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GENERAL EDITOR FOR THE OLD TESTAMENT:—
A. F. KIRKPATRICK, D.D.

THE BOOKS OF
JOEL AND AMOS

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THE BOOKS OF
JOEL AND AMOS

EDITED BY
S. R. DRIVER, D.D.

adapted to the text of the Revised Version,
with a few supplementary notes

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PREFACE

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BY THE

GENERAL EDITOR FOR THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE present General Editor for the Old Testament in the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges desires to say that, in accordance with the policy of his predecessor the Bishop of Worcester, he does not hold himself responsible for the particular interpretations adopted or for the opinions expressed by the editors of the several Books, nor has he endeavoured to bring them into agreement with one another. It is inevitable that there should be differences of opinion in regard to many questions of criticism and interpretation, and it seems best that these differences should find free expression in different volumes. He has endeavoured to secure, as far as possible, that the general scope and character of the series should be observed, and that views which have a reasonable claim to consideration should not be ignored, but he has felt it best that the final responsibility should, in general, rest with the individual contributors.

A. F. KIRKPATRICK.

CAMBRIDGE,

August, 1896.

Principal Abbreviations employed.

- B.R.*...Edw. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine* (ed. 2, 1856).
D.B. (or *D.B.*²)...*Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. 1, or (from A to J) ed. 2.
*K.A.T.*²...Eb. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das A. T.*, ed. 2, 1883 (translated under the title *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O. T.* 1885, 1888). The references are to the pagination of the German, which is given on the margin of the English translation.
K.B....Eb. Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (1889 ff.).
N.H.B....H. B. Tristram, *Natural History of the Bible* (1868).
*O.T. J. C.*²...W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, ed. 2, 1892.
P.E.F. Qu. St....*Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statements*.
*R.P.*¹ and *R.P.*²...*Records of the Past*, first and second series, respectively.
Z.A.T.W....*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.
Z.D.M.G....*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.
Z.D.P.V....*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*.
E.B....*Encyclopædia Biblica* (1903).
H.D.B....*Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible* (1898).
I.C.C....*International Critical Commentary*.
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The illustrations are taken from Engel's *Music of the most Ancient Nations* (Murray); Wilkinson and Birch's *Ancient Egyptians* (Murray); the *Speaker's Commentary* (Murray); the *Cambridge Natural History* (Macmillan); and Lortet's *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui* (Hachette), by permission of the publishers.

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* * * The Text adopted in this Edition is that of the Revised Version. The Commentary is, in all essentials, the work of Dr Driver. The present Editor has confined himself generally to adapting the notes to the text of the Revised Version, and making such verbal alterations as were required. In all cases in which he has added any fresh material, such additions are enclosed within square brackets. In the Biblical quotations in his notes, Dr Driver was accustomed to use neither the A.V. nor the R.V., but to make his own translation from the Hebrew. Such translations have been kept in the present edition.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

ISRAEL.	Dates according to Ussher's chronology.	Dates as corrected on the basis of Assyrian notices ¹ .
Jehu	884	842
Jehoahaz	856	815
Jehoash	839	802 (<i>al.</i> 798)
Jeroboam II.	825	790 (<i>al.</i> 782)
Zechariah	773	749 (<i>al.</i> 741)
Shallum	772	749 (<i>al.</i> 741)
Menahem	772	748 (<i>al.</i> 741)
Pekahiah	761	738 (<i>al.</i> 737)
Pekah	759	736 (<i>al.</i> 735)
Hoshea	730	734 (<i>al.</i> 732)
End of Northern Kingdom	722	722

JUDAH.	Dates according to Ussher's chronology.	Dates as corrected on the basis of Assyrian notices ¹ .
Athaliah	884	842
Joash	878	837
Amaziah	839	801 (<i>al.</i> 797)
Uzziah	810	792 (<i>al.</i> 778)
Jotham	758	740
Ahaz	742	736
Hezekiah	726	727

* * * * *

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¹ See the writer's *Isaiah, his life and times*, p. 13 f. with the references. In the Assyrian Inscriptions, Ahab is mentioned at a date=B.C. 854, Jehu in 842, Uzziah (probably) in 740, Menahem in 738, Pekah (as dethroned and succeeded by Hoshea) in 734 [so Schrader, *K.A.T.*² p. 254 f.; but the year of Tiglath-pileser's reign is not actually given, the tablet being defective; and Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-pileser's III.* 1893, pp. xxix., xxxv. f., prefers 733 or 732], the capture of Samaria by Sargon in 722. The precise dates assigned to the individual kings are in some cases more or less arbitrary; but it is evident that the Biblical dates must be considerably reduced in order to harmonize with the Assyrian data.

[The question of chronology has not been authoritatively settled, but the alternative dates given by Dr Driver are certainly the more probable. Among the kings of Israel there exists no wide margin of possible error. Among the Judæan kings there is considerable doubt as to the length of the reigns of Amaziah, Azariah (Uzziah), and Jotham, and there is apparently a double tradition as to the date of Hezekiah's accession (727 or 715). The question may be further studied in *H.D.B.* and *E.B.* s.v. CHRONOLOGY and in Kent's *History of the Hebrew People*, vol. ii., which contains a useful chart.]

JOEL.

INTRODUCTION.

§ I. *Personal life of Joel.*

OF Joel nothing is known beyond what may be inferred, with greater or less probability, from the internal evidence supplied by the prophecy which bears his name. He is called in the title son of Pethuel,—or, as the LXX., Syr., and versions dependent upon them read, *Bethuel*; but this is all that we are expressly told about him: there is not even any statement, such as we possess in the case of Hosea and Amos, for instance, respecting the period at which he lived. Joel's prophecy is concerned wholly with Judah; and that his home was in this country may be inferred with confidence from the terms in which he speaks repeatedly of *Zion* (ii. 1, 15, iii. 17), *the children of Zion* (ii. 23), *Judah and Jerusalem* (ii. 32, iii. 1, 17, 18, 20), *the children of Judah* (iii. 6, 8, 19), *the children of Jerusalem* (iii. 6)¹, and from the familiarity which he displays with the Temple and the ministrations of the priests (i. 9, 13, 14, 16, ii. 14, 17, iii. 18 *b*).

¹ *Israel*, where Joel uses the term (ii. 27, iii. 2, 16), is the covenant name of God's chosen people, not the specific name of the northern kingdom: at most, the Israelites of the Ten Tribes may be alluded to, inclusively, in iii. 2 *b*.

§ 2. *Occasion and contents of Joel's prophecy.*

The *occasion* of the prophecy is indicated with sufficient clearness in ch. i.; it was a visitation of locusts of unusual severity, accompanied, as it seems (*v.* 20), by a distressing drought. The *contents* of the prophecy are, in outline, as follows. The prophet begins by pointing to the unprecedented nature of the calamity from which Judah is suffering (*i.* 2—3): he goes on to describe, with graphic vividness, the ravages wrought by the locusts, and the consternation produced by them among all classes: desolation prevailed throughout the land (*v.* 4 &c.); the corn, the vintage, and the fruit-trees were all destroyed together; man and beast (*vv.* 18, 20) were alike in despair; the means were gone not merely for providing the banquets of the wealthy or the dissolute (*v.* 5), but even for maintaining the daily services of the Temple (*vv.* 9, 13, 16), and for the sustenance of life generally (*vv.* 10—12). The prophet views the occasion as a call to national humiliation and repentance (*i.* 13, 14); for the present visitation is to him the harbinger of the 'Day of Jehovah,' which he sees approaching, with overpowering violence, from the 'Over-powerer' (*i.* 15). In ch. ii. 1—17, Joel, in imagery suggested by the scourge which had already so terribly afflicted the country, depicts more fully the signs of its approach: in numbers which none can resist, darkening the heavens, desolating the earth, spreading terror before them, the locusts, the 'army' of God, with Jehovah at their head (*ii.* 11), are pictured by him as advancing steadily like an armed force, and taking possession of the entire land (*ii.* 1—12). Even now, however, it is not too late to avert the judgement by timely repentance; and the prophet, in earnest tones, exhorts the people to 'rend their heart, and not their garments,' to 'turn to Jehovah' with all their heart, and with fasting and supplication to entreat Him to have compassion upon His people, and free them from the stroke which to their heathen neighbours seems to be the proof that He has abandoned them to their fate (*ii.* 13—17). An interval must here be assumed, during which the prophet's call to repentance was obeyed¹. Ch. ii. 18—iii. 21 gives Jehovah's

[¹ Unless, indeed, according to the translation suggested in the commentary, *ii.* 15—17 describe the actual measures of penitence adopted.]

answer to His people's prayer. He promises to remove from them the plague of locusts, to restore fertility to the parched and ravaged soil, and to bless its increase (ii. 18—27). Nor will Israel's material welfare be the only object of His care: He will also confer upon it spiritual gifts (ii. 28—29), so that when Jehovah's Day finally arrives, its terrors will alight, not upon the Jews (who are conceived implicitly as responding to the Divine grace, and 'calling upon' God faithfully), but upon their heathen foes (ii. 30—32). Ch. iii. draws out in detail the judgement upon these foes. In the day when Jehovah restores Judah and Jerusalem, He will summon all nations to the valley of Jehoshaphat ("Jehovah judges"), and contend with them there in judgement, because they have 'scattered' His people 'among the nations,' and 'parted' His 'land' (iii. 1—3).

There follows a digression (iii. 4—8) describing the special doom of Tyre, Sidon, and the Philistines, on account of their having plundered Judah, and sold the inhabitants into slavery to the Greeks. In *v.* 9 the scene of judgement, interrupted at *v.* 3, is resumed. The nations are invited to arm themselves, and assemble in the valley of Jehoshaphat, ostensibly for battle against the Jews, in reality to be annihilated by the heavenly ministers of Jehovah's wrath: multitudes are thronging in the 'valley of decision'; in a storm, accompanied by preternatural darkness, the work of judgement, unobserved, is accomplished upon them, and Jehovah proves Himself to be "a refuge unto His people, and a stronghold to the children of Israel" (iii. 9—17). Henceforward, Jerusalem will be holy; no strangers will pass through her any more; the soil of Judah will be blessed with abundant fertility; while Egypt and Edom, as a punishment for the wrongs inflicted by them upon the people of God, will be changed into barren wastes (iii. 18—21).

§ 3. *Date of Joel.*

For determining the date of Joel, we are dependent upon internal criteria alone; and as those which might be expected to throw light upon it are meagre, and in some cases ambiguous, it is

not surprising that divergent conclusions have been drawn from them. The principal criteria afforded by the prophecy are the following:—(1) Joel mentions Tyre, Zidon, the Philistines, the Greeks ('Javan,' i.e. the *Ἰάφρονες* or *Ionians*), the Sabaeans, Egypt, and Edom,—all in ch. iii. (vv. 4, 6, 8, 19); (2) he is silent—not even referring to them allusively—on the Syrians, the Assyrians, and the Chaldaeans, one or other of whom, especially of the two latter, figure so largely in the prophets generally from the time of Amos to that of Zechariah; (3) he does not mention, or allude to, the northern kingdom: even when speaking most generally, e.g. of the future restoration, or of Israelites sold into slavery, he names only Judah and Jerusalem (iii. 1, 6, 18, 20): Israel, where the term occurs (ii. 27, iii. 2, 16), is shewn by the context to be not the distinctive name of the northern kingdom, but the covenant name of God's chosen people, applied generically to Judah; (4) it is said in ii. 19 (cf. v. 17) that Jehovah's heritage is a "reproach among the nations," and "all nations" are described in iii. 2—3 as having "scattered" His "heritage among the nations," "parted" His "land," and "cast lots over" His people; the restoration of "Judah and Jerusalem" is also anticipated by the prophet in iii. 1; (5) the Tyrians, Sidonians, and Philistines are charged with having plundered Jehovah's silver and gold, and carried the treasures belonging to Him into their temples, and further with having sold captive Judahites to the Greeks (iii. 4—6); (6) Egypt and Edom are threatened with desolation, as a punishment for the violence done to Judah by the murder of innocent Judahites in their land (iii. 19); (7) no crying national sins are denounced; drunkenness is alluded to (i. 5), but no special stress appears to be laid upon it: *idolatry* is not referred to: on the contrary, the services of the Temple are properly maintained; and the cessation, through the destitution wrought by the locusts and drought combined, of the means of providing the daily meal- and drink-offering is treated as a grave calamity (i. 9, 13, ii. 14); (8) the prophet is silent as to the king, and even as to the princes; the elders (i. 14), and especially the priests (i. 9, 13, ii. 17), are the prominent figures; (9) iii. 2, 12 the 'valley of Jehoshaphat'

is mentioned, a locality presumably so called from the king of that name; (10) there are resemblances between Joel and Amos which shew that one of these prophets must have been acquainted with the writings of the other (Joel iii. 16 and Am. i. 2; iii. 18 and Am. ix. 13 *b*).

It was argued by Credner in 1831 that the conditions implied by these criteria were satisfied by a date in the early part of the reign of Joash, who was king of Judah, B.C. 878—839, or rather, the dates being corrected as required by the Assyrian synchronisms¹, B.C. 837—801 (2 Ki. xii.). This date, it was urged, would explain, on the one hand, the allusions to Egypt and Edom, and on the other hand the absence of allusions to Syria, Assyria, and the Chaldaeans; iii. 17 (no *strangers to pass through* Jerusalem any more), and 19 (the violence done by Egypt and Edom to the children of Judah, and the innocent blood shed in their land) might be understood reasonably as allusions to the occasion when Shishak, in the reign of Rehoboam, invaded Judah without provocation and plundered the treasures of Jerusalem (1 Ki. xiv. 25, 26), and to the massacre of Judahites which would be a natural accompaniment of the revolt of Edom under Jehoram, the grandfather of Joash (2 Ki. viii. 20—22); while it was not till later in the reign of Joash that the Syrians under Hazael threatened Jerusalem, and had to be bought off at the cost of the Temple treasures (2 Ki. xii. 17 f.), and of course the Assyrians and Chaldaeans were still unknown as the foes of Judah. Upon this view iii. 2 *b* is referred to the loss of territory suffered by Judah at the time of the revolt of Edom, and iii. 3, 5, 6 to the occasion in the reign of Jehoram when, according to the Chronicler (2 Chr. xxi. 16, 17, xxii. 1), marauding bands of Philistines and Arabians broke into Judah, plundering the royal palace, and carrying off different members of the royal family; and afterwards, it may be presumed, sold the prisoners whom they took to the Greeks, much as the captives taken by the men of Gaza and Tyre are said by Amos (i. 6, 9) to have been sold into slavery to the Edomites. Joash, when he

¹ See the note in the writer's *Isaiah, his life and times*, pp. 13 f.

came to the throne, was only seven years old, and Jehoiada the priest acted as his adviser (2 Ki. xi. 21—xii. 3): if Joel's prophecy dated from the period of his minority, the non-mention of the king, it is urged, would be explained, while the position of the priests, and the regularity of the Temple services, would be a natural consequence of the influence exerted by Jehoiada.

The only alternative date for Joel which Credner had practically before him, was one in the later period of the monarchy, such as would make the prophet a contemporary either of Isaiah or of Jeremiah. Against a date such as either of these, some of his arguments are certainly forcible: it is difficult to suppose that Joel wrote in an age when the great world-empires were making such a profound impression on the writings of the prophets who are known to have been then living, and when the sins of the people, on which Joel is silent, were so loudly and persistently denounced by them. There are however some passages which cannot, upon Credner's view, be said to be explained satisfactorily; while among the criteria noticed by him, there are some, which (though he did not consider this alternative) are as consistent with a date *after the captivity* as with one in the reign of Joash; and there are other features exhibited by the prophecy which even harmonize with such a date better.

Thus (1) Credner's view does not do justice to the terms of iii. 1. The expression in iii. 1 ("bring again the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem") is not sufficiently explained by anything which had happened before the age of Joash. Whether the phrase means properly "bring again the captivity" or "turn the fortune," the ideas associated with it are evident from Jer. xxix. 14, xxx. 3, 18, xxxii. 44, xxxiii. 7, 11: they are those of restoration from extreme national disaster, and especially from exile. Amos (ix. 14) and Hosea (vi. 11) can therefore use the expression, because, though ruin such as this had not actually overtaken Israel in their day, they view it as impending, and can therefore speak legitimately of Israel's being restored after it: but Joel contemplates no such disaster at all; his outlook is wholly one of prosperity for Judah (ii. 19—32). In using the expression he

must consequently have in view some past disaster, affecting the people at large ("Judah and Jerusalem"), far more serious than either the invasion of Shishak or the incursions of marauding bands of Philistines and Arabians. But if Joel be a post-exilic prophet, his use of the phrase is readily explained: he looks forward to the ideal age, which his predecessors had often promised, but which had not yet been realised, and declares that *when* it arrives, it will be a day of retribution for the nations who have maltreated Israel (iii. 1 ff.), but one of victory and deliverance (iii. 16 *b*) for the people of God.

(2) Still less does Credner's view do justice to the terms of iii. 2. The expressions used here respecting the dispersion of Israel among the nations, and the allotment of its territory to new occupants, are far too strong to be referred fairly to any calamity less than Judah's exile to Babylon (with allusion, not improbably, to the fate of the northern kingdom in 722 as well): "all nations" would be a very exaggerated description of a single incursion made by the Egyptians alone, whereas, from the point of view of a post-exilic writer, looking back at the losses which Israel had successively sustained at the hands of the great powers of Assyria and Babylon, and of the nations who often contributed contingents to their armies, it would be no incredible hyperbole. Keil (who adopts the earlier date for Joel) feels the difficulty of these words so strongly that he supposes them to have reference to the future; but if the passage be read in connexion with the context, it seems clear that it alludes to sufferings which have been *already* undergone by the nation.

(3) The book implies a nation united religiously, and free from any of those tendencies either to the unspiritual worship of Jehovah, or to actual heathenism, which call forth the constant rebuke, of the pre-exilic prophets. Under Joash, we read, the high-places were not removed (2 Kings xii. 3); the temple, during the first 23 years of his reign, remained in disrepair (*ib. v.* 6); and it is difficult to think, in spite of the reaction after Athaliah's assassination (2 Kings xi. 18), that the heathen rites introduced by her would be at once extirpated. Whether,

however, this was the case or not, the earlier prophets regularly speak of ceremonial usages, especially sacrifice and fasting, with disfavour—not, to be sure, on their own account, but because of the unspiritual manner in which they were observed by the people (e.g. Am. v. 21—23; Hos. vi. 6, viii. 13; Is. i. 11—14; Jer. vi. 20; Is. lviii.): Joel refers to them approvingly, and exhorts the observance of a fast (i. 14, ii. 15: contrast Jer. xiv. 12). This implies that he was not conscious of those faults in the religious temper of the people which the earlier prophets so constantly denounce: in other words, that he lived in a different age. The manner in which Joel regards the cessation of the ritual service as equivalent to a break in the union between the land and Jehovah “is very unlike the way in which all other prophets down to Jeremiah speak of the sacrificial service” (A. B. Davidson). Joel also makes no allusion to the social disorders, the maladministration of justice, the extortions, and oppression of the poor, which the pre-exilic prophets are so persistent in denouncing. He reminds us in this respect of Haggai and Zechariah, who, though they do not represent the people as blameless, find little or no occasion to rebuke them for their shortcomings on these accounts¹.

(4) The non-mention of the king, though it may agree with the minority of Joash, would agree equally with a post-exilic date, as would also the prominence of the priests, and the estimation in which the public services of the Temple are evidently held. The mention of the ‘elders’ only, even at a gathering of the entire people (i. 14), to the exclusion of the ‘rulers’ (Is. i. 10, Mic. iii. 1, 9), or ‘princes’ (Is. i. 23, iii. 14, and constantly in Jeremiah: cf. Zeph. i. 8, iii. 3, Ez. xvii. 12), or other lay-authorities (Mic. iii. 1, 9), is remarkable, if Joel were a pre-exilic prophet: the elders, when they are mentioned by the earlier prophets, are not represented as the sole leading authorities of the nation. That the Persians do not appear as the enemies of Judah is no difficulty: except on particular occasions, they were not unfriendly to the Jews; and though

¹ Comp. also, if it be assigned rightly to the post-exilic age (Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, pp. 476, 484 ff., with most recent writers), the prophecy which now forms chaps xxiv.—xxvii. of the book of Isaiah.

Judah was a Persian province the Jews were free to regulate their civil and religious affairs for themselves.

(5) Edom's hostility to Judah was not limited to the period of its revolt under Jehoram : it broke out with particular violence at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldaeans (Ob. 10—16; Ez. xxv. 12 ff., xxxv.; Lam. iv. 21 f.); and the unfriendly attitude assumed then by Edom towards the Jews, was remembered and resented by them long afterwards (Is. lxiii. 1—6, xxxiv. 5—8; Ps. cxxxvii. 7; cf. Mal. i. 3 f.).

(6) The invasion of Shishak took place a *century* before the reign of Joash, so that it is not very probable that the promise of iii. 17 *b* is prompted by the recollection of it: Shishak, moreover, is not stated to have *entered* Jerusalem at all. The promise would be much more pointed, if it were given after the experiences of B.C. 586 and the following years, when Jerusalem was burnt by the Chaldaeans, the Temple desecrated, and the people exiled for 50 years (cf. Is. lii. 1 *b*). Similarly, the invasion of Shishak is an inadequate ground for the desolation of Egypt threatened in iii. 19. There is so little that is specific in what is said in this verse with reference to either Egypt or Edom, that both countries are probably named (at a time when the Assyrians and Chaldaeans had alike ceased to be formidable to Judah) as typical examples of countries hostile to the Jews: the *desolation*, threatened to both, may be supposed very naturally to be based upon Ez. xxix. 9, 10, 12, xxxii. 15 (of Egypt), and xxxv. 3, 4, 7, 14, 15 (of Edom).

(7) There is no sufficient reason for supposing Joel iii. 4—6 to refer to the incident narrated in 2 Ch. xxi. 16, 17, xxii. 1. Here Tyre and Sidon hold the prominent place: there only the Arabians are mentioned by the side of the Philistines. The particular occasion referred to in Joel must remain uncertain: but (see the note *ad loc.*) the Phoenicians continued to act as slave-dealers long after the age of Amos: and the notice of Javan¹ (Greece) suits better a later time, when Syrian slaves were in request in Greece.

[¹ Credner, followed by Hitzig and others, postulates an Arabian Javan, but this suggestion is generally rejected. See Robertson Smith and Cheyne in *Encycl. Brit.* (xith edition), xv. 428.]

(8) Judah and the people of Jehovah are convertible terms : northern Israel does not appear : even the promises are limited to Judah and Jerusalem (iii. 1, 18, 20). This is not the case in the earlier prophets : the prophets of Israel do not exclude Judah at least from their promises, nor do the prophets of Judah exclude Israel.

(9) The allusions to the Temple services, though they might suit the minority of Joash, would suit equally the post-exilic age, when (as we know from independent sources) great importance was attached to their regular observance (comp. Neh. x. 33 : also, at a later date, Dan. viii. 11, xi. 31, xii. 11).

(10) There are features in which the representations of Joel have affinity with the later prophets rather than with the earlier ones. Thus the enemies of Judah are, not actual and present foes, but *the nations generally*, who are to be gathered together at the valley of Jehoshaphat—some spot evidently not far from Jerusalem—in order to be annihilated. This is the development of the idea of a slaughter of nations hostile to Judah, which begins to appear in the prophets of the Chaldaean age (Zeph. i. 2 f., iii. 8 ; Jer. xxv. 32 f.), and is a feature characteristic of the later prophets (Ez. xxxviii—xxxix., where the hosts of Gog are enticed by Jehovah from their home in the far north to attack the restored land of Israel, and are there annihilated with great slaughter ; Is. xlv. 20, lxiii. 6, lxvi. 16, 18 f. ; Is. xxxiv. 1—3 ; Zech. xii. 3—4, xiv. 2—3, 12—15) : earlier prophets in such a connexion speak of definite and present foes, as the Assyrians (Is. xvii. 12 f., xxxiii. 3). Joel's representation is based upon Ez. xxxviii—xxxix. ; and finds its parallel in Zech. xiv. Other features in which Joel's dependence upon earlier prophets is at least as probable as the opposite view, are the outpouring of the spirit (ii. 28 ; see Ez. xxxix. 29, and comp. p. 22) ; the figure of Jehovah's 'pleading' with the heathen (iii. 2 ; Ez. xxxviii. 22 ; cf. Jer. xxv. 31 ; Is. lxvi. 16 ; the term is elsewhere used of Jehovah only Jer. ii. 35 ; Ez. xvii. 20, xx. 35, 36) ; the picture in iii. 18 *a* of the future fertility of the land (Am. ix. 13 ; comp. below) ; and that of the stream issuing from the Temple and fertilizing the barren Wady of the Acacias (iii. 18 *b* ; see Ez. xlvi. 1—12, and

cf. Zech. xiv. 8): comp. also ii. 10, iii. 15 with Is. xiii. 10, Ez. xxxii. 7, 8. The Day of Jehovah also seems to be an idea not original in Joel, but borrowed: obviously it would not suggest itself to the prophet as a natural consequence of the visitation of locusts¹, and it is introduced, without any special description (such as earlier prophets give of it), as an idea with which Joel's readers would be familiar, as of course they would be, from the writings of earlier prophets, if his date were late.

The conclusion to which these considerations point is confirmed by other indications. (1) The *literary parallels* between Joel and other writers. Here are the principal passages²:—

(1) i. 15 Alas (הוהו) for the day!

for near is the day of Jehovah, and as devastation from Shaddai shall it come.

Cf. iii. 14 for near is the day of Jehovah in the valley of decision.

(2) ii. 1 b—2 For the day of Jehovah cometh, for it is near;

a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness.

Ez. xxx. 2—3 Alas (הוהו) for the day! for near is (the) day, and near is a day for Jehovah.

Is. xiii. 6 Howl ye; for near is the day of Jehovah, and as devastation from Shaddai shall it come.

Zeph. i. 7 for near is the day of Jehovah.

Ob. 15 for near is the day of Jehovah upon all the nations.

Zeph. i. 14—15 Near is the great day of Jehovah, it is near, and hasteth greatly... That day is a day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of wasteness and desolation, a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness, a day of the horn and the alarm, against the fenced cities, and the high corner-towers.

¹ It is to be noticed that, although in i. 15, ii. 11 the locusts are represented as its harbingers, it reappears in ii. 31, iii. 14, entirely unconnected with the locusts, and *after their removal has been promised* (ii. 19 f., 25).

² With the following pages, comp. the careful study of Mr G. B. Gray, *Expositor*, Sept. 1893, pp. 208 ff.

(3) ii. 3 As the garden of Eden is the land before it, and behind it a desolate wilderness.

(4) ii. 6 Before it peoples are in anguish:

all faces
gather in beauty.

(5) ii. 17 Wherefore should they say among the peoples, Where is their God?

(6) ii. 27 And ye shall know that I am in the midst of Israel, and that I am Jehovah your God, and there is none else.

iii. 17 And ye shall know that I am Jehovah your God, dwelling in Zion my holy mountain.

(7) ii. 28 I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh.

Ez. xxxvi. 35 And they shall say, This land which was desolated is become as the garden of Eden. Cf. Is. li. 3.

Nah. ii. 10 (H. 11) A melting heart, and tottering of limbs, and anguish in all loins: and the faces of all of them gather in beauty.

Ps. lxxix. 10 Wherefore should the nations say, Where is their God?

cxv. 2 Wherefore should the nations say, Where, now, is their God?

xlvi. 3, 10 When they say to me all the day, Where is thy God? Cf. Mic. vii. 10.

Ez. xxxvi. 11 And ye shall know that I am Jehovah (so very often in Ez.: see note on Joel ii. 27)¹.

Lev. xviii. 2 I am Jehovah your God (so *vv.* 4, 30, xix. 3, 4, and often in the group of Laws, Lev. xvii—xxvi.; also Ez. xx. 5, 7, 19).

Ez. xxxix. 28 And they shall know that I am Jehovah their God.

Is. xlv. 5 I am Jehovah, and there is none else (so *vv.* 6, 18 only: cf. however *vv.* 14, 21, 22, xlvi. 9; also Deut. iv. 35, 39, 1 Ki. viii. 60).

Ez. xxxix. 29 When I have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel. Cf. xxxvi. 27 And my spirit I will put in the midst of you. Also Num. xi. 29.

¹ This is the stereotyped phrase: with other parts of the verb "to know," comp. Ex. vii. 17, viii. 18 *b*; Deut. xxix. 5; Is. xlv. 3.

(8) ii. 32 For in mount Zion and in Jerusalem shall be they that escape, as Jehovah hath said.

iii. 17 And Jerusalem shall be holy.

(9) iii. 2 And I will plead with them there.

(10) iii. 3 And upon my people they have cast lots.

(11) iii. 4 Swiftly, speedily, will I return your deed upon your head.

iii. 14 Near is Jehovah's day in the valley of decision.

(12) iii. 10 Beat your ploughshares into swords, and your pruning-hooks into lances.

(13) iii. 16 And Jehovah shall roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem; and the heavens and the earth shall quake.

(14) iii. 17 And ye shall know that I am Jehovah your God...; and Jerusalem shall be holy,

and strangers shall not pass through her any more.

Ob. 17 And in mount Zion shall be they that escape,

and it shall be holy.

Ez. xxxviii. 22 And I will plead with him (Gog and Magog) with pestilence and with blood.

Ob. 11 And upon Jerusalem they have cast lots.

Nah. iii. 10 And upon her (Nineveh's) honourable men they have cast lots.

Ob. 15 For near is Jehovah's day upon all the nations: as thou hast done, it shall be done unto thee; thy deed shall be returned upon thy head.

Is. ii. 4 (= Mic. iv. 3) And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks.

Am. i. 2 Jehovah shall roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem; and the pastures of the shepherds shall mourn, and the top of Carmel shall be dried up.

Ez. xxxvi. 11 &c., quoted above.

Ob. 17 And it shall be holy.

Is. lii. 1 Jerusalem, the holy city, for the uncircumcised and the unclean shall not add to enter into thee any more.

Nah. i. 15 for worthlessness shall not add any more to pass through thee.

(15) iii. 18 The mountains shall drop with sweet wine, and the hills shall flow with milk, and all the channels of Judah shall flow with water.

(16) iii. 19 For the violence done to the children of Judah (said of Edom).

Am. ix. 13 And the mountains shall cause sweet wine to drop down, and all the hills shall be dissolved.

Ob. 10 For the violence done to thy brother Jacob (also of Edom).

Passages verbally identical occur also in Joel ii. 13 *b* and Ex. xxxiv. 6; and in Joel ii. 31 *b* and Mal. iv. 5 *b*.

From several of these parallels, it is true, no conclusion of any value can be drawn: the fact of there being a reminiscence, on one side or on the other, is sufficiently patent; but, unless it is known independently that one of the two writers was earlier than the other, there is nothing to shew which is the original. In some cases, however, grounds appear for supposing that the reminiscence is on Joel's side; and when once this has been determined, it will of course rule the relation throughout. Thus in No. 12 'spear,' used by Is. and Mic., is common to all periods of the language, 'lance' (*rōmah*), used by Joel, has Aramaic affinities; it is used in two early writings belonging to north Israel, the dialect of which there is reason on other grounds to suppose was tinged with slight Aramaisms (Jud. v. 8; 1 Ki. xviii. 28); otherwise, it is used almost entirely in exilic and post-exilic writings (9 out of 12 times in Neh. and Chron.). In No. 7 Joel differs from Ez. in the use of the expression 'all flesh,' which is also one found largely in the later literature¹. In No. 6 the phrases quoted are *characteristic* of Deutero-Isaiah and (especially) of the author of Lev. xvii—xxvi. and Ezekiel: if Joel wrote subsequently to all these writers, the expression used by him is capable of easy explanation; phrases with which he was familiar from his acquaintance with their writings were impressed upon his memory, and combined by him into one; it would have been strange if three writers should all have borrowed the

¹ As Is. xl. 5, 6, xlix. 26, lxvi. 16, 23, 24; Zech. ii. 13 (replacing 'all the earth' in the original, Hab. ii. 20); Ps. cxxxvi. 25, cxlv. 21.

characteristic phrases, embodying their fundamental conceptions, from the single short prophecy of Joel.

In Nos. 13 and 15 it is to be noticed that in each case the picture in Joel is more highly coloured than in Amos: especially (as Kuenen observes), it seems unlikely that Amos, if he had been borrowing from a passage which described Jehovah's thunder as shaking *heaven and earth*, would have limited its effects to the pastures of the shepherds and the top of Carmel. In No. 8 the appended words 'As Jehovah hath said' shew the passage to be a quotation; Ob. 10—21 will not, however, be earlier than B.C. 586, and *vv.* 15—21 may even be later¹. In No. 2, the words 'A day of darkness' &c. come in Zeph. as a climax; in Joel they are unconnected with the immediate context, and anticipate ii. 10 *b*, an indication that they are borrowed from elsewhere. In No. 10 the phrase for "cast lots" is found only in the passages quoted: the verb itself, also, occurs otherwise only in Lam. iii. 53, Jer. l. 14, Zech. ii. 14, i.e. it is found only in the later period of the language. In No. 5 the closest parallels are in two late Psalms (Ps. lxxix. cannot be earlier than B.C. 586, and may be later): the dread displayed for the taunting attitude of the nations is also characteristic of the period which began with the exile of Judah from its land, and its diminished prestige, which continued even after its restoration under Cyrus. The description in ii. 13 ("Gracious and full of compassion &c.") though derived obviously from the early literature (Ex. xxxiv. 6), occurs otherwise, it is remarkable, only in late writings (Ps. lxxxvi. 15, ciii. 8, cxlv. 8; Neh. ix. 17; Jon. iv. 2,—where it is followed, as in Joel, by 'and repenteth him of the evil': even the first half of the phrase is found elsewhere only Ps. cxi. 4, cxii. 4 [not of God]; Neh. ix. 31; 2 Chr. xxx. 9).

Thus while in some of the parallels a comparison discloses indications that the phrase in Joel is probably the later, in other cases, even though the expression may in itself be met with earlier, it becomes frequent only in a later age, and the use of it by Joel increases the presumption that he stands by the side of the later writers.

¹ See the writer's *Introduction*, under Obadiah.

(2) The *diction* of Joel. The style of Joel is bright and flowing; and the contrast, which is palpable, with Haggai or Malachi, has been felt by some as a reason against supposing his prophecy to belong to the post-exilic period. But it is a question whether our knowledge of the literature of this age is such as to entitle us to affirm that a style such as Joel's could not have been written then; certainly, if Zech. xii—xiv. dates from the post-exilic age, it is difficult to argue that Joel cannot date from it likewise. The style, remarks Prof. A. B. Davidson¹, "is rather cultured and polished, than powerful and original." And when Joel's diction is examined closely, it appears that, though in the main it is pure and classical, it sometimes includes expressions which seem to betray a writer who lived in the later age of Hebrew literature.

Thus in i. 2, iv. 4 ׀...׀ (the usual form of the disjunctive interrogative is in early writings ׀...׀); i. 8 ללה *to lament* (an Aramaic word: not elsewhere in the O.T.); ii. 2, iii. [iv.] 20 דור ודור (this expression is found first in Deut. xxxii. 7, but it hardly occurs again till the exile and later, when it becomes frequent, as Lam. v. 19; Is. xiii. 20, xxxiv. 17, lviii. 12, lx. 15, lxi. 4; Jer. l. 39; Ps. x. 6, xxxiii. 11, xlix. 12, lxxvii. 9, lxxix. 13, cvi. 31; and in parallelism with לעולם (as Joel iv. 20) Ps. lxxxv. 6, cii. 13, cxxxv. 13, cxlvi. 16, cf. lxxxix. 2, 5); ii. 8 שלח *weapon* (Job [Elihu-speeches], Neh., Chr.); ii. 20 סוף *end* (Aram.: otherwise in Heb. only 2 Chr. xx. 16; Eccl. iii. 11, vii. 2, xii. 13); iii. (iv.) 4 גמל על (2 Chr. xx. 11); iii. (iv.) 10 רמח *lance* (see p. 22); iii. (iv.) 11 הנהת *bring down* (Aram.). Joel also, for the pron. of the 1st pers., uses אני (not אנכי) ii. 27 (*bis*), iv. 10, 17, in agreement with the preponderant usage of later writers.

The style of Joel, especially as compared with that of Zechariah, Haggai, and Malachi, is well characterized by Mr Gray (*l. c.* p. 224): "The post-exilic prophetic authors are, therefore, from a literary point of view, of three types: the first, represented by Zechariah, had largely assimilated the ideas and in some degree the style of the older prophets, and consequently wrote plain but not inelegant Hebrew; the second, represented

¹ *Expositor*, March 1888, p. 210.

by Joel,"—and, we may add, the author of Is. xxiv—xxvii,—“were influenced by the ideas and greatly by the style of their predecessors, and so wrote Hebrew, frequently possessing the vivacity and rhythm of earlier days, but now and again unconsciously admitting some characteristic of the later period; the third, represented by Haggai and Malachi, had no doubt a general acquaintance with the teaching of the prophets, but” were little influenced by “their language; their style suffers in consequence, and forms” the first stage of “the transition to the Rabbinic Hebrew.” Joel, in other words, though a late writer, possessed independence and individuality: he betrays his acquaintance with earlier writers, but he does not reproduce them slavishly¹.

As to the precise part of the post-exilic period to which the prophecy of Joel should be assigned, it is difficult, in the absence of distinct historical allusions, to speak confidently. It may be placed most safely shortly after Haggai and Zech. i—viii. c. 500 B.C. At the same time the possibility must be admitted that it *may* be later, and that it dates in reality from the century after Malachi².

§ 4. *Interpretation of Joel's prophecy.*

Some varieties and difficulties of interpretation, connected with parts of the book of Joel, may be here briefly noted.

(I) It is maintained by some scholars that ch. i. 4—19 is not descriptive of a calamity from which the land was actually suffering, but is *predictive* of one which, when the prophet wrote,

¹ The view that Joel is post-exilic has been adopted by most recent writers on the subject, including, for instance, Prof. A. B. Davidson (*l. c.* pp. 209 ff.). The case for an earlier date is stated with fairness and moderation by Prof. Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, pp. 57 ff. [and by Cameron in *HDB*. Art. JOEL, who is inclined to accept Credner's date].

² In this connexion it deserves consideration whether upon internal grounds (cf. p. 19, with note 1) it is more probable that Joel in ii. 31 *b* (“before the great and terrible day of Jehovah come”; cf. v. 11 *b*) quotes Malachi (iv. 5 *b*; cf. iii. 2), or Malachi Joel.

[Some scholars (*e.g.* Robertson Smith and Bewer) have argued that ii. 7, 9 presuppose the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem, and that therefore the date of the book must be subsequent to Nehemiah. But the passage will not bear the weight of the argument. The walls of Jerusalem were never completely destroyed.]

was yet future. In support of this opinion ii. 1 *b*—2 is pointed to, where the Day of Jehovah (which is spoken of, not as present, but as ‘near’) appears to be identified with the visitation of locusts described in ii. 2 *b*—11. It is, however, impossible to think that this view of the prophecy is correct. In the first place, it is open to the serious objection that it removes Joel’s book from the general analogy of prophecy, by cutting off all occasion for his prophecy in the history of the time. In the second place, it forces a most unnatural sense upon the language of ch. i. There is nothing in ch. i. suggesting, even indirectly, that the prophet is speaking of anything except an actual occurrence, which those whom he addresses have themselves witnessed. “The appeal to the experience of the old men and their fathers (i. 2); the charge to hand on the memory of the visitation to future generations (i. 3); the detailed and graphic picture of the calamity in all its consequences; in fact, almost every feature and every verse of the passage condemn the theory that the prophet is predicting the future while he seems to describe the present¹.” In ii. 1—11 the case is somewhat different. Here, it is true, Joel does look to the future; but this fact does not determine the interpretation of ch. i.: the locusts of chap. ii. are invested with ideal traits, and represented as something more formidable than those of ch. i.; hence, though the locusts of both chapters are equally Jehovah’s ‘army’ (ii. 11, 25), those of ch. i. are, so to say, the advanced post of those of ch. ii.²; and the actual locusts, as the prophet watches their depredations, suggest to his imagination the picture of the more terrible locust-army, which is speedily to appear, with Jehovah at its head, and thus to be the immediate forerunner of Jehovah’s Day. The locusts of ch. ii., though intimately connected with the locusts of ch. i., are thus not strictly identical with them: they are the more immediate, and future, harbingers of Jehovah’s Day; and ii. 1 *b*—2 does not rule the interpretation of ch. i.

¹ Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, p. 53. Similarly A. B. Davidson, *l. c.* p. 205.

² “It may not be easy to say, in regard to chap. ii., whether it be a prophecy of a new attack, or an ideal account of a present one: for the description has many marks of poetical exaggeration” (Davidson, *l. c.* p. 203).

(2) The second question is, are the locusts meant *literally* or *allegorically*? In other words, does Joel mean them as the allegorical description of a foreign invader? In support of the latter view it is argued, for instance, that the description of the locusts much exceeds the bounds of possible reality (e.g. the *fire* and *flame* in i. 19, the *peoples* terrified by their approach ii. 6, the sun, moon, and stars withdrawing their light ii. 11); that the effects are greater than would be produced by mere locusts, in that even the meal-offering is destroyed (i. 9), the fruits of more than one year are wasted (ii. 25), and the scourge is described as worse than any that could be remembered (i. 2); that terms are applied to the locusts which are applicable only to human beings ('nation' i. 6), and rational agents ('magnified to do' ii. 20); that the language of ii. 17 ('that the nations should *rule* over them') implies that Joel was speaking not of a plague of literal locusts, but of the domination of some foreign invader; that the term *the northerner* (ii. 20) cannot refer to locusts, which never invade Palestine from the north, but must denote some human enemy advancing from that direction; that as locusts could not be driven at once by the wind into the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean Sea (ii. 20), the fate here predicated of the locusts must in reality be emblematical of the fate of the human invader; and that the Day of Jehovah, of which Joel speaks, is identical with the scourge which he describes, but is far beyond any plague of locusts (i. 15, ii. 1 ff.)¹.

Most of these arguments are very inconclusive. In some of them it seems to be forgotten that Joel's descriptions are naturally to be understood as those of a poet, and not as bare prose (hence the hyperbole in i. 2, and perhaps in i. 19, and the personification in i. 6, ii. 20, are readily accounted for²); in others the exaggeration is not as great as is represented (for instance, locusts do sometimes ravage a country in successive years, and the effects

¹ Comp. Pusey, p. 99.

² "If pride can be attributed to the leviathan (Job xli. 34), and to the ocean (Job xxxviii. 11), and mockery and scorn to the horse and wild-ass (Job xxxix. 7, 22), haughtiness may be also attributed to locusts, on the principle that their acts would have been acts of haughtiness if performed by men" (*Speaker's Comm.*, p. 497).

of a visitation, confined to a single year, are often felt for years afterwards): the locusts of ch. i. again are not *identified* with the Day of Jehovah, but in i. 15 it is implied only that they are a sign of its approach, while in ii. 1—11, though the description, as has been just observed, contains ideal traits, there is no reason for supposing anything but locusts to be intended by it: in ii. 17 the words rendered *rule over them* admit equally of the rendering *make proverbs of them*. There is so little in ch. i. to suggest an allegorical interpretation, that had it not been for ii. 1—11 it would never probably have been put forward: but, as it happens, it is just these verses which supply the strongest argument against it. In ii. 4 *b*, 5 *end*, 7, namely, the locusts are themselves compared to a body of warriors; and “the poetical hyperbole which compares the invading swarms to an army, would be inconceivably lame, if a literal army was already concealed under the figure of the locusts. Nor could the prophet so far forget himself in his allegory as to speak of a victorious host as entering the conquered city like a thief (ii. 9)¹.” Moreover, if the assailants were really soldiers, some kind of allusion would be expected to the blood shed by them, the cities destroyed by them, and the captives whom they would carry off. But there is nothing of all this. And when Jehovah promises to restore the devastations wrought by His great army (ii. 25), there is no reference to the ravages wrought by the invasions of actual warriors, but only to the years which His army has *eaten*².

A difficulty remains, however, unquestionably in the term ‘the northerner.’ Locusts, as a rule, invade Palestine from the South or the South-East; and as the Assyrians, and (especially) the Scythians, the Kimmerians, and the Chaldaeans—the Assyrians and the Chaldaeans on account of the direction from which their line of march led them ultimately to enter Palestine—are often spoken of as coming from the north³, the allegorists point to this

¹ W. R. Smith, *Encycl. Brit.*, ed. 9, art. JOEL, p. 706.

² A. B. Davidson, *l.c.* pp. 206 f.

³ Is. xiv. 31 (cf. Zeph. ii. 13); Jer. i. 14, 15, iv. 6, vi. 1, 22, x. 22, xiii. 20, xxv. 9, xlvi. 20, 24, xlvii. 2; Ez. xxvi. 7, xxxviii. 6, 15, xxxix. 2.

word as a strong confirmation of the truth of their position, those who adopt the post-exilic date for Joel considering it to be a further trait derived by the prophet from Ezekiel, and intended by him as a direct designation of the hordes from the north, who in Ez. xxxviii. 6, 15, xxxix. 2 appear as the ideal foes of the restored Israel. In view, however, of the very slender basis which the rest of Joel's representation furnishes for the allegorical explanation, the evidence of a single word must be exceptionally clear before it can be regarded as decisive. This, however, cannot be said to be the case with the word in question. Locusts breed not only in the Arabian desert, but also in the plains of Tartary, and in regions on the N.W. of India: although, therefore, they enter Palestine as a rule from the South, have we any assurance that they do so universally? May they not, on the particular occasion which Joel describes, have approached it from the N. or N.E.¹? The impossibility of this must be more clearly shewn than it has been shewn hitherto, before the expression *the northerner* can be taken as establishing the allegorical interpretation².

The allegorical view is that of several of the Fathers; in modern times it has been advocated chiefly by Hävernick³ and Hengstenberg⁴ (who even argue that the four kinds of locusts mentioned in i. 4, ii. 25, represent 'the Chaldaean, Medo-Persian, Greek, and Roman empires, respectively'). But the majority of modern commentators (including e.g. Keil, and Meyrick in the *Speaker's Comm.*) reject it decisively. In a modified form it has been revived recently by Merx, who considers that the book has no reference whatever to the prophet's own present, and was never delivered orally, but is an eschatological or apocalyptic work, composed for study, describing the terrors of the times which are to precede the final day of judgement: i. 2 f. is addressed to the generation upon whom these times are to fall; the locusts of ch. i. are

¹ So Houghton, in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible* (ed. 1), II. 133 note. Cf. the note on Joel ii. 20.

² The attempts which have been made to remove the difficulty by rendering לַפְּוֹנִי otherwise than by 'northerner' break down upon philological grounds.

³ *Einleitung* II. 1 (1844), pp. 294 ff.

⁴ *Christology of the Old Test.* 1. 302 ff.

no ordinary locusts, but supernatural creatures, harbingers of the terrors to follow, those of ch. ii. are symbols of the hostile peoples of the 'north' (Ez. xxxviii. 6, 15): after their destruction the Day of Jehovah breaks, with blessings for Judah and judgement upon its foes. This view is even more strained than the older allegorical interpretation: it is in the highest degree unnatural to understand ch. i. except as addressed to the prophet's own contemporaries, especially in view of the terms of *vv.* 2, 3, and the *first* person in *vv.* 6, 7, 16, 19. Merx's theory is rejected alike by Davidson (pp. 204 ff.), Kuenen (*Onderzoek*, § 69, 5—7), W. R. Smith (p. 706), and Kirkpatrick (*l. c.* p. 56).

What then, as a whole, may be said of the prophecy of Joel? The prophecy springs out of the circumstances of the time. Its central thought is the idea of the Day of Jehovah, which is suggested to the prophet by the drought and the visitation of locusts from which at the time the land of Judah was suffering. Joel sees in the locusts more than a mere swarm of insects, however vast: they are Jehovah's army (ii. 11, 25): He is at their head; they come to perform the mission which He has entrusted to them (ii. 11). We do not probably in this country realize what an invasion of locusts is: but if we can picture them as they come upon a land, in overwhelming numbers, darkening the heavens, crowding the air, desolating the land, penetrating into houses, bearing famine and pestilence in their train, and mocking every effort to arrest their course, we can imagine what alarm their approach would create, and understand how they might suggest to Joel the advent even of the great Day of Jehovah itself. But repentance may avert the judgement; and this accordingly is the duty which the prophet earnestly impresses upon his countrymen (i. 13, 14, ii. 12 f., 15). They respond to his exhortations; and he is accordingly commissioned to announce the removal of the plague (ii. 19 f.). To this announcement Joel, in the manner of the prophets¹, attaches promises of the material and spiritual felicity to be enjoyed by the people afterwards (ii. 21—32); and further takes occasion to draw an

¹ Comp. e.g. the promises of material prosperity and moral renovation which Isaiah attaches to his prophecies of the deliverance of Jerusalem from the Assyrians (xxx. 19—26, xxxii. 15—20 &c.).

ideal picture of the day of Israel's justification, and the destruction of the powers hostile to it (ch. iii.). In this part of his book Joel re-affirms the promises given by older prophets. Isaiah and Ezekiel, for instance, had both foretold the future regeneration of Israel, and also the outpouring of the spirit. The 'Day of Jehovah,'—the day when Jehovah interposes in the history of the world, it may be through some human agent acting on His behalf (Is. xiii. 6—10, see *v.* 17; Zeph. i. 15 f.), it may be more directly, destroying wickedness and illusion, and confirming righteousness and truth, bringing terror to His enemies, but joy to His faithful servants—had been often foreseen and promised by the prophets; but it had not yet been fully realized. Partial realizations had indeed taken place—as when the 'Day' foreseen by Amos came in the ruin of the northern kingdom—but its ideal consequences had not yet appeared: the ideal triumph of right over wrong, of justice over oppression, had not yet been witnessed. Joel re-affirms these older prophecies; and seizing the idea of Jehovah's Day, pictures its realization in a new way, and stamps upon the conception a new character. For Joel the great contrast is between Israel and the nations. Israel is to be saved and glorified, the nations are to be judged. Here there is a point of contact between Joel and the later prophets. The older prophets as a rule emphasize the distinction between the righteous and the wicked within Israel itself: in the later prophets there is often a tendency to emphasize more strongly the distinction between Israel and other nations (comp. Ez. xxxviii—xxxix.; Is. xlv. 16 f., 20, xxxiv. 1—3, xxxv.). It is thus true that the ethical element, though not absent in Joel, does not occupy in this prophecy the same central position which it generally holds in the older prophets. Joel calls indeed to repentance, earnestly and repeatedly: but he does not particularize what the sins of the people are. He treats Jehovah's Day, not as sifting morally Israel itself¹, but as justifying Israel (cf. Is. xlv. 25) against the world. It must not however be forgotten that the Israel which is pictured by him as saved is not the *actual* Israel, but the Israel which has been restored

¹ Which is Malachi's representation (Mal. iii. 2—5, iv. 1—3, 5).

in the ideal future (iii. 1), and which is conceived by him implicitly as a people spiritually transformed (ii. 28 f.), 'calling upon' Jehovah in faithfulness (ii. 32), and worthy of His abiding presence in its midst (iii. 21). It is not therefore the Israel of the popular imagination, which was believed to be secure, whatever its moral condition might be, merely because it was Jehovah's people (Jer. vii. 1—15). That illusion had been shattered by Amos (v. 15 ff.); and Joel was not the man to revive it. Nevertheless, it remains true that Joel's outlook is narrower than that of those other prophets who picture the heathen world not as annihilated, but incorporated side by side with the chosen people in the future kingdom of God (e.g. Is. ii. 2—4, xix. 18—25). Joel's point of view, it cannot be denied, is more 'particularistic.' The nations are judged for the wrongs done by them to Israel: they have no share in the blessings of the future; the outpouring of the spirit is limited to Israel; deliverance is promised only to Jerusalem, and to those found there. There is latent under Joel's representation that antagonism between Israel and the nations, which is accentuated in post-exilic writings, and which, continuing unchecked, developed ultimately into the exaggerated national pretensions which are so prominent in many of the apocalyptic writings. But Joel possesses the inspiration of the prophet, and is free from the temptation to such exaggeration.

The prophets, in their visions of the future, throw out great and ennobling ideals, but ideals which, in many cases, are not destined to be realized literally in fact¹. That is the case with Joel. The contrast between Israel and the nations is *typical* of the great contrast between good and evil, between truth and falsehood, which is ever being exemplified in the history of the world, which has already resulted often in the partial triumph of right over wrong, and which, we may be sure, will in the end result in its complete triumph: but this triumph, we may be not less sure, can never be gained in the form in which Joel's

¹ Comp. the writer's *Isaiah, his life and times*, pp. 94, 105, 110—114; Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, pp. 15—17, 402—406, 524 f.

imagination pictured it¹. The thought of Israel being saved, and the nations being exterminated, may be a form in which the victory of good over evil naturally presented itself to a prophet living in Joel's age, when truth and right were, or at least seemed to be, confined largely to Israel: it is not the form in which it has been realized hitherto; nor is it the form in which it can ever be realized in the future. A restoration of Israel to its own land, coupled with the destruction of all other nations, is opposed not only to the teaching of other prophets, who saw more deeply into the purposes of God: it is opposed to the plainest teaching of Christ and His Apostles, according to which the Gospel is to be preached in the whole world, disciples are to be made of all nations, and there is no distinction between Jew and Greek, between bond and free. Joel's picture, again, of Jehovah sitting to judge all the nations round about, approximates more to the idea of a final judgement upon all men than any other representation—prior at least to Dan. vii. 9 f.—contained in the Old Testament; but, though it may fairly be regarded as *typical* of the final judgement, it does not itself depict it; Christ does not place Israel on the one hand, and the nations on the other, but He separates the sheep from the goats among 'all' nations impartially. Of course, also, the idea either of judgement, or of retribution, in a future state of existence is entirely foreign to Joel's representation². And, to take a third point, while it is not more than just that the authors of injustice towards Israel should themselves suffer for it, it is an exaggeration of this truth that Egypt and Edom should become desolations in the future on account of crimes wrought by their inhabitants in the past,—an exaggeration due to the disproportionate degree in which, among the ancient Hebrews, sin—and not merely the *consequences* of sin—was held to be transmitted from one generation to another. Joel draws a magnificent picture of Jehovah's coming to judgement: but its

¹ For other imaginative pictures of the same general idea of the glorification of Israel and fall of the heathen powers opposed to it, see Ez. xxxviii—xxxix.; Zech. xiv.; Is. xxiv—xxvii. (Kirkpatrick, pp. 336 f., 470, 475—484).

² Israel is settled afterwards *in its own land* (iii. 17, 18, 20, 21).

figurative and ideal character must not be misunderstood. The Day of Jehovah can never come precisely in the form in which Joel pictured it: nevertheless, it is a day which comes constantly to nations, and also to individuals, and often in ways which they do not expect. That is the sense in which Joel's picture must be practically applied. Jehovah's face is set against cruelty and oppression: but He does not extirpate it by mowing down nations wholesale: and the true antithesis is not between Israel, even though invested with ideal perfections, and the other nations of the earth, but between those who, in whatever nation, "fear God and work righteousness" (Acts x. 35), and those who do the reverse. Joel, in striking imagery, sets forth some of the eternal principles of Divine righteousness and human duty, and draws pictures of the ideal blessedness, spiritual and material, which, if man would but adequately respond, God would confer upon the human race; but, as is the case with the prophets generally, these truths are set forth under the spiritual forms of the Jewish dispensation, and with the limitations, thereby imposed, which even the most catholic of prophets were rarely able to throw off.

[§ 5. *The integrity of the book.*]

[Apparently the first scholar to throw doubts upon this was M. Vernes, who in 1872 argued that ch. iii. and iv. (Eng. Trans. ii. 28—iii.) were not by the author of the first part. He was followed by Rothstein, who, in a note in the German translation of Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* maintained that i. and ii. (E.T. i.—ii. 27) were pre-exilic, while iii. and iv. (E.T. ii. 28—iii.) are a supplement "reflecting the situation and corruptions of the post-exilic age (cf. Obad. 10—21 by the side of 1—9), added by one who, interpreting (incorrectly) the locusts of i.—ii. 27 as a symbolical designation of the foes who were overrunning the land when he wrote, introduced at the same time ii. 20, for the purpose of announcing their destruction" (Driver, *Introduction*⁹, p. 311). Other scholars have elaborated this suggestion. Duhm places the division between the two parts after ii. 17 and recognizes

insertions in i. and ii. Sievers includes in the later portion ii. 12—14 : 19—32 : iii. 1—8 : 17—21. Riessler (*Die kleinen Propheten, etc.*) has worked out a still more minute analysis. He finds the original nucleus of the book in i. 2—4 : 8—12 : ii. 1—3. To this nucleus was added a large number of isolated messages mostly going back to Joel himself. Then iv. 4—8 : 18—21 were inserted from some older author, and finally a considerable number of marginal notes and glosses found their way into the text.

Bewer (in *I.C.C.*) contributes a careful study. He begins by cutting out as insertions all references in i. and ii. to the Day of the LORD (i. 15 : ii. 1 *b*, 2, 10, 11, also 6, 27). The rest of these chapters he ascribes to Joel together with iii. 1—4 *a*, iv. 2 *a*, 9—14 *a*. The rest of iii. and iv. are by an editor who also inserted the interpolations in i. and ii., but iv. 4—8 is a later insertion dating from about 350 B.C.

The principal criteria on which these conclusions rest are (*a*) thought, (*b*) style. With regard to (*a*), it is purely arbitrary to say that all mention of the Day of the LORD is foreign to the original prophecy. When it is remembered how early and how persistent such a conception is, it is easy to see how the terrible havoc wrought by an invasion of locusts might have suggested a picture of the coming Day. Without such a connexion the prophecy loses a great part of its meaning and value. And it is *a priori* improbable that an ancient prophecy should have been edited in such an elaborate way as these suggestions presuppose. That a marginal note should here and there have been inserted in the text, or a word occasionally altered or inserted, or even that a short passage should be added, is well within the bounds of probability. This may be the explanation of the term "the northerner" in ii. 20, and of the five verses iii. 4—8. But that a short prophecy like this should turn out to be a kind of literary patchwork is, at least, improbable. The criterion of style may also be exaggerated. While a very marked difference would naturally imply diversity of authorship, yet an author does not always keep exactly the same level. Sometimes he rises above it, at other times he appears to sink below it. There is no such

difference between the style of i.—ii. and iii.—iv. as to preclude the possibility of their having been written at the same time and by the same author.]

The principal Commentaries on Joel are those of Credner (1831), Ewald in his *Prophets* (ed. 2, 1867), Hitzig (ed. 3, 1863, ed. 4 revised by Steiner, 1881), Keil (ed. 2, 1888), Pusey (in his *Minor Prophets*, 1861), Wünsche (1872), Merx, 1879 (containing a very instructive study, pp. 110—447, on the history of the interpretation of the book, patristic, Jewish, mediaeval and modern Christian). See also W. R. Smith, art. JOEL, in the *Encycl. Brit.* ed. 9 (reprinted in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, 1901), [Cameron in *H.D.B.* II. 672 ff.], Farrar, *Minor Prophets*, pp. 103—123, A. B. Davidson, in the *Expositor*, March, 1888, p. 198 ff., Kuenen, *Onderzoek*, ed. 2, 1889, §§ 68—69, Kirkpatrick, *The Doctrine of the Prophets*, 1892, pp. 46—78, Wellhausen in *Die kleinen Propheten übersetzt, mit Noten*, 1892, [W. Nowack in *Die kleinen Propheten*, 1897, Marti in Kautzsch's *Die heilige Schrift des A. T.'s* 1909, Riessler in *Die kleinen Propheten oder das Zwölfprophetenbuch nach dem Urtext übersetzt und erklärt*, 1911, and Bewer in *Internat. Crit. Comm.* 1912].

JOEL.

THE word of the LORD that came to Joel the son of Pethuel.

Hear this, ye old men, and give ear, all ye inhabitants of the land. Hath this been in your days, or in the days of your fathers? Tell ye your children of it, and *let* your children *tell* their children, and their children another

1. THE TITLE.

1. *The word of Jehovah that came to*] so Hos. i. 1; Mic. i. 1; Zeph. i. 1.

came to] lit. *was* (ἐγένετο) *unto*, a very common expression in connexion with Jehovah's 'word': 1 Sam. xv. 10; 2 Sam. vii. 4; 1 Ki. xvi. 1, 7; Jer. i. 2, 4, 11, &c.

PART I. CHAP. I. 2—II. 17.

Description of the present calamity (ch. i.). The terrible "Day of Jehovah," of which it is the harbinger (ii. 1—11), but which may yet be averted by the nation's timely repentance (ii. 12—17).

2—3. Introduction, characterizing the event which forms the occasion of Joel's prophecy: it is an unexampled one, of a kind which even the oldest of the prophet's contemporaries had neither witnessed themselves nor heard of from their fathers; its memory, therefore, deserves the more to be handed on to successive generations in the future.

Hear this] viz., the question following, implying the unprecedented character of the calamity.

ye old men, &c.] the whole people is addressed: not one among them, however long or varied his experience, has ever heard tell of such an occurrence.

of the land] i.e. of Judah, with which alone Joel deals: so i. 14, ii. 1.

this] i.e. the like of this.

3. *Recount concerning it to your children*] **recount**,—a stronger word than *tell*, and implying some narrative of particulars.

your children, &c.] comp. (also with **recount**) Ex. x. 2; Ps. xxii. 30 (R.V.), xlvi. 13, lxxviii. 4, 6; and "our fathers have *recounted* to us," Jud. vi. 13; Ps. xlv. 1, lxxviii. 3. Usually, it is the memory of

4 generation. That which ¹the palmerworm hath left hath
¹the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left hath
¹the cankerworm eaten; and that which the cankerworm
 5 hath left hath ¹the caterpillar eaten. Awake, ye drunkards,

¹ Probably, different kinds of locusts, or locusts in different stages of growth.

Jehovah's deliverances, which is thus to be handed on from father to son (comp. also Ex. xii. 26 f., xiii. 8, 14; Deut. iv. 9, vi. 20 f.; Josh. iv. 6 f., 21 f.); here it is the memory of an unprecedented disaster.

4. The calamity to which the prophet has thus emphatically directed his hearers' attention: a visitation of locusts, repeated for more years than one (ii. 25), and of unexampled severity; what had escaped the ravages of one swarm, had been speedily devoured by a succeeding one, till the crops were completely ruined, and every chance both of harvest and vintage had been utterly destroyed.

That which the shearer (gāzām) hath left, the swarmer (arbeh) hath eaten;

And that which the swarmer (arbeh) hath left, the lapper (yélek) hath eaten;

And that which the lapper (yélek) hath left; the finisher (hāsīl) hath eaten.

The general intention of the verse is manifestly to describe a total destruction of the herbage of the land; but as we cannot identify with certainty the kinds of locust meant,—nor, if we could, should have suitable English names by which to distinguish them,—it is best to translate the terms used by words expressing the ideas which they probably suggested to the Hebrew ear. Successive swarms of locusts, appearing partly, it is probable, in the same year, partly in following years, are indicated rhetorically by four distinct names, which may partly be synonymous designations of the same species (though not of the same individual insects), partly denote different species, and partly denote the ordinary locust in different stages of its development (see p. 86 f.). The *gāzām* is mentioned besides only ii. 25, Am. iv. 9. *Arbeh* is the usual name of the locust in Hebrew, and may be presumed therefore to have been the name of the species which most commonly invades Palestine, the *Acridium peregrinum*. The *yélek* may have denoted the ordinary locust in its wingless larva- or pupa-stage (in which state it is not less destructive than in its mature form): in this case the second line of the verse will describe how what the fully-grown parent insects left in April or May, when they laid their eggs, was destroyed by the young larvae hatched in June. The *hāsīl* is named beside the *arbeh*, as a plague to which Palestine was liable, in 1 Ki. viii. 37; this, therefore, was probably a distinct species, perhaps the *Oedipoda migratoria* or *Pachytylus*, also common in Palestine¹. See further particulars in the Excursus at the end of the Book (p. 87 ff.).

¹ The four names cannot, as Credner and (somewhat differently) Gesenius thought, denote, as they stand, locusts in four successive stages of their development, for various

and weep; and howl, all ye drinkers of wine, because of the sweet wine; for it is cut off from your mouth. For a nation is come up upon my land, strong, and without

In illustration of the allusions to locusts, contained in this and the following chapter, numerous passages from the descriptions of naturalists and travellers have been collected by Credner (*ad locc.* and pp. 261—313), and after him by Dr Pusey, a selection from which (with some additions from more recent authorities) is reprinted here. In the Excursus (p. 89 ff.) will be found also some continuous descriptions, by different observers, of the invasion of a country by locusts.

5—12. All classes are to unite in lamenting this calamity, which has not only (1) deprived them of some of their most valued luxuries, *vv.* 5—7, but also (2) interrupted the public worship of God, *vv.* 8—10, and (3) even left them destitute of the means of subsistence, *vv.* 11, 12.

Awake, ye drunkards] viz. from the sleep of intoxication (Gen. ix. 24; Prov. xxiii. 35), which the ruin of the vintage will soon render impossible.

howl] in wild and desperate grief: so *vv.* 11, 13. Comp. on Am. viii. 3.

because of the sweet wine] Heb. 'āsīs: see on Am. ix. 13.

from your mouth] where it is a source to you of gratification.

6—7. By what agency this devastation has been wrought: an army of depredators has invaded Judah, countless in numbers and well equipped for their work; and vine and fig-tree have been left by them bare.

a nation] cf. for the figure Prov. xxx. 24—26: also Homer's expression ἔθνεα μελισσάων, μυιάων, &c. (*Il.* II. 87, 469, &c.).

is come up upon (or *against*)] the phrase used of an invading army (e.g. 2 Ki. xviii. 13).

my land] the prophet speaks in the name of the people. So *vv.* 7, 13, 19 and frequently (cf. the writer's *Introduction*, p. 389 f.).

strong] Cf. ii. 2, 5, 11. The term is used often of a powerful and numerous nation (e.g. Deut. xxvi. 5, Is. lx. 22, Mic. iv. 7). The reference is partly to the strength of limb possessed by the locust, enabling it for instance to take long flights and to persevere incessantly in its work of destruction, partly to the irresistible numbers in which swarms of locusts are apt to invade a country.

without number] a characteristic of locust-swarms, often alluded to in the O.T.: Ps. cv. 34 ("and the *yélek* without number"); and in

reasons: (1) because not more than three stages are distinguishable by an ordinary observer [yet cf. p. 92]; (2) because, upon this view, *arbeh*, the most usual name of the locust, would denote only the immature insect; (3) because in ii. 25 the four names occur in a different order; (4) because, as swarms of locusts always move onwards, a swarm in one stage of its development could not be said to have devoured what it had left in a previous stage, since it would be upon entirely new ground. (Of course the last objection does not hold in the particular case of the larvae emerging from eggs, assumed above to represent the *yélek*.)

number; his teeth are the teeth of a lion, and he hath the
7 jaw teeth of a great lion. He hath laid my vine waste,

comparisons Jud. vi. 5, vii. 12, Jer. xlvi. 23 (all of the *arbeh*), li. 14, 27 (of the *yélek*). Modern travellers speak often of the literally incalculable numbers in which locusts come. Thus an observer in South Africa writes, "For the space of 10 miles on each side of the Sea-Cow river, and 80—90 miles in breadth, an area of 16—1800 square miles, the whole surface might literally be said to be covered with them: the water of the river was scarcely visible on account of the dead carcasses which floated on the surface, drowned in the attempt to come at the weeds which grew in it." Again, in Cyprus, "the locusts lay swarming above a foot deep in several parts of the high road, and thousands were destroyed by the wheels of the carriage driving over them." A writer in *Nature* (1889, p. 153) states "that a flight of locusts that passed over the Red Sea in Nov. 1889, was 2000 square miles in extent," and upon the assumption that it was 48 miles square, half a mile deep, and contained 144 locusts, each weighing $\frac{1}{8}$ oz., to a cubic foot, he calculated that it contained 24,420 billions of insects, and weighed 42,850 millions of tons. "A second similar, perhaps even larger flight, was seen passing in the same direction the next day. In Cyprus in 1881, up to the end of October, 1,600,000,000 egg-cases had that season been collected and destroyed, each case containing a considerable number of eggs. By the end of the season over 1300 tons of eggs had been collected; and yet not less than 5,076,000,000 egg-cases were, it is believed, deposited in the island two years afterwards" (*Cambridge Nat. Hist.* v. 292).

his teeth, &c.] the locust's teeth are edged like a saw, and very powerful; hence, though infinitely smaller, they may for destructiveness be compared to those of a lion. Cf. Rev. ix. 8.

the jaw teeth], i.e. the sharp and prominent eye-teeth of the animal. The word is the same which is found in Job xxix. 17 and Prov. xxx. 14; and (with two letters transposed) in Ps. lviii. 6 (also of the lion: R.V. "great teeth"): it possibly signifies (from the Arabic) the *projectors*.

of a great lion] *of a lioness*. Hebrew has several distinct terms, all denoting generally the lion, but, unfortunately, seldom distinguishable in English except by the use of separate epithets. The ordinary word for lion is that used in the former clause of the present verse (*aryēh*, also *ārī*), that used here (*lābhī*) is the *lioness*, Num. xxiii. 24, Deut. xxxiii. 20 *al.*, but only in poetry; another (*kēphīr*) is the *young lion* (Is. xxxi. 4, and frequently); other poetical words are *layish*, only Is. xxx. 6, Job iv. 11, Prov. xxx. 30; and *shahā*, properly the *roarer*, Hos. v. 14, xiii. 7, Job iv. 10, x. 16, xxviii. 8, Prov. xxvi. 13, Ps. xci. 13. *Gūr* (or *gōr*) is a lion's *whelp*, Gen. xlix. 9 *al.* In poetry, the synonyms for lion appear often, as they do here, in the parallel clauses of a verse: see esp. Job iv. 10, 11.

7. *He hath made my vine into a waste, and my fig tree into splinters*] The vine and the fig-tree are mentioned as the two principal

and ¹barked my fig tree: he hath made it clean bare, and cast it ²away; the branches thereof are made white. Lament like a virgin girded with sackcloth for the husband of

¹ Or, *broken*

² Or, *down*

and most representative fruit-trees of Palestine, the vine holding the first place (cf. Hos. ii. 12; 1 Ki. iv. 25; 2 Ki. xviii. 31). For *splinters* (lit. something *broken into pieces*), comp. nearly the same word in Hos. x. 7 (R. V. marg. *twigs*). The words indicate the severity of the visitation. Locusts first attack plants and vegetables; when these have been all consumed, they attack trees, consuming first the leaves, then the bark. Comp. the quotation from Shaw's *Travels*, below, p. 89 f. The effects of such ravages are felt sometimes for many years: "the wine of Algiers, before the locusts in 1723 wasted the vineyards, was in flavour not inferior to the best Hermitage. Since that time the wine has much degenerated, and has not yet [1732] recovered its usual qualities" (Shaw, p. 227).

made it clean bare] viz. by stripping off the bark, cf. Ps. xxix. 9 (the same word).

cast it away] There is no pron. in the Hebrew; and the reference is, no doubt, partly to the fragments of bark and wood which have been bitten off by the locusts, but being uneatable by them have fallen to the ground, partly to the barked branches and trunks themselves, which (metaphorically) the insects have 'cast away.' "After they have passed, nothing remains but the large branches, and the roots, which, being under ground, have escaped their voracity." "The bushes were eaten quite bare, though the animals could not have been long on the spot. They sat by hundreds on a bush gnawing the rind and the woody fibres" (Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, p. 241, ap. Pusey).

the branches thereof] Gen. xl. 10, 12 only, also of the vine: properly, *something intertwined*.

shew whiteness] viz. through the bark being stripped off. "*Ambedunt enim, ut Tacitus (Annal. xv. 5) loquitur, quicquid herbidum est et frondosum; ut nec culmus, nec granum ullum remaneat, et arbores frondibus et cortice tamquam vestibus nudatae instar truncorum alborum conspiciantur*" (Ludolf, *Hist. Aeth.* p. 178 f., ap. Credner).

8—10. Interruption of the public services of the Temple.

8. *Lament*] The verb is fem. in the Hebrew, the community, personified as a woman, the "daughter of Judah," or "daughter of my people," being addressed. So often in the prophets: comp. on Am. v. 2. The word rendered *lament* ('*ālāh*) occurs only here in the O. T., though it is common in Aramaic.

like a virgin, &c.] "The interruption of the fellowship between the land and Jehovah through the failure of the sacrifices the prophet throws into the figure of a young wife bereaved and in mourning. The land is the virgin; the dreary bleak aspect of it is the mourning which

9 her youth. The meal offering and the drink offering is cut off from the house of the LORD; the priests, the LORD'S
10 ministers, mourn. The field is wasted, the land mourneth; for the corn is wasted, the new wine is ¹dried up, the oil

¹ Or, *ashamed*

she wears. The bereavement lies in this: that through the cutting off of the meal-offering and the drink-offering, the tokens of Jehovah's presence and favour, manifested in His acceptance of the offerings, have been removed; communications between the land and its God have been removed, and the land is bereaved" (A. B. Davidson).

sackcloth] The regular sign of mourning in the East (Am. viii. 10).

husband] lit. *possessor, owner* (Deut. xxiv. 4; 2 Sam. xi. 26 *al.*).

9. *The meal offering and the drink offering is cut off, &c.*] the means of providing them having been destroyed by the locusts. The cessation of the daily sacrifices would be regarded as a national misfortune: even during the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans, they were maintained as long as possible, and when ultimately they had to be suspended, the people, we are told, "were terribly despondent" (Jos. B. 7. vi. 2, 1).

On the nature of the meal-offering, see Lev. ii.; and comp. on Am. v. 22. The drink-offering was a libation of wine, which usually accompanied a burnt-offering. Here the reference is, no doubt, to the meal-offering and drink-offering, which, according to the Priestly Code (Ex. xxix. 38—42; Num. xxviii. 3—8), were to accompany the daily morning and evening burnt-offering. A special meal-offering was also offered daily by the high-priest (Lev. vi. 19—20).

the ministers of Jehovah] v. 13, ii. 17; cf. Is. lxi. 6; Jer. xxxiii. 21. The corresponding verb, *to minister*, is used often of the sacred services of the priests, as Ex. xxviii. 35, 43; Deut. x. 8, xviii. 5, 7, &c.

10. *the ground mourneth*] the country being personified, as Is. xxxiii. 9; Jer. xii. 4, 11, xxiii. 10; cf. on Am. i. 2. Conversely, at harvest time, when the fruits of the earth are abundant, "the vales shout for joy, and sing" (Ps. lxxv. 13).

the corn...the new wine (or must)...the fresh oil] The three principal products of the soil of Palestine, often mentioned together as a triad of blessings (Deut. vii. 13, xi. 14, xxviii. 51; Hos. ii. 8), bestowed by Jehovah upon His people, or, it may be, withheld, in the event of their unfaithfulness. The words, though they may be used with reference to the corn in the ears, and the juice in the grapes and the olives, denote more particularly these products after they have been adapted partially for the food, or use, of man. *Corn* (*dāgān*) is thus the grain of wheat after it has been threshed and freed from the husk ("from the threshing-floor," Num. xviii. 27); *new wine*, or *must* (*tīrōsh*), is the freshly-expressed juice of the grape, sometimes, at any rate, if not always, slightly fermented (Hos. iv. 11), and described as a sustaining (Gen. xxvii. 37), invigorating (Zech. ix. 17), and exhilarating (Jud. ix. 13)

languisheth. ¹Be ashamed, O ye husbandmen, howl, O 11
 ye vinedressers, for the wheat and for the barley; for
 the harvest of the field is perished. The vine is ²withered, 12
 and the fig tree languisheth; the pomegranate tree, the palm

¹ Or, *The husbandmen are ashamed, the vinedressers howl*

² Or, *ashamed*

beverage; *fresh oil* (*yitzhār*) is similarly the freshly-expressed juice of the olive. On *tīrōsh*, see more fully the Additional Note at the end of the Book (p. 81). The oil which, when pressed, the fruit of the olive yields, is almost a necessary of life in Palestine: it is used in cooking and for food, where we should employ butter; it is burnt in lamps; it is in habitual use for anointing the person (see on Am. vi. 6); it has medicinal virtues (Is. i. 6; Luke x. 34); it was used in ancient times in sacrifice (Lev. ii. 1, 6, &c.); and it was prized as a gift (1 Ki. v. 11; Hos. xii. 1; Is. lvii. 9). Being a valuable commodity, it was subject to tithe (Deut. xiv. 23; Neh. xiii. 5). See further Tristram, *N.H.B.* p. 373 ff.; Van Lennep, *Bible Lands*, p. 124 ff.; Whitehouse, *Primer of Heb. Antiquities*, pp. 104—110.

is dried up] Better, **sheweth shame** (*marg.*), the ‘new wine’ being personified (cf. Is. xxiv. 7, where it is said to ‘mourn’), just as the ‘ground’ is in the first part of the verse. Comp. of Lebanon (though the Heb. word used is a different one), Is. xxxiii. 9.

languisheth] The same word, said of trees of which the foliage has been stripped off, or is withering, *v.* 12; Is. xvi. 8, xxiv. 7; Nah. i. 4.

11. *Be ashamed*] more exactly **shew shame**, i.e. manifest, by overt signs, your disappointment. [Or the words may be (as in *marg.*) a description rather than an exhortation.] *To shew shame* (or *to be ashamed*) is said in Hebrew idiomatically where we should say *be disappointed*: it expresses, however, a little more than our English phrase, for it signifies rather to be disconcerted, or to shew, in countenance or demeanour, overt signs of disappointment. People are thus often said to be “ashamed,” when the help, or support, on which they rely fails them: see e.g. Is. i. 29 (the Israelites to be ‘ashamed’ of the oaks which they have desired, i.e. disappointed of the rewards which they hoped that the rites observed under them would bring them), xx. 5 (those who rely upon Egypt to be “ashamed,” i.e. disappointed; similarly xxx. 5); Job vi. 20 (caravans in the wilderness, travelling to a wady in which they expect to find water, are “ashamed” when they arrive there and find none). With the usage here, cf. Jer. xiv. 3 *b*, 4 *b*.

vinedressers] more exactly, *vineyard-keepers*. These are in this verse subordinate: the reason why they are to lament appearing only in *v.* 12.

12. *is withered*] Better, **sheweth shame**, as *v.* 10.

the pomegranate] Num. xiii. 23, xx. 5; Deut. viii. 8; 1 Sam. xiv. 2; Hag. ii. 19; Cant. iv. 3, 13, vi. 7, 11, vii. 12, viii. 2. A tree abundant in Palestine, and highly prized on account of its fruit. The fruit when ripe is of a bright red colour, as large as an orange and crowned with

tree also, and the apple tree, even all the trees of the field are withered: for joy is ¹withered away from the sons of

¹ Or, *ashamed*

the calyx. The name pomegranate is derived from the Latin, "grained apple," from the bright red pips contained in the fruit. The expressed juice of the fruit makes a cooling drink, and it is also sometimes fermented into a light wine (Cant. viii. 2).

the palm tree] once, no doubt, with its tall, branchless stems and huge spreading leaves, the glory of most of the warmer parts of Palestine, the maritime plains, and the Jordan valley, but now comparatively rare. See Jud. iv. 5; Cant. vii. 7, 8; Ps. xcii. 13. Pliny (*H. N.* XIII. 4) says, *Judaea incluta est palmis*; and Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 6), *Palmetis (Judaeis) proceritas et decor*. Jericho is called the "City of palm-trees," Deut. xxxiv. 3; Jud. i. 16, iii. 13; 2 Chr. xxviii. 15. Jericho was celebrated in antiquity for its palm-groves, the semi-tropical warmth of the Arábah—here 600 feet below the level of the sea—favouring their growth. A beautiful spring, called the 'Ain es-Sultan, or Elisha's Spring, gushes forth in the plain, at about a mile from the foot of the hills which lead up into the high land of Judah: this must have been near the site of the ancient city, and Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 8, 3) speaks with admiration of the beautiful park of palms and other rare trees, which the stream watered. Comp. *Herodis palmetis pinguibus*, Hor. *Ep.* II. 2. 184. See an interesting collection of notices respecting the palm-groves of Jericho in Schürer, *Hist. of N. T. Times*, E.T. Div. i. Vol. i. p. 423. Palms also flourished at Engedi, on the W. shore of the Dead Sea (Ecclus. xxiv. 14).

the apple tree] Cant. ii. 3, viii. 5; cf. *apples* Cant. ii. 5, vii. 8; Prov. xxv. 11. It has been doubted whether *tappūah* is really the apple; and Tristram (*N.H.B.* p. 334 f.; *D.B.*² s.v.) adduces grounds tending to shew that it was more probably the *apricot*. But the corresponding Arabic word (*tuffāh*) certainly means the apple; and though it is true that the Syrian apple is much inferior in flavour to the European apple, it has nevertheless been long esteemed in the East as a grateful and refreshing fruit, and valued in sickness on account of its restorative properties (W. R. Smith, in the *Journ. of Phil.* xv. 1885, p. 65 f., with quotations from Arabic authorities; and G. E. Post, art. APPLE in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*).

even all the trees of the field] The trees most prized for their fruits are mentioned first; but in the end all alike are included as suffering in the visitation.

are dried up] The reference might be to the hard and dried appearance of the trees produced by the ravages of the locusts; but from *vv.* 17—20 it appears that the country was at the same time suffering from a protracted drought.

yea, joy is withered away] better, with a pregnant construction, "sheweth shame (and is vanished) from the sons of men." The joy meant is that of which, directly or indirectly, the fruits of the earth,

men. Gird yourselves *with sackcloth*, and lament, ye priests ; 13
 howl, ye ministers of the altar ; come, lie all night in sack-
 cloth, ye ministers of my God : for the meal offering and
 the drink offering is withholden from the house of your
 God. Sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly, gather the 14

especially the harvest and the vintage, are the occasion : cf. Ps. iv. 7, civ. 15 ; Is. ix. 3, xvi. 10. The word rendered *shew shame* in v. 10 and v. 12 (twice) is exactly the same as that so rendered in v. 11 ; and this is the more natural and obvious rendering of the word : it might, however, also just mean *shew dryness* (though elsewhere, where the same form is derived from the root *to be dry*, it has a causative force *to make dry*, and in v. 12 this idea is expressed by the usual form for *be dried up*), and there may at least be a play upon this possible sense of the word.

13—15. The cessation of the daily sacrifices again occupies the prophet's thought ; and he turns to the priests, bidding them not mourn only (v. 9), but clothe themselves in sackcloth, and proclaim a day of public fast and humiliation. The occasion, namely, is not one for grief only : it is one which calls also for penitence and prayer ; such a calamity is a judgement, not merely betokening God's present anger with His people, but awakening the apprehension of sorer judgements in the future, which it behoves the nation, by timely penitence, if possible to avert.

lament] **wail** (see on Am. v. 16). A different word from the unusual one so rendered in v. 8.

ministers of the altar] cf. *ministers of the sanctuary*, Ez. xlv. 4.

lie all night in sackcloth] as Ahab did, when he humbled himself at Elijah's rebuke (1 Ki. xxi. 27). The sackcloth would be a token not only of grief, but also of penitence (1 Ki. *l.c.* ; Neh. ix. 1 ; Jonah iii. 5, 6) ; and the mention of it leads on accordingly to the thought of v. 14.

14. *Sanctify a fast*] Fasting is a common observance in the East, especially among Semitic peoples ; and it is frequently mentioned in the Old Testament. The essence of a fast consists in the voluntary abstention, for a season, even from ordinary and innocent bodily enjoyment ; it is thus an expression of sympathy with human affliction, —for instance during mourning, 1 Sam. xxxi. 13 ; 2 Sam. i. 12. More often, however, it is mentioned as a distinctly religious observance, expressive of self-abasement and sorrow for sin, and resorted to, especially at the time of some grave disaster, whether on the part of individuals or the nation, in conjunction with prayer or sacrifice, for the purpose, if possible, of propitiating God's favour ; see e.g. Jud. xx. 26 ; 1 Sam. vii. 6 ; 2 Sam. xii. 16 ; 1 Ki. xxi. 27 ; Ps. lxix. 10, 11 ; Ezr. x. 6 ; Neh. ix. 1 ; Jon. iii. 5—9 ; Dan. ix. 3 ; Judith iv. 9, 13. Extraordinary general fasts are spoken of as "proclaimed" by royal authority, 1 Ki. xxi. 9, 12 ; Jer. xxxvi. 9 (cf. Ezr. viii. 21). During the exile, four annual fast-days were established in commemoration of events connected with the fall of Jerusalem (Zech. vii. 3, 5, viii. 19).

¹old men *and* all the inhabitants of the land unto the house
 15 of the LORD your God, and cry unto the LORD. Alas for
 the day! for the day of the LORD is at hand, and as destruc-
 16 tion from ²the Almighty shall it come. Is not the meat cut

¹ Or, *elders*

² Heb. *Shaddai*.

The annual Day of Atonement was also observed as a fast (Lev. xvi. 29).
 See further on ii. 12, 13.

a solemn assembly] a public religious gathering, in which all may
 join. On the term used ('*atzārāh*'), see on Am. v. 21.

the old men] Better, as marg., *elders*. Here probably (unlike i. 2, ii. 16)
 the term is used in its official sense (as Is. iii. 14, Ez. viii. 1, and frequently).

and cry unto Jehovah] expressing, on the nation's behalf, penitence,
 and entreating Him to stay the threatened destruction.

15. The prophet states more distinctly the ground for the exhorta-
 tions of *vv.* 13, 14. The present calamity is viewed by him as the
 harbinger of a far sorer calamity to come, even of the great "Day of
 Jehovah" itself; and he gives expression to the alarm which the pros-
 pect of its approach naturally creates.

Alas for the day] cf. Ez. xxx. 2 (where the Heb. is all but the same,—
 הָיָה for הַיָּוֵם).

for the day of Jehovah is at hand (or near)] The same words as iii.
 14; Zeph. i. 7; Ob. 15; Is. xiii. 6: cf. ch. ii. 1; Zeph. i. 14; Ez. xxx. 3.
 On the 'Day of Jehovah' cf. A. B. Davidson on Zeph. i. 7 and in *H. D. B.*
 I. 735; cf. also below, on Am. v. 18. It is the Day, when Jehovah is con-
 ceived as manifesting Himself in His fulness, striking down wrong-
 doing and illusion, and giving the final victory to righteousness and
 truth. The origin of the conception as applied by the prophets, is to
 be found in Amos' transformation of a popular idea (see on Am. v. 18).
 The presentiment of the approach of Jehovah's Day was often
 awakened in the minds of the prophets by the prospect of some great
 political movement among the nations of the earth. In the case of Joel
 the presentiment is awakened by an extraordinary visitation of Pro-
 vidence. In Joel also the Day of Jehovah is invested, more distinctly
 than is the case in the earlier prophets, with an eschatological signifi-
 cance: see esp. ii. 31, iii. 1, 2, 9—17; and cf. above, p. 31 ff.

as devastation from the Almighty (Heb. Shaddai) shall it come] The phrase is borrowed *verbatim* from Is. xiii. 6 (in the announcement of the doom approaching upon Babylon in B.C. 538) "Howl ye: *for the day of Jehovah is at hand; as devastation from the Almighty shall it come.*" In the original there is an effective assonance between *devastation* (*shōd*), and Almighty (*Shaddai*), which might perhaps be preserved, though not with the force and compactness of the Hebrew, by the rendering, *as an overpowering from the Over-powerer shall it come*¹. See further, on the divine title *Shaddai*, the Additional Note, p. 83.

¹ Ewald, *Wie Gewalt vom Allgewaltigen*; Wellhausen, *Wie Vergewaltigung vom Allgewaltigen*.

off before our eyes, *yea*, joy and gladness from the house of our God? The seeds ¹rot under their clods; the garners 17

¹ Or, *shrivel*

For 'devastation,' as sent by Jehovah, comp. also Jer. xxv. 36, xlvii. 4, li. 53, 55 (A.V. *spoil*), Am. v. 9. The 'as' (ז) is here an example of what is termed by some grammarians the "*Caph veritatis*": the coming visitation will be what a devastation proceeding from the Almighty might be expected to be, it will realize what the term implies, it will be a veritable "overpowering from the Over-powerer."

16—20. In justification of the alarm just expressed, the prophet points again to the terrible condition to which the country has been reduced: anything which the locusts may have spared has been parched by the drought: the water brooks are dried up; cattle and human beings alike are perishing from thirst.

16. *the meat*] food, the reference being in particular to the products of the soil mentioned in v. 10. *Meat* in the A.V., and sometimes (as here) in the R.V. as well, is not restricted, as in modern English, to the flesh of animals (cf. on Am. v. 22).

before our eyes] The position of these words shews that they are the emphatic words in the sentence. The fact which they emphasize is the helplessness of those who witness the process going on, and their inability to stay it. This is the regular force of this, or similar expressions, in Hebrew: cf. Is. i. 7 ("your land, strangers are devouring it *in your presence*"); Deut. xxviii. 31 ("Thine ox shall be slain *before thine eyes*, and thou shalt not eat thereof"); Ps. xxiii. 5 ("Thou preparest a table before me *in the presence of mine enemies*,"—who experience the mortification of being unable to overthrow it).

joy and gladness from the house of our God] There would be no first-fruits, for instance, to be presented in the Temple with gladness (Deut. xxvi. 1—2, 10—11). The feasts of Weeks and of Ingathering, which marked respectively the completion of wheat-harvest, and of vintage, could no longer be observed with the rejoicings which naturally accompanied them (Deut. xvi. 10f., 13—15); and the number of persons offering peace-offerings, with the sacred meals which formed their distinctive concomitant (cf. Deut. xii. 6, 7), would naturally be much fewer than usual.

17. *The grains shrivel* (marg.) *under their shovels* (or hoes)] unable to withstand the scorching heat. This is the only rendering which the existing text will permit¹; but the last word especially is not satisfactory.

¹ *Grains*, lit. *things parted* (cf. Syr. *perdā*). A.V. *is rotten* follows Ibn Ezra and Kimchi in explaining the Heb. 'ābhēsh from the Aram. 'aphash, *to rot*; but the meaning is unsuitable (for rotting is not an effect of drought), and the Arab. 'abisa, *to be dried up* (esp. of dirt) both agrees better phonetically and yields a preferable sense. מִגְרָפוֹת is derived obviously from גָּרַף *to sweep away* (Jud. v. 21, of a torrent; so also in Arab. and Syr.): in Arab. the corresponding word means *a broom for sweeping away mud* &c., also (now) *a shovel*, and in Palestine (*P.E.F. Qu. St.*, 1891, p. 111), *a hoe*, and in Aram. *a shovel* for removing ashes (Num. iv. 14, &c.). The Arab. *gurf* does not mean *gleba terrae* (Keil), but (Lane, *Arab. Lex.* p. 411) the *water-worn*

are laid desolate, the barns are broken down; for the corn
 18 is ¹withered. How do the beasts groan! the herds of cattle
 are perplexed, because they have no pasture; yea, the
 19 flocks of sheep ²are made desolate. O LORD, to thee do
 I cry: for the fire hath devoured the ³pastures of the

¹ Or, *ashamed*

² Or, *suffer punishment*

³ Or, *folds*

Merx (p. 100 f.) examines the passage at some length; but his restoration is not convincing. [The LXX. renders ἐσκίρτησαν δαμάλεις ἐπὶ ταῖς φάτναις αὐτῶν *the heifers leap at their stalls*; and this Nowack accepts as representing the true reading, merely changing *heifers* (pârôth) into *mules* (p'râdhîm). Marti suggests *the mules stand disappointed at their mangers*. Bewer omits the line altogether, regarding it as hopelessly corrupt, and *the garners are laid desolate*, &c. as a correction of it.]

garners] lit. *treasuries, store-houses*,—a word, in itself, of wider meaning than “garner”: cf. 1 Chr. xxvii. 27, 28 (for wine and oil); 2 Chr. xxxii. 27 (for money and other valuables); Neh. xiii. 12, &c.

are laid desolate...broken down] being empty, and falling into disrepair through disuse.

barns] not the usual word (Deut. xxviii. 8, &c.), but another, not found elsewhere, though nearly resembling the word found in Hag. ii. 19. *is withered*] **sheweth shame**, fig. for *fails*, as *vv.* 10, 12.

18. The distress of the cattle through lack of pasture (cf. Jer. xiv. 5, 6).

are perplexed] wandering hither and thither in quest of food¹.

yea, (or even) the flocks of sheep, &c.] even the sheep, which do not require such moist or rich pasture as kine, suffer with them.

are made desolate] **are held guilty**, or (as marg.) **suffer punishment**. *āsham, to be guilty*, is sometimes used in the sense of *to be held guilty, to bear the consequences of guilt*, i.e. to suffer punishment (comp. Hos. xiii. 16; Is. xxiv. 6); and here the term is applied improperly, by a poetical figure, to cattle. The rendering *are made desolate* is due to the fact that the Jews understood אָשָׁם in the sense of שָׂמָה. Merx and Wellh., however, perhaps rightly, read אָשָׁמוּ, ‘are made desolate’ (Lam. iv. 5), or ‘stand aghast’ (Jer. iv. 9) [the LXX. has ἠφανίσθησαν ‘are utterly destroyed’].

19. *Unto thee, O Jehovah, do I cry*] the prophet, speaking (as *vv.* 6, 7, 13) in the nation’s name, turns for help to Jehovah, who “saveth men and cattle” (Ps. xxxvi. 6). [Or, possibly, we should read *do they* (i.e. the cattle) *cry*. So Bewer.]

fire] either fig. of the intense heat of the sun, or (comp. on Am. vii. 4) of the conflagrations kindled among the parched herbage during a *bank of a stream*. *Clod* (Heb. רֶגֶב, Job xxi. 33, xxxviii. 38) would not be a probable generalization even of a word signifying properly *masses of earth swept away by a stream*.

¹ LXX. for מָה נִנְחָה בְּהֶמָּה *express* מָה נִנְחָה בְּהֶמָּה, “what shall we lay up (Deut. xiv. 28) in them?” connecting the words with *v.* 17. But such a clause would be a very weak addition to כִּי הוּבִישׁ דָּגָן.

wilderness, and the flame hath burned all the trees of the field. Yea, the beasts of the field pant unto thee: for the water brooks are dried up, and the fire hath devoured the ¹pastures of the wilderness. 20

¹ Or, *fold*s

drought. The words might, however, be simply a poetical description of the ravages of the locusts themselves (cf. ii. 3 a).

the pastures of the wilderness] v. 20, ii. 22; Jer. ix. 10, xxiii. 10; Ps. lxxv. 12. "Wilderness" does not mean the desert: *midbār* (properly, a place for driving cattle) denotes land which is unenclosed, and uncultivated, especially a broad prairie or steppe, but not land which is destitute of pasturage.

20. *Yea, the beasts of the field pant unto thee*] lit. ascend, mount up (viz. with longing and desire). The verb occurs in Heb. only here and Ps. xlii. 1 (twice). In Ethiopic it is the regular word for *to go up*, and it has the same meaning also in Arabic: in Heb. it is used only metaphorically in the sense explained above¹. *Cry* of A.V. is based upon the interpretation of the Rabbis, who, in their ignorance of the real etymological affinities of the word, conjectured a meaning that would agree fairly with the context.

water brooks] channels of water (Is. viii. 7; Ps. xviii. 15), not a very common word, used most frequently by Ezekiel (vi. 3, xxxi. 12 *al.*). [LXX. has ἀπέσεις ὑδάτων which, according to Deissmann, was the technical name for irrigation ditches (Bewer).]

CHAP. II: 1—17.

A fuller description of the signs of the approaching 'Day of Jehovah,' followed by a renewed and more emphatic exhortation to repentance.

This section of Joel's prophecy is an expansion of the thought of i. 14, 15. The signs of the approaching "Day of Jehovah" are more fully described (ii. 2—11); and the people are invited, more directly and earnestly than before (i. 14), to repent, if perchance Jehovah may be induced thereby to stay the threatened judgement (ii. 12—17). The imagery, under which the approach of the "day" is depicted, is borrowed from the recent visitation of locusts. Whereas, however, in ch. i. the stress lay upon the desolation which had been already wrought by the locusts in the land, in ii. 2—11 the prophet looks more to the future, and describes the attack of fresh and more formidable swarms, which he imagines as the immediate precursors of Jehovah's Day. The description, though founded upon correct observation of the habits of locusts, contains ideal traits; though it is not so idealized as that of the "apocalyptic" locusts of Rev. ix. 3—11.

¹ The derivative 'arūgāh occurs in the sense of a raised flower-bed, Ez. xvii. 7, 10; Cant. v. 13, vi. 2. [Hence the curious rendering of Aquila ἐπρασιώθη = "become green like flower-beds."]

2 Blow ye the trumpet in Zion, and sound an alarm in my holy mountain; let all the inhabitants of the land tremble: 2 for the day of the LORD cometh, for it is nigh at hand; a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness, as the dawn spread upon the mountains; a great

1. *Blow ye the horn in Zion*] see, in justification of this rendering of *shōphār*, on Am. ii. 2. The *horn* is to be sounded, in order to give notice of impending danger, and arouse the people to meet it (cf. on Am. iii. 6).

sound an alarm] The word, though it often has the sense of *shouting*, is used also to denote the long, continuous blast of the horn, which, in contradistinction to a succession of short, sharp notes, was the signal of danger (Num. x. 9, though the reference there is not to the *shōphār*, but to the *hatzōtzerāh*).

tremble] aroused, viz. by the 'alarm,' from their security.

for the day of Jehovah cometh, for it is at hand (or near)] Repeated, with some variation, from i. 15. *at hand (or near)*, exactly as i. 15, iii. 14-2—11. The signs of the approaching Day.

a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness] So Zeph. i. 15. Four synonyms are combined, for the purpose of emphasizing the darkness, which the prophet has in view. Darkness is, in Hebrew poetry, a common figure for calamity (comp. on Am. v. 18); but here, no doubt, the image is suggested by the fact that a flight of locusts, as it approaches, presents the appearance of a black cloud, which, as it passes, obscures the sun, and even sometimes darkens the whole sky. Speaking of a 'column of locusts,' which appeared in India, a writer says, "it was so compact that, like an eclipse, it completely hid the sun; so that no shadow was cast by any object, and some lofty tombs, not more than 200 yards distant, were rendered quite invisible" (ap. Kirby on *Entomology*, Letter VI.). "Our attention has often been attracted by the sudden darkening of the sun in a summer sky, accompanied by the peculiar noise which a swarm of locusts always makes moving through the air" (Van Lennep, *Bible Lands*, p. 315; comp. the illustration, p. 317). Many other observers speak similarly; cf. below, p. 89 ff.

as the dawn spread upon the mountains, a people great and strong!] The words *as the dawn* &c. are to be connected with what follows, not with what precedes (which belongs rather to *v.* 1); and the allusion is probably to the glimmering brightness produced by the reflexion of the sun's rays from the wings of the locusts, which the prophet compares poetically to the early dawn as it first appears upon the mountains. "The day before the locusts arrived, we were certain that they were approaching from a yellow reflexion produced by their yellow wings in the heavens. As soon as this was observed, no one doubted that a vast swarm of locusts was at hand" (from a description quoted by Credner, p. 274). Of a flight of locusts in the Sinai peninsula, the Rev. F. W. Holland writes, "They soon increased in number, and as

people and a strong, there hath not been ever the like, neither shall be any more after them, even to the years of many generations. A fire devoureth before them; and ³ behind them a flame burneth: the land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness;

their glazed wings glanced in the sun, they had the appearance of a snow-storm. Many settled on the ground, which was soon in many places quite yellow with them, and every blade of green soon disappeared" (ap. Tristram, *N.H.B.* p. 316). "Their flight may be likened to an immense snow-storm, extending from the ground to a height at which our visual organs perceive them only as minute, darting scintillations....., a vast cloud of animated specks, glittering against the sun. On the horizon they often appear as a dust tornado, riding upon the wind like an ominous hail-storm, eddying and whirling about and finally sweeping up to and past you, with a power that is irresistible" (C. V. Riley, *The Rocky Mountain Locust*, p. 85 f.). [Duhm, pointing the Hebrew word differently, renders "as blackness on the mountains." Bewer accepts this, and draws attention to the exaggerated language, which, he says, the writer took "from the prophetic vocabulary." He points out that the locusts are regarded as settled on the ground, when the sheen of their wings would not be so visible.]

a great people and a strong] terms applied elsewhere to a human nation (Ex. i. 9; Deut. vii. 1: comp. on ch. i. 6); and suitable to locusts, because they advance not only in vast numbers, but also (comp. on *vv.* 5, 7, 8) with the order and directness of an organized host, against which all measures of defence are practically unavailing.

there hath not been, &c.] cf. Ex. x. 14 *b.*

3. *A fire devoureth before them, &c.*] A hyperbolical description of the destructive march of a swarm of locusts: the country which they have passed over is left as bare as if it had been wasted by fire; and the prophet accordingly imagines poetically a fire as preceding and following them on their course. Many travellers have used the same comparison: one says, for instance, "Wherever they come, the ground seems burned, as it were with fire." Another, "They covered a square mile so completely, that it appeared, at a little distance, to have been burned and strewed over with brown ashes." And a third, "Wherever they settled, it looked as if fire had devoured and burnt up everything." Palestine was invaded by locusts in 1865; from June 13 to 15 they poured into Nazareth: "the trees," an eye-witness wrote, "are as barren as in England in winter, but it looks as if the country had been burnt by fire" (*Eccles. Gazette*, 1865, p. 55).

as the garden of Eden] like a park (LXX. here, as in Gen., *παράδεισος*), richly watered, and well stocked with majestic trees (Gen. ii. 8—10): the comparison, as Ezek. xxxvi. 35 (of the restored land of Israel) "this land that was desolate is become like the garden of Eden": similarly *the garden of Jehovah*, Gen. xiii. 10, Is. li. 3 (in the parallel clause, *Eden*); cf. also the *trees of Eden*, Ez. xxxi. 9, 16, 18.

4 yea, and none hath escaped them. The appearance of them is as the appearance of horses; and as ¹horsemen, so
5 do they run. Like the noise of chariots on the tops of the

¹ Or, *war-horses*

and behind them a desolate wilderness] The destruction wrought by locusts is such as to be hardly imaginable by those who have not witnessed it: see the next note; and cf. Ex. x. 15.

hath escaped them] **escapeth** them. Present tenses, in English, represent the scene, as pictured by Joel, most vividly; and are best throughout to *v.* 11. The fact noted by the prophet is literally true, as almost every observer testifies. "On whatever spot they fall, the whole vegetable produce disappears. Nothing escapes them, from the leaves on the forest to the herbs on the plain" (Clarke, *Travels*, I. 428 f.). "They had [for a space of 80—90 miles in length] devoured every green herb, and every herb of grass." "Not a shrub nor blade of grass was visible" (Barrow, *S. Africa*, pp. 242, 257).

4—9. Further description of the march of the locusts. They move on like some mighty host: the noise of their approach is heard from afar; they spread terror before them; their advance is irresistible; the keenest weapons, the strongest walls, are alike powerless to arrest their progress.

4. *as the appearance of horses, &c.]* partly on account of their speed and compact array, but chiefly on account of a resemblance which has been often observed between the head of a locust and the head of a horse (hence the Italian *cavalletta*, and the German name [for grasshopper] *Heupferd*). Theodoret says, "If you observe attentively the head of a locust, you will find it exceedingly like the head of a horse." And an Arabic poet, quoted by Bochart, *Hieroz.* P. II., L. iv., c. 4, writes, "They have the thigh of a camel, the legs of an ostrich, the wings of an eagle, the breast of a lion, a tail like a viper's; and the appearance of a horse adorns them about the head and mouth." C. Niebuhr heard a similar description in Bagdād (*Beschreibung von Arabien*, 1772, p. 173). "To this day the same metaphor is familiar in every Arab camp" (Tristram, *N.H.B.* p. 314). See also Rev. ix. 7.

as horsemen,—or (as marg.) as war-horses—so do they run] charging with the same directness, and also with the same swiftness and sure-footedness. For these virtues of an ancient warrior, cf. 2 Sam. i. 23, ii. 18; Ps. xviii. 33.

5. *Like the noise of chariots, &c.]* Cf. Rev. ix. 9, "And the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots, of many horses rushing to war." The remarkable noise made by a flight of locusts is noticed by many travellers. "Within a hundred paces, I heard the rushing noise occasioned by the flight of so many millions of insects. When I was in the midst of them, it was as loud as the dashing of waters occasioned by the mill-wheel." "While passing over our heads, their sound was as of a great cataract." "In flying they make a rushing, rustling noise, as when a strong wind blows through trees." Cf. below, p. 89 (No. 1), 91 (No. 4), 92 (No. 7).

mountains do they leap, like the noise of a flame of fire that devoureth the stubble, as a strong people set in battle array. At their presence the peoples are in anguish: all faces are waxed pale. They run like mighty men; they 6

like the noise of a flame of fire that devoureth the stubble] Here the reference is to the sound made by the insects while feeding. Cyril long ago compared the noise of locusts browsing to that of a wind *φλόγα διαρριπιζοντος* (ap. Boch. *Hieroz.* III. 309); and C. V. Riley, the eminent American entomologist, speaks of it as resembling "the crackling of a prairie-fire" (*Riverside Nat. Hist.* II., p. 197). "The sound of their feeding, when in swarms, is as the rushing of flames driven by the wind" (Newman, *Hist. of Insects*, v. 1, cited in the *Speaker's Comm.*).

as a strong people set in battle array] cf. v. 2. They prepare for the attack like a mighty nation, seized to a man with martial ardour, and arrayed in order for the fray.

6. The alarm to be caused by their approach, like that occasioned by the advance of some vast horde of invaders.

At their presence the peoples are in anguish] not *people* (A.V.) but *peoples*, i.e. whole nations. For the verb, comp. Deut. ii. 25; Ez. xxx. 16: it is a strong word, applied often, and specifically, to the anguish of a woman in travail (see e.g. Is. xiii. 8, where *be in pain* should rather be, as here, *be in anguish*). The 'panic terror' (Redtenbacher, *Ueber Wanderheuschrecken*, p. 4) produced by an invasion of locusts on a large scale, can be readily imagined, if we remember not only the immense loss of property, of which they are the cause, but also the terrible destitution, which often follows in their train. In Algiers, after an invasion of locusts in 1866, 200,000 persons are said to have perished from famine. The destruction wrought frequently by the Rocky Mountain locust, over a large area of the United States, is almost incalculable (C. V. Riley, *The Rocky Mountain Locust*, chaps. II. v.). Cf. Pliny's words, below, p. 89.

all faces are waxed pale] The A.V. rendering *shall gather blackness* is not defensible¹; but the meaning of the phrase (which recurs Nah. ii. 10) cannot be said to be certain. Modern scholars, following Ibn Ezra and Abul-walid, generally render **gather in beauty**, i.e. *withdraw colour and freshness* (paraphrased in R.V. by *are waxed pale*); but it is some objection to this rendering that it gives to *kibbēt̄z* a sense which is otherwise only known to be associated with the synonym *āsaph* (see v. 10).

7—9. The attack, anticipated by the peoples with alarm (v. 6) now follows: the onward movement of the locusts is compared to that of a well-appointed army; nothing impedes their advance; there is no disorder in their ranks; they climb the highest walls, and penetrate into the strongest cities.

7. *They run like mighty men*] i.e. *like warriors*, which is what the

¹ פֶּאֶרֶר for פָּרֹר would indeed not be impossible; but to suppose that "gather a boiling-pot" could be said for "gather blackness like that of a boiling-pot" is beyond the limits of credibility. Yet several of the ancient versions and mediaeval Rabbis express this sense. [LXX. renders *ὡς προσκαῦμα χύτρας*, "like the burnt part of a pot," both here and in Nahum.]

climb the wall like men of war ; and they march every one
8 on his ways, and they break not their ranks. Neither doth
one thrust another ; they march every one in his path : and
1 they burst through the weapons, and 2 break not off *their*

¹ Or, *when they fall around the weapons, they &c.*

² Or, *are not wounded*

word (*gibbōr*) regularly denotes (2 Sam. xxiii. 8; and comp. on Am. ii. 14). *To run* means here *to charge* : cf. Ps. xviii. 29; Job xv. 26.

they climb the wall] viz. of the city which they essay to enter.

they move along every one in his ways, and they entangle not their paths] i.e. they all march straight forward into the city (Jos. vi. 5); none crosses the path of his neighbour, so as to impede his advance.

entangle] עִבְּטוֹן can hardly be rendered otherwise than *lend on pledge*, figuratively for *interchange*, which however would be here a very forced metaphor. It is better to read either יְעַבְּתוֹן, which occurs Mic. vii. 3, and which, though the root is not otherwise known, may perhaps mean *twist together, intertwine* (cf. עֲבוּת *a rope, ? something twisted*), or, with Wellh., יְעִיְתוֹן (and in Mic. וַיְעִיְתוּהָ), which certainly would mean *make crooked or twist* (Eccl. vii. 13).

The steadiness and regularity which mark the advance of a body of locusts, when moving along the ground, has been often noticed: see below, pp. 90—92. Comp. Prov. xxx. 27 “The locusts have no king; yet go they forth all of them by bands” (lit. *divided*).

8. *they move along every one in his highway*] or *raised way*, specially prepared by throwing up earth, stones, &c., and then levelling the surface (Is. xl. 3, lvii. 14, lxii. 10). Here figuratively for a definitely marked path.

and they fall about the weapons without breaking their course] i.e. weapons are powerless to arrest their progress: a few may fall wounded, when the sword is directed against them, but the mass moves on, with its ranks still unbroken. Similarly marg. The words are however difficult; and this explanation cannot be said to be certain. The R.V. rendering implies a rather doubtful paraphrase of *fall*. The rendering of A.V. *and when they fall upon the sword, they shall not be wounded* is not tenable. [LXX. has καὶ ἐν τοῖς βέλεσιν αὐτῶν πεσοῦνται, καὶ οὐ μὴ συντελεσθῶσιν, “they shall fall on their weapons and shall not come to an end.”]

weapons] not the usual word, but one (שֵׁלַח), which otherwise occurs only in late writings, viz. 2 Chr. xxiii. 10 (where the parallel passage 2 Ki. xi. 11 has the ordinary word כְּלִים), xxxii. 5 (no parallel in Kings); Neh. iv. 11, 17 [E.T. 17, 23]; Job xxxiii. 18, xxxvi. 12. *Silāh* in Arabic has the same sense.

It is practically impossible¹ to arrest or divert the advance of a body of locusts. “The guard of the Red Tower attempted to stop their irruption into Pennsylvania by firing at them; and indeed when the

¹ Except indeed by elaborate contrivances such as are in use now in Cyprus.

course. They leap upon the city; they run upon the wall; 9 they climb up into the houses; they enter in at the windows like a thief. The earth quaketh before them; the heavens 10 tremble: the sun and the moon are darkened, and the stars

balls and shot swept through the swarm, they gave way and divided; but having filled up their ranks in a moment, they proceeded on their journey." When locusts on the march approach a village, the inhabitants endeavour often to stop their advance by kindling fires, or digging trenches and filling them with water, but to little effect (see pp. 90 ff.): a flight of locusts is however sometimes deterred from alighting by the noise of pots and pans, kettles, drums, &c.

9. *They course about in the city; they run upon the wall*] No sooner have they gained an entrance than they make the city their own, and take possession of the walls. The exact force of the word rendered *course about* is not certain: it is used of locusts in Is. xxxiii. 4 ("like the *attack* of locusts, shall they *attack* it"), of a bear in Prov. xxviii. 15 ("A roaring lion, and a ranging bear"), and (in a reflexive form) of chariots charging the suburbs of a city in Nah. ii. 4 ("they jostle one against another in the broad ways").

climb up into the houses] cf. Ex. x. 6. Modern travellers relate the same: e.g. Morier, below, p. 91. Eastern windows, being not glazed, but consisting merely of an opening with lattice-work, would naturally present no obstacle to the entrance of the locusts.

10, 11. The locusts of vv. 2—9, as was remarked on v. 1, are to a certain extent idealized, and pictured as more alarming and formidable than ordinary locusts; and in these two verses, other extraordinary, awe-inspiring concomitants of their approach are signalized. Earth and heaven tremble before them; sun, moon, and stars withdraw their light; Jehovah at their head utters His voice in thunder. For the preternatural cosmical phenomena accompanying Jehovah's Day, comp. v. 31, iii. 15; Is. xiii. 10, 13 (of the day on which Babylon is to be captured by the Medes); also Am. viii. 9; Ez. xxxii. 7 f.

Before them the earth trembleth] Am. viii. 8; Ps. lxxvii. 18; and figuratively 1 Sam. xiv. 15; Prov. xxx. 21.

before them] לפניו, not, as in v. 6, מפניו (implying causality): the phenomena here described are not *caused* by the locusts, but simply herald their approach.

the heavens quake] The heavens being conceived as a solid vault resting upon the earth (comp. on Am. viii. 6). Cf. 2 Sam. xxii. 8 ("And the earth shook and *quaked*, the foundations of the heavens *trembled*"); Is. xiii. 13 ("Therefore will I make the heavens to *tremble*, and the earth shall *quake* out of its place").

are darkened] are *murky*; cf. 1 Ki. xviii. 45, Is. 1. 3, Ez. xxxii. 7, of a 'black,' leaden-coloured sky. In Arabic, the corresponding word means *to be dirty*: the Heb. קרר is used of *turbid* waters (Job vi. 16), and also of mourners (Ps. xlii. 9, Jer. xiv. 2 *al.*), with allusion to the

11 withdraw their shining: and the LORD uttereth his voice
before his army; for his camp is very great; for he is strong
that executeth his word: for the day of the LORD is great
12 and very terrible; and who can abide it? Yet even now,
saith the LORD, turn ye unto me with all your heart, and
13 with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning: and
rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the

dark-coloured sackcloth worn by them, the dust and ashes on their head, &c.

and the stars withdraw their shining] iii. 15.

11. *And Jehovah uttereth his voice*] viz. in thunder, as Ps. xviii. 13, xlv. 6, and regularly: see on Am. i. 2.

before his army] the locusts, as described in *vv.* 2—9. Cf. *v.* 25.

for, &c.] Three co-ordinate clauses, each introduced by *for*, state the reason why Jehovah thunders before His host: on account, viz. of its vastness, its strength, and the exceptional character of the Day, the advent of which it is to herald.

great...strong] cf. i. 6, ii. 2, 5.

that executeth his word] The mission of the locusts is to fulfil a Divine purpose. Comp. (of other natural agents) Ps. cxlviii. 8.

the day of Jehovah is great and very terrible] Cf. *v.* 31; Mal. iv. 5.

abide] Cf. Jer. x. 10; and esp. Mal. iii. 2 (a different conjugation of the same verb). More lit. *contain*, or *sustain*.

12—14. Nevertheless, it is still not too late to avert the judgement by earnest penitence; for God is gracious and compassionate, and ready to pardon those who turn to Him with their whole heart. Cf. Jer. iv. 14.

12. *turn ye unto me*] come back from your self-chosen course of sin, return to Me. On the idea of *turning* (or *returning*) to God in the Old Testament (from which the theological idea of “conversion” was ultimately developed), see on Am. iv. 6.

with all your heart] with the entire force of your moral purpose. The Deuteronomic phrase is “with all your heart and with all your soul” (Deut. vi. 5, and elsewhere), i.e. with the intellect and the affections combined¹; but the heart alone is often mentioned (e.g. 1 Sam. xii. 20, 24, Jer. xxix. 13; and, as here, with *turn*, 1 Sam. vii. 3, Jer. xxiv. 7). The heart is in Hebrew psychology not (as with us) the organ of the affections, but the organ of the intellect (see e.g. Hos. vii. 11); here, the organ of moral purpose and resolve.

with fasting, and with weeping, and with wailing] i.e. with grief for sin, of which these are to be the external signs. On fasting, as a mark of penitence, see on i. 14: on weeping, as its concomitant, Judg. xx. 26, Ps. lxxix. 10, Zech. vii. 3; cf. 2 Ki. xxii. 19, Is. xxii. 12, Ezr. x. 1.

13. *and rend your heart, and not your garments*] The rending of garments was an expression of exceptional emotion, whether of grief, or

¹ See the writer's *Commentary on Deuteronomy*, pp. xxi n., 73, 91.

LORD your God: for he is gracious and full of compassion, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy, and repenteth him of the evil. Who knoweth whether he will not turn and 14
repent, and leave a blessing behind him, even a meal offering and a drink offering unto the LORD your God?

terror, or horror, upon occasion of some specially overwhelming misfortune (see e.g. Gen. xxxvii. 29, 34, xliv. 13; Num. xiv. 6; Jud. xi. 35; 2 Sam. i. 2, iii. 31; 1 Ki. xxi. 27; 2 Ki. v. 7, 8, xi. 14, xix. 1, xxii. 11; Ezr. ix. 3; Est. iv. 1): deep, however, as the grief was, which thus found expression, the prophet demands, for sin, a deeper grief still, one viz. which should, speaking figuratively, *rend* the hard and stony (Ez. xxxvi. 26; Zech. vii. 12) heart, and make it pervious to godlike thoughts and emotions. Comp. the 'broken and crushed (contrite) heart' of Ps. li. 17; and the figure of the circumcision of the heart, Deut. x. 16, Jer. iv. 4. Fasting, like other external ordinances (cf. on Am. v. 21 f.), was liable to degenerate into an unspiritual form (see Is. lviii. 3 b, 4, 5; Zech. vii. 5); and the prophet insists accordingly, with earnestness, on the spiritual conditions which must accompany it, if it is to be a reality. Comp. especially the eloquent development of the same theme in Is. lviii. 3—12, where the true fast, in which Jehovah delights, is said to consist in acts of mercy, philanthropy, and liberality. See also Mt. vi. 16—18; and Eccus. xxxiv. 26.

gracious and full of compassion, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy] Almost *verbatim* from Ex. xxxiv. 6 (the great declaration of Jehovah's character, made to Moses): similarly Ps. lxxxvi. 15, ciii. 8, cxlv. 8, Jon. iv. 2 b, Neh. ix. 17; comp. also the first two epithets in Num. xiv. 18; Ps. cxi. 4; Neh. ix. 31; 2 Chr. xxx. 9.

and repenteth him of the evil] So also Jon. iv. 2 b. The evil meant is that which He has threatened to bring upon an individual or a nation. The implicit condition of Jehovah's repentance is, of course, the prior repentance of the individual or nation concerned, and the unreserved abandonment of their evil way: see Jer. xviii. 5—12; Jon. iii. 10. (Other motives are, however, sometimes assigned for Jehovah's repentance, as Ex. xxxii. 12—14; Am. vii. 2—3, 5—6; cf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 16.)

14. *Who knoweth whether he will not turn*] lit. *Who knoweth? he will...*, i.e. *Peradventure he will turn*. The same idiom in 2 Sam. xii. 22, and (in the same phrase as here) Jon. iii. 9.

turn back] viz. from the path of judgement upon which he has entered.

and leave a blessing behind him] as he turns back.

a blessing] viz. by permitting the earth again to mature its fruits and yield materials for the meal- and drink-offerings in the sanctuary (i. 9). The fruits of the earth are a *blessing* bestowed by God upon man (Deut. vii. 13, xvi. 10, 15, 17, &c.); and they are a double blessing, when, as here, being such as can be offered to Jehovah, they help to ensure His good-will.

15 Blow the trumpet in Zion, sanctify a fast, call a solemn
 16 assembly: gather the people, sanctify the congregation,
 assemble the ¹old men, gather the children, and those that
 suck the breasts: let the bridegroom go forth of his cham-
 17 ber, and the bride out of her closet. Let the priests, the
 ministers of the LORD, weep between the porch and the

¹ Or, *elders*

15—17. With the view of making the preceding exhortation (*v.* 12 f.) more practically effective, the prophet here repeats more emphatically the command of *i.* 14: he bids all ranks and classes assemble in the Temple for a solemn religious service, and prescribes at the same time the words in which the priests may intercede on behalf of the nation. [But another explanation is possible. It is evident that by *v.* 18 the people have responded to the call to repentance. It is, therefore, not improbable that the verbs in *vv.* 15, 16 should be read as perfects and in *v.* 17 as “frequentative” imperfects, instead of imperatives: *they blew the trumpet, the priests kept weeping, &c.* This involves a different vocalization, but not the alteration of a single consonant.]

15. *Blow the horn in Zion*] Repeated *verbatim* from *v.* 1, though in a different sense, as a call, namely, to a religious gathering, not as a signal of the approach of judgement (cf. on Am. ii. 2).

sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly] as *i.* 14 *a* (first two clauses).

16. An expansion of the injunctions contained in the rest of *i.* 14 *a*. *sanctify an assembly*] i.e. hold a sacred religious meeting.

assemble the old men] All are to take part in the great public act of national humiliation and supplication, neither old men nor children are to be excepted; even the newly married bride and bridegroom, who might deem themselves entitled to claim exemption from such duties (cf. Deut. xxiv. 5), are to come forth from their retirement for the purpose.

closet] rather, **pavilion**; the idea suggested by ‘closet’ is too modern. The reference is no doubt to the special nuptial tent (cf. 2 S. xvi. 22), still, in Arabia, erected for the consummation of a marriage. In Arabic a common phrase for ‘to marry a wife’ is ‘to build over her’ (sc. a tent, with reference to this custom). The later bridal bed, with its canopy, appears to be a survival of the more primitive ‘tent’¹. *Huppāh* is a rare word in Hebrew: in Ps. xix. 5 it is spoken of also as the bridegroom’s. Here *héder* (‘chamber’), in the parallel clause, appears to be merely a poetical synonym of it².

17. *weep*] in grief and contrition: cf. Jud. ii. 4; and on *v.* 12.

between the porch and the altar] between the porch on the E. end of

¹ See W. R. Smith, *Marriage and Kinship in Early Arabia*, pp. 167—170, 291; Wellhausen’s essay, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern* in the *Göttingen Nachrichten*, 1893, No. 11, p. 444 f.; and Levy’s *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*, s. v. גְּנוּן (i. 348), and הוּפָה (ii. 92).

² Cf. Jud. xiv. 18, where הַהַרְרָה should probably be read for הַהַרְרָה, “before he went into the bride-chamber.”

altar, and let them say, Spare thy people, O LORD, and give not thine heritage to reproach, that the nations should ¹rule over them: wherefore should they say among the peoples, Where is their God?

Then was the LORD jealous for his land, and had pity 18

¹ Or, *use a byword against them*

the Temple (1 Ki. vi. 3), and the great altar of burnt-offering in front of it (1 Ki. viii. 64; 2 Chr. viii. 12) in the 'inner court' (1 Ki. vi. 36), also called 'the court of the priests,' in contradistinction to the 'great court' (*ib.*) outside, into which alone the laity were admitted. The same expression occurs in Ez. viii. 16. The priests are pictured as engaged there in supplication, with their faces (unlike those of the idolaters in Ez. viii. 16) turned towards the sanctuary.

give not thine heritage to reproach] cf. Ez. xxii. 4, xxxvi. 30 ("the reproach of famine among the nations"; Ps. xliv. 13, lxxix. 4, lxxxix. 41. The fact of Judah's being Jehovah's *people* and *inheritance*, is made the basis of the appeal, as Deut. ix. 26, 29.

that the nations should rule over them] This translation is perfectly legitimate grammatically; but in the context there has been no mention of Judah being dominated by foreign nations, but only of the country having been devastated by locusts and drought; hence the rendering **make proverbs of** (i.e. use their name as a by-word) is more probable (cf. marg.); comp. Jer. xxiv. 9 ("to be a *reproach* and a *proverb*... in all places whither I shall drive them"), Ps. xliv. 13a, 14a. The country suffering as it did, the heathen would be tempted to mock Israel, to declare that they were abandoned by their God, and that He lacked either the power or the will to save them. Comp. Ex. xxxii. 12; Num. xiv. 13—16; Deut. ix. 28.

wherefore should they say among the peoples, Where is their God?] Such is the taunt which the peoples of the earth would address to them, when they saw their distress. Comp. Mic. vii. 10; Ps. xlii. 10, lxxix. 10, cxv. 2,—in lxxix. 10, as here, a motive for God's intervention.

With the general picture of the nation, small and great alike, assembled as suppliants in the Temple, with the priests leading their devotions, comp. Judith iv. 9—15.

PART II. CHAP. II. 18—III. 21.

Jehovah's answer to His people's prayer of penitence. He will remove from them the plague of locusts, and bestow upon them an abundance of both material and spiritual gifts (ii. 18—32); His judgement will alight only upon the nations who are their foes; His own people will dwell for ever securely under the protection of His presence (ch. iii.).

18, 19. *Then was Jehovah jealous for his land, and had pity*] Though it is not expressly so stated, it is understood that the prophet's

19 on his people. And the LORD answered and said unto his people, Behold, I will send you corn, and wine, and oil, and ye shall be satisfied therewith: and I will no more
20 make you a reproach among the nations: but I will remove far off from you the northern *army*, and will drive him into

exhortations had the intended effect; the people shewed themselves to be truly penitent; the priests interceded on their behalf; and the words quoted describe Jehovah's gracious change of purpose, and the promises which He in consequence vouchsafed to His people. The future tenses of the A.V. are grammatically indefensible¹.

jealous for his land] Zech. i. 14, viii. 2. Jehovah is "jealous," when His power is doubted, or the honour which is His due is given to another (see Ex. xx. 5; Deut. iv. 24, xxxii. 21; Is. xlii. 8; Zeph. iii. 8, noticing in each case the context): this happens, however, when His people or His land suffer, and the heathen argue in consequence that He is unable to relieve them; accordingly the feeling of "jealousy" prompts Him then to interpose on their behalf (Ezek. xxxvi. 5, 6; cf. Is. ix. 7, xxxvii. 32, where *zeal* is a very inadequate rendering).

19. Jehovah's favourable answer: He will no longer suffer His people to be deprived by the locusts of the fruits of the earth, nor give occasion for the heathen to reproach them.

will send] **am sending**,—the ptep., as often, of the immediate future.

the corn, and the must, and the fresh oil] which they were in need of (i. 10).

and ye shall be satisfied therewith] They should have it in abundance.

a reproach among the nations] v. 17 b.

20. *from you*] lit. *from upon you*, from being a burden on you; a delicate Hebrew idiom which cannot generally be represented without stiffness in English: comp. on Am. v. 23; and see Ex. x. 17 ('remove *from upon* me,'—also of locusts).

the northern army] lit. *the northern one*. The reference, as seems evident both from the context and also from the words following (which exactly describe the fate of a swarm of locusts), can be only to the locusts: although it is true that locusts generally invade Palestine from the S. or S.E., there is not sufficient ground for supposing this rule to be a universal one: they are not indigenous in Palestine, but are brought thither by the wind from their breeding-ground; and instances are on record of their being seen in the Syrian desert—Niebuhr, for instance (Credner, p. 271), saw a large tract of country between Mosul and Nisibis covered with young locusts—whence a N.E. wind would readily bear them towards Judah, in which case the epithet *Northern* would very naturally be applied to them. (The Chaldeans, though Babylon is in reality almost due East of Palestine, are often spoken of as coming from the North, on account of that being the usual direction of their approach; Jer. xiii. 20, xlvii. 2, &c.).

¹ See the grounds for this statement in the writer's *Hebrew Tenses*, § 82 *Obs.*

a land barren and desolate, ¹his forepart ²into the eastern sea, and his hinder part ²into the western sea; and his stink shall come up, and his ill savour shall come up, because he

¹ Or, *with his forepart*

² Or, *toward*

into a dry land, and a waste] i.e. into the desert, on the S.E. or S. of Judah.

his forepart (or *van* : lit. *face*) *into the eastern sea*] lit. *the front sea*, i.e. the Dead Sea (Ez. xlvii. 18; Zech. xiv. 8).

and his rear (lit. *end*) *into the western sea*] lit. *the hinder sea*, i.e. the Mediterranean Sea (Deut. xi. 24, xxxiv. 2; Zech. xiv. 8). The Hebrews, like other ancient nations, in fixing the points of the compass, faced Eastwards; hence *in front* or *before* is often used for the East, *behind* for the West, *the right hand* for the South (cf. the Arab. *Yemen*, i.e. the South part of Arabia). The description of the removal of the locusts is naturally not to be understood with prosaic literalness: it is intended rather as an imaginative representation of their rapid and complete destruction, though a wind rising first in the N.W., and afterwards gradually veering round to the N.E., would produce approximately the effects indicated.

Rear (רִיחַ) is properly an Aramaic word (Dan. iv. 8, &c.), occurring otherwise only in late Hebrew, 2 Chr. xx. 16; Eccl. iii. 11, vii. 2, xii. 13.

and his stink shall come up,] **that his foulness may come up**] The tautology, and especially the tense and construction (וְהָעֵל) of the second clause, make it probable that the first clause (here bracketed) is a gloss, based upon Is. xxxiv. 3 (cf. Am. iv. 10), designed for the purpose of explaining the rare word צִהְנָה (found only here) rendered *foulness*¹. The reference is to the decaying carcasses of the locusts, which often (see below) have been known to produce putrid exhalations.

because he hath done great things] lit. *hath shewn greatness in doing*. Applied to God (see the next verse), the phrase is used in a good sense; applied to His creatures, it implies that they have in some way done more than they should have done, or have acted overweeningly (cf. Lam. i. 9, of the Chaldaeans: lit. "the enemy *hath shewn greatness*"; Ps. xxxv. 26 *al.*). There is of course a logical inexactness in the application of the expression to insects unconscious of moral distinctions; but the prophet invests them poetically with rational powers, just as other prophets for instance imagine trees or mountains as capable of rejoicing because Jehovah has redeemed His people (Is. xlv. 23, &c.).

It is a common fate of locust swarms to be driven away by the wind, and to perish in the sea (Ex. x. 19). Jerome says that in his own time when Judaea had been visited by locusts, he had known them to be driven by the wind into the same two seas which are mentioned by Joel,

¹ The meaning is fixed by the Aramaic (see Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.* col. 3393-4).

21 hath done great things. Fear not, O land, be glad and
 22 rejoice ; for the LORD hath done great things. Be not afraid,
 ye beasts of the field ; for the pastures of the wilderness do
 spring, for the tree beareth her fruit, the fig tree and the
 23 vine do yield their strength. Be glad then, ye children of
 Zion, and rejoice in the LORD your God : for he giveth you
 the former rain ¹ in just measure, and he causeth to come

¹ Or, *in (or for) righteousness*

the shores of both being strewn afterwards by their carcasses, cast up by the waters, producing pestilential odours. Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, III. 31) quotes heathen writers as stating how in Africa immense swarms of locusts, cast by the wind into the sea, were afterwards thrown up by the waves, infecting the air, and giving rise to a serious pestilence. Locusts "not only produce a famine, but in districts near the sea where they had been drowned, they have occasioned a pestilence from the putrid effluvia of the immense numbers blown upon the coast or thrown up by the tides" (L'orbes, *Memoirs*, II. 373). "The South and East winds drive the clouds of locusts with violence into the Mediterranean, and drown them in such quantities, that when their dead are cast on the shore they infect the air to a great distance" (Volney, I. 278).

21—27. The prophet here speaks himself; and developing in jubilant tones the promise of *vv.* 19, 20, first of all (*vv.* 21—23) bids in turn the land, the beasts of the field, and the children of Zion, exult on account of the deliverance vouchsafed by Jehovah; and then (*vv.* 24—27) proceeds to dilate upon the felicity which His people will subsequently enjoy.

21. *O land*] more exactly, **O ground**; i.e. the soil which until now has been "mourning" (i. 10) under the sore visitation.

for Jehovah hath done great things] exactly the same phrase as in *v.* 20, the past tense, however, being here the "prophetic past" (comp. on Am. v. 2), and describing in reality what Jehovah will do. For the application of the phrase to Jehovah, see Ps. cxxvi. 2, 3.

22. The beasts of the field, whose sufferings were described in i. 18, 20, need now fear no longer: the "pastures of the wilderness," which but recently were burnt up (i. 19), will now soon begin to spring.

spring] lit. *have young grass*: the verb being cognate with the word for "young grass," Gen. i. 11 ("let the earth *grass forth young grass*"), 12; Ps. xxiii. 2 (lit. "pastures of *young grass*").

the fig tree and the vine] which were described as ravaged in i. 7, 12. The tenses in this verse are in the Hebrew perfects, to be explained as the perfect in *v.* 21.

23. *giveth*] another instance of the prophetic perfect.

the former rain...and the latter rain] Heb. *mōreh*, and *malkōsh*: the rains which marked respectively the beginning and the close of the wet season, coming in Oct.—Nov. and March—April respectively. The

down for you the rain, the former rain and the latter rain,
¹in the first *month*. And the floors shall be full of wheat, 24

¹ Or, *at the first*

“former rain” moistens the earth and fits it to receive the seeds which are sown shortly afterwards: the “latter rain” is important for giving fulness and strength to the ripening crops: if either rain fails, the ensuing harvest is seriously damaged. Comp. Deut. xi. 14; Jer. v. 24. The refreshing and invigorating effects of the “latter rain” are alluded to in Hos. vi. 3; Prov. xvi. 15; Job xxix. 23: in Jer. iii. 3 it is spoken of as having been “withholden.”

in just measure] according to righteousness (comp. Hos. x. 12 Heb.), i.e. as His righteousness prompts Him to give it (cf. Is. xlii. 6, xlv. 13).

The Heb. words rendered “the former rain in just measure” would admit also of the rendering “the teacher unto righteousness” (*teacher*, as Is. xxx. 20, of the prophets). This is an old Jewish interpretation, found in the Targ., Symm., Vulg. (*doctorem justitiae*), Rashi, Abarbanel; adopted hence in A.V. marg., and by some moderns, as Keil, Pusey, Merx, the reference being supposed to be to the Messiah. But the context, which from v. 22 to v. 26 speaks solely of the gifts of the earth, is much opposed to this explanation; the spiritual gifts follow in vv. 28, 29.

causeth, &c.] **hath caused.** The tense in the original is the historical one, which normally in Hebrew (Gen. i. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, &c.) introduces the sequel to a preceding historical one. The prophet, however, maintains the standpoint which he has adopted before (*hath done* v. 21; *have sprung* &c. v. 22; *hath given* v. 23), using “prophetic” pasts, and describing what is future as though it were already accomplished. A.V. renders by the future tense, which, though correct as an *interpretation*, is unjustifiable as a *translation*. There is an exactly similar case in Is. ix. 6 (Heb. 5): *shall be* (twice) ought there to be grammatically *is*, the prophet still maintaining the standpoint of *vv.* 1—4 (Heb. viii. 23—ix. 3), and continuing to describe the future in terms of the past.

the rain] *gêshem*, an abundant rain, or winter-rain (on Am. iv. 7).
the former rain, and the latter rain in the first month] The first month (of the ecclesiastical year) was Nisan, which corresponded to part of our March—April, and so would agree with the time of the “latter rain”; but the addition destroys the balance of the two clauses, besides being otiose (since every one would know at what period of the year the “latter rain” might be expected). Others (placing the comma differently) render, “the former rain and the latter rain, *at the first*” (so marg.), or *first of all*,—in contrast namely to the spiritual gifts to be added *afterwards* (iii. 1); this yields a tolerable sense, but implies *בראשונה* (Zech. xii. 7; Deut. xiii. 10 *al.*) for *בראשון*. As *aforetime* is perhaps the idea that would most naturally be expected: but this

25 and the fats shall overflow with wine and oil. And I will restore to you the years that ¹the locust hath eaten, the

¹ See ch. i. 4.

implies כְּרֵאשׁוֹנָה (Is. i. 26 *al.*)—or possibly (for it does not actually occur with that meaning) כְּרֵאשׁוֹנָה—for בְּרֵאשׁוֹן.

The 'former rain' and the 'latter rain' are not naturally epexegetical of the preceding *gêshem*, which would denote rather the copious rains of winter; the repetition of the 'former rain' in the verse is also tautologous. The verse is improved, if with Wellh. we suppose the second 'former rain' to have come in by error (on account of the natural combination "*mōreh* and *malkōsh*"): if it be omitted, the three principal rains of the year will be mentioned successively, the *former rain*, the *winter-rain*, and the *latter rain* (cf. Jer. v. 24 Heb.).

24. The reversal of i. 10—12.

the floors] i.e. the threshing-floors—which, however, were not like our threshing-floors: see the description in the footnote on p. 229.

fats] i.e. (as we should say) *vats*, *fat* being an old form of *vat*, A.S. *fat*, Germ. *Fass*: so often in R.V., as iii. 13; Hag. ii. 16. Both the *gath*, in which the grapes were trodden (Neh. xiii. 15; Is. lxiii. 2, where *winefat* is wrong), and the *yekeb* (lit. *a place hollowed out*), in which the expressed juice was received (cf. on Am. ix. 13), were commonly excavated in the rock (cf. Is. v. 2, "and also hewed out in it a *yekeb*," or *winefat* [so marg.]): and remains of those dug in ancient times are still to be seen in Palestine. Robinson (*B.R.* III. 137) describes one: on the upper side of a ledge of rock, a shallow vat had been dug out, 8 feet square, and 15 inches deep; two feet below there was another smaller vat, 4 feet square and 3 feet deep; the grapes were trodden in the shallow upper vat, and the hole by which the juice was drawn off into the lower vat still remained. Cf. *ib.* p. 381 (a similar arrangement in use in 1852). Sometimes there were two such lower receptacles, communicating with each other, attached to the *gath*; and Schick (*Z.D.P.V.* x. 1887, p. 146 f.) describes one with three: the must, in such cases, would be transferred from one to the other in order gradually to clarify.

overflow] iii. 13. Comp. Prov. iii. 10, "and thy vats shall burst with must (or new wine)."

wine and oil] **new wine** (or **must**) **and fresh oil** (as i. 10). Olives are now usually crushed by a large circular stone revolving in a kind of mortar; but formerly (see Mic. vi. 15; and cf. the name *Gethsemane*, "oil-press") they were trodden by the feet of men, like grapes.

25. Abundance in place of the deprivations of i. 4.

And I] The discourse of the prophet passing imperceptibly, as often, into that of Jehovah: cf. e.g. Is. iii. 4, xiii. 11, lvi. 7, lx. 7, 21.

the years] The expression shews that the visitation of locusts, spoken of in ch. i., was not confined to a single year. [But it is possible that, with a slight alteration, we should read "the fatness" for "the years" (שְׁמֵנִים for שָׁנִים) cf. Gen. xxvii. 28.]

cankerworm, and the caterpillar, and the palmerworm, my great army which I sent among you. And ye shall eat in plenty and be satisfied, and shall praise the name of the LORD your God, that hath dealt wondrously with you: and my people shall never be ashamed. And ye shall know that I am in the midst of Israel, and that I am the LORD your God, and there is none else: and my people shall never be ashamed.

the locust....., the cankerworm, and the caterpillar, and the palmerworm] the swarmer....., the lapper, the finisher, and the shearer: see on i. 4. army, as v. 11.

26. *shall praise, &c.]* In acknowledgment of His bounty: cf. (of the Canaanites) Jud. ix. 27 (R.V. marg.).

shall never be ashamed] or *disappointed* (on i. 11),—being worthy of, and accordingly receiving, the protection of their God (cf. Is. xxix. 29, xlix. 23, l. 7, Ps. xxii. 5, xxv. 3).

27. The restoration of the people's prosperity will further give them the assurance that Jehovah is in their midst, and will continue their defender and deliverer for ever.

in the midst of Israel] as its present helper and saviour: comp. Ex. xvii. 7; Num. xi. 20, xiv. 14; Deut. vii. 21, xxxi. 17; Jos. iii. 10; Hos. xi. 9; Is. xii. 6 *al.*

and that I am Jehovah your God] Cf. iii. 17, "So shall ye know that I am Jehovah your God." The phrase is a stereotyped one, which occurs (with or without *your God*) often in certain parts of the O. T., usually to denote the conviction produced by some great act of judgement or deliverance upon those who witness it. In Ezekiel (who uses it—with *ye, they, or thou*, as the case may be—more than 30 times) it is a standing refrain, coming often at the end of a paragraph, or a prophecy, as vi. 7, 10, 13, 14, vii. 4, 9, 27, xx. 42, xxv. 5, 7, 11, 17, xxxvi. 38, xxxvii. 13, 28, xxxix. 6, 7, 22, 28: it occurs also several times in the priestly sections of the Pent. (Ex. vi. 7, vii. 5, xiv. 4, 18, xvi. 12, xxix. 46), and occasionally besides (Ex. x. 2 [cf. viii. 18 *b*]; 1 Ki. xx. 13, 28; Is. xlix. 23, 26, lx. 16). Comp. the writer's *Introduction*, p. 295.

and (that) there is none else] For who but Jehovah can cause the heavens to give forth rain (Jer. xiv. 22), or the earth to bear fruit abundantly? Comp. Is. xlv. 5, 6, 18; also Deut. iv. 35, 39, 1 Ki. viii. 60.

28—32 (ch. iii. in the Hebrew). The hearts of His people having been directed towards Him (*vv.* 26—27) by the material benefits conferred in *vv.* 23—25, Jehovah promises next to superadd spiritual gifts; He pours forth His spirit upon them, with the result that all are endowed with clearer perceptions of Divine truth (*vv.* 28—29): His own people being thus provided for, the signs of an approaching judgement upon the nations will then manifest themselves (*v.* 30 *f.*); amid which, however, those who, in virtue of the regenerating influence of

And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters

the spirit (*v.* 28), are become the true children of God, will be delivered (*v.* 32).

28. *afterward*] After the bestowal of the material prosperity promised in *vv.* 23—26.

pour out] i.e. send forth, not in scant measure, but abundantly: the measure of spiritual illumination, which was normally restricted to prophets or other favoured individuals, will be extended to all. The prophets regularly, in their visions of the future, look forward to an age when Israel will both enjoy the undisturbed possession of material benefits, and also be morally and spiritually regenerate: see e.g. Is. xxix. 18—24, xxx. 23—25, xxxii. 1—8 (the change of character, which is to mark the ideal Israel of the future), 15—18, xxxiii. 5, 6, 24, lv. 13, 14; Jer. xxxi. 12—14 and 33—34. For the gift of the spirit in particular, comp. Is. xxxii. 15, xliv. 3, lix. 21; Ez. xxxvi. 27, xxxix. 29; Zech. xii. 10.

my spirit] The 'spirit' in man is the principle of life, upon which consciousness and intelligence depend, and which imparts activity to the inert 'flesh' (see e.g. Gen. ii. 7; Ps. cxlvi. 4; Is. xxxi. 3, xlii. 5; Ez. xxxvii. 5, 9, 10—14): and the 'spirit' of God is analogously (in the O.T.) the conscious vital force peculiar to God, which, as proceeding from Him, is the power which creates and sustains the life of created beings (Gen. i. 2; Job xxxiii. 4; Ps. civ. 30), and to the operation of which are attributed extraordinary faculties and activities of man, as well as supernatural spiritual gifts (see e.g. Gen. xli. 38; Ex. xxxi. 3; Num. xi. 17; Jud. xi. 29; 1 Sam. xi. 6, xvi. 13; Mic. iii. 8; Is. xi. 2, lxiii. 11; Ps. li. 11; Hag. ii. 5; Neh. ix. 20; and compare the passages quoted at the end of the last note). The spirit of God is mentioned, as the source, in particular, of prophetic power (whether in its lower or higher forms) in Num. xi. 25, 26, 29; 1 Sam. x. 6, 10; 2 Sam. xxiii. 2; Hos. ix. 7; Is. xlii. 1, lix. 21, lxi. 1; Zech. vii. 12; Neh. ix. 30. Similarly here: Joel anticipates a time when the aspiration of Moses (Num. xi. 29) will be realized.

all flesh] The expression is used (*a*) sometimes in a wider sense to denote all living beings, including both mankind and animals, as Gen. vi. 17, 19; (*b*) sometimes in a narrower sense, of mankind alone, as Is. xl. 5, xlix. 26. Here it is used in the second sense: but the prophet, as the context shews, has in reality only Israel in his mind; other nations are pictured by him as destroyed (iii. 2, 9 ff.). Comp. the surprise expressed in Acts x. 45 at the Spirit being poured out upon the Gentiles.

and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, &c.] Joel poetically specializes the operation of the spirit, in such a manner that it manifests itself differently in different classes of the people. The distinction is not to be understood with prosaic literalness any more than it is to be inferred from Is. xi. 12 (see the Heb.) that Isaiah expected only the men of Israel, and the women of Judah, to return from exile.

shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions: and also upon the servants and upon 29 the handmaids in those days will I pour out my spirit. And I will shew wonders in the heavens and in the earth, 30 blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be 31

prophesy] i.e. will have insight into Divine truth, and will be moved to express it, in the manner which is at present confined to such as specially bear the name of prophets. The term is of course not to be misunderstood, as if it referred merely to predictions relating to the future: the reference is in general to inspired instruction in moral and religious truth. Two special modes of consciousness in which Divine truths frequently presented themselves to the prophet (Num. xii. 6) are then particularized, the *dream* and the *vision*: in illustration of the former, see Deut. xiii. 2, Jer. xxiii. 25, 32, xxvii. 9, xxix. 8 (in these passages the dream is spoken of in terms of disparagement, on account of its liability to become a source of self-deception); for the latter, see on Am. i. 1 and vii. 1.

young men] how, it may be asked, do the "young men" differ from the "sons," just before? Probably as older and more independent; it is the term often employed to denote the young, able-bodied warriors of Israel (2 Ki. viii. 12; Jer. xi. 22, xviii. 21).

29. Even those holding menial positions will share in the same spiritual illumination (comp. in the N.T. 1 Cor. xii. 13; Gal. iii. 28; Col. iii. 11).

30—31. The signs of approaching judgement which will then appear. *shew*] lit. *give*, as Ex. vii. 9; Deut. vi. 22.

wonders] better (for the word used has no connexion with those commonly rendered *wonderful*, *wondrous*) **portents**, extraordinary phenomena—natural, or supernatural, as the case might be—arresting attention: see e.g. Ex. iv. 21, vii. 9; Is. viii. 18; Ez. xii. 11.

blood, and fire] i.e. either, as some suppose, wars on an unprecedented scale ('portents *in the earth*'), or more probably (as wars are not suggested by the context), abnormal atmospherical phenomena (cf. v. 31).

pillars of smoke] Cant. iii. 6, of the smoke of incense, heralding a procession (the word rendered *pillars* occurs only in these two passages). Possibly of the columns of smoke rising up from burnt cities (Jud. xx. 38, 40; cf. Is. ix. 18); more probably (Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, Southern Pal., p. 142) with allusion to columns of sand and dust raised high in the air by local whirlwinds accompanying a sirocco, which sometimes "march with great rapidity over the open plain, and closely resemble 'pillars of smoke'."

31. Celestial portents. The imagery may be suggested partly by eclipses (cf. on Am. viii. 9), partly by unusual obscurations of sun or moon through atmospheric disturbances,—for instance, sand-storms, cyclones, flights of locusts, &c. "A dreadful whirlwind occurred here

turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the
 32 great and terrible day of the LORD come. And it shall
 come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of
 the LORD shall be delivered: for in mount Zion and in
 Jerusalem there shall be those that escape, as the LORD

[in Allahabad] on June 2, 1838. The whole sky was *blood-red*, not
 with clouds, for there was not a cloud to be seen. Overhead moved
 immense masses of dust; but below there was not a breath of wind.
 Shortly after, the wind rose, carrying with it sand and dust. It soon
 became extremely dark, although the sun was still up. The darkness
 was not only visible but tangible. The wind wrought immense damage”
 (*Asiatic Journal*, Nov. 1838, p. 155, referred to by Ewald).

into darkness] comp. *v.* 10, with the passages there cited.

into blood] comp. Rev. vi. 12 (the imagery of which is based upon
 this passage, as that of *vv.* 13, 14 is upon Is. xxxiv. 4). Ovid (quoted
 by Credner), among the celestial portents which he describes as pre-
 ceding the death of Caesar, includes *sparsi lunares sanguine currus*
 (*Met.* xv. 790).

before &c.] exactly the same words as in Mal. iv. 5.

32. Those however who have responded to the grace given to them
 (*v.* 28 f.), and are the true servants of Jehovah, will be secure, even in
 the midst of such alarming manifestations (cf. iii. 16 b).

call on] this is the conventional rendering of the Hebrew phrase
 employed; but it means properly *to call with*, i.e. to make use of the
 name in calling; and it may denote (according to the context) either
to proclaim (Ex. xxxiii. 19), or *to announce publicly, celebrate* (Is. xii. 4;
 Ps. cv. 1), or, as here, *to invoke* (so Gen. iv. 26, xii. 8, and most fre-
 quently). The meaning is of course not an invocation rendered merely
 by the lips (the “Lord, Lord” of Matt. vii. 21), but one which is also
 the expression of the genuine feelings of the heart. In the context, it
 is evident that the prophet is speaking only of the Jews; but the terms
 used by him are perfectly general (“whosoever”); the conditions of
 salvation are not membership in Israel, but trust in God: hence
implicitly others besides Israel are included in the expression; and in
 this wider sense the words are quoted by S. Paul (Rom. x. 13) to shew
 that the Greek not less than the Jew is entitled to share in the salvation
 of the Gospel.

shall be those that escape] viz. from the impending judgement (comp.
 in the Hebr. Is. iv. 2, xxxvii. 32). The same words in Ob. 17 “But in
 Mount Zion there shall be those that escape,” with the clause in the
 following verse “for the LORD hath spoken it,” make it probable that
 Joel quotes them.

and among the fugitives (shall be) *those whom Jehovah doth call*] i.e.
 among the fugitives who in various places escape the disaster there will
 be some whom Jehovah will also *call* to His salvation. The reference
 is probably to the Jews dispersed among the heathen: amongst these

hath said, and ¹among the remnant those whom the LORD doth call. For, behold, in those days, and in that time, when **3**

¹ Or, *in the remnant whom &c.*

also there will be some worthy to participate in the deliverance more abundantly shared in by their brethren of Judah and Jerusalem.

The word עֲרִירִים, rendered *fugitives*, regularly denotes those who succeed in escaping after an engagement, the capture of a city, &c., as Jos. x. 20 ("the *fugitives* which took flight of them"), 28, 37, 39 (R.V. *none remaining*; but the root, as Arabic shews, means *to run away in fright*): comp. Jos. viii. 22 "left them no *fugitive*, and none escaping"; similarly Jer. xlii. 17.

The words from v. 28 to v. 32 (*delivered*) are quoted in Acts ii. 17—21¹ by St Peter, with reference to the outpouring of the Spirit upon the Apostles on the day of Pentecost. It would be incorrect, however, to regard a particular occasion as exhausting the fulfilment of the prophecy. Joel's words—like Jer. xxxi. 33 f., for instance,—look rather to that fuller illumination to be enjoyed *in general* by God's people in the future, which is to be a characteristic of the Christian Church throughout the ages; they are "not a prediction of the *event* of Pentecost, but of the new order of things of which Pentecost was the first great example" (A. B. Davidson, *Expositor*, March, 1888, p. 208).

CHAP. III. (Heb. IV.). THE JUDGEMENT ON THE HEATHEN WORLD, AND THE GLORIFICATION OF THE PEOPLE OF GOD.

In the day when Jehovah restores Israel He will contend in judgement with all nations in the valley of Jehoshaphat for the wrongs which they have done to His people (*vs.* 1—3): especially will He mete out retribution to the Phœnicians and Philistines for having plundered Judah and Jerusalem, and sold their children into slavery (*vs.* 4—8). There follows a description of the judgement which Jehovah will then hold in the valley of Jehoshaphat. The nations are invited to arm themselves, and muster for the contest: multitudes are already thronging in the "valley of decision"; Jehovah also has His heavenly warriors in readiness; clouds darken the heavens; in the storm which follows Jehovah's thunders annihilate the foe, while His own people emerge unscathed (*vs.* 9—16). Then will the heathen no more defile Jerusalem with their presence; the land of Judah, protected by the Divine presence, will be blessed with abiding fertility, while the land of Judah's foes will become a desolate waste (*vs.* 17—21).

1. *For*] The chapter is closely connected with ii. 28—32, *for*

¹ In the main (though there are slight deviations) from the LXX. 'Notable' (ἐπιφανής) in v. 20 as here in LXX. v. 31; ἐπιφανής is a rend. of נִרְאָה (as though = נִרְאָה) elsewhere; see ii. 11; Jud. xiii. 6; Hab. i. 7; Mal. i. 14, iv. 5. The phrasing of Acts ii. 39, "For to you is the promise and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even to *as many as the Lord our God may call*," is evidently based upon Joel ii. 32 b.

2 I shall bring again the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem, I will gather all nations, and will bring them down into ¹the valley of Jehoshaphat; and I will plead with them there for

¹ See ver. 12.

explaining how the faithful Israelites will be delivered (ii. 32); viz. on account of a judgement to be held upon the heathen world, which will have the effect of freeing the Israelites.

behold] The particle, as often, draws attention to some new and important announcement (cf. Is. iii. 1, vii. 14, xix. 1; Am. vi. 11, &c.).

in those days, and in that time] The same combination, Jer. xxxiii. 15, l. 4, 20. The time referred to is that of Israel's deliverance (ii. 32).

bring again the captivity] or, perhaps, *turn the fortune* (comp. on Am. ix. 14): upon either interpretation, a decisive change in the condition of Judah and Jerusalem is denoted by the words.

2. *the valley of Jehoshaphat*] as is shewn by the play upon the name, which, both here and in v. 12, immediately follows, the place is chosen as the scene of Jehovah's judgement on account of its name (which means "Jah judgeth"). No doubt there was an actual valley, so named after the king, though where it was, is quite uncertain. It may have been the spot (though this is not called a "valley") in which, according to a tradition reported by the Chronicler (2 Chr. xx. 20—24), the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites, who invaded Judah in the days of Jehoshaphat, fell upon, and slaughtered one another; or it may have been identical with the "valley of Berachah" (or of Blessing) in which four days afterwards (v. 26) the victorious Judahites assembled to "bless" Jehovah; or, as Joel seems to have in view some spot nearer Jerusalem than this valley (cf. *ib.* vv. 27, 28), it may have been the fairly broad and open valley between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives, which already in Eusebius' time¹ (though we know not upon what grounds) bore, as it bears still, the name, "valley of Jehoshaphat." This valley is elsewhere always called the *Wādy* (Heb. *nahal*: see on Am. v. 24) *of the Kidron* (2 Sam. xv. 23; 2 Ki. xxiii. 4, 6 *al.*), but it seems to be sufficiently wide to have been termed an 'ēmeḳ, especially as even the 'ravine' (*gai'*) of Hinnom (Jos. xv. 8), on the S. of Jerusalem, appears to be so designated in Jer. xxxi. 40. Happily, nothing turns here upon the identification of the spot meant, the symbolism of the name being alone significant².

valley] or *vale*: Heb. 'ēmeḳ, lit. *deepening*, "a highlander's word for a valley as he looks *down* into it, always applied to wide avenues running up into a mountainous country, like the Vale of Elah, the Vale of

¹ See the *Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 273.

[² In Zech. xiv. 4, it appears that a great valley is to be miraculously cleft in the Mt of Olives to be the scene of the LORD's judgement upon the nations: and it is not impossible that Joel may have a similar conception in his mind. It may be noted that in Zech. xiv. 5 Wellhausen proposes to read *the valley of Hinnom for the valley of my mountains* (נִיַּה הַרִי for נִיַּה הַנֶּמֶס), and that the valley of Hinnom is identified in Eusebius, *Onomasticon* with the valley of Jehoshaphat.]

my people and for my heritage Israel, whom they have scattered among the nations, and parted my land. And ³ they have cast lots for my people: and have given a boy for an harlot, and sold a girl for wine, that they might drink.

Hebron, and the Vale of Ajalon" (G. A. Smith, *Geogr.* p. 384). In both A.V. and R.V. much confusion is occasioned by the same English word "valley" being used unfortunately for both 'ēmek and gai, though the latter denoted a much narrower opening, such as we should describe as a *ravine* or *glen*. For a list of both the 'ēmek and the gai named in the O.T., see Stanley, *S. and P.* Appendix, §§ 1, 2; and comp. G. A. Smith, *op. cit.* p. 654 f.

plead] the reflexive, or reciprocal, conjugation, of *shāphat*, to judge. The play cannot be preserved exactly in English; though one might paraphrase the "valley of Jehoshaphat" by "the valley of God's judgement," and say that Jehovah intended to "contend there *in judgement* with all nations" on behalf of His people. *Plead* means dispute in judgement, as a litigant, Jehovah standing on one side, and the nations on the other: for the same term, similarly applied, see Jer. xxv. 31; Ez. xxxviii. 22; Is. lxvi. 16.

scattered among the nations] evidently a considerable dispersion of Israel among the Gentiles is presupposed by these words: comp. Ez. xi. 17, xii. 15, xx. 34, 41, xxii. 15, xxviii. 25, xxxvi. 19, with reference to the Jews exiled by Nebuchadnezzar in B.C. 597 and 586.

divided my land] viz. among new occupants: cf. for the expression Jos. xiii. 7; Am. vii. 17; Mic. ii. 4.

3. The reference is to the custom, common in ancient warfare, by which the conquerors divided amongst themselves the captives by lot, to deal with them afterwards as they pleased: and the Jewish prisoners were held by their captors so cheap that one who had received a boy as his lot sold him to a slave-dealer in exchange for a harlot,—or perhaps (Targ. Pesh.) gave him for the hire of a harlot,—and one who had received a girl, parted with her for the sake of a carouse of wine.

cast lots] Ob. 11 (of Jerusalem at the time of its capture by the Chaldaeans), Nah. iii. 10 (where it is said, as a special indignity, that lots were cast on the "honourable men" of No-amon);—each time the same phrase.

that they might drink] and have drunk.

4—8. The Phoenicians and Philistines are here singled out as the nations which have sinned especially against Israel: they have not only enriched their own palaces with the plunder of Judah, but have also sold Judahite captives into slavery to the Greeks; a swift and just retribution is accordingly pronounced against them. [Bewer suggests that these verses are a later insertion, relating to the conduct of the Phoenicians and Philistines after the capture of Jerusalem by Artaxerxes Ochus about 352 B.C.]

4 Yea, and what are ye to me, O Tyre, and Zidon, and all the regions of Philistia? ¹ will ye render me a recompence? and if ye recompense me, swiftly and speedily will I return your ⁵ ²recompence upon your own head. Forasmuch as ye have taken my silver and my gold, and have carried into your ⁶ temples my goodly pleasant things; the children also of

¹ Or, *will ye repay a deed of mine, or will ye do aught unto me? swiftly &c.*

² Or, *deed*

4. **And also** *what are ye to me?*] i.e., apparently, *what would ye do to me?* the following words, *will ye repay*, &c. explaining in what sense the question is meant.

all the districts of Philistia] lit. *circles*, i.e. (probably) the districts ruled by the five 'lords' of the Philistines: see Jos. xiii. 2 f., where the same expression also occurs (A.V. "borders," R.V. "regions"; Heb. *gelilōth*), and comp. 1 Macc. v. 15, where *πᾶσα Γαλιλαία ἀλλοφύλων* ("all Galilee¹ of the foreigners") must, it seems, represent the same Hebrew original (*ἀλλόφυλοι* standing often in LXX. for *Philistines*).

will ye repay a deed of mine, or will ye do aught unto me? (so marg.)] i.e. is there any injustice that I have done to you (through Israel) which you would avenge, or would you even assail me gratuitously? The question is a rhetorical one, to which of course a negative answer is expected: their treatment of Israel has been unprovoked; it is they, and not Israel, who merit vengeance; accordingly the retort follows, *Swiftly and speedily will I return your deed* (marg.) *upon your own head*.

upon your own head] for the phrase, comp. Ob. 15 (where 'reward' is properly *doing*, or *deed*, as here); also Jud. ix. 57; 1 Sam. xxv. 39, &c.

5. *my silver and my gold*] not necessarily the silver and the gold in the Temple (1 Ki. xiv. 26; 2 Ki. xiv. 14), but more generally what belonged to Jehovah, or His people, whether in the Temple, or in the public treasuries, or in private houses.

temples] or *palaces* (Am. viii. 3 *al.*), the abodes of the wealthy.

pleasant (or *desirable*) *things*] i.e. valuables: see 1 Ki. xx. 6 (cf. v. 7); Lam. i. 10, 11; Is. lxiv. 11.

6. The Phoenicians had further played the part of slave-dealers, and had sold Judahite captives into the hands of the Greeks. The slave-traffic of the Phoenicians is often mentioned; they sometimes kidnapped women and children themselves, sometimes obtained slaves by purchase from uncivilized tribes, or purchased captives taken in war: cf. Am. i. 9, Ez. xxvii. 13, 1 Macc. iii. 41, 2 Macc. viii. 11, and the stories in Hom. *Od.* xiv. 288 ff., xv. 402 ff., *Ihd.* i. 1, ii. 54. In the classical period, Syrians were very common as slaves in Greece, and the designation probably included Jews as well (cf. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, II. iii. 75 ff.).

¹ "Galilee" is properly "the *gālīl* (or 'circle')", Josh. xx. 7; in full, "the *gālīl* (or 'circle') of the nations" (Is. viii. 23).

Judah and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold unto the sons of the Grecians, that ye might remove them far from their border: behold, I will stir them up out of the place ⁷ whither ye have sold them, and will return your ¹recompence upon your own head; and I will sell your sons and your ⁸daughters into the hand of the children of Judah, and they

¹ Or, *deed*

the Grecians] Heb. *Yewānīm*, elsewhere in the sing. (collectively) *Yāwān* (Gen. x. 2, 4; Ez. xxvii. 13, 19 (?); Is. lxvi. 19; Zech. ix. 13; Dan. viii. 21, x. 20, xi. 2); i.e. the *Ionians* (*Ἰάφους*, in Homer constantly), the name by which the Greeks were regularly known among both the Hebrews, and other Eastern nations, on account, viz., of the fact that the Ionians (whose colonies extended over a large part of the W. coast of Asia Minor, and many of the Aegean islands) were most active commercially in ancient times, and hence were best known to other nations.

that ye might remove them far from their border] in order to minimize the chances of their return. The real motive of the Phoenician slave-dealers was, no doubt, simply their own gain: but Joel represents pointedly the result of their action as though it were their design.

7—8. The punishment, awarded according to the *Lex talionis*.

7. *Behold, I am stirring them up*] i.e. arousing them into activity (Is. xiii. 17; Jer. l. 9, R.V.: Is. xli. 2, 25, xlv. 13, A.V., R.V. render badly *raise up*), and enabling them to leave the land of their servitude.

and will return your deed upon your own head] repeated from v. 4 b.

8. *You sold the children of Judah into slavery to a nation far off in the North West; I will sell your children into the hand of the Judahites, that they may sell them into slavery to a nation far off in the South East.*

the men of Sheba] an important commercial nation of Arabia, described as a 'son' of Cush, Gen. x. 7, of Yoḳṭan, Gen. x. 28, and of Yoḳshan son of Ḳeṭurah, Gen. xxv. 3; celebrated for their wealth in gold, spices, and precious stones, 1 Ki. x. 2, 10 (the Queen of Sheba), Jer. vi. 20; Ez. xxvii. 22; Is. lx. 6; Ps. lxxii. 15 (cf. v. 10), and for the trade which their caravans (Job vi. 19) carried on, Ez. xxvii. 22 f., xxxviii. 13. The ancient geographers speak of Sabaeans in the S.W. of Arabia; and recently discovered inscriptions and other monuments shew that they were no mere trading-tribe, but a people inhabiting walled cities, possessing temples and other buildings, and enjoying a settled civilization. Sheba is mentioned also in the Assyrian inscriptions (*K.A.T.* ² pp. 92, 145 f.). The difference in the genealogies of Sheba is to be explained, probably, partly by the fact that (as in other cases) different theories were current respecting its ethnological affinities, partly by the fact that in Gen. x. 7, xxv. 3, if not also in Ez. xxxviii. 13, a Northern colony, in the neighbourhood of Dedan (S.E. of Edom), is referred to.

shall sell them to the men of Sheba, to a nation far off: for the LORD hath spoken it.

9 Proclaim ye this among the nations; ¹prepare war: stir up the mighty men; let all the men of war draw near, let
10 them come up. Beat your plowshares into swords, and your pruninghooks into spears: let the weak say, I am

¹ Heb. *sanctify*.

far off] comp. the corresponding verb (*to make to be far off*) in *v.* 6: note also in Jer. vi. 20 'a far country' in parallelism with 'Sheba.'

for Jehovah hath spoken it] a solemn asseverative formula, found also Is. i. 2, xxii. 25, xxv. 8; Ob. 18: so with *the mouth of Jehovah*, Is. i. 20, xl. 5, lviii. 14; Mic. iv. 4.

9—17. After the digression on the Phoenicians and Philistines (*vv.* 4—8), the thought of *vv.* 1—3 is resumed; and the description of the judgement on the nations, announced in *v.* 2, is continued. The heathen are invited to arm themselves, and advance for the great contest with Israel in the valley of Jehoshaphat, *vv.* 9—12; but once arrived there, they are annihilated, amid celestial portents, by the agents of Jehovah's will, whom He commissions to engage with them, while His own people look on securely.

9. *Proclaim ye*] The words are addressed to those whose duty it would be to make such a proclamation (comp. on Am. iii. 9), i.e. the heralds, whom the prophet pictures as ready to carry Jehovah's command to the nations.

this] i.e. the following command.

sanctify (or *consecrate*) *war*] i.e. *begin* war; the phrase having reference to the custom of opening a campaign by means of sacrifices. So Mic. iii. 5, Jer. vi. 4; also Is. xiii. 3, Jer. xxii. 7, li. 27, 28, where the warriors are spoken of similarly as "sanctified."

stir up the mighty men] i.e. arouse the warriors (*ii.* 7) from the inactivity of peace.

let, &c.] with a dramatic change of person, such as the Hebrew poets love (e.g. Is. xxxiv. 1, xli. 1). In the Heb., *let draw near, let them come up*, consists of two short words only, the second following rapidly upon the first: the concise and forcible style can be better represented in Greek or Latin (*accedant, ascendant*), than in English.

come up] the expression used of an attacking or invading army (*i.* 6).

10. The nations are to put forth all their strength: the implements of peace are to be transformed into weapons of war; even the weak is to take courage, and feel himself a warrior, "as is wont to happen when martial enthusiasm seizes a whole people" (Hitz.).

Beat, &c.] comp. Is. ii. 4 (= Mic. iv. 3), where the opposite process to that which is here commanded is instanced as a feature of the future ideal reign of peace.

spears] *lances* (1 Ki. xviii. 28), not the word (*hānīth*) used in Is. ii. 4, Mic. iv. 3 (which is the ordinary one for *spear*), but one with Aramaic

strong. ¹Haste ye, and come, all ye nations round about, ¹¹
and gather yourselves together: thither cause thy mighty
ones to come down, O LORD. Let the nations bestir them- ¹²
selves, and come up to the valley of ²Jehoshaphat: for
there will I sit to judge all the nations round about. Put ¹³

¹ Or, *Assemble yourselves*

² That is, *The LORD judgeth.*

affinities, and otherwise found chiefly either in North-Israelitish writings (Jud. v. 8; 1 Ki. xviii. 28), or in late authors (1 Chr. xii. 8, 24; 2 Chr. xi. 12, xiv. 7, xxv. 5, xxvi. 14; Neh. iv. 7, 10, 15 [E. T. 13, 16, 21]; otherwise only Num. xxv. 7; Jer. xlvi. 4; Ez. xxxix. 9). The word being an uncommon one, its use gives a distinctive colouring to the verse of Joel, which ought, if possible, to be preserved in a translation.

I am strong] a mighty man, or warrior: the same word used in v. 9.

11. *Haste ye*] This rendering rests on an emendation (חושו) of an otherwise unknown word (עושו), A.V., in translating *assemble yourselves*, follows LXX., Targ., Syr., Ibn Ezra, and Kimchi; but the rendering rests upon no philological basis, and is merely conjectured from the context. Wellh. suggests עורו *bestir yourselves*, Cheyne נושו *draw near*.

all ye nations round about, and gather yourselves together] In Ez. xxxvi. 4, 7 the *nations round about* Israel are its more immediate neighbours; but the context (vv. 2, 9, 12 a) shews that the expression is meant here more generally.

thither cause thy mighty ones (or warriors) *to come down*] the prophet suddenly turns aside to address Jehovah: he has bidden the nations assemble, for the contest against Israel, in the valley of Jehoshaphat (vv. 2, 12): he now prays Jehovah to cause His warriors also to descend thither to meet them. The *mighty ones* are, no doubt, the angelic hosts (Ps. lxxviii. 17; Zech. xiv. 5), whom Joel pictures as the agents of Jehovah's will, and who are called in Ps. ciii. 20 the "mighty in strength."

12—13. Jehovah's reply: the nations may assemble; He will be ready to meet them: already (v. 13) He commands His ministers to begin the work of destruction.

12. *Let the nations be stirred up*] corresponding to the *stir up* of v. 9. *for there will I sit to judge all the nations round about*] Another, but a different play on the name *Jehoshaphat*: Jehovah no longer, as in v. 2, stands (Is. l. 8) to litigate (נשפט) with the nations, but *sits* (Is. xxviii. 6; Ps. ix. 4; Ex. xviii. 13) to *judge* (שפט) them. The sentence which the judge passes follows immediately in v. 13.

13. The execution of the sentence is represented under two figures, the reaping of a harvest, and the treading of grapes in the wine-press. Comp. the same figures in Rev. xiv. 15 f. and 19 f.

Put ye in] The command is addressed to the 'mighty ones' of v. 11.

ye in the sickle, for the ¹harvest is ripe : come, ²tread ye ; for the winepress is full, the fats overflow ; for their wicked-
 14 ness is great. Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision ! for the day of the LORD is near in the valley of

¹ Or, *vintage*

² Or, *get you down*

the sickle] Heb. *maggāl*, only besides Jer. i. 16. The same word (in the fem., *magaltā*) is common in Syriac, and the Arab. *manjal* is current in Palestine at the present day (*P.E.F.Qu. St.* 1891, p. 112). The other Heb. word for *sickle* is *hermēsh* (only Deut. xvi. 9, xxiii. 26).

tread ye] This rendering (from םׁׁׁ) is questionable. Better (with A.V. and R.V. marg.) *get you down*, viz. into the wine-press (*gāth*), for the purpose of treading the grapes (on ii. 24), here figuratively of the destruction of foes, exactly as Is. lxiii. 3.

the vats overflow] The same words (in a literal sense) ii. 24. Here they are meant as a significant indication of the numbers to be judged, as also of their ripeness for judgement : the grapes in the wine-press represent the nations ; and the vats overflow with the expressed juice, not in consequence of the grapes being trodden, but before they have been trodden, simply through the weight of the superincumbent mass of grapes themselves. [Strictly speaking the *press* (*gath*) is the place where the grapes are trodden, and the *vat* (*yeqebh*) the hollow that receives the juice. But *yeqebh* is sometimes used for *gath* (Is. xvi. 10 ; Job xxiv. 4), and may be so in this passage. If so, the two clauses express the same thought.]

for their wickedness is great] A second reason, expressed without metaphor, why the judgement is to be put into execution.

14. The prophet already hears in spirit the distant hum of the multitudes thronging tumultuously in the valley of decision.

Multitudes] The Hebrew term is more picturesque than the English one, and suggests the confused noise or hum of a great throng. [We may render *throng* and *throng*.] Cf. Is. xvii. 12 *a* (where the word *uproar* is the same, and *roar* and *roaring* are the corresponding verb).

the valley of decision] Another name of the 'valley of Jah's judgement' (*vv.* 2, 12), so called on account of the 'decision' to be executed in it. The word rendered *decision* is cognate with those rendered *decided* in 1 Ki. xx. 40, and *determined* in Is. x. 23, xxviii. 22, and identical with that rendered *determined* in Is. x. 22 and Job xiv. 5 (properly *something cut sharply off*, *de-cision*, *de-termination*). The word *hārūt̄z* means, however, also a *sharp threshing-board* (see on Am. i. 3) : hence A.V. marg. (following the explanation which David Kimchi seems to prefer) *threshing* ; and so Credner, and a few other moderns, supposing the allusion to be to the cruel method of treating captives mentioned in Am. i. 3 ; but there is nothing to suggest that sense here ; nor does *v.* 12 (in which the figure of the wine-press *follows* that of the harvest) at all lead up to it.

for the day of Jehovah is near, &c.] cf. i. 15, ii. 1. The clause

decision. The sun and the moon are darkened, and the 15
stars withdraw their shining. And the LORD shall roar 16
from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem; and the
heavens and the earth shall shake: but the LORD will be a
refuge unto his people, and a strong hold to the children of
Israel. So shall ye know that I am the LORD your God, 17
dwelling in Zion my holy mountain: then shall Jerusalem
be holy, and there shall no strangers pass through her any
states the reason why the "valley of decision" is thus filled with the
nations: because, namely, the great 'day of Jehovah' is immediately
at hand.

15. *The sun and the moon are murky, and the stars withdraw their shining*] Preternatural signs of the approaching 'day.' The words are repeated *verbatim* from ii. 10 b.

16. Jehovah draws near in a mighty storm; heaven and earth quake before Him: but His judgement lights only upon His foes; to His own people He proves Himself a stronghold and defence.

And Jehovah shall roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem] Borrowed *verbatim* from Am. i. 2, where see the note. The figures of the lion's roar, and of the noise of thunder, are combined. The details of the judgement are not described; but it must no doubt be imagined that in the storm, and the earthquake accompanying it (see the next words), the nations are struck down and destroyed (comp. for the figure Is. xxviii. 2, xxix. 6—8, xxx. 30—31). The fact that Jehovah puts forth His power from Zion, His earthly abode, and the sacred capital of the theocracy, is naturally a favourable omen for His faithful people.

and the heavens and the earth shall quake] Cf. ii. 10.

but Jehovah will be a refuge unto his people, and a strong hold to the children of Israel] The terms used so often of Jehovah in the Psalms: see e.g. Ps. xiv. 6, xlvi. 1; xxvii. 1, xxxi. 4, xliii. 2.

17. In consequence of this deliverance Israel will know that Jehovah is its God, dwelling in its midst, and ready to succour it; Jerusalem also will no more be defiled by the presence in it of strangers.

And ye shall know that I am Jehovah your God] Cf. Ez. xxxviii. 23, xxxix. 6, 7, 22, 28; and comp. on ii. 27.

dwelling in Zion] Is. viii. 18, &c.: synonymous with 'in the midst of Israel,' ii. 27.

and Jerusalem shall be holy, &c.] Cf. Nah. i. 15; Is. lii. 1 b. Israel's foes being annihilated, there will be no more any heathen to force their way into the holy city, and defile it.

strangers] members of an alien race, who have no share in Israel or its privileges, and who do not care for them. The word has often this sense, as Hos. vii. 6; Jer. xxx. 8; Ez. vii. 21, xi. 9.

18—20. Israel's final prosperity. After the judgement upon the nations, the land of Judah will be blessed with preternatural fertility,

18 more. And it shall come to pass in that day, that the mountains shall drop down sweet wine, and the hills shall flow with milk, and all the brooks of Judah shall flow with waters; and a fountain shall come forth of the house of the
19 LORD, and shall water ¹the valley of Shittim. Egypt shall

¹ That is, *the valley of acacias*.

and will enjoy for ever undisturbed peace, while that of her foes will become a desolate waste.

18. *in that day*] In the era beginning immediately after the judgement on the nations. Cf. on Am. ix. 11.

the mountains shall drop down sweet wine, and the hills shall flow with milk] A hyperbolic description of the fertility of the soil (cf. Job xxix. 6). The words are evidently based upon Am. ix. 13 "The mountains shall cause sweet wine to drop down, and all the hills shall melt." On "sweet wine," see on Am. ix. 13.

brooks] **channels**, as i. 20. The streams will then no more dry up through a drought, as they had done recently (i. 20).

and a fountain, &c.] A stream issuing forth from the Temple will water the "Wādy of the Acacias," which (from the context, as well as probably from the name) must have been some particularly dry and unfruitful Wādy in Judah. The two parallel passages which ought in particular to be compared are Zech. xiv. 8, where it is promised that 'living' (i.e. running) waters, flowing alike in summer and winter, shall come forth from Jerusalem in two streams, one going down into the Dead Sea, and the other into the Mediterranean Sea; and Ez. xlvii. 1—12, where, in his vision of the territory of the restored people, the prophet sees waters issuing forth from under the Eastern threshold of the Temple, which gradually swelled into a deep stream descending into the Arábah, fertilizing the soil along its banks, and entering finally the Dead Sea, the waters of which it sweetened, enabling fish to live in them. Probably the thought of these passages was suggested by the "waters of Shiloah" (Is. viii. 6: cf. Ps. xlvi. 4; John ix. 7), which actually gushed out beneath the Temple hill in a perennial stream, fertilizing (as they do still) the parts of the Wādy of the Kidron in their immediate neighbourhood, though not abundant enough to flow further; and the idea which the three prophets share in common is that these waters should be increased in volume to such an extent as to be capable of fertilizing effectually the barren parts of Judah, especially the Wādy of the Kidron, the deep and rocky gorge which runs down from Jerusalem into the Dead Sea (see the next note).

the valley of Shittim] *the Wādy of Shittim* (or *of the Acacias*). The word is quite a different one from that rendered 'valley' in vv. 2, 12, 14, and means a gorge between hills containing a watercourse, with or without water, as the case might be (see on Am. v. 24). What Wādy is meant, is however uncertain. According to many, the reference is

be a desolation, and Edom shall be a desolate wilderness, for the violence done to the children of Judah, because they have shed innocent blood in their land. But Judah 20

to the 'Meadow of Shittim (*or* of the Acacias)'—part of the broad plain into which the Jordan-valley expands immediately before the river enters the Dead Sea, and now identified generally with the *Ghōr es-Seisebān*—which was the last camping-ground of the Israelites before they crossed the Jordan (Num. xxxiii. 49; also called simply *The Shittim*, or *The Acacias*, *ib.* xxv. 1; Jos. ii. 1 *al.*). But the depression through which the Jordan flows has a special name, the *Ardbah*, and is never called a *Wādy (nahal)*; and it is hardly likely that Joel would picture the stream as *crossing* the Jordan, and fertilizing the soil on the opposite side. Others, therefore (as Credner, Hitzig), prefer to think that the "Wādy of the Acacias" was the Kidron-Wādy itself, which starting (under the name *Wādy el-Ḥôz*) a little N.W. of Jerusalem, bends round so as to run along the E. of the city, separating it from the Mount of Olives (cf. above on v. 2), and then, as a deep, rocky gorge (now called, perhaps from the "furnace-like" heat of its lower stretches, the *Wādy en-Nār* or "the Wādy of Fire") runs down in a S.E. direction towards the Dead Sea, which it joins at about 10 miles from its N. end (see Plate iv. in G. A. Smith, *Geogr.*): though in winter-time there is sometimes water in the bed of this *nahal*, it is in general quite dry, the soil is rocky, and it runs through the arid and desolate region known as the "wilderness of Judah" (cf. Smith, *l.c.* p. 511 f.). There is little doubt that this was the *nahal* through which Ezekiel pictured the fertilizing waters as flowing, in his vision, ch. xlvi. For Acacias on the W. shore of the Dead Sea, see Tristram, *Land of Isr.*, pp. 280, 295. Wellhausen thinks of the Wādy on the S.W. of Jerusalem—usually identified with the Wādy of Elah of 1 Sam. xvii. 2—which still bears the corresponding name, *Wādy es-Sunt* (or *Sant*): this forms part of the direct route from Jerusalem to Tell es-Sāfiyeh (probably Gath), and Ashkelon (cf. G. A. Smith, Plate iv., and pp. 226 f.). The reason why Joel specifies the Wādy of the Acacias is to be found, no doubt, in the fact that the Acacia (as Jerome, on Is. xli. 17, already observes) grows in dry soil—it is abundant, for instance, in the peninsula of Sinai; and hence the name might well be given to an arid Wādy, such as needed fertilizing. Comp. Rev. xxii. 1—2.

19. The land of Judah's foes, on the contrary, will become a barren waste. Egypt and Edom are mentioned, probably, as typical examples of countries hostile to Israel.

The threat in the case of Egypt is the more pointed, as it was in general well-irrigated by the waters of the Nile: it may have been perhaps suggested by Ez. xxix. 9, 12, xxxii. 15.

a desolate wilderness] ii. 3.

because they have shed innocent blood in their land] The expression hardly points to blood shed in warfare, but rather to the sudden and

shall ¹abide for ever, and Jerusalem from generation to
 21 generation. And I will ²cleanse their blood that I have not
 cleansed: for the LORD dwelleth in Zion.

¹ Or, *be inhabited*

² Or, *hold as innocent*

unprovoked massacre of Jews who were settled and living peaceably in the two countries named, possibly at the time of a revolt.

20. The prophet, continuing the thought of *v.* 18, reverts again to the future lot of Judah.

shall sit for ever] i.e. remain inhabited. A city, or country, when it continues to flourish and be inhabited, is said in Heb., by a personification, to *sit*: so Is. xiii. 20 (E.T. *be inhabited*; in the parallel clause, lit. *dwelt* [not *be dwelt in*]); Jer. xvii. 6, 25; Zech. ix. 5, xii. 6.

21. *And I will hold as innocent* (marg.) *their blood that I have not held as innocent*] By the desolation of Egypt and Edom, Jehovah will shew openly that the murdered Judahites (*v.* 19 *b*) had suffered innocently. So long, namely, as He permitted their blood to remain unavenged, it might be supposed that they had not been slain unjustly: but by the punishment of the murderers (i.e. here, by the desolation of their country) Jehovah declares (implicitly), what He had not declared before, that their blood was innocent (*v.* 19 *b*), and had been unjustly shed. *Niḳḳāh*, to hold or declare innocent (Ex. xx. 7; Job ix. 28 *al.*), is chosen on account of *nāḳī*, innocent, in *v.* 19. [The LXX. renders ἐκζητήσω (*al.* ἐκδικήσω) which would represent ונקמת' ונקית'. Wellh. accepts this and renders "And I will avenge their blood, which I have not avenged."]

and Jehovah dwelleth in Zion] *and* is here almost equivalent to *as truly as*: in corroboration of the promise made in the preceding clause, the prophet appeals to the indisputable truth that Jehovah's dwelling-place is in Zion. So Hos. xii. 5 "and (=as truly as) Jehovah is the God of Hosts, Jehovah is his memorial (=name)."

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON CHAP. I. 10 (*tīrōsh*).

Tīrōsh occurs thirty-eight times in the O.T. It is mentioned generally as a valued product of the soil, by the side of corn in Gen. xxvii. 28, 37; Deut. xxxiii. 28; 2 Ki. xviii. 32 (= Is. xxxvi. 17); Is. lxii. 8; Hos. ii. 9, vii. 14, ix. 2 (implicitly); Zech. ix. 17; Ps. iv. 7; Prov. iii. 10 (implicitly); and by the side of corn and "fresh oil" (*yītzhār*) together in Deut. vii. 13, xi. 14, xxviii. 51; Jer. xxxi. 12; Hos. ii. 8, 22; Joel i. 10, ii. 19, 24; Hag. i. 11; 2 Chr. xxxii. 28; Neh. v. 11; cf. Mic. vi. 15; and as the highly prized product of the vine, "gladdening God (or gods) and men" (i.e. offered to the former in libations and welcome to the latter at feasts) in Jud. ix. 13, and bringing a blessing in Is. lxv. 8; cf. xxiv. 7. It is mentioned further, also with corn and "fresh oil," as subject to tithe (Deut. xii. 17, xiv. 23; Neh. xiii. 5, 12), and the payment of firstfruits (Deut. xviii. 4; Numb. xviii. 12; 2 Chr. xxxi. 5; Neh. x. 37, cf. x. 39). Lastly, it is mentioned in Hos. iv. 11, in company with "whoredom and wine," as "taking away the heart" (i.e. the understanding). From these passages it appears that *tīrōsh* was a beverage (Is. lxii. 8), prepared from the fruit of the vine (Is. lxv. 8; Mic. vi. 15), and possessed of sustaining (Gen. xxvii. 37) and invigorating (Zech. ix. 17) properties. Hos. iv. 11 shews further that it was, at least in some cases, fermented; and "gladdening," in Jud. ix. 13, which would naturally, in this connexion, have the force of "exhilarating" (cf. the same word of *yayin* "wine," in Ps. civ. 15), suggests the same inference. Whether, however, *tīrōsh* denoted *always* a fermented liquid, is more than we can say. Is. lxv. 8, "as the *tīrōsh* is found in the cluster," might indeed be a poetical expression, not intended to be interpreted literally; but in Joel ii. 24, Prov. iii. 10 it appears to be described as filling the "wine-vat" (see on ii. 24) so that (unless it were the custom to leave the grape-juice in this vat for the purpose of fermentation), it would seem to have denoted the unfermented juice of the grape as well. In our ignorance of the precise methods employed by the ancient Hebrews in the manufacture of wine, it is impossible to speak with entire definiteness: but with our present knowledge, it is most just, probably, to the various passages in which *tīrōsh* occurs, to suppose that it was a comprehensive term, applied both to the freshly-expressed, unfermented juice of the grape (or "must")¹, and also to a light kind of wine such as we know, from the classical writers, that the ancients were in the habit of making by checking the fermentation of the grape juice before it had run its full course².

¹ *Mērith*, which corresponds etymologically in Syriac, is defined by the native lexicographers as "new wine, or must, as it comes forth from the wine-press" (Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.* col. 1635).

² See the *Dict. of Classical Antiquities*, s.v. *Vinum*. Must was sometimes used at once, being drunk fresh after it had been clarified by vinegar. When it was desired to preserve a quantity in a sweet state, it was placed carefully in an air-tight amphora, and deposited in a cool place: it would then keep for a year or more, and was called *ἀεὶ γλεύκος* or *semper mustum*. It was also preserved by being boiled down to two-thirds or less of its original volume, in which case it became a kind of jelly. Must intended for wine was allowed to ferment, by being exposed to the open air, in large earthenware vessels (*dolia*), for nine days; but light wines were

It has sometimes been supposed¹ that *tīrōsh* denoted the produce of the vine in general, and it has been rendered for example *vine-fruit*. But this view is certainly untenable. (1) It is spoken of distinctly as something that is 'drunk' (Is. lxii. 8); and surely the analogy of drinking a 'cup' (for the contents of a cup) could not be applied to a mass of 'vine-fruit.' (2) It is spoken of as filling the *yekeb*, or 'wine-vat' (Joel ii. 24; Prov. iii. 10): the *yekeb*, however (see the note on ii. 24), was the receiver into which the juice trodden out in the *gath* ran down: it would contain consequently, not a crushed mass of grapes, or 'vine-fruit,' but the expressed juice. (3) Tithe was levied on *tīrōsh* (Deut. xii. 17, xiv. 23); but tithe, as follows from Numb. xviii. 27 (cf. v. 30), was levied not on the raw produce, but on what came "from the *yekeb*," or wine-vat, which it is evident can have been only the expressed juice. *Tīrōsh* was in fact the juice, especially the expressed juice, of the grape, just as *dāgān* and *yitzhār*, with which it is so often conjoined, though they may be used, respectively, with reference to the corn in the ears, and the juice in the olives, denoted more particularly the threshed corn (Num. xviii. 27, "from the threshing-floor"), and oil freshly expressed from the olive-berry.

The clear evidence of these passages cannot be neutralized by the two, which, though they seem at first sight to imply that *tīrōsh* was a solid, can be readily explained in conformity with the others. The first is Deut. xii. 17, "Thou mayest not *eat* within thy gates the tithe of thy corn, or of thy *tīrōsh*, or of thy fresh oil." The word *eat* may, however, be used, as a general term, of a liquid (*vv.* 16, 23; xiv. 26, of 'wine' and 'strong drink'); and this usage is the easier in xii. 17, as the object joined immediately to *eat* is corn, and *tīrōsh* is only attached to it in the second place. The other passage is Mic. vi. 15, where *tīrōsh* is the object of *dārakh*, "to tread," and might consequently be supposed to be a solid. In Is. xvi. 10, however, *dārakh* has for its object *yáyin* ("wine"), which no one can pretend to be a solid, the reference being to the expressed juice flowing out from under the treader's feet; and Mic. vi. 15 may be understood quite naturally in the same sense².

The all but uniform rendering of *tīrōsh* in the ancient Versions is *wine*³; and either *must* or *new wine* is the rendering adopted by all the principal Hebraists of modern times (Gesenius, Ewald, Hitzig, Delitzsch, Keil, Dillmann, &c.), without exception.

manufactured by the *dolia* being closed and fermentation checked after five or seven days.—In warm countries fermentation begins in the grape-juice a few hours after it has been expressed (Anderlind, *Z.D.P.V.* xi. 1888, p. 168). On modern Syrian wines, see *ib.* p. 170 ff.

¹ Especially in the *Temperance Bible Commentary*.

² The fullest and most instructive discussion of *tīrōsh* will be found in A. M. Wilson, *The Wines of the Bible* (1877), pp. 301—339.

³ In Hos. iv. 11, LXX, Pesh., Targ., Symm., Vulg. all have "drunkenness." Otherwise *wine* is the uniform rendering of LXX, except Is. lxv. 8 (ῥώξ, "grape-stone"), of Pesh. (except 5 times), of Targ. (except 4 times, two being paraphrases). Aq., in accordance with his peculiar principles of translation, rendered ὄπωρισμός (see Field's *Hexapla*, on Hos. ii. 22; also οἰνία, see *ib.*), whence Jerome has *vindemia*, Dt. vii. 13, Is. xxiv. 7, Neh. x. 37; elsewhere always *vinum*, except Is. lxv. 8 (*granum*).

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON CHAP. I. 15 (*Shaddai*).

Shaddai is a Divine title, occurring (a) as an adj. attached to God (*El*) in the name *El Shaddai* ("God Almighty"), Gen. xvii. 1, xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11, xlvi. 3; Ex. vi. 3 (all belonging to the document called the 'Priests' Code'); Gen. xlviii. 3; Ez. x. 5; and probably Gen. xlix. 25 (Jacob's Blessing: read *God Almighty* for *by the Almighty* [לשם for לשן]); (b) alone, as a poetical name of God, Numb. xxiv. 4, 16; Ez. i. 24; Is. xiii. 6; Joel i. 15; Ps. lxviii. 14, xci. 1; 31 times in the dialogue of Job (v. 17, vi. 4, &c.); and in the two rhythmically-constructed sentences, Ruth i. 20, 21¹. The origin and real meaning of the name are both doubtful, neither tradition nor philology throwing any certain light upon it. According to the theory of P (Ex. vi. 3), *Shaddai* was the patriarchal name of God; and the same view was perhaps shared by the author of the Book of Job, who lays his scene in the patriarchal age, and represents his characters as saying *Shaddai*, not *Jehovah* (except once, xii. 9). The name is not known in the cognate languages. The LXX. render in Gen.-Ex. by *my (thy, their) God*, elsewhere by general terms, as *θεός*, *Κύριος* (Job 9—10 times), *παντοκράτωρ* (Job 15—16 times). Aq. Symm. and (usually) Theod. render by *ικανός*; this, however, very probably, merely gives expression to an improbable Rabbinical etymology *יָכֹוֹן*, 'he that is sufficient,' which may also underlie the Massoretic pronunciation *Shaddai* (already in Ez. x. 5 LXX. *Σαδδαι*). The Heb. verb *shādad*, from which *Shaddai* might naturally be derived, means to *overpower*, *treat with violence*, *devastate* (Jud. v. 27 R.V. *margin*; Is. xv. 1, xxiii. 1, 14; Joel i. 10; often in A.V., R.V. *spoil*, as Is. xxxiii. 1; Mic. ii. 4; Ps. xvii. 9; comp. *shōd*, Joel i. 15, Am. v. 9, and frequently, *devastation*, *desolation*); hence it has been supposed that it meant properly the *Overpowerer*, i.e. either the God who coerces nature to His will, and moulds the course of the world agreeably with His purposes of grace (Delitzsch; Oehler, *Theol. of the O.T.* § 37; Dillm. *A. T. Theol.* p. 214 f.), or in a more historical sense (Bäthgen, *Beiträge zur Sem. Rel.-gesch.* 1888, p. 295 f., cf. pp. 192—7), the God who in the patriarchal age was conceived principally as ruling by might ("der naturgewaltige"), but who afterwards through Moses and the prophets revealed more distinctly His ethical and spiritual nature. It is some objection to this view that in actual usage *shādad* always involves the idea of violence; but it is possible that in the age when *Shaddai* was formed from it, it had not yet acquired this *nuance*, and meant simply *to overpower*. Or, perhaps (Wellhausen, *Gesch.* 1878, p. 359), *Shaddai* denoted originally the *Waster*, with reference (see e.g. Job xii. 14—25) to the destructive aspects of God's providence. Other explanations have been suggested;

¹ It occurs also in the proper names *Zurishaddai*, "Shaddai is my Rock" (cf. *Zuriel*), Num. i. 6, ii. 12, vii. 36, 41, x. 19; *Ammishaddai*, "Shaddai is my kinsman," Num. i. 12, ii. 25, vii. 66, 71, x. 25 (cf. *Ammiel*); and perhaps in *Shedêūr*, if this should be pointed *Shaddaiur*, "Shaddai is a flame," (cf. *Uriel*), Num. i. 5, ii. 10, vii. 30, 35, x. 18. Cf. G. B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names* (1896), pp. 169, 196—199.

but none that can be said to be more satisfactory¹. Whatever, however, be the etymology of the title, it is true that the choice of it seems to be sometimes prompted by the thought of the *power* of God, whether in the way of blessing and defence (Gen. xvii. 1, &c. ; Job xxix. 5 ; Ps. xci. 1), or in the way of authority, punishment or trial (Job v. 17, vi. 4, viii. 3, xxi. 20, xxvii. 2). Comp. further Dillmann on Gen. xvii. 1 ; Bâthgen, *l.c.* (whose view that the form is Aramaic is called in question by Nöldeke, *l.c.*) ; König, *Lehrgeb. der Hebr. Spr.* II. 118 (= *violenta potentia praeditus*). [Other suggested etymologies are given in Skinner, *Genesis* p. 290 f. He concludes that "there is a probability that אל שדי was an old...Canaanite deity, of the same class as 'El 'Elyôn...whom the Israelites identified with Yahwe."]

EXCURSUS ON LOCUSTS.

The locust belongs to the order of insects termed *Orthoptera*, having their fore-wings straight, and the hind-wings very large and wide, and folded longitudinally like a fan under the fore-wing. The order consists of two groups, the Runners (*Cursoria*), unclean under the Levitical law, and the Leapers (*Saltatoria*), "having jointed legs above their feet to leap withal," i.e. jointed posterior legs, of great strength and length, enabling them to leap (see the fig., p. 84), which were regarded as clean (Lev. xi. 20—23). The *Saltatoria* are divided into three families, viz.

(i) The *Gryllidae*, of which the ordinary house-cricket may be taken as the type.

(ii) The *Locustidae*, represented by the common grass-hopper.

(iii) The *Acridiidae*, including the "locusts," properly so-called, and embracing (among other genera)²:

(1) Tettigides.

(5) Tryxalidae.

¹ There *may* be some connexion with *shêd*, which in Heb. (Deut. xxxii. 17 ; Ps. cvi. 37), as in Aramaic, has sunk to denote a *demi-god* or *demon*, but which, as Arabic makes probable, meant originally *lord* (Arab. *sayyid*, whence Span. *cid*). Nöldeke (*Z.D.M.G.* 1888, p. 481) would pronounce *Shedi* (or *Shedai*,—pl. of majesty, like *Adonai*) "my lord": though usage shews no trace of a consciousness of the pron. "my" (see on the contrary Gen. xvii. 1), it is still not impossible that if it were a very ancient formation, its etymology might have been forgotten and it might have come to be treated as a mere Divine title.

So far as regards the cognate languages, Arab. *sadda* is *to close or stop up* (a way); Eth. *sadada*, *to drive out, expel*; Arab. *shadda* is *to be strong, powerful, robust*; *shadid* is the corresponding adj., but Heb. *sh* corresponds normally to Arab. *s* (though instances occur of Heb. *sh*=Arab. *sh*).

In Assyrian, *shadû* is the common word for 'mountain'; and Sargon (*K. B.* ii. 79, 83; *Annals*, l. 436) and Asshurbanipal (*K. B.* ii. 217) speak of Bel and Asshur as *shadû rabû*, 'the great mountain': there occur also such proper names as Belshadûa, 'Bel is my mountain,' Marduk-shadûa, Sin-shadûni, 'Sin is our mountain,' as well as Ammi-satana (c. 2200 B.C.), and Beli-satu, Satu-na (B.C. 3800), which are thought (Hommel, *Expos. Times*, Feb. 1898, p. 235) to contain the same element (with *t* for *d*); and it has been conjectured (Friedr. Delitzsch, *Heb. Language*, 1883, p. 48; Hommel, *Anc. Heb. Trad.* p. 110 f.) that this is the origin of the Heb. *Shaddai*, and that it means properly either 'my mountain' (cf. 'my rock,' Ps. xviii. 2 *al.*) or 'the mountain-dweller.' The explanation is *possible*; but more cannot be said: there is no stringent proof of it: and even if it is correct, usage shews that all consciousness of this being the original meaning of the name had been lost by the Hebrews.

² For the following particulars see the *Cambridge Natural History*, v. pp. 309 f.; and especially J. Redtenbacher, *Ueber Wanderheuschrecken* (Budweis, 1893), kindly lent to the writer by Dr Sharp of Cambridge.

The Tryxalidae are markedly distinguished from the genera which follow by their long tapering head (see the fig. in Tristram, *N.H.B.*, p. 309). Of this genus, only one species, *Stauronotus Maroccanus* (found along all the N. coast of Africa, and in Syria, and especially common in Asia Minor and Cyprus), is at present known to be migratory, and that only in the larva-stage. It is about an inch in length. Swarms of this locust visited Algiers in 1866, 1867, 1874 (in these two years their depredations were followed by famines), and yearly since 1884. In June, 1890, the larvae marched over the ground in columns often more than 50 miles wide: and a field of barley after an hour presented the appearance of having been mown (Redtenb., p. 11). The eggs are laid in June, and the young larvae are hatched in the following May.

(6) Oedipodides:—

Pachytylus migratorius (or *Oedipoda migratoria*).

Pachytylus cinerascens.

Pachytylus has often visited Europe, especially the central parts. The two species named closely resemble each other, and are frequently confused. Their colour, speaking generally, is grey or green. The males are about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, the females about 2 inches. The home of *P. migratorius* is South Russia, whence it migrates into the adjacent countries. *P. cinerascens* is frequent in the S. of Europe, N. Africa, Syria and Asia Minor. These species lay their eggs in autumn, the young being hatched in the following May.

(8) Pamphagides (a wingless genus: *Camb. N. H.* p. 303).

(9) Acridiides:—

Acridium Egyptium (doubtful if migratory).

Acridium peregrinum (now generally termed *Schistocerca peregrina*).

Frequent in most of the tropical and subtropical parts of the globe. Often very destructive in Mexico and other parts of Central America. About 2—2 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches long. Colour, in N. Africa, generally yellow, in Syria and India, reddish. Algiers was visited by destructive swarms of this locust in 1845, 1864, 1866, and 1891: they are brought thither by the Sirocco from across the Sahara. The insects arrive about May, the eggs are soon laid, they are hatched, unlike those of all other locusts (Redtenbacher, p. 24), within a month; in 6—7 weeks more the insects are full grown, and a fortnight afterwards the females are again ready to lay their eggs. This locust is constantly present in small numbers in Egypt, and is sold as an article of food (cf. *Matt.* iii. 4) in the markets of Cairo, Bagdad, &c. It is probably the locust of Ex. ix., though Redtenbacher knows of no other historical instance of its visiting Egypt in destructive swarms.

Schistocerca Americana.

Caloptenus Italicus.

Frequent on all coasts of the Mediterranean. Males $\frac{3}{4}$ inch long, females 1—1 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Migrates both in the larva and in the winged state.

Caloptenus (or *Melanoplus*) *spretus*.

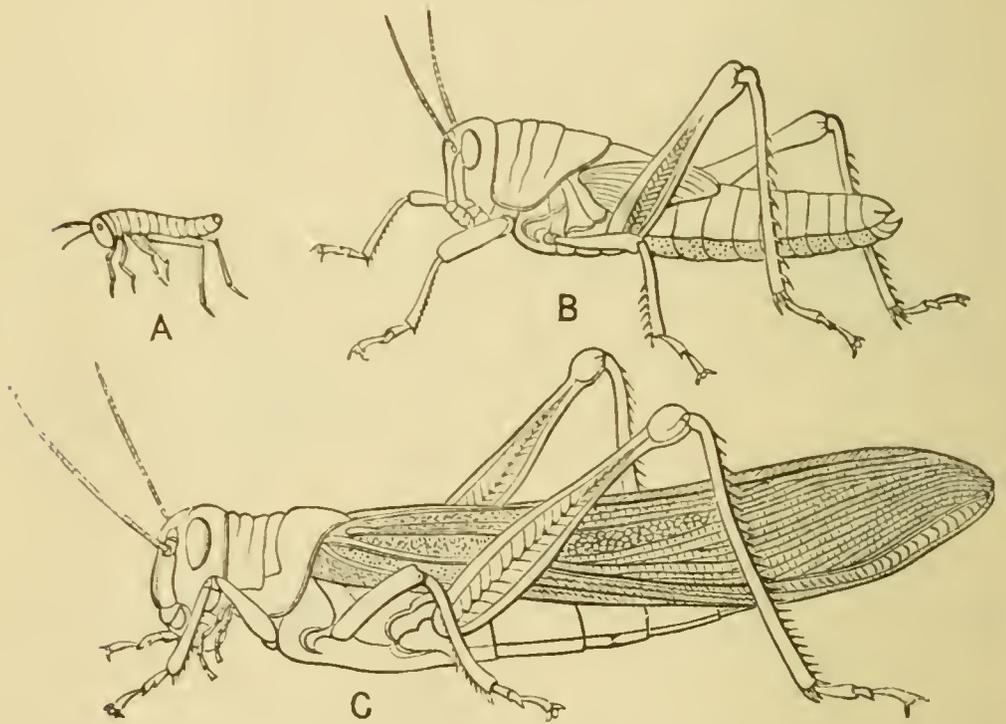
The "hateful locust" of the Rocky Mountains, which wrought such havoc over a large area of the United States, that an Entomological Commission was appointed to report upon the best means of checking its ravages (1878). The Report of this Commission contains much valuable information on the Natural History of Locusts.

Of the species here enumerated, *Pachytylus* and *Acridium peregrinum* are those which most commonly appear in Palestine.

The true locusts are all migratory species of the family *Acridiidae*: they are seldom bred in the country which they devastate, their breeding grounds being comparatively barren districts (mostly elevated plateaus), which they soon forsake for more cultivated lands. The migrations of locusts are however irregular, taking place neither at

definite seasons of the year, nor at definite intervals of time: they sometimes for instance visit a district for several successive years, at other times only at considerable intervals. When conditions are favourable, the migratory instinct is strong in them; but they have little power of guidance in flight, and are mainly borne along by the wind. Those which invade Palestine are brought nearly always from parts of the Arabian desert on the S.E. or S. Swarms do not always ravage the locality on which they alight: they sometimes merely stop to deposit their eggs, and resume their flight.

The female locust has a special apparatus by means of which she excavates holes in the earth, in which she deposits her eggs regularly arranged in a long cylindrical mass, enveloped in a glutinous secretion¹. Each female (at least of the American species) deposits four such egg-cases, containing in all about 100 eggs. The eggs are laid in some species in the autumn, in others in April or May; in both cases they are hatched usually in May or June. Both parents commonly die soon after the eggs are laid. The insect, after leaving the egg, casts its skin



Acridium peregrinum: A, larva, newly hatched; B, pupa, just before its last moult; C, perfect insect.

(From the *Cambridge Natural History*, 1895, v. p. 156.)

not less than six times before it assumes its complete form (which is reached 6—7 weeks from birth), but only three of the stages through which it thus passes are clearly different to an ordinary observer. Immediately after the locusts are hatched, they are in the *larva*-stage, in

¹ See the illustration in the *Encycl. Brit.* ed. 9, s.v. LOCUSTS, p. 767; and, for a description of the process, the *Riverside Nat. Hist.* (London, 1888), II. 197, 198.

which they have no wings, but are capable of hopping about; and advancing in compact bodies, they begin almost immediately their destructive operations. After about three weeks' time, their fourth moult brings them to the *pupa*-stage, in which their wings are partially developed, but enclosed as yet in membranous cases: in this stage they advance by walking rather than by hopping. Ten days after reaching the pupa-stage, they moult again; and 10—15 days after this, by a last moult, they disengage themselves from their 'pupa,' or nymph-skin, and as soon as their wings are stiffened and dry, mount in clouds into the air: they are now the *imago*, or complete insect. In all stages of their development, they are equally voracious, and equally destructive to vegetation. The colours of locusts vary according to species and locality, and also according to the stage of their growth. The *Acridium peregrinum*, as observed in Algiers, is green, after its first skin (or *am-nion*) is cast (which happens as soon as it is hatched), but it rapidly becomes brown, and in 12 hours its colour is black: after its second moult (six days from birth) streaks of red appear on the body; and the general effect of the following changes is to make the colouring of the insect brighter and more distinct¹.

The following are the names of locusts (or allied insects) occurring in the Old Testament:—

1. *Gāzām* (the *lopper* or *shearer*: the root in Arab. and New Hebrew means *to cut off*, esp. branches), only Joel i. 4, ii. 25, and (as destructive to fig-trees and vines), Am. iv. 9.

2. *Arbeh* (prob. the *swarmer*, from *rābāh*, *to multiply*), the common and ordinary name of the locust, occurring 24 times, viz. of the Egyptian plague, Ex. x. 4, 12, 13, 14, 14, 19, 19, Ps. lxxviii. 46, cv. 34; as otherwise destructive to crops, Dt. xxviii. 38, 1 Ki. viii. 37, Joel i. 4, 4, ii. 25, 2 Chr. vi. 28; as a type of what is innumerable, Jud. vi. 5, vii. 12, Jer. xlvi. 23, Nah. iii. 15 *end*, 17; as tossed about by the wind, Ps. cix. 23; as advancing in organized bands, Prov. xxx. 27; as leaping with a quivering motion, like horses, Job xxxix. 20; as a 'clean' insect, Lev. xi. 22.

3. *Yeleḳ* (apparently the *lapper*: cf. *lāḳaḳ*, *to lap*, Jud. vii. 5), Joel i. 4, ii. 25; Jer. li. 14, 27 (as numerous; in *v.* 27 with the epithet *rough*, alluding probably to the horn-like sheath in which the wings of the locust, during its 'pupa' stage, are enveloped); Nah. iii. 15 (as voracious, and also as numerous: R.V. *cankerworm*); Nah. iii. 16 "the *yeleḳ* strippeth, and flieth away" (with allusion probably to the manner in which, at the end of the 'pupa' stage, the locust casts the sheaths which enclose its wings, and quickly mounts into the air); Ps. cv. 34 (in poetical parallelism with *arbeh*, of the Egyptian plague).

4. *Hāsīl* (the *finisher*: comp. the verb *hāsāl*, Dt. xxviii. 38 "for the locust (*arbeh*) shall *finish* it"; it occurs also with the same sense in Aramaic), Joel i. 4, ii. 25; 1 Ki. viii. 37 = 2 Chr. vi. 28 (by the side of *arbeh*, as a plague common in Palestine); Ps. lxxviii. 46 (of the plague

¹ See details of the several moults in the *Cambridge Natural History*, v. 287 f.; and, for a graphic description of the one in which the perfect insect emerges, the *Riverside Nat. Hist.* ii. 199—201 (= Riley, *The Rocky Mountain Locust*, 1877, pp. 79—82).

of Egypt, with *arbeh* in the following parallel clause); Is. xxxiii. 4 "And your spoil [the spoil of the Assyrians] shall be gathered as the *ḥāsīl* gathereth."

5. *Gōbai*, *gōb*. also (as pointed) plur. *gēbīm* (perh. the *gatherer*: cf. on Am. vii. 1), Is. xxxiii. 4 "as *gēbīm* attack shall they attack it" (the spoil of the Assyrians); Nah. iii. 17 "Thy [Nineveh's] crowned are as the *arbeh*, and thy marshals as the *gōb gōbai* [the word is probably written by error twice], which camp in the fences on a cold day, but when the sun ariseth they flee away, and their place is not known where they are" (locusts are benumbed by the cold, and halt at night, but when the sun rises in the morning they quickly leave their halting place: as suddenly and completely will the Assyrian leaders, numerous as they are, disappear); Am. vii. 1.

6. *Sol'am* (perh., from the Aram., the *swallower up*, or *annihilator*) Lev. xi. 22 (A.V., R.V. *bald locust*, from a Rabbinical statement that its head was bald in front).

7. *Hāgāb* (perh., from the Arab., the *intervener* or *concealer*, sc. of the sun), Lev. xi. 22; a type of smallness, Numb. xiii. 33, Is. xl. 22, and perh. Eccl. xii. 5 (A.V. *grasshopper*); voracious, 2 Chr. vii. 13. In the Talmud, *hāgāb* becomes the general designation of the locust, *arbeh* falling out of use.

8. *Hargōl* (perh., from the Arab., the *galloper*), Lev. xi. 22 (R.V. *cricket*).

9. *Tzelätzēl* (prob. the *criaker*, from the stridulous sound produced by many of the Orthoptera, especially the males, by rubbing the upper part of the leg against the wing), Dt. xxviii. 42 (A.V., R.V. *locust*).

In Lev. xi. 22 the *arbeh*, the *sol'am*, the *hargōl*, and the *hāgāb*, are mentioned as four distinct species of winged insects having "jointed legs above the feet to leap withal," i.e. jointed posterior legs, of the kind described above: they need not, therefore, all be "locusts," but they must all be "saltatorial" Orthoptera.

The species of Orthoptera found in Palestine have not at present been classified with sufficient exactness to enable us to identify all these insects with any confidence¹. *Arbeh*, the commonest name of the locust, denoted probably the species which invaded Palestine most frequently, viz. *Acridium peregrinum*. *Pachytylus*, which differs from *A. peregrinum* both in size and colour, may well have received a separate name, perhaps *ḥāsīl*. *Tryxalis*, which is smaller than either of these species, and differs also from them both by its tapering head, may likewise have well been denoted by a separate name: but we cannot say which it was. *Gōb*, to judge from Am. vii. 1, may have

¹ The Arabs say that there are different kinds of locusts, yellow, white, red, black, large and small: they also mention that they have different names, when they are first hatched (*dabā*), when their wings begin to grow (*ghaughā*), and when they are fully formed (*jarād*, the 'stripper'), the males being then yellow and the females black. The Syrians distinguish *flying locusts* and *creeping locusts*, the former for instance standing in the Pesh. for *arbeh*, and the latter for *yēlek*, in Joel i. 4, ii. 25. According to Jerome (on Nah. iii. 17) *bruchus*, *attelabus*, and *locusta*, denote, respectively, the insect in its three stages of growth (though other ancient writers define the first two of these terms differently). See Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 260—262.

denoted the newly-hatched larvae: its mention in Nah. iii. 17 might be explained either by the custom of the locust in its larva-stage halting, as it marched, at night time, during the cold, but starting again when the sun rose and warmed it; or by the supposition that the term included the pupa-stage as well, and that the reference was to the nymphae encamping at night, and obtaining wings in the warmth of the morning (the usual time for moulting), and so flying away (Houghton, *D. B.* 11. p. 131 *b*). As stated above, there is some ground for thinking that the *yélek* denoted the locust in its pupa-stage. The more exact determination of the insects denoted by the Hebrew words quoted, must however be left to some naturalist who has accurately acquainted himself, by residence in Palestine, with the species most commonly found there¹.

The following accounts, by different observers, will illustrate, in various particulars, Joel's description, and will also, it is hoped, be found interesting independently:—

(1) *Locustae* “pariunt in terram demisso spinæ caule ova condensa autumni tempore. Ea durant hieme sub terra. Subsequente anno exitu veris emittunt parvas, nigrantes et sine cruribus pennisque reptantes.... Mori matres cum pepererint, certum est...Eodem tempore mares obeunt.... Est et alius earum obitus. Gregatim sublatae vento in maria aut stagna decidunt.... Deorum iræ pestis ea intelligitur. Namque et grandiores cernuntur, et tanto volant pennarum stridore, ut aliae alites credantur. Solemque obumbrant, sollicitis suspectantibus populis, ne suas operiant terras. Sufficiunt quippe vires; et tamquam parum sit maria transisse, immensos tractus permeant, diraque messibus contegunt nube, multa contactu adurentes: omnia vero morsu erodentes, et fores quoque tectorum. Italiam ex Africa maxime coortae infestant, saepe populo ad Sibyllina coacto remedia confugere, inopiae metu. In Cyrenaica regione lex etiam est ter anno debellandi eas, primo ova obterendo, deinde fetum, postremo adultas: desertoris poena in eum qui cessaverit.... Necare et in Syria militari imperio coguntur. Tot orbis partibus vagatur id malum.... Minores autem in omni hoc genere feminis mares” (Pliny, *N. H.* x. 29; partly after Arist. *H. A.* v. 28. The accuracy of many of the particulars is strikingly confirmed by modern observers).

(2) “Those which I saw, *Ann.* 1724 and 1725 [in Algiers] were much bigger than our common grasshoppers, having brown spotted wings, with legs and bodies of a bright yellow. Their first appearance was towards the latter end of March, the wind having been for some time southerly; and in the middle of April their numbers were so vastly increased that, in the heat of the day, they formed themselves into large bodies, appeared like a succession of clouds, and darkened the sun. About the middle of May they retired into the adjacent plains to deposit

¹ See further Bochart, *Hieroicozon*, Pt. II. Lib. iv. ch. 1—8; Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, pp. 306 ff.; Houghton in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, s.v. LOCUSTS (who states, II. 697^a, that only two or three *destructive* species of locust are known to visit Palestine); the *Cambridge Nat. Hist.* v. Chap. xii. (on the *Acridiidae*); Redtenbacher (as cited above); C. V. Riley, *The Rocky Mountain Locust* (Chicago, 1877).

their eggs. Accordingly, in June, their young broods began gradually to make their appearances; and it was surprising to observe, that no sooner were any of them hatched than they immediately collected themselves together, each of them forming a compact body of several hundred yards in square: which, marching afterwards directly forward, climbed over trees, walls and houses, eat up every plant in their way, *and let nothing escape them.*" The inhabitants sought to stop their progress by filling trenches with water, and kindling fires; but in vain: "the trenches were quickly filled up, and the fires put out by infinite swarms succeeding one another; whilst the front seemed regardless of danger, and the rear pressed on so close, that a retreat was impossible. A day or two after one of these bodies was in motion, others were already hatched to glean after them; gnawing off the young branches, and the very bark of such trees as had escaped before with the loss only of their fruit and foliage. Having in this manner lived near a month upon the ruin and destruction of everything that was green or juicy, they arrived at their full growth, and threw off their worm-like state, by casting their skins. This transformation was performed in 7 or 8 minutes; after which they lay for a small time in a languishing condition; but as soon as the sun and air had hardened their wings, and dried up the moisture that remained upon them after the casting of their sloughs, they returned again to their former voracity, with an addition both of strength and agility. But they continued not long in this state before they were dispersed towards the North, where they perished probably in the sea" (T. Shaw, *Travels in Barbary*, 1738, p. 256—8, slightly abridged).

(3) "On the 11th of June, whilst seated in our tents [at Shiraz, in Persia] about noon, we heard a very unusual noise, that sounded like the rushing of a great wind at a distance. On looking up we perceived an immense cloud, here and there semi-transparent, in other parts quite black, that spread itself all over the sky, and at intervals shadowed the sun. This we soon found to be locusts, whole swarms of them falling about us; but their passage was but momentary, for a fresh wind from the S.W., which had brought them to us, so completely drove them forwards, that not a vestige of them was to be seen two hours after.... These locusts were of a red colour.... They seemed to be impelled by one common instinct, and moved in one body, which had the appearance of being organized by a leader.... At Smyrna, in 1800, they committed great depredations. About the middle of April the hedges and ridges of the fields began to swarm with young locusts, which then wore a black appearance, had no wings, and were quite harmless. About the middle of May they had increased triple the size, were of a grey cindery colour, and had incipient wings about $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch long. They still continued to be harmless; but at the end of June they had grown to their full size, which was $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length; the legs, head, and extremities red; the body a pale colour, tending to red. They appear to be created for a scourge; since to strength incredible for so small a creature, they add saw-like teeth, admirably calculated to destroy herbage.... It was during their stay that they shewed themselves to be the red plague described in Exodus. They seemed to march in regular battalions, crawling over everything that lay in their passage, in one straight front.

They entered the inmost recesses of the houses, were found in every corner, stuck to our clothes, and infested our food" (J. Morier, *A Second Journey through Persia*, 1818, pp. 98—100).

(4) "It was Sept. 13, 1863, when, just after luncheon, it suddenly became quite dusk, and the servants coming in told us that the locusts had arrived, and so we went out to see them. The whole sky, as far as the eye could reach, in every direction was full of them. They flew from the north-east at a great pace, with a strange rustling filling the air with sound, which seemed to come from every point, and were much scattered in their flight, which ranged from 30 to 200 feet above the ground. The wind was blowing from the north-east, and they were borne along upon it. Afterwards the wind veered round, and the locusts turned with it. These locusts were of a red colour, differing but slightly from the well-known migratorius, about 3 inches long, while the expanse of the wings measured nearly five inches. A heavy storm of rain obliged them soon to settle. They did not remain here, however: the next morning the sun came out, and with dried wings they mounted up into the air, and went straight off to the north-west.... The appearance of a flight on the horizon is curious. It is like a thin dark streak, which increases in density every moment till it has arrived. It is often several hundred feet in depth, and 1—2, or even 3—4 miles long. What strikes every one as they approach is the strange rustling of millions on millions of crisp wings.... Afterwards many swarms settled in the Punjaub, where they laid their eggs in the ground, and though thousands were destroyed, many yet remained, and the young wingless larvae crawled over the ground, creating far greater havoc than their winged parents" (C. Home, in Hardwicke's *Science Gossip*, 1871, p. 79 f.).

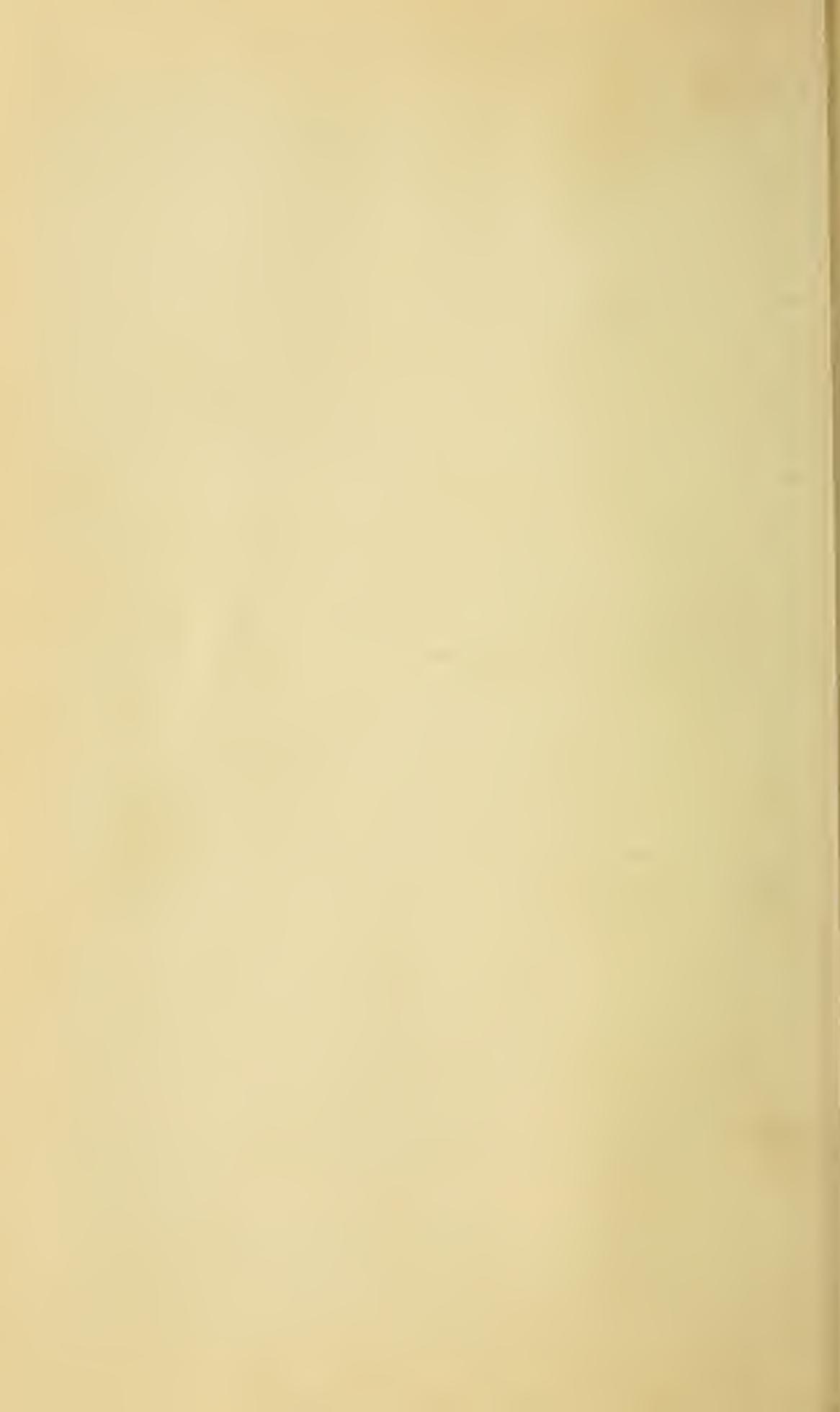
(5) "Early in the spring the locusts appeared in considerable numbers along the sea-coast, and on the lower spurs of the Lebanon-range. They did no great injury at the time, and, having laid their eggs, immediately disappeared. Towards the end of May we heard that thousands of young locusts were on their march up the valley towards our village (Abeih): we accordingly went forth to meet them, hoping to stop their progress, or at least to turn aside their line of march." The endeavour was useless. "I had often passed through clouds of flying locusts; but these we now confronted were without wings, and about the size of full-grown grasshoppers, which they closely resembled in appearance and behaviour. But their number was astounding: the whole face of the mountain was black with them. On they came like a disciplined army. We dug trenches and kindled fires, and beat and burnt to death heaps upon heaps, but the effort was utterly useless. They charged up the mountain side, and climbed over rocks, walls, ditches, and hedges, those behind coming up and passing over the masses already killed.... For some days they continued to pass on towards the east, until finally only a few stragglers of the mighty hosts were left behind.... Whilst on the march they consumed every green thing with wonderful eagerness and expedition.... The noise made by them in marching and foraging was like that of a heavy shower falling upon a distant forest" (Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, Central Pal., p. 296—8).

(6) "Jaffa, June 20 [1865]. In April last, we observed twice large dark clouds, resembling smoke, moving to and fro, as if swayed by the wind. One morning these clouds came down and proved to be locusts, so great in number that the whole land was covered with them. The grain at that time was full in ear, and nearly ripe, but the locusts did not touch it or any other vegetation. Soon after, however, it was observed that they buried themselves in the soil, and there deposited their innumerable eggs. The Arabs and peasants saw the approaching mischief, and went through the land in thousands digging for these eggs: they succeeded to a certain extent, and destroyed incredible numbers with water and fire, but all their efforts had very little effect. About the middle of May, small black creatures, at a distance resembling ants, were observed accumulating in large heaps throughout the country; and a few days after they began to leap. The people now began to sweep them together, and bury or burn them in ditches dug for the purpose. But all to little or no effect, and as they grew larger, the extent of their multitude began to be seen, and the coming catastrophe could not be mistaken. The roads were covered with them, all marching in regular lines, like armies of soldiers, with their leaders in front, and all the opposition of man to resist their progress was in vain." Having consumed the plantations in the country, they then entered the towns and villages. "Jaffa for several days appeared forsaken, all shops were shut, and all business was suspended: almost all the inhabitants had gone out to destroy and drive away the invading army: but in vain; in parts they covered the ground for miles to a height of several inches. They change in colour as they grow: at first they are black; when about three weeks old they become green, after two weeks more they are yellow, striped with brown: at this stage they have wings, but too small to enable them to fly, and when in an erect position, their appearance at a little distance is that of a well-armed horseman; in 14 days more, when perfect, they are pink below and green above, with various streaks and marks, differing also in colour. At present they are here still in their third stage, when they seem to be the most destructive. The gardens outside Jaffa are now completely stripped, even the bark of young trees having been devoured, and look like a birch tree forest in winter. When they approached our garden, all the farm servants were employed to keep them off, but to no avail; though our men broke their ranks for a moment, no sooner had they passed the men than they closed again, and marched forward, through ditches and hedges, as before. Our garden finished, they continued their march toward the town, devastating one garden after another. They have also penetrated into most of our rooms; whatever one is doing, one hears their noise from without, like the noise of armed hosts, or the running of many waters" (Abridged from an account in the *Journ. of Sacred Lit.*, Oct. 1865, p. 235 f.).

(7) "On the 27th ult., when travelling inland [in Formosa], indistinct sounds were heard far ahead. These grew louder as we approached. Looking towards the east was seen, in appearance, a perfect snowstorm advancing rapidly westwards. We halted on the pathway, and, with a rushing noise, swarms of locusts on the wing flew ten feet high over our heads. On and on with the wind the insect army pressed forward, until

the air was thickened and the sun darkened. In a moment they settled on the waving rice fields of green, and with great rapidity that colour gave way to a brownish hue. Crowds of farmers, their wives and children, were wild with excitement, and were jumping, running, yelling, and cursing the destroyers. I clapped my hands, not only to assist in driving the voracious hosts away, but also from real joy, because these eyes saw what accurate observers the inspired naturalists were. Bamboo groves have been stripped of their leaves, and left standing like saplings after a rapid bush fire. Rice crops have been made to resemble oat fields in Canada after the army worm has marched through. And grass has been devoured, so that the bare ground appeared as if burned....The heads, bodies, and legs of the majority are yellow, while others are reddish-brown in colour. Their antennae are short and thick. The front wings are straight, membranous, and four inches in length when stretched at right angles. The hinder ones are sail-like, translucent, and three and one-half inches long when spread out to fly. One specimen in my museum is so gaily coloured that it might be mistaken for a gaudy butterfly....As there are countless numbers in the larval condition, and as eggs are being deposited in the ground, it is to be feared these dreadful armies may next year invade and devastate vast regions in North Formosa. As this is their first appearance here, the natives are amazed and alarmed. Many declare there are letters on their wings, and that they are a scourge somehow connected with the coming of these Japanese, and many have burned incense sticks and invited the locusts to leave Formosa and go elsewhere. Christians declare they understood better than ever one of the plagues in Egypt" (From the *Standard*, Dec. 25, 1896).

See also Clarke's *Travels* (1810), I. 437—9 (in the Crimea); Burckhardt, *Bedouins* (1831), II. 89—92; and the Rev. F. W. Holland, *ap. Tristram, The Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, p. 316—318. For an interesting account of the movements (including the passage of broad rivers) of the wingless locusts of S. Africa (called by the Dutch "voetgangers") see the *Camb. Nat. Hist.* v. 295 f.



A M O S.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *Personal life of Amos.*

AMOS, as we learn from the title of his book, was one of the "shepherds from Tekoa," i.e., it would seem, one of a settlement of herdmen who had their home at Tekoa, and who, as the word used implies, reared a special breed of sheep, of small and stunted growth, but prized on account of their wool. From vii. 14 it appears further that he was employed also in the cultivation of sycamore trees¹. Tekoa—now Taḳu'a—was a village situated on a hill, six miles S. of Bethlehem and 12 miles S. of Jerusalem, in the centre of a barren and desolate region, bounded on the south-west and north by limestone hills, while on the east the land slopes away over 18 miles, first of wild moorland—the 'wilderness,' or pasture-ground, of Tekoa (2 Chr. xx. 20)—and afterwards of bleak and rugged hills—the desolate 'Jeshimon' (1 Sam. xxiii. 19, 24)—down to the Dead Sea, some 4000 feet below. The sycamore does not grow at so high a level as Tekoa; and hence we must suppose that Amos carried on his occupation as a sycamore-dresser in some sheltered nook in the lower part of the 'wilderness of Judah' (Josh. xv. 61, 62), where the milder temperature of the Jordan-valley prevailed. Where Amos was born we are not, indeed, expressly told; he was at any rate

¹ On the probable nature of his duties in this capacity, see the note *ad loc.*

bred, and lived the greater part of his life, in the atmosphere of the moorland and the desert; and the days spent by him amid these wild surroundings left, we may be sure, their impress upon his character, sharpened his powers of observation, inured him to austerity of life, made him the keen and unflinching censor of the vices which flourish in the lap of luxury.

How Amos came to be a prophet he tells us himself. He was no prophet by education or profession: he did not belong to one of those prophetic guilds, of which we read especially in the days of Elisha (2 Ki. ii. 3, iv. 1, &c.), and to which young Israelites, especially if warmed by religious enthusiasm, were in the habit of attaching themselves. On the contrary, the manner in which he disclaims connexion with such prophets implies that they were not always men actuated by the highest motives: they were men who earned their living by their profession, they were often therefore not, in the strict sense of the term, independent: subserviency to their patrons was a temptation which they were unable to resist: they were too ready merely to echo sentiments which they knew would win them popularity, and to 'prophesy' in accordance with the fee that they expected to receive. Amos was none of these. He was a simple countryman, a man no doubt of a religious frame of mind, who often in the solitude of the moorland meditated on the things of God, but one whose regular business was with his flocks on the hills, or among the sycamores in the dale; and he was actually following his shepherd's occupation at the moment when he became conscious of the summons to be a prophet,—“And Jehovah took me from after the flock: and Jehovah said unto me, Go, prophesy to my people Israel.” In obedience to the summons, Amos left his native country of Judah, and visited the sister kingdom of Israel, then in the height of prosperity, to which it had been raised by the successes of Jeroboam II. He repaired to Beth-el, which was the chief national sanctuary, under the particular patronage of the king, and there, in the presence, we may suppose, of the crowds thronging the Temple, uttered the unwelcome words which roused Israel from its self-satisfied security, and sounded, only too clearly, the knell of its approaching

doom. One after another, the discourses which he delivered closed with the same ominous outlook of disaster and exile; at last, when he named the reigning monarch personally ("And the high places of Isaac shall be desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste; and I will rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword," vii. 9), his words excited the alarm and opposition of Amaziah, the priest of Beth-el, who sought accordingly to obtain his expulsion from the country. It does not seem that this endeavour was successful: at any rate, Amos repeated his previous predictions in still more pointed and emphatic terms (vii. 17), besides uttering fresh prophecies of similar import (viii. 1—ix. 10). Of Amos's personal life no further particulars are recorded in his book; but in view of the well-planned disposition of his prophecies, it is reasonable to suppose that, after he had completed his prophetic ministrations at Beth-el, he returned to his native home, and there at leisure arranged his prophecies in a written form.

§ 2. *Contents of Amos's prophecy.*

The Book of Amos falls naturally into three parts, chs. i.—ii., iii.—vi., vii.—ix. 10, with an epilogue, ix. 11—15.

The *first* part, chs. i.—ii., is introductory. After the exordium (i. 2), which describes under a fine image Jehovah's power over Palestine, Amos takes a survey of the principal nations bordering on Israel—Damascus, the Philistines, Tyre, Edom, the Ammonites, Moab, Judah—for the purpose of showing that, as none of these will escape retribution for having violated some generally recognized principle of humanity or morality, so Israel, for similar or greater sins (ii. 6—8), aggravated in its case by an ungrateful forgetfulness of Jehovah's benefits (ii. 9—12), will be subject to the same law of righteous government: a terrible military disaster will ere long overtake the nation, in which its bravest warriors will flee panic-stricken and helpless (ii. 13—16).

The *second* part (chs. iii.—vi.) consists of three discourses, each introduced by the emphatic *Hear ye this word* (iii. 1, iv. 1, v. 1). The general aim of this part of the book is to expand and enforce what has been said with reference to Israel in ii. 6—16.

(1) In ch. iii. Amos begins by disillusioning the Israelites. Jehovah's choice of Israel is not, as they imagine, the unconditional guarantee of its security: on the contrary, He takes in consequence the greater cognizance of its sins (iii. 1—2). Hard as this judgement is, the prophet does not pass it idly; for no event happens in nature without a proper and sufficient cause; and the appearance of a prophet with such a message is an indication that Jehovah has sent him (iii. 3—8). The heathen themselves can bear witness that the sins of Samaria are such as deserve judgment (iii. 9—10). The foe is at the door; and so sudden will be the surprise that of the wealthy nobles of Samaria only a scanty remnant will escape, and altars and palaces will be in ruins together (iii. 11—15). (2) In ch. iv. Amos first rebukes the ladies of Samaria for their heartless self-indulgence and cruelty: they also, when the city is captured by the foe, will be forced to quit their luxurious homes and join the procession of exiles (iv. 1—3): after this, he turns to the people at large, ironically bidding them persevere unremittingly in their ritual, since they trust to it to save them (iv. 4—5), expressing surprise that they should have neglected the five-fold warning—famine, drought, blasted crops, pestilence, earthquake (iv. 6—11), and ending with hinting darkly (iv. 12) at the more extreme measures which Jehovah will shortly be compelled to adopt. (3) Ch. v.—vi. consists of three sections, v. 1—17, v. 18—27, vi. 1—14, each drawing out, in different terms, the moral grounds of Israel's impending ruin, and ending with a similar outlook of invasion or exile. (a) In v. 1—17 the prophet sings his elegy over Israel's fall (v. 1—3): God had demanded obedience, judgement, and mercy; Israel had persistently run counter to His demands (v. 4—13): His last invitation to amendment he knows, too truly, it will only decline (v. 14f.); so he closes (v. 16f.) with a picture of the lamentation and mourning with which the land will soon be full, through the havoc wrought in it by the foe. (b) Ch. v. 18—27 is a rebuke addressed to those who desired the 'Day' of Jehovah, as though that could be anything but an interposition in their favour. Jehovah's 'Day,' the prophet retorts, so long as the people continue in their present

temper, will be a day, not of deliverance but of misfortune; and Jehovah, instead of sparing them for their zealous discharge of ceremonial observances, will consign them to exile "beyond Damascus" for their disregard of moral obligations. (c) Ch. vi. is a second rebuke, addressed to the leaders of the nation, who, immersed in a life of luxurious self-indulgence, are heedless of the unsound condition of the body politic (vi. 1—6); exile is the goal in which their indifference will land them (vi. 7); a vision of invasion, with its terrible concomitants, rises before the prophet's eye (vi. 8—10), which the nation's boasted strength will be powerless to avert (vi. 11—14).

The *third* part of the book extends from vii. 1 to the end. Ch. vii.—ix. 10 consists of a series of five visions, interrupted in vii. 10—17 by an account of the altercation which took place between Amos and Amaziah at Beth-el. The visions are followed, in each case, by longer or shorter explanatory comments; and their aim is to reinforce, under an effective symbolism, the truth which Amos desired to impress, that the judgement, viz., which he had announced as impending upon Israel, could now no longer be averted, and that though Jehovah had once and again (vii. 3, 6) "repented" of His purpose, He could do so no more: the time for mercy had now passed by. The visions are (1) the devouring locusts (vii. 1—3); (2) the consuming fire (vii. 4—6); (3) the plumb-line (vii. 7—9); (4) the basket of summer-fruit (viii. 1—3), followed by a renewed denunciation of Israel's sin, and of the judgements which, in His indignation, Jehovah will in consequence bring upon the land (viii. 4—14); (5) the smitten sanctuary, and destruction of the worshippers (symbolizing the nation), ix. 1—6, followed by an argument (similar to that of iii. 2), designed to shew that, though its righteous members may be spared, Israel as a nation cannot expect to be treated by a different moral standard from other nations (ix. 7—10).

Ch. ix. 11—15 forms an epilogue, containing the promise of a brighter future. The dynasty of David, though now humbled, will be reinstated in its former splendour and power (ix. 11—12); and the blessings of peace will be shared in perpetuity by the entire nation (ix. 13—15).

§ 3. *Circumstances of the age of Amos.*

The period in which Amos prophesied is fixed by the title, the testimony of which is supported by the internal evidence of the book, and the mention in vii. 10—11 of Jeroboam (II.), as king of Israel at the time of the prophet's visit to Beth-el. It is true, we cannot define precisely the year in Jeroboam's reign in which Amos made thus his first appearance as a prophet; for though the same title states that this was "two years before the earthquake," and though the memory of "the earthquake in the days of king Uzziah" survived till long afterwards (Zech. xiv. 5), it is not mentioned in the historical books, and we are consequently ignorant of the year in which it occurred. But we shall hardly be far wrong if we place the ministry of Amos in the latter part of Jeroboam's reign, i.e., probably, between 760 and 750 B.C.; for from the whole tenor of his book it cannot be doubted that the successes which gave Israel its prosperity and opulence had been already gained. The material and moral condition in which Israel thus found itself gives the clue to Amos's prophecy.

The reign of Jeroboam II., though passed by briefly in the historical books (2 Ki. xiv. 23—29), was one of singular external prosperity for the northern kingdom. Jeroboam II. was the fourth ruler of the dynasty founded (B.C. 842) by Jehu (2 Ki. ix.—x.). Under both Jehu and his successor, Jehoahaz, Israel had suffered severely at the hands of the Syrians. Already under Jehu (2 Ki. x. 32 f.) Hazael had succeeded in wresting from Israel all its territory east of Jordan; under Jehoahaz (B.C. 815—802) Israel was if possible still more humiliated; throughout his whole reign Hazael continued its vexatious oppressor, inflicting upon its armies defeats, in which (to use the expressive metaphor of the historian) he "made them like dust in threshing" (2 Ki. xiii. 7), and gaining possession of various cities (*ib. v.* 25). The details given in the Book of Kings are meagre; but the terms in which the narrator speaks make it evident how seriously by these losses the strength of Israel was impaired (2 Ki. xiii. 3, 4, 7, 22; cf. xiv. 26 f.). Under Jehoash (B.C. 802—790)¹ the tide turned. Ben-hadad succeeded

¹ [The system of chronology followed here differs in several respects

Hazael on the throne of Damascus ; and from him Jehoash, encouraged by Elisha's dying charge, recovered the cities which his father had lost (2 Ki. xiii. 14—19, 24—25). Jeroboam II. (B.C. 790—749) was yet more successful. "He restored the border of Israel from the entering in of Hamath unto the sea of the Arábah" (2 Ki. xiv. 25), i.e. from the far north¹ to the Dead Sea, besides gaining other successes (v. 28). The old limits of its territory were thus regained, and Israel could again breathe freely, and devote itself to the arts and enjoyments of peace. The book of Amos exhibits to us the nation reposing in the ease which had thus been won for it. But some years would obviously be required ere the full fruits of Jeroboam's successes could be reaped ; and hence we are justified in assigning the prophecy of Amos to the later years of his reign.

The book of Amos presents a vivid picture of the social condition of Israel at the time. On the one hand, we see the material prosperity which Israel now enjoyed. Wealth abounded ; and those who possessed it lived in self-indulgence and luxury. They had their winter houses and their summer houses (iii. 15) ; they had houses built solidly of hewn stone (v. 11) and panelled with ivory (iii. 15) ; they had couches inlaid with the same costly material, upon which they reclined anointed with rich perfumes, feasting upon delicacies, drinking wine 'in bowls,' and listening to strains of varied music (vi. 4—6) : there was many a 'palace' and 'great house,' we may be sure, in which, during these happy days of Israel's prosperity, the sound of 'revelry' was often to be heard (vi. 7, 8, 11). The temples, especially that at Beth-el, which was under royal patronage (vii. 13), were well-appointed, and thronged with worshippers (ix. 1) : pilgrims flocked to the principal sanctuaries, Beth-el, Gilgal, and even Beer-sheba, in the south of Judah (iv. 4, v. 5, viii. 14)² ; tithes and other dues were regularly paid ; voluntary offerings were ostentatiously rendered (iv. 4 f.) ; a splendid, and no doubt impressive ceremonial was punctiliously maintained (v. 21—23). The nation

from that which finds the readiest acceptance at the present day. Dr Driver has on p. 8 given certain alternative dates which are more in accordance with recent research. Jehoash probably reigned 798—782, and Jeroboam II. 782—741. See also note on p. 104.]

¹ See the note on Am. vi. 2.

² Comp. also Hos. iv. 15, v. 1, ix. 15, xii. 11.

felt itself secure : it judged itself to be under the special favour and protection of its God (iii. 2 a, v. 18) ; it could contemplate the future without apprehension (vi. 1, 3 ; ix. 10) ; it could say, in proud consciousness of its newly-won powers, "Have we not taken to us horns by our own strength?" (vi. 13).

On the other hand, we see also the darker side of the picture, the moral deterioration resulting from the continuance of unbroken prosperity. The affluence of the wealthy was not obtained as the result of their own honest toil, but was wrung, by injustice and oppression, from the hard-worked *fellahin*, the poor cultivators of the soil, who lived penuriously, and had as much as they could do to keep body and soul together. The book of Amos is full of allusions to the sufferings inflicted upon the poor by the hard-hearted aristocracy, by remorseless creditors, by avaricious and dishonest traders, by venal judges. Justice was sold to the highest bidder ; for the sake of some trifling article, the value of which he could not pay, the debtor was sold into slavery ; the sufferings and misfortunes of the poor were viewed with complacency (ii. 6—8) ; in the capital itself might ruled over right, and the palaces of the nobles were stored with the gains of violence and robbery (iii. 9—10) ; even the women cooperated with their husbands in unscrupulous exactions, that they might have the means of indulging in a carouse (iv. 1) ; justice, so-called, was simple injustice ; the claims of innocence were listened to with impatience ; presents and bribes were openly demanded (v. 7, 10—12 ; vi. 12), violence reigned supreme (vi. 3) ; the rapacious merchants longed for the time when the sabbath or the new moon would be past, in order that they might resume their dishonest practices, and make fresh profits out of the helplessness of the poor (viii. 4—6). Immorality, moreover, was shamelessly practised (ii. 7),—often, if we may complete the picture by what Hosea tells us (iv. 13, 14), in accordance with a strange usage, common to many Semitic peoples, and introduced no doubt into Israel from the Canaanites or Phœnicians, under the cloak of religion. The ceremonial observances, so sumptuously and lavishly maintained at the sanctuaries, were no guarantee, Amos plainly indicates, of the moral or religious sincerity of the people (v. 21—24). The nobles of Samaria, immersed in their

own pleasures, were selfishly indifferent to the welfare of the nation of which they were the responsible leaders: they were satisfied with the external semblance of strength and soundness which it presented; they had no eye for the inner flaws which the prophet's keener vision too truly perceived; and they were heedless of the future (vi. 6)¹.

Such were the sins and vices which were rampant in Israel, and which Amos denounced with undisguised indignation and plainness of speech². In eloquent and emphatic periods he lays his indictment against the leaders of the nation, and sets forth the principles and conduct which Jehovah demands. And not less distinctly does he indicate what the end will be. A nation in which there was so much moral unsoundness, and whose leaders were so deficient in the first qualities of statesmanship, could not be expected to meet danger with a firm front, or to pass safely through a political crisis; and a disaster, which wisdom and forethought might have averted, would, as things were, be only precipitated. Accordingly each section of his prophecy, almost each paragraph, ends with the same outlook of invasion, defeat, or exile³: Jehovah, he says, in one of the passages which speak most distinctly (vi. 14), is 'raising up' against Israel a nation which will 'afflict' them 'from the entering

¹ Hosea, writing a few years after Amos, draws substantially the same picture, though, as Hos. iv.—xiv., dates from the period of anarchy and misrule which prevailed after the death of Jeroboam II., it contains even darker traits. Let the reader compare, for instance, Hos. iv. 1—2, 10—14, vi. 6—10, vii. 1—7, xi. 2, xii. 7—8.

² G. A. Smith points out the analogies between the age of Amos and the fourteenth century in England, the century of Langland and Wyclif. Then, as in the Israel of Amos' day, a long and victorious reign was drawing to its close, city life was developing at the expense of country life, the rich and poor were forming two distinct classes, there was a national religion, zealously cultivated and endowed by the liberality of the people, with many pilgrimages to popular shrines, but superstitious, and disfigured by grave abuses; and then also prophecy raised its voice, for the first time fearless in England, in the verses of Langland's *Vision of Piers the Plowman*, which denounce and satirize the same vices in Church and State, and enforce the same principles of religion and morality (*Book of the Twelve*, p. 42, cf. pp. 145, 162, 167).

³ ii. 14—16; iii. 11, 14—15; iv. 3; v. 3, 16 f.; v. 27; vi. 7 f., 14; vii. 9, 17; viii. 3, 10, 14; ix. 4, 10.

in of Hamath unto the wādy of the Arábah'; and they will be taken into exile 'beyond Damascus' (v. 27). Already the Assyrians were not far off; and within a generation Amos' words were fulfilled to the letter. Upon Jeroboam's death party spirit broke out unchecked: Zechariah, his son, after a six months' reign, was murdered in a conspiracy headed by Shallum ben Jabesh (2 Ki. xv. 8—10). There followed a period of anarchy, which may be illustrated from the vivid pages of Hosea (vii. 3—7, viii. 4), one king following another with the form but hardly the reality of royal power, and the aid of Assyria and Egypt being alternately invoked by rival factions (Hos. v. 13, vii. 11, viii. 9, xii. 1). Shallum after a month was dethroned by Menáhem ben Gadi, a brutal and unscrupulous usurper, who sought to strengthen his position by buying the support of the Assyrian monarch Pul (Tiglath-pileser), 2 Ki. xv. 14, 16, 17—20. Menahem reigned some 8 or 10 years¹, and was succeeded by his son Pekahiah, who after a brief reign of two years was assassinated in his palace in Samaria by Pekah ben Remaliah and a band of 50 Gileadite desperadoes (*ib. vv.* 22—25). Pekah was unfriendly to the Assyrians; and in Isa. vii. we read how, allying himself with the old enemy of his nation, the Syrians, he joined them in an invasion of Judah, for the purpose of forcing Ahaz to join an anti-Assyrian coalition. But the onward movement of Assyria could not be checked: Ahaz threw himself into the hands of Tiglath-pileser, with the result that the Assyrian king invaded Israel and carried off into exile the inhabitants of the northern tribes and of Gilead (2 Ki. xv. 29). Almost at the same time Hoshea ben Elah, with the support and connivance of Tiglath-pileser², conspired against Pekah, and slew him (*ib. v.* 30). Hoshea, however, had not been many years upon the throne before he broke with his protectors, and contracted an alliance with So (or Sëvè), king of Egypt. Shalmaneser, who had succeeded Tiglath-pileser in 728 B.C., took

¹ [Menahem's reign can hardly have been so long: it may have lasted four years (741—737). Pekahiah was probably assassinated in 736 or 735, and Pekah's reign may have closed in 733. The accession of Shalmaneser took place probably in 727.]

² We learn this fact from the annals of Tiglath-pileser (Schrader, *K.A.T.*² p. 260; or the writer's *Isaiah*, p. 8).

measures forthwith to punish his rebellious vassal, and laid siege to Samaria : it held out for three years, when it capitulated, in 722 B.C., to Sargon. Large numbers of Israelites were deported by Sargon to different parts of the Assyrian empire ; and the kingdom of Israel was brought to its close (2 Ki. xvii. 1—6)¹.

§ 4. *Characteristic teaching of Amos.*

Amos is the earliest of the prophets whose writings we possess, and his book is a short one: nevertheless it is surprisingly full of acute observation of men and manners, and of teaching, at once profound and lofty, on the things of God. The shepherd of Tekoa, it is evident, was far more than might have been imagined, to judge from his birth and surroundings: he was no rustic, in the ordinary sense of the word; he was a man of natural quickness and capacity, able to observe, to reflect, and to generalize, conscious of the breadth and scope of moral and spiritual realities, and capable of expressing his thoughts in dignified and impressive language. And the circumstances of his position,—on the one hand the empty and silent desert world in which as a rule he moved, where every stir of life aroused to greater vigilance, and conduced to form a habit of instinctively marking and reflecting upon the slightest occurrence; on the other the opportunities for observing life and character which from time to time his occupation probably afforded him,—quickened, we may reasonably suppose, the faculties which he naturally possessed, and fitted him to convey the more effectually the sacred message with which he was entrusted. The contrast, which to us seems almost an incongruity, between the mental aptitudes of the prophet, and the humble circumstances of his life, is explained for us by Prof. W. Robertson Smith:—

“The humble condition of a shepherd following his flock on the bare mountains of Tekoa has tempted many commentators, from Jerome downwards, to think of Amos as an unlettered clown, and to trace his ‘rusticity’ in the language of his book. To the unprejudiced judgement, however, the prophecy of Amos appears one of the best examples of pure Hebrew style. The

¹ Cf. Schrader, *K.A.T.*² p. 274; *Isaiah*, p. 44.

language, the images, the grouping are alike admirable¹; and the simplicity of the diction, obscured only in one or two passages by the fault of transcribers, is a token, not of rusticity, but of perfect mastery over a language, which, though unfit for the expression of abstract ideas, is unsurpassed as a vehicle for impassioned speech. To associate inferior culture with the simplicity and poverty of pastoral life is totally to mistake the conditions of Eastern society. At the courts of the Caliphs and their Emirs the rude Arabs of the desert were wont to appear without any feeling of awkwardness, and to surprise the courtiers by the finish of their impromptu verses, the fluent eloquence of their oratory, and the range of subjects on which they could speak with knowledge and discrimination. Among the Hebrews, as in the Arabian desert, knowledge and oratory were not affairs of professional education, or dependent for their cultivation on wealth and social status. The sum of book learning was small; men of all ranks mingled with that Oriental freedom which is so foreign to our habits; a shrewd observation, a memory retentive of traditional lore, and the faculty of original reflection took the place of laborious study as the ground of acknowledged intellectual pre-eminence. In Hebrew, as in Arabic, the best writing is an unaffected transcript of the best speaking; the literary merit of the book of Genesis, or the history of Elijah, like that of the *Kitâb el Aghâny*, or of the Norse Sagas, is that they read as if they were told by word of mouth; and in like manner the prophecies of Amos, though evidently re-arranged for publication, and probably shortened from their original spoken form, are excellent writing, because the prophet writes, as he spoke, preserving all the effects of pointed and dramatic delivery, with that breath of lyrical fervour which lends a special charm to the highest Hebrew oratory" (*Prophets of Israel*, pp. 125—7).

Amos is, however, not more conspicuous on account of his literary power than for the breadth of human interest, embracing both acute observation, and wide historical knowledge, which his writings display. Not only does he evince minute

¹ Comp. below, p. 118.

acquaintance with the social condition of the northern kingdom, he possesses information respecting far more distant peoples as well. "The rapid survey of the nations immediately bordering on Israel—Syria, Philistia, Edom, Ammon, Moab—is full of precise detail as to localities and events, with a keen appreciation of national character. He tells us how the Philistines migrated from Caphtor, the Aramaeans from Kir (ix. 7). His eye ranges southward along the caravan route from Gaza through the Arabian wilderness (i. 6), to the tropical lands of the Cushites (ix. 7). In the west he is familiar with the marvels of the swelling of the Nile (viii. 8, ix. 5), and in the distant Babylonian east he makes special mention of the city of Calneh (vi. 2; comp. Gen. x. 10¹)."² The circumstances to which he may have owed this range of knowledge are suggestively indicated by Prof. George Adam Smith:—

"As a wool-grower, Amos must have had his yearly journeys among the markets of the land; and to such were probably due his opportunities of familiarity with Northern Israel, the originals of his vivid pictures of her town-life, her commerce, and the worship at her great sanctuaries. One hour westward from Tekoa would bring him to the high-road between Hebron and the north, with its troops of pilgrims passing to Beer-sheba³. It was but half-an-hour more to the watershed and an open view of the Philistine plain. Bethlehem was only six, Jerusalem twelve miles from Tekoa. Ten miles further, across the border of Israel, lay Beth-el with its temple, seven miles further Gilgal⁴, and 20 miles further still Samaria the capital, in all but two days' journey from Tekoa. These had markets as well as shrines; their annual festivals would be also great fairs. It is certain that Amos visited them; it is even possible that he went to Damascus, in which the Israelites had at the time their own quarters for trading⁵. By road and market he would meet with men of other lands. Phœnician pedlars, or Canaanites as they were called,

¹ See, however, the note on vi. 2.

² *Prophets of Israel*, p. 127 f.

³ v. 5, viii. 14.

⁴ See the footnote on iv. 4.

⁵ 1 Kings xx. 34.

came up to buy the home-spun for which the housewives of Israel were famed¹—hard-faced men, who were also willing to purchase slaves, and haunted even the battle-fields of their neighbours for this sinister purpose. Men of Moab, at the time subject to Israel; Aramean hostages; Philistines who held the export trade to Egypt,—these Amos must have met and may have talked with; their dialects scarcely differed from his own. It is no distant, desert echo of life which we hear in his pages, but the thick and noisy rumour of caravan and market-place; how the plague was marching up from Egypt²; ugly stories of the Phœnician slave-trade³; rumours of the advance of the awful Power, which men were hardly yet accustomed to name, but which had already twice broken from the North upon Damascus⁴. ...Or, at closer quarters, we see and hear the bustle of the great festivals and fairs—the *solemn assemblies*, the reeking holocausts, the *noise of songs and viols*⁵; the brutish religious zeal kindling into drunkenness and lust on the very steps of the altar⁶; the embezzlement of pledges by the priests; the covetous restlessness of the traders, their false measures, their entanglement of the poor in debt⁷; the careless luxury of the rich, their *banquets, buckets of wine, ivory couches*, pretentious, preposterous music⁸. These things are described as by an eye-witness. Amos was not a citizen of the Northern Kingdom, to which he almost exclusively refers; but it was because he went up and down in it, using those eyes which the desert air had sharpened, that he so thoroughly learned the wickedness of its people, the corruption of Israel's life in every rank and class of society" (*The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, i. 79—81).

The breadth of Amos' thought is apparent at once in the fundamental element in his theology, his conception of Jehovah. He is Jehovah *of Hosts*, i.e. (see p. 233) the God who has untold

¹ Prov. xxxi. 24 (see R. V. *marg.*).

² vi. 10.

³ i. 9.
⁴ B.C. 803 and 773 (Schrader, *K.A.T.*² pp. 215 f. 483): cf. before, in S43, *ib.* p. 210.

⁵ v. 21 ff.

⁶ ii. 7, 8.

⁷ viii. 4 ff.

⁸ vi. 1, 4—7.

forces and powers at His command, in other words, the All-Sovereign (*παντοκράτωρ*), or the Omnipotent. He is further the Creator, the Maker of Orion and the Pleiades (v. 8), of the massive mountains, and the subtle wind (iv. 13): "He is the mover in all the movements which we observe: He turneth the darkness into the morning, and maketh the day dark into night; He calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth (v. 8, iv. 13, ix. 5); His angry breath withers up Carmel (i. 2); He withholdeth rain, sends locusts, mildew, pestilence, and overthrow (iv. 6—11); He touches the earth and it melts, and rises up and sinks (in the oscillations of the earthquake), like the Nile of Egypt (viii. 8, ix. 5). Secondly, He puts forth His power equally in the rule of the nations, moving them upon the face of the earth and according to His will, like pawns upon a board, bringing Israel from Egypt, the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir (ix. 7). And as He brought the Syrians from Kir, He sends them back whence they came (i. 5), and Israel He causes to go into captivity beyond Damascus (v. 27). It is at His command that the Assyrian comes up and overflows the land like a river; it is He that breaks for him the bar of Damascus (i. 5), and launches him upon the sinful kingdom of Samaria, causing him to afflict it from" the far north to the wādy of the Arābah, "the border of Edom (vi. 14). And the omnipresence of His power is expressed in ch. i.—ii., where He smites one nation after another, all the peoples of the known world, and in such passages as ix. 8, 'Behold the eyes of the Lord Jehovah are upon the sinful kingdom, and I will destroy it from off the face of the earth'; and particularly in the terrible passage (ix. 4 f.), where His wrath is represented as pursuing the sinners of the people, and plucking them out of every refuge, heaven, Sheol, the top of Carmel, the bottom of the sea, captivity among the nations; for He sets His eyes upon them for evil and not for good. And His glance penetrates equally into the spirit of men, for 'He declareth unto man what is his meditation' (iv. 13)¹."

¹ A. B. Davidson, "The Prophet Amos," in the *Expositor*, March 1887, p. 172 f.

The practical applications which Amos makes of the principle of Jehovah's sovereignty are strongly opposed to what were the popular views. The people, headed by their leaders, were singularly blind to the signs of the times. The successes of Jeroboam II. dazzled them : they took it as a visible token that Jehovah was on their side ; His favour, they further supposed, was definitely secured by the sacrifices and other offerings which streamed into the various sanctuaries : for themselves, they were immersed in pleasure, they were heedless of their own moral shortcomings, they had no thought for the difficulties which at any moment might arise in consequence of the action of Assyria ; they trusted to an approaching "Day of Jehovah" to rid them of all their foes (v. 18). The source of this infatuated condition of the nation lay in two fundamental misapprehensions of the character of Jehovah. \ They thought of Him too exclusively as interested solely in the affairs of Israel ; and they neglected entirely His ethical character. / Both these misapprehensions Amos sets himself to combat. To the first he opposes the truth that Jehovah is God of the *whole* world, and not of Israel alone¹. Jehovah cannot be thought of as having no interest or purpose beyond Israel. If He brought Israel up out of Egypt, He none the less brought the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir (ix. 7). It is He also who 'raises up' (vi. 14) the Assyrian power ; and the real question is not what He will do on behalf of Israel alone, but how He will use this power in His government of the world at large. And that depends upon *ethical* grounds. Jehovah deals with the nations of the earth according to their righteousness ; and punishes their sins without partiality. This is the gist of the survey of nations in ch. i.—ii. On each its doom is passed, because the measure of its transgressions is full ; and of each some representative offence is then signaled. Jehovah, then, evinces a practical regard not for Israel only, but for its neighbours as well. And these nations, it is to be observed, are judged not for offences committed specifically against Israel's God, but because they have broken some dictate

¹ The title 'God of Israel,' so common in many of the prophets, is never, it has been observed, used by Amos.

of universal morality, have violated some precept of the natural law of humanity and mercy written on men's hearts¹. Damascus and Ammon are condemned for their inhuman treatment of the Gileadites; the Phœnicians and Philistines for the part taken by them in the barbarous slave-trade; Edom for the unrelenting blood-feud with which he persecutes his brother; Moab, for a sin which had no reference to Israel, but was a grave offence against natural piety, the violation of the bones of the king of Edom. And He judges Israel by the same standard. "The prophet's opposition to the popular conception is pointedly formulated in a paradox, which he prefixes as a theme to the principal section of his book (iii. 2) :—'Us alone does Jehovah know,' say the Israelites, drawing from this the inference that He is on their side, and of course must take their part. 'You only do I know,' Amos represents Jehovah as saying, 'therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities'."² Jehovah, then, makes no exception in Israel's favour on account of its special relation to Himself: on the contrary, He judges it, if possible, the more promptly and severely. > He treats it with no greater regard than the distant Cushites (ix. 7). Israel is bound by exactly the same principles of common morality which are binding upon other nations; and Jehovah will be Israel's God only in so far as that same morality is practised in its midst. The elementary duties of honesty, justice, integrity, purity, humanity, are what He demands: the observances of religion, when offered in their stead, He indignantly rejects (v. 21—24). And in the practice of these elementary duties of morality, Israel is sadly deficient. Amos' entire book may be described as an indictment of the nation for their persistent disregard of the moral law: its motto, as Wellhausen has truly remarked, might well be the verse just quoted (iii. 2). And so Jehovah will not stand by Israel to defend it, as the common people, and even their leaders, fondly supposed; His "Day," when it appears, will be "darkness, and not light, even very dark, and no brightness in it" (v. 20). His moral being will vindicate itself in a terrible manifestation of

¹ W. R. Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, p. 134.

² Wellhausen, *Hist. of Israel*, p. 471.

righteous judgement, and Israel will be consigned into exile "beyond Damascus" (v. 27).

The people, as has just been said, were sufficiently ready to discharge, in place of moral duties, the external offices of religion. In their eyes moral deficiencies were a matter of indifference, provided the formal routine of festival-keeping and sacrifice was properly performed. It was this, they persuaded themselves, which assured Jehovah's favour, and it was something which was far easier to observe than the restraints of morality. The more gifts they offered to Jehovah, the more frequently they made pilgrimages to His shrines, the better satisfied they supposed He would be; their moral delinquencies He could afford to disregard. This strange delusion was deeply rooted in Israel's heart: all the great prophets attack it¹; and Amos, the first of the canonical prophets, as forcibly and unsparingly as any. While on the one hand he exposes relentlessly the avarice, the dishonesty, the inhumanity, the immorality, so rampant in the nation, on the other hand he points derisively to the zeal with which they practise ceremonial observances: it is but "transgression" (iv. 4): sacrifice, least of all sacrifice offered by impure hands, is not the unconditional avenue to Jehovah's favour (v. 25): He 'hates,' He 'rejects' Israel's pilgrimages; He will pay no regard to their offerings, He even shuts His ear to their praises (v. 21—23). And because, in spite of all warnings (iv. 6—11), Israel still refuses to respond to these His demands, He can contemplate with equanimity the ruin of its sanctuaries (iii. 14, v. 5, vii. 9); He can even command it Himself, and pursue to death the scattered worshippers wherever they may hide themselves, for He sets His eye upon them "for evil, and not for good" (ix. 1—4).

There is a note of austerity in the terms in which Amos speaks. It is true, the message which he bears is a hard one: but his younger contemporary Hosea had substantially the same message to bring; and yet there is a marked difference in the tone in which he delivers it. Hosea's whole soul goes out in affection and sympathy for his people; he would give his all to

¹ See the note on v. 27, at the end.

reclaim it, if only it were possible ; every line, almost, testifies to the reluctance with which he sadly owns the truth that the prospect of amendment is hopeless. Hosea's own nature is one of love ; and Jehovah is to him pre-eminently the God of love, who has cherished his 'son' with tenderness and affection, who is grieved by the coldness with which His love has been requited, but who still loves His nation even at the time when He finds Himself obliged to cast it from Him¹. Hosea has as clear a sense as Amos has both of Israel's shortcomings (e.g. iv. 1—2), and of Jehovah's claims ; but his recognition of both is tinged throughout by a deep vein of sympathy and emotion. With Amos all this is different. With Amos God is the God of righteousness : he himself is the apostle of righteousness ; he is the preacher, whose moral nature is moved by the spectacle of outraged right, but who does not unbend in affection or sympathy : on the contrary, he announces Israel's doom with the austere severity of the judge. Partly this may have been due to the circumstances of Amos' life : for he visited Israel as an outsider, and could not therefore feel the ties of kindred as Hosea felt them ; he had, moreover, all his life been breathing the clear air of the moor, in which he had learnt to appreciate the rough honesty of the shepherd, but had discovered no excuse for the vices of the wealthy. But chiefly, no doubt, the strain in which Amos spoke was due to a difference of disposition. Amos' nature was not a sensitive or emotional one ; it was not one in which the currents of feeling ran deep : it was one which was instinct simply with a severe sense of right. And so, though he sings his elegy over Israel's fall (v. 2), and twice intercedes on its behalf, when he becomes conscious that the failing nation is unable to cope effectually with calamity (vii. 2, 5 ; comp. also v. 15), as a rule he delivers unmoved his message of doom. Amos and Hosea thus supplement each other ; and a comparison of their writings furnishes an instructive illustration of the manner in which widely different natural temperaments may be made the organs of the same Divine Spirit, and how each, just

¹ See W. R. Smith, *Prophets*, Lect. iv. ; or Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, pp. 117—138.

in virtue of its difference from the other, may be thereby the better adapted to set forth a different aspect of the truth¹.

Amos is a spiritual prophet. It is true, he does not polemize against the material representations of Jehovah, the calves of Beth-el, with the vehemence of Hosea (viii. 4—6, x. 5, xiii. 2); but he clearly apprehends the true essence of a spiritual religion. The question of the day was, not whether Baal or Jehovah was to be Israel's God, but what was the true conception to be formed of Jehovah and His requirements? Was He to be conceived as a God who delighted in the service which Israel rendered Him, an unspiritual worship, the essence of which lay in a routine of ritual observances, in which the morality of the worshipper was a matter of indifference, and which was infused, certainly to some extent, perhaps largely, with heathen elements? Or was He to be conceived as "a purely spiritual Being, to whom sacrifices of flesh were inappreciable, and whose sole desire was righteousness, being Himself, as might be said, the very ethical conception impersonated"? The antagonism between these two conceptions is unambiguously felt and expressed by Amos. Jehovah distinguishes between the true worship of Himself and that offered to Him at Israel's sanctuaries: "Seek ye me, and ye shall live: but seek not Beth-el, nor enter into Gilgal, and cross not over to Beer-sheba: for Gilgal shall surely go into exile, and Beth-el shall come to trouble" (v. 4—5). If Jehovah be 'sought' rightly, life is the reward: if he be sought as too many of the Israelites sought him, the ultimate issue can be but disaster. The prophet's reprobation of the worship carried on at the sanctuaries is also apparent from the complacency with which he views their approaching ruin (iii. 14, iv. 4, vii. 9, viii. 14, ix. 1): the spirit of the worship, the temper of the worshippers, the conception of Deity which they had in worshipping, and to which they offered their worship, all were equally at fault². How Jehovah may be 'sought' in the way that He approves may be sufficiently inferred from the practices

¹ In a later generation Jeremiah differs in temperament from Isaiah very much as Hosea differs from Amos.

² Comp. further Paton, *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.*, 1894, p. 87 ff.

which Amos represents Him as disapproving; but it is also indicated explicitly. "*Seek good and not evil, that ye may live; and so Jehovah, the God of hosts, will be with you, as ye say. Hate the evil, and love the good, and establish judgement in the gate*: it may be that Jehovah, the God of hosts, will be gracious to the remnant of Joseph" (v. 14—15). A just and humane life was the sum of Jehovah's requirements (cf. Mic. vi. 8); but few and simple as those requirements seemed to be, they remained for Israel an unattainable ideal.

It remains only to summarize briefly the permanent lessons of the Book. The Book of Amos teaches, with singular clearness, eloquence, and force, truths which can never become superfluous or obsolete. "The truths that justice between man and man is one of the divine foundations of society; that privilege implies responsibility, and that failure to recognise responsibility will surely bring punishment; that nations, and by analogy individuals, are bound to live up to that measure of light and knowledge which has been granted to them; that the most elaborate worship is but an insult to God when offered to God by those who have no mind to conform their wills and conduct to His requirements:—these are elementary but eternal truths¹."

§ 5. *Some literary aspects of Amos' book.*

In view of the early date of Amos, it is worth noticing that his book implies the existence of a recognized theological terminology, and of familiar ideas to which he could appeal. The prophetic style, which in his hands appears already fully matured, had no doubt been formed gradually: among the prophets to whom he alludes (ii. 11, iii. 7) may well have been some who were his literary predecessors. As regards the earlier history of Israel, Amos knows of the traditions which described Edom as Israel's "brother" (i. 11), and told of the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah (iv. 11); he mentions the Exodus (ii. 10, ix. 7), the

¹ Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, p. 106 f. On the influence of Assyria in widening the outlook of the prophets, and in developing and strengthening their theological convictions, see G. A. Smith, *The Twelve Prophets*, pp. 50—58, 92; and comp. Wellh., *Hist.*, p. 472.

traditional 'forty years' in the wilderness (ii. 10, v. 25), the gigantic stature of the Amorites (ii. 9, 10: cf. Nu. xiii. 28, 32, 33), whom Jehovah destroyed from before the Israelites; he alludes to the prophets and Nazirites who had been raised up in former years, to provide Israel with moral and spiritual instruction, and to be examples of abstemious and godly living (ii. 11); he knows of the fame of David as a musician (vi. 5), and alludes to his conquests of the nations bordering on Israel (ix. 11 f.; cf. 2 Sam. viii. 1—14)¹. He is moreover acquainted with various established religious usages and institutions. Thus he alludes to the "direction" (*Tôrāh*) and "statutes" of Jehovah, which he charges Judah with rejecting; to (sacred) "slaughterings" (iv. 4, v. 25), or as they are termed in v. 22, "peace-offerings"; to tithes (iv. 4), thanksgiving- and freewill-offerings (iv. 5); to a law prohibiting the offering of leaven upon the altar (*ibid.*; cf. Ex. xxiii. 18); to pilgrimages, solemn religious gatherings, burnt-offerings, meal-offerings, songs and lyres, heard in the services of the sanctuaries (v. 21, 22, 23, 25, cf. ix. 1); to the distinction between "clean" and "unclean" (vii. 17; cf. Hos. ix. 3); to new moons and sabbaths, as days marked by abstinence from secular labour (viii. 5)². The general tenor of Amos'

¹ Whether Amos drew his information on the facts mentioned in the Pentateuch from a written source, or from oral tradition, cannot be definitely determined: the expression in iv. 11, for example, is a stereotyped one (see the note), and we do not know who first coined it; there is however a verbal coincidence between ii. 9 and Josh. xxiv. 8 ("E"), which deserves to be noted. But (upon independent grounds) it is not questioned that certainly J, and probably E as well, was in existence before Amos' time. The collection of laws included in the "Book of the Covenant" (Ex. xx. 22—xxiii. 33) is also certainly older than the age of Amos.

² The bearing of some of these allusions on the date of the priestly parts of the Hexateuch ("P") is a subject which cannot be properly considered by itself, but forms part of a larger question, the consideration of which does not belong to a commentary upon Amos. The writer must be content therefore to refer to what he has said upon it (in connexion with similar allusions elsewhere) in his *Introduction to the Literature of the O.T.* p. 136 (ed. 9, p. 151). There can be no doubt that many of the institutions and usages codified in P were established in Amos' time; but it is a question whether *all* were, and whether such as were then established were observed with the particular formalities which they exhibit as codified in P.

teaching (see the note on ii. 4, and p. 231) makes it probable that by Jehovah's "direction" (*Tôrāh*, law) he means, at least principally, spiritual and moral teaching, uttered whether by priests or prophets, in Jehovah's name¹; the "statutes" will have been, no doubt, ordinances of elementary morality, and of civil righteousness, such as those embodied in the Decalogue, and the "Book of the Covenant" (Ex. xx. 1—17, xx. 22—xxiii. 33; cf. xxxiv. 10—26), the neglect of which by Israel he himself so bitterly deplores, and which, hardly a generation later, Isaiah shews to have been scarcely less neglected in Judah (Is. i. 16—23).

A law in the "Book of the Covenant," which is presupposed with tolerable distinctness by Amos, is Ex. xxii. 26 f. (the garment of a poor debtor, taken in pledge, to be restored at nightfall); cf. Am. ii. 8, where the heartless creditors are described as *stretching themselves on garments taken in pledge beside every altar*. Amos' denunciations of the cruelty of the upper classes towards the poor, of bribery and the perversion of justice, in passages such as ii. 6, 7, iv. 1, v. 7, 10ff., vi. 12, viii. 14 are also thoroughly in the spirit of Ex. xxii. 21—24, xxiii. 6—8, 9; but the terms in which he speaks are not special enough to establish a definite allusion; and he might have adopted similar language, from his own natural sense of right, even had no such laws been known to him. In ii. 7 the use of the expression 'to profane my holy name' perhaps shews an acquaintance with the collection of moral precepts which now forms part of the "Law of Holiness" (Lev. xvii.—xxvi.; see Lev. xviii. 21, xix. 12, xx. 3, xxi. 6, xxii. 2, 33); but possibly this coincidence is due to accident. Commercial dishonesty is condemned alike in Lev. xix. 35 f. and in Am. viii. 5 f.: there is no law on this subject in the Book of the Covenant.

The *style* of Amos possesses high literary merit. His language—with a few insignificant exceptions, due probably to copyists—is pure, his syntax is idiomatic, his sentences are smoothly constructed and clear. The even flow of his discourse contrasts

¹ It is, of course, clear from allusions in Deut. (xxiv. 8), and elsewhere, that some traditional lore relating to ceremonial usages was possessed by the priests: the only point that is here doubtful is whether it is alluded to by Amos in ii. 4.

remarkably with the short, abrupt clauses which his contemporary Hosea loves. Amos' literary power is shewn in the regularity of structure, which often characterizes his periods, as i. 3—ii. 6 (a cleverly constructed and impressive introduction of the prophet's theme, evidently intended to lead up to Israel, ii. 7 ff.)¹, iv. 6—11 (the five-fold refrain), and in the visions, vii. 1, 4, 7, viii. 1; in the fine climax, iii. 3—8; in the balanced clauses, the well-chosen images, the effective contrasts, in such passages as i. 2, iii. 2, v. 2, 21—24, vi. 7, 11, viii. 10, ix. 2—4; as well as in the ease with which he manifestly writes, and the skill with which his theme is gradually developed. In his choice of figures he is evidently influenced by the surroundings amid which his life was passed. "The significance of the phenomena of nature, familiar to one whose life was spent in the open air, impressed itself deeply upon him (iv. 13, v. 8, ix. 5—6)." The blighted pastures and mountain-forests (i. 2); "the wagon loaded with sheaves (ii. 13); the young lion in its den growling over its prey (iii. 5 *b*)"; the net springing up and entrapping the bird (iii. 6); the lion's awe-inspiring roar (iii. 8); "the remnants of the sheep recovered by the shepherd out of the lion's mouth (iii. 12)"; the fish drawn helplessly from their native element by hooks (iv. 2); "cattle-driving (iv. 3); the bear more formidable to the shepherd than even the lion (v. 19); ploughing (vi. 12); the locusts devouring the aftermath (vii. 1—2); the basket of summer-fruit (viii. 1—2); corn-winnowing (ix. 9); supply him with imagery, which he uses with perfect naturalness, as might be expected from one who had been brought up to the calling of a shepherd and husbandman²."

¹ The strophes (if they may be so termed) are not perfectly symmetrical in structure. In i. 10, 12, ii. 5, the refrain (consisting of two members) closes the oracle; in i. 4, 7, it is followed by a whole verse (of four members); in i. 14, ii. 2, it forms the first half of a verse consisting of four members, which is then followed by another verse consisting of two members. In view of the lack of absolute uniformity which often prevails in the Hebrew 'strophe' (comp. the writer's *Introduction*, p. 366 f.), it is precarious to base upon this irregularity, as is done by W. R. Harper (*American Journ. of Theol.* 1897, p. 140 ff., *Comm.* p. clxiv), textual and critical inferences.

² Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, p. 91.

The *authenticity* of the Book of Amos, as a whole, is above suspicion : it bears too manifestly the marks of the age to which by its title it is ascribed for doubt on this point to be possible. There are however particular passages in the Book which partly on the ground that they interrupt the sequence of thought, but chiefly on account of their supposed incompatibility with either the historical or the theological conditions of the age of Amos, have been regarded by many recent critics as later additions to the original text of the prophecy. Duhm in 1875¹ questioned thus ii. 4—5, iv. 13, v. 8—9, ix. 5—6²; Wellhausen³ rejects in addition i. 9—12, iii. 14 *b*, v. 26, vi. 2, viii. 6, 8, 11—12, ix. 8—15; Prof. Cheyne⁴ rejects i. 2, ii. 4—5, iv. 13, v. 8—9, 26, viii. 11—12, ix. 5—6, 8—15; and Prof. G. A. Smith at least suspects i. 11—12 (p. 129 f.); ii. 4—5 (p. 135 f.); iv. 13, v. 8—9, ix. 5—6 (p. 201—6); v. 14—15 (p. 168 f.); vi. 2 (p. 173, *n.* 2); viii. 13 (p. 185); and decidedly rejects ix. 8—15 (p. 190—195; cf. p. 308 f.)⁵.

Of these passages, ii. 4—5 is questioned, partly on account of its Deuteronomic style⁶, partly because of the general and conventional character of the indictment brought in it against Judah, which contrasts strongly with the forcible and specific

¹ *Theologie der Propheten*, p. 119.

² So Stade, *Gesch.* i. 571; Cornill, *Einleitung*, 1891, § 25 (ed. 6, 1908, § 29), No. 4.

³ In his translation and notes in *Die kleinen Propheten* (1892).

⁴ Introduction to the 2nd ed. (1895) of W. R. Smith's *Prophets of Israel*, pp. xv—xvi. On v. 26, ix. 8—15, see more fully his note in the *Expositor*, Jan. 1897, pp. 42—47.

⁵ [W. R. Harper, dividing the book into three sections (*a*) The Oracles, i. 3—ii. 16, (*b*) The Sermons, iii. 1—vi. 14, (*c*) The Visions, vii. 1—ix. 9 *b*, accounts for the present form as follows :

1. Certain addresses left by Amos were formed into a book, probably by his disciples, some time before Isaiah.

2. A Deuteronomic insertion iv. 2 f. was made probably in Jeremiah's time.

3. In the Exile, or a little after, were added certain historical or theological notes, e.g. i. 9 f., 11 f., vi. 2, i. 2, iv. 13, v. 8 *b*, ix. 5 f.

4. Later a large number of "technical and archæological explanations and expansions" were added, e.g. iv. 3 (part), iv. 7 *a*, 10, etc.

5. In the days of Zechariah and Zerubbabel the Messianic promise of ix. 8 *c*—15 was added.]

⁶ The composition of Deut. being assigned to the 7th cent. B.C.

charges laid against the other nations in the survey. The resemblances with Deut. are not, however, particularly close¹: and phrases approximating to those used in it must have been current previously: indeed, as W. R. Smith observed (in 1882)² "to reject the *Tôrāh* (or *direction*) of Jehovah" is shewn by Is. v. 24 to have been a pre-Deuteronomistic expression; and "the statutes of God and His *Tôrāh* appear together just as here in the undoubtedly ancient narrative [belonging to the Pentateuchal E], Ex. xviii. 16," where also the reference is similarly to the ordinances of civil righteousness. It would have been strange, had Amos excepted Judah in his survey of the nations which had incurred Jehovah's displeasure (cf. iii. 1, vi. 1): the terms of the indictment are no doubt general; but both counts in it are supported by the testimony of Isaiah,

¹ *To keep Jehovah's statutes* (הִקְיָה) occurs often in Deut. and passages written under its influence, though usually with the addition of a synonym, e.g. *commandments* or *testimonies* (as Deut. iv. 40, vi. 17, vii. 11, xvii. 19, xxvi. 17, 1 Ki. iii. 14, viii. 58, ix. 4; and several times with הִקְיָה); also Ex. xv. 26, in a passage belonging probably to the compiler of "JE," who approximates in style to Deut. (see the writer's *Introduction*, p. 91, ed. 9, p. 99.) If however 'Jehovah's statutes' be a pre-Deuteronomistic expression (Ex. xviii. 16), to 'keep' them is a phrase which might be so naturally employed that it is hardly possible to infer Deuteronomistic influence from its occurrence, especially when it is not accompanied by that diffuseness of style which is a general

characteristic of Deuteronomistic writers. *To walk* (or *go*) *after* (הִלֵךְ אַחֲרָי) = *to follow* is a common idiom (Gen. xxiv. 5, 39, 2 Ki. vi. 19, etc.), frequent, it is true, in a religious sense, in Deuteronomistic writers (Deut. iv. 3, vi. 14, viii. 19, xi. 28, xiii. 3 [2], xxviii. 14; Jud. ii. 12, 19; 1 Ki. xi. 5, 10; Jer. ii. 5, 23, vii. 6, 9, *al.*: followed usually, except where some specific deity is mentioned, by *other gods*), but also occurring earlier (1 Ki. xviii. 21; Hos. ii. 7, 15 [5, 13], xi. 10, prob. also v. 11 [אֲשֶׁר for אֲשֶׁר]). *Lies*, and *cause to err*, are not Deuteronomistic expressions.

There is a presumption that, had Am. ii. 4 been written by a Deuteronomistic hand, the Deuteronomistic style would have been more strongly marked. The clause "and their lies...did walk" disturbs certainly the symmetry of the verse, and might easily therefore be regarded as a gloss: but we lack the requisite guarantee that Amos himself designed all his verses to be perfectly symmetrical (cf. p. 118, *note*).

² *Prophets of Israel*, p. 398 f. (ed. 2, p. 399 f.). The argument was endorsed by Kuenen, *Onderzoek*, II. (1889), § 71. 6 (cf. I. § 10. 4).

20—30 years afterwards, Is. v. 7—24 and ii. 6—8, 18, 20; and Amos may have desired to reserve the more pointed and definite charges in order to lay them against Israel.

The three passages iv. 13, v. 8—9, ix. 5—6, so finely descriptive of the Divine Omnipotence, are rejected, partly because the idea of Jehovah's creative power does not otherwise become generally prominent in Hebrew literature until the period of the Exile, and such ejaculations in praise of it are in the manner of the later style of Is. xl.—lxvi. (xl. 22, xlii. 5, xliv. 24, xlv. 18; cf. Job ix. 8—9), partly because iv. 13 and ix. 5—6 are not closely connected with the argument of the context, and may be omitted without interfering with it, while v. 8—9 actually interrupts it. W. R. Smith replied (*ibid.*) that these doxologies, though not closely connected with the movement of the prophet's argument in detail, nevertheless harmonize entirely with its general scope: the doctrine of Jehovah's lordship over nature is in agreement with Amos' teaching elsewhere (iv. 7 ff., vii. 1, 4, ix. 3), and might naturally be appealed to by him as proof that the Divine purposes were wider and higher than the mass of the people believed; and the ejaculatory form of the appeal, especially at critical points of the prophet's discourse, is "not surprising under the general conditions of prophetic oratory." Kuenen (*ibid.*) expressed himself satisfied by these arguments, adding that though such doxologies were certainly more frequent in the literature of the exilic and post-exilic age, it was too venturesome on this ground to allow them no place whatever in the pre-exilic literature¹. It must, however, be borne in

¹ G. A. Smith's additional argument, drawn from the fact that verses or clauses closing with the refrain 'Jehovah (of hosts) is his name,' are not met with otherwise, except in Am. v. 27 (where the words are said to stand awkwardly), until the period of the exile or later (Is. xlvii. 4, xlviii. 2, li. 15 *b* (= Jer. xxxi. 35 *b*), liv. 5, Jer. x. 16 (= li. 19), xxxii. 18, xxxiii. 2, xlvi. 18 (om. LXX.)=xlviii. 15 (om. LXX.)=li. 57, l. 34) does not seem to be cogent. There is really no ground for suspecting the last words of v. 27 (cf. with *memorial* for *name*, Hos. xii. 6); and so far at least as regards iv. 13 (cf. ix. 5 *a* 'Jehovah of *the* hosts'), the unusual form 'Jehovah, *God* of hosts' (exactly as in Am. v. 14, 15, 16, vi. 8; and with 'God of *the* hosts,' iii. 13, vi. 14, Hos. xii. 6) is a

mind, in estimating the view of those who reject these verses as the work of Amos that, as G. A. Smith (p. 206) remarks, the real question in a case like the present is one not of *authenticity*, but only of *authorship*: there is a "greater Authenticity" than that which consists in a passage being the work of a particular author, which these verses undeniably exhibit; no one questions their right to the place which some great spirit gave them in this book—their suitableness to its grand and ordered theme, their pure vision, and their eternal truth."

In the case of ix. 8—15, the authorship of Amos has been questioned on *three* main grounds. (1) The contrast which the passage presents with the rest of the book. In the rest of the book the outlook for Israel is one of unmitigated disaster: the threat of the nation's destruction is absolute and final (v. 2); the judgement lights on *all* (ix. 1—4) without distinction. Here, on the contrary (ix. 8—10), the righteous in Israel are not to perish; exile does not destroy, it only sifts. "Has Amos, then, entirely forgotten himself?" In ix. 11—15 the contrast is still greater. The "fallen hut" of David is to be restored; and Israel will dwell again upon its own land in peace and plenty. Is this, it is asked, consistent with the grim earnestness of ix. 1—4? Can Amos have thus suddenly blunted the edge of his threats? Having done his best to dispel every popular vision of a brighter future, and affirmed in the strongest terms that moral qualifications are the indispensable conditions of Jehovah's regard, can he have drawn a picture of Israel's future, in which there is no moral feature whatever, and which consists simply of a promise of political restoration, of supremacy over surrounding nations, and of material prosperity? "Such hopes would be natural and legitimate to a people who were long separated from their devastated and neglected land, and whose punishment and penitence were accomplished; but are they natural to a prophet like Amos?" Has not a prophet of some later generation brightened the unrelieved darkness of the presumption in favour of Amos' authorship. v. 8—9 (see *ad loc.*) may be misplaced. See further the forcible remarks of Paton, *l.c.*, p. 84 ff.

picture, as Amos left it, by adding to it his own inspired hopes,—hopes that were consistent with his point of view, though they were not so with that of Amos?

These arguments are forcible : but it may be doubted whether there are not considerations which detract from their cogency. It is evident that the most prominent social feature of the day was the corruption of the middle and upper classes ; this, in Amos' eyes, determined the fate of the northern kingdom. Accordingly, in the body of his prophecy, wishing to produce an impression upon his hearers, he makes it his main theme, and shews how it will end in national ruin. There must, however, have been in Israel at least a minority of the faithful servants of Jehovah ; to these, at the close of his prophecy, Amos directs his thoughts, and correcting the unqualified doom which he had previously pronounced, he excepts them in ix. 8—10, not indeed from the judgement of exile, with its attendant sufferings, but from that of death. As regards ix. 11—15 it stands to reason that the Israel which is there represented as restored is not the corrupt Israel of Amos' own day : it is the Israel which, though he does not expressly say so, is implicitly conceived by him as worthy of being reinstated in its ancient home, i.e. it is “the nation purged of transgressors” (W. R. Smith), the purified, *ideal* Israel of the future. The corrupt majority has been swept away ; and even the minority, in spite of their faithfulness, escape only by the skin of their teeth, and only after having been “shaken to and fro” among the nations : and a promise of restoration, addressed under such circumstances to the latter, cannot be justly regarded either as rehabilitating the illusions which Amos had previously combated, or as neutralizing the judgements which he had previously pronounced. And if it be thought that the promise is introduced abruptly, then it should be remembered that the prophets, in their pictures of the ideal future, never pause to reflect upon the slow and gradual historical process, by which alone in reality a nation's character can ever be materially changed ; they represent the regeneration of society as taking place

almost instantaneously, or being preceded, at most, by a crisis weeding out its unworthy members (e.g. Is. i. 26, iv. 2—6). The prophets are poets, guided frequently by impulse and emotion rather than by strict logic: the pictures which they draw are thus often partial (hence the absence here of any express notice of the moral qualities of the restored people), and mediating links are often omitted. In the present instance, the salvation of the faithful Israelites in ix. 8—10 at least facilitates the transition. The picture is an ideal one, and cannot have corresponded with the actual reality; but the arguments alleged under this head do not constitute sufficient grounds for denying it to Amos. The undeveloped form of the representation, connected indeed with the house of David, but without, for instance, any thought of a personal Messiah, might rather be deemed a feature supporting its antiquity. And for a prophet to close the entire volume of his prophecies without a single gleam of hope for a happier future, is very much opposed to the analogy of prophecy: Jeremiah and Ezekiel, for instance, blame Judah not less unsparingly than Amos blames Israel; but both nevertheless draw ideal pictures of the restored nation's future felicity.

(2) Affinities of language and ideas which the verses display with works of a later age. Under this head may be noticed, for instance¹, *v.* 9, the wide dispersion of Israel; *v.* 11 *to fence up the breaches* (גָּדַר פְּרִיז), as Is. lviii. 12; *ruins* (הִרְסוֹת), cf. הִרְסוֹת Is. xlix. 19 (R.V. *that hath been destroyed*: lit. *of ruin*); *as in the days of old* (בְּיָמֵי עוֹלָם), as Mic. vii. 14, Mal. iii. 4, cf. בְּיָמֵי קָדְמָה Is. li. 9, Jer. xlvi. 26; *v.* 13 *to melt, be dissolved*, as Nah. i. 5, Ps. cvii. 26 (not elsewhere in this conj.); *v.* 14 *turn the captivity* (שׁוּב שְׁבוּת), used at any rate mostly of the restoration from the Babylonian exile; *waste cities* (עָרִים נְשֻׁמוֹת), as Is. liv. 3 (cf. Jer. xxxiii. 10, Ez. xxxvi. 35), the promise generally as Is. lxv. 21; *v.* 15 the antithesis, *plant, and not pluck up* (נָתַט), as in Jer. (xxiv. 6, xlii. 10; cf. i. 10, xviii. 7, 9,

¹ Cf. Cheyne, *Expositor*, Jan. 1897, p. 46 f.

xxxi. 28, xlv. 4; *to pluck up*, also, in the same connexion, Dt. xxix. 28, 1 Ki. xiv. 15, Jer. xii. 14, 15, 17, xxxi. 40, 2 Ch. vii. 20 [altered from *cut off* in 1 Ki. ix. 7]; *thy God*, said in the consolatory manner of Deutero-Isaiah (cf. Is. xli. 10, lii. 7, liv. 6, lxvi. 9).

The aggregation of expressions otherwise, for the most part, occurring first in Jeremiah and later writers is, no doubt, remarkable: in themselves, however, the phrases used are not linguistically suggestive of lateness; and the question is whether, it being granted that Amos might have contemplated (like other prophets) not only the exile of his people, but also its restoration, they do more than give expression to that idea under forms which might have naturally presented themselves to him.

There remain however (3) the strong expressions in *v.* 11, the "fallen hut" of David, its "breaches," and "ruins." What can these be fairly interpreted as denoting? Do they refer to the dismemberment which David's empire had sustained, by the defection of the Ten Tribes, and to the humiliation which it had more recently experienced under Amaziah, when Jehoash dismantled 400 cubits of the wall of Jerusalem, and carried off to Samaria all the treasures of the Temple and the palace, together with many hostages (2 Ki. xiv. 13 f.)? The latter occurrence must have taken place some 30 years before Amos prophesied; and under the vigorous rule of Uzziah, Amaziah's successor, Judah appears to have quickly recovered itself and to have been again flourishing and prosperous (cf. Is. ii. 7; 2 Ch. xxvi. 9—15). Isaiah, however (vii. 17), viewed the defection of the Ten Tribes as almost the acme of national disaster; and Amos, as a Judæan, may have done the same. Or is this an adequate explanation of the figures employed in *v.* 11? Do they not rather imply the *overthrow* of David's dynasty? And, if so, does the passage refer to the *future* ruin of Judah, which Amos (if ii. 4—5 be really his) certainly expected (cf. iii. 1, vi. 1)? This is possible; but if it had been that which the prophet had in view, would not his prophecy have contained some more explicit announcement of the antecedent "fall" of

David's hut? As it is, its fall (upon this explanation) is not *predicted*, but *presupposed*, as having already occurred. Is the reference therefore to the *actual* overthrow of David's dynasty, which took place at the time of the Babylonian exile? That, it must be owned, is the explanation which does fullest justice to the strong figures used in *v.* 11, the "fallen hut," the "breaches," and the "ruins." If it be correct, it will imply that *vv.* 11—15 were an addition made to the original prophecy of Amos during the Exile, by a prophet who wrote, to a certain extent¹, under the literary influence of Jeremiah. At the same time, it is difficult to feel confident that these considerations are decisive; so that, on the whole, especially in view of what was urged at the top of p. 124, the second of the alternatives proposed (that the *future* ruin of Judah is referred to) is probably the one which may most reasonably be acquiesced in.

Of the other passages enumerated above (p. 119), on *i.* 11—12 see the note *ad loc.* With our imperfect knowledge of the minuter historical conditions of the age, the difficulties attaching to *v.* 26 and *vi.* 2 can hardly be said to constitute a sufficient ground for denying their authenticity. And the imperfect connexion with the context, which is the ground on which most of the remaining passages have been suspected, is not sufficiently marked to justify a conclusion adverse to Amos' authorship.

The principal Commentaries on Amos are those of G. Baur (1847); Ewald in his *Prophets* (ed. 2, 1867); Hitzig in his *Minor Prophets* (ed. 3, 1863; ed. 4, revised by Steiner, 1881); Keil, also in his *Minor Prophets* (ed. 2, 1888); Pusey (in his *Minor Prophets*, 1861); J. H. Gunning, *De godspraken van Amos* (1885); H. G. Mitchell (Boston, U.S.A., 1893); G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, I. (1896), pp. 61—207. See also Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten* (1875), pp. 109—126; W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel* (1882, ed. 2, 1895, pp. 120—143, 187 f., 394 ff.); Farrar, *Minor Prophets*, pp. 35—68; A. B. Davidson, in the *Expositor*, March and September 1887; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*, ed. 2,

¹ Cf. on *vv.* 14, 15 above. *Behold the days come* (*v.* 13) is a phrase used twice besides by Amos, but also frequently by Jeremiah (see the note on *iv.* 2).

1889, §§ 70—71; Kirkpatrick, *The Doctrine of the Prophets*, ed. 3, 1901, pp. 83—108; Wellhausen, *Hist. of Israel*, pp. 470—474 (= pp. 81—89 of the *Sketch of the History of Israel*, 1891, originally published as the art. "Israel" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ed. 9), and in *Die kleinen Propheten übersetzt, mit Noten*, 1892; R. Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgeschichte*, 1893, p. 159 ff.; J. J. P. Valetton, *Amos en Hosea* (Nijmegen, 1894); L. B. Paton in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (Boston, U.S.A.), 1894, pp. 80—90 ("Did Amos approve the calf-worship at Beth-el?"); K. Budde in *Semitic Studies in memory of Alexander Kohut*, 1897, pp. 106—110 (on i. 1 a: takes מתקוע closely with עמום, as Jud. xii. 8, &c.; and regards אשר היה בנקרים, i.e. 'who was once of the herdmen,' viz. before he became a prophet, as originally a gloss based upon vii. 14, pointing in support of this view to the inelegant sentence which the clause in question produces, standing immediately before another relative clause, the אשר of which refers back past it to רברי).

To the Commentaries mentioned above there should also be added now that of W. Nowack, in his *Die kleinen Propheten* (1897, 2nd ed. 1903), [K. Marti, *Handkommentar* (1904), R. F. Horton, *Century Bible* (1906), W. R. Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, in *I.C.C.* (1905), Edghill, *The Book of Amos in Westminster Commentaries* (1914). See also Löhr, *Untersuchungen zum Buch Amos* (1901), Riedel, *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen* (1902), Buttenwieser, *Prophets of Israel* (1914).]

A M O S.

THE words of Amos, who was among the herdmen of Tekoa, which he saw concerning Israel in the days of

PART I. CHAPTERS I.—II.

After the title (i. 1), and exordium (i. 2), describing graphically the withering effects of Jehovah's voice, as it peals forth from Zion, Amos proceeds to take a survey (i. 3—ii. 5) of the principal nations bordering upon Israel—Damascus, the Philistines, Tyre, Edom, the Ammonites, Moab, Judah—with the object of shewing that, as all these have offended against some common and universally recognized principle of morality, for which they will not escape the judgement decreed by Jehovah, so Israel, for similar or greater sins (ii. 6—8), aggravated indeed in its case by ingratitude (ii. 9—12), will not be exempt from the same law of righteous retribution: great as had been Israel's military successes under Jeroboam II. (2 Ki. xiv. 25), a dire disaster should ere long overtake the nation, and its bravest soldiers should flee panic-stricken and helpless (ii. 13—16).

I. 1. THE HEADING.

The words of] The same title as Jer. i. 1; Eccl. i. 1; Prov. xxx. 1, xxxi. 1; Neh. i. 1.

among] i.e. *one of, of*: see (in the Heb.) 1 Ki. ii. 7; Prov. xxii. 26.

herdmen] *naḳad*-keepers. The word (*nōḳēd*) is a peculiar one: its meaning appears from the Arabic. In Arabic *naḳad* denotes a species of sheep, found especially in the province of Bahreyn, small and stunted in growth, with short legs and ill-formed faces (whence an Arabic proverb, "Viler than a *naḳad*"), but esteemed on account of their choice wool (see Bochart, *Hierozoicon* II. xliv., p. 442 f., who cites the saying, "The best of wool is that of the *naḳad*"; or Lane's *Arabic Lexicon*, p. 2837). In Arabic *naḳkād* is a shepherd who tends sheep of this kind; and the Heb. *nōḳēd* is a word of similar import. It may be inferred from this passage that there was a settlement of such *naḳad*-keepers at Tekoa: the occupation was perhaps hereditary in particular families (comp. the families following hereditary trades in 1 Chr. ii. 55, iv. 21, 23). The word occurs once besides, of Mesha, king of Moab, 2 Ki. iii. 4.

Tekoa] now *Teḳū'a*, on the high ground of Judah, 12 miles S. of

Uzziah king of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam the Jerusalem, and 6 miles S. of Bethlehem, from which, as Jerome (*Comm.* on Jer. vi. 1) remarks, it is visible ("Thecum quoque viculum in monte situm...quotidie oculis cernimus"). The ruins—dating principally from early Christian times—lie on an elevated hill, not steep, but broad on the top, and cover some four or five acres. South, west, and north the view is blocked by limestone hills; but on the east the prospect is open, though desolate; the land slopes away for nearly 18 miles to the Dead Sea, lying some 4,000 feet beneath, dropping first "by broken rocks to slopes spotted with bushes of 'retem,' the broom of the desert, and patches of poor wheat," then to "a maze of low hills and shallow dales," clad with a thin covering of verdure, the *Wilderness* or *Pasture-land of Tekoa* (2 Chr. xx. 22; 1 Macc. ix. 33), afterwards to a "chaos of hills," with steep and rugged sides, leading down rapidly to the shore of the Dead Sea (G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, p. 74 f.). The northern half of this sea is visible from Tekoa, the level mountains of Moab forming the horizon beyond. Jerome (Pref. to Amos) speaks of Tekoa as abounding in shepherds with their flocks, the soil being too dry and sandy to be cultivated for grain. It was the home of the 'wise woman,' whom Joab employed to intercede with David on Absalom's behalf (2 Sam. xiv. 2, 4, 9).

saw] **beheld**: not the ordinary Hebrew word for *seeing* (*rā'āh*), but *hāzāh*, a word which is sometimes merely a poetical synonym of *rā'āh* (e.g. Ps. lviii. 8, 10), but elsewhere is applied in particular to *beholding*, or *gazing in prophetic vision*: Num. xxiv. 4, 16, Is. xxx. 10 "which say to the seers (*rō'īm*), See not; and to the gazers (*hōzīm*), Gaze not for us right things, speak unto us smooth things, gaze deceits" (i.e. illusory visions of peace and security), Ez. xii. 27; of false prophecies, Ez. xiii. 6—9, 16, 23, xxi. 29, xxii. 28, Lam. ii. 14, Zech. x. 2; and, as here, in the titles of prophecies, Is. i. 1, ii. 1, xiii. 1; Mic. i. 1; Hab. i. 1). The vision, especially in the earlier history of prophecy, appears often as a form of prophetic intuition: comp. *hōzeh*, "gazer," Am. vii. 12 (see note): *hāzōn*, *vision* (1 Sam. iii. 1; Is. i. 1, &c.; Ez. vii. 26; Lam. ii. 9), more rarely *hizzāyōn* (2 Sam. vii. 17; Is. xxii. 1, 5), *hāzūth* (Is. xxi. 2, xxix. 11), or *mahāzeh* (Gen. xv. 1; Num. xxiv. 4, 16). An interesting passage, illustrating the early frequency of the vision, is Hos. xii. 10: comp. also Amos vii.—ix. As the vision was once the predominant form of prophetic intuition, *hāzōn* becomes a general designation of "prophecy," or "revelation"; and *hāzāh*, "to behold," is even applied inexactly to *word* or *utterance* (Is. ii. 1, xiii. 1; Mic. i. 1; Hab. i. 1), as here to *words*. See further on vii. 1.

concerning Israel] i.e. the Northern kingdom, which Amos expressly visited (vii. 15), and to which his prophecies are almost entirely addressed, Judah being referred to only incidentally (ii. 4 f., vi. 1; vii. 12), or implicitly (iii. 1, 'the whole family'; perhaps ix. 8, 9), and in the final promise of future restoration (ix. 11, 12).

in the days of Uzziah king of Judah, &c.] On the date implied in these words see the Introduction, p. 100.

son of Joash king of Israel, two years before the earthquake.

2 And he said, The LORD shall roar from Zion, and utter

two years before the earthquake] Earthquakes are not unfrequent in Palestine, particularly on its Eastern and Western borders (see on iv. 11). The earthquake referred to here must have been one of exceptional severity: for not only is Amos' prophecy dated by it, but the terror occasioned by it is alluded to long afterwards, Zech. xiv. 5, "yea, ye shall flee—viz. through the rent made in the Mount of Olives, v. 4—like as ye fled from before the earthquake in the days of Uzziah king of Judah."

I. 2. THE EXORDIUM.

2. *The LORD*] **Jehovah**,—or, strictly, **Yahwèh**,—the personal name by which the supreme God was known to the Hebrews. The name—whatever its primitive signification may have been—was interpreted by them (see Ex. iii. 14) as signifying *He that is* (or *He that will be*), viz. not in an abstract sense, *He that exists*, but *He that comes to be*, i.e. He whose nature it is ever to express Himself anew, and to manifest Himself under fresh aspects to His worshippers, but who at the same time is determined only by Himself ("I will be *that which I will be*"), and who is therefore self-consistent, true to His promises, and morally unchangeable¹.

Jehovah shall roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem] The words recur *verbatim*, Joel iii. (iv.) 16, and with a modification of the thought, Jer. xxv. 30 ("Jehovah shall roar *from on high*, and utter his voice *from his holy habitation*"). The Temple on Zion is Jehovah's earthly abode; and from it the manifestations of His power over Israel or the world are conceived as proceeding. By the use of the term *roar*, the prophet shews that he has the figure of a lion in his mind (see iii. 8; and cf. Hos. xi. 10; also Is. xxxi. 4; Hos. xiii. 7, 8); and as the 'roar' (*shā'ag*, not *nāham*) is the loud cry with which the animal springs upon its prey, it is the sound of near destruction which the prophet hears pealing from Zion. In *utter* (lit. *give*) *his voice* the roar of Jehovah's voice is compared further with the rolling thunder (cf. Ps. xviii. 13, xlvi. 6, lxviii. 33; Joel ii. 11; Is. xxx. 30): it was the Hebrew idea that in a thunderstorm Jehovah descended and rode through the heavens enveloped in a dark mass of cloud: the lightning-flashes were partings of the cloud, disclosing the brilliancy concealed within (Ps. xviii. 9—13; Job xxxvi. 29—32, xxxvii. 2—5); and the thunder was His voice (comp. the common expression *voices* for thunder, Ex. ix. 23, 28, 29, 33, 34, xix. 16, xx. 18; 1 Sam. xii. 17, 18; Job xxviii. 26, xxxviii. 25; and see also Ps. xxix. 3—9).

¹ See more fully an Essay by the present writer on the Tetragrammaton, in *Studia Biblica*, vol. I. (1885), pp. 15—18; Schultz, *Theol. of the O.T.* II. 138.

his voice from Jerusalem; and the ¹pastures of the shepherds shall mourn, and the top of Carmel shall wither.

¹ Or, *habitations*

and the pastures of the shepherds] not *habitations* as in A.V.; for they are spoken of as 'springing with young grass' (Joel ii. 22; cf. Ps. xxiii. 2), as 'dropping' (with fertility) Ps. lxxv. 12, and as being 'dried up' Jer. xxiii. 10: at most, if the text of Ps. lxxiv. 20 be sound (see Cheyne and Kirkpatrick), *ne'oth* will be a word like *homestead*, including both the farm and the dwellings upon it. Even, however, if this be the case, *habitations* is a bad rendering, being much too general. The term is a pastoral one; and Amos, in using it, may have thought primarily of the pastures about his own native place, Tekoa.

shall mourn] partly in consternation (viii. 8, ix. 5), as they hear the peal of Jehovah's thunder, partly on account of the desolation, which (see the next clause) that thunder is conceived as producing. A land, when its vegetation is dried up, or destroyed (Jer. xii. 11), is said poetically to 'mourn': for *mourn* and *be dried up*, as here, in parallelism, see Jer. xii. 4, xxiii. 10; comp. *mourn* and *languish* (of the land, or its products) Is. xxiv. 7, xxxiii. 9; Joel i. 10.

the top of Carmel] Jehovah's judgement does not stop at Tekoa; it sweeps northwards, and embraces even the majestic, thickly-wooded headland of Carmel. Carmel—in the Heb. usually with the art., *the Carmel*, i.e. *the garden-land*—is the bold, bluff promontory, one of the most conspicuous of the natural features of Palestine, formed by a ridge of hills, some 18 miles long, and 1200—1600 feet high, stretching out far into the Mediterranean Sea, and forming the S. side of the Bay of Acre. It still bears the character which its name suggests. "Modern travellers delight to describe its 'rocky dells with deep jungles of copse'—'its shrubberies thicker than any others in central Palestine' (Stanley)—'its impenetrable brushwood of oaks and other evergreens, tenanted in the wilder parts by a profusion of game and wild animals' (Porter), but in other parts bright with hollyhocks, jasmine, and various flowering creepers" (*D.B.²s.v.*). The luxuriant forests of Carmel are often alluded to in the O.T.: ch. ix. 3 (as a hiding-place), Is. xxxv. 2 ('the majesty of Carmel'), Mic. vii. 14; and (poetically) as shaking off their leaves, or languishing, Is. xxxiii. 9, Nah. i. 4.

shall be dried up] as the blood runs cold through terror, so Amos pictures the sap of plants and trees as ceasing to flow, when Jehovah's thunder is heard pealing over the land. Cf. Nah. i. 4. In Joel iii. 16 the effects of His thunder are that "the heavens and the earth shake."

I. 3—II. 5. THE SINS OF ISRAEL'S NEIGHBOURS.

3—5. **Damascus.** The first denunciation lights upon the Syrian kingdom of Damascus, the best-organized and most formidable of Israel's neighbours, with whom, shortly before, during the 80 years of the 'Syrian wars' (c. 880—800 B.C.), the dynasties of Omri and Jehu had had many a severe struggle. The specific sin with which the

3 Thus saith the LORD: For three transgressions of Syrians are taxed is the cruelty practised by them in their wars with the trans-Jordanic Israelites. Damascus is situated in the midst of a broad and fertile plain, which stretches from the foot of Hermon far off towards Palmyra: it lies picturesquely embosomed in the deep green of encircling orchards and cornfields, irrigated by the cool waters of the Barada (the Pharpar of 2 Ki. v. 12), which descend in a copious volume from Hermon, and flow straight along the North of the city, till they lose themselves in an inland lake about 15 miles to the West. It owed its importance to the natural advantages of its site. Its soil was fertilized by the Barada; the surrounding orchards formed a defence difficult for an invader to penetrate: it lay on the best route from the interior of Asia to Palestine and the Mediterranean Sea. The Syrians of Damascus are first mentioned as an important military power in the time of David (2 Sam. viii. 5—6), who made them tributary, and planted Israelite officers in their territory.

Under Solomon, Rēzōn, who had been a subject of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, established himself in Damascus, and used his position for the purpose of harassing Israel (1 Ki. xi. 23—25). Ben-hadad I., king of Damascus, was in alliance first with Baasha, king of Israel, then with Asa, king of Judah (1 Ki. xv. 18—20): his successes against Israel, under Omri¹ (B.C. 887—877), are alluded to in 1 Ki. xx. 34. The more varied fortunes of his son Ben-hadad II., in his conflicts with Ahab (876—854), and Jehoram (853—842), are recounted in 1 Ki. xx., xxii., 2 Ki. v. 1—2, vi. 8—vii. 20. Ben-hadad II. was assassinated by his general Hazael, who, after he had established himself upon the throne, gained numerous victories over Israel, during the reigns of Jehu (842—815), and Jehoahaz (815—802), ravaged the whole Israelite territory East of Jordan, besieged and took Gath, and was only induced to abstain from attacking Jerusalem by the payment of a heavy ransom (2 Ki. viii. 7—15, 28—29, x. 32—33, xii. 17—18, xiii. 3, 22, 25). At this time Israel was reduced to the lowest extremities (2 Ki. xiii. 4, 7; cf. xiv. 26, 27), and continued in the same condition to the end of Hazael's reign, as well as through the early years of his son and successor Ben-hadad III. (2 Ki. xiii. 3). In the course of Ben-hadad III.'s reign, Jehoash (802—790) recovered from Syria the cities which his father had lost (2 Ki. xiii. 14—19, 25; cf. vv. 5, 23); and Jeroboam II. (790—749) not only restored the border of Israel to its old limits (2 Ki. xiv. 25), but even, as it seems (v. 28), re-established the authority of Israel over Damascus itself. (On the dates here, see above, p. 8.)

3. *For three transgressions of Damascus, yea, for four*] Similarly vv. 6, 9, 11, 13, ii. 1, 4, 6. The numbers are of course to be understood not literally, but typically, a concrete number being chosen for the sake of assisting the imagination: three would be a sufficient number, but they are augmented by a fourth, conceived implicitly as an

¹ [The dates may be tentatively emended as follows: Omri, 887—875; Ahab, 875—853; Jehoram, 852—842; Jehu, 842—814; Jehoahaz, 814—798; Jehoash, 798—782; Jeroboam II. 782—741.]

Damascus, yea, for four, I will not ¹turn away ²the punishment thereof; because they have threshed Gilead with

¹ Or, *revoke my word*

² Heb. *it* (and so in vv. 6, 9, &c.).

aggravation of the three; the measure of guilt, in other words, is not merely full, it is more than full. "The three transgressions stand for a whole sum of sin, which had not yet brought down extreme punishment; the fourth was the crowning sin, after which God would no longer spare" (Pusey). For similar examples of "ascending enumeration," in which the second number expresses usually something (as the case may be) more complete, or sufficient, or severe, than the first, see Ps. lxii. 11, Job xxxiii. 14, xl. 5 (once, twice); xxxiii. 29 (twice, thrice); Hos. vi. 2, Eccles. xxiii. 16, xxvi. 28, l. 25 (two and three); Prov. xxx. 15, 18, 21, 29, Eccles. xxvi. 5 (three and four); Prov. vi. 16, Job v. 19 (six and seven); Mic. v. 5, Eccl. xi. 2 (seven and eight); Eccles. xxv. 7 (nine and ten).

transgressions] in the English word, the metaphor is that of *overstepping* a line or law; in the Hebrew, as the use of the corresponding verb, in 1 Ki. xii. 19, 2 Ki. i. 1 *al.* clearly shews, it is that of *rebellion* against authority. So always in this word. 'Transgress' represents etymologically '*ābhar*, to go beyond, *overstep*, in Deut. xvii. 2; Jos. vii. 11; Numb. xxii. 18; Prov. viii. 29, and occasionally besides; but a subst. "transgression" (*abhērāh*) is found first in post-Biblical Hebrew.

I will not turn away the punishment thereof] lit. *I will not turn it back*,—the object denoted by the pronoun being, as is sometimes the case in Hebrew poetry, understood from the context: comp. Num. xxiii. 20, Is. xliii. 13 (both with the same word), xlvi. 16. Here, the object to be supplied is the destined punishment, or doom¹.

because &c.] introducing a typical example of the "transgressions" of Damascus, sufficient to justify the penalty threatened.

threshed] **trodden**. Our modes of 'threshing' are so different from that alluded to here that the use of the same term conveys a very inaccurate idea of what is intended. The primitive method of threshing—still, indeed, in use in the East—was to *tread out* the corn by the feet of animals (Deut. xxv. 4; Jer. l. 11; Mic. iv. 13 "Arise, and *thresh* (*tread*), O daughter of Zion; for I will make thy horn iron, and *thy hoofs* I will make bronze"); and the same verb was still used, even when instruments, such as those described in the next note but one, came to be employed.

Gilead] the rough and rugged, but picturesque, hill-country, extending from the deep glen of the Jarmuk on the North, to the valley of Heshbon—or perhaps even to the Arnon—on the South. Lying, as it did, on the debateable border-line between Syria and Israel (cf. Gen. xxxi. 44—53), it was naturally the first to suffer in the Syrian incursions.

¹ [Hesselberg's suggestion is worth mentioning. He would render "I will not repay Damascus for (her lesser crimes) but because..." Hoffmann would alter the text slightly to obtain the meaning "I will not suffer her to dwell (peaceably)."

אֲשִׁיבָנָה for אוֹשִׁיבָנָה].

4 threshing instruments of iron : but I will send a fire into
the house of Hazael, and it shall devour the palaces of
5 Ben-hadad. And I will break the bar of Damascus, and

with sharp threshing-boards of iron (or of basalt)] boards some 7 ft. long by 3 ft. broad, armed underneath with jagged stones, and sometimes with knives as well, which, being weighted and drawn over the corn by oxen, chop up the ears, and separate the grain from the chaff. *Iron* may be meant literally; or (as in Deut. iii. 11) it may denote the hard black basalt which abounds in the volcanic region East of Jordan: this is even at the present day called 'iron' by the natives, and is also used for the teeth of threshing-boards. See further the Additional Note, p. 232. The reference is, no doubt, to cruelties perpetrated by Hazael, when he invaded Gilead during the reigns of Jehu and Jehoahaz, c. 842—802 [798]: cf. 2 Ki. viii. 12 (Elisha's prediction to Hazael of the cruelties which he would perpetrate against Israel); x. 32 f. (which states how, in the days of Jehu, Hazael smote "all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer that is by the Wady of Arnon, and Gilead and Bashan"); and xiii. 7 (where he is said to have left Jehoahaz only "fifty horsemen, and ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen; for the king of Syria had destroyed them, and made them *like dust in respect of threshing (treading)*"). The Syrians (if the present passage is to be understood literally) had during these wars dragged instruments of torture, such as are here alluded to, over their Israelitish prisoners. But even if the expression be meant figuratively, cruel and inhuman conduct will still be denoted by it.

4—5. The punishment.

4. *but I will send a fire into the house of Hazael, and it shall devour the palaces of Ben-hadad]* The same refrain (only the names being varied), *vv.* 7, 10, 12, ii. 2, 5, and (with *kindle* for *send*) i. 14. Hosea (viii. 14) adopts it from Amos ("But I will send a fire upon his cities, and it shall devour the castles thereof"); and it recurs also (with *kindle* for *send*, as i. 14) in Jer. xvii. 27, xxi. 14, xlix. 27, l. 32. By *fire* is meant the flame of war, which, partly by literal conflagrations, partly by other destructive operations, works devastation far and near: cf. Num. xxi. 28. The *house* of Hazael is the family or dynasty founded by him (2 Ki. viii. 15): 'Ben-hadad' stands in the parallel clause either as the name of Hazael's successor, who would still be remembered as the second of Israel's recent oppressors, or, possibly, as the name of the monarch reigning when Amos wrote.

5. *And I will break the bar of Damascus]* Damascus will be powerless to resist the besieger. The allusion is to the 'bars' of bronze or iron by which the gates of every fortified city were secured (see Deut. iii. 5; 1 Ki. iv. 13), and which, when a city is captured, are spoken of as 'broken' (Iam. ii. 9; Jer. li. 30), or 'hewn' asunder (Is. xlv. 2).

and cut off the inhabitant] better, perhaps (note the parallel clause, *him that holdeth the sceptre*), as R. V. marg. **him that sitteth** (enthroned):

cut off ¹the inhabitant from the valley of ²Aven, and him

¹ Or, *him that sitteth* on the throne (and so in ver. 8)

² That is, *Vanity*. The Sept. reads, *On*.

yāshab ('to sit') has sometimes this force, even when standing alone; see Is. x. 13 R.V.; Ps. ii. 4, xxii. 3 R.V. marg.).

[*from the valley*] *Bik'āh* (from *bāka'*, to *cleave*) is a broad 'cleft,' or level (Is. xl. 4) plain, between mountains: it is applied, for instance, to the plain of Jericho, Deut. xxxiv. 3, of Megiddo, Zech. xii. 11, 2 Ch. xxxv. 22, of Lebanon, Jos. xi. 17, i.e. Coele-Syria, the flat and broad plain between the two ranges of Lebanon and Hermon, which is still called (in Arabic) *el-Bekā'a*, and is probably the plain meant here.

[*of Aven*] or *of idolatry*. The reference is uncertain. The common supposition is that Amos alludes to the worship of the Sun, carried on at a spot in the plain of Coele-Syria, called by the ancients Heliopolis, and now known as Baalbek,—some sixty miles N.N.E. of Dan,—where are still, in a partly ruined state, the massive walls and richly decorated pillars and architraves of two magnificent temples. These temples, dedicated respectively to Jupiter and the Sun¹, are not of earlier date than the 2nd cent. A.D.,—the temple of Jupiter having been erected as a wonder of the world, by Antoninus Pius (A.D. 133—161); but the massive substructures are considered to date from a much earlier period, and to bear witness to the fact that a temple of the Sun had stood there from a distant past. According to Macrobius (*Sat.* 1. 23) and Lucian (*de Dea Syria* § 5—both quoted by Robinson, *Bibl. Researches*, III. 518) the worship of the Sun as carried on at Heliopolis in Syria was derived from Heliopolis in Egypt; and upon assumption of the correctness of this statement, it has been supposed that, with the worship of the Sun, the Egyptian name of Heliopolis, Aînû (Heb. *On*, Gen. xli. 45, 50, xlii. 20) may have been brought from Egypt; and further that, as the Egyptian *On* (𐤀𐤍) is punctuated in Ez. xxx. 17—by way of contempt—𐤀𐤍 *Aven* (i.e. *idolatry*), so here the Syrian *On* may have been called, whether by Amos himself, or by the later scribes, *Aven*. These suppositions are, however, mere conjectures. The statements of Macrobius and Lucian may be nothing more than inferences from the fact of two celebrated temples being dedicated to a similar cult; and there is no independent evidence that *On* was a name of the Syrian Heliopolis. (The LXX. rendering here τὸ πεδῖον Ὀν is not proof of it: for they represent *On* in Gen. and Ezek. by Ἡλιοῦπολις.) In view of the double fact that Coele-Syria was a *bik'āh*, or broad vale, and that Baalbek, in this vale, was the old-established seat of an idolatrous worship of the Sun, it is not improbable that Amos may mean to allude to it; *possibly*, also,—though there is no proof that the place was *called* *On*,—the designation 'Plain of Aven (idolatry)' may have been suggested to him by the thought of the Egyptian *On*, just as the nickname Beth-Aven for Beth-el (Hos. iv. 1, 5, v. 8; cf. on ch. v. 5)

¹ [The second temple, which is much smaller but better preserved, is now believed to have been dedicated to Bacchus, not the Sun. An interesting description, with plan, is given in *Encycl. Brit.* 11th edition, s.v. Baalbek.]

that holdeth the sceptre from ¹the house of Eden : and the people of Syria shall go into captivity unto Kir, saith the LORD.

¹ Or, *Beth-eden*

may have been suggested by the place Beth-Aven in the neighbourhood, a little to the east of Beth-el (Jos. vii. 2, xviii. 12; 1 Sam. xiii. 5, xiv. 23). But the identification cannot be regarded as certain: Wellhausen doubts even whether in the time of Amos Heliopolis was an Aramaic city.

him that holdeth the sceptre] the σκηπτουχος βασιλευς of Homer (*Il.* II. 26; *Od.* II. 231): comp. the corresponding Aramaic expression (ܐܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ) in the Hadad-inscription (8 cent. B.C.) of Zinjirli, lines 15, 20, 25 (see D. H. Müller, *Die altsemitischen Inschriften von Sendschirli*, 1893, p. 20 sq., or in the *Contemp. Review*, April, 1894, p. 572 f.).

from the house of Eden] or *from Beth-eden*. Another uncertain locality. Interpreted as a Hebrew word, 'Eden—vocalized 'eden, not 'ēden, as in the 'garden of Eden'—would signify 'pleasure.' Of the identifications that have been proposed, relatively the most probable are, perhaps, either the modern *Ehden*, a village situated attractively in a fertile valley about 20 miles N.W. of Baalbek, or *Bīt-Adini*, a district mentioned in the Assyrian Inscriptions and lying some 200 miles N.N.E. of Damascus, on the Euphrates. The place intended may have been a summer-residence of the kings of Damascus, or the seat of some king who held his position in dependence upon the king of Damascus. See further the Additional Note, p. 233.

Syria] Heb. *Aram*, the name borne regularly in the O.T. by the people (and country) whom the classical writers, through a confusion with *Assyrian*, knew as *Syrians* and *Syria*. (See Nöldeke in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lex.* s.v. ARAM, or in *Hermes*, v. 3, p. 433 ff., and *Z.D.M.G.* 1871, p. 115.) The people calling themselves *Aram* were very widely diffused over the regions N.E. of Palestine; their different divisions were distinguished by local designations as 'Aram of Damascus' 2 Sam. viii. 5 f. (also, as the most important branch, called often, as here, 'Aram' simply), 'Aram of Zobah,' 2 Sam. x. 6, 8; 'Aram of Maachah,' 1 Chr. xix. 6; 'Aram of Beth-Rēhōb,' 2 Sam. x. 6; 'Aram of the two Rivers' (i.e. probably between the Euphrates and the Chaboras), Gen. xxiv. 10: there were also many other tribes which were reckoned as belonging to 'Aram,' Gen. x. 23, xxii. 20—24. The language spoken by this people is called "Aramaic"; it exists in many dialects, corresponding to the different localities in which it was spoken, as the Palestinian Aramaic of Ezra and Daniel, the Palmyrene Aramaic, the dialects (not all the same) of the various Targums, the Aramaic of Edessa (commonly known as "Syriac," *par excellence*), &c. From ix. 7 it appears that recollections of the migrations of some of these tribes were retained, and that Aram—i.e., it may be presumed, 'Aram of Damascus'—came originally from Kir.

shall go into captivity] Rather *into* exile. Though in a passage such

Thus saith the LORD : For three transgressions of Gaza, 6
yea, for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof ;

as the present there is no appreciable difference between the two ideas, yet *gālāh*, the word used here, expresses properly *migration* from a home, *exile*; and it is better, where possible, not to confuse it with *hālakh bash-shebī*, to go into *captivity*, or *nishbāh*, to be taken *captively*.

unto Kir] In ix. 7 stated to have been their original home, which Amos accordingly here declares will be also their place of exile¹. 2 Ki. xvi. 9 shews how within less than a generation the prophecy was fulfilled. The result of the combined attack of Pekah king of Israel and Rezin king of Damascus upon Judah (2 Ki. xvi. 5 ff. ; Is. vii.) was that Ahaz applied for help to Tiglath-pileser, who, responding to the appeal, attacked Damascus, slew Rezin, and carried away the people into exile to Kir.

The brief notice of the book of Kings may be supplemented by the details given in the annals of Tiglath-pileser. From these we learn that in his 13th year (B.C. 733), the king laid siege to Damascus, and that in (probably) the following year (B.C. 732), after ravaging the surrounding country, he took the city, and carried large numbers of its inhabitants into exile. The place to which they were deported is not, however, mentioned in the existing (mutilated) text of the Inscriptions. The situation of Kir is very uncertain. A people of the same name is mentioned in Is. xxii. 6 beside Elam, as supplying a contingent in the Assyrian army. It is generally supposed to have been the district about the river Kur, which flows into the Caspian Sea on the N. of Armenia; but (Schrader in Riehm, *H.W.B.*, s.v.) this region does not seem to have formed part of the Assyrian dominions in the time of either Tiglath-pileser, or Sennacherib; the *k* in the Assyrian Kurru (Kur) is also not the same as the *k* (q) in Kir. Others (as Furrer in Schenkel's *Bibel-lex.*; Dillm. on Is. xxii. 6) think of the place called by the Greeks *Cyrrhus* (now *Kuris*) about 30 miles N.E. of Antioch, which gave to the surrounding region the name of *Cyrrhestica*. Some region more remote from Damascus itself appears however to be required by the allusions in Amos; *Cyrrhus*, moreover, there is reason to suppose (Schrader, *l.c.*), was only so called by the Greeks after a place of the same name in Macedonia.

6—8. **The Philistines.** The second denunciation is directed against the Philistines, the old and troublesome enemies of Israel, on the S. W. Four representative cities are mentioned; the sin with which they are taxed being that of trafficking in slaves with Edom.

6. *For three transgressions of Gaza, yea, for four, &c.]* The form of expression as in v. 3, where see note. Gaza was the southernmost city

¹ [There is, however, force in the objection of Max Müller (*H.D.B.* art. Kir) that "if Kir was the original home of the Aramaeans, the Assyrians would never have deported them back to their own country, where they would have found remainders of the original stock of the nation, and would, by union with them, become strong again." Many scholars, therefore, emend Kir to Koa, mentioned in Ezek. xxiii. 23, and corresponding, apparently, to the Kutu or Kue of the Assyrian inscriptions. See Harper, *Amos*, p. 23.]

because they carried away captive ¹the whole people, to
 7 deliver them up to Edom: but I will send a fire on the wall
 8 of Gaza, and it shall devour the palaces thereof: and I will
 cut off the inhabitant from Ashdod, and him that holdeth

¹ Heb. *an entire captivity.*

of the Philistines: it lay on and about a hill, rising 100 feet out of the plain, at three miles distance from the sea, and some 50 miles S.W. of Jerusalem. "Fifteen wells of fresh water burst from the sandy soil, and render possible the broad gardens, and large population," which is said to number now about 18,000 souls. Gaza owed its importance to its position. It was a fertile spot on the edge of a great desert; and it commanded the route between Egypt and Syria. It became in consequence not only important strategically: it was also "an emporium of trade on the border of the desert, with roads and regular caravans," on the one hand, to Jerusalem, Damascus, Tyre, &c., on the other hand, to "Petra and Elath on the gulf of Akabah, both of them places in Edom, and depots for the traffic with Arabia" (comp. G. A. Smith, *Geogr.*, p. 184; *The Twelve Prophets*, p. 126). This explains why Gaza is specially selected for blame: she was pre-eminently the centre of the slave-traffic.

because they carried into exile entire populations] i.e. the entire population of the places attacked by them: as Ewald paraphrases, *whole villages*. Lit. *an entire exile* (= *exiled company*: see in the Heb. Jer. xxiv. 5, xxviii. 4, Obad. 20). The reference appears to be not to warlike incursions (such as we read of in the times of Saul and David), but to raids made upon the villages of Judah without the excuse of war, for the purely commercial purpose of procuring slaves for the trade with Edom.

to deliver them up to Edom] viz. as slaves, whether for service among the Edomites themselves, or, more probably, to be re-sold by them—for instance, amongst the tribes inhabiting the Arabian peninsula. The same charge of selling their captives to the Edomites is brought against the Tyrians in *v.* 9¹. For Edom as a trading nation, see Ez. xxvii. 16 (reading with MSS. Aq. Pesh., and many moderns, *Edom* [אֲדָם] for *Syria* [אַרָם]). In Joel iii. 4—6, also, the Philistines (and Phoenicians) are reproached with selling Judahites into slavery.

7. *but I will send a fire &c.*] The verse is framed exactly as *v.* 4. *Wall*, with allusion to Gaza being a stronghold.

8. *the inhabitant*] See on *v.* 5.

from Ashdod] Another of the five chief Philistine cities (Jos. xiii. 3; 1 Sam. vi. 17 f.) is here specified, Ashdod, about 21 miles N.N.E. of Gaza, and 3 miles from the sea-coast. It was a strong fortress, and served also as a half-way station on the great caravan-route between Gaza and Joppa. According to Herodotus (II. 157), when attacked by

¹ [Nowack, however, suggests that the words "to deliver them up" have come into the text from *v.* 9, and that here Gaza is to suffer punishment "because they carried away captive the whole people of Edom."]

the sceptre from Ashkelon; and I will turn mine hand against Ekron, and the remnant of the Philistines shall perish, saith the Lord GOD.

Psammetichus king of Egypt (*c.* 650 B.C.), it sustained a siege of 29 years, the longest on record: how severely it suffered on this occasion may be inferred from the expression 'remnant of Ashdod' used shortly afterwards by Jeremiah (xxv. 20). But it recovered from this blow: it is alluded to as a place of some importance in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. iv. 7); and it is mentioned frequently afterwards.

and him that holdeth the sceptre] as *v.* 5. The independent kings of the different Philistine cities are often mentioned in the Assyrian Inscriptions (*cf.* below).

from Ashkelon] a third chief Philistine city, situated actually on the coast, in a rocky amphitheatre, about half-way between Gaza and Ashdod. In the Middle Ages it became the most considerable of all the Philistine fortresses, its position on the sea constituting it then the key to S.W. Palestine. In ancient times little that is distinctive is recorded of it; though it may be reasonably inferred to have been already important for purposes of marine communication with the West.

turn mine hand against] Is. i. 25; Zech. xiii. 7; Ps. lxxx. 14.

Ekron] a fourth chief city of the Philistines, situated inland, about 12 miles N.E. of Ashdod, and nearer the territory of Judah than any of the cities before mentioned. Ekron was the seat of a celebrated oracle, that of Baal-zebub (2 Ki. i. 2); but otherwise it does not appear in the Old Testament as a place of great importance. Gath, the fifth chief Philistine city, is not named: either, as some suppose (*see on vi.* 2) it was already destroyed, or it is included implicitly in the expression 'remnant of the Philistines,' immediately following.

and the remnant of the Philistines shall perish] *i.e.* whatever among them escapes the destruction announced in the previous clauses shall perish by a subsequent one: 'remnant' (*she'ērith*), as *v.* 15, ix. 12 &c. The rendering *rest*, *i.e.* those unmentioned in the previous enumeration (Jer. xxxix. 3; Neh. vii. 72), is less probable. The verse declares that the whole Philistine name will be blotted out.

saith the Lord GOD] the Lord Jehovah (אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה), Amos' favourite title for God, occurring in his prophecy twenty times (i. 8, iii. 7, 8, 11, iv. 2, 5, v. 3, vi. 8, vii. 1, 2, 4 *bis*, 5, 6, viii. 1, 3, 9, 11, ix. 8; and followed by *God of hosts*, iii. 13). It is likewise a standing title with Ezekiel, who uses it with great frequency. It is employed sometimes by Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Deutero-Isaiah, as well as here and there by other prophets; and also occurs occasionally in the historical books (as Gen. xv. 2, 8; Jos. vii. 7).

Successes, of at least a temporary character, gained against the Philistines by Uzziah and Hezekiah, are recorded in 2 Chr. xxvi. 6 f. and 2 Ki. xviii. 8; but the foes from whom they suffered more severely were the Assyrians. Gaza was attacked by Tiglath-pileser (*c.* B.C. 734); its king Hanno was compelled to take refuge in Egypt; much spoil was

9 Thus saith the LORD: For three transgressions of Tyre, yea, for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they delivered up ¹the whole people to Edom, and

¹ Heb. *an entire captivity*.

taken, and a heavy tribute imposed (*K.A.T.*² p. 256). In 711, Azuri, king of Ashdod, refused his accustomed tribute: the result was the siege by the Assyrian 'Tartan,' or general-in-chief, alluded to in Is. xx., which ended in the reduction of the city and exile of its inhabitants. Ten years later, in 701, Ashkelon and Ekron joined the Phoenician cities and Judah, in revolting from Sennacherib, and were both punished by the Assyrian king¹. It seems, however, that though the power of the Philistines must have been seriously crippled by these blows, it was by no means destroyed: the kings of Gaza, Ashkelon, Ekron, and Ashdod are all named as tributary to Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal (*K.A.T.*² 356); oracles are uttered against the Philistines by several of the later prophets; their cities are mentioned as places of importance in the times of Nehemiah (iv. 7, xiii. 23 f.) and the Maccabees. The passages in which other prophets foretell disaster for the Philistines—chiefly at the hands of the Assyrians or the Chaldaeans—should be compared: see Is. xi. 14 (a picture of united Israel's successes against them in the ideal future), xiv. 29—32; Jer. xxv. 20, xlvii.; Zeph. ii. 4—7; Ez. xxv. 15—17; Zech. ix. 5—7.

9—10. Tyre, the great commercial city of the North, next receives her doom from the prophet's lips. Tyre, as the most important of the Phoenician cities, is taken as representing Phoenicia generally. For defensive purposes Tyre was strongly fortified; but the Phoenicians were not an aggressive people: they were devoted to commerce: Tyre was a 'mart of nations' (Is. xxiii. 3), a centre of trade by land as well as by sea (see the striking picture of the variety and extent of Tyrian commerce in Ez. xxvii.); hence her relations with the Hebrews, as with her neighbours generally, were peaceful. The Tyrians were also celebrated for skill in artistic work: Hiram, king of Tyre, sent Tyrian workmen to build a palace for David; a formal treaty was concluded between Hiram and Solomon; Tyrian builders prepared timber and stones for the Temple; and a Tyrian artist designed and cast the chief ornaments and vessels of metal belonging to it (2 Sam. v. 11; 1 Ki. v. 1—12, 18, vii. 13—45).

because they delivered up entire populations to Edom] The charge is similar to that brought against the Philistines, *v.* 6; the Tyrians however are not accused of *taking* captives, but only of delivering them to others, i.e. of acting as agents for those who actually took them. For the Tyrians taking part in the trade of slaves, cf. Ez. xxvii. 13; and see on Joel iii. 6. What 'exiled companies' are alluded to does not appear; they need not necessarily have consisted of Israelites; the reference may be as well to gangs of slaves procured with violence from other nations.

¹ See *K.A.T.*² pp. 397 ff., 291 ff.; or the writer's *Isaiah*, pp. 45, 67 f., 73.

[The Assyrian inscriptions relating to the above details are conveniently given in Rogers' *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, pp. 321, 328 f., 341 f.]

remembered not ¹the brotherly covenant: but I will send a ¹⁰ fire on the wall of Tyre, and it shall devour the palaces thereof.

¹ Heb. *the covenant of brethren*. See 1 Kings v. 1, ix. 11—14.

and remembered not the brotherly covenant] lit. *the covenant of*—i.e. *between—brothers*: this forgetfulness was an aggravation of the offence, which is not mentioned in the case of Gaza, v. 6. The allusion is commonly supposed to be to the league, or ‘covenant,’ concluded between Hiram and Solomon, 1 Ki. v. 12 (for ‘brother’ used figuratively of one joined in amity to another, see 1 Ki. ix. 13, xx. 32); but it is scarcely likely that the crowning offence of Tyre should be forgetfulness of a treaty entered into nearly 300 years previously; more probably the reference is to the way in which, repudiating some alliance formed with other Phoenician towns, the Tyrians were the means of procuring slaves from them for Edom. As ii. 1 shews, Amos does not restrict his censure to wrongs perpetrated against Israel: it is the rights common to humanity at large, which he vindicates and defends.

Isaiah (ch. xxiii.), Jeremiah, at least incidentally (xxv. 22), Ezekiel (ch. xxvi.—xxviii.), Zechariah (ix. 3 f.), all foretell the ruin of Tyre; but it was long before it was accomplished. The Tyrians, it seems, escaped as a rule the hostility of the Assyrians by acquiescing in a condition of dependence and by timely payment of tribute. Thus Asshur-nazirpal [II.] (B.C. 885—860) boasts of marching with his army as far as the “great sea of the West,” and receiving tribute from Tyre, Sidon, Gebal, and Arvad; but he claims no conquest by arms (*K.A.T.*² p. 157; *R.P.*¹ III. 73 f.; Rogers’ *Cuneiform Parallels*, p. 287). Shalmaneser [III.] receives tribute in his 18th and 21st years (B.C. 842, 839) from Tyre and Sidon (*K.A.T.*² pp. 207, 210; *R.P.*² IV. 44 f.; Rogers, *op. cit.* p. 304),—in the former year, together with that of Jehu. Hiram, king of Tyre, pays tribute to Tiglath-pileser in 734 (*K.A.T.*² p. 253). Shalmaneser IV. besieged Tyre for five years, but it does not appear that he took it. Both Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal name “Baal of Tyre” among their tributaries (*K.A.T.*² p. 356). Tyre sustained a long siege—according to Josephus one of 13 years—at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar; but it is not stated whether he captured it,—Ezekiel, in his allusion (xxix. 18), implies that he did not. In the subsequent centuries the greatest blow which befel Tyre was its capture, after a seven months’ siege, by Alexander the Great, when 30,000 of its inhabitants were sold into slavery. It recovered itself, however, and continued for long afterwards to be an important naval and commercial city: Jerome (c. A.D. 400) describes it as *Phoenices nobilissima et pulcherrima civitas*, and says that mercantile transactions of nearly all nations were carried on in it. The final blow was not given to Tyre till A.D. 1291, when it was taken by the Saracens; and since then the site of the once populous and thriving city has been little more than a barren strand.

11—12. **Edom.** The home of the Edomites was S. of the Dead

11 Thus saith the LORD: For three transgressions of Edom, yea, for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because he did pursue his brother with the sword, and ¹did cast off all pity, and his anger did tear perpetually, and he

¹ Heb. *corrupted his compassions.*

Sea, immediately on the E. of the deep depression, which extends from the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Akabah, in ancient times the S. part of the 'Arābah (comp. on vi. 14), now the valley of the 'Arābah. The capital of Edom was Sela (Petra), remarkably situated in a hollow, shut in by mountain-cliffs and accessible only through two narrow defiles (cf. Robinson, *B.R.* II. 128 ff.; *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 87 ff.; Hull, *Mount Seir*, p. 85 ff.; Pusey, *Minor Prophets*, on Obadiah, p. 235). Though now desolate, and inhabited only by wandering Bedawin, Edom was in ancient times fertile and prosperous; and its people were quite one of the more considerable and powerful of Israel's neighbours. Much jealousy and rivalry, breaking out at times into open hostilities, prevailed between the two nations: this is prefigured in the story of their ancestors, both at the time of their birth (Gen. xxv. 22 f.), and subsequently (*ib.* xxvii. 41, cf. xxxii. 7 ff.), and is often alluded to in the Old Testament, especially in its later parts. David subdued Edom, ruling it by means of Jewish 'deputies,' or governors (2 Sam. viii. 13 f.; 1 Ki. xi. 15 f.; cf. xxii. 47); and this state of dependence appears to have continued until, some two centuries afterwards, under Jehoram¹ (849—842 B.C.), it successfully revolted (2 Ki. viii. 20—22). Amaziah (801—792) gained a victory (2 Ki. xiv. 7), which so weakened Edom that his successor, Uzziah (*ib.* xiv. 22), was able to plant Jewish colonists in Elath, on the Red Sea; but it was never again permanently subject to Judah.

11. *because he did pursue his brother with the sword*] Edom and Israel are frequently spoken of as 'brethren' (Deut. ii. 4, xxiii. 7; Ob. 10, 12; cf. Gen. xxvii. 40, 41): they were more closely related to each other than was either to any of their other neighbours: and the unbrotherly attitude assumed too often by Edom towards Israel is the head and front of his offence. Cf. Ob. 10 (of the behaviour of Edom at the time when Jerusalem was taken by the Chaldaeans; see *vv.* 11—14), "For the violence done to thy brother Jacob shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off for ever."

and did cast off all pity] and **corrupted** (or **destroyed**) **his compassion**, i.e. suppressed, or stifled, the natural instinct of tender regard which a person would normally cherish towards a brother, and which would render it impossible for him to 'pursue' him 'with the sword.'

and his anger did tear perpetually] For the figure, see Job xvi. 9. Edom's anger against his brother was ever raging, tearing (Ps. vii. 2) or rending its victims, like some wild animal. But the parallelism of the following clause makes it possible that we ought to read 'and *retained* his anger (וִיטַר) for (וִיטַרָה): see Ps. ciii. 9; Lev. xix. 18; Nah. i. 2

¹ [The dates should be rather Jehoram (851—843), Amaziah (796—782).]

kept his wrath for ever : but I will send a fire upon Teman, 12 and it shall devour the palaces of Bozrah.

(parallel with *avenge*) ; and, as here, parallel with *keep* (שמר), Jer. iii. 5 (so Pesh. Vulg. Gunning, Wellhausen and others).

and he kept his wrath for ever] i.e. *nursed, cherished* it : instead of letting time dissipate it, he cherished it, in a spirit of revenge, till a fresh opportunity arose for displaying it in act. This revengeful temper of Edom displayed itself especially, not in malicious words only, but also in deed, at the time when Jerusalem was taken by the Chaldeans : see Ob. 10—14 ; Ez. xxv. 12—14, xxxv. (where it is made, as here, the ground of predictions of desolation) ; cf. also Is. xxxiv. 5—17 ; Jer. xlix. 7—22 ; Lam. iv. 21 f. ; Mal. i. 4 ; Joel iii. 19 ; Ps. cxxxvii. 7.

12. *upon Teman*] According to Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomastica*, ed. Lagarde, pp. 156, 260), a district of the chiefs ('dukes' [*duces*]) of Edom in Gebal, but also, they add, a village about 15 (Jerome 5) miles from Petra, and the station of a Roman garrison. From Ez. xxv. 13, where it is implied that Teman was in an opposite quarter to Dedan, it may be inferred that, as Dedan was the name of a tribe on the S.E. of Edom, Teman was in the N. or W. part of Edom. It is mentioned elsewhere in the O.T., as synonymous with Edom, Jer. xlix. 7 ; Ob. 9 ; Hab. iii. 3, or in poetical parallelism with it, Jer. xlix. 20 : cf. Gen. xxxvi. 34. Eliphaz, Job's friend, is described as a Temanite (Job ii. 11 &c.). In Gen. xxxvi. 11, 15 Teman is a grandson of Esau (= Edom), the relation of the particular clan to the whole nation being represented genealogically : the name must thus have been that of an Edomite clan, as well as of the region inhabited by it.

Bozrah] A town of Edom, mentioned also Gen. xxxvi. 33, Jer. xlix. 13 ; and in poetical parallelism with Edom, Is. xxxiv. 6, lxiii. 1, Jer. xlix. 22. From the manner in which it is named in most of these passages, it is clear that it must have been an important place. It is in all probability el-Buşaireh (a diminutive of Boşrah), about 35 miles N. of Petra, and 20 miles S.E. of the Dead Sea, with (Roman) ruins, first visited by Burckhardt in 1812 (*Syria*, 1822, p. 407 : cf. also Rob. II. 167 ; Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, I. 31, 38).

Edom is mentioned as paying tribute to Rammân-nirârî III. (*K.A.T.*² p. 190 ; *K.B.* i. 191 ; Rogers, *op. cit.* p. 306), Tiglath-pileser IV. (*K.A.T.*² p. 258 ; Rogers, p. 322), Sennacherib (*K.A.T.* p. 291 ; Rogers, p. 341), Esarhaddon, and Assurbanipal (*K.A.T.* p. 355 ; Rogers, p. 256). Afterwards, like its neighbours, it fell under the rule of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xxvii. 3 f.). During, and after, the Captivity, the Edomites extended their dominions W. of the Arabah, and ultimately transferred themselves thither altogether (the later 'Idumaea' being the southern part of Judah) ; Malachi (i. 3—4) describes Edom as desolate in his day, though how it became so, we do not know ; and in B.C. 312 the Nabataeans, an Arabian tribe, are found located in Edom, where they maintained themselves for many centuries. The cities of Edom finally fell to ruin after the Mohammedan conquest in the seventh century, A.D.

13 Thus saith the LORD: For three transgressions of the children of Ammon, yea, for four, I will not turn away the

The authenticity of the oracle against Edom is doubted by Wellhausen, and at least suspected by G. A. Smith (p. 129 f.)¹; the former supposes it to be an addition to the original text of Amos, dating from the Chaldaean age. Not only is there in the earlier prophets and historical books no other evidence of such animus against Edom as here displays itself, but Edom, when Amos wrote, had been for two centuries under the yoke of Judah; its first subjection had been accomplished with great cruelty (1 Ki. xi. 16); Amaziah, also, more recently (796—782 B.C.), had severely smitten Edom (2 Ki. xiv. 7). Even, therefore, although Edom had shewn itself unfriendly, “was the right to blame them Judah’s, who herself had so persistently waged war, with confessed cruelty, against Edom? Could a Judaeen prophet be just in blaming Edom and saying nothing of Judah?... To charge Edom, whom Judah had conquered and treated cruelly, with restless hate towards Judah seems to fall below that high impartial tone which prevails in the other oracles of this section. The charge was much more justifiable at the time of the Exile, when Edom did behave shamefully towards Israel” (G. A. Smith, p. 130). The argument is a forcible one, and the conclusion to which it points *may* be the true one: our ignorance, as the same writer proceeds to point out, prohibits our endorsing it absolutely: we do not for instance know the particulars of the revolt under Jehoram or what may have happened to provoke Amaziah’s attack upon Edom, or indeed what, generally, may have been Edom’s behaviour towards Judah during the century before Amos: there may have been occurrences during this period known to Amos and sufficient to justify the words used by him.

13—15. The Ammonites. The Ammonites occupied the district E. of Jordan bounded by the Arnon on the S., and by the territory of Reuben and the upper course of the Jabbok, on the W. Their capital was Rabbah, mentioned in *v.* 14. They were closely related to their neighbours on the S., the Moabites, being reckoned as a brother-nation (Gen. xix. 37 f.); but (cf. *H.D.B.* s.v.), to judge from allusions in the O.T., they seem to have been less settled and civilized: their inhumanity in warfare appears from *v.* 13, and the proposal in 1 Sam. xi. 2.; and a suspicious discourtesy towards allies is evinced in 2 Sam. x. 1—5. David reduced the Ammonites to the condition of tributaries (2 Sam. viii. 12, cf. xii. 31); but it does not seem that they continued in this condition for long. Various examples of their hostility towards Israel are recorded in Jud. x. 7 ff. (their oppression of the trans-Jordanic Israelites, which was put an end to by Jephthah, *ib.* xi. 33); 1 Sam. xi.;

¹ [Harper (*op. cit.* p. 31) characterizes the oracle as “evidently an interpolation from the exilic or post-exilic period.” He lays stress on (1) the similarity of structure with the oracles from Tyre and Judah, both of which he regards as not genuine, (2) the non-mention of Petra, the most important city, (3) the vagueness of the description of Edom’s offence, (4) the subjection of Edom to Israel and its many sufferings. Against this see Edghill, *Amos*, p. 3.]

punishment thereof; because they have ripped up the women with child of Gilead, that they might enlarge their border: but I will kindle a fire in the wall of Rabbah, and it shall devour the palaces thereof, with shouting in the day

2 Ki. xxiv. 2; Jer. xl. 14; Neh. ii. 10, iv. 3, 7; comp. also Zeph. ii. 8, Jer. xlix. 1, Ez. xxi. 28, xxv. 2, 6, which shew how they evinced a malicious satisfaction in Israel's troubles, and sought to turn them to their own profit.

13. *because they have ripped up the women with child of Gilead*] A barbarity probably not uncommon in ancient warfare, at least among more cruel or uncivilized combatants: see 2 Ki. viii. 12 (Hazeael), xv. 16 (Menahem); Hos. xiii. 16, cf. x. 14: comp. the similar cruelty of dashing children in pieces (2 Ki. viii. 12; Hos. xiii. 16; Nah. iii. 10; Is. xiii. 16; Ps. cxxxvii. 9). "In the embittered border-feuds between Arabian tribes the same ghastly barbarity is often mentioned; Ibn Athir IV. 256. 1, 258. 6, 260. 60, 262. 11 sqq.; *Kitāb al-'Aghāni*, XIX. 129. 12 sq., XX. 128. 13; Tabari II. 755. 19" (Wellh.).

that they might enlarge their border] Such cruelty was not perpetrated in self-defence, but in cold blood, simply from a desire to augment their territory, at the expense of their Israelitish neighbours on the N. and W. (cf. at a later date Jer. xlix. 1).

14. *but I will kindle a fire*] Varied from *I will send* of the other cases: see on v. 4.

in the wall of Rabbah] The capital city of the Ammonites, and indeed the only Ammonite city mentioned in the O.T.: named elsewhere, 2 Sam. xi. 1, xii. 27, 29 (1 Ch. xx. 1); Jos. xiii. 25; Jer. xlix. 3; Ez. xxv. 5; called more fully 'Rabbah of the Ammonites,' Deut. iii. 11; 2 Sam. xii. 26, xvii. 27; Jer. xlix. 2; Ez. xxi. 25 (Heb. 20). From Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 287—245) it received the name of Philadelpheia: in the Middle Ages it was known as '*Ammān*, a name which it still bears. It was situated about 25 miles N.E. of the N. end of the Dead Sea, in the valley forming the upper course of the Jabbok, now called the *Wādy 'Ammān*. The stream is perennial, and is well stocked with fish: one of its sources, the '*Ain 'Ammān*, is a little above the city, to the W. The present remains are chiefly of the Roman period, comprising a fortress, theatre, odeum, baths, a street of columns and gate, mausolea, &c. The fortress stands upon a hill which rises on a triangular piece of ground on the N. of the stream to a height of some 300—400 ft., the city lying in the valley to the South. This lower city, situated on the banks of the '*Ammān*, is probably the "city of the waters" stated to have been taken by Joab in 2 Sam. xii. 27. There is a full description, with plan and views, of the existing ruins, in the *Survey of Eastern Palestine* (published by the Palestine Exploration Society) 19—64: see also *H.D.B.*¹ s.v. (with a view).

with shouting in the day of battle] The 'shouting' is the battle-cry of the advancing foe: cf. Job xxxix. 25; Jer. iv. 19, xlix. 2 (A.V.,

15 of battle, with a tempest in the day of the whirlwind: and their king shall go into captivity, he and his princes together, saith the LORD.

2 Thus saith the LORD: For three transgressions of Moab, R.V., 'alarm'), &c., and the corresponding verb, Jud. vii. 21; 1 Sam. xvii. 52.

with a tempest in the day of the whirlwind] A figurative description of the onslaught of the foe: it will level all before it, like a destructive hurricane.

15. *and their king shall go into captivity, &c.] into exile (v. 5).* The verse is borrowed by Jeremiah, with slight changes, in his prophecy against the Ammonites (xlix. 3), "For their king shall go into exile, his priests and his princes together"—where the addition of 'priests' makes it probable that for *malcām* 'their king' we should read, with most of the ancient versions, *Milcom*, the name of the national god of the Ammonites (1 Ki. xi. 5, &c.). [R.V. renders "Malcam."]

ii. 1—3. **Moab.** The Moabites inhabited the elevated and fertile table-land (Heb. *Mīshōr*, "level plain," Dt. iii. 10 &c.), on the east of the Dead Sea. By the Israelites the deep chasm formed by the torrent Arnon was regarded as the northern boundary of Moab: for shortly before Israel's arrival on the east of Jordan, Sihon, king of the Amorites, had forced the Moabites to retire from their possessions north of the Arnon; and the Israelites, defeating Sihon, occupied his territory, which was afterwards allotted to the pastoral tribe of Reuben (Num. xxi. 24—25, xxxii. 37 f.). Reuben, however, was not strong enough to retain possession of the region thus assigned to it; and hence many of the cities mentioned in Jos. xiii. 15—21 as belonging to Reuben, are alluded to by Isaiah (ch. xv., xvi.), and other later writers, as in the occupation of Moab. Moab, like the Ammonites, was subdued by David (2 S. viii. 1, 2), though it must have recovered its independence, probably at the division of the kingdom. From the Inscription of Mesha (2 K. iii. 4), found in 1869 at Dibon, and known commonly as the 'Moabite Stone,' we learn that Omri re-subjugated Moab, but that during the reign of his son Ahab it revolted, and regained its independence (cf. 2 K. i. 1, iii. 5). The Inscription states particulars of the revolt: Mesha, for instance, expelled the men of Gad from 'Atārōth, took Nēbo by storm, and rebuilt (or fortified) the principal cities of Moab (see a translation of the Inscription in *R.P.*² II. 194 ff., or in the present writer's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, ed. 2, 1913, p. lxxxiv ff.¹). The language of Moab differed only dialectically from Hebrew. From the allusions in the O.T. the Moabites appear to have been a wealthy and prosperous people, hardly inferior in civilization to Israel itself. The abundant vineyards of Moab are noticed by Isaiah (xvi. 8—10): the fertility of its pastures may be inferred from the large tribute of wool paid annually to Israel before its revolt (2 K. iii. 4; cf.

¹ See also MOAB in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, or MESHHA in the *Encycl. Bibl.* [Also C. F. Burney *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings*, pp. 371 ff.]

yea, for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because he burned the bones of the king of Edom into lime: but I will send a fire upon Moab, and it shall devour ² the palaces of Kerioth; and Moab shall die with tumult,

Is. xvi. 1). The prophets allude to the independent, encroaching temper shewn by Moab in its relations with Israel (Is. xvi. 6; Zeph. ii. 10; Jer. xlvi. 29, 42): no doubt attempts were frequently made by the Moabites to gain possession of the cities claimed by Reuben or Gad.

1. *because he burned the bones of the king of Edom into lime*] A mark of unrelenting hate and vindictiveness: the Moabites pursued their fallen adversary even into the rest of the grave; they not only violated the sanctity of his tomb, but even removed his bones, and treated them with an unwonted and shocking indignity (cf. 2 K. xxiii. 16). The reverence with which, in ancient times, the tomb was regarded, is well known: and ancient sepulchral inscriptions often invoke terrible maledictions upon those who disturb the remains deposited within¹. The prophet displays a high-souled superiority to distinctions of race: he reprobates an indignity offered to Israel's rival not less sternly than one offered to Israel itself. In illustration of the fact, Wellhausen quotes the *Kitāb al-'Aghāni*, XII. 21. 11; Ibn Athir v. 178. 12, 203. 23; Maç. v. 471. Nothing further is known of the deed referred to: it may be conjectured to have been one of recent occurrence which sent a thrill of horror through all who heard of it. The Edomites were neighbours of Moab not less than of Judah; and perhaps similar rivalries were prevalent between them. On the occasion of the joint expedition undertaken by Jehoram, Jehoshaphat, and the king of Edom, for the purpose of coercing the Moabites to obedience, after their revolt under Mesha, the Moabite king is represented (2 K. iii. 26) as actuated by a peculiar animosity against the king of Edom. According to Jerome, it was a Hebrew tradition that this was the king whose bones, after burial, were treated for vengeance in this manner.

2. *the palaces of Kerioth*] more exactly **Ḳeriyyoth**: named here and Jer. xlvi. 41 (cf. v. 24) as a representative city of Moab, and hence evidently a considerable place, if not the capital of Moab. Mesha, also, in a passage of his Inscription (lines 10—13), sufficiently interesting to extract in full, speaks of it in terms implying that it was a place of importance, possessing a sanctuary of the national god (Num. xxi. 29; 1 Ki. xi. 7), and a royal residence: "And the men of Gad had dwelt in the land of Ataroth (Num. xxxii. 3, 34) from of old; and the king of Israel built for himself Ataroth. And I fought against the city, and took it. And I slew all [the people of] the city, a gazing-stock [cf. Nah. iii. 6] to Chēmōsh, and to Moab. And I brought back [*or*, took captive] thence the altar-hearth of Davdoh (?), and I dragged it before Chēmōsh in Ḳeriyyoth." From the fact that, notwithstanding

¹ Comp. the quotation in the note on v. 9: and see also the inscription from el 'Olâ (S E. of Edom) translated in *Studia Biblica*, vol. 1. p. 212 (= Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, 1885, No. 2; see also Nos. 3, 4.)

3 with shouting, and with the sound of the trumpet: and I will cut off the judge from the midst thereof, and will slay all the princes thereof with him, saith the LORD.

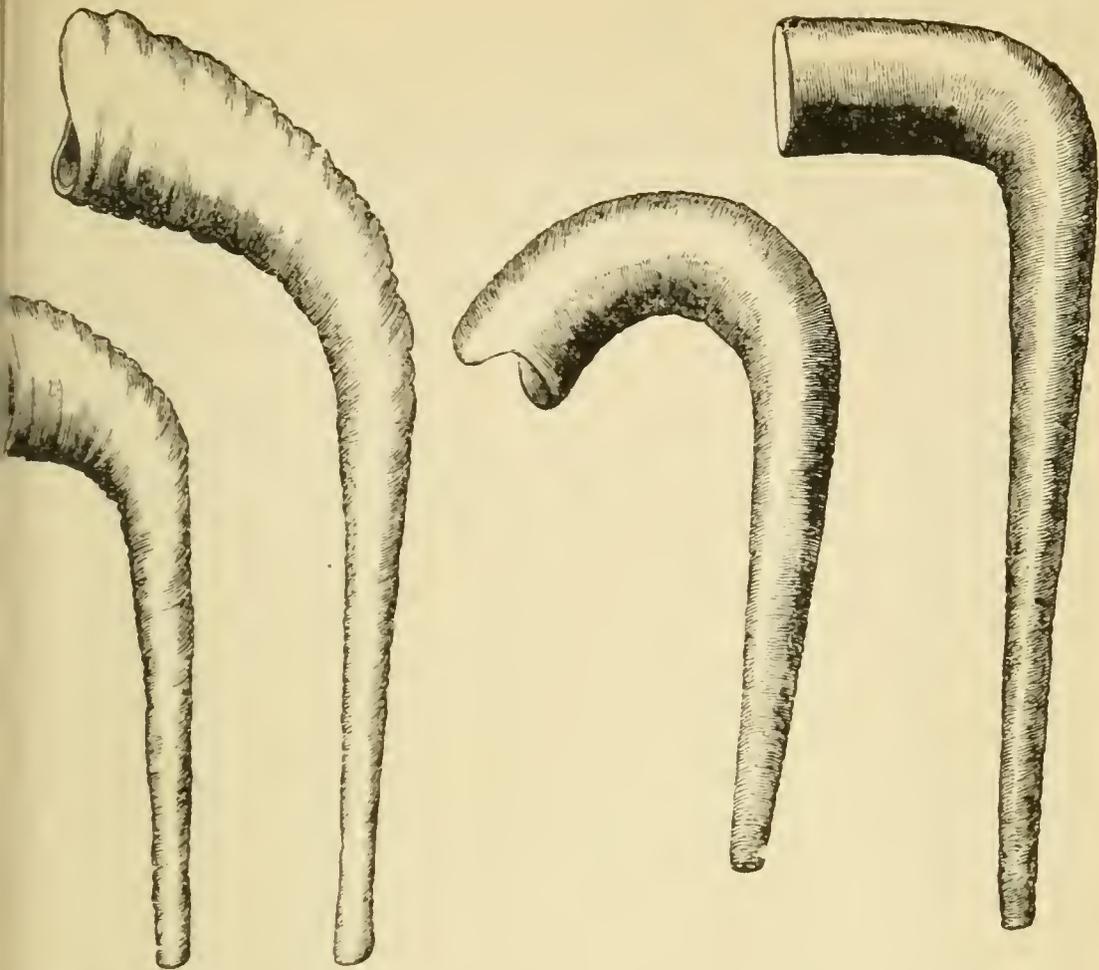
its importance, it is not mentioned in the long enumeration of Moabite cities in Is. xv.—xvi., and that conversely where Ar, the capital of Moab, is named, Keriyoth is not mentioned, it has been supposed by many that Ar and Keriyoth were different names of the same place. Its situation is uncertain, though, if it was identical with Ar, it will have lain somewhere on the N. or N.E. border of Moab, in the valley of the Arnon (see Deut. ii. 9, 18).

and Moab shall die with tumult, with shouting, and with the sound of the horn] The nation is personified, and pictured here as dying, under the assault of its foes, as in Is. xxv. 11 it is pictured as drowning. The *tumult* is the confused roar, or din, of the fray (cf. Hos. x. 14; Ps. lxxiv. 23; the same word, of a distant roar of a great multitude, of rushing waters, Is. xvii. 12, 13): the *shouting*, as i. 14, is that of the attacking foe, parallel with the *shōphār* or *horn*, calling them on, as Jer. iv. 19 ('the shouting of battle'), Zeph. i. 16, Job xxxix. 25.

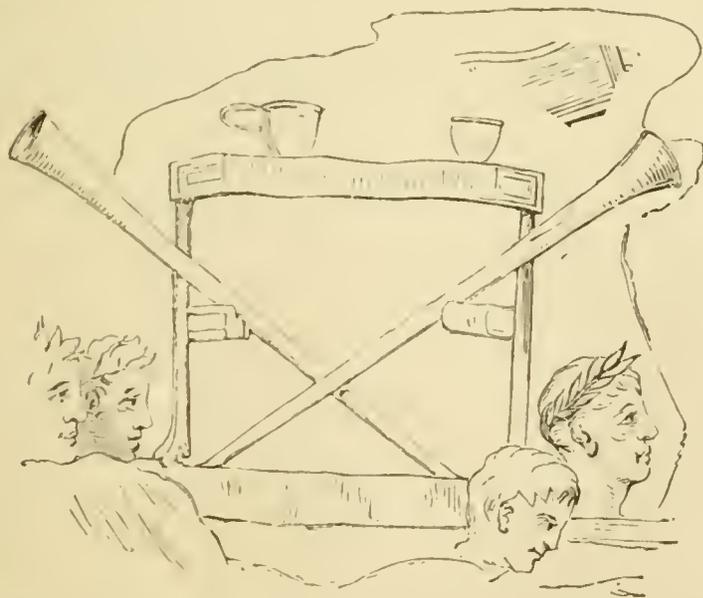
The *shōphār* was the curved *horn* of a cow or ram, to be carefully distinguished from the long straight metal *hatsōtzerāh*, or *trumpet*, with expanding mouth, represented on Jewish coins, and on the Arch of Titus (Stainer, *Music of the Bible*, p. 131; in use also among the Assyrians, *ib.* p. 132 f.). The *shōphār* was principally, and in early Israel perhaps entirely, used for secular purposes, chiefly to give signals in war (Jud. iii. 27; 2 S. ii. 28, xx. 1, &c., and here), or to raise an alarm (see on iii. 6), sometimes also to announce or accompany an important public event, such as an accession (1 K. i. 34, 39), or other joyous occasion (2 S. vi. 15¹; cf. Ps. xlvii. 5): as a sacred instrument it is mentioned rarely, and mostly, if not entirely, in later writers (Ps. lxxxii. 4, xcvi. 6, cl. 3; 2 Ch. xv. 14; cf. Lev. xxiii. 24, xxv. 9, and Joel ii. 15). The *hatsōtzerāh*, on the other hand, appears rarely as a secular instrument (Hos. v. 8; 2 K. xi. 14), but often, especially in later times, in the Chronicler's description of religious ceremonies, as a sacred instrument (2 K. xii. 13; 1 Ch. xiii. 8, and xv. 28 [added to the earlier narrative of 2 S. vi. 5, 15]; 2 Ch. xv. 14; xx. 28; Ezr. iii. 10, &c.; cf. Num. x. 3—9). The two words are very unfortunately confused in the English version, except where they occur together, when *shōphār* is rendered 'cornet' (e.g. Hos. v. 8; Ps. xcvi. 6; 1 Ch. xv. 28; 2 Ch. xv. 14). Comp. Stainer, *Music of the Bible*, p. 127; Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* i. 277 f.

3. *the judge*] Why is the *judge* mentioned rather than, as would naturally be expected, the king? One answer is that Moab was at this time subject to Jeroboam II., and hence there was no 'king' of Moab, but only an Israelitish deputy or governor. The terms of 2 Ki. xiv. 25 (which describes how Jeroboam II. recovered the old territory of Israel, as far as the Dead Sea) do not, however, prove that Moab was included

¹ Note that the *shōphār* is here in the hands of *lay* Israelites.



Shōphārs, as used in a modern synagogue, on New Year's Day (Lev. xxiii. 24, Numb. xxix. 1), and at the close of the Day of Atonement (Lev. xxv. 9). (From Engel's *Music of the Most Ancient Nations*, 1870, p. 293.)



Two silver *hatsötzerahs* (Num. x. 2), as figured on the Arch of Titus, in front of the Table of Shewbread. (From the *Speaker's Commentary*, i. 363. Comp. Reland, *De Spoliis Templi*, 1716, p. 70.)

4 Thus saith the LORD: For three transgressions of Judah,
 yea, for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof;
 because they have rejected the law of the LORD, and have
 not kept his statutes, and their lies have caused them to err,
 5 after the which their fathers did walk: but I will send a fire
 upon Judah, and it shall devour the palaces of Jerusalem.

in Jeroboam's conquests: and Mesha, at the time when Moab was dependent upon Israel, is still spoken of as 'king' (2 Ki. iii. 4). More probably *judge*, as in Mic. v. 1, is a designation of the king,—derived from the fact that the administration of justice among his subjects was one of the primary duties of an Oriental monarch (2 Sam. viii. 15, xv. 2; 1 Ki. vii. 7; Jer. xxi. 12, &c.).

Both Ammon and Moab are frequently mentioned in the Inscriptions that have been already referred to as paying tribute to the Assyrians,—Sanib of Ammon, and Salman of Moab, for instance, to Tiglath-pileser; Puduil of Ammon, and Kamoshnadab of Moab, to Sennacherib; and Mussuri, king of Moab, to Esarhaddon (*K.A.T.*² pp. 258, 291, 356)¹. Isaiah, in a striking prophecy, foretells invasion and disaster for Moab (Is. xv.—xvi.): Jeremiah, a century later, does the same, in a prophecy containing many reminiscences of the oracle of his great predecessor (ch. xlviii.); he also prophesies against Ammon (xlix. 1—6). Ezekiel uttered prophecies against both nations (xxv. 1—7, 8—11; cf. xxi. 28—32), charging them in particular with malicious exultation over Judah's fall, and predicting their ruin. See also Zeph. ii. 8—10; and Is. xxv. 10 f. (post-exilic).

4—5. **Judah.** The prophet now comes nearer home; and passes sentence on the Southern kingdom.

4. *the law of the LORD*] the **direction of Jehovah.** See further, on this expression, the Additional Note, p. 235. The reference, as is there shewn, is probably not to ceremonial ordinances, but to spiritual and moral teaching, uttered, as the case might be, by priests or prophets in Jehovah's name.

not kept his statutes] the word *hók* properly means something *engraved*, viz. on a public tablet, hence fig. *decree, statute*: cf. (also with *keep*) Ex. xv. 26; Deut. iv. 40, vii. 11 &c.

their lies] i.e. their unreal gods, whose existence, power, ability to help, &c., are all falsely imagined.

caused them to err] or *led them astray*: the false gods, set up by the fathers as objects to be revered, beguiled and misled their children. To *walk after* (sometimes rendered *follow*) is an expression used often of devotion to idolatry: see Deut. iv. 3, viii. 19, xi. 28, xiii. 2; Jer. ii. 5, 8, 23 &c. (also of devotion to Jehovah, Deut. xiii. 4 *al.*).

5. *but I will send a fire upon Judah, &c.*] hence, with verbal variations, Jer. xvii. 27 *b.* In the case of Judah, Amos's threat did not take effect for more than a century and a half: the 'fire' did not 'devour

¹ [See also Rogers' *Cuneiform Parallels*, pp. 322, 341, 356.]

Thus saith the LORD: For three transgressions of Israel, 6
 yea, for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof;
 because they have sold the righteous for silver, and the
 needy for a pair of shoes: that pant after the dust of the 7

the palaces of Jerusalem' until it was taken by the Chaldaeans in B.C. 586 (2 Ki. xxv. 9). On the authenticity of these two verses, see p. 119 f.

II. 6—16. THE SIN OF ISRAEL, AND ITS PUNISHMENT.

6—16. At last Amos comes to Israel. The Israelites might listen with equanimity, or even with satisfaction, whilst their neighbours' faults were being exposed: but they now find that precisely the same standard is to be applied to themselves. The stereotyped form is not preserved after the first verse; both the indictment and the punishment being developed at much greater length than in the case of any of the previous nations. The indictment (*vv.* 6—8) consists of four counts: 1. maladministration of justice; 2. oppression of the poor; 3. immorality; 4. inordinate self-indulgence, practised in the name of religion—all, in view of the signal favours conferred by Jehovah upon Israel in the past, aggravated by ingratitude (*vv.* 9—12). The judgement, viz. defeat and flight before the foe, follows in *vv.* 13—16.

6. *sold the righteous for silver*] The venal Israelitish judges, for a bribe, pronounced the innocent guilty, i.e. 'sold' them for a consideration to any one whose advantage it might be to have them condemned: in a civil case, by giving judgement in favour of the party really in the wrong, in a criminal case, by condemning the innocent in place of the guilty. *Righteous* is used here not in an ethical, but in a forensic sense, of one 'righteous' in respect of the particular charge brought against him, exactly as Deut. xxv. 1. Corrupt justice, that most common of Oriental failings, is the sin which Amos censures first; the sin which legislators in vain strove to guard against (Ex. xxiii. 6—8; Lev. xix. 15; Deut. xvi. 18—20), and which prophet after prophet in vain attacked (Is. i. 23, iii. 14 f., v. 23, x. 1 f.; Mic. iii. 9—11, vii. 3; Jer. v. 28, xxii. 3; Ez. xxii. 29; Mal. iii. 5): the great men, the nobles, in whose hands the administration of justice rests, abuse their office for their own ends, are heedless of the rights of the helpless classes (the "needy," the "poor," and the "meek"), and sell justice to the highest bidder.

for the sake of a pair of sandals] named as an article of trifling value. The reference in this clause is not, it seems, to the unjust judge, but to the hard-hearted creditor who, if his debtor could not pay the value of some trifling article, forthwith sold him into slavery (2 Ki. iv. 1; Matt. xviii. 25). In the use of the word *sell*, there is a slight 'zeugma': for it is used figuratively in the first clause, and literally in the second.

7. *that pant after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor*] The

earth on the head of the poor, and turn aside the way of the meek: and a man and his father will go unto the *same*

expression is a singular one; but, if the text be sound, the meaning is probably (Hitzig, Pusey, Duhm), "who are so avaricious that they are eager even to secure the dust strewn upon their heads by the poor, in token of their distress,"—whether after an unjust condemnation, or any other misfortune. Dust on the head was a sign of grief or misfortune: see e.g. 2 Sam. i. 2, xv. 32; Lam. ii. 10. Others (Keil, Gunning) think the meaning is merely, Who are eager to *see* dust on the head of the poor, i.e. to see them reduced to a state of misery. The former explanation involves a thought which, it must be owned, is somewhat far-fetched; but it is more exact exegetically than the second. Jerome, pronouncing the verb differently (*shâphîm*, for *shō'âphîm*), and not expressing the prep. *on*, renders: "Who crush (Gen. iii. 15; Ps. xciv. 5, Targ.) the heads of the poor upon the dust of the earth,"—a forcible metaphor (cf. Isaiah's 'grind the faces of the poor,' iii. 15), and Micah's 'strip the flesh off their bones,' iii. 2, 3) for oppression. This yields a good sense, and may be the original text. Wellh. also reads *crush*, omitting 'upon the dust of the earth' (cf. viii. 4, "Who pant after [*or* crush] the needy"); but if these words are not genuine, it is difficult to understand how they found their way into the text¹.—The word rendered *poor* (*dal*) is lit. *thin* (of kine, Gen. xli. 19, of Amnon, 2 Sam. xiii. 4); fig. *reduced in circumstances*, *poor*, Ex. xxiii. 3, and frequently.

turn aside the way of the meek] place hindrances in their way, thwart their purposes, oblige them to turn aside from the path that they would naturally follow, to land them in difficulties. Cf. Job xxiv. 4, "and turn aside the needy from the way" (mentioned among other acts of high-handed oppression). By the *meek* are meant the humble-minded servants of Jehovah, who by character, and often also by circumstances, were unable to protect themselves against the oppressions or persecutions of a worldly-minded aristocracy, and who, especially in the Psalms, are often alluded to as both deserving and receiving Jehovah's care. In Is. xxxii. 7 they are the victims of the unscrupulous intriguer; in Is. xxix. 19 they are described as able by the overthrow of injustice (*vv.* 20—21) to rejoice thankfully in their God; in Is. xi. 4 the Messianic king judges their cause with righteousness. They are named, as here, in parallelism with the 'poor' (*dal*) in Is. xi. 4, and with the 'needy' (*'ebhyōn*) in Is. xxix. 19, xxxii. 7; Ps. ix. 19; Job xxiv. 4; see also Is. lxi. 1; Ps. xxii. 26, xxxiv. 2, xxxvii. 11, lxxvi. 9.

will go] i.e. *resort*: the verb is not the one (*bā*) used in Gen. xvi. 4, &c. 'Will go' means 'are in the habit of going': *will* having the same force as in Prov. xix. 6, 24, xx. 6 &c.); but it is better omitted in translation.

unto the same maid] to a **girl**: the art. is generic, and, as such, is properly represented in English by the indef. article: the enormity lies

¹ [A not very violent emendation (*bîruššath* for *berôš*) would give "who pant for the (very) dust of the earth in the inheritance of the poor."]

¹maid, to profane my holy name: and they lay themselves down beside every altar upon clothes taken in pledge, and

¹ Or, *young woman*

not in its being an exaggeration of ordinary immorality (1 Cor. v. 1), but in the frequency and publicity with which it was practised: father and son are thus found resorting to the same spots. The allusion is in all probability not to common immorality, but to immorality practised in the precincts of a temple, especially in the service of Ashtoreth, as a means by which the worshippers placed themselves under the patronage and protection of the goddess; a singular and revolting practice, found in many Semitic religions, and frequently alluded to in the Old Testament. The persons attached to a temple who prostituted themselves with the worshippers were called *Kēdēshōth*, i.e. *sacred* or *dedicated* (to the deity in question): see Gen. xxxviii. 21, 22 and (in N. Israel) Hos. iv. 14; and comp. the masc. *Kēdēshīm*, 1 Ki. xiv. 24, xv. 12, xxii. 46; 2 Ki. xxiii. 7 (under Manasseh, even in the Temple at Jerusalem). Deut. xxiii. 17 forbids Israelites (of either sex) to be made such temple-prostitutes. Comp. in Babylon Hdt. i. 199, Baruch vi. 43, Strabo xvi. 1, 20, in Byblus, Lucian, *De dea Syria*, § 4, in Cyprus (in the service of the Cyprian Aphrodite, who corresponded to Ashtoreth), Hdt. i. 119 *end*, Clem. Alex. *Protrep.* pp. 12, 13; see also the present writer's note on Deut. xxiii. 17 f.

to profane my holy name] in order to profane &c.: it ought to have been so clear to them that such practices were contrary to Jehovah's will that Amos represents them as acting in deliberate and intentional contravention of it¹. *To profane Jehovah's name* is an expression used more especially in the "Law of Holiness" (Lev. xvii.—xxvi.), and by Ezekiel. Jehovah is Israel's Owner; and as such, His name is 'called over it' (see on ix. 12): hence the name is said to be 'profaned,' when something is done bringing it into discredit, or, in virtue of His connexion with Israel, derogatory to Him: for instance, by the worship of Molech (Lev. xviii. 21, xx. 3), perjury (xix. 12), the humiliation of Israel in exile (Is. xlvi. 11; Ez. xx. 9, 14, xxxvi. 20—23).

8. The self-indulgence, practised by the worldly-minded Israelites in the name of religion, and at the expense of the poor.

beside every altar upon clothes taken in pledge] To be understood in connexion with the last clause: the carnally-minded Israelites visit their sanctuaries for the purposes indicated in v. 7; they lay themselves down there, with their partners in sin (Hos. iv. 14), beside the altars; and to aggravate their offence they repose, not on their own garments, but on

¹ [It may be doubted, however, whether the more idiomatic rendering would not be "so as to profane." The case is stated thus in the *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, p. 775 "[*l'ma'an*] is always *in order that*, never merely *so that* (ἐκβατικῶς); but sometimes, in rhetorical passages, the issue of a line of action, though really undesigned, is represented by it ironically as if it were designed." Such subtleties, though quite congenial to the vivid Hebrew mind, are foreign to our more matter-of-fact way of thinking.]

in the house of their God they drink the wine of such as
9 have been fined. Yet destroyed I the Amorite before them,

garments which they have taken in pledge from men poorer than themselves, and which, in contravention of the Law, Ex. xxii. 26 f., they have neglected to return before nightfall. The large square outer garment, or cloak, called the *salmah*, thrown round the person by day, was used as a covering at night; and hence the provision that, if a poor man (whose sole covering it probably would be) were obliged to pawn it, it should be restored to him for the night.

every altar] Not only at Beth-el (iii. 14), Gilgal, and Dan (iii. 4 f., viii. 14), but also, no doubt, at local sanctuaries in many other parts of the land: comp. Hos. viii. 11, x. 1, 2, 8, xii. 11.

God] or *gods*, the Hebrew being ambiguous (as is sometimes the case with this word). It is not certain whether the practices referred to were carried on in sanctuaries nominally dedicated to Jehovah, but desecrated by the admixture of heathen rites (as the temple at Jerusalem was in Manasseh's day), or in sanctuaries avowedly consecrated to Baal (2 Ki. x. 21 ff., xi. 18) or other Canaanitish deities.

drink the wine of such as have been fined] the fines which they have received—if not, as the context suggests, unjustly extorted—from persons brought before them for some offence, are spent by them in the purchase of wine, to be consumed at a sacrificial feast in their temples. The peace- or thank-offering was followed by a sacred meal, in which the worshippers partook of such parts of the sacrificial victim as were not presented upon the altar or did not become the perquisite of the priest; and at such meals wine would naturally be drunk: cf. (in the same connexion) “to eat and drink,” Ex. xxiv. 11, xxxii. 6; Num. xxv. 2; Jud. ix. 27 (“in the house of their god”); also 1 Sam. i. 24, x. 3. For *fined* cf. Ex. xxi. 22, Deut. xxii. 19 (A.V., R.V. *amerce*), Prov. xvii. 26 (as R.V. marg.).

9—12. The ingratitude shewn by Israel, in thus dishonouring its Lord and Benefactor.

9. *Yet destroyed I*] The pron. is emphatic: ‘Yet *I* (whom you thus requite) destroyed the Amorites, that mighty and seemingly invincible nation, from before you, and settled you in their land.’ *Destroyed before* (lit. *from before*) *them*: a similar expression in Jos. xxiv. 8—a passage belonging to the Hexateuchal narrator, commonly designated by the letter E: “And I brought you into the land of the Amorites, which dwelt beyond Jordan; and they fought with you; and I gave them into your hand, and ye possessed their land, and *I destroyed them from before you*”; cf. also Deut. ii. 21, 22. *Amorite* is the term used (1) in the passage just quoted, and frequently, of the peoples ruled by Sihon and Og, east of Jordan, conquered by the Israelites; (2) as a general designation of the pre-Israelitish population of the territory W. of Jordan, especially in the Hexateuchal writer ‘E,’ and in Deuteronomy (as Gen. xlviii. 22; Deut. i. 7, 19, 20; Jos. xxiv. 15, 18), and occasionally besides (as Jud. i. 34, 35, vi. 10; 2 Sam. xxi. 2): see, more fully, the writer’s

whose height was like the height of the cedars, and he was strong as the oaks; yet I destroyed his fruit from above, and his roots from beneath. Also I brought you up out of 10 the land of Egypt, and led you forty years in the wilderness, to possess the land of the Amorite. And I raised up of 11 your sons for prophets, and of your young men for Nazirites.

Commentary on Deuteronomy, pp. 11—12. It is used here, evidently, in the second sense.

like the height of the cedars, &c.] A hyperbolic description of the stature and strength of the Amorites: cf. Num. xiii. 32; Deut. i. 28 (“a people greater and taller than we; cities great and fenced up to heaven”). The cedar was, among the Hebrews, the type of loftiness and grandeur (Is. ii. 13; Ez. xvii. 23, xxxi. 3).

his fruit from above, and his roots from beneath] i.e. *completely*, or, as we might say, *root and branch*: not only was the fruit which existed destroyed, but the stock from which fresh fruit might have been put forth afterwards was destroyed likewise. For the figure comp. Hos. ix. 16, Ez. xvii. 9; and especially Job xviii. 16, Is. xxxvii. 31, and the Inscription on the tomb of Eshmunazar, king of Sidon (*Corp. Inscr. Sem.* 1. i. p. 19), ll. 11—12 (an imprecation uttered against any one who violates the tomb); “may he have no root beneath, or fruit above, or any beauty among the living under the sun.”

10. *Also I brought you up, &c.*] as before, “And I (emph.)” &c. The providential guidance in the wilderness is instanced as a further motive to obedience, the appeal to it being made the more forcible and direct, by the change from the 1st to the 2nd person. Comp. the same motive, Deut. vi. 12, Hos. xiii. 4 (R.V. marg.), and elsewhere.

forty years] Deut. ii. 7, viii. 2, xxix. 5 (in nearly the same phrase) &c.

11—12. Further marks of God’s favour. He had not only bestowed on them material blessings; He had provided also for their moral and spiritual needs: He had raised up among them prophets to declare His will, and Nazirites to be examples of abstemious and godly living. But they had refused to listen to either.

11. *raised up*] Cf. Dt. xviii. 15, Jer. vi. 17: similarly of judges, Jud. ii. 16, 18; deliverers (*ib.* iii. 9, 15); a priest, 1 Sam. ii. 35; kings or other rulers, 2 Sam. vii. 8, Jer. xxiii. 4, 5, xxx. 9, Ez. xxxiv. 23. “God is said to *raise up*, when by His providence, or His grace, He calls forth those who had not been called before, for the office for which He designs them” (Dr Pusey on vi. 14).

for prophets] as Moses himself (Dt. xxxiv. 10; Hos. xii. 13), Samuel, Nathan, Gad, Ahijah, Shemaiah, Jehu son of Hanani, Micaiah son of Imlah, Elijah, and Elisha: to say nothing of many, not named individually (comp. 1 Sam. xxviii. 15; Hos. iv. 5, vi. 5, ix. 7, 8, xii. 10; ch. iii. 7, and on ch. vii. 14). A succession of prophets had, in various ways, by example and precept, held up before Israel the ideal of a righteous life: but Israel had refused to listen to them: cf. Hos. vi. 5,

Is it not even thus, O ye children of Israel? saith the LORD.

and especially ix. 7, 8, a passage which illustrates the opposition and hostility to which, in the age of Amos, the prophets were exposed. On the prophets in early Israel, see an excellent chapter in G. A. Smith's *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, I. 11—30 (cf. also pp. 44—58).

Nazirites] The Heb. *nāzīr* signifies properly one *separated* from the people at large, or *consecrated* (though without the special ideas attaching to *ḳādōsh*, holy), the particular direction in which the 'separation' in question takes effect being fixed by usage. Comp. the corresponding verb (in different applications), Hos. ix. 10; Lev. xv. 31, xxii. 2; Ez. xiv. 7; Zech. vii. 3; and with special reference to the 'separation' of the Nazirite, Numb. vi. 2, 3, 5, 6, 12: also the subst. *nēzer*, "separation," *ib. vv.* 4—21 (repeatedly). The Nazirites were men who, when the sensual and self-indulgent habits of the Canaanites threatened to make their way into Israel, endeavoured by a vow of abstinence to set an example of moderation and self-denial, which might help to preserve the old simplicity of Israelitish life. The chief obligations of the Nazirite were to abstain from all intoxicating drinks, to eat no "unclean" thing¹, and (according to Numb. vi. 6 f.) to avoid the ceremonial "uncleanness" occasioned by contact with a corpse: as a sign of his "separation" (cf. Numb. vi. 7 *end*), also, his hair was not shaved, but suffered to grow in its natural state². The only certain historical example of a Nazirite, mentioned in the O.T., is Samson (cf. Jud. xiii. 5, 7, 14, xvi. 17). Samuel, however, is often considered to have been a Nazirite (cf. 1 Sam. i. 11, 28), though the term itself is not actually applied to him³. But from the present passage it may be inferred that they formed a numerous class. The law regulating the vow of the Nazirite is codified in Numb. vi. 1—21; but this, in its present form, springs probably from a later age than that of Amos, and represents the form which the regulations on the subject finally assumed. Samson was dedicated to the life of a Nazirite before his birth, and so also was Samuel (if he is rightly treated as a Nazirite): but this, no doubt, was exceptional; it is implied by Amos that "young men," when they felt the inner call, spontaneously dedicated themselves to the ascetic life. The Rechabites (Jer. xxxv.), whose founder was a contemporary of Jehu's (2 Ki. x. 15 ff.), were a sect or guild, established with the same object of maintaining a simple habit of life, in contrast to the laxity and effeminacy too often prevalent in these cities. Amos regards the Nazirites as a living protest against the luxury and sensuality to which Israel was now too much addicted (cf. iv. 1, vi. 3—7); and sees in their appearance, as in that of the prophets, a mark of God's

¹ At least this may be inferred from the condition imposed upon Samson's mother (Jud. xiii. 4, 7, 14).

² Comp. with this the rule by which the Arabs, while a sacred obligation rests upon them (as the duty of blood-revenge, or during a pilgrimage) never shave their hair (Wellhausen, *Reste Arab. Heidentums*, pp. 116 ff.). Comp. also 1 Sam. i. 11 (of Samuel).

³ At least, until Ecclus. xlvi. 13 (Heb. and Syr.).

But ye gave the Nazirites wine to drink ; and commanded ¹² the prophets, saying, Prophecy not. Behold, ¹I will press ¹³ you in your place, as a cart presseth that is full of sheaves.

¹ Or, *I am pressed under you, as a cart is pressed that is full of sheaves*

care for the higher welfare of His people. See further, on the Nazirite, Nowack, *Hebr. Archäologie*, II. pp. 133—138.

saith Jehovah] more lit. “(’tis) *Jehovah’s whisper or oracle!*” a solemn asseverative interjection, usually thrown in parenthetically in the middle or at the end of a sentence. It is very common in the prophets, occurring for instance in this book, ii. 16, iii. 10, 13, 15, iv. 3, 5, 6, 8 &c. (in i. 8, 15, ii. 3, v. 16, 17, 27, vii. 3, ix. 15, on the contrary, the word is the usual one for *say*). Only very rarely is a human speaker the subject, if the reference be to some prophetic or oracular declaration (Num. xxiv. 3, 15; 2 Sam. xxiii. 1; Prov. xxx. 1; cf. Ps. xxxvi. 1). The word is in form a passive participle, from a verb which however does not appear to have been generally in use, though it is coined from the subst. for a special purpose in Jer. xxiii. 31 (“and say, ‘He saith’,” i.e. use this solemn prophetic formula without authority [cf. Ez. xiii. 6, 7]: more lit. “and oracle oracles”). The root in Arabic signifies *to utter a low sound*; and hence the Hebrew term probably denoted properly a *whispered or murmured utterance*, of a revelation heard quietly by the mental ear: cf. Job iv. 12 (though the word here rendered *whisper* is a different one); and the expression *to uncover the ear* (viz. to whisper something into it) said of a man, 1 Sam. xx. 2, 12, 13 *al.*, and of God, speaking to the mental ear, 1 Sam. ix. 15, Job xxxiii. 16, xxxvi. 10, 15; cf. 2 Sam. vii. 27.

12. But the Israelites had refused to respect either. They had tempted the Nazirites to break their vow; and had striven to silence the prophets.

Ye shall not prophesy] Cf. 1 Ki. xxii. 13—28 (Micaiah); Am. vii. 13, 16; Hos. ix. 8; Is. xxx. 10, 11; Mic. ii. 6; Jer. xi. 21, xx. 7—10.

13—16. The retribution.

13. *Behold, I will press you in your place, as a cart presseth &c.*] This is better than A.V. and R.V. marg. “Behold, I am pressed under you, as a cart is pressed &c.” The intransitive sense of the *Hifil* conjugation פָּעַל (properly, to *shew pressure, or constraint*), though just possible, cannot be said to be probable; and *Behold* (with the ptcp.) strongly supports the view that the verse introduces the description of the punishment. R.V. is supported by many ancient and modern expositors (Targ., Ibn Ezra, Kimchi; Ges., Ew., Keil, &c.). In Hebrew *beneath a person* is said idiomatically for *in his place, where he stands*: see e.g. Jud. vii. 21; Is. xxv. 10; Job xl. 12. Jehovah will press them where they stand, like a cart laden with sheaves, so that they will be held fast and unable to escape. The verb is, however, an

14 And ¹flight shall perish from the swift, and the strong shall
 not strengthen his force, neither shall the mighty deliver
 15 ²himself: neither shall he stand that handleth the bow;
 and he that is swift of foot shall not deliver *himself*: neither
 16 shall he that rideth the horse deliver ²himself: and he that
 is courageous among the mighty shall flee away naked in
 that day, saith the LORD.

¹ Or, *refuge shall fail the swift*

² Heb. *his soul, or, life.*

Aramaic rather than a Hebrew one; nor does it occur elsewhere in the O.T. (only two derivatives in Ps. lv. 4, lxvi. 11): it is properly the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebr. *הציק* to *constrain, distress* (Jud. xiv. 17; Jer. xix. 9; Is. xxix. 2, li. 13); and is used for it in the Targum of the three passages last quoted. It is doubtful, therefore, whether the text is correct. A plausible emendation is that of Wellh. (adopted with slight modification from Hitzig), *מַפִּיק* for *מַעִיק*, *תַּפְּוִיק* for *תַּעִיק*: "Behold, I will *make it totter* beneath you, as a cart *tottereth* that is full of sheaves": the ground will totter or give way under their feet,—the symbol of an approaching ruin.

14—16. A disaster, in which neither the swiftest nor the best equipped warrior will be able to escape, brings the kingdom of Israel to its end.

flight shall perish from the swift] rather **place of flight, refuge**; for *perish from* we should say *fail* (R.V. marg.). The idiom used occurs elsewhere, viz. Jer. xxv. 35; Job xi. 20 (as R.V. marg.); Ps. cxlii. 4 (A.V. "refuge failed me").

the strong shall not strengthen his force] i.e. not collect his powers; he will be unmanned in presence of the foe.

the mighty] or **the warrior**. The word means specifically one mighty in war: see Is. iii. 2; Jer. xlvi. 6, 12; Is. xlii. 13; Nah. ii. 4 (noticing in each case the context): in the plural it is the term used to denote David's select band of warriors, 2 Sam. xvi. 6, xxiii. 8, &c.

15. *stand*] i.e. *keep his place, or halt in the flight*: so Nah. ii. 8; Jer. xlvi. 21.

swift of foot] For this virtue of a warrior cf. 2 Sam. i. 23, ii. 18 (the same expression as here), 1 Ch. xii. 8.

deliver himself] As the text stands, *himself* must be understood from the next clause: but it is better, with a change of vowel-points, to read *yimmālēt*, which will itself mean 'deliver himself.'

16. *courageous*] lit. *strong* (cognate with *strengthen*, v. 14) *of his heart*: cf. Ps. xxvii. 14, xxxi. 24 ("Be firm; and let thy (your) heart shew strength," i.e. let it take courage). *Mighty*, as v. 14.

naked] having thrown off everything, whether weapon, or armour, or article of dress, which might encumber him in his flight.

Hear this word that the LORD hath spoken against you, **3**
 O children of Israel, against the whole family which I
 brought up out of the land of Egypt, saying, You only **2**
 have I known of all the families of the earth: therefore I

PART II. CHAPTERS III.—VI.

In the second part of Amos's book the indictment and sentence of ii. 6—16 are further developed and justified. It consists of three main discourses, each introduced by the solemn opening words, *Hear ye this word* (iii. 1, iv. 1, v. 1).

CHAPTER III.

Amos begins by rudely shaking the Israelites from their security. The Israelites argued that the fact of Jehovah's having chosen the nation was a guarantee of its safety; but the prophet replies, You mistake the conditions of His choice; for that very reason He will punish you for your iniquities (iii. 1—2). Nor does the prophet say this without a real power constraining him: can any effect in nature take place without a sufficient cause? (iii. 3—8). Let the heathen themselves testify if *justice* rules in Samaria! (iii. 9 f.) Ere long, Jehovah will visit Israel: its pride and luxury will be brought to a sudden end, its palaces will be spoiled, and its altars thrown down (iii. 11—15).

1. *the whole family*] The expression used includes naturally Judah, though, as the context shews, Amos is practically thinking only of Israel. For *family*, used in the sense of a whole people, cf. *v.* 2; Jer. viii. 3; Mic. ii. 3.

2. *You only &c.*] The pron. is emphatic by its position, in the Heb., as in the English.

known] i.e. known favourably, noticed, regarded: so Gen. xviii. 19, "I have *known* him, to the end that he may command his children and his household after him, that they may keep the way of Jehovah," &c.; Hos. xiii. 5, "I did *know* thee in the wilderness, in the land of great drought"; Ps. i. 6, xxxvii. 18, and elsewhere. Israel was the only nation whom Jehovah 'knew' in this special sense, and visited with the tokens of His friendship.

families of the earth] Gen. xii. 3, xxviii. 14.

therefore I will visit upon you &c.] The Israelites argued, from the privileges bestowed upon them, that they were the recipients of God's favour, irrespectively of their deeds: Amos retorts that, so far from this being the case, their privileges augment their responsibilities: instead of proving Himself their saviour, whether they are obedient to His will or not, He will, if they are disobedient, *visit their iniquities upon them*. So in Jer. vii. the men of Judah point to the material Temple in their midst as the palladium of their security; but the prophet retorts in a similar strain, that, if they desire to merit Jehovah's protection, and wish Jerusalem to escape the fate of Shiloh, they must

3 will visit upon you all your iniquities. Shall two walk
4 together, except they have ¹agreed? Will a lion roar in the forest, when he hath no prey? will a young lion cry out of

¹ Or, *made an appointment*

'amend their ways,' and practise more consistently than they have done hitherto the ordinances of civil righteousness (Jer. vii. 3—15).

visit upon you] So the same phrase is often rendered, *v.* 14; Ex. xx. 5; Jer. v. 9, 29, xxiii. 2 (but *punish*, xi. 22, xxv. 12, xxix. 32, &c.). The expression is particularly frequent in Jeremiah.

iniquities] the conventional, and sufficient rendering of 'āwōn. Etymologically, however, as Arabic shews (where the corresponding verb *ghawā* means *to err*, or *go astray*), the idea expressed by it is that of *deviation from the right track, error*: so the corresponding verb, 2 Sam. vii. 14, xxiv. 17; 1 Ki. viii. 47 *al.* Comp. the writer's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel*, on 1 Sam. xx. 30.

3—8. Such a severe rebuke might provoke contradiction among the prophet's hearers: he therefore proceeds to indicate the authority upon which it rests, arguing by means of a series of illustrations drawn from the facts of common life, that every event or occurrence in nature implies the operation of some cause adequate to produce it: if, therefore, he has spoken such a word, it is because there has been a sufficient cause impelling him to do so. The questions, it is obvious, require in each case a negative answer.

3—5. Examples of sights, or sounds, from which the action of some proper or sufficient cause may, in each case, be inferred.

3. *Shall two walk together*] If one sees two persons walking together, it may be inferred that, either at the time or previously, they have come to some agreement to do so. The example may have been suggested by Amos's experience of the wild moorlands of Tekoa, or of the desert regions of Judah, in which "men meet and take the same road by chance as seldom as ships at sea" (G. A. Smith, p. 82)¹.

have agreed] lit. *have appointed themselves* (or *each other*), i.e. *have met by agreement* (Job ii. 11; Jos. xi. 5), or *have agreed to be together*.

4. *when he hath no prey*] i.e. when it is not within his reach: the roar is that with which the lion springs upon its prey: cf. Is. v. 29 *a* (not *v.* 29 *b*, where the word used is a different one; see below); Ps. civ. 21, "roaring for prey"; Ez. xxii. 25, "like a roaring lion, tearing the prey."

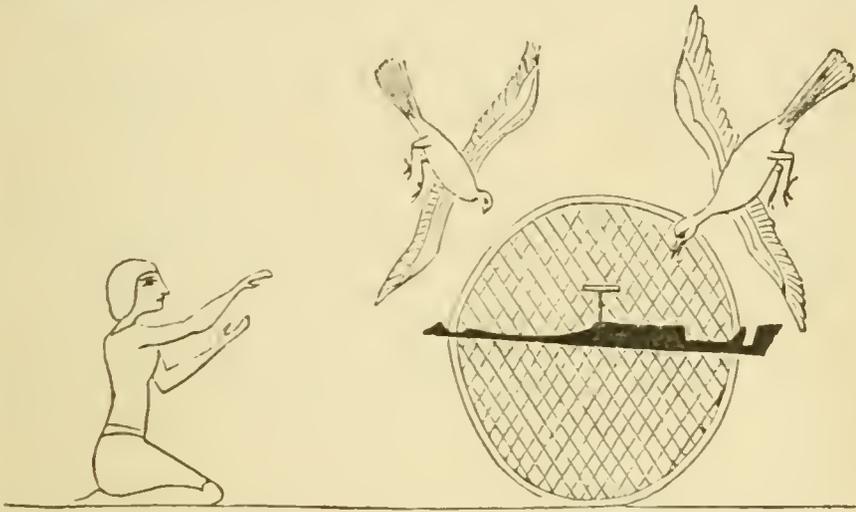
cry out of his den, if he have taken nothing?] **give forth his voice**

¹ [Dr Driver, therefore, takes this as a perfectly general illustration of cause and effect. But attempts have been made to give it a more specific meaning. So e.g. (1) the two represent Jehovah and His people, the covenant between whom is now at an end; (2) they represent Jehovah and the prophet, and lay stress on the authority of the prophet's message; (3) they represent the agreement between various prophets. If a more specific meaning is sought for, the first is the most probable. In the next verse the lion is taken by many scholars to represent Assyria, whose attack is so near at hand that "the lion's roar" can already be heard.]

his den, if he have taken nothing? Can a bird fall in a snare upon the earth, where no gin is set for him? shall a snare spring up from the ground, and have taken nothing

(Jer. ii. 15) *out of his lair*, &c.? the allusion is to the growl of satisfaction with which the animal consumes its prey when caught: hence 'growl,' would be a better paraphrase than 'cry': see Is. v. 29 *b* (where 'roar'—*nāham*, not *shā'ag*, as in clause *a*—should be rather *growl*: cf. W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 129, 243).

5. Will a bird fall into a net upon the earth, when there is no bait for it? The *pah* must have been a kind of net; not improbably like the bird-traps figured in Wilkinson-Birch, *Ancient Egyptians*, ed. 1878, II. 103, consisting of network strained over two semicircular flaps, moving on a common axis: this was laid upon the ground, and when the bait



An ancient Egyptian Bird-trap. (From Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, 1878, II. 103.)

in the middle was touched by a bird, the two flaps, by a mechanical contrivance, flew up and closed, entrapping the bird.

gin] bait. The *môkēsh* (lit. a *fowling-instrument*) is shewn by the present passage to have been something connected with the *pah*, without which the latter was useless: elsewhere it often denotes metaphorically that which *allures* a person to destruction (e.g. Ex. xxiii. 33; Deut. vii. 16; 1 Sam. xviii. 21): hence it must have been something more definite than *gin*, and probably corresponded nearly to what we should term the bait.

will a net spring up from the ground without taking (something)?] The construction of the *pah* was such that the flaps would not start up from the ground without a bird being there for the net to enclose.

6—8. Similarly the horn is a signal of danger; calamity is a sign that Jehovah has willed it; and the appearance of a prophet is an indication that Jehovah has sent him.

6 at all? Shall the trumpet be blown in a city, and the people not be afraid? shall evil befall a city, and the LORD hath not done it? Surely the Lord GOD will do nothing, but he revealeth his secret unto his servants the prophets. The lion hath roared, who will not fear? the Lord GOD hath spoken, who can but prophesy?

6. Is a horn (ii. 2) blown in a city, and are the people not in alarm?] Of course they are: for they know it to be the signal of approaching danger. The horn was blown as a summons to repel an invader, &c. (Hos. v. 8; Jer. vi. 1; Ez. xxxiii. 3 f.; 1 Cor. xiv. 8).

will evil happen in a city, and Jehovah hath not done it?] Will evil—i.e. calamity, misfortune, as 1 Sam. vi. 9—happen in a city without having its sufficient cause in Jehovah's purpose? The Hebrews often took no account of what we term 'secondary causes'; and a calamity, such as famine or pestilence, which might be the natural consequence of some physical antecedent, is thus referred here directly to Jehovah's operation.

7. Surely] For,—the reason, however, following not in v. 7 but in v. 8 (to which v. 7 is subordinate): 'I give all these examples of events and occurrences in nature being due regularly to their proper cause, for Jehovah does nothing without communicating His purpose to His prophets, and when He does so the call to declare it is an irresistible one (v. 8)': hence when the prophet speaks, and especially when he comes forward with a message such as that contained in v. 2, it may be inferred that it is because he has heard Jehovah's voice commanding him to do so.

doeth nothing, except he have revealed &c.] An exaggeration, of course, of the actual fact; but Amos means naturally nothing of importance, so far as Israel was concerned. Prophets, whose mission it was to guide and advise Israel, appeared at all important crises in the national history.

secret] Heb. *sōd*, properly *friendly or confidential conversation* (ὁμιλία, which the corresponding word in Syriac is often used to express), Ps. lv. 14: then, on the one hand, *friendliness, friendship* (Job xxix. 4; Ps. xxv. 14; Pr. iii. 32,—as R.V. marg. in these passages), and in a more concrete sense, a *secret* (Prov. xxv. 9); on the other hand, a body holding confidential intercourse together, a *council* or *conclave*, of familiar friends (Job xix. 19, R.V. marg.; Jer. xv. 17). In the latter sense *sōd* occurs in two passages illustrating the present one, Jer. xxiii. 18, 22, where Jeremiah implies that the true prophets have access to the "council" of Jehovah, and preach the principles which are there approved (cf. Job xv. 8, R.V. marg.; also Ps. lxxxix. 7).

his servants the prophets] An expression otherwise used chiefly by writers of the age of Jeremiah (2 Ki. xvii. 13, 23, xxi. 10, xxiv. 2; Jer. vii. 25, xxv. 4, xxvi. 5, xxix. 19, xxxv. 15; Ex. xxxviii. 17; also Zech. i. 6; Dan. ix. 10).

Publish ye ¹in the palaces at Ashdod, and ¹in the palaces 9
 in the land of Egypt, and say, Assemble yourselves upon
 the mountains of Samaria, and behold what great tumults
 are therein, and what oppressions in the midst thereof.
 For they know not to do right, saith the LORD, who store 10
 up violence and robbery in their palaces. Therefore thus 11
 saith the Lord GOD: An adversary *there shall be*, even

¹ Or, *upon*

9—10. The heathen themselves are invited to bear witness whether the sins of Samaria do not deserve judgement.

Publish &c.] **Proclaim it** (lit. *make it to be heard*) **over the palaces at Ashdod, &c.**, i.e. on their flat roofs, whence all can hear (cf. Matth. x. 27): the nobles of Ashdod (i. 8) and Egypt are to be invited to come and judge for themselves of the moral condition of Samaria. The persons addressed may be the prophets; or, more probably, those, whoever they might be, capable of bearing the message; cf. Is. xl. 1, lvii. 14, lxii. 11; Jer. v. 1, 10, 20, &c.

the mountains of Samaria] i.e. surrounding Samaria. Samaria, the hill which Omri fortified and made his capital (1 Ki. xvi. 24), and which, in the days of its prosperity, must have presented to the eye an imposing 'crown' (Is. xxviii. 1) of battlements, is a fine rounded eminence, standing in the centre of a magnificent amphitheatre of mountains, with the Mediterranean visible through a gap in the distance. Upon these mountains the prophet pictures the inhabitants of the palaces of Ashdod and Egypt assembled, for the purpose of looking down into the Israelite capital and observing the malpractices rampant within her.

what great tumults] or *confusions, disorders*, the result of a state in which might rules over right. Cf. Ez. xxii. 5 (of Jerusalem).

what oppressions] cf. Job xxxv. 9; Jer. vi. 6; Ez. xxii. 7, 12, 29.

10. *know not to do right*] Wrong-doing has become their second nature. *Right* (a rare word) is properly *what is straight in front*, fig. *clear, true, straightforward* (Is. xxvi. 10, lix. 14; 2 Sam. xv. 3).

store up violence and robbery in their palaces] The nobles and great men, in Samaria as in Jerusalem (Is. i. 23, iii. 14, &c.) the irresponsible oppressors of the poor, are referred to: they accumulate treasures, but as these are amassed by *violence and robbery*, they in reality treasure up violence and robbery in their palaces (cf. Is. iii. 14, *end*).

robbery] A strong word, implying violent treatment, and often more adequately represented by *wasting* or *devastation* (cf. v. 9; cf. on Joel, p. 83). Coupled with *violence*, as here, Jer. vi. 7, xx. 8, Ez. xlv. 9, Hab. i. 3 (R.V. *spoil* or *spoiling*).

11—15. The sentence.

An adversary] or *Distress*, a rendering which most moderns prefer.

there shall be, even round about] The Hebrew is harsh: a very slight change, supported by Pesh. (סָבַב for וְסָבַב), yields *shall surround* (or *encircle*), which is to be preferred.

round about the land: and he shall bring down thy strength
 12 from thee, and thy palaces shall be spoiled. Thus saith
 the LORD: As the shepherd rescueth out of the mouth of
 the lion two legs, or a piece of an ear; so shall the children
 of Israel be rescued that sit in Samaria in the corner of a
 13 couch, and ¹on the silken cushions of a bed. Hear ye,

¹ According to some ancient versions and MSS., *in
 Damascus on a bed.*

he shall bring down thy strength] or, *thy strength shall be brought down*, as the same Hebrew may be rendered (Ges.-Kautzsch, § 144. 3^a), though Wellh. would read *hîrad* for *hîrîd*. The foe will encircle the land; the strong 'crown' of Samaria will be 'brought down' to the ground (cf. Dt. xxviii. 52; Ez. xxx. 6; Is. xxviii. 2 *b*); and its palaces (*v.* 10) will be plundered.

12. So sudden will be the surprise, so overwhelming the numbers of the foe, that of the luxurious nobles of Samaria only an insignificant remnant will escape with their bare lives: all the rest will be swept away by the foe.

As the shepherd rescueth &c.] A shepherd would bring such remains of a missing animal to his master, as evidence that it had really been torn by beasts (Ex. xxii. 13; cf. Gen. xxxi. 39). The comparison, which is suggested no doubt by the experiences of Amos's shepherd life, illustrates forcibly both the scant numbers and the shattered condition of the survivors, besides hinting at the formidable powers of the assailant.

that sit in Samaria in the corner of a divan] The grandees of Samaria are represented as sitting luxuriously in the cushioned corners of their divans. In Assyria the king reclined, or sat up, on a couch beside the table, leaning his weight upon his left elbow, and having his right hand free and disposable (see the representation in Rawlinson's *Anc. Monarchies*, ed. 4, I. 493). In the modern oriental houses of the wealthy (Van Lennep, *Bible Customs in Bible Lands*, p. 460, referred to by Mitchell), a 'divan,' or cushioned seat, about a yard in width, extends along three sides of the principal room, while a row of richly woven stuffed cushions lines the wall behind, and forms a support for the back: the seat of honour is the inmost corner of the divan, opposite the door. In some such luxurious state the magnates of Samaria sat in Amos's day. The framework of the seat was often inlaid with ivory (*vi.* 4).

and on the silken cushions of a bed] The word rendered "silken cushions" (*d'mēseq*) is very like "Damascus" (*dammeseq*). Hence R.V. marg., which agrees closely with A.V. But the mention of Damascus seems entirely out of place here. The R.V. rendering yields an excellent sense; but it cannot be regarded as certain: for (1) it is doubtful whether, in the time of Amos, Damascus was yet celebrated for the manufacture which in modern European languages is

and testify against the house of Jacob, saith the Lord God, the God of hosts. For in the day that I shall visit the 14 transgressions of Israel upon him, I will also visit the altars

called after it: (2) in Arabic also, the name of the material (*dīmakš*), which has been appealed to in support of this explanation, differs from that of the city (*Dimaksh*); hence it is very questionable whether it really derives its name from it. It is considered by Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, p. 40, to be varied by metathesis from *midakš*, a form which also occurs, and which in its turn is derived from the Syr. *mītakš*, which is the Greek *μέταξα*. Whatever uncertainty there may be about the word, it must, however, either be, or be the corrupt representative of, a term either synonymous or parallel with *corner*, in the preceding clause.

13. *Hear ye, and testify against, &c.*] The persons addressed might be the heathen nobles of Philistia and Egypt (*v. 9 b*). But in view of the fact that they are not to *see*, but to *hear*, and that it is the divine sentence in *v. 14* which is to be virtually the subject of their testimony, it is probable that, as in *v. 9 a*, ideal bearers of the divine message are intended by the prophet. *Testify*, i.e. *declare solemnly*, as Gen. xliii. 3; Deut. viii. 19; Ps. l. 7, lxxx. 8; and frequently.

the Lord Jehovah, the God of hosts] In iv. 13, v. 14, 15, vi. 8, 14, Hos. xii. 5, "Jehovah, the God of hosts"; in ch. v. 27, "the God of hosts"; in v. 16, "Jehovah the God of hosts, the Lord"; in ix. 5, "The Lord, Jehovah of hosts"; in the prophets generally, simply "Jehovah of hosts." The finest and most expressive of Jehovah's titles, used pre-eminently by the prophets, and designating Him, in a word, as the *Omnipotent*. See the Additional Note, p. 235 f.

14—15. The thought of *v. 11* is further developed. The ruin will be complete: the idolatrous altars, and the sumptuous palaces, will alike be involved in it.

14. *visit*] Cf. on *v. 2*.

I will also visit] **I will visit**: there is no 'also'; the **י**, by a common Hebrew idiom, merely introduces the verbal predicate.

the altars of Beth-el] Beth-el, now *Beitin*, was in Amos's day the principal sanctuary of the northern kingdom. It lay on the sloping side of a low hill about 10 miles N. of Jerusalem, on the right hand of the great route leading northwards to Shechem and Samaria. It must have been regarded as a sacred spot from very early times: its *mazzēbāh*, or sacred stone pillar, was connected by tradition with a memorable occasion in the life of the patriarch Jacob (Gen. xxviii. 10—22, cf. xxxv. 1—8; Hos. xii. 4); it is alluded to as a sanctuary in 1 Sam. x. 3; and its time-honoured sanctity, taken in conjunction with its situation at the extreme south of Jeroboam's kingdom, on the immediate route to Jerusalem, no doubt led him to select it as one of his chief sanctuaries (1 Ki. xii. 28—33). Here he established one of the two calves of gold,

of Beth-el, and the horns of the altar shall be cut off, and
5 fall to the ground. And I will smite the winter house with
the summer house; and the houses of ivory shall perish,

erected an altar, and instituted a priesthood to serve it (*ib.* : cf. Am. vii. 10). Amos represents Beth-el as being the most popular sanctuary of the northern kingdom: it was under the special patronage of the king (vii. 13); altars (in the plural) had taken the place of the single altar of Jeroboam I. (1 Ki. xiii. 1); the sanctuary was crowded with worshippers (Am. ix. 1); an elaborate ritual was observed there (iv. 4, 5), and the houses of the wealthy were numerous (iii. 15). Comp. also v. 5; Hos. iv. 15, x. 5, 8, 15. The altar and sanctuary of Beth-el were finally destroyed by Josiah (2 Ki. xxiii. 15). At present Beth-el is nothing more than a poor village, containing, it is said, about 400 persons. See Rob. *B.R.* i. 448 f.; Stanley, *S. and P.* pp. 217—223; *Memoirs of the P. E. F. Survey*, II. 295 f.; Moore, *Comm. on Judges*, pp. 40, 42, 433.

the horns of the altar] which conferred the right of asylum upon those who laid hold of them (see 1 Ki. i. 50, 51, ii. 28): but even this refuge should fail Israel in the day of visitation, which Amos here foresees. On the 'horns' of the altar, see also Jer. xvii. 1; Ez. xliii. 15, 20; Ex. xxvii. 2 (on the altar of burnt-offering); xxx. 2 (on the altar of incense); Ps. cxviii. 27. They were an important adjunct to the altar: and at least in the ritual of the Temple at Jerusalem the ceremonial of atonement could in many cases only be completed upon them (Lev. iv. 7, 18, 25, 30, 34). A stelè from Teima (S.E. of Edom), containing an interesting Aramaic inscription, shews the 'horns' rising from the corner of an altar, and curved like those of an ox (Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Sardinia, Judaea, &c.*, I. 304).

15. *the winter house*] See Jer. xxxvi. 22.

with the summer house] Eglon (Jud. iii. 20) had a "cool upper story," i.e. an additional apartment, built on the flat roof of the house, with latticed windows, allowing free circulation for the air (cf. Moore, *Judges*, pp. 96, 97 f.); but here separate buildings, such as the wealthy might be able to indulge in, appear to be intended. Both terms are to be understood collectively, and not confined to the royal palaces alone. An interesting illustration of the passage has been supplied recently by an almost contemporary inscription from Zinjirli, near Aleppo, in which Bar-*rekūb*, king of Sham'al, vassal (lit. *servant*, 2 Ki. xvi. 7) of Tiglath-pileser (תגלתפליסר), says he has beautified his father's house in honour of his ancestors, the kings of Sham'al (i.e. as a mausoleum), "and it is for them a *summer-house* and a *winter-house*¹" (i.e. for perpetual use).

houses of ivory] i.e. houses of which the walls were panelled or inlaid

¹ פהא בית שתוא להם והא בית ביצא (Sachau in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 22 Oct. 1896, p. 1052). The inscription may be read now also in Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der Nord-sem. Inschriften* (1898), p. 443 f.

and ¹the great houses shall have an end, saith the LORD.

Hear this word, ye kine of Bashan, that are in the **4** mountain of Samaria, which oppress the poor, which crush

¹ Or, *many*

with ivory (cf. Ps. xlv. 8; also ch. vi. 4). Ahab (1 Ki. xxii. 39), it seems, had found imitators.

the great houses] rather *many houses* (marg.): cf. Is. v. 9. "The desolation should be wide as well as mighty" (Pusey).

CHAPTER IV.

A new section of the prophecy begins here. It consists of two parts, the first (*vv.* 1—3) addressed to the women of Samaria; the second (*vv.* 4—13) to the people generally. In *vv.* 1—3 Amos denounces the heartless luxury and self-indulgence of the wealthy ladies of the capital; in *vv.* 4—13 he points ironically to the zeal with which the Israelites perform their religious rites, as though a mere external ceremonial could guarantee their safety (*vv.* 4—5); again and again Jehovah has shewn signs of His displeasure; but again and again the warning has passed unheeded (*vv.* 6—11): now at last His patience is exhausted, and Israel must prepare to meet its doom (*vv.* 12—13).

1—3. The women of Samaria.

1. *Hear this word*] iv. 1, v. 1.

ye kine of Bashan] Bashan was the fertile region on the E. of Jordan, bounded on the S. by the Jarmuk, and a line passing through Edrei to Salecah, on the W. by Geshur and Maacah, on the N. extending towards Hermon (cf. Jos. xii. 1, 5), and on the E. as far as the Jebel Hauran, some 40 miles E.S.E. of the Sea of Galilee. The soil of Bashan consists in many parts of a rich disintegrated lava, and is extremely fertile. The name (which here, as usually in Heb., has the article) means probably *a stoneless and fertile plain* (see Wetzstein in Delitzsch's *Job*, ed. 2, pp. 557 f.). Its pasture-grounds are alluded to in Mic. vii. 14, and its oak-forests (Is. ii. 13; Zech. xi. 2) in Golan on the W., and on the slopes of the Jebel Hauran on the E., are still often mentioned by travellers: its strong and well-nourished herds (Dt. xxxii. 14; Ez. xxxix. 18) are in Ps. xxii. 12 symbols of the Psalmist's wild and fierce assailants. The wealthy ladies of Samaria are here called *kine of Bashan*, because they live a life of purely animal existence, proudly and contentedly going their own way, resenting interference, and intent solely upon their own food and enjoyment.

which oppress the poor, which crush the needy] The same two words in parallelism, 1 Sam. xii. 3, 4, Dt. xxviii. 33: cf. the corresponding substantives, Jer. xxii. 17. The word rendered *oppress* has often the force of *defraud*, Lev. xix. 13, Dt. xxiv. 14 (note the context), 1 Sam. xii. 3, 4 (where it is so rendered); cf. *oppression*, Jer. xxii. 17.

the needy, which say unto their lords, Bring, and let us
 2 drink. The Lord GOD hath sworn by his holiness, that, lo,
 the days shall come upon you, that they shall take you away
 3 with hooks, and your residue with fish hooks. And ye
 shall go out at the breaches, every one straight before
 her; ¹and ye shall cast *yourselves* into Harmon, saith the
 LORD.

¹ The ancient versions vary in their rendering of this clause.
 The text is probably corrupt.

The wages, or other dues, unjustly withheld from the poor, enabled the ladies of Samaria the more readily to indulge their own luxurious and expensive tastes.

lords] i.e. husbands (Gen. xviii. 12; Ps. xlv. 11 &c.). They press their husbands to supply them with the means for enjoying a joint carouse.

2. Jehovah's indignation is aroused; and He *swears* (cf. vi. 8, viii. 7), that retribution will overtake them for such selfishness and cruelty.

hath sworn by his holiness] God's holiness is made the pledge of the validity of the oath: so Ps. lxxxix. 35; cf. Jer. xlv. 26.

behold, days are coming &c.] The expression implies a sudden and unexpected reversal of what at present prevails: it occurs besides, viii. 11, ix. 13; 1 Sam. ii. 31; 2 Ki. xx. 17 (= Is. xxxix. 6), and fifteen times in Jeremiah (vii. 32, ix. 24, xvi. 14, xix. 6, xxiii. 5, 7, xxx. 3, &c.).

they shall take you away with hooks &c.] rather, *ye shall be taken &c.* The image is one partly of ignominy, partly of helplessness. The women of Samaria are no longer like fat cattle, proudly disdainful of all who may approach them: they are dragged violently by the foe out of the ease and luxury of their palaces, like fishes out of their native element, the water.

your residue] any of you who happen to escape the 'hooks' of the preceding clause. It is a *total* destruction which the prophet contemplates.

3. *shall go out at the breaches*] Amos pictures Samaria as captured, and the self-indulgent ladies forced to leave the city, as captives, through the breaches made in the walls by the foe.

every one straight before her] forced to go on in the train of captives, unable to turn aside or go back to save anything which she has left behind her,—perhaps (if the fig. of v. 1 be still in the prophet's mind) "as a herd of cows go one after another through a gap in a fence." For the Hebrew idiom employed, see Jos. vi. 5, 20.

and ye shall cast yourselves into Harmon] The words are very obscure; and indeed, in all probability, corrupt. Perhaps we should read, with the alteration of a vowel-point in the verb (supported by Sept. Pesh. Vulg.), *and ye shall be cast into Harmon*: Harmon would then be the name of the place of exile, or disgrace, into which they were to be 'cast' or 'flung': the word is used mostly of a corpse, as

Come to Beth-el, and transgress; to Gilgal, *and* multiply 4
transgression; and bring your sacrifices every morning,

Jer. xxii. 19, but not always so (see Jer. xxii. 28, 'cast into'). No place, however, named Harmon is known; nor is the word an appellative in Hebrew. Some of the ancients saw in 'Harmonah' an allusion to Armenia: thus the Targ. renders, 'And they shall carry you into exile beyond the mountains of Harmini'; Pesh. 'And they shall be cast to the mountain of Armenia'; Symm. 'into Armenia'; cf. Jerome (in his note), "Et projiciemini in locis Armeniæ, quæ vocantur Armona." In this case we should read, for הַהַרְמוֹנָה, הַר מִנִּי: in Jer. li. 27 *Minni* (Targ. *Harmini*, as here; Pesh. *Armenia*) is the name of a people on the S.E. of Ararat, the *Mannai* of the Assyrian Inscriptions (Schrader, *K.A.T.*² pp. 423 f.); this would yield a sense in harmony with v. 27 ("beyond Damascus"). It is however doubtful whether it is the original reading; very possibly the corruption lies deeper, and the original reading is irrecoverable¹.

4—13. Here the people at large are addressed by the prophet, perhaps at some festal religious gathering.

4. *Come to Beth-el, and transgress &c.*] The words are meant of course ironically. Amos bids the people *come to Beth-el*, the principal and most splendid centre of their worship, *and transgress, to Gilgal*, another representative centre, *and multiply transgression*: their religious services, partly on account of the moral unfitness of the worshippers (ii. 6—9), partly on account of the unspiritual character of their worship, have no value in Jehovah's eyes, they are but *transgression*,—or, more exactly (see on i. 3), *rebellion*.

Gilgal] alluded to also in ch. v. 5, Hos. iv. 15, ix. 15, xii. 11, as a seat of the idolatrous worship of Jehovah. It was the first camping-spot of the Israelites on the west of Jordan (Jos. iv. 19, 20), and it is alluded to frequently as an important place (1 S. vii. 16, xi. 14, 15, xv. 12, 21, 2 S. xix. 15). That it lay in the Jordan valley, between the Jordan and Jericho, is evident from Jos. iv. 19, v. 10; but the actual site of Gilgal was only recovered by Zschokke in 1865 at *Tell Jiljâl*, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Jordan, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from *Eriha* (Jericho)². In Jos. v. 9 the name is connected with *gâlal*, to roll away; but it means really a *wheel* (Is. xxviii. 28), or *circle*,—in particular, a *circle of stones*, or, as we might say, a *cromlech*, such as Jos. iv. 20 shews must have stood there in historical times. (In the Heb., the word has always the article, implying that the appellative sense, "the Circle," was still felt).

every morning...every three days] Generally understood as an ironical exaggeration: *bring your sacrifices every morning*, instead of, as the

[¹ The A.V. rendering "and ye shall cast them into the palace" takes הַהַרְמוֹנָה as=הַאֲרָמוֹנָה. Hitzig would read "ye shall be cast out to Hadad-Rimmon" i.e. to serve as "holy women" in a heathen temple. But Hadad-Rimmon is unknown as the name of a god.]

² This is the ordinary view; but G. A. Smith (*The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, p. 79; cf. p. 37) and Buhl (*Geogr. des alten Pal.*, 1896, p. 202 f.) think that the Gilgal of Am. and Hos. is the modern *Juléjil*, on the E. of the plain in front of Ebal and Gerizim (cf. Deut. xi. 30). See further G. A. Smith's art. GILGAL in the *Encyclop. Biblica*.

5 *and your tithes every three days; and* ¹offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving of that which is leavened, and proclaim free-

¹ Heb. *offer by burning.*

practice was, once a year (1 S. i. 3, 7, 21); and *your tithes every three days*, instead of, as it may be inferred from Dt. xiv. 28, xxvi. 12 was an ancient custom, every three years. Still the exaggeration thus implied would be somewhat extreme; and Wellhausen (who is followed by Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* II. 258) adopts another rendering (which the Hebrew equally permits), viz. "*in the morning...on the third day,*" supposing it to have been the custom of the pilgrims to bring their sacrifices on the morning after their arrival at Beth-el, and to pay their tithes on the third day. The routine of sacrifice is punctiliously observed: but the moral and spiritual temper of which it should be the expression is absent.

The custom of paying tithes was not peculiar to the Hebrews, but prevailed widely in antiquity: the Greeks, for instance, often rendered a tithe to the gods, on spoil taken in war, on the annual crops, on profits made by commerce, &c. By religious minds it was regarded as an expression of gratitude to the Deity, for the good things sent by Him to man; but it was often exacted as a fixed impost, payable, for instance, by the inhabitants of a particular district, for the maintenance of a priesthood or sanctuary. In the oldest Hebrew legislation, the "Book of the Covenant" (Ex. xxi.—xxiii.), no mention is made of tithes; but in the Deuteronomic legislation (7th cent. B.C.) the payment of tithes upon *vegetable* produce appears as an established custom, which the legislator partly presupposes, and partly regulates (Dt. xii. 6, 11, 17, xiv. 22—29, xxvi. 12). In Deut., in accordance with one of the fundamental aims of the book, payment at the central sanctuary (i.e. Jerusalem) is strongly insisted on: this passage shews that, at least in the Northern kingdom, it was customary to pay tithes at Beth-el. Probably, as Beth-el was an ancient sanctuary, this was a long-established practice there, the origin of which it seems to be the intention of Gen. xxviii. 22 to attribute to the vow of the patriarch, Jacob. See further, on Hebrew tithe, and especially on the discrepancies between the Deuteronomic and the priestly legislation on the subject, the writer's *Commentary on Deuteronomy*, pp. 168—173.

5. *offer*] **make into sweet smoke** (the Homeric *κνλση* II. 1. 319), a term used technically of the consumption of sacrifices upon the altar (Lev. i. 9, &c.). The idea is that of a repast: comp. Gen. viii. 19. The root *katara* in Arabic signifies *to exhale an odour in roasting*.

a sacrifice of thanksgiving] The *tôdâh*, or thanksgiving-offering, of Jer. xvii. 26, xxxiii. 11; Lev. vii. 12, 13, 15, xxii. 29; 2 Ch. xxix. 31, xxxiii. 16; Ps. lvi. 12, c. *title*, cvii. 22, cxvi. 17.

of that which is leavened] "Leaven,"—a term including, as Lev. ii. 11 shews, not only yeast, but also *dibs* or grape-honey,—was forbidden as an ingredient in sacrifices (Ex. xxiii. 18; Lev. ii. 11, vi. 17) on account of its liability to putrefy. In Lev. vii. 14 cakes of leavened bread are,

will offerings and publish them: for this liketh you, O ye children of Israel, saith the Lord GOD. And I also have 6

it is true, to be offered *with* the thanksgiving-offering; they are not, however, to be consumed upon the altar, but to be eaten by the offerer, with the flesh of the offering, at a sacrificial feast: the leaven was thus not a part of the sacrifice itself. The custom of not offering leaven prevailed, it may be inferred, at Beth-el: the Israelites of Amos's day, however, with mistaken zeal, thought to make their thanksgiving-offerings more acceptable by using yeast or grape-honey in their preparation. It is not improbable that luscious sacrifices of this kind were a feature in the Canaanite worship of Baal, and were for this reason viewed with particular disfavour by the prophet (cf. Hos. iii. 1; W. R. Smith, *O.T. F.C.*¹ p. 434; *Rel. Sem.*² p. 220 f.).

proclaim free-will offerings and publish them] i.e. announce them ostentatiously (cf. Matth. vi. 2, xxiii. 5), and invite all the world to the sacrificial feast accompanying them. The *free-will* offerings are such as were prompted by the spontaneous devotion of the worshipper: they are mentioned in Dt. xii. 6, 17 as a common form of sacrifice.

this liketh you] lit. *so ye love* (Jer. v. 31): this is what pleases you; act accordingly: it is not Jehovah's choice, and will not deliver you from the impending doom. *To like* in Old English = *to please*: so Deut. xxiii. 16, Est. viii. 8.

6—11. The five unheeded chastisements which have passed over Israel. The description of each ends with the pathetic refrain, indicating its failure to produce the desired effect, "Yet have ye not returned unto me, saith Jehovah" (cf. the refrain of Is. ix. 12, 17, 21, x. 4).

"In the ancient world, it was a settled belief that natural calamities like those here alluded to were the effects of the deity's wrath. When Israel suffers from them the prophets take for granted that they are for the people's punishment...And although some, perhaps rightly, have scoffed at the exaggerated form of the belief, that God is angry with the sons of men every time drought or floods happen, yet the instinct is sound which in all ages has led religious people to feel that such things are inflicted for moral purposes. In the economy of the universe there may be ends of a purely physical kind served by such disasters apart altogether from their meaning to man. But man at least learns from them that nature does not exist solely for feeding, clothing, and keeping him wealthy...Amos had the more need to explain those disasters as the work of God and His righteousness, because his contemporaries, while willing to grant Jehovah leadership in war, were tempted to attribute to the Canaanite gods of the land all power over the seasons" (G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, I. p. 162 f.; cf. *Geogr.* pp. 73—76).

6. Famine.

And I also] i.e. And I on my part¹—in return for your zeal in the observance of a merely external formalism.

¹ For this use of *also* comp. Gen. xx. 6; Jud. ii. 3, 21; 2 S. xii. 13; Ps. lii. 5, &c.; and see the *Heb. Lexicon* published by the Clarendon Press, s.v. **א**, 4.

given you cleanness of teeth in all your cities, and want of bread in all your places: yet have ye not returned unto me, 7 saith the LORD. And I also have withholden the rain from you, when there were yet three months to the harvest: and I caused it to rain upon one city, and caused it not to rain upon another city: one piece was rained upon, and the 8 piece whereupon it rained not withered. So two or three cities wandered unto one city to drink water, and were not

cleanness of teeth] An expressive description of a famine. Famines are often mentioned as a dreaded occurrence, or contingency, in Palestine: Gen. xii. 10, xxvi. 1; 2 Sam. xxi. 1, xxiv. 13; 1 K. viii. 37, xviii. 2; 2 K. iv. 38, viii. 1; Ruth i. 1.

in all your cities] The famine had been felt in every part of the land.

returned unto me] The idea of 'returning to God' is very common in the Old Testament. Man has alienated himself from God: and the aim of God's visitations, whether of mercy or judgement, as well as of the exhortations and admonitions of His prophets, is to effect his return to Him who is the source of his true good. See e.g. Hos. vi. 1, xiv. 1, 2; Is. x. 21, xxxi. 6; Dt. iv. 30, xxx. 2; Is. lv. 7. In the N.T. ἐπιστρέφειν, Acts iii. 19, ix. 35, xi. 21, xiv. 15, xv. 19; 1 Thess. i. 9; and elsewhere. These and similar passages, in a later stage of theological thought, gave rise to the idea of "conversion."

7—8. Drought.

And I also have withholden the winter-rain from you, when there were &c.] The Heb. is not *mātār*, but *gēshem*, i.e. a *burst of rain*: the heavy rains of winter, which continue as a rule from the end of October to the end of February and are then followed by the 'latter rain,' or showers of March and April, which refresh and advance the ripening ears (see on Joel ii. 23), had ceased prematurely; the crops were consequently deficient in fulness and strength, and the harvest (which comes in May) was seriously damaged. Something of the same sort happened in the winter of 1895; there had been hardly any rain since the Christmas of 1894, and in a report, dated Feb. 16, it was stated that unless rain fell shortly there would be great deficiency of water, as no houses had their cisterns full (G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, 1. p. 161). *Gēshem*, though a general term for an abundant rain (as 1 Ki. xvii. 14, xviii. 41, 44, 45), is used specially of the heavy rains of winter in Cant. ii. 11; comp. Lev. xxvi. 4, Ez. xxxiv. 26, Joel ii. 23 (see note).

I caused it to rain &c.] **would cause it to rain...would be rained upon...would wither.** The tenses, both here and to the end of the verse, are frequentative, indicating what had happened repeatedly.

piece] i.e. plot of land, or portion belonging to a particular proprietor (Ruth ii. 3, iv. 3; 2 Sam. xiv. 30). The same partial character of the rain-fall is still sometimes observable in Palestine.

8. *wandered &c.*] **would totter...but would not be satisfied:** the

satisfied: yet have ye not returned unto me, saith the LORD. I have smitten you with blasting and mildew: the multitude⁹ of your gardens and your vineyards and your fig trees and your olive trees hath the palmerworm devoured: yet have

frequentative tenses are continued. Eastern cities are dependent largely for their water upon underground cisterns in which the rain is collected and stored; but the quantity thus supplied in the more fortunate city would not suffice for the wants of so many more than its normal inhabitants. The word rendered *wander* means properly *to move with an unsteady, uncertain gait, to totter*; it is thus used of one drunken (Is. xxiv. 20, xxix. 9, Ps. cvii. 27), or blind (Lam. iv. 14), or, as Ps. lix. 15 and here, of one exhausted for want of food (cf. of beggars, Ps. cix. 10). Cf. ch. viii. 12. For droughts in Palestine, cf. Deut. xi. 17, xxviii. 22; 1 Ki. viii. 35, xvii. 1 ff.; Jer. iii. 3, xiv. 2—6; Hag. i. 10 f.

9. Blasting and mildew. The same two words in combination, Deut. xxviii. 22, 1 Ki. viii. 37, Hag. ii. 17. *Blasting* (cf. Gen. xli. 6, 23, "blasted with the east wind") denotes the disastrous effects produced by the scorching (Hos. xiii. 15; Jon. iv. 8) and destructive (Job xxvii. 21) 'east wind,' blowing up hotly from the desert. The 'east wind' of the O.T. is something very different from the 'east wind,' as known to us: it corresponds to the modern *simoom* or *sirocco* (Arab. *sherkiyeh*, or 'east' wind,—applied, however, also to winds from the S.E. and S.),—hot winds which in Palestine come up suddenly with great violence, driving clouds of sand before them, and so "withering and burning the growing corn that no animal will touch a blade of it" (Van Lennep, *Bible Lands*, p. 238). Robinson gives a description of one which he experienced in the extreme S. of Judah (*B.R.* 1. 195): "The wind had been all the morning north-east, but at 11 o'clock it suddenly changed to the south, and came upon us with violence and intense heat, until it blew a perfect tempest. The atmosphere was filled with fine particles of sand, forming a bluish haze; the sun was scarcely visible, his disk exhibiting only a dun and sickly hue; and the glow of the wind came upon our faces as from a burning oven." See also *ib.* p. 207, II. 123; G. A. Smith, *Geogr.* pp. 67—69; and Wetzstein's note in Delitzsch's Commentary on Job xxvii. 21. By *mildew* is meant "a blight, in which the ears turn untimely a pale yellow, and have no grain." The Heb. word signifies (pale and unhealthy) *greenness*.

the multitude of your gardens...hath the palmerworm devoured] A.V. "when your gardens...increased," &c. Neither rendering is grammatically possible: the Hebrew is corrupt. Read, with Wellh., הַרְבֵּיתָ for הַרְבִּיתָ, and an excellent sense is at once obtained: "I laid waste your gardens and your vineyards; and your fig-trees and your vines would [freq.] the shearer devour." The shearer (*gāzām*) is a name for a locust, so called from its destructiveness: see p. 87. A visitation of locusts was no uncommon occurrence in Palestine: for a vivid picture of their ravages, see Joel i. 4—12.

ye not returned unto me, saith the LORD. I have sent among you the pestilence after the manner of Egypt: your young men have I slain with the sword, ¹and have carried away your horses; and I have made the stink of your camp to come up even into your nostrils: yet have ye not returned

¹ Heb. *with the captivity of your horses.*

10. Pestilence and the sword. By the pestilence (*déber*) is meant what we should term an epidemic accompanied by a great mortality, such as under the insalubrious sanitary conditions of Eastern life, are of frequent occurrence: it is often mentioned in the Old Testament, and frequently threatened as a judgement, especially as the concomitant of a siege; e.g. Lev. xxvi. 25; Deut. xxviii. 21; 1 Ki. viii. 37; 2 Sam. xxiv. 15; Ps. xci. 3, 6 ("the pestilence that walketh in darkness"); and often in Jeremiah ("the sword, the famine, and the pestilence"), as xiv. 12, xxi. 7, 9, xxiv. 10, xxix. 17, 18 &c., cf. xxviii. 8; so in Ez. v. 12, vi. 11, 12, vii. 15 ("the sword without, the pestilence and the famine within"), xiv. 21 (one of Jehovah's 'four sore judgements').

in the manner of Egypt] i.e. in the manner in which it is wont to visit Egypt (Is. x. 26 *b*), with the same severity and malignity. The climate of Egypt was proverbially insalubrious (Deut. vii. 15, xxviii. 60, cf. v. 27, "the boil of Egypt," probably some malignant pestilential boil); and "throughout antiquity the north-east corner of the Delta was regarded with reason as the home of the Plague," whence often, it is probable, it was brought into Israel by Philistine traders (see G. A. Smith, *Geogr.* pp. 157—160). Even in modern times, according to Sir G. Wilkinson (quoted by Dr Pusey), "a violent plague used formerly to occur about once in ten or twelve years. It was always less frequent at Cairo than at Alexandria."

your young men have I slain &c.] alluding, doubtless, to the many defeats which, until Jeroboam's accession brought a change of fortune, Israel had sustained during the Syrian wars: comp. 2 Ki. x. 32, 33, xiii. 3, 7, 22, xiv. 26.

and have carried away your horses] together with the captivity of *your horses* (= *your captive horses*); i.e. your captured horses were slaughtered, as well as your young men (cf. 2 Ki. xiii. 7). Wellh. interprets as is done by R.V., though allowing that the construction is more Arabic than Hebrew.

I have made the stink of your camp to come up &c.] cf. Is. xxxiv. 3. The corpses of the slain soldiers were so numerous that they lay unburied on the ground, defiling the air with pestilential vapours.

11. The earthquake. This, the most terrible visitation, is reserved for the last. The earthquake is not only the most unfamiliar and the most mysterious of all the judgements enumerated; it is also the most sudden and startling, as well as the most formidable: it is as instantaneous in its operation as it is irresistible: the destruction which it works can never be guarded against, and seldom escaped.

unto me, saith the LORD. I have overthrown *some* among you, as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, and ye were as a brand plucked out of the burning: yet have ye

. *as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah*] See Gen. xix. 24, 25, 28. The same stereotyped expression recurs Deut. xxix. 23, Is. xiii. 19, Jer. xlix. 18, l. 40, to describe a disaster ending in a state of ruin and barren desolation. The word *mahpēkhāh*, 'overturning,' 'overthrowing,' is always used with reference to the Cities of the Plain, either directly, as here and in the passages quoted, or allusively (Is. i. 7): cf. *hāphēkhāh*, Gen. xix. 29. The verb rendered 'overthrow' (*hāphakh*) is cognate: see Gen. xix. 21, 25, 29; and cf. Jer. xx. 16, Lam. iv. 6. The 'overthrow' of the Cities of the Plain was due, there is good reason to believe (see Tristram, *Land of Israel*, pp. 348 ff.; Dawson, *Egypt and Syria*, pp. 124 ff.) to an eruption of bitumen (which is abundant in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea); but this may well have been accompanied by an earthquake; and in any case the comparison here relates to the destructive effects of the calamity rather than to the particular agency by which it was brought about.

and ye—i.e. those of you who escaped—*were as a brand plucked out of the burning*] i.e. as something scorched, charred, and almost consumed: so near were you to complete destruction. For the figure, comp. Zech. iii. 2; for the thought, Is. i. 9.

The only earthquake in Palestine, mentioned in the O.T. (1 Ki. xix. 11 hardly coming into account), is the one in the reign of Uzziah, two years after Amos prophesied (Am. i. 1), which, to judge from the terms in which it is referred to long afterwards in Zech. xiv. 5, must have been one of exceptional severity. Dr Pusey, in his Commentary, has collected, with great learning, from Ritter's *Erdkunde* (chiefly vol. xvii.) and other sources, notices of the principal earthquakes affecting Palestine on record. On the whole, the borders of Palestine, rather than central Palestine, appear to have been the regions mostly affected. "The line chiefly visited by earthquakes was along the coast of the Mediterranean, or parallel to it, chiefly from Tyre to Antioch and Aleppo. Here were the great historical earthquakes, which were the scourges of Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Botrys, Tripolis, Laodicea on the sea; which scattered Litho-prosopon, prostrated Baalbek and Hamath, and so often afflicted Antioch and Aleppo, while Damascus was mostly spared. Eastward it may have reached to Safed, Tiberias, and the Hauran,"—all, especially the Hauran, volcanic regions. Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 5, 2) mentions an earthquake occurring B.C. 31 in Judaea, in which some 30,000 persons perished under the ruined houses. Ar-Moab was destroyed by an earthquake in the childhood of St Jerome. The terrible earthquake of Jan. 1, 1837, affected not only Palestine, as far south as Hebron, but also many places on the north, from Beirut on the west to Damascus on the east. Robinson (*B.R.* II. 529—531, cf. 422 f.) cites a graphic account of the havoc wrought by it at Safed, a little N.W. of the Sea of Tiberias. "Up to this moment I had refused to credit the accounts;

12 not returned unto me, saith the LORD. Therefore thus will
 I do unto thee, O Israel: *and* because I will do this unto
 13 thee, prepare to meet thy God, O Israel. For, lo, he that
 formeth the mountains, and createth the wind, and declareth

but one frightful glance convinced me that it was not in the power of language to overstate such a ruin...Safed *was*, but is not." The town was built around and upon a very steep hill; and hence when the shock came, the houses above were dashed down upon those below, causing an almost unprecedented destruction of life. "As far as the eye can reach, nothing was to be seen but one vast chaos of stones and earth, timber and boards, tables, chairs, &c. On all faces despair and dismay were painted; in numerous families, single members alone survived, in many cases mortally wounded. Eighteen days afterwards the earth continued to tremble and shake; and when a shock came more violent than the others, the people rushed out from the ruins in dismay, many began to pray with loud and lamentable cries, and females beat their bare breasts with all their strength, and tore their garments in despair."

12. The sentence. All warnings have passed unheeded: no amendment is visible in the people; Jehovah must therefore proceed now to still more extreme measures. What these measures are, however, is not explicitly stated,—in order, doubtless, that Israel, roused to alarm by the prospect of unnamed but not therefore unimaginable evils, may be moved more effectually to penitence.

Therefore thus will I do unto thee] By *thus* the prophet points his hearers forwards to the threatened, but unnamed, judgements still impending¹.

prepare to meet thy God] as He approaches, viz. in judgement. The implication is, prepare thyself to meet Him, so that thou mayest be acquitted; a last chance of amendment is offered to the heedless nation,—or at least to those members of it whom the five-fold chastisement has spared; if they will but avail themselves of it, the Judge may be moved to mercy, and the sentence be mitigated.

13. A verse describing the majesty and omnipotence of the Judge, and suggesting consequently a motive why His will should be obeyed, and His anger averted. He is the Maker both of the solid mountains, and of the invisible yet sometimes formidable and destructive wind: He knows the secrets of man's heart, and can, if He pleases, declare them to him; He can darken with the storm the brightness of heaven, and march in the thunder-cloud over the high places of the earth: Yahweh of Hosts is His name!

formeth the mountains] or *fashioneth*, the word used (*yāzar*) denoting

¹ [Harper (*op. cit.* p. 102) on the strength of the broken nature of this strophe, as compared with the preceding ones, and of the vagueness of the terms used, assumes that a later editor has cut out the original conclusion of the poem, which predicted a yet more severe punishment than any that has been yet described, and inserted in their place these lines of a more general character. See also Edghill, *Amos*, p. 45.]

unto man what is his thought, that maketh the morning darkness, and treadeth upon the high places of the earth; the LORD, the God of hosts, is his name.

properly the work of the potter. It is often used figuratively of the Divine operation; e.g. Gen. ii. 7, 8, 19 (animals and man); Is. xlv. 18 (the earth); Is. xliii. 1, 21, xlv. 2, 21, 24 (the people of Israel); xliii. 7, Jer. i. 5 (an individual man); x. 16 (the universe): and even of *framing* or planning in the Divine purpose, Is. xxii. 21, xxxvii. 26, xlvi. 11; Jer. xviii. 11, xxiii. 2. [The LXX. has "thunder" instead of "mountains." This seems to represent הרעים for הרעים, and, in view of the latter part of the clause, is to be preferred.]

createth] *bārā* means properly to *cut* (see Josh. xvii. 15, 18), and hence to *fashion by cutting*, to *shape*; but in the conjugation here used, it is employed exclusively of God, to denote, viz., the production, in virtue of powers possessed by God alone, of something fundamentally new. The verb does not in itself express the idea of *creatio ex nihilo* (though it was probably in usage often felt to denote this); but it implies the possession of a sovereign transforming, or productive, energy, altogether transcending what is at the disposal of man. It is used chiefly of the formation of the material cosmos (or of parts of it), as Gen. i. 1, Is. xl. 28, xlv. 12, 18, and here; but it may also be applied to a nation, as Israel (Is. xliii. 1, 15), or to an individual man (liv. 16), and figuratively to new conditions or circumstances, &c. beyond the power of man to bring about (Ex. xxxiv. 10; Num. xvi. 30; Jer. xxxi. 22; Is. xlv. 8, xlviii. 7, lxv. 17). The idea expressed by the word was more frequently dwelt upon in the later stages of Israel's religion; it is accordingly particularly frequent (in various applications) in Deutero-Isaiah. See further Schultz, *O. T. Theol.* II. 180 ff. It is parallel, as here, to *yāzar*, to *form*, in Is. xliii. 1, 7, xlv. 18.

and declareth unto man what is his thought] *his musing, meditation.*

The word מַשְׁבַּח occurs only here: but one hardly different is found 1 Sam. i. 16 ("complaint," lit. *musings*), 1 Ki. xviii. 27, Ps. civ. 34 *al.* The agency employed may be the prophet, declaring to man his secret purposes (cf. Acts v. 3 f., 9), or conscience, suddenly revealing to him the true gist and nature of his designs. The pron. *his* might in the abstract refer to God (cf. iii. 7); but the word rendered *musings* does not seem one that would be used very naturally of the Divine purpose.

that maketh the morning darkness] viz. suddenly blackening the clear sky with the dark masses of storm-cloud. In the thunderstorm, the Hebrews conceived Jehovah to be borne along with the clouds (Ps. xviii. 9—13; cf. on ch. i. 2): the picture of Jehovah darkening the heavens with the gathering storm thus leads on naturally to the clause which follows.

and treadeth—or marcheth—upon the high places of the earth] viz. in the thunder-cloud as it sweeps along the hills. For the expression, comp. (of Israel) Dt. xxxii. 13; Is. lviii. 14; (of Jehovah) Mic. i. 3: also Job ix. 8 ("who marcheth upon the high places of the sea").

5 Hear ye this word which I take up for a lamentation
2 over you, O house of Israel. The virgin of Israel is fallen ;

Jehovah, *the God of hosts, is his name*] The title is expressive of majesty and omnipotence : see on iii. 13. It stands in the same emphatic formula as here, v. 27 ('*God of hosts*'); Is. xlvii. 4, xlviii. 2, li. 15, liv. 5 ; Jer. x. 16 (=li. 19), xxxi. 35, xxxii. 18, xlvi. 18, xlviii. 15, l. 34, li. 57.

CHAPS. V.—VI.

This section of the prophecy falls naturally into three parts, v. 1—17, 18—27, vi. 1—14, each drawing out, in different terms, the moral grounds of Israel's impending ruin, and ending with a similar outlook of invasion, or exile.

(1) v. 1—17. Israel continuing to shew no signs of amendment, there remains nothing but inevitable ruin ; and the prophet accordingly begins to sing his elegy over the impending fall of the kingdom, which in spirit he beholds already as consummated (*vv.* 1—3). Israel deserves this fate, for it has done the very opposite of what God demands : God demanded obedience, judgement, and mercy ; Israel has persistently practised the reverse, and has acted so as to call down upon itself a just retribution (*vv.* 4—11). Its state is desperate (*vv.* 12 f.) ; certainly, even now it is not too late to amend, and the prophet again intreats it earnestly to do so (*v.* 14 f.) ; but he sees only too well that his words will not be listened to ; and again therefore he draws in outline a dark picture of the calamities impending upon the nation.

1. *a dirge*] Heb. *ḵīnāh*, which signifies, not a spontaneous effusion of natural emotion, but a composition, longer or shorter as the case might be, constructed with some art in a definite poetical form, and chanted usually by women, whose profession it was to attend mourning ceremonies for the purpose (cf. Jer. ix. 17 ; and see below on *v.* 16). To *take up* (i.e. on the lips) is said regularly of a '*ḵīnāh*' : e.g. Jer. vii. 29 ; Ez. xix. 1, xxvi. 17, xxvii. 2, &c. The *ḵīnāh*, which the prophet has here in view, follows in *v.* 2.

2. *The virgin of Israel is fallen, | she shall no more rise ;
She is cast down upon her land, | there is none to raise her up.*

This is the '*ḵīnāh*,' written in a peculiar rhythm, which has been shewn (by Prof. K. Budde) to be that regularly used for Hebrew elegy. As a rule, in Hebrew poetry, the second of two parallel members balances the first, being approximately similar in length and structure, and presenting a thought either synonymous with it, or antithetic to it ; but in the Hebrew elegy, the second member is shorter than the first, and instead of balancing and re-enforcing it, echoes it imperfectly, producing a plaintive, melancholy cadence. This rhythmical form prevails throughout most of the Book of '*Lamentations*,' for instance, i. 1 :—

How doth the city sit solitary, | she that was full of people !
She is become as a widow, | she that was great among the nations ;
The princess among the provinces, | she is become tributary.

she shall no more rise: she ¹is cast down upon her land; there is none to raise her up. For thus saith the Lord 3

¹ Or, *lieth forsaken*

It is also observable elsewhere, where a 'kīnāh' is announced, as Jer. ix. 10 b—11 :—

From the fowl of heaven even unto cattle, | they are fled, they are gone :
And I will make Jerusalem to be heaps, | an habitation of jackals ;
And the cities of Judah will I make a desolation, | without inhabitant.

In the verses here quoted, each line, it will be observed, consists of two unequal parts, the second halting after the first, and being (in the Hebrew) appreciably shorter. For other examples of the "kīnāh," or *dirge*, see 2 Sam. i. 17 ff., iii. 33—34, Ez. xix. 1—14, xxvi. 17—18, xxxii. 2—16¹. (In A.V., R.V., the subst. and corresponding verbs are rendered *lamentation*, *lament*; but these are suited better to express *nēhī*, *nāhāh*: see on v. 16.)

The virgin of Israel] The nation is personified, being pictured as a maiden, no longer erect and blithely going her way, but wounded and prostrate on the ground, unable to rise by her own efforts (having none to assist her (cf. Is. l. 17 f. of Jerusalem). This is the earliest extant example of the personification of a nation, or community, as a woman,—a maiden or a mother, as the case may be: but it becomes common afterwards in Hebrew poetry, the figure being adopted especially with effect when it is desired to represent some keen or strong emotion, and being employed sometimes with great dramatic force. See, for example, with *virgin*, Jer. xviii. 13, xxxi. 4, 21; with *virgin daughter*, Is. xxxvii. 22 ("the virgin daughter of Zion hath despised thee, and laughed thee to scorn; the daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head after thee"), xlvi. 1, Jer. xiv. 17, xlvi. 11; with *daughter* (alone) Is. i. 8, x. 30, 32, xxii. 4, xlvi. 5, Jer. vi. 26, ix. 1, Mic. iv. 10, 13, Zeph. iii. 14, Zech. ix. 9 ("Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem"); and with the feminine indicated (in the Hebrew) by the termination, Is. xii. 6 (as R.V. marg.), xlix. 17 f., li. 17—20, Jer. x. 17 (as R.V. marg.), xxii. 23 (see *ib.*).

is fallen] The tense is the prophetic past, describing the future as the prophet in imagination sees it, already accomplished. Cf. viii. 14.

is cast down] or *lieth forsaken* (R.V. marg.), i.e. *is abandoned*, left to die where she had fallen: cf. Ez. xxix. 5 ("leave thee (thrown) into the wilderness"), xxxii. 4 ("And I will *leave thee forsaken* upon the land, I will throw thee forth upon the face of the field"). Such an announcement as this, made in the height of the prosperity secured by Jeroboam II., would naturally be a startling one to those who heard it.

3. The justification of the mournful anticipation of v. 2: Jehovah has declared that the military strength of the nation will be reduced, by defeat or other causes, to one tenth of what it now is.

¹ See further the writer's *Introduction*, p. 457 f.

GOD: The city that went forth a thousand shall have an hundred left, and that which went forth an hundred shall
 4 have ten left, to the house of Israel. For thus saith the
 LORD unto the house of Israel, Seek ye me, and ye shall
 5 live: but seek not Beth-el, nor enter into Gilgal, and pass
 not to Beer-sheba: for Gilgal shall surely go into captivity,

4—10. Proof that Israel merits the fate which has just been pronounced against it: it has sought Jehovah by a ritual which He does not value, and it has spurned the virtues which He really prizes.

Seek ye me, and ye shall live] The Heb. is more forcible and concise: 'Seek ye me, and live': cf. Gen. xlii. 18 'This do, and live.' *To seek God* was a standing expression for consulting Him by a prophet, or an oracle, even on purely secular matters (cf. Gen. xxv. 22; Ex. xviii. 15; 1 Sam. ix. 9; 2 Ki. iii. 11, viii. 8, xxii. 13, 18; Jer. xxxvii. 7; Ez. xiv. 3, xx. 1, 3); but it is also used of seeking or caring for (Jer. xxx. 14) Him more generally, by paying regard to His revealed will, and studying to please Him by the practice of a righteous and holy life, Hos. x. 12; Is. ix. 13; Jer. x. 21; Zeph. i. 6; Is. lv. 6, lviii. 2, lxxv. 10; Ps. ix. 10, xxiv. 6; xxxiv. 10, lxxviii. 34, &c. The latter is the sense, which the expression has here. *Seek ye me*, says the prophet in Jehovah's name, by the means that I approve, *and you will live*, i.e. escape the threatened destruction.

5. But seek me not, as I am sought by the worshippers at Beth-el and your other sanctuaries: *their* end will be only destruction.

seek not Beth-el] Here 'seek' is used in the first of the two senses indicated on *v.* 4: comp. (in connexion with a place) Deut. xii. 5. On 'Beth-el' and 'Gilgal,' see on iii. 14 and iv. 4.

and cross not over to Beer-sheba] i.e. pass not over the frontiers to it. Beer-sheba was situated in the extreme south of Judah (comp. the expression "from Dan even to Beersheba"), some 50 miles S.S.W. of Jerusalem, and 30 miles S.W. of Hebron; hence it lay far beyond the territory of Israel, and a visit to it must have been the occasion of a special pilgrimage. Beer-sheba was an ancient sanctuary, hallowed by associations of the patriarchs (Gen. xxi. 31—33, xxii. 19, xxvi. 23—25, 31—33, xxviii. 10, xlvi. 1): it is mentioned as an important place in 1 Sam. viii. 2; and in Amos' time it was a popular resort for pilgrims from N. Israel. No doubt Beer-sheba, situated as it was on the edge of the desert, owed its importance to its wells, two of which, yielding a copious supply of pure and clear water, still remain (see p. 244).

for Gilgal shall surely go into captivity] *into exile* (on i. 5). In the Hebrew there is a play on the name Gilgal (*gālōh yigleh*): it suggested to the ear (though not, of course, etymologically) the word *gālāh*, to 'go into exile,'¹ and the prophet declares, so to say, that its fate will

¹ [We might say "Gilgal will gall of exile taste" (after G. A. Smith). For a similar play on words cf. Sibylline Oracles iii. 363 f. ἔσται καὶ Σάμος ἄμμος, ἐσεῖται Δῆλος ἄδηλος, καὶ Ῥώμη ῥύμη.]

and Beth-el shall ¹come to nought. Seek the LORD, and ye shall live; lest he break out like fire in the house of Joseph, and it devour and there be none to quench it in Beth-el: ye who turn judgement to wormwood, and cast 7

¹ Or, *become vanity* (Heb. *Aven*)

fulfil the omen of its name, its end will be exile. There is another play of the same kind in Hos. xii. 11 *Gilead* and *Gilgal* will become *gallim*, ruined heaps, on the furrows of the field: see also, with other place-names, Is. x. 30, xv. 9; Jer. vi. 1; Mic. i. 10, 11, 13, 14; Zeph. ii. 4.

and Beth-el shall come to nought] shall come to trouble. Here also there is a play on the name, though one of a different kind. "Beth-el," 'House of God,' as a seat of unspiritual worship, was called in mockery (see Hos. iv. 15, v. 8, x. 5, cf. x. 8) "Beth-*aven*," 'House of trouble (or idols)'; and Amos¹, playing on the double application of the word, says that it shall become a *trouble*,—no source of strength or support to its frequenters, but a cause of trouble; it will be ruined itself, and will bring them to ruin likewise. The play may have been suggested by the fact that there was actually, a little E. of Beth-el, a place called *Beth-aven* (Jos. vii. 2, xviii. 12; 1 Sam. xiii. 5, xiv. 23). (The rendering 'come to *nought*' is too strong, though 'come to *vanity*' would be permissible (see Is. xli. 29, Zech. x. 2); *aven* seems to have included the ideas of what is *wearisome, troubling, disappointing, valueless*; and hence it may denote, according to the context, *trouble, worthless conduct (iniquity), a worthless state (vanity, ruin), and also worthless things, i.e. idols*, 1 Sam. xv. 23, Is. lxvi. 3; cf. the passages of Hosea just quoted; also Am. i. 5 with the note.)

6. *Seek Jehovah, &c.*] The exhortation of v. 4 is repeated, and enforced with a fresh motive—lest a fire, namely, kindled by Jehovah, advance irresistibly, and spread irretrievable destruction in Israel.

break out] lit. *come mightily, advance forcibly*. It is the word used of the spirit of God coming *mightily* upon Samson (Jud. xiv. 6, 19, xv. 14), Saul (1 Sam. x. 6, xi. 6), and David (1 Sam. xvi. 13). The comparison of Jehovah to a fire, as Deut. iv. 24; Is. x. 17; cf. Deut. xxxii. 22; Jer. iv. 4 ("lest my fury go forth as fire, and burn, and there be none to quench it"; so xxi. 12).

house of Joseph] i.e. the Northern kingdom generally, Joseph being the ancestor of its most powerful tribe, Ephraim (which accordingly is used often by Hosea in the same sense). So v. 15, vi. 6; Ob. 18; Zech. x. 6; Ps. lxxviii. 67; cf. Ez. xxxvii. 16, 19.

for *Beth-el*] named specially as the principal religious centre of Israel.

7. Jehovah demands righteousness: the prophet, with passion and indignation, declares abruptly how far Israel is from righteousness, and then proceeds to announce again the doom which it may in consequence confidently expect. As before (ii. 6—8, iv. 1), Israel's crying

¹ [In all probability Amos invented this play on words, and Hosea borrowed the idea from him.]

8 down righteousness to the earth; *seek him* that maketh the Pleiades and Orion, and turneth ¹ the shadow of death into

¹ Or, *deep darkness*

sin is neglect of civil justice, and oppression of the poor: it is the aristocracy who arouse the moral indignation of Amos, as afterwards, in Judah, they aroused that of Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah.

turn judgement to wormwood] Instead of being something wholesome and grateful, it is bitter and cruel to those who have to receive it. For *wormwood* (always as a figure for something bitter), cf. vi. 12; Jer. ix. 15, xxiii. 15; Lam. iii. 15, 19; Prov. v. 4; Rev. viii. 11. The plant in question (Heb. *la'ānāh*; Aq. (Prov. and Jer.) ἀψίνθιον, whence Vulg. (everywhere) *apsinthium*: LXX. paraphrases,—in vi. 12 by πικρα) is a species of the genus *Artemisium*, of which several varieties are found in Palestine (Tristram, *N.H.B.* p. 493; *Fauna and Flora of Palestine*, p. 331).

and lay righteousness down on the earth] instead of maintaining it erect, in its place (cf. v. 15), they (Pusey) 'dethrone' it, and *lay* it (Is. xxviii. 2) ignominiously on the ground: we should rather say, 'trample it under foot' (Hitz.). 'Righteousness,' as the context shews, means here *civil justice* (as 2 Sam. viii. 15, Jer. xxii. 3, and frequently). The virtue is almost personified (cf. Is. lix. 14).

8—9. Two verses, intended (like iv. 13) to remind the disobedient Israelites of the power and majesty of Him, whose will they defy, and whose judgements they provoke. the Creator and Ruler of the world. The verses are introduced abruptly, and interrupt somewhat violently the connexion between v. 7 and v. 10: if the text be sound, we must suppose the participle with which they open to be in apposition with 'Jehovah,' implicit in the prophet's thought (cf. Is. xl. 22). According to some (see p. 121) the two verses did not form part of the original text of Amos: according to Ewald they should *precede* v. 7, which, especially if it be assumed to have once begun with אֵי אֵי *Ah!* (as v. 18, vi. 1), would then open very suitably a new paragraph. (The Hebrew of vv. 7, 10 will admit equally of the renderings '(Ye) who turn..., who hate..., and abhor,' and '[Ah!] they that turn..., that hate..., &c.)

the Pleiades] cf. Job ix. 9, xxxviii. 31. The A.V. rendering "the seven stars" is an old English name of the Pleiades: see e.g. Shakespeare, 1 *Henry IV.* i. 2, 6 "We that take purses go by the moon and *the seven stars*" (W. A. Wright, *Bible Word-Book*, 1884, p. 533).

Orion] also named Job ix. 9, xxxviii. 31, and in the plural (= constellations), Is. xiii. 10. The Heb. is *kēsīl*, which also signifies 'fool.' It is not improbable that the name preserves an allusion to some ancient mythological idea, according to which the brilliant and conspicuous constellation was originally some fool-hardy, heaven-daring rebel, who was chained to the sky for his impiety. In Job ix. 9, xxxviii. 31 f. the Pleiades and Orion (with the Bear) are referred to, as here, as evidence of the creative might of God. They attracted notice at an early period among the Greeks also, partly perhaps, on account of their brilliancy,

the morning, and maketh the day dark with night; that calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth; the LORD is his name; that ⁹ bringeth sudden destruction upon the strong, so that

¹ Or, *causeth destruction to flash forth*

and partly because their risings and settings with the Sun marked the seasons. Comp. Hom. *Il.* xviii. 486—9:—Πληιάδας θ' Ἰάδας τε τό τε σθένος Ὀρίωνος, Ἄρκτον θ' ἦν καὶ ἄμαξαν ἐπικλησιν καλέουσιν, Ἡ τ' αὐτοῦ στρέφεται καὶ τ' Ὀρίωνα δοκεύει, Οἷη δ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν Ὀκεανοῖο (see also xxii. 26—31; *Od.* v. 272—275).

turneth blackest darkness into morning] i.e. causes morning to follow night.

shadow of death] (i.e. of the abode of death, Sheol; cf. Job x. 21, 22, xxxviii. 17) is the traditional rendering (found already in LXX.), but it is rejected by most modern scholars (e.g. Kirkpatrick on Ps. xxiii. 4) on the ground (chiefly) that 'shadow' is not in the O.T. a figure for *gloom*, though it has the weighty support of Nöldeke (*Z.A.T.W.* 1897, p. 183 ff.), who points out that the rival explanation *darkness* (from the Arabic) is also not free from objection. Whatever, however, be the etymology of the term, there is no dispute that *deepest, thickest darkness* is what it denotes.

maketh the day dark with night] **darkeneth the day into night**, brings the day to an end in night. The two clauses describe Jehovah as author of the regular alternation of day and night.

that calleth for the waters of the sea, &c.] repeated ix. 6. Cf. Job xii. 15 b. The reference is either to the extraordinary inundation of low-lying districts, caused, for instance, by high winds (perhaps with an allusion to the Deluge of Noah), or to violent and long-continued rains ("poureth them out"), which another poet also seems to speak of as drawn up originally from the sea (Job xxxvi. 27—28, 30, R.V. marg.).

calleth] a fine figure; the waters hear His voice, and immediately obey it: cf. Is. xlvi. 13; Job xxxviii. 34.

Jehovah is his name] So ix. 6; Jer. xxxiii. 2. Cf. the similar close to the enumeration of Jehovah's powers in iv. 13.

9. *that bringeth sudden destruction upon the strong...*] **that causeth devastation to flash forth upon the strong, so that devastation cometh upon the fortress.** From illustrations of Jehovah's power as displayed in the *physical* government of the world, the prophet passes to examples supplied by the *moral* government of the world: He brings sudden destruction upon the mighty, so that even their strongest fortresses cannot save them. The word rendered *causeth...to flash forth* occurs also Job ix. 27, x. 20, Ps. xxxix. 13, and a cognate subst. in Jer. viii. 18. The meaning was forgotten by the Jews; and hence the mediaeval commentators, as David Kimchi, conjectured a sense to *strengthen* or *become strong*, more or less consonant with the context in the various passages where the word occurred, which was followed by the Auth.

10 destruction cometh upon the fortress. They hate him that reproveth in the gate, and they abhor him that speaketh
 11 uprightly. Forasmuch therefore as ye trample upon the

Version of 1611 (in Job and Jer. *comfort myself, or take comfort* [Lat. 'comfortare']; in Ps. xxxix. *recover strength*; and here *strengtheneth*). When, however, subsequently, Arabic was again studied, and compared (especially by Alb. Schultens) with the cognate Semitic languages, the true meaning of the word was speedily discovered: *balija*, the corresponding word in Arabic, is *to have a clear, uncontracted brow*, then figuratively, *to have a bright, cheerful countenance*, or more generally, *to be joyous*; applied to the dawn, or the sun, *to be bright, shine brightly* (see Schultens, *Origines Hebraeae*, 1761, p. 19 f.; Lane, *Arab. Lex.* p. 245). One or other of these meanings suits all the passages in which the word occurs in Hebrew: accordingly in R.V. Job ix. 27 is rendered *be of good cheer*, with marg. "Heb. *brighten up*"; Job x. 20, Ps. xxxix. 13 the old renderings are retained, but the same margin is repeated: here the text ("bringeth sudden destruction") is also a paraphrase, but the more literal rendering is given on the margin, "causeth destruction to *flash forth*."—The repetition of the same word in the two clauses is inelegant: the LXX. for the second טִבַּע ('devastation') read probably טִבַּע, *destruction*; cf. Is. lix. 7, lx. 18.

10. The prophet reverts to the subject of v. 7, which was interrupted by vv. 8, 9.

They hate him that reproveth in the gate, &c.] They are heedless (v. 7) of the claims of justice: they will not listen either to the exposure of wrong-doing or to the defence of innocence, in the public place of judgement. The same phrase, 'the reprover in the gate,' in a similar connexion, recurs in Is. xxix. 21: it denotes the person, whether judge or advocate, who indicts, impeaches, seeks to convict, the wrong-doer; cf. Job xiii. 10, xxii. 4, and the corresponding subst. 'reproof,' or 'indictment' (R.V. 'reasoning'), Job xiii. 6. The 'gate'—more exactly the 'gate-way,' with a depth corresponding to the thickness of the wall, in which it was constructed, and no doubt with seats along each side—is the Oriental forum: and it is often alluded to as the place in which the 'elders' sat, and justice was administered (e.g. vv. 12, 15; Deut. xxi. 19, xxii. 15, xxv. 7; Ruth iv. 1—2, 11; Job xxxi. 21; Ps. cxxvii. 5).

him that speaketh uprightly] sincerely or blamelessly (Jud. ix. 16; Ps. xv. 2); any one who comes forward to speak honestly in defence of the innocent, is the object of their undisguised 'abhorrence.' *Abhor* forms a climax upon *hate*: cf. Ps. v. 5 b, 6 b.

11. The penalty for such unjust oppression of the poor is the oppressors' own disappointment and spoliation: the houses and vineyards on which they lavished their money, and from which they expected much enjoyment, will be violently taken from them.

Therefore, because ye trample upon the poor, and take exactions from him of wheat] The allusion is not specially to bribes exacted of the poor as the price of justice, but to the presents which the poor *fellahin*

poor, and take exactions from him of wheat: ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them; ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink the wine thereof. For I know how manifold are your transgressions ¹² and how mighty are your sins; ye that afflict the just, that take a bribe, and that turn aside the needy in the gate *from their right*. Therefore he that is prudent shall keep silence ¹³ in such a time; for it is an evil time. Seek good, and not ¹⁴

had to offer to the grasping aristocrats, out of the hard-won produce of their toil.

ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them, &c.] For the form of the threat, comp. Deut. xxviii. 30, 38, 39; Mic. vi. 15; Zeph. i. 13; and contrast the promise of ix. 14. Houses of 'hewn stone' are houses of exceptional solidity and beauty, such as might be built by the wealthy (cf. Is. ix. 10).

12—13. Israel's desperate moral condition, a justification of the sentence just pronounced upon it.

12. *For I know how manifold are your transgressions and how mighty are your sins]* Jehovah's knowledge of what they imagine He is ignorant of (Ps. lxxiii. 11; Job xxii. 13) is the ground of the sentence expressed in v. 11.

that afflict the just] ii. 6, iii. 9 f., &c.

that take a bribe] a ransom or *price of a life*, the proper meaning of the word (*kōpher*—not *shōhad*); see e.g. Ex. xxi. 30, and especially Num. xxxv. 31, where the Israelites are strictly forbidden to "take a ransom (*kōpher*)" for the life of a murderer. But here the venal judges are represented as accepting such a 'kōpher'; thus the rich murderer was acquitted, while the innocent, if unable to pay the price which the judge demanded, could get no redress for his wrongs.

turn aside the needy in the gate] The 'gate,' as v. 10: "turn aside" (sc. "from their right," Is. x. 2), as Is. xxix. 21; Mal. iii. 5.

13. In a time such as that, the prudent man will keep silence; a complaint, or accusation, or attempt to redress the wrongs which he sees about him, will be perilous to him, if he be in a good position, and will only add to his sufferings, if he be poor¹.

shall keep] will keep, viz. if he is guided by his prudence.

in such a time] not, at a future time, but at a time such as that which has been just described.

¹ [Many scholars have felt that vv. 13—15 are out of place where they stand, if indeed they are to be ascribed to Amos at all. Their main reasons are (1) the lack of connexion: v. 16 follows v. 12 quite naturally, and the intervening verses interrupt the sense and make "therefore" in v. 16 largely meaningless; (2) the redundancy of the verses themselves, 15^a being a repetition of 14^a; (3) the phrase "the remnant of Joseph" seems to point to a time later than 722 B.C. These arguments must be allowed to have a good deal of force. Some scholars save some or all of these verses for Amos by transferring them to different places: e.g. Oort puts 13, 14 after 20; Oettli puts 14, 15 after 24; Marti puts 14, 15 after 6.]

evil, that ye may live: and so the LORD, the God of hosts,
 15 shall be with you, as ye say. Hate the evil, and love the
 good, and establish judgement in the gate: it may be that
 the LORD, the God of hosts, will be gracious unto the
 16 remnant of Joseph. Therefore thus saith the LORD, the
 God of hosts, the Lord: Wailing shall be in all the broad

an evil time] a time when a man may well be anxious for his personal safety (cf. Ps. xlix. 5).

14—15. Amos reiterates more earnestly the exhortation of *vv.* 4 and 6: if Israel will but amend its ways, perchance even yet there may be a remnant to which Jehovah will be gracious.

Seek] The same word as *vv.* 4, 6, but followed by an abstract object, in the sense of *be studious, anxious about* (cf. Is. i. 17, '*seek judgement*').

and so...as ye say] and Jehovah will then be with you to defend you in reality, exactly as you say (cf. Mic. iii. 11) that He actually is now. For the thought, cf. *v.* 18: the Israelites, so long as their material prosperity continued, imagined that Jehovah was with them, as their patron and defender; Amos replies that the real condition of His being with them is the moral goodness of their lives. Jehovah's *power* to defend is hinted at significantly by the title 'God of hosts' (on iii. 13). *So* points on to, and strengthens, the following *as*, exactly as in Ex. x. 10.

15. The exhortation of *v.* 14 is repeated in yet stronger terms: *Hate the evil, and love the good.* Cf. Is. i. 16 f.

establish judgement in the gate] Rather, *set up firmly, set it standing*, opposed to *lay it on the ground, v.* 7. Judgement, like righteousness in *v.* 7, is pictured as a concrete object and almost personified: cf. Is. lix.

14.

the remnant of Joseph] The prophet can hardly be thinking of the remnant to which 'Joseph' (*v.* 6) had already been reduced by its many calamities (iv. 6—11); for he represents Israel in general as still wealthy and prosperous (cf. vi. 13). No doubt he has mentally in view the 'remnant,' to which he sees that before long it will have been actually reduced (cf. iii. 12), and which he pictures implicitly as including those who respond now to his present invitation to repent; a remnant, such as this, may peradventure merit Jehovah's mercy (comp. ix. 8 f.). The passage contains in germ the doctrine of the preservation, through judgement, of a faithful remnant, which became shortly afterwards a distinctive feature in the teaching of Isaiah.

16—17. But Amos sees that his exhortation will not be listened to, and again therefore he draws a dark picture of the future to which the nation is hastening: so great will be the slaughter wrought by the foe (cf. *v.* 27; ii. 14—16, ix. 2—3, &c.), that universal lamentation will prevail throughout the land.

16. *Therefore*] because of Israel's obduracy in wrong-doing.

Wailing] loud cries in grief: comp. Mic. i. 8, "I will make a *mispēd* like the jackals"—in allusion to their doleful cries. The Orientals,

ways; and they shall say in all the streets, Alas! alas! and they shall call the husbandman to mourning,¹ and such as

¹ Heb. *and proclaim wailing to such as are skilful of lamentation.*

especially women, on occasions of grief, are very demonstrative, and the 'wailing' is a public ceremony (Eccl. xii. 5, 'And the wailers go about in the streets'). Thomson, *op. cit.* 1. 245 f., describes the funeral of a Moslem sheikh: in a corner of the cemetery was gathered a large company of women in three concentric circles; the outer circle consisted of sober, aged matrons, seated on the ground, who took but little active part in the solemnities; those constituting the inner circles were young women and girls, who "flung their arms and handkerchiefs about in wild frenzy, screamed and wailed like maniacs"; from time to time they would go in parties to the tomb of the departed sheikh, and there "dance and shriek around the grave in the wildest and most frantic manner."

broad ways...streets] The 'broad way' (we might say 'square') was the open space in an Eastern city, especially near the gate (Neh. viii. 1). The same two words often stand in parallelism: e.g. Is. xv. 3 (also in a picture of national mourning).

shall say...Alas! alas!] The Heb. (*hō, hō*—elsewhere *hōy, hōy*) is onomatopoeic; and **Ah! Ah!** would correspond more closely. It must have been a common cry of lamentation. Comp. 1 Ki. xiii. 30, "And they wailed over him, (saying,) *Hōy, my brother!*" Jer. xxii. 18, "They shall not wail for him, *Hōy, my brother!* or *Hōy, sister!* They shall not wail for him, *Hōy, master!* or *Hōy, his glory!*" xxxiv. 5, "And *Hōy, master!* will they wail for thee." In the modern Syriac dialect of Urmia, *ú hú, ú hú*, is the cry of a lament.

and they shall call the husbandman to mourning] The husbandman will be summoned from his occupation in the fields to take part in the general lamentation.

and such as are skilful of lamentation to wailing] The Heb. is "And wailing to those skilled in lamentation," the construction being changed for variety, and the word 'call' being understood from the preceding clause, in the sense of *proclaim* (which it also has in Hebrew, as Jer. xxxiv. 8). By those 'skilled in (lit. understanding) lamentation' are meant professional mourners, such as were called in to assist at a funeral. They were usually women (Jer. ix. 17 f. "call to the women who chant dirges that they may come, and send for the cunning (lit. wise) women that they may come; and let them hasten and take up a *lamentation* (same word as here) for us" &c.; cf. *v.* 20, "And teach, O women, your daughters a *lamentation*, and every one her neighbour a dirge"), but might also, as here (where the gender is masc.), be men (cf. Eccl. xii. 5; 2 Chr. xxxv. 25). How the *nēhī* ('lamentation') differed from the *kīnāh* ('dirge') of *v.* 1 is not certain: the passages in which it occurs make it probable that it was a slightly more general term of similar import: Jer. ix. 10, "I will take up a weeping and *lamentation* for the mountains, and a *dirge* for the pastures of a wilderness"; *vv.* 18, 20

17 are skilful of lamentation to wailing. And in all vineyards shall be wailing: for I will pass through the midst of thee, 18 saith the LORD. Woe unto you that desire the day of the LORD! wherefore would ye have the day of the LORD? it

just quoted; 19, "a voice of *lamentation* is heard out of Zion, (saying,) 'How are we spoiled' &c."; Mic. ii. 4; Ez. xxvii. 32, "And they shall take up a *dirge* over thee in their *lamentation*, and *chant a dirge* over thee, (saying,) 'Who is like Tyre?' &c." (comp. the verb, Mic. ii. 4; Ez. xxxii. 18). See further the Additional Note, p. 237 f.

17. The wailing will embrace even the vineyards, which, as the season of vintage came round, were annually the scenes of mirth and hilarity (Is. xvi. 10).

[for I will pass through the midst of thee] viz. as a destroyer (cf. Ex. xii. 12), guiding, as it were, the foe by whose agency Amos conceives the disaster to be accomplished.

(2) v. 18—27. A rebuke, addressed to those who desired the "Day of Jehovah," and trusted to the splendour and regularity of their religious services, to secure for them Jehovah's favour. They have mistaken the principles upon which Jehovah acts: His 'day,' when it arrives, will be a day on which, so far from sparing them for their zealous discharge of ritual observances, He will consign them to exile for their disregard of moral obligations.

18—20. Those who desire the "Day of Jehovah," as though it could not be anything but an interposition in their favour, will find to their surprise that it is a day fraught with peril and disaster.

18. *Woe unto you that*] Ah! they that.... The interjection *Hōy* (the same as that used in 1 Ki. xiii. 30 &c. quoted on v. 16) implies commiseration rather than denunciation. It is used frequently, as here, to introduce an announcement of judgement: Is. i. 4, 24, v. 8, 11, 18, 20, 21, 22, xxix. 1, 15 &c. (*Woe...* Is. iii. 9, 11, vi. 5, xxiv. 16 &c., is a different word, and is followed by the prep. *to*).

the day of Jehovah] i.e. the day in which Jehovah manifests Himself in triumph over His foes. The expression is based probably upon the Hebrew use of *day* as equivalent to *day of battle* or *victory* (Ez. xiii. 5; cf. Is. ix. 4, the 'day' of Midian, i.e. the day of victory over Midian). From the present passage it appears to have been a current popular idea that Jehovah would one day manifest Himself, and confer some crowning victory upon His people: Amos points out that whether that will be so or not, depends upon Israel's *moral* condition; the 'day of Jehovah,' such as the people imagine, would not be necessarily a day of victory to Israel over foreign powers, but a day in which Jehovah's righteousness would be vindicated against *sin*, whether among foreign nations or His own people: so long therefore as Israel neglects to amend its ways, and continues to treat ritual as a substitute for morality, it will find Jehovah's day to be the reverse of what it anticipates, a day not of triumph but of disaster. The 'day of Jehovah,' as thus understood by Amos, becomes

is darkness, and not light. As if a man did flee from a lion, and a bear met him; ¹or went into the house and leaned his hand on the wall, and a serpent bit him. Shall not the day of the LORD be darkness, and not light? even very dark, and no brightness in it? I hate, I despise your

¹ Or, and

a figure which is afterwards often employed by the prophets in their pictures of impending judgement. The conception places out of sight the human agents, by whom actually the judgement, as a rule, is effected, and regards the decisive movements of history as the exclusive manifestation of Jehovah's purpose and power. The prophets, in adopting the figure, develope it under varying imagery, suggested partly by the occasion, partly by their own imagination. Thus Isaiah (ii. 12—21) represents it as directed against the various objects of pride and strength which Judah had accumulated in the days of Uzziah; Joel (ii. 1 ff.) derives his imagery from a recent visitation of locusts (as described in ch. i.): for other examples, see Zeph. i. 7, 14—16; Is. xiii. 6—10, xxxiv. 8; Joel iii. 14—16. Comp. further W. R. Smith, *Prophets*, pp. 397 f.; Schultz, *O. T. Theol.* II. 354 ff.; Davidson on Zeph. i. 7¹.

wherefore would ye have the day of Jehovah? what good will it do you? See Gen. xxvii. 46, where substantially the same Hebrew expression is thus paraphrased in A. V., R. V.

darkness, and not light] figures, respectively, of disaster, and of prosperity or relief, as often in the Hebrew poets: see e.g. Is. v. 30, viii. 22, ix. 2, lviii. 8, lix. 9; Jer. xiii. 16.

19. Examples of a condition beset by perils, in which men escape from one danger, only to fall into another, perhaps worse.

a bear] Bears are now found only in the far north of Palestine, about Mount Hermon, but they were once common in all parts of the country, and were dangerous both to human beings (2 Ki. ii. 24; Lam. iii. 10) and to sheep (1 Sam. xvii. 34): the bear is coupled with the lion, also, in Lam. iii. 10.

and entered into the house &c.] taking refuge from the bear, and encountered there an unsuspected danger, being bitten by a serpent which had concealed itself in a crevice of the wall.

20. An emphatic repetition of the thought of v. 18, after the illustration of v. 19.

21—27. Do you think to win Jehovah's favour by your religious services? On the contrary, He will have none of them: what He demands is not sacrifice, or even praise, but *justice*; in the wilderness your ancestors offered no sacrifices, without forfeiting Jehovah's regard; your mistake is a fatal one, and its end will be exile.

21. *I hate, I reject your feasts*] *your pilgrimages*, *haggim* denoting not feasts or festivals in general, but in particular the three great annual feasts (viz. of Unleavened Cakes, Weeks, and Booths), which were accompanied by a pilgrimage to a sanctuary, and at which, according

¹ [See also *H. D. B.* I. 735 ff.]

feasts, and I ¹will take no delight in your solemn assemblies.
 22 Yea, though ye offer me ²your burnt offerings and meal offerings, I will not accept them : neither will I regard the

¹ Heb. *will not smell* a savour.

² Or, *burnt offerings with your meal offerings*

to the old law, every male was required to appear yearly before Jehovah (Ex. xxiii. 14, 17, xxxiv. 23 ; Deut. xvi. 16 f.). *Hag* (the sing.) is the same word as the Arab. *haj*, the name by which the great Meccan pilgrimage is known. *Reject*, as Jer. ii. 37, vi. 30 *al.*

I will take no delight in] lit. *I will not smell in* (A.V.) : cf. Gen. viii. 21, Lev. xxvi. 31 and Is. xi. 3 (R.V. marg.).

solemn assemblies] *'āzārāh* (or *'āzēreth*) means a *gathering* or *assembly* (Jer. ix. 2), especially one held for a religious purpose, *πανήγυρις*, as 2 Ki. x. 20 (in honour of Ba'al) : it is used here in a general sense, as Is. i. 13 (where the thought also is parallel), Joel. i. 14, ii. 15 ; but it is also used specially (*a*) of the gathering of pilgrims on the 7th day of the Feast of Unleavened Cakes (Deut. xvi. 8) ; (*b*) of the gathering on the 8th or supernumerary day of the Feast of Booths (Lev. xxv. 36 ; Num. xxix. 35 ; Neh. viii. 18 ; 2 Chr. vii. 9) ; (*c*) by the later Jews, of the Feast of Weeks, Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10, 6 (*Ἀσάρθα*), and in the Mishna, &c.

22. The commonest and most popular kinds of sacrifice are particularized as rejected by Jehovah. The *burnt-* and *peace-*offerings are often mentioned in the historical books, and were frequently sacrificed together (Ex. xx. 24, xxxii. 6 ; Jud. xx. 26, xxi. 4 ; 1 Sam. x. 8, xiii. 9 ; 2 Sam. vi. 17, xxiv. 25 ; 1 Ki. iii. 15 ; cf. Is. i. 11, where 'the fat of fed beasts' is an allusion to the peace-offering). The peace-offering, being the sacrifice most commonly offered, is also often called 'sacrifice' (lit. *slaughtering*) simply : Ex. xviii. 12 ; Deut. xii. 6 ; 1 Sam. vi. 15 *al.*)

meal offerings] or *cereal offerings*. A.V. has 'meat offerings,' but the word 'meat' has altered its meaning since the time when the A.V. was made, and is now restricted to flesh : so that the rendering 'meat offering' for offerings consisting exclusively of either parched corn or various preparations of flour (see Lev. ii.) has become altogether misleading. The Heb. word *minhah* means properly a *present* or *gift*, especially one offered to a king or noble, to do him homage or secure his favour (Gen. xxxii. 13, xliii. 11 ; 1 Sam. x. 27), and euphemistically for tribute, 2 Sam. viii. 2, 6 &c. : hence it is used sometimes in a general sense of gifts offered in sacrifice to God (Gen. iv. 3, 4, 5 ; Num. xvi. 15 ; 1 Sam. ii. 17, 29, xxvi. 19) ; in the priestly sections of the Pentateuch, on the other hand, it is used exclusively in the narrower and technical sense of a 'meal-offering.' It seems therefore that the custom must have gradually grown up of designating animal sacrifices by their special names (*burnt-offering*, *peace-offering* &c.), while *minhah* was more and more restricted to vegetable offerings alone. This double application of the term sometimes makes it uncertain whether 'offering' in general, or 'meal-offering'

¹peace offerings of your fat beasts. Take thou away from ²³ me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols. But let judgement roll down as waters, and ²⁴

¹ Or, *thank offerings*

in particular, is denoted by it. Where, however, as here, it stands beside the names of two other species of sacrifice, it has the presumption of being used to denote a special kind likewise (cf. Jos. xxii. 23; Jud. xiii. 23; 1 Ki. viii. 64). Cf. OFFER, OFFERING, in *H.D.B.*

fat beasts] or *fatlings*, 2 Sam. vi. 13, 1 Ki. i. 9, 19, 25, and (in the same connexion) Is. i. 11 (where, on account of the word *fat*, with which it is joined, it is in the English version rendered *fed beasts*). In the 'peace-offering' the fat parts were those which were specially set apart to be "burnt" (הקטיר), i.e. consumed in sweet smoke (cf. on iv. 5) upon the altar (Lev. iii. 3—5, 9—11, 14—16).

23. The songs and music accompanying the worship (cf. viii. 10; Is. xxx. 29 a) are rejected by Jehovah likewise. Of what nature these were in pre-exilic times, we do not precisely know: the descriptions in the Chronicles reflect the usage of a much later age, when the Temple music was more highly organized. The distinctly liturgical Psalms are also all probably post-exilic.

from me] lit. *from upon me*: the praises of sinful Israel are represented as a burden to Jehovah, from which He would gladly be freed. Cf. Is. i. 14 (of various sacred seasons), "They are a cumbrance upon me."

viols] most probably *harps*, but possibly *lutes*. See the Additional Note, p. 239.

24. Justice, between man and man, is what Jehovah demands: no ceremonial, however punctiliously observed, is a substitute in Jehovah's eyes for moral duties. The argument is exactly that of Is. i., where Jehovah rejects similarly the entire body of ritual observances, celebrated at the Temple of Jerusalem, on account of the moral shortcomings of the worshippers; and where the exhortation is similarly to observe the elementary duties of civic morality—"Put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes: seek judgement, set right the oppressor, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow" (Is. i. 16—17).

roll down] or *roll on*: let justice, which has hitherto been too often thwarted and obstructed in its course, *roll on*, as waters, in one perpetual flow; and *righteousness as an overflowing stream*. *Stream* is in the Heb. *naḥal*, a word for which there is no proper English equivalent, but which corresponds really to the Arabic *wādy*, so often found in descriptions of travel in Palestine. The *naḥal*, or *wādy*, is a torrent running down through a narrow valley, which in the rainy season forms usually a copious stream, while in summer it may be reduced to a mere brook or thread of water, or may even be entirely dry. Righteousness, Jehovah claims, should roll on *like a perennial* (or *ever-flowing*) *wādy*, like a *wādy* which is never so dried up, but flows continuously. The word rendered *ever-flowing* (*êthān*) is the term applied specially to

25 righteousness as a ¹mighty stream. Did ye bring unto me
sacrifices and ²offerings in the wilderness forty years, O
26 house of Israel? Yea, ye ³have borne ⁴Siccuth your king
and ⁵Chiun your images, the star of your god, which ye
27 made to yourselves. Therefore will I cause you to go into

¹ Or, *everflowing* ² Or, *meal offerings* ³ Or, *shall take up...*
And I will cause &c. ⁴ Or, *the tabernacle of your king* Some
ancient versions have, *the tabernacle of Moloch.* ⁵ Or, *the shrine*
of your images

characterize such a perennial wādy. It is one of the words (like *hibhlīg*, *v.* 9), of which the true meaning was lost by the Jews, and was recovered only when Arabic began to be compared systematically with Hebrew, some two centuries ago. The renderings *strong*, *mighty*, *strength*, are in reality guesses made from the context by the mediæval Jewish commentators, whom the translators of the Authorised Version often followed as their guide. Examples of the word: Ex. xiv. 27 (as R.V. marg.), Ps. lxxiv. 15; and in a metaphorical sense, Jer. v. 15 (of a nation whose numbers are never diminished), xlix. 19 and Num. xxiv. 21 (of an abiding, never-failing habitation).

Others understand judgement and righteousness here of God's *punitive* justice (cf. Is. i. 27, v. 16, xxviii. 17; and for the figure, Is. x. 22 "a consumption, *overflowing with righteousness*"); but the former interpretation, which is the usual one, is more agreeable with the context.

25. *Did ye bring unto me sacrifices &c.*] The question evidently requires a negative answer; and the emphatic words in the sentence are not, as has been sometimes supposed, *unto me* (which hold in the Hebrew quite a subordinate position), but *sacrifices and offerings* (which follow immediately after the interrogative particle). The prophet shews
✓ that sacrifice is no indispensable element of religious service, from the fact that during the 40 years in the wilderness—which, nevertheless, was a period when, above all others, Jehovah manifested His love and favour towards Israel (ii. 9, 10)—it was not offered.

bring] of a sacrifice, as Ex. xxxii. 6; Lev. viii. 14; 1 Sam. xiii. 9.
sacrifices and offerings] Rather, *and meal-offerings* (marg.): see on *v.* 22. The same combination, Is. xix. 21; Ps. xl. 6.

26—27. **But ye shall take up Sakkuth your king, and Kaiwān your images, the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves; and I will cause you to go into exile beyond Damascus, saith Jehovah**] You and your idols (cf. Jer. xlvi. 7 *b*, xlix. 3 *b*; Is. xlvi. 1—2) will go into exile together: this will be the end of your self-chosen course¹. But though the general sense of the verse is clear, some of the details are obscure. *Sakkuth* (probably read as *sukkath*) was taken by the ancients

¹ The rendering of A.V., R.V., *have borne*, is possible grammatically, but not probable: the reason which decisively excludes it is that a reference to idolatries practised in the wilderness is entirely alien to the line of the prophet's thought. (In the Heb., there is no *therefore* in *v.* 27.)

captivity beyond Damascus, saith the LORD, whose name is the God of hosts.

as an appellative, LXX. σκηνή, Vulg. *tabernaculum*, hence A.V. *tabernacle*, i.e. here, the *shrine* of an image: but more probably R.V. *Siccuth*—or better, disregarding the Massoretic punctuation¹, *Sakkuth*—is correct, *Sakkuth* being a name of Adar, the Assyrian god of war and the chase (also of the sun, light, fire, &c.), and said to mean “chief of decision,” i.e. “chief arbiter” (viz. in warfare); see Schrader, *K.A.T.*¹ p. 443, Tiele, *Bab.-Ass. Gesch.* p. 528 f.; Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 7, 151—154. *Chiun* (R.V.) should in all probability be pointed *Kêwân* or *Kaiwân*; it will then be identical with the Assyrian name of the planet Saturn, *Ka-ai-va-nu* (whence also *Kêwân* and *Kaiwân*; the Syriac, Persian, and Arabic names of the same planet²): so the Pesh., Ibn Ezra, Schrader, and many other moderns. The middle part of the verse does not, however, seem to be altogether in order; *images* (in the plural), for instance, being strange as applied to *Kaiwân* alone; and perhaps we should either (with Schrader) transpose two groups of words, and read “Sakkuth your king, and Kaiwân your star-god, the images which ye made” &c., or (with Wellhausen) omit צלמיכם, “your images,” and כוכב, “the star of” (or “star”), as glosses on אלהיכם, “your god” and כיון, “Kaiwân,” respectively. The reference must be to star-worship introduced into Israel from Assyria: cf., somewhat later, in Judah, Deut. iv. 19, xvii. 3, 2 Ki. xxiii. 12 &c.³ The context appears to shew, as W. R. Smith remarks (*Proph.* p. 140), that the cult alluded to was not a rival service to that of Jehovah, but was attached in some subordinate way to the offices of His sanctuary. See also p. 245.

LXX. has τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολοχ καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ Παιφάν, τοῦς τύπους αὐτῶν οὓς ἐποιήσατε ἑαυτοῖς, whence the quotation in Acts vii. 43

¹ Which may be intended to suggest the word *shikkutz*, “detestable thing,” often applied to idols (Deut. xxix. 17, etc.).

² See Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, who cites (p. 1660) Ephr. Syrus ii. 458 B; Ges. *Thes.* p. 669 f.; Fleischer in Levy, *Chald. Wörterb.* i. 428; Ges. *Jesaja*, ii. 343 f.

³ The explanation of this verse adopted above is that of Ewald and most modern authorities; but it is right to add that there are some scholars whom it fails to satisfy. These scholars agree indeed that the verse cannot refer to idolatry in the past, but object, for instance (Wellh.), that the idols of a vanquished nation would be carried off as trophies by the victors (Is. xlvi. 1), rather than taken into exile by the vanquished themselves, and point out that the fault with which elsewhere Amos reproaches the people is an exaggerated ceremonialism in the worship of Jehovah, not devotion to other gods. There is no doubt force in these objections; but it may be doubted whether our knowledge of the times is such as to render them conclusive; nor has any preferable explanation been yet proposed. Cf. Wellh., p. 83; G. A. Smith, p. 172 f.; N. Schmidt, *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.*, 1894, pp. 1—15; Cheyne, *Expositor* Jan. 1897, pp. 42—44 (who, like Wellh., rejects the verse as a gloss.) [Since Dr Driver wrote this, a number of fresh suggestions have been made, for a full account of which the reader is referred to Harper *op. cit.* pp. 139 f. It does not appear to have been noticed that *vs.* 26, 27 may be translated as a conditional clause. “But if ye shall take up Sakkuth your king etc. ... then I will carry you into exile beyond Damascus.” This is grammatically possible, and it relieves certain difficulties. Amos may have detected in Israel the beginnings of a form of star-worship, borrowed from Assyria, and may be exposing and denouncing it here. It has been proposed to take אלהיכם in the Assyrian sense of “lift up the hands,” i.e. “worship.”]

6 Woe to them that are at ease in Zion, and to them that

τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολόχ καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ 'Ρεμφάν, τοὺς τύπους οὓς ἐποίησατε προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς. 'Ραιφάν is evidently a corruption of *Και-ωάν*, which in Acts vii. 43 has become further corrupted into 'Ρεμφάν.

beyond Damascus] Syria, in Amos's time, was to Israel a more familiar power than Assyria or Babylon; Damascus was its capital; and exile into the unknown regions *beyond Damascus* is accordingly announced as the climax of Israel's punishment. After the Babylonian exile Babylon became both the type of Israel's oppressor and Israel's typical place of exile; and this, no doubt, is the reason why St Stephen, in Acts vii. 43, unintentionally substitutes Babylon for Damascus.

The passage v. 21—25 is one of the first statements in the O.T. of the great prophetic truth, that sacrifice, or indeed any other outward religious observance, is not, *as such*, either valued or demanded by God; it is valued, and demanded, by Him only as the expression of a right state of heart: if offered to Him by men who are indifferent to this, and who think to make amends for their moral shortcomings by the zeal with which they maintain the formal offices of religion, He indignantly repudiates it. The Israelites, like men in many other ages, were sufficiently ready to conform to the external forms and offices of religion, while heedless of its spiritual precepts, and especially of the claim which it made to regulate their conduct and their lives; and the prophets again and again take occasion to point out to them their mistake, and to recall to them the true nature of spiritual religion. See Hos. vi. 6¹; Is. i. 10—17; Mic. vi. 6—8; Jer. vi. 19—20, vii. 1—15, 21—23; Is. lxvi. 2—4 (in v. 3 "as" = "no better than"): also 1 Sam. xv. 22; Pss. xl. 6—8, l. 13—15, li. 16—17; Prov. xv. 8, xxi. 27; Eccles. xxxiv. 18—xxxv. 11.

(3) vi. A second rebuke, addressed to the self-satisfied political leaders of the nation, who "put far the evil day," and, immersed in a life of luxurious self-indulgence, are heedless of the ruin which is only too surely hastening upon their people (*vv.* 1—6). But, as before, exile is the end which the prophet sees to be not far distant: Israel's sins have caused Jehovah to turn His face from them. Invasion and destruction are coming upon them; their boasted strength will be powerless to save them from the consequences of their violation of the laws of truth and right (*vv.* 7—14).

1. *Woe to them that, &c.*] **Ah! they that...and that, &c.**, as v. 18. *are at ease*] Cf. Is. xxxii. 9 ("rise up, ye women that *are at ease*"), v. 11. The word (though it may be used in a good sense, *ib.* *vv.* 18, 20) denotes, in such a context as the present, those who are recklessly at ease, and live on in tranquillity and contentment, insensible to real danger.

in Zion] For the allusion to *Judah*, cf. ii. 4—5.

¹ Comp. on this text the writer's *Sermons on the Old Test.* (1892), pp. 217—232.

are secure in the mountain of Samaria, the notable men of the chief of the nations, to whom the house of Israel come! Pass ye unto Calneh, and see; and from thence go ye to 2

are secure], viz. without sufficient ground: in parallelism with 'at ease,' just as in Is. xxxii. 9, 11 (A.V., R.V., *careless*).

the men of mark of the first of the nations] i.e. the nobles of Samaria, who are described as the cream of a nation, which was itself (partly by its prosperity, partly by its theocratic privileges: cf. Jer. iii. 19; Ez. xx. 6, 15) the *first of the nations*. But the expression *first of the nations* may be used in irony, to reflect Israel's own opinion of itself: so Wellh. and G. A. Smith. *Men of mark* is lit. *marked, marked out*: elsewhere the same verb is rendered *expressed* (sc. by name, opposed to the unnamed crowd); cf. Num. i. 17, 1 Ch. xii. 31, xvi. 41, 2 Ch. xxviii. 15 (in all "expressed by name").

to whom the house of Israel come!] viz. for judgement (Ex. xviii. 16; 2 Sam. xv. 4). They hold a position of responsibility, they are raised above their fellow-citizens, and have to administer justice to them, and yet they are heedless of the interests entrusted to them and live only for themselves (*v.* 3 ff.).

2. Two diametrically opposed explanations of this verse have been given. (1) It has been regarded as continuing the argument of *v.* 1, the cities named in it being referred to as examples of *prosperity*: Can you find, from Calneh and Hamath in the North of Syria to the Philistine border on the South, a single kingdom 'better' (i.e. more flourishing) than your own? Thus has Jehovah favoured you; and ye requite Him with indifference and neglect (*vv.* 3—6). Therefore (*v.* 7) the sentence is, Ye shall be amongst the first to go into exile. The argument is similar to that of ii. 9—16, iii. 2: Israel has been visited by Jehovah with unwonted favour; that however will not exempt it from punishment, if it acts in such a way as to merit punishment. So Ew., Hitz., Keil, W. R. Smith, *Proph.* p. 138, &c. (2) It has been taken as introductory to *vv.* 3—7, the places named in it being pointed to as examples of *fallen greatness*: if cities, till recently so flourishing, so far from being now 'better,' i.e. more prosperous (Jer. xliv. 17), than Israel and Judah, have been overtaken by disaster, let Israel take warning betimes, and not rely too implicitly that its present good fortune will continue to attend it: the ground why such warning is needed follows then in *vv.* 3—6. So Baur, Pusey, Schrader, von Orelli, Wellhausen. In support of this view it may be urged that it is not very obvious why the places named—especially the distant Calneh—should be specially selected as examples of flourishing cities: the age was one in which the cities of Western Asia were liable at any moment to be roughly treated by the Assyrians (see below); and of Gath, in particular, it is observed that it is not mentioned among the Philistine cities enumerated either by Amos himself in i. 7, 8, or in Jer. xlvi., or Zeph. ii. 4—7, or Zech. ix. 5—7; and hence it has been inferred (G. A. Smith, *Geogr.* p. 194) that it must have been destroyed by the Assyrians about

Hamath the great : then go down to Gath of the Philistines :

750 B.C. But, on the whole, the former, which is also the general view, seems preferable¹. Hamath (see below) was taken by Sargon in 720 ; and the conquest of Calneh—at least, if it be the same as Calno—is alluded to as recent in 701 (Is. x. 9) ; and there is no sufficient reason for supposing (Schrader, Wellh. ; cf. G. A. Smith, p. 173 *n.*) that the verse is an insertion in the original text of Amos made towards the end of the 8th cent. B.C.

Calneh] The identification is uncertain. A Calneh is mentioned as an ancient Babylonian city in Gen. x. 10 ; and a Calno is alluded to in Is. x. 9 as a place conquered recently by the Assyrians. According to some, Calneh may be the place usually called *Zirlaba* or *Zarilab*, the characters of which, however, admit of being read ideographically as *Kulunu*, and which is mentioned by Sargon B.C. 710 as one of his conquests (Schrader, *K.A.T.*² pp. 96, 444). According to others (Winckler, *Gesch. Bab. und Ass.* p. 225 ; Tiele, *Bab.-Ass. Gesch.* p. 230ⁿ) it is *Kullani*, a place mentioned in the Eponym Canon (G. Smith, *Eponym Canon*, p. 50) as (apparently) the principal conquest of Tiglath-pileser III. in B.C. 738 : as this king was engaged that year in the north of Syria, there is a probability that it was in that region ; and it is accordingly identified by Mr Tomkins (*Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.* 9 Jan. 1883, p. 61) with the present *Kullanhou*, about six miles from *Tel Arfad* (Arpad), a little N. of Aleppo (notice Calno and Arpad together in Is. x. 9). Guthe, *Das Zukunftsbild des Jesaja* (1885), p. 43, and Dillmann (on Is. x. 9) would identify it with *Kimulua*, or *Kinalia*, the capital of the land of Patin, between the Afrin and the Orontes, on the S.E. of Antioch, some 70 or 80 miles N. of Hamath³, and consequently in the same neighbourhood as *Kullanhou*.

Hamath] an important town, situated some 150 miles N. of Dan, beyond the broad valley of Coele-Syria, on the Orontes (el'Āsī), the seat of an independent kingdom, whose king Toi (or Tou) is mentioned in the time of David (2 Sam. viii. 9 f.), and the modern Hamā, a place of 60,000 inhabitants. The territory of Hamath extended at least as far S. as Riblah (2 Ki. xxiii. 33, xxv. 21), in Coele-Syria, about 50 miles S. of Hamath itself. The "entrance to Hamath," i.e. probably (G. A. Smith, p. 177 ; cf. RIBLAH in *H.D.B.*) the mouth of the pass between the Lebanons, a little N. of Rēhōb and Dan (Num. xiii. 21 ; cf. Jud. xviii. 28), which was considered the starting-point of the road to Hamath, is often named as the northern limit of Israelitish territory

¹ [In this conclusion Dr Driver is at variance with most modern scholars. The general sense seems to require that the cities mentioned should be taken as examples of fallen greatness, and therefore the suggestion to read in 2b "Are ye better than these kingdoms, or is your border greater than their border?" should probably be adopted.]

² Who distinguishes it from the Calneh (= Kulunu) of Gen. x. 10.

³ See Schrader, *Keilinschr. und Geschichtsforschung* (1878), p. 217 f. ; Delitzsch, *Paradies*, p. 274. Assurnazirpal (B.C. 885—860), in his "Standard Inscription," iii. 72 (*R.P.*² II. 170 ; or Schrader, *K.B.* i. 107) speaks of receiving immense tribute from it.

be they better than these kingdoms? or is their border greater than your border? Ye that put far away the evil day, 3 and cause the ¹seat of violence to come near; that lie 4

¹ Or, *sitting*

(*v.* 14, 2 *Ki.* xiv. 25; *Josh.* xiii. 5; *Judg.* iii. 3; 1 *Ki.* viii. 65; *Ez.* xlvii. 20, xlviii. 1; *Num.* xxxiv. 8; cf. xiii. 21). Hamath is mentioned frequently in the Assyrian Inscriptions. In 854 B.C. its king Irchulina joined Ben-hadad of Syria and Ahab of Israel in a great coalition against the Assyrians, and was defeated with his allies by Shalmaneser II. (Schrader, *K.A.T.*² p. 201 f.; Rogers' *Cuneiform Parallels*, p. 301). Disastrous losses were inflicted upon it by Tiglath-pileser III. in 740, and by Sargon in 720 (*ib.* pp. 221, 323 f.; cf. *Is.* x. 9; and see also Delitzsch, *Paradies*, pp. 275—278).

go down] from the high central ground of Palestine to the plain by the sea, on which the Philistine cities were situated. So regularly, as *Judg.* xiv. 1, 19, 1 *Sam.* xiii. 20; and conversely 'went up,' 1 *Sam.* vi. 9. The use in geographical descriptions of these two terms should always be noted.

Gath] the fifth (see on i. 7, 8) chief town of the Philistines (*Josh.* xiii. 3; 1 *Sam.* vi. 17), one of the homes of the giant race of the Rephaim, *Josh.* xi. 22, 2 *Sam.* xxi. 18—22 (cf. 1 *Sam.* xvii. 4), mentioned also in 1 *Sam.* xxi. 10, xxvii. 11, 2 *Sam.* xv. 18 (600 warriors from Gath forming part of David's body-guard), *Micah* i. 10, and elsewhere. If "Gimtu Asdudim"¹ (?Gath of the Ashdodites) be this place, it is spoken of also as taken by Sargon at the same time that he took Ashdod (above, on i. 8) in B.C. 711 (*K.A.T.*² p. 399; cf. pp. 166, 444). Its site is uncertain. It is frequently mentioned next to Ekron, and from 1 *Sam.* xvii. 52 appears to have lain between Ekron and the vale of Elah (probably the Wādy es-Sunt); hence many have sought it at Tell eš-Šāfiyeh, a commanding height, 11 miles S.E. of Ekron, rising out of the plain, where the Wādy es-Sunt opens into it, and looking across Philistia to the sea. Cf.² G. A. Smith, *Geogr.* pp. 194—197.

3—7. The luxury and indifference of the leaders of the nation.

3. *Ye that put far away the evil day*] Probably, with aversion: cf. the use of the word in *Is.* lxvi. 5. They feel themselves secure against coming disaster (*ix.* 10), and will not hear of it, while at the same time they *bring near the seat of violence*, or, more literally, *the sitting of violence*: i.e. they prepare in their very midst a place where, instead of justice, *violence* may sit enthroned. "They put from them the judgement of God (*ii.* 6 f. &c.), that they might exercise violence over His creatures" (Pusey).

4. *that lie upon divans* (*iii.* 12) *of ivory*] i.e. divans, the frames of which were inlaid with ivory: cf. the "ivory couches," and "great ivory

¹ [Rogers *op. cit.* p. 329, identifies Gimtu with Gath, but regards Asdudimmu as another city, and indeed the prefix *alu* makes this necessary. Ashdod has been mentioned just before.]

² [See also art. *Gath* in *H.D.B.*]

upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves
 5 out of the midst of the stall; that sing idle songs to the
 6 sound of the viol; that devise for themselves instruments
 of music ¹like David; that drink ²wine in bowls, and

¹ Or, *like David's*

² Heb. *in bowls of wine.*

seats," which Sennacherib boasts that he received from Hezekiah (*K.A.T.*² p. 293 *bottom*, referred to by Mitchell).

and are stretched out upon their couches] The older custom in Israel was to *sit* while eating (Gen. xxvii. 19; Judg. xix. 6; 1 Sam. xx. 5, 24; 1 Ki. xiii. 20), whether upon a rug or carpet spread out on the floor, or (2 Ki. iv. 10) on a seat: the custom of reclining at table is first mentioned here; it was not impossibly a foreign fashion introduced from Syria, and is in any case viewed by the shepherd-prophet as a signal mark of effeminacy and luxury. Of course, in later times—probably through Greek or Aramaic influence—it became general (Ecclus. xli. 19; Matt. ix. 10, xxvi. 7, &c.).

the lambs] Heb. *kārim*, not the usual word for lambs, and denoting apparently such as, from their age or kind, were a special delicacy (cf. Deut. xxxii. 14; 1 Sam. xv. 9).

and the calves out of the midst of the stall] Brought directly from the place where they were *tied up* (such, as Arabic shews, is the meaning of the word) to be fatted. Cf. Luke xv. 23.

5. *sing idle songs*] **improvise idly.** The word (*pāraʿ*) occurs only here; and its meaning is uncertain: but (if the text be correct) this on the whole is the most probable rendering: see the Additional Note, p. 241. In illustration of the custom of having music at banquets, see Is. v. 12, xxiv. 9.

the viol] **the harp** (comp. v. 23, and see p. 239 ff.).

devise for themselves instruments of music like David] or, perhaps, *like David's*. The skill of David as a player on the *kinnōr* (p. 239) is of course, well known (1 Sam. xvi. 18, 23, &c.): this passage speaks of him as famed further either for the musical instruments which he invented, or for those which he owned, and which will naturally have been performed upon either by himself or by others at his direction¹. The comparison rather suggests that the music for which David at this time was chiefly remembered was of a secular kind (cf., of Solomon, 1 Ki. x. 12, where 'singers' is not the term used technically in later writings of the Temple-singers), but it is obviously not inconsistent with the tradition embodied in the Chronicles that he cultivated sacred music as well. Comp. W. R. Smith, *O.T.F.C.*² p. 223 f.

6. *that drink with bowls of wine*] Not satisfied with ordinary cups. *Bowl* is properly a *throwing-vessel*, the root *zāraḳ* signifying *to throw* or *dash in a volume*, Lev. i. 5, 11, &c. (not *to sprinkle*, which

¹ [The fact that LXX. does not mention David, and that the word כְּדָוִד is metrically superfluous, suggests that "like David" may be a gloss.]

anoint themselves with the chief ointments; but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph. Therefore now **7** shall they go captive with the first that go captive, and the

is *hizzāh*, Lev. iv. 6, 17, &c.); and elsewhere it is always used of the large bowls or basins from which the blood was *thrown* in a volume against the altar (Ex. xxvii. 3; 1 Ki. vii. 40; 2 Ki. xii. 13; Zech. ix. 15, xiv. 20: see Lev. i. 5, 11, iii. 2, 8, 13; 2 Ki. xvi. 13, 15; 2 Chr. xxix. 22. *Sprinkle*, in these and similar passages, is incorrect: it should be *throw* or *dash*). The luxurious nobles of Samaria at their banquets drank their wine from bowls of similarly large size.

and anoint with the first of oils] oils of the choicest kind. The practice of anointing the body, especially after washing (Ruth iii. 3), was common in the East: it both soothed and refreshed the skin, and was a protection against the heat. As a rule, fresh olive-oil was used for the purpose (Deut. xxviii. 40; Mic. vi. 15), but aromatic spices and perfumes were often added, especially by the rich (1 Ki. x. 10; Ez. xxvii. 22; cf. Mark xiv. 3, 5); and such choice and costly compounds are alluded to here. Anointing was in particular practised on festal occasions; and oil was accordingly a mark of joy (Ps. xxiii. 5, xlv. 7, xcii. 10; Is. lxi. 3; Eccl. ix. 8), while not to anoint oneself was a token of mourning (2 Sam. xiv. 2).

but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph] more lit., *are not sick for the breach* (or *wound*) *of Joseph*. The words bring out the irony of their position: immersed themselves in a vortex of pleasure, they are unconcerned by the thought of the *breach* or *wound* in the body politic, i.e. the impending material ruin, the signs of which the prophet can only too clearly discern, though they are invisible to the self-satisfied political leaders of the nation. For the term *breach* (or *wound*), applied to a nation, cf. Is. xxx. 26; Jer. vi. 14 ("the breach of the daughter of my people"), viii. 21, x. 19, xiv. 17, xxx. 12, 15; Nah. iii. 19; Lam. ii. 13 (A.V., R.V., often "hurt").

7. The sentence. These nobles will indeed retain their preeminence, but it will be at the head of a procession of exiles.

Therefore now] i.e. as soon as the threatened disaster has arrived.

shall they go into exile at the head of them that go into exile] heading the procession.

revelry] The word appears to denote properly a *loud cry* (though no corresponding root with this meaning is known in the Semitic languages¹), here of the cry of revelry, in Jer. xvi. 5 of the cry of grief (A.V., R.V., inadequately "mourning")². In the original there is an assonance between the word rendered "stretched out," and that rendered "pass away," the latter being formed by the first two letters of the former, which thus, as it were, ominously suggests it (*wēsār mirzāh sērūhīm*).

¹ See Fleischer in Levy's *Neu-Hebr. Wörterbuch*, III. 317 f.

² *Hērīa'* may have the same double application: contrast Is. xv. 4, Mic. iv. 9, with Zeph. iii. 14, Zech. ix. 9, &c.

revelry of them that stretched themselves shall pass away.
 8 The Lord GOD hath sworn by himself, saith the LORD, the
 God of hosts: I abhor the ¹excellency of Jacob, and hate
 his palaces: therefore will I deliver up the city with all that
 9 is therein. And it shall come to pass, if there remain ten
 10 men in one house, that they shall die. And when a man's
²uncle shall take him up, even he that burneth him, to

¹ Or, *pride*

² Or, *kinsman*

8. The contemplation of such strange moral obliquity excites the prophet's indignation, which finds expression in the oath (cf. iv. 2, viii. 7), in which Jehovah solemnly affirms that He *abhors* Israel.

by himself] Lit. *by his soul*: the same oath, Jer. li. 14 only (Jehovah's 'soul,' Is. i. 14, xlii. 1, Jer. v. 9, vi. 8 *al.*).

abhor] From being Israel's guardian and protector He is turned into its foe. Comp. for the general thought Deut. xxviii. 63; Hos. v. 12, 14, xiii. 7 f.; Is. lxiii. 10; and below, ch. ix. 4.

excellency] *pride*,—whether of Israel's vain-glorious temper itself (Is. ix. 9), or of the objects of which it is proud, its affluence, material splendour, military efficiency, &c. The word will bear either sense: see (a) Hos. v. 5, vii. 10, Is. xvi. 6; and (b) Nah. ii. 3, Ps. xlvii. 4, Zech. ix. 6. On the feeble and very inadequate rendering 'excellency,' see the Additional Note, p. 243.

his palaces] in which Israel's pride is only too manifest; the homes of the *nonchalant* nobles, founded on oppression (cf. Jer. xxii. 13—17, of Jehoiakim), and enriched by what had been wrung from the indigent (cf. ch. iii. 10).

and I will *deliver up* &c.] As in ii. 14—16, iii. 11 f., iv. 2 f., v. 16, there rises before the prophet's eye a vision of invasion, one of the accompaniments of which would be naturally the siege of the strong cities.

9—10. The terrible consequences of the siege.

9. A house in which *ten men* were left, surviving the casualties and privations of a siege, must have been a fairly large one: no doubt, Amos has still in view the palaces of the wealthy (cf. iii. 15). Those, however, who in such a house have escaped other dangers, *shall* nevertheless *die*, viz. by the pestilence, which the prophet pictures tacitly as raging in the city at the time.

10. A grim episode imagined by the prophet (cf. Is. iii. 6 f.) for the purpose of illustrating vividly the terrors of the time: the relative of a deceased man enters his house to perform the last duties to his corpse: he finds no living person in it except one, secreted in a far corner, who tells him he is the solitary survivor of the household, all the others having perished (cf. v. 9): so desperate is the outlook that men dread even to mention Jehovah's name, for fear lest it should call down a fresh judgement upon them.

bring out the bones out of the house, and shall say unto him that is in the innermost parts of the house, Is there yet any with thee? and he shall say, No; then shall he say, Hold thy peace; for we may not make mention of the

a man's uncle] His father and brother are supposed to be dead: so his uncle is his next-of-kin, and, as such, has the care of his interment.

even he that burneth him] As a rule, the Hebrews did not burn their dead, but buried them, the only exceptions noted in the O.T. being the cases of criminals (Lev. xx. 14, xxi. 9; Jos. vii. 15, 25; cf. Gen. xxxviii. 24), and of Saul and his sons, whose bodies were burnt by the men of Jabesh-Gilead, after they had rescued them from the wall of Beth-shean. If the rendering given be correct, it must be supposed that Amos pictured burial as being impossible, either on account of the limited space available, in a besieged city, or because of the virulence of the plague. The Heb. is however, literally, not *he that burneth him*, but *his burner*; and as the terms used seem to imply that some recognised custom is alluded to, it is quite possible that the reference is to the practice of burning fragrant spices in honour of the dead: see Jer. xxxiv. 5; and esp. 2 Chr. xvi. 14 ("and they laid him [Asa] in the bed [bier], which was filled with sweet odours, and divers kinds of spices, prepared by the perfumer, and they burnt for him a very great burning"); xxi. 19 b.

in the innermost parts] the same word which is used of the farthest or innermost parts of a cave (1 Sam. xxiv. 3), of Sheol (Is. xiv. 15), and, as here, of a house, Ps. cxxviii. 3.

Is there yet any with thee?] viz. alive.

then shall he say] **And he shall say**: the subject is still the survivor, speaking from the corner of the house, the words 'and he shall say' being inserted merely for the purpose of separating two parts of the answer which have no immediate connexion with each other (Hitzig compares 2 Ki. vi. 27 f.; see also Gen. xvi. 10, 11, xxi. 7).

Hold thy peace] **Hush!**—the exclamation found also in viii. 3; Jud. iii. 19; Hab. ii. 20; Zeph. i. 7; Zech. ii. 13; and in the plural, treated as a verb, Neh. viii. 11.

for we must not make mention, &c.] lest, namely—such, at least, appears to be the meaning—by an injudicious utterance some fresh judgment should be invoked upon the panic-stricken survivors. It may have been the custom, upon occasion of a death, to offer some prayer or invocation to Jehovah; and the speaker, unmanned by the terrible mortality about him, feels a superstitious dread of mentioning Jehovah's name, lest He should be moved by it to manifest some fresh token of His displeasure (comp. partly Is. xix. 17)¹.

¹ [The obscurity of the passage as rendered above points conclusively to the text being corrupt. Suggested emendations are numerous, but most are far-fetched. The Vg. apparently reads ושרפו "and shall burn him" for ומוסרפו "even he that burneth him," and this simplifies the sentence a little. From the fact that only bones were to be carried from the house, it would seem that the body itself was to be burned, and not merely fragrant spices.]

11 name of the LORD. For, behold, the LORD commandeth,
and ¹the great house shall be smitten with breaches, and
12 the little house with clefts. Shall horses run upon the rock?
will one plow *there* with oxen? that ye have turned judge-
ment into ²gall, and the fruit of righteousness into worm-
13 wood: ye which rejoyce in a thing of nought, which say,

¹ Or, *he will smite the great house*

² See Deut. xxix. 18.

11. *For, behold, &c.*] The words give the reason for *v.* 8, rather than for *vv.* 9—10, which describe merely an episode in the ruin.

commandeth] viz. the human agents, by whose instrumentality (cf. Is. x. 6) He carries out His will. Who these agents are conceived by Amos to be will appear in *v.* 14.

the great house shall be smitten into fragments, and the little house into clefts] Neither the palaces of the wealthy, nor the more modest dwellings of the ordinary citizens, will escape the coming ruin¹.

12. *Do horses run upon crags? doth one plow (there) with oxen?* or (dividing one word into two) *doth one plow the sea with an ox? that ye have turned judgement into poison, &c.*] The two questions are meant to represent what is obviously unnatural and absurd. Do horses run over the jagged crags, or do men plough there with oxen (or with the emendation, Do men plough the sea with oxen), that ye do what is not less preposterous and unreasonable, viz. turn justice into injustice and so transform what is wholesome into a poison? For the figure 'turn judgement into poison,' see *v.* 7 ("into wormwood"). The emendation proposed (which, though conjectural, is supported by many of the best modern scholars) is recommended by the fact that it avoids the unusual plural *bēkārīm* and also obviates the necessity of mentally understanding "there" in the second clause of the verse².

gall] **poison**: Heb. *rōsh*, occurring also Dt. xxxii. 32, 33; Hos. x. 4; Jer. viii. 14; Lam. iii. 5; Ps. lxix. 21; Job xx. 16; and coupled, as here, with 'wormwood' (cf. *ch.* v. 7), Dt. xxix. 18; Jer. ix. 15, xxiii. 15; Lam. iii. 19. Dt. xxix. 18, Hos. x. 4 shew that some poisonous plant is denoted by the word (so that the rendering *gall* is certainly wrong), though, since it is quite uncertain what plant is meant, it is impossible to render otherwise than by a perfectly general term, such as *poison*. As *rōsh* also signifies 'head,' some have thought poppies, of which several species are found in Palestine, to be the plant denoted by the word.

the fruit of righteousness] i.e. the effects of righteousness (or justice), which would normally be wholesome and beneficial to society, but which, as it is perverted by the nobles of Israel into *injustice*, become *wormwood* (*v.* 7), i.e. something bitter and deleterious to all.

13. *ye which rejoyce in a thing of nought*] Lit. in a *no-thing*, a

¹ [The explanation of the Targum that the great house refers to Israel, and the little house to Judah, may be rejected as fanciful.]

² [The emendation only involves a different division and vocalization of the consonants ים בבקר for ים.בבקר.]

Have we not taken to us horns by our own strength? For, ¹⁴ behold, I will raise up against you a nation, O house of Israel, saith the LORD, the God of hosts; and they shall afflict you from the 'entering in of Hamath unto the brook of the Arabah.

¹ See 2 Kings xiv. 25.

non-entity, what has no substantial existence, and is destined to pass away when the hour of trial comes, i.e. their boasted, but unreal, material prosperity. Hebrew poets, by prefixing to a term the negative *lō*, sometimes express the pointed and emphatic negation of an idea: cf. a *not-people*, a *not-god*, Dt. xxxii. 17, 21, a *not-man*, Is. xxxi. 8, i.e. something as different as possible from a people, a god, or a man. See Kautzsch's edition of Gesenius's *Heb. Grammar*, § 152. 1 note.

which say, Have we not, &c.] The Israelites are represented as priding themselves on the power which they had newly acquired under Jeroboam II., and the acquisition of which they attribute to their own exertions. For a similar overweening speech, placed in the mouth of the people of Ephraim, see Is. ix. 10. The *horn* is a figure often used in Hebrew poetry to denote the strength which repels and tosses away whatever is opposed to it: cf. Dt. xxxiii. 17 (of the double tribe of Joseph); Ps. lxxv. 5, 10, lxxxix. 17¹.

14. *For*] justifying the low estimate of their power, expressed in v. 13.

raise up] not absolutely, as ii. 11 (for the Assyrians had long existed as a nation), but *against you*, i.e. as your adversaries. As in Hab. i. 6 (of the Chaldaeans) the term is used of the unconscious instruments of Providence: cf. 1 Ki. xi. 14, 23; also Is. x. 5. (The Hebrew words in Ex. ix. 16, and in Is. xli. 2, 25, xlv. 13 are both different: in Ex. *made thee to stand*, i.e. *to endure*; in Is. *stirred up*, i.e. impelled into activity, as Is. xiii. 17.) Properly, *am raising up*: cf. vii. 8; and on Joel ii. 19.

God of hosts] the title designates Jehovah appropriately, as one able to wield the powers of the world: cf. v. 27, and p. 236.

afflict] or *oppress* (*laḥatz*),—often used of oppression by a foreign power (Ex. iii. 9; Judg. iv. 3, vi. 9 &c.). Lit. *to crush* (Num. xxii. 25).

from the entering in of Hamath unto the wādy of the Arabah] i.e.

¹ Wellhausen, following Grätz, takes the Hebrew expressions rendered respectively *a thing of nought* and *horns* as two proper names, viz. *Lo-debar* (2 Sam. ix. 4f., xvii. 27) and *Karnaim* (1 Macc. v. 26, and perhaps in the 'Ashteroth-Karnaim, i.e. "Ashteroth of (or near) Karnaim," of Gen. xiv. 5), two towns, both on the east of Jordan, the conquest of which by Jeroboam II. he supposes to be the subject of the Israelites' boast; so G. A. Smith, p. 176f. But these towns (though Karnaim was strongly situated) hardly seem to have been places of great importance; nor is it the manner of the Hebrew prophets to mention specially such successes; *lākah*, also, is not the word properly used of taking a town (*lākhad*), whereas *to take for oneself*

(with the reflexive *ḥ*) is an idiom constantly used in the sense of *providing oneself with* (Lev. xxiii. 40; Is. viii. 1; Jer. xxxvi. 2, 28; Ez. iv. 1, v. 1; Zech. xi. 15 &c.). At most the conquests of these places may be *alluded to*, in the words used.

7 Thus the Lord GOD shewed me: and, behold, he over the whole extent of territory which had been recently recovered from Israel by Jeroboam II., who (2 Ki. xiv. 25) "restored the border of Israel *from the entering in of Hamath unto the sea of the 'Arabah.*" The "entering in of Hamath," as was observed on v. 2, marks the furthest limit of Israelitish territory on the north. The '*Arabah*' (comp. Deut. i. 1 R.V. marg.) is the deep depression, varying from 2 to 14 miles across, through which the Jordan flows, and in which the Dead Sea lies (hence one of its Biblical names, the "sea of the '*Arabah,*" Deut. iii. 17, iv. 49, Josh. iii. 16, xii. 3), and which is prolonged southwards to the Gulf of 'Aqabah. At present, the northern part of this valley is called *el-Ghôr*, i.e. *the Hollow*, or *Depression*, the ancient name being limited to the part between the S. end of the Dead Sea, and the Gulf of 'Aqabah, the *Wâdy el-'Arâbah*. See further the writer's *Commentary on Deut.*, p. 3, with the references. The "*Wâdy*" (see on v. 24) of the '*Arabah*' intended, can be identified only by conjecture; but it must, it seems, have been some fairly well-known *Wâdy*, and one also that might naturally be adopted as a boundary; hence it is generally supposed, with much plausibility, to have been the *Wâdy el-Ahsâ*, which, flowing down from the south-east, enters the '*Arabah*' about 3 miles S. of the Dead Sea, and then, turning northwards, runs straight into the lower end of the Dead Sea. The stream, which is a considerable one, divides now the district of Kerak from that of Jebal (Gebal, Ps. lxxxiii. 7, the ancient *Gebalene*), which would correspond, respectively, to the ancient Moab, and the N. part of Edom.

PART III. CHAPTERS VII.—IX.

(1) vii. 1—ix. 19. A series of visions, interrupted in vii. 10—17 by an historical episode, and followed in each case by longer or shorter explanatory comments, intended to reinforce, under an effective symbolism, the lesson, which Amos found so hard to impress, that the judgement, viz., which he had announced as impending upon Israel could now no longer be averted, and that though Jehovah once and again (vii. 3, 6) had "repented" of His purpose, He could do so no more: the time for mercy had now passed by.

(2) ix. 11—15. An epilogue, containing the promise of a brighter future which is to begin for Israel, when the present troubles have passed away.

The *vision*, as remarked in the note on ch. i. 1, was a frequent mode of prophetic intuition (comp. Hos. xii. 10). The vision is a projection or creation of the mind, analogous to the dream: the subject falls into a state of trance, or ecstasy¹, in which the channels connecting the brain

¹ The prophets, feeling themselves, when they fell into this state, to be under the influence of an uncontrollable power, speak of "Jehovah's hand coming (or being strong) upon" them, Ez. i. 3, iii. 14, 22, viii. 1, xxxvii. 1, xl. 1 (notice how each time the phrase is followed by the description of a vision); cf. 2 Ki. iii. 15.

formed locusts in the beginning of the shooting up of the with external objects are closed ; the conscious operation of the senses is consequently in abeyance ; the power of the will to guide thought is relaxed¹: on the other hand the *imagination*, or faculty of combining images and ideas, which have been previously apprehended, into new forms, is abnormally active ; and the pictures created by it stand out the more vividly, not being contrasted with the sharper impressions produced in a waking state by the senses. In other words, the vision may be described as a combination into new forms, under the influence of a determining impulse, of the images and impressions with which the mind, through its waking experience, is stored. In a prophetic vision, the determining impulse will have been due to the operation of the revealing Spirit ; in the case of Amos, as we may suppose, the thought of an impending judgement, which, borne in upon him at the time when Jehovah's 'hand' seized him, determined the direction taken by his imagination, and took shape accordingly in the concrete forms presented in these visions. It is in agreement with the character of the vision, as thus explained, that its imagery is generally supplied by the surroundings, amid which the prophet who experiences it lived himself ; the basis of Isaiah's vision (ch. vi.) is thus the Temple of Jerusalem (though what he sees is not of course an exact copy of it) ; the forms described by Ezekiel (ch. i.) are modelled upon the sculptured figures of Babylonia ; and the material imagery in Amos's visions is suggested similarly by objects, or scenes, with which the prophet would himself be familiar. The vision is thus the forcible symbolic presentation of a prophetic truth. Comp. W. R. Smith, *Prophets*, p. 219 ff.

1--3. The first vision. The devouring locusts.

1. *Thus the Lord Jehovah shewed me*] The same formula, *vv.* 4, 7, viii. 1. Cf. "shewed me" (also in the description of a vision), Jer. xxiv. 1 ; Zech. iii. 1. Lit. *caused me to see*, the correlative of *saw* (*rā'ah*), viz. in a vision, 1 Ki. xxii. 17, 19 ; Is. vi. 1 ; Ez. i. 1, 4, viii. 2 ; Zech. i. 18, ii. 1, &c.

was forming] Properly *forming as a potter*, a metaphor often applied to the creative operations of God : see on iv. 13. The participle (the force of which is lost in the English version) represents the action as in progress, at the time when Amos saw it in vision².

locusts] Hebrew has many different terms for locust, which cannot now in all cases be exactly distinguished : the word used here (*gōbay*) perhaps denoted in particular locusts in the 'larva'-stage, when they were first hatched (comp. the Excursus above, p. 88, No. 5). The derivation of the word is uncertain³.

¹ But, in the case of the prophets, the reason was not, as in the Greek *μάντις*, unseated ; see Oehler, *Theol. of the O.T.*, §§ 207, 209.

² [The participle standing by itself without any subject is somewhat strange. It has been proposed to read the substantive יִצֵר for יוֹצֵר: "behold, a fashioning of locusts." This is supported by LXX. and Syr., but it is not, perhaps, necessary.]

³ In Arabic *jabā* is to collect, and *jabā'a* is said of a serpent or other animal coming forth suddenly from its hole, as also of locusts coming suddenly upon a country, and

latter growth; and, lo, it was the latter growth after the
 2 king's mowings. And it came to pass that when they made
 an end of eating the grass of the land, then I said, O
 Lord GOD, forgive, I beseech thee: how shall Jacob stand?
 3 for he is small. The LORD repented concerning this: It
 shall not be, saith the LORD.

in the beginning of the shooting up of the latter growth] The precise meaning of *lēkesh* is uncertain: it may (as in Syriac) denote the *after-math*, or grass which springs up after the first crop has been cut; or it may denote the *spring-crops* in general, which are matured under the influence of the *malkōsh*, or "latter rain" (see on Joel ii. 23), of March and April¹. In either case the locusts are represented as appearing at a critical moment, and destroying for the year the crops owned by private Israelites. The 'king's mowings' appear to have been "a tribute in kind levied by the kings of Israel on the spring herbage, as provender for their cavalry (cf. 1 Ki. xviii. 5). The Roman governors of Syria levied similarly a tax on pasture-land, in the month Nisan, as food for their horses: see Bruns and Sachau, *Syr.-Röm. Rechtsbuch*, Text L, § 121; Wright, *Notulae Syriacae* (1887), p. 6" (W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 228, ed. 2, p. 246). After this tax had been paid, every one would naturally expect to be able to cut his grass for his own use. But the locusts came and devoured it.

2. The locusts had eaten up all the *herb of the land* (Ex. x. 12, 15), when Amos intercedes on behalf of his people, urging its inability to recover itself, if the work of destruction should still continue. The term *herb* is not limited to grass, but denotes green herbage generally (with the exception of trees): see Gen. i. 11, 29².

how (lit. as who) shall Jacob stand? for he is small] The resources of the nation are not sufficient to enable it to withstand the further progress of calamity.

3. *concerning this*] viz. concerning the further undefined calamity, which He had purposed, and of which Amos had rightly interpreted the locusts as being the harbinger. "God is said to *repent*" (lit., as Arabic

from each of these words is derived a name for locusts, denoting them either as *collecting* anything by eating it, or as *coming forth suddenly*—whether of their swarming forth from the ground, when the warmth of spring hatches the eggs, or of their sudden arrival in a country from elsewhere (see Lane, *Arab. Lex.* p. 379^a *top*, and pp. 372^c *top*, 373^a). It is possible (but not certain) that the Hebrew words referred to above are derived from one of these roots: they would be connected most easily with the first.

¹ [Some scholars (Elhorst, Cheyne) have seen in לקש 'latter growth' the word לק 'full-grown locust.' The sense would then be, "behold, he was fashioning young locusts in the beginning of the shooting up of the latter growth, and lo, full-grown locusts after the king's mowings." Cf. Edghill, *op. cit.* p. 71.]

² The Hebrew of יהיה הא מְבַלָּה is peculiar, and can scarcely be right. C. C. Torrey proposes a plausible emendation (*Journ. of Bibl. Lit.*, 1894, p. 63): יהיה הא מְבַלָּה "and it came to pass, as they were making an end," &c.

Thus the Lord GOD shewed me: and, behold, the 4
 Lord GOD called to contend by fire; and it devoured the
 great deep, and would have eaten up the ¹land. Then said 5
 I, O Lord GOD, cease, I beseech thee: how shall Jacob
 stand? for he is small. The LORD repented concerning 6
 this: 'This also shall not be, saith the Lord GOD.

Thus he shewed me: and, behold, the Lord stood 7

¹ Heb. *portion*.

seems to shew, to *sigh deeply*, or *groan*) “upon (or over) evil, which He has either inflicted (Deut. xxxii. 36), or has said that He would inflict (Ex. xxxii. 12, Joel ii. 13, Jon. iii. 10, Jer. xviii. 8), and which, upon repentance or prayer, He suspends or checks” (Pusey).

4—6. The second vision. The devouring fire.

called to contend by fire] Jehovah arraigns His people: and fire is the agent which He summons against them (cf. *to dispute*, or *litigate*, with fire, Is. lxvi. 16). For the idea of Jehovah's *contending* (in a forensic sense) with His people, comp. Is. iii. 13; Jer. ii. 9; Hos. iv. 1; Mic. vi. 2 (where the corresponding substantive is rendered *controversy*); and for *called*, comp. on v. 8¹.

and it devoured the great deep, and would have devoured the portion]

The imagery is suggested, no doubt, by the conflagrations which, in the East, break out in field and forest during the dry season (Joel i. 19, 20), and spread with alarming rapidity (comp. Ps. lxxxiii. 14, Is. ix. 18; and see Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, II. 291—293). So fierce was the flame thus kindled that it even dried up the ‘great deep’ (Gen. vii. 11), the subterranean waters upon which the Hebrews imagined the earth to rest (Gen. i. 7; Ex. xx. 4; Ps. xxiv. 2), and whence they supposed all its springs and fountains to have their supply; when these were exhausted, “it seemed as if the solid framework of the land, described with very apt pathos as the *Portion* (i.e. the *portion* [Mic. ii. 3, &c.] assigned by God to His people), would be the next to disappear” (G. A. Smith, p. 111). The judgement is thus a more severe one than that of the locusts.

5, 6. Again the prophet intercedes, in the same words as before, except that he does not pray that God would *forgive* His people, but that He would *cease, desist*, from His work of judgement. And, once more, the intercession of Amos obtains a mitigation of the punishment.

7—9. The third vision. The plumbline. Here Amos does not see the calamity itself, but only the symbol that it is decreed (cf. the almond-tree, and the seething pot, in Jer. i. 11, 13).

¹ [The phrase is certainly an awkward one, the position of אֲרָנִי יְהוָה at the end of the sentence being unnatural. The two words are possibly due to dittography, having come in from the preceding line. If this is so the construction אֲרָנִי יְהוָה קָרָא like הִנֵּה יוֹצֵר in v. 1. Oetli's emendation of קָרַב ‘drew near’ for קָרָא “called” is not improbably right.]

¹beside a wall made by a plumbline, with a plumbline in his
 8 hand. And the LORD said unto me, Amos, what seest
 thou? And I said, A plumbline. Then said the Lord,
 Behold, I will set a plumbline in the midst of my people
 9 Israel; I will not again pass by them any more: and the
 high places of Isaac shall be desolate, and the sanctuaries

¹ Or, upon

7. *beside*] or leaning over (cf. ix. 1). The prophet sees Jehovah stationed (Gen. xxviii. 13; Is. iii. 13^a, xxi. 8^b),—*nizṣāb*, implying a rather more set and formal attitude than ‘*ōmēd*, ‘standing,’—*beside a plummet-wall* (i.e. a wall built to the plummet), and holding a plummet *in his hand*: the design of the vision is thus to represent Him as a builder, whose aim is to secure that everything with which He has to do is built true. The application of the figure follows in v. 8.

8. *what seest thou?*] The question is addressed to Amos for the purpose of attaching the explanation of the symbol to the answer, which he is naturally expected to give correctly (exactly so viii. 2; Jer. i. 11, 13, xxiv. 3).

I am setting a plummet, &c.] The plummet being a test of what is perpendicular, it is a standard by which either to build up, or to pull down: Jehovah is already, He says, *setting* (the verb in the Hebrew is a participle) *a plummet in the very midst of His people* (i.e. applying to it a crucial moral test); and whatever does not conform to its standard will be destroyed: the condition of the nation is such that He will not again *pass over* its offences, as He has done before. For the figure, comp. Is. xxviii. 17, “And I will make judgement the measuring-line, and righteousness the weight (plummet); and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies,” &c.; xxxiv. 11, “He shall stretch out upon it [Edom] the measuring-line of wasteness, and the stones (plummet) of emptiness”; 2 Ki. xxi. 13, “And I will stretch over Jerusalem the measuring-line of Samaria, and the weight (plummet) of the house of Ahab,” i.e. they will be devoted to destruction.

pass by them] **pardon it** (the people): lit. *pass over* (viz. its transgressions, see Mic. vii. 18, Prov. xix. 11) *for it*: so viii. 2. This time no opportunity is given to Amos to intercede: before he can say anything, the final doom, *I will not again any more pardon it*, is pronounced irrevocably.

9. *high places*] local sanctuaries, usually situated on eminences (1 Ki. xiv. 23; 2 Ki. xvii. 10f.), a little outside the towns to which they belonged (cf. 1 Sam. ix. 12, 14, 19, 25, x. 5), sometimes, where no natural eminence was available, erected, it is probable, upon artificial mounds (cf. Jer. vii. 31; 2 Ki. xvii. 9). The custom of worshipping at such spots was borrowed, as seems evident (cf. Deut. xii. 2), from the Canaanites: it also prevailed in Moab (Is. xv. 2, xvi. 12: Mesha also, in his Inscription, l. 3, tells us that he had “made a high-place” for his

of Israel shall be laid waste; and I will rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword.

Then Amaziah the priest of Beth-el sent to Jeroboam ¹⁰ king of Israel, saying, Amos hath conspired against thee in

god Chemosh). The sanctuaries in question consisted of a "house," or shrine (1 Ki. xii. 31, xiii. 32), with an altar, and were served by priests (1 Ki. xii. 31—33, xiii. 33; 2 Ki. xxiii. 9): they are often alluded to as popular places of sacrifice, especially during the period of the monarchy (1 Sam. ii. cc.; 1 Ki. xxii. 43; 2 Ki. xii. 3, xiv. 4, xv. 4, &c.). Worship at such local sanctuaries, down to the 7th cent. B.C., in so far as it was not contaminated with heathen elements, was regarded as quite regular (comp. Ex. xx. 24; 1 Sam. ix. 13, where Samuel presides at and blesses the sacrifice at such a *bāmāh*; 1 Ki. iii. 4, xviii. 30); but under the centralizing influence of Deuteronomy, a change came in, and it was treated as illegitimate. The compiler of the Book of Kings, in his condemnation of the worship at the high-places, reflects the Deuteronomic standpoint. Amos, in so far as he refers to the *bāmōth* with disparagement, does so, not on account of their conflicting with the Deuteronomic law of the single sanctuary, but on account of the unspiritual character of the worship carried on at them. Comp. Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* II. 12—14.

Isaac] As in v. 16, a poetic synonym of Israel (not so elsewhere).

and I will rise, &c.] For the expression, cf. Is. xxx. 2; for the thought, Hos. i. 4, where the same dissatisfaction with the dynasty of Jehu finds expression.

with the sword] Jehovah's agent, then, will be the army of an invader, the nation, viz., whom in vi. 14 He says that He will "raise up" against Israel.

10—17. A historical episode, intimately connected with the preceding visions, and arising out of them. In particular, Amos, in explaining the last of these visions, had spoken so unambiguously, even, in appearance, threatening the person of the king, that Amaziah, the priest of Beth-el, denounces him to Jeroboam II., upon a charge of conspiracy; and upon the king's taking no notice of the accusation, takes it upon himself to bid the prophet leave Israel and return to his own country. Amos replies that he has been commissioned by Jehovah to speak as he has done, and re-affirms, with even greater emphasis, his former prediction, with reference in particular to the fate in store for Amaziah's own family and possessions.

10. *Amos hath conspired, &c.*] Amos had not, as a matter of fact, done this: he had not himself spoken treasonably against the king, or made any attempt upon his life, nor had he incited others to rebel against him. But he had foretold disaster for the house of Jeroboam, and threatened Israel generally with exile; hence disaffected spirits might readily have supposed that his words merely gave expression to his wishes, and that in acting so as to give them effect, they were but promoting the purposes of Providence. He seemed, consequently, in

the midst of the house of Israel: the land is not able to
 11 bear all his words. For thus Amos saith, Jeroboam shall
 die by the sword, and Israel shall surely be led away captive
 12 out of his land. Also Amaziah said unto Amos, O thou
 seer, go, flee thee away into the land of Judah, and there
 13 eat bread, and prophesy there: but prophesy not again any

Amaziah's eyes, to be guilty of *constructive treason*; and this formed a colourable pretext for making a representation to the king, which Amaziah hoped would be followed by an order for his immediate expulsion from the country.

in the midst of the house of Israel] where his influence would be the greatest: an aggravation of his offence.

the land is not able to bear (lit. *contain*) *all his words*] They are too numerous, and too monstrous, to be tolerated.

11. *Jeroboam shall die by the sword*] This had not been said by Amos,—at least, if the extant book of his prophecies contains all that he said upon the subject. It was *the house of Jeroboam* which Amos had threatened in *v.* 9: but Amaziah, it seems, gives the prophecy a more personal character, hoping thereby to produce a more powerful effect upon the king.

go into exile away from his land] See *v.* 5, 27, *vi.* 7.

12—13. Jeroboam apparently took no account of the priest's message. Accordingly Amaziah himself endeavours to induce Amos to leave the country.

O thou seer] or *gazer* (*hōzeh*, not *rō'eh*, 'seer,' 1 Sam. ix. 9, though a synonym of it; see Is. xxx. 10, quoted on i. 1). *Rō'eh* is used in 1 Sam. ix. 9, 11, 18, 19 of Samuel, and we are told in *v.* 9 that it was the oldest designation of the prophet; but it occurs elsewhere only in 1 Chr. ix. 22, xxvi. 28, xxix. 29 (each time as an epithet of Samuel); 2 Chr. xvi. 7, 10 (of Hanani); and in the plural, Is. xxx. 10. *Hōzeh* is used of Gad, 2 Sam. xxiv. 11 = 1 Chr. xxi. 9 ('David's *hōzeh*'); 2 Chr. xxix. 25 ('the king's *hōzeh*'); Heman, 1 Chr. xxv. 5 ('the king's *hōzeh*'); Iddo, 2 Chr. ix. 29, xii. 15; Jehu, son of Hanani, xix. 2; Asaph, xxix. 30; Jeduthun, xxxv. 15; and in the plural, Is. xxix. 10 (|| *prophets*), xxx. 10 (|| *rō'im*); Mic. iii. 7 (|| *diviners*); 2 Chr. xxxiii. 18, and (prob.) 19. Both words are thus rare in the pre-exilic literature, *rō'eh* being applied as a title only to Samuel, and *hōzeh* only to Gad: their revival in the late Chronicles is remarkable. Here *hōzeh* is used probably on account of the visions, which Amos had just related, perhaps also with a touch of irony, as though implying that he was (as we might say) a "visionary," and anticipated evils which were in reality imaginary.

into the land of Judah] Amos may be at liberty to say what he pleases in his own country: predictions of Israel's fall might not be unacceptable there; let him not utter them in Jeroboam's capital.

eat bread] i.e. make thy living. Amaziah implies that prophecy was a trade or profession. Already in early times we know that those

more at Beth-el: for it is the king's sanctuary, and it is a royal house. Then answered Amos, and said to Amaziah, I¹⁴ ¹was no prophet, neither ¹was I ²a prophet's son; but I ¹was

¹ Or, *am*

² Or, *one of the sons of the prophets* See 1 Kings xx. 35.

who consulted a *rō'eh* paid a fee for his advice (1 Sam. ix. 7, 8); and in the middle period of the monarchy there are allusions to the fact that the prophets who echoed the sentiments of the people gained popularity, and were rewarded accordingly: see Is. xxx. 10 (Isaiah's political teaching was obnoxious to the people, and they would not listen to him: they wished for 'seers' who would "see" for them "smooth things," i.e. visions of material prosperity, the success of their own plans, &c.); Mic. iii. 5 (the prophets who "bite with their teeth, and cry, Peace; and whoso putteth not into their mouths, they even prepare war against him"; i.e. who prophesy in accordance with the fee that they receive), 11 ("the prophets thereof divine for money"); Ez. xiii. 19. Comp. also 1 Ki. xxii. 13; Jer. xxiii. 16, 17, xxviii. 1—4, xxix. 8f. The genuine prophets were, of course, superior to all such considerations; they rebuked the people, when they deserved it, for their sins, and they uttered predictions which they felt to be true, heedless of the temper in which they might be received by those who heard them. But Amaziah insinuates that Amos is one of those prophets who lived upon popularity: he bids him, therefore, ironically, betake himself to Judah, where his words spoken against Ephraim will be listened to with satisfaction, and will not remain unrewarded. Baur quotes the German proverb, "Wess Brod ich ess', dess Lied ich sing."

13. *for it is the king's sanctuary, and it is a national temple*] Lit. *the temple of the kingdom*. Beth-el was the principal sanctuary of the northern kingdom, under the special patronage and support of the king.

14—17. Amos' retort.

14. *I was no prophet, neither was I a prophet's son*] i.e. not one of the "sons of the prophets," as the companies, or guilds, of prophets, at Beth-el, Gilgal, and other places, are called in the Book of Kings (1 Ki. xx. 35; 2 Ki. ii. 3, 5, 7, 15, iv. 1, 38, v. 22, vi. 1, ix. 1). In Semitic languages 'son' is often used in the figurative sense of *belonging to*: thus in Syriac *bar naggārê*, 'a son of the carpenters,' means a member of a carpenters' guild. Amos disclaims being a prophet by trade or profession, who might, for instance, have adopted his vocation without any special fitness, or inward call, or who might have even prosecuted it solely with a view to the material advantages accruing from it: no motives such as these had actuated him; he was a simple herdsman, and cultivator of sycamore trees; and he was following the flock, at the moment when the summons came, bidding him be a prophet to Jehovah's people.

an herdman] Lit. *a cow-* (or *ox-*) *herd*; but it is very possible, especially in view of the next verse ("from following *the flock*"), that *bōhēr*

15 an herdman, and a dresser of sycomore trees : and the LORD
took me from following the flock, and the LORD said unto
16 me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel. Now therefore hear
thou the word of the LORD: Thou sayest, Prophecy not against

(נָקַד) is here an error for *nōkēd* (נִקְדָּה), the rare word used in i. 1 to describe Amos as a keeper of the peculiar breed of sheep called *nakad*.

and a dresser of sycomore trees] The sycomore (or “fig-mulberry”) —not our tree of the same name—was a common (Is. ix. 10; 1 Ki. x. 27), but useful tree, which grew abundantly in the mild climate of the Shephēlāh, or Maritime Plain (1 Ki. *l.c.*; 1 Chr. xxvii. 28), as it does still in that of the deep Jordan valley: in Egypt, where it also grew (Ps. lxxviii. 47), and where it is found still, its wood was used for doors, boxes, coffins, and articles of furniture (Wilkinson-Birch, *Anc. Eg.*, II. 416). It attains the size of a walnut tree, has wide-spreading branches, and, on account of its shade, is often planted by the way-side (cf. Luke xix. 4). The fruit grows, not on the branches, but on little sprigs rising directly out of the stem, and in clusters like the grape (see the representation in the *Dict. of the Bible*, s.v.): it is something like a small fig, in shape and size, but insipid and woody in taste. The fruit is infested with an insect (the *Sycophaga crassipes*), and till the ‘eye’ or top has been punctured, so that the insects may escape, it is not eatable¹. This operation, it is probable, is what is here alluded to. *Bōlēs* is a verb derived from *balas*, which in Ethiopic means a *fig*, or (sometimes) a *sycomore* (see Dillmann’s *Lex. Aeth.*, col. 487), and in Arabic denotes a species of fig; in Hebrew, it may be inferred that it denoted the similarly shaped fruit of the sycomore, and the derived verb will have signified *to deal with, handle, or dress* the fruit of the *sycomore*. The LXX. having no doubt in view the method of rendering the fruit edible, referred to above, render by *κνίζων*, *pricking* or *nipping* (hence Vulg. *vellicans*)².

Tekoa is however much too cold for sycomores to have ever grown there: the tree is not found in Syria above 1000 ft. above the sea, and Tekoa is more than twice as high as that. We must suppose the “*nakad*-keepers of Tekoa” (i. 1) to have owned lands in the ‘wilderness’ or pasture-ground, stretching down to the Dead Sea on the east (above, p. 126); and here, in some sufficiently sheltered situation, must have grown the sycomore trees, which the prophet ‘dressed.’

15. It was while he was engaged in the ordinary occupations of his rustic life, that he became conscious of a call, which he could not but obey (cf. iii. 8), to become the prophet of Jehovah’s people, Israel.

from following the flock] Cf. (of David) 2 Sam. vii. 8; Ps. lxxviii. 71.

¹ Cheyne, *ap.* W. R. Smith, *Proph.*, ed. 2, p. 396.

² Theophrastus and Dioscorides, in their descriptions of the process, use a compound of the same verb, ἐπικνίζω. Theoph. IV. 2 πέττειν οὐ δύναται ἐὰν μὴ ἐπικνισθῆ· ἀλλ’ ἔχοντες ὄνυχας σιδηρᾶς ἐπικνίζουσιν· ἃ δ’ ἂν ἐπικνισθῆ τεταρταῖα πέττειται: Diosc. I. 130 φέρει δὲ καρπὸν μὴ πεπαινόμενον δίχα τοῦ ἐπικνισθῆναι ὄνυχι, ἢ σιδήρῳ. Cf. Bochart, *Hieroz.* II. xxxix. (p. 384; 406 Rosenm.).

Israel, and drop not *thy word* against the house of Isaac ; therefore thus saith the LORD : Thy wife shall be an harlot **17** in the city, and thy sons and thy daughters shall fall by the sword, and thy land shall be divided by line ; and thou thyself shalt die in a land that is unclean, and Israel shall surely be led away captive out of his land.

Thus the Lord God shewed me : and behold, a basket **8**

16—17. Amaziah had sought to silence Amos : Amos, speaking in the name of the God who had thus called him to be His prophet, so far from modifying or withdrawing his previous utterances, reaffirms them even more emphatically and distinctly than before.

16. *drop not thy word*] The same expression, also used figuratively of a prophetic utterance, in Mic. ii. 6, **11** and Ez. xx. 46, xxi. 2 [Heb. xxi. 2, 7]. It was suggested probably by the flow of words, which were apt to stream from the prophets' lips, when they were under the influence of the prophetic inspiration.

17. *Thy wife shall be an harlot &c.*] As before (vi. 8), the vision of a captured city rises before him : Amaziah's wife will be treated as a harlot by the victorious conquerors (cf. Is. xiii. 16 ; Zech. xiv. 2) ; his children, daughters as well as sons, will perish by the sword ; his lands will be distributed to new occupants ; he himself will die in a foreign land ; finally, Israel itself will go into exile. "*In the city* heightens the disgrace for the principal lady in the place" (Wellh.).

divided by (measuring-)line] Cf. Mic. ii. 4 (end) ; Jer. vi. 12 ; and see 2 Ki. xvii. 24.

a land that is unclean] A foreign land is regarded as 'unclean,' because Jehovah could not be properly worshipped in it (cf. 1 Sam. xxvi. 19 end) : no presence of Jehovah sanctified it ; there were no sanctuaries in it dedicated to Him ; consequently, even food eaten in it was 'unclean' likewise, for it was not hallowed by part of it being brought into His house, and offered to Him. See Hos. ix. 3, 4 (R.V. marg.) ; Ez. iv. 13, with Cheyne's and Davidson's notes respectively ; also *O.T.F.C.*² pp. 249 f.

and Israel shall surely go into exile away from his land] Amos repeats exactly the words placed in his mouth by Amaziah in v. 11.

viii. 1—ix. 11. The visions resumed.

viii. 1—14. The fourth vision (viii. 1—3). The basket of summer fruit.

1. *Thus did the Lord Jehovah cause me to see*] The same formula as before, vii. 1, 4.

a basket of summer fruit] Partly the thought of Israel's *ripeness* for judgement, but chiefly the Heb. word *kêtz*, "end," brings up before the prophet's mental eye in his vision, agreeably with the principles explained on vii. 1, the basket of *kaitz*, "summer fruit¹." Similarly, in

¹ The two words, though similar in sound, are not however connected etymologically : in the corresponding Arabic words, the last letter is not the same.

2 of summer fruit. And he said, Amos, what seest thou? And I said, A basket of summer fruit. Then said the LORD unto me, The end is come upon my people Israel; I
3 will not again pass by them any more. And the songs of the ¹temple shall be howlings in that day, saith the Lord GOD: the dead bodies shall be many; in every place
4 ²shall they cast them forth with silence. Hear this, O ye

¹ Or, *palace*

² Or, *have they cast them forth: be silent!*

Jeremiah's inaugural vision (Jer. i. 11, 12), the thought of Jehovah's *watching* (*shōkēd*) over His word to perform it, produces by association of sounds the image of the almond-tree (*shākēd*), the symbolism of which is afterwards explained, as that of the "summer fruit" is explained here.

2. The question is asked for the same purpose as in vii. 8.

The end] Amos answers, "A basket of *kaitz*": Jehovah replies, "אֵתֵץ—an 'end'—is come upon my people Israel¹." The last vision had declared that the approaching judgement was certain; this, that it was final, and also close at hand.

I will not again pardon it any more] The same words as vii. 8.

3. The nature of the 'end' more fully described: the songs of the temple will be turned into loud cries of woe; so many will be the slain that they will be flung out unburied and unlamented².

temple] The word might equally be rendered *palace*; and hence some have thought the allusion to be to the sounds of revelry (vi. 5), which were heard in the "palaces" (Hos. viii. 14) of Israel. But more probably the reference is to the songs (v. 23) of the worshippers assembled (ix. 1) in the sanctuary of Beth-el.

shall be howlings] lit. *shall howl*,—a mark of uncontrolled grief, as Is. xv. 2, 3, xvi. 7; Mic. i. 8 &c. Used of "songs," however, the expression is a strange one; Hoffmann and Wellh. would read *shārōth* "singing-women" for *shīrōth* "songs."

many the corpses! in all places have they cast them forth: hush! By the use of the perfect tenses the prophet represents the future vividly as already accomplished (the "prophetic perfect," frequent in the prophets, e.g. Is. ix. 2, 3). He sees the corpses flung forth heedlessly and indiscriminately upon the ground. There is no time, or place, for honourable burial. The survivors do their work in despairing silence, stopping any one who would say a word, as before (vi. 10), with *Hush!*

¹ [Edghill reproduces the assonance by "the 'fall' of the year" and "the fall of Israel." Such assonance is used with great effect by Isaiah: cf. especially Isa. v. 7.]

² [The verse, however, has no obvious connexion either with what precedes or with what follows. Its natural place is after v. 9, where it forms a fitting description of the result of the earthquake. (So Harper, followed by Edghill).]

that would swallow up the needy, and cause the poor of the land to fail, saying, When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the sabbath, that we may ¹set forth wheat? making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and

¹ Heb. *open*.

4—14. A fresh denunciation of Israel's sin, followed by a fresh picture of the impending calamities.

4—6. Amos indignantly turns to the rapacious merchants of Israel, rebuking them for their avarice, their dishonesty, and their meanness.

4. *Hear this*] iii. 1, iv. 1, v. 1.

that pant after the needy] i.e. who are eager to destroy them: the word has the same figurative sense in Ps. lvi. 1, 2, lvii. 3; cf. also above ii. 7 (Jerome renders, as there, perhaps rightly, *that crush*).

and are for making¹ the poor of the land to cease] viz. by their eagerness to take every advantage, and to secure everything for themselves,—as they might do, for instance, by exacting the labour of the poor without proper pay (Jer. xxii. 13; Mic. iii. 10), or by building large palaces, or amassing large estates (Is. v. 8; Mic. ii. 2), and so depriving their less fortunate neighbours of the means of livelihood, or compelling them to seek a home elsewhere, or even to sell themselves into slavery. In the present instance, however, their inconsiderate treatment of the poor took the form of commercial dishonesty, v. 6 f.

the poor] so Heb. marg.; Heb. text has *the humble*. See the writer's *Parallel Psalter*, pp. 445 f., 451 f.; or more fully POOR in *H.D.B.* Here the reading *poor* (עֲנָוִים for עֲנָוִים) is preferable.

5. *When will the new moon be gone?*] The new moon, the first of the month, was observed as a popular holiday (2 Ki. iv. 23; cf. 1 Sam. xx. 5, 24), and marked by religious services (Is. i. 13, 14; Hos. ii. 11; and often in later writings: cf. Num. xxviii. 11—15). From the present passage, it is apparent that, like the sabbath, it was a day on which trade was suspended, and which accordingly was viewed by the grasping Israelitish merchants with impatience, on account of the interruption which it occasioned in their unjust practices.

making the ephah small &c.] The *ephah* by which they sold was of short measure, while the *shekel*, by which the money to be paid by the purchaser was weighed, was unduly heavy. Dr Chaplin found in 1890, on the site of the ancient Samaria, a weight (now in the Ashmolean museum, Oxford), inscribed (if ש be rightly explained as an abbreviation for שלם) “a quarter of full weight.” This weight weighs 39·2 grains, which would give a shekel of 156·8 (or rather more, if something

¹ For the Heb. idiom employed, see the writer's *Heb. Tenses*, § 206; Davidson, *Heb. Syntax*, § 96 R. 4; or Ges.-Kautzsch (ed. 25 or 26), § 114. 2 R. 5.

6 dealing falsely with balances of deceit; that we may buy the poor for ¹silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes, and
7 sell the refuse of the wheat. The LORD hath sworn by the excellency of Jacob, Surely I will never forget any of their

¹ See ch. ii. 6.

be allowed for wearing). The weight of the so-called 'light' shekel (the 'heavy' shekel was twice as much) was probably 130—135 grains: whence W. R. Smith very ingeniously conjectured (*P. E. F. Qu. St.*, 1894, p. 229) that the weight in question was a heavy quarter-shekel, of the kind alluded to here by Amos (see p. 245).

dealing falsely with balances of deceit] i.e. tampering with the balances by which the money received by them was weighed, and so gaining a third unjust advantage over the purchaser. See, in condemnation of such commercial dishonesty, Lev. xix. 35—36; Deut. xxv. 13—15 ("Thou shalt not have in thy bag *a weight and a weight*, a great and a small. Thou shalt not have in thy house *an ephah and an ephah*, a great and a small," &c.); Prov. xx. 10 ("A weight and a weight, an ephah and an ephah, both of them alike are Jehovah's abomination"); Ez. xlv. 9, 10. The ephah was probably equal to about eight gallons.

6. The final issue of the rapacious conduct described in *v.* 5 is that the poor are more and more impoverished, and, falling into debt, have in the end to sell themselves—or their children—as slaves (Lev. xxv. 39) to their rich oppressors, who were only too ready to *buy the poor for the silver* which they owed them, *and the needy for the sake of a pair of sandals*, i.e. for a trifle (ii. 6), the price of which they could not pay.

and sell the refuse of the wheat] The final proof of their avarice: they sold what would ordinarily be thrown away, viz. the *refuse*—lit. the *fallings*—of the wheat, i.e. "what fell through the sieve, either the bran or the thin, unfilled, grains, which had no meal in them. This they mixed up largely with the meal, making a gain of that which they had once sifted out as worthless; or else, in a time of dearth, they sold to men what was the food of animals, and made a profit on it" (Pusey).

7. Such heartless dishonesty arouses Jehovah's indignation; and He swears *by the pride of Jacob*, that He *will never forget any of their works*, but bring them, namely, into account. The *pride of Jacob* may be Jehovah Himself (cf. 1 Sam. xv. 29 "the splendour of Israel," of Jehovah; and for the oath by Himself, Am. vi. 8); or, as the expression is not elsewhere used of Jehovah, but denotes Israel's vain-glorious self-confidence (vi. 8; cf. Hos. v. 5, vii. 10), it may have that sense here: Jehovah swears—ironically—by that which, however deeply He disapproves of it, He knows to be unalterable. The *oath*, as iv. 2, vi. 8,—each time provoked by the spectacle of some crying moral wrong.

works. Shall not the land tremble for this, and every one 8
 mourn that dwelleth therein? yea, it shall rise up wholly
 like the River; and it shall be troubled and sink again, like
 the River of Egypt. And it shall come to pass in that day, 9
 saith the Lord GOD, that I will cause the sun to go down
 at noon, and I will darken the earth in the clear day. And 10
 I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs

8—9. A hyperbolic description of the terrible nature of the coming judgement. On account of such enormities, the land will tremble, and rise up in mighty convulsions against the offenders; and darkness at noon-day will envelope the heavens.

Shall not on this account &c.] Cf. (esp. in the Heb.) Jer. v. 9, 29, ix. 9 (Heb. 8).

mourn] viz. in terror, as they feel the earth beginning to shake.

and it shall rise up, all of it, as the Nile, and it shall be tossed about (Is. lvii. 20), and sink again, as the Nile of Egypt] As the Nile, at the time of its annual inundation, rises, overflows, and sinks again, so will the land of Israel, in all its length and breadth, heave, and be convulsed, as by an earthquake, as it labours to rid itself of its guilty inhabitants (Is. xxiv. 19, 20). The acquaintance shewn by Amos with a natural phenomenon peculiar to Egypt is interesting; comp. the knowledge of Egypt shewn by Isaiah (xix. 2, 5—9), and Nahum (iii. 8). There was no doubt more intercourse between Canaan and Egypt, during the period of the kings, than is commonly supposed. The verse (except the first clause) is repeated with unsubstantial alterations in ix. 5.

9. Celestial wonders, which Amos pictures as accompanying the day of retribution (comp. Is. xiii. 10; Joel ii. 10, iii. 15). It is possible that the imagery is borrowed from an eclipse of the sun; and one which occurred June 15, B.C. 763, has been thought of as having suggested it. According to von Oppolzer's chart¹, the centre of totality of this eclipse passed through Asia Minor at about 38—39° N.; and it may therefore be reasonably inferred that it was visible in the latitude of Jerusalem (31° 46' N.) as a fairly large partial eclipse. (To go down is lit. to go in, as regularly in Heb., when said of the sun.)

10. The lamentation to be produced by such an alarming spectacle. *And I will turn your pilgrimages into mourning]* The sacred pilgrimages (v. 21) were occasions of rejoicing: cf. Is. xxx. 29; Hos. ii. 11 "And I will cause all her mirth to cease, her pilgrimages, her new moons, her sabbaths, and all her sacred seasons." Comp. also Lam. v. 15 "our dance is turned into mourning."

¹ In his elaborate "Canon der Finsternisse (particulars of 8000 solar eclipses from B.C. 1207 to A.D. 2161, with 160 charts, exhibiting their tracks), in vol. 52 (1887) of the *Denkschriften* of the Vienna Academy. The eclipse is mentioned in the Assyrian annals (G. Smith, *Eponym Canon*, pp. 46, 47); and its course has also been calculated independently (*ib.* p. 83).

into lamentation; and I will bring up sackcloth upon all loins, and baldness upon every head; and I will make it as the mourning for an only son, and the end thereof as a
 11 bitter day. Behold, the days come, saith the Lord God,
 that I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread,
 nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the
 12 LORD. And they shall wander from sea to sea, and from

into lamentation] into a dirge. Not unrestrained wailings, but a regularly constructed dirge (see on v. 1), is what Amos pictures as taking the place of joyous songs.

bring up...upon] Heb. *cause to come up upon*, the correlative of *come up upon*, said idiomatically of a garment (Lev. xix. 19; Ez. xliv. 17).

sackcloth] i.e. rough, coarse hair-cloth, which was bound about the loins in times of mourning (2 Sam. iii. 31; Jer. iv. 8, xlvi. 37 &c.).

baldness] Artificial baldness, produced by shaving off the hair on the forehead (Deut. xiv. 1), was another sign of mourning, often alluded to by the prophets, as resorted to, both by the Israelites, and among other nations: see Is. iii. 24, xv. 2 (in Moab), xxii. 12 (where Jehovah "calls" to it in Jerusalem); Mic. i. 16; Jer. xlvii. 5, xlvi. 37 (also in Moab); Ez. vii. 18 ("and on all your heads baldness"), xxvii. 31 (of Tyrian mariners). It is prohibited in Deut. xiv. 1, on account (as it seems) of its heathen associations.

and I will make it] viz. the lamentation of Israel in that day.

for an only son] Cf. Jer. vi. 26; Zech. xii. 10 *end*.

and the end thereof as a bitter day] Most griefs at length wear themselves out: the end of this grief should be not an alleviation, but an aggravation of the distress; it should introduce, viz., a further stage in the threatened doom.

11—12. Then, in the general distress, there will be an eagerness to hear that word of Jehovah, which is now scorned and rejected: men will seek everywhere throughout the land to find a prophet who will declare it to them, but in vain. The reference may be partly to Jehovah's moral commandments, which, when it is too late; the people will be ready to obey; but chiefly, no doubt, it is to the counsel and advice which, in a national crisis, Jehovah was wont to send His people through the prophets.

11. *Behold, days are coming]* iv. 2.

words] Read probably (with many MSS., LXX. Vulg. Pesh.; cf. v. 12) the sing. "word," the regular term for a particular communication from Jehovah.

12. *wander]* go tottering (comp. on iv. 8), with allusion to the uncertain gait of persons partly (v. 13) exhausted, and partly bewildered, not knowing where to find what they are in search of (cf. Lam. iv. 15).

from sea to sea] i. e. from the Dead Sea, the S. limit of the kingdom of Israel (2 Ki. xiv. 25), to the Mediterranean, its western boundary.

the north even to the east; they shall run to and fro to seek the word of the LORD, and shall not find it. In that day shall the fair virgins and the young men faint for thirst. They that swear by the sin of Samaria, and say, As thy

13

14

and from the north even to the sun-rising] returning thus to the point from which they started, and so completing the circuit of the land.

to seek the word of Jehovah] The expression may be illustrated from 1 Ki. xxii. 5 (Jehoshaphat) "Inquire, I pray thee, first of the word of Jehovah," v. 7 "Is there not here besides a prophet of Jehovah that we might inquire of him?" (similarly 2 Ki. iii. 11); from the phrase "the word of Jehovah is *with*" such and such a prophet, 2 Ki. iii. 12, Jer. xxvii. 18; and from the question put by Zedekiah in his anxiety to Jeremiah (Jer. xxxvii. 17) "Is there a word from Jehovah?"

and shall not find it] Cf. 1 Sam. xxviii. 6 (of Saul); Ez. vii. 26.

13. In the day of agony and distress then coming upon Israel, the young men and fair maidens, the strength and pride of the population, will *faint for thirst*, exhausted by the privations of a siege, or the sufferings involved in the sack of a city by the foe (cf. especially Lam. ii. 11, 12, 19; Is. li. 20).

14. *They that swear...; even they shall fall]* better, *Who swear* (connecting with v. 13)...; *and they shall fall* &c.

swear by the Guilt of Samaria] Men *swear* by that which they revere: the Israelite was commanded to *swear* by Jehovah (Deut. vi. 13, x. 20); and Jeremiah (iv. 2, xii. 16) promises a blessing upon those who swear by Him faithfully. Idolatrous Israelites swore by "not-gods" (Jer. v. 7), or by Baal (Jer. xii. 16), or Milcom (Zeph. i. 5), &c. The 'Guilt of Samaria' is probably the calf at Beth-el, which Hosea alludes to ironically as unworthy of the Israelites' regard (viii. 5, 6, x. 5): the golden calf which Aaron made is called "your sin" (Deut. ix. 21). Others suppose that the reference is to the Asherah which was made by Ahab in Samaria, and which still stood there, at least in the days of Jehoahaz (2 Ki. xiii. 6)¹. The Asherah (cf. Ex. xxxiv. 13, R. V. marg.) was a post or pole, regarded seemingly as the representative of the sacred tree, planted in the ground beside an altar, and venerated as a sacred symbol (see further W. R. Smith, *Relig. of the Semites*, p. 171 ff. (ed. 2, p. 187 ff.); *H.D.B.*², s.v.; or the writer's Commentary on Deut. xvi. 21).

and say, As thy God, O Dan, liveth] The formula of an oath: cf. the

¹ So W. R. Smith, *Proph.*, p. 140. Stade and Oort even suppose that *guilt* (אשמת) is an error for *Asherah* (אשרת). [It has been suggested that "the Guilt of Samaria," אשמת שִׁמְרוֹן represents a goddess Ashima, who is mentioned in 2 Kings xvii. 30 as worshipped by the men of Hamath. Some confirmation of this has been found in a list of subscriptions for religious purposes, discovered at Elephantine in Upper Egypt. In this list, side by side with Jahu (JEHOVAH) we find two other deities, Ashem-bethel and Anath-bethel. The Jews of Elephantine in the 5th century undoubtedly worshipped a motley collection of deities, but it is precarious to ascribe such a syncretistic form of worship to the Israelites of the time of Amos. See Burney, *Church Quarterly Review*, July 1912, pp. 403 ff.: Edghill, *Amos*, p. 85 f.]

God, O Dan, liveth ; and, As the ¹way of Beer-sheba liveth ; even they shall fall, and never rise up again.

9 I saw the Lord standing ²beside the altar : and he said, Smite the chapiters, that the thresholds may shake : and

¹ Or, *manner*

² Or, *upon*

common *As Jehovah liveth* (1 Sam. xiv. 39 &c.). Here the reference is to the calf set up by Jeroboam I. (1 Ki. xii. 29) at Dan, in the far North of Israel (now Tel el-Kādi), near the foot of Hermon, and not far from the principal source of the Jordan.

and, As the way of Beer-sheba liveth] For Beer-sheba, see on v. 5. The expression is an unusual one ; and it has been doubted whether the text is correct. But probably the reference is to the road taken by the pilgrims to Beer-sheba, which must have been a clearly-marked, much frequented route¹, and which, being regarded by the worshippers as unalterable and permanent, might not unnaturally form the object appealed to in an oath. "Strange as it may appear to us to speak of the life of the lifeless, this often happens among the Semites. To-day Arabs "swear *wa hyât*, 'by the life of,' even of things inanimate ; 'By the life of this fire, or of this coffee'" (Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 269). And as Amos here tells us that the Israelite pilgrims swore by the way to Beer-sheba, so do the Moslems affirm their oaths by the sacred way to Mecca² (G. A. Smith, p. 186). Others understand 'way' in the sense of *usage, cult*. Although therefore it remains possible that the title of a deity, "thy...", lies concealed under what is now read as 'way,' there seems to be no imperative necessity for questioning the correctness of the text. [Perhaps the most satisfactory alteration, if any be made, would be יהררך 'thy glory' (i.e. Jehovah), 'O Beer-sheba.']

shall fall, &c.] Cf. v. 2.

ix. 1—6. The fifth vision, the smitten sanctuary. The people are all assembled for worship in their sanctuary : Jehovah is seen standing by the altar, and commanding the building to be so smitten that it may fall and destroy the worshippers : none, it is emphatically added, shall escape the irrevocable doom. The worshippers are manifestly intended to symbolize the entire nation.

1. *standing*] **stationed** (vii. 7).

by the altar] lit. *over*, i.e. *leaning over*, an idiomatic use of the preposition, found elsewhere, as Numb. xxiii. 3, 6 ; 1 Ki. xiii. 1 &c. : cf. ch. vii. 7. The altar meant is the altar at Beth-el, the chief Israelitish sanctuary and national religious centre (vii. 13).

Smite the chapiters, that the thresholds may shake : and cut them off on to the head of all of them] A violent blow is to be dealt out to the *chapiters*, or capitals at the top of the columns supporting the roof of

¹ Comp. the *Derb-el-Haj*, or the route from Damascus to Mecca, a broad, clearly-marked track in the wilderness (Tristram, *Moab*, p. 170 ; *P.E.F.Qu.St.*, 1895, p. 229).

² Baur, p. 424, who quotes Rückert's translation of Hariri, i. 189 f., "By the pilgrimage, and the height of Mina, where the pious host stone Satan."

break them in pieces on the head of all of them; and I will slay the last of them with the sword: ¹there shall not one of them flee away, and there shall not one of them escape. Though they dig into ²hell, thence shall mine ² hand take them; and though they climb up to heaven, thence will I bring them down. And though they hide ³ themselves in the top of Carmel, I will search and take them out thence; and though they be hid from my sight in

¹ Or, *he that fleeth of them shall not flee away, and he that escapeth of them shall not be delivered* ² Heb. *Sheol*.

the temple: the temple will quiver to its very foundations; the broken fragments of the capitals—and no doubt, though this is not expressly mentioned, of the roof as well—will fall down upon the heads of the worshippers assembled below, burying them beneath the ruins. It has been questioned who is addressed in the words *smite* and *cut*. The same question has to be asked sometimes elsewhere in the prophets (Is. xiii. 2; Jer. v. 10, vi. 4; Is. lvii. 14, lxii. 10 &c.); and the reply is always the same, viz. the agent (or agents) whom in each case the prophet pictures as naturally fitted to carry out the commission: here, probably, an angel. The *chapiter*, properly a *knop*,—the word is used in Ex. xxv. 31 and elsewhere of a spherical ornament on the stem and branches of the golden candlestick,—will have been the globular ornament at the top of a column (so Zeph. ii. 14). Comp. in Solomon's temple, 1 Ki. vii. 16—20 (where the word, however, is not the same).

and I will slay the last of them] the residue of them (iv. 2): those who escaped at the time that the temple fell, should perish subsequently by the sword. The two last clauses of the verse, as well as the three following verses, emphasize further the same thought.

2—4. In whatever direction they flee, wherever they essay to hide themselves, and even though they should be in captivity in the enemy's land, they will not be able to elude the Divine anger.

2. Two examples of places, inaccessible to man, in which they are pictured hyperbolically as seeking to escape the Divine hand; Sheol, the deep and cavernous (Is. xiv. 15) abode of the dead, which was located by the Hebrews far down below the earth (Deut. xxxii. 22; Job xxvi. 5; Ez. xxxii. 18); and the lofty heights of heaven (Jer. li. 53). Comp. the words in which the Psalmist expresses the thought of God's omnipresence, Ps. cxxxix. 8; also (with the second clause) Obad. 4.

dig through] The word is used of *digging through* a wall, Ez. viii. 8, xii. 5, 7, 12; and the cognate subst. of *the act of robbers digging into a house* (Ex. xxii. 2; Jer. ii. 34); cf. *διορύσσειν*, Matt. vi. 19.

3. Two other examples of remote or inaccessible hiding-places, similarly contrasted; Carmel, rising abruptly out of the sea, and the depths of the ocean which it overhangs. Carmel was in two ways a hiding-place: (1) as usual in limestone formations, it abounds in caves

the bottom of the sea, thence will I command the serpent,
 4 and he shall bite them. And though they go into captivity
 before their enemies, thence will I command the sword,
 and it shall slay them: and I will set mine eyes upon them
 5 for evil, and not for good. For the Lord, the GOD of hosts,
 is he that toucheth the land and it melteth, and all that

—said by some to be more than 2000 in number—often of great length, with narrow entrances, and extremely tortuous. These caves are “so close to each other that a pursuer would not discern into which the fugitive had vanished; so serpentine within, that ‘ten steps apart,’ says a traveller¹, ‘we could hear each others’ voices, but could not see each other’” (Pusey). (2) The summit of Carmel, about 1800 ft. above the sea, is thickly wooded (see the descriptions quoted on ch. i. 2; and comp. Mic. vii. 14); in the first cent. A.D., according to Strabo (xvi. 2. 28), its forests were the retreat of robbers. Carmel, projecting into the sea, would be the last hiding-place in the land: if a fugitive found no safety there, he could seek it next only in the sea. But even the sea, as the next clause says, should afford no safety for these Israelites.

the serpent] In warm tropical regions, highly venomous marine serpents (*Hydropidae*) are found in the sea (see particulars in Cantor, *Zoological Transactions*, II. pp. 303 ff., referred to by Dr Pusey). They are not, however, known in the Mediterranean; and the reference is more probably to an imaginary monster, supposed by the Hebrews to have its home at the bottom of the ocean, and to be at the disposal of the Almighty.

4. Even in captivity they would not be safe; they might escape the destruction of the foe, but the Divine sword should yet overtake them.

before their enemies] Driven before them, like a flock of sheep: cf. Lam. i. 5.

I will set mine eyes upon them for evil, and not for good] To *set the eye upon* is elsewhere found always in a good sense = to keep watch over, take under one's care (see Jer. xxiv. 6, xxxix. 11). *For evil and not for good*, as Jer. xxi. 10 (with “to set the face against”), xxxix. 16; and (with “watch over”) xlv. 27. God's watchful care and love are transformed, through His people's sin, into hostility (cf. on vi. 8).

5—6. Such a terrible announcement of judgement might seem to need confirmation: Amos therefore pauses, to describe, in two majestic verses, the power of the God who has been provoked, and who thus threatens His vengeance: all great movements in nature are due to Him (v. 5); He sits on high and can control the elements (v. 6).

5. *For the Lord, Jehovah of hosts, is he that toucheth the land and it melteth, and all that dwell therein mourn*] In a thunderstorm, a cyclone, or an earthquake, for instance, spreading devastation upon the earth, and causing terror among its inhabitants. Cf. Ps. civ. 32 (“he

¹ Schultz, *Leitung des Höchsten*, v. 186; Paulus, *Reisen*, VII. 43.

dwell therein shall mourn; and it shall rise up wholly like the River; and shall sink again, like the River of Egypt; *it is* he that buildeth his chambers in the heaven, and hath 6 founded his vault upon the earth; he that calleth for the waters of the sea and poureth them out upon the face of

toucheth the mountains and they smoke"); xlvi. 6 ("He uttereth his voice [viz. in thunder], the earth melteth"); Nah. i. 5; also Ps. xcvi. 4—5. The last clause as in viii. 8.

and it riseth up, all of it, as the Nile, and sinketh (again), as the Nile of Egypt] A hyperbolical description of an earthquake, repeated almost *verbatim* from viii. 8 *b*.

6. *that buildeth his upper chambers in the heaven, and hath founded his vault upon the earth]* The Hebrews pictured the sky as a solid vault (*firmamentum*), resting at its extremities upon the earth (Job xxvi. 11): in this vault the heavenly bodies were imagined to revolve: "in front of it" (i.e. in the open air below its lower surface) the birds flew (Gen. i. 20): above it were reservoirs in which rain was stored (as also snow and hail); and above these "waters above the firmament" Jehovah sat enthroned. The words are thus intended to illustrate Jehovah's power by pointing to the palace which He has constructed for Himself on high, and firmly secured, by resting its foundations upon the solid earth. The word rendered *upper chambers* elsewhere means *ascent, steps* (hence A. V. *stories*, i.e. successive heights), which has been adopted by some commentators here (as though the reference were to the *ascent* or *steps* by which Jehovah's heavenly palace was to be reached). But most authorities treat *ma'ālāh* here as a synonym of 'ālīyyāh in Ps. civ. 3, "Who layeth the beams of his *upper chambers* in the waters," cf. v. 14 "Who watereth the mountains from his *upper chambers*."

vault] lit. *band*,—properly, it is probable, like the Arab. 'ijād, an *arch*, as something *firmly held together*. The word (which is a rare one) is used elsewhere of a *bunch* of hyssop (Ex. xii. 22), of the *bands* of a yoke (Is. lviii. 6), and of a *band* of men (2 Sam. ii. 25). Here it denotes what is usually called the *rākīa'* (lit. something *beaten* or *spread out*)¹, the *στερέωμα*, or "firmament," the vast hemi-spherical vault which, to the eye innocent of the truths of astronomy, seems to rest as a huge cupola upon the earth.

that calleth for the waters of the sea, &c.] repeated from v. 8 *b* (where see note). The violent and long-continued rains, occurring in Eastern climates, are another proof of Jehovah's power over nature.

7—10. An objection met. The Israelites were only too ready to argue (cf. iii. 2; Jer. vii. 1—15) that Jehovah, after the many marks of favour which He had bestowed upon His people, would never cast them off, as He had now declared that He would do (ix. 1—6). He replies,

¹ Comp. the cognate verb, as applied to metals, Ex. xxxix. 3; Numb. xvi. 39; Jer. x. 9; Is. xl. 19 (R. V. *spreadeth over*).

7 the earth; the LORD is his name. Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel? saith the LORD. Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the
8 Syrians from Kir? Behold, the eyes of the Lord GOD are upon the sinful kingdom, and I will destroy it from off the

Is Israel, merely as Israel, apart from moral qualifications, more to Me than other nations? It is true, I led Israel out of Egypt, and gave them a home in Palestine: but I directed similarly the migrations of other nations, the Philistines, for example, and the Syrians: the sinful kingdom, whether it be Israel or any other nation, will perish before Me, the only limitation being that I will not absolutely annihilate the house of Jacob.

Are ye not as the sons of the Kushites unto me?] The *Kushites*, or Ethiopians, are mentioned as a distant people, far removed from the grace and knowledge of God, despised on account of their dark colour (cf. Jer. xiii. 23), and perhaps also on account of slaves being often drawn from them. Degenerate Israel is no more in Jehovah's eyes than these despised Kushites. *Kush* is often named in the O.T. (e.g. Gen. x. 6, 7; Is. xi. 11, xviii. 1, xx. 3—5, xxxvii. 9, xliii. 3): it was the name (in Egyptian Inscriptions *Kēsh*) borne by the people inhabiting the region to the south of Egypt (corresponding generally to the modern *Soudan*, i.e. the country of the Blacks (Arab. *aswad*, "black")¹. Their capital was Napata, on the Nile.

Did I not bring up Israel out of the land of Egypt?] cf. ii. 10.

and the Philistines from Caphtor] guiding them therefore not less than I guided Israel. *Caphtor* is in all probability Crete². It is named elsewhere as the original home of the Philistines; see Deut. ii. 23 and Jer. xlvii. 4 (where the Philistines are called "the remnant of the isle [or coast-land] of Caphtor"). These passages make it probable that in the ethnographical table of Gen. x., in v. 14, "and the Casluhim, from whom the Philistines came forth, and the Caphtorim," the clause respecting the Philistines is misplaced, and should be transposed to follow *Caphtorim*. A connexion with Crete is also rendered probable by the name *Kerēthim*, which in other passages (Ez. xxv. 16; Zeph. ii. 5; cf. 1 Sam. xxx. 14) is that of a tribe closely associated, if not (Zeph. ii. 5) identical, with the Philistines.

and Aram from Kir] See on i. 5.

8—10. Jehovah's eyes are against (Job vii. 8) the sinful kingdom, whatsoever or wheresoever it be, and He will destroy it from off the face of the earth (Deut. vi. 15), save only, if the kingdom be that of the

¹ [The plural of *aswad* is *sūdân*.]

² Sayce formerly, with Ebers, identified it with the coast-land of the Delta; but he now (art. CAPHTOR in *H.D.B.*) regards this view as untenable. [Macalister, in his Schweich Lectures on The Philistines, ch. 1, discusses at some length the location of Caphtor, and is disposed to follow Baur in identifying it with the island of Carpathos, near Rhodes.]

face of the earth; saying that I will not utterly destroy the house of Jacob, saith the LORD. For, lo, I will command, 9 and I will ¹sift the house of Israel among all the nations, like as *corn* is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least grain

¹ Heb. *cause to move to and fro.*

chosen people, it will not be destroyed by Him utterly: only the sinners in it will perish. Though the nation as a whole might be corrupt, and deserve to perish, it might well include many individuals who were the humble and faithful servants of Jehovah (cf. Is. xxix. 19); these, in the picture drawn by Amos, escape the judgement, and perpetuate the national existence of the people of God. There is implicit in these verses (cf. v. 15) the thought of a faithful and worthy "remnant," which should survive a catastrophe, and form the nucleus of a purer community in the future, which was adopted afterwards by Isaiah, and became one of the most characteristic elements of his teaching (Is. i. 26—28, iv. 3 f., vi. 13 b &c.). The words are really a limitation of the unqualified judgement expressed in *vv.* 1—4, a limitation demanded partly by the justice of God, partly by His faithfulness to His covenant-promise (cf. Jer. iv. 27, v. 10, 18, xxx. 11)¹.

8—9. *the house of Jacob...the house of Israel*] i.e. (cf. v. 1, 4, 6, vi. 14, vii. 10, 16; also vi. 8, vii. 2, 5, viii. 7) the northern kingdom, which alone from vii. 1 has been in the prophet's mind; at most, the expressions may be meant in a general sense, including (implicitly) Judah (Ewald, Keil; cf. vi. 1). The limitation (Grätz, Wellh.) to Judah alone is arbitrary, and unsupported by the context.

9. The nation must go into exile (iv. 2 f., v. 27 &c.); it must even be **shaken** to and fro among the nations, as in a sieve: but no sound grain of corn will fall to the ground and be lost. The dispersion of Israel in all directions is compared by the prophet to the movement of a sieve, in which the solid grains, though violently shaken about, are retained and preserved, while chaff and dust fall through the meshes to the ground. *The least grain* is lit. *a pebble*, appar. fig. for *a solid grain*, though the word is not elsewhere so used. Preuschen (*Z.A.T.W.* 1895, p. 24) supposes the reference to be to the pebbles left behind in the sieve (*kîrbâl*), as still used in Syria for cleansing the winnowed corn.

¹ [A majority of scholars, on grounds that appear to be conclusive, ascribe *vv.* 9—15 to a latter post-exilic writer. The reasons for this conclusion are set forth in detail in Harper, *op. cit.* pp. 195 f. The most noticeable are (1) certain peculiarities of writing, and use of words and phrases which are late; (2) the emphasis laid on material blessings, e.g. extension of territory, as contrasted with Amos's wholly ethical outlook; (3) the distinction between Israel and Judah; (4) the hope of better days, as contrasted with Amos's uncompromising denunciation. The cumulative weight of these, and other, considerations can hardly be disregarded. Amos apparently ended his prophecy with a message of doom, and a later writer, in view of the experience of history, modified this by a brighter promise, to which he led up by the words of 8c "saying that I will not utterly destroy the house of Jacob, saith the LORD." The conservative view is ably championed by Dr Driver in his introduction to this book pp. 122—126.]

10 fall upon the earth. All the sinners of my people shall die by the sword, which say, The evil shall not overtake nor prevent us.

11 In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof; and I will raise

10. *which say, The evil shall not draw near, nor come in front about us*] i.e. shall not meet us in any direction. The sinners whom the prophet has here specially in view are those who, trusting to the fact that they were members of the chosen people (cf. iii. 2), or relying upon their zeal in an external ceremonial (v. 21 ff.), deemed themselves secure, and declared that misfortune could never overtake them (cf. vi. 3). Their false security, says Amos, should be the cause of their destruction. Cf. similar expressions of security, uttered in defiance of the prophets' warnings, Is. v. 19; Mic. iii. 11; Jer. xxiii. 17; Ez. xii. 22, 27. *Overtake* (A.V., R.V.) may be a legitimate emendation (תשיג for תגיש¹; cf. Deut. xxviii. 2, 15, in the Hebrew), but it is no rendering of the existing text. *Prevent* (A.V., R.V.) is, of course, used in its old sense of *come before*, which it has in such passages as Ps. xviii. 5 (A.V.), lix. 10 (A.V., R.V.), cxix. 147, 148 (A.V., R.V.).

11—15. THE EPILOGUE.

Amos closes, as the prophets are wont to close their discourses, with the promise of a brighter future. The dynasty of David, though for the time humbled, will be reinstated in its former splendour and power (vv. 11—12); and the blessings of peace will be shared in perpetuity by the entire nation (vv. 13—15).—On the question of the authenticity of the epilogue, see above, p. 122 ff.

11. *In that day*] The day which the prophet has in his mind: here, the day of restoration, which is to succeed the catastrophe of vv. 8—10. The expression is a common one in the prophets, especially Isaiah, who use it for the purpose of introducing fresh traits in their pictures of the future (see e.g. Is. ii. 20, iii. 18, vii. 18, 20, 21, 23).

will I raise up the fallen booth (or hut) of David, and fence up the breaches &c.] The *succāh*, or "booth," was a rude hut—properly one made of *intertwined* branches; and the word is used of a cattle-shed (Gen. xxxiii. 17), of the rough tents used by soldiers in war (2 Sam. xi. 11), or by watchmen in a vineyard (Is. i. 8; Job xxvii. 18), of the "booth" made by Jonah (iv. 5), and of the rude temporary huts, constructed of branches of trees, in which the Israelites dwelt during the Feast of Ingathering, or, as it is also called from this circumstance, the 'Feast of Booths' (Lev. xxiii. 40, 42; Deut. xvi. 13). The term itself denotes consequently a very humble structure, which here, in addition, is represented as *fallen*. In the following words the figure

¹ Or rather, as should no doubt be read (the Hiphil conj. being elsewhere transitive), תשיג (Ps. xci. 7).

up his ruins, and I will build it as in the days of old; that ¹² they may possess the remnant of Edom, and all the nations, which ¹are called by my name, saith the LORD that doeth

¹ Or, *were*

of the booth is neglected; the 'breaches' being those of a wall or fortress (cf. iv. 3; Is. xxx. 13). These expressions are evidently intended to represent the humbled state of the Davidic dynasty; though what the humiliation actually referred to is, is uncertain. According to some, the allusion is to the loss sustained by David's house through the revolt of the ten tribes¹; according to others, it is to the future ruin of Judah, which it appears from ii. 5 (cf. the words of rebuke in iii. 1, vi. 1) that Amos contemplated; others, again, suppose the reference to be to the *actual* overthrow of David's dynasty by the Chaldaeans in 586 B.C., and infer accordingly that ix. 11—15 was an addition made to the original prophecy of Amos during (or after) the Babylonian exile. On the whole, the second view seems the best (cf. p. 125 f.).

ruins] lit. things *torn down*. The cognate verb (*hāras*) is often applied to a wall or fortress (e.g. Mic. v. 11; Ez. xxvi. 12); it is the exact opposite of the following *build* (see Ez. xxxvi. 36; Mal. i. 4).

as in the days of old] i.e. the age of David and Solomon. The expression used is a relative one, and may denote a period more or less remote according to the context; in Mic. vii. 14, Is. lxiii. 11, for instance, it denotes the age of Moses, while in Is. lviii. 12, lxi. 4 the same word (*ōlām*), rendered "of old," denotes merely the beginning of the Babylonian exile, viewed from its close.

12. *that they may possess the remnant of Edom &c.*] i.e. that the empire of David may be restored to its former limits. The allusion is to the nations—the Philistines, Moab, Ammon, Aram of Zobah, Damascus, Edom, &c.—which, though they had been conquered by David (2 Sam. viii., &c.), had afterwards revolted: these, Amos promises, should again be incorporated in the restored empire of David.

the remnant of Edom] No doubt Edom is named specially on account of the ancient rivalry subsisting between it and Israel; in the happy future which the prophet here anticipates, he pictures it as reduced to a mere remnant (cf. i. 12; Ob. 18--21). This seems better than to suppose an allusion to recent defeats, whether the victory of Amaziah (2 Ki. xiv. 7),—which, however, must have taken place some 30 years previously,—or the subjugation by Uzziah, which appears to be presupposed by 2 Ki. xiv. 22 (cf. xvi. 6 R.V. marg.).

and all the nations, over whom my name has been called] viz. in token of conquest, or ownership. The reference is to the nations which, as just stated, had been conquered by David: in virtue of their

¹ A reference to the blow inflicted upon Judah by Jehoash (2 Ki. xiv. 13 f.) is doubtful, as this must have happened some 30 years previously, and under Uzziah Judah appears to have rapidly recovered itself.

13 this. Behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that the

subjugation by him, they had passed under the dominion of Jehovah. The sense of the expression, *over whom my name was called*, appears clearly from 2 Sam. xii. 28, where Joab, while besieging Rabbah of the Ammonites, invites David to come and take it himself "lest I (emph.) take the city, and *my name be called over it*," i.e. lest I get the credit of having captured it, and it be counted as my conquest. The phrase expresses thus the fact of *ownership*—whether acquired by actual conquest or otherwise (cf. Is. iv. 1). It is used especially of the people of Israel, Jerusalem, or the temple, as *owned* by Jehovah: see Deut. xxviii. 10; Jer. vii. 10, 11, 14, 30, xiv. 9, xv. 16 (of Jeremiah himself), xxv. 29, xxxii. 34, xxxiv. 15; 1 Ki. viii. 43 (= 2 Chr. vi. 33); Is. lxiii. 19; 2 Chr. vii. 14; Dan. ix. 18, 19; and the newly-recovered Hebrew text of Eccles. xlvii. 18. In A.V., R.V., the phrase is often, unfortunately, represented by the obscure paraphrase, "called by my name"; but the literal rendering, which is both clearer and more forcible than the paraphrase, is sometimes added in the margin of R.V. (e.g. 1 Ki. viii. 43).

that doeth this] An epithet confirmatory of the preceding promise; cf. Jer. xxxiii. 2.

Am. ix. 11, 12 stands in the LXX. (cod. B) thus: ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκελευθῆναι ἀναστήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυεὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν, καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὰ πεπτωκότα αὐτῆς, καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα (A^bQ* κατεστραμμένα) αὐτῆς ἀναστήσω, καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω αὐτὴν καθὼς αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ αἰῶνος, ὅπως (A + ἂν) ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων (A + τὸν Κύριον), καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐφ' οὗς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς, λέγει Κύριος ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα. In Acts xv. 16–18 the verses are quoted by St James—or by St Luke in his report of St James' speech—in this form (μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστρέψω καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυεὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν, καὶ τὰ κατεστραμμένα αὐτῆς ἀνοικοδομήσω καὶ ἀνορθώσω αὐτήν, ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν Κύριον, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐφ' οὗς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς, λέγει Κύριος ποιῶν ταῦτα γνωστὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος), for the purpose of shewing that God's having visited the Gentiles "to take out of them a people to his name" was in accordance with the teaching of the prophets. The passage illustrates the freedom which New Testament writers allowed themselves in quoting from the Old Testament. Not only are there many minor variations from the text of the LXX.; but in the most important part of the quotation, the rendering adopted implies a reading of the Hebrew text (למען יִרְשׁוּ שְׂאֵרֵית)

אֲדָם "that the remnant of men may seek [the Lord]," for למען יִרְשׁוּ אֲדָם "that they may inherit the remnant of Edom"), which cannot be right, and can hardly even express a thought implicit in Amos's words, though it is no doubt one found in other prophets, viz. that the ultimate aim of Israel's restoration is to exert upon the nations a spiritual influence, and bring them to the knowledge of the true God (cf. Is. lv. 5). Τὸν Κύριον ("the Lord"), to which nothing corresponds in the Heb., has been supplied, it will be observed, in order to provide

plowman shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed; and the mountains shall drop sweet wine, and all the hills shall melt. And I will bring ¹⁴

the verb "seek" with an object. The text of the Vatican MS. of the LXX. (cod. B) is purer and more original than that of the Alexandrian MS. (cod. A.): the quotation in the Acts agrees in several particulars with the latter against the former; and it is not improbable that the text of cod. A. has been corrected on the basis of the quotation. In Ps. xiv. (xiii.) 5—7, the composite quotation of St Paul (Rom. iii. 13—18) has found its way even into the text of cod. B, and so, through the Vulgate, into the Prayer Book Version of the Psalms.

13—15. The prosperity and happiness to be enjoyed by Israel upon its own land in the future.

13. A hyperbolic description of the fertility of the soil. So rapid will be the growth of the crops, that the ploughman will hardly have finished breaking up the ground for seed, when the corn will be ready for the reaper; so abundant will be the vintage, that before the grapes are all trodden out, the time will have arrived for sowing seed for the following year: mountains and hills, also, will flow with sweet wine. The time for ploughing would correspond to our October; seed was sown in November; barley and wheat would be ripe in April—May; the vintage was gathered in Aug.—Sept. There is a similar promise in Lev. xxvi. 5 "your threshing shall reach unto the vintage, and the vintage shall reach unto the sowing-time"—so abundant, namely, will be the crops.

Behold, days are coming] See on iv. 2.

the treader of grapes] The freshly gathered grapes were thrown into the "wine-press" (*gath*)—usually a trough excavated in the natural rock—where they were "trodden" (ךךך) by the feet of men, and the expressed juice, as it ran down, was received into the "wine-fat" (i.e. the "wine-vat": Heb. *yekeb*), generally another trough excavated similarly in the rock at a somewhat lower level (see O. C. Whitehouse, *A Primer of Hebrew Antiquities*, p. 99 f.). There are many allusions in the O.T. to this process of treading the grapes (as Judg. ix. 27; Is. lxiii. 2, 3; Neh. xiii. 15): it was an occasion of rejoicing, and the shouts or huzzahs (*hédād*), with which those engaged at it enlivened their toil, supply the prophets with suggestive imagery (Is. xvi. 9, 10; Jer. xxv. 30; xlviii. 33, li. 14).

him that soweth the seed] Lit. that *draweth out*, or *traileth*, the seed: cf. (in the Heb.) Ps. cxxvi. 6.

shall cause sweet wine to drop down] *sweet wine*, as Joel i. 5, iii. 18, Is. xlix. 26¹; Heb. 'āsīs, from 'āsas, to *tread* or *press down* (Mal. iv. 3). LXX., here and Joel iii. 18, γλυκασμός; in Is. xlix. 26 οἶνος νέος. The reference is probably to some kind of sweet wine (γλυκὺς οἶνος or *vinum dulce*), such as was made by the ancients, by partially drying the grapes in

¹ Also Cant. viii. 2; but here it denotes a wine made from pomegranates (see *H. D. B.* s.v. POMEGRANATE).

again the captivity of my people Israel, and they shall build the waste cities, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof; they shall also make
15 gardens, and eat the fruit of them. And I will plant them

the sun, and afterwards allowing the process of fermentation to continue in the juice only 5—7 days, instead of 9 (which was the usual time). See Pliny *H.N.* xiv. 9; and the *Dict. of Classical Antiquities*, s.v. VINUM.

shall melt] more lit. *dissolve themselves*: so abundant will be the produce of the vineyards, that it will be “as though the hills dissolved themselves in the rich streams which they poured down.” Comp. Joel iii. (iv.) 18, “The mountains shall drop with sweet wine, and the hills shall run with milk, and all the channels of Judah shall run with water”; also, for the hyperbole, the common description of Canaan as “a land *flowing* with milk and honey.”

14. To the land thus blessed by nature, Israel shall be restored: it shall rebuild its waste places, and dwell in them securely; it shall also enjoy, without interruption or interference, the varied produce of the soil.

I will turn the captivity] The precise sense of the Hebrew expression is disputed; and others—as Ewald, Kuenen, Dillmann (on Job xlii. 10), Cheyne and Kirkpatrick on Ps. xiv. 7—prefer to render “*turn the fortune* (lit. *turn the turning*) of my people,” i.e. effect a decisive and epoch-making change in its lot. In the present passage, however, even though the latter be the true meaning, the general sense remains the same: for, as Amos pictures the people as exiled (vii. 17 &c.), the change of fortune which, upon this view, would be predicated in the expression, would of course be a return from captivity. Comp. Hos. vi. 11. The promise of restoration from exile (or captivity) is naturally common in the later prophets: for similar promises in earlier prophets, see Hos. xi. 10, 11.

and they shall build the waste cities, and inhabit them] *waste cities*, as Jer. xxxiii. 10, Is. liv. 3; cf. Ez. xxxvi. 35. The similar promise in Is. lxxv. 21 may also be compared (“they shall build houses, and inhabit them,”—opposed to v. 22 “they shall not build, and another inhabit”). Contrast ch. v. 11; also Deut. xxviii. 30 (“thou shalt build a house, and not inhabit it”), Zeph. i. 13.

and they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof] Cf. Is. lxxv. 21 (“they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof”); also Ez. xxviii. 26. Contrast ch. iv. 9, v. 11; also Deut. xxviii. 30, 39; Zeph. i. 13.

and they shall make gardens, and eat the fruit of them] Contrast ch. iv. 9.

15. Israel will moreover remain permanently settled in its own land.

And I will plant them...and they shall no more be plucked up, &c.]

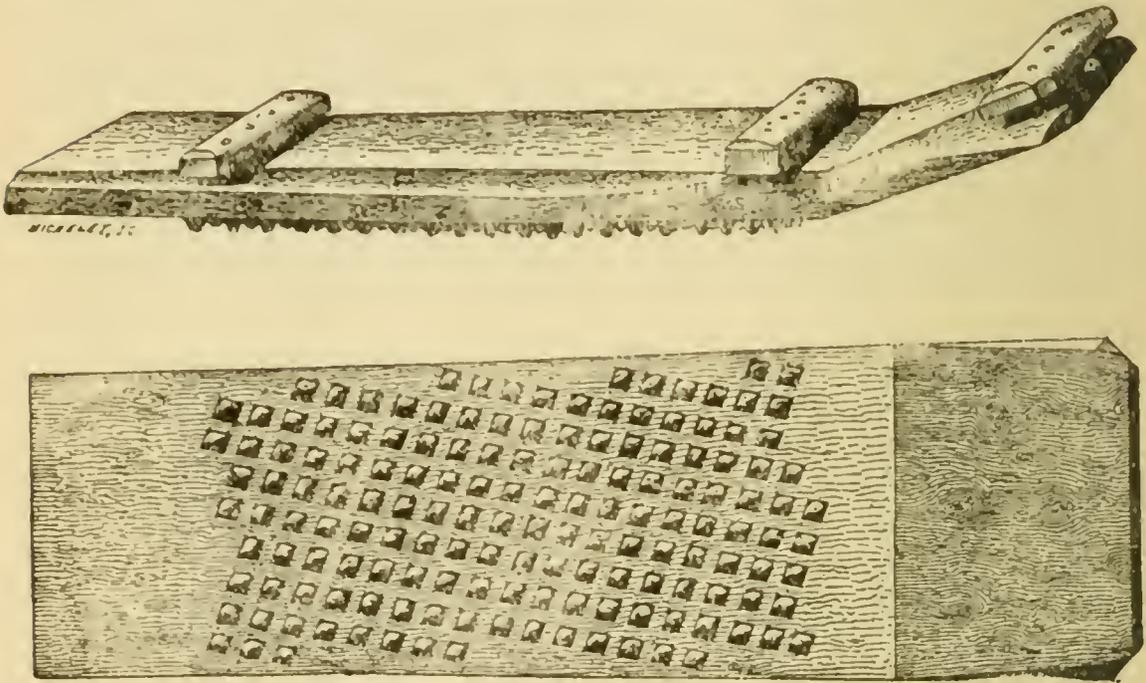
upon their land, and they shall no more be plucked up out of their land which I have given them, saith the LORD thy God.

Cf. Jer. xxiv. 6 ("I will plant them and not pull them up"); xlii. 10. For similar promises, see Jer. xxxii. 41; Ez. xxxiv. 28; Is. lx. 21; Joel iii. 20; and elsewhere. On the question of the non-fulfilment of such promises, see Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy* (ed. 2, 1891), pp. 238—268. It is to be remembered (1) that they are *conditional* upon Israel's worthiness; (2) that the question forms part of a larger one, viz. the nature and extent of the *ideal* element in the prophets' pictures of the future, and the degree to which those pictures were coloured by the national and local limitations peculiar to their religion. Cf. p. 32 f., above, with the passages referred to in the footnotes; and comp. also F. H. Woods, *The Hope of Israel* (1896), chaps. iv., v., x.

thy God] the title, expressive of consolation and affection, as Is. xli. 10, lii. 7, liv. 6, lxvi. 9. The restored nation is pictured naturally by the prophet as penitent and reformed (cf. pp. 31 f., 123); hence Jehovah is no longer its foe (*vv.* 4, 8), but can acknowledge it again as His own.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON CHAP. I. 3 (*the threshing-board*).

Two principal forms of threshing-instrument are in use at present in the East. (1) A threshing-board (or -drag), usually about 7 ft. long by 3 ft. broad, consisting of two oblong planks, in Damascus generally of walnut-wood, fastened together by two wooden cross-pieces, slightly curved upwards in front (in the direction in which the instrument would be drawn), and set underneath crosswise with sharp pieces of hard



A Modern Syrian Threshing-board (from Nowack's *Hebräische Archäologie*, 1894, i. p. 233).

stone or basalt (such as is common in the volcanic region E. of Jordan): the driver stands upon it; and being drawn round the threshing-floor¹ by a yoke of oxen it not only shells out the grain, but grinds the straw itself into chaff². This is in use in Syria and Palestine: in Syria it

¹ This consists of a circular piece of ground, in which the earth has been firmly trodden down (הַרְרִיךְ, Jer. li. 33) by the feet; in the centre the ears and stalks of corn are piled up in a large heap (*kedis*,—the Heb. קִדִּישׁ, Ex. xxii. 5 (6); Jud. xv. 5; Job v. 26); at threshing-time the ears and stalks are pulled down from this heap, to form a *tarha*, or layer (the *stratum* of the Romans), round it, some 7 feet broad by 2 feet deep; over this the threshing-drag is drawn, and the mingled mass of corn, chaff, and straw which remains when the process is completed is thrown into a new heap to be ready for winnowing. See the illustration in Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 1881 (South Pal.), p. 150 f.; Smith, *D. B.*² 1. 66.

² This was the Greek τριβόλα (2 Sam. xii. 31, LXX.), the Lat. *tribulum*, or "rubber"; Vergil's *trahea*, or "drag," must have been a similar instrument: cf. G. I. 164 ("tribulaque traehaeque").

is called *el-lōah*, "the plank," or *el-lōah el-muḥajjar*, "the stoned plank"; in Jerusalem it is called *nauraj*¹, a name nearly the same as that borne by the Hebrew implement (*mōrāg*) in Is. xli. 15, 2 Sam. xxiv. 22². (2) A threshing-wagon, consisting of a low-built oblong wagon-frame, moving upon three parallel rollers, each armed with three or four circular iron blades with toothed edges; a seat upon the frame is arranged for the driver, and the instrument is drawn similarly by oxen. Jerome describes an instrument like this in his *Comm.* on Is. xxv. 20, "Sunt autem carpenta ferrata, rotis per medium in serrarum modum se volventibus, quae stipula conterunt, et comminuunt in paleas"; similarly on xxviii. 27, and on the present passage ("genus plaustrī, quod rotis subter ferreis atque dentatis volvitur"). This is not used in Palestine, and is rare in Syria (except in the north); but it is the usual instrument in Egypt, where it is called by the same name that the threshing-board bears in Palestine, *nauraj*³. Both instruments are alluded to in the O.T.: the *drag* (or *board*), under the same name *ḥārūtẓ* (properly something *sharpened*) which it has in Am. i. 3, in Is. xxviii. 27, "For not with a sharp threshing-board is Nigella-seed [Tristram, *N. H. B.* p. 444] trodden out; nor is the wheel of a (threshing-) wagon turned about upon cummin," Job xli. 30 (Heb. 22), "he (the crocodile) spreadeth a *ḥārūtẓ* upon the mire" (i.e. he leaves by his sharp scales an impression upon it, as though a sharp threshing-board had been there), 2 Sam. xii. 31 (*ḥārūtẓ*⁴); and under the name *mōrāg* in 2 Sam. xxiv. 22, Is. xli. 15 (where *ḥārūtẓ* qualifies it as an adj.), "Behold, I make thee (Israel) as a sharp new *threshing-drag* (*מורג חרוץ חדש*), possessing edges⁵; thou shalt thresh (tread) mountains and beat them small, and shalt make the hills as chaff⁶"; the *wagon* in Is. xxviii. 27 (just quoted), 28 (where read "the roller of his (threshing-) wagon" for the obscure "wheel of his cart" of the English Versions), Prov. xx. 26.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON CHAP. I. 5 ('Eden).

The following are the principal identifications that have been proposed for 'Eden (or Beth-'eden). (1) 'Edēn, as it is called in Syriac, or 'Ehden, as it is called in Arabic, a village some 20 miles N.W. of

¹ Among the common people *mauraj* (corresponding to the old Hebrew form) is also heard (*P.E.F.Q.St.* 1894, p. 114).

² The threshing-drag is still called by the same name (*mōrāg*) in the Ḳalamūn mountains about Ma'lūlā: but Wetzstein never heard this word in Syria, nor is *noreg* (or *nauraj*) in use there.

³ Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*⁵, II 28; *Arab. Lex.* p. 2783. See more fully Wetzstein's very instructive essay on "Die Syrische Dreschtäfel," in Bastian's *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1873, p. 271 ff.; and Anderlind, "Ackerbau und Thierzucht in Syrien," in the *Ztsch. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, IX. (1886), pp. 41, 44.

⁴ R.V. *harrows*. It is, however, uncertain whether the text here really imputes to David the cruelty implied by the English Versions: see R.V. *marg.*, and the present writer's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel*, *ad loc.*

⁵ Lit. *mouths* (as of a sword, Ps. cxlix. 6).

⁶ LXX. represent *mōrāg* by τροχοὶ (in Is. xli. 15, τροχὸς ἀμάξης ἀλωῶντας καινούς), thinking of the wheels of the threshing-wagon. The Syr. ܢܪܢܪܐ (from *gārar*, to *drag along*) denotes both instruments: see the descriptions of the Syriac lexicographers quoted by Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.* col. 767: it is mentioned as an instrument of torture by Bar Hebraeus, *Chron.* p. 142.

Baalbek, on the opposite (N.W.) slope of Lebanon, attractively situated on the side of a rich and highly-cultivated valley, near the cedars, described by Amira—the author of the first Syriac grammar published in Europe (1596, p. 59), whose native place it was—as “loci situ, aquarum copia, terrae fertilitate, aeris temperie, in toto Libano praestantissima; unde non immerito tali nomine est nuncupata” (quoted by Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 2810). The accounts given by modern travellers fully bear out this description: Lord Lindsay, for instance (cited by Dr Pusey) speaks of the slopes of the valleys about it as “one mass of verdure,” with “the springs of Lebanon gushing down, fresh, cool, and melodious, in every direction.” The place is said to be at present a favourite summer resort for the wealthier inhabitants of Tripoli. (2) Bêt-jenn, at the foot (E.) of Anti-Libanus, about 12 miles N.E. of Banias, and 25 miles S.S.W. of Damascus, watered by the Nahr-jennāni, which, flowing down from Anti-Libanus, forms one of the two sources of the A'waj (the Pharpar), the second great river near Damascus (Porter, *Damascus*, ed. 2, p. 117 sq.). (3) Jubb 'Adin, a village situated in the hills, about 25 miles N.E. of Damascus, and 20 miles S.E. of Baalbek. (4) The place called by the Greeks *Paradisus*, identified by Robinson (*B. R.* III. 544, 556) with old-Jūsieh, far up the valley of Coele-Syria, near Riblah, some 30 miles N.E. of Baalbek—a spot described as being now, at any rate, remarkably “dreary and barren” (Porter, *Handbook to Palestine*, p. 577). (5) The ‘Eden of Ez. xxvii. 23, 2 Ki. xix. 12 (= Is. xxxvii. 12), which Schrader (*K.A.T.*² p. 327) is disposed to identify with the *Bît-Adini*, often mentioned in the Inscriptions of Assurnazirpal and Shalmaneser II., a district lying on both sides of the Euphrates, in the middle part of its course, between Bâlis and Biredschik, some 200 miles N.N.E. of Damascus.

None of these identifications can be regarded as certain: and the grounds upon which some of them have been suggested are very insufficient. The name *Bêt-jenn*, for instance, was formerly supposed to be *Bêt el-janne*, i.e. “house, or place, of the garden (Paradise),” which bore the appearance of being an Arabic translation of Beth-‘eden; but this supposition appears not to be correct¹. The Greek—or ultimately Persian—word *Paradisus*, again, does not mean a ‘Paradise,’ in our sense of the term, but merely an *enclosed park*. Jubb 'Adin would seem to be a place of too little note to have been signaled by the prophet in such a connexion. On the whole, either (1) or (5) appears to be, relatively, the most probable. Bît-Adini (5) might indeed be thought to be too distant from Damascus; but it has been observed that thirty-two kings are mentioned as being in alliance with Ben-hadad (I.), in 1 Ki. xx. 1, 16, and twelve ‘kings of the land of the Hittites,’ or of the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, are mentioned as allies of the same king by Shalmaneser II. (*K.A.T.*², pp. 202, 203); hence the allusion may not impossibly be to one or other of the subordinate kings who held rule under the suzerainty of the king of

¹ See Robinson, *B. R.* III. 447; Porter, *Damascus*, *l.c.*; Socin in Bädcker's *Palästina und Syrien*, ed. 2, p. 283; all of whom write *Bêt-jenn*.

Damascus, and who, the prophet declares, will be involved with him in his fall. Perhaps there were various Aramaean settlements in Coele-Syria and Mesopotamia governed in this way; and the "plain of Aven" and "Eden"—whether this be the Syrian 'Edēn, or Bît-adini—may have been mentioned as representing these. Others have supposed the allusion to be to a summer residence of the kings of Damascus themselves. It is impossible to speak more definitely for lack of the necessary data. We must be content to know that some place or other, connected politically with Damascus, and, no doubt, prominent at the time, is intended by the prophet.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON CHAP. II. 4 ('*tôrāh*,' *law*).

The general sense of 'law' (Heb. *tôrāh*) in the O.T. is *authoritative direction* (from *hôrāh*, to *point out*, Gen. xlvi. 28, or *direct*, Jud. xiii. 8)¹, but the kind of 'direction' denoted by it varies with the context. Its principal and probably primary application is to *oral direction* given by the priests in Jehovah's name, on matters of ceremonial observance, e.g. on distinctions between clean and unclean, on the different species of sacrifice, and the cases in which they were respectively to be offered, on the criteria of leprosy &c.: Lev. vi. 8, 14, xi. 46, xiv. 57, xv. 32; Numb. v. 29 &c.; Jer. xviii. 18 ("direction will never perish from the priest," i.e. the priest and his functions will never come to an end,—said by those who disbelieved Jeremiah's predictions of national ruin), Ez. vii. 26; Hag. ii. 11 ('Ask now *direction* of the priests,' after which an example follows); Mal. ii. 7 ('They seek *direction* at his mouth'): the cognate verb [A.V., R.V. *teach*] is used similarly, Deut. xxiv. 8 (with reference to leprosy), xxxiii. 10 ("They *direct* Jacob with thy judgements (Ex. xxi. 1), and Israel with thy *direction*"); Mic. iii. 11 ("Her priests *give direction* for a price"); Ez. xliv. 23; and elsewhere,—passages which shew that it is the word employed technically to denote this aspect of the priests' duties. Both the verb and the subst. would be most exactly represented in English by *direct* and *direction*, respectively: *teach*, *teaching*, and *law*, when they stand for either, must be understood to possess the same force. The term is however also employed,

¹ The root *yārāh* signifies, however, properly to *throw* or *cast* (Ex. xv. 4); and hence it is quite possible that the primitive meaning of *hôrāh*, in this connexion, was to *cast* the sacred lot at a sanctuary, for the purpose of ascertaining the will of the deity on behalf of those who came to consult it. Comp. the use made by the priest of the "Ephod," and "Urim and Thummim" (1 Sam. xiv. 3, 18 (LXX.), 41 [note esp. LXX.], 42, xxiii. 9—12, xxviii. 6, xxx. 7—8). *Tôrāh*, if this view be correct, will have denoted originally the 'direction' obtained by means of the sacred lot. It remained a principal duty of the Israelitish priest to teach Jehovah's *Tôrāh*, though this particular method of ascertaining it fell no doubt early into abeyance, and the term acquired a more general sense. Comp. Nowack, *Hebr. Arch.* 11. 97 f. In Arabic, it may be observed, *kāhin* (which corresponds to the Heb. *kōhēn*, priest) means a *diviner*, who speaks as the organ of a god or *jinn*; and a comparison of the Hebrew and Arabic terms makes it probable that the common and primitive meaning of both was one who gave answers, in the name of his god, at a sanctuary: in Arabia, the *kāhin* was gradually dissociated from the sanctuary and became a mere diviner; in Canaan, his connexion with the sanctuary was preserved, and he acquired important *sacrificial* functions in addition.

more generally, both of decisions on points of secular, or civil law (Ex. xviii. 16, 20), and of the authoritative teaching given in Jehovah's name, either by priests or prophets, on questions of moral or religious duty. Thus Hosea (iv. 6—8) speaks of Jehovah's *Tôrāh* as a *moral* agency, and attributes the crimes prevalent in Israel (iv. 1 *b*, 2) to the priests' forgetfulness of its true character (iv. 6 *b*), and to their worldly unconcern for the "knowledge" of God, which its possession implies (iv. 6 *a*; comp. Jer. ii. 8): see also viii. 1, 12. In Is. i. 10 the '*Tôrāh* of our God' is the exposition which follows (vv. 11—17) respecting the true character of religious service; Is. v. 24 the *Tôrāh*, which Judah has "rejected" (same word as in Am. ii. 4) consists of the precepts of civil righteousness and morality, the disregard of which the prophet has been just denouncing, vv. 8—23; Is. viii. 16, 20 it denotes the half-political, half-religious advice just given by the prophet (vv. 12—15); Is. xxx. 9 it is used similarly of the partly political, partly religious, warnings of the prophets (see vv. 10—15); Is. xxx. 20 the prophets are called by the corresponding subst., the 'directers' (teachers) of the people of Jerusalem. In Deuteronomy the exposition of moral and religious duty, which occupies the greater part of the book, is repeatedly described as "this *Tôrāh*" (i. 5, iv. 8, 44, xvii. 18 &c.). Jeremiah uses the word in a similar sense: e.g. vi. 19 (as in Is. i. 10, of the spirit in which religious duties should be performed, see v. 20); ix. 13 f. (of exhortations against idolatry—probably those contained in Deuteronomy), xvi. 11 (similarly), xxvi. 4 (of the preaching of the prophets, see v. 5). It is also used of the authoritative religious and moral teaching, which the prophets picture as being given in the future to the world, either by God Himself, or by His representative: Is. ii. 3 (= Mic. iv. 2); Jer. xxxi. 33; Is. xlii. 4 (of the preaching of Jehovah's ideal "Servant"), li. 4. Here the context (comp. the note on *lies*, in the same verse), and the importance which Amos uniformly attaches to *moral* duties, make it probable that, like Isaiah and Jeremiah, he means by the term spiritual and moral teaching, uttered, whether by priests or prophets, in Jehovah's name.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON CHAP. III. 13 (*Jehovah of hosts*).

The title "Jehovah of hosts" is one which occurs with great frequency in the prophets (except Obadiah, Joel, Jonah, Daniel, and, somewhat remarkably, Ezekiel: Hosea, Micah, Nahum, and Habakkuk, however use it each once only), and fifteen times in eight Psalms (Ps. xxiv., xlvi., xlviii., lix., lxix., lxxx., lxxxiv., lxxxix.): in the historical books it is found only in 1 Sam. i. 3, 11, iv. 4, xv. 2, xvii. 45, 2 Sam. v. 10 (= 1 Ch. xi. 9), vi. 2, 18, vii. 8, 26 (= 1 Ch. xvii. 7, 24), 27, 1 Ki. xviii. 15, xix. 10, 14, 2 Ki. iii. 14, xix. 31, several of these occurrences being in the mouth of prophets: it is thus preeminently the *prophetic* title of Jehovah. The origin of the expression is not certainly known. *Host* is used in Hebrew in the sense of an army of men (as in the common phrase, "captain of the host," 1 Ki. i. 19 &c.); in addition to this, however, the Hebrews pictured the angels (1 Ki. xxii. 19; cf. Ps. lxxviii. 17, ciii. 21, cxlviii. 2), and also the stars (Dt. iv. 19; Jer. viii. 2;

Is. xxxiv. 4, xl. 26, xlv. 12), as forming a 'host.' Accordingly it is supposed by some (as Kautzsch, art. ZEBAOth, in Herzog's *Realencyclopädie*; G. A. Smith, pp. 57 f.: cf. Schultz, *O.T. Theol.* II. 139—141) that the expression originally denoted Jehovah as a warrior, the leader of Israel's forces (cf. Ex. xiv. 14, xv. 3; Numb. xxi. 14 [the "Book of Jehovah's Wars"], 1 Sam. xvii. 45, xviii. 17, xxv. 28; Ps. xxiv. 8, lx. 10); but (as it occurs in many passages where an exclusively martial sense would be inappropriate) that it was afterwards gradually enlarged so as to denote Him also as the God who had other "hosts" at His command, and could employ, for instance, the armies of heaven (cf. Jud. v. 20; 2 Ki. vi. 17) on His people's behalf: according to others (as Smend, *Alttest. Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 185—188) it had this wider sense from the beginning. Ewald (*History of Israel*, III. 62; *Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, II. i. 339 f.; comp. Oehler, *O.T. Theol.* §§ 195—198) made the clever and original suggestion that the expression may have first arisen on occasion of some victory under the Judges, when it seemed as if Jehovah descended with His celestial hosts to the help of the armies of Israel (cf. Jud. v. 13): "born" thus "in the shout of victory," it fixed itself in the memory of the people, and larger ideas gradually attached themselves to it, until in the prophets it became "the loftiest and most majestic title" of Israel's God. Thus, whatever uncertainty may rest upon the *origin* of the expression, all agree that as used by the prophets it is Jehovah's most significant and sublimest title: it designates Him, namely, as One who has at His disposal untold 'hosts' of spiritual and material agencies, and is Lord of the forces of nature, in a word, as the *Omnipotent* (comp. Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 323). It is accordingly in the LXX. often (2 Sam. and Minor Prophets (usually), Jer. (frequently): elsewhere *Κύριος Σαβαώθ* is generally used¹) very appropriately represented by *κύριος παντοκράτωρ*² 'Lord Omnipotent' (more exactly 'Lord all-sovereign': Westcott, *Historic Faith*, p. 215). The prophets often employ the title with much effectiveness and force; and it is necessary to bear in mind the ideas suggested by it, if their use of it is to be properly understood (comp., for instance, its use in iii. 13, iv. 13, v. 14, 27, vi. 8, 14). See further the art. LORD OF HOSTS in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON CHAP. V. 16 (*Mourning ceremonies*).

Mourning ceremonies belong to a class of institutions which change little from generation to generation; and Wetzstein, for many years Prussian Consul at Damascus, has given an account of them as observed in modern Syria, which throws light upon various allusions in the O.T.³

¹ In the Psalms, and occasionally in other books, *κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων* (i.e. of forces, hosts: see Numb. ii. and x. in the LXX. *passim*).

² Comp. in the N.T. 2 Cor. vi. 18, and nine times in the Revelation, viz. i. 8, iv. 8, xi. 17, xv. 3, xvi. 7, 14, xix. 6, 15, xxi. 22 (*ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ*; comp. in Amos *Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ*. The rend. "Almighty" in Rev. connects the word wrongly with *Shaddai* [see p. 81], for which *παντοκράτωρ* stands only in Job, and never there with *ὁ θεὸς* preceding).

³ In Bastian's *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1873, pp. 295—301: some particulars are quoted by Budde in the *Zeitsch. für die alttest. Wiss.*, 1882, p. 26 f. Mariti, an

The corpse, having immediately after death been washed, dressed, and bestrewed with spices, is laid out upon the 'threshing-board' mentioned above (p. 230), on which, as it were, it lies in state, the head being supported on the end which is curved upwards: on the following morning a tent of black goats' skin is erected, sometimes, if the deceased was wealthy, on the flat open house-top, but usually, at least in Syria, on the village threshing-floor: thither the corpse is brought on the threshing-board; soon after, a procession of the female relatives of the deceased, unveiled, with bare heads and feet, and wearing long black goats'-hair mourning tunics, advance from his house and form a circle round the tent. The professional mourners now begin to play their part. In the cities these consist of a chorus of women (*lattāmāt*, 'those who smite themselves on the face'), of whom one after another successively takes the lead; in the country a single singer, called the *ḡawwāla*, or "speaker," sometimes supported by one or two others, is deemed sufficient: in either case the singer must be able either to recite from memory, or to extemporise for the occasion, funeral dirges of sufficient length. Standing, if in Damascus, in the open court of the house, if in villages, round the tent just spoken of, in which the corpse lay, these women chant their *ma'id*, or dirge (which must have a definite poetical form, with metre and rhyme), recounting the virtues of the deceased—his goodness, his nobleness, his hospitality, &c.,—or the circumstances of his death,—perhaps in defence of the cattle of his tribe against a raid of Bedawin,—and bewailing the pain of separation: at the end of each dirge, or, if it be a long one, at the end of each stanza of it, the female relatives of the deceased, who form another chorus, called *reddādāt*, the 'answerers,' or *neddābāt*, or *nawwāḥāt*, the 'mourners,' reply with the refrain, uttered with a prolonged note, into which much feeling is thrown, *wēlī*, "Woe is me!" The dirges for those who have fallen bravely consist of 30 or 40 stanzas, and are often, says Wetzstein, of great beauty. The dirges continue for two or three hours: at the end of this time invited guests from the neighbouring villages come in order, men and women forming two processions, to pay their last respects to the deceased and to offer their condolences to his relations. The interment then takes place. The ceremony of singing the dirges is repeated on the next day, and if the family be a wealthy one is continued during a whole week¹.

A clear distinction, it will be here noticed, is drawn between the 'dirge,' which is an ode sung solely by the professional mourners, and the wailing refrain, which is joined in by all the others, whenever a

Italian priest, witnessed a similar ceremonial near Jaffa in 1767; extracts from his description are given by Budde in the *Zeitsch. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1883, p. 184 ff., and compared in detail with the particulars stated by Wetzstein.

¹ The 'threshing-board' is regarded by the Syrian peasant with a superstitious reverence. It is used not only at funerals, but also at marriages: covered with a decorated cloth, it is arranged to form a throne, on which a newly-wedded couple, during the seven days (the "King's week") following their marriage, play king and queen, and songs are sung before them by the villagers and others (see the writer's *Introduction*, ed. 5, p. 537, ed. 6, under the *Song of Songs*). A threshing-board, it is said, is never stolen: the would-be thief, when he sees it, is reminded of the day when he will be laid upon it himself, and dreads to touch it.

pause is made by the singers. The *ma'îd* corresponds to the *kî'nâh*, or artistically constructed 'dirge,' of the O.T. (comp. on *v.* 1), the professional mourning women correspond to the 'wise' women (i.e. those instructed in their art), who 'chant dirges,' to whom Jeremiah alludes (ix. 17)¹: the refrain of woe reminds us of the *hōy*, *hōy* (or *hō*, *hō*), quoted in the note on *v.* 16.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON CHAP. V. 23 (*nēbhel*).

The Hebrew word *nēbhel* is rendered *viol* in A.V., R.V., of Am. v. 23, *vi.* 5, Is. xiv. 11, and in A.V. of Is. v. 12 (R.V. *lute*), elsewhere in both versions *psaltery* (2 Sam. vi. 5; 1 Ki. x. 12, &c.); in the P.B.V. of the Psalms, *lute* (Ps. xxxiii. 2, lvii. 9 (= cviii. 3), lxxxii. 2, xcii. 4, cxliv. 9, cl. 3)², once (Ps. lxxi. 20) vaguely *music*. Although there is no excuse for the same Heb. word being thus rendered differently in one and the same version, it is true that the exact instrument meant is uncertain. The LXX. usually represent *nēbhel* by *νάβλα*, or (Psalms generally, Is. v. 12, Neh. xii. 27) *ψαλτήριον*, here and *vi.* 5 by the general term *ὄργανα*. The *νάβλα* was known to the Greeks as a Sidonian instrument (Athen. iv. p. 175); and we learn from Ovid (*Ars Am.* 3. 327) that it was played *duplici palma*. It is often in the O.T. coupled with the *kinnōr*; according to Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 3. 8) the difference between the *κινύρα* (= *kinnōr*) and the *νάβλα* was that the former had ten strings and was played with the plectrum, the latter had twelve notes, and was played with the hand. These are substantially all the data which we possess for determining what instrument the *nēbhel* was. *Kinnōr* in A.V., R.V., is always represented by *harp*: and if this rendering be correct, *nēbhel* might well be the *lyre*. There is, however, force in the remark³ that the *kinnōr* is mentioned much more frequently than the *nēbhel*, and seems to have been in more common use; the *nēbhel* was used at the feasts of the wealthy (Am. vi. 5; Is. v. 12, xiv. 11), or in religious ceremonies; it was therefore probably a more elaborate and expensive instrument. This consideration would point to *kinnōr* being the *lyre*, and *nēbhel* the *harp*. The large and heavy stationary harp of modern times must not, however, be thought of: the *nēbhel* could be played while the performer was walking (1 Sam. x. 5; 2 Sam. vi. 5); and the ancients had small portable harps,

¹ In later times such dirges were accompanied by the flute: see Matth. ix. 23; Joseph. *B.* 7. iii. 9, § 5.

² All these names of instruments occur frequently in old English writers, though they are now practically obsolete. The *viol* (Norm. *viele*, Prov. *viola*, Span. *vihuela*, *viola*, Dan. *fiddel*, A.-S. *fidele*,—from Low Lat. *vitula*, *vidula*), was a bowed instrument, in use from the 15th to the 18th centuries, an early form of the modern violin. The *lute* (Fr. *luth*, Ital. *liuto*, Port. *alaude*, from the Arab. 'al'ūd, with the *a* of the article elided, 'the wood,' applied, κατ' ἐξοχήν, to a particular instrument of wood, Lane, *Arab. Lex.*, p. 2190), resembled a guitar, having a long neck with a bulging body, or resonance-box. It was played with a plectrum: among the Arabs it has been for long a popular instrument: see representations in Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, chap. xviii. (ed. 5, ii. 67, 68), or Stainer, *Music of the Bible*, Figs. 18, 21. The *psaltery* may be described generally as a small lyre (see further *D. B.*¹, and Grove's *Dict. of Music*, s.v. PSALTERY)

³ Riehm, *Handwörterbuch des Bibl. Alt.* p. 1030 (ed. 2, p. 1044); Nowack, *Hebr. Arch.* i. 274.



An ancient Assyrian portable harp (from Engel's *Music of the most Ancient Nations*, 1870, p. 29).

of triangular shape (called accordingly by the Greeks *τρίγωνα*), which could be so used¹. The word *nēbhel*, however, also means in Hebrew a *wine-skin* (1 Sam. i. 24), and an *earthen jar* (Is. xxx. 14); hence if the name of the musical instrument be etymologically the same word, it would seem rather to have denoted one possessing a bulging body or resonance-box: so that, after all, it is possible that some kind of *lute* or *guitar* may be the instrument mentioned².

The *nēbhel* is mentioned as an instrument used for secular music in Am. vi. 5, Is. v. 12, xiv. 11, perhaps also 1 Ki. x. 12; and in connexion with religious ceremonies, 1 Sam. x. 5 (as maintaining, with other instruments, the excitement of a troop of 'prophets'), 2 Sam. vi. 5, Am. v. 23; and often in the later parts of the O.T., as in the Psalms quoted above, and in the Chronicles, viz. 1 Ch. xiii. 8, xv. 16, 20, 28, xvi. 5, xxv. 1, 6, 2 Ch. v. 12, ix. 11, xx. 28, xxix. 25, Neh. xii. 27, generally in conjunction with the *kinnōr*.

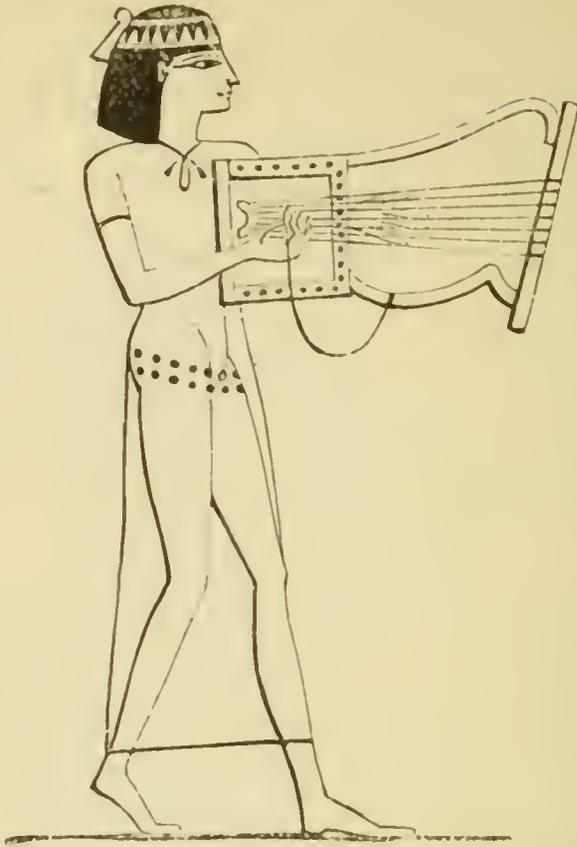
ADDITIONAL NOTE ON CHAP. VI. 5 (*pāraʿ*).

The root in Arabic which corresponds to the Hebrew *pāraʿ* means properly to *precede*, *anticipate*, hence *farāʿa minhu kalām*, "speech proceeded from him prematurely, without reflexion," and *farāʿa ʿaluyhi* (Qor. xx. 47), "he hastened (acted hastily and unjustly) against him"; conj. ii. *to send before*, hence *to send before so as to leave, to relinquish, to fail, be remiss, neglectful* in anything (Qor. vi. 31, xii. 80, xxxix. 57); conj. iii. *takallama firāʿan*, he spoke *hastily*, without premeditation; conj. iv. *to send before* (Qor. xvi. 64 "They shall be *sent first* into the fire of hell"), *to hasten*, and (very frequently) *to exceed due bounds, act extravagantly* in a thing. *ʿafraʿa fi ʿlqauli*, *to be immoderate in talk*. It is thus just possible that, as Abul-walid supposed, it might be used of those who *extemporized* poetry over-rapidly, without premeditation, in a hurried flow of unmeaning, unconsidered words: hence R.V. *sing idle songs*. The mediæval Jewish authorities, Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and David Kimchi, connecting the word with *peret* (Lev. xix. 10), the fallen or *separated* berries in a vineyard, supposed it to denote the way in which a singer *divides* his words into parts (מִחְתֵּךְ אֶת-הַדְּבָר בְּפְרוֹטְרוֹט) to suit the notes of the accompaniment; hence, no doubt, A. V. *chant* (marg. *quaver*). (In Dr Pusey's note, "measured out defilements")

¹ See representations of such *portable harps* in Stainer, *Music of the Bible*, Figs. 1—8; also (from Assyria) Engel, *Music of the most Ancient Nations*, pp. 29—31, and frontispiece; *DB*² s.v. HARP: Rawlinson, *Anc. Monarchies*, Bk. II. ch. vii. (ed. 4) p. 529 f., 542 (a procession of musicians—the same as Engel's frontispiece): and from Egypt, Engel, p. 181 ff. (trigons, p. 195); Wilkinson-Birch, I. 465, 469—470, 474 (trigons: larger harps resting on the ground, pp. 436—442, 462, 464).

For various forms of *lyre* see Stainer, Figs. 9—17; Engel, pp. 38—40, 196—8; Rawlinson, *l.c.* pp. 531—533, 540; Wilkinson-Birch, pp. 476—478, and Plate XII., No. 16, opposite p. 480 (an interesting picture, from a tomb at Beni-hassan, representing the arrival of some Semites in Egypt): and on Jewish coins, Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 205, 235, 236, 241, 243 (with 3, 5, or 6 strings); Nowack, p. 274; Stainer, p. 62.

² For representations of ancient guitars, see Rawlinson, *l.c.* p. 534; Wilkinson-Birch, pp. 481—483; Stainer, p. 28; Engel, pp. 204—208.



An ancient Egyptian lyre (from Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, 1878, ii. 476).



An ancient Egyptian guitar¹ (from Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, 1878, ii. 481).

¹ The *lute* differs substantially from the guitar only in having a shorter neck.

should be "divided the melody": a word was inaccurately transcribed in the *Thesaurus* of Gesenius; see Roediger's note in the Appendix, p. 107, or Neubauer's ed. of Abul-walid's *Lexicon*, col. 586.)

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON CHAP. VI. 8 (*excellent, excellency*).

The words *excellency* and *excellent* are unfortunately, to the great detriment of the sense, used frequently in both the Authorized and the Revised Versions, to represent various Hebrew words expressive of *majesty, pride, glory*¹. *Excellency* is thus used (as here) for *gā'ōn, majesty, pride* (in a good or a bad sense according to the context), in Ex. xv. 7 ("in the greatness of thy *majesty* (cognate with the verb rendered 'hath triumphed gloriously' in *vv.* 1, 21; lit. *hath risen up majestically*) thou overthrowest them that rise up against thee"); Is. xiii. 19 (A.V. *pride*), lx. 15 ("an everlasting *pride*"); Ez. xxiv. 21 (R.V. *pride*, as Lev. xxvi. 19 in A.V., in the same phrase); Am. viii. 7; Nah. ii. 2; Ps. xlvii. 4; Job xxxvii. 4 (R.V. *majesty*); for *ga'āwāh, majesty*, Deut. xxxiii. 26, 29, Ps. lxxviii. 34; for *gōbah, loftiness*, Job xl. 10 (R.V. *dignity*, using 'excellency' for *gā'ōn*); for *hādār, splendour, glory*, Is. xxxv. 2 ('the *splendour* of Carmel,' 'the *splendour* of our God'); and *excellent* for *gā'ōn*, Is. iv. 2 (read this verse, "In that day shall the sprouting of Jehovah be for an ornament and for a glory, and the fruit of the land for *majesty* and for beauty, to them that escape of Israel," and it both expresses more exactly the original, and also exhibits more clearly the prophet's thought that a true glory is to take the place of the false glory which, as ch. ii., iii. has shewn, is to vanish away); for *gē'ūth, also majesty*, Is. xii. 5 (R.V. marg. *gloriously*); for '*addār, noble or glorious*, Ps. viii. 1, 9 ("How *glorious* is thy name in all the earth!"), xvi. 3 (the saints of God are the *nobles*, in whom the Psalmist delights), lxxvi. 4 ("all-bright (?)² art thou, and *glorious*, (coming down) from the mountains of prey"); for *nisgāb, exalted* (so R.V.), Ps. cxlviii. 13: in the Prayer-Book Version of the Psalms, it stands similarly for '*addār*, Ps. viii. 1, 9, for *nikkādōth, 'glorious things,*' Ps. lxxxvii. 2, for *nisgāb, exalted*, Ps. cxxxix. 5 (i.e. here, too high for me), cxlviii. 12: cf. *excel* for '*addār*, xvi. 3. These renderings are the more to be regretted, as the Hebrew words in question are elsewhere expressed quite correctly: thus *gā'ōn* is *pride* in A.V., R.V., of Is. xxiii. 9, Jer. xiii. 9 ('the pride of Judah'), Hos. v. 5, vii. 10, Zech. ix. 6, x. 11 &c.; *majesty* in Is. ii. 10, 19, 21, Mic. v. 4; *gē'ūth* is *majesty*, Is. xxvi. 10, Ps. xciii. 1; '*addār* is *glorious* in Is. xxxiii. 21 (R.V. *in majesty*); *noble*, Jer. xiv. 3, xxx. 21 (R.V. here *prince*), and the cognate verb is *glorious* in Ex. xv. 6, 11; *hādār* is *majesty* in Ps. xxi. 6, xxix. 4, xcvi. 6 and frequently; and *nisgāb* is constantly *exalted* (as Is. ii. 11, 17 &c.), and with *name*

¹ The root-idea of *gā'ōn, ga'āwāh, gē'ūth* is, it is true, to *rise up, grow tall* (see Ez. xlvi. 5; Job viii. 11), which is also that of the Lat. *excello*: but no one can pretend that this sense is perceptible in the English words *excellent* and *excellency*; and in the Hebrew words also the primary physical sense has largely given way to the derived metaphorical one. The writer formerly thought it possible that these English words had become weakened in meaning since 1611; but the quotations in Murray's *English Dictionary* lend no support to this supposition.

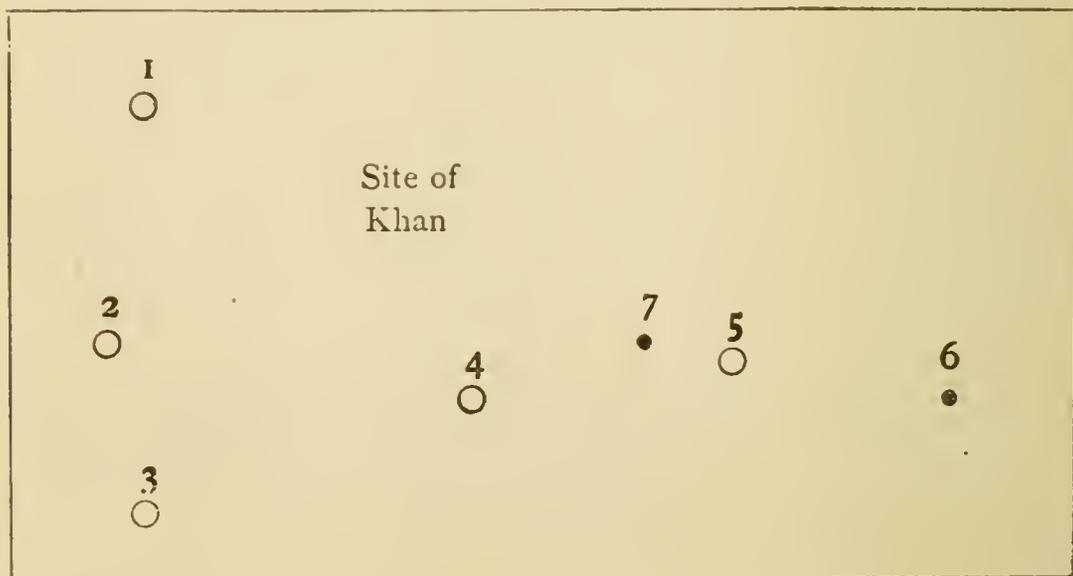
² Read probably (cf. *v.* 8) *terrible* (אורר for אורר).

(exactly as Ps. cxlviii. 13), Is. xii. 4. It is of course true that idiom sometimes imposes limits to the principle of representing the same Hebrew word uniformly by the same English one (for the corresponding words in two languages seldom develop their meanings quite symmetrically); but the use of *excellent*, and *excellency*, for the words here in question, is thoroughly gratuitous, and affords simply an "excellent" illustration of that needless and often misleading creation of "artificial distinctions" which the late Bishop Lightfoot criticized with such justice (*On a Fresh Revision of the English New Testament*, chap. IV. § 2).

Addenda.

On ii. 8 (p. 153). The Heb. יָשָׁׁׁׁ cannot be legitimately rendered 'lay themselves down': either read יָשָׁׁׁׁׁ 'spread themselves out' (Nu. xxiv. 6), or (Oort, Nowack) omit לָעַל upon ('and spread out clothes taken in pledge,' &c.)

On v. 5 (p. 180). The statement in the note rests upon the authority of Robinson, *B.R.* 1. 204 (in 1838 two wells with pure and sweet water), and Conder, *Tent Work*, p. 247 (in 1874 two wells with water, and a third dry; similarly Prof. Gautier in 1894: see the *Expos. Times*, July 1896, p. 471 f.), and was correct at the time when it was written (1897). Other travellers, however, as the present writer pointed out (*ibid.* Sept. 1896, p. 567 f.), spoke of seven wells at Beer-sheba, though some were small or indistinctly visible. And since 1897 a small settlement has sprung up at Beer-sheba (cf. Gautier, *ibid.* April, 1899, p. 328 f.): and three of the wells which were previously dry or closed up have been re-opened. An interesting account, with a plan and photographs, of the wells of Beer-sheba as they were in May 1900, is given by Prof. G. L. Robinson in the *Biblical World*, April 1901, pp. 247—55. The following rough outline (adapted from his more complete plan) will explain their relative situations (the *wādy* in which they lie runs E. and W.):



Nos. 3, 4, 5 are the wells described by Conder, No. 5 being his dry one. The distance from No. 4 to No. 3 is 834 ft. 6 in., and to No. 5, 702 ft. 9 in. No. 1 was dug out, and the masonry repaired, in Jan. 1900; but it was apparently not in use when G. L. Robinson saw it. No. 2 has also been re-opened lately; both this and Nos. 4 and 5 have now arched stone coverings over them, and either a pulley or a *sākiyeh* for drawing up the water (all erected quite recently). No. 3 is the one commonly represented in illustrations (e.g. Smith, *D. B. s. v.*), with the stones deeply worn by ropes. No. 6 is visible, but unopened. No. 7 is in a garden; and its existence rests at present upon the testimony of the peasant who owns the garden. Prof. Robinson expresses himself (p. 254) as though he thought it possible that there might be even more than seven wells at Beer-sheba (cf. the *Expos. Times*, Sept. 1901, p. 531 f.). See also Gautier, *Biblical World*, July 1901, pp. 49—52.

On v. 26 (p. 192). It may be worth mentioning that the two names *Sakkuth* and *Kaiwan* occur side by side (together with those of other astral divinities) in an incantation published by Zimmern (*Die Beschwörungstafel Šurpu*, 1896, No. 2, l. 179 f.): 'May Sakkut and Kaiwanbreak the spell.' Cf. the art. CHIUN in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*.

On viii. 5 (p. 215). Lidzbarski, as the result of his examination of Dr Chaplin's weight (*Ephemeris der Sem. Epigraphik*, 1. (1900), p. 13 f.), gives it as his opinion that ש does not really occur upon it: the engraver intended to cut רבע נצה , but cut by error רבע צף ; he partly scratched צף away, and cut רבע נצה on the other side of the stone (where it is to be read quite clearly); the imperfect ש remaining is nothing but the upper part of the צ (which in the archaic Hebrew character resembles a ש more than it does in the later square character). The inscription on the weight is thus really, according to Lidzbarski, 'The fourth of a *nezef*.' What place the *nezef* held in the Hebrew system of weights is not known: the word does not occur in the O.T., but it is found inscribed on other weights from Palestine.

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