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AMOS V. 26 (21-27).

THE purpose of this paper is to suggest the original arrangement of the material contained in Amos v. 21-27, and to offer an explanation of some particular points which will relieve the difficulties connected with the most perplexing passage of the whole book.

It is, I presume, agreed by most students of the Old Testament that the genuine prophecies of Amos date between 765 and 750 B.C.

In chapters iii.-vi. the Prophet emphasizes the certain and speedy approach of God's judgment upon Israel. His denunciation of the people becomes stronger and more emphatic as he continues, and the coming disaster is described, more vividly than ever before, in v. (26) 27 (*see* vi. 7). The visitation threatened by Yahweh cannot be averted much longer; "no, even though you would bring unto me all your much-vaunted sacrifices":

- 21 I hate, I despise your feast days;  
I will not smell (the sweet savour)<sup>1</sup> during your assemblies.<sup>2</sup>  
22 Though ye offered unto me your burnt-offerings and cereal oblations,<sup>3</sup> I will not be satisfied;  
Nor will I regard the peace-offerings of your fatlings.

<sup>1</sup> Lev. xxvi. 31; Isa. xi. 3; cf. Deluge-account, 160 ff.: the gods smelt the savour (of Pir-napištim's offering); the gods smelt the goodly savour; the gods gathered like flies over the sacrificer. IV. Rawl. 19a 57-8: the great gods iḫ-ḫi-nu gut-rin-nu (smell the burnt- [or smoke-] offering; descent of Ištar. Rev. 58 gut-ri-in li-iḫ-ḫi-nu.

<sup>2</sup> See Morris, Jastrow, Jr., *Am. Jour. Theol.*, vol. ii., April, 1898, pp. 335-7, on the meaning of עֲצֵרֶת; Driver, *The Books of Joel and Amos* (Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges), 1897, p. 186; and C. H. Toy, *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, 1899, p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> Parallel to the connection of עֲלִיּוֹת וּמִנְחָתֵיכֶם, with pron. suff. added to the second noun only, is the frequent occurrence of this construction in Assyrian literature, e.g. Tigl. Pil., i. col. i. 7, narkabāti u um-ma-na-te-ia, my chariots and my warriors; ii. 6; iii. 44 and often.

23 Away from me with the sound of thy songs;  
And the music of thy harps I will not hear.<sup>1</sup>

Away! says Yahweh; your service is but noise, it cometh not from the heart; your sacrifices and your offerings, that ye offer to me now, are not sacrifices and offerings at all in my sight. Outwardly, to be sure, they are magnificent; holocausts and hecatombs offered—not unto me, but unto your own vanity and self-glory. O ye hypocrites! what to me (Yahweh would say to this present generation) are the thousands of dollars that your rich men put on the plate before the eyes of the whole congregation, when the collection is taken up? What to me are your highly-paid church choirs? What to me are your beautiful, majestic church buildings, that cost you hundreds of thousands of dollars?! Incense to your own vanity, not sweet savour unto me! Such sweet savour I will not smell; it is an abomination to me.

O house of Israel, thou stiffnecked people; the same thou art now, that thou wert in the past. For:

25 Was it (really) sacrifices and cereal oblations with which ye approached me in the wilderness for forty years, O house of Israel?

No! is Yahweh's emphatic answer. It was not true sacrifices and offerings that were brought unto me. You know well that the house of Israel rebelled against me in the wilderness; they walked not in my statutes and they despised my judgments; my sabbaths they greatly polluted; for their heart was after their idols (Ezek. xx. 13 ff.). Such were the sacrifices ye brought unto me on most occasions; and only when I punished you did ye repent and return unto me. But, then, O house of Israel, thou wast in thy youth, and mine eye spared thee from destroying

<sup>1</sup> See Hosea vi. 6; Micah vi. 7; Isa. i. 11 ff.; Jer. vi. 20; vii. 21; Driver, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-6.

thee; neither did I make an end of thee in the wilderness. Hoping almost against hope, I continued to show thee mercy and lovingkindness; I was gracious and longsuffering unto my people from generation to generation. Their sacrifices, to be sure, were as vain in my sight then as yours are now. But there was then, at least, one redeeming feature. Your ancestors in the wilderness were not the hypocrites that you are; they rebelled openly; ye, my people, rebel against me in your heart, while outwardly being the most zealous worshippers.<sup>1</sup> No longer will I spare thee, O house of Israel; as truly as my name is "The God of hosts."

24 Judgment shall roll as waters;  
And righteousness as a perennial stream.

I am done with you. My judgment will come upon you swiftly and irresistibly; and just punishment, the expression of my righteousness (cf. Isa. v. 16; x. 22; xxviii. 17; also xxvi. 9; Keil and Hitzig, *ad Am. v. 24*; also Siegfried and Stade, *Wörterbuch*, p. 616) shall be meted out to you;

27 And I will carry you away into captivity, even beyond Damascus, Saith Yahweh, whose name is "The God of hosts."

It will be observed that the above arrangement departs somewhat from the order of the common text, but it seems to me that this must have been the original sequence of thought in this last paragraph of the Prophet's impassionate warning. There is no need to assume, with Wellhausen (*Die kleinen Propheten*, ed. 2, p. 83), Nowack (*Die kleinen Propheten*, 1897, p. 143), and others, that in the place of verse 26—rejected by almost all modern critics as a later gloss—there stood originally another severe threat or warn-

<sup>1</sup> Nathaniel Schmidt, *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, 1894, (xiii.) pp. 1-3, 11 ff.; and Duncan B. Macdonald, *ibid.*, 1899, (xviii.) pp. 214-15, defend views diametrically opposed to one another, but neither appears to have grasped the real significance of this passage.

ing, to which verse 27 was the logical sequence.<sup>1</sup> The arrangement of the text as given above relieves us of this assumption, which has always seemed most improbable to me. "And I will carry you away into captivity, even beyond Damascus." Syria was the most powerful enemy by whom God had heretofore chastened the house of Israel (2 Kings xiii. 7). Now God will bring against them a mightier foe. Damascus shall be their pathway to captivity. God will cause them to go into captivity, not to Damascus, whence they might easily return, but beyond it. "Amos does not, indeed, once name Assyria, and he seems to have no clear idea of the geography of the region 'beyond Damascus.' But every one knows what he means when he warns his hearers that Yahwè 'will raise up against them a nation' (vi. 14; cp. Isa. v. 26, where read 'הַבְּלַיִ), and 'will carry them into captivity beyond Damascus'" (Cheyne, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. i., article "Amos," § 5, cols. 149, 150).

If Amos was, indeed, the kind of man that the book of Amos represents him to be, he must have known, not from books, but from practical intercourse and life, that the Mesopotamian empire was the world power that could, and eventually would, subjugate Israel and Judah.

In volume iii. of Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions from Western Asia* (=Rawl.), plate 5, no. 6, is related the siege of Damascus by Shalmaneser II. of Assyria, 860-825 B.C., and the tribute of Jehu, king of Israel, paid to the

<sup>1</sup> Nor do we need to assume, with Canon Cheyne, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. i., cols. 153-4: "The whole verse is more than probably a later insertion which took the place of a passage that had become illegible. The case of Isa. x. 4a seems exactly parallel (see *SBOT.*, *ad loc.* [pp. 5b and 85, where reference might have been made also to *Am. Jour. Philol.*, vol. viii. 270]). . . . We may suppose that the writer of the inserted passage merely antedates a worship introduced into Samaria by the Babylonian colonists after 722 B.C. The awkwardness of the connection need not surprise us (this against König, *Syntax*, § 368b). The ך in 'שׁ) is the *waw explicativum* so often prefixed to glosses. Render: 'that is, ye carried in procession'—(cf. Isa. xlv. 20)."

Assyrian monarch.<sup>1</sup> Even before that, in the sixth year of his rule (854 B.C.) this same monarch fought against Hadadezer, of Damascus, against the kings of the Hattiland, and those of the sea coast who had come to assist the king of Damascus.<sup>2</sup> Then followed the three Syrian campaigns of Ashurdān III. (773-755 B.C.), in 773, 772, and 755.<sup>3</sup> Above all, the splendid campaign of Adadnirāri III. (797 B.C.) recorded in I. Rawl. 35, no. 1.<sup>4</sup>

Knowing these facts of recent history as well as "the boastful pride of the governing classes in the military resources of Israel, Amos prophesied as close at hand the downfall of the kingdom, which just at that moment was rejoicing most in the consciousness of power,<sup>5</sup> and the deportation to a far-off northern land" (Wellhausen).

Amos died; but the event which he had foreseen and foretold was not long in coming: Samaria succumbed, after a desperate resistance, to Sargon, Shalmaneser IV.'s suc-

<sup>1</sup> Lines 23b-26 read *ina ū-me-šu-ma ma-da-tu ša (māt) Qur-ra-a-a (māt) Ci-du-na-a ša Ja-u-a mār ḫu-um-ri-i am-yur, i.e., "at that time I received tribute also from the inhabitants of Tyre and Sydon (and) from Jehu, the son of Omri."* See also the Annals of Shalmaneser, on the Obelisk of Nimrud, lines 97, 98, 99, and the second inscription above the reliefs of the same obelisk, where the *ma-da-tu ša Ia-u-a mār ḫu-um-ri-i* is enumerated in detail (*KB.*, i. 140 and 150).

<sup>2</sup> See *KB.*, i. 132, 134.

<sup>3</sup> Eponym. list (II. Rawl., pl. 52; *KB.*, i. 208 ff.) where we read:

773 [Man-nu-ki-Adad ša (māt?)] šal(?)-lat | a-na (al) Di-maš-ga.

772 [Ašur-bēl-ugur ša (al) Kal]-ḫi | a-na (māt) ḫa-ta-ri-ka (= Hadrach, north of the Lebanon).

755 [Ki-i-su ša (al)] Me-ḫi-ni-iš | a-na (māt, var. al) ḫa-ta-ri-ka.

Another expedition was made in 754 B.C., a-na (māt, var. al) Ar-pad-da (Arpad). In the year 765 B.C. we read also of another expedition against the country of Hadrach; but the campaign was checked by a plague, for the word *mu-ta-nu* is added. A plague (*mu-ta-nu*) must have marred also the success of the expeditions in 803 and 759 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> Adadnirāri who (4) under the protection of Ašur his lord . . . (11) . . . ištu eli (nār) Purattu (māt) ḫat-ti (māt) A-mur-ri ana si-ḫir-ti-ša, (12) (māt) Qur-ru (māt) Ći-du-nu (māt) ḫu-um-ri-i (māt) U-du-mu (māt) Pa-la-as-tu (13) a-di eli tam-dim rabī-ti ša šul-mu (il) šam-ši ana šēpi-ia (14) u-šek-niš, biltu ma-da-tu eli-šu-nu-u-kin, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Assyria declined, while Israel flourished under Jeroboam II. (782-741 B.C.).

cessor, in 721 B.C.<sup>1</sup> "The victor adopted energetic measures for the pacification of the country; he carried all the inhabitants of mark into captivity to Calachene, Gozanitis, and Armenia. Much light is thrown upon the conditions of the national religion then and upon its subsequent development by the single fact that the exiled Israelites were absorbed by the surrounding heathenism without leaving a trace behind them. (Wellhausen, *History of Israel and Judah*, ed. 3, London, 1891, pp. 92-3.)

A later prophet, well acquainted with the utterances of Amos and with the ultimate fate of the Israelites, a man, prophet and historian, perhaps one of the literary associates of King Hezekiah, described the religious assimilation of the exiles most succinctly in the words (verse 26) which the post-exilic redactor and editor of the whole book incorporated into the text of the Prophet's utterances. I do not quite agree with Cornill, *Einleitung*, § 25, that this final redactor reduced the utterances of Amos to writing. It is more probable that they were written out either by a contemporary scribe or by the same man who, I believe, added verse 26, "on the margin" so to speak, whence the

<sup>1</sup> Sargon, *Annals*, lines 11-13 (17): "I besieged and took the city of Samaria (al Sa-me-ri-na); 27,290 of the people, that dwelt therein, I carried away. Also see Khorsabad, 23, 24, Cylinder-inscr. 19, where Samaria is called (mât) Bit xu-um-ri-a rap-ši, i.e. the wide country of the house of Omri. Line 20 of this inscription says that Sargon defeated the Ta-mu-di, the I-ba-di-di, the Mar-si(-i)-ma-ni, the xa-ça-pa-a; those among these peoples, that were not killed (i.e. Si-il-ta-šu-nu) were taken away (from their own country) and were deported to the land of the house of Omri, which was greatly depopulated (cf. 2 Kings xvii. 6-24). It is a great pity that the Eponym list, with chronological additions, published in II. Rawl., pl. 52, breaks off at 723 B.C., and that the supplementary list Rm. 2, 97 (*KB.*, iii. (2) 144-47) is so fragmentary. Concerning the exact date of the fall of Samaria, historians are not agreed; 722 B.C. is advocated by Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i. p. 600; Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, vol. i., pref. xvi.; and *Geschichte Babylonien und Assyriens*, 234, 237 (722 B.C., end); Kittel, *History of the Hebrews*, vol. ii., p. 350; Cornill, *History of the People of Israel*, p. 125. 721 B.C. is accepted by Wellhausen, *History of Israel and Judah*; Hommel, *Geschichte Babylonien und Assyriens*, pp. 675-6. Also see Tiele, *Geschichte*, 239, 257. Willis J Beecher, *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, 1892 (xi.), pp. 210-13, advocates the year 718 B.C.

final redactor incorporated the verse, with slight changes, into the text preceding verse 27, and transposed, for the sake of clearness, as he thought, verses 24 and 25.

And these are the words of that unknown writer which he addressed to the Israelites, now in captivity, as if they were present :

26. And (now) ye worship <sup>1</sup> Ninib as your decider (or king) and even as your *elohim*; and the star Saturn, as your idol, which ye have made unto yourselves, *i.e.* :

וּנְשֵׂאתֶם אֶת סִכּוֹת מַלְכֵכֶם וְאֱלֹהֵיכֶם  
: וַיֵּאת כִּיּוֹן כּוֹכַב צִלְמַי [כֶּסֶם] אֲשֶׁר עֲשִׂיתֶם לָכֶם.<sup>2</sup>

The words סִכּוֹת and כִּיּוֹן have long ago been recognised as foreign Assyrian words; but I believe that the writer of verse 26 has in the structure of the whole verse, as well as in the choice of words, imitated, with a touch of sarcasm, Assyrio-Babylonian grammar to the best of his knowledge. He uses נִשָּׂא in imitation of Assyrian *našū gātā*,<sup>3</sup> literally: "to lift up the hands" (in prayer to a god), in the meaning of "pray to, worship." The Assyrian may have been used even without the *gātā*. It is, of course, quite possible to explain נִשָּׂא in the meaning of "to carry about" idols in solemn procession (Isa. xlv. 20; xlv. 1, 7; Jer. x. 5). Statues of Marduk and Nabū were carried about in solemn

<sup>1</sup> With August Köhler, *Lehrbuch der bibl. Geschichte Alten Testaments*, vol. i. p. 310, rm. 7; Tiele, *Gesch. der Religion im Altertum*, vol. i. p. 336, and others, we believe that this verse refers to the present, not to the past (as Hitzig, G. Baur, Keil, Pusey, N. Schmidt, Maconald, and others), nor to the future (as Ewald, Schrader, Schmoller, Orelli, Valetton, König, Driver, and others), unless the frequentative meaning is accepted for וּנְשֵׂאתֶם. See also below, last footnote but one.

<sup>2</sup> Vollers, "Das Dodekapropheton der Alexandriner," *ZATW.*, vol. iii. p. 266, says: "Vorlage von S (=LXX.) für Am. vi. 26 war וּנְשֵׂאתֶם אֶת־סִכּוֹת מַלְכֵיכֶם וְאֱלֹהֵיכֶם רִיפֵן צִלְמֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר עֲשִׂיתֶם לָכֶם. Of course, one could translate thus with the LXX.: "And the star of your *elohim* (*i.e.* Ninib) *kaimānu*." It is, however, by no means necessary to say with Nowack, *Kl. Proph.*, p. 143: "Offenbar ist "א" כ"א eine Glosse, die in dem hebräischen Text der LXX. an richtiger, in unserm an falscher Stelle, eingedrungen ist."

<sup>3</sup> The exact equivalent of *našū gātā* occurs in Psalm lxiii. 5, בְּשִׁמְךָ אֱשָׂא כָפִי, and xxviii. 2, בְּנִשְׂאֵי יָדַי אֶךְ דְּבִיר קִדְשְׁךָ.



procession at the Babylonian New Year's festival. The **וּנְשֵׂאתָם** in its frequentative meaning (Cowley-Gesenius, § 112, *rr*) would be most appropriate.

**סִכְנֹת**. Volumes, so to speak, have been written on the meaning of this word and on that of **כִּיּוֹן**. Most writers have admitted that the pointing of the two words is of later date than the original composition of the whole verse. It is later than the translation of this book into the Greek of the Septuagint, where we read: *καὶ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολῶχ καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν Παιφαν* (cod. Marchalianus, *Ῥεφαν*) *τοὺς τύπους αὐτῶν οὓς ἐποίησατε ἑαυτοῖς*.

The Greek translator evidently read **סִכְנֹת**;<sup>1</sup> Aquila's *συσκιασμούς* translates **סִכְנֹת**; *συσκιασμός* = *συσκίασις*; Vulgate *tabernaculum* translates the LXX. text; Targ. (Lagarde) **סִכְנֹת** follows the Massor. text; Jerome's *sochoth* presupposes the reading **סִכְנֹת**; Theodotion's *ἄρασις* assumes a noun derived from **שָׁכָה**, "to look, see." Both nouns were pointed by the Massoretic scholars after the ground-form *gittûl*, which, as G. Baur, *Der Prophet Amos*, 1847, p. 369, has well shown, was given by preference to words indicating idolatry, idols, and foreign gods.<sup>2</sup> In his well-

<sup>1</sup> Dozy, *De Israel. te Mekka*, 1864, pp. 37 f. (Germ. transl., pp. 33 f.); Vollers, and others. Canon Cheyne, *Expositor*, 1897, January, pp. 43, 44, against Geo. A. Smith, says: "It appears certain that, at the very least, Saccot and Kaiwan should be omitted as interpolations, and with them **כִּיּוֹן**, the star, and either **לְמִיכָם**, or, better, **אֱלֹהֵיכֶם** (so Geo. A. Smith). The sense required is: 'Nay, rather, ye have carried idol-gods in procession.' This compels us to omit the whole verse as a late insertion."

<sup>2</sup> See also Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, i. (1876), pp. 95-6, who mentions **גִּילְגָּלִים**, "idols" (=logs, blocks, shapeless things); **קְבֻצִים**, "heaps," referring to idols; Isa. lvii. 13, etc. In 1884, Theodor Nöldeke, in his clever review of Kautzsch's *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (*Gött. Gelehrt. Anzeigen*, 1884, vol. ii.) called attention to the fact (p. 1022) that these and many more cases are due to intentional mispointing, either on the part of the Old Testament writers to express their contempt for heathen idols (**שְׁקוּיָן**), or on the part of the Massoretic scholars, on the analogy of other well-known words. "Man sprach Götzenamen gern absichtlich falsch aus"; thus **מִלְכָּךְ**, **Μολῶχ** for **מִלְכָּךְ**; **עֲשֵׂתֵינֵךְ** for **עֲשֵׂתֵינֵךְ** (cf. *Ἀσάπρη*); **אַבְדְּנֵךְ** for **אַבְדְּנֵךְ**; **נָסוּךְ** for **נָסוּךְ** (*Nasku*, *Halévy*; but Cheyne otherwise); **כִּיּוֹן**

known article "Kewan und Sakkuth" (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1874, pp. 324-35), Schrader has shown that סכּוֹת is but the Hebrew transliteration of (AN)SAG-KUD (literally: the supreme judge, chief arbiter), which in Assyrio-Babylonian literature occurs as one of the names (titles, or epithets) of the god Ninib (<sup>1</sup> Nin-ib, *i. e.* the Lord of the city of Ib; see Brünnow, *A Classified List of . . . Cuneiform Ideographs*, no. 10,479).<sup>1</sup> This, I believe, is now

(Ῥεμμυδν); Βεελζεβοὺλ=בְּעֵלְזֵבוּל, and others. The principle underlying the pointing of סכּוֹת and סִיִּי has thus been established for many years, so that the clever remarks of Prof. C. C. Torrey, *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, 1894 (xiii.), 61-2, are not as unique as J. Taylor's remark in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. pp. 383-4, would seem to make them. The fact that Driver, *Joel and Amos*, p. 189, rm. 2 says: "Which (namely, the Massoretic 'punctuation' of סכּוֹת) may be intended to suggest the word *shikkutz*, 'detestable thing,' often applied to idols (Deut. xxix. 17, etc.)," either proves that Driver considers this as a long-accepted theory, making it unnecessary to quote Torrey's article in proof thereof, or that the learned Canon of Christ Church has done injustice to Torrey, for in note 4 on the same page he quotes Nathaniel Schmidt's article in the same vol. of *Jour. Bib. Lit.* Torrey's remark, *loc. cit.*, "For the attempt to connect Greek κτωρ with סִיִּי, see Muss-Arnolt, 'Semitic Words in Greek and Latin,' in *Transactions of the Amer. Philol. Association*, 1892, p. 74 f.," is somewhat misleading for those who have not access to my article. I have there, on philological grounds, emphatically declared against a Semitic etymology of κτωρ.—According to König, *Lehrgebäude*, vol. ii. 1, 151, the pointing סִיִּי is intended to suggest √ סִי as something established firm.—The two passages 2 Kings xvii. 30 and Ezek. viii. 3, 5, where, according to Canon Cheyne, the original text contained in the one case a reference to Saccut and Kaiwan, and in the other one to Kaiwan, will be discussed in a special paper.

<sup>1</sup> II. Rawl. 37 c-d 40; Haupt, *ASKJ.*, 37, 31; III. Rawl. 68a, 16 (see Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 3539). IV. Rawl.,<sup>2</sup> 52, col. iv. 9, 10 (=Zimmern, *Šurpu*, 10, 179f.) we read (il) TI-BAL (il) SAG-KUD (il) uš (=kaimānu) | (il) Im-me-ri-ia lip-tu-ru. It may be of interest to note also that AN is not only = ilu, but also = kak-ka-bu (star), V. Rawl., 21 g-h 23; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 136 f., 191 f. II. Rawl., 57 c-d 65 we read il Nin-ib=il Nin-pin (III. Rawl., 68 g 21; Brünnow, no. 11,007). Tiele, *Geschichte*, 523; Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 239, whose statements, however, call for some corrections. J. Taylor's note on p. 333 col. 2 of *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i., should have been revised by a competent Assyriologist. His reading A-TAR (A-tar) is Schrader's former reading A-DAR, which is now read Nin-ib.

On god Ninib, see especially Jeremiah in Roscher's *Ausführl. Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, vol. iii., cols. 364-69. For the spelling of the name reference may perhaps be made to Asurb, i. 105, Bu-kur-ni-ni-ip (=Egypt. *Bok-en-ran-ef*); the -ni-ni-ip has, of course, no connection with Ninib, except that of popular analogy (*BA.*, i. 353, no. 15). Ninib is the god of

accepted by all students of the Old Testament, save Georg Hoffmann (*ZATW.*, vol. iii. p. 113). See also Baudissin, *Studien*, vol. i. pp. 22 and 335.

Nippur, and son of the old Bel of Nippur (Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 457 ff.). His consort is Gula. He is first mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions in that of Ašur-reš-iši, 1150 B.C. He is the mighty one of the gods. For the pronunciation of the two characters, making up the name of the god, see especially Hommel, *PSBA.*, xix. 134, § 42; 312-13, where it is shown that the name is written Nin-ip (so usually) as well as Nin-ib (character: tum, ib); also *PSBA.*, 168-9; 135, § 46; *Expos. Times*, 1898, 330, col. 1, rm. 1. So against Hommel's former reading Nin-dar (*Sumer. Lesestücke*, 34-5, no. 401) and the commonly accepted (wrong!) reading A-dar. This notwithstanding the remarks of C. H. W. Johns to the contrary, *Expos. Times*, June, 1898, 425, and *PSBA.*, xxi. 79. On (al) Bit-Nin-ib, Tel-Amarna (Berl. 106=KB. v. no. 183), see Prof. Haupt, *Independent*, Jan. 12, 1899. Lines 14-15 of this letter read alu (māt) U-ru-sa-lim šu-mu-ša (al) Bit-Nin-ib=the city of the land whose name is Jerusalem, Bit-Ninib; also Tel-Amarna, London, 12, 31, in a Bit-Nin-ib. According to Haupt it is=the temple of the Israelitish god of war and thunderstorms. The Assyrian scribe substituted the name of the Assyrian deity Ninib for the Canaanitish Yahweh. This has, of course, no connection with, nor bearing on, Amos v. 26. Tel-Amarna, Berlin, 73, 89, mentions a king's servant Abd-Nin-ib.

Adrammelech, 2 Kings xix. 37; Isa. xxxvii. 38 can, of course, no longer be connected with an assumed Adar-malik (see Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 757 f.; Cheyne-Black, *Encycl. Bibl.*, i. col. 72). If the word is Assyrian—which is not proven at all—it might be a compound like Atra-χaxis, on which see the literature cited in my *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, p. 134; a form a-tar ilu also occurs. Atra-malik would probably yield אַרְרַמְלֵךְ.

2 Kings xvii. 31 mentions Adrammelech and Anammelech as gods of אֲדַרְמֵלֶךְ, a city perhaps identical with Šabara'in, mentioned in the Babylonian Chronicle, i. 27, or Subarina, of the Tel-Amarna Tablets (Halévy, *Recherches Critiques*, p. 259; *ZA.*, ii. 401 f.; Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrio-Babylonian Months*, pp. 26-7; on the other hand see Winckler, *Alttest. Untersuchungen*, 97 f.). May there not have been a connection between the name of the god Adrammelech, as far as the Adra- is concerned, with the (il) A-tar sa-ma-a-a-in of Ašurb, viii. 112, 124, the Aramean god אַתְתָּר, the Phœnician 'Attâr (cf. Atargatis, Ἀταργάτη='Attâr-Ate=Δεσπερώ) and Greek Ἀθάρα (Strabo, xvi. 4, 27)? Anammelech, of course, is a much simpler form. It could be analogous to (il) A-nim šar-ru=Anu the king (of the gods), unless we prefer Geo. Hoffmann's explanation (*ZA.*, 1896, 258), according to which the name is אַנְתְּמַלְכַּא, i.e. Anath-malk. Anath (=Antu) was the consort of Anu; the second component part of both names -melech (=Assyrian -milki) occurs very often. The articles "Adrammelech" and "Anammelech" in Hastings' *Dictionary*, vol. i., contain nothing new. I beg to add that I hope shortly to discuss anew the questions involved in 2 Kings xvii. 31, and xix. 36, 37=Isa. xxxvii, 38; as well as 2 Chron. xxxii. 24, with special reference to the views of Canon Cheyne, Meinhold, Winckler, Johns, Kittel, and Benzinger.

מלככם could be either "your king" (if genuine Hebrew), or "your decider, your counsellor, in imitation of the Assyrio-Babylonian mal(i)ku. The close connection with מלך אלהים would favour the former; to me, the latter seems more probable, especially inasmuch as mal(i)ku is found also as an epithet of Ninib (Jensen, *ZA.*, vol. i. 390-1, and others).<sup>1</sup> The LXX. read the Hebrew as a proper name, transliterating the *Μολόχ*. Originally the word must have been written *Μολέχ*, a pronunciation fashioned after *לִשְׁבַּע*, as W. Rob. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, i. p. 353, has said long ago; later, by assimilation, it became *Μολόχ*.<sup>2</sup>

"And the star כִּיּוֹן." The true reading of the word was suggested in modern literature by Justi, *Amos neu übersetzt*, etc., 1799, pp. 175 ff., and, later, by Gustav Baur, *Amos*, pp. 364-79. The latter on the basis of the Arabic-Persian كَيَوَان (see also Gesenius, *Commentar zu Jesaias*, vol. ii. 343 f.) read כִּיּוֹן or כִּיּוֹן. Prof. Haupt, *ZA.*, vol. ii. pp. 266, 281 f., read כִּיּוֹן, the Hebrew transliteration of Kaimānu (Ka-a-a-ma-nu, II. Rawl., 32, no. 3, 25; Haupt, *Akkad.-Sum. Keil. schr. Texte*, 16, 250 = SAG-UŠ).<sup>3</sup> So first Jules Oppert. In II. Rawl., 49 *ef* 42 we find the same word explaining the star SAG-UŠ, which latter, according to

<sup>1</sup> Mal(i)ku occurs often in connection with gods. Marduk ma-lik ilāni (Merodach-Baladan-stone, i. 8); he has the ma-li-ku-ut ilani gi-mir, *Creat.-frag.* iii. 44; also Ea, and others are called maliku; (ii) Ma-lik, II. Rawl. 60a 19 f., III. Rawl. 66b 9, etc. Proper names such as Nabū-ma-lik, A-šur-ma-lik, etc. Ašurnācirpal i. 7 calls Ninib ilu šar-ḫu ša la e-nu-u mil-lik šu (see my *Concise Dictionary*, pp. 546-49).

<sup>2</sup> Aquila: *Μο(α?)λχόμ*; Sym., Theod.: *τοῦ βασιλέως ὑμῶν*. See also Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, pp. 399-404; 459-61.

<sup>3</sup> Thus in IV. Rawl.,<sup>2</sup> 28 no. 1, 7-8, the sun-god is called i-ša ru ina šamē Ka-a-a-ma-nu (*i.e.* Kaimānu on the firmament); ideogram is AN-GUB-BA, which in IV. Rawl.,<sup>2</sup> 16b 3-4=Ka-a-a-nu, thus indicating for both forms √ כִּיּוֹן. K 4386 (= II. Rawl. 48) col. iv. 52 we read AN-LU-LIM (or AN=kakkab lu-lim?) = AN-LU-BAT-SAG-UŠ. AN=kakkab; LU-BAT=bibbu, *i.e.* planet in general (see my *Dictionary*, p. 142); SAG-UŠ=Kaimānu; the whole=Planet Kaimānu. (Kakkab) LU-BAT is also=(ii) Nin-ib (*i.e.* star of Ninib) II. Rawl., 57 a-b 50 (Brünnow, no. 10,709). Let it be said here, however, that Jeremias in his article "Ninib," *loc. cit.*, maintains that Mars is the planet of god Ninib.

Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 111-114, 136 ff., 502, is the planet Saturn, the star of the god Ninib. It was called Kaimānu, "true, durable, eternal," because of its slow motion. (See also Lotz, *Quæstionum de historia Sabbati duo*, 1883, pp. 27 ff.).

The LXX. reading *Ῥαιφαν* is corrected by all modern writers into *Καιφαν*:<sup>1</sup> Peshittā reads *kaivānā*; Aquila and Symmachus, *χιουν* (*χιών*); Jerome, *chion*; the Vulgate, *imaginem* (*imago* = *simulacrum*, *statua*), no doubt, considering כִּי־ן the same as *κίων*, or, at least, deriving the Hebrew from כִּי־ן. Theodotion's (τῆν) *ἀμαύρωσω* is used thus by the translator for the same reason: *ἀμαύρωσις* = *κώνειον* (*κώνιον*), Dioscorides iv. 79; = a little *κῶνος*, Athenæus xiv. 61 (p. 649 D). This specific meaning of *ἀμαύρωσις*, agreeing beautifully with the Vulgate's *imaginem*, has escaped Fred. Field, who says in his *Origenis Hexaplorum quæ supersunt* (vol. ii., Oxonii, 1875, pp. 975-6): "Theodotion uses *ἀμαύρωσις* as if from *√כהף* = *ἡμαύρωσεν*"; and Field translates accordingly: *obscuritatem*. It is true that the LXX. uses *ἀμαυρός* = כהף (Piel) six times, exclusively, in Leviticus, chap. xiii., a fact of some significance; the verb *ἀμαυροῦν* is used several times in LXX. Aquila, Sym. and Theod. use *ἀμαυρόν*, Isaiah xlii. 3 (4), where the LXX. has *καπνιζόμενος* (also see Isa. xlii. 3; 1 Sam. iii. 13).

The ׳ in צלמיכם is of Massoretic origin, occasioned by the LXX.'s misunderstanding of the text. The ׳ should be dropped<sup>2</sup> and צלמכם explained as "your idol (=statue, or

<sup>1</sup> Schrader, Nowack and others; Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 383, and article "Chiun" in Cheyne-Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. i., cols. 749-50; Keil, *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*, has some good notes on this point. Justi, in 1799, suggested that LXX. *ραιφαν* or *ρεμφαν* was either Egyptian *Ribha*, or a misreading of כִּי־ן for כִּי־ן, transliterated *ρεμφαν*, which in Acts vii. 43 has become further corrupted into *Ρομφαν*.

<sup>2</sup> This has been suggested long ago by Dozy, *op. cit.* (1864), pp. 37 f. Georg Hoffmann's statement (repeated by others): "Deutlich genug spricht die Stelle von zwei Göttern" (*ZATW.*, iii. 113) can no longer be accepted as true; neither is Nowack, *Archæologie*, ii. p. 309, quite correct.

picture).” Its true meaning is seen especially in Assyrio-Babylonian literature, where in texts on magic and sorcery, incantations, psalms, and prayers we find time and again “çalmu, çalam” indicating some picture or idol, which people made either to worship or to offer up as a substitute for themselves.<sup>1</sup> That צלמיכם belongs to אֵלֵי עֵלֹהִים, George Adam Smith, i. p. 171, rm. 1, has correctly maintained.

This, I believe, is the correct interpretation of verse 26.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Tallquist, *Die Assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maglū*, pp. 18, 19; Prince, *Am. Jour. Philology*, vol. xv. 114; also Jensen, *ZA.*, i. 390-1. For our purpose it will suffice to mention II. Rawl., 49 no. 3, 42, MUL-MI=AN (sa-al-me) RA-PA (or ra-çat?) = AN-SAG-UŠ-AN-UD. Schwally derives Hebrew צלמך from Assyrian çalmu, which is also borrowed further, in late Greek ζυλματιον. לַכֶּם אֵלֵי עֵלֹהִים refers, of course, to צלמכם, not to אלהיכם nor to כוכב (this against Baudissin, *Studien*, vol. i. 85, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> For the sake of approximate completeness, it may be of interest to mention some of the most important suggestions and translations of recent commentators, in addition to those mentioned previously.—Wellhausen, *Die Kleinen Propheten*, 82-3, rejects כוכב as a gloss to כִּיֹּן and צלמיכם as a gloss to אלהיכם. The whole verse is a late addition.—Nowack, *Die Kleinen Propheten*, agrees with Wellhausen.—Jensen, *ZA.*, i. 390-1: “Euren Sikkut-melek (=malik) und euren Kewān çalmē.”—Orelli, *The Twelve Minor Prophets* (1893), 132-33: So you shall carry Saccuth, your king, and Kewan, your star-god, your images.—Valeton, *Amos und Hosea*, Giessen, 1898, pp. 37-9, 211-12, offers nothing new.—Nowack, *Archæologie*, ii. 309: “Auf Assyrischen Einfluss weist die in den Tagen des Amos uns entgegentreteude Verehrung des Sakkut (= Adar) und des כִּיֹּן=Assyr. Kaivān, d. i., Saturn. Nach Amos 5, 26 gab es in Nordisrael Bilder dieser Götter, welche man verehrte und welche Israel mit in die Gefangenschaft tragen soll.”—N. Schmidt, *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, 1894 (xiii.) 11: “Did ye then carry about the tabernacle of your king, the image of your god which ye have made for yourselves?”—Canon Driver, *Joel and Amos*, 189: “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.”—Geo. Adam Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, i. 171-2: “But ye shall lift up . . . your king and . . . your god, images which ye have made for yourselves.”—Budde, *The Religion of Israel to the Exile* (1899), p. 68, translates: “Did ye not bear about [that is to say, at that time, in the desert] your king Sakkūt and your star Kewān?” In footnote 1 he says: It appears to me impossible to strike out v. 26, because no explanation can be given for its subsequent origin and interpolation. Prof. N. Schmidt offers a restoration and explanation of this verse which differ widely from those hitherto proposed, but hardly come nearer the mark.—W. Robertson Smith, *Prophets* (1895), 401-3: “כִּיֹּן and כֶּבֶד mean ‘tabernacle’ and ‘pedestal’ or something of the kind”; p. 140, he says: “In Amos v. 26 there is a very obscure allusion to the worship of the star-gods, which from the connection cannot have been a rival service to that of Jehovah, but probably attached itself in a

But you will ask, Where is the connection between the statement made in this verse and the words of Amos? Why does the writer of this verse 26 mention Ninib (SAGKUD), and his star Kaimānu in preference to others? Should we not expect to find instead the names of the great Babylonian gods Marduk and Nabū, or the Assyrian Ašur? This question, no doubt, has often been asked, but, to my knowledge, has not yet been answered satisfactorily.

In order to give the correct answer we must go back to verse 24, where Yahweh said unto Israel through the mouth of Amos (As truly as my name is "The God of hosts") shall judgment roll as waters, and righteousness as a perennial stream.—Yea, judgment, justice and right, as well as (my) righteousness shall be established; yea, indeed,

subordinate way to the offices of his sanctuary."—Zeydner, "Nog iets over den profet Amos" (*Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede*, 1893, 613 ff.), considers כוֹכַב צִלְמִיכָם a late gloss of the author or, rather, of a scribe.—Tiele, *Geschichte der Religion im Altertum*, i. (1896), p. 336: "Das Tragen der Sikkut (sicher "das Zelt," der heilige parakku) ihres Königs und ihres Sterngottes Kévan bezieht sich entweder auf die Zukunft oder, was mir wahrscheinlicher vorkommt, auf die Gegenwart"; and *ibid.*, rm. 2, he says: "Man fasse die Perfecta präsentisch, so wird der Sinn wenigstens logischer. Im Texte folge ich der jetzte allgemein angenommenen Korrektur von Kijjūn in Kévan (Saturn). Sie ist jedoch nicht absolut gesichert, und die Übersetzung, die Säule des Sterns eures Gottes, vielleicht vorzuziehen."—John P. Peters, *Hebraica*, i. pp. 242-3 follows Schrader closely.—Keil, *Minor Prophets*: "But have ye borne the booth of your king and the pedestal of your images, the star of your gods, which ye made for yourselves?"—Hitzig-Steiner, *Die Zwölf kleinen Propheten* (1881), pp. 130-134, has nothing new to offer.—G. Baur, *Amos*, 376: "Und ihr truget die Gehäuse des Milchom und den Kaiwan, eure Bilder des Sterns, die Götter, die ihr euch gemacht."—Against Bauer's translation, especially his reading מִלְכֹם, see Düsterdieck, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1847, 869-914, especially pp. 908-12. With Ewald he refers the whole verse to the future; but translates: "Aber (=waw adversat.) ihr tragt die Hütte eures Königs," etc.—Mover, *Phoenicier*, i. 254-321, says on p. 296: "Ihr truget die Kapelle eures Moloch und den Chigun (die Säule) eurer Bilder, die ihr euch gemacht." Earlier writers, with the exception of Gesenius, *Commentar zu Jesaias* (1821), vol. ii. 343 f., and Justi (1799), have most fanciful and wonderful ideas about the meaning of this verse 26.

The early literature on this verse is well given in Baur, *Amos*, p. 364. Of recent writers J. H. Gunning, *De godspraken van Amos*, Leiden, 1885, contains a very rich collection of literature.—Also see Muss-Arnolt, *Biblical World*, June, 1897, pp. 451-52.

it has been by this time, though in a manner not anticipated by you. This it is that the writer of verse 26 had in mind. For I conjecture that he was, more or less, acquainted with the language and religion of Israel's subduers, a supposition by no means too presumptuous after the discovery of the Tell-Amarna Tablets. He was considering the fate and present condition of Israel—in exile and worshipping the gods of their masters. And he remembered that among the stars mentioned by the Assyrians and Babylonians there was one star Kaimānu, which was explained as the star of justice and righteousness, the kakkab ket-tuu me-šar (II. Rawl., 49 no. 3, 41); it was the star of the god Ninib (SAG-KUD). No other star, with its god, fitted so well the context, to illustrate and to demonstrate to his Judean countrymen how Yahweh's judgment (justice) and righteousness had overtaken the house of Israel in a manner, though foretold, yet by no means thus expected, even by his Prophet Amos. This, I believe, is the *only* reason which led the writer of verse 26 to mention that star and its god as representative of the whole Assyrio-Babylonian pantheon. If the kakkab ket-tu u me-šar had explained any other star, I am convinced we should find it mentioned in verse 26 instead of כַּיָּמָנוּ = Kaimānu; and, again, were another than Ninib the god of the star Kaimānu, we should certainly find its name in our verse, rather than SAG-KUD = Nin-ib. This explanation shows the author of verse 26 to have been a man of knowledge as well as of sarcasm; for it is sarcasm, rather than pity and sympathy, that reveals itself in the words:

And (now) ye worship Ninib as your decider and even as your *elohim*; And the star Saturn as your idol, which ye have made unto yourselves.<sup>1</sup>

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

<sup>1</sup> On text and translation of Acts vii. 42, 43, where Amos v. 25-27 is quoted by St. Stephen, see Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in Greek*, vol. i. pp.