A (Socio-)Demonstrative Meaning of the *Hitpael* in Biblical Hebrew[*]

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The *Hitpael* is said to be primarily used as the double-status counterpart of the *Piel* stem with a direct and an indirect and a benefactive reflexive, as well as an "estimative-declarative reflexive"[1], a rare "reciprocal"[2], a passive[3] meaning.[4]

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[1] B. K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Syntax* (Winona Lake IN 1990), 429. S. A. Creason, *Semantic Classes of Hebrew Verbs. A Study of Aktionsarten in the Hebrew Verbal System,* Diss. Phil. Chicago IL, 1995 (UMI, Ann Arbor, MI), 408–409 puts the focus on the classification of Hebrew verbs with respect to their semantic class. He comes to the conclusion that the *Hitpael* is primarily a reflexive / reciprocal stem, but, less frequently also a passive and a durative / iterative.

The roots of the reflexive use lead back to the Qimhi school in the 12th century, see I. Teshima, "Rashi and Ibn Ezra on the Hitpael: Peshat in the Medieval Disputes of Hebrew Grammar", in: H. Najman / J. H. Newman (eds), *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation, Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel* (Leiden 2004), 473–484, see 477, 483–484. On the contrary, Rashi favored an intransitive use in all the instances, see Teshima, "Rashi", 477–480. The grammars of today have still not resolved this conflict. Isa 44:11 expresses an explicit reflexive with the enclitic pronoun: „they will gather *all themselves* (they will stand up)" (יעמדו) יתקבצו כלם if *all themselves* is not taken as a separate entity. See also infinitives *Hitpael* with an enclitic personal pronoun, e.g. Gen 42:21: בהתחננו אלינו "his (i.e. Joseph's) praying *for himself* for mercy"; 1 Kings 21:20b: התמכרך "you have sold *yourself*"; Sir 50:11: והתלבשו בנדי תפארת – "his (i.e. the high priest's) putting on the garments of glory"; Esra 10:1: התודתו "his confessing". Cf. Teshima, "Rashi", 475 "… at the same time, there exist several cases of the *Hitpael* which are accompanied by the direct object marker (את). In these cases, the *Hitpael* appears to be a normal transitive verb stem, like *Piel* or *Hifil*, that is capable of taking a direct object preceded by the marker (את) when it is definite."

[2] The reciprocal meaning is rare, see Waltke / O'Connor, *Syntax*, 431.

[3] The notion of "middle", in particular, seems often only to be a convenient remedy for a number of syntactical and semantic ambivalences of the stem. A combination of the meaning of the active verbs with the meaning of the passive voice group as such must not necessarily be a problem in Hebrew as the source language but rather in English. Compare the English "middle" ("the book sells well") to a German "reflexive" ("das Buch verkauft sich gut"). Waltke / O'Connor, *Syntax*, 381, 387 limit the term "middle" to inchoative verbs and distinguish such verbs from verbs which refer to double status action, see likewise Creason, *Semantic Classes,* 335–337. On the passive, see Waltke / O'Connor, *Syntax*, 431–432, and Creason, *Semantic Classes,* 353, 409: Ps 107:17: "They have been afflicted because of their iniquities"; Prov 31:30 "she shall be praised", and Qoh 8:10: "… but those who have acted righteously are forgotten in the city." E. Jenni, "Aktionsarten und Stammformen im Althebräischen: Das Pi'el in verbesserter Sicht", in: idem, *Studien zur Sprachwelt des Alten Testaments II* (Stuttgart 2005), 77–106, 81 rejects the categories of passive and reflexive in modern western languages for a proper understanding in the case of the *Nifal* which he interprets as an "agensloser Manifestativ". Critical about a

Among these, the reflexive is predominant.[5] It may be described in the following way: The object of causation in the *Piel* is the subject of the *Hitpael* and transforms itself or is transformed into the effected state signified by the root: קדשׁ *Piel* denotes "to sanctify something / to declare something as holy", the *Hitpael* denotes "to sanctify *oneself*". However, the "direct reflexive" and the "indirect reflexive" understanding have a flaw. Consider the often suggested reflexive meaning of the *Hitpael* of אזר in Ps 93:1ab עז התאזר. The reflexive translation in English "he girded *himself* with power" is misleading, since the Hebrew has no notion of an explicit reflexive in the narrow sense (Engl. "himself").[6] A general reflexive use in the sense that the *Hitpael* refers principally to a status of one participant who is affected, may be conceded. However, the more detailed sub-categories of an indirect, benefactive, estimative-declarative reflexive need reconsideration[7] as do the assumptions about a diachronic development.

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systematic understanding of the stems in general and especially with respect to the *Piel* and *Hitpael* is A. J. C. Verheij, *Bits, Bytes, And Binyanim. A Quantitative Study of Verbal Lexeme Formations in the Hebrew Bible* (OLA 93, Leuven 2000), 2, 6.

4 See H. Bauer / P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testamentes, Erster Band, Einleitung. Schriftlehre. Laut- und Formenlehre* (Halle 1927 = Hildesheim 1962), 290–291.

5 See Creason, *Syntax,* 352, 408.

6 A translation of a Hitpael form into an explicitly reflexive would require the addition of an enclitic pronoun, as, for instance in the *Piel* form in Ps 18:33,40 // 2 Sam 22:40 or Ps 30:12 ותאזרני שׂמחה.

7 A morphological attempt to explain this complexity of the meaning of the *Hitpael* did not lead to plausible results. One assumes the stem's diachronic development on the basis of its morphology as the result from the convergence of a number of minor stems, see G. Bergsträsser, *Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen. Sprachproben und grammatische Skizzen*, (München 1928 = Darmstadt 1975), 13, 43. According to this theory, certain features of the stem result from the prefixed *t*, e.g. the metathesis of sibilants. A large group of Semitic verbal stems uses an infixed or prefixed *t* and this group is represented in Hebrew mainly by the *Hitpael* or *tD*-stem. Its meaning is thought to be a counterpart of the *Piel* and secondarily a passive form. According to E. A. Speiser, the *Hitpael* was not an original morphological unity with only one function within the system of the stems, but a composite of heterogeneous stems which, at some time in history, fell together into one common stem. The earlier of these stems show an atypical meaning that Speiser thought to perform the same duty as the *t*-forms. E. A. Speiser, "The Durative Hithpaᶜel: A *tan* Form", JAOS 75 (1955), 118–121 reprinted in J. J. Finkelstein / M. Greenberg (eds), E. A. Speiser, *Oriental and Biblical Studies* (Philadelphia 1967), 506–514, 507. In a comparative approach to atypical uses of the *Hitpael* with the *t*-prefixed stems in cognate Semitic languages, a durative / iterative *t*-stem was suggested. Speiser suggested this durative meaning of a *tn*-stem for nine verbs. אבל "to mourn", אוה "to desire", אנף "to be angry", נעשׁ "to shake" as e.g. in Jer 5:22 נעשׁ *Hitpael*: the waves "batter continuously"; הלך "to move about", נחל "to inherit", עלל "to act" (often adversely), עטף "to grow / be weak, faint" and שׁאה / שׁעה "to gaze", as e.g. in Gen 24:21: שׁאה *Hitpael*: the man "gazed fixedly" at her (Rebekkah). Not all these roots need necessarily be constructed as iterative. According to Speiser, iterative or frequentative aspects are denoted with the verbs אבל, נעשׁ, עטף, שׁאה / שׁעה. Arguing that some *Hitpael* forms should be understood as if they were *tn* or *tan* forms and have an iterative or durative meaning is less convincing, since the durative and iterative aspects are in Biblical Hebrew not expressed with the stems. Instead, the "formation" of the verb expresses this mode of action: *x-qatal / x-yiqtol* (long

A consideration of the "Aktionsart" (situation aspect)[8] contributes significantly to this endeavor to clarify the use of the *Hitpael*.[9] While *Qal* and *Nifal* focus on the course of action, the *Piel* reduces the meaning to the result,[10] and works to some extent as a "time-lapse" or "quick-motion", reducing a statement about an action to its core entity.[11] Its basic meaning may be summarized as "resultative".[12] With respect to the "Aktionsart", the *Hitpael* corresponds to the *Piel*: Without focusing on particular actions, a certain status is indicated. A textbook example is קדש. The status of being sanctified is emphasized without a reference to a specific action that was taken in order to reach the status of sanctification. This same focus on the status is apparent in the *Hitpael* of חטא, חנן, פלל, טהר. That said, I suggest that a number of verbs[13] in the *Hitpael* have the meaning "to demonstrate the social position, status, or role that is signified by the root". I limit myself to presenting examples that emphasize this status i.e. a social position with a clear cut role, which includes the status' external perceptibility. In the first part (I) I shall consider נבא *Hitpael* as a textbook case in more detail. I claim that this verb designates an externally visible prophetic behaviour. The meaning of "to display a social status" proves essential for a number of *Hitpael* verbal forms. The context often suggests a perceptibility of this status. As to the suggested refinement of the stem's use, more specifically, I reject a "direct", "indirect" and "benefactive"[14] reflexive use.[15] I shall limit myself to portray the semantic profile of three semantic fields adjoining to each other with partial

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form): for 1) a single state of affairs in the future 2) an iterative or durative state of affairs in past, present, future 3) a demand (command, desiderative). See H. Irsigler, *Einführung in das Biblische Hebräisch, I. Ausgewählte Abschnitte der althebräischen Grammatik* (St. Ottilien 1978), 79. See also the critical remarks of Waltke / O'Connor, *Syntax*, 428.

8 See on this F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Biblical Hebrew Statives and Situation Aspect", JSS XLV (2000) 21–53, esp. note 1.

9 On the contrary, the categories as tense, aspect, modality or voice are not important to understand a stem's meaning. The oppositions of static versus fientic verbs or of durative versus punctual action are the most familiar ones, see Jenni, "Aktionsarten", 78.

10 A reduction of a statement to a certain aspect is not uncommon in Biblical Hebrew, see e.g. Jenni, "Aktionsarten", 80–83 with respect to the *Nifal*.

11 Jenni, "Aktionsarten", 104. Depending on whether the *Piel* presupposes the situation of a complex action or on its function to explicitly reduce the course of action, this stem's meaning must be determined.

12 Jenni, "Aktionsarten", 104.

13 I shall not provide a comprehensive overview of the more than 825 occurrences of the stem, used of 175 roots in the Hebrew Bible, see Waltke / O'Connor, *Syntax*, 429.

14 Waltke / O'Connor mention four examples, 1 Kgs 8:33 חנן; Gen 20:7 פלל; Job 13:27 חקה; Josh 9:12. Against a benefactive use see also Creason, *Syntax*, 351–352 with reference to 1 Kgs 8:33 "they implore you for favour (חנן) *for themselves* in this house"; Job 13:27 "You put (חקה) slave markings on the soles of my feet *for yourself*." In both examples I suggest an emphasis on the status (which is perceptible; cf. "listen" in V 34) in 1 Kgs 8:33. In Gen 20:7 the *Hitpael* alludes to the cultic status of an official petitioner.

15 See these uses in B. K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Syntax* (Winona Lake IN 1990), 430.

overlap. Semantic field 1 includes verbs that designate a membership or a certain position in a family or the (deliberate) forming part of a cultural, ethnic, (political), social, or professional group, often with a specific duty. נבא *Hitpael* designates the membership to a group of "religious", more specifically, divinatory experts. Further examples are חתן, יהד*, יחש and חבא. A second semantic field of verbs refers specifically to ritual actions, or is used in relation to ritual roles. "Showing someone in a particular status or role" is often taking place within a cultic setting, close to or in the temple. The verbs קדש, טהר, טמא, פלל, נקם, עלף, חטא, חנן describe perceptible rituals or explicitly "religious" acts that were carried out (or were imagined) in a public or semi-public sphere. Partly, the status that is expressed with the *Hitpael* forms compares to the status of a petitioner. More specifically, some of the cultic contexts to which they allude are informed by the petitioner's rank at the King's court. Their conceptual framework is comparable to a royal audience. The *Hitpael* may also allude to this in the form of a mental picture from which this status is evoked. Characteristically, both these groups of *Hitpael* verbal forms indicate a *change* of status without detailing single actions. More precise actions must be assumed by a subclass of verbs of mourning and grieving. Notably, their focus is not on the process as such, but the emphasis is on the status of mourning (כסה, פלש, אבל)[16]. In the third semantic field I look at acts of dressing, which naturally aim at demonstrating a certain social position חפש, שנה, עלף, אבל, אזר, כסה.

Three semantic fields of *Hitpael* verbal forms
with a focus on a (change of the) status

Semantic field 1: Verbal descriptions of a status or a (perceptible) social position

1. נבא

A prominent example in which the *Hitpael* has the meaning "to demonstrate oneself in a social position" or "to take up an attitude" is to be found in the accounts about Saul's prophecy. Here, נבא *Hitpael* is used with the meaning "to act like a prophet". The verb נבא is only found in the *Nifal*[17] and a denominative *Hitpael*, derived from נביא. The meaning of the latter is given in Gesenius' translation in his Grammar, §54.e of 1 Sam 18:10 "sich heftig nach Art eines Propheten geberden, rasen." This indicates the difference between the verb's

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16 Here, פלש and כסה refer to particular procedures in the process of mourning.

17 To נבא *Nifal* an author may add a positive or a negative undertone. Said with a positive undertone, e.g. in Amos 3:8; 7:15; of Jeremiah Jer 26:11,12, of Micah of Moresheth and in Jer 26:18; or of the prophets with Samuel in 1 Sam 19:20. With a negative bias e.g. in 1 Kgs 22:12; Jer 14:14; 20:6; 23:16,21,25,26,32.

meaning in the *Nifal* with the meaning "nach Art", "in the way of a prophet". This translation of the *Hitpael* underscores the difference between a "real" prophet's behavior and someone who is only "acting like" or "pretending to act like" a prophet. For instance, when it is said of Saul, the verb in the *Hitpael* has a notion of "pretending to prophesy" or "acting like a prophet".[18] Consider 1 Sam 10:5–6: "After that you shall come to *Gib'e-ath-elo'him*, where there is a garrison of the Philistines; and there, as you come to the city, you will meet a band of prophets (חבל נביאים) coming down from the high place with harp, tambourine, flute, and lyre before them, in the status of / behaving like prophets מתנבאים. Then the spirit of Yahweh[19] will come mightily upon you, and you shall be in the status of a prophet / act like a prophet והתנבית[20] with them and be turned into another man." The corresponding part in 1 Sam 10:10,13 repeats that Saul "was in the status of a prophet / behaved like a prophet ויתנבא" and that he, when he had finished "being in this status of a prophet מהתנבות" came home. Saul's vocation according to 1 Sam 10 is shaped by this notion of "taking up the attitude of a prophet" or "pretending to prophesy".[21] This is evident when the desperate king throws the spear against his successor David: "And on the morrow an evil spirit from God rushed upon Saul, 'pretended to prophesy' ויתנבא within his house, while David was playing the lyre, as he did day by day. Saul had his spear in his hand." (1 Sam 18:10). While the specific action remains obscure in this instance, the description of Saul "tottering" (נבא *Hitpael*) before Samuel in 1 Sam 19:24 is more explicit about Saul's actual behavior. Here, נבא *Hitpael* is often understood as "prophetic ecstasy". In the context of the narrative the verb describes a perceptible (here: visible) action that corresponds to the status that is designated by נבא *Hitpael*. It does not have the same effect as the verb in the *Nifal*. When the spirit comes upon the messengers that Saul sends after David who hides with Samuel "behave like a prophet" (1 Sam 19:20,21 נבא *Hitpael* 2x). The author's distanced perception of a Benjaminite or Israelite king who acts in this form of prophecy and, as a result, strips off his garments, is blatant in this narrative about Saul in 1 Sam 19:23. This is also the case in 19:24, when Saul "was in the status of a prophet / behaving like a prophet ויתנבא before

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18 This is a distanced view on these "prophetic" acts and the ten instances show a critical undertone.

19 The involvement of the "spirit of Yahweh" in this narrative about the Israelite king Saul adds no positive undertone.

20 Here and in 1 Sam 10:13 partly spelled with א, see BHS.

21 This critical attitude over against to "prophesying" may be overlooked as long as the value judgment about the figures of the narratives is not recognized or underestimated. This is not the place to go into detail about the bias of the narratives. Their prejudiced view on the narrative's figures is evident and it is crucial for their understanding: King Saul represents Israel as opposed to David who is the founder of the Judean royal dynasty and is as such metonymically related to Judah. See, among many, for instance, P. Mommer, *Samuel*, WMANT 65, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1991, 184–186.

Samuel" which meant here precisely that he lay naked all that day and all that night.[22]

Among the remaining instances, the case of the seventy elders in the post-dtr and post-priestly narrative in Num 11:25–27 is prominent. It uses the term three times (Num 11:25.26.27) and, as in 1 Sam 10:18 and 19:18–24, the *spirit* of YHWH causes the elders to "act like prophets". The act of נבא *Hitpael* in these narratives does not mean the same as נבא *Nifal*. That said, a (biased) understanding of adopting the attitude of a prophet, but of being in fact misguided shapes this episode and can be assumed.[23] This, then, presupposes the idea of the spirit as a means to seduce the elders as inhabitants of the northern kingdom of Israel and of making them act like (false) prophets. This has the notion of Israel being led astray while the positive image of Moses is not connected to such a form of prophecy. Clearly the spirit of Yahweh forms an important element of these narratives[24] and the reaction of "behaving / acting like a prophet" (*Hitpael*) seems problematic. This is the backdrop of the reply of Moses in Num 11:29: Prophetic activity may go on and it is not upon Moses to put an end to this external form of prophetic activity. It stands to reason that this point of view was developed in postexilic times, presumably in Judean prophetic circles.

The meaning of נבא *Hitpael* as "acting like a prophet" is likewise evident in Jeremiah. In Jer14:14 and 23:13 this prophetic professional status (or "habitus") is more generally connected with non-Judean prophets who are suspected of telling lies, and more precisely, is connected with prophetic activity in Samaria.[25] Jer 26:20 describes Uriah's taking up the attitude of a prophet (נבא *Hitpael*). With this, the text alludes to a prophet that, from the perspective of the writers of the book of Jeremiah, is from its outer performance prophetical.[26] In fact however, he only "acts like a prophet".

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22 Compared with 10:10–12, parodied aspects of this are apparent, see J. Grønbaek, *Die Geschichte vom Aufstieg Davids (1. Sam. 15 – 2. Sam. 5)*, Copenhagen 1971, 116–117, 264 and P. K. McCarter, *I Samuel*, A Commentary (Anchor Bible vol. 8, New York, 1980), 331.

23 See on this biased use of the *Hitpael* below.

24 The ecstatic-prophetic power of the elders is limited according to Num 11:25b, while the spirit of Moses remains. Joshua is not comparable to Moses. Deut 34:10 indicates the end of prophecy: "No other prophet like Moses stood again up in Israel." Numbers 11 is a late, post-dtr and post-priestly episode, see e.g. H.-C. Schmitt, „Die Suche nach der Identität des Jahweglaubens im nachexilischen Israel. Bemerkungen zur theologischen Intention der Endredaktion des Pentateuch", in: J. Mehlhausen (ed.), *Pluralismus und Identität,* (VWGTh 8, Gütersloh 1995), 259–278, who emphasizes the connection with the late addition Ex 33:7–11 and Deut 31:14–15. See also A. H. J. Gunneweg, „Das Gesetz und die Propheten. Eine Auslegung von Ex 33,7–11; Num 11,4–12,8; Dtn 31,14f.; 34,10", *ZAW 102* (1990) 169–180; see also R. Achenbach, *Vollendung*, 248, 250. T. Römer, Nombres 11–12, 488 see note 36, notes that the opposite between "flesh" and "spirit" in Numbers 11 resembles almost to the Pauline contrast between both opposites.

25 Hence, a depreciative bias is attached to the *Hitpael*, see note 29.

26 However, his punishment seems to be appropriate.

Ezek 13:17 puts the emphasis on the fact that the prophetesses "take up the status of / behave like a prophet" without representing real prophecy.[27]

An isolated and single act is described of Elieser, the son of Dodia, who is not understood as being a prophet, but only acts as a prophet in one instance, according to 2 Chr 20:37.

In conclusion, besides the notion of "pretending to prophesy" that is concluded from the narratives as contexts, this short overview of נבא *Hitpael* corroborates the use of the *Hitpael* as a "reflexive" counterpart of the *Piel*[28], however, נבא *Hitpael* does not highlight a direct "reflexive" aspect (English: "for oneself") in the narrower sense. Rather, it indicates the meaning "to act / behave publicly as a prophet", partly with a depreciative sense.[29] The use of the *Hitpael* to designate a connection with the prophets as a group of religious experts is obvious. Besides, the status of belonging to a family can be expressed with this stem as the following example demonstrates.

2. חתן

חתן *Hitpael* "to be an in-law" describes a social status which, in the specific instances, can be recognized in the setting of the royal court and in a clan. The Shechemites' invitation to marry in Gen 34:9 intends to establish a relation within a clan to which then belongs a perceptible attitude. Likewise, Deut 7:3 and Josh 23:12 and Ezra 9:14 describe a status with an official intermarriage between Israelites and members of other nations. A marriage into the royal dynasty affects the young David's status at the Israelite court. The narratives address this, e.g. in 1 Sam 18:18 when David explicitly responds to Saul's suggestion that he becomes his son-in-law with reference to his low social status:[30] "Who am I … and who is my father's kinship in Israel, that I will become the king's son-in-law?" Consistently, 1 Sam 18:21–23,26–27 describe David's marriage and the change of David's status with חתן *Hitpael*.

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27 Clearly, the verb is used with a depreciative undertone, see W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel 1–24* (BK XIII/1, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969), 296. The form of Ezekiel 37:10 is grammatically to be interpreted as a *Hitpael* in which the t was assimilated. Some manuscripts read והתנבאתי. The *Nifal* of the verb is also used in V 7. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel 25–48*, (BK XIII/2, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969), 887, suggests an allusion to הנבא V 9 in V 10.

28 See W. Gesenius and E. Kautzsch, *Grammatik*, § 54 e: „sich zu dem machen, was der Stammbegriff aussagt, sich in einer bestimmten Eigenschaft verhalten, zeigen, dünken, stellen" §54f: re-ziprok. See also G. Bergsträsser, *Grammatik*, II. Teil: Verbum, 98: Denominative forms of the *Hitpael* have mainly the meaning „sich gebärden als …".

29 In most instances, the author connected a negative bias with these *Hitpael*-forms, in the sense of "adopting the status of a prophet/acting like a prophet", see H.-P. Müller, נבא, in G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* vol 5 (Stuttgart 1986), 140–163, 146 with respect to 1 Kgs 18:29; Jer 14:14; 29:26–27; Ezek 37:10.

30 Lacking in LXX [B] and, hence in the Vorlage of LXX, 1 Sam 18:17–19 are an addition in the Massoretic text.

3. יהד*

The *Hitpael* describes a person's membership of Judah as a cultural and religious entity. This denominative *Hitpael* is used in Esth 8:17 to express a person's behavior as a member of a different cultural or ethnic group: "And many of the peoples of the earth (רבים מעמי הארץ) showed themselves as Jews / acted as Jews (מתיהדים), since the terror (פחד) of the Jews came upon them". The fact that these people while not born Jews, *act* as Jews is a plausible meaning. Again the context suggests that, naturally, the belonging to a group is in some ways perceptible.

4. יחשׂ

The act of inscribing oneself into a genealogical record has the consequence of visibly becoming a member of the written genealogical record. יחשׂ is used in Ezra 2:62; 8:3; Neh 7:5,64; 1 Chr 5:1,7,17; 9:1.[31] The suggested meaning is "to show oneself in the status of a member of the written genealogical record".[32] The instances are concentrated in late Persian or Hellenistic prose as in the above mentioned case of יהד* in Esth 8:17.

5. חבא

This verb is interesting in that it seems to indicate a status but at the same time, semantically, the person who hides, naturally is invisible and the status is not perceptible. This is clearly the case in Gen 3:8: "… and the man and his wife were in the status of hiding before (לפני) Yahweh among the trees of the garden". The man is invisible for Yahweh while he is in the status of hiding. More specifically, this is true for the relation between him and Yahweh, before whom he hides. At first glance, this seems to rule out any perceptibility connected with the status of the *Hitpael*, since the man is successfully hiding himself before Yahweh. However, a person who is in the status of hiding reveals a certain attitude or a form of outside perceptibility. This is presupposed in other instances that make use of the *Hitpael* forms. When David hides, he is theoretically visible for those who search for him, as he hides. Hence, 1 Sam 23:23 Saul summons the Siphites to seek out and learn (ידע ראה) in all the hiding places (חבא *Qal)* for David who is in the status of hiding (חבא *Hitpael)*. The status of a person that hides must have been perceptible in some form, even though this contrasts the intention of the person that hides. Comparable cases in which this status of

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31 See also the use of the infinitive התיחשׂ as a substantive with the meaning "written genealogical record" in Ezra 8:1, Neh 7:5; 1 Chr 4:33; 5:7; 7:5,7,9,40; 9:22; 2 Chr 12:15; 31:16.

32 The emphasis is on the written form of the record, see R. Mosis, יחשׂ, in G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* vol 3 (Stuttgart 1982), 610–614, esp. 613. The emphasis is on the fact that someone is visibly ascribed to a certain genealogical circle. This fact shows / is displayed on the written record, and, also, in the way in which these people are treated, namely that they are granted honor and rank, see Mosis, יחשׂ, 614.

hiding is indicated are extant in 1 Sam 13:6 (the people hide in caves), 1 Sam 14:11 (the Hebrews come out from the caves where they had the status of hiding away), 1 Sam 14:22 (all Israel hides in the hill country of Ephraim), 2 Kgs 11:3 (Joash is in the status of hiding for 6 years in the house of Yahweh / 2 Chr 22:12),[33] 1 Chr 21:20 (four sons of Arnon hide when an angel appears), 2 Chr 22:9 (Ahaziah, king of Judah, who hides in Samaria is captured).[34]

The five verbs I dealt with, express the status of a person in respect to a certain social or professional group. The following verbs refer to a specific religious context in that they deal with a cultic status or have a ritual backdrop.

Semantic field 2: Verbs that specifically refer to a cultic status or to ritual roles

6. קדשׁ

קדשׁ *Hitpael* is used 24 times as a "reflexive" form of the *Piel*: "to sanctify / consecrate *oneself*", albeit an explicitly reflexive use is limited to English and German. Consider Exod 19:22: "And also the priests that approach Yahweh must consecrate (themselves) or Yahweh will break out against them." The *Hitpael* designates the social or cultic status which in most cases is in some form perceptible. As is the case with חבא *Hitpael*, individual acts that are connected with the status of consecration of the priests are not specified.[35] This corresponds to the fact that the *Hitpael* does not focus on the process as such, but, comparable to the *Piel*, states the result of having changed the status. The context indicates that a visibility of the action may be presumed and, also emphasizes the perceptibility as an achievement or the taking up of an attitude. In Josh 7:13a the *Hitpael* is placed in the course of an ordeal by lot which did not yet take place. The lot will be drawn in order to find out who was responsible for the theft. This is why the speech of Yahweh summons the people "to put themselves in a sanctified status". They remain impure (7:13b) as long as a "banned" (חרם) item is in their midst. In Num 11:18[36] the rebellious people are summoned to take up this status of sanctification. Lev 11:44 likewise mentions a status of visible uncleanness

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33 Contra S. Wagner, חבא, in: G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* vol 2 (Stuttgart 1977), 689–698, 692, who suggests a passive meaning.

34 חבא *Hitpael* in Job 38:30 is to be translated "the waters hide/cover like (in?) a stone". See for לכד in V 30b also חבא and לכד in 2 Kgs 11:3.

35 Not one single precise purification ritual is mentioned in Josh 3:5 and 7:13.

36 On Numbers 11 as a late addition to the Pentateuch, see T. C. Römer, Nombres 11–12 et la question d'une rédaction deutéronomique dans le Pentateuque, in: M. Vervenne, J. Lust (eds.), *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic Literature, Festschrift C. H. W. Brekelmans* (ETL 133, Leuven 1997) 481–498, esp. 487–490. R. Achenbach, *Die Vollendung der Tora. Studien zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Numeribuches im Kontext von Hexateuch und Pentateuch,* (BZAR 3, Wiesbaden 2003), 229 understands קדשׁ *Hitpael* in V 18 as a late expression from the end of the Pentateuchal redaction. See on the depreciative meaning of נבא *Hitpael* above.

caused by animals: "For I am Yahweh your God; sanctify (yourselves) therefore, and be holy, for I am holy. You shall not defile yourselves with any swarming creature that moves on the earth." This warning is also uttered with respect to necromancy.[37] קדש *Hitpael* is best understood as "to prove / to show (oneself) in the status of cultic pureness / sanctified". Correspondingly, Ezek 38:23 reads "I will show (myself) as great (גדל *Hitpael*) and sanctified (קדש *Hitpael*) and I will make (myself) known in the eyes of many people."

According to 1 Sam 16:1–13 Samuel pretends to go for an offering feast in order to deceive Saul and to be able to secretly designate the future Judean king. Samuel summons the elders of Bethlehem to attend the offering feast according to 1 Sam 16:5: "And he said, 'Peaceably; I have come to sacrifice to Yahweh (זבח ליהוה). *Consecrate* yourselves (visibly; קדש *Hitpael*) and come with me to the sacrifice.' And he *consecrated Jesse and his sons* (קדש את־ישי ואת־בנו *Piel*), and invited them to the sacrifice." Samuel fears Saul's anger if he were to find out that a new king is being anointed. This is explicitly mentioned in 1 Sam 16:2. Samuel intends to make the anointing of David really look like a sacrifice and this is why he summons the elders to consecrate themselves.[38] While again, no particular act of consecration is mentioned and the verb emphasizes the action's result in the change of status, it must be assumed, that the latter was perceivable in some way. קדש is used twice and, two different aspects are designated with the *Piel* and the *Hitpael:* Samuel's summons to Jesse to consecrate (themselves *Hitpael*) and Samuel's act of consecration *(Piel)*. The object of קדש *Piel* is added with את and the reflexive *Hitpael* emphasizes the elders' change of state. To sum up, קדש *Hitpael* designates "to show oneself in the state of cultic pureness" in Num 11:18; Josh 3:5; 7:13; 1 Sam 16:5.[39]

Isa 30:29 compares the Israelites to a pilgrim, proudly showing himself as he goes "to sanctify a feast" at the mountain of Yahweh. The public character is obvious. The effort of taking up the status of sanctification and purification can be heard in Isa 66:17: "Those who take up the status of sanctified (קדש *Hitpael*) and purified (טהר *Hitpael*) to go into the gardens…" The food contradicts the dietary customs and this brings every effort of purification to naught. This

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37 See also Lev 20:7 with the similar argument: Necromancy is thought to be an obstacle to holiness.

38 This specific notion of the *Hitpael* is not always clear. In the context of the narrative, קדש *Hitpael* 2 Sam 11:4 may likewise emphasize the visibility of Bathsheba, since it is stated that David was watching (ראה 11:2).

39 See W. Gesenius and E. Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1909 = Darmstadt 1995), § 25g; see also G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1918 = Darmstadt 1995), II, § 18b, see W. Kornfeld / H. Ringgren, קדש, in G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* vol 6 (Stuttgart 1989), 1179–1204, esp. 1186. 2 Chr 31:18 "to show oneself in a state of holiness" makes sense, since this is related to יחש *Hitpael* at the beginning of the verse. See below on יחש *Hitpael*.

indicates the *Hitpael's* use in the sense of "to pretend to sanctify (קדש *Hitpael*) / to purify (טהר *Hitpael*)" oneself.

Being in another status and being openly holy in public is emphasized in Ezek 38:23 (said of Yahweh) and is also evident in the summoning of the Levites. "To show (oneself) sanctified", is necessary for the Levites in order to be able to bring the ark up to Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:12, 14). It is also alluded to in 2 Chr 5:11; 29:5,15. 2 Chr 29:34 claims that the Levites are superior in their grade of the status of holiness.[40]

In conclusion, this overview of קדש *Hitpael* suggests no explicitly "reflexive" notion (to purify *oneself*) in the narrow sense for the meaning of the verb in Hebrew. Without mentioning particular actions, the *Hitpael* of קדש expresses a change of status and, as a consequence, implies in numerous narrative contexts some form of perceptibility. I suggest the meaning "showing oneself as sanctified / in the status of a sanctified person".

7. טהר

This verb is attested in 20 times in the *Hitpael*.[41] In use with the participle it designates the ritually acceptable person who was ritually cleaned in a specific way according to Lev 14:4,7,8,9,11,14,17–19. The further references in Lev 14 are likewise made with respect to a ritual with the purpose to clean a person who before was in a ritually unclean status in Lev 14:25,28,29. Ezra 6:20: "… the priests and the Levites were in the status of impureness…"

Num 8:7 describes the status after a cleaning ritual of sprinkling a person with atonement water. The status of purification is indicated in Josh 22:17: "Have we not have enough of the sin at Peor from which even yet we have not cleansed ourselves until this day…?" Those that are still in an unclean status are mentioned in 2 Chr 30:18. The priests and Levites are mentioned in Neh 12:30, and the Levites in Neh 13:22.

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40 See also the further references for קדש *Hitpael* 2 Chr 30:3; 31:18; 35:6. According to 2 Chr 15:17,24, the majority of the people, many from Ephraim, Manasse, Issachar, Sebulon had not purified themselves (הטהרו) and Hiskia certainly prayed publicly for them (פלל *Hitpael*). Both verbs describe public and perceptible actions. In the situation of 1Sam 16 Samuel is told to covertly anoint a future Judean leader and, in order to prevent that Saul may notify this and kill him (1 Sam 16:2), there may not be any doubt about the public character of the offering in 1 Sam 16:4–5. The public character of the offering is a pretext for the anointment of the future ruler. After the elders have visibly consecrated themselves 1 Sam 16:5 (קדש Hitpael), Samuel consecrates Jesse and his sons (קדש *Piel)*.

41 See in parallelism with קדש *Hitpael* in Isa 66:17 as mentioned above.

8. טמא

In opposition to the cleanness through ritual purification, cultic uncleanness is expressed with this verb "to be in a ritually unacceptable status"[42]. It is used 15 times with different reasons for impurity in Lev 11:24,43; 18:24,30; 21:1,3,4,11; Num 6:7; Ezek 14:11; 20:7,18; 37:23; 44:25 and Hos 9:4.

The expression of the status of impurity is typically unspecified in that a precise reference to an act of impurification is lacking. Lev 18:24 mentions a number of single acts of impurification and then states generally: "Do not defile yourselves in any of these ways… ", cf. Lev 18:30. See also Ezek 14:11 which mentions "all their transgressions". Idolatry is mentioned in Ezek 20:7,18. Idols and detestable things and transgressions are mentioned in Ezek 37:23. Touching upon a dead corpse is a more precise act that is mentioned which causes the status of impurity according to Lev 21:1,3,4,11; Num 6:7, and Ezek 44:25.

9. פלל

This verb and the noun תפלה are two of the most important technical terms for prayer (esp. in post-exilic times) in the Hebrew Bible. The meaning of the root is closely connected to ritual performances and this is why the meaning of the noun is of importance in this context. תפלה became a synonym of the *amidah*,[43] the prayer of the eighteen supplications.[44] For the purpose of the discussion of the meaning of the *Hitpael*, I consider the term's use in the technical sense related to the temple as a cultic space. The lament is not uttered in a sphere outside the cult. On the contrary, with the use of this term, the laments allude to 1 Kings 8 and they are set in the sanctuary of Jerusalem, i.e. they describe a visible or an otherwise perceptible act at the temple.[45] Jonah's תפלה to Yahweh's *holy sanctuary* nicely illustrates this.[46] Notably, here, the temple is not meant as an architectural reality, but its image in the context of a mental

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42 Creason, *Semantic Classes,* 342 suggests "to make oneself ritually unacceptable / to defile oneself".

43 The first general technical term for prayer is only known in Rabbinic times. SifDeut §26 on Deut 3:23 lists 13 synonyms, in ten groups for תפלה (עשרה לשונות נקראת תפלה): שועה, זעקה, תחנה, חילוי, עמידה, עתירה, פלול, נפול, פניעה,רנה, קריאה (= one word), נאקה, בצר, see on this K. H. Ostmeyer, *Gebet im Neuen Testament* (Habilitationsschrift Univ. Leipzig, 2004), 41.

44 Which is still the central prayer of the Jewish service, see E. S. Gerstenberger, פלל, in G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* vol 6, (Stuttgart 1989), 606–617, esp. 609. תפלה is particularly often used (17 out of 77 times) in Solomon's prayer. 1 Kgs 8–9; 2 Chr 6–7, however, it is not used anywhere else in the book of Kings. The fact that תפלה occurs especially often in Neh und Dan, but lacks in earlier literary strata in Gen through 1 Sam suggests a late date for Solomon's prayer as was already seen e. g. by M. Noth, *Könige*, Biblischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament IX/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1968), 173–175.

45 See 2 Kg 20:5; Ps 73:17; Jonah 2:5 תפלה in the superscriptions of the Psalms may be secondary. Nevertheless, this is reminding a temple context.

46 Jonah 2:8b; cf. V. 5.

iconography of the encounter with god in the temple.[47] The connection of the root to Jerusalem's sanctuary and to the rituals taking place there is emphasized by the fact that, in Qumran, the verb is replaced by נפל *Hitpael* in order to make this a different instance from the verb פלל *Hitpael* that was connected to the temple in Jerusalem.[48] This cultic setting in a *public* building was openly criticized in the Qumran writings.[49] The visibility of these acts of prayer is suggested for a number of reasons. First, the use of the word תפלה for the offering ceremonies of the priests and Levites, while the תפלות were the task of the מעמדות.[50] Those "that stand", saying prayers and singing hymns during the offering, were lay people[51] who represented the whole people.[52] The different terms for the offering are not used as synonyms for תפלות.[53] Isa 56:7 promises those that are not entitled to participate in the cult that this will please

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47   See on „mental iconography" T. N. D. Mettinger, *No graven Image? Israelite Aniconism in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context* (CB.OT 42; Stockholm 1995), 20 with note 26 and F. Hartenstein, Das "Angesicht Gottes" in Exodus 32–34, in: E. Blum / M. Köckert (eds.), *Gottes Volk am Sinai. Untersuchungen zu Ex 32–34 und Dtn 9–10*, (Gütersloh 2001), 157–183, 163.

48   See E. S. Gerstenberger, פלל, in G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* vol 6, (Stuttgart 1989), 606–617, esp. 608, 613–614; see K. H. Ostmeyer, *Gebet*, p. 34–43.

49   See e.g. 1QpHab XII 9–14.

50   S. C. Reif, *Judaism and Hebrew Prayer. New Perspectives on Jewish Liturgical History*, (Cambridge 1995) 75: „While the Temple service, with all its cultic paraphernalia, was performed on behalf of the entire community, present and absent, it was conducted by a relatively small number of priests of the required heredity and needed to find the popular dimension through such contrastingly simple and unadorned devices as the *ma'amad*." For a later invention of the people in Mishnaic times or in other writings we can find no reasons. See Ostmeyer, *Gebet*, 36.

51   I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, (Frankfurt [3]1931), 251: „Zur Sicherstellung der Beteiligung des Volkes am Opfer wurde die Institution der *Maamadot* [italics from Elbogen], der Standmannschaften, ins Leben gerufen." With reference to D. Sperber, Ostmeyer, *Gebet*, 36, note 20, suggests, that the part of the *mishmar* of priests, Levites, or Israelites that was actually engaged in the performance of its duty was called a *ma'amad* or *ammud* („station") and was headed by a *roshma'amad* (Tam. 5:6). At the time of the service of a *mishmar*, all the priests and Levites belonging to it would go to Jerusalem. In fact, only a portion of the *mishmar* then proceeded to Jerusalem (Ta'an. 4:2; cf. Tosef.,Ta'an. 4:3). While those who could not do so, assembled in their home towns and read the story of creation, etc., those in Jerusalem who actually ‚stood by' while the sacrifice was being offered could, strictly speaking, be called a *ma'amad*, or *ammud* (see Sof. 17:5; cf. mTaan IV,2).

52   Offerings were made in connection with the temple and were not allowed outside of it, while תפלות were independent of the temple in Jerusalem and provided to those who could not participate in the ceremony as a cultic form of a communication with God. As visible prayers they were held in the temple.

53   Neither animal sacrifices, nor libations, nor other offerings are called תפלות. Ps 141:2 and Prov 15:8 do parallelize תפלה and temple sacrifice, but this a critique of mechanical rendering of offerings, cf. Hos 6:6. Likewise, in Jer 7 תפלה and sacrifices are not used as synonyms, but are understood as different things: the sacrifices are criticized, at the same time, Jer 7:16 indicates that neither תפלה nor רנה must be directed to Yahweh, i.e. the תפלה does not replace the sacrifices, see Ostmeyer, *Gebet*, 37, note 22.

Yahweh in the house of his תפלה and that their offerings will be accepted on his altar. תפלות is nowhere a direct substitute for the offerings, not even in the time of salvation.[54] The public character of תפלה is in rabbinic times highlighted by the visibility of the תפלין. Neither prayer nor intercession[55] render פלל adequately. Instead, "the action involved is not necessarily verbal and the appeal is sometimes expressed in other ways, presumably by gestures."[56] The verb's natural connection to the temple's cultic sphere is a clear indication of the socio-demonstrative status and of the action's "public" nature, that presumably included perceptibility. This is likewise presupposed in the narrative 1 Kings 8:33,38,45,49,54. The parallelism of פלל and חנן as a perceptible acceptance by God seems to be apparent.[57]

10. חנן

The *Qal* is usually translated "to be merciful" or "to show mercy",[58] the *Hitpael* is often rendered with "to ask for mercy". Already here, the perceptibility of the status of a person praying for mercy is apparent. More precisely, the audibility of a prayer for mercy is emphasized, as e.g. in Gen 42:21. The brothers refer to Joseph's plea for grace: " Then they said to one another, 'In truth we are guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the distress of his soul, when he besought us and we would not listen; therefore is this distress come upon us.' "
This aspect of audibility is found in 1 Kgs 8:33,[59] as the place of the prayer "in this house" בבית הזה suggests. Comparably, 1 Kgs 8:47 (// 2 Chr 6:37) cites a *specific* prayer, which includes the audibility of this particular act ("we have sinned חטא and we have acted perversely עון and wickedly רשע"). The same is true for the emphasis of the individual act to which Solomon alludes 1 Kgs 8:59 (דברי אלה אשר התחננתי) and in 1 Kgs 9:3: "And Yahweh said to him, 'I have heard your prayer and your supplication, which you have made before me (חנן

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54 In the critique in Isa 1:10–17, sacrifice and prayer תפילה Isa 1:15, are closely related, but are not identified and none takes the place of the other.

55 1 Kgs 13:6 with the preposition alludes to this purpose. The purpose is indicated by the preposition, not by the verbal root as such.

56 E. A. Speiser, "The Stem *PLL* in Hebrew", JBL 82 (1963) 301–306, 305. He suggests the meaning "to seek what the simple stem designates", consequently, the meaning of the *Hitpael* would then be "to seek consideration/assessment, to ask for/seek kindness/grace; to plead".

57 E. A. Speiser, "*PLL*", 305 note 24 suggests that the *Hitpael* has the meaning "to seek a certain result", comparable to the tenth form of Arabic, which often expresses this idea. However, the factitive or resultative use are expressed with *Piel*, see E. Jenni, *Das hebräsiche Pi'el. Syntaktisch-semasiologische Untersuchung einer Verbalform im Alten Testament* (Zürich 1968).

58 See D. N. Freedman / J. Lundbom, חנן, in G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* vol 3 (Stuttgart 1982), 23–40, here 25.

59 Against Waltke / O'Connor, Syntax, 430 with a benefactive *Hitpael* see also Creason, *Semantic Classes, 351–352.*

Hitpael); I have consecrated this house which you have built, and put my name there for ever; my eyes and my heart will be there for all time. … ' "

The commander's prayer for mercy to Elijah 2 Kgs 1:13 is the third in a row (see 1:9,11). This climax of prayers for mercy would support the idea that the formal status of praying for mercy is emphasized in the third instance by using the *Hitpael*. Likewise, the crying that is mentioned with it highlights the status as a petitioner as in Hos 12:5: "he cried and prayed for his mercy" בכה ויתחנן־לו.[60] In Job 19:16, the emphasis on the status and on the perceptibility is also supported by its use in a climax. The audibility of this act in the second half of the parallelism, mentioning the mouth: "I call to my servant, but he gives me no answer; I must beseech him (חנן *Hitpael*) with my mouth."

The status of praying that is displayed in a cultic context makes sense for Ps 30:9: "To my lord I pray for mercy *(Hitpael)*." In opposition to this, the dead will not praise Yahweh (Ps 30:10). Ps 142:2 refers to the audibility when praying for mercy: "I pour out my complaint before him, my voice prays to Yahweh for mercy." The scenes in Job 8:5; 9:15 mention the supplication of Yahweh that is comparable to a (judicial) act. The context of the supplication to a king is expressed in two instances in Esther 4:8: "charge her (Esther) to go to the king to make supplication to him (חנן *Hitpael*) and entreat him for her people" and in Esther 8:3: "Then Esther spoke again to the king; she fell at his feet and besought him with tears to avert the evil design of Haman the Agagite and the plot which he had devised against the Jews."

11. חטא

The meaning of the *Qal* is "to sin, to transgress", the *Piel* means "to present a sacrifice".[61] Seven out of the fifteen instances of *Piel* are used in priestly writings, four in Ezekiel, all of which may be translated as "to perform a purification / atonement / sacrificial rite".[62] The same meaning is often assumed for the *Hitpael*. The context may indicate a specific interest in the *visibility of the* purification rite, e.g. by the washing of the clothes, in Num 8:21 said of the Levites and of the purification of the unclean in Num 31:19–20 as a particular external sign of purification. Or, when it is stated that the purification is only effective when the water is (visibly) shed on the impure person who has touched upon a corpse (Num 19:13,20). It is suggested that the *Hitpael* of חטא stresses the *perceptibility* of the status that is connected with a ritual atonement

60 See D. N. Freedman / J. Lundbom, חנן, 32.

61 See W. Gesenius, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, 18th edition, vol 2, י – ד (Berlin 1995), 338–339.

62 See K. Koch, חטא, in G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* vol. 2 (Stuttgart 1977), 857–870, 866. Notably, the *Piel* is understood as "performing a rite of purification/atonement".

more than the *Piel*, as is evident in the emphasis on the use of water (in addition to the fire) as a visible means of purification.[63]

12. עלף

The indication of a social status is apparent in the case of widows or prostitutes. Tamar disguises herself in order to betray Judah and "strips off her widow garments and covers herself (כסה *Hitpael / Piel*)[64] with a veil and shows herself veiled (עלף *Hitpael* Gen 38:14), sitting at the gate of Enaim, on the way to Timna." It is one of the story's central moments of publicly pretending the social status of a sick family member. Judah must visually recognize Tamar as a prostitute (Gen 38:15), become aware of her true social status. The author uses the *Hitpael* in order to designate an externally perceptible status in this narrative about deception.

This is also included in the two remaining instances of עלף *Hitpael*. In Am 8:13, the young women visibly veil (themselves). Jonah 4:8 describes the veiling against the sun that hits Jonah with the wind from the east. The emphasis on the visibility is not as apparent in the plot as it is in the narrative Gen 38, but it is well plausible that exactly this matches the writer's intentions.

13. נקם

A number of verbs indicate a special or particular form of behavior and, among them, the verb נקם that is used in contexts of (blood) revenge must be counted.[65] The meaning of the *Hitpael* alludes to a perceptible act. Yahweh's rhetorical question "Shall I show revenge?" in Jer 5:9,29 (נפש יהוה) as in Jer 9:8 points to this.[66] נקם *Hitpael* in Jer 5:9,29; 9:8 (נקם *Hitpael* // פקד *Qal*), expresses that Yahweh is still considering whether he (נפשי) should publicly engage in revenge against "such a (i.e. a treacherous and dishonest) people", that plans evil. Yahweh's reaction in taking *publicly* revenge in Jer 9:8 corresponds to the people's apparent behavior: "They all speak friendly words to their neighbors, but inwardly are planning to lay an ambush. ובקרבם ישים ארבו" Jer 9:7b.

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63 Num 19:12; 31:23; see also Num 19:9. The meaning of חטא *Hitpael* in Job 41:17 seems to be indicated from the context, see the suggestion of Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, 18th edition, vol 2, 339, "to withdraw".

64 MT has *Piel*, the Samaritan Pentateuch, Targumim and Syrian translations use *Hitpael*, see BHS.

65 See for an overview E. Lipiński, נקם, in G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* vol 5, Stuttgart 1986, 602–612, esp. 605–606. Possibly, the verb אנף *Hitpael* "showing one's anger", e.g. in Deut 1:37 and 4:21 may be compared to this. It is used with Yahweh as subject, except for Sir 45:19.

66 Psalm 8:3, איב ומתנקם puts the emphasis on visibility and on the assuming of the attitude of someone who attempts to revenge himself (German "Rachgieriger"). This may refer to individuals, and corresponds to the visibility of YHWH's works in the following verse 4: The enemy is slain (שבת *Hifil*) by YHWH Ps 8:3. Likewise Ps 44:17 emphasizes the state of the psalmist in his misery, while the enemy intends to "show revenge" (איב ומתנקם).

Yahweh's consideration about a publicly visible "status" and form of revenge against the dishonest people corresponds to the people's openly illicit behavior (Jer 9:5; 5:28). "To take up the attitude of someone who plans revenge" or "to openly plan revenge" is the meaning of נקם *Hitpael*.[67]

A subgroup of verbs refer especially to mourning and grieving:

14. אבל

In the case of אבל a distinction can be detected between "mourning" as an "emotional" or "inner" act that the verb in the *Qal* denotes mourning as such, e.g. in Hos 10:5; Joel 1:9; Amos 8:8; 9:5 and in other instances. On the contrary, an emphasis on "mourning rites" as the external appearance of a person who is in the status of mourning is expressed with the *Hitpael*. If this distinction is correct the *Hitpael* accents mourning rites as a behavior. One may translate this with "being in the status of mourning / obeying the mourning customs". The context of a simulation of mourning rites is a point in place. External visibility is indicated when Joab openly commands the wise woman from Tekoa in 2 Sam 14:2 (2x) to put herself in the status of mourning and to imitate a mourner. This implies public perceptibility in obeying the appropriate rites. Again, the *Hitpael* is used in the context of a narrative in which a particular status is pretended.

Albeit no specific reference is made on whether the royal mourning may be heard or otherwise perceived in 2 Sam 13:37[68], David's mourning cries that are cited "O my son Absalom!" were certainly audible. More generally, the *Hitpael* verb refers to David's status as "mourning" in 2 Sam 19:2. The observance of mourning rites and rules in 2 Sam 13:37; 14:2 (2x) and 19:2 alludes to different publicly perceptible mourning situations, as do Isa 66:10; Ezek 7:12,27, Dan 10:2; Ezek 10:6; Neh 1:4; 8:9; 1 Chr 7:22; 2 Chr35:24. The observance of these rites was of interest when the *Hitpael* was used, while none of the instances of the verb in the *Qal* shows a specific interest in the observance of particular rites in order to express the status of mourning.[69] The use of both, *Qal*

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67 The *Nifal* (with ב Judg 15:7, 1 Sam 18:25, Jer 50:15; with מן Judg 16:28, 1 Sam 14:24, Isa 1:24, Jer 46:10, Esth 8:13, with ל/מן Jer 15:15; Esth 9:16 cj.) and the *Hitpael* are said to have both reflexive meaning "to avenge oneself". See E. Lipiński, נקם, in G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* vol 5, Stuttgart 1986, 602–612, here 603, with the exception of the passive meaning in Ex 21:20. The *Nifal*'s focus is on the actions, while the *Hitpael's* focus is on the status. The difference between the rare use of the *Piel* in 2 Kgs 9:7, Joel 4:21(twice; cj.), Jer 51:36 and the use of the *Hitpael* remains still to be considered.

68 Whether 2 Sam 13:37 is likewise an allusion to a publicly perceptible ritual is not easy to determine. LXX adds "the king David" as subject.

69 As has been noticed, a metaphoric use of the verb with the earth or the land as subject is expressed with *Qal* and not with *Hitpael*, see Isa 24:4,7; 33:9; Jer 4:28 (with על); 12:4,11; 14:2; 23:10; Hosh 4:3; Amos 1:2. Besides, some human subjects are mentioned Amos 8:8 and 9:5; Isa 19:8; Joel 1:9; Hosh 10:5. נפשׁ as a subject in Job 14:11 refers to a non-cultic setting. If the above mentioned distinction is correct, the status of mourning with its socio-demonstrative

and *Hitpael* forms in Gen 37:37 proceeds according to this theory from two individual visible acts, i.e. Jacob rips his garment to pieces and he dresses with the *"saq"*, to the more general declaration about being in the status of mourning *(Hitpael)*. Jacob argues that he will remain mourning *(Qal)* until he reaches Sheol (37:38).

1 Sam 15:35a: "Samuel was not meeting with Saul until the day of his death, since Samuel was in the status of mourning for Saul." Samuel's mourning over Saul in 1 Sam 15:35aβ is given as the reason for the fact that Samuel is not meeting up with the king (15,35aα).[70] I suggest that (external) requirements of a mourning process, like e.g. mourning rites, have rendered it impossible to meet with other people and required a withdrawal from certain public spheres or from the royal court. This aspect of the ritual's performance is highlighted in 1 Sam 16:1: Samuel is explicitly summoned by Yahweh to interrupt his mourning and to meet with the future king in order to anoint him. The suggested dissimilarity between *Qal* and *Hitpael* was occasionally noticed and since it roughly corresponds to a disparity of text genres, it was concluded that אבל *Qal* is predominantly used in poetic texts,[71] whereas אבל *Hitpael* is found in narratives and only used with human subjects.[72] This highlighting of the performance of sanctification rites would correspond with the limitation of אבל *Hitpael* to human beings in the narratives.[73]

The people's reaction to the speech of Moses in Exod 33:4 in which he tells them that they are rejected, is that they put themselves in the status of mourning *(Hitpael)*. V 4b adds the fact that no person put on jewellery, which may be seen as a perceptible sign of mourning.[74]

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meaning in the cultic context is limited to human beings. Non-human subjects lack this specific notion that is realized in the (perceptible) ritual status.

70 The literary demarcation between 35aα and aβb can be conceded, see e.g. F. Foresti, *The Rejection of Saul in the Perspective of the Deuteronomistic School. A Study of 1 Sm 15 and Related Texts,* (StudiaTheologica 5, Rom 1984), 61–62.

71 This is noticed by Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Grammatik*, § 54e.

72 These are partly narratives from the post-exilic periods. More important is the intention of the stem. The distinction between poetic and prose is a problem and, also, the distribution of *Qal* in prose and *Hitpael* in poetic texts not always convincing, see e.g. the exception of Isa 66:10.

73 "Nature", i.e. vegetation or the like, never appears as a subject, see A. Baumann, אבל, in G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* vol 1 (Stuttgart 1973), 46–50, esp. 47 who notes that the distribution of the stem is limited to human subjects, while the same root is used for the vegetation or the earth, e.g. Isa 24:4, see Baumann, אבל, 49.

74 The reference to Exod 32:2 is obvious. – Whether the people's engagement in mourning rites in Num 14:39 ends in the visible sign of the march on top of the mountain, remains a matter of interpretation. Here, the context of an account about Amalek in a legendary past age in Num 14:41–45 indicates a late post-exilic origin. See S. Timm, "Amalekiter", in: H. D. Betz et al. (ed.), RGG 4th ed., vol 1 (Tübingen 1998), 386.

15. פלשׁ

פלשׁ in Biblical Hebrew is limited to the *Hitpael* "to roll in the dust". It signifies a visible action that is connected to an act of grieving. Consider Mic 1:10: "Tell it not in Gath, weep not at all; in Beth-Leaphrah roll not (visibly) in the dust…"[75] Other rituals of mourning that are mentioned emphasis the perceptibility of these rites of depreciation. Jer 6:26 with its reference to the mourning garment is a point in place: "Oh my poor people, put on sackcloth, and roll in ashes…"[76] as is the proclamation against the King of Tyre in Ezek 27:30: The mariners and all the pilots of the sea stand on the shore "and wail aloud over you, and cry bitterly. They throw dust on their heads and *wallow in ashes* (פלשׁ *Hitpael*)." allude to this context of mourning rites as an externally visible status.

16a. כסה

כסה "to cover" is hardly used in the *Qal*,[77] but occurs nine times in the *Hitpael*.[78] If it refers to a mourning garment, it naturally indicates the status of mourning. Consider 2 Kgs 19:1–2 (Isa 37:1–2): "When king Hezekiah of Judah heard this, he tore his garments apart, he covered (himself) כסה *Hitpael* with the שׂק and went into the house of Yahweh." Also, the chancellor of the royal palace, Eliakim, and the writer, Shebna, and the elders of the priests are covered with the שׂק (כסה *Hitpael*) and come to the prophet Isaiah. Hezekiah explains the city's desperate situation to them. These instances in the context of a "national" Judean state of mourning only make sense when the sign of mourning, the שׂק as a garment, covers a person. It is worn in a public space such as the temple, where this particular scene is set.

A situation of national mourning and the ritual use of garments is reported in the official act, when the king commands his servants to show visible signs of mourning: The inhabitants are summoned to wear the שׂק as the traditional mourning garment, Jonah 3:8. While it is not easy to decide whether the *Hitpael* expresses a certain degree of insincerity of the Ninivites' ritual behavior or whether the mourning is understood as being fully adequate, the meaning of the *Hitpael* evidently is to designate *publicly visible* mourning rites. The king in Jonah 3:6 who puts the שׂק on is described with כסה *Piel* instead of *Hitpael*. With

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75 Read *Qere* התפלשׁו instead of התפלשׁתי.

76 See also the *Hitpael* in Jer 25:34.

77 See Ps 32:1; Prov 12:16,23.

78 The social impact of covering oneself with a garment can be seen in Isa 59:6: Those who are in bloodguilt and have acted incorrectly are not able to cover this: "Their webs cannot serve as clothing; they cannot cover ולא יתכסו במעשׂיהם (themselves) with their deeds …". In a non-narrative setting, an emphasis on visibility may likewise be suggested for Deut 22:12: "Make yourself tufts on the four corners on what covers you, that may cover you תכסה־בה." In this context, the *Hitpael* תתכסה־בה makes sense, see L. Köhler and W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, vol 2, (Leiden 1974), 465.

the use of the *Piel* the writer marks the difference between the king mourning first in the inner sphere of his palace, while the people's mourning becomes then visible all over the city in public.

Semantic field 3:
Verbs that describe an act of dressing which indicates a change of a social status

16b. כסה

Without special reference to mourning, כסה *Hitpael* in Gen 24:65 describes the veiling of a person. When Rebekka is told that the man walking towards her is Isaak, the lord of the servant of Abraham, who brought her to Lahai-Roi, she covers herself before her future husband with a veil (ותקח הצעיף ותתכס).
Ahijah from Shiloh's garment serves as a symbol for the prophetic act. Jeroboam finds the prophet on the street: "covered with a new coat (מתכסה בשלמה חדשה)", while the two of them were standing alone on the field, 1 Kgs 11:29. The subsequent cutting of this new coat symbolizes the separation between Judah and Israel.

17. אזר

Girding is described with אזר *Hitpael* in Ps 93:1 with Yahweh as the subject. In the context of the psalm, the idea that Yahweh is in the status of being visibly prepared for battle (without the necessity of an ongoing battle) makes perfect sense. "To show the girding" with power (עז) i.e. to adopt the attitude of the royal warrior, indicates Yahweh's superiority over the earth (תבל 93:1) on his throne. When he is (visibly) girded, there is no need to actively engage in a fight. Girded with power, his appearance in this status of a warrior indicates sufficiently that his kingship is granted and accepted and no single acts of his fight must be mentioned.
Isa 8:9 is a summoning of the nations in which Yahweh addresses the nations, challenging them to rage, to be terrified and to make a plan that will be invalidated. Twice these sentences advise the nations "to gird (for battle)." The context alludes to actions that will *not* happen. This is why the *Hitpael* is best understood as "to adopt the attitude that you are girding (yourself)", with the framework of this summoning of the nations borne in mind, namely, that their preparation, even though it will be visibly displayed before an international audience, will be in vain, since Yahweh is involved and will dismiss these efforts.[79]

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79 Waltke and O' Connor, *Syntax*, 430 emphasize the reflexive aspect of the *Hitpael*, see also H. Bauer / P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testamentes, Erster Band, Einleitung. Schriftlehre. Laut- und Formenlehre* (Hildesheim 1962), 290, §38 f''.

18. שׁנה

King Jeroboam's wife is advised to disguise and take up the attitude of someone who seeks help from a prophet. It is of utmost importance, that no one recognizes her as the Israelite queen when she meets the prophet (1 Kgs 14:2).

19. חפשׂ

In non-cultic contexts, חפשׂ *Hitpael* expresses that someone who is sought out or pursued hides away[80] or makes himself unrecognizable, i.e., disguises. This situation of being sought out is presupposed in 1 Kgs 20:38: The prophet makes himself unrecognizable *(Hitpael)* for king Ahab and hence "appears as someone for whom someone else searches". He puts dust on himself in order to appear as a soldier returning from the battlefield "and waited for the king at the road. And he disguised (as someone who is sought out; חפשׂ *Hitpael*), before his (= the king's) eyes."[81] The prophet manages to entangle the king with cunning questions and, when the king pronounces his judgment on the case that he presented, the prophet reveals himself before the king: "He quickly removed the dust from himself (before) his (the king's) eyes…" (20:41). It is presupposed that the king intends to track down the prophet.

Saul disguised (חפשׂ *Hitpael*) in order not to be publicly seen, before encountering the necromancer 1 Sam 28:8. The Israelite king disguises himself in order to take up another person's attitude while suggesting that the Judean king wears his royal robes in battle (1 Kgs 22:30 //2 Chr 18:29). 2 Chr 35:22 mentions pursuit and disguise in war of King Josiah who "disguised himself" in order to enter battle with the Saite pharaoh Necoh.

Job alludes to a situation, describing himself as being confronted with over-whelming power that has forced him "to change my clothes" (ברב־כח יתחפשׂ לבשׁי; Job 30:18). In order to escape from this power in rigorous pursuit, he was forced to disguise himself and make himself unrecognizable.

חפשׂ *Hitpael* is consistently used in situations in which someone intends to appear in a certain way or take up a person's attitude. The context indicates that this person disguises in order to escape a pursuit or to face other disadvantages.[82]

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80 See on the translation of the verb with "to pursue" F. Maass and G. Botterweck, חפשׂ, in G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* vol 2 (Stuttgart 1982), 121–123, esp. 121. The *Hitpael* with this meaning may be suggested for Prov 28:12 in case it is read יתחפשׂ as suggested in BHS.

81 The translation of 1 Kgs 20:38 "he disguised himself with a wrapping over his eyes" must be rejected. אפר "wrapping" suggested on the basis of Akkadian *apāru* "wrapping", is attested only here. Contra M. Cogan, *I Kings. A Commentary*, (Anchor Bible 10, New York 2001), 470.

82 See on this meaning of חפשׂ *Hitpael* Maass and Botterweck, חפשׂ, 122.

Conclusions and further questions

Hitpael forms are used to designate an outside perception of a (change of) status. The "direct, indirect, and benefactive reflexive" use (in a narrow sense) must be rejected. The change of status which was in most cases, externally perceptible, e.g. by a certain look, especially when garments are involved, or this status was visible in certain actions that were realized by the subject of the verb. Authors could make use of this notion of an external perceptibility of the status change indicated in contexts in which they intended to focus on an imitation of a certain social position or role. Albeit, this use is not part of the stem's meaning, but part of the author's intention and, as a consequence, of the readers' interpretation. A number of narratives and verbs indicate such a depreciative connotation. Beyond this, questions abound with respect to the diachronic development of the *Hitpael* forms, it seems clear that an older use of the *Hitpael* existed (e.g. נשׂא) besides which a number of rare forms were newly generated for a specific narrative context in which an imitative use was intended. This is obvious in the case of the *Hitpael* forms of ציד and בקע in Josh 9:12–13 that describe an imitation of a status as part of the Gibeonites' ruse. An imitation is also described with יהד* in Esther 8:17.[83] Apparently, narratives about a treacherous behaviour make use of *Hitpael* forms and some of these originated not before late post-exilic or Hellenistic times.[84]

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83 See on the depreciative connotation of נבא *Hitpael*, Müller, נבא, 146. The phenomenon needs thorough further consideration that inclues a look at the respective contexts.

84 Tracing a chronological development of the stem is beyond the scope of this study, but some short remarks are in order. I could not consult the comprehensive word study of F. M. Bean, *A Phenomenological Study of the Hithpaʿel Verbal Stem in the Hebrew Old Testament* (Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Dissertation, Louisville KY, 1975), 152, who argued, that the *Hitpael* became more and more popular in the Biblical literature and that its meaning shifted from an original reflexive stem to a more passive one. Creason, *Semantic Classes*, 353, 409 suggests a late date for the passive uses (e.g. in Ps 107:11; Prov 31:10; Qoh 8:10) and understands them as the result of the influence of Aramaic on Hebrew. While, obviously a post-exilic date can be suggested for the use of קדשׁ *Hitpael* in a context with priests and Levites, the current article leaves the more general questions open, e.g. whether the meaning of the *Hitpael* shifted in time, see also M. Florentin, "Languages in Contact: פעל and נתפעל in the Samaritan Tradition and Mishnaic Hebrew", in: A. D. Crown and L. Davey (eds), *Essays In Honour of G. D. Sixdenier, New Samaritan Studies of the Société d'études Samaritains*, III–IV, Sydney 1993, 493–498. Florentin points to a replacement of the *Nifal* in Mishnaic Hebrew by *Nitpael*. Samaritan Hebrew shows a transition of several verbs from an ordinal *Nifal* pattern a germination of the second radical. I suggest a late (i.e. post-exilic) date for many of the *Hitpael* forms under consideration. The stem is often used in later additions, e.g. when a perceptible status is emphasized, as is the case 1 Sam 18:4: ויתפשׁט את־המעיל אשׁר עליו compared to 1 Sam 19:24 (ויפשׁט גם־הוא בגדיו). The Masoretic text in 18:4 is an addition (and lacks in LXX[B]) which reinforces that Jonathan strips himself of the robe and hands it over to David as the legitimate successor. An overview indicates the lack of *Hitpael* forms in old Hebrew inscriptions, see J. Renz and E. Röllig, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik*, vol II/2 (Darmstadt, 2003), 43. However, a *Gt*-stem of לחם appears in the Mesha-inscription lines 11,15,19,32, and, some instances of a *Gt*-stem are found

Abstract

One of the main suggestions that shapes the current understanding of the Hitpael is that this stem is a "reflexive" (or "middle") counterpart of the Piel with the basic meaning "to transform oneself into the state that is signified by the root". In detail, this understanding needs to be refined. An often assumed "direct reflexive" notion of the Hitpael is only extant in English or German in the translation but it lacks in Hebrew, and hence must be rejected. Instead, a demonstrative meaning is suggested and elaborated on. Three groups of verbs in the Hitpael that roughly belong to the same semantic field are considered: verbs that designate a membership or a certain position in a family or the (deliberate) forming part of a cultural or political group (I); verbs that refer specifically to ritual actions, or are used in relation to ritual roles (II); verbs that describe the visible change of a status by putting on garments, i.e. the dressing denotes a certain social position (III). In these instances the Hitpael must be translated with "to demonstrate the (social) position (or the change of this position) that is signified by the root".

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in Phoenician, see in J. Friedrich / W. Röllig / M. G. Amadasi Guzzo, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik* (AnOr 55), Rome ³1999, § 149. A t-infix in a *Qal* is found on the Ahirom-sarcophagus (KAI 1, 2) and in ancient Aramaic in Tell Fekheriye (KAI 309, 23).