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# Hosea's Erring Spouse

### PAUL HAUPT

#### JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

In a Note on Hosea 1-3 Professor Toy stated that the romantic history of a man, wounded in his deepest feelings through an ill-fated marriage that saddened his life and colored his thought, seemed to him to have no foundation in the text (JBL 32, 77). The author of cc. 4-14 could not be the author

1 AG - Delitzsch, Assyr. Grammatik (1906).—AkF - Zimmern, Akkadische Fremdwörter (1915).—AL - Delitzsch, Assyr. Lesestücke.— ASKT - Haupt, Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte.-AT -Altes Testament.—AV - Authorized Version.—AW - Delitzsch, Assyr. Wörterbuck (1886).—BAL - Haupt, Beiträge zur assyr. Lautlehre (1883).—CD - The Century Dictionary.—CoE - Haupt, An Ancient Protest against the Curse on Eve in Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 50, No. 201 (Philadelphia, Sept. 1911).—DB = Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible.—EB11 - Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th edition.—GA: = Ed. Meyer, Geschichte des Altertums vol. 1, part 2, third edition.—GB:6 - Gesenius-Buhl, Hebr. Handwörterbuch, 16th edition (1915).—HK - Holma, Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen (1911).—ICC = International Critical Commentary.—Joel = Haupt, Joel's Poem on the Locusts in ZÉNIA (Athens, 1912).—KM = Küchler, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Assyrisch-Babylonischen Medizin (1904).—MVAG — Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.— NBSS - Nöldoke, Neue Beiträge sur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft (1910).—PSBA - Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (London).—RB - Riehm-Bæthgen, Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Altertums (1893).—RP - Records of the Past.—RV - Revised Version.— SFG - Haupt, Die sumerischen Familiengesetze (1879).-SGl -Delitzsch, Sumer. Glossar (1914).—TLZ - Theologische Literaturzeitung (Leipzig) .- TOCR = Transactions of the Third Congress for the History of Religions (Oxford, 1908).—VG - Brockelmann, Grundriss der verof c. 2 or the actor in the episodes of cc. 1 and 3 (*ibid.* p. 78, below). I am more conservative: c. 3 is, of course, secondary, but the poem in cc. 1 and 2 is the work of Hosea. It is, however, not his first prophetic utterance, but his last poetic production, just as the first chapter of the Book of Isaiah represents one of the latest poems of the great prophet (see Cheyne's translation in the Polychrome Bible, pp. 42. 161). Similarly the first two chapters of the Book of Amos contain the latest poem of that patriotic poet (OLZ 10, 309).

Although the first two chapters of Hosea contain vaticinia post eventum, this retrospective section was prefixed owing to its biographic character. The teacher of W. Robertson Smith and Geo. A. Smith, the late Professor A. B. Davidson, of Edinburgh, remarked in his article on Hosea (DB 2, 420): Though referring to events in the early part of the prophet's career, cc. 1-3 contain the result of reflection on his whole history and teaching, and in date of composition may be the latest part of the Book... If the events be real, the words are written from a much later period in the prophet's history... Whether the events are real or not, cc. 1-3 were probably written at a late period of Hosea's life (DB 2, 421°).

Wellhausen, Kleine Propheten<sup>3</sup> 106/7 says: Das Rätsel löst sich durch die Annahme, daß Hosea erst nachträglich die Bedeutung seines häuslichen Schicksals erkannte. In dem Augenblick, wo er die Gomer nahm, wußte er noch nicht, wie es um sie stehe . . . Sein Weib bricht ihm die Ehe und macht ihn tief unglücklich. Er hängt dem schwermütigen Gedanken über sein persönliches Unglück nach, erfüllt zugleich von Schmerz über die allgemeine Not und Verderbtheit des Volkes Jahves. Da kombinieren sich beide Gedanken, er sieht eine Ähnlichkeit zwischen dem Kleinen und Großen, in einem das Bild des andern: als Repräsentant Jahves, als Prophet hat er tun müssen, was er

gleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen (1908).—WF = Wellhausen-Festschrift = Beihefte zur ZAT, No. 27 (Giessen 1914).—WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.—ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.—ZWT = Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie.—For the other abbreviations see vol. 29 of this Journal, p. 112; cf. AJSL 26, 204; 82, 64; ZDMG 68, 530; GB<sup>16</sup> xi.

getan, erleben müssen, was er erlebt hat; so wie ihm sein Weib untreu ist, so hurt auch Israel ab von seinem Gott.

The idea (cf. EB 2121, l. 3) that cc. 1-3 were written about the end of the reign of Jeroboam II (783-743) prior to the assassination, at the hands of Shallum, of the fifth and last king of the dynasty of Jehu, Jeroboam's son Zachariah, whereas cc. 4-14 were composed under Menahem (743-737) prior to the Syro-Ephraimitic War against Judah in 735, is untenable; cc. 4-14 may have originated about 740; but cc. 1-3 are later.

Hosea's erring spouse is not an allegoric invention, but a historical person. The prophet not only wrote this poetic story of unfaithfulness, he lived it (cf. Eccl. p. 2, l. 7). The Paris Temps said of Theodore Roosevelt's lecture, which he delivered at the Sorbonne, April 23, 1910, that the impression produced was all the greater because Mr. Roosevelt did not present theories that he conceived, but experiences that he lived. Gomer bath-Diblaim may have been a maiden of Dibl, a village in northern Galilee, on the road from Safed to Tyre, between the Ladder of Tyre (Râs-al-Abjad) and Lake Hûlah (Bædeker, Palästina 241). We need not regard Diblaim as the name of Hosea's father-in-law. According to a Jewish legend in Shalshelth haq-Qabbâlâ (see Simson's Hosea, 1851, p. 2; cf. EB 2126; EB 11 13, 784\*, n. 1) Hosea died in captivity at Babylon, and was carried to Upper Galilee, and buried at Safed. Arab. dabl means not only boil, but also brook, but dibl may be a transposition of dilb - Arab. dulb, nomen unitatis dulbah (Aram. dulba - Assyr. dulbu; AkF 53) which is the name of the Oriental plane-tree. Ber. 40b (BT 1, 150, below) we find זובלי instead of דולבי, plane-trees. This explanation of the name Diblaim is preferable to combining it with הבלה, cake of dried figs or Assyr. dublu, foundation (syn. išdu). We need not suppose that Diblaim is identical with Beth-diblathaim in northern Moab, so that Gomer might have been a Moabitess captured during the wars of Jeroboam; many scholars have inferred from 2 K 14 25 that Jeroboam II conquered Moab. The name Gomer means Perfection, Beauty, just as Arab. jamal-beauty. The stems gamar and gamal-kamal are practically identical (ZDMG 65, 107, l. 14).

I showed on pp. 5 and 7 of my paper The Aryan Ancestry of Jesus (Chicago 1909) - The Open Court, No. 635 (April, 1909) that Tiglath-pileser IV sent colonists from Assyria to Galilee, after the Galileans had been deported to Assyria (2 K 15 29) in B. c. 738, and many of these colonists were Aryans; so it is by no means impossible that Gomer of Diblaim was an Aryan maiden, just as Delitzsch remarked in his first lecture on Babel and Bible (fifth edition, Leipzig 1905) p. 22 that the consort of Sardanapalus might have been a fair-haired princess of Aryan extraction (cf. BL 67, n. 12). In his letter to Prof. Delitzsch (Babel und Bibel<sup>5</sup>, p. 58, n. 8) Col. Billerbeck suggested that this lady might have come from Ashguza, Saparda, or Gimir. The first of these cuneiform names is the correct form of the Biblical Ashkenaz. As to the second, Col. Billerbeck probably had in mind the district Šaparda in southwestern Media (cf. GB<sup>16</sup> 551<sup>b</sup>). This has no connection with the Biblical Sepharad; TDD (Obad. 20) is a corruption of the name of the old capital of Galilee, MDD, afterwards MDS, Sepphoris; see my translation of the conclusion of the Book of Obadish in Mic. 49; cf. ZAT 34, 144. Gimir - Gomer in the OT (cf. Skinner's Genesis, p. 196) denotes the Cimmerians who seem to have spoken an Iranian tongue (contrast GA 813). The Cimmerians may have been known about B. C. 750, although they are not referred to in the cuneiform texts before the end of the reign of Sargon (722-705). Hosea's foreign wife may have been called הנמרית. the Cimmerian woman (cf. the Moabitess in the Book of Ruth) and the poet may afterwards have substituted therefor in his poem 701 - Perfection. At any rate it is by no means certain that Hosea's erring spouse was an Israelitess. I have subsequently noticed that Peiser (Hoses, 1914, p. 2. n. 1) says that Gomer may allude to the Cimmerians. He thinks therefore (op. cit. p. 62) that the poem in the first two chapters of Hosea was written about 680 B. C.

According to ZAT 32, 8, below, the name Gomer expresses the desire that there should be no more (female) children after the birth of that daughter; but this is impossible. Nor can mean a daughter of two figs, i. e. a woman who is worth but two figs (ZAT 33, 78; cf. BL 131, n. §). The

statement made in AJSL 22, 121 that 721 in later Hebrew means to gratify the sexual appetite is due to a misunderstanding. If the phrase ומר ביאה is to prove that או has that meaning, we might just as well say that to accomplish means to gratify the sexual appetite because he accomplished his purnose may occasionally be used in that sense. Nor does 777 נומרים בה, Pes. 87° (BT 2, 638) mean they behaved like Gomer bath-Diblaim; it is nothing but a haggadic etymology as are also the combinations of Diblaim with 727 and 757, or R. Jehudah's explanation שבקשו לנמר ממונן של ישראל בימיה. In we must supply ביאה it is an elliptic expression as is also our to consummate in the sense of to complete (a marriage) by sexual intercourse. In Syriac you say of a bishop Man, he is complete which is an elliptic expression for his consecration is completed. Marti cites the old explanation that means consummata (in fornicatione atque perfecta) filia voluptatis.

Gomer's unfaithfulness was no doubt an open secret, and Hosea may have been ridiculed as a cuckold. The announcement that it was JHVH who commanded him, Get thee an adulterous wife and adulterine children, rehabilitated him in the eyes of the community. They had probably laughed at Hosea and his domestic troubles. The poet tells them, Israel's relations to JHVH are far more serious than the relations between himself and his erring spouse.

Of course, the poet's statement that JHVH commanded him to get an adulterous wife and adulterine children only means, It must have been ordained by JHVH that my wife should be false to me, and her children bastards. He could not get adulterine children before he was married. Nor did the poet know the adulterous disposition of Gomer when he married her. Even when their first son was born, he entertained no doubts. But when his wife gave birth to a daughter, his suspicions were aroused: he felt no paternal love for the child, and doubted that it was his own flesh and blood. This feeling became a certainty when his wife bore a second son: he was convinced now that he was not the father of that child. Gomer's paramour may have been one of her own tribesmen, and her

adulterine children may have exhibited a pronounced non-Israelitish type. Hosea did not actually name his second son Not-my-kin, nor did he call his daughter Uncherished: these designations merely symbolize the poet's feelings toward his adulterine children. To be called is often used in the sense of to be (SFG 31; GB<sup>16</sup> 724<sup>b</sup>).

The cuckoldry of Hosea's erring spouse called his attention to Israel's backsliding: Israel had been false to her lord, JHVE. just as his own wife had been unfaithful to him. Israel's unfaithfulness could not dishonor JHVH, it could only dishonor Israel. Whoever is untrue to Truth does not cuckold Truth. In the same way Hosea felt that he had not been dishonored by his adulterous wife. He was no wittel, he had not winked at his wife's infidelity. He believed that it was ordained by JHVH that he should have an adulterous wife and adulterine children in order that his attention should be drawn to Israel's unfaithfulness, her defection from her Lord. This suggested to him that the name of his first-born son (who was, it may be supposed, his own child) might have a symbolical meaning. But this was an afterthought. When Hosea called his first-born Jezreel, he did not think of the bloodshed of Jezreel that was to be avenged on Jehu's House. This idea did not occur to him until his wife had born a second son. The name Jezreel means

May God make him thrive! (cf. Arab. ازرع الله الصبي للخير).

The town of Jezreel was at the eastern end of the Great Plain of Jezreel. King Ahab-ben-Omri of Israel and his second son Jehoram had a palace there, and Jehoram was slain by Jehu in the former vineyard of Naboth at Jezreel, while his nephew, King Ahaziah of Judah (the son of Jehoram's sister Athaliah) was mortally wounded near Ibleam. At Jehu's bidding Jehoram's mother, Ahab's Tyrian consort Jezebel, who was responsible for the judicial murder of Naboth and the relentless persecution of the prophets of Jhvh, was hurled from a window of the palace at Jezreel, so that her blood bespattered the wall and the horses of Jehu's chariot, and they trod her under foot. The last king of the House of Jehu, Zachariah, was slain not at Jezreel, but at Ibleam, where he was assassinated

by Shallum, and which may be included in the Great Plain of Jezreel: it is about half an hour south of En-gannim, the modern Jenîn at the southeastern end of the Great Plain, while Jezreel (the present Zer'în) is more than ten hours north of Jenîn. At 27 27 2 K 15 10, which cannot mean before the people, may be an intentional alteration for 27 2 - 6<sup>L</sup> èν Ιβλεαμ, made for the purpose of eliminating the discrepancy between the statement in 2 K 15 10 and the prediction in Hos. 1 4 which was interpreted to mean that the last king of the House of Jehu would be slain at Jezreel.

C. 3 of the Book of Hosea contains four couplets exhibiting the same meter as the genuine poem of Hosea in cc. 1 and 2. This epigonous production was added by someone who was scandalized at the statement that Hosea had been commanded by JHVH to get an adulterous wife and adulterine children. The worthy poetaster substitutes, Go, and love a woman who loves another man, as I love the Israelites who love pressed cakes. i. e. sweet cakes made of pressed grapes and flour, such as are still used in Cyprus at church festivals as a survival of Phenician paganism (cf. the translation of Isaiah in the Polychrome Bible. p. 170, n. 12). Even this mitigation seemed objectionable to subsequent editors; therefore the phrase who loves another man was pointed to read who is loved by another man. A woman may be loved by another man without reciprocating his love. She may also love another man without committing adultery, and even if she be an adulteress, she does not become a prostitute. The translation given in AV and RV, a wife of whoredoms instead of adulterous wife and adulterine children, is unjustified. The addition an adulteress after who loves another man in the first line of c. 3 is an erroneous tertiary gloss, just as the again in Go again and love a woman who loves another man is a later redactional addition. Professor Volz, of Tübingen, in his paper Die Ehegeschichte Hoseas (ZWT, 1898, pp. 321-325) took c. 3 to be an allegorical narrative added to c. 1 at a later date (cf. EB 2123, n. 2). According to AJSL 22, 130, on the other hand, c. 3 is by Hosea himself, and c. 1 by a disciple.

The four couplets in c. 3, which should be grouped in two stanzas, may be translated as follows:

- A i 3, 1 Go, and love a woman
  who o love so another man,
  As I love the Israelites
  who love pressed cakes.
  - ii 2 So I chought her for fifteen shekels and a coom of barley.—
    3 "Many days shalt thou remain, no man shall approach thee!"
- B'iii 4 'Thus' the Israelites will remain for many days Without king, sacrifice, pillar, without ephod and tearaphim.
  - iv 5 'But' the Israelites will seek
    again their God,
    Rushing to 'Him' and His goodness
    in the days of the future.

This theological poem was, of course, written after the Exile.

The Hebrew text of these four couplets should be read as follows:

i A לכיה אהב אשה יאהבתי כע כאהבתיי את־בני ישראל ואהבי אשישי.ם:: ואַיכִירֶה־לי בחמשה עשר־כְסף ולתך שערים: 2 ii לא־תהיי לאיש: ימים רבים תשבי־לידי 3 בני ישראַל כין דימים רבים ישבו 4 iii B אין-מַלך ואין-זָבח ואין-מצָבָה ואין-אַפָּודוּיתַיּרפִים: יויישבו בני ישראל ובקשו אלהיהם 5 iv ופחדו אל יוי ואל־פובו באחרית היסים:

The genuine poem of Hosea in the first two chapters consists of two sections; each section comprises two stanzas; each stanza is composed of two triplets with 3+2 beats (Mic. 66, n. 4). According to Duhm (ZAT 31, 18. 20) both Hos. 1 2<sup>b</sup>-3 3 and c. 3 are written in prose, and 2 4-15<sup>a</sup> in pentastichs with three beats in each line. Peiser (op. cit. p. 60) arranges the text of cc. 1 and 2 in twelve tetrastichs with 3 beats in each hemistich. Marti, Das Dodekapropheton (Tübingen, 1904) thinks that Hos. 2 4-15<sup>a</sup> contains twelve stanzas. Sievers, Alttestamentliche Miscellen, No. 5 (Proceedings of the Royal Society of Leipzig, May 13, 1905) p. 167 arranges 1 2<sup>b</sup>-9 in five couplets with seven (2+2+3) beats in each line, and 2 4-15 in lines with 7 and 3 beats. C. 3 contains, according to Sievers, four couplets with seven beats in each line.

Apart from the secondary and tertiary explanatory glosses and theological additions, this poem of Hosea may be translated as follows:

## JHVH said to 'me':

- A i 1, 2 Go, get thee an adulterous wife and adulterine children! The land commits adultery, departing from Јичн. 3 I got Gomer, the maid of Diblaim, and she bore 'me' a son.
  - ii 4 Then He said to 'me', Give him the name Jezreel;

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For shortly I shall avenge the bloodshed of Jezreel On Jehu's House; I'll end the kingdom of Israel.

- iii 6 'The prophetess' conceived again, and bore a daughter.
  Then He said to 'me', Give her the name Uncherished;
  I will no longer cherish the House of Israel.
- iv 8 Now when she had weaned Uncherished, she bore a son.
  - 9 Then He said to me, Give him the name Not-my-kin; For ye are not my kin, and I am not your God!
- B v 2, 4 Plead with your mother, plead!

  for she is not my wife;

  Let her put from her face her lewdness,

  from her breasts her bawd ry,

  5 Lest I strip her naked, and set her

as when she was born.

- vi 8 I'll hedge up <her> way with thorns, make a wall around her;
  - 9 She'll vainly pursue her lovers, and seek, but not find them; She'll say, I'll go and return to my former husband.
- C vii 10 'Behold', she does not know that it was I who gave her Grain, and must, and oil, lavished money upon her.

12 But now I'll bare her shame in the sight of her lovers.

viii 13 I'll cause all her mirth to cease
and all her feasting,
15 The days of the Baalim she sacrificed
and put on her jewelry,
Pursuing her paramours
while Me she forgot.

I subjoin the Hebrew text of this poem. The complete text of the Book of Hosea with all glosses, a metrical translation. and explanatory and critical notes will be published elsewhere. I have discussed several sections of the Book of Hosea in my papers on the Heb. noun melkh. counsel. and Assyr. atmu. fledgling, in the OT, published in the present volume, also in my paper on Assyr. ramku, priest - Heb. komer in AJSL 32, 67-75. In the present paper I must omit all subsequent additions to the first three chapters. Some of them are Maccabean, e. g. 2 1-3 and 18-24. The one head referred to in 2 2 is the founder of the Maccabean dynasty, Simon, and the brethren and sisters in the following verse are the Jews rescued by Simon and Judas Maccabæus from Galilee and Gilead (AJSL 32, 75). The Baalim in v. 19 denote the Greek gods; cf. Ps. 164b and the translation of this Maccabean psalm in JAOS 32, 124. For יעלו מן הארץ in 2 2 see my translations of Ps. 68 19 and Obad. 21 in AJSL 23, 223; 27, 49. The עלית at the beginning of Ps. 68 19 means עלית מן הארץ בהר ציון (contrast AJSL 23, 230, n. 25).

Nor can I give here any explanatory notes. I will add, however, that 24<sup>b</sup>, Let her put from her face her lewdness, from her breasts her bawdry, does not refer to facial or intermammary tattoo marks (BL 61) but to the effects of habitual lewdness on the complexion and the breasts (BL 72). An old prostitute paints her face in order to cover up her faded countenance; her breasts tend to be pendulous. Hosea's statement does not mean merely, Just as a metal may be adulterated by foreign admixture, so the face and the breasts of a profligate

wife may be tainted and debased by adultery. For the threat in the following verse, Lest I strip her naked, and set her as when she was born, cf. Nah. 3 5b: I uncover thy skirts to affront thee, exposing thy shame (see my remarks in JBL 26, 24; ZDMG 61, 285, n. 19). Israel's shame was bared in the sight of her lovers (2 12) when she was humbled by Assyria; neither the Baalim nor her allies could prevent her fate.

## ויאמר יהוה אליי

וילךי זנוגים מאחרי יהוה:	י לך־מֶחלך אָשת זנונִים כיזוָה תזנָה האָרץ		2	iÅ
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