מֶלֶךְ

Introduction

A.1   Grammatical type: noun, m., *qaṭl*. Functional languages: found throughout all types, but the distribution and significance of the lexeme varies within the categories.

A.2   AH approx. 2700 occurrences.

BH over 2500 occurrences (Even Shoshan 2518, but Andersen–Forbes 2525).
The statistics for individual books are as follows (Andersen–Forbes 1992:361):
Torah 101

Gen	41
Ex	14
Num	20
Dt	26

Former Prophets 1190

Josh	109
Jdg	37
1Sm	86
2Sm	283
1Kg	305
2Kg	370

Latter Prophets 438

Isa	80 (I 66; II 8; III 6)
Jer	269
Ezk	37
Hos	19
Amos	8
Jon	2
Mic	5
Nah	1
Hab	1
Zeph	4

<pre>
        Hag   2
        Zech   9
        Mal   1
Poetry   107
        Ps   67 (I 16; II 24; III 5; IV 7; V 15)
        Job   8
        Prv   32
Other Writings   689
        Song   5
        Qoh   12
        Lam   3
        Est   196
        Dan   51
        Ezra   30
        Neh   43
        1Ch   69
        2Ch   277
</pre>

No occurrences in Lev, Joel, Obad, Ruth.

Those books with the highest proportion of occurrences per 10,000 words are (in descending order):Est, Dan (if the Arm. portions are included), 2Kg, 2Sam, 1Kg, 2Ch, Ezra (if the Arm. portions are included), Jer, Josh (Andersen–Forbes 1992:361).

A.3   Ep 53 occurrences:

A. Letters etc.

   D-1.003.19= RR-Lak(6):1.3.19; D-1.005.10= RR-Lak(6):1.5.10; D-1.006.4, 10–11 = RR-Lak(6):1.6.4,10–11; D-1.008.3= RR-Lak(6):1.8.3; D-2.024.3, 17 = RR-Arad(6):24.3,17; D-2.040.13= RR-Arad(8):40.13; D-2.088.3= RR-Arad(7):88.3; Bordreuil, Israel, Pardee (1996:51–52).

B. למלך: there are hundreds of examples of these, of differing types (Lemaire 1981:*54–*60), e.g. i) D-1.102 = RR-Lak(8):2 בת למלך, D-18.001.1= RR-BMir(8):1: [למלך] בת

ii) royal stamps, usually with למלך + place: e.g. D-105.001, 105.002, 105.003, 105.004, 105.006, 105.007, 105.008, 105.009, 105.011, 105.012, 105.013, 105.014, 105.016, 105.017, 105.018, 105.019, 105.043.

C. Seal inscriptions of the king's entourage:

לפֿ' עבד המלך 100.069.2, 100.070.2, 100.125.1, 100.504.2, 100.759.2

לפֿ' בן המלך 100.072.2, 100.110.2, 100.209.2, 100.252.2, 100.506.2, 100.507.2, 100.508.2, 100.719.2, 100.760.3, 100.784.2

למעדנה בת המלך 100.781.2 (see Avigad 1978:146–47).

D. Others:

D-5.013.1 =RR-Seb(8):10.1; D-8.017.1; (= RR-KAgr(9):8.1, but reconstruction differs); 11.001.1 =RR-Qas(8):1.1; 20.002.6=RR-EGed(8):2.6; 34.001.2 = RR-Nim(8):1.2.

A.4   Sir 16 occurrences: Sir 7.4A (G); 7.5 A (2x); 10.3A; 10.10A; 38.2B; 38.3B; 45.3B; 46.20B; 48.6B; 49.4B; 50.2B; 50.7B; 51.12B.

A.5   Q approx. 112 occurrences (Abegg's Concordance [2003] has c. 170, but some of these occur in reconstructed passages):

War Scroll: 1QM 1.4 = 4Q496 3.3; 1QM 11.3; 1QM 12.8; 1QM 14.16 = 4Q491 (M^a) I.13; 1QM 15.2; 1QM 19.1; 4Q491 (M^a) 11 I 12; 4QM^a 11 I 18; 4Q492 (M^b) 1.6.

Damascus Document: CD 1.6 = 4Q 266 2 i 11 (4QDamDoct^a); 4QDamDoct^a 266 12.4; CD 3.9; CD 7.16f; CD 8.10; CD 8.11 cf 4QpNah 1.2f; CD 19.23f; CD 20.16 (cf. Hos 3.4);

3Q4 (CommIs) 4

4QFlor: 4Q174 12f (Am 9.11); 4Q174 I.18 (Ps 2.1–2)

Hodayot: 1QH 10.8; 4Q427(4QH^a) 7 i 13; 4Q427(4QH^a) 7 i 15

5QApocMal: 5Q 10 3

4QJub^a : 4Q216 1 iv 9

4QpApoc.Weeks: 4Q247.4; 4Q247.6

4QMyst^a : 4Q299 9.3; 4Q299 10.1; 4Q299 53.12; 4Q299 60.4

4QMMT C 19; 4QMMT C 23

non-canonical Ps B: 4Q381 33.8; 4Q381 76-77.7; 4Q381 31.4

4QApocJer: 4Q385a 4,7; 18i4; 18i10; 4Q387 4i2; 4Q389 (apocJerC^d) 5,2; 8ii9 מלך לגוים נדפן יקום, = 4Q388a (apocJerC^c) 7ii3, cf. reconstruction of 4Q387 (apocJerC^b) 2ii8

4QpapPsEzk^e: 4Q391 1.2; 4Q391 10.2; 4Q391 25.5

ShirShabb: 4Q400 1 i 8; i 13; ii 7; ii 8; ii 14; 2,5

    4Q401 1-2,5; 5,7; 13,1; 14 ii 8

    4Q402 2,4; 3 ii 12

    4Q403 1 i 3; i 5; i 7; i 13; i 17; i 28; i 31; i 34; i 38; i 46; 1 ii 23; ii 24; ii 25; ii 26; 3,1

    4Q404 3,3; 5,6; 6,2

    4Q405 4-5,2; 14-15 i 3; 14-15 i 5 (bis); 14-15 I 7; 15 ii-16,3; 15 ii-16,7; 19A - D,3; 19A - D,8; 23 i 9; i 11; i 13; ii 2; ii 3; ii 9 ; ii 11; 24,3; 56,1

    1k II,2; II,15; II,18

11Q17 VIII,7; 11Q17 X,5; 11Q17 26b,1; 11Q17 29,1; 11Q17 30,4; 11Q17 32,3

Apoc.Ps and prayer: 4Q448 B2; 4Q448 C8

4QDibHaM^a: 4Q504 1–2 iii 15; 4Q504 27.1

4QShir: 4Q510.1.1; 4Q511.52–59.III.4; 4Q511 99.2;

4QBeat: 4Q525 2.II 9

4QpNah 2.9

Apocr.Sam-Kgs: 6Q9 33 3

TempScr: 11Q19 56.14[2]: 58.3; 58.7; 59.14

A.6   Personal names:

מלך is a common theophoric element in NWSem names, e.g. Ph מלקרת (= מלך קרת),
Abimilki; Ug Milk-iw, Abdi-Milki; Ass Ilumilki: see Fowler (1988:50–53) for references,
and the older works of Gray (1896:115–20) and Noth (1928:114–21). However, it is not
always easy to determine the exact sense of MLK: is it the subject or predicate of the
phrase, does it refer to a god with the proper name Milk, is it a title ("king") of a deity
known by another proper name (e.g. Yahweh), or does it even refer to a human king?
(Eißfeldt 1928:84–89). Noth believes that names with MLK presuppose the existence of a
political entity or state: earlier theophoric names have the elements אח, אב, or אדון.
Eichrodt (1933:123) suggests that the introduction of kingship affected royal titles of
Yahweh and brought into vogue theophoric names on this theme e.g. Saul's son
Malchishua מַלְכִּישׁוּעַ (1Sam 14.49). However, Eißfeldt (1928:89) says that the fact that the
first biblical name that clearly gives Yahweh the title "king", Malchiah (מַלְכִּיָּהוּ Jr 38.6),
occurs in the time of Jeremiah, suggests that the theophoric element MLK in earlier AH

names refers to a god other than Yahweh. Gray (1896:19) believes that the name Malchiah witnesses to the "vigour of theocratic ideas" of the period, and is a deliberate counter to names such as Nabu-malik encountered by the Jews in Babylon.

More recently, the study of Fowler (1988:50–53, 366–67, 377, 382) gives the total of AH names with the divine element *MLK* as 32. MLK is more frequently prefixed (14) than suffixed (8), and the latter are "questionably theophoric" and belong to the period of the united monarchy. Fowler considers that Melek is not a divine name but a divine appellation, e.g. Malki'el means "El is king". Melek is also used instead of a theophoric element, e.g. Malkishu' means "The King (= Yahweh/God) is salvation". The older types of name such as Abimelek or Ahimelek have the meaning "the divine Brother/Father is king"(see Bordreuil and Lemaire 1979:73 n.3).

Hammolecheth הַמֹּלֶכֶת (1Ch 7.18) : Gray (1896:115) considers this to be a tribal name.

Milchah מִלְכָּה (Nm 26.33, Gn 11.29): Gray (1896:116): the name of a town in Nm, Nöldeke (1888:484): the Ph goddess מלכת

Malchiel מַלְכִּיאֵל (Gn 46.17, Nu 26.45, 1Ch 7.31): a family name (Gray 1896:148).

Abimelech אֲבִימֶלֶךְ (Gen 20.2,3,4,18; 21.22,252, 26.1,8, etc., Judg 8.31, Ps 34.1, 1Sm 21.11f.).

Melchizedek מַלְכִּי צֶדֶק (Gn 14.18, Ps 110.4).

Malchiah מַלְכִּיָּ֫הוּ / מַלְכִּיָה Jer 21.1; 38.1,6, Neh 3.11//Ezr 10.31; Neh 3.14,31; 8.4; 10.4; 11.12; 12.42, Ezr 10.25a,b, 1Ch 6.25; 9.12; 24.9).

Malcham מַלְכָּם (1Ch 8.9).

Melech מֶלֶךְ (1Ch 8.35; 9.41): = Melkiel? — LXX B and Luc, 9.41 LXX Luc.

Nethanmelech נְתַן מֶלֶךְ (2K 23.11, 1Ch 3.18): a chamberlain (Viviano ABD IV 1030). Fowler (1988:50–53) refers to the god Melek, or King as a divine epithet of Yahweh. However, is it mere coincidence that the phrase נָתְנוּ מַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה occurs just before the name?

The name Ebed-Melech, used of the Cushite eunuch of Zedekiah (Jer 38.7–12), may have a secular meaning, "king's servant" (see *Syntagmatics*). However, Abdi-Milki is a religious name in post-exilic Babylon (Noth 1928:118).

Names in Ep:

מלכי 100.833 bulla 7th/6th century, City of David

מלכיהו 15 times, 8th–early 6th centuries:

a) D- 2.024.14, 2.039.2, 2.040.3

b) Beersheba graffito 4 למלכיהו

c) seals: i) 100.176, 100.326, 100.406, 100.598, 100.599, 100.761 למלכיהו

    ii) with other names: 100.620.2, 100.674.2, 100.675.2, 100.748.2, 100.751.1

מלכרם twice, though both may be Phoenician. (3.108.1, 100.250.1): cf. מַלְכִּירָם 1Ch 3.18.

יהומלך (Seal V, 162: ref. in Fowler 1988:50-53)

גדמלך (Seal V, 64): ref. in Fowler 1988:50-53).

Text doubtful:

A.1   Ps 10.16: some scholars, e.g. Loretz (1988:415–16), suggest reading *מָלַךְ for מֶלֶךְ.

A.2   2Sm 11.1: Many MSS have וַיְהִי לִתְשׁוּבַת הַשָּׁנָה לְעֵת צֵאת הַמַּלְאָכִים, but with the marginal note that the Aleph is extraneous. Other Heb MSS have הַמְּלָכִים, also LXX, Tg, Vg ("kings"), Pesh ("king") (Rosenberg 1986:126, 241 and n.21).

A.3   There are a number of passages where scholars have suggested reading מֹלֶךְ or מִלְכֹּם instead of מֶלֶךְ, e.g. 2Sm 12.31 (Kethiv מַלְכֵּן, Qere מַלְבֵּן), Isa 30.33 (לַמֶּלֶךְ: see Eichrodt 1933:123, ET 196) Jr 49.1, 3 (מַלְכָּם), Hosea passim (Nyberg 1935), Amos 1.15 (מַלְכָּם); 2.1 (מֶלֶךְ); 5.26 (מַלְכְּכֶם); 7.13 (מֶלֶךְ): Day (1989: 72–81) discusses and rejects many of these supposed allusions, but argues that Isa 57.9 לְמֶלֶךְ should be vocalised *לְמֹלֶךְ.

1. Root and comparative material

A.1   (See this section under מָלַךְ).

A.2   מֶלֶךְ and its cognates are found widely in Sem to denote the chief deity of a people or tribe. However, the Ak. cognate *malku* is used comparatively rarely for Babylonian or Assyrian rulers (the commoner term for these is *šarru*), more often for foriegn rulers (Lambert 1998:55).

The title is used a few times of Yahweh in the Pentateuch (e.g. Nu 23.21; 24.7, Dt 33.5, Ex 15.18 [verb, of Yahweh]), and this raises problems for those who consider that these passages date from the premonarchic period in Israel, and that the Israelites had no experience of secular kingship that could be projected on to a deity. (Naturally, there

is no problem for those scholars who regard these references, or the documents in which they appear, as dating from the period of the monarchy or later!) Some would therefore argue that the original sense of the word מֶלֶךְ in AH was closer to the meaning of either the Arb root (von Rad *ThW* I 563: "possessor" or "judge": and Gray 1957:117 "possessor", describing the relationship between the god and his worshippers, a master of slaves, cf. Rosenthal 1958:4), or the Aram (Buber 1936:49, 53 and Baudissin 1929: III, 49f, 613 "adviser": Eichrodt 1933:122–26)**.**

However, others believe that the title "king" could be used of the head of a pantheon or other celestial beings even in a society without a secular monarchy (e.g. Schmidt ²1966:66–68), through the influence of the Canaanites or of city-states in the region.

Still others believe that the concept of kingship could exist in the premonarchic period, since kingship was originally seen as military leadership (cf. 1Sm 8.20), and did not imply a court or central administration (e.g. Wildberger 1960:83–86).

An alternative solution is to see the cult of the king-god as a foreign import in Israel in the monarchic period, and retrojected into the early history of Israel (Eichrodt 1933:122–26; Maag 1960:140–41, Lipinski 1965:458; Gray 1961:12).

2. Syntagmatics
(BH data from Even Shoshan, 665–71. The figures for Sir and Q are harder to compute, owing to the fragmentary state of the texts.)
A.1 indefinite sg: 160x BH.

definite, sg: 1185x BH: usually refers to a specific figure, sometimes followed by his name (173x, usually in early books), and less often preceded by it (41x, usually in late books) (BDB 573a; JM §131 k). Also the address-form, אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ: 63x, mainly 2Sm and 1Kg.

In 1Sm there are 41 occurrences of הַמֶּלֶךְ and 30 of מֶלֶךְ, whereas in 2Sm הַמֶּלֶךְ occurs 238 times and מֶלֶךְ 19 times. This reflects the situation where the kingship is fully established in the person of David, whose story is central to 2Sm. Polzin (1993:231 n.20) comments on the especially high frequency of the word "king" in 2Sm 19: 55 occurrences in 35 verses, emphasising the restoration of David's position as monarch. The book of Esther also uses "king" very frequently, often as the nomen rectum with

the adjectival sense, "royal": this serves to underline the Persian king's centrality to the story and the way in which so much depends on his authority.

A.2 construct:

as nomen regens:

> BH 838x: almost always governing the name of a country or city state or region; but cf. Isa 41.21 ("King of Jacob"); Ps 24.7,9,8,10[2] ("King of Glory"); Jer 10.10 ("eternal king", מֶלֶךְ עוֹלָם), where the referent is divine.
>
> Q: especially in 4QShirShabb(4Q400–405), where מלך is applied to God and often governs abstract nouns (often preceded by the article) such as הוד, טוב, כבוד, קודש, נשיאים, מלכים, אלהים also and ,כול, טהור, אמת וצדק. מרוממים. Cf. Sir 51.12, למלך מלכי מלכים.

as nomen rectum:

> 1. definite (NB: the poor state of the Qumran fragments means that it it is not always possible to ascertain the presence of the def. art. Moreover, in poetic compositions the absence of the def. art. may not be significant). Governed by nouns indicating:
>
> retainers and officials:
>
> > עֶבֶד sg 2Sm 18.29; 2Kg 22.11//2Ch 34.20; pl 1Sm 11.24; 15.15; 22.17, 1Kg 1.9,47, Isa 37.5//2Kg 19.5; Est 3.2,3; 4.11; 5.11 (Maisler 1950:214 states that עבד המלך was a First Temple title in Israel, Judah and Philistia, but also used in the Persian Empire); נַעֲרֵי Est 2.2; 6.3,4; שָׂרֵי 2Ch 26.11, Ezr 7.28, Est 1.18; 6.9 (no sg); סָרִיס sg Est 2.3,14,15; pl Est 2.21; 4.5; 6.2,14; חֹזֶה 1Ch 25.5, 2Ch 29.25; 35.15; סוֹפֵר sg 2Kg 12.11//2Ch 24.11; pl Est 3.1; 8.9; רַבֵּי Jer 41.1; רֵעֶה 1Kg 4.5 (see Cazelles 1958:324; Donner 1961:25–33), רֵעַ 1Ch 27.33; מִשְׁנֵה 2Ch 28.7; satraps אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנֵי Ezr 8.36; traders סוֹחֲרֵי 1Kg 10.28//2Ch 1.16; cf. also פְּקֻדַּת 2Ch 24.11.
>
> relatives: אֵם 1Kg 2.19, 2Kg 24.15; son 14x sg, 22x pl.; daughter 3x sg, 3x pl (and see Avigad 1978); son-in-law 1x; wives 2x; זֶרַע 1x.
>
> palace: בֵּית 54x; בִּיתַן Est 1.5; other buildings and facilities: אוֹצְרוֹת 1Ch 27.25, 2Ch 36.18; גִּנְזֵי Est 3.9; 4.7; גַּן 2Kg 25.4, Jer 39.4; 52.7, Neh 3.15; הֵיכַל Dan 1.4, Sir 50.7; יְקְבֵי Zc 14.10.

institutions: שֶׁלְחָן 1Sm 20.29, 2Sm 9.13; מִשְׁתֶּה 1Sm 25.36; פַּת־בַּג Dan 1.5,8,13,15; מַשְׂאַת 2Sm 11.8.

places: בְּרֵכַת Neh 2.14; עֵמֶק 2x, שַׁעַר 12x: דֶּרֶךְ 2x; מָבוֹא 1x; מְדִינוֹת 10x.

command, order: דְּבַר   1Sm 21.9; 2Sm 24.4//2Ch 28.4, Neh 2.18 pl, Est 1.12,13; 2.8; 3.15; 4.3; 8.14,17; 9.1; 2Ch 19.11; 26.32; 28.6; מִצְוַת Est 3.3 11; פִּתְגָם Est 1.20; טַעַם Jon 3.7; אִגְּרוֹת Neh 2.9; דָּתֵי Ezr 8.36, Est 3.8; מַאֲמַר Est 1.15: cf. נְאֻם (all of Yahweh) Jer 46.18; 48.15; 51.57

parts of the body: mouth 1x, ears 2x, hands 15x (cf. עַל יְדֵי 3x), heart 4x, eyes 5x, lips 1x (401 1 ii 14)

Miscellaneous: mowings גִּזֵּי Am 7.1; contribution מְנָת 2Ch 31.3; sacrifice עֹלַת 1x; spear חֲנִית 2x, ring טַבַּעַת Est 3.12; 8.8²,10; prisoners אֲסִירֵי 1x; נֵזֶק Est 7.4; פִּרְדַּת 1Kg 1.38, 44; שְׁנַת (sleep) Est 6.1; חֲמַת 2Sm 11.20, Est 2.1; 7.10; עֲבֹדַת 1 Ch 26.30 // מְלֶאכֶת;מְלֶאכֶת יי 1Ch 29.6, Dan 8.27; tax מִדַּת Neh 5.4, measure אֶבֶן 2Sm 14.26; מִשְׁפַּט 1Sm 8.9,11; שֵׁם 3x.

2. indefinite 26x:

palace: בֵּית 1Kg 16.18 (Burney 1903:178 explains that the construction is effectively definite); other buildings הֵיכַל Ps 45.16, pl. Prv 30.28, Sir 50.2, 4Q400 1 I 13; מִקְדַּשׁ Amos 7.13; דביר(י) 4Q402 2,4; 4Q405 14-15 I 7, cf. 4Q405 15 ii - 16,3, 4Q405 19A-D,3; קִרְיַת Ps 48.3.

family: בֵּן Ps 72.1; בַּת 2Kg 9.34; Ps 45.14.

emotions: אֵימַת (emend to *חֲמַת?) Prv 20.2; חֲמַת Prov 20.2; זַעַף Prv 19.12; רְצוֹן Prv 14.35

glory הֲדְרַת Prv 14.28; עֹז Ps 99.4; כְּבוֹד 4Q400 1 ii 8, 4Q400 2,5, 4Q405 23 i 9, 4Q405 24,3 (some of these may be def.).

parts of body: לֵב Prv 21.1; פִּי Qoh 8.2; פְּנֵי Prv 16.15, 2Sm 14.25,28; שִׂפְתֵי Prv 16.10 דְּבַר Qoh 8.4; מַשָּׂא Hos 8.10

יְמֵי Isa 23.15, Ps 61.7; מרוממי 4Q403 1 i 13 (def.?).

תְּרוּעַת Nm 23.21

מַעֲדַנֵּי Gen 49.20

A.3   with suffix: 57x:

of king's relation to God: "my king" Ps 2.6, "his king" 1Sm 2.10; God as "my king" Ps 5.3, 44.5; 68.25?; 74.12; 84.4;

God as "your king" Zc 9.9; "her king" Jer 8.19; "our king" Isa 33.22; "your (pl.) king" 1Sm 1.12, Isa 43.15; "their king" Ps 149.2.

A.4 with adjectives: rare:

גִּבּוֹר   Dan 11.3

גָּדוֹל   Qoh 9.14; of Yahweh — Mal 1.14 (cf. 5Q10 3), Ps 47.3; 95.3.

זָקֵן וּכְסִיל   Qoh 4.13

חָדָשׁ   Ex 1.8

חָכָם   Prv 20.26

עַז   Isa 19.4

עַז פָּנִים   Dan 8.23

רַב   Ps 48.3

הָרִאשׁוֹן   Dan 8.21; 11.3.

רַךְ וּמָשׁוּחַ   2Sm 3.39

פרוע   Sir 10.3

A.5 *Plural*: BH indef. 47x; def. 50x.

nomen regens: 155x, usually of nations, country, region, earth etc. Also frequently at Qumran, e.g. War Rule 1QM1.4, 4Q491 11 I 2, CD 8.10,11; 19.23, 4Q299 60 4, 4QMMT C 23, Sir 49.4.

nomen rectum: 22x:

indef:

כְּבֹד Prv ; Prv 45.10; בְּנוֹת Job 12.18; מוּסַר Prv 16.13; רְצוֹן Isa 60.16; שֹׁד Prv 16.12; תּוֹעֲבַת 25.2; סְגֻלַּת Qoh 2.8; לֵב Prv 25.3; מָתְנֵי Isa 45.1; מֶלֶךְ מְלָכִים Ezk 26.7 (with reference to Nebuchadnezzar), 1QM 14.16 (referring to God).

definite:

קִבְרוֹת 2Ch 21.20; 24.25; פִּגְרֵי Ezk 43.7,9; צַוְּארֵי Josh 10.24; 1Ch 20.1; עָרֵי Josh 11.12; חַדְרֵי Ps 105.30; כִּסֵּא (see entry on כִּסֵּא) 2Kg 11.19; Jer 52.32 Qere // 2Kg 25.28; סֵפֶר 2Ch 16.11; 24.27.

with adjs:

גְדוֹלִים Jr 25.14 and 27.7 // גּוֹיִם רַבִּים; Ps 136.17; אַדִּירִים Ps 136.18

with suffix: 28x.

A.6 Always male (f. lexical equivalent is מַלְכָּה), but can be a minor, as in the case of the seven-year-old Joash, 2Kg 11//2Ch 23.

A.7 The meaning of the commonly found phrase in Ep, למלך, found especially but not exclusively on Judaean storage jars, is variously explained as indicating
 a) property belonging *to* the king (Maisler 1950:208–10, 1951: 266; Lemaire 1975:678–82; 1977: 253 n.5; Rainey 1982:57–62)
b) goods destined *for* the king, since no other recipient is named (Cross 1960:9–20 [wine]; Smelik 1991: 164)
c) a sign of royal authorisation for units of weight or measure (Barkay 1978: 212–13)
d) a guarantee of delivery (Renz I:228–29 and n.1).
The interpretation depends on the context in which the objects (e.g. jars) bearing the inscription occur. Thus a unit of measure followed by the phrase למלך indicates some kind of royal standard, whereas למלך on a container of produce could indicate either its origin or its destination.

There are hundreds of handles from Judaean storage jars, and many bear the seal impression למלך, often followed by one of four place names. These are now dated to a brief period prior to 701 BCE, and so are generally thought to have contained royal produce destined for key locations in preparation for the defence against the Assyrian campaign (Welten 1969: 118–42; Na'aman 1979:70–86; Rainey 1982:60–61; Mommsen et al. 1984:89–113).

B.1 The reading of the jar handles as *leMoloch*, i.e. marking produce designated for cultic offerings, as suggested in nineteenth century has been abandoned (Welten 1969:4–5).

A.8 The phrase יְחִי הַמֶּלֶךְ occurs 9 times in BH (1Sm 10.24, 2Sm 16.16[2], 1Kg 1.25,31,34,39, 2Kg 11.12//2Ch 23.11). De Boer (1955:225–26) argues that it is a formula of acclamation, and not to be confused with the formula of court etiquette, "may the king live for ever!" (e.g. Neh 2.3, 1Kg 1.31, and Aram Dn 2.4; 3.9; 5.10; 6.7,22). It is employed at decisive moments such as the people's acceptance of Yahweh's choice of king. De Boer

takes the tense as jussive but with some indicative sense, recognising the king's power: "the king lives!" (1955:231).

A.9 Since the title בן המלך "son of the king", in BH and Ep often occurs in contexts where the bearer has an important function, some scholars take it as the title of a royal functionary unrelated to the royal family (Clermont-Ganneau 1888:36; Brin 1966–67 of the sg occurrences in 1K 22.26//2Ch 18.25, Jer 36.26; 38.6, Zp 1.8, 2Ch 28.7; Cazelles 1958:324; Yeivin *EM* II:160; Becking 1997:79). Others, however, argue that the title implies an actual son or at least a male blood relative of the king who would also naturally have served as a high official in the administration (Rainey 1975:427–32; Lemaire 1979:59–65; Avigad 1978:146–51, 1986:27–28 and 1988:9, and cf. Görg 1985:7–11).

A.10 *Verbs:*

Where the king is grammatical object: verbs used of his appointment:

בָּחַר	1Sm 8.18 and 12.13 (relative: all Israel)
שִׂים	Dt 17.14,15x2, (subj. Israel?), 1Sam 8.5; 10.19 (Samuel)
נָתַן	1Sm 8.6 (Samuel); 12.13 (Yahweh), Hos 13.10 (Samuel or Yahweh), 11 (Yahweh), Neh 13.26 (Yahweh), 2Ch 2.10
מָשַׁח	Jdg 9.8 (trees),
הֵקִים	1Kg 14.14 (Yahweh), Jer 30.9 (Yahweh relv)
הִמְלִיך	1Sm 8.22; 12.1 (Samuel), 2Kg 8.20//2Ch 21.8 (Edomites), Isa 7.6 (Aram, Ephraim etc.), Ezk 17.16 (*melek*);
שָׁאַל	1Sm 8.10; 12.13 (relative),17,19 (people)
רָאָה	1Sm 16.1 (Yahweh)

Verbs used of his removal:

אָבַד Jer 9.38, Zc 9.5 (both subj. Yahweh)

מָאַס 1Sm 15.26 (subj. Yahweh)

ירד hi Sir 48.6 (subj. Yahweh, pl. obj.)

Where the king is grammatical subject: verbs used of his position:

קוּם   Ex 1.8

הָיָה   1Sm 8.19; 15.26 (מאס- Yahweh), 2Sm 2.11; 5.2, 1Kg 4.1; 11.37, 2Kg 23.25, Ezk 37.22, Qoh 1.12, Neh 13.26, 1Ch 11.2.

אַיִן/יֵשׁ   Jdg 17.6; 18.1; 19.1; 21.25, 1Kg 22.48, Hos 3.4; 10.3, Prv 30.27.

(nominal clause)   1Sm 12.12 (Yahweh), 2Kg 19.13, Isa 43.15, Ezk 37.24, Mic 4.9, Mal 1.14 (Yahweh), Ps 10.16; 47.3 (Yahweh), 8 (God); 105.3, Job 41.26.

מָלַךְ   1Sm 12.12; Isa 32.1; Jer 33.5; 37.1, 1Ch 1.43

יָשַׁב עַל כִּסֵּא   Prv 20.8, Est 1.2

עָמַד   Dn 11.3

מָשַׁל   Dn 11.3, Isa 19.4

בּוֹא   Zc 9.9: a formula of proclamation for the immediate coming of a king or of Yahweh as king in order to save the people (Ringgren 1974:211).

3. Lexical and semantic field

In parallelism:

God//king: Jer 10.10: אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים וּמֶלֶךְ עוֹלָם, Sir 7.4 ממלך...מאל

my God//my king: Ps 5.3; 84.4 מַלְכִּי וֵאלֹהָי; Ps 68.25 אֵלִי מַלְכִּי.

king and priest: Lam 2.6 מֶלֶךְ וְכֹהֵן; pl. Ezr 9.7

princes/officials, שָׂרִים: Jer 49.38; Hos 8.10 (but Paul (1986:197–98 takes this as a construct); 13.10; pl. Jer 17.25 [rdg?]; (3rd pl suff) 2.26 and 52.32; (1st pl suff) Neh 9.32,34 and Dan 9.8, honoured men נכבדים Sir 48.6.

God and king: 1Kg 21.10,13 אֱלֹהִים וָמֶלֶךְ

many nations//great kings: Jer 25.14; 27.7, Ps 136.17.

The connection with the word for throne is very strong (see כִּסֵּא), and occasionally with words for crown (but debatable); the link with armlet (אֶצְעָדָה) and sceptre (שֵׁבֶט) is tenuous. See Salvesen 1998:119–141.

4. Versions

A.1 Given the large number of occurrences in BH, and the existence of obvious standard equivalents, it is not surprising that the Versions almost always use the same equivalent: βασιλεύς (LXX), *malkā* (Tg, Pesh), *rex* (Vg). However, because there are

very few bilingual concordances in existence for Tg and Pesh, and none for Vg, it is very difficult to discover the exceptions for these Versions.

A.2   LXX exceptions (Hatch and Redpath, dos Santos):

ἄρχων "ruler", 13 times: Gen 49.20, Nm 23.31, Dt 17.14, 15[2]; 28.36; Isa 8.21; 10.8?, 12, Ezk 28.12; 37.22, 24.

βασιλεύειν "to reign", 22 times, for הָיָה מֶלֶךְ

βασιλεία "kingdom", 15 times: Nm 24.7, Josh 11.12, 1Kg 11.14, 2Ch 13.1, Ezr 3.7; 5.11?, Ps 104.30 some MSS, Dan Theod 2.44; 7.17; 11.6,5.

βασίλειον "palace", once, for בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ : Esd 2.13.

βασιλικόν, -ά "royal", 12 times: Nm 20.17; 21.22, 2Sm 14.26, Esd 9.3, Job 18.14, Dan LXX 1.5,13,15; 2.49; 8.27; Dan Th 6.7(8).

βουλή "counsel" once: Qoh 2.12

ἡγούμενος "leader", 3 times: Ezk 43.7[2], 9.

στρατηγός "general", twice: Job 15.24, Dan LXX 10.13.

Sometimes the king's name is used instead of a noun: e.g. David, Solomon, Pharaoh.

A.3   Tg exceptions:

Using the *Bilingual Concordance to the Targum* (at the time of writing covering Joshua–Kings, Jeremiah), the following exceptions emerge:

malkutā "kingdom": 2 Sam 3.39, 1Kg 11.14, 2Kg 25.28.

ribbōnā "lord": 2Sm 19.17.

5. Exegesis

A.1 *God as king*: The use of the title "king" as a divine epithet is common to the Semitic world (Lipinski 1965:457, Langlamet 1970:177–86). Yahweh is frequently described as king, using either the verb מָלַךְ (13x: Ex 15.18; 1Sm 8.7, Is 24.23; 52.7, Ezk 20.33, Mc 4.7, Ps 47.9; 93.1; 96.10 (= 1Ch 16.31) 97.1; 99.1; 146.10) or the noun מֶלֶךְ, 42x: Nu 23.21, Dt 33.5; 1Sm 12.12; Is 6.5; 33.22; 41.21; 43.15; 44.6, Jr 8.19, 10.7,10; 46.18; 48.15; 51.57, Mi 2.13, Zp 3.15 but cf LXX, Zc 9.9; 14.9,16,17, Mal 1.14, Pss 5.3; 10.16; 24.7,8,9,10; 29.10; 44.5; 47.3,7,8; 48.3; 68.25; 74.12; 84.4; 95.3; 98.6; 99.4; 145.1; 149.2, Dn 4.34. See Preuss (German 1991:174). Janowski (1989:393) stresses that the concept of God as king should be

investigated more broadly, not just with regard to מָלַךְ and מֶלֶךְ, but also to other words such as ישב, עלה, שפט, משל, and ideas such as throne, shepherd, royal robes, the heavenly court. Brettler, in his 1989 monograph, goes further: taking the entire semantic field of terms associated with human kings, he examines the extent to which such imagery was projected on to God. Similarly, this entry on the lexeme מֶלֶךְ should be supplemented by cross-references to related lexemes in order to provide a fuller picture of the concept of divine and human kingship.

(For the so-called "enthronement psalms", see entries on מָלַךְ and כִּסֵּא.)

Yahweh's kingship is cosmic, earthly and cultic: he subdues chaos and upholds the natural order as lord of the universe, and manifests and possesses kingship on earth through military intervention, moral and social justice, and in the cult towards his worshippers (Gray 1961:1–29; Coppens 1977:362). These themes can be combined in individual Psalms, though some (Pss 24, 74, 76, 98, 103.19–104) associate the divine kingship exclusively with Yahweh's struggle with chaos and his subsequent victory, while others (e.g. Pss 46, 68, 77, 89, 93, 95, 97, 146) associate it with elements from Israel's salvation history (Gray 1961:10–11). Gray argues that since only three psalms of Yahweh's kingship (Pss 47, 99, 78, cf. Ex 15) concnetrate on Israelite salvation history to the exclusion of Canaanite mythological elements, the idea of God's kingship is not fundamentally Israelite but Canaanite, and reflects notions of the year for settled agriculturalists. However, in contrast to Canaanite ideas, the Hebrews did not see Yahweh as a dying and rising god. At a later stage the prophets adopted and adapted the theme of Yahweh's kingship and gave it a moral aspect, and thus the concept survived the Exile (Gray 1961:27–28).

For the problem of the references to the kingship of God in the Hexateuch, see *Root and comparative material*, and Dietrich (1980:251–58).

A.2   The idea of the kingship of God occurs much more frequently in some of the material from Qumran than in BH. As Schwemer (1991:45–118) notes, the term אלהים is used for God as Creator and מֶלֶךְ for God as Ruler, especially in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400–405), just as in Philo and later rabbinic literature. In fact, in 4QShirShabb (and cf. 11Q17) מֶלֶךְ apears 55 times, מלכות 22 times, they are key concepts, but the verb מלך does not occur at all. Carmignac (1986:178–81) believes that these

compositions stress God's superiority over the angelic beings, termed נשיאים, רוחים, and מרוממים in the texts. He is described as king of glory, goodness, purity, truth and righteousness, and holiness, and dwells in heavenly temples or sanctuaries (see *Syntagmatics* for these.) Manuscripts of these compositions are dated to the late Hasmonean or early Herodian period, when other works give a prominent role to a lay Davidic messiah (Brooke 1998:439). God is also entitled king in the War Scroll (1QM 14.16; 19.1), 4Q510 1, 4Q511 52–59 iii 4, 1QH 10.8, 5Q10 3, and in the non-sectarian 1QapGen 2.4,7,14, and 4Q216.

Brooke (1998:436–442) notes that most references to human kings are to past or foreign rulers: the expected royal messiah is not termed מֶלֶךְ, though other titles are used ofor him. This, Brooke says, leaves "the indelible impression that the ideology of kingship in the Scrolls was based in [sic] an overwhelming stress on theocracy, on divine sovereignty". David is prominent principally as a psalmist with the gift of prophecy, and the comparative absence of manuscripts of the historical books among the Qumran fragments suggests that the stories of the kings of Israel and Judah were not considered popular or edifying. In keeping with this guarded attitude towards human kingship, future limitations of the king's role are clearly set out in the Temple Scroll, cols 56–59 (see below). Also in 4QMMT, the emphasis is upon the need for Israel's kings to be subject to Torah.

A.4 Much has been written on the development of the institution of the monarchy in Israel and its ideology. There are various schools of thought, most of which are based on readings of the Psalms, though the first is drawn from the historical books:

Charismatic kingship: See Alt (1951:2–22; ET 239–59), followed by Noth ([3]1956: 156–57, 209–10; ET 168–69, 228–30) and Bright (1960: 169–77 203–219), for the view that Israelite kingship originally depended on a demonstration that the holder was empowered by the divine charisma and was not an hereditary position at first, but that the need for a fixed, dynastic institution eventually won the day. (For the relationship of נָגִיד to מֶלֶךְ, see entry on נָגִיד.) The transition from נָגִיד to מֶלֶךְ takes place in the description of the reign of Saul and to some extent that of David, but the two terms are used side by side if not interchangeably in 1Sm 9–13. Some scholars also ascribe certain pericopes to different

authors, editors, or periods, sometimes on the grounds of the use of different terms or of pro- or anti-monarchist sentiments (Mettinger 1976:19–22, 80–83, 155–58 gives brief surveys of some influential views). For instance Buber (1956:153) questioned whether the derivatives of מלך in 1Sm 11.12,14,15; 12.1,2 were original to the passage. Flanagan (1981:67–73) understands נָגִיד as standing for the "chiefly role" of Saul and David, and explains the confusion with מֶלֶךְ as arising from the gradual evolution in the role of נָגִיד, as chiefdom gave way to monarchy. Rosenthal (1958:5) sees a greater continuity between the military leaders ("judges") required in time of war and made rulers in peacetime, and the first monarchs who were appointed to provide more permanent and comprehensive national leadership at a time of Philistine encroachment. This is in line with the views of Cross (1973:217–22), but the latter prefers to see the progression not from "charismatic" to "institutional" as Alt, but from "conditional" (upon keeping the legal traditions amd constitution of the league and remaining in the empowering of Yahweh) to "dynastic". The conditional ideology of kingship survived in the North, but Judah developed the notion of unconditional, absolute kingship (227–37, 264–65).

Although influential still today, there are problems with this view, such as the important role of the people in accepting the king, and the concept of charisma, which neither the kings themselves claim to possess nor the biblical writers claim for them (Clines 1975:4). Thornton (1963:1–11) argues that "charismatic" means only that the monarch claimed divine appointment and authority, just as all other ancient Near Eastern kings did. The suggestion that kingship was developed in response to Philistine encroachment has also been disputed, partly because of archaeological evidence that in fact the Philistines were reacting against the emergence of a new Israelite state (Na'aman 1992:655–58), although kingship and an army were probably made permanent in order to meet the continued threat.

Divine kingship:
The semi-deification and the cultic role of the Israelite king is claimed by scholars of the "Myth and Ritual School" (e.g. Engnell 1943; Widengren 1955, 1957; Hooke 1958:1–21; for a more cautious position, Hallevy 1960–61), citing texts such as 2Sm 7.14, Ps 7.14; 45.6; 110.3. They believe that a common ancient Near Eastern belief in a dying and

rising god, enacted in ritual drama by the monarch each year, is reflected in various psalms (Ahlström 1959).

However, closer study of ancient Near Eastern civilisations has shown that there were more differences between the different societies and their beliefs than had previously been thought. For instance, the only "dying and rising god" seems to have been Baal, and Yahweh never appears to have been viewed in this way. Furthermore, the monarchy of ancient Israel, though undoubtedly influenced by Egyptian, Assyrian, and Canaanite models, developed later and never in precisely the same ways. In fact local patterns (Philistine, Edomite, Moabite, Ammonite, Aramaean) may have been more influential initially (de Boer 1938:1–17; Alt 1945), though recently Day has stressed the influence of Canaanite kingship via Jebusite Jerusalem (1998:72–90).

Most of the texts used by those of the "Myth and Ritual" school come from psalms, but the historical writings present a very different perspective of kingship, sometimes favourable but frequently highly critical. They show the kings in a very human light (see Noth 1950:157–91) and certainly not as immortal (compare Healey 1984:245–54). Moreover, prophetic criticism of the rulers of Israel and Judah never accuses them of divine pretensions (Day 1998:81–85). It is more likely that the Judean kings were regarded as sons of God by adoption, though the title "son of God" may have been taken from the Canaanites.

Sacral kingship:

This view differs from that of the "Myth and Ritual" school, in that although it emphasises the king's role in cultic drama, it denies that he was ever considered divine (Mowinckel 1962; I 50–61, Johnson 1935:75–111; 1955; 1958: 204–35). He is the mediator between God and man, represents the people, and to a limited extent represents God to them (Mowinckel 1922:II 301; Johnson 1950:42; Bernhardt (1961:67–90). In the ritual dramas (reconstructed from various psalms: Johnson 1955:106–23, 128–32; cf. Eaton 1976:87–134, 172–77), the king represented only himself, undergoing humiliation, death and restoration. Such reconstruction is of course highly speculative (and it is hard to explain how or why the elements of the drama were then split up into different parts of the later Psalter). Again, there is little evidence outside the Psalms to support the existence of an annual ritual with the king as central figure, or for his importance as a

"sacral" figure in Israelite society. Frankfort (1948:337–44) regards even the kingship of Solomon as no more than "glorified native chieftainship", and emphasises the secular nature of the monarchy in Israel: though active in judicial and military matters, the king had little or no cultic role other than enabling certain types of worship (Temple, groves, high places) to flourish. See also de Fraine (1954:393, 396).

Sacerdotal kingship:

According to this view, the king exercised priestly functions. Some take Ps 110.4 to imply that the Davidic king took over the functions of the Jebusite priest-kings, and various Judaean kings are credited with activities that could be described as priestly (2Sm 24.25; 6.12,14,18; 1Kg 8; 9.25; 2Kg 16.10f, 12f; 21.3–6; 18.4; 22.3–23.23). Widengren (1957:1–32) goes further, describing the king as the mediator not between God and man, but of the covenant between God and Israel, and thus teacher of the Law. As builder of the Temple, the king must be its chief functionary. However, Rosenthal (1959:11–18) points out in response that the king was not himself in possession of the Torah scroll, only a copy of it, which he was required to read, not teach. He could appoint priests and regulate the Temple service, but he did not enact ritual dramas etc. Most of the references do not imply that the king himself carried out sacrifices as a priest would, but that the activity was performed for him (the exception would be 2Kg 16.12–13). Ps 110.4, though striking, stands alone in addressing the king as a priest, and the practical implications of אַתָּה,,כֹהֵן לְעוֹלָם עַל־דִּבְרָתִי מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק are unclear.

A.3   The Davidic dynasty became a religious ideal, expressed by the notion of the eternal covenant of Yahweh with David (2Sm 7.8f; 23.5, Jer 33.21, Ps 89.3,28, Isa 4.3, 2Ch 6.42: Alt 1951:257). This Judaean-Jerusalemite royal ideology is particularly expressed in the so-called royal psalms (though there is some debate over which psalms belong to this category) and in 2Sm 7 and 23. Seybold (TW IV 943–44: TDOT 362–63) breaks down this official doctrine into four main components: the pre-Davidic notion of the kingship of the sacred city of Jerusalem (Ps 110.4, Gen 14; 2Sam 5.6–12); the influence of David as the ideal king (see Amsler 1963:12–14) and of Solomon's insitutionalisation of the kingdom; the royal ritual of the enthronement ceremony (see below); and as a

counterbalance to all these, the premonarchic Yahweh faith and the old traditions of Israel, voiced by the prophets against royal power.

Cooke (1961:225) says that the Davidic divine sonship was inspired mainly by the idea of Israel's sonship. He prefers to see the relationship between king and Yahweh as one of adoption (citing Ps 2.7, and understanding 2Sm 7.14 as ingressive, "become"), or, in the absence of hard evidence for an adoption procedure in ancient Israel, of fostering, as with Ruth 4.16, Ps 27.10, and Nm 11.12b (1961:214–16). In contrast, Rosenthal (1959:1–6) takes the father-son relationship as between Yahweh and Israel, with the king as merely the representative of his people.

A.4   *Process of kingmaking*: see also מָשַׁח

Although Ringgren (1963:ET 1966:223) states that "the crown or diadem is widespread as a royal symbol", in fact כִּסֵּא, "throne" (q.v.), is a far more widespread and fundamental emblem of kingship.

The ritual at the accession of Solomon is described in 1Kg 1.34–35, 38–40, 44–48, and that for the boy king Joash in 2Kg 11.12,14,17,19//2Ch 23.11,13,16,20. They are both anointed by the high priest and brought to sit on the throne by a military escort, and proclaimed by trumpet blasts and the acclamation of the people, "Long live the king!" However, Joash explicitly receives הַנֵּזֶר (q.v.) and הָעֵדוּת, but Solomon does not, and the prophet Nathan is present at Solomon's anointing. Liverani (1974:438–53) stresses the theatricality of the account of Joash's accession: he sees strong parallels with the story of Idrimi (ANET 557–8) and suggests that the biblical account originated in an inscription or popular text and had a propaganda purpose.

Efforts have been made to reconstruct the religious ritual of royal accessions, using certain elements that occur in descriptions of the inauguration of individual reigns. Alt (1951:258) suggests the following: Yahweh adopts the royal heir as a son (2Sm 7.14, Isa 9.5, Ps 2.7), chooses the regnal name (2Sm 7.9, 1Kg 1.47, Isa 9.5), grants the king's first request (1Kg 3.5ff, Ps 2.8; 20.5; 21.3,5) and a sceptre (Isa 9.5, Ps 110.2) and crown (Ps 21.3, 2Kg 11.12). Widengren (1957:2–3, 9) places particular emphasis on the role of the written covenant (his interpretation of עֵדוּת) in the ceremony. However, we cannot know whether every accession in Judah, let alone Israel, followed a particular pattern throughout the monarchic period. Furthermore Willis (1990:33–50) denies that

Ps 2 has anything to do with enthronement, and Wegner (1992:103–12) argues that Isa 9.1–6 is not an accession oracle: instead, the names are theophoric ones for the child promised by the prophet.

Brownlee (1971:321–26) interprets Pss 1–2 as a coronation liturgy, dating from the late pre-exilic or early post-exilic period, and through which the last kings of Judah pledged themselves to fulfil the Deuteronomic Law. Ringgren (1963: ET 224) states that Pss 2 and 110 "definitely refer to the coronation and enthronement of the king", and Widengren (1955) connects Pss 89, 110 and 132 with the coronation ritual. Homburg (1972: 243–46) interprets Ps 110 in a similar way: "sit at my right hand" (Ps 110.1) marks the point at which the king left the Temple where he had been crowned in order to ascend the throne in his palace, which lay to the south, i.e. to the "right", of the Temple. There is some ambiguity over whether some psalms are intended for the enthronement of the king or of Yahweh (Cooke 1961:202–204).

A.6   *Regulation of the kingship:*

Scholars are divided on the question of whether the "right of the king", מִשְׁפַּט הַמֶּלֶךְ (1Sm 8.11–17), as described by Samuel, is an early document reflecting Canaanite patterns of kingship (Mendelsohn 1965:17–22, Ben-Barak 1972) or is a reaction against the conditions of Solomon's reign or later (Wellhausen; Cross 1973:221: Clements 1974:398–410). Ben-Barak (1972) understands מִשְׁפַּט הַמְּלֻכָה in 1Sm 10.25 as reflecting the actual agreements made at the commencement of Saul's kingship on the pattern of the covenants at Sinai and Shechem and of the Hittite vassal treaties. Clements (1974:389–410) objects that the early date of the list of abuses cannot be proven, and follows Noth (1943/1957:54ff) and Boecker (1969:17-18) in treating the passage as a Deuteronomistic reworking of an older catalogue "expressive of anti-monarchist feeling", perhaps based on the experience of Solomon's reign. One difficulty with attributing the incorporation of the passage to the Deuteronomistic school is that it is out of line with the Deuteronomist(s)' usual criticisms of the monarchy, which focus almost entirely on the religious aspect: their disobedience to Yahweh and their apostasy.

As for the section in the book of Deuteronomy itself on the regulation of the kingship (Dt 17.14–20), von Rad sees it as concerned only to prevent the institution

from disturbing the way of life ordained by God for the people as a whole (von Rad 1964: ET 118-20), with little to do with prescribing the positive functions of the king. McConville provides a very useful survey of scholarship on the tensions between this passage and the Davidic promises in the Deuteronomistic History (1998:271–95), and argues for an understanding of the books of DtrH as separate works with their own theologies.

Deut 17.14–20 has influenced strongly the so-called תּוֹרַת הַמֶּלֶךְ in the Temple Scroll (cols. 57.1–60.11). Delcor (1981:47–68) concludes that the passage represents a reaction against the abuse of the position over the centuries, both in the Hebrew Bible and during the period of the Hasmoneans, making modifications to the biblical text in order to prevent a repetition of the errors of the past. In the Temple Scroll, the king must be a native Israelite and strictly monogamous, with a wife from his father's house. He is under the same law as the rest of Israel and his judicial function cannot lead to personal gain. He governs with the aid of a council of thirty-six: twelve leaders, twelve priests, and twelve Levites. Otherwise his role is primarily a military one. The army is constituted in advance of the king's accession, of believing Israelites, not mercenaries, and is mainly for defence. Offensive actions need the assent of the high priest, who is to consult the Urim and Thummim. Hengel et al. (1986:28–38) have linked such regulations to a reaction against the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE), but Wise (1990:110–27) regards them as stemming from a single, undatable source, the Midrash to Deuteronomy, which is also influenced by other passages on kingship in BH such as 1Sm 8.11–12.

A.7 *Biblical perceptions of the nature of kingship*: These are of value semantically for the image of kingship they reflect, whether positive or negative, in order to define the nature and function of מֶלֶךְ in AH. It has been suggested that many of these passages are anti-monarchical: see the individual discussions in Crüsemann (1978: 19–53).

Prov 30.27 (in the context of the exceptional wisdom, in terms of the achievements and social organisation, of insignificant creatures): מֶלֶךְ אֵין לָאַרְבֶּה וַיֵּצֵא חֹצֵץ כֻּלּוֹ חֹצֵץ BDB 346 "divide", LXX εὐτάκτως, coupled with וַיֵּצֵא, is thought to imply military organisation.

Prov 30.28: The שְׂמָמִית can be grasped in the hand, but it is found in royal palaces: perhaps on the lines of "a cat may look at a king"?, or the size and splendour of the royal residence in comparison with the tiny creature.

Gen 37.7–10: Joseph's dreams are an allegory of a royal court, which must have been very offensive to the members of his nomadic and egalitarian clan: note the key terms קם, נִצָּב, סבב, (ארצה) הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה. Seybold (*TW* IV 942: *TDOT* VIII 361) takes the use of משל ב after מלך על in 37.8 as intensive in sense, dominion being even worse than kingship, but this is debatable: the two may be in synonymous parallelism. Crüsemann (1978:143–55) believes that the Joseph story is an important one in understanding the struggle to establish kingship in Israel.

Jdg 9.8-15: Jotham's fable can be interpreted in various ways. It could be anti-monarchist (e.g. Malamat 1971:147–48; Soggin 1981:177), if v.15b is regarded as the climax, the choice of the scant shade of a thorn bush versus the very real threat of destruction by fire: Crüsemann (1978:29–42) argues that באו חסו בצלי is the whole point of the fable, that the thornbush offers protection that it cannot provide: the idea of the king providing shelter or protection is widespread in the ancient Near East. Or it may be a criticism of those who are equipped to hold rule but refuse it, believing they are exchanging a productive life for meaningless activity and hauteur (לָנוּעַ עַל) and ceding responsibility to those ill-equipped for the task (Maly 1960:299–305, Richter 1963:282–300, Seybold TW IV 943: TDOT VIII 362). Alternatively, it could be a condemnation solely of Abimelech's kingship (cf. Lindars 1973:355–66), while the interpolated passage (Jdg 8.22–23) in which Gideon refuses hereditary leadership and affirms the theocratic ideal serves to defend the hero Gideon's reputation (Ishida 1977:184–85).

The formulae in Jdg 18.1 בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם אֵין מֶלֶךְ בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל, cf. 19.1 וַיְהִי בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם וּמֶלֶךְ אֵין בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל (both at the beginning of an episode), and in Jdg 17.6; 21.25 בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם אֵין מֶלֶךְ בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל אִישׁ הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינָיו יַעֲשֶׂה (at the end of an episode; the latter at the end of the book of Judges) are, in contrast to the above, promonarchist in sentiment (e.g. Soggin 1981:265). They imply that the judicial authority of a king was ultimately necessary to prevent anarchy by settling disputes before internecine warfare broke out.

A.8 *The king and the judiciary:* The king's role in providing justice is often referred to in Wisdom literature (see below). However, although most scholars admit that the king played a prominent role in the administration of justice, especially in the early period of the monarchy (Crüsemann 1992: ET 76–98), others deny that he had any power to enact new laws (e.g. de Vaux ET 1961:150–52, who says that David's creation of a new ordinance in 1Sm 30.24–25 was through his authority as army commander; Boecker 1976: ET 40–49; Macholz 1972:157–82, 314–40). In contrast, Whitelam (1979:209–20) argues that the extent of the monarchy's creation of new laws (cf. the way in which David and Solomon are credited with divine ability to decide cases, 2Sm 16.17,20, 1Kg 3.16–28) has been deliberately obscured by the theological nature of the evidence preserved in the OT, where Yahweh is presented as the originator of all law, mediated by Moses. For example, Jehoshaphat's radical judicial reform in the mid-ninth century (2Ch 19.5–11) was given Mosaic legitimation in Dt 1.9–18; 16.18–20; 17.8–13, Ex 18). Against this interpretation Crüsemann (1992: ET 91–93) claims that the real author of that reform was Josiah, since Dt 17.8 presumes that such colleges of judges are already in existence and seeks to reform and regulate them. In any case such bodies were not subordinate to the king, Crüsemann believes (1992:97–98), but had an authority like that of Moses himself. In fact the Deuteronomic regulations concerning the judiciary (Dt 16.18, 17.8–12) do not mention the king at all.

A.9 *The military role of the king:* this is the first mentioned function of the king, cf. the "judges", military leaders who usually exercised a judicial role in addition. 2Sm 11.1 (si vera lectio) suggests that it was the function of a king to head the forces, and that David's failure to join them contributed to his involvement with Bathsheba. 2Sm 12.28 portrays David as having only a nominal role, a figure head rather than a general. For the Temple Scroll, the king's military role was his principal function (see above, **A.6**).

A.9 *Description of the king's role in Wisdom literature*: Proverbs, Qoheleth and Ben Sira provide an idealised, and prescriptive, picture of the nature of monarchy, though predictably this varies between the books owing to their different dates: for instance the king seems a more ambivalent figure in Sir, and there are references to his powers of patronage rather than to his functions as judge.

The king's judicial function is referred to in Prv 16.10; 20.8,26; 29.4,14 and his military leadership in Prv 30.27, Qoh 9.14. His rule is established by the presence of צֶדֶק/צְדָקָה, חֶסֶד and אֱמֶת in government, cf. Ps 72.1–8, and it can be adversely affected by wicked officials (Prv 16.12; 20.28; 25.5: McKane 1970:595). Several scholars argue that Isa 32.1 is in fact a similar proverb about rulership, "If a king reigns in righteousness, and princes rule with justice, then..." (Kissane 1941:357-63, Scott *IB* 342-3. Kaiser 254-56/320-2, Irwin 1977:120; Watts 1985:411-12, Williamson 1998a:62–70, 1998b:264–68).

There has been much recent discussion over whether proverbs concerning the king originate in courtly or popular circles: see the survey in Dell 1998:163–86, who concludes that a court setting need not be posited and that the motif of the wise use of monarchical power is to demonstrate the importance of the maintenance of the ideal rather than actual criticism of the king.

Prv 14.28 states that the king's prestige depends בְּרָב־עָם; this may mean either that he needs a strong population or that his rule depends on popular support (McKane 1970:469–70). Most importantly, he requires wisdom (Prv 8.15, Qoh 4.13, cf. Sir 10.3). He has absolute power over his servants (Prv 19.12; 20.2) and is inscrutable (Prv 25.2). But Prv 21.1 describes him as under the control of Yahweh. The king should be of good birth and not a servant (נער: Qoh 10.16).

A.10 *The king in Isaiah*: Schultz (1995: 148–54) sees the figures of the king, the servant and the "anointed conqueror" in Isaiah as closely interrelated rather than separate figures. However, he points out that the true king of Israel in Isaiah is always Yahweh Sabaoth (cf. the key verse 6.5, reflected in 66.1, and also 24.23; 33.22; 41.21; 43.15; 44.6). The future, hoped-for ruler is merely Yahweh's faithful vicegerent, which is why this leader is rarely described as a king and why only his domestic activities are mentioned: it is the Lord who delivers his people. Mettinger (1997:148) argues that Yahweh is king in Isa 40–55 because he is a successful warrior, having defeated chaos in battle: Isa 51.9–10 explains the proclamation of Yahweh's kingship in 52.7–10.

A.12 *Scope of* מֶלֶךְ *and overlap with* מֹשֵׁל, רֹאשׁ, נָגִיד, שַׂר: Buber (1936:139) identifies מֶלֶךְ with מֹשֵׁל but de Boer (1938:1–17) disagrees. Lohfink (1981:535–43) compares the use of מֹשֵׁל, מֶלֶךְ and שַׁלִּיט in Qoheleth and concludes that מֹשֵׁל and שַׁלִּיט are terms used in Qoheleth's

Palestinian or Syrian milieu for different high officials and are not synonyms of מֶלֶךְ in Qoheleth. Duguid's 1994 study of the use of נָשִׂיא and מֶלֶךְ in Ezekiel concludes that although in chs. 1–39 there is a preference for the former term, and certainly when used for the reigning and future Davidic ruler, it is not absolute. However, in chs. 40–48 נָשִׂיא is used for positive and neutral references to the future ruler, whereas מֶלֶךְ is reserved for negative references to past rulers. נָשִׂיא may indicate a dependent or vassal king, with limited powers, while the real מֶלֶךְ is Yahweh (cf. Ezk 20.33 and the throne vision) (1994:11–33, and Joyce 1998:330–37).

A.13 There is often said to be a strong anti-monarchist trait in Hosea, e.g. de Boer (1938), an interpretation that is rejected by Gelston (1974:74–77: cf. also Macintosh 1997:299), who sees Hosea's denunciation as referring to the revolutions and coups that took place in the Northern Kingdom and possibly to the apostate Northern monarchy, and not to kingship per se.

Paul (1986:197–98) suggests that the phrase מֶלֶךְ שָׂרִים in Hos 8.10 should not be read as if with the copula, "king *and* princes", but as a construct, "king of officers". This would be a word play referring to the Assyrian king Tiglath Pileser III who was known as *šar šarrāni*, "king of kings".

B.1 Nyberg (1935:39, 46–47) takes a different slant on the problem: he takes every occurrence of מֶלֶךְ in Hosea to refer to a god, and "king Jareb" (10.6), from whom Israelites seek healing, not as a king but a chief deity, and the "princes", שָׂרִים, as mythical courtiers (Hos 13.10). He is followed by Cazelles (1949:14–25) for Hos 3.4; 8.4 only, and by Östborn (1956:23, 34, 38, 54–57), though the latter takes the title to refer to Baal rather than Molech. However, Rudolph (1966:125,163,197) rejects Nyberg's interpretation, also Caquot (1961:138–39) and Day (1989:75-77). Tur Sinai (1965:111–12) was another scholar who understood מֶלֶךְ in Hosea as a god, Molech, and Hirschberg (1961:382) took it as a Molech offering, but these views have not been adopted (Paul 1986:196–97 n.25).

Conclusion

The noun מֶלֶךְ is rendered with reasonable accuracy by Eng. "king" and is used in AH to denote the supreme secular ruler of a nation or people. The word usually has hereditary connotations, unlike the terms מָשַׁל, שָׁפַט in Jdg, and נָגִיד. The functions of the מֶלֶךְ often included actual or nominal command of the nation's military forces, ultimate judicial authority, and an association with the cult, though in the Israelite context this did not amount to supremacy in the cult, which was the prerogative of the high priest.

A מֶלֶךְ in Israel was generally the son or other close male relative of a previous מֶלֶךְ. However, coups did take place, including that of Athaliah, of whom the verb מָלַךְ is used but neither מֶלֶךְ nor מַלְכָּה. Male minors such as Joash could be מֶלֶךְ, though some sort of regency is likely in such cases (Rosenthal 1959:15, from 2Ch 23.18; 29.16). The inauguration of a new reign was marked by anointing by priest (and/or a prophet earlier in the monarchic period), popular acclamation, enthronement and the presentation of items of regalia.

Art and archaeology

As one would expect, there are very many ANE representations of kings in general. See for example ANEP 376–463. However, there are few depictions of Israelite kings and none of God as king: see Hendel 1988: 365–82 for a possible explanation. A notable exception, of foreign provenance, is the relief of Shalmaneser III which includes a portrait of Jehu (ANEP 355). There is also the bulla of the commander of a city (שַׂר הָעִיר) saluting the figure of a Judean king who holds a sword, arrow and bow even though he lacks a crown or diadem (Keel and Uehlinger 1992: fig. 346 p. 409–11). A potsherd from Ramat Rahel dated to the end of the seventh century shows a bearded, enthroned figure who is probably a Judean king. His smiling countenance shows the influence of Greek art, but his robe, general posture and muscular arms are based on Assyrian representations (Keel and Uehlinger 1992: fig. 347 p. 409–11). This contrasts with earlier Judean royal iconography which is strongly influenced by Egyptian motifs (Keel and Uehlinger 1992: figs. 263a–c, p. 299).

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