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STUDIES IN BIBLICAL PARALLELISM

PART I.
PARALLELISM IN AMOS

BY
LOUIS I. NEWMAN

PART II.
PARALLELISM IN ISAIAH, CHAPTERS 1-10

BY
WILLIAM POPPER

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
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PART II. PARALLELISM IN ISAIAH, CHAPTERS 1-10

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FOREWORD

The studies presented in these pages are in great measure the result of work done in the University of California in the year 1915-16. They were prompted in the first instance by a desire to arrange for class-room work a suitable text-book with which to introduce students of Hebrew to the prophetic literature. Surely students of no other language must work with texts as full of difficulties as is the most of that literature. Courses in the Prophets often consist mainly of lectures by the instructor offering explanations of linguistic and stylistic abnormalities; so loud is the creaking of the critical apparatus that the student is constantly distracted from any literary appreciation of the text itself. It seemed to me that in preparing a text for students the editor should not only remove those evident errors which even conservative critics admit and which are easily rectified, but he should also wherever there is a great difficulty and a fairly strong presumption of error boldly adopt some satisfactory emendation. It is generally possible to find another and clearer passage in the literature treating of the same subject as does the suspicious passage, expressing what is evidently its intended thought, and offering a basis for emendation in a spirit which the editor can feel sure does no violence to the ancient Hebrew.

After such a treatment of the text of Isaiah had been begun it became evident that whether that prophet regularly delivered his oracles in parallelism or not, the clear preponderance of parallelistic structure therein must preclude the acceptance of any emendation which does not retain or reestablish such a structure. It became clear also that the greatest difficulties in the present text are found just where the parallelism is defective. It seemed a worthy task, therefore, to go further into the subject; reexamine some considerable portion of prophetic literature from this standpoint; consistently apply the test of parallelism to every passage therein, and along the lines suggested by that test seek

some solution for every problem, however difficult. Accordingly while I was myself working at the text of Isaiah, Amos was chosen for a similar study by the Hebrew seminar. The text was analyzed, certain problems were formulated, and a method of possible solution was suggested.

Mr. Newman's article in its first form contained his answers to the questions raised; later it was expanded into a thesis presented for the degree of Master of Arts from this University, though for its final draft Mr. Newman gathered material while he was a student at Columbia University. After his study was almost completed several modifications were made on the basis of George Buchanan Gray's *Forms of Hebrew Poetry*; a reading of this book, however, did not affect Mr. Newman's results materially, except where indicated; its main influence was in the adoption of Gray's system of symbols for the schematization of the parallelism.

While in Mr. Newman's Amos studies the material has been classified by types, in my paper the first five chapters of Isaiah have been studied verse by verse, the Authorized English translation given at the head of each paragraph or stanza discussion, the nature of the parallelism pointed out, and one or several emendations suggested wherever the parallelism either is itself defective or indicates other stylistic defects. In chapters 6-10 only those passages have been treated which are apparently defective or otherwise call for special comment; the parallelism of the remaining portions will be recognized upon reference to the translation of the reconstructed text.

In not a few cases in both the Amos and the Isaiah studies the proposed solution involves a transposition of words and phrases; and as in a recent article in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXXVI (1917), p. 63, dealing with the Book of Hosea, objection is apparently raised to such transpositions in general, a word in justification of this principle of emendation should be said. The copyist of Oriental manuscripts, however careful he may be, sometimes omits not only letters and words, but also phrases and whole sentences; and a later copyist then inserts such marginal or interlinear passages, sometimes in the

wrong place. Moreover, authors themselves sometimes make such corrections and insertions in their own manuscripts, as well as in the manuscripts of other authors (so the Arabic chronicler Ibn Taghri Birdi narrates); I have worked with an Arabic autographic manuscript in which considerable study was sometimes necessary to determine where such insertions were intended to be placed; and different manuscripts of the same Arabic poem show a variation in the order of lines (for example, see the *University of California Publications in Semitic Philology*, II, 20). In the several hundred years that elapsed between the delivery of the prophecies of Amos and Isaiah and the date at which the written word came to be venerated and the text fixed—centuries which saw a change not only in the form of the alphabet used by the Hebrews but also in the language of their daily speech—it is hard to believe that the manuscripts of those prophecies did not suffer the same vicissitudes which other manuscripts suffered at a much later epoch and in a much shorter space of time. The reader's attention is called particularly to Isaiah 7.8; if he does not believe that this verse has been edited into the text, and at the wrong place—that even if it be retained, it must be transposed—he will have little sympathy for many passages in these studies; but if he accepts the transposition, he must admit the probability of a similar solution in places where form and sense of the text are even more obscure and can be improved thereby. As for the transposition of whole sections from their present sequence, this much is certain: Isaiah did not write his prophecies in the order in which they have been handed down; for if he had done so, the sixth chapter would stand first in the book. Quite probably the prophecies were first written on different pieces of whatever writing material was used and were arranged later, as was the case with the Koran; and there can at least be no objection to transposing chapters into chronological sequence, or any other sequence which helps in an appreciation of the contents. Furthermore, since chapter divisions are known to be late, we may disregard them also in the transposition of sections where internal evidence warrants the change.

The question of successive editions of prophetic literature has been raised several times in the paper on Amos. In studying Isaiah I have touched upon this question but rarely, since in most cases it does not affect the question of parallelism. After an even larger portion of Isaiah has been examined, it will be of interest to determine whether supposed differences of authorship coincide with variations in the nature of the parallelism. Mr. Newman's conclusion that Amos almost invariably uses the couplet structure in parallelism, and my own conclusion that it is possible to find many variations from this simple structure in Isaiah, suggest that there may have been individual preferences in this matter on the part of the Hebrew writers.

My purpose of letting the laws of parallelism suggest emendations has induced me to neglect as far as possible emendations suggested by others; this was not possible, however, in the case of those suggestions recorded in the frequently consulted Brown-Driver-Briggs lexicon; no doubt others of my emendations, also, were in reality due to my previous readings on the subject, and I beg to be pardoned for not tracing them to their sources and for not giving credit where credit may possibly be due.

Typographical difficulties have led to the use of transliteration¹ in place of Hebrew characters in these studies; as this necessitates the insertion of vowels into a text written originally with consonants only, it has the disadvantage that emendations sometimes seem to involve more radical changes than they in reality do. Moreover, for typographical reasons the printing of extensive portions of the reconstructed text has not been attempted, except in the case of the Amos Doom Song; in general the transliteration has been confined to the emended words. In the case of Isaiah I have offered instead a translation of the whole of the reconstructed text. In this translation my purpose was again to emphasize the parallelism. Accordingly absolute

¹ It was not found possible even to follow the system of transliteration generally accepted in the United States to-day; but the student of Hebrew will easily recognize that *ç* represents the Hebrew *çādhē* (dotted *s*); *q* the Hebrew *qāph* (dotted *k*); *χ* the Hebrew *χēth* (dotted *h*); while simple *s* represents the Hebrew *sāmekh* and *šin*, and in a few cases Arabic *sād* (i.e., *çād*). Proper names, however, have in general been left without diacritical marks or accents of any kind; e.g., Hariri instead of Xariri.

literalness has not always been insisted upon; active and passive constructions have sometimes been interchanged; single words expressing the spirit of the original have been used where literalness would have demanded some longer paraphrase; and unimportant particles have sometimes been omitted (e.g., the connective "and") where the meaning was not thereby altered. The attempt has been made also to represent something of the assonance, rhythm, and other stylistic characteristics of the Hebrew, all of which devices have been used in the translation in about the same proportion, though not always at the same point of the couplet, as in the original.

Being convinced, however, that the affinities of Hebrew parallelism are with the prototype of the Arabic *saj'* and not with the classical system of meters, I have not attempted to show exact regularity in the rhythm. Little is known concerning the prophet's method of delivering his oracles. It has been pointed out that *saj'* in Arabic means "the cooing of the dove," and that Isaiah speaks of "wizards that peep and mutter"; it might be added that *ne'um* (applied to the utterance of the prophets in the ecstatic state, and translated "saith") comes from a root meaning in Arabic "to groan or sigh"; that *nābhī* ("prophet") itself comes from a root meaning "to utter a low sound," or "to bark faintly": hence perhaps a very striking instance of paronomasia in Is. 56.10, referring to false prophets, who are "dumb dogs; they cannot bark" (*linbōa*^αχ for *linbō*', just as *hōzīm*, "ravers," in the same sentence is used instead of *χōzīm*, "seers"). But whether Isaiah's ridicule of the "chirping" of wizards implies that the true prophet had some other special vocal method of delivering his oracles, or that he spoke in the method of ordinary speech, is not clear. If the prophets chanted, perhaps, the number of syllables or even of words in a sentence would not be of much importance, for a single syllable might have been held for the length of time normally given to two or more syllables, or two or more syllables or words be spoken in the time, and even with the number of "beats," normally given to one; or a pause or rest might compensate for the absence of a word—this particularly in the case of lines in which some part

of a sentence must be supplied in thought from a preceding line; while the words in a particularly short line, e.g., at the end of certain prophecies, might have been held for special emphasis.

Mr. Newman wishes to express his appreciation for several suggestions (particularly with reference to the relation between primitive parallelism and magical incantations) made by Rabbi Martin A. Meyer of San Francisco, Lecturer in Semitic History in the University of California; for active aid and criticism by Professor Richard Gottheil of the Department of Semitic Languages, Columbia University, New York; and for information furnished by Professor Max Margolis of Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Professor Israel Frielander of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, and Dr. Nahum Slouschz of the Rabbinical College of America.

My thanks are due to several of my colleagues, particularly Professor F. J. Teggart and Professor C. I. Lewis, for suggesting changes in the wording of my translation; likewise to Professor M. Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania, who was in California while these studies were in progress and first suggested to me that they might be worth publishing.

WILLIAM POPPER.

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, June 27, 1917.

[These papers will appear also as a volume of the *Semicentennial Publications of the University of California*, folioed independently, but in addition bearing in brackets the corresponding folios of the present series.]

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PARALLELISM IN AMOS

BY

LOUIS I. NEWMAN

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

ORIGIN OF PARALLELISM

Parallelism in poetry is the expression of universal psychological principles. It is a law of biological life that "‘deep calleth unto deep,’ tree to tree, bird to bird, all the world over.”¹ So in the field of literary expression, thought answers thought and word answers word. For the human mind, richly-stored, rarely contents itself with a single formulation of a theme close to its interests: to express a thought in brief laconic form merely once, does not satisfy it. In prose, the author usually seeks to reaffirm and elaborate his statements either by repetition of favorite phrases, or by the use of new words and expressions; and this is true even more strongly of poetry, the language of feeling. "‘So soon as the heart gives way to its emotions, wave follows upon wave.’"² The poet or prophet in moments of inspiration pours forth metaphors and characterizations of his subject in rich flood. Yet a sense of inner orderliness prevails; the most eloquent prophets are usually most skilled in poetic

¹ Smith, *The Early Poetry of Israel* (London, 1912), p. 16.

² Herder, *The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*; translation by James Marsh (Burlington, 1833), p. 43. Herder gives one of the best analyses of the psychology of parallelism.

forms.³ This feeling for organization and regularity guides the repetition; and though it is possible for the poet to heap up a series of similar statements, as is seen in the most primitive poetry, it will be found that a later process demands ordinarily the use of only two, in couplet structure. Herein a principle of balance seems to enter whereby the poet consciously or unconsciously places one statement opposite to another either synonymous or unlike. Two psychological rules thus appear to interplay: one demanding repetition, in the same or different words, of a special thought; the other demanding orderliness and restricting this repetition to a couplet formation. These two tendencies are apparent in the rise and evolution of primitive poetry.

EVOLUTION OF PARALLELISM

The origin and development of primitive poetry are marked by three great stages: first, indefinite iteration, unchanged, and unvarying; second, incremental repetition; third, artistic parallelism.⁴ Iteration may be designated as the earliest form of poetry; it was communal, the spontaneous expression of emotion, beginning in the crowd, and carried forward and backward without cease, almost under the influence of mob hypnotism. Usually a single verse, a statement of fact, or in the first instance, a fact stated not formally but by repetition of words in a rhythmic period, was the subject of iteration.⁵

Incremental repetition arises when communal mass song is supplemented by the assertion of individual poetic genius. A variation suddenly breaks into the iteration from the lips of a daring singer, moved by an inner impulse. He supplements the stock of communal refrains with those of his own invention. At first, this must have occurred at the end of a long series of iterations, to interrupt the monotony; gradually, the series of

³ Kaplan, *Psychology of Prophecy* (Philadelphia, 1908), p. 60ff. For a clear statement of the psychology of parallelism in its relation to the development of balance and rhythm, see Hupfeld, *Die Psalmen* (Gotha, 1888), II, p. xxviiif.

⁴ See Gummere, *Beginnings of Poetry* (New York, 1901), pp. 208-209.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 250; Gummere cites as examples of iteration the beginnings of the *vocera*, the repeated cries of the Africans, the Fuegians, the Boto-cudos, and other savage peoples.

repetitions must have been shortened by more frequent variations, and finally, the period of complete freedom of variation must have appeared, though this marks a late stage in the development of poetry.⁶

Parallelism marks a third distinct major division in the evolution of ancient poetry. In order to trace the steps through which bald iteration became artistic parallelism, it is necessary to turn to those literatures of antiquity wherein parallelism is most apparent. These divide themselves into two classes: first, the literatures of several non-Semitic peoples, including the Finnish and the Chinese; second, the literatures of several Semitic and Semitically influenced peoples, including the Egyptian, the Sumerian, the Babylonian-Assyrian, the Arabic and the Hebrew. Since the pivot of this study is Hebrew parallelism, investigation into parallelism outside of the Bible will be largely comparative.

Parallelism is so simple a poetic *motif* that it is discoverable in some degree in almost every literature. Isolated couplets can be selected from the Greek,⁷ the Latin, Indian,⁸ Germanic⁹ and Anglo-Saxon¹⁰ literatures. But it is of little value to gather these illustrations from all sides; they merely indicate an obvious fact, namely, that the tendency to express the same thought in varying language is confined to no one group or

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 200-201; Gummere gives illustrations from English ballads (p. 206ff.) and includes therein cases in which the same line or stanza is sung indefinitely, with the use of a new name, number, or fact in each repetition. In songs of lament, labor, triumph, processions, festal refrains, the threefold process of poetic development is present, in almost all literatures.

⁷ See Schleusner, *Dissertatio de parallelismo membrorum egregio interpretationis subsidio* (Leipzig, 1817), p. 11; Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1898), II, 813-824; Schmidt, *Ueber den bau der pindarischen Strophen* (Leipzig, 1882), *passim*.

⁸ Friedrich v. Schlegel professed to have found in the Sanskrit *sloka* a close affinity between the Indian proverb and the Hebrew, though the former is much more regular in its use of four equal measure, eight syllable feet than the free and loose Hebrew structure. *Saemmtliche Werke*; ed. 2 (Vienna, 1846), I, 121-124. Rosenkranz, *Handbuch d. allg. Geschichte d. Poesie* (Halle, 1832), I, 77, finds no basis for this comparison, and therein seems justified; for parallelism plays no rôle in the Sanskrit.

⁹ Wuttke, *Die deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1869), p. 157. He regards parallelism as perhaps the most important formal ethnic thought ("formale Voelkergedanke") in existence. "In forms such as 'Mond nimt zu, Warze nimt ab,' 'Glocken gehen Toten nach, Warzen gehn mit' there lies a genuine and original folk-poetry, a parallel-

assembly of peoples, but is universal. It is imperative, however, to turn to those literatures wherein parallelism is *a* if not *the* dominant poetic law; herein are included Chinese and Finnish poetry, in which even the casual reader at once perceives that parallelism is not merely prevalent, but highly developed, and especially the literatures of the Semitic and Semitically influenced peoples of western Asia, who, it will be shown, adopted the *motif* of parallelism virtually as their own; it appears to have been the common substratum for the literatures of Egypt, Babylonia, Arabia and Judea. Egypt, it is true, failed to attain great heights in its use, and remained on the low levels between iteration, incremental repetition, and parallelism. Arabic literature after maintaining a species of parallelism for centuries, broke away into new fields of poetic forms. Babylonia and Assyria accepted the prevalent literary forms of their Sumerian predecessors, and gave the expansion of parallelism great im-

ism of thought as in Hebrew literature, particularly the Proverbs." Other examples of Germanic parallelism are as follows:

"Wer hat gesehen dass des Boekes Horn zum Himmel reicht?
Wer hat gesehen dass des Kamcels Schwanz zur Erde reicht?"

Or

"Was gedenkst du die Voegel des Himmels zu fängen?
Was gedenkst du die Fische des Meeres zu fangen?"

Or

"Des Menschen Dummheit ist inne,
Des Viehes Buntheit aussen."

(Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der tuerkischen Staemme Sued-Siberiens*, St. Petersburg, 1866, I, 6-7). Also in the Germanic, parallelism is associated with magical formulas:

"In des Hunds Zahn moeg' er schwinden,
In des Wolfs Zahn moeg' er wachsen,
In des Nordes Wind entweichen,
Aus dem Wind hinaus ins Leere."

(*Mythische u. magische Lieder der Ehsten*, St. Petersburg, 1854, p. 87.)

¹⁰ Smith, pp. 14-16. These selections from English folk songs, nursery rhymes and ballads often show rather incremental repetition than parallelism. (Gray, *Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, London, 1915, pp. 38, 128-131.) Longfellow's *Hiawatha* (see below) is perhaps one of the best examples of parallelism in English, but it is an imitation of Finnish structure and hence not native and original. Many English proverbs show the almost universal antithetic parallelism:

"Laugh and the world laughs with you,
Weep and you weep alone."

Or

"To dare to fail is noble,
To fail to dare ignoble."

Parallelism is scattered through Anglo-Saxon and English literature; both, however, are ruled by a completely different literary psychology from the ancient Semitic literatures, and parallelism is never dominant.

petus. The Hebrews, however, the inheritors of a long literary tradition, welcomed parallelism as a national poetic usage; and, in their hands it attained its most notable expression.

NON-SEMITIC PARALLELISM

FINNISH PARALLELISM

Finnish poetry is remarkable for its singular rigidity of form; it is terse and epigrammatic, and derives its style and aroma from a tradition dating back perhaps 3000 years.¹¹ Its two main peculiarities are alliteration, or the rhyme of letters, which is practiced to such a degree that often not only do the words of the same verse begin with the same consonant, as is generally the case in old northern poetry, but also with the same following vowel; and parallelism, or the rhyme of sense. Its similarity in this latter respect to Hebrew poetry has been noted by several investigators;¹² and it is in parallelism, called *runon kerto*, that the Finnish regularity and conciseness demonstrate themselves most notably. "In Finnish the second line of a couplet is nearly always a repetition in other words of its predecessor and stands in apposition to it. If there is no subject or no verb in the second line, this must be understood from the line above, though sometimes it is vice-versa."¹³ Comparetti states the following formulation of the principle: "Every line must contain a complete idea, or a part complete in itself of a greater idea, and this must be repeated in different words in the succeeding line."¹⁴

The law of parallelism influences the outward form of Finnish verse, for it renders almost necessary the rhyme of substantival or verbal endings. Herein is the germ of developed

¹¹ Billson, *Popular Poetry of the Finns* (London, 1900), p. 3. This contains a bibliographical index of works in English, French, and German on Finnish poetry.

¹² Brown, *People of Finland in Archaic Times* (London, 1892), p. 279-280; and others mentioned below, particularly Comparetti, *Traditional Poetry of the Finns*, translated by Isabella M. Anderton (New York, 1898), p. 35; Porthan, *De Poesi Fennica* (Abo, 1766-1778), p. 20.

¹³ Abercromby, "Magic Songs of the Finns," *Folklore* (London, 1890), I, 22; Comparetti, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

rhyme. Comparetti regards parallelism as a primitive *motif*, prior and subordinated to regular metre. His opinions are valuable for a consideration of parallelism in Arabic literature, where an early parallelism seems to have been overlaid by intricate poetical devices. When poetry is in a primitive condition and makes abundant use of parallelism and of consonances and assonances of every kind, then the metrical verse, if it exists, is apt to be roughly indicated, unequal, or variable in length and in the number of its syllables. As soon as metre makes good its claims, imposes number in a measurement of lines, and fixes rhythmical rules based not so much on the quality as on the quantity of sounds, the verse becomes varied, and the law that governs the quality and recurrence is either limited or lost. Alliteration also disappears. Rhyme remains, but no longer as free as in primitive poetry¹⁵; it is linked with the complex laws of metre, and becomes obedient to laws regarding distribution, position and combination of verses. It is important to observe that the Finnic rune follows the eight-syllable trochaic unrhymed measure. This adherence to a constant law may be a sign of the maturity of the poetry. At the same time, Finnish rune knows only this one kind of metre, and has not yet arrived at the stage of producing various forms, as it has not yet learned to group the lines into stanzas, and "has not advanced beyond the use of such primitive, even archaic means as alliteration, free rhymes, parallelism."¹⁶

Parallelism also affects the very substance and ideas of the poem. In lyric poetry, the repetition or the variation in other words of an image or thought does not make for monotony, but as Xavier Marmier has noted, leaves in the mind an impression of indefinable charm, of deep melody, of rich variations of thought; parallelism colors, heightens, multiplies poetic expression, generates emphasis and warmth. In the epic, however, in the narrative, traditional historical poetry, the sameness of verse and the smallness of resource afforded by parallelism prevent the attainment of this lyric warmth, movement, and

¹⁵ In Hebrew poetry, it will be seen that rhyme is accidental and rare.

¹⁶ Comparetti, p. 36.

impetus;¹⁷ instead of sharpening the outlines of the idea, parallelism oftentimes renders it tremulous, undetermined, or generic. Finding no exact synonym or image adapted to repeat an idea, the *laulaja*, or popular singer, substitutes another which he thinks appropriate; hence often the specific idea becomes blurred and is forgotten.¹⁸

This leads to a statement of the probable origin of Finnish parallelism. It may lie in magical incantations, similar perhaps to the Sumerian and Babylonian-Assyrian. The first stage seems to have been mere repetition. Among the Samoyedes, the Shaman or magic-man begins by beating the magic drum, and singing a few words to gloomy awesome music; then another performer of less importance comes in, and they sing the same words together, after which the first remains silent while the second repeats alone what he sang. The song of these Samoyede Shamans consists of a few words, and is almost entirely improvised. Among the Lapps, the magical incantations, spoken in a sing-song manner, accompanied by the roll of the magic drum, betray a rudimentary, oscillating and variable near-metre, a kind of rhythmic prose. The Finnish magical formula in a late period of development, though it was pronounced by one person, still contains much repetition. In short, while the evidence is not entirely clear, the earliest origins of Finnish parallelism may be traced back to magical rites wherein repetition played the important rôle.^{18a}

In Finnish epic poetry, richer evidence as to origin is available. It is the ancient custom for the runes to be sung by two men, of whom one is the chief, the precentor; the other is his assistant, the repeater, *kertoja*. Seated side by side, or opposite to each other, they join hands; during the song, their bodies

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 67. "The *laulaja* will say that Vainamoinen, having fallen into the waters, 'went about there for six years, there for seven summers, tossed for nine years,' where the numbers oscillate by reason of the parallelism, and we obtain the result of a long, indeterminate period of time." Such a phenomenon does not occur in Hebrew, where the second term serves rather to heighten than to obscure the clarity of the terms. Herein is one of the points which shows the difference in composition, surely in origin, of the Hebrew parallelism.

^{18a} *Ibid.* See also pp. 171ff.; Beauvais, "La magie chez les finnois," *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, V, 1; VI, 251 (1882).

are in a constant swinging movement. One of the singers begins by singing a *rune stichos* alone, in the last bar of which the other joins, simply repeating the *stichos*, and so on to the end. During this repetition the first singer finds the needful time to reflect on what his next line is to be. The second singer when he repeats the line, generally introduces some word of approbation, but seldom does he correct the first singer, or vary, or add to his first *stichos*. The Finnish practice, then, is mainly a feat of memory, dependent upon the conservative spirit of tradition, which relies upon the agreement of two memories; though it is also to some extent a feat of literary ingenuity, especially when the line is improvised,¹⁹ for the second singer must know, or guess in time, the end of the line that he is to sing with the first singer. If it were that the second singer took up the general thought of the first and repeated it in different metaphors and images, then this phenomenon would indubitably deserve recognition as the basis of Finnish parallelism, as the practice of the Hebrew singing women at the Red Sea, and the return of David, seem to suggest the origin of Hebrew parallelism. But even as the matter stands, it must be concluded that within the general sphere of the epic song the method of the first appearance of parallelism is probably to be sought.²⁰

The basic form of Finnish parallelism is obviously the couplet, though combinations of more than two lines are frequent. There are many varieties of parallelism; repetitions often occur in more than two lines, especially in magic songs, where they are continued for a great number of lines. Sometimes parallelism is absent, and there are even lines whereof the sense is completed only in the following line; repetition also occurs not only from line to line, but also in the same line. For in the use of the various motifs of Finnish poetry, the *laulaja*, though he is bound absolutely to the eight syllable trochaic metre, and

¹⁹ Comparetti, p. 69.

²⁰ Amongst the Karels, the old manner of singing is kept up, and one meets with many of the old songs there (Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-279). It must be observed, however, that in some cases, though this is doubtful, the second singer repeats the thought of the first in different words. See Paul, *The Kalevala* (Helsingfors, 1885-1886), I, vii. But in several poems the thought does not become apparent until the addition of the second *stichos*.

is bound in a measure also to the use of alliteration, rhyme and parallelism, reserves to himself full liberty as to the mode of employing the latter, so that he can improvise without being unduly hampered.²¹

Synonymous parallelism is very frequent in Finnish poetry. Countless examples are to be found in the *Kalevala*, the Finnish national epic, and other long poems:²²

Many men that live to murmur,
Many women live to censure.

Many speak with evil motives,
Many they with wretched voices

Curse me for my wretched singing,
Blame my tongue for speaking wisdom,

Call my ancient songs unworthy;
Blame the songs and curse the singer.

Be not thus, my worthy people,
Blame me not for singing badly;

Unpretending as a minstrel,

I have never had the teaching,
Never lived with ancient heroes,
Never learned the tongues of strangers,
Never claimed to know much wisdom,

Others have had language masters,

Nature was my only teacher,
Woods and waters my instructors...

Be this as it may, my people,

This may point the way to others,
To the singers better gifted,

For the good of future ages,
For the coming generations,
For the rising folk of Soumi.²³

²¹ Comparetti, p. 34. The use of a regular metre takes the Finnish out of the territory of the Hebrew, for in the latter, as will be seen, the rules of metrical formation cannot be clearly formulated.

²² On the *Kalevala*, see Crawford, *The Kalevala* (New York, 1889), Porter, *Selections from the Kalevala* (New York, 1868). See also Paul, *Kanteletar, die Volkslyrik der Finnen* (Helsingfors, 1882); Retzius, and others.

²³ Examples of synonymous and mixed parallelism are numerous in the *Kalevala*; this one is taken from Abercromby, p. 26:

"A maiden walked along the air's edge—
A girl along the 'navel' of the sky,

This quotation shows that the same problems which confront the investigator in Hebrew are present in Finnish poetry. The dominant characteristic is parallelism, and the couplet is most frequent. There are several loose monostichs, however; there are several triplets; there are portions which show no parallelism, and which would be near-prose were it not for their stichic form.²⁴ So-called synthetic parallelism is a frequent accom-

Along the outline of a cloud—
 Along the heaven's boundary,
 In stockings of a bluish hue,
 In shoes with ornamented heels."

²⁴ Each printed line has at least a comma at the end of it, due to the division between line and line consequent on the complete idea, or complete part of an idea which each one offers; this establishes a rhythmic division in the ideas themselves in their order and succession, and this division is felt in direct proportion to the shortness of the lines. See Comparetti, pp. 33-34. An example of this stichic completeness may be found in the following selection from the Kalevala:

"A hundred sayings do I possess,
 Fastened to my girdle, to my ring, to my side;
 Which every child cannot sing,
 Nor every lad the half of them....
 My songs are my learning,
 My verses my goods;
 From the roads did I dig them,
 From green boughs did I pluck them,
 I wrenched them from the heather plants;
 When I a little one was herding,
 A little child was tending lambs.
 Up from the honeymounds,
 Across the golden hillocks,
 Songs did the wind waft me,
 The air cradled them by hundreds,
 Verses surged around me.
 Sayings rained down like water....
 My father would sing them as he fitted a new handle to his axe;
 From my mother would I learn them as her spindle twirled."

Examples of monostichs inserted in the midst of good parallelism may be found in the next quotation. It may be noted that the number of incomplete, part stichoi in the Finnish which depend upon the verb in another couplet is larger than in Hebrew.

"And the wind rocked him
 To the unknown gates,
 To the strange abodes,
 To lands without a priest,
 To countries unbaptised.
 Behold me, poor wight,
 Tossed on a rolling tree,
 Tossed on a withering trunk...."

paniment of good parallelism; since, however, it must be conceded that synthetic parallelism is not in reality parallelism at all, it must be concluded of the Finnish, that parallelism is not the only, though it is perhaps the major, *motif* of its poetry; there is a twilight zone wherein prose and poetry meet. This general conclusion drawn from the Finnish may assist in a determination of the character of the Hebrew.

Antithetic parallelism appears in Finnish proverbs, which have "much resemblance in their form to those of Solomon,"²⁵ and generally display the same varieties of complete and of incomplete parallelism with and without compensation. Finnish parallelism is also an aid in exegesis; though the text has not been injured through transmission, several instances obtain where the presence in a second stichos of a synonymous word serves to clarify the meaning of a dubious phrase corresponding to it in the first.

Among peoples akin to the Finns, also, parallelism is found. Among the Lapps, for example, influenced by Finnish literature though themselves of another race, the Finno-Mongolic magical songs bear a slight resemblance in structure to the Finnish; while in the epic and mythical literature, especially that relating to the "Child of the Sun," the form of the Finnish rune is clearly recognizable with its metre, alliteration, and parallelism.²⁶

Finnish parallelism has been responsible for similar poetry in a channel far removed from it. Longfellow's *Hiawatha* is built upon the Finnish scheme. The poet is known to have derived the suggestion for its form from Schiefner's translation of the *Kalevala*; when he heard the trochaic measure, he pronounced it to be the one for the discovery of which he had been waiting and longing, since it was peculiarly adapted to give expression to the thoughts surging in his mind. The use of parallelism in the poem was evidently conscious and deliberate, and by contrast indicates that its appearance elsewhere in English poems is generally accidental, and irregular.²⁷

²⁵ Brown, p. 282; Gottlund, *De Proverbiis Fennicis* (Upsala, 1818).

²⁶ Comparetti, p. 43.

²⁷ See p. 60, note 10.

Hiawatha possesses the same style and also the same problems as Finnish parallelism, namely, the relation of single lines, couplets and triplets, the interplay of prose and poetry, and the stichic division of lines. The couplet form is frequent, though not constant over long tracts of text; sometimes two lines are necessary to complete merely one thought, while each stichos does not have the necessary half-thought of a good couplet:

Suddenly upon the greensward
All alone stood Hiawatha.²⁸

Moreover exact synonymity is rare over long periods in the poem, even when the couplet form recurs; the second stichos usually adds much to the thought of the first; most of the lines and distichs fall within the field of synthetic parallelism. But examples of regular parallelistic structure can be found:

All your strength is in your union
All your danger is in discord;

Therefore be at peace henceforward,
And as brothers live together....

Big words do not smite like war-clubs,
Boastful breath is not a bow-string,
Taunts are not so sharp as arrows,

Deeds are better things than words are,
Actions mightier than boastings.²⁹

CHINESE PARALLELISM

Points of resemblance between Chinese and Hebrew literature have often been noted. The language and style of several Cantonese love songs show similarity to passages in the Song of Solomon and other Hebrew poems.³⁰ Far more striking, how-

²⁸ Cf. Lowth's and Gray's discussion on Ps. 2.6; see also below, p. 173.

²⁹ Another example wherein there is a variation of the couplet form, and where a fifth stichos sums up the thought of the preceding four:

"As unto the bow the cord is,
So unto the man is woman;
Though she bends him, she obeys him,
Though she draws him, yet she follows;
Useless each without the other."

The first couplet with its introductory conjunctions finds numerous counterparts in the *ka-'asher* couplets in Hebrew; cf. Amos. 3.12, 5.19, etc.

³⁰ Clementi, *Cantonese Love Songs in English* (Oxford, 1904), p. 6.

ever, is the presence of parallelism in Chinese literature. Its usage therein was noted by J. F. Davis, whose work, *Poeseos Sinensis Commentarii*, "On the Poetry of the Chinese,"³¹ has become standard. Almost every investigator of Chinese prosody since 1829 has restated and reaffirmed Davis' conclusions.³² Davis remarks that the dominant construction of Chinese poetry is found in "lines of every length used in measured couplets, or sentences in pairs, nicely balanced in words and sense." He notes the "striking coincidence" with Hebrew poetry, and adopts the terminology of Bishop Lowth, giving the *motif* the name "parallelism" and dividing it into three types—synonymous, antithetic and synthetic.

It is necessary first, however, to approach Chinese parallelism from the viewpoint of its three major characteristic divisions—parallelism of tone, of grammar, and of thought. The first two are unique in Chinese literature, and present few points of comparison with Hebrew; it is doubtful whether they may be included under the name of parallelism.

Parallelism of tone demands merely that the syllables, instead of being counted, must follow each other in tones that vary according to rule, just as the cadence of English verse is determined not solely by rhyme and by enumeration of the syllables, but also by the relative position of the accented syllables and those on which no stress is laid.³³ Distinction is made between two classes of tones, the even or similar tones, and the uneven or dissimilar tones. The two even or equal tones are spoken with the same stress and strength of voice and are differentiated only by a variation of tone levels. The three unequal tones are the rising, the falling and the contracting, "eingeheude," that is, one in which the voice rises upward, or sinks to the lower notes, or the tone breaks off abruptly. These tones or accents

³¹ *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London, 1829), II, 410-419. Republished in 1834 and 1870. For this work the 1829 paging is used.

³² Scarborough, Gabelantz, Heilmann, Grube, Bethge, Chamberlain, Cranmer-Byng, and others whose works are cited below. For the use of parallelism in the interpretation of difficult and even mutilated passages see particularly Schlegel, *La loi du parallélisme en style chinois* (Leyden, 1896).

³³ Chamberlain, *Classical Poetry of the Japanese* (Boston, 1880), pp. 3-4; remarks on Chinese poetical formations.

must be divided according to definite rules, so that they stand in parallels.³⁴ It will be seen that one of the most difficult questions in a classification of Hebrew parallelisms is bound up with the use of the accents. The Chinese system differs from the Hebrew in several respects, not the least important of which is the regularity and constancy with which the accentual system is maintained.

A parallelism of grammar or syntax also characterizes Chinese poetry. It demands that the single words in two successive verses shall correspond exactly not only according to their position in the stichoi, but also according to their grammatical and syntactical category. For each noun, pronoun, and adjective of the first stichoi, the same grammatical value must stand in the identical place in the second:

(On-the) mountain (the) Sun quickly (towards) the West sinks,
(On-the) sea (the) Moon slowly (towards) the East rises.³⁵

Another rule assists this regularity. The fact that in Chinese each word is indicated by a sign or character helps to bring to light the many-sided and changeful correspondence of the terms and the feet of the stichoi; and the use of ideographic determinatives oftentimes of itself indicates to the eye the similarity of parallel word-concepts and word-classes. Moreover, the characters are arranged deliberately by the poet in artistic harmony. This device may be called parallelism of word-signs. It is peculiar to the Chinese, finding no counterpart in Hebrew.³⁶

Parallelism of thought and figure, however, brings Chinese

³⁴ "Therefore in the 8 line strophe with 7 foot verses, the rule is that the unequal syllables, namely, the 1st, 3rd, 5th and 7th, may have an optional tone, while in the equal, namely the 2nd, 4th, and 6th, the tones must exchange with each other, so that when the 2nd syllable has an equal or even tone, the 4th must have an unequal, the 6th an equal, or vice versa. Moreover, in 2nd and 3rd, 4th and 5th, 6th and 7th verses, the corresponding equal syllables agree exactly in tone, and the first verse must correspond exactly to the 8th. In five foot verses, the first syllable of each verse stands at the option of the poet; for all the others, a rigid schematic rule exists." Heilmann, *Chinesische Lyrik vom 12ten Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1905), pp. xxviff.; Grube, *Die chinesische Literatur*, in *Die orientalischen Literaturen* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 341. See also below, Scarborough's remarks on antithetic parallelism.

³⁵ Grube, p. 342; Heilmann, p. xxvii.

³⁶ Gabelantz, *Z. f. Völkerpsych.* X (1878), 230ff. "It is worthy of observation that out of this parallelism of form, the custom arises oftentimes to write without punctuation. The Greek also does not need punctuation for his Gorgias." Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, II, 8-24.

poetry within the same domain as the Hebrew: two successive verses, rather *stichoi*, are joined together by a parallelism of ideas or of figures, which rests upon the condition either of similarity or of opposition; it is not merely formal or external, but is internal parallelism. Chinese differs from the Hebrew only in that the peculiar structure of the language generally and the strict observance of the law of syntactic parallelism mentioned above, render the synonymity much closer and more obvious; it is usually word for word, the one written opposite the other:

The white stone, unfractured, ranks as most precious;
The blue lily, unblemished, emits the finest fragrance.

The heart, when it is harassed, finds no place of rest;
The mind, in the midst of bitterness, thinks only of grief.

Be not discontented, though your land be narrow, and your garden small;

Be not disturbed, though your family be poor, and your means contracted.

Antithetic parallelism is a favorite Chinese *motif*. It is commonly perfect both in sentiment and terms. "The Chinese is a stylistic connoisseur of the most delicate sensibilities, and greatly admires sharp antitheses." The symmetrical form, wherein term answers for term, is even more regular than in Hebrew. As in the Proverbs of Solomon, so in Chinese maxims and aphorisms antithetic parallelism is used most extensively:³⁷

With few cravings of the heart, the health is flourishing,
With many anxious thoughts, the constitution decays.

Unsullied poverty is always happy;
Impure wealth brings many sorrows.

Consider not any vice as trivial and therefore practice it.
Regard not any virtue as unimportant and therefore neglect it.

Prosecuting virtue is like ascending a steep;
Pursuing vice, like rushing down a precipice.

It might be noted here that there are several varieties of parallelism in Chinese proverbs. Antithetic parallelism is known as the *tui-tzũ* and is formed according to strictly tech-

³⁷ Davis, *Maxims* (London, 1823), cited on p. 412 of *On Poetry of Chinese*.

nical rules.³⁸ Another form of proverbs wherein antithesis plays a part is *lien-chü*, or "connected sentences";³⁹ while a third class of parallistic couplet-proverbs is composed of those that rhyme.⁴⁰

Antithetic parallelism appears also in general poetry, where it is used less often than for aphorisms and wise sayings. But it is found to exist in every degree, from the strong mutual opposition of *all* the corresponding words in a couplet—the "complete parallelism" of Gray⁴¹—to that of *some* of them—"incomplete parallelism."

Look on life as an uncertain guest, that cannot remain;
Believe that death is fixed, and cannot be escaped.

When the region of the heart is at rest, the body too enjoys ease;
But the passions being excited, then disorders of the body arise.

Supinely gazing, now I vent my sighs,
Now, bending down, in tears my sorrow flows;
The wealthy alien claims connubial ties,
The needy kinsman no relation knows.⁴²

³⁸ Scarborough, *Collection of Chinese Proverbs* (Shanghai, 1875, pp. x-xi). "A tui-tzu may contain any number of words, but the most frequent number is seven in each line. It must be so written that the order of the tones in the first line shall be, firstly deflected, secondly even, and thirdly deflected; in the second line, firstly even, secondly deflected, and thirdly even, or vice-versa. Should the first, third or fifth characters violate this rule, it is of no consequence; the second, fourth, and the sixth cannot be allowed to do so. It is essential also that the last character in the first line should be in a deflected tone, and the last in the second line, in an even tone. The same characters may not be repeated in either line, and it is essential that there should be an antithesis, as well in the sense as in the tones, of the words composing the two lines of the couplet. It is also a rule that particles must be placed in antithesis to particles; and nouns, verbs, etc., to nouns, verbs, etc."

³⁹ The proverbs of the class of "connected sentences" are very plentiful; they are of various lengths, of different styles of composition, and are informal in all else but the corresponding number of words in each line. There is generally a sharp antithesis between the first and second lines:

"The poor must not quarrel with the rich;
Nor the rich with magistrates."

"It is not hard to talk about good works,
But to do them."

Compare on this last example, Amos 9.12b.

⁴⁰ The couplet-proverbs which rhyme are detected only by the native ear. The explanation of this is that in order to rhyme to a native ear, the tones must correspond.

⁴¹ See below, in chapter on Parallelism in Amos, p. 137.

⁴² It is imperative to bear in mind that these are translations; as in Hebrew the parallelism is evident through the translations; but the savor of the original cannot be retained.

Synthetic parallelism is the most common species in Chinese poetry. Here, as in Hebrew, each word and line does not exactly answer to its fellow as either equivalent or opposite in sense; but there is a marked correspondence and equality in the construction of the lines, such as nouns answering to nouns, verb to verb, member to member, negative to negative, interrogative to interrogative. As in Hebrew, synonymous and antithetic parallelisms are generally accompanied by synthetic, and are rarely found without it; correspondence of construction even stands alone without correspondence in equivalency or opposition. Synthetic parallelism pervades Chinese poetry universally and forms its foremost characteristic feature; it is the source of much "artificial beauty." It also presents difficult problems of prosody; and there is doubt whether it deserves classification as a branch of parallelism.

Thus alone and dauntless he walked—all confident in his courage;
 Thus proud and reserved—he must needs possess high talents,
 Courage—as if Tszeloong, the hero, had re-appeared in the world;
 Talents—as though Lepih, the poet had again been born.

A hundred—a thousand—ten thousand projects are hard to accomplish,
 Five times—six times—ten years very soon arrive.
 When you have found a day to be idle—be idle for a day;
 When you have met with three cups to drink—then drink your three cups.⁴³

The point at which synthetic parallelism shades into prose, and deserves the appellation "near-prose," is as uncertain as in Hebrew. For this constructional parallelism of sentences extends to prose compositions and is frequent in fine writing, *wun-chang*, which is a measured prose, though not written line beside line like poetry; it savors somewhat of Arabic rhymed-prose, though it employs no rhyme. Indeed, synonymous, antithetic, and constructive parallelisms are met with occasionally in every description of writing that rises above the style of mere conversation or narrative. Davis quotes the following prose sentence as an instance wherein coincidence of sentence

⁴³ This suggests the alternate parallelism of the Hebrew. These examples are taken from the poem of *The Fortunate Union*, cited by Davis, and from Cranmer-Byng, *A Feast of Lanterns* (London, 1916), p. 31.

and a hint of parallelism occur; it is to be noted, however, that three and not two parts, or *stichoi*, are present:

The highest order of men (called *Shing*, perfect or inspired) are virtuous, or wise, independently of instruction; the middle class of men (*Heen*, good or moral) are so after instruction; the lowest order (*Yu*, stupid or worthless) are vicious in spite of instruction.

Another question arises with reference to the unit of Chinese parallelism. The couplet, as in Hebrew, seems to be the fundamental form. "This may be accounted for by the fact that couplet making is a favorite amusement of the educated classes and that couplets when well turned, are objects of their intense admiration."⁴⁴ Dodd holds that the poem of four lines which had its vogue from 699 A.D. is the unit of Chinese poetry.⁴⁵ But in the majority of poems the authors leave sufficient space between pairs of lines to indicate that they intended couplet-groupings; often, however, the series is in fours.⁴⁶ Though this point has not yet apparently been emphasized in a discussion of Chinese poetry, it may be stated in view of the majority of distich formations that the basic unit of even the four-line poems, and of Chinese poems in general, is the couplet.⁴⁷

The use of parallelism in Chinese offers additional evidence relative to the origin and age of parallelism. The oldest

⁴⁴ "The Chinese are so fond of their parallelisms that the most common decorations of rooms, halls and temples, are ornamented labels hung opposite to each other, or side by side, and called *Tuy-leen*, which has precisely the meaning of the English term. These are sometimes inscribed on coloured paper, sometimes carved on wood, and distinguished by painting and gilding, but always in *pairs*." Davis, p. 418.

⁴⁵ *Chinese Poems* (London, 1912), p. 21, in remarks on "Technique of Chinese Poetry."

⁴⁶ Bethge, *Die chinesische Floete* (Leipzig, 1910).

⁴⁷ A suggestion of a form in Chinese poetry similar to the long swinging lines of Arabic rhymed prose minus the rhyme, and similar to several lines in Amos 3.12, etc., may be found in the following instances:

"From the Pine Forest the azure dragon ascends to the Milky Way;

From the Dryandra cordata, the crimson phoenix aspires to the borders of the variegated clouds."

"Experience and discernment of the human passions may both be called learning;

Deep and clear insight into the ways of the world also constitute subtle genius."

"Fame and ambition themselves must have their intervals of repose; Retirement and leisure are, after all, preferable to labor and anxiety."

There is the same correspondence of terms found in Arabic rhymed prose, and in several Hebrew passages; these passages seem to hover near the edge of prose.

authentic documents of Chinese poetry in which parallelism appears are supposed to be nearly three thousand years old, and even then the parallelism was so intricately developed that it can hardly be called a primitive system. "In no other language could parallelism be carried to such heights as in Chinese; the exact equality in the number of words which form each line of a poetical couplet, and the almost total absence of recurring particles that encumber European languages, admit of its adoption with peculiar effect" and its maintenance despite the rise of metre and rhyme. The question needs analysis and careful consideration to determine whether such parallelism represents relatively a lower form of poetical evolution than the numerous forms of Islamic poetry and of modern literature.

Japanese poetry, closely akin to Chinese, betrays a rather frequent parallelism, but follows no regular method.⁴⁸ Its essential rule is that every poem must consist of alternate lines of five and seven syllables, with generally an extra line of seven syllables to mark its close. The parallelism used in Japanese poetry as an occasional ornament, suggests the use of the unrhymed trochaic measure of *Hiawatha*, which seems calculated to give such parallel verses their due effect.⁴⁹ Examples of Japanese parallelism are found scattered through many poems:

I call her every day, till daylight fades away,
I call her every night, till dawn restores the light.⁵⁰

All the mighty gods assembled,
All the mighty gods held council,
Thousand myriads held high council....

O'er the middle land of Reed-plains,
O'er the land of waving Rice-fields.⁵¹

Perhaps it was through the influence of the Chinese that parallelism crept into the Japanese; it may be, however, that the universal tendency towards some form of symmetrical structure, despite the asymmetrical nature of Japanese poetry, dictated its appearance therein.

⁴⁸ Chamberlain, p. 3.

⁴⁹ See remarks on Finnish poetry, p. 62, and on *Hiawatha*, p. 67.

⁵⁰ Chamberlain, p. 60; *He and She*; Song.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, *Elegy on the death of Prince Hinami* (689 A.D.), p. 71.

NEAR-EASTERN PARALLELISM

EGYPTIAN PARALLELISM

The similarity of Egyptian to Hebrew poetry has been noted by several investigators; so close is the affinity that the lay reader who meets with skilful translations of Egyptian poems will immediately associate them with biblical productions;⁵² they are wholly unlike those of the majority of the western nations.⁵³ Though the history of the ancient Egyptians was written in a dry and uninteresting style, the poetry was more highly advanced;⁵⁴ it will be seen, however, that in general even the poetical compositions were restricted in scope and variety, and that they failed to attain the standards not only of Indo-Germanic peoples, but also of other Semitic peoples. For this relative sterility, the antiquity of Egyptian poetry is responsible.⁵⁵ Its beginnings are lost in the mists of the past; though the oldest monuments betray the existence of a literature fairly rich in images and language, it bears the stamp of primitive origins. Hence is it valuable in a comparative study of the historical background of Hebrew and other Semitic poetry.

⁵² Ebers, "Alliteration u. Reim in Altaegyptischen," *Nord und Sued*, I, 106. "The old Egyptian can be compared with the Hebrew text minus punctuation"; also, "Der Klang d. Altaegyptischen u. d. Reim," *Z. f. Aeg. Sprache*, XV (1877), p. 43.

⁵³ Budge, *Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1914), p. 241.

⁵⁴ Stern, *Records of Past*, VI, 127; Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt*, I, 132-133.

⁵⁵ Egyptian poetry soon became the victim of fixed laws, which compressed it into an immovable mould. The conservatism of the Orient restrained free expansion. See Wiedemann, "Die Anfaenge dramatischer Poesie im alten Aegypten," *Mélanges Nicole* (Geneva, 1905), p. 562. In Mahaffy, *Prolegomena to Ancient History* (London, 1871), p. 411, the following strictures on Egyptian literary style occur: "An honest critic must therefore confess that a sense of form in literature, such as the Greeks possessed so perfectly, is almost totally absent from Egyptian writings. Its symmetry consists in wearisome repetitions of formulae, while the poetry is a clumsy parallelism which so frequently wearies in Hebrew, but which is so often there, though seldom in Egyptian writings, the vehicle for striking effects. This absence of form is not a shock in the everyday letters or documents of judicial character, etc., but when we turn to the properly poetical or more especially those which treat of noble subjects we feel a very great inadequacy of the expression as compared with the thought."

Metre exists in Egyptian poems; the short verses into which the poems fall seem to indicate this; since, however, only the consonants and not the vowels are known, it is impossible to state the character of this metre.⁵⁶ A favorite device of old Egyptian is alliteration, a trait apparent in almost all early literatures.⁵⁷ Rhyme also is present; this is not a regular recurrent rhyme at the end of the verses, but an ornament of poetical speech introduced because of the pleasing character of similar musical sounds, and the desire to bring into harmony the sound of the poetry and its sense. The rhymes occur mostly in the magical, never in the narrative texts.⁵⁸

Perhaps the earliest stage of Egyptian poetry was repetition. It abounds in identity of phrase and sound, both throughout complete sentences and in the opening and closing words of a line. These repetitions must have comforted the Egyptian though they irritate the modern ear. The custom became so popular that it finally was fixed as a law of poetry; a thought which in modern poetry is expressed merely through the verb, received in Egyptian its linguistic expression through the repetition of identical, or similar roots, first as a verb, then as a noun.⁵⁹ This repetition, which at first may have been maintained in exactly the same words and forms over long periods of text, both in magical formulas, songs, incantations, and in prayers, later was varied and became incremental repetition; this incremental repetition, wherein part of the line was repeated, but either the end or the beginning was changed, contained the seed of parallelism in the same way that the repetition of the introductory or closing words of a verse was

⁵⁶ Erman, *Die ägyptische Literatur in Die orientalischen Literaturen* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 29.

⁵⁷ See Ebers, *Alliteration*, cited above; also Ebers, "Ein Strophisch-angeordneter Text von einer Mumienbinde," *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.*, XVI (1878), p. 50-51, gives numerous examples of alliteration.

⁵⁸ See Ebers, "Der Klang," p. 45.

⁵⁹ The poet does not say, "I smell," but "I smell the odor," or still better, "my nose smells the odor." Reiteration is found on every side in Egyptian literature: see the Sepulchral Inscription of Panhesi, wherein phrases descriptive of the Sun God's triumphal progress through heaven are heaped up interminably; Stern, XII, 138; *Litany of Ra*, VIII, 103, 119, etc.; Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1897), p. 44.

the foundation for rhyme.⁶⁰ Egyptian and, as will be seen, Babylonian-Assyrian and Sumerian poetry afford substantiation in the field of Semitic literatures for the theory that the chronological evolution of poetry is first, repetition, or reiteration; second, incremental repetition, and third, parallelism.

Egyptian poetry uses all three devices, particularly the last-named. Its parallelism is "uralt"⁶¹ and dominates Egyptian literature: "Wherever an Egyptian speaks in elevated style, the parallelism shows itself infallibly." The poetry delighted in synonyms and antitheses; it even transcended Hebrew in its "rhythmic arrangements, in the balance of lines, the close correspondence of clause to clause and the strict observance of rhythmic laws."⁶² Breasted affirms, indeed, that parallelism is the usual form of Egyptian poetry.⁶³

A special mechanical device distinguishes this poetry: red points stand at the end of each verse and mark the stichoi which are combined into couplets, triplets, or still larger groups. In hymns to the gods, in songs of praise which celebrate the deeds of kings, and in similar compositions in hieroglyphic script, the stichoi are clearly divided; while in papyri in hieratic script the verse division through the red dots serves to show the chain of parallelism; the stichoi themselves are as patent as in the book of Job. These red dots function also as musical marks for the support of the reciter or the singer.⁶⁴ They are not always employed, however, in poetry: the Dirge of Menephtah is not divided by red dots, although it is clearly poetic in style.⁶⁵

While nothing seems to be present in Egyptian comparable to the horizontal lines which in Assyrian-Babylonian parallelism mark off the couplets, rubric writing helps to mark off the

⁶⁰ Ebers, *Alliteration*, I, 110.

⁶¹ Erman, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁶² Stern, VI, 127.

⁶³ *Biblical World*, I, 55.

⁶⁴ The red points are referred to often in works on Egyptian literature: Spiegelberg, "Der Siegeshymnus des Merneptah," *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.*, XXXIV (1896), p. 1ff., illus., p. 10; Erman, "Gebete eines ungerecht Verfolgten u. andere Ostiake," *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.*, XXXVIII (1900), p. 19ff.; Turajeff, "Zwei Hymnen an Thoth," *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.*, XXXIII (1895), p. 120ff. The red dots in this poem do not stand above the line as elsewhere; Cook, "Hymn to the Nile," *Ecc. of Past*, IV, 105ff.

⁶⁵ Birch, "Dirge of Menephtah," *Rec. of Past*, IV, 49ff.

stanzas; and the regular formation of numerous poems points to the use of regular strophic arrangements in ancient Egyptian poems. Between the various stanzas, there is rarely much inter-parallelism, though there is much repetition and parallelism within the confines of each strophe.⁶⁶ Several poems characterized by stanzas do not show completely regular form; the number of lines in each varies widely. The Hymn to the Nile contains fourteen stanzas, of ten stichoi each on the average, but the number of lines ranges from eight to fourteen.⁶⁷

Examples of the various types of parallelism are abundant. Synonymous parallelism occurs oftentimes over long stretches, though it appears most frequently in a mixture of the several types. One of the finest and longest hymns betraying parallelism is the Hymn to Amon Ra which has come down from the Twentieth Dynasty;⁶⁸ the parallelism here suggests the Hebrew, but is not thoroughly maintained and is subject to great laxity.

Lord of Power, he seizeth the sceptre,
Lord of Protection who holdeth the scourge....

He casteth down his enemies by flames of fire,
His eye it is which overthroweth the wicked.

The one is he who forms the existent,
The sole one is he who fashions the substance.

Men went forth from his eyes;
Gods arose at the command of his lips.

⁶⁶ The Hymn to Amon-Ra falls into five unequal parts, and the strophes are shown by the rubrics. See Stern, *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.* (1873), p. 76. Ebers, *ibid.*, XV, 51, says that the text falls into three sections, divided by an external sign, and that each part contains five sections. Strophic formation is also found in Ebers, "Ein strophisch-angeordneter Text von einer Mumienbinde," *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.*, XVI (1878), pp. 50-55. See Wiedemann, in *Mélanges Nicole*, pp. 569-570, on strophe and dance.

⁶⁷ Cook, *loc. cit.* In this poem, the first word of each strophe is written in red letters, and each also has a red point at the close. The number of lines in each of the fourteen stanzas runs thus: 11, 8, 8, 10, 10, 8, 10, 11, 12, 10, 9, 8, 14, 8. Compare number of lines in Amos 1.2-2.6, below. The resemblance of this poem to several of the earliest Hebrew poems has been pointed out by Cook in his *Introduction to the Book of Psalms*, and *Notes on Exodus*, in the *Speaker's Commentary on the Bible*.

⁶⁸ See Stern, *loc. cit.*; Goodwin, "Hymn to Amon-Ra," *Rec. of Past*, II, 127ff.; it is supposed to date from the fourteenth century B.C. (Ebers, *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.*, XV, 45). For other examples see "The Stele of Beka," *Rec. of Past*, X, 7; "The Foundation of the Temple of the Sun of Heliopolis," *ibid.*, XII, 51ff.; Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (Chicago, 1906), 4 vols., *passim*.

An example of a poem from the Old Kingdom (third millennium B.C.) follows:

No beggar was there in my days;
No hungry in my time.

The Song of the Harper, composed in the Eighteenth Dynasty, is "very remarkable for the form of old Egyptian poetry which like that of the Hebrew delights in a sublimer language, in parallelisms and antitheses, and in the ornament of a burden"; it seems to be rhythmic, having verses of equal length;⁶⁹ examples taken from it at random, even through a rhymed translation, show the parallelism:

As Ra rises up every morn,
And Tum every evening doth set,

So women conceive and bring forth,
And men without ceasing beget,

Each soul in its turn draweth breath,
Each man born of woman sees Death.⁷⁰

Examples of antithetic parallelism are frequent:

His hands reward those whom he cherishes,
But his enemy he plunges into the flames.⁷¹

Ra is mighty, weak are the godless,
Ra is exalted, lowly are the godless.

Synthetic parallelism is most frequent in Egyptian as in all other literatures in which the parallelistic *motif* is current, though often fairly close synonymy is present. The following example gives evidence of the interplay of couplet and triplet formation, while monostichs are also at hand:

⁶⁹ Stern, VI, 127. The length of the verses can be seen from this transliteration:

Ured urui pu mā
Pa shau nfer kheper
Khetu her sebt ter rek Rā
Jamāu her at r ast-sen.

See also Stern, *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.*, XI (1873), p. 58ff.; Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 40; and others, among them Brugsch (see below).

⁷⁰ Rawlinson, I, 143.

⁷¹ Compare Ps. 20.8, 9. Several poems have refrains similar to the Psalms.

Honor his majesty in your hearts,

He is "Sa" of the hearts,
His eyes search each body,

He is the sun who sees with his rays,
He illuminates the two lands with the sundisk,

He makes verdant more than the great Nile,
He fills the two lands with strength,

He is the life which cools the nostrils,

He gives food to those who are in his train,
He nourishes those who follow his way.

He it is who causes what is,
He is the Chnum of each body.⁷²

Again:

How gentle is this in the hearts of the people,
How beautiful is this before the gods.

Thou makest mountains of Osiris,
Thou adornest him who is before the dwellers of the West.

Excellent for his deeds,
Mighty in the naming of his name....

I gave the priests to know what concerned them,
I put right the ignorant of his ignorance.

I strengthen who were in terror,
I thrust back the evil from them.⁷³

Though the synonymity and correspondence of terms is close here, other passages could be cited wherein the same species of constructive distich formation as in Hebrew obtains.

The question of synthetic parallelism bears upon the relation of Egyptian prose to poetry. The transition from one to the other seems to have been easy because of the looseness of Egyptian poetic structure. In a discussion of the hymns, Lefebure has remarked:⁷⁴ "The Egyptians cared little for the composition of their poems; instead of grouping the details to produce a

⁷² Translated by Breasted, *Biblical World*, I, 55. Compare Ps. 146.6-10.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Hymn found in the Temple of Osiris at Abydos.

⁷⁴ *Traduction comparée des hymnes au soleil* (Paris, 1868), p. 15.

desired effect, they made scarcely any effort to combine them in any order; they follow the whims of the feeling and memory." Psychologically such stylistic transition may perhaps be related to another unaccountable peculiarity in Egyptian style, the practice of abrupt changes from the first or second to the third person, with as sudden a return from the third to the first or second, and an equally abrupt change of tense.⁷⁵ It is supposed that these startling transitions for which no discernible reason has been discovered, were viewed as elegances of style according to Egyptian taste. They occur largely in the more ambitious literary flights, and may have been a trait of the "fine writers." Mahaffy is of the opinion that the loose and haphazard character of Egyptian poetical construction may be a key to similar looseness in the Hebrew. He sees in Egyptian as in Hebrew compositions, the first step towards a loose blank verse and irregular caesuras. "These cadences are not necessary, but only occur when the author warms to his subject, just as the Hebrew authors pass from prose to poetry, a feature common to Indian and Chinese plays also."⁷⁶ Mahaffy may err in viewing parallelism as a stage prior to blank verse; it may be immediately prior to the unrhymed *saj'* of the Arabic, or also preliminary to rhymed and even strictly metrical verses, as Arabic poetry seems to demonstrate.⁷⁷ The erratic character of Egyptian parallelism raises another question: Was parallelism an instinctive or a cultivated *motif* among Egyptian poets? Psychologically it has been noted that a high state of lyric exaltation tends to produce balance and rhythmic repetition of thought. In Hebrew, it will be seen that the prophetic parallelism is at once apparently spontaneous and carefully chiselled. In Egyptian, it is probable that the poetry, being nearer to its primitive origins, embodies more of the unconscious element; it is difficult, however, to believe that in the well coördinated hymns and songs of praise, no deliberate artifice entered. It may be concluded then that Egyptian parallelism has emerged from the

⁷⁵ Birch, *Rec. of Past*, II, ii.

⁷⁶ Mahaffy, p. 412.

⁷⁷ See below, on the relation of rhymed prose to Hebrew parallelism, and to later Arabic metres.

instinctive stage, and has progressed along the scale of poetical evolution towards the finished and intricate Hebrew parallelism.⁷⁸

At any rate, in the late Egyptian poetry of the Greek-Roman period Junker has found well developed devices in a number of texts which were hitherto regarded as stereotyped and formless. These small festal songs and hymns from Dendera show metre, strophe, and parallelism to a degree reached in only a few Egyptian compositions. Refrains are present and responsion plays an important rôle. The metre seems to be found in two, three, and four stresses or accents, though it is difficult to discover the laws which govern it.⁷⁹

An example of four two-line strophes, with a two-line refrain, wherein parallelism is consistently maintained, the verses having two stresses, is present in the following:

The Pharaoh comes to dance,
He comes to sing (to you).
OH, HIS MISTRESS, SEE HOW HE DANCES,
OH, BRIDE OF THE HORUS, SEE HOW HE SKIPS.
The Pharaoh whose hands are washed,
Whose fingers are clean.
OH, HIS MISTRESS, SEE HOW HE DANCES,
OH, BRIDE OF THE HORUS, SEE HOW HE SKIPS.
When he sacrifices it to you,
This *mnw*-vessel,
OH, HIS MISTRESS, SEE HOW HE DANCES,
OH, BRIDE OF THE HORUS, SEE HOW HE SKIPS.
His heart is true, upright his body,
No darkness is in his breast,
OH, HIS MISTRESS, SEE HOW HE DANCES,
OH, BRIDE OF THE HORUS, SEE HOW HE SKIPS.

An example of Egyptian repetition with incremental changes is found in this:

His abhorrence is the sadness of your Ka,
His abhorrence is your hunger and thirst,
His abhorrence is the pain of the Sun-Goddess.

⁷⁸ Parallelism assists in the exegesis of Egyptian poetry. It is often employed for this purpose: Breasted, *De Hymnis in Solem* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 4-5; Brugsch, "Das Gedicht vom Harfenspieler," *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.*, XXXII (1894), 123-134; Spiegelberg, *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.*, XXXIV (1896), 18.

⁷⁹ Junker, "Poesie aus der Späetzeit," *Z. f. Aeg. Spr.*, XLIII (1906), 101ff.

An example of a refrain at the head of the stanza, so that in a sense it becomes a formula, may be found herein:

HE COMES TO DANCE,
 HE COMES TO SING,
 With his bread in his hand,
 He does not let spoil the bread on his hand,
 His food is clean in his arms,
 For it comes from the eye of Horus,
 And he cleanses his sacrifice to you.
 HE COMES TO DANCE,
 HE COMES TO SING,
 His *dbh.t* is of *tw*,
 His basket is of rushes,
 His sistrum of gold,
 His *ml.t* of southern green stone;
 His feet hurry to the mistress of the jubilation,
 He dances for her, and she likes what he does.⁸⁰

The following is a Procession Song which has survived in fragmentary form; it consisted originally of stanzas in each of which an antiphonal couplet preceded a quatrain, and couplets and quatrains respectively began with the same word. Of the four parallel verses of the strophes, the last three contain the explanation and continuation of the first. The verses have three stresses, excepting the last of each strophe, which has only two. Junker makes use of parallelism and interparallelism to fill up some of the great gaps in the poem; though the parts which have survived do not suffice to afford a basis for reconstruction, it is easy to see that the structure of the mutilated stanzas, three and four, agrees with stanzas one and two.⁸¹ This general principle is helpful in a reconstruction of the Amos Doom Song on the basis of stanzas of equal length and type.

1. Oh how fine and pleasant when the Golden One thrives,
 When the Golden One blooms and thrives.
 TO YOU JUBILATES the Heaven with its Gods,
 Both Sun and Moon adore you.
 The Gods pay honor to you,
 The Goddesses sing joyfully to you.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Fourth section of a song series in honor of the Goddess of Wine, p. 104.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 127. As the song stands, the third and fourth stanzas have three instead of four main lines as in the first and second.

2. Oh how

 To YOU JUBILATES the whole globe;
 In joy all animals dance;
 Egypt and the lands adore you,
 Even unto Nenet at its four ends.
3. Oh how

 To YOU JUBILATE

 To you shout the foreign lands.
4. Oh how

 To YOU JUBILATE all men,

SUMERIAN PARALLELISM

In the Sumerian literature which forms much of the liturgy of the Babylonian religion, parallelism appears.⁸² These Sumerian texts, some of which date back nearly to 2900 B.C., are similar in style to many Egyptian compositions. The interplay of repetition, incremental repetition, and parallelism tends to place Sumerian poetry low in the scale of historical evolution; in the character of its parallelism, however, it stands slightly higher than the Egyptian, for the couplet formation which is frequent in the later Babylonian-Assyrian, now begins to make itself clear and definite.⁸³

The unending repetitions of Sumerian literature are perhaps its most noticeable characteristic: in the adorations, where terms of praise are heaped up, while the refrains occur for long periods in identically the same words; in the incantations and magical texts, where repetitions are most numerous; in the hymns, where

⁸² For examples of parallelism in Sumerian literature, see Haupt, "Die Sumerisch-Akkadische Sprache," *Intern. Orient. Cong.* (Berlin, 1891) I, 2, 273; Vanderburgh, *Sumerian Hymns* (New York, 1908), *passim*. Reiser, *Sumerische-Babylonische Hymnen* (Berlin, 1896), *passim*.

⁸³ Parallelism in the Sumerian is striking in view of the fact that it may be a non-Semitic language, though of course deeply influenced by Semitic civilization. Hymn to Adad, Vanderburgh, p. 42. Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* (Paris, 1909); also *Babylonian Liturgies* (Paris, 1913), p. 59.

incremental repetition with variation at the beginning or the end of the lines is a regular trait.

The lofty one—when he bellowed, he shattered the mountain,
 The lofty one—when he bellowed, he shattered the mountain,
 He named of good name—when he bellowed, he shattered the mountain,
 The Recorder of the Universe—when he bellowed, he shattered the mountain.⁸⁴

Examples of incremental repetition are plentiful. The following is taken from an incantation with ethical contents:

Has he set a son at variance with a father?
 Has he set a father at variance with a son?

 Has he set a daughter at variance with a mother?
 Has he set a mother at variance with a daughter?

 Has he set a daughter-in-law at variance with a mother-in-law?
 Has he set a mother-in-law at variance with a daughter-in-law?⁸⁵

 Has he set a brother at variance with a brother?
 Has he set a friend at variance with a friend?
 Has he set a companion at variance with a companion?

 Has he not set free a prisoner, or loosed a captive?
 Has he not let a prisoner see the light?
 Has he said of a prisoner, "Seize him" or of a bondman, "Bind him"?

Identical refrains or endings are frequent; as in the first quotation cited, and as in the Hymn to Tammuz:⁸⁶

I am queen, my consort	abides no more,
My Damu	abides no more,
Dagalushumgalanna	abides no more,
The lord of Aralu	abides no more,
The lord of Durgurgurru	abides no more,

and so forth, twelve times in all.

Though the couplet structure and triplet combinations seem to adhere at moments to some regularity, distichs wherein the second stichos repeats in different words and varied images the

⁸⁴ Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament* (New York, 1912), p. 171.

⁸⁵ Note the inversion here which the Arabic 'aks employs. See below.

⁸⁶ Rogers, p. 183.

thought of the first, after the fashion of the eloquent Hebrew style, are relatively rare. Here is an isolated example :

Since the canal is gone, the flood overflows,
Since the clay is gone, the shore is destroyed.⁸⁷

The development of the Sumerian liturgy appears to have traversed many centuries. The *shir* originally was sung to musical instruments, and was marked by insistently repeated refrains, and a certain rhythmical *motif* which served to distinguish it from prose. At first the liturgies consisted of a single song, but these later gave way to a succession of shorter melodies. In early worship, it appears to have been customary to bow and sway the body; perhaps this may have assisted in the development of a rhythmical distich formation. Double and single lines served to mark off the divisions of the songs, but these have no relation to couplet or strophic divisional marks, such as the horizontal lines found later in Babylonian-Assyrian; they were rather musical aids. The Sumerian liturgy seems to reveal an effort towards metre; each line is an element in itself, perhaps the basis for the later usage both in the Babylonian-Assyrian, and Hebrew poetry. Lines were sometimes divided into hemistichs; but no regular system of prosody appears to have existed.⁸⁸ Clearly then the Sumerian literature deserves recognition as the forerunner of Babylonian-Assyrian; but the uncertainty which enshrouds its various phenomena permits only an indication of the direction in which its evolution tended.

BABYLONIAN-ASSYRIAN PARALLELISM

The wealth of material at hand in the Babylonian-Assyrian literature, however, makes it possible to lay down certain general laws of poetics and prosody. In it both rhyme and alliteration are used.⁸⁹ Metre and strophe are present, and will be discussed below. Of primary importance here, however, is the abundant use of parallelism.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Langdon, *Babyl. Liturgies*, p. 117.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. xlvff.

⁸⁹ Budge, "Communication upon the Fourth Tablet of the Creation Series," *PSBA*, VI (1884), 5-9; Casanowicz, *Paronomasia in the Olden Times* (Boston, 1894), p. 24.

⁹⁰ It is not generally known that one of the first to note parallelism in Assyrian-Babylonian was Eberhard Schrader in *Die Hoellenfahrt der*

The original inscriptions of Babylonian-Assyrian civilization clearly show the form of poetical works, whereas it has been necessary in the Hebrew to discover it by direct and difficult means. The hymns, prayers, and epic poetry are so written on the tablets that the various types of poetic structure at once become apparent to the eye. In the first place, each verse is written as one complete line; these individual stichoi are shown to be in relation to the preceding or following verse by symmetry and proximity.⁹¹

The second important fact in tablet-writing is that oftentimes two stichoi of poetry are marked off by a horizontal line from other verse-pairs or couplets which are similarly combined. This division into distichs and oftentimes into tristichs was a favorite device with the Babylonians.⁹² Many monuments show this mechanical designation of poetry, and several illustrations in works on Babylonian and Assyrian hymns have reproduced the phenomenon.⁹³ Several questions arise, however, in connection with its extensive usage. It is found in many bilingual

Istar (Giessen, 1874); also in "Semitismus und Babylonismus: Zur Frage nach d. Ursprung des Hebraismus," *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.*, I, 116ff. Heinrich Gunkel's work on *Schoepfung und Chaos* (Goettingen, 1895), p. 401, n. 1, brought the question of parallelism and metre to the attention of Heinrich Zimmern whose numerous essays and books have presented the results of careful investigation on the two points. See "Ein vorlauefiges Wort ueber Babyl. Metrik," *ZA*, VIII, 121; X, 1, 292; XI, 83, 339; XII, 382. Zimmern's suggestion, *ZA*, VIII, 122, that editors and translators should show graphically the parallelism, metre, and strophes of poems has found echo in the work of several writers: Pinckert, *Hymnen und Gebeten an Nebo* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 13; Jensen, "Assyr.-Babyl. Mythen und Epen," *Keilinschrif. Bibliothek*, VI, Teil 1, s. xiii; Martin, *Textes religieux assyriens et babyl.*, *Biblioth. de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, CXXX (1900), p. xxii; Hussey, *Some Sumerian-Babylonian Hymns of the Berlin Collection* (Chicago, 1907), p. 13; Gray, *The Šamaš Religious Texts* (Univ. of Chicago, 1908), p. 11: "Throughout the hymn is found a parallelism which is strikingly similar to the parallelism of the Hebrew poetry, and which corresponds in general to the paragraphs."

⁹¹ Zimmern, *ZA*, VIII, 123.

⁹² Zimmern, *ZA*, XI, 87.

⁹³ Bruennow, "Assyrian Hymns," *ZA*, IV, 1ff.; V, 55ff.; these two hymns to Šamash and Merodach, and a hymn to Nebo, and various smaller fragments "belong to a well-marked class, the distinctive feature of which is the horizontal line, occurring after every second or occasionally third line of the text, and generally, though not always marking divisions in the sense." Bruennow's translations, however, do not demonstrate this practice. See also Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts* (Leipzig, 1895), I, *passim*. It is found on tablets, K. 3474, 8232, 3312, 3182, 2650, 8233, 3459, 8298, 8236, etc.

hymns, the first line being Sumerian, and hence non-Semitic, the second line Assyrian. Did then this practice arise through the repetition of the same thought in different languages; moreover, did Babylonian-Assyrian parallelism originate from the same custom? This hypothesis is weak, for in reply it may be said that the horizontal lines occur most frequently where the two stichoi are in the Assyrian language, and where the thought though the same, is expressed in different terms in each stichos. Again it must be noted that the horizontal lines are used not merely to designate couplet and triplet divisions, but oftentimes they mark off groups of two, three, four, five and more lines;⁹⁴ though in several tablets they occur with such regularity at the end of every two lines that the inscriptions have an almost striped appearance, and though in others they mark off equal strophes at regular intervals, at times they are employed indiscriminately without scheme or plan. It may however be asked: Since the Babylonian-Assyrian originals used dividing lines to mark off distichs and larger combinations, may not the originals of Hebrew poetry, even including prophetic literature, have had a similar device to differentiate poetry from prose, and above all to mark off the couplets and strophes?

The question of the unit of Babylonian poetry has concerned several investigators. It is evident that strophes exist in the compositions.⁹⁵ Oftentimes these are indicated by the open spaces between the various stanzas, as well as by horizontal lines.⁹⁶ Mueller busies himself with strophes of six, eight, ten, and twelve lines, and neglects entirely the couplet; for him, the normal strophe consists of eight lines.⁹⁷ Delitzsch regards the

⁹⁴ In Craig's editions, II (1897), 14, lines are used in K. 255, obv. col. I. in the arrangement of 4 + 2 + 4 + 2 + 4, etc., evidently a regular strophic arrangement built upon the couplet as a unit. But in K. 255 rev. col., I, the combination is 8 + 5 + 5 + 3 + 1.

⁹⁵ Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 66; Lenormant, *Essai de commentaire des fragments cosmogoniques de Berosé* (Paris, 1872), p. 458; Haupt, "Die Akkadische Sprache," p. xxxv to p. 25. Perhaps the most significant works are Mueller, *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form: I. Strophenbau und Responsion in der Keilschriftliteratur* (Vienna, 1896); Delitzsch, *Die babyl. Weltschoepfungsepos* (Leipzig, 1896), *Abh. d. phil.-hist. Classe d. k. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, XVII, Num. 11, *passim*.

⁹⁶ Delitzsch, p. 68.

⁹⁷ Mueller, p. 8.

four-line strophe as the basic form; where without artificiality a complete strophe is not possible, half-strophes of one plus one stichoi may be formed but these, he says, are soon compensated by a second half-strophe if they stand in the midst of a longer strophic arrangement. He groups his text in four stichic combinations, and pays little heed to the couplet.

Zimmern takes issue with both Delitzsch and Mueller. Not in strophes, which afford only accidental evidence, but in the verse and the distich is the real basis of Babylonian poetical forms to be found. Mueller overestimates the part which the eight-line strophe plays in the Creation Epic; Delitzsch also ignores the obvious couplet structure of this poem; Zimmern asserts that the distich combination is vital for a proper understanding of the text. Herein the *motif* of parallelism plays an all-important rôle. The tablets show the horizontal lines which designate the couplets only when the two stichoi are bound together by inner reasons, of sense and thought-rhythm.⁹⁸ This makes an appreciation of parallelism imperative for an understanding of the meaning of the lines, for the synonymous, antithetic, or synthetic relation of the first to the second stichos is a key to an interpretation of the text. From the standpoint of thought, it is apparent that the couplet is the fundamental unit of Babylonian-Assyrian, as it will be found to be of the Hebrew poetry; it must be remembered however that couplets do not follow each other in unbroken succession, for as the horizontal lines and internal data prove, various larger combinations are not only possible but frequent.

From the standpoint of metre, however, the unit of the poetry is discoverable in the hemistich. Each distich is made up of four quarters; each of these four parts has two tonal accents, or stresses. This quartering is often portrayed by the mechanical device of perpendicular lines dividing each hemistich.⁹⁹ It seems certain that the Babylonians employed consciously a regular metrical scheme, and that they counted and correctly apportioned the number of accents in each hemistich. The tonic

⁹⁸ Zimmern, *ZA*, XI, 86ff.

⁹⁹ Gunkel, p. 401, n. 1; this occurs on the original tablet (London, Sp. II, 265 a.). See Zimmern, *ZA*, VIII, 121ff.

accentuation stands in close agreement with the Hebrew and Aramaic methods, and in the strongest contrast to the classical Arabic.¹⁰⁰ The progress of the scheme of Assyrian-Babylonian poetry seems then to be from the hemistich to the stichos, to the couplet or distich, to the strophe or multistich.

Examples of the various types of parallelism are numerous.¹⁰¹ Synonymous parallelism is found thus:

Where is thy name not heard? Where not thy decrees?
Where are thy images not made? Where are thy temples not
founded?

Where art thou not great? Where art thou not exalted?

Anu, Ellil, and Ea have exalted thee,
Among the gods have they increased thy dominion.¹⁰²

Examples of antithetic parallelism can be found frequently; the following is taken from the so-called Babylonian Job:

In a moment	he is singing and playing,
In an instant	he is howling like a complainer.
Now they are hungry	and are like a corpse,
Again they are full	and are like unto God. ¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Zimmern, *ZA*, XII, 384. He believes also that the similarity of Assyrian-Babylonian metre to the Hebrew may assist in the solution of the riddle of Hebrew verse-construction. See Gray, *Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, p. 140ff. Martin, p. xxii, discusses the various lengths of the hemistichs; he shows that the two hemistichs are sometimes unequal in length, the shorter being the second, the longer the first. See Zimmern, "Ueber Rhythmus im Babylonischen," *ZA*, XII, 382ff; also "Babyl. Hymnen und Gebete," *Der alte Orient*, VII, 5; and *Beitraege zur Kenntnis d. babylonischen Religion* (Leipzig, 1901). Delitzsch, p. 61ff., gives four laws for metrical arrangement of the hemistichs:

1. Each line falls into two half-lines.
2. The second hemistichs are subject to a stricter rhythmical law than the first.
3. The law of the second hemistichs is that they shall have not more than two main accents, consisting of two accented syllables, whether long or closed (a vowel followed by two consonants).
4. The first half-verses are subject to a less strict rhythmical law: (a) for some, the rule of the second hemistichs is also operative, namely, the demand for two main accents; (b) but the first hemistich can also have three main accents.

¹⁰¹ Zimmern, "Babyl. Hymnen," *Der alte Orient*, VII, 1905; XIII, 1911. For a bibliography, see Bezold, *Babyl.-Assyr. Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 171-186; Zimmern, *Der alte Orient*, XIII, 32; Koenig, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik* (Leipzig, 1900); p. 311. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels*, gives excellent translations of many hymns, incantations and epics.

¹⁰² Rogers, p. 154, Hymn to Ishtar; see also p. 159.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 164-165.

Examples of synthetic parallelism intermingle with regular synonymous parallelism:

The sewers of the city shall be thy drink,
The shadows of the walls shall be thy dwelling,
The thresholds shall be thy habitation,
The drunken and the thirsty shall smite thy cheek.¹⁰⁴

Oftentimes there is a kind of alternate parallelism:

In a dispute	when I take part	
The woman who understands	<i>piltum</i>	am I;
In a law suit	when I take part	
The woman who understands the law		am I. ¹⁰⁵

This is a sign of elementary strophic interparallelistic structure, which is found highly developed in other poems. Several acrostic hymns are at hand, comparable to the Psalms.¹⁰⁶ The practice of antiphonal singing was apparently common, and gave rise to hymns wherein refrains were maintained in identical words for long periods. These repetitions resemble several of the incantation refrains common in Egyptian poetry. The processional Hymn to Marduk was sung antiphonally, the priest singing the first half, the people responding with the recurrent refrain:

The city cries out to thee "Rest," may thy house rejoice in thee.
Babylon cries out to thee "Rest," may thy house rejoice in thee.

The great Anu, father of the gods, cries out to thee "Rest at last."
May the mighty mountain, father Bel, cry to thee "Rest at last."¹⁰⁷

Schrader cites several examples of liturgical songs in the Temple which he affirms were sung antiphonally; the following is the Song of the Seven Spirits:

(Strophe)

Seven are they, seven are they,
In the sea's deep, seven are they
In the sky's blue, seven are they,
In the sea, far down, their birth.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 128. Ishtar's Descent to Hades. See Schrader, *Die Hoellenfahrt*, *passim*; Jeremais, *Die Babyl.-assyr. Vorstellung v. Leben nach dem Tode* (Leipzig, 1887), p. 9.

¹⁰⁵ Hussey, p. 13.

¹⁰⁶ Zimmern, *ZA*, X, 15; see Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 905 with reference to K. 8204, and p. 1549; Pinches, *Texts*, p. 15f.

¹⁰⁷ The word "Rest" here and elsewhere in the hymn is an abbreviation of the words of the old formula in the incantation texts, "May thy heart be appeased." The hymn was sung after the manner of the Hallel Psalms.

(Alternate Strophe)

Not male are they, not female they,
 Wife they take not, son they have not,
 Both law and order know they not,
 To prayers and wishes hark they not.

(End Strophe)

Seven are they, seven are they,
 The Seven Adisina they.¹⁰⁸

Another example of highly developed strophic structure, wherein the parallelism is perfect, is the hymn:

(Strophe)

Who is sublime in the skies?
 Thou alone, thou art sublime;
 Who is sublime upon earth?
 Thou alone, thou art sublime.

(Alternate Strophe)

Thy mighty command is proclaimed in the skies,
 The Gods then prostrate themselves;
 Thy mighty command is proclaimed upon earth,
 The Spirits then kiss the ground.¹⁰⁹

Two major questions are involved in a discussion of Assyrian-Babylonian parallelism. The first concerns the regularity of the couplet formation. Despite imperfections and corruptions of the texts, it is certain that regular couplets are maintained for fairly long intervals. The number of unattached or floating monostichs, also, is very large; they creep into the poems at the most unexpected places, and interrupt the regularity without any law or scheme. Though in several instances complementary or corresponding lines have disappeared because of text mutilation, nevertheless it must be admitted that as in Hebrew, unaccountably placed lines appear in otherwise regular structure.¹¹⁰ Again, as in Hebrew, several lines contain a heaping-up

¹⁰⁸ Schrader, *Hoellenfahrt*, p. 110-115. The first strophes may have been sung by half-choirs, and the closing strophes by the general choir.

¹⁰⁹ Schrader, pp. 111-115, calls attention to the "specifically Hebrew" strophic system. He links (pp. 85-86) the highly developed strophical scheme with the advanced Babylonian civilization as Ewald had done with the Hebrew strophe in relation to Hebrew culture. The part played by magical incantations and formulas in the development of the strophe and parallelism is as significant in Babylonian-Assyrian as in Egyptian, Finnish, and other literatures.

¹¹⁰ See the isolated stichoi in Amos, below. Martin, p. xxviii, says: "These combinations, too irregular to deserve the name of strophe, do

of terms, especially of nouns, complementary to the subject in the first stichos of a couplet:

O Shamash, he who goes his way in fear prays to thee,
(...), the traveler, the tradesman, he who carries the weights.

O Shamash, the hunter with the net prays to thee,
The hunter (?), the cattle-man, the tender of herbs.

The second problem concerns the relation of poetry to prose. As in the Bible,¹¹¹ verses are found not merely in the hymns, the epics, and other texts of obviously poetical character, but also in the historical texts of "elevated style." An example may be found in the Shamashshumukin tablet of Assurbanapal.¹¹² It may be that these poetical sections were quoted from other poems; yet on the other hand, the occasional presence of what seems to be rhythm in historical narratives, points to the authenticity of poetical sections as native to an apparently prose work.¹¹³ Though on occasion, Babylonian parallelism may be the result of no conscious artistic process, but the natural outcome of rhythmically exalted speech,¹¹⁴ its presence in compositions of patently prosaic character, or under the spell of no great poetic emotion, is proof that it was a deliberate and recognized poetical device. It may be concluded that in Babylonian-Assyrian as in Hebrew, there is a mixture of poetry and prose, wherein the limits of the former are more or less determined by mechanical aids; but the widespread character of synthetic parallelism, and the narrative character of several poetical epics, permit the conclusion that the interplay of poetry and prose is almost as intricate and indefinable as in Hebrew.

A word may be said on the value of parallelism for exegesis.¹¹⁵

not seem to be inspired by any rule of prosody." They seem to have had no other rule than the development, more or less long, given by the scribe to his thought.

¹¹¹ See II K. 8.12, etc.

¹¹² Zimmern, *ZA*, VIII, 123; IX, 338-339.

¹¹³ Jeremias, p. 9.

¹¹⁴ Schrader, p. 60, compares the stichic form of the poem on Ishtar's Journey, to the writing of the Song in Deut. chap. 32. See also Westphal, *Allgemeine Theorie der musikalischen Rhythmik* (Leipzig, 1880), p. 37.

¹¹⁵ Dhorme, *Textes religieux assyro-babyloniens* (Paris, 1907), p. 4, and *passim*; Martin, pp. 24, 48; Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, pp. 12-13, 24, 42, 43, 99, 104, and *passim*; an emendation on p. 97 is "confirmed by the parallelism." See also *ZA*, XI, 335, 339.

An example of the assistance which it renders in the decipherment of mutilated or dubious words may be found in this selection :

For food, I will eat the clay,
For drink, I will drink (the water)

That I may weep for the men who have left their wives,
That I may weep for the women (torn) from their husbands' bosoms,
That I may weep for the little children (snatched away before) their day.¹¹⁶

The relation of Babylonian to the origin of Hebrew parallelism will be discussed below.¹¹⁷

ARABIC PARALLELISM

CLASSICAL (INCLUDING PERSIAN AND TURKISH)

The close relationship between Arabic and Hebrew literature has often been noted.¹¹⁸ Though the Hebrews attained a high grade of civilization over 1500 years before the Arabs became productive, the cultures of the two show traces of primitive union: the poetry of the ancient desert tribes resembles the measures of the earliest Hebrew heroes and heroines. In both literatures, the original type of poetic utterance seems to have been the ode, the song of joy, sorrow, thankfulness, or prayer; and may have been a species of improvised utterance common to both these branches of the Semitic race.¹¹⁹

The forms of Hebrew and of Arabic poetry show signs of similarity. Arabic poetry in itself represents a long historical process; the steps by which it advanced from primeval beginnings to the most intricate and elaborate forms reflect the evolution of poetry as a whole. Hebrew poetry, however, ceased to expand according to its own native genius after the second or third century of the common era, and must be regarded from

¹¹⁶ Rogers, p. 123.

¹¹⁷ See p. 117.

¹¹⁸ Jones, *Poeseos Asiaticae commentarium libri sex* (London, 1774), pp. 25-65; Wenrich, *De poeseos Hebraicae atque Arabicae origine* (Leipzig, 1843), *passim*. Ewald, *De Metris Carminum Arabicorum* (Brunswick, 1825), p. 96; De Ritis, *I Metri Arabi* (Naples, 1833), I, 82; Steiner, *Ueber hebraeische Poesie* (Basel, 1873), pp. 12, 25.

¹¹⁹ Chenery, *Assemblies of Al Hariri* (London, 1867), I, 45.

the viewpoint of form as a relatively primitive class of literature. The multitude and variety of later Arabic poetic and rhetorical forms have rendered it difficult to select any one as dominantly characteristic; while the scarcity of primitive Arabic poems, contemporaneous with the original Hebrew compositions, has made it hard to discern the fundamental rules of prosody and poetics which govern them. Hence the presence of parallelism, the outstanding trait of Hebrew poetry,¹²⁰ has been in the Arabic alternately championed and disputed.¹²¹ It is therefore necessary to reëxamine the Islamic literatures in an endeavor to determine whether parallelism is to be found therein. For this task investigation in Arabic poetry is not sufficient; Moham-medan-Persian literature, which is based upon Arabic poetical canons, and also Ottoman poetry, which is indebted both to the Arabic and the Persian, offer fruitful evidence. It is advisable to group these three under one classification, though minor variations between them exist.

Repetition in Islamic poetry must first be noted. It may be categorically affirmed that repetitions after the manner of the Egyptian, the Sumerian and the Babylonian-Assyrian poetry are absent from the Arabic; but a close approach to repetition is found in the rhetorical device called 'aks "inversion." Here two parts of a distich are so arranged that the same words which begin a sentence are reversed to conclude it; in its various manifestations, it sometimes takes on parallelistic character. In the Arabic, this example may be cited:

And their black hair became white,
And their white countenance black.¹²²

¹²⁰ Perhaps the first investigator to note parallelism as such in the Arabic was Schleusner, *Dissertatio*, p. 11; but Schrader, due to the deficiencies of his Arabic scholarship, affirmed a century later in 1875 that no parallelism existed in Islamic poetry. Though he expresses wonder at its absence among those tribes most protected from foreign influence, still this agrees with his preconceived theory of the non-Semitic origin of parallelism, which he attributes to the ancient Akkadians. Mueller however, in his discussion of the strophic structure of the Koran, asserts that the main characteristics of the verses and also the multistichs and strophes are parallelism and antithesis.

¹²¹ *Die Propheten*, p. 59.

¹²² Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber* (Vienna, 1853), p. 104.

From the Persian :

In your countenance, I beheld the beauty of which I had heard,
That beauty of which I had heard, in your countenance I beheld.¹²³

From the Ottoman :

The season of youth is the time to acquire knowledge;
The time to acquire knowledge is the season of youth.¹²⁴

Sometimes the words are read both backwards and forwards, in the manner of the anagram, excepting that there letters, and here whole words are transposed :

You possess money and you possess liberality;
Liberality you possess and money you possess.¹²⁵

It can be seen here at once, however, that the device is not built upon repetition, but upon inversion.¹²⁶

Another form of repetition or reiteration is found in the *mukarrar*, a form of paronomasia, wherein a word is repeated in the same distich as hemistich. Though parallelism is not necessarily attendant upon the *mukarrar*, these examples are clearly marked by it :

Whosoever seeks something and exerts himself, will find it.
Whosoever knocks on a door and perseveres, will enter.¹²⁷

From the Persian :

Your cheeks resemble two leaves, and each leaf is the sun;
Your hair hangs in ringlets, and each ringlet is a cord.

From envy of these leaves, the leaves of the rose are expanded;
From envy of those ringlets, the spikenard becomes twisted.¹²⁸

¹²³ Gladwin, *On the Rhetoric, Prosody, and Rhyme of the Persians* (Calcutta, 1801), *passim*; Rueckert-Pertsch, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser* (Gotha, 1874), *passim*.

¹²⁴ Gibbs, *History of Ottoman Poetry* (London, 1900), 5 vols., *passim*.

¹²⁵ Gladwin, p. 27. An example of the manner in which good parallelism may occur in this formation can be seen in this quotation:

"In liberality you are Hatem, in dignity you are Caesar;
In command you are Asaf; in argument you are Jesus."

Reversed it becomes:

"You are Jesus in argument; you are Asaf in command;
You are Caesar in dignity, you are Hatem in liberality."

¹²⁶ Gibbs, I, 115. He mentions also the *tard u'aks* or *epandos* which consists in forming the second line or a distich from the reversed halves of the first line, as in the example quoted. Sometimes the conversion is "perfect" and sometimes "imperfect." As an example of this same usage in English poetry, Gibbs quotes Milton:

"O more exceeding love or law more just,
Just law indeed, but more exceeding love."

¹²⁷ Mehren, p. 160. The paronomasia does not become apparent in the translations.

¹²⁸ Gladwin, p. 28.

An even closer approach to parallelism is found in some of the varieties of the *tajnīs* motif, also a form of paronomasia.¹²⁹ It occurs when the author employs in verse or prose, two or more words resembling each other in their letters, but having different meanings. Oftentimes the general effect is of parallelism, especially where the *motif* occurs in a distich. The *tajnīs tāmm* or "perfect similarity and homogeneity," occurring when two words of different meaning have the same sound and form, without any variations of the vowel points, creates several parallelistic couplets, of which this is a type:

If I compare your cheek to the rose, I committed a mistake;
And if I called your hair musk of Tartary, I uttered an impropriety.¹³⁰

Among the varieties of imperfect similarity, couplets of parallelism occur, but not so frequently. The *jinās al-qalb* contains an inversion and antithesis, apparent in this couplet of Ahnaf:

In your sword victory for your friends is prepared;
In your lance death for your enemies.¹³¹

A Turkish example of the *jinās muḥarraf* or "altered similarity," wherein the letters of the terms are all alike except that the vowel points differ, is present here:

The fame of her beauty increaseth in the city;
The praise of her rose-cheek is the theme of every tongue.¹³²

Another rhetorical device which approaches but does not attain parallelism is found in the *taqṣīm* or "division," a term applied also to mathematical division in the works of Euclid. That it was taken to mean a species of parallelism can be understood from a comment of Tha'alibi on the style of Mutannabi that among the beautiful and original features of his works he employed the *taqṣīm*, thus dividing his sentences into parallel parts:

We were in gladness, the Greeks in fear;
The land in bustle, the sea in confusion.¹³³

¹²⁹ Mehren, p. 154ff.

¹³⁰ Gladwin, p. 6ff.

¹³¹ Mehren, p. 158.

¹³² Gibbs, p. 116.

¹³³ Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs* (New York, 1907), p. 311; Dieterici, *Mutanabbi und Scifuddaula aus der Edelperle des*

But closer examination of other examples betrays the fact that *taqsim* is not genuine parallelism: in a hemistich, or a stichos, the poet recites several particulars, and afterwards in another hemistich or stichos, introduces some others in connection with them, and assigns each to each regularly:

I am pleased with love and wine because they are not friends;
Neither love with the libidinous, nor wine with the lips of the pious
man.¹³⁴

In a sense, this *motif* produces a triplet formation, of which the first stichos is long, and the other two are shorter; parallelism lying only between them, and not involving the first:

A soul and a heart I had as profit from the means of existence;
A stealthy glance took the latter;
Your flattery stole the former.¹³⁵

Several other rhetorical devices of the poetry of the Islamic literatures might be cited as near-parallelism, but they are deliberate and conscious poetic devices; they are chiselled out by a careful method, and lack the spontaneity and freedom of Hebrew parallelism. Moreover they are historically late, and none suffice to indicate the path to a solution of the question whether the Arabic contains genuine, sustained and regular parallelism, similar to the Hebrew. It is therefore necessary to turn back

Tsadlibi (Leipzig, 1847), p. 72. Tha'alibi introduces as confirmation of his judgment the opinion of Abu l'Kasim of Amid, who in his book *Weighing of the Poems* relates the following tale: "Once a stylistic connoisseur heard the verses of al-Abbas ibn al-Ahnaf:

'Your union is separation; your word hate;
Your assent is dissent; your peace war.
You bear within you through God's grace harsh thoughts,
And all tenderness is obstinate.'

Then he said: 'By Allah, this is finer than the divisions of Euclid. But still more worthy of this praise is the verse of Abu Tayyib' (quoted in the text). Tha'alibi also makes mention of the fact that Mutanabbi arranged his consecutive similes in brief symmetrical clauses (Nicholson, p. 310; Dieterici, p. 68).

"She shone forth like a moon
And swayed like a morning bough,
And shed fragrance like ambergris,
And gazed like a gazelle."

Ahlwardt, *Poesie und Poetik der Araber* (Gotha, 1856), p. 74, also notes the parallelism in *Mutanabbi*; on *taqsim*, see Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst* (Bonn, 1830), p. 537.

¹³⁴ Gladwin, p. 49.

¹³⁵ Rueckert-Pertsch, p. 340.

to the earliest origins of Arabic poetry in a search for germane comparative data.

Among the oldest extant Arabic poems is found this selection :

Tell me, O Rakash and deceive me not,
Hast thou given thyself to a free man, or to a base born?
Or to one lower, for thou art fit for one lower?
Or to a slave, for thou art fit for a slave!¹³⁶

It is at once evident that parallelism is present here. The same can be said of this quotation :

By the light and the dark; by the earth and the heaven;
Surely the trees shall perish; and the waters shall return as in the
time of old.

These selections, taken from a bulk of similar material, are unmetrical, though in each of the lines the first and second parts rhyme in their last word. They are composed in the *saj'* form. Literally this word signifies the sound made by the cooing of a dove; in rhetorical terminology, it designates "rhymed prose"; but for a comparison with the Hebrew poetry this translation of the term is unsatisfactory, for Hebrew poetry contains no rhyme, other than the few instances where it occurs accidentally. In Arabic, too, the rhyme of the *saj'* is, at least in its earliest manifestation, not all important; it is regarded by Goldziher as a later introduction, employed extensively for the first time in the formal public discourse or sermon, the *khutba*, from the third century of the *Hijra* onward.¹³⁷ It is therefore better to translate *saj'* as "unmetrical poetry."¹³⁸ To this species, the Hebrew poetry shows startling similarities. Among the Arabs and the Hebrews, the simplest element of poetical speech is "the versicle, a short and serried sentence, vigorously expressing a single idea, and detached from what goes before and comes after it."¹³⁹ The poetry of both is made up by the agglutination of these unmetrical versicles to one another: Hebrew con-

¹³⁶ Chenery, p. 42, gives this translation.

¹³⁷ Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie* (Leyden, 1896), contains a discussion of the *saj'*, I, 57-76ff. On lack of rhyme in early *khutbas*, see p. 62. On the *saj'*, see also Prendergast, *The Maqamat of Badi' Al-Zaman Al-Hamadhani* (1915), p. 8ff.

¹³⁸ Gray, p. 44; Goldziher, p. 59.

¹³⁹ Chenery, p. 47-48.

finer itself to parallelism mainly, a polarity or dualism between two verses; Arabic shows this dualism, together with continuity, the former appearing in the parallelistic speech of the desert orators, and most clearly in the *Maqāmāt* of Hariri; while the latter is more conspicuous in the semimetrical verse, called *rajaz*, which will be discussed below; both parallelism and continuity are present in compositions of a stricter prosody which the Arabs themselves call poetry.¹⁴⁰

The most important point in the *saj'*, however, is not the fact that it is unmetrical, or that in ancient times it was not rhymed,¹⁴¹ but that it is the counterpart of genuine Hebrew parallelism. The rhetorical character of the earliest *khutba* was concerned more with the symmetry and synonymy of the stichoi than with any other poetical element.¹⁴² The psychological basis for the *saj'* is the rhythmical and balanced form which seems to grow from exalted speech: whenever the language of the *khutba* becomes elevated and excited, parallelism appears; and even in the ordinary prose of the most sober narratives, the *saj'* appears when the writer describes anything which arouses his admiration or amazement.

A valuable piece of evidence for the thesis that parallelism in its origins is intimately bound up with magical incantations and formulas is discernible in the fact that the *saj'* is supposed to have been the characteristic form of utterance by the ancient Arabic soothsayers. Many legends have been handed down regarding its use for exorcisms, for oracular sayings, for prayers of protection, for prescriptions against the evil eye, for beggar-proverbs, and similar forms; its oldest usage for magical purposes may be found in the judgments and wise words of the old *kāhin*-speeches of heathen Arabic antiquity; later its use became a religious question, and though it is said that Mohammed banned it as a reminder of the days before his coming,¹⁴³ never-

¹⁴⁰ In addition to the *Maqāmāt* of Hariri, parallelism of the *saj'* is to be found in the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadani (see above), in the *Maqāmāt* of the Jewish poet al-Harizi (see below); and in the imitation of the *Maqāmāt* of Hariri by Nasif al-Yazaji of Beirut (Chenery, p. 98).

¹⁴¹ Chenery, p. 48, and above.

¹⁴² Goldziher, p. 64.

¹⁴³ On the use of the *saj'* by magicians and diviners, see Goldziher, p. 69ff. A comparison can be instituted between the use of the *saj'*

theless he himself wrote the Koran in *saj'* or rhymed prose *motif*. Mohammed's utterances, it is true, though unmetrical, make a nearer approach to versification than the ordinary rhymed prose, because their rhyme is continuous; Mueller is correct, however, in his discovery of parallelism and antithesis in the Koran, though these are by no means the dominant styles. After Mohammed, the Islamic preachers adopted the *saj'* for their weekly exhortations in the mosques; and rhymed prose, with emphasis laid more and more on the rhyme, now became so widespread that it was used in the introduction to most books, throughout others (particularly histories), and almost in common conversation.¹⁴⁴ In the *Thousand Nights and a Night* "it adds a sparkle to description and a point to proverb, epigram and dialogue;... and, generally, it defines the boundaries between the classical and the popular styles."^{144a}

In conjunction with the parallelism of the *saj'* arose a regular metre, the *rajaz*. This was employed long before the end of the Period of Ignorance, and was the favorite vehicle for the sententious utterances of chiefs and warriors, wise men and diviners.¹⁴⁵ Fundamentally *rajaz* is nothing but rhythmically disciplined *saj'*.¹⁴⁶ Parallelism existed before the introduction of rhyme, and surely before the introduction of the *rajaz* metre. When out of rhyme and the *rajaz* there is developed verse or poetry proper in all its multiform ramifications and artifices, parallelism still continues; but it is buried under a mass of poetical devices. It is crowded by metre, bounded and modified by rhyme; but none the less even in the genuine poetry

by the soothsayers, and the words mentioned with reference to the *yiddē-ōnīm* in Isaiah 8.19. There *mahgīm* can refer to the cooing of the turtle dove, just as *mēṣaphēcphīm* refers to the chirping of the birds. This would seem to point to the usage of the *saj'* by the soothsayers of the Hebrews, and hence to lend evidence to the hypothesis that the *saj'* may also have been at some time or another a form of the Hebrew parallelism. The Arabic *saj'* may be related to the Hebrew *shugga'* "to be intoxicated with prophecy."

¹⁴⁴ Chenery, p. 52ff. Arbuthnot, *Arabic Authors* (London, 1890), p. 27, asserts that the irregular, half rhythmical, half rhyming sentences of the Koran were the first attempts in the direction of prose in Arabic literature.

^{144a} Burton's translation, Introduction to Vol. I.

¹⁴⁵ Chenery, p. 49.

¹⁴⁶ Goldziher, p. 76.

of the Arabs, the Persians and the Turks, it continues to manifest itself now and then. For the character of the Islamic languages lends itself with such readiness and responsiveness to parallelism that the latter could never be entirely overwhelmed.¹⁴⁷ And it was probably due to the impress of its parallelistic origin that the Arabic poetry has always maintained an extreme simplicity and brevity of syntactic structure, demanding that the verse (i.e., line) stand by itself as a syntactic unit. It is true that the line may contain as many as thirty syllables, and that, though each line must in general consist of two metrically equal hemistichs, the caesura dividing the hemistichs may fall within a word and the line as a whole become the syntactic unit as it is normally the rhyme unit; but in the *rajaz* the older poets treat the single stichos (the hemistich) as the unit and rhyme all the hemistichs; and the fact that in all classical poetry the first line must be so treated—the rhyme must appear also at the first caesura—shows that originally the hemistich was the syntactic unit.

The long usage and development of the *saj'* through the mazes of Arabic poetry has resulted in its division into several branches, not all of which are valid for comparison with Hebrew parallelism. The individual stichoi are usually of the same length, but the second and sometimes the third stichos can be longer than the preceding; the finest type of *saj'* is found when the individual stichoi contain only a few words, from two to ten; long sentences of twenty or more words are unwieldy and weak. This agrees substantially with the Hebrew, where terse sentences are favored.

Synonymous parallelism is found in several forms in the Arabic and kindred literatures. The *saj' muwāzan* is the closest approach thereto. It occurs when the end words of the stichoi

¹⁴⁷ Steingass, *Assemblies of Hariri* (London, 1897), p. iv: "Arabic can do very well without punctuation because in elementary compositions the extreme simplicity of its construction scarcely requires such external signs of subdivision, while in works of a more elaborate style the *saj'* offers a sufficient equivalent for them. The rhyme in its repetition or in its still more frequent recurrence not only distinctly marks out the members of a proposition, but is also in combination with the parallelism of elevated Oriental diction, a great help to the reader for supplying the necessary vocalization."

agree in form, but not necessarily in rhyme; the result is close parallelism:

He is the sun in majesty, while the kings are stars;
He is the sea in generosity, while the nobles are brooks.

If all or at least a majority of the individual words of one stichos are similar in form to the corresponding terms of the second stichos, this figure is called *mumāthala*.¹⁴⁸ This verse of Abu Tammam is an example:

(Maidens) beautiful as gazelles, only that the latter are tame;
Slender as reeds, only that these are without sap.

The use of the root *mathal*, meaning to be like, to resemble, proves valuable in a discussion of the term *māshāl* as the Hebrew name for synonymous parallelism.¹⁴⁹

In the Persian, the *saj' muwāzan* shows the same identity with the Hebrew parallelism:

The Shah art thou, the might of whose steeds serves as a guide;
The Moon art thou, the victorious strength of whose swords serves
as a whetstone.

Or:

The envy of my verses devours the liver of Hussan Sabit;
The arm of my prose smiteth the neck of Sehbane Wayel.¹⁵⁰

Rueckert says of this form: "Both the *tarsi'* and the *saj' muwāzan* are the most perfect, yet at the same time most rigid form of the Hebrew *parallelismus membrorum*, which also in many cases is a complete parallelism of all the individual words."¹⁵¹ This parallelism occurs with the most highly developed metres, which heighten rather than hinder the synonymy of the terms.

Slightly similar to this figure, yet showing a parallelism neither so perfect nor so constant is the *saj' mutawāzī*. Here at the end of two periods of prose or at the close of two stichoi of verse, there are two words agreeing in measure, rhyme, and in the final letter, the number of words in the stichoi being also equal. Though it is not always the case, the remaining words

¹⁴⁸ Mehren, p. 166ff; Rueckert-Pertsch, p. 104ff. See below, p. 115.

¹⁴⁹ Rueckert-Pertsch, p. 105.

¹⁵⁰ Gladwin, p. 10. Gladwin's transliteration of the proper names is retained.

¹⁵¹ Rueckert-Pertsch, p. 106.

of one stichos may correspond either in form or in rhyme with the respective words of the other:

Without support am I through the enticement of those locks full of
ringlets,

Without sleep am I through the flattery of that eye full of ardour.

Synonymous parallelism may also be found in the figure *saj' murassa'*, though it will be seen that in the form of the *tarsi'* it occurs more often as antithetic parallelism. The *saj' murassa'* occurs when all the words or the majority of those in one section agree in form and in rhyme with the corresponding words of the second:

He studied the parts of speech with the jewels of his words;
He influences all ears with the warning-calls of his preaching.

This formation is not distinctive of rhymed prose alone, but occurs also in many forms of verse; in this selection from Abu Tammam, all the sections have the same rhyme:

Through him is my reason enlightened; through him my hand well-
filled;
Through him my brooklet became a stream; through him my tinder
a torch.

This *motif* differs from the *saj' muwāzan* in that it has identity of rhyme and sound, as well as of form.

Antithetic parallelism has many varieties in the Arabic and kindred literatures. When each stichos of the antithesis contains several ideas arranged in order, which stand exactly opposite to each other, the figure is called *muqābala*; the number of these opposing concepts ranges from two to ten.¹⁵² For three and three, the number most common in Hebrew antithetic parallelism, this verse serves as an example:

How beautiful are faith and riches when they are united;
How ugly are unbelief and poverty in one and the same man.

Five and five are illustrated by a verse similar to this one from Ibn Mu'tazz, where the individual members are heaped up in rows:¹⁵³

Be noble, composed, friendly, well-esteemed and peaceful;
Or be faithless, arrogant, surly, despised and belligerent.

¹⁵² On antithesis, see Mehren, p. 97ff.; on *muqābala*, p. 99.

¹⁵³ Ahlwardt, p. 74-75; Dieterici, p. 32-35.

This type is also called *tafwif*, and is employed on occasion by Mutanabbi.

In the figure of *tarsī'*, which springs directly from the *saj' murassa'*, antithetic parallelism is also found. The *tarsī'* is the complement of the *saj' muwāzan*, or synonymous parallelism, and occurs in all branches of Islamic literature:

Verily the righteous are in heavenly enjoyment;
But the accursed are in Gehenna.

In the Persian also, the *tarsī'* sometimes occurs without antithesis:

The shower of God's grace without calculation is open to all;
And the table of his kindness is prepared in all places.¹⁵⁴

At times the *tarsī'* is joined with the *tajnīs*, becoming *tarsī' ma' tajnīs*, wherein antithesis occurs most often, but where synonymy is also possible:

I shall not be distressed, if you do not distress me;
I shall be wishful, if you are sportive.¹⁵⁵

Examples of antithetic parallelism occur often in proverbs:

Faith is the medicine of every grief;
Doubt only raises up a host of cares.

Mere falsehood should be by its face recognized,
But truth by parables and admonitions.¹⁵⁶

Synthetic parallelism can be said to exist as such in Arabic even less than in Hebrew. In Hebrew, where the dominant *motif* is parallelism, synthetic couplets are usually encompassed by numerous genuine synonymous or antithetic couplets; so in the Arabic *khutba* and *maqāma* which alone show long arrays of parallelistic couplets, and of course in strict poetry, where parallelism is the exception, not the rule, synthetic couplets are engulfed in the labyrinth of couplets which are characterized by various rhymes and metres. The multitudinous types of rhymed and metrical couplets, it is true, may have evolved out of the synthetic couplets; but the line of demarcation between

¹⁵⁴ Rueckert-Pertsch, pp. 88-89; Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, 206.

¹⁵⁵ Gladwin, p. 5.

¹⁵⁶ Nicholson, p. 301. Also:

"Man's life is his fair name and not his length of years;
Man's death is his ill name, and not the day that nears."

so-called synthetic parallelism and non-parallelistic couplets is so thin that it is futile to distinguish any other types than the clear synonymous and antithetic.

Examples of the long continuity of parallelistic couplets in the *maqāma*, written in the *saj'*, or rhymed prose structure may be seen in this excerpt from Hariri's *maqāma* called the "Reversed":¹⁵⁷

Man is the creature of kindness,
 And the perfecting of a benefit is the deed of the liberal;
 And the disposition of the generous is a treasure of praise.

 And the gain of thanks is a gathering of happiness;
 And the index of generosity is the light of cheerfulness.

 And the practice of courtesy leads of need to affection;
 And the bond of friendship demands sincere counsel;

 And truth of narrative is the ornament of the tongue;
 And eloquence in speech is witchcraft to hearts;

 And the net of desire is the bane of souls;
 And impatience of disposition is a dishonor to mortals.

 And evil desire consists not with self-restraint;
 And the clinging to prudence is the leading-cord of safety;

 And to seek occasions for blamings is the worst of faults;
 And the dwelling upon failings overthrows friendships.

The passage continues in this strain for many paragraphs, and the same sustained parallelism can be found throughout the entire work. The synonymity between the terms at times is close and at times distant, yet the parallelism is indubitable.

The following example from Burton's translation of Night 204 of the *Thousand Nights and a Night* shows parallelism extending through several lines:

This is the writ of one whom passion swayeth,
 And whom longing waylayeth,
 And wakeful misery slayeth;

 One who despaireth of living,
 And looketh for naught but dying;

¹⁵⁷ Chenery, p. 202. The peculiarity of this particular composition, The Seventh Assembly, is that the words themselves when reversed produce a perfect sense.

With whose mourning heart
 Nor comforter nor helper taketh part,
 One whose sleepless eyes
 None succoureth from anxieties;

Whose day is passed in fire
 And his night in torturing desire.

A word must be said on the presence in Arabic of a form identical with the Hebrew *qīnā*, or elegy.¹⁵⁸ The rhythm of an old Arabic elegy has been designated as: — — ∪ — | — —; it is supposed to have developed out of numerically undisciplined *saj'*, which was employed in ancient times not only in the orations and epics, but also in songs of mourning. It is closely associated with the rise and development of the *rajaz* metre.¹⁵⁹ A couplet which shows the similarity to the Hebrew style is the following:¹⁶⁰

Why hast thou trampled him—the man?
 Why hast thou killed him—oh camel?

The following conclusions may then be made in regard to Arabic parallelism:

1. Parallelism exists in Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman poetry, together with varied rhymes and metres; the figures wherein parallelism is present do not, however, show the true historic nature of parallelism.

2. Parallelism exists inherently and genuinely in the *saj'*, or unmetrical poetry or rhymed prose. Originally the *saj'* must have been unrhymed and unmetrical, distinguished only by the parallelism. In this primitive stage it was contemporaneous with early Hebrew poetry. Arabic poetry, however, followed a different line of evolution, and in time added to the *saj'* rhyme, which became even more important than the parallelism. From this rhyme developed the numerous species of rhyme in the later parallelism. In addition, the *rajaz* metre developed and disciplined the *saj'*; from it grew the multitude of metres which characterize later Arabic poetry.

¹⁵⁸ Koenig, *Stylistik*, p. 316; and *Hebraeische Rhythmik* (Halle, 1914), pp. 14–15; Wetzstein, *Z. f. Ethnologie*, V (1873), 297ff.

¹⁵⁹ Goldziher, p. 77ff.

¹⁶⁰ See also below, note 167.

3. Parallelism in Arabic is synonymous in the figures *saj'* *muwāzana*, *saj' murassa'* and *saj' mutawāzī*, etc. It is antithetic in the figures *muqābala* and *tarsī'*, and others. Synthetic parallelism as such does not exist in Arabic poetry. *Qīnā* is also present in Arabic, and the kindred literatures.

A final question arises with reference to the *saj'*. Gray points out that the *saj'* stands intermediately between the form *uathr*, prose and *uathm* or *shi'r*, metrical poetry.¹⁶¹ The *rajaz* metre he takes as the transitional style between unmetrical and metrical poetry. Gray then asks: Is it possible that in Hebrew, not two, but three forms of composition should be recognized—metrical poetry, and plain prose, and an intermediate type “differing from poetry by the absence of metre, and from prose by obedience to certain laws governing the mutual relations between its clauses—a type for which we might as makeshifts employ the terms unmetrical poetry or parallelistic prose?” It is not possible here to answer this question; it will be necessary to postpone even an attempt at a reply until the material in several portions of the biblical writings shall have been reexamined.¹⁶²

NEO-ARABIC

The Neo-Arabic poetry which is sung by the common people today affords many parallels to the ancient Hebrew. A collection of Arabic songs entitled *Songs of an Egyptian Peasant* portrays the three major stages of early poetry, iteration, incremental repetition, and parallelism.¹⁶³ Iteration is not so frequent as incremental repetition, of which the following examples among many suffice:

Oh Shamme, what has become of me, Shamme,
Whom thou lettest restlessly wander about, Shamme,
Whom thou lettest hunger, Shamme,

¹⁶¹ Gray, p. 44. In Persian, the prose consists of three types: 1, poetical prose, having measure without rhyme; 2, having rhyme without any measure; 3, simple prose, devoid of rhyme and measure. Neither rhyme without measure, nor measure without rhyme is poetry; it is necessary that both should be combined to form verse. Gladwin, p. 1; Rueckert-Pertsch, pp. 54–55.

¹⁶² See below, on Amos, p. 262.

¹⁶³ Schaefer, *Songs of an Egyptian Peasant*, collected and translated into German; English edition by F. H. Breasted (Leipzig, 1904).

Whom thou lettest thirst, Shamme,
 What has become of me, Shamme,
 Verily I would go to Syria for the sake of Shamme.

An example of repetition and ascending thought, as in some of the Bible poems, is found in this:

The baby gazelle, my children,
 Goes behind its mother to the pasture,
 It goes to the pasture without any shoes,
 With little feet bare.

And:

Thou Alexandrian bath!
 O bath, how wretchedly thou art made,
 O bath, and it was made by me;
 O bath, and nobody but myself.

Antithetic parallelism is evident here:

If we have done something badly, then reprove us,
 And if we have been thy sons, then content us.

Alternate parallelism in a quatrain is present in this:

The eye is black from Allah,
 Wherefore then the eye-pain?
 And the cheek is red from Allah,
 Wherefore then Joseph's-beauty?

Other illustrations are at hand in the collection; these suffice, however, to demonstrate similarities to Hebrew parallelism.

Littman's *Nco-Arabie Folk-poetry* is full of suggestions for the Old Testament student to which attention has already been called by Freiherr von Gall.¹⁶⁴ Littman asserts that many of these genuine folk poems from Egypt, Palestine and Syria are written in a kind of rhymed prose; the lack of a definite measure many indicate that also in the Old Testament verses of a similar character are at least possible without a fixed metre.¹⁶⁵ Littman believes it possible because of the long-standing stability of oriental forms that the ancient *qīna*-measure is still used in Palestine.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Littmann, *Neuarabische Volkspoesie* (Berlin, 1902); Gall, "Parallelen zum Alten Testament aus E. Littmann's *Neuarabische Volkspoesie*," *ZATW*, 1904, p. 42ff.

¹⁶⁵ Littman, p. 88.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

I will wound my cheek for thy sake, O my brother...and let the blood flow,
 And I will keep thy slave by my side three months...for him whom they carried away.

I will repeat it, my brother, and say...and will continue to dance for you,
 And if people ask of me, I will tell them...my dear brother has gone away.¹⁶⁷

It should be noted also that strophic structure, while it is never found in the strictly classical poetry, is fairly frequent in the folk-poetry. That this also may be a survival from ancient times is shown by the fact that outside of the classical forms there are found fairly old prototypes of the so-called Neo-Arabic forms. As early as the second century after Muhammad there are references to poems with short lines grouped by varying rhyme into strophes. Of a later date examples of the *muwashshah* are found in greater variety; the departure from the restrictions of the canonical laws of metre and rhyme are considerable, and the strophic structure is clearly marked by refrains. Poems of this sort make use not only of popular speech (grammatical forms without case-endings), but some of them are written in the strictly classical language. It may be that the *muwashshah* is not in reality a later development out of the classical poetic structure, but an independent, parallel development out of the more primitive Semitic type, always maintained among the people but deemed unworthy of imitation by the classicists and excluded from the body of written literature.^{167a}

ABYSSINIAN PARALLELISM

A collection of Songs of the Tigre tribes of Abyssinia also shows points of similarity to the ancient Hebrew.¹⁶⁸ Traces of parallelism may be found in these selections:

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 14-17, 46, 129; see above, on Arabic *qinā*. Other collections of Neo-Arabic poetry wherein resemblances to the ancient Hebrew may be found are: Dalman, *Palästinischer Diwan* (Leipzig, 1901), cited by Gray, p. 145; Smith, p. 13; Sachau, "Arab. Volkslieder aus Mesopotamien," in *Abh. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1889.

^{167a} Hartmann, *Das arabische Strophengedicht* (Weimar, 1897), p. 113 and *passim*.

¹⁶⁸ Littmann, "Lieder der Tigre-Stämme," *Publications of Princeton*

I will glorify thee, O Lord,
 Thy deeds are marvelous!
 This night he created,
 And he created this morning;
 This milk he created,
 And he created this corn;
 This sun he created,
 And he created this shadow.

Or

Be but still O Hemmad,
 If you would appease me!
 When the elephant is tamed,
 And with burdens of milk returns home;
 When the female elephant is bound,
 And with the cows gives milk,
 When the lion becomes a shepherd,
 And is at peace with cows and calves,
 When the panther protects,
 And from a bound udder drinks,
 When the mountain-goat rolls straight up the mountain,
 And remains hanging on the precipice,
 When the torrent turns round,
 And pours on the highlands,
 When the heaven becomes a field,
 And the tribes wander over it,
 When the field becomes heaven,
 And spreads wide over us.

Noeldeke affirms that the metrical form of these poems resembles in some respects the ancient Hebrew.¹⁶⁹

Though the comparison with this folk poetry of near-Palestinian and Palestinian countries extends to only a few isolated phenomena, yet these are valuable as throwing light upon the ancient Hebrew; it is true that they bear little on the subject of parallelism, for after all, no such regularity as in the biblical poetry is maintained, repetitions and prose being continuously interspersed, the former particularly in large degree; but the character of the ancient Hebrew rhythm and metre receive some elucidation from them, because they appear to have guarded the primitive forms for centuries, untouched by any alien influence.

Expedition to Abyssinia, III, IV (Leyden, 1913-1915); selections from IV, 856, and 775-776 respectively.

¹⁶⁹ *ZA*, XXXI (1916), 13.

HEBREW PARALLELISM

The earliest appearance of parallelism in Hebrew poetry can scarcely be determined. Unchanged iteration after the manner of the Egyptian and the Sumerian is not found in the Bible except in artistically introduced refrains, where, however, they are surrounded by regular parallelism and occur at regular intervals. Incremental repetition is present, though as a type of highly developed parallelism. The identity of the two lines in this couplet produces a strong poetic effect, though the text itself is doubtful (Is. 15.1) :

In-a-night 'tis-destroyed, Ar-Moab is-ruined;
In-a-night 'tis-destroyed, Kir-Moab is-ruined.

The reason for the difficulty in tracing the origin and expansion of parallelism in Hebrew lies in the fact that even the most ancient poems already possess a regular and intricate parallelistic structure. Though the archaic songs may have come down in the language and the form of the prophetic writers of the periods of great literary activity among the Hebrews, there is nothing to argue against the presence of parallelism even in their original form. The Song of Lamech (Gen. 4.23 ff.) and other snatches of primitive Hebrew poetry betray a fully developed parallelism, together with almost all the other poetic devices of the later literature; hence it is virtually impossible to cut through to the pristine beginnings of Hebrew parallelism with a view to an analysis of its steps of historic development.

A slight fund of evidence is discoverable in the passages which refer to the habit of the women of the early Hebrews in improvising verses on occasions of exultation and triumph. The origins of antiphonal singing may be found here. Tradition reports that Moses with the Israelites chanted his ode at the Red Sea in responsive fashion, the chorus taking up, modifying and supplementing the thoughts expressed by the leader. "Miriam, the prophetess, took a timbrel in her hand, and all the women followed her with timbrels, and with dances, and Miriam answered them" (Ex. 15.20).¹⁷⁰ Another reference is

¹⁷⁰ For similar customs among other primitive peoples, see Gummere, p. 264ff.

found in I Sam. 18.7, where the "women who played answered one another," singing, first one group:

Saul hath slain his thousands,

the other answering:

And David his ten thousands.

This custom seems to have represented a long historic process, and rather explains the methods in which parallelism was employed than the rise of parallelism itself; such antiphonal singing and responson is a practice common to many peoples, and is not accompanied of necessity by parallelism. After long usage in the Temple liturgy, antiphonal singing passed into the Christian Church, when two divisions of the choir sang the psalms or hymns alternately by strophes; sometimes this was done by single verses or lines, so that the same section of the choir always sang the latter half of a couplet, similar in a way to the practice of composition employed by the Finnish bards.¹⁷¹ By this time, however, parallelism had attained high literary form; though originally it may have arisen from this practice of alternate singing between a leader and a chorus, it is more plausible to believe that the couplet structure of parallelism stands entirely apart from the antiphonal singing; its origins in Hebrew may be based upon the long tradition which had come down through the Sumerian and Babylonian-Assyrian literature.

Two terms apparently were used to designate parallelism in the Hebrew. The word 'ānā, "answer" or "respond," is used with reference to antiphonal singing, though incidentally its meaning of "answer" may signify the fact that one stichos

¹⁷¹ On Jewish Temple music in the early Christian church, see Reider, Review of *Gesänge d. jemenischen Juden*, A. Z. Idelsohn, JQR, n.s., VII (1917), 635ff. "It is a well-known fact that both the Ambrosian and Gregorian chants which lay at the foundations of Christian music, in spite of being based on Greek modes, are Jewish in character, and must have had their origin in Temple music (cf. Fetis, *Histoire générale de la musique*, I, 166). Not only their antiphonal character (theme and counter-theme), which closely resembles the principle of parallelism in Hebrew poetry, but also their affinity and predilection for minor modes like the Phrygian and the total eclipse of the Lydian major, point as support to this assertion. If therefore as we have reason to suppose, there is a continuity between the Temple melodies and those of the Yemenite synagogue, a comparison between the latter and the so-called 'cantus planus' of the Church can be instructive in establishing once for all the degree of influence of the Temple on the early Church in the field of music," p. 639.

“answers” to another in the couplet; for this connotation, however, no instances are at hand.¹⁷² It is equally difficult to tell whether the word *māshāl* refers to parallelism. In the Arabic, it has been seen that the *sajʿ mumāthil* denotes synonymous parallelism. The corresponding Hebrew verb *māshāl* originally means “to represent, to be like”; and for the ancient Hebrews, the noun *māshāl* was used, usually in the Wisdom literature, of sentences constructed in parallelism, but occasionally of other types;¹⁷³ it means also a “parable,” or “sentences of poetry.” It does not, however, appear to designate sharply and directly the formation of parallelistic couplets, though the parable, the proverb, the riddle, or the prophetic figurative discourse were almost always cast in couplet or triplet formation. In this connection, it is significant to note that a study of literary style does not receive much attention until the Middle Ages, though Philo and Josephus made feeble efforts in this direction; David Kimhi and his contemporaries are perhaps the first to give to parallelism a distinctive appellation. The fact that seemingly the ancient Hebrews had no definite term to apply to the specific process of forming couplets of parallelism, but referred rather to the type of poetic result or totality, namely the poem itself, might indicate that the use of parallelism was not a deliberate or fixed style; but this conclusion is by no means a necessary one.

CONCLUSIONS

It is now possible to present conclusions on the origin of parallelism. Parallelism has its seat in a psychological tendency of the human mind to repeat a favorite thought in different words; this impulse operates most freely and vigorously in moments of lyrical excitement, though guided and chastened by a second psychological propensity towards orderliness and organization. The manifestation of these poetic principles appears in ancient literatures, where they take first the form of reiteration, then of incremental repetition, and finally of artistic parallelism.

¹⁷² Brown, Driver and Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon* [cited as BDB] (Boston, 1906), p. 777.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 605.

The earliest use of parallelism seems to be bound up with the antiphonal song of the poet and the crowd, and the formulas of soothsayers.

Parallelism being the result of a universal human instinct may have arisen independently in the numerous literatures where it is found. In Chinese literature, its rise and development are indigenous and date back three thousand years; in Finnish literature it is equally old, and is apparently entirely native, being unaffected by foreign influences. Though bound by a special metre, Finnish is much looser and freer than the Chinese parallelism, which is assisted by several external mechanical devices which tend to make its forms stereotyped and rigid. Both stand entirely apart from the parallelism of the ancient peoples of the near-East.

These include the Egyptian, Sumerian, Babylonian-Assyrian, Arabic, and Hebrew literatures. Each of these may have created and developed parallelism by entirely local agencies; no alien influences may have been at work. Yet the geographical proximity of these peoples and the fairly complete chain of chronological evolution points to some contact and interplay of influence. The earliest extant parallelism obtains in Egyptian literature. Though fairly constant, it is marred by frequent repetitions; its couplet structure is vague and irregular. By some it is supposed that Hebrew parallelism took its origin from the Egyptian. On the assumption that the Egyptians were a non-Semitic people, though this of course has been disputed, Breasted asks: Did the Semites obtain this style of verse from the Egyptians, or vice-versa?¹⁷⁴ Philo asserts in *De Vita Mosis* (I, 5) that Moses was taught by the Egyptians "the whole theory of rhythm, harmony and metre." But such evidence naturally counts for little; though Hebrew undoubtedly borrowed much from the Egyptians, the period and extent of this influence cannot be shown. The high state of Hebrew parallelism and the low stage of Egyptian, indicate a broad historical gap between the two which, if a nexus between them can be established, must be bridged.

¹⁷⁴ *Biblical World*, I, 56.

Sumerian parallelism seems to be the next step after the Egyptian. Without entering into the debatable question of the racial patrimony of the Sumerians, two hypotheses on the appearance of parallelism in their literature are possible. Either the Egyptian literature affected the Sumerian and thus stimulated it to an advance in the regularity of its parallelism, for despite its repetitions, it shows a more obvious couplet structure; or Sumerian parallelism arose locally and of its own accord, without any interchange between Egyptian and Mesopotamian cultures. Thus if it be accepted that both Egyptians and Sumerians were non-Semitic peoples, the substratum of ancient parallelism may have been in contradistinction to the usual opinion, non-Semitic.

The third link in the chain of near-Eastern parallelism may bind the Sumerian with the Babylonian-Assyrian. The fact that so many of the Assyrian hymns were copies from the Sumerian, as the bilingual texts prove, may indicate that the latter underlies the varied Babylonian-Assyrian parallelism. Schrader champions the view that the "Akkadians" were the progenitors and earliest teachers of parallelism to the Semites, first to the Babylonians and then to the Hebrews. But little evidence is at hand to show that the Hebrews learned parallelism from the Sumerians "during their sojourn in Sinear, in Ur of the Chaldees before they wandered to the North and West, in order to settle permanently in Canaan."¹⁷⁵ Even if the Hebrews had been introduced into parallelism from this source, its further development must have come from contact with Babylonian parallelism.

For the transmission of Babylonian-Assyrian forms to Hebrew literature constitutes the next link in the chain of parallelism. The similarity of Babylonian to Hebrew strophic and verse forms—the metrical, accentual, and other likenesses—points to direct interplay between the two civilizations and literatures.¹⁷⁶ Though the Babylonian stands clearly ahead of the Sumerian

¹⁷⁵ Schrader, "Semitismus," I, 121ff.

¹⁷⁶ Baumann, *Die Metrik und d. A. T.* (Tuebingen, 1905), pp. 52-53; Berger, "Les origines babyloniens de la poesie sacrée des Hebreux," *Annales du Musée Guimet, Biblioth. de vulgarisation*, XVI (1904), 26-84.

and the Egyptian, it does not attain in regularity of couplet structure and the absence of repetitions, the beauty of the Hebrew. It may be said to stand intermediately between Sumerian-Egyptian and Hebrew. This by no means implies that the ancient Israelites took over bodily Babylonian parallelism and other poetic forms of expression. Moreover, the earliest point at which outside parallelism entered the Hebrew cannot be determined, because the most ancient poems extant betray a fully developed parallelistic formation.

A similar problem is bound up in a consideration of Arabic parallelism. Hitherto the statements made as to the rise and gradual expansion of parallelism have been largely conjectural; an even wider range of hypothetical reconstruction is demanded with reference to the origins of the Arabic. The earliest available literature of the Arabs dates back only a hundred years or more before Mohammed. Parallelism is present in the form of the *saj'*, already marked by rhyme. Though Goldziher postulates a time when the *saj'* possessed neither metre nor rhyme, the question arises as to how far back this period extends. Despite the tenacity with which the desert Bedouin Arabs maintained their customs, exemplified in part by a comparison of the Neo-Arabic poetry with the ancient Hebrew, it is too wild a leap in the dark to say that contemporaneous with the Babylonian-Assyrian parallelism, an Arabic prototype existed. The desert tribes may have possessed at that time no literature whatsoever; this would imply that Arabic parallelism arose either indigenously or from contact with the surrounding peoples where parallelism was employed, the Babylonians or the Hebrews. There are signs of a primitive union of Arabic with Hebrew, and in the poetry of the Bible itself there are several instances of couplets which show marked resemblance to the unrhymed *saj'*. But if ever a primitive junction between Hebrew and Arabic existed in unrecorded eras, Arabic poetry traced an entirely different course of evolution; the Hebrew remained true to its ancient origins; only when it comes into clash with the Greek, Latin, and early Christian poetic forms, does the long maintained parallelism surrender; Arabic, however, adds to the

unrhymed and unmetrical *saj'* first a varied rhyme; then metre, first of simple then of multifarious character; finally the parallelism of the *saj'* is overwhelmed, but not entirely lost, through the adoption and perfection of countless poetical mechanical devices. Thus the difficulty of classifying Arabic in the chronology of parallelistic evolution may be readily perceived. It is best to ascribe to it an independent origin, and to say of the Hebrew, that it drew nourishment from the totality of parallelistic growth represented by the apparently steady ascent from Egyptian-Sumerian through Babylonian-Assyrian into the Hebrew. Arabic may be a side-stream in the current of evolution; its rôle cannot be approximated. In the Hebrew, however, parallelism received the strongest impulse for high poetic expression.

A summary of conclusions on the origins of parallelism may be briefly put as follows:

1. Both Chinese and Finnish parallelism arise independently of any outside influences.

2. The chronological line of development of near-Eastern, or Mediterranean-Mesopotamian parallelism seems to be as follows: Egyptian, Sumerian, Babylonian-Assyrian, and Hebrew. Arabic may have been contemporaneous with the Babylonian-Assyrian or with the Hebrew.

3. If a non-Semitic substratum for parallelism is postulated, it may be supposed that Egyptian and Sumerian, regarded as non-Semitic, each arose independently of the other, or through some interchange; that Babylonian-Assyrian grew out of Sumerian; that Hebrew grew out of Egyptian, Babylonian-Assyrian, and possibly the independently-originated Arabic.

4. If a Semitic substratum be postulated, it may be supposed that in primitive times, the Arabs and the Hebrews possessed a literature marked by common traits; the *saj'* may underlie Hebrew parallelism, though no evidence points to the fact that the unrhymed and unmetrical *saj'* existed so early as the ancient Hebrew; this implies a jump over nearly two thousand years. The Arabic *saj'* with its parallelism may be an entirely independent growth.

LATER DEVELOPMENT OF PARALLELISM

The lifetime of parallelism covers many centuries. It has been seen that the beginnings of parallelism lie far back in the origins of poetry among the Egyptians and the Sumerians. It entered into Hebrew literature through the medium either of the Egyptian or of the Babylonian-Assyrian, and may have been reinforced by the use of the *saj'* by primitive Arabic tribes. It appears in the earliest poems of the Israelites; it continues to develop until it reaches its apogee in the days of the Major Prophets, the Psalmists, and the Moralists. Thereafter it continues to flourish in Hebrew literature, though little by little its ancient spirit weakens. It enters into the Greek literature of the Jews and for a while retains its native vigor there; but the rise of Christian civilization and the supremacy of Greek poetic forms spell its gradual retirement. Within indigenous Jewish literature the decline of the Jewish poetic genius during the talmudic period is responsible for a concomitant breakdown of parallelism; nor does the revival of Hebrew poetry after the tenth century avail much for its renewed growth as against the alien influence of an intricate Arabic system of poetics. Only within the last century has a conscious effort been made to resurrect parallelism; and this attempt also has been abortive.

IN THE APOCRYPHA AND THE APOCALYPSES

To trace the history of parallelism after the close of the biblical Canon, it is necessary to turn to those works which lie outside the Old Testament proper. Jebb pointed out the presence of parallelism in almost all of the apocryphal books.¹⁷⁷ Ecclesiasticus, the Wisdom of Solomon, the Books of Wisdom, Book of Tobit, the first Book of the Maccabees, the Book of Judith are for a large part clearly in the parallelistic style of the classic Hebrew writings, though narrative prose at times forms a background for the parallelistic insets, while the couplet formation is less certain, and synonymity and close correspondence are less distinct. The Pseud-epigrapha, several of the

¹⁷⁷ Jebb, *Sacred Literature* (London, 1820), pp. 75, 84ff.

apocalypses such as the Twelve Patriarchs, the Book of Jubilees, the Apocalypse of Baruch and IV Esdras, also contain passages of parallelism. Gray selects from the Apocalypse of Baruch, chapter 48.1–47 as “among the most regular and sustained examples of parallelism in the whole range of Hebrew literature.”¹⁷⁸ It seems plausible, then, that parallelism was used in formal literature among the Jews as a regular *motif* at least until 100 A.D., the approximate date of the Apocalypse of Esdras.

IN GREEK ORIGINALS BY JEWS

A word must be said on the use of parallelism in Greek literature contemporary with the later Hebrew. Tobit's Prayer, the Prayer of Manasses, the Song of the Three Holy Children, the latter part of Baruch were, according to the viewpoint of several investigators, written originally in Greek; yet the parallelism remains fairly pure. It has already been noted that the character and form of the original Hebrew poetry were retained, with the exception of a few errors and misinterpretations, in the Septuagint.¹⁷⁹

IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Parallelism is evident also in the New Testament. Among those first to recognize it therein were Horne, Wakefield, Farrer, Ammon, A. Clarke and others.¹⁸⁰ But Bishop Jebb was per-

¹⁷⁸ *Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, p. 27.

¹⁷⁹ Professor Max Margolis has pointed out that no translator of the Hebrew Scriptures could fail to notice the parallelistic structure of Hebrew poetry. The uncials show oftentimes by stichic writing the nature of the periodic and couplet character of the parallelism. The omission of lines, in Proverbs and Job, for example, must be studied carefully and each case judged on its own merits. The translator might operate freely with his text, and to the extent that he sacrificed the parallelism it may be said that it did not matter to him, so long, as in the case of Job, he showed himself an adept in Greek poetry (*poctarum lector*). But that the Alexandrian Jews were fully cognizant of parallelism is shown by the fact that in additions presumably not based on a Hebrew original, or in the apocryphal writings already mentioned, parallelism is present. The extent to which parallelism was observed in the other versions is doubtful. Neither Josephus, Origen, nor Jerome understood the fundamental principles of Hebrew poetry, but they labored under misconceptions drawn from their knowledge of Greek. An interesting chapter on the recognition of parallelism by translators of the Bible throughout the centuries could be written, but lack of space forbids the inclusion in this study.

¹⁸⁰ Jebb, *Sacred Literature*, pp. 94–95.

haps the first to devote himself to a thorough study of New Testament parallelism; he was followed by Thomas Boys, who in his *Tacita Sacra* and *Key to the Book of Psalms* attempted to show a correspondence, not merely of lines, but of whole paragraphs. John Forbes carried these investigations still further in his *Symmetrical Structure of the Scripture* and *Analytical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*.¹⁸¹ Richard G. Moulton accepts many of the results of Forbes and selects illustrations for the various types of parallelism, rather than devote himself to a close investigation of the material.¹⁸² Recent translations of the New Testament have sought to make use of the conclusions of these scholars of the last century, though care must be exercised in a selection of their evidence.¹⁸³

Among the poems which are of Hebrew origin, parallelism is clear. The Magnificat and other New Testament canticles show excellent couplet structure,¹⁸⁴ and the material embodied in quotations from the original Hebrew still retains the parallelistic form: these quotations may be: (1) simple and direct quotations of single passages;¹⁸⁵ (2) quotations of a more complex kind when fragments are combined from different parts of the poetical Scriptures and wrought up into one connected whole;¹⁸⁶ (3) quotations mingled with original matter; here one or more passages derived from the Hebrew are so connected and blended with original writings that the compound forms one homogeneous whole, the sententious parallelism equally pervading all the component members whether original or derived.¹⁸⁷

Parallelism is present also in original portions of the New Testament apparently untouched by any direct influence of biblical poetry. Parallel couplets abound;¹⁸⁸ triplets are fre-

¹⁸¹ Edinburgh, 1854, 1868.

¹⁸² *Literary Study of the Bible* (Boston, 1896).

¹⁸³ See Torrey, "A Possible Metrical Origin of the Lord's Prayer," *Z.A.* XXVIII, 312ff. Moffat, *The Historical New Testament* (Edinburgh, 1901).

¹⁸⁴ Gray, p. 26; The Magnificat, Luke 1.46, must of course be compared with Hannah's Ode in I Sam. 2.1-10. Burney, *Journal of Theological Studies*, XIV, 414-424, regards Matt. 25.31-46 as a Hebrew poem.

¹⁸⁵ Matt. 2.6, 18, 4.15, 16; Heb. 12.5, 6, etc.

¹⁸⁶ Mark 11.17; Rom. 11.33-35; II Cor. 9.9, 10, etc.

¹⁸⁷ Rom. 10-13-18; Matt. 21.42-44; Acts. 4.24-30, etc.

¹⁸⁸ Luke 1.46-47, 12.48; Matt. 5.42, 7.2, 12.35, 15.11; John 5.29; James 1.9-10, 4.8, 20.13, etc.

quent,¹⁸⁹ though open to the same question as in the Hebrew; quatrains of varying orders also are numerous.¹⁹⁰ Even though in Greek, the parallelism here loses little of its native force.

The work of Forbes on the larger combinations in New Testament parallelism must be accepted with caution. He arranges the Decalogue in the Old Testament, the Sermon on the Mount and other portions of the New Testament, in symmetrical formation, saying that "the exactness of arrangement in lines, paragraphs, and numbers is so definite that no line or scarcely word could be altered without destroying the beautiful symmetry of the whole." He urges that parallelism is characteristic of prose as well as poetry, and proclaims that it is no special criterion of Hebrew poetry.¹⁹¹ Moreover, he neglects the couplet foundation of parallelism, and proceeds to find larger strophic divisions, even in the New Testament epistles, of which he takes the Epistle to the Romans as an example. This neglect of the couplet character of both Old and New Testament parallelism throws doubt upon the entire method of Forbes. His over-exact and arbitrary schematization of the Decalogue is as questionable as are Mueller's discussions on the strophe in general; by this method, from almost any elevated prose a sort of "parallelism" could be obtained. The uncertainty of Forbes himself that every part of St. Paul's epistle was arranged "designedly" in parallelism and his appreciation of the "indistinctness of the parallelism" are borne out by the facts. Parallelism in New Testament writings plays an important rôle, but its ancient vogue and regularity have passed. Argumentative and narrative prose prevail; at times the symmetry is strong and constant over long periods, but the dominant note throughout is prosaic. The spirit and native character of the poetry of the Psalms, the Prophets, and the Moralists have been replaced by a combination of assorted devices of a new literary era.

¹⁸⁹ Matt. 8.20, 12.33; John 3.36; II Thess. 2.8; Jude 1.11, etc.

¹⁹⁰ Matt. 3.11, 12. 12.36, 37; John 4.6; Luke 12.22, 23; I Cor. 12.26. etc.

¹⁹¹ "Analytical Commentary on Romans," p. 63ff.; "Symmetrical Structure," p. 3ff. Forbes bases his conclusion on the fact that the figure of "epanodos," or "introverted parallelism," as discovered by Bishop Jebb, is used in prose; another point adduced as proof is the employment of special numbers to impart symmetry to the compositions. But this principle is far afield from the real nature of the parallelism. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

IN SYRIAC

Syriac literature affords an instance of the conscious intermixture of the Jewish poetic *motif* of parallelism with the Latin and Greek rules which demanded regularity of construction and equality in the number of metrical feet. While parallelism seems to have decayed through sheer internal decline within Hebrew poetry during the talmudic period, its contact with outside literatures beyond the confines of the Jewish group brought it into conflict and synthesis with prevailing non-Jewish devices. The Greek and Latin literature cherished by the new Christian communities of the beginning of the Common Era, gradually mingled with the stately Hebrew hymnology of tradition; the lyrical poetry of the heathen converts soon challenged the supremacy of the parallelism which, through the Psalms, had imbedded itself in the early Christian liturgy.¹⁹² Little by little, the Hebrew style surrendered, and metrical rules, after the bent of original poets, gained control. New Grecian melodies and measures were introduced—the heptasyllabic, anacreontic, tetrasyllabic, and the dodecasyllabic. Through Ephraem Syrus and other minor poets and hymnologists, Syriac literature received a permanent Greek stamp; despite this, however, parallelism especially of alternate, antithetic species, is combined with the intricate metrical structure:

The world calls thee;
Go forth to labour;
The grave calls thee,
Come rest thou weary one.
Glory be to Him who gives thee repose.¹⁹³

Synonymous parallelism is also apparent:

Like lilies taken from the wilderness,
Children are planted in paradise;
And like pearls in diadems,
Children are inserted in the Kingdom,
And without ceasing shall hymn forth praise.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Burgess, *Metrical Hymns and Homilies* (1853), p. xxiii ff.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 9, "The death of youth."

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4, "The death of children."

Be a guard to mine eye,
That it look not stealthily,
Be a guard to the ear,
That it hear not wickedly.¹⁹⁵

IN RABBINICAL LITERATURE

Parallelism in rabbinical literature was perhaps first observed by Jebb, in 1820,¹⁹⁶ who devoted much attention to the form of the aphorisms and proverbs of the Rabbis; he failed, however, to mention the liturgy. The form of even the most ancient prayers differed from that of the Psalms and other compositions admitted into the Canon and supposed to have their origin in the times of the Sopherim, by "entirely discarding parallelism, that dwelling upon one favored sentiment in a variety of ways, as if loath to part with it"; instead, it expressed the idea "in the most clear and concise form, and by its language indicates the transformation of the Biblical into the more popular and dogmatical Talmudical Hebrew, tinted with new formed words and Aramaisms." This statement by Sekles¹⁹⁷ is in part true, but several of the most ancient elements of the Eighteen Benedictions which were written around 100 A.D., and the blessings accompanying the recitation of the *shema'*, show traces of parallelism; this is due in large measure to the fact that they preserved many of the sublime phrases of the Bible and a suggestion of its spirit. An example of parallelism in the liturgy may be found in the '*Alēnū* prayer:

It is our duty to praise the Lord of all things,
To ascribe greatness to him who formed the world in the beginning,

Since he hath not made us like the nations of the other lands,
And hath not placed us like the other families of the earth,

Since he hath not assigned unto us a portion as unto them,
Nor a lot as unto all their multitude....

Who stretched forth the heavens
And laid the foundations of the earth,

The seat of whose glory is in the heavens above,
And the abode of whose might is in the loftiest heights....

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95, "A prayer to the Trinity."

¹⁹⁶ Jebb, pp. 76, 88-90.

¹⁹⁷ *Poetry of the Talmud* (New York, 1880), p. 22.

On the whole it may be concluded that parallelism is a frequent but not a dominant phenomenon of the liturgy, wherein elevated prose mingles with reminiscences of biblical poetry.¹⁹⁸

The rabbinical proverb, or *māshāl*, expressing sententiously a moral counsel, appears sometimes with and sometimes without parallelism. The Book of Ecclesiasticus or the Proverbs of Joshua ben Sirah (c. 180 B.C.) is the only systematical book of proverbs dating from the times of the Sopherim. The Mishna tractate *Pirqē 'Abhōth*, or "Ethics of the Fathers," contains examples wherein varied forms are observed; this saying attributed to Rabbi Hillel is marked by a string of subjects with corresponding predicates, in almost arithmetical progression; the couplet structure has disappeared:

The more flesh, the more worms,
 The more riches, the more care;
 The more wives, the more witchcraft;
 The more maid-servants, the more lewdness;
 The more men-servants, the more theft;
 The more Torah, the more life;
 The more scholars, the more wisdom;
 The more counsel, the more understanding;
 The more righteousness, the more peace. ('Abhōth, 2, 8)

Sometimes, a figure comparable to the Arabic '*aks* occurs, e.g., this saying of Rabbi Eleazar b. Azariah:

Where there is no Torah, there are no manners;
 Where there are no manners, there is no Torah.

¹⁹⁸ Examples may be found in Sekles, *passim*. The following shows couplet structure, though not of exact synonymity; the parallelism is rather of a constructive variety:

"Oh, Lord our God, endow us with knowledge to know thy ways,
 And surround our heart with thy fear;
 And forgive us that we may be among those redeemed,
 And remove us from all injury.
 Satisfy us with the blessings of thy land,
 And collect our exiles from the four corners of the earth.
 Judge the erring according to thy holy will,
 And over the wicked stretch forth thy hand.
 Rejoice the just by rebuilding thy City,
 And by the restoration of thy Temple;
 By the sprouting forth of the horn of bliss of David thy servant,
 And by the restitution of the light of the son of Jesse, thy anointed.
 (B'rākhōth, 29.)

This prayer was composed by a poet named Samuel in the third century.

Where there is no wisdom, is no fear of God;
Where there is no fear of God, there is no wisdom.

Where there is no knowledge, there is no understanding;
Where there is no understanding, there is no knowledge.

Where there is no meal, there is no Torah;
Where there is no Torah, there is no meal. ('*Abhōth*, 3, 21)

An example of the interplay between poetry and prose, touched by parallelism, is found in the following:

Warm thyself by the fires of the wise,
But beware of their glowing coals, lest thou be burnt;

For their bite is the bite of the fox,
And their sting is the scorpion's sting;

And their hiss is the serpent's hiss;
And all their words are like coals of fire. ('*Abhōth*, 2, 16)

Several examples of antithetic proverbial couplets occur:

If thou art told, thy friend has died, believe it;
Thy friend has become rich, believe it not. (*Gittin*, 30b)

In whom this is, there is all;
In whom this is not, what is there?

Has one gotten this, what lacks he?
Has he not gotten this, what has he gotten? (*N'dhārīm*, 41a)

Where the book is, no sword is wanted;
Where the sword is, the book is superfluous. ('*Abhōdhā Zārā*, 18)

One of the favorite devices of the rabbinical aphorists was a quatrain in antithetic alternate parallelism:

When the number of sins on earth is increased,
The holy name also is not glorified on earth:
But when the number of sins on earth is not increased,
Then the holy name of God is glorified on earth.
(*Zōhar*, Deut., 127, 503)

Whosoever maketh himself little on account of the law in this world,
He becometh great in the world to come:
And whosoever maketh himself a slave on account of the study of the law in this world,
He shall be free in the world to come. (*Bābhā M'cī'ā*, 84, 2)

Numerous examples of this *motif* are discoverable in all the tractates of the *Mishnā* and *Gemārā*.¹⁹⁹ One feels, however, that

¹⁹⁹ '*Erūbhīn*, 17b; *Shabbāth*, 114; *Siphra*, fol. 104, 4; *Midhrash Tehillīm*, to Ps., chap. 9; *Ta'anīth*, fol. 7, 1. See Rosenthal, *Ueber den*

the pungency of the biblical proverbs has in large measure been lost.

The talmudic period proper is succeeded by the geonic, the literature of which still shows traces of parallelism in the gnomic or proverbial writings; e.g., the "Alphabet of Ben Sira," in the Hebrew proverbs, but not in the Aramaic;²⁰⁰ and the *'Abhōth d'Rabbī Nāthān*, in which, however, the diverse forms which have arisen for the aphoristic writings almost entirely obscure it.²⁰¹ In the didactic works of the medieval poets, also, several of the proverbs are couched in the traditional antithetic form, though by this time parallelism no longer appears as a constant *motif*. It is not surprising that it was preserved longest in the proverbial literature of Jewish writers, for, as has been noted, antithetic couplets or quatrains lend themselves most readily to the expression of aphorisms and acute sayings.

The scant poetry proper of the Talmud also offers some examples of parallelism. It appears, for example, to a slight degree in the elegy on the death of Hanin, in *Mō'ēdh Qātōn*, 25b, though marked by some ambiguity of reference.²⁰² A poem from the pen of a Palestinian sage of the fourth century, R. Isaac bar Napaha, is "composed not only in pure Hebrew, but is also written according to the parallelism used in biblical poetry, and observes an equality of syllables in its lines."²⁰³

Zusammenhang der Mishna (Strassburg, 1909), p. 117. Here rhyme of varied orders, parallelism, and other formations in the Mishna are discussed. As examples of a kind of prose parallelism, *Bābhā Bathrā* 8, 1, *B'khārōth*, 8, 1; *'Uq'cin*, 3, 1; *Kerithōth*, 1, 3, and other instances are cited.

²⁰⁰ Delitzsch, *Geschichte d. jüd. Poesie* (Leipzig, 1836), pp. 204-205.

²⁰¹ Baumgartner, *Poesie gnémique juive depuis le cloture du canon hebreu, jusqu'au XVI^e siècle* (Geneva, 1886), p. 17.

²⁰² *Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, p. 30, cites an example also from *Haghīghā* 15b, which, however, is not parallelism even of the synthetic type.

²⁰³ Sekles, pp. 99, 146. (It may be objected that this poem shows rather a heaping up of descriptive phrases than a genuine parallelism of clauses.) Examples of poems which show a trace of parallelism are scattered through Sekles. It is interesting to note that in connection with the statement of the Mishna, *Mō'ēdh Qātōn*, 3, 8, that female professional wailers were employed at funerals, the Talmud states that these exclaimed as a general formula:

"Woe to him who went away,
Woe to those who are left behind."

The parallelism of a brief and abrupt kind is evident here.

Rejoice, rejoice, O thou Ark!
 Arise in all of thy splendor;
 Engirt with bands of gold,
 Adorned with choicest gems,
 Exhalted in the sanctuary of the Temple. (*‘Abhōdhā Zārā*, 24b)

It is clear then that parallelism maintained itself in a minor but none the less palpable degree in Hebrew literature after the close of the biblical Canon;²⁰⁴ but the constancy and beauty of biblical parallelism disappeared with the decline of poetical productivity during the talmudic period. The number of examples of clear poetry in the Talmud is insufficient to lay down rules of metre or prosody, nor can it be determined under what foreign influence, if any, the talmudic poets composed their works. It is possible merely to note the occasional presence of biblical forms intermixed with new elements.

IN MEDIEVAL JEWISH LITERATURE

Hebrew poetry enters a new stage about the tenth century; the end of the Geonic period marks the beginning of the Arabic period. Even at the time of Hai Gaon, the influence of Arabic poetic *motifs* of rhyme and metre become apparent. In the *Mūsar Haskēl* attributed to him occurs perhaps "the first attempt at rhyme, containing 189 distichs of which many are merely Biblical passages rhymed."²⁰⁵ The introduction of rhyme is ascribed also to Jannai, and it was employed by Kalir, both of whom lived in or before the ninth century A.D.²⁰⁶ Thereafter despite vigorous opposition by Menahem ben Saruk, his disciples and a whole school during the Middle Ages, Arabic

²⁰⁴ Gray speaks of the Rabbis "examining scripture with eyes blind to parallelism" (p. 27), and brings several instances to show that commentators through the second century A.D. failed to understand the principle of parallelism. Though this conclusion may have applied to the majority of Rabbis, it by no means characterized all. In the Mishna on *‘Abhōdhā Zārā*, II, 5, Rabbi Joshua in a discussion on the Song of Songs, I, 2, uses the expression *χ'bhērō* with reference to the second stichos of a couplet which explains a doubtful reading in the first. If the word is translated merely as "the accompanying verse" then no reference to a parallelism can be implied; if, however, as Emslie (*The Mishnah on Idolatry*, London, 1911, p. 37), translates, *χ'bhērō* means the "parallel verse," then it may well be that Rabbi Joshua appreciated the value of the parallelistic principle in the interpretation of doubtful passages.

²⁰⁵ Baumgartner, p. 20.

²⁰⁶ Graetz, *Geschichte*, V, 158-159.

poetic usages came more and more into favor. For the adoption of the whole range of these stylistic devices, Dunash ben Labrat is most responsible, though his successors, Hasdai, Solomon ibn Gabirol, Jehuda ha-Levi, Ibn Ezra, the Kimhis and a score of others, brought them to a high stage of development.²⁰⁷

Parallelism, as has already been seen, had begun to disappear in the days of the Geonim, and only in the gnostic literature had survived to any appreciable degree. With the advent of Arabicised Hebrew poetry, parallelism is neglected even more. The influence of the biblical forms is broken down; though Bible quotations are frequently made, these are worked into the rhyme and metre which dominate the particular poem; sometimes the parallelism of the original is maintained, but only when it fits the poetical purpose of the author.²⁰⁸ It will be later observed that modern Hebrew poets are guilty of the same practice.

It is not difficult, it is true, to uncover examples of parallelistic couplets among the medieval poets; but these are scattered and exceptional; the poets do not hold the *motif* for any length of text. The following may be cited as illustrations of occasional parallelism, though varied metre and rhyme are also present:

1. Samuel ha-Nagid in "On the Battle Field":²⁰⁹

If I pass in the midst of water	draw me out of my peril;
If I walk in the heart of fire	rescue me from my danger.

2. Hiyya Da'udi in *Qiddūshā*:²¹⁰

The heights of the heavens	to you are the throne of glory,
And the bounds of the earth	thy footstool of power and glory.

These announce to you all glory,
And these proclaim: "To whom the glory?"

The Lord God of Hosts. He is the King of Glory.

²⁰⁷ Brody, *Studien zu den Dichtungen Jehuda-Hal-Levi's* (Berlin, 1895), p. 9ff. The extent to which Hebrew imitated Arabic poetry may be understood from the fact that the poetic terminology of the medieval Jewish investigators was almost entirely Hebrew equivalents for the Arabic phrases. See Hartmann, *Hebräische Verskunst* (Berlin, 1894), p. 84; Kaempfer, *Die ersten Makamen aus dem Tahkemoni oder Diwan des Harizi* (Berlin, 1845); on Hebrew compared to Arabic metre, see pp. 17-45; Halper, "Scansion of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry," *JQR*, n.s., IV (1913), p. 153ff.

²⁰⁸ Albrecht and Brody, *The Neo-Hebrew School of Poets of the Spanish Arabian Epoch* (London, 1906), pp. 17, 51ff.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

3. Abraham ibn Ezra in *Ge'ullā*:²¹¹

If my enemies spoke evil to me,
Then I shall speak, stretching out my foot,

God of Abraham has He been to me,
And the Fear of Jacob unto me.

4. Solomon ibn Gebirol in *Ge'ullā*:²¹²

To whomsoever I sell thee,
The husband will take up thy contention;
To whom is the writing of divorcement,
Behold, I will contend thy opponent.

In all these illustrations, however, the parallelism is accidental, and is surrounded by non-parallelistic verses.²¹³

Important, however, among the devices borrowed from Arabic literature by Jewish Neo-Hebraic poets is the *saj'* or rhymed prose. In this field Judah al-Harizi is the leader; his *Taḥkēmōnī* is written in imitation of the style of Hariri's "Assemblies."²¹⁴ It consists of various *maqāmāt*, wherein the rhymed prose has become hebraised, and the Bible language takes the place of koranic allusions. Though Harizi employs the device skilfully, the rhyme is more important with him than parallelism, which is not so frequent as in the work of the Arabic poet. Moreover the true difference between biblical and the Neo-Hebraic parallelism herein becomes evident; the former is free, natural, spontaneous; the latter is a second-hand, artificially adapted imitation. An indication of the type of parallelism that occurs at intervals in the *Taḥkēmōnī* may be seen from this selection of lively *saj'* occurring in the "*Maqāma* of the Unhappy Marriage":

May God make long thy days,
And keep the beauty of thy cheeks,
And thy fruit forever flourish.

Thou art sweet and beauteous to my gaze,
And pleasant unto my sight.

Thou quickenest all hearts by thy beauty,
Thou drawest unto thee all souls by the freshness of thy cheeks.²¹⁵

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

²¹² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

²¹³ Kaempf, *Nichtandalusische Poesie andalusischer Dichter aus d. 11. 12. u. 13. Jahrhunderten* (Prague, 1588), contains translations and comments on the works of these and several other poets of the time.

²¹⁴ See Kaempf, *Die ersten Makamen des Harizi*, *passim*.

²¹⁵ Albrecht and Brody, p. 179.

The *Piyyūṭim*²¹⁶ of the Middle Ages also show only slight traces of parallelism; metre and rhyme and other poetical figures, refrains, puns, acrostics, abound and obscure even the genuine parallelism of the numerous biblical quotations.²¹⁷ It may be concluded then that the infrequent parallelism which appears in medieval Hebrew poetry is neither indigenous nor significant. Though the synthesis between historic Hebrew phraseology and the many-sided prosody and rhetoric of the Arabs²¹⁸ produced many notable poems, it brought to light no parallelism which holds an important rank in its expansion and influence.²¹⁹

IN MODERN HEBREW LITERATURE

An important era in the history of Hebrew parallelism begins with the modern *Haskālā*, or "Enlightenment," movement in Germany and Russia.²²⁰ Moses Hayyim Luzzatto sought to emancipate Hebrew poetry from the tradition of the Middle Ages and to free it for self-expression under biblical influence. His *Mighdal 'Oz* and *La-Yeshārīm T'hillā* show indications of a return to biblical style, but parallelism is not constant or frequent. Mendes and Wessely followed in Luzzatto's footsteps, the latter's *Shirē Tiph'ereth* betraying some parallelism.²²¹ The *Mishlē 'Asāph* of Isaac Satanow²²² are true to the character of Hebrew gnomic literature, and as in the proverbs of all peoples, parallelism is at hand:

²¹⁶ Hymns added to the Hebrew liturgy after the seventh century A.D.

²¹⁷ See Sulzbach, *Die religiöse u. weltliche Poesie der Juden* (Trieste, 1893). Sachs, *Festgebete der Israeliten* (Berlin, 1860), app., p. 1ff.

²¹⁸ On Arabic poetry by Jews, see Noeldeke, *Die Gedichte d. Juden in Arabien* (1864), *passim*; also Bacher, *Die hebraeische u. arabische Poesie der Juden Jemens* (Budapest, 1910), p. 73: "Die Form der Dichtungen."

²¹⁹ Credit for priority in the discovery and designation of parallelism belongs to the medieval Jewish commentators Levi ben Gershon, Ibn Ezra, and David Kimhi. (Gray has brought the data together in *Forms*, pp. 17-18). Azariah de Rossi devoted a chapter of his *Me'or 'Enayim*, "Light of the Eyes" (Mantua, 1574), to the study of Hebrew poetry, wherein he recognizes parallelism and the true character of its poetical rules. This work underlay Lowth's famous *Praelectiones* and to it he assigns due place.

²²⁰ See Slouschz, *Renaissance of Hebrew Literature* (Philadelphia, 1909), *passim*; *La poésie lyrique hébraïque contemporaine* (Paris, 1911), *passim*; Waldstein, *Modern Hebrew Literature* (New York, 1916).

²²¹ The selection made by Casanowitz, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, IX, 522, is not good, for synonymous parallelism is absent.

²²² Berlin, 1789 and 1792.

On the day of thy birth thou didst weep,
 And those about thee were glad;
 On the day of thy death thou wilt laugh,
 And those about thee will sigh.

Many are the beautiful wives that are hated by their husbands;
 And many are the ill-featured wives that are beloved.

This return to biblical style might have presaged a readoption of parallelism as a dominant poetic principle, but its primitive character as a poetic instrument and the number and scope of poetic and rhetorical devices at the author's command²²³ operated against its popularity. Abraham Baer Gottlober's poems in the periodical *Hash-Shaḥar*, "The Dawn," savor of biblical influence and make use of many biblical quotations which, however, as with the medieval poets, are couched in rhyme and metre; still his works show frequent parallelism, to which he devotes much attention in an article on modern Hebrew poetics.²²⁴ Judah Leon Gordon, one of the foremost figures of the Hebrew renaissance, also permits parallelism to crop out at intervals:

They but sowed the wind and ploughed the rock,
 Drew water in a sieve and threshed empty straw;

They taught thee to run counter to life,
 To isolate thyself between walls of precepts and prescriptions,

To be dead on earth and alive in heaven,
 To walk about in a dream and speak in thy sleep.²²⁵

The prose of Perez Smolenskin in *Hash-Shaḥar* is so permeated with the Bible spirit that parallelism abounds; he seems to employ it entirely unconsciously, and hence it has a spontaneous and undisciplined character. But the works of the more recent poets, including Dolitzki, Frischman, Shapiro, Berditchevsky, Schneour and others have broken away more and more from biblical *motifs*; the trend of the poetry of the last decades of the nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth centuries

²²³ Abraham and Micah Lebensohn introduced Hebrew poetry to nearly all the rules of modern prosody and established the standards for future poetries.

²²⁴ *Hak-Kōkhābhīm* (Vilna, 1865), pp. 11-50.

²²⁵ Rhine, *Leon Gordon* (Philadelphia, 1910).

has been anti-biblical; hence modern poetries have held sway and the weak parallelism of previous years has been further enfeebled.²²⁶

Perhaps the only author to champion in writing a revival of parallelism as the characteristic Hebrew poetic form is Zeeb Yawitz. He sought to disengage Hebrew verse from modern prosody and to lead it back to the form of the Bible; his *Neḡhînōth minnī Qedhem*, "Melodies of Antiquity,"²²⁷ are a paraphrase of talmudic tales in the style of the Prophets. But Yawitz understood the Hebrew language far better than he did the true nature of poetic inspiration, and his poems do not take high rank in recent Hebrew literature; his was a voice crying in the wilderness, and his productions met with no imitators.²²⁸

Bialik, the greatest of modern Hebrew singers, has at moments attained the heights of biblical inspiration; his *Shīrē haz-Za'am*, "Poems of Wrath," suggest the strength of Jeremiah;²²⁹ and his style is "one step more towards the return to Biblical classicism" which has marked the protest against the anti-biblical tendencies of recent years; but even his poems do not exhibit sustained parallelism. They are simple, though not so simple as biblical compositions, for many poetical figures and forms of current usage are employed. Nor on Palestinian soil has parallelism gained a foothold: contributors to the various Palestinian magazines have resorted to it only occasionally; it does not appear in the folk melodies, which show metre and rhyme; the songs of the children fail to use it.²³⁰

It may be said that parallelism has outlived its day. It had its zenith when poetic forms were relatively undeveloped; and appears unable to regain its sway as the only dominant *motif* of Hebrew poetry. It seems to demand a sublime state of lyric emotion; Slouschz believes that it will not return to

²²⁶ Slouschz, *Renaissance*, p. 181.

²²⁷ Jerusalem, 1892; see also for a review of this work, *Ham-Mēlīḡ*, XXXII (1892), 289.

²²⁸ Slouschz, *Poesie lyrique*, pp. 133-134.

²²⁹ The *qīnā* measure is popular with many modern Hebrew poets, but parallelism does not necessarily accompany it in their compositions; see for example the *Qīnāth* by Perez (*Poesie Lyrique*, p. 155).

²³⁰ Idelson, *Sēpher hash-Shūrīm* (Berlin, 1912), *passim*.

Hebrew poetry until a poet of majestic powers has been produced;²³¹ but it is not plausible to believe that the appearance even of a notable Hebrew poet will necessarily witness its resuscitation. Inspiration equal to biblical grandeur and complexity of poetic forms are compatible. The greatest poet uses the simplest devices, but parallelism is not the only available form. The secret of the beauty of the Psalms and the prophetic utterances lies not in their parallelism but in their inspiration. A revival of biblical majesty in modern Hebrew poetry will come not from a restoration of parallelism, but through the rise of a unique spirit touched with the flame of ancient prophetic lyricism and vision.

²³¹ Slouschz, *Poesie lyrique*, p. 13, n. 1.

PARALLELISM IN AMOS

INTRODUCTION

The interplay of biblical prose and poetry is one of the most vexing questions to Old Testament investigators. The two literary forms interweave in almost all parts of biblical composition, particularly in the prophetic books. It has been difficult to set the limits to poetry, while recent students in biblical prose have complicated the problem still more by designating the apparently prosaic narrative portions as poetry. Several investigators have escaped the issue by accepting the overlapping of Hebrew verse and prose as a standard biblical practice. Moulton speaks of a middle region wherein poetry, distinguished by high parallelism, meets and interlocks with prose; the effect is a great stylistic gain in a combination of "the delight of freedom which is the spirit of prose with a sense of rhythm, which is the foundation of verse." George Adam Smith advocates the same principle, and quotes Professor Saintsbury to prove the beauty of "the double appeal of poetry and rhetoric, the magical order of poetry, and the magical apparent freedom of rhetoric."

It is unsatisfactory, however, to adopt these general conclusions without a knowledge of their full implications. Is there a twilight zone wherein poetry and prose form a *mélange*? If so, where does poetry proper end, where does prose proper end, and what is the result of their blending? These questions can be answered in some measure only by a reëxamination of the exact data present in the books of the Bible. For this purpose, the book of Amos has been chosen. It might perhaps be better to look into the didactic, the proverbial poetry, or into an epic, the Book of Job, or into the Psalms. For the literary psychology of these works is relatively simple, whereas in the prophets countless problems of vague and apparently insoluble character arise. But research in the book of Amos will at least have the merit of grappling with a double problem: first, the interrelation between prose and poetry in Hebrew literature as

a whole, and second, their interplay under the influence of the unique forces of prophecy.

The method of study into the prose, the poetry, and the *mélange* of both in Amos will proceed from the known to the unknown. The cases of indubitable prose in Amos will first be stated; the instances of clear poetry next; the third category will comprise the delicate shades of intermixture, and an attempt will be made to extract therefrom general conclusions on the process of interplay. The schematic symbols employed are adopted largely from Gray, though a similar system with some modifications was used before the latter's work was seen.

PROSE

Sheer prose is found in the superscription, 1.1, an insertion in all probability from the post-Exilic period, of a narrative historical character, similar to other prose superscriptions in the prophetic books. A second piece of sheer prose is 6.9–10, which breaks with the encompassing poetry in theme, in style, and in language; the verses seem to be a later inset, and none of the proposed reconstructions (Harper, 152) succeed in securing parallelism or poetic rhythm for the passage, also narrative, but not historical in character. It will be seen then that relatively little definite prose exists in Amos: the numerous introductory and closing prophetic phrases and refrains and the verses in the narrative portion of 7.10–17 come under different categories and need special consideration.

PARALLELISTIC POETRY

COMPLETE PARALLELISM

Clear poetry in Amos involves the question of the degree and the character of the correspondence between the parallel couplets and triplets. It is insufficient merely to label these in terms of the broad, indiscriminating categories of synonymous and antithetic parallelism; the classifications of Gray are more helpful. Complete parallelism occurs when every single term in one stichos is parallel to a term in the other, or when at least every term or group of terms in one stichos is paralleled by a

corresponding term or group of terms in the other. The simplest form of complete parallelism is represented by:

a	b
a'	b'

Examples from Amos are few; these are really parts of larger periods (in these translations hyphens connect words which correspond in the Hebrew either to a single word, or to words and particles which plainly form one compound expression and receive one accent):

Not-a-famine for-bread	
Not-a-thirst for-water.	8.11b

It may be necessary to designate these two subperiods also as one line or stichos:

Not-a-prophet am-I	
Not-a-prophet's-son am-I.	7.14a

Examples of the one variation from this two-term scheme:

a	b
b'	a'

also fall under the criticism of being subperiods of larger units:

And-do-not-seek Bethel,	
And-Gilgal do-not-enter.	5.5a

Not everything about this period is clear, for it is part of a questionable triplet; moreover it is doubtful whether the negative of command, *'al*, should receive a full accent; as the example is cited, it does not.

And-I-will-wall-up its-breaches,	
And-its-ruins will-I-raise-up.	9.11b

This period seems to be part of an "envelope" construction; though complete in itself, it is encompassed by a preceding and following monostich, parallel each to each. It may be concluded then that two term periods are infrequent, except as parts of larger units.

Three term complete parallelism is represented by:

a	b	c
a'	b'	c'

The four following illustrations are each part of larger settings, the first three, minus a major verb, the fourth, the central portion of an envelope construction:

With-shouting in-the-day-of battle,	
With-a-tempest in-the-day-of the-whirlwind.	1.14b
Cleanness-of teeth in-all-your-cities,	
And-lack-of bread in-all-your-places.	4.6b
For-the-sanctuary-of the-king is-it,	
And-the-residence-of royalty is-it.	7.13b
As-liveth thy-God, Oh-Dan;	
And-as-liveth the-way-of Beersheba.	8.14b

An example of a complete and independent couplet of three terms is:

Not-shall-escape of-them a-fugitive,	
And-not-shall-be-delivered of-them a-refugee.	9.1d

The permutations of the three-term complete parallelism are found in some measure in Amos; though apparently there are no examples of the forms

a	b	c
a'	c'	b'

Of the form

a	b	c
b'	a'	c':

And-I-will-cut-off the-judge from-the-midst-of-her,	
And-all-her-princes I-will-slay along-with him.	2.3

The preposition '*immō*' corresponds here to *miq-qirbāh*, but the use of the prepositions here is doubtful.

The form

a	b	c
b'	c'	a':

Who-causeth-to-burst violence upon-the- strong,	
And-devastation upon-the-fortress brings.	5.9

The change from *yābhō*, "comes," to *yābhī*, "brings," improves the parallelism.

Take-from-me the-noise-of thy-songs,	
And-the-melody-of thy-lyres I-will-not-hear.	5.23

The preposition *mē-ālai*, "from me," is counted here with the verb and does not receive a word accent of its own.

Who-drink from-bowls-of wine,
And-with-the-first-of oils they-anoint-themselves. 6.6a

The synonymy of thought is less exact here than true parallelism demands, but the correspondence of terms is perfect.

And-laid-desolate-shall-be the-high-places-of Isaac,
And-the-sanctuaries-of Israel shall-be-laid-waste. 7.9a

A disturbing element enters here through the presence of a following single stichos, which is treated on page 181.

a	b	c	
c'	a'	b'	

And-he-cherished forever his-anger,
And-his-wrath he-kept perpetually. 1.11c

A change from *way-yiṭrôph*, "and-it-tore," to *way-yiṭṭôr*, "and-he-cherished," is sanctioned by the parallelism. It will be seen also in a discussion of the Doom Song that this couplet may be a post-Amosian insertion.

a	b	c	
c'	b'	a'	

And-who-turneth to-morning deep-gloom,
And-day into-night he-darkeneth. 5.8b

A single stichos precedes this couplet and brings forward the question of a triplet which will be discussed below.

He-that-builds in-the-heavens his-chambers,
And-his-vault upon-the-earth he-established-it. 9.6

Double Structure

The double term structure exists when in the second line two or more terms occur which taken together are parallel in sense to a corresponding number of terms in the first line, though the separate terms of the one combination are not parallel to the separate terms of the other combination. In its extreme form parallelism of this variety consists of two entire lines completely parallel in sense, but of which no two terms taken separately are parallel to one another (Gray, p. 69). The numerical sym-

bol. a2, b2, etc., represents either a double member, consisting of two synonyms, or a compound term consisting of two parts.

In Amos there is no example of the form :

a2 b
a'2 b'

The form

a b2
a' b'2

is illustrated by this couplet taken independently out of its background :

For-Gilgal shall-surely go-into-exile;
And-Bethel shall-become naught. 5.5c

a b2
b'2 a'

I-laid-waste your-gardens and-your-vineyards,
And-your-fig-trees and-your-olive-trees the-locust-devoured. 4.9b

The emendation of *harbōth*, "the multitude of," to *heḫ^erabhtī*, "I-laid-waste," on the basis of Wellhausen (Harper, p. 99) makes excellent parallelism and satisfies every demand of the context. The double terms here signify two synonyms rather than a compound member; moreover it must be noted that the verb of one accent: *heḫ^erabhtī*, is paralleled by a compound term of two parts which, however, receives here only one accent: *yōkhal hag-gāzām*, "the-locust-devoured." The scheme may thus be :

a b2
b'2 a'2

The lines are equal in the number of their syllables, each having twelve, not counting the *shewas*; the first scheme therefore seems more plausible, though the test of counting the syllables is a dangerous one. For another possible example of this form see below on 2.7a.

Variations of this double structure are numerous and will be introduced under the major subdivisions of complete and incomplete parallelism that follow.

INCOMPLETE PARALLELISM

Incomplete parallelism exists "when only some of the terms in each of two corresponding stichoi are parallel to one another,

while the remaining terms express something which is stated once only in the two lines." Sometimes one line contains a given number of terms and another line a smaller number of terms; this may be styled incomplete parallelism without compensation; but if the two lines contain the same number of terms, though only some of the terms in the two lines are parallel, the lines may be said to constitute incomplete parallelism with compensation (Gray, p. 74).

WITHOUT COMPENSATION

a	b	c	
	b'	c'	
But-I-destroyed	his-fruit	from-above,	
And-his-roots	from-beneath.		2.9c
And-I-raised-up	some-of-your-sons	for-prophets,	
And-some-of-your-youths	for-Nazirites.		2.11a
Surely-I-know	how-manifold	are-your-transgressions,	
And-mighty-are	your-sins.		5.12a
And-I-will-turn	your-feasts	into-mourning,	
And-all-your-songs	into-lamentation.		8.10a
And-I-will-bring	upon-all-loins	sackcloth,	
And-on-every-head	baldness.		8.10b
And-they-shall-wander	from-sea	to-sea,	
And-from-the-north	even-to-the-rising-of-the-sun.		8.12a

This last example gives Harper trouble, for he adds to the second stichos the verb *y'shōlētū*, which according to the Massoretic division goes with the next period. The equal length of the two stichoi as they stand and the prevalence throughout prophetic literature of the figure in 8.12b argue against Harper's arrangement.

a	b	c	
a'	b'		
Who-lie	upon-beds-of	ivory,	
And-stretch-themselves	upon-their-couches.		6.4a

The terms "ivory" may be paralleled by the suffix *ām*, "their," but this is doubtful.

And-it-devoured	the-great	deep	
And-would-have-eaten	the-land.		7.4a

The word *rabbā*, "great," in the Hebrew is the third term in the first stichos; it is difficult, as with the word *rabbīm*, "many," below, to show this in the translation.

a	b	c	
	b'	a'	
Because-they-have-rejected the-law-of Yahwe,			
And-his-statutes have-they-not-kept.			
I-abhor the-pride-of Jacob,			
And-his-palaces do-I-hate.			
And-there-shall-drop the-mountains sweet-wine,			
And-all-the-hills shall-melt.			

2.4b

6.8a

9.13b

The length of these two stichoi in the Hebrew is almost equal because the reduplicated root *tithmōghaghnā*, "shall melt," has two beats.

a	b	c	
a'		c'	
And-he-shall-bring-down from-thee thy-strength,			
And-plundered-shall-be thy-palaces.			
Shall-not-darkness-be the-day-of-Yahwe, and-not-light,			
Yea, deep-darkness, and-no-brightness-in-it?			

3.11b

5.20

Another arrangement could be in the form of an alternate parallelism as follows:

a	b	c	|||	d
a'			|||	d'
Do-there-run upon-the-rock horses,				
Does-one-plough (there) with-oxen.				

6.12a

Doubt attaches to this verse. Harper (p. 153ff.) reads the second stichos "Does-one-plough the-sea with-oxen"; he breaks up the unusual plural *bab-bēqārīm* into *bab-bāqār yām*. Though the reading and scheme given are substantiated by the Jewish Translation, this emendation seems plausible; the scheme then becomes:

a	b	c	
a'	c'	b'	
a2	b		
a'	b'		
I-hate, I-despise your-feasts,			
And-I-will-not-smell in-your-festivals.			

5.21

This couplet has two verses metrically equal, though the first stichos, perhaps for emphasis, has two verbs. The schematization may be:

a a' b
a'' b'

Compare 4.9a, and below, on reduplication.

a2 b
b' a'

And-eat-there bread,
And-there prophesy.

7.12b

Though this couplet is part of a larger whole and may constitute only one stichos with two parallel hemistichs, it may be treated independently. In this arrangement though the word *shām*, "there," interposes, "eat-bread" is taken as a compound double term. If they be separated the scheme becomes:

a b c
 b' a'

or

a b c
 b' d

In either of these two forms, the principle of fresh terms is introduced, of which numerous illustrations are found in *Amos* (see below).

a b c
a' d

And-cut-off-shall-be the-horns-of the-altar,
And-they-shall-fall to-the-ground.

3.14b

Perhaps a third term should be added in the second stichos, though no evidence points to the nature of the term. Another possible arrangement of this is:

a b c
a'2

For-three sins-of Damaseus,
Yea-for-four, I-will-not-revoke-it.

This occurs as the introductory formula in the Doom Song, 1.3a, 6a, 9, 11a, 13a; 2.1a, 4a, 6a; in each case, the name is changed. The two stichoi are metrically equal; though the first itself has no verb it is understood from the second stichos; the use of the terms "three" and "four" is the link which binds the two stichoi into a parallel couplet.

WITH COMPENSATION

Double Structure

Incomplete parallelism with compensation, in its various types, is assisted by the double term structure and by the fresh term *motif*. Examples of the double terms compensation are as follows:

a	b	c	
	b'	c'2	
Yahwe	from-Zion	roars,	
And-from-Jerusalem	he-utters	his-voice.	1.2a

Proclaim	over-the-palaces	in-Ashdod,	
And-over-the-palaces	in-the-land-of	Egypt.	3.9a

The word *hashmī' ū*, "proclaim," is here a part of the parallelism, and is different from the phrases of postlude and prelude which the prophet employs before and after his main speeches.

And-he-shall-lift-up	you	with-hooks,	
And-the-last-of-you	with-fish	hooks.	4.2

Doubt attaches to this verse (Harper, p. 85). It is difficult to render in the translation the fact that *dūghā* is the third term in the second stichos; it should in reality be read: "hooks of fish"; it is also difficult to show in the translation the double character of the compound phrase.

Go-to	Bethel	and-transgress;	
To-Gilgal	and-multiply	transgression.	4.4a

Woe-to	those-that-are-at-ease	in-Zion,	
And-those-that-are-secure	in-the-mountain-of	Samaria.	6.1a

And-those-who-eat	lambs	out-of-the-flock,	
And-calves	from-the-midst-of	the-stall.	6.4b

The preposition *mit-tōkh* receives here a full word accent.

Hear-this,	ye-that-tread	the-needy,	
And-ye-who-would-make-cess	the-poor-of	the-earth.	8.4a

Again as in 3.9a a prophetic prelude phrase receives a word accent and is accounted as part of the parallelism. Moreover in the first stichos the word *'ebhyōn*, which has but one accent, is paralleled in the second stichos by *'anīyē-'ereç*, which has two accents.

a	b	c	
	b'2	c'	
And-I-will-cut-off	the-inhabitant	from-Bikath-Awen,	
And-the-holder-of	the-sceptre	from-Beth-Eden.	1.5b, 8a
Bring	every-morning	your-sacrifices,	
Every-three	days	your-tithes.	4.4b

The phrase *li-sh'elōsheth yāmīm* translated by the Jewish Translation "after three days" gives difficulty (Harper, p. 92); the schematic arrangement, however, is unaffected.

a	b	c	
c'	b'2		
Because-they-sell	for-silver	the-righteous,	
And-the-needy	for-the-value-of	a-pair-of-shoes.	2.6b
To-buy	for-silver	the-poor,	
And-the-needy	for-the-value-of	a-pair-of-shoes.	8.6

These two almost identical verses both have in the second stichos the preposition *ba-'abhūr*, which means "for the sake of" or "on account of." Though a preposition, it receives a full word accent, as did *mīt-tōkh* in 6.4b, and hence is translated "for-the-value-of" in order to show that it is a distinctive element in the thought.

And-they-shall-call	the-husbandman	to-mourning,	
And-to-wailing	those-skilled	in-lamentation.	5.16b

This couplet occurs in a larger setting; Harper treats it as corrupt and omits the second stichos entirely, thus destroying the parallelism. The error may perhaps lie in the first stichos of verse 17 (see below). Difficulty also attaches to the grammatical construction. (Harper, p. 126ff.)

But-let-well-up	like-waters	justice,	
And-righteousness	as-a-stream	ever-flowing.	5.24

a	b	c	
c'2	a'		
They-hate	him-that-in-the-gate	reproveth,	
And-one-who-speaks	uprightly	they-abhor.	5.10

a	b	c	
c'	a'2		
They-who-turn	to-wormwood	judgment,	
And-righteousness	to-the-ground	they-cast.	5.7

A slight doubt attaches to this couplet; the scheme may be:

a b c
c' d a'

a b c
c'2 b'

Who-like-the-height-of the-cedars was-he-high,
And-strong was-he like-the-oaks.

2.9b

This couplet permits of other schematizations:

a2 b
.b'2 a'

This takes in the first stichos *ke-ghōbhah-'arāzīm* as one word accent, and in the second *ḫāṣṣōn-hū'* as one accent.

a b c
c' b'

This regards *ḫāṣṣōn-hū'* as one word accent. But it is better to give *hū'* in itself one accent and retain the first scheme.

For ye-have-turned to-poison justice,
And-the-fruit-of righteousness to-wormwood.

6.12b

Fresh Term Structure

Incomplete parallelism with compensation by means of a fresh term or terms appears in several variations: The forms

a b
b' c

and

a b
a' c

have no instances in Amos.

The fresh terms may be either one, two, or three in number.

a b c
a' b' d

The couplets in 3.15b, 8.8b, and 9.5b may come under this classification, but they will be discussed under others below.

And-there-shall-perish the-houses-of ivory,
And-there-shall-cease many houses.

3.15b

As in 7.4, the translation does not show that *rabbīm* stands after its noun, and is the third member in the stichos. While in 6.4

the word "ivory" may perhaps have the suffix "their" as a corresponding term, here it has the weak "many." The form may be also:

a b c
a' b' c'

a b c
a' d c'

And-I-will-turn my-hand against-Ekron,
And-there-shall-perish the-remnant-of the-Philistines. 1.8b

And-I-will-cause-to-set the-sun at-noon,
And-I-will-darken the-earth in-the-clear-day. 8.9

If it be argued that *lā-'āreç* is parallel to *hash-shemesh*, then the arrangement becomes:

a b c
a' b' c'

And-I-will-send fire into-Teman,
And-it-will-devour the-palaces-of Bosra. 1.12

And-I-will-send fire into-Judah,
And-it-will-devour the-palaces-of Jerusalem. 2.5

And-I-will-send fire into-Moab,
And-it-will-devour the-palaces-of Kerioth. 2.2

These are three of the instances of the punishment formula in the Doom Song. The other instances occur under the four term variations (see below; see also a discussion on 5.6b).

a b c
d b' c'

And-I-will-make-it as-the-mourning for-an-only-son,
And-the-end-thereof as-a-day-of bitterness. 8.10c

a b c
c' b' d

By-the-sword shall-die Jeroboam,
And-Israel shall-surely-be-exiled from-his-land. 7.11

The question of word accents here is troublesome. The phrase *gālō-yighlê* receives only one word accent to correspond with *yāmūth*; the same is true of *mē-'al-'adh-māthō*.

a b2
a' b' c

And-it-rises-up like-the-Nile all-of-it,
And-sinks like-the-Nile-of Egypt. 9.5b

This couplet is identical with 8.8, except for the fact that the latter contains in the second stichos at its head *w^c-nighr^cshā*, “and-heave”; this is clearly a gloss which for several reasons (Harper, p. 180) can be omitted. It has already been suggested that these couplets could come under the form:

a	b	c
a'	b'	d

a	b2	
a'	c	b'

Are-they-better than-these kingdoms,

Is-greater their-border than-your-border.

6.2b

The suffixes here cause difficulty, and the meaning is not entirely clear in the light of the preceding and following stichoi; the parallelism is, however, unaffected (Harper, p. 145).

A group of couplets wherein parallelism with compensation occurs, though the text itself is in a doubtful state, is found in 2.14–16. As the strophe on the punishment which is to overtake the strongest and swiftest now stands, its schematic character is:

a	b	c	a2	b
c'	a'	b'	a'2	b'2

a	b	c	a2	b	c	d
a'2	b'					

Three couplets and a single stichos make up the series; but the fact that several repetitions mar the text and the fact that the Massoretic division of verses 14 and 15 makes each contain three stichoi, while verse 16 has an extra long and repetitious line, throws doubt upon the state of the passage. It seems plausible that the author intended that the strophe should contain three parallel couplets, and that the text should contain as few repetitions as possible. Various reconstructions have been suggested, but none have kept in mind the need for parallelistic couplets. The following restoration is therefore suggested:

w^c-’ābhadh mānōs miq-qāl

w^c-qal b^c-raghlāw lō’ yimmālēt

14a, 15b

w^c-χāzāq lō’ y^cammeç qōχō

w^c-ghibbōr lō’ yaççil naphshō

14b, 14c

w^c-thōphūs qesheth lō' ya^a-mōdh
w^c-rōkhēbh has-sūs yāvūs

15a, 15c, 16b

And-there-shall-fail refuge from-the-swift,
 And-the-speedy-of-foot shall-not-escape,

And-the-strong, not-shall-avail his-strength,
 And-the-warrior not-shall-he-deliver himself,

And-he-that-handles a-bow shall-not-stand,
 And-the-rider-of-a-horse shall-flee.

This arrangement is by no means free from criticism. In the first couplet, there is a repetition of the word *qal* which on the principle that identical repetitions mar the form, is not satisfactory, despite the fact that the phrase in reality is *qal be-raglāw*, "speedy-of-foot." In the second couplet, the first stichos seems justifiable, but the second demands the change of the words: *ye'māllēt naphsho* to *yaṣṣīl naphshō* to avoid repetition (cf. Amos 3.12; Is. 44.20, etc.); or the root *pālaṭ* might be substituted for *mālaṭ* in one case. The third couplet has the virtue of bringing together the stichoi which contain a subject with a modifier, which in the schematization becomes a2 and a'2. The difficulty lies, however, with the word '*ārūm* in verse 16. There the words *w^c-ammīṣ libbō bag-gibbōrīm* appear to be a dittography or variant of *ye'ammēṣ qōḥō w^c-gibbōr* in verse 14, hence they can be omitted. It is significant to note, however, that verse 16 is the only stichos which declares flight not in the negative, but in the affirmative. In the arrangement given above, the word '*ārūm* is omitted, though it may be inserted in the second stichos of the third couplet, giving: "and the rider of a horse naked shall he flee." It may be possible, however, to place the word '*ārūm* in the first stichos of this last couplet, and to interpret the word "naked" as meaning "without weapon." The form then becomes:

And-he-that-handles-a-bow naked shall-stand,
 And-he-that-rides-a-horse shall-not-flee.

In addition to the change remarked in the first stichos, it is seen that the *lō'* is transposed to the second stichos; this makes the sense that even the one best equipped to flee will be unable to do so. The schematic arrangement of these suggestions becomes:

a b c
c'2 a'

a b c
a' b'2

a2 b
a'2b b'

or the last couplet is:

a2 b c
a'2 b';

Whatever may be thought of these suggestions, it seems indisputable that a sextet of stichoi, divided into three pairs, may have been in the original text. Hence the principle of couplet parallelism has proved here a valuable aid. The long line, apparently prose, in verse 16 has shown itself to be illegitimate, once more vindicating the principle that a breakdown of the parallelism and the presence of an unattached single line, whether isolated, or supposedly a part of a triplet, in Amos are in reality due to textual corruption (see below).

*what
rationalization!*

FOUR TERM VARIATIONS

Four term variations are not frequent in Amos, and there is no instance of the form:

a b c d
a' b' c' d'

But the following scheme is present wherein the second stichos is shorter than the first:

a b c d
a' c' d'

And-one-shall-smite the-great house into-splinters,

And-the-small house into-chips.

6.11

Again it is difficult in the translation to show that the terms "great" and "small" occur after and not before their nouns in the Hebrew.

So-I-will-send a-fire into-the-house-of Hazael,

And-it-will-devour the-palaces-of Benhadad.

1.4

This instance from the formula of destruction in the Doom Song presents a different scheme from 1.12; 2.2, 5. The formulas in 1.7, 10, 14, depending on the question whether one regard the

word *armēnōthēhā*, "its palaces," as deserving of one accent, or of two, whereby the suffix *ēhā*, "its," corresponds to the name of the respective city, can take either this scheme:

a	b	c	d
a'	c'		

or this:

a	b	c	d
a'	c'	d'	

So-I-will-send a-fire on-the-wall-of Gaza, (Tyre, Rabba)
And-it-will-devour its-palaces (or, the palaces thereof).

Forms with three terms in the first stichos and four in the second are found in numerous combinations:

	a	b	c
d	a'	b'	c'

Who-twitter to-the-sound-of the-harp,
Like-David they-devise-for-themselves instruments-of song. 6.5

This couplet is dubious: the word *ke-Dāwīdh* is probably a gloss (Harper, p. 147); if omitted the scheme becomes:

a	b	c
a'	b'	c'

Doubt also attaches to the distribution of the accents in this couplet; the word *lāhem*, "for themselves," being reckoned in with *ḡāshēbhū*, "they devise," the total receives but one beat.

a	b	c
a'	b'	c'2

In-all the-broad-places there-shall-be-lamentation,
And-in-all the-streets they-shall-say: Alas, Alas. 5.16a

This couplet occurs in a setting wherein corruption is evident. This schematization of the text regards, contrary to the customary usage, the word *be-khol* in both stichoi as worthy of a full word accent. Harper (p. 126ff.) suggests that the word *'adhōnāi* at the end of the prophetic phrase introducing the couplet be read *'arnīn*, "I will cause shouting":

I-will-cause shouting in-all-the-squares for-mourning,
And-in-all-the-streets they-shall-say: Woe, Woe.

This gives to *be-khol-reḡōbōth* and *be-khol-ḡūḡōth* only one word accent, thus conforming with the Massoretic *maqquph* (see Gray, pp. 138-140). The arrangement thus becomes:

a b c
 b' c'2
 Or
 a b c
 b' a' c'
 a b c
 b'2 c'2

When there-shall-overtake the-ploughman the-reaper,
 And-the-treader-of grapes him-who-soweth seed. 9.13a

Again the question of word tone enters to throw doubt on this arrangement. There are here four words of major character in the second stichos to express two compound ideas corresponding to two simple nouns in the first stichos with only one accent each; the scheme may thus be, though with less plausibility,

a b c
 b' c'

The following couplet contains several peculiarities; the first is the phrase *isht'ekhā bā-'ir*, "thy wife in the city," the second the double subject in the second stichos, together with the unusual idea "thy daughters shall fall by the sword." As the couplet stands it reads:

Thy-wife in-the-city shall-be-a-harlot,
 And-thy-sons and-thy-daughters by-the-sword shall-fall. 7.17a

a b c
 a'2 d2

Or

a b c
 a'2 d c'

A reassortment of the phrases here would be necessary to give a good parallelistic couplet; the omission of the word *ā-bh'nōthēkhā* would make the scheme:

a b c
 a' d2

Another doubtful couplet occurs in 8.13. As it stands it falls into this scheme:

a b c
 b' d
 There-shall-faint the-beautiful virgins,
 And-the-youths from-thirst.

The Jewish Translation glides over the difficulty by translating without regard to the parallelism:

In that day shall the fair virgins,
And the young men faint for thirst.

Harper (p. 183 ff.), recognizing the flaw in the text, transposes the end period of verse 14 and makes this combination:

There-shall-faint the-beautiful virgins,
And-the-youths shall-fall and-not-rise-again.

This gives the schematization:

a	b	c
b'	a'	d2

A suggestion may be made that the emphasis upon the word *hay-yāphōth*, "the beautiful," is unnecessary, and that instead a form of the root *yā'ēph*, "to be weary," or "faint," should be substituted. This is borne out by Is. 40.30, where the root is used of youths, *ne'ārīm*, as a parallel to the word used by Amos, *baḫūrīm*. Moreover in Is. 44.12, the root is used in connection with hunger and thirst, both of which are mentioned immediately before this verse in Amos 8.11-12. In Judges 8.15, the participial adjective is used of weakness from lack of bread, and in II Sam. 16.2 from lack of drink. The following emendations may be suggested:

1. *tith'allaphnā hab-bethūlōth ha-yē'ēphōth*,
w'hab-baḫūrīm yiḡmā'ū.
There-shall-faint the-virgins who-are-weary,
And-the-youths shall-be-in-thirst.
2. *tith'allaphnā hab-bethūlōth*,
w-yū'aphū hab-baḫūrīm baḡ-ḡāmā'.
There-shall-faint the-virgins,
And-there-shall-grow-weak the-youths from-thirst.

The schematization of this couplet thus becomes,

a	b	
a'	b'	c

This form is unusual, but it will be noted that the reduplicated root *tith'allaphnā* may take two beats, as in the case of *tithmōghaghnā* in 9.13b.

What may be either a four or a three term structure depending upon the distribution of word accents is found in this couplet:

Lest-it-Kindle like-fire the-house-of Joseph,
 And-it-devour with-none-to-extinguish for-Bethel. 5.6b

The Septuagint, some manuscripts, and the demands of parallelism point toward the reading "for Israel" instead of "for Bethel." Moreover the terms are not entirely clear in sense. The schematic arrangement becomes:

a	b	c2
a'	d	c'

There are four terms here referring to fire; in the second stichos the phrase *we-'ēn mekhabbē*, "with-none-to-extinguish," receives one accent; it is doubtful whether it should be taken as a new term, or as a synonymous term to *kā-'ēsh* in the first stichos; moreover the name Beth-Yōsēph receives here two word accents; it may be better to give it only one; another schematic arrangement thus becomes:

a	b	c
a'	b'	c'

REDUPLICATION

Reduplication or internal synonymy occurs often in Amos. This differs from the mere double synonymous term or double compound term species, in that in the same stichos there are two shades of the same idea; the two hemistichs are parallel each to each; the synonymy and parallelism extend also to the second stichos, so that there are cases where three terms for the same thought are employed. It will be seen also that this reduplication results in a type of triplet formation. (See Gray's remarks, pp. 159-166.)

a	b	c	
b'	b"2		

And-there-shall-perish in-tumult Moab,
 With-shouting and-the-sound-of the-trumpet. 2.2b

a	b	c
a'	c'	a"

And-burn of-leavened-bread a-thankoffering
 And-proclaim free-will-offerings, make-them-known. 4.5a

Doubt attaches to the word *hashmī' ū*, though as a synonym for *qir' ū* it is intelligible. But the repetition results in a special emphasis on the idea of proclamation or invitation, rather than

on that of the offering itself; perhaps then the text is corrupt, and a parallel term to *mē-χāmēç*, "of leavened bread," should be sought to replace *hashmī'ū*, "make them known."

a	a'	b
a"	b'	

I-hate, I-despise your-feasts,
And-I-will-not-smell of-your-festivals.

5.21

This has already been discussed under the form $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} a^2 & b \\ a' & b \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$. The arrangement given here eliminates the confusion attaching to the use of the symbol a^2 for a double synonymous term in the same stichos, which may thus be viewed as reduplication. Compare 8.17a.

a	b	a'	b'
a"	b"2		

Diminishing-the-ephah, and-enlarging the-shekel,
And-pervverting balances-of deceit.

8.5b

This form may be regarded either as a triplet, wherein the first two hemistichoi become stichoi of two stresses each, and the third contains three stresses; or the first stichos may continue as here to hold two hemistichoi of two stresses each, giving a couplet wherein the first stichos contains four and the second three accents. (See Gray, p. 164.) It is virtually impossible to fix a rule for the determination of all instances of this character; each must be decided on its own merits, though a guiding principle may be the strength of the pause or caesura between the two first hemistichs.

a	b	a'	b'
a"	c	b"	

Hate evil, and-love good,
And-establish in-the-gate justice.

5.15a

Here there is an internal antithetic parallelism in the first stichos, or if 5.15b be regarded as a triplet, between the first and second stichos; the term *bash-sha'ar* is the only alien term in the scheme, for the three verbs and the three objects are respectively either synonymous or antithetical.

a	b	a'	b'
a"	b"	a''	2

Not-a-prophet am-I, and-not-a-prophet's-son am-I,
 But-a-shepherd am-I, and-a-dresser-of sycamores. 7.14

Here the question whether the hemistichs should be counted as full stichoi, independent and composed of two stresses, though part of a larger setting, receives further complication. The first stichos has already been treated independently as a two stress distich (see above). It is therefore possible to treat this verse either as a double distich, or as a two part couplet. It is almost impossible to determine which is preferable. The usual number of stresses is three; four are infrequent, two still more infrequent; hence it is a choice between considering this as a four or two stress scheme. It is to be noted that the fourth part of the quadruple form breaks the synonymity of language, but retains the necessary number of stresses. Viewed independently the second line can be:

a b
 a' c

or

a b
 a'2

a b c
 a' a"2 d

And-thy-land by-the-line shall-be-divided,
 And-thou on-an-unclean-land shalt-die.

7.17b

This presents an involved type of parallelism; a third stichos complicates the passage, though this couplet appears to be independent (see below). Here the word "land" in the first stichos finds in position and thought a complement in "thou" at the head of the second stichos. The parallelism does not cease here, for there is a parallelism of language and an implied antithesis of thought also between "thy-land" in stichos 1 and "an-unclean-land" in stichos 2, the former being "clean and holy." The schematic arrangement here given serves to bring out in a measure the double parallelism, though it neglects partly the grammatical construction of *'al-'adhāmā tēmē'ā*, a noun with a preposition, looked upon as a double compound term, as parallel to *admāthekkhā*, which is the subject in the first stichos and receives only one word accent. For this of course the intricacy

of the parallelism is responsible. Compare 9.15, where difficulty with the words '*al 'adhmāthekkhā* is again present.

ALTERNATE PARALLELISM

CLEAR PARALLELISM

Alternate parallelism occurs when the two stichoi contain more than four or as few as four terms, and break up into two independent clauses, so that the third part is parallel to the first and the fourth to the second. In many examples of Arabic *saj'* or rhymed prose, nearly all the parallel sections fall into two independent clauses, subordinate from the view of the parallelism which knits together the two main stichoi, but marked by rhyme which connects them at the same time that it emphasizes their distinction; sometimes one type of rhyme is present for the first and third, and another for the second and fourth sections of the quatrain. In the Hebrew, no rhyme occurs, but the caesura between the individual parts is strongly marked (Gray, pp. 62-63).

a	b	c	||	d	e
a'	b'	c'	||	d'	e'

A series of alternate parallelisms of this type occurs in Amos (3.3ff.): verses 3, 4, 5, 6, conform to this type; verse 3, however, contains only a single line which splits into two parts; verses 4, 5, 6 have two lines, thus giving to each Massoretic verse four sections, two main and two subordinate. Verse 7 breaks the stretch of alternate parallelism, but verse 8 resumes it, though the form is slightly changed, four instead of five terms being present:

a	b	||	c	d
a'	b'	||	c'	d'

The lack of a second stichos in verse 3 lends the impression either that the verse is in the nature of an introduction, setting the keynote for the series, or that a complementary stichos has dropped out.

The arrangement of verse 7 is difficult. For the moment it may be arranged:

x a	b	c
x'a'	c'	d2

The parallelism in the Hebrew is not so close as the scheme indicates; the verse has a traditional prophetic character, and must be considered under the category of near-prose. Suggestions have been made either to place it after verse 8, or to omit it entirely as a gloss. The first suggestion would give five consecutive verses of excellent alternate parallelism:

(3)

Do-there-walk two together,
Except they-be-agreed?

.
.

(4)

Does-there-roar a-lion in-the-forest,
When-a-prey he-hath-not?
Does-there-give-forth-his-voice a-young-lion from-his-den,
If-he-hath-not taken-something?

(5)

Does-there-fall a-bird in-a-snare-on-the-ground,
If-a-hunter there-be-not-for-it?
Does-there-spring-up a-trap from-the-ground,
Without-capturing anything-at-all? (i.e., unless it be sprung).

(6)

Shall-there-sound a-trumpet in-the-city,
And-the-people not-be-afraid?
Shall-there-be evil in-the-city,
And-the-Lord not-have-done-it?

(7)

For not-doth the-Lord-God anything,
Except-he-reveal his-purpose to-his-servants, the prophets.

(8)

The-Lion has-roared;
Who will-not-fear?
The-Lord-God hath-spoken;
Who can-but-prophecy?

In verse 6, it may be urged that the parallelism between "trumpet" and "evil" is not sufficiently close, and that the second half of the quatrain has been inserted by reason of verse 7; a substitute could be found in the more synonymous two part line:

'im tihyè t'rû'â bā-'îr (or baq-qiryā)

we-'am lō' yāqūmū (or yiphx'ādhū)

Shall-there-be a-clarion-blast in-the-city,
And-the-people not-rise-in-terror?

But there seems little ground thus to omit and substitute; rather as first suggested, verse 7 seems more indefensible and misplaced, and should either be transposed or ruled out. Compare Hosea 10.10, 11.

Another series of alternate parallelisms of a similar character is found in 9.2-4. Again, however, difficulties arise, for verses 2 and 3 each have two stichoi and four subordinate parts, while verse 4 diverges from this plan. The schematic arrangement is as follows:

(2)					
a	b	c	||	d	e
a'	b'	c'	||	d'	e'
(3, 4)					
a	b	c2	||	d	e f
a'	b'	gc'2	||	d	e2 f'
a"	h2	i2	||	d"	e"2 f"

Noting the lacunae, the text at present reads:

(2)	
Though they-dig-through to-Sheol,	
Thence shall-my-hand-take-them;	
And-though they-climb to-heaven,	
Thence will-I-bring-them-down.	
(3)	
And-though they-hide-themselves at-the-top-of Carmel,	
Thence will-I-search-them-out and-take-them,	
And-though they-hide from-before-my-eyes at-the-bottom-of	
the-sea,	
.	
.	
Thence will-I-command the-serpent and-it-will bite-them,	
(4)	
And-though they-go into-captivity before-their-enemies,	
Thence will-I-command the-sword and-it-will-slay-them.	

The schematic arrangement shows that as the text stands it contains a couplet and a triplet, or two quatrains, and a half quatrain. Various suggestions have been made to explain the use of "serpent" in verse 3, one of which is to make it refer to the Leviathan. Amos, however, speaks of the serpent as a creature of the fields and of the house (5.19), not of the sea. The suggestion that a scribe may have omitted the fourth part of

verse 3, and the first part of the third quatrain in order to make the whole conform to the Leviathan legend, is far fetched, for though he might change a few words, it is doubtful whether he would omit a whole sentence. Moreover the Massoretic verse 4 has after the end of the quatrain arrangement, the sentence: "And-I-shall-place my-eyes upon-them for-evil and-not-for-good." The missing sections may find some hint for restoration here; verse 3, part 3 mentions the fact that the sinners would escape from God's eyes; the arrangement becomes perhaps:

And-though they-hide from-before-my-eyes at-the-bottom-of the-sea,

I-will-place my-eyes upon-them for-evil, and-not-for-good.

This would mean that only the first part of the third quatrain is absent. However, it has been suggested that the phrase *min-neghedh 'ēnai*, "from-before-my-eyes," be omitted in verse 3; the last part of verse 4 may have been inserted on the basis of this expression, which itself may have been an insertion. It is evident that the verses are in confusion, and that they have been jostled together for one reason or another; a restoration is difficult, the one here suggested being poor, because among other things it neglects the use of the phrase *mish-shām* at the beginning of each second part and fourth part of the quatrain. The schematic character in its proper form, to be filled in with the missing portions should be:

(2)

a	b	c	||	d	e
a'	b'	c'	||	d'	e'

(3)

a	b	c2	||	d	e	f
a'	b'	c'2	||	.	.	.

(4)

.	.	.	.	||	d	e	g	h
a'	b'2	c'2	||	d'	e	g'	h'	

A series of a different character is found in 5.11b and 9.14b.

a	b	c	||	d	e
a	b	c	||	d	e

Houses-of hewn-stone have-ye-built,
But-ye-shall-not-dwell in-them;
Vineyards-of delight have-ye-planted,
But-ye-shall-not-drink their-wine.

5.11b

And-they-shall-plant vineyards,
 And-drink their-wine,
 And-they-shall-make gardens,
 And-eat their-fruit. 9.14b

Several variations of these forms occur, among which it will be seen the *qinā* measure may be included as well perhaps as the form

a b c
 a' b'

and its several variations which have already been discussed.

a b c || d e
 c' || d' e'
 When will-pass the-new-moon
 That-we-may-sell grain,
 And-the-Sabbath
 That-we-may-offer corn. 8.5a (Cf. 5.20)

a b c || d e
 a' b' c' || d'2
 And-because garments taken-in-pledge they-spread-out,
 Beside every-altar;
 And-the-wine of-those-that-have-been-fined they-drink,
 In-the-house of-their-God. 2.8

The Jewish Translation shifts the second parts of the sentences into the first and third, thus:

And they lay themselves down beside every altar
 Upon clothes taken in pledge,
 And in the house of their God they drink
 The wine of them that have been fined.

This violates in some degree the Hebrew arrangement, wherein a prepositional phrase, not in itself a complete period, makes up the subordinate parts of the sentences. This usage in the Hebrew seems to show that as in modern poetry, a part of a quatrain need not express a full or a complete independent part of a full idea, but may be a mere prepositional phrase. It can be noted here that the preposition *ēṣel*, "beside," receives a word accent. Here an approach is made to the style of Arabic rhymed prose, or parallelistic prose.

NEAR-PROSE
Synonymous Saj'

This resemblance to parallel prose is maintained by 5.19, apparently an insert between the poetic verses 18 and 20, which deals with a description of events on the day of the Lord; the language is prosaic, and the conjunction *ka-'asher*, "just as," which usually interferes with the normality of the parallelism, is present. As the verse stands it is plotted:

x a	b	c	||	d	e
a'2	f'2	g	||	d'	e'

From the standpoint of rhythm, the verses have the same swing and virtually the same length. Question has been directed against the member *ū-bhā' hab-bayith*, "and he comes to the house." The Greek has *εἰσπηδῆσθαι*, which gives the picture of a man leaping over the threshold into a house. Though it is possible that the verse wishes to convey the idea that in a crevice of a house where a man least expects it, he will be attacked, nevertheless the picture can be of a man fleeing across a field, placing his hand on a wall to vault it, and disturbing the natural habitation of a serpent, which bites him (cf. Eccl. 8.8). On the basis of strict parallelism, the word *yānūs*, "flee," in the first part needs a complement in the third, in such a form as Oettli suggests, namely *ū-bhāraχ*, "he runs away." It may be protested, however, that if the first terms are placed in exact parallelism, the others should be also; possibly, then, despite the resulting unusual triplet formation, three distichs were originally present:

As-if there-did-flee a-man from-a-lion,
And-there-met-him a-bear,
And-he-entered a-house
.
.
.
Or-he-leaned his-hand on-the-wall,
And-there-bit-him a-serpent.

It seems better, however, to maintain the quatrain formation, despite the length of the third part (cf. 3.12 below):

As-if there-did-flee a-man from-a-lion,
And-there-met-him a-bear,
Or-he-entered a-house, and leaned his-hand on-the-wall,
And-there-bit-him a-serpent.

In 3.12, the same phenomenon of an approximation to near-prose is present. The language is prosaic; the prepositional-conjunction *ka-'asher* heads the combination, while the conjunction *kēn*, "thus," or "so," heads the third part, unlike 5.19. The thought is divided clearly into two halves, the first dealing with the escape from the lion, the second dealing with the application of the figure to the escape of the Israelites. Though the lines are excessively long, the metrical length and rhythm are virtually the same. Synonymity is maintained throughout, except that in the third part of the quatrain, the phrase *mip-pī ha-'arī*, "from the mouth of a lion," is balanced by *hay-yōshēbhīm bē-Shōmērōn*, "those who dwell in Samaria." Oort and Baumann regard the disturbing phrase as a later insertion and omit it; Loehr also omits it as a gloss. Instead of it, the suggestion has been made to read: *mip-pēnē hā-'ōyēbh*, "from-before the enemy," to parallel "from before a lion" (Harper, p. 81). The present scheme is:

x a	b	c	||	d	e
				d'	e'
x'a'	b'	b"2	||	d"	e"
				d'''	e'''

It can be seen from this schematization that alternate parallelism with a type of reduplication exists here. The emendation suggested would eliminate the disturbance in the sense, and improve the rhythmical quality of the text. The scheme thus becomes:

x a	b	c	||	d	e
				d'	e'
x'a'	b'	c'	||	d"	e"
				d'''	e'''

As there-rescues the-shepherd from-the-mouth-of the-lion
 Two-legs or a-piece-of-ear,
 So shall-escape the-children of Israel from-before-the enemy,
 With-the-corner-of a-couch, and-with-the-leg-of a-bed.

In view of the character of the passage, it may be asked: Is this comparable to the parallelistic prose of the Arabic rhymed prose? The short, terse, three term character of the usual couplet is missing; is it that the alternate parallelism is a door to a special type of prose parallelism? It is to be noted also that the subordinate parts are not complete in themselves, after

the manner of 5.19, but are detached portions similar to 2.8 (cf. 7.10b).

Non-Synonymous Saj'

Near-prose appears to be present again in 7.10b. This distich is part of a narrative which seems to be in prose, but which, it will be seen on closer examination, turns out to be mostly parallelistic poetry with the addition of several prose phrases.

Amos	has-conspired	against-thee		in-the-midst-of	the-house-of-
				Israel,	
Not-able	is-the-land			to-bear	all-his-words.
	a	b	c	||	d e2
	f	g	h	||	i2

Rhythmically these stichoi though extra long in character seem equal. No synonymity exists between the two except in the general concept of conspiracy; no terms are correspondential with the possible exception of "the-land" and "house-of-Israel." It seems possible that alternate parallelistic schematization may be employed for the distich, similar to the usage in 2.8; thus:

Amos	has-conspired	against-thee,
In-the-midst-of	the-house-of	Israel,
Not-able	is-the-land	
To-bear	all-his-words.	

But this differs radically from the usual alternate and *qīnā* measure, and cannot be advocated with any degree of security. The distich has been regarded by Loehr and others as bald prose. Certainly neither complementary nor appositional parallelism is present here; i.e., where a single member of one stichos is explained by a whole line in apposition to it, as in the *'asher* and *hā-'ōmērīm* clauses (see below); if this is to be regarded as parallelism, then every symmetrical statement of act and result is parallelism. It seems feasible therefore to designate this distich as rhythmical non-parallelism, near-prose, and similar in many respects to the Arabic unrhymed *saj'*.

QINĀ PARALLELISM

From an examination of these forms of alternate parallelism which approach closer and closer to near-prose, it is well to turn to the *qīnā*-strophe, which adheres to the form of alternate par-

allelism though with a different spirit and purpose. The true *qīnā* is genuine poetry, and does not fall victim to the danger of becoming near-prose, or even prose, as its prototype, alternate parallelism, becomes at times. One of the best examples of *qīnā* in prophetic literature is found in Amos 5.2 and 3 (Gray, p. 119):

Fallen	to-rise-no-more		is-the-daughter-of	Israel,
Stretched-out	upon-the-ground		with-none	to-raise-her.

The-city	that-goeth-forth	a-thousand	shall-have-left	a-hundred,
And-she-that-goeth-forth	a-hundred,		shall-have-left	ten
			to-the-house-of	Israel.

The phrase *l'-bhēth Yisrā'ēl* gives difficulty; either it must be introduced at the end of the introductory phrase beginning verse 3, or better, it may be regarded as a repetition from the introductory phrase beginning verse 4; or it may perhaps be placed in verse 6 instead of *l'-bhēth-'ēl*, which is clearly an error (see Harper, p. 112). The schematization of verses 2 and 3 is:

a	b2		||	c2	
a'2			||	b'2	
a	b	c	||	d	e
	b	c'	||	d	e'

Two *qīnā* couplets thus occur here which in number of terms have each apparently this form:

3 : 2
2 : 2

It is possible, however, that in the second line of the first couplet '*al-'adhmāthāh*, "upon the ground," should be given two tones instead of one, in which case that line, also, would have the form 3 : 2.

SYNTHETIC COUPLETS

Up to this point, this study has devoted itself to a consideration of couplets in clear parallelism; in all except three cases, there has been no question of the poetical character of the couplets, nor has the synonymy of the parallelism been sharply affected. It is necessary now to pass to a discussion of so-called "synthetic couplets" wherein neither synonymy nor parallel-

ism is so close, and where the twilight zone between prose and poetry is most evident. It has been observed here that parallelism is not an infallible test of poetry, for in the three examples of prosaic alternate parallelism, the synonymity has been close, though language and form has pointed more towards the designation of prose than poetry (Gray, p. 40).

CLEAR SYNTHETIC

The Book of Amos contains several couplets wherein the synonymity between the terms is not maintained, but where the second stichos contains a continuation of the thought wherein perhaps one term corresponds to another in the first stichos; the second stichos usually contains a statement of a phase of the same idea as the first, but it adds a new detail. These may be called "clear synthetic" couplets.

For-lo, he-forms the-mountains, and-creates the-wind,
And-declares unto-man what-is-his-thought;

He-makes dawn darkness,
And-treads upon-the-heights-of the-earth. 4.13

x a	b	a'	b'
d	e	f	
g	h	i	
j	k2		

Or the second couplet may be represented thus:

a	b	c
d	e2	

These two couplets are part of a doxology, and are knit together by the participial construction at the head of each stichos; the central idea throughout is praise of God, but each stichos contains a new statement of his deeds. The first stichos contains an internal reduplication, a b a' b'. But correspondence of a character similar to other parallelism is missing.

Because ye-trample on-the-weak,
And-exactions-of-grain ye-take from-him. 5.11

The central idea of this couplet is oppression of the poor, though synonymity is missing; the schematization is:

x a	b
c d	b'

It must be observed that the conjunction *ya'an*, "because," receives a full word accent. The prepositional phrase in the second stichos *mimmennū*, "from him," seems to correspond to "on-the-weak."

Therefore-now they-shall-go-into-exile at-the-head-of the-captives,
And-shall-pass-away the-shout-of the-banqueters. 6.7

x a b2
d e f

The introductory conjunction receives a word accent though it gives to the first stichos four tones, and to the second three. Again as in 5.11, the uniting thought of the two stichoi is the same, but the second adds a new picture to the plan.

He-that-calls for-the-waters-of the-sea,
And-pours-them-out upon-the-face-of the-earth. 5.8c, 9.6b

a b c
d e c'

Synonymity is present here in the terms "sea" and "earth," perhaps; each stichos is a syntactically complete line in itself; the number of terms in each is the same; and a rhythmical principle seems present; the couplet diverges, however, from the normal type of synonymous parallelism, in so far as the second stichos in thought is a continuation, not a repetition of the first, almost as one prose line is a continuation of another—unless, indeed, a species of "complementary" parallelism be recognized, in that each line expresses merely another phase of the thought, "God controls the waters."

Shall-not-for-this tremble the-land,
And-shall-mourn all-the-inhabitants therein. 8.8a

a b c
d e c'

Or

a b c
b' d c'

He-that-touches the-earth, and-it-melts,
And-there-mourn all-the-inhabitants therein. 9.5a

a b c
d e b'

Or

a b c
c' d b'

In each of these couplets, the second stichos contains the preposition "therein," which is synonymous with "the-earth." There is more synonymity in the first than in the second couplet; although the latter contains in its first stichos two verbs the second of which, "melts," may be complementary to the verb in the second stichos, the first verb, "touchés," has no complement. The spirit and language and environment of these two couplets show that they are clearly poetry; the exact correspondential character of normal parallelism is however absent.

Alas-for	those-who-long-for	the-day-of-Yahwe,	
Wherefore-is-this	to-you	the-day-of-Yahwe.	5.18
a	b	c	
d	e	c'	

Each stichos has an identical term *yōm 'adhōnāi*; the meaning of the couplet is doubtful and a triplet formation complicates the problem.

And-mourn-shall	the-pastures-of	the-shepherds,	
And-dry-up-shall	the-top-of	Carmel.	1.2b
a	b	c	
a'	b'	c'	
Or			
a	b	c	
a'	b'2		
Or			
a	b	c	
a'	c	d	

The metaphorical expression "the mourning of the pastures" seems to signify their failure to produce crops, a synonym therefore for the expression "the drying up" of the top of Carmel. There is here exact correspondence of terms, each containing three members; hence the first schematization is possible. But if the expression "the top of Carmel" be not regarded as synonymous to "the pastures of the shepherds," then either the second or third form is admissible.

In 8.12a and 9.4b occurs a special form wherein the second stichos is a short negative, thus:

They-shall-run-hither-and-thither to-see the-word-of-Yahwè,
But they shall not find it.

I-shall-place my-eyes upon-them for-evil,
And-not for-good.

This is a frequent formation in prophetic writings; it is difficult to suggest its schematization, and it must be accepted as a special structure without regard to its symbols. Cf. the usage of the term *wc-èn m'kabbè* in 5.6b.

DOUBTFUL SYNTHETIC

A group of "doubtful synthetic" couplets is present in Amos which are so styled because no synonymy is present, yet a rhythmical principle seems to operate, while the text itself is unclear. Among these couplets may be reckoned the following:

Because-they-delivered-up a complete-captivity to-Edom,
And-have-not-remembered the-covenant-of brothers. 1.9b

And-not have-they-known how-to-do-good,
Those-who-store-up violence and-oppression in-their-palaces. 3.10

And-through-the-breaches shall-they-go each-woman before-her,
And-they-shall-be-east into-Harmon. 4.3

Strike-the-threshold that-the-posts may-shake,
And-cut-them on-the-head all-of-them. 9.1b

In each of these instances the text is corrupt; though the first two are somewhat clear, the second two are dubious in sense, in grammar, and in form. Another instance where synonymy may be present but where the sense is doubtful is the following:

Because he-pursued with-the-sword his-brother,
And-destroyed his-compassion. 1.11b

For a full discussion of this distich see below on the Doom Song.

A corrupt text is possibly to be seen here:

Who-crush the-head-of the-poor on-the-dust-of the-earth
And-the-way-of the-humble they-turn-aside. 2.7a

By the omission of "on the dust of the earth" the form becomes (Harper, p. 50):

a b2
b'2 a'

or

a b c
b' c' a'

Other instances of doubtful synthetic couplets are scattered throughout this study, and are found tabulated below.

“THAT-SAY,” OR QUOTATIONAL COUPLETS

Amos contains several couplets wherein one stichos is lengthened by the use of the apparent equivalent in Hebrew for quotation marks, namely, a form of the word “say,” which is found standing usually at the head of the stichos as a participle, sometimes in the middle as an infinitive. This creates a special class of parallelism, for it will be observed that the synonymity between the stichoi is not close, since the quotation usually adds a new thought to the complex.

Hear-this-word, ye-kine-of Bashan,
Who-are (dwell) in-the-mountain-of-Samaria,
That-oppress the-poor,
That-crush the-needy,
That-say unto-their-lords: Bring, that we-may-drink. 4.1

x y a b
 c d2
 e f
 e' f'
 g h i j

There are indications of symmetry here, though the verse approaches closely to prose; a relative *'asher* in the second stichos complicates the verse; moreover it is doubtful whether the opening prophetic phrase “Hear this word” deserves to be included in the scheme as major words, receiving tonal accents. Parallelism exists here between the terms e f and e' f'. The participial construction which Amos employs in the last three stichoi is a favorite with him (first stichos: 2.7; 5.7, 8, 9, 12, 18; 6.1, 3, 4, 5, 6; 8.14; second stichos, 3.10, 12; 5.3); here it knits the terms together throughout the entire verse. Another schematic arrangement for this verse whereby two couplets are produced which are rhythmically but not correspondentially symmetrical, would be:

x y a b
 c d e

f g f' g'
h i j k

Who-rejoice in-that-which-is-not,
 Who-say: By-our-own strength have-we-not-taken for-ourselves
 horns? 6.13

In addition to the fact that *hā'ōmerīm*, "that say," serves to lengthen the stichos, there is no correspondence between the terms, though the thought is in general the same in both stichoi. The scheme runs:

a	b2		
c	d	e	f

By-the-sword shall-die all-the-sinners-of my-people,
 Who-say:Not-shall-touch or-befall us disaster. 9.10

Doubt on the validity of this text exists because of the length of the second stichos and the presence of two verbs therein denoting the same thought. No correspondence of terms exists, the second stichos adding to the first a characterization, from their own lips, of those who will die. The schematic arrangement is:

a	b	c	d
f	g2	h	i

But-ye-made-drink the-Nazirites wine,
 And-the-prophets ye-commanded (saying):Do-not-prophecy. 2.12

a	b	c	
b'	d	e	f

Or

a	b	c
b'	d	(x) e

In the light of verse 11, which deals with the same thought in an inversed couplet, it is clear that parallelism is intended here. Doubt attaches, however, to the text, and Harper (p. 54) suggests that the words *lē'môr 'al-tinnābhē'ū* could be omitted as a gloss, thus restoring the line to a length commensurate with the first stichos. In the face of other examples where the *lē'môr* construction is used, this seems plausible. Harper's arrangement becomes:

a	b	c
b'	a'	

But-ye-made-drink the-Nazirites wine,
 And-on-the-prophets ye-laid-prohibition.

It may be concluded with reference to the "who-say" clauses: either the term receives a full word accent as in 4.1, where *hā'ōmērōth* is used with a modifying noun *la-'adhōnēhem*, though this latter term may not be genuine; or the phrase "who-say" in its various forms should not be reckoned as a major word in the schematization, worthy of a full tone, but more like the quotation marks in English. The majority of cases seem to favor the second hypothesis, though each case must be judged on its own merit.

"IN ORDER THAT," OR CONJUNCTIVAL COUPLETS

A series of conjunctival clauses which are introduced either by the conjunction *le-ma'an* or the relative *'asher* affect the parallelism, which by the absence of correspondence is almost eliminated. The *le-ma'an*, "in order that," clauses contain in the second stichos, at the head of which the conjunction usually stands, a new thought which is the result or the purpose of the event or act mentioned in the first.

Because they-ripped-up the-pregnant-women-of Gilead,
In-order-to enlarge their-border. 1.13b

No correspondence of the terms exists here; the text is dubious; there is a *non-sequitur* in the ideas of the couplet; in a plotting of the text, the conjunction *le-ma'an* receives a full word accent.

And-a-man and-his-father go unto-the-same-maid,
In-order-to profane my-holy name. 2.7b

Again the text is dubious; the lines are longer than usual; Harper emends to read: "And-a-man and-his-judge deal according-to-agreement." The length of the couplet is seen in the scheme:

a2	b	c
d	e	f2

Seek-good and-not-evil,
In-order-that ye-may-live. 5.14a

The sense is clear, but the schematic arrangement is dubious. This line is followed by an apparently long prose line, wherein the word *ka-'asher* occurs. Either it is possible to regard this verse as a brief distich, a text for the discussion that follows; or the line may be grouped with the next long prophetic line,

making thus two long lines; or as Harper suggests, they may form a quatrain similar to alternate parallelism:

Seek-good and-not-evil,
 In-order-that ye-may-live,
 That-so-may-be Yahwe-God-of-Hosts with-you,
 As-ye-have said.

But this is doubtful, and must be accepted with reservation, although it must be noted that this quatrain is followed by another (verse 15) of similar formation.

In-order-that they-may-possess the-remnant-of Edom,
 And-all-the-nations over-which is-called my-name. 9.12

Here *le-ma'an* occurs at the head of the entire couplet in the first stichos; moreover the presence of *'asher* in the second stichos complicates the form. The lines are long, and approach close to near-prose; unless it occurred in the midst of genuine parallelism, it would be classified without hesitation as prose. The text is doubtful, and seems to be part of a post-Amosian insertion. The schematic arrangement is difficult; slight correspondence may be present between the words "Edom" and "nations":

a	b	c	d
d'	e	f	g

It may be concluded with reference to the *le-ma'an* clauses that the use of the conjunction is accompanied by a breakdown of synonymous parallelism; correspondence between terms is missing; the lines are usually extra long, and approximate closely near-prose. Moreover the text is usually doubtful.

RELATIVE COUPLETS

The *'asher*-relative clauses may be divided into several categories. The first usage is in couplets where the relative does not affect the regularity of the parallelism, as in 2.9; another usage is in a mixture of prose and parallelism, as in 4.1, where the relative may affect the parallelism, and yet, depending upon the construction of the passage, may fall in with the parallelistic arrangement. It may be used merely as a relative in sheer prose, as in 1.1, the superscription; but its main usage is in

couplets where there are traces of parallelism disturbed however by the use of the relative.

And-there-led-them-astay their-lies,
After-which there-walked their-fathers. 2.4

The text here is dubious; no correspondence of terms is present; grammar and sense are confused. This couplet makes possible however a differentiation between essential and non-essential relative clauses. The presence of the suffix "their" attached to "lies" shows that the relative clause here is non-essential. An essential modifier, i.e. one which cannot be logically omitted, cannot be a parallel logically; a non-essential is somewhat of the nature of a synonym, and hence may be regarded as a parallel. The same may be said in some measure of the *hā-'ōmerīm* clauses already discussed; in the same way that the second stichos was an additional characterization, not imperative to complete the meaning of the first stichos, but employed to fill out the couplet structure, so the relative is used here and on occasion elsewhere.

One piece was-rained-upon,
And-the-piece whereon it-rained-not withered. 4.7

The relative occurs in the middle of the second stichos, and though it lengthens it, is not responsible for the uncertain character of the couplet, for the style is tame; this stanza of the Grief Song has a superabundance of stichoi; this distich is surrounded by another in weak parallelism, verging on bald repetition; and by a long and dubious prose line.

In 5.26, the relative is used in a conventional phrase, "which ye made for yourselves"; it may be part of a triplet; the text also is doubtful; a similar use of *'asher* has been noted in 9.12; again in 9.15, the words "which I have given to them" are used as a conventional phrase with reference to the "land"; the words seem to be "tacked-on" as it were. On several occasions it is found that at the end of a chapter or of a prophetic book similar conventional combinations are attached. In 3.1, the relative is used in a conventional, introductory prophetic phrase with no parallelism, apparently no rhythmical principle; the lines are long and the verse savors of the historical traditional phrases used by the prophets at the head of their denunciations.

KA'ASHER OR SIMILE COUPLETS

The *ka-'asher* couplets also present varieties of usage. It has been seen that in 3.12 and 5.19, two couplets of similar structure, the *ka-'asher* stands at the head of the couplets and does not interfere with the parallelism; in 3.12 it is a correlative of *kēn*, "thus," in the second stichos, and in 5.19 likewise by implication. In 5.14, it is used in a conventional prophetic near-prose line, wherein no simile and hence no parallelism are present; the word *kēn* is used in conjunction with *ka-'asher* in this line also, but no simile is involved as in the other examples.

In 2.13, *ka-'asher* occurs in the second stichos of an extremely doubtful couplet. The text is apparently corrupt; various suggestions for its emendation have been made, among them one by Harper (p. 60), but the supposed metrical principle which he employs is unjustifiable and violates even the elements of parallelism preserved in the couplet. As it stands the verse by reasons of its imperfections approaches near-prose. The brevity of the Jewish Translation does not bring out the character of the Hebrew text which is long and overbalanced:

Behold, I will make it creak under you,
As a cart creaketh that is full of sheaves.

The first stichos of the couplet appears to be genuine; a compression of the second is necessary to give a genuine couplet.

In 9.9 an almost identical structure and difficulty are present; in fact, were the two passages combined, they would make a mutually supplementary picture, since both deal with images of threshing. As in the previous instance, the *ka-'asher* stands at the head of the second stichos, making it almost seem that the presence of this conjunction in the second half of a couplet is in danger of obscuring the parallelism and the text. In 9.9, however, unlike the other instance, the *ka-'asher* section may be formed into two stichoi:

And-I-will-sift among-all-the-nations the-house-of Israel,
Just-as-one-shakes with-a-sieve,
But-not-shall-fall one-kernel to-the-ground.

Again a disturbance in parallelism is accompanied by the presence of the conjunction, and by a dubious sense.

A type of construction which plays a rôle in disturbed parallelism is found in Amos 4.11; it appears to be a long continuous prose line; the Jewish Translation obscures the inequality in the length of the two parts into which it divides the line, by translating:

I-have-overthrown some-of-you,
As-God overthrew Sodom and-Gomorrah,

which in the Hebrew is:

hāphakhtī bhākhem
ke-mahpēkath 'elōhīm eth-Sōdom w^c-eth-'amōrā.

Here the word *bā-khem* is given a full word accent; Harper and others believe that something has fallen out of the text, and so indicate in their arrangements. This phrase concerning the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah gives difficulty throughout the prophetic books; it either creates a species of continuous, rhythmical parallelism, near-prose in character, or it breaks down apparently good parallelism. Only rarely does it form a part of good parallelism. It is found in prose in Deut. 29.22; it has no corresponding stichos but is attached to the end of a couplet in Is. 13.19; in Jer. 49.18 it stands at the head of a verse the end of which is a good synonymous couplet; so also in Jer. 50.40. On several occasions the words "Sodom" and "Gomorrah" are used as corresponding terms in parallel couplets (cf. Zeph. 2.9; Is. 1.9; Jer. 23.14). The phrase of comparison in Amos is not used in the customary style of parallelism, though it might be grouped with the *ka-'asher* type, i.e., with simile parallelism; or, if the text were simply "as the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah," it would be similar to the phrase "in the manner of Egypt" in verse 10 (see below, on Grief Song). But as it stands it has the sound of a conventional phrase, inserted without regard to the awkwardness of the resulting context: "I [God] have overthrown some of you as God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah." Indeed, in general it may be concluded that the Sodom-Gomorrah phrase is conventional-traditional and historical, and stands outside the couplet parallelism, though exceptions of course exist.

TRIPLETS AND MONOSTICHS

Important in a determination of the dubious cases of parallelism in Amos, is a consideration of the monostichs and tristichs; this will make possible a decision on the question whether isolated stichoi and triplet formations are intentional or accidental, or are the result of broken and marred texts.

The various single stichoi fall within several categories. The first includes those which betray remnants of parallelism and which may have been part of a parallelistic couplet, e.g. 1.3b, 6b, both of which are treated below in the Doom Song, 2.1b, and 1.5, where the first and fourth periods show that a couplet between them has been omitted and the gap filled by the substitution of a good couplet taken from 1.8 (see below).

The stichos 5.27 falls within a class of lines which occur at the end of a chapter and have no complementary stichos. It may be suggested that this near-prose line may serve as a rhythmical counterpart to the conventional prophetic phrase and epithet at the end of the verse, but this violates the usual principle that the introductory and closing phrases stand outside the parallelism.

A third class of single lines may be found in the so-called "texts" to the various sermons of Amos. 4.12c appears to belong to this species, though it occurs with two conventional prophetic phrases, and is followed by a doxology which appears to be an inset in the text. In 5.4, the text or heading may possibly be placed in parallelism with the next stichos:

Seek-me and-live,
But-do-not-see Bethel.

In support of this, the next verse, 6a, appears to have a text: "Seek the Lord and live"; but it will be seen in a discussion of the triplet in verse 5 that this arrangement is not good.

This leads to the fourth class of single lines, those which are attached to couplets, or are a part of triplets, and hence must be treated with reference to triplets. It has already been observed in the discussion on 3.3, that whereas verses 4, 5, 6, and 8 have two stichoi in alternate parallelism, verse 3 has but

one; hence it may be stated that either another stichos has dropped out, or the present stichos must be taken as the head of the series and the keynote. Compare discussion on 9.4-4, 14.

An example of a text that is clear but perhaps misplaced (Harper, p. 78, places it after verse 11) is found in 3.15. Here one line occurs followed by two short and parallel lines. The scheme is:

a	b	c	b'	d
e	b''	f		
e'	b'''	g		

And-I-will-smite the-house-of winter with-the-house-of summer,
 And-shall-perish the-houses-of ivory,
 And-shall-be-destroyed houses many.

This is a distinct type of strophe, and when the phenomenon is repeated in stanzaic form, complete symmetry results. It may be observed that the parallelism between the two short lines is quite exact, and the parallelism between either one of these and the longer first line is also good; the doubt arises through the presence of two stichoi parallel to the first.

In 3.11, despite the need for a slight textual change in the first line, an apparently good triplet is present, though the synonymy between the terms of the first, and those of the second and third lines is not close. In 5.8 the first stichos stands somewhat alone, and seems to need a complement, though the use of the participle, as well as a thought similarity, binds it to the couplet. In Job 9.9 and 38.31, the same terms are used and couplets are present; this stichos may be a later insertion in Amos on the basis of the Job passages. It is dangerous to make good parallelism dependent only on the presence of a couplet and to be overscrupulous in ascribing it to a triplet; however, it is well as here to examine every triplet on its own merits.

Trouble arises with reference to 5.16, 17. Verse 17 has a stichos in virtually the same form and language as the first stichos in the couplet at the head of verse 16. The repetition of the word *mispēdh*, and the fact that the dominant structure here seems to be the couplet, make it possible either that something has dropped out in verse 17 which would serve as a com-

plement to the doubtful stichos, or that it is a later insertion. The triplet formation thus appears to be doubtful. The same question attaches to the third stichos in 5.18. Harper wishes to regard the striking second stichos to the first couplet as an interpolation, and make the first and third stichoi the genuine couplet, but Loehr and others would omit the third as an insertion, basing their action on the ground that it is derived from 5.20a. In favor of the present triplet arrangement it may be said that Amos uses the third stichos as a climax to the immediately preceding remarks; or the stichos may be divided into two parallel parts:

It-is darkness
And-not light.

This is doubtful because of the extreme brevity of the periods, and the frequent use of a line in the scheme a b b'. Whatever decision be championed with reference to the text, it is certain that the triplet cannot pass by entirely unquestioned.

Doubt is present once more in 5.22. Harper wrongly regards the second stichos of the couplet as an interpolation; it is far more plausible to regard merely *û-min^cχôthêkhem*, "and your meat-offerings," as a gloss explaining (see Brown-Driver-Briggs, p. 585) the striking phrase in 5.21, second stichos: *w^c-lô' 'ârîa^aχ*, "and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies."

Doubt again follows the triplet in 6.6. The first two stichoi form an admirable synonymous couplet. Other investigators have made various suggestions as to the replacement of the third stichos, which seems to be in good prophetic language, contains three terms, but has no complement. Whatever may be its correct position, it appears certain that the triplet formation here is not original. In 6.8, the first two stichoi form a good parallelistic couplet, but the stichos "and I will shut up the city and its inhabitants," seems to be an isolated stichos, the remnant of a couplet, or inserted by a later commentator because the verb is in the same person as the verbs of the couplet, and the noun corresponds to "palaces" in the second stichos of the couplet. Doubt further attaches to the validity of the stichos because immediately following it is a long prose

portion clearly out of place in the text. If another stichos be demanded to form a couplet, perhaps 5.27 might serve. (Cf. 1.6, 10.)

Neither 7.9 nor 7.17 is free from question. Each has an isolated stichos at the end of the verse; moreover in 7.11 Amos is quoted as saying:

By-the-sword shall-die Jeroboam,
And-Israel shall-surely go-into-exile from-its-land.

If the two isolated stichoi in 7.9 and 17 are brought together, this couplet ensues, as the prophecy which Amos is said here to attribute to God:

And-I-shall-rise against-the-house-of Jeroboam with-the-sword,
And-Israel shall-surely go-into-exile from-its-land.

As the text now stands only one-half of Amos' prophecy in verse 11 is vindicated; this arrangement provides for both parts, and disposes of the isolated stichoi. This is another of many instances where supposed triplets in reality are couplets plus a stichos out of place.

In 8.6 a third line follows a good synonymous couplet with which it appears to have no grammatical or logical connection. Either this stichos may be rejected, or it may be taken up into the second stichos of the first couplet in verse 5. This latter possibility is negated, however, by the fact that *nashbir* is already used there; the words in verse 6 may therefore be a variant reading.

In 9.1 a possible triplet is obscured by the apparent corruption of the text; the isolated stichos "and-their-residue with-the-sword will-I-slay" is in Amos' style and seems to deserve a place in the text as a survival of a good couplet.

In 5.5 a couplet with a reference to Bethel and to Gilgal is followed by a stichos containing mention of Beersheba. A couplet succeeds this group wherein Gilgal and Bethel are mentioned, though a play upon Beersheba is conspicuous by its absence. The suggestion that the first stichos of the first couplet as stated above be taken with the "text" in verse 4 is indefensible because of the combination of stichoi in the second couplet of verse 5. Either Baumann's suggestion that the

Beersheba stichos be omitted must be accepted on the ground that in 4.4 only Gilgal and Bethel are mentioned, while 8.14 refers to Dan and Beersheba without the other two; or it is necessary to add a stichos to 5b, punning upon the name of Beersheba. It is easier and more plausible to omit the troublesome stichos as an interpolation.

In 6.1-2 similar difficulties are encountered. A good couplet heads verse 1; a doubtful distich follows; in verse 2, three stichoi apparently in triplet formation are present; then follows a final couplet in verse 2, which must be regarded as part of this strophe. Various ways of reading these verses may be suggested. Harper (p. 141 ff.) regards the second distich of verse 1 as a good couplet and the three stichoi of verse 2 as a good triplet, but he omits the second couplet in verse 2; his rendering of the second couplet in verse 1 is:

Who specify themselves the chief of the nations,
And make a prey for themselves of the house of Israel.

The Jewish Translation offers for this couplet the following conventional and traditional rendition which clings to the present text but solves none of its difficulties:

The notable men of the first of the nations,
To whom the house of Israel come.

The schematization of the couplet together with the following triplet becomes then:

a	b	c
d	e	f
a	b	a
a'	b'2	
a''	b''2	

The following suggestions may now be offered. Either the whole of the first stichos, *n^eqūbhē rēshīth hag-gōyim*, should be omitted; this would place the next stichos at the head of a quatrain, changing *ū-bhā'ū* into *bō'ū*, an imperative; or the combination of consonants from *n^eqūbhē* and the next word *rēshīth*, *q-b-r*, suggests the possibility of the word *qīrebhū*, "draw near," to be parallel to *bō'ū*. For the theme of the couplet and of the text down to verse 3 appears to be: Let Israel

approach the neighbouring countries and compare their lands, the first of the nations, with those of Israel. God's question then at the end of verse 2 in the couplet seems entirely justifiable; the words *hag-gōyīm* in verse 1 seem to anticipate the nations mentioned in verse 2. The schematization first suggested in this paragraph then becomes:

a	b	c
a'	d	a''
a''	d'2	
a''	d''2	

The second suggestion calls for the schematization:

a	b	c
a'	d	e
a''	f	a'''
a''	f'2	
a''	f''2	

the couplet being:

Approach the-first-of the-nations,
And-come-to-them, oh-House-of Israel.

A final suggestion is that in the second couplet of verse 1 a stichos has fallen out parallel to the first stichos, and that the second stichos should go with the triplet in verse 2, to form a quatrain, thus:

. the first of the nations,
.
Come to-them, oh-House-of Israel,
Pass-over to-Calneh and-see,
And-go thence to-Hamath-Rabbah,
And-go-down to-Gath-of-the-Philistines.

The schematization thus becomes:

a	b	c
.		
a	b	c
a'	d	a''
a''	d'2	
a''	d''2	

There are a few special triplet formations in Amos where the usual periodic character of each stichos is missing, and where each unit is a part of a larger whole.

Assemble on-the-mountain-of Samaria,
 And-behold the-many tumults therein,
 And-the-oppressions in-her-midst. 3.9b

Harper suggests that the third period be omitted as a gloss not only because it affects the "measure of the line" but is not clear grammatically and does not correspond well with "tumults." But this suggestion violates an almost infallible law that where a couplet or triplet shows good parallelism, it should not be broken up. It may be that either *'ashūqīm* or *m'hūmōth* needs emendation. There is a curious repetition of "palaces" in 9a, however; moreover, the preposition *'al* is used in two different senses; in the first couplet *hash-mī'ū 'al* means "to summon to" or "against" (cf. Jer. 51.27); in the triplet, *hē'ās'phū 'al* means "to assemble on top of." Thus the fault seems to lie in the first couplet in verse 9. The schematic arrangement is either:

a	b2	
a'	c2	d
	c'	d'

or

a	b2	
a'	c2	d

Another dubious example is found in 5.26:

But-now-ye-lift-up the-shrine-of your-king
 And-the-image-of your-images,
 The-star-of your-God which-ye-have-made for-yourselves.

The Jewish Translation substitutes "Siccuth" for "shrine" and "Chiun" for "image," taking the Hebrew as proper names. The conventional *'asher 'asīthem lākhem*, "which ye made for yourselves," mars the text, even though various phrases here be omitted in order to make two lines of fairly equal length; thus, Harper suggests:

But-now-ye-lift-up the-shrine-of your-king,
 And-the-image-of your-God which-ye-have-made for-yourselves.

Whatever be the determination and exact rendition of this passage, it is evident once more that the supposed triplet cannot pass unchallenged.

In 9.7 an apparently near-prose quatrastich or tristich is present, after the interfering *ne'ūm 'adhōnāi* is omitted:

Are-not like-the-Cushites ye to-mæ, oh-Sons-of-Israel,
 Did-not-Israel I-bring-up from-the-land-of Egypt,
 And-the-Philistines from-Caphtor,
 And-Edom from-Kir.

The first two lines are allied perhaps by the affinity of thought, and externally by the use of the same introductory interrogative *h'alō'*, "not," and the use of the term *Yisrā'ēl* in both stichoi. It may be asked whether the two end periods should not be combined into one stichos, thus giving a triplet instead of one long rhythmically parallel couplet and one semi-independent couplet in close parallelism. One notes that this long near-prose passage deals with traditional historic material. The schematic arrangement can be either

a	b	c	d	e
a'	e'	f	g ²	
	e''	g'		
	e''	g''		

or

a	b	c	d	e
a'	e'	fg ²		
e''g'	e''	g''		

It may be concluded with reference to triplets, therefore, that the bona fide triplet combination in Amos is rare; frequently the text of the supposed triplet is corrupt or dubious; unless the tristich shows perfection of form and sense, it is necessary to investigate carefully before it is pronounced genuine. Each triplet must be weighed on its own merits, and none should be accepted without analysis merely because it is known that triplets do exist elsewhere in prophetic literature.

CONVENTIONAL HISTORICAL PROPHETIC PHRASES

The prophets employ certain typical prophetic phrases which may have been part of the stock in trade of the schools and even of the independent prophets. Most of these lines are single stichoi; they have a traditional flavor and hark back oftentimes to the historical events deeply rooted in the past of the people. Some of them are mere ejaculations, inserted apparently without rule or reason; sometimes however they serve as a climax, sometimes as emphasis for a special point.

2.11b is an ejaculation, apparently out of place in its present location between two couplets which reflect phases of the same thought; 4.5b is also an ejaculation which may serve to end a series of couplets; it stands outside the parallelism as an isolated stichos. 5.14b and 15b are long and prosaic; they may be regarded either as isolated stichoi, may be combined to form a distich, or may be part of a stanzaic arrangement. 5.17 falls somewhat outside this category, for it has not a traditional flavor; it seems to be an isolated stichos, the remnant of a refrain, or the end to a series of couplets; it may be taken with the preceding single stichos to form a distich, but no synonymity exists, and the combination is doubtful.

5.25 is a long prosaic verse referring to the sacrifice of offerings in the desert period; it is clearly not parallelism, and seems to have little place in the text, unless it have some bearing on verse 26, which is also doubtful. Why the prophet should suddenly insert this line is unclear; why also he should desert the parallelistic form he has maintained immediately previous over five verses, is a mystery. It serves again to show the disjointed nature of the Amos text, and to confirm the supposition that only a few scattered sections of the original utterances of Amos have been preserved and pieced together in their extant form.

9.8b affords another instance of the manner in which verses may be inserted. It is almost certain that the line "Save that I will not destroy utterly the house of Jacob, it is the oracle of Yahwe" is a later interpolation; it is in entire dissonance with the preceding material, and has the tone of a later period. The same applies to 9.14a, "And I will bring back the captivity of my people Israel." This seems to be part of the patchwork text interpolated by a post-Exilic editor.

Several of these conventional prophetic historical phrases occur not only as single isolated stichoi, but also as couplets, or triplets. 2.10 is an example of a single line followed in verse 11 by a couplet in good parallelism, while verse 10 itself, historic in character, appears to be prosaic in style. The line divides itself into two parts; the words "to possess the land of the Amorites" attached at the end may either be omitted,

remain as they are, or be preceded by *wā-'abbhikhem hēnnā*, "and I brought you hither," giving the verse thereby a triplet formation (Harper, p. 54ff.).

And-yet it-was-I who-brought-you up-from-the-land-of-Egypt,
And-led-you in-the-wilderness forty-years,
(And-brought-you hither) to-possess the-land-of the-Amorite.

This verse seems quite clearly in the twilight zone between prose and poetry, resembling largely the rhymed prose of the Arabic.

The same phenomenon of long prosaic lines, yet with a slight trace of parallelism in the repetition of the word '*al*' in each period, is noticeable in 3.1:

Hear this-word which the-Lord hath-spoken against-you, oh-
children-of-Israel,
Against-the-whole-family that I-brought-out-of-the-land-of Egypt.

Here again is a reference to God's withdrawal of the Israelites from the land of Egypt.

An approximation to the *saj'* is noted again in 3.2, where the periods are long and reference is made to historical data:

Only-you have-I-known from-all-the-families of-the-land,
Therefore I-will-visit upon-you all-your-sins.

Here as in other conjunctival clauses, the second stichos contains the result of the fact mentioned in the first. There is a clear cut division between the two periods, though the terseness of most of Amos' poetry is missing. 3.7, which has already been discussed, seems to contain a customary prophetic statement, used perhaps by the prophetic guilds and schools and not containing strict parallelism.

3.14a, discussed above, contains a couplet similar to 3.2, but the correspondence in terms is slightly closer. 9.8 contains two long stichoi marked by slight parallelism and yet not entirely correspondent. This distich is in the realm of near-prose (as is also the third stichos which is clearly a later insertion; see above):

Behold the-eyes-of the-Lord are-upon-this-sinful-kingdom,
And-I-will-destroy it from-off-the-face-of the-earth.

The first stichos repeats from 9.4 a part of the line: "And I will place mine eyes upon them, for evil and not for good"; the schematic character of the distich is vague; moreover 9.4 does

not appear to be a parallelistic distich, nor is its periodic character apparent.

4.12 contains an apparently conventional prophetic phrase, complicated by the presence of conjunctions and doubtful in sense and position. The second stichos may be a gloss on the first; the line "Prepare to meet thy God, Oh Israel," may be a text or a climactic sentence, and may serve as an apodosis to the second stichos. 5.1 is a long prosaic introductory line, whereof the words "*qīnā*, Oh House of Israel" appear to make a short second line to the first long line, giving a species of *qīnā* construction; or this second part may be in correspondence to the phrase "this word which I take up against you." If any parallelism may be said to exist here, it is of a special and uncertain type. In 8.7 the first line is a conventional phrase of introduction, the second either a prophetic remark, complicated also by the presence of the conjunction 'im, "if," or an isolated stichos taken from an original couplet. No synonymity exists between the two periods; it is doubtful whether they should be reckoned together as one distich.

It may therefore be concluded with reference to the list of conventional or customary prophetic phrases in Amos, that they stand outside the regular, normal parallelism; if they show any distich character, it is vague and dubious, and closely allied to near-prose; in a few instances a rhythmical principle may operate, but these are too few to afford insight into any general laws.

PRELUDE AND POSTLUDE PROPHETIC PHRASES

The numerous introductory and closing phrases, formulas and epithets deserve consideration with a view to the question whether they stand outside the parallelism or require word accents in the schematization of the couplets. The words *way-yōmer*, *lēmōr*, *we-āmerū*, and others which stand at the head of the speeches do not appear to receive word accents, but stand outside the confines of the couplets themselves; this applies also to the longer phrases: "Thus saith the Lord" used at the head of the stanzas in the Doom Song, and with variations throughout the book. In two instances, *hashmī'ū* in 3.9 and *shimē'ū zōth*

in 8.4, introductory words receive accents, though the first through the use of the preposition 'al belongs to another category. The closing words, *ne'ūm 'adhōnāi*, and longer phrases and epithets applicable to God, *'adōnai shēmō*, *'adōnai ṣ'bhā'ōth shēmō*, and others, also appear, to stand outside the parallelism. The phrases in the prose-poetic narrative in chapter 7 will receive special treatment below. On occasion as in 8.9 and 11, though even these two cases are doubtful, the phrases seem to fall into two parts, rhythmically equal.

It may be concluded then that in the great majority of cases, these phrases play almost the same part as quotation marks in English; they stand beyond the territory of parallelistic structure, i.e., they are not to be included as part of the distichs, and hence stand in a separate rhetorical category.

STROPHIC FORMATIONS

Amos contains several special strophic formations which demand separate treatment. These embrace the Doom Song in chapters 1 and 2, the Grief Song in 4.6–11, the first series of Visions in 7.1–6, the second series of Visions in 7.7–9 and 8.1–3, and the prose-poetic narrative in 7.10–17. The Doom Song will be the subject of special study below.

GRIEF SONG

The Grief Song may be first considered. It may be decided that stanzas are present in the poem. There are five parts, each of which has as its opening verb a past first person singular, followed by a form of the pronoun "you" with a preposition. Each has the single line refrain: "But-ye-did-not return unto-me; it is the oracle of Yahwè." In the Doom Song it will be seen that the refrains and formulas are in couplet form, as in the prophetic songs in Is. 9.11, 16, 20; 10.4, 5, 25; Ezek., chapter 25, however, has the single line, "That ye may know that I am the Lord," without a parallelistic complement.

The number of lines in the five stanzas varies. Stanza 1 has the introductory period (not a full line), a parallelistic couplet, and the refrain: four lines; stanza 3 has the introductory period (a full line), a parallelistic couplet, and the refrain:

four lines; stanza 4 has the introductory period (a full line), then three periods (two of which are full lines, the middle one being a dubious phrase of three words): four lines plus; stanza 5 has a long introductory period which is an over-full line, a single complete line, and the refrain: apparently three lines in all. Stanza 2 is the most troublesome. It contains an introductory period of two lines, not in parallelism, but approximating prose; a weak couplet wherein parallelism is evident; another couplet wherein the second stichos has a disturbing relative clause; a long prosaic line which cannot even be split up into halves; finally the refrain: *in toto*, eight periods. It is at once evident that stanza 2 differs from the others in form and character. The question now arises, as it will with reference to the Doom Song and the other strophes: Is there a model stanza for the entire five parts of the Grief Song, consisting of the opening period, a couplet describing in detail the effect of the general threat of punishment in the introductory line, finally the refrain, and the closing prophetic phrase: four major periods plus the neutral closing phrase? This question can be answered only by an examination of the information each stanza affords:

Stanzas 1 and 3 conform to the model stanza, though as has been noted, the introductory period of the first is not an independent unit as in verse 9, but is completed in sense only by the couplet which follows. The adverb *we-gam* at the head of stanzas 1 and 2 leads to the supposition that this may have been the opening word in each stanza; three, however, lack it. Though the divergence in the introductory period is slight, it is sufficient to show at once that however close the identity in form between strophes, it is not absolute.

Stanza 4 bears this statement out still further. The introductory period is, like that of stanza 3, a single line; the second period is clear in sense; but the third period, '*im sh'ebhī sūsīkhem*, usually translated "together with the captivity of your horses," disturbs the parallelistic arrangement and is evidently an afterthought. It is regarded by many as an interpolation; if omitted the stanza has in its second section two

periods. But the fourth period of the existing stanza is apparently corrupt. It is necessary to omit the copula *ū* before *bh'e'appēkhem* in order to give clarity. Yet even with this emendation the second section, though composed of two stichoi, does not show the close synonymous parallelism of similar sections in stanzas 1 and 3. The first stichos contains three members, the second four; the omission of the word "and-in-your-nostrils" would give in the second three members, and would have the additional merit of a suffixal rhyme between *baχūrēkhem* and *maχ'anēkhem*. Whatever be the decision on these points, merely to omit the marring third period in the present form would bring the stanza into structural consonance with the first and third.

Stanza 5 is not so easily disposed of. The introductory period has already been discussed (p. 177); it is sufficient to note here again that the long prosaic line may be split up into two parts, as Loehr, Baumann and others suggest; but the shortness of the resulting stichos, *hāphakhtī bākhem*, "I-overthrew among-you," would entail the insertion of another phrase, perhaps the word *'ārīm*, "cities," in the form *'ūrēkhem*, "your cities." This would place the line *ke-mahpēkhath 'elōhīm*, etc., as a second stichos, dependent upon the introductory period, and would not result in conformity to the structure of the single line introductory period in stanzas 1, 3, and 4. Moreover the second section, which in the other stanzas is a couplet, is here a monostich; there are no indications in Amos or other prophetic passages to show that a line has dropped out or that some portion could be restored as in the Doom Song to furnish the missing complementary stichos. Thus even if the first long period be split up and the number of periods thereby become four plus the closing phrase, as the model stanza seems to demand, yet internally the stanza departs from the necessary type. And if it be suggested that the first period remain as one, merely omitting the word *'elōhīm* as superfluous because God himself is supposed to speak the sentence, the number of periods becomes three plus the closing phrase, an even greater divergence from the model stanza. It is probable then that the stanza has not

been handed down in its original form, and that responsible in large measure for its doubtful character, is the presence of the conventional, historical, prophetic reference to Sodom and Gemorrah.

Stanza 2 possesses even greater difficulties, since it throws into still greater darkness the relation of prose to poetry in Amos. The whole stanza is tautological and defective. Loehr and others omit the entire passage, verses 7 and 8, as a later insertion. Harper is not so drastic and correctly makes the following observations: The words in the first section which follow the introductory period, namely, "while yet there remained three months to the harvest" may be a gloss based on a meteorological calculation. It may be said in addition that the extreme length of the Massoretic verse 7 is suspicious; for it may be asked: Does not a Massoretic verse usually contain four periods of poetry, or two couplets, and infrequently six periods or three couplets? The first couplet in verse 7 appears to be genuine, for though the second stichos is merely an inversion of the first, yet correspondence of terms is present. But the second couplet appears to be redundant because of the repetition of the numerals and the word for "rain," and also because of the looseness and tameness of the style; the relative clause in the second stichos of this distich contributes to its weakness. Hence it deserves to be omitted (Harper, p. 96). Verse 8 is a long prosaic line, resembling 8.11-12, to the strophe of which it may belong; it may be divided into two portions, but solely on a rhythmical and not on a parallelistic basis; there is again repetition of the word "city" and in general prosaic garrulity entirely unworthy of the style of Amos. It seems justifiable to urge its omission; the stanza would then take on a form entirely in keeping with the model stanza, containing four periods plus the prophetic phrase:

I-also-it-was-who withheld from-you the-rain,

And-I-sent-rain upon-one-city,
While-upon-another-city I-sent-not-rain.

But-ye-did-not return unto-me.

It-is-the-oracle-of Yahwè.

This stanza is secured by the easy task of omission, but for this there seems justification on literary, syntactical, and other grounds.

The conclusions as to the Grief Song cannot be positively affirmed, but they seem to grow out of clear data. It appears evident that there was an original type stanza, consisting of four lines: the introductory period, the parallelistic couplet, describing the details of punishment; the refrain of grief; and finally outside the major portion of the stanza, the closing prophetic phrase. The first three stanzas show a parallelism of close synonymy; stanza 4 needs emendation before it gives a rhythmically parallelistic distich; stanza 5 departs widely from the model form, and is perhaps the most difficult of the entire set. Stanza 2, a *mélange* of prose and poetry, is soon narrowed down to the model form because of the apparent illegitimacy of the prose portions. One decision is indisputable: though a type stanza may obtain, no one of the existing stanzas conforms to it, even after emendation, in entirety; each has its own slight variations. Standard stanzas for individual poems may have been the rule with the prophets; but none the less, great leeway was permitted in the degree of exact conformance to the type. An examination of the other strophic arrangements in Amos will confirm these observations.

SERIES OF VISIONS

Amos 7.1-6 and 7-9, and 8.1-3 contain four visions each beginning with the words: "Thus hath-shown-me"; but from the internal material, it is clear that Amos 7.1-6 forms one pair of visions, and the other passages a second pair. The decision that interparallelism between the strophes exists was reached before reference was made to the work of any other investigators; the fact that virtually the same conclusions were secured independently is additional proof of their validity.

FIRST PAIR

In the first pair of visions as in the Doom and Grief Songs, a type stanza is expected. The likenesses between the two strophes are found in the opening prophetic phrase and in the

refrain; the former is identical in its two occurrences, the latter almost identical: *s'laχ-nā*, "repent-now," is paralleled by *χ^adhal-nā*, "cease-now"; in verses 3 and 6, the second stichoi of the last line of the refrain differ only by the addition of *gam*, "also," in the latter verse. The refrain itself shows no internal parallelism and it is doubtful whether it should be written as four lines, or as six periods. The parallelism is extensive, that is, it reaches beyond the confines of the strophe and becomes, through similarity to the same portion in the other strophe, interparallelism.

The real difficulty in this first pair of visions lies in the substance of the prophecies between the identical opening phrase and the similar refrains. In the first stanza, 7.1-2, the lines as they stand read:

And behold he was forming locusts in the beginning of the coming
up of the aftergrowth,
And behold there were full grown locusts after the king's mowings,
And it came to pass when they were making an end of devouring
the herb of the land.

Except for the repetition of the word "behold" all parallelism seems to have disappeared; three long prosaic periods are here found, whereas in the same section in the second strophe, one good couplet at least is present, though another prose line beginning "and-behold" precedes it. The text in the first strophe is unclear; the Septuagint is confused and formless. The several suggestions for its reconstruction do not restore parallelism. If the text remain as it is, then it must be accepted that the prophet could throw in prose at will, and destroy thereby the regular character of his compositions; but if it be felt that the text in its present form is irretrievably corrupt, then the conclusion seems justifiable that absence of interparallelism is generally accompanied by a badly preserved text and an unclear meaning.

In the second strophe, the only flaw lies in the line: "And behold was-calling to-contend by-fire the Lord Yahwè," which precedes the good couplet. Should this line remain in its present form, or is it the remnant of a good couplet? In Is. 66.16 where virtually the same thought is expressed, parallelism of the most regular and beautiful kind is present.

It may be concluded then from this poem: (1) either it contains a mixture of prose in long lines and short, together with parallelism and interparallelism through the presence of good couplets and almost identical refrains; (2) or the two stanzas, barring minor changes, were identical in the number and character of their lines, and the present text containing lines dubious in sense and unclear in grammar has been tampered with, so that a reconstruction of the text should restore parallelism and interparallelism.

SECOND PAIR

The second series of visions in 7.7-9 and 8.1-3 contains two stanzas alike in form and substance. Between these two stanzas is a long narrative passage of seven verses, evidently inserted because it deals with the word "Jeroboam," mentioned in verse 9 (see below). Though these strophes both begin with the words: "Thus hath-shown-me," the additional words *Yahwè 'elōhīm* are missing from the first; the second has, however, as subject *Yahwè*. The context of this series differs from that of the first pair of visions; perhaps they were written at different times and were compiled into their present position because of the similarity of their opening words as well as the similarity in the use of *wē-hinnē*, "and behold."

The following points are to be noted: in stanza 1 of this series the period beginning *wē-hinnē* is a line showing some parallelism, due to the repetition of the word *'anākḥ* in the phrase "and-in-his-hand a-plummet," though Harper would omit this as a gloss. Stanza 2 has in this section merely the phrase "and-behold a summer-basket." The next variation between the two stanzas lies in the fact that stanza 1 has "and-said *Yahwè* unto-me," while stanza 2 has merely "and-said." But in the next prophetic phrase, to which it must be admitted no great importance can be attached, stanza 2 has "and-said *Yahwè* unto-me," while stanza 1 has "And *'adhōnai* said." There is no local or internal parallelism in the stanzas until the lines descriptive of the punishment are reached, but barring these slight variations, interparallelism between the stanzas is present before the regular couplets.

After a description of the facts of the vision, follows a single line playing upon the name of the object seen in the vision (cf. Jer. 1.11 ff., where there are two similar visions, the second one being extended to greater length than the first); this single line is accompanied by a second which contains a refrain: "I-will-not-continue again to-pass by-them" (cf. 5.17). There is no synonymy between these two lines looked at as a local unit in each stanza, though together they may be taken to form a rhythmical distich.

Stanza 1 contains in verse 9 a couplet in perfect synonymous parallelism; a third stichos follows, but as has already been pointed out, this appears to belong with the isolated single stichos in verse 17. Stanza 2 has here, in 8.3, for the couplet which should correspond to 7.9, a sadly distorted group of lines. Harper has wrongly shifted the group, and has in fact missed the entire strophic character of the two visions; here his discussion carries little weight. As the verse stands it reads:

And-shall-be-howlings the-songs-of the-palace,
On-that day, said Yahwè Elohim;
A-multitude-of corpses;
In-every place he-shall-cast-forth silence.

It is clear that the text is in confusion. A conventional prophetic phrase in the second period here interrupts the major portion of the text, and if retained should be shifted to the end of the stanza; otherwise it is necessary in view of its present position and the absence of a similar phrase in the other strophe to regard it as a later insertion.

Various suggestions for the reconstruction of this passage can be made. On the supposition that this last section in stanza 1 is a quatrain, and that the single stichos in 7.17 should be transposed to 7.9, thus giving four stichoi, it will be necessary to restore here a tetrastich. This would imply that the word *hālilū* in 8.3 would form the remnant of one stichos; *shīrōth hēkhāl*, the fragment of the third stichos; *be-khol māqōm*, the remnant of the fourth; and *hishlikh* plus *rabh hap-pegheh*, the second stichos (this supposition finds some support from a reference to 6.10 and 5.16); thus:

(In all the) they howl,
 The corpses are piled in the streets,
 The palace songs (are hushed)
 In every place, they say *hās*!

But if it be urged that a couplet here is necessary, various more plausible suggestions can be offered. The first is to regard *hās* as a part of a marginal *hēsirū*, "they-shall-fail," as in 5.23, intended as a correction of *hēlilū*, but inserted as *hās*, and as *hashlikh* by another copyist; the reading can then become:

And there shall fail the songs of the palace,
 Many shall be the corpses in every place.

Again it may be urged that the first stichos is genuine; *hishlikh hās* may be regarded as a gloss; while *rabh hap-pegher be-khol māqōm* may be taken as the second stichos; this would give a couplet only slightly different from the one just suggested. Or if it is possible to take *hās* as a noun meaning "silence," then an emendation of *hishlikh* to *hoshlakh*, with an omission of *rabh hap-pegher* would give: "In every place is silence cast." But to this emendation, as to the present Massoretic text, the objection might be raised that a prediction of howling and one of silence are mutually contradictory. It may be well also to consider Harper's emendation of *shirōth* to *shārōth*, "the singing women," making the couplet:

And the singing women of the palace shall wail,
 In every place shall there be a multitude of corpses.

Or if it be thought that *hās* is a dittography and abbreviation of *hoshlakh*, the couplet becomes:

And the singing women of the palace shall wail,
 A multitude of corpses! In every place they are cast.

It is of course impossible to decide definitely upon any one of these suggestions and conjectures. It is sufficient to note that where a break in the interparallelistic arrangement of the strophes occurs, there also the text is corrupt.

It may then be concluded with reference to this series that these two strophes conform to a type stanza wherein deviations are caused by slight and minor changes of the text, and major variations by corruptions and textual errors. Where internal and extensive parallelism is weakened, there a dubious and

vague text is found. It may perhaps be decided that if the correct text of this poem were existent, a perfect poem of exactly the same number of periods in each stanza would be present, and this would lend further weight to the idea that Amos and the prophets employed completely regular stanza poems.

PROSE-POETIC NARRATIVE: 7.10-17

It is believed by some scholars that the more important of the early stories had their first literary expression in poetry and that their prose form represents a subsequent stage of development. This principle may apply to the later narratives found in the prophetic books. Amos 7.10-17 is a narrative account of the encounter between the Prophet and the High Priest, Amaziah. It seems to be written in prose, but is in reality a combination of prose lines and extremely regular parallelism. The conclusion that this passage represented a combination of prose and poetry was arrived at independently of any commentaries; a glance at the work of other investigators confirmed the results reached. Harper's arrangement neglects the fundamental differentiation between the phrases of address in Amos, which it has been seen almost always stand outside the major portions of the text, and the real narrative and parallelistic material of the piece. In addition, Harper does not observe the couplet structure, but several times splits one stichos, complete in itself, into two portions, thus violating a fundamental rule of parallelism that only in cases of alternate and *qīnā* parallelism, can a stichos so be broken up.

The primary evidence that this piece contains poetry is of course found in the many parallelistic couplets. It includes no less than eight clear cut couplets, wherein synonymy is marked, and one couplet of a certain rhythmical balance but without the synonymy or terseness which would stamp it as parallelism. This verse, 10, has already been discussed and has been designated as a species of rhythmical non-parallelism, approaching the Hebrew prototype of unrhymed *saj'*. The phrases of address in verses 10-17 stand apparently outside the parallelism, and need not be taken into account in a consider-

ation of the couplets. Verses 12–13 form something of an accidental strophic arrangement:

Oh Seer! Go flee thee unto the land of Judah,
And eat bread there,
And there prophesy.

But at Bethel thou shalt no longer prophesy,
For it is the king's sanctuary,
And it is the royal residence.

In this three line strophic arrangement, the two introductory lines are about equal in length and are rhythmically similar though there is no synonymity between them. But the shorter lines viewed locally constitute a synonymous couplet in each strophe. If it is felt that the stichoi of these couplets are too short, then they can each be combined into one fairly long stichos composed of two hemistichs. It is to be noted that these words are placed in the high priest's mouth; surely it was not customary for speakers thus in ordinary conversation to use parallelism; possibly a later author made into parallelistic structure whatever he supposed the priest to have said. In verse 11, however, he quotes Amos, and there the parallelism is so definite as to be indisputable. It may well be that Amos in the heat of his denunciation spoke in parallelism; this phenomenon is present, as has been observed, in the Arabic *khutba*. If the priest usually spoke in parallelism in his oracles (and such seems to be the case in Finnish, Arabic, Babylonian and other literatures), here he may have done so out of force of habit. Moreover, Amos is supposed to attribute to the high priest a parallelistic couplet in verse 16. The king's words, quoted by the high priest in warning Amos, are not couched in synonymous parallelism, but seem to constitute a rhythmical distich. All these points appear to suggest that even though the words here attributed to prophet, priest, and king were not originally spoken in parallelism, a later compiler and narrator, visibly under the effect of prophetic style and method, has employed parallelism better to make the passage seem the genuine work of Amos.

Another seemingly rhythmical distich appears in verse 15. If the phrase of address, "and-said God unto-me," is regarded

as equivalent to neutral quotation marks and hence outside the parallelism, then the combination becomes:

And Yahwè took me from behind the sheep;
 "Go prophesy against my people, Israel."

This distich has no synonymity, and has the additional disadvantage of combining a period of narrative and a period of discourse. Hence doubt may be rightly thrown upon this arrangement.

It has already been noted that verse 9 may be transposed to complete with verse 17 a full couplet, so that it may correspond to the words imputed to Amos by the priest in verse 11. It may be objected here that this would make verse 17 longer than the usual Massoretic verse, since it would contain the phrase of address, and three complete couplets. This, however, does not outweigh the arguments in favor of the transposition.

Thus it will be observed that the only factors which play a part in the non-poetical portions of the narrative are: (1) the near-prose rhythmical distich in verse 10; (2) the prosaic narrative lines in verse 10, and possibly in verse 14, though the latter may belong to the following class; (3) the customary phrases of address, such as "saying," "and Amaziah said to Amos," "and God said unto me," the unusual "and now harken unto the word of Yahwe," and finally, "therefore thus saith Yahwe," together with the mocking taunt attributed to the king, "for thus saith Amos," in verse 11. These apparently stand outside of the major parallelism, though Harper's arrangement into two strophes of exactly fifteen lines each includes them in the distich and strophic scheme. The conclusion therefore is that it is imperative to examine any so-called prose portions of the prophecies with exceeding care to determine whether parallelism can be discovered. Moreover the presence of parallelism in a supposedly prosaic passage appears to be further indication that the prophets attributed parallelism not merely to the words of God, but also to the speeches of their contemporaries and opponents, who used it for no divine, but for a purely human, utterance. This may dovetail with the fact that parallelistic rhymed prose was so common with the Arabs that even the

women and children employed it in ordinary speech. Any elaborate conclusions, however, on the basis of such slight evidence, are dangerous.

The question whether Amos or another writer composed this still remains unanswered. The style is that of Amos; the text is clear and apparently unimpaired. On this point it may be observed that an uncorrupted text usually shows uncorrupted parallelism—a converse to the conclusion reached above that a marred text is usually accompanied by broken parallelism. For these various reasons, then, this passage affords fruitful data for a determination of the degree and scope of interplay between prose and poetry in Amos.

CHAPTER III

THE DOOM SONG, AMOS 1.3-2.8

RECONSTRUCTION OF STANZAS 1, 2, 5 AND 6

(STANZA 1)

kō 'āmar 'adhōnāi

*'al sh'elōshā pish' 'ē dammeseq
w'-al 'arbā 'ā lō' 'ashībhenū*

*'al laχ'āām 'eth-hag-gil' ādh
w'-dhūshām ba-χ'rāqōth hab-barzel*

*w'-shillaχtī 'ēsh b'-bhēth χ'zā'ēl
w'-ākhe'lā 'armenōth ben-h'adhūdh*

*w'-shābbartī b'rē'χ dammeseq
w'-dhal'thēth biq'ath 'āwen 'agħaddē'*

*w'-nāphelū baχ'ārēhā b'-bheth'ēdhen
w'-ghālū 'am-'arām qirā*

'āmar 'adhōnāi

(STANZA 2)

kō 'āmar 'adhōnāi

*'al sh'elōshā pish' 'ē 'azza
w'-al 'arbā 'ā lō' 'ashībhenū*

*'al haghelōthām gālūth sh'el mā
l'-hagqir 'ir ū-m'elō'āh*

*w'-shillaχtī 'ēsh b'-χōmath 'azza
w'-ākhe'lā 'armenōthēhā*

*w'-hikhrattī yōshēbh mē-'ashdōdh
w'-thōmēkh shēbhe' mē-'ashq'lōn*

*wa-hēshībhothī yādhi 'al-'eqrōn
w'-ābhēdhū sh'ērith p'elishitīm*

'āmar 'adhōnāi 'elōhīm

(STANZA 5)

kō 'āmar 'adhōnāi

*'al sh'elōshā pish' 'ē bh'nē 'ammōn
w'-al 'arbā 'ā lō' 'ashībhenū*

*'al biq'ām 'ārē ghādū
l'-ma'an harχībū 'eth-g'bhūlām*

*w'-hiçcattī 'ēsh b'-χōmath rabbā
w'-ākhe'lā 'armenōthēhā*

*w'-hiphqdhtū b'-yōm milχāmā
b'-sa'ar b'-yōm sūphā*

*w'-hālakh malkām bag-gōlā
hū' w'-sārāw yaχdāw*

'āmar 'adhōnāi

(STANZA 6)

kō 'āmar 'adhōnāi

*'al sh'elōshā pish' 'ē mō'ābh
w'-al 'arbā 'ā lō' 'ashībhenū*

*'al sorēphō 'aqāmōth lam-mōlekh
way-yizbaχ 'ādhām lash-shēdh*

*w'-shillaχtī 'ēsh b'-mō'ābh
w'-ākhe'lā 'armenōth haq-q'rīyōth*

*w'-hēmattī b'-shā'ōn mō'ābh
bi-thērū 'ā b'-qōl shōphār*

*w'-hishmadhtī shōphē' miq-qirbāh
w'-khol sārēhā 'chrōgh 'imō*

'āmar 'adhōnāi

(STANZA 1: Amos 1.3-5)

Thus saith Yahwè:

For three sins of Damascus,
Yea for four, I will not revoke it.

Because they oppressed Gilead,
And threshed with implements of iron.

So I will send fire into the house of Hazael,
And it will consume the palaces of Benhadad.

And I will break the bar of Damascus,
And the gates of Bikeath-Awen I will hew down.

And her youths shall fall in Beth-Eden;
And the people of Aram shall go into exile.

Saith Yahwè.

(STANZA 2: Amos 1.6-8)

Thus saith Yahwè:

For three sins of Gaza,
Yea for four, I will not revoke it,

Because they have exiled a complete captivity,
To deliver up the city and its contents.

So I will send fire into the wall of Gaza,
And it will consume her palaces.

And I will cut off the inhabitant from Ashdod,
And the sceptre-holder from Ashkelon.

And I shall turn my hand against Ekron,
And the remnant of the Philistines shall perish.

Saith Yahwè.

(STANZA 5: Amos 1.13)

Thus saith Yahwè:

For three sins of the Ammonites,
Yea for four, I will not revoke it.

Because they have pierced through the cities of Gad
In order to increase their borders.

So I will kindle a fire on the wall of Rabba,
And it will consume her palaces.

And I will visit him with a day of war,
With a whirlwind in the day of tempest.

And their king shall go into exile,
He and his princes together.

(STANZA 6: Amos 2.1-3)

Stanza 6.

Thus saith Yahwè:

For three sins of Moab,
Yea for four, I will not revoke it.

Because they have burned bones to Molech,
And sacrificed men to a *shēdh*.

So I will send fire upon Moab,
And it will consume the palaces of Kerioth.

And I will slay in a tumult Moab,
With shouting, with the sound of the trumpet.

And I will destroy the judge from her midst,
And all her princes I will slay with him.

Saith Yahwè.

VERSE AND STANZA PARALLELISM

It is evident that chapters 1.3-2.8 are cast in the form of a poetical unit. There are patent indications of symmetry between the lines and between the various oracles. This fact has been noted by every recent investigator of the Book of Amos, and is at once observable to the general reader.

The poem deals with judgment to be inflicted upon the principal nations bordering on Israel and Judah—Damascus, Philistia, Tyre, Edom, the Ammonites and Moab—with the purpose of showing to Israel that as all the peoples have offended God by their acts against common morality and humanity, so Israel will suffer punishment for great or greater sins. The law of righteous retribution will be the standard for meting out merited doom to the nations. This Doom Song is similar to others scattered throughout the prophetic books. Zenner,

Mueller, Elhorst, Loehr, Sievers, Condamin, Baumann, Marti, Nowack, Harper and others have made valuable suggestions with reference to the proper arrangement of the poem, but nearly all have proceeded upon dangerous assumptions regarding strophe and metre; the principle of parallelism has been neglected to a large degree. This study is an attempt to apply the canons of parallelism in a reconstruction of the Doom Song.

An endeavor will be made on the basis of the internal and other evidence to learn whether complete symmetry can be expected in the poetic arrangement. It has already been observed in a discussion of the Grief Song and of the two pairs of visions in Amos that apparently the one factor which prevents close adherence to a model form is textual corruption. It will be clear from an examination of the Doom Song in Amos that the divergences must be explained on similar grounds.

The indications of verse symmetry or parallelism are numerous, and scarcely need further comment. The formulas of offense and punishment, and 1.5, 8, 11, 14, 15; 2.2, 3, 4, show the clearest parallelism, the types of which have been analyzed above. Though the degree of regularity varies, the presence of parallelism is indubitable.

The indications of stanza symmetry or interparallelism are more obscure and intricate, though none the less present. Eight times, at the head of each group, stands the couplet: "For three sins," etc.; this leads to its designation as the "introductory couplet," marking the beginning of what may now be called stanzas. Each of the eight stanzas contains the couplet: "And I will send fire," etc. Intervening between these two constant formulas, are either a long line (1.3, 6; 2.1), two stichoi (1.9, 13), or four stichoi (1.11, 2.4). These stichoi state the specific offense of each nation. After the formula of punishment there occurs in some of the stanzas additional material, relating in detail the manner of the punishment, four lines occurring in 1.5, 8, 14-15; 2.2-3; three of the stanzas close with the punishment formula. It must be stated without delay that stanza 8 dealing with Israel, shows the introductory formula, but thereafter such marked variations from the other stanzas that it must

be observed separately. The formula of punishment is missing, the material of the offense has been extensively expanded; its departure from the the other seven stanzas is so radical that its consideration in relation to them would complicate and hinder the discussion.

The survey of the song shows then, that there are eight portions with much the same language and also much the same sequence of thought. This sequence of thought runs as follows:

God speaks ("Thus saith Yahwè"), stating

- (1) his refusal to forgive under any circumstances,
- (2) because of the sins of the offending nation;
- (3) therefore he will reap vengeance by fire,
- (4) and (in four stanzas) by varying modes of punishment.

Reiteration that God has spoken (in these four stanzas). The designation "section" will be applied to each of the four major points of this sequence; the word "member" or "term" will denote each major word in these sections.

VARIATIONS IN THE EIGHT STANZAS

The repetitions within the small compass of the song are quite numerous. These include not the constant formulas, but those phrases which seem out of place or which have the undercurrent of stylistic unfitness associated with repetitions close to one another.

1. None in the first section.

2. Second section.

1.3, 13	<i>hag-gile'adh</i>
1.6, 9	<i>le-hasgîr</i> and <i>hasgîrām</i>
	<i>gālūth shelēmā</i>
1.5, 6, 9, 15, forms of	<i>gālā</i>
1.9, 11	<i>'aḥ</i>
1.11, 2.4	<i>shāmar</i>
2.1, 1.15	<i>melekh</i>
1.15, 2.4	<i>hālakh</i>

3. Third section, none.

4. Fourth section.

1.5, 8, the couplet	<i>wc-hikhrattī</i> , etc.
1.5, 8; 2.3	<i>wc-hikhrattī</i>
1.5, 6, 9, 15, forms of	<i>gālā</i>
1.14, 2.2	<i>bi-th'rū'ā</i>
1.15, 2.3	<i>sār</i>

The variations as between the stanzas are important. The number of lines varies.

- Stanza 1, 11 lines in a series of 1, 2, 1, 2, 4, 1.
- Stanza 2, 11 lines in a series of 1, 2, 1, 2, 4, 1.
- Stanza 3, 7 lines in a series of 1, 2, 2, 2.
- Stanza 4, 9 lines in a series of 1, 2, 4, 2.
- Stanza 5, 12 lines in a series of 1, 2, 2, 2, 4, 1.
- Stanza 6, 11 lines in a series of 1, 2, 1, 2, 4, 1.
- Stanza 7, 9 lines in a series of 1, 2, 4, 2.

It is to be noted then: (a) the introductory prophetic phrase remains constant; (b) the introductory offense couplet remains constant; (c) the specific offense section undergoes many variations; (d) the doom couplet in a number of lines remains constant, though slight linguistic variations occur; (e) the expansion of the punishment description changes, in three cases being omitted, in four having four lines each; (f) the closing prophetic postlude phrase in the four cases where the extended description of punishment occurs, is present; in the other three cases, those minus expansion, it is missing.

The varying sections are the pivot of the whole study. Section 2, concerning the specific offense, suffers the greatest changes. Stanzas 1, 2, and 6 have a single line; stanzas 2 and 5 have a pair of lines; stanzas 4 and 7 have two pairs of lines. The single line in each case is extremely long, and while translatable, has an obscure sense; the text seems corrupt; at the same time no parallelism is present. The sections with pairs of lines are also doubtful. Stanza 3 shows in its first line a repetition from the section of stanza 2; the same vagueness of sense as in the other sections occurs; parallelism in the strict sense of synonymy and correspondence is absent between the two stichoi. The sections with a double pair of lines in stanzas 4 and 7 are less difficult but not without flaws: the former has a difficult phrase in *w^e-shixēth raḫamāw* and stanza 7 has the almost untranslatable *way-yath'ūm kizebhēhem*. The problems of the length of the lines, the lateness of language, and other points will be considered below.

Section 3 of the stanzas shows only slight variations. The most interesting occurs in stanza 5 where the Prophet after

using *we-shillaxtī* six times, suddenly employs *we-hiççattī*. Perhaps according to G. A. Smith's interpretation, this is due to symmetrophobia; the most plausible reason, however, will be pointed out below. In three cases "wall," in one "house," in three the name of a city or country (stanza 1, Damascus; in stanza 6, Moab, and in stanza 7, Judah) are used. Throughout the seven stanzas, "palaces" occurs, but with the suffix *ēhā* in stanzas 2, 3, 5, and in the construct followed by the name of a king in stanza 1, of a city in stanzas 4, 6, 7.

Section 4 betrays puzzling variations. Stanzas 3, 4, 7 omit entirely the section with the postlude; stanzas 2 and 5 have apparently perfect parallelism; stanza 6, except for the repetition of *we-hikhrattī* and the suffixes, has apparently good parallelism; stanza 1 is the most difficult of the set. It has four lines, the second and third forming a couplet which is in excellent parallelism, but which also stands at the head of section 4 in stanza 2. The first line of the fourth section in stanza 1 prophesies the destruction of the gates of Damascus; the fourth stichos foretells exile for the population. That this fourth section has undergone corruption is undoubted.

A final variation between the stanzas occurs in stanza 2, where after a seemingly intact section of two parallelistic couplets, not the final phrase, "saith Yahwè" but "saith my Lord, Yahwè" occurs. The reason for this will be attempted below.

These discrepancies, which will increase in number as the study advances, suffice to demonstrate the intricacy of the problems and the danger of any effort at dogmatic solutions. Their greatest value is to raise certain fundamental questions, which though they busy themselves immediately with the text in hand, yet extend themselves in import to the whole mass of biblical literature, and involve the most far-reaching points of disagreement in modern biblical criticism. These questions, which have already been suggested in the last chapter, are:

1. Why do the variations occur between the various lines of the poem and between the various stichoi in seemingly parallelistic couplets?

2. Why do the variations occur between the stanzas?

3. Does a type couplet exist from which the variations occur without law, or does the type couplet merely serve as a substratum for variations guided by certain and regular laws of parallelism?

4. Does a type stanza exist which, despite the variations, was originally the model for the divisions of the entire Song?

In order to be able to propose answers to these questions, it is necessary that the text under discussion be minutely examined.

ANALYSIS OF THE EIGHT STANZAS

STANZA 1.—DAMASCUS

The oracle on Damascus is apparently genuine and in the main originated with Amos. The first evidence for this conclusion is the strophic structure of the stanza. It consists of $1 + 2 + 1 + 2 + 4 + 1$ periods. The arrangements of Harper, Mueller and Loehr neglect the sectional character of the piece, and bring lines together into triplets which in reality should be separated into independent units. The second section, of one stichos, is faulty, but an emendation gives two stichoi in good couplet formation. The fourth section, though composed of four stichoi is also faulty; when reconstructed, however, it still retains the same number of periods, but two good couplets emerge. Hence the arrangement in the light of corrections becomes $1 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 4 + 1$; this total of 12 periods conforms with the expected and suggested model stanza.

The second proof of the authenticity of the oracle is the specific character of the offense, which references in the historical books will be found to substantiate. The third proof is the language used. Though the stichoi b, c, and d are apparently late or misplaced in section 4, the terms of the other sections apparently are genuinely Amosian in style.

In the opening or prelude prophetic phrase and in the offense formula the stanza adheres to the model. The second section on the specific offense affords difficulty:

Because they have threshed with threshing implements of iron
Gilead.

This is a single stichos, without any parallelism; the line is unnaturally long, comparable therein to the second section in stanzas 2 and 6; the presence of the object *'eth-hag-Gil'ādh* so far from the verb increases the doubt. Two stichoi in parallelism are expected. Loehr, Harper and others make the word *'eth-hag-Gil'ādh* into a second stichos; but that a single detached word should act as such is impossible.

Several reconstructions may be suggested:

1. *'al laχ'ṣam 'eth-hag-Gil'ādh*
w'-dūshām ba-χ'rūṣōth hab-barzel.
 Because they pressed by force Gilead,
 And threshed with implements of iron.

The event to which Amos refers is quite clearly the oppression of Israel by Hazael, king of Syria (II K. 8.8ff.; 9.14, 15; 10.32; 12.18, 19; 13.3ff.). This oppression covered a period from c. 830–790 B.C. The specific nature of the offense can be perhaps seen by a comparison with II K. 13.7. Here, after the pure prose, “For he (Hazael) left to Jehoahaz of the people none save fifty horsemen and ten chariots and ten thousand footmen,” occurs a couplet in perfect parallelism:

For the king of Syria destroyed them,
 And made them like dust for the threshing.

The use of the phrase *ke-'āphār lā-dhūsh* points to the identity of the events referred to by Amos. In II K. 13.4, with regard to the subjection of Israel to Hazael, occurs the noun *laχaṣ*; the verb, meaning “to oppress, to squeeze” makes an excellent synonym to *dūsh* and is further sanctioned by its usage in Amos 6.14.

2. *'al dūshām 'eth hag-Gil'ādh le-'āphār,*
wa-y'ṣīmūhū kam-mōṣ lā-dhūq.
 Because they have threshed Gilead to dust,
 And made him as chaff for the pressing.
3. *'al dūshām 'eth hag-Gil'ādh ba-χ'rūṣōth,*
way-yāṣar bi-meḡhērēth hab-barzel.
 Because they threshed Gilead with implements,
 And sawed him with iron saws.

One group of reconstructions still remains. The Septuagint leads the way; its translation for the second section of stanza 1 reads: “Because they sawed with iron saws the women

with child of the Galaadites''; and for the same section in stanza 5: "Because they ripped up the women with child of the Galaadites." Either the translators did not understand the text in 1.3, or they confused it with 1.13, or what is more likely, the original text of the two sections stood in intimate relationship. In stanza 5, there is something of a *non-sequitur* in ideas between the first and second stichoi of the couplet in the second section; moreover no historical evidence is at hand to show that the Ammonites committed the barbarity on the people of Israel. But a fruitful passage in II K. 8.12 attributes this very act to the Syrians under Hazael. This passage, which contains two poetical couplets in the midst of prose narrative, is a prediction by Elisha of the deeds of Hazael as king:

Their strongholds wilt thou set on fire,
And their young men wilt thou slay with the sword.
And thou wilt dash to pieces their children,
And rip up their women with child.

The following suggestion may then be made:

4. *'al biq'ām hārōth hag-Gil'adh,*
wc-dūshām ba-χ^arūcōth hab-barzel.
Because they ripped up the pregnant women of Gilead,
And threshed them with implements of iron.

This takes over bodily from stanza 5 the first stichos, and omits "Gilead" in the second stichos.

Conclusions on the second section of stanza 1 are: (1) the text does not appear to be the genuine composition of Amos; (2) a second stichos is needed to complete the couplet; (3) the probable restorations are numerous. Either the first or the fourth of the above may be preferred.

The fourth (i.e., punishment) section of stanza 1 reads as follows:

- | | |
|--|-----|
| And I will break the bar of Damascus | (a) |
| And I will cut off the inhabitant from Bikath-Awen | (b) |
| And the sceptre-holder from Beth-Eden | (c) |
| And the people of Aram shall go into exile to Kir. | (d) |

This section does not appear to be original with Amos, but contains insertions and later additions: (1) The ideas are more numerous than in any other fourth section of the Doom Song:

destruction of buildings, presumably of palaces; slaughter of inhabitants; slaughter of ruler; exile for the nation. (2) The lack of close parallelism points to a faulty text; stichos a has no parallel as in the other stanzas; d has no complement; nor can they be combined to form a couplet. The central location of the parallelistic couplet b plus c violates the form of the other fourth sections. (3) The repetition of the central couplet at the head of the fourth section in stanza 2 operates against its authenticity in stanza 1; it is entirely in place in stanza 2, which conforms to the model stanza in its structure in the fourth section, whereas in stanza 1 it is out of place. How then did this section come to have its present form?

In II K. 16.9 occurs the passage: "And the king of Assyria went up to Damascus and conquered it and led it into exile beyond Kir and Rezin he killed." The phrase *way-yagl'chā* (i.e., *gālū 'am-'arām Qīrā*) bears so striking a resemblance to the Amos phrase *gālū 'am-'arām Qīrā* that between the two some interrelation may exist. Two hypotheses are possible: first, that the Amos passage is prior, and that the Kings verse is a later insertion, or second, that the narrative account preceded, a later editor having brought Amos into conformity therewith.

In support of the first theory, it may be said that it seems plausible that Amos had Assyria in mind as the world power which would wreak vengeance upon Damascus, for it was the most likely to engage in the practice of deportation. The words in II K. 16.9 refer to the actual punishment which Amos presumably foretells. The result of the combined attack of Pekah, King of Israel, and Rezin, King of Damascus, upon Judah (II K. 16.5ff.; Is. 7.1), was that Ahaz applied to Tiglath Pileser for help; he responded to the appeal and slaughtered the King of Damascus and exiled the nation. Verse 9 is apparently not in good condition; the repetition of the name *melekh 'Ashshūr* leads to the supposition that something may have been omitted between the two parts of the sentence; the real interest of the narrator is in a portrayal of the sin of idolatry which arose from contact of Ahaz and Assyria. Though the verse may be a condensation, the second portion is apparently intact in its own limits.

The redactor of Kings may have inserted the phrase *way-yaglèhā Qīrā* in order that the specific reference of Amos to the impending destruction of Damascus might be borne out by the narrative. If it be said that the fourth stichos in Amos is an addition, then the closing prophetic phrase “saith Yahwè” is left hanging in the air; moreover the stichos in question is itself a beautiful and euphonious line, worthy of the best prophetic style. In Amos 9.7 the combination *’arām mē-Qīr* seems to sanction the juxtaposition of the two names in stanza 1.

In support of the hypothesis that the fourth stichos in Amos is a later insertion on the basis of Kings, it may be adduced that the phrase referred to in 9.7 either makes the stichos in stanza 1 illegitimate, or is itself dubious. “Aram from Kir” indicates that Kir was the ancient home of the Arameans out of which God brought them, as He did Israel out of Egypt and Philistia out of Crete. Professor Max Mueller objects that “if Kir was the original home of the Arameans, the Assyrians would never have deported them back to their own country where they would have found remainders of the original stock of the nation and would by union with them become strong again.” He suggests that 1.5d was inserted on the basis of 9.7.

Against the notion that the phrase *way-yaglèhā Qīrā* was interpolated in II K. 16.9 it seems more plausible to believe that the historian would remain true to the facts, while the Prophet would be more vague and poetically indefinite, and an editor would adjust the prophecies *ex post facto* to the actual events. That the phrase in question is inserted so abruptly in the middle of the sentence shows that it was written in the margin, or over the other words, and that a later copyist embodied it in the text proper. Additional evidence for the genuineness of the line in Kings may be found in II K. 15.29, where the writer refers to the punishment of Pekah by Tiglath-Pileser: “And he exiled them to Assyria” (*way-yaghlēm ’Ashshūrā*). If it be urged that the line in Amos is authentic and that the events, as he prophesied one generation earlier, actually occurred, it may be said with justice that this accuracy is in itself suspicious.

Another ground for conceiving stichoi b, c, d as later insertions is found in a consideration of the central couplet, b-c, which evidently seeks to express the idea of the destruction of Damascus royalty. In II K. 16.9 this thought is expressed specifically in the words: "and Rezin he slew," an event which took place in the year 732 B.C. in the generation immediately following Amos. Isaiah refers in 17.1-3, dedicated to the "burden of Damascus," to the fact that "sovereignty shall cease from Damascus." This prophecy appears to have been written after the formation of the Syro-Ephraimitish alliance between 736 and 732 B.C. Upon the foundation of these two passages, a later redactor may have thought it necessary to include the death of Rezin in the prophecy of Amos. Finding close at hand a couplet which expressed in true Amosian language this very idea, he borrowed it bodily from the fourth section of stanza 2, its proper location, and inserted it in stanza 1, regardless of the disruption of the parallelism, the omission of the original words of the Prophet, and the repetition. This change may have been made when the event was still fresh in the mind of the nation, perhaps after the fall of Samaria in 721, or before the end of the century. It may be definitely stated then, that the central couplet is out of place, and except perhaps for the proper names, was not genuine with Amos.

The section as it now stands in need of emendation may be portrayed graphically as follows:

1. The three stichoi, b, c, and d, are later insertions; this gives as the only extant words of the prophet here:

And I shall break the bar of Damascus

This makes necessary the suggestion of three new lines to fill the gap: one parallel to a; two, c and d, parallel to each other; or

2. Merely the couplet b-c is a later insertion:

And I shall break the bar of Damascus

 And the people of Aram shall go into exile.

This demands the substitution of two new lines, *b* parallel to *a*, and *c* parallel to *d*; and the acceptance of the hypothesis that stichos *d* is genuine with Amos, and the words in II K. 16.9 a later insertion.

The first couplet may be reconstructed as follows:

wc-shābhartī berīaχ Dammeseq
wc-dhalethoth Biq'ath-'āwen 'aghaddī'.

And I will break the bar of Damascus,
 And the doors of Bikath-Awen I will hew down.

The use of *shābhar*, "break," with *deleth*, "door," is found in Gen. 19.9, though not in a military sense. The words *deleth* and *berīaχ* are found together in Deut. 3.5; Is. 23.7; II Chron. 7.5; Ps. 107.16; Jer. 49.31; Ez. 38.11; Is. 45.2; Job 38.10; II Chron. 14.6. They occur also in couplets in perfect parallelism, e.g. Jer. 45.2, and Ps. 107.16. Other suggestions are *sha'ar*, "gate," in conjunction with *berīaχ*, "bar," as in the parallel couplets Lam. 2.9; Ps. 147.13; Na. 3.13; *χōmā*, "wall," used in combination with *berīaχ*, Deut. 3.5; II Chron. 8.15, 14.6. The word *mibhçār*, "fortress," is referred to in II K. 8.12, wherein Elisha and Hazael converse, and may be used here on the principle of poetic justice. The parallelism between *shābhar* and *gādhā'*, "hew down," or "into pieces," is established by numerous usages; they are used as synonyms in two perfectly parallel couplets, Is. 45.2 and Ps. 17.16; they are also used in other parallelistic couplets but without exact correspondence. Variations of the couplet suggested above are possible, some of them excluding the name of *Biq'ath-'āwen*, others affecting the form of *gādhā'*.

For the second couplet the following reconstructions are suggested:

1. A restoration of two lines for the second couplet can be made on the basis of Jeremiah's prophecy on Damascus, 49.23-27.

Her youths shall fall in the streets
 And all her men of war shall be silent.

Since Damascus has treated Israel barbarously, it will be punished in kind; in II. K. 8.12 Hazael is destined to "slay youths

with the sword," and a reference in Amos to the same punishment for Damascus on the principle of poetic justice would be appropriate. This very retribution, indeed, is mentioned in Jer. 49.26 in the oracle on Damascus, which shows points of striking resemblance to Amos; verse 27 is an almost exact duplication of the punishment formula in Amos 1.4; Jeremiah uses the couplet again in 17.17, 21.14, 50.32. The possibility of a nexus between these two oracles permits the assumption that words taken out of Amos may in another text have remained, and that Jeremiah, with slight changes, incorporated them into his own prophecy on Damascus.

2. A restoration of one line and the retention of the proper name may be found in this suggestion:

Her youths shall fall in Beth-Eden,
And the people of Aram shall go into exile to Kir.

A similar grouping of the idea of death and exile is found in Amos 7.11 and 17. Though the parallelism here is not close, the synthetic relationship of the stichoi is found often in Amos. Another suggestion based on the idea of exile is found in one of the many forms of which this is an example:

And Beth-Eden shall go into captivity,
And the people of Aram shall go into exile to Kir.

In conclusion it may be urged that a possible reconstruction of the fourth section take this form:

And I will break the bar of Damascus,
And the doors of Bikath-Awen I will hew down.

Her youths shall fall in Beth-Eden,
And the people of Aram shall go into exile to Kir.

STANZA 2.—PHILISTIA

The oracle on Philistia is apparently genuine and in the main original with Amos. The first evidence for this conclusion is the strophic structure of the stanza. It is divided into 1 + 2 + 1 + 2 + 4 + 1 periods, after the manner of the first stanza. The two formulas are correct; the fourth section consists of two perfect couplets and is therefore apparently correct and genuine; the closing phrase varies in this stanza from

all others, for it has "hath my Lord Yahwè said," instead of "hath-said Yahwè," as in six other cases. The most important divergence from the type stanza is in the second section:

Because they have exiled a complete captivity to deliver to Edom.

The line is evidently corrupt because it is a long prose line, where two lines in a couplet are needed; its meaning is doubtful; it is repeated almost identically in stanza 3, section 2.

Stanza 2. *'al hagh'lôthâm gâlûth sh'el'mâ l'hasgir le-'edhôm.*

Stanza 3. *'al hasgîrâm gâlûth sh'el'mâ le-'edhôm.*

The following probabilities exist: (a) The stichos may belong in stanza 2 and must be emended to form a couplet; this would entail the omission of the similar stichos in stanza 3. (b) The stichos in stanza 2 is out of place, necessitating the substitution of a couplet on an appropriate theme; this omission would sanction the retention of the similar stichos in stanza 3. (c) The stichos in stanza 2 is a later substitution based on events which followed the time of Amos and which a later redactor inserted, even as he tampered with the text of stanza 1. This decision would either affect stanza 3 in the same way, or would leave open the question of the appropriateness of the stichos there on its own merits.

In defense of the present text, the following material may be brought to bear: the event to which Amos refers may be the attack mentioned in II Chron. 21.16ff. During the reign of Jehoram (851–843 B.C.) the Arabs and the Philistines raided Judah, and "they came up into Judah and brake into it, and carried away all the substance that was found in the king's house, and his sons also, and his wives, save Jehoahaz, the youngest of his sons" (the Book of Kings makes no mention of this raid and it is uncertain whether it ever took place). The description of the thoroughness with which the marauders made their captures leads to the supposition that this might be the "complete captivity" referred to in Amos. In stanza 1, Amos seems to have taken the offense from the days of Hazael, immediately following this event. It may perhaps be that he turns back to the reign of Jehoahaz for the historical data on which to found the offense of Philistia. In order to retain the

text in its present form, the following arrangements may be suggested:

Because they have exiled a complete captivity
To deliver up to Edom.

This follows the analogy of stanza 5, where "in order that" is used in the second stichos in the same way that "to" is used here in the sense of "in order that"; but this is not parallelism.

Another arrangement can be devised by taking over word for word the couplet forming the second section of stanza 3. But the only passages in support of the idea of a covenant between Philistia and Israel occur in Gen. 21.27, 32 and 26.28; and these afford little substantiation for the change suggested.

In searching further for an explanation of the stichos under discussion, it may be noted that the second section in stanza 2 is apparently late. It is not plausible that Amos would refer to a border raid participated in not merely by Philistines, but by Arabs as well, as the basis for his fierce denunciation. Moreover at the time of Amos, II Chron. 26.6-7 apparently shows that Philistia was under the domination of Judah. King Uzziah (782-737 B.C.), during whose reign Amos was active, "went forth and warred against the Philistines and brake down the wall of Gath, and the wall of Jabneh, and the wall of Ashdod, and he built cities in the country of Ashdod and among the Philistines. And God helped him against the Philistines, and against the Arabians that dwelt in Gur-baal and the Mehunim." This text is important. It would seem that Amos must have directed his prophecy against Philistia before the success of Uzziah, for it may well be asked: "Why should the Prophet predict doom for a nation already doomed?" Moreover it was the king of Amos' own home who accomplished their subjugation. To this might be answered that Amos prophesied against Philistia in the light of the attack which he knew Uzziah contemplated, and in order to find a justification for Uzziah's war he harked back to the attacks by the Philistines and Arabs more than a century before. On the other hand it is more likely that Amos, or perhaps a later redactor, would denounce Philistia at a time when it tormented Israel.

The hostility of Philistia becomes apparent immediately after the death of Amos. During the reign of Ahaz of Judah (735–715 B.C.) the Philistines become inimical and successful. In II Chron. 28.16–19 occurs a picture of the distress of Judah: “For again the Edomites had come and smitten Judah and carried away captives. The Philistines also had invaded the cities of the low country, and of the south of Judah...” Though this passage is doubtful, it mentions the activities of Edom and Philistia apparently in union; and though Edom is here referred to as the captive maker, Philistia, too, may be regarded as an invader and slave-trader. Additional evidence for the hypothesis that the historical background for the offense of Philistia may lie in the generation immediately following Amos (as is the case in the central couplet in stanza 1, section 4), is found in Is. 9.11, where the Prophet mentions “Syria on the East and Philistia on the West”; 11.14 showing Philistia’s hostility; 14.28–32, delivered after the death of Ahaz, and pointing to the bitterness between the two nations. This enmity may have given rise to a revision of Amos’ prophecy in order to make it more specific and in line with events after its delivery.

A second suggestion is that the prophecy on Philistia was revised in the light of the text of Jeremiah. Jer. 13.19 and the oracle in Jer. 47.1–7 show several affinities with the text of Amos which will be remarked in a discussion of the fourth section below.

A third suggestion is that the prophecy was remodelled in post-exilic days. Ezek. 25.15–17 proclaims the offense of Philistia as perpetual hatred (see below, on Edom), and exultation at the downfall of Judah in 586 B.C. Though the sin of the nation differs from that mentioned in Amos, yet the similarity of language in the fourth section appears to demonstrate an influence of Amos on Ezekiel or vice versa. Zeph. 2.4–7 and Zech. 9.5–8 state no offense, though the language of the latter again points to borrowings from Amos. Joel 4.4–8 refers to the activities of the Philistines as slave-traders in company with the Tyrians; Edom is not mentioned (see below, on Tyre). But unless it is

admitted that the prophecy in Amos on Philistia is in part at least post-exilic, it is dangerous to find any influence of the Joel text on the revision of Amos, for it would place the final recasting of Amos around the year 350 B.C.

Possible emendations of this text are not so numerous as in stanza 1.

1. Because they have exiled a complete captivity,
And delivered them into the hand of the enemy.

The phrase "into the hand of the enemy" occurs with *hisgîr* in Lam. 2.7, and in a figurative sense in Ps. 31.9.

2. Because they have exiled a complete captivity,
And delivered the people to the sword.

This is based on Ps. 78.62, wherein a perfect couplet occurs with this idiom, though the second stichos has no points of comparison with the Amos text.

A second group of emendations is based upon an interpretation of the word *sāghar* as meaning "shut up" with reference not to individuals but to cities. Josh. 6.1 refers to Jericho as *sōghêreth ū-mē'suggêreth*, "straitly shut up"; in Jer. 13.19 occurs the significant couplet:

- The cities of the South are shut up; and there is none to open;
Judah is exiled, all of it; an exile of peaceful ones (a complete exile).

This couplet is in perfect *qīnā* parallelism. The phrase *hoghlath shelōmīm* is emended by many to read in conformance with the Amos text, *gālūth shelēmā*. The Septuagint offers the weightiest evidence for this change, for it has the words "complete captivity" in the Greek, whereas in the Amos passage it reads for both stanzas 2 and 3 "the captivity of Solomon." This shows that the Septuagint translators did not read the phrase on the basis of Amos, which they understood wrongly, but solely because they possessed a clear text in Jeremiah. The fact that Jeremiah does not use this couplet in a prophecy on the Philistines may be ground for the belief that he borrowed the phrase from Amos, rather than that a later redactor copied it from Jeremiah. For the later editor would in all probability turn to Jeremiah's prophecy on Philistia for terminology and ideas on which to rebuild the Amos text; whereas the couplet in

question occurs in Jeremiah in an entirely different connection. It may be, however, that a few words in Amos suggested the Jeremianic couplet; therefore regardless of its position, it may have served as the basis for a reading of Amos. Data in favor of a reconstruction of the Amos line on the groundwork of the Jeremiah couplet may be found in the use in stichos a in Jeremiah of a form of *sāghar* and in stichos b, a form of *hoghlath shelōmīm* or *gālūth shelēmā*. A fact against this manipulation is that Jeremiah, as the Joshua text also, quite properly speaks of the shutting up of cities first, and then of captivity, or delivery; while in Amos the order is reversed; hence if the text is made to apply to cities, it would be illogical. For purposes of suggestion, however, these formations may be written down:

3. Because they have exiled a complete captivity,
To deliver them up, with none to free.

'al haghlothām gālūth shelēmā
le-hasgīr we-lō' yephattēhū.

This entails merely the addition of the phrase "and not open," or "free," which in Jeremiah refers to cities, but may here be taken to refer to the captivity. The form *le-hasgīr* may become *way-yasgīrū*, "and they delivered."

Another group of suggestions may rest upon the idea of "complete captivity" in phrases such as *kol hash-shēbhī* (Amos 4.10, 9.14; Jer. 30.16), *kol hag-gōlā* (Jer. 28.6, 29.4, 20, 31; Ezek. 6.20), but these are unsatisfactory not merely on the ground of sense, but also because of the lateness of the phrases.

4. Because they exiled a complete captivity,
And delivered up the city and its contents.

'al haghlothām gālūth shelēmā
way-yasgīrū 'ir ū-mēlō'āh.

This is based upon Amos 6.8: "And I will deliver up the city and its contents," *we-hisgartī 'ir ū-mēlō'āh*. Doubt is thrown on the verse in its position in chapter 6 because the Septuagint has the Greek equivalent for the Hebrew *we-hikhrattī*, "and I will cut off"; moreover, the verse is out of place; it has no complementary stichos; it is followed by verses 9–10, a prose piece in great confusion of language and thought; transposed to chap-

ter 1 it makes a couplet in which the synonymity is quite close, and the parallelism is good.

All these suggestions, however, have omitted the word *le-'dhām*, "to Edom." It has been affirmed that this is a gloss inserted by reason of later events, perhaps the hostility of Edom at the time of the destruction of the Temple (see discussion of stanza 4). Mitchell in his commentary on Zechariah (p. 237), suggests that the phrases "to deliver them to Edom" in verse 6 and "to Edom" in verse 9 are explanatory glosses suggested by Ezek. 35.5; this would lend weight to the idea that the line was reworked after the Exile. But it may be that *le-'dhām* is a corruption for a word which would place the line in good couplet form, and give a kind of synonymity; it will be seen below that the word "Edom" in stanza 6 must be emended to a form *'ādham*, "man"; either *kol 'ādham*, "every human being," or *kol hā-'adhāmā*, "all the land," may have been the original here; thus the couplet becomes:

Because they have exiled a complete captivity,
To deliver up all the land (or every human being).

'al haghlothām gālūth sh'ēmā,
le-hasgīr kol ādhām (or kol hā-'adhāmā).

Whatever be the decision on the value of these suggestions, they suffice to show that the line in its present form is untenable; the restoration of parallelistic couplet structure, though the exact phrases are beyond reach, seems entirely justifiable.

The fourth section of stanza 2 contains two couplets in parallelism, the first of which is repeated in stanza 1, as a later insertion. The slight variation in the closing postlude prophetic phrase has already been noted. Comparisons which show startling points of similarity can be made with various prophetic passages. Amos reads:

And I will cut off the inhabitant from Ashdod,
And him that holdeth the sceptre from Ashkelon,

And I will turn my hand against Ekron:
And the remnant of the Philistines shall perish.

Jer. 47.4 contains terms and phrases similar to Amos:

Because of the day that cometh to spoil all the Philistines,
To cut off from Tyre and Zidon every helper that remaineth.

For the Lord will spoil the Philistines,
The remnant of the isle of Caphtor.

The comparisons with Ezek. 25.16, a part of a chapter which shows resemblances to Amos in point of stanza arrangement, repetition of prophetic formulas and other *motifs*, are equally striking; moreover in verses 6, 8, 12, 14 of this series, Ezekiel uses the phrase "hath-said Adhonai-Yahwè."

Therefore thus saith the Lord, God:

Behold I will stretch out my hand upon the Philistines,

And I will cut off the Cherethim,
And destroy the remnant of the sea coast.

In Zeph. 2.4-7 the most important likeness is the stichos: "and I shall destroy you to become without inhabitant"; Zech. 9.5-8, too, shows resemblances which have often been noted (Mitchell, *ICC*, 266-267), particularly at the end of verse 5 and the whole of verse 6:

And a king shall cease from Gaza,
And Ashkelon shall not be inhabited.

And a bastard shall rule in Ashdod,
And I will cut off the pride of the Philistines.

Did the text of Amos fall under the influence of this passage through a later redactor, or did Zechariah imitate Amos? The sentence on the "bastard," according to Mitchell, refers "to the deterioration of the population of Palestine during and after the captivity, as pictured in Neh. 13.23ff., or the mixed character of the people with whom the country had been colonized by its conquerors." It is fairly certain that Zechariah borrowed from Amos, not in slavish imitation, however, but with subtle variations which differentiated his work from that of his predecessor.

It may then be concluded with some degree of surety that while (a) the first couplet is genuinely the work of Amos, (b) the second couplet has to some extent been influenced by the

material of Ezek. 25. One probability is that the second couplet and the closing phrase are late, though this would entail the same conclusion with reference to the second couplet in the fourth sections of the other stanzas. A second and more defensible decision is that the closing words *'āmar 'adhōnāi Yahwè* were inserted because of the similarity of the Amos couplet to the Ezekiel passages. This would justify the entire fourth section, and would show the reason for the deviation of the closing phrase to be the same as that for which the word *we-hiṣṣattī* in stanza 5 deviates from *we-shillaxtī* of the other stanzas; i.e., not "symmetrophobia," but the whim or carelessness of a later redactor, who probably was led by the likenesses between two passages to make changes in one to conform to the other. This interplay of influence seems general in the edition of texts by later compilers, to whom the question of priority of texts seems to have been of no importance.

STANZA 3.—TYRE

The oracle on Tyre displays characteristics which mark it off distinctly from the other stanzas. As it now stands, the fourth section together with the closing prophetic phrase is missing; and the first stichos of the second section is a repetition of the second section in stanza 2.

The oracle might be regarded as genuine on the ground of the following data: (a) The second section contains a couplet apparently in good parallelism, as the type stanza demands. To retain this couplet would, of course, entail the omission of the section in stanza 2, where an almost bald repetition of the phrases and thought is visible; to make the whole stanza conform to type would demand the acceptance of the supposition that the fourth section has for some unaccountable reason dropped out, and hence must be supplied from data contemporary with or before Amos. (b) The historical situation between Tyre and Judah seems to point to the authenticity of the stanza. The brotherly covenant to which Amos refers may be the one mentioned in I K. 5.26 between Hiram and Solomon. Hiram calls Solomon "brother" also in I K. 5.1ff. 9.13, 16.31; II S.

5.11 (see also I K. 7.13; I Chron. 14.1; II Chron. 2.3, 11). These friendly relations continued especially during the time of the royal unions with Tyrian nobility; at the time of Elisha and Elijah, resulting foreign idolatries became the subject of sharp denunciation. A gap in the historical records is responsible for the lack of information as to the time when political hostility between the two nations began. In Is. 23.1–14 occurs an oracle on Tyre, delivered apparently around 722 B.C.; this indicates the attention which the Prophets immediately following Amos paid to Tyre; and it might be presumed that Amos also may have included them in the round of his utterances.

But the evidence against the authenticity of the oracle is more plausible, and it may be presumed that the stanza is late. (a) The strophic structure is $2 + 2 + 2$; the omission of the fourth section and the postlude makes the stanza the shortest of the whole series, for in the other oracles wherein the fourth section is missing—i.e., stanza 4 on Edom, and stanza 7 on Judah—there is found in the second section an additional parallelistic couplet. (b) As Harper points out, the oracle adds no new thought to the series. The formulas are repeated; only one city is named, namely, Tyre, neither Sidon nor the other large cities of the kingdom receiving attention. The same charge as against the Philistines is levelled against Tyre; the only new stichos introduced is the line on the brotherly covenant. (c) "If the geographical order prevailed as elsewhere from North to South, verses 9–11 would have preceded verses 6–8" (Harper, p. 28). (d) The historical data do not afford sufficient evidence in support of the authenticity of the oracle, in view of the events which followed the lifetime of Amos. The Prophet seems here to think that the violation of the brotherly covenant is a sin; but if the alliance between Tyre and Israel was abhorrent to the Prophets, it is not likely that they would be angered if this covenant, provided it ever existed, were broken. Hence it would appear that stichos b of the second section is not original with Amos.

The long succession of prophecies against Tyre which issue from the successors of Amos indicates that a later redactor in-

serted this oracle in Amos. The denunciation by Isaiah, 23.1-14, may be retroactive in its witness to a hostility between Tyre and Judah at the time of Amos; but it is more probable that the Amos stanza was introduced at the time of Isaiah, as was the case with several words and stichoi in stanzas 1 and 2. The Isaianic prophecy is placed by Gray (*ICC*, p. 386) after the "long siege to which Tyre was subjected by Shalmaneser" (727-722 B.C.); Isaiah mentions no offense by Tyre against Judah. It has already been suggested that some connection may exist between the oracles of Jeremiah and these of Amos; Jeremiah mentions Tyre in 25.22 and 27.3, but dedicates to it no special Song. If it be believed that Jeremiah wrote with a text of Amos before him, it may be surmised, then, that one text was revised by a redactor after 720 B.C. around the time of Isaiah's activity; but that Jeremiah possessed a text unrevised and genuine with Amos. A third edition may have been made on the basis of these two texts, combining them into one (see conclusions below).

Or since Ezekiel, chaps. 26-28, contains a long and brilliant oracle against Tyre which originated around 570 B.C., apparently during an era when Tyre was at the height of its prosperity, the Amos oracle may have been added at this date. Joel 4.4-8, too, offers significant evidence. Joel speaks of the slavery activities of both Phoenicia and Philistia; but in the place of Edom, as in Amos, the countries of Javan (Greece) and the Sabaeans figure; the recipients of the slaves whom the Phoenicians sell are the Greeks (see Ezek. 27.13). Bewer (*ICC*, p. 130ff.) states that these verses in Joel were written with reference to the behavior of the Persians under Artaxerxes Ochus, around 352 B.C.; the writer added these verses on the behavior of the Phoenicians and the Philistines because it "called for special condemnation. They were the slave-traders and merchants to whom the Persian soldiers had sold their captives and their booty."

On the question, then, of the offense in Amos, the following probabilities are suggested: (a) The redactor may have inserted an ancient offense to give the prophecy an archaic flavor and

to lend the thought that it originated with Amos. (b) The redactor may have based the offense on Ezek. 27.13 (see above); Edom is not mentioned here, however, but Javan (as in Joel 4.4–8), and it would therefore be necessary to regard the phrase *le-'edhôm* in Amos as a gloss. (c) The offense couplet may have been changed later on the basis of Joel 4.4–8, though the outline of the oracle may date from the time either of Isaiah, or Ezekiel.

A word must be said on the disposition of the second stichos of the second section: "And they remembered not the covenant of brothers." In defense of its authenticity it may be urged: it is in a good couplet, though the synonymity between the lines is not close; on the general principle that except on rare occasions it is unwise to disturb a parallelistic couplet, the temptation to throw the verse out must be checked until further examination; furthermore the literary quality of the stichos is good; it consists of the customary three members. But against the legitimacy of the stichos many arguments may be advanced. It is improbable that Amos referred back to the days of Solomon to secure an historical reference, in view of the events in the intercourse between the two nations which had occurred since the division of the kingdom. The verse also has the word *āḫīm*, which repeats the word *āḫīw* of stanza 4. The stichos is not needed in Edom's oracle, because already two superfluous stichoi are present there, and moreover it will be seen that the prophecy on Edom appears to be late. It cannot be placed in the second section of the Judah stanza for the same and other reasons. The second section on the Ammonites cannot contain it because two stichoi are already present; there is no reference to an alliance either with Philistia, Moab, or Israel; it would be inappropriate in the second section of stanza 1, for the passages on the alliance between Ahab and Benhadad, I K. 20.34, and between Syria and Israel, I K. 15.19 and II Chron. 16.3, are insufficient to form substantiation for the transposition in the face of other weaknesses of parallelism and sense.

The final and most plausible suggestion for the presence of the verse is that it is a variant reading of the stichos *'al rodh'phō*

ba-χercbh 'aχīw, "because he pursued with the sword his brother," in stanza 4 on Edom; its presence in the margin or above the line may have furnished the later redactor with a stichos out of which to form a distich in the second section of the prophecy which he constructed in order to secure an oracle presumably from Amos; a combination with a stichos from stanza 2 made a distich, and hence gave the oracle a flavor of genuineness. But whatever may have been the process by which it attained its present status, it seems quite certain that it did not proceed from Amos.

Hence in conclusion it may be affirmed that the prophecy on Tyre is late. It may have been introduced either after 720 B.C. or after 570 B.C.; possibly it was interpolated at the first date and reworked after the second; moreover, after 350 B.C. it may have once more been retouched. This would tend to show that three editions of the entire Doom Song were made.

STANZA 4.—EDOM

Edom plays an important rôle in the Doom Song, for it is mentioned four times, once in connection with the slave trade of Philistia, once in connection with the slave trade of Tyre, once as the victim of Moab's offense in stanza 6, and again as the theme of stanza 4. It is generally agreed that this oracle is late; it is supposed to date from exilic or post-exilic times.

The first point to show the lateness of this stanza is its strophic structure. The number of stichoi is $1 + 2 + 4 + 2$, as in stanza 7 on Judah. The second section contains two couplets where only one is needed for the type stanza. The fourth section with the prophetic postlude is missing, as in stanzas 3 and 7, which are also placed late. The second evidence for the lateness of the stanza is the nature of the offense mentioned in the second section. Tradition early described Edom as a brother to Israel. In early historic times Edom was subject to Israel and for two centuries was under its domination (I K. 11.16; II K. 14.7). Edom is hostile at the time of the Exodus, and at the time of the revolt of Hadad during the reign

of Solomon, an event too remote to serve as the basis for Amos' prophecy. In the days of Joram (c. 893 B.C.) occurred another revolt of Edom (II K. 7.20-22; II Chron. 21.8-10), again too distant for Amos' purposes, for it may be surmised that the Prophet would naturally select an event closer to his own day and fresher in the minds of his readers and listeners.

In II K. 14.7 and II Chron. 25.5-13 occur the stories of the defeat of the Edomites at the hand of King Amaziah of Judah around the year 795 B.C., a little more than a generation before Amos began his prophetic activity. The defeat is thorough, for in verse 12 it is stated: "And ten thousand left alive did the children of Judah carry away captive and brought them unto the top of the rock and cast them down from the top of the rock and they all were broken to pieces." (On stanzas 2 and 3, it is instructive to note here that Edom is made the captive and not the recipient of Judaeian captives.) II Chron. 26.2 also tells of the continued humiliation of the Edomites, for Uzziah, the king contemporary with Amos, took the city of Elath from them and restored it to Judah. The question may then legitimately be asked: Since Edom was so soundly defeated both shortly before and contemporaneously with Amos, why should the Prophet direct against them an oracle foretelling a doom which had already fallen upon them? Notice further Amos' use of the term "the remnant of Edom" in 9.12; the Blessing of Esau, Gen. 27.39ff., supposed to have originated at this period, also tells of the subjection of Edom to the sway of Israel. It is therefore necessary to search for the *raison d'être* of the oracle in Amos in events which transpired after his death.

Plenteous evidence is found in generations succeeding, for the insertion of a prophecy against Edom. In II Chron. 28.17, a narration of the incursions of the Edomites at the time of Ahaz is given: "again the Edomites had come and smitten Judah and carried away captives." The use of the word "again" may lead to the thought that contemporaneous with Amos the event first occurred, giving rise to his prophecy. It seems more likely, however, that the event referred to must have occurred directly before the one mentioned. Ahaz is compelled

in 734 B.C. to apply to the King of Assyria for assistance. Edom is mentioned in Isaiah, chapter 34, in terms of vigorous denunciation. Hence the first suggestion is that the Edom stanza was inserted into Amos around the year 720 B.C., together with parts of stanza 1, section 4, and stanza 2, section 2, and possibly stanza 3.

The evidence points more specifically to an exilic or post-exilic reconstruction of this prophecy in Amos. Jeremiah after several references to Edom (9.25, 25.21, 27.3) devotes to it a whole oracle in 49.7-22. The passage is confused and bears resemblances to Obadiah's anti-Edom utterances; the offense of Edom is haughtiness and pride of heart (verse 16). But it is in the Book of Ezekiel that the most weighty hints on the origin of the oracle occur. The data point clearly to the fact that the passage in Amos refers to the attitude of Edom towards Judah at the destruction of the Temple in 586 B.C. Ezek. 25.12-14 proclaims as the offense of Edom, their self-exacted vengeance upon Judah for which they will be punished in kind. Ezek. 35 gives the identical offense, apparently, to which Amos refers: "Because thou hast had a perpetual hatred and hast shed the blood of the children of Israel by the force of the sword in the time of their calamity, in the time that their iniquity had an end" (verse 5; see also verses 12, 13, 15). The words *'ēbhath 'ōlām* compared with Amos, stanza 4, second couplet of the second section, give a clue to the date of the Edom oracle in Amos. The utterances of Obadiah bear out the same indications. For in verses 10-11 occur references to the "violence" of the Edomites and their conspiracy with the invaders at the destruction of the Temple. Joel 4.19 refers to the slaughter of Judah by Edom, even as does the first couplet in the Amos offense section; Ps. 137.7 gives additional data (cf. also Ps. 83.7). Malachi 1.2-5 apparently at a later date, refers to the historic enmity between Edom and Israel despite the fact that they were "brothers."

The necessary conclusion seems to be that the offense mentioned in Amos occurred around 586 B.C., and that the second section was written in the light of the prophecies of Ezekiel and

Obadiah. Harper correctly says (p. 31): "The cruelty which furnished the basis for the ill feeling on the part of Israel came with the exile. It was not unnatural therefore, that a later writer, devoid of historical perspective and thinking that Edom deserved denunciation, should frame a section which in due time secured a place in the text of Amos."

The third evidence for the lateness of the Edom oracle in Amos is the character of the language, especially in the second section. As has been noted, the real foundation for the section appears to be Ezek. 35.5, wherein two ideas, hatred and pursuit by sword, are grouped; the writer of the Amos material has expanded them into two couplets, whereas on the basis of the Ezekiel passage, the form could be one couplet, omitting the second stichos of each existing couplet in the section:

Because he pursued with the sword his brother,
And forever his anger tore.

This agrees with Harper's suggestion that stichoi b in both couplets are glosses, and the second section then holds the number of stichoi which the type stanza demands. On the other hand, the arrangement destroys two couplets in entirely good parallelism, whereas it is a cardinal principle that, normally, couplets in good form should not be disturbed; to escape the task of reconstruction, it may be urged that if the entire stanza is late, there is no need to make it conform to the model stanza, for it is clear that the later redactor neglected entirely the adherence to a model structure. Ezek. 35.6 on the *motif* of poetic justice states: "and blood shall pursue thee"; compare also Obad. 10 and Joel 4.19 for references to the bloody pursuit suggested by Amos.

The use of the term "brother" with reference to the relationship between Israel and Edom occurs in Deut. 2.4; Gen. 27.40, 41; Num. 20.14; the admonition in Deut. 23.8, "Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite for he is thy brother" was evidently written before the Destruction and the hostility of Edom. Neither Isaiah, Jeremiah, Joel, nor even Ezekiel refers to Edom as Israel's "brother"; in Obad. 10.12 and Mal. 1.2-5 the term is revived, probably to emphasize the heinousness of Edom's

offense. Malachi speaks of Edom as "the people against whom the Lord hath indignation forever." This may be poetic justice for the attitude of perpetual hatred which Edom cherished towards God's people Israel.

The second stichos of the first couplet: "and he destroyed his compassion" is unwisely omitted by Harper; the exact sense of the period is dubious, and depends on the interpretation of *raḥmāw* either as "his compassions" or "his wombs," his pregnant women. The word *le-mashḫith*, "for destroying," is used in Ez. 25.15 with reference to the phrase *'ēbhath 'ōlām* applied to Philistia there, but to Edom in 35.5; Ezekiel uses the word at least eight times more in different forms. It is difficult to suggest a correct reading; in view of the fact that the entire oracle is placed late, no reconstructions will be advanced.

The second couplet of the section is in perfect parallelism, though a slight change is advocated, on the basis of Ps. 103.9 and Jer. 3.5, where two perfectly parallel couplets are present; this change makes *way-yiṭrōph*, "and it tore," into *way-yiṭṭōr*, "and he cherished." This suggestion was first made by Olshausen and has been generally accepted. The Jeremiah couplet shows striking similarities to this Amos passage, and may be based upon it, or vice versa. If the phrase *way-yiṭrōph* is retained, similarities to Job 16.9 and 18.4 must be noted. The phrase *lā-'adh 'appō* occurs in Micah 7.18 in a parallel couplet. The second stichos of the Amos couplet is omitted by Harper because "from the point of view of the interpolation, it is a gloss, merely repeating the thought of the preceding phrase in synonymous words." This is perhaps the very reason why the stichos should be retained, because it makes admirable parallelism. Moreover, the example of Jer. 3.5 supports the usage of the couplet, and fixes the text as substantially correct. The form *neṣaḥ* occurs in Ps. 13.2 and Jer. 15.18, though several commentators wish to amend it to *lā-neṣaḥ* as in Amos 8.7. It may be concluded with reference to the couplet that its language suggests the later Psalms and Jeremiah, rather than Amos himself.

A fourth reason for regarding the oracle on Edom as late is that "Petra, the most important city of Edom is not men-

tioned, while the names Teman and Bozrah occur elsewhere chiefly in the late writings" (but cf. Gen. 36.33, 34): Teman is mentioned in Obad. 9 (parallel to *har 'ēṣaw*); in Jer. 49.7, 20 (parallel to "Edom," as in Ezek. 25.13, and Hab. 3.3); Bozrah occurs in Is. 34.6, 63.6 (parallel to "Edom"), Jer. 49.13, 22 (Gen. 36.33 and I Chron. 1.44 have it in an identically worded verse). The lateness of the word "Teman," together with the lateness of "Bozrah," therefore adds other evidence to the hypothesis that the stanza on Edom is exilic or post-exilic.

STANZA 5.—THE AMMONITES

Stanza 5 on the Ammonites is perhaps the model stanza. Its strophic structure conforms to the type form, since it is 1 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 4 + 1. The second section contains the necessary two stichoi, though it will be seen that they are not in the most exact parallelism; the fourth section contains two good couplets. The meaning of the entire oracle is on the whole clear, except for the possible *non sequitur* between stichoi a and b of section 2; a solution of the difficulty here involved will give a stanza clear in meaning and perfect in form.

The occasion for the delivery of a prophecy against the Ammonites presents difficulties. During the reign of Jehoshaphat (c. 850 B.C.) the Moabites and the Ammonites were defeated (II K. 3.4-27, and II Chron. 20). During the reign of Uzziah, contemporaneous with Amos, the Ammonites paid tribute to Judah (II Chron. 26.8); during the reign of Jotham of Judah, the successor to Uzziah, and immediately after Amos (c. 739 B.C.), war was waged against the Ammonites and Jotham "prevailed against them"; as a result they brought him heavy tribute (II Chron. 27.5). The question may be now propounded: If the Ammonites brought tribute to Uzziah and were thus subject to him, why was it necessary for Amos to deliver against them an oracle of doom? It appears, however, that they were by no means completely subjugated; apparently they proved hostile during the entire lifetime of Amos and were not fully quieted until the reign of Jotham; which fact points to the appropriateness of an oracle against them in this series original with Amos.

The destruction which the Prophet foretells may have been imminent in the war waged by the contemporary kings.

* If it be not agreed that the prophecy is genuine with Amos, the only other time it seems plausible is during the post-exilic period. Is. 11.14 contains the only reference to them in his work; Jeremiah delivers a telling denunciation of them in chapter 49, with which Amos has noteworthy likenesses; Ezekiel 21.33-37 and 25.1-7 contain references to the behavior of the Ammonites at the time of the Destruction, while Zeph. 2.8 has two couplets of interest for the origin of the Amos oracle. A decision on the date of the appearance, the redaction and the reworking of the Amos portion will be attempted after the evidence has been reviewed.

Section 2 of this stanza reads thus:

Because they have ripped up the pregnant women of Gilead,
In order to enlarge their border.

For the literal translation and retention of this couplet, especially of the first stichos, many references offer testimony. On the practice of barbarity to pregnant women, see I K. 8.12; Hos. 10.14, 16; II K. 15.16; Is. 13.16; Nah. 3.10; Ps. 137.9. Harper affirms: "The reference is in every way so specific as to suggest a particular event. This event may have been in connection with the attack of Nahash, the Ammonite, upon Jabesh Gilead (I Sam. 11) or a league of the Ammonites with the Syrians under Hazael (II K. 8.12, 10.32)."

But several facts labor against the retention of the present text. Harper's suggestion does not appeal, because in none of the instances mentioned is there a hint of an alliance between Ammon and other nations against Israel. Moreover the repetition of the word "Gilead" from stanza 1 throws doubt upon the stichos; it has already been pointed out that the event referred to here should more properly be joined to the oracle on Syria, and a reconstruction of the second section of stanza 1 has proceeded on this assumption. The discrepancy in thought between the first and second stichoi is marked: What is the relation between the ripping up of pregnant women and the expansion of national borders, except perhaps that this act is symbolic of

a ruthlessness which has national domination as its aim? Several emendations may be proposed in the light of historical and philological evidence:

1. *'al gār^{as}hām mīrushshāthō 'eth Gādh*
l'-ma'an harḫībh 'eth g'bhūlām.

Because they have dispossessed from his inheritance Gad,
 In order to increase their borders.

The sin of the Ammonites as mentioned in Amos is that they have usurped the territory of Israel. Even in the period of the Judges, the Ammonites had laid claim to the land which the Israelites had captured from Sihon of the Amorites during the period of the Exodus. The story of Jephtha's battle on the seizure of Gilead by the Ammonites contains a long diplomatic communication on the justice of Israel's legal and historical claim to the land. There is general agreement that verses 12-28 of chapter 11 are a later interpolation, the motive of which is to establish the title of Israel to its possessions between the Arnon and the Jabbok. The Ammonites never ceased to wage war for additional territory (Jud. 10.8; I Sam. 11.11, etc.).

In II Chron. 11.11 a reference to the traditional sin of Ammon occurs. This version of the victory of Jehoshaphat over Moab and Ammon (see II K. 3.4-27, wherein the Ammonites are not mentioned) includes a reference strikingly similar to the phraseology of Judges, chapter 11: "And behold they requited us by coming to cast us out of thy possession which thou hast given us to inherit." This verse is evidently the work of a later poet (cf. Ezek. 21.35, the prophecy against Ammon, which has the line: "I will judge thee in the place where thou wast created, in the land of thy nativity," referring thus vaguely to this central thought).

Jer. 49.1-7 against the Ammonites contains the most important suggestions for the Amos passage:

Concerning the Ammonites,
 Thus saith Yahwè,

Hath Israel no sons?
 Hath he no heir?

Why then doth their king inherit Gad,
And his people dwell in his cities?

Therefore behold the days are coming, saith Yahwè

That I will cause to be heard in Rabbah of the Ammonites an
alarm of war
And it shall be a desolate heap.

And her daughters with fire shall be burned,
And Israel shall be heir unto them who were his heirs, saith
Yahwè.

Howl, O Heshbon, for Ai is spoiled;
Cry ye daughters of Rabbah,
Gird yourselves with sackcloth;
Lament and run to and fro by the hedges;

For their king shall go into captivity,
His priests and his princes together. . . .

This prophecy appears to be in a corrupt state of preservation. It is made up of two separate strands, interlaced and combined, one a song of exultation and lament, the other a doom song or denunciation. The song of lament was written either by Jeremiah, or a contemporaneous author; it is in great confusion. The denunciation affords significant data for comparison with the Amos oracle. The major discrepancies between the two denunciations are: (a) omission in Jeremiah of the introductory couplet formula of Amos; (b) four lines of offense in Jeremiah to two in Amos; (c) formula of punishment in Amos shifted in place and language in Jeremiah; (d) line on destruction in war shifted in place and with a different complementary stichos in Jeremiah. The similarities are: 1. In thought: (a) offense in both cases is dispossession; punishment in both cases is war, cry, fire, and exile. 2. In language: (a) *kō 'āmar 'adhōnai*; (b) the word *mālkām* is used twice; (c) *tiḡṣathnā* to match *wc-hiḡṣattī* in Amos; (d) the words *tērū'ath mīlḡāmā* to match in Amos *bī-th'rū'ā bē-yōm mīlḡāmā*; (e) the last couplet in the denunciation is identical, except for the use in Jeremiah of *kōhānāw* in place of Amos' *sārāw*. The question arises: Did Jeremiah borrow from Amos, or did a later redactor reconstruct Amos on the basis of Jeremiah? If the former supposition is true, then it is evident that the Prophet injected enough of his

own thought and phraseology into the terms of Amos to render them his own; for there are slight differentiations which mark the prophecy as decidedly the work of Jeremiah. But if Jeremiah based his own utterance on Amos, is it not possible to gain from this fact information for a possible reconstruction of errors in Amos' oracle? The correct portions in the denunciation in Jeremiah may throw light upon the apparently incorrect portions in Amos.

The influence of the correct Jeremiah text on the incorrect Amos stichoi is seen most effectually in one fact: In Amos, Gilead is the victim of the Ammonites; in Jeremiah, it is Gad. In both cases the offense is dispossession. The repetition of "Gilead" in stanza 1, and the discrepancy of thought between the two stichoi in the second section, thus lead to the belief that instead of Gilead, the name Gad originally occurred in Amos as the victim.

In defense of the correctness of the term Gilead, in Amos, it must be mentioned that Gilead in the time of Jephtha, at the time of Nahash's attack, and on numerous other occasions, was the sufferer from Ammonitish raids. It is known that the territory of the Ammonites east of the Jordan was included in the portion assigned to Gad, itself east of the Jordan (Josh. 13.24-28), while "Gilead" in its larger meaning designated the whole territory east of the Jordan except Bashan, in contrast with Canaan, west of the Jordan; it stands specifically for the territory of the two and one-half tribes, Gad, Reuben and half-Manasseh. However, Gad and Gilead always stand in close relationship; sometimes Gad's territory is placed in Gilead; sometimes the two are joined (see Harper, p. 17); sometimes Gilead is used alone when Gad is unmistakably included; indeed, "Gad" and "Gilead" are so closely synonymous that oftentimes the terms are exchanged; and so in Amos, Gilead may have included Gad; "Gilead" may have been a general term, with Gad specifically in the Prophet's mind. Moreover, in defense of the term "Gilead," it must be admitted that though it is a repetition, it does not mar the form of the poem in any great degree.

On the other hand, the use of "Gad" as the victim of Ammonitish cruelty would add to the effective reconstruction of the stanza. Josh. 13.24 shows that the boundaries of Gad were all the cities of Gilead and half of the land of the Ammonites. In Deut. 33.20 occurs the significant sentence: *bārūkh ham-marḫībh 'eth Gadh*, "Blessed is he that enlargeth Gad," using *marḫībh* as in the second stichos of the Amos distich: he who broadens Gad is blessed; per contra, he who broadens himself—i.e., as in Amos, extends his boundaries at the expense of Gad—is cursed. Hence the anger of Amos may be due to the fact that the Ammonites had diminished the already small tribe of Gad. To make a coherent couplet, it may therefore be necessary to have the first stichos apply to Gad, so that the thought may lead up naturally to the second stichos, wherein *harḫībh* is used. In Jer. 49.1, the offense of the Ammonites is against Gad; this part of the oracle is genuine, as the parallelism and sense are good; and the affinity between the two oracles leads to the supposition that Jeremiah secured his stimulus for the thought from Amos; hence again there would seem to have been in Amos a reference to Gad. The term "Gilead" may have been inserted in post-exilic times, for the evidence points to the fact that after the fall of Samaria, the Ammonites occupied the territory of Gad or Gilead (cf. the doubtful verse in Obad. 20). Therefore to restore the Amos text to the form from which Jeremiah took suggestions, it is necessary to supplant "Gilead" with "Gad." In the couplet which has been suggested as the first reconstruction, the term "inheritance" is used as in II Chron. 20.11 and Jer. 49.1 with reference to Gad. The phrase *gārash mīrushshā* is incorporated on the foundation of the passage in II Chron. 20.11 which refers to this act by the Ammonites.

2. *'al biq'ām 'ārē hag-Gādh,*
le-ma'an harḫībh 'eth gebhūlām.

Because they have pierced through the cities of Gad,
 In order to widen their boundaries.

This substitutes *'ārē* "cities," for *hārōth*, "pregnant women." In Josh. 13.25 occurs a reference to "all the cities of Gilead."

Jer. 49.1 reads, "and his people have taken their residence in his cities." The word *bāqa'*, "pierce through," with "cities" is sanctioned by II Chron. 32.1; II K. 25.4; Jer. 39.2; Ezek. 30.16, 24.10; Jer. 52.7; and by other passages in which it occurs in warlike operations: "to make a breach in the city walls" (cf. II Chron. 21.17 and Is. 8.6 with reference to Judah).

In place of *hārōth* the word *hārē*, "mountains of," has been suggested by Jewish commentators, who sought to mitigate the barbarity of the passage (Harper, p. 36); the Ammonites were thus guilty of breaking the law of boundaries (Deut. 27.17). Kittel and Valetton suggest the reading *beçūrōth*, "fortified places."

Another group of restorations grows out of the omission of the second stichos of the couplet as a later addition on the basis of the Ammonitish attacks against Gilead and Gad immediately after Amos or during the exilic days; this would leave authentic here the first line and invalidate several of the suggestions made in stanza 1 which transposed this line to its second section. Though there is no mention that the Ammonites were guilty of the cruelty referred to, this does not imply that it did not occur.

3. Because they have ripped up the pregnant women of Gilead,
And the young children they dashed into pieces.

This is based upon the parallelistic usages in Hos. 14.1; II K. 8.12; and upon the presence of the phrase "their children shall be dashed to pieces" in several other passages that prophecy destruction: Nah. 3.10; Hos. 10.14; Ps. 137.9; Is. 13.16ff. Another suggestion is to read for the second stichos, "and the fruit of the womb they pitied not" (cf. Is. 13.18).

It is difficult to determine upon the best of these suggestions; the evidence is so complicated that a categorical decision is out of the question; they suffice, however, to point the way to the difficulties in the text, and the probabilities upon which reconstructions can be founded.

The third section of stanza 5 has instead of *wē-shillaxtī*, "and I will send," *wē-hiççattī*, "and I will kindle." The thought that the author through superstition and fear of exact

symmetry in the formulas changed the word here, is baseless, especially since other words are changed throughout the constant couplets. The word *we-hiççattî* is very popular with Jeremiah; the close nexus between this prophecy on the Ammonites by Amos and that in Jeremiah, chapter 49, points to the conclusion that in Amos' original text *we-shillaχtî* may have been used, but that a later redactor inserted *we-hiççattî* on the basis of Jeremiah. It cannot be said that the entire Amos prophecy was written on the pattern of Jeremiah; it is more feasible to support the notion of an interplay of influence; Amos affected Jeremiah; then through a later compiler and editor, Jeremiah's text affected Amos. This would indicate that several texts existed with different readings in the minutiae and that the final redaction was made through a synthesis of the variant readings.

The fourth section of stanza 5 has two couplets in apparently excellent parallelism. The first couplet differs from its equivalents in the other three type stanzas in that no direct verb stands at its head. It is not imperative that this verbal *motif* be employed, for the arrangement here used is found in other prophetic passages. An objection may be made to the use of *bî-th'ērû'ā*, "with shouting," however, since in section 4 of stanza 6, on Moab, the same word occurs. Though the Septuagint has the same phrase in each place, it seems necessary that one of the two usages must be omitted in order to present a text free from careless repetitions. Moreover, the context as it stands is awkward ("and it shall devour the palaces with shouting"), when compared with Amos 2.2 and particularly with Jer. 49.2.

The second stichos of this first couplet in the fourth section of stanza 5, though in excellent parallelism to the first line, presents some difficulties. Harper in order to maintain his three line strophic arrangement states (p. 35): "The clause ... is but a weak repetition of the preceding clause and there is nothing to correspond to it in the parallel section on Moab (2.1-3), although in every other respect the parallelism is perfect." This omission of a line in perfect couplet formation

is unwarranted, for the disruption of a parallelistic couplet can only rarely be tolerated; moreover the logical scheme of the poem in conformance to the model stanza would be broken. For this stichos, the Septuagint reads: "and she shall be shaken in the days of her destruction." This presents the following probabilities: (a) either the Septuagint wrongly read the text; in defense of the text as it stands may be cited Ps. 83.16, Is. 29.6, Nah. 1.3; or (b) in the text which the Septuagint translators possessed there actually was a basis for the variant reading. If the latter was the case, perhaps the variant was a marginal reading intended to replace the *bi-thērū'ā* of stichos a (which has, indeed, been shown to be suspicious); the translators, however, read it instead as a variant of *be-sa'ar*, "with a tempest," possibly because its radicals resembled those of *sa'ar*. This would sanction the retention of *be-sa'ar* in the second stichos and the substitution in the first for *bi-thērū'ā* of a verb in the Hebrew based on the Greek *σεισθήσεται*. Finally, even if *bi-thērū'ā* be retained here, and the Greek verb be regarded merely as a translation of the root *sā'ar* (cf. Zech. 7.14), it would still seem necessary to insert a verb at the head of the first stichos. Among the possible suggestion are: *we-rā'ashā*, "it shall shake" (cf. Amos 9.1); *we-hir'ashli*, "I shall shake" (cf. Ps. 60.4, Hag. 2.7); *we-ni'artī*, "and I shall shake"; best of all can be used *we-hiphqadhtīw*, "and I will visit him." Though the exact verb cannot of course be suggested, it is sufficient to point out the flaw and the possibility for correction.

The second couplet of the section is in perfect parallelism. There is doubt as to the exact meaning of *malkām*; it may be "Milcom," the name of the Ammonitish deity, or merely "their king," or both. There is also the question whether *kāhanāw*, "his priests," should be substituted in Amos for *hū'*, on the basis of Jer. 48.7, and 49.3, an almost identical repetition of the Amos couplet. But it is not necessary or even advisable to make the substitution; for however great the similarities between prophetic oracles, identical repetitions are few; each author touches his borrowings with his own individuality. This couplet shows affinities between the Amos and Jeremiah texts, but to

make the two absolutely identical would violate even the little that is known of the psychology of literary borrowing.

It may then be concluded that stanza 5 is for the most part original with Amos. A first revision of his utterance may have been made immediately after the Prophet's death, perhaps after the invasion of the Assyrians and the fall of Samaria; the date may be placed around 720 B.C. A later redaction may also have been made; for though the historic offense of the Ammonites was dispossession of Israel, another sin is credited by the Prophets to their neighbors after the time of the Destruction: Ezek. 25.1-7 and Zeph. 2.8 tell of the presumptuous boasting of the Ammonites at the occasion of Judah's downfall. In the latter text, the form *way-yaghdilū 'al g'bhulām*, though it seems to have a bearing on the Amos portion, is given a different meaning by reason of its context and the parallelism. Similarly a phrase in Joel 4.6, *l'-ma'an harxīqām mē'al g'bhulām* shows striking linguistic similarities to the second stichos of the distich in the second section of stanza 5, but it has no application to the Amos passage. It may well be that another revision of the Amos oracle took place in post-exilic times; this would agree with conclusions on the redaction of the other oracles in the Doom Song.

STANZA 6.—MOAB

The sixth stanza on Moab, diverges from the model stanza only in its second section. At present its strophic structure is 1 + 2 + 1 + 2 + 4 + 1. Harper's arrangement of 5 + 3 + 3 is not justifiable because it breaks up two couplet structures in the fourth section, even though it gives a couplet in the second section.

The occasion for the oracle is found in the historic enmity between Moab and Israel. This hostility existed in the earliest period of the Exodus and continued through the reign of the Judges and the victories of the kings Saul and David. After the division of the kingdom, Moab became the subject of Israel, but revolted under Ahab and thereafter proved troublesome. In II K., chap. 3, and II Chron. 20.1-30 occurs the story of the conflict of the Moabites on the one hand, with the king of Israel.

Jehoram, the king of Judah, Jehoshaphat, and the king of Edom on the other (c. 850 B.C.). In II K. 13.20 is a mention of a raid by the Moabites. Thereafter no reference to them occurs until the prophecies of Isaiah. But it may be well to take for granted that at the time of Amos, the Moabites were unconquered, and that Amos would find ample reason for a prophecy of denunciation against them; there is, indeed, a slight possibility that Jeroboam conquered Moab (II K. 14.25); if so, this campaign may have occurred before or contemporaneously with Amos' oracle.

The second section as in the case of the other stanzas gives difficulties:

Because they burned the bones of the king of Edom to lime.

Here a long prose line occurs as in stanzas 1 and 2. The offender is Moab, the victim is the king of Edom, the offense apparently desecration of royal bones by burning. In defense of the authenticity of the text, Is. 33.12 may be brought to bear: "and the peoples shall be cut up as the burnings of lime." It may be borne in mind that at the time of Amos Edom apparently was friendly with the Judaeans, and any offense against them might have roused the prophet's ire.

But more evidence against the authenticity than in favor can be brought: (a) The only mention of Edom and Moab co-jointly occurs in II K. 34-27, where the conflict between the allied Jewish forces and Moab is recounted; in verse 26 is the line: "And when the king of Moab saw that the battle was too sore for him, he took with him seven hundred men that drew swords, to break through even unto the king of Edom, but they could not." The next verse continues: "Then he [the king of Moab] took his eldest son, that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt offering upon the wall." Here it is to be observed that though the king of Edom figures, it is not he who is burned, but the son of the king of Moab. If the Amos stichos is to refer to this event, it cannot remain as it stands. It may be that the verse was doubtful and was reconstructed by a later redactor in order to make it conform with this episode; for that the event made a profound impression upon the mind

of Israel is seen from the words: "And there was great indignation upon Israel, and they departed from him and returned to their own land." Still, it may be asked if this event, occurring in 850 B.C., did not occur too early to become the foundation for Amos' prophecy. (b) In II Chron 20.1-30 is a glorified record of this same campaign. Herein no specific act of barbarity is related; moreover the enmity of Moab and Edom is due to the will of Yahwè; whereas Amos mentions an act committed wantonly against the dictates of common humanity. There is sufficient evidence, however, to afford the following reconstruction:

- a. 'al sor'phō 'aṣāmōth lam-mōlekh
 way-yizbaḥ 'ādhām lash-shēdh.
 Because they burned bones to Molech,
 And sacrificed a human to a demon.

Here a parallel couplet is secured in conformance to the demands of the type stanza. The various phrases in this restoration are justified by biblical passages; *sārāph* 'aṣāmōth occurs in I K. 13.2; II K. 23.16, 20, and II Chron. 34.5, though in the sense of bones burned upon the altar in order to render it unfit for use; it must be admitted that the phrase in connection with human sacrifice to Molech does not appear.

The words *molekh* 'edhōm are changed in this restoration. The reading 'edhōm, indeed, is clearly out of place. It may have arisen out of a misunderstanding of the word *molekh* in conjunction with 'aṣāmōth, and the frequent occurrence of *molekh* 'edhōm may have led to its insertion—at a time when "Edom-phobia" afflicted the Prophets—i.e., a desire because of Edom's treatment of Judah at the time of the Destruction to show its suffering upon any and every possible occasion. The fact that Edom is the cause of Moab's punishment and hence appears in the light of Judah's ally may have escaped the redactor. The reading 'aṣāmōth 'ādhām (cf. I K. 13.2, II K. 23.14, 20) is proposed by several other investigators; Zenner in *Die Chorgesänger im Buche d. Psalmen* (1896), proposed it first, while Hirscht reads: 'aṣāmōth 'ādhām lam-mōlekh lash-shēdh. This suggestion, however, gives merely a prose line, and not a parallel couplet.

Lam-mōlēkh is justified by numerous passages. Molech was the God to whom the Israelites and the other nations sacrificed by fire in the valley of Hinnom. It might be rightly protested, however, that the God of the Moabites was not Molech, but Chemosh; but no references of child sacrifice to the latter are extant, and it is necessary to postulate sacrifice before Molech by Moab in conjunction with the other peoples. References to this sin on the part of Judah appear in II K. 23.10; Jer. 32.35, with the words *he'ēbhîr bā-'ēsh*, "to pass through fire" (cf. BDD, p. 718). A passage which may perhaps lie at the bottom of the Amos phraseology occurs in Lev. 20.2, 3, 4; here occurs a prohibition for the Israelites or any stranger to sacrifice children to Molech; verses 3, 5, contain the phrases *hāmîth*, *wē-hikhrattî*, and *miq-qcrebh 'ammām*, which show likenesses to expressions used in Amos with regard to Moab. The Leviticus passage refers to the sin of the individual, whereas the Prophet seems to expand the punishment of death and complete extermination to the nation.

The phrase *zābhax 'ādhām* seems to receive support from Hos. 13.2, though the phrase therein used, *zōbhē'χē 'ādhām*, is doubtful (cf. BDB, p. 256); it has been translated as "men that sacrifice" and as "sacrificers of mankind." Harper (p. 396) wishes to substitute for the original Hosea lines the couplet:

'ādhām 'aghālîm yishshāqûn
'ām zōbhē'χîm lash-shēdhîm.

Here Hosea refers to the sin, not of any other nation, but of Judah, and human sacrifice is supposed not to have existed in Israel until a time much later than Hosea, namely around the reign of Ahaz. But if the Hosea text is correct and can be read "sacrificers of mankind," then it affords a basis for the restoration of the Amos stichos; Moab may have been one of the surrounding nations from which Judah learned the practice of human sacrifice (cf. Deut. 18.10, 33.17; II K. 16.3).

The combination *zābhax lash-shēdh* is found in Ps. 106.37, "and they sacrificed their sons and daughters to the *shēdhîm* not-God." Hirscht suggests reading *lash-shēdh*; though the two passages quoted use it in the plural, as a synonym for Molech,

it is permissible to use it here in the singular (cf. BDB, p. 993). It is uncertain whether *zābha*_χ in these two passages means sacrifice by fire or by slaughter (cf. Ps. 106.38 and Lev. 17.7; on Deut. 32.17 see Driver on Deuteronomy, *ICC*, pp. 362–363).

The sense, then, of the passage as emended is that Moab is to be punished for having indulged in sacrifice of human life by fire. If a general practice is alluded to, it must be confessed that the reconstruction loses some point; it would seem strange for Amos to predict doom for Moab because of one of its religious rites, unless it bore direct relation to Israel and unless Israel was tainted by it. If the passage have a specific application, it may refer, despite the duration of time between the event and the prophecy, to Moab's act of desecration in II K. 3.27.

The fourth section of stanza 6 contains two good parallelistic couplets in agreement with the type stanza. The first couplet is almost perfect as it stands. It deals with the idea of complete national death in battle, a concept found in relation to Israel in Hos. 13.1, Ez. 18.31, 33.11, and in relation to Moab in various prophecies of its doom: Num. 21.29, Is. 16.7, Jer. 48.42 (cf. also verses 2, 3, 8, 31, 46), and Zeph. 2.9. A slight emendation of the word *ū-mēth*, "[Moab] shall die," to *we-hēmattī*, "and I shall kill [Moab]" (cf. Is. 14.30, though not used of a nation), brings the section into even closer conformance to the type stanza; for in each there stands at the head of the fourth section a form which makes it appear as if God himself were speaking of his own act. A second suggestion is to take *we-hikhrattī* from the head of the second couplet of the section to the first stichos of the first, and to transpose to its place *ū-mēth*; a third suggestion is to place *we-hishmadhtī*, "and I will destroy," at the head of the section, to eliminate *we-hikhrattī* and to substitute *ū-mēth* (see below). The word *be-shā'ōn* is justifiable despite suggestions made by several to change it; for even if the meaning were doubtful, the parallelism would supply the sense (cf. Hos. 10.14, Ps. 74.23; BDB, p. 981). The phrase *bi-thērū'ā* *be-qōl shōphār* is entirely in place here, for *bi-thērū'ā* in stanza 5 was omitted because of its correct usage here (cf. Jer. 4.19).

The second couplet also is in almost perfect form, despite several minor irregularities. The word *we-hikhrattī* is a repetition from stanza 2, sec. 4; the use of the feminine suffix in *miq-qirbāh* needs explanation; here *sārēhā*, "her princes," is used, whereas in stanza 5 *sārāw*, "his princes," occurred; moreover 'immō with the masculine suffix is present in the second stichos. It has already been suggested to read for *we-hikhrattī* the word *we-hishmadhtī*. In defense of the present phrase, the use of *we-nakhrithennā*, "and let us cut her off," may be cited from Jer. 48.2. But *we-hishmadhtī* gives a slight variation which adds to the literary quality of the stichos. The root is used in conjunction with *kārath* and parallel to it in Ps. 37.38 and Is. 48.19; mostly of persons, however, as in Amos 9.8, 2.9; Deut. 1.27, 2.22 (cf. BDB, 1029); of Moab as a whole in Jer. 48.8, 42 (*nishmādh*); with *miq-qirbākhem*, "from your midst," in Josh. 7.12 (cf. also Ezek. 14.9; Lev. 17.10, 20.3, 5, 6). The words *shōphet* and *sār* are parallel in Ex. 2.14; Zeph. 3.3 (where a couplet showing several likenesses to Amos appears); Prov. 8.16; Hos. 7.7, 13.10. In place of *miq-qirbāh* it is suggested to read *miq-qirbō* with the masculine suffix (cf. Is. 25.11); the feminine pronoun has been taken to refer to the land, although Wellhausen would change it to the masculine and refer it to "judge," to which also the word 'immō refers.

The second stichos of the couplet is genuinely Amosian in character. The form 'chrōgh occurs in Amos 9.1 (cf. 4.10, 9.4), these being the only two biblical passages where it occurs. The word *sārēhā* follows perhaps the repeated mention of "the princes of Moab" (Num. 21.28, 22.8, etc.). Isaiah 24.12 expresses with reference to Edom a thought almost identical with the one mentioned here of Moab: "and all her princes shall be nothingness"; perhaps some relation between the two stichoi exists. The form *immō* occurs in Jer. 39.12, the only other instance of its use in prophetic literature. With reference to the doom of Moab, Jer. 48.7 has a couplet almost identical with Amos 1.15 on the Ammonites; Jeremiah may have been influenced by this couplet not only in his own prophecy on the Ammonites, but also in his oracle on Moab; or the couplet in

Jeremiah may have prompted a later scribe to insert a couplet in Amos suggesting it; it seems entirely in keeping with the evidence, however, to affirm the validity of the entire fourth section of the Amos oracle, and hence, for the most part, of the entire stanza, for it contains words and phrases used by him alone; its parallelism is good; its strophic structure, after slight emendations, conforms in detail to the type stanza.

STANZA 7.—JUDAH

The stanza on Judah must be considered as late, for several reasons which Harper (p. 44) states: (a) the fact that the introduction of the oracle removes entirely the force of surprise which the Israelites were to feel when an attack was launched against them; (b) it is impossible to suppose that Amos would have treated Judah so cursorily; (c) the weakness of the style; (d) the term "Israel" in 2.10 includes Judah; (e) the sin described, transgressions against the statutes of Yahwè, was too indefinite to call for a special oracle; the offense is out of harmony with the formula "for their transgressions," etc., since it cannot be mentioned as one of three or four.

An argument of still greater force than these which Harper mentions, is the strophic structure of the stanza. It is identical with the stanza on Edom, i.e., $1 + 2 + 4 + 2$. It is also similar to stanza 3 on Tyre, though the second section here contains not two but four stichoi. The doubt thrown on these two stanzas attaches also to the oracle on Judah. The second section contains four lines, the first two of which form an apparently good parallelistic couplet while the second contains a relative clause (see above), the sense and grammar of the passage being doubtful. If the stanza is genuine, then it is necessary to omit two lines in order to make it agree with the model stanza, and to restore an entire fourth section of four lines, or to affirm that for some unaccountable reason the latter has disappeared; if on the other hand, the stanza is not genuine, as seems to be the case, then it is merely necessary to discuss its various phenomena, and to devote little attention to a reconstruction. It may be that stanza 4 and stanza 7 are by the same author.

The event referred to in the second section is doubtful. The sin of Judah is apostasy, as the first couplet portrays; the second couplet may refer either to the activity of the false prophets, or to idolatry and apostasy also. Though there were several kings before Amos who had been guilty of apostasy, during the time of the Prophet the kings Amaziah and Uzziah were on the whole righteous rulers, following in the path of Yahwism; it does not appear to have been such a period of national apostasy as would occasion a denunciation by Amos, though it may be admitted that at no time was the religious life of the nation so pure that an attack by a prophet was impossible. But since no occasion of real note offers itself during the time of Amos, it is necessary to look elsewhere for material underlying the oracle. The reign of Ahaz, immediately following the death of Amos, may have furnished the occasion for the first couplet, and the reign of Manasseh for the second.

The first couplet of the second section appears to refer to the reign of Ahaz and Hoshea (c. 721 B.C.). In II K. 18.7ff. appears a long statement of the sins of the king of Israel which finally brought on the destruction of the Northern Kingdom. The reference to Judah occurs only in verses 19–22, but the language and the thought, though applying specifically to Israel, may have referred also to Judah. Linguistic similarities in this passage to Amos are numerous, especially in verses 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18. The use of the sentence, “and they walked after vanity and did vainly” (verse 15), which appears also in Jer. 2.5, suggests a late origin for the passage. The linguistic identities point to the possibility that the redactor wrote the second section of the oracle in Amos with a view to linking the prophecy with the events of the two great periods of national backsliding, namely, during the days of Ahaz, and of Manasseh (686–641 B.C.). It has been urged, too, that the language of the Amos passage is Deuteronomic in character. During Josiah’s reign (II Chron., chap. 34) the phrases present in Amos were frequently employed and may then have received currency; and this may lead to the impression that the passage on Judah was remodelled after the reign of Josiah (639–608 B.C.). In

view of this fact, it may be said that the redactor of the Judah prophecy may not have intended any specific era in Judah's history, but merely compiled a list of sins from the Deuteronomic code, sufficient to give the prophecy a semblance of originality and authority. To find affinity between the language of the passages referring to the reign of Ahaz and Manasseh and the Amos phrases, then, would be far-fetched and dangerous (cf. Is. 5.24, where almost the exact phraseology of Amos occurs; this might point to the origin of the Amos couplet around the time of Ahaz). The following conclusions on the first couplet may, however, be offered: (a) either it refers to the period of apostasy during the reign of Ahaz; this would bring this redaction into harmony with the redaction of the other doubtful stanzas; or (b) the prophecy was edited after the reign of Josiah, and is of a general Deuteronomic character.

The second couplet is indubitably late. Harper regards it as a gloss. The Septuagint's rendition gives this type of appositional parallelism:

And their lies led them astray which they did,
After which their fathers walked.

The event referred to in the passage is doubtful. In II K. 21.1-9 and II Chron. 33.8 ff. there are accounts of the apostasy of Manasseh of Judah, which show striking linguistic identities with the Amos couplet. In verse 9 of each passage occurs the phrase "and-led-astray Manasseh," *way-yath'ēm Mēnashshē* and *way-yetha' Mēnashshē 'eth-Yehūdāh*; in II K. 21.10ff. is a record of the activities of the prophets during the period of Manasseh; they did not "go astray," but acted as the mouthpiece of Yahwē (cf. Is. 34.11 and 28.17).

A closer examination of the language used offers further evidence for the probable date of the passage. The word *tā'ā*, "to err," appears in Hos. 4.12 with reference to idolatry; Isaiah uses it, but merely in the sense of aimlessly wandering, or walking. It refers best to the activities of false prophets and may perhaps have been inserted in Amos by a later redactor because of his own attitude towards the professional foretellers (cf. 7.17). It is used of these false prophets in Micah 3.5;

Jeremiah, who is very bitter against them, uses it in his denunciation in 23.9–40; verse 13 has: “they prophesied in Baal and caused to err my people Israel” (*way-yath’ū*); verse 32 has: “and they caused to err my people by their falsehoods and by their lightness.” This passage in the light of other similarities may be the foundation of the couplet in Amos; Ezek., chap. 13, also furnishes data for the interpretation of the passage as applicable to the false prophets.

Upon the interpretation of the word *kiz’bhēm* will depend in large degree the construction of the couplet. To understand the word as “idols” is entirely unsatisfactory; in no other instance does the idea of idols “leading astray” occur; it is usually a person, not an inanimate thing, that is responsible for the error. If it is desired to make the stichos refer to idols in order to create a sort of conformity with the second stichos, it is necessary either to insert an entire new line or to add certain words which will make the stichos specify definitely idols; for two probabilities exist: (a) either stichos 1 of this couplet must be brought into correct relationship to stichos 2; this would necessitate the omission of the present first stichos, or an emendation to include definitely the word or idea of “idols”; (b) or the first stichos must be taken to refer to false prophets, as almost all the passages demand that it should be interpreted; this will necessitate the emendation of the second stichos to bring it into relation with the first and in order to produce a couplet in good parallelism.

Emendations on the basis of the idea of “idolatry” are numerous:

1. And the seers of lies led them astray to Baals,
After which their fathers walked.
way-yath’ūm qōsēmē khāzābh lab-be’ālīm
’asher hāl’khū ’bhōthām ’ax’rēm.

For the phrase *qōsēmē khāzābh* or *χōzē khāzābh*, “dreamers of lies,” see Ezek. 13.8. Except for the ambiguity concerning the subject of the verb in the first stichos, the following suggestions might be acceptable:

2. And they led astray by their lies the people,
And after other gods they walked.

The form *bē-khizēbhēm*, "by their lies," is sanctioned by a similar usage though with different synonyms in Jer. 23.32. For the phrase "to lead astray the people," see Is. 9.14-15; Mic. 3.5; Ezek. 13.19; Jer. 23.13, 32; Is. 3.12. A comparison of this prophecy in Amos with Ezek., chap. 20, *passim*, and with Jer. 16.11 ff., and Jer. 9.12-16 shows the most striking similarities between them all, and gives further substantiation for the thought that the Amos passage is not genuine. The form of Jer. 9.12-16 is almost identical with the Amos strophic structure; the identity of the language also points to an interplay of influence. Any of these passages may serve as a basis for the reconstruction of the doubtful Amos verses.

Emendations based especially upon the idea of false prophets can find their foundation in the various denunciations: Jer. 14.14ff., 29.8-10, 23.9-40; Ezek. 13.1ff., 14.9-11; Mic. 3.5ff., and elsewhere. This of course implies that the Amos passage is late; the emendations are suggested merely to clarify the idea set down by the later redactor:

3. And the prophets by their lying led them astray,
Those who walk after their own spirit.
way-yath'ām bē-khazēbhām han-nēbhī'im
'asher hāl'khū 'aḥar rūḥām.

The idea of false prophets as those who walk after their own spirit and devices is found in Mic. 2.11, in Jer. 23.17, 18, 26, etc.; the exact phrase here used in the second stichos is present in Ezek. 13.2. Variations on this emendation are numerous, depending on the substitution of various possible formations in the first stichos.

The following conclusions on the Judah oracle may then be made: (1) The prophecy may have been inserted in part during the reign of Ahaz or slightly after; this would link it with the redaction of the other stanzas. (2) A second and later redaction may have been made after the reign of Manasseh, with a view of reference to the apostasies of his time; this edition may have appeared during the reign of Josiah, after the activities of Jeremiah. (3) Or the prophecy may have been inserted for the first time after the Exile in 586 B.C. to explain the cause of Judah's overthrow; this might imply a redaction on the basis

of the preceding prophets and particularly of Ezekiel. (4) Or it may be that though the oracle was composed in some form at an earlier time, it obtained admission into the text after the Exile; it seems almost certain that an edition was made in post-exilic times.

STANZA 8.—ISRAEL

The stanza on Israel, apparently the climax to which Amos has been leading, begins in conformance with the other stanzas; the prophetic prelude and the introductory formula occur as elsewhere in the Song; the opening word of what should be the second section is *'al* with an infinitive plus the plural suffix; a couplet in good parallelism seems to indicate that the stanza will conform to the type. But then the break comes; parallelism is maintained, but the prophecy continues in the strain of denunciation for several couplets; the offense of social injustice is elaborated; the punishment formula couplet is entirely missing, as well as the fourth section and postlude. Thus its strophic structure is seen to depart entirely from the type stanza.

Several questions arise. Did Amos deliver the prophecies on the nations at one and the same time, beginning with the foreign nations of Syria, Philistia, the Ammonites, and Moab, and finally proclaim the sins of Israel? If so, was the stanza on Israel originally composed in agreement with the model stanza? Or did the Prophet merely use the introductory prelude and formula to link this prophecy on Israel with the others, and then launch into a spirited attack wherein his prophetic mood would have free play, unbound by the demands of exact regularity?

On the other hand it may be asked: Did Amos deliver the prophecies separately, each at a different time and on a different occasion? This would imply that at some future date he edited the entire series, having used the stanza structure in each, but remodelling them in the form of one continuous piece. Or did Amos deliver merely the prophecies on the surrounding nations at one time, while the oracle on Israel came at a later date? This supposition seems plausible. The stanzas on the neighbor-

ing peoples may constitute one poetic unit, while the oracle on Israel is either in itself intact, or the compilation of several pronouncements. Amos himself in his own edition may have inserted the introductory phrase and formula in order to add psychological weight to the denunciation, and to make it appear one of a series of which it is the climax. Or, as seems more credible, a later editor, reviewing the entire text, and making the additions on Tyre, Edom and Judah, may have sought to join Israel to the Doom Song, and hence placed at the head of a group of prophetic utterances the identifying prelude and formula. This tendency to include all the nations in the list of doomed peoples may have been stimulated and encouraged by the practice of the later Prophets, who denounced the surrounding nations and at the same time their own; a later redactor seeing the texts of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Isaiah in the form of one continuous work, may have turned back to Amos and noting the presence of a list of doom songs, brought them by modifications and additions into line with the plan of these later prophets. This would further support the hypothesis that the most important redaction of the Amos text, or at least, of a part of it, occurred after the edition of the works of Ezekiel, or probably even later.

Hence the apparent discrepancy of the oracle on Israel need not disturb the belief in a type stanza. For the utterance falls entirely outside the discussion concerning a model formation because of its own intrinsic peculiarities. The existence of a type stanza still remains a strong hypothesis.

DATE OF THE PROPHECY

The internal evidences of the date of the Doom Song are of course not entirely trustworthy; as they stand, however, the following data have been gathered:

Stanza 1. Stichoi b, c, and possibly d of section 4 appear to be later insertions after 721 B.C.

Stanza 2. The second section of this stanza points to the fact that the text was retouched either (1) after 721 B.C.; (2) after the appearance of the prophecies of Jeremiah (c. 600 B.C.);

(3) after the appearance of the prophecies of Ezekiel in post-exilic days; there is a slight possibility of another redaction around 350 B.C. The fourth section shows evidence of redaction in the light of the Ezekiel passages in post-exilic days, with a possibility of another redaction around 350 B.C.

Stanza 3. This stanza may have been introduced and re-edited (1) after 721 B.C.; (2) after 570 B.C., on the basis of material in Ezekiel. Another redaction took place perhaps around 350 B.C.

Stanza 4. This prophecy may have been introduced by Amos and reëdited (1) after 721 B.C.; (2) after the prophecies of Jeremiah (c. 600 B.C.); (3) most probably in post-exilic times after 586 B.C. There is a probability of another redaction around 350 B.C. (time of Nehemiah).

Stanza 5. The stanza may have been retouched (1) after 721 B.C. (second section); (2) after the prophecies of Jeremiah (c. 600 B.C.). Another redaction is probable after the Exile.

Stanza 6. This prophecy is genuine and may have been retouched after 600 B.C.

Stanza 7. This oracle may have been inserted into Amos and reëdited (1) after 721 B.C.; (2) after the time of Manasseh and the prophecies of Jeremiah (c. 600 B.C.); (3) after the writings of Ezekiel, in post-exilic days (i.e., after 570 B.C.).

A summary of this evidence gained in each instance from independent investigation of each unit is as follows:

1. Parts of stanzas 1, 2, 5, 6 are genuine; these include the formulas and other material mentioned above. This was in all probability the work of Amos, perhaps around 755 B.C.

2. The first redaction of the prophecy was made after the fall of Samaria, around the period between 721 and 700 B.C.; revisions and insertions were made.

3. Another redaction took place, perhaps during the days of Manasseh, or later after the prophecies of Jeremiah (c. 600 B.C.).

4. Another redaction appears to have been made after the Destruction, under the influence of Ezekiel's works (c. 570 B.C.).

5. There is a slight probability of another minor revision around 350 B.C.

It is thus evident that many hands went into the formation of the text which has come down to the present day. Houtsma is surely mistaken in ascribing the entire prophecy to post-exilic times; the degree to which his surmise seems to be correct can be seen from the tables here given.

CONCLUSIONS ON THE DOOM SONG

In the light of the evidence deduced from an examination of the Amos Doom Song, the following tentative conclusions may be proposed:

1. There is a type stanza consisting of $1 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 4 + 1$ periods. There are four main sections, the first on the general offense which remains constant; the second on the specific offense which varies with each nation; the third on the general punishment which remains constant; the fourth, consisting of two couplets, on the specific punishment which varies with each nation. There are a short prophetic prelude and postlude which remain constant.

2. Four stanzas of the Song conform to this type, namely: stanza 1 on Syria; stanza 2 on Philistia; stanza 5 on the Ammonites; stanza 6 on Moab. The variations within these four type stanzas are of a minor character and are due either to corruptions of the text through the passage of time and frequent redactions or to the insertion and addition of stichoi and phrases by later editors who sought to bring the text of the prophecies up to date; there are several slight variations of phrase due to the interplay and influence of other texts in the prophetic and historical books; there are minor variations due either to the whim or carelessness of the original or later author and redactor.

3. Three stanzas do not conform to the type, namely: stanza 3 on Tyre; stanza 4 on Edom; stanza 7 on Judah. These are the major variations of the Song and may be explained as later insertions and additions, either to bring the prophecy of Amos up to date, to complete the series of oracles in the light of the works of the later Prophets, or to give vent to the hostility against nations which during the time of the redaction or slightly

before had mistreated Israel and Judah. Since these portions are not original with Amos, they do not affect the conclusion that the genuine oracles of Amos were in the form of the model stanza.

4. The couplet structure prevails throughout the entire reconstructed poem in complete regularity. It has been found that where the couplet formation is broken, vagueness of idea, corruption of text, and general confusion are present. The reformation of the stichoi on the basis of parallelism eliminates the difficulties; though the couplet formation is demanded, synonymy of exact order between the stichoi has not always been possible; however, an arrangement merely on the basis of rhythmical symmetry or of a distant synthetic character has been avoided. The reconstructed couplets show regular and fairly close parallelism of terms, as well as of ideas.

It may now be asked in the light of the results attained from a discussion of the Grief Song, the two pairs of Visions, and the Doom Song: If a regular type stanza, comparable in many respects to the normality of stanza present in modern poems, is present, to what degree is the same *motif* used in the other prophetic books? The methods applied to Amos fit also the study of the portions of seemingly strophic regularity in Isaiah 5.26–29, 9.7–10.4 (see Gray, *ICC*, p. 177ff.); Ezekiel 25.1–17 and parts of Jeremiah. There it will be found that the same phenomena are to large extent present, though the poem in Amos, chaps. 1–2, is unique for its persistent interparallelism.

CLASSIFICATION AND TABLES

Two major problems will find attempted answers in the following tables based on an investigation of the book of Amos. These are: (1) the boundaries of prose and poetry and their interplay; (2) the character, value and place of monostichs in prophetic literature. The classifications here given are by no means entirely accurate, for several instances seem to demand listing under more than one category; it has been necessary, however, to select the dominant trait of the stichoi and to classify these accordingly.

The unit for these tables has been the "period," which signifies a clearly marked division in the thought, regardless of rhythmical, metrical or any similar considerations. Although the period thus is the basis of this classification, yet in the second part of the table, the grouping of the stichoi into couplets has been kept in mind. Excluding the introductory and closing prophetic phrases, such as "thus saith the Lord," "it is the oracle of Yahwè," etc., which appear to stand outside the major portion of the text,²³² the following is the number of periods in each chapter:

Chapter 1	47
Chapter 2	49
Chapter 3	43
Chapter 4	41
Chapter 5	71
Chapter 6	37
Chapter 7	48
Chapter 8	42
Chapter 9	58
Total	436

²³² The prelude and postlude prophetic phrases: "Thus saith the Lord," "and Yahwè spoke," and numerous others occur in the form of single lines mainly, and occasionally in the form of a distich. There are about fifty-five periods of prelude phrases, and twenty-four periods of postlude. Of the former about eighteen are in the form of distichs between which no synonymy of course is present, but which may be guided by some rhythmical principle. This is very doubtful, however, and it is best to conclude of both single stichoi and distichs that they have little or no value in the schematic arrangement of the text; they are neutral in point of content and tone-accent.

The terms which are employed in the tables need explanation. "Genuine" parallelism includes those stichoi in parallel couplets which are parallel as they stand, though sometimes a slight textual change is necessary. Usually the style of these stichoi is synonymous or antithetic parallelism; the number of terms is dominantly three, though in the examples of alternate parallelism (in the table each stichos of alternate parallelism counts as two periods), more than three terms are present. The term "synthetic" parallelism is used to designate the parallel stichoi which are not in close synonymous parallelism, but which are rhythmically symmetrical and in a complementary or appositional relationship. Such synthetic couplets are called here "clear" when close thought approximation is present and the text is unmarred though correspondence of terms may be lacking; "doubtful" designates those stichoi wherein parallelism seems to be concealed while merely rhythmical equality appears and the existing text is obscure in sense and grammar. Under

TABLE 1.—PARALLELISTIC POETRY

	GENUINE	SYNTHETIC				
		Clear	Doubtful	'Asher	Le-ma'an	Hā'ôm'rim
Chapter 1.....	36	....	4	....	2	....
Chapter 2.....	34	....	2	2	2	....
Chapter 3.....	29	....	4	....	....	....
Chapter 4.....	16	4	6	....	....	....
Chapter 5.....	42	6	4	....	2	....
Chapter 6.....	24	2	2	....	....	2
Chapter 7.....	20	....	4	....	....	....
Chapter 8.....	24	....	10	....	....	....
Chapter 9.....	30	2	6	....	....	2
	—	—	—	—	—	—
	255	14	42	2	6	4
Grand total						323
Normal parallelism (genuine and clear syn-						
thetic					269	
Irregular parallelism					54	

TABLE 2.—SHEER PROSE

Superscription	1.1
Narrative	6.9-10

the heading "synthetic" are included also the "in order that," the "that-say" and the relative clauses discussed above. It must be noted, then, that the term "synthetic" includes stichoi which only by the slightest degree may be included under parallelism; which, in fact, were they not surrounded by parallelistic couplets, would not be considered parallel any more than similar distichs are in modern poetry. Though these couplets are clearly poetry by reason of their elevation of language, their imagery and when measured by other canons, yet they stand in the twilight zone between parallelistic and non-parallelistic poetry, and incline more to the latter than to the former division.

TABLE 3.—TWILIGHT ZONE BETWEEN PROSE AND POETRY

This table includes those stichoi which are in the middle ground between prose and poetry. The category "mixture" designates the verse wherein prose and parallelistic formations are combined; there are two cases where *ka-'asher* is used, and the style becomes doubtful; there are several "traditional" expressions which may have been conventional with the prophetic schools; finally there is the Hebrew prototype for the *saj'* of the Arabic; here there are two classes, the first, which is non-synonymous, and the second, which is startlingly synonymous; rhyme, of course, is missing. All these lines are extra long and have not the terseness and three-term structure of the usual poetic parallelism.

	Traditional	Ka-'asher	Mixture	Saj'	
				Non-synonymous	Synonymous
Chapter 2.....	2	2	....	....	....
Chapter 6.....	6	....	....	....	2
Chapter 4.....	....	....	4	....	....
Chapter 5.....	2	....	....	....	4
Chapter 7.....	....	....	....	2	....
Chapter 9.....	4	3	....	....	4
—	—	—	—	—	—
	14	5	4	2	10

TABLE 4.—MONOSTICHS

Another table is necessary in a consideration of the twilight zone between prose and poetry in order to show the character and value of the various isolated stichoi which are present in Amos. A group comes more properly within the domain of poetry proper, i.e., the stichoi which appear to be "survivals" of original couplets; the stichoi which are remnants of couplets but which are now in "triplets" differ slightly from the former category in that the cases there included will be found to be separate sections of the Doom Song. Single stichoi make up "refrains" in poems where interparallelism is present, and certain "introductory" stichoi in interparallelistic stanzas likewise are minus complementary stichoi. Near-prose material includes the "prophetic," and the "traditional" and "narrative" stichoi.

POETRY				
	Survivals	Triplets	Refrains	Introductory
Chapter 1.....	4	....	....	....
Chapter 2.....	1	1	....	....
Chapter 3.....	....	2	....	....
Chapter 4.....	....	....	5	3
Chapter 5.....	....	6	....	....
Chapter 6.....	....	2	....	....
Chapter 7.....	....	2	8	....
Chapter 8.....	....	3	....	....
Chapter 9.....	....	4	....	....
	—	—	—	—
	5	20	13	3

NEAR-PROSE			
	Prophetic	Traditional	Narrative
Chapter 1.....	....	....	....
Chapter 2.....	1	2	....
Chapter 3.....	....	....	....
Chapter 4.....	2	....	1
Chapter 5.....	5	1	1
Chapter 6.....	1	....	2
Chapter 7.....	....	....	12
Chapter 8.....	3	....	2
Chapter 9.....	2	....	1
	—	—	—
	14	3	19

CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions with respect to the two problems referred to above can thus be drawn:

Sheer prose in Amos is very rare, the only two pieces which maintain it over any stretch being the superscription and a doubtful narrative portion.

Genuine parallelistic stichoi predominate, being found to the extent of nearly five-sixths of the instances. Between these two poles there are many grades of poetry verging into prose by ascending degrees. The so-called synthetic couplets contain clear stichoi in a rhythmical, symmetrical, but non-correspondent relationship. Doubtful synthetic couplets embrace those in a rhythmical arrangement wherein the text is doubtful, and at times the degree of unity of thought between the two stichoi is weak. Several special forms, relative, conjunctival, and quotational, fall within this category; they are undoubtedly poetical but have lost their parallelism.

The twilight zone between prose and poetry contains various shades of parallelism and non-parallelism. Traditional conventional phrases are grouped in rhythmical couplets wherein synonymy is lacking; simile couplets are employed, headed in one stichos by the conjunction "just as," wherein a prosaic style is noticeable; a mixture of prose and parallelistic poetry is found in rare instances. Finally close to prose, is a *saj'* form which either occurs without synonymy but with a certain rhythmical balance; or, as in the Arabic, is marked by synonymy and fairly close correspondence of terms. All these lines are long; some are a form and an outgrowth of alternate parallelism. These are fruitful examples for an investigation into the rhythmical principles back of Hebrew poetry and prose. It would seem also from the synonymous and correspondent character of the *saj'* illustrations that parallelism marks not merely the terse bona fide poetry, but also the near-prose of Hebrew. In addition it may be that herein is to be found the third type of Hebrew prosody which Gray seeks, but does not find, in his analysis (see *Forms*, p. 46; also above, p. 109).

On the problem of the relation of couplets to triplets and monostichs, the following conclusions seem justifiable:

The couplet is the dominant structure of Hebrew poetry. Amos has at least 127 couplets of genuine parallelism, seven of clear synthetic, twenty-one doubtful, and six irregular; there are, however, only about twenty possible triplets, nearly every one of which is marred and caused by a dubious text. If the triplet is admissible, then its frequency and originality must be hesitatingly accepted; careful investigation is necessary for each case.

The disposition of isolated monostichs supports this conclusion. Twenty-five stichoi in Amos appear to be either survivals of corrupted couplets, or interpolations attached to good couplets. In the field of poetry, introductory stichoi head stanzas of a strophic poem and lack a complementary stichos because, perhaps, of their interparallelism with the corresponding stichoi of the other stanzas. The same is true of refrains which though a single line are interparallelistic with reference to the same stichos in the other stanzas. These fall therefore in a sense within the realm of parallelistic poetry.

A group of single stichoi, however, seems to fall outside of the poetry proper; these are the narrative stichoi which sometimes are interparallelistic with corresponding stichoi of other stanzas, but usually are purely prosaic or near-prosaic in character; sometimes it is possible to combine two such stichoi into a rhythmical distich, though this is unusual. Several traditional stichoi accompany the traditional distichs referred to above; these are not entirely prosaic, but lie within the intermediate territory between prose and poetry. The same applies to a series of prophetic ejaculations and phrases which occur at intervals, irregular and unconstant, throughout the text.

The reasons for the departure from regular couplet structure are difficult to understand. That the Prophet was not content merely to maintain strict poetic symmetry throughout his work is evident, if the present text is to be trusted. It has been frequently observed in the discussion that a break in the parallelism is usually accompanied by a break in the text and

vice versa. Yet this does not account for the several cases where the Prophet deliberately departs from the balanced couplet formations. Traditional prophetic formulas, historical conventional references, ejaculations and other devices sometimes account for a breakdown of the parallelism, though all the cases cannot thus be explained. The method and the psychology of prophetic utterance is as yet little understood. Perhaps if the original text were in existence, exact parallelism would be discovered; it is safer, however, to assume on the basis of the data available that the Prophet followed generally the poetical canons of parallelism, but that he permitted himself sometimes under the influence of other poetical or rhetorical laws, but sometimes apparently unbound and unguided except by his inner impulses, to roam into the realm of near-prose, of prose, and of unparallelistic poetry and parallelistic prose. It is imperative that we should examine prophetic literature on the basis of the hypothesis that behind every divergence from regularity of style a rhetorical law has operated; thus it will be possible to combine and classify the data; in the end, however, a residue of examples will probably remain which cannot be fully understood; therein in Hebrew, as in all other literatures, the mystery will rest; for one of the secrets of the strength of Hebrew prophecy may be in the fact that not all its phenomena can be pigeonholed.

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