INTERPRETATION OF THE REASONS FOR JUDGMENT IN AMOS 2.6-16 IN THE REDACTIONAL COMPOSITIONS UNDERLYING THE AMOS-TEXT

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ABSTRACT

This redaction-critical study interprets the reasons for judgment in Amos 2.6-16 in the literary context of each of the redactional compositions which, I argue, underlie the Amos-text. It is proposed that the Amos-text is both a theological work and a tractate of social criticism. In the earlier redactional compositions the dominant reasons for judgment concern mistreatment of the weak. In the later redactional compositions these are overshadowed, in terms of length of text, by more theological reasons for judgment; however, these strengthen, rather than weaken, the force of the older reasons for judgment.

After an introductory first chapter, Chapter 2 describes and defends the methodology employed, and establishes the terminology of "composition" and "redactional composition".

Chapter 3 makes proposals concerning the compositional history of the Amos-text, attributing each unit to one of four redactional compositions. This chapter builds on the significant works of Hans W Wolff and Jörg Jeremias, following one or both of them at many points. Chapter 4 then describes the structural, linguistic and thematic coherence of each redactional composition in order to confirm the likelihood of its existence, and to note perspectives or significant themes relevant to the interpretation of the whole composition, including 2.6-16.

Chapter 5 addresses two issues pertinent to the interpretation of Amos 2.6-16. Firstly, the relationship of Amos 2.8 to verses in the so-called Book of the Covenant is explored in the light of current scholarly views concerning its dating; its relationship to verses in Deuteronomy 24 is also considered. Secondly, the question of whether 2.10-12 exhibits Deuteronomistic influence is examined.

Chapter 6 then conducts an exegesis of Amos 2.6-16 in each of the redactional compositions underlying the Amos-text, with particular attention paid to the reasons for judgment. The final chapter summarises the argument, draws conclusions, and notes possible areas of future study.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTES ON PRESENTATION

Biblical references in this study are to the Hebrew text. Where the English versions differ, I have put them in brackets following: thus, for example, Exodus 22.25 (26).

Where I have made my own translation, I have opted for a literal one which is as close as possible to each word and phrase of the Hebrew text, at the price of somewhat stilted English on occasions. Where I have used an established English translation, I have followed the NRSV.

Full details of works cited are given in a footnote on their first occurrence: thereafter they are referred to by the author and key word(s) from the title. Where a quotation is made from an article, or where it is a section of an article which is relevant rather than the whole, the footnote gives the page numbers of the whole article followed by the page(s) in which the quotation or relevant section is found: thus pp. 101-150 (124-5).

I refer to some commentaries and books on the Amos-text frequently, and after their first occurrence these are referred to by the author's name alone: a list of these is found on the following page. Full details of all works cited, and of others used in preparation of this thesis, are in the bibliography, in alphabetical order of authors.

Works Cited by Author's Name Only

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Paul S M *Amos*, Hermeneia, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1991.

Wolff H W *Joel and Amos*, ET, Hermeneia, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1977.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible.
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary.*
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament.
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies.*
BBB	*Bulletin for Biblical Research.*
BDB	Brown, Driver and Briggs *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.*
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium.
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia.*
BN	*Biblische Notizen.*
BRT	*Baptist Review of Theology.*
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin.*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly.*
ET	English Translation.
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses.*
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie.*
ExpT	*Expository Times.*
FO	*Folia Orientalia.*
FOTL	Forms of Old Testament Literature.
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion.
ICC	International Critical Commentary.
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature.*

JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament.*
JSOTSup	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series.*
JTSA	*Journal of Theology for Southern Africa.*
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament.
KHAT	Kurzer Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament.
LXX	The Septuagint.
MT	Masoretic Text.
NCB	New Century Bible.
NRSV	*New Revised Standard Version of the Bible.*
OAN	Oracles Against the Nations.
OT	Old Testament.
OTE	*Old Testament Essays.*
OTL	Old Testament Library.
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën.*
PJBR	*Polish Journal of Biblical Research.*
RB	*Revue Biblique.*
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse.*
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature.
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series.
SOTMS	Society for Old Testament Study Monograph Series.
SWBA	Social World of Biblical Antiquity.
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.*

TLOT	*Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament.*
ThZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift.*
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie.*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum.*
VTSup	Suplements to *Vetus Testamentum.*
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament.
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.*

Chapter 1: Introduction

In the preface to his commentary on the book of Amos, Jörg Jeremias writes that "This is a theological book through and through, not a tractate of social criticism"[1]. It is my contention, however, that any dichotomy between theology and social criticism is both false and unnecessary. While the Amos-text clearly is deeply theological, it is also inescapably true that, as Houston writes, "long after the kingdom of Israel has passed into history, followed swiftly, on the scale of historical time, by the kingdom of Judah……. Amos is remembered, not primarily as the prophet of the fall of the northern kingdom, but as the prophet of justice for the poor"[2]; and I do not, for one moment, consider that 'memory' to be un-theological. It is my intention, in this study, to consider the reasons for judgment in Amos 2.6-16, employing a redaction-critical methodology, in order to demonstrate that in each of the redactional compositions[3] which I believe underlie the Amos-text there is both theology – in the sense of explanation of the actions of YHWH – and social criticism. The theology and the social criticism belong together: while, as Houston observes, it is the theme of "justice for the poor" which many associate with Amos, it is theology that leads to social criticism and the demand for justice for the poor; and I shall show that the theology is developed and strengthened in each successive redactional composition.

The reason for the choice of the Amos-text as the focus of this study is precisely that many students of the Hebrew Bible think of Amos as the prophet, *par excellence*, of social justice. Auld writes that "it is easy in fact to understand its contemporary popularity. Its tones of social protest, religious protest, religious critique, and universalism are immediately perceived, and enjoy perennial appeal –

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[1] Jeremias J *The Book of Amos. A Commentary*, Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, Kentucky, 1998, p. ix. The German text from which this is translated reads: "Es ist durchgehend ein theologisches Buch und nicht ein gesellschaftskritischer Traktat " (J Jeremias *Der Prophet Amos*, Das Alte Testament Deutsch, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1995, p. ix).

[2] W Houston *Contending for Justice. Ideologies and Theologies of Social Justice in the Old Testament*, Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 428, T & T Clark, London and New York, 2006, p. 73.

[3] My choice of terminology will be explained in Chapter 2 below.

at least in the modern world. It is an important source for the claim that ancient Israel's classical prophets had a fundamental concern with social justice"[4].

There are several reasons for selecting Amos 2.6-16 as the focus of this study:

(1) It is the climax of the series of oracles against the nations[5], which occupies the whole of the first two chapters of the book apart from the opening 1.1-2, and therefore occupies a structurally important place within the text;

(2) It is the first passage within the Amos-text to refer to YHWH's execution of judgment on Israel, and to issues of social injustice[6] as reasons for that judgment;

(3) There appears to be some relationship between 2.8 and Exodus 22.25-26 (26-27). Older commentators tended to assume that the verses in Exodus were part of a tradition of ethical law which pre-dated the eighth-century prophets, and that Amos 2.8 was, consequently, dependent on it; however, there are currently varied scholarly views regarding the dating of the laws in Exodus, and no such assumption can now be made. It is worth while, therefore, to investigate the relationship between Amos 2.8 in the redactional compositions underlying the Amos-text and the laws in both Exodus 22.25-26 (26-27), and similar laws in Deuteronomy 24.10-18;

(4) Amos 2.9-11 states that "I destroyed the Amorite before them", "Also I brought you up out of the land of Egypt, and led you forty years in the wilderness, to possess the land of the Amorite". Interpretation of this unit therefore raises the question of the relationship between the Amos-text and traditions concerning exodus from Egypt, wandering in the wilderness, and occupation of the land.

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[4] Auld A G *Amos*, Old Testament Guides, JSOT Press, Sheffield, 1986, p. 9.
[5] Henceforth abbreviated to OAN.
[6] The nature of the actions condemned in these verses, and how they are understood, and why they are condemned in the various redactional compositions underlying the Amos-text, is precisely the focus of this study, so to refer to them already as being to do with "issues of social injustice" is, logically, premature. However, that perception is sufficiently widely held to justify this provisional description of them.

This is a redaction-critical study, and it will be its particular contribution to interpret Amos 2.6-16 in each of the redactional compositions which I consider underlie the Amos-text. While this unit is often given generous treatment within commentaries on the book of Amos, it is usual for it to be interpreted solely or primarily in an eighth-century setting[7]. This study, in contrast, will examine and interpret it within the literary contexts of the four compositions that I deem can be found underlying the Amos-text, namely: a late eighth-century composition; a late seventh-century redactional composition; an exilic redactional composition; and a post-exilic redactional composition.

Chapter 2 sets out and defends the redaction-critical methodology that I employ, and gives my reasons for using the terminology of "composition" and "redactional composition". Chapter 3 then examines the composition of the Amos-text and, drawing especially on the work of H W Wolff and J Jeremias, sets out my views on the extent of the redactional compositions underlying the present text. Chapter 4 then describes the structural, linguistic and thematic coherence of each of the compositions identified.

Chapter 5 prepares for the exegesis of Amos 2.6-16 in the redactional compositions underlying the text by considering the two particular issues described in points 3 and 4 above. Chapter 6 then contains the exegesis itself. Chapter 7 draws conclusions, and notes pointers for possible areas of future study.

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[7] With the exception of those who treat the whole book from a "final-form" perspective.

Chapter 2: A Redaction-critical Study:
Methodology and Terminology

In this dissertation I shall be approaching the Amos-text from a redaction-critical perspective. In this section I shall, therefore, outline the methodology and terminology that I shall be employing.

Barton defines redaction criticism as "a method in biblical study which examines the intentions of the editors or *redactors* who compiled the biblical texts out of earlier source materials", adding that "it thus presupposes the results of source and form criticism and builds on them"[1].

2.1 Source Criticism

In scholarship of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries what is now widely called source criticism was generally referred to as 'literary criticism'. More recently that usage of the term 'literary criticism' has generally been abandoned, since the term is now applied to a wide range of literary studies which, as M Davies notes, "study the Bible as literature, and….. develop insights and skills in co-operation with literary critics in other fields"[2]. With regard to the book of Amos, the commentaries of Harper[3] and Cripps[4], from the first half of the twentieth century, both use the term 'literary criticism' in the older sense of the term. The section of the introduction to Harper's commentary headed "The Literary Form of Amos's Writings" opens with a series of questions to be addressed: "How much of the book did Amos leave? What portions are of later origin, and what motive suggested their insertion? Through what stages has the

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[1] J Barton "Redaction Criticism (Old Testament)", *ABD Vol V*, pp. 644-7 (644, his italics).
[2] M Davies "Literary Criticism", in R J Coggins and J L Houlden (eds) *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*, SCM, London, 1990, pp. 402-5 (402). In the present study I shall put the term 'literary criticism' in single quotation marks whenever I employ its older usage.
[3] W R Harper *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea*, ICC, T & T Clark Edinburgh, 1905.
[4] R S Cripps *The Book of Amos*, SPCK, London, [2]1955.

book gone?"[5], and a tabulated analysis of the book divides the material into "Original" and "Secondary"[6]. Similarly, the section of the introduction to Cripps's commentary headed "Literary Problems" addresses the questions "Did the 'book of Amos' come from the *pen* of the Prophet?" and "Is the book of Amos substantially the document which left the hand of the first writer?"[7].

In practice, despite the term 'literary criticism', the criteria used to delineate additions were not and still are not purely literary in the sense of being specifically to do with literary style. Thus Cripps gives seven objections to attributing 9.8c, 11-15 to Amos, of which one (the fifth) is "linguistic considerations". The others are to do with incongruity of content between this passage and the main part of the book, historical allusions and implied historical background, and "the undoubted occurrence in other prophets of the phenomenon of an *added* happy ending"[8]. While all of these are valid considerations to be taken into account, it is clear they are not all, in reality, literary considerations.

These sections of Harper's and Cripps's commentaries reveal a prime concern of this period of study of the prophetic books, namely to establish what material could be taken to derive from the historical figure of the prophet. The vocabulary in Harper's commentary of 'original' contrasted with 'secondary', and terminology associated with 'secondary' such as 'insertion', 'interpolation', 'expansion' and 'gloss'[9] indicates a measure of value-judgement to the effect that the words deemed likely to originate from the prophet himself should be accorded a greater significance than passages deemed to be later additions or insertions. The same value-judgement may also be implied by Cripps's use of the words "*genuine* teaching of the Prophet Amos" contrasted with "later addition to the book"[10].

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[5] Harper pp. cxxx-cxxxi.
[6] Harper p. cxxxii.
[7] Cripps pp. 65 and 66 (his italics).
[8] Cripps pp. 67-68 (his italics).
[9] These words are all found in Harper pp. cxxxi-cxxxiv.
[10] Cripps p. 67 (my italics). K Möller "Reconstructing and Interpreting Amos's Literary Prehistory", in C Bartholomew, C S Evans, M Healy and M Rae (eds) *'Behind' the Text: History and Biblical Interpretation*, Scripture and Hermeneutics Series Volume 4, Zondervan, Grand

Little attention is paid to the intentions of those who made additions. Redaction criticism, in contrast, is interested in the methods and intentions of those who added and edited material, and shaped it into a coherent literary work.

2.2 Form Criticism

The desire to reach back behind the text to the oral proclamation of historical prophetic figures is also evident in the rise of form-critical work on the prophets. Gunkel, the pioneer of form criticism, wrote of the prophets that "Great as the originality of the prophets may be, these writers cannot be recognised apart from the genres that preceded them: they began with the traditional genres, and these they used and modified…….. Thus we conclude that the first task in examining the literary history of the prophets is to describe the prophetic genres and their style"[11]. Gunkel found within the books of the prophets "promises and threats, descriptions of sins, exhortations, priestly sayings, historical reminiscences, disputes, songs of all sorts, religious poems and parodies of profane poems, laments and songs of joy, short poetic passages and entrance liturgies, allegories and so on"[12]. However, the prophets did not simply use inherited forms unaltered: they appropriated and adapted them; and, in turn, "The genres that the prophets appropriated – filled with the spirit – were reused by their pupils"[13].

One of the effects of form criticism was to focus interest on small units of text rather than on larger units or on the book as a whole. Thus von Rad wrote that "Exegesis has to be particularly careful here, because a great deal depends on correct determination of 'form', and in particular correct delimitation of the beginning and end of the unit under discussion"[14]. Form Criticism thus tends to atomise the text. Indeed, in Sweeney's opinion early form-critics felt that later

Rapids, Michigan, 2003 pp. 397-441 (398-401) traces the emphasis on recovering the *ipsissima verba* of the prophet Amos, and language of authentic/inauthentic, in the earlier works of Duhm (1875), Wellhausen (1892), Nowack (1897), Marti (1904), and, in English, G A Smith (1905).

[11] H Gunkel "The Prophets as Writers and Poets", in D L Petersen (ed) *Prophecy in Israel: Search for an Identity*, Issues in Religion and Theology 10, SPCK, London/Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1987, pp. 22-73 (23).

[12] Gunkel "Prophets as Writers and Poets" p. 37.

[13] Gunkel "Prophets as Writers and Poets" p. 67.

[14] G von Rad *Old Testament Theology Volume Two*, SCM, London, 1965, pp. 38-39.

editors who recorded and arranged material often misunderstood or distorted, accidentally or deliberately, the meanings of the short, original prophetic speeches, as a result of which one of the first tasks of the interpreter was to strip away extraneous materials in order to correct the errors made[15]. While examination of small units can yield many insights, one of the factors that has led to the growth of redaction-critical studies is a dissatisfaction with the lack of consideration of larger units. Redaction criticism is dependent on source criticism and form criticism, since it presupposes the existence of written sources or oral units of tradition. Its concern, however, is with the processes by which larger units and books were formed; and exegesis needs to consider larger units of text as well as the small units of which those larger units are comprised.

2.3 The Challenge of J Van Seters to Redaction-critical Method

Barton writes that "In discovering 'sources' in such works as the Pentateuch, literary critics simultaneously discovered 'redactors', the Israelite scribes, archivists or collectors who must have been responsible for combining the sources into the finished works we now encounter in the Old Testament. But throughout the formative period of source analysis, no one took much interest in these shadowy figures"; in due time, however, "biblical scholars began to study the collectors and editors of the biblical books, and came to see them much less as mere technicians and far more as writers with their own beliefs, theological concerns and literary skills"[16].

These differing assessments of the role of redactors constitute one of the considerations that lead Van Seters to a wholesale rejection of redaction criticism,

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[15] M A Sweeney "Formation and Form in Prophetic Literature", in J L Mays, D L Petersen and K H Richards *Old Testament Interpretation: Past, Present and Future. Essays in Honor of Gene M Tucker*, Abingdon Press, Nashville, 1995, pp. 113-126 (113-4). Similarly L G Stone "Redaction Criticism: Whence, Whither, and Why? Or, Going Beyond Source and Form Criticism Without Leaving Them Behind", in E E Carpenter (ed) *A Biblical Itinerary. In Search of Method, Form and Content*, JSOTSup 240, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1997, pp. 77-90 (79) writes of source criticism that "Despite the possibility that the redactors might be seen as creative writers….. the tendency of source criticism was to view the redactors negatively".
[16] J Barton *Reading the Old Testament. Method in Biblical Study*, DLT, London, ²2003, pp. 45-47.

and he has subjected redaction-critical methodology to a searching critique[17]. Van Seters considers that redaction-criticism, and, with regard to the Pentateuch, the Documentary Hypothesis, dominant from Wellhausen onwards, from which it is derived, is fundamentally flawed. He is particularly critical of what he sees as the confusion over whether "redactors" are merely compilers and collectors, with little original contribution of their own, or whether, as is often now argued (and as this study accepts), they are authors and theologians in their own right; and he criticizes Barton as acquiescing in this confusion, writing that "A quite typical example is the treatment of John Barton"[18]. He goes on to add that "We are left with a complete muddle: the Pentateuchal sources J E D and P, all of whom are editors, have been combined by yet other editors, who are distinct from sources. Barton is not to be blamed for this muddle; he is only reporting the method used by others. Yet one might have hoped for some reflection on what the term editor actually means, because none of this supposed editorial activity reflects in the slightest way what editors outside of biblical studies actually do"[19]. It is in the light of scholarship "outside of biblical studies", and specifically of Homeric scholarship, that Van Seters argues that both the Yahwist in the Pentateuch and the Deuteronomistic Historian in Joshua – 2 Kings should be viewed as authors and historians, not as editors and redactors; and he considers both that von Rad, with regard to the Yahwist, and Noth, with regard to the Deuteronomistic Historian, have been misunderstood or misrepresented: "…von Rad makes it very clear that he views the work of the Yahwist as an author and historian, not as a redactor or editor….. The same can be said of Noth's view of Dtr as an author and historian"[20]; "in the case of the Yahwist for von Rad and Dtr for Noth, their whole emphasis is on *authors* and the fact that J and Dtr are *historians* – not merely compilers of tradition and editors"[21]. A wholesale rebuttal of his argument lies beyond the scope of this study; but it must be noted that he focuses entirely on the

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[17] J Van Seters *The Edited Bible. The Curious History of the "Editor" in Biblical Criticism*, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, 2006.
[18] Van Seters *Edited Bible* p. 3.
[19] Van Seters *Edited Bible* p. 7.
[20] Van Seters *Edited Bible* p. 5.
[21] Van Seters *Edited Bible* p. 269.

Pentateuch and the historical books, and that his criticisms do not extend to redaction-critical treatment of the prophetic books. The only prophetic book referred to is Jeremiah, concerning which Van Seters quotes approvingly from the commentary of McKane[22], in order to agree with McKane that the prose enlargements within the book are not part of any grand, planned editorial redaction. McKane writes that "the kinds of impetus which produced growth and enlarged a pre-existing nucleus of Jeremianic material are not necessarily related to a grand, theological scheme and perhaps do not extend beyond narrow contextual limits. The 'trigger' may consist of no more than a single verse or a few verses; the expansion may have no more than a narrow, localized exegetical intention. It may be entirely innocent of the comprehensive, systematic theological objectives which it is customary to seek"[23]; and that "a comparison of MT and Sept. reveals how the Hebrew text has developed and shows that we are not encountering a systematic, comprehensive scheme of editing, but exegetical additions of a small scope, operating within limited areas of text"[24]; to which Van Seters adds that "nothing could speak more eloquently for the thesis of this book…….. This is a most important conclusion that has broad implications with regard to other parts of the Old Testament"[25]. Again, consideration of the nature of additions to the book of Jeremiah lies beyond the scope of this study. It may be pointed out, however, that the view that the case for conscious, planned editorial activity within the Amos-text is strong. For example, 3.1 contains the phrase עַל כָּל־הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלֵיתִי מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם, which, along with many commentators, I take to be an addition to the earliest form of the text; and 2.10 includes the sentence וְאָנֹ כִי הֶעֱלֵיתִי אֶתְכֶם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם, which, again with many commentators, I also consider to be an addition to the earliest form of the text. The similarity of the language of these two additions suggests very strongly that they derive from the same literary layer, and are not merely generated by the immediate verse containing or preceding them. Furthermore, the shortness of the Amos-text compared to that of

[22] W McKane *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah, Vol 1: Introduction and Commentary on Jeremiah I-XXV*, ICC, T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1986.
[23] McKane *Jeremiah 1* p. 1; quoted in Van Seters *Edited Bible* p. 330.
[24] McKane *Jeremiah 1* pp. lxxxi-lxxxii; quoted in Van Seters *Edited Bible* p. 331.
[25] Van Seters *Edited Bible* pp. 331-2.

Jeremiah allows a greater ability to see conscious redactional activity, and the arguments of Van Seters do not, in fact, undermine the methodology of this study.

2.4 Negative and Positive Redaction-criticism

Sweeney writes that "Redaction-critical work...…is concerned with reconstructing the compositional and editorial process by which earlier texts are taken up to be reread, reinterpreted, edited, and rewritten in relation to the concerns of later times. Whereas early redaction-critical work viewed redactors largely as mechanical tradents who frequently misunderstood the significance of the texts with which they worked, more recent redaction-critical models have stressed the role of redactors as creative thinkers, historians, theologians, etc., who play a major role in shaping the historiographical and theological perspectives of the books that now form the Bible"[26]. This quotation, like that of Barton above[27], indicates the differing assessments that can be made of the work of redactors, and the consequent possible differing aims of a redaction-critical methodology. Redaction criticism can have the aim of stripping away layers of material identified as later layers in order to discover the oldest literary deposit, or even the purported oral material behind it – in the case of the prophetic books, perhaps even the *ipsissima verba* of the prophet whose name the book bears. I would describe this as a *negative* redaction-critical approach. Alternatively, it can seek to understand and interpret all the various layers identified within the text. I would call this a *positive* redaction-critical approach. It can address questions of the purposes and

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[26] M A Sweeney *The Twelve Prophets Volume One*, Berit Olam: Studies in Hebrew Narrative and Poetry, Liturgical Press, Collegeville, 2000, p. xx. As noted, it is Van Seters's view that this development in understanding of the role of redactors, noted by Barton and Sweeney, has introduced much muddle and confusion. He writes (*Edited Bible* p. 238) that "The original distinction between the *diorthōtes*, the editor who conserves and transmits his sources, and the *diaskeuastēs*, the one who expands and thereby corrupts his text.… was lost when both categories of scribes were subsumed under the general notion of *editor* or *redactor*"; and that (p. 391) "On the one hand, the editor or redactor is said to be completely faithful to his source or author, preserving and transmitting the ancient text and adding nothing of his own. On the other hand, the redactor is portrayed as so completely in control of his material, reshaping it and adding so much of his own content and perspective, that he has become indistinguishable from the author and has largely supplanted him". However, this is not in fact muddle and confusion: it is rather describing processes about which those who use this method are perfectly clear.
[27] Section 2.3, page 7.

interpretation of small units, of identified redactional layers, and of the final form of the text.

This dissertation will use such a positive redaction-critical approach. I am interested in interpreting Amos 2.6-16 in the context of each redactional composition[28] which I consider can be identified. It is not my aim to identify the work of redactors merely in order to strip away their work and get back to the oldest literary composition, let alone to oral tradition behind it. Nor is it my aim to give any special status to the final, canonical form of the text[29]. Rather I concur with Culley when he writes that "it is not clear why any particular stage should become the key to reading the text, whether this means isolating part of the text as an original or essential core or privileging the final form as the key to how one reads the text as a whole. These are valid choices but not necessary ones, acceptable but not inevitable. There is at least one disadvantage in selecting some particular point in a text's development and using a historical context reconstructed from this as a point from which to view the rest. This procedure subordinates, or perhaps even suppresses, other possible readings which may have taken place, or could take place, in different historical contexts"[30].

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[28] On this terminology, see the next section below.

[29] The name most associated with giving a particular importance to the final form of the text is B S Childs, whose *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, SCM, London, 1979 (among other works) has had a wide influence.

[30] R C Culley "Orality and Writtenness in the Prophetic Texts", in E Ben Zvi and M H Floyd (eds) *Writings and Speech in Israelite and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy*, SBLSymS 10, SBL, Atlanta, 2000, pp. 45-64 (62). So, also, Stone "Redaction Criticism" p. 85 writes that "Redaction criticism is not simply a literary study of the final text with a few nods toward Wellhausen and Gunkel". Similarly, S J de Vries *From Old Revelation to New. A Tradition-Historical and Redaction-Critical Study of Temporal Transitions in Prophetic Prediction*, Eerdmans, Grand Papids, Michigan, 1995, p.16 writes that "An effective diachronic approach will reveal the biblical text as multi-dimensional, and will furthermore take seriously every compositional and redactional stage or level on its own terms. If this precludes a one-sided concentration on a presumptive original, it precludes also a one-sided concern for the "final", canonical product, for every single stage, from earliest to latest, must be brought into focus". Again, G M Tucker "Amos the Prophet and Amos the Book: Historical Framework", in B E Kelle and M B Moore (eds) *Israel's Prophets and Israel's Past. Essays on the Relationship of Prophetic Texts and Israelite History in Honor of John H Hayes*, Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 446, T & T Clark, New York · London, 2006, pp. 85-102 (89) writes that "if one is concerned to interpret the text, no part of it nor any discernible stage in its development should be thrown away".

The choice of redaction criticism as a methodology is, Stone suggests, one which appeals to "Holistically minded interpreters (who) are happier with interpretations in which several methodologies converge. Thus a 'literary' reading which fails to account for the text's formation is ultimately dissatisfying, as is an analysis which identifies every source and redactor down to the last gloss but fails to move to a synthetic and integrative vision of the work as a whole"[31]. It is my hope that this study is, indeed, that of a "holistically minded interpreter".

<p style="text-align:center">2.5 Terminology</p>

The terms "redactor(s)" and "redaction" can be used to describe a range of literary activity. On the one hand, they may be used to refer to those who, with minimal action and minimal injection of their own perspectives, combine or enlarge pre-existing material; while on the other hand they can also be used to describe those who may undertake significant literary and theological work. It is not surprising that within redaction-critical studies terms such as "redactors", "editors", "collectors", "compilers", "writers" and "authors" are all found[32].

In order to establish the terminology that I shall use in this study I shall consider the work of two representative scholars, namely Clements and Collins. In an essay entitled "The Prophet and His Editors"[33] Clements uses the term 'editors' consistently throughout his essay, contrasting the understanding of these 'editors' as, in essence, 'Preservationists' in the works of Duhm, Mowinckel[34] and others

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[31] Stone "Redaction Criticism" pp. 87-88.

[32] Van Seters *Edited Bible, passim,* laments the lack of clarity evident in much redaction-critical work with regard to terminology. It is a fair point to make that words are not always used in the same way by different scholars. However, it is not always possible for all scholars to arrive at an agreed use of all terms. The solution is not to reject the whole methodology, but rather to insist on precise definition of terms within a study. This is exactly the importance of this section of this study.

[33] R E Clements "The Prophet and His Editors", in R E Clements *Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon*, Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, Kentucky, 1996 pp. 217-229 (= D J A Clines, S E Ford and S E Porter (eds) *The Bible in Three Dimensions,* JSOTSup 87, Sheffield Academic Press, 1990, pp. 203-220).

[34] B Duhm *Das Buch Jeremia*, KHAT, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1901; S Mowinckel *Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia*, Dybwad, Kristiania, 1914 (not seen by me).

with more recent works such as those of Nicholson and Carroll[35] which see them rather as 'Creative Originators of Tradition'. He himself proposes that they should be understood as 'Interpreters', in line, he suggests, with the process described by Weber as 'routinization'[36]. In an earlier article Clements had also used the term 'editor' when writing that in each of the major prophetic books there is material "which can be described as 'redactional' in the literary sense of having been added by an editor to assist the reader"[37].

While Clements's use of the term 'editors' is employed in a wide sense, T Collins[38] attempts to narrow the focus of meaning of the terms employed. He envisages three principal stages in the formation of the prophetic books. His first stage is "the collection and redaction of material, which was certainly in progress during the pre-exilic period"[39]. He describes this as the "pre-book phase" of formation, and speaks of its "compilers, collectors and composers". He subsequently opts to employ the term 'redactors' to refer to this stage of "collection and organization in the 'pre-book phase' "[40]. He sees the second, and main, stage as being "the actual creation of the prophetical books which were produced for exilic/post-exilic readers", arguing that those involved in this process of production of books "deserve to be termed 'authors' even though they may be largely anonymous. However, since they are not authors in the modern sense of that term, we can settle for the neutral word 'writers' "[41]. Subsequently these

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[35] E W Nicholson *Preaching to the Exiles. A Study of the Prose Tradition of Jeremiah*, B H Blackwell, Oxford, 1970; R P Carroll *From Chaos to Covenant: Uses of Prophecy in the Book of Jeremiah*, SCM, London, 1981.

[36] M Weber *The Sociology of Religion*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1963 pp. 60-79 (not seen by me). Clements summarizes Weber's concept of 'routinization' thus: "the implications of what the prophet said were adapted and interpreted in more precise and more concrete terms and in relation to organized religious life. The prophet's message was perceived to lend direction and support to some groups, while he brought reproof, and sometimes outright rejection, to others" (Clements "Prophet and His Editors" p. 225).

[37] R E Clements "Prophecy as Literature: A Re-appraisal", in Clements *Old Testament Prophecy* pp. 203-216 (205) (= D G Miller (ed) *The Hermeneutical Quest. Essays in Honor of J L Mays for His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Pickwick Publications, Allison Park, 1986, pp. 56-76).

[38] T Collins *"The Mantle of Elijah": The Redaction Criticism of the Prophetical Books*, JSOT Press, Sheffield, 1993.

[39] Collins *Mantle* p. 16.

[40] Collins *Mantle* pp. 28, 32.

[41] Collins *Mantle* p. 29.

books were, he believes, revised and further edited, possibly several times in some cases, and he opts for the word 'editors' to describe those who undertook these subsequent revisions[42].

The choice of terms to be used is very much just that: a choice. This study is essentially a literary study. I shall be agreeing with Jeremias that the first written edition of the Amos-text, made shortly after 722, was not a haphazard collection of prophetic sayings, but from the outset a carefully structured work. I therefore choose to describe it as the 'Post-722 Composition'. I shall be arguing that there were three subsequent editions of the Amos-text[43], each of which incorporated its predecessor, added some material, gave existing material a new literary context, and thereby produced a new work. This entailed redactional activity, and I shall describe each of these as a 'Redactional Composition': a Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition, an Exilic Redactional Composition, and a Post-exilic Redactional Composition[44]. I am choosing to avoid the terms 'editor', 'collector' and 'compiler', since I consider that they suggest less conscious compositional activity than I perceive there to be in the compositions underlying the Amos-text. I am also avoiding the terms 'author' and 'writer', since they suggest higher levels of creative compositional activity than I consider to be present in the compositions underlying the Amos-text. While I consider the terms 'composition' and 'redactional composition' to be entirely appropriate, I choose them with the awareness and recognition that each composition achieves its coherence and conveys its message as much through careful structuring and positioning of material as through the inclusion of a fairly modest (but still significant) amount of freshly composed material.

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[42] Collins *Mantle* pp. 16, 32.
[43] In this I shall not be following Jeremias, who considers that there are two editions, each of which had subsequent additions.
[44] When referring to all four, I shall refer to them as the four "redactional compositions", even though the earliest is technically a "composition" rather than a "redactional composition": to refer on every occasion to "the Post-722 Composition and the three subsequent redactional compositions" would be tedious and, I trust, unnecessary.

The focus of this literary study is the redactional compositions, the plausibility and coherence of which I shall attempt to establish. In so doing, I recognise that we cannot, generally, know the exact processes by which such compositions were formed. In some cases there is material within a redactional composition which appears to exhibit familiarity with and dependence on other material which itself only entered the text as part of that same redactional composition. For example, I accept that 5.14-15 provides a commentary on 5.4, even though they should both be attributed to the Post-722 Composition[45]; or again, that 8.11-12 reveals a familiarity with 4.6-8, and that both belong to the Exilic Redactional Composition[46]. I shall also be following Jeremias in attributing all of 8.8-14 to the Exilic Redactional Composition, even though it appears that 8.11-12 builds on 8.9-10 and 8.13-14 builds on 8.11-12: these two units thus constitute "incremental additions" within a composition[47]. I do not consider that such recognitions must lead to postulating yet further redactional compositions[48]. It is perfectly possible to acknowledge literary dependence and intertextual allusions within the same redactional composition.

2.6 Processes of Redactional Composition

Those who produced a redactional composition based on an earlier composition clearly had a high regard for that earlier composition. But they also, clearly, felt a freedom to bring to it a variety of techniques by which they could re-present that earlier composition in a new way to a new generation. Barton writes that "Ancient editors often had a great respect for the material they were assembling and changed very little in it…. The very possibility of source criticism depends on the

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[45] See Jeremias p. 94; and section 3.4.3.7 below.
[46] See Jeremias pp. 150-1; and section 3.4.2.3 below.
[47] See Jeremias pp. 150-3; de Vries *From Old Revelation to New* p. 262; and section 3.4.2.3 below. The term "incremental additions" is that of de Vries.
[48] R Albertz *Israel in Exile. The History and Literature of the Sixth Century BCE*, SBL, Atlanta, 2003, pp. 226-7 postulates an early exilic redaction which included 4.6-12 and the hymnic verses within the text, and a late exilic/early post-exilic redaction (after 550) which included most of the additions generally taken to be Deuteronomistic. The recognition that 8.11-12 displays familiarity with 4.6-8 finds a logical explanation in this suggestion. However, I am not persuaded that there are sufficiently sure grounds for distinguishing two such exilic redactions, and prefer to acknowledge that there can be dependence of one unit on another within materials which entered the text at the same time as one another.

fact that redactors so often left alternative versions of incidents unreconciled. Nevertheless, this respect for the original sources did not mean that the redactors *never* changed their raw materials….. In the prophetic books, for example, it is common to find comments updating the original prophetic oracles (e.g. Isa 16.13-14), and it is probable that the desire to apply the prophet's words to the editor's own situation led to frequent changes in the wording of the original oracles, although this is often hard to prove"[49]. Similarly Leveen writes that "Biblical writers….. felt bound to earlier traditions due to their status as sacred, or at least authoritative, stories or laws for the community. In spite of that stricture, the evidence cited suggests that later writers were free to interact with those materials, at least to a certain extent, and did so in a variety of ways"[50]. Leveen writes with the Pentateuch in mind, and Barton of the Hebrew Bible generally; however, the point is valid for the Amos-text that those who produced the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition, the Exilic Redactional Composition and the Post-exilic Redactional Composition must have held the composition which they received and on which they worked in high regard, but that they also considered it perfectly proper to appropriate that composition and re-work it in a new context. We may assume, similarly, that those who composed the Post-722 Composition from oral material had a similar high regard for what they received, but that they also used literary techniques to appropriate that oral material, and form from it a carefully structured literary composition.

By what means, then, may a composition or redactional composition be recognised? Historically, scholarly study of the prophetic books began by identifying certain sayings or sections as being additions to the supposed words of the prophet concerned. While a positive redaction-critical methodology does not share the value judgments of deeming some material to be 'genuine' and 'authentic' as compared to other material deemed to be 'secondary' and 'inauthentic', it may readily be granted that many of the reasons adduced in the

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[49] Barton "Redaction Criticism (OT)" pp. 646-7 (his italics).
[50] A Leveen "Reading the Seams", *JSOT* 29.3, 2005 pp. 259-287 (276).

scholarship of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century for making a chronological and developmental distinction remain compelling and important. As we proceed to examine the Amos-text, it will therefore be entirely right to refer to older 'literary-critical' works. Subsequent form-critical studies worked on the identification of individual short units, and the determination of their *Gattung*. This led on to redaction-critical examination of the ways in which these individual units were joined, and thence to a study of how a literary work was composed. Again, the gains of such form-critical study of the Amos-text can be acknowledged, and the commentary of Wolff makes full use of form-critical methodology. The history of scholarly study, then, invites us to begin with small units, thence to proceed to older literary compositions, thence to younger redactional compositions, until we arrive at the 'final form' of the text as found in the Hebrew Bible. This study will do exactly that in order to identify the four redactional compositions which I believe have, at different times, constituted the book of Amos. Having identified these redactional compositions on the basis of examination of small units and sections within the Amos-text, it will then be important to examine and describe the coherence of each one.

2.7 Indicators of Development in the Text

Before proceeding to this, however, it is important to note some of the indicators of development of the text and of the presence of redactional compositions from different centuries. Such indicators will be of various kinds: structural indicators, literary and linguistic considerations, vocabulary, varying addressees, units which appear to expand, build on or re-work other units, historical references which appear to refer to particular times or circumstances, and thematic considerations all play a part. Often it will be a combination of such considerations which points to a particular unit or section belonging to a particular redaction; and the more indicators of varying kinds which appear to point in the same direction, the less danger there will of circular argument. It is all too easy, for example, to state that a particular word or phrase is characteristic of Redactional Composition "A", and then to attribute verses to Redactional Composition "A" because they contain that

word or phrase. Equally, it is all too easy to be dismissive of apparently circular argument when in fact a combination of considerations make it perfectly likely that the argument is sound. At the end of the process the test is whether or not the hypothesis concerning the presence of the proposed redactional compositions underlying the text has an overall plausibility which makes sense of the text and of its relationship to other relevant parts of the Hebrew Bible. It is this that makes it crucial to be able to describe the features, coherence and purpose of each composition[51]: if it is not possible to do so for a particular redactional composition, then the plausibility of its existence is in doubt.

A further consideration in the identification of redactional strata is whether particular vocabulary, expressions and themes appear to be related to vocabulary, expressions and themes prominent in other works of the Hebrew Bible. As Clements notes, "Once we find that the work of collecting, shaping, and interpreting the sayings of a great prophet has been undertaken in the language, thought-forms, and situations that are related to other literary works of the Old Testament, then it seems clear that the aim of such men was more than simply to preserve a prophet's sayings. Rather it was more evidently intended to relate what the prophet had said to a particular situation and to the needs and concerns of a central religious group within the life of the nation"[52]. Clements has in mind particularly the influence of Deuteronomistic tradition on the book of Jeremiah, and of the so-called Holiness Code and Priestly Document on the book of Ezekiel: however, this is also relevant in that there are elements in the Amos-text widely held to be related to Deuteronomistic tradition; and the hymnic material in 4.13; 5.8-9; 9.5-6 has similarities in language and content with passages in Deutero-Isaiah and the book of Job.

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[51] As I shall do in Chapter 4 below.
[52] R E Clements "The Ezekiel Tradition: Prophecy in a Time of Crisis", in R E Clements *Old Testament Prophecy* pp. 145-158 (148) (= R Coggins, A Phillips and M Knibb (eds) *Israel's Prophetic Tradition. Essays in Honour of Peter Ackroyd*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982, pp. 119-136).

2.8 Indicators of Structure and Development in the Amos-text

The book of Amos contains clear indications that there has been some intentional structuring within the book.

It is readily apparent that 1.3-2.16 constitutes a series of sayings concerning foreign nations, culminating in words addressed to the nation of Israel. Such an observation says nothing about whether the series was created at an early or late stage in the formation of the book, nor about whether the series grew from a shorter series to its present length during transmission. Nor does it say anything at all about the possible significance of the presence of the series, placed at an early point in the book, for the interpretation of the book as a whole. It simply notes that in the final form of the book, the series is clearly present. Similarly, it is readily apparent that within 7.1-8.2 there is a series of visions; although in this case the further observation can be made that there exists a section of narrative material (7.10-17) within it. There is also a question about whether it is a series of four visions which ends at 8.2, or a series of five visions which continues to 9.4, with some short units of prophetic speech in 8.3-14 preceding the final vision. However, that there exists a series of visions is clear. The existence of these two series is evident on even a cursory reading of the book. It takes only a little closer reading to observe further indications that the book has other series within it: for example, 3.3-8 and 4.6-12 each contain a build-up of similarly structured sayings which reaches a climax at the end of the respective series.

Additionally, there are textual indicators of the beginnings of new sections. For example, 3.1, 4.1 and 5.1 all begin "Hear this word" (שִׁמְעוּ אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה in 3.1 and 5.1; שִׁמְעוּ הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה in 4.1), suggesting a deliberate attempt to draw the reader's attention to the start of a new section. Similarly, 8.4 has "Hear this" (שִׁמְעוּ־זֹאת), although it is less clear that this does in fact begin a new section: this suggests that a word familiar from an earlier composition has been used in a subsequent

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redactional composition[53]. There are also frequently used opening and closing formulae, (נְאֻם־יְהוָה; אָמַר יְהוָה; כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה) which in many cases, but not all, commence or end units of text; but there are also units of speech without such opening or concluding formulae.

The use of these opening and closing formulae, then, also serves to draw attention to inconsistencies within the text: the fact that in many cases they commence or end sections, but not always, is significant. While there are features suggesting elements of consistency and planned structure within the book, more detailed observation of the book also reveals apparent inconsistencies. The use of these formulae reveals *structural* differences within the text. There are also *literary* variations: most notably, those short poetic passages (4.13; 5.8-9; 9.5-6) which describe YHWH in lofty participial phrases, a style of language not characteristic of the book as a whole. Other discrepancies are found in *varying addressees* and *historical references*. Thus, the superscription in 1.1 makes a clear reference to the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah, and the oracles against the nations contain oracles against both kingdoms. Yet most of the book appears to be addressed to the people of 'Israel', or to people within Israel, in the sense of the northern kingdom of Israel. That some passages refer specifically to Samaria or Bethel

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[53] The question arises whether the summons to "Hear this word" indicates an originally oral setting. This may well be the case. However, the sections introduced are now part of the literary text, which is the focus of this study; and attempts to reach back behind the text to find an oral context are, by their very nature, uncertain. This does not make the question, nor the quest to discover oral material within the written text, invalid. Recent studies have drawn attention to the fact that the distinction between "written" and "oral" is not as clear-cut as has sometimes been assumed. Thus, for example, Ben Zvi writes: "The written character of the prophetic books implies not only reading, rereading, and study – as well as composition, editing, copying and the like – among the literati, but also their oral presentation of the divine message and an audience's aural reception of it. In other words, the written text becomes the starting point for oral communication" (E Ben Zvi "Introduction: Writings, Speeches, and the Prophetic Books – Setting an Agenda", in E Ben Zvi and M H Floyd (eds) *Writings and Speech* pp. 1-29; (16)). In the same volume Van Seters writes that "The fact that much of early literature was used for oral performance, given the reality of very limited literacy, suggests that the larger prophetic books may well consist of a collection of short oral performances" (J Van Seters "Prophetic Orality in the Context of the Ancient Near East: A Response to Culley, Crenshaw and Davies", in Ben Zvi and Floyd (eds) *Writings and Speech* pp. 83-88; (84)). Such observations are helpful in terms of developing an understanding of how prophetic literature may have functioned and been used, but do not contradict the older view, going back to Wellhausen, Gunkel and others, that behind the written text of a book such as Amos there lay orally delivered words of the man Amos. The focus of this study, however, is the written text.

confirms this. However, 6.1 includes those "at ease in Zion" as well as those who "feel secure on Mount Samaria". Or again, *thematic differences* can be seen: 5.4-6 and 5.14-15 issue an invitation to "Seek me and live" (5.4), "Seek YHWH and live" (5.6), "Seek good and not evil, that you may live" (5.14), in contrast to those words in the book such as 2.13-16 and 8.2, which announce disaster without appearing to allow any such opportunity. Most famously, there is also the sharp change of tone in 9.11-15, the final verses of the book, from a severely dominant tone of condemnation and announcement of consequent divine punishment to one of promised future blessing and prosperity, a contrast so stark that it was described by J Wellhausen as "Rosen und Lavendel statt Blut und Eisen"[54] ("Roses and lavender instead of blood and iron"). It may also be noted that 8.4-6 appears to be a *re-working* of 2.6-7, or that possibly material from 2.6-7 has been added to 8.5. It would be inherently unlikely that both 2.6-7 and 8.4-6 would have been included in one single, careful composition[55]. Such features invite investigation of possible literary layers within the text.

An important consideration is the presence in the text of vocabulary characteristic of another part of the Hebrew Bible widely held to derive from a particular period. I have already referred to the hymnic texts found in 4.13; 5.8-9; 9.5-6, and it is beyond dispute that there are similarities in literary style and vocabulary in common with passages such as Job 9.3-10 and Isaiah 40.12, 22-23, which are generally held to be post-exilic and exilic respectively[56]. It does not necessarily follow that the passages of the Amos-text belong to a redactional composition not

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[54] J Wellhausen *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, Fünftes Heft: Die kleinen Propheten Übersetzt, mit Noten*, Druck und Verlag von Georg Reimer, Berlin, 1892, p. 94. Wellhausen refers to 9.13-15, although his words are often cited by others with reference to the whole of 9.11-15 e.g. R P Carroll "Amos", in Coggins and Houlden *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*, pp. 19-21 (20).

[55] Park writes that "A diachronic analysis attempts to uncover the earlier literary-redactional layers based on a set of controlled criteria characterized by literary "uniqueness". Uniqueness can be seen in many ways: (1) particular references; (2) unfulfilled prophetic utterances; (3) theological/ ideological conflict (content); (4) break/tension in literary flow (form); and (5) inner-biblical exegesis (intertextuality)" (A W Park *The Book of Amos as Composed and Read in Antiquity*, SBL, Peter Lang, New York, 2001, p. 5). His analysis of the marks of "uniqueness" are close to my description of the indicators of lack of consistency in the Amos-text.

[56] As noted by most of the commentaries, as well as by J L Crenshaw *Hymnic Affirmations of Divine Justice: The Doxologies of Amos and Related Texts in the Old Testament*, SBL Dissertation Series 24, Scholars Press, Missouri, 1975, pp. 10-12.

earlier than the exilic period: but it is right to be inclined towards such a view, and to be expecting other considerations to confirm it. Similarly, Amos 2.4 contains language most commonly found in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. Again, it does not necessarily follow that Amos 2.4 comes from a redactional composition not earlier than the seventh century, and possibly of the sixth century: but it is in order to anticipate that other considerations will confirm this to be the case.

2.9 This Study

It is with these observations made that I now move, in the next chapters of this study:

(1) to consider how a range of commentators have viewed the composition of the Amos-text, and explain why I am according particular importance to, and frequently following either or both of, the commentaries of Wolff and Jeremias, both of whom employ form-critical and redaction-critical methodologies; and why I am not following scholars who use other methodologies, nor some who use a similar methodology, but who reach different conclusions;

(2) to explain and argue for the particular conclusions that I reach with regard to the composition of the Amos-text;

(3) to describe the characteristics and coherence (structural, linguistic, and thematic) of each of the compositions underlying the Amos-text. It will be a particular contribution of this study to do so not only for the earliest composition identified, nor only for the final form of the text, but for each redactional composition identified.

Chapter 3: The Redactional Compositions Underlying

the Amos-Text

The previous section drew attention to indicators of both planned structure, and variations and apparent inconsistencies within the Amos-text. Such features invite scholarly investigation. The critical approach which has been increasingly utilised in the last thirty years of scholarly study of the Hebrew Bible is Redaction Criticism.

In this section of the dissertation I shall examine the Amos-text from a redaction-critical perspective, drawing significantly on the commentaries of Wolff and Jeremias. However, as noted in the previous section, redaction-critical methods derive from and are built on earlier 'literary-critical' and form-critical studies. I shall therefore first of all consider the earlier twentieth-century commentaries of Harper and Cripps, which draw on older scholarship back to Wellhausen and Duhm[1]. These are chosen because they were significant, major English

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[1] Childs *Introduction* p. 397 writes that "Great effort was expended throughout the literary critical period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by such commentators as J Wellhausen and W R Harper to recover the *ipsissima verba* of Amos who was held in high esteem as the earliest written prophet and exponent of ethical monotheism". Similarly, G Hasel *Understanding the Book of Amos. Basic Issues in Current Interpretation*, Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1991, p. 21 writes that "The two great exponents in the English-speaking world were George A Smith and William R Harper". Again, Möller "Reconstructing" p. 398 notes that Harper's commentary, along with the earlier commentary of G A Smith, "introduced the new developments in the critical exegesis of the Minor Prophets to the English-speaking world". Influential with regard to these "new developments in critical exegesis" was J Wellhausen *Kleinen Propheten*: Wellhausen's translation of the Book of Amos (pp. 5-12) omits altogether those verses deemed not to derive from the prophet Amos, namely 1.9-10; 1.11-12; 2.4-5; 3.14b; 4.13; 5.8-9; 5.26; 6.2; 8.6; 8.8; 8.11-12; 9.5-6; 9.8-15 (reasons in each case are given in the notes that follow later in the book). G A Smith *The Book of the Twelve Prophets, Volume I – Amos, Hosea and Micah*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1896, p. 61 n.1 gives a "full list of suspected passages", namely: 2.4-5; 9.11-12 (references to Judah); 4.13; 5.8-9; 9.5-6 (three outbreaks of praise); 9.8-15 ("Final Hope"); 1.9-12; 5.1, 2, 15; 6.2, 14 (clauses alleged to reflect a later stage of history); 8.11-13 (suspected for incompatibly). W Nowack *Die kleinen Propheten*, Handkommentar zum Alten Testament, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1897, p. 117 lists verses which "von der Hand unsers Propheten nicht herrüchen können" as being: "vv. 4.13; 5.8-9; 9.5-6, in denen Jahve als der allmächtige Herr der Natur dargestellt wird; ferner die Gerichtsverkündigung an Juda 2.4-5 und wahrscheinlich die an Edom 1.10-11, die Bezugnahme auf die Altäre von Bethel von 3.14b, auf Sakkut und Kēwan 5.26, auf die Eroberung von Kalne, Hamat und das philistäische Gath 6.2, auf eine Episode aus der Pestzeit 6.9-10, auf das Erdbeben beim kommenden Gericht 8.8, den zu spät erwachten Hunger und Durst nach dem Worte Gottes 8.11-12, die Mahnung 4.12-13 und vor allem

commentaries of their time, and, as noted above, utilise a 'literary-critical' approach (in the older sense of the term) to the text. I shall also refer briefly to the commentary of Mays, which may be seen as the latest commentary published prior to that of Wolff.

3.1 Three Twentieth-century Commentaries Prior to H W Wolff

3.1.1 W R Harper

As noted in the section 2.1, a prime concern of Harper's commentary is to discover which parts of the book are 'original', and contain words of the prophet Amos himself; and in this he follows the lead of earlier scholars. He offers the following hypothesis concerning the various stages of Amos's ministry: (1) in early life as a shepherd in Tekoa, visits home and abroad enable Amos to learn the methods and work of the *nebhi'im*; (2) he receives a call to preach in the receiving of visions, and goes to northern Israel to do so; (3) over a period of weeks or months he delivers his proclamation, which included oracles against foreign nations, ending with the oracle against Israel, and including the sermon of chapter 6 as the climax; (4) he justifies his actions by telling of his call and visions (the first three); (5) he is attacked by Amaziah; (6) a further vision (the fourth) is received; and a little later, a further vision still (the fifth); (7) he returns to Judah, where he puts his words into literary form[2]. It may be noted that, while this is the kind of picture of the prophet Amos that the text invites us to hold, Harper's reconstruction is, in

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die Heilsweissagung am Schluss 9.8-15". In contrast, S R Driver *The Books of Joel and Amos*, The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1897, p. 117 writes that "The *authenticity* of the Book of Amos, as a whole, is above suspicion" (italics original); and he goes on (pp. 117-124, and *passim*) to examine each supposed addition and to argue that the arguments in favour of their later dating are either to be rejected, or are, at best, questionable. K Marti *Das Dodekapropheton*, KHAT XIII, Verlag von J C B Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 1904, pp. 150-2, separates out "Der Grundstock des Buches" and "Die sekundären Elemente des Buches", counting in the latter: references to Judah in 2.4-5, 3.1b and 6.1; post-exilic historical references in 1.6-12; 2.10 (added to 2.9) and 2.12 (added to 2.11); 6.2; 5.26; verses reflecting post-exilic theological interests in 4.13; 5.8-9; 9.5-6; 3.7; 8.11-14; 5.13; 8.8; 1.2; the ending 9.8-15; and, additionally, 4.7 and 3.3. E Sellin *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, KAT, Erlangen, Leipzig, 1922, pp. 152-8, is more conservative, but still sees some verses as later than Amos: noteworthy is the linking of 4.13, 5.8-9 and 9.5-6 to a redactor who connected the message of Amos to the destruction of Bethel by Josiah in 2 Kings 23.4, 15 (p. 158): Wolff took this further in proposing a "Bethel-exposition" of the Amos-text (see section 3.2.1 below).

[2] Harper pp. cxxvii-cxxix.

essence, entirely speculative. We cannot know, for sure, what was the chronology of Amos's ministry. What we can attempt to discover, however, is the portrayal of the prophet Amos that each redactional composition underlying the text invites us to hold.

Harper suggests that, while the book contains words of oral 'preaching', it was the prophet Amos himself who began the process of putting his words into literary form. However, he left "not a book, but certain addresses or groups of addresses in writing"[3]. The internal history of the book is described by Harper in these terms: (1) Amos left addresses or groups of addresses in writing; (2) these became a book through the work of disciples working before the times of Isaiah; (3) a Deuteronomic insertion of 2.4-5 was made in Jeremiah's time, shortly before the fall of Jerusalem; (4) in the period of the Babylonian exile, or shortly afterwards, two kinds of additions were made: (a) those of a historical kind, namely the oracles against Tyre and Edom in 1.9-12, and the reference to the fall of Calneh, Hamath and Gath in 6.2; and (b) those of a theological kind, similar in tone to passages in Job and Deutero-Isaiah, namely the heading in 1.2 and the doxologies in 4.13; 5.8-9; 9.5-6; (5) in a later, post-exilic, time various technical and 'archaeological' expansions were made; (6) 9.8c-15 was added in the time of Zechariah and Zerubbabel[4]. Additionally Harper considers that some of the expanded forms of divine name, such as "God of hosts", and concluding formulae such as "oracle of Yahweh" "have been inserted arbitrarily to emphasize some favorite thought of a reader"[5].

With regard to the questions salient to this study, it is noteworthy that despite the dominant concern to discover the ministry and words of the historical Amos, Harper treats seriously the question of the formation of the book. However, while explanations are given as to why particular insertions and additions were made, no attempt is made to discover or describe the purpose of the book in its final form,

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[3] Harper p. cxxxiii.
[4] Harper pp. cxxxi-cxxxiv.
[5] Harper p. cxxxiii

nor of any various redactional layers within it; and the section in the Introduction headed "The Message of Amos" refers to the prophet.

Harper's commentary is illustrative of views held by many earlier commentators regarding the Amos-text, namely that (1) the oracles in 1.9-10, 1.11-12 and 2.4-5 post-date the eighth century; (2) the hymnic material in 4.13, 5.8-9 and 9.5-6 is to be attributed to the exilic period, on the basis of the similarity in language of passages in Deutero-Isaiah and Job; and (3) the so-called epilogue in 9.8c-15 is a post-exilic addition to the book[6]. It is also noteworthy that his arguments for the dating of material are various: literary and linguistic, structural, historical, and thematic. While the commentaries of Wolff and Jeremias use such arguments, and others, in a much more sophisticated and detailed manner, their work stands in continuity with their predecessors.

3.1.2 R S Cripps

Cripps, also, is interested primarily in the historical prophet, Amos, to whom he believes much of the material in the book can be attributed: "In general terms, we are inclined to say that the book exhibits such internal coherence as rather to suggest that, if it did not come from the preacher's own hand, he wrote it by means of a disciple amanuensis"[7]; and "Is the book of Amos substantially the document which left the hand of the first writer, whether listener, disciple, amanuensis, or Amos himself? Probably it is. Truly, here and there occur verses which from one cause or another came to be added subsequent to the time of the original author, e.g. i.1, 2, 11, 12; ii. 4, 5; vi. 2. Also, for strong reasons, the three (doxology) passages (iv. 13; v. 8, 9; ix. 5, 6) and especially the 'Epilogue' (ix. 8b (or 11)-15) appear to most modern scholars to be additions"[8]. Cripps's reasons for doubting that the oracle against Edom in 1.11-12 is to be attributed to the prophet are

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[6] Accepting that some would see the so-called epilogue as 9.8b, 11-15 or simply 9.11-15. Harper's arguments for seeing 6.2 and 6.9-10 as additions to the original text are also widely accepted.
[7] Cripps p. 65-66.
[8] Cripps p. 66.

historical, as is also his reason for seeing 6.2 as an addition[9]; for doubting 2.4-5, linguistic[10]; for doubting the doxologies, their affinity to passages in Job and Deutero-Isaiah[11]. With regard to 9.8c-15, Cripps gives seven reasons why this 'Epilogue' is from a later hand than Amos: (1) the idea in 9.8c-10 of the separation of the righteous and sinners is not characteristic of Amos; (2) it is incongruous after the threat of absolute destruction; (3) the reference to Judah and the dynasty of David; (4) it is anti-climactic, with no ethical element; (5) linguistic considerations; (6) a different historical background is implied; (7) the occurrence of an added 'happy ending' in other prophetic books[12].

As with Harper, therefore, the book is interpreted within the context of the eighth-century ministry of the prophet Amos. While reasons are given why some passages are deemed not to fit this context, there is no attempt to interpret the book with its additions in a later context.

3.1.3 J L Mays

The commentary of Mays was published in 1969, six years prior to the publication of the entirety of Wolff's commentary, but subsequent to publication of its first fascicle, which is included in the bibliography[13]. Mays, like Cripps, considers that "The larger part of the material can be attributed with confidence to Amos. Most of the sayings and the five autobiographical narratives fit appropriately into a coherent picture of his prophetic activity in Israel just before the turn of the eighth century"[14]. He takes it that "Sympathetic contemporaries, probably disciples, provided the narrative in 7.10-17 and furnished the information in the earlier form of the title (1.1)"[15]. He follows earlier scholars in attributing 1.9-10, 1.11-12 and 2.4-5 to the exilic period, due to historical references and, in the case of 2.4-5, to

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[9] Cripps pp. 282-3, 303-4. Cripps does not include 1.9-10 as an addition, but nowhere indicates why he is not following Harper and other earlier scholars in this respect.
[10] Cripps pp. 284-6.
[11] Cripps pp. 184-5.
[12] Cripps pp. 67-77.
[13] Mays J L *Amos: A Commentary* OTL, SCM, London, 1969.
[14] Mays p. 12.
[15] Mays p. 13.

the presence of "the outlook and vocabulary of Deuteronomistic circles"; and he sees these circles as also responsible for the synchronistic dating within 1.1, and for the addition of 3.7. He notes, too, that 9.11-15 presupposes a different time and situation from that of the prophet Amos in the eighth century, and attributes them to a later time, probably in the exile. However, he thinks that the hymnic verses in 1.2; 4.13; 5.8-9; 9.5-6; and possibly 8.8 come from a pre-exilic cultic source in Judah[16]. If he was influenced in coming to this view by the suggestion of Wolff that they be linked with a "Bethel-Exposition" in the time of Josiah, he does not say so.

3.2 The Commentaries of H W Wolff and J Jeremias

3.2.1 H W Wolff

This brief survey of three commentaries of the twentieth century sets the scene for a fuller consideration of Wolff's landmark commentary. This work employs a consistently pursued form-critical approach, and pays full attention to the formation of the text, postulating several literary layers within it. Childs wrote that "the major credit for bringing together and developing the newer lines of critical research on Amos certainly goes to the incisive commentary of H W Wolff. His work has been at the forefront of the critical debate for the last decade and, particularly in the form of a new English translation, will continue to be at the centre of critical research on the book of Amos for the foreseeable future"[17]. In the same year Bright wrote in a review of Wolff's commentary that "it is a most stimulating work that will, one may predict, contribute to the ongoing discussion of this great prophetic book for many years to come"[18]. Twenty-three years later Carroll R illustrated the accuracy of that prediction when he wrote that "Proposals about how this prophetic book came to be continued in the line of form and tradition criticism. Pride of place in this kind of textual approach belongs to the

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[16] Mays p. 13.
[17] B S Childs *Introduction* p. 398.
[18] J Bright "A New View of Amos", *Interpretation* 25, 1971, pp. 355-358 (358).

commentary by Wolff"[19]. The fact that some of its particular proposals have not been universally followed does not detract from its importance: critics as well as followers have acknowledged as much[20]. This is the justification in the present study for taking Wolff's work as of seminal importance in any redaction-critical study of the book of Amos.

The introduction to the commentary begins with brief section headed "The Period" and "The Man Amos". There follows a much longer section headed "The Language of Amos"; by which he means, in this section, of that material which he attributes to the man Amos. This section identifies "a wealth of rhetorical forms"[21] in the book of Amos, which are grouped into three basic types. Included in the first, "Commission-Bound Messenger Speech", in which YHWH speaks in the first person, are the "messenger formula" (כה אמר יהוה), sometimes with concluding formula אמר יהוה, the "divine oracle formula" (נאם יהוה), the "oath formula" (נשבע ביהוה) and the "proclamation formula" ([שמע[ו)[22]. Within the second, "Free Witness-Speech", characterised by the absence of framework formulas, and with YHWH referred to in the third person, are the prophetic prologue ("Hear this word!"), didactic questions, and woe-cries. The third group is "Vision Reports", found in 7.1-8, 8.1-2 and 9.1-4. Wolff then identifies, additionally, a number of "Peculiar Language Elements", including (a) the graded numerical saying; (b) a participial style of judgement, as in, for example, 6.1, 3-6; (c) antitheses, e.g. 5.4-

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[19] M D Carroll R *Amos – The Prophet and His Oracles*, Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, Kentucky, 2002, p. 19.

[20] For example, R F Melugin "Prophetic Books and the Problem of Historical Reconstruction", in S B Reid (ed) *Prophets and Paradigms. Essays in Honor of Gene M Tucker*, JSOTSup 229, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1996, pp. 63-78 refers to "its brilliant use of stylistic differences for the purpose of distinguishing layers of redaction" (p. 65), even though he himself is dubious about the possibility of establishing the history of composition of books such as Amos with any degree of certainty at all. Paul's commentary does not follow Wolff's, but of necessity engages with it at every point: nearly two whole columns in the index of authors refer to it. That of Jeremias follows it frequently, but also diverges from it at several points, as will emerge in the discussion that follows.

[21] Wolff H W *Joel and Amos*, Hermeneia, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1977 p. 91.

[22] The Hebrew text of Wolff's commentary is not pointed in this section, and I am therefore, here, following his practice.

5; (d) word plays; (e) the rhetorical device of quoting those being opposed; and (f) a richness of imagery[23].

In keeping with this introduction, the text of the commentary on each section deals first with "Form" (*Form*), and then "Setting" (*Ort*), before moving to consider "Interpretation" (*Wort*) and "Aim" (*Ziel*). The sections on "Setting" describe, mostly, not the general setting in life (*Sitz-im-Leben*) in which the form being used would have been found, but rather the specific setting in which the prophet Amos probably spoke these words, or the historical setting of subsequent redactors. For example, on the setting of 4.1-3 Wolff writes that "This oracle is addressed to a segment of the inhabitants of Samaria (v. 1a) and was therefore clearly proclaimed by Amos in the capital city of the state of Samaria"; on 4.4-5, that it is impossible to tell whether Amos pronounced these words in Bethel, Gilgal or Samaria; and on 4.6-13, that it is likely that these apparently liturgical words may derive from the period following Josiah's destruction of Bethel, as described in 2 Kings 23.15-18[24].

It is in identifying several literary layers within the text that Wolff's commentary moves beyond form-critical analysis into a redaction-critical approach. Wolff posits a six-stage process of formation of the book. He identifies three eighth-century strata deriving from Amos and his contemporary disciples, namely "The Words of Amos from Tekoa", the vision cycles, and words from an "Old School of Amos". He then posits a "Bethel-Exposition of the Josianic age" in passages relating to the sanctuary at Bethel, a Deuteronomistic redaction, and a redaction written with a "Postexilic Eschatology of Salvation" in which 9.11-15 was added[25].

The oldest stratum, Wolff suggests, was a collection of "Words of Amos from Tekoa". The original heading in 1.1 was simply "The words of Amos from

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[23] Wolff pp. 91-98 .
[24] Wolff pp. 205, 217-8.
[25] Wolff pp. 106-113.

Tekoa", and it introduced words now found in chapters 3-6. The "Hear this word" of 3.1; 4.1 and 5.1 indicates this. These chapters comprise words of Amos in "free witness speech": 3.3-8; 4.4-5; 5.7, 10-11, 18-20; 6.12; sayings of Amos with words of Yahweh: 3.1a+2, 9-11, 13-15; 5.1-3, 12+16-17; 6.1-7, 13-14; and interspersed within these "sayings which transmit pure oracles of Yahweh: 3.12; 5.4-5, 21-24 + 27; (6.8?). It cannot be clearly determined whether one or another of these oracles may have been introduced here only through the redactional work of Amos' school"[26]. We cannot be sure, Wolff says, whether the core of this collection derives from oracles proclaimed in Samaria, as suggested by 3.9; 4.1; 6.1; or during an itinerant career wandering between Samaria and Bethel, and, possibly, Gilgal (4.4; 5.5)[27].

The second eighth-century stratum posited by Wolff is found in "The Literary Fixation of the Cycles". The five vision reports in 7.1-8; 8.1-2; 9.1-4 "must certainly…. be traced to Amos himself"; and the similarities with the original five part series of the oracles against the nations suggests that the same is true of them also, and that the two series were written down at the same time. These series reveal a more advanced stage of literary development than the collection of 'words' in 3-6[28]. Wolff sees the fundamental 'message of Amos', as conveyed in these two earliest strata, as being summed up in 8.2: "The end has come for my people Israel". "Everything else that is said elsewhere concerning Israel's future is an interpretation of this harshest of statements….. only once, and then in a tentative way at best, does Amos offer encouragement; nowhere does he kindle genuine hope….. with sharpest clarity he announces the end of Israel which awaits his contemporaries"[29]. This action of Yahweh results from the people's failure to practise "justice" (מִשְׁפָּט) and "righteousness" (צְדָקָה); and Amos instances this by

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[26] Wolff p. 107.
[27] Wolff p. 107.
[28] Wolff pp. 107-8, 151.
[29] Wolff pp. 103-4.

the naming of very specific transgressions, evident especially in court procedure, accumulation of wealth and the cultus[30].

The third eighth-century stratum identified by Wolff is "The Old School of Amos", and is attributable to a circles of contemporary disciples. This redaction set the vision cycles and the OAN as brackets around the words of Amos from Tekoa. It also incorporated the narrative of 7.10-17, which is an eye-witness account; and 7.9 was added as a transition verse. It was inserted between 7.7-8 and 8.1-2 because the narrative and the visions interpret one another. This 'Old School' also transmitted sayings of Amos additional to those in chapters 3-6, namely 8.4-7 (a re-working of 2.6b-7a); 8.9-10, 13-14; and possibly 5.25-26 and 2.10-12, although these more likely belong to a later stratum. Additionally this school expanded some of the sayings of Amos: additions to words of Amos are to be found in 6.2; 6.6b; 5.14-15; 5.13; in 5.5 the allusion to Beersheba. He acknowledges that at several points it is difficult to distinguish between *ipsissima verba* of Amos and the formulations of his disciples[31]. This redaction appears, in Wolff's view, to look back to the death of Jeroboam as past, and was made after the earthquake threatened by Amos had occurred: hence 1.1 was expanded. It was probably carried out in Judah[32]. Wolff does not specifically address the question "What is the aim and purpose of this redaction?", but he implies that its aims included the recording of the words of the prophet Amos, and of the reaction of Amaziah to them.

The fourth stratum identified by Wolff is "The Bethel-Exposition of the Josianic Age". His starting point in identifying this stratum is the addition in 3.14 of the words "and I will destroy the altars of Bethel", which he considers disturb customary Hebrew syntax. While 5.5 contains a saying of Amos which refers to Bethel, the reference to Bethel in 3.14, as also in 5.6, is an addition indicating a recension with a particular interest in the fate of Bethel. Noting that 2 Kings 23.15-

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[30] Wolff p. 104.
[31] Wolff p. 109.
[32] Wolff pp. 108-111.

18 records a destruction of Bethel by Josiah, which is seen as the fulfilment of the words of "a man of God who came from Judah" (the account of the "man of God" from Judah is told in 1 Kings 13), Wolff suggests that "The Deuteronomistic History has quite probably made use here of popular traditions about Amos" and that "Such traditions of the Josianic age have found expression in the book of Amos"[33]. Wolff also links the hymnic verses in 4.13; 5.8-9; 9.5-6 with this recension. He first suggests that "The acceptance of the divine judgment on Bethel is solemnized by a hymnic piece which now appears in 5.8-9". He then argues that 9.5-6 serves a similar function with regard to the judgment contained in 9.1-4, "if 9.1 was also taken to refer to the destruction of the Bethel sanctuary and to Josiah's measures". He then attributes 4.13 to the same redaction by linking it to 4.4, explaining the distance between the two verses by also taking 4.6-12 to be part of it, demonstrating that the destruction of Bethel was indeed YHWH's doing[34]. Wolff also attributes 1.2 to this recension, on the grounds that it is more positive on the role of Jerusalem than the later Deuteronomistic redaction was likely to have been[35]. The attribution of these hymnic verses to this compositional layer is a part of Wolff's hypothesis which has not been widely followed. The argument is based on linking 5.8-9 with 5.6, but this requires the rather weak assertion that 5.7 intrudes between them "probably through a copyist's error", since 5.7 belongs with 5.10-11"[36]; and, as will be seen, there are good reasons to attribute these verses, rather, to the Exilic Redactional Composition.

Wolff's fifth stratum is "The Deuteronomistic Redaction", which is concerned to show that, just as Israel had stood under the judgement of Yahweh in the words of Amos and the redaction of his 'Old School', and Bethel had in the Bethel-Exposition of the Josianic age, so now Judah and Jerusalem stand under that same judgement of Yahweh. Additions in 3.1b; 6.1aα; 6.1bβ make this specific. The oracle against Judah in 2.4-5, he notes, contains characteristically Deuteronomistic

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[33] Wolff p. 111.
[34] The argument and both quotations are in Wolff p. 111.
[35] Wolff pp. 111-3.
[36] Wolff p. 111; also p. 233.

vocabulary; and those against Tyre and Edom also belong to this redaction both on form-critical grounds and because of the importance of these nations to the Israelites of the exilic period. The references to Israel's saving history in 2.10 and 2.11-12 belong to this redaction, as do the cultic verses in 5.25-26; and 3.7, with its Deuteronomistic understanding of the prophets. The verses 8.11-12 may belong to this redaction, or perhaps to the Old School of Amos. Finally, 1.1 was expanded with characteristic Deuteronomistic synchronisation of chronology, and with linking the prophet with the sheep breeders[37].

In that Wolff argues that one of the aims of this redaction is to extend the announced judgement to cover Jerusalem and Judah as well as Samaria, Bethel and Israel, he perhaps intends that we surmise that the accusations of injustice and oppression also now apply to Jerusalem and Judah. However, he does not make this explicit. Thus, for example, his commentary on 6.1 refers to the addition of the reference to Zion, but then goes on interpret the text in terms of "the carefree attitude of the elite in Samaria"[38]. Both this and other social justice passages are referred to their meaning in the ministry of the prophet Amos, not in their later literary and supposed historical contexts.

Wolff's final stratum is "The Postexilic Eschatology of Salvation". This final redaction comprises the addition of 9.11-15, with 9.8c, and two specific minor additions elsewhere in the book (the reference to 'burnt offerings in 5.22; and 'like David' in 6.5). Wolff considers that the post-exilic situation necessitated an ending to the book less harsh than the dominant tone of the book: "After the early postexilic period, when salvation prophecy came to the fore, it was no longer possible to transmit a prophetic proclamation of judgement as one-sidedly harsh as Amos, without adding a new word of salvation (9.11-15)"[39]; and the forms of

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[37] Wolff pp. 112-3. Wolff accepts and largely follows the arguments of W H Schmidt "Die deuteronomische Redaktion des Amosbuches: Zu der theologischen Unterschieden zwischen dem Prophetenwort und seinem Sammler", *ZAW* 77, 1965, pp. 168-193. I shall refer to this influential article in section 5.2 below.
[38] Wolff p. 276.
[39] Wolff p. 113.

speech of 9.11-15, the tradition-history of the themes within it, the concluding formulae employed, the redaction-historical parallels to other prophetic books, and the reference to a "remnant of Edom" all point, he argues, to a post-exilic setting[40]. The aim of this final redaction of the book is to confirm that the prophetic word of Amos was true, but to offer hope beyond the judgement.

Wolff thus argues that the Book of Amos in its final form is the product of a series of redactions over a period of three centuries. The form-critical and redaction-critical methodologies employed lead to the conclusions that Wolff reaches; and the apparent complexity of Wolff's analysis results from the perceived complexity of the process of transmission which Wolff believes took place.

In reviewing Wolff's commentary and analysis, Bright wrote: "But do the tools at our disposal really allow us anything like the precision in describing this process that we find here? In so small a book as Amos do we have a broad enough field of evidence to entitle us to say that this stylistic trait, this line of thought, this formal characteristic, could not have been employed by the prophet, but must be assigned to some later stratum of the tradition?"[41]. It should be noted that Bright's question is carefully worded. He does not rule out, *per se*, the validity of identifying strata within the text; his caution and suspicion concern whether there is sufficient evidence of a multi-layered text within a book of just nine chapters. The answer to that question can only be found as studies of the text are undertaken. While Bright's question is worded in such a way as to invite a negative answer, it is noteworthy that he does not actually give that negative answer: he declares himself "to be skeptical and troubled by the feeling that considerations of style, form, and the like, are being made here to carry more weight than they can bear"[42], but holds back from deeming the enterprise to be incapable of successful outcome. This is wise. Wolff's analysis remains one of the more complex redaction-critical

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[40] Wolff pp. 352-3.

[41] J Bright "New View" p. 357. The question is quoted approvingly by S M Paul *Amos*, Hermeneia, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1991, p. 6 (where the word "trait" is misspelt as "tract").

[42] J Bright "New View" p. 357.

treatments of the Amos-text, but that does not mean that the method is unviable, or that the attempt to identify redactional compositions should not be made. While some particular features of Wolff's hypothesis have not won universal, nor even widespread, acceptance, there are many parts of his argument, some based on views put forward by scholars from the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and others developed by Wolff himself, which can be said to have stood the test of time; and amid varying redaction-critical proposals among scholars who have worked on the Amos-text, there is much common ground as well as inevitable disagreement. Nor is it an argument against redaction-critical studies as a whole that different scholars will come to different particular conclusions. The same is true of synchronic studies: scholars working with the final form of the text may and do come up with varying outlines and interpretations of the text, along with common elements in such studies too.

3.2.2 J Jeremias

Carroll R, in a chapter headed "The State of Amos Research", writes with regard to redaction-critical studies concerning the shaping of the Amos-text that "Perhaps the most prolific and influential scholar of this persuasion to attempt a literary reconstruction of Amos, both in its constituent parts as well as in regard to the book as a whole, has been Jörg Jeremias"[43]. The influence of Jeremias is seen in the subsequent study of Rottzoll, who accepts some of Jeremias's positions, while himself developing a much more complex redaction-critical theory of the text's composition-history[44]. It is seen, too, in Schart's study of the formation of the Book of the Twelve, which follows Jeremias's recognition that tradents intended the books of Amos and Hosea to be read in the light of each other[45]. It is my

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[43] Carroll R *Amos* p. 32. Carroll R goes on to commend Jeremias's "attention to the literary qualities of the canonical text" and his "attention to intertextual details" (p. 33).
[44] D U Rottzoll *Studien zur Redaktion und Komposition des Amosbuchs*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin · New York, 1996.
[45] A Schart *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs: Neubearbeitungen von Amos im Rahmen schriftenübergreifender Redaktionsprozesse*, BZAW 260, W de Gruyter, Berlin, 1998; idem "Reconstructing the Redaction History of the Twelve Prophets: Problems and Models", in J D Nogalski and M A Sweeney (eds) *Reading and Hearing in the Book of the Twelve*, SBLSymS 15, SBL, Atlanta, 2000, pp. 34-48.

opinion that no more satisfying literary and redaction-critical study of the Amos-text has appeared since Jeremias's commentary[46].

As already noted, Jeremias's commentary follows that of Wolff at many points, but also diverges from it at many points. What the two works have in common is a belief that redactional compositions can be identified within the Amos-text. Where the commentary of Jeremias goes further than Wolff's is in paying greater attention to the structure of the book as a whole. Such a concern had become well established in the years prior to the publication of Jeremias's commentary, not least through the work of Koch[47]. I am not including Koch's work as a focus within this study: I concur with the view of Auld that "for all its attempt at comprehensiveness, it seems a remarkably isolated work….. I have found hardly a reference to this large study in works prepared since its publication in 1976. It is also a little disappointing for English readers that no summary of the literary-critical results of this project is offered in the Amos chapter of Koch's *Prophets of the Assyrian Period*"[48]. However, Koch's work is one of those on which Jeremias draws in his commentary. Indeed, what makes Jeremias's commentary particularly valuable for this study is its use of both form-critical insights, in line with Wolff's commentary, and its insights on structural issues within the Amos-text, in line with Koch's work[49].

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[46] The commentary builds on a series of the author's previous studies, brought together in J Jeremias *Hosea und Amos: Studien zu den Anfängen des Dodekapropheten*, Forschungen zum Alten Testament 13, J C B Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 1995; also J Jeremias "Amos 3-6: From the Oral Word to the Text", in G M Tucker, D L Petersen and R R Wilson (eds) *Canon, Theology and Old Testament Interpretation. Essays in Honor of Brevard S Childs*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1988, pp. 217-229; since the publication of his commentary, also J Jeremias "The Interrelationship Between Amos and Hosea", in J D Watts and P R House *Forming Prophetic Literature*, JSOTSup 235, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1996, pp. 171-186.

[47] K Koch und Mitarbeitern *Amos: untersucht mit den Methoden einer strukturalen Formgeschichte*, 3 vols, Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments 30, Verlag Butzon & Bercker, Kevelaer and Neukirchener Verlag, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976.

[48] Auld p. 56. I suspect that part of the reason for the little notice taken of the work of Koch and his team is the seemingly few theological rewards in proportion to the amount of detailed literary study entailed.

[49] Jeremias describes Wolff's commentary and Koch's literary analysis as "the two most important analyses of the Book of Amos in recent times", calling Wolff's commentary "the most significant commentary on Amos in this century", and referring to "features of deliberate composing, to which Klaus Koch has directed attention". He suggests that "If Wolff in his approach cannot avoid

Jeremias considers that there were, essentially, two significant editions of the Amos-text. The later composition "underwent its constitutive formation after the fall of Jerusalem during the exilic – early postexilic period"[50]; and to it was subsequently added 9.7-15. The earlier "first edition"[51] of the book, Jeremias considers, was made soon after the fall of Samaria: and it, too, was a careful composition, and not a loosely formed collection of separate oracles and sayings. This composition contains words which were once spoken as oral words by the prophet Amos, although we cannot always be certain about whether particular verses were or were not once oral words; and the context in which such words are now placed is the literary context of the book, which invites reading and hearing them in a context different to that in which oral words of Amos would have been delivered. The oldest material from Amos himself is the account of his visions, which suggest that there was a change in Amos's perspective: originally he represented a guilty people to God through prophetic intercession, but as he learned "that there are limits to divine patience in the face of excessive guilt, limits prompting such prophetic intercession to fall silent, Amos was obliged to take the side of God as a messenger of divine retribution leading to the "end of Israel" (8.2). All the texts in the book of Amos outside the visions presuppose this change in understanding of the prophetic commission"[52]. Additions were made to this "first edition" in the period of Jeremiah[53].

moving into hypothetical areas, Koch's analysis stands in even greater danger of proceeding unhistorically where it departs from Wolff's approach" (Jeremias "Amos 3-6" pp. 218-9). Jeremias acknowledges the similar sentiments expressed by R F Melugin "The Formation of Amos: An Analysis of Exegetical Method", in P J Achtemeier (ed) *Society of Biblical Literature 1978 Seminar Papers Vol I*, Scholars Press, Missoula, Montana, 1978, pp. 369-391.

[50] Jeremias p. 5.

[51] The term is that of Jeremias p. 5.

[52] Jeremias p. 2.

[53] Jeremias does not speak of these additions, nor those added to the later exilic/post-exilic book, as forming a new composition. However, my conclusions in section 3.4.6 below show that there is sufficient new material bringing fresh perspective to justify positing the existence of a Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition.

Jeremias argues that "the oldest book of Amos is the result of an artistic composition that no attentive reader can fail to notice"[54]. He identifies four features:

(1) The words of Amos in chapters 3-6 are framed by two compositions: the oracles against the nations and the visions. These two series each contain five strophes, of which the concluding strophe is the climax. While these two series may each have constituted a separate collection (as also 3-6*), there are in the present text allusions in the oracles against the nations of which the full significance will only be recognised in the light of the visions series;

(2) The parallel introductory formulae of 3.1 and 5.1 divide the words in 3-6* into two parts of approximately equal length. While both parts contain both divine and prophetic speech, the introductory formulae invite a reading of 3-4 as divine speech and 5-6 as prophetic discourse;

(3) Within the central chapter 5, verses 1-17 are "organised in a highly artificial fashion as a concentric figure or ring composition: the (extremely reserved) offer of life intervenes twice between the context of the most grievous sin of the people on the one hand, and resultant death on the other"[55];

(4) Both linear and concentric compositional principles are found with regard to 5.18-27 and 6. The linear principle is seen in structural parallels between 5.18-27 and 6, of which "the questions in 5.25 and 6.12 with their lingering hope for understanding are especially noticeable"[56]. The concentric principle is seen in the

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[54] Jeremias p. 6.
[55] Jeremias p. 6. In his earlier "Amos 3-6" pp. 220-1 Jeremias had written that "Naturally one cannot dismiss with absolute certainty the possibility that a chiastic composition…. existed already before the insertion of the doxology. This assumption is doubtful, however, since the chiastic composition would thus be robbed of its centre". He appears to have modified his view by the time of publication of the commentary, in which he writes (p. 85) that "the basic outline of this consciously artistic structure already goes back to the first tradents of Amos". Identification of the chiastic structure of 5.1-17 was first made by J de Waard "The Chiastic Structure of Amos V.1-17", *VT* 27, 1977, pp. 170-177 (subsequent to the publication of Wolff's commentary).
[56] Jeremias p. 6.

placing of accusations against the upper classes in Samaria (3.9-4.3 and 6) around the central chapter 5.

The additions which Jeremias considers were made to this "first edition" of the Amos-text in the late seventh century are: 7.10-17, with 7.9 as a link verse; 6.9-10; 8.4-7; 8.9-10. The additions in chapter 7 concern the prophetic word; those in 6.9-10 and 8.9-10 strengthen the predictions of judgment; that in 8.4-7 applies Amos's social teaching to the sphere of business.

The exilic (or early post-exilic) book contains, in Jeremias's view, two linguistically different kinds of additions to the earlier text. One group of passages (1.9-12; 2.4-5; 2.10-12; 3.1b; 3.7; addition to 5.25; 8.11-12) reflects so-called Deuteronomistic language and theology. On the basis of seeing an allusion to idols in 2.4, Jeremias also links 3.14 and 5.6 with these additions on the grounds that "the prototype for these idols and for the faulty worship services they prompt is the cult in Bethel"[57]. The other group of additions (in Jeremias's view, of greater significance) comprises 4.6-13, which Jeremias takes to be based on an exilic penitential liturgy, and the hymnic material in 1.2; 4.13; 5.8-9; 9.5-6. These come, he notes, at key moments with regard to the structural framework of the exilic book[58]. He considers this book to have ended with 9.5-6, and that 9.7-15 constitute a subsequent post-exilic addition.

3.2.3 Comparison of the Commentaries of Wolff and Jeremias

At this point an important contrast between the approaches of Wolff and Jeremias may be noted, namely regarding the attempt to recognise oral words of the prophet Amos behind the literary text. Wolff is reasonably confident that this can be done, and where he attributes a saying or oracle to the prophet Amos, his interpretation in the commentary refers to Amos's ministry. He recognises the uncertainty, at some points, of the enterprise of distinguishing "Words of Amos" from the literary

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[57] Jeremias p. 8.
[58] Jeremias p. 8.

work of the "Old School", but nevertheless carries out the enterprise with some confidence. Jeremias, in contrast, is more reticent, and his primary focus of interpretation is the literary context of the "first edition" of the book. Within this, he accepts that there are oracles and sayings which may once have been oral: for example, he thinks that the oracles against Aram (1.3-5) and Ammon (1.13-15), with the original part of the oracle against Israel (2.6-16*), may have been[59]; or again, he argues that verses such as 3.12, 4.1-3 and 5.11 derive from oral proclamations addressed to particular groups within Israel, but now, in their literary context, address the whole nation[60]. However, it is noteworthy that in his commentary it is primarily in the literary context of the "first edition" that these verses are interpreted, rather than in particular situations in which the prophet Amos spoke. The present study is primarily a literary one, and is therefore closer to the approach of Jeremias: indeed, I have no interest in uncovering "words of Amos" except in so far as doing so will assist interpretation of the literary text; and for the purposes of this study, the comparison to be made with Jeremias's "First Edition" is with the three layers that Wolff identifies as eighth-century, taken together[61].

3.3 Alternative Views to those of Wolff and Jeremias

This study seeks to build on the work of Wolff and Jeremias. However, before proceeding to outline my own views concerning the composition of the Amos-text, it is important to note differing views held by other scholars.

Not all scholars are convinced either by the possibility or by the value of redactional-critical approaches to the text. Some scholars, while accepting that there is evidence of a limited compositional history of the Amos-text, nevertheless see the book mainly as a unity containing mostly words of the prophet. Thus, for

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[59] Jeremias "Zur Entstehung der Völkersprüche im Amosbuch", in idem *Hosea und Amos*, pp. 172-182 (176-8).
[60] Jeremias pp. 3, 56-57, 93.
[61] The correspondence is not exact, since Wolff dates the activity of the "Old School of Amos" to "the generation between 760 and 730" (p. 110), while Jeremias dates the oldest book of Amos to "after the fall of Samaria" (p. 5). I shall address the question the dating of the "Post-722 Composition" in section 4.1.4 below.

example, Paul cites approvingly the words of Hammershaimb that "there is little against accepting that almost all the book goes back to Amos himself"[62]. I have described in section 2.8 above the indicators of structure and development in the Amos-text which make me unable to accept such a view. At the other extreme, Coggins chooses to interpret the 'final form' of the text, seeing it "as coming from what is commonly referred to as 'the Second Temple Period'", adding that "even if we assume that there is more ancient material now incorporated into the book, it is misleading to suppose that the particular thrust of such material can be recovered from an essentially later composition"[63]. While it is a perfectly valid choice to comment on and interpret the final form of the text, I do not consider it necessary to do so for reasons of desperation regarding the possibility of discovering earlier layers of material underlying the final form. Occupying a "middle ground" position, Andersen and Freedman state that they "do not wish to deny the validity and value of the results of modern criticism, but we can no longer display those results with confidence and finality"[64], and that "insofar as we can speak about the *book* of Amos, we can recognise one master hand. If not Amos himself, then at least an editor unified the text who must have been very close to his teacher and whose contribution was to arrange and integrate the prophecies that Amos himself produced"[65]. The apparent indicators of development in the text are best explained, they suggest, by the fact that the book contains material relating to various stages of Amos's ministry[66]. However, the text itself gives no indication of such stages; and the thorough redaction-critical study of scholars such as Jeremias leaves their loss of confidence in "the results of modern criticism" misplaced.

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[62] Paul p. 6, citing E Hammershaimb *The Book of Amos*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1970, p. 14. Paul also refers frequently and approvingly to W Rudolph *Joel – Amos – Obadja – Jonah*, KAT XIII.2, Gütersloher Verlag Gerd Mohn, Gütersloh, 1971 (in his bibliography p. 302 incorrectly referring to it as KAT 23/2).

[63] R Coggins *Joel and Amos*, NCB, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 2000, p. 76.

[64] F I Andersen and D N Freedman *Amos. A New Translation and Commentary*, AB, Doubleday, New York, 1999, p. 4.

[65] Andersen and Freedman p. 5 (their italics).

[66] Andersen and Freedman pp. 5-9. I describe their proposal in section 4.1.3 below.

Various scholars have explored the presence of literary patterns within the Amos-text[67]. Limburg explores sevenfold structures and "seven, and seven-plus-one" sayings in the book, stating that such patterns "could be a predilection of the editor", or could "reach further back into the Amos-tradition itself"[68]. O'Connell examines introductory speech formulae and speech forms, and claims to find "a stepwise pattern of escalation that involves the telescoping of N+1 groupings (where "N" represents a number, usually 3 or 7)"[69]; he considers that this is redactional in origin[70]. Dempster examines the distribution of divine names and titles of God, and concludes that it is the result of careful editing; however he considers it beyond the scope of his article to discuss the time of composition of the book with the doxologies, and related use of the divine names, included[71]. While such articles contain some useful insights, the fact that such patterns could have been formed at any stages in the text's compositional history means that they add little to discussions of that history.

Other scholars employ a redaction-critical methodology, but reach different conclusions to those of either Wolff or Jeremias. The most complex and detailed analysis, and one which takes account of Jeremias's work, is that of Rottzoll[72], who identifies twelve redactions:

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[67] I shall refer in section 3.4.3.7 below to the articles of de Waard and Tromp on 5.1-17, which have been widely recognised as significant.

[68] J Limburg "Sevenfold Structures in the Book of Amos", *JBL* 106, 1987, pp. 217-222 (219). D A Dorsey "Literary Architecture and Aural Structuring Techniques in Amos", *Biblica* 73, 1992, pp. 305-330 seeks to discover further sevenfold structures, claiming that "there are over twenty examples in the book of septenaries on the microstructural level" (p. 323); however, some of his so-called discoveries are forced, and his article adds little to that of Limburg.

[69] R H O'Connell "Telescoping N+1 Patterns in the Book of Amos", *VT* XLVI, 1996, pp. 56-73 (56).

[70] O'Connell "Telescoping" p. 70 n.16.

[71] S Dempster "The Lord is His Name: A Study of the Distribution of the Names and Titles of God in the Book of Amos", *RB* 98, 1991, pp. 170-189 (185).

[72] Rottzoll *Studien*. Other studies consulted in the preparation of this study, but of which space does not permit consideration, include (in chronological order): I Willi-Plein *Vorformen der Schriftexegese innerhalb des Alten Testaments: Untersuchungen zum literarischen Werden der auf Amos, Hosea und Micha zurückgehenden Bücher im hebräischen Zwölfprophetenbuch*, BZAW 123, W de Gruyter, Berlin, 1971; J Vermeylen *Du Prophète Isaïe à l'Apocalyptique Tome II*, J Gabalda et Cie Éditeurs, Paris, 1978, pp. 519-569; J-L Vesco "Amos de Teqoa, Défenseur de L'homme", *RB* 87, 1980, pp. 481-513; R B Coote *Amos Among the Prophets*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1981; Th Lescow "Das vorexilische Amosbuch: Erwängungen zu seiner Kompositionsgeschichte", *BN* 93, 1998, pp. 23-55; Th Lescow "Das nachexilische Amosbuch:

(1) "der Grundbestand", comprising the OAN in 1.3-8, 13-15; 2.1-3, 6, 7aα*,b, 8aα, 7bα, 8bα, 12a, 13a,bα; the vision reports in 7.1a, 2-3, 4a*,bα, 5-6, 7*, 8; 8.1-2; 9.1a*; pictures of total destruction and earthquake in 3.3-6, 12* and 4.1-3; words describing the tearing down of houses in 3.15; 6.11; the funeral songs in 5.(1), 2, 16-17; possibly also 5.18-20; words of judgment against Samaria's love of luxury in 6.1aβ, 3, 4, 5a, 6aα; the self-confident words in 6.13; speeches criticizing reliance on the cult in 4.4-5; 5.4-5*, 21, 22aβ,b, 24; also 5.12a, 7, 10, 12b; ?6.12;

(2) "die Amos-schule" added the earliest form of the superscription (1.1*), a redactional introduction in 3.1, the verse 3.8, בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל in 3.12, 4.5b, and the narrative in 7.10-15;

(3) "die judäische Redaktion von 722/1" added 2.14-15; 9.1b; 5.27; made additions in 6.1aα,bα, 6aβ,b 7, 14; and brought in references to "Joseph" in 5.6, 15; 6.6b;

(4) "die judäische Redaktion von 711" added 6.1b, 2, 3b;

(5) "die erste deuteronomistische Überarbeitung der Exilszeit" expanded the superscription to include the datings to the reigns of Uzziah and Jeroboam, and added the references to the exodus from Egypt, the wilderness, and the driving out of the Amorites in 2.10-11, 12b; 3.1b; 5.25-26;

(6) "weitere (früh)nachexilische Zusätze zum Amosbuch" were made in 2.9; 3.14bα; the series 4.6-12; the divine oath in 6.8; and glosses in 2.13bβ; 7.1b; 7.4bβ;

Erwägungen zu seiner Kompositionsgeschichte", *BN* 99, 1999, pp. 69-101. None of these, in my view, matches Jeremias's proposals concerning the compositional history of the text in terms of providing an overall plausibility which makes sense of the text and its relationship to other relevant parts of the Hebrew Bible.

(7) "die Schaffung der Ringkomposition durch R^RK" was the major compositional move which produced 1.2-9.6, which has a chiastic arrangement with 5.8 as its centre, and 4.13 marking a division between chapters 3-4 and 5.1-9.4;

(8) "die priesterlich-deuteronomistische Redaktion" introduced the oracle against Judah in 2.4-5; the phrases in 2.7bβ, 8aβ, 8bβ; the verses 3.7; 7.9; and possibly 7.16-17;

(9) "zwei unbekannte Redaktionsschichten in Am 5.11, 13 und 6.9f";

(10) "die zweite Einschaltung in de Visionzyklus und der Buchschluss" comprised 8.(3), 4-14 and 9.7-15; also 3.9-11 and 9.4b;

(11) "die Hinzufügung der Sprüche gegen Tyrus und Edom" in 1.9-10, 11-12;

(12) "hinzufügungen chronistischer Art" were made in 5.22aα, ?23; 6.5b[73].

The (acknowledged) influence of Jeremias is evident at several points in this *schema*, and Rottzoll's work stands in continuity with and shares the methodological approach of both Wolff and Jeremias. However, the question posed by Bright with regard to Wolff's analysis is pertinent with regard to that of Rottzoll: "do the tools at our disposal really allow us anything like the precision in describing this process that we find here?"[74]. Theoretically such a detailed analysis is possible, but in reality the greater the detail of the *schema*, the less the likelihood of its accuracy at every point. Moreover, what is needed for the purposes of exegesis and interpretation is identification of the major points of composition and subsequent redaction. The present study identifies four redactional compositions, and within each of these there are sufficient new

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[73] Rottzoll *Studien* pp. 285-290.
[74] See section 3.2.1 note 41 above.

material and new structural markers by which to interpret received material to make the interpretation of 2.6-16 in each redactional compositional meaningful.

3.4 The Proposal of This Study

As I stated in Chapter 1, my own proposals regarding the composition history of the Amos-text draw much from the work of Wolff and Jeremias. Where there is agreement between them, and I am also in agreement with them, it is not my intention to repeat the arguments adduced in order to support their conclusions: that would be to attempt to re-lay foundations that are already well laid. I shall focus instead on the differences between their views, and indicate my own views in the process; and also, at a few points, indicate where I am disagreeing with both.

It is necessary first of all, however, to anticipate my conclusions in order to establish a vocabulary to use. With Jeremias, I consider that the earliest text of the book was written in the wake of 722. I shall refer to this as the "Post-722 Composition". I shall refer to the redactional composition which, I consider, was formed as a result of additions made in the late seventh century as the "Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition". I shall refer to the redactional composition produced in the sixth-century exilic period as the "Exilic Redactional Composition". I shall refer to the text with its latest additions as the "Post-Exilic Redactional Composition"[75].

I shall comment on sections of the Amos-text in the following order:

Amos 1.3-2.16: The Oracles Against the Nations Series;

Amos 7.1-9.4: The Visions Series, including material added between the visions in later redactional compositions;

Amos 3-6[76];

Amos 9.7-15;

Amos 1.1-2.

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[75] See section 2.5 above for the choice of vocabulary used here.
[76] 9.5-6 will also be included in this section, along with 4.13 and 5.8-9.

3.4.1 Amos 1.3-2.16: The Oracles Against the Nations Series

Wolff and Jeremias agree that the oracles against Damascus (1.3-5), Gaza (1.6-8), the Ammonites (1.13-15), Moab (2.1-3), and the core of the oracle against Israel (2.6-16*) formed a series of five oracles within an eighth-century literary composition; and that the oracles against Tyre (1.9-10), Edom (1.11-12) and Judah (2.4-5) reflect exilic Deuteronomistic influence[77]. The arguments have been well rehearsed by many scholars: (a) the language of the oracle against Judah is characteristically Deuteronomistic[78]; (b) the oracle against Judah is out of place if the primary addressee of the first composition is northern Israel; (c) structurally the oracles against Tyre, Edom and Judah exhibit some differences from those against Damascus, Gaza, the Ammonites and Moab; (d) part of the accusation in 1.9b is borrowed from 1.6. Paul mounts an extensive argument against this position, arguing, in the process, that a sequential, literary concatenous pattern is evident in 1.3-2.3[79]; however, his argument is severely weakened by his acknowledgement that the link between the oracles against Edom and Ammon is only thematic, and not literary[80]. Furthermore, as he himself recognises[81], even the successful demonstration of such a pattern says nothing about its origin, which could be in an earlier or later composition. Andersen and Freedman argue against seeing two groups of OAN based on structure, suggesting that "*no two of the oracles are exactly alike*"[82]: despite this being an obvious truism, their failure to acknowledge the structural similarities between the oracles against Tyre, Edom and Judah and their difference from the other oracles of the series makes it a statement of little worth. The arguments of Wolff and Jeremias (and many others) are to be preferred.

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[77] Wolff pp. 112-3, 139-141, 151-2, 158-160, 163-4; Jeremias pp. 8, 23, 29-31, 44. This view was held by several early scholars, and many since. It has been well argued by Schmidt "Die deuteronomische Redaktion". See also J Barton *Amos's Oracles against the Nations: A Study of Amos 1.3-2.5*, SOSTMS 6, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1980, pp. 22-24.

[78] This assertion will be argued in 6.4.1.2 below.

[79] Paul pp. 11-27; also S M Paul "Amos 1.3-2.3: A Concatenous Literary Pattern", *JBL* 90, 1971, pp. 399-403.

[80] Paul p. 14; Paul "Amos 1.3-2.3" p. 402.

[81] Paul p. 15; Paul "Amos 1.3-2.3" p. 403.

[82] Andersen and Freedman p. 295 (their italics).

Both scholars also see 2.10-12 as an exilic, Deuteronomistic addition. Since these verses fall within 2.6-16, the unit which is the focus of this study, I shall examine the arguments for this view in section 5.2.1 below, concluding that they are valid.

Additionally, both scholars note additions to the eighth-century text in a number of added phrases in 2.6-16:

in 2.7a עַל־עֲפַר־אֶרֶץ (with subsequent בְּ) is extra-metrical, and makes difficult syntax[83];

in 2.7bβ לְמַעַן חַלֵּל אֶת־שֵׁם קָדְשִׁי is an exilic or post-exilic addition drawing language from Ezekiel and the Holiness Code[84];

in 2.8 the phrases referring to cult places בֵּית אֱלֹהֵיהֶם and אֵצֶל כָּל־מִזְבֵּחַ are seen as additions made in the light of Hosea 4.13-14. Jeremias considers that these were added at the same time as the references to cult places in 7.9, namely in the late seventh century[85];

in 2.14b and 2.15aβ the phrases וְקַל בְּרַגְלָיו לֹא יְמַלֵּט and וְגִבּוֹר לֹא־יְמַלֵּט נַפְשׁוֹ are taken to be additions because of the apparent borrowing of vocabulary from other lines of these verses, with consequent repetition and disturbing of parallelism[86].

The addition in 2.7a is difficult to date: it most likely belongs to the Exilic Redactional Composition. That in 2.7bβ, with its dependence on Ezekiel and the Holiness Code, is best attributed to the Post-exilic Redactional Composition. I follow Jeremias in attributing those in 2.8 to the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition. Those in 2.14-15 may be attributed to the Exilic Redactional Composition, in the wake of 587[87].

3.4.2 Amos 7.1-9.4: The Visions Series

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[83] Wolff p. 133 textual note l; Jeremias p. 32 n.2 refers to it as a "superfluous addendum". Neither offers any suggestion of when the addition was made; but as there is no great exegetical significance in the addition, it is no great consequence to this study.
[84] Wolff p.p. 133-4; Jeremias p. 38.
[85] Wolff p. 134 textual note r; Jeremias p. 38.
[86] Wolff p. 134 textual note z; Jeremias p. 44 n. 32. The effect of the additions is to enhance the sense that the language used could refer to the attempt to escape either from earthquake or from battle.
[87] I shall give further attention to these additions in 6.1 below.

3.4.2.1 The Visions

Wolff and Jeremias are at one with the almost universal scholarly opinion that the visions formed part of the earliest literary composition underlying the Amos-text[88], and I follow them in this judgment.

Wolff and Jeremias both consider that the visions series included all five visions in the earliest written text. Not all scholars have held this view. Watts, for example, considered that it was the first three visions which constituted the original (oral) series, that the fourth vision was added at a subsequent recitation, and the fifth vision at a later recitation still[89]. Others take the first four visions to have been a series, but do not include the fifth vision within it: for example, Mays writes that "in structure and theme this report is different from the other four; its present location in the book suggests that the vision was not received nor the report formulated in direct connection with them"[90]. However, in an influential article Gese has argued strongly in favour of taking the fifth vision as part of the series, and as the "dritte Stufe" of it – the first pair of visions being the first stage, in which Amos successfully intercedes, the second pair being the second stage in which no intercession is allowed, and the final vision being the third stage of the description of the judgment taking place[91]. Paul, similarly, writes that "the five visions may be divided into three separate literary units – the first pair, the second pair, and the fifth – nevertheless, they appear to form a unified composition"[92].

The first two visions end with the concluding formula אָמַר יְהוָה (7.3) or אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה (7.6)[93]. The verse 8.3 contains נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה mid-verse: this, combined with the fact that 8.4 starts with שִׁמְעוּ־זֹאת, has led many commentators to include 8.3 as

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[88] Wolff pp. 107, 296; Jeremias pp. 6, 124-130.
[89] J D W Watts *Vision and Prophecy in Amos*, E J Brill, Leiden, 1958, pp. 30-31.
[90] Mays p. 152.
[91] H Gese "Komposition bei Amos", in J A Emerton (ed) *Congress Volume, Vienna, 1980*, VTSup 32, E J Brill, Leiden, 1981, pp. 74-95 (74-85, with the words "dritte Stufe" occurring on pp. 83 and 84).
[92] Paul p. 223.
[93] BHS p. 1024 notes that a few MSS include an אֲדֹנָי in 7.3; however the LXX of 7.6 appears to translate from a Hebrew text without the אֲדֹנָי. It was probably absent from the original form of both verses.

part of the original fourth vision[94]. However, it is preferable to take the לֹא־אוֹסִיף עוֹד עֲבוֹר לוֹ of 7.8 and 8.2 as the conclusion of both third and fourth vision reports of the earliest literary stratum. The formula נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה occurs twice more in material now found between the fourth and fifth visions (8.9, 11), which, with the inclusion of opening formulae more prevalent from exilic times onwards in 8.9 (וְהָיָה בַיּוֹם הַהוּא), 8.11 (הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים) and 8.13 (בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא) suggests that the whole of 8.3-14 forms an insertion, or series of insertions, between them. The only other points in the Amos-text at which נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה occurs are in the middle of 3.13, a verse which, with Jeremias[95], I take to be part of the Exilic Redactional Composition; and at the end of 4.5, where it has been added as a lead-in to the exilic (so Jeremias[96]) 4.6-12 which follows[97].

3.4.2.2 Amos 7.9-17

Much ink has been used in discussion of 7.9-17. It is immediately evident that 7.10-17 is formally distinct from the visions: it is a narrative in which Amos appears in the third person as a participant, rather than a vision report told by Amos in the first person. It is the only place in the book (apart from its superscription) in which King Jeroboam is referred to; and it is the only place in the book in which the name "Isaac" is found. This passage has been looked to as perhaps being Amos's "call to prophesy", equivalent to the call narrative in Isaiah 6[98]: however, it does not claim to be that; and the short explanation in 7.15 hardly warrants such a description. Furthermore, to the *chagrin* of modern interpreters seeking answers to historical or biographical questions, the episode does not evidence any great biographical concern. As Wolff notes, "Anyone who suspects that we have here a fragment from a biography of Amos must explain the lack of information at the beginning concerning the circumstances of Amos's appearance

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[94] So, for example, Hammershaimb *Amos* pp. 107, 119-121; Mays pp. 123-7, 140-2. These scholars also take 7.9 to be part of the third vision (Hammershaimb pp. 111-3; Mays pp. 131-3). Cripps is more cautious: "If v. 3 be related to vv. 1 and 2…." (p. 241).

[95] Jeremias pp. 8, 61-63; and see below section 3.4.3.4.

[96] Jeremias pp. 8, 65-75; and see below section 3.4.3.6.

[97] Wolff p. 143 notes that where נְאֻם יהוה occurs in the opening or middle sections of a unit it "can in each case be assigned to later redactional activity".

[98] For example, Harper p. cxxviii writes that "A time came when in visions given him….. a definite call to preach was received".

at Bethel, to say nothing of the fact that there is likewise missing at the end any report of the decision made by the royal court on the basis of the message from Bethel and of the course of action taken by Amos after his eviction by Amaziah"[99]. Similarly Tucker writes: "Our penchant for raising historical questions drives us to ask what events led up to the confrontation and what were its results. Precisely the fact that such questions are *not* answered will give us some insight into the purpose of the story"[100]. That very fact invites us to look for other explanations of the presence of this narrative episode within the visions series.

The purpose of the story is best ascertained through a literary approach which seeks to interpret the narrative in its literary context of the visions series. Such an approach notes the literary connections between 7.10-17 and the third and fourth visions: אוֹסִיף עוֹד (7.13) and תּוֹסִיף עוֹד (7.15 and 8.2); עַמִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל (7.10 and 7.8), בְּקֶרֶב (7.8 and 8.2); as well as between 7.10-17 and 7.9: the references to Isaac in 7.16 and 7.9; to the "king's sanctuary" in 7.13 and the "sanctuaries of Israel" in 7.9; and also within 7.10-17 the repeated וְיִשְׂרָאֵל גָּלֹה יִגְלֶה in 7.11 and 7.17[101]. These connections suggest that this narrative episode has not been placed here randomly, but has been composed to fit into its present literary context[102]. Additionally, connections can then be established with portions of Kings, as argued by Ackroyd and Williamson[103]. A noteworthy literary link is the root קשר ("conspire/conspiracy"), which occurs in Amos 7.10 in the words of Amaziah about Amos: it is used in several parts of the so-called Deuteronomistic History,

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[99] Wolff p. 308.

[100] G M Tucker "Prophetic Authenticity: A Form-Critical Study of Amos 7.10-17", *Interpretation* 27, 1973, pp. 423-434 (426; his italics).

[101] Jeremias p. 137 mentions Utzschneider as having "performed the service of disclosing all these connections with exceptional clarity"; referring to H Utzschneider "Die Amazjaerzählung (Am 7.10-17) zwischen Literatur und Historie", *BN* 41, 1988, pp. 76-101 (not seen by me).

[102] This is not to deny the possible existence of an oral tradition concerning an encounter between Amos and Amaziah; however, literary considerations suggest that it was not, in its present form, lifted from some other literary setting.

[103] P R Ackroyd "A Judgment Narrative Between Kings and Chronicles? An Approach to Amos 7.9-17", in G W Coats and B O Long (eds) *Canon and Authority: Essays in Old Testament Religion and Theology*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1977, pp. 71-87 (= P R Ackroyd *Studies in the Religious Tradition of the Old Testament*, SCM, London, 1987, pp. 196-208); H G M Williamson "The Prophet and the Plumb-Line: A Redaction-Critical Study of Amos 7", *OTS* 26, 1990, pp. 101-121.

but not least in 2 Kings 9-15, which cover the dynasty of Jehu, who "conspired" against Joram (2 Kings 10.9), and of which Jeroboam II was the penultimate king, and his son Zechariah the last king, against whom Shallum "conspired" (2 Kings 15.10)[104]. A further point to note is that this is the only portion of the Amos-text in which judgment is declared upon the king (7.11) or king's house (7.9): such interest in kings and their houses is characteristic of the books of Kings[105].

Williamson rightly observes that "The role of the prophets was self-evidently a matter of great interest to the Deuteronomists in the composition of the historical books"[106]. The chapter which contains the fullest Deuteronomistic explanation for the downfall of the northern kingdom is 2 Kings 17, and within it is given the reason that "YHWH warned Israel and Judah by every prophet and every seer, saying 'Turn from your evil ways and keep my commandments and statutes, in accordance with all the law that I commanded your ancestors and that I sent by you to my servants the prophets'. They would not listen, but were stubborn, as their ancestors had been" (2 Kings 17.13-14); "YHWH removed Israel out of his sight, as he had foretold through all his servants the prophets. So Israel was exiled from his land" (2 Kings 17.23)[107]. Williamson draws the following conclusion: "At more or less the latest stage in the development of the Deuteronomistic History (and thus largely determinative of its final outlook) there emerged the view that the fall of the kingdom was as much due to the rejection of the prophetic word as it was to the offences which gave rise to that word..... This same pattern of thinking, I suggest, is reflected in the positioning of Amos 7.9-17"[108]. These

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[104] Other uses of the root קשר occur in 2 Kings 12.21 (20); 14.19; 15.15, 25, 30.
[105] Williamson "The Prophet and the Plumb-Line" p. 471. Ackroyd "Judgment Narrative" pp. 74-77 gives further connections between Amos 7.9-17 and narrative material of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles.
[106] Williamson "The Prophet and the Plumb-Line" p. 468.
[107] Other passages which refer to the role of the prophets, as understood by the Deuteronomists, cited by Williamson, include 2 Kings 21.10-15 and 2 Kings 24.2.
2 Kings 21.10-15
[108] Williamson "The Prophet and the Plumb-Line" pp. 469-470. The theme of the rejection of the prophets is especially clear in Deuteronomistic sections of the Jeremiah-text e.g. 25.4; 26.5; 29.29; 35.15. Williamson is on less sure ground in suggesting that in Amos 7.7-8 it is the prophet himself who is the אֲנָךְ placed by YHWH in the midst of his people, requiring the translation of אֲנָךְ as "plumb-line", rather than the more probable "tin" (as B Landsberger "Tin and Lead: The

literary and theological connections provide an excellent explanation for the inclusion and placing of the narrative of 7.10-17; and the literary links between 7.10-17 and 7.9 indicate that 7.9 has, as Jeremias notes[109], been inserted as a hinge verse with the third vision rather than having been, as some commentators have assumed[110], an original part of that vision.

Such a conclusion has implications for the dating of the insertion of Amos 7.9-17 into the Amos-text. It has often been assumed that 7.9-17 represents an eye-witness account of an encounter between Amaziah and Amos at Bethel (or possibly an account recounted by Amos to his disciples) inserted by his disciples into the text at an early stage. Thus Wolff writes that the existence of a circle of disciples "is shown first by the insertion of a third-person report of Amos' experiences (7.10-17) into the first-person reports of the visions…….. The author must have been an eyewitness, seeing and hearing what he reported"; and he attributes the insertion of 7.10-17 into the visions series to his eighth-century "Old School of Amos"[111]. Whatever the origin of the tradition, however, in terms of its presence in the literary text we should be looking to a period compatible with its links with the Deuteronomistic books of Kings, and therefore later than the period suggested by Wolff.

Two possibilities present themselves: either 7.9-17 was an exilic insertion, contemporary with or influenced by texts in the Deuteronomistic sections of the Jeremiah-text and Kings; or it was an insertion made, as Jeremias considers[112], in the late seventh century, in the time of Jeremiah, in which case it may itself have influenced subsequent Deuteronomistic thought. The attraction of Jeremias's view is that the mention of the בָּמוֹת and the מִקְדְּשֵׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל in 7.9 links the verse strongly

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Adventures of Two Vocables", *JNES* 24, 1965, pp. 285-296; H Gese "Komposition"; Paul pp. 233-5; Jeremias pp. 124, 131, with further bibliography p. 131 n. 19); however, his argument that the theme of the rejection of the prophet Amos in Amos 7.10-17 finds a thematic parallel in Deuteronomi(sti)c passages concerning the rejection of the prophets stands despite this.
[109] Jeremias p. 142.
[110] So for example, Harper pp. 165-7; Cripps pp. 224-7; Mays pp. 131-3.
[111] Wolff p. 108.
[112] Jeremias pp. 7, 142.

with Hoseanic tradition; and the language of 7.10-17 is not strongly Deuteronomistic. The process described by Jeremias of the tradents behind the books of Amos and Hosea establishing a conscious connection between the two books, both in the late eighth and late seventh centuries, suggests that the period of Jeremiah is the more likely time in which 7.9-17 was brought into the Amos-text. On the other hand, there are considerations which make the exilic period plausible. Firstly, in 7.12 Amaziah refers to Amos as a חֹזֶה. This term is most frequently found in Chronicles, although also in 2 Samuel in 24.11 and in 2 Kings 17.13. In the Amos-text it is only found here and in 1.1, where it is part of the exilic Deuteronomistic expansion of the superscription. Secondly, the spelling of "Isaac" as יִשְׂחָק (7.9, 16), instead of the more usual יִצְחָק, is only found elsewhere in Jeremiah 33.26 and Psalm 105.9, neither of which is likely to be pre-exilic[113]. However, I do not consider that the use of חֹזֶה need necessarily indicate an exilic or post-exilic dating, despite its most frequent usage in Chronicles: Petersen argues that originally it was the southern kingdom's equivalent of the northern kingdom's preferred term נָבִיא, and that after 722, and especially in Deuteronomistic literature, the two terms began to coalesce[114]. The spelling of "Isaac" is potentially more problematic: however, Lombaard has argued – persuasively, in my view – that the lines in Amos 7.9 and 7.16 referring to Isaac are later additions to 7.9-17 as a whole[115]. This allows the possibility – indeed the likelihood – that 7.9-17 without the lines referring to Isaac became part of the Amos-text in the late seventh

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[113] R P Carroll *Jeremiah*, OTL, SCM, London, 1986, p. 637 writes of Jeremiah 33.14-26 that "They should be regarded as an addition to the second edition of Jeremiah". W Brueggemann *A Commentary on Jeremiah. Exile and Homecoming*, Eerdmans Publishing Co, Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge U.K., 1998, p. 321 writes that "It is in response to that theological crisis evoked by the Exile….. that the oracle of vv. 25-26 is given". Similarly J Lundbom *Jeremiah 21-36. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB, Doubleday, New York · London · Toronto · Sydney · Auckland, 2004, p. 546 dates the section to "after the fall of Jerusalem". Regarding Psalm 105.9, H-J Kraus *Psalms 60-150. A Commentary*, Augsburg, Minneapolis, 1989, p. 309 writes of Psalm 105 that "Even though it is earlier than Chronicles, we may not think of a time earlier than the exile". E S Gerstenberger *Psalms Part 2 and Lamentations*, FOTL XV, Eerdmans Publishing Co, Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, U.K., 2001 p. 235 refers to vv. 8-11 and 42-45 as "full of thanksgiving and eulogy celebrating the fundamental beliefs of the early Jewish congregations". J Day "How many Pre-exilic Psalms are there?", in J Day (ed) *In Search of Pre-exilic Israel*, T & T Clark International, London · New York, 2004 pp. 225-250 writes (p. 242) that "We may be pretty confident that Psalm 105 is an early post-exilic psalm".
[114] D L Petersen *The Roles of Israel's Prophets*, JSOTSup 17, JSOT Press, Sheffield, 1981, p. 62.
[115] C Lombaard "What is Isaac doing in Amos 7?", *OTE* 17/3, 2004, pp. 435-442 (438-440).

century, and that the lines referring to Isaac were added in the exilic period, when those responsible for the Exilic Redactional Composition wished to bring home that just as Israel had rejected YHWH's word through the prophets, so too had Judah[116]. I therefore attribute 7.9-17* to the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition, with the lines וְלֹא תַטִּיף עַל־בֵּית יִשְׂחָק in 7.16 in 7.9 and וְנָשַׁמּוּ בָּמוֹת יִשְׂחָק being added in the Exilic Redactional Composition.

3.4.2.3 Amos 8.3-14

The additions between the fourth and fifth visions in 8.3-14 contain numerous allusions to other parts of the Amos-text. Williamson writes that in view of the "extraordinary density of repetition of phrases and motifs from elsewhere in the book of Amos…….. A good case can be made for the view that all these are reapplications of authentic words of Amos by the Deuteronomists"[117]. I agree that there are many "reapplications" of earlier material in these verses, although not necessarily that they are all of "authentic words of Amos". Nor does the vocabulary used require us to attribute them all to a Deuteronomistic source. Moreover, this is a difference of emphasis from the position of Jeremias who, in view of the connecting formulae that introduce 8.9-10, 8.11-12 and 8.13-14, considers that what is involved here is a succession of redactional additions[118]. In order to address this further, it is necessary to consider the various sub-units in sequence.

8.3: The presence of נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוה in the middle of the verse was discussed above, and it was noted that its presence in that position is characteristic of material later

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[116] The association of Isaac with Beersheba makes the name refer to the southern kingdom of Judah rather than to the northern kingdom of Israel. Lombaard "What is Isaac doing?" p. 441 dates the addition of the Isaac lines to "after this tradition (*sc.* of the encounter of Amos and Amaziah) had reached the far South, thus after 722"; however, it was in the Babylonian exile that those responsible for the Exilic Redactional Composition wished to persuade that, just as Israel had deserved YHWH's punishment in 722, so Judah had in 587.

[117] Williamson "The Prophet and the Plumb-Line", p. 473.

[118] Jeremias p. 145. Of course, it may be that Williamson would not wish to date all of 8.3-14 to the same Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic redactional composition, and that such an impression arises out of the limited space for argument within the confines of an article, where certainly this is the impression given.

than the first, eighth-century composition[119]. Since 8.3b alludes to 6.9-10, it must either be later than it, or be part of the same redactional composition[120]. Both Wolff and Jeremias note that 8.3 is joined to 8.2 in a grammatically similar way that 7.9 is joined to 7.8[121]. It is probable, therefore, that it derives from the same late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition.

8.4-7: These verses are taken by Wolff to derive from the eighth-century "Old School of Amos", formed from words of Amos now found in 2.6-7[122]. Jeremias, in contrast, takes them to be from the century following, the age of the prophet Jeremiah, and argues, correctly, that the earlier words of Amos from the earliest composition which then addressed the question of debt-slavery no longer do so, but in their new literary context address the question of dishonest business practices[123]. It is this visible change of focus which makes Jeremias's later dating more likely than that suggested by Wolff. Schart includes 8.4-7 as part of an exilic Deuteronomistic redaction[124]. However, mention in 8.5 of הַחֹדֶשׁ and הַשַּׁבָּת as a pair point rather to the pre-exilic period: they are found together in Hosea 2.13 (11) and Isaiah 1.13, both of which are pre-exilic prophetic texts[125]; and also in 2 Kings 4.23, which is likely to be pre-Deuteronomistic narrative. The presence of the term עַנְוֵי־אָרֶץ[126] in 8.4 does not provide indication of dating, since the dating of three of the four other biblical texts in which the phrase occurs (Isaiah 11.4; Zephaniah 2.3; Psalm 76.10; Job 24.4) is disputed. Isaiah 11.4 is held by some to derive from the eighth-century prophet Isaiah, but by others to be post-587[127].

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[119] See section 3.4.2.1 above.
[120] I attribute 6.9-10 to the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition: see section 3.4.3.9 below.
[121] Wolff p. 108; Jeremias p. 145.
[122] Wolff p. 108.
[123] Jeremias pp. 7, 145-8.
[124] A Schart *Entstehung* p. 317.
[125] H W Wolff *Hosea*, Hermeneia, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1974, pp. xxix-xxx, 33; R E Clements *Isaiah 1-39*, NCB, Eerdmans Publishing Co, Grand Rapids and Marshall, Morgan & Scott Publishing Ltd, London, 1980, pp. 32-33; H Wildberger *Isaiah 1-12. A Commentary*, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 1991, pp. 38-39; H G M Williamson *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 1-27 Volume 1: Chapters 1-5*, ICC, T & T Clark, London, 2006, p. 85.
[126] The question of the spelling of עַנְוֵי, and of the Qere עֲנִיֵּי, will be discussed in section 6.3.2.1 below.
[127] H Wildberger *Isaiah 1-12* p. 466 writes of Isaiah 11.1-10 that there is disagreement about its dating "which finally has its roots in differing conceptions about the development of the religious

Zephaniah 2.1-4 is generally held to be from seventh-century Zephaniah material, but 2.3a is taken by some to be an exilic addition[128]. Psalm 76 is one of the psalms of Zion which may be held to be pre-exilic[129]; however, Hossfeld and Zenger take verses 9-10 to be later additions to it[130]. Only Job 24.4 can be clearly dated to the post-exilic period. The balance of argument, therefore, lies in favour of attributing 8.4-7 (and with it 8.3) to the pre-exilic period, but subsequent to 2.6-7, and therefore to the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition.

8.7 contains the unusual – indeed unique – oath of YHWH as swearing בִּגְאוֹן יַעֲקֹב ("by the pride of Jacob"). The sense in which this oath is sworn is not entirely clear[131]; but it is clear that this verse presupposes 6.8, which is consistent with this dating of 8.4-7 as a unit.

Chapter 6 of this study will undertake the interpretation of Amos 2.6-16 in the literary context of each of the redactional compositions underlying the Amos-text. Since 8.4-7 is itself a reinterpretation of 2.6-7 in the late pre-Exilic Redactional Composition, an exegesis of it will be included within that section.

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history of Israel". Wildberger himself inclines towards seeing Isaiah the prophet as the author of 11.1-5. Contrastingly, R E Clements *Isaiah 1-39* pp. 121-2 writes that "The most natural understanding…. is that it presupposes a time when the Davidic dynasty had been deposed from the throne of Judah altogether (587 onwards), and that it is a promise of its restoration".
[128] So R Albertz *Israel in Exile* p. 220. E Ben Zvi *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah*, BZAW 198, W de Gruyter, Berlin, 1991 takes the whole book to be post-monarchic. M A Sweeney *Zephaniah. A Commentary*, Hermeneia, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 2003, p. 113 writes with regard to Zephaniah 2.1-4 that "The setting for such an address must appear in the early reign of Josiah, at a time when his program of religious reform and national restoration was just getting underway"; he notes (p. 118) the problem that 2.3a introduces a different addressee from 2.1, but does not see any consequent need to take 2.3a as an addition: rather any sense of problem about the change of addressee "is engendered by some rather wooden readings of these verses".
[129] So J Day "How Many Pre-Exilic Psalms are there?" pp. 229-230; Kraus *Psalms 60-150* pp. 107-111.
[130] F-L Hossfeld and E Zenger *Psalms 51-100*, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 2005, pp. 262, 264, 270.
[131] Both Wolff p. 328 and Jeremias pp. 148-9 take it to be ironic: Wolff on the basis of the comparison with 6.8, and Jeremias on the basis of it having the meaning of Israel's land, as in Psalm 47.5 (4) and Nahum 2.3 (2), which he considers is "itself an expression of the "majesty of God" ".

8.8 forms a link to the three subsequent sayings to be introduced by connecting formulae. As Jeremias observes, "It is a bridge that on the one hand draws the conclusions from the preceding material, and on the other provides a transition to the cosmic perspective of the following verses"[132]. Its imagery of an earthquake links it to 9.1 and 2.13, as well as to the superscription in 1.1. Verses 8.8b and 9.5b are almost identical, sufficiently so that there must be literary dependence in one direction or the other: however, commentators differ with regard to the direction. Wolff takes 8.8b to be the older text, which has been inserted into 9.5-6[133], while Jeremias takes the opposite view[134]. The matter is not of great importance to this study. On balance I prefer the view of Wolff, on the grounds that the removal of the overlapping material from 9.5 leaves 9.5-6 as a series of statements introduced by participles, as in 4.13 and 5.8-9. The whole of 8.8 may therefore be dated along with 8.9-10.

8.9-10 is introduced by a temporal connective phrase: וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה. The whole phrase stands outside the poetic metre of the verses that follow, and is copied from 8.3a[135]. A shorter form of it (בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא) introduces 8.13-14; and a different one, הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה, introduces 8.13-14. Such extra-metrical introductions become prominent from the exilic period onwards. In his study of such formulae de Vries writes with regard to Amos 8 and 9 that "additions lacking a temporal transition are in the closest proximity to original core materials, which appear in two collocations, 8.4-6, 7-8 and 9.2-4, 5-6, 9-10; in distinction, materials introduced by temporal transitions appear in the two appended collocations, 8.9-10, 11-12, 13-14 and 9.11-12, 13-15"[136].

The verses 8.9-10 are clearly subsequent to 5.1-3 and 5.16-17, and draw from their imagery and vocabulary: אֵבֶל (mourning) in 8.10 and 5.16; קִינָה in 8.10 and 5.1; and the description of mourning rites in 8.10. Additionally 8.9 probably aims to

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[132] Jeremias p. 149.
[133] Wolff p. 336.
[134] Jeremias p. 149.
[135] Or, conceivably, the phrase in 8.3a was a late addition made on the basis of its presence in 8.9.
[136] de Vries *From Old Revelation to New* p. 46.

reinforce 5.18-20's description of the Day of YHWH[137]. The presence of the connecting formulae makes Wolff's view that these verses derive from the eighth-century "Old School of Amos"[138] less likely than Jeremias's view that they are chronologically subsequent to 8.4-7[139]. They most probably belong to the Exilic Redactional Composition.

Both Wolff and Jeremias recognise that 8.11-12 displays familiarity with Deuteronomy 8.3's assertion that "Man does not live on bread alone, but by every word that comes from the mouth of YHWH"[140]. Jeremias also points out that it presupposes the rejection of the prophetic word that 7.10-17 portrays; and notes the likelihood of its familiarity with Amos 4.6-8. Both attribute these verses to the exilic period. They therefore belong to the Exilic Redactional Composition.

8.13-14 is treated differently by Wolff and Jeremias respectively. Wolff considers that 8.14 "clearly alludes to conditions in the northern kingdom", meaning the pre-722 northern kingdom[141], while Jeremias regards it as "the most recent redactional continuation of the text", and considers that "The real emphasis of the verses, however, is actually on the accusations of v. 14a, directed probably at the mixed population that arose in the Northern Kingdom after the fall of Samaria and about whose influence on Judah during the early-postexilic period the book of Nehemiah speaks"[142]. Some comments on each of the three descriptions of the subjects of the sentence in 8.14 are necessary.

The first is הַנִּשְׁבָּעִים בְּאַשְׁמַת שֹׁמְרוֹן which, as it stands, translates as "Those who swear by the guilt of Samaria". Wolff translates thus, while noting alternative translations based on emendations: (1) a simple revocalisation of בְּאַשְׁמַת to בְּאֲשֵׁמַת gives the name of the deity Ashimah referred to in 2 Kings 17.30 as one

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[137] So Jeremias p. 150.
[138] Wolff pp. 108, 325-6.
[139] Jeremias pp. 145, 150.
[140] Wolff p. 330; Jeremias pp. 150-1.
[141] Wolff p. 108.
[142] Jeremias pp. 151 and 152. The "text" referred to in the first quotation is Amos 8.3-14.

introduced by those settled by the Assyrians in Samaria from Hamath after 722; (2) one consonantal change gives בַּאֲשֵׁרַת, and thus a reference to the deity Asherah, known from 1 Kings 16.33 and 2 Kings 17.16 as being present in the northern kingdom before 722. Wolff rejects the first suggested revocalisation on the grounds that "there is no evidence for an earlier (*sc.* before 722) cult of the deity in Samaria"[143]. His rejection of this revocalisation fits with his assignation of these verses to his eighth-century "Old School of Amos". He goes on to argue that the description of the god by whom the people of Samaria swear as "the guilt of Samaria" is "in keeping with the prophetic device of injecting a note of judgment into fictitious quotations"[144]: a possible, but not necessary interpretation. Wolff observes that the term אַשְׁמַת is most often found in the Chronicler's History, but argues that since the same root is found in Hosea 4.15; 13.1 the use of the substantive in the eighth century is perfectly possible[145]. Jeremias, in contrast, translates as "Ashimah", which fits the early post-exilic setting to which he attributes these verses[146]. As one would expect, with both scholars the translation chosen is that which fits in the context of the period to which they assign these verses[147].

The second subject of the sentence is those who say חֵי אֱלֹהֶיךָ דָּן, "As your god lives, O Dan". For Wolff, "It is precisely the reference to Dan in 8.14aβ that warns us against dating these oracles too late. They must have been spoken before the invasion of Tiglath-pileser III in 733"[148]. Jeremias, in contrast, refers to the "bilingual (Aramaic and Greek) consecratory inscription from the Hellenistic period" which "has thrown light on the textually inoffensive name in the middle oath, "your god, Dan"; the Greek text of this inscription, found during excavations at Tell Dan……reads "to the god of Dan". This shows that later as well, the deity

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[143] Wolff p. 323.
[144] Wolff p. 332.
[145] Wolff p. 332. The noun is in fact found in 1 Chronicles 21; 2 Chronicles 24, 28 and 33; Ezra 9 and 10; Leviticus 4, 5 and 22; Psalm 69 (BDB p. 80a).
[146] Jeremias pp. 144, 152.
[147] However, H M Barstad *The Religious Polemics of Amos*, VTSup 34, E J Brill, Leiden, 1984, pp. 159-167 examines 2 Kings 17.30 and concludes that the nature of 2 Kings 17 is not so precisely historical as reliably to rule out the presence of the goddess Ashimah in Samaria before 722.
[148] Wolff pp. 325-6.

worshipped in Dan without any personal name was designated through reference to the famous sanctuary……it shows that…..cultic continuity was maintained for centuries in Dan. For Amos 8.14, it is a continuity of apostasy from Yahweh"[149]. On this view, the reference to Dan allows 8.13-14 to be dated to any period

The third subject of the sentence is those who say חֵי דֶּרֶךְ בְּאֵר־שָׁבַע, "By the way of Beersheba". There are just two references to Beersheba in the Amos-text: here and in 5.5. Genesis 26.23-25, 32-33; 46.1-4 associate Beersheba with Isaac, and Wolff considers it likely that pilgrims from the northern kingdom crossed the border into Judah in order to travel to the place of worship at Beersheba, and that this pilgrimage is the דֶּרֶךְ to which 8.14 refers[150]. He attributes all the references to Isaac and to Beersheba (7.16, 7.9, the addition in 5.5, 8.14) to the "Old School of Amos". However, I argued in the previous section 3.4.2.2 that the references to Isaac in 7.9 and 7.16 should be attributed to the Exilic Redactional Composition; so too should the reference to Beersheba in 5.5[151]. Jeremias attributes 8.13-14 to the exilic Deuteronomistic redaction of the book, on the basis that one of its aims was to extend the basis of the declaration of Israel's guilt to include the worship of idols; and in this respect the post-722 inhabitants of Samaria, whose pilgrimages to Beersheba, he notes, are now attested in the Kuntillet 'Ajrud inscriptions, were particularly addressed[152]. This dating fits the literary context well. The balance of argument, therefore, lies in favour of attributing these verses, with 8.8-10 and 8.11-12 to the Exilic Redactional Composition, a conclusion reinforced by the presence of the opening בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא of 8.13.

In conclusion, then: 8.4-7, and the connecting verse 8.3, belong to the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition; 8.8-10, 8.11-12, and 8.13-14, while developed in successive stages, all belong to the Exilic Redactional Composition. The temporal

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[149] Jeremias p. 153.
[150] Wolff pp. 109-110, 332; also Wolff *Amos the Prophet. The Man and His Background*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1973, pp. 78-80. He notes (*Joel and Amos* pp. 323-4) various suggested emendations of דֶּרֶךְ which give the name of a deity, but prefers to follow MT, and the interpretation of it as referring to pilgrimage.
[151] Jeremias p. 89.
[152] Jeremias pp. 8, 151-2.

introductions do not make such a view at all unlikely: de Vries lists a significant number of occurrences of הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים and of בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא and וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא, in which the "The move is from one event or situation to another within the proximate future" rather than to a different temporal setting; and he includes all of Amos 8.9, 8.11 and 8.13 as examples of this usage[153].

3.4.3 Amos 3 – 6: The Words of Amos

As noted above[154], Wolff considers that Amos 3-6 contains a significant core of "Words of Amos" delivered either in Samaria, or in an itinerant career wandering between Samaria, Bethel and possibly Gilgal. Some of these words have been re-worked, Wolff suggests, by the "Old School of Amos"; additional material has entered the text in the "Bethel-Exposition" in the time of Josiah; and there are a few further additions made under Deuteronomistic influence. Jeremias, as noted above[155], focuses primarily on the literary text, and sees the material in these chapters which formed part of the earliest literary layer (written shortly after 722) as a carefully structured artistic composition. A few additions in chapter 6 were made to it about a century later in the time of Jeremiah. He considers that this structure remained visible in the exilic book, but that the inclusion of hymnic material at key points provided an additional framework across the book as a whole. As I have already stated[156], I consider Jeremias's treatment of the Amos-text to be the most satisfying literary and redaction-critical study of it to have appeared to date. While I shall be taking positions different to him on some particular issues, I see no need to differ from his insightful conclusions regarding the carefully planned literary, artistic structure evident in these chapters.

Wolff's commentary, in accordance with Wolff's form-critical approach, treats fourteen units which he identifies within these chapters: 3.1-2; 3.3-8; 3.9-11; 3.12; 3.13-15; 4.1-3; 4.4-13; 5.1-17; 5.18-20; 5.21-27; 6.1-7; 6.8-11; 6.12; 6.13-14.

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[153] De Vries *From Old Revelation to New* pp. 52, 82.
[154] See section 3.2.1.
[155] See section 3.2.2.
[156] See section 3.3.2.

Jeremias's commentary, in accordance with his literary approach, treats them in six sections; however, the discrepancy is not as great as it sounds, since Jeremias has sub-divisions within the sections that he treats, and most of these coincide (as we should expect) with units identified by Wolff: 3.1-8 (sub-divided into 3.1-2 and 3.3-8); 3.9-4.3 (sub-divided into 3.9-11; 3.12-15; 4.1-3); 4.4-13 (sub-divided into 4.4-5 and 4.6-13); 5.1-17; 5.18-27 (sub-divided into 5.18-20 and 5.21-27); 6.1-14 (sub-divided into 6.1-7; 6.8-11; 6.12-14). In what follows I have chosen to take the sub-divisions of Jeremias's commentary (which in many, although not all, cases correspond to Wolff's form-critical divisions) as my headings, but shall pay attention to the wider literary context to which they belong.

3.4.3.1 Amos 3.1-2

Wolff asserts that 3.1-2 "must be set apart from 3.3-8 as an independent rhetorical unit, at least because of the transitions to interrogative style (in 3.3-8) and to third-person reference to Yahweh (in 3.6, 8)"[157]. The summons to hear of 3.1 is followed by a judgment oracle in 3.2: however, Wolff rightly notes that "it is not an infraction of the law which is the reason for punishment, but rather it is Yahweh's own saving act which establishes the ground for punishment"[158]. He takes it to be an original word of the man Amos, but recognises the impossibility of determining an oral setting in which such a short, generalised oracle might have been spoken, adding that "Precisely its nature as a comprehensive statement of principle, however, makes it understandable in an earlier collection of Amos' oracles"[159]. This last insight is of particular importance in a literary study, and Jeremias rightly sees the importance of these verses as introducing the whole of chapters 3-6. The opening שִׁמְעוּ אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה is the same, identical phrase found in 5.1, and indicates a carefully balanced structure in which chapters 3-4 and 5-6 form the two halves of chapters 3-6. This structure was present, in Jeremias's view, in the earliest literary form of the text, and was formulated and placed here by Amos's tradents. The use of the verb יָדַע in 3.2, Jeremias notes, indicates an

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[157] Wolff p. 175.
[158] Wolff p. 175.
[159] Wolff p. 176.

influence on the Amos-tradents of "the language and conceptual world of Hosea…… Through this device, they wanted to prompt the readers of the book of Amos to associate Amos' own accusations with those of Hosea and thereby to relate the sayings of the two prophets"[160]. Within these verses, both Wolff and Jeremias follow the majority of commentators in taking the phrase "against the whole family which I brought up from the land of Egypt" (3.1b) to be an addition widening the focus of these verses – and therefore, we may add, of all chapters 3-6 – to cover the southern kingdom as well as the northern kingdom. It shares vocabulary with 2.10, and with it is to be seen as an addition made in the Exilic Redactional Composition[161].

Wolff and Jeremias are, therefore, in agreement in considering that 3.1a-2 belongs to the earliest literary composition underlying the Amos-text, and that 3.1b is an exilic addition. In accordance with the principle that I have expressed that where they are in agreement, and I am in agreement with them, I shall not engage in unnecessary repetition of their arguments, but accept their conclusion as correct, I do so in this case.

3.4.3.2 Amos 3.3-8

These verses present a series of unfolding questions. There is widespread scholarly agreement that 3.7 is a Deuteronomistic insertion to the series, and both Wolff and Jeremias assent to this[162].

These verses raise a variety of questions:

(1) 3.3 is the only verse to contain one question without a parallel question; and unlike the subsequent questions of the series, it portrays a harmonious scenario: is it in fact original to the series?

(2) Does the change from the use of the interrogative particle הֲ in 3.3-5 to the stronger אִם in 3.6 suggest that 3.6 is a climactic verse, which, if so, may once have

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[160] Jeremias pp. 6-7, 47-51 (7).
[161] So Wolff pp. 112, 174-6; Jeremias pp. 8, 49.
[162] Wolff pp. 113, 180-1, 187-8; Jeremias pp. 8, 54-55.

been the climax of this series of questions? If so, it is possible that 3.8 was not original to it; and the presence in it of the root נבא invites consideration of whether it entered the text in the same redactional composition as 7.10-17;

(3) The אַרְיֵה שָׁאָג of 3.8 picks up the הֲיִשְׁאַג אַרְיֵה of 3.4: does this suggest that 3.8 is an addition to the series, or rather does it suggest a series carefully composed from the outset?

(4) The same root שָׁאָג is used of YHWH in 1.2: what is the import of this link? Does it make an *inclusio* around 1.2-3.8, such that it should be taken to be a section (as Andersen and Freedman suggest[163])?

(5) The יְהוָה דִּבֶּר of 3.8[164] picks up the דִּבֶּר יְהוָה of 3.1 and makes an *inclusio*: in which composition or redactional composition was this literary connecting device introduced?

Wolff considers the views of scholars who have argued that 3.3 is an addition to the original series, and concludes that "the secondary character of v 3 cannot be established with certainty"[165]. He then takes the "two" of 3.3 to be a precursor of YHWH and his prophet in 3.8, and thereby argues that 3.8, too, is an original part of the series. I find this second point dubious, for two reasons. Firstly, Wolff bases a firm view that 3.8 was an original part of the series on what he acknowledges, initially, is only a tentative decision in favour of including 3.3 as original to it. Secondly, it is not at all obvious that readers (or hearers) would make the connection between the "two" of 3.3 and YHWH and the prophet in 3.8 as automatically as Wolff implies. I am not, therefore, persuaded by Wolff's conclusion that "analysis of its form justifies our regarding 3.3-6, 8 as a rhetorical

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[163] Andersen and Freedman p. 17 write that "3.8 returns to the theme of 1.2, an inclusion that rounds off 1.2-3.8 as a major unit". However, this statement in the introduction is not backed up in the body of the commentary, in which 1.1-4.13 is seen as "Part I. The Book of Doom", within which 1.1-2.8 is taken as Part I.A, 2.9-3.8 as Part I.B, and 3.9-4.3 as Part I.C, and 4.4-13 as Part I.D. It is a weakness of this commentary that, among the many textual links and patterns noted, there is a lack of consistency of explanation and treatment.

[164] The text actually now has אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה דִּבֶּר; BHS and most commentators take אֲדֹנָי to be an addition, one probably made subsequent to the insertion of 3.7 into the series.

[165] Wolff p. 180 textual note b. He refers to Marti, Gese and Schmidt as scholars from whom he differs.

unit"[166]. Jeremias, in contrast to Wolff, allows that there was probably a "multistage conceptual process" in the formation of 3.3-6, 8, in which, at the oral stage, 3.4-5, 6b and 3.8 might have formed separate discourse units; that 3.6a was added as a bridge to connect 3.4-5, 6b and 3.8; and that 3.3 was added as a bridge to connect 3.4-6, 8 to 3.1a-2[167]; however, he considers that in literary terms 3.3-6, 8 was already complete, and already connected to 3.1-2 in the earliest form of the text.

On balance I consider, with Jeremias, that there probably was a process of development within this series of questions in the oral phase; however, since this is primarily a literary study, the issue is not of great importance. Where I differ from Jeremias is in my estimation of 3.8. I am not persuaded that it was, in fact, part of the series of questions in the earliest text. I consider that the subject matter of 3.6, namely of disaster befalling a city as a result of YHWH's action, makes 3.6 an entirely appropriate climax to the series, and that in fact it was the climax in the first composition of the Amos-text. The unit 3.1-6 therefore formed the opening part of chapters 3-6: but they also functioned as a link back to the oracles against the nations. The verses 3.1-2 contain the same kind of reversal of expectation as is found in the placing of the oracle against Israel as the final oracle of the OAN series, and this has even led some commentators to take 3.1-2 as the climax of that series[168]. I find that unlikely, since it would be a weak climax compared to Amos 2.6-16. However, it is entirely likely that 3.1-2 is placed where it is to point in two directions: primarily forwards, as an opening to chapters 3-6, but also backwards to the oracles against the nations. Furthermore, what is true of 3.1-2 is also true of 3.3-6: it functions primarily, with 3.1-2, as the introduction to chapters 3-6, but also looks back to the oracles against the nations, in which the destruction of foreign cities is announced: disaster will indeed befall these cities, and YHWH will bring it; and chapters 3-6 will show that Israel's cities will fare no better.

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[166] Wolff pp. 182-3.
[167] Jeremias p. 51 n. 14.
[168] So, for example, V Maag *Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos*, E J Brill, Leiden, 1951, pp. 4-13.

What, then, of 3.8? I connect this with 7.10-17, and take it to have been added along with that passage in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition. It was a skilful addition, which through a thematic link served to anticipate and prepare for 7.14-15, and through shared vocabulary with 3.1 and 3.4 served to realign the series of questions in 3.3-6 to lead up to a climax asserting the necessity of prophesying once YHWH has spoken and has said "Go, prophesy" (7.15). In the later Exilic Redactional Composition 1.2 was placed as an introduction to the book, incorporating the theme of YHWH's roar into traditional theophany language[169].

I therefore attribute 3.3-6 to the Post-722 Composition; 3.8 to the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition; and 3.7 to the Exilic Redactional Composition.

3.4.3.3 Amos 3.9-11

This unit is an announcement of judgment against the city of Samaria. It is taken by Wolff to be one of the "words of Amos from Tekoa": he takes the setting of Amos's oral proclamation to have been in Samaria itself, but also notes that in its literary context it is "the first commentary on the statement of principle contained in the oracle at the head of 'the words of Amos from Tekoa' (3.1-2)"[170]. For Jeremias, 3.9-11 is the first of a collection of three oracles against Samaria which belong to the earliest stratum of the book; however, unlike Wolff he is not convinced that 3.9-11 constituted an oral saying of Amos, noting that "the accumulation of abstract terms – unusual for the book of Amos – is immediately noticeable, so that this unit might also have been conceived as a superscription-

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[169] It will be seen that I do not accept the idea, once prevalent, that either the prophet Amos or the earliest literary composition underlying the text must be thought to have an abundance of literary skill, and subsequent redactional compositions must be though to have less (if any). While there certainly is great literary skill and artistry in the Post-722 Composition, such qualities are by no means lacking in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition and in the Exilic Redactional Composition.
[170] Wolff pp. 107, 192 (192).

like introduction to the Samaria-oracles"[171]. With regard to literary dating, therefore, both scholars agree that these verses were present in the earliest literary text. I concur with this view.

3.4.3.4 Amos 3.12-15

Wolff sees two form-critically distinct units in 3.12-15: a short oracle in 3.12, and a further saying in 3.13-15. The translation and interpretation of the last part of 3.12 is difficult[172], but Wolff rightly rejects older proposals to remove הַיֹּשְׁבִים בְּשֹׁמְרוֹן בִּפְאַת מִטָּה וּבִדְמֶשֶׁק עָרֶשׂ and join it to 3.13 in order to leave a saying which could allow the idea that a remnant might be rescued: rather the rescue of a part of the people of Samaria is ironic, sufficient only being preserved to provide evidence of the totality of destruction, in accordance with Exodus 22.9-12 (10-13)[173]. Whatever the exact meaning of these final words of the verse, there seems to be present an element of accusation in "allusion to their luxurious and dissolute style of life"[174]. Wolff then takes 3.13-15 to be "an independent rhetorical unit", despite recognising the difficulty of there being no reason for judgment within it[175]. He considers that both sayings belong to the "words of Amos from Tekoa"[176]. Within 3.13 he takes נְאֻם־אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה אֱלֹהֵי הַצְּבָאוֹת to be an addition to the earliest form of the text, in line with his conclusion from surveying the use of the "divine oracle formula" in the book as a whole and concluding that in the "words of Amos" it only occurs at the end of an oracle[177]; and within 3.14 he takes וּפָקַדְתִּי

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[171] Jeremias p. 56 n. 9, with a reference to G Fleischer *Von Menschenverkäufern, Baschankühen und Rechtsverkehrern: Die Sozialkritik des Amos in historisch-ktirischer, sozialsgeschichtlicher und archäologischer Perspektive*, Athenäums Monografien Theologie 74, Athenäum, Frankfurt am Main, 1989, pp. 201-223.

[172] An overview of the difficulties raised and a range of proposed solutions is given by Hammershaimb *Amos* p. 62; also Wolff p. 196 textual note b and p. 197.

[173] Wolff p. 197, against the older views of "Gressman, Weiser, Nötscher, Maag, Amsler, and others" (n. 1).

[174] Wolff p. 198. Jeremias p. 60 writes that "The beds in v. 12b, like the number of houses in v. 15 and the women's drinking in 4.1, stand *pars pro toto* for the intoxicating revelry described in 6.1-7".

[175] Wolff p. 200.

[176] Wolff p. 107.

[177] Wolff pp. 143, 199 textual note a.

עַל־מִזְבְּחוֹת בֵּית־אֵל to be an addition made at the time when the altar at Bethel was destroyed in the time of Josiah[178].

Jeremias, in contrast, takes 3.12, 15 to be one saying belonging to the earliest literary composition underlying the text, and 3.13-14 to be an exilic addition[179]. He gives a number of reasons why 3.13-14 should be taken as exilic, which together make a strong cumulative case, namely:

(1) The verb עוד, "warn/testify" in 3.13 (וְהָעִידוּ), when used in the hiphil, often means "warn" rather than "testify", and especially this is so in Deuteronomistic usage and in the work of the Chronicler e.g. 2 Kings 17.13; Nehemiah 9.34[180], and that meaning conveys a different intention from the announcement of destruction with no remnant rescued found in 3.12, 15;

(2) 9.8-10 shows that the phrase "house of Jacob" (3.13) refers to the new congregation during and after the exile;

(3) While the opening formula of 3.12 and the concluding formula of 3.15 refer simply to יְהוָה, 3.13 has נְאֻם־אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה אֱלֹהֵי הַצְּבָאוֹת, and this full, more solemn formula is not found in the earliest literary composition;

(4) The verb פָּקַד, used twice in 3.14, is a reference back to 3.2; while the two verses could derive from the same redactional composition, it seems more probable that 3.14 is a later verse referring back to the earlier 3.2;

(5) The expression "on the day I punish….." occurs in the Hebrew Bible only within the context of the exile, e.g. Jeremiah 27.22;

(6) Bethel (3.14) is always referred to alongside Gilgal in the earliest literary composition: it is in the exilic redaction that Bethel occurs alone as a symbol of gross sin and rejection of YHWH.

There is an element of circularity in some of these arguments: however, as argued in section 2.7 above, that does not necessarily invalidate the argument as a whole

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[178] Wolff pp. 111, 202.
[179] Jeremias pp. 59-63.
[180] See further BDB p. 729b; also H Simian-Yofre "עיד *ʿwd*; עֵד *ʿēd*; עֵדוּת *ʿēdût*; תְּעוּדָה *tᵉʿûdâ*", *TDOT X*, pp. 495-515 (510-2).

if there is a sufficient combination of considerations pointing in the same direction, and I consider this to be so in this instance. The one argument which seems, at first, to count against Jeremias's view is the argument put forward by Wolff that on metrical grounds וּפָקַדְתִּי עַל־מִזְבְּחוֹת בֵּית־אֵל should be taken as an addition to 3.14. I do not dispute that metrical considerations could lead to that conclusion; and that, if Wolff's view is correct, then that of Jeremias is not. However, against Wolff's position it may be pointed out that the reference to קַרְנוֹת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ is a rather abrupt entry into the text *without* the preceding line. Another consideration is that the destruction of the altar at Bethel in Josiah's time might give a ready reference-point by which to interpret "Bethel" in the Amos-text; however, that is not the only possible reference-point, and Jeremias's view that "in these exilic/postexilic texts…… the catchword Bethel is referring to the faulty worship of God in Canaanite worship, or, in the language of the Deuteronomistic history: "the sin of Jeroboam" "[181] is equally possible. I therefore conclude that, on balance, the arguments of Jeremias are stronger: and, with him, I attribute the whole of 3.13-14 to the Exilic Redactional Composition.

This is an important decision with regard to one of the components of Wolff's redaction-critical proposals, namely that there was a "Bethel-Exposition" of the Amos-text in the time of Josiah. This theory hangs on two pegs, one of which is that the phrase וּפָקַדְתִּי עַל־מִזְבְּחוֹת בֵּית־אֵל here in 3.14 is an addition in the time of Josiah to an earlier, eighth-century text which included the remainder of 3.13-14: and I have just argued, with Jeremias, against such a view. The other peg is that 5.6 belongs to that same "Bethel-Exposition", and indeed establishes its existence: however, I shall argue in section 3.4.3.7 below that this verse, too, is also unable to support such a proposal. Without these two pegs the whole idea of such a "Bethel-Exposition" collapses, since the other passages which Wolff attributes to it – the series of sayings in 4.6-11, and the hymnic verses in 4.13; 5.8-9; 9.5-6; along with 1.2 – do not provide any argument in favour of such a redaction: as will be argued in section 3.4.3.6 below, they all belong, in fact, to the Exilic Redactional

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[181] Jeremias p. 89.

Composition. While there was a Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition, including additions to the text which, as noted in section 3.2.2 above, Jeremias dates to a period contemporary with the "young Jeremiah", it should not be described as a "Bethel-Exposition", and does not represent as extensive a revision of the text as Wolff suggests.

3.4.3.5 Amos 4.1-3

Amos 4.1-3 is taken by Wolff to belong to the "words of Amos from Tekoa", proclaimed by him in the capital city itself[182]. Jeremias, too, takes it as an oracle of Amos comprising "an internally rounded off oracle of judgment in elevated prose reflecting oral discourse"[183]. I agree with both scholars, therefore, that it was as an originally oral saying that was preserved in the earliest written composition underlying the text.

While the oracles in 3.9-11, 3.12, 15 and 4.1-3 are addressed to inhabitants of Samaria, in the literary context of the Post-722 Composition they addressed all the בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (3.1a); and in the Exilic Redactional Composition they address כָּל־הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלֵיתִי מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם (3.1b).

3.4.3.6 Amos 4.4-13 and the Doxologies

Amos 4.4-13 comprises a short, ironic summons to pilgrimage in 4.4-5; a series of oracular sayings ending "yet you did not return to me" in 4.6-11; a short concluding verse in 4.12; and a hymnic strophe in 4.13. Together they form an integrated literary section of the present form of the Amos-text. While 4.3 has the concluding formula נְאֻם־יְהוָה, 4.4 has no opening introductory formula, inviting the suggestion that it once belonged as part of a unit in some other oral or literary context. Wolff takes 4.4-5 to be "words of Amos from Tekoa"[184]. Jeremias, similarly, speaks of these words as being those of "the prophet", and he takes them

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[182] Wolff pp. 107, 205.
[183] Jeremias p. 63.
[184] Wolff pp. 107, 211-2.

to have been present in the earliest written form of the text, possibly as part of chapter 5[185]. Such a suggestion is plausible, although conjectural.

What is clear is that in its present literary context 4.6-13 provides a thematic continuation from 4.4-5; as Jeremias notes, the opening וְגַם־אֲנִי of 4.6 makes a deliberate contrast with the כִּי כֵן אֲהַבְתֶּם of 4.5[186]. The presence of נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוה and נְאֻם־יְהוָה in 4.6, 8, 9, 10, 11 need not be taken to indicate once separate units if, as will be argued, 4.6-13 is exilic: as noted above, such formulae were increasingly used elsewhere than at the close of a unit[187].

The closest parallels to 4.6-11 are found in Leviticus 26, Deuteronomy 28 and 1 Kings 8.33-37[188]. All of these chapters display evidence of the presence of more than one literary layer.

Leviticus 26 forms the final chapter of the so-called Holiness Code, which Budd, following many earlier scholars, takes to be a block of material, utilised by the priestly writers, which dated from "the late seventh or sixth century BCE, perhaps specifically to the early exilic period"[189]. Gerstenberger, in contrast, sees the idea that Leviticus 17-26 once constituted an independent Holiness Code as "a wishful phantom of scholarly literature", and sees these chapters as containing "an extended process of collection and interpretation that is no longer transparent and probably took place quite independently of the composition of the first fifteen chapters"[190]; this process continued, in his view, into the post-exilic period. Bailey writes that "The traditional scholarly consensus has been that H was one of the sources that were incorporated into P. However, it seems more likely that, at some late stage in the growth of H (perhaps during or shortly after the exile), H has

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[185] Jeremias p. 67.
[186] Jeremias p. 67.
[187] See above note 97, referring to Wolff p. 143.
[188] Wolff p. 213 tabulates the parallels in vocabulary and theme between Amos 4.6-11 and these chapters.
[189] P J Budd *Leviticus*, NCB, W B Eerdmans Publishing Co, Grand Rapids, 1996, p. 16.
[190] E Gerstenberger *Leviticus*, OTL, Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, Kentucky, 1996, p. 18.

accepted P as its starting point"[191]. More recently, some scholars have seen H not as a once-independent lawcode, but as a supplement to the Pentateuch[192], or specifically as the work of a final redactor of the Pentateuch[193]. A clear consensus among these varied scholarly views is that Leviticus 26 is certainly not earlier than the late pre-exilic period, and probably comprises material developed in the exilic period or later.

Mayes writes of Deuteronomy 28 that "the variety within ch. 28….. requires the supposition of different authors….. expansion took place in a number of stages….. It is difficult to relate this process of growth with any certainty to the rest of Deuteronomy"[194]. Similarly Nelson writes that "This extended catalog of blessings and curses is a self-conscious scribal production and the result of a complex process of growth"[195]. The verses with which Amos 4.6-11 has points of contact do not necessarily all belong to the same literary layer; however, they are all likely to be post-Deuteronomic, and either late pre-exilic or exilic.

1 Kings 8, too, appears to have a complex composition history. Most of it is thoroughly Deuteronomistic, and verses 33-37, with which Amos 4.6-11 has the closest parallels, are part of a section which cannot be dated prior to the Babylonian exile[196].

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[191] L R Bailey *Leviticus-Numbers*, Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary, Smyth & Helwys, Macon, Georgia, 2005, pp. 201-2.
[192] So J Milgrom *Leviticus 17-22: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB, Doubleday, New York, 2000, pp. 1319-1443.
[193] So C Nihan *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch: A Study in the Composition of the Book of Leviticus*, Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, 2007. Nihan largely follows E Otto "Innerbiblische Exegese im Heiligkeitsgesetz Levitikus 17-26", in H-J Fabry and H-W Jüngling (eds) *Levitikus als Buch*, BBB 119, 1999, pp. 125-196 (not seen by me).
[194] A D H Mayes *Deuteronomy*, NCB, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1979, pp. 349-351.
[195] R D Nelson *Deuteronomy*, OTL, Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville · London, 2002, p. 327.
[196] So B O Long *1 Kings*, FOTL IX, W B Eerdmans Publishing Co, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1984, pp. 103-4; V Fritz *1 & 2 Kings. A Continental Commentary*, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 2003, pp. 96-99.

These probable datings support the view of Jeremias that Amos 4.6-13 represents an exilic penitential liturgy[197]; and while there is evidence of possible compositional development within these verses in 4.7-8 and 4.10, the whole may be attributed to the Exilic Redactional Composition. This is over against the view of Wolff, who takes them to belong to his "Bethel-Exposition" of the text[198]. However, I indicated in section 3.4.3.4 above that I do not consider that there was such a literary layer as Wolff describes; and indeed, the exilic dating of 4.4-13 is one of the arguments pointing away from Wolff's position.

Wolff's treatment of 4.12 is also not wholly satisfactory. He describes it as "indeed strange", and in interpreting it concludes, after a brief discussion, that it refers to "a process which was apparently evident to the initial hearers, and therefore needed no explanation", and that "it functions now as a highly peculiar transitional device between 4.6-11 and 13"[199]. Jeremias's treatment is altogether more constructive: he argues that the verbs כּוּן (niphal) and קְרָא in 4.12b derive from cultic terminology which is found also in Exodus 19: כּוּן in verses 11,15 (and also 34.2), and קְרָא in verse 17[200]. The theme of Exodus 19.10-15 is the making of necessary preparations for the meeting with God at Sinai, and Jeremias refers to the "emphatic resonance with Exodus 19" as reinforcing the point that it is the God of Sinai who is to be worshipped and feared, not the deity at Bethel[201].

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[197] Jeremias pp. 8, 67.
[198] Wolff pp. 111-2, 217-8.
[199] Wolff pp. 214-5.
[200] In so doing he follows W Brueggemann "Amos IV 4-13 and Israel's Covenant Worship", *VT* 15, 1965, pp. 1-15 (2-6). However, Jeremias does not follow Brueggemann in interpreting them as part of a liturgy of covenant renewal.
[201] Jeremias p. 75. These verses of Exodus 19 are widely held to be part of pre-Deuteronomic layers within the Sinai pericope: M Noth *Exodus. A Commentary*, OTL, Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1962, pp. 158-9 attributes most of them to J, with some verses or part-verses belonging to E; so also J Hyatt *Exodus*, NCB, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids and Marshall, Morgan and Scott, London, 1971, pp. 199-203. T Dozeman *God on the Mountain. A Study of Redaction, Theology and Canon in Exodus 19-24*, SBL Monograph Series 37, Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1989, pp. 20-21, 98-101 takes most of them to be pre-Deuteronomic, with a few small insertions within a later priestly redaction; E Blum *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch*, BZAW 189, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 1990, pp. 45-99 takes most of the relevant verses to have been part of a pre-Deuteronomic composition. If Jeremias's lack of reference to these datings suggests some embarrassment about attributing Amos 4.12 to the Exilic Redactional Composition, it is unnecessary embarrassment, as there is no doubt that under Deuteronomic influence the Sinai traditions had become increasingly significant by the exilic period: if literary considerations do not necessarily point to an exilic dating

The verse 4.13 is one of the hymnic verses found in the Amos-text, the others being 5.8-9 and 9.5-6[202], and I shall consider the dating of all these verses at this point. It has long been recognised that the closest linguistic and theological parallels to these verses are found in passages such as Job 9.1-12 and Isaiah 40.12, 22-23, and other passages which derive from the exilic and post-exilic periods. Some have held that they are drawn from a single hymn in praise of YHWH as creator[203]; whether or not this is so is of less importance to this study than their dating. Crenshaw has conducted a full study of these verses and, as the title of his study indicates, concludes that they are "hymnic affirmations of divine justice"[204]. He argues that the refrains "YHWH is his name", "YHWH of hosts is his name" and "YHWH God of hosts is his name" became prominent in the exile as a reaction against the temptation to swear by other gods: this battle was won, he argues, by the time of the literary composition of Genesis 1, and he therefore dates the doxologies in Amos to somewhere between 550 and 450[205]. Other reasons he gives for a late exilic or early post-exilic dating of them include the life-setting of such words in exilic cultic liturgy, and the emphasis on creation, linked with the soteriological understanding of Exodus. He considers that "The doxologies were added to the prophetic text for use on special days of penitence and confession"[206].

The arguments adduced by Crenshaw and others support the attribution of these verses to an Exilic Redactional Composition, as favoured by Jeremias, rather than to a seventh century Bethel-Exposition as favoured by Wolff. Within them there is the probability of some compositional development: for example, 5.9 may at some

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of Amos 4.12, traditio-historical and thematic considerations make it perfectly at home in an exilic redaction.

[202] 1.2 may also be linked to these verses; however since this is not universally held to be so, I shall treat it separately in section 3.4.5 below.

[203] So, for example, Watts *Vision and Prophecy* pp. 52-66, who, in attributing them to the prophet Amos, accepts the logical implication that there was a well developed doctrine of YHWH as creator, and of monotheism, prior to the eighth century.

[204] J L Crenshaw *Hymnic Affirmation of Divine Justice*, SBL Dissertation Series 24, Scholars Press, Missouri, 1975.

[205] Crenshaw *Hymnic Affirmation* pp. 92-93.

[206] Crenshaw *Hymnic Affirmation* p. 143.

stage have been added to 5.8; and, as noted in section 4.2.3 above, 9.5b may have been inserted into 9.5-6 from 8.8b. However, there is no good reason not to attribute the present form of all of 4.13, 5.8-9 and 9.5-6 to the Exilic Redactional Composition.

3.4.3.7 Amos 5.1-17

The שִׁמְעוּ אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה of 5.1 clearly indicates the beginning of a new section; and the הוֹי of 5.18 suggests that 5.17 can be taken as a conclusion. These verses were the focus of an important article by de Waard in 1977[207], in which he showed that they display a clear chiastic structure:

A   1
       2
       3
            B   4
                   5
                   6
                        C   7
                                    D   8a
                                           8b
                                           8c
                                                  E   8d *yahwe šᵉmô*
                                    D'   9
                        C'   10
                               11
                               12
                               (13)
            B'   14
                   15
A'   16
       17

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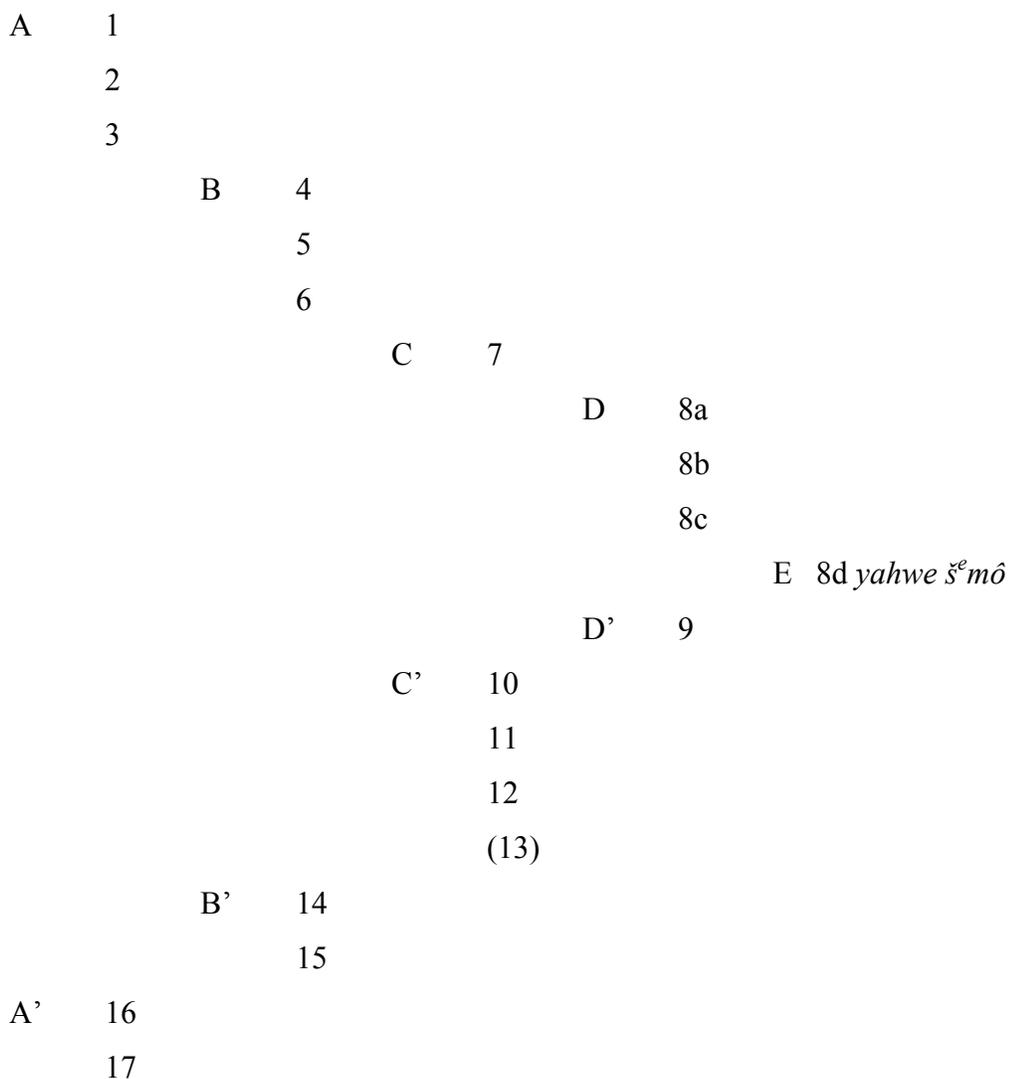
[207] J de Waard "Chiastic Structure", pp. 170-177.

This strong chiastic structure identified by de Waard brings a sense of literary coherence to 5.1-17, and its presence in the text (and not merely in the eye of the beholder) has been widely recognised[208]. The only verse which sits awkwardly in the structure is 5.13, which de Waard suggests may be an addition to the structure, albeit one which fits its context quite reasonably. De Waard does not enter into discussion of whether this structure was created at an early or late stage of the book's composition, except to note that "Research into the "prehistory" of the text or endeavours to disentangle the layers of textual tradition will only occasionally be helpful" in discerning literary structure[209]: his study concerns, primarily, the text as it now stands. In a subsequent article on the same verses, Tromp is clearer that Amos 5 "boasts of a structure which is both secondary and deliberate", and that it is to the "literary skill and conscious purpose of the redactors" that we should look in interpreting of the passage[210].

Wolff's commentary pre-dates the recognition of this chiastic structure by de Waard, and his comments reflect the perplexity with regard to literary structure felt by scholars prior to its identification. He refers to the utterances within 5.1-17 as being "so curiously linked with one another on the one hand, and so difficult to

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[208] In the same year Coulot also proposed a chiastic structure to 5.1-17, as follows:

thème du deuil (*qynh*)	5.1-2
thème du reste (*s'r*)	5.3
drsh-hyh	5.4-6
thème de l'injustice	5.7
image d'un châtiment	5.9
thème de l'injustice	5.10
annonce d'un châtiment	5.11
thème de l'injustice	5.12
drsh-hyh	5.14
thème du reste	5.15
thème du deuil (*'bl*; *mspd*)	5.16-17

(C Coulot "Propositions Pour une Structuration du Livre d'Amos au Niveau Rédactionnel", *RSR* 51, 1977, pp. 169-186; see especially pp. 179-181). This proposal is a good example of a misguided attempt to establish a chiastic pattern by describing sections with words which in fact do not accurately describe them: why should 5.3 and 5.15 be matched and both described as "thème du reste"? And while 5.9 and 5.11 do both contain words of punishment, they are hardly parallel. In de Waard's proposal, in contrast, the pairs identified are readily recognisable as pairs. It is not surprising that de Waard has been widely followed, and Coulot not.
[209] de Waard "Chiastic Structure" p. 171.
[210] N J Tromp "Amos V 1-17. Towards a Stylistic and Rhetorical Analysis", *OTS* 23, 1984, pp. 56-83 (63, 56).

understand in their mutuality on the other"; to the position of 5.7, apart from 5.10, as needing to be "traced back to a copyist's error"; and to 5.14-15 interrupting the connection between 5.12 and 5.16-17. He does, however, recognise that verses 1-2 and 16-17 "bracket the intervening words"[211]. He identifies five form-critical units belonging to the "words of Amos from Tekoa", namely 5.1-3; 5.4-5; 5.7-10; 5.11; 5.12, 16-17, but does not think it possible to determine the setting in which any of them would originally have been spoken[212]; he takes 5.13-15 to be words of the "Old School of Amos", with 5.14-15 interpreting 5.4; and also takes the warning in 5.5 not to pass over to Beersheba to be from this circle[213]; and he attributes 5.6 and 5.8-9 to the "Bethel-Exposition" of the Josianic period[214].

Jeremias writes that "As recognized in recent times with exceeding clarity, Amos 5.1-17 is organized as an intricate chiastic composition"; and he notes the contributions of de Waard and Tromp to this growing recognition[215]. In his 1988 article he wrote that "Naturally one cannot dismiss with absolute certainty that a chiastic composition formed out of parts A-B-C existed already before the insertion of the doxology. This assumption is doubtful, however, since the chiastic composition would thus be robbed of its center (*sic*)"[216]. However in his commentary he writes that "the basic outline of this consciously artistic structure already goes back to the first tradents of Amos, while the core of the doxology (v. 8) and its interpretation in v. 9 (as well as vv. 5aβ, 6, 13) were not added until the exilic/postexilic period"[217].

Wolff, following his consistent form-critical method, interprets each small unit separately, and therefore discusses as problematic the invitation in 5.4 to "Seek me and live" following immediately on to the apparent finality of the end portrayed in

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[211] Wolff pp. 231-3; quotations pp. 231, 233, 231.
[212] Wolff pp. 231, 235.
[213] Wolff pp. 109-110, 234, 239, 250-1.
[214] Wolff pp. 111, 240-1.
[215] Jeremias "Amos 3 – 6" p. 220 and p. 228 n.8.
[216] Jeremias "Amos 3 – 6" pp. 220-1.
[217] Jeremias p. 85, where he also refers to his argument in J Jeremias "Tod und Leben in Am 5.1-17", in Jeremias *Hosea und Amos*, pp. 214-230.

5.1-3[218]. Jeremias's interpretation of 5.1-17 as a literary whole, in contrast, sees the significance of the various summons to seek YHWH as allowing the possibility that a positive response to the summons might "sunder the connection between sin and death" that 5.1-3 and 5.16-17 describe[219]. Despite this difference of approach, there is agreement between the two scholars that 5.1-5*, 7, 10-12, 14-17 all belong to the earliest written layer of the text (with 5.14-15 being an interpretation of 5.4 within this layer); and in line with my stated aim of building on the work of these two scholars, and not repeating arguments shared by both scholars and which I support, I concur with their views at this point. The points of disagreement are that (a) Wolff attributes the reference to Beersheba in 5.5 to the "Old School of Amos", and thus to the earliest literary layer, while Jeremias attributes it to the Exilic Redactional Composition; (b) Wolff attributes 5.6 and 5.8-9 to the "Bethel-Exposition", while Jeremias attributes these verses, too, to the Exilic Redactional Composition; (c) Wolff attributes 5.13 to the "Old School of Amos", and thus to the oldest literary layer, while Jeremias attributes this also to the Exilic Redactional Composition.

The reason for seeing the warning not to "pass over to Beersheba" in 5.5 as an addition is that 5.5b contains reasons for seeking Bethel and entering Gilgal, but no such reason in respect of Beersheba[220]. However the verse itself gives no indication at what point the addition may have been made. Both Wolff and Jeremias therefore relate it to the mention of Beersheba in 8.14, Wolff attributing both to the "Old School of Amos", and Jeremias attributing both to the Exilic Redactional Composition. In considering 8.13-14 in section 3.4.2.3 above I expressed my preference for the exilic dating of 8.14 of Jeremias, and I therefore do so also for this addition in 5.5.

Wolff recognises 5.6 as an addition to the earliest text on the basis that YHWH is referred to in the third person. He notes that "The designation "house of Joseph"

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[218] Wolff pp. 237-9.
[219] Jeremias p. 85.
[220] Wolff pp. 110-1, 228 textual note l; Jeremias p. 89.

reminds one of 5.15", thus indicating that he considers it later than 5.15; and that 5.6 picks up from 5.5 the reference to Bethel, but not to Gilgal, which, Wolff suggests, "becomes understandable if the supplementary admonition has in view the destruction of Bethel by Josiah"[221]. This is a further part of his attempt to establish the existence of a "Bethel-Exposition" related to the account in 2 Kings 23.15-20 of Josiah's destruction of Bethel. However, the account of the destruction of Bethel by Josiah in 2 Kings 23.15-20 is itself probably an addition to a chapter which is itself heavily Deuteronomistic[222], and it is more probable that this addition is, as Jeremias proposes, part of the Exilic Redactional Composition. While there were additions to the Amos-text in the time of Josiah, few in number but sufficient to constitute what I am referring to as a Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition, there is not sufficient evidence to warrant linking them with the references in the text to Bethel and describing this redactional composition as a "Bethel-Exposition". Just as 2 Kings 23.15-20 cannot be taken to be pre-Deuteronomistic, so it is best to follow Jeremias in attributing 5.6 to the Exilic Redactional Composition of the Amos-text[223]. Wolff also attributes the hymnic verses 5.8-9 to this supposed Bethel-Exposition; however, I have already argued in section 3.4.3.6 above that these should be attributed to the Exilic Redactional Composition.

Both de Waard and Jeremias take 5.13 to be an addition to the earliest text[224], while Wolff takes it to derive from the "Old School of Amos" in the late eighth

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[221] Wolff p. 111.

[222] Fritz *1 & 2 Kings* p. 408 writes that these verses are "best seen as the work of a later redactor who felt he had to mention the destruction of the rival sanctuary set up by Jeroboam (cf. 1 Kgs 12.26-30) once the Deuteronomistic Historian had already condemned it as contradicting Yahweh. Thus the "sin of Jeroboam" is removed by Josiah. If v. 15 is mainly a literary formulation, then it is not necessary to decide whether Bethel had been reintegrated into Judah under Josiah…… The report of the destruction of the sanctuary there cannot be verified; it mainly serves to extol the glory of Josiah". W Brueggemann *1 & 2* Kings, Smyth and Helwys, Macon, Georgia, 2000, p. 556 maintains a neutrality with regard to the historicity of these verses: "If we are to take these verses as historical reportage….. Even if the report is not historical….", and emphasizes the theological concern of the text to show that Josiah purged both southern and northern kingdoms.

[223] Jeremias pp. 8, 89.

[224] de Waard "Chiastic Arrangement" pp. 175, 186; Jeremias p. 94.

century[225]. Its meaning and purpose are not clear[226], and no doubt many writers from varied periods felt that their time was evil. Its dating is of no consequence to this study, and I therefore (somewhat randomly) follow Jeremias in attributing it to the Exilic Redactional Composition.

3.4.3.8 Amos 5.18-27

Jeremias takes 5.18-27 to be one literary unit comprising two sub-units: 5.18-20 and 5.21-27. Wolff takes 5.18-20 to be "words of Amos"[227]. Jeremias, similarly, takes it to be an originally oral oracle which now forms part of a unified literary text with 5.21-27[228]. I concur in taking it to have been an originally oral oracle which formed part of the earliest literary text.

In describing the constituent elements of 5.21-24, 27 (which he takes to be the original unit) Wolff draws attention to its unusual formulation: 5.21-22 functions as an accusation, but there then follow in 5.23-24 instructions in an imperative form (with singular suffixes) before an announcement of judgment follows in 5.27; and there is no introductory שִׁמְעוּ אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה or כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה in 5.21. While taking it to be "words of Amos", he also writes "If the textual tradition corresponds to the oral proclamation….", allowing the possibility that the correspondence may not be exact[229]. In 5.22 he takes the opening clause 5.22aα ("Unless you bring me burnt-offerings") to be a later addition (of a "glossator": he does not specify when this addition was made, but what he writes is compatible with a post-exilic dating) to the original text, on the grounds that it is extra-metrical, and breaks the pattern of

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[225] Wolff pp. 109, 250.
[226] J Jackson "Amos 5.13 Contextually Understood", *ZAW* 98, 1986, pp. 434-5 suggests that הַמַּשְׂכִּיל means, here, not the wise or understanding, but rather the successful and prosperous, and that the verb יִדֹּם should be taken from a root דמם attested in Ugaritic meaning "Wail, grieve, lament": on this basis he concludes that "Far from being a misplaced comment by a later scribe, it was an integral part of Amos' announcement of judgment on the wealthy oppressors who have unjustly oppressed the poor of their rights (v. 10-12), but who will soon lament their deeds in the coming catastrophe (v. 16-17)". The suggestion finds favour with Paul pp. 175-6. However the consequent disturbing of the chiastic pattern identified by de Waard counts against Jackson's proposal.
[227] Wolff pp. 107, 254-5.
[228] Jeremias pp. 6, 98.
[229] Wolff pp. 107, 260-2 (262).

divine first-person speech[230]. He takes 5.25-26 to have been added as part of the exilic Deuteronomistic redaction, comparing 5.25 to 2.10, with their identical אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה בַּמִּדְבָּר and the virtually identical אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה בַּמִּדְבָּר of Deuteronomy 29.4 (5)[231]. Jeremias follows Wolff in most respects, including seeing 5.22aα as a post-exilic addition, although, in keeping with his approach, he treats the whole as literary text with less concern about oral words behind it. He differs from Wolff in one respect, namely in his treatment of 5.25. He takes most of it[232] to be an addition to an earlier form of the material, but one that was already part of the Post-722 Composition, and sees only 5.26 as an exilic addition made under Deuteronomistic influence. He writes that "After 722, the tradents specified these guidelines more precisely; with reference to the theology of Hosea they used the didactic question in v. 25 to confront the present – characterized by sacrificial worship – with the wanderings in the wilderness as the time of ideal fellowship with God"; thus he considers that, while the reference to forty years is a Deuteronomistic addition, the reference to the wilderness was present in the Post-722 Composition under Hoseanic influence[233].

Certainly the theme of the period of wilderness wanderings being a time of blessing is characteristic of Hosea. However, the linguistic links between Amos 2.10, Amos 5.25, Deuteronomy 8.2 and Deuteronomy 29.4 (5) are strong, and this consideration favours Wolff's position; and there is insufficient basis for Jeremias's view that וּמִנְחָה and, particularly, אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה are additions. The only other place in the Hebrew Bible where it is said that sacrifices were not offered in the wilderness is Jeremiah 7.21-23. Jeremiah 7 contains much Deuteronomistic language; and while the suggestion that sacrifice was not offered in the wilderness is surprising, it is not wholly distant from the Deuteronomic emphasis on obedience rather than sacrifice, and from the "Deuteronomistic desacralization of

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[230] Wolff pp. 258-9.
[231] Wolff pp. 112-3, 169-170, 262.
[232] He takes the words וּמִנְחָה "and offering" and אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה "forty years" to be exilic additions.
[233] Jeremias pp. 6-7, 98-99, 101-7 (104-5), the "guidelines" being 5.24.

the community's life in order to concentrate its attention on the divine word"[234]. On balance, therefore, the view of Wolff that all of 5.25-26 was an addition made in the Exilic Redactional Composition under Deuteronomistic influence is to be preferred.

With many, Wolff and Jeremias agree that in 5.26 סִכּוּת and כִּיּוּן should be repointed to סַכּוּת and כֵּיוָן, the names of astral deities[235], and I agree with that judgment.

3.4.3.9 Amos 6.1-14

Within 6.1-14 Jeremias recognises a literary pattern that is formed from "a collection of sayings directed specifically against the inhabitants of the capital"; this collection is based on "the extensive oracle of woe (vv. 1-7) and on at least one individual oral saying (vv. 13f.; perhaps also v. 12)"[236]. Wolff, in accordance with his form-critical approach, treats 6.1-7, 6.8-11, 6.12 and 6.13-14 as separate units, but also notes with regard to 6.8, 6.12 and 6.13-14 that "these three connected utterances appear near the end of the old collection of "the words of Amos from Tekoa" (chaps 3-6)…… short utterances and oracular fragments were here gathered together by way of concluding the collection, presumably not without collaboration on the part of Amos' school"[237].

Both Wolff and Jeremias take the core of 6.1-7 to derive from oral words of Amos and to have been part of the earliest literary text of the book[238]. Within the section, however, a number of literary and exegetical issues arise.

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[234] Carroll *Jeremiah* p. 216. Lundbom J *Jeremiah 1-20. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB, Doubleday, New York · London · Toronto · Sydney · Auckland, 2000, p. 482 writes that "Jeremiah is here reflecting the view of Deuteronomy, according to which only the Ten Commandments were given to Israel at Sinai (Deut 5.22); the remainder of the Law came later".

[235] Wolff pp. 260, 265-6; Jeremias pp. 98, 105. NRSV translates on this basis. A minority view such as that of S Gevirtz "A New Look at an Old Crux", *JBL* 87, 1968, pp. 267-276 declines to see any reference to such deities here, but the arguments are strained, and require some tortuous linguistic arguments. As Jeremias p. 98 n. 5 notes, it is likely that the Masoretes repointed with the vowels of שִׁקּוּץ, "abhorrence", in order to remove the proper names of deities.

[236] Jeremias p. 110.

[237] Wolff p. 281.

[238] Wolff pp. 107, 273-4; Jeremias pp. 3, 6-7, 112-4.

The first such issue is the opening address to "those who are at ease in Zion" as well as to "those who feel secure on Mount Samaria". This opening line is perfectly well-balanced poetically, and the inclusion of "Zion" is attested by the ancient versions; its presence, however, has surprised and caused problems for commentators who find it hard to countenance the idea that Amos addressed people or groups other than of the northern kingdom[239]. Wolff reviews various scholarly emendations of the text that have been proposed, but after discussion rightly rejects them all on the grounds that there are no textual reasons to depart from MT. He therefore follows the view of Marti that הַשַּׁאֲנַנִּים בְּצִיּוֹן וְ were added in order to extend Amos's words to apply to Judah as well as to Israel. He considers it likely that they were added at the same time as 2.4-5 and 3.1b, and therefore takes them to belong to the exilic Deuteronomistic redaction[240]. However, Jeremias correctly points out that removal of these words destroys the parallelism of the verse: whatever the oral words of Amos may have been, he considers "that the written text from the very outset had Judeans in mind, and is describing the circumstances in Samaria from their perspective (trust in Zion)"[241]. Given the poetic parallelism of the text, this is a more satisfactory point of view; and Jeremias is correct in including all of 6.1 in the earliest literary text[242].

A second issue in 6.1-7 is the presence of 6.2, the verbs of which are imperatives rather than the surrounding participles which form the more appropriate elements

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[239] For example, G Wittenberg "Amos 6.1-7: "They dismiss the day of disaster but you bring near the rule of violence" ", *JTSA* 58, 1967, pp. 57-69 writes (pp. 57-58) that "The reference to "those who are at ease in Zion" in verse 1 is surprising for a prophet who elsewhere only addresses the ruling class in the Northern Kingdom".

[240] Wolff pp. 270-1 textual note a.

[241] Jeremias p. 107.

[242] G Fohrer "Zion-Jerusalem in the Old Testament", in G Kittel and G Friedrich (eds) *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament Vol VII*, William B Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1971, pp. 293-319 suggests (p. 295) that in Amos 6.1 "Zion is a technical expression for the situation of the capital; Samaria is the "Zion" of the northern kingdom"; and J McLaughlin *The Marzēaḥ in the Prophetic Literature*, VTSup LXXXVI, Brill, Leiden ·Boston · Köln, 2001, p. 102 follows him. If this were so, it would be a unique usage. It is, therefore, an improbable suggestion. The view of Jeremias that from the outset the post-722 literary text intended to refer this unit to Judah as well as to Israel is preferable. The fact that the verb שָׁאַן is mostly found in passages widely held to be exilic and post-exilic (Jeremiah 30.10 = 46.27; 48.11; Proverbs 1.33; Job 3.18) is not a sufficiently weighty consideration to overturn this judgment.

of a woe-oracle[243]. The likely historical allusions in this verse are the conquest of Calneh and Hamath by Tiglath-pileser III in 738, and the probable taking into Assyrian control of Gath in 734[244]. Metrical considerations suggest (or certainly allow) that the inclusion of Gath may have been subsequent to the main referents, Calneh and Hamath: however, the dates of the events referred to make it likely that the verse was inserted into the Amos-text in its present form. Wolff attributes the addition of this verse to the "Old School of Amos". In that he takes them to have been "probably active in the generation 760-730"[245] he presumably sees this as belonging to the later part of their activity. This is consistent with the apparent attribution of 6.2 by Jeremias to the Post-722 Composition. I therefore consider that it belongs to this composition[246]. It is likely that the inclusion of 6.2 that led to 6.3 being reformulated in the second rather from an original third person formulation[247].

A third issue in 6.1-7 is the presence of 6.6b, "but are not grieved over the ruin of Joseph". Wolff takes this to belong to the "Old School of Amos", linking it through the use of the term Joseph with 5.15, which he also attributes to this redactional layer[248]. Jeremias writes that "v. 6b, with its striking change of tense, presupposes at least the events of 733 B.C.E. (if not the fall of Samaria in 722/21)"[249]. I consider that it is certainly likely that this addition belongs to the

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[243] The literary form and structure of woe-oracles is described in C Westermann *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech*, Westminster/John Knox Press, Louisville, 1991, pp. 192-3; E Gerstenberger "The Woe Oracles of the Prophets", *JBL* 81, 1962, pp. 249-263 (251-4); Wolff pp. 242-5.

[244] Wolff p. 274; Jeremias pp. 114-5. Wolff p. 275 also notes that Sargon II subjugated Gath in 712-11, as he had Hamath in 720 and Calneh in 717.

[245] Wolff p. 110. He is followed by Wittenberg "Amos 6.1-7" pp. 66-67.

[246] Jeremias's view is, in fact, not entirely clear. In his translation he puts 6.2 in italics which, with regard to chapter 6, means that he differentiates it as being among "more recent preexilic passages" (Preface p. x); but in commenting on the verse he writes that "By the time Amos' tradents had committed chapter 6 to writing….." and that "even given this historical situation, v. 2 is presupposing a yet unbroken feeling of security among the inhabitants of Samaria" (p. 114). His article "Amos 3-6" sheds no light as to his precise position. On balance, I think he means to attribute 6.2 to the Post-722 Composition, as an addition to the earlier oral form of the woe-oracle, but present in its first literary expression. Certainly this is my own view.

[247] So Wolff pp. 272-3 textual note g.

[248] Wolff pp. 109, 274.

[249] Jeremias p. 115. As with 6.2, it is not entirely clear whether by this Jeremias means to take it as a literary addition to an earlier literary text, in which case he would be attributing it to the Late Pre-

period following 722, and I take it to be an addition to earlier oral words which was already present in the Post-722 Composition.

A fourth issue, concerning interpretation rather than compositional history, is the presence of the term מִרְזַח (construct of מַרְזֵחַ) in 6.7. This term occurs in the Hebrew Bible only here and in Jeremiah 16.5, where it refers to the place in which a funeral-feast is held. Barstad has assembled a range of extra-biblical, including Akkadian and Ugaritic, texts which show that the מַרְזֵחַ was a widespread custom, and that it was generally associated with the presence of a god (in the Ugaritic texts, the god El)[250]. On the basis of this evidence, Barstad asserts that "The banquet described by the prophet in 6.4-6 is the sacred meal of a Samaritan *mrzh* association, and the banquet is condemned for its connections with non-Yahwistic deities rather than for its immorality"[251]. McLaughlin allows that Barstad's view is possible, but considers it unlikely, for the reason that the issue of the worship of non-Yahwistic gods is not a prominent theme of the Amos-text, being found only in 5.26 and 8.14 (repointed[252]). Rather, in his view, the unit "does not oppose the feast itself, but the disposition it expresses……. lifestyle at the expense of, and with indifference to, the poor"[253]. Jeremias agrees that a cultic meal is alluded to in this text, and agrees with McLaughlin that the issue at stake in 6.1-7 is not that of non-Yahwistic gods; however, there is, in Jeremias's opinion, a cultic dimension to the accusation: "the emphasis on drinking from "bowls" refers probably not to any excess in enjoying wine, but rather to a violation of boundary between God and human beings, since "bowls," as mentioned, otherwise occur only in connection with sacrifices"[254]. While the argument of Barstad with regard to the nature of the accusation in this unit is not convincing, I find the interpretations of both McLaughlin and Jeremias plausible.

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exilic Redactional Composition, or as an addition to the original oral words already present in the Post-722 Composition.
[250] Barstad *Religious Polemics* pp. 128-142.
[251] Barstad *Religious Polemics* p. 141. By "immorality" Barstad does not mean only sexual immorality, but also the immorality of opulence.
[252] See section 3.4.2.3 above.
[253] McLaughlin *Marzēah* p. 107.
[254] Jeremias p. 113.

A fifth point to note in 6.1-7 is that both Wolff and Jeremias take כְּדָוִיד in 6.5 to be a post-exilic addition, on the basis that it is not present in LXX, it disturbs the metre of the verse, and it reflects a theme prominent in Chronicles[255]. I agree with that view.

Finally with regard to 6.1-7, Wolff suggests that originally 6.1-7 concluded with נְאֻם־יְהוָה, which was subsequently moved into the middle of 6.8 through a copying error, and there expanded[256]. This suggestion derives from his concern to find opening and concluding formulae to form-critical units: no such proposition is required if it is recognised, as this study does, that 6.1-14 forms a literary section which has brought together elements of oracular sayings in such a way as not to necessitate the presence of such formulae.

Amos 6.8 functions in its literary context as a suitable addition and conclusion to 6.1-7, and also belongs appropriately in the closing section of chapters 3-6, in that the reference to YHWH swearing picks up 4.2, and the word אַרְמְנֹתָיו forms a link with 3.10-11, and reiterates its theme[257]. Wolff considers that it may possibly have been one of the oral "words of Amos", but holds back from expressing certainty or even strong probability, preferring to acknowledge that it definitely, in his view, formed part of the work of the "Old School of Amos"[258]. Jeremias takes it to belong to the Post-722 Composition[259]. The presence of נְאֻם־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת in an introductory position is surprising, and, as noted in the previous paragraph, Wolff suggests that the shorter form of the "divine oracle formula" was transferred to this position from the end of 6.7 by a copying error. Jeremias notes that it is absent in

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[255] Wolff pp. 113, 272 textual note j, 276; Jeremias p. 108 n. 6. The longer spelling דָּוִיד is also characteristic of later writings (H Ringgren "דָּוִד *dāvidh*; דָּוִיד *dāvîdh*", *TDOT III*, pp. 157-169 (157).
[256] Wolff p. 273 textual note m.
[257] The presence of עִיר could conceivably represent a link with 3.6 and 5.3, as well as the later 4.8: however, the word is frequent in the Hebrew Bible, and there is no particular similarity in usage or theme between the verses of this part of the text.
[258] Wolff pp. 107, 281.
[259] Jeremias pp. 7, 115-6.

LXX, and takes it to be a later addition[260]. I agree that the main part of the verse is to be attributed to the Post-722 Composition, and that the expanded divine oracle formula is a post-exilic addition. As I concluded in section 3.4.2.3 above, the occurrence of the expression גְּאוֹן יַעֲקֹב in both 8.7 and in this verse indicates that 8.7, which I have attributed to the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition, has borrowed the expression from this verse.

As Wolff notes[261], 6.8 needs no continuation: nevertheless, 6.9-10 now continues it. The opening וְהָיָה of 6.9 suggests a secondary linkage. Additionally, YHWH is referred to in the third person, rather than in the first person as in 6.8; and, unlike 6.8, the verses are in prose. Wolff attributes these verses to the "Old School", maintaining neutrality on whether they re-work an older oracle of Amos or are a composition of tradents[262]. Jeremias, in contrast, considers that these verses were added in the late seventh century, in the time of Jeremiah: they have the character of commentary, and their purpose is to bridge the sayings in 6.8 and 6.11 by "explicating both the end of v. 8 and, in anticipation, v. 11"[263]. Jeremias also notes that these verses probably presuppose 5.3. The arguments of Jeremias are the stronger, and I therefore attribute these verses to the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition.

Wolff takes 6.11 to be the work of the "Old School of Amos", but considers that it contains fragments of an oracular saying of Amos[264]. Jeremias writes that "Perhaps v. 11 was once an independent saying; more likely, however, it was developed as an intensification from 3.15"[265]. He attributes it to the Post-722 Composition. Since both scholars date it to the earliest literary layer, I do likewise.

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[260] Jeremias p. 108 n. 9.
[261] Wolff p. 280.
[262] Wolff p. 281.
[263] Jeremias p. 116.
[264] Wolff p. 281.
[265] Jeremias p. 116.

Wolff takes 6.12 and 6.13-14 to be independent units (6.13-14 being an "oracular fragment"), both of which are "words of Amos from Tekoa"[266]. Jeremias agrees that "Amos 6.12-14 is composed of two originally independent units", but goes on to write that "although in its formal self-enclosure v. 12 might once have been an independent individual saying, in the present context it and v. 13 are syntactically bound together"[267]. Jeremias attributes these verses to the earliest literary text. I therefore attribute them, also, to the Post-722 Composition.

3.4.4 Amos 9.7-15

While there has long been widespread agreement that the closing verses of the Amos-text were appended to the book in the post-exilic period, different scholars have taken different positions regarding the precise point in the text at which this closing section begins. While virtually all include 9.11-15[268], many would also include 9.8c ("except that I will not utterly destroy the house of Jacob") with 9.11-15[269]; and some would include the whole of 9.8c-15[270]. On the other hand, 9.7 has often been treated exegetically as a saying of the eighth-century man Amos[271]; while Gese sees it as Deuteronomistic[272].

A shift in thinking is effected if the argument of Koch is accepted that 9.5-6 formed the conclusion to the exilic redaction of the Amos-text[273]. Melugin finds much of Koch's argument to be strong and sound, and in particular agrees that

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[266] Wolf pp. 107, 284-290.
[267] Jeremias p. 117.
[268] So Harper pp. cxxxii, 198-200; Cripps pp. 67-77; Mays pp. 13, 163-8; Coote pp, 110-1; Andersen and Freedman p. 863;   Some would see these verses as having been added in two or three stages: so, for example Mays pp. 163-8, as well as Wolff and Jeremias to be discussed below.
[269] So Harper pp. cxxxii, 193; Mays pp. 13, 160.
[270] So Cripps pp. 67-77; Coote pp. 110-2 (Coote in fact includes the whole of 9.7-15 in his post-exilic Stage C); Andersen and Freedman p. 863.
[271] So Harper pp. 191-3; Cripps pp. 263-4; Mays pp. 156-9; Paul pp. 282-4.
[272] H Gese "Das Problem von Amos 9.7", in H Gese *Altesttamentliche Studien*, J C B Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 1991, pp. 116-121 (= A H J Gunneweg and O Kaiser (eds) *Textgemäß. Aufsätze und Beiträge zur Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments. Festschrift für Ernst Würthwein zum 70. Geburtstag*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1979, pp. 33-38).
[273] K Koch "Die Rolle der hymnischen Abschnitte des Amos-Buches", *ZAW* 86, 1974, pp. 504-537 (525-530).

4.13 and 9.5-6 close major literary sections of the book[274]. Jeremias agrees that "Koch has persuasively interpreted the final doxology in 9.5f. as the former conclusion to the book"[275]. The doxologies do indeed appear to be strategically placed within the Amos-text, and I agree with Melugin's and Jeremias's support of Koch's argument at this point. The logical consequence is that "the concluding section presupposes the exilic book of Amos (Amos 1.1-9.6), is intended as its complementary completion, and was not added to the book of Amos until the postexilic period"[276]: thus all of 9.7-15 belongs to the Post-exilic Redactional Composition. This includes 9.7, which could perfectly well be a post-exilic composition which has used the verb עלה from the exilic 2.10 and 3.1b; but even if it is an older saying now brought into the text, it is still, within this literary study, to be taken with the Post-exilic Redactional Composition.

Wolff's view that 9.7-10 derive from the "Old School of Amos"[277] is, therefore, mistaken. He notes that the הִנֵּה of 9.8 and the כִּי־הִנֵּה of 9.9 are transitional formulae, and he notes the thematic tension caused by words of total destruction among which are found mitigating words in 9.8c and 9.9-10, and concludes that "This oracular composition is best explained as the literary distillate of later discussion concerning the fifth vision", adding that "By its disputational style and its catchword associations with 9.1-4, our series of oracles shows itself to be the literary deposit of oral discussions"[278]. His attribution of these series of verses to the "Old School" is on the basis that "Its nearness to Amos is just as obvious as its distance from him"[279]. Jeremias agrees that "9.7-10 reflect a discussion – more exactly, a discussion concerning the fifth and final vision, since vv. 8-10 are full of allusions to formulations from 9.1-4"[280]. However, he points out that the words בַּמַּמְלָכָה הַחַטָּאָה in 9.8 presuppose the only place in 1.1-9.6 in which is made "the

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[274] R Melugin "Formation" p. 376. Melugin was less persuaded by Koch's treatment of 5.8-9.
[275] Jeremias p. 78. S Paas "Seeing and Singing: Visions and Hymns in the Book of Amos", *VT* 52, 2002, pp. 253-274 also writes (p. 272) that "Am. ix 1-6 are a perfect conclusion of the Book of Amos".
[276] Jeremias p. 162.
[277] Wolff pp. 109, 346.
[278] Wolff p. 345.
[279] Wolff p. 346. He considers it likely that an oral saying of Amos lies behind 9.7.
[280] Jeremias p. 162. Like Wolff, Jeremias thinks it likely that oral words of Amos lie behind 9.7.

assertion that the state as such is Israel's hotbed of sin", namely 7.10-17[281], and that these verses are therefore likely to be later than 7.10-17. Furthermore, he argues convincingly that 9.8-10 contains not only a retrospective function with regard to the destruction of the kingdom of Israel and, by its generalised language, of Judah, but just as much a forward-looking function: "Verses 8b-10 are rather concerned with the question of what kind of entity, after the fall of Jerusalem, might be God's partner, and who can belong to it"[282]. Such an interpretation makes good sense, and confirms that these verses are thoroughly at home in the Post-exilic Redactional Composition.

Within <u>9.11-15</u>, Wolff notes that introductory and concluding formulae mark off 9.11-12 and 9.13-15 as separate oracles[283]; and that, while 9.12 may be a secondary addition to 9.11[284], in the present form of the text the two verses from an inseparable unit. He also takes 9.13-15 to be composite. He declines to be specific about the dating of the material in these verses, except to comment that there is in 9.12 "The reference to a "remnant of Edom", nowhere else mentioned but most easily attributable to relatively advanced postexilic times; in the fifth century Edom was probably weakened considerably by a coalition of Arabic tribes"[285]. Jeremias agrees that 9.12 refers to the probable weakening of Edom by Arab tribes in the fifth century: however, he considers that 9.12-13 are the latest addition to an earlier post-exilic text comprising, first, 9.7-10 and then 9.7-11, 14-15. This latest addition served to link the Amos-text within the Book of the Twelve to the books of Joel (4.18 (3.18)) and Obadiah[286].

3.4.5 Amos 1.1-2

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[281] Jeremias p. 164. He adds that the reference to הָאֲדָמָה in 9.8 provides a further link with 7.11 and 7.17.
[282] Jeremias p. 165.
[283] Wolff p. 351.
[284] This is suggested by the third person plural יִירְשׁוּ, with no reference point in 9.11.
[285] Wolff p. 353.
[286] Jeremias pp. 9, 162, 166-170. He takes the concluding formula of 9.12 to have previously been attached to 9.11.

It is to be expected that each redactional composition will have had a heading of some sort, and it is entirely likely that this heading will have undergone literary development.

Wolff considers that an older form of 1.1 stated simply "The words of Amos from Tekoa, which he viewed concerning Israel two years before the earthquake"[287]. However, the earliest form, he argues, would have been shorter still: "The words of Amos from Tekoa". This development explains the fact that the first relative clause "who was among the sheep-breeders" refers to "Amos", while the second relative clause "which he viewed concerning Israel" refers to the "The words of Amos". The earliest short heading "The words of Amos from Tekoa" would once have stood over a collection of words which are now found within chapters 3-6; the form "The words of Amos which he saw concerning Israel two years before the earthquake" are those of the collection of the "Old School of Amos", who joined the oracles against the nations and the visions series, which culminates in an earthquake, to the collection of words; while the expanded form with the chronological references to the reigns of Uzziah and Jeroboam and the reference to Amos's occupation assume the presence of 7.10-17 already in the text, and are characteristic of Deuteronomistic dating formulae, and are therefore to be dated to exilic Deuteronomistic editing[288]. Jeremias agrees with Wolff's analysis, with the

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[287] Wolff p. 116. P R Davies "Amos, Man and Book" in B E Kelle and M B Moore (eds) *Israel's Prophets and Israel's Past. Essays on the Relationship of Prophetic Texts and Israelite History in Honor of John H Hayes*, Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 446, T & T Clark, New York · London, 2006, pp. 113-131 agrees: his English translation of the same Hebrew words is: "Words of Amos of Tekoa: what he saw about Israel. Two years before the earthquake" (p. 122).

[288] Wolff pp. 116-122. A Deuteronomistic influence in the chronological element of this verse was recognised by Schmidt "Die deuteronomische Redaktion" p. 170. Also G M Tucker "Prophetic Superscriptions and the Growth of a Canon", in G W Coats and B O Long (eds) *Canon and Authority. Essays in Old Testament Religion and Authority*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1977, pp. 56-70 writes, primarily with regard to books of the pre-exilic prophets, that "Perhaps the strongest evidence of such redactional work is found in the chronological dates in Amos 1.1 and Hos 1.1. These clauses probably stem from the chronological framework of the Deuteronomistic history work" (p. 69). In contrast, D N Freedman "Headings in the Books of the Eighth-Century Prophets", *AUSS* 25, 1987, pp. 9-26 examines the headings of the books of Hosea, Amos, Isaiah and Micah, noting similarities, and suggests that these four books once belonged to a common collection formed in the time of Hezekiah in the wake of the deliverance of Jerusalem from the army of Sennacherib in 701; however, his decision to restrict his study to the books of the eighth-century prophets means that he fails to consider the relationship of these headings to those of the books of the seventh-century prophets Jeremiah and, particularly, Zephaniah. More probable is the view of

minor difference (with no implications for literary dating) that the first expansion described by Wolff may have resulted from a combination of two originally separate headings, one over a collection of words and one referring to the vision accounts[289]. I therefore consider that the Post-722 Composition was introduced by the heading "The words of Amos which he saw concerning Israel two years before the earthquake"; that this same heading stood over the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition; and that in the Exilic Redactional Composition it was expanded to the present form of the text.

Wolff considers that 1.2 belongs, with the hymnic verses 4.13, 5.8-9 and 9.5-6, to the Bethel-Exposition of the text in the time of Josiah. He suggests that the positive view of Zion and Jerusalem as the place from which YHWH roars is likely to pre-date 587, and that "The later Deuteronomistic redaction could not speak of Jerusalem in such a positive manner". He takes the similar Jeremiah 25.30a to be a post-Jeremianic interpretation which makes use of Amos 1.2a, and Joel 4.16a (3.16a), similarly, to be a later use of the verse[290]. Jeremias, in contrast, attributes 1.2 and the three hymnic verses to the Exilic Redactional Composition. In section 3.4.3.6 above I indicated my belief that he is right to do so with regard to 4.13, 5.8-9 and 9.5-6: is he also right to do so with regard to this verse? In his consideration of the hymnic passages Jeremias indicates that he finds persuasive Koch's argument that 9.5-6 formed the conclusion to the exilic redaction of the book[291], and I concur with that judgment[292]. Where Jeremias's treatment of 1.2 is strong is in his recognition of the ways in which it draws vocabulary and themes from other parts of the text: the roaring of the lion in 3.4 and 3.8 (as also recognised by Wolff); the reference to רֹאשׁ הַכַּרְמֶל in 9.3; but most significantly

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Albertz *Israel in Exile* pp. 209-211 that the similarities in the superscriptions of the books of Hosea, Amos, Micah and Zephaniah point to the likelihood that there was a late exilic "Four Prophets Redaction" of these books. This is compatible with the composition history of the Amos-text proposed in this study, in that post-exilic additions could still be made to such a collection after its initial redaction.
[289] Jeremias pp. 11-13.
[290] Wolff pp. 112, 121-2 (112).
[291] Jeremias p. 78.
[292] Melugin "Formation" p. 376 also finds Koch's understanding of the structure of the book to be "generally persuasive".

with regard to its dating, its connection with 9.5-6 through the word וְאָבְלוּ. The argument appears strong that in the Exilic Redactional Composition 1.1-2 formed the beginning and 9.5-6 the end of the book. For this reason Jeremias's dating of 1.2 is to be preferred to that of Wolff.

3.4.6 Conclusions

From this analysis, I propose the following analysis of the compositional history of the book:

To the <u>Post-722 Composition</u> belong

   1.1*;   1.3-5, 6-8, 13-15;   2.1-3;   2.6-9, 13-16*;

   3.1a-2;   3.3-6;   3.9-11;   3.12, 15;   4.1-3;   4.4-5;

   5.1-5*, 7, 10-12, 14-17;   5.18-20;   5.21-24, 27;   6.1-8;   6.11;   6.12-14;

   7.1-3, 4-6, 7-8;   8.1-2;   9.1-4.

To the <u>Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition</u> belong all the above plus

   the references in 2.8 to "beside every altar" and "in the house of their God";

   3.8;   6.9-10;   7.9-17 (less 7.9a and 7.16 c);   8.3-7.

To the <u>Exilic Redactional Composition</u> belong all the above plus

   1.1-2;   1.9-10, 11-12;   2.4-5;   2.10-12;

   3.1b;   3.7;   3.13-14;   4.6-13;   5.5 "or cross over to Beersheba";

   5.6;   5.8-9;   5.13;   5.25-26;

   7.9a and 7.16c (the phrases referring to יִשְׂחָק)

   8.8-10, 11-12, 13-14;   9.5-6.

To the <u>Post-exilic Redactional Composition</u> belong all the above plus

   2.7bβ "so that my holy name is profaned";

   5.22aα "Unless you offer me burnt offerings";   6.5 "like David";

   9.7-15.

I have not included here such minor expansions of earlier forms of the text as the adding of further divine titles to the oracle formula נְאֻם־יְהוָה: such additions are of no consequence for this study.

In that each group of additions and expansions leads to a new literary composition, I consider that my choice of title for each composition is appropriate and useful. As noted in section 2.5 above, within each of these redactional compositions there is evidence of verses which display familiarity with or even dependence on one another: nevertheless, if these materials are chronologically from the same period and clearly close linked, it is in order to treat them as part of the one redactional composition in question.

The delineation of these redactional compositions has been made on the basis of examination of the various sections and units of the text. In the next chapter I shall describe the coherence of each of these compositions, with two purposes in view: (1) in order to strengthen further the case for identifying these redactional compositions as being having indeed existed within the text's composition history; and (2) in order to establish features which may be of relevance in interpreting Amos 2.6-16 within each redactional composition. I shall also, in this chapter, make some observations concerning the possible *milieu* in which each redactional composition might have been produced.

Chapter 4: The Coherence of the Redactional Compositions Underlying the Amos-text

P R Davies writes that "While it is never wise to presume that all biblical books must display some kind of literary unity, we should always expect to discover a certain integrity of purpose and theme. These are not necessarily the result of a single author; they are as much a product of a reasonably skilful editor, or even a process of transmission in which the shape and purpose of the document is gradually acquired, in some cases bringing disparate contents into a meaningful shape"[1]. In this chapter I wish to demonstrate that each of the redactional compositions which I have identified as underlying the Amos-text does indeed have the "integrity of purpose and theme" of which Davies writes. In so doing I shall describe what Collins calls the "internal coherence"[2] of each composition.

I shall use three criteria of coherence. These are:

1. Structural Coherence: Is there a structure apparent which suggests coherence, and which, additionally, assists in identifying interpretative keys with which to approach the text?

2. Linguistic Coherence: Are there particular words (including proper names) or literary techniques which are characteristic of the composition?

3. Thematic Coherence: Are there certain prominent themes? Is there any theme which has significance in interpretation of the composition as a whole?[3]

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[1] P R Davies "Amos, Man and Book" p. 124.

[2] Collins *Mantle* p. 29. Such coherence must not be viewed in terms of modern western assumptions of logical consistency: as Collins writes, "A prophetical book can have a disjointed, almost random appearance, and yet it still makes a single impact because of its inner coherence" (*Mantle* p. 30).

[3] K H Cuffey "Remnant, Redactor, and Biblical Theologian: A Comparative Study of Coherence in Micah and the Twelve", in J D Nogalski and M A Sweeney (eds) *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*, SBLSymS 15, SBL, Atlanta, 2000, pp. 185-20 writes with regard to his own study that "For the purposes of this study, "coherence" refers to the connectedness of a work. Any

The aim of this chapter is twofold: firstly, to confirm the plausibility – indeed, likelihood – of these redactional compositions having certainly existed; and, secondly, to note perspectives and significant themes of each redactional composition as a whole which may be of relevance in the interpretation of the reasons for judgment in Amos 2.6-16. In so doing, it should not be anticipated that each of the four redactional compositions will display wholly different features from the others, since the later ones incorporate and build on the earlier ones: nevertheless, it should be anticipated that each redactional composition will have some distinctive features.

4.1 The Coherence of the Post-722 Composition

4.1.1 Structural Coherence

Jeremias provides a succinct summary of the structure of this composition[4], and the outline and comments that follow are based on his observations.

The overall structure of this composition is:

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features which connect individual parts with each other, or all parts into a whole, contribute to coherence in a work of literature". He goes on to describe four types of coherence which may be looked for within a literary work, namely: (1) *Internal coherence*: he writes that "recurrent features of style, or specification of transitions or connections can clarify the relations of section to section or section to the whole". Such indicators, he says, include a consistent style of writing; transition words like "however", "moreover", "next"; repetitions; parallelism; catchwords or synonyms; (2) *Structural coherence*: the arrangement or ordering of parts. The framework of a part can indicate the way its sections are to be construed. The larger context of a book can determine the meaning of a part, perhaps a different meaning from that which might be seen if the part is read on its own; (3) *Coherence of perspective*: common assumptions held; or a common situation as background to the text, or the consistent outlook and viewpoint of an author or redactor; (4) *Coherence of theme*: a key theme or themes may serve as a centre around which parts are united and integrated. A common meaning may be found in the recurrence of a significant concept, dominant motif, developed plot or argument. "One may look for a principle that creates oneness for a literary text, and then evaluate how the different components of the piece are integrated around that principle" (quotations p. 186 and p. 187). While I am not using exactly the same criteria as Cuffey, I acknowledge the stimulus of his study.

[4] Jeremias pp. 5-7. This concise summary draws on his fuller treatment in his collected essays found in Jeremias *Hosea und Amos*: especially "Amos 3-6. Beobachtungen zur Entstehunggeschichte eines Prophetenbuches" (pp. 142-156), of which "Amos 3-6" is a translation into English; "Völkerspruche und Visionsberichte im Amos" (pp. 157-171); "Die Mitte des Amosbuches (Am 4.4-13; 5.1-17)" (pp. 198-213); "Tod und Leben in Am 5.1-17" (pp. 214-230).

Superscription (1.1*);

First Section: The Series of Oracles Against the Nations (1.3-2.16*);

Second Section: Words of Amos (3.1-6.14*):

 First Half: Words addressed to בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (3.1-4.5*);

 Second Half: Words addressed to בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל (5.1-6.14*);

Third Section: Series of Vision Accounts (7.1-8; 8.1-2; 9.1-4).

It is hardly to be disputed that the two series, of oracles against the nations and of vision accounts, form a structure around the "words" in chapters 3-6. Additionally, there are clear structural parallels between the two series. Each may readily be seen to have five parts:

First Section: The Series of Oracles Against the Nations (1.3-2.16*):

 Oracle against Damascus (1.3-5);

 Oracle against Gaza and the Philistines (1.6-8);

 Oracle against the Ammonites (1.13-15);

 Oracle against Moab (2.1-3);

 Oracle against Israel (2.6-9, 13-16*).

Third Section: The Series of Vision Accounts (7.1-8; 8.1-2; 9.1-4):

 Vision of locusts (7.1-3);

 Vision of fire (7.4-6);

 Vision of אֲנָךְ (7.7-8);

 Vision of a basket of summer fruit (8.1-2);

 Vision of the destruction of a city (9.1-4).

Within the series of visions, the first two visions form a pair in which Amos successfully intercedes; the third and fourth visions form a pair in which judgment is announced with no opportunity for intercession; while the fifth, final vision is not paired. Jeremias notes that similar pairings exist within the series of oracles against the nations: for example, the first two refer to the destruction of "the one

who dwells in the Valley of Aven/Ashdod, and the one holding the sceptre in Beth-eden/from Ashkelon" (1.5, 8); while in both the third and fourth oracles the fire of judgment is sent בְּתְרוּעָה, "with a war-cry" (1.14; 2.2), and included in the scope of the judgment are "officials" (1.15; 2.3)[5]; and the final oracle against Israel is not paired. These considerations point to the Post-722 Composition being a carefully planned structural composition.

Within the second, middle section, the "Words of Amos" (3.1-6.14*), is found:

> First Half: Words addressed to בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (3.1-4.5*):
>> Introductory and Summary Oracle of Judgment (3.1a, 2);
>> Justification of the Message (3.3-6);
>> Oppression in Samaria (3.9-4.3*):
>>> Oppressions in Samaria (3.9-11);
>>> The Destruction of Samaria (3.12, 15);
>>> Against the women of Samaria (4.1-3);
>> Mocking Summons to worship at Bethel and Gilgal (4.4-5)[6].

> Second Half: Words addressed to בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל (5.1-6.14*):
>> Chiastic Series of Sayings on Death and Life (5.1-17*):
>>> A. Funeral Lament for Israel (5.1-3);
>>> B. Call to seek YHWH (5.4-5*);
>>> C. Against those who pervert justice (5.7, 10-12);
>>> B'. Call to seek good and not evil (5.14-15);
>>> A'. Funeral Lament for Israel (5.16-17);
>> Woe saying to those complacent regarding the Day of YHWH (5.18-20);
>> The rejection of Israel's cult festivals (5.21-24, 27);

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[5] Jeremias pp. 24, 28.

[6] As noted in section 3.4.3.6, the presence of 4.6-13 in the Exilic and Post-exilic Redactional Compositions makes it difficult to know what was the literary context of 4.4-5 in the Post-722 Composition. Its inclusion in its present place in the structure above is not intended to suggest that it was necessarily in its present place in the Post-722 Composition.

Woe saying to those complacent regarding their wealth (6.1-7);

The fall of Israel's strongholds and houses (6.8, 11);

Final question and announcement of judgment (6.12-14).

The opening verses 3.1 and 5.1 both begin שִׁמְעוּ אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר, making a clear parallel introduction to the two halves. The second section of the first half begins at 4.1 with a similar שִׁמְעוּ הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה, but not with a relative clause following, thus distinguishing it from 3.1 and 5.1. In contrast to this organisational pattern is the chiastic, concentric pattern evident within 5.1-17, deliberately placed at the centre of the composition, suggesting a possible interpretative key to the composition as a whole. After 5.1-17, 5.18-27* and 6.1-14* both start with a woe-oracle (הוי + participle); and both deal with the theme of complacency: regarding the day of YHWH in 5.18-20, and the keeping of religious festivals in 5.21-24, 27; and regarding unconcerned participation in feasting with no anguish for the "ruin of Joseph" (6.1-8). A further concentric pattern is discernible in the placing of accusations against Samaria in 3.9-4.3 and chapter 6 on either side of the central chapter 5.

It would be possible to propose further examples of apparently planned structural patterns: however, the more patterns that one discerns, the greater the danger of their being too much in the eye of the beholder, and insufficiently self-evidently present in the text: and those already adduced serve to provide more than adequate evidence of structural coherence within the Post-722 Composition underlying the Amos-text[7].

It is interesting to note the relevant strength of units which might be regarded as climactic: 2.13-16 forms a strong climax both to 2.6-16 and to the series of oracles against the nations as a whole; and 9.1-4 forms a strong climax to the visions series. Within chapters 3-6 it is a feature of the oracle of judgment that the

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[7] The considerations of the previous footnote also make it undesirable to press the search for clear structural patterns any further.

announcement of judgement has a sense of climax, and this is so in 3.11; 3.15; 5.16-17; 5.27; 6.8; 6.14. However, that in 6.14, the climax of the final unit within the "Words of Amos", is no more climactic than the climax of other units, reinforcing the impression that it is the central 5.1-17 which holds particular interpretative significance. This suggests that 2.6-16 and 9.1-4 are interpretative keys within their respective series, and therefore within the composition as a whole; but that within chapters 3-6 it is indeed the central, chiastic 5.1-17 which is the structural focus and interpretative key.

4.1.2 Linguistic Coherence

Under this heading I wish to refer to certain key words of vocabulary; opening and closing formulae; connecting formulae; and other elements of literary technique.

The following key words of vocabulary are discernible:

(1) The root פשע, "transgress": the noun פֶּשַׁע is found in plural form in the oracles against the nations series in 1.3, 6, 13; 2.1, 6; and in 5.12; while the verb is found twice in 4.4. While the root is hardly rare in the Hebrew Bible, it is noteworthy that the verbal form does not appear in the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, or 1 and 2 Samuel, and that the noun does not appear at all in Deuteronomy, and little in the books of the so-called Deuteronomistic History (not at all in Judges, 2 Samuel and 2 Kings, and only once in Joshua)[8]. The number of occurrences (nine) within the Post-722 Composition of the Amos-text is striking, particularly since the passages concerned are, in the words of Seebass, "especially vivid"[9]. While the noun also occurs in additions made in the Exilic Redactional Composition, in 2.4 and 3.14, its occurrence there derives directly from its earlier occurrence in the Post-722 Composition.

(2) The term אַרְמְנוֹת, "strongholds, is found in 1.4, 7, 14; 2.2; 3.9, 9, 10, 11; 6.8. BDB notes that the term is found mostly in the prophetic books, and especially in

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[8] H Seebass "פשע *pāšaʿ; פֶּשַׁע pešaʿ* ", *TDOT XII*, pp. 133-151 (135-6).
[9] Seebass "פֶּשַׁע *pāšaʿ; פֶּשַׁע pešaʿ* " p. 137.

Amos and Jeremiah[10]; and in fact out of thirty-four occurrences in the Hebrew Bible[11], five occur in the book of Jeremiah, and nine in the Post-722 Composition of the Amos-text. There are a further two occurrences in the Exilic Redactional Composition (1.10, 12), but these are clearly derived from the earlier composition. The inclusion of the whole phrase "and I will send fire upon his cities and it will devour his strongholds" in Hosea 8.14 is taken from the oracles against the nations of Amos 1-2[12].

(3) The term חָמָס, "violence", occurs twice (3.10; 6.3): hardly sufficient to be described as a "key word". However it may be noted that it does not occur elsewhere in the books of the eighth-century prophets apart from Micah 6.12.

(4) In 5.7 an accusation is made concerning הַהֹפְכִים לְלַעֲנָה מִשְׁפָּט וּצְדָקָה לָאָרֶץ הִנִּיחוּ; and in 6.12 הֲפַכְתֶּם לְרֹאשׁ מִשְׁפָּט וּפְרִי צְדָקָה לְלַעֲנָה. The terms צְדָקָה and מִשְׁפָּט are also found in 5.24; and מִשְׁפָּט in 5.15.

(5) In 2.6-7 the terms צַדִּיק, אֶבְיוֹן, דַּלִּים and עֲנָוִים are used to describe those who are victims of mistreatment. The terms דַּלִּים and אֶבְיוֹנִים are used in 4.1. The singular דַּל is found in 5.11, and צַדִּיק and אֶבְיוֹנִים in 5.12. While the terms דַּלִּים and אֶבְיוֹן also occur in 8.6, I argued in section 3.4.2.3 that 8.4-7 derives from the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition; and indeed, it is unlikely that a unit so evidently dependent on another unit would have been composed for the same composition. The use of the terms in 8.6 is, therefore, dependent on and derivative from those in the Post-722 Composition.

(6) Samaria is the apparent focus of 3.9-11; 3.12, 15; 4.1-3; and, with Zion, of 6.1. Bethel and Gilgal are the focus of 4.4-5 and 5.4-5, while the later 5.6 refers only to Bethel.

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[10] BDB p. 74b.
[11] Based on a count of the list in G Lisowsky *Konkordanz zum Hebräischen Alten Testament,* Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart, 1958, 1993, pp. 142-3.
[12] Jeremias "Interrelationship" pp. 175-6.

(7) Both 5.15 and 6.6 refer to "Joseph"; and the later 5.6[13] is derivative from 5.4-5 and 5.14-15. Both 7.2 and 7.5 – the first two visions of the visions series – refer to "Jacob", while 6.8 refers to YHWH's abhorrence of the pride of Jacob. The later 8.7 is derivative from 6.8[14].

A variety of recurrent opening and closing formulae is characteristic of this composition:

(1) The messenger formula כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה occurs in 1.3, 6, 13; 2.1, 6; 3.11, 12; 5.3, 4, 16[15];

(2) The concluding formula אָמַר יְהוָה is found in 1.5, 8[16], 15; 2.3; 5.17, 27; 7.3, 6;

(3) The concluding formula נְאֻם־יְהוָה is present in 2.16; 3.10[17], 15; 4.3; 4.5[18];

(4) As noted above, 3.1 and 5.1 are introduced by שִׁמְעוּ אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר; and 4.1 by שִׁמְעוּ אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה;

(5) As noted above, 5.18 and 6.1 both begin with הוֹי followed by a participle[19];

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[13] In section 3.4.3.7 above I followed Jeremias in attributing 5.6 to the Exilic Redactional Composition.

[14] See section 3.4.3.9 above.

[15] In 5.3 and 5.4 it is preceded by the connecting word כִּי, and in 5.16 by לָכֵן, indicating that the verses introduced are to be read within the composition 5.1-17. Verse 3 has אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה: the inclusion of the added term at various points in the Amos-text appears somewhat random, and in some cases its absence from LXX suggests that it has entered the text at its later stages of development: so כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת Wolff p. 130 textual note o; and Jeremias p. 17 n. 3. In 5.16 the expansive אֲדֹנָי probably reflects the influence of the hymnic 4.13 which entered the text in the Exilic Redactional Composition.

[16] The אֲדֹנָי of 1.8 is not in LXX, and would not have been present in the Post-722 Composition.

[17] The phrase is not at the end of a unit in 3.10: it is impossible to know whether it was, in fact, part of the Post-722 Composition, or entered the text in a subsequent redactional composition. It is also present in 6.8 and 6.14, but not attested there in LXX, suggesting that in those verses it is later than the Post-722 Composition, and the same may possibly be true of its occurrence in 3.10.

[18] Again, the אֲדֹנָי in 4.5 is unlikely to have been present in the Post-722 Composition.

[19] Wolff p. 228 textual note q follows Smith *Book of the Twelve Prophets Vol 1*, p. 167, in assuming that 5.7 also began with an introductory הוֹי which fell out through haplography. This is possible, although not necessary. Tromp "Amos V 1-17" p. 75 notes that "Rhetorically the third person of the participles in v.7 is striking after the imperatives preceding it".

(6) The visions in 7.1, 4; 8.1 begin כֹּה הִרְאַנִי אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה וְהִנֵּה, and that in 7.7 כֹּה הִרְאַנִי, and that in 7.7 וְהִנֵּה: the reason for the difference in 7.7 is that אֲדֹנָי is seen as part of the substance of the vision.

The following connecting terms occur:

(1) לָכֵן occurs as a transition to an announcement of judgment in 3.11; 5.11; 5.16; 6.7. Its presence in prophetic texts is so frequent that it cannot be said to be distinctive, but it nevertheless contributes to the linguistic coherence of the Post-722 Composition;

(2) The transition to the announcement of judgment in 2.13 is introduced with הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי; כִּי הִנֵּה is found in 6.11, and כִּי הִנְנִי in 6.14. In 7.1, 4, 7; 8.1 visions are introduced by וְהִנֵּה; and in 7.8 the Lord speaks with an introductory הִנְנִי.

Elements of literary technique which may be mentioned are:

(1) There are several places in which rhetorical force is achieved by a reversal at the end of a unit or series of the expectations built up in the preceding verses. This is found in the series of oracles against the nations, in which, it may be presumed, condemnation of foreign nations was usual, but the extension of condemnation to Israel not; in 3.2, in which the second half of the verse brings a different consequence from that anticipated by the first half; in 4.4-5, which functions as an ironic summons to worship; and in 5.18-20, on the assumption that the inherited expectation of the Day of YHWH was a positive one;

(2) A series of rhetorical questions is found in 3.3-6; and further rhetorical questions in 6.2 and 6.12;

(3) In 5.19 and 9.1 it is stated that if people escape one form of disaster, another form will overcome them;

(4) The Lord YHWH swears by his holiness in 4.2, and by himself in 6.8[20].

These considerations of vocabulary and literary technique further confirm the internal coherence of the Post-722 Composition.

4.1.3 Thematic Coherence

Five particular images of judgment can be seen in the Post-722 Composition:

(1) The sending of fire is found in the series of oracles against the nations in 1.4, 7, 14; 2.2. The repetition of the same phrase in the Exilic Redactional Composition in 1.10, 12; 2.5 derives from the earlier use. Additionally the second vision speaks in 7.4 of fire devouring the "great deep" (אֶת־תְּהוֹם רַבָּה) and eating up the land[21].

(2) The theme of punishment by earthquake is found in 2.13-16[22] and 9.1-4, the concluding units of the series of oracles against the nations and of visions; and in 3.15 and 6.11. The heading in 1.1* also refers explicitly to "the earthquake".

(3) The theme of punishment by defeat in battle is also found in 2.13-16 and 9.1-4, interwoven with the theme of punishment by earthquake; and also on its own in 4.2b-3; 5.3; 6.14.

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[20] Wolff pp. 91-100 describes "The Language of Amos" more fully, including the use of word-plays, graded numerical sayings, and the rhetorical device of quoting supposed words of opponents. I do not claim comprehensiveness in this part of the study: my aim, as I have stated, is to indicate sufficient coherence within the Post-722 Composition to confirm the reasonable likelihood that it existed.

[21] In 7.4 the לָרִב בָּאֵשׁ as the object of קֹרֵא is problematic: to translate as "calling to contend by fire" is not obvious conceptually, and grammatically unlikely since, as Wolff p. 292 textual note i points out, the root רִיב belongs to the language of legal controversy and is generally followed by a בּ introducing the party with whom there is contention. Harper pp. 163-4, Wolff pp. 292 textual note i, and Paul pp. 230-1 all survey suggested emendations. Attractive among these is the proposal of D R Hillers "Amos 7.4 and Ancient Parallels", *CBQ* 26, 1964, pp. 221-5, to read לִרְבִיב אֵשׁ, calling "for a rain of fire", which, as Wolff pp. 292-3 textual note i observes, "leaves the consonantal stock unchanged, the only alteration being in word division". This suggestion is accepted by Wolff, by Jeremias p. 123 n. 3, and as plausible by Paul p. 231. For the purposes of this study it may simply be noted that there has been no suggested emendation which fails to retain the concept of fire.

[22] The exact meaning of 2.13 is not entirely clear. This will be addressed in the exegesis of 2.6-16 in section 6.4.2.3 below.

(4) The theme of punishment by exile is found in 1.6; 1.15; 5.5; 5.27; 6.7. The concept of exile also appears in the accusation against Damascus in 1.6.

(5) The theme of the destruction of houses appears in 3.15; 5.11; 6.11. In 3.15 the language used – the winter house as well as the summer house, the houses of ivory, the great houses (or many houses) – is such as to constitute a veiled (or perhaps not all that veiled) reason for judgment as well as the announcement of that judgment; and the same may also be true of the "great house" of 6.11.

These images of judgment contribute to a major unifying theme of the Post-722 Composition as a whole, namely that Israel has deserved the judgment of YHWH. The positioning of 2.13-16 and 9.1-4 at the climactic end of their respective series reinforces this perspective. It is consonant with this that some scholars have seen the statement in 8.2 that "The end has come upon my people Israel" as the interpretative key of the "message of Amos". Smend, for example, writes of 8.2 that "Das ist ganz kategorisch gesagt, keine Heilsweissagung steht daneben, eine Zukunft gibt es für Israel schlechterdings nicht mehr"[23]. The logical consequence of this is faced head on and accepted by Coote in respect of the "Stage A" composition that he proposes, namely that "the fulfillment of Amos's oracles became important as a validation of……. Amos's authority. But of what use were Amos's words to his addressees? None. I want to press this point because it runs contrary to common sense, especially for those whose favourite verse from Amos is "seek good and not evil". I must anticipate stage B and elaborate for a moment on what was *not* of concern to Amos, namely an improvement in his listeners"[24]. However, Coote's argument is dependent on his view that none of 4.4-5, 5.4-6 or 5.14-15 belong to his "Stage A" composition, whereas I have argued in sections 3.4.3.6 and 3.4.3.7 above that all of these verses apart from 5.6 do belong to the Post-722 Composition. That being so, it must be asked whether the presence of

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[23] R Smend "Das Nein des Amos", *EvT* 23, 1963, pp. 404-423 (415). Other scholars who have taken a similar position are listed by K Möller *A Prophet in Debate. The Rhetoric of Persuasion in the Book of Amos*, JSOTSup 372, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 2002, p. 141 n. 121.
[24] Coote p. 42 (his italics).

both the categorical, final announcement of judgment in the climactic passages 2.13-16 and 9.1-4 and the invitation in the centrally placed chiastic unit 5.1-17 to "seek me and live" (5.4) and to "seek good and not evil" (5.14) militates against finding thematic coherence in this Post-722 Composition.

Various solutions have been proposed to this:

(1) It may be suggested or argued that the prophet himself spoke of Israel's "end", and that the passages containing invitations to seek and live are from a later hand; or that they derive from different stages of the text's compositional history, as Coote proposes. Or again, Lust argues that 5.4-5 derives from a redactor in the time of Josiah, and 5.6 and 5.14-15 from the exilic period or later[25]. However, this solution depends on an incorrect view of the text's compositional history[26].

(2) There are those who propose a developmental pattern within the prophet Amos's ministry: in its early phase(s) Amos allowed for and hoped for repentance on the part of the people, but then, in the light of receiving the third and fourth visions, he began to pronounce the inevitability of Israel's end. Thus, for example, Andersen and Freedman set out the following chain of events, which they consider "most likely":

1. Amos was called, received the first two visions, interceded successfully, and delivered exhortations to repentance (chapters 5 and 6), which were not heeded; even the plagues of 4.6-11 did not bring repentance;

2. Amos received the third and fourth visions and proclaimed their consequences in oracles of doom on all the nations (chapters 1-3);

3. These oracles provoked Amaziah, whose intervention led to the fifth vision and further threats of even more complete destruction (9.1-10);

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[25] J Lust "Remarks on the Redaction of Amos V 4-6, 14-15*", in A S Van der Woude (ed) *Remembering All the Way. A Collection of Old Testament Studies Published on the Occasion of the Fortieth Anniversary of the Oudtestamentisch Werkgeselschap in Nederland, OTS* 21, E J Brill, Leiden, 1981, pp. 129-154.
[26] See section 3.4.3.7 above.

4. Any hope of salvation in the near future was given up, and instead was placed in the distant future (9.11-15)[27].

The main problem with this solution is simply that we have no evidence for it: it is entirely conjectural.

(3) A third solution is to argue that in fact no announcement of judgment is as categorical as it sounds: rather there is always an implied "unless you repent" present. Auld appears to be attracted to this view when he writes that "many of Amos's words are very bleak: their surface meaning can be read no other way. But is it their intent simply at worst to jeer at those on their way to deserved perdition, or at best to annotate their record and arraign them before capital sentence is carried out? Or is the purpose of Amos's sharp criticism to shock his people into self-understanding *and a commitment to amelioration*?"[28]. More fully, Tromp writes that "I find it hard to understand for what reasonable purpose a reasonable person can announce his audience (*sic*) that the end is inevitably at hand. What kind of morbid disposition would inspire him to deliver a desperate message like that…… It seems sensible to test the alternative. In this case Amos intends to shock his contemporaries into action….. In this way his announcements of judgment are meant to be conditional: they show the direction which the course of events is necessarily taking unless the audience changes its ways drastically"[29]. There is some merit in this solution, in that it is a possible one; and yet, the announcements of judgment are so categorical that it cannot be taken as clearly the case.

The debate will continue for those who are concerned to investigate the words and ministry of the man Amos and who attribute to him both the categorical

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[27] Andersen and Freedman p. 8.
[28] Auld p. 65 (his italics).
[29] N J Tromp "Amos V 1-17" p. 72. In a footnote (p. 83 n. 66) he adds that "It would seem that most arguments proffered to prove Amos being a prophet of doom can thus be explained to be conditional announcements of judgment". B A Asen "No, Yes and Perhaps in Amos and the Yahwist", *VT* XLIII, 1993, pp. 433-441 is also sympathetic to this view. Further examples of scholars holding such a view are given by Möller p. 142 n. 123.

announcements of judgment and the invitations to "seek me (YHWH) and live" and to "seek good and not evil, that you may live". This study, however, is a literary one, and this section of this chapter is concerned with the Post-722 Composition. Within this composition it is noteworthy that unconditional announcements of judgment are found at highly significant points in the structure of the composition i.e. at the end of the series of oracles against the nations; at the end of the series of visions; and at the end of both halves of the "Words of Amos" in chapters 3-6; and that the invitations to "seek and live" are found within the section 5.1-17 which is set at an equally significant, central point in the middle of the "Words of Amos", which is itself the middle part of the composition[30]. This suggests that those responsible for this composition deliberately set out to highlight both themes.

The explanation for this double highlighting lies in the dating of the Post-722 Composition. In section 4.1.4 below I shall follow Jeremias in dating it shortly after the fall of Samaria in 722: and it is this historical setting that provides the explanation. On the one hand, the Post-722 Composition provided an explanation for the fall of the northern kingdom, which had already taken place: survivors and refugees from the northern kingdom and residents of the southern kingdom alike were being led to see the actions of YHWH as judge in the events of 722. There is, as Barton notes, a purposeful element of theodicy in the prophetic announcements of judgment[31]: so in the Post-722 Composition the events of 722 did not indicate any powerlessness or weakness on YHWH's part, but rather his action in judgment; and that action was not malicious or capricious, but deserved, as the reasons for judgment explain. Simultaneously, the Post-722 Composition contains words of invitation. If there is a positive response to this invitation, the Post-722 Composition says, then perhaps YHWH will be gracious to the remnant of Joseph.

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[30] Jeremias p. 83 describes 5.1-17 as "the innermost core of the composition".
[31] J Barton "History and Rhetoric in the Prophets", in M Warner (ed) *The Bible as Rhetoric. Studies in Biblical Persuasion and Credibility*, Warwick Studies in Philosophy and Literature, Routledge, London and New York, 1990, pp. 51-64 (52).

The title "Joseph" undoubtedly refers to the northern kingdom[32]; and 5.1 indicates that the chapter as a whole is addressed to the בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל, which Wolff has shown refers in the Amos-text to the political entity of the northern kingdom[33]. However, the terms of the invitation are noteworthy: part of the invitation was to cease attending the sanctuary at Bethel (4.4-5; 5.4-5)[34]; but the invitation was not to come to Jerusalem instead: rather it was to "seek me (YHWH)" and to "seek good and not evil" (5.4, 14). While the composition at this point is nominally addressed to northern Israelites, it is worded in such a way that people in Judah would recognise that it was just as applicable to them: they, too, must seek YHWH (5.4); they, too, must seek good and not evil, hate evil and love good, and establish justice in the gate (5.14-15); they, too, must refrain from the very activities described in the reasons for judgment elsewhere in the composition which led to the judgment of YHWH falling on the northern kingdom. This is confirmed by the progression in addressee in the units that follow: in 5.18-27* – in which 5.18-20 is clearly a new unit introduced by הוי – the address is not specified; and in 6.1 it specifically becomes the inhabitants of Zion as well as those of Samaria[35].

The presence of both very final announcements of judgment and of invitations to seek YHWH and seek good within the Post-722 Composition does not, therefore, count against the thematic coherence of the Post-722 Composition. Rather it is this carefully planned duality of themes, reflected in the careful structuring of the text, that gives it an applicability in the period after 722 both to inhabitants of and refugees from northern Israel, and also to inhabitants of the southern kingdom of Judah[36].

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[32] To all or part of it: so Wolff pp. 110, 240; Jeremias p. 96.

[33] Wolff p. 164; he is followed by Jeremias p. 48.

[34] There is little reason to doubt that Bethel continued to function as a sanctuary after 722: so, most recently, J F Gomes *The Sanctuary at Bethel and the Configuration of Israelite Identity*, BZAW 368, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin · New York, 2006, pp. 51-54.

[35] In section 3.4.3.9 above, I accepted with Jeremias (and contra Wolff) that the reference to Zion is part of the Post-722 Composition, rather than having entered the text in the Exilic Redactional Composition.

[36] My argument here is consonant with the view of Möller that the aim of the book of Amos is "to persuade its hearers or readers to learn from the failure of the prophet's audience to respond appropriately to his message. The recipients are induced, therefore, not to repeat the stubborn attitude and self-assured behaviour of Amos's original addressees" (Möller p. 122). I disagree with

Further thematic coherence is achieved within chapters 5-6 by the references to מִשְׁפָּט and צְדָקָה (5.7; 5.24; 6.12; just מִשְׁפָּט in 5.15). The significance of these words can be variously understood. Firstly, they can be taken to be legal terms, signifying the opposite of the abuse of justice described in verses such as Amos 5.10, 12. This is the view of Harper, who in his treatment of 5.7 writes that "The very institutions which were intended to secure justice produce injustice….. Righteousness, here meaning civil justice, is personified, and represented as an individual thrown down"[37]. Secondly, they can be understood as ethical values and as a way of life that human beings are intended to practise and promote. Weinfeld writes that "If we look at exactly what it was that the prophets opposed, we see that the main wrongdoing is not the perversion of the judicial process, but oppression perpetrated by the rich landowners and ruling circles, who control the socio-economic order"; and that "Our interpretation of "justice and righteousness" does not exclude the juridical sense of the expression……. Our contention, however, is that "justice and righteousness" is not a concept that belongs to the jurisdiction alone"[38]. Gillingham describes this understanding under the heading "Justice and Righteousness as a Common Consensus about Appropriate

Möller, however, over his belief that "not only can the book (sc. "as a whole") be read against an eighth-century background but also that doing so actually minimizes the problems of interpretation" (p. 118).

[37] Harper p. 119. Mays pp. 92-93 also sees this as the primary significance of the terms. Wolff p. 245 notes the connection of this pair of words with "old sapiential material", examples of which are Proverbs 16.8; 21.3, but also sees the use of the words in Amos 5 and 6 as primarily legal: "Thus by "Justice" (משפט) Amos means that order which establishes and preserves peace under the law; this order is realized in practice through the legal decisions made in the gate, where matters of local jurisdiction were settled. "Righteousness" (צדקה) designates behavior which is in keeping with this order e.g. the willingness of one who himself is legally "in the right" (צדיק) to stand up in defense of another who is צַדִּיק, who has been unjustly accused".

[38] M Weinfeld *Social Justice in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*, Magnes Press, Jerusalem and Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1995, pp. 36, 44. K Koch *The Prophets Volume One*, SCM, London, 1982, p. 57 sees this understanding as typical of nineteenth-century scholarship, which "saw the stress on justice and righteousness as now representing the highest values for man and for God"; and he cites Wellhausen *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* Walter de Gruyter, Co, Berlin, [9]1958 (not seen by me), p. 108: "This is the so-called ethical monotheism of the prophets. They believe in the moral order of the world; they believe in the validity of righteousness as being without exception the supreme law for the whole world" (M Kohl's translation in Koch p. 58).

Behaviour"[39]. Thirdly, they may be seen as divine punitive action: in this case 5.24 is read as an announcement of judgment, with מִשְׁפָּט being translated as "judgment" rather than "justice". Fourthly, they may be seen as divine attributes conveying blessing: in which case the accusation in 5.7 and 6.12 is that these divine blessings have been misused and perverted. Berquist writes with regard to Amos 5.21-24 that "justice and righteousness seem to be attributes or activities of the deity, rather than the result of human accomplishment"[40]. He also draws attention to the imagery of flowing water as providing a key to the unlocking of the significance of the term[41], and in this is close to Koch, who writes of these two terms that "When we look at them closely they resemble a *fluid*. They pour out healingly like a river over the people (5.24) when the objectionable religious practices end; otherwise they turn into a bitter liquid"[42]; and he links the reception of these divine qualities to cultic activity. Jeremias writes that "These are entities already given by God, as it were internally established qualities which Israel itself cannot create; it can, however, certainly corrupt them."[43]

There is considerable merit in this last understanding of the terms. While the explicit cultic link proposed by Koch is not certain[44], it is certainly the case that all the relevant texts in the Post-722 Composition can be read appropriately in this way. The most important point for this section of the study, however, is that they

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[39] S Gillingham *The Image, the Depths and the Surface. Multivalent Approaches to Biblical Study*, JSOTSup 354, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 2002, p. 89. She lists Wolff as one of those who holds to such an understanding: however, in view of the quotation from Wolff in note 37 above, it may be questioned whether she is correct to do so.

[40] J L Berquist "Dangerous Waters of Justice and Righteousness: Amos 5.18-27", *BTB* 13, 1993, pp. 54-63 (60).

[41] Berquist "Dangerous Waters" pp. 56-57.

[42] Koch *The Prophets Vol 1* p. 58 (his italics). There is no reference to Koch in Berquist's article; but it is hard to imagine that he has not been influenced by Koch's work.

[43] Jeremias p. 90.

[44] Auld p. 70 writes that "It seems to me that more evidence will need to be produced before this case can win acceptance. It is not immediately obvious to me that 'justice' and 'righteousness' do generally appear in a cultic context, or that we should now assume such a context most times we meet these words".

can be understood in the same way in each of 5.7; 5.15; 5.24; and 6.12. This is a further strengthening of the thematic coherence of the Post-722 Composition[45].

In conclusion, structural, linguistic and thematic considerations all point to the compositional coherence of the Post-722 Composition.

4.1.4. The Origins of the Post-722 Composition

Is it possible to know who was responsible for this composition? P R Davies is right to observe that it "has to be conceded that at the heart of scholarship on biblical prophecy lies a deep chasm of ignorance about how and why prophetic scrolls were really written down, then copied and recopied, reworked and canonized"[46]. When scholars speak of "Amos's disciples" or a "School of Amos", it must be recognised that there exists no written evidence for any such groups. Nevertheless, the existence of the Amos-text leads to the necessity of positing a group (or groups) that preserved oral sayings of the man Amos, and used them as the basis of a literary composition[47]. The most likely setting for such a literary project after 722 is the capital city of Judah, namely Jerusalem[48]. In favour of this

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[45] Gillingham *The Image, the Depths and the Surface* pp. 79-121 explores possible different understandings of Amos 5.24 in the various historical (i.e. redactional) and literary sections of the Amos-text, beginning with "Justice and Righteousness in the Eighth-Century Message of Amos the Prophet". She recognises that more than one view of the significance of מִשְׁפָּט and צְדָקָה is possible, but concludes that "The constant thread" is the "need to explain the coming judgment", adding that "this appeal to 'justice and righteousness' is undoubtedly an inventive way of explaining the social and religious implications of such a damning message of judgment. One might even suggest that the term (*sic*) was chosen precisely because of its many levels of meaning" (p. 91).
[46] Davies "Amos, Man and Book" p. 117.
[47] The logical alternative is that there never was any oral ministry of people such as Amos or Hosea, but that books were written creating their *persona*. While possible, this seems inherently less likely. The whole question of the writing of prophetic texts and their relationship to oral tradition or performance is explored in the collection of essays of Ben Zvi and M H Floyd (eds) *Writings and Speech in Israelite and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy*, SBLSymS 10, SBL, Atlanta, 2000.
[48] L L Grabbe *Priests, Prophets, Diviners, Sages. A Socio-Historical Study of Religious Specialists in Ancient Israel*, Trinity Press International, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, 1995, pp. 198-9 writes that "The number of people with sufficient resources to carry on such activity was extremely limited. They might exist at some larger cultic sites and perhaps in some of the larger outlying cities; however, most such people would have been concentrated in the capitals of Samaria and Jerusalem. Such circles would normally have been drawn from either the priestly or scribal classes". M H Floyd " "Write the Revelation!" (Hab 2.2): Re-imagining the Cultural History of Prophecy", in Ben Zvi and Floyd *Writings and Speech* pp. 103-143, writes that "It would not necessarily be anachronistic to attribute writing to any time in Israel's history" (p. 133).

dating is (1) that the dominant purpose of forming this composition was to explain the justice of YHWH's action in allowing the northern kingdom to be destroyed: words of invitation to "seek YHWH and live" are present, but they are few, and function well in this composition as now addressed to the kingdom of Judah; and (2) that Jeremias has been successful, in my view, in demonstrating that within this composition there is already evidence of the influence of Hosea, and that this indicates an intention on the part of those responsible for this composition to hear the words of the two prophets alongside one another[49]: the literary processes which establish this are more likely to have been worked out after 722. This suggests that there was in Jerusalem a group of people interested in the writing of prophetic texts associated with these two men, at the least. Whether they are to be associated with the Jerusalem priesthood, or with "the wise" (if there was such a group of people with that designation) is more than we can or need to say.

4.2 The Coherence of the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition

This redactional composition comprises all of the Post-722 Composition, with the addition of the place references ("beside every altar" and "in the house of their God") in 2.8; a new climax in 3.8 to the series of rhetorical questions; the enigmatic 6.9-10; and the insertion of 7.9-17, 8.3 and 8.4-7 into the visions series.

4.2.1 Structural Coherence

The structure of the Post-722 Composition, outlined above, is strong, and was not substantially altered in the re-writing of the Amos-text in the late seventh century. The additions in 2.8, 3.8 and 6.9-10 make little difference to the structure. The insertions into the visions series destroy the parallelism between that series and the series of oracles against the nations: it is not altogether lost, however. This redactional composition therefore exhibits the same kind of structural coherence as the Post-722 Composition.

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[49] Jeremias "Interrelationship", in which he writes (p. 177) that "I am deeply convinced that there never was a book of Amos without a clearly discernible effect from Hoseanic texts".

4.2.2 Linguistic Coherence

Some of the distinctive vocabulary of the material that is newly brought into this redactional composition is taken from the Post-722 Composition, and some of it is new.

The following vocabulary may be noted:

(1) In 2.8 the term מִזְבֵּחַ links the Amos-text with Hosea 8.11; 10.1-2, 8[50];

(2) The question in 3.8 cleverly utilises language and images from 3.4 (the question הֲיִשְׁאַג אַרְיֵה of 3.4 becomes the statement אַרְיֵה שָׁאָג) in order to make a new climax to the series of rhetorical questions;

(3) That same verse also contains the verb נבא; this same verb is found in 7.12, 13, 15, 16, and the noun נָבִיא occurs twice in 7.14;

(4) The interjection הַס is found in 6.10 and 8.3;

(5) In 8.7 the reference to YHWH swearing by the pride of Jacob is drawn from vocabulary used in the Post-722 Composition in 6.8;

(6) The terms אֶבְיוֹן, עֲנוּיֵּי־אָרֶץ and דַּלִּים are found in 8.4, 6, verses which clearly draw on 2.6-7. The opening שִׁמְעוּ־זֹאת of 8.4 is similar to, but different from the opening words of 3.1; 4.1; 5.1.

This vocabulary indicates a sufficient level of linguistic coherence to contribute to the identification of the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition as a literary layer underlying the Amos-text.

4.2.3 Thematic Coherence

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[50] Jeremias "Interrelationship" p. 183; Jeremias p. 38. Jeremias also suggests that in Amos 2.8 בֵּית אֱלֹהֵיהֶם, and in 7.9 בָּמוֹת reflect Hoseanic influence.

The first and most significant new theme found in this redactional composition is that of the rejection of the prophetic word, described in 7.10-17. The necessity of that same prophetic word being spoken is forcefully stated in the new climax to the series of questions in 3.3-8. The importance of the theme of the rejection of the prophets in a passage such as the Deuteronomistic 2 Kings 17.13-15 was noted in section 3.4.2.2 above; and the interest of the writers of the books of Kings in the rulers of Israel and Judah matches the interest of Amos 7.9-17 in Jeroboam. In that the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition underlying the Amos-text pre-dates the exilic Deuteronomistic composition of Kings, it reveals an incipient interest in what was to become a more significant theme in the next century.

Secondly, through the inclusion of 6.9-10 and 8.3 the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition strengthens the descriptions of Israel's death. As Jeremias notes, "That all Israel is doomed to death…. is now portrayed in great detail"[51].

Thirdly, 8.4-6 reinterprets 2.6-7, focusing the accusation on dishonest business practices. The significance of this reinterpretation will be discussed in section 6.3.2 below.

While noting the themes present in the material that is new to this redactional composition, however, it is important to recognise that the themes of the Post-722 Composition also remain important. In this redactional composition too, the justice of YHWH's actions in judgment of the northern kingdom is asserted. In this redactional composition, too, the invitation to seek YHWH and live is present, and is linked with seeking to establish מִשְׁפָּט, and to avoid the very practices which led to YHWH's judgment of Israel. In this redactional composition, too, that invitation is linked to the reception and practice of מִשְׁפָּט and צְדָקָה. It needs to be asked, however, whether any of the additional units within the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition function as new interpretative signposts to be noted in interpreting units of the received text, including 2.6-16.

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[51] Jeremias p. 7.

There is no doubt that 7.9-17, by the very nature of its content, brings a new and strong perspective on the workings of YHWH's judgment: it is now doubly deserved, both because of the reasons for judgment in 2.6-9 (and in other units of the Post-722 Composition), but also because the message of YHWH's spokesman has been rejected. Less obvious, and consequently less noted by commentators, is that the presence of 8.4-7 provides a new lens through which to read the reasons for judgment in 2.6-8. Its placing in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition before the final vision is strategic, and invites a re-interpretation of 2.6-8 in the terms of 8.4-7. The exegesis of the reasons for judgment in 2.6-16 in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition must necessarily, therefore, include an exegesis of 8.4-6.

In conclusion, structural, linguistic and thematic considerations all point to the internal coherence of the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition; and the insertion of both 7.9-17 and 8.4-7 are of interpretative significance with regard to the reasons for judgment included in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition from the Post-722 Composition.

4.2.4 The Origins of the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition

The Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition is dated by Jeremias to "the age of the prophet Jeremiah"[52], while Wolff dates his supposed Bethel-Exposition to "the Josianic Age"[53]. A harmonizing of these two views gives a date for this redactional composition between 626 and 609. This makes this redactional composition roughly contemporaneous with Deuteronomy. There are no grounds on which to link the two, but it is likely that there was in this period a renewal of interest in the production of religious texts, out of which both Deuteronomy and the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition underlying the Amos-text emerged.

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[52] Jeremias p. 7.
[53] Wolff p. 111 and *passim*.

4.3. The Coherence of the Exilic Redactional Composition

To the Exilic Redactional Composition belongs all the final form of the Amos-text except 9.7-15, and a small number of phrases of no great consequence to this study. As noted in section 3.4.6, the new material in this redactional composition comprises the expansion of the superscription in 1.1; the oracles against Tyre, Edom and Judah in 1.9-10, 11-12; 2.4-5; the insertion of 2.10-12 into 2.6-16; the expansion of 3.1-2 by the addition of 3.1b; the addition of 3.7; the insertion of 3.13-14, referring to Bethel, into a section which otherwise refers to Samaria; the penitential liturgy of 4.6-12; the hymnic verses 4.13, 5.8-9 and 9.5-6, with which 1.2 may also be associated; the insertion into 5.5 of וּבְאֵר שֶׁבַע לֹא תֵעָבׁרוּ; the addition of 5.6 to 5.4-5; the cryptic 5.13; the insertion of 5.25-26 into 5.21-24, 27; and the units 8.8-10, 11-12, 13-14.

4.3.1 Structural Coherence

The points at which the liturgical material in the hymnic verses and the penitential liturgy of 4.6-12[54] are placed are significant for the structure of the Exilic Redactional Composition. The overall structure of the earlier compositions outlined above was:

> Superscription (1.1*);
> First Section: The Series of Oracles Against the Nations (1.3-2.16*);
> Second Section: Words of Amos (3.1-6.14*):
> > First Half: Words addressed to בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (3.1-4.5*);
> > Second Half: Words addressed to בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל (5.1-6.14*);
> Third Section: Series of Vision Accounts (7.1-8; 8.1-2; 9.1-4).

This structure is still visible in the Exilic Redactional Composition, but the placing of the hymnic material makes new climaxes and focal points:

> Superscription (1.1);

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[54] See section 3.4.3.6 above for this description of these verses.

Hymnic Motto (1.2);

First Section: The Series of Oracles Against the Nations (expanded) (1.3-2.16);

Second Section: Words of Amos (3.1-6.14):

First Half: Words addressed to בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, with a climax in the penitential liturgy of 4.6-12 and hymnic 4.13 (3.1-4.13);

Second Half: Words addressed to בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל, with 5.8-9 providing a new centre to the chiastic 5.1-17 (5.1-6.14);

Third Section: Series of Vision Accounts, with a climax in the hymnic 9.5-6 (7.1-9.6)[55].

Crenshaw has shown that the hymnic verses 4.13, 5.8-9 and 9.5-6 "must be viewed as confessions of faith in the God who created all things, who demands complete allegiance, and who appears to judge his people. They express the profound belief that Yahweh, far from being impotent now that the temple lies partly in ruins, is both Creator and Judge of all"[56]. They therefore reinforce the older message of the justice of YHWH's actions in judging his people by insisting that his right to judge and his power to judge are at one with his power evident in creation.

The other expansions of the Amos-text in the Exilic Redactional Composition fit within this adapted inherited structure.

4.3.2 Linguistic Coherence

Within the material not found in earlier compositions there is both vocabulary that is derived from those earlier compositions and distinctive vocabulary.

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[55] Various final-form studies of the Amos-text offer more refined and detailed structural outlines either of 1.1-9.6 or of the whole of 1.1-9.15; however, the summary outline above is sufficient for the purposes of establishing the structural coherence of the Exilic Redactional Composition. Examples of more detailed structures are those of W A Smalley "Recursion Patterns and the Sectioning of Amos", *The Bible Translator* 30/1, 1979, pp. 118-127; R F Melugin " "Form" versus "Formation" of Prophetic Books", *SBL 1983 Seminar Papers*, SBL Seminar Papers Series 22, Scholars Press, Chico, California, 1983, pp. 13-29 (23-24); Dorsey "Literary Architecture" pp. 305-330; Rottzoll *Studien* p. 3; Park *Book of Amos* pp. 47-48; see also Möller pp. 89-103 on "The Macrostructure of Amos".

[56] J L Crenshaw *Hymnic Affirmation* p. 114.

Words taken up from earlier compositions include those found in the expanded series of oracles against the nations: the plural construct פִּשְׁעֵי followed by the name of the nation concerned (1.9, 11; 2.4); the term אַרְמְנוֹת (1.10, 12; 2.5); the sending of fire in judgment (1.10, 12; 2.5). The plural construct פִּשְׁעֵי also occurs in 3.14, a verse which also picks up the verb פקד from 3.2.

At the beginning of this redactional composition, 1.2 picks up the verb שאג from 3.8. This strengthens the position of 3.1-8 as being both a conclusion to 1.2-2.16 and an introduction to chapters 3-6, since 1.2 and 3.8 make an *inclusio* around the verses between them. The insertion of 3.7 before 3.8 leaves 3.8 as the climax of the series of rhetorical questions, but strengthens the link between 3.3-8 and 7.10-17 by referring to הַנְּבִיאִים. This latter term is also found in 2.11, 12, which reinforces the theme of the rejection of the prophets.

The opening 1.2 also links to 9.3 through mention of הַכַּרְמֶל.

Vocabulary distinctive to this redactional composition is of two kinds. Some language is similar to that of Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic literature. Thus 2.4 says of Judah that they have rejected אֶת־תּוֹרַת יְהוָה וְחֻקָּיו לֹא שָׁמְרוּ[57]; and 2.10 and 3.1 speak of YHWH bringing up Israel from the land of Egypt[58]. On the other hand, the poetic language of the hymnic verses 4.13, 5.8-9 and 9.5-6 is close to that of passages in Deutero-Isaiah and Job[59]; as noted, the placing of these verses at key points in the structure of the text contributes to the literary cohesion of the Exilic Redactional Composition.

Opening and closing formulae are used which cohere with the earlier compositions, and internally within the Exilic Redactional Composition. The messenger formula כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה is used in 1.9, 11; 2.4 in the additional oracles

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[57] For the Deuteronomi(sti)c usage of keeping YHWH's תּוֹרָה and חֻקִּים, with the verb שמר, see M Weinfeld *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1972, p. 336.
[58] The verb used for "bring up" is the hiphil of עלה, which is less characteristic of Deuteronomy than the hiphil of יָצָא. I shall address this question in section 5.2.1 below.
[59] See section 3.4.3.6 above.

against foreign nations in just the same way as in the earlier compositions, while the closing formula אָמַר יְהוָה is not found in the additional material. נְאֻם־יְהוָה is found in the additional material, but no longer is it found only at the end of a unit: in 3.13 it is part of the opening summons to hear; in 4.6, 8, 9, 10, 11 it comes at the end of sub-units within the series, and in 8.9, 11 it occurs within a series of added sayings. Its occurrences in chapters 3 and 8 contain expanded divine name formulae.

Similarly, there are connecting formulae in the additional material shared with the earlier compositions, and others which are not. לָכֵן is found as a connecting word in 4.12 and 5.13, as also in the older compositions (and widely in the Hebrew Bible); and 4.13 is introduced by כִּי הִנֵּה, as also in 6.11 and 6.14 in the older compositions. New connecting formulae introduced into the Exilic Redactional Composition are וְגַם (4.6, 7); בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא (8.9, 13) and הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים (8.11). As Jeremias notes, the presence of these latter formulae "supports the assumption of later provenance. Amos 8.3-14 is characterized by a plethora of organizational framing formulae occurring only rarely in the preceding chapters, but then with increasing frequency during the late period of prophecy"[60].

Bethel is referred to in 3.14 and 5.6. As noted above, in the earlier compositions Bethel had been paired with Gilgal in 4.4-5 and 5.4-5, but does not appear alone. In the so-called Deuteronomistic History the action of Jeroboam I in setting up Bethel, with a cult viewed as idolatrous, as an alternative sanctuary to Jerusalem comes to be seen as the archetypal "sin of Jeroboam"[61], and it is likely that this connotation became attached to "Bethel" in the Amos-text from the exilic period onwards.

In terms of who is addressed, it is evident that this redactional composition wants to make it clear that it addresses Judah as well as Israel. The oracle in 2.4-5 is

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[60] Jeremias p. 145. By the "late period of prophecy" he means in the exilic and post-exilic periods.
[61] See 1 Kings 12.26-33; 14.16; 15.30, 34; 16.2, 19, 26, 31; 22.53 (52); 2 Kings 3.3; 10.29, 31; 13.2, 6, 11; 14.24; 15.9, 18, 24, 28; 17.22; 23.15.

addressed to Judah specifically, while 3.1 is expanded so that 3.1-2 addresses "the whole clan (הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה) that I brought up from the land of Egypt". The opening 1.2 in which YHWH "roars from Zion and utters his voice from Jerusalem" reinforces this. The term בֵּית יַעֲקֹב is used in 3.13: Jeremias argues that this is "im Buch Amos Bezeichnung für die Gemeinschaft, die auch nach der Katastrophe des Exils Partner Jahwe ist"[62]; it is entirely appropriate that this usage is found already within an exilic redactional composition. In 5.6 there occurs בֵּית יוֹסֵף, which, Wolff argues[63], was used after 722 to refer to the Israelite inhabitants of the Assyrian province of Samaria. The name יִשְׂחָק is used in 7.9 and 7.16.

These linguistic considerations show that there is, as we would expect, a coherence with the older compositions. The new material in the Exilic Redactional Composition also has an internal literary coherence, even though the main additions are of two kinds i.e. liturgical/hymnic and Deuteronomistic. Albertz considers that the differing vocabulary and literary style suggests different compositions: he proposes that there was an early exilic composition which incorporated 4.6-13 and the hymnic verses, and a subsequent late exilic (post-550) edition of the book that incorporated the Deuteronomistic additions[64]. It may be granted that that the liturgical material may have been associated with the Amos-text in the earlier years of exile; however, I am not persuaded that such association constituted a redactional composition. Rather, it was with the inclusion of the Deuteronomistic material as well that such a composition came into being.

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[62] J Jeremias "Jakob im Amosbuch", in idem *Hosea und Amos*, pp. 257-271 (269).
[63] Wolff p. 240.
[64] Albertz *Israel in Exile* p. 227.

<u>4.3.3 Thematic Coherence</u>

A number of thematic considerations may be noted.

(1) As indicated, the vocabulary used shows that the Exilic Redactional Composition extends the message of the Amos-text to be applicable to Judah as well as to Israel. Just as the Post-722 Composition provided an explanation of the justice of YHWH's actions in judging Israel in the downfall of Samaria in 722, so now the Exilic Redactional Composition did the same with regard to the destruction of Jerusalem in 587, and the ensuing captivity in Babylon.

(2) The reasons for Judah's punishment by YHWH are still found in the reasons for judgment laid out in units which had formed part of the oldest Post-722 Composition, such as those which are the focus of exegesis in Chapter 6, namely 2.6-9. The Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition had brought in a further element in 7.9-17 and 3.8, namely the rejection of the prophetic message. That element is further strengthened in the Exilic Redactional Composition through the inclusion of 2.11-12 and 3.7.

(3) The inclusion of apparently liturgical elements in 4.6-12, and of words of praise in 4.13, 5.8-9 and 9.5-6 suggests that in the exilic period there was confluence between those responsible for preserving and handing on the Amos-text and those with a liturgical function. Theologically this brought an awareness of YHWH as both Creator and Judge, and of those two aspects of his nature belonging together.

(4) Significantly, the Exilic Redactional Composition provides a new framework in which the reasons for judgment function. The references to the exodus from Egypt and the forty years in the wilderness (2.10; 3.1; 5.25) indicate a growing understanding of these events as 'saving acts', in the light of which Israel should respond to YHWH by certain right ways of living; and the reference to YHWH's law and statutes in 2.4 indicates that this right way of living was increasingly being seen as a following of these. Consequently the reasons for judgment of the

Amos-text now function within this understanding. It is tempting to speak of these growing understandings as constituting the presence of the concept of a covenant between YHWH and Israel: however it is noteworthy that the term *berith* does not appear in the Amos-text; and while that concept (and the term) is present in the exilic Deuteronomistic History, it cannot be assumed to be in the Exilic Redactional Composition underlying the Amos-text. What can more safely be asserted is that once the concept became widespread, the Amos-text would have been read in the light of it; but it is not clearly so at the time of the Exilic Redactional Composition.

There is, then, a structural, linguistic and thematic coherence to the Exilic Redactional Composition underlying the Amos-text.

4.3.4 The Origins of the Exilic Redactional Composition

Once again, it is wise to be aware of what Davies calls the "deep chasm of ignorance" about who, precisely, wrote, copied and worked on what are now the biblical texts. We know very little about what groups of people were active in the religious and literary life of those in exile. However, there is no reason to doubt that there was access to the means of writing; nor that creative thought and literary activity took place.

Albertz suggests that "after the loss of political and cultic institutions informal groups of theologians became more and more the vehicles of official Yahwism, to some extent continuing the groups supporting prophetic opposition and Deuteronomic reform"[65]. He also suggests that "The struggle for the recognition of the prophets of judgment as the word of God which now pointed the way for the whole community went in two directions: on the one hand as the work of convincing people by the written and spoken word in the everyday life of society, and on the other by launching writings of the prophets of judgment into

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[65] R Albertz *Israel in Exile* p. 133.

worship"[66]. He considers that one "way of incorporating the prophecy of judgment into liturgy becomes clear from Amos 4.6-13. This is a liturgical text which has been reshaped for exilic worship and which was inserted into the collection of sayings of Amos"[67]. He also considers that we can recognise "'Deuteronomistic' strata of redaction" within the composition history of the prophetic books; although he adds that "We should not imagine 'the Deuteronomists' as a single closed group. The Deuteronomists of the time of the exile – and the early post-exilic period – were more a theological current of the time which comprised very different groupings"[68].

Evaluation of Albertz's views lies beyond the scope of this study, which is first and foremost a literary one. It must suffice to say that I find his hypotheses plausible, if, of necessity, somewhat general. It is likely that people who valued the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition of the Amos-text were able, in exile, to make common cause with others, including liturgical functionaries; and that their thinking and work was recognised as having a compatibility with those who can be described as broadly 'Deuteronomistic' in their theology. Out of such circumstances the Exilic Redactional Composition of the Amos-text may, plausibly, have been produced. The context in which the Amos-text would then have been read or heard was one in which Deuteronomistic influence was increasingly felt, and Deuteronomistic theological thinking increasingly familiar.

4.4 The Coherence of the Post-exilic Redactional Composition

This redactional composition is the Amos-text as now found in the Hebrew Bible, with the possible exception of some forms of the divine name having been expanded. The main new material is 9.7-15. In the passage which is the specific focus of this study, namely 2.6-16, the addition of חִלֵּל שֵׁם קָדְשִׁי was made in 2.7b.

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[66] R Albertz *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period Vol 2*, SCM, London, 1994, p. 380.
[67] Albertz *History of Israelite Religion Vol 2* p. 381.
[68] Albertz *History of Israelite Religion Vol 2* p. 382.

<u>4.4.1 Structural Coherence</u>

The structure received in the Exilic Redactional Composition was added to in this redactional composition, but not altered in other respects. This is noteworthy: the composition remains primarily a message concerning the judgment of YHWH, with future hope expressed only *after* that judgment has been deemed to have taken place[69].

It was accepted in section 3.4.4 that 9.7-15 was probably added to the Amos-text in stages. The verses 9.7-10 are closely linked to the final vision in 9.1-4. I have accepted Jeremias's view that 9.12-13 was, probably, the latest addition: the fact that these verses were not added at the very end of the text perhaps reflects the desire to retain 9.14-15 as an eminently suitable conclusion to the book, with their words of restoration which refer back to and proclaim the reverse of the punishments announced earlier in the text.

Jeremias comments that these additional verses are "rich in formulaic elements"[70]. They do not display a particularly coherent structure, and to describe them as an "epilogue" to the book is not unfair. Their coherence is through their linguistic and thematic relationship to the Exilic Redactional Composition.

<u>4.4.2 Linguistic Coherence</u>

These verses contain several linguistic links with earlier parts of the book:

(1) The reference in 9.7 to YHWH bringing Israel up from Egypt uses the same words as 2.10 and 3.1;

(2) In 9.8 the term בֵּית יַעֲקֹב is that used in 3.13;

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[69] The question of whether the Post-exilic Redactional Composition considers that future judgment was still possible if the post-exilic community continued to practise those practices which constitute the reasons for judgment in the Amos-text will be discussed in section 6.5.2 below.
[70] Jeremias p. 162.

(3) Words in 9.8-10 clearly allude to 9.1-4: עֵינֵי אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה in 9.8 referring back to the עֵינַי of 9.4; the verb צוה in 9.9, and in 9.3 and 9.4; the words חֶרֶב and רָעָה in 9.10 and 9.4;

(4) The וְשַׁבְתִּי אֶת־שְׁבוּת of 9.14 may possibly be intended as a reversal of the לֹא אֲשִׁיבֶנּוּ of 2.4 and 2.6 (for thematic reasons, presumably not of the other oracles against the nations);

(5) 9.14 is clearly intended as a reversal of 5.11: the people will now drink the wine of their vineyards; and not merely houses, but cities will be rebuilt.

These verses contain introductory, concluding and connecting formulae which are found in earlier compositions underlying the Amos-text:

(1) אָמַר יְהוָה, expanded to אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים (9.15);

(2) נְאֻם־יְהוָה in the middle of a saying in 9.7, at the end of a saying in 9.8, and at the end of a saying and expanded to נְאֻם־יְהוָה עֹשֶׂה זֹּאת in 9.12;

(3) 9.9 begins with כִּי הִנֵּה;

(4) 9.11 begins with בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא.

The one introductory formula not previously found is in 9.13, which begins הִנֵּה יָמִים בָּאִים נְאֻם־יְהוָה.

These additional units therefore display literary coherence with the Exilic Redactional Composition.

4.4.3 Thematic Coherence

Jeremias is correct in his view that 9.7-10 comprise a dialogue concerning the final vision 9.1-4. Verse 7 "presupposes the argumentation against the content of the

final vision – namely, the irrevocable ruin of the people of God as a whole – based on reference back to Israel's election"[71], and verses 8-10 provide the answer that the destruction will not be total, but will affect כׇּל חַטָּאֵי עַמִּי.

As noted, 9.14 functions as a reversal of 5.11; it also reverses announcements of judgment such as 3.11 and 3.15. The final verse 9.15 promises that the people will never again experience exile.

The thematic coherence of the Post-exilic Redactional Composition, therefore, is found in the way in which the themes of 9.7-15 are dependent on and integrally bound up with those of the main part of the text.

4.4.4 The Origins of the Post-exilic Redactional Composition

Hope is offered in 9.11, 14-15 which is, in essence, a reversal of the negative happenings of the past. In contrast, the later 9.12-13 offer a more extravagant hope in which Israel's influence is extended, and in which creation itself is transformed in miraculous fashion. The reference in 9.12 to the "remnant of Edom" has been taken to suggest that these verses derive from a time when Edom has lost much of its land: Jeremias states that this was the case from the fifth century onwards, as a result of an "influx of Arab tribes"[72], while Wolff states that the phrase necessitates a dating to "relatively advanced postexilic times"[73]. While this is possible, it must also be recognised that "Edom" became, from the exilic period onwards, both a literary and theological symbol of those hostile to Israel[74], and one of the nations who would comprise part of a restored Davidic empire[75]. Additionally, the Post-722 Composition includes mention of Edom as complicit in the crimes of Gaza (1.6), and the Exilic Redactional Composition does the same with regard to the crimes of Tyre (1.9), as well as including an oracle against

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[71] Jeremias p. 163.
[72] Jeremias p. 167, citing M Weippert "Edom und Israel", *TRE* 9, 1982, p. 296.
[73] Wolff p. 353.
[74] See, most notably, Psalm 137.7; also Ezekiel 25.12-14; Lamentation 4.21-22; Obadiah 1-14; Malachi 1.2-4.
[75] See, for example, Obadiah 17-21.

Edom (1.11-12). It is not, therefore, certain that 9.12 gives an historical point of reference.

Our knowledge of institutions and literary processes in the Persian province of Yehud is no greater than our knowledge of these things in pre-exilic and exilic Israel. One observation may, however, be made: after the time of Haggai and Zechariah there are no prophetic books named after contemporary or recently functioning prophetic figures. This strongly suggests that "prophecy" in this period meant a literary engagement with the prophetic texts.

As Ben Zvi observes, "The choice of the written medium and the accompanying requirement of high literacy, along with the explicit claim that YHWH's word is written discourse, effectively creates a world in which YHWH's word is directly accessible only to a few literati in each generation"[76]. He goes on to pose a series of questions: "Unless one assumes that these literati were full-time writers and readers of prophetic literature, an unavoidable historical question emerges: What professional duties were they likely to have had in addition to writing, editing, reading – mainly rereading – and teaching prophetic (or any other) literature that claims to convey YHWH's word? Were they mainly bureaucrats who served the administration of the Achaemenid province of Yehud and the Jerusalemite temple?…... Did some of them work at least in part for the "private sector", for instance, as teachers or tutors for children of wealthy families?"[77]. The questions come more easily than the answers.

Linville proposes to take as a starting-point a "post-monarchic guild as the most likely social context for at least the completion of the prophetic literature, and Amos in particular"; this guild "turned to produce, edit and interpret stories and poems about, and attributed to, earlier prophets."[78] However, he does not seek to

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[76] Ben Zvi "Introduction" p. 8.
[77] Ben Zvi "Introduction" p. 10.
[78] J Linville "Amos Among the 'Dead Prophets Society': Re-Reading the Lion's Roar", *JSOT* 90, 2000, pp. 55-77 (60-61).

define who, exactly, he thought the members of this guild were. Much of the article reads as though he considers them to have been a kind of fifth-century debating society; yet he does conclude that they were "responsible to the people for the divine word"[79].

Albertz considers that in the post-exilic period there was a "splintering of official Yahweh religion into rival traditions or conceptions": however, under Persian influence Deuteronomistic and Priestly groups cooperated in the production of the Torah, and "prophecy was recognised only within the framework marked out by law". A consequence of this was that those unable to accept this dominant compromise were "banished to the periphery of society" where "in study, exegesis and reinterpretation of earlier prophecies these small groups arrived at the conception of an eschatological action of God"[80]. Might the Post-exilic Redactional Composition of the Amos-text have been produced by such a group? We can scarcely be sure.

An important contribution is that of Levin[81]. He argues that in Hellenistic Judaism the "righteous poor" constituted a religious grouping. He writes that "Armut ist für diese Anawim sowohl ein gegebener als auch ein gesuchter Zustand. Sie bestimmt ihren sozialen Status, aber mehr noch ihre Haltung und ihr Selbstverständnis. Daher ist sie eher spirituell als materiell aufgefaßt, ist eher humilitas als paupertas"[82]. It was this grouping, he argues, who were responsible for the formation of the present form of the book of Amos. Controversially, he suggests that those passages in which social injustice is given as a reason for judgment are not, as is widely held, eighth-century in origin, but are creations of this religious group. I am unable to concur with his view that these passages did not originate until well into the post-exilic period, but I find plausible and attractive the possibility that such a group adopted the Amos-text, and was responsible for the

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[79] Linville "Amos Among the 'Dead Poets Society'", p. 76.
[80] Albertz *History of Israelite Religion Vol 2* pp. 437-443 (440, 441). He acknowledges the influence of O Plöger *Theocracy and Eschatology*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1968.
[81] C Levin "Das Amosbuch der Anawim", *ZTK* 94, 1997, pp. 407-436.
[82] Levin "Amosbuch der Anawim" p. 411.

Post-exilic Redactional Composition. This remains, of course, no more than a plausible hypothesis regarding the origin of the Post-exilic Redactional Composition, and other hypotheses are possible: but it is a possibility which opens up potentially fruitful interpretative and exegetical possibilities.

<div align="center">

4.5 Conclusion
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I have argued in this chapter that each of the composition layers that I have identified as underlying the Amos-text, and to which in the preceding chapter I attributed the various parts of the Amos-text, has been shown to have an internal coherence (structural, linguistic and thematic) which confirms that indeed they existed; and in so doing I have noted perspectives and themes which will assist the exegesis of the reasons for judgment in Amos 2.6-16. Before turning to the exegesis, I first address in the next chapter two particular interpretative issues important to the interpretation of this unit.

Chapter 5: Investigation of Issues Pertinent to
the Interpretation of Amos 2.6-16

Two particular issues will be considered in this part of the study. While each could have been addressed within the exegesis of Amos 2.6-16 which will comprise Chapter 6, it will assist the flow of the exegesis if they are treated at this point. They are:

1. The relationship of 2.8 to Exodus 22.25-26 (26-27) and Deuteronomy 24.10-18;

2. The presence of election traditions in 2.9-12.

5.1 The relationship of Amos 2.8 to Exodus 22.25-26 (26-27)
and Deuteronomy 24.10-18

Amos 2.8

וְעַל־בְּגָדִים חֲבֻלִים יַטּוּ   And on garments taken in pledge they lie down

אֵצֶל כָּל־מִזְבֵּחַ :   beside every altar;

וְיֵין עֲנוּשִׁים יִשְׁתּוּ   And they drink the wine of those being fined

בֵּית אֱלֹהֵיהֶם :   in the house of their gods.

In section 3.4.1 above I took the phrases אֵצֶל כָּל־מִזְבֵּחַ and בֵּית אֱלֹהֵיהֶם to be additions to the earliest literary text brought into the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition. The interpretative significance of these additions will be considered in section 6.3.1 below. At this point my concern is with the opening clause, וְעַל־בְּגָדִים חֲבֻלִים יַטּוּ.

It is usual for those commenting on Amos 2.8 to refer to Exodus 22.25-26[1]. Certainly, it appears to be the case that there is some kind of relationship between

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[1] So, among many: Harper p. 50; Cripps p. 142; Mays p. 48; Wolff p. 167; Andersen and Freedman p. 319; Paul p. 85; Jeremias p. 37; Coggins p. 103; Sweeney *The Twelve Prophets Volume 1* pp. 215-6.

Amos 2.8 and Exodus 22.25-26, and it is important for the interpretation of Amos 2.6-16 to investigate the nature of that relationship. It is also important to investigate the relationship between Amos 2.8 and relevant verses within Deuteronomy 24.10-18, which in turn raises questions regarding the relationship of Exodus 22.25-26 and those verses. Most older commentaries on Amos, and some more recent ones, do not refer to Deuteronomy 24.10-18[2]: this is logical if the Amos-text is being interpreted solely against an eighth-century context, and if the assumption is made that the laws within Exodus 22 are pre-eighth-century, while those of Deuteronomy 24 are post-eighth-century. However, this study is seeking to interpret the Amos-text in each of the redactional compositions underlying the Amos-text; and, additionally, the hitherto widely held view that the so-called Book of the Covenant[3] contains older laws which pre-date both the eighth-century prophets and Deuteronomy has recently come under scrutiny, notably by Van Seters[4]. These considerations necessitate consideration of verses within Deuteronomy 24.10-18 along with Exodus 22.25-26, and consideration of the relationship of each to Amos 2.8.

I shall first survey and comment on views representative of what was, for many years, the scholarly consensus of the chronological priority of BC over Deuteronomy, and on the challenge of Van Seters to that scholarly consensus. I shall then examine the relationships between Exodus 22.25-26, Deuteronomy 24.10-18, and Amos 2.8.

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[2] Of those cited in the previous note, Harper, Cripps, Mays, Coggins and Sweeney do not mention Deuteronomy 24.10-18 at all.
[3] I shall henceforth use the abbreviation BC to mean "the so-called Book of the Covenant".
[4] J Van Seters *A Law Book for the Diaspora: Revision in the Study of the Covenant Code*, OUP, Oxford, 2003.

5.1.1 The Relationship Between The Book of the Covenant and the Laws of Deuteronomy

BC may be taken to extend from Exodus 20.22 to 23.33, if the introductory verses in 20.22-26 and an 'epilogue' in 23.20-33 are both included as part of it. A variety of issues is addressed by the laws in BC[5]:

21.1-11	Treatment of slaves;
21.12-17	Murder, violence to parents, kidnap; all of which are deemed to deserve the death penalty;
21.18-36	Injury to people and animals;
21.37-22.14	Theft and property matters;
22.15-16	Seduction of a virgin;
22.17-19	Sorcery, bestiality, sacrifice to other gods; all of which are deemed to deserve the death penalty;
22.20-23; 23.9	Treatment of resident aliens;
22.24-26	Treatment of the poor;
22.27-30	Cultic matters;
23.1-3, 6-8	Justice, Honesty and Fairness in a lawsuit;
23.4-5	Treatment of animals belonging to an enemy;
23.10-13	Fallow year and seventh day rest;
23.14-19	Festivals and cultic matters.

While describing all of these as "laws", it is important to recognise their diverse nature. Some deal with matters which are considered crimes in virtually all societies, such as murder and kidnap. Others, such as those concerning treatment of slaves, or with the appropriate level of compensation to be paid for damage to property and injury, deliberate or accidental, to people, deal with the ordering of society. Others again deal with specifically religious and cultic matters. We may note, too, that there are varied literary forms of law within BC: within 21.1-22.16 are found, principally, *mishpatim* framed in the "If….. then…..." manner of

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[5] In the interests of avoiding clumsy repetition, in this section of the thesis I shall refer to the verse numbers of the Hebrew text without putting the English verse numbers in brackets on every occasion.

casuistic law, while in 22.17-23.19 are found, principally, laws beginning "You shall not/You shall…." or "Whoever…". The classic form-critical study of these laws is the influential essay of A Alt[6]. Alt argued that the form of the casuistic laws was recognisable in the Babylonian Code of Hammurabi and other Ancient Near Eastern codes, and had perhaps been received by the Israelites via the Canaanite city states where, he suggested, such laws had remained in use since the time of the Hyksos rulers[7]; but that the apodictic form (in which he included both the "You shall not/You shall….." form and the "Whoever…." form) was distinctively Israelite and "was rooted in the basic institutions of Israel's early history…. before the founding of the kingdom"[8]. While several of Alt's particular conclusions have been disputed[9], the basic distinction between casuistic and apodictic law remains valid, and is common parlance within Hebrew Bible scholarship. However, not all the laws of BC fall neatly into one literary form or the other, and those in 22.24-26 have an "If….. you….." structure which draws elements from both the basic types identified by Alt[10].

Alt held that the laws of BC derived from an early period of Israel's history, a view which could be supported by the work of source critics. Childs notes that early source critics attributed BC either to J or, more commonly, to E, but that from the publication of a monograph by Bäntsch in 1892 a growing consensus emerged that BC was an older collection of laws independent of the usual critical sources[11]. Questions regarding both the dating of individual laws, and of possible small series of laws, have been variously answered, as have questions regarding

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[6] A Alt "The Origins of Israelite Law", in A Alt *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1966 pp. 79-132. D Patrick *Old Testament Law*, SCM, London, 1986, p. 21 observes that "His study has established itself as the decisive point of departure for all subsequent form criticism of biblical law".
[7] Alt "Origins" pp. 97-99.
[8] Alt "Origins" p. 131.
[9] For example, many scholars do not include the "Whoever….." laws within the category of apodictic law, which they restrict to the "You shall not…./You shall…." form, e.g. E Gerstenberger *Wesen und Herkunft des "Apodiktischen Rechts"*, Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, Neukirchener Verlag, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1965.
[10] Van Seters *Law Book* p. 132 describes the form of 22.24-26 as "pseudocasuistic".
[11] B S Childs *Exodus*, OTL, SCM, London, 1974, p. 452; referring to B Bäntsch *Das Bundesbuch Ex XX.22-XXIII.33*, Halle, 1892 (not seen by me).

the time and process of the insertion of BC into the Sinai narrative; but there has been a general agreement that its insertion into the Sinai narrative was pre-Deuteronomic, and that many of the laws within it are older still – some would say much older. For example: Noth held that BC originated before the establishment of the monarchy[12]. Similarly Marshall writes that "In the context of Israel's political history this is clearly a pre-monarchical society rather than a well-organized central government"[13]. Comparisons with the Code of Hammurabi and other ANE law codes have been taken to indicate that the laws of BC may be dated this early: for example, Paul speaks of "a societal framework of a non-monarchical tribal polity"[14]. Others do not take them as early as pre-monarchic, but take them to be definitely pre-Deuteronomic. Thus Childs considers that the *mishpatim* were added after the insertion of the other parts of BC into the Sinai narrative, and that this addition of the *mishpatim* was itself pre-Deuteronomic – thus the bulk of BC was inserted earlier still[15]; indeed, he states that the addition of the *mishpatim* "must be set considerably before the formation of the Deuteronomic laws"[16]. Crüsemann would like to "regard the Book of the Covenant as a law book of King Hezekiah, corresponding to the connection between Josiah and the deuteronomic law"; however he recognises that "Hezekiah's reforms have nothing to do with the demands of the book of the Covenant", and for this reason leaves open the exact origin and immediate effect of BC[17] – while definitely taking it to be pre-Deuteronomic. There have been differing views concerning whether the Deuteronomic author(s) intended to replace BC, or whether, rather, his work was intended to serve a different purpose in a different context; but there has been widespread agreement that Deuteronomy knew and used the laws of BC, rather than the other way round. Thus von Rad wrote that "When we examine this

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[12] M Noth "The Laws in the Pentateuch: Their Assumptions and Meaning", in M Noth *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies*, Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh and London, 1966, pp. 1-107 (19).
[13] J W Marshall *Israel and the Book of the Covenant. An Anthropological Approach to Biblical Law*, Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1993, p. 179.
[14] S Paul *Studies in the Book of the Covenant in the Light of Cuneiform and Biblical Law*, E J Brill, Leiden, 1970, p. 44.
[15] Childs *Exodus* pp. 454-8.
[16] Childs *Exodus* p. 458.
[17] F Crüsemann *The Torah. Theology and Social History of Old Testament Law*, T&T Clark, Edinburgh, 1996, pp. 197-8.

traditional material incorporated into Deuteronomy, we are struck by the fact that a large part of the laws or maxims of the central code is already known from the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 21-23)…… However, it is not equally certain that Deuteronomy was therefore actually intended to replace the Book of the Covenant"[18]. Clements writes that "When we examine in detail the nature of this Deuteronomic revision of the earlier laws taken from the Book of the Covenant…… It becomes clear to us that the Deuteronomic law is the later version and has been designed to take account of a wider range of features than those reflected in the earlier law"[19]. Crüsemann refers to the Deuteronomic law as "the more recent document" compared to BC[20], and writes that we must "interpret deuteronomic law not as an amplification of the Book of the Covenant, but rather as a replacement for it…… It was only in the development of the entire Pentateuch that both of these law books were integrated into a single entity"[21]. Otto writes that "Deuteronomy was a modernizing interpretation of the Covenant Code with cultic centralization as its hermeneutical key"[22], and that "the pre-exilic deuteronomic laws….. were redacted with regard to social responsibility and purity of the people"[23]. Gnuse writes that "a fuller explanation and application of these laws (*sc.* of BC) appears in the Deuteronomic legislation…… A comparison of the two law codes indicates that Deuteronomy 12-26 shares so many parallels with Exod. 20.23-23.19 that it must have been a revised and expanded version"[24]. With such a level of agreement among scholars (those cited being representative of a wide consensus), the onus is clearly on those who would argue differently to make their case strongly.

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[18] G von Rad *Deuteronomy*, OTL, SCM, London, 1966, p. 13.
[19] R E Clements *Deuteronomy*, JSOT Press, Sheffield, 1989, p. 25.
[20] Crüsemann *Torah* p. 201.
[21] Crüsemann *Torah* p. 202.
[22] E Otto "Of Aims and Methods in Hebrew Bible Ethics", *Semeia* 66, SBL, Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1994, pp. 161-172 (163) .
[23] E Otto "Aspects of Legal Reforms and Reformulations in Ancient Cuneiform and Israelite Law", in B M Levinson (ed) *Theory and Method in Biblical and Cuneiform Law. Revision, Interpretation and Development*, JSOTSup 181, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1994, pp. 161-2.
[24] R K Gnuse *No Other Gods. Emergent Monotheism in Israel*, JSOTSup 241, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1997, p. 284.

This is precisely what Van Seters attempts to do[25]. In opposition to all the scholars mentioned above and many others, Van Seters does not accept that BC is pre-Deuteronomic at all. He notes that "whenever the legal parallels between CC and DC are discussed, it is always assumed that Deuteronomy made use of CC and revised it according to its own ideological and theological agenda"[26]: and it is precisely that assumption that he wishes to challenge. He considers that "The cultic laws themselves and the narrative context of the J composition all prove to be post-Dtr in date. However, this is not just a late redactional framework for an older Covenant Code. The other laws show the same relationship of dependence upon both DC and HC and its whole composition is the work of an author later than both"[27]. He takes BC to be part of the work of an exilic "Yahwist" author who he considers to have been responsible for most of the non-Priestly material in Genesis-Numbers, including the whole of BC. This view is in line with conclusions that he has reached in other writings on the Pentateuch[28]. Examination of these other works lies beyond the scope of this study, but it is important to pay attention to his work on BC. I shall also refer to the robust and searching critique of his work by B Levinson[29].

In the opening section of *A Law Book for the Diaspora*, Van Seters suggests that there have been four building blocks or "pillars" on which hypotheses for an early

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[25] Most fully in Van Seters *Law Book.* Articles leading up to this volume were J Van Seters "Cultic Laws in the Covenant Code and Their Relationship to Deuteronomy and the Holiness Code", in M Vervenne (ed) *Studies in the Book of Exodus*, BETL 126, Leuven University Press, Leuven, 1996, pp. 319-345; idem "The Law of the Hebrew Slave", *ZAW* 108, 1996, pp. 534-546; idem "The Law on Child Sacrifice in Exod 22.28b-29", *ETL* 74, 1998, pp. 364-372; idem "Some Observations on the *Lex Talionis* in Exod 21.23-25", in S Beyerle et al (eds) *Recht und Ethos im Alten Testament: Gestalt und Wirkung: Festschrift für Horst Seebass zum 65. Geburtstag*, Neukirchener Verlag, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1999, pp. 27-37. Throughout his works Van Seters uses his preferred term "Covenant Code" to refer to Exodus 20.22-23.33.
[26] Van Seters "Cultic Laws" p. 320. Van Seters uses the abbreviations CC for "Covenant Code", DC for "Deuteronomic Code" and HC for "Holiness Code".
[27] Van Seters "Cultic Laws" p. 344.
[28] J Van Seters *In Search of History. Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1983; idem *Prologue to History. The Yahwist as Historian in Genesis*, Westminster/John Knox Press, Louisville, Kentucky, 1992; idem *The Life of Moses. The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus – Numbers*, Westminster/John Knox Press, Louisville, Kentucky, 1994.
[29] B Levinson "Is the Covenant Code an Exilic Composition?", in J Day (ed) *In Search of Pre-Exilic Israel*, JSOTSup 406, T & T Clark International, London and New York, 2004, pp. 272-325.

dating of BC have been established. Because he sees these as interconnected, a weakness in any one of them would, in his view, undermine the whole scholarly edifice of a pre-Deuteronomic dating of BC[30].

The first building block, Van Seters suggests, is the "Documentary Hypothesis", according to which BC is attributed to one of the early literary sources, usually E[31]. This pillar, Van Seters notes, has been severely weakened by alternative views of Pentateuchal composition put forward in recent years[32]. Certainly Van Seters can justifiably claim that compared to the middle years of the twentieth century there is greater reticence and caution shown in identifying pre-Deuteronomic J and E sources; although he goes beyond most in his vigorous attribution of so much of Genesis – Numbers to an exilic Yahwist. However, while this "pillar" is not as strong as once it was, it has to be questioned whether other "pillars" are necessarily weakened by the weakening of this one; and we shall see that the next "pillar" is less readily disposed of.

The second pillar identified by Van Seters for an early dating of BC is its similarity to the various Babylonian law codes of the second millennium BCE[33], from which several scholars have argued that a widespread cultural influence of such collections of laws indicates an early dating[34]. Van Seters devotes an

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[30] Van Seters *Law Book* pp. 4-5.

[31] In his review of scholarship Van Seters notes that Wellhausen attributed BC to E, supposedly in parallel to J's Ritual Decalogue in Exodus 34.17-26, but that Noth, influenced by Alt's form-critical work, saw it as belonging neither to E nor J, but rather as an independent collection of laws: see *Law Code* pp. 8-11.

[32] See E W Nicholson *The Pentateuch in the Twentieth Century: The Legacy of Julius Wellhausen*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1998.

[33] Van Seters *Law Book* p. 5.

[34] Alt proposed that the influence of the Babylonian law codes was mediated via the pre-monarchic Canaanite city states, where, he believed, such laws had remained in use since the days of the Hyksos rulers (see A Alt "Origins" p. 99). Others have been ready to envisage a less specific wide cultural diffusion of such laws; thus S Paul *Studies in the Book of the Covenant in the Light of Cuneiform and Biblical Law* writes that "all cultures of the Fertile Crescent were attracted by the magnetism of cuneiform law" (p. 99); "Since there was an overall cuneiform legal background in the Near East at this time, the legal traditions could have reached Israel by several different paths" (p. 104); "One can safely assume that there was a general awareness of cuneiform law throughout the entire ancient Near East, and that cuneiform legal traditions played an important role in the early stages of Israelite law" (p. 105).

important and thorough section of his book to the question of the nature of the influence of the Babylonian law codes on biblical law. Using the categories of a study by M Malul[35], he rejects the likelihood of the connection of the Babylonian codes and BC being *typological*, by which is meant perceived parallels of a sociological or anthropological nature between cultures and societies far apart historically and geographically, and argues that the connection must be *historical*. Within this historical connection Van Seters considers that the similarities are too great for the contact to have been merely at the *reality level* – by which is meant the general diffusion of a shared cultural heritage – and argues that they must be at the *literary level*: that is to say, the borrowing is through the use of a literary source[36]. He then proposes that the period and place in which such literary borrowing took place was in the sixth century BCE in exile in Babylon, and notes that copies of portions of the Code have been found in the Neo-Assyrian period (in the library of Ashurbanipal) and in the Neo-Babylonian period[37]. The second "pillar" of an early dating of BC is thus rejected.

In his critique of Van Seters's study, Levinson supports much of Van Seters's argument here. He accepts that Van Seters "demonstrates that there is simply no meaningful way to account for a chain of transmission from second-millennium Mesopotamia to first-millennium Syro-Palestine" and that "He makes a compelling case that the degree of correspondence between the two texts in terminology, literary form, legal topos, and sequence of laws, is explained most logically in terms of literary dependence and reuse"[38]. He adds that Van Seters also "demonstrates the untenability of the attempt to see the Covenant Code as a window into the pre-monarchic history of Israel. By identifying the nostalgic or romantic view of history associated with that attempt, he accomplishes for biblical law the same kind of epistemological clarification that he provided in his book on

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[35] M Malul *The Comparative Method in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Legal Studies*, AOAT 227, Neukirchener Verlag, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1990 (not seen by me).
[36] The terms in italics are those from Malul's study utilised by Van Seters and appear in italics in his *Law Book*. Levinson "Covenant Code" describes Van Seters's work here as "Astutely drawing on the work of Meir Malul…." (p. 289).
[37] Van Seters *Law Book* pp. 5, 31, 57, 173-4.
[38] Levinson "Covenant Code" p. 289.

the patriarchal narratives"[39]. However, Levinson is critical of the way in which Van Seters moves from establishing the necessity of seeing a literary link between the Babylonian law codes and BC to the claim that the most likely setting for literary contact between the two is in the Babylonian exile, without any consideration or examination of alternative possibilities. By setting out a table showing the distribution of finds of portions of the Code of Hammurabi, Levinson demonstrates that a more likely period for such literary borrowing is the Neo-Assyrian period, in which dissemination of the Laws of Hammurabi could have taken place as a consequence of Neo-Assyrian hegemony[40]. Thus "The composition of the Covenant Code does not require the Babylonian exile for cultural contact with Babylonian tradition to have been feasible. A Hebrew scribe need not necessarily have been 'an exile' (*pace* Van Seters) to have had access, directly or indirectly, to cuneiform"[41]. Both Levinson's support of Van Seters's arguments for literary dependence and his criticism of Van Seters's jump from that to the setting of literary borrowing being in Babylonian exile are valid. A more probable period for the influence of laws in the Code of Hammurabi on BC is the eighth or seventh century. Levinson cites approvingly a study of D Wright[42] in which the suggested probabilities are the reigns of Ahaz, Hezekiah or Manasseh in Judah, or in northern Israel prior to, or possibly just after, its fall[43].

I find this argument of Levinson, following the work of Wright, for the dating of the laws of BC, to be compelling. It provides the best explanation for how the influence of the laws of the Code of Hammurabi is seen in BC. It is also consonant with the view of Crüsemann that "The Book of the Covenant was compiled in the last decades of the eighth century or the beginning of the seventh century"[44], and that the provisions for protection of the alien and of the poor in 22.20-26 are to be

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[39] Levinson "Covenant Code" p. 290.
[40] Levinson "Covenant Code" pp. 291-296; the table is on p. 293.
[41] Levinson "Covenant Code" p. 295.
[42] D P Wright "The Laws of Hammurabi as a Source for the Covenant Collection (Exodus 20.23-23.19)", *MAARAV* 10, 2003, pp. 11-87.
[43] Levinson "Covenant Code" p. 296.
[44] Crüsemann *Torah* p. 184.

dated to this time[45]. An important consequence for this study is that any assumption that the laws of BC as a literary collection are older than Amos 2.8 is not to be uncritically accepted. If a date for the first written edition of the Amos-text soon after 722 is accepted, then Wright's and Levinson's suggested possible datings are either side of that. On this view the compilation of BC and the production of the first written Amos-text would have been roughly contemporaneous.

Van Seters identifies a third building block as being the argument that BC's laws derive from a primitive and early stage in Israel's social and religious development[46]. He notes that evolutionary arguments so popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century are now widely held to be suspect, but agrees that "this code does not reflect anything of a national state during the period of the Israelite and Judean monarchies"; however, this is not because it is pre-monarchic – rather "it is a lawbook for the semi-autonomous diaspora communities, especially those of the Babylonian empire"[47]. It may readily be granted that some older studies attributing the laws of BC to pre-monarchic Israel betray a romantic quest for antiquity, and I have already accepted, with Levinson, that Van Seters is justified in challenging such nostalgic and romantic views of history. Nevertheless, the lack of reflection of a national state with a monarch, accepted by Van Seters, requires explanation. His explanation is that BC was written as part of the exilic Yahwist's composition in exile in Babylon. However, as Levinson recognises, there is too much of a leap of argument here. In the Code of Hammurabi it is only in the framework of the Code that the monarch is mentioned: thereafter he is present only as the implied speaker and giver of laws. Thus in BC "the non-mention of a monarch may simply reflect the literary model after which the casuistic laws of the Covenant Code are patterned, as well as the desire to present Yahweh as the divine monarch who proclaims law"[48].

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[45] Crüsemann *Torah* pp. 184, 196-7.
[46] Van Seters *Law Book* p. 5.
[47] Van Seters *Law Book* p. 5.
[48] Levinson "Covenant Code" p. 296.

The fourth building block which Van Seters rejects is, effectively, the whole form-critical method, and identification of possible redactions, as a basis on which to attribute different laws to different origins and social settings. He regrets that Alt's form-critical analysis "gave rise to the notion of the code as a compilation of different smaller collections or series of laws from different primitive social settings"[49]. He regards attempts to trace earlier collections of laws or a pre-history of any kind as a dubious enterprise, and rejects any developmental scheme for BC, preferring to see it as a unified part of the whole work of the Yahwistic author who worked in the Babylonian exile[50]. In fact, he takes this to be so with regard to the whole of Exodus 19-24 apart from the subsequent addition of priestly material[51], writing that "Once the P supplements have been removed, we are left with a text that presents a harmonious narrative sequence throughout"[52]. In order to reach this position, Van Seters constantly draws attention to the way in which so many scholarly studies have started with the unquestioning assumption that the laws of BC pre-date those of Deuteronomy, and this is a point fairly made. However, we have to ask whether or not Van Seters's wholesale rejection of form-critical methodology and of many redaction-critical studies leads to a more convincing explanation of the present text of BC and of the Sinai pericope as a whole. The truth is that it doesn't: a synchronic reading of the text is not a natural one. As Levinson argues, "There are too many inconsistencies, repetitions, doublets and aporia (*sic*) in the narrative"[53].

Levinson's critique of Van Seters's arguments is strong, and I do not consider that Van Seters's study has been successful in demonstrating an exilic origin of BC. The usual view that BC pre-dates Deuteronomy stands. However, it is apparent that this cannot lead to an uncritical assumption that BC *in its final form* shows no

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[49] Van Seters "Cultic Laws" p. 319.
[50] Van Seters *Law Book* pp. 5, 112, 127, 174.
[51] Van Seters takes Exodus 19.1, 12-13a, 20-25; 20.1-17; 24.1-2, 9-11, 15-18a to be P material; the remainder of Exodus 19-24 he attributes to an exilic Yahwist author (*Law Book* p. 53).
[52] Van Seters *Law Book* p. 53.
[53] Levinson "Covenant Code" p. 280. A lengthy footnote (n. 12) lists some of the inconsistencies.

influence from Deuteronomy and the Holiness Code. The question of the influence of Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic tradition on the book of Exodus has been a matter of considerable scholarly debate in recent years[54], and Van Seters's work reinforces the point that it is dangerous to make the assumption that in each and every case the present formulation of a law in BC must be earlier than that of a seemingly parallel law in Deuteronomy or the Holiness Code, or that there was no influence from Deuteronomy or the Holiness Code back to BC. Rather each case needs to be argued on its merits; and Van Seters's treatment of each text will always warrant consideration.

Hence, as I now examine Exodus 22.25-26, Deuteronomy 24.10-18 and Amos 2.8 more closely, two points arising from this discussion must be noted: firstly, the dating of BC as a collection of laws may be taken to be roughly contemporaneous with the first Post-722 Composition of the Amos-text; and secondly, while this indicates a pre-Deuteronomic dating for the laws of BC, it will not be in order to assume that there has been no subsequent Deuteronomic influence on them, and the possibility that the laws in Deuteronomy 24.10-18 might have exerted some influence on the present form of those in Exodus 22.25-26 and in the preceding verses 20-24 cannot be ruled out *a priori*.

5.1.2 Exodus 22.25-26 (26-27) and Amos 2.8

In order to give the context of Exodus 22.25-26, I include the text of the preceding verses, containing laws which also concern oppression of the weak.

22.20

וְגֵר לֹא־תוֹנֶה וְלֹא תִלְחָצֶנּוּ   You (s) shall not wrong or oppress a

                                          resident alien,

כִּי־גֵרִים הֱיִיתֶם בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם ׃   for you (pl) were aliens in the land of Egypt.

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[54] See M Vervenne "Current Tendencies and Developments in the Study of the Book of Exodus", in M Vervenne (ed) *Studies in the Book of Exodus*, BETL 126, Leuven University Press, Leuven, 1996, pp. 21-59; especially pp. 47-54 on "The Question of Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic Elements in Exodus".

22.21

כָּל־אַלְמָנָה וְיָתוֹם לֹא תְעַנּוּן :   You (pl) shall not abuse any widow or orphan.

22.22

אִם־עַנֵּה תְעַנֶּה אֹתוֹ   If you (s) do abuse him,

כִּי אִם־צָעֹק יִצְעַק אֵלַי   when he will surely cry out to me,

שָׁמֹעַ אֶשְׁמַע צַעֲקָתוֹ:   I will surely heed his cry.

22.23

וְחָרָה אַפִּי וְהָרַגְתִּי אֶתְכֶם בֶּחָרֶב   And my wrath will burn, and I will kill you (pl) with the sword

וְהָיוּ נְשֵׁיכֶם אַלְמָנוֹת וּבְנֵיכֶם יְתוֹמִים: and your wives will become widows and your children orphans.

22.24

אִם־כֶּסֶף תַּלְוֶה אֶת־עַמִּי   If you (s) lend money to my people,

אֶת־הֶעָנִי עִמָּךְ   to the poor among you,

לֹא־תִהְיֶה לוֹ כְּנֹשֶׁה   you (s) shall not be like a creditor to him,

לֹא־תְשִׂימוּן עָלָיו נֶשֶׁךְ :   you (pl) shall not charge him interest.

22.25

אִם־חָבֹל תַּחְבֹּל שַׂלְמַת רֵעֶךָ   If you (s) take as a pledge your neighbour's cloak,

עַד־בֹּא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ תְּשִׁיבֶנּוּ לוֹ :   you (s) shall return it before the sun goes down.

22.26

כִּי הִוא כְסוּתֹה לְבַדָּהּ הִוא שִׂמְלָתוֹ   For his cloak may be his only covering

לְעֹרוֹ   for his body;

בַּמֶּה יִשְׁכָּב   in what else will he sleep?

וְהָיָה כִּי־יִצְעַק אֵלַי וְשָׁמַעְתִּי   And if he cries out to me I shall listen,

כִּי־חַנּוּן אָנִי :   for I am compassionate.

The main verbs in Exodus 22.20-21 are in the imperfect with the negative לֹא. Those in 22.20 are followed by an explanatory clause in 22.20b, while that in 22.21 is followed in 22.22 by a conditional sentence which describes the

consequential action of YHWH if these prohibitions are not obeyed. Prohibitions in the same form resume (with a change of subject matter) in 22.27 onwards. The intervening verses 22.24-26 are of mixed formal structure. The verse 22.24 begins with a conditional clause, "If you lend money to my people, to the poor among you", but then continues once more with verbs in the imperfect with א ֹל: "You shall not be like a creditor to him, you shall not charge him interest". The verses which especially concern us, namely 22.25-26, also begin with a conditional clause, "If you take as a pledge your neighbour's cloak", which is followed by an imperfect verb, but in this verse used positively: "you shall return it to him before the sun goes down"; there then follows, additionally, an explanatory sentence: "For his cloak may be his only covering for his body; in what else shall he sleep? And if he cries out to me, I will listen, for I am compassionate".

The main part of the text is framed in the singular. However verses 20b, 21, 23 and probably 24c are framed in the plural. This suggests the likelihood that there has been development of the text of these verses. Van Seters consistently deprecates such *Numeruswechsel* as an indicator of differing sources or literary origins, referring to it as "a dubious principle of source division"[55]. Certainly if it is the sole criterion by which an additions is identified, such caution is justified. However, very often a change of number is accompanied by other possible indicators, and in that case it is a valid part of a cumulative case, and it is the scepticism of Van Seters which is then not justified. In this unit the plural of verse 20b is found in a motive clause referring to having been aliens in Egypt[56]; verse 21

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[55] Van Seters *Law Book* p. 62.

[56] Van Seters is as dismissive of the presence of motive clauses as a sign of development within a text as of number change. He cites the studies of Gemser (B Gemser "The Importance of the Motive Clause in Old Testament Law", in B Gemser *Adhuc Loquitur. Collected Essays of Dr B Gemser*, Pretoria Oriental Series Vol VII, E J Brill, Leiden, 1968, pp. 96-115) and of Sonsino (R Sonsino *Motive Clauses in Hebrew Law. Biblical Forms and Near Eastern Parallels*, SBL Dissertation Series 45, Scholars Press, California, 1980) as giving evidence that such motive clauses are a natural part of both cuneiform and biblical law. However, he does not pay sufficient attention to the question of whether the studies of Gemser and Sonsino do actually support his argument as strongly as he implies, or whether they make their case sufficiently. Thus, for example, Gemser argues that "The antiquity of this tendency of appealing to the moral and religious sense of the people is proved by its occurrence already in the Book of the Covenant, in the so-called Yahwistic Decalogue and perhaps already in the Elohistic Decalogue" ("Motive Clause"

refers to the "widow or orphan", words which are generally characteristic of Deuteronomy more than of BC[57], and which do not appear in BC apart from in these verses; verse 23 is a consequential sentence following on verse 22; and the final clause of verse 24 can be read as being in parenthesis to the preceding clause. Additionally, as Crüsemann observes with regard to BC, "Passages with address in the second person plural….. are different than the juridically very precise, second person singular, because of their character"[58]. In each case, therefore, there are other possible indications that the parts of these verses framed in the plural are additions. Van Seters's unwillingness to acknowledge this counts against his position.

The particular verses to which Amos 2.8 is often related, namely 22.25-26, are, in fact, framed entirely in the singular. Nevertheless, it is possible that 22.26 is an expansion of the original injunction of 22.25[59]. The link in vocabulary between these verses and Amos 2.8 is provided by the verb חִבֵּל, "pledge". However, different nouns are used: Exodus 22.25-26 speaks of the neighbour's cloak (שַׂלְמָה/שִׂמְלָה[60]), while Amos 2.8 refers to "garments" (בְּגָדִים). This raises questions

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p. 112); but this is a circular argument: because motive clauses are present in these texts which, like many at the time when he wrote, he held to be ancient, and certainly pre-Deuteronomic, therefore motive clauses are ancient, therefore they should not be seen as additions because the form is ancient. Furthermore, many scholars, including Van Seters himself, are no longer persuaded that these texts are ancient. Gemser also suggests that their "rhythmic form…. points to an archaic, traditional element in the formulation of the laws" (pp. 112-3); however, he does not define what he means by "rhythmic form", and the fact is that they are comprised of ordinary, straightforward prose. Sonsino's study is, in fact, quite cautious and modest in its conclusions. Sonsino accepts that there are no motive clauses in cuneiform laws that include references to an historical event, promise of well-being, or a matter of divine will (*Motive Clauses* pp. 174-5), and that it is not, therefore, possible to use comparisons between biblical and cuneiform law to argue for the antiquity of the kinds of motive clause found in biblical law. Furthermore, Sonsino's argument is that "A motive clause should not be taken as secondary just because it is a motive clause" (p. 210); but in many cases there are other indications that it may be an addition, and, contrary to the impression given by Van Seters, Sonsino's work is not argument against the presence of a motive clause being part of a cumulative case for a clause being an addition. It is, therefore, entirely reasonable to think that the motive clause in Exodus 22.20, formulated in the plural, is later than the first half of the verse.

[57] Weinfeld *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* p. 356; BDB pp. 48a, 450b.
[58] Crüsemann *Torah* pp. 197-8.
[59] So Noth *Exodus* p. 187.
[60] H Niehr "שִׂמְלָה *śimlâ*; שַׂלְמָה *śalmâ*", *TDOT XIV*, pp. 158-163 (158) notes that "In the OT *śimlâ* occurs 29 times, *śalmâ* 16 times. No difference in use between the two forms can be discerned".

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regarding the nature of the relationship between the two texts. It is doubtful whether the sharing of one relatively common item of vocabulary (חֲבֹל) is sufficient to establish any *literary* dependence either way between the two texts. Either Amos 2.8 is a loose citation of an orally transmitted injunction, or Exodus 22.25-26 itself reveals the influence of the oral proclamation of Amos; or, indeed, the giving and taking of a garment in pledge was a sufficiently widespread custom for there to be no particular dependence at all[61]. Any of these possibilities fits with the conclusion reached above regarding the roughly contemporaneous dating of the literary compilation of BC and of the Post-722 Composition of the Amos-text.

5.1.3 Deuteronomy 24.10-18, Exodus 22.24-26 and Amos 2.8

Several, but not all of, the verses in Deuteronomy 24.10-18 contain words and subject matter in common with Exodus 22.20-26 (21-27) and Amos 2.8. The whole of 24.10-18 is set out here, so that the relevant verses are read in their literary context.

24.10

| כִּי־תַשֶּׁה בְרֵעֲךָ מַשַּׁאת מְאוּמָה | When you loan to your neighbour a loan of any kind, |
| לֹא־תָבֹא אֶל־בֵּיתוֹ לַעֲבֹט עֲבֹטוֹ: | You shall not go into his house to take his pledge. |

24.11

| בַּחוּץ תַּעֲמֹד וְהָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה נֹשֶׁה בוֹ | You shall stay outside, and the man to whom you are loaning, |
| יוֹצִיא אֵלֶיךָ אֶת־הַעֲבוֹט הַחוּצָה : | let him bring the pledge to you outside. |

24.12

| וְאִם־אִישׁ עָנִי הוּא לֹא תִשְׁכַּב בַּעֲבֹטוֹ: | And if he is a poor man, you shall not sleep in his pledge. |

24.13

| הָשֵׁב תָּשִׁיב לוֹ אֶת־הַעֲבוֹט כְּבֹא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ | You shall certainly return the pledge to him |

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[61] The presence of this same subject-matter in Proverbs 20.16 (= 27.13) makes this last possibility entirely plausible.

before sunset,

וְשָׁכַב בְּשַׂלְמָתוֹ וּבֵרֲכֶךָּ
so he may sleep in his cloak, and bless you;

וּלְךָ תִּהְיֶה צְדָקָה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ:
and it will be righteousness to you before YHWH your God.

24.14

לֹא־תַעֲשֹׁק שָׂכִיר עָנִי וְאֶבְיוֹן
You shall not take advantage of the poor and needy hired man,

מֵאַחֶיךָ אוֹ מִגֵּרְךָ אֲשֶׁר
from among your brothers or your alien who

בְּאַרְצְךָ בִּשְׁעָרֶיךָ:
who is in your land, in your gates.

24.15

בְּיוֹמוֹ תִתֵּן שְׂכָרוֹ
on his day you shall pay his wage,

וְלֹא־תָבוֹא עָלָיו הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ
and not after the sun sets on him,

כִּי עָנִי הוּא וְאֵלָיו הוּא נֹשֵׂא אֶת־נַפְשׁוֹ
for he is poor, and bases his life on it;

וְלֹא־יִקְרָא עָלֶיךָ אֶל־יְהוָה
and he will call against you to YHWH,

וְהָיָה בְךָ חֵטְא:
and it will be guilt to you.

24.16

לֹא־יוּמְתוּ אָבוֹת עַל־בָּנִים
Fathers shall not be put to death for their children,

וּבָנִים לֹא־יוּמְתוּ עַל־אָבוֹת
and children shall not be put to death for their fathers;

אִישׁ בְּחֶטְאוֹ יוּמָתוּ:
a man shall die for his own sin[62].

24.17

לֹא תַטֶּה מִשְׁפַּט גֵּר יָתוֹם
You shall not deprive an alien or an orphan of justice;

וְלֹא תַחֲבֹל בֶּגֶד אַלְמָנָה:
you shall not take as pledge the cloak of a widow.

24.18

וְזָכַרְתָּ כִּי עֶבֶד הָיִיתָ בְמִצְרַיִם
Remember that you were a slave in Egypt,

וַיִּפְדְּךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מִשָּׁם
and YHWH your God redeemed you from

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[62] The combination of singular subject and plural verb in this line is awkward, and BHS draws attention to textual variants. The verse 24.16 is itself intrusive in 24.10-18 in terms of content, and its content makes it of no relevance to the present study.

<div dir="rtl">

there;

עַל־כֵּן אָנֹכִי מְצַוְּךָ   therefore I am commanding you

לַעֲשׂוֹת אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה: to do this thing.

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It is noteworthy that throughout these verses verbs are in the singular. They fall within the section 14.22 – 25.16, which, apart from a few isolated additions, belong wholly to the older (seventh-century) layer within the book[63].

Deuteronomy 24.10-13 have in common with Exodus 22.24-26 that contain conditional clauses and commands expressed in the imperfect with לֹא. The following verses 24.14-18 contain commands expressed in the imperfect not preceded by any conditional clause. Explanatory sentences are found in verses 13, 15 and 18. The vocabulary of Deuteronomy 24.10-18 has some links to Exodus 22.20-26; but there are also some significant differences. At some of the points at which Deuteronomy 24.10-18 differs from Exodus 22.20-26 it is closer to Amos 2.8.

Significant vocabulary in common is as follows:

(1) the terms גֵּר (alien), אַלְמָנָה (widow) and יָתוֹם (orphan) (Exodus 22.20-21; Deuteronomy 24.17): the three terms in combination appear ten times in Deuteronomy[64], but only here in BC, a possible indicator that the text of BC has here been influenced by that of Deuteronomy;

(2) the term רֵעַ (neighbour) (Exodus 22.25; Deuteronomy 24.10);

(3) the term שַׂלְמָה/שִׂמְלָה (cloak) (Exodus 22.25-26; Deuteronomy 24.13);

(4) the references to returning a cloak or paying wages by sunset (Exodus 22.25; Deuteronomy 24.13, 15).

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[63] So, representatively, Mayes *Deuteronomy* p. 48.

[64] D Kellermann "גּור *gûr*; גֵּר *gēr*; גֵּרוּת *gērûth*; מְגוּרִים *mᵉghûrîm*", *TDOT II*, pp. 439- 449 (449).

Significantly different vocabulary is:

(1) Exodus 22.20 uses the verbs ינה (wrong) and לחץ (oppress)[65], and 22.22 uses the piel of ענה (abuse), while Deuteronomy uses עשק (oppress) (24.14) and לֹא תַטֶּה מִשְׁפָּט ("You shall not deprive of justice") (24.17)[66];

(2) while Exodus 22.25 uses the term חֲבֹל for "pledge", Deuteronomy 24.17 employs this term, but 24.10-13 employ the root עבט: this root is found only in these verses and in Deuteronomy 15.6, 8;

(3) Exodus 22.26 employs the root צעק for "cry out", while Deuteronomy 24.15 uses קרא;

(4) Deuteronomy 24.12-15 introduces the terms עָנִי (poor) and אֶבְיוֹן (needy), and also שָׂכִיר (hired man), and אָחֶיךָ (your brothers): these are all absent from Exodus 22.20-26;

(5) while Exodus 22.25-26 and Deuteronomy 24.13 both contain the term שַׂלְמָה/שִׂמְלָה (cloak), Deuteronomy 24.17 introduces the word בֶּגֶד (garment), using with it the verb חֲבֹל as in Amos 2.8.

Furthermore, while the subject matter of both passages is similar, it is by no means identical: the prohibition in Deuteronomy 24.10-11 against entering the house of a man to whom a loan has been made is not found in Exodus 22; nor is the issue of paying wages on time (Deuteronomy 24.15); and Deuteronomy 24.16 introduces a different element altogether.

There are clear indications that Deuteronomy 24.10-17 contains elements loosely borrowed from both Exodus 22.20-26 and Amos 2.8 – probably by means of a general familiarity with them rather than by a process of direct literary borrowing. The indications that this is so are:

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[65] J Reindl "לחץ *lāḥaṣ*; לַחַץ *laḥaṣ*", *TDOT VII*, pp. 529-533 notes that "The root *lḥṣ* belongs to the semantic field of the Deuteronomistic deliverer schema….. It appears frequently in Deuteronomistic texts or texts influenced by Deuteronomistic theology" (p. 533); but "Only in the Covenant Code does the verb refer to the "oppression" of a socially weaker person, the *ger* (Ex 22.20 (21); 23.9)" (p. 532).

[66] Deuteronomy 23.17 (16) uses ינה with reference to not oppressing an escaped slave.

(1) the abrupt reference in Deuteronomy 24.12 to not sleeping in the pledge, enlarged on in 24.13 where it is referred to as a cloak: there is no prior mention in the preceding verses that the pledge was something of a kind to be slept in[67], and the likeliest explanation is that knowledge of Exodus 22.25-26 is assumed;

(2) Deuteronomy 24.17 returns to the subject of taking a pledge, this time using the verb חָבַל as in Exodus 22.25 rather than the עבט of Deuteronomy 24.10-13. Deuteronomy 24.17 is characteristic of Deuteronomy in referring to the alien, orphan and widow all in one verse. However, it refers not to the שַׂלְמָה/שִׂמְלָה of Exodus 22.25-26, but to the widow's בֶּגֶד, a term absent from Exodus 22 but present in Amos 2.8.   The most likely explanation is that the writer of Deuteronomy 24.17 is cognizant of the Post-722 Composition of the Amos-text, and was influenced by it at this point. Deuteronomy 24.17 appears, in fact, to be a typical Deuteronomic injunction not to deprive an alien or orphan of justice, to which has been joined a free, indirect borrowing from BC of the theme of not taking a garment in pledge, with wording influenced by familiarity with Amos 2.8.

The attempt of Van Seters to argue the opposite, namely that Exodus 22.20-26 assumes prior awareness of Deuteronomy, is based on the premise that there has been no development of the verses in Exodus 22; and I have already argued that this premise is mistaken. The verses which especially concern this study, namely Exodus 22.25-26 may serve to illustrate the point. Van Seters argues that "this injunction follows from a law that allows for loaning at interest with some controls. In the case of Exod 22.25-26 [26-27], the qualification is attached to the law in which loaning interest is forbidden, so it must be the later version"[68]. Two counter-points must be made. Firstly, it is by no means clear that Exod 22.25-26 is merely a qualification to 22.24, rather than being, as most commentators take it to be, an independent instruction. Secondly, the reference to loaning at interest in 22.24 is in the final, plural clause, in parenthesis to the body of the verse, and is, as I have already argued, and contrary to the view of Van Seters, an addition to the

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[67] The only possible prior referent to a pledge within Deuteronomy 24 is back in verse 6, where it is a millstone which is not to be taken in pledge – hardly something to be slept in!
[68] Van Seters *Law Book* p. 134.

original form of the verse. The more usual view, namely that Exodus 22.25-26 is the earlier text, is therefore to be preferred.

It may, however, be accepted that it is not easy to know whether the plural verses Exodus 22.20b, 22, 23 pre-date or post-date Deuteronomy 24.10-18[69]: either seems possible. Fortunately this is of no great consequence to this study, since it is the singular verses 22.25-26 to which Amos 2.8 relates.

5.1.4 Conclusions

In the light of this discussion I reach the following conclusions:

(1) Exodus 22.25-26 and Amos 2.8 in the Post-722 Composition of the Amos-text are roughly contemporaneous texts: most probably those responsible for the Post-722 Composition were familiar with Exodus 22.25-26; however, they appear to be independent texts with no direct literary dependence either way;

(2) the laws of Deuteronomy 24.10-18 were part of the seventh-century book of Deuteronomy, and reflect awareness of Amos 2.8 in the Post-722 Composition;

(3) in section 3.4.1 above, I accepted with Wolff and Jeremias that the references to place in Amos 2.8aβ and 2.8bβ are expansions of the earliest text, and I attributed them to the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition. This redactional composition would have been produced in the same period as the book of Deuteronomy: but there is no evidence of the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition form of Amos 2.8 being dependent on Deuteronomy 24.10-18, nor of Deuteronomy 24.10-18 being dependent on the expanded form of Amos 2.8.

In addition, it may be surmised that in the Exilic Redactional Composition of the Amos-text Amos 2.8, along with the whole of 2.6-16, would have been read in a *milieu* in which, especially in Deuteronomistic circles, the theological motif of a

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[69] Hyatt *Exodus* p. 27 considers that the hand of a Deuteronomic redactor who worked in the middle of the sixth century is traceable in the book of Exodus. He attributes 22.20b (21b) to this redactor (p. 242), but not 22.21-23 (22-24), writing that "the protection of widows, orphans and the poor is a concern expressed in the oldest Near Eastern law codes and in Egypt" (pp. 242-3). As noted above, Crüsemann, however, considers that BC, with its redactional additions, is pre-Deuteronomic (e.g. *Torah* p. 198).

berith between YHWH and Israel was being clearly formulated, and in which the laws in Exodus 22.20-26 and Deuteronomy 24.10-17 would have come to be seen (or would be on the way to being seen) as covenant laws[70]. The new literary context created by the exilic Deuteronomistic additions to the Amos-text create a new theological context, itself part of a growing exilic formulation of *berith* theology, in which Amos 2.6-16 would have been read and heard. The addition of 2.10-12 is itself part of this developing theology, as is the preceding oracle against Judah. By the time of the Post-exilic Redactional Composition this *berith* theology would have become widely established, and the theological context in which Amos 2.6-16, along with the books of the pre-exilic prophets as a whole, would have been read is one in which the concept of a *berith* between YHWH and Israel would be taken for granted as the natural theological context in which to interpret the unit.

5.2 The Presence of Election Traditions in Amos 2.9-12

In section 3.4.1 above, I noted that with Wolff and Jeremias I take Amos 2.10-12 to be an exilic, Deuteronomistic addition to the earlier text of 2.6-16. However, the arguments against such a view are not insignificant. Because 2.6-16 is the prime focus of the present dissertation, it is necessary to examine the arguments more closely in order to defend the view that these verses were, indeed, added under Deuteronomistic influence as part of the Exilic Redactional Composition. It will

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[70] This sentence begs the question of what is meant by "Deuteronomistic circles". It is certainly necessary, for example, to distinguish between those responsible for the so-called Deuteronomistic History, and those responsible for the Deuteronomistic editing (or production) of the Jeremiah-text. Albertz *Israel in Exile* considers that "Since a whole series of observations within the Deuteronomistic History….. point to the Babylonian golah, there is much to suggest and nothing to contradict a Babylonian origin, instead of the Palestinian origin proposed by Noth" (p. 283); but that "There are strong arguments for localizing the Deuteronomistic redactions of the book of Jeremiah in Palestine rather than in Babylonia" (p. 322). Mayes *Deuteronomy* attempts to convey how the exilic Deuteronomistic expansion of Deuteronomy developed an earlier theme of Israel's election by YHWH into that fuller theme of a *berith* between YHWH and Israel: "It is with the Deuteronomistic editing of Deuteronomy…… that the latter now becomes a covenant or treaty between Yahweh and Israel" (p. 54); "It was in the context of deuteronomic theologizing that the term 'covenant' received an extended application so that it came to include the obligations laid on Israel" (p. 65); it is with exilic Deuteronomists "that covenant becomes almost the exclusive category by which Israel's relationship with God might be described" (p. 68).

then be possible to comment on the exegetical and theological significance of this addition to the unit as a prelude to the exegesis of 2.6-16 in Chapter 6.

5.2.1 Amos 2.10-12 as a Deuteronomistic Addition

Influential in this discussion has been an article by Schmidt[71], cited and followed by both Wolff and Jeremias, and, indeed, noted by most recent commentators, whether in support of or in disagreement with its views. Childs describes it as attributing "a decisive editorial activity to the work of a Deuteronomistic redactor"[72]. Möller notes that "In one sense, Schmidt's article was not revolutionary at all, because almost all the passages ascribed by him to the deuteronomists had been denied to Amos long ago…… And yet, Schmidt did explore new territory by analysing the redactors' theological motivations for expanding the text"[73]. The material which Schmidt attributes to a Deuteronomistic redaction are: (1) the chronological expansion of 1.1 and the expanded form of 3.1; (2) the oracles against Tyre, Edom and Judah in 1.9-10, 1.11-12 and 2.4-5; (3) 2.10-12, with "Der Hinweis auf die Heilsgeschichte und der Ungehorsam gegen die Propheten"[74]; (4) 3.7; and (5) 5.26. In a final section Schmidt explores "Die Absicht der deuteronomistischen Redaktion im Amosbuch". One part of the intention (Absicht) of the redaction is to apply the words of Amos originally spoken to the northern kingdom to the kingdom of Judah as well: "So werden die von Amos im Nordreich Israel gesprochen Worte auf des Südreich Juda übertragen"; a further part, to which the change to second person address in 2.10-12 contributes, is to highlight the reasons for the judgment announced in the text, and strengthen them by the inclusion of references to the "Geschichte" in 2.10[75].

Wolff builds on Schmidt's arguments. He gives the following reasons for seeing secondary expansion in 2.10-12[76]:

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[71] W H Schmidt "Die deuteronomische Redaktion des Amosbuches", *ZAW* 77, 1965, pp. 168-193.
[72] Childs *Introduction* p. 398.
[73] K Möller "Reconstructing" p. 402.
[74] Schmidt "Die deuteronomische Redaktion" p. 178.
[75] Schmidt "Die deuteronomische Redaktion" pp. 191-2.
[76] Wolff pp. 141-2, 169-171.

(1) there is a shift from third person address in 2.9 to second person address throughout 2.10-12;

(2) the use of traditional language;

(3) the reference to the exodus and wilderness traditions in 2.10 following the chronologically later destruction of the Amorite in 2.9;

(4) the "emphatically parenetic"[77] character of 2.11;

(5) their content[78].

However, Wolff differs from Schmidt in making a distinction between the additions in 1.9-12; 2.4-5, and that in 2.10-12. He takes the former to derive from the writers of the Deuteronomistic History, but in 2.10-12 he sees, in terms of literary style, a "more direct approach to an audience" than in 1.9-12; 2.4-5; and in terms of content, "the purpose of 2.10-12 is a strictly theological explication of guilt". He takes 2.10-12 to be related to "the larger exilic circle of Deuteronomistic interpreters of the prophetic tradition"[79].

Jeremias also sees these verses as Deuteronomistic. He writes that "Verses 10-12 are already set apart by the transition to elevated prose and to the device of direct address, something one does not expect stylistically until the pronouncement of judgement in v. 13; their recollection of the exodus introduces the basic salvific-historical event of Israel's confession, and the theme of the rejected prophets and nazirites introduces a new, substantively quite different accusation than in vv. 6-8. Scholars have long recognised that these verses derive from what is known as Deuteronomistic theology, and thus belong to the new edition of the book of Amos during the exilic period"[80] . Other scholars who have followed Schmidt in seeing

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[77] Wolff p. 141.
[78] Wolff does not enlarge on this final point, but refers to Schmidt's article (p. 142 n. 41).
[79] Wolff pp. 151-2 (152).
[80] Jeremias p. 39.

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these verses as Deuteronomistic include Melugin[81], Coote[82], Soggin[83], Blenkinsopp[84], Rottzoll[85] and Coggins[86].

Andersen and Freedman note the arguments for seeing these verses as Deuteronomistic additions, but write that "None of these observations is strong enough to warrant the deletion of these two lines as a later scribal addition"[87]. With regard to mention of the destruction of the Amorites preceding mention of the exodus and wandering in the wilderness, they write, giving no examples, that "it is not uncommon for a narrator to work backward from the present when reviewing the past"; without explanation they write that "The change in number is inconsequential"; and "As for Deuteronomic language, the statistical odds are too long to permit a statement of ten words to be diagnosed as the distinctive and exclusive utterance of one author or school….. Yet even if it could be shown that v.10 contains Deuteronomic language and is dependent on Deuteronomic traditions, this fact would not prove that it was added later to the book by a Deuteronomistic editor. There are sufficient indications that the eighth-century prophets knew and used Deuteronomic traditions as if they could count on their recognition by their audiences" – this, again, without evidence or explanation[88]. Subsequently they make one substantive point in noting that "The verb *h'lh* is used in a wide range of sources to describe the Exodus. It is preferred to *hwsy'* in old credal statements"[89]; although, as I shall show below, I do not consider that, in fact, this is sufficiently clearly the case to bear the weight of argument that Andersen and Freedman place upon it.

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[81] Melugin "Formation" pp. 384-5.
[82] Coote pp. 71-72 (who also includes 2.9 in his B-stage edition of the book of Amos).
[83] J A Soggin *The Prophet Amos. A Translation and Commentary*, SCM, London, 1987, pp. 50-51.
[84] J Blenkinsopp *A History of Prophecy in Israel*, Revised Edition, Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, Kentucky, 1996, p. 75 and p. 254 n. 12. Blenkinsopp also takes the allusion to the gigantic Amorites in 2.9 to be "a Deuteronomic theme".
[85] Rottzoll *Studien* pp. 56-61, 287; Rottzoll attributes most of these three verses, apart from a few phrases, to "Die erste deutronomistische Überarbeitung der Exilszeit".
[86] Coggins pp. 104-6.
[87] Andersen and Freedman p. 327. The language used of "deletion" and "later scribal addition" is revealing: there is not even a hint of the possibility of what I have described in Chapter 2 as a "*positive* redaction-critical approach".
[88] Andersen and Freedman pp. 327-8.
[89] Andersen and Freedman p. 330.

Paul also argues against Schmidt's position. He makes the following points[90]:

(1) the hiphil of עלה, used in 2.10, 3.1b and 9.7 in reference to bringing Israel out of the land of Egypt, is found in pre-Deuteronomic literature;

(2) There is no difficulty in the reference to the destruction of the Amorites in 2.9 preceding the exodus and the forty years in the wilderness in 2.10 if it is recognised that the references to the Amorites in 2.9 and at the end of 2.10 make an *inclusio*;

(3) "The contention, often repeated, that the motif of a forty-year wandering in the wilderness is unattested prior to Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic literature is simply unfounded"[91].

Paul does not specifically address the possible significance, in terms of composition history, of the transition from third person address in 2.9 to second person address in 2.10, apart from writing, without further comment, that "Here, however, he (*sc.* Amos) directly confronts his audience and addresses them for the first time in the second-person plural"[92].

The point raised both by Andersen and Freedman and by Paul with regard to the employment in 2.10 of the hiphil of עלה is an important one, as is Paul's point concerning the motif of the forty years in the wilderness. It needs to be established whether or not the vocabulary used in these verses points in the direction of likely Deuteronomistic influence; or specifically points away from such a likelihood; or does neither. The principal issue to be discussed will be the use of the hiphil of עלה, rather than of יצא, the root more frequently found in Deuteronomy with reference to bringing Israel out of Egypt. Briefer consideration will then be given to other words and phrases present in these verses.

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[90] Paul pp. 90-91.
[91] Paul p. 91.
[92] Paul p. 90. He adds in a footnote that "Once again Amos confronts the people directly in the second person after beginning his summary remarks in the third person (v. 9)" (p. 90 n. 461). I am not clear to what Paul refers when he writes "once again"; nor can I see that this footnote adds anything at all to what he writes in his main text.

The use of the hiphil of the roots עלה and יצא referring to the exodus of Israel from Egypt with (usually) YHWH as subject[93] is the focus of articles by Humbert and Wijngaards[94]. Both articles list the occurrences of each term in the Hebrew Bible, and reach the conclusion that עלה is the verb used in pre-Deuteronomic prophetic texts[95], while יצא is the dominant root used (twenty times) in Deuteronomy, and in subsequent texts displaying Deuteronomistic influence. The pre-exilic texts in which the hiphil of עלה is found are given as Amos 2.10; 3.1; 9.7; Hosea 12.14; Micah 6.4; Jeremiah 2.6; 11.7; 16.14; 23.7; while the hiphil of יצא is not found in any prophetic text prior to Jeremiah, where it occurs in Jeremiah 7.22; 10.13; 11.4; 31.32; it is then frequent in Ezekiel, and also in Isaiah 40-66, Jeremiah 50-51, Micah 7.9, and Zechariah. In Deuteronomy עלה occurs only once (in 20.1); it is found in Judges 6.8 and 1 Kings 12.28, both of which are taken by Humbert and Wijngaards to be pre-Deuteronomistic narrative; and in 1 Samuel 8.8; 10.18; 12.6; 2 Kings 17.7, 36, passages which are taken to belong to the Deuteronomistic redactor[96].

In a subsequent note Hobbs refers to the article of Wijngaards to argue against Schmidt's attribution of Amos 2.10 to a Deuteronomistic redactor[97]. He writes that "Whereas the main ideas associated with the use of the Exodus tradition in the pre-

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[93] In a small number of cases Moses is the subject: the difference is of no significance with regard to the argument here.

[94] P Humbert "Dieu fait sortir. Hiphil de *yāsā* avec Dieu comme sujet", *ThZ* 18, 1962, pp. 356-361; J Wijngaards "הואיא and העלה: A Twofold Approach to the Exodus", *VT* 15, 1965, pp. 91-102. Wijngaards notes (p. 91 n. 2) that Humbert's article only became known to him in the late stages of his own investigation.

[95] Within pre-exilic narrative texts, Humbert finds fifteen uses of יצא and twenty-one of עלה: thus both roots are present. Both Humbert and Wijngaards attribute narrative passages in the Hexateuch to J, E or JE in accordance with what they consider to be widely held views regarding Pentateuchal composition at the time in which they wrote. Additionally, Wijngaards p. 92 n. 1 indicates that he is following Noth *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien I*, Halle, 1943 in distinguishing in the "Deuteronomistic Work of History" between pre-Deuteronomic narrative, laws in the pre-redactional section Deuteronomy 4.44-30.20, the redactor of the whole work, and later additions to it.

[96] Both Humbert and Wijngaards offer possible differences of emphasis in meaning of the two terms. Humbert suggests that עלה carries primarily military connotations, while יצא refers rather to freedom from captivity ("Dieu fait sortir" pp. 360-1); Wijngaards agrees that the יצא formula "expresses a strict liberation from slavery" ("הוציא and העלה" p. 92), and sees the עלה formula as frequently referring both to exodus from Egypt and entry into the land (p. 99). These considerations are of less importance at this point than the dating of the passages in which they occur.

[97] T R Hobbs "Amos 3.1b and 2.10", *ZAW* 81, 1969, pp. 384-387.

deuteronomic prophets are repeated in Deuteronomy, *only once, in the adoption of the tradition is the verb* עלה *retained*. In every other case, it is substituted for the "priestly" verb יצא. At this point it would appear that the use of the verb עלה in connection with the Exodus tradition is *not* a characteristic feature of deuteronomic redaction"[98]. Paul refers to Humbert, Wijngaards and Hobbs in support of his opposition to the view of Schmidt, Wolff and others that Amos 2.10-12 derive from Deuteronomistic circles[99].

These considerations deserve serious respect. In order to evaluate them, it is necessary to examine some of the significant occurrences of the hiphil of עלה in the exodus formula, paying particular attention to more recent datings of the relevant verses where these differ from the datings assumed by Humbert and Wijngaards. I begin with those referred to by Humbert and Wijngaards as pre-exilic prophetic texts.

Hosea 12.14 (13): Mays writes with regard to the book of Hosea that "It is entirely possible that the book was created largely in its present form and scope by an editor or group working in Judah in the years after the fall of Samaria……. Very little material that did not originate with Hosea has been added in the formation and the use of the book"[100]. More recent scholarship, however, is less categorical. G I Davies writes with regard to 12.11-15 (10-14) that "The sayings in vv. 10-14 are too short to permit even a tentative dating", and that these verses suggest "that the opposition experienced by Hosea himself continued into the time of the redactor who put together vv. 10-14"[101]. Ben Zvi interprets the whole book from the perspective of post-exilic *literati*, and declines to be drawn into "hypothetical

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[98] Hobbs "Amos 3.1b and 2.10" p. 386 (his italics). His reference to יצא as the "priestly" verb takes up the work of H Lubsczyk *Der Auszug Israels aus Ägypten: seine theologische Bedeuting in prophetischer und priestlicher Überlieferung*, Erfurter theologischer Studien 11, St Benno-Verlag, Leipzig, 1963 (not seen by me).
[99] Paul p. 90 notes 463 and 464.
[100] J L Mays *Hosea*, OTL, SCM, London, 1969, p. 16.
[101] G I Davies *Hosea*, NCB, Marshall Pickering, London/Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, 1992, pp. 269, 283. Davies's verse references are to the English versions.

redactional proposals to explain the composition of the present text" at all[102]. Yee sees 12.14 as a verse brought into the "Final Redacted State" of the text formed by "R2", which she considers to be an exilic redaction with a Deuteronomistic orientation[103]. In the light of such scholarly views, it is apparent that Hosea 12.14 (13) cannot bear the weight of giving evidence of a clearly pre-exilic use of עלה in the exodus formula.

Micah 6.4: Wolff writes that "Micah 6.2-8 presents an artistically shaped rhetorical piece……. The language recalls at significant points the pedagogical activity of the Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic school. But various details make it probable that the present text has its origins in the postexilic era"; and that "this didactic passage must be located within the broader circle of Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic sermonic activity, although a more precise date between the end of the seventh century and the fifth century cannot be demonstrated"[104]. McKane follows some aspects of Wolff's redaction-critical proposals, including the view that the book of Micah in its present form was shaped by Jerusalem traditionists working in the Persian period, and that these traditionists were responsible for contributing 6.2-7.7 to the text[105]. Ben Zvi writes: "I agree with the overwhelming majority of redaction-critical studies of the book of Micah that maintain that significant sections of the book, and hence the book as a whole, are post-586 BCE…… this commentary has its starting point in the book of Micah as it stands……. The circumstances in the temple community around Jerusalem, particularly in the Persian II period (ca. 450-332 BCE) were conducive to the type of literary activity that may have led to books such as the book of Micah"[106]. Most

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[102] E Ben Zvi *Hosea*, FOTL Vol XXIA/1, Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, UK, 2005, p. 16.

[103] G A Yee *Composition and Tradition in the Book of Hosea. A Redaction Critical Investigation*, SBL Dissertation Series 102, Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1987, pp. 176-7, 237-248. Yee considers that there was a previous redaction of the book (designated R1) in the time of Josiah.

[104] H W Wolff *Micah. A Commentary*, Augsburg Press, Minneapolis, 1990, pp. 23, 171.

[105] W McKane *The Book of Micah. Introduction and Commentary*, T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1998, pp. 18-19. McKane is less sure about the Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic connections that Wolff sees.

[106] E Ben Zvi *Micah*, FOTL XXIB, Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan/ Cambridge, UK, 2000, pp. 9-10.

recently Waltke, in contrast, attributes the whole of the book to the eighth-century prophet Micah: but he does so only by the wholesale rejection of historical criticism, literary criticism, form criticism and redaction criticism[107]. In the light of the views of commentators such as Wolff, McKane and Ben Zvi, Micah 6.4, also, cannot be taken to be a clearly pre-exilic prophetic text.

Jeremiah 2.6; 11.7; 16.14; 23.7: Humbert includes all these texts in "Littérature prophétique préexilique"[108]. Wijngaards, in contrast, lists them under "Jeremiah" as occurrences separate from "early prophecy"[109]. This is wise: only 2.6 falls within the poetic sayings which have often been held to derive from the prophet Jeremiah: all the other texts belong to prose sections of the book widely held to be post-Jeremianic. R P Carroll, indeed, asserts that 2.6 falls within a passage (2.5-9) which "must be associated with Deuteronomistic influence or editing"[110]; similarly he writes "That the language and ideas of 11.1-13 are a Deuteronomistic composition can hardly be disputed"[111]; and he recognises that the content of 16.14 and 23.7 mark them out as exilic verses[112]. While Carroll treats most of the book as an exilic work, and considers that it is possible to know very little of the prophet Jeremiah himself, Jones prefers to see most of the book as containing material which derives from the prophet Jeremiah, even if in some parts the exact wording reflects the hands of redactors: so he readily attributes 2.6 to the earliest phase of Jeremiah's ministry[113]. He, too, recognises the Deuteronomi(sti)c nature of 11.1-14 – indeed, he refers to it as "saturated with Deuteronomic (*sic*) language and ideas" – but he explains this feature on the basis that "It is reasonable to conclude that the young prophet, in his early twenties, saw such hope in the

[107] B K Waltke *Micah. A Commentary*, Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan/ Cambridge, UK, 2007, pp. 8-13. It goes without saying that I do not accept his rejection of these methodologies.
[108] Humbert "Dieu fait sortir" p. 359.
[109] Wijngaards "הוציא and העלה" p. 98.
[110] Carroll *Jeremiah* p. 124.
[111] Carroll *Jeremiah* p. 267.
[112] Carroll *Jeremiah* pp. 344-5, 446-7.
[113] D R Jones *Jeremiah*, NCB, Marshall Pickering, London/Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, 1992, p. 181.

promulgation of Dt. (621 BC) that he espoused it"[114], and thus attributes it to Jeremiah. However, he says nothing at all about the literary form of this section, and his suggestion is rightly viewed by Brueggemann as "tenuous"[115]. While 2.6, therefore, may well be pre-Deuteronomic, the other texts in the book of Jeremiah under consideration cannot.

The conclusion which may be reached on the basis of examination of these prophetic texts from the books of Hosea, Micah and Jeremiah is that the use of the hiphil of עלה in the exodus formula in prophetic texts is not restricted to pre-exilic texts; and, therefore, its presence in Amos 2.10; 3.1; 9.7 is compatible with exilic, Deuteronomistic influence in them.

It is not possible or necessary to consider the Pentateuchal passages listed by Humbert and Wijngaards as containing the hiphil of עלה in the exodus formula in pre-exilic narrative literature. It is important, however, to refer to its occurrences in Joshua, Judges and 1 Kings, namely Joshua 24.17; Judges 2.1; 6.8, 13; 2 Samuel 7.6; 1 Kings 12.28.

Joshua 24.17: Soggin is representative of much scholarship of the third quarter of the twentieth century when he writes that "Joshua 24 is certainly a pre-Deuteronomic narrative"[116]; and he agrees with von Rad and Noth who, he says, "state quite rightly, that the traditions which are recorded here are both ancient and authentic"[117]. However, he also notes that "the work of the Deuteronomic editor appears throughout the text"[118]. Similarly Boling and Wright affirm that "The document has had a long history"[119]. However, with the demise of Noth's theory of pre-monarchic Israel as an "amphictyony", and with justifiably growing

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[114] Jones *Jeremiah* p. 182.
[115] W Brueggemann *Jeremiah* p. 109.
[116] J A Soggin *Joshua. A Commentary*, OTL, SCM, London, 1972, p. 14. By "Deuteronomic" Soggin means the compilers of the so-called Deuteronomic History proposed by Noth.
[117] Soggin *Joshua* p. 228. At this time the theses of von Rad and Noth were sufficiently dominant that Soggin's lack of specific referencing to their work is entirely reasonable.
[118] Soggin *Joshua* p. 228.
[119] R G Boling and G E Wright *Joshua*, AB, Doubleday & Company, Inc, Garden City, New York, 1982, p. 533. The "document" to which they refer is Joshua 24.1-28, 31.

scepticism about the possibility of identifying older material within Joshua 24, such statements cannot now be accepted without question. Perlitt argues that the text reveals considerable unity, and should not lightly be split into sources, and he does not accept that older traditions behind the text can be isolated. According to Perlitt, Joshua 24.1-28 must be regarded as a unified composition evidencing significant Deuteronomic characteristics: it could derive from the northern kingdom after 722; or from Judah in the time of Manasseh; or in the time of Josiah. Of these, he finds the time of Manasseh to be most likely[120]. Van Seters, in contrast, notes that "Joshua 24.2-13 departs radically from the Dtr tradition when it comes to matters of detail. The patriarchal history is added; the exodus event is filled in with new information; and the Balaam episode from the wilderness period is mentioned"[121]. He argues that Joshua 24.1-27 is in fact a post-deuteronomi(sti)c composition of the exilic Yahwist. Nicholson accepts many of Perlitt's insights, and agrees that it is a largely Deuteronomi(sti)c composition, possibly from the late pre-exilic period; but he prefers to regard it as "A Deuteronomistic composition of the exilic period"[122]. Examination of these various views lies beyond the scope of this dissertation: however, what emerges clearly is that Joshua 24.17 cannot, with any confidence, be used as an example of a pre-exilic occurrence of the hiphil of עלה.

It may be noted that within Joshua 24.1-27 both verbs are, in fact, used to speak of YHWH bringing up Israel out of Egypt: verses 5 and 6 both use יצא, while in verse 24 the verb is עלה. If, as Nicholson considers likely, this passage is of exilic Deuteronomistic provenance, then it provides evidence that עלה was used in a piece of Deuteronomistic writing: this would actually strengthen the case for

[120] L Perlitt *Bundestheologie im Alten Testament*, Neukirchener Verlag, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969, pp. 239-284.
[121] J Van Seters "Joshua 24 and the Problem of Tradition in the Old Testament", in W Boyd Barrick and J Spencer (eds) *In the Shelter of Elyon. Essays on Ancient Palestinian Life and Literature in Honor of G W Ahlström*, JSOTSup 31, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1984, pp. 139-158 (148).
[122] E W Nicholson *God and His People. Covenant and Theology in the Old Testament*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1986, pp. 160-3 (163). He thus differs from Perlitt with regard to dating, and from Van Seters with regard to its Deuteronomistic composition.

seeing Amos 2.10 as an addition made within a Deuteronomistic, exilic redaction of the Amos-text.

With regard to the other narrative passages concerned, it must suffice to note the views of commentators:

Judges 6.8, 13: Soggin considers that Judges 6.1-10 is Deuteronomistic; and that 6.13b, in which עלה occurs, is a Deuteronomistic addition to the earlier form of the Gideon story[123]. Weinfeld notes that בֵּית עֲבָדִים (present in 6.8) is a characteristic Deuteronomic term[124]. In fact, Auld is probably correct to assert that 6.7-10 are a post-Deuteronomistic insertion[125]: certainly they stand out as being formulaic.

2 Samuel 7.6: Cartledge writes, correctly, of 2 Samuel 7.1-17 that "This story about David's house and God's house is so significant that it has been the subject of many learned treatments from a variety of perspectives. Virtually all scholars agree that there is a multi-stage literary history behind the pericope, but most will also concur that the final product possesses an impressive unity"[126]. Jones writes with regard to these verses that "there are three main approaches. (i) Some find in these verses only a very meagre original core, which has then been expanded in a later strand and has subsequently received later additions. (ii) Others despair of finding an original kernel and so argue that the whole section is to be regarded as homogeneous and belongs to a period much later than the one in which it has been set. (iii) Others again take the view that a detailed analysis of the section and a thorough search for pre-deuteronomistic strands will produce more substantial evidence of the existence of such material than is admitted by those described

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[123] J A Soggin *Judges. A Commentary*, OTL, SCM, London, 1987, pp. 104-9, 112-3, 115.
[124] M Weinfeld *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, pp. 326-7.
[125] A G Auld *Joshua, Judges and Ruth*, The Daily Study Bible Series, Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, Kentucky, 1984, pp. 162-3.
[126] T W Cartledge *1 & 2 Samuel*, Smyth and Helwys Bible Commentary, Smyth & Helwys, Macon, Gerogia, 2001, p. 447. Surveys of scholarly treatment of 2 Samuel 7 may be found in P K McCarter *II Samuel*, AB, Doubleday & Company, Inc, Garden City, New York, 1984, pp 210-7; and, especially, G H Jones *The Nathan Narratives*, JSOTSup 80, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1990, pp. 60-70.

under (i)"[127]. Consideration of the range of scholarly views described by Jones lies beyond the scope of this study. However, with regard to 7.6 particularly, I concur with him that it appears to be an expansion within the text[128]: it sits uneasily with 7.5, which assumes that YHWH would be happy to dwell in a house, but that David is not the one to build it, while 7.6 questions the need for a house for YHWH at all; and the *Heilsgeschichte* perspective of 7.6-7 lends credence to the likelihood of it being Deuteronomistic[129]. Certainly the number of scholars who either see the whole unit as an essentially Deuteronomistic composition, or who see 7.6 as one of a number of Deuteronomistic additions within it, precludes using 2 Samuel 7.6 as evidence of a pre-Deuteronomi(sti)c use of עלה in the exodus formula.

1 Kings 12.28: Hoffmann concludes an examination of 1 Kings 12.26-32 thus: "So stellt 1 K 12.26-32 als Ganzes eine dtr Fiktion dar"[130]. Similarly Van Seters, agreeing with Hoffmann, writes that "The story of Jeroboam and the golden calves is so thoroughly anachronistic and propagandistic that one must judge it as being a complete fabrication"[131]. McKenzie writes that "Dtr's hand pervades this passage to such an extent that the literary evidence for an underlying, written polemic must be considered very tenuous"[132]. More recently Gomes has examined 1 Kings 12.25-33, and concludes that "Dtr has indeed woven together annalistic, prophetic and "priestly" sources to create a unified story bearing his imprint"[133]. The occurrence of עלה in 1 Kings 12.28 cannot, therefore, be used as evidence of pre-Deuteronomi(sti)c usage.

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[127] Jones *Nathan Narratives* pp. 60-61.
[128] Jones *Nathan Narratives* pp. 72-73.
[129] Jones adds that the phrase "I brought up the people of Israel from Egypt" is typically Deuteronomistic; but of course, in the context of the present discussion this is precisely the issue at stake.
[130] H-D Hoffmann *Reform und Reformen. Untersuchungen zu einem Grundthema der deuteronomistischen Geschichtsschreibung*, Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments 66, Theologischer Verlag, Zürich, 1980, p. 73.
[131] Van Seters *Life of Moses* p. 299.
[132] S L McKenzie *The Trouble with Kings. The Composition of the Book of Kings in the Deuteronomistic History*, VTSup XLII, E J Brill, Leiden, 1991, p. 58.
[133] Gomes *Sanctuary of Bethel* p. 19.

The other passages in the so-called Deuteronomistic History in which are found the hiphil of עלה in the exodus formula (Judges 2.1; 1 Samuel 8.18; 10.18; 12.6; 2 Kings 17.7, 36) are listed by both Humbert and Wijngaards as originating from the Deuteronomistic redactor. The occurrences in 2 Kings 17 are significant, since this chapter records that which is announced in Amos 2.6-16, namely the end of the northern kingdom.

Therefore, just as the relevant texts from Hosea, Micah and Jeremiah turn out not, in fact, to prove that the hiphil of עלה is restricted to pre-exilic use, no more do the relevant narrative texts. The argument of Andersen and Freedman and of Paul that Amos 2.10 cannot be Deuteronomistic because it uses עלה rather than יצא does not stand up to scrutiny. Furthermore, the fact that יצא is used in pre-exilic texts as well as in exilic and post-exilic texts[134] suggests that if there is any differentiation at all to be made between the two roots, it must be in terms of context or shades of meaning[135]. Clearly Deuteronomy has a preference for using יצא, in that עלה occurs only once (in 20.1); that preference, however, is not followed through into all subsequent Deuteronomistically-influenced literature.

Wolff rightly draws attention to other linguistic considerations which also point towards a Deuteronomistic provenance for 2.10-12. The clause וָאוֹלֵךְ אֶתְכֶם בַּמִּדְבָּר אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה ("and I led you in the wilderness for forty years") occurs verbatim in Deuteronomy 29.4 (5), in a section generally held to be part of the exilic Deuteronomistic edition of Deuteronomy[136]. As already noted in this section, Paul

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[134] Humbert "Dieu fait sortir" pp. 357-8; Wijngaards "העלה and הוציא" p. 92; E Jenni "יצא *yṣ'* ", *TLOT 2*, pp. 561-6 (565).
[135] Wolff pp. 169-170 also notes that עלה is used when the reference to deliverance from Egypt is accompanied by reference to entry into the land; Jeremias pp. 40-41 cites Wolff approvingly in this respect.
[136] Wolff p. 170. Similar words are found in Deuteronomy 8.2 (also noted by Wolff) and in Nehemiah 9.21 (with a different verb). With regard to Deuteronomy 29.4 (5), Mayes *Deuteronomy* p. 46 writes of chapters 29-30 that "The language and thought of the sermons in these chapters, along with the general background which they presuppose, point to the later deuteronomist". So also, more recently, W Brueggemann *Deuteronomy*, Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries, Abingdon Press, Nashville, 2001, p. 19 takes the whole of 29.2-32.47 as written "to serve the needs of the exilic community"; and M E Biddle *Deuteronomy*, Smyth and Helwys Bible Commentary, Smyth & Helwys Publishing Incorporated, Macon, Georgia, 2003, p. 436 notes that these chapters

contends that this motif is attested in earlier literature: however, none of the verses that he cites as evidence of earlier usage, namely Exodus 16.35; Numbers 14.33-34; 32.13; Joshua 5.6; Psalm 95.10 can in fact be dated, with any confidence, to pre-Deuteronomi(sti)c times: most of them belong to priestly rather than Deuteronomistic sections of text, and are not pre-Deuteronomistic[137]; and the closeness of wording in Amos 2.10 to Deuteronomy 29.4 (5) is significant. Wolff also notes that the phrase לָרֶשֶׁת אֶת־אֶרֶץ is a "typical Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic sermonic cliche (*sic*)"; and that the hiphil of קום is used in Deuteronomistic writings of raising up prophets (and judges, priests and kings)[138]. These points further strengthen the case for seeing 2.10-12 as being of Deuteronomistic provenance.

While this part of the study is focusing on 2.10-12, it may be noted that my attribution (in section 3.4.3.1 above) of 3.1b, which also uses the hiphil of עלה, to the Exilic Redactional Composition is in accord with this conclusion. So, too is the attribution of 9.7-10 (including 9.7, in which the hiphil of עלה is also used), to the Post-exilic Redactional Composition: those responsible for this redactional composition either created 9.7, using the same verb as in 2.10 and 3.1, or incorporated an older saying into their work.

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show literary dependencies on earlier parts of the book suggesting "that Deuteronomy 29-30 was composed at a very late stage in the growth of the book".

[137] M Noth *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions*, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1972, pp. 18, 19, 269, 273 takes both Exodus 16.35a and Numbers 14.33-34 to belong to P. Childs *Exodus* pp. 131-7 also takes Exodus 16.35 a to belong to P. R P Knierim and G W Coats *Numbers*, FOTL IV, Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge, UK, 2005, pp. 188, 301 take Numbers 14.33-34 to belong to P, and Numbers 32.13 to belong to P or to be part of a post-priestly addition. J Gray *Joshua, Judges, Ruth*, NCB, Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids/Marshall, Morgan & Scott Publishers Ltd, Basingstoke, 1986, p. 77 takes Joshua 5.4-7 to be an addition to the earlier narrative made by the Deuteronomistic Historian. Kraus *Psalms 60-150* p. 246 finds Psalm 95 hard to date, but suggests that it may possibly derive from the late monarchic period. Hossfeld and Zenger *Psalms 51-100*, p. 460 take it to be late exilic or post-exilic.

[138] Wolff p. 170.

It remains to defend seeing the Deuteronomistic additions as comprising 2.10-12 rather than 2.9-12, as do, for example, Vermeylen and Coote[139]. The reason given by Coote is that, as well as the vocabulary of 2.10 already referred to above, he includes the term "Amorite" – found in 2.9 as well as 2.10 – as one characteristic of Deuteronomistic phraseology. It is certainly the case that Deuteronomy and subsequent Deuteronomistic literature use the term; however, it is also used in other strands of the Hebrew Bible, including in passages which have often been dated earlier[140]. Vermeylen acknowledges that the term occurs outside Deuteronomi(sti)c literature, but observes that it is not found elsewhere in the books of the eighth-century prophets. Vermeylen also argues that the verb שמד in 2.9 is primarily a Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic term[141]; however, its usage in Amos 2.9 is not characteristically Deuteronomi(sti)c, and Lohfink rightly notes that "the concrete imagery of Am. 2.9 does not exactly suggest a borrowing of the abstract Dtr cliché"[142]. Vetter notes that "instances of *šmd* are concentrated in the Dtr history; the prophetic books rank only second"[143]; thus while occurrences of it predominate in Deuteronomi(sti)c literature, it is not sufficiently absent from prophetic books to support a firm case for dating 2.9 to the exilic period. Thus, although there is some force in the arguments put by Vermeylen, I consider that the balance of probability is with the view of Jeremias, who writes that "I personally consider it inconceivable that the Israel-strophe ever existed in a literary form without v. 9; the contextual relationships discussed above are too tight for this to have been the case (relationships characteristically absent in vv. 10-12). On the other hand, the language of v. 9 is clearly different from that in vv. 6-8…… the tradents concentrate various sayings of Amos into a single discourse……. their primary concern is that Israel's guilt become fully revealed in its entire severity only when it is viewed together with the special experiences of

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[139] J Vermeylen *Du Prophète Isaïe à l'Apocalyptique* pp. 536-7; Coote pp. 71-72. Coggins pp. 105-106 also appears to hold this view.
[140] So BDB p. 57a; Wolff p. 168; Paul p. 87.
[141] Vermeylen *Du Prophète Isaïe à l'Apocalyptique* p. 536.
[142] N Lohfink "שמד *šmd*", *TDOT XV*, pp. 177-198 (196).
[143] D Vetter "שמד *šmd* hi. To exterminate", *TLOT, 3* pp. 1367-8 (1367).

God"[144]. Thus, Jeremias suggests, 2.9 may not have been – indeed, probably was not – part of an original oracle of Amos; but it was part of the earliest written text, the Post-722 Composition; and I agree with this view. The present study is focusing on the literary compositions underlying the Amos-text: it is, therefore, the presence of 2.9 in the earliest literary text, rather than its probable separate origin from 2.6-8, which is to be noted.

5.2.2 The Exegetical and Theological Significance of the Addition of Amos 2.10-12 in the Exilic Redactional Composition underlying the Amos-text

It is interesting to note the slightly differing comments about Amos 2.9-12 in different editions of Bright's *History of Israel*. In the first edition (1960) he writes that "Though Amos never mentioned the Mosaic covenant, it is clear (ch. 2.9-12) that he evaluated the national sin and found it doubly heinous in the light of the exodus tradition"[145]. In the second edition, twelve years later, he writes: "Though Amos never used the word "covenant", it is clear that he evaluated the national sin against the background of covenant law and found it doubly heinous in the light of Yahweh's grace to Israel in the exodus and the giving of the land (2.9-12)"; and he adds in a new footnote that "Amos clearly seems to have known of legal material such as that found in the Book of the Covenant"[146]. The shift is slight, but significant: the first edition speaks of "the exodus tradition", assuming that it would be understood to include both the giving of the land, and "covenant laws"; in the second edition that assumption is not made. In the second edition, the exodus and the giving of the land are referred to separately, rather than any assumption being made that the exodus tradition was an ancient cycle of tradition which could be taken to include both; and the new footnote indicates Bright's awareness that it could no longer be assumed either that "exodus" and "law" went together in the eighth century BCE. The footnote, in fact, refers (I presume) to 2.8, rather than to anything in 2.9-12. The second edition reflects the growing

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[144] Jeremias pp. 39-40.
[145] J Bright *History of Israel*, SCM, London, 1960, p. 244.
[146] J Bright *History of Israel*, 2nd edition, SCM, London, 1972, p. 259. This later text remains substantially unchanged in the third edition (1981) and the fourth edition (2000).

scepticism towards Noth's thesis of pre-monarchic Israel as an "amphictyony"; and as increasing numbers of scholars have come to doubt that the concept of a covenant between YHWH and Israel was pre-Deuteronomic, much greater precision has become necessary. While many continue to hold that many of the laws of the so-called Book of the Covenant are pre-Deuteronomic, and probably pre-prophetic, it is no longer the case that they are assumed to have been an integral part of an ancient covenant between YHWH and Israel long before the eighth century.

A shift in view is consciously adopted and referred to by Clements. Writing in his *Prophecy and Tradition* (1975) he refers to his earlier *Prophecy and Covenant* (1965): of the conclusions reached in the later study "probably the most far-reaching is that 'tradition' itself in ancient Israel cannot be regarded in any sense as a uniform entity, nor as imposing a unifying pattern upon Israelite religion generally or the Old Testament prophets in particular. In this respect my earlier study, *Prophecy and Covenant*, did not allow sufficiently for the diversity of the various cultic and covenantal traditions in ancient Israel……. The case for an early adoption of this covenant form in Israel would have to be much stronger than it is for it to appear plausible that the prophets made reference to it and moulded some of their prophecies upon its ideas and forms…… no strong case can be made to show an underlying and uniform covenant ideology as a basis for the prophetic message"[147].

It is in keeping with such changes in scholarly views with regard to issues in wider Hebrew Bible scholarship that Amos 2.10-12 are held by many commentators *not* to pre-date the Exilic Redactional Composition; and I have set out reasons why I consider these commentators to be correct. But what is the significance of this for an exegesis of Amos 2.6-16? The answer is that exegesis of the unit in the Post-722 Composition (of which 2.10-12 is not a part) must proceed on the basis that

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[147] R E Clements *Prophecy and Tradition*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1975, pp. 87-89; referring to
R E Clements *Prophecy and Covenant*, Studies in Biblical Theology, SCM, London, 1965.

there was no comprehensive understanding of a *berith* between YHWH and Israel inherited by Amos or his hearers, nor between those responsible for the Post-722 Composition and their readers; and exploration of the basis on which, and reasons for which judgment on Israel is announced, must be made without invoking such a concept. Exegesis of the unit in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition will be substantially similar with regard to this particular question (although it will differ in other respects). It will only be in exegesis of the unit in the Exilic Redactional Composition, which includes 2.10-12, that it will be possible to explore the significance of the inclusion to the references to Israel being brought up out of Egypt and led for forty years in the wilderness in the interpretation of the unit as a whole.

Chapter 6: Interpretation of the Reasons for Judgment in Amos 2.6-16 in the Redactional Compositions Underlying the Amos-text

In Chapter 3 of this study I argued that underlying the Amos-text four redactional layers can be discerned: the Post-722 Composition, the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition, the Exilic Redactional Composition, and the Post-exilic Redactional Composition. I then described, in Chapter 4, the coherence of each of them, in order to confirm the likelihood that they indeed existed, and to note particular structural markers and prominent themes that should be taken as significant in interpretation of the whole composition, including 2.6-16. I then investigated, in Chapter 5, two particular issues pertinent to the interpretation of Amos 2.6-16, namely: (1) the relationship of 2.8 to Exodus 22.25-26 (26-27) and Deuteronomy 24.10-18; (2) the presence of election traditions in 2.9-12. In this chapter I proceed to an exegesis of the reasons for judgment in 2.6-16.

I shall first delineate in greater detail than hitherto precisely which sections of the text of 2.6-16 I include in each composition, and then go on to examine and seek to interpret each redactional composition in chronological order. The relevant sections of the Hebrew text will be set out, accompanied by a literal English translation, and textual issues will be noted and discussed. The relevant sections of text are: in the case of the Post-722 Composition, 2.6-9*, 13-16*; in the case of the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition, 2.8 with its late seventh-century additions, and also 8.4-7, which reinterprets 2.6-7; in the case of the Exilic Redactional Composition, 2.10-12; in the case of the Post-exilic Redactional Composition, 2.7b with its post-exilic addition.

In interpreting the three later redactional compositions I shall give attention to the effect of additional material within the unit to the interpretation of the unit as a whole, and to the effect on the unit of the new literary context created by the formation of the new redactional composition. In interpreting the Post-exilic

Redactional Composition I shall explore, additionally, the significance of semantic change in the terms "Righteous", "Needy", "Poor" and "Afflicted".

It is the reasons for judgment which form the particular focus of attention in this study; and, with regard to accusations concerning social injustice and mistreatment of one group of people by some other group, I shall comment on how both the victims and the oppressors are described. To use the terms "victims" and "oppressors" might seem to pre-judge the outcome of exegesis and interpretation: however, some suitable, summary terminology is required, and it is beyond reasonable doubt that most readers find there to be accusations of injustice and oppression within the Amos-text. These are the terms employed in Houston *Contending* pp. 61-65 (a work which was published late on in my own research), and I find them eminently suitable. Their use leaves entirely open the question of whether the injustice of which they are accused is viewed in legal, humanitarian, or theological terms, or in some combination of these: this question is one to be explored in the exegesis.

As well as exploring the theological basis of the reasons for judgment, I shall comment on the rhetorical effect of the description of the reasons for judgment. In considering both these foci, I intend to show that there is no contradiction in seeing the Amos-text as both a theological work and a tractate of social criticism[1].

6.1 Delineation of the Redactional Compositions Underlying Amos 2-6-16
In 3.4.1 above I accepted, and in the previous chapter I argued more fully, that 2.10-12 entered the Amos-text in the Exilic Redactional Composition. In 3.4.1 above I also accepted that various lines and phrases within 2.6-16 entered the text in each of the redactional compositions. At this point it is necessary to discuss these more fully, and also to discuss some other particular words and phrases, in order to delineate precisely the text of 2.6-16 in each of the compositions.

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[1] See my opening remarks to Chapter 1: Introduction.

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(1) In 2.7aα the phrase עַל־עֲפַר־אֶרֶץ is extra-metrical, and makes difficult syntax. BHS suggests that, with the ב of בְּרֹאשׁ, it is an addition to the earliest form of the text. Wolff, similarly, takes the phrase as an addition, but retains the ב on the basis that "when used with verbs denoting attack, ב conveys a hostile "against""[2]. He also notes that LXX supplies an extra verb to allow a smoother reading of the expanded text. Jeremias also takes the phrase to be a "superfluous addition", the intention of which is to "heighten the older accusation"[3]. Neither Wolff nor Jeremias comment on when they think the addition was made; however, since there is no hint of the phrase in 8.4a which, with the whole of 8.4-7, entered the text in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition, it was probably made in the Exilic Redactional Composition. Paul cites a number of passages in which עֲפַר־אֶרֶץ occurs, and considers that in so doing he demonstrates that they should not be omitted[4]; however, his argument relies on the assumption that it is the similarity in meaning of the two words that leads commentators to propose seeing the phrase as an addition, which neither Wolff nor Jeremias argues. Andersen and Freedman consider four possibilities: (1) to delete the phrase; (2) to take it as a simile, "to trample on the head of the poor as upon the dust of the ground" (as the *New International Version* translates); (3) to take it as an object, with a second object in apposition; and (4) to retain the phrase as a locative, with בְּרֹאשׁ דַּלִּים as the object. Their preference is for the fourth option[5]. The arguments of Paul and of Andersen and Freedman suffer from using the vocabulary of omission and deletion, which is alien to the present redaction-critical study. The attribution of the phrase to the Exilic Redactional Composition is not a sign of its lesser worth than any other phrase in the text: rather its addition serves to strengthen the accusation made.

(2) In 2.7bβ Wolff takes the phrase לְמַעַן חַלֵּל אֶת־שֵׁם קָדְשִׁי as an addition dependent on the language of Ezekiel (20.39; 36.20-22) and the Holiness Code (Leviticus 20.3; 22.2, 32), and Jeremias concurs. BHS sees the whole of verse 7b as a

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[2] Wolff p. 133.
[3] Jeremias p. 32.
[4] Paul p. 80.
[5] Andersen and Freedman pp. 315-6.

possible addition. This is possible for two reasons: (1) the subject matter could be taken to be of a different kind from that of the surrounding verses, in that it deals with an issue of sexual relations; and (2) if verse 7bβ is taken as an addition, then its removal leaves a disturbed metrical pattern: Wolff describes the list of crimes in 2.6-8 as being "enumerated in four bicola"[6]; but verse 7bα on its own does not constitute a bicolon. On the other hand, if this accusation is removed, there remain three accusations rather than four, which does not fit with the graded numerical pattern of "For three transgressions of Israel and for four….". Furthermore, while the accusation does indeed deal with sexual relations, it presumably also entails exploitation and mistreatment of the girl. The argument here is finely balanced, but I incline to the view that 2.7bα was part of the post-722 Amos tradents' text, while 2.7bβ belongs to either the Exilic Redactional Composition or the Post-exilic Redactional Composition: very marginally, I consider that the Post-exilic Redactional Composition is more likely, on the basis that priestly holiness language and concepts were by then widespread, whereas, as Steck notes, "any conceptual breadth that it possibly had (*sc.* in the monarchic period) does not come to the fore until Ezekiel"[7]. Paul, in contrast, does not see any of verse 7b as an addition. He cites Rudolph, who would see such a suggestion as a "bedauerliche Amputation" ("a regrettable amputation")[8]; however, such a view once again betrays an approach which would see additions as of secondary value, in contrast to the redaction-critical approach of Wolff, Jeremias and this study which see them as bringing fresh interpretation within a redactional composition. Paul does not marshal any significant argument against 2.7bβ being an addition to the oldest layer of text apart from his predisposition against such a view. The discussion below will address how the introduction of this phrase affects interpretation of the unit in the context of the Post-exilic Redactional Composition.

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[6] Wolff p. 165.
[7] O H Steck "Theological Streams of Tradition", in D A Knight (ed) *Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1977, pp. 183-214 (201). He adds (pp. 206-7) that only from the time of the Babylonian exile onwards will "the Priestly History….. exert considerable influence".
[8] Paul p. 83, citing Rudolph *Joel – Amos – Obadja – Jona* p. 144.

(3) The opening עַל of 2.8aα is probably a subsequent addition made in the Post-exilic Redactional Composition in order to give a better transition from the expanded form of 2.7. LXX does not presuppose it. The verb נָטָה is generally used transitively, and without the preposition the line reads straightforwardly as "They spread out garments taken in pledge"[9].

(4) Jeremias writes of the phrases אֵצֶל כָּל־מִזְבֵּחַ in 2.8aβ and בֵּית אֱלֹהֵיהֶם in 2.8bβ that "The two specifications of place shift the reproof of Amos' oral discourse in the sense of Hoseanic theology"; he attributes them to Amos Tradents who made additions to the post-722 text during the time of Jeremiah[10]. Paul, on the other hand, considers that these phrases should not "be deleted" from the text on the grounds that the location of the committing of these offences adds an ironic strengthening to the accusation, and therefore "obviously" they cannot be additions[11]. While there is some force to Paul's view, the argument of Jeremias that there is Hoseanic influence points to the likelihood of these phrases being part of the development of the text; and it is most likely within the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition that these additions were made.

(5) The statements וְקַל בְּרַגְלָיו לֹא יְמַלֵּט in 2.15 and וְגִבּוֹר לֹא־יְמַלֵּט נַפְשׁוֹ in 2.14 are taken by BHS, Wolff and Jeremias as additions to the earliest text[12]. The reasons given by Wolff are: (1) that their vocabulary is largely derived from the surrounding literary context; (2) the threefold use of לֹא־יְמַלֵּט (נַפְשׁוֹ) would be "unusual for Amos"; and (3) the parallelism of the carefully constructed bicola of 2.14-15 is disturbed, as is the climactic structure of 2.14-16; and Jeremias suggests that the function of the additions was "presumably to increase the present number of designations from "five" to the more complete "seven" ". Paul sees no need to take such a view, and regards the repetition of words as part of the deliberate

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[9] So BHS, and Wolff pp. 134, 167; contra Paul p. 86 n. 426.
[10] Jeremias pp. 7, 38 (38). Wolff p. 134 also notes the Hoseanic influence.
[11] Paul pp. 87-88.
[12] Wolff pp. 134-5; Jeremias p. 44 n. 32

structure of the text from the outset[13]. The arguments are finely balanced, and the outcome is not of significance with regard to the interpretation of the reasons for judgement: having followed Wolff and Jeremias at many points, I do so on this occasion also, and shall include these clauses in the text of the Exilic Redactional Composition.

6.2 Amos 2.6-16 in the Post-722 Composition[14]

6.2.1 Translation and Textual Notes
2.6

כֹּ֥ה אָמַ֣ר יְהוָ֗ה	Thus says YHWH:
עַל־שְׁלֹשָׁה֙ פִּשְׁעֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל	For three transgressions of Israel,
וְעַל־אַרְבָּעָ֖ה לֹ֣א אֲשִׁיבֶ֑נּוּ	and for four, I will not turn it back;
עַל־מִכְרָ֤ם בַּכֶּ֙סֶף֙ צַדִּ֔יק	because they sell the righteous[a] for silver
וְאֶבְי֖וֹן בַּעֲב֥וּר נַעֲלָֽיִם:	and the needy for a pair of sandals[b]:

2.7

הַשֹּׁאֲפִ֤ים רֹ֣אשׁ דַּלִּ֔ים	they who trample[c] the head[d] of the poor,
וְדֶ֥רֶךְ עֲנָוִ֖ים יַטּ֑וּ	and they turn aside the way of the afflicted ones;
וְאִ֤ישׁ וְאָבִיו֙ יֵֽלְכוּ֙ אֶל־הַֽנַּעֲרָ֔ה:	and a man and his father go to the same[e] girl;

2.8

וּבְגָדִ֤ים חֲבֻלִים֙ יַטּ֔וּ	and they spread out garments taken in pledge,
וְיֵ֥ין עֲנוּשִׁ֖ים יִשְׁתּֽוּ:	and they drink wine of those being fined.

2.9

וְאָ֨נֹכִ֜י הִשְׁמַ֤דְתִּי אֶת־הָֽאֱמֹרִי֙ מִפְּנֵיהֶ֔ם	Yet I destroyed the Amorite before them[f],
אֲשֶׁ֨ר כְּגֹ֤בַהּ אֲרָזִים֙ גָּבְה֔וֹ	although as tall as cedars
וְחָסֹ֥ן ה֖וּא כָּֽאַלּוֹנִ֑ים	and as strong as oaks;
וָאַשְׁמִ֤יד פִּרְיוֹ֙ מִמַּ֔עַל	I destroyed his fruit above
וְשָׁרָשָׁ֖יו מִתָּֽחַת:	and his roots below.

2.13

הִנֵּ֛ה אָנֹכִ֥י מֵעִ֖יק תַּחְתֵּיכֶ֑ם	Behold[g], I will break open[h] under you[i]
כַּאֲשֶׁ֤ר תָּעִיק֙ הָעֲגָלָ֔ה	as a cart breaks open (the ground)[h]
הַֽמְלֵאָ֥ה לָ֖הּ עָמִֽיר:	with loaded grain;

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[13] Paul p. 95. Möller pp. 210-2 is inclined to follow a reconstruction offered by Rendtorff in which the וְקַ֣ל בְּרַגְלָ֔יו לֹ֣א יְמַלֵּ֑ט of 2.15 is misplaced due to a scribal error: originally it came after the opening וְאָבַ֣ד מָנ֣וֹס מִקָּ֔ל of 2.14, giving a first pair of statements concerning the swift, a second pair concerning the strong, and a third pair concerning those who were armed; however, this entails a conjecture that the clause now in 2.15b was first accidentally omitted, then subsequently written in the margin, and then later still copied into the main text in the wrong place – which seems a conjecture too far.

[14] Throughout this section treating the Post-722 Composition, I shall refer to the unit as 2.6-16 without an asterisk (not 2.6-16*), and take it as read that I am referring to the material identified as part of this composition.

2.14

וְאָבַד מָנוֹס מִקָּל   and flight[j] will be destroyed from the swift,

וְחָזָק לֹא־יְאַמֵּץ כֹּחוֹ :   and the strong will not muster[j] his strength,

2.15

וְתֹפֵשׂ הַקֶּשֶׁת לֹא יַעֲמֹד   and the one who grasps the bow will not stand,

וְרֹכֵב הַסּוּס לֹא יְמַלֵּט נַפְשׁוֹ :   and the one who rides the horse will

not save[k] his life,

2.16

וְאַמִּיץ לִבּוֹ בַּגִּבּוֹרִים   and the brave[j] of heart among the warriors

עָרוֹם יָנוּס בַּיּוֹם־הַהוּא   will flee[j] naked on that day.

נְאֻם־יְהוָה :   Oracle of YHWH.

(a) The question of whether to translate צַדִּיק (2.6bα) as "innocent" or as "righteous" (or in some other way such as the "honest folk" of the *Revised English Bible*) involves deciding whether or not 2.6bα is an accusation against bribery in a legal context, in which case the translation "innocent" or "the one in the right" would be preferable. That is so in 5.12; however, I shall take the view in the exegesis below that it is not so here, and I have therefore translated as "righteous" in this verse. The singular forms of צַדִּיק and of אֶבְיוֹן in this verse are collective, and there is no awkwardness in their being followed by the plural עֲנָוִים and דַּלִּים in 2.7.

(b) נַעֲלָיִם (2.6bβ): the dual form does not occur elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible other than in the parallel Amos 8.6. Paul pp. 78-9 considers that the vocalization of the word is incorrect, and that it should be taken as a *hapax legomenon* singular noun from the verb עָלַם meaning "hide/conceal", giving a meaning of "hidden gift" or "payoff". This would certainly fit the context well. However, the vocalization in the text and the usual translation and understanding also make sense, and there are not sufficient grounds in Paul's argument to justify his proposed change.

(c) הַשֹּׁאֲפִים (2.7aα): The root שָׁאַף generally means "gasp/pant". However it appears to have a homonym derived from the rarer root שׁוּף meaning "crush/bruise" (BDB p. 983); it is likely that the pointing should be הַשָּׁאֲפִים : so BHS, Wolff p. 133, Paul p. 79, Jeremias p. 32. This would be in accord with LXX's τα πατουντα "those treading".

(d) The בְ of בְּרֹאשׁ is omitted in accordance with the discussion in 6.1 point (1) above.

(e) The word "same" is added into the English translation in order to give the sense of the saying.

(f) Wolff p. 134 notes that Duhm proposed emending מִפְּנֵיהֶם (2.9a) to מִפְּנֵיכֶם[15]. However, this emendation was to bring verse 9 into line with the second person address of verses 10-12 on the assumption that verses 9-12 were inserted together. I argued in section 5.2.1 that in fact 2.9 belonged with 2.6-8 in the Post-722 Composition: it is therefore correctly formulated in the third person.

(g) The הִנֵּה of 2.13 is extra-metrical, and should be taken as a transition word introducing the announcement of judgement, as will be clear from the structure of the unit to be outlined below.

(h) מֵעִיק and תַּחְתֵּיכֶם (2.13a): The apparent root עוק does not occur elsewhere. BDB pp. 734a suggests that it may be an Aramaic form of צוק; but then recommends instead reading מֵפִיק in 2.13a and תָּפוּק in 2.13b from the verb פוק, "totter, cause tottering" (citing Hitzig, Wellhausen, Nowack, Driver). Better, however, is a proposal of Gese[16], who found in Rabbinic usage the word עוקה meaning "cavity/trough", and a related term in Arabic meaning "tear asunder". If this is correct, then this may be a reference to YHWH breaking open the ground as in an earthquake: this is reflected in the translation above. In the light of the reference to an earthquake in 1.1, and of the probability that 9.1 describes an earthquake, this suggestion has obvious attractions, and is adopted by both Wolff pp. 134, 171 and Jeremias pp. 33, 43. Paul p. 94 surveys various suggested possible solutions, and opts for that which takes the root עוק to be related to an Arabic cognate root meaning "hamper/hinder", adding that, contrary to the view of most commentators, it should not be taken to refer to an earthquake at all, but to military defeat. This solution avoids a mixing of earthquake and battle language within 2.13-16; however, 9.1-4 contains both earthquake and battle language, and in the literary context of the Post-722 Composition Jeremias is right to assert that 2.13-16 may be understood "as a prelude to the final vision" (p. 42).

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[15] Referring to B Duhm "Anmerkungen zu den Zwölf Propheten", *ZAW* 31, 1911, pp. 1-43 (4) (not seen by me).
[16] H Gese "Kleine Beiträge zum Verständnis des Amosbuches" *VT* 12, 1962, pp. 417-438 (417-424).

(i) It is possible that an original third person suffix has been accommodated to the exilic insertion 2.10-12. Alternatively there was in the Post-722 Composition a change from third person address in 2.6-9 to second person address in the announcement of judgment in 2.13-16. This latter alternative is to be preferred, and, indeed, paves the way for the second person address of 2.10-12 in the Exilic Redactional Composition.

(j) מָנוֹס (2.14) and יָנוּס (2.16) form an *inclusio*, as do יְאַמֵּץ (2.14) and וְאַמִּיץ (2.16).

(k) LXX's διασωθη suggests that a niphal vocalisation יִמָּלֵט is presupposed. It is possible that the word נַפְשׁוֹ was not in the text of the Post-722 Composition, but that it entered it along with and under the influence of the exilic additions in 2.14 and 2.15 (see section 6.1 above), necessitating a change from niphal to qal vocalisation: so BHS, Wolff p. 135 and Jeremias p. 33: however, since this is not certain, it is retained in the text of the Post-722 Composition.

6.2.2 <u>The Structure of Amos 2.6-16 in the Post-722 Composition</u>
That 2.6-16 should be taken as a unit is indicated by the opening כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה and the concluding נְאֻם־יְהוָה. Maag held 3.1-2 to be the conclusion and culmination of 1.3 – 2.16[17]; however, Andersen and Freedman are representative of most commentators in writing, correctly, that "there is a clear break at the end of chap. 2 with the oracle formula; and a fresh series of exhortations marked by the verb "Hear!" begins with 3.1"[18]. While 3.1-2 serves as both an introduction to chapters 3-6 and a useful transition from the OAN series to the "Words of Amos", it is a separate unit which begins a new section of the text.

Form-critically 2.6-16 is designated by Wolff as "Commission-Bound Messenger Speech"[19]. Structurally it is close to the form described by Westermann as "The Announcement of Judgment Against Israel"[20]. Westermann argues that the basic

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[17] V Maag *Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt* p. 9. Wolff p. 175 notes this.
[18] Andersen and Freedman p. 378.
[19] Wolff p. 92.
[20] C Westermann *Basic Forms* pp. 169-209.

structure of this form of prophetic speech (which he takes to be a development and expansion of "The Prophetic Judgment-Speech to Individuals") is :

(1) Introduction;

(2) Reason for Judgment: (a) Accusation;

(b) Development of the Accusation;

(3) The Messenger Formula (כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה);

(4) Announcement of Judgment: (a) Intervention of God;

(b) Results of the Intervention[21].

Westermann stresses that *"These speeches are completely literary formations"*[22]. Some of their earliest formulations are found in the book of Amos (e.g. 3.9-11). Sometimes, Westermann argues, the structure became looser: for example, that it became frequent to treat the accusation as part of divine speech as well as the announcement of judgment, and therefore to place the messenger formula at the beginning of the whole speech[23]. This is so with regard to Amos 2.6-16 in the Post-722 Composition:

(1) Messenger Formula (כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה);

(2) Introduction: For three transgressions of Israel,

and for four, I will not turn it back;

(3) Reason for Judgment:

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[21] Westermann *Basic Forms* pp. 171-175. Westermann argues (pp. 28-30, 64-70) for the descriptions "Accusation" (*Anklage*) and "Announcement of Judgment" (*Gerichtsankündigung*) in preference to Gunkel's vocabulary of "Reproach" (*Scheltrede*) and "Threat" (*Drohrede*). K Koch *The Growth of the Biblical Tradition*, A & C Black, London, 1969, pp. 211-3 and *passim* prefers simply "Indication of the Situation" and "Prediction of Disaster". While I agree with W E March "Prophecy", in J H Hayes (ed) *Old Testament Form Criticism*, Trinity University Press, San Antonio, 1974, pp.141-177 that Koch's terminology is "adequate and appropriate" (p. 160), I consider that Westermann's somewhat stronger terminology is better suited to the strong language of the Amos-text.
[22] Westermann *Basic Forms* p. 172 (his italics).
[23] Westermann *Basic Forms* pp. 176-181. Koch *Growth of the Biblical Tradition* pp. 211-3 describes the structure of the "Prophecy of Disaster" as (1) Indication of the Situation; (2) Prediction of Disaster; (3) Concluding Characterization; with these three sections being accompanied by the "Messenger Formula" before either the first or second part. This is a less rigid structure than Westermann's, and does greater justice to the variety of structures of judgment oracle within the prophetic texts. In Amos 2.6 it is entirely appropriate that the Messenger Formula introduces the whole unit, since the first half of the verse is divine speech.

          (a) Accusation: because they sell the righteous for silver   (v. 6b)

                   and the needy for a pair of sandals;

         (b) Development of Accusation:

                   they who trample the head of the poor,   (v. 7)

                   and they turn aside the way of the afflicted ones;

                   and a man and his father go to the same girl;

                   and they spread out garments taken in pledge,   (v. 8)

                   and they drink wine of those being fined.

                   Yet I destroyed the Amorite before them,   (v. 9)

                   although as tall as cedars and as strong as oaks;

                   I destroyed his fruit above and his roots below.

(4) Transition Formula: Behold (הִנֵּה)

(5) Announcement of Judgement:

         (a) Intervention of God:

                   I will break open under you as a cart

                   breaks open (the ground) with loaded grain   (v. 13)

         (b) Results of the Intervention:

                   and flight will be destroyed from the swift,   (v. 14)

                   and the strong will not muster his strength;

                   and the one who grasps the bow will not stand,   (v. 15)

                   and the one who rides the horse will not save his life,

                   and the brave of heart among the warriors   (v. 16)

                   will flee naked on that day.

(6) Concluding Formula: Oracle of YHWH (נְאֻם־יְהוָה).

6.2.3 The Announcement of Judgment in Amos 2.6-16 in the Post-722 Composition

While the focus of this study is the reasons for judgment, some comments on the introductory "For three transgressions of Israel and for four" and on the announcement of judgment in 2.13-16 are in order[24].

The distinctively worded "For three transgressions of Israel and for four" introduction is a graded numerical saying such as is found in Proverbs 30.15-16, 18-19, 21-23, 29-31[25]. To cite just one of these, Proverbs 30.21-23 says:

> "Under three things the earth trembles;
>
> under four it cannot bear up:
>
> a slave when he becomes a king,
>
> and a fool when glutted with food;
>
> an unloved woman when she gets a husband,
>
> and a maid when she succeeds her mistress" (NRSV).

In each case in Proverbs 30 the saying does actually contain four statements. This obvious observation supports the argument of Jeremias that in Amos 1.3-2.16 the oracle against Israel is not an aberrant form of the preceding OAN, but rather that "the literary formation of the oracles against the nations was undertaken from the perspective of the Israel-strophe…… The graded numerical sequence is not rendered fully until the Israel-strophe, where – as the formula leads one to expect – four transgressions are enumerated"[26]. It may not, therefore, be assumed that these OAN had an independent existence apart from the oracle against Israel[27]. While

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[24] I shall not comment on the Messenger Formula (כֹּ֤ה אָמַ֣ר יְהוָ֔ה), nor the Transition Formula (הִנֵּה), nor the Concluding Formula (נְאֻם־יְהוָה), to each of which Wolff pp. 135-7, 142-3 gives comprehensive treatment.

[25] Wolff *Amos the Prophet* pp. 34-44 instances this as one of the links between Amos and Israel's Wisdom tradition. Other-length series are also found in the Hebrew Bible e.g. Psalm 62.12-13 (11-12) has a one-two series.

[26] Jeremias p. 30.

[27] It has been argued that oracles against the nations were a prophetic form in use before the time of Amos, perhaps one developed from oracles delivered in war (so, for example D L Christensen *Transformations of the War Oracle in Old Testament Prophecy*, HDR 3, Scholars Press, Missoula, 1975). While this may be so, the step to assuming that these particular oracles in Amos 1.3-2.3,

the reasons for judgment in the OAN are, no doubt, genuinely meant, it is also true that they serve to highlight, intentionally, the guilt of Israel.

The introduction includes elements of both "reasons for judgment", in its use of פִּשְׁעֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, "transgressions of Israel"[28], and of "announcement of judgment" in the enigmatic לֹא אֲשִׁיבֶנּוּ, "I will not turn it back". The referent of the suffix in the latter phrase has occasioned much discussion. Most frequently it is taken to refer to the punishment which YHWH has decided will come and which is about to be announced[29]. Barré[30] lists various alternative suggestions: he notes that Christensen reads it as a qal form, and translates "I will not turn back"[31]; that Wolff[32] refers it to the word of YHWH announcing punishment rather than to the punishment itself; that Maag[33] suggests that the reference is to the Day of YHWH; that Knierim[34] and Coote[35] (apparently independently) take it as referring to YHWH's anger[36]. Barré's own proposal is that it refers to the geographical name in the preceding colon[37]; however, the idea that "The texts speak of the parties in question turning/coming back to Yahweh"[38] is unlikely with regard to the foreign nations. Subsequent to Barré's article, Andersen and Freedman referred it to the roar of YHWH in 1.2[39]; however, since 1.2 was not part of the Post-722 Composition, this is not a possibility in this composition. Overall the most frequently suggested referent, namely the coming punishment, remains the most

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with their graded numerical sequence, had a separate existence apart from the oracle against Israel is not one that can be taken.

[28] I shall discuss the significance of the root פשע in section 6.2.7 below.

[29] So, for example, Cripps p. 119; Mays p. 24; Paul p. 46.

[30] M L Barré "The Meaning of *l' 'šybnw* in Amos 1.3-2.6", *JBL* 105, 1986, pp. 611-631 (611-3).

[31] Christensen *Transformations* pp. 61-2; Christensen states that this suggestion was made to him by F M Cross "in consultation".

[32] Wolff pp. 128, 153-4.

[33] V Maag *Text, Wortschatz und Begriffswelt* pp. 240, 245-7.

[34] R P Knierim " 'I will not cause it to return' in Amos 1 and 2", in G W Coats and B O Long (eds) *Canon and Authority. Essays in Old Testament Religion and Theology*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1977, pp. 163-175.

[35] Coote p. 115.

[36] Barré fails to record that Harper (p. 16) had already suggested this possibility; and that Coote (p. 115) considers it as one possible option, with an alternative of it referring to the people to whom the oracle is addressed, meaning "I shall not cause the people to return (from exile)".

[37] Barré "Meaning of *l' 'šybnw*" pp. 613-7.

[38] Barré "Meaning of *l' 'šybnw*" p. 625.

[39] Andersen and Freedman p. 235.

plausible understanding. Wolff's reluctance to accept this is on the basis that "Were the reference to punishment, a feminine suffix would sooner have been expected (so Is 43.13; 14.27), at least in view of the regularly recurring use of אש "fire") "[40]; hence his view that it refers to the word of YHWH announcing punishment. As Jeremias notes, the question of whether it refers to the word of YHWH announcing punishment or to the punishment itself "is substantively of almost no consequence"[41].

In fact, it is an important interpretative point to make that the text deliberately leaves the point of reference unspecified. It need not have done so: but it does. Paul rightly refers to this as a "rhetorical device of frightening and suspense-ridden anticipation"[42]. This undefined judgment is even more ominous than one defined; and the deliberate openness in the text allows future readers to interpret it in terms relevant to their contemporary situation. Furthermore, in the context of a whole literary composition, there can be more than one single point of reference: it can refer both to the immediate unit, but also to other related units. In the literary context of the Post-722 Composition, with its carefully planned structural parallels between the visions series and the OAN, it can refer also, particularly, to the closing unit, namely the final vision in 9.1-4: YHWH's destruction of the altar (9.1) and of the nation (9.4) is as sure as the judgment announced in 2.13-16.

This is consistent with the fact that there is also ambiguity in the judgment described in 2.13-16. Verses 14-16 suggest crushing defeat in battle. The textual difficulty of verse 13 makes its meaning less clear: however, on the basis of the textual proposal of Gese referred to in textual note g above, it most probably refers

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[40] Wolff p. 128. Wolff could also have referred to Numbers 23.20, where the feminine suffix refers to the blessing that Balaam has been commanded to deliver and therefore cannot change.

[41] Jeremias p. 22.

[42] Paul p. 47. I am not, however, able to agree with P R Noble " 'I will not bring "It" Back' (Amos 1.3): A Deliberately Ambiguous Oracle?", *ExpT* 106, 1995, pp. 105-9, who suggests that the suffix could be taken to refer either to YHWH's punishment or to his promise of blessing contained in 9.11-15, the preposition על (1.3, 6, 13; 2.1, 6) in the latter case bearing the sense of "despite". This interpretation relies on, and indeed is used to point to 9.11-15 being an integral part of the text at all stages of composition.

to earthquake[43]. That textual note included the observation of Jeremias that 2.13-16 mirrored 9.1-4 in containing both earthquake and battle imagery. It is probably also earthquake that is referred to in 3.15 and 6.11. That earthquake is referred to in the Post-722 Composition is confirmed by the chronological statement in 1.1*, which indicates that those who placed it at the head of the composition certainly understood there to be references to earthquake in the text. This mixture of imagery should not be seen as an unfortunate lack of clarity: on the contrary, it is consistent with the deliberate ambiguity of the לֹא אֲשִׁיבֶנּוּ of 2.6. Less important than the specific nature of the threat is that it is terrifying.; and 2.13-16 achieves communication of the *certainty* that YHWH will act alongside *ambiguity and openness* about just how he will act.

With such a subtle blend of *certainty* in one respect and *ambiguity and openness* in other respects being present in the announcement of judgment, it is at least possible that there may be a similar blend of certainty and ambiguity in the reasons for judgment, to which I now turn.

6.2.4 The Reasons for Judgment in Amos 2.6-9 in the Post-722 Composition

The opening bicolon in 2.6b forms the initial accusation. It has one verb in the infinitive (following על), which covers both halves of the bicolon: (a) they sell the innocent for silver; and (b) they sell the needy for a pair of sandals. The development of the accusation then continues in 2.7bα with a participle: "They who trample the head of the poor…."[44], but thereafter continues with verbs in the imperfect[45], conveying a sense of continuous, ongoing actions. The final part of the development of the accusation describes the action of YHWH on behalf of Israel, an action which is deemed to have gone unrewarded.

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[43] So Mays p. 54; Wolff p. 171; Jeremias p. 42; Coggins p. 106; Möller p. 210; also Cripps, whose commentary pre-dates Gese's article, p. 147; contra Harper p. 61; Paul p. 94.

[44] Wolff p. 141 points out that similar participial forms are used in speeches of accusation in 4.1aβ-b; 5.7; 6.13; 8.4, and especially in woe-cries: 5.18; 6.1, 3-6; as well as in a graded numerical saying in Proverbs 6.16-19. The latter parallel militates any suggestion that 2.7 should be taken as being from a different literary source than 2.6.

[45] The move from infinitive to participle to imperfect need not be taken as an indication of the presence of more than one literary source; however, it may be that the literary text has been formed from several short oral sayings, or from summaries of oral discourses: so Jeremias p. 35.

In relation to the introductory "For three transgressions of Israel and for four", the four transgressions comprise 2.6b, 2.7a, 2.7b and 2.8. Verse 9 is different with regard to content, and is to be regarded as supplementary to the list of four transgressions[46]. In what follows I shall investigate the content of 2.6b, 2.7a, 2.7b, and 2.8 respectively, before considering what is said in these verses concerning the victims and perpetrators of the actions described. I shall then treat 2.9.

6.2.4.1 <u>"because they sell the righteous for silver, and the needy for a pair of sandals" (2.6b)</u>

That the two halves of this initial accusation are to be taken as one is apparent both from the parallelism of its two halves, and from its chiastic arrangement, in which בְּכֶסֶף and בַּעֲבוּר נַעֲלָיִם make a ring round צַדִּיק and אֶבְיוֹן[47]. Jeremias would prefer to see them as two separate accusations, giving the explanation that the two different prepositions (בְּ in 2.6bα and בַּעֲבוּר in 2.6bβ) cannot be taken to be semantic equivalents[48]; however, they do not have to be taken as semantic equivalents in order to take 2.6b as one accusation rather than as two.

It has been much debated whether or not 2.6b refers to bribery in a legal setting. Harper writes that "the reference is not to……. the corrupt acts of judges in the oppression of the poor, at first for money, and later, as they became more corrupt, even for a pair of shoes; but to the unjust and outrageous seizure...… of innocent men by the powerful for debt, and to the habit of selling the poor into slavery"[49]. Contrastingly, Cripps writes that "the subject of the sentence is the judges……

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[46] In section 5.2.1 above I noted and followed Jeremias's view that 2.9 was probably a separate oral saying, but that it had always belonged with 2.6-16 in the literary text.

[47] V Orel "Textalogical Notes", *ZAW* 109, 1997, pp. 408-413 proposes that בַּעֲבוּר נַעֲלָיִם should be taken with 2.7a, so that 2.6b reads "(because) they sell the righteous and the poor (אֶבְיוֹן) for silver", and 2.7a reads "for the sake of sandals that breathe on dust of the earth in front of the destitute (דַּלִּים) and (thus) turn aside the way of the humble (עֲנָוִים)". The proposal entails (a) forgoing any belief in the text having metre; (b) arguing that בְּרֹאשׁ can mean "in front of" in the sense of "in the sight of", which is not a natural meaning; and (c) stating that this turns "the whole passage into a consistent syntactic and semantic shole (*sic*, – intended to read "whole"?) (p. 411), when in fact the meaning is more obscure than usual translations. It is not a proposal to be followed.

[48] Jeremias p. 36 n. 11.

[49] Harper p. 49.

The judges have been taking bribes from the guilty parties; and thus, metaphorically speaking, they have 'sold' the righteous"[50]. Most more recent commentators take it to refer not to bribery in a legal setting, but to debt-slavery, in which inability to repay a debt leads someone to sell himself or one of his family into slavery[51].

An examination of some of the vocabulary used confirms that, with regard to interpretation of the unit apart from the literary context of the Post-722 Composition as a whole, the second explanation is to be preferred:

(1) The qal of the verb מָכַר is used in the Hebrew Bible to refer to the sale of land, house, beast, people, flesh, food, linen, and birthright[52]. With regard to its application to the selling of people, it may be used to refer to (a) the selling of individuals e.g. Genesis 31.15; Exodus 21.7-8 (of daughters); Genesis 37.27, 28, 36; 45.4, 5 (of Joseph by his brothers); Nehemiah 5.8 (of Jewish kindred); (b) the selling of nations by nations: Nahum 3.4; Joel 4.6-7 (3.6-7); (c) of YHWH selling his people e.g. Deuteronomy 32.30; Judges 3.8; 4.2; 10.7; Psalm 44.13 (12); Isaiah 50.1. The niphal is used of those who sell themselves into slavery as a result of economic need (Deuteronomy 15.12; Leviticus 25.39, 42, 47, 48, 50; Jeremiah 34.14); and also of Israel being sold (Isaiah 50.1; 52.3). Lipiński shows that in some texts the verb "designates a delivery of goods, generally in return for valuables, with or without the intention of passing ownership……. A transfer of possession which can, but must not necessarily, amount to a sale"[53]. It could, therefore refer to a transfer for an agreed period of time. This is compatible with legislation concerning the purchase and sale of slaves such as that in Exodus

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[50] Cripps p. 140.
[51] So, for example, Mays p. 45; Wolff pp. 165-6; Jeremias pp. 35-6; also G C Chirichigno *Debt-Slavery in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, JSOTSup 141, JSOT Press, Sheffield, 1993, pp. 125-7; Houston *Contending* p. 66.
[52] BDB p. 569a.
[53] E Lipiński "מכר *mkr*", *TDOT VIII*, pp. 291-6 (291-2). The opening paragraph of the article mistakenly refers to the hiphil form occurring 19 times: it is, in fact, the niphal which is meant.

21.2-6 and Leviticus 25.13-17; 25.39-41. Paul notes that "nowhere in the Bible is the verb מכר employed in the context of bribery"[54];

(2) The selling of the righteous is "for silver" (בְּכֶסֶף) and of the needy is "for a pair of sandals" (בַּעֲבוּר נַעֲלָיִם). The term כֶּסֶף occurs many times in the Hebrew Bible[55], frequently referring to the money price for something, be it cattle (Exodus 21.35), a slave (Genesis 37.28), fines/compensation (Deuteronomy 22.19), interest, a bride-price (Genesis 31.15), or a fee to pay to a seer (1 Samuel 9.8). Mayer notes that in most cases there is "hardly enough evidence for a semantic distinction between 'silver' and 'coin' "[56]. The text of Amos 2.6bα does not specify whether the sums of money being made from the sale of the righteous were large or small. However, it implies that one of the motivating factors in those accused behaving as they do is greed. In contrast, 2.6bβ indicates that those concerned were willing to sell the needy for a pair of sandals. Commentators have offered two understandings of the significance of this phrase. Some have taken it as "an idiom for the legal transfer of land"[57], in the light of the use of a sandal in Ruth 4.7 to confirm a transaction[58]. It is doubtful, however, whether the two biblical texts (Deuteronomy 25.9-10 and Ruth 4.7) which might, conceivably, point in this direction, in fact offer sufficient grounds for this interpretation. Genesis 14.23 points in a different direction. There Abram says to the king of Sodom "I have sworn to YHWH, El Elyon, maker of heaven and earth, that I would not take a thread or even the thong of a sandal or anything that is yours". In the light of this,

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[54] Paul p. 77.
[55] "some 400 times in the Hebrew portion of the OT and 13 times in the Aramaic portion" according to G Mayer "כֶּסֶף *kesep*", *TDOT VII*, pp. 270-282 (270).
[56] Mayer "כֶּסֶף *kesep*" p. 271.
[57] Mays p. 45.
[58] The presence of a sandal in Deuteronomy 25.9-10 is specifically in the context of a man who refuses to perpetuate his brother's line by marrying his brother's widow: that same issue is present also in Ruth 4.7, although there the narrator specifically gives a wider meaning: "Now this was the custom in former times in Israel concerning redeeming and exchanging: to confirm a transaction, one party took off a sandal and gave it to the other; this was the manner of attesting in Israel". R de Vaux *Ancient Israel. Its Life and Institutions*, DLT, London, 1961, p. 169 refers to both these passages and to a text from Nuzi, and comments that "This may explain, in Am 2.6; 8.6, the poor man who is sold, or bought, for a pair of sandals: he has been unjustly dispossessed, while the exaction has been given a cloak of legality".

the probable meaning of בַּעֲבוּר נַעֲלָיִם in Amos 2.6bβ is, to employ current English colloquialisms, "for next to nothing", "for a pittance", or even "for peanuts"[59].

The actions described appear to be those of selling into slavery for the non-payment of debts. Chirigno describes the social background to debt-slavery in Israel, which he sees as attributable, as in Mesopotamia, to "insolvency among free citizens that was caused by various interrelated socio-economic factors, including taxation, the monopoly of resources and services among the state and private elite (i.e. rent capitalism), high interest loans and the economic and political collapse of higher kinship groups"[60]. Fleischer, too, envisages a social context in which some had become poor as a consequence of a variety of changes in society resulting from the development of the monarchy[61]. More recently Houston has examined models of the relationship between rich and poor (of which rent capitalism is one[62]) in ancient Israel, finding elements of truth in each: he concludes that a weakening of kinship, brought about by the increased power of the state and its royal establishment, and increased demands for taxation were the significant factors in an increase in debt-slavery[63]. Both Chirigno and Houston envisage the practice being necessary in the economic and social conditions of eighth-century Israel, in which the ministry of the prophet Amos is set, and there is little reason to doubt that it was also current in late eighth-century Judah, in which the Post-722 Composition was written[64].

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[59] This understanding is adopted by, among others, Cripps p. 140; Wolff p. 165; Jeremias pp. 35-36.

[60] Chirigno *Debt-Slavery* p. 142. The rise of "rent capitalism" as the cause of inequality and poverty within Israelite society was championed by B Lang "The Social Organization of Peasant Poverty in Biblical Israel", in B Lang *Monotheism and the Prophetic Minority: An Essay in Biblical History and Sociology*, SWBA 1, Almond Press, Sheffield, 1983.

[61] G Fleischer *Von Menschenverkäufern* pp. 359-390.

[62] He examines four models: "Rent Capitalism", "'Ancient' Class Society", the "Tributary State", and the "Patronage System".

[63] Houston *Contending* pp. 18-51.

[64] In an earlier essay Houston concluded that "the eighth century in Israel and Judah offered the right conditions for the development of economic pressure on the peasantry sufficiently severe to be seen as unjust and denounced on that ground by texts in Isaiah, Amos and Micah, some of which can be linked to that century. Such conditions certainly recurred on more than one later occasion, and were perhaps even more severe in the fifth century; hence we cannot date any specific text in these books to the eighth century simply on the grounds of its subject matter. But there *was* a social crisis in the eighth century" (W Houston "Was there a Social Crisis in the Eighth

It has been rightly noted that Amos 2.6b does not reject the practice of slavery *per se*. Wolff writes that "It is not possible to conclude from the tone of Amos' accusation that he rejected slavery for debt as a legal institution altogether"[65]. Pleins writes that "Becoming a debt slave was permitted in Israel as a way to pay off one's financial obligations"[66]. Exodus 21.2-11 and Deuteronomy 15.12-19 seek to regulate the practice, but not to abolish it. Viewed positively, it provided – theoretically – a way out of debt; although how often people who sold themselves or family members into servitude for reasons of debt did actually regain their freedom and rebuild their economic independence is something we cannot know[67]. The story of Elisha and the widow in 2 Kings 4.1-7 accepts the validity of the practice without comment: in the story Elisha, however, is moved by compassion to intervene to prevent the sale of the widow's sons as slaves. This suggests that within the circles associated with the telling and recording of this story there was a belief that it was a proper attitude of a prophet not to deny the validity of the practice, but nevertheless to intervene in the face of its uncompassionate practice. Similarly, Amos 2.6b does not seek to abolish the institution of debt-slavery, but nevertheless condemns the lack of compassion evident when those with power sell the weak into slavery for frequently trifling amounts.

Technically the meaning of מִכְרָם is that those accused are creditors who sell the righteous and needy to a third party[68]. It is not necessary, however, to take the text in such a strict technical sense: the understanding that creditors force those in debt

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Century?", in J Day (ed) *In Search of Pre-Exilic Israel*, JSOTSup 406, T & T Clark International, London · New York, 2004, pp. 130-149 (146-7)).

[65] Wolff p. 165. Similarly Jeremias p. 35 writes that "What Amos is attacking here is its grotesque abuse".

[66] J D Pleins *The Social Visions of the Hebrew Bible*, Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, Kentucky, 2001, p. 369.

[67] K Koch *Prophets Vol 1* p. 45 considers that "it can only have been in exceptional circumstances that a person who had once been enslaved was able to rebuild his livelihood afterwards".

[68] As noted by Jeremias p. 35. An alternative possibility, proposed by S Bendor *The Social Structure in Ancient Israel*, Jerusalem Biblical Studies 7, Simor, Jerusalem, 1996, pp. 131-2, which is technically plausible with regard to the language of the text, is that the seller is the head of the *bêt āb* of the clan who cynically sells members of his members of his own village clan for personal gain. Bendor's suggestion is rebutted by Houston "Was There a Social Crisis in the Eighth Century?" pp. 140-2.

to sell themselves, whether to the creditor or to a third party, is in line with the sense of the text.

In adopting this interpretation I am, therefore, not following those who see the accusation of this particular as being to do with the bribery of those administering justice. As Wolff correctly points out that "Where bribery is demonstrably in view, Amos employs different language (5.12; 2.7aβ)"[69]. The accusation of bribery is present in 5.12, but not in 2.6-16: those responsible for the Post-722 Composition wished to include both the specific accusation of bribery in 5.12 and the wider, more general accusation of mistreatment of those guilty of no crime but their poverty in 2.6-16.

6.2.4.2 "they who trample the head of the poor, and they turn aside the way of the afflicted ones" (2.7a)

The accusation of 2.7aα in the Post-722 composition is that "they trample on the head of the poor". If this is taken literally, it refers to acts of physical violence against the דַלִּים; and I find no reason to exclude this literal meaning. However, that is not the sum total of its significance: it can also validly be read in the metaphorical sense of using their power and position in society against, rather than on behalf of, the poor. The actions described in 2.6b were not illegal: 2.7aα, however, reinforces the accusation that such actions are not compassionate, and that even if they were just in a forensic sense, they are nevertheless unjust in a moral sense. As Meynet comments, "Injustice hides under a veneer of legality"[70].

The accusation of 2.7aβ is that "they turn aside the way of the afflicted ones". Wolff and Jeremias (following Wolff) both take this to refer to the perversion of

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[69] Wolff p. 165. In fact, it is not as evident as Wolff suggests that 2.7aβ "demonstrably" has the perversion of justice in view, as will be discussed below. However, his point remains valid with regard to 5.12.
[70] R Meynet *Rhetorical Analysis: An Introduction to Biblical Rhetoric*, JSOTSup 256, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield, 1998, p. 275.

justice[71]. The hiphil of נָטָה is associated with the perversion of legal process in Amos 5.12 (with the term מִשְׁפָּט being present in 5.7, 15); and is linked with the term מִשְׁפָּט in Isaiah 10.2; Exodus 23.6; Deuteronomy 16.19; 24.17; Proverbs 17.23; 18.5. Paul, however, notes that in none of these is דֶּרֶךְ used as a synonym for מִשְׁפָּט. He draws attention to the similar Job 24.4, which states that the wicked יַטּוּ אֶבְיוֹנִים מִדָּרֶךְ ("thrust the needy from the way")[72]. He therefore translates Amos 2.7aβ "(they) thrust the humble off the road"[73]. Paul suggests that "This figuratively expresses the same idea that the underprivileged class is bullied and oppressed by the wealthy, who deprive and block them from obtaining the privileges and prerogatives to which they are naturally entitled"[74]. Certainly the actions of the wicked in Job 24.2-4 appear to be literal, physical actions:

> "The wicked remove landmarks;
>
> they seize flocks and pasture them.
>
> They drive away the donkey of the orphan;
>
> they take the widow's ox for a pledge.
>
> They thrust the needy off the road;
>
> the poor of the earth all hide themselves" (Job 24.2-4 NRSV).

The parallel with Job 24.4, therefore, may suggest that 2.7aβ alludes to literal, physical violence against the weak; and as I saw no reason to reject that meaning of 2.7aα, so I see no reason to reject it with regard to 2.7aβ. Once again, however, that is not the sum total of its significance: it refers simultaneously to the figurative bullying of the weak by the powerful, in terms of using – or rather misusing – their position in society. Furthermore, while 2.6-16 as a unit in isolation does not contain any specific reference to the perversion of any judicial process, when it is

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[71] Wolff pp. 133, 166; Jeremias pp. 32, 36. Pleins *Social Visions* p. 374 endorses this interpretation.
[72] Paul pp. 80-81.
[73] Paul p. 44. Grammatically עֲנָוִים is an accusative which could be taken as the object of the verb; however it is surprising that Paul does not comment on דֶּרֶךְ also being an accusative without any preposition, making his translation awkward. However, his point regarding the similarity of the two verses stands even with the customary, more correct translation.
[74] Paul p. 81. J-L Vesco "Amos de Teqoa" pp. 481-513 appears to endorse this interpretation when he writes that "Amos accuserait les riches de forcer les gens de condition modeste à vivre d'une manière différente de celle qu'ils voudraient suivre". However just four sentences later he writes that "Elle (*sc* L'accusation) condamne la perversion des tribunaux et fait allusions aux procès qui se déroulent à la porte de la ville où l'on ne reconnaît plus les droits légitimes des pauvres" (p. 491).

read in the wider literary context of the Post-722 Composition, it becomes natural to read it, as Wolff and Jeremias do, in the light of 5.12 and to take it as having this reference also. It is the nature of this text that its allusive meaning is not to be restricted: *ambiguity and openness* are built into it.

Koch offers a further alternative meaning of the word דֶּרֶךְ in this verse: "The Hebrew word *derek*….... really means the unity of a person's conduct and the course of his life. It can be found only among people who have a chance of a successful, harmonious life and a healthful existence. If the *derek* is 'turned aside', broken, it can no longer continue to run straight"[75]. This interpretation is in harmony with the meaning of דֶּרֶךְ in texts such as Psalms 1.1, 6; 25.4, 9, 12; 37.5, 23, 34; Proverbs 2.12, 13.

Elsewhere Koch laments that the usage of this and other terms concerning the "human or divine way and conduct, which hold a central position in the religious statements of OT wisdom, prophetic, and apocalyptic books, have not yet been investigated scientifically"[76]. The word דֶּרֶךְ occurs over seven hundred times in the Hebrew Bible[77], and can refer to a highway (Numbers 20.17); a journey (Genesis 24.27); the "way of a woman" at the time of menstruation (Genesis 31.35); the "way of a man with a maiden" (Proverbs 30.19-20); the ways of YHWH (Deuteronomy 5.33); a man's way of life (Proverbs 16.2, 7); the way of sinners (Psalm 1.1) or of the prudent (Proverbs 14.8); the sinful way of Jeroboam (1 Kings 15.26)[78]. Koch's interpretation of Amos 2.7aβ is, therefore, possible, in the sense of being within the semantic range of the term דֶּרֶךְ; however, it is a less natural reading of the text than that of either physical or figurative bullying of the poor by the powerful, with, in the literary context of the Post-722 Composition, the additional overtone from 5.12 of bribery of those who administer justice.

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[75] Koch *Prophets Vol 1* p. 45.
[76] K Koch "דֶּרֶךְ *derekh*; דָּרַךְ *dārakh*; שׁוּק *shûq*; חוּץ *chûts*; מְסִלָּה *m^esillāh*; הֲלִיךְ *h^alîkh*; הֲלִיכָה *h^alîkhāh*; מַעְגָּל *ma'gal*; נָתִיב *nāthîbh*; נְתִיבָה *n^ethîbhāh*; שְׁבִיל *s□^ebhîl*; אֹרַח *'ōrach*", *TDOT III*, pp. 270-293 (270).
[77] Koch "דֶּרֶךְ *derekh*"; E Jenni "דֶּרֶךְ *derek* way", *TLOT 1*, pp. 343-6.
[78] BDB pp. 202a-204a; Koch "דֶּרֶךְ *derekh*"; E Jenni "דֶּרֶךְ *derek* way".

6.2.4.3 "and a man and his father go to the same girl" (2.7b)

The initial bald אִישׁ conveys a generalized sense: "Each man and his father…"[79]. With the imperfect verb יֵלְכוּ it conveys also a sense of continuous, frequent action[80]. The verb הָלַךְ is not generally used to refer to sexual intercourse: nevertheless the context here appears to demand this meaning. Paul has drawn attention to the Akkadian expression *ana..... alāku* as an interdialectal semantic and cognate equivalent of the Hebrew הָלַךְ אֶל with the same idiomatic meaning "to have sexual intercourse"[81].

The identity of הַנַּעֲרָה has engendered much scholarly discussion. BDB gives as the usual meanings of נַעֲרָה "girl" or "damsel", noting that it can refer to a betrothed girl, to a concubine, and to female attendants or handmaids; it suggests the meaning of "prostitute" uniquely in this verse[82]. Fuhs writes that it "designates a young female…. more specifically a single but marriageable girl…… A married woman can be called a *naʿⁿrâ* when the text addresses her continuing relationship with her former family or father even after marriage…… The plural with a suffix….. or a genitive personal name (Ruth 2.23; Est. 4.4) refers to female servants with a variety of positions and functions"[83]. He himself considers that in Amos 2.7 it is best taken as referring "to a social offense (*sic*) against a woman in a weak position because of her social status……. The text probably refers in general terms to a young virgin of marriageable age, who enjoys legal protection…... but who is insulted by the conduct excoriated in Am. 2.7"[84].

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[79] Barstad *Religious Polemics* p. 18; Andersen and Freedman p. 318.

[80] Paul pp. 81-82.

[81] S M Paul "Two Cognate Semitic Terms for Mating and Copulation", *VT* 32, 1982, pp. 492-4; Paul p. 82. Jeremias p. 37 cites Paul's article approvingly. The more requent idiom in the Hebrew Bible is the verb בוא with the same preposition (BDB p. 98a).

[82] BDB p. 655a.

[83] H F Fuhs "נער *naʿar*; נַעֲרָה *naʿⁿrâ*; נְעוּרִים *nᵉʿûrîm*; נְעָרוֹת *nᵉʿurôt*; נֹעַר *nōʿar*", *TDOT IX*, pp. 474-485 (483).

[84] Fuhs "נער *naʿar*" p. 484. Further possibilities are that 2.7b concerns cultic prostitution; or that she was the hostess at a *marzēa*□: however, these entail including the phrase לְמַעַן חַלֵּל אֶת־שֵׁם קָדְשִׁי, which I deem to belong to the Post-exilic Redactional Composition. I shall address these possibilities in section 6.5.1 below.

Mays writes that "Possibly v. 7b refers to the violation of the rights of a female bond-servant by making her into a concubine for father and son, prohibited in Ex. 21.8", adding that "The emphasis of the line on father *and* son highlights the promiscuity involved"[85]. Similarly Vesco refers to "les abus commis envers la fille esclave dont le statut est précisé par Ex., xxi, 7-11"[86]. However, the term used in Exodus 21 is אָמָה ("handmaid/slave girl"). Wolff is correct to say that "in our passage "the maiden" is further defined neither as wife nor as sister, nor is there anything which indicates that a female servant is meant……. Thus in our text, as often elsewhere, נערה denotes simply a marriageable girl"[87]. Paul agrees that "the female referred to in Amos is not a harlot or a slave, but just a "young woman" who belongs to the same category as that of the דַּלִּים and עֲנָוִים previously mentioned – just one more member of the defenseless and exploited human beings in northern Israel"[88]. Similarly Coggins writes that "It is possible that the offence is sexual, but if that is so it is more likely that the concern is with the exploitation of the woman rather than with the sexual act in itself…… the young woman is to be seen as a victim of oppression"[89]. I consider this to be the most natural interpretation of the text. None of the legal codes of the Hebrew Bible specifically proscribe a father and son having intercourse with the same girl[90]. However, there are laws designed to protect women. For example, Exodus 22.15 (16) states that "When a man seduces a virgin who is not engaged to be married, and lies with her, he shall give the bride-price for her and make her his wife". Deuteronomy 22.28-29 instructs that in a case of the rape of a virgin (בתולה) the man is to make her his wife. Amos 2.7b shares the values implicit in these laws and, recognising that the נַעֲרָה is someone in a position of weakness, condemns acts of sexual exploitation along with the social exploitation of other categories of people in 2.6b-8.

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[85] Mays p. 46 (his italics).
[86] Vesco "Amos de Teqoa" p. 492.
[87] Wolff p. 166.
[88] Paul pp. 82-83.
[89] Coggins p. 103.
[90] Leviticus 20.11-12 proscribe a son having intercourse with his father's wife, and a man having intercourse with his daughter-in-law; but neither of these applies to Amos 2.7bα. None of the prohibitions of Leviticus 18.6-18 refer to the situation of Amos 2.7b. Deuteronomy 23.1 (22.30) forbids a man from marrying his father's wife; again, this is not the situation in Amos 2.7b.

<u>6.2.4.4 "and they spread out garments taken in pledge, and they drink wine of</u>

<u>those being fined" (2.8)</u>

In 5.1.1 and 5.1.2 above I concluded that the compilation of the so-called Book of the Covenant and the production of the Post-722 Composition of the Amos-text were roughly contemporaneous, and that it was not possible to take Amos 2.8a as being directly dependent on Exodus 22.25-26 (26-27): either Amos 2.8a is a loose citation of an orally transmitted injunction, or Exodus 22.25-26 has itself been influenced by the oral proclamation of Amos, or the giving and taking of a garment in pledge was a sufficiently widespread custom for there to be no need to look for dependence in either direction. These conclusions will govern my comments in this section.

With regard to 2.8a, Harper writes that "Garments thus illegally and mercilessly held, the upper classes spread out, in order to recline upon them, as upon couches for sleeping, or as at banquets in their feasting"[91]; a sentence which suggests that the accusation is to do with (a) an illegal act (in the light of Exodus 22.25 (26)); (b) a lack of mercy and compassion; and (c) feasting at banquets, presumably while taking no thought for the poor on whose garments they recline. Wolff refers to three kinds of restriction found in the Hebrew Bible's law codes which seek to place limits on the perfectly legal activity of taking pledges in respect of loans: (1) items deemed to be essential to life (such as the hand-mill and grindstone of Deuteronomy 24.6) were not to be taken; (2) there was a limit on the length of time for which items could be held: hence the cloak of a poor man must not be kept overnight (Exodus 22.25 (26)); and (3) the weakness of the debtor must be considered: thus in Deuteronomy 24.17 the garment of a widow should not be taken in pledge[92]. "Amos is thus accusing people of disregarding the laws meant to protect the destitute"[93]. Jeremias refers to "the excessive abuse of what in and of

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[91] Harper p. 50.
[92] Wolff p. 167.
[93] Wolff pp. 167-8.

themselves are actually legal ordinances"[94]. All these comments assume a familiarity with and dependence on Exodus 22.25-26, or, presumably, some equivalent written or oral injunction. I have argued, in contrast, that such dependence is by no means demonstrable; and the assertion that the actions of 2.8a are "illegal" (Harper), entail "disregarding laws" (Wolff) and abuse of "legal ordinances" (Jeremias) must not go unchallenged.

Part of the issue at stake is what is meant by words such as "illegal", "laws" and "legal ordinances". They tend to conjure up assumptions of state legislation, enacted, presumably, by the king and his officials. In section 5.1.1 above I accepted as compelling the arguments of Wright and Levinson in dating the literary influence of the Code of Hammurabi on the laws in BC to the late eighth or seventh century; and we cannot know, with any degree of certainty, what laws and legal system were in effect prior to that time. It is recorded in 2 Chronicles 19.5-11 that in ninth-century Judah Jehoshaphat "appointed judges in the land" (verse 5) and also "appointed certain Levites and priests and heads of families of Israel, to give judgement for the Lord and decide disputed cases" (verse 8). Wellhausen regarded this account as an invention of the Chronicler: "Probably it is the organisation of justice as existing in his own day that he here carries back to Jehoshaphat...... the reason why the latter is selected by preference for this work lies simply in his name "Jehovah is Judge""[95]. Not all scholars now share this negative assessment of the historical worth of this account. Japhet, while accepting that the style and structure of the unit are characteristic of the Chronicler's work, nevertheless argues that "we should differentiate between the two components of the unit: the orations – which are definitely Chronistic – on the one hand and the basic facts of the narrative on the other; the latter should be examined in the light of the relevant criteria for the historical context they presuppose"[96]. She goes on to argue that the division of the united monarchy into two kingdoms was bound to

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[94] Jeremias p. 37.

[95] J Wellhausen *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel*, World Publishing Company, Cleveland, 1957, p. 191.

[96] S Japhet *I & II Chronicles*, OTL, SCM, London 1993, p. 772.

necessitate structural changes, and that Jehoshaphat is portrayed in the Deuteronomistic History as "a monarch of great vitality, who contracts international alliances, undertakes military expeditions, and initiates both economic projects and religious renewal….. All these indicate an enterprising restructuring of administrative matters, of which the legal system would be one aspect"[97]. She also points out that the reform portrayed here is not an accurate realisation of the law of Deuteronomy 16.18 and 17.8-9, which might be expected if it was a wholly later account created by the Chronicler. Crüsemann, too, believes that there is an historical basis to the Chronicler's account at this point, noting that "the topic of judicial organization and the administration of justice are not otherwise important for Chronicles"[98]. However, even if it is accepted that there is some historical kernel within 2 Chronicles 19.5-11, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the reference in verse 10 to תּוֹרָה וּלְמִצְוָה לְחֻקִּים וּלְמִשְׁפָּטִים is derived from a Deuteronomistic milieu[99]; and the remaining parts of the passage speak only of the officials appointed by Jehoshaphat, not of any legislation enacted. While those appointed in Jerusalem (verse 8) may have been given new functions and powers by Jehoshaphat, those appointed "in the land, in all the fortified cities of Judah, city by city" (verse 5) are likely to have been those already exercising judicial functions in the settling of disputes. Wilson considers that pre-monarchic patterns in which disputes were settled primarily by the *paterfamilias* continued well into the time of the monarchy[100], and this view is consistent with the reference in Amos 5.12 to justice being administered "in the gate"[101]. It is unlikely that written law codes were used by or available to such local leaders. This is why I am reluctant to acquiesce in describing the actions in Amos 2.8 as "illegal", or as

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[97] S Japhet *I & II Chronicles* p. 773.

[98] Crüsemann *Torah* pp. 91-2. Others who accept the historicity of this episode include de Vaux *Ancient Israel* p. 154; and I Jaruzelska "People Pronouncing Sentences in Court: Amos 5.7-12, 16-17. An Attempt at Sociological Identification", *FO* 34, 1994, pp. 77-94 (80), citing *Encyclopaedia Miqra'it Vol V*, Bialik Institute, Jerusalem, 1955-76, p. 630 (not seen by me).

[99] All these terms are seen as 'Deuteronomic phraseology' by M Weinfeld *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* pp. 336-8.

[100] R R Wilson "Enforcing the Covenant, the Mechanisms of Judicial Authority in Ancient Israel", in H Huffmon et. al. (eds) *The Quest for the Kingdom of God, Festschrift for G E Mendenhall*, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, 1983, pp. 59-75 (64).

[101] Consideration of historical and sociological questions regarding judicial administration in pre-monarchic and early monarchic Israel lies beyond the scope of this study.

"disregarding laws", or as being abuse of "legal ordinances". While Amos 2.8 clearly shares the values which are also enshrined in Exodus 22.25-26 (26-27), that is not sufficient basis on which to see it as based on a legal commandment: rather it is, like the accusations in 2.6b-7, an accusation of lack of compassion, and mistreatment of the weak by the powerful.

Paul, following Milgrom[102] and others, argues that the verb חָבַל refers not to a pledge given as a pawn at the time when a loan is made (as the customary translation "garments taken in pledge" suggests), but rather to a distraint seized at the time when a debtor defaults on and fails to repay a loan: "Thus Amos is inveighing here against the confiscation of clothing as distraint for an unpaid debt"[103]. Such distraints did not become the permanent property of the creditor, but had to be restored to the debtor if at any subsequent time he was able to repay the debt. Certainly this view of the meaning of חָבַל would fit well in Ezekiel 18.7, 12, 16; 33.15; and it makes good sense too in Amos 2.8, where stretching out garments taken in distraint suggests a movement towards treating them (wrongly) as if ownership had been transferred[104]. Wakely, however, cautions that "While Paul's case is well argued, there is insufficient evidence in the OT itself that *hbl* pertains exclusively to distraints that take place when the loan falls due and the debt is defaulted……. The vb. may well have been associated with both pledges and distraints"[105]. The text itself allows for more than one possible interpretation.

Verse 2.8b says that "they drink the wine of those being fined". The verb עָנַשׁ occurs just eight times in the Hebrew Bible, and the noun עֹנֶשׁ twice. Of these,

[102] J Milgrom *Cult and Conscience: The Asham and the Priestly Doctrine of Repentance*, Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity 18, E J Brill, Leiden, 1976, pp. 95-103. Milgrom cites later sources, including Josephus, and Rabbinic Law.
[103] Paul p. 85.
[104] Z W Falk *Hebrew Law in Biblical Times*, Brigham Young University Press, Provo, Utah and Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, Indiana, 2001, p. 95 writes that "In most cases the pledge was probably agreed on when the debt became due rather than at the date of the contract….. The Aramaic papyri included the creditor's right of distress in the original acknowledgement, but they also deferred the execution of this right until the loan became mature".
[105] R Wakely "חבל", in W A Van Gemeren (ed) *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis 2*, Paternoster Press, Carlisle, 1996 pp. 6-11 (8).

four occurrences of the verb and one of the noun are found in Proverbs (17.26; 19.19; 21.11; 22.3 = 27.12)[106]. It can refer to a fine in a legal context (Exodus 21.22; Deuteronomy 22.19; Proverbs 17.26), or to tribute paid to a foreign king (2 Kings 23.33; 2 Chronicles 36.3), or to punishment or penalty in a more general sense (Proverbs 19.19; 21.11; 22.3 = 27.12). In Exodus 21.22 someone who injures a pregnant woman "shall be fined what the woman's husband demands, paying as much as the judges determine" (NRSV): presumably the woman's husband was the recipient of the fine. Proverbs 17.26 says that it is not right to fine/punish the צַדִּיק; but there is insufficient closeness with Amos 2.6b-8 to postulate any literary relationship between the two. However, the parallel indicates that the person envisaged in 2.8b may have harmed someone or committed some (probably minor) offence, or, alternatively, may be being unjustly punished: the text allows for either possibility. If the punishment was not at all justified, then the accusation includes that of corruption of those responsible for the administration of justice.

As with the previous accusations, the exact significance is, in fact, unclear. Harper takes it to be "wine purchased by money received through unjust judgment"[107], while Mays takes it to refer to "payment in kind exacted from debtors"[108]; and Sweeney agrees that "wine, as a primary agricultural commodity in ancient Israel, could be used to pay fines"[109]. Wolff, on the other hand, thinks it more probable that a monetary fine has been paid, adding that "Such fines were meant to make restitution for damages and not to finance drinking bouts"[110]. The text itself does not indicate the specific kind of fine that was paid. However, it does not (contra Harper) suggest that the fines had been made illegally: rather it was the misuse of fines by the powerful.

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[106] BDB p. 778b.
[107] Harper p. 50.
[108] Mays p. 47.
[109] Sweeney *Twelve Prophets Vol 1* p. 216.
[110] Wolff p. 168.

Concluding Comments on the Reasons for Judgment in Amos 2.6b-8 in the Post-722 Composition

Overall, it is clear that the accusations of Amos 2.6b-8 contain the common thread of a lack of compassion for the weak. It is also noteworthy that in each accusation within these verses it is hard to be specific and unambiguous about what is the precise offence or accusation being described. This suggests that those who composed the text declined to restrict the application of the accusations by making them too specific, and intended simply to convey a generalized, but nonetheless powerful accusation of lack of compassion. Just as the announcement of judgment in 2.13-16 contains *certainty* that YHWH will act in judgment but *ambiguity and openness* about just how he will act, so too the reasons for judgment in 2.6b-8 contain *certainty* that the actions described are offensive, and deserving of YHWH's judgment, but *ambiguity and openness* concerning their exact focus. This conclusion will be reinforced in considering who the text views as the victims of the unjust actions described, and who are viewed as the oppressors.

6.2.5 Victims and Oppressors in Amos 2.6b-8 in the Post-722 Composition

In section 6.2.4.3 above I considered the identity of הַנַּעֲרָה in 2.7b, and concluded that she was not necessarily a slave-girl, but that the term could refer to any woman of marriageable age who, being in a position of weakness, was sexually and socially exploited; and I concluded in section 6.2.4.1 that the צַדִּיק in 2.6 was, in this verse, not a reference to one declared in the right in a legal context, but one whose only offence was to be unable to pay his debts. What about the other words used in 2.6b-8 to describe the victims of the wrong actions described, namely the אֶבְיוֹן, דַּלִּים and עֲנָוִים? Is it possible to be more specific about who is meant? Fleischer suggests that the דַּל, while poor, nevertheless still owned some land, unlike the אֶבְיוֹן, who did not, and who survived by selling his labour. The עֲנָוִים, Fleischer considers, included both of these groups: the word is used to denote someone with a moral claim on the rich[111]. Similarly, Giles writes that "The "poor" own property, while the "needy" may or may not"; however, he adds that

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[111] Fleischer *Von Menschenverkäufern* pp. 264-283.

"common to both the "poor" and "needy" is a susceptibility to the social power of others"[112]. Houston, on the other hand, considers that the distinctions made by Fleischer are hard to maintain, and cites an earlier study of Schwantes showing that, despite some possible differences of meaning, they can be used synonymously[113].

It is necessary to reiterate that this study is a literary one: it is not my intention to seek to move behind the text to establish who precisely in Israelite society may have been meant in each of the redactional compositions: rather I wish to explore the theological basis of the reasons for judgment, and the rhetorical effect of the text on its readers/hearers. Within the Amos-text, it is said of the דַּל in 5.11 that he is forced to pay a portion of grain, which indicates either that he was paying a levy of taxation, or that he was paying a share of his crop to a landowner. Contrastingly, it may be presumed that in 2.6b the צַדִּיק and the אֶבְיוֹן have nothing to pay with or sell but themselves or a family member into servitude. These observations are in harmony with Fleischer's findings. However, the remaining verses in the Post-722 Composition in which these words occur (2.7; 4.1; 5.12) contain nothing as concrete as even these two somewhat general observations. While a cursory reading of Amos 2.6-16 might give the impression of some quite specific wrongs being described, a closer reading in fact reveals that the descriptions of those being wronged are in fact quite general and non-specific. This is yet another respect in which deliberate *ambiguity and openness* appears to have been built into the text[114].

Who are those seen by the text of Amos 2.6-16 as responsible for the actions which it sees as constituting reasons for judgment? Coote describes the oracles of

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[112] T Giles "דל and אביון: The Poor and Needy in the Book of Amos", *BRT* 1, 1991, pp. 12-20 (16).
[113] Houston *Contending* p. 62, referring to M Schwantes *Das Recht der Armen*, Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie 4, Peter Lang, Frankfurt, 1977 (not seen by me).
[114] I shall return to these terms when I consider in section 6.3.2 the inclusion in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition of 8.4-7, with its reference to the עֲנִיֵּי־אָרֶץ in 8.4 (Ketibh); and in section 6.5.3 when I consider the likelihood that by the time of the Post-exilic Redactional Composition there had been semantic change in and a broadening range of meaning of these terms.

the Stage A, eighth-century level of the text that he considers there to have been as "addressed to a *specific* class of person……. The addressees of the A Stage are the secure, the strong, the well-to-do, the well-housed and well-fed, the authorities, the holders of power and privilege – in short, the ruling elite of Israel's agrarian society"[115]. Despite the italicised "specific", however, such a description is in fact quite general: Coote does not define who he thinks this "ruling elite" was comprised of, and his description is wide. Carroll R, commenting on Amos 5.10-13, writes that "those singled out could comprehend certain elders and state officials of various types, as well as landowners or businessmen (cf. 2.6; 8.4-6). Other passages suggest that smaller merchants (2.8a) and the priests (4.4-5; 7.12-13) also benefitted from the system"[116]; thus he defines, in 2.6-16, those referred to in 2.6 as "landowners", and those in 2.8 as "smaller merchants". However, this is not readily apparent in the text, and represents an unjustified reading into it. Jaruzelska seeks to identify officials of northern Israel in the eighth century from the books of Amos, Hosea and Micah by using socio-economic theory based on Marx and Weber, and within the Amos-text finds references both to "royal officials fulfilling duties in central administration" and, particularly, to those who worked in the royal storehouses[117]; however, it is noteworthy that she does not refer at all to Amos 2.6-16. The truth is that, once again, there is a great openness of reference-point built into the text. The most honest description of who is referred to is that of Jeremias, when he writes that "these transgressions were committed by various circles of perpetrators"[118], a generalization which may seem frustrating, but which is, in fact, true to the text.

The text of 2.6b-8, therefore, describes certain actions which it deems to be unjust and uncompassionate, but refuses to define the perpetrators of these actions in other ways than "they". While modern commentators would like to discover more

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[115] Coote p. 16 (his italics).
[116] M D Carroll R *Contexts for Amos. Prophetic Poetics in Latin American Perspective*, JSOTSup 132, JSOT Press, Sheffield, 1992, p. 233.
[117] I Jaruzelska "The Officials in the Kingdom of Israel in the Eighth Century B.C. in the Books of Amos, Hosea and Micah", *PJBR* 1, 2000, pp. 9-24, of which pp. 10-16 concern the book of Amos (quotation p. 10).
[118] Jeremias p. 34.

precision than that, the text of 2.6b-8 gives them little assistance. This deliberate *openness* of the text is appropriate with regard to the structure of the Post-722 Composition, since 2.6-16 is both the end and climax of the first section of the text, and the first prophetic word spoken against "Israel".

But given the *openness and ambiguity* regarding the addressees of 2.6-16, what is meant by "Israel" in 2.6a? Wolff argues that the name "Israel" in the Amos-text, when found by itself, is used alongside or close to "my people Israel", and so can be taken to have the same significance, namely as referring to Israel as the people of God[119]. In fact, however, none of the references that Wolff gives to illustrate this belong to the Post-722 Composition as I have identified it[120]. The most natural reading of 2.6a in its context in this unit is to take "Israel" to refer principally to the northern kingdom. This makes good interpretative sense in the literary context of the Post-722 Composition. I showed in section 4.1.1 above that the structural placing of 2.6-16 and 9.1-4 suggests that they are interpretative keys both within their respective series and within the Post-722 Composition as a whole; and in 4.1.3 above I showed that a major unifying theme of the Composition was that the northern kingdom of Israel had deserved the judgment of YHWH, and that therefore his action in judgment had been just. The unit 2.6-16 shows that the wrong actions in 2.6b-8 are viewed as transgressions of Israel as a nation, and are therefore part of the theodicy offered[121].

6.2.6 "Yet I destroyed the Amorite before them, although as tall as cedars and as strong as oaks. I destroyed his fruit above and his roots below" (2.9)

The reason for judgment of 2.9 is of a different kind from those in 2.6b-8: it is Israel's failure to respond to YHWH's action on Israel's behalf in the destruction

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[119] Wolff p. 164.

[120] They are, in the order in which he refers to them: 7.14-15; 7.8-9 (of which only 7.8 is part of the Post-722 Composition); and 9.7.

[121] The interpretative embarrassment that those who have been the victims of such wrong actions are themselves part of the nation that undergoes judgment is not one that the text resolves. In practice it is likely that many of those at the bottom of society were not forcibly moved from their homes by the Assyrians, and that life may not have been radically different after 722: however, the text refrains from comment concerning this.

of "the Amorite". In 5.2.1 above I followed Jeremias, Lohfink and others in arguing that the verb שָׁמַד and the proper noun הָאֱמֹרִי, both frequent in Deuteronomi(sti)c literature, are also found in earlier texts; and that their usage here is not so characteristically Deuteronomi(sti)c as to necessitate dating this verse later than the Post-722 Composition. I agree with Jeremias that 2.9 constitutes an integral hinge between the reasons for judgment of 2.6b-8 and the announcement of judgment in 2.13-16, making explicit that the actions of 2.6b-8 are not only those of human beings against other human beings, but that they are to be seen as offences against YHWH[122].

The verb שָׁמַד is used in the Hebrew Bible of both human and divine action, and almost invariably has human beings as its object, frequently nations or dynasties[123]. The translation "destroy" fits the great majority of contexts; however, Lohfink points out that its semantic range can include a wider meaning of "remove", and that there are texts (e.g. Deuteronomy 4.26-27) which speak of the fate of a remnant after the destruction/removal[124]. In this verse it is the totality of YHWH's destruction of the Amorites that is stressed, "his fruit above and his roots below". The term הָאֱמֹרִי generally refers to the former inhabitants of the land, now dispossessed[125]. The feature of the extreme height of the former inhabitants of the land is a widespread tradition: it is said of the Nephilim, the descendants of Anak (Numbers 13.33), the Anakim (Deuteronomy 1.28; 9.2), the Rephaim, Emim and Zamzummim (Deuteronomy 2.10-12, 20-21), but only here of the Amorite.

The use of this particular tradition is well suited to the context: as YHWH destroyed the Amorites, so now the destruction of Israel is to be announced: and the reason for that judgment is both the actions described in 2.6b-8 and, additionally, Israel's failure to respond to YHWH's action on their behalf.

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[122] Jeremias pp. 39-40.
[123] Lohfink "שמד *šmd*" p. 181.
[124] Lohfink "שמד *šmd*" pp. 179, 182.
[125] BDB p. 57a.

<u>6.2.7 The Theological Basis of the Reasons for Judgment in Amos 2.6-16 in the</u>
<u>Post-722 Composition</u>

The introduction to 2.6-16 speaks of the פִּשְׁעֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל. The root פשע is used in the Hebrew Bible of offences against individuals, nations, and God[126]. Wolff draws attention to its occurrences in the book of Proverbs (10.12; 17.19; 18.19; 28.21, 24; 29.22) in order to substantiate his view that Amos was familiar "with the realm of oral clan tradition"[127]. Many of these occurrences concern personal relationships rather than legal matters, and come under the category of "giving offence" to others. In a legal context it can refer to theft (Exodus 22.8 (9)) and murder (1 Samuel 24.11-12 (12-13)), and in the realm of international relations it can refer to the rebellion of one nation rebelling against a nation which has been ruling over it (2 Kings 8.20-22). Knierim draws on these uses in defining the theological character of the term: "Whoever commits *peša'* does not merely rebel or protest against Yahweh, but breaks with him, takes away what is his, robs, embezzles, misappropriates it"[128].

However, it is questionable whether such a definition is suitable in a series of oracles concerning Damascus, Gaza, the Ammonites and Moab, as well as Israel. The question of the basis of the reasons for judgment of the foreign nations has been much discussed, and a number of views have been and are held. Detailed discussion of these lies beyond the scope of this study, but they have been well summarised by Barton[129] and, more recently, by Möller[130]:

(1) some hold that the actions of the nations were against Israel, and that the basis of judgment was therefore action against YHWH's people, or was even simply Israelite nationalism[131];

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[126] BDB p. 833a.
[127] Wolff p. 153.
[128] R Knierim "פֶּשַׁע *peša'* crime", *TLOT 2*, pp. 1033-7 (1036).
[129] J Barton *Amos's OAN* pp. 39-45.
[130] Möller pp. 188-190.
[131] Möller p. 188 attributes this view to C H Toy "The Judgment of Foreign Peoples in Amos i.3 – ii.3", *JBL* 25, 1906, pp. 25-28 (not seen by me); to E Würthwein "Amos-Studien", *ZAW* 62, 1950, pp. 10-52 (35-40); and to M Haran "The Rise and Decline of the Empire of Jeroboam ben Joash", *VT* 17, 1967, pp. 266-297.

(2) some consider[132] that Israel's neighbours were held to be accountable to YHWH because they were held to have once been part of a Davidic empire[133];

(3) it has been held that YHWH's covenant with Israel was taken to have been extended to other nations[134];

(4) others suggest that there was some kind of universal divine law recognised by all nations[135];

(5) Barton argues in favour of "International Customary Law", by which he means a widely held international morality not based on any laws of YHWH, or doctrines of YHWH's supremacy and rule over the nations, but which simply recognised certain atrocious actions as morally wrong.

Among commentators more recent than most of those cited by Möller, Sweeney accepts the "Israelite nationalism" possibility, writing that "Amos' language suggests that these nations have committed some great crime against Israel, their ally or overlord"[136]. However, this view is implausible: if it was intended, there is no reason why it could not have been explicitly stated; and the oracle against Moab in 2.1-3 specifically gives as its reason for judgment the treatment of the bones of an Edomite king. Sweeney is unconvincing when he explains this difficulty by saying that "there is no known reference to this action. It is noteworthy, however, that following the death of Ahab at the hands of the Aramaeans at Ramot Gilead, the Moabites appear to be the first nation that revolted against Israel….. It is also possible that Moab took some action against Israel"[137]. Paul writes of the significance of the word "transgressions" in the OAN

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[132] So, for example, Christensen *Transformations* pp. 71-72.

[133] Barton puts these first two together under the heading "Nationalism and Covenant".

[134] Möller cites F C Fensham "Common Trends in Curses of the Near Eastern Treaties and *Kudurru*-Inscriptions Compared with Maledictions of Amos and Isaiah", *VT* 75, 1963, pp. 155-175.

[135] Knierim "פֶּשַׁע *peša'* crime" p. 1033 writes that all occurrences of the noun פֶּשַׁע in Amos 1.3 – 2.16 "refer to criminal acts": this is surprising, since it is hard to know what (presumably international) body could have held the nations accountable to any legal framework. Possibly his statement constitutes a version of this fourth summary position. A S Kapelrud *Central Ideas in Amos*, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo, 1961, p. 29 writes that "To Amos, Yahweh had grown beyond all limits, his power and his influence reached to every place and every people"; Möller also notes Kapelrud's book.

[136] Sweeney *Twelve Prophets Vol 1* p. 202.

[137] Sweeney *Twelve Prophets Vol 1* p. 212.

that "it belongs to the "language of politics" and means "to revolt, rebel, cast off allegiance to authority", whether of an overlord or the Overlord"[138]; and he adds that the foreign nations "flout divine authority whenever they commit major acts of barbarity and atrocity against fellow nations"[139]; this fits within the fourth category above[140]. However, he seems to imply that the nations concerned should have been aware of their responsibilities to such a divine law, which is an indemonstrable assumption.

Most helpful are the comments of Jeremias, who writes that "the oracles against the nations…. are more than merely a foil for the Israel-strophe….. they do show that Yahweh is more and something different than a national God; they show rather that he punishes not only Israel's sin, but that of Israel's neighbors (*sic*) as well. This acknowledges that they…. have a consciousness of justice attributable to them…… which we today would circumscribe with the concept of human rights"[141]. This is close to Barton's position, and gives the best explanation of the basis on which judgment of foreign nations is pronounced.

In accepting this view, it becomes readily apparent that in 2.6b-8 Israel is being judged on precisely the same basis as the foreign nations. This is exactly what we should expect in such a carefully structured series. My exegesis of 2.6b-8 above suggests specifically that each of the actions described is legal, but unjust in a broader moral sense, and lacking in compassion.

Thus the theological basis of the reasons for judgment in Amos 2.6b-8 is solely that there are certain kinds of human action against other human beings which are not necessarily prohibited in specific legislation, nor in any articulated divine instruction, but which should be universally recognisable – and indeed, recognised – as simply being immoral and unjust.

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[138] Paul p. 45. His first quotation is from G von Rad *Theology of the Old Testament Vol 1*, SCM, London, 1962 p. 263. His second quotation adapts words from Mays p. 18.
[139] Paul p. 46.
[140] Or possibly with the second category; but Paul does not mention the Davidic empire.
[141] Jeremias p. 31.

There are two qualifications to be made. Firstly, I am interpreting 2.6-16 within the literary context of the Post-722 Composition; and elsewhere in that composition there are reasons for judgment, such as the accusation of bribery in 5.10-12, in which a recognisably illegal dimension is present; and there is 5.7 and 5.21-24, which speak of "justice and righteousness" (also "justice" in 5.15), qualities derived from the divine nature which human beings are expected to practise[142]. However, there are also many other verses, such as 3.9-10; 4.1; 6.1-6 in which the reasons for judgment are, like those of 2.6b-8, based on nothing more than the same general sense that acts of exploitation, violence and injustice should simply be recognised as morally "wrong". The theological basis of the reasons for judgment on 2.6b-8 is not the only one found within the Post-722 Composition: but it is the dominant one.

Secondly, of course, there is, importantly, the presence of 2.9. This verse adds a significant additional reason for judgment, namely Israel's failure to respond to YHWH's action on their behalf in destroying the Amorites in order to give them the land. The presence of this election tradition brings an important added reason for which the judgment of YHWH on Israel is justified.

6.2.8 The Rhetorical Effect of the Reasons for Judgment in Amos 2.6-16 in the Post-722 Composition

Möller describes two major orientations in what is sometimes referred to as "Rhetorical Criticism" or "Rhetorical Analysis". One approach "is associated with Muilenberg and those following in his wake. It is largely an attempt to overcome the shortcomings of form criticism by paying increased attention to the unique stylistic or aesthetic qualities of a text in contrast to the concentration on typical and conventional features that characterizes form-critical studies. The label 'art of persuasion', on the other hand, has been applied to works in the tradition of the

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[142] See section 4.1.3 above.

'new rhetoric'….. the main interest in this case is in rhetoric as argumentation"[143].
In the present study I am using the phrase "rhetorical" in this second sense, to refer
to "rhetoric as argumentation".

Möller utilises the work of Austin[144] to distinguish between 'constatives'
(descriptive statements) and 'performatives' (statements that lead to action).
Within the latter, a distinction may be made between locutionary, illocutionary and
perlocutionary statements: locutionary statements are descriptive: "he said
that…."; illocutionary statements seek to understand the aim of the person who
speaks: "he argued that…."; perlocutionary statements describe the effect on and
response of the listener/reader: "he convinced me that….."[145]. These distinctions
serve well my purpose in this section of the study: I wish to investigate Amos 2.6-
16 in the Post-722 Composition as a performative text, and to do so in
illocutionary and perlocutionary terms: what did the author(s) of the Post-722
Composition aim to convey to the reader of Amos 2.6-16? And what is the
sympathetic reader/hearer convinced of by Amos 2.6-16? The latter is similar to
reader-response approaches to the text, in which it is recognised that the text "can
change our perspective, stir our emotions, and provoke us to action. In other
words, reading elicits a response in the reader"[146]; and readers in the eighth
century BCE will have brought reactions and responses to the text just as much as
those in the twenty-first century CE.

What, then is the rhetorical effect of the description of the reasons for judgment of
Amos 2.6-16 in the Post-722 Composition? In section 4.1.3 above I argued that the

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[143] K Möller "Words of (In-)evitable Certitude? Reflections on the Interpretation of Prophetic
Oracles of Judgment", in C Bartholomew, C Greene and K Möller (eds) *After Pentecost. Language
and Biblical Interpretation*, Scripture and Hermeneutics Series 2, Paternoster Press, Carlisle and
Zondervan, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 2001, pp. 352-386 (356-7). Further clarification of different
analytical methods under the umbrella of "Rhetorical Analysis" is given in In-ki Choi *A Rhetorical
Analysis of the Book of Amos*, unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Manchester, 1999, pp. 23-
50.
[144] J L Austin *How to Do Things With Words*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, [2]1975.
[145] Möller "Words of (in-)evitable Certitude?" pp. 365-6; also Möller *A Prophet in Debate* p. 34.
[146] M Davies "Reader-Response Criticism", in Coggins and Houlden (eds) *A Dictionary of Biblical
Interpretation* pp. 578-580 (578).

composition as a whole had two significant themes which contributed to its coherence: firstly, it sought to show refugees from and inhabitants of northern Israel after 722 that YHWH's judgment had been justified; secondly, it sought to persuade those in Judah that they should seek YHWH, and his justice and righteousness, in order to avoid a similar fate and "live". These two aims, each of which receives prominence through the positioning of key units in the structure of the composition[147], provide interpretative keys for the composition as a whole. The unit 2.6-16 clearly serves the first aim well: a likely effect on sympathetic hearers/ readers, and one sought by the text, will have been to recognise that YHWH's actions in judgment are indeed just. What about the second aim – to persuade those in Judah after 722 to seek YHWH, and to seek justice and righteousness? It is my contention that, despite the unit containing no particular words of such an exhortatory kind, nevertheless the effect on the sympathetic hearer/reader is also to lead him/her to say that "The text convinced me that I/we must seek justice, and avoid the actions that led to YHWH's judgment on Israel; that I/we must not sell the righteous for silver, nor the needy for a pair of sandals; that I/we must not trample on the poor, nor push the afflicted out of the way; that I/we must not abuse and exploit slave girls, or young women supposedly under our protection; and that I/we must remember YHWH's goodness in destroying the Amorite, and bringing our people into the land, and must seek to act justly and compassionately in response". As Houston writes, "few readers, in ancient or in modern times, could fail to understand *themselves* as called to do justice and thereby avoid the fate of Israel"[148].

Amos 2.6-16 in the Post-722 Composition is, therefore, both theological – in the sense of justifying the actions of YHWH – and a contributory element to a "social tractate"; and the two are not opposites. It is precisely the just actions of YHWH in judging his people, on the basis of immoral (although not essentially illegal) and

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[147] See 4.1.1 above.
[148] Houston *Contending* p. 59 (his italics).

uncompassionate actions that lend urgency to the response of justice and compassion.

6.3 Amos 2.6-16 in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition

It is important to reiterate that the redaction-critical methodology employed in this study does not entail interpreting only the new, additional material in a redactional composition, and finding the intentions of the writer(s) only within that material, but rather interpreting the whole, both received text and new material together. There is compositional intention in choosing to include received text in the new composition as well as in bringing in or composing new material. It is particularly important to observe whether the inclusion of additional material brings any fresh interpretative key to the whole, or any new interpretative signpost towards a fresh interpretation of 2.6-16.

In this section I shall, therefore:

(1) consider the interpretation and significance of the expanded form of 2.8;

(2) explore the significance of the presence in the text of a clear reinterpretation of 2.6b-8 in 8.4-6;

(3) argue that the inclusion of 7.9-17 and 3.8 brings a new interpretative key to the text, and a fresh lens through which to interpret 2.6-16 (additional to, but not replacing, its significance within the Post-722 Composition).

6.3.1 Amos 2.8 in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition

<u>2.8</u>

וּבְגָדִים חֲבֻלִים יַטּוּ	and they spread out garments taken in pledge
אֵצֶל כָּל־מִזְבֵּחַ	beside every altar;
וְיֵין עֲנוּשִׁים יִשְׁתּוּ	and they drink the wine of those being fined
בֵּית אֱלֹהֵיהֶם:	in the house of their God.

The two additional phrases 2.8aβ and 2.8bβ may be taken together. The condemnation of mistreatment of the weak is retained, but a new condemnatory

element enters the text: the exploitative practices are taking place at sanctuaries; and, not least, at the sanctuary at Bethel.

As noted in section 4.2.2 above, the term מִזְבֵּחַ reveals a connection with Hosea 8.11; 10.1-2, 8; and I have accepted the arguments of Jeremias that there was an influence of the Hosea-text on the Post-722 Composition, and a further, strengthened influence on the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition[149].

The addition in 2.8b refers, presumably, to the sanctuary at Bethel, thus providing a link both with units received from the Post-722 Composition (4.4-5; 5.4-5), and with 7.9-17, which entered the Amos-text in this redactional composition. In that Bethel was the main sanctuary of Israel prior to 722, it was entirely appropriate to add this allusion into a text explaining the reasons for YHWH's actions in allowing Israel's demise. However, 2 Kings 17.24-28 shows that Bethel continued to function as a sanctuary after 722, and Amos 2.8, with its additions, would have had a current as well as an historical significance in the late seventh century[150].

Jeremias has argued that the redactional links between the Amos-text and the Hosea-text invite the reading and hearing of the two together. In that case, an interpretative point with regard to Amos 2.6-16 might be that 2.8 contains an allusion to the charge of worshipping at a compromised shrine (Bethel), and at many altars[151]. Undoubtedly there is an opaque reference to Bethel, concerning which 7.9-17 has much more to say explicitly: however, it is noteworthy that this is not the thrust of 2.8. Rather, the wrong actions described in the Post-722

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[149] Jeremias pp. 7, 38; Jeremias "Interrelationship" pp. 177-186.

[150] Gomes *Sanctuary of Bethel* p. 54 argues, on the basis of 2 Kings 17.24-28, that "Assyrian strategy would facilitate the consolidation of a highly disparate population under a single religious banner at Bethel. This Bethel was duly recognised by the imperial authorities as the בֵּית מַמְלָכָה and was re-constituted as a central shrine of instruction and worship under Assyrian supervision". In that Gomes is also drawing on Amos 7.13 as one of his sources here, there is an element of circular argument with regard to the present study, although this is not so in the context of Gomes's own argument.

[151] In describing this redactional composition as "late pre-exilic", and dating it to the period 626-609 (section 4.2.4 above), I am accepting that it is not possible to argue that it is either earlier or later than the promulgation of Deuteronomy: I am not, therefore, suggesting any hint in the Amos-text of the Deuteronomic concern to establish a single sanctuary at Jerusalem.

Composition form of the text are still present, and are made to seem even more abhorrent by the fact that they are being carried out at sanctuaries (including that at Bethel).

The additions do not alter the structure of the unit; nor do they add anything to the identification of the victims of the wrong actions described. However, it is now clear that the oppressors include officials at the sanctuaries, who either took part in exploitative practices along with others, or who connived and cooperated with those who did. If ever it was doubted, Amos 2.6-16 in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition makes it clear that religion is not necessarily the guardian of justice and the protector of the weak.

Overall 2.6-16 in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition retains the elements of *openness and ambiguity* that were present in the Post-722 Composition; however, in this one respect of the inclusion of religious officials the accusation is made more specific. A further sharpening of focus is made in the reinterpretation of 2.6b-7 in 8.4-6, to which I now turn.

6.3.2 Amos 8.4-6 in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition

Both 7.9-17 and 8.3-7 are insertions into the visions series brought in by the author(s) of the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition. The effect of the insertions is to slow down the pace at which the text moves towards the final vision of destruction in 9.1-4. The first insertion in 7.9-17 introduces a new, significant, theme into the text, namely the rejection of the prophetic word spoken through Amos (and the addition of 3.8 also reflects this theme), while the second insertion in 8.3-7 reiterates and develops the themes found in the Post-722 Composition of YHWH's announcement of judgment, and the reasons for it.

6.3.2.1 Translation and Textual Notes
8.4

שִׁמְעוּ־זֹאת הַשֹּׁאֲפִים אֶבְיוֹן   Hear this, you who trample[a] on the needy,

וְלַשְׁבִּית עֲנוֵּי־אָרֶץ :   and do away with[b] the poor[c] of the land,

8.5

לֵאמֹר מָתַי יַעֲבֹר הַחֹדֶשׁ   saying, "When will the new moon be over

וְנַשְׁבִּירָה שֶּׁבֶר;   so that we may sell grain[d];

וְהַשַּׁבָּת וְנִפְתְּחָה־בָּר   and the Sabbath, so that we may sell[e] wheat,

לְהַקְטִין אֵיפָה וּלְהַגְדִּיל שֶׁקֶל   making small the ephah and increasing the shekel,

וּלְעַוֵּת מֹאזְנֵי מִרְמָה :   and cheating with false balances,

8.6

לִקְנוֹת בַּכֶּסֶף דַּלִּים   buying the poor for silver,

וְאֶבְיוֹן בַּעֲבוּר נַעֲלָיִם   and the needy for a pair of sandals[f],

וּמַפַּל בַּר נַשְׁבִּיר :   and selling the refuse of the wheat[g] ".

(a) See textual note (c) on page 179 above.

(b) The continuation with an infinitive following the participle of the previous line is slightly awkward, but not impossible, and there is no need for emendation. LXX has a participle, probably smoothing the text in order to make the parallelism more precise. Paul pp. 256-7 refers to a proposal of Ginsberg to repoint וְלַשְׁבִּית as וְלַשַּׁבָּת, "on every Sabbath", and to introduce לַחֹדֶשׁ into the first line on the basis that the Greek text may reflect its presence, and to translate as "You who on every *new moon* crush the needy and on every *sabbath*, the humble of the land" (Paul's translation and italics); he suggests that it is "an ingenious proposal" which "should be duly noted and seriously considered". I have translated on the basis of MT as it stands. Jeremias p. 147 notes that וְלַשְׁבִּית constitutes "an extremely artificial wordplay" with the וְהַשַּׁבָּת of 8.5.

(c) The Qere suggested that עֲנוֵּי should be read as עֲנִיֵּי; BHS suggests that the Kethibh, read as עֲנָוֵי, is to be preferred as the older reading. This would seem to be correct. However, there is confusion in the text of the Hebrew Bible between the forms of עָנִי and עָנָו, and differing views among modern scholars as to whether they should be taken as two

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distinct terms or as variant forms of one term[152]. Of the four other texts in which the terms is linked with אֶרֶץ, there occurs לְעַנְוֵי־אָרֶץ in Isaiah 11.4, כָּל־עַנְוֵי הָאָרֶץ in Zephaniah 2.3, כָּל־עַנְוֵי־אָרֶץ in Psalm 76.10, and עֲנִיֵי־אָרֶץ in Job 24.4. In section 3.4.2.3 above I noted that there are differing scholarly views concerning the dating of all of the first three of these texts. It is interesting that the Qere of Amos 8.4 is closest to the one text of the four concerning which there is near unanimity concerning its post-exilic origin, namely Job 24.4: is it possible that the Qere reflects a semantic change, evident by the post-exilic period, in which the term acquired a religious as well as socio-economic significance? I shall consider this further in interpreting Amos 2.6-16 in the Post-exilic Redactional Composition[153].

(d) The verb and noun of this phrase are from the same root. The verb can be used intransitively (Genesis 41.57; 42.5, 6; Isaiah 55.1); it is found with אֹ כֶל, "food" as object (Genesis 42.7, 10; 43.4; Deuteronomy 2.6, 28), or בַּר, "grain" (Genesis 42.3; Proverbs 11.26), and is also found with שֶׁ בֶר as object in Genesis 42.2; 47.14.

(e) While I have followed NRSV in using the translation "sell", Jeremias p. 143 is correct to note that the verb פָּתַח literally means "open": to "open the wheat" presumably means to open the sack from which to sell.

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[152] BDB p. 776b includes separate entries for the two terms, both derived from the verb ענה, "be bowed down, afflicted", translating עָנָו as "poor, afflicted, humble, meek" and עָנִי as "poor, afflicted, humble"; but also notes several references with variant Kethibh and Qere readings, suggesting frequent confusion between the two. In fact עָנָו only occurs once in the singular (Numbers 12.3, referring to Moses), while עָנִי occurs fifty-seven times in the singular, and it is with the plural forms that the problem of the relationship between the two arises. S R Driver "Poor", *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible Volume IV*, T & T Clark, Edinburgh, 1902, pp. 19-20 wrote: "From *'ānī* is to be carefully distinguished a word with which it has sometimes been very needlessly confused, *ānāw*. While *'ānī* means one who is 'humbled' or 'bowed down' by adverse external circumstances, *ānāw* means one who is 'humble' in disposition or character, 'humble-minded'….. It thus, unlike *'ānī*, has from the beginning an essentially moral and religious connotation". E Gerstenberger "ענה II *'ānâ*; עֲנָוָה *'nāwâ*; ע נָה *'ᵉnûṯ*; ע נָה *'ōnâ*; תַּעֲנִית *ta'ᵃniṯ*; עָנִי *'ānî*; עָנָו *'ānāw*", *TDOT XI*, pp. 230-252 writes (p. 242): "Was *'ᵃnāwîm* the original plural of *'ānî*? If so, *'ᵃnîyîm* is a scribal error or an artificial formation used secondarily to convey a semantic distinction. Most scholars believe that the pls. *'ᵃnîyîm* and *'ᵃnāwîm* always existed side by side, even though they were often confused….. We can possibly discern a conscious development in which *'ᵃnîyîm* = "poor" and *'ᵃnāwîm* = "humble, devout", but the distinction should not be pressed". R Martin-Achard "ענה *'nh* II to be destitute דל *dal* poor", *TLOT 2*, pp. 931-7 on the other hand, writes (p. 932) that "In contrast to earlier authors, scholars are now more inclined to equate the two expressions and to see *'ānāw* as a dialectal variant or perhaps a late Aramaizing by-form of *'ānî*".
[153] See section 6.5.3 below.

(f) See textual note (b) on page 179 above.

(g) Wolff p. 322 transposes the final line to the middle of verse 5, giving "When will the new moon be over so that we may sell grain; and the Sabbath, so that we may open wheat, and may sell the sweepings of the wheat", doing so "for thematic and metrical reasons". However, the unit is not as metrically uniform as 2.6-8, and it is thematic rather than metrical considerations which make this more plausible. Jeremias p. 143 takes it as "an addendum stylistically interrupting the framework, since it offers neither infinitives (like vv. 4b, 5b, 6a) nor final clauses (like v. 5a)"; but he does not indicate when he considers that this addendum was made. Since there is no manuscript evidence for Wolff's proposal, that of Jeremias is probably correct. However, since it is thematically close to verse 5, and does not introduce a substantially new theme, I shall not refer to it in my treatment of either the Exilic Redactional Composition or the Post-exilic Redactional Composition, on the grounds that it does not introduce any further new theme or perspective.

6.3.2.2 The Literary Context of Amos 8.4-6 in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition

As noted above, 8.3-7 is one of two insertions into the visions series. To the announcement of judgment in 8.2 is added in this composition an expansion focusing on the potential sorrow that will be expressed in the temple (8.3a), and a pictorial description of dead bodies (8.3b). An expansion similar to the latter is found at 6.9-10, enlarging the announcement of judgment of 6.8. While these verses heighten the gloom and trouble of the forthcoming day of judgment, 8.7 draws vocabulary from 6.8 in adding a further word announcing its inevitability, adding as a reason that "I will never forget any of their deeds" (NRSV).

6.3.2.3 The Reasons for Judgment in Amos 8.4-6

The opening 8.4a contains the same accusation, and uses the same verb, as 2.7aα: however, in 2.7aα it is the דַּלִּים who are trampled on, while here in 8.4a it is the אֶבְיוֹן. The second half of the verse accuses the malefactors of doing away with the

עֲנַוֵּי־אָרֶץ[154]. This particular accusation is not taken directly from 2.6-7, but has a similar theme. Jeremias notes, with regard to 8.5-6, that they "do not refer primarily to deeds of the guilty…… but rather to their plans and most secret intentions"[155]; however, it is reasonable to assume that the intentions frequently did translate into action, and that the selling of grain and wheat did recommence immediately that a New Moon festival or Sabbath[156] was over, and that false weights and balances were used (and no doubt, sweepings were sold with the wheat, even if this final line was a later addition to the text).

A distinction can be made between 8.5a and 8.5b. The first half of the verse describes actions which were not unlawful: the attitudes and motives of businessmen who could hardly wait to re-start their business was clearly distasteful to the author(s) of the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition, but there was nothing dishonest in them. The second half of the verse, on the other hand, describes dishonest practices which, to judge from the frequency of their mention elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, were widespread and ongoing: the use of false balances and weights is referred to in Proverbs 11.1; 16.11; 20.10, 23; Hosea 12.8 (7); Micah 6.10-11; Deuteronomy 25.13-16; Leviticus 19.35-36; Ezekiel 45.10-11. What both halves of the verse have in common is that they take the generalized accusations of 2.6-7 and apply them to a specific realm of activity, namely business.

Verse 6 picks up once again the vocabulary of 2.6-7: but while the second line is a direct, unaltered quotation of 2.6bβ, the first line has markedly altered 2.6bα. The

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[154] I noted in section 3.4.2.3 that the occurrence of this expression in Isaiah 11.4, Zephaniah 2.3, Psalm 76.10 (9) and Job 24.4 did not necessarily indicate that it is only found in the exilic and post-exilic periods, since there are varying scholarly views concerning the dating of the first three of these four texts.
[155] Jeremias p. 146.
[156] As Paul p. 257 observes, this verse gives a rare glimpse into Israel's religious life, in which, apparently, work was to cease during New Moon festivals and the Sabbath (Paul speaks of eighth-century northern Israel, whereas in my view the text concerns late seventh-century Judah: nevertheless, the keeping of New Moon festivals and the Sabbath is likely to have been common to both). New Moon and Sabbath are mentioned alongside one another also in 2 Kings 4.23 and Ezekiel 46.3.

key word in common between 8.6a and 2.6bα is בַּכֶּסֶף. The victim of the action described is, however, the אֶבְיוֹן rather than the צַדִּיק; and, more significantly, the verb used is לִקְנוֹת, "to buy". This verb is the antonym of that used in 2.6b (מִכְרָם, "to sell"). The verb קָנָה has a wide range of meaning, which includes the acquiring of wisdom and the begetting of children; but its primary meaning is of the actual, economic buying of slaves (e.g. Exodus 21.2), land (e.g. Genesis 47.20), or other items (e.g. Jeremiah 13.1)[157]. This change of verb changes the focus of who is accused: in 2.6bα it is the creditor who sells a debtor, or a debtor's family member, into slavery for non-payment of debts who is accused: in 8.6aα it is the businessman who buys such debtors.

It is significant that the author(s) of the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition added 8.3-7 as a new unit, rather than replacing any of 2.6-16 with it, or making an addition within 2.6-16 (other than the two short lines in 2.8). While it is, perhaps, unwise to claim to know the intentions of ancient authors, it is likely that there was a wish to retain the wide, generalized accusations of 2.6b-8 and also to include as a specific example what was, presumably, an increasing concern in late seventh-century Judah, namely the rise of cynical and dishonest business practices.

6.3.3   The inclusion of 7.9-17 and 3.8 within the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition

In 4.2.3 above I argued that the most significant new theme in this redactional composition is that of the rejection of the prophetic word. The narrative in 7.10-17 conveys this theme clearly and strongly, and implicates the priest Amaziah, official at Bethel, described in 7.13 as מִקְדַּשׁ־מֶלֶךְ and בֵּית מַמְלָכָה. In 6.3.1 above I took the view that 2.8bβ alludes to Bethel: the likelihood of that being so is greatly strengthened by the inclusion of 7.9-17 within this composition. These verses also bring a far stronger attack on Bethel than any text in the Post-722 Composition. It is important to stress, however, that the focus of that attack is not on any cultic

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[157] BDB p. 888b; E Lipiński "קנה *qānā*; מִקְנֶה *miqneh*; מִקְנָה *miqnâ*; קִנְיָה *qinyān*", *TDOT XIII*, pp. 58-65.

practices, but on the rejection of the prophet and the prophetic word: hence the root נבא enters the text in this redactional composition. That root is also found in the addition of 3.8, which makes a new and powerful climax to the series of rhetorical questions in 3.3-8.

This new theme constitutes a new interpretative lens through which to view other units within the composition, including 2.6-16. Not only does 2.8 convey the shock that officials at Bethel (and at local altars) were complicit in oppression: it is also clear that those same officials were foremost in rejecting the word of YHWH. This constitutes a further reason for judgment within this redactional composition.

6.3.4 <u>Victims and Oppressors in Amos 2.6b-8 in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition</u>

The victims of injustice in 2.6b-8 are essentially the same as those in the Post-722 Composition. In 8.4-6 the same general vocabulary is used: however, there is no mention of the צַדִּיק, and the עֲנָוִים have become the עֲנֵוי־אָרֶץ. Furthermore, the words are not all used in the same order, or in relationship to the same verbs. There is, however, no apparent reason for the particular choice of words or their order in 8.4-6 as compared to 2.6b-8. Most probably it originated as an oral adaptation of 2.6b-8 which was then brought into the text by those responsible for this redactional composition.

Who are viewed as oppressors in this composition? The verses 2.6b-8 in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition retain the openness and ambiguity of the text of those verses in the Post-722 Composition. The statement of Jeremias, cited in section 6.2.5 above, that "these transgressions were committed by various circles of perpetrators" remains true in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition also. However, officials at local altars and at the shrine of Bethel are now specifically included as blameworthy.

In 8.4-6 the generalized nature of 2.6b-8 is made far more specific: those considered blameworthy are specifically those engaged in dishonest business practices, and their cynical and greedy attitudes are highlighted.

While the text still addresses "Israel", and the interpretation of 722 as YHWH's judgment on the northern kingdom remains clearly in focus, the presence of 8.4-7, referring to practices presumably recognisable a hundred years later in late seventh-century Judah, would have meant that sympathetic hearers/readers would readily have recognised the warning to the people of Judah at this time, that it was not beyond the bounds of possibility that they, too, might face YHWH's judgment if such practices continued and grew.

6.3.5 The Theological Basis of the Reasons for Judgment in Amos 2.6-16 in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition

In the Post-722 Composition the dominant theological rationale underlying the reasons for judgment of 2.6-16 was simply that there are certain kinds of human action against other human beings which are not necessarily prohibited in specific legislation, nor in any articulated divine instruction, but which should be recognisable – and indeed, recognised – as being immoral and unjust. A second theological consideration was Israel's knowledge of the election tradition that YHWH had acted on their behalf in destroying the Amorite in order to give them the land.

These theological considerations persist into the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition. However, in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition the presence of 8.4-6 shows that some of the immoral and wrong actions described were dishonest practices widely condemned in Israel's wisdom and legal traditions. Additionally, and significantly, there is now, within the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition, the additional theme of the rejection of the prophetic word, a rejection for which religious officials themselves were responsible. While this theme does not enter 2.6-16 in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition,

its presence in 7.10-17 may have contributed to its inclusion in the Exilic Redactional Composition in 2.11-12.

6.3.6 The Rhetorical Effect of the Reasons for Judgment in Amos 2.6-16 in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition

The aims of the Post-722 Composition were to persuade of the justness of YHWH's actions in the judgment on northern Israel of 722, and to convince that the people must seek YHWH's justice and righteousness by avoidance of acts of injustice and mistreatment of the weak in order to ensure that Judah did not suffer a similar fate.

The Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition incorporates those themes and aims. Its author(s) clearly valued the Amos-text that they had received, and, most probably, were concerned that their own generation in Judah was not avoiding the very kinds of behaviour which, the received Amos-text showed them, had led to Israel's downfall. Hence it is not surprising that there is an increased focus on making more specific the kinds of wrong behaviour to be avoided (8.4-6): they felt it no longer sufficient to leave the generalized condemnations of 2.6b-8 without illustration. Additionally they introduced the narrative episode of 7.10-17: while this serves to strengthen the element of theodicy, it serves even more to challenge the people of seventh-century Judah to hear and not to reject the prophetic word[158]. In illocutionary terms, the text seeks to argue that it is still vital to avoid the practice of injustice; that there were practices in Judah which failed to do so; that it was important to take note of and take seriously the prophetic word; but that even (possibly, even, especially) religious officials could not be relied on to do so. Within 2.6-16 the additions in 2.8 provide a subtle thematic link to the narrative of 7.10-17, but themselves refrain from naming Bethel, or any other shrine, in order

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[158] Despite the paucity of our knowledge of just how those perceived as prophets functioned in and were viewed by others in society, it is reasonable to assume that there was, by this time, a collective memory that men such as Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah had spoken YHWH's word in the past (and some people, like the author(s) of the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition, will have had access to written records of them); and also that there were contemporary prophets doing so.

to allow a generalized awareness that religion did not guarantee either protection of the weak or a hearing of YHWH's word. The (perlocutionary) response of a sympathetic hearer/reader of 2.6-16, in the literary context of the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition, might be that "The text convinces me that I/we must avoid injustice and oppression of my fellow human beings; that I/we must see that poor debtors are not harshly sold and bought into slavery, and that business practices are honest; I can see that I/we must not assume that religious officials will lead us to obey YHWH's word spoken through men like Amos, and may, indeed, lead us to reject it; and I am persuaded that YHWH's judgment could indeed befall Judah too if these things are not seen and acted on". This redactional composition is also, therefore, both a theological book and a social tractate.

6.4 Amos 2.6-16 in the Exilic Redactional Composition

The Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition added just two lines to Amos 2.6-16, and within the redactional composition as a whole the material additional to the Post-722 Composition, while bringing some developments and new interpretative foci, did not significantly alter the structure or main themes of the book. The Exilic Redactional Composition constitutes a more major re-working of the Amos-text as a whole, and there are more additions within 2.6-16. Despite that, however, and despite the placing of hymnic verses at strategic points in the structure of the text, the original structure from the Post-722 Composition is still visible.

In examining this redactional composition, I shall consider first the additions to the text (apart from 2.6-16), which provide significant new theological perspectives and interpretative keys to the Amos-text as a whole, and shall then go on to treat 2.6-16 with its additional material.

6.4.1 Additions in the Exilic Redactional Composition of the Amos-text
6.4.1.1 The Hymnic Verses 4.13; 5.8-9; 9.5-6

I noted in 4.3.1 above that the structure of the Post-722 Composition, carried on into the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition, is still evident in the Exilic

Redactional Composition, but that the hymnic verses 4.13, 5.8-9 and 9.5-6, and the penitential liturgy of 4.6-12 preceding 4.13, had been placed at significant points.

Of these, the verses 5.8-9 are placed at the very centre of the central 5.1-17. In the earlier compositions the central position of 5.1-17 gave interpretative significance to the theme of seeking YHWH, and the addition and placing of 5.8-9 serve to reinforce the presence and importance of that theme, while also tempering it by bringing into it the poetic, but sombre, lines stating that while YHWH "turns deep darkness into the morning" he also "darkens the day into night"[159]. The addition of 5.6 introduces a further invitation to "seek YHWH", but it has in common with 5.8-9 that its wording is sombre: if YHWH is not sought, he will break out like fire. Positive words of invitation within 5.1-17 are still present, but cautiously so.

The verses 9.5-6 comes at the very end of the Exilic Redactional Composition. The additions of 7.9-17 and 8.3-7 in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition had the effect of slowing down the movement of the text towards the implementation of destruction in the final vision in 9.1-4, and the further additions in 8.8-14 in the Exilic Redactional Composition do so further still: the final verses 9.5-6 then reinforce that is YHWH, creator and judge, who has carried out the judgment. Clearly the strengthened description of YHWH's judgment comes about from the need to explain the justness of his actions in the tragedy of 587, in the same way that the Post-722 Composition had needed to do with regard to 722.

The first half of the "Words of Amos" in chapters 3-6 is now concluded by 4.13, preceded by 4.6-12. The effect of this arrangement, too, is to strengthen the note of judgment still further compared to the earlier compositions.

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[159] It is possible that 5.9 is, in fact, a later addition, and that it originally ended, like 4.13 and 9.6, with 5.8's יְהוָה שְׁמוֹ (so Wolff p. 230 textual note y). If 5.9 was part of the Exilic Redactional Composition, then probably it is Judah which is referred to as "the strong", and whose "fortress" will be destroyed; on the other hand, if it is a subsequent addition, it could be the Babylonians who are referred to, and that this verse seeks to mitigate 5.8 by raising hopes of deliverance from the Babylonians.

6.4.1.2 References to "Judah"

In line with this, several additions clarify that it is Judah which is now the object of YHWH's punishment. The opening verse of the "Words of Amos" now specifies that they concern not just northern Israel, but "the whole family that I brought up out of the land of Egypt" (3.1b); the chronological expansion of the superscription to the book (1.1) refers to the king of Judah as well as of Israel; and 1.2 describes YHWH as roaring "from Zion" and speaking "from Jerusalem".

Additionally, the OAN series is expanded to include oracles against Tyre, Edom and, significantly, Judah[160]. The reasons for judgment in the oracle against Judah are comprised of theological statements and vocabulary familiar from Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic writings. Verse 4 brings a new theological rationale for YHWH's judgment into the Amos-text, the language of which needs to be examined:

2.4

כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה	Thus says YHWH:
עַל־שְׁלֹשָׁה פִּשְׁעֵי יְהוּדָה	For three transgressions of Judah,
וְעַל־אַרְבָּעָה לֹא אֲשִׁיבֶנּוּ	and for four, I will not turn it back;
עַל־מָאֳסָם אֶת־תּוֹרַת יְהוָה	because they have rejected the law of YHWH,
וְחֻקָּיו לֹא שָׁמָרוּ	and have not kept his statutes,
וַיַּתְעוּם כִּזְבֵיהֶם	and their lies caused them to err,
אֲשֶׁר־הָלְכוּ אֲבוֹתָם אַחֲרֵיהֶם:	(lies) after which their fathers walked.

The first verb in the subordinate clause of this verse, מָאַס, is used in the Hebrew Bible to refer both to people's rejection of God, and of God's rejection of people. Sometimes it is found in both senses together: thus in Hosea 4.6 it is because the priests have "rejected knowledge" that "I (YHWH) reject you from being priests";

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[160] Ezekiel 26.2 accuses Tyre of welcoming the opportunity to make gain out of Judah's downfall in 587; Ezekiel 35.5, Obadiah 14 and Psalm 137.7 all refer to Edom's rejoicing at and taking advantage of Jerusalem's fall: it is thus in keeping with the times that these additions are made to the OAN series. Wolff makes the case for taking the oracles against Tyre and Edom as exilic on form-critical grounds (pp. 139-141), on the basis of the parallels in Ezekiel (p. 151), and on grounds of vocabulary and content (pp. 158-160).

in 1 Samuel 15.26 Samuel says that because Saul has rejected אֶת־דְּבַר יְהוָה, therefore YHWH rejects him as king; in 2 Kings 17.15-20 it is that Israel "rejected אֶת־חֻקָּיו וְאֶת־בְּרִיתוֹ אֲשֶׁר כָּרַת אֶת־אֲבוֹתָם (the statutes and the covenant that he made with their fathers)" (verse 15) and that Judah also "לֹא שָׁמַר אֶת־מִצְוֹת יְהוָה (did not keep the commands of YHWH)" (verse 19), and that therefore YHWH rejected all the people of Israel" (verse 20). The verses 2 Kings 17.15-20 are heavily Deuteronomistic, and illustrate the observation made by Fabry that "the root *m's*....is..... taken from familiar Deuteronomistic nomenclature"[161].

Despite the correctness of Fabry's observation, it should be noted that there are few texts in which תּוֹרַת יְהוָה is the object of the verb מָאַס, and that these occur in prophetic texts, namely Isaiah 5.24b and Jeremiah 6.19. While Jeremiah 6.19 "gives the impression of being a later Deuteronomistic interpretation of the oracle of woe (which follows in v. 21)"[162], it is debatable whether Deuteronomistic influence is evident in Isaiah 5.24. Kaiser considers that Isaiah 5.24 may have been added by a redactor as a conclusion to the series of woe-sayings[163]; Clements takes it to be from "a redactor's hand" and to have "a strongly Deuteronomic form of words"[164]; Wildberger considers that a redactor used a separate saying of Isaiah to round off the series[165]; Williamson takes 5.24c to be an addition typical "of later theologizing redaction"[166]. Whatever view is held, it remains the case that the verb מָאַס and the noun תּוֹרָה are frequently found in literature widely held to be Deuteronomistic[167].

Within the Amos-text the verb מָאַס is also found in 5.21, referring to YHWH's rejection of Israel's religious festivals: thus within the Exilic Redactional

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[161] H-J Fabry "מָאַס *mā'as*", *TDOT VIII*, pp.47-60 (50-51).
[162] Fabry "מָאַס *mā'as*" p. 52.
[163] O Kaiser *Isaiah 1-12*, OTL, SCM, London, 1972, p. 70.
[164] Clements *Isaiah 1-39* p. 66.
[165] Wildberger *Isaiah 1-12* p. 212.
[166] Williamson *Isaiah 1-5* p. 394.
[167] See Fabry "מָאַס *mā'as*" p. 54 with regard to מָאַס; and Weinfeld *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* pp. 336-7 with regard to תּוֹרָה.

Composition the verb is used both of Judah's rejection of YHWH and YHWH's rejection of Israel.

The second verb in the subordinate clause, שָׁמַר, is found frequently in Deuteronomi(sti)c literature, on its own or with the verb עשׂה, "do (them)", with חֻקִּים or חֻקָּיו as object[168]: Deuteronomy 4.5-6, 40; 5.1; 6.17; 7.11; 11.32; 16.12; 17.19; 26.16-17; 1 Kings 3.14; 8.58; 9.4; 2 Kings 17.37; 23.3. This shows that Amos 2.4 views the theological basis of the reason for Judah's judgment as being neglect of basic precepts of Deuteronomic instruction.

The verb הָלַךְ is used in Hosea 11.2 to refer to going after the Baals, and in Jeremiah 2.5 and 2 Kings 17.15 to going after הַהֶבֶל ("worthless thing" i.e. an idol)[169]. This latter term is used several times in the Jeremiah-text, and many times in the books of Kings to refer to idols, while the word כִּזְבֵיהֶם (singular כָּזָב) is used with this meaning only in Amos 2.4. This is one respect in which the vocabulary of Amos 2.4 differs from that of Deuteronomi(sti)c usage. However, the much larger number of words in common with frequent Deuteronomi(sti)c literature remains sufficient to attribute 2.4-5 unhesitatingly to redactors for whom Deuteronomi(sti)c theology provided a strengthened theological context in which to interpret the Amos-text, and for whom the reasons for judgment against Judah are derived from Deuteronomic instruction.

But how does this affect interpretation of 2.6-16? It is, in my view, evident that the placing of the oracle against Judah before that against Israel is deliberate: through its placing there, the theological reasons for judgment of 2.4-5 are held also to apply to "Israel", and those in exile in Babylon would have understood that both units now applied to them as explanation of the disaster that YHWH had allowed to come upon them. A further question then arises: why were the kinds of reasons for judgment given in 2.4-5 not grafted into 2.6-16 in some way – especially since

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[168] Weinfeld *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* pp. 335-6.
[169] The verb הָלַךְ is used frequently in Deuteronomi(sti)c writings of going after other gods: see Weinfeld *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* pp. 320-1.

the addition of 2.10-12 indicates a readiness to make additions to the unit? We cannot know with any certainty: but it seems likely that those responsible for the Exilic Redactional Composition wished to leave the reasons for judgment of 2.6-9 as the first to be given within this unit, in order not to lessen their importance. The reasons for judgment in 2.4 are not to be seen as replacing those in 2.6-9: rather they provide a strengthened theological context in which to place them.

6.4.1.3 The Addition of Amos 1.2 and 3.7 in the Exilic Redactional Composition

As well as providing a reference to the inclusion of Judah through YHWH roaring "from Zion" and uttering his voice "from Jerusalem", the use of the verb שָׁאַג in 1.2 makes a link with the series of rhetorical questions in 3.3-8 through picking up its use in 3.4 and 3.8. Indeed, Andersen and Freedman take 1.2 and 3.8 to form a "long-range inclusion"[170]: such a statement appears to cut across the overall structure of the text, in which, in all redactional compositions, the break between the OAN series and the "Words of Amos" is perfectly clear; but it is entirely likely that 1.2 draws its use of the verb from 3.3-8, and that those responsible for including 1.2 intended to allude to it. By this means the theme of the rejection of the prophetic word, present in the received text of the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition, is strengthened in this new redactional composition.

For this same reason 3.7 was inserted. It serves to underline the folly of ignoring the prophets, and its positioning delays, and thereby increases the effect of, the climax of the series of questions in 3.3-8. Again, the theme of the rejection of the prophetic word as a reason for judgment, present in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition, receives fresh emphasis.

This same theme is underlined still further by the presence of 2.11-12 in 2.6-16.

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[170] Andersen and Freedman p. 34.

6.4.2 Additions to Amos 2.6-16 in the Exilic Redactional Composition

6.4.2.1 The Additions in 2.14-15 and 2.7aα

That those in exile in Babylon saw themselves as the "Israel" addressed in 2.6-16 as well as the "Judah" of 2.4-5 provides the explanation of the additions within this unit. As noted in section 6.1 above, the statements וְגִבּוֹר לֹא־יְמַלֵּט נַפְשׁוֹ in 2.14 and וְקַל בְּרַגְלָיו לֹא יְמַלֵּט in 2.15 came into the text in the Exilic Redactional Composition. Their effect is to increase the elements within these verses which speak of military disaster. It is likely that the memory of the fall of Jerusalem in 587 led to this expansion. I also took the view in section 6.1 above that the extra-metrical phrase עַל־עֲפַר־אֶרֶץ in 2.7aα entered the test in this redactional composition: again, the addition probably arose from the memory of 587.

6.4.2.2 Amos 2.10-12 in the Exilic Redactional Composition

The particular focus of this study is the reasons for judgment, and therefore the addition to this unit of 2.10-12 needs particular investigation.

2.10

וְאָנֹכִי הֶעֱלֵיתִי אֶתְכֶם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם	And I brought you up from the land of Egypt
וָאוֹלֵךְ אֶתְכֶם בַּמִּדְבָּר אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה	and led you in the desert for forty years
לָרֶשֶׁת אֶת־אֶרֶץ הָאֱמֹרִי׃	to possess the land of the Amorite;

2.11

וָאָקִים מִבְּנֵיכֶם לִנְבִיאִים	and I raised up prophets from your sons,
וּמִבַּחוּרֵיכֶם לִנְזִרִים	and Nazirites from your young men.
הַאַף אֵין זֹאת אֶת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	Indeed is this not so, sons of Israel?
נְאֻם־יְהוָה׃	Oracle of YHWH.

2.12

וַתַּשְׁקוּ אֶת־הַנְּזִרִים יָיִן	But you made the Nazirites drink wine,
וְעַל־הַנְּבִיאִים צִוִּיתֶם לֵאמֹר	and you commanded the prophets, saying
לֹא תִּנָּבְאוּ׃	"You shall not prophesy".

There are no textual notes to be made regarding these verses.

These verses are added in such a way as to make a natural continuation from 2.9. Verse 10 gives an explanation of the opening line of 2.9: the Amorite was destroyed so that Israel might take possession of their land; and its brief recapitulation of Israel's "saving history" leads to that assertion. The use of the root עלה in formulaic sayings concerning the exodus from Egypt was discussed in

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section 5.2.1 above, and I noted there Wijngaards's observation that it could frequently refer to both exodus from Egypt and entry into the land: its use is therefore appropriate in this verse which moves from destruction of the Amorite in 2.9 back to the exodus, then through the forty years in the wilderness, and on to mention of the Amorite once again.

Paul writes, correctly, that "The prolonged perambulation of forty years in the wilderness is viewed here positively (and not as a punishment for disobedience) and serves as a third demonstration of the Lord's acts of grace to Israel in the past"[171]. Israel's failure to follow YHWH's laws despite these "acts of grace" constitutes part of – indeed, a theological basis for – the reasons for judgment in this Exilic Redactional Composition.

Verse 11-12 introduce into this unit the theme of the rejection of the prophets. The use of the hiphil of the verb קום for the raising up of prophets is found in Deuteronomy 18.15, 18 and in Jeremiah 29.15; it is also used of the raising up of other figures: judges/deliverers (Judges 2.16, 18; 3.9, 15), priests (1 Samuel 2.35) and kings (1 Kings 14.14). Thus its use constitutes a further example of Deuteronomi(sti)c vocabulary in these verses[172]. In the wider literary context of the Exilic Redactional Composition the closing supposed command to the prophets not to prophesy is illustrated in due course by the words of Amaziah in 7.13. The raising up of prophets is seen in 2.11 as a continuation of YHWH's grace to Israel: the rejection of the prophets constitutes a rejection of YHWH. The same is true of the other group referred to, namely the nazirites. Little is known of them: Samson is described as a nazirite (Judges 13.5, 7; 16.17), and Samuel was probably considered to have been one (1 Samuel 1.11); in later priestly tradition there was provision for the taking of a nazirite vow for a limited time (Numbers 6.1-21). Amos 2.11-12 charges the people with refusing to allow the prophets to

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[171] Paul p. 91: "third" after the destruction of the Amorite (2.9) and the bringing out of Egypt.
[172] S Amsler "קום qûm to stand up", *TLOT 3*, pp. 1136-1141 (1140); Wolff p. 170.

prophesy, and refusing to allow the nazirites to fulfil their dedication to abstinence from wine.

6.4.2.3   The Reasons for Judgment in Amos 2.6-16 in the Exilic Redactional Composition

Within 2.6b-12 there are three kinds of reasons for judgment: 2.6b-8 concern mistreatment of the weak; 2.9-10 concern Israel's failure to respond to YHWH's saving actions in her history; and 2.11-12 concern Israel's rejection of the prophets and nazirites. This significantly alters the balance of the kinds of reasons for judgment compared to the Post-722 Composition and the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition. In the earlier compositions those concerning mistreatment of the weak in 2.6b-8 dominated, and 2.9 was the only verse concerning Israel's failure to respond to YHWH's actions on her behalf. In contrast, in the Exilic Redactional Composition 2.6b-8 comprises only a third of the reasons for judgment in 2.6b-12[173]; and while I have distinguished between 2.9-10's reasons for judgment, concerning rejection of YHWH's laws despite his actions on Israel's behalf in history, and those of 2.11-12, concerning rejection of the prophets and nazirites, there is in fact similarity and continuity between them, in that they both concern rejection of YHWH rather than mistreatment of fellow human beings. Indeed, the powerful and pressing question in 2.12 "Indeed is this not so, sons of Israel?" can be read as referring not only to its immediate setting in 2.11, but to the whole of 2.9-11 – but not naturally also to 2.6b-8.

It is in keeping with this conclusion that there are no additions within 2.6b-8, and that there is nothing fresh to be said with regard to the identification of "victims" of injustice and "oppressors" in the Exilic Redactional Composition than has been said with regard to the two earlier compositions. However, the expanded reasons for judgment in 2.6-16 in the Exilic Redactional Composition enlarge considerably the theological context in which the reasons for judgment in 2.6b-8 are now to be read.

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[173] In BHS's text, ten lines in 2.9-12 compared to five in 2.6b-8.

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6.4.3 The Theological Basis of the Reasons for Judgment in Amos 2.6-16 in the Exilic Redactional Composition

In 6.2.7 above I concluded that the theological basis of the reasons for judgment in Amos 2.6-16 in the Post-722 Composition was not to be found in any code of legislation or divine instruction, but simply in the recognition that certain kinds of actions were, even if legal, nevertheless unjust and uncompassionate. In section 6.3.5 above I concluded that this basis of judgment was also present in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition, but that in addition some of the practices described were wrong in the sense of being dishonest, and condemned in Israel's wisdom and legal traditions; and that, furthermore, matters were made worse by the rejection of the prophetic word, a rejection in which religious officials shared. A broader theological basis still is found in the Exilic Redactional Composition.

Firstly, there is present in the redactional composition as a whole, through the inclusion of the hymnic verses 4.13; 5.8-9; 9.5-6 an awareness of YHWH as both creator and as judge. While this awareness is not reflected specifically in 2.6-16, it coheres well with the OAN series, of which 2.6-16 is the climax, in affirming that YHWH has both the power and the right to judge all nations, including Israel.

Secondly, the theme of the rejection of the prophets is strengthened in the redactional composition as a whole through the inclusion of 2.11-12, 3.7, and 1.2's linguistic link with 3.8.

Thirdly, the presence of 2.4-5 before 2.6-16 shows that Judah's and Israel's sins arose from their rejection of the law and statutes of YHWH.

Fourthly, the theme of Israel's failure to respond to YHWH's actions on Israel's behalf in the past is expanded through the inclusion of the references to the exodus from Egypt in 2.10 and 3.1b.

In this literary and theological context the wrong actions described in 2.6b-8 are no longer merely actions against human beings: they are actions against the laws of YHWH; they are a failure to respond to his actions on Israel's behalf; and they are a rejection of the words of the prophets. While the Amos-text does not use the word בְּרִית to speak of a relationship between YHWH and Israel[174], the ingredients which make up that concept in exilic Deuteronomistic writings are present in the Exilic Redactional Composition of the Amos-text[175]. While the actions of 2.6b-8 therefore receive less prominence, on the one hand, they receive an increased force on the other through now falling within the kind of behaviour which contributes to the breaking of the (covenant-) relationship between YHWH and Israel: and the maintaining or rebuilding of such a (covenant-) relationship will entail the rejection of such practices, and the practice of righteousness and justice (5.24).

In 5.3.3 above I showed how Bright, in successive editions of his *History of Israel*, in his section on Amos, moved from referring in the first edition (1960) to "the Mosaic covenant" and "the exodus tradition" as one and the same, and as comprehending "covenant law" within it, as the basis of Amos's reasons for judgment, to a much more cautious use of words in the second edition (1972) and in subsequent editions, whereby recognition was made that the existence of such an all-embracing concept of a covenant between YHWH and Israel might not have been present in the eighth century. The present study now shows that the concept of a בְּרִית-relationship between Israel and YHWH need not be discarded in the interpretation of the Amos-text. However, it is in interpretation of the Exilic Redactional Composition that it may be brought into play, and not in the earlier compositions underlying the text.

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[174] It is present in 1.9 in a different sense.

[175] It will be apparent that I am persuaded by the arguments of those who do not consider such a concept to have been widespread before the exilic period. That is not to say that it was non-existent prior to that time, but rather that "while the deuteronomist may not have been original in using covenant ideas and probably also terminology….. these ideas did get powerful reinforcement through the work of the deuteronomist. It is now that covenant becomes almost the exclusive category by which Israel's relationship with God might be described" (Mayes *Deuteronomy* p. 68; which, I admit, is a somewhat random choice of one among many scholarly works which could have been chosen to illustrate this view).

6.4.4 The Rhetorical Effect of the Reasons for Judgment in Amos 2.6-16 in the Exilic Redactional Composition

The increased number of times in which "Judah" is explicitly named in the Exilic Redactional Composition makes the Amos-text more explicitly a book for Judean exiles in Babylon. Any hope that YHWH's judgment might have fallen on northern Israel, but that the Amos-text need not be a warning to Judah, was dashed by the fall of Jerusalem in 587. In exile "Israel" had to cease to think of itself as a political entity, and become, rather, a religious community[176]. What might have been the rhetorical effect of the Amos-text in that situation?

Firstly, just as the Post-722 Composition had functioned as theodicy with regard to 722, so the Exilic Redactional Composition did with regard to 587: the fall of Jerusalem did not, this redactional composition suggested, mean that YHWH was unjust or uncaring towards his people, nor that he was powerless in the face of foreign armies: rather the Amos-text offered reasons why YHWH had allowed Judah, too, to be overcome by her enemies. Those reasons included the mistreatment of the weak by the powerful, of which the earlier compositions had spoken, and of which the Exilic Redactional Composition continued to speak; the ignoring of the laws of YHWH in the so-called Book of the Covenant and Deuteronomy; a failure to respond to YHWH's actions on Israel's behalf in her history, as preserved in her memory of being brought up from Egypt; and in her rejection of YHWH's word through the prophets. Those responsible for the Exilic Redactional Composition sought to provide an explanation for the disaster of 587, namely that YHWH had justly judged his people. The (perlocutionary) response of sympathetic hearers/readers might have been that "This text convinces us of the justice of YHWH's actions towards us".

In respect of its aim of presenting the justice of YHWH, the Exilic Redactional Composition is – to borrow the words of Jeremias referred to in the first chapter of

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[176] The change of "Israel" from nation to a religious community of YHWH-worshippers is charted in G W Ahlström *Who were the Israelites?*, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, 1986, pp. 101-118.

this study – "a theological book through and through". Is it also, as this study has argued with regard to the two earlier compositions, a "tractate of social criticism"? I have argued that the verses 2.6b-8 which speak of injustice and mistreatment of the poor are simultaneously weakened through being overshadowed by the additional verses 2.10-12 which, with 2.9, bring forward Israel's election traditions and the rejection of the prophets and nazirites as reasons for judgment, and are also strengthened by being placed in a literary theological context in which they themselves become part of the response of Israel that YHWH seeks. The perlocutionary response of a sympathetic reader might therefore be: "I can see that if YHWH's covenant with us is to be restored, then I/we must seek to obey all the laws and statutes that YHWH has given, and must listen to YHWH's words through the prophets; one of the ways in which we must follow YHWH's laws and statutes, and the words of the prophets, is to avoid the injustices and oppression which led to his judgment on us in the fall of Jerusalem". To that degree, the Amos-text remains a "tractate of social criticism" in the Exilic Redactional Composition.

6.5 Amos 2.6-16 in the Post-exilic Redactional Composition

I shall consider three issues relating to the Post-exilic Redactional Composition of the Amos-text: (1) the addition of 2.7bβ to 2.6-16; (2) the effect of the addition of the words of promise in 9.11-15 on the interpretation of the Amos-text as a whole, and the reasons for judgment in 2.6-16 in particular; and (3) the effect on interpretation of 2.6-16 of probable semantic change in the terms דַּלִּים, אֶבְיוֹן, צַדִּיק and עֲנָוִים.

6.5.1 Amos 2.7b in the Post-exilic Redactional Composition

| וְאִישׁ וְאָבִיו יֵלְכוּ אֶל־הַנַּעֲרָה | and a man and his father go to the same[a] girl, |
| לְמַעַן חַלֵּל אֶת־שֵׁם קָדְשִׁי | to profane my holy name. |

(a) As noted in consideration of 2.7bα in the Post-722 Composition, the word "same" is added into the English translation in order to give the sense of the saying.

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In treating 2.7b in the Post-722 Composition in 6.2.4.3 above, I did not comment on the suggestion either that הַנַּעֲרָה was a girl involved in sacred prostitution; or, as Barstad has proposed, the hostess at a *marzēa*□. I did not do so because both possibilities rest on the assumption that 2.7bβ was part of the Post-722 Composition, which I do not consider to be the case[177]. Nevertheless, for the sake of completeness, I shall consider these possibilities now, in order to refute them and reaffirm my view that 2.7bβ should indeed be considered as an addition to 2.6-16 in the Post-exilic Redactional Composition.

The possibility that the reference here is to a practice of cultic prostitution was held by many commentators of the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth century[178]. R A Oden gives the example of W Robertson Smith, who wrote that "the temples of the Semitic deities were thronged with sacred prostitutes"[179]. In reaction to the prevalence of this view, Oden argues that in fact there is no evidence for the practice of sacred prostitution in the Ancient Near East, and that evidence for it in the writings of Herodotus, Strabo and others is neither contemporaneous with supposed Canaanite practices, nor objective. It can, he suggests, be investigated as an *accusation* found in texts such as Hosea 4.14 and Deuteronomy 23.18-19 (17-18), the alleged practice giving grounds for the total rejection and extermination of the Canaanites, but there is no evidence for its actual practice. "Since", he writes, "the practice of sacred prostitution is claimed for Israel's neighbors and then denounced in the Hebrew Bible, biblical scholars have generally extended precisely this view"[180]. More recently Day[181] has

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[177] For my reasons, see section 6.1 above.

[178] Fuhs "נער *na'ar*" p. 484 n. 68 lists the commentaries on Amos of Marti (1904), Sellin (²1930), Weiser (⁶1974), Robinson (³1964), and Fosbroke *IB* Vol VI (1951). Additionally we may note, among others, Harper p. 51 who considers it a possibility; Cripps p. 142; Hammershaimb *Amos* p. 48; Mays p. 46 who considers it a possibility.

[179] R A Oden *The Bible Without Theology*, Harper & Row, San Francisco, 1987, Chapter 5 pp. 131-153 "Religious Identity and the Sacred Prostitution Accusation"; the quotation is on p. 135 and is from W Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, Schocken, New York, 1972 (first published 1889), p 455.

[180] Oden *Bible Without Theology* p. 153.

[181] J Day "Does the Old Testament Refer to Sacred Prostitution and Did it Actually Exist in Ancient Israel?", in C McCarthy and J F Healey (eds) *Biblical and Near Eastern Essays. Studies in*

demonstrated that the Hebrew Bible certainly appears to assume the practice: the terms זֹנוֹת ("prostitutes") and קְדֵשׁוֹת (generally translated as "temple prostitutes") appear as synonyms in Hosea 4.14; Dt 23.18-19 (17-18); and, significantly, in the non-polemical narrative of Genesis 38.15, 21-22; and he notes that the ancient versions support the interpretation of these texts in this way. He also notes[182] that evidence of the practice of sacred prostitution in the Ancient Near East provided by G Wilhelm[183] has been accepted by the noted Assyriologist W G Lambert[184]. Crucially, however, with regard to Amos 2.7, Day rightly points out that it does not refer to either זוֹנָה or קְדֵשָׁה, and he considers it unlikely that it refers to sacred prostitution[185]. Paul[186], Andersen and Freedman[187], Jeremias[188] and Coggins[189] all state quite clearly, and correctly, that there are no grounds for seeing a reference to sacred prostitution in this text[190].

Barstad does not consider that there is evidence of the practice of sacred prostitution in the Ancient Near East[191] and, more controversially, rejects any mention of it in the Hebrew Bible[192]. This, however, requires some unsatisfactory argument. For example, he has to take Deuteronomy 23.19 (18) as having no connection with Deuteronomy 23.18 (17), despite their obvious closeness; and with regard to Genesis 38 he writes simply that "I cannot fully explain this

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Honour of Kevin J Cathcart, JSOTSup 375, T & T Clark International, London and New York, 2004, pp. 2-21.

[182] Day "Sacred Prostitution" p. 15.

[183] G Wilhelm "Marginalien zu Herodot: *Klio* 199", in I T Abusch, J Huehnergard and P Steinkiller (eds) *Lingering Over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L Moran*, Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1990 pp. 505-524 (not seen by me).

[184] W G Lambert "Prostitution" in V Haas (ed) *Aussenseiter und Randgruppen: Beiträge zu einer Sozialgeschichte des alten Orients*, Xenia: Konstanzer althistorische Vorträge und Forschungen 32, Universitätsverlag, Konstanz, 1992 pp. 127-157 (not seen by me).

[185] Day "Sacred Prostitution" p. 9.

[186] Paul p. 81.

[187] Andersen and Freedman p. 318.

[188] Jeremias p. 37.

[189] Coggins p. 103.

[190] It would, of course, not be necessary to establish that sacred prostitution was actually practised in order to see a reference to it in Amos 2.7: it would suffice to establish that the *accusation* that it was practised is found in the Hebrew Bible. This does not, however, alter the conclusion that in fact that accusation is not present in this text.

[191] Barstad *Religious Polemics* pp. 22-26.

[192] Barstad *Religious Polemics* pp. 26-33.

circumstance"[193]. While this is commendable honesty, it does not inspire confidence in his argument.

The proposal of Barstad is that the נַעֲרָה of Amos 2.7 is the hostess at a *marzēa*□[194]. The word מַרְזֵחַ occurs only twice in the Hebrew Bible: in Amos 6.7 and Jeremiah 16.5. However, Ugaritic texts (in which Fabry states that there are fifteen occurrences of it[195]) indicate that it was "a religio-cultic institution the purpose of which is to seek and achieve communion with a patron deity, whose name is sometimes associated with the observance"[196]. Fabry and Barstad also note references to it in Aramaic (Elephantine), Nabatean, Phoenician and Palmyrean texts[197]. A fuller exploration of the *marzēa*□ has been undertaken by McLaughlin[198]. He surveys the extra-biblical references to it, and discerns four features constitutive of it: (1) It had a definable upper-class membership; (2) there was a religious connection; (3) it involved the consumption of alcohol; (4) in the majority of references there are (contrary to suggestions often made) no funerary elements. McLaughlin considers that these essential elements of the *marzēa*□ are present in Amos 6.1, 3-7 and probably also in 4.1[199], but that the third element – consumption of alcohol – is not mentioned in 2.7c-8, and therefore these verses cannot be seen as having any *marzēa*□ reference. Additionally, he notes that "a female *marzēa*□ hostess is unattested for the *marzēa*□ elsewhere…… problems with much of Barstad's argument call his conclusion into question"[200]. Additionally he rightly criticizes Barstad for deliberately treating 2.7c-8 in isolation from 2.6-7b when in fact "the theme of social justice predominates throughout Amos 2.6-8 as the primary focus of the prophet's critique"[201].

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[193] Barstad *Religious Polemics* p. 31.
[194] Barstad *Religious Polemics* p. 33.
[195] H-J Fabry "מַרְזֵחַ *marzēa*□", *TDOT Vol IX*, pp. 10-15.
[196] Fabry "מַרְזֵחַ *marzēa*□" p. 11.
[197] Fabry "מַרְזֵחַ *marzēa*□" pp. 12-13; Barstad *Religious Polemics* pp. 130-135.
[198] J L McLaughlin *The Marzēa*□ *in the Prophetic Literature*, VTSup LXXXVI, Brill, Leiden · Boston · Köln, 2001.
[199] McLaughlin *Marzēa*□ pp. 80-119.
[200] McLaughlin *Marzēa*□ p. 124.
[201] McLaughlin *Marzēa*□ p. 122.

Most probably the ritual allusion entered the text in the Post-exilic Redactional Composition. Wolff takes the phrase לְמַעַן חַלֵּל אֶת־שֵׁם קָדְשִׁי as an addition dependent on the language of Ezekiel (20.39; 36.20-22) and the Holiness Code (Leviticus 20.3; 22.2, 32)[202], as does Jeremias[203]. None of these texts sees sexual conduct as leading to profanation of YHWH's name: in Ezekiel 20.39 it is the serving of idols; in Ezekiel 36.20-22 it is the generalized "ways and deeds" (verse 16) of the people; in Leviticus 20.3 it is the offering of children to Molech; in Leviticus 22.2 it refers to the importance of correct handling of sacred donations; and Leviticus 22.32 is a generalized commandment not to profane YHWH's name. Additional to the references cited by Wolff is Leviticus 18.21, which includes the words תְחַלֵּל אֶת־שֵׁם אֱלֹהֶיךָ: the action which might do so is, as in Leviticus 20.3, the sacrificing of children to Molech, but in this case the surrounding verses concern sexual relations. The fact that the profanation of YHWH's name is not, in Ezekiel or Leviticus, caused directly by inappropriate sexual relations suggests that there is not direct dependence of Amos 2.7b on any of these texts, but rather that the addition was made in a time when the phrase was a familiar one. This strengthens the case for taking this addition to belong to the Post-exilic Redactional Composition rather than to the Exilic Redactional Composition.

The effect of the addition is to give yet a further reason for not exploiting the weak, namely that YHWH's name will be profaned. This bringing together of priestly language with prophetic accusation adds an additional, new religious basis to the reason for judgment in Amos 2.7b.

6.5.2 The Addition of Amos 9.11-15

It is noteworthy that these verses pick up vocabulary and phraseology from other verses of the Amos-text in order to reverse the effect of those verses. Thus, most obviously, 9.11 uses vocabulary from 5.2: YHWH says in 9.11 that "I will raise up" (אָקִים) the booth of David that is "fallen" (הַנֹּפֶלֶת) and "I will raise up" (אָקִים)

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[202] Wolff pp. 132-3, textual note p.
[203] Jeremias p. 38.

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its ruins, which reverses 5.2 in which maiden Israel is "fallen" (נָפְלָה) no more "to rise" (קוּם), with no one to "raise her up" (מְקִימָהּ). Similarly, 9.14 functions as a direct thematic reversal of 5.11. It is likely also that the וְשַׁבְתִּי אֶת־שְׁבוּת of 9.14 is intended to function as a reversal of the לֹא אֲשִׁיבֶנּוּ of the oracles against the nations series, including the oracles against Judah and Israel; and that the לֹא יִנָּתְשׁוּ עוֹד מֵעַל אַדְמָתָם of 9.15 reverses the going into exile מֵעַל אַדְמָתוֹ of 7.11 and 7.17. These specific reversals contribute to the overwhelming overall sense that 9.11-15 reverses and undoes the hard message of 1.1-9.6 as a whole (including, therefore, 2.6-16).

That 9.11-15 is a vision of prosperity and blessing is evident. It needs to be asked, however, whether that vision is as unconditional as a strict reading of 9.11-15 in isolation might suggest. I wish to argue that there is a parallel with the unconditional announcement of judgment in a unit such as 2.6-16. From the Post-722 Composition onwards, there had been in the Amos-text both unconditional announcements of judgment, and the invitation to seek YHWH and live, which can only be held together if the reader assumes that the unconditional announcements of judgment in fact assume, for the present generation, an unspoken "unless you repent" or "unless you seek YHWH". It is entirely likely that readers of the unconditional announcement of future blessing in 9.11-15 were equally capable of assuming, and, indeed, likely to assume, an unspoken "unless you lapse into the unjust and exploitative ways of life that brought about YHWH's previous judgments". It is significant that the unconditional promise of blessing is attached to the Amos-text, and is clearly meant to be read in the light of it. To repeat a quotation from Houston cited in 6.2.8 above, "few readers, in ancient or in modern times, could fail to understand *themselves* as called to do justice and thereby avoid the fate of Israel"[204]; and that includes readers of the Post-exilic Redactional Composition of the Amos-text, with its promise of future blessing in its closing verses[205].

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[204] Houston *Contending* p. 59 (his italics).
[205] That debt-slavery continued to be a problem in the post-exilic period – at least as far as the time of Nehemiah is concerned – is evident from Nehemiah 5.1-13.

Amos 2.6-16, therefore, along with other units in 1.1-9.6, carries forward from the Exilic Redactional Composition into the Post-exilic Redactional Composition its descriptions of unjust practices, and the theological bases on which the immorality of those practices rests. An additional theological consideration in this latest redactional composition is that YHWH has promised future blessing for his people, but that the fulfilment of the promise could be jeopardized if practices such as those described in Amos 2.6-16 persisted.

6.5.3 The Effect on the Interpretation of Amos 2.6-16 of Semantic Change in the terms צדיק, אביון, דלים and ענוים

The semantic range of terms can and does change over time, and there is good reason to think that this happened with regard to these terms. Gillingham surveys the use of these terms in the psalms, and finds that "the *dallîm* are simply any within the community who lack physical means, and who, regardless of any moral or spiritual qualities, receive God's protection as it is expressed through the community's care.......*'ebyōn* can be used in the Psalms to refer not only to a physical state, but also to a moral and spiritual quality.......*'ani* is used in the Psalter to cover a wide range of meaning. It can apply to the nation, mainly with respect to its physical suffering and humiliation. It can also apply to those within the community who are humbled through all kinds of material oppression, and in these cases, it depicts not only the physical suffering, but also a poverty of spirit which demonstrates the psalmist's complete dependence upon God....*'anaw* is used to describe poverty in both physical and spiritual terms, in the context of both national and individual need, and is therefore not used differently from the other terms above"[206]. While the dating of particular psalms is not always easy, it is demonstrable that the use of these terms with a religious significance, in which the meek and poor are those who cry out to YHWH and are heard and favoured by him, is more evident in psalms generally held to be exilic and post-exilic. An example is Psalm 37, of which Kraus writes that it "should be dated relatively

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[206] "The Poor in the Psalms", *ExpT* 100, 1988-89, pp. 16-19.

late" in the post-exilic period[207], and Gerstenberger that "in the postexilic age there were congregations of the poor and of those concerned about the oppressed….. These congregations held worship services and read psalms such as Psalm 37"[208]. Verses 10-14 contain reference to עֲנָוִים, צַדִּיק, and עָנִי וְאֶבְיוֹן (i.e. to all the terms in Amos 2.6-7 apart from דַּלִּים); and their semantic range in the context of the psalm is clearly wide, embracing connotations of socio-economic poverty, ethical righteousness, and religious and pietistic significance. There is every reason, then, to assume that when the Amos-text was read/heard in the post-exilic period, this wide semantic range of meaning was attached to the vocabulary of 2.6-7.

Levin pushes matters further in proposing that the Amos-text should be read as one belonging to and formed by those in the third and second centuries who thought of themselves as עֲנָוִים[209]. In such groups, he suggests, poverty came to be viewed not as an evil, but as part of a desirable spiritual condition: "Armut war für die Frömmigkeit der Spätzeit ein wichtiger Teil ihres Selbstverständnisses…… Solche gesuchte Armut ist der Fruchte des Gehorsams gegen den Willen Gottes und läβt auch gegebene Armut als Anzeichen besonderer Gottesnähe verstehen"[210]. I do not consider that Levin is correct in attributing the origin of 2.6-8, 4.1-2, 5.11-12 and 8.4-6 to this late period: however, I accept and agree that from the exilic period onwards these terms, and the related terms found in the Amos-text, underwent semantic development; and I agree that this has implications for interpretation of the Amos-text, not least in terms of who might be deemed to be those responsible for the production and promulgation of the redactional compositions underlying the present text. In the earlier redactional compositions it is unlikely that those poor enough to be selling themselves or family members as debt-slaves had any part at all in the literary processes that produced the Amos-text; presumably these would have been undertaken by people

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[207] H-J Kraus *Psalms 1-59. A Commentary*, Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, 1988, p. 404.
[208] E Gerstenberger *Psalms Part I*, FOTL XIV, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1988, p. 160.
[209] Levin "Das Amosbuch der Anawim" pp. 407-436.
[210] Levin "Amosbuch der Anawim" pp. 411-2.

materially better off, but sympathetic to the plight of the poor[211]. However, if in the post-exilic period there were those who were not poor in socio-economic terms, but who viewed themselves as the "righteous poor" in religious terms[212], then there is the definite likelihood that some of these people took an interest in the preservation and development of the Amos-text[213].

This likelihood is reinforced by the presence, in the material new to the Post-exilic Redactional Composition, of 9.9-10, which, for the first and only time in the Amos-text, makes a distinction between all the חַטָּאֵי עַמִּי who will die by the sword, and others, presumably the righteous poor, who will not. It is significant that these verses immediately precede the promise of YHWH's future blessing in 9.11-15: the time of blessing will obviously not be for those who die by the sword, but for the righteous poor who are preserved. This distinction between the "sinners of my people" and the "righteous poor" represents a major theological shift within the Amos-text.

6.5.4 Victims and Oppressors in the Post-exilic Redactional Composition

In the light of the previous section, the oppressors become, in the Post-exilic Redactional Composition those who, it is perceived, oppose and oppress the "righteous poor"; while the victims are the righteous poor themselves. For the righteous poor, the judgment of YHWH is now something to look forward to, since it is the חַטָּאֵי עַמִּי who will be judged, so that the righteous poor may enjoy the future blessing promised. In this composition the actions described in 2.6b-8, the neglect of YHWH's goodness described in 2.9-10, and the rejection of the

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[211] As Coote p. 100 writes, "Think of the long-range planning that went into executing this composition, the leisure time it required, and who fed, clothed, and sheltered the author during his work". Houston *Contending* p. 72 also quotes these words.

[212] That those not materially poor could come to think of themselves as, nevertheless, belonging to the "righteous poor" is shown by the Matthean Beatitude, "Blessed are the poor in spirit", which is a logical sequitur of this development: the word "poor" need not, in this context, entail any element of material poverty.

[213] Such semantic change in the meaning of words would hardly have a specific, dateable starting-point, and it is likely that such a process began, or was already under way, in the exilic period. However, I have chosen to consider its significance in the Post-exilic Redactional Composition on the grounds that it is only then that we can be reasonably confident that it would have affected the interpretation of the Amos-text.

prophets in 2.11-12 become reasons for judgment of the חַטָּאֵי עַמִּי who will die by the sword (9.10).

Within the Post-exilic Redactional Composition as a whole, the reasons for judgment in 2.6-16 continue to contribute to the text's force as a "tractate of social criticism". An important reason for the YHWH's judgment remains social injustice, and the mistreatment of the (righteous) poor by the powerful (sinners).

6.5.5 The Theological Basis of the Reasons for Judgment in Amos 2.6-16 in the Post-exilic Redactional Composition

In 6.4.3 above I expressed the view that, while the Exilic Redactional Composition did not use the word בְּרִית to speak of a relationship between YHWH and Israel, nevertheless the essential elements of that concept, as found in exilic Deuteronomistic writings, was present. In the post-exilic period that understanding of Israel's relationship with YHWH became widespread, and the Post-exilic Redactional Composition would, I believe, have been naturally interpreted in the light of it. The theological basis of the reasons for judgment is, therefore, that Israel has broken the terms of the בְּרִית for the reasons described in 2.6-12. Within those reasons there is now the reason, not present in earlier redactional compositions, that the sexual relations described in 2.7 profaned YHWH's holy name.

A further theological consideration is that, in 9.11-15, YHWH promises a future of prosperity and blessing, and that this promise could be in jeopardy if the actions seen as reasons for judgment of 2.6-16 persisted.

<u>6.5.6 The Rhetorical Effect of the Description of the Reasons for Judgment in Amos 2.6-16 in the Post-exilic Redactional Composition</u>

The Post-exilic Redactional Composition, like the Exilic Redactional Composition, aims to promote obedience to the laws and statutes of YHWH, and this included not taking advantage of the poor. Additionally this redactional composition urges its readers to support and join those who consider themselves to be the "righteous poor", and not to be among the sinners of YHWH's people who will perish.

A sympathetic reader might, therefore make a (perlocutionary) response such as: "I can see that obedience to the laws and statutes of YHWH entails a just and compassionate treatment of the poor. YHWH promises that the righteous poor will, one day, share in a time of prosperity and blessing, and that I/we must join the company of righteous poor, avoiding all the actions in 2.6-12 which led to his judgment in our past, and not jeopardizing the future blessing by neglecting YHWH's law or his word through the prophets".

<u>6.6 Conclusion</u>

This chapter has investigated and interpreted the reasons for judgment in Amos 2.6-16 in each of the redactional compositions which I have identified as underlying the Amos-text. It has shown that there is interpretative development within each of the three later redactional compositions, both from additions within 2.6-16 and from each new literary context to which the unit belongs, but that in no case are understandings of earlier redactional compositions undermined: rather, they are, in each case, incorporated into the theological framework of the new redactional composition.

The final chapter of this study will summarise the findings of this chapter, and draw some conclusions.

Chapter 7: Summary and Conclusions

This study has been a redaction-critical study of Amos 2.6-16, with a particular emphasis on the interpretation of the reasons for judgment within it.

<u>7.1 Summary</u>

After a brief introductory first chapter, the second chapter described the redaction-critical methodology employed. I stated my intention to use a *positive* redaction criticism, which does not view later material negatively as "secondary" or "inauthentic", but which seeks to interpret every redactional layer underlying the text. I also stated that this is a *literary* study: it has not been my aim to move "behind" the text in order to discover the "historical Amos", and where, on occasion, I have referred to the presence of probable oral sayings behind a literary unit, it has been with the aim of aiding interpretation of the literary unit. I explained my choice of terminology, in which I describe the earliest literary text as the "Post-722 Composition", and three subsequent versions of the text as "redactional compositions".

In the third chapter I set out my arguments for the identification of four redactional compositions underlying the Amos text: the Post-722 Composition, the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition, the Exilic Redactional Composition and the Post-exilic Redactional Composition. I drew heavily on the significant and influential works of Wolff and Jeremias, either or both of whom I followed at many (although not all) points.

The fourth chapter described the structural, linguistic and thematic coherence of each of the redactional compositions. My aims in doing so were (1) to confirm the likelihood that that these redactional compositions had, indeed, existed; and (2) to note structural markers and significant thematic perspectives of the composition as a whole which would be of relevance in the interpretation of Amos 2.6-16. I stressed the importance of interpreting each redactional composition not only on

the basis of new material within it, but rather recognising that both inherited and new material constitute the new text.

In the fifth chapter I considered two particular issues pertinent to the interpretation of Amos 2.6-16. I investigated the relationship between Amos 2.8 and Exodus 22.25-26 (26-27) and Deuteronomy 24.10-18, concluding that the so-called Book of the Covenant, in which Exodus 22.25-26 (26-27) is found, was roughly contemporaneous with the Post-722 Composition of the Amos-text, and that there was, therefore, no literary dependence either way; and that the verses in Deuteronomy 24 post-dated both. I examined the inclusion in Amos 2.6-16 of election traditions in 2.9-12, and concluded that, while 2.9 was part of the Post-722 Composition, 2.10-12 were additions in the Exilic Redactional Composition.

Chapter 6 contained an exegesis of the reasons for judgment in Amos 2.6-16 within the redactional compositions identified. Attention was paid to who were identified by the text as "victims", and who as "oppressors". I investigated the theological basis on which reasons for judgment were given, and considered the rhetorical effect of the unit in each composition. My findings with regard to each redactional composition were as follows:

The Post-722 Composition
(1) When examined closely, most of the reasons for judgment in 2.6b-8 are in fact quite generalised, while having the common thread of lack of compassion for the weak; and there is a deliberate *ambiguity and openness* in the text.
(2) Similarly, the identity of the victims is not closely defined: the צַדִּיק is one who has not committed any offence (other than being in debt), and the דַּלִּים, אֶבְיוֹן, צַדִּיק and עֲנָוִים are in socio-economic need.
(3) Again, the text does not closely define identity of the oppressors, and Jeremias's description as "various circles of perpetrators" is an entirely fair description of them.

(4) The theological basis of the reasons for judgment in 2.6b-8 is that the actions of the oppressors, while not illegal, were simply in some general moral sense "wrong", in the same way as were the actions of the foreign nations in the series of OAN.

(5) Amos 2.9 gives a further reason for judgment, namely a failure to respond to YHWH's actions on Israel's behalf in destroying the Amorites.

(6) The rhetorical effect of Amos 2.6-16 is to convince (a) that YHWH's judgment of Israel was just, in the light of the reasons for judgment given; and (b) that those living in Judah needed to avoid similar wrong actions in order to avoid a similar judgment of YHWH on them.

The Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition

(1) The reasons for judgment in Amos 2.6b-8 retain the openness and ambiguity of those in the Post-722 Composition, except that in this redactional composition the naming of religious officials among the "oppressors" makes the accusations of 2.8 more specific.

(2) Amos 8.4-7 reinterprets 2.6b-7, and in so doing specifies dishonest business practices as a reason for judgment, thus taking the generalised accusations of 2.6b-7 and applying them to a specific realm of activity.

(3) The inclusion of 7.9-17 brings into this composition rejection of the prophetic word as a reason for YHWH's actions in judgment; while this theme is not directly reflected in 2.6-16, the additions in 2.8 provide a link with 7.9-17 through the sanctuary at Bethel.

(4) The theological basis of the reasons for judgment include those of the Post-722 Composition; and additionally, 8.4-6 refers to actions widely condemned in Israel's wisdom and legal traditions.

(5) The rhetorical effect of Amos 2.6-16 in the Late Pre-exilic Redactional Composition is similar to that of the unit in the Post-722 Composition. Additionally the text aims to convince that the religious officials at local altars and at Bethel could be trusted neither to avoid injustice, nor to hear and respond to YHWH's word through the prophets.

(1) The reasons for judgment in this redactional composition are considerably enlarged by the addition of 2.10-12. They are of three kinds: 2.6b-8 concern mistreatment of the weak; 2.9-10 concern Israel's failure to respond to YHWH's saving actions in her history; and 2.11-12 concern Israel's rejection of the prophets and nazirites. The unit now contains more verses about Israel's rejection of YHWH and his prophets (2.9-12) than about mistreatment of the poor (2.6b-8). Judah is clearly included in YHWH's judgment.

(2) The theological basis of the reasons for judgment is considerably enlarged in this redactional composition. As both creator and judge, YHWH has the right to judge the nations (Chapters 1 and 2) and his own people. Israel's failure to respond to YHWH's saving actions on her behalf in history, failure to keep YHWH's laws and statutes, and rejection of the prophets together form a strong theological basis of the accusations: while the term בְּרִית is not used of the relationship between YHWH and Israel, the central elements of the Deuteronomistic "covenant" concept are present. While the accusations of social injustice are, in terms of length of text, overshadowed, they in fact receive, in this redactional composition, a broader theological basis.

(3) The rhetorical effect of 2.6-16, now preceded by 2.4-5, is to convince that YHWH's judgment of Judah in 587 was just; and that, if there was to be any hope of restoration, then the prophets must be heeded, and YHWH's laws and statutes – including those concerning the weak – must be obeyed.

The Post-exilic Redactional Composition

(1) The reasons for judgment in 2.6b-8 now include as an added reason that the action of a man and his father going into the same girl profanes YHWH's name. This suggests that in this period different streams of tradition were influencing one another.

(2) The addition of 9.11-15 to the Amos text creates an additional theological basis of the reasons for judgment in 2.6-16, as in other units of the text: YHWH has

promised future prosperity and blessing, and persistence in the very actions and attitudes that had brought his judgment before could jeopardize this.

(3) As semantic change in the terms צַדִּיק, אֶבְיוֹן, דַּלִּים and עֲנָוִים became widespread, the Amos-text was owned by those who saw themselves as the "righteous poor", who looked forward to the day when as part of bringing them his promised blessing, YHWH would judge the חַטָּאֵי עַמִּי.

(4) The rhetorical effect of the reasons for judgment in 2.6-16 is to persuade of the need to support and join the "righteous poor", and to avoid the kind of injustice, neglect of YHWH and rejection of the prophets that had led to YHWH's judgment for previous generations.

7.2 Significance of This Study

This study is significant for a number of reasons:

Firstly, the use of redaction-critical methodology has allowed interpretation of each of the redactional compositions underlying the Amos-text, showing that, while final form studies have an important place in Hebrew Bible scholarship, redaction-critical studies also continue to have such a place.

Secondly, the study has taken account of several developments in Hebrew Bible scholarship of the last thirty years: (1) whereas, in the mid-twentieth-century, many scholars read the Amos-text in an eighth-century context, and assumed that the concept of a בְּרִית between YHWH and Israel was something already known, and within which the prophet Amos stood, such confidence has, more recently, crumbled; (2) similarly, whereas it used to be assumed that the laws of the so-called Book of the Covenant were ancient – pre-monarchic, many considered – I have accepted, with more recent scholarship, that they cannot, in all probability, be assumed to have been part of Israel's literature before the late eighth century, and are probably contemporaneous with the Post-722 Composition of the Amos-text; (3) whereas older studies often attempted to reach behind the text to the "historical Amos" (and sometimes labelled parts of the text that it was felt could not be

attributed to him as "secondary" or "inauthentic"), I have followed a literary approach, and have accorded value to interpretation of each stage of the text's development. In so doing, I have shown that the trends and developments in Hebrew Bible scholarship of the last thirty years in no way diminish exegetical insights from the Amos-text: I have shown that, on the contrary, the unit Amos 2.6-16 had significance in each of the centuries in which the redactional compositions underlying the Amos-text were produced, and that it can be meaningfully interpreted in the literary context of each.

Thirdly, I have disputed the unnecessary dichotomy of Jeremias between the Amos-book as a theological book and as a "tractate of social criticism", and have shown that Amos 2.6-16 (as other parts of the Amos-text) can justifiably be described both as theological and as a tractate of social criticism; and that in the very redactional compositions (i.e. the Exilic Redactional Composition and the Post-exilic Redactional Composition) in which the elements of social criticism seem, in terms of length of text, to be overshadowed by more "theological" reasons for judgment, in fact those reasons for judgment provide a stronger theological basis for the unit's social criticism.

7.3 Areas for Future Study

It may justifiably be pointed out that in the Hebrew Bible the Amos-text forms part of the Book of the Twelve: why, then, stop at interpreting Amos 2.6-16 in the Post-exilic Redactional Composition underlying the Amos-text, and not proceed to an interpretation of it in the literary context of the Book of the Twelve, including probable sub-collections of the Book of the Twelve that underlie it?[1] and indeed, subsequent to that, in the literary context of the prophetic corpus as a whole? and

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[1] On possible sub-collections underlying the Book of the Twelve see, for example, Albertz *Israel in Exile* pp. 204-236, in which he refers to the works of Nogalski and Schart before putting forward his own proposal for the identification of a "Four Prophets Redaction" of the books of Hosea, Amos, Micah and Zephaniah.

of the Hebrew Bible as a whole? and of the Christian Bible?[2]. This is a valid and important point, and it is only the necessary limits of the present study which prevent such a course of action. This therefore remains as an area of potentially fruitful future study.

Further exploration could also be undertaken concerning interpretation of the reasons for judgment in Amos 2.6-16 in the literary contexts in which the Amos-text was received and interpreted in later religious literature[3].

7.4 Conclusion

In all its redactional compositions, the Amos-text is both a theological text and a tractate of social criticism that has inspired many people of religious persuasion to strive for social justice[4]. I hope that this study has shown that it is not only the figure of the historical Amos in the eighth century that can inspire in this way, but that the literary text, the redactional compositions underlying it, and the recognition of the particular contributions of each of them can bring an equal inspiration; for the social inequalities of the twenty-first century CE are no less than those of the eighth and subsequent centuries BCE.

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[2] Gillingham *The Image, the Depths and the Surface* pp. 102-115 makes just this point with regard to Amos 5.21-24: however, as with the present study, it is not possible for her to pursue that investigation within the confines of her study.
[3] Park *Book of Amos* makes a useful start with regard to the Amos-text as a whole.
[4] For example, S Ackerman "Amos 5.18-24", *Interpretation* 57, 2003, pp. 190-3, shows the influence of the Amos-text, and especially Amos 5.18-24, on Martin Luther King Jr.

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