek 16:15; 39:13; Psa 72:17), power (2 Sam 23:18, 22), and might (Jer 48:17), but also of posterity (1 Sam 24:22; 2 Sam 14:7; Isa 66:22; Zeph 1:4), property (Num 27:4), and respect for the person after death (Job 18:17; Prov 10:7; cf. *zēker*; see W. Schottroff, *Gedenken im Alten Orient und im AT* [1964], 287ff., and → *zkr*).

Instead of a good name, one can also have a bad reputation because one “is famed for uncleanness” (*ʿmēʿat haššēm* Ezek 22:5) or because one must allow one's name to become a curse for others (Isa 65:15). The expression *šēm rā<sup>c</sup>* signifies the bad reputation that one gives others (Deut 22:14, 19) or creates for oneself (Neh 6:13).

4. The theological significance of the name is treated in the following sections: (a) the revelation of the name of Yahweh, (b) the appeal to Yahweh's name, (c) Yahweh's name in Dtn and the Dtr-Chr literature, (d) Yahweh's name as an alternate term for Yahweh, (e) Yahweh's name as a hypostasis? (f) the pronunciation of Yahweh's name as a legal act, (g) Yahweh's name as the sum of Yahweh's majesty, (h) “Yahweh (Sabaoth) is his name,” (i) “in the name” as an empowerment formula, (j) “to call by

name” as a divine act of commissioning, and (k) renaming as an act of divine sovereignty.

(a) Because the divine name is per se unknown to people and the deity will not be tricked into divulging the name (cf. Gen 32:30f.; Judg 13:17f.), the unknown God himself must step forth from anonymity in order to reveal his name to humanity in an epiphany (→ *r<sup>h</sup> ni.*) by announcing it himself (→ *yd<sup>c</sup>*), so that he can be referred to and called on by this name (cf. Exod 3:13f.: *šēm* par. *zēker*). On three occasions Exod discusses the revelation of the name Yahweh (→ *yhwh*; R. de Vaux, “Revelation of the Divine Name YHWH,” FS Davies 48–75): in E (Exod 3:14f.), in J (Exod 34:5ff.), and in P (Exod 6:2); cf. Besnard, op. cit. 32–61. E, who places the revelation of the name Yahweh on Horeb before the exodus from Egypt, emphasizes not only the aspect of God’s indescribable and mysterious being in the revelation of the name but also the active and dynamic significance of God’s work in his attention to his people as declared in the name *yhwh* (→ *hyh* 4c; Besnard, op. cit. 34ff., 37: “It is futile for us to ask if we are in the presence of the ‘Deus revelatus’ or the ‘Deus absconditus.’ We are faced with a divine dialectic more profound than this alternative”). J, who allows the name *yhwh* to be known already since the primeval history (Gen 4:26) and has the theophany occur on the occasion of the giving of the law on Sinai, places the significance of the announcement of the name Yahweh on the element of God’s graciousness expressed by the mention of divine attributes (Besnard, op. cit. 43ff.; on the history of the liturgical formula in Exod 34:6f. see R. C. Dentan, VT 13 [1963]: 34–51, who interprets it as the product of the wisdom school). J indicates the proclamation of the name with the expression *qr<sup>o</sup> b<sup>e</sup>šēm yhwh* with Yahweh as subj. (33:19; 34:5; → *qr<sup>o</sup>* 3a); Moses is not the subj. of *qr<sup>o</sup>* in 34:5b (contra Beer, HAT 3, 160; Noth, Exod, OTL, 261), rather it is Yahweh. This text concerns the pronunciation or the proclamation of the name Yahweh (cf. Exod 33:19 and 4b below). P, who does not speak of a theophany (except in Gen 17:1) but of God’s address to Moses in Egypt, underscores not only the accentuated revelation of the new name *yhwh* instead of *ʿēl šadday* but also, in an allusion to the revelation in the patriarchal period (Gen 17:1ff.), Yahweh’s covenant promise, while the revelation of the name Yahweh to Moses is deemphasized in favor of the patriarchal tradition in Gen 17:1ff. (N. Lohfink, Bib 49 [1968]: 1–8). P accordingly regards the revelation to Moses not as a heightened revelation (Lohfink, op. cit. 2ff., contra R. Rendtorff, Revelation as History [1968], 29f., who thinks that the *r<sup>h</sup> ni.* in Gen 17:1 is contrasted with the *yd<sup>c</sup> ni.* in Exod 6:3 and consequently concludes: “The appearance of Jahweh is attributed to a preliminary stage, and with Moses something new is inaugurated: God allows himself to be known as *himself* “) but as an extension of the divine

self-disclosure through the communication of the name that had already begun in the patriarchal period (Lohfink, op. cit. 5).

Regarding the self-presentation formulae  $\text{ʾnî ʾēl šadday}$  or  $\text{ʾnî yhw}$ , used in Gen 17:1 and Exod 6:2, resp., and their histories, or similar expressions in the legal proclamation, in the recognition formula (“know that I am Yahweh”), and in self-praise, →  $\text{ʾnî}$  and cf. W. Zimmerli, “I Am Yahweh,” *I Am Yahweh* (1982), 1–28; id., “Knowledge of God According to the Book of Ezekiel,” *ibid.* 29–98; id., “Word of Divine Self-manifestation (Proof-Saying): A Prophetic Genre,” *ibid.* 99–110; id., “‘Offenbarung’ im AT,” *EvT* 22 (1962): 15–31; K. Elliger, “Ich bin der Herr—euer Gott,” *Kleine Schriften zum AT* (1966), 211–31 (he characterizes the self-declaration “I am Yahweh” as a formula of holiness or majesty, its counterpart “I am Yahweh your God” as a formula of salvation history or grace, and assumed different life settings for the two formulae); Th. C. Vriezen, “Exode XX,2,” *Recherches Bibliques* 8 (1966): 35–50.

One should pay special attention to the words in the altar law of the Covenant Code in Exod 20:24:  $b^{\text{e}}\text{kol-māqôm}$  (txt em)  $\text{ʾšer ʾazkîr ʾet-šēmi}$  “at every place where I (Yahweh) proclaim my name.” In this text one should neither emend  $\text{ʾazkîr}$  to  $\text{tazkîr}$  (so with the Syr. tradition, Beer, HAT 3, 104; H. Bietenhard, *TDNT* 5:255n.98; A. Jepsen, *Untersuchungen zum Bundesbuch* [1927], 53n.4) nor interpret it causatively (“where I cause my name to be remembered,” as e.g., Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 176); cf. Psa 45:18 and J. J. Stamm, *TZ* 1 (1945): 306; H. Cazelles, *Études sur le Code de l’Alliance* (1946), 43; Schottroff, op. cit. 248. This statement is concerned with the fact that God himself legitimizes the cultic site through self-declaration. The content of the phrase  $\text{zkr hi. šēm}$  corresponds to the Dtn formulae  $\text{škn pi. šēm}$  and  $\text{šim šēm}$  (see 4c).

(b) People turn to God in prayer, in praise, and in search of help, primarily at the place where God has revealed himself by proclaiming his name. Hebr. uses various expressions for this activity (→  $qr^{\text{v}}$  4), but besides  $qr^{\text{v}} \text{ʾel-ʾIyhw}$  and  $qr^{\text{v}} \text{yhw}$  (expressions used for prayerful appeal to Yahweh in Judg 16:28; 1 Sam 12:17f.; 1 Kgs 8:43, 52, etc., and consequently characteristic of individual laments, Psa 17:6; 18:4, 7; 31:18; 86:5, etc.) esp. the phrases  $qr^{\text{v}} \text{šēm yhw}$  (Deut 32:3; Psa 99:6; Lam 3:55) and  $qr^{\text{v}} \text{b}^{\text{e}} \text{šēm yhw}$  (Gen 4:26; 12:8; 13:4; 21:33; 26:25; 1 Kgs 18:24; 2 Kgs 5:11; Isa 12:4; 64:6; 65:1; Jer 10:25; Joel 3:5; Zeph 3:9; Zech 13:9; Psa 79:6; 80:19; 105:1; 116:4, 13, 17; 1 Chron 16:8; cf. Psa 75:2 txt em).  $qr^{\text{v}} \text{b}^{\text{e}} \text{šēm yhw}$  is normally interpreted to mean “to call on Yahweh using the name,” “to mention Yahweh by name” (so Grether, op. cit. 19; Bietenhard, *TDNT* 5:255; H. A. Brongers, *ZAW* 77 [1965]: 12; Besnard, op. cit. 100; contra B. Jacob, *Im Namen Gottes* [1903], 27), yet it is more likely

(according to GKC §119k) that *b<sup>ε</sup>(šēm)* should not be interpreted instrumentally (→ *qr<sup>ʾ</sup>* 4); instead *be* introduces the obj. (cf. also BrSynt §106). This conclusion is also supported by the similar semantic usages of *qr<sup>ʾ</sup> b<sup>ε</sup>šēm yhw<sup>h</sup>* and *qr<sup>ʾ</sup> šēm yhw<sup>h</sup>*. Consequently, the first usage does not imply that “the idea of a magical constraint which can be exercised on the deity by utterance of the name” was originally associated with it (Bietenhard, *TDNT* 5:255; cf. Grether, op. cit. 19).

The phrase *qr<sup>ʾ</sup> b<sup>ε</sup>šēm yhw<sup>h</sup>* has various meanings (cf. Brongers, op. cit. 12ff.; Besnard, op. cit. 101ff.): (1) it is a technical term for the cultic worship of Yahweh, esp. in J (Gen 4:26; 12:8; 13:4; 21:33; 26:25), as well as a more general and not necessarily cultic expression for the worship and confession of Yahweh (Jer 10:25 [cf. Psa 79:6 par. *yd<sup>ε</sup>*]; Joel 3:5 [cf. Rudolph, *KAT* 13/2, 73; extensively treated in Besnard, 128–48]; Zeph 3:9 par. *bd*); (2) in expectation of Yahweh’s response, the phrase means “to petition Yahweh for assistance” (1 Kgs 18:24, opposite *nh* “to answer”; Zech 13:9, *nh*; Psa 116:4; cf. also *qr<sup>ʾ</sup>šēm yhw<sup>h</sup>* Lam 3:55; cf. *šm<sup>ε</sup>* “to hear” v 56), or “to plead with Yahweh”: 2 Kgs 5:11; Psa 99:6; regarding this text, cf. P. A. H. de Boer, *OTS* 3 [1943]: 107; Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:271; cf. also Jer 15:1); (3) doxologically it means “to proclaim/confess the name of Yahweh in praise” (Psa 80:19; 116:13, 17 [cf. *tôdâ*]; Isa 12:4 par. *yd<sup>h</sup>* hi.; Psa 105:1 = 1 Chron 16:8 par. *yd<sup>h</sup>* hi.; cf. also Psa 75:2 txt em; cf. *BHS*; Kraus, *Psa* 2:103). *qr<sup>ʾ</sup>šēm yhw<sup>h</sup>* has the same meaning in Deut 32:3.

These uses parallel *zkr* hi. *b<sup>ε</sup>šēm yhw<sup>h</sup>* in Isa 48:1 (“to call upon”; of foreign gods, Josh 23:7); Psa 20:8 (“We boast in the name of Yahweh”; cf. Brongers, op. cit. 17f.); Amos 6:10 (superstitiously of the pronunciation of the name of God; cf. Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 283; Rudolph, *KAT* 13/2, 225; Schottroff, op. cit. 250ff.; Brongers, op. cit. 17); and *zkr* hi. *šēm* (cf. Akk. *zakāru šuma* → *zkr* 3c) in Isa 26:13 (confession of Yahweh); cf. Exod 23:13 (of pronouncing the name of foreign gods). Regarding Exod 20:24, see 4a. On the profane usage of *zkr* hi. *šēm* in 2 Sam 18:18; Psa 45:18, see Schottroff, op. cit. 246f.

Regarding *brk* pi. *b<sup>ε</sup>šēm yhw<sup>h</sup>* “to bless in the name of Yahweh,” used only in reference to the priestly blessing (Deut 10:8; 21:5; 2 Sam 6:18 = 1 Chron 16:2; Psa 129:8; 1 Chron 23:13), → *brk* and Brongers, op. cit. 8f.; regarding *qll* pu. *b<sup>ε</sup>šēm yhw<sup>h</sup>* “to curse in the name of Yahweh” (2 Kgs 2:24; cf. 1 Sam 17:43), → *qll* and Brongers, op. cit. 9f.; regarding *šb<sup>ε</sup>* ni. *b<sup>ε</sup>šēm yhw<sup>h</sup>* “to swear by the name of Yahweh” (Lev 19:12; Deut 6:13; 10:20; 1 Sam 20:42; Isa 48:1; Jer 44:26; cf. Josh 23:7; see also Jer 12:16; Zech 5:4 and Gen 21:23; 1 Sam 30:15; Isa 65:16), cf. Brongers, op. cit. 10f. and → *šb<sup>ε</sup>*.

Since the name of Yahweh is holy (→ *qdš*) and the use of it requires legitimation, serious warnings are issued against misuse of his name in curses (Lev 24:11, 15f., *nqb* par. *qll*; cf. J. Hempel, *Apoxyismata* [1961],

97n.306; Elliger, HAT 4, 331) and oaths (Lev 19:12) because the name of Yahweh would thereby be profaned (→ *ḥll* pi.; cf. *tpś* “to do violence to,” Prov 30:9). Nor may one misuse the name of Yahweh for magical purposes (Exod 20:7; Deut 5:11 *laššāw* “for naught”; cf. J. J. Stamm with M. E. Andrew, *Ten Commandments in Recent Research* [1967], 89f.; H. Reventlow, *Gebot und Predigt im Dekalog* [1962], 44; the commandment is also directed, at least in later interpretation, against misuse in oaths and curses; cf. Hos 4:2 and Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 67f.; Stamm, op. cit.; Reventlow, op. cit.).

In many of the cases mentioned above, it is difficult to decide whether *šēm yhw* should be interpreted dianoetically as Yahweh’s name or dynamically as an alternative for Yahweh (see 4d), because in addition to *šb<sup>c</sup> ni. b<sup>e</sup>šēm yhw* the (perhaps older) phrase *šb<sup>c</sup> ni. beyhwh* (Josh 2:12; 9:18; Judg 21:7; 1 Kgs 1:17, etc.) also appears, and in addition to *qll pi. b<sup>e</sup>šēm yhw* the phrase *qll pi. bē<sup>l</sup>ōhāyw* occurs (1 Sam 17:43). One should perhaps understand *šēm yhw* as an alternative term for Yahweh, esp. in later texts.

(c) Since the works of O. Grether (*Name und Wort Gottes im AT* [1934], 31–35) and G. von Rad (*Gottesvolk* 37 = GS 2:45; “The Tent and the Ark,” *PHOE* 103–24; *Theol.* 1:179–81; *Deut*, OTL, 89), scholars have generally agreed that the stereotypical Dtn phrases “the place that Yahweh will choose so that his name may dwell there (*I<sup>e</sup>šakkēn š<sup>e</sup>mō šām*)” (Deut 12:11; 14:23; 16:2, 6, 11; 26:2; cf. Neh 1:9) and “the place that Yahweh will choose to place his name there (*lāšûm š<sup>e</sup>mō šām*)” (Deut 12:5, 21; 14:24; cf. 2 Chron 6:20) should be interpreted as expressions of a unique abstract-theological Dtn construction in which the *šēm* of Yahweh is distinguished from the transcendent Yahweh as his representative in an almost material and personal fashion. With the aid of the *šēm* concept, a theologoumenon was developed in the contest against popular conceptions of the personal presence of Yahweh at the cult site, esp. in the dispute with ark theology (F. Dumermuth, *ZAW* 70 [1958]: 59–98; R. E. Clements, *VT* 15 [1965]: 300–312; E. W. Nicholson, *Deuteronomy and Tradition* [1967], 71ff.), under prophetic influence (Grether, op. cit. 33; Vriezen, *Theol.* 208). “By a bold development of the rudimentary ideas already available, a form of manifestation was arrived at in which Yahweh himself was active, but within the limits which he himself desired, and which could be spoken of in hypostatic language” (Eichrodt 2:42; cf. also Jacob 67; Bietenhard, *TDNT* 5:255–57; H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* [1966], 91f.; R. E. Clements, *God and Temple* [1965], 94f.; G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* [1972], 301; id., *Theologische Grundstrukturen des AT* [1972], 40; K. Baltzer, *RGG* 4:1303). In contrast to the formulae *qr<sup>o</sup>b<sup>e</sup>šēm* (Exod 34:5) and *zkr hi.*

*šēm* (20:24), both used by the Yahwist, *šēm* does not indicate the pronounced name in the phrases under discussion; rather its task consists of “representing Yahweh’s presence at the cult-site and receiving the cult presented to Yahweh” (Grether, op. cit. 34).

This interpretation is contradicted not only by the fact that even in Deut the cultic acts occur *lipn’ yhw* “before Yahweh’s countenance” (not “before the countenance of the name of Yahweh”; 12:7, 12, 18; 14:23, 26; 16:11; 26:10; cf. 27:7) and that the use of the formula “where I established my name formerly” (*škn* pi. Jer 7:12) in relation to Shiloh does not argue for a dispute with ark theology, but also by the fact that Hebr. *šim šēm* refers to the pronunciation of the name (in naming: Judg 8:31; 2 Kgs 17:34; Neh 9:7; cf. Dan 1:7; in the Aaronic blessing, Num 6:27); *škn* pi. *šēm* should also be understood in reference to the pronunciation of the name on the basis of Akk. pars. (cf. in the execration text KAR 196, rev. 3:31f.: *amar-ga ištakan šum būri* “He named the calf Amarga”; see Stamm, AN 366; F. M. Th. Böhl, JEOL 4 [1936]: 204; moreover, the PN <sup>d</sup>nabû-šuma-iškun dadad-šuma-iškun dbēl-šuma-iškun, whose nontheophoric components are synonymous with those of a PN like *denlil-šuma-imbī* [*nabû* !] and *sin-šuma-izkur* [*zakāru* !]; cf. Stamm, AN 141–42). Consequently, *škn* pi. *šēm* or *šim šēm* must correspond to *zkr* hi. *šēm* in the altar law in Exod 20:24, which speaks (noncausatively) of the solemn proclamation of the name of God at the cult site by Yahweh himself (cf. 4a). Thus the Dtn expressions under discussion are “not to be considered primarily as the locus of Yahweh’s physical manifestation, nor is the revelation of his name such that one can now call on it as an object. It is rather the place where on divine instruction—and that no doubt also means on the basis of Yahweh’s manifestation—and with full authority the *ny yhw* (‘I am Yahweh’) is spoken and under its auspices Yahweh’s merciful acts and law are proclaimed” (Zimmerli, *I Am Yahweh* 104). Therefore there is no specifically Dtn name theology (cf. the rejection of such a theology by R. de Vaux, FS Rost 219–28, who imprecisely interprets the expressions to mean “to take possession,” however, on the basis of EA 287:60–63; 288:5–7 *šakānu šuma*, p. 221). As a result, Dtr and Chr could also appropriate these Dtn expressions, without endangering the traditional cultic concept of Yahweh’s presence represented in the *kābôd* and the ark (*škn* pi. *šēm* Neh 1:9; *šim šēm* 1 Kgs 9:3; 2 Kgs 21:7; 2 Chron 6:20; 33:7; in reference to Jerusalem, 1 Kgs 11:36; 14:21 = 2 Chron 12:13; 2 Kgs 21:4, 7 = 2 Chron 33:7). Then, however, other passages in Dtr and Chr literature that speak of Yahweh sanctifying the temple for his *šēm* (1 Kgs 9:7 = 2 Chron 7:20), of building a house for his *šēm* (2 Sam 7:13; 1 Kgs 3:2; 5:17, 19; 8:17–20, 44, 48 = 2

Chron 6:7–10, 34, 38; 1 Chron 22:7f., 10, 19; 28:3; 29:16; 2 Chron 1:18; 2:3, cf. 20:8 [regarding 1 Kgs 10:1 txt? see Noth, BK 9, 203]), and of the presence of his *šēm* in the temple (1 Kgs 8:16 = 2 Chron 6:5; 1 Kgs 8:29; 2 Kgs 23:27; 2 Chron 7:16; 20:9) or in Jerusalem (2 Chron 6:6; 33:4, always *šēm yhw* or *šēm* with a suf. referring to Yahweh) need not be interpreted in terms of a Dtn-stamped name theology either, but rather in terms of a personal presence of Yahweh manifest in the cultic realm (cf. also → *pānīm* IV/1). As a result, esp. in cultic language, *šēm yhw* becomes an alternative term for Yahweh.

(d) Just as *šēm* can appear as an alternative term for a human being in profane usage in later literature (Num 1:2, 18, 20, 22, etc.; 1 Chron 23:24; cf. Acts 1:15; Rev 3:4; 11:13), *šēm yhw* also occurs in the OT as an alternative term for Yahweh. Apart from a few spurious passages (Amos 2:7; Mic 5:3; Isa 30:27; see comms.) and the numerous instances in the Psa (see Grether, op. cit. 36ff.), the expression occurs only in the later prophetic and other post-Dtn literatures (Isa 24:15; 25:1; 26:13; 52:5f.; 56:6; 60:9 txt?; 64:1, 6; Jer 10:6; 23:27[bis]; 34:16; Ezek 20:9, 14, 22, 39; 36:20–23; 39:7; 43:7f.; Joel 2:26; Mal 1:6[bis]; 2:2; 3:16, 20; nonprophetic: Lev 18:21; 19:12; 20:3; 21:6; 22:2, 32; 24:11, 16; 2 Sam 22:50 = Psa 18:50; 1 Kgs 8:33, 35, 43 = 2 Chron 6:24, 26, 33; Job 1:21; Lam 3:55; Dan 2:20; Neh 1:11; 9:5; 1 Chron 29:13). The “name of Yahweh,” which is a hymnic theme used consequently in parallelism as a synonym for Yahweh, appears “almost exclusively as the obj. of verbs that describe various ways people worship or dishonor and spurn God. The *šēm* term occurs in this usage chiefly in the language of the cult, not of the sacrificial cult, but primarily, if not exclusively, of the cult expressed through speech” (Grether, op. cit. 38f.; on 37f. Grether provides a table of the numerous verbs used with *šēm yhw*). This use of *šēm yhw* implies everything that Yahweh means for his worshipers as a holy God (thus often *šēm qodšô/qodšekā* “his/your holy name,” Psa 103:1; 105:3; 106:47; 145:21; 1 Chron 16:35; 29:16; cf. *zēker qodšô* “his holy name,” Psa 30:5; 97:12) and a glorious God (cf. *šēm k<sup>e</sup>bôdô* “his glorious name,” Psa 72:19; *šēm tip<sup>a</sup>artekā* “your glorious name,” 1 Chron 29:13). As a result, the glory of Yahweh’s name can also be mentioned occasionally (*k<sup>e</sup>bôd šēmô* Psa 29:2; 66:2; 96:8 = 1 Chron 16:29).

(e) It is disputed whether the name of Yahweh, even if one disregards Dtn (see 4c), occurs in the OT as a nearly independent presence in the sense of a hypostasis (thus, although with some reservation, Grether, op. cit. 44ff.; A. R. Johnson, *The One and the Many in the Israelite Conception of God* [19612], 17ff.; K. Baltzer, *RGG* 4:1303; concerning the hypostasis concept, cf. G. Pfeifer, *Ursprung und Wesen der Hypostasenvorstellungen*

*im Judentum* [1967], 11–16, with bibliog.). Yet one gains the impression that in the texts cited as evidence for this thesis the expression *šēm yhwḥ*, like *p<sup>ē</sup>n yhwḥ* (→ *pānīm* IV), means “Yahweh in person” (Jer 10:6; Mal 1:11[3x], 14; 2:5; Psa 54:8; 76:2; 135:3; Prov 18:10) or Yahweh in his glory (Isa 12:4; Zech 14:9; Psa 8:2, 10; 20:2; 111:9; 148:13). Here too, then, one should interpret the phrase as the God gloriously manifest in history and creation. Consequently, one must also understand Isa 30:27 (“Behold, the name of Yahweh comes from afar”) as Yahweh who approaches personally in judgment against the nations (contra Grether, op. cit. 29f.; and Kaiser, *Isa 13–39*, OTL, 307, who suspects Dtn-Dtr influence). Nor can Exod 23:21, which speaks of the messenger (→ *mal’āk*) of God against whom the Israelites should not rebel “because my (God’s) name is in it,” be cited as evidence for *šēm yhwḥ* as a hypostasis of Yahweh, because the angel itself is Yahweh’s representative. Thus the words “because my name is in it” can refer to God’s personal presence in his messenger (with Beer, HAT 3, 121, who observes correctly: “Just as a king is perceived to be personally present in his emissary, so is Yahweh in his angel”; contra H. J. van Dijk, *VT* 18 [1968]: 20f.).

(f) At least prior to the appearance of written contracts, an orderly sale included as an official legal act the proclamation of the name of the new owner over the object purchased (*qr’ ni. šēm X ‘al*), not in order to notify those with a legal objection (so K. Galling, “Die Ausrufung des Names als Rechtsakt in Israel,” *TLZ* 81 [1956]: 65–70) but as a final confirmation of the sale (so H. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT* [1964], 165–68); cf. Isa 4:1. The phrase *qr’ ni. šēm X ‘al* thus becomes a technical term for any type of change in ownership (2 Sam 12:28; cf. also W. Heitmüller, “*Im Namen Jesu*” [1903], 171). The phrase often refers to Yahweh in the OT as an expression of his rights of ownership and sovereignty, and characterizes Dtn-Dtr and later literatures (in reference to Israel: Deut 28:10; Isa 63:19; Jer 14:9; Dan 9:19; 2 Chron 7:14; to the ark: 2 Sam 6:2; to the temple: 1 Kgs 8:43; Jer 7:10f., 14, 30; 32:34; 34:15; 2 Chron 6:33; to Jerusalem: Jer 25:29; Dan 9:18f.; to the nations: Amos 9:12; to Jeremiah: Jer 15:16); → *qr’* 3c.

One must strictly distinguish the usage treated above from *qr’ ‘al-š<sup>c</sup>mô* “to call by his (own) name” (Deut 3:14; 2 Sam 18:18, etc.) or *qr’ ‘al-šēm X* “to name after X” (Esth 9:26, Purim after *pûr*; cf. Gen 4:17; ni. “to call oneself by someone’s name,” Ezra 2:61 [read *š<sup>c</sup>mô*] = Neh 7:63). In contrast, one may seriously consider whether to interpret Psa 49:12 in relation to the conquest of lands (cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:479; nevertheless, one need not delete *be* preceding *š<sup>c</sup>môtām* if one interprets *b* as a *beth* of identity or *beth essentiae*): “they pronounced their names over lands,” i.e., “they took possession of lands.”

(g) Because the name in a dynamic sense means that which characterizes the bearer of the name, *šēm yhw̄h* often means (much as in profane usage; see 3c) Yahweh's glory, fame, and might as revealed in creation (Psa 8:2, 10) and history (Exod 9:16). In many cases, this use of *šēm yhw̄h* is difficult to distinguish from the use of the expression as an alternative term for Yahweh.

Thus one can best interpret *šēm yhw̄h* in Isa 30:27 (on the question of the authenticity of the text, cf. e.g., H. Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern* [1964], 164) in reference to the person of Yahweh and thus as an alternative term for Yahweh, but at the same time the notion of his terrifying majesty seems to be implied in the term *šēm*. Profanation of God's name (*hll* pi. *šēm yhw̄h* Lev 18:21; 19:12; 20:3; 22:2, 32; Jer 34:16; Ezek 20:39; 36:20; Amos 2:7; cf. with *tmʿ* pi. "to defile," Ezek 43:7f.; with *nqb* "to curse," Lev 24:11, 16[bis]; with *nʿs* hitpo. "to be blasphemed," Isa 52:5; with *bzh* "to disdain," Mal 1:6; with *tps* "to profane," Prov 30:9; cf. Gemser, HAT 16, 114) blasphemes God himself and injures his honor as a result.

Because Yahweh "made a name" (*śh šēm* Isa 63:12, 14; Jer 32:20; Dan 9:15; Neh 9:10; cf. Exod 9:16; *śim šēm* 2 Sam 7:23) through the deliverance of his people from Egypt, the Gibeonites claim to have come from a far land because of the reputation (*šēm*) that Yahweh enjoyed there (Josh 9:9). Thus even foreigners came from afar to the Jerusalem temple because of the reputation that Yahweh enjoyed (1 Kgs 8:41; cf. Jer 3:17). Because renown (*tehilla*®) was associated with Yahweh's name (Psa 48:11), *šēm yhw̄h* can appear as a synonym for his "glory" (*kābôd* Isa 59:19; Psa 102:16; cf. Psa 72:19; Neh 9:5), his "renown" (*tehilla*® Isa 48:9; Jer 13:11; Psa 102:22; 106:47 = 1 Chron 16:35; Psa 145:21), his "majesty" (*tipʿeret* Jer 13:11), and the sign (*ʾôt*) of his saving deed (Isa 55:13; cf. also 26:8, where *šēm* is synonymous with *zēker* and refers to God's "renown, honor"; cf. Grether, op. cit. 52; Schottroff, op. cit. 295). The supplicant can appeal to Yahweh's honor (*šēm*) in order to motivate him to avert impending destruction (Josh 7:9) or to fulfill his promise (2 Sam 7:26; 1 Chron 17:24).

In the post-Dtn phrases *Iʿmaʿan šʿmî* "for my name's sake" (Isa 48:9; 66:5; Jer 14:7, 21; Ezek 20:9, 14, 22, 44), *Iʿmaʿan šʿmekā* "for your name's sake" (Psa 25:11; 31:4; 79:9; 109:21; 143:11; 2 Chron 6:32), or *Iʿmaʿan šʿmô* "for his name's sake" (Psa 23:3; 106:8), which always refers to Yahweh's name (cf. other expressions that also refer to him e.g., "for my sake" 2 Kgs 19:34; 20:6; Isa 37:35; 43:25; 48:11; and "for your sake" Dan 9:19, which in many respects are synonymous with phrases cited above), the name also often seems to imply the notions of Yahweh's might (1 Kgs 8:42) and fame (Isa 48:9; Jer 14:21, par. "do not dishonor the throne of your *kābôd* ").

Because Yahweh does not intend to endanger his fame and honor (Ezek 20:9, 14, 22, 44), one can appeal in laments to his mercifulness (Psa 25:11; 79:9; Jer 14:7) or his power to deliver (Psa 109:21; 143:11; cf. 31:4 and H. A. Brongers, *OTS* 18 [1973]: 93f.). By contrast, Isa 66:5 could simply mean “for Yahweh’s sake” (Grether, *op. cit.* 54).

*ba<sup>ca</sup>bûr š<sup>em</sup>ô* (*haggādôl*) “because of your (great) name” (1 Sam 12:22, Dtr) can be used similarly: Yahweh will not reject his people because he chose them at his pleasure.

In the phrase *bô<sup>’</sup> b<sup>š</sup>ēm yhwh š<sup>em</sup>bā<sup>’</sup>ôt* (1 Sam 17:45; cf. 2 Chron 14:10), *b<sup>š</sup>ēm* should be interpreted as “trusting the power (of Yahweh)”; cf. Psa 54:3 (par. *g<sup>’</sup>bûrâ*, → *gbr*) and 89:25; 124:8; cf. also *mûl* hi. *b<sup>š</sup>ēm yhwh* “to ward off through Yahweh’s might,” 118:10, 12 (see Brongers, *ZAW* 77 [1965]:3). Similarly, one may best interpret *bārûk habbā<sup>’</sup> b<sup>š</sup>ēm yhwh* in 118:26 as “blessed be the one who goes to battle in the power of Yahweh” (Brongers, *op. cit.* 4). Although *hsh b<sup>š</sup>ēm yhwh* in Zeph 3:12 can mean “to hide in Yahweh’s protection” (cf. Prov 18:10), one should probably take into account the fact that Zeph 3:12 (as a later insertion; cf. Elliger, *ATD* 25, 79), like Psa 20:2, uses *šēm yhwh* as an alternative term for Yahweh. The same should probably be said of *bṯḥ b<sup>š</sup>ēm yhwh* “to trust in the name of Yahweh” in Isa 50:10. By contrast, the phrase *hlk b<sup>š</sup>ēm yhwh* in Mic 4:5 may mean “to walk in Yahweh’s power” on the basis of Zech 10:12 (read *g<sup>’</sup>bûrātām*; Brongers, *op. cit.* 5f.). Regarding *dgl b<sup>š</sup>ēm yhwh* “to raise the banner in the name of Yahweh” (Psa 20:6 txt?), see Brongers, *op. cit.* 6.

(h) The phrases *yhwh š<sup>em</sup>bā<sup>’</sup>ôt š<sup>em</sup>ô* “Yahweh Sabaoth is his name” (Isa 47:4; 48:2; 51:15; 54:5; Jer 10:16; 31:35; 32:18; 46:18; 48:15; 50:34; 51:19, 57) and *yhwh<sup>’</sup> lôhê-š<sup>em</sup>bā<sup>’</sup>ôt š<sup>em</sup>ô* (Amos 4:13; 5:27) or even *yhwh š<sup>em</sup>ô* (Exod 15:3; Jer 33:2; Amos 5:8; 9:6; cf. *yhwh zikrô* Hos 12:6) are the signature of the “participial hymn” (F. Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel* [1969], 95–114). In this independent type of the Israelite hymn, ptcp. statements, which are constitutive for the ancient Near Eastern hymn and which fundamentally refer to the divine acts in creation and nature, form the body of the hymn, which is reclaimed as a statement of Yahweh through the signature (cf. Amos 4:13; 5:8; 9:5f.). This hymn type originated in the contest with the gods and dissolved as soon as a rational idol polemic replaced it (cf. Isa 44:9–20; 46:5ff., etc.); consequently, one should regard it as a typical pre-exilic genre. The reclamation for Yahweh of statements concerning acts in creation and nature, corresponding in form and content to the ancient Near Eastern songs of the gods, sheds light on the fact that the signature of the ptcp. hymn, *yhwh š<sup>em</sup>ô*, contends that Yahweh and no other god is the sole creator and actor in the events of nature. Because these and similar expressions also occur elsewhere in hymnic contexts (Exod 15:3 *yhwh š<sup>em</sup>ô*; Psa 68:5 *b<sup>’</sup>yāh š<sup>em</sup>ô* [beth essentiae]; and in the context of idol

polemics, Exod 34:14, *yhwh qannāʾšēmô* “Yahweh, jealous, is his name”), it is probable that *yhwh šēmô* in the doxological statements cited means “Yahweh is his name” in accord with profane usage (cf. e.g., Job 1:1 “Job is his name”). The phrase emphasizes, then, that the one who acts in creation and natural events cannot be described with any other name than Yahweh because he is the sole creator and lord of the world.

Consequently, *šēmô* often seems to approximate the meaning of the per. pron.; cf. Isa 63:16, where *šēmekā* is not “the product of a copyist” (so Duhm, *Jesaja*, HKAT [19685], 469) but an expression of Yahweh’s actual significance for Abraham rather than his perceived significance (so, correctly, Duhm, op. cit.). Cf. also Exod 34:14: “For Yahweh, jealous is his name, he is a jealous God.”

This explanation is confirmed by the fact that the fuller phrase “Yahweh Sabaoth is his name” emphasizes Yahweh’s might through *šēbāʾôt* (→ *šābāʾ*). The thesis that *šēmô* in these phrases means the revealed name (used as the name to be called upon; so J. L. Crenshaw, *ZAW* 81 [1969]: 156–75; cf. also id., *ZAW* 80 [1968]: 203–15) is, then, less illuminating.

(i) Like other messengers (1 Sam 25:9; Esth 2:22), the prophets of Yahweh speak (→ *dbṛ* pi.; → *ʾmr*, Exod 5:23 E; Deut 18:19; 1 Kgs 22:16 = 2 Chron 18:15; Jer 20:9; 26:16; 44:16; Dan 9:6; 1 Chron 21:19) and prophesy (→ *nbʾ* ni.; Jer 11:21; 26:9, 20; cf. Ezra 5:1) “in the name” (*bšēm*) of the one who sends them. For those prophets of Yahweh who prophesy falsely (*šeqer* Jer 14:14; 23:25; 29:21; *laššeqer* 27:15; *baššeqer* 29:9) in Yahweh’s name or speak (Jer 29:23; Zech 13:3) although not sent by him (Jer 14:15; 27:15; 29:9), Deut 18:20 decrees the death penalty, as for prophets who prophesy in the names of other gods; cf. Zech 13:3 (see comms.). Israel battled fiercely with the problem of false prophecy, esp. in Deut (Deut 18:21f.) and Jer, and was unable to find a satisfying solution because there is none (on the problem of false prophecy, cf. J. L. Crenshaw, *Prophetic Conflict* [1971], bibliog.; C. J. Labuschagne, *Schriftprofetie en volksideologie* [1968]; A. S. van der Woude, *VT* 19 [1969]: 244–60). Cf. Brongers, *ZAW* 77:7f.

The priest has also been authorized by Yahweh. As a result, he can be said to serve in the name of Yahweh (*šrt* pi. *bšēm yhwh* Deut 18:5, 7).

Official correspondence is written in one’s own name (Jer 29:25) or on the authority of others (*bšēm* X; 1 Kgs 21:8; Esth 3:12; 8:8[bis], 10).

(j) The variously employed expression *qrʾ bšēm* (see 4a, b) in the meaning “to call by name,” “to indicate by name” (profane: Josh 21:9; Esth 2:14; 1 Chron 6:50) with Yahweh as subj. sometimes refers, like Akk. *zakāru šuma ana* (cf. Schottroff, op. cit. 25f., 245f.), to the commissioning of

specific persons by name (i.e., personally) to specific tasks (Bezalel, Exod 31:2; 35:30; the stars, Isa 40:26 [cf. Psa 147:4]; the servant of God [without *šēm* ], Isa 49:1). The term is sometimes used in relation to birth (Isa 49:1; cf. the Akk. par.) and creation (Isa 40:26) and corresponds to *yd<sup>c</sup> b<sup>e</sup>šēm* (Exod 33:12, Moses) or *yd<sup>c</sup>* (Gen 18:19; Jer 1:5 par. “I sanctified you, commissioned you as a prophet to the nations”; → *yd<sup>c</sup>* IV/1). Regarding Isa 45:3f., where the divine mention of the name refers to the ritual of enthronement (cf. *knh* pi. “to give an honorary name”); cf. the Cyrus Cylinder, *ANET* 315f., and comms.; cf. also 41:9 (of Israel; *qr<sup>3</sup>* par. *ḥzq* hi.; cf. 45:1, 3f.).

(k) Just as people could receive new names from their lords in the profane realm (see 3e), so also, according to the OT, Yahweh or his representatives change names if a person or a people (Isa 62:2) enters a new situation. The renamings of Abram (“the father [-god] is lofty”) to Abraham (“father of a multitude [of nations]”) in Gen 17:5, of Sarai (“princess”) to Sarah (queen, “who will become nations and produce kings”) in Gen 17:15, of Jacob to Israel (“for you have striven with gods and men and have prevailed”) in 32:29 (cf. 35:10; 2 Kgs 17:34; Hos 12:4f.), and of Solomon to Jedidiah in 2 Sam 12:25 (cf. v 24b; on v 25 see P. A. H. de Boer, *FS Vriezen* 25–29) involve a high distinction or the establishment of Yahweh’s patronage. The renaming of Pashhur to “Terror-all-around” refers, however, to the threat of impending disaster (Jer 20:3).

Meanwhile, names given the children of particular prophets at God’s direction, which serve as captions of the Yahweh message they proclaimed, are of an entirely different nature: the prophet Isaiah’s sons *š<sup>e</sup>ār yāšūb* (“[only] a remnant repents/returns” Isa 7:3; cf. S. H. Blank, *HUCA* 27 [1956]: 86ff.; Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 296f.), *mahēr-šālāl ḥāš-baz* “the prey hastens, the spoil speeds,” 8:3; cf. v 1; regarding Immanuel in 7:14; 8:8, see Wildberger, *op. cit.* 311ff.); the prophet Hosea’s children Jezreel, Hos 1:4, Lo-ruhamah “not pitied,” 1:6, and Lo-ammi “not my people,” 1:9.

Through wordplays on place-names, prophets could accentuate the preaching of coming disaster; cf. Mic 1:10–16 and Isa 10:28ff. (on Mic 1:10ff. cf. K. Elliger, *ZDPV* 57 [1934]: 81–152 = *Kleine Schriften zum AT* [1966], 9–71; G. Fohrer, *FS Rost* 74ff.; S. J. Schwantes, *VT* 14 [1964]: 456–61; A. S. van der Woude, *FS Dupont-Sommer* 347–53; on Isa 10:28ff. cf. Donner, *op. cit.* 30–38; *id.*, *ZDPV* 84 [1968]: 46–54; Wildberger, *op. cit.* 446–58, with bibliog.).

The renaming of Hoshea the son of Nun to Joshua (Num 13:16) suggests that after the ascendancy of the Yahweh cult older names were replaced with Yahwistic theophoric names; cf. Eissfeldt, *KS* (1973), 5:74f.

5. The LXX uses *onoma* almost exclusively to translate *šēm*. Some of the nuances of meaning of *šēm* mentioned above recur in the Qumran documents (cf. Kuhn, *Konk.* 222f.; also *GCDS* 503ff.). On the usage of *šēm* and *onoma* in early Jewish and rabbinic times, the avoidance of the divine name Yahweh, and the reference to it as *haššēm* (“The Name,” perhaps already in Lev 24:11 txt?, 16 txt?), see H. Bietenhard, “ὄνομα,” *TDNT* 5:242–83; Bousset-Gressmann 307–20; and G. F. Moore, *Judaism* [1927], 1:424ff.

A. S. van der Woude

### שָׁמַד *šmd* hi. **to exterminate**

S 8045; BDB 1029a; *HAL* 4:1436a; *ThWAT* 8:176–98; *TWOT* 2406; *NIDOTTE* 9012

1. The verb *šmd* can be identified outside the OT (ni. and ni.) and postbibl. Hebr. (also pi.) only in Aram.

Bibl. Aram. attests *šmd* ha. “to exterminate” in Dan 7:26, Jew. Aram. *šmd* pa. “force into apostasy” (KBL 1132a). The pl. form of a noun *šmd* “destruction” in a Nab. inscription (*DISO* 307) is unclear. Regarding Syr. *šmd* pa., cf. *LS* 785a. The cj. of an association with Akk. *mašādu* “to strike, pummel” (*AHW* 623a) and Aram. *msd* II “to massage” (cf. GB 841a) remains undetermined.

2. The Hebr. OT attests *šmd* 90x: ni. 21x (Deut 9x, Psa 3x), hi. 69x (Deut 20x, Josh 6x, Isa, Amos, and Esth 5x each, 2 Sam 4x), and *šmd* ha. 1x in Aram. Instances of *šmd* are concentrated in the Dtr history; the prophetic books rank only second.

3. As with other verbs of force (*HP* 205), the hi. is also common with *šmd*. The inner-causative hi. (“to cause oneself to eradicate something,” in contrast to a cj. trans. basic meaning) may emphasize esp. the volitional component of the action (2 Sam 14:7, 11, 16; cf. *HP* 250ff.; → *šht*). *šmd* ni. “to be exterminated, destroyed” reflects the action, contrary to the perspective of the assumed trans. ground stem, which is performed on the pass. subj. (Gen 34:30; 2 Sam 21:5).

*šmd* hi. “to exterminate” semasiologically approximates the verbs → *krt* hi. “to destroy” (Lev 26:30; 1 Sam 24:22; Isa 10:7; Ezek 25:7; cf. *krt* ni. with *šmd* ni. in Isa 48:19 and Psa 37:38), → *ʿbd* pi. “to annihilate” (Num 33:52; Isa 26:14; Esth 3:13; 7:4; 8:11; hi. Deut 28:63; Ezek 25:7; Aram. ha. Dan

7:26; cf. *šmd* ni. with *ʾbd* qal “to be destroyed” in Deut 4:26; 28:20; Jer 48:8), *nkh* hi. “to strike” (Josh 11:14; 1 Kgs 15:29; 2 Kgs 10:17; cf. Gen 34:30 ni.), *hrg* “to kill” (Esth 3:13; 7:4; 8:11), and → *h̄rm* hi. “to annihilate” (Dan 11:44; 2 Chron 20:23); cf. also, besides → *šht* pi./hi., isolated pars. such as *mḥh ʿet-šēm* “to exterminate the name” (Deut 9:14), → *klh* pi. “to annihilate” (2 Sam 22:38), *ntš* “to destroy” (Mic 5:13), *šdd* “to desolate” (Ezek 32:12 ni.). Cf. also the antonym → *šʾr* ni. “to survive” (2 Sam 14:7).

4. The sacral law ban formula (in P and H) constructed with → *krt* hi./ni. and the separative particle *min* declares the exclusion of a person from the cultic community and the delivery of the person to Yahweh as the subject of the ban. The ban declaration occurs with *šmd* hi. instead of *krt* hi. in an echo of the formula in Deut 4:3 and in a form-critically late formulation in Ezek 14:9 (see Zimmerli, *GO* 148–77). The variation in verbs in both passages produces a correction in terms of content; the ban formula is interpreted as the announcement of the execution of punishment. *šmd* hi. refers to visible expurgation (ni. pass. Deut 4:26; Judg 21:16). This interpretation is confirmed by the use of the verb alongside expressions such as “from the face of the earth” (Deut 6:15; 1 Kgs 13:34, etc.), “from someone’s presence” (Deut 2:21f.; Josh 24:8, etc.; ni. Deut 12:30), or with modifiers such as “until exterminated” (Deut 7:24; Josh 11:14, etc.; ni. Deut 28:20). It corresponds to the ban commandment that requires the cultic community to exterminate physically (*šmd* hi.) that which is subject to the ban (→ *h̄rem*) from its midst (Josh 7:12), just as blood vengeance requires revenge from the clan (2 Sam 14:7, 11, 16; cf. 1 Sam 14:22).

The use of verbs in the context of the Yahweh-war concept (G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* [1991], 49f., 57, 115ff.) and the tradition of the giving of the land can be understood in terms of the ban commandment: the original sense of the ban commandment is preserved when people execute the commandment (Num 33:52; Deut 2:12, 23; 7:24; 33:27; Josh 9:24; 11:14, 20; 2 Sam 22:38; Psa 106:34); it has been altered under the influence of the tendency to attribute all activity in war to Yahweh and has also been assimilated to the conquest tradition when Yahweh himself executes the ban through physical destruction (Deut 2:21f.; 9:3; 31:3f.; Josh 24:8; 2 Kgs 21:9).

The concept of Yahweh as the agent of the execution of the ban also made its way into Dtn-Dtr statements concerning the annihilation of evildoers (Deut 6:15; 7:4; 9:8, 14, 19, 25; 28:48, 63; cf. Lev 26:30; Josh 23:15; 1 Kgs 13:34); the Dtr history permits human executors to act as God’s assistants in judgment (1 Kgs 15:29; 16:12; 2 Kgs 10:17, 28).

The prophetic usage of *šmd* also connects with the execution of the

ban in the Yahweh war (hi.: Amos 2:9 [cf. Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 168f.]; 9:8 [cf. 1 Kgs 13:34]; Mic 5:13, in vv 9–13 an altered form of the ban formula; Isa 10:7 [cf. Wildberger, op. cit. 417f.]; 13:9, an echo of the ban formula; 14:23; 23:11; Ezek 25:7 [on the text see Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:8]; Zech 12:9; Dan 11:8; ni.: Isa 48:19; Jer 48:8, 42; Ezek 32:12; Hos 10:8).

In the Pers. period *šmd* hi. indicated the pogrom against the Jews (Esth 3:6, 13; 4:8; 7:4) but also the Jew's state-authorized act of retribution against their enemies (8:11).

5. The LXX most often translates *šmd* hi./ni. with (*ex*)*olethreuein*. On the use of the verb in the published Qumran texts, see Kuhn, *Konk.* 223; id., *RQ* 14 (1963): 231a (about 10x); on the NT, see J. Schneider, “ὀλεθρεύω,” *TDNT* 5:167–71.

D. Vetter

## שָׁמַיִם *šāmayim* heaven

S 8064; BDB 1029b; HAL 4:1442b; *ThWAT* 8:204–39; *TWOT* 2407a; *NIDOTTE* 9028

1. The subst. *\*šamāy-* “heaven” is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 214f.; P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/20 [1965]: 136, 144, 149). In contrast to SSem. (Arab. *samāʿ*, Wehr 432b; Eth. *samāy*, Dillmann 341), it appears in NWSem. (*WUS* no. 2627; *UT* no. 2427; Gröndahl 194f.; *DISO* 308; E. Vogt, *Lexicon linguae Aramaicae Veteris Testamenti* [1971], 170f.) and in ESem. (*GAG* §61h: *šamû* < *šamāʿū*, Old Bab. also sg. *šamûm* in the meaning “rain”; the meaning “canopy” is derived) as a *plurale tantum* (invariable pl.; for an explanation cf. *GVG* 1:479; Fronzaroli, op. cit. 149). The apparent dual in Hebr. is actually an unusual pl. form (*GKC* §88d; Joüon §91f; Meyer 2:83). The derivation from the homonymous *mayim* “water” is given serious consideration by BL 621 (*\*ša* = relative pron. + *\*māyu* “water,” thus “place of the water”) and suggested by KBL 986b; at most, however, it probably involves a popular etymology that takes advantage of the assonance (cf. Fronzaroli, op. cit. 136) and equates “heaven” with the “firmament” (*raqîaʿ*) that retains the cosmic waters.

2. *šāmayim* occurs 420x in the OT (Psa 74x, Deut 44x, Gen 41x, Isa and Jer 33x each, 2 Chron 28x, Job 23x, 1 Kgs 20x, 2 Kgs 16x, Exod and Neh 14x each, Ezek 9x, 2 Sam, Prov, and 1 Chron 6x each, Zech, Eccl, Lam, and Dan 5x each, Josh, Judg, 1 Sam, and Hos 4x each, Joel and Hag 3x each, Amos, Zeph, and Ezra 2x each, Lev, Jonah, Nah, Hab, and Mal

1x each), Bibl. Aram. *š<sup>e</sup>mayyā* occurs 38x (Jer 10:11 2x, Dan 28x, Ezra 8x).

3. (a) *šāmayim* describes heaven as the realm distinct from earth and sea (cf. *ILC* 1–2:453ff.; T. Flügge, *Die Vorstellung über den Himmel im AT* [1937]; U. E. Simon, *Heaven in the Christian Tradition* [1959]; G. von Rad, *TDNT* 5:502–9; S. Morenz and G. Gloege, *RGG* 3:328–33; T. H. Gaster, *IDB* 2:551f.; L. Rost, *BHH* 2:719; H. Bietenhard, *DNTT* 2:188–96; et al.) in accord with the well-known three-storied ancient Near Eastern worldview: heaven above, earth in the middle, water all around and beneath.

No proper synonyms for *šāmayim* are attested. The nearest approximation of *šāmayim* is the more specialized word *raqîa<sup>c</sup>* “solidity, firmament” (17x in the OT, 9x in Gen 1:6–20, 5x in Ezek 1:22–26 and 10:1, also Psa 19:2; 150:1; Dan 12:3; cf. *rq<sup>c</sup>* qal “to stamp, trample down, spread out,” of the earth in Isa 42:5; 44:24; Psa 136:6; cf. also *ʔ<sup>a</sup>guddâ* “vault,” Amos 9:6). In several passages *šāmayim* parallels *š<sup>e</sup>hāqîm* “clouds” (Deut 33:26; Isa 45:8; Jer 51:9; Psa 36:6; 57:11; 108:5; Job 35:5; cf. Psa 78:23; Job 38:37; → *ʕānān* ) and stands antithetical to *ʔ<sup>e</sup>reṣ* “earth” and *š<sup>e</sup>ʕôl* “underworld” (see 3d).

Heaven concepts, to the degree reflected in OT texts in typical phrases and usages, are treated relatively extensively in KBL (986–88), hence a few suggestions will suffice here. Like the earth, heaven has stable, firm contours: it is spread out (*nṯh* qal “to stretch out, incline, bend,” 136x, 20x in Exod; ni. “to be stretched out, extend,” 3x; hi. “to stretch out, incline, bend,” 75x, 15x in Psa; *nṯh* qal with heaven as obj. 9x: Isa 40:22; 42:5; 44:24; 45:12; 51:13; Jer 10:12; 51:15; Zech 12:1; Psa 104:2; Job 9:8) or rolled out (*gll* ni. Isa 34:4); it has windows (*ʔ<sup>a</sup>rubbôt* Gen 7:11; 8:2; 2 Kgs 7:2, 19; Mal 3:10; cf. Isa 24:18); it rests on columns (*ʕammûdîm* Job 26:11) or on foundations (*môš<sup>e</sup>dôt haššāmayim* 2 Sam 22:8; contra Psa 18:8); it can be ruptured (*qr<sup>c</sup>* qal Isa 63:19), etc. These cases suggest an equation with *raqîa<sup>c</sup>* (cf. Gen 1:8; Psa 148:4). Cf. also F. Lentzen-Deis, “Das Motiv der ‘Himmelsöffnung’ in verschiedenen Gattungen der Umweltliteratur des NT,” *Bib* 50 (1969): 301–27.

(b) Hebr. has no specific expression for “air, atmosphere” (Mid. Hebr. *ʔ<sup>a</sup>wēr/ʔ<sup>a</sup>wîr* Gk. *aēr*, Dalman 10b; cf. T. W. Rosmarin, “Terms for ‘Air’ in the Bible,” *JBL* 51 [1932]: 71f.). The OT makes do with *šāmayim* to speak of the “birds of the heavens,” etc. (*ʕôp haššāmayim* 38 of 71 instances of *ʕôp* “bird”; cf. Deut 4:17; Jer 8:7; Psa 8:9; Lam 4:19, etc.). Absalom hangs “between heaven and earth” during his mishap (2 Sam 18:9); all supernatural phenomena take place “between earth and heaven” (Ezek 8:3; Zech 5:9; 1 Chron 21:16).

(c) Heaven also appears in relation to all “phenomena at and from heaven” (KBL 986f., no. 2): water (Jer 10:13 = 51:16; Psa 148:4), rain (Gen 8:2; Deut 11:11; Jer 14:22, etc.), dew (*ṭal* Gen 27:28; Deut 33:28), frost (*kēpôr* Job 38:29), snow (*šeleg* Isa 55:10), as well as fire (Gen 19:24), dust (Deut 28:24), hail (Josh 10:11), etc. Heaven is conceived as God’s treasure house with treasure rooms (*ʾôšār* Deut 28:12; cf. 32:34) containing the wind (Jer 10:13 = 51:13; Psa 135:7) and snow and hail (Job 38:22; cf. Psa 33:7; → *tʰôm*).

The stars also belong in heaven (→ *šemeš* “sun”; *yārēaḥ* “moon,” 27x in the OT, in addition to *Iʿbānâ* Isa 24:23; 30:26; Song Sol 6:10, and *keseʾkēseh* Psa 81:4; Prov 7:20 in the meaning “full moon”; *kôkāb* “star,” 37x in the OT, 10x in the phrase “stars of heaven”).

Psa 78:24 (cf. Exod 16:4 “bread from heaven”; Psa 105:40 “heaven’s bread”) speaks of a special sign of divine grace from heaven, the manna (*mān* 14x; Exod 16:15, 31, 33, 35[bis]; Num 11:6f., 9; Deut 8:3, 16; Josh 5:12[bis]; Psa 78:24; Neh 9:20; cf. J. Feliks, *BHH* 2:1141–43).

(d) The nom. sequences “heaven . . . earth” and “earth . . . heaven” and meristic circumlocutions for “world (universe)” are treated under → *ʾeres* (3b); cf. also → *šʿôl* “underworld” and → *tʰôm* “flood” (*mabbûl* “ocean of heaven” is also treated there).

*šémehaššāmayim* “heaven of heaven” is a special, not yet entirely explained, expression (Deut 10:14; 1 Kgs 8:27; Psa 148:4; Neh 9:6; 2 Chron 2:5; 6:18; cf. Sir 16:18; see B. Alfrink, in *Mélanges E. Tisserant* [1964], 1:1–7). It always appears in clauses with elevated style (hymns, prayers, wisdom sayings), and, except for Psa 148:4, always with a preceding (*hašš*)*šāmayim*, which it apparently intends to intensify. The circumlocution for the superlative after the pattern of *šîr haššîrîm* “the best song” (Song Sol 1:1) or *hʾabēl hʾbālîm* “absolute futility” (Eccl 1:2) seems to indicate heaven in its totality, not a (highest) region.

4. (a) Through the word of creation in Gen 1:1 and the creation of the *raqîaʿ* in 1:6, heaven is removed from any autonomous sacral realm and placed in the category of God’s creations. Many texts express this idea (2:4b; 14:19, 22; Isa 42:5; 45:18; Psa 8:4; 33:6; Prov 3:19; 8:27, etc.); cf. the verbs used in these statements concerning creation (→ *brʾ*, → *kûn*, → *śh*, → *qnh*). Although it represents the essence of durability (Deut 11:21; Psa 89:30; Sir 45:15; cf. *KAI* no. 266.3 “like the days of heaven”), an end is foreseen for heaven too (Isa 51:6; Job 14:12), a concept preserved throughout all of early Judaism and the NT; heaven shall be “rolled up” (Isa 34:4) and replaced by the creation of a new, eschatological heaven (65:17; 66:22; → *ḥādāš* 4a[3]).

Later concepts, rooted in part in the OT (e.g., Zech 1:8 LXX and 6:1,

where the gate to heaven represented by two mountains artificially unites heaven and earth; cf. von Rad, *TDNT* 5:508), lead to a kind of remythologization of heaven, which now becomes the place where God keeps his kingdom prepared in the expectation of its imminent arrival (cf. also Dan 7:13, with the image of the person coming on the “clouds of heaven”).

(b) Heaven often appears as the dwelling place of Yahweh and his hosts (→ *šābāʿ*), so that he also acts from heaven (e.g., Deut 4:39; 10:14; 26:15; 1 Kgs 8:23, 30, etc.; Isa 63:15; 66:1; Psa 2:4; 11:4; 20:7; 89:12; 102:20; 115:3, 16; Lam 3:41, etc.; → *škn*; C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode* [1947], 46; M. Metzger, “Himmliche und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes,” *UF* 2 [1970]: 139–58). The antiquated, mythical expression *rōkēb šāmayim* “who rides on heaven” occurs once for Yahweh (Deut 33:26; → *rkb* 4). As God’s resting place, heaven naturally belongs to the cultically pure realm (cf. Exod 24:10; → *thr*). Heaven is not able to contain God, however, because he stands beyond any cosmic boundary (1 Kgs 8:27; 2 Chron 2:5; 6:18; cf. Jer 23:24).

One can ascend to God, at least theoretically (e.g., Psa 139:8; Job 20:6; Prov 30:4; cf. also Gen 11:4; 28:12; 2 Kgs 2:11; → *lh* 4a); God descends from heaven (e.g., Gen 11:5; 2 Sam 22:10 = Psa 18:10; Psa 144:5; regarding *yrd* cf. also → *lh* 4a), and he or his messengers speak (e.g., Gen 21:17; 22:11, 15; Exod 20:22; Neh 9:13; → *malʾāk*) or look down from heaven (e.g., Deut 26:15, *šqp* hi.).

(c) Since the Pers. period, Yahweh is indicated by the title “God of heaven” (Psa 136:26 [cf. → *ʿel* IV/3]; Jonah 1:9; Ezra 1:2 = 2 Chron 36:23; Neh 1:4, etc.; → *ʿlōhīm* IV/4; cf. also the corresponding Aram. expression in Dan 2:18f., etc. and in the Elephantine Papyri). One should not exclude the possibility of a use, if less frequent, of this title in older times given Gen 24:3, 7, esp. since the predicate “God of heaven” is not unknown in the OT environment (regarding the god Baʿalšamēm attested since the 10th cent. BCE in a Phoen. inscription from Byblos [*KAI* no. 4.3], cf. O. Eissfeldt, “Baʿalšamēm und Jahwe,” *ZAW* 57 [1939]: 1–31 = *KS* [1963], 2:171–98; id., *RGG* 1:805f.; H. Gese et al., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer* [1970], 182ff., 226ff.; H. J. W. Drijvers, *Baʿal Shamîn, de Heer van de Hemel* [1971]; regarding Astarte, the “queen of heaven,” mentioned in Jer 7:18; 44:17ff.; and in Hermop. 4.1, cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 55f.; J. T. Milik, *Bib* 48 [1967]: 560ff.; M. Weinfeld, *UF* 4 [1972]: 133–54; regarding the summons of heaven and earth as witnesses, cf. → *ʿereš* 4a; Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 38, with bibliog.).

5. In Judaism *šāmayim* or *ouranos* (in the LXX and the NT also the semitizing pl. *hoi ouranoi*) can become a circumlocution for the word “God”

(thus already in Aram., Dan 4:23 “as soon as you recognize that Heaven has the power”; cf. Montgomery, *Dan*, ICC, 242 with bibliog.; in the NT “kingdom of heaven” = “kingdom of God,” etc.; cf. J. Jeremias, *NT Theology* [1971], 31f.), while heaven becomes the object of much, mostly extrabibl., speculation. For details, cf. G. von Rad and H. Traub, “οὐρανός,” *TDNT* 5:497–543; H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (1951); B. Siede, C. Brown, and H. Bietenhard, “Heaven, Ascend, Above,” *DNTT* 2:184–96; C. R. Schoonhoven, *Wrath of Heaven* (1966).

J. A. Soggin

## שָׁמַם *šmm* to lie deserted

S 8074; BDB 1030b; *HAL* 4:1446b; *ThWAT* 8:241–51; *TWOT* 2409; *NIDOTTE* 9037

1. The root *šmm* “to lie deserted, become stiff (with fear), be terrified,” etc., is attested only in Hebr. and (post-) OT Aram. (KBL 988b, 1132a; *WUS* no. 2631 and *DISO* 308 are uncertain); a biradical basis *šm* appears primarily as a geminate although it can also be expanded as a l-*yodh* (in the noun *y<sup>e</sup>šîmôn* “wilderness” and in Ezek 6:6, for which a verb *yšm* = *šmm* is presupposed; cf. BL 439).

Numerous verbal stem forms and nom. derivatives of *šmm* are used: qal, ni., hi., ho., po., and hitpo., as well as the adj. *šāmēm* “waste” and the largely synonymous *šammâ*, *š<sup>e</sup>māmâ* (Ezek 35:7, *šim<sup>e</sup>mâ* results from textual corruption; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:225), *šimmāmôn*, and *m<sup>e</sup>šammâ*; Bibl. Aram. exhibits an itpo<sup>al</sup> (Dan 4:16).

2. The root occurs primarily in the prophetic literature, the verb with particular frequency in Ezek: qal 35x (Ezek 11x, incl. 6:6; Isa 6x, Jer 5x, Lam 4x), ni. 25x (Ezek 11x, Jer 3x), hi. 17x (Ezek 5x, Jer 3x), ho. 4x (excl. Job 21:5 hi.), po. 7x (Dan 5x, incl. 8:13; 9:27; 12:11), and hitpo. 5x (in addition to 1x Aram.); furthermore, *y<sup>e</sup>šîmôn* 13x, *šāmēm* 3x, *šammâ* 39x (Jer 24x), *š<sup>e</sup>māmâ* 56x (Ezek 21x, Jer 15x, Isa 6x, Joel and Zeph 4x each), *šimmāmôn* 2x (in Ezek), *m<sup>e</sup>šammâ* 7x (Ezek 5x), and *šim<sup>e</sup>mâ* 1x (see 1).

3./4. The basic meaning of the root may be rendered by the expressions “to be desolate, cut off from life.” One should note that within this range of meaning a subjective or an objective aspect can dominate. Thus the verb in the qal means e.g., “to feel lifeless, become stiff/numb” (in the face of terrors or sorrow) but also “to lie fallow, lifeless” (of nature, of

people, etc.). The situation with e.g., the noun *šammâ* is similar: the semantic scope reaches from “desolation” (objective) to “stiffness, terror” (subjective). Hebr. blends the two aspects in a way that translations are usually unable to render (similar to → *ʔbl* “to mourn”; cf. J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im AT* [1955], 55n.115; N. Lohfink, *VT* 12 [1962]: 267–75).

(a) When the subjective aspect dominates, the qal of the verb means “to be terrified.” The occasion is often another’s misfortune: common par. expressions include *šrq* qal “to whistle” (1 Kgs 9:8 [= 2 Chron 7:21 without *šrq*; cf. Noth, *BK* 9/1, 199: “with the apotropaic purpose of averting demonic effects”]; Jer 19:8; 49:17; 50:13; cf. *šʕrēqâ* “whistling” alongside *šammâ* in Jer 18:16 txt em; 19:8; 25:9, 18; 29:18; 51:37; Mic 6:16; 2 Chron 29:8), *nûd* hi. *bʕrōʕ* “to shake the head” (Jer 18:16; → *rōʕ* 3a), *šʕr* qal “to quiver,” and *rʕm* qal “to be disturbed” (Ezek 27:35; cf. also 28:19). According to Ezek 26:16f., horror leads to mourning (v 17 *qînâ* “song of lament”). The fate of the suffering servant of God also occasions horror (Isa 52:14). As a curse Lev 26:32 threatens the enemies’ horror over Israel’s misfortune. When someone goes stiff/numb in anger in the face of an evildoer’s action the feeling is somewhat different from the cases just mentioned (Job 17:8; similarly Jer 2:12: as witnesses of Israel’s evildoing heaven and earth are called on to become stiff, par. *šʕr*). According to Psa 40:16 evildoers finally become numb over their own misfortune (par. → *bōš* “to be ashamed,” *hpr* “to be ashamed, embarrassed,” and *klm* ni. “to be exposed” in v 15; cf. M. A. Klopfenstein, *Scham und Schande nach dem AT* [1972], 96f., 166, 179).

When the objective aspect dominates, the verb can best be rendered “to lie devastated.” Subjs. are usually the earth, the fields, etc. (Gen 47:19; Ezek 12:19, etc.; likewise *šāmēm* “devastated” in Jer 12:11; Lam 5:18; Dan 9:17 of the sanctuary). Derivatives of *hʕrb* “to be dried up” (Isa 61:4; Ezek 6:6) and *ʕzb* “abandoned” (36:4) are used as pars. The concept occurs in Israel’s laments (Lam 1:4, 13, etc.), and in prophetic announcements of judgment (Ezek 6:6; 12:19; 33:28, etc.). Humans can also be the subj., as can women who have no sexual intercourse (2 Sam 13:20; cf. LXX; Isa 54:1 alongside *ʕqārâ* “infertile”).

(b) The subjective aspect of the ni. dominates in Jer 4:9 (par. *tmh* “to be astonished”) and in Job 18:20 (with *šaʕar* “terror”). The meaning here closely resembles that of the qal. The same is also true for instances in which the objective aspect dominates: *hʕrb* appears again as a par. expression (Ezek 29:12; Amos 7:9). One should perhaps understand the expression as more pass. than the qal, i.e., “to be abandoned” (of streets and cities: Lev 26:22; Isa 33:8; Jer 33:10; of the land: Jer 12:11; Zech 7:14; of buildings and altars: Ezek 6:4; Joel 1:17; Zeph 3:6); yet one should take

into account a meaning “to be destroyed” for Lam 4:5 with people as the subj. (contra J. V. K. Wilson, *JSS* 7 [1966]: 178f.). The term occurs primarily in prophetic announcements of judgment (Ezek 4:17; 6:4; Amos 7:9, etc.) but also in announcements of salvation that speak of the end of the current distress (Isa 54:3; Ezek 36:34–36; Amos 9:14). The setting of the expression in the curse may be even older (Lev 26:22; cf. Psa 69:26, where the language of the curse is perceptible in the lament over the enemy).

(c) The hi. verb has the causative meaning “to disturb” that corresponds with the subjective aspect (Ezek 20:26, the effect of Yahweh’s act of judgment in Israel’s past history; 32:10, reaction to a current disaster brought about by Yahweh). The meaning of the obj. *ēdā* in Job 16:7 is uncertain (par. *lḥ* hi. “to fatigue”; cf. comms.). Job 21:5 uses the verb intrans. (like qal “to be horrified”; par. “to place one’s hand on one’s mouth”). 1 Sam 5:6 uses *šmm* hi. in a context in which → *hmm* would otherwise appear (an emendation may be in order; cf. *BH* 3), and the text of Ezek 3:15 is also disputed (cf. comms.).

Otherwise, the hi. verb has the objective meaning “to ravage, devastate” (Lev 26:31 par. “to lay in ruins”; Jer 49:20 = 50:45 txt?; Ezek 30:12, 14, etc.).

The ho. means “to have been deserted” and occurs only as a designation of fields lying fallow as the result of the actions of the enemy, which is interpreted in the curse-threat as a substitute for the wicked omission of the Sabbath fallow year (Lev 26:34f., 43; 2 Chron 36:21).

(d) The po. (only ptcp. *m<sup>ē</sup>šômēm* and > *šômēm*; cf. GB 843b) in Ezra 9:3f. means “stunned,” in Dan “ravaging, desecrating”; here it describes the desecration of the temple in Jerusalem undertaken by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (associated in Dan 8:13 with *peša<sup>c</sup>* “impiety”; in 9:27; 11:31; 12:11 with *šiqqûš* “abomination”).

On the one hand the hitpo. means “to become stiff/numb” as an expression of astonishment (Isa 59:16; 63:5), of distress (Psa 143:4 par. *ṭp* hitp. “to languish”), of dismay (over a vision, Dan 8:27, with *ḥlh* “to become ill”; cf. Aram. Dan 4:16 of a dream); on the other hand in Eccl 7:16 it means “to ruin oneself.”

(e) Noms. related to the root appear in the same contexts as the verb (cf. also A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des AT* [1954], 109–12):

(1) *š<sup>c</sup>māmā* “devastation” (in Ezek 7:27 “terror”) occurs in the curse-threat (Exod 23:29; Lev 26:33; cf. also Josh 8:28, which is based on the concept that a previously inhabited city is cursed to eternal devastation; cf. S. Gevirtz, *VT* 13 [1963]: 52–62), in the prophetic announcement of judgment (Isa 6:11; Jer 4:27; 10:22, etc.; Ezek 6:14; 12:10, etc.; Mic 1:7,

etc.) and, by contrast, in the announcement of salvation (Isa 62:4).

(2) *šammâ* “devastation, destruction” (in Jer 8:21 “terror, dismay”) also appears in the curse-threat (Deut 28:37), in prophetic announcements of judgment (Isa 5:9 in the framework of the woe oracles; Hos 5:9), and primarily in Jer-Dtr circles, regularly in combination with similar expressions e.g., *š<sup>e</sup>rēqâ* (see 3/4a), *ḥōreb* “desolation” (Jer 49:13), *ʿālâ* “curse” (e.g., Jer 29:18), *q<sup>e</sup>lālâ* “curse” (e.g., 2 Kgs 22:19), *ḥerpâ* “shame” (e.g., Jer 42:18), etc. Psa 46:9 constitutes a unique category: Yahweh’s activity that proceeds from Jerusalem against the hostile foreign nations is described as *šim šammôt* “to do horrifying deeds” (hymnic language).

(3) *m<sup>e</sup>šammâ* “desolation” (in Ezek 5:15 “terror”) occurs in prophetic announcements of judgment (5:15; 6:14; 33:28f.; 35:3) and in lament language (Isa 15:6; Jer 48:34).

(4) *šimmāmôn* “terror” occurs in Ezek 4:16 and 12:19 in the context of judgment threats.

(5) *y<sup>e</sup>šimôn* “wilderness” is used not only as a neutral geographical term (Num 21:20; 23:28; 1 Sam 23:19, 24; 26:1, 3, always with the article, in reference to a specific locality; cf. also the place-name *bêt-hay<sup>e</sup>šimôt*, Num 33:49; Josh 12:3; 13:20; Ezek 25:9) but also to designate a disaster site (Psa 68:8; 78:40; 106:14; 107:4, in each of the last three cases par. to *midbār* “wilderness”). Deut 32:10 contrasts it with Yahweh’s beneficial act of election in the wilderness, and prophetic announcements of salvation know of a future watering of the wilderness (Isa 43:19f.).

5. The LXX translates the word group primarily with *aphanizein/aphanismos*, secondarily with *erēmos* and derivatives (cf. G. Kittel, “ἔρημος,” *TDNT* 2:657–60); it finds no specific continuation in the NT.

F. Stolz

## שמע *šm<sup>c</sup>* to hear

S 8085; BDB 1033a; *HAL* 4:1452a; *ThWAT* 8:255–79; *TWOT* 2412; *NIDOTTE* 9048

1. The root *šm<sup>c</sup>* “to hear” is common Sem. (Berg., *Intro.* 212f.; cf. also *WUS* no. 2639; *DISO* 171, 309f.).

Bibl. Hebr. attests the verbal stems qal, ni. (pass.), hi. (causative, “to cause to hear, proclaim”), and pi. (“to summon”; cf. *HP* 220, 251), Bibl. Aram. pe. and hitpe. (“to obey,” *BLA* 275; *KBL* 1132b: hitpa.). Seven nom.

derivatives also occur: as inf. abstracts (“hearing; that which one hears,” GVG 1:339ff.) *šema*<sup>◌</sup> “beautiful/loud sound,” *šēma*<sup>◌</sup> “report, news; that which one hears about someone,” and *šōma*<sup>◌</sup> “fame, renown, reputation” (not “rumor” [GB 846b; KBL 992a]); as a fem. pass. ptcp. *šēmû<sup>◌</sup>â* “something heard = report; that which is heard”; as an abstract verbal subst. *mišmā<sup>◌</sup>* “hearing = perception with the ears”; and as a concrete verbal subst. *mišma<sup>◌</sup>at* “subordinates; body guard(?)” (cf. Moab. *mšm<sup>◌</sup>t*, KAI no. 181.28); as a hi. abstract *hašmā<sup>◌</sup>ût* “causing to hear = proclaiming.”

*šm<sup>◌</sup>* is also a common component of Sem. names (cf. *IP* 185; J. J. Stamm, FS Baumgartner 311f.; F. Vattioni, *Bib* 50 [1969]: 361ff.; Huffmon 249f.; Gröndahl 194). It occurs in 13 complete and abbreviated names in the OT as a predicative element (e.g., in Simeon and Ishmael; on the place-name *ʿešt<sup>◌</sup>môa<sup>◌</sup>* “[place of] hearing news,” see Noth, HAT 7, 143).

2. In the OT, Hebr. forms of the verb *šm<sup>◌</sup>* are attested 1,159x, and Aram. forms 9x: Hebr. qal 1,051x (incl. Job 26:14; excl. Dan 10:12 and Neh 13:27 [contra Lis.]; Jer 158x, Deut and Isa 86x each, Gen 61x, 1 Sam 60x, 1 Kgs 58x, Exod 47x, Ezek and 2 Chron 46x each, 2 Kgs 42x, Job 39x, Num and 2 Sam 32x each, Prov 30x), ni. 43x (incl. Dan 10:12; Neh 13:27; Jer 11x, Neh 5x), pi. 2x (1 Sam 15:4; 23:8), hi. 63x (Isa 17x, Jer 15x, Psa 6x); Aram. pe. 8x, hitpe. 1x. Noms. attested are: *šēma<sup>◌</sup>* 17x, *šōma<sup>◌</sup>* 4x, *šema<sup>◌</sup>* 1x (Psa 150:5), *šēmû<sup>◌</sup>â* 27x, *mišmā<sup>◌</sup>* 1x (Isa 11:3), *mišma<sup>◌</sup>at* 4x, *hašmā<sup>◌</sup>ût* 1x (Ezek 24:26); of these, *šēma<sup>◌</sup>* 13x, *šōma<sup>◌</sup>* 2x, and *šēmû<sup>◌</sup>â* 10x appear paronomastically with *šm<sup>◌</sup>* qal/ni.

As the statistics indicate, *šm<sup>◌</sup>* qal is strongly represented in the narrative books (cf. Lev, only 7x) and in the wisdom books (Job and Prov), disproportionately concentrated, however, in Deut and Jer; *šm<sup>◌</sup>* seems to be a key word of the Dtn-Dtr school and their heirs, as suggested by its concentrated occurrence in programmatic sections not only here (41x in Deut 4f.; 13; 28; 30 [also 30:16 LXX]; 44x in Jer 7; 11; 26; 35; 42), but also elsewhere (Lev 26; Num 14; 1 Sam 8; 15; 1 Kgs 8 [14x] par. 2 Chron 6 [12x]; Ezek 2f. [14x]; 33; Zech 7; Dan 9; Neh 9), perhaps also in Deutero-Isa (qal 29x, hi. 14x). The absence of *šm<sup>◌</sup>* qal in the entire complex of prophetic oracles (Isa 2–5; 8–15; 25–27; Ezek 26–32; Zech 9–14) and in about two-thirds of the Psa is noteworthy.

3. The semantic field of *šm<sup>◌</sup>* qal/ni. is almost totally covered by the Eng. “to hear” with its equally broad semantic scope; consequently one can translate *šm<sup>◌</sup>* with “to hear” apart from exceptional cases. One can choose to render *šm<sup>◌</sup>* with interpretive expressions more specialized than “to hear” (all the following citations offer only examples). No change in the meaning

of *šm*<sup>◌</sup> can be observed in the OT.

(a) *šm*<sup>◌</sup> can indicate the physical capacity for acoustic perception (2 Sam 19:36; Ezek 12:2; Psa 38:14; 115:6) and this perception itself (language: Isa 6:9f.; Dan 12:7f.; music: Judg 5:16; sounds: 1 Kgs 6:7 ni.; 14:6); otherwise, hearing per se is not considered apart from positive or negative attitudes or reactions, in thought, word, or deed, to that which is heard. This circumstance is also apparent in the fact that *šm*<sup>◌</sup> is rarely used abs. (Gen 35:22; Num 12:2). As a rule the preconditions (Exod 4:31), consequences (1 Sam 7:7), or complements (e.g., in parallelism) determinative for the context are also mentioned.

The literary context or the reader's interpretation of the presupposed speaker-hearer matrix also determines the possible referent of *šm*<sup>◌</sup> in each case; the following offers a selection of possibilities—in almost all cases other expressions could also render *šm*<sup>◌</sup>: “to catch (what someone else has said)” (Gen 37:17), “to overhear (eavesdrop?)” (18:10), “to listen (to something)” (37:6), “to listen” (Job 15:8; 1 Chron 28:2), “to gain knowledge (of something)” (Gen 21:26), “to learn (something about someone)” (Jer 37:5 with *šēma*<sup>◌</sup>; 6:24 with *šōma*<sup>◌</sup>), “to ascertain” (Num 9:8), “to (have something) come to one's ear” (Gen 41:15 with *al* “about”); in hearing with the ears of the intellect, “to perceive” (Num 24:4; Ezek 3:12; Job 4:16); to do what someone says or asks, wishes, advises, orders (often with *b<sup>e</sup>/l<sup>e</sup>qôl* “to heed the voice”), on occasion also: “to fulfill (a request, a wish),” “to follow (advice),” “to obey (an order, a command, a law),” “to agree, consent (to a suggestion)”; “to orient oneself (toward something), listen (to something)” (Ezek 13:19), “to comply” (Jer 35:14), “to give credence (to someone)” (Deut 18:14f.).

Since the meaning of the essentially neutral *šm*<sup>◌</sup> depends to a great degree on the context, one must repeatedly examine whether a particular translation introduces values that are not justified by the context, e.g., Gen 18:10: does Sarah secretly eavesdrop and hear, or can one also hear the men in the women's portion of the tent? 1 Sam 8:7, 9, 22: “heed the voice of the people” (Luther, revised)—does Samuel stand in a subordinate relationship to the people, or is the intention “listen to the people” in the sense of “fulfill its wish”? (similarly 1 Kgs 3:9 → *lēb šōmēa*<sup>◌</sup> “obedient heart”).

In some cases *šm*<sup>◌</sup> is used idiomatically. Thus Gen 11:7; Deut 28:49, etc., mean “to understand (a language).” 1 Kgs 3:11 *hābîn lišmōa*<sup>◌</sup> *mišpāt* indicates the capacity to reach a legal verdict by hearing the parties and witnesses (similarly Deut 1:16); in the conditional self-execration in Judg 11:10 Yahweh is *šōmēa*<sup>◌</sup> *bēnôtēnū*, the one who listens to/interrogates the parties (and then reaches a verdict); 2 Sam 15:3 and Job 31:35 also refer to hearing evidence in legal matters (cf. G. Ch. Macholz, ZAW 84 [1972]:

314f.n.3). It is uncertain whether *šm<sup>ç</sup> haṭṭôb w<sup>ç</sup>hārā<sup>ç</sup>* in 2 Sam 14:17 should be understood juridically (“to discover everything in a hearing”) or whether it signifies something like “to be omniscient” (cf. 2 Sam 14:20).

Subjs. of hearing are people, individually or collectively; grammatically also the organs of hearing, ear and heart. In accord with the personal and, to a degree, anthropomorphic concept of God, the God of Israel also “hears”; by contrast, polemic considers foreign gods to be stuff without life (Psa 115:6; cf. Isa 44:9ff.; → *ʔlōhîm* IV/5; → *ʔlîl*), and only in Josh 24:27 does a stone as witness “hear” the people’s decision for Yahweh.

That which is objectively or subjectively (e.g., 2 Kgs 7:6 hi.) audible is heard. The determination of the content of audition results naturally from the content of the highly varied literary contexts.

For the great variety of constructions with *šm<sup>ç</sup>*, whose fine distinctions are not always clear, one can refer to GB 845f.; KBL 990f. *šm<sup>ç</sup>* qal is constructed with → *qôl* “voice” about 200x (directly or with *ʔet-*, *I<sup>ç</sup>*, or *be*); it is often difficult, however, to distinguish with respect to content between *šm<sup>ç</sup> (ʔet-) qôl* “to hear something/someone” and *šm<sup>ç</sup> b<sup>ç</sup>/I<sup>ç</sup>qôl* “to listen to something/someone”; in turn, this expression seems to be synonymous with *šm<sup>ç</sup>I<sup>ç</sup>* “to listen to (something/someone).” On *šm<sup>ç</sup>b<sup>ç</sup>ʔōzen*, → *ʔōzen* 3.

(b) Conceptually, hearing and thus the verb *šm<sup>ç</sup>* are not limited to a single area of life. Yet the term and concept “hearing” are of central significance in Israel, as in Egypt, for wisdom: “The first requirement for fruitful instruction is hearing that becomes obedience” (H. Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung* [1957], 131). Thus the teacher (“father”) tirelessly challenges the student (“son”) to hear—hearing is not inconsequential, it is intended to produce wisdom (Prov 23:19)—and thus the one who “listens” (8:34) or who has “a listening ear” is praised; students are warned against relaxing their attention (19:27). The expression “listening heart” (1 Kgs 3:9; cf. v 12), which one may trace to Eg. influence, also belongs in the context of wisdom; on this expression and “hearing” in Eg. wisdom, cf. Brunner, op. cit., and → *lēb* 3e; also → *ḥkm* and → *ysr*.

Calls to hear in the book of Job (13x) are not clearly classifiable: while e.g., 13:6, 17 seem to be patterned after the plea of the disputing parties, 15:8, 17; 33:1, 31, 33; 34:2, 10, 16 probably reflect the disputation of the “wise.”

(c) The word field of *šm<sup>ç</sup>* includes (1) *ʔzn* hi. (→ *ʔōzen*) and → *qšb* hi. as synonyms paralleling *šm<sup>ç</sup>*, e.g., in bipartite (Isa 1:2) and tripartite (Hos 5:1) calls to hear; (2) demonstrative, intensive listening is expressed by *nḥ* hi. → *ʔōzen* “to incline the ear” (cf. e.g., 2 Kgs 19:16 = Isa 37:17); (3) → *bîn* hi. “to understand” aims more at the process of understanding (Isa 6:9; Dan

12:8; cf., however, Neh 8:2 *kōl mēbîn lišmōa* “all who could comprehend it”); → *nh* I “to respond” (Isa 30:19), which like the other verbs can parallel *šm* (65:12, 24; Jer 7:13, 27), aims more at the response to what has been heard; (4) the environs of *šm* also include → *rʔh* “to see” (Isa 6:10; Jer 23:18; Ezek 44:5; Job 13:1; cf. H.-J. Kraus, “Hören und Sehen in der althebr. Tradition,” *Studium Generale* 19 [1966]: 115–23 = *Biblisch-theologische Aufsätze* [1972], 84–101; the prevalence of hearing over seeing in the OT deserves attention here; cf. Kraus, op. cit. 89–94; G. Kittel, *TDNT* 1:217–19; W. Michaelis, *TDNT* 5:328–30; J. Horst, *TDNT* 5:546–49) and → *yd* “to recognize”; (5) somewhat more remotely related are *šim lēb* “to give heed, pay attention” (Ezek 44:5 with *rʔh* and *šm*; Isa 41:20 with *rʔh* and *yd*), → *hlk* *ʔahʔrē* “to follow after,” and finally → *šmr* and → *šh*; (6) those who cannot hear are *hērēš* “deaf” (→ *ʔōzen* 3; → *hrš* 3; Isa 29:18; Psa 38:14), those who do not want to hear are unmerciful (Gen 42:21) or “obstinate, rebellious, obdurate,” like the unteachable son in Deut 21:18ff.: → *mrh* “to be rebellious” is the characteristic antonym of *šm* in this sense (cf. also → *mrh* 3c).

(d) What is true of the *qal* is true of the *hi.*: the basic meaning “to cause to hear” is usually also the appropriate translation; in addition to “to cause to hear, perceive” (2 Kgs 7:6 for a hallucination induced by God), it can also mean in context: “to communicate” words (Deut 4:10; 1 Sam 9:27), “to announce” peace, salvation (Isa 52:7), “to cause (the voice) to resound” (Isa 30:30), “to raise” the war cry (Jer 49:2), “to bring (something) to hearing, to bear” (Isa 58:4), and “to predict” something future (41:22; 48:5). In Jer and Deutero-Isa, *šm* *hi.* is one of the terms for prophetic proclamation, just as *šm* *hi.* has a solemn connotation and does not occur in narratives (the “solemn” threat in Judg 18:25 is the exception).

The Chr history uses *šm* *hi.* as a technical term for making music (Neh 12:42; 1 Chron 15:16, 19, 28; 16:5, 42; 2 Chron 5:13); as a military term it means “to muster” (1 Kgs 15:22; Jer 50:29; 51:27; cf. *šm* *pi.* in 1 Sam 15:4; 23:8).

*šm* *hi.* often parallels other verbs of human vocal expression, most often → *ngd* *hi.* (Isa 41:22, 26; 42:9; 43:9, 12; 44:8; 45:21; 48:3, 5f., 20; Jer 4:5, 15; 5:20; 46:14; 50:2); cf. also e.g., → *qr* “to call” (Amos 4:5), → *šʔq/zʔq* “to cry out” (Isa 42:2; Ezek 27:30), → *ns* “to lift (the voice)” (Isa 42:2), *bšr* *pi.* “to report” (Isa 52:7; Nah 2:1), → *yd* *hi.* “to announce” (Psa 143:8), etc.; *šm* *hi.* parallels *rʔh* *hi.* “to cause to see” in Judg 13:23; Isa 30:30; Song Sol 2:14.

4. *šm* plays no other role in theologically relevant texts: it indicates (a) God as the hearer of human statements, (b) people as hearers (directly

or indirectly) of divine statements.

(a) The OT never calls on God to “hear” the praise of the worshiper, nor does it state that God “hears” praise. God as “hearer” (→ *ʾōzen* 4) is concerned predominantly with calls, cries, laments, crying, asking, and wishing; God is asked and said to “hear,” i.e., to help, deliver, forgive, etc., as the context often indicates more clearly (Exod 22:26 “if he cries to me, I will hear, for I am gracious”; cf. Psa 4:2, etc.).

In Num 11:1ff. God “hears” an unfounded lament, becomes angry over it, and punishes; he also “hears” the following: in Lam 3:61 and Zeph 2:8 the reproaches of the enemies in the interest of the lamenter (a component of laments), in Mal 3:16 the goodness of the righteous (cf. v 18), in Gen 16:11 Hagar’s silent suffering, in Josh 10:14 Joshua’s command for the sun and moon to stand still.

In contrast, “not hearing” means that supplicants are ignored and left to deal with their concerns themselves. Not hearing can become an objection against God in an effort to motivate him to the desired intervention after all (Hab 1:2), although *šm*<sup>c</sup> is not essential for this motif; cf. e.g., Psa 22:2. God will not and does not hear those who act contrary to their speech: God “is not hard of hearing; rather, your misdeeds separate you from your God” (Isa 59:1f.). God hears the pious, not the godless (Prov 15:29; cf. Psa 34:16, 18 LXX; 66:18); similarly, the prophetic polemic against the Yahweh cult (Isa 1:15; Jer 14:12; Isa 58:1–4) and foreign cults (Jer 7:16; 11:11, 14; Ezek 8:18) threatens that God will not (want to) hear, for hearing is a reciprocal process: God hears those who hear him. This circumstance is not sufficiently illuminated in translations that have God “respond” and people “obey.”

(b) If one disregards the calls to hear (e.g., “hear this,” “hear my words,” “hear the word of Yahweh”), which are either primary or secondary introductions to highly varied texts (→ *ʾōzen* 3), then the person as “hearer” of God predominantly involves the commandments (cf. J. Schreiner, “Hören auf Gott und sein Wort in der Sicht des Deuteronomiums,” *Miscellanea Erfordiana* [1962]: 27–47; N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot* [1963], 66ff., 299ff.). To “hear” Yahweh or his representatives (e.g., Moses, Joshua, a prophet [Ezek 3:7]) means to do what Yahweh says and wants. The content of that which should be heard or is not heard cannot be detailed, for it depends on the situation (examples: Exod 6:12; 16:19f.; Num 14:22f.; Judg 2:2; 1 Kgs 20:35f.; Zeph 3:2; Hag 1:12; Zech 7:7ff.). The content is occasionally not mentioned (even in the context); instead, “to hear” is used abs. so that the addressee either must know precisely or cannot know what is intended (1 Sam 15:22 “hearing is better than sacrifice”; Isa 1:19 “if you want to and hear, you will eat the best of the land”), or one of the phrases “to my voice,” “to me/my word(s)” is added (Jer 7:23, 28; Hos 9:17; Zech

1:4; cf. A. K. Fenz, *Auf Jahwes Stimme hören* [1964], who derives the phrase from the “covenant formula”).

Hearing may also refer generally—esp. in Dtn-Dtr phraseology—to Yahweh’s commandments, instructions, → *b<sup>c</sup>rît*, etc. (again *šm<sup>c</sup>* is not the sole key word; → *šmr*, → *šh*, → *yd<sup>c</sup>*, → *bîn*; cf. Lohfink, op. cit.), here often without further specification (cf. Gen 26:5; 1 Kgs 11:38; 2 Kgs 18:12; Isa 30:9). According to contextual evidence the apparently general demand to hear Yahweh’s words often masks the demand for exclusive worship of Yahweh (e.g., Deut 11:13; cf. 16:27f.; 30:16 LXX, 17f.; Judg 2:17, 20; 3:4; 2 Kgs 21:8f.; 22:13 [cf. v 17]; Jer 9:12f.; cf. also Psa 81:9f., 12, 14).

Since hearing Yahweh occurs within a relationship of sovereignty and submission, it can mean “to obey, be obedient,” etc. The linguistic usage of *šm<sup>c</sup>* (and of *y<sup>e</sup>qāhâ* “obedient,” only in Gen 49:10; Prov 30:17), however, does not permit statements concerning the theological problem of obedience/disobedience of God and his dominion in the OT; the exegesis of related texts with a variety of idioms would be necessary for such analysis (bibliog.: see F. Frerichs, “Gehorsam,” *EKL* 1:1463–65; J. Schneider, “Gehorsam,” *BHH* 1:533). The same is true of God-willed failure to hear and unwillingness to hear in context of the problem of so-called hardening of the heart in the OT (→ *h<sup>z</sup>q* 4; → *lēb* 4d [with bibliog.]).

The revelation of God in the OT, even when associated with visionary experiences, is primarily heard; here too the “prevalence of hearing” is evident (on vision and audition, cf. Kraus, op. cit. 97–101). Like no other, Moses was authorized by God to “hear,” namely “the voice”—i.e., of God—per se (Num 7:89; cf. also Exod 33:11). Since he speaks audibly with God on behalf of the people (Exod 19:9), he is always believed, he is permanently legitimated. In Exod 20:19 the people acknowledge Moses as intermediary: while he speaks (directly) with God, the people are restricted to “hearing” that which Moses communicates. Moses as Yahweh’s (priestly) mediator even “hears” the solution of a cultic problem (Num 9:8). Isa 21:10 (a unique verse in 1st-per. sg.) may also refer to hearing God directly, yet it is unclear whether and how the OT conceives the distinction between hearing God directly and audition (Num 24:4; Isa 6:8; 21:3; 50:4f.?.; Ezek 1:28, etc.; Job 4:16; Dan 8:13, 16; *šm<sup>c</sup>* need not appear, however; cf. 1 Sam 9:15; Isa 40:3, 6?; 50:5).

5. The LXX renders *šm<sup>c</sup>* and its stem forms with more than 30 different terms, in about three-fourths of all cases with *akouein*, otherwise usually with about 10 etymologically related terms (about 200x *eisakouein*, about 30x *hypakouein*). Qumran usage does not diverge from Bibl. Hebr. Regarding “hearing” in the NT, Philo, Josephus, and the rabbis, cf. G. Kittel, “ἀκούω,” *TDNT* 1:216–25; J. Horst, “οὐς,” *TDNT* 5:543–59; further: J. Gnllka, “Zur Theologie des Hörens nach den Aussagen des NT,”

*Bibel und Leben* 2/2 (1961): 71–81; R. Deichgräber, “Gehorsam and Gehorchen in der Verkündigung Jesu,” *ZNW* 52 (1961): 119–22.

H. Schult

## שמר *šmr* to watch, guard, keep

S 8104; BDB 1036a; *HAL* 4:1461b; *ThWAT* 8:280–306; *TWOT* 2414; *NIDOTTE* 9068

1. The root *šmr* occurs in numerous Sem. languages (Akk. *šamāru* “to revere”; C. J. Mullo Weir, *Lexicon of Accadian Prayers* [1934], 323; *GAG* §92f; Ug. once *šmrm* “guard,” *UT* no. 2443; O. Eissfeldt, *KS* [1963], 2:385; otherwise *ngr* [→ *nšr* 1]; Phoen.-Pun. and Lachish Letters, *DISO* 171, 310; older Aram.: only Aḥ. 97, 101, *štmr* “watch yourself,” *DISO* 310; Leander 56; Hebraism?).

Older etymological attempts are summarized in GB 847b, new attempts in *CPT* 119f., 141f., 336; cf. also L. Kopf, *VT* 9 (1959): 278–80. Only the suggestion of a homonymous verb *šmr* “to be enraged” in Amos 1:11 (txt em) and Jer 3:5 in reference to Akk. *šamāru* “to be wild” has a degree of probability (GB 847f.; G. R. Driver, *JTS* 32 [1931]: 361–63; D. W. Thomas, *JSS* 2 [1957]: 390f.; M. Held, *JANES* 3 [1970/71]: 47–55; regarding the customary assumption of an ellipsis “to be enraged” “to keep (wrath),” see BrSynt §127b, et al.).

The Hebr. OT uses *šmr* qal “to keep (safe), guard, preserve,” ni. “to watch out for oneself, be protected,” pi. “to revere,” and hitp. “to watch out for oneself.” Derivatives of *šmr* include: pl. *š<sup>c</sup>mārîm* “dregs of wine” (KBL 994a; cf. also P. Humbert, *ZAW* 62 [1949/50]: 207), *šomrâ* “watch,” *š<sup>c</sup>mūrâ* “eyelid,” pl. *šimmūrîm* “night watch,” *š<sup>a</sup>mūrâ* and *š<sup>a</sup>mōret* (BL 487) “night watch,” *mišmār* and *mišmeret* “watch, guard.”

*šōm<sup>r</sup>ôn* (*BRL* 437: “lookout mountain”) = Samaria (Bibl. Aram. *šām<sup>r</sup>rayin* Ezra 4:10, 17) is one of the numerous proper names formed with *šmr* (cf. *IP* 177, 259; J. J. Stamm, *FS Baumgartner* 319, 338).

2. The OT attests the verb *šmr* 468x: qal 427x (incl. the subst. ptc. *šōmēr* “guardian” 54x; Lis. 1477a read Dan 9:4 instead of Esth 9:4), Psa 69x, Deut 60x, Prov 31x, 1 Kgs 23x, Exod and Ezek 20x each, Num 19x, Lev and 2 Kgs 16x each; ni. 37x (Deut 13x, Exod 5x), pi. 1x (Jonah 2:9), hitp. 3x (2 Sam 22:24 = Psa 18:24; Mic 6:16). The following derivatives occur: *š<sup>c</sup>mārîm* 5x (Isa 25:6[bis]; Jer 48:11; Zeph 1:12; Psa 75:9), *šomrâ* 1x (Psa 141:3), *š<sup>c</sup>mūrâ* 1x (Psa 77:5), *šimmūrîm* 2x (Exod 12:42[bis]),

*ʿašmûrâ/ʿašmōret* 7x (Exod 14:24; Judg 7:19; 1 Sam 11:11; Psa 63:7; 90:4; 119:148; Lam 2:19), *mišmār* 22x (Neh 8x, Gen 6x), *mišmeret* 78x (Num 29x, Ezek and 1 Chron 8x each, 2 Chron 7x, Exod and Neh 5x each).

3. (a) In the profane realm *šmr* qal is used like → *nšr* whenever the protection (keeping) and maintenance (also the storage) of a good is involved. Objs. are people (Gen 4:9, brother; cf. also D. Daube, FS Eissfeldt [1958], 32f., regarding the supposed responsibility for protection; 1 Sam 26:15f., king; 1 Sam 19:11; 28:2; 1 Kgs 20:39, others; Deut 4:9; Psa 71:10; Job 2:6; Prov 13:3; 16:17; 21:23; 22:5, the soul = the life; Mic 7:5; Prov 14:3; 21:23, the mouth; Isa 56:2, the hand), animals (Gen 30:31, sheep; Exod 21:29, 36, the goring ox; 22:9; Hos 12:13; → *r<sup>h</sup>*), and things (Gen 2:15, garden; 3:24, way; 2 Sam 11:16; 2 Kgs 9:14, city; 2 Kgs 11:5–7, palace; 2 Sam 15:16; 16:21; 20:3; Psa 59:1, house; Josh 10:18, cave; Prov 8:34, gateposts; 1 Sam 25:21, property; 1 Sam 9:24, meat; Gen 41:35, grain; Eccl 5:12, wealth; Exod 22:6, gold and implements, etc.; also in the somewhat more fig. sense: Jer 8:7; Job 39:1, observance of times; Jer 20:10; Psa 56:7; Eccl 4:17, a person's steps; Psa 39:2; Job 13:27; 22:15; 33:11, one's ways [cf. also Phoen. *KAI* no. 48.2]; Gen 37:11; Eccl 8:2, words). Wisdom preserves a person (Prov 2:11), just as, conversely, the wise accept counsel and admonition (5:2; 13:18; 15:5; 19:8; 22:18; cf. Lachish Letter, *KAI* no. 194.11).

In conjunction with another verb expressing action, it acquires the meaning “to do carefully” (Num 23:12; Deut 4:6; 5:1, etc.). Finally, the translation known from Akk. “to revere” seems to lie in the background of two passages (Psa 31:7, idols; Prov 27:18, lords, par. *kbd* pu.; see 4d regarding Jonah 2:9 pi.).

In many cases the ptcp. (*šōmēr*) of the verb indicates, in addition to the usual watchfulness, an office that is bestowed. The result is an official title for court (and cult) officials: city watchmen (Isa 21:11f.; 62:6, etc.), gatekeepers (e.g., 1 Kgs 14:27), field keepers (Jer 4:17), woodsmen (Neh 8:2), wardrobe keepers (2 Kgs 22:14 = 2 Chron 34:22), harem keepers (Esth 2:3, 8, 14f.). A corresponding title is also known from a Pun. inscription at Malta: *šmr mḥšb* “quarry inspector” (*KAI* no. 62.7).

(b) The ni. should usually be translated reflexively (“to watch out for oneself”), often in the impv. and in conjunction with *pen* “lest” (Gen 24:6; 31:24, 29, etc.; cf. Lachish Letter *KAI* no. 193.21). It can be translated pass. in only two passages (Hos 12:14; Psa 37:28 txt?; see 4d).

(c) The subst. *ʿašmûrâ/ʿašmōret* “night watchman” derives (in contrast to *šimmūr*, see 4f) from profane usage but is also used in religious language. Since Lam 2:19 mentions the first night watch (*l<sup>rō</sup>š ʿašmūrôt*), in which the lament over Jerusalem should begin, and since Judg 7:19 cites the middle watch (*hā ʿašmōret hattîkônâ*) as the time for Gideon's attack, and

since, finally, the morning watch (*ʿašmōret habbōqer*) is also known (Exod 14:24: Yahweh annihilates Pharaoh's army; 1 Sam 11:11: Saul attacks the Ammonites), one can assume that Israel divided the night into three segments.

(d) *mišmār* indicates the military protection of a city (Jer 51:12; Neh 4:3, 16f.; 7:3; 12:25) or generally the watchfulness (Job 7:12) that one maintains carefully (Prov 4:23), and can also serve to designate the guarded place (prison; Gen 40:3f., 7; 41:10; 42:17, 19; Lev 24:12; Num 15:34). Finally, the branch of the service that keeps watch also bears this name (Ezek 38:7 should be so understood); the OT uses the word primarily for service in the temple (see 4g).

The fem. form *mišmeret* exhibits similar meanings: “watch” (Neh 7:3 par. *mišmār*; 2 Kgs 11:5–7 at the palace; Isa 21:8; cf. Hab 2:1), “that which one guards/preserves” (Exod 12:6; 16:23, 32–34; Num 17:25; 18:8; 19:9; 1 Sam 22:23; 1 Chron 12:30); cf. also “guardhouse = prison” (2 Sam 20:3). But one may identify a substantially more comprehensive usage of the word in the religious realm (see 4g).

4. (a) *šmr* has the same semantic scope in religious statements. The sanctuary must be protected and guarded (1 Sam 7:1, the ark; later apparently an independent office; see 4c). In a fig. sense, the pious preserve and keep the covenant (e.g., Gen 17:9f.), the law (Isa 56:1), love and justice (Hos 12:7), and esp. the commandments, statutes, and instructions of God (e.g., Gen 26:5).

This last notion dominates the entire semantic field in the religious realm. It appears in almost all portions of the OT with widely varying expressions, grammatical constructions, and addressees. Only a few references can be given here to indicate major foci. It involves primarily the duty of the Levites in Lev (e.g., Lev 8:35) and in Num (e.g., Num 1:53; cf. Elliger, HAT 4, 256n.6). Deut differs in that keeping the commandments is the concern of all here (e.g., Deut 4:2; about 50x); these ideas occur often in the books that have undergone Dtr redactions and in the Psa (21x in Psa 119 alone). Wisdom literature also appropriates this language (e.g., Prov 4:4). In particular, one should observe the Sabbath (e.g., Exod 31:13f.) and other feast days (e.g., 12:17, Passover celebration; Lev 19:3, festivals) (about 20 passages in all). The observance of God's ways can also be mentioned summarily (about 10x; Gen 18:19; 2 Sam 22:22 = Psa 18:22; Job 23:11, etc.; → *derek* ).

(b) It is repeatedly emphasized that God cares for people. He guards and protects his devotees (Gen 28:15, 20, etc.). The psalmists are esp. comforted by this idea, often in the form of a promise (e.g., Psa 12:8; in all over 20x), in all manners of distress. Yahweh is the “keeper of Israel” (Psa 121:4; *šmr* 6x in this psalm). This statement finds its most beautiful

expression in the Aaronic blessing (Num 6:24).

(c) The ptcp. *šōmēr* also serves to designate an office in the religious realm. These officials are primarily the guards of the temple door, which seems to have been an important role (e.g., 2 Kgs 12:10). They are occasionally mentioned summarily as one of a group of three (2 Kgs 25:18 = Jer 52:24; Neh 12:25).

Isa 62:6 addresses the prophets as watchmen (cf. also Westermann, *Isa* 40–66, OTL, 377f.; otherwise *sph* “to look out” is more common for this idea, e.g., Ezek 3:17; cf. H. Bardtke, FS Eissfeldt [1958], 19–21; C. U. Wolf, *IDB* 4:806).

(d) Of the 35 occurrences of the ni. in a reflexive meaning, 22 may be attributed to the religious realm. It expresses the notion that one should guard oneself against transgressions of God’s commandments, here too often in the form of an impv. (e.g., Exod 19:12). Individual commandments are also mentioned: bearing burdens on the Sabbath (Jer 17:21), abstention (Judg 13:4, 13; 1 Sam 21:5), etc.

The two passages that should be translated pass. exhibit religious language: Israel was protected during the exodus from Egypt by a prophet sent by God (Hos 12:14); the righteous are protected by God (Psa 37:28; here, however, the reading *mišm<sup>e</sup>dû* should be considered with the LXX on the basis of parallelismus membrorum).

The sole pi. form in Jonah 2:9 txt? describes the behavior of those who hold to futility and thus abandon their God (cf. *HP* 223f.).

The hitp., attested only 3x, approximates the ni. in meaning. The supplicant guards against sin (2 Sam 22:24 = Psa 18:24). Mic 6:16 accuses the people of adhering to the wicked ways of Omri, for which they will be punished.

(e) The subst. *š<sup>e</sup>mārîm* indicates the sediment of the fermenting wine, which is thus becoming pure, sediment that one does not normally drink. The godless must completely empty the cup of Yahweh’s wrath (cf. Jer 25:15ff.), however, incl. even the dregs (Psa 75:9). The wine does not normally remain on the lees. It is not a good sign, then, when the people (in an image) remain on their lees (Jer 48:11, of Moab, with *šqt* qal “to rest”; Zeph 1:12, of the Jerusalemites, with *qp<sup>’</sup>* qal “to become thick, stiff”). Yahweh will entertain the nations with refined wine (*zqq* pu. “to be filtered”) at the end of days (Isa 25:6[bis]).

(f) *šomrâ* “guard” is the bridle that the supplicant asks God to provide for his mouth (Psa 141:3, par. → *nšr*). *š<sup>e</sup>mūrâ* “guard (i.e., of the eyes)” indicates the eyelid (Psa 77:5, a lament psalm: “you keep my eyelids open”). *šimmūr* is (Yahweh’s) watch on Passover night (Exod 12:42), called the “night of watching” (cf. Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 100). *ʔašmūrâ/ʔašmōret* expresses the fact that night watches are special times for dialogue with

God (Psa 63:7; 119:148; Lam 2:19). A thousand years are like a watch in the night to God (Psa 90:4).

(g) *mišmār* occasionally indicates the unit on watch at the temple (Neh 12:24[bis]; 1 Chron 26:16[bis]), once in the pl. too (Neh 13:14). More often, however, *mišmeret* serves this purpose (24x in Num, 8x in Ezek, Zech 3:7 for Joshua, 4x in Neh, 7x in 1 Chron, and 5x in 2 Chron). This word can be regarded as the technical term for service at the sanctuary (tent, temple, etc.) that was performed by the Levites in particular. *šmr* is often the accompanying verb: *šmr mišmeret* “to provide service” (cf. also J. Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology* 1 [1970]). Finally, the subst. (again in frequent conjunction with the verb) indicates obedience to Yahweh’s commandments (Gen 26:5; Lev 8:35; 18:30; 22:9; Num 9:19, 23; Deut 11:1; Josh 22:3; 1 Kgs 2:3; Mal 3:14; 2 Chron 13:11; 23:6; see 3a).

5. Ancient Judaism often uses the root in the same meaning as the OT (Jastrow 1600f.). As the prophets were in the OT, so now the rabbis are “watchmen” (*נְשָׂי מִשְׁמֵר*, *m. Bikkurim* 13:12). The Qumran community stands in the same tradition (cf. Kuhn, *Konk.* 135c, 224f.; G. Bertram, *TDNT* 9:238).

The LXX infrequently translates with *tērein*, usually with *phylassein* (Bertram, *op. cit.* 237f.). For the NT, cf. H. Riesenfeld, “τηρέω,” *TDNT* 8:140–51; G. Bertram, “φυλάσσω,” *TDNT* 9:236–44.

G. Sauer

## שֶׁמֶשׁ *šemeš* sun

S 8121; BDB 1039a; *HAL* 4:1468b; *ThWAT* 8:306–14; *TWOT* 2417a; *NIDOTTE* 9087

1. The term for the sun goes back to a root common to almost all the Sem. languages (according to Berg., *Intro.* 214f., probably *šmš*; cf. also P. Fronzarolli, *AANLR* 8/20 [1965]: 137f., 144, 149; *DISO* 310). Eth. *daḥāy* constitutes an exception (Dillmann 1322); it corresponds to Arab. *daḥīya* “to be struck by the rays of the sun” (Wehr 536b). The consonants of Arab. *šams* (Wehr 486a) could be the result of dissimilation (*GVG* 1:159, 234: from an original \**sams*). In contrast, Ug. *špš* (*UT* no. 2468 and p. 538) is sometimes regarded as an independent form. A. F. L. Beeston (*Or* NS 22 [1953]: 416f.) refers to an Old SArab. by-form *šfs*; cf. also M. J. Dahood in *Le antiche divinit semitiche*, ed. S. Moscati (1958), 91. Yet it probably involves the same word whose middle consonant has shifted within the

bilabial group *p-b-m* (so Moscati, *Intro.* 25), or which is the result of a “transitional intrusion” (*UT* §5.29: *šamš-* > \**šampš-* > *šapš-*; regarding this pronunciation, cf. *Ugaritica* 5:249). It has a counterpart in Amor. (see I. J. Gelb, *AANLR* 8/13 [1958]: 151: *šp/mš*; Huffmon 251) and perhaps in Hebr. (Isa 3:18 *šābîs* “little sun” as an ornamental object; cf. C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit* [1939], 62: “sun pendant”; Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 146, 152; contra KBL 942a: “headband”).

The etymology is entirely uncertain. Only a few attempts may be mentioned here, all of which operate on roughly the same level. J. Levy (*Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim* [19663], 2:1867f.) wants to find a commonality with the verbal root *šmš* (see 2) in the notion of “fast, active mobility”; F. Schulthess (“Zurufe an Tiere im Arabischen,” *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* [1912], appendix, p. 56) derives the noun from Arab. *samsam* “nimble,” which would then be a reference to the shimmering sunbeams; cf. *GVG* 1:260.

The gender of *šemeš* is masc. or fem. Exact figures can be given only for the fem. (17x: Gen 15:17; Exod 22:2; Deut 24:15; Judg 19:14; 2 Sam 2:24, etc.), because a preceding masc. verb cannot be regarded as evidence for the masc. usage (cf. *GKC* §145o). At any rate, the masc. appears in Gen 19:23; Judg 5:31; Josh 10:12; Isa 13:10, etc.; one may compare the different figures in K. Albrecht, *ZAW* 15 (1895): 324 (14x) and KBL 995a (23x). Thus Hebr. adopts a mediating position between a fem. Ug.-Arab. and a masc. Akk. sun (cf., however, C. H. Gordon, *Or* NS 22 [1953]: 247, who adduces Princeton Seal 70 as an instance in which the sun-god *šamaš* is provided with a fem. determinative).

The pl. *šimšōt*, which occurs only once (Isa 54:12), provides no evidence for a certain determination in this respect since it probably involves a technical architectural term (par. *š<sup>e</sup>arîm* “gates”; cf. B. Meissner, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 15/5 [1910]: 46f.: Akk. *šamšāti* “round votive disk,” which one could regard in Hebr. as “[sun] emblem”; Zorell 867a “pinnacula moenium”) that is only indirectly related to *šemeš* “sun.”

OT PNs are *šimšay* (Ezra 4:8f., 17, 23; *IP* 223, “sun [-child]“; cf. Neo-Bab. *samsaia* in K. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* [1914], 191; W. F. Albright, *JAOS* 74 [1954]: 231: Alalakh PN *šapšī/e*), *šawšā* (1 Chron 18:16; cf. KBL 958b: < \**šamšā*; contra GB 793b; *IP* 40f.: a pet name that has been corrupted and can no longer be explained), and *šimšôn* (Judg 13:24, etc., in chs. 14–16; *IP* 38: an abbreviated form with the diminutive affirmative *-ôn*; see also Meyer 2:37; cf. Albright, op. cit.: Ug. *špšyn*; GB 850a: Akk. *šamšānu*, *KAI* no. 257.2: Aram. *šmyšw* with the Gk. counterpart *somesos*, an “abbreviated form of the diminutive pattern *qutail* with the

hypocoristic ending *-û*,” *KAI* 2:303). The relationship that these names have to the sun deity as name giver is no longer perceptible (regarding a sun myth associated with Samson, see 4a); that some such relationship existed is evidenced by the numerous, apparently theophoric names among Israel’s neighbors (cf. Stamm, *AN* 349f.; Huffmon 250f.; Gröndahl 195; Benz 422f.; Stark 115).

A similar situation prevails with regard to place-names in the OT, although the governing noun in *bêt šemeš* (→ *bayit* 3b) indicates clearly that it was previously the cultic site of a sun deity. Two mutually independent localities are involved here, however, which one should distinguish in the texts as (a) Josh 15:10; 21:16 = 1 Chron 6:44; 1 Sam 6:9, 12(bis), 13, 15, 19f.; 1 Kgs 4:9; 2 Kgs 14:11, 13 = 2 Chron 25:21, 23; 2 Chron 28:18; cf. 1 Sam 6:14, 18, *bêt-haššimšî*, with *nisbe* (gentilic *-î* suf.) as an indication of origins, “Beth-Shemeshite”; (b) Josh 19:22, 38; Judg 1:33(bis). Regarding the localization of *‘ēn šemeš* (Josh 15:7; 18:17) and *‘īr šemeš* (19:41), see G. Dalman, *Jerusalem und sein Gelände* (1930), 156–59 (contra Noth, *HAT* 7, 88) or *IP* 121 (identical with *bêt šemeš* [see a]). Regarding the entire issue, cf. also K. Elliger, *BHH* 1:229.

*mašš<sup>e</sup>bôt bêt šemeš* in Jer 43:13 refers to the obelisks of the Lower Egyptian city of On/Heliopolis (cf. Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 259).

2. *šemeš* is attested in the Hebr. OT 134x, excl. the place-names, in the following distribution: Eccl 35x (excl. 1:13 txt em); Psa 14x; Josh 13x; Deut and Isa 10x each; Gen and Judg 6x each; 2 Sam and 2 Kgs 5x each; Exod 4x; Jer and Joel 3x each (excl. Jer 43:13; contra Lis. 1477c); Num, Ezek, Jonah, and Mal 2x; Lev, 1 Sam, 1 Kgs, Amos, Mic, Nah, Hab, Zech, Job, Song Sol, Neh, and 2 Chron 1x each. The word does not occur in the books of Hos, Obad, Zeph, Hag, Prov, Ruth, Lam, Esth, Dan, Ezra, and 1 Chron.

The Aram. portion of the OT has two instances: *š<sup>e</sup>maš* in Dan 6:15 and the verb *šmš* pa. “to serve” in 7:10 (on the form see BLA 123n.1), whose etymology and relationship to the noun are uncertain (cf. GB 928b; KBL 1132b; *DISO* 310f.; J. T. Milik, *Studii Biblici Franciscani Liber Annuus* 10 [1959/60]: 160: Christ. Pal. PN *sammašaios*, etc. = deacon; see also Wehr 486a: Arab. *šammaša* “to perform the office of deacon,” *šammās* “deacon of the lower rank of the ministry”).

3. (a) In accord with the geographical situation of Palestine, some unpleasant phenomena were associated with the sun. It is hot (*ḥmm* Exod 16:21), and it shines relentlessly from heaven, esp. at midday (cf. *k<sup>e</sup>ḥōm/‘ad-ḥōm haššemeš* in 1 Sam 11:9 Q; Neh 7:3 as a rough designation for midday); thus *ḥammâ* “glow” (Psa 19:7, the glow of the sun) in poetic texts can become a direct synonym for “sun” (Job 30:28; par. *l<sup>e</sup>bānâ*

“moon,” Isa 24:23; 30:26; Song Sol 6:10). It scorches people (*nkh* hi. Isa 49:10; Jonah 4:8; Psa 121:6) and burns their skin (*šzp* Song Sol 1:6). Yet its disappearance (*qdr* “to be dark,” Joel 2:10 = 4:15; *ḥšk* “to become dark,” Isa 13:10; fig. Eccl 12:2; cf. *hpk* ni. *l<sup>e</sup>ḥōšek* Joel 3:4) was perceived as an evil omen; see 4c. Interestingly, the sun was not considered the primary source of light. Light exists prior to the sun (Gen 1:3–5 P). Thus dawn constitutes the beginning of the day, while the setting of the sun constitutes the beginning of the evening (see esp. S. Aalen, *Die Begriffe Licht und Finsternis im AT* [1951], 19f., 38f., 42; id., *TDOT* 1:151–54).

The word for “dawn,” etc. is *šahar* (J. Roberston, “Dawn’ in Hebrew,” *Expositor* 8th series, 3 [1912]: 86–96, esp. 88: “daybreak”; L. Köhler, *ZAW* 44 [1926]: 56ff.: “sunrise”; Dalman, *AuS* 1:601: “morning light”), whose etymology is unexplained (GB 819b contrasts *šhr* I “to become black” with a second root in the pi. meaning “to seek”; KBL 962a suggests “to be intent on something” for *šhr* II qal). Even a comparison with other Sem. languages brings no satisfying result (cf. Fronzaroli, op. cit. 141, 147, 150). The two other presumed derivatives of the root *šhr* are uncertain. The abstract noun *šah<sup>a</sup>rūt* (Eccl 11:10) is interpreted variously as “dawn (of life),” “black hair,” and “bloom of youth” (cf. GB 820; KBL 962b; Hertzberg, *KAT* 17/4, 206); *mišḥār* “early morning” (Psa 110:3) appears in an unclear context and may be the result of dittography (cf. Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:344; regarding the sense, see Aalen, *Begriffe* 38). According to Noth (*IP* 169; cf. also 223; extrabibl.: Diringer 194f., 198), the PNs *ḥišahar* (1 Chron 7:10), *šah<sup>a</sup>rayim* (8:8), and *š<sup>e</sup>ḥaryâ* (8:26) should be understood as imagery and not associated with the Ug. deity *šhr*, the personified dawn (cf. *KTU* 1.23 with the description of her birth; H. Gese et al., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer* [1970], 80–82; contra A. Jirku, *ZAW* 65 [1953]: 85). *šeret haššahar* is attested as a place-name in Josh 13:19.

The 23 occurrences fall most often to the indication of time, “when the dawn arose,” etc. (Gen 19:15; 32:25, 27; Josh 6:15 par. *škm* hi. “to be up early”; Judg 19:25; 1 Sam 9:26; Jonah 4:7; Neh 4:15; always with *lh*, a precise grammatical analysis in Köhler, op. cit. 57f.; on Hos 10:15 see Rudolph, *KAT* 13/1, 205f.). Passages such as Gen 19:23; 32:31; Judg 19:26; Jonah 4:8 indicate that a significant period of time lay between dawn and sunrise that was used in lands with rapidly rising temperatures because of the light that it afforded. Judg 19:25f. indicates the relationship between *bōqer* “morning” and *šahar*.

The word is used fig. in Isa 8:20 “for them there is no dawn” and 58:8 “your light will break forth like the dawn.” Reference should be made in this context to similar statements with *bōqer* (→ *ḥr* 3; cf. Ch. Barth, *TDOT*

2:226–28, who interacts with J. Ziegler, “Die Hilfe Gottes ‘am Morgen,’” FS Nötscher 281–88) and to the expression with *šemeš* treated under 3a. The “flashing eyes of the dawn” are mentioned twice (Job 3:9 with *rḥ* “to see” in the meaning “to live”; 41:10), although the underlying concept is unclear (contra Aalen, *TDOT* 1:153f.). In Song Sol 6:10 the phrase describes the youthful beauty of a maiden. It may be that Joel 2:2 should be revocalized with *BH3* and *BHS* (cf., in contrast, Rudolph, *KAT* 13/1, 51).

Regarding Isa 14:18, with *hēlēl ben-šaḥar*, and Psa 139:9, which speaks of the wings of the dawn, and the underlying myths, cf. K. L. Schmidt, “Lucifer als gefallene Engelmacht,” *TZ* 7 (1951): 161ff.; Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 2:515f.

Psa 22:1 “after the hind of the dawn” probably involves a musical notation no longer comprehensible (see Kraus, op. cit. 1:30 no. 20; specifically Jirku, op. cit. 85f.).

Only three passages associate God with the *šaḥar*. Regarding Hos 6:3 with the uncertain translation “as the dawn, (so) certain is his (God’s) rise (*môšāʾ*)” and its supposed relationship to the administration of justice, see the extensive discussion in Rudolph, *KAT* 13/1, 131f. The hymnic insertion in Amos 4:13 describes Yahweh in terms of creation theology as the *ʿōsēh* of the dawn (par. the verbs *yšr* and *brʾ*); cf. Job 38:12, where God directs the *šaḥar* to its place; *PHOE* 135.

Opinions vary concerning Josh 10:12f. with *dmm* “to stand still” and *ʿmd* “to (remain) stand(ing)” in reference to the sun and the moon. Noth (*HAT* 7, 64f.) sees the phrases as references to eclipses of the two bodies. J. Dus (*VT* 10 [1960]: 353–70) goes farther: *dmm* describes the silence called for in a curse against Šmš and Yrḥ, the patron deities of Gibeon and Aijalon. Regarding the problems of the passage and discussion of it, cf. also J. C. Matthes, *ZAW* 29 (1909): 259–67; R. Eisler, *AJSL* 42 (1926): 73–85; M. J. Gruenthaner, *CBQ* 10 (1948): 271–90; B. J. Alfrink, *Studia Catholica* 24 (1949): 238–69; J. Heller, *ArOr* 26 (1958): 636ff.; J. S. Holladay, Jr., *JBL* 87 (1968): 166–78; P. D. Miller, *Divine Warrior in Early Israel* (1973), 123–28.

Verbs of coming and going characterize the extreme points of the sun’s daily course. → *bôʾ*, which indicates the sunset in conjunction with *šemeš* (19x: Gen 15:12, 17; 28:11; Exod 17:12; 22:25; Lev 22:7; Deut 16:6, etc.), is most common here. The preps. *ʿal* (Deut 24:15) or *le* (Judg 19:14) refer to a thing or a person. This construction can lead to a fig. use, as in Mic 3:6: the sun will set on the prophets who have misled Israel, “and the day will become black for them” so that they will no longer be able to prophesy. The expression “your sun sets” (Jer 15:9; cf. positively Isa 60:20) illustrates this unfortunate and godless circumstance. The nom. derivative of the verb, *mābôʾ* “entrance,” represents a shift to the local meaning “the place of (the sun’s) entrance” → “west”: Deut 11:30; Josh 1:4; 23:4; Zech

8:7; Psa 50:1; 104:19; 113:3; cf. Mal 1:11 (for similar designations in Akk. and Arab. with respect to the solar orientation of the points of the compass, cf. K. Tallqvist, *StudOr* 2 [1928]: 134, 136; for Phoen. see *KAI* no. 26A.1.5, 18f.). The counterparts of *bôʿ* are → *yšʿ* “to exit” (Gen 19:23; Judg 5:31; cf. Isa 13:10; Psa 19:6f. [*môšāʿ* “exit” = “rise”; see also Phoen.: *KAI* no. 26A.1.4f., 21]; Ug. *šat špš*, *KTU* 1.3.II.8; Tallqvist, op. cit. 131; Akk. *šīt šamši*), or, more commonly, *zrḥ* “to radiate,” attested 18x in the OT, 11x in conjunction with *šemeš*: Gen 32:32; Exod 22:2; Judg 9:33; 2 Kgs 3:22; Jonah 4:8; Nah 3:17; Psa 104:22; Eccl 1:5(bis). Like *bôʿ*, but transformed into a positive idea, it functions in the promise in Mal 3:20, “the sun of righteousness, which brings healing on its wings, will shine upon you who fear my (Yahweh’s) name” (on the linkage of sunrise and justice in Akk., cf. L. Dürr, FS Sellin 41f.; on the concept of the sun as a winged disk, cf. Eissfeldt, KS [1963], 2:416–19; for the Can. realm, *ANEP* nos. 477, 486). The same circumstance applies in 2 Sam 23:4 to the just ruler, “who shines . . . like the unclouded morning sun” (cf. Isa 58:10; Psa 112:4 → *ʾôr*, Dürr, op. cit. 45, 46f.; with *yšʿ*, Judg 5:31). Of the remaining seven instances, only Job 9:7, which applies *zrḥ* to the synonymous *ḥeres* “sun” (see 3d), operates on the same level (but cf. also Isa 60:3, where *zeraḥ* “shining” refers to *nōgah* “brilliance”). In 2 Chron 26:19 *nōgah* refers to the shine (= eruption) of leprosy. The nom. derivative *mizrāḥ* “place of (the sun’s) shining forth” > “east” (74x; 19x with *šemeš*: Num 21:11; Deut 4:41 txt em, 47; Josh 1:15; 12:1; 13:5, etc.; on Deut 4:41 see BL 182, 547; usually with the prep. *min*, but also abs. in the meaning “eastward”; cf. also the local adv. *mizrāḥâ* with *qēdmâ* “to the east” [→ *qedem* ], Exod 27:13; 38:13; Num 2:3; 3:38; 34:15; Josh 19:13; in Isa 41:25 with → *šāpôn* “north” as an indication of the direction “northeast”; cf. Tallqvist, op. cit. 153). It often appears with *ma<sup>c</sup>rāb* “west” (Isa 43:5; 45:6; 59:19; Psa 107:13) or *mābôʿ* (Zech 8:7; Mal 1:11 par. *b<sup>c</sup>kol-māqôm* “everywhere”) to describe the entire geographical horizon (but see Amos 8:12 par. *šāpôn* in the same meaning).

The root is also a component in the PNs *zeraḥ* (21x: Gen 38:30; 46:12; 1 Chron 1:37, 44, etc.; cf. *IP* 184: a short form of *z<sup>c</sup>raḥyâ*, KBL 267a; *HAL* 270a) with the gentilic *zarḥî* (Num 26:13, 20; Josh 7:17[bis]; 1 Chron 27:8 cj., 11, 13) or *ʿezrāḥî* (1 Kgs 5:11; Psa 88:1; 89:1), *z<sup>c</sup>raḥyâ* (1 Chron 5:32[bis]; 6:36; 7:3[bis]; Ezra 7:4; 8:4; cf. Akk. *zarḥi-ilu* in Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* 247), and *yizraḥyâ* (Neh 12:42). The relationship of *ʿezrāḥ* “native” (17x, almost always in antithetic parallelism with *gēr* “sojourner” [→ *gûr* 3c]: Exod 12:19, 48f.; Lev 16:29; 17:15; 18:26; Ezek 47:22, etc.; regarding Psa 37:35 txt? cf. Kraus, op. cit. 1:403f.; on the form see BL 487; cf. also *KAI* no. 69.16: Pun. *mzrḥ* “clan”) to this root (so KBL 266f.) is disputed (*HAL* 270a associates it with a *zrḥ* II derived from Arab. *šaruḥa* “to be or become pure, unadulterated” [Wehr 510b]; similarly GB 206f.).

(b) In conjunction with the prep. *neged*, *šemeš* constitutes the stereotypical expression “before the sun,” i.e., publicly (Num 25:4; contra Dus, op. cit. 370; 2 Sam 12:12 with *basseter* “secretly” and *neged kol-yiśrāʾēl* “before all Israel”) with nothing hidden. Older concepts of the sun as the guardian over publicly presented truth (2 Sam 12:11 “before the eyes of this sun”; cf. Psa 19:7 “nothing remains hidden [*str* ni.] before your [the sun’s] glow”) could have been the prototype but are now covered up (see also 4b). *taḥat haššemeš* “under the sun” appears 30x in Eccl (Eccl 1:3, 9, 13cj., 14; 2:11, 17–20, 22; 3:16; 4:1, 3, 7, 15, etc.), which can be properly interpreted primarily as “in the world” (see Phoen. *tḥt šmš* in *KAI* nos. 13.7f.; 14.12; in the same meaning cf. Gk. *hyp’ hēliō*, Elamite *naḥḥunte iršarāra*, see J. Friedrich, *Or* NS 18 [1949]: 15–29; O. Loretz, *Qohelet und der Alte Orient* [1964], 46f.). Qohelet introduces the negative aspect only through his devaluative concept of the world and existence (cf. Eccl 6:4f.: the stillborn who does not see the sun is fortunate). The expression *rōʾē haššemeš* “those who see the sun” = “those alive” in 7:11 is neutral. The wisdom regulation in 11:7f. (“it is good for the eyes to see the sun”) differs, resisting inclusion in the scheme described above (cf. Hertzberg, *KAT* 17/4, 203f.). In the royal song in Psa 72:5, 17, a petition for the king cast in the customary court style of the ancient Near East, *ʾrk* hi. (txt em) *ʿim šemeš* “to live long with the sun” and *hyh lʿôlām lipnē šemeš* “to be before the sun eternally” state the wish for the long duration of the ruler or his name (cf. Kraus, op. cit. 2:78f.; see also Psa 89:37 with *ke* par. *lʿôlām*, Job 8:16 with *lipn*, although in the meaning “in the sun”).

(c) The common translation of *šemeš* in Isa 38:8 as “sundial” (thus e.g., KBL 995b) is not assured because of textual difficulties (cf. 2 Kgs 20:11; Montgomery and Gehman, *Kings*, ICC, 508f., 512; G. Fohrer, *BHH* 3:1822f.: the sun moves on “a step situated in the open in the palace”).

(d) *heres*, which occurs as the only proper synonym for *šemeš* (Job 9:7 par. *kôkābîm* “stars”; v 9 *kʿsîl* “Orion”), is otherwise attested only in place-names (Judg 1:35 *har-heres*; 2:9 *timnat-heres*; 8:13 txt em *maʿalē haḥeres*; Isa 19:18 txt em *ʿîr haḥeres*; see J. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts of the OT* [1959], 200, 287, 295, 438f.). On *ḥammâ* “glow,” see 3a.

*ḥammān*, from the root *ḥmm* (e.g., Isa 17:8; 27:9; Ezek 6:4, 6), is often incorrectly rendered “sun column” but is known to be “incense altar” (see K. Elliger, *ZAW* 57 [1939]: 256–65; *BRL* 20; *HAL* 315f.).

4. (a) The sun becomes theologically significant in the OT only because of the worship of it that conflicts with Yahwism. That such a cult can already be found in Palestine in the earliest time can be surely demonstrated by the heliophoric place-names (see 1). On the question of a supposed cultic site of Šmš in Gibeon, see J. Dus, *op. cit.* More difficult is the case of the early Israelite deliverer Samson, who is often associated with solar myths in efforts that must be judged overinterpretations of this narrative (cf. already R. Hartmann, *ZAW* 31 [1911]: 69–72; H. Gunkel, *Reden und Aufsätze* [1913], 38–64, esp. 61ff.). Likewise, the attempt to envision the Solomonic temple as originally conceived as a sun-cult site, whether architecturally or ideologically, must be regarded as a failure (cf. esp. J. Morgenstern, *HUCA* 6 [1929]: 1–37; id., *HUCA* 21 [1948]: 454ff.; F. J. Hollis, “The Sun-Cult and the Temple at Jerusalem,” *Myth and Ritual*, ed. S. H. Hooke [1933], 87–110; F. Petrie, *Syro-Egypt* [1936], 3:11f.; H. G. May, *ZAW* 55 [1937]: 269–81; on 1 Kgs 8:53 LXX, see Dus, *op. cit.* 361–69; contra Kraus, *op. cit.* 1:273). The plan and construction is that of a dwelling and not an open sun temple (see Th. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem* [1970], 1:651–56 with bibliog. and in dialogue with the various hypotheses). Thus the identification of Yahweh as a sun-god may also be abandoned (cf. D. Völter, “Die Herkunft Jahwes,” *ZAW* 37 [1917]: 128; J. Hempel, *ZAW* 42 [1924]: 88–100; J. Morgenstern, *VT* 5 [1955]: 68f.; similarly Dus, *op. cit.*).

Psa 84:12 gives Yahweh the title “sun and shield.” The customary translation of *šemeš* as “pinnacle” (apparently in analogy to Isa 54:12) is unjustified. Like *māgēn* “shield,” it is an ancient Near Eastern royal epithet (e.g., addressing Pharaoh: EA 45:1; 85:66; 103:2, etc.; cf. Kraus, *op. cit.* 2:170; M. Dahood, *Bib* 54 [1973]: 361: \**māgān* “suzerain”).

The situation is somewhat different with texts in the narrative of the Josianic reform (2 Kgs 23:5, 11) that speak of the king’s elimination of “those who burn incense (*qtr* pi.) to Baal, the sun, the moon, the animal astral constellations (*mazzālôt*), and the entire host of heaven (→ *šābā’* ).” The horses that have been erected “to the sun” at the entrance of the temple were removed and the “sun chariots” burned. According to the traditional opinion, Josiah removed the personal and cultic objects of the Assyrian god Šamaš that were introduced in the temple as a result and in recognition of Assyrian hegemony over Judah (so e.g., Noth, *History of Israel* [1960], 272f.; S. Herrmann, *History of Israel in OT Times* [1981], 265; Zorell 867a; cf. also Busink, *op. cit.* 651n.104; 2 Kgs 23:5 *k<sup>c</sup>mārîm* “priests” with Akk. *kumru* [*AHW* 506a; *KBL* 442a]). This position has been criticized by J. McKay (*Religion in Judah under the Assyrians* [1973], 32–36), according to whom the concept of the sun-god who rides in a chariot stems from the Can. cult (cf. the deity *rkbl* with Hadad, Šamaš, etc., in the

inscription of Panamuwa I, *KAI* no. 214.2f., 11, 18); cf. already Montgomery and Gehman, *Kings*, ICC, 530; Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:243f. regarding Ezek 8:16; Busink, op. cit. 655; cf. M. Cogan, *Imperialism and Religion* (1974), 84–88, 97–115. Even if the worship of an Assyr. sun deity should be excluded, the presence of a sun cult per se in the Jerusalem temple need not be, since it is attested by Ezek 8:16 in the time shortly before the collapse of Judean political independence. This worship is treated and rejected in Dtn-Dtr passages such as Jer 8:2 (cf. the verbs that express the inclination: *ʔhb* “to love”; *ʕbd* “to serve”; *hlk ʔah<sup>2</sup>re* “to follow after”; *drš* “to inquire of”; *ḥwh* hišt. “to prostrate oneself”), Deut 4:19 (later insertion? cf. M. Noth, *Deuteronomistic History* [19912], 57f.), and 17:3 (regulation concerning the eradication of an idol worshiper from the community). Cf. also Job 31:26–28.

The sun plays a much more significant role in the other great religions of the ancient Near East than in Israel’s religion. One may consult e.g., for Egypt: A. Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter* (19682 = 1934), 17–22, 27; H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der äg. Religionsgeschichte* (19712), 729–33; W. Helck, in *Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient = Wörterbuch der Mythologie* (1965), 1:389–93 (Re), 339f. (Aton); for Mesopotamia: E. Dhorme, *Les religions de Babylonie et d’Assyrie* (1945), 60–67, 86–89; J. Bottéro, in *Le antiche divinit semitiche*, ed. S. Moscati (1958), 47–50, 53–55; D. O. Edzard, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* (1965), 1:126f. (with bibliog.); R. Labat, *Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique* (1970), 266–79 (texts); for Canaan: Gese et al., *Religionen* 166.

(b) The best-known example of the fact that Israel de-deified the originally divine stars is the P creation account, which indeed does not use the word “sun,” replacing it intentionally with *māʔôr* “lights” (cf. the Ug. formula *nrtilm špš* “Šapš, the light of the gods” *KTU* 1.6.II.24, IV.8, 17, etc.; the Akk. epithets for Sin and Šamaš in Tallqvist 444, 456; the Eg. address “the eternal lamp” for the sun-god; see Gunkel, *Gen* [19698], 109), and which falls short, however, of poetry. This theologized late text has pars. particularly in hymns and in communal songs of thanksgiving and of lament that confess Yahweh as creator: Psa 104:19 “He made (*šh*) the moon to determine the time, the sun knows its setting”; Psa 136:7f. “Thank . . . the one who made the great lights (*ʔôrîm*), the sun to rule the day”; Psa 74:16 “Yours is the day, yours also the night; you have established (*kûn* hi.) lights (*māʔôr*) and sun”; cf. Jer 31:35. The high point in this perspective occurs in Psa 148:3: sun, moon, and stars are called on to offer praise to their creator. Of course one should not overlook that this text involves a final phase of theological reflection. The same is also true of Psa 19:5b–7, which is also demythologized, although it does not clearly suggest the original independence of the sun-god as judge (cf. Kraus, op. cit. 1:272f.; A.

Ohler, *Mythologische Elemente im AT* [1969], 138; for the Akk. see O. Schroeder, *ZAW* 34 [1914], 69f.; *SAHG* 221f., 243, etc.), as is attested in the inscriptions from Karatepe (*KAI* no. 26A.3.18f.) and Afis (*KAI* no. 202B.24).

(c) As Creator, Yahweh is Lord over the stars. This role becomes significant in the announcement of his day: “then I will cause the sun to set (*bôʾ* hi.) at midday and I will bring darkness (*ḥšk* hi.) on the earth in broad daylight” Amos 8:9; further Isa 13:10; Joel 2:10 = 3:15; 3:4 (cf. the prophetic funeral lament over the king of Egypt in Ezek 32:7). Thus the orders given at creation are revoked (cf. Jer 31:36 *ḥuqqîm*). It is questionable whether one should understand Trito-Isaiah’s proclamation of the time of salvation in Isa 60:20 (“Your sun will set no more and your moon not disappear, for Yahweh will be your eternal light, and the days of your sorrow have an end”) as a positive reversal of this act of judgment or as a “cessation of the present rhythm of time,” a reference to “beyond time” (so von Rad, *Theol.* 2:107n.16; cf. Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 364; contrast v 19). The phrase “someone’s sun sets” (see 3a), which characterizes a situation of misfortune (cf. Aalen, *Begriffe* [1951], 70f., 71n.1) forms the basis. Isa 49:10 states that people will no longer suffer from the sun in the time of God’s servant (cf. the penitential Psa 121:6 that describes Yahweh as *šōmēr* [cf. *šmr* 6x in vv 3–8]).

(d) The sun plays no role in theophany descriptions (see also Aalen, *Begriffe* 80ff.; J. Jeremias, *Theophanie* [1965], 62–64). The verb *zrh* “to shine” employed in this context (Deut 33:2; Isa 60:1f.) is otherwise used chiefly (12x) for the sun’s rise in the morning but only twice in conjunction with *ʾôr* “light,” so that one can confidently conclude that *zrh* means more than “that a light shines, becomes visible” (so Aalen, *Begriffe* 39). Consequently, it is possible to see in Deut 33:2 (par. → *yp*<sup>c</sup> hi. “to shine”) heliophantic elements that have been applied to Yahweh. In the current context, however, solar factors are no longer present (cf. F. Schnutenhaus, “Das Kommen und Erscheinen Gottes im AT,” *ZAW* 76 [1964]: 8f.; Ohler, op. cit. 23).

5. With few exceptions (interpretively in Isa 54:12 *epalxis*), the LXX always translates *šemeš* and *ḥeres* with *hēlios*, *zrh* usually with (*ex*)*anatellein* (16x); Deut 33:2 and Isa 60:2 significantly with (*epi*)*phainein*. The sun assumes no special status in the published Qumran literature. Noteworthy are only CD 10:15 *gʾgl hšmš* “sun disk”; 1Q27 1:6, where, as a sign of the end of injustice, “righteous will be revealed like the sun as an ordering principle (*tkwn*) of the world” (cf. Jer 31:36); and 4QpIsad 1:6 on Isa 54:11f. On early Judaism and rabbinic literature, cf. Aalen, *Begriffe* 102–4, 158–63, 258–62. The OT expression concerning the sun shining on someone appears in the NT in the form “to shine like the

sun” (Matt 13:43, the righteous; Matt 17:2; Rev 1:16, transfigured or epiphanic Christ; cf. Rev 10:1, an angel, but with no verb). The images of the cosmic transformation on the day of Yahweh are applied to the eschatological concept of the return of the Son of man (Matt 24:29, quoting Isa 13:10), the Pentecost phenomena (Acts 2:20; cf. Joel 3:4), and the apocalyptic events (Rev 6:12; cf. v 17: “the great day of his [= Christ’s] wrath is come”; 8:12; 9:2). Rev 21:23 describes the new Jerusalem in accordance with Isa 60:1, 19f. (cf. StrB 3:853). Heb 7:14 “our Lord has arisen from Judah” echoes OT theophanies (contra H. Schlier, “ἀνατέλλω,” *TDNT* 1:352). Regarding the early Christian practice of praying toward the sun, see F. Vattioni, *Augustinianum* 9 (1969): 475–83.

Th. Hartmann

## שפט *špṭ* to judge

S 8199; BDB 1047a; *HAL* 4:1497b; *ThWAT* 8:408–28; *TWOT* 2443; *NIDOTTE* 9149

1. The root *špṭ* (*\*tpt*) occurs outside the OT in Akk., Ug., Phoen.-Pun., and Aram. (cf. KBL 579f., 1002f., 1134; M. S. Rozenberg, “The Stem *špṭ*” [diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1963]; Huffmon 268; W. Richter, *ZAW* 77 [1965]: 59–72, esp. 70n.122; W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel* [19662], 36–43; A. Marzal, *JNES* 30 [1971]: 186–217).

In addition to *špṭ* qal, the OT has the ni. and the po. of the verb. The following substs. derive from *špṭ*: *mišpāṭ* (see 3d; *m*- preformative form with a verbal noun idea; cf. *GVG* 1:375f.), *šōpēṭ* “judge” (subst. ptcp.), *špāṭīm* “punishments” (pl. of the unattested form *\*šepet*), and *špōṭ* “punishment.”

*špṭ* also occurs in a series of thanksgiving names: <sup>o</sup>*līšāpāt*, *y(h)ōšāpāt*, *špāṭyâ(hû)*, and the short forms *šāpāt* and *šiptān* (cf. *IP* 187f.).

2. The verb occurs 144x in the OT: qal 126x (distinction between the ptcp. and the subst. *šōpēṭ* according to Lis.), ni. 17x, and po. 1x (Job 9:15; cf. Horst, BK 16, 140). The qal passages are most frequent in Ezek (23x), Psa (20x), Judg (14x), 1 Sam (13x), Isa (8x), and Exod (7x).

The substs. occur as follows: *mišpāṭ* 422x (Psa 65x, Ezek 43x, Isa 42x, Deut 37x, Jer 32x, Job 23x, Prov 20x, Num 19x, 1 Kgs 18x, Lev 14x, 2 Chron 13x, Exod and 2 Kgs 11x each), *šōpēṭ* 58x (Psa 9x, Deut 8x, Judg 7x), *špāṭīm* 16x (Ezek 10x), and *špōṭ* 2x (Ezek 23:10 [cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*,

Herm, 1:472f.]; 2 Chron 20:9).

3. (a) The “basic meaning” of the root *špt* has long been disputed:

H. W. Hertzberg (*ZAW* 40 [1922]: 256–87; 41 [1923]: 16–76) suggests the basic meaning “to carry out one’s will,” which resulted in “to decide, judge (once)” and “to rule, govern (continuously).” L. Köhler (*Deuterijosaja stilkritisch untersucht* [1923], 110; id., “Appendix: Justice in the Gate,” *Hebrew Man* [1956], 133f.) and K. Fahlgren (*šedaqa, nahestehende und entgegengesetzte Begriffe im AT* [1932], 124f.) argue for “to decide between.” V. Hertrich (*TDNT* 3:923–33) follows Hertzberg. O. Grether (*ZAW* 57 [1939]: 110–21) understands *špt* always as “deciding juristically, judging.” He is followed by J. van der Ploeg (*OTS* 2 [1943]: 144f.; id., *CBQ* 12 [1950]: 248f.) and I. L. Seeligmann (*FS Baumgartner* 251–78). According to Schmidt (op. cit. 36ff.) and Richter (op. cit. 40ff.), pars. from Ugarit, Mari, etc. indicate that *špt* is a “West Semitic term of dominion,” which encompasses “civil and legal administration” (cf. Noth, *BK* 9/1, 51; Rozenberg, op. cit.).

This overview indicates that a restriction to judicial decision making alone is unjustified. *špt* seems to belong to the category of roots in which the search for a “basic meaning” is not illuminating (cf. H. H. Schmid, *šālôm: “Frieden” im Alten Orient und im AT* [1971], 46n.4); it is more to the point, given fixed expressions with *špt*, to understand the full breadth of variations in meaning (G. Liedke, *Gestalt und Bezeichnung atl. Rechtssätze* [1971], 63).

(b) In accord with perhaps the most common description, *špt* designates an action that restores the disturbed order of a (legal) community.

The *špt* act transpires in a “triangular relationship”: two people or two groups of people whose interrelationship is not intact are restored to the state of *šālôm* through a third party’s *špt* (von Rad, *Theol.* 1:372n.6, cf. also p. 130; H. H. Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung* [1968], 68). This aspect is most clear in the phrase *špt bēn X ūbēn Y* “to judge between X and Y” (Gen 16:5; 31:53; Exod 18:16; Num 35:24; Deut 1:16; Judg 11:27; 1 Sam 24:13, 16a; Isa 2:4 = Mic 4:3; Isa 5:3; Ezek 34:20, 22; cf. Seeligmann, op. cit. 273; Liedke, op. cit. 63–68; literarily, the oldest passages with *špt* occur in this list, but they too are relatively late). The subj. of *špt* in these instances is usually Yahweh but also people (Exod 18:16; Num 35:24; Deut 1:16; Isa 5:3). Objs. are two people or two groups of people (e.g., Gen 16:5, Abraham-Sarah; Judg 11:27, Israel-Ammon). *špt* occurs when the cause of the disruption between X and Y is removed by the “judge”: Yahweh directs Abraham to demote Hagar to Sarah’s slave again, thus removing the cause of the dispute between Abraham and Sarah (Gen 16:5;

Liedke, op. cit. 65). A disputant who causes the disruption must be logically “eliminated”: the *špt* of the community delivers a murderer to the blood avenger (Num 35:24); the Israelites are “handed over” to the Ammonites (Judg 11:32; cf. 1 Sam 24:13). The dual character of the prep. *bn* (linking-separating; cf. BrSynt §112) is apparent here: on the one hand the *špt bēn* reconnects the disputants; on the other hand it separates them by excluding one from the pertinent legal entity (family, tribe, people, community).

Consequently, one can only partially agree with Köhler’s now classic thesis: “To judge does not mean establishing the facts of a criminal offense and then judging and sentencing on the basis of this establishment of fact, but in Hebrew, ‘to judge’ and ‘to help’ are parallel ideas” (*Hebrew Man* 133).

Particularly from the viewpoint of the objs. of *špt*, *špt* has first the nuance of “to condemn” (1 Sam 3:13; Isa 66:16, etc.; in Ezek consistently in this meaning), then of “to declare innocent, to help one gain justice” (see below). The latter is clearly the case in Deut 25:1: “If a dispute (→ *rīb*) is pending between two parties, they should go to the *mišpāṭ*, who should pronounce justice (*špt*) for them: one should set the righteous in the right (→ *šdq* hi.) and declare the guilty party guilty (→ *rš<sup>c</sup>* hi.)” (cf. 2 Sam 15:4; H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT* [1964], 122ff.). Obviously, then, the accused (confident of innocence) pleads for *špt* in the context of the appeal: the one who bears the serious consequences of a disrupted relationship pleads *šoptēnī* “make justice for me!” (Psa 7:9; 26:1; 35:24; 43:1; cf. Lam 3:59 and Gen 16:5; Exod 5:21; Judg 11:27b; 1 Sam 24:13, 16; Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:168f., 172f.; A. Gamper, *Gott als Richter in Mesopotamien und im AT* [1966]). In such a situation, *špt* can be understood as “to deliver”; this interpretation is confirmed by the phrase *špt mîyādekā* in 1 Sam 24:16b; cf. 2 Sam 18:19, 31 (→ *yād* 3d, 4; Liedke, op. cit. 69f.), by the passages in which the poor, the insignificant, and the oppressed are objs. of *špt* (Isa 1:17, 23; 11:4; Psa 10:18; 72:4; Prov 29:14; cf. Wildberger, *Isa 1–12*, CC, 50), and by the thanksgiving names formed with *špt* (see 1). One can understand, then, why the Dtr, at the latest, could identify the “deliverers” (→ *yš<sup>c</sup>* 4c) with the “judges” (*šōp<sup>c</sup>ṭîm*) in the book of Judg (Judg 2:16–19; cf. 3:9, 15; 2 Sam 7:11; Obad 21; M. Noth, *Deuteronomistic History* [1991], 71f., 77).

The restoration of community order should be understood not only as a one-time act but also as a continuous activity, as a constant preservation of the *šālôm*; thus the meaning “to govern, rule” results (Liedke, op. cit. 70–72). The king (1 Sam 8:5f., 20; 1 Kgs 3:9, 28, 2 Kgs 15:5; Dan 9:12), Yahweh (Psa 67:5; 82:8; 96:13 = 1 Chron 16:33; Psa 98:9; Job 21:22), and

the *šārîm* (Hos 13:10 txt em) are subjs. of *špt* in this meaning. The oft-mentioned formula “to judge Israel” (Judg 3:10; 4:4; 10:2f.; 12:7–9, 11, 13f.; 15:20; 16:31; 1 Sam 4:18; 7:6, 15–17; 8:2; 2 Kgs 23:22) also has overtones of governing over Israel (Richter, op. cit. 59). The observation that in 2 Chron 1:10f. the Chr interprets the juridical *špt* in 1 Kgs 3:9, 11 as “to govern” is interesting (G. Ch. Macholz, *ZAW* 84 [1972]: 319n.10).

Consideration of *špt* provides no keys for the solution of the problem of the “judges” in Israel’s prenatal period; cf. K. Elliger, *RGG* 5:1095; Macholz, “Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Samuelüberlieferungen” (diss., Heidelberg, 1966), 122ff. (bibliog.); C. H. J. de Geus, *NedTT* 20 (1965/66): 81–100; K. D. Schunck, *SVT* 15 (1966): 252–62.

*špt* parallels → *dîn* (3), → *rîb*, → *ykh* hi. (3a), and → *nqm* (1 Sam 24:13). Typical antonyms occur in Jer 5:28. *špt* is often associated with → *sdq* in the formulae *špt b<sup>e</sup>šedeq* (Lev 19:15; Isa 11:4; Psa 9:9; 96:13; 98:9), *šptšedeq* (Deut 1:16; Jer 11:20; Psa 9:5; Prov 31:9; cf. Liedke, op. cit. 68f.); comparable expressions are: *špt be<sup>e</sup>mûnâ* (Isa 59:4; → *ʔmn* D/III/7), *špt be<sup>e</sup>met* (Prov 29:14; → *ʔmn* E/III/4, 7), *špt mēšārîm*, *špt mîšôr* (→ *yšr* 4), and *špt āwel* (Psa 82:2). The formula *špt b<sup>e</sup>mišpāfîm* occurs in Ezek (Ezek 7:27; 23:24; 44:24).

In accord with the semantic range of *špt*, it was suited for all phases of legal and institutional history, in contrast to *dîn*; e.g., it indicates both “judging” in legal procedures of the tribal elders and of the gate (Liedke, op. cit. 40–42) and the authoritative decisions of patriarchs (Liedke, op. cit. 130), kings (Macholz, *ZAW* 84 [1972]:157–81), and the judges of the latest era (see 3c below). Consequently, *špt* is also the normal word for “judging” in the OT.

The ni. of the verb primarily has the tolerative meaning “to submit to judgment”; regarding the syntax, see KBL 1003b. 1 Sam 12:7 is typical.

(c) The ptc. *šōpēṭ* occurs as an official title “judge” beginning with the time of the middle monarchy and then particularly in texts from the southern kingdom. In 2 Sam 15:4 one can still hesitate concerning whether *šōpēṭ* should be understood verbally or subst. (1 Sam 8:1 is surely Dtr; cf. Noth, op. cit. 80). The title does not yet appear in the Davidic and Solomonic lists of officials (Macholz, op. cit. 314). “Judges” first appear in the prophetic lists: in Isa 1:26 alongside *yō<sup>e</sup>ēš* “counselor” (→ *y<sup>š</sup>* 3b) and *šar* “official” (1:23), in 3:2f. among the “supports” (Wildberger, op. cit. 129–31), alongside *šar* or *melek* in Exod 2:14; Hos 7:7; Amos 2:3; Psa 2:10; in the lists in Zeph 3:3 (the comms. on Ezek 22:23ff. replace the *šōp<sup>e</sup>ṭîm* with *šārîm*; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:469); Job 12:17–24; 1 Chron 23:3–5

(here the *šōṭ<sup>e</sup>rîm* parallel the *šōp<sup>e</sup>ṭîm*; de Vaux 2:394; cf. 1 Chron 26:29). The Dtr lists in Josh 8:33; 23:2; 24:1 are dependent on the much-discussed regulations in Deut 16:18; 17:9ff.; 19:16ff.; 21:1ff.; 25:2 in which the coexistence of priests and judges or of judges and *šōṭ<sup>e</sup>rîm* is particularly difficult (von Rad, *Deut*, OTL, 114f., 117f.; H. Cazelles, SVT 15 [1966]: 108ff.). In continuation of the thesis of R. Knierim (ZAW 73 [1961]: 146–71), Macholz (op. cit. 333–38) has shown that one can understand this coexistence against the background of Jehoshaphat’s judicial reform (2 Chron 19:5ff.) and that the regulations in Deut seek to remove Judah’s entire judicial organization from royal influence.

The (Dtr?) “judges” of the premonarchic period are designated *šōp<sup>e</sup>ṭîm* only in Judg 2:16–19; 4:4 (the judge Deborah); 2 Sam 7:11; 2 Kgs 23:22; 1 Chron 17:6, 10; Ruth 1:1; otherwise see 3b on the formula “to judge Israel.” One should probably not see Mic 4:14 as a reference to the “judges” (Richter, op. cit. 50).

(d) That *mišpāṭ* indicates the act of doing *špṭ* is apparent from its use as an internal obj. (cognate acc.) of *špṭ* in Deut 16:18; 1 Kgs 3:28; Jer 5:28; Ezek 16:38; 23:45; Zech 7:9; 8:16; Lam 3:59. → *šh mišpāṭ* is used synonymously with *špṭ mišpāṭ* (cf. 1 Kgs 3:28): Gen 18:25; Deut 10:18; 1 Kgs 8:45, 49, 59 = 2 Chron 6:35, 39; Jer 5:1; 7:5; Ezek 18:8; 39:21; Mic 6:8; 7:9; Psa 9:5, 17; 119:84; 140:13; 146:7; 149:9; Prov 21:7, 15 (cf. Zeph 2:3).

*mišpāṭ* can no more be limited to the legal sphere than can *špṭ*. The poss. gens. dependent on *mišpāṭ* already indicate its breadth of meaning: *mišpāṭ* of the poor, etc. (→ *ḅh* 4b; Exod 23:6; Deut 10:18; 24:17; 27:19; Isa 10:2; Jer 5:28; Psa 140:13; Job 36:6), of the Israelites (Exod 28:30; 1 Kgs 8:59; Isa 40:27; Mic 7:9), of the priests (Deut 18:3; 1 Sam 2:13; 1 Chron 6:17; 24:19; 2 Chron 30:16), of the administrators (1 Kgs 5:8), etc. They demonstrate that *mišpāṭ* describes not only the act of *špṭ* but also something that “belongs” to the poor, etc.

The frequent parallelism of *šedeq/š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ* and *mišpāṭ* (*šedeq*: Isa 16:5; 26:9; 32:1; 51:4f.; Hos 2:21; Zeph 2:3; Psa 72:2; 89:15; 97:2; Job 8:3; 29:14; 35:2; Prov 1:3; 2:9; Eccl 5:7; *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*: Isa 5:7; 9:6; 28:17; 32:16; 35:5; 54:17; 56:1; 58:2; 59:9; Jer 4:2; Amos 5:7, 24; 6:12; Psa 33:5; 36:7; 99:4; 106:3; Job 37:23; Prov 8:20; 16:8; the formulae *šh mišpāṭ ûš<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*: Gen 18:19; 2 Sam 8:15 = 1 Chron 18:14; 1 Kgs 10:9 = 2 Chron 9:8; Jer 9:23; 22:3, 15; 23:5; 33:15; Ezek 18:5, 19, 21, 27; 33:14, 16, 19; 45:9; Psa 99:4; on the traditional development of this formula, cf. Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 245; id., *Amos the Prophet* [1973], 59–67) indicates that, like *š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ*, *mišpāṭ* should be understood as a “sphere” (K. Koch, “*šdq* im AT” [diss., Heidelberg, 1953], 35ff.; Liedke, op. cit. 77). Job 29:14 and 2 Kgs 1:7

support this interpretation; cf. also *mišpāṭ* par. → *ḥesed* (Jer 9:23; Hos 2:21; 12:7; Mic 6:8; Psa 33:5; 89:15; 101:1) and par. → *tôb* (Isa 1:17; Job 34:4). *mišpāṭ* as a sphere means “that which one is due”: it can be a “claim” (1 Kgs 6:38; 2 Kgs 17:26f.; Jer 5:4f.; 30:18), an “obligation” (“that which one should do” Judg 13:12), the “correct, appropriate” (Exod 26:30; 1 Kgs 18:28; Isa 28:25f.), the “order” (Gen 40:13; 1 Kgs 5:8; 2 Kgs 11:14; Jer 8:7; on Hosea, cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 95f.; in contrast to an established *ḥôq* order, the *mišpāṭ* order simply exists, a *špṭ* only reestablishes it; → *ḥqq* 3c; Liedke, op. cit. 174; the opposite of *mišpāṭ* in this meaning is *mirmā* “deceit,” Prov 12:5); finally, it can be “reward or punishment” (Ezek 16:38; 23:45). Regarding these interpretations, cf. Fahlgren, op. cit. 124–38; Liedke, op. cit. 73ff.

In this broad horizon of meaning, “that which pertains to one,” *mišpāṭ* can function as a legal term: here *mišpāṭ* indicates, first, the verdict of the court. This verdict is oral (Deut 17:9ff.; 2 Kgs 25:6; Jer 1:16; Psa 105:5; Prov 16:10; 2 Chron 19:6); it is pronounced by the appropriate judge (Jer 21:12; → *dîn* 3; Num 35:12 par. Josh 20:6; Deut 16:18; 1 Kgs 3:28; cf. v 27). One learns the wording of such *mišpāṭîm* from Num 35:16ff.; Deut 19:6; 1 Kgs 3:27; 20:39f.: it consists of a declaration of guilt or innocence and a statement of the legal consequences (Boecker, op. cit. 122–43; Liedke, op. cit. 84ff.). Other examples: Lev 19:15; Deut 1:17; 25:1; 2 Sam 15:2, 6; Isa 3:14; 5:7; 10:2; Ezek 5:8; 16:38; 21:32; 23:45; Amos 5:7, 15, 24; Hab 1:4, 12; Zeph 3:5, 8, 15; Psa 10:5; 17:2; Job 19:7; 32:9; 40:8; Prov 24:23. *mišpāṭ* should also be understood as a verdict in Isa 53:8 (Liedke, op. cit. 87). The opposite of *mišpāṭ* as verdict is *ʾap* “wrath,” Jer 10:24.

Paralleling → *rîb* (Isa 3:13f.; Mic 7:9; Psa 35:23; Lam 3:35f.; 2 Chron 19:8) and → *dîn* (Isa 3:14; 10:2; Jer 22:15f.; Psa 9:5; 76:9f.; 140:13; Job 36:17), *mišpāṭ* has a juristic connotation; the same is true for the phrase *bôʾ b<sup>c</sup>mišpāṭ* (*im*) “to enter into judgment (with)” (Isa 3:14; Psa 143:2; Job 9:32; 22:4; cf. 2 Sam 15:2, 6; → *bôʾ* 4a; Boecker, op. cit. 85; D. A. McKenzie, VT 14 [1964]: 100; cf. Eccl 3:16 “place of *mišpāṭ*” and Gen 14:7 *ʿen-mišpāṭ*, von Rad, *Theol.* 1:12) and for the phrases → *ʿmd lammišpāṭ* “to appear for judgment” (Num 35:12; Josh 20:6; Ezek 44:24 Q; cf. 2 Chron 19:8); → *lh lammišpāṭ* (Judg 4:5); → *qrb lammišpāṭ* (Isa 41:1; Mal 3:5), → *qûm lammišpāṭ* (Isa 54:17; Psa 76:10). Like *špṭ* (see 3b above), *mišpāṭ* as verdict can signify deliverance or condemnation: deliverance, Deut 32:4; Isa 4:4; 30:18; 51:4; 58:2; Jer 9:23; 10:24; Psa 17:2; 33:5; 36:7; 76:10; 101:1; 111:7 (*mišpāṭ* in Isa 42:1–4 should also be categorized here with J. Begrich, *Studien zu Deuterojesaja* [1938], 161–70; cf. J. Jeremias, VT 22 [1972]: 31–42); condemnation, destruction, Isa 34:5; Jer 48:21; 51:9; Ezek

23:24; 39:21; Mic 3:8; Zeph 3:8; Psa 9:17; 48:12; 97:8; Job 36:17. Cf. also *mišpāt-māwet* “death sentence” (Deut 19:6; 21:22; Jer 26:11, 16). *mišpāt* designating a prophetic oracle in Jer 48:47b is unique.

Corresponding to the nature of Israelite court procedure, *mišpāt* also indicates the verdict that can be suggested by the accused, the accuser (Boecker, op. cit. 72), but also by the judge in arbitration proceedings (Num 27:4f.; 2 Sam 15:4; 1 Kgs 3:24 [cf. v 27]; 20:39f.). The phrase *ʿrk mišpāt* in Job 13:18; 23:4 is best understood as “to contest the suggested verdict”; *mišpāt* in Jer 12:1 can also be understood as “suggested verdict” (Liedke, op. cit. 91f.).

The verdict suggested by the lamenter is substantially a legal claim: that which is due the lamenter. *mišpāt* has this meaning particularly with the attributive gen. of the person: the *mišpāt* of the poor and the insignificant, of the priests (see above), of the king (1 Sam 8:9, 11; 10:25), of the supplicant (Job 27:2; 35:2), of the slave (Job 31:13), of the firstborn (Deut 21:17), of the servant of God (Isa 49:4; 50:8), and of Israel (Isa 40:27). The formula *nṯh hi. mišpāt* “to divert, misdirect the legal claim (of a poor person, etc.), to pervert justice” (Exod 23:6; Deut 16:19; 24:17; 1 Sam 8:3; Prov 17:23; Lam 3:35; cf. Job 8:3) belongs in this context. *mišpāt hagg<sup>e</sup>ullâ/hay<sup>e</sup>ruššâ* (Jer 32:7f.; → *yrš* 3) involves a gen. that indicates the content of the legal claim.

In Exod 15:25b; Josh 24:25b; 1 Sam 30:25b, one should understand the phrase *šim (l<sup>e</sup>)ḥōq ū(l<sup>e</sup>)mišpāt* as a precise “restrictive regulation” and “legal claim” (→ *ḥqq* 4d; cf. Exod 21:1; Isa 28:17; 42:4; Hab 1:12; Psa 81:5).

Finally, since casuistic laws developed from the verdicts and suggested judgments of the arbitration process (Liedke, op. cit. 54ff., 50), *mišpāt* also describes casuistic law (cf. Alt, *EOTHR* 92: “*mišpāṯim*, i.e., ordinances for the administration of justice by the local secular jurisdiction”); Akk. *dīnum(m)*, substantially equivalent to *mišpāt* (→ *dīn* 3), also designates both the “legal verdict” and the “legal regulation” (*AHW* 171f.). In Exod 21:1, 31; Num 34:24; and in the P formula *kammišpāt(im)* (Lev 5:10; 9:16; Num 15:24; 29:6, 18, 21, 24, 27, 30, 33, 37), *mišpāt* (usually pl.) refers to casuistic laws (as demonstrated by Liedke, op. cit. 94–98); in Chr the formula has lost this significance: Ezra 3:4; Neh 8:18; 1 Chron 15:13; 23:31; 24:19; 2 Chron 4:7, 20; 35:13; cf. Josh 6:15). Obviously, then, *mišpāt* in Exod 21:2–11 indicates a legal institution, “slave law,” and even this variant meaning implies the semantic horizon of “that which is appropriate for one.”

4. The theological use of words from the root *špt* is indistinct from other usages; consequently, only a few peculiarities of the theological usage are mentioned here:

(a) With Yahweh (e.g., Gen 16:5; 18:25; Exod 5:21; Judg 11:27; 1 Sam 24:13, 16; 2 Sam 18:19, 31; Isa 33:22; Jer 11:20; Ezek 7:3, 8, 27, etc.; Psa 7:9; 9:9, 20; 10:18; 26:1; 35:24; 43:1; 50:6; 51:6; 58:12; 67:5; 75:3, 8; 82:1, 8; 94:2; 96:13; 98:9; Job 21:22; 22:13; 23:7; Lam 3:59; 1 Chron 16:33; 2 Chron 20:12) or gods (Psa 58:2; 82:2f.; cf. Gen 31:53) as the subj. of *špt*, it naturally indicates authoritative “judging.” The request in Solomon’s prayer dedicating the temple that Yahweh would “judge (between his servants) by declaring a guilty person guilty (→ *rš<sup>c</sup>* hi.), in order to bring his deeds on his own head, and place a righteous person in the right (→ *šdq* hi.), in order to bestow on him that which corresponds to his righteousness” (1 Kgs 8:31f. = 2 Chron 6:22f.), a request that corresponds precisely to Deut 25:1 (see 3b; cf. Eccl 3:17), indicates clearly that the *špt* of the court in the gate does not differ from the *špt* of God (Liedke, op. cit. 67f.). The Psa passages suggest a concept of Yahweh as judge that probably stems from Jerusalemite cult tradition: as Creator and Lord of the world, he is also its Judge (Kraus, op. cit. Psa 1:84f.; 2:41, 153–58; O. H. Steck, *Friedensvorstellungen im alten Jerusalem* [1972], 19). From this beginning, *špt* becomes a term for the proclamation of eschatological salvation and judgment (A. Jepsen, *RGG* 2:657ff.) and occurs as the content of the proclamation of saving order in Isa 2:4 = Mic 4:3; Isa 51:5 (for the nations); Ezek 34:17, 20, 22 (for Israel), as the content of the proclamation of exclusive and destructive judgment in 1 Sam 3:13 (for the house of Eli); Isa 66:16; Jer 25:31 (for all flesh); Ezek 7:3, 8, 27; 11:10f.; 16:38; 18:30; 24:14; 33:20; 36:19 (for Israel); 21:35 (for Babel); 38:22 (for Gog); Joel 4:2, 12 (for the nations); Psa 75:3 (for the evildoers). The new David also “judges the insignificant with justice,” i.e., “not according to what the eyes see” (Isa 11:3f.; 16:5; von Rad, *Theol.* 2:169ff.; Wildberger, op. cit. 473–78, with pars. from the ancient Near East). Cf. also 3b.

Yahweh is described as *šōpēṭ* in Gen 18:25; Judg 11:27; Isa 33:22 (→ *ḥqq* 4a); Psa 9:5; 50:6; “judge of the earth” seems to be a formula (cf. Psa 82:8; 96:13 = 1 Chron 16:33; Psa 98:9). Cf. also 3c.

(b) Discussions of Yahweh’s *mišpāṭ* refer to Yahweh’s verdict (Isa 3:14; 30:18; Ezek 39:21; Zeph 3:5, 8; Job 40:8, etc.), order, nature and ways, legal claim (2 Kgs 17:26f.; Isa 51:4; 58:2; Jer 5:4f.; 8:7; Hos 6:5; cf. Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 120), hardly to the “law.” The pl. *mišpāṭîm* mentioned in relation to Yahweh—in almost all the pl. passages—refers to the casuistic laws that have been incorporated into the law of Yahweh (Liedke, op. cit. 29–31). Such is the case in Psa 19:10 (*mišpāṭîm* of Yahweh); Lev 18:4ff.; 26:15, 43; 1 Kgs 6:12; 9:4; 11:33; Jer 1:16; Ezek 5:6f.; 11:20; Psa 89:31, etc. (my *mišpāṭîm*); Deut 33:10; Isa 26:8f.; Psa 10:5; 36:7; 119:20, 39, etc.

(your *mišpāṭîm*); Deut 8:11; 11:1; 26:17; 30:16; 33:21; 2 Sam 22:23 = Psa 18:23; 1 Kgs 2:3; 8:58; Psa 105:7 = 1 Chron 16:14, etc. (his *mišpāṭîm*, esp. Dtn-Dtr).

In series with other terms for commandments and laws, the meaning of *mišpāṭîm/mišpāṭ* is usually completely homogenized; the words serve, then, as synonymous designations for Yahweh's ordinances and commandments. The series *mišpāṭîm . . . ḥuqqîm* characterizes Deut (see → *ḥqq* 4d); *mišpāṭîm . . . ḥuqqôt* characterizes H and Ezek; almost every possible combination of the terms *mišpāṭîm*, *ḥuqqîm/ḥuqqôt*, and *mišwôt* (→ *šwh*) occurs in Dtr; Chr follows Deut more closely (citations in Liedke, op. cit. 13–16 (tables), 185). Regarding the formula *ḥuqqat mišpāṭ*, → *ḥqq* 4c.

*mišpāṭîm/mišpāṭ* in this sense is often combined with verbs in the following expressions: *šh mišpāṭîm* (Lev 18:4; 19:37; 20:22; 25:18; Deut 4:1, 5, 14; 5:1, 31; 6:1; 7:11f.; 11:32; 12:1; 26:16; 1 Kgs 6:12; 11:33; 2 Kgs 17:37; Ezek 5:7f.; 11:12, 20; 18:17; 20:11, 13, 19, 21; 36:27; Psa 103:6; 105:5; Neh 10:30; 1 Chron 22:13; 28:7); regarding *šh mišpāṭ* and *šh mišpāṭ ûš<sup>c</sup>dāqâ*, see 3d and → *šh*; *šmr mišpāṭîm* (Lev 18:5, 26; 19:37; 20:22; 25:18; Deut 5:1, 31; 7:11f.; 8:11; 11:1, 32; 12:1; 26:16f.; 30:16; 1 Kgs 2:3; 8:58; 9:4; 2 Kgs 17:37; Isa 56:1; Ezek 11:20; 18:9; 20:18ff.; 36:27; Hos 12:7; Psa 106:3; Neh 1:7; 10:30; 1 Chron 22:13; 2 Chron 7:17; → *šmr*. In addition to doing and keeping the *mišpāṭîm*, hearing (→ *šm<sup>c</sup>* Deut 4:1; 5:1; 7:12; 26:17; 1 Kgs 3:11, 28) and speaking (→ *dbr* pi. Deut 4:45; 5:1, 31; 1 Sam 10:25; 2 Kgs 25:6; Isa 32:7; Jer 1:16; 12:1; Psa 37:30; → *šwh* pi. Num 36:13; Deut 6:20; 8:11; 26:16; 1 Kgs 8:58; Mal 3:22; Psa 7:7; Neh 1:7; 1 Chron 22:13; 24:19; 2 Chron 7:17; *spr* pi. “to report,” Exod 24:3; Psa 119:13) the *mišpāṭîm* also occur. Opposites are: to disregard (→ *m<sup>s</sup>* Lev 26:15; Ezek 5:6; 20:13, 16; Job 31:13), forget (→ *škḥ* Deut 8:11), abandon (→ *zb* Isa 58:2), etc., the *mišpāṭîm*.

5. The available Qumran texts usually use *mišpāṭ/mišpāṭîm* in the sense discussed in 4 above (cf. M. Delcor, *RB* 61 [1954]: 541; J. Bekker, *Das Heil Gottes* [1964], 71ff., 83, 91, 103ff., 122ff., 143, 162ff., 169, 188f.). Regarding the translation of *špṭ* and *mišpāṭ* in the LXX and the NT, see F. Büchsel and V. Hertrich, “κρίνω,” *TDNT* 3:921–54.

G. Liedke

## שקר *šqr* to deceive

S 8266; BDB 1055b; *HAL* 4:1519b; *ThWAT* 8:466–72; *TWOT* 2461; *NIDOTTE* 9213

1. The root *šqr* “to deceive, act deceitfully” is attested outside Hebr.

primarily in the Old Aram. Sefire inscriptions (*KAI* nos. 222–24 with bibliog.; Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 40, 107; *DISO* 319; M. A. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem AT* [1964], 6–8), in isolation as a proto-Aram. loanword in the Akk. from Mari (*šikarum* “deceit, breach of faith”; M. Noth, *Die Ursprünge des alten Israel im Lichte neuer Quellen* [1961], 89; Klopfenstein, *op. cit.* 175f.; cf. M. Wagner, *FS Baumgartner* 364f.), and in Jew. Aram. (Dalman 434) and Syr. (*LS* 801f.). Arab. *šugar/suqar* may be an Aram. loanword (*LS* 801b); Akk. *tašqirtu* remains unclear (*ibid.*).

The Aram. of the Sef. inscriptions uses *šqr* pa. as a term for violation of a contract or of the loyalty and faithfulness due on the basis of a contract and thus in the meaning “to behave contrary to a contract, faithlessly, perfidiously.” The verb governs the prep. *le* if persons are the object of the betrayal, *be* if the contract itself is the object (Fitzmyer, *Sef.* 107; Klopfenstein, *op. cit.* 8).

Hebr. *šqr* occurs as a qal and a pi. without distinction in the meaning “to behave contrary to a contract, faithlessly.” The sole nom. form attested, the segholate *šeqer* “violation of the law, breach of faith, deceit,” occurs considerably more often, while the cj. proposed for Prov 17:4 *šaqqār* (KBL 1010b) remains wholly uncertain.

2. *šqr* qal occurs 1x (Gen 21:23), pi. 5x (Lev 9:11 P; 1 Sam 15:29; Isa 63:8; Psa 44:18; 89:34), *šeqer* 113x (pl. *šeqārîm* 5x: Jer 23:32; Psa 101:7; Prov 12:17; 19:5, 9). The distribution of the entire 119 instances exhibits notable and significant concentrations in Jer (37x, in 8:8 and 23:32 2x each), Psa (24x), and Prov (20x; see 4). The remaining 38 instances divide among Isa (8x), Lev and Zech (4x each), Exod (3x), Deut, 1 Sam, 1 Kgs, Mic, Job, and 2 Chron (2x each), Gen, 2 Sam, 2 Kgs, Ezek, Hos, Hab, and Mal (1x each).

3. (a) *šqr* pi. is used abs. twice, both negated: once it characterizes Yahweh’s nature (1 Sam 15:29 “he will not be unfaithful”); then it expresses the faithfulness Yahweh could have reasonably expected from those he freed from Egypt (“sons who will not be unfaithful”). Four times *šqr* qal/pi. governs preps.: *le* with a person as obj. (Gen 21:23, Abimelech to Abraham: “If you should ever behave toward me contrary to our treaty”), but also *be* (Lev 19:11 “You shall not behave unfaithfully one toward the other”); *be* exclusively with a thing as obj. (Psa 89:34, Yahweh concerning David: “I will not break my faithfulness”; Psa 44:18 “we have not broken your covenant”). Alone, this syntactic use or the absence of acc. objs. already suggests that *šqr* is not a verb of speech but of action, thus an expression of action or a mode of social behavior. The same is true for the noun *šeqer*. The subst. depends admittedly on a verb of speech as an acc. in 35 of 113 occurrences (*dbr* qal/pi. “to speak,” Isa 59:3; Jer 40:16; 43:2;

Mic 6:12; Zech 13:3; Psa 63:12; 101:7; *yrh* hi. “to give an oracle,” Isa 9:14; Hab 2:19; *nb<sup>ʔ</sup>* ni. “to prophesy,” Jer 14:14; 23:25f.; 27:10, 14, 16; 29:21; *kzb* pi. “to lie,” Mic 2:11; in all 17x), or on a noun of speech (*dābār* “word,” Exod 5:9; 23:7; Isa 59:13; Jer 7:4, 8; 29:23; Prov 29:12; 13:5; *ʔēmer* “word,” Isa 32:7; similarly Job 36:4; in all 10x) or an organ of speech (*lāšôn* “tongue,” Psa 109:2; Prov 6:17; 12:19; 21:6; *šāpā* “lip,” Psa 31:19; 120:2; Prov 10:18; 12:22; in all 8x) as a qualifying gen. Yet this use does not imply that *šeqer* indicates a lying word in the sense of falsehood, incorrectness; instead, → *kzb* has this significance. In contrast, *šeqer* means aggressive deceit intended to harm the other, unfaithfulness, perfidy (see 3b), even when only the result of words. In most cases, however, *šeqer*, like the verb *šqr*, characterizes a mode of action or behavior. Thus it can appear as the acc. or prep. obj. of verbs of action such as *šh* “to make” (2 Sam 18:13; Jer 6:13; 8:8, 10), *pʔ* “to do” (Hos 7:1; cf. Prov 11:18), *bḥb<sup>ʔ</sup>/al* (Jer 13:25; 28:15; 29:31; cf. 7:4, 8), as a qualitative gen. with nouns of action such as *ʕd* “witness” (Exod 20:16; Deut 19:18; Prov 6:19; 25:18; etc.), *šʕbūʕā* “oath” (Zech 8:17) or *yāmîn* “right (oath) hand” (Psa 144:8, 11), *derek* “way” (119:29) or *ʔōrah* “path” (119:104, 128), *ḥʔlôm* “dream” (Jer 23:32), *ḥāzôn* “vision” (14:14), *ʕt* “stylus” (8:8), and *mattat* “gift” (Prov 25:14). As an adv. acc., it can also further characterize actions such as *wh* pi. “to oppress” (Psa 119:78), *rdp* “to persecute” (119:86), *ʔyb* “to be hostile” (35:19; 69:5), and *šn<sup>ʔ</sup>* “to hate” (38:20). Esp. in the formulaic expressions *šb<sup>ʔ</sup>* ni. *laššeqer/ʕal-šeqer* (*bi-šʕmî*) “to swear perfidiously (in my name)” (Lev 5:22, 24; 19:12; Jer 5:2; 7:9; Mal 3:5) and *nb<sup>ʔ</sup>* ni. *baššeqer/laššeqer* (*bišʕmî*) “to prophecy deceitfully (in my name)” (Jer 5:31; 20:6; 27:15; 29:9), it can negatively qualify two theologically relevant modes of behavior.

(b) The meaning “to commit a breach of contract, of faith” for *šqr* found in the Aram. of Sef. may also be valid as the basic meaning of *šqr* in the OT, as clearly indicated by its oldest occurrence, Gen 21:23. On the occasion of the conclusion of a treaty between Abimelech and Abraham (21:22–31), Abimelech subjects his counterpart to an oath: “if you should ever treat me contrary to the treaty . . .” (Klopfenstein, op. cit. 3ff.). The primary life setting should be sought, then, in treaty law and the original meaning should be paraphrased as “breach of a contractually regulated or otherwise self-evident relationship of faithfulness and trust.” This juridical meaning, still directly evident in the secondary spheres of usage concerning the false witness before the court and the false oath, transforms then into the theological significance “breach of covenant” and the ethical meaning “breach of faith and trust.” Still, the boundary is fluid and the legal aspects of the term, as well as its active-aggressive content, always shine

through. Only on the margins, then, can the term be weakened to the meaning “incorrectness” (*šeqer* as an interjection in a conversation: 2 Kgs 9:12; Jer 37:14) and finally indicate the insubstantiality and ineffectiveness of a thing (1 Sam 25:21; Prov 11:18; 25:14; 31:10).

(c) A glance at the word field of *šqr* underscores both the basic meaning “breach of faith” and the “aggressive” character of the action. The contours of the basic meaning are esp. highlighted by the antonyms: root → *ʾmn* and derivatives (*ʾmûnâ/ʾmet* Jer 9:2, 4; Prov 11:18; 12:17, 22; 14:5, 25), sometimes supplemented by *mišpāt* (Jer 5:1–3; Zech 8:17; Psa 119:29f., 86) or *mišpāt* + *šdāqâ* (Isa 28:15–17); cf. also *šb<sup>c</sup>* ni. *beʾmet* (Psa 132:11)/*beʾmûnâ* (89:50)/*beʾmet b<sup>e</sup>mišpāt ûbišdāqâ* (Jer 4:2) in contrast to swearing *laššeqer/ʿal-šeqer* (see 3a). The “aggressive” character of *šqr* is primarily underscored by the par. terms: “violent act” *ḥāmās* (Deut 19:16, 18; Psa 27:12; Mic 6:12), *mirmâ/ r<sup>e</sup>mîyâ/tarmît* “deceit” (Jer 9:4f.; 14:14; Psa 52:5f.; 109:2; 120:2f.; Prov 12:17), *rāʿâ* “evil” (Zech 8:17; Psa 52:5), *śn<sup>ʾ</sup>* “to hate” (Psa 109:2; Prov 10:18; 26:28), *rš<sup>c</sup>* “wickedness” (Psa 109:2 txt em), *ʾāwen* “trouble” (Isa 59:3f.; Zech 10:1f.; Psa 7:15), *peša<sup>c</sup>* “sin” (Isa 57:4); cf. also the expressions “in order to ruin the suffering through perfidious words” (Isa 32:7); “the righteous hate deceitful words, but the unrighteous bring in evil reports and difficulty” (Prov 13:5; similarly 10:18); “you speak falsehood (*šeqer*) against Ishmael” (Jer 40:16).

4. One can hardly distinguish profane and theological usages since OT covenant law is usually the point of reference in the background and the ethical-social aspect is closely linked with the religious. In the following I arrange the material according to the most important realms of usage for the root *šqr*.

(a) That the verb *šqr* is rooted in treaty law according to the evidence of the Sef. inscriptions and Gen 21:23 (see 3b) is underscored in the realm of theological usage by Psa 44:18: “We have not forgotten you (Yahweh) nor broken your covenant.” Accordingly, one may also understand the objectless *šqr* of Isa 63:8 in terms of sacral law as Israel’s violation of the covenant. By contrast, in the same sacral law sense Yahweh can be said not to break faith (*šqr beʾmûnâ* Psa 89:34) nor to act faithlessly (*šqr* without obj., 1 Sam 15:29). It is uncertain whether Lev 19:11 discusses faithless behavior in the broader ethical sense or illegal behavior in the more limited juridical sense; the par. verbs “to steal” and “to receive stolen goods” (→ *khš*) in Lev 19:11 and the paradigm of Lev 5:21–24 suggest the latter, which could refer concretely to false witness for purposes of concealing the receipt of stolen property (see 4b).

(b) False witness before the court is the first area of use for the noun *šeqer* (Klopfenstein, op. cit. 18ff.). Particularly objectionable to OT legal

thought, the much-discussed figure of the *ʿēd šeqer* appears outside the ninth commandment of the Decalogue (Exod 20:16; regarding the alteration to *ʿēd šāwʿ* in Deut 5:20, see J. J. Stamm, *Der Dekalog im Lichte der neueren Forschung* [19622], 9) esp. in Prov (Prov 6:19; 12:17; 14:5; 19:5, 9; 25:18) but also in Deut 19:18 and Psa 27:12; given that this figure can also be called *ʿēd ḥāmās* according to Deut 19:16 and that it produces *ḥāmās* according to Psa 27:12, it becomes clear that *šeqer* describes the witness as one who aggressively injures the other and as a violator of the law who “acts against the other contrary to the law” (Deut 19:18; similarly Prov 25:18). While this figure destroys life like “hammer and sword and sharp arrow” (Prov 25:18), the contrasting figure, the *ʿēd ʾemet*, “saves life” (Prov 14:25; cf. *ʿēd ʾmûnîm* 14:5). The gen. construction *ʿēd šeqer* does not occur in the Psa, yet *šqr* refers to false accusations or testimony before the court in “prayers of the accused” (H. Schmidt, *Das Gebet der Angeklagten im AT* [1928]) or in elements of this tradition (13x; Klopfenstein, op. cit. 79f.). Mic 6:12 may also refer to false witness or to corrupt legal practice per se in conjunction with other deceitful commercial practices; Isa 32:7 may also be similar (Duhm, *Jesaja* HKAT [19224], 211).

(c) The false oath should be mentioned as an additional realm (Klopfenstein, op. cit. 32ff.; F. Horst, “Der Eid im AT,” *EvT* 17 [1957]: 366–84 = *Gottes Recht* [1961], 292–314). Even more than false testimony, it reaches beyond the ethical-legal sphere into the sacral, since it always transpires either under false appeal to the name of Yahweh (*bišʿmî* Lev 19:12; Zech 5:4) or to false gods (*bʿlōʾ ʾēlōhîm* Jer 5:7); in the first instance the third commandment of the Decalogue is violated, in the second instance the first commandment. The reference to the old Israelite Covenant Code is evident when the false oath “in Decalogue-like legal series” (Horst, *Gottes Recht* 312) appears alongside theft, murder, adultery, and idolatry (Jer 7:9; similarly Mal 3:5) or when it appears in a parenetic sequence reminiscent of the Torah liturgies known from Psa 15 and 24 (Zech 8:17). The same is also true for the false oath to protect stolen goods (Lev 5:22, 24) or to strengthen statements of the accused or of witnesses before the court (Psa 63:12? see Klopfenstein, op. cit. 41ff.). The formula *šbʿ ni. laššeqer/ʿal-šeqer* may even be translated “to swear illegally, in violation of the covenant.” For “the oath sworn by the person of Yahweh (is) also the sign of allegiance to him. . . . The oath by other deities, however, is a sign of apostasy” (Horst, op. cit. 297). More closely related to the profane realm are experiences with the false oath in political alliances (Psa 144:8, 11, *yʿmîn šeqer* “faithless [oath?] right hand”; see Klopfenstein, op. cit. 38ff.) or in treaties between inhabitants and lords (Psa 120:2? see Klopfenstein, op. cit. 51ff.).

(d) Furthermore, *šeqer* occurs in the realm of *idolatry and magic* as an evaluation, as a qualification either of the idol worshipers as a “brood of faithlessness” (*zeraʿ šeqer*), of the soothsaying and magic associated with idolatry as useless nonsense (Hab 2:18; Zech 10:2), or, finally, of the idols themselves as deceitful nothings (Isa 44:20; Jer 10:14; 16:19f.; 51:17). In the context of the last usage, *šeqer*, sometimes paralleling *hebel* (Jer 10:14f.; 16:19; Zech 10:2), no longer characterizes a behavior or a relationship but the essence, even the substance, of the idols—it is reduced to mean nonexistence and ineffectiveness; thus the existential assessment implied from the outset in *šeqer* becomes essential. At any rate, even here the original component of the actively deceitful has not entirely disappeared, since anti-idol polemic involving *šeqer* essentially falls under the central question of appropriate assistance (Jer 3:23), trustworthiness (Jer 13:25; Hab 2:18), and usefulness (Jer 10:14; 16:19; Hab 2:18; Zech 10:1f.). Jer 3:23 offers the theological response in a concise formulation: “Truly, the heights (lead) to deceit (*laššeqer*); . . . truly, Israel’s help (*t<sup>e</sup>šûʿâ*) (is) . . . with Yahweh.”

(e) Jeremiah uses *šeqer* specifically for the realm of false prophecy (G. Quell, *Wahre und falsche Propheten* [1952]; G. von Rad, *ZAW* 51 [1933]: 109–20; E. Osswald, *Falsche Prophetie im AT* [1962]; Klopfenstein, op. cit. 95ff.). Jeremiah is the first to make the phenomenon of pseudoprophecy a proper and independent theme. He is followed to a somewhat lessened degree by Ezekiel, although the latter replaces the word *šeqer* customary in Jeremiah with the terms → *kāzāb* and → *šāwʿ*. “The immediate personal opposition against prophets mentioned by name, which characterizes Jer 28f., . . . is not found in Ezek 13:1–16 in the same way. Here from a distance is given a comprehensive judgement about prophecy in Israel” (Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:292). *šeqer*, the dynamic-aggressive expression of dangerous perfidy, conforms with Jeremiah’s “hot breath,” while the cooler assessments *šāwʿ* and *kāzāb* are appropriate for Ezekiel’s theological reflection. The term *šeqer* preferred by Jeremiah characterizes the statements (Isa 9:14; Jer 14:14f., etc.; Mic 2:11; Zech 13:3), dreams (Jer 23:32), visions (Jer 14:14), spirit (1 Kgs 22:22f.), or the entire work (e.g., Jer 5:31) of the false prophets as breaches of faith with the people who could expect to be able to trust prophetic guidance. Verbal citations of such prophetic sayings in Jer (Jer 6:13f.; 14:14f.; 27:10, 16; 28:2ff., 11; cf. 1 Kgs 22:15–17) reveal that it essentially involved national salvation prophecy. Conscious and intentional deceit are not involved, apart from Mic 2:11. Accordingly, objective criteria are not available; rather, in the end only true prophecy sought to expose false prophecy, as indicated most forcibly in the dispute between Jeremiah and Hananiah in Jer 28.

Characteristically, Jeremiah theologically justifies his stereotypical assessment “they prophesy *šeqer* (in my name)” (= “lie formula,” Klopfenstein, op. cit. 107) with the stereotypical phrase “I (Yahweh) have not sent them” (“not-sent formula,” Klopfenstein, op. cit. 107, 103; expanded in 23:32 by “I have not called them,” in 23:21 by “I have not spoken to them,” in 14:14 by both phrases), which recurs 8x; conversely, he adduces this very sending 15x, twice declaring that it occurs *be<sup>c</sup>met* (26:15; 28:9; cf. 23:28), as the proper mark of the genuine prophet (Klopfenstein, op. cit. 103). Such a theological justification is possible, however, only for the genuine prophet himself and is not externally verifiable. Agreement with the scriptural tradition as a dogmatic criterion occurs only in the late passage Zech 13:3; *šeqer* here becomes a rejection of inspired prophecy altogether and a comprehensive characterization of “heresy.” The oldest instance in 1 Kgs 22:22f. forms a radical contrast. According to it, the hypostatized spirit of inspired-charismatic prophecy that issues from Yahweh transforms ad hoc in the execution of a specific, limited mission, into the deceitful *rûaḥ haššeqer*.

(f) In addition to the specific usages cited, *šeqer* occurs in a wide variety of other religious and ethical contexts. Hosea uses *p<sup>l</sup> šeqer* as a governing concept for the perverse basic attitude of the unfaithful toward Yahweh and others, as concretized in a subsequent list of religious and ethical transgressions (Hos 7:1ff.). Jeremiah complains that *šeqer*, as expressed particularly in deceitful speech, reigns in the land instead of *<sup>c</sup>mûnâ* (Jer 9:2, 4). According to 8:8, the perfidious stylus *šeqer* makes the Torah a lie; here priestly-conservative institutionalism opposes the prophetic-charismatic view that alone seeks to actualize the Torah anew. Revelation that does not come from God (Job 36:4), trust in the political ally Egypt instead of in Yahweh (Isa 28:15), repentance that does not involve the whole heart (Jer 3:10), feminine charm that does not include fear of God (Prov 31:30)—all these are *šeqer*. Treasure seized through *šeqer* (Prov 21:6), bread swindled through *šeqer* (20:17), and profit made through *šeqer* (11:18) do not hold in the end what they promise (cf. 20:17). This highly varied usage opens the way for a broad spectrum of meaning for the root *šqr* reaching from “breach of faith” via “unreliability,” “hypocrisy,” and “deception” to the weakened meaning “nothingness.”

5. (a) The available Qumran literature attests the verb *šqr* pi. with certainty 1x, the noun *šeqer* 8x (1QH 8:37 is uncertain; see Kuhn, *Konk.* 228; cf. *GCDS* 510). The verb has lost its specific import and signifies “to give false information,” particularly in reference to the financial disclosures to be made on entrance into the community (1QS 6:24). The use of the noun has closer affinities with the OT prototype. The *Damascus Document*

describes the activity of false teachers with the reliable expression *nb' ni. šeqer* (CD 6:1). The *Thanksgiving Hymns* sound the lament known from Psa 109:2 concerning the “deceitful tongue” of the opponents (1QH 5:27); and the quieting of their “deceitful lips,” requested in Psa 31:19, is already a reality foreshadowed in confident hope for the one praying in 1QH 7:12. The “lying prophet” (→ *kzb*) is still active, however, as the *Pesher on Habakkuk* emphasizes, “through perfidy” assembling a countercommunity and “impregnating it with the works of deceit” (1QpHab 10:10, 12; the image of impregnation stems from Psa 7:15; Isa 59:4). Consequently, the *Rule of the Community*, citing Exod 23:7 (“keep away from a deceitful thing”), demands that the sons of light avoid contact with the men of abomination (1QS 5:15), whose evil spirit is also characterized by “profligacy and deceit,” etc. (1QS 4:9). The community itself, still susceptible to impurity, awaits the hour when God through the “spirit of truth” will purify it from all “abomination of deceit” (1QS 4:21).

(b) The translations in the LXX (see Klopfenstein, op. cit. 174f.) confirm the semantic field of the root *šqr* sketched above: of the 114 correct translations, 54 have the root *adik-* “to behave contrary to the law, do injustice” (50x) or *anom-* “to behave contrary to the law, illegally” (4x); translations of the verb *šqr* with *sykophantein* “to accuse falsely” (1x), *athetein* “to reject (Yahweh), fall away” (1x), and *apostrephein* “to turn aside” point in the same direction. Half the translations, then, correctly render the chief meaning of the Hebr. root (“breach of contract, law, faith”). Forty-seven passages translate with the root *pseud-* “to lie, be a liar” and thus reflect the usage of *šqr* for perfidious speech. In addition, the following also occur: 2x *dolios*, 1x *kenos*, 1x *eis matēn*, 1x *dōrean*, reflecting the marginal meanings of *šqr* “hypocrisy, deception, nothingness.” Regarding the Psa, the LXX translates 16x with *adik-* (15x) or *anom-* (1x) and thus confirms that the supplicant’s complaint of *šeqer* primarily concerns false accusations.

(c) The NT clearly takes up OT concepts and language in its treatment of false witness (cf. H. Strathmann, “μάρτυς,” *TDNT* 4:474–514, esp. 513f.), false oath (J. Schneider, “ὄμνύω,” *TDNT* 5:176–85; id., “ὄρκος,” *TDNT* 5:457–67, esp. 466f.), and false prophets (H. Krämer et al., “προφήτης,” *TDNT* 6:781–861, esp. 855f.; cf. further under → *kzb* 5c). The reprehensibility of the false witnesses at the trials of Stephen (Acts 6:13) and Jesus (Mark 14:56f.) is underscored by a citation of the ninth commandment of the Decalogue in Matt 15:19; 19:18. In addition, as is true of the concept of witness per se, the concept of false witness is also applied to the realm of Christian proclamation (1 Cor 15:15). The Sermon on the Mount cites the prohibition against the false oath from Lev 19:12 and

proceeds thence to a rejection of swearing altogether (Matt 5:33–37; cf. Jas 5:12); Peter’s denial under oath (Matt 26:27) provides a paradigm. The NT false prophets (7:15; 24:11, 24 par.) are viewed alongside their OT precursors (Luke 6:26). Isa 57:4, where *šeqer* appears as a transpersonal power that produces its evil brood, may be directly linked to John 8:44 (Klopfenstein, op. cit. 83). On additional NT usages, cf. G. Schrenk, “ᾠδικοϛ,” *TDNT* 1:149–63; W. Gutbrod, “ἄνομία,” *TDNT* 4:1085–87.

M. A. Klopfenstein

## שרת *šrt* pi. **to serve**

S 8334; BDB 1058a; *HAL* 4:1532a; *ThWAT* 8:495–507; *TWOT* 2472; *NIDOTTE* 9250

1. The verb *šrt* pi. “to attend, serve” is attested only in Hebr. (incl. Mid. Hebr. and Jew. Aram. *šêrût/šêrûtā* “service,” Dalman 422b) and a nom. derivative *mšrt* “service” in Phoen. (*DISO* 171, 321; *KAI* no. 60.4, 8). The pi. inf. *šārēt* is also subst. in the OT.

Of the suggested etymologies (cf. KBL 1012b; Suppl. 192a), H. Bauer’s (*ZDMG* 71 [1917]: 411: related to the name of the goddess Asherah = \**aširat*, cf. Aram. *šmš pa*. “to serve,” with Shamash) is noteworthy but uncertain. The root may not be identified with certainty in Ug. (cf. *WUS* no. 2684; contra *UT* no. 1150; cf. also P. J. van Zijl, *Baal* [1972], 110).

2. The verb occurs 97x (Ezek 17x, Exod, Num, and 2 Chron 10x each, 1 Chron 8x); about two-thirds of these passages involve cultic usages (mostly in P and Chr). The distribution of the forms is remarkable for the fact that the verb occurs predominantly in the ptcp. (45x) and in the inf. (32x). *šārēt* as a subst. occurs 2x (Num 4:12; 2 Chron 24:14).

3. The meaning of the verb *šrt* pi. “to attend, serve” approximates that of the verb *ʿbd* “to serve” but is characteristically distinct and only becomes synonymous with it in late usage. While *ʿbd* also means “to cultivate the ground” and generally “to work, serve,” *šrt* pi. is primarily and properly service to a person. The distinction becomes clear immediately in that Jacob’s service to Laban is called *ʿbd* (Gen 29:15, 18, 20, etc.), but Joseph’s service to the important prisoners in prison is called *šrt* (39:4; 40:4). Thus Joshua is Moses’ “servant” (pi. ptcp. *m<sup>e</sup>šārēt* Exod 24:13; 33:11; Num 11:28; Josh 1:1), Elisha is Elijah’s servant or disciple (1 Kgs

19:21; 2 Kgs 4:43; 6:15). This personal service acquires an important form at the royal court as the service of the page or orderly. Thus Amnon's servant is mentioned (2 Sam 13:17f.); Ahaziah's nephews attend him (2 Chron 22:8); Abishag the Shunammite attends King David (1 Kgs 1:4, 15); chamberlains attend King Ahasuerus personally (Esth 1:10; 2:2; 6:3); cf. also 1 Kgs 10:5 = 2 Chron 9:4; Psa 101:6; Prov 29:12. The verb is rarely used of high political or military service (1 Chron 27:1; 28:1; 2 Chron 17:19); one can assume that here the word is employed as a synonym for *ʿbd*. In all these passages *šrt* pi. indicates an inferior's attendance upon a superior with variations depending on the social situation. Service is constant (cf. the dominance of the ptcp. and the inf.) but temporally limited; it is the service of free persons, often an activity that brings the servant honor. The decisive distinction from *ʿbd* lies in the fact that *m<sup>š</sup>ārēt* never indicates a slave.

4. (a) The major category in which *šrt* pi. refers to cultic service (see 4b) can be distinguished from a small category of texts in which the same basic meaning "to attend" (see 3) can still be recognized. The youth Samuel is said to have attended Yahweh (1 Sam 2:11; 3:1) or "Yahweh's countenance" (2:18; cf. Hertzberg, *Sam*, OTL, 32n.e). This attendance upon Yahweh can relate only to a concrete object, probably the ark. Traces of a meaning are preserved here that has otherwise been fully erased in Israel: attendance upon a god means attendance upon his statue, e.g., the attendance upon a divine image as known in Egypt. Ezek 20:32 and 44:12, which use *šrt* pi. for idol worship with express mention of images, demonstrate that it was known in Israel. Yahweh's heavenly servants, however, can also (rarely) be mentioned (Psa 103:21; 104:4 "who makes winds his messengers, flames of fire his servants").

An additional category of texts, limited to Trito-Isa, promises this service for the end time (Isa 56:5 "the foreigners who come to Yahweh to serve him"; 60:7, 10; 61:6); as 56:6 shows, *šrt* pi. is used here as a synonym of *ʿbd*.

Given the basic meaning "to attend (a superior)," it is understandable that the most important category for the theological use of *ʿbd*, "to serve God with one's entire being" (→ *ʿbd* IV/2b) does not occur with the verb *šrt* pi.

(b) Rather, the meaning corresponding to the verb *šrt* pi. does not refer to people but to God, the performance of the cult. *šrt* pi. is the specific verb for this activity, not *ʿbd*, which is assimilated to *šrt* pi. in the later period. The much more frequent use of *šrt* pi. in this sense results.

Outside P and Chr, *šrt* pi. occurs as cultic service in Deut 10:8 in the programmatic regulation of the service of the Levites whom Yahweh has

set aside “to stand before Yahweh in order to serve him” (so also Deut 17:12; 18:5, 7; 21:5; cf. 1 Kgs 8:11; Jer 33:21f.; 2 Chron 29:11[bis]). The similar phrase “to approach Yahweh in order to attend him” in Ezek 40–48 (40:46; 43:19; 44:15f.; 45:4) comes close to the basic meaning.

*šrt* pi. is a technical term for cultic service esp. in P and Chr. This service involves the sanctuary (Num 1:50; Ezek 44:27; 45:4f.; 46:24; Ezra 8:17; Neh 10:37, 40; 1 Chron 26:12; 2 Chron 31:2), the altar (Exod 30:20; Joel 1:9, 13; cf. 2:17; 2 Chron 5:14), the cultic implements (Num 3:31; 4:9, 12, 14; 2 Kgs 25:14 = Jer 52:18; *k<sup>o</sup>lē[haš]šārēt* “service implements,” Num 4:12; 2 Chron 24:14), the priests’ garments (Exod 28:35, 43; 29:30; 35:19; 39:1, 26, 41; Ezek 42:14; 44:17, 19), service as singer (1 Chron 6:17), as guard (Ezek 44:11), and at the ark (1 Chron 16:4, 37). The priestly hierarchy results in lower ranks serving as cultic servants of higher ranks (Num 3:6; 8:26; 18:2; 2 Chron 8:14). Attendance upon the cultic community can also be mentioned (Num 16:9; Ezek 44:11).

The most significant aspect of the cultic use of *šrt* pi. as a whole is probably the gradual rise and increase in the abs. use of the verb. In the core passages in Deut (see above), the relationship of service to Yahweh is still clear and unmistakable: “to stand before Yahweh to serve him.” This relationship is still present in Ezek in one category of usage (see above) and also occurs, although only rarely, in some phrases in the Chr (1 Chron 15:2; 23:13; 2 Chron 13:10). The abs. usage, without regard to personal relationship, becomes dominant: e.g., Exod 30:20 “when they approach the altar to serve”; 2 Chron 23:6 speaks of the “serving Levites.” If one regards this abs. concept of service on the one hand in relation to the quantitative intensification of cultic procedures, esp. the sacrifice, and on the other hand in the context of the hierarchical division of the priestly classes in which the lower classes serve the higher, then a significant divergence from Deut 10:8 becomes apparent and at least the danger of a development in the cult in which performance of service threatens to replace rotation of personnel. The interesting element in terms of cultural history is the linguistic evidence for a technicalization of the cult, which prefigures in a way (which must be demonstrated by a comparison with the major ancient Near Eastern cults) the technicalization of profane labor in the industrial age.

Beside → *bd*, the semantically related roots → *šb<sup>o</sup>* (3a) and → *šmr* should be compared, in Aram. *šmš* pa. “to serve” (Dan 7:10; cf. KBL 1132b), and *plh* pe. (3:12, 14, 17f., 28; 6:17, 21; 7:14, 27; subst. *polhān* “cult,” Ezra 7:19; cf. KBL 1113a); cf. R. Meyer, *TDNT* 4:222f.

5. In the Qumran texts both the broader and the more narrow cultic usages of *šrt* pi. occur (Kuhn, *Konk.* 229). In most cases the LXX

translates the verb with *leitourgein* (and derivatives); cf. otherwise the literature cited → *bd V*.

C. Westermann

## שָׁתַּה *šth* to drink

S 8354; BDB 1059a; HAL 4:1537b; ThWAT 8:507–35; TWOT 2477; NIDOTTE 9272

1. The coexistence of the roots *\*šty* “to drink” (KBL 1014b; replaced in Aram. by *šrb*) and *\*šqy* “to give to drink” (KBL 1107a; Berg., *Intro.* 218f.; Akk. and Ssem. in the base stem, Hebr. and Aram. in the causative; cf. Barth 120; Ug. *šqy* also “to drink”; cf. WUS no. 2677; UT no. 2471) is common Sem. Hebr. *šth* qal “to drink” (ni. only once) and *šqh* hi. “to give to drink” (pu. only once) complement one another; the appearance of a separate causative root alongside the qal may reflect, among other things, that the causative of this verb encompasses a much broader realm of meaning than the qal.

Of the nom. derivatives, the prefixed verbal abstract *mišteh* (see 3b) occurs with some frequency; *š<sup>e</sup>tî* (Eccl 10:17) and fem. *š<sup>e</sup>tîyâ* (Esth 1:8) “drinking” also occur in isolation.

Bibl. Aram. exhibits *šth* pe. and the subst. *mištē* “banquet” (Dan 5:10).

Derivatives of *šqh* are: *šiqqûy* “drink” (Hos 7:2; Psa 102:10; Prov 3:8 “refreshment”), *šōqet* “drinking trough” (BL 451, 615; Gen 24:20; 30:38), and *mašqeh* “drink” (Gen 40:21; Lev 11:34; 1 Kgs 10:5, 21 = 2 Chron 9:4, 20; Isa 32:6; Ezek 45:15 txt?) and “well watered” (Gen 13:10), which is not always easy to distinguish from the subst. hi. ptcp. *mašqeh* “cupbearer” (cf. e.g., Noth, BK 9, 203). The root is also contained in the Akk. official title *rab-šāqēh* (actually “chief cupbearer”; cf. Zimmern 6; 16x in 2 Kgs 18:17–19:8 = Isa 36:2–37:8).

2. The verb *šth* qal appears 216x in Hebr. in a normal distribution (Jer 22x, 1 Kgs 21x, Gen and Isa 17x each, Ezek 16x), pe. 5x in Aram. (Dan 5:1–4, 23), ni. 1x (Lev 11:34), *mišteh* 46x (Esth 20x, Gen 5x, Dan 4x), Aram. *mištē* 1x (Dan 5:10). *š<sup>e</sup>tî* and *š<sup>e</sup>tîyâ* are hapax legomena (see 1).

*šqh* hi. (incl. the ptcp. *mašqeh* “cupbearer,” 10x in Gen 40:1–41:9; also in Neh 1:11) occurs 70x (Gen 19x, Jer and Psa 7x each), pu. 1x (Job 21:24), *šiqqûy* 3x, *šōqet* 2x, *mašqeh* 9x, *rab-šāqēh* 16x (see 1).

3. (a) The verb can stand abs. or be modified by an acc. or prep. obj. Like → *ʔkl* “to eat,” a substantial semantic par., *šth* indicates first and foremost a basic function of human and animal life: the direct intake of fluids orally. Subjs. are almost without exception people or animals (Gen 24:19, 22; 30:38; 2 Sam 12:3, etc.). A fig. sense is only rarely effected by an imper. subj.: “a land . . . that drinks water from the rain of heaven” (Deut 11:11). The absorption of water by the ground or plants is not otherwise described as drinking.

The variety of objs. is all the more pronounced, resulting in a significant expansion of the verbal sense. In lit. usage objs. are various drinks (water, wine, milk, etc.) and fluids (blood drunk by animals, Num 23:24; Ezek 39:17–19; fig., 1 Chron 11:19; on Psa 50:13, see 4; urine, 2 Kgs 18:27 = Isa 36:12), or, rarely and only in the prophets, the “cup (of wrath)” (Isa 51:17, 22; Jer 49:12; Ezek 23:31–34; cf. Jer 25:15ff.; 51:7; Obad 16; Hab 2:16; Psa 11:6; 75:9; Lam 4:21; in addition to *kôš* “cup,” *sap* “cup” also occurs in Zech 12:2 in a fig. usage for God’s wrathful judgment; by contrast *kôš* occurs with saving significance in Psa 16:5; 23:5; 116:13; on the image of the cup, cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:490; Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:204; L. Goppelt, *TDNT* 6:149ff.; H. A. Brongers, *OTS* 15 [1969]: 177–92). A fig. usage involving abstract objs. occurs in wisdom literature: *ʕawlâ* “wickedness” (Job 15:16), *ḥēmâ* “wrath” (Job 6:4; 21:20), *laʕag* “slander” (Job 34:7), *ḥāmās* “violent act” (Prov 26:6). All these examples use drinking fig. in order to emphasize various activities that should be assessed negatively. The concept of drinking Yahweh’s cup of wrath mediates this usage.

An adj. modification of the kind of drinking appears occasionally: *šth šikkôr* “to drink drunkenly” (ptcp. 1 Kgs 16:9; 20:16).

A strange proverbial usage with an erotic sense occurs in Prov 5:15 “drink water from your own well” (cf. Song Sol 4:12, 15; Sir 26:12).

A frequently recurring phrase is “to eat and drink,” esp. when the verbs stand abs. (Gen 24:54; 25:34; 26:30; Exod 24:11, etc.), but also with objs., usually bread and water (Exod 34:28; Deut 9:9, 18; 1 Kgs 13:18, etc.). Both in this phrase and standing alone, *šth* often indicates drinking as a social act (e.g., Judg 9:27; 1 Kgs 1:25; 4:20, etc.). In Esth 3:15 and 7:1, *šth* alone represents “to have a meal.”

*šqh* hi. “to give to drink” has a broader scope of usage than *šth*, esp. since it can also refer to imper. and inanimate objects (e.g., *ʔdāmâ* “ground,” Gen 2:6; *hārîm* “mountains,” Psa 104:13; *gan* “garden,” Gen 2:10; Deut 11:10; *kerem* “vineyard,” Isa 27:2f.; *yaʕar* “forest,” Eccl 2:6; *gepen* “vine,” Ezek 17:7).

(b) The verbal abstract *mišteh* (Aram. *mištēh*) serves as an action noun usually with a concrete verbal idea: “drinking, drinking bout, banquet.” In the late period the word occasionally indicates the drink consumed—“drink” (Dan 1:10; Ezra 3:7)—while the pure action nouns *šcū* and *šcūyâ* appear in the equally late passages Eccl 10:17 and Esth 1:8.

(c) The word field of drinking includes the following more specialized verbs: (1) *lqq* qal “to lap up (of a dog)” (Judg 7:5[bis]; 1 Kgs 21:19[bis], 38; pi., Judg 7:6f.; cf. *HP* 193); (2) *I<sup>cc</sup>* qal “to guzzle” (Obad 16 with *šth*; *lōa<sup>c</sup>* “throat,” Prov 23:2), (3) *gm<sup>o</sup>* pi. “to guzzle” (Job 39:24, fig. of the swift horse that “guzzles up” the distance; hi. “to cause to guzzle” (Gen 24:17 with *šqh* hi. in vv 18f., an expression of modesty in a request); (4) *mšh* qal “to guzzle down” (obj. “cup,” always with *šth*: Isa 51:17; Ezek 23:34; Psa 75:9; lit. “to press out,” e.g., Judg 6:38; ni. Lev 1:15; 5:9; Psa 73:10; by-form *mšš* qal “to guzzle,” Isa 66:11); (5) *rwh* qal “to drink one’s fill” (Jer 46:10, blood; Psa 36:9, fat; Prov 7:18, fig. of love; pi. “to give to drink,” Isa 16:9; Jer 31:14; Psa 65:11; Prov 5:19; in Isa 34:5, 7 txt em read qal; hi. “to give to drink,” Isa 43:24; 55:10; Jer 31:25; Prov 11:25; Lam 3:15; cf. *HP* 71, 109; *rāweh* “well watered,” Deut 29:18; Isa 58:11; Jer 31:12; *r<sup>c</sup>wāyâ* “abundance of drink,” Psa 23:5; 66:12; *rī* “moisture,” Job 37:11); (6) *sb<sup>o</sup>* qal “to drink (alcohol)” (Isa 56:12; Hos 4:18 [cf. Rudolph, KAT 13/1, 108]; Nah 1:10; subst. ptcp. *sōbē<sup>o</sup>* “drinker,” Deut 21:20; Prov 23:20f.; *sābā<sup>o</sup>* “drinker” in Ezek 23:42 txt? is highly uncertain; the verb is apparently denominated from *sōbe<sup>o</sup>* “beer,” Isa 1:22; Nah 1:10; cf. KBL 646a; *BRL* 110f.); (7) *škr* qal “to be/become drunk” (9x, in Song Sol 5:1 with *šth* fig. “of love”; pi. “to make drunk,” 2 Sam 11:13; Isa 63:6; Jer 51:7; Hab 2:15; hi. “to cause to become drunk,” Deut 32:42; Jer 48:36; 51:39, 57; hitp. “to behave drunkenly,” 1 Sam 1:14; *šākūr* Isa 51:21 and *šikkôr* 13x, “drunk”; *šēkār* “strong drink,” 23x; *šikkārôn* “drunkenness,” 3x). Finally, the antonymous verbs that belong to the word field of eating (→ *kl*) and drinking may also be mentioned: *šm<sup>o</sup>* qal “to thirst” (10x; *šāmē<sup>o</sup>* “thirsty,” 9x; *šāmā<sup>o</sup>* “thirst,” 17x; *šimmā<sup>o</sup>ôn* “thirsty land,” 3x; cf. also *šqq* qal ptcp. “parched,” etc. in Isa 29:8; Psa 107:9) and *r<sup>c</sup>b* qal “to hunger” (12x; hi. “to cause to hunger,” 2x; *rācēb* “hungry,” 19x; *rācāb* “hunger,” 101x; *r<sup>c</sup>ābôn* “hunger,” 3x; on *kpn* qal “to hunger,” Ezek 17:7, and *kāpān* “hunger,” Job 5:22; 30:3, cf. Wagner nos. 132f.), which often occur together (e.g., Isa 49:10; cf. Deut 28:48; 29:18; 2 Sam 17:29; Isa 29:8; Psa 107:5; with *kl* and *šth* in Isa 65:13).\*

4. God/Yahweh is almost entirely absent among the many subjs. of the verb *šth*. The concept of God drinking occurs only once, and then in the form of a rhetorical question: Psa 50:13 (→ *kl* 4; cf. Deut 32:37f. “Where are the gods . . . who drink the wine of your libation?”).

God is more often the subj. of *šqh* hi. in somewhat fig. statements concerning his acts of blessing and deliverance (Isa 27:3; 43:20; Psa 36:9; 78:15; 104:11, 13) or of punishment (Jer 8:14; 9:14; 23:15, in each case with *mê-rōš* “poisonous water” [cf. Num 5:11f., the drink ordeal]; Ezek 32:6; Psa 60:5, *yayin tar‘ēlā* “wine of reeling” [cf. Isa 51:17, 22, *kôs tar‘ēlā* “cup of reeling,” and Zech 12:2, *sap-ra‘al* “cup of reeling”]; Psa 80:6, tears). Similarly, *rwh* pi./hi. (Jer 31:4, 25; Psa 65:11) is used to refer to salvation, while *rwh* hi. (Lam 3:15) and *škr* pi./hi. (Deut 32:42; Isa 63:6 txt?; Jer 51:39, 57) refer to disaster.

On drinking and not drinking (cf. Exod 34:28; Esth 4:16) as a religious act, cf. → *kl* 4 and → *šûm*; in particular, drinking wine could be subject to all sorts of temporary or permanent limitations for religious and cultic reasons (Lev 10:9 and Ezek 44:21 for serving priests; Num 6:3; Judg 13:4, 7, 14; cf. Amos 2:12 of the Nazirites [→ *nāzîr*]; Jer 35:5ff. the Rechabites; Dan 1:12 [cf. vv 5, 8] Daniel).

5. Instances of *šth* in the published Qumran literature (Kuhn, *Konk.* 229c) remain consistent with OT usage. The LXX has *pinein* for *šth* qal, *potizein* for *šqh* hi.; on the NT and its environment, cf. L. Goppelt, “πίνω,” *TDNT* 6:135–60; further, H. Preisker, “μέθη,” *TDNT* 4:545–48.

G. Gerleman

## תְּהוֹם *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* flood

S 8415; BDB 1062b; *HAL* 4:1557b; *ThWAT* 8:563–71; *TWOT* 2495a; *NIDOTTE* 9333

## יָם *yām* sea

S 3220; BDB 410b; *HALOT* 2:413b; *TDOT* 6:87–98; *TWOT* 871a; *NIDOTTE* 3542

## מַיִם *mayim* water

S 4325; BDB 565a; *HALOT* 2:576b; *TDOT* 8:265–88

1. *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* is the Hebr. form (without fem. ending; pl. *-ôt*) of the common Sem. word *\*tiham-(at-)* “sea,” which appears in Akk. as the normal word for “sea” (*GAG* §55j: *tī<sup>l</sup>amtum* [later *tâmtu*] “sea”), was limited

in Can. (Ug.: *WUS* no. 2749; *UT* no. 2537; N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the OT* [1969], 59) by \**yamm*- “sea” (Ug.: *WUS* nos. 1172f.; *UT* no. 1106; Phoen.: *DISO* 107; Hebr. *yām* “sea, west”; Aram. *yammā*’, *DISO* 107; *LS* 303a; Bibl. Aram. in Dan 7:2f.; Akk. only as a loanword in a plant name, *CAD* I/J:322a; Arab. only as an Aram. loanword, Fraenkel 231) to the cosmological meaning “ocean (above and below the earth),” and occurs in SSem., where *baḥr* designates the “sea,” only as a geographical proper name (*Tihāma* “coastal plain along the southwestern and southern shores of the Arabian Peninsula,” Wehr 98b; so P. Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/20 [1965]: 136f., 144, 149; 8/23 [1968]: 273). Thus, as phonetics already indicate, *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* was not adopted from Akk. (Zimmern 44: “perhaps, in antiquity”); in contrast, Jew. Aram. and Syr. *t<sup>h</sup>ômā*’ “depth, abyss” is a Hebr. loanword reflecting later semantic development (see 5; *LS* 816b; Fronzaroli, *AANLR* 8/20:149). A relationship to a verbal root (e.g., GB 871a: *hûm* “to make noise,” or some such) may not be demonstrated.\*

2. *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* occurs 36x in the OT (Psa 42:8 bis; 22x in the sg., 14x in the pl.), construed as both a fem. (Gen 49:25; 33:13; Isa 51:10; Ezek 31:4; Amos 7:4; Psa 36:7; 78:15) and a masc. (Exod 15:5; Jonah 2:6; Hab 3:10; Psa 42:8; 77:17; Job 28:14; 41:42). *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* always occurs anarthrously, with the exception of Isa 63:13 and Psa 106:9 (like *tēbēl* “world” [→ *ʾbl* 1/2] and → *š<sup>c</sup>ôl* “underworld”; cf. Meyer 3:26), but is not therefore a proper name.

Regarding the distribution of the word, cf. the statistical tables, which also treat *yām* “sea” (395x, 24 of which are *yam-sûp* “sea of reeds”) and *mayim* “water” (582x, incl. Isa 25:10 K). *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* occurs primarily in the language of psalms (Psa 12x, also Exod 15:5, 8; Deut 33:13; Isa 51:10; 63:13; Jonah 2:6; Hab 3:10 in psalm genres). The term is not, however, characteristic of a given psalm form but occurs in Psa, Job, and elsewhere in a wide varieties of contexts. Only *t<sup>h</sup>ôm rabbâ* “the great flood” occurs as a fixed, apparently poetic, expression (Gen 7:11; Isa 51:10; Amos 7:4; Psa 36:7), just as occurrences of the term *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* are generally limited almost entirely to poetic texts.

	<i>t<sup>h</sup>ôm yām</i>	<i>(yam-sûp)</i>	<i>mayim</i>
Gen 4	13	–	54
Exod 2	39	(5)	44
Lev –	2	–	43
Num –	19	(4)	45
Deut 2	14	(3)	21
Josh –	52	(3)	24
Judg –	3	(1)	13

1 Sam	–	1	–	8
2 Sam	–	2	–	10
1 Kgs–	16	(1)	19	
2 Kgs–	4	–	24	
Isa 2	31	–	56	
Jer –	18	(1)	29	
Ezek 3	59	–	48	
Hos –	3	–	3	
Joel –	2	–	2	
Amos1	5	–	5	
Obad–	–	–	–	
Jonah	1	12	–	2
Mic –	3	–	1	
	<i>t<sup>h</sup>ôm yām</i>	<i>(yam-sûp)</i>	<i>mayim</i>	
Nah –	3	–	3	
Hab 1	4	–	3	
Zeph –	3	–	–	
Hag –	1	–	–	
Zech –	8	–	2	
Mal –	–	–	–	
Psa 12	38	(5)	53	
Job 4	12	–	25	
Prov 4	3	–	14	
Ruth –	–	–	–	
Song Sol	–	–	–	3
Eccl –	2	–	2	
Lam –	1	–	5	
Esth –	1	–	–	
Dan –	2	–	3	
Ezra –	1	–	1	
Neh –	4	(1)	10	
1 Chron	–	3	–	3
2 Chron	–	11	–	4
Hebr. OT	36	395	(24)	582
Aram. OT	–	2	–	–*

3. *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* means “deep” or “waters of the deep” and, in accordance with the ancient worldview, usually indicates the ocean surrounding and underlying the earth (cf. Ph. Reymond, *L’eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l’AT* [1958], 167ff.; in Psa 33:7 *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* also seems to include the heavenly ocean for which the technical term *mabbûl* exists; cf. 29:10 and J. Begrich, *ZS* 6 [1928]: 135–53; on the semantic development *mabbûl*

“heavenly ocean” > “deluge” [Gen 6:17–11:10 12x], see J. H. Marks, *IDB* 2:279f.). The classification of meanings in KBL 1019—(1) sg. the primordial deep, (2) pl. the primordial depths, (3) ground water—is misleading; the word means “primordial water” in only a few passages in which the context clearly indicates this meaning (cf. W. H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift* [19672], 80n.5; Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 1:104–6).

(a) One group of passages speaks neutrally of *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* as of a natural phenomenon; thus Job 38:30 “the waters harden like stone and the surface of the flood becomes firm”; *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* here are the waters of the deep that harden into ice under very cold conditions. Similarly, *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* often parallels *mayim* “water” (Gen 1:2; Exod 15:8; Ezek 26:19; 31:4; Jonah 2:6; Hab 3:10; Psa 77:17; in Psa 42:8 par. *šinnôr* “stream of water?”) or *yām* “sea” (Isa 51:10; Psa 106:9; 135:6; Job 28:14; 38:16). *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* also appears as a mere natural phenomenon in Psa 135:6, where together with the other elements it describes the entire world (→ *šāmayim* “heaven,” → *ʿereṣ* “earth”); in Psa 148:7 “all the waters” are called to praise with the other creatures of the earth; *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* is used in a similarly neutral fashion in Hab 3:10; Psa 77:17; 107:26; Job 28:14; 38:16; 41:24.

(b) *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* can acquire the specific connotation of the deep waters, the depths, as in Psa 107:26, “they traveled up to heaven, down to *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* so that their souls despaired in distress.” Here one can translate *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* with “depths,” and thus in certain contexts *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* acquires the meaning of the flood or depths that threaten existence (cf. *m<sup>ᶜ</sup>šôlâ/m<sup>ᶜ</sup>šûlâ* “depths” with *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* in Exod 15:5; Jonah 2:4; Psa 107:24; Job 41:23; also in Mic 7:19; Zech 1:8; 10:11; Psa 68:23; 69:3, 16; 88:7; Neh 9:11; *šûlâ* “depths of the sea,” Isa 44:27; also *ma<sup>c</sup>maqîm* “depths” with *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* in Isa 51:10; also Ezek 27:34; Psa 69:3, 15; 130:1). *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* occurs in this meaning in the Song of the Sea (Exod 15) in reference to the defeat of the Egyptians (v 5 “the floods covered them, they went to the depths like stones”) and to the deliverance of Israel (v 8 “the flood waters hardened in the midst of the sea”; cf. also Isa 63:13 and Psa 106:9). Isa 51:10 also alludes to the events at the Sea of Reeds: “Was it not you who dried up the sea, the waters of the great deep?”—in conjunction here, however, with the chaos battle concept in v 9. The retrospective on distress in the psalm of individual lament also speaks of the existence-threatening *t<sup>h</sup>ôm*: Jonah 2:6 “The waters rose up to my throat, the flood/depths enfolded me”; also Psa 42:8(bis); 71:20.

(c) The depths can also acquire, however, an existence-promoting connotation when the flood in the depths is understood as inexhaustible. Thus one group of passages understands *t<sup>h</sup>ôm* as the source of blessing:

Gen 49:25 “with abundant blessing from the flood that resides below” par. Deut 33:13; also Deut 8:7; Psa 78:15; Ezek 31:4 “The waters made him great, the floods made him grow tall”; it is unclear whether several texts should be understood in the sense of the blessing flood or neutrally: Ezek 31:15; Amos 7:4; Psa 36:7; Prov 8:28. Passages that describe *t<sup>e</sup>hôm* as the source of blessing render impossible the still oft-represented understanding that the basic meaning of the word in Hebr. involves a hostile mythical force.

(d) The best-known passages that usually serve as the basis for the explanation of the word *t<sup>e</sup>hôm* are those in the P narratives concerning creation (Gen 1:2) and the flood (7:11; 8:2). The interpretation of *t<sup>e</sup>hôm* in 1:2 has been most strongly influenced by H. Gunkel (*Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* [1895]), who derived the word directly from Bab. Tiamat, the mythical primordial being and fem. principle of chaos, and who thus also assumed a basically mythical meaning for Gen 1:2. This direct derivation is untenable (see 1; cf. A. Heidel, *Babylonian Genesis* [1951], 98–101). In the OT *t<sup>e</sup>hôm* never signifies a mythical figure (like *rahab*, Isa 30:7; 51:9; Psa 87:4; 89:11; Job 9:13; 26:12; *liwyātān*, Isa 27:1; Psa 74:14; 104:26; Job 3:8; cf. 40:25; *tannîn* “sea dragon,” Isa 27:1; 51:9; Psa 74:13). The expression *‘al-p<sup>e</sup>nê t<sup>e</sup>hôm* “on the surface of the *t<sup>e</sup>hôm*” already indicates that the reference is not to a mythical being but to the torrential waters.

The word also occurs in the context of the creation event in Psa 33:7, “He placed the flood in chambers”; 104:6, “The primordial flood covered it (the earth) like a garment”; Prov 8:24, “while there were still floods”; 8:27, “when he laid out the clouds over the flood”; 8:28, “and strengthened the sources of the *t<sup>e</sup>hôm.*” Prov 3:20, “through his knowledge the floods broke forth and the clouds drip dew,” refers to the beneficial effects of the *t<sup>e</sup>hôm*.

*t<sup>e</sup>hôm* occurs in the flood narrative in Gen 7:11, “then all the wells of the great deep/flood broke forth,” and 8:2, “and the sources of the flood and the windows of heaven closed.” P portrays the beginning and end of the flood (the word does not occur in J, either in reference to the creation or to the flood) such that “the sources of the great flood” opened and closed again. Here too, then, the use of *t<sup>e</sup>hôm* is entirely unmythical: *t<sup>e</sup>hôm* describes the water under the earth that breaks through the surface of the earth and thus brings about the catastrophe. The prophetic proclamation of judgment in Ezek 26:19, “when I bring the flood upon you and cover you with the great waters,” is reminiscent of this destructive power of the flood beneath the earth’s surface set loose.

4. Any inquiry into the theological meaning of *t<sup>e</sup>hôm* must first be clear that *t<sup>e</sup>hôm* in the OT does not signify a force opposed to God, as was formerly assumed; it is not personified, and it has no mythical function.

*t<sup>e</sup>hôm* is an element of the created world (except in Gen 1:2) and consequently a realm of Yahweh's activity: "Everything he wishes Yahweh performs in heaven and on earth, in the sea and in all the depths" (Psa 135:6). Even in the flood narrative, God's decision to destroy caused the waters of the *t<sup>e</sup>hôm* to pour forth over the earth; his "memory" closes their sources again. Thus God's activity in history can use the *t<sup>e</sup>hôm* (Exod 15:5, 8; Ezek 26:19). Similarly, Yahweh's acts of blessing use the *t<sup>e</sup>hôm* (Deut 8:7; Psa 78:15). Creative activity and activity in history are linked as closely as possible in Isa 51:9–10: victory over the forces of chaos is seen as one with the deliverance of Israel at the Sea of Reeds. With reference to *t<sup>e</sup>hôm*, however, one should note that precisely when it would seem appropriate it does not designate a force of chaos but, as in Exod 15:5, 8, the flood or the depths of the Sea of Reeds. It appears quite similarly in the description of an epiphany in Psa 77:14–21, where God's approach to assist his people shakes the cosmos (v 17 "The waters saw you and quaked, the depths of the sea quivered"; similarly Hab 3:10). The call for the *t<sup>e</sup>hômôt* to praise the creator in Psa 148:7 and the shaking of the *t<sup>e</sup>hômôt* in 77:17 when God comes to aid his people make apparent the degree to which the *t<sup>e</sup>hôm* is a component of the world that God created and in which he acts.

Regarding the significance of the water and the sea in Yahwism and on the theme "battle with the chaos dragon" and "myth of the battle with the sea," cf. Reymond, op. cit.; O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel* (1959); W. H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel* (1961), 35–43; id., *Faith of the OT* (1983), 166–70; H. Gese et al., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer* (1970), 59ff., 134ff., etc.

5. Qumran literature uses *t<sup>e</sup>hôm* in continuation of the language of the Psa repeatedly in 1QH in particular (Kuhn, *Konk.* 230). The LXX translates almost regularly with *abyssos*. Early Judaism and the NT shift the meaning of *t<sup>e</sup>hôm* and *abyssos* to the depths of the earth as the prison of spirits and as the world of the dead; see the interpretation of Psa 107:26 in Rom 10:7; cf. J. Jeremias, "ἄβυσσος," *TDNT* 1:9f.; moreover, L. Goppelt, "ὕδωρ," *TDNT* 8:314–33.

C. Westermann

## תּוֹרָה *tôrâ* instruction

S 8451; BDB 435b; *HAL* 4:1575b; *ThWAT* 8:597–637; *TWOT* 910d; *NIDOTTE* 9368

## יָרָה *yṛh* hi. to instruct

S 3384; BDB 434b; HALOT 2:436b; TDOT 6:339–47; TWOT 910; NIDOTTE 3723

1. The root *yṛh* III (\**wry*) occurs in the OT in the form of the subst. *tôrâ* “instruction, law” (fem. verbal noun with *t-* prefix; see BL 495), the verb *yṛh* hi. “to instruct” (pf. *hôrâ*), and the subst. hi. ptcp. *môreh* “teacher.”

*yṛh* continues to present a linguistic problem. KBL 402f., GB 317f., and Zorell 329 list three *yṛh* roots, while, according to KBL 403, all instances of *yṛh* II hi./ho. “to dampen, be dampened” (hi. Hos 6:3; 10:12; ho. Prov 11:25) are eliminated through emendation (cf. *yôreh* “early rain,” Deut 11:14; Jer 5:24 Q; *môreh* II “early rain,” in Joel 2:23b and Psa 84:7 is also textually and exegetically contested; cf. KBL 506a). Whether or how *yṛh* III is related to *yṛh* I “to throw, shoot” is unclear. Wellhausen’s thesis that *yṛh* II “to teach” arose from “to cast lots” (*yṛh* I; the sole instance is Josh 18:6) is generally rejected today (e.g., J. Begrich, *Werden und Wesen des AT*, ed. P. Volz et al. [1936], 68f. = *GS zum AT* [1964], 238; G. Östborn, *Tôrâ in the OT* [1945], 95ff.; R. Rendtorff, *RGG* 6:950; only Köhler 205 still holds this position). Another possibility for deriving *yṛh* III from *yṛh* I is Gesenius’s proposal, “to extend the hand, the finger, in order to indicate the way” (GB 318a; cf. Prov 6:13; Psa 45:5; Gen 46:28?). Östborn, whose investigation of the question is extensive, agrees with this solution (op. cit. 4ff., 33, 169). A third possibility is to separate completely *yṛh* I and *yṛh* III; then the question arises as to the derivation of *yṛh* III: Akk. (*w*)*arû* “to lead” (*CAD* A/2:313–16) offers a possibility (even Östborn is unable to exclude this option, op. cit. 33n.3, 169). The thesis, first offered by Delitzsch, that *tôrâ* is a loanword from Akk. (*irtu*; cf. Zimmern 67f.: “portent, omen”; *GAG* §56l: “instruction”) and that *yṛh* hi. was then denominated from *tôrâ* (cf. I. Engnell, *Israel and the Law* [1946], 1ff.; Östborn, op. cit. 17ff.; Begrich, *GS* 238n.45) also deserves discussion. For additional suggestions, see KBL 403a; Östborn, op. cit. 4ff.; G. Rinaldi, *BeO* 14 (1972): 142; the issue can probably be resolved only through the discovery of new materials.

2. *tôrâ* occurs 220x in the OT (the pl. *tôrôt* only 12x: apparently only Exod 16:28 Dtr and Exod 18:16, 20 E are pre-exilic; also Gen 26:5; Lev 26:46; Isa 24:5; Ezek 43:11; 44:5, 24; Psa 105:45; Dan 9:10; Neh 9:13); Psa 36x (25x in Psa 119; in other Psa related to wisdom: Psa 1:2[bis]; 19:8; 37:31; 78:1, 5, 10; cf. also 40:9; 94:12; further, 89:31; 105:45), Deut 22x, Neh 21x, 2 Chron 17x, Lev 16x, Prov 13x, Isa 12x (Deutero-Isa 5x), Jer 11x (5x in the C materials), Num and 2 Kgs 10x each, Josh 9x, Exod and Ezek 7x each, Mal 5x, Dan and Ezra 4x each, Hos 3x, 1 Chron 2x, isolated occurrences in Gen 26:5; 2 Sam 7:19 txt? (cf. O. Eissfeldt, *KS* [1973], 5:143–51); 1 Kgs 2:3; Amos 2:4; Mic 4:2; Hab 1:4; Zeph 3:4; Hag 2:11; Zech 7:12; Job 22:22; Lam 2:9. With just over 40 occurrences, the word is most densely represented in Chr and Dtn-Dtr literature, followed by the Psa

(see above) and P (about 30x).

*yrh* hi. and the ptcp. *môreh* (subst. in Isa 30:20[bis]; Joel 2:23a; Hab 2:18; Job 36:22; Prov 5:13, although one cannot be certain in some cases whether the ptcp. also has subst. character, e.g., Hab 2:18) occur 51x (excl. Joel 2:23b; Psa 84:7, and *môreh* in the place designations in Gen 12:6; Deut 11:30; Judg 7:1), 8x in Psa, 7x in Job, 6x in Isa, 5x in Exod, 4x each in Deut and Prov, etc.

3. A use of *yrh* hi./*tôrâ* that is not specifically theological occurs almost solely in (a) Prov and (b) Job, rarely in (c) other passages.

(a) *tôrâ* paralleling *hōq* (→ *hqq*), *mišwâ* (→ *šwh* pi.), and → *dābār* never occurs in Prov in a “nomistic” sense (on Prov 28:4, 9; 29:18 cf. Gemser, HAT 16, 21; G. Bauckmann, ZAW 72 [1960]: 37) but always in a “hokmatic” meaning (J. Fichtner, *Die altorientalische Weisheit in ihrer israelitisch-jüdischen Ausprägung* [1933], 83; *tôrâ* never occurs in Prov with the definite art.; see A. von Rohr Sauer, *Concordia Theological Monthly* 43 [1972]: 606). *tôrâ* normally indicates the “instruction” of the wise (→ *hkm* 3b): Prov 13:14 “The *tôrâ* of the wise is a well of life”; 7:2 “Keep my *mišwôt* and you will live, and my *tôrâ* like the apple of your eye”; 3:1 “My son, do not forget my *tôrâ*”; 5:13 “the voice of my teacher (*môreh*)” also belongs here. In accord with the fact that the boundary between *ʾāb* as the title of the wisdom teacher and *ʾāb* as the lit. father is fluid (→ *ʾāb* III/2b), *tôrâ* also appears as the instruction of the father of a family: Prov 4:1f. “Give heed, my sons, to the admonition (*mûsār*) of your father and take note so that you may learn insight, for I give you good teaching, do not abandon my *tôrâ*”; cf. Prov 4:4, 11. *tôrâ* as maternal instruction is noteworthy (1:8 “Give heed, my son, to the admonition [*mûsār*] of your father, and do not reject the *tôrâ* of your mother”; 6:20 “Keep, my son, the *mišwâ* of your father, and do not disregard the *tôrâ* of your mother”). The capable housewife can be characterized by the fact that “*tôrâ* of goodness is on her tongue” (31:26). Cf. → *ʿēm* 4a and the Akk. proverb: “Pay attention to your mother’s speech as to your god’s speech” (J. J. A. van Dijk, *La Sagesse Suméro-Accadienne* [1953], 105).

The entire range of terms for “wisdom” parallels *tôrâ* (*yrh* hi.; cf. G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* [1972], 13): *mišwâ*/*mišwôt* Prov 3:1; 4:4; 6:20; 7:2; *hokmâ* 4:11; 31:26; *mûsār* 1:8; 4:1; 6:23; *leqaḥ* 4:2; *bînâ* 4:1; *dābār* 4:4; *derek* 4:11; *tôkaḥat* 6:23. The *tôrâ* of wisdom should not be left unheeded (*nṭš* 1:8; 6:20), forgotten (*škh* 3:1), abandoned (*ʾzb* 4:2); instead it should be kept (*šmr* 7:2). The oral character of the *tôrâ* is indicated by 31:26—as well as by the calls to hear (e.g., 1:8). The use of *yrh* hi. in 6:13, “pointing with one’s fingers,” which refers to “secret conspiracies” (Gemser,

HAT 16, 39), supplements the picture.

The thesis advocated in many studies that originally in the OT *tôrâ* was always divine instruction and that the nontheological use of *tôrâ* derived from the theological (see 4; Östborn, op. cit. 89ff.; Begrich, GS 233ff.; Rendtorff, op. cit. 950; KBL 1023b; G. Sauer, *BHH* 3:1494f.; O. Procksch, *Theologie des AT* [1950], 563) runs aground on a precise exegesis of the passages in Prov treated above, i.e., the *tôrâ* of wisdom must be regarded as a phenomenon independent of priestly and prophetic *tôrâ* (with B. Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy," FS Thomas 122; J. Jensen, *Use of tôrâ by Isaiah* [1973], 67ff.; cf. H. Schmid, *Judaica* 25 [1969]: 12). The prophetic and Dtn-Dtr use of the *tôrâ* concept even seems to have been influenced more by the wisdom than by the priestly concept (Lindars, op. cit. 128ff.; Jensen, op. cit. 171ff.). G. Liedke (*Gestalt und Bezeichnung atl. Rechtssätze* [1971], 195ff.) offers several additional arguments that could support the thesis that the *tôrâ* of the parents, esp. the mother, was the ultimate origin of the *tôrâ* process; cf. Östborn, op. cit. 115: "the earliest instruction was given by the parents." If this contention should prove true, then the vetitives and impvs. that appear frequently, esp. in Prov 22:7–24:21, could be the original speech form in which *tôrâ* was communicated (Liedke, op. cit. 198f.). Cf. Amos 4:4f.; 5:4–6:14f., 23f. (H. W. Wolff, *Amos the Prophet* [1973], 44–53).

(b) A later period of wisdom "teaching" is found in the book of Job. In 6:24 Job calls on his friends: "Teach (*yrh* hi.) me and I will remain silent, and make me understand (*bîn* hi.) where I have erred." In 27:11 Job offers "to instruct" his friends "concerning God's hand" (Fohrer, KAT 16, 380). In 8:10 Bildad insists on heeding the teachings of earlier generations (*ʾmr* "to say" par. *yrh* hi.). In 34:32 Elihu mocks the absurdity of the notion that Job could instruct God. In the context of a "theologia animalium," Job 12:7f. speaks of the fact that even the cattle could instruct (par. → *ngd* hi. and → *spr* pi.).

(c) A material relationship to wisdom instruction is present in Exod 35:34 Ps, where *yrh* hi. indicates the supervision of the craftsmen constructing the tabernacle (÷stborn, op. cit. 116; von Rad, op. cit. 20f.; → *hkm*). Psa 45:5 addresses the "right hand" of the king like an independent force that should "teach" the king frightful deeds (Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:455). Gen 46:28 also contains a profane usage of *yrh* hi., although it is textually uncertain (Gunkel, *Genesis* [19698], 463; von Rad, *Genesis* OTL [19722], 403).

4. In all the texts not yet mentioned *tôrâ* occurs in a theological context. (a) The *tôrâ* of the priest, (b) the *tôrâ* of Yahweh, and (c) the *tôrâ* of Moses are examined here.

(a) Even if one must dispute that “the Torah originally belonged only to the priests” (Begrich, *GS* 233; Sauer, *BHH* 3:1494f. with bibliog.; see 3a), it is still unmistakable that the communication of *tôrâ* was among the most essential functions of the priestly office (cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 1:243ff.; W. Zimmerli, *OT Theology in Outline* [1978], 93–99; Östborn, op. cit. 89ff.). For the 8th- and 7th-cent. prophets, the *tôrâ* is as characteristic of the priests as e.g., the → *dābār* is of the prophets (Jer 18:18; Ezek 7:26; cf. *yrh hi.* in Mic 3:11). The priests are accused because they have forgotten Yahweh’s *tôrâ* (Hos 4:6), because they have done it violence (→ *ḥāmās* 4; Zeph 3:4 and the comment on it in Ezek 22:26; cf. Horst, *HAT* 14, 197; Zimmerli, *Ezek*, *Herm*, 1:468f.), and because they have brought the downfall of many Israelites through (false) *tôrâ* (Mal 2:8).

The exegetical question remains unanswered as to whether Jer 2:8 and 8:8 speak of the priestly *tôrâ* (so Rudolph, *HAT* 12, 16, 61; cf. also Weiser, *ATD* 20, 72) or whether the “writers” of 8:8 are precursors of the post-exilic scribes (W. Gutbrod, *TDNT* 4:1045; J. P. Hyatt, “Torah in the Book of Jeremiah,” *JBL* 60 [1941]: 382ff.; W. Richter, *Recht und Ethos* [1966], 189n.126). The question is also unanswered as to whether the *tôrâ* is communicated (*yrh hi.*) in Deut 17:11 by the Levitical priest alone, by both priests and judges (17:9), or originally by the judge alone (as von Rad suspects, *Deut*, *OTL*, 117f.). It is unclear whether the “lying teachers” of Isa 9:14 are (temple) prophets or priests (cf. Wildberger, *Isa* 1–12, *CC*, 221, 235f.).

Perhaps the oldest instance of the relationship between the *tôrâ* and the priest is the Levi saying in the Blessing of Moses that says of the Levites: “They teach (*yrh hi.*) Jacob your *mišpāṭim* and Israel your *tôrâ*” (Deut 33:10; cf. M. Noth, *GS* [19663], 1:316n.16; Begrich, *GS* 233n.10 emends to *tôrôt*). This statement is reflected in the late passage Mal 2:6–9, which brands the priests’ misuse of the *tôrâ* (2:9) as “corruption of the covenant of Levi” (2:8). 2 Chron 15:3 (cf. Lam 2:9) makes it clear that the absence of a “teaching priest” (*kōhēn mōreh*) in Israel is synonymous with the absence of the true God and the *tôrâ*. Cf. the teaching of the priest in Lev 10:11; 14:57; Deut 24:8; 2 Kgs 17:27f.; Jer 5:31(?).

The priestly *tôrâ* —if uncorrupted—is Yahweh’s *tôrâ* (see 4b). “The priest communicates Yahweh’s words” (Begrich, *GS* 234). *tôrâ* is communicated orally (Mal 2:6f.; Hag 2:11–13, etc.; Begrich, *GS* 236; on the distinction between *yrh hi.* and *lmd pi.* see → *lmd* 3). The process of communicating *tôrâ* is clear from Hag 2:11–13 (O. Eissfeldt, *Intro.* [1965], 73f.). According to Zeph 3:4; Ezek 22:26; 44:23; Hag 2:11–13; Lev 11:46f.; 12:7f., the priestly *tôrâ* communicates information concerning the proper distinction between holy and profane, clean and unclean, to the ignorant layperson (cf. also Lev 10:10f.; 14:57); Ezek 22:26 mentions keeping the

Sabbath as an example (Zimmerli, op. cit. 1:468f.; P. J. Budd, VT 23 [1973]: 4–7, 14). Sections designated as *tôrâ* in Ps indicate additional topics of the communication of *tôrâ*. Passover (Exod 12:49), some sacrifices (Lev 6:2, 7, 18; 7:1, 11, 37; Num 15:16, 29), leprosy (Lev 13:59; 14:2, 32, 54, 57; cf. Deut 24:8), discharge (Lev 15:32), ordeal (Num 5:29f.), the Nazirite (Num 6:13, 21); cf. Begrich, GS 235f.

These Ps sections certainly subsume topics under the title *tôrâ* that originally had nothing to do with *tôrâ* but stemmed from other branches of priestly activity.

Begrich (GS 243ff.) attempted to recover from so-called prophetic imitations of *tôrâ* and from a few hexateuchal texts an original form of the priestly *tôrâ*, characterized esp. by impv. commandments and prohibitions in the 2d per. pl. (e.g., Lev 7:22–25). Alongside this instruction of the laity concerning cultic questions (*tôrâ*), Begrich places impersonally formulated, inner-priestly professional knowledge (according to Hos 4:6; Mal 2:7 called *da<sup>ca</sup>t*, Begrich, GS 251ff.; → *yd<sup>c</sup>* IV/2a). R. Rendtorff (*Die Gesetze in der Priesterschrift* [19632]) and K. Koch (*Die Priesterschrift von Exod 25 bis Lev 16* [1959]) further differentiate: Rendtorff derives from Begrich's *da<sup>ca</sup>t* material the form of the "ritual" that indicates the individual acts of sacrifice involving the laity. The ritual is communicated to the laity like the *tôrâ*. Koch subdivided Begrich's *tôrâ* into simple and extended *tôrâ* and also found priestly apodictic statements to be a third form (Koch, op. cit. 97f.). Liedke (op. cit. 198f.) raises the question as to whether only the vetitives and impvs. should be designated *tôrâ*, while the prohibitions and optative presents should designate *mišwōt* (→ *šwh*). Cf. also T. Lescow, ZAW 82 (1970): 362–79.

That all these materials can be designated as *tôrâ* in the final form of P points to a shift in the meaning of *tôrâ*. Naturally, the *da<sup>ca</sup>t* relates closely to the instruction of the laity: the priest communicating instruction (*tôrâ*) to the laity works in the *da<sup>ca</sup>t* tradition. Consequently, ritual and other components of *da<sup>ca</sup>t* can also understandably be designated *tôrâ* (Begrich, GS 257f.; Rendtorff, op. cit. 70f.). The syntactically isolated formula *zō<sup>ʔ</sup>t tôrat* + a nomen rectum (as a superscription in Lev 6:2, 7, 18; 7:1, 11; [14:2]; Num 6:13; 19:14; as a subscription in Lev 7:37; 11:46; 12:7; 13:59; [14:32]; 14:54, 57; 15:32; Num 5:29; 6:21; [Ezek 43:12]) points to the secondary association of these texts with the term *tôrâ* (Rendtorff, op. cit. 71f.). According to Begrich (GS 258n.174) the entire tradition of priestly instruction was published in Ezra's time. Thereby, this tradition of instruction became state law, while priestly *tôrâ* and law had been separate to that point (Begrich, GS 237).

The super- and subscriptions in Ps use *ḥôq* and *ḥuqqâ* as synonyms of *tôrâ* (→ *ḥqq*). While *tôrâ* dominates in the major collections Lev 1–7 and 11–15, *ḥuqqâ* occurs most often in isolated passages (Rendtorff, op. cit. 73f.; on Num 19:2; 31:21 *ḥuqqat hattôrâ*, cf. → *ḥqq* 4c). In the phrase *tôrâ ʿaḥat* (Exod 12:49; Lev 7:7; Num 15:16), which demands the uniform validity of *tôrâ*, the transformation of the *tôrâ* concept evident in the super- and subscriptions is already presupposed in the priestly realm (Rendtorff, op. cit. 72n.38).

One can determine that *tôrâ*—which does not occur otherwise in the basic P document (Rendtorff, op. cit. 72n.38)—always designates an individual cultic law in Ps so that the pl. *tôrôt* can also be used comprehensively (Lev 26:46 H; Ezek 44:5 Q; 44:24). Later rabbinic casuistry is evident here (see 5; R. Rendtorff, *RGG* 6:951).

(b) Perhaps in opposition to the priests' monopolization and adulteration of the *tôrâ*, Hosea and Jeremiah speak emphatically of Yahweh's *tôrâ* (other early prophets apparently avoid the word *tôrâ*, thus e.g., Amos; Amos 2:4 is a Dtr expansion of the Judah saying; cf. Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 163f.). Hosea understands Yahweh's *tôrâ* not as individual instructions but as the "entire disclosure of Yahweh's will, already fixed in writing" (Wolff, *Hos*, Herm, 138; Hos 4:6 par. *daʿat*, 8:1, 12 par. → *bʿrît*). Isaiah accuses the Israelites because they "despise Yahweh's *tôrâ*" (5:24), because they "are sons who do not wish to hear Yahweh's *tôrâ*" (30:9) (cf. Jensen, op. cit. 171ff.). For Isaiah, *tôrâ* still indicates individual instruction, as demonstrated by 1:10, where a prophetic oracle is headed "*tôrâ* of our God" (cf. Wildberger, op. cit. 37f.). Isa 8:16 extrapolates this line of thought and Isaiah himself designates his entire message as "*tʿûdâ* and *tôrâ*" (cf. Zech 7:12; Östborn, op. cit. 127ff.). In 8:20, then, a later editor uses the same pair of terms to demand attention to the transmitted prophetic word (Wildberger, op. cit. 364f., 373f.; von Rad, *Theol.* 2:42f.). In accord with this concept, the prophets could also be "lying teachers" (Isa 9:14), like the idols (Hab 2:18f.). Jeremiah also turns the formula "*tôrâ* of Yahweh" polemically against priest and people (Jer 6:19; 8:8; cf. Rudolph, HAT 12, 47; Hyatt, op. cit.); accordingly, when promised the new covenant, Yahweh says: "I will place my *tôrâ* in your heart" (31:33; on the interpretation, cf. von Rad *Theol.* 2:212ff.). According to Isa 2:3 (= Mic 4:2) "*tôrâ* will proceed" from Zion in the end times; in the sense of Deut 17:11 such *tôrâ* decides cases of conflict between the nations (Wildberger, op. cit. 91). Similarly, *tôrâ* for the nations proceeds from the servant of God (Isa 51:4; 42:4); Isa 51:7 presupposes Jer 31:33.

Yahweh's *tôrâ* in these prophets often parallels → *dābār*, *ʿimrâ* (→ *ʿmr*

), and → *b<sup>ê</sup>rît*; in Deutero-Isa it twice parallels *mišpāt* (texts in Liedke, op. cit. 15–17).

It is not entirely clear which traditions are mirrored in this pointed discussion of Yahweh's *tôrâ*. The Sinai tradition certainly plays a decisive role here (cf. Hos 8:12 with the gloss in Exod 24:12 and with Josh 24:26; G. Schmitt, *Der Landtag zu Sichem* [1964], 13ff.; H. Robscheit, "Die thora bei Amos und Hosea," *EvT* 10 [1950/51]: 26–38; H. Schmid, *Judaica* 25 [1969]: 14f.); opposition to the priestly *tôrâ* has already been mentioned; influences of wisdom tradition have also been posited (esp. Jensen, op. cit.)—in fact, the use of *tôrâ* as a designation of Yahweh's entire will (only in Exod 18:16, 20 E; Gen 26:5 and Psa 105:45 speak of Yahweh's *tôrôt*; the compulsion to form series effects these passages) is reminiscent of the discussion of the parental *tôrâ* in Prov (see 3a; cf. Isa 30:9 with Prov 4:1f.; cf. also Job 22:22). The use of *môreh* in the phrase "oracle terebinths" (Gen 12:6; Deut 11:30; and in the place-name in Judg 7:1) also belongs to the now-lost prehistory of Yahweh's *tôrâ* (÷stborn, op. cit. 23ff., overvalues this aspect in his chapter "The Deity as Imparter of Tora"). Discussion of "Yahweh's instruction" that already occurs in J also forms a precursor to the formula "*tôrâ* of Yahweh": Exod 4:12, Yahweh to Moses: "I will instruct you what you should say"; cf. v 15 (cf. Noth, *Exod*, OTL, 46f.). In Judg 13:8 the man of God should "instruct (Samson's parents) what they should do with the boy." The form of speech is taken up again in Isaiah's parable of the farmer, as well as in the request in the Psa: "Teach me, O Yahweh, your way" (86:11; 27:11; 119:33; cf. 25:8, 12; 32:8; Isa 2:3 = Mic 4:2). This usage is reflected in the concept of Yahweh as "teacher" (*môreh*) in Job 36:22 and Isa 30:20.

Yahweh's *tôrâ* is moreover the theme of the so-called Torah Psalms (1; 19B; 119). They should not be understood "nomistically" (cf. the excurses in Kraus, *Psa*, CC, 1:273f.; 2:412–14), since *tôrâ* appears in them as a life-giving statement of Yahweh's will and one's attitude toward *tôrâ* is joy and delight. In contrast to the older *tôrâ* concept, the *tôrâ* piety of these Psa relates primarily to the individual, not to the people (Psa 1:2; 19:8; the formula "your *tôrâ*" characterizes 119, which alternates *tôrâ* with other words for "law"; cf. Liedke, op. cit. 12). Isa 42:21, 24b are glosses in the spirit of the *tôrâ* Psa (Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 111, 113). Psa 37:31 and 40:9 are reminiscent of Jer 31:33 (cf. 1QH 4:10); Psa 94:12 indicates the affinity of this *tôrâ* piety to wisdom. Only in 78:1, 5, 10 and 89:31 does *tôrâ* refer in the Psa to the people of Israel (par. → *b<sup>ê</sup>rît*, *mišpāfîm* ).

(c) The close association of the *tôrâ* concept with the name of Moses characterizes the Dtr and Chr literature of the OT. *tôrâ* does not occur—

with the exception of Deut 17:11, 18f.—in the legal corpus of Deut (in Deut 17:11 it refers to the individual instruction of the priest or the judge; 17:18f. are apparently a later insertion; von Rad, *Deut*, OTL, 119). In the framework of Deut (1–4; 27–32), however, a usage of *tôrâ* occurs that is “of special importance for this unification, particularly for the legal traditions” (von Rad, *Theol.* 1:221). While the priestly *tôrâ* in particular had to that point been individual instruction, Deut takes up the understanding, which had been foreshadowed by Hosea and perhaps Isaiah, that the revelation of Yahweh’s will to Israel should be understood as a unity (von Rad, *Theol.* 1:222).

The following phrases occur: “this (entire) *tôrâ*” (1:5; 4:8; 17:18; 31:9, 11; 32:46); “the book of this *tôrâ*” (28:61; 29:20; 30:10; 31:26); “(all) the words of this *tôrâ*” (17:19; 27:3, 8, 26; 28:58; 29:28; 31:12, 24); “*tôrâ* of Moses/that Moses gave,” etc. (1:5; 4:8, 44; 31:9).

In contrast to other words for “law” in Deut, *tôrâ* is never related to Yahweh through a cs. construction, a suf., or directly in any other manner (G. Braulik, *Bib* 51 [1970]: 65). This phenomenon reflects on the one hand the mediating role of Moses, on the other hand perhaps the wisdom origins of the *tôrâ* concept: Lindars (op. cit. 135) has shown that the Dtr authors probably prefer *tôrâ* as a comprehensive term “because of their didactic purpose.”

Deut 4:8, 44 indicate that *tôrâ* encompasses first of all the → *ḥuqqîm* and *mišpāṭîm* of 5:1–26:16 (Braulik, op. cit. 64f.; Liedke, op. cit. 185), and then the curse sanctions of ch. 28 (cf. 29:20). Deut 27:3, 8, 26 already combine these two concepts. Deut 32:46 also subsumes the Song of Moses under the *tôrâ*, i.e., *tôrâ* here refers to Deut 1–32 (Braulik, op. cit. 65).

Deut is no more concerned with “legalism” than the legal Psa (von Rad, *Theol.* 1:219–23); nevertheless, the latest expansions of Deut understand the book itself as “scripture,” i.e., as the literarily fixed will of Yahweh (Deut 17:18; 28:58, 61; 29:19f.; von Rad, *Deut*, OTL, 29f.).

This written *tôrâ* plays a central role in the theology of the Dtr history: the kings of Israel and Judah (1 Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 10:31; 14:6; 21:8; 23:24f.), Joshua (Josh 1:7f.), and the people (Josh 8:31ff.; 22:5; 23:6; 2 Kgs 17:13, 34, 37; cf. von Rad, *Theol.* 1:339ff.; H.-J. Kraus, *EvT* 11 [1951/52]: 415, 428; R. Smend, FS von Rad [1971], 494–97) are measured against the *tôrâ* of Moses. In Dtn-Dtr texts, *tôrâ* is often the obj. of the verbs → *šmr*, → *šh*, → *hlk*, → *zb*, → *šwh* pi., *ktb*, → *ntn* (cf. KBL 1024).

Central for Dtr is the (re)discovery of the *tôrâ* of Moses under King Josiah (2 Kgs 22:8, 11; 23:24f.). For Dtr this *tôrâ* of Moses is the book of Deut (M. Noth, *Deuteronomistic History* [19912], 116n.1). A similar understanding of *tôrâ* occurs in the so-called C materials of the book of Jer

(Jer 9:12; 16:11; [26:4]; 32:23; 44:10, 23), as well as in the Dtr glosses in the Pentateuch (Exod 13:9; 16:4, 28); as in Dtr, *tôrâ* here parallels *ḥuqqôt*, *mišwôt*, *mišpāḥîm*, *ʿēdût*, *bʿrît*, *mišmeret* (see tables in Liedke, op. cit. 13f.). Mal 3:22 and perhaps Dan 9:10ff. stand in the tradition of Dtr language. *tôrâ* occurs in Chr in the same linguistic expressions (“this *tôrâ*,” “book of the *tôrâ*,” etc.); the formulae “*tôrâ* of Moses” (Ezra 3:2; 7:6; 2 Chron 23:18; 25:4; 30:16) and “*tôrâ* of Yahweh/God” (Ezra 7:10; Neh 8:8; 10:29; 1 Chron 16:40; 22:12; 2 Chron 12:1; 17:9; 31:3f.; 34:14; 35:26) both occur. Notably, the Chr often adds a reference to the *tôrâ* to his Dtr source (cf. 2 Chron 6:16 with 1 Kgs 8:25; 2 Chron 23:18 with 2 Kgs 11:18c; 2 Chron 35:26 with 2 Kgs 23:28). The continued usage of the expression “*tôrâ* of Moses” is also interesting, although the figure of Moses does not occur at all in Chr’s historiography. “That to which Dtr. gave a historical foundation Chr. already accepted as something self-evident and of timeless validity” (Noth, *Chronicler’s History* [1987], 84; cf. 97f., 172n.13). Chr probably already envisions the complete Pentateuch. Like Dtn-Dtr, Chr can also still regard the *tôrâ* as a unit (1 Chron 22:12; 2 Chron 12:1; 14:3; 15:3; 35:26); “but a very much more formal and external mode of reference is commoner, namely in the many cases where he speaks of the correspondence of a certain cultic usage with a canonical ritual regulation” (1 Chron 16:40; 2 Chron 23:18; 31:3; Ezra 3:2, etc.; von Rad, *Theol.* 1:352). Thus Chr introduces a tendency to resolve the timeless *tôrâ* into individual commandments that has affinities with the casuistry of Ps (see 4a).

In a late stage of the OT, the old Pers. loanword *dat* occurs as a designation for “(civil) law, (royal) decree,” etc. (Hebr. 21x; Esth 20x, Ezra 8:36; excl. Deut 33:2 Q txt? cf. HAL 90a; Aram. 14x; Dan 8x, Ezra 6x; cf. KBL 1067b; Wagner no. 71). The word, which belongs to the realm of civil administration, assumes the place of *tôrâ* in Chr usage (cf. Ezra 7:6, 10) in the title “scribe of the law of the God of heaven” (Aram., Ezra 7:12, 21; cf. vv 14, 25f. “laws of your God” and Dan 6:6 “law of his God” = “his religion”) for Ezra as the “expert on matters of Jewish religion in the Persian government” (Rudolph, HAT 20, 73, following H. H. Schaefer, *Esra der Schreiber* [1930], 49).

5. Later usage of *tôrâ* is governed by two trends initiated in the OT: (a) the atomization of individual instructions of the *tôrâ* initiated in Psa and Chr leads to rabbinic casuistry (1 Macc also evidences this trend; cf. D. Rössler, *Gesetz und Geschichte* [1962], 12–42; Noth, *Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* [1966], 85–103; K. Hruby, *Judaica* 25 [1969]: 30–63); (b) the view, developed in Hos, Isa, and esp. Deut, of the unity of the “law,” which leads to the designation not only of the Pentateuch but of the entire OT canon as *tôrâ* (this trend continues in the *tôrâ* piety of the Psa [see 4b; H. Gese, RGG 6:1581], in late wisdom [Fichtner, op. cit. 93ff.; Bauckmann, op. cit. 47–55; von Rad, *Wisdom* 244ff.], and in so-

called apocalypticism [Rössler, op. cit. 43ff.]. On Qumran cf. M. Delcor, *RB* 61 (1954): 533–53; 62 (1955): 66–75; specifically regarding the “Teacher (*môreh*) of Righteousness,” cf. Wolff, *Joel*, Herm, 63f. (bibliog.); G. Harder, *BHH* 2:1064–66 (bibliog.). Regarding LXX, Josephus, Philo, and the NT, cf. H. Kleinknecht and W. Gutbrod, “νόμος,” *TDNT* 4:1022–91; E. Lohse and O. Bauernfeind, *RGG* 2:1515–19; L. M. Pasinya, *La notion de “nomos” dans le Pentateuque grec* (1973). Regarding §5 as a whole, see J. Maier, *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 6 (1969): 65–83.

G. Liedke/C. Petersen

### תִּכַּן *tkn* to measure

S 8505; BDB 1067a; *HAL* 4:1596b; *ThWAT* 8:653–57; *TWOT* 2511; *NIDOTTE* 9419

1. The root *tkn* “to measure, examine,” etc. occurs outside Hebr. only in Aram. Tg. (e.g., pa. Psa 78:20 and 107:36 for Hebr. *kûn* hi./po. “to prepare,” i.e., in the meaning of *tqn* pa.; similarly Akk. *taknu* “carefully prepared” is probably only a variant of *tqn*). The root *tqn* “to stand firm, be in order” is well known in Akk. and Aram. (D stem “to set right, bring into order”; cf. *DISO* 172, 333; Bibl. Aram. *tqn* hop<sup>al</sup> “to be reestablished,” Dan 4:33; cf. *KBL* 1137f.; Arab. *tqn* IV “to perfect, bring to perfection; to master,” Wehr 95; regarding Ug., cf. *WUS* no. 2759 and Gröndahl, 201); Aram. *tqn* has also been adopted in Hebr. as a loanword (*tqn* qal “to be straight,” Eccl 1:15, perhaps to be pointed as a ni. “to be straightened out”; pi. “to straighten,” Eccl 7:13; 12:9; Sir 47:9; Wagner no. 328 with bibliog.) and has probably also influenced *tkn* semasiologically, particularly in the derived stems (but cf. trans. *tkn* qal [over against intrans. *tkn* qal] and the meanings of the substs.). It has also been suggested that *tkn* be seen as a secondary denomination from *t<sup>e</sup>kûnâ* “place, arrangement” (subst. of the root → *kûn*; cf. M. Z. Kaddari, *RQ* 18 [1965]: 220).

*tkn* qal, ni., pi., and pu. are attested in the OT, as are the subst. *tōken* “quantity,” *toknît* “measure(?)” (BL 505), and *matkōnet* “measurement, amount” (BL 493).

2. *tkn* qal occurs 3x (in Prov), ni. 10x (1 Sam 2:3 and 9x in Ezek 18:25, 29 and 33:17, 20), pi. 4x (Isa 40:12f.; Psa 75:4; Job 28:25), pu. 1x (2 Kgs 12:12), *tōken* 2x (Exod 5:18; Ezek 45:11), *toknît* 2x (Ezek 28:12 and 43:10 in a difficult text; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 2:81, 410), and *matkōnet* 5x (Exod 5:8; 30:32, 37; Ezek 45:11; 2 Chron 24:13); in all the root occurs

27x.

3. The root's basic meaning seems to be "measured, to determine by measure, weight, etc." The poetical texts Isa 40:12 (par. *mdd* "to measure") and Job 28:25 (with *mišqāl* "weight" and *middâ* "quantity") use *tkn* pi. in a concrete meaning of the vastness of creation (somewhat differently perhaps in Psa 75:4 "to establish firmly" in contrast to *mûg* ni. "to sway"; cf. also G. R. Driver, *VT* 1 [1951]: 242f. and Elliger, BK 11, 48n.1). The pu. ptcp. "counted (money)" in 2 Kgs 12:12 fits here.

The remaining passages use the verb more in a fig. sense, i.e., qal "to weigh (the spirits/hearts) = to test" (Prov 16:2; 21:2; 24:12), pi. "to direct (the spirit of Yahweh)" (Isa 40:13), and ni. "to be weighed, examined (deeds)" (1 Sam 2:3) and "to be measured, corrected (way, behavior)" (Ezek 18:25, 29; 33:17, 20).

Semantically related verbs that should be mentioned are on the one hand *mdd* "to measure" (→ *spr* 3a) and *šql* "to weigh, weigh out" (qal 19x, ni. 3x; *mišqôl* [Ezek 4:10] and *mišqāl* [49x] "weight," *mišqelet* [Isa 28:17] and *mišqôlet* [2 Kgs 21:13] "[mason's] level," as well as *šeqel* "unit of weight, shekel," 88x; and Bibl. Aram. *teqel* Dan 5:25, 27; *tql* pe. 5:27), and on the other hand, in a fig. sense, → *bḥn* "to test" and the terms cited there (3b); cf. also → *yʿd*.

4. A specifically theological meaning of the verb *tkn* is not apparent in passages with God as the subj. or the obj. of the action. Prov 21:2; 24:12 (cf. 16:2) are reminiscent of Eg. concepts of weighing the heart, yet it is also possible to translate directly "to measure, determine, examine" (cf. Gemser, HAT 16, 70). Isa 40:12; Psa 75:4 and Job 28:25 reflect the hymnic praise of the vastness of creation. The exegetically disputed passage Isa 40:13, "Who has directed the spirit of Yahweh," is a rhetorical question like v 12: no one can measure the creation, let alone God's wondrously effective power (Westermann, *Isa 40–66*, OTL, 50f.; Elliger, BK 11, 50f.).

From the meaning "to be measured, determined" it is semasiologically easy to arrive at the meaning "to be in order, correct" for the ni. of *tkn* (yet one should also consider the influence of *tqn* here). *tkn* ni. describes Yahweh's behavior (*derek* "way, behavior") toward Israel. While the "house of Israel" disputes the propriety of Yahweh's way, Yahweh raises the counterquestion of the propriety of the people's way (Ezek 18:25, 29; 33:17, 20). 1 Sam 2:3 Q concerns either God's deeds ("and his deeds are right"; cf. e.g., G. Bressan, *Samuele* [1954], 72) or, more likely, human deeds ("and the deeds will be examined by him," with most comms. and transl.).

5. The verb occurs 4x in the available Qumran texts, in addition to the new subst. *tikkûn* "determination, order, rank", not attested in OT Hebr. (Kuhn, *Konk.* 233; id., *RQ* 14 [1963]: 233; M. Z. Kaddari, "The Root *Tkn*

in the Qumran Texts,” *RQ* 18 [1965]: 219–27); the noun (a verbal abstract of the pi.) is used in reference to temporal determinations, moral behavior, and one’s appropriate place. The semantic development of *tikkûn* in Qumran Hebr. suggests a confluence of the meanings of → *kûn*, *tkn*, and *tqn* (cf. M. Delcor, “Contribution à l’étude de la législation des sectaires de Damas et de Qumran,” *RB* 61 [1954]: 543f.; A. Haldar, *Studies in the Book of Nahum* [1947], 57).

In Isa 40:13 (see 4) the LXX translates *tkn* pi. freely, but appropriately, with *gignōskein* (cf. Prov 24:12 qal), in Prov 21:2 *tkn* qal with trans. *kateuthynein* “to straighten, guide” (fusion with *tqn* pi.; cf. Eccl. 7:14). By contrast, in Ezek 18:25 intrans. *kateuthynein* “to be right” renders *tkn* ni. (v 29 *katorthoun*; 33:17, 20 *euthys*).

In the NT, 2 Thess 3:5 “May the Lord, however, direct your hearts to love for God,” with a trans. *kateuthynein*, alludes to Prov 21:2 (LXX; with a shift in meaning with respect to MT).

M. Delcor

## תָּמַם *tmm* to be complete

S 8552; BDB 1070a; *HAL* 4:1613b; *ThWAT* 8:688–701; *TWOT* 2522; *NIDOTTE* 9462

1. The root *tmm* “to be/become complete” occurs outside Hebr. in Ug. (*WUS* no. 2770; *UT* no. 2563), Phoen.-Pun. (*DISO* 329–31), Aram. (only postbibl.), and Arab. (Wehr 97b); it competes with *gmr* (→ *gml* 1), → *klh/kl* (→ *kōl*), and → *šlm*, et al.

The OT uses the qal, hi. (causative), and hitp. (“to deal with someone in a complete relationship [= with integrity],” only 2 Sam 22:26 = Psa 18:26). The Ug. use of the verb is questionable (according to *CML* 1 111a, 153b, it occurs in Baal III.i.24 [but cf. *KTU* 1.6.I.52]; cf. also P. J. van Zijl, *Baal* [1972], 193f.), and it is rare in Phoen.-Pun. (*DISO* 331).

Adjs. are *tāmîm* (also subst.: Josh 24:24; Judg 9:16, 19; Amos 5:10, etc.) and *tām* (*\*tamm-*; Pun. *tm* as an indication of the flawlessness of sacrificial animals; cf. J. Hoftijzer, *VT* 8 [1958]: 288–92; similarly perhaps in Ug. in *UT* 1.2, but cf. Herdner, *CTA* 34.2 [and p. 118n.1, also p. 292]; *KTU* 1.39.2; J. C. de Moor, *UF* 2 [1970]: 322, 325; moreover, *KTU* 1.23.66f., *šnt tmt* “full years”); substs. are *tōm* (*\*tumm-*; Ug. in Krt i.24 according to *CML* 1 28f., *CML* 2 82 [but cf. *KTU* 1.14.I.24; Herdner, *CTA* 14.I.24] and Pun. [*DISO* 329] in the phrase, also common in the OT, *be* +

*tm* + suf. “in the totality/completion of someone/something”), fem. *tummâ* (perhaps also Pun., *DISO* 330), and *m<sup>ê</sup>tôm* (with the specialized meaning “well/healthy part of the body,” Isa 1:6; Psa 38:4, 8; *m<sup>ê</sup>tîm* “men, people” [→ יִשׁ III/1] should be read in Judg 20:48). The etymology of *tummîm* “Thummim oracle” is uncertain (with the exception of 1 Sam 14:41 LXX, it appears only with יִשׁ: Exod 28:30; Lev 8:8; Deut 33:8; Ezra 2:63; Neh 7:65; regarding the institution, cf. de Vaux 2:352f., 525; R. Press, *BHH* 3:2066f.).

Finally, the root *tmm* is also contained in the PN *yôtâm* (*IP* 189f.: “Yahweh has proven upright, righteous”; regarding Ug. and Phoen.-Pun. names such as *iltm* or *tmb<sup>l</sup>* and *b<sup>l</sup>tm*, cf. Gröndahl 201; Benz 429).

2. Statistics: *tmm* qal occurs 54x (Jer 11x, Josh 9x, Deut and Psa 6x each [incl. Psa 19:14]), hi. 8x, hitp. 2x (see 1), *tāmîm* 91x (Lev 22x, Num 19x, Ezek 13x, Psa 12x, Prov 6x), *tām* 15x (Job 7x), *tôm* 23x (Psa and Prov 7x each), *tummâ* 5x (Job 4x, Prov 1x), *m<sup>ê</sup>tôm* 4x (see 1); thus the root as a whole (except for *tummîm* and the PN *yôtâm*) occurs 202x. An overview indicates that the use of the verb has no point of concentration, while the nom. forms—apart from a use of *tāmîm* as a sacrificial term (see 3d)—concentrates in Psa, Job, and Prov.

3. (a) The verb, with its rather even distribution, must have been a component of the general vernacular. It designates that a speech (Job 31:40), a plan (Psa 64:7 LXX), an act (Job 3:17; 5:8) but also the construction of the temple (1 Kgs 6:22) or the distribution of money (Gen 47:15) “is/is becoming ready”; moreover, that a period of time “is at an end” (Gen 47:18; Lev 25:29; Deut 34:8, etc.) or that a particular group “is/is becoming complete” (1 Sam 16:11); furthermore, the ripening of a plant (Isa 18:5; Ezek 47:12) and even the fulfillment of a divine word (Josh 4:10).

As in Eng. vernacular, “to be finished” can also have a pejorative sense: someone’s power is “at an end” (Lev 26:20). One-third of qal instances refer to “dying an evil death,” often “through sword and hunger” (Jer 14:15; 44:12, 18, etc.).

The leading concept associated with *tmm* is not that of one who perseveres in one’s work and completes it; rather it involves a process that has already been accomplished in the thing or person concerned and that, through imminent necessity, will produce either a good or a bad result. This concept is evident when death is involved, e.g., “You must bear the burden of guilt from your harlotry (*z<sup>ê</sup>nût*) until your corpses come to an end (= decay?) in the wilderness” (Num 14:33, Yahweh assists the process, v 35). Lam 4:22 is similar; here Jerusalem’s destruction brought the city’s burden of guilt (*‘āwōn*) to its necessary conclusion. The psalmist’s self-completion

through avoidance of evil people lies along the same lines (Psa 19:14; cf. Job 22:3). God is rarely the causative subj. of the hi. (Ezek 22:15; cf. Dan 8:23; 9:24 Q).

(b) The subst. *tōm* appears, with the exception of three instances in Prov and Job as well as in Psa 25:21, only with a preceding prep. and thus describes the type and manner of an activity: the completeness of an act (e.g., Isa 47:9 “it comes over you completely”) or the subjective attitude of the agent (also “unawareness, naïveté,” etc., e.g., 1 Kgs 22:34 = 2 Chron 18:33). The phrase *šh/hlk b’tōm lēbāb* “to do something/walk with the completeness of one’s heart [= thought and volition]” occurs 5x (*šh* Gen 20:5f.; cf. 1 Kgs 9:4; *hlk* 1 Kgs 9:4; Psa 78:72; 101:2). The verb *hlk* “to walk” in the sense of an individual undertaking or a consistent behavior is often combined with *tōm* (2 Sam 15:11; Psa 26:1, 11; 101:2; Prov 2:7; 10:9; 19:1; 20:7; 28:6). *yōšer* “straightforwardness” serves as a par. term (1 Kgs 9:4; Psa 25:21). *tōm* also involves a designation in the general vernacular. Yet in wisdom, *tōm* becomes a thematic term and encompasses the “completeness” of a person consistently faithful to the community, from which springs, according to Prov, the promise of future, beneficial success (Prov 10:9; 13:6; 19:1; 20:7).

(c) The fem. subst. *tummâ* is used only in Job and in Prov 11:3. It may express the result of a consistent human *tōm/tāmîm* conduct: less the deed than the consequence in the context of a sphere of good actions-blessings understood in such a way that deed and consequence overlap. Thus one can even translate it “integrity of a fortunate life” (“the integrity of the upright [*tummat yšārîm*] guides them, but the perverse way of the faithless destroys them. . . . The faithfulness of the complete [*tāmîm*] make their paths straight [*yšr pi.*], but evildoers fall in their own evil,” Prov 11:3, 5). Consequently, *tummâ* is a good that one seeks to maintain in all circumstances (Job 2:3, 9; 27:5).

(d) *tāmîm* is the more common of the two adjs. The *qatîl* nom. form may have had a primarily objective intention (BL 470). Accordingly, the vast majority of instances of *tāmîm* modify cultic offerings (*qrb* hi., *bô* hi., *qorbān*, *šh*; thus over 40x in P/H and 11x in Ezek), a usage that can be demonstrated since the exilic period. It involves a fixed expression from priestly rituals that never substitutes another term for *tāmîm* but couples it with *šer mûm bô* “which has a blemish on it” as an antonym (Lev 22:18–21; Num 19:2). The presentation of an animal that is not *tāmîm* makes the sacrificial act invalid, even harmful (Lev 22:19–21). Accordingly, *tāmîm* means a verifiable, unobjectionable physical quality in contrast to a maimed or sick animal. Yet the criteria were not those of neutral agriculture (“a useful, healthy animal”) but were strictly related to the cult. This feature is

clear in the two forms indicating purpose introduced by *le*. The pertinent animal should be without blemish (*tāmîm*), on the one hand, “for a (burnt) sacrifice” (Lev 9:2f.; Num 6:14) and, on the other hand, “for you (the cult member bringing the sacrifice)” (Exod 12:5; Num 28:19, 31; 29:8, 13 txt em). Thus *tāmîm* is a relational concept.

(e) In a minority of instances, the adj. *tāmîm* characterizes people. In the Tetrateuch only P so uses it and then in reference to relationship with God (Gen 6:9; 17:1). Deut 18:13 and Josh 24:14 also refer to an untroubled human relationship with God. In the historical books *tāmîm* appears in this interpersonal context only in Judg 9:16, 19. In the prophetic books one may cite only Amos 5:10, where *tāmîm* expresses reliable and complete discourse between persons, and Ezek 28:15, which compares the king of Tyre with the primal Man: “You were *tāmîm* (without blemish/fortunate) in your ways since the days of your creation until evil was found in you.”

Statements concerning people as *tāmîm* first become more comprehensive in Psa and Prov. Consequently, Eichrodt (2:394) speculates that the application of the term stems from sacrificial language. In contrast, however, the word field of the second usage is completely distinct from that of the sacrificial law, and *tāmîm* is combined only with words for way (*derek*) and walk (*hlk*; Gen 6:9; 17:1; Ezek 28:15, etc.). Instead of the prep. *l*, *‘im* now follows *tāmîm* (Deut 18:13; Psa 18:24), another sign of a relational term (von Rad, *Theol.* 1:372n.6) but a somewhat differently oriented one.

The predicate *tāmîm* is occasionally used even for God’s insight, Torah, way, work—yet not for God directly (Deut 32:4; 2 Sam 22:31 = Psa 18:31; 19:8; Job 37:16). Even a piece of wood suited for working can be called *tāmîm*, as can fixed times that near their ends (Lev 23:15; 25:30; Josh 10:13).

(f) The adj. *tām* (BL 453) appears in the historical books (apart from Exod 26:24 = 36:29 txt?) only in Gen 25:27, which juxtaposes Jacob to the wandering Esau as *‘iš tām*, a “more civilized man” (? ZB; see also e.g., Westermann, *Gen*, CC, 2:415; von Rad, *Gen*, OTL [19722], 266; cf. G. R. Driver, *JTS* 31 [1929/30]: 281) who dwells in tents. The prophetic books do not have *tām* at all. It appears relatively often, then, in Job (7x in contrast to *tāmîm* 3x). No relation is perceptible either to the sacrificial animal or to the “way” concept, nor is *tām* ever used of God’s behavior. Thus this adj. seems to have less weight than *tāmîm* and to indicate the “fine man.” Song Sol 5:2 and 6:9 sing of the beloved as “my dove, my complete one (*tammātî*).” Only in Job and Psa 37:37 does *tām* approach *tāmîm* and become synonymous with *yāšār* (→ *yšr*; Job 1:1, 8; 2:3) and antonymous to *‘qš* “to pervert.”

4. The root *tmm* has received little attention in previous exegetical literature (cf. e.g., C. Edlund, *Das Auge der Einfalt* [1952], 28ff.). Pedersen (*ILC* 1–2:336ff., 528ff., etc.) examines the concept more extensively in the context of a primitive theory of the soul presumed fundamental to Hebr. thought. According to Pedersen the Hebrews did not regard a person to have a soul but *to be* a soul, and all the expressions of one’s life are grounded in impulses of this soul. *tōm/tāmîm* is thus “integrity as a quality of the soul” (p. 359). In addition, however, the righteous person “acts in integrity, and his acts are integrity, i.e., entirety; this is expressed by his way being whole” (p. 337). Moreover, *tōm/tāmîm* also indicates the result of such impulses of the soul—“happiness” (p. 531).

In contrast, K. Koch refers to the total failure of the OT to emphasize the central significance of the soul and, nonetheless, to the fact that the duality of thought maintained by Pedersen—on the one hand a human act adequate for the relationship of community with God, on the other hand a fortunate, harmonious result—can be demonstrated not only for *tōm/tāmîm* but also for a number of related expressions. Koch explains it in terms of a fundamental “concept of a sphere of influence in which the built-in consequences of actions take effect”; according to the Hebr. viewpoint any good or evil action forms an invisible sphere around the actor that gradually effects the actor in a corresponding consequence. Many passages attribute the final conversion of the sphere of action to consequence to Yahweh’s intervention (see the discussion in *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des AT*, ed. K. Koch [1972]; on *tmm* see 163, 178 [partial Eng. transl. in Koch, “Is There a Doctrine of Retribution in the OT?” *Theodicy in the OT*, ed. J. Crenshaw (1983), 76]). For a clarification of the matter, a more precise investigation of the thematic use of the root in Psa, Job, and Prov would be highly desirable.

5. In the Qumran literature, *tmm* appears with a frequency and significance unknown in the OT. The usage of Psa and Prov is adopted, and *tāmîm* is often combined with *hlk* “to walk” (1QS 1:8; 9:6, 8, etc.) but esp. with *derek* “way” (1QM 14:7; 1QH 1:36; 1QS 8:10, etc.). A new combination with *qdš* “holiness” results in the sense “holy completeness” for *tmm*, which represents the distinction of the Qumran community above all other people (CD 7:5; 20:2, 5, 7, etc.).

The LXX surprisingly renders *tmm* with *teleios* “complete” only as an exception; as a rule it uses *amōmos* “without blemish.” Regarding the NT (Matt 6:22f.; Luke 11:34f., etc.) and its environment, cf. C. Edlund, *Das Auge der Einfalt* (1952); O. Bauernfeind, “ἀπλοῦς,” *TDNT* 1:386f.; F. Hauck, “μῶμος,” *TDNT* 4:829–31; G. Dellling, “τέλος,” *TDNT* 8:49–87.

K. Koch

## תעב *tʿb* pi. to abhor

S 8581; BDB 1073a; HAL 4:1625a; TWOT 2530; NIDOTTE 9493

1. *tôʿēbâ* “abomination” and the denominative verb *tʿb* (ni. “to be abhorred”; pi. declarative-estimative “to abhor” [only Ezek 16:25 factitive, “to make an abomination”; Isa 49:7 should probably be emended to a pu. ptcp.]; hi. “to treat abhorrently”) are known outside Hebr. only in Aram. Tg. (subst. and *tʿb* ap., Jastrow 1655a, 1683b) and in Phoen. (subst. *tʿbt*, DISO 332). The form *m<sup>c</sup>tāʿēb* in Amos 6:8 is understood either as a by-form of *tʿb* II (GB 868a; Rudolph, KAT 13/2, 222) or as a euphemistic alteration of the pi. ptcp. of *tʿb* (KBL 1015b; Wolff, *Amos*, Herm, 281f.).

The etymological investigation of the word group has not yet gotten past speculation. The verb *tʿb* seems to derive from the noun *tôʿēbâ* (Barth 305; P. Humbert, “L’*étymologie du substantif tôʿēbâ*,” FS Rudolph 157–60; Zorell 892b, 905a, however, separates the verb and the subst. entirely), which in turn must derive as a *taqtīl* form (BL 495) from a root *\*w/yʿb* (or *ʿûb/ʿîb* hi., Lam 2:1 “to darken?” cf. L. Kopf, VT 8 [1958]: 188f.; Rudolph, KAT 17/3, 218: “to dishonor”). W. F. Albright (*From the Stone Age to Christianity* [19572], 176n.45) recalls the close relationship between ideas of taboo and holiness and associates *tôʿēbâ* “negative taboo, abomination” with Eg. *wʿb* “to purify” (Erman-Grapow 1:280). Humbert (op. cit. 158) would rather establish a relationship with Arab. *ʿāba* “to be defective, . . . deficient” (Wehr 660), while Barth (305) argues (as does Zorell 892b) for a relationship with Arab. *ʿāfa* “to feel aversion, disgust.” Other Sem. languages offer little by way of clarification. A 6th-cent. BCE Phoen. grave inscription exhibits only a formulaic usage common in the OT (*KAI* no. 13.6, a prohibition against desecrating the grave: “for such a deed is an abomination to Astarte”). No comparable roots are attested in Akk. and Ug. It is necessary, then, to interpret the word group *tôʿēbâ/tʿb* on the basis of OT evidence only.

2. The OT exhibits 3 ni., 4 hi., and 15 pi. forms of the verb (with the addition of Amos 6:8; see 1). Amos 5:10 and Mic 3:1 are surely early texts; no peculiarities of distribution are evident.

In contrast, the noun *tôʿēbâ* appears 117x and is clearly concentrated on the one hand in exilic, esp. Dtn-Dtr, texts (Deut 17x, 1/2 Kgs 5x, Jer 8x [5 of which are Dtr]) and in Ezek (43x), and on the other hand in proverbial literature (Prov 21x). Its absence in the older laws, e.g., in the Covenant Code (cf. by contrast the 6 declarative formulae in Lev 18:22–30 and 20:13), in pre-exilic narratives (only Gen 43:32; 46:34; Exod 8:22[bis] in reference to the Egyptians; within Israel otherwise *n<sup>c</sup>bālâ* “shameful deed” [→ *nābāl*]) and the formula “one does not do such a thing in Israel,” 2 Sam

13:12; see H. J. Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im AT* [1970], 18f., 141f.), in the early prophets (actually only Isa 1:13; perhaps also Jer 2:7; 6:15; 8:12), and in the various psalm genres (only Psa 88:9), is noteworthy. The affectively laden qualification of objects or persons as *tô'ēbâ* seems, then, to have become common in later times; it appears for the most part in those literary works concerned theologically with the fixation of taboo circumstances (for the statistics and the chronology, cf. also P. Humbert, "Le substantif *tô'ēbâ* et le verbe *t'b* dans l'AT," *ZAW* 72 [1960]: 217–37).

3./4. The presentation of the semantic development must concentrate on the noun, for from a semantic perspective the verb is a denominative in any case. Profane and religious usage of the word group may not be significantly differentiated: presumed profane usages can involve a religious (or magical) taboo and presumably religious idioms can mediate simply "profane" semantic content.

Verb and noun have a great number of synonyms. Synonyms of the verb include: *bzh/bûz* "to despise" (cf. Isa 49:7), → *m's* "to reject" (Job 19:18f.), → *śn'* "to hate" (Amos 5:10; cf. 6:8; Psa 5:6f.; 119:163), and *šqs* pi. "to abhor as cultically unclean" (Deut 7:26). The word field of the noun includes e.g., *zimmâ* "shameful deed" (Lev 20:13f.; Ezek 16:43, 58; 22:11; Prov 21:27; 24:9; *zimmâ* occurs 28x in the OT, 14x in Ezek), *niddâ* "something abhorrent (excrement, excretion)" (Ezek 7:20; Ezra 9:11; 30x in the OT, 13x in Lev), *šiqqûš* "abhorrent (cultic image)" (Jer 16:18; Ezek 5:11; 7:20; 11:18, 21; 28x in the OT, with an additional 11x *šeqeš* "abhorrent thing"), *tebel* "harmful adulteration" (Lev 18:23; 20:12), as well as all manner of cult-polemical expressions (*gillûlîm* "idols," Ezek 14:6; 16:36; 18:12; 48x in the OT, 39x in Ezek) and terms for sin and shame. Notably, synonymous parallelism diminishes in the *tô'ēbâ* sayings in Prov and is replaced by antithetical expressions: *râšôn* "well pleasing" (Prov 11:1, 20; 12:22; 15:8; → *ršh*), → *sôd* "communion" (Prov 3:32), *tâhôr* "pure" (Prov 15:26; cf. J. L'Hour, "Les interdits *tô'ēbâ* dans le Deutéronome," *RB* 71 [1964]: 484).

(a) Thus the OT can indicate that which is excluded by its very nature, that which seems dangerous or sinister, by *tô'ēbâ*. Psa 29:27 appropriately exemplifies the incompatibility of two groups of people with a dual *tô'ēbâ*: "The upright cannot stand the evildoer; the evil does not fit with the honorable." Cf. also Prov 13:19; 16:12: some value systems are mutually exclusive. *tô'ēbâ*, then, is first used quite neutrally of things that essentially do not belong to a defined situation but by inclusion dissolve or call it into question. Table communion with Hebrews is impossible for Egyptians (Gen 43:32; 46:34; cf. Exod 8:22; Psa 107:18). Because one's own group would be endangered, the prohibition pertains: "The Egyptians may not eat together with the Hebrews" (Gen 43:32; cf. Deut 14:3: "You may not eat any *tô'ēbâ*").

From this standpoint the “theological” use of the word group becomes comprehensible: some things are incompatible with Yahweh’s nature and are rejected by him. “Yahweh abhors (*tʿb pi.*) bloodthirsty people and deceivers” (Psa 5:7; cf. 106:40). A common par. expression is: “Yahweh hates (*śnʾ*)” or “despises (*mʾs*)” this or that (cf. Deut 12:31; Isa 61:8; Jer 12:8; Amos 5:21; 6:8, etc.). The *tô<sup>a</sup>bat yhw* formula in Deut and Prov expresses the incompatibility of some things with Yahweh’s nature (cf. the Phoen. example cited in 1 above, *KAI* no. 13.6; the formula is synonymous with the phrase *tô<sup>e</sup>bâI<sup>e</sup>* Isa 1:13; L’Hour, op. cit. 481–503). Yahweh hates deceit, lies, and other asocial behavior (cf. Prov 6:16–19; 17:15; 20:20: numerical sayings, series; 11:1, 20; 12:22; 16:5, etc.) as much as cultic violations and idolatry (cf. Deut 7:25; 17:1; Prov 15:8; 28:9). Regarding the question of original *tô<sup>e</sup>bâ* legal collections, cf. G. Seitz, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Deuteronomium* (1971), 185ff. Naturally, then, the actor is subject to the verdict (cf. the inclusive formula: “Anyone who does such a thing is an abomination to Yahweh,” Deut 22:5; 25:16, etc.). Ezek often refers to Israel’s shameful deeds in accusatory divine speech (“your despicable deeds” Ezek 5:9, 11; 7:3f., 9; 14:6; 16:22, etc.).

The rejection or exclusion of that which is foreign by nature was apparently intended to ensure the homogeneity and functionality of the group. Cultic and legal communities, groups of relatives, and those who dwell together are particularly interested in characterizing as *tô<sup>e</sup>bâ*, and thus excluding, the stranger (→ *zār* 3b: “The other is the outsider whose behavior endangers the existence of [one’s own] group”).

(b) In the cultic realm, strange cultic practices and objects are deemed taboo (cf. esp. Deut and Ezek): payment for prostitution (Deut 23:19), idol images (7:25f.), sexual rites (Ezek 22:11), immolation of children (Deut 12:31), improper animal sacrifice (17:1) or food (14:3), etc. invalidate appropriate cultic efforts. Concerning cultically relevant offenses against ethical principles, see above. *tô<sup>e</sup>bâ* (sg. or pl.) is often used retrospectively and summarily for “cultic errors committed”; cf. the expressions *kol-tô<sup>a</sup>bōtayik* “all your shameful deeds” (Ezek 5:9; 7:3, etc.), *kol-tô<sup>a</sup>bôt rā<sup>o</sup>t* “all evil cultic offenses” (Ezek 6:11; cf. 8:9, etc.), *śh tô<sup>e</sup>bâ* “to commit a cultic offense” (Deut 12:31; 18:9, 12; Jer 32:35; 44:22; Ezek 16:47, 50; 22:11, etc.). People who become involved in forbidden matters become cultically intolerable and are expelled from the community (cf. Deut 18:12; 22:5; 25:16).

(c) Legal and family groups also use the *tô<sup>e</sup>bâ* demarcation for their own security. This element is expressed for tribal or local communities e.g., in Prov 26:24f.: one may not become involved with hateful persons

because they conceal seven “vices,” i.e., group-destroying qualities (*tô'ēbôt*, cf. 6:16–19). The cynic sours human society and is therefore intolerable (24:9). The same is true for those who falsify weights (Prov 11:11; 20:10, 23), the malicious (11:20), liars (12:22), the arrogant (16:5), and evil judges (17:15). Such people are “abhorrent and corrupt” (Job 15:16 ni. ptcp. of *t'b* and *ʔh*; *ʔh* ni. “to be corrupt” also in Psa 14:3 = 53:4) and stand isolated (cf. Job 19:19; 30:10 *t'b* pi.). Under some circumstances the legal community banishes them with *tô'ēbâ* sayings (cf. Deut 22:5; 25:15f.; Seitz, op. cit.).

Thus the word *tô'ēbâ* indicated originally that which was deemed dangerous on the basis of group norms and hence that which aroused anxiety and repulsion. Cultic usage may have preceded legal and ethical usages; the word may have also been used simultaneously, however, in several areas of life to guard against that which was foreign or strange. The verb *t'b* in the ni. ptcp. parallels the noun; in the pi. it indicates emotional revulsion against that which is foreign; and in the hi. (1 Kgs 21:26; Ezek 16:52; Psa 14:1 = 53:2) it describes the mode of behavior that corresponds to *tô'ēbâ*.

5. The cultic development in particular influences the continued history of the word group *t'b*. In orthodox Judaism the exclusion of that which makes impure is sharpened: Mishnah and Talmud also cite the *tô'ēbâ* regulations, chiefly from Deut (cf. *m. Aboda Zara* 1:9; 3:6). In the published Qumran documents, the verb occurs 15x, the noun 11x (Kuhn, *Konk.* 232a, 235a; id., *RQ* 14 [1963]: 233a). Greek-speaking Judaism (LXX) used primarily *bdelygma* for *tô'ēbâ*, in Ezek *anomia* (cf. W. Foerster, “βδελύσσομαι,” *TDNT* 1:598–600). In the NT the community’s concern for separation is “loosed from its national and natural foundation” (Foerster, op. cit. 599). The new attitude to the environment is oriented (at least theoretically) toward ethnic or group dynamic perspectives (cf. Matt 5:11; Rom 12:2; 1 John 2:15ff.).

E. Gerstenberger

## העָה *t'h* to wander about

S 8582; BDB 1073a; HAL 4:1625b; *ThWAT* 8:720–25; *TWOT* 2531; *NIDOTTE* 9494

1. The Hebr. root *t'h* with its Aramaizing by-form *t'h* (only Ezek 13:10 hi. “to mislead”; cf. Zimmerli, *Ezek*, Herm, 1:287; Wagner no. 116;

on the interchange of *t* and *ṭ*, cf. *ḥtp/ḥṭp, ṣbt/ṣbṭ, qšt/qšṭ*; KBL 1015a; CML 1 128; UT §5.31) has counterparts in Aram. (Jew. Aram. *ṭ*<sup>o</sup> along with the rare, Targumic *t<sup>o</sup>* “to go astray,” Dalman 172b, 445b; Palm. and Syr. *ṭ<sup>o</sup>* “to go astray,” DISO 102; LS 282a) and in Arab. (*tagā* “to exceed proper bounds,” Wehr 561a).

The reading and interpretation of an Ug. instance (KTU 1.4.IV.33 *tgy*, “journeyed afar,” according to CML 1 96a, 152b; CML 2 59) is uncertain. In Modern Hebr. *ṭh*, in the general sense “to go astray,” is more common than *t<sup>h</sup>*, which is limited to the meaning “to wander about.”

Hebr. *t<sup>h</sup>* occurs in the qal, ni. (“to be led astray”), and hi. (“to lead astray,” in Jer 42:20 Q and Prov 10:17 probably inner-causative “to go astray”); *tō<sup>ā</sup>* “confusion” exists as a nom. derivative.

2. *t<sup>h</sup>* qal is attested 27x (Isa 8x, Ezek 7x, Psa 5x, Prov 3x, also Gen 21:14 E; 37:15 J; Exod 23:4; Job 38:41), hi. 21x (Isa 6x, Jer 4x, Job and Prov 2x each, also Gen 20:13 E; 2 Kgs 21:9; Hos 4:12; Amos 2:4; Mic 3:5; Psa 107:40; 2 Chron 33:9). The ni. occurs only in the uncertain verse Job 15:31 (see BH 3) and in poetic combination with the hi. in Isa 19:14; the subst. *tō<sup>ā</sup>* occurs 2x (Isa 32:6; Neh 4:2); regarding *ṭ<sup>h</sup>* hi. in Ezek 13:10, see 1.

3. In a few passages *t<sup>h</sup>* still has the concrete meaning “to wander about, vainly search about” (Gen 20:13, away from the father’s household; 21:14 in the wilderness; 37:15, in the countryside; Exod 23:4, cow and donkey; Isa 16:8, fig. of shoots in the wilderness; Psa 107:4, in the wilderness; Job 38:41, of young ravens). Comparisons with lost sheep (Isa 53:6; Psa 119:176, etc.) or with the groping around of drunks (Isa 19:14; 28:7; Job 12:25) lead to the fig. meaning “to go astray” (causatively “to lead astray, mislead, seduce”), with the subj. “heart” or “spirit” also “to be confused” (Isa 21:4; 29:24; Psa 95:10).

Semantically related terms apart from → *ḥbd* “to go astray” and → *šgg* “to err” with their derivatives include: *ndd* “to wander about” (Job 15:23; otherwise “to flee,” → *nūs*); *būk* ni. “to wander about in agitation” (Exod 14:3; Joel 1:18; Esth 3:15; *m<sup>o</sup>būkā* “confusion,” Isa 22:5; Mic 7:4); *slp* pi. *darkō*, “to pervert his way = to lead astray,” Prov 19:3; *n<sup>o</sup>lōzīm* (ni. ptcp. of *lūz*) “erroneous ways” (Prov 2:15; cf. Sir 34:8); *tohola* “error” (Job 4:18).

4. In the fig. meaning “to go/lead astray,” then, *t<sup>h</sup>* becomes an important expression for sin and its consequences (cf. e.g., → *‘āwōn*, → *šāw<sup>o</sup>*, → *šgg*, also → *derek* “way,” → *hlk* “to go,” → *nḥh* “to lead”).

The sinner is compared to lost sheep (Isa 53:6; Psa 119:176), while

the ignorance and folly of the wise (Isa 19:13f.), the prophets and priests (28:7), and the leaders of state (Job 12:24) are equated with the staggering of drunks. Idol worship (Ezek 14:11; 44:10, 15; 48:11; Hos 4:12) and the general sinfulness of the people (Isa 47:15; Jer 42:20 [cf. Rudolph, HAT 12, 256]; Amos 2:4; Psa 58:4; 95:10) are depicted with *tḥ* qal/hi., as is the lasciviousness (Prov 7:25) and evil (14:22) of the individual (cf. McKane, *Prov*, OTL, 473). The nation is led astray by its political leaders (2 Kgs 21:9; cf. 2 Chron 33:9; Isa 3:12) and the prophets (Isa 9:15; Jer 23:13, 32; Ezek 13:10; Mic 3:5), in times of misfortune, however, also by God's wrath (Isa 30:28; 63:17; Psa 107:40).

In wisdom literature the way of the wise and pious leads to life, so that diversion from this path equals death (Prov 10:17 [cf. Gemser, HAT 16, 112]; 12:26; 21:16). But the opposite also occurs: Isa 29:24 "Those who erred in spirit will learn insight"; 35:8 "and fools will not go astray"; Psa 119:110 "Do not lead me astray from your commandments."

5. In the published Qumran texts the verb *tḥ* and the subst. *tā'ūt* "confusion, error" occur relatively often in a religious context (Kuhn, *Konk.* 235; id., *RQ* 14 [1963]: 234). The LXX almost always translates *tḥ* with *planan* and derivatives; on this and the NT see H. Braun, "πλανάω," *TDNT* 6:228–53.

J. F. A. Sawyer

### תַּרְפִּים *t'rapîm* idol(s)

S 8655; BDB 1076b; HAL 4:1651b; *ThWAT* 8:765–78; *TWOT* 2545; *NIDOTTE* 9572

1. Attested in the OT in both sg. (1 Sam 19:13, 16) and pl. (Gen 31:19, 34f.) usages, *t'rapîm* is probably the Hebraized form of the Hitt.-Hurrian word *tarpiš* (stem *tarpi-*, > WSem. *\*tarpi/-u* > Hebr. *t'rapîm*; H. A. Hoffner, *Bibliotheca Sacra* 124 [1967]: 230–38; id., *JNES* 27 [1968]: 61–68; on the pl. form of loanwords as a remnant of Can. mimmation, see A. Jirku, *Bib* 34 [1953]: 78–80) meaning "spirit, demon" (chthonic), together with *annariš* (corresponding to Akk. *lamassu* and *šēdu*) "protective spirit, genius."

Thus older derivations become inapplicable: (1) from Hebr. → *rp'* "to heal" (LXXB 1 Sam 15:23: *therapeia*; cf. P. R. Ackroyd, *ExpTim* 62 [1950/51]: 378–80) and *rpp* or *rph* "to be weak, asleep, to dangle" (cf. G. Hoffmann and H. Gressmann, *ZAW* 40 [1922]: 135f.); Ug. *ttrp* (in conjunction with *ʔpd*) seems to be a form of *rph* (W. F.

Albright, *BASOR* 83 [1941]: 39–42); (2) from (only postbibl.) *trp* “to decay,” or *tōrep*, etc., an obscene expression (already Tg., cited in Moore, *Judges*, ICC [18982], 382); (3) from *ptrym* “expositor, interpreter of dreams,” metathesis (already early Jewish; cf. C. J. Labuschagne, *VT* 16 [1966]: 115–17). Bibliog. in A. R. Johnson, *Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel* (1944), 31f.n.3; H. J. Stoebe, *FS Eissfeldt* (1958), 238ff.; Hoffner, *JNES* 27:61–68; G. Fohrer, *BHH* 3:1952; O. Keel, *BLeX* 1731f.

2. *t<sup>c</sup>rāpîm* occurs 15x in the OT (2x as a sg., 11x with art., always abs. st.). Instances are distributed among Gen 31 (3x), Judg 17f. (5x), 1 Sam 19 (2x), and isolated passages: 1 Sam 15:23; 2 Kgs 23:24 (Dtr?), as well as in prophecy: Hos 3:4; Ezek 21:26; Zech 10:2.

3. One should begin with the fact that the (foreign) word in OT times need not have the same referent in all passages. The following references are discernible: (a) *t<sup>c</sup>rāpîm* in the Jacob-Laban narrative in Gen 31:19ff. indicates family gods/idols (pl.), whose possession, according to Hurrian legal practice, bestows family leadership and property (cf. the Nuzi texts, treated there under *ilāni* et al., which, along with the ancestral spirits as household gods, had sacral legal functions; see C. H. Gordon, *RB* 44 [1935]: 34–41; id., *BA* 3 [1940]: 1–12 and fig. 3; A. E. Draffkorn, *JBL* 76 [1957]: 216–24). Statues that one could conceal under a camel saddle are probably intended (Gen 31:34). (b) By contrast, in 1 Sam 19 *t<sup>c</sup>rāpîm* seems to refer to an idol (sg.) of human proportions and, indeed, according to 19:13 perhaps to a face mask with a goat pelt for hair (cf. K. Elliger, *RGG* 6:690f.)—after the manner of the cultic mask found at Hazor (*ANEP* no. 843; *BHH* 3:1931 fig. 2). (c) In Judg 17f. both possibilities are conceivable, even though a cultic mask is more likely than figurines in the context of a carved and molten image and ephod. The same is true for the remaining instances, which only suggest that they regard *t<sup>c</sup>rāpîm* as oracular (along with the ephod, Judg 17f.; Hos 3:4; and in a mantic context in 2 Kgs 23:24; Ezek 21:26; Zech 10:2). Like *ʿēpôd*, then, *t<sup>c</sup>rāpîm* seems to be an OT classification that evokes the concept “god figure, symbol, idol”—sometimes still with the awareness of the exotic—and that, owing to its claim to religious significance, always provokes a response. The same circumstance also seems to apply to *ʾôb* “spirit of the dead” (H. A. Hoffner, *TDOT* 1:130–34; J. Lust, *SVT* 26 [1974]: 133–42, also regarding *yidd<sup>c</sup>ōnîm*); different circumstances apply to *gillûlîm* “idols,” *šiqqûšîm* “horrible things” (cf. 2 Kgs 23:24), and other pejorative expressions (→ *ʾîlîl*, cf. O. Eissfeldt, *KS* [1962], 1:271f.; H. D. Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im AT* [1971]; id., *TDOT* 1:285–87; K. Seybold, *TDOT* 3:317f. regarding → *hebel*).

4. The term acquires theological significance only through the evaluation of the context. Gen 31:19, 34 use *t<sup>c</sup>rāpîm* for the symbols called

<sup>e</sup>*lōhîm* in the dialogue between the participants (vv 30, 32). If this already implies a distancing from the protective patron of the Arameans, then the rest of the narrative completely mocks these stolen <sup>e</sup>*tṛāpîm*, on which a woman sits in her alleged impurity (v 34); they have become entirely superfluous, at any rate, because an incomparably different God governs the circumstances (vv 50ff.). Ridicule concerning the origin and format of the sanctuary at Dan, which was unworthy of Yahweh, should also be evoked by the mention in Judg 17:5 and 18:14, 17f., 20 of the <sup>e</sup>*tṛāpîm* stemming from the domestic cult. The depiction of the wholly profane role of a private <sup>e</sup>*tṛāpîm* as a dummy for the fugitive David is burlesque (1 Sam 19:13, 16; cf. Preuss, *Verspottung* 56ff.).

Hosea, however, still classifies <sup>e</sup>*ṭēpôd* and <sup>e</sup>*tṛāpîm* among the institutions that, like the monarchy and bureaucracy, sacrificial cult and pillar worship, are theologically ambivalent per se; but because they have become a syncretistic danger they must be removed for a time from the susceptible people of God (Hos 3:4). Ezek 21:26 numbers inquiry of the <sup>e</sup>*tṛāpîm* among the mantic practices of the Bab. king at the fork in the road, but ventures the claim that Yahweh will use it as a means to communicate and execute his decisions (v 28).

1 Sam 15:23 (txt em) and 2 Kgs 23:24 could already presuppose a general devaluation: <sup>e</sup>*āwōn* (cj.) <sup>e</sup>*tṛāpîm* is considered sin par excellence; the <sup>e</sup>*tṛāpîm* appear in a series of prohibited “mantic properties of the Underworld” (Hoffner, *TDOT* 1:132; H. Wohlstein, *ZRGG* 19 [1967]: 353–55) and aspersions of idols. Yet Zech 10:2 has occasion once again morally to disqualify the <sup>e</sup>*tṛāpîm* oracle along with soothsaying as lies and deceit.

5. The LXX sometimes transliterates the word (Judg 17f.), sometimes seeks a paraphrase (*kenotaphion* “honorific meal for the dead,” 1 Sam 19; *eidōla* Gen 31; cf. the mantic passages). The Hebr. expression degenerates into cacophany. Regarding the continued history of the term, cf. L. Köhler, *RGG* (19312), 5:1051; Hoffner, op. cit.

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## STATISTICAL APPENDIX

**Table 1.** In order to supplement lexical statistics in *TLOT*<, a table of all Hebrew words with a hundred or more occurrences arranged by frequency is offered here as an appendix. The statistics are based as far as possible on the concordances of Mandelkern and Lisowsky (cf. vol. 1, p. xviii); on only Mandelkern for words not treated in Lisowsky; and on an

independent count of the text for the particles  $\text{ׁet I}$  (sign of the accusative),  $\text{ׁet II}$  (“with/by”), and the consonantal prefixes *w-*, *h-*, *b-*, *l-*, *k-*, *m-*, *ha-*, and *še-*, which are not listed in Mandelkern either. In most cases, the latter statistic has been rounded slightly so as not to raise unrealistic expectations of precision.

At many points, the distinction of words is difficult, especially in relation to the question of whether more-or-less substantival participles should still be categorized with the verb or cited independently. For reasons of space, each individual decision could not be justified here. Lesser variants of the forms of proper names have been combined; the statistics always refer only to the Hebrew portions of the OT and always to all those who bear the same name.

The table confirms a series of results of Hebrew lexical statistics gained otherwise. The 26 most common words (each with over 2,000 occurrences) already constitute half of the entire text; excluding prefixes and considering only graphic units, words with over 1,000 occurrences each clearly dominate over all others. Proponents of the Zipfian Law (cf. Ch. Muller, *Einführung in die Sprachstatistik* [1972], 200f.) may calculate the degree to which the product of frequency times rank remains constant. No word exhibits even an approximately random distribution.

At least the most frequent occurrences in an OT book will be noted for words not treated more exactly in *TLOT*<. The relative frequency in terms of the scope of the books would naturally have greater significance; for example, the book of Job occupies the most significant place in reference to the stylistically important terms  $\text{ׁak}$  (11x),  $\text{ׁim}$  (108x),  $\text{ׁap}$  (20x), *ha-* (94x), *hēn* (32x), *lōʾ* (320x), *mâ* (62x), and *mî* (62x).

Table 1. The Most Frequent Hebrew Words

1. *w-* and more than 50,000 (Gen ca. 4120x), of which a little less than 15,000 are impf. cons. (Gen ca. 2100x)
2. *h-* definite article more than 30,000 (Jer ca. 2150x)
3. *l-* for ca. 20,700 of which ca. 4400 are independent words (suffixed forms)
4. *b-* in ca. 15,500 of which nearly 1400 are independent words (suffixed forms)
5.  $\text{ׁet}$  sign of the accusative ca. 10,900 (Exod ca. 1020x)
6. *min-* from 7550 of which 1332 are independent words
7. *yhwh* divine name 6828(000)
8.  $\text{ׁal-}$  upon ca. 5700 (Jer ca. 510x)

9. *ʔel-* to ca. 5500 (Jer ca. 525x)
10. *ʔaxer* as a conjunction ca. 5500 (Deut ca. 585x)
11. *kōl* all ca. 5400 (000)
12. *ʔmrqal* to say 5282 (000)
13. *lōʔ* not ca. 5200 (Jer ca. 515x)
14. *bēn* son 4929 (000)
15. *kî* that ca. 4470 (Psa ca. 440x)
16. *hyh qal* to be 3540 (000)
17. *k-* like ca. 3030 of which ca. 150 are independent word forms
18. *ʔelōhîm* God/gods 2600 (000)
19. *ʕshqal* to make/do 2527 (000)
20. *melek* king 2526 (000)
21. *yisrāʔel* Israel 2506 (in addition 8x Aram.; )
22. *ʔereṣ* earth/land 2504 (000)
23. *yôm* day 2304 (000)
24. *ʔiš* man 2183 (000)
25. *pānîm* face 2127 (000)
26. *bayit* house 2048 (000)
27. *bōʔqal* to come 1997 (000)
28. *ntn qal* to give 1919 (000)
29. *ʕam* people 1868 (000)
30. *yād* hand 1618 (000)
31. *dābār* word 1440 (000)
32. *hlk qal* to go 1412 (000)
33. *hūʔ* he 1390 (Gen 120x)
34. *ʕad-* until 1263 (Josh 98x)
35. *ʔāb* father 1211 (000)
36. *zeh* this 1171 (Jer 135x)
37. *rʔhqal* to see 1129 (000)
38. *ʕim-* with 1093 (000)
39. *ʕr* city 1092 (000)
40. *dbr pi.* to speak 1084 (000)
41. *dāwîd* David 1075 (1 Sam 291x, 2 Sam 285x)
42. *ʔim* if 1060 (Job 108x)
43. *hinnēh* behold 1057 (000)
44. *šmʕqal* to hear 1051 (000)
45. *yšbqal* to sit 1034 (000)
46. *ʔehād* one 970 (000)
47. *lqhqal* to take 939 (000)

48. *ʔēt* with/by ca. 900 (000)
49. *šānâ* year 876 (000)
50. *ʔnî* I 870 (000)
51. *ʕayin* eye 866 (000)
52. *šēm* name 864 (000)
53. *y<sup>h</sup>qal* to know 822 (000)
54. *y<sup>e</sup>hûdâ* Judah 814 (Jer 183x)
55. *ʕebed* servant 800 (000)
56. *ʔayin* nothing 789 (000)
57. *yš<sup>h</sup>qal* to go out 785 (000)
58. *ʔiššâ* woman 781 (000)
59. *gam* also 767 (Gen 95x)
60. *mōšeh* Moses 766 (in addition 1x Aram.; Exod 290x)
61. *š<sup>e</sup>nayim* two 762 (Exod 111x)
62. *ʔelleh* these 756 (Gen 96x)
63. *nepeš* soul 754 (000)
64. *kōhēn* priest 750 (Lev 194x)
65. *mâ* what 747 (incl. *lāmmâ*, etc.)
66. *ha-* interrogative particle 746 (Job 94x)
67. *ʔattâ* you 743 (Psa 117x)
68. *ʔlqal* to eat 739 (000)
69. *ʔal* not 730 (Psa 117x)
70. *derek* way 706 (000)
71. *kēn* so 695 (000)
72. *šām* there 691 (Gen 83x)
73. *šûbqal* to return 683 (000)
74. *mišrayim* Egypt 681 (Exod 175x)
75. *qr<sup>h</sup>qal* to call 661 (000)
76. *y<sup>e</sup>rûšālēm* Jerusalem 643 (000)
77. *mûtqal* to die 630 (000)
78. *ʔāḥ* brother 629 (000)
79. *ʔaḥ<sup>a</sup>ré* after 617 (000)
80. *ʔhqal* to go up 612 (000)
81. *zōʔt* this 603 (Jer 94x)
82. *lēb* heart 601 (cf. no. 190)
83. *nš<sup>h</sup>qal* to carry 597 (000)
84. *rōš* head 596 (000)
85. *mēʔâ* hundred 583 (Num 98x)
86. *mayim* water 582 (000)

87. *šimqal* to set 582 (Isa 54x)
88. *kōh* so 581 (Jer 166x)
89. *bat* daughter 579 (000)
90. *šlḥqal* to send 564 (000)
91. *gōy* people 561 (000)
92. *ṭōb* good 559 (000)
93. *har* mountain 558 (000)
94. *ʾādām* human being 554 (000)
95. *hēm(mâ)* they 551 (Ezek 69x; *hēmmâ* 282x)
96. *bōʾhi*.to bring 549 (000)
97. *gādōl* great 525 (000)
98. *ʿēser* ten 511 (1 Chron 61x)
99. *qōl* voice 505 (000)
100. *taḥat* under 505 (Exod 52x)
101. *ʿelep* thousand 504 (Num 104x)
102. *peh* mouth 500 (000)
103. *ʿōd* still 490 (Ezek 58x)
104. *šābāʾ* army 486 (000)
105. *hîʾ* she 485 (Lev 66x)
106. *šwhpi*. to command 485 (000)
107. *nkh* hi. to strike 480 (2 Kgs 55x)
108. *rab* many 474 (000)
109. *qōdeš* holiness 469 (000)
110. *ʿbrqal* to pass by 465 (000)
111. *qûmqal* to stand up 460 (000)
112. *ʿōlām* eternity 440 (000)
113. *ʾādōnāy* the Lord 439 (000)
114. *ʿmdqal* to stand 435 (000)
115. *ʿattâ* now 433 (000)
116. *šmrqal* to guard 427 (000)
117. *šālōš* three 426 (1 Chron 40x)
118. *mî* who 422 (Job 62x)
119. *mišpāṭ* justice 422 (000)
120. *šar* official 421 (000)
121. *šāmayim* heaven 420 (000)
122. *tāwek* middle 418 (Ezek 116x)
123. *ḥereb* sword 413 (Ezek 91x)
124. *bn* between 408 (Gen 76x)
125. *šāʾul* Saul 406 (1 Sam 297x)

126. *nā'* please 405 (Gen 76x)  
 127. *kesep* silver 403 (Gen/Exod each 41x)  
 128. *māqôm* place 401 (000)  
 129. *šeba*<sup>ç</sup> seven 401 (Gen 64x)  
 130. *mizbēah* altar 400 (000)  
 131. *yām* sea 395 (000)  
 132. *zāhāb* gold 389 (Exod 105x)  
 133. *ʿēš* fire 378 (000)  
 134. *rûah* spirit 378 (000)  
 135. *n<sup>e</sup>um* utterance 376 (000)  
 136. *ša*<sup>ç</sup>ar gate 374 (Ezek 99x)  
 137. *npl* qal to fall 367 (Ezek 46x)  
 138. *dām* blood 360 (000)  
 139. *šûbhi*.to bring back 360 (000)  
 140. *ʿānōkâ* 358 (000)  
 141. *ra*<sup>ç</sup> bad 356 (000)  
 142. *lēwî* Levi(te) 350 (Num 75x)  
 143. *ya*<sup>a</sup>qōb Jacob 349 (Gen 180x)  
 144. *ʿah*<sup>a</sup>rôn Aaron 346 (Exod 115x)  
 145. *bnh* qal to build 346 (000)  
 146. *ḥāmēš* five 346 (Num 73x)  
 147. *ʿohel* tent 345 (000)  
 148. *sābîb* all around 336 (Exod 31x)  
 149. *ngd* hi. to communicate 335 (000)  
 150. *ʿādôn* lord 334 (000)  
 151. *ʿēš* tree 330 (000)  
 152. *k<sup>e</sup>lî* implement 325 (Exod 34x)  
 153. *sādeh* field 320 (Gen 48x)  
 154. *ʾô* or 319 (Lev 136x)  
 155. *milḥāmâ* war 319 (000)  
 156. *ʿarba*<sup>ç</sup> four 318 (Ezek 52x)  
 157. *nābî'* prophet 315 (000)  
 158. *ʿśrîm* twenty 315 (1 Chron 40x)  
 159. *rā*<sup>ç</sup>â disaster 311 (000)  
 160. *ʿnhl* qal to answer 309 (000)  
 161. *yrd* qal to descend 307 (000)  
 162. *mš*<sup>ç</sup>qal to find 306 (000)  
 163. *m<sup>e</sup>ʾōd* very 300 (000)  
 164. *mišpāḥâ* clan 300 (000)

165. *leḥembread* 299 (000)  
 166. *mlk* qal to be king 297 (000)  
 167. *ʿēt* time 296 (000)  
 168. *ḥaṭṭāʾsin* 293 (000)  
 169. *š<sup>e</sup>lōmōh* Solomon 293 (1 Kgs 158x)  
 170. *b<sup>e</sup>rīt* obligation 287 (000)  
 171. *ʿōlā* burnt offering 287 (000)  
 172. *p<sup>e</sup>lišṭū* Philistine 287 (1 Sam 152x)  
 173. *yr<sup>ʾ</sup>qal* to fear 284 (000)  
 174. *ḥōdeš* month 283 (000)  
 175. *ʾōyēb* enemy 282 (000)  
 176. *ʾattemyou* (masc. pl.) 282 (Jer 38x)  
 177. *yš<sup>ʾ</sup>hi.* to lead out 278 (000)  
 178. *ʾap* anger 277 (000)  
 179. *par<sup>ʿ</sup>ōh* Pharaoh 274 (Exod 115x)  
 180. *šō<sup>ʾ</sup>n* small cattle 274 (000)  
 181. *ʿbdqal* to serve 271 (000)  
 182. *bāsār* flesh 270 (000)  
 183. *midbār* desert 270 (Num 48x)  
 184. *l<sup>e</sup>ma<sup>ʿ</sup>an* for the sake of 270 (Deut 48x)  
 185. *ʾeben* stone 269 (000)  
 186. *šlhpi.* to let go 267 (000)  
 187. *rāšā<sup>ʿ</sup>* impious 263 (000)  
 188. *bābel* Babylon 262 (Jer 169x; in addition 25x Aram.)  
 189. *ʾhhi.* to lead up 255 (000)  
 190. *lēbāb* heart 252 (cf. no. 82)  
 191. *maṭṭeh* tribe 252 (000)  
 192. *regel* foot 247 (Psa 31x)  
 193. *ʾammâ* cubit 246 (Ezek 88x)  
 194. *ḥesed* kindness 245 (000)  
 195. *ḥayil* power 245 (000)  
 196. *g<sup>e</sup>bûl* boundary 240 (Josh 83x)  
 197. *na<sup>ʿ</sup>ar* boy 239 (000)  
 198. *ʾēl* God/god 238 (000)  
 199. *yld* qal to bear 237 (000)  
 200. *šālôm* peace 237 (000)  
 201. *ḥay* life 236 (000)  
 202. *ma<sup>ʿ</sup>śeh* work 235 (000)  
 203. *pqd* qal to visit 234 (000)

204. *brk* pi. to bless 233 (000)  
 205. *laylá* night 233 (000)  
 206. *ʔhbqal* to love 231 (000)  
 207. *ʕawōn* perversity 231 (000)  
 208. *zera*<sup>ʕ</sup> seed 229 (Gen 59x)  
 209. *qereb* inner 227 (000)  
 210. *ʔdāmâ* ground 225 (000)  
 211. *mô*<sup>ʕē</sup> point of time 223 (000)  
 212. *bqšpi*.to seek 222 (000)  
 213. *naḥ*<sup>alâ</sup> possession 222 (000)  
 214. *ʔēm* mother 220 (000)  
 215. *tôrâ* instruction 220 (000)  
 216. *y*<sup>ehôšûa</sup><sup>ʕ</sup> Joshua 218 (Josh 168x)  
 217. *maḥ*<sup>neh</sup> camp 216 (000)  
 218. *šēš* six 216 (Exod/Num each 28x)  
 219. *šthqal* to drink 216 (000)  
 220. *beqed* garment 215 (Lev 55x)  
 221. *bōqer* morning 214 (000)  
 222. *yôsēp* Joseph 214 (Gen 156x)  
 223. *mal*<sup>ʔāk</sup> messenger 213 (000)  
 224. *minḥâ* gift 211 (Num 62x)  
 225. *šaddîq* righteous 206 (000)  
 226. *ḥyhqal* to live 205 (000)  
 227. *ktb* qal to write 204 (000)  
 228. *ʕzbqal* to abandon 203 (000)  
 229. *ʔrôn* box 202 (1 Sam 40x)  
 230. *kābôd* majesty 200 (000)  
 231. *škbqal* to lie down 198 (Gen 21x)  
 232. *ḥāšēr* courtyard 195 (Ezek 52x)  
 233. *ykl* qal to be able 193 (Gen 22x)  
 234. *šemen* oil 193 (Lev 42x)  
 235. *kap* palm 192 (000)  
 236. *nš/hi*. to rescue 191 (000)  
 237. *b*<sup>ehēmâ</sup> cattle 190 (Lev 31x)  
 238. *šēbeṭ* tribe 190 (000)  
 239. *ʔōzen* ear 187 (Jer 28x)  
 240. *mô*<sup>ʔāb</sup> Moab 187 (Jer 38x)  
 241. *rēa*<sup>ʕ</sup> companion 187 (000)  
 242. *sēper* book 185 (000)

243.	<i>yš<sup>h</sup>i.</i>	to help	184	(000)
244.	<i>bāqār</i>	cattle	183	(000)
245.	<i>rīšôn</i>	first	182	(000)
246.	<i>ḥṭ<sup>q</sup>al</i>	to miss	181	(000)
247.	<i>mišwâ</i>	commandment	181	(000)
248.	<i>ʔeprayim</i>	Ephraim	180	(Hos 37x)
249.	<i>zāqēn</i>	old	178	(Deut 21x)
250.	<i>qrb</i>	hi. to bring	177	(000)
251.	<i>yld</i>	hi. to bear	176	(000)
252.	<i>šāpâ</i>	lip	176	(Prov 46x)
253.	<i>ysp</i>	hi. to add	173	(2 Sam 14x)
254.	<i>š<sup>e</sup>lōšîm</i>	thirty	172	(Num 37x)
255.	<i>zkr</i>	qal to remember	171	(000)
256.	<i>ḥwhhišt.</i>	to bow down	170	(000)
257.	<i>r<sup>h</sup>qal</i>	to tend	168	(000)
258.	<i>lḥmni.</i>	to fight	167	(000)
259.	<i>m<sup>e</sup>lā<sup>ʔ</sup>kâ</i>	business	167	(000)
260.	<i>ʔaḥēr</i>	other	166	(000)
261.	<i>binyāmîn</i>	Benjamin	166	(Judg 45x)
262.	<i>dôr</i>	generation	166	(000)
263.	<i>ḥûš</i>	outside	164	(Lev 20x)
264.	<i>petaḥ</i>	opening	164	(Ezek 30x)
265.	<i>ḥ<sup>a</sup>miššîm</i>	fifty	163	(Num 33x)
266.	<i>ʔayil</i>	ram	162	(Num 66x)
267.	<i>hrg</i>	qal to kill	162	(000)
268.	<i>zebaḥ</i>	sacrifice	162	(000)
269.	<i>rbh</i>	hi. to multiply	162	(000)
270.	<i>š<sup>ʔ</sup>lqal</i>	to ask	162	(000)
271.	<i>ʔak</i>	only	161	(Psa 24x)
272.	<i>gibbôr</i>	hero	159	(000)
273.	<i>yršqal</i>	to inherit	159	(000)
274.	<i>sûrqal</i>	to deviate	159	(000)
275.	<i>bad</i>	solitariness	158	(Num 18x)
276.	<i>š<sup>e</sup>dāqâ</i>	righteousness	157	(000)
277.	<i>šēnî</i>	second	156	(Exod 26x)
278.	<i>dršqal</i>	to inquire after	155	(000)
279.	<i>nûsqal</i>	to flee	155	(000)
280.	<i>šiyyôn</i>	Zion	154	(000)
281.	<i>šb<sup>h</sup>ni.</i>	to swear	154	(000)

282. *šāpôn* north 152 (000)  
283. *rōb* quantity 152 (000)  
284. *ʾaššûr* Assur 151 (2 Kgs 49x)  
285. *neged* opposite 151 (000)  
286. *māwet* death 150 (000)  
287. *ʾrām* Aram 149 (2 Kgs 43x)  
288. *ḥokmâ* wisdom 149 (000)  
289. *ʿedâ* community 149 (000)  
290. *ḥayyîm* life 148 (000)  
291. *yirm<sup>ċ</sup>ĵâ(hû)* Jeremiah 147 (Jer 131x)  
292. *bḥrqal* to choose 146 (000)  
293. *yôʾāb* Joab 146 (2 Sam 101x)  
294. *m<sup>ċ</sup>naššeh* Manasseh 146 (Josh 43x)  
295. *qûmhi.* to set up 146 (000)  
296. *ʿbōdâ* service 145 (000)  
297. *ḥnhqal* to encamp 143 (Num 74x)  
298. *yayin* wine 141 (Jer 15x)  
299. *klh* pi. to complete 141 (Gen/Ezek each 14x)  
300. *ma<sup>ċ</sup>al* above 141 (000)  
301. *mš<sup>ċ</sup>ni.* to be found 141 (000)  
302. *naḥal* brook 141 (Deut 20x)  
303. *šāmmâ* thither 141 (Deut 35x)  
304. *yēš* to exist 140 (000)  
305. *š<sup>ċ</sup>mûʾēl* Samuel 140 (1 Sam 129x)  
306. *yāmîn* right hand 139 (Psa 42x)  
307. *miškān* dwelling 139 (000)  
308. *n<sup>ċ</sup>ḥōšet* copper 139 (Exod 39x)  
309. *ʾāz* then 138 (Isa 16x)  
310. *ḥākām* wise 138 (000)  
311. *mûthi.* to kill 138 (000)  
312. *še-* conjunction 138 (Eccl 68x)  
313. *sûs* horse 137 (2 Kgs 20x)  
314. *nḥqal* to incline 136 (000)  
315. *ns<sup>ċ</sup>qal* to break 136 (Num 89x)  
316. *ʾarbāʿîm* forty 135 (Num 20x)  
317. *kissē<sup>ċ</sup>* throne 135 (000)  
318. *ʾap* also 134 (Isa 30x)  
319. *ksh* pi. to cover 134 (Ezek 20x)  
320. *krt* qal to cut off 134 (000)

321. *mispār* number 134 (000)  
322. *sûrhi.* to remove 134 (000)  
323. *ʿereb* evening 134 (000)  
324. *šemeš* sun 134 (000)  
325. *gilʿād* Gilead 133 (Judg 31x)  
326. *ḥōmā* wall 133 (Neh 32x)  
327. *pen* lest 133 (Deut 28x)  
328. *par* young bull 133 (Num 52x)  
329. (*y<sup>e</sup>*)*ḥizqiyyâ(hû)* Hezekiah 131 (2 Kgs 44x)  
330. *rdp qal* to pursue 131 (Psa 20x)  
331. *nāšîʿ* prince 130 (000)  
332. *ḥōq* statute 129 (000)  
333. *śnʿqal* to hate 129 (000)  
334. *ʿmet* truth 127 (000)  
335. *bînqal/hi.* to understand 126 (000)  
336. *śmḥqal* to rejoice 126 (000)  
337. *šptqal* to judge 126 (000)  
338. (*ʿ<sup>a</sup>*)*naḥnû* we 125 (Gen 18x)  
339. *ḥēmâ* excitement 125 (000)  
340. *ʿôr* light 124 (000)  
341. *y(<sup>h</sup>)ônātān* Jonathan 124 (1 Sam 73x)  
342. *kōaḥ* power 124 (000)  
343. *ʿse* bone 123 (000)  
344. *qāhāl* assembly 123 (000)  
345. *b<sup>e</sup>kôr* firstborn 122 (000)  
346. *ḥ<sup>a</sup>šî* half 122 (Josh 29x)  
347. *liqraʿ* against 121 (000)  
348. *yāšār* straight 119 (000)  
349. *p<sup>e</sup>ʾî* fruit 119 (Deut 21x)  
350. *šedeq* righteousness 119 (000)  
351. *rekeb* wagon 119 (000)  
352. *ḥzqhi.* to grasp 118 (000)  
353. *paʿam* instance 118 (Judg 13x)  
354. *ʿbdqal* to perish 117 (000)  
355. *lāšôn* tongue 117 (000)  
356. *mamlākâ* dominion 117 (000)  
357. *nāhār* river 117 (Isa 21x)  
358. *tôʿēbâ* abomination 117 (000)  
359. *pnh qal* to turn 116 (000)

360. *qādôš* holy 116 (000)  
361. *šḥthi*. to ruin 115 (000)  
362. *ʾāḥôt* sister 114 (000)  
363. *migrāš* pasture area 114 (000)  
364. *bṯḥqal* to trust 113 (000)  
365. *hll* pi. to praise 113 (000)  
366. *šeqer* breach of faith 113 (000)  
367. *bkh* qal to cry 112 (000)  
368. *biltî* without 112 (Jer 25x)  
369. *zbḥqal* to sacrifice 112 (Exod 18x)  
370. *yīšḥāq* Isaac 112 (Gen 80x)  
371. *šlki*. to throw 112 (000)  
372. *ʾabšālôm* Absalom 111 (2 Sam 102x)  
373. *ml*ʾpi. to fill 111 (000)  
374. *ʿammûd* pillar 111 (000)  
375. *šabbātsabbath* 111 (000)  
376. *šknqal* to dwell 111 (000)  
377. *kûnhi*. to place ready 110 (000)  
378. *negeb* south 110 (Josh 26x)  
379. *ʿāpār* dust 110 (000)  
380. *kānāp* wing 109 (000)  
381. *raq* only 109 (Deut 20x)  
382. *š<sup>e</sup>mōneh* eight 109 (Neh 15x)  
383. *šōm<sup>e</sup>rōn* Samaria 109 (2 Kgs 49x)  
384. *kebeś* young ram 107 (Num 68x)  
385. *ng<sup>e</sup>qal* to touch 107 (000)  
386. *qrb* qal to approach 107 (000)  
387. *š<sup>e</sup>līšî* third 107 (1 Chron 15x)  
388. *ʿammôn* Ammon 106 (Judg 27x)  
389. *ḥuqqâ* statute 104 (000)  
390. *yārob<sup>e</sup>ām* Jeroboam 104 (1 Kgs 55x)  
391. *tāmîd* permanent 104 (Psa 23x)  
392. *ʾspqal* to collect 104 (000)  
393. *bāmâ* hill 103 (2 Kgs 27x)  
394. *mar<sup>e</sup>eh* appearance 103 (000)  
395. *r<sup>e</sup>hni*. to appear 102 (000)  
396. *šrpqal* to burn 102 (Jer 22x)  
397. *b<sup>e</sup>ad/ba<sup>e</sup>ad* for the benefit of 101 (Lev/Jer each 12x)  
398. *m<sup>e</sup>caṭ* a little 101 (Gen 11x)

399.	<i>rōḥab</i>	breadth	101	(Ezek 55x)
400.	<i>rā'āb</i>	hunger	101	(Jer 33x)
401.	<i>špkqal</i>	to pour out	101	(Ezek 32x)
402.	<i>ʿdôm</i>	Edom	100	(Gen 13x)
403.	<i>hēn</i>	behold	100	(000)
404.	<i>ydh</i>	hi. to praise	100	(000)

**Table 2.** The table above contains 105 different verbal stems of 93 different verbs. Based on the total of all verb forms of a given verb, there are an additional 27 verbs, a total then of 120, which occur more than 100 times (numbers cross-reference Table 1):

Table 2. The Most Common Verbs (Arranged Alphabetically)

<i>ʿbd</i>	184	(No. 354)
<i>ʿhb</i>	248	(No. 206)
<i>ʿkl</i>	809	(No. 68)
<i>ʿmr</i>	5305	(No. 12)
<i>ʿsp</i>	200	(No. 392)
<i>bôʾ</i>	2570	(Nos. 27/96)
<i>bôš</i>	129	(000)
<i>bḥr</i>	153	(No. 292)
<i>bṭḥ</i>	118	(No. 364)
<i>bîn</i>	171	(No. 335)
<i>bkh</i>	114	(No. 367)
<i>bnh</i>	376	(No. 145)
<i>bqš</i>	225	(No. 212)
<i>brk</i>	327	(No. 204)
<i>gdl</i>	118	(000)
<i>glh</i>	187	(000)
<i>dbr</i>	1135	(No. 40)
<i>drš</i>	164	(No. 278)
<i>hyh</i>	3561	(No. 16)
<i>hlk</i>	1547	(No. 32)
<i>hll</i>	146	(No. 365)
<i>hrg</i>	167	(No. 267)
<i>zbḥ</i>	134	(No. 369)
<i>zkr</i>	222	(No. 255)
<i>ḥwh</i>	170	(No. 256)

<i>ḥzq</i>	290	(No. 352)
<i>ḥtʷ</i>	237	(No. 246)
<i>ḥyh</i>	284	(No. 226)
<i>ḥll</i>	134	(000)
<i>ḥnh</i>	143	(No. 297)
<i>ḥšb</i>	112	(000)
<i>tmʷ</i>	160	(000)
<i>ydh</i>	111	(No. 404)
<i>ydʰ</i>	947	(No. 53)
<i>ytb</i>	117	(000)
<i>ykl</i>	193	(No. 233)
<i>yld</i>	492	(Nos. 199/251)
<i>ysp</i>	213	(No. 253)
<i>ysʷ</i>	1068	(Nos. 57/177)
<i>yrʷ</i>	334	(No. 173)
<i>yrd</i>	380	(No. 161)
<i>yrš</i>	231	(No. 273)
<i>yšb</i>	1083	(No. 45)
<i>yšʰ</i>	205	(No. 243)
<i>ytr</i>	106	(000)
<i>kbd</i>	114	(000)
<i>kûn</i>	217	(No. 377)
<i>klh</i>	207	(No. 299)
<i>ksh</i>	155	(No. 319)
<i>kpr</i>	101	(000)
<i>krt</i>	288	(No. 320)
<i>ktb</i>	223	(No. 227)
<i>ḷhm</i>	170	(No. 258)
<i>lkd</i>	121	(000)
<i>lqh</i>	966	(No. 47)
<i>mût</i>	845	(Nos. 77/311)
<i>mlʷ</i>	246	(No. 373)
<i>mlk</i>	347	(No. 166)
<i>ṃsʷ</i>	454	(Nos. 162/301)
<i>nbʷ</i>	115	(000)
<i>ngd</i>	370	(No. 149)
<i>ngʰ</i>	150	(No. 385)
<i>ngš</i>	125	(000)
<i>nûh</i>	144	(000)

<i>nûs</i>	159	(No. 279)
<i>nĥm</i>	108	(000)
<i>nṯh</i>	214	(No. 314)
<i>nkh</i>	499	(No. 107)
<i>ns<sup>ç</sup></i>	146	(No. 315)
<i>npl</i>	434	(No. 137)
<i>nšl</i>	213	(No. 236)
<i>nś<sup>ç</sup></i>	654	(No. 83)
<i>ntn</i>	2010	(No. 28)
<i>sbb</i>	161	(000)
<i>sûr</i>	299	(Nos. 274/322)
<i>spr</i>	107	(000)
<i>ḅd</i>	289	(No. 181)
<i>ḅr</i>	548	(No. 110)
<i>ḅz</i>	214	(No. 228)
<i>ḷh</i>	888	(Nos. 80/189)
<i>ḷmd</i>	522	(No. 114)
<i>ḷnhI</i>	316	(No. 160)
<i>ḷšh</i>	2627	(No. 19)
<i>pnh</i>	134	(No. 359)
<i>pqd</i>	303	(No. 203)
<i>pth</i>	135	(qal 97x)
<i>šwh</i>	494	(No. 106)
<i>qbš</i>	127	(000)
<i>qbr</i>	133	(qal 87x)
<i>qdš</i>	172	(000)
<i>qûm</i>	628	(Nos. 111/295)
<i>qṯr</i>	115	(hi. 70x)
<i>qr<sup>ç</sup></i>	730	(No. 75)
<i>qrb</i>	293	(Nos. 250/386)
<i>r<sup>ç</sup>h</i>	1303	(Nos. 37/395)
<i>rbh</i>	225	(No. 269)
<i>rdp</i>	143	(No. 330)
<i>rûm</i>	189	(000)
<i>r<sup>ç</sup>h</i>	168	(No. 257)
<i>šîm</i>	586	(No. 87)
<i>šmḥ</i>	154	(No. 336)
<i>šn<sup>ç</sup></i>	146	(No. 333)
<i>šrp</i>	117	(No. 396)

<i>šʾl</i>	171	(No. 270)
<i>šʾr</i>	133	(000)
<i>šb<sup>c</sup></i>	185	(No. 281)
<i>šbr</i>	146	(ni. 56x, qal 52x)
<i>šûb</i>	1060	(Nos. 73/139)
<i>šht</i>	162	(No. 361)
<i>škb</i>	212	(No. 231)
<i>škḥ</i>	102	(000)
<i>škn</i>	129	(No. 376)
<i>šlh</i>	847	(Nos. 90/186)
<i>šlk</i>	125	(No. 371)
<i>šlm</i>	116	(000)
<i>šm<sup>c</sup></i>	1159	(No. 44)
<i>šmr</i>	468	(No. 116)
<i>špt</i>	144	(No. 337)
<i>špk</i>	115	(No. 401)
<i>šth</i>	217	(No. 219)

**Table 3.** The table of the total number of words in OT books in vol. 1, p. xviii (percentages of the OT including the Aram. portions) used to compute relative frequency may now be supplemented by a list cordially made available by the compiler, Father H. Th. Willers (O.P.) of Puerto Rico, and excerpted, with his permission, from his work "General Statistics of the Hebrew Bible":

Table 3. Total Number of Words in the Old Testament

Book (BH3)	Words	% of Heb. OT
Gen	20,611	6.86 (6.84)
Exod	16,712	5.56 (5.64)
Lev	11,950	3.98 (4.05)
Num	16,413	5.46 (5.51)
Deut	14,294	4.75 (4.78)
Josh	10,051	3.34 (3.48)
Judg	9,884	3.29 (3.36)
1 Sam	13,264	4.41 (4.51)
2 Sam	11,036	3.67 (3.72)
1 Kgs	13,140	4.37 (4.45)
2 Kgs	12,280	4.08 (4.12)
Isa	16,930	5.63 (5.45)
Jer	21,819	7.26 (7.07)

Ezek	18,731	6.23 (6.23)
Hos	2,383	0.79 (0.75)
Joel	957	0.32 (0.31)
Amos	2,042	0.68 (0.66)
Obad	291	0.10 (0.08)
Jonah	688	0.23 (0.23)
Mic	1,396	0.46 (0.45)
Nah	558	0.19 (0.18)
Hab	671	0.22 (0.21)
Zeph	767	0.26 (0.25)
Hag	600	0.20 (0.21)
Zech	3,128	1.04 (1.06)
Mal	876	0.29 (0.28)
Psa	19,531	6.50 (6.01)
Job	8,343	2.78 (2.63)
Prov	6,915	2.30 (2.10)
Ruth	1,294	0.43 (0.43)
Song Sol	1,250	0.42 (0.40)
Eccl	2,987	0.99 (1.00)
Lam	1,542	0.51 (0.46)
Esth	3,045	1.01 (1.09)
Dan (H)	2,324	0.77 (0.83)
Ezra (H)	2,541	0.85 (0.89)
Neh	5,313	1.77 (1.87)
1 Chron	10,744	3.57 (3.71)
2 Chron	13,312	4.43 (4.69)
Hebr. OT	300,613	100.00
Gen-Deut	79,980	26.61 (26.82)
Josh-2 Kgs	69,655	23.17 (23.64)
Isa-Mal	71,837	23.90 (23.43)
Psa-2 Chron	79,141	26.33 (26.12)
Isa 1-39	9,900	3.29 (3.21)
Isa 40-55	4,333	1.44 (1.36)
Isa 56-66	2,697	0.90 (0.88)
Hos-Mal	14,357	4.78 (4.67)
Ruth-Esth	10,118	3.37 (3.39)
Aram. Dan	3,599	
Aram. Ezra	1,212	
Jer 10:11	15	

Gen 31:47 2

Aram OT 4,828  
 Hebr. OT 300,613

OT total 305,441

Willers's total of 305,441 words in the OT is based on the graphic units in *BH* 3 (words separated by spaces or *maqṣep*). Counting the prefixed particles separately (e.g., *welammelek* as four units), the result is over 421,000 units in the Hebr. OT (300,613 plus nos. 1-4, 6, 17, 66, 312 of the table of frequency, not counting the independent forms of nos. 3, 4, 6, 17). The percentages of the individual books shifts if one counts the particles: in the prose books slightly upward, in the poetical books slightly downward, primarily because of the frequent use of the article in prose. The related percentages are included above in parentheses.

**Table 4.** As a supplement to the first three tables, the following tables offer statistics concerning (1) the categories of frequency of Hebr. terms, and (2) the percentages of the parts of speech in the Hebr. lexicon.

As with demarcating words, the classification of the lemmata, once identified, with parts of speech, and even the selection of proper names, are often problematic (is *m<sup>e</sup>ôd* a substantive or an adverb, *par<sup>o</sup>* a title or a name?). Different criteria, disregarding possible errors in counting, produce rather divergent statistics, none of which can lay claim to absolute validity. It is advisable, therefore, to formulate the results, no matter how precise the details, only in round numbers, and to bear in mind the uncertain factors in drawing conclusions from the statistics.

Proper names consisting of two words (e.g., *bêt-<sup>l</sup>*) are counted below as two units (about 800x); the proper names in the Aram. portions of the OT (somewhat more than 300) are omitted. The various stem forms of the verbs are combined.

Table 4. Lexical Frequencies

	<i>Frequency Words</i>	<i>Occurrences</i>	<i>Proper Names</i>	<i>Occurrences</i>
	<i>Total Words and PNs</i>	<i>Total Occurrences</i>		
1	1,6301,630	900 2,530		
	(28.4%)	(0.4%) (35.9%)	(2.6%)	(30.7%) (0.6%)
2-9	2,1908,960	1,1204,320	3,310	13,280
	(38.1%)	(2.3%) (44.7%)	(12.5%)	(40.1%) (3.2%)
10-991	53048,050	450 10,750	1,980	58,800

	(26.6%)	(12.4%)	(18.0%)	(31.1%)	(24.0%)	(14.0%)
≥100	396	328,170	35	18,630	431	346,800
	(6.9%)	(84.8%)	(1.4%)	(53.8%)	(5.2%)	(82.3%)
	ca. 5,750	ca. 386,800		ca. 2,500	ca. 34,600	ca. 8,250
	421,400					

**Table 5.** Words that occur only once in the OT are distributed differently in the various books of the OT. The relative frequency (proportion of hapax legomena in a book relative to the size of the book) displays deviations from the average ranging from up to sixfold greater (Song Sol) and lesser (1 Chron). The difference between poetry and prose is clearly a determinative factor here.

Table 5. Distribution of Hapax Legomena

	<i>Number</i>	<i>Relative Frequency</i>
Gen	68	0.61
Exod	37	0.40
Lev	53	0.81
Num	32	0.36
Deut	57	0.73
Josh	12	0.21
Judg	33	0.60
1 Sam	36	0.49
2 Sam	25	0.41
1 Kgs	32	0.44
2 Kgs	30	0.45
Isa	265	2.99
Jer	88	0.77
Ezek	126	1.24
Hos	20	1.64
Joel	12	2.39
Amos	16	1.49
Obad	4	3.13
Jonah	4	1.09
Mic	10	1.36
Nah	14	4.78
Hab	16	4.46
Zeph	9	2.20
Hag	1	0.29
Zech	15	0.87
Mal	3	0.64
Psa	164	1.68

Job	170	3.97
Prov	78	2.28
Ruth	5	0.72
Song Sol	43	6.60
Eccl	25	1.54
Lam	33	4.41
Esth	15	0.84
Dan	12	0.89
Ezra	13	0.90
Neh	16	0.52
1 Chron	10	0.16
2 Chron	26	0.34
OT	1,628	1.00

**Table 6.** Hapax legomena may be categorized by part of speech as follows (the percentages refer to the total of words of the appropriate part of speech as presented below in table 7):

Table 6. Parts of Speech of Hapax Legomena

<i>Subst. Names</i>	<i>Adj.</i>	<i>Pron.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Nominals</i>	<i>Verbs</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total Proper</i>
1136	100	3	1	1240	377	11	1628
(31%)	(28%)			(31%)	(24%)		(28%)
(36%)							

**Table 7.** The lexicon of the Hebr. OT consists of:

Table 7. Parts of Speech

ca. 3640	Substantives	(44.1%)	with ca. 105,300
	occurrences	(25.0%)	
ca. 360	Adjectives	(4.4%)	with ca. 7,000 occurrences
	(1.7%)		
ca. 20	Pronouns	(0.24%)	with ca. 8,600 occurrences
	(2.0%)		
ca. 30	Numbers	(0.36%)	with ca. 6,800 occurrences
	(1.6%)		
ca. 4,050	Nominals	(49.1%)	with ca. 127,700 occurrences
	(30.3%)		
ca. 1,570	Verbs	(19.0%)	with ca. 71,500 occurrences
	(17.0%)		
ca. 130	Other Words	(1.6%)	with ca. 187,600

ca.	5,750	occurrences (44.5%)	Total Words (69.7%)	with ca.	386,800	
ca.	2,500	occurrences (91.8%)	Proper Names (30.3%)	with ca.	34,600	occurrences (8.2%)
ca.	8,250	Lemmata (100%)		with ca.	421,400	occurrences (100%)

**Table 8.** A summary of Hebr. verb forms (including inf. and ptcp.) yields the following (with slight rounding):

Table 8. Verb Stems

Qal	49,180	occurrences of	1,115	verbs, of which	304	(27%)	are
		hapax legomena					
	(68.8%)		(71.2%)				
Ni.	4,140	435	415	(33%)			
	(5.8%)		(27.8%)				
Pi.	6,450	415	134	(32%)			
	(9.0%)		(26.5%)				
Pu.	460	190	111	(58%)			
	(0.64%)		(12.1%)				
Hitp.	830	175	78	(45%)			
	(1.16%)		(11.2%)				
Hi.	9,370	505	163	(32%)			
	(13.1%)		(32.2%)				
Ho.	400	100	45	(45%)			
	(0.56%)		(6.4%)				
ca.	15	680	130	(170 forms)	108	(64%)	
other	(0.95%)		(71.2%)				
total	71,510	occurrences of	1,565	verbs, of which	377	(24%)	are
		hapax legomena					
			3,105	stem forms, of which	1,088	(35%)	are hapax
				legomena			