

## מֶלֶךְ

### Introduction

Grammatical type: verb.

Occurrences:

Sir 1 occurrence: 47.13 B שלמה מלך בימי שלום

Ep 1 occurrence: Davies 2.088.1= Renz Arad 7/88 (Tell Arad Ostrakon 88, end 7th c.)

[ אני מלכתי בכ]ל

Q 6 occurrences (plus 4 in biblical citations):

1QM 12.3 וברית שלומכה חרתה למו בחרט חיים למלוך [עליהם] בכל מועדי עולמים

4Q 510,1,1 ביום אשר ימליכו אותנו את ראוש בני ישראל

4QFlor 1.3,12f. (citation of Ex 15.17)

4QFlor 1.10 (citation of 2Sm 7.11–14)

11Q13(Melch) II,23 citation of Isa 52.7

4Q365 6b 3(citation of Ex 15.18)

TempScr 57.2 ביום אשר ימליכו אותו

BH 347 occurrences:

### Qal:

Gn 36.31<sup>2</sup>,33,34,35,36,37,38,39 = 1Ch 1.43<sup>2</sup>,44,45,46,47,48,49,50; Gn 36.32; 37.8<sup>2</sup>,

Ex 15.18, Josh 13.10,12,21, Jdg 4.2; 9.8,10,12,14

1Sm 8.7,9,11; 11.12; 12.12,14; 13.1<sup>2</sup>; 16.1; 23.17; 24.21<sup>2</sup>

2Sm 2.10<sup>2</sup>; 3.21; 5.4<sup>2</sup>,5<sup>2</sup>; 8.15; 10.1 = 1Ch 19.1; 15.10; 16.8;

1Kg 1.5,11,13<sup>2</sup>,17,18,24,30,35; 2.11<sup>3</sup>,15; 6.1; 11.24,25,37,42,43; 12.17; 14.19,20<sup>2</sup>,21<sup>3</sup>,31;  
15.1,2,8,9,10,24,25<sup>2</sup>,28,29,33; 16.6,8,10,11,15,22,23<sup>2</sup>,28,29<sup>2</sup>; 22.40,41,42<sup>2</sup>,51,52<sup>2</sup>;

2Kg 1.17; 3.1<sup>2</sup>,27; 8.15,16,17<sup>2</sup>,24,25,26<sup>2</sup>; 9.13,29; 10.35,36; 11.3 = 2Ch 22.12; 12.1,2<sup>2</sup>,22; 13.1,9,10,24;  
14.1,2<sup>2</sup>,16,23,29; 15.1,2<sup>2</sup>,7,8,10,13<sup>2</sup>,14,17,22,23,25,27,30,32,33<sup>2</sup>,38; 16.1,2<sup>2</sup>,20; 17.1; 18.1,2<sup>2</sup>; 19.37; 20.21;  
21.1<sup>2</sup>,18,19<sup>2</sup>,26; 22.1<sup>2</sup>; 23.31<sup>2</sup>,33,36<sup>2</sup>; 24.6,8<sup>2</sup>,12,18<sup>2</sup>; 25.1,27.

Is 24.23; 32.1; 37.38; 52.7; Jr 1.2; 22.11,15; 23.5; 33.21; 37.1; 51.59; 52.1<sup>2</sup>,4, Ezk 20.33; Mc 4.7;

Ps 47.9;93.1; 96.10=1Ch 16.31; 97.1; 99.1; 146.10;

Pr 8.15; 30.22, Qoh 4.14; Jb 34.30; Est 1.1,3; 2.4 (f), Dn 9.2

1Ch 3.4<sup>2</sup>; 4.31; 18.14; 29.26, 27<sup>3</sup>,28;

2Ch 1.13; 9.30,31; 10.17; 12.13<sup>3</sup>,16; 13.1,2,23; 16.13; 17.1,7; 20.31<sup>3</sup>; 21.1,5<sup>2</sup>,20<sup>2</sup>; 22.1,2<sup>2</sup>; 23.3; 24.1<sup>2</sup>,27; 25.1<sup>2</sup>;  
26.3<sup>2</sup>,23; 27.1<sup>2</sup>,8<sup>2</sup>,9; 28.1<sup>2</sup>,27; 29.1<sup>2</sup>,3; 32.33; 33.1<sup>2</sup>,20,21<sup>2</sup>; 34.1<sup>2</sup>,3,8; 36.2<sup>2</sup>,5<sup>2</sup>,8,9<sup>2</sup>,11<sup>2</sup>,20.

### Hiphil:

Jdg 9.6,16,18, 1Sm 8.22; 11.15; 12.1; 15.11,35, 2 Sm 2.9, 1Kg 1.43; 3.7; 12.1,20; 16.16,21, 2Kg 8.20; 10.5; 11.12 = 2 Ch 23.11; 14.21; 17.21; 21.24; 23.30,34; 24.17, Is 7.6, Ezk 17.16, Jr 37.1; Hos 8.4, Est 2.17, Dn 9.1 (hophal), 1Ch 11.10; 12.32,39<sup>2</sup>; 23.1; 28.4; 29.22, 2Ch 1.8,9,11; 10.1; 11.22; 21.8; 22.1; 26.1; 33.25; 36.1,4,10.

Qere/Kethiv: none?

*Text doubtful:*

**A.1** Dn 9.1: the unique hoph is hard to explain. If accepted, it could mean that Darius was made king by Cyrus, or that Darius was established on the throne. However, Rowley (1935:52f) suggests that in view of the witness of the Versions (Pesh, LXX, Vg, Th) it should be taken as an active verb, perhaps originally a hiph used as the Arm aph 'amlek, "to reign", and later erroneously pointed by the Masoretes as a hoph.

**A.2** Ps 10.16: some scholars, e.g. Loretz (1988:415–16), suggest reading \*מִלְךָ for מְלִיךָ.

## 2. Root and Comparative Material

**A.1** The AH root מִלַּךְ, from which are derived the verb מִלַּךְ and the noun forms מֶלֶךְ, מְלִיכָה, מְלִיכוּת, מְמַלְכָה, מְמַלְכוּת, מְלִיכָה, plus various personal names, is NWSem. It has the general meaning "to be king", "a king". The root appears first in Ebla texts in the 3rd millennium, in theophoric names (e.g. *A-bù-ma-lik*), in the f form *ma-lik-tum* "queen", and in the abstract *ma-li-ku-tum* "kingdom", but the independent m form has not yet been found. Other cognates are Amor *milk*, Ug *malk*, SCan *malk(u)*, *mālik(u)*, Mand *malek*, and in SSem *mlk* (Arb, OldSArb, Eth).

**A.2** In Akk, the word *malku* "king" is less common and is a loan word from NWSem; the usual word for "king" is *šarru* (cf. AH שָׂרַר) (Seybold, Ringgren, TW VI 932–33: TWOT VIII 352–53).

**A.3** There is a homonymous Sem root *mlk* with the sense "advice" (noun), "to give counsel" (vb), etc., and is found in Akk, Arm, and the later period of AH (ni Neh 5.7). Langlamet (1970:179–80) has a useful summary of studies up to the late 1960s.

**A.4** Some have regarded the two senses as developing from a single root: e.g. Nöldeke 1886:727, "to decide, advise"; Gesenius <sup>10</sup>1886 "to seize, hold"; Delitzsch *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* 1896: "to advise, deliberate"; Haupt 1915:54f. "to advise"; KB 1953 suppl; Fronzaroli (1965:246–69) OldWSem or PS root *mlk* underwent semantic changes in the three branches of Sem: in Akk *mlk* became limited by the wider use of *šarru*; in Arb *mlk*

developed special political-cultural nuances, and was subsequently influenced by the widespread use of *mlk* in WSem in the sense “king”; Caquot (1960:40) and Eilers (1964–66:97 n.3, 133, 142) see the basic original Sem meaning as “counsel”, which became personified as an agent noun “counsellor>leader>king”.

**A.5** Others believe that there have always been two separate but homonymous roots: e.g. \*Gesenius <sup>12</sup>1895: I Moab, Ph “to be king”; Arb, Eth “to possess, be master of something”; II Arm, NH, Ass “to counsel, deliberate, decide”; von Soden *AHw* 1966:7,593ff II *malāku* (*m*) “to advise”, versus III *malāku* (from Ug, Can *mlk*) “to rule, give orders”; Vogt 1957:472 Akk *malāku* “to advise” has nothing to do with WSem *malkum* “king”, since the latter was a tribal chief who did not deliberate or decide.

**A.6** Kopf (1959:261–62) notes that although dictionaries often define the meaning of the Arb cognate root as “to possess”, in fact it means “to take possession”. In the occurrence of the niph in Neh 5.7 וַיִּמְלֶךְ לִבִּי עָלַי, which is often regarded as from MLK II, “to take counsel”, he believes that the sense is in fact like the Arb *mlk* *lyh nfsh*, “his spirit took possession of him”, and means “my heart seized me”, i.e. “I was beside myself”.

**B.1** Eilers (1964–66:142 n.4) tentatively suggested a derivation from *mā laka*, meaning “what is yours?” > “property”, cf. Arb *milkun.*, or “what befits you” > “counsel”, cf. Akk *malkum.* This rather assumes the existence of a phrase in the form *mā laka* for a stage of Sem so early that it would precede every occurrence of MLK in the Sem langs.

**B.2** Another idea, cited without reference in Seybold (*TW* VI:933 : TDOT VIII 353), is to derive *mlk* from the root *hlk*, hi ptc *mōlīk*, “conducting”. Again, this relies on a speculative reconstruction of the grammatical forms of early Sem, and the assumption that a preformative *m-* could displace a *h-* to become part of a new and widespread root.

**B.3** Brown (1993: 77) makes a phonetic comparison between Greek *Fάναξ* and AH מִלְךָ, citing similar alternations of each individual phoneme in other Sem and IE words. This does not seem likely, given the wide usage of the root in several Sem languages, and Brown does not suggest what the original behind the Gr and AH forms could be.

**B.4** G.R. Driver (1950:50), following Haupt (1915:56), suggested that the hiph of מִלְךָ in Hos 8.4 was connected with the Arm aphel אַמְלֵךְ, “to give counsel”, and additionally that the following verb הַשִּׁירוּ should be associated with the Arb *’šr/šwr*, “to give advice”. But since the usual rendering of the verse “they make kings... they make princes” makes perfect sense in the context, his suggestion has not been generally accepted (Rudolph 1966:156–57 ; Wolff 1965: ??; ET 1974:132; Macintosh 1997: 297).

### 3. Syntagmatics

**A.1** Many of the occurrences of מִלְךָ in the Qal are in the 3pms pf or impf, mostly with a king as subj, sometimes explicitly referred to as such.

**A.2** The rare instances of the verb in the feminine are used of humans as follows: Athaliah, with feminine ptc 2Kg 11.3 = 2Ch 22.12, and of Vashti's replacement, 3psf impf in Est 2.4. The other occurrences of the verb in the feminine are not used of humans, but of the fig tree and the vine in Jdg 9.10,12 (f impv). In 2Ch 36.20 the nomen rectum of the inf cons is מַלְכוּת, which is thus effectively the subject of the phrase, and unusual in conjunction with מִלְךָ in being both grammatically feminine and an abstract noun (compare the similar phrase at 1Ch 4.31, with David as the "subject".)

**A.3** Being an intransitive verb, מִלְךָ in the Qal is particularly associated with prepositions: עַל of subjects or territory, בְּ of the centre of royal rule, and תַּחַת to denote the ruler succeeded by the subject of the verb.

#### **A.4** *Formulae*

The majority of occurrences in the Qal appear as part of regnal formulae, in the style of annals and chronicles, especially in the Books of Kings and Chronicles (e.g. "In the nth year of X king of A, Y became king (מִלְךָ) over B. For x years he reigned (וַיִּמְלֶךְ) in C and the name of his mother was Z daughter of N.") and in Gn 36 and 1-2Kg ("X died/lay with his fathers and was buried in B, and there reigned (וַיִּמְלֶךְ) in his stead (תַּחֲתָיו) Y son of Z/his son"). For greater detail, see S.R. Driver (°1913:186), Burney (1903:ix–xii), \*Skinner (1893:12), Montgomery (1951:31–32).

1) The opening formula ("Antrittsformel", Begrich 1929:182–88) contains some or all of the following elements:

a) the relative chronology of the neighbouring kingdom; e.g. 1Kg 15.25, and see below in c) and d) marked "syn".

b) the king's age at his accession, for Judahite kings; e.g. 1Kg 2.11; 14.20; 15.9, and see below in c) and d) marked "dur" (= duration).

c) the length of his reign;

d) עַל indicating the king's dominion;

מִלְךָ: 1Sm 13.1 (dur), 2Sm 5.5<sup>2</sup> (dur), 6 (dur), 1Kg 2.11 (dur); 11.42 (dur); 15.1 (synchr), 25 (synchr), 33 (synchr, dur); 16.8 (synchr), 23 (synchr, dur), 29 (synchr); 22.41 (synchr), 52 (synchr), 2Kg 3.1, 9.29, 10.36, 13.1, 10, 15.8, 17, 23, 27, 17.1; 1Ch 29.26, 27.

וַיִּמְלֹךְ: 2 Sm 8.15, 1K 15.25 (dur); 16.29 (dur); 22.52 (dur), 1Ch 18.14, 2Ch 1.13, 9.30, 10.17, 20.31.

e) ׀ indicating the seat of government:

מִלְךָ: Josh 13.10,12,21; Jdg 4.2; 2Sm 5.5<sup>2</sup> (dur); 15.10; 1Kg 2.11<sup>2</sup> (dur); 11.42 (dur); 14.21<sup>2</sup> (dur); 15.2 (dur), 10 (dur), 33 (dur, synchr), 16.8 (synchr), 15(dur), 23 (dur), 29 (dur); 22.42 (dur), 52 (synchr); 2 K 3.1, 8.17,26, 10.36, 12.2, 13.1,10, 14.2,23, 15.2,8,17,23,27,33, 16.2, 17.1, 18.2, 21.1,19, 22.1, 23.31,36, 24.8,18; Jr 52.1; 1 Ch 3.4, 29.27 (bis), 2 Ch 12.13, 13.2, 20.31, 21.5,20, 22.2, 24.1, 25.1, 26.3, 27.1,8, 28.1, 29.1, 33.1,21, 34.1, 36.2,5,9,11.

וַיִּמְלֹךְ: Gn 36.32; 1 K 16.29 (dur); 2 Kg 15.13.

2) The second type of formula (“Schlußformel”, Begrich 1929: 190–94) describes the death of the king and the succession of another, legitimately or not, using תָּחַת and the waw consecutive impf:

וַיִּמְלֹךְ: Gn 36.33,34,35,36,37,38,39 = 1Ch 1.44,45,46,47,48,49,50, 2Sm 10.1 = 1Ch 19.1; 1Kg 11.43; 14.20,31; 15.8,24,25,28; 16.6,10,28; 22.40,51; 2Kg 1.17; 8.15,24; 10.35; 12.22; 13.9,24; 14.16,29; 15.7,10,14,22,25,30,38; 16.20; 19.37; 20.21; 21.18,26; 24.6; Is 37.38; Jr 37.1, 1Ch 29.28, 2Ch 9.31; 12.16; 13.23; 17.1; 21.1; 24.27; 26.23; 27.9; 28.27; 32.33; 33.20; 36.8: cf. Est 2.4 (f).

תָּחַת does not appear in 1Kg 16.22, but the phrasing is otherwise very similar.

Ishida (1988:96–106) observes that וַיִּמְלֹךְ תַּחְתָּיו is part of a formula describing usurpation, e.g. 1Kg 15.27–28; 16.9–10, 2Kg 15.10; 15.25,30.

**A.5** Both ingressive and durative senses appear to coexist in מִלְךָ, hence 2Kg 13.1,10; 14.23 with a single pf vb to cover accession and duration of reign beside 2 pf vbs in 1Kg 16.23, and pf followed by impf in 1Kg 15.25;16.29, 2Kg 3.1. This is relevant to the discussion of the significance of the phrase וַיְהִי מִלְךָ, where it has been argued that the pf has only an ingressive sense if it comes after the subject (see below in *Exegesis*).

**A.6** The inf cons is also common in the annalistic occurrences and is usually found with prepositions:

(מִלְךָ)–לְפָנַי מִלְךָ: Gn 36.31 // 1Ch 1.43

בְּמִלְכוֹ usually with age at commencement of reign, 1Sm 13.1, 2Sm 2.10, 5.4; 1Kg 14.21; 22.42, 2Kg 8.17,26; 12.1; 14.2; 15.2,33; 16.2; 18.2; 21.1,19; 22.1; 23.31,36; 24.8,18; Jr 52.1; 2Ch 12.13,20,31; 21.5,20; 22.2; 24.1; 26.3; 27.1,8; 28.1; 33.1,21; 34.1; 36.2,5,9,11.

בְּמִלְכוֹ (not indicating age) 1Kg 16.11: see below on בְּמִלְכוֹ

לְמֶלֶךְ (mostly with sf) can be used to indicate a point in the reign, “in the nth year of his reign” e.g. 1 Kg 6.1, 2Kg 24.12; 25.1, Jr 1.2; 51.59; 52.4, Est 1.3, Dan 9.2, 2Ch 16.13; 17.7; 29.3; 34.3,8; but 1Kg 2.15 in purpose clause.

בְּשָׁנַת מְלִכּוֹ 2Kg 25.27 (cf. // at Jr 52.31, בְּשָׁנַת מְלִכּוֹתוֹ): Albright (1932:101–102) renders as “in the first official year” (of Awil-Marduk), following Lewy (1925: 25 n.3). Begrich (1929: 61 n.1) and Montgomery (1951: 54–55, 566–67) take the opposite view: they understand it as equivalent to the Akk phrase *rēš šarrūti*, lit. “at the beginning of his kingship” i.e. “in his accession year”, the period between his accession but before the first official year of his reign which started from the New Year in Nisan.

#### A.7 Non-formulaic uses of מֶלֶךְ in the Qal:

- Gn 36.31<sup>2</sup> וְאֵלֶּה הַמְּלָכִים אֲשֶׁר מָלְכוּ בְּאֶרֶץ אֲדוֹם לְפָנֵי מֶלֶךְ-מֶלֶךְ לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
- Gn 37.8<sup>2</sup> וַיֹּאמְרוּ לוֹ אַחֲוֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ תְּמַלֵּךְ עָלֵינוּ אִם-מִשׁוֹל תִּמְשַׁל בָּנוּ
- Ex 15.18 יְהוָה יִמְלֹךְ לְעֹלָם וָעֶד
- Jdg 9.8 הַלּוֹךְ הֶלְכוּ הָעַצִּים לְמַשַּׁח עֲלֵיהֶם מֶלֶךְ וַיֹּאמְרוּ לְזוֹת §מְלוֹכָה §מְלָכָה עָלֵינוּ
- Jdg 9.10 וַיֹּאמְרוּ הָעַצִּים לְתַאֲנָה לְכִי-אֶת מֶלְכִי עָלֵינוּ
- Jdg 9.12 וַיֹּאמְרוּ הָעַצִּים לְנֶפֶן לְכִי-אֶת §מְלוֹכִי §מְלָכִי עָלֵינוּ
- Jdg 9.14 וַיֹּאמְרוּ כָל-הָעַצִּים אֶל-הָאֶמֶד לֵךְ אֵתָהּ מֶלֶךְ- עָלֵינוּ
- 1Sm 8.7 כִּי לֹא אֵתָהּ מָאִסוּ בִי-אֲתִי מָאִסוּ מִמֶּלֶךְ עֲלֵיהֶם
- 1Sm 8.9 אֵךְ בִּי-הֵעֵד תֵּעִיד בְּהֶם וְהִגַּדְתָּ לָהֶם מִשְׁפַּט הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲשֶׁר יִמְלֹךְ עֲלֵיהֶם
- 1Sm 8.11 וַיֹּאמֶר זֶה יְהִי מִשְׁפַּט הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲשֶׁר יִמְלֹךְ עֲלֵיכֶם
- 1Sm 11.12 וַיֹּאמֶר הָעָם אֶל-שָׁמוּאֵל מִי הָאִמֵּר שְׂאוֹל יִמְלֹךְ עָלֵינוּ תִּגְדּוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים וְנִמִּיתֶם
- 1Sm 12.12 וַתִּרְאוּ בִי-נִחַשׁ מֶלֶךְ בְּנִי-עֲמוֹן כִּי אֵלֵיכֶם וַתֹּאמְרוּ לִי לֹא בִי-מֶלֶךְ וּמֶלֶךְ עָלֵינוּ וַיְהוֶה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם מְלָכְכֶם
- 1Sm 12.14 וְהִיתֶם גַּם-אֲתֶם וְגַם-הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲשֶׁר מֶלֶךְ עֲלֵיכֶם אַחֵר יְהוֶה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם
- 1Sm 16.1 עַד-מָתִי אֵתָהּ מִתְאַבֵּל אֶל-שְׂאוֹל וְאֲנִי מִאֲסִיתִי מִמֶּלֶךְ עַל- יִשְׂרָאֵל
- 1Sm 23.17 וְאֵתָהּ תִּמְלֹךְ עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֲנִי אֶהְיֶה-לָּךְ לְמִשְׁנֵה
- 1Sm 24.21<sup>2</sup> וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה יָדְעִיתִי כִּי מֶלֶךְ תִּמְלֹךְ וְקָמָה בְיָדְךָ מִמְּלֶכֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל
- 2Sm 3.21 אָקוּמָה וְאֵלְכָה וְאֶקְבְּצָה אֶל-אֲדָנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת-כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּכְרְתוּ אֶתְךָ בְּרִית וּמְלָכָתָּ בְּכָל אֲשֶׁר- תֹּאמְרוּ נִמְשָׁךְ
- 2Sm 15.10 בְּשִׂמְעֵכֶם אֶת-קוֹל הַשֹּׁפָר וְאִמְרִתֶּם מֶלֶךְ אַבְשָׁלוֹם בְּחִבְרוֹן
- 2Sm 16.8 הַשׁוֹב עֲלֶיךָ יְהוָה כֹּל דְּמֵי בֵּית-שְׂאוֹל אֲשֶׁר מְלָכָתָּ §תַּחֲתֹו §תַּחֲתֵי
- 1Kg 1.5 וְאֲדָנִיָּה בֶן-חַגִּיתִּית מִתְנַשֵּׂא לֵאמֹר אֲנִי אֶמְלֹךְ וַיַּעַשׂ לוֹ רֶכֶב וּפָרָשִׁים וְחִמְשִׁים אִישׁ רָצִים לְפָנָיו
- 1Kg 1.11 הֲלוֹא שָׁמַעְתָּ כִּי מֶלֶךְ אֲדָנִיָּהוּ בֶן-חַגִּיתִּית וְאֲדָנִיָּהוּ דוֹד לֹא יָדַע
- 1Kg 1.13<sup>2</sup> לֵאמֹר כִּי-שְׁלֹמֹה בְנֶךָ יִמְלֹךְ אַחֲרָיו וְהוּא יוֹשֵׁב עַל-בְּסָאִי וּמִדּוּעַ מֶלֶךְ אֲדָנִיָּהוּ
- 1Kg 1.17 אֲדָנִי אֵתָהּ נִשְׁבַּעְתָּ בַּיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לֵאמֹר כִּי-שְׁלֹמֹה בְנֶךָ יִמְלֹךְ אַחֲרָיו וְהוּא יוֹשֵׁב עַל-בְּסָאִי
- 1Kg 1.18 וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה אֲדָנִיָּה מֶלֶךְ וְעַתָּה אֲדָנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ לֹא יָדַעְתָּ
- 1Kg 1.24 וַיֹּאמֶר נָתַן אֲדָנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ אֵתָהּ אִמְרֵת אֲדָנִיָּהוּ וּמֶלֶךְ אַחֲרָיו וְהוּא יוֹשֵׁב עַל-בְּסָאִי
- 1Kg 1.30 כִּי-שְׁלֹמֹה בְנֶךָ יִמְלֹךְ אַחֲרָיו וְהוּא יוֹשֵׁב עַל-בְּסָאִי תַּחֲתֵי
- 1Kg 1.35 וְעֲלִיתֶם אַחֲרָיו וְכֹא וְיֹשֵׁב עַל-בְּסָאִי וְהוּא יִמְלֹךְ תַּחֲתֵי וְאֵתוֹ צִוִּיתִי לְהִיּוֹת נָגִיד עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַל-יְהוּדָה

- 1Kg 2.15 את ידעת כִּי־לִי הַיְהוָה הַמְּלוּכָה וְעָלִי שְׁמוֹ כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל פְּנִיָּהֶם לַמֶּלֶךְ וַתִּסַּב הַמְּלוּכָה וַתְּהִי לְאַחִי
- 1Kg 11.24 וַיִּקְבַּצַּא עָלָיו אַנְשִׁים וַיְהִי שֶׁר־גִּדּוּד בְּהַרְגֵּ דָוִד אַתֶּם וַיִּלְכּוּ דַמְשֶׁק וַיֵּשְׁבוּ בָּהּ וַיִּמְלְכוּ בְּדַמְשֶׁק
- 1Kg 11.25 וַיִּמְלֶךְ עַל־אַרְם
- 1Kg 11.37 וְאַתָּה אֶקַּח וּמַלְכֶת בְּכָל אֲשֶׁר־תֵּאָדָה נִמְשָׁךְ וְהָיִית מֶלֶךְ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל
- 1Kg 12.17 וּבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הַיֹּשְׁבִים בְּעָרֵי יְהוּדָה וַיִּמְלֶךְ עֲלֵיהֶם רְחַבְעָם
- 1Kg 14.19 וַיָּתֵר דָּבְרֵי יִרְבְּעָם אֲשֶׁר נִלְחַם וְאֲשֶׁר מֶלֶךְ הָנָם כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לַמְּלָכִי יִשְׂרָאֵל
- 2Kg 3.27 וַיִּקַּח אֶת־בְּנוֹ הַבְּכוֹר אֲשֶׁר־יִמְלֶךְ תַּחְתָּיו וַיַּעֲלֵהוּ עִלָּה עַל־הַחֲמָה וַיְהִי
- 2Kg 9.13 וַיִּמְהַרּוּ וַיִּקְחוּ אִישׁ בְּגִדּוֹ וַיִּשְׂמוּ תַּחְתָּיו אֶל־גֶּרֶם הַמַּעֲלוֹת וַיִּתְקְעוּ בַשּׁוֹפָר וַיֹּאמְרוּ מֶלֶךְ הוּא
- 2Kg 11.3 וַיְהִי אַתָּה בֵּית יְהוָה מִתְחַבֵּא שֵׁשׁ שָׁנִים וַעֲתָלְיָה מַלְכֶת עַל־הָאָרֶץ
- = 2Ch 22.12 וַיְהִי אַתֶּם בְּבֵית הָאֱלֹהִים מִתְחַבֵּא שֵׁשׁ שָׁנִים וַעֲתָלְיָה מַלְכֶת עַל־הָאָרֶץ
- Is 24.23 וַחֲפָרָה הַלְּבָנָה וּבוֹשָׁה הַחֲמָה כִּי־מֶלֶךְ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת בְּהַר צִיּוֹן וּבִירוּשָׁלַם וַיִּגָּד זְמַנּוֹ כְּבוֹד
- Is 32.1 הוּא לְצַדִּיק וּמֶלֶךְ־מֶלֶךְ וּלְשָׁרִים לְמִשְׁפַּט וְשָׂרוּ
- Is 52.7 הַתְּמַלֵּךְ כִּי אַתָּה מִתְחַרָּה בְּאֶרֶז אַבִּיָּה־הַלּוֹא אֶכֶל וְשָׂתָה וְעָשָׂה מִשְׁפָּט וַצַּדִּיקָה אִז טוֹב לוֹ
- Jr 23.5 הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים נְאֻם־יְהוָה וְהִקְמַתִי לְדָוִד צִמַח צְדִיק וּמֶלֶךְ מֶלֶךְ וְהִשְׁכִּיל וְעָשָׂה מִשְׁפָּט וַצַּדִּיקָה בְּאָרֶץ
- Jr 33.21 גַּם־בְּרִיתִי תִפָּר אֶת־דָּוִד עַבְדִּי מֵהַיּוֹת־לוֹ בֶּן מֶלֶךְ עַל־בְּסָאוֹ וְאֵת־הַלְוִיִּם הַכֹּהֲנִים מִשְׁרָתִי
- Ezk 20.33 כִּי־אָנֹכִי נְאֻם אֲדָנָי יְהוָה אִם־לֹא בְּיַד חֲזָקָה וּבְזִרוּעַ נְטוּיָה וּבְחֲמָה שְׂפוּכָה אִמְלֹךְ עֲלֵיכֶם
- Mc 4.7 וְשַׁמְתִּי אֶת־הַצִּלְעָה לְשִׂאֲרֵי וְהִנְהַלְאָה לְגוֹי עַצוֹם וּמֶלֶךְ יְהוָה עֲלֵיהֶם בְּהַר צִיּוֹן מֵעַתָּה וְעַד־עוֹלָם
- Ps 47.9 מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהִים עַל־גּוֹיִם אֱלֹהִים יֹשֵׁב עַל־בְּסַא קְדָשׁוֹ
- Ps 93.1 יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ גָּאוֹת לִבְשׁ לִבְשׁ יְהוָה עַז הַתְּאָזָר אֶף־תִּכּוֹן תִּבַּל בַּל־תִּמּוֹט
- Ps 96.10 אִמְרוּ בַגּוֹיִם יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ אֶף־תִּכּוֹן תִּבַּל בַּל־תִּמּוֹט יָדוֹן עַמִּים בְּמִישְׁרִים
- Ps 97.1 יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ תִּגַּל הָאָרֶץ וְשִׁמְחוּ אַיִם רַבִּים
- Ps 99.1 יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ וַיִּגְזַר עַמִּים יֹשֵׁב כְּרוּבִים תִּגְוֹט הָאָרֶץ
- Ps 146.10 o וּמֶלֶךְ יְהוָה לְעוֹלָם אֱלֹהֵיךְ צִיּוֹן לְדָרֹס וְדָר הַלְלוּ־יְהוָה
- Pr 8.15 בִּי מְלָכִים וּמְלָכִים וְרוֹזְנִים יַחֲקִקוּ צַדִּיק
- Pr 30.22 תַּחַת־עַבְדֵּךְ כִּי וּמְלוֹךְ וַיִּבָּל כִּי וּשְׂפַע־לֶחֶם
- Qoh 4.14 כִּי־מִבֵּית הַסּוּרִים יֵצֵא לְמֶלֶךְ כִּי גַם בְּמַלְכוּתוֹ נוֹלַד רֶשַׁע
- Jb 34.30 מִמֶּלֶךְ אָדָם חָנָף מִמַּקְשֵׁי עַם
- Est 2.4 וְהִנְעִרָה אֲשֶׁר תִּיטֵב בְּעֵינֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ תִּמְלֹךְ תַּחַת וְשָׂתִי וַיִּיטֵב הַדָּבָר בְּעֵינֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיַּעַשׂ כֵּן
- 1Ch 4.31 וּבְבֵית מְרִפְבוֹת וּבְחִצְרֵי סוּסִים וּבְבֵית בְּרָאִי וּבְשִׁעְרֵים אֱלֹהֵם עָרִיהֶם עַד־מֶלֶךְ דָּוִד
- 1Ch 16.31 וְשִׁמְחוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְתִגַּל הָאָרֶץ וַיֹּאמְרוּ בַגּוֹיִם יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ
- 2Ch 23.3 וַיִּכְרַת כָּל־הַקְּהֵל בְּרִית בְּבֵית הָאֱלֹהִים עִם־הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיֹּאמְרוּ לָהֶם הִנֵּה בֶן־הַמֶּלֶךְ וּמֶלֶךְ כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה עַל־בְּנֵי דָוִד
- 2Ch 36.20 וַיִּנְגַל הַשִּׂאֲרִית מִן־הַחֶרֶב אֶל־בָּבֶל וַיְהִי־ לוֹ וּלְבָנָיו לְעַבְדִּים עַד־מֶלֶךְ מַלְכוּת פָּרְס

**A.8** Qal fin vb: with explicit subj מֶלֶךְ: Gn 36.31=1 Ch 1.43 (pl), 1Sm 8.9,11; 12.12,14; Is 32.1, Jr 23.5, Pr 8.15 (pl), 2Ch 23.3 (king's son).

**A.9** "Acclamation/proclamation" formula (see Exegesis below): 3pms pf + subj used in the sense "X has become king (and is reigning)": 2Sm 15.10; 2Kg 9.13 of human kings, and

Ps 93.1; 96.10; 97.1; 99.1; 1 Ch 16.31 of the Lord (all 3pms pf pausal, preceded by subj). Cf Is 24.23; 52.7, Mc 4.7, Ps 47.9 (all vb, subj). Also relevant: Ex 15.18 (subj + 3pms impf) Ps 146.10 (3pms impf + subj).

**A.10** In the discussion of the significance of the יהוה מִלְךָ passages, word order plays a prominent role (and to a lesser extent the pausal form of the verb). In narrative, subj-verb occurrences are at 1Sm 11.12 (impf); 12.12 (impf); 1Kg 1.13 (impf); 1.17 (impf); 1.18 (pf); 1.24 (impf); 1.30 (impf); Vb-subj occurrences are at 2Sm 15.10, 2Kg 9.13 with pf as mentioned above; 1Kg 1.11; 12.17.

**A.11** Impv: Jdg 9.8,10,12 (all f); v14 m.

**A.12** Ptcp: Jr 33.21 (m sg), 2Kg 11.3= 2Ch 22.12 (f sg).

**A.13** Inf abs preceding: 1Sm 24.20 (impf); Gn 37.8 (impf)

**A.14** Inf cons:

+ עַד: 1Ch 4.31; 2Ch 36.20;

לְמַלְךָ (purpose clause): 1Kg 2.15, Qoh 4.14

מִמְלָךְ: 1Sm 8.7, 16.1, Jb 34.30, 2Kg 23.33 Qere

בְּמַלְכוֹ Kethiv 1Kg 15.29 (but note var. בְּמַלְכוֹ in many MSS, and the similar phrase with בְּמַלְכוֹ in 1Kg 16.11).

בְּמַלְךְ 2Kg 23.33, but Qere, Versions and Q \*מְמַלְךְ

**A.15** In the hiph the vb means “to make king”. The subject varies, even when referring to the same event, between Yahweh, an individual in authority such as another king, priest or prophet, and a nation or group of national representatives. For instance, Saul is described as having been made king by the people of Israel (1Sm 11.5), by Samuel (1Sm 8.22), and by Yahweh (1Sm 15.11, 35). Solomon is made king by David (1Kg 1.43, 1Ch 23.1), though Solomon attributes his reign to Yahweh (1Kg 3.7, 2Ch 1.8,9) and in 1Ch 29.22 he is made king by the assembly of military and civic leaders. In Chronicles the various contingents who made David king at Hebron are listed, though it is emphasised that all the fighting men of all the tribes and all the rest of Israel were involved in the decision (1Ch 12.23–40 especially 32, 39 x2); but in 1Ch 28.4 David says that Yahweh chose to make him king. Ishida (1988:97–98, 101–105) argues that וַיַּמְלִיכוּ אֹתוֹ / אֵת פֹּ' is a formula for the role of the people *under arms* in making someone king, e.g. 1Sm 11.15, 1Kg 12.20, cf. 2Kg 17.21, 1Kg 16.16, and in 2Kg 11.12 the subject must be הָעָם as in the following verse. Ishida makes the important point that the hiph verb is used of a subj in a position of strength as well as

authority, able to force his own choice when the succession was unclear. Thus the hiph is a technical term for king-making as a political action, cf. 2Kg 10.5 (Ishida 1988:104–105).

Individual subjects are in the minority, presumably because popular support and acclaim are necessary, but Ishbosheth is made king by Abner (2Sm 2.9), and Rehoboam makes Abiah his successor (2Ch 11.22).

Group subjects: Abimelech is made king by the lords of Shechem (Jdg 9.6, 16, 18), Rehoboam is made king by Israel (1Kg 12.1, 2Ch 10.1) as are Jeroboam (1Kg 12.20, 2Kg 17.21), Omri (1Kg 16.16), and unspecified monarchs (Hos 8.4). Half of Israel attempts to make Tibni king (1Kg 16.21), Edom appoints itself a king (2Kg 8.20, 2Ch 21.8), and Judah takes Azariah and Uzziah as kings (2Kg 14.21, 2Ch 26.1). The “people of the land” are responsible for making both Josiah and his son Jehoahaz king (2Kg 21.24; 23.30, 2Ch 33.25; 36.1). The leaders of Samaria promise Jehu not to use their prerogative of appointing a king (2Kg 10.5). The inhabitants of Jerusalem appoint Ahaziah (2Ch 22.1), The subject is unclear in 2Kg 11.12, but it may be the army or the people who confer the kingship on Joash; in the parallel in 2Ch 23.11 it is Jehoiada and his sons.

Foreigners appoint kings too: Pharaoh replaces Jehoahaz with Jehoiakim (2Kg 23.34 2Ch 36.4), Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon appoints Zedekiah instead of Jehoiachin (2Kg 24.17, 2Ch 36.10, Jr 37.1, Ezk 17.16), and Aram, Ephraim and the son of Remaliah are said to be plotting to appoint the son of Tabeal (Is 7.6). The Persian king makes Esther queen (Est 2.17).

**A.16** The use of the hiph at 2Kg 24.17 in place of the usual Qal in the formula “he became king in his stead” underlines the dependence of the Judaeen monarchy on the Babylonian king.

### 3. Lexical and semantic fields

**A.1** מָלַךְ occurs in synonymous parallelism with מָשַׁל (Gn 37.8); יָשַׁב עַל כִּסֵּא (1Kg 1.13, 17, 24, 30, 35, Ps 47.9); צָנָה לְהִיּוֹת נָגִיד עַל

**A.2** It is associated with מָלַךְ very frequently (e.g. Jdg 9; 1Kg 11.37, Jr 23.5, Pr 8.15); with the idea of possessing the kingdom (מִמְלַכַת יִשְׂרָאֵל 1Sm 24.21, הִיטָה הַמְּלוּכָה 1Kg 2.15); with trading in cedar (Jr 22.15); with judgement and righteousness (Jr 22.15; 23.5)

**A.3** Where מָלַךְ or הִמְלִיךָ refers to becoming king, aspiring to kingship or being made king they can be associated with מָשַׁח (Jdg 9.8); making a covenant (כָּרַת אֶתוֹ בְּרִית 2Sm 3.21; 2Ch 23.3); the sound of the shofar (2Sm 15.10, 2Kg 9.13); the provision of a chariot and

runners (1Kg 1.5); the laying of garments on the steps for the new king to walk on (2Kg 9.13); sacrifices and rejoicing (1Sm 11.15).

#### 4. Versions

LXX:

**A.1** βασιλεύω is the verb almost always used to render both the Qal and the hiph. In the latter case, it is used to mean “to make someone a king”, e.g. in Ho 8.4: this transitive use is not attested prior to the LXX (Muraoka 2002, s.v.).

**A.2** For the contentious passages “Yahweh/God is King” etc. (see under *Exegesis* below), LXX is not very helpful, since in Pss it tends to render mechanically, as Ulrichsen points out (1977:373) in refuting Kapelrud’s interpretation of the aorist ἐβασίλευσεν as ingressive 1963:230 against Kraus 1961:648f. However, Ex 15.18 has the pres ptc, as does 1Ch 16.31 (against the aorist of its parallel, LXX Ps 95.10 (MT 96.10), and Is 52.7 the future.

**B.1** Exceptions to the use of βασιλεύω are:

- a) the omissions in Josh 13.21, 1Kg 2.11 (once), Jr 33.21 (not extant in LXX); 1Ch 3.4 (once); 29.27 (all three), Est 2.17, 2 Ch 26.3 (once); 27.8 (not extant in LXX); 29.3; 34.3,8; 36.20. Some occurrences of מֶלֶךְ Qal in the Old Greek sections of Kingdoms preserved in MSVaticanus coincide with omissions (1 Kg 11.24; 12.17; 14.19), and at 1 Kg 2.15 the infinitive is rendered as εἰς βασιλέα.
- b) βασιλεύς 1Kg 2.15 (εἰς βασιλέα for מֶלֶךְ), 1Ch 4.31 (ἕως βασιλέως for עַד מֶלֶךְ דָּוִד )
- c) βασιλεία 2Kg 24.12; 25.1,27, 2Ch 17.7; 34.3,8; Jr 51(28).59 ; 52.4 (τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ מֶלְכּוֹ (7), מֶלְכּוֹ (1)), 2Ch 36.20 ἕως βασιλείας עַד מֶלֶךְ; Jr 1.2 ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ מֶלְכּוֹ ;
- d) 2Ch 21.5 (1st) κατέστη ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ; 2Ch 29.3 ὡς ἔσται ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ
- e) 1Sm 11.15 ἔχρισεν Σαμουὴλ ... (τὸν Σαοὺλ) εἰς βασιλέα for וַיִּמְלִיכוּ
- f) 1Kg 3.7 ἔδωκας for הַמְלִיכָה
- g) 1 Ch 28.4 τοῦ γενέσθαι με βασιλέα for לְהִמְלִיךָ
- h) 2Ch 36.1 καὶ ἔχρισαν καὶ κατέστησαν εἰς βασιλέα for וַיִּמְלִיכוּהוּ , cf. 2Ch 36.4 κατέστησεν for וַיִּמְלִיךְ
- i) The hoph in Dn 9.1 is rendered by βασιλεύω: transitively with a pl subj in LXX, and intransitively with a sg subj in “Th.”

j) See Begrich (1929:179n2) for discussion of the reading of MSS A and B ἐβασιλευσεν < \*מִלְךָ in 1Kg 22.41.

*Pesh:*

**A.1** For both Qal and hiph, *'amlek*, “to be king”, and transitively, “to make king” (the pe‘al means “to advise”).

**B.1** The exceptions are:

a) *'amlek... bmalikutēh* “he was king... in his reign” 1Sm 13.1<sup>2</sup>;

b) i) *qām bmalikutā* lit. “he acceded to the kingdom”, 1Ch 29.27 (3x),28; 2Ch 12.13 (2nd),16; and the 1st occurrence in the following—24.1; 25.1; 26.3; 27.1; 29.1 (and once more without corresponding Heb); 33.21; 34.1; 36.2; 36.9,11. Perhaps used for variety, to supplement use of *'amlek*, and usually corresponding to במלכו, so perhaps influenced by the similarity to Arm *bmaliku*, “in the kingdom”.

ii) *qām bmalikutēh*, similar to the above, i.e. “he succeeded to the throne” 2Ch 13.23 (14.1); 17.1; 33.1;

The BH inf cons plus m suf often appears to be rendered by Pesh *malkūtā*, as in the following (see remarks on b) above):

c) i) *dmalkūtā* 2Kg 24.12,

ii) *dmalkutēh* Jr 51.59, 2Ch 29.3, Est 1.3, Dn 9.2.

d) i) *lmalkutēh* 2Kg 25.1, Jr 1.2; 52.4, 2Ch 16.13; 17.7; 34,3,8; Dn 9.2 (Urmia)

ii) *lmalkūtā* 2Ch 20.31(2nd); 21.1,5(1st),20(1st); 22.2(1st)

e) *lmalkā* 1Ch 4.31 (as if <\*מִלְכָּה?)

f) *hū nqūm 'laykon* “he shall stand over [i.e. lead] you” 2Ch 23.3.

g) *d'ehweh malkā* “that I should be king” 1Kg 2.15 for rendering מִלְכָּה, = 1Ch 28.4 (BH hiph).

h) *'aqīm bmalikutēh lašleymon* “he established Solomon in his kingdom” 1Ch 29.26 (exegetical rendering, to correspond to 1Ch 23.1 and 29.22 (both hiph)).

i) *'dammā d'aykā d'ašlem malkūtā lparsāyē*, “until he handed the kingdom over to the Persians” 2Ch 36.20.

The occurrences in 1Kg 15.2, Is 32.1, 2Ch 9.31; 26.23; 27.8 are not rendered.

The alternative renderings of the hiph are in Jdg 9.6, 2Ch 1.9 *'aqīm*, “appoint”; Ezk 17.16, 2Ch 10.1; 36.4; 21.8 *'aqīm malkā* “establish as king”, 1Ch 12.39(38) *lamqāmu ldawīd bmalikutā*, “to establish David in the kingship”, cf. 1Ch 12.32(31), Dn 9.1 (BH

hoph), 2Ch 1.8,11; 6.1; 23.11; 36.1. Ho 8.4 is ambiguous in Pesh, and could mean “make/be king” or “give counsel”.

Tg:

**A.1** Regularly *mlak*, and for the hiph, the aph *'amlek*.

**B.1** Exceptions:

- a) *malikutā*, “kingdom”: 2Kg 24.12 (= 2Ch 17.7); Est 1.1,3 (Tg Rishon); Ex 15.18 (exegetical: “the Lord, his kingdom [is] for ever and ever”); Is 24.23 (exeg: “the kingdom of the Lord of Hosts shall be revealed”), Is 52.7 (exeg: “the kingdom of your God has been revealed”), Mc 4.7 (exeg: “the kingdom of the Lord shall be revealed”)
- b) *lmihwē malkā*, “to be king”: 1Sm 8.7; 16.1; 1Kg 2.15, cf. Jr 22.15 “will you resemble a king”.
- c) *ty<sup>l</sup> lmḥsn mlkw<sup>t</sup>* “she will enter to take possession of the kingdom” Tg Rishon Est 2.4.
- d) *'amlek* for מֶלֶךְ Qal: 1Ch 29.28.
- e) *mmny mlk* Jb 34.30 for מִמְּנֵי.

Vg:

**A.1** For the Qal, Jerome uses *regnare* in the vast majority of occurrences. Given his abilities as a translator, it is surprising that he does not vary the rendering more than he does, but perhaps he preferred to retain the annalistic style of Kings and Chronicles.

**A.2** There is one other common rendering, *imperare* “to rule” Jdg 9.8,12,14; 1Sm 8.11; 12.12,14; 2Sm 3.21; 1Ch 1.43 (1st); 2Ch 36.20 (+ *rex*); Dn 9.1. Also *rex fieri* “become king” 1Ch 1.43 (2nd).

**A.3** Hiphil: Usually *constituere regem*. “appoint as king”. Also *constituere ducem* “appoint as leader” 2Ch 11.22; *constituere* alone 2Kg 24.17, 1Ch 23.1; *facere regem* “make king”, 1Sm 11.15, 1Kg 16.15, 2Kg 11.12, 2Ch 1.9; *ponere regem* “appoint as king” Is 7.6; *facere regnare* “make to reign” 1Kg 3.7, Est 2.17.

**B.1** Less literal renderings of the Qal: *habere regem* “have a king” Gn 36.31(2nd); *succedere in regnum* “succeed to the kingdom” Gn 36.38; *accipere regnum* “accept the kingdom” Jdg 9.10; *constituere regem* “appoint as king” 1Kg 11.24; *facere regnare* “make to reign” Jb 24.30.

**B.2** For the construction (date) + **לְמַלְכוֹ, לְמַלְדָּה**, Jerome often uses a noun: e.g. *in regni sui/eius* “in his reign” 2Kg 24.12; 25.1; 2Ch 16.13; 29/3; 34.3,8; Jr 1.2; 51.59; 52.4; Dn 9.2 (hoph); *imperium sui* “in his rule” Est 1.3; perhaps \***לְמַלְדָּה** : *in regem* 1Kg 2.15; *regis* 1Kg 6.1, *rege* 2Kg 9.29. *ad regem* 1Ch 4.31, *ad regnum* Qoh 4.14.

**B.3** More paraphrastic renderings: *numquid rex noster eris* Gn 37.8; *quoniam invasisti regnum pro eo* 2Sm 16.8.

**B.4** Anomalous renderings of the Hiphil: *rex fieri* “become king” 1Ch 11.10, 12.39(38) (2nd); 28.4 (hiph); *ungere* (!) “anoint” 1Ch 29.22.

## 5. Exegesis

**A.1** The most important occurrences of **מָלַךְ** in the Qal from a theological point of view are those in which the subj is God or Yahweh. There are 13 occurrences of this type: Ex 15.18; 1Sm 8.7, Is 24.23; 52.7, Ez 20.33, Mc 4.7, Ps 47.9; 93.1; 96.10 (= 1Ch 16.31) 97.1; 99.1; 146.10. (These should be compared with the 41 occurrences where the Lord is described as **מְלִיךָ**: see entry on **מְלִיךָ**: see Preuss 1991:174). The examples felt to have most theological significance are in the perf tense, with God or Yahweh as subject: God — Ps 47.9; Is 52.7; Yahweh — Ps 93.1; 96.10; 97.1; 99.1; 146.10.

**A.2** Those instances in which Yahweh as subj precedes the vb, **יהוה מָלַךְ** (Ps 93.1; 96.10; 97.1; 99.1), were interpreted by Mowinckel (1922:3, 6; 1962:107) in an ingressive sense, “Yahweh has become king!” This interpretation of the phrase is the cornerstone of his theory that these and ceryain other psalms were associated with an annual enthronement festival for Yahweh, similar to that held in Babylon for Marduk. In this context **יהוה מָלַךְ** was a cultic shout marking the climax of this New Year Festival, and the psalms involved Mowinkel termed “Enthronement Psalms”. He cited the similar proclamations of the enthronements of Absalom and Jehu (2Sm 15.10, 2Kg 9.13), but inaccurately, reversing the verb-subj order. Gunkel accepted certain aspects of this theory, but saw the idea of God’s enthronement as a literary theme and not a reflection of cultic practice \*(1930:36–37), so regarded the enthronement psalms as eschatological in nature (1933:100–116).

**A.3** Many objections regarding the Babylonian parallels have been raised (Porteous 1938; Eissfeldt 1928; Tadmor *EM* 7:305–11), most recently by Welten (1982). Generally speaking, the emphasis has shifted away somewhat from supposed similarities with the Babylonian *akitu* festival towards Ugaritic texts describing the reinstallation of Baal during the autumn New Year celebration (see W. Schmidt 1961: 72–79, de Moor 1971:56–58, 77-80,

Loretz 1988:428). But some scholars, most notably Kraus (1979:103–12; ET 84–91), deny the existence of an enthronement festival for Yahweh, at least until the post-exilic period.

**A.4** However, the argument over whether Psalms 93, 96, 97, 99, and also 47, reflect the existence of a New Year enthronement festival for Yahweh ultimately hinges on the interpretation of יהוה מֶלֶךְ. A good deal has been written on the problem, summarised by Gelston (1966), and more recently by Ollenburger (1987:24–33) and Brettler (1989:141–58). There are two interrelated questions, first whether the vb מֶלֶךְ is essentially durative (“is king”) or ingressive (“has become king”), and second whether the word order, subj-verb versus verb-subj, either affects the sense of the verb or emphasises the subject.

**A.5** Mowinckel originally argued (1922:6) that the verb was ingressive when pointed in MT as מֶלֶךְ (Pss 93.1; 96.10 = 1Ch 16.31; 97.1; 99.1. Few have followed him in taking the punctuation into account. Even though Revell believes that pausal forms mark the ends of units of poetry and were fixed by 200 AD at the latest, it does not appear that the existence of a pausal form has any bearing on the aspect of the verb, though Brettler (1989:144) wonders whether it shows that the phrase served as “a self-sufficient cultic exclamation”. Some have accepted the ingressive sense of the verb מֶלֶךְ, for other reasons, e.g. Loretz 1988:413–34 (1979:491, 461). Almost all scholars from Mowinckel onwards have based their arguments concerning the interpretation of יהוה מֶלֶךְ on a comparison with the use of מֶלֶךְ in prose narrative, especially in the “proclamation” formulae in 2Sm 15.10 and 2K 9.13. But the sense of these uses in prose is not undisputed, with some stressing the role of word order and others the general context in determining the exact significance of מֶלֶךְ אֲבִשְׁלוּם בְּחֶבְרוֹן or מֶלֶךְ יְהוּא. (The context of Ezk 20.33 would seem to indicate that the impf there means, “I will be king”— see Zimmerli 1960:218–19). The arguments are complex, and it is not possible to do more than give a crude summary of the different positions taken by various scholars (the conclusions of a particular individual on the *Aktionsart* of the verb or the word order do not necessarily imply support for or denial of Mowinckel’s theory of a pre-exilic New Year Enthronement of Yahweh festival).

Ingressive (“Yahweh has become king”): Mowinckel (1922:6; 1962:107, 113–15), Kraus (1951:123–136), Bernhardt (1960:227), Gray (1961:2 n1), Lipinski (1963:460; with emphasis on preceding subj, 457, cf. Köhler 1953:188f.), de Moor (1971), Loretz (1979:491, 461; 1988:413–34), Rosenberg (1966).

Durative (“Yahweh is king”): Eissfeldt (1928:81ff), Gunkel (1933??: 1926:410), Johnson (1955:61–62, 68 n.3), Wildberger (1960:93), Welten (1982: 307).

Durative, with emphasis on subj if subj precedes: (“It is Yahweh who is king”): Köhler (1953), Ridderbos (1954) and Michel (1956) with an ingressive sense for the reverse order, Gelston (1966), Jeremias (1987:36, 151), Preuss (1991:179f, ET 157, and n.145: emphasis on subj preceding verb)

Both senses co-exist (e.g. “Yahweh now rules actively as king”): Kapelrud (1963), Anderson (1972:34–35, 666–67, with emphasis on subject), Ulrichsen (1977:372–24), Beuken (1981:45), Ollenburger (1987:28), Brettler (1989:151, 156–57).

The current consensus appears to be that context alone can decide the precise meaning “is” / “has become” for *מָלַךְ* / *מְלִיךְ* in a given passage (Scoralick 1989:22–24). However, Day (1990:75–81) rightly points out that the perf outside the psalms can hardly mean just “is king”: at most, in the proclamations of the kingship of Absalom and Jehu, it means “is (now) king”. Janowski (1989:444–45) takes a similar line, but on the basis of the verb *יָשַׁב* which occurs in frequent parallelism with *מָלַךְ* and also has both an ingressive and a durative sense, both generally and in these passages.

**A.6** On the question of the significance of word order, the Arad Ostrakon 88 from the second half of the seventh century has the pronoun preceding the verb (the pers pron. is sui generis, see JM§146 a 4); b 3)). Renz (1995:304 n.1) compares the Moabite Mesha’ inscription, which reads ...ואנך מלכה... על מאב...אבי מלך (lines 2–3, 28–29). Lines 21–23, 25–30 of the Mesha’ inscription give 11 further examples of the pronoun preceding the perfect verb (e.g. ואנך בנתי), as Mesha seeks to draw attention to his own achievements. Similarly Sir 47.13 has the phrase שלמה מלך. It would therefore seem from Sir and Ep that in general a pronoun or subject preceding the verb serves to place emphasis on the subject. On the other hand, Muraoka (1985:35) observes that in BH when the subject is God, it often precedes the verb. This would imply that the subj-verb order in *יהוה מָלַךְ* had no especial significance, but was normal in the circumstances.

However, Caquot (1959:327) wonders whether the speculation concerning the word order of the Enthronement Psalms is too elaborate. He regards the rhetoric as more important than the actual syntax: in the case of Ps 47.9 the word order gives a chiasmic structure, *אֱלֹהִים יָשַׁב / מְלִיךְ אֱלֹהִים*, but the two actions are on the same level, he believes.

**A.7** Conclusion: *מָלַךְ* Qal contains both ingressive and durative senses, the balance to be decided by the context. Word order is a matter of emphasis on the subject or action of the verb e.g. “Jehu is king!” rather than on the exact meaning of the verb. The problems probably have more to do with rendering the Heb vb into European languages than the semantics of *מָלַךְ* itself, which appears to encompass durative, ingressive and stative aspects

at once with ease. Certainly it would be unwise to rely too much on the interpretation of יהוה מלך in arguing either for or against the use of certain psalms as hymns for an annual enthronement of Yahweh.

**A.8** Much has been written about the use of מלך with subjects other than Yahweh, but almost all of this is found in studies that attempt to determine the sense of the יהוה מלך passages and not for the “secular” usages of the verb. However, Renz (1995:304 n.2) argues that in 2Sm 5.5 מלך means “reigned”, since we are looking back, whereas in the Arad Ostrakon 88 the speaker is still alive and ruling, and informing his correspondent of the fact, so that the meaning there must be “I became/have become king”, “I now rule”.

Ultimately, the problem lies not so much in the Hebrew verb מלך itself but in the attempt to render it into European languages with a different system of tenses. There are similar difficulties with verbs such as ישב and שכב, though there are fewer theological implications involved with these and so they have received much less attention. Even an English verb such as “sit” can have both an ingressive and a durative sense (“to sit down” versus “to be seated, sitting”), and as with מלך etc. the precise meaning can only be decided by the context, if at all.

**B.1** Nyberg (1935:39), generally followed by Cazelles (1949:24) and Östborn (1955:23, 34, 38, 54–57), argues that generally in Hosea the word מלך refers to a deity named Melek, not a human king, and that the hiph הִמְלִיךָ in Ho 8.4 refers to the Israelites making themselves deities beside Yahweh. Few commentators have accepted Nyberg’s theory. In particular Gelston (1974:72–73; 82–83) points out that a deity Melek (as opposed to Molech) is otherwise unknown, and most of the references to kings in Hosea can be taken at face value.

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