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SUGGESTED CRITERIA FOR DETERMINING  
THE ANTIQUITY OF THE ANCIENT POEMS  
IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

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A Thesis Presented to the Faculty  
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
Department of Exegetical Theology  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Sacred Theology

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by

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May 1967

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Reader



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ARCHAIC CRITERIA FOR  
C.2  
THE ANCIENT POETRY

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## CHAPTER I

### THE STUDY OF THE ANCIENT POEMS

Within the Old Testament there is a group of poems which a majority of scholars believe is quite old. In most of the books and articles which have been written on these poems, the songs are designated "ancient" or "archaic" in a rather arbitrary manner.<sup>1</sup> It is the contention of this thesis that the archaic poetry is different from later poetic writing with respect to style, form, and language, and that it is possible to isolate the distinguishing characteristics of ancient poetry and, using them, to form criteria and establish a balance of probability as to the antiquity of a given poem.

This paper is a form-critical, text-critical study. No theological extrapolations will be made. It is, rather, the intention to supply working material for theology. It may be possible, for example, to supply objective evidence for the conviction of Georg Beer:

Nach dem Ältesten Sagen erzähler der Genesis, dem sogenannten Jahwisten, haben die Ahnen Israels schon vor ihrem Einzug in Kanaan dem ihnen von Urzeiten her bekannten Gott Jahweh gedient und seinen Kult nach Kanaan verpflanzt.<sup>2</sup>

For many, of course, such a conviction has never been seriously challenged but it is necessary, in the face of modern continental scholarship and with a view to gaining a deeper theological perspective, to review our

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<sup>1</sup>This is true of such men as Albright in general and T. Gaster, "An Ancient Eulogy on Israel: Deut. 33:3-5, 26-29," Journal of Biblical Literature, 66 (1947), 53, who simply calls the section "disjointed" and "archaic" and leaves it at that.

<sup>2</sup>G. Beer, Welches war die Älteste Religion Israels? (Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1927), p. 9.



position and our studies, remembering that the faith of ancient Israel received its greatest support from the Almighty God who initiated it and toward whom it was directed. To study this ancient faith it is necessary to be as certain as possible that a given poem is archaic.

It is the opinion of this writer as a result of this study, that there can be no such thing as an absolute criterion for antiquity in the analysis of the archaic poems. The factor which eliminates such an absolute criterion is caused by a phenomenon which shall be called "archaizing," that is, adding archaic notations of various kinds to a more modern text in hopes of giving it prestige. This "archaizing" style has not been analyzed completely nor has it even been established as a fact. It is possible that "modernizing" of a more ancient text took place rather than an "archaizing" technique. In view of the wide separation between the periods of borrowing from Canaanite materials,<sup>3</sup> if indeed there was such borrowing, it will be assumed with the great majority of scholars and for the purposes of comparison in the discussion that such "archaizing" did take place.<sup>4</sup> Since it is virtually impossible to ascertain an absolute criterion for the antiquity of poetry, this paper will endeavor to establish distinguishing features which can yield the highest possible balance of probability that a given poem is archaic. Such a balance of probability is noticeable in the apparent difference between a song like Deuteronomy 33 as compared with Judges 5. Judges 5 seems to be older while

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<sup>3</sup>W. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1946), p. 128.

<sup>4</sup>Such men as W. Albright, "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems (Ps. LXVIII)," Hebrew Union College Annual, 23 (1950-51), 24; F. Cross and D. Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 14 (1955), 245; and W. Gesenius, Hebrew Grammar, edited by E. Kautsch, translated by A. Cowley (Second English edition; Oxford: Clarendon Press,



Deuteronomy 33 shows more kinships with later poetry. It also becomes evident that there are archaic sections within many of the other writings which have been either revised (Ps. 136:21-22 perhaps) or absorbed by the Israelite cult (Ps. 24:6).

In this study only those sections of the Old Testament which most scholars regard as archaic will be used.<sup>5</sup> These sections are Judges 5, Exodus 15:10-18, Psalm 29, Genesis 49:2-27, Deuteronomy 32:1-43,<sup>6</sup> Deuteronomy 33:2-29, the Oracles of Balaam in Numbers 23:7-10, 18-24; 24:3-9, 15-23, Psalm 68, Psalm 18 which parallels Second Samuel 22,<sup>7</sup> Habakkuk 3, and the Song of the Well in Numbers 21:17-18.

The writer is interested in phenomena appearing within these poems which are possible criteria for antiquity. In order to qualify for the category of a true criterion, the materials should be found in most of the ancient poems and it should differ from the later poetry.

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1957), p. 258, assume that this "archaizing" took place.

<sup>5</sup>We receive support for our choices from N. Habel, Yahweh Versus Baal: A Conflict of Religious Cultures (New York: Bookman Associates, 1964), p. 40; and J. Bright, A History of Israel (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959), p. 131. We must, however, note the comment of D. Freedman, in a letter to John H. Miller, St. Louis, December 17, 1966, where he notes, "it may be possible to build up a corpus of more or less probable early material, but there will always be a large element of uncertainty, in my opinion, until we find a hoard of documents from the Davidic age."

<sup>6</sup>Further support is given our choice here by M. Noth, The Old Testament World, translated by V. Gruhn (Fourth edition; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), p. 66.

<sup>7</sup>We shall designate all references to the Ps. 18-2 Sam. 22 parallel as Ps. 18 unless there is an important difference between the two.



More specifically, this writer has coined two terms to help distinguish the kinds of criteria which are found in these poems. We shall use the phrase "parallelism of emphasis" to describe that form which has been found to be the most pervasive criterion, and the designation "supporting criteria" will indicate those phenomena which are usually called "archaic" by the scholars but are not pervasive or exclusive enough to qualify as valid criteria when used alone. As a matter of fact, the terminology used in this study indicates that there cannot be an absolute criterion but only a degree of probability which is first indicated by the "parallelism of emphasis" as a part of the style and is then "supported" by various other structures and concepts.

This thesis will proceed, first, with a brief summary of the general character of ancient Hebrew poetry. Secondly, the suggestion for a basic criterion will be presented via an analysis of the archaic poems. In the third chapter, the various kinds of supporting criteria will be set forth in the areas of poetry, morphology, syntax and imagery. The final chapter will contain a brief summary of this paper, the basic conclusions which have resulted from this study, and some important questions which have been raised in the mind of the writer concerning both the conclusions and approach of this paper.

There are certain other details concerning the sources of data and the methodology which are also important for the reader. The primary source for this study is the corpus of archaic poems which lies within the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. All of these poems have been studied in detail, but we shall concentrate on Exodus 15, Judges 5, and Psalm 29. The English translations used come from the Revised Standard Version of the Bible. The most important secondary sources are the articles which



have appeared authored by various members of the Albright school and others<sup>8</sup> who study the various poems in detail, even to the point of text reconstruction.

The archaic poems are, in the course of this study, compared to the Ugaritic materials,<sup>9</sup> the Gezer Calendar, and a sampling of the late poems:<sup>10</sup> Psalms 24 and 136 from the early monarchy; Psalm 80 and Jeremiah 2 from the late monarchy; Lamentations 2, Psalm 126, and Isaiah 51 from the Exile; and Psalms 79 and 137 from the post-exilic period. Examples from the other later poems are also mentioned but these poems were not included in the systematic analysis which was made of the selected

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<sup>8</sup>The articles used from the Albright school are: W. Albright, "A Catalogue," "The Oracles of Balaam," Journal of Biblical Literature, 63 (1944), 207-233; "The Psalm of Habakkuk," in Studies in Old Testament Prophecy; edited by H. Rowley (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1946), pp. 1-13; and "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32," Vetus Testamentum, 9 (1954), 339-346; F. Cross, "Notes on a Canaanite Psalm in the Old Testament," American Schools of Oriental Research Bulletin, 117 (1950), 19-21; and F. Cross and D. Freedman, "The Blessing of Moses," Journal of Biblical Literature, 68 (1948), 191-210; "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving: II Sam. 22=Ps. 18," Journal of Biblical Literature, 72 (1953), 15-34; and "The Song of Deborah in the Light of Stylistics," Vetus Testamentum, 1 (1951), 168-180; B. Vawter, "The Canaanite Background of Genesis 49," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 17 (1955), 1-18; and A. Weiser, "Das Deborahlied," Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 71 (1959), 67-97.

<sup>9</sup>The numbering of the texts is that of G. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends, in Old Testament Studies, III (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1956). Any vocalizations which occur correspond to those of C. Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook, in Analecta Orientalia (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965), Vol. XXXVIII, passim.

<sup>10</sup>These were selected on the basis of the mutual agreement of O. Eissfeldt, The Old Testament: An Introduction, translated by P. Ackroyd (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), passim; and E. Young, An Introduction to the Old Testament (Grand Rapids, Michigan: W. B. Eerdmans, 1954), passim, concerning the date or the period to which the poems should be assigned.



sampling.<sup>11</sup> Through these comparisons, this writer intends to show the particular character of the archaic poetry, a character which is unique enough to supply a basic assurance, in varying degrees, that the contents of the poems have ancient origins.

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<sup>11</sup>In addition to this sampling, a cross-check was done using another selection of poems from the divided monarchy (Amos 4, Hos. 5) and exilic and post-exilic times (Ezek. 28, Ps. 74, Is. 48, Ps. 97). These poems were selected on the basis of suggestions by S. R. Driver, An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament (New York: Meridian Books, 1960), passim, and Bright, passim, for the purpose of further validation of the suggested criteria.



## CHAPTER II

### A SUGGESTION FOR A BASIC CRITERION

#### A Broad Characterization of Ancient Hebrew Poetry

Poetry is, in general, a most difficult subject with which to deal; and if it is ancient poetry, the difficulty is increased many times. Poetry is the Muttersprache of the human race. In the most ancient times poets took material from the crises and meditations and put it into poetic form.<sup>1</sup> This poetry was not necessarily written down when it was composed but was transmitted orally in the minds and hearts of men down through the centuries. According to many scholars the core of the Hebrew poetry was a confession of faith to the basic acts of salvation by the God of Israel.<sup>2</sup> Exactly how the oral transmission of these materials worked remains somewhat of a mystery; and yet, it may be possible to hypothesize that there was a tendency for oral tradition to stereotype material into conventional forms, to shape, regroup, sift and often impart to the material a didactic purpose.<sup>3</sup> There remained, nevertheless, a conservatism in these actions so that none of the original thought and little of the original form was lost for the later generations. The "king of style" for the period of oral tradition was probably the

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<sup>1</sup>K. Budde, Geschichte der althebräischen Litteratur (Second edition; Leipzig: C. F. Amelangs Verlag, 1909), p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>M. Noth, The History of Israel, translated by P. Ackroyd (Second edition; New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p. 223.

<sup>3</sup>J. Bright, A History of Israel (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959), p. 64.



parallelismus membrorum. This construction both facilitated the poet's composition of the verses and at the same time made memorization easier.<sup>4</sup>

The ancient Hebrew poetry presents, therefore, a twofold difficulty. It, or at any rate its basic core, comes from the period of oral transmission about which little is known. The actual writing, on the other hand, must have taken place at a time which was "x" number of years from the historical event and may, in addition, reflect the point of view of the writer. A good example of material which may have been ancient but was recorded at a later time is found in the book of Deuteronomy. This book is saturated with nostalgia for the ancient days, a characteristic of the time in which it was written.<sup>5</sup>

It is further postulated that there was a period of fixed oral tradition where the text was stable but not yet written down.<sup>6</sup> Later on, the oral text probably existed right along side the written one and enjoyed the same prestige.<sup>7</sup> Again, the conservatism with which the materials were transmitted even in the oral period is evident. It does not, however, alleviate the basic problem that the transmission was oral and that a later redactor set the material down in a written form. These particular comments are, in the opinion of this writer, reflected better in some of

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<sup>4</sup>G. Ahlström, "Oral and Written Transmission," Harvard Theological Review, 59 (1966), 70.

<sup>5</sup>Bright, p. 300.

<sup>6</sup>R. Culley, "An Approach to the Problem of Oral Tradition," Vetus Testamentum, 13 (1963), 122.

<sup>7</sup>B. J. Roberts, The Old Testament Text and Versions (Cardiff, Wales: University of Wales Press, 1951), p. 19.



the archaic poems which are less ancient than others, for example, Habakkuk 3, the Blessing of Moses in Deuteronomy 33, and Psalm 18.<sup>8</sup>

The actual written text of the archaic poems as it now exists reflects some of the problems of the redactor and of the Massoretes with these ancient texts. George Smith states flatly that "the corruptions and obscurities of the text due to long oral tradition support the ancient nature of the text."<sup>9</sup> It may be noted at this point that very late texts, for example, Ezekiel, Job, and Proverbs, show the same kinds of corruptions and obscurities so that we could hardly use this alone as a clear criterion of antiquity. Roberts asserts that variations in the ancient texts may embody the oral and written text-forms which existed side by side for a long time.<sup>10</sup>

One thing which does appear in the obscure state of these texts is ancient orthography.<sup>11</sup> Actually, only a small fraction of the original number of archaic forms is still preserved in the Massoretic Text. In the course of transmission, most of them were edited out of the text. That they survive at all is still another tribute to the conservatism of the

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<sup>8</sup>Such verses as Hab. 3:17-19 and Deut. 33:26-29 may show the harmonizing effect of the primary redactor who used these old poems in his work, although the same kind of effort may remain in Judg. 5:31, Ex. 15:18, and Ps. 29:10-11.

<sup>9</sup>G. Smith, The Early Poetry of the Hebrews in its Physical and Social Origins (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), p. 81. He is supported in this contention by N. K. Gottwald, A Light to the Nations (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), p. 173, who actually makes such corruption a criterion for the antiquity of the poems.

<sup>10</sup>Roberts, p. 19.

<sup>11</sup>Infra, pp. 70-71.



scribal tradition.<sup>12</sup> In the difficult or corrupt passages, the scribes tended to leave the form which was received. If the scribe did not understand the text, he would be unable to revise it orthographically in accordance with the current practice of the day and this is where the archaic readings appear.<sup>13</sup> As a matter of fact the Massorettes were more careful with irregularities in the text and reproduced the parent text with meticulous care, even down to the trifling details, because of their great interest in the text.<sup>14</sup> Such ancient orthography appears also in late texts which show little or no corruption.<sup>15</sup> The obscure state of the text is, nevertheless, a persistent feature of the archaic poems, and yet, we cannot make much more of this fact.<sup>16</sup>

A final point concerning the transmission of the ancient material is that there appears to have been a corpus of sayings used either in the formation of the written material or kept by the balladeer as a part of

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<sup>12</sup>D. N. Freedman, "Archaic Forms," Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 72 (1960), 101.

<sup>13</sup>F. M. Cross, Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry (Unpublished Doctrinal thesis, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1950), p. 58, n. 78.

<sup>14</sup>Roberts, pp. 45, 47.

<sup>15</sup>W. Gesenius, Hebrew Grammar, edited by E. Kautsch, translated by A. Cowley (Second English edition; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), hereafter referred to as G-K, contains an entire section (90 on p. 248) on archaic orthography. In paragraph 90g he discusses the ancient accusative ending and gives Biblical references. The Ugaritic materials show a use of the  $\aleph$  directive which invalidates many of Gesenius' examples but those that remain show that case endings do occur in later poetry and indicate that we cannot use orthography alone as a criterion of antiquity. See also H. Bauer and P. Leander, Historische Grammatik der hebraischen Sprache des Alten Testaments (Hildenschein: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962), p. 528t.

<sup>16</sup>Compare Ex. 15:2,6,16; Num. 23:18,22; or Judg. 5:13,15, with Ps. 114:8, Zeph. 2:14 in their respective contexts.



his stock language.<sup>17</sup> This "stock language" consisted of "traditional phrases of lengths suitable to the poetic form. . . . By using this ready-made language and a number of stock scenes and descriptions, the poet could construct traditional songs."<sup>18</sup> This hypothesis is made not to subtract from the spontaneous element in the songs but to argue that there was a body of materials, much like our "American" cliches, which was used by the poets, partly for construction purposes and partly for transmission purposes. This particular corpus may very well have been common throughout the ancient Near East, nevertheless, it must be remembered that the existence of such "cliches" is only a hypothesis.

Form critical studies of these ancient songs indicate that there was some connection between them and the cult of Israel. Precisely what the relationship was and how close it was is debated, but it cannot be denied that these hymns were connected to and preserved in the cult. The great theophanies which appear in many of the songs (Deut. 33:2, Judg. 5:4-5, Ps. 18:8-15, Ps. 68:8-10, Hab. 3:3-6) are preliminary indicators of some

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<sup>17</sup>P. Ackroyd, "The Composition of the Song of Deborah," Vetus Testamentum, 2 (1952), 161, asks this precise question concerning the material in Judg. 5:23-24. He feels that the later writer used this "quotation" from earlier traditions because it enshrined the essential motifs of his story. G. von Rad, Deuteronomy, in The Old Testament Library, edited by G. Wright, et al., translated by D. Barton (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1966), p. 208, feels that such a collection may have been used in the composition of Deut. 33 and W. Richter, Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Richterbuch, in Bonner Biblische Beiträge, edited by F. Nütscher and K. Schäfer (Bonn: Peter Henstein Verlag, 1963), passim, and p. 110, presents the same thesis for Judges. A similar suggestion was made in a graduate class at Concordia Seminary on Habakkuk by Professor Wegner concerning the Psalm of Habakkuk.

<sup>18</sup>Culley, p. 120.



kind of a cultic connection.<sup>19</sup>

More specifically, the structure of a poem like Judges 5 seems to indicate a liturgical composition for a plurality of voices. This is borne out by the language and concepts of the song.<sup>20</sup> Some examples of this liturgical language may be found in verse twenty-one (the verb יָרַד: to "let the hair hang loose" as a cultic personage would; the verb לָמַד: to "make a free vow") verse three, where we find a traditional cultic style,<sup>21</sup> verse twenty-three contains a curse on Meroz (compare Num. 24:9b), and verse five has the possible archaic amphictyonic cult title "the one of Sinai" (compare Ex. 15:13, Deut. 33:2, and Ps. 68:19). Weiser calls this neither a War Song (Siegeslied) nor an epic poem, but a liturgical composition for the Jahwekultfeier in which not only were the enemies negated but the people were bound together as Yahweh's people by the different sacred acts.<sup>22</sup> There are, on the other hand, scholars who see this song not as a specific cult song but a confession which retells past acts of God to show His might and presence.<sup>23</sup>

Some scholars have noted cultic connections in "The Song of the Sea"

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<sup>19</sup>It is possible that there may be a particular Gattung of which these theophanies are a part. A. J. Brachman, "Judges 5:2." Jewish Quarterly Review, 39 (1948-1949), 414, believes that it was part of a prophetic Gattung.

<sup>20</sup>T. Ludwig, Wars of Israelite Amphictyony (Unpublished Master's thesis, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1962), pp. 26-27.

<sup>21</sup>A. Weiser, "Das Deboralied," Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 71 (1959), points out many of the cultic connections and shows a Gattung which also has an excellent parallel in the "Song of the Sea" in Ex. 15.

<sup>22</sup>Weiser, p. 95.

<sup>23</sup>H. P. Müller, "Der Aufbau des Deboraliedes," Vetus Testamentum, 16 (1966), 458.



also. Gerhard von Rad indicates approvingly that H. Schmidt has called this psalm a cultic litany for the feast of "repayment of vows" held in the autumn.<sup>24</sup> They deduce this from the fact that all the elements in the tradition of the Exodus and from the occupation of the promised land have been included, although in a freely adapted form.<sup>25</sup>

Psalm 29, Deuteronomy 33, and Habakkuk 3 may also have close connections with the cult. Theodore Gaster calls Psalm 29 the "typical 'hymn of laudation' detached from the mythic context, Yahwized, and preserved as an independent liturgical composition."<sup>26</sup> G. E. Wright has called Deuteronomy 32 a broken ל'ן, that is, a specific cultic form adapted and explained by other themes to serve a more generalized purpose in confession and praise.<sup>27</sup> Sigmund Mowinckel, opposing Albright, goes to great lengths to show the cultic relationships of the "Song of Habakkuk." He calls it an individual lament for the community where the cult prophet, Habakkuk, becomes an intercessor (Fürbitte) for the people at a time of actual calamity.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>G. von Rad, "The Problem of the Hexateuch," in the Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays, translated by E. Dicken (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), p. 10.

<sup>25</sup>J. D. Watts, "The Song of the Sea--Ex. XV," Vetus Testamentum, 7 (1957), 380, supports this contention and says that it has been insured by the addition of a strophe at various points of the substitution and combination with other bits of liturgical matter.

<sup>26</sup>T. Gaster, "Psalm 29," Jewish Quarterly Review, 37 (1946-1947), 57.

<sup>27</sup>G. E. Wright, "The Lawsuit of God: a Form-Critical Study of Deut. 32," in Israel's Prophetic Heritage, edited by B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1963), p. 40.

<sup>28</sup>S. Mowinckel, "Zum Psalm des Habakuk," Theologische Zeitschrift, 9 (1953), 7.



In all of these comments, however, it seems to this writer that the cultic connection of the archaic materials is not as overt as it is in the later writings (Pss. 24, 136). In addition, it appears that whatever is cultic, with the exception of a possible "theophanic Gattung," is usually a rather obvious addition to a more ancient piece of material. Good examples of such additions may be found in the refrains which appear in some of the songs (Judg. 5:2,9,21; Ps. 68:36) and the Yahwizing verses<sup>29</sup> which appear at the end of other songs (Judg. 5:31; Ps. 29:11; Ex. 15:18; Hab. 3:17-19).<sup>30</sup> It is, of course, possible that these songs arose in the cult, but the additions indicate the greater likelihood that the poems were taken up, preserved in the cult and later redacted and adapted for use in worship. It is to be noted also that Weiser's Gattung, although ingenious, does not fit all of the poems by any means, and Wright's ל'ך is a "broken" one which does not compare in purity of form to a classic example (such as Is. 1). In addition, the refrains are by no means as regular in use or wording as the slightly later example of Psalm 136. The cult, therefore, did have an important part in shaping and transmitting these old poems,<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>By "Yahwizing verses" we do not mean to imply that these ancient songs were not Yahwistic at first. We mean, rather, that verses were added to the original Yahwistic poetry to insure that there would be no misunderstanding in the mind of those who used the song and to expand the theology of the song for the time in which it was being used.

<sup>30</sup>Of these concluding verses Gaster, "Psalm 29," p. 63, agrees that they are additions made when the poem was incorporated into or adapted for the public liturgy, although it could have been a part of the original hymns as he finds in a parallel from Enuma eliš.

<sup>31</sup>Other men who would support cultic influence in these poems to a greater or lesser degree and in various ways are H. Torczyner (Tur Sinai), "Zur historischen Erforschung der biblischen Rhythmik," in Oriental Studies published in Commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of Paul Haupt, edited by C. Adler and A. Ember (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1926), p. 136; A. S. Kapelrud, The Ras Shamra Discoveries and the Old Testament (United States edition; Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma



but the poems probably did not originate there.

The shaping which the cult gave to these ancient songs is further reflected in precisely what was saved, how it was saved, and how it was finally recorded. The content of these songs points back to the ultimate origins of Israel, back to the time of deliverance from Egypt and to the theophany of Yahweh from the southland. It points to the intervention of Yahweh in the history of His people via His mighty acts and, in most cases, takes account of this from a personal point of view.<sup>32</sup> The earlier cult may have been freer to adapt or utilize bold anthropomorphisms and pagan myth,<sup>33</sup> although these things may have crept in at times when there were fewer "purists" such as the periods of the Judges or the divided monarchy. In addition, it is likely that during the age of the Judges, many of these poems or their substance were recorded for the first time so that much of what we have now in the archaic poems may be the expansion of a later period. Possible examples of such an occurrence are Deuteronomy 33, Exodus 15, and Habakkuk 3.<sup>34</sup>

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Press, 1963), p. 80; J. Gray, The Legacy of Canaan, in Supplements to Vetus Testamentum (Second revised edition; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), V, 303; and W. A. Irwin, "The Song of Habakkuk," Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 1 (1942), 28.

<sup>32</sup>Watts, p. 374, believes that this aspect of personal confession and faith is preserved for liturgical reasons and can only be explained on those grounds. The poem stressed the relevance of the subject to the speaker and the gathered congregation.

<sup>33</sup>So says Irwin, p. 37.

<sup>34</sup>M. Noth suggests this in Exodus, in The Old Testament Library, edited by G. E. Wright, et al., translated by J. S. Bowden (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962), p. 121, as a possibility for Ex. 15. He believes that the oldest element is Ex. 15:21b which was handed down from a very early time and forms the nucleus for the larger rendition in the early part of the chapter.



In summary, then, we may safely assume that there was some relation between these ancient songs and the cult. This relationship affected the form and content of the poems as they are now preserved but how much has not yet been determined.

Israel's Canaanite neighbors also influenced the ancient Yahwistic poetry. Specific examples of connections between the Ugaritic materials and the archaic poems will be investigated later in this chapter and in chapter three,<sup>35</sup> but at this point it is necessary to give a survey of the impact of Canaanite environment on the early writers to fill out the picture of the general character of ancient Hebrew poetry. It is now generally assumed that the Canaanite literature had some kind of influence on Israelite literature. How far-reaching this influence was is another question. Rowley assures us:

the Ras Shamra discoveries show that the early literature of Israel had behind it a Canaanite literature which in form and style, and often in its expression, provided the incoming tribes with a heritage whose marks are to be found in the Bible . . . (but) the literature of the Old Testament is still vastly different from that of Ugarit.<sup>36</sup>

It does not appear that he has either overstated or understated the situation.

There must have been some use of materials like those at Ras Shamra, whether verbatim, adapted, or polemicized. In the first place, real psalms are scantily, if at all, represented in the Ugaritic texts.<sup>37</sup> Most conjectures of the direct borrowing of a psalm like Psalm 29 remain just that.

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<sup>35</sup>Infra, pp. 16-20, 85, and passim in chapter three.

<sup>36</sup>H. H. Rowley, "The Literature of the Old Testament," in Peake's Commentary on the Bible, edited by M. Black (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962), p. 86.

<sup>37</sup>S. Mowinckel, "Psalm Criticism between 1900 and 1935," Vetus Testamentum, 5 (1955), 14, and W. F. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1946), p. 128.



It is much more reasonable and demonstrable that any verbatim borrowing was limited to such things as phrases, titles, and single words. Suffice it to say, at this point, that even these borrowings were adapted and placed into a Yahwistic setting, quite probably as a polemic against the Baal cult.<sup>38</sup> This writer, however, appreciates the care which Bruce Vawter takes in distinguishing direct literary borrowing from literary dependence.<sup>39</sup> He says that direct borrowing as such was a late phenomenon coming primarily in the psalms but that the early poetry had no reluctance in adapting the literary plumage of Canaan to the service of Israel's religion. This would not, of course, exclude any antagonism which Israel might have felt toward such material.

The relationship of styles, on the other hand, is more easily seen. Israel did not feel squeamish at borrowing a stylistic device from the Canaanites since this in no way influenced the content. Such devices were, rather a part of the literary artistry of the day. It was part of good writing to use them. The quality of the literature of Canaan is debated,

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<sup>38</sup> Mowinckel, "Psalm Criticism," p. 22; F. Cross, "The Divine Warrior in Israel's Early Cult," in Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations in Studies and Texts, edited by A. Altmann (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 18; and B. Vawter, "The Canaanite Background of Genesis 49," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 17 (1955), 18, support this contention as do many of the points of N. Habel, Yahweh Versus Baal: A Conflict of Religious Cultures (New York: Bookman Associates, 1964), passim. Another aspect of the discussion, however, is noted by H. H. Rowley, "Melchizedek and Zadok (Gen. 14 and Ps. 110)," in Festschrift Alfred Bertholet zum 80 Geburtstag, edited by W. Baumgartner (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1950), pp. 466, 468, 469, who believes that Gen. 14 and Ps. 110 may have had a common heritage which was pre-Davidic in nature. The same may be true of Yahwistic and Canaanite poetry, namely, that they had a common ancestor and neither borrows from the other.

<sup>39</sup> Vawter, pp. 2, 14, 18.



as is shown by the differing opinions of scholars.<sup>40</sup> At any rate, there appears to have been some kind of common literary art which must have been linked to oral transmission. Much of the Ugaritic material was written down while the Israelite material was in its oral stages so that there could have been borrowing. Stylistic use of Canaanite material by Israel cannot be asserted with finality.

This leads directly to a discussion of the age of the Ugaritic materials and their relation to the archaic poetry. The Ugaritic texts are generally dated in the fourteenth century. The language in these texts shows great kinship with the most archaic Hebrew poems found in the Bible.<sup>41</sup> Since the Hebrew poetry is linguistically conservative, it is probable that it was closer with the Ugaritic to whatever common origins they possess.<sup>42</sup> At the same time, however, the ancient poets of the Hebrews and of Ugarit felt no constraint to abide by strict poetic codes concerning form and meter.<sup>43</sup> In addition, the Hebrew poetry was, most likely, dead after long years of transmission while the Ugaritic poetry

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<sup>40</sup>H. Ginsberg, "Ugaritic Studies and the Bible," The Biblical Archaeologist, 8 (1945), 58, feels that the Canaanite poetry was very crude while U. Cassuto, The Goddess Anath: Canaanite Epics of the Patriarchal Age: Texts, Hebrew Translation, Commentary and Introduction, as reviewed by C. Gordon from the Hebrew in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, 72 (1952), 180, points out that even the earliest literature in the Old Testament is highly developed because, as the Ugaritic now shows, the Hebrews inherited a polished literary tradition from the Canaanites so that the distinctive Hebrew contribution must be sought in terms of content.

<sup>41</sup>M. Dahood, "The Linguistic Position of Ugaritic in the Light of Recent Discoveries," in Sacra Pagina Miscellanea Biblica Congressus Internationalis Catholici De Re Biblice, edited by J. Coppens (Gembloux: J. Ducelot, 1959), I, 269.

<sup>42</sup>C. Gordon, Ugaritic Manual (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1955), p. 122.

<sup>43</sup>G. Young, "Ugaritic Prosody," Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 9 (1950), 132.



comes unaltered from the time when the poetry was used, although it too had a long history of transmission of which little is known.<sup>44</sup> There are, nevertheless, a great many affinities between Ugaritic and Hebrew; and from a philological point of view, they are to be regarded as one literature which may give mutual textual help.<sup>45</sup> We may, then, use the Ugaritic materials but only with care and prudence. John Gray makes the following comments which help to summarize the situation:

On this whole question of the extent of the influence of Canaanite on Hebrew poetry, the debate has proceeded mainly on the evidence of diction and imagery, though Albright has tried to extend the correspondence to metric arrangement also. There is nothing extant in the Ugaritic literature which corresponds to the Psalms as such. . . . Consequently, in drawing analogies between the myths of Canaan in narrative and epic style and the short, self-contained, liturgic Psalms of Israel, we must do so with reserve.<sup>46</sup>

In spite of the great kinship between Ugaritic and Hebrew, there are many scholars who refuse to rule out a major influence by the common cultural ancestor of both of these, namely, Babylonia. It is true that the Mesopotamian valley was an influence on Palestine and her peoples,<sup>47</sup> but that it should displace the impact of Canaanite culture on the Hebrews as displayed in the finds at Ras Shamra would be almost the same kind of

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>45</sup>H. Ginsberg, "Ugaritic Texts and Textual Criticism," Journal of Biblical Literature, 62 (1943), 109.

<sup>46</sup>Gray, p. 306.

<sup>47</sup>Such men as C. L. Taylor, "Habakkuk," in The Interpreter's Bible, edited by N. B. Harmon (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1956), VI, 995-996; and W. Irwin, "The Mythological Background of Habakkuk, Chapter 3," Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 15 (1956), 50, both of whom seem to overlook the more important influence of Ugarit on the Hebrew literature and, in fact, disparage it in order to push to the forefront what they see as the all-important Babylonian heritage.



mistake as studying twentieth century America in the light of its founding by the English. This does not rule out Mesopotamian material as an area for study<sup>48</sup> but puts such material in its proper perspective. On the other hand, direct borrowing even from Canaanites is by no means a proven fact. Dependence on and religious polemic against both the Canaanite and the Mesopotamian forerunners is found in the Hebrew writings. The Ugaritic materials, however, should remain one intermediate element between the Mesopotamian and Hebrew literature.<sup>49</sup> Greater importance is attributed to Ugarit than to Mesopotamia because Israel in her early history was probably most directly influenced by the people in the land of settlement.<sup>50</sup>

#### Parallelism of Emphasis

The suggestion of a basic criterion to judge the antiquity of particular sections of the Old Testament is bound up with the style of the archaic poems, the most concrete part of which is the "parallelism of emphasis."<sup>51</sup> It is necessary to define this parallelism clearly, distinguish it from other kinds of parallelism, and analyze it by example and comparison.

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<sup>48</sup>J. H. Patton, Canaanite Parallels in the Book of Psalms (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1944), p. 13, points out that such a study and comparison does indeed have value but that the idea of immediate borrowing must not be pressed too far.

<sup>49</sup>Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, p. 91.

<sup>50</sup>We may excuse F. J. Stephens, "The Babylonian Dragon Myth in Habakkuk 3," Journal of Biblical Literature, 43 (1924), 290-293, because he wrote before the discoveries at Ras Shamra and would probably change his views as did Albright whose support he cites.

<sup>51</sup>This writer derived the phrase "parallelism of emphasis" on the basis of the work of G. Gerleman, "The Song of Deborah in the Light of Stylistics," Vetus Testamentum, 1 (1951), 168-180.



Most important, it must be determined if this parallelism is persistent enough in the poems to be a valid criterion of their archaic nature.

In the first place, an illustration of the "parallelism of emphasis" is in order. A classic example of this is found in Judges 5:23b:

כִּי לֹא-בָּאוּ לְעֵזְרָתִי יְיָ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 לְעֵזְרָתִי יְיָ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּגִבּוֹרֵי מַיִם

("because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord

against the mighty"). It is to be noted that there is a parallel here

but only in one member of each stich. The other members of each stich

expand and complete the poet's message.<sup>52</sup> In the first member, the last

two words, יְיָ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל ("to the help of the Lord"), are paralleled by

the first two words of the second stich. It should be noted at the same

time, however, that the words of the first stich, לֹא-בָּאוּ ("because

they came not"), are not at all parallel to the last word of the second

stich, בְּגִבּוֹרֵי מַיִם ("against the mighty"), ruling this out as a "chiastic"

arrangement, where precise parallels reverse their order in the second

stich. The בְּגִבּוֹרֵי מַיִם of the second stich should be in the first position

and should parallel a member of the first stich. In the example given

above, there is a totally unrelated noun and verb and no parallelism at

all. It may be assumed therefore, that the poet is using a different kind

of parallelism and is using it for a distinct purpose. That purpose shall

be designated as emphasis. The poet begins with a statement which is com-

plete by itself but which is incomplete in impact on the poet himself and

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<sup>52</sup>G. B. Gray, The Forms of Hebrew Poetry (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1915), pp. 75-76, calls this simply "incomplete parallelism." It is our contention that it is much more. As a matter of fact, the "parallelism of emphasis" does not fit clearly into Gray's categories of "incomplete parallelism with/without compensation." He cites Judg. 5:4,26; Deut. 32:13cd for the former and Num. 23:19cd; Num. 24:5ab; Deut. 32:7cd, 34, and Deut. 33:26 for the latter. None of these fall into our category but point up the different kinds of style which are native to these old poems.



ultimately on his hearers. He therefore selects, consciously or unconsciously, what he believes to be the most important aspect of the opening stich, repeats it to emphasize its importance, and expands it to show that it is indeed the central thought in the verse. The repetition and expansion which the poet adds enunciate the important elements which, at the same time, become part of the excited presentation.<sup>53</sup>

The emphatic repetition of the most important element is the basic style of the "parallelism of emphasis."<sup>54</sup> There are, however, other aspects to the style of the "parallelism of emphasis." One of these is ellipses (Ps. 68:25; Ps. 29:8; Num. 21:18; Ex. 15:11). The omitted parts of the ellipses may be a word (verb or noun) or a phrase. In our example  $\text{ןֶאֱמַרְתָּ} \text{ 'ֶדְ} \text{ 'ֶדְ}$  is understood in the second stich although it is omitted.<sup>55</sup>

In addition to the ellipses, another aspect of the style is the words which are chosen for emphasis. These words are not necessarily imperatives (Ps. 113:1; Is. 51:9), although they may be (Judg. 5:12; Ps. 29:1-2a),<sup>56</sup> but they are a particular word or words which the author

<sup>53</sup> Infra, pp. 36-51. Diagrammatically, we may express the "parallelism of emphasis" in Judg. 5:23b: A B C: B C D.

<sup>54</sup> More examples follow below in the discussion of the validity of this style as a criterion for the archaic poems, infra, pp. 31-32.

<sup>55</sup> Gordon, Ugaritic Manual, p. 107, mentions that ellipses are a characteristic of the Ugaritic poetry. The Ras Shamra materials do have the flavor of the "parallelism of emphasis" using ellipses, although without the expansion which is added to the "parallelism of emphasis." Compare Keret I iv 1-2: "he did pour wine into a vessel of silver, honey into a vessel of gold;" and Baal V ii 20-22: "She smashed seats over warriors; tables were smashed over the soldiers, stools over the heroes." [Driver's translation in Canaanite Myths and Legends, in Old Testament Studies (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1956), No. 3, pp. 33, 85, respectively.]

<sup>56</sup> There is a difference between these examples and later poetry with respect to the meter, verbosity, and vivacity in spite of these seeming similarities.



wants to emphasize, such as "to the help of the Lord" (Judg. 5:23b). The poet is not necessarily making demands, therefore, but is stressing a point of importance.

The basic character of the form which this parallelism takes is important. As Gerleman notes, the style of this kind of parallelism is not an isolated, autonomous phenomenon. It is woven in and related to the religious and cultural situation of the originators, that is, the poets.<sup>57</sup> It is this style, coupled with other elements in the poem, which helps to identify archaic materials with some degree of certainty.<sup>58</sup>

There is one aspect of the structure of the "parallelism of emphasis" upon which we have not yet touched and that is its mnemonic character, a matter of importance in transmission of the early poems. In the example from Judges 5:23b, it is to be noted, first, the words emphasized are repeated, second, they are repeated before any other words in the stich (although this is not true in all instances), and third, the expansion is normally brief. The reason for this seems to be that the poems were transmitted orally for many centuries. The more structural help there was for

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<sup>57</sup>Gerleman, p. 78.

<sup>58</sup>We find ourselves in basic disagreement with Ahlström, p. 71, who says that style cannot be used as a criterion for a special method of composition. We do, however, agree with him when he states that style cannot be an exclusive criterion, as we shall investigate in chapter three. We get support for our position from Weiser's study, p. 96, where he says that he can find no difference between Judg. 4 and Judg. 5 in anything but style. When Mowinckel, on the other hand, "Psalm Criticism between 1900 and 1935," p. 32, says that there is no "stylistic, historical chronology" for the "archaic hymns" of Albright because they are spread over the entire period of psalmography, we agree and disagree. We agree that we cannot use Albright's reconstructions as sole indicators, since it appears he reconstructs from the point of view of his own biases. See here especially his study on the "Psalm of Habakkuk," in Studies in Old Testament Prophecy, edited by H. H. Rowley (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1957), pp. 1-18. But we disagree that there is no "stylistic, historical chronology" for, as we



the memory, the easier the poems were to remember and transmit. It is true that poetry by its very nature is easier to remember than prose but if the poet used a more or less fixed form, the transmission could be made with greater accuracy.<sup>59</sup> Each one of these things, precise repetition, immediate repetition, and brief expansion, gave the help which was needed.<sup>60</sup>

There are variations of the "parallelism of emphasis." These alternates deal with the order of the words in the parallelism. The word or phrase emphasized may be first or last in either stich (Judg. 5:24, accepting Kittel's suggested reading, Ps. 29:8; Ps. 68:16; Num. 24:18).

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shall see, there does seem to be some hierarchy within the poems, that is, some of them are more ancient than others. For example, Judg. 5 shows our criterion much more frequently and clearly than does Deut. 32. G. E. Wright, p. 40, supports this contention and for stylistic reasons, specifically, because Deut. 32 lacks the repetitive type of parallelism.

<sup>59</sup>Bright, p. 64.

<sup>60</sup>This writer can remember using the same kind of mnemonic device to enable a smooth transition between paragraphs and aid rapid learning of sermons. That such help via structure was used is shown in the text on the Gezer calendar which is set up in a mnemonic way. See also W. Albright, "The Gezer Calendar," American Schools of Oriental Society Bulletin, 92 (1943), 25, who calls it a "mnemonic ditty much like our '30 days hath September . . .'" As matter of fact, this particular text offers an interesting extra-Biblical parallel the "parallelism of emphasis." At the beginning of each line of thought, some form of  $\Pi\gamma$  appears (yarḥew, "his two months" (Albright), in lines one, two, and six; yarḥo, "his month" (Albright), in the other lines). If this was a mnemonic poem for a calendaric tabulation, as Albright believes, we may very well have parallel forms of  $\Pi\gamma$  used emphatically within a balanced poetic form (two lines of 2:2, three lines of 3:3, two lines of 2:2). We cannot press this argument too far since it is hard to see how emotion could be tied to a calendar in the same manner as a song on the mighty acts of God. In addition, the calendar may be Phoenician. It is, nevertheless, an interesting text and dates from approximately the same era as the earliest written songs of Israel, circa 950 B. C.



The Hebrew writer was more apt to place the elements he wanted emphasized at the beginning of the sentence. This is true for prose but is not an absolute in poetry where there was also interest in mnemonics. The structure of the "parallelism of emphasis" is not always "pure." It changes and the variation does not present an ordered pattern. Some of the most striking instances of the "parallelism of emphasis" have the emphasized words occurring first in both of the stichs involved (Ex. 15:6; Ps. 29:1-2) as well as last in both (Ps. 68:16; Num. 24:18).<sup>61</sup>

Another difference is the number of words which are repeated for emphasis. In some instances only one word will be repeated (Ex. 15:6; Gen. 49:25a $\alpha$ -b; Ps. 18:45b-46a) while in other instances a construct relationship (Judg. 5:23b; Hab 3:2a $\gamma$ -b $\alpha$ , and perhaps the  $\text{אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל}$  of Ps. 29) or a whole phrase reoccurs (Judg. 5:30a $\epsilon$ -b $\beta$ , Kittel's suggested emendation from the Septuagint, Ex. 15:16b).

There are other forms of variations of structure connected to the "parallelism of emphasis." When such variations occur they detract from the formal "purity" of the "parallelism of emphasis" but they are present and call for delineation.<sup>62</sup> In most cases some aspect of our basic form remains. At the same time, however, these variations indicate that the "parallelism of emphasis" is not, in itself, an "absolute" criterion.

In the first place, "parallelism of emphasis" is closely related to

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<sup>61</sup> Expressed in diagram form, different variations appear: A B/ B C (a bicolon); A B C/ A D E; A B C/ D E C; A B C/ B' C' D (a "ballast variant"); A B C/ C' D E (a one-word or "fixed pair" variant).

<sup>62</sup> See footnote 61 for diagrams of the variations discussed below.



what Robert Lowth called "climactic parallelism."<sup>63</sup> He notes that this style is somewhat "sententious" but that it could not be omitted without doing damage to the poetry. Climactic parallelism, called by Theodore H. Robinson "stair-like" parallelism, is also described by him: "where one member (or part of a member) in one line is repeated in the second, and made the starting-point for a fresh step."<sup>64</sup> There is a difference between climactic parallelism and the "parallelism of emphasis." In the first place, the composition of the former is longer. It normally includes at least three stichs, that is, a tricolon. Climactic parallelism builds to a climax which is the most important part of the structure. "Parallelism of emphasis," on the other hand, is a more succinct mode of expression. The poet concentrates on the center of his brief message through repetition of the key word or phrase. When he expands his thought in the second stich, his primary interest still lies with the emphasized segment of the stich. The "parallelism of emphasis" is, indeed, more than just a structure. It is an integral part of the message and presentation of that message from the poet to his listeners. True climactic parallelism is found in some of the later materials (Is. 51:9; Ps. 137:8a $\beta$ -9; Ps. 92:10). In these instances, especially the first two, there is great sophistication demonstrated in the somewhat drawn-out, highly developed way the verse builds to

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<sup>63</sup>R. Lowth, Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews (Third edition; London: Thomas Tegg and Son, 1935), p. 49. This book is still a classic on the structure of parallelism in the Hebrew poetry and is referred to by most authors who deal with the subject.

<sup>64</sup>T. H. Robinson, The Poetry of the Old Testament (London: Gerald Duckworth and Company, 1952), p. 23. The example he cites is Ps. 29:1-2 which we have noted as an example of "parallelism of emphasis."



a climax.<sup>65</sup> Contrast, on the other hand, the brevity and vivacity of the previous example from Judges 5:23b (see also Ex. 15:16b; Ps. 68:16; Ps. 29:1-2). This difference is tied to the emotional character of the poetry itself.

Cyrus Gordon finds climactic parallelism in the Ugaritic materials.<sup>66</sup> It is not the most frequent construction in these texts. Synonymous parallelism is the most common but climactic does occur, although it is less developed with varying amounts of paralleled words having a climactic effect. At the same time, it is to be remembered that the poetic epics from Ras Shamra lacked religious components as vital and moving as those of Yahwism. Compare, for example, this excerpt: "Give up, gods, him whom you protect, on whom the multitudes wait, give up Baal (and his lackeys), (even) Dagon's son, (that) I may possess his inheritance."<sup>67</sup> This quotation comes from the scene where Yam's messengers invade the feast of the gods to take Baal prisoner. The closing words show a climax to the message from Yam and the emotion of the situation is also there in the repeated imperatives, although somewhat lessened by the length of the total statement. The same is true of the climactic parallelism where it appears in Scripture. It is to be concluded, therefore, that climactic parallelism is found in and has elements of the "parallelism of emphasis" with respect to repetition. As a matter of fact, climactic parallelism does appear in the archaic poetry (Hab. 3:2; Ps. 29:1-2). When these instances are

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<sup>65</sup>Gerleman, p. 174, notes this difference in the use of repetition.

<sup>66</sup>Gordon, Ugaritic Manual, pp. 108-109.

<sup>67</sup>Driver, p. 79. This is his translation of Baal III\* B 16-17.



compared to later examples (Is. 51:9; Ps. 137:8a $\beta$ -9), however, the elaboration and sophistication of the latter are evident. "Parallelism of emphasis" and climactic parallelism are, then, close in structure, having overlapping characteristics in the use of repetition, as is seen in the examples cited. The difference lies in what is most important to the poet, the climax or the thought which is driven home through the repetition.<sup>68</sup>

The comments of James Muilenberg concerning the general use of repetition sum up and support the importance and validity of "parallelism of emphasis":

Repetition plays a diverse role in the Old Testament. It serves to center the thought, to rescue it from disparateness and diffuseness, to focus the richness of varied predication upon the poet's controlling concern. It serves too to give continuity to the writer's thought. The repeated word or phrase is often stratigically located, thus providing a clue to the movement and stress of the poem. Sometimes the repeated word or line indicated the structure of the poem; at other times it may guide us in determining the extent of the literary unit. . . . Finally, repetition provides us with an open avenue to the character of Biblical thinking.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>68</sup>W. Albright does not make this distinction and hence sees only climactic parallelism as typical of the archaic poems, The Archaeology of Palestine (Revised edition; Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1960), p. 232. H.-P. Müller, 447; M. Dahood, Psalms I, in The Anchor Bible, edited by W. F. Albright and D. N. Freedman (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1966), p. 75; F. M. Cross, "The Divine Warrior," pp. 21,28; and F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, "A Note on Deut. 33:26," American Schools of Oriental Research Bulletin, 108 (1947), 7, all indicate basic support for Albright and add that these climactic features appear in the Canaanite materials so that the structure receives more support as archaic. We grant this point but add that the climactic parallelism also appears in late poetry. On the other hand, the extreme repetition which I. Slotki, "The Song of Deborah," Journal of Theological Studies, 33 (1932), 341-354, sees in Judg. 5 smacks of the highly liturgical structure in Ps. 136 but is not supported by the corpus of archaic literature or the comparisons we can muster from Ugaritic literature.

<sup>69</sup>J. Muilenberg, "A Study in Hebrew Rhetoric: Repetition and Style," in Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, edited by G. W. Anderson, et al., (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953), I, 99.



An important poetic structure used in "parallelism of emphasis" is what Cyrus Gordon has called the "ballast variant." He describes this phenomenon as follows:

If a major word in the first stichos [sic] is not paralleled in the second, then one or more of the words in the second stichos tend to be longer than their counterparts in the first stichos. This second, longer parallel is called the "ballast variant."<sup>70</sup>

The "ballast variant" has a close relationship to the "parallelism of emphasis." Mnemonically, the "ballast variant" allows the poet to expand the word he wants to emphasize thereby giving even more force to his thought. The "ballast variant" is not the purest form of the "parallelism of emphasis" and, as such, may indicate later sophistication in spite of the Ugaritic parallels. It is, nevertheless, our opinion that the "ballast variant" can be a legitimate substitution within the structure of the "parallelism of emphasis" and, in fact, is found as such in many references in the archaic poetry.<sup>71</sup>

It is crucial, at this point, to differentiate between synonymous parallelism used in all Hebrew poetry and the "ballast variant" as used in "parallelism of emphasis." Synonymous parallelism has parallel stichs, the second of which merely re-expresses the thought of the first without any expansion (Ps. 113:7; Job 26:12). Synonymous parallelism may occur using the "ballast variant" (Is. 51:3; Ps. 79:6, Ras Shamra epics). The

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<sup>70</sup>Gordon, Ugaritic Manual, p. 112. As an example he cites Nikkal and The Kathirat, i 22-23: "I will give vineyards (to be) her fields, orchards (to be) the fields of her love," in Ugaritic Textbook, in Analecta Orientalia (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965), XXXVIII, 136. See also Baal III iv 1-2. Gordon maintains that this example is like the poetry which Gerleman describes in his article. This writer believes that they are not exactly the same but are closely related.

<sup>71</sup>See Ex. 15:14, 15a; Deut. 33:5b; Judg. 5:6; Ps. 18:23, 29, 45b-46a; Num. 23:7; Ps. 68:3, 25, 29; Hab. 3:7, 15 (in reverse order), 18.



difference is that when the "ballast variant" is used in the "parallelism of emphasis," there is also an expansion of the total thought included in the two stichs. The emphasis on the central thought is the chief mark of the "parallelism of emphasis" but the form also includes expansion which is lacking in synonymous parallelism.

Another structure, closely related both to "parallelism of emphasis" and the "ballast variant," is the form using a synonymous single word and expanding upon that word. In some cases these single words are what Stanley Gevirtz has called "fixed pairs"<sup>72</sup> while in other instances, there are merely parallels chosen at random. The "fixed pairs" do not always occur in the "parallelism of emphasis" but are found all over poetry.<sup>73</sup> They were mnemonic aids to the poet who was forced to compose his verses "on his feet." Such words used so regularly seem like cliches but the ancient Hebrew poets were able to transform these pairs into a "most able vehicle for intense emotional expression."<sup>74</sup> In the ancient poetry the

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<sup>72</sup>S. Gevirtz, Patterns in the Early Poetry of Israel, in Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963), No. 32, p. 8.

<sup>73</sup>Dahood, Psalms, p. xxxiii, mentions this and says that such pairs typify both Ugaritic and biblical poetry, and, we might add, appear in all biblical poetry, early and late. S. Gevirtz, "The Ugaritic Parallel to Jer. 8:23," Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 20 (1961), 41-46; and Ginsberg, p. 56, however, emphasize that these pairs occur in a regular sequence especially in the older texts. The usual expression comes first while the second word may hardly be used at all except for balancing the first. Examples are: "hear/give ear" (Judg. 5:3; Ex. 15:26); "dew/rain" (Deut. 32:2a); "forever/generation upon generation" (Deut. 32:7); "enemy/one rising up" (Ex. 15:6-7; Ps. 18:49); "thousand/myriad" (not strictly a parallel pair, Deut. 32:30, reversed in Deut. 33:17); "milk/cream" (Judg. 5:25, reversed in Deut. 32:14); "answer/reply" (Judg. 5:29). Gevirtz, 43, mentions that the younger texts usually present innovations in the ordering of such pairs (Deut. 33:17; Deut. 32:14, above). He goes on to say that all of these cases are sufficient to suggest a traditional pattern.

<sup>74</sup>Gevirtz, Patterns, p. 9.



"fixed pair" is used once (Deut. 33:16b) within the "parallelism of emphasis." This particular pair,  $\text{דָּרַךְ/וְשֵׁרָף}$  (head/pate) is a classic and is found both in the Ras Shamra texts (Baal III\* B 4, 6, Keret II vi 56, 57) and in ancient biblical literature (Gen. 49:26), although in this last instance not within the "parallelism of emphasis."<sup>75</sup>

There are, in addition to "fixed pairs," one word synonyms which are used within the "parallelism of emphasis."<sup>76</sup> These words are not necessarily "fixed" so far as can be determined from the literature which is available. Most of the "fixed pairs" cited above are also attested in the Ugaritic materials. The one word synonyms are not.

In spite of the changes from the "pure" form of the "parallelism of emphasis" which have been indicated above, this writer believes that the variations are still examples of the parallelism because they fit the vibrant style of the ancient poets. It is characteristic of these poems, as shall become evident further on in this chapter, that they do vary in style. They are not staid or dependent on one particular form. The excited state of the poet probably did not allow him time to ponder form. The variant forms the poet used while emphasizing his point helped to express his feelings about his message.

In order for "parallelism of emphasis" to be a valid part of the basic criterion for determining archaic poetry, it must occur consistently in the early poems and be lacking in the latter poetry. Many examples

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<sup>75</sup>This "fixed pair" appears in straight synonymous parallelism in the Ugaritic examples cited.

<sup>76</sup>Compare Ex. 15:17a<sub>y</sub>-b; Judg. 5:3,26; Ps. 18:7a,12,17,20; Hab. 3:5; Ps. 68:22; and Deut. 32:17a-b<sub>α</sub>.



where the "parallelism of emphasis" occurs have already been cited. The most convincing testimony that this parallelism is a worth-while criterion, however, lies in a summation of its occurrences and a comparison of this summation with some later materials.<sup>77</sup> In the eleven ancient poems which have been chosen for this study, there are twenty-eight instances of a "pure" "parallelism of emphasis,"<sup>78</sup> fifteen instances of the "ballast variant" used in the "parallelism of emphasis,"<sup>79</sup> twelve cases of the one word synonym used to vary the "parallelism of emphasis,"<sup>80</sup> and one example of a "fixed pair" used within the "parallelism of emphasis."<sup>81</sup> This results in a total of fifty-six examples which this writer designates as uses of the "parallelism of emphasis" (fifty-eight of the two instances which are only good possibilities are counted). The wide use of this particular phenomenon must be more than just accidental. It is also persistent since it does appear in all of the poems.<sup>82</sup>

If the "parallelism of emphasis" were an "absolute" criterion, then

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<sup>77</sup>We have explained the selection of these "later materials" in the introduction to this paper, *supra*, p. 5.

<sup>78</sup>Ex. 15:6,11,16b; Judg. 5:7a,11,12,19a,20,22,23b,24,27,30; Gen. 49:19,22,25a~~d~~-b; Ps. 18:42; Ps. 29:1-2a,5,8,10,11 (in addition to the obvious expansion from the  $\pi\eta\pi\prime\iota$   $\lambda\iota\pi$ ); Ps. 68:16; Deut. 32:15; Num. 21:18; Num. 24:3b-4(equals 15b-16a),18; Hab. 3:3a~~\gamma~~-b~~\alpha~~; and possibly Deut. 32:30b-31a has such a construction behind it making the total twenty-nine.

<sup>79</sup>Ex. 15:14,15a; Judg. 5:6; Ps. 18:23,29,45b-46a; Ps. 68:3,25,29,31a; Deut. 33:5b; Hab. 3:7,15(in reverse),18; Num. 23:1; and possibly Gen. 49:4a~~\beta~~-b making a total sixteen occurrences.

<sup>80</sup>Judg. 5:3,26; Ex. 15:17a~~\gamma~~-b; Ps. 18:7a,12,17,20; Ps. 68:22,27; Hab. 3:5,8a-b; and Deut. 32:17a-b~~\alpha~~.

<sup>81</sup>Deut. 33:16b.

<sup>82</sup>Deut. 32 and 33 have only two examples each. This indicates that there may indeed be a hierarchy within the archaic poems themselves, some being more archaic than others. In this instance, Deut. 32 and 33,



it should not occur at all in the later materials. It is not feasible, as has been noted, to look for an "absolute" criterion in literature which was handed down orally for a long period, recorded in a different age by a writer who may have redacted it for his own purposes, and then written and rewritten into the time of the Middle Ages. That such a body of material could yield anything "absolute" by literary standards is incongruous. It should not be too disconcerting, therefore, to learn that some instances of the "parallelism of emphasis" both in its "pure" form and in its varied forms occur in the sampling of later materials. In the nine poems selected from a wide range late poetry, there are two examples of "pure" "parallelism of emphasis,"<sup>83</sup> two examples of the "ballast variant,"<sup>84</sup> two cases of the one word synonym variation,<sup>85</sup> and no instance of the use of "fixed pairs" in the "parallelism of emphasis." This produces a total of six rather certain examples and five possibilities

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especially the latter where there are no examples of the "pure" "parallelism of emphasis," appear to be less archaic than Judg. 5 or Ps. 29. See W. Wright, p. 40.

<sup>83</sup>Is. 51:9a and Jer. 2:9. There are four other examples with various problems: Ps. 136:21-22 (a good example except that it has the liturgical refrain breaking up the two stichs. This may give some support to Slotki's contention, *supra*, p. 28, n. 68); Ps. 126:2b-3 (lacks a first member for the opening stich and does not really expand at all); Is. 51:3a (has a logical conclusion attached directly to the structure with a connective device); and Lam. 2:5a $\beta$ - $\gamma$  (surrounded by connected material and so may be an accident). This results in a total of six possibilities of "pure" "parallelism of emphasis."

<sup>84</sup>Ps. 80:1-2a(?), 18. The 1a $\alpha$ -2a $\alpha$  reference is long and drawn out. There is also a highly questionable example in Ps. 79:11 giving a total of three possibilities.

<sup>85</sup>Ps. 24:6, which is probably one of the earliest pieces in our sample, and Ps. 137:3, which actually has a double one word synonym and is quite long.



of the form of parallelism, a ratio of about ten to one.<sup>86</sup> Of these all are problematic except Ps. 24:6, an early piece of poetry. In addition, the "parallelism of emphasis" is by no means as common as the synonymous or synthetic parallelism which occur frequently in all the later materials. This does not mean that there is no synonymous or synthetic parallelism in the archaic materials but in the ancient poetry the "parallelism of emphasis" is pervasive and is used frequently while in the later poems, it occurs to a limited degree and even then not as clearly or regularly as in the archaic poems.

On the basis of the preceding study, therefore, we conclude that "parallelism of emphasis" is the beginning of a rather persistent criterion. We must, however, emphasize that this form cannot stand alone, since it does occur in later poetry, and, indeed, should not stand alone because it is actually a device of the poet and is integrally tied to his message and the spirit with which he presents that message. How this combination works eludes verbal description to a degree because of its nature but must be considered in order to understand our suggested criterion.

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<sup>86</sup> A cross-check of this form in other examples of later poetry (see *supra*, p. 5, n. 11) yielded the even higher ratio of twenty to one. Hos. 5:1 has a possible example of the "parallelism of emphasis," although it is lengthy and structurally connected to the surrounding material. Ps. 97:5 uses a one-word variation of the form of parallelism but the repeated word in the parallel stichs is not really emphasized. Finally, Ps. 74:23 has a good example of the "parallelism of emphasis" using a ballast variant. In addition to these possible examples of "parallelism of emphasis" however, there were few other indications of antiquity, certain archaic concepts in Ezek. 28 and Ps. 74.



## The Subjective Elements

The very name "subjective elements" indicates some of the problems which are involved in this segment of the discussion. The ancient poets were subjectively involved with their message and the nature of this subjective involvement does not readily submit to analysis and description. If something is subjective, it is usually most meaningful to the individual himself through some feeling which he has. Communication of this feeling is difficult for there is not much else one can say except, "Feel it yourself!" The ancient poets indicated their feelings via their style and in spite of the problems connected with an objective presentation of this style, an attempt must be made to designate some of the salient features of this subjectivity which exist in addition to "parallelism of emphasis."

The "parallelism of emphasis" is, as has been noted, a crucial part of the spirit of the message which the poet is presenting. Gillis Gerleman mentions several additional things that give a clue to an objective identification of the subjective element.<sup>87</sup> "The style and its elements can give the picture of the whole psychological basis of the poem," says Gerleman.<sup>88</sup> Style is not an isolated, autonomous phenomenon. In the case of the archaic poetry, the poet wants to give a vivid impression of the event and its meaning.<sup>89</sup> He himself is excited about his message and as any excited man would

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<sup>87</sup>Gerleman, pp. 170-180.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid., p. 170.

<sup>89</sup>W. Gesenius, Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift (Leipzig: Friedrich Christian Wilhelm Vogel, 1819), p. 24, supports this contention. He sees a certain Schwerfälligkeit, Gedrungenheit, and Kühnheit in the substance and language as a mark of the antiquity of the material. The later poets moved in a more established form but the early balladeers were establishing a new way.



do, he does not record all of the information in detail. He may not be "logical" in his thoughts.<sup>90</sup> He does not take time to dress his stories with similes or to reiterate every detail of the situation to his hearers. He is interested, rather, in dynamic events still living in his memory, in brevity of expression, and in rapid and meaningful representation. The events he is presenting involve the doers, the hearers, and the poet himself. Otto Eissfeldt, speaking specifically of Judges 5, describes the results of the poet's efforts in these words:

A mere indication of the contents of the song cannot give any conception of its dramatic vividness. It does not simply describe the events in an orderly chronological sequence, but repeatedly changes the point of view and of time, at one moment seeing the mountains of Edom shaking at the marching up of Yahweh, at another transporting us to the residence of Sisera. It does not report objectively about events and people, but addresses itself to them directly, summoning them and questioning them, pouring out upon them curse or blessing. The song itself must be read, or better still, be heard. . . . The one certain point is that we must relate the origin of the song very closely with the events themselves, for the sense of participation in the events is so genuine and so intense that we can hardly imagine that a later author could so well project himself into the mood which stirred men's spirits at that time.<sup>91</sup>

But what, objectively speaking, are the component aspects of the subjective element? Gerleman has made some helpful distinctions: "snapshots"

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<sup>90</sup>We shall use the word "logical" in our discussion realizing that the Hebrew mind did not necessarily reason things out in a connected tension, as the later poetry shows. That there was some kind of appropriate sequence cannot be denied. Such an ordering appears in Ps. 29 and has been demonstrated in Ex. 15 by Habel, pp. 58-62. Even in Ex. 15, however, not every segment fits the scheme perfectly, for example, Ex. 15:14-15. The primary difference between archaic and later poetry, then, lies in the careful building of the argument and use of logical connections (  $\int \int - \int \int$ ,  $\int \int$ ,  $\int \int$ ,  $\int \int$  ) which characterized later poets. Richter, p. 103, agrees with Gerleman that the old poetry is not "logical" but maintains that it is a unity (especially verses 6-30 of Judg. 5).

<sup>91</sup>Eissfeldt, p. 101.



of the events, the disjointed sequence of events, and the contrasting of events.

A "snapshot" of the event means precisely what it says. This is no long, drawn-out description of a particular happening but a succinct, picturesque, emotive presentation. There may be several of these self-contained "snapshots" laid out side by side in any given poem.<sup>92</sup> An example of this is found in the Song of Deborah. Verses one and two show the leaders singing their song and the people offering themselves for service willingly; verses four and five show Yahweh's majestic theophany; verses six to nine tell of the situation in Israel at the time of the battle; the whole battle is recounted in verses nineteen to twenty-one; the heroine's story is retold in verses twenty-four to twenty-seven; and the sorrow in the enemy's homeland is described in verses twenty-eight to thirty. Any one of these incidents could have been lengthened and in some cases we might very well wish that they had been. Such was not the poet's method.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Ackroyd, p. 160, agrees with Gerleman's designation of the "snapshot" as a significant point about the early style. He says that "it is a common feature of popular poetry to select the significant parts in an event rather than to explain the whole course of action. J. Gray, p. 304, adds that the poetic arrangement may be deliberate and the effect it presents reveals the "crude native vigor of a hymn to Yahweh." See also Richter, p. 103. There is a rather striking similarity between this "snapshot" style and the style of the so-called Yahwist writer in Gen. 18.

<sup>93</sup> There is the possibility that all of these things which we are discussing, the "snapshot," the sequence, and the contrasts, may also be credited to disjointings, deletions, or additions which could have crept into the text during its transmission. This is, however, in the opinion of this writer, a rather negative view of the poems as we have them now. At the same time, the problems of transmission which may or may not have existed for these poems may be alleviated to some degree by the "parallelism of emphasis," which is also a mnemonic device, and by the general unity in emotion and point of view which comes from the total force of the individual poem. We shall have more to say on this latter point below.



There are examples of the "snapshot" technique in some of the other poems. Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 33 are, in fact, made up of a whole group of these "snapshots," one for each of the sons of Jacob.<sup>94</sup> Exodus 15 strings another group of events together. Many of these occurrences are embodied in statements of praise so that the total effect is more than a historical account. Three or four "snapshots" occur in Psalm 29. They are, however, tied together by the repetition of  $\pi\uparrow\pi$ ;  $\dot{\imath}\rho$ . Psalm 68 is another example. Albright believes that this is not a single poem at all but a "collection of sentences and phrases taken from a number of different poems and strung together haphazardly."<sup>95</sup> It is our contention, nevertheless, that the seeming unconnected state of the poem gives evidence that "snapshots" were set next to each other in the ancient poems with very little logical connection, although most likely in some kind of meaningful sequence. Habakkuk 3 is less a group of "snapshots" than is Judges 5 or Psalm 68 because a redactor has apparently been at work. Albright calls it an "archaizing" poem.<sup>96</sup> The connections are not smooth (compare verses six and seven) and, in addition, verses sixteen and seventeen to nineteen stand by themselves.

The later poetry does not generally exhibit the "snapshot" phenomenon.

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<sup>94</sup>Perhaps this is why Cross, Studies, p. 130, is disappointed in these two poems as literature. He feels that they are "folk literature" and "with certain notable exceptions, are uninspired in content." His choice of the word "uninspired" reflects his own feeling about the inner intensity of the songs.

<sup>95</sup>W. Albright, "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems (Ps. LXVIII)," Hebrew Union College Annual, 23, part 1, (1950-1951), 9.

<sup>96</sup>Albright, "The Psalm of Habakkuk," p. 9.



This poetry deals more consistently with one theme and carries that theme through the poem in a more connected and systematic way (but compare Ps. 24:7-10 and Ps. 137:1-3,7). Psalm 24 is one of the earlier poems from our group of examples. Verses one and two seem to be set off from the rest of the poem but really set the stage for the question which is asked in verse three and the concern which is carried from there to the end of the poem. Compare these verses with the early verses of Judges 5:

## Psalm 24:1-3

The earth is the Lord's and  
fulness thereof, the  
world and those who  
dwell therein;  
for He has founded it upon  
the seas, and established  
it upon the rivers.  
Who shall ascend the hill  
of the Lord?

## Judges 5:3-4

Hear, O kings; give ear, O  
princes; to the Lord I  
will sing, I will make  
melody to the Lord, the  
God of Israel.  
Lord, when thou didst go  
forth from Seir, when  
thou didst march from  
the region of Edom.

Lamentations 2 and Psalm 79 are quite unified in the pictures they present. There are no separate "snapshots" laid out in these poems. In Psalm 136, if we eliminate the liturgical refrain, there are two basic pictures in verses four to nine and ten to twenty-two, respectively. This is similar to the early poems and the psalm is, in fact, assigned to the early monarchy, although a later style is represented in the studied refrain. In both Isaiah 51 and Jeremiah 2 sheer verbosity precludes any identification of "snapshots." To sum up, the later poems do not present the brief tableaux of the archaic poems, and any "snapshots" which may be in the late writings are by no means succinct but build the picture by the force of many words. In the archaic materials there was no time for or inclination to expansion or exposition of theology.<sup>97</sup> The theology was

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<sup>97</sup>Support for this comes from Lowth, p. 280, when he says, "the first use of poetry was probably to preserve remembrance of events."



there but not for the intellect. It fell upon the hearer in the words and made its demands in faith. A final example will suffice to explain the point:

Isaiah 40:10-11

Behold, the Lord God comes with  
 might, and his arm rules  
 for him;  
 behold, his reward is with him,  
 and his recompense before  
 him.  
 He will feed his flock like a  
 shepherd, he will gather  
 the lambs in his arms,  
 he will carry them in his bosom,  
 and gently lead those that  
 are with young.

Psalm 29:9

The voice of the Lord makes  
 the oaks to whirl,  
 and strips the forest bare;  
 and in his temple all  
 cry, "Glory!"

The "snapshots" become even more noticeable when examined in sequence. As Gerleman points out,<sup>98</sup> the events are not arranged in logical or chronological order nor are there connective devices between them.<sup>99</sup> Instead, as was mentioned above, the scenes are simply laid out side by side.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup>Gerleman, p. 171.

<sup>99</sup>D. Hillers, "A Note on Judges 5,8a," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 27 (1965), 216, criticizes Gerleman on this point. Hillers maintains that the fragmentary state of the text also gives a disjointed character to the poem. We agree that this is possible but we believe that the disjointment is a result of the subject presentation. On the other hand, Hillers himself feels constrained to argue that Judg. 5:8a does not need to be logically connected, which is unnecessary if the text is fragmented.

<sup>100</sup>C. Kraft, "Some Further Observations Concerning the Strophic Structure of Hebrew Poetry," in A Stubborn Faith, edited by E. C. Hobbs (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1956), p. 84, finds this to be truer of Ras Shamra than Israel but it still holds for the early materials. H. Kosmala, "Form and Structure in Ancient Hebrew Poetry," Vetus Testamentum, 16 (1966), 158, believes that Hebrew poetry is logically, and one might say, rigidly constructed. The individual lines are formally and structurally interrelated, that is, they form the integral parts of a sequence of logical thoughts. Unfortunately, Kosmala lacks evidence for his claim and the examples he does use come from the poetry of so-called Second Isaiah which is designated by most scholars as late C. Kraft, The Strophic Structure of Hebrew Poetry as Illustrated



In these early poems logic is replaced by impression. Two different scenes are set next to each other in a simple, presentational way and the reader or listener gets the impact the poet desires from the contrast of the two. The hearer is caught up in the events themselves (see the quotation from Eissfeldt above, page thirty-six) and these are brought into sharp focus for him not by rigorous definition, not by artistic simile, not by cool logic but by simple juxtaposition of pictorial events.

An example of this non-logical sequence of events and the contrasts presented thereby is the Song of Deborah in Judges 5. This is a good example because there is also a prose account of the same battle in Judges 4 for comparison. The sequence of events is to be noted first. The people assemble (verse two), then the scene changes to the theophany of Yahweh (verses four and five), a short recounting of the situation of the times comes next (verses six to nine) and then, suddenly, it seems like the battle is over already and the people are singing the triumphs of Yahweh (verses ten and eleven). At verse twelve the poet shifts back to the gathering of the tribes, gives a brief account of the battle (verses nineteen to twenty-one), mentions the curse of Meroz, perhaps one of the tribes which failed to muster troops, and concludes the poem with the pictures of two women. There is certainly no logic to this sequence but there are vivid pictures from the contrasts which occur. The theophany of Yahweh is set in apposition to the current situation in Israel so that the heart of the reader goes out with the poet's in verse nine because of

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in the First Book of the Psalter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), p. 32, indicates those phenomena which aid the logical process in Hebrew poetry. Such things as the appearance of Selah, refrains, and changes in meter or line length which sum up thought or carry the general logic forward are good indicators.



the events which are revealed in verse eight. This situation is, in turn, set opposite the account of the triumphs of Yahweh which only takes two verses, perhaps giving some indication of the ease with which Yahweh has conquered His enemies. The poet then recounts in detail the gathering of the clans and the problems of recruitment involved with at least half of them. The length of this account is set in noticeable contrast to the brevity of the battle scene and, again, indicates the power of Yahweh over against the faint hearts of His people. Finally, the poem contrasts two women and in these few verses depicts the vivid picture of the determined, unpretentious Jael and the ambitious, falsely optimistic mother of Sisera.

A similar sequence and series of contrasts is seen in Exodus 15 where Yahweh's character as a warrior (verses one to three) is set beside an actual battle that turned out to be a "no contest" (verses four to ten). The result is an unquestioning assurance that Yahweh is a warrior. In addition, verses eleven and twelve, which are placed next, make their point almost by understatement when they are contrasted with what has gone before. In verses thirteen to seventeen the Holy War picture magnifies the impact of the rest of the poem and contains a subtle reference to election which becomes less subtle and more meaningful in verse seventeen because of the accounts in verses one to twelve.

All of Psalm 29 treats a theophany but contrasts five different manifestations of that phenomenon. Psalm 68 again presents a disordered sequence but within it describes, through contrast, such things as Yahweh's dealings with humble or desolate people (verses six and seven contrasted to verse five and eight through eleven), Yahweh as the commander of a great army (verses twelve through fifteen contrasted to verses eight through



eleven), and the greatness of Sinai as the home of Yahweh (verses eighteen and nineteen contrasted to verses sixteen and seventeen). This same pattern holds true for the other archaic songs also.<sup>101</sup>

There is also syntactical support for these contrasts. Judges 5 contrasted with Judges 4 shows that "although the logical sequence of events in Judges 4 requires over forty instances of the waw consecutive imperfect, Judges 5 uses this only in verse twenty-eight."<sup>102</sup> In addition, "there is not a trace of the regular use of the tenses in Judges 5; the song moves freely between the perfect and the imperfect."<sup>103</sup> Such a transition between tenses serves to make the subject of a given section of the poem more striking. It increases the emphases and sets off the section more clearly.<sup>104</sup> This syntax further demonstrates the passion with which the poem was related, a passion which was part of the less sophisticated artistry and did not worry about the linguistic niceties of a logical presentation. Word order is also significant. In Judges 4 those parts of the sentence which are most important have their position in the beginning

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<sup>101</sup> Here again, there seems to be a hierarchy within the songs. Deut. 32; Ps. 18, and Hab. 3 show less of the use of contrast. This also appears toward the end of Ps. 68 where later additions have detracted from the usual style of the contrasts. Gen. 49 and Deut. 33 show contrasting pictures by their very nature and Num. 21:17b-18 is too short to assess. The Balaam oracles are also juxtaposed within each one and one against the other. They all have to do with Israel and her relation to Yahweh. The first oracle shows the great number of the people blessed of the Lord; the second reveals something of God's character and how He protects His people; the third recounts the material blessings of Israel from Yahweh; and finally, God by any name will make His people powerful.

<sup>102</sup> Ludwig, p. 25. It is best not to make much of the instances where the Septuagint deletes the waw for it also has about as many additions.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid. and Gerleman, p. 178, concurs and gives verses 17, 25-26, and 28-30, as examples.

<sup>104</sup> Lowth, p. 160.



of the sentence. In the poem this is not true. Adverbial expressions begin many of the sentences adding emphasis, color, and movement as well as emotion to the situation. This seems to be particularly true in the use of the word  $\text{waw}$ .<sup>105</sup> The unusual appearance of  $\text{waw}$  also occurs in Exodus 15,<sup>106</sup> Psalm 29,<sup>107</sup> and the other ancient poems to a greater or lesser degree.<sup>108</sup>

The disjointed sequence and the contrasts which result can be seen more clearly in a comparison with later material. The comments of von Rad will serve as an introduction to this comparison:

In the later songs, however, a profound change has come over the way of thinking for they echo a stronger and more rational endeavor at

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<sup>105</sup> Compare Judg. 5:8,11,13,19,22, Gerleman, p. 178. Albright, "The Old Testament and Canaanite Language," p. 20, mentions that the Ugaritic shows more variation in word order but can do so because it still has the case and modal endings. After the loss of these endings, word order had to become relatively constant to avert obscurity. The closer the original poem was to the time when case endings were used, then the less set word order there is, if what Albright says is true. Another interesting use of  $\text{waw}$  is noted by J. Montgomery, "Archival Data in the Book of Kings," Journal of Biblical Literature, 53 (1954), 49. He says that it occurs thirteen times meaning "then" to give chronological import without the exact date. In this form  $\text{waw}$  may replace an indefinite temporal clause. Such a usage of  $\text{waw}$  is attested in Assyrian records and may be related to the use in the archaic poems.

<sup>106</sup> There are less adverbial introductions here although the word  $\text{waw}$  is used in verse 15. Waw consecutives appear only in verses 2 and 17. Word order also varies widely.

<sup>107</sup> Waw consecutives are in verses 5,6,9, and 10. Word order and adverbial introductions are affected by the reoccurring  $\text{waw}$   $\text{waw}$ .

<sup>108</sup> Here, again, the differences of age within the poems are evident. These arguments should not be pressed too far, however, because there are so many problems connected with them. Word order and waw consecutives are two of the most corruptible elements of textual transmission. We have discussed these elements at this point because they are phenomena which have appeared during the course of this study and do indicate the non-logical kind of style which the poet employs.



understanding which is also interested in the technical side of Yahweh's action in nature. On the whole the later psalms are directed towards "the gentle footsteps of his day," that is, towards Yahweh's wondrous will for order and regularity in the world.<sup>109</sup>

In the later materials, generally, the argument flows. It is built up by the copious use of simile and metaphor and gains emotional quality not through the use of contrasts but by the weight of the total presentation.<sup>110</sup> Lamentations 2 is a good example. The argument is that the sorrows of Zion come from Yahweh. The poet uses twenty-two long verses to picture the situation. He uses simile in verses four, five, six, and twelve and says in verse thirteen that he has run out of them altogether. Different characters pass by but the theme is continuous, almost monotonous. The kind of monotony the poet builds is increased by his use of the seldom-broken "qinah" or lament meter producing the sorrowful tone of the song. The logical connection here is in the form of the solidly unified theme.

Jeremiah 2 is not the same kind of literature as Lamentations 2. The prophet is engaging in a violent description and denunciation of the apostasy of Israel. There are, however, very picturesque metaphors in verses two, fourteen, twenty-one, twenty-three, twenty-six, and thirty-two. There is also a careful logical progression shown in verse nine, verse sixteen, and verse eighteen. The rhetorical questions are more connected to the following material than they are in the archaic material.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>109</sup>G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology, translated by D. M. G. Stalker (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), I, 360.

<sup>110</sup>This is precisely what Gerleman, p. 174, finds lacking in the early poetry. We note, however, that the metaphor is not totally absent from the archaic materials. See Num. 23:24; Gen. 49:9; Deut. 33:20,22 for the recurring simile of the lion. As a matter of fact, both Gen. 49 and Deut. 33 use the metaphor.

<sup>111</sup>Compare here verse 14 or 28 with Ex. 15:11; Deut. 32:30, or Ps. 68:17, but see also Ps. 18:25.



Psalm 24 and Psalm 136 show a definite liturgical purpose.<sup>112</sup> In these cases, it is this definite liturgical purpose, as demonstrated by the refrain elements in both songs, which contributes to the more sophisticated character of these psalms.

In most of the later poetry there is syntactical support for their logical progression. In the first place, the waw consecutive imperfect is used, generally, in conjunction with the perfect (compare Jer. 2:5,7,15; Lam. 2:3,5,6,14; Ps. 136:24). There are many logical connections by means of conjunctions (Jer. 2:9,16,18; Is. 51:21). Suffice it to say, the later poems exemplify a more studied, ordered kind of poetry which probably had its use within the service of the cult or pursued a specific theme as exhaustively and convincingly as possible. The archaic poetry, on the other hand, was more a review of events aimed at quick emotional impact.<sup>113</sup>

Kraft's comments sum up the situation:

One may suspect . . . that the earlier epic and lyric poetry has a freedom of movement within strophic limits characteristic of relatively unconscious, semi-planned artistry, whereas the later lyric, prophetic and wisdom poetry conforms much more to conscious architectural planning.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>112</sup>According to the criterion of "parallelism of emphasis" in conjunction with its supporting criteria, there must be some archaic elements in these two psalms (see especially 24:6 and 136:21-22). This became more evident, however, through and application of our study.

<sup>113</sup>H. Gressman, "The Development of Hebrew Psalmody," in The Psalmists, edited by D. C. Simpson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 10, supports this in spite of his over-simplification when he states that "psalmody in early times was more closely connected with historical events than it was later on. Older hymns dealt with contemporary history while later ones didn't even mention contemporary history but dwelt on the past."

<sup>114</sup>Kraft, Some Further Observations, p. 86.



This quotation by Kraft also serves well as a transition to the final part of this chapter. Of the subjective elements in archaic poetry presented so far, the emotional content, which is the topic of this last section, is the most subjective and, as such, the most difficult to express. The problem arises because only the ancient poet can fully identify the emotions which affected his poetry, and yet, it is necessary, in pursuit of criteria of antiquity in the old poems, to try and delineate the emotion which the poet portrays via some kind of objective terms which can then be applied to other poetry. Cross supplies a starting point with the following:

This ancient poetry reveals a conception of God at once intuitive and concrete, born of vividly direct experience and participation in his mighty acts, a conception devoid of the sophistication and formalism which result from centuries of theological speculation.<sup>115</sup>

These comments indicate the inexpressible "feeling" one gets when reading the poems that the poet was an eyewitness (or at least very close to the events themselves) to the events described there, has become excited about them, and is now presenting these events to his hearers as he sees them under the inspiration of God.

Judges 5 will again serve as an example. Herein is the spirit of a young people, full of vitality, proud of the great traditions concerning Yahweh.<sup>116</sup> As a result, the song presents the events in such a realistic way, with such an intimate knowledge of the details as to suggest that it

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<sup>115</sup>Cross, *Studies*, p. 5. Gottwald, p. 173, makes "the vividness of the account, still vibrating with the thrill of the participants" one of his criteria for arguing the antiquity of these poems. See also Eissfeldt in the quotation cited, *supra*, p. 36.

<sup>116</sup>W. Albright, "The Song of Deborah in the Light of Archaeology," *American Schools of Oriental Research Bulletin*, 62 (1936), 31.



was written by an eyewitness to the struggle.<sup>117</sup> The events seem to become intensified, made larger, so that such things as the battle and the theophany assume cosmic proportions.<sup>118</sup>

The song in Exodus 15 exhibits similar characteristics. John Watts states that it contains a confession of personal faith.<sup>119</sup> The vigor of the description indicates that the account must have come from someone who had seen the events originally, become caught up in their meaning for Yahweh's people Israel, and was now trying to communicate the events and their meaning to his hearers by means of an existential presentation where they became involved in the poet's own involvement.<sup>120</sup>

These same feelings are communicated, to a greater or lesser degree, in the other poems also.<sup>121</sup> The psalmists (Pss. 18, 29, 68) give a direct view of the theophany of Yahweh and His majesty overwhelms all who see it. Balaam speaks and Balak's terror becomes real. The blessings and the songs have a vital substance that catch up the listener and make Him part

<sup>117</sup>W. O. E. Osterley, Ancient Hebrew Poems Metrically Translated with Introductions and Notes (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938), p. 43. M. Seale, "Deborah's Ode and the Ancient Arabian Qasida," Journal of Biblical Literature, 81 (1962), 346, supports this contention.

<sup>118</sup>Compare Ex. 15; Ps. 29; Hab. 3; Ps. 68, and Ps. 18 and see J. Pedersen, Israel: Its Life and Culture (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), III-IV, 7, for the reference.

<sup>119</sup>Watts, p. 37. He says this because he wants to make the confession a further indication of the liturgical use and milieu of the song which we have not denied.

<sup>120</sup>The theological ramifications of this description have, in the opinion of this writer, great possibilities. It is not, however, our task to delineate the meaning of such eyewitness accounts for the faith of Israel or the twentieth century.

<sup>121</sup>Rad, Deuteronomy, p. 200, also notes this and adds that the unfamiliar conceptions in Deut. 32:8f. and 10 increase these feelings.



of the situation. We must not forget, at the same time, that these feelings are connected to the style. That part of the sentence which, for the poet, possesses the strongest emotional value, has been chosen and strengthened by means of emphasis.<sup>122</sup> There is a forcible brevity of expression and a rush of scenes and words which reenforces the emotions of the poet as he presents the words to his hearers.<sup>123</sup> This is a part of the poet himself spontaneously pouring forth the faith and Sitz im Leben of ancient Israel. The accounts have a distinctly verbal character which makes the descriptions live with action. In the final analysis, the subjective elements in the archaic poetry become evident only when they are read and compared with similar readings from later poetry.

Isaiah shows the emotion of a prophet calling for Yahweh to comfort His people (Is. 51:9-10):

Awake, awake, put on strength,  
O arm of the Lord;  
Awake as in days of old,<sup>124</sup>  
 the generations of long ago.  
 Was it not thou that didst cut  
 Rahab in pieces,  
 that didst pierce the dragon?

Was it not thou that didst dry up  
 the sea, the waters of the great deep;  
 that didst make the depths of the sea away  
 for the redeemed to pass over?

But Isaiah's emotion lacks the eyewitness accounting of the poet in Deborah's song (Judg. 5:12-13):

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<sup>122</sup>Gerleman, p. 177.

<sup>123</sup>G-K, p. 15, supports this.

<sup>124</sup>Italics mine to show specific areas of comparison here and in the quotations which follow.



Awake, awake, Deborah!  
Awake, awake, utter a song!  
 Arise, Barak, lead away your captives,  
 O Son of Abinoam.  
 Then down marched the remnant  
 of the noble;  
 the people of the Lord marched down  
 for him against the mighty.

Jeremiah speaks in vivid words (Jer. 2:6):

They did not say, 'Where is the Lord  
who brought us up from the land of Egypt,  
who led us in the wilderness,  
in a land of deserts and pits,  
in a land of drought and deep darkness,  
in a land that none passes through,  
 where no man dwells?'

but Israel exudes confidence as Balaam describes them (Num. 23:21-22):

he has not beheld misfortune in Jacob;  
 nor has he seen trouble in Israel.  
The Lord their God is with them,  
and the shout of a king is among them.  
God brings them out of Egypt;  
 they have as it were the horns of the  
 wild ox.

Psalm 136 presents the mighty acts in a joyful liturgy (Ps. 136:  
 13-15):

to him who divided the Red Sea in sunder,  
for his steadfast love endures forever;  
 and made Israel pass through the midst of it,  
 for his steadfast love endures forever;  
but overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea,  
for his steadfast love endures forever;

but the Song of the Sea relives them (Ex. 15:4-5):

Pharaoh's chariots and his host he  
cast into the sea;  
 and his picked officers are sunk in  
 the Red Sea.  
The floods cover them; they went down  
into the depths like a stone.

Finally, involvement of the writers appears in the progressive elaboration of theological concepts:



- (Ps. 29:10)                   The Lord sits enthroned over the flood;  
                                  The Lord sits enthroned as a king forever.
- (Deut. 33:5)                 Thus the Lord became king in Jeshurun when  
                                  the heads of the people were gathered,  
                                  all the tribes of Israel together.
- (Ps. 80:2)                   Give ear, O Shepherd of Israel,  
                                  thou who leadest Joseph like a flock.  
                                  Thou who are enthroned upon the  
                                  cherubim, shine forth  
                                  before Ephraim and Benjamin and Manasseh.

In these verses the idea of Yahweh as king is expressed. Psalm 29 states the fact briefly and emphatically. In Deuteronomy the expression is less brief and there is even a logical connection but the terminology, especially the title "Jeshurun,"<sup>125</sup> is apparently ancient. The quotation from Psalm 80 has late expressions and the description is quite drawn out. The more archaic material presents its ideas in a straightforward manner which arises from the passion of the writer to relate what he has seen. The later poetry piles up words reflecting the sophistication of an advanced cultic community and a mature expression of faith to many generations about the great saving acts of the past.<sup>126</sup> Perhaps it is best described as the difference between a personal story and a sermon.

#### Summary

In this chapter we have tried, first of all, to gain some understanding of the background of Hebrew poetry. It was transmitted orally for a long time after its composition. Even when it was set down, the scribe may have written it from his own point of view. In addition, the text

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<sup>125</sup>Infra, p. 88.

<sup>126</sup>Gesenius, Geschichte, p. 24, supports this.



itself was transmitted for centuries so that the result is a body of poems which, linguistically speaking, may or may not resemble the original. In faith, we say the poems do resemble the autographs.

In this light, eleven poems designated as archaic have been studied. The most persistent criterion which occurs, supported by comparison with the later poetry, is the "parallelism of emphasis" in conjunction with and as a feature of the style of the poets.<sup>127</sup> There is a close relation between this structure and climactic parallelism. The "ballast variant" is used within this form. "Parallelism of emphasis" is a part of the spirit of the ancient poems. The poet intensifies the most important concept of his message by repetition and then expands it in the second stich. The emotional content of the song is the mother of this stylistic structure. The repetition serves to center the thought and focus attention on the controlling concern of the poet.<sup>128</sup> The form is also a helpful mnemonic device; but more than that, it is part of the subjective expression of the poet who was and still is personally involved with his story and wants his hearers to be involved also. The poet's concern does not degenerate with his use of this rugged style. Instead, it remains theological. It deals with Yahweh and the righteous saving acts which He has done. It "breathes a religious character."<sup>129</sup> This emotion gives the songs their

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<sup>127</sup>In one of his latest books, W. Albright, The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra (Harper Torchbook edition; New York: Harper and Row, 1963), passim, is most interested in "stylistic forms" and the "stylistic point of view" (p. 21) as he discusses why the ancient poems are archaic. He dwells on style to the exclusion of text-critical comments. We may, therefore, conclude that style is a key area of investigation, as this chapter has tried to demonstrate.

<sup>128</sup>Muilenberg, p. 99.

<sup>129</sup>B. Goddard, "The Critic and Deborah's Song," Westminster Theological Journal, 3 (1941), 98.



unity. Religion and politics are fused and the heroes are placed within the emotional framework.<sup>130</sup> The "subjective elements" are elusive to objective analysis but are, nevertheless, an integral part of the poetry.

"Parallelism of emphasis" as a part of the subjective presentation by the poet occurs often and stands out as one of the best indicators of archaic material. In the last analysis, however, the use of this criterion cannot be made an absolute to determine the archaic poetry, in spite of its persistence within the poetry. As a criterion the "parallelism of emphasis" may give us further theological insight into the segments of the poem which the poet felt were most significant. But it cannot stand alone. It does occur in some of the later poetry, although with some additions and variations, as we have noted. The parallelism also indicates an arrangement of the archaic poems in a hierarchy on the basis of its frequency of appearance and the resulting gradation generally agrees with the opinions of scholars (for example, Deuteronomy 33 is less archaic than Judges 5). "Archaizing" or "modernizing" poetry is difficult to separate from the latest poems of this gradation (Hab. 3). In short, the "parallelism of emphasis" as a part of the subjective element of the archaic poetry is a viable criterion but it is not an absolute one. It can point to a high balance of probability for what is or is not archaic. This balance of probability is, however, increased with the use of supporting criteria, the subject of chapter three.

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<sup>130</sup>Gerleman, p. 173.



## CHAPTER III

### SUPPORTING CRITERIA

#### The Use of Supporting Criteria

In the summary of the previous chapter, it was stated that the "parallelism of emphasis" in conjunction with the subjective elements as a criterion can only point to a balance of probability that a poem is archaic. This balance of probability increases with the addition of the "supporting criteria."

A "supporting criterion" is one which further substantiates that a section is archaic but cannot, by itself, be a criterion of antiquity. The inadequacy of these "supporting criteria" as sole measures of the archaic nature of poetry stems from the fact that such criteria are not always integral parts of the style and emotion of the poet. Hence, the various kinds of "supporting criteria" were misunderstood, miscopied, and misused. As signs of antiquity the "supporting criteria" were borrowed by "archaizing" poets. In the archaic sections, however, the different elements of "supporting criteria" appear more in "bunches" than they do in the later poetry where they are more isolated.<sup>1</sup> In short, these various phenomena are most effective in a supporting capacity and in such a role increase the probability that a given poem is truly archaic to the highest possible degree.

The knottiest problem in the discussion of "supporting criteria"

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<sup>1</sup>See here M. Dahood, Psalms I, in The Anchor Bible, edited by W. F. Albright and D. N. Freedman (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1966), passim. He finds Ugaritic allusions of all kinds in the psalms which he discusses (Pss. 1-50).



concerns "archaizing" material.<sup>2</sup> The question which this problem poses may be put in several different ways. Is the later material consciously copying the forms of the archaic age to give the current material more stature in the eyes of the hearers? Is such copying done to direct a polemic against some archaic Canaanite concept? Or is the later material actually a direct use of the old with a "modernization" process applied?

These questions have merit in the light of a corpus of ancient materials which may have existed as a reference source for the Hebrew poets.<sup>3</sup> Such borrowing or use of ancient sources is exemplified in several

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<sup>2</sup>D. Freedman, in a letter to John H. Miller, St. Louis, December 17, 1966, mentions this very thing when he states: "The chief difficulty (concerning the problem of archaic Hebrew) is the paucity of material which can be confidently regarded as 'archaic' and not simply 'archaizing'; it is especially true of poetry that it archaizes, and it is therefore no surprise that even later prophets often have archaic expressions and materials in their poetic utterances . . . it is even more difficult to distinguish the archaic from the archaizing." (sic) This comment indicates that "archaizing" is, perhaps, the chief obstacle to the entire thesis and this writer must confess that it cannot be overcome completely because of lack of conclusive archaic evidence. The Ugaritic material is archaic but the concepts which come from it emerge in two widely separated periods, tenth and eleventh centuries B. C. and the sixth to fourth centuries B. C., according to W. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel (Second edition; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1946), p. 129, so that it cannot yield a conclusive criterion. It is our contention, however, that the "parallelism of emphasis" as a part of the subjective element may not have been as obvious to the later writers as the concepts, the syntax, and the morphology. The latter are, nevertheless, good indicators of antiquity and this is supported by W. Albright, "Archaic Survivals in the Text of Canticles," in Hebrew and Semitic Studies: presented to Godfrey Driver in celebration of his seventieth birthday, edited by D. Winton Thomas and W. D. Hardy (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Supra, pp. 10-11. W. Albright too supports this possibility in "Recent Progress in North-Canaanite Research," American Schools of Oriental Research Bulletin, 70 (1938), 23.



of the poems in the Old Testament. Habakkuk 3 is a parade example.<sup>4</sup> The antiquity of this song shows through in its spirit which Albright calls "exuberant,"<sup>5</sup> and in the examples of "parallelism of emphasis" which appear in it (verses 2aγ-bα, and 5, 7, and 18, using the "ballast variants"). Even with instances of "modernizing" or "archaizing," therefore, it is difficult to lose the spirit or this special parallelism.

Later writings which borrow archaic forms and concepts add to the confusion. There may be an entire verse, which has all kinds of archaism in it, situated in the middle of a piece of late poetry. The reader, consequently, is inclined to designate an entire section as archaic when, in reality, the pericope is quite late.<sup>6</sup> That this "archaizing" occurred cannot be denied. Various scholars have pointed it out in different

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<sup>4</sup>W. Albright, "The Psalm of Habakkuk," in Studies in Old Testament Prophecy, edited by H. H. Rowley (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1946), p. 9, agrees and calls the process "archaizing" to eliminate confusion. G. E. Wright, "The Lawsuit of God: A Form Critical Study of Deut. 32," in Israel's Prophetic Heritage, edited by B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962), p. 40, suggests that the same might be true of Deut. 32. This writer would add Deut. 33 to the list of possibilities.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>6</sup>A. Bender, "Das Leid Exodus," Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 23 (1903), 47, suggests that this has happened with the song in Ex. 15. He believes that the consistent use of -mô as the third person masculine plural pronominal suffix is "conscious archaizing." He is supported by W. Gesenius, Hebrew Grammar, edited by E. Kautsch, translated by A. Cowley (Second edition; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 258, paragraph 91, hereafter referred to as G-K. Bender adds, on the basis of the content of the poem, that the whole picture presented here fits into the post-Exilic period when the people looked back to the deliverance which was to come. F. Cross, however, Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry (Unpublished Doctoral thesis, John Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1950), p. 83, disagrees with him on the basis of advances in historical grammar and lexicography by which the song reveals its antiquity.



books in the Old Testament.<sup>7</sup> But how much "archaizing" actually existed and whether it can be placed on one particular age<sup>8</sup> are questions on which there is not enough information to formulate a solution.

In answer to what is meant by "archaizing" Cross says that archaizing is "generally characterized by the misuse or mixed use of ancient forms, not by a consistent correct use" which points to the antiquity of a poem (italics mine).<sup>9</sup> Albright adds that meter, the reason for using case endings in early times, was forgotten in "archaistic" writings.<sup>10</sup> In spite of these distinctions, the task of delineating the truly archaic material is still not a simple one and any conclusions must remain only indications of probability. This probability reaches its zenith when "parallelism of emphasis" in conjunction with the subjective element is given additional strengthening by the "supporting criteria."

There are many studies by well-known scholars, including some of the

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<sup>7</sup>W. Albright, "Two Letters from Ugarit," American Schools of Oriental Research Bulletin, 82 (1941), 49, sees a possibility of this in Hab. 3:6. M. Dahood sees it in the Psalms, "The Language and Date of Ps. 48," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 16 (1954), 19, and in Proverbs, "The Language of Qoheleth," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 14 (1952), 227, and M. Pope sees it in various places in the book of Job, Job, in The Anchor Bible, edited by W. F. Albright and D. N. Freedman (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1964), passim, to mention only a few.

<sup>8</sup>Dahood, "Ps. 48," p. 19, and Albright, "The Psalm of Habakkuk," p. 9, believe that there was such a period. See also supra, p. 55, for comments on why Israel wanted to archaize.

<sup>9</sup>F. Cross and D. Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 14 (1955), 245.

<sup>10</sup>W. Albright, "The Oracles of Balaam," Journal of Biblical Literature, 63 (1944), 223.



major articles listed in the introductory chapter,<sup>11</sup> which reconstruct the texts of the archaic poems. The criteria of these reconstructions are not stated and are not always clear. A great deal is made of poetic parallels and the Ugaritic materials. There are numerous emendations metri causa, a tenuous procedure in view of the meager knowledge of the meter in Hebrew poetry; and many of the Ugaritic readings and concepts are forced on the text by some scholars.<sup>12</sup> The Septuagint is quite often used in a rather arbitrary way in these articles, although this cannot be helped since the Septuagint actually seems to contradict itself<sup>13</sup> and does not really handle the hapax legomena well.<sup>14</sup> In sum, many of the formations which these scholars note as archaic are best designated as "supporting criteria" and cannot stand alone as indicators of antiquity.

#### Supporting Criteria of Poetry

Although the "parallelism of emphasis" as a part of the subjective element has been proposed above as the basic criterion for determining the antiquity of poetry, there are other poetic elements which appear frequently in the archaic materials and give support to the archaic nature of the poems.

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<sup>11</sup>Supra, pp. 5-6.

<sup>12</sup>See especially Albright, "The Psalm of Habakkuk," passim, and Dahood, Psalms I, passim.

<sup>13</sup>This is noticeably true in the deletion and addition of the waw conjunctives. There is no pattern or regularity in the texts nor can we get much help from the suggestions.

<sup>14</sup>B. Goddard, "The Critic and Deborah's Song," Westminster Theological Journal, 3 (1941), 110, corroborates this when he says that where the archaic chapters are concerned, the Septuagint presents nothing more than a shrewd guess as to the meaning of words.



The first area of supporting poetic criteria is that of meter. Meter appears to be important for Hebrew poetry. The word "appears" is used advisedly because there is not sufficient evidence to draw any far-reaching conclusions about the nature of Hebrew meter. The early Israelites had a strong sense of meter, a conscious poetic measurement, more precise than the commonly accepted accentual system, though falling far short of the Latin or Greek.<sup>15</sup> On the other kind, there is a difference between a "strong sense of meter" and an exact, rigid meter. It is dubious that the Hebrew poets, especially the early ones, used the latter.<sup>16</sup> Perhaps it would be better to say, with Theodore Robinson, that Hebrew poetry had a definite form which cannot be classified strictly under the heading of meter.<sup>17</sup> The original meter has been lost and the remains show that the accent was put on the ideas.<sup>18</sup> These ideas are shaped in words and it is

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<sup>15</sup>D. Freedman, "Archaic Forms in Early Hebrew Poetry," Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 72 (1960), 107.

<sup>16</sup>C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Manual (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1955), p. 108, supports this in connection with the Ugaritic materials. He says that emendations metri causa are, therefore, pure whimsy. Metrical formulae should fit the texts and not vice versa. J. Patton, Canaanite Parallels in the Book of Psalms (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1944), p. 1, agrees.

<sup>17</sup>T. Robinson, "Hebrew Poetic Form: The English Tradition," in Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, edited by G. W. Anderson, et al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953), I, 139.

<sup>18</sup>R. Lowth was the first to recognize this in his classic Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews (Third edition; London: Thomas Tegg and Son, 1835), p. 32. T. Robinson, "Basic Principles of Hebrew Poetic Form," in Festschrift Alfred Bertholet zum 80 Geburtstag, edited by W. Baumgartner (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1950), p. 439, agrees but favors, p. 44, the work of Edward Sievers who concluded that most Hebrew poetry was of the anapaestic type, depending on the rising movement in the flow of speech culminating in a great stress on the tone-syllable. W. Arnold, "The Rhythms of the Ancient Hebrews," in The Old Testament and Semitic Studies in memory of William Rainey Harper, edited by R. F. Harper,



these words, set down in varying patterns, that take on the accentual rhythm which is noted by many scholars.<sup>19</sup> Some principle of meter, then, in combination with the accent on thought is apparently the best approach to the "metrical" structure of the poems. Such metrical arrangement may yield a count of the beats in a given stich; but it is most difficult to produce an absolute meter within Hebrew poetry generally or in the archaic corpus in particular.<sup>20</sup>

The most ancient "meter" of all is possibly the 2:2 in a distich.<sup>21</sup>

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F. Brown, and G. F. Moore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1908), p. 168, however, in studying Sievers' work says that the latter tried to procure, at any cost, the accentuation of the final syllable of every clause. Arnold dislikes Sievers' rhythms because their sound is intolerable to the ear and the rhythm seems to exist for its own sake. Arnold may have a point but it is even more obvious that Sievers overlooked the accent which the Hebrew poet, especially the ancient Hebrew poet, put on ideas.

<sup>19</sup>G. C. Young, in his discussion of "Ugaritic Prosody," Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 9 (1950), 125, 132, 133, states flatly, on the basis of his Ugaritic studies, that there was no such thing as a metrical system because thought parallelism is the thing that makes Semitic poetry. Not only that, but variation of the length of stichs is the norm and not the exception. G. A. Smith, The Early Poetry of the Hebrews in Its Physical and Social Origins (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), p. 81, maintains that this irregularity of "meter" is an actual characteristic of the primitive style of poetry. S. Mowinkel, "Zum Problem der hebräischen Metrik," in Festschrift Alfred Bertholet zum 80 Geburtstag, edited by W. Baumgartner (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1950), p. 394, adds that Hebrew meter is a settlement between the natural thought rhythm and a stretched regulation of the "Verfüsse." N. Gottwald, "Hebrew Poetry," in Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), III, 834, concludes that "meter insofar as it exists in Hebrew poetry, is actually the rhythmical counterpart of parallelism of thought."

<sup>20</sup>Cross, Studies, pp. 5, 18-19, says that the ancient poetry is marked by a strong rhythm. The strophes show considerable complexity, and symmetry, which will be discussed below, must be the guiding principle of metrical structure. At the same time, however, the two stress and three stress colon are the basic building blocks in the ancient poetry under this guiding principle of symmetry.

<sup>21</sup>W. O. E. Oesterley, Ancient Hebrew Poems Metrically Translated with Introductions and Notes (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938), p. 6.



In general, the line of poetry consists of two stichs, divided by a pause, with two stressed parts in each stich. The commonest "meter" in poetry, and this includes the archaic poems, is trimeter in a distich where there are three basic stresses to the half-stich (Gen. 49, the Oracles of Balaam, the Song of the Well, Deut. 32, Deut. 33, Pss. 18 and 68, and Hab. 3).<sup>22</sup> The 2:2 meter is not found in all of the archaic poems. It is dominant in several of the poems (Ps. 29, Judg. 5, and Ex. 15) and occurs spasmodically in some of the other poems (Ps. 68:9, Num. 24:9b, Num. 21:17b, 18a<sub>γ</sub>-b, Deut. 33:9, and Deut. 32:16). Within these latter poems the 2:2 is occasionally mixed with the 3:3 to give an alternating rhythm.<sup>23</sup> This particular kind of poetic style is also a characteristic of much of the Ugaritic material.

It appears, therefore, that the so-called 2:2 "meter" is a helpful indicator of ancient poetic style. This "meter" occurs much more often in the archaic poems than it does in later poetry. More important, however, its character shows the quick, staccato movement which is involved

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Robinson, Hebrew Poetic Form, p. 146; and G. B. Gray, The Forms of Hebrew Poetry (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1915), p. 64, agree.

<sup>22</sup>P. Skehan, "The Structure of the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy (Deut. 32:1-32)," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 13 (1951), 160, maintains that the 3:3 meter in the Song of Moses is the standard didactic meter from the book of Proverbs.

<sup>23</sup>F. Cross, "Notes on a Canaanite Psalm in the Old Testament," American Schools of Oriental Research Bulletin, 117 (1950), 20, notes the mixed metrical patterns in Ps. 29, Ex. 15, Judg. 5. In Studies, p. 26, he says this mixed pattern is a characteristic of ancient Yahwistic poetry. Gottwald, "Hebrew Poetry," p. 834, adds that the 2:2 meter was a characteristic of the Babylonian poetry. The 2:2 meter fits in nicely with the mnemonic necessities of the ancient poetry since the shorter stichs are easier to remember. T. Robinson, "Basic Principles of Hebrew Metrics," Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 54 (1936), 33, offers his support here and adds that the 2:2 is also in the Akkadian epics but is ultimately too limiting for all the Hebrew poetry.



in the high emotional pitch of the poet and, thus, is consistent with the subjective element of these old poems.<sup>24</sup>

Another poetic structure of interest as a supporting criterion is the so-called tricolon. This particular structure is related to the climactic parallelism when it occurs in its "purest" form, although it does occur without being climactic (Judg. 5:10, Deut. 33:2 $\alpha$ - $\beta$ , Num. 24:3b-4a).<sup>25</sup> It is apparently a common form in the older poetry of the Old Testament and is also found in the Ugaritic epic style (Aqhat I iii 1-3, Aqhat II vi 25-27), occurring irregularly between normal distichs.<sup>26</sup> That this phenomenon occurs cannot be doubted<sup>27</sup> but it is not any kind of absolute criterion since it also appears in later poetry.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup>T. Robinson, The Poetry of the Old Testament (London: Gerald Duckworth and Company, 1952), p. 30, notes this also. He applies it specifically to Ps. 29 and the Song of the Well. He also believes, p. 61, that Ex. 15 was originally the 2:2 meter, which still prevails in the song, but is now corrupt. Ex. 15:1 and 21b both have this 2:2 meter.

<sup>25</sup>See the discussion, supra, p. 25-27. Compare Judg. 5:3a $\beta$ -b, abc/abd/ade, using Kittel's suggested emendation, and perhaps Ps. 29:a $\beta$ -2a. But see also Ps. 96:1-2a.

<sup>26</sup>W. Albright, "The Psalm of Habakkuk," p. 3, credits this discovery to Ginsberg and applies it to Hab. 3:4,6-7,8,19 as he constructs the verses. W. A. Irwin, "The Psalm of Habakkuk," Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 1 (1942), 18, agrees that tristichs are found in Hab. 3 but believes that they are the result of corruption. It appears that they occur in too many of the other archaic songs to be merely the product of corruption. J. Gray, Legacy of Canaan, in Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, (Second, revised edition; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), V, 279, supports Albright on Hab. 3:6-7. Cross, Studies, pp. 5,23, feels that the tricolon is a basic unit or building-block. It appears to this writer, however, that S. Mowinckel, "Psalm Criticism between 1900 and 1935," Vetus Testamentum, 5 (1955), 31, has a point when he says that since so many of these tricola require thorough textual criticism, they may actually be illusory. This certainly does not apply to all instances where the tricolon occurs.

<sup>27</sup>Compare Ex. 15:8 (?); Ps. 29:1-2a,4-5a; Num. 24:3b-4a; Ps. 18:9,49; Ps. 68:5,7 (?),17,28; Hab. 3:2,4,6-7,8; Deut. 33:2 $\alpha$ - $\beta$ ,13; Gen. 49:3,4,8,13,25a $\beta$ -b,26,27; and Judg. 5:10,27 (?),30a $\beta$ -b.

<sup>28</sup>Compare Ps. 79:1,2; Ps. 137:3 (?),8. See F. Cross, "The Divine



The wide occurrence of the tricolon in archaic and Ugaritic poetry supports the contention that such tricola are legitimate supporting criteria for the antiquity of the poems. Not all of the tricola are climactic in character nor are they by any means absent in the later materials.

The general opinion of the Albright School concerning the metric evidence is that Hebrew did have a fairly regular metric system but that this system was strongly affected by the loss of case endings and the accentual shift.<sup>29</sup> Because of this opinion, Cross, in his latest work, counts syllables.<sup>30</sup> Irregularities in meter may be due to the fact that the Massoretic text substituted what the Massoretes felt was "normal" meter for abnormal, especially where case endings were concerned.<sup>31</sup>

Without audible evidence of the way in which the ancient poets sang their songs, there can be no certainty about the ancient metric patterns and, therefore, an argument for the antiquity of a given poem cannot rest on

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Warrior in Israel's Early Cult," in Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations in Studies and Texts, edited by A. Altmann (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 21, who finds a tricolon in Ps. 24:4; and Albright, "Archaic Survivals," p. 1, who finds one in Canticles 6:8.

<sup>29</sup>W. Albright, "The Old Testament and Canaanite Language," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 7 (1945), 19.

<sup>30</sup>Professor Graesser has substantiated this and Freedman, "Archaic Forms," p. 101, agrees. W. Albright, "The Furniture of El in Canaanite Mythology," American Schools of Oriental Research Bulletin, 91 (1943), 43, and "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems (Ps. LXVIII)," Hebrew Union College Annual, 23, part 1 (1950-1951), 6, says there was also some kind of regular meter in the Ugaritic materials and that such poetry as the Hebrews and Canaanites had is inconceivable without such a regular meter.

<sup>31</sup>F. Cross and D. Freedman, "The Blessing of Moses," Journal of Biblical Literature, 68 (1948), 197. It occurs to this writer that Cross and Freedman may indeed be right but that this is hard to determine because the texts are corrupt and these men base their suggestions on their own reconstructions.



meter alone.<sup>32</sup>

This position is further upheld by the work which the Massoretes did on the texts. They had their own ideas about the Hebrew language.<sup>33</sup> Pre-Massoretic pronunciation cannot be reconstructed from any direct source, although the means for a good attempt did exist in such documents as Origin's Hexapla, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Cairo Genizah. The application of a written vowel system began in the sixth or seventh century after Christ and was gradual and unofficial. The aim of the Massoretes was to preserve the pronunciation of the vowels as they were used with the text in synagogue services. To do this they borrowed and invented vowels for the sounds which they heard. We may, however, assume with some safety that the consonantal text was transmitted by the Massoretes with meticulous care. This particular point applies especially to the archaic poems. Textual problems, then, probably come from before the first century after Christ. The Dead Sea Scrolls show that even at that time the textual transmission was a careful process.<sup>34</sup> The Massoretic text, is, by the propriety of God, a fine text but there can be no absolute

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<sup>32</sup>Oesterley, Ancient Hebrew Poems, p. 7, supports this.

<sup>33</sup>H. Kosmala, "Form and Structure in Ancient Hebrew Poetry," Vetus Testamentum, 14 (1964), 424, says that the Massoretes liked the stress on the ultima, but that there is good reason to doubt that this tradition represents the original pronunciation and intonation. What this reason is, he neglects to say.

<sup>34</sup>B. J. Roberts, The Old Testament and Versions (Cardiff, Wales: University of Wales Press, 1951), pp. 47, 52, 98-99. To be completely accurate at this point, we should add that the true Massoretic activity actually began about seven hundred years after Christ and that from the first century A. D. on, the work of transmission was done by the Scribes. It is not our task here to discuss all the facets of the processes involved.



statements about its meter on the basis of the Massoretic pointings.<sup>35</sup>

The student of Hebrew poetry must also beware of imposing Western ideas about meter on Eastern poetry, especially archaic Eastern poetry.<sup>36</sup> Classical analogies are basically misleading with respect to Hebrew poetry since the number of unstressed syllables allowable between stresses in the latter is variable.<sup>37</sup> The various types of meter, therefore, do not appear as important for Hebrew poetry, especially archaic Hebrew poetry, as scholars have imagined. The thought of a poem dictates the form to a large extent. The emotion joins the thought in producing the rhythm of the poem and this leads back to the subjective element.<sup>38</sup>

The following quotation from J. H. Patton presents a good summary of this section on the relation of metrics to the archaic poetry:

During the past generation this detailed analysis of Biblical poetry, with its counting and weighing of syllables, has given place to the formulation of general rules which are derived from the poetry itself. There is no attempt to construct a strict set of metric laws which must fit every example.<sup>39</sup>

Metrics can, at best, give an indication of certain structures, such as

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<sup>35</sup>It should be mentioned that the Albright School has not tried to do this but, rather, to approach the text, and more properly so, from the thought-stress angle.

<sup>36</sup>This seems to be what Sievers has done, according to Arnold, p. 169. But it is also what Arnold himself proceeds to do on the basis of Greek poetry from pp. 170-193. He admits, finally, that there can be no absolute count for the Hebrew syllable, p. 200, but still wants to classify the poetry by Western designations, p. 203.

<sup>37</sup>Gottwald, p. 834.

<sup>38</sup>Goddard, pp. 99-100, supports this.

<sup>39</sup>Patton, p. 1.



the 2:2 and the tricolon, which are not commonplace in all Hebrew poetry and which may thus serve as supporting criteria for the antiquity of a given section.

The basic building block within the oldest Hebrew poetry is what Segert identifies as a "prosodical unit."<sup>40</sup> The "prosodical unit" is a word or group of words in close relationship which are not affected by a change of stress or word form. The essential construction principle within the old poetry was the parallelism of these basic units. It is this word-thought unit which was the controlling factor in both Ugaritic and Hebrew poetry. This was the heart of the poet's message. All else was of lesser importance. Such things as "fixed pairs," the "stepping" of numbers according to a fixed formula ( $x$  parallels  $x$  plus 1), the equilibrium and fulfillment the word-thought unit obtained in two parallel stichs were tools for the poet's basic aim and all add their weight to the character of the poetry.<sup>41</sup> These units were advantageous from a mnemonic point of view and also added to "parallelism of emphasis." They cannot, however, stand alone as criteria of antiquity because they occur in much of the later poetry (Amos 1:3, 6, 9, 11, 13, Jer. 48:45, Ps. 7:17).

The word-thought parallelism is tied directly to the phenomenon of symmetry, the parallelismus membrorum, which is the dominant feature of all Hebrew poetry. Cross and Freedman believe that "symmetry in length in

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<sup>40</sup> S. Segert, "Problems of Hebrew Prosody," in Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, edited by G. W. Anderson, et al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), VII, 284-285.

<sup>41</sup> M. Held, "The Action-Result (Factitive-Passive) Sequence of Identical Verbs in Biblical Hebrew and Ugaritic," Journal of Biblical Literature, 84 (1965), 275; Kosmala, p. 426; and Robinson, "Basic Principles," pp. 439, 444, 450, all mention these things and show the close connections between the Hebrew and the Ugaritic in usage.



parallel colas is an exceedingly important criterion for the analysis of Old Canaanite and Hebrew poetry."<sup>42</sup> This is part of the desire which the poets had for uniformity but even more, it demonstrates their wish to fulfill completely the expectancy aroused by the opening words. In the earlier poetry the symmetry was carefully done just for this latter reason and for mnemonic purposes (Judg. 5:25, Num. 23:21, Ex. 15:12, Deut. 33:17). Symmetry is exhibited chiefly in parallel stichs. Because of the strong sense of balance, a line of poetry seems to have required approximately the same total number of syllables in each of the two stichs.<sup>43</sup> This symmetry of the word-thought unit is, once again, present in the latter poetry (Ps. 126:5, Ps. 24:2), although there is less balancing and more complex progression of thought (Is. 51:3). This characteristic cannot, therefore, stand as a sole criterion.

The supporting poetic criteria, then, do give some aid in determining archaic sections but either are not persistent enough, as in the case of the 2:2 meter and the tricola, or appear too often in the later poetry to be of conclusive importance, as in the case of the word-thought unit and symmetry.

#### Supporting Criteria of Morphology

There are evidences of archaic forms in the Hebrew text. The scribes and the Massoretes carried out a careful transmission of the text, including

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<sup>42</sup>Cross and Freedman, "The Blessing of Moses," p. 192; "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving: II Samuel 22=Psalm 18," Journal of Biblical Literature, 72 (1953), p. 32; Freedman, "Archaic Forms," p. 101; Cross, Studies, p. 19; as well as Robinson, "Basic Principles," p. 449.

<sup>43</sup>Cross, Studies, p. 19.



the forms which they did not understand. They did this for religious reasons, namely, that at the center of their worship life might be the best possible received authority. Ancient morphology occurs both in "archaizing" material and true archaic poetry so that it cannot stand as an absolute criterion. It does, nevertheless, lend some support to the antiquity of the poems due to frequency and correctness of use over against the rather spasmodic and sometimes confusing use of these forms in a time when they were not fully understood. Particular forms of interest are the early case endings, the early forms of the personal endings, and other less conclusive phenomena such as the nun energicum, infixed -t forms and imperfects with a -t prefix, contracted diphthongs, and so forth.<sup>44</sup>

Cross finds that the most striking feature of the morphology of the noun in the ancient Yahwistic poetry is the frequent preservation of old case endings which, he feels, was due to the metrical requirements.<sup>45</sup> In Cross' work with Freedman they conclude, on the basis of comparison with other Semitic languages, that the final -i was represented by yodh, final -u by waw, and final -a, -e, and -o by he.<sup>46</sup> These three consonants became the representatives of the genitive, nominative, and accusative cases respectively. It is most probable that the case endings were short and

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<sup>44</sup>G-K par. 90 has a special section on early case endings and par. 91 deals with all kinds of personal endings. We shall make reference to this study but shall lean most heavily on the more recent studies by Cross and Freedman and Albright which take into consideration the Ugaritic materials and the help which they afford in the area of morphology.

<sup>45</sup>Cross, Studies, p. 52.

<sup>46</sup>F. Cross and D. Freedman, Early Hebrew Orthography: A Study of the Epigraphic Evidence, in the American Oriental Series, edited by J. B. Pritchard (New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 1952), XXXVI, 57.



final, short vowels were highly susceptible to mutation.<sup>47</sup> Since the Ugaritic finds, it has been discovered that less remnants of case endings<sup>48</sup> than it was thought are found in the texts. Whatever the results, the origins of these ancient case endings are obscure.<sup>49</sup>

Because cases were used by the ancients, the word order of their literature was freer. Albright notes this in Deuteronomy 33:29.<sup>50</sup> Such was not true in the case of the later poets who were "archaizing" and did not recognize the more free structure of the ancient poetry. They stuck to their rigid word order, a necessity for literature without the case endings, and added the ancient case endings merely to give their poetry and archaistic appearance.<sup>51</sup>

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There is a problem here for if the case endings were short, how did they come to be written long? It is a good possibility that they became long by analogy with the final long vowels.

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W. Moran, "The Hebrew Language in its Northwest Semitic Background," in The Bible and the Ancient Near East, edited by G. E. Wright (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961), p. 59. Specifically, Moran rightly says that the he locale is not an old accusative but an adverbial element. This is so because it occurs consonantly at Ugarit. G-K par. 90g is mistaken in many of the suggestions here simply because he did not have the information from Ras Shamra.

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H. Bauer and P. Leander, Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962), p. 522b, hereafter cited as Bauer-Leander.

<sup>50</sup>

W. Albright, "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses in Deut. 33," Vetus Testamentum, 9 (1959), 343. He is probably referring to verse 29b more specifically.

<sup>51</sup>

Compare Gen. 49:11 (׳׳׳); Num. 24:3,15 (׳׳׳). This was originally -u to (-u) to ō and is called waw compaginis which was used to emphasize the construct state on the analogy of the construct expressing terms of relationship. The -u was the nominative case ending and remains so, but is used as a genitive here by analogy with the preceding word. The most correct translation: "the son, namely Zippor's." This is specifically called a nominative ending by Albright, "The Oracles of Balaam," Journal of Biblical Literature, 63 (1944), 216, and is preserved, he feels, for metric reasons. The -ō may have originally been -û in a construct chain



The more ancient forms of the personal endings also occur. For example, the third person singular masculine suffix appears in its older form (the -o is represented by the vowel letter he, showing that the progression -uhu to -uh to -u to -ô has not yet occurred<sup>52</sup> twice in Genesis 49:11 ( יָרִיבָהּ, שׁוֹרֵתָהּ ).<sup>53</sup> The third person masculine singular also appears in the more ancient, longer form ih-.<sup>54</sup> Dahood believes that Hebrew, like the Phoenician and probably the Ugaritic, also possessed a third person singular suffix (masculine and feminine) in -î. He cites Psalms 24:4 ( יְסֻפִּי ) and 46:5 ( יְסֻפִּי ) (?) as examples.<sup>55</sup>

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which was changed to -ô by a later scribe by analogy with extant forms or because he did not know what the form was.), Ex. 15:16 ( יָרִיבָהּ ) (?); Deut. 33:16 ( יְסֻפִּי ), with the later Job 34:13 ( יָרִיבָהּ ); Is. 8:23 ( יָרִיבָהּ ); perhaps, Ps. 114:8 ( יְסֻפִּי ). W. Wright, Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages (Second edition; Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1966), pp. 141-142; Cross, Studies, pp. 122, 146, 160; Dahood, Psalms I, pp. 30, 129; Bauer-Leander, p. 525i, and G-K, par. 90g make these suggestions. See also Gen. 32:31 (frozen genitive in יְסֻפִּי).

<sup>52</sup>This progression is the writer's attempt to account for the occurrence in Lachish of he for -ô, demonstrating that -aw had not shortened in the South, a postulate which is necessary in the usual progression of -ahu to -aw to -ô.

<sup>53</sup>See also יְסֻפִּי in Jer. 20:7 and יָרִיבָהּ in 2 Ki. 19:23 for which is read in the parallel in Is. 37:24. It occurs twelve other times in passages later than the poems. F. Cross and D. Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," p. 244, make reference to G-K par. 91e, from which these examples came, and add that the י represents the i in the Siloam inscription and the Lachish Letters.

<sup>54</sup>Cross, Studies, p. 52, says that this is due in part to metrical considerations (perhaps reflecting a -mô from -mû from -himmû progression). G-K par. 91 feels that these forms were intentionally accumulated and cites Ex. 15:5,7,9; Deut. 32:27,32,37,38; and Deut. 33:29. These endings do not occur in Judg. 5 or Ps. 29 which have been called the most archaic songs. This is one reason G-K par. 91 calls Ex. 15 an "archaizing" song. Compare Ps. 140:4,10; Ps. 2:2,5; and Job 27:23. G. Wright, p. 40, however, refers to the forms, particularly in Deut. 32, as "clearly archaic orthography."

<sup>55</sup>Dahood, Psalms I, p. xxi; Z. Harris, A Grammar of the Phoenician Language (New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 1936), p. 48, believes the -î arose from -ihî to -iyî (by palatalization of the he



Both the case endings and the personal suffixes are indications that there were orthographic differences between the earlier Hebrew and the later. In the earliest inscriptions vowel letters were not written at all, that is, there was a pure consonantal orthography [the Gezer Calendar, Gen. 49:3 (  $\text{ל} \text{ו}$  for  $\text{לו}$  ); Deut. 33:6 (  $\text{ל} \text{ו}$  for  $\text{לו}$  ); Judg. 5:21 (  $\text{ל} \text{ו}$  for  $\text{לו}$  )]. The first indication of final vowels was through vowel letters (Lachish Ostraca) which were later transferred within words as internal matres lectionis (Inscription of The Royal Steward, Lachish Ostraca).<sup>56</sup> Other internal vowel letters may have arisen later from the consonantal letter of the diphthong remaining as a mater lectionis.<sup>57</sup>

The contraction of diphthongs, another early change, generally conceived as a northern phenomenon, took place after the tenth century (aw to  $\hat{o}$ , ai to  $\hat{e}$ ). In its uncontracted state, the diphthong showed a consonant (waw or yodh) where the diphthong appeared in the word (Ps. 18:7,  $\text{ל} \text{ו}$ ; Deut. 31:13,  $\text{ל} \text{ו}$ ). In the contracted form, no consonant appeared where one was normally expected from later comparisons [Deut. 33:2,  $\text{ל} \text{ו}$  (to  $\text{לו}$ ); Ps. 18:5,  $\text{ל} \text{ו}$  (to  $\text{לו}$ ); Ps. 68:26,  $\text{ל} \text{ו}$  (to  $\text{לו}$ ); Num. 23:21,  $\text{ל} \text{ו}$  (to  $\text{לו}$ )].<sup>58</sup>

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after a hireq) to  $\hat{i}$ . F. Cross and D. Freedman, "The Pronominal Suffixes of the Third Person Singular in Phoenician," Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 10 (1951), 229, say the progression was rather -ihā to -iyā to  $\hat{i}$ . Both see the feminine as -ahā to -iyā by analogy with the masculine.

<sup>56</sup> Cross and Freedman, Early Hebrew Orthography, p. 23, discuss development at some length in footnote 37. Examples are  $\text{ל} \text{ו}$  in the Inscription and  $\text{ל} \text{ו}$ ,  $\text{ל} \text{ו}$ , and  $\text{ל} \text{ו}$  at Lachish.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., especially p. 52.

<sup>58</sup> The suggested reconstructions are Cross', Studies, passim. See also D. Hillers, "A Note on Judges 5:8," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 27 (1965), 125, for an example in Judg. 5:8, the word  $\text{ל} \text{ו}$ . He says that the final vowel came from a contracted diphthong which was a characteristic



There are other morphological peculiarities in the poems. First of all, Dahood maintains that the infixed -t conjugation, so vigorous in Ugaritic (the reflexive of the G stem, that is, the Hebrew Qal) and sporadically attested in Phoenician and Moabite, was much more frequent in biblical Hebrew than the standard grammars allow.<sup>59</sup>

The infixed -t form is not to be confused with another ancient verb form, the so-called t-form imperfect, that is, an imperfect form with a -t prefix used when the subject is a dual or a collective.<sup>60</sup> Albright says that the discovery of this form, to which he does not assign a name, adds a whole new section to the Hebrew grammar.<sup>61</sup>

The nun energicum, especially in its unassimilated state (for example, נָתַן), was a live form in the Ugaritic. It occurs in both its assimilated and unassimilated forms in ancient and later Hebrew.<sup>62</sup> The force of this nun is not actually relevant for this discussion. The force

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of the dialect in which the song of Deborah was composed. W. Albright, "The Gezer Calendar," American Schools of Oriental Research Bulletin, 92 (1943), 22, finds pure consonantal spelling (yrh which he vocalized yarhō) and contracted diphthongs in the calendar (yarhew, vocalized from yarhayhu with contraction of the diphthong and syncope of the intervocalic he).

<sup>59</sup>Dahood, Psalms I, p. xxxviii, cites Ps. 10:2, 11, and Ps. 22:25 as his reconstructed examples. See also Cross' suggestion in Studies, p. 209, for Deut. 33:3. He uses the consonantal text to get תַּתַּכּוּ, vocalized hmtakkū, from the root mk (mkk or mwk), "to bend, to be low or humiliated," a Hiphil form. He adds that inscriptional data from Byblus and Moab support an infixed -t form and cites its preservation in the Hebrew place names תַּתַּקָּה and תַּתַּמָּה.

<sup>60</sup>Cross, Studies, p. 51, cites Gen. 49:26 (תַּתַּה); Hab. 3:4 (תַּתַּה), 17 (תַּתַּה); and Deut. 33:16 (תַּתַּה) as examples.

<sup>61</sup>Albright, "The Old Testament and Canaanite Language," pp. 22-23, cites an example in Nahum 1:5b (תַּתַּה).

<sup>62</sup>Compare Num. 23:9 and Deut. 32:10 with Ps. 72:15 and Jer. 5:22.



was probably connected to its use since it is especially frequent in pause and so may have been part of the meter of the chant for emphasis and, hence, a later development. The important thing about the nun energicum is the frequency of occurrence in comparison with later poems.<sup>63</sup>

As is obvious from the later examples discussed above, the morphology which is designated as archaic appears frequently in the later materials. The only difference between these two occurrences is the number of times archaic morphology appears within a single passage in conjunction with other archaic allusions. The following quotations from the work of Cross and Freedman will best describe the position which must be taken on the use of morphology as a supporting criterion:

There must be caution in using orthographic analysis in connection with old Hebrew poetry. Instances of archaic spelling must be sufficiently concentrated in a given piece to outweigh the possibility of error, coincidence, and artificial reintroduction as an explanation of the present text.<sup>64</sup>

They continue:

In the light of the complex history of the transmission of the Hebrew text, individual cases of archaic spelling do not constitute sufficient evidence for the dating of biblical passages. What is required is an accumulation of instances in a single section and even then collateral linguistic evidence is highly desirable.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>Compare Judg. 5:11,26,29; Num. 23:19,20; Num. 24:9; Gen. 49:9; Ex. 15:2; Deut. 33:7; Ps. 18:9,18; with later examples in Ps. 80:14; Jer. 22:24; Ps. 72:15; Lam. 4:17; Ps. 139:8; and see G-K par. 58i-1 for a complete discussion.

<sup>64</sup>Cross, Studies, p. 69.

<sup>65</sup>Cross and Freedman, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving," p. 17.



## Supporting Criteria of Syntax

Of the supporting criteria, the syntax of the archaic poetry gives some of the best and most direct support to the primary criterion. The discussion in chapter two included some aspects from several of the most outstanding syntactical forms. Of these, the constructio asyndetos<sup>66</sup> is by far the most important. In this construction the waw conjunctive or waw consecutive, used as connective devices, is omitted (Ex. 15:5; Num. 21:17b; Ps. 18:17; Judg. 5:25-26a,27-28). Gesenius believes that this is used "to produce a hurried and impassioned description," and Gordon adds that this construction seems to be the "oldest way of joining" and still appears in Egyptian texts.<sup>67</sup> Once again, a quote from Cross and Freedman will serve to summarize the situation:

the use of the conjunctive waw at the beginning of cola . . . follows no determinable set of rules but is distributed at random. . . . In Ugaritic as well as in the earliest Hebrew poetry, very few cola are introduced by the conjunction and so it is to be supposed that in the form of the poem, very few appeared.<sup>68</sup>

This phenomenon is more persistent in some of the songs than in others.<sup>69</sup>  
It is not altogether lacking in some of the later materials (Jer. 4:7;

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<sup>66</sup> G-K par. 154a, n. 1.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., and Gordon, p. 87.

<sup>68</sup> Cross and Freedman, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving," pp. 17, 19.

<sup>69</sup> Compare Ex. 15 and Judg. 5, where the only waw copulativa that appear may be additions, and the Balaam Oracles (Albright, "The Oracles of Balaam," p. 214, says that, stylistically, the occurrences of waw can be omitted), and the Blessing of Moses; and see especially Ex. 15:9, Judg. 5:27, and Deut. 32:15a $\beta$  for examples.



Job 20:19, 28:4; and Amos 5:21), although polysyndeton, the use of many conjunctions, is more the rule (Ps. 136:14,15,18,20,21,24; Ps. 79 and Ps. 80). The constructio asyndetos seems to be tied to the emotional presentation of the poet, as Gesenius intimates. It is also related to the presentation of this material in a "non-logical" order. In the later materials the waw conjunctive and waw consecutive are used variously as direct ties to what precedes or follows a particular section (Jer. 2:27-28, Is. 51:15-16). The archaic poetry, on the other hand, is more generally interested in contrasts than in a "logical" sequence and, hence, does not need the conjunctions.

The adverbial introductions are also important in the archaic materials, although to a lesser degree. In the first place, asseverative 'ֶּ (more of an exclamation than an adverb) occurs much more than was formerly supposed. This has been elucidated by the Ugaritic and occurs when the verb is thrown to the end of the clause (Deut. 33:8-9; Ps. 18:28,29,30).<sup>70</sup> This particular use of the word 'ֶּ has, however, been found in all parts of Hebrew poetry (Song of Sol. 1:2b-3a). In the archaic poetry the asseverative 'ֶּ does add more action to the poetry and appears to remove many possibilities of logical connection.

A more important adverb is ִּיָּ, "then." Albright says that ִּיָּ is etymologically related to Ugaritic 'id(a)k, "then," and is used in exactly the same way as the Ugaritic in Judges 5 (11, 13, 19, 22).<sup>71</sup> The poet in

<sup>70</sup>J. Gray, p. 277, discussed this. Dahood, Psalms I, p. xxv, also finds with great frequency among the psalms.

<sup>71</sup>W. Albright, "The Song of Deborah in the Light of Archaeology," American Schools of Oriental Research Bulletin, 62 (1936), 29-30. The writer's understanding of Albright's comment here is that the Ugaritic uses 'id(a)k as an exclamation translated perhaps "Hup!" or "Yea!" The normal use of ִּיָּ with the "tenses" is discussed in G-K par. 107c and 108g. This adverb has a regular effect on the action which the verb connotes.



Judges 5 does not make any kind of a logical connection, as is usual in Hebrew (Ps. 126:2), but almost expresses an exclamation and as such, emphasized the action of the situation and the emotion connected with the presentation. This use of יָאֵ is also found in some of the other songs (Ex. 15:15), as pointed out by Cross who translates it as an exclamation, "Yea!"<sup>72</sup>

There are other syntactical constructions which are important for the ancient poetry and add to the cumulative effect needed to determine an archaic section with high probability. Certain "double-duty" structures are found in the archaic materials.<sup>73</sup> The reason for such a construction may be twofold: metrical consideration and/or the hurried passion of presentation. Whatever the case, the "double-duty" structures are neither frequent nor regular Hebrew constructions. They are comparable to the classical Hebrew constructions such as the he interrogative and they appear in ancient poetry (Hab. 3:8; Judg. 5:30) and late poetry (Jer. 3:1;

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<sup>72</sup> Cross, Studies, p. 120. Compare also Gen. 49:4; Ps. 80:20. See, in addition, J. Montgomery's explanation of יָאֵ in "Archival Data in the Book of Kings," Journal of Biblical Literature, 53 (1934), 49, who believes that, in Kings at least, this adverb has a chronological import without giving the exact date. יָאֵ may, in some way, be the equivalent of an indefinite temporal phrase as is found in Akkadian parallels.

<sup>73</sup> The term "double-duty" is Dahood's, Psalms I, p. xxxiv, and refers to an economy of style which the early poets used. In this structure a certain feature, once mentioned, was understood for a word in the immediate context, for example, "Yahweh is my strength and (my) song" in Ex. 15:2 (a double-duty first person singular pronominal suffix). Dahood delineates several kinds of these "double-duty" structures: suffixes, prefixes, negatives and prepositions. In his article "Ugaritic Studies and the Bible," Gregorianum, 43 (1962), 68, he adds the possibility of a "double-duty" pronominal suffix, an example of which we have already noted. He says that Ugaritic attests these "double-duty" constructions (Aghat II vi 36). F. Nötscher, "Zum Emphatischen Lamed," Vetus Testamentum, 3 (1953), 380, indicates that the emphatic lamed also occurs in this kind of a construction. See also Ps. 68:34.



Mic. 6:7). The "double-duty" structures occur in the use of prepositions (Ps. 33:7) as well as suffixes, mainly pronominal, in both the early (Ex. 15:2) and later materials (Ps. 107:20). Such occurrences indicate that again they cannot stand alone as criteria. Gesenius, nevertheless, notes that this "wider governing power of prepositions" fits in with the brevity of expression of the early poems.<sup>74</sup> The construction is similar to the ellipses mentioned in chapter one. This particular syntactical form was easy to copy and so "archaizing" poetry used it but the construction does lend support to the general nature of the archaic style because later poets were inclined to write everything out in full (Jer. 2:6, Is. 51:8).

One of the most important contributions from Ugarit in syntax is the broader meaning which was assigned to the prepositions  $\text{𐎁}$  and  $\text{𐎂}$  in earlier times, a meaning which included the specific definition later given to  $\text{𐎁}$  in Hebrew (compare Baal III\* A 3).<sup>75</sup> The Ras Shamra texts show a similarity to this broader meaning and, therefore, make this meaning a significant support for the antiquity of the poems in which it is found. The interchange of  $\text{𐎁}$  and  $\text{𐎂}$  for  $\text{𐎁}$  occurs in the later materials (Eccl. 5:14,

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<sup>74</sup>G-K par. 2s.

<sup>75</sup>Gordon, p. 75, makes mention of this, although this writer was not able to find out which scholar noted the phenomenon first. W. Albright, "The Phoenician Inscriptions of the 10th Century B. C. from Byblus," Journal of the American Oriental Society, 68 (1947), 159, indicates that this same interchange took place in Byblus. N. Sarna, "The Interchange of the Prepositions Beth and Min in Biblical Hebrew," Journal of Biblical Literature, 78 (1959), 310, adds that the Old Arabic also shows this. M. Dahood, "The Linguistic Position of Ugaritic in the Light of Recent Discoveries," in Sacra Pagina Miscellanea Congressus Internationalis Catholici De Re Biblice, edited by J. Coppens, A. Deschamps, E. Massaux (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1959), I, 270, says that the Ugaritic instances exhibit the same contraction with the aleph which the Hebrew shows with the  $\text{𐎁}$  so that the interchange of these prepositions cannot be challenged.



Ps. 3:3) but it appears more frequently, obviously (Ps. 18:14 contrasted with 2 Sam. 22:13 shows this clearly), and impressively in the archaic materials (Ps. 18:9; Gen. 49:27; Ps. 68:19,21; Ps. 29:10).

Another example of archaic syntax, the enclitic mem, might have been placed just as properly under the morphological section of this chapter but it also had some sort of a syntactical significance and so is included at this point. The enclitic mem was apparently as common in Hebrew once as it is in Ugaritic and other Semitic languages. After it died out in general speech, it survived in poetry, where most remnants of it now appear.<sup>76</sup> The meaning of the enclitic mem may be (1) a definite something ("this"), the emphatic use, or (2) an indefinite something preserved in imitation and the indefinite pronoun. The emphatic use of enclitic mem, as a part of stylistic variation, seems to be the most important in Ugaritic but is not readily demonstrable in Hebrew. It is just as easy to show that the enclitic mem has no meaning at all in Hebrew. Hummel's study shows that after the archaic period, enclitic mem was primarily a feature of the Jerusalem poetic style (seventh century, a possible "archaizing" period), in other words, it may very well be a feature of "archaizing" poetry.<sup>77</sup> Hummel lists the following occurrences of enclitic mem: with adverbial force in the infinitive absolute ending; on the nomen regens of a construct chain, after nouns with pronominal suffixes, and with prepositions perhaps as a "ballast variant" or with a trace of emphatic force.

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<sup>76</sup>This and most of the basic information which follows comes from the article by H. Hummel, "Enclitic Mem in Early Northwest Semitic, especially Hebrew," Journal of Biblical Literature, 76 (1957), 123-128.

<sup>77</sup>Albright, "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems," p. 24, supports this contention.



Pope, with regard to this last usage, believes that the preposition without mem does not differ from the preposition with mem.<sup>78</sup> The enclitic mem was a live structure in Ugaritic poetry<sup>79</sup> and appears a great deal in the archaic poetry as compared to the later poems.<sup>80</sup> In some cases a mem was falsely divided from the end of a word to the beginning of the following one (Num. 24:17) and the emendation using the enclitic mem has helped to clear up the text.

The use of "tenses" or time aspects is another interesting feature in the archaic syntax especially when seen beside the prose writings and the later poetry. According to Blake, in the archaic period the imperfect was an omnitemporal form and the perfect was a predicate adjective form with present meaning.<sup>81</sup> The imperfect was the first to be used, as the old Canaanite poetry demonstrates, and its time aspect was determined by the context.<sup>82</sup> The imperfect appears in consecutive sequence with the qtl

<sup>78</sup>M. Pope, "Ugaritic Enclitic -m," Journal of Cuneiform Studies, 5 (1951), 123. See, for example, Ps. 29:6, מִן.

<sup>79</sup>G. R. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends, in Old Testament Studies (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1956), No. 3, p. 129, gives several examples: Aqhat I iv 29, Baal V i 25-26, and Baal VI ii 8.

<sup>80</sup>Compare Deut. 33:11, perhaps, Judg. 5:30 (in a construct chain) (See also Albright's suggestion in "The Oracles of Balaam," p. 216, for Num. 24:17 where he finds an enclitic mem twice in construct chains both incorrectly divided from the end of one word to the beginning of the next and both changing the sense of the passage.), Deut. 33:3 (following a pronominal suffix), Deut. 33:2, Ex. 15, passim (with prepositions), Hab. 3:8, Ps. 29:6, Judg. 5:13, Num. 23:10, Ex. 15:9 (in general) with Is. 10:5, Gen. 1:9 (in a construct chain), Is. 11:15 (on an infinitive absolute), and Ps. 83:12 (in general).

<sup>81</sup>F. Blake, A Resurvey of Hebrew Tenses (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1951), p. 77.

<sup>82</sup>Cross and Freedman, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving," p. 20.



forms without a conjunction but with a past meaning (Ex. 15:12,14,15; Judg. 5:17; Ps. 18:7,15,44; Ps. 29:10). This phenomenon cannot be an absolute criterion, however, because although it is a normal syntactical arrangement in Ugaritic<sup>83</sup> it is also evident in later poetry (Ps. 8:6).<sup>84</sup> When the archaic poetry is compared with the later poems, however, the free use of the time aspects appears in the earlier poetry. This different use of the time aspects is also observed in the comparison of the early poetry with parallel prose (Judg. 4 versus Judg. 5). This interchange of the time aspects supports the emotional, passionate style of the ancient material. There are only traces of logical or formal regularity and the songs move freely and unconcernedly between the perfect and the imperfect forms of the verb.<sup>85</sup>

A rather persistent syntactical feature of the archaic poetry is the lack of the nota accusativi, the relative pronoun  $\text{𐎗𐎛𐎏}$  and the rare use of the definite article. When the latter is used, it probably retains its old demonstrative force (Num. 24:3).<sup>86</sup> The relative is replaced either by the ancient form  $\text{𐎗𐎛}$  (Ex. 15:13, 16, Judg. 5:5, Ps. 68:29), now attested by the Ugaritic materials (Keret I i 8, Baal V v 33),<sup>87</sup>  $\text{𐎗}$  (Judg. 5:7,

<sup>83</sup>Dahood, Psalms I, p. xxxix.

<sup>84</sup>Lowth, p. 160, noted this long ago.

<sup>85</sup>G. Gerleman, "The Song of Deborah in the Light of Stylistics," Vetus Testamentum, 1 (1951), 178.

<sup>86</sup>Cross, Studies, p. 54, and Albright, "The Oracles of Balaam," p. 216. They are supported by Smith, p. 11, G-K par. 2s, and Bauer-Leander, p. 262a.

<sup>87</sup>Dahood, "The Linguistic Position of Ugaritic," p. 269, and Albright, "The Song of Deborah," p. 30. Z. Harris, The Development of the Canaanite Dialects (New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 1939), p. 70, adds that this was reserved for elevated style but no longer used as early as the tenth century. See also Gordon, p. 120.



Num. 24:3),<sup>88</sup> or by a simple juxtaposition of the clauses omitting the relatives altogether (Num. 23:8, Gen. 49:27). The sign of the direct object would not, of course, be necessary where the case endings were used. The article (Ps. 18:8, Hab. 3:3), the relative (Deut. 33:8), and the nota accusativi (Deut. 33:9, Gen. 49:15) do, on occasion, appear in the archaic poetry. It is to be expected, however, that forms, so common later, were added during the course of transmission. On the other hand, the relatively late material in Ecclesiastes also shows an erratic use of the article.<sup>89</sup>

There are other minor syntactical formations worthy of note but not as important or persistent as the foregoing. The first of these is the infinitive absolute translated finitely and followed by a subject.<sup>90</sup> The examples of this from the literature seem to be in the later materials mostly (Eccl. 4:2, Is. 48:13, Jer. 38:14) but also occur in Deut. 33:3

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<sup>88</sup> There seems to be some disagreement as to whether this was an early or a late usage. F. Brown, S. Driver, and C. Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 929, hereafter cited as BDB, and Bauer-Leander, p. 264b, declare that it was a usage limited to late Hebrew and passages with a North Palestinian coloring. G-K par. 138a, n. 1, seems to disagree.

<sup>89</sup> Dahood, "The Language of Qoheleth," p. 251, points to this but says that it may indeed show a rather archaic influence which again emphasizes the problem of "archaizing" or "modernising" literature with relation to the archaic poems.

<sup>90</sup> This has been noted by several authors including Moran, p. 61, and his exhaustive article, "The Use of the Canaanite Infinitive Absolute as a Finite Verb in the Amarna Letters from Byblos," Journal of Cuneiform Studies, 4 (1950), 169-171, Gordon, p. 65, Freedman, "Archaic Forms," p. 105, and J. Huesman, "Finite Uses of the Infinitive Absolute," Biblica, 37 (1956), 277. Substantiation of the postulations on this use of the infinitive comes from the Amarna letters and Ras Shamra. Huesman found about twenty-five examples of this in the Hebrew. Moran adds that while at Amarna 'ank was usually the subject and the construction was familiar enough in Hebrew, the subject was not as a rule expressed. See also G-K, par. 113gg, for further examples.



[ $\text{לָּוּן (?)}$ ]. These infinitives are usually pointed as Qal participles and, consequently, must be found and repointed. They appear at the beginning of the sentence or after a simple conjunction, are occasionally followed by the subject, and express past time. Such infinitives give good support but do not appear frequently enough to be of great importance.

The Qal passive is also attested in the Ugaritic.<sup>91</sup> These forms are not Puals but true Qals which the Massoretes pointed as Niphals since the Qal passive did not exist for them. Examples appear in Proverbs 2:22 ( $\text{לָּוּן}$ ) which may or may not be late material, Habakkuk 3:17 ( $\text{לָּוּן}$ ), Numbers 23:20 ( $\text{לָּוּן}$ ), 23 ( $\text{לָּוּן}$ ), and Numbers 24:21 ( $\text{לָּוּן}$ ).<sup>92</sup>

The so-called "pleonastic" waw is another apparently ancient construction used, as Pope asserts, in an unexpected position to give the effect of calling special attention to the word to which it is attached and to add emphasis to the whole sentence.<sup>93</sup> Wernberg-Møller is not able to find an exact Hebrew parallel to the Ugaritic usage but does find two striking examples from the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 9:19, 24:20) which he feels, indicate that this was an ancient practice deleted in later

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<sup>91</sup>Dahood, "Ugaritic Studies," p. 64 and C. Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook, in Analecta Orientalia (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, (1965), XXXVIII, 80, who says that it was vestigial in Massoretic Hebrew.

<sup>92</sup>The example in Hab. 3 comes from G. Driver, "Linguistic and Textual Problems: Minor Prophets," Journal of Theological Studies, 39 (1938), 393, who suggests it and cites support from the Septuagint. M. Dahood, Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology, in Biblica et Orientalia (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965), XVII, 36, suggests the vocalization guzar in supporting the Habakkuk example. The citations from the Balaam Oracles are the reconstructions of Albright, "The Oracles of Balaam," p. 214.

<sup>93</sup>M. Pope, "'Pleonastic' Waw before Nouns in Ugaritic and Hebrew," Journal of American Oriental Society, 73 (1953), 98.



manuscripts by scribes who were unacquainted with this usage.<sup>94</sup> Possible examples appear in Amos 3:11 and Second Samuel 7:11. Until scholars are able to delineate this construction more clearly, it cannot serve very well but is, nevertheless, some sort of an ancient usage.<sup>95</sup> If the "pleonastic" waw was used as Pope describes it, then it would support the style of the poet and his presentation of significant points.

Finally, there are several miscellaneous particles (mn in Deut. 33:11 and vocative lamed in Ps. 68:5) which are attested in Ugaritic (Baal I\* iv 23, Baal III\* A 8, respectively) and appear seldom in the Hebrew. These forms too show a definite archaic relationship but are not persistent enough to give any kind of a criterion.

Some of the best supporting criteria come from the syntax. Such things as the constructio asyndetos, the use of asseverative וְ, וַיְ, the "double-duty" structures, the interchange of the time aspects, and perhaps the "pleonastic" waw highlight the emotional, rapidly moving contrasts which appear in the archaic poems. The enclitic mem and the various similarities to the Ras Shamra materials ( ל and י for Hebrew ל, lack of the article, relative, and nota accusativi, vocative lamed, appearance of mn) all increase the general archaic flavor of these ancient poems. In addition, more of these syntactical peculiarities appear in the archaic poems as contrasted with isolated occurrences in later materials.

<sup>94</sup>F. Wernberg-Møller, "'Pleonastic' Waw in Classical Hebrew," Journal of Semitic Studies, 3 (1958), 321.

<sup>95</sup>See G-K, par. 154a, n. 1. See also Judg. 5:15 (וַיְשַׁבְּחֵהוּ), 17 (וַיְשַׁבְּחֵהוּ) for possible examples which may be translated "especially" or "Nota Bene!" At the same time this writer concedes that these may be later insertions of the waw.



## Supporting Criteria of Imagery

The final section of supporting criteria is also of major importance because it increases the "subjective feeling" that the songs are archaic with objective evidence of ancient imagery. This ancient imagery is both peculiar to Israel and "borrowed" from surrounding cultures.<sup>96</sup> Such things as ancient titles, images, and theological conceptions appear in the archaic poems, and this old material will be examined in the following paragraphs.

One of the most important, persistent, ancient and authentically Israelite examples of imagery is the storm theophany of Yahweh from the South.<sup>97</sup> In several of the ancient poems Yahweh is distinctly called "the One of Sinai" (יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ), using the archaic relative (Judg. 5:5, Deut. 33:2, Ps. 68:9, Hab. 3:3). A tradition so ancient and so unanimous must be presumed to rest on some historical basis. In addition to this, Yahweh's theophany, although not specifically from the South, is a feature of other ancient songs (Ps. 29, Ps. 18:8-9) as well as some later songs (Ps. 97:3-6, Mic. 1:3-4). This is, according to von Rad, the highest

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<sup>96</sup>We shall designate the material as "borrowed" for lack of a better description. It may be that the material was part of a heritage common to the whole Fertile Crescent from which Israel reshaped certain usable concepts.

<sup>97</sup>This has been discussed most thoroughly and completely by N. Habel, Yahweh Versus Baal: A Conflict of Religious Cultures (New York: Bookman Associates, 1964), especially pp. 13-16, 80-84, 87. See also G. Beer, Welches war die Älteste Religion Israels? (Giessen: Alfred Töplemann, 1927), p. 10; J. Bright, A History of Israel (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959), p. 115; and G. von Rad, "The Problem of the Hexateuch," in The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays, translated by S. W. Dicken (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), p. 20. The substance of the following comments is extracted from these men.



beauty in all creation as Yahweh condescended to enter Israel's existence.<sup>98</sup> It is no wonder, therefore, that in the most ancient poems of the Old Testament, these theophany accounts should take a commanding and important place.

This particular picture and designation of Yahweh are, in addition, centered on the coming of Yahweh and so emphasize the theological aspects of the election and redemption of Israel in addition to a polemic directed against the Canaanite fertility religion.

The existence of this polemic is supported by the beings who appear with Yahweh or under his control in these poems (Hab. 3:5, Deut. 33:2, Ex. 15:8, Ps. 18:16) and show the further connection between the ancient poems and the Ugaritic materials. The general isolation of the theophanies in the poems and the relation of the theophanies with other beings (Resheph, Yam) add to the archaic flavor of the songs and so lend support to identification of these as archaic poems.<sup>99</sup> A similar picture has been isolated in

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<sup>98</sup> G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology, translated by D. M. G. Stalker (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), I, 366. J. Jeremias, Theophanie, in Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, edited by G. Bornkamm and G. von Rad (Second edition; Assen, Netherlands: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965), passim, traces the development and form of the theophany. He believes (pp. 7, 10-11) that Judg. 5:4-5 and Ps. 68:8-11 are the oldest forms of the theophanic event and that they reflect an even older form.

<sup>99</sup> Many writers who call certain of the poems "archaic," consistently cite this particular phenomenon as example of the ancient traditions involved in the songs. See H. -P. Müller, "Der Aufbau des Deborahliedes," Vetus Testamentum, 16 (1966), 458; M. Noth, The History of Israel (Second edition; New York: Harper and Row, 1960), p. 151; B. Erdmans, "Psalm LXVIII," Expository Times, 46 (1934-35), 172; Albright, "The Psalm of Habakkuk," p. 8; Cross, "The Divine Warrior," p. 25; and Cross and Freedman, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving," p. 20.



Nahum (1:3-4) by John Gray.<sup>100</sup> This is perhaps a later passage<sup>101</sup> and shows that the theophany of the warrior Yahweh cannot stand alone as a criterion of antiquity.<sup>102</sup> Yahwistic revision appears in many of these songs and may indicate that some of the actual material in them was added at a later date. Such revision or sophistication may include the theophanies. Usually, however, the additional materials are set off rather clearly from the body of the song by the break in thought which appears (Ps. 29:10-11, Judg. 5:31, Ex. 15:18, Hab. 3:17-19). Many of the theophanies are integral parts of the poems thus reducing the probability of a simple addition, for without them the poems that include a theophany would lack a basic member of the message.

Closely connected to the theophany of Yahweh from the South is the equally important and significant picture of Yahweh as a man of war. This appears to have been part of the earliest tribal experience of Yahweh.<sup>103</sup> His character is revealed through His magnalia against pagan gods and arms (Ex. 15:6-8; Judg. 5:4-5; Num. 23:21-23; Ps. 29; Deut. 32:23-24; Deut. 33:2,29).<sup>104</sup> It is because of His victories that He is

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<sup>100</sup> J. Gray, "The Kingship of God in the Prophets and the Psalms," Vetus Testamentum, 11 (1961), 16-17.

<sup>101</sup> Albright, "The Old Testament and Canaanite Language," pp. 22-23, believes there may be an archaic poem embedded in these verses.

<sup>102</sup> See also Jeremias, passim, who traces a definite development in the form of the theophany event. He shows that there is a distinct progression from the oldest forms of the theophany in Judg. 5:4-5 and Ps. 68:8-11 through Is. 30:27-33 and 66:15f. to the Psalms of Qumran.

<sup>103</sup> M. Noth, Exodus, in The Old Testament Library, translated by J. S. Bowden (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962), p. 124, supports this.

<sup>104</sup> Habel, pp. 40-41. He adds that Yahweh's titles reflect this character: "man of war" (Ex. 15:3), "incomparable Rock of salvation" (2 Sam. 22:2,3,32-33,47-49; Deut. 32:4,15,18), "the Mighty One of Jacob," and "King in Jeshurun" (Deut. 33:5, Gen. 49:24).



hailed as God in Israel. Yahweh as a warrior who fights for His people excites the poet to exuberance about the future and emotion in the presentation of his poetry.<sup>105</sup> Yahweh as a warrior is an image which fits the content of events in the earliest periods of Israel and so lends weight to the ancient character of the songs.<sup>106</sup> All of this is particularly evident in the two great victory odes of the Old Testament, Exodus 15 and Judges 5.<sup>107</sup>

There are, in addition to these images of Yahweh, various titles which are ascribed to Him. An interesting one is "bull." Albright<sup>108</sup> finds this in Habakkuk 3:4 (גִּבּוֹר), but only via severe emendation; von Rad<sup>109</sup> sees a close replica in Numbers 24:8 (בַּיָּבֹר); and Bruce Vawter<sup>110</sup> says that Yahweh is called the "Bull of Jacob" in Genesis 49:24 (גִּבּוֹר) but adds that there can be no perfect equation between Ugaritic and Israelite

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<sup>105</sup>Bright, p. 137, supports this.

<sup>106</sup>Cross, "The Divine Warrior," p. 25; and Rad, Old Testament Theology, p. 356, support this.

<sup>107</sup>Beer, p. 17, asserts that the Song of Deborah is "das älteste geschichtlich Zeugnis für den Zusammenschluss der Lea- und Rahelstämme auf Grund des Bekenntnisses zu dem Kriegsgott Jahwe." Whether Beer's statement is true or not, the content of the song does indeed reflect an ancient period. M. Rozelaar, "The Song of the Sea," Vetus Testamentum, 2 (1952), 226, believes that verse 21 of Ex. 15 is the oldest form of the song again reflecting the historical event behind the song.

<sup>108</sup>Albright, "The Psalm of Habakkuk," p. 14, n.j.

<sup>109</sup>Rad, Old Testament Theology, p. 24.

<sup>110</sup>B. Vawter, "The Canaanite Background of Genesis 49," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 17 (1955), 10. See also the Septuagint (גִּבּוֹר) in Deut. 33:17. BDE, p. 1004, supports the latter.



images of "bull." The title "Bull of Jacob" also appears in Psalm 24:6, however, according to Cross, who has used the Septuagint ( $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ) repointed ( $\Gamma' \text{ב} \text{א}$ ) to get the reading, and, thus, indicates, in a somewhat tenuous manner, that the title was not exclusive to the archaic poems.<sup>111</sup> The title is paralleled in the Ugaritic texts (Baal II ii 30, Keret I ii 23) where El is called "bull" (turu) and thus shows its ancient kinships.

"Rider of the clouds" is another title which is applied to Yahweh. Its ancient connections are evident from Ugaritic parallels as a title for Baal (Aqht I i 43, Baal II iii 10).<sup>112</sup> This title appears in Psalm 68:4 and Psalm 18:10-11 and is alluded to in Psalm 68:33 and Deuteronomy 33:26, increasing both the polemical and archaic flavor of these songs. Another ancient title for Yahweh which appears, as has been noted, is "the Mighty One of Jacob" (Gen. 49:24).<sup>113</sup>

Finally, there are any number of expressions, words, and names which are obscure, rare, and in many cases, echo Canaanite cliches. "Mount of heritage" (Ex. 15:7), "dias of thy throne" (Hab. 3:11), "Jeshurun" (Deut. 33:5, 25, Deut. 32:15),<sup>114</sup> to mention but a few, are good examples of the kind of language, not at all common in the Old Testament, which helps to stamp these compositions as ancient.<sup>115</sup> Care must be taken, however, in

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<sup>111</sup> Cross, "The Divine Warrior," p. 20.

<sup>112</sup> Gordon, Ugaritic Textbook, p. 461.

<sup>113</sup> Rad, Old Testament Theology, p. 7, believes this is ancient.

<sup>114</sup> BDB, p. 449, say that this is a poetic name designation Israel in its ideal character.

<sup>115</sup> M. Segal, "The Book of Deuteronomy," Jewish Quarterly Review, 48 (1957-1958), 348, says this obscure language is particularly apropos to the Blessing of Moses.



the use of this language as a criterion since there is much other material which is apparently later but still uses ancient vocabulary and phraseology (Job 38:7, 40:15, Is. 44:2).<sup>116</sup>

The use of Ugaritic materials has already been covered, to a degree, in chapter two.<sup>117</sup> It is apparent that the epics from Ras Shamra are ancient but it is equally apparent that these had a direct effect on Israel and her literature at two entirely different periods of her literature at two distantly separated eras of her development, sixth to fourth centuries, and eleventh to tenth centuries before Christ.<sup>118</sup> The former is what has been called an "archaistic" period, while the latter is a true archaic period. Vawter believes that the deliberate borrowing from the Canaanite materials by Israel occurred late in Hebrew literary history but there is no direct dependence on any of the Ugaritic sources.<sup>119</sup> Cross believes that when due allowance is made for the difference in outlook and circumstance, the language, literary forms and context of Ugaritic and Hebrew are still closely related.<sup>120</sup> The problem that remains is, therefore, how to determine between "deliberate borrowing" and "accidental usage," if such a term may be used. That deliberate borrowing took place for polemical purposes becomes rather obvious when a major characteristic of Baal is

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<sup>116</sup> Pope, Job, passim, makes a great deal of these allusions.

<sup>117</sup> Supra, pp. 15-20.

<sup>118</sup> Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Palestine, p. 128.

<sup>119</sup> Vawter, pp. 2, 17.

<sup>120</sup> Cross, Studies, pp. 17-18.



applied to Yahweh<sup>121</sup> or when Yahweh uses Canaanite gods as instruments to carry out His will.<sup>122</sup> On the other hand, just because certain expressions ("mount of heritage," "dias of thy throne,") appear in Ugaritic as well as in Hebrew does not have to mean that they were borrowed. Such terminology may just as well have existed as common phraseology in vogue during the ancient times and, hence, used by both the poets of Israel and the poets of Ras Shamra.<sup>123</sup> In addition, the polemic could have been delivered in ancient times just as well as late, in many instances, because the Ugaritic texts were extant from the fourteenth century on and so were current literature during the Conquest and Settlement by Israel. The similarities and allusions to Canaanite materials which are found in the ancient poems lend support to the archaic nature of the songs. The persistence of the storm theophany form the South and the concept of Yahweh as a warrior do not appear with persistence and grandeur in the later materials. Use of the Canaanite imagery, even in polemic, had to be handled carefully in the later period because of the dangers it brought to a nation religiously weakened by centuries of struggle with their surrounding environment. Such was not the case earlier, when Israel was young. As a nation, her spirit was vital, her allegiance to Yahweh was true, and she was heartily supported by the mighty acts of God she had seen with her own eyes.

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<sup>121</sup>Hab. 3:4 shows Yahweh instead of Baal with the lightening spear. In Ps. 68:4 Yahweh is the "rider on the clouds."

<sup>122</sup>Ex. 15:8 shows Yam working for Yahweh and Hab. 3:5 shows Resheph as a member of Yahweh's retinue.

<sup>123</sup>This thesis is weakened by the use of archaic language in such places as Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs, which are usually thought to be late. The use of such material may, on the other hand, reflect the antiquity of some of the traditions behind these books.



## Summary

The "supporting criteria" have been defined as elements which give support to the antiquity of the songs but cannot stand alone because there are too many occurrences in later usage. These "supporting criteria" do, however, lend substantial weight to the archaic nature of the poems in the areas of poetry, morphology, syntax and imagery. In each of these categories there are examples of rare elements. These appear in greatest concentration in the archaic poems and it is because of this that they are of value as supporting criteria. The syntax and the imagery lend the strongest support to the suggestion for a basic criterion which was made in chapter two. Both of these categories increase the "subjective feeling" that these poems are archaic and both indicate some of the excitement of the poets who recorded events which had great impact on their own lives. The suggested basic criterion needs the buttressing which these "supporting criteria" afford. When these two are used together, the highest possible balance of probability is established as to whether a given section is archaic or not.



## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSIONS

The preceding analysis has concentrated upon the generally accepted corpus of ancient poetry found scattered throughout the Old Testament. Many scholars have studied this corpus but the manner in which these men have treated the archaic poems, poses a problem. Roughly described, this problem is that the scholarly work on the ancient songs calls them "archaic" without delineating what it is about them that is specifically "archaic," especially as compared to other poetry in the Old Testament. This paper has sought a solution for the problem: what is it about these poems that makes them "archaic?" Accordingly, the following recapitulation will summarize the two-pronged answer, state the necessary conclusions which arise from the study, and ask certain questions which are raised and demand serious consideration.

The suggestion for a basic criterion to determine the antiquity of these songs is "parallelism of emphasis," a persistent, objective, poetic structure, in combination with the emotional presentation of the poet, an equally persistent but subjective "feeling." The "parallelism of emphasis" is closely tied to the repetition found in the poetry where one segment of a distich is repeated and thus emphasized as the main idea which the poet wants to express in that particular distich. There are variations of the precise repetition including a one-word synonym for the repeated word, and "climactic parallelism," that is, a lengthening of the entire thought with an extra stich. Whatever the form of the "parallelism of emphasis," it seems to be part of the presentation of the poet. The structure enabled him to remember his message more easily. More important, the poet's mode



of presentation made his point impossible to miss and caught up his listeners in the excitement which the poet himself felt at having seen the wonders of Yahweh. It is this vigorous emotion, this unrestrained passion and exuberance of the archaic poems which comprise the subjective "feeling."

The "supporting criteria" are the second prong which aid in determining the archaic nature of a piece of poetry. These criteria are necessary because the "parallelism of emphasis" just described apparently exists, to a small degree, in later poetry.<sup>1</sup> These "supporting criteria," however, cannot stand alone because they are neither pervasive in nor exclusive to the archaic corpus. They do, however, add significant support in the areas of poetry, morphology, syntax, and imagery because of their historical connections and limited usage. Supporting poetic criteria are meter (2:2), tristichs, and the basic balance which is inherent in this early poetry. The morphology of these ancient poems reveals such rare forms as case endings, nun energicum, old forms of the personal endings, rare verb forms, and archaic orthography of normal Hebrew forms. Syntactical support of the basic criterion is one of the strongest. Lack of the waw conjunctive and waw consecutive and the use of various adverbial introductions increase the emotional intensity of the poems. Other minor points of syntax, "double-duty" structures,  $\text{וְ}$  or  $\text{וַ}$  for  $\text{וַי}$ , enclitic mem, the "tenses," to mention a few, indicate older practices and are, hence, generally lacking in the later style. Finally, the imagery, another strong support, portrays ancient Israelite (theophany from the South, Yahweh as Warrior) and Canaanite (Yahweh as "bull," "rider of the clouds,"

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<sup>1</sup>The ratio of occurrence of "parallelism of emphasis" between the archaic and later poetry was ten to one in the initial study. A cross-check revealed a ratio of twenty to one.



Yahweh using the gods as His instruments) conceptions of God which disappeared in later writing.

In brief, then, there are indicators within the poetry that it belongs to an archaic genre. Comparison with later poetry bears out this opinion with respect to both the more objective evidence as well as the subjective spirit of the poems. In addition to this summary of the principle areas of investigation in this thesis, it is desirable to delineate the conclusions and implications of this study.

1. "Parallelism of emphasis," as a part of the emotional presentation of the poet, is the most persistent, exclusive criterion for the antiquity of the poems. As was demonstrated in chapter two, this criterion appears in all of the poems, to a greater or lesser degree. On the other hand, this is not an absolute criterion because it also occurs, usually in a more dilute form, in later poetry. A balance of probability that a section is archaic is established by using this as a criterion. Additional support, however, is necessary.

2. "Supporting criteria" contribute the additional buttressing necessary for highest probability that a poem is archaic. The details of chapter three are comprised of linguistic and conceptual aspects which are peculiar to ancient material in varying degrees. These "supporting criteria" are dominant in the archaic corpus but may not stand alone because they are not exclusive to or persistent in the old poems.

3. With these things in mind, the conclusions that a given section is or is not archaic must be made in terms of probability. Because of periods when there may have been "archaizing" of a modern text or "modernizing" of an archaic one and because of the length of time these materials have been transmitted, there are several aspects of the ancient poetry for



which there is not now and may never be elucidation. This is particularly true in dealing with poetry for which there exists no extant canons of construction, and repetitive poetry, in particular, which was easily corrupted.

4. In applying the basic criterion and the "supporting criteria" to the body of archaic poems, it is noteworthy that a hierarchy of antiquity appears within the group of songs. Some of the poetry is filled with examples of the basic criterion (Judg. 5, Ps. 29) while in other places there are, at best, only a few occurrences (Hab. 3, Deut. 33). This hierarchy may indicate the problems, already noted, of "archaizing" or "modernizing" by later authors or redactors.<sup>2</sup>

Finally, this study raises several questions which cannot be overlooked. The most telling of these questions is: using these criteria, can we isolate a section of archaic material? The answer is that it can be done with a good degree of certainty. In some places there is simply not enough material with which to operate or the poetry has been reworked to such a degree that both the objective and subjective evidence has been diluted (Is. 51:9, Ps. 24:6, Ps. 136:21-22). We are fortunate that a short segment like Numbers 21:17b-18 has preserved an example of "parallelism of emphasis." Other sections which are presumed archaic by some scholars (Gen. 4:23-24, Num. 10:35-36)<sup>3</sup> are too short and do not give much, if any, evidence that they are ancient. The longer poems which are assigned to the archaic corpus contain the needed evidence and yet there will always be a

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<sup>2</sup>We refer to the comments of D. Freedman in a letter to John H. Miller, St. Louis, December 17, 1966, cited in the introductory chapter, supra, p. 5, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup>N. Gottwald, A Light to the Nations (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), p. 18.



large element of uncertainty until more documents are discovered.<sup>4</sup>

One final question arises from this very point: is the problem with which this thesis deals and the answers which it suggests a fruitful area of further pursuit? A combination of form criticism and text criticism has been the methodology in this paper. The results have taken us about as far as we can go on the basis of the evidence at hand. Application of the criteria in the foregoing analysis can establish a balance of probability but cannot give an absolute answer. With careful use of these criteria, we may be able to add more sections to the archaic corpus or eliminate the poems that do not belong but we cannot be sure that we have isolated every archaic element in the Old Testament. Perhaps it is not out of place at this point to say that this is the way it should be. We have a basic group of poems which are most probably archaic and reflect the ancient faith of Israel. To search for a greater absolute perhaps erodes the very subjective faith in Yahweh which the early poets instilled in their poetry. They had seen Yahweh in action. They were presenting what they had seen in a way that was to affect those who heard it whether they lived a thousand years before Christ or live two thousand years after Him. "He who has ears to hear, let him hear" (Matt. 11:15).

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<sup>4</sup>Freedman's letter supports this suspicion which the writer must confess has been with him from the conclusion of research on the poems.



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