THE SONG OF

DEBORAH:

POETRY

IN DIALECT

A Philological Study of

JUDGES 5

with

Translation and Commentary

By

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עֲטֶרֶת זְקֵנִים בְּנֵי בָנִים

To Erica, Ian, Owen, and Lauren

May they always be free

to cherish and challenge

tradition

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PREFACE

With a single stroke of the pen, an ancient editor or scribe added the conjunction ו (the vowel *û*) before the name of Barak in Judges 5:1, and in so doing diminished the stature of Deborah as a judge and as a person wielding real power in early Israel. By adding the ו (*û*) to the text, the scribe forced Deborah to join Barak in singing a duet: ותשר דבורה וברק "then sang Deborah and Barak." Without the ו, the phrase ותשר דבורה ברק would have to be read as a verb-subject-object sequence: "then Deborah made Barak sing" (or do something else), the only question being the precise meaning of the verb. Without the ו, Deborah was clearly in charge; and were the verb "to sing," Deborah would have been the conductor who made Barak sing. But the addition of the conjunction ו placed Barak on a par with Deborah; they acted in concert.

This slim editorial note created disharmony between the Song of Deborah in Judges 5 and the prose account in Judges 4, where Deborah had the authority to summon Barak and deliver to him the command of Yahweh to go to war. The addition set the tone for the entire poem, making Deborah primarily a songstress whose major role was to encourage the troops in battle.

Folk etymology reduced Deborah's stature even more. Her name was popularly derived from דבורה "bee," which may have sweet overtones, but lacks the status of דַּבָּרָה "leader, governor, guide." In a similar way, popular etymology associated Yael's name with יעל "goat," missing the more basic meaning "the pre-eminent one" and its derivative "noble, strong."

A clear understanding of the role of Deborah and Yael in early Israel remains hidden in the obscure lines of the Song of Deborah. Until there is some consensus on the literal meaning of the poem itself, there can be little agreement on the value of the poem for understanding the history, sacred literature, and social institutions of pre-monarchical Israel.

Exegetical tradition—provided by the scribes who added vowel letters and divided the consonant clusters into words—and the early Greek translations for Jews of the Diaspora, which provide a myriad of textual variants, have not made the task of the modern interpreter an easy one.

PREFACE

    I offer here a translation of the Song of Deborah which adheres closely to the consonants of the Masoretic text, though I have re-divided many of the consonant clusters in order to restore certain poetic lines. Exegetical traditions, early and modern, have been carefully examined; but with a number of the more obscure lines there has been no compelling reason to stay with traditional translations or exegesis. At times it became necessary to step away from the guesswork reflected in the ancient variants and the speculative emendations of more recent commentators. Looking at the poem as if it were found in a newly discovered scroll provided constructive alternatives for a number of the more obscure passages. The obscurities in Judges 5 are diminished once the poem is read as dialectal Hebrew and the interpreter makes use of a larger lexicon than that traditionally used for classical canonical Judean Hebrew. This approach provided new insights, not only on the names of Deborah and Yael, but also on the meaning of many lines in the poem.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A-text	Codex Alexandrinus
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven
AB	Anchor Bible, New York
AbrN	*Abr-Nahrain*, Melbourne
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*, Berlin
AHW	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, Chicago
AJT	*American Journal of Theology*, Chicago
ALUOS	Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society
AnBib	Analecta Biblica, Rome
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. by J. B. Pritchard, Princeton
AOS	American Oriental Society, New Haven
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch, Göttingen
AV	Authorized Version of the Bible, 1611 (same as KJV, 1611)
B-text	Codex Vaticanus
B†	Codex Vaticanus and one undesignated minuscule supporting the reading cited
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*, New Haven
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*, Washington, D. C.
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Philadelphia
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge, Bonn
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, C. A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, New York
BH^3	R. Kittel, *Biblica Hebraica*, third edition, Stuttgart, 1937
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia, Rome
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, England
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament, Neukirchen-Vluyn
BO	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Leiden
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*, Freiburg i. Br. and Paderborn
BZAW	Beihefte zur *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Gießen and Berlin
CAD	I. Gelb, L. Oppenheim, et al., eds., *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, Washington, D. C.
CD	Cairo (Geniza text of the) Damascus (Document)
CIH	*Inscriptiones himyariticas et sabaeas Continens. Pars Quarta* of *CIS*, Paris
CIS	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris
CTA	A. Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques*, Paris
EBib	*Études bibliques*, Paris

EH	Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament, Münster
GKC	*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, ed. E. Kautzsch, tr. A. E. Cowley, Oxford
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament, Tübingen
HJ	*Hibbert Journal*, Boston, London
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament, Göttingen
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs, Cambridge, Massachusetts and Missoula, Montana
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*, Cambridge, Massachusetts
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*, Cincinnati
ICC	International Critical Commentary, Edinburgh
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*, Jerusalem
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Boston
JANESCU	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*, New York
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, New Haven, Boston
JB	Jerusalem Bible, New York, 1966
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Missoula, Montana
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, New Haven
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*, London
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Jerusalem
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia
JSOR	*Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, Chicago
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Sheffield
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*, Manchester
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*, Oxford
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*, Wiesbaden
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament, Leipzig and Gütersloh
KB³	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*, 3rd ed., Leiden
KJV	King James Version of the Bible (same as the AV, 1611)
LXX	Septuagint
LBA	Late Bronze Age
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
MT	Masoretic Text
NAB	New American Bible, Paterson, New Jersey, 1969, 1970
NEB	New English Bible, Oxford and Cambridge, 1961, 1970
NJV	New Jewish Version (*Tanak: A New Translation of the Holy Scriptures*), New York, 1985 (5740)
NorTTS	*Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, Oslo
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version of the Bible, New York, 1992
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago

ABBREVIATIONS

OLZ	*Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, Berlin and Leipzig
Or	*Orientalia*, Rome
OTL	Old Testament Library, Philadelphia and London
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studien*, Leiden
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, London
PG	J. Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, Paris
PRU	*Palais Royal d'Ugarit*, Paris
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alter-tumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart
RB	*Revue biblique*, Paris and Rome
RivB	*Rivista biblica italiana*, Brescia
RSV	Revised Standard Version of the Bible, London and New York, 1952
RR	*Review of Religion*, New York
RV	English Revised Version of the Bible, London, 1885
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology, Nashville, and London
Syria	*Syria. Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologie*, Paris
TEV	Today's English Version, New York, 1979
ThLitZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Berlin
ThZ	*Theologische Zeitschift*, Basel
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*, Münster
UT	C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, Rome
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*, Leiden
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements, Leiden
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*, Philadelphia
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Leipzig and Berlin
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Gießen and Berlin
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig and Wiesbaden
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Leipzig, Stuttgart, and Wiesbaden
1QapGen	Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran Cave 1
1QIsaᵃ	Isaiah Scroll A from Qumran Cave 1
1QS	Manual of Discipline from Qumran Cave 1
11QpaleoLev	Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus Scroll from Cave 11
ערוך השלם	*Aruch Completum sive lexicon vocabula et res, quae in libris targumicis, talmudicis et midraschicis continentur, explicans auctore Nathane filio Jechielis*, A. Kohut, ed., Vienna, 1878
( )	Explanatory additions in English translation
[ ]	Editorial deletion from the Hebrew text
< >	Editorial addition to the Hebrew text
*	Denotes the original writing of the scribe when used with a manuscript symbol; when used with a Semitic word, it indicates the original (proto-Semitic) form.

INTRODUCTION

Although the Song of Deborah (Judges 5), like the Song of the Sea (Exodus 15), is recognized as one of "the oldest substantial compositions preserved in the Hebrew Bible" and offers "valid historical data for a reconstruction of the initial phases of Israelite history" (Freedman 1975: 19), paradoxically no scholarly consensus exists at present as to the poem's structure and meaning. Many of the best studies of Judges 5 are characterized by extensive emendation of the text, restoring a presumably corrupt text to read as the particular scholar would imagine a hymn of victory should read in classical Judean Hebrew. The translation of Cheyne (1904: 453–455), who was preoccupied with Jerahmeel, is given in the Appendix as an example of how a critic could take extreme liberties with the MT. Critical "restorations," common in the nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries, are summarized in the studies of Moore (1900a, 1900b) and Burney (1918). They were modified and improved upon by some of the twentieth century's best scholars, including Albright (1922, 1936, 1968a, 1968b), Richter (1963, 1964), and Boling (1975).

Of the poem's 1,485 letters in the MT (5:1–31a), Burney (1918: 160–165) deemed it necessary to delete 158 letters as secondary additions or scribal errors and emended an additional 33 letters (for a 12.9 percent rate of error). Albright's first study (1922) resulted in his deleting 204 letters and emending 12 others (for a 14.5 percent rate of error). Richter (1963: 69–81; 1964: 400–402) isolated 202 letters as additions to the original poem and altered the reading of 10 other letters (for a 14.3 percent rate of error).

In addition to these changes, Burney added 17 consonants and 10 vowel letters, Albright added 12 consonants and 10 vowel letters, and Richter added 6 consonants. The total number of changes to the MT by additions, emendations, and deletions according to Burney, Albright, and Richter are 218 (14.7 percent), 238 (16.0 percent), and 218 letters (14.7 percent), respectively. These figures reflect a very high level of presumed errors, glosses, and editorial accretions and omissions for this poem. These revisions do not exhaust the corrections needed to make the poem fairly intelligible. Words and verses were also transposed. Richter transposed two verses and eleven words, Burney transposed one verse and four words, and Albright transposed four words.

Building on the contributions of Albright's earlier studies, Cross (1950) made significant methodological progress in the study of early Hebrew poetry. Although the Song of Deborah received only limited attention in his work on metrical structure, Cross's use of orthographic and linguistic analysis based upon epigraphic evidence introduced critical controls absent in earlier studies of Judges 5. Though dealing only with a reconstructed unvocalized text of the less problematic sections of the poem (5:2–3 and 17–30), Cross made numerous emendations, frequently for metrical reasons. He added 24 letters, deleted 34 and emended 3. In addition, he considered five tribal names and the ברכו יהוה repeated in 5:2 and 5:9 to be extra-metrical.

Other scholars had already produced alternative solutions to resolve the enigmata of the poem. I. W. Slotki (1932) advanced a theory of "repetition, antiphony and blanks." For him the difficulties of the meter and meaning were removed by the recognition of repetitive antiphonal responses which had been written only once. The repetitions were originally indicated in the text by blank spaces serving as the equivalent of our ditto marks. Sometime during the process of transmission, the blank spaces were removed and thus the clues for the responses were lost, resulting in confusion about the poem's meter and meaning.

Slotki reasoned that once the antiphonal responses are re-inserted into our apocopated version of the poem, the meter and sense can be satisfactorily restored. He did not deal with the entire poem, nor with its most difficult sections. However, in the eight verses which he developed (5:6, 21, 22–24, 27–30), 232 letters (making up 44 words of antiphonal responses) were presumed to have been lost. This method, like that of extensive emendation, won only limited acceptance because, as Barr (1968: 301) noted with reference to textual emendation, "the impression given was that the interpreter in many cases was rewriting the text rather than explaining what was written."

Gerleman (1951: 168–180) denied that difficulties existed in the text of Judges 5 and rejected the use of textual emendation. He asserted that the MT was not as corrupt as critics "eager to make brilliant conjectures" claimed. For him ". . . most of the textual emendations which have been made seem to fit ill the characteristic style of the Deborah Song" (168, 180). He defended the Masoretic tradition with his own brilliant conjecture that the poem belongs to a genre of early poetic impressionism which manifested neither the characteristics of logical reflection

and intelligibility, nor even syntactically disciplined logical form. "The impressionism of the Deborah Song is of a primitive unconscious type, a naive spontaneous art" (180). The song has a certain unity for Gerleman which "lies more in the emotional coloring than in the outline." This impressionism reflects, in his opinion, the natural unconscious style of the original poet who, with an "atomizing technique" (177), "reproduces merely his [*sic*] own momentary impressions (173).[1] Therefore, argued Gerleman, the perspective of the poet was not fixed but movable, and consequently the poem lacks logical progression and reflection.

Unfortunately, Gerleman did not deal with the most enigmatic passages of the poem. His study treated only 5:2–6a, 7a, 11, 17b, 19a, 20, 22, 24, 28, 30. The weakness in his thesis is that, since most scholars find much in the poem to be incomprehensible, the impressionistic creativity may reflect no more than the talent of the exasperated translator, rather than the style of the original poet. The absence of other early "impressionistic" poetry in the Hebrew literary corpus cautions one against calling *illogical* in the original wording what scholars currently find *incomprehensible* in their current texts. It can only be said that impressionistic translations have been created from the enigmata in the Song of Deborah. Until these cruces are resolved, it will be impossible to determine whether the impressionism comes from the poet or from the poet's translators.

Gerleman's denial of any real literary unity in the poem has been reinforced by Blenkinsopp (1961: 65), who stated

> The unity of the poem is theological rather than literary, and we can be certain in any case that whoever gave the Book of Judges its final form as we have it was less concerned with producing an integrated work of art than with preserving what was of value in the traditions of the past for the purpose of edification, and that just as the victory song of Moses and Miriam underwent transformation into what can be called a liturgical canticle, so it is not unlikely, a priori, that something of the same took place here.

Blenkinsopp (1961: 67–76) isolated verses 5:2–5 and 31a as

psalmic elements which were added to an original war ballad to

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[1] Compare Ackroyd 1952: 160–162, who argued that elements of the poem, like the curse on Meroz, may be "quotations" from older traditions utilized by the poet who composed the poem about a hundred years after the event.

produce a liturgical piece celebrating "the great liberating act of God both in society and in the individual soul." Removal of these psalmic elements "leaves us with a clear-cut ballard [*sic*] in five moments or 'fits' interlaced with short lyric, choral elements." But, according to Blenkinsopp, even if the poem does not demonstrate a literary unity or appear to be an integrated work of art, it "is not a hotch-potch or a witch's brew of ill-assorted literary herbs" (76). Blenkinsopp's adoption of Slotki's reconstruction of 5:27 and his identifying 5:15b–16 as a "perfect little taunt-song" that had had an independent existence outside the Song of Deborah reflect his eclectic approach. His most significant contribution may well be his insistence that much of the poem is a war ballad. His identifying several passages as psalmic elements, in conformity with exegetical tradition, precluded his identifying the entire work as such.

Lindars (1995: 212–213) supported the "emotional unity" of Gerleman and the "thematic unity" of Blenkinsopp, asserting

> The poem is not merely descriptive, but conveys the emotions of the participants . . . . Thus the hearers of the poem are left sharing the experience of those who were actually involved, and can feel that this is their own victory. All this can be felt by the modern reader without the aid of critical analysis. Moreover, the progress of the poem is logical in relation to its subject matter, and there is no *prima facie* reason for drastic rearrangements.

A theological and cultic unity for Judges 5 was proposed by Weiser (1959: 67–97). His suggestion differs from the "emotional unity" proffered by Gerleman and the "thematic unity" of Blenkinsopp in that Weiser predicated a uniform composition for the poem derived from diverse literary elements, including (a) verses 2–18, which form Deborah's recitation of the war and the victory and the tribes' participation (or non-participation) in the cultic festival of covenant renewal, and (b) verses 19–30, which, in a cultic celebration of Yahweh's recent victory, deal with the conflict between Barak and Sisera.

Weiser's views have gained limited acceptance, most recently in the study of J. Gray (1988: 421–455). But Mayes (1969: 356), in a convincing critique of Weiser's conclusions, noted, "This cultic view provides a rather 'blanket explanation' of the Song

which is partly acceptable only for the final stage of its history."[2]
Mayes doubted that the original poem was a unified composition.
He preferred to follow H.-P. Müller (1966), who analyzed Judges
5 as a composite of an original poetic narrative of the battle
(5:12–31) coupled to a later psalmic introduction (5:2–11).
Through a process of double Yahwistic editing, the poem's
elements have been transformed into the present hymn of praise.[3]

Lindars (1995: 218, 222–223) isolated 5:1 as an editorial intro-
duction and identified 5:2–5 as "an assortment of introductory
material, appropriate to liturgical celebration of the event, but
without internal unity." Of the remaining verses, Lindars noted
that 5:6–8 "may have been the original opening stanza" and
verses 9–11 "may well be a liturgical addition, inviting celebra-
tion of the victory at cultic occasions" (234, 241). Verse 31, not
surprisingly, was also identified by Lindars as a liturgical addi-
tion.

Objections have been raised by Globe (1974b) both to the
cultic interpretation of Weiser and to the views of Müller and
Mayes which deny the literary unity of Judges 5. Although Globe
admitted that this poem "could be a synthesis of ancient poems
composed at different times" (like Genesis 49), he argued for its
literary unity. On the basis of the poem's content, form, and
context, Globe found no reason why the poem cannot be viewed
as an integrated literary unit. He asserted (1974b: 508, 511–512)

> In the final analysis, the stylistic coherence of Judges 5 gives the impression
> of a single poetic intelligence mustering all the craft at its disposal, always
> varying the technique, but often returning to devices used earlier . . . the
> poem has a carefully composed structure employing a significant number of
> recurring literary forms . . . . There is every reason to believe that the poem
> was composed, much as it has survived, shortly after the battle it commem-
> orates.

But Globe was only able to predicate, not demonstrate, the uni-
ty of the entire poem. In two separate studies (1974a, 1975), he
attempted to demonstrate the unity of 5:4–5 and 5:13–18. What

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[2] Note also Mayes 1974: 85–92.

[3] Compare Soggin (1981a: 625–639 and 1981c: 94) who identified two
strata in the poem: (1) a heroic poem from the early monarchy (5:2–5, 9–11,
13, 23 ["as an unclear insertion"], and 31a); and (2) a later pre-Josianic theo-
logical revision (5:6–8, 14–22, 24–30).

he succeeded in demonstrating was the fact that individual strophes of the poem, as they appear in the MT, have characteristics typical of early Hebrew poetry, whatever the enigmatic Hebrew may mean. Recognition of structural balance within several strophes and the calling of attention to aural coherence, normative parallelism, and details like assonance and puns cannot demonstrate unity of the contents per se. Such unity may only reflect a common style found in disparate poetic fragments collected by an editor or redactor. Nevertheless, I concur with Globe's assertion (1975: 178) that "poetry of this order is rarely the product of textual corruption. Nor does the passage look like later editorial activity."

Hauser (1980: 25) concurred with Globe's arguments for the unity of the poem and rejected Blenkinsopp's proposals to divide the poem into a secular ballad and a later liturgical psalmic reworking of the ballad. His study focused on only half of the verses of the poem (the less problematic verses: 3–5, 11, 19–22, 24–30) and led him to conclude that "parataxis is best suited as a key to understanding the poet's style." He defined parataxis as the "placing side by side of words, images, clauses, or scenes without connectives that directly and immediately coordinate the parts with one another," noting that parataxis presents an incomplete picture, elements of which "at first glance do not appear to correlate well with one another." Since parataxis "tends toward disjointedness," Hauser concluded, "Judges 5 employs a variety of rhythmic techniques without presenting a consistent metrical structure." Hauser's "paratactic key," was endorsed by Gottwald (1985: 252–254) and certainly provides a means for making some sense out of the Song of Deborah as it now stands in the MT, the versions, and the varied modern translations. However, it has the same limitations as Gerleman's "poetic impressionism." Paratactic translations have emerged from the enigmata in the song, but until these enigmata are resolved it remains uncertain whether the parataxis comes from the poet or from the poet's translators or from both.

Contrary to the views of Gerleman, Mayes, Müller, and others, and in support of the arguments of Globe, my study demonstrates that the Song of Deborah is a brilliantly logical and stylistically uniform epic fragment, employing a much richer repertoire of lexical, syntactic, and grammatical elements than has been realized. While some parataxis may have been employed by the poet, syntaxis was the poet's paramount achievement. What Globe was

able to achieve for only several strophes can, in my opinion, be established for the whole poem.

Current philological studies, even with their failures and excesses, provide many clues for resolving the enigmata of early Hebrew poetry.[4] Such studies are forcing Hebraists to recognize that ancient poets had a larger vocabulary and more syntactical options than were formerly recognized. One can concur with Hauser (1980: 28), "Rather than trying to emend the obscure sections [of Ju 5], it seems best to assume that they point more to our lack of knowledge of ancient Hebrew vocabulary than to problems of textual corruption." As the long-standing cruces of Judges 5 are resolved, the unity of the poem becomes transparent.

Just as the various strophes of the poem cannot be treated in isolation from one another, Judges 5 cannot be treated in isolation from the prose story in Judges 4, which is surely the oldest "commentary" or *midrash* on the Song of Deborah.[5] The priority of Judges 5 has been reasserted by Halpern (1988: 95) who noted, "Virtually every element of the prose account stems directly, or by a dialectical process, indirectly, from SDeb . . . . Every facet of the prose account can be derived from a reading of SDeb." However, Judges 4 has its own problems, including what Yadin (1975: 250) has rightly called "one of the most irksome questions of biblical research," namely, the difference in the accounts of the destruction of Hazor and the death of Jabin in Judges 4 and Joshua 11.

Archaeological studies have supported the integrity of the account of Joshua 11, leading Yadin (1975: 255) to conclude, "The narrative in the Book of Joshua is, therefore, the true historicalnucleus, while the mention of Jabin in Judges 4 must have been a later editorial interpolation." The present study supports

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[4] For bibliographic material, see Blommerde (1969); Dahood and Penar (1970); Robertson (1972); and Bal (1988a).

[5] Amit's study (1987: 89–111) provides a good introduction to and bibliography of issues surrounding Judges 4. Note Kaufmann's conclusion (1962: 114), "But this opinion [that the poetry was the basis of the prose] is also not correct. We cannot see why the author of the prose reduced the number of the fighting tribes from 6 to 2. We cannot also understand how he knew all the details which are not mentioned in the song. There is no doubt that the prose and the poetry are *two independent forms* [italics mine] of the tradition about the war with Sisera." (I thank Gilad Gevaryahu for this quotation from Kaufmann.)

Yadin's argument for the historical value of Joshua 11, but it also offers an alternative solution to the problems related to Judges 4.

In Chapter One, the integrity of the consonantal Masoretic text is defended, followed in Chapter Two by an analysis of the literary units which make up Judges 4 and 5. In Chapter Three, it is argued that Shamgar was an *Israelite* overseer, and that Judges 3:31, which also mentions him, was originally a part of the poem of Judges 5. In Chapter Four, Deborah is identified as the (Hittite) "Mother in Israel" (alluded to in Ezekiel 16) whose name also survives in a name list of Ramesses III, providing a chronological reference point for the Israelite battle against Sisera. Chapter Five contains my reconstruction and translation of the Song of Deborah (with metrical and syllabic patterns outlined), and this is followed by a philological commentary in Chapter Six. In Chapter Seven, as part of the closing summary, the question of authorship of the poem is addressed, and a case is made for Yael or another Kenite being the author, even though tradition has credited Deborah and some scholars have argued for a composite poem of anonymous fragments.

An analysis of the meter (both accentual and syllabic) of this poem in comparison with Ugaritic poetry or with other biblical poetry will require a separate study. Only brief descriptive statements, following the "traditional school" of Ley (1875), Budde (1882), and Sievers (1901–1907), have been included in Chapter Six. The accentuation and vocalization of the MT, with its recognized limitations, has been utilized (with vocal *šĕwā'* counting as a full vowel).

Quotations from the Septuagint have been accented according to the critical editions of Brook and McLean (1917) and Rahlfs (1935). No effort has been made to add accents and breathing marks to the variants cited from these works.

The Appendix includes eleven English translations of the Song of Deborah (nine of which are frequently referred to but are not as available as the RSV, NEB, NAB, and the like). A *targum* in Modern Hebrew of my English translation found in Chapter Five provides an abstract in Israeli Hebrew of my conclusions, as well as a text by which to compare the changes in Hebrew over the three millennia.

CHAPTER ONE

THE INTEGRITY
OF THE HEBREW TEXT

One of the seemingly most firmly established conclusions concerning the Song of Deborah is that the Hebrew text of the poem is "hopelessly corrupt." Most contemporary critics would concur with Moore's statement (1900b: 129):

> Probably few scholars would now agree with Ewald (*Dichter,* i. p. 178 n.) and E. Meier (*National-Literatur der Hebräer,* p. 89) that the text of the poem has been transmitted to us substantially intact — not to mention the more extravagant notions of its impeccability entertained, *e.g.* by [J.] Bachmann ([*Das Buch der Richter*, 1868] p. 517 ff.). August Müller (*Das Lied der Deborah,* 1887, i. ff.) has proved, on the contrary, that the corruption is extensive and deep-seated. Whether it also is beyond all remedy, is a question about which opinions will differ.

Albright (1936: 26) noted, "So old is the Song that part of the text is hopelessly corrupt, both in the Greek and Hebrew versions, and the meaning of individual words was evidently lost long before the Christian era." Lindars (1995: 222) asserted, "The LXX presents a maze of strange readings, which are often difficult to relate to the Hebrew text. . . ." but concluded that the tendency of some to accept every word of the MT was unwise, even though the MT was preferable to the LXX. But the consensus about the poem's textual corruption really needs to be reconsidered, and Albright's earlier opinion can now be revived: "its textual state is excellent" (1921: 54) and "the text of the Song in its Masoretic form is excellent, as attested by the LXX, but the pointing is often impossible, and the pronominal suffixes and other endings have suffered more than once from dittography" (1922: 73).

A coherent reading of the Song of Deborah, with logical progression and stylistic uniformity, is possible, and the integrity of the consonantal MT can be demonstrated as ninety-nine percent reliable (or about ninety-eight percent correct if the confusion of the vowel letters ו and י is included and *scriptio plena* introduced for archaic *scriptio defectiva*). The major textual problem lies not in the consonants per se, but in the spacing of the consonants, i.e., the word division provided by tradition.

I. Clues from the "Book of the Wars of Yahweh"

The fragment of the ספר מלחמות יהוה, the "Book of the Wars of Yahweh," which has survived in Num 21:14–15, provides not only a parallel reference to Yahweh's activities associated with Seir (alluded to in Deborah's exhortation in Ju 5:4–9), but also clues for restoring the text of the Song of Deborah. It contains examples of a mixed and inconsistent orthography with reference to vowel letters and words rarely found in the classical dialect.[6]

The difficulty of the text is evident in the nearly meaningless RSV: "Wherefore it was said in the Book of the Wars of Yahweh, 'Waheb in Suphah, and the valleys of the Arnon, and the slope of the valleys that extends to the seat of Ar, and leans to the borders of Moab'." The KJV read the והב בסופה "Waheb in Suphah" as "what he did in the Red sea" (following the Vulgate *fecit in mari rubro*) as though the Hebrew were שיהב בים סוף instead of the MT את והב בסופה.

The LXX is no less problematic. It reads in part, διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται ἐν βιβλίῳ πόλεμος τοῦ κυρίου τὴν Ζωοβ ἐφλόγισεν "On account of this it is said in the book, the war of the Lord, he/she burned Zōob." It seems that the LXX *Vorlage* may have had את זוהב סרפה, in which case the feminine מלחמה could have been read as the subject of the feminine verb שׂרפה = סרפה (although G. A. Smith [1912: 62] suggested that the LXX translated סרף, not סרפה).

More important than the translations offered is the manuscript and versional evidence for uncertainty in regards to word division. Despite Noth's (1968: 160) claim that this text "defies all explanation," Christensen (1975: 50–51) made significant progress in understanding the text. With only slight modification of Christensen's scansion, I vocalize and scan Num 21:14–15 as follows:[7]

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[6] See Cross and Freedman 1952: 57; also note G. B. Gray 1903: 287. Compare Tur Sinai's (1960: 146–148) reading "wherefore it is said in the book: There were wars of the Lord . . . ," thereby eliminating the ספר מלחמות יהוה.

[7] Christensen followed Dahood in identifying MT והב "benefactor" as a participle of יהב = והב. Compare Weippert 1979: 17, who deleted seven vowel letters, three conjunctive ו's, two ה's, emended three letters (including reading יהו for והב), and translated, "Yhwh came in a tempest, He came to the Arnon river, crossed the river, crossed it. Deviated (from the way) to dwell in Ar, Established himself in the land of Moab." Milgrom (1990: 177) noted that

אָתָ וֹהֵב בְּסוּפָה

וְאָתֹה נְחָלֵי־ם אַרְנוֹן

וְאֶשְׁדֵה נְחָלִים

אֲשֶׁר נָטָה לָשֶׁבֶת עָר

וְנִשְׁעַן לִגְבוּל מוֹאָב

The Benefactor came in a storm.
Yea, He came[8] to the wadis of the Arnon,
He caused the wadis to rush forth.[9]
He marched (in an) earthquake to destroy Ar.[10]
Then we easily entered the very borders of Moab![11]

Christensen's view "commends itself" but he retained Waheb and Supah as place names, following the eleventh century philologist Ibn Janaḥ.

[8] Christensen is correct in identifying the MT ואת with אתה "to come," but he is incorrect in deleting the ה of הנחלים. The words have been misdivided. The ה goes with the preceding את as the vowel letter *ô* (see Cross and Freedman 1952: 57). This אָתֹה is the infinitive absolute having the force of a finite verb (see GKC 75 and 113, McDaniel 1968b: 208–210).

[9] Christensen emended MT ואשד to read אשר "he marched through." But the emendation is unnecessary. The noun שוד "torrent" may also occur in Isa 13:6, כשד משדי יבוא, "(the day of Yahweh) shall come like a raging torrent." Another good possibility is the Amorite and South Arabic cognate *asad/asd* "warrior" and the denominative verb, "to fight" (see Huffmon, 1965: 169; P. D. Miller, 1973: 79). For שדה/שוד, see note 268.

[10] Christensen is correct in reading MT אשר as the verb "to march forth." But his tentative proposal to delete the word is unnecessary since the verb אשד need not be emended to אשר, nor does the text have a redundant use of אשר "to march forth." The MT נטה is better read as an adverbial accusative, either the participle "quaking" or the noun "(earth) quake," from the biliteral base נט, with probable by-forms נוט, נטט, נטה, like stems דך and נד (GKCᵃ 77, Dahood, 1968: 368). Here the *hiphʿîl* לָשֶׁבֶת "to destroy" reflects the elision of the ה after the preposition (GKC 53q), like the לשבית in Amos 8:4.

[11] Christensen follows a traditional reading of this line. The proposal here calls for reading נשען as the energic *qal* 1cpl imperfect of שוע, a cognate of Arabic سوغ "to enter easily" (Lane 1872: 1468b, 1469a, especially noticing the quotation سغ فى الارض ما وجدت مساغا "Enter the land while thou findest a place of entrance"). For the vocalization of the energic, see Gordon 1965: 11; Dahood 1965: 21; 1970: 377–378; McDaniel 1968b: 205–206; and Blommerde 1969: 15. The ל is an emphatic ל, and this occurrence should be added to the list cited by Dahood 1965: 22; 1970: 406–407; McDaniel 1968b: 206–208; and

The meter here is 3 + 3 + 2 / 2 + 2 + 3,
with a syllable count of 7:8:6:7:8.

The verb אָתָה "he came" was written simply את, without the vowel letter, but the infinitive absolute אָתֹה was written אתה, with the ה serving as the sign for *ô*. (Interestingly, a variant ויתא, with the elision of the initial א, is attested in Deut 33:21 for ויאתא and התוי appears for האתוי in Isa 21:14.) The ו of ואשד is an emphatic ו (see Blommerde 1969: 29), the same as the preceding ואתה "yea, he came." The MT אשד can be parsed as the *ʾaphᶜel* (Dahood, 1965: 24–25; 1968: 31; 1970: 58, 389) of שוד "to rush forth with force," which has been identified by Gordis (1940: 35–43) in 2 Sam 1:21; Jer 18:14; Ps 91:6; and Job 5:21. The reconstructed ואשדה has a ה for the *e* vowel. Such mixed spellings and misdivision of words led to erroneous vocalization.

The antiquity of this poetic material, reflected in its lexical and syntactical obscurities, favors its historical integrity. The archaic lexical items, rare grammatical forms, misdivided words, and the inconsistent use of final vowel letters alert one to look for similar features in the archaic Song of Deborah.[12] The rare initial *waw* stem, והב, also alerts the critic that this poetic fragment contains elements of a dialect distinctly different from the Jerusalem dialect. Sensitivity to dialectal differences will also serve well any reader or interpreter of the Song of Deborah.

Blommerde 1969: 31. שוע is possibly attested in Ezek 23:23, where MT פקוד ושוע וקוע, traditionally read as place names, "Pekod, and Shoa and Koa," could better be read: פקוד ישועו קוע "attacking (see Isa 26:14) they will easily enter the plain," reading an infinitive absolute פקוד, used with the *yqtl* of שוע, followed by the adverbial accusative קוע, which is related to Arabic قاع "an even place, a depressed plain" (Lane 1893: 2994).

[12] Ju 5:4–5 reflects the tradition of Num 21:14–17 and 24:17–19, indicating that Israel entered Moab in an atmosphere of violence and destruction. This fragment of the "Book of the Wars of Yahweh" correlates well with the prophetic oracle of Balaam (Num 24:17–19, NEB), which announced the impending destruction of Moab and Ar at the time of the tribal migration through the Trans-Jordan. These passages cannot be easily reconciled with the tradition of Deut 2:9, 16, 27, which claims a peaceful passage through Edom and Moab. On Num 24:17–19, see Albright 1944: 218–227 and van Seters 1972: 182–197.

II. Identifying the textual difficulties

in the Song of Deborah

A survey of the previous commentaries and studies on Judges 5 would lead one (wrongly, as I shall argue below) to conclude that, aside from the matter of glosses, the textual problems in the poem stem primarily from scribal misreadings of the consonants, rather than scribal misdivision of words. Few critics have challenged the correctness of the 288 spaces currently used for word division and the 52 line divisions in BHS. Efforts to correct the text by emendation of the consonants, coupled with the treatment of the MT vowel letters ו and י as late additions to the text, compounded the problems of understanding the poem. For example, it was customary for Albright, Cross, and Freedman to delete all vowel letters from the MT in their attempt to restore a purely consonantal text as would have been written before the ninth century B.C.E.[13]

However, some of the vowel letters removed were originally consonants that had been incorrectly vocalized. Their removal precluded a correct restoration of the text. Since it cannot be assumed that vowel letters were introduced uniformly at one particular period in the transmission of the text, recognition of the partial and inconsistent use of vowel letters is essential. Each י and ו must be judged on its own merits. The reconstruction of the text offered in this study calls for *only* thirty changes in the consonantal MT, twenty-five of which involve י and ו. Included in the twenty-five changes of י and ו are nine cases where the י and ו were pointed in the MT as vowel letters although they were originally consonants.[14]

Judges 5 can be brought into conformity with typical *plena* spelling and can be restored to its more "original" consonantal form by the following corrections:

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[13] Albright 1944: 209–223; 1950–51: 12–16; Cross 1948: 192–196; and Cross and Freedman 1955: 237–250.

[14] On the inconsistent use of vowel letters, note the inscriptions from the mid-ninth to mid-eighth centuries from Kuntillet Ajrud and Kirbet el-Qom. See Emerton 1982: 2–20 (especially 2–3), as well as Zevit 1984: 39–47.

(1)   the addition of two consonants (a י and a ן) and fifteen
vowel letters (seven internal and eight final letters),

(2)   the deletion of one consonant, four vowel letters, and one
ו conjunction,

(3)   changing ו to י twice and changing י to ו twice,

(4)   the emendation of five consonants to graphically similar
letters,

(5)   the redivision of thirty words (eleven of which involve
the transfer of only one letter to the preceding or follow-
ing word), affecting the formation and vocalization of
thirty-seven new words.

Aside from the commonly recurring errors involving י and ו
(see Delitzsch 1920: 103–105), the problem of *plena* and *defec-
tiva* spellings, and the transposition of verses 3:31, 5:6–7 and
seven other words, only eight changes by addition, deletion, and
emendation to the consonantal text need be made to read the
poem as an integrated battle ballad. The transpositions call for
the addition of only one ה and one א.

III. Corrections needed in the consonantal text
and with the vowel letters

A. Additions to the text

The two consonants to be restored in the poem are a י prefix on
לחם in 5:8 and a ן suffix in 5:23, where ישביה "her riders" needs
to be read as ישביהן "their riders." Although most words in the
MT of Judges 5 are written *scriptio plena*, defective spellings
survive in thirteen words which, for the most part, were improp-
erly divided. They are as follows:

(1) Three cases of internal *scriptio defectiva*:

v 6	יעל for יעיל	"he used to attack,"
v 11	צדקת for צדקות	"victories,"
v 14	שרשם for שרשים	"hastening (ones)."

(2) Six plural verbs lacking the final *û* vowel:

v 8	ילחמו לחם for	"they (will) battle,"
v 9	לביו לבי for	"respond to the call!"
v 13	ליו לי for	"they were accompanied,"
v 14	אחריך	"after you" divided to read
	אחר יכו	"at the rear they strike,"
v 21	עזו עז for	"they sought refuge,"
v 23	לאו לא for	"they prevailed."

(3) One singular verb lacking the final *e* vowel:

v 14	בעממיך	"with your kin" divided to read
	בעמם יכה	"from concealment he attacks."

(4) Four cases of misdivision and *scriptio defectiva*:

v 11	מקול מחצצים	"to the sound of musicians" divided and emended to read
	מקלים חצצים	"(on) mountain-roads, hurrying"
v 22	סוס מדהרות	"horse gallopings" divided to read
	סוסימו דהרות	"their horses, (and their) chariots,"
v 23	מרוז אמר מלאך	"Meroz said an angel" divided to read
	מרוזאים רים לאך	"doomed, he sent cloudbursts."

B. Deletions from the text

(1) Vowel letters:

Even fewer deletions are required. The ו of מקול in 5:11 is deleted in restoring מקלים "mountain roads." The י of the third עורי in 5:12 is deleted, changing the MT *qal* imperative into the *piᶜel* infinitive construct עיר or עור "to overwhelm, to rout." In 5:16, the ו in שרקות "hissings" is deleted in restoring the lengthened construct infinitive of שׂרק, a metathetic variant of שׂקר "to look for." In 5:23, the ו of the plural imperative אורו "curse ye" has been deleted to read a 3mpl perfect ארו

"they panicked." The ו prefixed to Barak's name in 5:1 has been deleted as a pseudo-correction once ותשר was identified with שִׁיר "to sing," instead of אשר or שׁוּר "to march forth." (The א has been inserted for clarity in the revision, but the elision of א occurs frequently enough and early enough that one cannot be certain it would have been in the original spelling.)

(2) Consonants:

The only consonant deleted from the text is the ן of ראובן in 5:16, reading the verb and preposition (רֹאוֹ בֹ "to triumph over") rather than the name ראובן "Reuben."

C. Confusion of י and ו

In 5:12c, the restored ישׁיר "he marched forth" is read as the preterit of שׁוּר. In 5:17, the ישׁכון is corrected to ישׁכין "he attacked," an energic *shaphᶜel* of נכה. In 5:22, MT עקבי "the heels of" is read as עקבו, a dual noun with a 3ms suffix "its slopes," i.e., the banks of the wadi. In 5:23, MT בֹאו is read as a participle in the bound nouns בֹאי לעזרת "the ones going forth for the Warrior."

D. Other emendations

Five other emendations involve the confusion of כ and מ in paleo-Hebrew, the confusion of a ר for a ה *or* ב, and a ד for a ת.

v 10	מדין	"rich carpets" (NRSV) is emended to
	כדין	"mule(s),"
v 12	שביך	"your captives" becomes
	שבים	"captives,"
v 27	באשר כרע	"where he kneeled" is redivided to
	באש הכרע	"motionless, was made powerless" or to
	באש בכרע	"motionless, in a stupor,"
v 28	בעד האשנב	"out of the lattice" is redivided to
	בעדה אשנב	"out of (?) a lattice" and emended to
	בעתה אשנב	"she inquired (at the) lattice,"

v 31 אויביך יהוה "your enemies, Yahweh" is emended to
אויבי־ם יהוה "the enemies of Yahweh."

Five by-forms are recognized which do not require emendation. In 5:10, צהר is read as a by-form of צער "young," and in 5:11, משאב appears as a metathetic variant of cognate South Arabic *msbᵓ* "mountain pass." With the removal of the vowel letter ו and with the change of שׁ to שׂ, MT שׁרקות in 5:16 is read as the infinitive of סקר/שׂקר "to look at, to gaze." In 5:22, הלם is read as a by-form of הלא "to be at a distance, to retreat." The second דהרות of 5:22, with the metathesis of the ת and ו, is read דהרתו "his chariot." In 5:8, שׁער is read as the metathetic variant of Arabic شرع (= שׂרע) "to be courageous."

E. Changes in word division

More than half of the proposed changes in word division have been cited above in sections A–D. For the sake of completeness, they are also included in this section, but without comment. The proposed redivisions are discussed individually in Chapter Six.

v 5	ישׂראל	"Israel" becomes
	ישׁר אל	"God will provide strength";
v 11	מקול מחצצים	"the sound of musicians" becomes
	מקלים חצצים	"(on) mountain passes, hurrying";
v 11	לשׁערים עם	"to the gates, the people" becomes
	לשׁערי מעם	"the very storms from";
v 12	דברי שׁיר	"words of a song" becomes
	דבר ישׁיר	"the pursuer" and "prepared";
v 14	אחריך	"after you" becomes
	אחר יכו	"at the rear they would strike";
v 14	בעממיך	"with your kinsmen" becomes
	בעמם יכה	"from concealment he attacks";
v 15	גדלים	"great ones" becomes
	גד לים	"Gad had joined them";
v 16	ראובן	"Reuben" becomes
	ראו ב״	"to triumph over";

v 18   על מרומי שדה באו   "upon the heights of the field
they came" becomes

על מרום ישד הבאו   "against Merom he moved,
they were forced to come";

v 21   קדומים   "onrushing" becomes

קדום ים   "surging seaward";

v 21   תדרכי נפשי עז   "march on, my soul, with might"
becomes

תדרך ינפש יעזו   "it overtook (them), it overflowed,
they sought refuge";

v 22   סוס מדהרות דהרות   "horse galloping agalloping"
becomes

סוסימו דהרות דהרתו   "their horses (and their) chariots,
his chariot";

v 23   אורו מרוז אמר מלאך   "curse Meroz, says the angel"
becomes

ארו מרוזאים רים לאך   "they panicked, doomed (to
die), he had sent cloudbursts";

v 25   בספל אדירים   "in a lordly bowl" becomes

בסף לאדירים   "in a truly magnificent goblet";

v 27   באשר כרע   "where he fell" becomes

באש הכרע   "made motionless, powerless" or

באש בכרע   "in a stupor";

v 28   בעד האשנב   "through the lattice" becomes

בעתה אשנב   "she inquired (at) the lattice";

v 30   הלא ימצאו   "are they not finding" becomes

הלאים צאו   "the victors have forded
(the water)."

IV. The modification of the Masoretic vocalization

In challenging the cavalier treatment of the Masoretic vocalization in many studies, Barr (1968: 194) noted:

The picture implied in philological treatments is one of (a) a long period during which the consonantal text was carefully cherished and transmitted, and (b) a late and arbitrary process by which vocalization was more or less imposed on this text by men who were handicapped by the limitations of their knowledge of Hebrew.

Although Barr doubts that this is a credible picture for the MT as a whole,[15] it is certainly the case with Judges 5. The widely varying translations of the LXX A and B texts, coupled with variants in other Greek recensions and in the Latin tradition, indicate that the poem was not well-understood at an early period. As Albright (1936: 26) noted, "the meaning of individual words was evidently lost long before the Christian era." The vocalization and meaning were obviously restored at many points by conjecture. Nevertheless, the Masoretic vocalization is about eighty percent reliable. Corrections to the MT proposed above in sections A to E modify the vocalization of 48 of the poem's 360 words. Elsewhere in the poem, 24 changes in the MT, requiring no consonantal emendation, are suggested or adopted.

v 1	וַתָּשַׁר	= וְתָאִשֵׁר or וַתָּשֵׁר or וְתָשִׁיר "she caused to march forth," from either שׁור or אשר,
v 2	בִּפְרֹעַ	"when (she) called for heroism," the preposition בְ and the *piᶜel* infinitive absolute,
v 4	מֵי־ם	"the water of/from (the mountains)," the construct מֵי with an enclitic ם or the preposition מ in a construct chain,
v 5	אֱלֹהַי	"my God,"
v 6	אָרְחוֹת	"caravans,"
v 11	יֻתְּנוּ	"they were given," *qal* passive *yqtl* of נתן,
v 11	פִּרְזֹנֵו	3ms suffixed dual "his two warriors,"
v 12	עוּרִי	infinitive absolute, "aroused themselves,"
v 12	עוֹרֵי	plural construct, "the troops of,"
v 12	עֻוֵּר	*piᶜel* "to rout,"
v 12	עוֹרֵי	plural construct, "the troops of,"
v 12	וּשְׁבֵה	infinitive, "to take captives,"

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[15] Rabbinic traditions in *Megillah* 18b and *Rosh Hashanah* 26a–b, to which Barr (1968: 56) called attention, speak of the uncertainty of the meaning of five biblical or mishnaic words about which it was said לא הוו ידעי רבנן מאי "our teachers did not know the meaning," until they heard the words being used by a handmaid in the household of (the) Rabbi or by an Arab at the market. Note Pollack's proposal, accepted by H. Gevaryahu (1987: ix), to interpret סלה in the Psalms in light of current Arabic usage in northern Israel where سله means שפירושו לברר . . . ברור לגמרי, ללא שמץ של ספק "to be clear . . . to be without a doubt."

v 13	שָׂרִיד	with a shift of שׂ to שׁ, "caravan leader,"
v 13	יָרַד	3ms with עם יהוה as the subject, "Yahweh's militia descended,"
v 15	וְשָׂרַי	"and the officers of,"
v 15	יִשָּׂשׂכָר	*shaph^cel* of שכר "to defeat,"
v 15	כֵּן	*qal* passive 3ms of כון "conceal,"
v 16	לָמֹה	infinitive absolute "to surround,"
v 16	יִשֶׁבְֶת	infinitive construct of ישׁב "to wait,"
v 17	לָמָה	emphatic ל "verily" with an enclitic ם and the vowel letter ה affixed,
v 17	יָשַׁב	from שׁבב "he scattered, he assailed,"
v 28	וַתְּיַבֵּב	*taqtil* nominal form of יבב "a vacant place,"
v 29	אֹמְרִיהָ	participle "soothsayer" with the archaic feminine ' (*-ay*) ending and 3fs suffix,
v 30	שֹׁלֵל	masculine singular participle "despoiler."

V. The value of the LXX and later versions for establishing the text

It has long been recognized that the corruption found in the Masoretic text ". . . is in the main older than the Greek translators, who in the worst places read substantially as we do and therefore give us little help toward a restoration of the text" (Moore 1900b: 129). The widely differing translations in Codex Alexandrinus and in Codex Vaticanus demonstrate how difficult the Hebrew text of Judges 5 was for the early translators. Even Lindars (1995: 222) noted, "The LXX presents a maze of strange readings, which are often difficult to relate to the Hebrew text." Yet numerous revisions of the MT have been proposed on the basis of variant readings in the LXX or other versions. Kittel (BH[3]) proposed or accepted six such emendations. Other commentators adopted these or offered alternative translations to bring the MT into conformity with the Greek textual variants.[16] But a survey of all the textual variants cited in Brooke and McLean's (1917: 801–809) critical edition of the LXX provides

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[16] Note Cooke 1892: 24–56 (passim); Moore 1900: 32–39; Burney 1918: 112–157 (passim); J. Gray 1967: 278–285; and Lipinski 1967: 185–200.

little evidence that the LXX and its derivative versions offer
reliable clues for altering the consonantal MT.[17]

The rich repertoire of archaic syntactic, lexical, and gram-
matical forms which were part of the Hebrew poetic tradition was
available only down to the time of the Babylonian exile.[18] The
LXX translators in the Hellenistic period had but limited knowl-
edge of archaic and/or dialectical Hebrew. One must concur with
Barr (1968: 268), ". . . the ancient translators did their task
remarkably well, considering the circumstances. Their grasp of
Hebrew, however, was very often a grasp of that which is aver-
age and customary in Hebrew." Generally, archaic and archaistic
elements, dialectal variations, or loanwords in the Song of
Deborah were not obvious to the LXX translators. Therefore, the
most that can be expected of the LXX and its variants is a hint to
the presence or meaning of an enigmatic word or phrase, as
demonstrated below.

A. The LXX and lexicography

Knowledge of lexical elements lost *after* the early translations
were made can be recognized in several of the textual variants.
Three examples illustrate this type of help available from a study
of the LXX and other versions. Section C, below, provides an
example of the way the doublets and triplets in the Greek manu-
scripts reflect the translators' diverse understanding of a difficult
poetic Hebrew word.

1. Ju 5:4 גם and δρόσους

The LXX B-text reads καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἔσταξεν δρόσους, "and
the heaven dripped dews" in 5:4b for MT גם שמים נטפו. In the
LXX, δρόσος usually translates טל "dew" or שלג "snow," and

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[17] See also Brooke and McLean 1897: 9–12. For detailed bibliographies
covering studies of the Greek text of Judges, see Schreiner 1961: 173–200,
333–358; Brock, Fritsch, and Jellicoe 1973: 104. Cross (1973: 213) noted, "As
recent text-critical study of the Qumran manuscripts has shown once again, the
overwhelming majority of textual differences in Hebrew and Greek manuscripts
are the result of inadvertent or unconscious errors — as should be expected."

[18] See McDaniel 1968b: 216–217.

although Arabic طل means "light rain," Hebrew טל occurs in parallelism with רְבִיבִים "copious showers," as in Deut 32:2 and Mic 5:6. Although Lindars (1995: 232) concluded that δρόσους here in 5:4 is just a gloss "to complete the sense,"[19] it probably translates the particle גם, and this can be accepted as the preferred meaning in light of the Arabic usage of جم بعش, as well as جم البعاق [20] "to rain copiously" and "a copious, unexpected torrential rain."

The MT גם is an adverbial substantive, like the Arabic جم "abundantly," used with the ellipsis of the direct object. The LXX B-text captured the meaning by treating גם as the direct object rather than as an adverb. The καὶ . . . καὶ in 5:4 represents a later correction to the more common reduplicated גם . . . גם.

2. Ju 5:12 עור and μυριάδας μετὰ λαοῦ

The doublet in the MT of 5:12,

| עורי עורי דבורה | Awake, awake, Deborah; |
| עורי עורי דברי שיר | Awake, awake, utter a song! |

is read in most Greek manuscripts as a triplet (e.g., the A-text, Lucianic MSS gnwdptv, and the Origenic MSS abcx, supported by the Armenian, Ethiopic, Old Latin and Syro-Hexapla):

> ἐξεγείρου ἐξεγείρου Δεββωρα
> ἐξεγείρου (or ἐξέγειρον) μυριάδας μετὰ λαοῦ
> ἐξεγείρου ἐξεγείρου (or λάλει) μετ᾽ ᾠδῆς.[21]

Burney (1918: 121) corrected the LXX by deleting the third line of the text, assuming that it was an insertion of the Hebrew

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[19] Compare Albright's interpretation (1922: 75), ". . . 'drip' is an anticlimax, and here so absurd that a scribe felt impelled to add the remark גם עבים נטפו מים, 'the clouds (also) dripped water,' that is, the heavens did not leak, but the clouds distilled a gentle rain." Note also Cooke 1892: 30; Moore 1900a: 32, 1900b: 141; Burney 1918: 112; and J. Gray 1967: 278.

[20] Lane 1872: 228a, 449a, noting especially 449c, بيـر جـمـوم "a well of much (water)."

[21] See Brooke and McLean 1917: 804; Burney 1918: 120; Schreiner 1961: 196.

and B-text tradition. The Greek doublet which survived led Burney to conclude that the *Vorlage* behind this recension was

עורי עורי דבורה   Awake, awake, Deborah;
העירי רבבות בעם   Arouse myriads among the
                       people!

However, a better explanation which does not demand a different *Vorlage* can be offered. The A-text ἐξεγείρου μυριάδας μετὰ λαοῦ, which contains a doublet (μυριάδας and μετὰ λαοῦ) is a translation of the second עורי. The ἐξεγείρου (ἐξέγειρον) translates the first עורי of this second pair, and the doublet (μυριάδας and μετὰ λαοῦ) translates the other עורי, i.e., the fourth עורי of the bicolon. It is cognate with the Arabic غار / غور "a numerous company of men, a numerous army," which was used with reference to those involved in quick or sudden moves in a hostile or predatory incursion (Lane 1887: 2307–2308). The translators of the A-text were evidently aware of this (now) rare root which can be labeled עור IV, "a large company of people."

The third line of the A-text, ἐξεγείρου ἐξεγείρου λάλει μετ' ᾠδῆς is a separate doublet of the MT עורי עורי דברי שיר, which matches the B-text ἐξεγείρου ἐξεγείρου λάλησον ᾠδήν. A different *Vorlage* behind the A-text, as suggested by Burney and followed in BH³ and by Lindars (1995: 290), need not be assumed.

3. Ju 5:12 שיר and ἐνισχύων and its variants

In 5:12a, the A-text and the Lucianic recension have a doublet for MT קום ברק. It consists of (a) ἐνισχύων, which has been identified as the Greek equivalent of חזק or בחזק (if one reads εν ισχυι) and (b) ἐξανίστασο Βαρακ for the B-text ἀνάστα Βαρακ.[22] The κατισχυσον εξεγειρου "overpower, arouse" in MS k is a variant of the A-text ἐνισχύων ἐξανίστασο "strengthening, arise." Moore (1900a: 34–35) reconstructed the text as חזק קום ברק "Barak, be strong, arise." But this doublet and its allegedly differing *Vorlage* can be better explained in the light of the

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[22] See BH³. MSS dgnptvw have (and the Old Latin and Ethiopic must have read) εν ισχυι (Brooke and McLean 1917: 804 and Schreiner 1961: 196).

A-text of Hos 12:4–5. The occurrence of ἐνίσχυσεν there for שרה and וישר indicates that some translators understood שר, שרה, and שרר to mean ἐνισχύω or κατισχύω. Similarly, in the A-text of Ju 5:12, ἐνισχύων ἐξανίστασο Βαρακ and its Lucianic variants are the translation of the MT שיר קום ברק. The doublet that survives in the A-text for שיר is then (a) μετ᾽ ᾠδῆς "with a song" and (b) ἐνισχύων "strengthening."

B. The LXX obscures the genre

The LXX translators inadvertently obscured the meaning of the Song of Deborah and steered exegetical tradition in a wrong direction when they translated the initial words of Ju 5:1, ותשר דבורה וברק by καὶ ἦσαν Δεββωρα καὶ Βαρακ (possibly using Ex 15:1 as the parallel since אז ישיר משה ובני ישראל was translated τότε ἦσεν Μωυσῆς καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ). This translation has reinforced the long-standing tradition that *all* of Judges 5 is the Song of Deborah. But this designation is actually a misnomer when applied to the entire poem. The MT ותשר of Ju 5:1 and the ישיר of Ex 15:1 must be attributed to different roots. The latter is certainly from שיר "to sing," but the former is from אשר (like the ויאתא = ויתא in Deut 33:21) or שיר/שור "to march forth."

To be sure, Deborah delivered a hortatory address (possibly at a cultic assembly) or dispatched a summons to the tribal leaders. However, her words (found only in the exhortation in 5:3–5 and 8–9) did not constitute a "song of victory." Rather they were a call-to-arms for an Israelite militia so that they might achieve a victory.[23] Consequently, Deborah, as composer or singer, need not be associated with the entire poem (see below, page 247).

The psalmic elements found in translations and created by exegetical tradition were, in my opinion, not psalmic elements in the original poem. Words that appear to be hymnic (זמר and שיר) can now be demonstrated to be homographs of military and combative terms. The poem can be best identified as a short

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[23] Deborah's role was analogous to that of a سجل "speaker, orator" among the ancient Bedouins. The سجل filled a nonhereditary position of civil leadership (see Buccellati 1967: 90) as well as a religious role (see Lane 1872: 1308).

epic fragment dealing with a "Yahweh war" and would have been a likely candidate for inclusion in the ספר מלחמות יהוה, the "Book of the Wars of Yahweh," or a similar work.

The essential integrity of the Hebrew text can be maintained only when the entire poem is read as a battle ballad, in epic style, which elaborated (1) the causes leading to military confrontation, (2) the mobilization (including Deborah's exhortation), (3) the strategy of the Israelites, (4) descriptive scenes of the route and rout of Sisera, and (5) the victory of Yahweh's militia—including the help of Yael, a fellow Yahwist, in Sisera's assassination.

C. Doublets and triplets

The varied transliterations and translations in the LXX and the versions are very helpful in recovering the Hebrew vocabulary of the translators, but provide little justification for emending the MT. A good example of this limited usefulness can be demonstrated by the variants for הלמו in Ju 5:22, including the numerous doublets and triplets scattered in 5:21–23, as cited by Brooke and McLean (1917: 806).

5:21

ομαλιει	(המלי)	transliteration in dgknptvw
ομιλιαι	(המלי)	transliteration in l
αυτους	(למו)	"them" in dgklnptvw

5:22

ομαλιει	(המלי)	transliteration in Mnamyb₂ο´
ενεποδισθησαν	(הלמו)	"they were foot-cuffed" in B
απεκοπησαν	(המלו)	"they were cut off" in Abcglnx
ευθυνοντα	(הולם)	"steersman, driver" in dglnptvw
εκστασεως	(הלום)	"a movement outwards" in Mnamyb₂dgklnptvw
αβλεψια	(העלם)	"blindness" (metaphor) in w
αυτου	(למו)	"of him" in dglptvw
αυτους	(למו)	"them" in MNamyb₂
αυτων	(למו)	"of them" in Mnamnyb₂

5:23

αμα λαω	(המלו)	transliteration in k
αμα λαων	(המלו)	transliteration in k*
υβριστας	(הלם)	"violent (horses)" in glnptvw
απολεσατε	(המו)	"destroy!" in glnptvw
		[at the first ארו]
απολεσατε	(המו)	"destroy!" in k
		[at the second ארו]
εκστασιν	(הלם)	"a movement outwards" in k

A number of scribal errors are obvious:

- defective spelling of הלמו as הלם
- inversion of letters: הלמו for המלו and הולם
- inversion plus confusion of ו and י (המלי for הלמו)
- loss of a letter: המלו for למו or המו
- *plena* spelling or inversion: המול for המלו
- confusion of ע and ה: הלם for העלם or עלם
- reduplication and inversion: מהללו (see below).

Furthermore, although the ενευροκοπηθησαν "they were ham-strung" found in 5:22 in MSS MNadkmoptvyb₂ could possibly be a translation of הלמו, it more likely reflects an original עקרו "they were hamstrung" for MT עקבי "the heels of." Since these manuscripts have πτέρναι for the עקבי, ενευροκοπηθησαν would have to be a doublet. If so, MT הלמו would not be reflected in the translation of MSS MNadkmoptvyb₂.

In the Old Latin, *dementiae eius* in 5:22 reflects a *Vorlage* with מהללו "his insanity"; and the Armenian, translated into Latin *planabunt* "they will level," is a translation of the transliteration, as though ομαλιει were from ὁμαλίζω "to make level." The inverted המלו and המלי for MT הלמו produced only transliterations in the Greek, no association having been made with the המלה "tumult" of Jer 11:16 (which was there translated περιτο-μῆς "circumcision," similar to the ἀποτομὰς for הלמות in Ju 5:26a, discussed below) and Ezek 1:24 (which is lacking in the LXX). The eight translations of הלמו (excluding απολεσατε and αυτου, etc. for למו or המו) provide for a better Hebrew lexicon, but require no changes to the MT, except for the matter of *scriptio plena*.

VI. Summary

The integrity of the consonantal MT can thus be accepted as ninety-nine percent correct, and the Masoretic vocalization as eighty percent reliable. Two major problems precluded a more accurate vocalization by the Masoretes, namely, (1) the misdivision of twenty words early in the process of transmission (which was comparable to the misdivision of words elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible examined by Delitzsch [1920: 2–10]), and (2) the pre-LXX transmission of the text without a uniformly consistent use of medial vowel letters (seven cases are attested) and final vowel letters with ל"ה verbs (defective spellings occur in seven or eight verbs).

The changes identified in this chapter, coupled with the transposition of 3:31 and 5:6–7 to the initial lines of the poem and the transposition of seven other words, exhaust all necessary changes to the text. The text of the poem appears to be free of other editorial activity. This slightly modified text now reads easily as a clearly written poem with syllable balance, normal metric patterns, and an extremely astute use of grammatical and lexical detail to build epic poetry of rare quality.

Transpositions coupled with excessive deletions such as those cited above in the "Introduction" or proposed by Caquot (1986: 55 [that 5:14–17 is "une insertion secondaire dans cette partie du Cantique"]) or Naᵓaman (1990: 424–426 [who omitted 5:14–17 and transposed 5:18 to follow 5:13]) are attractive only when one is restricted to traditional word division and a limited vocabulary, or when one is insensitive to the inconsistent orthography in the MT and the possibility of dialectal elements and/or loanwords.

The LXX and the versions reflect the same basic text as that found in the MT. Where a significant variant occurs, it is more likely to reflect the early translator's control of a larger lexical repertoire than that of later lexicographers. Words which were subsequently lost in ordinary Hebrew usage can now be recovered through appeal to cognates and/or the larger lexicon of postbiblical and rabbinic Hebrew (as well as by recognizing foreign words on the lips of non-Israelites).

The firmly established consensus of the commentators, recently reiterated by Lindars (1995: *passim*), that the text of the poem is hopelessly corrupt must now be abandoned. The only editorial activity in Ju 5:1–31a was limited to the intentional transposition

of two verses (5:6–7) by a Deuteronomic editor and the unintentional mislocation of several words and phrases. (The conspicuous editorial activity reflected in Judges 4 is a different matter and will be addressed briefly in the next chapter.)

The many "paratactic" or "impressionistic" translations of the Song of Deborah which have appeared—from the early one in proto-Lucianic MS k to the most recent one offered by Lindars (included in the Appendix)—have failed to appreciate the fact that the *entire* poem was a battle ballad. Orthographic inconsistency and scribal inaccuracies, no doubt, contributed to the confusion over the poem's genre and lexical components. Because the inaccuracies were more in the *spacing* of the letters between the words than in the letters themselves, the critic can now reconstruct the *Vorlage* without the excesses of random or wanton emendation.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LITERARY COMPONENTS OF THE
DEBORAH–BARAK–YAEL TRADITION

Equating the prose literary unit and the poetic unit in Judges 4 and 5 with precisely the current chapter divisions, 4 and 5, respectively, has been standard procedure in all studies that I have taken the opportunity to review. Malamat's statement (1971:137) is typical of exegetical tradition on this point:

> . . . in analyzing the Deborah episode we have two versions before us: the narrative account (Jud. 4) and the Song of Victory (Jud. 5). Such double accounts, prose and poetry, of military victories are found elsewhere in the Bible (cf. Ex. 14 and 15) and in the Ancient Near East.

But this identification of the literary units as Ju 4:1–23 (prose) and Ju 5:1–31 (poetry) is not entirely accurate. The chapter units do not coincide with the original literary units. The chapter division should have come after 4:22 to mark the original literary division in the text. The *prose introduction* to the poem, Ju 4:23– 24 ("And at that time God subdued Jabin the king of Canaan . . . until they destroyed the king of Canaan"), has consistently and mistakenly been identified as the *conclusion of the prose account* of the defeat of Sisera in 4:1–22.

The poem as it now stands in Judges 5 (MT) is part of the slightly larger literary unit composed of Ju 4:23–5:31. This unit consists of (1) a prose formulaic introduction, (2) the poem proper, and (3) a prose formulaic conclusion. The isolated tradition about Shamgar in Ju 3:31 is the missing link in the poem which, when restored to its proper position, provides the *poetic introduction* of the original poem.

I. Clues from the formulaic use of כנע and שקט

The account in Ju 4:1–22 has the characteristic Deuteronomic introduction ("and the people of Israel again did what was evil in the sight of Yahweh") but no formulaic conclusion. The literary unit of Ju 4:22–5:31 has a pre-Deuteronomic introduction, with

the formulaic ויכנע אלהים "and God subdued," and the formu-
laic conclusion, ותשקט הארץ "and the land was at peace." The
formulaic verbs in 4:23 and 5:31, ויכנע . . . ותשקט, provide a
prose *incipit* and a prose *inclusio* for the poem.

Despite the claims of Eissfeldt (1925: 26–27; 1966: 259),
Richter (1964: 14), and Soggin (1972: 142) that the formulaic use
of כנע and שקט is Deuteronomic or Deuteronomistic, the con-
clusion of S. R. Driver (1913a: 166–167) appears to be more in
concord with the biblical material. Opting for the pre-Deutero-
nomic origin of this formula, Driver noted

> It is very possible, therefore, that there was a *pre-Deuteronomic collection*
> [Driver's italics] of histories of Judges, which the Deuteronomic compiler set
> in a new framework, embodying his theory of the history of this period.
> Perhaps one or two of the recurring phrases noted above, such as "subdue"
> (3:30; 4:23; 8:28; 11:33), which seem to form a more integral part of the
> narratives proper than the rest, may mark the portions due to the pre-
> Deuteronomic compiler.[24]

The verb כנע occurs thirty-three times in the Bible, but it is
not a word common to the Deuteronomic material. Over half of
the occurrences are in 1–2 Chronicles. It occurs but once in Deu-
teronomy and only once in each of the books of 1–2 Samuel and
1–2 Kings. Its use four times in Judges hardly qualifies it to be
designated Deuteronomic or Deuteronomistic.[25] The most that
can be said is that ותכנע in Ju 3:30 (but not in Ju 4:23; 8:28;
11:33) stands in proximity to well-attested Deuteronomic formu-
lae; but this fact is in itself not sufficient reason to equate the
word with Deuteronomic material.

A similar pattern of usage prevails for שקט which occurs
forty-one times in the biblical text, including fifteen times in
pre-exilic prophetic literature. But it occurs only once in 2 Kings

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[24] Compare Weinfeld (1972: 24, 351) who identified כנע, in the sense of
humility before God, as a Deuteronomic term. It is significant that Weinfeld
(1972: 398, 404) does not cite שקט as a Deuteronomic term either here or in the
verses in Judges where the formulaic כנע . . . שקט appears.

[25] The כנע of Ju 4:23 must be added to the concordance of Radday, Leb, and
Natziz (1977:131–132).

and does not occur in Deuteronomy, 1–2 Samuel, or in 1 Kings. It appears but twice in Joshua (11:23, 14:15) in the phrase והארץ שקטה ממלחמה "and the land was free from war." which has been identified as a Deuteronomic phrase (Soggin 1972: 142). But this usage does not parallel the passages in Judges which consistently contain a numerical modifier, e.g., ותשקט שנה הארץ ארבעים "and the land was pacified for forty years" (Ju 3:11). Such sparse use of כנע and שקט in Deuteronomy, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings cautions one against departing from Driver's identification of these words as pre-Deuteronomic.

Although the formulaic use of כנע and/or שקט occurs only five times in Judges, the evidence is sufficient to enable one to recognize several different ways in which the formula was used. In Ju 3:30, both verbs are used in the same sentence to mark the conclusion of a narrative: "So Moab was subdued (ותכנע) in that day under the hand of Israel, and the land was at peace (ותשקט) for eighty years." Likewise, the full formula occurs in Ju 8:28, where the context clearly indicates that the verbs mark the conclusion of the Gideon narrative: "So Midian was subdued (ויכנע) before the people of Israel . . . and the land was at peace (ותשקט) for forty years in the days of Gideon."

In Ju 11:33, כנע was used (contrary to Masoretic accentuation) in an introductory or transitional statement: "So the Ammonites were subdued (ויכנע) before the Israelites and Jephthah went to his home at Mizpah." Here שקט does not appear with כנע since the story concludes (12:26) on a violent note telling of the death of forty-two thousand Ephraimites. In Ju 4:23–5:31, ויכנע marks the transition to a new narrative, similar to the usage

The Song of Deborah is part of a larger narrative consisting of a cycle of "pacification" stories telling of these major events:

(1)   the subduing by Othniel of King Cushan-rishathaim,
      followed by forty years of peace (3:7–11);

(2)   Ehud's assassination of Eglon, king of Moab,
      followed by eighty years of peace (3:12–30);

(3)   the defeat of Sisera by Deborah, Yael, and Barak,
      followed by forty years of peace (4:23–5:31);

(4)   Gideon's subduing of the Midianites,
      followed by forty years of peace (6:1–8:28).

These pacification stories, characterized by their formulaic framework using כנע and/or שקט, are presented on a graduated scale according to the length of the narrative, from short to long. (The periods of peace could have been concomitant or overlapping and were not necessarily sequential, though the total of two hundred years is of interest.)

Richter (1963: *passim*; 1964: *passim*) called attention to the way in which these independent units were framed into a continuous narrative in a pre-Deuteronomic "book of saviour-figures, a *Retterbuch*."[26] But my analysis differs from Richter's in several ways: (1) I view the use of the verbs כנע and שקם as integral to the pre-Deuteronomic framework; (2) the poem in 5:1–31a was an integral part of the pre-Deuteronomic *Retterbuch*; and (3) Ju 4:1–22 was inserted by the Deuteronomic editor.

Recognition of Ju 4:23–24 as the prose prologue to the poem, rather than as the conclusion of the parallel prose account in 4:1–22, permits one to establish the following sequence in the pre-Deuteronomic tradition:

    (a) the destruction and death of Jabin, "king of Canaan";

    (b) the oppression of Israel after the demise of Shamgar;

    (c) the rise of Deborah and her summons of Barak;

    (d) the defeat of Sisera and the Canaanite coalition; and

    (e) the assassination of Sisera at the hands of Yael.

II. The isolated Shamgar tradition in Ju 3:31

Eissfeldt's statement (1966: 266), "we must reckon . . . with a 'neutralizing' of materials which contradict the bias of a particular redactor," provides the clue for recovering the original poetic introduction of the Judges 5 poem. Most critics are in agreement that Ju 5:1 was not the original initial verse of the poem. For

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[26] Note also the statement of van Selms (1964: 296): "The characteristic word in these separate stories, which were taken over by the author of the whole book from oral tradition without a literary stage, is not 'judge', but the verb הושיע and its derivations . . . we should call our book rather the 'Book of Deliverers' than the 'Book of Judges'."

example, J. Gray (1967: 276) typically noted that MT וברק בן
אבינעם is a secondary addition in a verse that simply ascribes the
hymnic elements to Deborah.

I concur that 5:1 was not the initial verse of the poem, but,
contrary to Eissfeldt, I consider it an integral part of the poem.
As noted above, MT ותשר is better identified with אשר or שור
"to march forth." If it is the former, תשר (with defective spelling)
was written for תאשיר (as תזלי appears for תאזלי in Jer 2: 36).
With the deletion of the ו conjunction, the verse reads "Then
Deborah made Barak march forth on that day" (with the MT
לאמר going before ברכו יהוה, to introduce the exhortation).

However, when 5:1a is read, "then Deborah made Barak
march forth," Ju 5:1 cannot be the immediate sequel to 4:24,
which speaks of a major victory for the Israelites. Between the
victory over Jabin and the marching orders to Barak there must
have been other events necessitating the sequential "then" clause.
Those events appear to have been the rise and demise of the
heroic Shamgar. If the two disparate elements composing the
Shamgar tradition (3:31 and 5:6–7) are united, they provide the
introduction to the poem and the transitional event which trig-
gered Deborah's ordering Barak into battle.

Scholarly opinion on Ju 3:31 is generally mixed. Few have in-
vested this verse with historical integrity. Burney (1918: 76)
argued that it was a late insertion made after the redactors intro-
duced the "minor" judges into the book, possibly making Sham-
gar a substitute authority figure for the corrupt Abimelek. Later
commentators such as Richter (1964: 92–97), J. Gray (1967:
215–216, 266) and Boling (1975: 89–90) generally concurred.
They consider this verse to be a Deuteronomic or post-Deutero-
nomic interpolation, possibly extrapolated from the story of
David's hero, Shammah ben-Agee (שַׁמָּא בֶן־אָגֵא, 2 Sam 23:11),
or the "oppressor" Shamgar ben-Anat, cited in Ju 5:6–7. But the
opinion of Schroeder (1911: 479) is more likely: "vielmehr wer-
den wir es hier mit einer guten historischen Notiz zu tun haben."

Schroeder based his claim for the historical integrity of this
verse on the emendation of במלמד הבקר to המלמלה דקר,
"tötete er mit Wurfgeschoß," which won no acceptance. A better
claim for the integrity of the passage can be made by demonstrat-
ing that the verse is a poetic tricolon with syllable balance, meter,

synonymous parallelism, and archaic grammatical and lexical features. When restored to its poetic form, Ju 3:31 can be recognized as part of a three-verse Shamgar tradition which included Ju 5:6–7 as well.

With the emendation of MT אחריו היה to ואחר היו היה and ויך את to ויכא את, Ju 3:31 can be read and scanned as follows:

וְאַחַר הָיוּ הָיָה שַׁמְגַּר בֶּן עֲנָת.
וַיִּכָּא אֶת פְּלִשְׁתַּיִם
שֵׁשׁ מֵאוֹת אִישׁ בְּמַלְמָד.
הָבְקַר וַיֹּשַׁע גַּם הוּא אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל.

Then later appeared on the scene Shamgar ben-Anat!
He smote (with) a plowshare two bands of marauders,
he plundered hundreds of men with a goad.
He was appointed overseer and he gained victories
by himself for Israel!

(Meter 3 + 2 / 3 + 3 / 2 + 2 + 2; Syllables 7:5::8:7::6:6)

Unrecognized or rare items in the *poetic* lines of 3:31 include

(a)   the *hophᶜal* of בקר "to oversee";[27]

(b)   אֵת "plowshare" (the first אֵת), which has been misunderstood as the first of two direct object signs;

(c)   אֶת (the second אֵת) used more as an *emphatic* particle than simply as the direct object sign;

(d)   feminine dual פְּלִשְׁתִּים, with the ב/פ variant, a cognate of Aramaic/Syriac בּוֹלֶשֶׁת and בְּלִשִׁיא "thieves, marauders, a reconnoitering troop."[28]

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[27] For a discussion on the use of בקר in Lev 27:33 and Ezek 34:11–22, as well as the use of מבקר in 1QS 6:12, 20 and CD cols. 9, 13–15, see pages 61–64.

[28] Jastrow (1903: 175, 1185); R. Payne Smith (1897–1901: 541, 3163), noting especially the citation: "Credo ܒܠܫܐ *nomen esse gentis cujusdam barbarae, quae famam sibi malam ut milites mercenarii acquisivisset.*" Note also J. Payne Smith (1903: 47, 449). Undoubtedly the stem is related to the Ge'ez and Amharic *falasa/falaša* "to emigrate, wander, to be in exile" known from the name of the Falashas, the "Beta Israel" of Ethiopia, now in Israel.

(e) שָׁשׁ "to plunder," cognate of Ugaritic *ṯš* and a by-form of שסה and שסס.[29]

Synonymous parallelism is conspicuous with (1) the *yqtl* ויך (or ויכא) "he smote" and the *qtl* שָׁשׁ "he plundered,"[30] (2) the dual פלשתים "two bands of marauders" in parallelism with מאות איש "hundreds of men," and (3) מלמד "oxgoad" in parallelism with אֵת "plowshare." Aural coherence appears with the noun אֵת and the particle אֵת and the use of שָׁשׁ and אִישׁ.

The obvious sequel to this restored tricolon follows in Ju 5: 6–7, which is followed in turn by Ju 5:1 ff.

> (But) from the days of Shamgar ben-Anat,
> from the days he used to attack,[31] caravans ceased.
> Caravaneers had to roam roundabout routes.
> Warriors disappeared, from Israel they vanished—
> until the rising (to power) of Deborah,
> the rising (to power) of a Mother in Israel.
> Then Deborah made Barak march forth . . . .

The questions why and when the Shamgar tradition was divided and transposed cannot be answered with certainty, but I

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[29] Gordon (1965: 507 no. 2757) cited text 127: 47–48, *ltdy ṯšm*, but did not translate the phrase. However, G. R. Driver (1971: 47, 151) translated it as "thou canst not put down them that despoil," and cited Hebrew שסס and שסא "plunder" as cognates. J. Gray (1964: 29, 78) translated the phrase, "thou didst not drive away those who prey," and cited the support of Virolleaud (1936: 16), Ginsburg (1946: 32), and Gordon (1949: 82). Lambdin (1953: 155) called attention to Egyptian *šꜣs* "to traverse" and *šasu* "nomads, marauders." Note in contrast the comments of Fenton (1969: 65–66) on the meaning of *ṯš*, שסס, and שסה, and of Guillaume (1959–1960: 16) who cited Arabic سوس "to be bold in attacking" as its cognate.

[30] For a study of the *qtl–yqtl* sequence of identical verbs, see Held 1962: 281–290; and for a similar sequence of synonymous verbs, see McDaniel 1968b: 215 and Dahood 1970: 420–423. The restoration of an א lost by haplography, restores the by-form of נכה as found in Job 30:8, Isa 16:7, and Prov 15:13, 17:22, and 18:14.

[31] For the proposal to read the *hiphᶜîl* of עול "to attack (secretly)," instead of the name Yael, see the discussion below (pages 114–115) on 5:6.

suspect that the material was "neutralized"by the Deuteronomic editor. If Ju 3:31 was the original initial tricolon of the poem, it would not have satisfied the theological bias of a Deuteronomic editor for Shamgar delivered Israel גם הוא "by himself," a phrase that a scrupulous Deuteronomic editor could have taken to imply "without Yahweh," instead of its obvious meaning of without the help of other judges or military alliances.[32] By a modest modification in shifting the initial verse of the poem (dealing with Shamgar's exploits) to its present position in 3:31, as the initial statement of the entire Deborah–Barak–Yael tradition, the neutralization was partially achieved.

The note on Shamgar in 5:6–7 includes two temporal phrases, "from the days of Shamgar" and "until the rising of Deborah." The שקמתי of the MT is the relative pronoun ש and the feminine participle, with the archaistic *hireq compaginis*.[33] Since the form is a homograph of the 1cs *qal* perfect, and since שקמתי דבורה could mean "I, Deborah, arose," the lines were treated as a quotation of Deborah and inserted by an editor into Deborah's exhortation, now found in Ju 5: 3–5 and 8–9, the only part of the poem in which Deborah speaks. With the bifurcation of the Shamgar tradition, the neutralizing of the poetic introduction was fully accomplished. The failure of scholars to recognize that the verses in which Shamgar is mentioned are related to one another and are an integral part of the original poem demonstrates the effectiveness with which the Deuteronomic editors did their work.

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[32] Note the statement of Eissfeldt (1966: 259): "The narratives about the minor Judges . . . all begin with a statement about Israel's sinful actions which have as their consequence the anger of God expressed in terms of permitting hostile attack, and about the cry for help which then moved God to send the judge (iii, 7–9, 11b; iv, 1–6; vi, 1–14; x, 6–16; xiii, 1–5)." Compare Seeligmann (1961: 201–221) and Weinfeld (1967: 93–113). Regarding the pre-Deuteronomic identification of the sin of Israel as the non-expulsion of the Canaanites, Weinfeld (105) stated, "This historiographic view was incompatible with the conception of the Deuteronomic editor . . . he ignored this historical introduction expressing this view and wrote his own introduction consistent with his ideological principles."

[33] In his commentary, Soggin (1981c: 86) reversed his earlier position (1975: 201, note 34) that שקמתי is a *shaph^cel*. On the *hireq compaginis*, see page 119 below; GKC 90¹; McDaniel 1968b: 29; and Layton 1990: 107–154.

III. Judges 4:1–22

The Deuteronomic editor is to be credited with more than the neutralizing of the poetic introduction. He was responsible for giving a theological introduction to the entire Deborah–Yael–Barak tradition. Once Shamgar had been moved from his initial position in the poem to the initial position in the combined prose-poetry Deborah tradition, his deliverance of Israel was read as a postlude to the Ehud story. But he was so isolated in 3:31 from the Song of Deborah that, subsequently, he was viewed by some readers as an oppressor of Israel when he was mentioned again ("in the days of Shamgar") in Ju 5:7.[34]

The Deuteronomic editor was also responsible for making the prose account of Sisera's defeat (4:1–22) into a *midrash* on what must have become by his time a difficult poem to understand since the misdivision of some words in the poem, no doubt, pre-dated him. On the other hand, one must assume that the poem was fairly, if not totally, comprehensible for the pre-Deuteronomic editors who incorporated it into their *Retterbuch*.

Ju 4:1–22 must be viewed as a Deuteronomic insertion into the pre-Deuteronomic tradition which consisted of two quantitatively unequal elements: (a) an early prose narrative telling of the defeat of Sisera which paralleled at points the poetic account; and (b) the Deuteronomic formulae[35] which can be recognized in the following phrases from 4:1–3:

<div dir="rtl">

ויספו בני ישראל לעשות הרע בעיני יהוה

וימכרם יהוה ביד . . .

ויצעקו בני ישראל אל יהוה.

</div>

And the Israelites continued to do evil
in the eyes of Yahweh
And Yahweh sold them into the hand of . . .
And the Israelites called out to Yahweh.

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[34] Moore 1898b: 159–160; Nestle 1912: 424–425; Burney 1918: 77; and Albright 1921: 55–56.

[35] Richter 1964: 6. But, as argued above (pages 29–32), Richter is incorrect in identifying the formulaic verbs ותכנע . . . ותשקט as Deuteronomic.

By deleting the Deuteronomic material one can recover the pre-Deuteronomic text in the following collection of words:

ואהוד מת יבין מלך כנען אשר מלך בחצור
ושר צבאו סיסרא והוא יושב בחרשת הגוים
כי תשע מאות רכב ברזל לו
הוא לחץ את בני ישראל בחזקה עשרים שנה:

> And Ehud died Jabin king of Canaan who ruled in Hazor
> and an officer of his army Sisera and he dwelt in
> the enclave of the foreigners
> indeed he had nine hundred chariots of iron
> he oppressed the Israelites mightily for twenty years.

This conglomeration of words can be transformed into a very meaningful narrative introduction (compatible with Ju 4:23–24, as defined above, and with Joshua 11) by emending ואהוד (ואהד) to the graphically similar ואחר "then after," and reading צבאו as the infinitive צבוא "to wage war." The שר of שר צבאו is actually the 3ms of שור "to go forth, to march out."[36] With these changes, the pre-Deuteronomic text of 4:1–3 can be translated:[37]

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[36] BDB 1003; Lane 1872: 1483b, 1484b; and G. R. Driver 1956: 69, 148.

[37] Aharoni (1967: 201–203) suggested that חרשת הגוים was not a place name but designated "the forested regions of Galilee" (= "Galilee of the Gentiles"). The translation of חרשת as "the defensive enclave" of the foreigners is based upon the Arabic cognate حرس "to guard" and حريسه "what is guarded, preserved" (Lane 1872: 546). Dozy (1927: 269–270) cited حرسى "un soldat destiné à garder une place," and محرس "une enceinte fermée de murs et assez grande pour loger une petite garnison, où les zélés musulmans se réunissaient pour faire la guerre aux non-musulmans," and referred to the place name محرس (Machres), which would be analogous to Hebrew חרשת (which lacks, however, the preformative מ) used as an "evident appellative" in a construct chain (GKC 125e). This חרשת could be related to חרש IV "to divine" (see page 255).

Drews (1989: 20–21) dealt with the problem of Sisera's having iron chariots since "in the twelfth-century B.C.E. both offensive and defensive weapons were normally made of bronze"—with only 3 of 150 pieces of weaponry found from the twelfth-century being of iron rather than bronze. Therefore, he concluded that the chariots were probably iron-tired chariots rather than being ironplated or the *currus falcati* "scythed chariots" of the Vulgate.

After Jabin, the king of Canaan who reigned from Hazor, died,
Sisera who dwelt in the defensive enclave of the
foreigners then went forth to wage war.
Indeed, he had nine hundred chariots of iron.
He harshly oppressed the Israelites for twenty years.

Here the sequence of major characters and events, except for the
omission of any reference to Shamgar, is the same as that found
in Ju 4:23–5:23, where the deceased Jabin was followed by Sis-
era, whose oppression led to the rise of Deborah and the mobili-
zation of the Israelite militia. The precise place chosen by the
Deuteronomic editors for inerting their formulaic material and
prose "commentary" is significant. The editors transformed the
pre-Deuteronomic prose *incipit* of the poem into a prose *inclusio*
for the "commentary" in 4:1–22. Thereby a theologically accept-
able and literarily uniform parallel account introduced the archaic
poem of the "Yahweh war."

The question arises, "Why were the formulaic insertions made
at their present positions and not elsewhere in the tradition?" The
phrase וימכרם יהוה ביד could just as easily have been placed
before the name of Sisera as before the name of Jabin. Had it
been so placed, the prose *incipit* to the poem could have re-
mained an *incipit*, and the historical ambiguities between Judges
4 and Joshua 11 could have been avoided—assuming that MT
ואהוד was a later *plena* spelling of ואהד, which was a misreading
or modification of the original ואחר.

An answer may be found in Ju 4:7, where Sisera is identified
as שׂר צבא יבין "*an* officer of Jabin's army" (GKC 128ˢ⁻ᵘ). In
spite of the claim of Cooke (1892: 16), Moore (1900b: 116),
Burney (1918: 81), and C. A. Simpson (1957: 14–15) that the re-
ferences to Jabin (4:7, 17) were from an independent tradition
which had been erroneously interwoven with the Sisera tradition,
the reference in 4:7 can be retained as a slur on Sisera's position
and power, since he was not a king residing in a fortified city but
simply a survivor of a defeated army who was forced to operate
out of a defensive enclave of foreigners and/or fortunetellers. As
such, Sisera was vulnerable, not invincible—his nine hundred
chariots of iron not withstanding. But the Deuteronomic editors
missed the slur. They viewed Sisera the way many interpreters

do, transforming him into *the* highest-ranking officer of the *reigning* King Jabin, rather than *an* officer of the *deceased* king.

This misunderstanding resulted in the reappearance of Jabin in the narrative after his death, only to be defeated a second time at the hands of Deborah, Barak, and Yael (Ju 4:1–24). Assuming that 4:7 and 4:17 were in the text of the Deuteronomic editor, he may have felt the need to correct the tradition in Ju 4:1 (which read, as reconstructed, ואחר מת יבין) if Jabin was presumably still alive according to 4:7 and 4:17.

IV. Summary

In summary, the proposal here is that the Deuteronomic editors, by changing an original ואחר to ואהד (or ואהוד) and צבא or צבוא to צבאו, were able to alter the received tradition sufficiently to accommodate the insertion of their theological formulae and to harmonize their astutely constructed theological prose introduction (4:1–3) with the existing introduction to the poem (4:23–24). But this harmonization transformed the introductory words of 4:23–24 into a conclusion for the prose narrative of 4:1–22. Historical accuracy was sacrificed by this editorial creation of a theologically harmonious unit out of 4:1–22 and 4:23–24. The different traditions about who killed Jabin were probably an insignificant issue for the Deuteronomic editors, if the issue was recognized at all. Indeed, until the excavations at the city of Hazor (1955 to 1958) proved otherwise, the Deuteronomic editor and his successors, like the modern pre-excavation commentators, could have conjectured along the same lines as Moore (1900a: 112):

> The relation of the Jabin of our text to the one in Jos. 11, and the question how Hazor, which was totally destroyed by Joshua, is here again the center of the Canaanite power in the north, are much discussed . . . . The common solution is, that Hazor had been rebuilt . . . and that the Jabin here named was a successor, and probably a descendant, of the Jabin of Jos. 11.

But the archaeological evidence clearly establishes, with little reservation, that the Late Bronze Age city of Hazor (Upper City stratum XIII, Lower City stratum 1A) was destroyed in the second half of the thirteenth century. This destruction was followed by temporary and limited Israelite settlements (strata XII and XI). The city was not rebuilt until the mid-tenth century (stratum X), and then by Solomon, not by the Canaanites.

Bimson (1978: 194–200) theorized that there were two destructions of Hazor, assigning the destruction by Joshua to the MBA (fifteenth century) and the one by Barak to the LBA (thirteenth century). But it is no longer necessary to rework the biblical chronology so radically, separating these events by 200 years. The crux can be surmounted by reconstructing the pre-Deuteronomic elements within the Deborah–Barak–Yael tradition.

Editorial transposition of the formula וימכרו יהוה ביד from 4:2a to 4:3a would go a long way toward clarifying the connection between Joshua 11 and Judges 4–5. Such an edited and emended text of Ju 4:1–3 (changing ואהוד to ואחר and צבאו to צבוא, as well as ביד to בידו) would read:

> The Israelites continued to do evil in the eyes of Yahweh
> after the death of Jabin, the king of Canaan
> who reigned from Hazor.
> Then Sisera, who dwelt in the defensive enclave
> of the foreigners, proceeded to wage war;
> and Yahweh sold them [the Israelites] into his hand.
> The Israelites cried out unto Yahweh,
> for he [Sisera] had nine hundred chariots of iron,
> and he harshly oppressed the Israelites for twenty years.

Younger's (1991: 127) "intertextual analysis" of the poetic texts and prose narratives dealing with the campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser I, Shalmaneser III, Thutmose III, and Ramesses II has demonstrated that

> Ancient scribes could write different accounts about the same referents. But differences in purpose could determine differences in detail . . . , and in the selectivity of the events narrated . . . . If the scribes' purpose was to praise the king and/or the gods, poetry naturally offered a medium to heighten the emotions of praise through rhetorical embellishments. Hence, divine activity and praise of the deities is encountered more often in the poetic versions. Poetic versions, in fact, also provide a very suitable ground for legitimation . . . . But in most instances the poetic (or more rhetorical) text also added significant historical details so that the complementary nature of the accounts is manifest.

For Younger, Judges 4 provides a "logical account," while the song in Judges 5 renders "an emotional and figurative account with special themes and purposes." But as will be demonstrated, the song is as logical as it is emotional, and, at particular points, the prose of Judges 4:1–22 is really a *midrash* on Judges 5.

V. An Outline of the pre-Deuteronomic poem
of a Yahweh war

The above analysis of the Deborah–Barak–Yael tradition in Ju 3:31; 4:23–24; 5:1–31 permits the following outline for the poem.

I. *Prose incipit*: the historical introduction to the victory of Israel over Jabin, "the king of Canaan" (4:23–24, which is balanced by the *prose inclusio* in 5:31b)

II. *Poetic prologue* (3:31; 5:6–7; 5:1, which is balanced by the *poetic epilogue* in 5:31a)

  A. Shamgar's exploits and deliverance of Israel (3:31)

  B. Economic oppression and Israel's (military) inactivity in

      the post-Shamgar period (5:6–7a)

  C. Deborah's appearance on the scene (5:7b, 5:1a and 1b)

III. Preparation for military activity (5:1c–5; 8–17a)

  A. Appeal by Deborah for an Israelite militia (5:1c–2)

  B. Deborah's exhortation (5:2c–5, 8–9)

    1. *Incipit*: ברכו יהוה (5:2c)

    2. Warning to hostile rulers (5:3)

    3. Address to Yahweh (5:4–5)

    4. Affirmation of God's equipping the Israelites (5:8)

    5. Appeal to the leaders and to the militia (5:9ab)

    6. *Inclusio*: ברכו יהוה (5:9c)

C. Mustering of the troops (5:10–13)

D. Strategy and deployment of forces (5:14–17a)

IV. Military engagement (5:17b–23)

  A. Israel's provocative attacks (5:17b–18)

  B. Canaanite counterattack through the wadi (5:19)

  C. Yahweh's counterattack: rain and flash flooding (5:20)

  D. Defeat of the Canaanites (5:21–23a)

  E. Victory for the Israelites (5:23)

V. Aftermath of the battle (5:24–31a)

  A. Assassination of the defeated Sisera (5:24–27)

    1. Blessing upon Yael (5:24)

    2. Sisera's last meal (5:25)

    3. Sisera's final "affair" (5:27a)

    4. Yael's deathblows (5:26, 27b)

  B. Anxiety and false hope in Sisera's residence (5:28–30)

    1. A mother's premonition (5:28)

    2. Vain hope offered by divination (5:29–30)

VI. *Poetic epilogue*: a terminating affirmation (5:31a)

VII. *Prose inclusio*: a formulaic epilogue marking the end of
another "pacification" narrative (5:31b).

CHAPTER THREE

SHAMGAR BEN-ANAT:

AN ISRAELITE OVERSEER

Shamgar has been identified as an ʿApiru, an Assyrian, a Canaanite, a Hanean, a Hittite, a Hurrian, a Phoenician, and a Syrian.[38] In all the studies I surveyed, only Kaufmann (1962: 112–113) and Luria (1984: 283–324, 1985: 105) have identified him as an Israelite. Consequently, it remains problematic for many commentators why a non-Israelite, even though he delivered Israel from oppression, was included among the minor judges of Israel. Though Boling (1975: 90) noted, "His story, brief as it is, is an example of traditionary erosion . . . ," the Shamgar tradition actually suffered from deliberate early editorial activity. The resolution of the problems associated with Shamgar is to be found in recognizing first that he was indeed an Israelite, not an alien. The brief notices about him in 3:31 and 5:6–7,[39] when united and transposed to the beginning of the Song of Deborah, provide the necessary introduction for this poem of a Yahweh war.

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[38] *ʿApiru / Ḫabiru*: Shupak (1989: 517–525).

Assyrian: Sayce (1902: 474) who related the name to Samgarnebo which occurs in Jer 39:3; Tallqvist (1914: 192), cited by Kraft (1962b: 307); and Burney (1918: 76).

Canaanite or *Phoenician*: Albright (1921: 56; 1953: 111, but in 1968b: 43, note 98, he concurred with Noth that the name is Hurrian); Alt (1944: 72–75); van Selms (1964: 303–304); and Cundall (1968: 79).

Hanean: Fensham (1961: 197–198). Compare Craigie (1972b: 239–240) and Boling (1975: 89) who treated the Hanean evidence as analogous material.

Hittite: Moore (1898: 159–160; 1900b: 105).

Hurrian: Noth (1928: 122–123); Maisler (1934: 192–194); Feiler (1939: 221–222); Myers (1956: 711); Kraft (1962b: 306); Bright (1972: 172); Boling (1975: 89); Rendsburg (1982: 359); KB³ (1969–1990) 1435.

Syrian: Garstang (1931: 284–288); and Danelius (1963: 191–193).

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[39] van Selms (1964: 300–301) stated, ". . . the transposition by some Greek manuscripts of iii 31 to xvi 31 is not warranted," and Boling (1975: 89) noted, "Certain LXX recensions have the Shamgar notice following the Samson conclusion in 16:31. . . ." However, the narrative about σεμεγαρ (or εμεγαρ) υιος εναν in some LXX recensions of Ju 16:31 is not a *transposition* but a *duplication* of Ju 3:31, as Lindars (1995: 156) correctly noted. See the citations of MSS dgklnoptvyᵃ in Brooke and McLean 1917: 797 (for Ju 3:31) and 862 (for Ju 16:31).

I. Shamgar's identity

The reasons for uncertainty about Shamgar's identity are

(a) the unusual nature of his name,

(b) the reading of יעל in Ju 5:6 as the name Yael, making Shamgar a contemporary of the heroine who assassinated Sisera,

(c) an apparent contradiction between Ju 3:31 and Ju 5:6 as to whether Shamgar was a friend or foe of Israel.

Although it is explicitly stated in 3:31 that he delivered (ישע) Israel, Ju 5:6 suggests that in his time Israel experienced severe oppression. Some have argued that Shamgar was even responsible for the oppression of the Israelites.[40] Albright (1921: 60) had suggested,

> After Shamgar's successful stand, presumably in connection with a Canaanite coalition, stiffened by the aid of Egyptian mercenaries, against the Philistines, he maintained his ascendancy over Galilee, like a medieval robber-knight, by keeping a small army of retainers, supported by the robbery of caravans and by exactions levied from the villages.[41]

Albright's proposal has been given new life by Lindars (1995: 158 and 236) who generously speculated,

> It is thus conceivable that Shamgar was a foreign mercenary leader, who subjected northern or north-central Israel to much harassment in the confused period before the battle of the Kishon. That he also achieved a legendary success against the Philistines is not impossible, but it is hard to believe that *he also delivered Israel* [Lindars's italics] . . . . This [lack of adequate control to prevent constant risk from brigands] suggests that the mysterious Shamgar is not an oppressive ruler, but a legendary bandit, who took advantage of the weakness of the Canaanite city-states to harass the Israelite settlers.

However, the apparent contradiction in the tradition, making him both a foe and a friend of Israel, is resolved by recognizing the functional interchange of ב "from" and מן "from" in two similar phrases: בימי שמגר בן ענת *"from* (after) the days of

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[40] Moore 1898: 159–160; 1900a: 60; and Alt 1944: 75 note 2.

[41] Note Alt's (1966: 181 note 21) acceptance of Albright's views.

Shamgar ben-Anath" and בימי יעל "*from* (after) the days of Yael" in 5:6.[42] The oppression occurred "*from* (after) the days of Shamgar" (i.e., after his demise), not in his lifetime. Many have noted that the name Yael in Ju 5:6 is problematic since the oppression of Israel ceased in her days. Moreover, if בימי שמגר suggests that Shamgar was responsible for the difficulties in Israel as enumerated in 5:6–7a, the parallel בימי יעל would also necessitate Yael's equal responsibility. But this is impossible since the oppression of Sisera was terminated during her time. Reading בימי יעל as "*from* the days of Yael" would equally contradict the context. Kittel suggested (in BH³) that the four words בן ענת בימי יעל were an addition, and others have proposed deleting בימי יעל or emending it to read בימי יבין, "in the days of Jabin."[43] J. Gray (1988: 427), following Weiser (1959: 76), proposed the paraphrase, "from the days of Shamgar to that of Jael."

A more likely solution comes simply by revocalizing the MT which has two prepositional phrases composed of nouns in construct with proper names. The second phrase is better understood as a construct followed by a *yqtl* preterit, either a *hiph*ᶜ*îl* or a *hoph*ᶜ*al* (יָעֵל or יֻעַל), of the stem עול "to attack, to deal out violence." Pope (1965: 192) recognized this word in Job 30:13, יעילו "they attack." It is a cognate of Ugaritic *ǵlt* "violence" and Arabic غول "to do away with, to injure," and, in form [4], "to slay covertly."[44]

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[42] The interchange of these prepositions is attested about a hundred times in Biblical Hebrew (see McDaniel 1968b: 199–200; Blommerde 1969: 19; Dahood 1970: 391; Soggin 1981c: 138). Compare the study of Zevit 1975: 103–112. It must be recognized that ב "from" and ב "in" are homographs, but were not necessarily homophones. Given the South Arabic use of *bn* and *mn* and the compound preposition *bn-mn* (Jamme 1962: 212–213, text 735, line 12), one can posit an original בן "from," with the assimilation of the ן. See Rendsburg 1989: 110 for בן "in" occurring twice in Jonah 4:10.

[43] Albright 1968b: 43, note 99. For older proposals to emend בימי יעל to בימי יאיר or מימי עלם, see Cooke, 1892: 32, and Burney 1918: 114. G. A. Smith (1912: 86) treated it as a gloss but was uncertain about בן ענת.

[44] See G. R. Driver 1956: 142; Lane 1872: 2311a, غول "destruction, death" or "anything that takes a man unexpectedly and destroys him"; 2311b, غيله "the slaying covertly, or on an occasion of inadvertence"; 2310a, غاليه غول " a

Thus, בימי יעל means "from the days he attacked/used to attack" or "from the day he was assassinated." The inference is clear that with the death of Shamgar conditions deteriorated for the Israelites. Josephus noted that Shamgar died (κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον) sometime during the first year of his governorship, which may hint at an assassination (*Antiquities* 5: 4: 3; Naber 1888: 1: 304).

II. Shamgar ben-Anat's name

Fensham's statement (1961: 197), "His name and also the name of his 'father' testifies [sic] against his ascendancy from Israelite stock," is characteristic of many who deny Shamgar an Israelite identity because שמגר appears non-Semitic and בן ענת could be a Canaanite name. Most recently Lindars (1995: 157) bluntly stated, "Shamgar is not an Israelite name." But his name may well be composed of three less commonly used Hebrew vocables, namely, שׂים "to attack" (obscured by the MT pointing of שׁ for שׂ), גור "to attack," and עון "to help, to save."

A. שמגר

The name שמגר has been identified with the Hittite *Sangar(a)*, a name of a ninth-century king of Carchemish, suggesting that *śngr* is the correct reading of the name (which appears as Σαναγαρος in Josephus and *Sangar* in some codices of the Vulgate).[45] A. van Selms (1964: 300–301) identified שמגר as a Canaanite name derived from a *shaphᶜel* of מגר "to submit," attested in the name בן מגראל on a Hebrew seal. Danelius (1963: 191–193) interpreted Shamgar as a hybrid name composed of the Egyptian noun *šmꜣ* "alien, der Landfremde" and the Hebrew גֵּר "alien." Many have identified שמגר with the Hurrian name *Ši-mi-qa-ri*

[cause of] destruction destroyed him . . . or [destroyed him so that it was not known whither he had gone]"; 2318c, اغتيل "he was deceived, and taken to a place and [there] slain"; 2319, غيله قتله "he beguiled him and slew him." Note also Dozy 1927: 2: 231–232 who cited غول "nuire, causer du dommage" and مغيلة "méchanceté, malice" and غائلة "le moyen ou l'occasion de perdre quelqu'un, de le ruiner."

[45] Moore 1898b: 159; Haupt 1914: 199–200, cited by Maisler 1934: 192; Burney 1918: 76.

found in the Nuzi texts, composed of the name of the Sun-god Šimiegi (= *Ṯmg*) and the *(a)ri* terminative frequently joined to Hurrian names.[46]

However, this last and most popular Hurrian identification also has its difficulties. Although the West Hurrian name *aršmg* occurred at Ugarit, it may not be the equivalent of the East Hurrian name *ši-mi-qa-ri* since the *(a)ri* termination and the *ar* prefix may not be the same element. Speiser (1930: 139–40; 1941: 204) noted that the nominal formative *(a)ri* in Hurrian names "indicated primarily that the person in question hails from a given place," and that "the *r-* termination is particularly well-represented in the eastern group of the languages and dialects under discussion, where it is also found in place names." Thus, it must be noted that, whereas Maisler (1934: 192–194) in his initial identification of Shamgar as a Hurrian name cited occurrences of the divine name *Šimiegi* in the West (Boghazkoi, Ras Shamra, and El Amarna), he cited no examples of the divine name plus the *r-* termination in the West. His examples of *ši-mi-qa-ri* are all from the Nuzi (East Hurrian) texts.

Ras Shamra examples of Hurrian names indicate a tendency in Syria-Palestine for the West Hurrian dialect. The clearest evidence is in the names compounded with the noun *iwri* "lord, king" as the initial element. This is consistently spelled *iwri*, indicating the West Hurrian dialect. In the East Hurrian (Nuzi) dialect, the noun appeared with the metathesis of *w* and *r* as *irwi*.[47] Therefore, to argue that Shamgar is the East Hurrian name

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[46] Feiler (1939: 221) identified it as a composite of the divine name *Simiq* plus the verb *ar* "to give." On the Hurrian presence in Canaan, see note 100.

[47] The following statement of Speiser (1941: 68) is helpful:

. . . the parade example of the metathesis is *ewri* "lord," which common-Hurrian form is opposed only by Nuzi *erwi*. Here the choice of this or that phonologic alternant has become characteristic of a dialectal division which separates Eastern Hurrian from other groups which are predominantly western.

For a listing of the occurrences of the name *Šimiq(a)ri,* see Chiera and Speiser 1927: 50, and Pfeiffer and Speiser 1936: 161. For the name *aršmg,* see Grondahl 1967: 366 and Soggin 1981c: 58 and references cited there. A full listing of the names with the *iwri* component and its variants is given by Grondahl 1967: 224–225. Note also Gordon 1965: pages 353–354, no. 116, and possibly page 365, no. 343. An East Hurrian name possibly appears in the

Šimiqari, elsewhere unattested in the West, appears to be an argument for the possible, not the probable.

The Masoretic pointing of the name as שַׁמְגַּר rather than שִׂמְגַּר has obscured the Semitic derivation of the name. The reading of the MT may have been influenced by Gershom, the name given to sons of Moses (Ex 2:22), Levi (1 Chron 6:1), and Phinehas (Ezra 8:2), which appears to reverse the גר and שׂם elements of Shamgar. But the original name was probably שִׂמְגַּר, with no etymological relationship to the name Gershom. The suggestion of Danelius, noted above, that Shamgar is a composite of the Egyptian *šmꜣ* "der Landfremde" and its Hebrew equivalent גר "alien," is much more likely the correct derivation of the name Gershom where there is a more obvious Egyptian connection.

If Shamgar were originally *Śamgar*, the name is composed of participles of שִׂים and גור (synonyms for "attack") meaning "the charging assailant," a fitting name for a military hero. The military nuance of the root שִׂים has been recognized in 1 Sam 15:2, בדרך שָׂם לו "they attacked them on their way" (NEB), 1 Kgs 20:12, שִׂימו וישִׂימו על העיר "Attack! And they attacked the city,"[48] and in Ezek 23:24, ישִׂימו עליך סביב "From all sides they

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Jebusite Araunah of 2 Sam 24:16. Although the MT Ketib reads הַאורנה (containing the West Hurrian *iwri*), the *Qere* retains הָארונה (East Hurrian *irwi*). The ארניה of 24:18 and the ארנן of 1 Chron 21:15 appear to be corruptions of the *Qere*. See Mullo Weir 1967: 82. For the meaning of *iwri/irwi*, see Speiser 1930: 145, note 90. Compare the views of Brögelmann (1936: 727) who identified the name, according to the *Qere*, as a Hurrian name, but related it to the verb *ar* "to give" rather than with the *Ketib* and the noun *iwri*. Compare Feiler 1939: 222–225, Rosen 1955: 318–320, and Rendsburg 1982: 357–358.

[48] J. Gray 1970: 419, 423. Note also Eitan 1923: 49–50, where Eitan translated שִׂים "to attack (in war)" in 1 Kgs 20:12, Ezek 23:24, and Job 23:6. The MT וישֶׂם "and he attacked them" in 2 Sam 12:31 can be added to the list. The participle שָׂם "attacker" may also be attested in the name of Shemeber in Gen 14:2, where the MT שמאבר possibly stands for an original שָׂם אביר, "mighty assailant," an attractively ironic name for a petty king. The Samaritan reading of this name as שמאבד and the reading of 1QapGen 21:25 as שמיאבד would have essentially the same meaning (reading אבד as the causative *piʿel*) "the attacker destroys." The suggestion of del Medico, cited favorably by Fitzmyer (1966: 145), that שמיאבד means "Mon nom est perdu," would be more suited as a pejorative epithet than as a king's name. The claim of Speiser (1966: 101) that the names of Shemeber's allies, ברשע and ברע, were pejoratives needs to be

will arm against you" (JB) or "they shall array against you every-where" (NAB).

The *qal* participle of גור stem II "to attack" is attested in Isa 54: 15, "should any attack you (הֵן גּוֹר יָגוּר), it will not be my doing; the aggressor (גָּר), whoever he be, shall perish for his at-tempt" (NEB).[49] Powis Smith (1927: 934, 938) noted this verb in Ps 56:7 "they make attacks (יָגוּרוּ), they lie in wait" and Ps 59:4 "mighty men are making attack on me (יָגוּרוּ עָלַי עַזִּים)." It has also been recognized in Lam 2:22, reading מְגוּרַי "my attackers" for MT מְגוּרַי "my terrors" (McDaniel 1968b: 42–44; Hillers 1972: 41).

B. ענת

Albright (1920: 55) and Noth (1928: 123) associated the name בן ענת with Beth-Anath in Naphtali (Josh 19:38), and Danelius (1963: 22) associated it with Del-Anath (LXX Josh 17:7). Others, like van Selms (1964: 302–303), Boling (1975: 89), and Lindars (1995: 157–158), identify it as a heroic epithet meaning "son of (the war goddess) Anath." These interpretations falter because they treat Shamgar ben-Anat without regard to the poem's other male military figure, Barak ben-Abinoam, who is similarly given a compound name. Since ben-Abinoam is clearly a patronym, it permits one to read בן ענת also as a patronym. Layton (1990: 218) noted, "Ben ᶜAnat may be the patronym of Shamgar if we assume that the vocable *bĕn* has been omitted," on the assump-tion that ענת was the name of the goddess and would require the original to have been שמגר בן בן־ענת. But, as will be demon-strated, שמגר is the name and בן ענת the patronym. The two

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reconsidered. Given the frequent interchange of ב and פ, ברע is more likely the equivalent of פרע, cognate to Ugaritic *prᶜ* "chief," Egyptian *pr-ᶜ* "hero," and Hebrew פרעת "heroine" (Ju 5:2, discussed below). In light of the בר in Prov 31:2, ברשע "Barshūa" could be the masculine counterpart of בת שוע "Batshûa."

[49] Note Whybray 1981: 189. The G-stem of *gr* in the Ugaritic Keret text (lines 110–111: *wgr . nn . ᶜrm . srn pdrm*) was translated by Ginsberg (1946: 16, 38), following T. H. Gaster (1944–1945: 277), "do thou attack the villages, harass the towns." J. Gray translated (1964: 46; 1988: 439), "he tarried, remained inactive at the town." Note Arabic تجريه "course de gens de guerre en pays ennemi," and جرى "faire des incursions dans un pays" cited in Dozy (1927: 1: 190a, 191a) and discussed by Kopf (1976: 193–194).

patronyms בן אבינעם and בן ענת are examples of unifying elements structured into the poem, insensitivity to which has led many to assert that the poem lacks structural uniformity. But the unifying elements are present.

The bronze arrowhead inscription coming from the Lebanese Beqaᶜ (published by Milik [1956: 3–6] and restored by Yeivin [1958: 585–588] to read: חץ זכרב[על]/בן בנענ[ת], "the arrow of Zakir Ba[ᶜal] / son of Benᶜana[th]") led Aharoni (1975: 256) to state, ". . . 'the son of Anath' was an ordinary Canaanite name, and need not be taken to mean that Shamgar was the son of the goddess or a resident of the town of Beth-Anath." One need not, therefore, concur with Shupak's conclusion (1989: 523–424) that בן ענת was Shamgar's military "cognomen," and was indicative of "his association with a troop of [ᶜApiru] fighting men which was named after the Canaanite goddess of war."

But בנענת was not only a Canaanite name, it was also an Israelite name. Dhorme (1910: 301) recognized that בענה (in 2 Sam 4:2, 5; Ezra 2:2; Neh 7:7; 10:28) was a variant spelling of בן ענה. Dhorme's suggestion was accepted by Milik (1956: 5) who stated:

> There are at least three examples of *bin* in the inscriptions, where *n* is assimilated to the following consonant: *bplṣbᶜl* on the Tabor knife . . . *byḥymlk* and *bklby* in the Byblos inscriptions and some biblical names, among them our *bᶜnh / bᶜnᵓ*. . . .

Thus, בן ענת and בענה are the same name, with the former retaining the unassimilated ן of בן as well as the original ת ending.

The vocable in these names, בענה and בן ענת or בן ענה, is עון, a cognate of Arabic عون [forms 3, 4, 6] "to help, to aid" and the prefixed nouns معون and معونه "the officer appointed for rectifying the affairs of the commonality, as though he were the aider of the wronged against the wronger," and of South Arabic ᶜnt "an auxiliary troop" (from ᶜwn, "to help, to save, or to aid").[50] The

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[50] See Lane 1872: 2203bc, 2204b; and Jamme 1962: 433b (ḥᶜn), 445a (ᶜnt). Evidence that the root is עון and not ענת or עני is found in the Ugaritic names *bn ᶜn* (written also *bn.ᶜn*) and *ᶜn*, as well as in the feminine *bn ᶜnt*, (*bn*) *ᶜntn*, and *ᶜnt*. The Ugaritic *bn ᶜnt* or *bn ᶜn* refers to Anat or to her male counterpart An(a)/A-na, since, as Milik noted (1956: 5, note 25), "the onomastic category '*bn* + divine name or epithet (often in caritative form with -*ay*, -*an*, or -*(a)m*)' seems to have been rather popular among the army of Ugarit." On the god

common noun בעל "lord" in Isa 54: 5 ("for your 'husband'
[בעליך] is your maker, יהוה צבאות is his name") and the epithet
בעליה "Yahweh is lord" in 1 Chron 12:5 offer parallels to this
use of ענת. The vocables ענת or בעל—properly used as com-
mon nouns in names—would later be misunderstood as divine
names.

The name ענת corresponds to the South Arabic *ᶜnt*, cited
above. The noun occurs elsewhere in the name ענתתיה (1 Chr
8:24). This usage is distinguished by its reduplicated feminine
ending (like דלתות, עזרתה, and קשתות) and the theophoric יה
suffix. Despite Albright's claim (1924: 85) that the יה ending is a
scribal error resulting in the corruption of the place name Ana-
thoth, the MT, just as it stands, makes excellent sense meaning
"Yahweh is my helper," much like the more common עזריה(ו)
and עזראל. The ת ending occurs elsewhere as a type of abstract
noun used in titles and designations of office for *males* and
should not be confused with the ת feminine ending.[51]

Recognition of ענת as a common noun does not preclude
agreement with either Craigie (1978: 374–381) or Taylor (1982:
99–108) that the Song of Deborah reflects the poet's recasting of
motifs from the Anat myths.[52] Likewise, the poet's transferring

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An(a), see Albright 1924: 86–87. The Arabic عنت "to treat harshly, to cause
one to perish" (Lane 1874: 2108b) would be of interest if the בן ענת were not a
patronym. Otherwise, בן ענת could be a synonym of בן הכות (Deut 25:2) "one
worthy of smiting" or בן מות (2 Sam 12:5) "one worthy of death." See note 87.

[51] GKC 122ʳ and S. R. Driver 1913: 466. See W. Wright 1896 (reprint
1962): 139 (sec. 233c) for Arabic examples in which intensiveness is indicated
by the suffixed feminine *-atun*. See below the discussion on לעזרת in Ju 5:23b,
pages 205–206.

[52] Craigie noted that the following features of the Anat tradition have been
transferred to Yahweh or to Deborah: (1) Anat's male assistant, Yatpan, ap-
pears as Barak; (2) Anat's role as the "maiden" and her leading of warriors is
shifted to Deborah; (3) the "Mistress of the Dominions" and the "Mistress of the
Stars" motifs are ascribed to Yahweh. Taylor presents a strong case for the
poet's using the image of Athtart in detailing the person and actions of Yael and
the image of Anat for portraying the character of Deborah. He noted, "Athtart
was summoned to act as a head crusher in response to a 'challenge of dominion'

Anat's power and activities to Deborah and Yahweh does not require the dismissal of the historical Shamgar tradition.

C. Other biblical uses of עון

Several other occurrences of עון support the interpretation given here for the patronym בן ענת, including וענותך in Ps 18:36 (or וענתך in the parallel text of 2 Sam 22:36), מענה in Deut 33:27, and עין in Deut 33:28. (In Ps 60:7, עננו "save us" is obviously a synonym of הושיעה "save" and יחלצון "rescued.")

1. Ps 18:36

Buhl and Kittel (BH³) emended the problematic וענותך and וענתך of Ps 18:36 and 2 Sam 22:36 to עזרתך, "thy help."[53] But emendation is unnecessary. The ענת of MT וענתך is equivalent to South Arabic ᶜnt and Arabic معون "help, assistance," as noted above (page 51). When restored by a metathesis of the נ and ו, so as to read וענותך, the variant spelling of MT וענותך in Ps 18:36 (though lacking the prefixed מ) approximates معون. The וענותך תרבני is rightly rendered in the RSV "thy help made me great."

2. Deut 33:27

The suggestions of Cross and Freedman (1948: 196, 209) on this passage are attractive. They read,

מען אלה קדם   His (Jeshurun's) refuge is the God of old

מתחת>ו< זרעת עלם   Under him are the arms of the Eternal.

But translating מען (= מענו) "his refuge" remains problematic in the context of the following second-person elements:

[by Yassib to his father Keret] . . . the point of similarity between Athtart and Jael is to be seen in that Jael crushes the skull of one whose military actions no doubt constituted a challenge to Yahweh's dominion." Garbini (1978a: 5–31) saw the poem as a contest between Yahweh and a Philistine weather god and Soggin's (1981c: 99–101) critique of this was on target.

[53] Cross (1950: 310) rendered the MT by "your favor," noting that the word was difficult. Dahood (1966b: 116) translated "your victory," relating the MT to Phoenician ענו "to conquer." But, given the context of the subsequent militant action spoken of by the psalmist, a reference at this point in the psalm to "victory" seems premature.

(1)   the vocative "O Jeshurun" in 33: 26,

(2)   the 2ms suffixes of בעזרך "for your help" and מפניך "from before you" in 33:26 and 27b, respectively,

(3)   the combined vocative and 2ms suffix אשריך ישראל "happy are you, O Israel" in 33:29.

It is difficult to admit in the same context a 3ms suffix וֹ referring to Jeshurun. Thus, the MT מענה "savior" in Deut 33:27 must be synonymous with בעזרך "as your helper" in 33:26, where the ך of בעזרך does double duty. Synonymous parallels (though not synonymous parallelism) can be recognized:

> There is none like El, O Jeshurun,
> who rides the heavens as[54] your helper (בעזרך)
>   (who rides) the clouds in his majesty!
> (Your) savior (מענה) is the God of Old;
> underneath are the arms of the Eternal![55]

(Meter 3 + 3 + 2 / 3 + 3; Syllables 6:9:9::8:9)

3.   Deut 33:28

The third occurrence of עון is in Deut 33:28, where the MT בדד עין יעקב was translated by Meek (1927: 333–334), "The fountain of Jacob undisturbed." Freedman (1948: 196) and Cross (1973: 157), following Budde and Cassuto, read, "Securely apart dwells Jacob." But the MT עין can also be read עַיֵן, a *pi^cel* corresponding to Arabic عون [3] and [4] "to assist, to help." By so reading, the tricolon 33:27b–28 can then be translated as it stands in the MT without further difficulty. The initial ו of ויגרש

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[54] The translation of ב as "as" reflects the *beth essentiae.* See GKC 119[1].

[55] Compare T. H. Gaster (1947: 56, 60–61) who translated, "Who humbles the ancient gods, and shatters all time-honored might." Ginsberg (1948: 26) countered, "who spread out the primeval tent, and extended the everlasting canopy"; and Gordis (1948: 71–72) responded with the alternative, ". . . Dwelling-place of the God of old, The outstretching of the everlasting arms." Seeligmann (1964: 78) proposed, "He humbles the gods of Yore and shatters the Arms of Eternity."

and the ו of ויאמר can be retained as emphatic uses of ו, whereas the third ו of וישכן must be retained as the voluntative ו with the jussive (GKC 109¹). The preposition אל of 28b is needed and cannot be considered a scribal error as T. H. Gaster (1947: 62) hesitatingly proposed, nor emended to read על with the Samaritan text, as Freedman (1948: 210) and Cross (1973: 158) suggested. Deut 33:27b–28 can then be translated:

> He drove out the enemy before you!
> Yea, he commanded destruction (הַשְׁמֵד)[56]
> so that Israel might dwell securely.
> By himself (בָּדָד) he delivered (עַיִן) Jacob
> into a land of grain and wine.
> Yea, his heavens drip dew!

(Meter 3 + 2 + 3 / 3 + 3 + 3; Syllables 10:5:8::7:8:7)

A sequential infinitive such as בוא could have been used after עין (= עַיִן), but an ellipsis is attested in 33:26c, where the participle רכב is understood rather than stated, "(who rides) the clouds in his majesty."

Given this evidence for עון as a verb and ענת, עונת, and מענת as nouns synonymous with עזר, it is no longer necessary to insist that בן ענת must be related to the Canaanite goddess. The ענת element in and of itself is no clear sign that a person so named must have been a non-Israelite.

D. Excursus on the extrabiblical uses of ענת

Since the vocable עון is attested in Hebrew as a noun and verb synonymous with עזר, the use of ענת at Elephantine demands at least passing notice. No one has questioned the Jewish identity of

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[56] I follow here the suggestion of Gordis (1948: 72) who pointed out that "השמד is the Hiphil infinitive (not the imperative), here used substantively. . . ." He compared similar verbs in 1 Sam 15:23; Isa 14:23; Job 6:25, 26; 25:2, and in the Mishnah. Note the translation of Cross (1973: 157), "He drove out the enemy before you; <Before you> he smashed <the foe>."

the garrison at Yeb because of the ענת element in the name
Anati. Shamgar ben-Anat can be extended the same courtesy, for
the ענת in his name, as at Elephantine, was probably the noun
"helper, savior," not the divine name Anat. What Kraeling (1953:
84) called the "liberal attitude of some of the Elephantine Jews"
need not be questioned. The syncretism noted in Amos 8:14 may
well have flourished at Yeb.[57] The Elephantine אשם ביתאל was
probably related to the אשמת of Samaria and Hamath (2 Kgs 17:
30), and perhaps even to the earlier designation of Aṭṭarat at
Ugarit as the *šm bᶜl* "the name (hypostasis) of Baal."[58] But this
does not mean that every occurrence of ענת must be related to
the goddess rather than to the common noun behind her name.

It now seems certain that the divine names ענת and תנת were
actually substantives abstracted from longer appellations. Al-
bright (1968b: 117) reconstructed the original appellation of
these two names as follows:

> Similarly the name ᶜAnat is probably an abbreviation of an original ᶜAnat-
> panê-Baᶜal, meaning something like 'Turning of Baal's Face', that is
> 'Wrath of Baal'. The word *pānîm,* ' face, presence', connotes both favour
> and disfavour in the Hebrew Bible, where it must sometimes be rendered
> 'wrath', depending on the context.

He argued (1957: 339–340; 1968a: 195) that ᶜanat is related to
Akkadian *ettu* "sign, omen," Aramaic ענת "sign, time, destiny,"
and Hebrew עת "time," so that, "the name of ᶜAnat then probably
meant originally 'sign, indication of purpose, active will,' and
was originally applied to the personified or hypostatized will of
Baal."[59] Albright (1968b: 113) also identified Anat and Tannit as

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[57] Following here the proposal of Neuberg (1950: 215), in reading, "those
who swear by the Ashimah of Samaria [באשמת שמרון] and say, 'By the lives of
thy gods, O Dan, by the lives of thy pantheon, O Beersheba!' they shall fall
and never rise again!" Note Ackroyd 1968: 4 note 1, and compare A. Vincent
1937: 566.

[58] Kraeling 1965: 175–176. For a discussion on Asherah as the consort of
Yahweh, see Dever 1984: 21–37; Lemaire 1984: 42–51; Zevit 1984: 39–47.

[59] Compare the proposal of Deem (1978: 25–30) that Anath means "lover,"
arguing that since ענה means "to inflict pain or sorrow, to rape," in the *piᶜel,*
the *qal* meaning could be "to have sexual intercourse by consent," i.e., "to
love." Given the intensive and iterative nature of the *piᶜel,* if the *qal* means "to

the same goddess, but postulated different etymologies for the two names:

> . . . the Carthaginian appellation of the goddess Anath, *Tennît-panê-Ba^{c}al* means 'Radiance of the Presence of Baal', or the like. Tennît was often identified with Juno Caelestis, Juno as queen of heaven, or as Virgo Caelestis, 'the Heavenly Virgin' (cf. the standing appellation at Ugarit, *batultu ^{c}Anat*, 'the Virgin Anath').[60]

Although more than one goddess could have been related to Baal, the probability that two different goddesses were called by the same title, "the face of Baal," seems unlikely. Consequently, it remains doubtful whether "the turning of Baal's face" and the "wrath of Baal" adequately explain the phrase ענת פן בעל.[61]

Cross (1973: 33) noted that problems persist with identifying Tannit and Anat as the same goddess. He offered an alternative derivation of the name Tannit, suggesting that Tannit ("the One of the Serpent" or "the Dragon Lady") was the feminine counterpart of *tannin* "serpent." But this derivation also is not without difficulty. Since the male *tannin* was the adversary of Baal and Anat and the victim of Anat's violence, it appears unlikely that a female **tannintu* or *tannittu* would also have been "the face of Baal" and have shared a common title with the goddess Anat.[62] Moreover, the serpent is not found among the fertility symbols which accompany Tannit (which are the pomegranate, the palm tree, the dove, and the fish). Were Tannit the "Dragon Lady," one would expect some representation of the serpent or the scorpion,

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love" one would expect the *pi^{c}el* to mean "to love passionately." Little merit can be given to this reversal of meaning, although "to love" could be well within the semantic range of עון "to help."

[60] Albright argued (1968: 37, 118) for the equation of Tannit with Hebrew תמנת (Num 12:8), going back to **tamnît* (= *tabnît*) "form, structure, image," with the development *tabnît > tamnît > tennît*. This progression is explained in part by the El-Hofra inscriptions which include the variant titles ΘΙΝΙΘ ΦΑΝΕ ΒΑΛ and ΘΕΝΝΕΙΘ ΦΑΝΗ [ΒΑ]Λ.

[61] On the interchange of פני and לפני, see Isa 1:12 and Ps 42:3 where, contrary to the suggestions in BH³ and BHS, the MT can be retained as the *niph^{c}al* and read with פני rather than לפני. Compare the use of את פני in Gen 19:13.

[62] Note ^{c}nt III: 37–38, *l'ištbm . tnn . 'šbm[n]h . mḫšt . bṭn . ^{c}qltn,* "I muzzled Tannin, I muzzled him; I destroyed the winding serpent" (= *CTA* 3: III: 37–38).

such as appears in the Palmyrene representations of Shadrapa (Satarapes), the spirit of healing.[63]

A more probable derivation is found in recognizing that the names Anat and Tannit were originally common nouns from the vocable עון "to save." The noun ענת was discussed already.[64] Here it will suffice to note that the bilingual inscription from Lapethos provides further evidence that Anat, identified with the goddess of victory Nikē and the savior goddess Pallas Athēnaiē, was an עזר figure. The inscription reads in part: לענת מעז חי . . . Ἀθηνᾷ Σωτείρᾳ Νίκῃ "to Anat the strength of the living . . . to Athena, the Savior Nikē" (i.e., to the Savior "Victory").[65]

The Phoenician name תנת was probably originally spelled תענת, from the stem עון, with forms similar to the שוב, שובה, תשובה pattern (GKC 85ᵖ, 85ʳ). The ע was elided or assimilated and *taᶜnt became ta(n)nt, which, with the anaptyptic vowel, became tannit (just as *baᶜl > baᶜal > בל and *šurš > šuriš = συρις).[66]

Thus, תנת and ענת name the same goddess who stood before Baal as an עזר כנגדו "a savior, consort." This role of Anat is clearly attested in the Ugaritic texts.[67] She was the savior who visited the Underworld that she might restore Baal to life. She

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[63] Note Starcky 1949: 43–85, fig. 8 and pl. IV; and Astour 1967: 236.

[64] See pages 50–53. Note Benz 1972: 382, 429–431 for a summary of the data on Anat and a survey of other views on the etymology of the name Tannit.

[65] Donner and Röllig 1962–1964, vol. 1, 9–10 (text 42) and vol. 2, 59.

[66] Note Harris 1936: 32–34; Berthier and Charlier 1955: 238; and especially Friedrich and Röllig 1970: 13, 93–94, sections 31 and 194. The ע of בעל (= bal) may represent the vowel letter a rather than the original ע consonant as in El Hofra text 4, where the anticipated פֹן (φανε) was written פענא. Note also באל for בעל in text 13:2.

[67] Note ᶜnt IV: 83–84, hlk . ᵓaḫth . bᶜl . yᶜn . tdrq / ybnt . ᵓabh, "Baal eyed the coming of his sister, the approach of the daughter of his father"; UT 76: III: 11, wp . nᶜmt [.] ᵓaḫt, "and so, (most) pleasant sisters" (G. R. Driver, 1956: 119); UT 76: II: 16, 20, nᶜmt . bn . ᵓaḫt . bᶜl . . . ḥwt . ᵓaḫt, "(most) gracious among the sisters of Baal . . . Mayest thou live, sister!" These texts are also cited by Porten (1969: 170–171). Anat, having been introduced into Egypt by the Hyksos, appears in Egyptian mythology as the spouse of Seth who was equated with Baal. Porten noted that Anat became a favorite with Ramesses II.

repeatedly and successfully confronted Mot with the simple command, *tn ᵓḥy,* "Give me my brother!" (*UT* 49: II: 12).

The motif expressed in the appellations ענת פן בעל and תנת פנא בעל appears in Gen 2: 18, where Eve stands before Adam as עזר כנגדו "a savior as his consort," who will save him from לְבַדּוֹ "his being alone" by providing him with progeny.

Just as תנת פנא בעל and *ענת פן בעל can mean "the Helper before Baal," the Elephantine names ענתיהו, ענתביתאל, and ענתי, also reflect the noun ענת applied to Yahweh and Bethel. They are like biblical names compounded with עזר. Consequently, ענתיהו is no more problematic than עזריהו. If the evidence can be sustained that the god Bethel was worshiped at Elephantine, ענת ביתאל simply means "the savior (is) Bethel."[68] The Hebrew ענתי would mean "my helper/savior," like the עזרי in 1 Chron 27:26.

The abstract noun ענתי could have been used as a male title or designation. Cazelles (1956: 134) noted the use of a similar noun in 2 Sam 23:1, where ונעים זמרות ישראל occurs in synonymous parallelism with משיח אלהי יעקב. The expressions are titles of David meaning, respectively, "the friend of the Warrior of Israel" and "the anointed of the God of Jacob." He concluded that the ת ending of זמרות may be related to Egyptian and Akkadian nominal forms which end in -*t* or -*ty*, with the same titulary function.[69] The MT עזרת יהוה "the *Savior* Yahweh" in Ju 5:23, is another example.

The Benjaminite name ענתתיה "Yahweh is my Savior," (in 1 Chron 8:24) with the reduplicated ת ending, is another example of ענת used in a Yahwistic name. It seems highly improbable, therefore, that names at Yeb with the ענת element designate a consort of Yahweh, or reflect the survival of some type of Anat worship.[70]

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[68] Porten (1969: 173–179) has argued against the probability of the worship of Bethel or Eshem at Elephantine and has provided a bibliography.

[69] See page 206 below. Note Dahood 1970: 412.

[70] Compare Dussaud (1942–1943: 286) who stated, "On peut en déduire que, dans les papyrus judéoaraméens d'Eléphantine, Anat est une déesse-soeur,

It is easy to see how the titulary epithet ‏בעליה‎ or ‏ענתיהו‎
could have contributed to pre-Philonic hypostatic speculation.
When the collocation of the appellative and the divine name
‏ענתיהו‎ "the Savior Yahweh" was understood as "*the* helper *of*
Yahweh," the identification of ‏חכמה‎ "Lady Wisdom" as the
helper (Prov 8:22–32) would have been very natural. Thus, while
the Elephantine ‏ענת‎ sheds light on early hypostatic speculation, it
provides little evidence for the survival of Anat worship by the
Jews of Yeb. At Elephantine, ‏ענת‎ was simply a common noun.

III. Shamgar's status as "overseer"

Although Shamgar is given credit for delivering Israel in Ju
3:31 (‏וישע גם הוא את ישראל‎), the *title* ‏מושיע‎ or ‏שפט‎ is not used
for him. As Boling (1975: 89) commented, "there is a complete
absence of any familiar rubrics, whether of the salvific or admin-
istrative forms." A. van Selms (1964: 294) concluded,

> Shamgar, therefore, is rather out of place in the list of 'minor judges' who
> . . . would have been real judges, in our sense of the word, at the central
> sanctuary . . . . There is yet more that creates an aura of isolation around this
> judge. All the regular elements in the description of the work of Israel's
> 'judges' are lacking . . . . He could be completely omitted from the book
> without disturbing its chronology.

Huesman (1975: 297), on the other hand, dissociated the
heroic Shamgar of 3:31 from the "oppressor" Shamgar of 5:6 by
replacing the name of Jabin in Ju 4:2 with the name of Shamgar,
doubling his evidence that Shamgar was an oppressor of Israel.
However, such a view, which diminishes the status of the *heroic*
Shamgar, must be rejected for the reasons that follow.

A. A motif from a Sumerian *Königshymne*

In Römer's publication (1965: 50–51) of *Königshymnen* from
the Isin period, several lines of one hymn introduce a motif strik-
ingly similar to one in Ju 3:31:

> Die Männer des Zerstörens . . . die Menschen, die Feindseliges reden, [habe
> ich] fürwahr am Boden x x [----] . . . x, mit Wonne mit der Axt (!?) ihren

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 ce qui s'accorde avec sa fonction habituelle dans les textes de Ras Shamra."
Note also A. Vincent 1937: 652 and Kapelrud 1969: 14.

Nacken ab[gesch]nitten (!?), . . . das Fleisch (!?) der *sa-gaz* Leute (wie Erdschollen) mit der Picke zerbrochen (?).[71]

This approximates the LXX (B-text) of Ju 3:31 καὶ ἐπάταξεν τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους εἰς ἑξακοσίους ἄνδρας ἐν τῷ ἀροτρόποδί "and he smote the aliens, up to six hundred men, with the plowshare," as well as the translation of the MT offered in this study: "he smote with a plowshare two bands of marauders, with a goad he plundered hundreds of men." The destruction of vaguely identified hostile aliens with agricultural instruments was an act which merited praise for a Sumerian king. Shamgar's similar heroism resulted in his elevation to a significant, though brief, political position in early Israel.

In Ju 3:31, במלמד הבקר "with the goad of the ox" need not be read as two bound nouns. The MT מלמד is the *maqtil* form of למד (a common form for nouns of instrument) meaning "a goad, a striking instrument." The idea of the "goad" is contained within the word מלמד itself, without the need for a *nomen rectum*.[72] Therefore, the MT הבקר can be dissociated from מלמד "goad" and from the *noun* בקר "ox, cattle." It can be read instead as the *verb* בקר "to examine, to search, to judge," introducing a new clause—without doing an injustice to Shamgar's feat of striking down his enemies with a goad (מלמד) and a plowshare (את).

B. The Qumran מבקר למחנה and the
     "Community Overseer" of Ugarit

The use of a nominal form of בקר "overseer" as a synonym for פקיד "overseer, commissioner" is attested in 1QS 6:11–14 where the "overseer of the many" is also identified as האיש האיש הפקיד ברואש (11–12) and as the המבקר על הרבים הרבים (14).[73]

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[71] Lines 217, 218, and 226. Compare also Albright 1968b: 71, note 74, who translated, "I have verily broken the SA.GAZ . . . with the pick-axe; on his neck (?) I have verily imposed the yoke (?)."

[72] Moscati 1964: 80; GKC 85ᵉ. Guillaume (1961–1962: 4) cited Arabic لمد and لمز "he slapped, struck, taught" as cognate to למד.

[73] Burrows 1951: pl. 6, lines 11–12, 14; Brownlee 1951: 24–25.

T. H. Gaster (1956: 50, 98, note 57) translated both titles as "the superintendent of the general membership," and equated the former noun to the ἐπίσκοπος "bishop" and the latter to the ἐπιμεληταί "stewards, overseers" of the Essene community mentioned in Eusebius and noted by Josephus.[74] These were appointed positions, with the latter one, χειροτονητὸς ἐπιμελητής, being an official elected by the gesture of the outstretched hand.

The מבקר of 1QS 6:12, 20 and its appearance fifteen times in CD cols. 9, 13–15 may be the *hophʿal* participle מֻבְקָר "one who was elected overseer" rather than a *piʿel* participle, מְבַקֵּר, as read by some commentators. The "Rule for the Overseer of the Camp" (מבקר למחנה סרך) in CD 13:7–19 and 14:8–18 identifies the מבקר as a colleague of the Qumran judges:[75]

> He is to bring back all of them that stray, as does a shepherd his flock. He is to loose all the bonds that constrain them, so that there is no one in his community who is oppressed or crushed (CD 13: 9–10) . . . . Anything that anyone has to say in a matter of dispute or litigation (כל ריב ומשפט), he is to say to the overseer . . . . wages for at least two days per month are to be handed over to the overseer (ונתנו אל יד המבקר). The judges are then to take thereof (והשופטים ממנו תתנו) and give it away for the benefit of the orphans (CD 14:11–14). (Gaster 1956: 81, 83)

If Shamgar "had been appointed" (הֻבְקַר) and had functioned as a מְבַקֵּר, his responsibilities would have been quasi-judicial, assuming that there was some correspondence between the two communities even though they were separated by a millennium.

The Ugaritic evidence concerning the root בקר/פקר is limited but significant. In *PRU* II 56: 7 (*UT* 1056: 7) the phrase *pqr yḥd* occurs, which Gordon (1965: 470) translated "overseer of the (religious) community," noting that "both words anticipate Qumran usage: מבקר היחד." The Ugaritic title does not correspond exactly to the Qumran title, מבקר למחנה, and the functions of the office were probably different in two such disparate

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[74] See Naber 1895: 5: 162 (Josephus, *War*, 2: 8.3); and "Eusebii Pamphili Praeparatio Evangelica," *PG* 21: cols. 640 and 643.

[75] For the text of the Zadokite Fragment, see Rost 1933: 25–26; for a translation of the text, see T. H. Gaster 1956: 76–84.

communities. But the use of פקר in Ugaritic for a community leader means that the Qumran usage of מבקר, like its Nabatean counterpart,[76] was not an innovation of that community.

Although בקר/פקר is unattested as a noun in Biblical Hebrew (unless a פקר was corrupted to the more common פקד), the Qumran מבקר employs a traditional term attested in Ugaritic texts without the מ preformative. Were it not for the *pqr yhd* appearing in Ugaritic the proposed revocalization of MT הַבְּקֵר to הֻבְקַר could be dismissed as an unlikely anachronism. However, these extra-biblical references suggest that in the phrase הבקר וישע גם הוא the first word was the stem בקר, used for a quasi-judicial appointment.

C. The use of בקר in Ezek 34:11–22 and Lev 27:33

Although the nouns פקר, בקר, and מבקר do not occur in Biblical Hebrew, the verb בקר "to oversee" does appear. The use of בקר as a synonym for פקד "to look after" (similar to the use at Qumran of the synonyms מבקר and פקיד) was noted in Gesenius-Buhl (1921: 112) for Ezek 34:11–12, where the collocation of שפט, בקר, and נצל approximates the collocation of בקר and ישע in Ju 3:31. The prohibition given in Lev 27:33, which forbids any substitution for or exchange of "every tenth animal of all that pass under the herdsman's staff," used the verb בקר "to judge": לא יבקר בין טוב לרע, "there must be no judging between good and bad (animals)."[77]

In light of such texts in which the semantic range of בקר overlaps the meaning of פקד and שפט, it is not surprising that בקר, rather than פקד or שפט, was used for Shamgar's activities. Had nouns been used rather than verbs, he would have appeared as a מבקר "overseer" and a מושיע "a deliverer." Therefore, although the familiar rubric שפט is missing, the consonantal MT

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[76] For the Nabatean מבקרא, see Negev 1982: 25 and bibliography cited there.

[77] This use of בקר followed by the prepositions בין and ל parallels the use of שפט followed by בין and ל in Ezek 34:17 and 22 (שפט בין שה and ושפטתי בין שה לשה). Note also Ezek 34:20.

permits one to recognize him as overseer and deliverer. He would have qualified, no doubt, as a savior-figure for the pre-Deuteronomic *Retterbuch*!

IV. Shamgar's victims

If the proposal proffered in this study, that Ju 3:31 was at one time an integral part of the Song of Deborah, proves correct, then the two earliest poems in Israelite literature contain a common enigma. The Song of the Sea and the Song of Deborah make reference to Philistines although they were not on the scene until after the eighth regnal year of Ramesses III, circa 1190 (Faulkner 1975: 242; Barnett 1975: 371). The solution to this Philistine problem is not to be found by pushing the events into the later Philistine era. The proposal made by Mayes (1969: 353–360; 1974: 91–99) that the Philistines in Judges 4–5 provide the basis for dating the victory over Sisera at the time of the Israelite defeat of the Philistines at Aphek, towards the end of the eleventh century, is untenable.[78] His conclusion (1974: 94), that "even if the arguments which have been adduced in support of this date of the battle against Sisera are not very reliable, it is still probable that the conclusion is correct," is less than convincing.

Nor is the use of פלשת in Ex 15:14 to be explained simply as an anachronism, as argued by Cross (1955: 237–250). Albright (1968: 41–42) was correct in maintaining, "it is no longer necessary to insist on an anachronism in this passage, which suits a thirteenth-century background so well." But, Albright's proposed emendation of the alleged anachronism is not convincing either. He changed MT ישבי פלשת to read כל בני שת "all the Children of Shut," the name of a semi-nomadic group known from the nineteenth century B.C.E.[79]

Excluding the LXX, which did not *transliterate* פלשתים as a name but *translated* it by ἀλλόφυλοI "alien tribes" (presumably aware of a Hebrew cognate to Ethiopic *palasa* "to migrate, to emigrate"), exegetical tradition can be faulted, in words taken

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[78] Note also Watts 1957: 378, note 2.

[79] Note Albright's earlier proposal to emend MT ישבי פלשת to ישבי חר, cited by Cross and Freedman 1955: 249.

from Barr (1968: 268), "for a strong tendency towards leveling the vocabulary and the interpretation of that which is rare as if it was [*sic*] that which was more normal." What appears to be "the Philistines" in Ju 3:31 is the dual of the feminine collective noun פלשת "marauders, troops" (being morphologically like קִרְיָתַיִם "twin cities"). In Ex 15:14, the same noun appears in the plural, with defective spelling, as would be expected in early texts.[80]

The stems are attested in the following:

(1) Aramaic בלש "to search, to investigate, to ransack, to break up clods of earth," and אבלושי "ground-diggers";

(2) Aramaic פלֵש "to dig (after), to perforate, to penetrate";

(3) Syriac ܦܠܓ "to break through, to perforate" which in the *'ethpe'al* means "to be pillaged, to be plundered";

(4) Syriac ܒܠܓ "to dig into, to search, to investigate."

The nominal forms which are cognates of Hebrew פלשת are Aramaic בלשת and בולשת "marauders, troop(s)" and the Syriac ܦܠܓܘܬܐ "thieves" and ܒܠܘܫܐ "thieves, marauders."[81] This stem is attested in Job 37:16, מפלשי עב "the breaking open of a cloud" (repointing שׂ to שׁ), and may be original to Job 36:29 (NRSV "spreading of the clouds") if the reading of MS Ken 245 (noted in BH³) is retained as the *lectio difficilior*, since it reads מפלשי for MT מפרשי.[82] The LXX translator appears to have had

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[80] The פלשתים of 1 Sam 12:9 are more likely the Philistines of Ju 13–16, not the "marauders" of Ju 3:31.

[81] For the Aramaic, see Jastrow 1903: 7a, 175b, 1185a; for the Syriac, see R. Payne Smith 1897–1901: 541, 3164 and J. Payne Smith 1903: 47, 449. Note Ethiopic *palasa* "migravit, emigravit, ivit de loco ad locum," (Castell 1669: 3014c) and Akkadian *palāšu, pallišu* "Einbrecher" (*AHW* 815).

[82] If the textual variant cited for Job 36:29 were read and interpreted as פלש "to perforate," the poetic line would be in logical sequence with the preceding references to rainfall, and the line would not have to be transposed to follow verse 31, as proposed in the NEB and by Pope (1965: 231, 237). The line could better be read, ". . . can anyone understand the perforations of the clouds (מפלשי עב), the thundering from His pavilion?" Obviously one variant reading cannot be given much weight, but, likewise, it cannot be ignored. It is possible

פלשׁ "to break open, to break up" in his lexical repertoire since מפלשׂי־עב in Job 37:16 was translated ἐπίσταται δὲ διάκρισιν νεφῶν, "and he knows (the) separation of (the) clouds."[83]

The poet's use of dual feminine nouns in the initial verse of the poem (i.e., the פְּלִשָׁתַיִם in Ju 3:31 when transposed), in 5:16 (המשפתים), and in 5:30 (רקמתים and רחמתים) reflects a balanced use of these forms which corresponds to the balanced use of the dual suffixed forms in 5:11 (פרזנו "his two warriors") and 5:22 (עקבו "its two slopes"). The prevalence of the dual forms in this tradition is also evidenced in the אֵלוֹן בְּצַעֲנִים in Ju 4:11 (although the NRSV, following the plural of the *Qere* בְּצַעֲנַנִּים, has Elon-bezaanannim), which Soggin (1981c: 61, 66) translated "oak of the caravaneers," followed by Schloen (1993: 32–33) who cited cognate טען/צען "to load [a beast with] cargo." Without commenting on the significance of the dual form of the *Ketib*, Soggin also cited the Arabic cognate ظعن "to pack up (for carriage on a beast of burden)."[84]

The problem of the Philistines in Ex 15:14 has a comparable solution. The meaning of ישבי פלשת in Ex 15:14 is transparent when ישבי is read as the Hebrew equivalent of Aramaic יישוב "settlement, inhabited land."[85] The phrase means "the settlements of the marauders." Communities of such nomadic peoples are mentioned in Ju 8:10 (בני קדם = B-text ἀλλοφύλων and A-text υἱῶν ἀνατολῶν)," in Ju 8:11 (השכוני באהלים מקדם) "the tent

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that פרשׁ and פלשׁ were by-forms in which the liquid ל and ר were interchangeable like the occurrence of MT באלמנותיו "in its towers" in Isa 13:22 for the anticipated בארמנותיה, or the Aramaic interjections אלו and ארו. Note also פרשׁא "goad, plowshare" (Jastrow 1903: 1243).

[83] The LXX did not associate the word with פלס = ζυγός. MT פלשׁ was evidently recognized as a synonym for פקע/בקע "to split open, to break up" and פרץ "to break through, to break open."

[84] Note Lindars' (1995: 192) objection, "However, in this case *ʾelon* should have the article and the preposition should really be preceded by the relative (supplied in Pesh), as in the next phrase, so that it seems more likely that *b* is a root letter . . . the name being derived from *bsᶜ* = 'cut off, bring to an end' (cf. LXXᴬ ἀναπαυομένων) or 'plunder' (cf. LXXᴮ πλεονεκτούντων). Indeed the name could well be 'tree of the plunderers' . . . . "

[85] Jastrow 1903: 599b.

settlements of the eastern tribes), and in Num 31:10, (כל עריהם
במושבתם "all of their hosts in their encampments").[86]

Without emending Ex 15:14 to provide an ethnicon, the very
people whom Albright thought the poet had in mind are indicated
by the collective noun פלשת, i.e., the ἀλλόφυλοι.[87] The verse can
be translated, "the peoples heard, they shuddered, anguish seized
the settlements of the marauding tribes (ישבי פלשת)." Anxiety
among the Amalekites and the Midianites about the incursion of
Israelites into territories which they considered their rightful
domain is sufficiently attested in Num 24:15–24 and Ju 8 that an
indirect reference to them in Ex 15:14 would not be out of place.

In Ju 3:31 the פְלִשָׁתִים "two marauding troops" defeated by
Shamgar could possibly have been nomadic tribes of the Trans-
Jordan, making Shamgar's feat similar to Gideon's defeat of "all
the Midianites and the Amalekites and the people of the east,"
mentioned in Ju 6:33. But as Aharoni (1967: 240) noted,

> Incursions by desert nomads in search of plunder such as those carried out
> by the Midianites, the Amalekites and the people of the East . . . into the
> Jezreel Valley were possible only after the Canaanite cities in the region had
> been weakened by their defeat before Barak.

Consequently, it seems improbable that Shamgar had to deal with
marauders from the Trans-Jordan.

Aharoni's (1975: 259–260) proposal to credit Shamgar with
the destruction of Beth Shan Level VII (at the close of the
thirteenth century and the end of the nineteenth dynasty) and to
identify the "Philistines" killed by him as Aegean mercenaries
serving in the Egyptian garrison is very problematic. Since the
Philistines are mentioned for the first time in the inscriptions
of Ramesses III among the Sea Peoples, but are not listed among
the Sea Peoples named by Merneptah, reference to them in

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[86] See the discussion on pages 158–161 which deals with the MT עורי
עורי דבורה "the troops of Deborah roused themselves" in 5:12.

[87] Nomadic tribes in the vicinity of Edom and Moab are referred to by
names which are composites of בן and a combative term, including (1) the בני
קדם in Ju 8:11, who could be called "the attackers" in light of South Arabic
qdm "attack" (Jamme 1962: 447a) rather than "the sons of the east" or "eastern
tribes," cited above; (2) the בני שת "the warriors" in Num 24:17, a name with a
cognate to South Arabic *št* "to war, to skirmish," (Jamme 1962: 449b); and (3)
the בני שאון "sons of battle-clamor, warriors" (BDB 981a). See above, note 50.

connection with Beth Shan Level VII is at best an appeal for an anachronism in the text. Aharoni (1975: 259) found it necessary to stipulate cautiously, "Even if they were not true Philistines but some other segment of the Sea Peoples, it would not be surprising that they should be called Philistines since that became the standard biblical terminology for all Aegean races that appeared in the land."

But the use of גוי כרתים in Zeph 2:5 and the appearance of the כרתי, פלתי, and the גתים in 2 Sam 15:18 indicate that other names were used for the Aegean people. If the פלשתים in Ju 3:31 really means Philistines, it remains a difficult anachronism. It would be unusual if the destruction of an Egyptian center in Canaan were referred to solely by an anachronistic ethnicon, accurate or other-wise, for some of the mercenaries found in that Egyptian garrison.

The problem is further complicated by the lack of agreement on the dating of Beth Shan Level VII (opinions vary by almost two centuries from the time of Amenhotep III [1417–1379] to the time of Merneptah [1236–1223]) and on dating the use of Aegean mercenaries at Beth Shan (opinions differ as to whether such troops were used before, during, or after the reign of Ramesses III [1198–1166]).[88]

While the anthropoid coffins found at Beth Shan provide convincing evidence for an Aegean presence there (possibly as mercenaries), it must be noted, as Aharoni (1975: 258) himself stated, "Of much significance is the fact that in the Beth Shan burials none of the typical Philistine pottery, so much in evidence in the anthropoid burials at Tell el-Far'ah, was found." This absence of any Philistine pottery led Dothan (1957: 157) to conclude that, at the time of the Aegean presence at Beth Shan, Philistine pottery had not yet emerged.

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[88] Albright (1975: 2, 511) and Aharoni (1975: 258) identified the Beth Shan material as evidence of a pre-Ramesses III employment of mercenaries at Beth Shan. But Barnett (1975: 377) noted: "Ramses III claims to have utterly defeated them [the Sea Raiders] and suggestions that he and his successors settled groups of Peleset (Philistine) mercenary garrisons in Beth-shan in Palestine are demonstrated by the finds there of 'Sea People' burials." This latter view is also affirmed by Dothan (1957: 157), G. E. Wright (1964: 63–67), Fitzgerald (1967: 192–193), Malamat (1971: 35), and Mazar (1971: 168). For a discussion on the dating of Beth Shan Level VII, see Kempinski 1975: 213–214.

Another difficulty with Aharoni's proposal is that Shamgar's victory does not suggest an attack against a city nor the destruction of a city. Even allowing for poetic hyperbole, it would be difficult to take this single-handed action of Shamgar, armed with only an oxgoad, as evidence of his violently destroying a garrison town from which Egypt exercised hegemony over Galilee. Such an interpretation removes Shamgar's feat from the category of a historical notice into the genre of legend and makes a historical inquiry unwarranted.

But when the פלשתים of Ju 3:31 is vocalized פְּלָשָׁתִים rather than פְּלִשְׁתִּים and identified as *marauding* elements of the Sea-Peoples or their precursors, the text fits the historical context. At least from the time of the razzia of the Lydian Mopsos which brought Ashkelon to destruction, the eastern Mediterranean seaboard experienced the brunt of repeated incursions from western Anatolia and the Aegean, culminating about 1200 B.C.E. with the invasion of the Sea Peoples which caused the destruction of the Hittite empire and threatened Egypt and her Asian provinces.[89] Coastal towns and inland cities in Syria-Palestine were destroyed by the Sea-Peoples. As Malamat (1971: 29) noted,

> Such localities as Jaffa, Ashdod, Tel Mor, and even Gezer show evidence of having been destroyed twice—first apparently in the time of Mer-ne-Ptah, in hit-and-run raids from the sea; and the second, a more massive action in the time of Ramses III, involving settlement on the conquered sites.

Fortunately, the topographical list of Ramesses II (1304–1237 B.C.E.) on the hypostyle of the Great Temple of Amon at Karnak preserves in its twenty-five name-rings the names of several marauding groups in the Egyptian province of Asia, probably in Canaan-Galilee, during the last half of the thirteenth century.[90]

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[89] Barnett 1975: 364–366, especially 365, note 1, where he noted that the Madduwattash episode and the date of Mopsus have been put back by some scholars to the early fourteenth century. See Mendenhall 1973: 146–148, 168 and Desborough 1975: 680. On the Sea Peoples, in general, see Sandars (1985); and for Mopsus, in particular, see Roscher 1894–1897: 3208–3210 and *PW* 16a: 241–243.

[90] Simons 1937: 75–79, 157–159, nos. 7, 8, 13, and 21, respectively. On the Asiatic campaigns of Ramesses II, see Kitchen 1964: 47–55. The names *nrm* and *r͑* in the name-rings *q꜒wśnrm* and *q꜒sr͑* have not been identified, and no

These names are among those compounded with the preformative nouns *qś*, *qwś* or *qyś*, including *qᴣśrᶜ*, *qᴣwṯiśr* (which was corrected to read *qᴣśṯiśr* on the basis of the list of Ramesses III), *qᴣwśnrm*, and *qᴣyśrybn*.

A satisfactory explanation of the *qś*, *qwś* and *qyś* elements has been lacking thus far. Yeivin (1971: 24, 192) rejected both Hebrew קשת and Arabic قوس "bow, bowmen" as the cognate or loanword. He surmised that כוש was intended and that the transcription of *qś* for *kš* was used "to differentiate between the familiar (to the Egyptians) *kš* = Nubia, who were Africans, and the Asiatic groups of Cushites."

This suggestion is possible, but it appears more likely that *qś* (*qw/yqś*) is the cognate of Arabic جيش [91] "a raider, an (irregular) military force, marauding troops," the Syriac and Aramaic גייסא "band," and South Arabic *gyš*.[92] It is the equivalent of the Egyptian *pḏ.t* "a troop" (Faulkner 1962: 97; Shupak 1989: 518) and a synonym for Hebrew גדוד "troop, band." The use of *q* in

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suggestion is being offered here. However, the name *rybn* can be recognized as the name Reuben, i.e., ריבן for ראובן, characterized by the elision of the א (see GKC 68[h.k]), well-attested in other extrabiblical texts like the נאהבת and נהבת in the Aramaic papyri (see Cowley 1923: 1–2, 70).

The syllabic *ra-yu-bu-na* for the anticipated *ra-yu-bi-na* may reflect the corruption in the Egyptian syllabic orthography frequently attested from the time of Ramesses III, and possibly from the time of Ramesses II (see Albright 1934: 14 [sec. 24] and 20 [sec. 33a]). This identification of *rybn* with Reuben would preclude Reuben's participation in an exodus from Egypt during the reign of Ramesses II and would add weight to the arguments of Burney (1921: 52) and others that Reuben, like other tribes, had not participated in the sojourn in Egypt in the first place (see Rowley 1952: 112, 139). The suppression in Canaan of the band of Reuben by Ramesses II explains in part the subordinate position of Reuben among the tribes even though he was recognized as the firstborn of Jacob. The occurrence of the names Sisera and Reuben in the same topographical list of Ramesses II suggests that the hostility between these two disparate bands spanned the reigns of both Ramesses II and Ramesses III.

[91] Arabic كوشه/كاشه "detachment, troop" reflects a common interchange of ק and כ. On Egyptian *ṯ* = Hebrew ס, see Gardiner 1911: 24 (where בית ספר appears as *beth-ṯ-p-r*) and Albright 1934: 65, no. 13.

[92] See, respectively, Lane 1872: 494a; and Hava 1915: 670; R. Payne Smith 1897–1901: 685; J. Payne Smith 1903: 69; Jastrow 1903: 237–238; and Jamme 1962: 82. Note that the Syriac ܓܝܣܐ has a pejorative meaning.

Egyptian for the Semitic *g* is reflected in the name for Gezer (*qa-ḏi-ra* = גֶזֶר).[93] Consequently, the ring-name *qᴣś ṯiśr*, which Yeivin transliterated "Kushsisera," can be translated "(territory) of the marauding troops of Sisera." The name Sisera here can be identified with the Sisera of Judges 4–5. However, it need not be the same person, but a family or clan name or a title.

It is impossible to reconstruct history from such limited evidence, but one can conjecture that the suppression of someone named Sisera by Ramesses II eventuated in an aligning of the Sisera clan with the Canaanite forces of Jabin at Hazor, and that from these suppressed marauders came the Sisera who survived the destruction of Hazor and, in turn, oppressed the Israelites.

If Sisera was a Luwian name, as proposed by Albright (1920: 61; 1970: 15), Garbini (1978a: 15–31), Soggin (1981c: 63), and others—rather than Hurrian or Illyrian, as proposed by Burney (1918: 15), Alt (1944: 78), Noth (1958: 37), and J. Gray (1967: 208)—the events leading to Sisera's oppression of the Israelites become even clearer. Having survived the defeat of Jabin at the hands of the Israelites, Sisera witnessed the success of Shamgar and the Israelites against his kinfolk, the precursors of the Philistines. After Shamgar's death, he altered that situation for two decades and gave the advantage to his adopted relatives, the native kings of Canaan who ruled under the shadow of Egyptian hegemony.

Beem (1991: 158–162) noted that Shamgar did not easily fit the category of a *minor* judge (in contrast to the *major* judges, the "deliverers") since his brief story lacked the "minor judge framework," which included these seven elements: (1) the transitional phrase 'after him'; (2) the name of the judge; (3) the tribal, clan, or regional designation; (4) the years of service; (5) the notice of death; (6) the place of burial; and (7) often a personal detail. He concluded (159, 162) that this "superhuman hero" does not fit the major/minor judge classification: "he stands there . . . with his oxgoad, bigger than any of our categories."

In my opinion, the Shamgar story lacks five of these seven elements. The narrative provides only his name and some personal details. Shamgar, stands apart from the major/minor categories because his story, now bifurcated in Ju 3:31 and 5:6,

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[93] Albright 1934: 58, note 10.

was originally an integral part the older *poetic* tradition—not the later *prose* tradition dealing with major/minor judges.

Beem's study provides, however, the clue as to why the original ואחר היו היה in Ju 3:31 was changed into the MT ואחריו היה. Once Shamgar's poetic lines were bifurcated, the phrase was transformed into the initial element (i.e., the transitional phrase 'after him') of the 'minor judge' framework.

CHAPTER FOUR

TAPARA / DABARA:

A CLUE TO THE CHRONOLOGY

I. The Meaning of דבורה

In *Megillah* 14b Deborah's name is זיבורתא "hornet, bee" and it is called a *hateful* name. According to Feldman (1986: 122), Josephus actually denigrated Deborah by equating her name with μέλισσα "bee." But Brown (1992: 73–74) suggested that Josephus's translation of דבדרה as μέλισσα explains his reference to Deborah's interceding for the people as a priestly function. Brown surmised that the analogy to the bee implies that Deborah was asexual, which may help to explain why Josephus omitted the phrase אשת לפידות "wife of Lappidoth." Many critics since Josephus have associated דבורה with μέλισσα, among them Bachmann (1869: 252) and G. A. Smith (1912: 82), who noted

> . . . it [דבורה] may be a Hebrew parallel to the Greek Melissa, which was not only an epithet applied to poets, but [also] the title of the Delphian prophetess and of other 'humming priestesses' of such prophetic deities as Demeter, her daughter [Persephone] and Cybele.

While these parallels with μέλισσα are of some interest, defining the name Deborah as "hornet" or "bee" appears to be only an early "popular" etymology, reminiscent of the figurative zoomorphic titles given to the rabbinic dialecticians, the עוקרי הרים (Hahn 1897: vii–ix). Moreover, the "bee" etymology fails to provide a common derivation for the names Deborah, Daberath, and Tabor, an association about which Burney conjectured (1918: 81), "Possibly there may have been a connexion between the name of this city [Daberath] and the name of the prophetess."

Even though R. Payne Smith (1897–1901: 815a) had associated the name Deborah with Syriac ܕܒܪܐ "leader," Klein (1987: 114), when citing post-Biblical Hebrew דַּבָּר "leader" and דַּבָּרוּת "leadership," made no mention of Deborah, citing instead דְּבָר "to speak, to hum" and as the etymology of דבורה "Deborah" and "bee." But Brown (1992: 70) rightly noted that "the designation of Deborah as 'leader' possibly derives from a wordplay

on the Aramaic root of the name Deborah, *dbr*, which denotes (among other meanings) to 'lead (the flock).'" However, more than an Aramaic cognate is involved in recognizing Deborah as "leader." The stem דבר is Hittite and Hebrew, as well.

Mendenhall (1973: 163) was the first to propose a common etymology based upon the Hittite-Luwian *tapara* "governor, ruler" for the names דביר (Josh 15:15) in the southern Shephelah (also known as קרית ספר) and לו דבר (2 Sam 9:4) in the Trans-Jordan (spelled לא דבר in 2 Sam 17:27 and Amos 6:13; and לדבר in Josh 13:26). He stated,

> On the Transjordanian plateau is located the curious *Lodebar*, "nothing" by popular etymology; but the name is the precise equivalent to later *L/Ron-deberras* preserved in Greek, going back to original *R/Luwandatapara*, "Ruwanda is Lord." . . . *D/Tapara* 'lord, governor,' gives us by popular etymology *Debir*, just as Egyptian transcriptions yield the name Qiryat-*Sofer.* city of the *šapiru* = "governor" . . . . One name is a translation of the other. "City of the book" (*sefer*) is thus again a late popular etymology.[94]

The appearance of the Hittite-Luwian *t/dapara* " ruler, gover-nor" is more widely attested than Mendenhall, Klein, or Brown have noted. The vocable דבר appears as a noun meaning "lead-er" and as the verb "to rule, to govern, to manage the affairs (of a province, not just a flock)" in Arabic, Aramaic, Syriac, Ugaritic, and elsewhere in Biblical Hebrew, as well.[95]

דבר "to govern" is attested in Ps 18:48, which can be trans-lated, "He causes (me) to govern (וידבר) the nations subordinate to me," and similarly, Ps 47:4, "He causes (me) to govern (ידבר) nations subordinate to us and nations inferior to us." Ps 58:2a reads, "O gods, do you really govern (תדברון) justly?" Also, in 2 Chron 22:10, one can translate, "Athaliah . . . rose and took con-trol (ותדבר) over all of the royal seed of the house of Judah."[96]

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[94] Mendenhall, 1973: 163. He calls attention to Milgrom's (1970) study supporting his identification of "ethnic" Levites as being originally Luwian.

[95] See, respectively, Lane 1872: 844b; Gordon 1965: 383–384, no 641; J. Payne Smith 1903: 82–83; R. Payne Smith 1897–1901: 815a; Jastrow 1903: 279, 731; Klein 1987: 114; ערוך השלם: 3: 12b.

[96] The versions read "Athaliah . . . rose and exterminated all of the royal seed" under the influence of ותקם ותאבד in 2 Kgs 11:1.

The place name דברת ("governor") in Josh 21:12, 28 and 1 Chron 6:57 is the same name which appears in Josh 19:20 as הרבית (A-text Ραββωθ "great lady" but B-text Δαιβρων). The name הרבית is a *translation* of דברת, as קרית ספר "city of the governor" in Josh 15:15 is the translation of דביר (as noted on page 74). The A-text Ραββωθ (= רבות for MT רבית) could reflect an honorific plural, like the פרעות in Ju 5:2. Indeed, the singular appearance of רבית leads one to suspect that it was originally רבות or even רבתי, the honorific appellative which appears in Lam 1:1, "the *Mistress* of the people . . . the *Mistress* among the nations" (McDaniel 1968b: 30–31; Cross 1983: 136).

Deriving the name Deborah from the same root as דָּבָר and דבּֽר permits דבורה to be read as the title "Lady-governor, Ladyship," much like שׂרה "Princess" and מלכה "Queen." The *place* names from the דברה root could also be דְּבִיר, דָּבְרַת, and even תָּבוֹר—places renowned for leadership.

Therefore, Mendenhall's conclusion that Debir is related to *tapara* can be extended to the names דבורה, דברת, and תבור. Luwian names with the independent prefixed or affixed *tapara* element, cited by Houwink Ten Cate (1961: 158–159), include the variations Τβερα-, Τβρεη-, Δαπαρα, Δαπαρας, and δβερρας.[97] The variations between δ and τ and π and β parallel the variations occurring in תבור and דביר; and the Hellenized spellings ending in -ας parallel the Semitized forms דבורה and דברת. It would not be surprising to find the name of Deborah in other texts appearing as תפרה, תברה, דפרת, or תברת.[98]

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[97] The unusual transliterations of דבורה in 5:1 and 7, with the doubling of the third consonant, Δεβωρρα (MSS Nb´gkmsz), Δεβορρα (MSS dilnpq), may find their explanation in this spelling. Gemination of the third radical is rare, even in Arabic and Akkadian. However, transliterations with a doubling of the second consonant—e. g., Δεββωρα and Δεββορα — are not problematic since gemination of the second radical is much more common (see Moscati, 1964: 78–79).

[98] On the interchange of the voiceless ת and the voiced ד, see 1 Chron 17:17 (תור אדם) and the parallel account in 2 Sam 7:19 (תורת האדם), where תור or תורת appear instead of the anticipated דור. See also note 101.

In view of the many Hittite motifs appearing in the Megiddo ivories, one can anticipate other evidence of a Hittite presence in Galilee until the collapse of the Hittite empire about 1200 B.C.E.[99] Indeed, Rendsburg (1982: 363; 1989: 116) has argued that the peculiar הוא occurring 120 times in the Torah is a *genuine* Hebrew form, but he noted that "epicene HW' is the result of the Hurrian and Hittite substratum [which used a 3rd common singular pronoun] in the very area where Hebrew first appears as a distinct dialect of the Canaanite language."[100]

Deborah's origins may have been Hittite, allowing her nonetheless still to be counted as an Israelite. She uniquely had the title אם בישראל "the Mother in Israel" and Ezekiel (16:3, 45) noted perhaps with more historical accuracy than has been appreciated, "your mother was a Hittite (ואמך חתית), your father an Amorite." The credibility of Ezekiel's castigation of Jerusalem would have required some established tradition about a Hittite "mother," comparable to the traditions about "sisters" Sodom and Samaria to which he also appealed (16:46).

The title אם בישראל in Ju 5:7, in parallelism with דבורה, reflects the poet's use of synonyms: "Mother" and "Ladyship." The title אם (like the title אב) and the title דבורה "(Lady) Governor" speak of political and/or religious leadership. P. de Boer (1974: 31) cited the epithet "the Lady of the Battle" (given to Inanna in the epilogue of the Hammurabi Code) as an appropriate title for Deborah and correctly noted the absence of any literal "motherly" role for her. The "mother-of-god" title in Hittite texts (*ANET*,

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[99] Loud 1935: 10. The statement of Gordon (1958: 31, note 9) is noteworthy: "The Hittite contribution to Israel will doubtless appear more and more significant during the years ahead. The full meaning of Ezek 16:3 ('thy father is an Amorite, and thy mother is a Hittite') is yet to come." See also Rabin 1963: 113–139 and Kempinski 1979: 21–45.

[100] The Hurrian substratum may account for the spirantization of the Hebrew בגדכפת and the postpositive article in Aramaic. See Rendsburg (1982: 363) and references cited there. Rendsburg's conclusion that the epicene הוא proves that "The Pentateuch as a whole by necessity can be dated earlier than the composition of Joshua, Judges, etc." is premature. The use of the epicene הוא could be a deliberate archaizing device designed to give the Pentateuch an ambiance of antiquity, required for its having Mosaic authority. Until the question over its being archaic or archaistic is resolved, there is little to be gained by abandoning the achievements of literary criticism.

209, 211) for women of religious authority could explain Deborah's title of אם, as well as the designation אשה נביאה in Ju 4:4. Consequently, the Hittite connection of "the Mother in Israel," suggested by Ezekiel, provides a link between Deborah's name and her synonymous title of authority.

The topographical list of Ramesses III (1198 B.C.E.) on the first pylon of the Great Temple of Medinet Habu records the names of one hundred nineteen northern towns and territories (plus six African places) which he had suppressed. The text of the 85th name-ring, which is directly under the arch of Ramesses' right foot (see Plates I and II), appears in Simons' transcription and discussion of the ring-name as *[q]-ś-t-b-r-n* (?).[101] But as is unmistakable from the photograph, the name can also be read *<q>ꜣwśtbrt* by restoring the *q* and reading the deeply incised ▬ sign as a variant of the ⊏⊐ sign (*ta*).[102] As is clear from the 84th and 86th name-rings, the ▬ sign cannot be read as the sign ∿ (*n*). The first part of the name is the *qś* (*qwś* or *qyś*) element meaning "troops, marauding band," discussed above (pages 70–71). The second element, *tbrt*, is probably the variant תברת (= דבורה). When taken together, *qꜣwś* plus *tbrt* could be read as "(the territory of) the troops of Deborah."

Simons noted, perhaps with more correctness than he realized, that this *tbrn/tbrt* was related to the 21st ring-name in the list of

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[101] See Simons 1937: 78–79, 165–168. For the name *Dꜣ-pw-rꜣ* = Deper = Tabor (occurring in the list of Galilean cities along with Beth-anath and Merom) captured by Ramesses III in the eighth year of his reign, see Breasted 1906: 3: 159. The *tbrt* of the Ramesses II list suggests that in this case, at least, Ramesses III did not borrow from the list of Ramesses II at Karnak. On the interchange of ב and פ and ד and ת, see page 75 above and note 98.

[102] See Albright 1934: 63; and Gardiner 1966: 531. On the matter of errors in the inscriptions, see Nelson (1929: 23–31) who noted:

> Another point not always appreciated in dealing with these Medinet Habu reliefs is the extensive ancient use of plaster to cover up defects in the masonry and to eliminate lines and whole figures . . . the method used for making the corrections was to cut deep rectangular holes along all very deeply cut lines to be eliminated . . . the deep holes served to hold this new plaster covering . . . .

If the disputed ▬ sign of *[q]-ś-t-b-r-t* proves to be the base for such a plaster correction (equal to an erasure), the name-ring could still contain a reference to the masculine Tabor (*t-b-r = Dꜣ-pw-rꜣ*), though not to Deborah/Teborah.

Ramesses II, *qȝyś rybn* "the band of Reuben" (discussed above, page 70, note 90). Although long debated, it is now recognized that the name Asher (*i-ś-r*) is attested in topographical lists from the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II.[103] For the purpose of this study it is important to note that the tribal names Asher and Reuben attested in lists of Ramesses II do not occur in the lists of Ramesses III. Apparently, the victory of Deborah (= *tbrt*) or the forces at Mount Tabor (=*tbr[?] = dȝ-pw-rȝ*), over Sisera's coalition prompted Ramesses III to move northward and re-establish his claims in the Asian province. The appearance of the name of either Deborah or Tabor in the topographical list of Ramesses III provides the chronological reference for dating events under discussion, and may prove to be as significant as the mention of Israel in the Merneptah stela.

II. The Meaning of אשת לפדות

Before looking at other proposed dates for Deborah, a brief discussion about Deborah's titles in 4:4, אשה נביאה and אשת לפידות, is in order.[104] Boling (1975: 95) translated לפידות as

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[103] Burney 1921: 82; Rowley 1938: 259–260; Dussaud 1938: 176–177; Yeivin 1956: 98–99; 1971: 23–24, 31–32.

[104] The identification of Barak with Lappidoth goes back to David Kimḥi and Levi ben Gershom. Gilad Gevaryahu provided me the following text and translation of the midrashic work of the thirteenth-century, *Yalkut Shimᶜoni* which, following the *Tanḥumaʾ*, reads in Judges 4, § 1:

> . . . according to Eliyahu: they said the husband of Deborah was a simple man (עם הארץ). She [Deborah] said to him, "Come, I will make wicks for you, and you go with them to the temple in Shiloh. Then your share for the hereafter will be with the learned/righteous ones (כשרים). Then you will have a place in the hereafter." And she was actually making the wicks, and he was taking them to the temple. He [her husband] had three names: Barak, Michael, and Lappidoth: Barak because his face was shiny like lightning; Michael (מיכאל) because he softens himself (ממיך), or because he was named after an angel (מלאך); Lappidoth because his wife was making wicks—thick ones so the light would be augmented. And God, who can see through hearts and kidneys, said to her, "Deborah, your intention was to augment my light, so *I will augment your light in Judah and Jerusalem against the twelve tribes of Israel* [italics mine]. . . .

"Flasher," and considered it a nickname of Barak, "Lightning," whom he recognized, following Hilliger, Wellhausen, Budde, and Cooke (cited by Burney [1903: 85]), as Deborah's husband. Bal (1988a: 57–58), responded quite negatively to this widely accepted identification, stating:

> The assimilation of Lappidoth to Barak, who thereby becomes co-judge, constitutes a typical case of the biased use of the [anthropological] code, assisted by the philological code, which ultimately *permits* all three hypotheses [that Deborah was spouse, prophetess, and judge].

Bal claimed that Moore (1892) [*sic*] had suspected that לפידות was not a name. Following him, she preferred reading לפידות as a modifier of אשת, observing: "Woman of flames, of light? The epithet would be highly appropriate." But Moore (1900b: 114) noted, "the only natural interpretation is that which takes ל׳ as the name of Deborah's husband," and he caricatured Cassel's rendering "ein Weib von Feuregeist" as "pure *midrash*." Bal's reading, nevertheless, has merit, and is reminiscent of earlier proposals cited by Bachmann (1869: 254) for rendering לפידות אשת as "helle Frau" and "Flammenweib."

Ju 4:4a is a noun clause in which the compound predicate includes (a) the appositional אשה נביאה and (2) the bound nouns אשת לפידות. Because there is no conjunction in the predicate, אשת לפידות could be the appositional modifier of either אשה or נביאה. Traditional interpretations made אשת לפידדת the modifier of אשה, and לפידות—following common usage as cited in Mandelkern (1967: 57)—became the name of a husband. But when אשת לפידות is read as the modifier of נביאה, a title emerges: "the prophetess, the woman of torches." Moreover, if the feminine plural indicates an abstract noun of intensity (GKC 124[a,e]), אשת לפידות could mean "the woman of flames/fire."

This does not simply imply a "a burning enthusiasm for Yahweh" (James 1951: 59), a hot head, a fiery temperament, or even, as Bal suggested (1988b: 209), "an inflamed and an inflaming woman." Here, לפיד, lacking the modifier אֵשׁ "fire," may have to do more with *light* than *heat*. The evidence for this is in the metaphorical use of the Arabic قبس, a synonym of לפיד. The noun قبس signified a live coal or firebrand, a "piece of fire which

one puts on the end of a stick" (Lane 1885: 2481a) to be used like a לפיד, i.e., as a torch or "pot in which light is carried." The participle قابس means not only "taking fire, a taker of fire," but also "acquiring or learning knowledge, an inquirer or seeker of knowledge." The plural قوابس connotes "those who teach what is good." Hebrew לפיד may also have been used metaphorically like the Arabic قبس . Therefore, אשת לפידות may well have meant "the lady of learning," i.e., a woman in what would now be called a "learned profession," such as משפט "law," נבואה "prophecy," or מדיניות "politics."[105] The epithet speaks of erudition exercised for the good of the community. When understood in this way, אשת לפידות parallels the epithets אשת חן "woman of grace" (who in Prov 11:16 "attains honor") and the אשת חיל "worthy woman" in Prov 12:4, 31:10 and Ru 3:11, which have bound nouns in the singular.[106]

Through לפידות (=قبس) Deborah can be linked with the אשה חכמה "the wise woman" of Tekoa and of Abel (2 Sam 14:2 and 20:16) and the female sages of Israel (who have been studied by Camp [1981: 26; 1990: 188, 203]). As earlier noted by J. Gray (1967: 268), these female sages included Huldah, who was the sagacious woman consulted by the king and the high priest (2 Kgs 22:14), and Deborah.

Consequently, it appears that Judges 4 and 5, in very different ways, recognized Deborah's power and erudition. "Mother in

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[105] Note the study of Couturier (1989) which deals with Deborah's three functions as *chantre*, *prophétesse*, and *chef*. Brown (1992: 43, 48–49) highlighted Pseudo-Philo's declaration that "a woman [Deborah] will rule over them and enlighten them forty years" (in *Biblical Antiquities* 30:2–5). She discussed Pseudo-Philo's having Deborah sent forth on the seventh day, suggesting a representation of Deborah as a Wisdom figure, as well as his making her the female prophetic counterpart of Moses.

[106] This interpretation of לפד sheds light on the meaning of Prov 25: 21–22, where the synonym גחל "burning coal" appears: "If your enemy be hungry, give him food . . . for thus you will heap hot embers *upon* his head (גחלים אתה חתה על ראשו)." This is quoted in Rom 12:20 as an act whereby evil is overcome by good. Far from being an act of torture, "heaping coals על ראש *above* the head," was a matter of *light* and *illumination*, much like "kindling one's interest, to kindle the mind, or have a burning/brilliant or bright idea" in English usage. However, note Segert's (1987: 159–164) survey of other opinions.

Israel" and "the woman of light(s)" were very appropriate titles for Deborah and complemented her name *Taparrat/*Dabarat, "Governor, Leader" with its Hittite affinity. In light of her רַבָּנוּת "authority, office" she would no doubt have been a רַבָּתִי, though not a רִבִּי or a רַבָּן.

III. Alternative dates for Deborah

Even if Deborah's name spelled *tbrt* (or *tbr* for Tabor) were unattested in the topographical lists of Ramesses III, a strong case could be made for placing her defeat of Sisera during the reign of Ramesses III. The evidence and argumentation can be presented most succinctly in a critique of opposing views which date Deborah and Sisera significantly after the reign of Ramesses III. The proposal of Mayes (1969: 353–356; 1974: 91–99), that this victory by Israelite tribes over a Canaanite-Philistine coalition led by Sisera should be seen in close connection with Israel's defeat by the Philistines at Aphek sometime in the course of the second half of the eleventh century B.C.E., has already been rejected as untenable (see above, page 64) since Mayes acknowledged that "arguments which have been adduced in support of this date of the battle against Sisera are not very reliable."

A more attractive chronology has been offered by Yeivin (1956: 103; 1971: 84–85, 104–106, 124) who accepted the historicity of the tradition that Sisera had served in Jabin's army (Ju 4:2, 7). He dated the defeat of Jabin (which was the catalyst for Merneptah's Asiatic campaign) to 1221, the victory of Shamgar to 1188 (shortly after the appearance of the Philistines), and the defeat of Sisera to 1175. Yeivin's dating demands an interval of forty-six years between the date of Sisera's escape from Hazor and his death at the hands of Yael. This would mean that Sisera was either a boy-soldier under King Jabin or an aged charioteer when chased by Barak. Yeivin's first date is quite acceptable, but an earlier date for Shamgar's activity and Sisera's defeat is required if Sisera is viewed as the same officer who served in Jabin's army. Yeivin's discussion on the chronology of this era is helpful in critiquing the views of Maisler, Aharoni, Albright, Lapp, and Globe. The proposals of these scholars demand a more detailed critique, and Yeivin's contribution will be noted in the course of this extended discussion.

A. Views of Maisler and Aharoni

The tradition in Josh 11:1–16, which associated Joshua with the destruction of Hazor, was transformed by Josephus into Joshua's battle against unnamed elements of a massive Canaanite coalition assembled at Beroth in Upper Galilee. The defeat of Jabin, according to Josephus, came after Yael's assassination of Sisera: "Barak also fought with Jabin at Hazor, and when he met him he slew him, and when the general had fallen Barak overthrew the city to the foundations, and was commander of the Israelites for forty years" (*Antiquities* 5: 1: 17 and 5: 5: 4; Naber 1888: 1: 279, 305).

This harmonistic reconstruction of events in Josh 11:1–16 and Ju 4:23–24 has been given new life in the proposals of Maisler (1952–53: 83–84) and Aharoni (1967: 203–208). They suggested that the order of events in the biblical tradition should be reversed, so that Deborah's battle against Sisera's Canaanite coalition was followed by the battle of Merom which ended in Barak's destruction of Jabin and Hazor. It was conjectured that, subsequent to Sisera's defeat, Jabin made a renewed effort to occupy the hill country, an action which precipitated his conflict with the Israelites.

Maisler and Aharoni dissociated Joshua from the fall of Hazor, reckoning his name to be a secondary intrusion into the tradition.[107] Moreover, Aharoni was forced to extricate Shamgar from his position in the tradition, where he is viewed as having pre-dated Deborah. He dated the "war of Deborah" to the end of Hazor XIV (Lower City 1b), which contributed to the decline evidenced in Hazor XIII. The "battle of Merom" resulting in Barak's defeating Jabin and the destruction of Hazor was dated to the end of Hazor XIII (Lower City 1a). Shamgar was made responsible for the destruction of Beth Shan VII, just before the reign of Ramesses III (1198–1166 B.C.E.). This reconstruction of events, especially as articulated by Aharoni, is vulnerable to the following criticism of J. Miller (1977: 91):

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[107] Note Yadin's (1979: 57–68) critique of the theories of Aharoni, Alt, Callaway, Fritz, Mazar, Noth, and Weippert, as well as the critique of Mayes' interpretation by Globe (1975b: 181).

In order to establish the credibility of Ju 4:1–2, 23–24, Aharoni had to rework radically the chronology of Joshua 11 and Ju 3:31. The archaeological data had to be restructured so that Hazor XIV survived to the time of Deborah, while Hazor XIII encompassed only the time between Merneptah's death and the rise of Ramesses III. Moreover, if the translation of Ju 5:18 offered in this study proves to be correct ("Naphtali moved violently against Merom"), a second diversionary movement toward Merom was part of the campaign against Sisera, and hence was not subsequent to Sisera's defeat.

A more likely solution to the chronological difficulties, which takes less liberty with the texts and the archeological data, is available. The mention of Jabin in the *introduction of the prose narrative* (4:2) and in the *prose prologue to the poem* (as I have so identified 4:23–24) need not be assigned a late date during the Philistine era or dismissed as an interpolation, as suggested by Yadin (1967: 259; 1975: 255). Although they have been recast by a Deuteronomic editor, they still provide the best chronological reference for dating the conflict with Sisera to the reign of Ramesses III.

The destruction of Late Bronze III Hazor (Upper City XIII and Lower City 1a) has been identified by Yadin (1959: 87) with Joshua's destruction of Hazor in the last decades of the thirteenth century B.C.E. Yeivin (1971: 84–85), as noted already (page 81), proposed the approximate date of 1221, suggesting, "Though there is no proof of the fact, it is likely that it was the rumour of this disturbance [i.e., the collapse of Hazor] that decided Merneptah to undertake his campaign in Hither Asia in the 3rd year of his reign."

The identification of Sisera in Ju 4:2 and 4:7 as an officer from Jabin's army has been dismissed too readily by Eissfeldt (1925: 25, 32) as a redactor's gloss or the result of a conflation of the J and L, or J and E, traditions. As noted, the suppression of the *q⁼śṭiśr* "the troops of Sisera" by Ramesses II provided sufficient reason for Sisera's aligning with Jabin of Hazor. Judges 4 need not be interpreted to mean that Jabin was alive at the time of the defeat of Sisera. If the emendation of Ju 4:1–2 offered above is correct, the text speaks of Jabin's death and the subsequent rise of Sisera as an independent figure. Consequently,

Yeivin's (1956: 103; 1971: 84) reconstruction of events appears highly probable:

> With the collapse of Hazor, it is likely that Sisera, Jabin's C.-in-C. (or at least, the commander of his chariotry), tried to salvage Canaanite supremacy by escaping with, at least part of, his chariotry, and establishing his head-quarters somewhere in western Galilee . . . .

Since the fall of Hazor can be dated to the last decades of the thirteenth century, it is possible to date the defeat of Sisera to the first decade or decades of the twelfth century, allowing time for his consolidation of power and his twenty-year oppression of the Israelites (Ju 4:3). Consequently, the events spoken of in Judges 4–5 generally coincided with the destructions of (a) Tell Abu Hawam V C, (b) Megiddo VII B, (c) the initial phase of Taanach Iron I, and (d) Beth Shan VII, all of which have been dated around 1180 B.C.E.[108] This coincidence of destructions in the region under review would suggest that the defeat of Sisera occurred during the period of Egyptian weakness in Syria-Palestine around 1190 B.C.E., when Ramesses III was pre-occupied at home warding off the Sea Peoples.

The defeat of Sisera's coalition may have been the catalyst for the renewed activity of Ramesses III in Syria-Palestine after 1190, reflected in the name-ring <*q*>ꜣ*wśtbrt*, as well as in the war scenes of Ramesses III engraved in the precinct of the temple of Mut at Karnak and in the inscriptions and his battle scenes throughout Syria, Khatti, and Amurru recorded at his mortuary temple in Medinet Habu.[109] The strengthened Egyptian presence in Galilee under Ramesses III (attested by his rebuilding the port facilities at Tell Abu Hawam) may have precluded the Israelite rout of Sisera's coalition from being turned into a war of occupation, for there is no archaeological evidence of an immediate Israelite occupation of the major sites.

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[108] See Maisler 1951: 21–25; Van Beek 1962: 339; Lapp 1964: 8; 1967: 3, 26; Fitzgerald 1967: 191–193; Schofield 1967: 316–321; Aharoni and Yadin 1976: 846–847; Anati 1976: 9–12; and Kempinski 1975: 213–214.

[109] See Yeivin 1956: 95–104; Faulkner 1975: 241–244.

B. Views of Albright and Lapp

The dating of the Song of Deborah by Albright (1936: 29; 1937: 25; 1968: 11) to 1125, as well as his later back-dating to 1150 (following a revised date for the destruction of Megiddo VII A), requires at least a seventy-five year gap between Jabin and Sisera, thereby dismissing the Judges 4 tradition that Sisera had been an officer in Jabin's army. Accepting the integrity of Ju 3:31 and its reference to the Philistines, Albright placed the battle against Sisera after the Philistine invasion (c. 1188), but before their northern expansion. Albright was convinced that the phrase בתענך על מי מגדו "at Taanach along the waters of Megiddo" in Ju 5:19 meant that the fight with Sisera was waged at Taanach and that Megiddo must have been in ruins at the time of the battle. He noted (1949: 117)

> This total omission of any reference to Megiddo itself, while Taanach becomes the capital of the district, makes it practically certain that Megiddo was then in ruins . . . after the destruction of Megiddo VII about the third quarter of the twelfth century, the site lay in ruins until it was occupied by the people of Stratum VI.

Albright's conclusions about the dating of the Song of Deborah have been generally accepted by Van Beek (1962: 339), Schofield (1967: 321), Craigie (1969a: 255), Bright (1972: 172), and Freedman (1979: 13).[110]

Lapp (1964: 8, 23; 1967: 3, 21, 26) also interpreted בתענך על מי מגדו in Ju 5:19 as the place of battle against Sisera. He assigned the battle to the final destruction of Iron I Taanach, around 1125 (since Taanach was probably abandoned after this destruction until the tenth century), concurring with Aharoni (1957: 145) that "a town that fell into Israelite hands did not as a rule revive—even when the Israelites did not settle at once in the area."

Yeivin (1971: 62) rightly rejected Lapp's proposed equation of events in Judges 5 with the last destruction of Iron I Taanach, though he did not state his reasons. I concur with Yeivin's disagreement with Lapp and Albright, and their followers, for these

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[110] Albright's date of 1125 has been challenged by Engberg (1940: 4–9), Alt (1944: 75–79), Noth (1958: 151), Yeivin (1971: 60–62), and Davies (1986: 45–48).

reasons. The usual translation of בתענך by "at Taanach" has been misleading. The ב of בתענך in this instance means "from," rather than "at" or "by," requiring the translation "from Taanach."[111] Consequently, Ju 5:19 does not indicate the place of battle, or even its point of origin, but the direction of Sisera's route *from* Taanach and *from* Megiddo *into* Jezreel. The Israelite rout of Sisera, therefore, need not coincide with Megiddo's impotence or Taanach's dominance.

Since פלשתים need not mean "Philistine" (as argued in the previous chapter), there is no need to insist on a date in the Philistine era. While the text does not speak of Sisera's defeat *at* Taanach, it does not preclude an Israelite sacking of the cities participating in Sisera's coalition, including Taanach Iron I, Phase 1, Megiddo VII B, and possibly Beth Shan VII, which were all destroyed in the first decade(s) of the twelfth century.

C. Globe's use of Ju 5:17
as a clue to chronology

Globe (1975b: 169–184) rejected the conclusion of Mayes which associated the defeat of Sisera with the battle against the Philistines at Aphek. However, he did not address the more widely accepted views of Albright and Lapp for a date around 1150/ 1125 B.C.E. Without explicitly concurring with Aharoni and Maisler that the battle against Sisera preceded the battle against Jabin, Globe acknowledged Aharoni's argument as a "cogent reconstruction," stating, "Beside this impressive reconstruction, most other recent theories are unconvincing" (181).

Globe supplemented Aharoni's conclusions by an independent argument that in two major battles around 1200 (±25 years) the Israelites were victorious first over Jabin and then over Sisera. He found the clue for resolving the chronological difficulties in Ju 5:17 ("and Dan, why did he abide with the ships [ודן למה יגור אניות]? Asher sat still at the coast of the sea [אשר ישב לחוף ימים]"), which he interpreted to mean, "Asher and Dan were unwilling to jeopardize their lucrative employment in Phoenician ships by fighting against their overlords' allies" (1975b: 183).

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[111] Note Brekelmans 1969: 13–14 and above note 42.

Globe needed to determine when the Danites "remained by ships" (i.e., "were in maritime service") and absented themselves from the war. He ruled out the years between 1190–1150 since the Philistines were then actively consolidating their power along the coast, and hence normal maritime service in the area, requiring the use of non-Philistine employees, was unlikely.

The period after 1150 was ruled out since excavations at Tel Dan (Tell el-Qadi) suggested a mid-twelfth century date for the northern migration of Dan and the destruction of Dan-Laish. The Danites were not likely to have commuted from their northern home to the coastal ports or to the Sea of Galilee for employment in fishing or maritime services. The numerous references to shipping activity in the Amarna letters led Globe to conclude that Dan's maritime service makes "perfect sense" in the cosmopolitan fourteenth and thirteenth century. In light of the destruction of Hazor circa 1200 [*sic*], he narrowed the time span to 1200 (±25 years).

Although Globe's date for Dan's sea-duty—and consequently the time of the battle against Sisera—between 1225 and 1175 coincides well with the dates proposed in my study (1220 for the defeat of Jabin and 1190 for the fall of Sisera), Globe's arguments cannot be used to corroborate these suggestions or to reinforce Aharoni's thesis. Contrary to exegetical tradition, which Globe followed, the יגור אניות in Ju 5:17 does not permit, let alone require, reading this as proof of Dan's doing "sea-duty." It will be argued in the commentary in Chapter Six that the words of 5:17 are far better translated, "Then Dan boldly attacked the ships, Asher assailed along the water's edge and against its harbors." Consequently, as Globe rejected Yadin's suggestion that the Danites were the Danuna or the Denyen of the Sea Peoples (whom some identify with the Δαναοί), one must also reject the opinion that the Danites were at one time sailors in Phoenician or Philistine maritime services and the idea that the date of their sea-duty provides a clue for establishing the date of the battles with Jabin and Sisera.

IV. Conclusions

Rejecting the conclusions of Albright, Lapp, and Globe does not indicate agreement with Noth's (1958: 151) statement, "We have no evidence at all on which to assign a date to the victory

over Sisera, even very roughly . . . . As this victory does not appear to have had any direct and tangible effects on Canaanite cities, it is impossible to date it archaeologically." Nor can one concur with Ahlström's argument (1993: 379–380):

> The possibility cannot be dismissed, however, that the poem in Judges 5 has mixed two events and that the mention of Zebulon and Naphtali may be secondary in the poem. . . . but because Shamgar, who fought the Philistines, is mentioned as a man of the past, the date of the battle may be sometime around 1100 BCE.

To the contrary, a strong case has been made for the date of 1220 for the fall of Hazor and 1190 for the defeat of Sisera's coalition. The arguments included recognition of

(1)   the Hittite-Luwian *tapara* loanword as the title behind Deborah's name and the appearance of her name spelled תברת (or the name of Tabor [תבר]) in a list of peoples whom Ramesses III suppressed (see below, 3);

(2)   archaeological evidence that Hazor was destroyed in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and it subsequently remained abandoned;

(3)   the violent destruction at relevant sites from Tell Abu Hawam to Beth Shan during the first decade(s) of the twelfth century, which suggests—with all due caution—that the Israelites were contributory to these destructions through military action designed more to neutralize an oppressor than to occupy territory. These actions resulted in the return of Ramesses III to Galilee to suppress the <q>ꜣwśtbrt, "the troops of Deborah, or the <q>ꜣwśtbr[?] "the troops of Tabor."

CHAPTER FIVE

THE RECONSTRUCTED HEBREW
TEXT AND TRANSLATION

In this chapter, the Song of Deborah is reconstructed according to the changes proposed in Chapter One and the outline presented at the end of Chapter Two. Changes made to the MT are marked by the customary sigla:

( )   explanatory additions in English translation

[ ]   editorial deletion from the Hebrew text

< >   editorial addition to the Hebrew text.

Italicized words in the English indicate translations which are new with this study of the Song of Deborah. Meter and syllable count are listed at the left of the Hebrew text. Metrical balance in the poem is discussed in Chapter VII. Changes in the consonantal MT and vocalization, listed above in Chapter I, are discussed in the commentary in Chapter Six.

There has been no attempt to make the Hebrew text fit a historiographic agendum (as did Cheyne [see Appendix], who forced the text to support his "Jerahmeelite theory"). Were this poem a legendary *ballad* completely outside the sphere of *history* (דברי הימים), and were the words of *Pesaḥim* 6b also true for the Deborah–Barak–Yael tradition in Judges 5, that אין מוקדם ומאוחר בתורה "there is no chronological order [of events] in the Torah," the Hebrew text of Ju 4:23–5:31 and the translation of the "Song of Deborah" would still read as follows.

I. Prose prologue: 4:23–24

4:23 God subdued in that day Jabin, King of Canaan, before the Israelites. 4:24 Yea, the hand of the Israelites bore harder and harder on Jabin, King of Canaan, until they finally destroyed Jabin, King of Canaan.

II. Poetic prologue: 3:31; 5:6–7, 5:1–2b

3:31 Then later Shamgar ben-Anat appeared on the scene!

He smote with a mattock *two marauding bands*;

he *plundered* hundreds of men with a(n) (ox)goad.

He was *appointed overseer*, and gained victories

by himself for Israel!

5:6 From the days of Shamgar ben-Anat,

from the days he *used to attack (covertly)*, caravans ceased

and *caravaneers* had to travel roundabout routes.

Warriors *deserted*, in Israel they *failed to assist*,

until the arising of Deborah, the arising of a Mother in Israel!

5:1 Then Deborah made Barak ben-Abinoam

march forth on that day

when the *heroine called for heroism* in Israel,

when the militia was summoned,

(by her) saying:

I. Prose prologue 4:23–24

ויכנע אלהים ביום ההוא את יבין מלך כנען
לפני בני ישׂראל:
ותלך יד בני ישׂראל הלוך וקשה על יבין מלך כנען
עד אשר הכריתו את יבין מלך כנען:

II. Poetic Prologue 3:31; 5:6–7, 5:1–2b

3+2	12	ואחר <ה>יו היה שׁמגר בן ענת
3+3	15	וְיַךְ<א> אֶת פְּלִשְׁתַּיִם שֵׁשׁ מאות איש במלמד
2+2+2	12	הבקר וישע גם הוא את ישׂראל.
2+3		בימי שׁמגר בן ענת
	16	בימי יע<י>ל חדלו ארחות
3+2	17	והלכי נתיבות ילכו ארחות עקלקלות
2+2	13	חדלו פרזון בישׂראל חדלו
3+3	15	עד שקמתי דבורה שקמתי אם בישׂראל.
2+2+2		ות<א>שׁר דבורה
	17	ברק בן אבינעם ביום ההוא
3+3	18	בפרע פרעות בישׂראל בהתנדב עם
		לאמר:

$\overline{49}$	$\overline{135}$

III. Deborah's exhortation: 5:2c–4, 5:8–9

5:2c "PRAISE YAHWEH!

Hear, O kings! Listen, O princes! I am for Yahweh!

I, yes I, *I will attack*, *I will fight* for Yahweh, the God of Israel.

5:4 O Yahweh, when you went out from Seir,

when you marched from the plain of Edom,

the earth trembled *noisily*, the heavens dropped open,

the clouds dropped *torrentially*.

The waters of the mountains flowed from the presence of Yahweh,

the One of Sinai,

from the presence of Yahweh, my God.

God will provide strength.

5:8 God will muster the *recruits*. When *the brave ones* battle,

shield, *moreover*, and spear

will appear among the forty thousand in Israel.

Respond to the call, O leaders of Israel!

O you who are summoned for the militia!

5:9c PRAISE YAHWEH!"

III. Deborah's exhortation: 5:2c–4, 5:8–9

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ברכו יהוה:

2+2+2	18	שמעו מלכים האזינו רזנים אנכי ליהוה
2+2+2	18	אנכי אשירה אזמר ליהוה אלהי ישראל.
3+3	18	יהוה בצאתך משעיר בצעדך משדה אדום
3+2+3	18	ארץ רעשה גם שמים נטפו גם עבים נטפו.
3+3+3		מי־ם הרים נזלו
		מפני יהוה זה סיני
	22	מפני יהוה אלהי.
2+3	11	ישר אל יבחר אלהים חדשים.
3+4+3		אז ילחמ‹ו› שערים
		מגן אם יראה ורמח
	26	בארבעים אלף בישראל.
3+2	17	לבי‹ו› לחוקקי ישראל המתנדבים בעם.
		ברכו יהוה.

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IV. Mustering the troops: 5:10–13

5:10 Riders on young donkeys,

those sitting on *mules*,

and those walking along the way

5:11 *hastened on mountain-roads,*

hurrying between the mountain-passes,

where the victories of Yahweh would be given—

the victories of his two warriors in Israel,

when the *very storms* would descend from Yahweh.

5:12 The *troops* of Deborah roused themselves

to rout the troops of the pursuer.

Barak *made preparations to attack*,

ben-Abinoam to take prisoners.

5:13 When the *caravan-leader* went forth against the nobles,

(when) the militia of Yahweh descended,

they were accompanied by (heavenly) warriors.

IV. Mustering the troops: 5:10–13

2+3+3		רכבי אתנות צחרות
		ישבי על כדים
	22	והלכי על דרך
2+3+3		שיחו מק[ו]נ<י>ם
		חצצים בין משאבים
	20	שם יתנו צדקות יהוה
3+2+3		צדק<ו>ת פרזנו בישראל
	21	אז ירדו לשערי מעם יהוה.
3+3		עוּרִי עוּרִי דְּבוֹרָה
	14	עוּרִ[י] עוּרִי דֹבֵּר.
3+3		יָשִׁיר קום ברק
	14	ושבה שבים בן אבינעם.
4+4		אז ירד שָׂרִיד לְאַדִירים
		עם יהוה ירד
	21	לִ<י><ו> בגבורים.

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V. Strategy of the forces: 5:14–16

5:14 Some from Ephraim, *hastening* through Amalek,

would strike at the rear;

Benjamin from *concealment* would attack.

5:15 From Machir commanders would go down.

Yea, from Zebulon, (those) brandishing the marshal's mace,

and officers from Issachar along with Deborah.

That *he might inflict defeat*, Barak was *concealed* in the plain.

Dispatched with his footmen along the tributaries was Reuben.

Gad had *joined* them.

5:16 Those of *true courage circled about*

to wait between the *ravines*,

to listen, *to look for stragglers* along the tributaries,

to triumph over the cowardly chieftains.

V. Strategy of the forces: 5:14–16

3+3+3		מני אפרים שרש<>ים
		בעמלק אחר יכ<ו>
	24	בנימין בעמם יכ<ה>
2+2	11	מני מכיר ירדו מחקקים
3+3		ומזבולן משכים בשבט ספר
	24	ושרי ביששכר עם דברה.
2+2	10	וְיִשָּׂשכָר כֵּ<>ן ברק בעמק.
2+2+2	14	שלח ברגליו בפלגות ראובן.
		גד לים.
2+3	14	חקקי לב למה ישבת בין משפתים
2+2+3		לשמע שרק[ו]ת עדרים לפלגות
	21	ראו בנ[ן] גדולים חקרי לב.
‾41‾	‾118‾	

VI. Israelite attack: 5:17–18

5:17 Gilead in Trans-Jordan went on *alert*.

then Dan *boldly attacked* ships;

Asher *assailed* along the water's edge

and *struck* against its *harbors*.

5:18 Zebulon *swam (underwater)*, risking his life;

Naphtali *attacked* Merom.

VII. Canaanite counterattack: 5:19

5:19 The kings were forced to come. They fought.

(But) when the kings of Canaan fought,

from Taanach along the waters of Megiddo,

silver spoils they did not take.

VI. Israelite attack: 5:17–18

3+2+2		גלעד בעבר הירדן שכן.
	19	ודן למה יגור אניות
2+2+3		אשר ישב לחוף ימים
	17	ועל מפרציו ישכן.
2+3+3		זבלון עם חרף נפשו למות
	19	ונפתלי על מרום ישד.

VII. Canaanite counterattack: 5:19

3+3		הבאו מלכים נלחמו
	18	אז נלחמו מלכי כנען
3+3		בתענך על מי מגדו
	16	בצע כסף לא לקחו.

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VIII. The defeat of the Canaanites: 5:20–23

5:20 From the heavens fought the stars,

from their stations they fought against Sisera.

5:21 The Wadi Kishon swept them [the chariots] away,

the Wadi *surged seaward*.

The Wadi Kishon *overtook* (them), *it overflowed, they sought refuge.*

5:22 Then *retreated up the slopes* their horses (and their) *chariots —*

his chariot, his stallions.

5:23 *Doomed to die, they panicked*—Yahweh had *sent a cloudburst!*

Their riders *were in total panic!*

Truly victorious were the ones going forth for the *Warrior* Yahweh,

for the *Warrior* Yahweh, with the (heavenly) heroes!

VIII. The defeat of the Canaanites: 5:20–23

3+3		מן שמים נלחמו הכוכבים
	22	ממסלותם נלחמו עם סיסרא.
3+3	12	נחל קישון גרפם נחל קדום ים
3+2	11	נחל קישון תדרך ינפש יעז‹ו›.
3+2+2		אז הלמו עקבו סוסימ‹ו› דהרות
	20	דהרת אביריו
2+3+3		א‹ו›רו מרוזא‹י›ם רים לא‹ך יהוה.
	18	ארו ארור ישביה‹ן›.
2+3+3		כי לא‹ו› באי לעזרת יהוה
	19	לעזרת יהוה בגבורים.

‾‾‾‾‾
40 102

IX. Assassination of Sisera: 5:24–25, 5:27a, 5:26, 5:27b

5:24 Most blessed among women is Yael, wife of Heber the Kenite,

among women in tents she is most blessed.

5:25 Water he requested, milk she gave,

in a *truly magnificent goblet* she brought cream.

5:27a Between her legs *he drank*, he fell to sleep.

5:26 She stretched her hand to the tent-pin,

her right hand to the workmen's hammer.

She hammered Sisera, battered his head,

shattered and pierced his neck.

5:27b Between her legs *half-conscious* he fell;

motionless, powerless, there he fell slain.

IX. Assassination of Sisera: 5:24–25, 5:27a, 5:26, 5:27b

3+3+3		תברך מנשים יעל אשת חבר הקיני
	24	מנשים באהל תברך.
2+2	9	מים שאל חלב נתנה
2+2	11	בסף לאדירים הקריבה חמאה.
2+3	12	בין רגליה כרע נפל שכב.
3+3		ידה ליתר תשלחנה
	17	וימינה להלמות עמלים
2+2+3		והלמה סיסרא מחקה ראשו
	22	ומחצה וחלפה רקתו.
2+2		בין רגליה כרע נפל
3+2	17	באש הכרע שם נפל שדוד.
‾44‾	‾112‾	

X. Anxiety in Sisera's court: 5:28–30

5:28 Through the window she peered—but (only) *emptiness!*

The mother of Sisera *inquired* (at) the lattice:

"Why tarries his chariot's arrival?

Why so late the sound of his chariotry?"

5:29 *The clairvoyants among her damsels divined.*

Indeed, *her soothsayer reported* to her:

5:30 "*The victors have forded (the water)*;

they are dividing the spoil—

a wench or two for the head of the hero—

spoil of dyed cloth for Sisera, spoil of the best cloth,

an embroidered cloth or two for the spoiler's neckerchiefs."

XI. Poetic conclusion: 5:31a

5:31a Thus may all the enemies of Yahweh perish.

(May) His lovers (be) like the rising of the sun

because of His power.

XII. Prose epilogue: 5:31b

5:31b And the land was at peace for forty years.

X. Anxiety in Sisera's court: 5:28–30

2+2	11	בעד החלון נשקפה ותיבב.
3+2+2		אם סיסרא בעתה אשׁנב
	17	מדוע בשש רכבו לבוא
2+2	13	מדוע אחרו פעמי מרכבותיו.
3+2+2		חכמות שׂרותיה תעניִנה.
	19	אף היא תשיב אמריה לה
2+2	11	הלאים צאו יחלקו שלל
2+2	11	רחם רחמתים לראש גבר
2+2	16	שלל צבעים לסיסרא שלל צבע צבעים
2+2	12	רקמה רקמתים לצוארי שלל:

XI. Poetic conclusion 5:31a

2+2	11	כן יאבדו כל אויבי־ם יהוה
2+2	13	ואהביו כצאת השמש בגברתו.

XII. Prose epilogue 5:31b

	ותשקט הארץ ארבעים שנה.

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CHAPTER SIX

COMMENTARY AND NOTES

I. Prose prologue: Ju 4:23–24

In light of the conclusions reached in Chapter Two that Ju 4:23–24 is the prose prologue to the epic poetry of Judges 5, rather than the conclusion of the prose narrative of Ju 4:1–22, it is possible to read Josh 11:1–16 as an expanded commentary on Ju 4:23–24. However, since only these two verses are related to the Joshua passage, the proposals by Hertzberg (1953: 77) and Eissfeldt (1975: 544) to equate the events of Judges 4–5 with the battle depicted in Joshua 11 can now be rejected.[112]

The proposed emendation of ואהוד to ואחר and צבאו to צבוא (pages 38–40), coupled with the transposition of וימכרם יהוה ביד from Ju 4:2a to 4:3a, restores these verses to their more original form and brings Ju 4:2 into conformity with the tradition in 1 Sam 12:9 that "he [Yahweh] sold them into the hand of Sisera [who had been] an officer in the army of Hazor (וימכר אתם ביד סיסרא שׂר צבא חצור)."

These minimal changes to the text permit the accounts in (a) Josh 11:1–16 and Ju 4:23–24 and (b) Ju 4:23–5:31 and Ju 4:1–22 to be read as chronologically sequential texts and thus support the claim that Joshua's destruction of Hazor and the death of Jabin preceded the rise and fall of Sisera.

4:23. God subdued   ויכנע אלהים
<div align="center">(See above, pages 29–32.)</div>

This phrase is the first element of a pre-Deuteronomic formula which usually included the phrase ותשקט הארץ "and the land was at peace" as a second element. Here the first element appears in a prose *incipit* to the poem; the second element occurs in 5:31, in a brief prose *inclusio*.

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[112] Note also Maass 1961: 111.

4:23. At that time   ביום ההוא

(See above, pages 81–88.)

The defeat of Jabin of Hazor has been dated to 1221 B.C.E., on the assumption that the fall of Hazor XIII (which has been dated on archaeological evidence around 1220 B.C.E.) prompted Merneptah's campaign to restore control in Egypt's Asian province. Merneptah's campaign is generally dated 1221. The eventual defeat of Sisera must have occurred shortly after 1190, and evidently prompted a campaign by Ramesses III after his defeat of the Sea Peoples to reassert Egypt's hegemony in Palestine.

4:23. Jabin, King of Canaan   יבין מלך כנען

It is now widely recognized that the identification of Jabin as "king of Canaan" rather than "the king of Hazor" (as in Josh 11:1) is an anachronism reflecting a tradition found in Josh 11:10 that, "Hazor formerly was the head of all those kingdoms."[113] Malamat (1960: 17–19), in a survey of extra-biblical texts (primarily from Mari) which corroborate Hazor's supremacy in the Middle Bronze Age, has demonstrated the correctness of this anachronistic title for the king of Hazor. Included in his evidence is the fact "that the ruler of Hazor, unlike most other rulers, is called 'king' (*šarrum* in Akkadian) both in the Mari archives . . . and in the el-Amarna letters." One Mari letter even mentions a king of Hazor named *Ibni-Adad*, the first element being the Akkadian equivalent of the West Semitic *Iabni* (= יבין). Malamat cited this as evidence of strong Babylonian influence at Hazor, at least in court circles. Such influence continued into the Late Bronze Age, as evidenced by the recovery of a fragment of the Gilgamesh Epic from the debris of Megiddo VIII and the Megiddo ivories from Stratum VII, which reflect Assyrian influence as well as Egyptian, Hittite and local motifs.[114] The Babylonian influence was not restricted to the Canaanite community since Akkadian loanwords (e.g., *sārid* = שריד "caravan

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[113] See Boling 1975: 99.

[114] On the Gilgamesh fragment, see Cross and Wright 1955: 44; Aharoni and Yadin 1977: 836. For the Megiddo ivories, see Loud 1935: 10–11 and Schofield 1967: 319.

leader" [5:10b] and *kudan* = כדין "mule" [5:13a]) were used by the poet of Judges 5, suggesting that the early Israelites were also susceptible to this influence.

II. Poetic prologue: Ju 3:31; 5:6–7, 5:1–26

Albright (1967: 208) suggested that some of the prose in Judges was originally composed in poetic form. He recognized Ju 1:14–15 as an adaptation from an older poem and believed it could be turned into "excellent mixed verse" with a 3 + 3 / 3 + 3 / 2 + 2 + 2 metrical pattern. Ju 3:31, with little alteration of the MT, reads even more easily as fine poetry.

3:31. Then later appeared on the scene   ואחר <ה>יו היה

The MT ואחריו היה has long been recognized as being "awk-ward and unparalleled." A. van Selms (1964: 294–295) con-cluded that, since this phrase has no exact parallel in Judges, Shamgar was out of place in a list of minor judges and could be completely omitted from the book without disturbing its chronol-ogy. The NEB translators went back to Ju 3:26 for the antecedent of the 3ms suffix and translated, "After Ehud there was Shamgar of Beth Anath." As demonstrated above (pages 32–36, 71–72), Shamgar provides a clue for establishing the unity of the poem and the chronology of the era. The isolated 3ms suffix of MT ואחריו does not impose insurmountable problems.[115]

The emendation ואחר <ה>יו restores the well-attested infini-tive absolute הָיֹה or הָיוֹ (Gen 18:18; 1 Kgs 12:31; Jer 15:18; Ezek 1:3). It removes the awkwardness of the phrase which re-sulted from Deuteronomic editorial activity, or more simply from a scribal error. The translation "appeared on the scene," has been adopted from BDB (225b). Sperling (1988: 326) has also noted the use of היה "to reign" in Jer. 34:5 and Ps 45:17 (NJV). This meaning, he noted, parallels the use of כון "to be, to exist" in the Phoenician phrase *ʾš kn lpny* "who reigned before me."

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[115] Note also Moore 1898b: Pt. 1, 159; Burney 1918: 77.

3:31. Shamgar ben-Anat   שמגר בן ענת
(See above, pages 44–53.)

The use of "Shamgar" throughout this study, rather than "Samgar," is an accommodation to old traditions. Evidence presented above (pages 49–50) suggests that the name, composed of the vocables שִׂים and גור, meant "the charging assailant." Yeivin(1971: 105) thought that Shamgar was but a metathetic variant of Gershom, but van Selms (1964: 296) had more convincingly noted that the name is without an obvious parallel in Israelite nomenclature. However, van Selms' conclusion, that Shamgar's name contributes to an "unIsraelite impression" and "strangeness" of this verse, is itself not very convincing.

The identification of an Israelite cannot be determined by the commonness of a name. David's name, like Remaliah's (2 Kgs 15:25), is without parallel in Israelite nomenclature, Whether or not the name David was related to the Amorite *dawidum*, no one would dare argue that David was a non-Israelite since his name was unique.[116] Shamgar's name is no more unique than the name David, aside from the infrequency of its appearance in biblical texts (twice, versus over eight hundred times for David) and its being a compound like שדיאור (Ζεδιουρ) in Num 1:5. Moreover, Mendenhall (1973: 162) in a different context noted that, "at this early period there exists no linguistic line of demarcation between Israelite and non-Israelite names, other than theophoric."

I have already presented above (pages 50–60) my arguments that the name Shamgar ben-Anat does not contain a theophoric element, that בן ענת does not mean "Beth Anath," and that the name need not be associated with the goddess Anath. Moreover, van Selms' speculation (1964: 303) that, "the historical figure of Shamgar was drawn into the mythological sphere which was the intention of those who gave him this 'metronymikon'," is hardly persuasive in light of the other options presented.

Additional support for the claim that Anat is an Israelite name derived from עון "to help" has been provided indirectly by Ben Yehuda (1908: 3155), Zorell (1956: 455), Kopf (1958: 187–188), and Dahood (1968: 172, 322, 333). MT מעון or מעונך in Ps 71:3;

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[116] Compare *CAD* 4: 14 and the views of Huffmon 1965: 181; Parrot 1967: 141; Soggin 1975: 154–155, note 10; and MacDonald 1976–1977: 52–71.

90:1; and 91:9 has been recognized by all four (Kopf citing Ben Yehuda, and Dahood citing Zorell) as being derived from עון, a cognate of Arabic عون "to help, give succor," and has been equated with the nouns معونة and معوان "help, aid." Like Hebrew מעון, ענת has the same common derivation; and like מעון in Psalms 71, 90, and 91, it is synonymous with עזר or ישע and their feminine derivatives with the prefixed מ. The עני of Zech 9:9, coupled with נושע "savior," is probably from this root also.

Benz (1972: 170) included עזרתבעל in his study of Punic and Phoenician names. This name parallels the Hebrew names עזריהו (compare עזרת יהוה in 5:23b) and עזראל. The use of the feminine עזרת with the theophoric בעל element is an exact parallel to the Elephantine ענתיהו, which is composed of the "feminine" noun ענת (the ת suffix being a masculine titulary form, rather than the feminine ending) and the theophoric יהו element.

Since the vocable עון is sufficiently attested in Biblical Hebrew, as demonstrated above (pages 53–60), conjecture that the ענת component in biblical names must be related to the goddess Anath is no longer compelling. Among Israelites in the twelfth-century B.C.E. and in the Jewish colony at Yeb in the fifth-century, ענת could simply mean "help, helper, savior."

3:31. He smote with a mattock   ויכ<א>את
(See above pages 34–35, 60–61.)

The MT *waw*-conversive ויך (for ויכה or ויכא)[117] is a case of the haplography of an א or another example of a defective spelling of a 3ms imperfect of a ל"ה verb, attested also in Num 21:14 (discussed above, pages 10–12) and in Ju 5:14. The emendation here replaces the *waw*-conversive with an emphatic *waw*, followed by an imperfect used to express continuous or repetitive action. The imperfect here suggests that Shamgar's action was more an extended one man war of attrition fought against marauders than a single heroic feat like Samson's killing of a

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[117] See Blommerde 1969: 29 for the emphatic ו, and GKC 107e for the imperfect *modus rei repetitae*. The stem נכא for נכה occurs in Isa 17:7 and elsewhere; see note 30. See GKC 75rr for a list of ל"א = ל"ה verbs.

thousand men in an isolated ambush with the jawbone of an ass (Ju 15:14–15), or Abishai's spearing three hundred men (2 Sam 23: 18), or Jonathan's stand at Micmash (1 Sam 14:1–15), passages in which the frequent use of the *waw* consecutive imperfect is conspicuous.

Contrary to the pointing in the MT, the first את in the verse is not the *nota accusativi*, but the noun אֵת "plow, mattock," used in the very familiar phrase of Isa 2:4 and Mic 4:3, וכתתו חרבותם לאתים "they shall beat their swords into plowshares." It is a cognate of Akkadian *ittu* "seeder-plow" (*CAD* 7: 312).

The LXX B-text kept alive the tradition of Shamgar's use of a plow (ἀροτρόποδι) but clearly assigned this meaning to מלמד (see below), not to the את in this verse. The use of אֶת and מלמד in synonymous parallelism in 3:31 balances Yael's use of two weapons in 5:26, the יתד "tent-pin" and the הלמות "hammer." Such balanced use of parallelism reflects one aspect of the poet's unifying style and, as noted (pages 60–61), finds its parallel in the ax and pick mentioned in a Sumerian *Königshymne*.

3:31. Two marauding bands　　　　　　פלשתים
(See above, pages 64–72.)

It was suggested by van Selms (1964: 304–306) that shortly after 1200 B.C.E. Shamgar fought against destroyers and pillagers from among the Sea Peoples "long before the settlement of the Philistines in the south-western plain of Palestine . . . ." But in the same statement van Selms (306) identified Shamgar's victims as Philistines: ". . . a separate task force of Philistines was repulsed by Shamgar and his companions. The Philistines could not embark on any serious war against the dwellers of the hill country . . . ." This apparent contradiction or implicit appeal to an anachronism can be eliminated if, instead of *transliterating* פלשתים as "Philistines," the word is *translated*, following the Greek ἀλλόφυλοι, as "(foreign) pillagers or plunderers."

It has already been established (pages 64–69) that פלשתים, traditionally taken to be the "Philistines," is better read as a dual of the feminine collective noun פלשת "plunderers, marauding troops," with Aramaic-Syriac cognates בלש and פלש. This is the first of five dual forms used in the poem, including the obvious רחמתים and רקמתים in 5:30, and the less obvious suffixed forms

in 5:11 (פרזנו "his two warriors") and 5:22 (MT עקבי = עקבו, "[the wadi's] twin banks"). This generous use of the dual, spread throughout the poem, reflects another feature of the poet's unify-ing and archaic, if not archaistic, style.

3:31. He plundered hundreds of men   שש מאות איש

If the MT שֵׁשׁ מאות is retained, the poetic structure and basic meaning of the verse remains unaffected. "Six hundred men" would be the synonymous parallel to "two marauding bands" (a–b–c/c´–b´). But reservations have been expressed about the figure six hundred. Boling (1975: 89) translated "brigade," com-menting that the figure is not to be taken literally since it is an optimum figure for a military unit. Similarly, van Selms (1964: 306) noted, "600 is an indication of a military group intended to operate independently, a battalion sent out for an individual task . . . . We need not interpret our text so literally as to presume that exactly six hundred corpses were left on the battle field."

But שש is probably not the number six in the first place. It is part of a *yqtl-qtl* sequence of synonymous verbs, נכה and שסס, with complete parallelism (a–b–c/a´–c´–b´). MT שושתי in Isa 10:13, translated "I plundered" and equated with the verbs שסה and שסס "to plunder, to despoil," provides the clue. In IQIsaᵃ, the MT שושתי has survived as [שו]שיתי, a *poᶜel* of שסה, written שׁשׁה.[118] The שש here is a *qal* of the ע"ע stem usually spelled שסס. Otherwise, the stem may be שש and a cognate of Ugaritic *ṯš* "to attack, to despoil" or be related to the Egyptian verb *sꜣsꜣ* "to force back, to repel" (Faulkner 1962: 211). When שֵׁשׁ "six" is read as שָׁשׁ "he plundered," Shamgar's heroism becomes all the more noteworthy—hundreds of marauders were themselves plundered by a single despoiler.

3:31. With a(n) (ox)goad   במלמד

As proposed above, מלמד without the *nomen rectum* can mean "oxgoad." It is so used in Sirach 38:25, "how will he that

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[118] See Fenton 1969: 65–66.

handles the (ox)goad (מלמד) acquire wisdom, or he that takes pleasure in brandishing a lance (מהעיר בחנית)?"[119] The synonymous parallelism of מלמד and חנית removes some of the ambiguity about the nature and use of מלמד as a quasi-weapon (variously translated αροτροποδι, αρωτροποδι, αρωτρι, αροτρῳ, διδακτηρι, εχτλη, εχετλη). The use of מלמד without the *nomen rectum* separates מלמד from הבקר—*without* changing the meaning of the phrase שש . . . במלמד "he plundered . . . with a goad."

   Boling's preference (1975: 89) for the conflated reading מלבד במלמד, "single-handedly, using an oxgoad," based upon the A-text doublet (αροτροποδι εκτος = מלבד מלמד), with its alliteration, is very attractive and scans well (3 + 2 / 3 + 2 + 2 / 2 + 2 and a syllable count 7:5::8:4:6::6:6 or 12:18:12). Moreover, מלבד would anticipate the idea expressed by גם הוא "by himself." But the A-text doublet for הבקר (μοσχων "calves" and βοων "bulls/cows") makes it more likely that αροτροποδι and εκτος are also just another doublet that does not require a different *Vorlage*.

3:31. He was appointed overseer   הבקר
                   (See above, pages 60–64.)

   On the basis of the name ben-Anat, Craigie (1972b: 239–240) relegated Shamgar to the status of a mercenary (in an unspecified army) who was closely associated with the warrior goddess Anat. But the tradition of Josephus (*Antiquities* 5: 4: 3; Naber 1888: 1: 304), Σανάγαρος ὁ Ἀνάθου παῖς αἱρεθεὶς ἄρχειν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτει κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, "Sanagaros, the son of Anath, having been chosen to rule, in the first year of his rule ended his life," remains more credible. If Josephus's biblical text here was essentially the same as the MT, he apparently understood the הבקר of Ju 3:31 as a passive verb, in the sense attested at Qumran where the noun מבקר occurs as a synonym for פקיד, "overseer, judicial official." If Josephus's comment on the premature death of Shamgar is correct, it is then self-evident why the tradition about him is so brief.

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[119] Levi 1951: 46. van Selms' translation (1964: 307) has been adopted.

3:31. Gained victories by himself   וישע גם הוא את ישראל

The plural "victories" is intended to reflect the imperfect *modus rei repetitae* for ישע, as with ויך or ויכא above (note 117). MT את הוא גם appears more prosaic than prosodic, but a cursory survey of Mandelkern's concordance (1967: 267–268) exhibits numerous examples of גם as a particle used in poetic texts as a ballast variant or for emphasis (e.g., Isa 31:2 and Nah 3:10–11). Although there has been a tendency to excise the *nota accusativi* (Freedman 1977: 6), את is attested in fine poetic texts, and thus the blanket removal of the particle from poetry seems arbitrary.[120] The אֶת here in 3:31 functions as much as an emphatic particle as it does as a *nota accusativi*, balancing the emphatic גם הוא and providing aural coherence with אֶת פְּלִשְׁתִּים.[121]

5:6.   From the days   בימי יע>י<ל
        he used to attack (covertly)

The death of Shamgar was followed by Sisera's oppression of the Israelites (Ju 4:3), the consequences of which are listed in 5:6. The use of ב "from" (see note 42) in this verse has gone unrecognized, contributing to the obscurity of the text. Burney (1918: 162) sensed the meaning but felt it necessary to emend the text to *miyyamáy* [*sic*] (= מִיָּמֵי).

The name of Yael here in the MT is the major problem. It has been deleted as a gloss or emended in various ways, including עתניאל, יבין, יאיר, העל, or עלם. But none of these suggestions has won wide acceptance.[122] Actually, consonantal יעל is only a coincidental homograph of the name Yael. It is a verb (*scriptio defectiva*) in a construct chain (see GKC 130ᵈ), a *hiphᶜîl* of

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[120] For a discussion on the particle את, see Blau 1954: 7–19; Walker 1955: 314–315; Blau 1956: 211–212; Saydon 1964: 192–210; and J. Macdonald 1964: 264–275.

[121] For other occurrences of aural coherence in Judges 5, see Globe 1975: 172–175.

[122] See pages 46–47; Moore 1900a: 30; and Piatti 1946: 89. Schulte (1990: 181) followed Soggin, Sellin, and Grether in reading על for יעל.

עול "to attack, to kill covertly." This verb was noted by Pope (1965: 192) in Job 30:13, and by Driver (1967: 61) in Mic 2:9. The root is attested also in the following passages:

(a)   2 Sam 3:34, כנפול לפני בני עולה נפלת "as one falls before the *assassins*, you have fallen";

(b)   Isa 61:8, שׂנא גזל בעולה "I hate robbery (committed) with *violence*" (note the similar idea in Luke 3:14, "Rob no one by violence or by false accusation . . .");

(c)   Job 6:18, ילפתו ארחות דרכם יעלו בתהו ויאבד "caravans are overthrown along their way, they are *attacked* from the desert-waste and they perish";

(d)   Ps 58:3, אף בלב עולת תפעלון "Nay, in your heart you devised acts of *violence*."

MT יעל in 5:6 could also be read as a vari-temporal *hophᶜal*, which would permit the translation of (יוּעַל=) בימי יעל as "from the time he was assassinated," which is suggested in part by Josephus's account of Shamgar's premature death.

Several proposals have been made to delete or emend בן ענת. Stuart (1976: 123, 133) revived Sievers' proposal to delete the patronym for metrical reasons, and Blenkinsopp (1961: 70) with reservation endorsed Slotki's (1931: 343) emendation, בימי ענת. Stuart's deletion of בן ענת and ילכו seems to create meter rather than to restore it; and Blenkinsopp's (1961: 70) introduction of Anath as a third party (בן ענת for בימי ענת) only compounds the problem.

5:6b. Caravans ceased   חדלו ארחות

MT אֲרָחוֹת "highways" has the support of the versions; but the tradition, even if exaggerated, of Sisera's having nine hundred chariots would hardly corroborate the idea that the roads of Galilee were deserted. If Sisera's oppression was real, the roads had been well-traveled. According to Ju 5:30, Sisera's mother andthe ladies of her court assumed Sisera was raiding

a caravan for the spoils of cloth and silver, which were common items of caravan trade, attested in Old Assyrian trade documents (Veenhof 1972: 89, 152–154, 181). The words from Sisera's court suggest a well-established practice of deploying chariots to despoil caravans, which led to circuitous caravan movements.[123]

The repointing of the MT, proposed by many commentators, including Burney and Smith, has been adopted by the RSV and the NEB. The NAB translation, "slavery caravans ceased," appears to be a gloss to enhance Yael's reputation. Since Yael really does not appear in the poem at this point, the text need not be paraphrased to make her appear virtuous in stopping *slave* trade. Freedman's translation (1975: 13), "In the days of Jael, they enriched themselves, From caravans . . . ," is problematic in that

(a) it assumes the poem lacks a sequential structure, since a reference here to the enjoyment of the spoils of victory precedes any reference to the battle itself;

(b) it assumes that Shamgar was a contemporary of Yael in spite of the tradition of Ju 3:31;

(c) the preposition "from" is lacking in the MT.

Freedman's reading here of חדל II "to be fat, to be plump"[124] instead of חדל I "to cease" would be acceptable if the subject of the verb were Sisera's troops which kept the Israelite caravaneers

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[123] Note Schloen's (1993: 34–35) discussion of Old Assyrian donkey caravan practices:

> They tried to dodge the taxes, tolls, and duties that ate into their profits. Using "secondary, unusual and probably difficult tracks" they smuggled their goods past the toll stations or towns which caravans had to pass on the way to their eventual destination. So commonly was this done that there were payments and contracts for services by professional smugglers. Local rulers, of course, tried to prevent smuggling and confiscated illegal shipments. Under similar conditions, no doubt, the caravans of the Song of Deborah kept to "roundabout routes" (Judg 5:6) in order to avoid excessive tolls.

[124] See Thomas 1956: 14–15; Calderone 1961: 451–460 and 1962: 412–419. Since the Israelites could not literally eat everything they plundered, Gottwald (1979: 507) conjectured that חדל stem II "to be plump" would in this context have "a metaphorical sense of 'feasting upon' the plunder as a nutritional source for building up the emaciated socioeconomic body of Israel. "

on the run. In light of the re-establishment of an Egyptian presence in Galilee by Ramesses III after 1190 B.C.E., it seems unlikely that Israelite tribes after the defeat of Sisera could have sustained a prolonged period of supremacy which would have permitted the kind of piracy which Freedman's translation suggests. Thus, חדל I "to cease" remains preferable—even though it has been abandoned in the NRSV—since it is compatible with the demonstrable cause-and-effect sequence structured into the poem.

5:6c. Caravaneers had to travel   והלכי נתיבות ילכו

The first ו of והלכי is retained as an emphatic ו. The paralleling of אָרְחוֹת "caravans," and הלכי נתיבות suggests that the latter term is equivalent to Akkadian *ālik ḫarrani* "caravaneer, traveler, or expeditionary force" (*CAD* 1: 1: 342; Albright 1968: 60). The foot-traveler (הלכי על דרך) is mentioned in 5:10, where a preposition appears in the construct chain, unlike *ālik ḫarrani*. The verb ילכו cannot be deleted as Stuart (1976: 124, 133) proposed, but should be read as an imperfect having the modal force of necessity.[125] The synonymous parallelism of אָרְחוֹת "caravans" and הלכי נתיבות "caravaneers" is balanced with aural coherence by אָרְחוֹת in 5:6a and אָרְחוֹת in 5:6b, like the use in 3:31 of both אֵת "plowshare" and the (emphatic) direct object indicator אֵת. Lindars (1995: 237) failed to recognize aural coherence as a poetic devise and preferred to delete אָרְחוֹת as "poor near-repetition."

5:7a. Warriors deserted . . . failed to assist   פרזון חדלו. . .חדלו

The LXX A-text transliteration φραζων for MT פרזון reflects the uncertainty about this word. Frequently it has been translated "peasants" on the basis of פרזה "a village or hamlet" and פרזי "a

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[125] GKC 107ᵒ treats the modal idea of necessity with the negative, and GKC 107ⁿ briefly cites several examples of "obligation or necessity according to the judgment of another person." One can compare the *yqtl* of necessity in Ugaritic, e.g., 1 Aqht 215 (*CTA* 19. I. 215), *qḥn wtšqyn yn*, "Take, and you must drink the wine." Note *UT*, sections 9.5 and 13.58.

village dweller" (e.g., Lindars [1995: 29] "villagers") or "pea-
santry" (Fewell and Gunn [1990: 402]). Rashi surmised the
poetic line to mean "open cities without walls ceased to be inhab-
ited" (noted by Rosenberg 1983: 37) and Rashi's understanding
was followed by Budde (1897: 42), Gottwald (1979: 505 "rural-
populace)," Stager (1988: 225), and Schloen (1993: 20),
"villagers in Israel held back [from volunteering for battle.]"

Rabin (1955: 127) interpreted פרזון as "championship," and
Seale (1962: 344–345) proposed a by-form of פזר "to distribute
generously," whereas Garbini (1978:23–24), followed by Cou-
turier (1989: 226), equated the word with ברזל "iron" and argued
that Israel could not get iron.

However, early translations of פרזו in Hab 3:14 (LXX δυνασ-
τῶν, Targum's גיברי, and the Vulgate's *bellatorum*) provide the
clue for פרזו "warrior" or "caravan guard." The B-text δυνατοὶ
and Lucianic κρατουντες of Ju 5:7 may be references to "war-
lords" and "battle champions." Also, contra Stager (1988: 224),
three words from Papyrus Anastasi I *(p-r-ṯ* "warrior," *p-r-ᶜ*
"hero," and *š-r-š* "to hasten")* clarify several cruces in Judges 5,
including this one. Albright (1968: 43) recognized the connection
between *p-r-ṯ* and פרזון. Jer 51:30–32 provides a parallel col-
location of אנשי מלחמה, גבורים, and the verb חדל I. It reads,
"the heroes of Babylon fled from fight (חדלו גבורי בבל להלחם)
. . . the soldiers panicked (ואנשי המלחמה נבהלו)." This identi-
fication is also supported by the Arabic برز فى الحرب "he went
forth into battle."[126]

In Ju 5:6b, Jer 51:32b, and Deut 15:11 (*niphᶜal*), חדל III is the
cognate of خذل "he abstained from or neglected aiding him, [6]
he fled from fight" (Lane 1865: 713). (The ذ = ד, instead of ז,
appears also with קדר "to be dark" and قذر "to be dirty.")

Freedman's translation (1975: 13–14), "the yeomanry en-
riched themselves," and Boling's reading (1975: 102), "the war-
riors grew plump," would be more convincing if the lines were

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[126] See Lane 1863: 186. Craigie (1972a: 349–350) summarized the Arabic
evidence and concurred with "warrior." This interpretation is rejected by
Kaltner (1996: 77) and Stager (1988: 225) who, preferring "village tribesmen,"
says, "Craigie has gone fishing for etymologies in the vast reservoir of Arabic
and hooked a root (*baraza*, 'going forth to battle')." J. Gray (1988: 428, note
19) would settle for a collective singular פרזון or plural פרזים "champion(s)."

transposed to the poem's end. But in their present position before the battle scene, the prepositions "from . . . until" belong to the statement of cause for the conflict between Sisera's coalition and the Israelites. Lewis (1985: 105–108), followed by Schloen (1993: 20), convincingly argued against the existence in Hebrew of the stem חדל II (= خدل "to become plump in the shank and forearms"). But Hoppe in the NRSV (1991) followed Boling and Freedman and translated "the peasantry prospered in Israel, they grew fat on plunder," with the "plunder" reflecting the MT עד.

5:7b. Until the rise of Deborah   עד שקמתי דבורה
(See above, pages 73–77.)

Boling (1975: 102–109) translated עד as "again" and put it with the preceding poetic line. By contrast, Freedman (1975: 13–14) translated "booty,"[127] based upon the Ugaritic *mǵd* which appears in parallelism with *lḥm*. But the traditional understanding of עַד שֶׁ "until" remains preferable. As stated above (page 36), שקמתי is not the 1cs *qal* or 2fs *shaphᶜel* of קום, but the feminine participle with the prefixed relative שֶׁ and the affixed *hireq compaginis*. This קָמָתִי can be added to Robertson's (1972: 69–76) list of twenty-six occurrences of the morpheme י (= -*î*) attached to participles. Reading the participle here has the support of the B-text ἕως οὗ ἀναστῇ. Since the *hireq compaginis* goes without notice in the LXX, one need not assume that the LXX had the *Vorlage* קמת or קמה. In this context, קום means "to rise to power," attested in Ex 1:8, Deut 34:10, and Prov 28:12, 28. Poetic balance is achieved by the repetition of שקמתי (like the earlier repetitions of בימי and חדלו and the wordplays on ארחות and את), the synonymous parallelism of דבורה "Ladyship" and אֵם "Mother," and the balanced use of the עַד and אֵם.

5:1a. Then Deborah made   ות>א<שר דבורה ברק
Barak march forth

Schulte (1990: 179), in line with current studies, noted that 5:1 "ist sicher redaktionell und dient dem Einbau in den Kontext. Möglicherweise war ursprünglich nur Debora genannt . . . ."

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[127] See Calderone 1961: 451, who argued for עד "booty" in 1 Sam 2:5.

Traditionally, Deborah's role has been defined on the basis of Ju 5:1, 3, and 12 which, seemingly, have the verb שׁיר "to sing." She has been viewed as the singer whose chanting "would be a source of inspiration to the warriors on the battlefield" (Craigie 1969a: 260), which presupposes a very small and quiet battlefield or a very powerful voice. However, שׁיר is not the verb of choice for understanding this verse, which is integral to the poem.

When Judges 5 is read *in toto* as a battle ballad, verse 1 becomes the poetic parallel to the prose account of Deborah's sending Barak into battle (Ju 4:6–7). Minimal changes in the MT of 5:1 are required to restore the original meter, syllable balance, and alliteration (compared to deleting part or all of the verse as a redactor's gloss). These include the repointing of ותשר as a causative form, the deletion of the conjunction ו before Barak's name, and the transposition of לאמר from 5:1a to 5:2a.

These changes result in a brief "commission" motif which has been identified as one of five sequential motifs common to the "call schema."[128] This verse with its "commission" motif links the "allusion to distress" motif—which precedes in 5:5–6 (which for other reasons discussed above [pages 35–36] must follow 3:31 and precede 5:1)—to the motifs of "assurance" and "signs" which follow in Deborah's exhortation (5:8 and 5:13, as translated above). Only the "objection" motif is lacking in the poem. Otherwise it would match the typical "call schema."

Just as the LXX ᾖσαν could be parsed as a contraction of ᾔϊσαν, 3rd sing. imperfect of εἶμι "to go," as well as the first aorist of ᾄδω "to sing" (Liddell and Scott⁹ 1940: 489, 778), so too the MT תשר can be parsed as a feminine imperfect of several stems in addition to שׁיר "to sing." The ותשר need not be a *waw*-conversive, nor viewed as the feminine counterpart to משה ישיר in Ex 15:1. It is only a coincidence that ישיר and תשר are *yqtl* preterits and come from vocables that produce homographs.[129] The MT תשר in 5:1 is a *hiphᶜîl* of one of the following stems:

[128] See the excellent study of Ackerman, 1975: 5–13.

[129] On the *yqtl* preterit see *UT*, sec. 9. 4; Cross 1950: 54–56; Dahood, 1970: 417–419; Cathcart 1973: 136; Kuhnigk 1974: 97; and Penar 1975: 86. A proposal to read the MT שׁיר of 5:12 as אשׁיר (= אסיר) has been made by J. Gray (1988: 433, note 33); see page 161.

(a) שׁוֹר I "to proceed, to travel, to journey," a cognate of Akkadian *šāru*, attested in Isa 57:9, "you journeyed (וַתָּשֻׁרִי) to the king with oil" and also in Ezek 27:25 "the ships of Tarshish traveled for you (שָׁרוֹתַיִךְ)";

(b) שׁרה "to strengthen" found in the A-text doublet in 5:12, ἐνισχύων ἐξανίστασο, Βαρακ, καὶ ἐνίσχυσον, Δεββωρα, τὸν Βαρακ, "being strong, rise up and out, Barak, and, Deborah, strengthen Barak";

(c) אשׁר "to march," cognate of Ugaritic *ʾaṯr* (*UT* 369: 424) and attested as a *piᶜel* causative in Isa 3:12, 9:15 (where אשׁר is in collocation with ארחות and דרך), and Prov 23:19, "move your heart in the way (וְאַשֵּׁר בַּדֶּרֶךְ לִבֶּךָ)";

(d) שׁור III "to attack, to leap upon, to assault," a cognate of Ugaritic *šry* (Driver 1956: 148), Arabic سار (سور) (Lane 1872: 1464, 1483), and Syriac ܣܘܪ (J. Payne Smith 1903: 596), and attested in Hos 13:7, כנמר על דרך אשׁור, "like a leopard I will attack (them) along the way."[130]

Even though there is support from the Greek variants for reading שׁרה here, the stem is most likely שׁור III or אשׁר (corresponding to the variants ויסר and ויאסר in Ex 14:25 and the variants האסורים and הסורים in Ecc 4:14.) The elision of the א (like the יַהֵל for יְאַהֵל in Isa 13:20) occurs frequently enough (GKC 68[h,k] and note 245 below) that it need not suggest a scribal error. The addition of the א in the restored תאשׁיר is for conformity and clarity, to preclude misreading it as שׁיר "to sing."

In Ju 5:2, in contrast to the A-text which has προαιρέσει "preference, goodwill" and the B-text ἑκουσιασθῆναι "willing," the Lucianic MS n (which contains several doublets) reads προελεύσει "going forth" (Liddell and Scott[9] 1940: 532, 1477). This

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[130] On the meaning of שׁור in Hos 13:7, compare Guillaume 1960–1961: 32–33. Wolfe (1974: 226), following RSV, translated "lurk," based upon שׁור "to watch"; but שׁור must be a verb of violence matching the אפגשׁם of the next stich (13:8), which he translated "I will attack them."

προελευσει can hardly be a variant for the נדב or the פרע of 5:2 (see pages 122–126). Rather, it is a remote variant translation of the תשר of 5:1, and a synonym of ἦσαν = ἤϊσαν "she was going." Thus, προελευσει reflects an *early* reading in which ותשר was derived from שור or אשר, suggesting—along with the τὸν Βαρακ of the A-text discussed next—a *Vorlage* having only ברק rather than the וברק now in the MT with the prefixed conjunction ו.

Moreover, the A-text doublets in 5:12 (ἐνισχύων [= שׁיר] ἐξ-ανίστασο [= קום] Βαρακ and καὶ ἐνίσχυσον [= ושׁור or ושׁרי] Δεββωρα τὸν Βαρακ) appear at first glance to be a variation of the MT of 5:12, דברי שׁיר קום ברק or קום ברק שׁיר (see page 23 and note 164)—as though דברי equals דברה as שָׁרֵי equals שָׁרָה. But it is much more likely that MT דברי שׁיר קום ברק of 5:12 attracted to itself a variant belonging properly to 5:1, name-ly the καὶ ἐνίσχυσον, Δεββωρα, τὸν Βαρακ from a *Vorlage* which had ותשׁר דברה וברק instead of the MT ותשׁר דברה ברק.

Thus, the Lucianic and A-text remote or misplaced variants (προελευσει [= תשׁיר] and καὶ ἐνίσχυσον, Δεββωρα, τὸν Βαρακ [= ותשׁיר דבורה ברק]) provide very important evidence that early translators of 5:1 credited Deborah with marching forth rather than having Deborah and Barak singing *duets*, as still suggested by Fewell and Gunn (1990: 400), or having Deborah singing a *solo*, as James (1951: 61) earlier envisaged: "We may picture Deborah moving in and out through the companies, kindling afresh their combat-fury in the name of Yahweh." To the con-trary, she roused Barak and the Israelites by the power of her spoken word and the authority of her office. Her poetic summons survives in her exhortation in 5:2c–4 and 5:8–9.

This interpretation of 5:1 requires that all but one letter (the ו of the MT וברק) be retained as part of the original introduction to Deborah's exhortation.

5:2a. When the heroine called for heroism   בפרע פרעות

Despite numerous studies, פרע remains a crux in Ju 5:2 as well as in Deut 32:42, "I will make arrows drunk with blood . . .

from the 'long-haired' (פרעות) heads of the enemy."[131] The desiderated vocable is one that makes sense in both passages. Hebrew lexica generally list three meanings for פרע, namely,

(1)   "leader," a cognate of Arabic فرع "he overtopped, he excelled," which is clearly reflected in the LXX A-text of Ju 5:2 and in Theodotian (ἐν τῷ ἄρξασθαι ἀρχηγοὺς). Lindars (1995: 225) cited the Old Latin *dum inperant principes* which, as Lindars noted, is preserved in the commentary of Verecundus in addition to Codex Lugdunensis. This meaning has been adopted by RSV, NEB, and NAB ("the leaders took the lead");

(2)   "long hair," a cognate of Arabic فروغ "long or full hair," which is the basis for the "locks are long" in the NRSV 5:2 and the RSV "long-haired heads" in Deut 32:42, even though the LXX (followed by the NEB and NAB) has κεφαλῆς ἀρχόντων "head of rulers" in 32:42;

(3)   "to let alone, to let go," a cognate of Arabic فرغ "it became vacant, it became empty or void." (Lane 1887: 2378, 2379c, 2381a; BDB 828).

Smith (1912: 85) and Lindars (1995: 227) chose פרע I; Meek (1927: 384), Cross (1959: 27), Freedman (1975: 15), Stuart (1976: 128), Seale (1978: 51), O'Connor (1980: 219), and the NRSV (1992) opted for פרע II in Ju 5:2 ("when locks were long" or "when locks hung wild"); Pedersen (1953: 672), T. H. Gaster (1969: 418, 529), Boling (1975: 107),[132] Janzen (1989: 393), and Schloen (1993: 22), respectively, selected פרע III ("for vehement action," "when they cast off restraint [inhibitions]," "when they cast off restraints," and "letting loose"); Burney (1918: 107), followed by P. D. Miller (1973: 87–88), combined

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[131] Note particularly Rabin 1955: 128–133; and Craigie 1968: 397–399.

[132] Contrary to Boling's statement (1975: 107), neither Craigie (1968: 399) nor Lane (1872: 2381) cited فرع used in the sense of volunteering for war. That meaning is attested with برع [5] or ندب [1] and [8].

פרע II and III ("when locks hung loose"); and the JB, in Luci-
anic fashion, introduced all three meanings ("the warriors in
Israel unbound their hair").

On the basis of Prov 29:18, עם באין חזון יפרע "without a
vision people have no restraint," Soggin proposed (1981c: 84)
"having regained liberty." J. Gray (1988: 423) hesitatingly con-
curred, preferring Soggin's reading or Craigie's translation
(1968: 398) "because of total commitment in Israel" instead of
Weiser's (1957: 72) "*beim Hängenlassen des* (sonst hoch-
gebundenen) *Haupthaares*" and Weiser's relating the hairdo to
Akkadian ritual and liturgical texts.

Rabin (1966: 131–133) argued against reading "long hair" or
"leader" in both Ju 5:2 and Deut 32:42. In response to Burney's
(1918: 107) appeal to the long hair of the wild Enkidu in the Gil-
gamesh Epic (I. ii. 36) and Seale's (1962: 346) appeal to the
disheveled hair of the Bedouin fighters, Rabin noted, "The only
Arabic reference known to me shows that before a decisive battle
the warriors shave their heads." He concluded, "The rendering
['when hair was worn long'] does not fit Dt. XXXII, 42, פרעות
מראש אויב, if only because 'the long-haired heads of the foe' in
Hebrew would be פרעות ראש איוב."

Craigie (1968: 397–399) argued that פרע was used in synony-
mous parallelism with נדב. He argued that since נדב meant "to
volunteer, to offer oneself willingly," פרע could be the cognate
of the Arabic فرغ when used idiomatically (as in a threat) mean-
ing, "he applied himself exclusively (to someone)." He translated
בפרע פרעות, "when men wholly dedicated themselves," which
fits the context of Ju 5:2, but not Deut 32:42. Rabin (1966: 133)
had challenged the translation of התנדב in Ju 5:2 as "volunteer-
ed"; and he suggested instead the Arabic cognate ندب "he called
or incited someone to do his duty in war, he responded to duty
without being summoned." Rabin took פרע as the cognate of
Arabic فرض "to notch or to share" and افترض "to receive pay,"
and of Syriac ܦܪܥ "to pay or to repay" (mediated through
Aramaic, since ض became צ in Hebrew but ע in Aramaic). He
argued that פרע could mean "give someone his due," and
translated 5:2, "when duty was done in Israel, when the
God-blessed people answered the call." But this argument is
less convincing than the one on נדב since it is based on semantic

extensions of questionable cognates. In addition, it offers no solution to the crux in Deut 32:42.

A more likely solution was offered by P. D. Miller (1973: 221) in a footnote which called attention to the Egyptian *pr-ᶜ* "hero" and *pr-ᶜ-ib* "courageous, heroic."[133] This word is no doubt related to Arabic فرع and its by-form برع "he excelled in knowledge, or courage, or other qualities," as found in the expressions فرع صاحبه and برع صاحبه "he became superior to his companion"(Lane 1863, 1893: 189b, 2379b). It is precisely this meaning which is attested in Papyrus Anastasi I (28: 2. 3), "I know how to hold the reins more skillfully than thou, there is no *pr-ᶜ-ꜣ* (hero / champion) who is my equal."[134]

Without citing the Egyptian *pr-ᶜ* "hero," Bordreuil (1967: 29– 36) argued that פרע provided the clue to the enigmatic pun in the "Report of Wenamun," which is further evidence of the use of this word in Canaan around the time of Deborah. According to Bordreuil, Penamun (the Egyptian cup-bearer serving Zeker Baal) must have told Wenamun, "the shadow of the *pr-ᶜ* ("hero, chief, champion"), your lord, has fallen on you." This was misunderstood by Wenamun as meaning, "the shadow of the *pr-ᶜ-ꜣ* (Pharaoh), your lord, has fallen on you."[135] This accounts for Zeker Baal's irritation with Wenamun and for the use by Wenamun of the formulaic "life, peace, health" after an apparent reference to the Pharaoh.

Bordreuil also noted the לפרע on the seal inscription from the Beirut area published by Reifenberg (1939: 197) which may be the title פרע "hero." Such occurrences of פרע in Syria, along with the Ugaritic *prᶜ* and *prᶜt* "chief, prince, princess," lend support for the translation here of Hebrew פרעות "heroine,"[136] a

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[133] See Erman and Grapow 1897: 527–528; and Gardiner 1966: 565.

[134] See Gardiner 1911: 29–30; and Albright 1931: 217.

[135] Compare the interpretation offered by Goedicke (1975: 100–102).

[136] For another occurrence in Gen 14:2, see note 48.

title of prestige and power. This meaning brings into sharp focus
the nature of Deborah's leadership. It was not so much a matter
of her doing her duty as it was her going beyond the call of duty,
as the tD stem, تبرّع, indicates, "he engaged unbidden in war"
(Lane 1863: 189).

This derivation and translation fits not only Ju 5:2, but also
Deut 32:42, "I will make my arrows drunk with blood . . . from
the head of the hero (פרעות) of the enemy." The ת- suffix
functions as a title for males (see page 205), like ספרת and
קהלת (GKC 122ʳ). The plural פרעות in Deut 32: 42 (but פרעת
in the Samaritan text) and Ju 5:2 can be retained as honorific
plurals, like the חכמות in Prov 1:20. The feminine פרעות
"heroine" would be a synonym for גְּבוֹרָה. The LXX A-text
ἀρχηγοὺς (used elsewhere to translate שׂר ,אלוף ,נשׂיא ,ראש, and)
reflects the MT, but it missed the military nuance of פרע and its
original honorific plural.

The ב of בפרע is the circumstantial ב, which is followed by
the (*piᶜel*) infinitive absolute having the force of a finite verb or
with the ellipsis of the finite verb;[137] and "the eager pursuit of an
action [expressed by a *piᶜel*] may also consist in urging others to
do the same" (GKC 52ᵍ). The twenty manuscripts cited by Ken-
nicott (1780: 488) having the *qal* infinitive בפרוע (= MT בִּפְרֹעַ)
reflect late *scriptio plena*.

5:2b. When the militia was summoned   בהתנדב עם

The cognates of Hebrew נדב II are Arabic ندب "he sum-
moned or he (someone to war)," انتدب "he obeyed the sum-
mons or call (to war)," ندبة "a summons," and مندب "a place to
which one is summoned" (Lane 1893: 2778c–2779). As Rabin
(1966: 129, note 37) stated, this vocable is distinct from the de-
nominative נדב I "to volunteer" (from נדבה "a freewill offer-
ing"), which was "possibly borrowed from Accadian *nidbu, nin-
dabu* 'voluntary food offering,' a word etymologically isolated in
Acc. and hence perhaps of non-Semitic origin."

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[137] GKC 113ʸ⁻ᵍᵍ; McDaniel 1968b: 208–210; and note 151, below.

Reading עם as a "militia" follows Boling (1975: 71, 101) who noted, "In conquest traditions *hā-ᶜām* alternates with *ᶜam ham-milhāmā*, the people-at-war." Yadin (1962: 44) had noted this use of עם in the Qumran War Scroll: "Here the term *ᶜam* (as also in the description of the battle, viii, 9 . . .) marks, as in the O. T., the military character of the congregation organized for war."

5:2c. (by her) saying,   [ל]אמר

The word לאמר could be deleted as a gloss, but it is attested sufficiently in poetry (Ps 71:11; 105:11; 119:82; Job 24:15; Amos 8:5; Isa 14:24; Jer 10:14) that unless it really messes up the meter or the syllable balance it should be retained. When transposed to its present position, it contributes to the $2 + 2 + 2 / 3 + 3$ meter and functions as a quotation marker introducing Deborah's exhortation. Once ותשר was read as "she sang," בפרע was taken to be the initial word of Deborah's song (or of Deborah and Barak's duet). As a result, לאמר was shifted to precede בפרע.

Since the imperative phrase ברכו יהוה was the original opening phrase of Deborah's exhortation, the direct quotation indicator has been transposed in this study to precede this initial imperative. The doublets in the LXX which treat לאמר as a finite form (ειπεν in MSS a₂b₂bhlptvwy, ειπον in MSS MNcdgn, and ειπαν in MSS ax) suggest that the ל of לאמר was a late addition, and for that reason it could be deleted.

III. Deborah's exhortation: Ju 5:2c–5, 8–9

5:2d. Praise Yahweh!   ברכו יהוה

Rabin (1955: 133) and Stuart (1976: 123, 128) emended MT ברכו יהוה to ברוכי יהוה, making it a modifier of עם, translating respectively, "the God-blessed people" and "the conse-crated of Yahweh." But the meter and the syllable balance of 5:1–2b and 5:2c–4 favor the MT, which does not treat the phrase as a modifier of עם. Contrary to O'Connor (1980: 219), who read a 3ms, the MT ברכו יהוה serves as the *incipit* to Deborah's exhortation, which ends in 5:9 with the same words serving as the *inclusio*.

The exclamatory "Praise Yahweh!" was Deborah's affirmation of her allegiance to Yahweh as much as it was an appeal for covenant loyalty from the Israelite tribes. The ברכו יהוה of the *incipit* and of the *inclusio* were original extra-metrical elements used to demarcate the exhortation. But the misplaced quotation marker, [ל]אמר, and the editorial insertion of part of the Shamgar tradition into the middle of the exhortation (see pages 33–36) obscured the original function of ברכו יהוה in 5:3 and 5:9.

A "blessing of Yahweh" survives in Josh 22:22 (although without the use of the word ברך). It was made at the beginning of a confrontation between the nine Cis-Jordanian tribes and the three Trans-Jordanian tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, when it was learned that the eastern Israelites had built an altar to Yahweh in Canaan, along the Jordan. The Reubenite coalition affirmed when confronted by the chiefs of Israel:

אל אלהים יהוה   אל אלהים יהוה
הוא ידע 138וישראל הוא ידע

"Yahweh is God of gods! Yahweh is God of gods!
He acknowledges, yea, he gives recognition (to) Israel!"

The crisis ended with another blessing of Yahweh by the tribes. The exact wording of the blessing is not given (Josh 22:33) but the results of such a blessing is clearly stated:

ויברכו אלהים בני ישראל
ולא אמרו לעלות עליהם לצבא

"and the Israelites blessed God and spoke no more of making war against them [Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh]."

It seems clear that the exclamation ברכו יהוה need not have been restricted to cultic events or limited strictly to hymnic literature. Consequently, the ברכו יהוה of Ju 5:3 and 5:9 need not require a cultic interpretation of this war ballad. The exclamatory

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[138] The ו is emphatic (see Blommerde 1969: 29; Dahood 1970: 401). Both verbs are participles, with ידע being here the technical term of covenant recognition. This verse can be added to the list of relevant texts noted by Huffmon (1966: 31–37) and Huffmon and Parker (1966: 36–38).

phrase evidently functioned in early Israel in the same way that الله اكبر "God is great!" (Lane 1885: 2587) still functions in the Islamic world.

5:3b. I am for Yahweh!   אנכי ליהוה

Lindars (1995: 228) faulted the *rĕbiaᶜ* accentuation of אנכי, as well as Burney and Moore for following it and translating "I, to Yahweh will I sing." He also rejected Weiser's and McDaniel's interjection "I am for Yahweh." He preferred "I will to Yahweh, I will sing," wrongly identifying אנכי ליהוה אנכי אשירה as a "repetitive parallelism." This call is Deborah's affirmation of allegiance to Yahweh. Similar expressions appear in Ju 7:18, ליהוה ולגדעון,"for Yahweh and for Gideon!" and Josh 5:13, הלנו אתה "are you on our side?" There was perhaps a need for Deborah to declare her allegiance to Yahweh since this "Mother in Israel" seemingly had a Hittite connection (as discussed above, pages 73–78). Her words have the ring of a battle cry,[139] and embedded in her summons for a militia was a declaration of war against the Canaanite coalition, stated with synonymous parallels (but not synonymous parallelism) which follow her exclamation.

5:3c. I will attack, I will fight   אנכי אשירה אזמר

Muraoka (1985: 49) recognized אנכי here as an emphatic pronoun. Exegetical tradition has identified the verbs as שׁיר "to sing" and זמר "to make melody," which are often attested in synonymous parallelism (as in Pss 27:6; 101:1; 104:33 and 105: 2) and occur together in Ugaritic, *dyšr wyḏmr*, "who sings and chants."[140] But hymnic terms in Deborah's exhortation are out of place, since it was a summons to battle rather than a post-battle hymn of victory. In this context, אשירה can be identified as a *qal* cohortative of שׁור III "to attack, to assault," a cognate of Ugaritic *šr*, South Arabic *śwr* and Arabic (سار) سور (see 121–122).

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[139] On the use of ל in a battle-cry, see Jones 1975: 650.

[140] *UT* (Supplement), 551; Blau and Greenfield 1970: 12.

Synonymous parallelism also supports taking the אשירה to mean "to attack, to assault." In this summons to war, זמר is surely related to the Arabic ذمر "he incited, or urged (to fight)," as in (a) ذمه في الحرب "I instigated war," (b) the verbal noun ذمار "an urging to fight," and (3) يوم الذمار "the day of war."[141] If the אזמר is read as an intensive *pi‘el*, it also matches the Arabic ذمر in forms [1] and [6], "the eager pursuit of the action, and causing others to do the same," as reflected in Ju 4:6, 4:9 and 5:1, as translated in this study. The thematic *î* vowel of אשירה, instead of the anticipated *û* vowel, may be the reverse of the *Qere* and *Ketib* שור/שיר in 1 Sam 18:6.[142] As noted (page 121), שור III

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[141] Lane 1872: 977c–978a. Compare Ugaritic *ḏmr*, (*UT*, 388 no. 727), and Akkadian *ṣummuru* (*CAD* 16: 92), used with reference to the pursuit of the enemy. The equation זמר = *ḏmr*, translated "strong, brave," has been widely discussed. Cognates are attested in Amorite, Old South Arabic, and Phoenician. It has been identified in numerous biblical texts (see KB³ 263), including:

(1)   Gen 43:11, זמרת הארץ, "the strength of the land" (KB³ 260b);

(2)   Ex 15:2, Isa 12:2, and Ps 118:4, עזי וזמרת יה, "my might and my defense are Yahweh" (Cross 1950: 101–103; Cross and Freedman 1955: 243);

(3)   2 Sam 23:1, נעים זמרות ישראל, "the favorite of the defense of Israel" (Cross and Freedman 1955: 243);

(4)   Isa 25:5, זמיר עריצים יענה, "the strength of the ruthless was brought low" (Tur Sinai, *Commentary to Job* [in Hebrew], cited by Sarna 1964: 351);

(5)   Ezek 8:17, שלחים את הזמורה, "they sent out strong men" (Sarna 1964: 351);

(6)   Nah 2:3, וזמריהם שחתו, "their soldiers they slaughtered" (Cathcart 1973: 88–89);

(7)   Ps 59:18, אזמר, "I am safeguarded" (Dahood 1968: 74);

(8)   Ps 119:4, זמרות היו לי, "they have been my defense" (Sarna 1964: 351; Dahood 1970: 180);

(9)   Job 35:10, נתן זמרות בלילה, "who gives strength in the night" (Tur Sinai, cited by Sarna 1964: 351; Pope 1965: 228–229).

[142] See Gordis 1937: 80–81, 128, and 182 note 248.

occurs in Hos 13:7.[143] It appears also in Ps 92:11, "My eyes have seen the downfall of my attackers (שׁוּרי = MT 92:12), and my ears have heard the doom of my evil assailants (קמי)." (Following the LXX's τοῖς ἐχθροῖς μου, the NRSV has "my enemies" in parallelism with קמי "my assailants."

Deborah's exhortation: 5:4–5

Globe (1974: 168–178) surveyed critical opinions on these two verses. It will suffice here to note only a few illustrative opinions. Several scholars have proposed numerous deletions in 5:4–5. For example, Lipinski (1967: 199), who had no difficulty with 5:4a, translated 5:4b–5, "la terre tremble, les cieux vacillent (נטו) et (פ) les montagnes s'aplatissent, devant le Sinaitique, devant Yahwe, le Dieu d'Israel." This reading called for the deletion of six of the eighteen words of 5:4b–5 (the first יהוה, then גם, גם עבים נטפו, and then מים).

Likewise, Cross (1973: 100–101) deleted seven of the eighteen words, viewing the phrase גם שמים נטפו "yea, the heavens shook" as an "ancient oral variant" for הרים נזלו "the mountains shuddered." He treated גם עבים נטפו מים "yea, the clouds dripped water" as a secondary attraction to the oral variant גם שמים נטפו, once it had become incorporated into the tradition and was reinterpreted to mean, "yea, the heavens dripped." Similarly, Richter (1963: 69–71; 1964: 400) deleted eight words (גם עבים זה סיני, הרים נזלו, נטפו מים, and). By contrast, Stuart (1976: 123–133) deleted only מים and גם, but he added a third מפני before זה סיני to restore complete repetitive parallelism.

Blenkinsopp, Boling, Globe, and P. D. Miller accepted the consonantal MT, and J. Gray (1988: 424) retained the MT *nāṭāyū* [sic] (= נטפו) with the Targum, but followed the Targum and the Septuagint in reading נזלו "were convulsed" rather than "flowed

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[143] Compare Dahood 1968: 25, 337. He treats שׁוּרי as a variant or a corruption of שׁוררי. The vocables שׁור and שׁרר may be by-forms, like many other ע"ו and ע"ע verbs. The meaning "assailant, attacker" for שׁורר in Pss 54:7; 56:3; and 59:11 fits the context better than Dahood's "defamer," which seems appropriate only for Ps 27:11, where שׁוררי is in parallelism with עדי שׁקר "false witnesses."

down." In view of the repetitive parallelism and the use of aural coherence throughout the poem, there is no reason to single out the repeated גם and נטפו as unnecessary glosses. The use of גם "noisily" and גם "copiously, torrentially" is another example of aural coherence, like אֶת and אֵת in 3:31, בצעדך and בצאתך in 5:4 and אָרְחוֹת and אֳרָחוֹת in 5:6. Repeated words include אנכי and ליהוה (5:3), יהוה מפני (5:5), בימי (5:6), חדלו (5:6–7), and שקמתי (5:7). Both גם and נטפו fall into this pattern.

Satisfactory meter and syllable balance come with reading מִי־ם הרים (i.e., the enclitic ם attached to a noun in the construct) as the subject of נזלו, meaning "the waters of the mountains flowed." Simple prosaic repetition disappears once גם is recognized as a homograph of two different adverbs (above, pages 21–22; Klein 1987: 102). The schema of 5:4b scans as a–b–c / a´–b´ / c´–a´´–b´´ (with נטפו for the b´ and b´´).

5:4a. O Yahweh, when you   יהוה בצאתך משעיר
       came from Seir

The theophanic references used by Deborah in her exhortation are attested also in Pss 18:7–15; 28 *passim*; 68:6–9; 77:16; 97:4–6; 144:5; Deut 33:2–3; and Hab 3. They served the purpose of encouraging confidence in those being summoned for battle. The reference to the theophany of Seir-Edom was more than an affirmation of Yahweh's cosmic power, and had nothing to do with Yahweh's sacred mountain. The theophany referred to Yahweh's presence earlier when the Israelites moved from Seir-Edom into a hostile Moab (Num 21:14–15 [see page 10] and 24:17–19 [NEB], in contrast with Deut 2:8–27, which claims a peaceful passage). The theophany references alerted the recruits to the Israelite strategy for combating Sisera.[144] Victory would

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[144] Note Hab 3:12–13, where יצא and צעד are followed twice by the sequential infinitive לישע: "thou didst bestride the earth . . . thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy people . . . for the salvation of thy anointed." Compare Seale (1962: 343) who noted, "We may therefore rightly conclude that what we have here [i.e., the motif of storm and quake] is a traditional opening which Hebrew poets used irrespective of the proper subject of a particular poem." To

be achieved by Yahweh's sending heavy rains and surging wadis. The militia was needed for a mop-up operation after the storm.[145]

5:4b. The earth trembled noisily   ארץ רעשה גם

Boling (1975: 101) translated גם both times in 5:4b "with thunder," following Dahood's (1970: 269–270) suggestion that Hebrew גם may be the same as Ugaritic *gm* "aloud." The duplicate of this verse in Ps 68:9 has אף instead of גם. But, contra Lindars (1995: 232), this is not decisive in favor of גם "also." Palache (1959: 8) related אף to the stem אפף "to flood" so the אף of Ps 68:9 may be a synonymn of the second גם "copious (water)," discussed next. The meter and the syllable balance permit reading the first גם as a modifier of the preceding רעשה, in chiasm with the second גם. The noise could refer more to the rumble of an earthquake than to the reverberations of thunder.

5:4c. The clouds dropped torrentially   גם עבים נטפו
(See above, pages 21–22.)

G. R. Driver (1936: 101) convincingly demonstrated that, "the LXX exhibits a number of translations which are explicable only

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the contrary, the appeal to theophany in Deborah's exortation appears to be deliberately well-chosen. Hauser (1987: 270–273) offers a helpful study on the water motif in Ex 15 and Ju 5. However, it is difficult to concur with his one statement that, "The poet is teasing the reader, suggesting that, despite vv. 4–5, water may not be under Yahweh's control, may not be available to help with the Israelite victory." The exhortation strongly hints that water would be Yahweh's weapon of choice, just as it was in the flood story of Genesis 6–9.

[145] Bibliography on the theophany is provided by Lipinski 1967: 199, note 95. Compare J. Gray's (1988: 426) attempt to contextualize here:

Thus we consider it likely that the theophany of Yahweh in Judg 5:4cde and 5a represents the sublimation of the traditional theme of the enthronement of Baal at the autumn festival in Canaan in the advent of the Israelite God of Sinai at a Palestinian sanctuary . . . to the liturgy of which we refer the Song of Deborah. If, however, the actual *Sitz im Leben* of Judg 5:2ff was . . . the first celebration of this festival after the exploit of Zebulun and Naphtali at the Qishon, . . . [there] may well have been more than an oblique reference to the rainstorm . . . .

from cognate Semitic, especially the Arabic, languages and that the words thus recovered may be added to the slender store of Hebrew words found in the Old Testament." The second גם of Ju 5:4 can be added to Driver's list of such LXX translations. The LXX B-text δρόσους "dews, waters" (as in ποταμίᾳ δρόσῳ "in river water" or δρόσῳ ἐναλίᾳ "in sea water") generally renders טל "dew" and שלג "snow," but here it must translate גם, which is the cognate of Arabic جم "abundant or copious (rains)" (Lane 1863, 1865: 228a, 449 and Klein 1987: 102). Given the interchange of גם and אגם in the Panammu inscription (Palache 1959: 20), Hebrew אגם "pool of water" may be a by-form of גם (= جم).

**5:4d–5a. The waters from the   מי־ם הרים נזלו
                 mountains flowed**

MT נזלו need not be repointed as the *niphᶜal* of זלל "to shake, to tremble," as proposed by Schreiner (1957: 40) and Cross (1973: 100–101), and as noted in BH³ and BHS. The subject of נזלו is not הרים, but מי־ם הרים, "mountain waters," a construct noun followed by an enclitic מ. A similar use of the enclitic מ (or preposition) occurs in Ps 77:18, where MT זרמו מים עבות should be read with Robertson (1972: 93, 102) as זרמו מי־ם עבות, "the water of the clouds pours forth." The reference here in Ju 5:4–5 to flash floods through the wadis links the exhortation with the events depicted in 5:21–23, another example of the poem's unity. G. A. Smith (1912: 56, 86) sensed this meaning and translated נזלו הרים as "the mountains streamed."[146]

5:5b. The One of Sinai   זה סיני

Critical opinion has long been divided over the integrity of זה סיני. In BHS, as in BH³, both words have been marked as a gloss.

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[146] On the construct noun followed by the enclitic מ, see Albright 1944: 219, note 83; Gordis 1965: 104; Blommerde 1969: 32; and Christensen 1975: 51, note 81(c). See also Layton 1990: 155–197, for an in-depth study of mimmation and the enclitic מ in proper names.

Richter (1963: 69–70, note 35) concurred with twelve commentators who dismissed the epithet as a gloss, citing only Grimme, Albright, and Blenkinsopp as those who related זה to the Arabic ذو. But treating זה as a gloss creates a bigger problem, for glosses were added to *clarify* obscure words, not *introduce* them.[147]

In light of evidence from Proto-Sinaitic, South Arabic, Arabic, Ugaritic, and Amorite, many now follow Grimme and Albright (1935: 204), including Cross (1973: 19–20), Dahood (1968: 139, citing Habel 1964: 90 and Meek 1960: 331), Globe (1974: 169–171), J. Gray (1967: 278; 1988: 425), Lipinski (1967: 198), P. D. Miller (1973: 224), Stuart (1976: 123), O'Connor (1980: 220), Soggin (1981c: 85), and Schloen (1993: 22). The Proto-Sinaitic evidence cited by Cross consists of the epithets *ḏ ṯb* "the Merciful One," *ḏt bṯn* "the Serpent Lady," *ᶜil ḏ ᶜlm* "El, the Ancient One," *ḏ gt* "(Lord) of Gath," and *ḏ pᵓid* "the Compassionate."

Although not as widespread in Northwest Semitic as in South Semitic, זה is attested in divine epithets, and זה סיני can be retained as an archaic epithet of Yahweh, similar to the "Yahweh of Teman" designation in the Kuntillet ᶜAjrud inscription and analogous to Gabriel's title, ذو مرة, "the one of strength."

5:5a. My God   אלהי

MT אלהי ישראל originally was not a construct chain. Rather, ישראל must have been ישר אל, i. e., the verb ישר followed by its subject, introducing the next element in the exhortation (see below on 5:5d). Consequently, אלהי should be read as the suffixed noun. Deborah's acknowledgment of Yahweh, the One of

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[147] Note Lindars' (1995: 209) rendering "(this means Sinai)" and his wild conjecture (233–234):

Thus the name [זה סיני], if accepted, must be regarded as a chance survival of an obsolete title, perhaps that of a god worshiped by proto-Israelite groups (mentioned with the Shasu in Egyptian texts) before the arrival of the Moses group in Palestine. . . . If the proposal is not accepted the phrase must surely be a gloss . . . on the verse as a whole: 'this means [the theophany of] Sinai.' It is likely that the gloss was first incorporated into Psalm 68 . . . and came from there into the present context by analogy (*gĕzera šawa*) . . . .

Sinai, as "my God" emphasized her earlier bold affirmation, אנכי ליהוה "I am for Yahweh!"

The transposition of part of the Shamgar tradition (now labeled 5:5–6) into the middle of Deborah's exhortation (see pages 32–36) separated the clause יִשַׁר אֵל "God will provide strength" from its parallel clause יבחר אלהים "God will muster." Once this happened, the consonant cluster אלהיישראל was understandably, but incorrectly, misread "the God of Israel"—thereby obscuring (1) the parallelism of אל and אלהים, (2) the balanced use of *yqtl* forms, and (3) the a–b/ a´–b´–c schema.

The *Vorlage* behind the Κυρίου Ἐλωεί in the B-text and the variants κυ ελωιμ (MS s), κυ του θυ (MSS gnw), and κυριου θεου ελωι (MS 209), was יהוה אלהי, with the θεου ελωι of MS 209 being a doublet of the אלהי (translated *and* transliterated). What is striking is the transliteration of אלהי as well as its translation. The Ἐλωεί in the B-text cannot be a gloss on זה סיני since there is no apparent reason why a translator would have introduced a gloss of a *transliterated* אלהי instead of the translation θεός—for a word so obvious as אלהים—in lieu of a transliteration of זה סיני. Evidently, the translator chose this option to reflect an appellative use of אלהי which was unrelated to the אל (= θεος) coming in the next phrase on the line, i.e., the יִשַׁר אֵל.[148]

The several spellings, Ἐλωει, Ἐλωι and Ἐλωιν, reflect a singular אֱלוֹהַּ with the 1cs suffix, like the Ελωι "my God" in Mark 15:34, or like the 3ms suffixed אֱלוֹהוֹ "his God" in Hab 1:11. These variants add solid support to the argument advanced below to read יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל for the MT יְהוָה אֱלֹהַי יִשַׁר אֵל.

Deborah's exhortation: end of 5:5 and 5:8–9

Burney (1918: 117), following Cooke (1892: 36), considered Ju 5:8 to be the greatest crux in the Song of Deborah, and many critics like Goodwin (1944: 261) and C. A. Simpson (1957:18)

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[148] Compare Lindars' (1995: 288) speculation, "As it is unthinkable that Ἐλωεί is a case of transliteration instead of translation, it must be a rare instance where a word from the second column of the Hexapla has come into the text at the wrong place." But the introduction of any word from the second column of the Hexapla would be out of place in any translation of the text.

have concurred, asserting that 5:8 was irrecoverable even through appeal to emendations. Moore (1900b: 172) left the verse untranslated in his commentary, and Lindars (1995: 239) noted, "Moore is probably right in maintaining that the true solution will never be found." More optimistic scholars have offered generous emendations to restore this verse. Richter (1963: 71–74 and 400) listed twelve of these proposals, including his own.[149]

However, the emendations he cited have not been well accepted, although Burney's translation ("Armourers had they none; Armed men failed from the city") was adopted by Meek (1927: 385) and endorsed by Goodwin (1944: 261). More recent translations are equally divergent but no more helpful than the older emendations. Most noteworthy are the following:

1. Rabin (1955: 127) "May God love young men : when there was fighting at the gates";

2. Margulis (1965: 69) "When Elohim sharpened 'arrows' / Then was there war at the gates (of the enemy)";

3. Hillers (1965: 124) "They chose new gods; indeed they desired demons";

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[149] He cited, with references, the following emendations of the MT
אז לחם שערים

(a)	אז לחם שֹרי ערים
(b)	אז לחמש ערים
(c)	אז חלֹשם ערים
(d)	אזל לחם שערים
(e)	אזל חם שערים
(f)	מאז לא שערום
(g)	מאז לא לחם שערים
(h)	בחר אלהים חרשו אזל לחם משערים
(i)	חסרו להם חרשים אזלו חמשים מעיר
(j)	וכחד כליהם חרשים אז להלחם שערו
(k)	לא יבחר אלהים אז שערום אלהים חרשתם
(l)	אז ירדו לערים עם יהוה לשער אל לחם

The last one (l) is his own proposal, but it is no more convincing than the others since it amounts to rewriting the verse. It required the deletion of MT אז יבחר אלהים חדשים and the transposition of 5:11c to 5:8a to fill the lacuna.

4. The Jerusalem Bible (1966: Ju 5:8) "Those that should stand for God were dumb";

5. Cross (1973: 122–123), followed by Stuart (1976: 124, 129) "They chose new leaders, Yea, they took for themselves captains (lit. 'bucks')";

6. Cathcart (1977: 111–112) "They chose new gods; indeed *laḥmu* demons of the gates";

7. Seale (1978: 48) "God chose to do new things. There was fighting at the fronts";

8. O'Connor (1980: 222) "He chose new gods. He served them food";

9. Lindars (1983: 168; 1995: 209) "Then the armed men of the cities came forth";

10. Stager (1988: 226) "They did battle with the gates" (i.e., "as a metonymy for the fortified cities . . .").

What is required is not just one more attempt to stumble upon the correct emendation to recover the irrecoverable. Rather, the basic assumption that the verse is corrupt needs to be challenged. Except for the absence of a 3mpl verbal suffix, common in the older orthography, nothing in the MT of 5:8 is really corrupt or unintelligible. The problems are not textual but contextual. The verse is part of Deborah's exhortation, her summons to mobilize for battle. Any translation of this verse must make sense in this summons-to-battle and must make sense as a direct quotation of Deborah addressed to (a) Israel's adversaries ("Listen, O kings") or (b) to the summoned militia ("O leaders of Israel, O you who are summoned"). For this reason all of the translations and emendations I have found to date are unacceptable.

As established above (pages 34–36), Ju 5:6–7 was not a part of Deborah's exhortation, but was a part of the Shamgar tradition and must be transposed to its initial position in the poem. Consequently, Ju 5:8–9 is not logically or sequentially related to 5:6–7, but to 5:5. In this context, verses 8–9 become intelligible (with really *minor* emendation) by appeal to a larger lexicon than that traditionally used by scholars, but readily available to the author of the Song of Deborah.

The *repetition* of אלהי ישראל "the God of Israel" in 5:3 and 5:5 was probably not in the original poem. Contrary to the MT

vocalization, 5:5 reflects the poet's use of aural coherence, not repetition. The text must be redivided to read אֱלֹהֵי יִשַּׁר אֵל, restoring the end of one colon and the start of the next, as follows:

. . . before Yahweh my God.	. . . מפני יהוה אֱלֹהָי:
God will provide strength;	יְשַׁר אֵל
God will muster (the) recruits.	יבחר אלהים חדשים:

A similar misdivision of words occurs in the MT of Ps 73:1, which should be divided to read as

$$\text{אַךְ טוֹב לַיִשָּׁר אֵל}$$

$$\text{אֱלֹהִים לְבָרֵי לֵבָב}$$

Truly El is good to the upright,

Elohim (is good) to the pure of heart

instead of "Surely God is good to Israel, To those who are pure in heart!" (NAS, following the MT).

5:5d. God will provide strength   יִשַּׁר אֵל

The use of אֵל along with יהוה and אלהים in this part of Deborah's exhortation finds a parallel in the collocation of the nouns אֵל אלהים יהוה in the blessing of Yahweh in Josh 22:22, noted above (pages 128–129). The verb יָשֻׁר can be interpreted in two ways. First, it can refer to the equipping of the militia. If so, it would be a *yqtl* of שׁרר stem I or of its by-forms שׁרה and שׁור "to strengthen," which is attested in Jer 15:11, שׁרותך לטוב "I will greatly strengthen you" (NEB). The same meaning appears in the LXX for the MT of

(a) Hos 12:4–5, שׂרה את אלהים וישׂר אל מלאך, ἐνίσχυσεν πρὸς θεὸν καὶ ἐνίσχυσεν μετὰ ἀγγέλου (note Luke 22:43, ἄγγελος ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐνισχύων αὐτόν found in MSS aDKLXQPY);

(b) Gen 32:29, כי שׂרית עם אלהים, ὅτι ἐνίσχυσας μετὰ θεοῦ;

(c) Hos 14:9, ואשׁורנו, καὶ ἐγὼ κατισχύσω αὐτόν;

(d) Ju 5:12, in the doublets of the A-text where MT שׁיר was translated ἐνισχύων and ἐξανίστασο and ἐνίσχυσον (see above, pages 23–24, 122);

(e) Ju 5:14, in the A text's remote doublet ἐνισχύοντος ἡγήσεως for the MT ספר ושׂרי of 5:14–15, which Tov (1978: 229–231) rightly recognized;

(f) Ju 5:30, in the remote doublet ισχυς αυτης in Lucianic MSS dglnptvw for MT שׁרותיה of 5:29.

The "giving of strength" by providing weapons appears in 1 Macc 1:34, "they strengthened [themselves] (ἐνίσχυσαν) and stored up arms and provisions," and in 6:6, "they grew strong (ἐπίσχυσαν) by means of weapons (ὅπλοις) and a [military] force (δυνάμει) and abundant spoils (σκύλοις πολλοῖς) they had taken from the armies they had defeated."

Secondly, ישׁר may provide the transition from the earlier theophany at Seir to the moment at hand when history would be repeated with God's sending torrents. In this case, the verb is the *hiphᶜîl* of שׁרר II (or the by-form שׁרה II), a cognate of Ara-bic ثرى "to soak (the earth with rain), to moisten" and of Aramaic שׁרר which is attested as the noun שׁר "rain" in the Deir ᶜAlla texts, where it may be a Hebrew loanword (Lane 1863: 336a; Hoftijzer and van der Kooij 1976: 352).

The affirmation "God will send torrential rains" would have been more than just a hint of Deborah's strategy. It would have encouraged an enthusiastic Israelite response to her summons for battle. Although שׁרר I has been adopted in the translation, שׁרר II is just as likely. One cannot overlook the probability that the poet intended a *double entendre*, "God will provide strength" (שׁרה) and "God will send rain" (שׁרר).

5:8a. God will muster the recruits   יבחר אלהים חדשים

In Akkadian, בחר has a strong military nuance which is re-flected in *bēḫiru* "(Soldaten-)Werber," *bēru* "elite troop," and *bêru* "to select (young men / fighters) (*CAD* 2: 211–212; *AHW*: 1: 118). Craigie (1972a: 350–351) noted the military nuance of בחר in Hebrew, without appealing to this Akkadian evidence, citing

its use Ex 15:4, 17:9, and Lam 1:15. The use of בחר as a verb and a noun with definite military overtones in 2 Sam 10:9 is also of interest: ויבחר מכל בחורי [ב]ישׂראל, "he [Joab] mustered from all the elite troops of Israel."

Rabin (1955: 127) translated חדשׁים as "young men" and cited the Arabic cognate احداث "recruit, civil militia" (Dozy 1927: I, 258), a synonym of Arabic غمر and Ugaritic *ġmr* "inexperienced fighter, recruit." The noun occurs in Hos 5:7, "Yea, an inexperienced fighter (חדשׁ) will devour them (and) their territory."[150] In light of the contextually appropriate military nuance of both בחר and חדשׁ, there is little need to emend the text to חרשׁ "to be deaf" as did Zapletal (1923), cited and followed by Hertzberg (1959:171) and noted favorably by J. Gray (1988: 428).

The use of חדשׁים is another indication of the poem's logical consistency. The poet had noted that "warriors had disappeared from Israel," so Deborah could not have mustered the בחורים "elite troops," or the גבורים "skilled soldiers." The summons had to be for the חדשׁים, the untrained recruits. The use of חדשׁים suggests that the summons was made, in the words of Num 1:20, 22, to "every male from twenty years old and upward, all who were able to go forth to war." As Ramesses III was rescued by נערין "recruits" along the Orontes (Breasted 1906, 3: 133, 155), the חדשׁים "recruits" would deliver Israel along the Wadi Kishon. Schloen (1993:30) noted, "The farmers and herdsmen [of the Israelite hills], many of whom also worked as caravan guards and donkey drivers, ambushed the ambusher and routed his troops."

The use of חדשׁים "new (gods)" in Deut 32:17 has been considered by Weiser (1959: 75), Hillers (1965: 124), Freedman (1975: 18) and, apparently, J. Gray (1988: 429) to be the appropriate parallel to the יבחר אלהים חדשׁים, i.e., the Israelites chose "new (gods)." The suggestion could be sustained if this verse were not part of Deborah's exhortation. However, any reference to allegedly improper religious conduct is out of context in this summons-to-battle. Indeed, J. Gray (1988: 430) even conceded, "it must be admitted that a confession of apostasy in the

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[150] Compare the NRSV, "Now the new moon shall devour them with their field," the NEB, "Now an invader shall devour their fields," and Wolfe (1974: 95), "Now <the locusts> shall devour their fields."

Covenant sacrament would be expected before rather than in the middle of vv 6–8." But apostasy is a false issue because the Israelites are identified in 5:31 as the "lovers of Yahweh."

5:8b. When the brave ones battle   אז ילחמ‹ו› שׁערים

These three words have been variously translated, including (1) "Barley-bread failed (?)," (2) "Armed men failed the city," (3) "indeed they took for themselves champions," (4) "then there was war in the cities," (5) "then they fought at the gates," (6) "he served them food," and (7) "then the armed men of the cities came forth."[151] I concur with Rabin (1955: 125) that, "in this epic fragment, in contrast to the 'Classical' Hebrew usage, *ᵓaz* means 'when,' and not 'at that time'. It corresponds thus to Arabic *idh* . . . ." The MT לחם can be read as an infinitive absolute or emended to the 3mpl ילחמו. The absence of the final ו is widely attested, as in the MT and 1QIsaᵃ variants יקרא(ו), יחלפ(ו), and ישמע(ו) in Isa 1:26, 2:18, and 6:10, respectively. In view of five other cases in Ju 5 where the ו of the 3mpl is lacking, MT לחם is read ילחמו "they fought."

MT שׁערים is the metathetic variant of the Arabic شَرِيع "courageous, fearless," شَرَاعَة "bravery" (Lane 1872: 1535c) and South Arabic *srᶜ* "brave men." This corresponds to the metathetic variations in stems that have a ר and an ע (for example, שׁער "a gate," which is ثَغْر in Arabic and *t̲ġr* in Ugaritic but תרע in Syriac and Aramaic). The αρχοντων in the B-text doublet in 5:8 suggests that the translator knew the Hebrew cognate of the Arabic سرعان الناس "the first or foremost of men" (Lane 1872: 1350a) used in reference to horsemen and soldiers.[152]

Seale (1978: 53–54) suggested ثَغْر "frontier" as the cognate of שׁער. But "frontier" is only a secondary meaning of ثَغْر. Its

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[151] See Appendix, *sub loco* Smith, Burney, Stuart, Coogan, Fishelis, O'Connor, and Lindars, respectively.

[152] The stem שׁער "brave" occurs in a negative sense in Ps 68:22, "Surely God will smite . . . the crown of the courageous one (שׁער) who walks in his guilt," i.e., those with "courage" for violence (Mic 3:1–3 and Amos 2:13–16).

primary meaning fits even better, namely, "any gap, opening, interstice, or open intervening space, in a mountain, or in the bottom of a valley, or in a road along which people pass" (Lane 1863: 338c–339a). With this meaning, the שערים "ravines" would anticipate the משאבים "mountain passes" in 5:11. This cognate would permit the translation, "God will muster the recruits, when they fight (at) the ravines/wadis." It is difficult to decide whether a *double entendre* or a triple wordplay was the intent: (1) the *brave ones* (שערים) battle, (2) (at) *the ravines* (שערים) they battle, and (3) (when) *the storms* (סערים) battle.

5:8c. Shield, moreover, and spear will appear	מגן אם יראה ורמח

Regardless of what may have been Israel's theology of holy war, any announcement that weapons would be lacking would not have induced a favorable response to the summons-to-battle. Although P. D. Miller (1973: 92) noted that in the theology of holy war "weapons and human might were regarded as being of minimal value," any summons-to-arms presupposes that arms (= weapons) were as significant as those who had arms to use them. The summons was for combatants, not for spectators. If arms were unnecessary, so was a militia.

The traditional translation of 5:8c, "neither shield nor spear was to be seen," does not easily fit a summons-to-battle, as I consider 5:8–9 to be. Craigie (1972a: 351) emended and translated 5:8 to read: "then was there for five cities a fortress [Arabic *majannat* 'a concealed/protected place' for MT *magen* 'shield'] to be seen? Or a spear among forty thousand in Israel?" But this also is an unlikely statement to be made in a call-to-arms.

A couple of problems are involved here when אם is read, according to BDB (50[b]), simply as the interrogative particle in a rhetorical question anticipating an emphatic negative answer. The syntax is atypical because the *postpositive* אם is not used elsewhere meaning "was there?" Moreover, a compound subject is not ordinarily separated by a verb and the particle אם.

The clue to the meaning of this line comes from the postpositive אם as used in the Kephar Bebhayu marriage deed and several lines from the Elephantine papyri:

"and the house, *moreover*, is yours" ובית אם דילכי

"and thou, *moreover*, shall have power" ואנתי אם שליטה

"they restored, *moreover*, to their אתבו אם על מרתהם
owners"

"the house is to thee, *moreover*, ביתא זילך אם וזי בניך
and to thy children."[153]

The אם particle survives in Isa 29:16, הפככם אם (which appears in 1QIsaᵃ as הפך מכם אם) "moreover, you turn things upside down."[154] The postpositive הנה (in Gen 34: 21 and Num 18:21) is parallel to the postpositive אם here. (The אך אם in Gen 23: 13 appears to be the equivalent of the אך המה in Jer 5:5.)

In light of these uses of אם "moreover," it becomes clear that Deborah's call for a mop-up operation after the rain included a promise that weapons would be available. They would have been, without a doubt, the light weapons for ambush in the field (like Shamgar's agricultural tools), not the specialized weapons for a frontal attack against chariots or for besieging a city.[155]

5:8d. Forty "thousand" in Israel בארבעים אלף בישראל

The forty thousand figure, which matches the number of Egyptian and Hittite combatants at the famed Battle of Kadesh (Breasted 1906, 3: 130), can be retained only if it represents the total population capable of producing and equipping a militia of

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[153] See Cowley 1923: texts 13: 11 and 34: 6; Kraeling 1953: texts 3: 16 and 19; 9: 21; 10: 11 and 14; and Birnbaum 1958: 16.

[154] Compare Muraoka (1985: 128) who noted, "it is not impossible to argue that the emphatic use [of אם] was original . . . ." On compound emphatic particles, note Dahood 1970: 410. For different views about the emphatic הם "behold" compare McDaniel 1968b: 33–34; de Moor-Kampen 1969: 201–202; Dahood 1970: 400; and F. Gottlieb 1978: 20. The particle אם "moreover, indeed" needs to be introduced into the discussion in light of the variant הוא (possibly for the interjection הא) cited by Kennicott 1780: 1: 488. See page 197 for the similar הלם and הלא by-forms.

[155] For an examination of the inner-Greek corruptions in this verse, see Lindars 1995: 289.

undesignated size. Mendenhall (1958: 62) concluded that אֶלֶף here was a tribal unit or sub-unit and "forty units" was a conventional idiom for the "whole tribe" of Israel. Craigie (1972a: 351) suggested "forty chiefs," and Boling (1975: 110; 1982: 176) proposed "forty contingents." Freedman (1975: 14) presented a case for just "four hundred men."[156]

But if the census list in Num 1:46 and 26:51 (603,550 and 601,703) can be interpreted with Mendenhall (1952: 61) and Noth (1968: 21–22, 204) to mean 598 "troops" composed of 5,550 men and 596 "troops" composed of 5,730 men, the 40,000 figure is reasonable as a round figure for the entire population. The ratio of 1 out of 7 (5,700 :: 40,000) levied for military service would be high but not unrealistic in a time of crisis. The 10 to 1 ratio cited in Ju 20:10 for the recruitment of those who would provide for the troops offers a good parallel. A population of 40,000 would mean about 4,000 available untrained males of fighting age from the ten tribes (including Gilead who was "on alert"), more than a sufficient number to sustain a three-pronged surprise attack (see below on 5:14–18) against an adversary with 900 chariots. Even if the Song of Deborah were pure fiction, lacking any historical basis, the sizes of the forces and the general population were given a realistic ratio.

However, the much discussed אֶלֶף "troop" could be an acronym, rather than a number per se, in which the א = אַלּוּף or אַיִל "chief" (the רֹאשׁ אֶלֶף), the ל = לֹחֲמִים = אַנְשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה "the fighting men," (Ps 35:1), and the פ = פְּקִידִים "the officers" (2 Kgs 25:19); or the ל = 30 = שָׁלִשִׁים = "the officers," and the פ = פְּלֹנִי "unnamed others" = "rank-and-file." Lehmann (1972: 46–51) noted that abbreviations, common in post-Biblical Hebrew, have been spotted in a few biblical texts, like the שׁפִי in Num 23:3, which Rudolph (BH³) and Greenstone (1939: 253) read as an abbreviation for לִשְׁאֹל אֶת פִּי יְהוָה "to ask for a revelation."

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[156] Freedman (1975) stated, "The term ʾelep is to be understood in its etymologic sense as a village or population center, which was responsible for providing a unit of troops . . . . If the average number of men in an ʾelep was 10, that would make a fighting force of 400 at full strength, a substantial army for the hill country of Palestine." See also Noth (1968: 21–23, 204) who noted that requests in the el-Amarna letters (108: 66 ff. and 133: 16 f.) were for emergency contingents of ten and twenty men. See note 208.

In light of these options, there is no need to follow Fewell and
Gunn (1990: 401) who still speak of 40,000 troops.

5:9a. Respond to the call   ‹לבי‹ו›

MT לבי "my heart" has been problematic, as evidenced by the
many varied translations: "Hail to thee!" (Rabin 1955: 126),
followed by Richter (1963: 75); "Take heart" (Driver 1962–63:
9), followed by Craigie (1972a: 350–351) and Globe (1974:
503); "I notice" (Gray 1988: 431); "Be proud at heart" (NEB
1970); and "my heart beats fast" (JB 1966). The most convincing
interpretation has been Rabin's proposal which associates לבי
with the Arabic greeting لبيك "at thy service, hail to thee," like
the German use of Latin *Servus!* But the association of לבי with
لبيك, which definitely carries the idea of obedience as well as
service, would suggest the improbable, namely, that Deborah was
now making herself obedient to the militia. But in this context,
where she is already at their service, she is soliciting *their* re-
sponse and obedience to her.

With the addition of the final vowel letter ו, MT לבי can be
read as the 2mpl imperative of לבה "to respond" like the imper-
ative בעיו in Isa 21:12 (GKC 75ᵘ). Its cognate, cited by Lane
(1885: 2642) and Dozy (1927: II, 515) is Arabic لبى "répondre à
l'appel de quelqu'un, to respond."

5:9a. O leaders,[157] . . . Praise Yahweh!   לחוקקי . . . ברכו יהוה

MT המתנדבים בעם "the ones summoned for the militia" may
be the appositional modifier of חוקקי ישראל "leaders of Israel,"
or the vocative ל may do double-duty, indicating that the poet

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[157] On the vocative ל see Singer 1948: 1–10; Dahood 1966: 299–311;
1970: 407–408; and Craigie 1972: 351; and on double-duty prepositions and
particles see Blommerde 1969: 25 and Dahood 1970: 429–444. Note Lindars'
(1995: 242) overly cautious reservation, "But there are no certain cases of
vocative lamed in Hebrew." He translated the MT לִבִּי לְחוֹקְקֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל idio-
matically as "my thoughts turn to the commanders of Israel."

addressed the Israelite rank-and-file (מתנדבים) as well as the leaders (חוקקים). Either way, the summoned commanders or the commanders and their summoned militia are indirectly urged through the *inclusio* to praise Yahweh. The *inclusio* served as a reminder that this was a "Yahweh war" to which the tribes were being summoned. Deborah appears elsewhere only in 5:12 and 5:15 where, contrary to the MT vocalization, she is addressed in the third person. J. Gray's (1988: 431) interpretation should be noticed for contrast with the one I present:

> The Song of the Well is significant for our understanding of the *hammit-naddĕbîm* in Judg 5:9, which we understand as those who truly proved themselves leaders of the community, like *nĕdîbê ʿammô* in Ps 113:8 . . . . Thus in Judg 5:9 we would find no reference to leadership or volunteering for war, but to the notables of the various groups of the sacral community who convened the assembly for the renewal of their solidarity on the cultic occasion after the battle of the Qishon. Hence we translate v 9: "I notice the leaders in Israel [/] Who proved themselves nobles among the people."

IV. Mustering the troops: Ju 5:10–13

The difficulties inherent in these verses are well-illustrated by Moore (1900: 172). Stuart (1976: 124, 129) offered no translation of 5:10–11. The difficulty stems from the failure thus far to isolate correctly the limits of Deborah's exhortation. Ju 5:10 is not part of Deborah's summons but a description of the responses to her call-to-arms, thus marking a major transition in the poem.

J. Gray (1988: 433–435) interpreted Ju 5:14–17 "as the gathering of the various members of the community through their representatives" to celebrate the victory at the Kishon. In support of his thesis, Gray had to emend the MT in 5:14–18 as follows in order to come up with the "headmen" who did or did not show up to represent the tribes at the sacral assembly:

MT	Gray
שרשם	שרים
בעמלק	בעם
אחריך	אחריו
בעממיך	בעממיו
בשבט ספר	בשבט
וְשָׂרי	וְשָׂרֵי

יששכר	ביששכר
ונפתלי	ויששכר
בִּנּוֹ	כן
חקרי	חקקי
ודן	ודן למה
אנה	אניות

In agreement with Weiser, Gray asserted that "there is no reference to the participation in the campaign of any but Zebulun and Naphtali in v 18, which would accord with the prose account of the campaign of Barak and Deborah in Judges 4." He concluded that of the ten tribes of the sacral community, only two fought Sisera and four of the other eight tribes "were not able, or chose not, to attend" even the sacral event celebrating the battle.

Lindars (1995: 241), similarly opting for a cultic interpretation, thought that this section of the poem included only verses 9–11, commenting,

> The stanza functions as an expression of pride in the splendid response to Deborah's prophecy, which [response] in my view has just been indicated in v. 8 ["the armed men of the cities came forth"] . . . . These verses may well be a liturgical addition, inviting celebration of the victory at cultic occasions . . . . [or] a theme for constant praise, like the constant recitation of the Shema (Deut 6:6–8).

What I identify as "the strategy of the forces," Gray interpreted as "an assembly of the sacral community" and Lindars labeled "a story to tell" at cultic occasions. The interpretation presented below is quite different and requires far fewer emendations. Ju 5:10–13, in my opinion, tells of Israel's mobilization for battle, while Ju 5:14–18 deals with the strategy and actions of the Israelites which precipitated Sisera's counterattack. Far from being a celebrative response to Deborah's *prophecy* (the exact content of which Lindars never specified), these verses deal with the tribal response to Deborah's *summons* for a militia.

5:10a. Riders on young she-asses   רכבי אתנות צחרות

This is the first element of the compound subject of שׁיחו "they hastened." Most translators have treated צחרות as a color, with Albright (1961: 39) admitting, "the exact meaning of צחרות eludes us, but it refers to a light color." The NAB, JB, and NRSV

read "white asses," following Rashi (לבנות) and Medieval and Modern Hebrew (Klein 1987: 545) which uses צחר for "white," in contrast to the Arabic ṣaḥar which denotes the yellowish-red color of the desert (the Ṣaḥara), as well as being "used of a camel or she-ass in which there is white or red" (Burney 1918: 124).

The Akkadian *emaram ṣa-aḫ-ra-am* "a small or young donkey" (*CAD* 16:183–185) may be the masculine counterpart of אתנות צחרות. Akkadian *ṣiḫru* is generally considered the cognate of צעיר "young." Given the interchange of ח and ע (e.g., ענק "neck and חנק "to strangle"), צחר (= *ṣiḫru*) here may be a by-form of צער "young." The poet appears intent on depicting the speed with which the militia was mobilized. A yearling or older ass of any color would have speed and, although the tawny ass is a prized animal today (Soggin 1981c: 87), a reference to color seems less likely in a context of mobilization than a reference to the endurance of younger animals.

5:10b. Those sitting on mules   ישבי על כדין

Although Burney's emendation (1918: 122–125) of MT ישבי על לב to ישבי על מדין "let them recall it to mind" won no recognition, his study of this Hebrew phrase and of the Greek translations (λαμπηνῶν "covered chariots," κριτηρίου "making judgments" or a "court of judgment," and συνέδρων "council, Sanhedrin") remains an excellent survey of the issues.

Albright's emendation (1968b: 44), ישבי על מדין <עיר> "ye who sit on caparisoned <male donkeys>," is possible but equally problematic. He cited Hillers' oral proposal that מדן is a dissimilated by-form of Ugaritic *mdl* "to saddle." But this hypothesis needs to be reconsidered in view of the proposal of Greenfield (1964: 534) that, "Ugaritic *mdl* is . . . a metathesis of למד in the technical usage known from Mishnaic Hebrew and Syriac . . . and is another instance of consonantal change for differentiation of meaning." A development which would accommodate metathesis and dissimilation (מדן > מדל > למד), while possible, is unlikely. As for more recent conjectures, J. Gray's emendation (1988: 431) of the MT to יְשִׁיבוּ עַל לִבָּם "lay to heart," which is very similar to Burney's wording, is not likely to gain general acceptance either.

The A-text λαμπηνῶν, used also in the LXX at 1 Sam 26:5–7 for עגלה "cart" (= MT מעגל "encampment"), may indicate a *Vorlage* having מרין instead of מדין. The word מרין is known from the Ugaritic and the Egyptian *myrn* "chariot-warrior."[158] If so, the מרין here could mean "chariot-warrior" or "chariot," just as רכב can mean "chariot" (רְכוּב) or "charioteer" (רַכָּב). However, there is no evidence of Israelites with access to chariots prior to their victory over Sisera. Thus, even if λαμπηνῶν translated מרין, it is not likely that מרין was original.

Seale (1978: 54) proposed Arabic مدن "to settle in a place, to be sedentary," noting, "Both passages [vv. 6–7, 10] refer to three groups of people: mountain travelers, pedestrians, and the settled part of the population." But Seale's paraphrase, "those who are settled," disregards the על of the MT, which would have to mean literally "those settled above the town" or "the hill people" or "those settled about the province." Were the text ישבי מדינה, rather than ישבי על מדין, the meaning could be "townspeople."

O'Connor (1980: 222) proposed the emendation of מדין to מדון, and translated 5:10bc, "You who rule over the Madon realm. You who travel the Madon realm." He found here a reference to the Madon mentioned in Josh 11:1 and 12:19. But the MT of the Joshua texts is problematic, for the LXX B-text of 11:1 has βασιλέα Μαρρων (against the A-text βασιλέα Μαδων), and both the A-text and B-text omit מדון in 12:19, although they have βασιλέα Συμοων [A-text Σαμρων] βασιλέα Μαρρων in 12:20 for the MT מֶלֶךְ שִׁמְרוֹן מִרְאוֹן.[159]

Moreover, a diversionary attack by Naphtali in the direction of Merom is mentioned in Ju 5:18 (see below); but it seems unlikely that the rulers of Madon (or Merom) would be addressed here in 5:10, which deals with the mustering of the Israelite militia. The Canaanite kings (5:3) were addressed in Deborah's exhortation, as well as the Israelites (5:9). But 5:10 is not part of the exhortation, and any direct-address outside the exhortation

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[158] See J. Gray 1965: 232–235, for a discussion of the *mariannu*.

[159] See Soggin 1972: 133–134, 143–144, and references cited there.

and the dialogue in Sisera's court (5:28–30) is not apparent. This verse depicts the Israelite mobilization in response to Deborah's call. A summons to a Canaanite ruler in such a context is very unlikely, even though the emendation of מדין to מרון is not.

Similar to O'Connor's reading a place name is Schloen's reading (1993: 26) the MT ישבי מדין as "*yošĕbê midyān* 'you who sit over [rule] Midian'," noting that "the reading *midyān* is supported by the lack of plausible alternatives." But a summons to Midianite rulers fits this context of the Israelite mobilization no better than a summons to Canaanite rulers. The better solution comes by recognizing that Akkadian *wāšib kudani* "mule rider" (*CAD*: 8:491) finds its counterpart in the ישבי על מדין, once the מ (ע) is emended to a כ (ג). A pre-LXX confusion of כ and מ, which were differentiated in some scripts only by the small vertical stroke on the upper left side of the מ, would account for the textual problems.[160] According to Fensham (1963: 185–186), Akkadian *sirrimu* "wild ass" and *wadû* or *adû* "donkey" became loanwords in Aramaic (שרם and עדי). Akkadian *kudan* "mule" could just as readily have been a loanword in Hebrew. The poet may well have avoided using the common word פרד "mule" since this stem in Hebrew, like its Syriac cognate ܦܪܕ , means "to flee away" (Klein 987: 523), a most inappropriate connotation in an account describing Israel's mobilization for battle.

This emendation has the support of the A-text λαμπηνῶν, the Sahidic (translated as *carrucas*), and the Latin *in lecticis* "in a carriage," which (contra Burney 1918: 123) was more than a translator's guess. These variants reflect a *Vorlage* with כדין, a cognate of Arabic كدن "a camel saddle, a litter for a woman (Hava 1915: 647) and كودن "carriage" (Dozy 1927, 2: 450). The root كدن (used also for coupling oxen to a plow or for mixing breeds of horses or animals) reflects the meaning found in the A-text and the versions, supporting the emendation of MT מדין to כדין. This cognate and the A-text, supported Michaelis's translation "die auf den Wagen fahren" (cited by Kalkar, 1833: 25), while the "breed mixing" supports my reading "mules."

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[160] See Birnbaum 1971: I, 143, plates 85–87, 162; and Naveh 1976: 47 and fig. 9, no. 4–5. See also Delitzsch 1920: 114, §115.

By reading כדין for מדין, the synonymous parallelism "mule riders" and "donkey riders" becomes transparent. Ordinarily in Hebrew ישׁב does not mean "to ride, to mount," although it was so used in Syriac (e.g.,ܐܠܟܒܐ ܒ ܟܠܐ). Its use here may reflect Akkadian influence, and the singular כדין could reflect the Akkadian plural *kudani/e*. But it is much more likely that כדין is a collective noun like the Syriac ܟܘܕܢܐ "asses" and the Hebrew רֶכֶב "horsemen" (Isa 21:7; 22:6). The "donkey riders" may have been the (donkey) caravaneers alluded to in 5:6, while the "mule riders" could have been the leaders summoned by Deborah.[161]

5:10c. Those walking along the road   והלכי על דרך

The "footmen"(הלכי על דרך) may be the same as the "caravaneers" (הלכי נתיבות) mentioned in 5:6. A clear distinction was made between pedestrians and riders. One Akkadian text, for example, noted that "the mighty go [i.e., are carried] on chairs, the assistants on . . . , the rank and file on mules, [but] I [go] on foot" (*CAD*: 16: 182b). The Hebrew הלכי על דרך probably represent the rank-and-file responding to Deborah's summons in contrast to the wealthier mule riders. The footmen are mentioned again in 5:15b, "dispatched with his footmen along the tributaries was Reuben" (with a hint of Reuben's lower social status, noted in Gen 49:4 and Deut 33:6). The conjunction καὶ of והלכי is lacking in the LXX MSS MNdptvyb₂, suggesting that it is secondary. Perhaps the ו should be placed as a vowel letter after the ה since הולכי instead of והלכי would improve the syllable balance of this section of the poem, changing it slightly from 22:20:21:14:14:21 to 21:20:21:14:14:21 (see above, page 95).

5:10e–11a. Hastening on mountain roads   שיחו מקל<י>ם

Burney's (1918: 125–129) historical review of the interpretation of this line could lead one to despair that all viable options

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[161] Note Mowinckel 1962: 283. On the use of the mule and ass, see Hoffner 1968: 36; Gadd, 1973: 220; Littauer and Crouwel 1979: 45–47, 65–67, 84, 139; and Ikeda 1982: 226, 230.

for a satisfactory interpretation have been exhausted. Richter (1963: 76) noted, "V 11 'von der Stimme der Wasserverteiler zwischen den Trankrinnen' hat viel Kopfzerbrechen gemacht." Lindars (1995: 289–290) highlighted the improbability of ever relating the Vulgate (*ubi collisi sunt currus, et hostium suffocatus est exercitus ibi*, "where the chariots were dashed together and the army of the enemies was choked there") to the MT. But the *collisi* = רעץ for MT חצץ; the *currus* = הצן (Ezek 23:24, KJV) also for חצץ; *suffocatus* = חנק for חצץ; with *hostium* reflecting the אבים in MT משאבים; and *exercitus* = עם = MT שם, with the doublet *ibi* = שם. Similar confusion of ע and צ, of ע and ש, and of ר and ח have been cited by Delitzsch (1920: 110, 116, 119).

Thus, the text is not hopelessly corrupt. Instead of reading שׂיח I "to muse, to sing out" (Müller 1969: 361), the vocable שׂיח III "to hasten, to run"—the cognate of the Arabic شحّ and the related شحشح "light, agile, swift (used of an ass)" or the by-form شحو "to go quickly" (Lane 1872: 1511, 1514)—can be recognized. Related also are the Egyptian *shsh*, *shs,* and *sh³h*, all meaning "to hasten or to run" (Erman and Grapow 1897: 3: 472–474; Faulkner 1962: 243). Hebrew חושׁ and Akkadian *ḫâšu* "to hurry, make haste" may be metathetic variants of شحشح and *shsh*; but they may be simply similar onomatopoeic verbs. Sellin and Richter's (1963: 76) emendation to חישׁו is therefore unnecessary. Seale's translation (1978: 49, 55), "Talk about it ['the mighty deeds of Yahweh'] louder than the splashing at the well-head where the buckets are lowered and raised," based on the Arabic root خضخض "to stir, to dash water," is a very lengthy and misleading paraphrastic gloss.

The Himyaritic text *CIH* 418: 1 (*CIS* 4: 1: 100) provides the real clue. It reads in part, כל מנקלתן וכל מסבא סבא "all the mountain roads and every mountain pass [which] he has made" (Jamme 1962: 33–34). The collocation of the nouns מנקל and מסבא closely approximates the occurrence of מקולם (taking the מ from the following word) and משאבין in 5:11. With very little change to the MT, מקלם (מַקְלִם > מַנְקְלִם) can be restored and read as the adverbial accusative, cognate with Arabic منقل "a mountain road" (from نقل "to transport, to convey," which suggests a "caravan route") and South Arabic *mnql* (= מקלים).

5:11a.   Hurrying between   חצים בין משאבים
         the mountain passes

Hoppe (1991: 307) noted that the Hebrew here is uncertain. The appeal to the lexicon of musical terms for understanding the MT מחצצים, as reflected in most translations (RSV "musicians," NEB "players," NAB "harpers," Boling [1975: 110], following Albright [1922: 81], "cymbals," J. Gray [1977: 219], following Weiser, "at the voice of the women singing antiphonally") has been misdirected. Deborah summoned a militia, not a military band. Because the verse deals with mobilization, not celebration, a non-musical derivation of מחצצים is more probable.

Attaching the מ of מחצצים to the previous word restores the *qal* participle חצצים, which is in synonymous parallelism with שיחו "they hastened." The stem חצץ is attested in Arabic, which is especially rich in onomatopoeic terms for fast movement. In addition to شحح and شحشح, noted above, are حثّ and حثحث, حصحص and حصّ, as well as حذحذ, all meaning "to hurry or run quickly" (Lane 1865: 512, 533, 580). In a context of a mobilization, חצץ probably had the same meaning as حصّ and its synonyms. The collocation of חצץ "to hurry" and שיח "to hasten, to move quickly," has parallels in Arabic usage as well.

Hebrew משאבים is a metathetic variant of South Arabic *msbʾ* "iter aquae, canalis" (Conti Rossini 1931: 193), or related to Hebrew and Aramaic סבא "to drink," or a variant of South Arabic and Arabic مسبا "mountain road, mountain pass" (Lane 1872: 1287b; Jamme 1962: 33). Either meaning fits the context of a mobilized militia hurrying between the mountain passes (בין משאבים), or from one watering station (בין משאבים) to another. This is another example of the poet's using *double entendre*.

5:11b. where victories of Yahweh   שם יתנו צדקות יהוה
        would be given

Although Dahood (1966b: 81) proposed to equate שם here and elsewhere with the El Amarna *šumma* "behold, see how," in this verse שם is the equivalent of the prosaic אשר שם. The verb יתנו has generally been read as an Aramaism, probably from תנה

(Syriac ܬܢܐ), cognate of Ugaritic *ṯny* "to say, to repeat," Arabic ثنى "to praise," and Hebrew שנה "to repeat." But יתנו is better read as a rare *qal* passive (יֻתְּנוּ) of נתן (GKC 53ᵘ; BDB 681b). The plural bound noun, צדקות יהוה "the victories of Yahweh," is its subject (GKC 87ᵐ⁻ᵖ).

5:11c. the victories of his
        two warriors in Israel   צדק‹ו›ת פרזנו בישראל

The meaning of פרזון "warrior" (*not* "peasantry") has been discussed above (pages 117–119). Here attention need only be given to the form of פרזנו. It could be *scriptio defectiva* for פרזוניו, a plural noun referring to Deborah, Barak, and Yael, or to the עם יהוה and the combatants in general. But in this context, where Deborah and Barak were singled out as the leaders (or Deborah and Yael as the heroines in terms of the poem as a whole), the noun could well be a dual to be vocalized פְּרֹזֵנוּ. The same form occurs with the ירחו (= יַרְחֵו) "two months" of the Gezer Calendar (Cross and Freedman 1952: 46–47).

The Arabic ذو مصدق "one who is courageous [in a charge or assault]" or a "brave fighter" (Lane 1872: 1669a; Hava 1915: 393) is helpful for understanding צדק in a military context or in a war ballad.[162] In battle צדק was the term for courage and arms, whereas in peace it was used for compassion and alms. The frequent synonymous parallelism of צדק and ישע, as in Isa 45:8, 51:5, and 62:1, is also noteworthy.

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[162] For צדקות "victories," note Boling 1975: 110 and the NEB. Compare the comments of McKenzie (1968: 27–28) on צדק in Isa 41:2, used in reference to Cyrus. Seale (1962: 345), on the basis of Arabic صدق "the quality of a blade or lance when it is straight, unbent, and perfect in every way . . . ," suggested that "the rightness of vs. 11 is the practice of open-handed hospitality." But hospitality is not a theme of this song, save for Yael's giving Sisera his last drink. Seale's proposal (1978: 55) to read פזרות "generosity" (from the root פזר = בזר "to scatter, distribute") for MT פרזון would be attractive, in light of Dn 11:24 (יבזור), were this poetic line a part of the post-battle scene rather than of the pre-battle mobilization.

5:11d. The very storms
          from Yahweh   ירדו לשׁערי מעם יהוה

This line has traditionally been translated, "Then down to the gates went the people of Yahweh," which led Lindars (1995: 248) to conclude, "In my view it [5:11] not only intrudes badly into the sequence of the thought, but also relates to the problems of v. 13, which suggests that it is a misplaced gloss." But the verse need not be rejected as a gloss—or rejected as a "marginal variation" of 5:13a, as proposed earlier by Burney (1918: 130), nor transposed to 5:12c, as proposed by G. A. Smith (1912: 87).

As argued below, the Israelite militia did not move to or from the *gates* of any city. The attacks made by Naphtali *toward* Merom and by Asher *against* Abu Hawam (5:17b–18), were not against city gates. The military campaign was an ambush along the wadi and was coordinated with attacks along the seacoast. Thus, the MT vocalization and traditional translation is unlikely.

The noun שׁער is not שַׁעַר "gate" but שֵׂער "rain storm" (not to be confused with the etymologically related feminine noun סערה "wind storm"). Snaith (1975: 116–117) argued that שֵׂערים in Deut 32:2 ("may my speech condense like the dew; like שֵׂערים upon the grass, like רביבים on new growth")

> is not 'small rain' (AV, RV, JWM) nor 'gentle rain' (RSV), nor 'fine rain' (NEB), nor even 'showers' (JB, JPS). It means 'the storm rain', 'the heavy soaking rain', and the root is שֵׂער II = סער . . . (and) this explanation is as old as Rashi.

In support of Rashi and Snaith's identification, Isa 28:2, "like a downpour of hail, a destructive *rain storm* (שׂער קטב), like a torrent of water in overwhelming floods" can be cited as another example. Behind MT שׁערי in Ju 5:11 is this same שׂער, requiring the shift of שׁ to שׂ. It alludes to the storms implicit in 5:20.

In view of the poet's use elsewhere of an intervening preposition or an enclitic ם in a construct chain (מי־ם הרים in 5:4–5 and הלכי על דרך and ישׁבי על כדין in 5:10), the MT לשׁערים עם is similarly the plural construct שׂערי followed by the compound preposition מעם (BDB 768). The prefixed ל is an emphatic ל, which appears again in 5:25, בסף לאדירים "in a truly magnificent goblet" (discussed below, page 211).

5:12a The troops of Deborah   עוֹרִי עוֹרֵי דבורה
          roused themselves
                (See above, pages 22–23.)

More than the many variant readings in the LXX A-text tradi-
tion, the inundation of imperative forms in 5:12–13 makes these
verses suspect as they are vocalized and traditionally translated.
The MT has seven imperatives, perhaps nine if the repeated ירד
was intended as an imperative. If one follows the suggestion of
Burney (1918: 120–122) or P. D. Miller (1973: 93–94, citing an
oral communication of Cross) to restore the LXX doublets to the
Hebrew text, then eleven of the twenty-two words of the tricolon
would be imperatives. Although the poet had a tendency to be
repetitive (חדלו "they ceased" occurs three times in 5:6–7), only
five imperatives were used in Deborah's entire exhortation, in-
cluding the *incipit* and the *inclusio*. Reading here from seven to
eleven imperatives is most likely a misreading of the text.

Furthermore, there is no indication of who issued all these
commands to Deborah and Barak. P. D. Miller (1973: 94, 99),
followed by Ackerman (1975: 10), suggested that the "angel of
Yahweh" (mentioned thirteen verses later in MT 5:23 and in a
LXX variant of 4:8) issued them. But these texts have their own
problems (see Burney 1918: 89), and the "angel of Yahweh" may
not be original in either 4:8 or 5:23.

The options available for handling these imperatives are (a)
we could transpose verses 12–13 to precede 5:1 or 5:3, trans-
forming 12–13 into an explanation of Deborah's motivation, or
(b) we might read the MT independently of exegetical tradition
and utilize a larger lexicon than has been traditionally been used.
The latter option proved to be productive.

The original poetic line of 5:12a (with *scriptio defectiva*)
probably looked like this,

ערי ער דברה עור ער דבר.

At first glance, as Hackett (1985: 27) noted, this approximates
the triple use of עורי in Isa 51:9, "Awake, awake, put on
strength, O arm of the Lord; awake as in days of old." But here in
Ju 5:12a, the poet utilized aural coherence and alliteration rather
than straight repetition.

The first word, ערי (= עוֹרִי), is from עור I "to arouse," and
should be read as an infinitive absolute having the force of a

finite verb (or with an ellipsis of the finite verb), as in 5:2
(בפרע) and possibly in 5:8 (לחם). Moran (1965: 67–68) argued
that אסרי in Gen 49:11 and נאדרי in Ex 15:6 are infinitives end-
ing in î, like those in the Jerusalem and Byblos Amarna letters.[163]
The עורי here can be added to his short list of this archaic form.

The second and fifth words, ער (= עוֹרִי) "the troops of" (see
pages 22–23) is based on the doublet μυριδας and μετα λαου,
which reflect a Hebrew עור, a cognate of the Arabic غار "a num-
erous army or body of men" (Lane 1887: 2307). It refers to the
combatants from the ten tribes (or possibly twelve, see below on
5:13a). This word appears in Num 31:10, כל עריהם במושבתם
"all their hosts in their encampments."

Hence, the μυριδας and μετα λαου doublet does not require a
different *Vorlage* like the העירי רבבות עם suggested by Meyer
(in BHS) or עורי רבבה suggested by Tov (1978: 231). Like
Burney's reconstructed text (see page 23), Lindars' (1995: 290)
"consensus text of A AI AII OL Ver" is inaccurate and his con-
clusion that "It seems likely that בעם (בעמך) and בעז (בעזך) are
substitutes for שיר in the damaged Hebrew [*Vorlage*] . . . ," is
way off target. The feminine דברה "governor, leader" stands in
parallelism with the masculine דבר "pursuer" (discussed next).

5:12b. to rout the troops of the pursuer   עַוְּרָן] עוֹרֵי דֹבֵר

Deborah's summons-to-battle mobilized a sizeable militia,
and the poet chose what is now a rare word, producing a
heightened effect through assonance and alliteration, to express
that fact. By deleting the י of the third עורי of the MT, עור (the
fourth word in the line) can be read as the *piᶜel* infinitive עַוֵּר "to
overwhelm, to raid," a cognate of Arabic غور "he routed, he made
a sudden attack" and of غارة "a hostile incursion" (Lane 1887:
2306–2308, forms [2] and [6]) and South Arabic ᶜyr "to rout, to
destroy" (Conti Rossini 1931: 215a; Jamme 1962: 72a, 147a).
This verb was noted by S. R. Driver (1913b: 217) in 1 Sam
28:16, ויהי ערך "he became your *enemy*," but he opted to emend

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[163] Compare Cohen 1975: 14–16, and references cited there.

it to צרך or רעך (see BDB 786a). The stem is attested in Jer 15:8, "I have made *destruction* and terror (עיר ובהלות) fall upon them suddenly" (RSV "anguish and terror") and Hos 11:9, "I will not come to *destroy* (ולא אבוא בעיר)."

The MT דברי שׁיר has been interpreted in light of Deut 31:30, וידבר משה . . . דברי השׁירה, "then Moses spoke the words of this song," or 2 Sam 22:1, with David as the singer. But the doublet in the A-text of 5:12, (a) ἐνισχύων ἐξανίστασο (= שׁיר קום of 5:12) and (b) καὶ ἐνίσχυσον, Δεββωρα, τὸν Βαρακ (= the ותשׁר דבורה ברק of 5:1), reflects a early dissociation of דברי שׁיר from דבר "word" and שׁיר "to sing."[164]

For reasons already stated (see above on 5:1), שׁיר "to sing" is suspect in this part of the poem which describes the mobilization of the militia. The imperative is also suspect since five of the six words here are pointed as imperatives. Therefore, MT דברי שׁיר has been redivided to דֹּבֵר יָשִׁיר, with דֹּבֵר, the sixth word of 5:12, meaning "the pursuer" (i.e., the counterattacking Sisera). The reconstructed יָשִׁיר becomes the *yqtl* preterit of שׁיר/שׁור "to go forth, to march forth."

The root דבר "to pursue" is a cognate of Syriac ܕܒܪ "to drive, to subdue" and of Akkadian *duppuru/dubburu* (Klein 1987: 113). Dahood (1970: 225) also noted the use of this stem in Lam 5:9 (חֶרֶב הַמִּדְבָּר = "the sword of the pursuer" [for the NRSV "the sword in the wilderness"]) and in Pss 2:5; 18:48; 38:13; 47:4; 109:2; and 119:161. This reading of 5:12b restores the wordplay of עוּרָ עוֹרְי דֹּבֵר and עוֹרִי עוֹרְי דבורה. (Globe [1975b: 172] saw here only a pun on *Dᵉborâ* and *dabbᵉrî* "songstress"). This use of עור with its several different meanings is another example

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[164] This doublet seemingly reflects the דברי שׁיר ברק and שׁיר קום ברק (as if דברי = דבורה as שׁרי = שׁרה). But as noted in the discussion on 5:1, καὶ ἐνίσχυσον, Δεββωρα, τὸν Βαρακ is a remote doublet for ותשׁר דבורה ברק of 5:1. Compare Tov (1978: 231–232) who was uncertain whether καὶ ἐνίσχυσον, Δεββωρα, τὸν Βαρακ was a gloss or a doublet which "may reflect a variant חזק, as many commentators believe, or an exegetical rendering of קום. . . ." In my opinion, it is unmistakably a *remote* doublet.

of alliteration in the poem, like the threefold עבר in 2 Sam 19: 18, . . . עָבְרָה הָעֲבָרָה לַעֲבִיר "the ferry ferried to ferry over. . . ."

5:12c. Barak made prepartions to attack   ישיר קום ברק
(See above, pages 23–24.)

The A-text doublet (discussed above under 5:1 and 5: 12b) dissociated שׁיר from the verb "to sing." Whereas the A-text doublets read it as שׂרה or שׂרר "to strengthen, to prevail," it is more likely the stem שׁור/שׁיר "to move out, to attack," which, in light of the Arabic السير الكبير "military expeditions" (Lane 1872: 1484b), can have a military nuance . In the context of mobilization, קום can mean "to attack," an ellipsis for קום למלחמה "to arise for battle" (as in Obadiah 1 "Arise ye, and let us rise up against her in battle").[165] On the collocation of שׁור "to attack" and קום "to attack," Ps 92:12 should be noted, "My eyes have seen the downfall of my attackers (שׁורי), my ears have heard [the downfall of] my evil assailants (בקמים עלי מרעים)."

However, the restored ישׁיר, with the initial י being a part of the stem rather than a 3ms prefix, is a *hiphᶜîl* perfect, the cognate of Arabic يسر "to prepare" as in the expression تيسرا للقتال "they prepared themselves to fight" (Lane 1893: 2976c). As a participant in the Israelite mobilization against Sisera, Barak *made preparation* to attack and to capture prisoners.

J. Gray (1988: 433, note 33) proposed adding an א and switching שׂ to שׁ so that the MT שׁיר becomes "captives" (i.e., שׁיר<א> for אסיר or אסירים): "[Deborah,] rouse thyself, lead thy train (*dabběrî*) of captives (ʾāśîr) [*sic*]." This is quite similar to my reading ותשׁר in 5:1 as the equivalent of ותאשׁיר. But there are problems with "lead thy train" (5:12a) since there is no "thy" and no "train," perhaps only a feminine imperative, דברי "lead (a retreat)!" The Arabic cognate دبر means "to follow behind the back, to turn the back"; and in form [4] it means "to retreat, to retire," with the noun دبرة meaning "a defeat" (Lane 1867: 844, 846).

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[165] See Cross 1973: 95, note 19, and references cited there.

5:12c. Ben Abinoam (prepared)   ושבה שבים בן אבינעם
        to take prisoners

By reading ושבה as the second sequential infinitive (GKC
75ⁿ) following ישיר "he prepared," a synonymous parallel to
קום is restored. Instead of the a–b / a´–c–b´ schema of the tradi-
tional interpretation, 5:12 can now be scanned a–b–c / b´–d–c´.
Since the verbs in 5:12 are not imperatives, the suffix of MT
שביך "thy prisoners" is troublesome. The emendation of a כ (ג)
to a ם (ﬠ) is required here as in 5:10 where כדין "mule" must be
read for MT מדין (see pages 149–151). Unlike Ju 4:16 and the
Deuteronomic accounts of war in Joshua, the Song of Deborah
makes no reference to the total destruction (חרם) of the enemy.

5:13a. the caravan leader went out   ירד שריד לאדירים
        against the nobles

The difficulty over ירד שריד לאדירים (which Rashi under-
stood to mean "then ruled a remnant among the mighty of the
nations") led Kittel in BH³ and Meyer in BHS to emend the MT
to ירד ישראל באדירים "Israel descended with the nobles." They
provided the problematic notation "(sic Gᴮᶜ)" even though the B-
text has κατέβη κατάλειμμα τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς "went down a remnant
for the mighty ones." By way of contrast, Stuart (1976: 125,
134), following Cross, deleted ירד and read שריד as a *shaphᶜel*,
translating "then bring them down, O mighty ones." On the basis
of Arabic سرد "to weave a coat of mail," Seale (1962: 346; 1978:
56–57) saw a reference here to a mail-clad Sisera (like Saul in 1
Sam 17:38) and the אדירים "skin-clad ones" (like Esau in Gen
25:25, כאדרת שער "like a hairy mantle").

The proposal of Chaney (1976: 14), cited by O'Connor (1980:
224), to view שריד as the border-town in Zebulun mentioned in
Josh 19:10 and 12, which was centrally located for Israel's mo-
bilization, is attractive. However, though the *personal* name
Sered is known from Ugaritic *bn . srd* (*UT* 452: 1794) and is
found in Gen 46:14 and Num 26:20, there are reservations about
a *place* name Sarid since the LXX (Lagardiana), the Syriac, and
the Old Latin translators read שדוד (= Shadud) in Josh 19, which
has been identified with Tell Shadud. Contra Naʾaman (1990:

425), I concur with Boling (1982: 442) that שָׁדוּד, not שָׂרִיד, was in the original text of Josh 19.

Stager's (1988: 226) observation that יָרַד "has an adversative force in this poem" was on target, but his translation, "Then the fugitives went down against the [enemy] nobles," is off course. His interpretation requires the singular שָׂרִיד to be read as a collective or plural, and then "the villagers" (who formed the "militia of Yahweh" and were addressed in 5:31a as the "lovers" of Yahweh) become the "fugitives"—even though the defeated Sisera is the only fugitive otherwise mentioned.

J. C. de Moor (1993: 486–490), using a methodology similar to the one employed in this study, discovered the names of Judah and Levi hidden in this verse. He divided שָׂרִיד into two words and, with the addition of four vowel letters and one consonant, read the verse as

אָז יָרְדוּ שָׂרֵי יוֹדָה לְאַדִּירִים
עִם יְהוָה יָרַד לֵוִי בַּגִּבּוֹרִים

"then the princes of Yôdah descended to the dignitaries,
with YHWH descended Levi with heroes."

The יד of שָׂרִיד becomes the name יְהוּדָה, which in this one instance would have the *plene* spelling יודה, compared to the other 800 occurrences of יהודה. Given this ratio of יודה/יד to יהודה, de Moor's comment is not surprising, "the unusual spelling of the name of Judah confused the copyist," who compressed the confusing שרי יד into the more enigmatic שריד/שרייד.

However, since normative *plene* spelling for the *entire* poem requires the addition of only fifteen vowel letters, the addition of five letters in this one verse is a bit suspicious. Two of the restored vowel letters could be eliminated by reading the singular "the prince (of) *Yôdāh* descended," in parallelism with the restored singular ירד לֵוִי "Levi descended." But this would suggest an elevated status for Judah or its prince, and make Judah's disappearance from the tradition all the more surprising.

Even though de Moor conjectured, "A spelling like *yôdāh* might be expected to have existed in ancient Israel," *yôdāh* would have been spelled simply as יד in the original pre-Davidic orthography. The ambiguous יד could also be the contracted *hophᶜal* jussive *yûd* "may he be praised," a variant of the uncontracted

yĕhûd. It could then be argued that יד should be read as "Jude," which by coincidence would make the archaic spelling of Judah similar to the יודא/יודה of Graeco-Roman times. Given the ambiguity of consonantal יד (= *yûd*, *yad*, *yiddô*, etc.), it is easy to see why the uncontracted form יהד (*yĕhûd*) would have become normative. If the MT שָׂרִיד is to be divided to read שר יד, the יד should probably be vocalized as *yûd* or *yûdâ*. (On reading the MT לי as לו or ליו or לוי, see below, under 5:13b.) The interpretation of de Moor merits attention, but it must be considered in light of the following alternatives.[166]

In the earlier version of this study, I concurred with Cross and Stuart in reading a *shaphᶜel* here and proposed the stem רוד (= רדד) "to assist" in light of Arabic and South Arabic cognates. This had the support of Symmachus's rendering of הכהנים ירדו in Jer 5:31 as οι ιερεις συνεπισχυσαν αυτοις, "the priests joined in giving strength to them."[167] While the translation, "the truly noble ones went down to assist," still remains possible, Soggin's proposal (1981c: 88) that שריד "could be an unknown military technical term, as the parallelism [עם "militia"] suggests," seems more likely, even more so than finding the names of Judah and Levi hidden in this verse. In this section, which deals with the mustering of the troops (5:10–13), the names of the tribal participants do not appear. Tribal names are restricted to 5:14–18.

Although not strictly a military term like the Χεζραθ and Χάρακα in the Septuagint of 1 Kgs 15:20 and 1 Kings 21:12, cited by Finet (1963: 191) as Akkadian words for "places-fortes" and "machine de siège," the MT שריד can be equated with the Akkadian *sārid* "Eseltreiber, Packmeister, caravan leader, ânier"

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[166] Note Albright's (1927: 175) statement, "*Yᵉhûd* was evidently the form employed commonly by pre-exilic Jews in everyday language, and was still used by Aramaic-speaking Jews after the exile, as we know from the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra . . . ." On the meaning of the name of Judah, see Millard 1974: 216–218.

[167] See Ziegler 1957: 176. The stem רדה/רוד "to assist, to support" occurs in Hos 12:1, "but Judah still puts (his) trust (רד) in God," and Ju 7:24, "Give help (רדו) in confronting the Midianites." For the cognates see GKC 77ᵃ; Lane 1872: 1063c; Dozy 1927: 2: 521a; and Jamme 1962: 70a.

(Larsen 1967: 79–80).[168] This would permit a quasi-military role for Barak, since the caravan leader was responsible for caravan security.[169] This removes Barak from the domain of the military establishment and helps to explains his reticence to command a militia. Caravan security was one thing, but warfare was another matter. Barak's forte was trade and travel, not combat and battle.

The poet's casting Barak in the role of "Packmeister" (perhaps part of the strategy of deception for a successful mobilization) fits in well with the other caravan motifs in 5:7 (warriors [caravan guards?] disappeared), 5:10 (she-asses and mules), 5:19 (spoils of silver = caravan currency), 5:30 (dyed and embroidered cloth = caravan merchandise), plus the mention in 4:11 of the אלון בצענים "oak of the caravaneers" (Soggin 1981c: 66). As a caravan leader, Barak need not have been a well-known or powerful international traveler since, as Larsen (1967: 80) noted,

> . . . the *sāridum* is always connected with regular hire . . . . To my knowledge there is only once case of a *sāridum* receiving a working-capital . . . . the *sāridū* are anonymous. Finally there is reason to believe that the *sāridum* in many cases followed the caravan only on part of the journey, or that he was hired en route, perhaps to be of help to the caravan on certain stretches.

Stuart (1976: 134) read the ל of לאדירים as a vocative ל, but this is unnecessary once שָׂרִיד is taken to be the subject of ירד. The ל here has the force of על "against" (as in Ju 9:25, 16:2, etc.). The אדירים "nobles" are the same people addressed in the exhortation as מלכים and רזנים, i.e., the enemy nobility (as in Jer 25:34; 2 Chron 23:30; and Neh 10:30). The use of שָׂרִיד and ירד is another example of the poet's fondness for aural coherence, noted elsewhere with אֶת and אֶת, אָרְחוֹת and אֳרָחוֹת, בְּצַעְדְּךָ and דְּבוֹרָה and דּוֹבֵר, and עוֹרִי and עוֹרִי, אֱלֹהִים and אֵל, בְּצֵאתְךָ.

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[168] Another Akkadian technical term has been noted by Pope (1965: 177), namely, "The word 'Tarshish' is derived from an Akkadian word meaning 're-finery' or 'smelter' and was applied by the Phoenicians to their mining colonies in Spain and North Africa and on the island of Sardinia."

[169] See Albright 1968b: 62–63 for a discussion on the Egyptian *ʾmy-ʿ* "caravan leader" and the quasi-military role of the *ʿmy-ʿ*.

5:13b. They were accompanied   לי<וּ> בגבורים
        by (heavenly) warriors

Following the B-text and the notes in BH³ and BHS, MT לי is commonly changed to לו. By contrast, Stuart (1976: 134) deleted the י and the following preposition ב and read the ל as another vocative ("O Warriors"). However, one need not delete anything; rather, an addition is required. As noted (on page 162), de Moor (1993: 486), supported by the MT and the B-text, read the לְ or לוֹ as the name לֵוִי, thereby bringing the number of tribal participants against Sisera up to twelve; namely, Asher, Benjamin, Dan, Ephraim, Gilead, Issachar, *Levi*, Machir, Naphtali, Reuben, *Yôdāh*, and Zebulun. (As indicated, de Moor's proposal cannot be dismissed lightly; but presently I remain doubtful.)

However, using the same basic methodology, I propose the following alternative reading. MT לי (B-text לו) is not a name but a verb lacking the 3mpl suffix, like לבי in 5:9 and לחם in 5:8. When read as ליו, the verb can be parsed as a *qal* passive of לוה, a cognate of Ugaritic *ly* (*lwy*) "to escort" (Driver 1956: 159), Syriac ܠܘܐ "to accompany, to follow" (J. Payne Smith 1903: 236), and Akkadian *lawû* "to escort" (*AHW* 1: 540–541). The גבורים are most likely the same as the גבורי שמים in 1QH iii: 35–36. The כוכבים[170] "the star (warriors)" which appear in 5:20 ("From the heavens fought the stars, from their stations they fought against Sisera") have been mobilized along with the Israelite militia.

V. Strategy of the forces (Part I): Ju 5:14–15a

5:14a. Hastening through Amalek   שרש<י>ם בעמלק

MT שרשם and בעמלק have been very problematic. A variety of emendations have been suggested over the years, including:

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[170] The heavenly warriors appear in Enoch and the Talmud, as well as in the Qumran scrolls. See P. D. Miller 1973: 245, note 219, for references.

שֵׁרְשׁוּ בעמק "they tore (?) to the valley"
    (G. A. Smith 1912: 87);

מָשְׁכוּ בעמק "they spread out in the vale"
    (Burney 1918: 133);

שֵׂר שֵׂר בעמק "storm, storm into the valley"
    (Albright, 1922: 77);

שָׂרוּ שָׂרִים בעמק "princes went forth into the valley"
    (Richter 1963: 401);

שָׂרֵד בעמק "bring them down into the valley"
    (Stuart 1976: 135);

שָׂרִים בעמק "princes were in the valley"
    (JB and NAB);

שָׂרוּ שבע[ם] מלכם "brechen siebzig *melakim* auf"
    (Rose 1976: 447);

שָׂרוּ שָׂרִים בעמק "the captains arrived at the valley"
    (Soggin 1981c: 82).

Without emending the consonantal MT, O'Connor (1980: 224) revocalized the phrase to read, "they root them out of Amaleq." This would be an attractive solution but for the fact that, as evidenced in 5:17–21, the fighting took place in Jezreel, along the sea coast, and in the vicinity of Merom—not in the region of Amaleq. G. R. Driver (1962–1963: 10) appealed to the Arabic شرس "he was ill-natured" and أشرس "he was bold or daring in battle" (Lane 1872: 1532), and translated "men of Ephraim were showing a bold face in the plain" (cf. NEB). Driver sensed the poet's intent as evidenced in the *triplet* he offered for לאחריך: "(hurrying) to thy rear (to join thee)." But the idea of hurrying comes from the text, not the context. It is found in the correct interpretation of שֵׁרְשֵׁם.

Without emending the text, Craigie (1970: 83–86; 1972: 352) appealed to the Egyptian root *srs* "to have command (of a corps)" and the Hebrew שָׁלִשִׁים "officer" and translated, "officers (go down) into the valley." This has been adopted by Lindars (1995: 210, 253). But the reading here of שֵׁרשׁ for the widely attested שָׁלֹשׁ (i.e., the Hittite *šalliš = ša rabāti*) and pulling the verb from 5:13 are difficult options, though not impossible.

Craigie's appeal to an Egyptian loanword was certainly a move in the right direction. However, the loanword was not *srs*

but *šrš* "schnell sein, herbeieilen (zur Hilfe)"[171] (Erman and Grapow 1897: 4: 529). The poet probably intended a wordplay on the name אֶפְרַיִם, associating it with פרא "to be quick" or אפר (= Arabic افر) "to be quick, to be active." The recruits from אֶפְרַיִם (= אפרים "the fast ones") would be the שרשים "speedy ones."[172] Moffat's translation (1922: 276), "wheeling from Ephraim into the glen," which was similar to that of G. A. Smith (1912: 87), was on target for the participle שרשם (= שרשים).

Few contemporary scholars, aside from Schloen (1993: 27), have argued for the integrity of MT בעמלק. Globe (1975b: 171) who supposedly offered a "literal" translation read עמק "valley" for עמלק: "From Ephraim [officers (?) came into the valley]," and Amalek was recognized only in a footnote. But Cazelles (1974: 235–238) had correctly argued for the integrity of the MT Amalek, noting along with *lectio difficilior* that Ju 12:15 associates Ephraim with the Amalekite hill country. As Payne (1983: 163–172) argued for a Midianite presence in Ephraim, Edelman (1986: 71–84) offered a good case for an Amalekite presence in the hills of western Samaria down to the time of Saul.

The poet's use of Amalek may help date the composition of the poem. Amalekites exercised control over the hill country (as opposed to there being an Amalekite "enclave" there) only after the death of Ramesses III (1166 B.C.E.) until their defeat at the hands of Gideon (detailed in Judges 6–7), perhaps around 1125. If the Song of Deborah was composed during the period of 1160–1125, it would be quite natural for the area known later as the "hill country of Ephraim" to be referred to as "the land of the Amalekites," similar to the use of "Canaan" in Josh 22:10–11.[173]

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[171] See Gardiner 1911: 20, note 9 (Anastasi I, 18: 5). On the subject of Egyptian–Hebrew parallels, see Yahuda 1933; 1947: 83–90; Gilula 1967: 114; W. G. Simpson 1969: 128–131; and Williams 1975: 231–253.

[172] Compare Bowman's argument (1972–1973: 89) that "Ju 5:14 according to the MT . . . may reflect a late smear tactic against Ephraim." To the contrary, the verse contains a complimentary wordplay, praising Ephraim.

[173] 1125 B.C.E. is the probable date for Gideon's campaign, based on a date at the end of the twelfth century for the destruction of the temple of El Berith at Shechem, which was the work of Gideon's son, Abimelek (Ju 9:42–49). See

The emendation of עמלק to עמק removes the one bit of internal evidence which could help date the composition of the poem.[174]

5:14b. (They) would strike at the rear   <ו>יכ< אחר

Craigie's identification (1969a: 257) of the MT אחריך בנימין as a war cry cannot be supported by Hos 5:8, considered by Lindars (1995: 253) and others to be a stylized battle cry. Hos 5:8 has its own textual problems, and the אחריך there is better read as אחרכו (an *aph°el* of the stem חרך "to rouse, to set in motion") or החרידו "terrify!" (a *hiph°îl* imperative of חרד).[175] Wolff (1974: 104) followed the LXX and translated Hos 5:8 "Sound the alarm in Beth-Aven, <terrify> Benjamin," assuming a *Vorlage* with חרד, not אחריך.

Consequently, Hos 5:8 and Ju 5:14b have only apparent similarities. Rabin's (1961: 387, 400) translation of Ju 5:14b, "May we be thy ransom, O Benjamin" (made on the basis of the Mishnaic אחריות "obligation to provide a substitute, make good a loss"), would be attractive in another context. But it is not suitable for a battle ballad in general or Ju 5:14–15a in particular.

MT אחריך is composed of the adverbial אחר and the defectively spelled *yqtl* 3mpl of נכה "to smite, to attack." Thus, אַחַר יַכּוּ "at the rear they will strike" removes the problematic direct address in the MT and uncovers a key element of the Israelite strategy.[176] From the vantage point of the Canaanites, whose

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Bright 1981: 180, note 85). Kraft (1962a: 394) dated Gideon to the second half of the eleventh century, as did Landes (1962: 102). Compare Ahlström (1977: 287–288; 1993: 379–381), who argued that the poem was composed long after the event it celebrates—at a time when Judah was not part of Israel.

[174]   In contrast to the conclusions in this study, compare Kallai's unacceptable conclusion (1978: 258–261), ". . . the background of the Song of Deborah with the general territorial picture it conveys is incompatible with its being an early epic, and supports the contention that it is a later composition."

[175]   On the *aph°el* in Hebrew, see Dahood 1965: 24; and 1968: 31.

[176]   Compare Kuhnigk 1974: 73, where he vocalizes אַחֲרִי כִּי, having an emphatic כִּי in parallel with the suffixed ם of שָׁרְשָׁם. He takes אחר to mean "Nachkommenschaft, Sprößling."

chariots faced the plain, an attack from the southern mountains would be from the rear. The fear of such an attack is found in Papyrus Anastasi I 24:5 (*ANET* 478a; Gardiner 1911: 27), "Then thou thinkest that the foe is behind thee. Trembling seizes thee."

5:14c. Benjamin from concealment   <ה>בנימין בעמם יכ
would attack

None of the varied translations give hint that this phrase deals with strategy. Direct address required by MT goes unchallenged by most, including the NAB, "Behind you was Benjamin, among your troops"; the NEB, "crying, 'With you, Benjamin! Your clansmen are here'"; O'Connor (1980: 224), "Benjamin delays you among the people"; and NRSV, "following you, Benjamin, with your kin." However, similar to אחריך, discussed above, MT בעממיך is a compound of three elements: the preposition ב, the noun עמם, and the *yqtl* 3ms of נכה.

The vocable is עמם II, "to darken, to dim" (BDB 770; Klein 1987: 475), a cognate of Aramaic עמם "to conceal, to suppress" and Arabic غم "he concealed." It was probably used instead of ארב or חבא for alliteration with the name בנימין, matching the alliteration which occurs also with the names Machir (מכיר and מחקקים) and Issachar (יששכר and שרי).[177]

Lindars (1995: 210, 291), appealing to עֲמָמִים "peoples" in Neh 9: 22, 24 translated the colon "After you, Benjamin, in your companies" and lamented, "It seems impossible to relate Pesh *běḥubak*" (perhaps meaning 'in your willingness' to take part) to the Hebrew." But ܚܒܘܟ, minus its preposition and suffix, is the cognate of Hebrew חבה/חבא "to hide, to withdraw" (BDB 285), which is a synonym of עמם II, "to darken, to conceal."[178] The Peshiṭta's ܚܒܘܟ (= ܐܬܚܒܝ) supports my translation.

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[177] Note other examples cited by Globe 1975b: 172–173.

[178] Ordinarily this word is spelled with a ܦ rather than a ܒ. See Payne Smith 1903: 133 and 153 for ܚܦܐ "to cover, to hide" and ܚܘܦܝ "covering, hiding." Note that the ܥܡܘܛܐ "thick darkness" with a ܒ rather than ܦ.

5:14d. From Zebulon (those)   ומזבולן משכים בשבט ספר
        brandishing the marshal's mace

The suggestion of Kittel in BH³ to delete בשבט ספר, and even the proposals of Burney and Richter to delete just ספר for metrical reasons, are unnecessary. But Meyer's (in BHS) and de Moor's (1993: 492) proposal to read ספר "copper / bronze" (cognate of Akkadian *siparru*, first suggested by Friedländer), and Tsevat's (1952–53: 107) reading ספר as a cognate of Akkadian *šaparu* "to rule" and *šapirum* "governor" remain good options.[179]

Since the function of the scribe could be a military one (2 Kgs 25:19; Jer 52:25; 2 Chron 26:11; and 1 Macc 5:42) and in light of the Egyptian borrowing of the term סֹפֵר יֹדֵעַ (which was apparently the equivalent of their own army official, the *sš dn* "scribe of distribution" [Gardiner 1947: 33]) there is good reason to retain סֹפֵר "scribe, muster-master" (with Lindars, 1995: 291). As the following excerpts from Papyrus Anastasi I (Gardiner 1911: *passim*; *ANET* 475–479) indicate, the position of the scribe was one of authority, like that of the מחקקים and the שׂרים:[180]

A scribe of the king, one who enrolls the soldiers   (1: 12: 1)
... I am the scribe, the commander of soldiers   (1: 13: 6)
... vigilant scribe, who art at the head of the army   (1: 15: 1)
... thou honoured scribe, Maher cunning of hand,
    at the head of the troops, in front of the army.   (1: 27: 1)

In this context, שבט is not a synonym of רמח "spear," as in 1QM and 2 Sam 18:14, but the scepter of authority, as in Gen 49:10 and Isa 14:5. A wordplay on Zebulon appears to have been intended here as with Ephraim: זבל and מֹשֵׁך are synonyms like Arabic زبل "he held" and مشك "he carried." The *carrier* (זבולן) *carried* (מֹשֵׁך) the marshal's mace.

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[179] See Perles 1916: col. 84 (who cited Friedländer [*JQR* 1903: 102]). Boling (1975: 112) followed Tsevat (1952–1953: 107).

[180] For a survey of the problems with מחקקים in the LXX, see Walters 1973: 206–208.

5:15a. And officers from Issachar   וְשָׂרַי בְּיִשָּׂשכָר

The NEB translation, "Issachar joined with Deborah in the up-
rising," follows G. R. Driver's proposal (1962–63: 11) to transfer
the בּ of בישׂשכר to the preceding וׂשרי. With the elision of the י,
Driver read שׂרב (= סרב), a cognate of Syriac ܣܪܒ "to rebel"
But שׂרב and ܣܪܒ do not suggest military action, but garrulous,
contentious, or mendacious speech.[181] It is more a synonym of
מאן and מרה "to reject" than of מרד "to revolt."

Therefore, the MT remains preferable, requiring only a change
in the vocalization of וׂשרי. The ו may be emphatic, though not
necessarily, since the bicolon begins with an emphatic ו affixed
to מזבולן. It is retained here for better syllable balance. The use
of the intervening preposition or particle in the construct chain is
characteristic of this poet's style, noted already in 5:4–5 (מי־ם
הרים "waters of the mountains") and in 5:10–11 (והלכי על דרך
"those walking the road"). The use of בּ "from" here and in 5:6
and 5:19 is a minor unifying element (see note 42).

The *principales tui* of the Old Latin reflects a *Vorlage* with
וׂשריך יששכר, where the בּ of בישׂשכר was read as a כ and
affixed to וׂשרי. The *et ex Issachar* rendering of the Ethiopic
reflects a confusion of בּ and מ, or an understanding that בּ could
mean "from." The A-text and the Lucianic text seemingly have
nothing in 5:15 to reflect the MT וׂשרי, but the extra ἐνισχύοντος
ἡγήσεως doublet in these texts in 5:14 is the remote doublet for
וׂשרי.

Strategy of the Forces (Part II): 5:15b–16

These verses have been considered corrupt by many critics,
including Moore (1900b: 172), who left part of the text un-
translated, and Albright (1922: 77). Soggin (1981c: 89) provides
a very good summary of current opinion. Generally, 5:15–22 is
labeled a taunt song or a denunciation of those tribes which did

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[181] R. Payne Smith 1897–1901: 2: 2725; J. Payne Smith 1903: 389. Note,
for example, Ezek 2:6, אַל־תֵּחָת כִּי בֵּית מְרִי הֵמָּה "be not afraid for they are
a rebellious house."

not participate in the battle. Several scholars, including Crown (1967: 240–242), Craigie (1969a: 261), and Globe (1974b: 504), suggested that these lines contained old idiomatic expressions for sarcastic censure, especially against Reuben.[182] Globe believed the poet used a *double entendre* to make the sarcasm all the more biting. The expression חקקי לב was used to demean Reuben as a "commander of the mind," a kind of "armchair warrior" who had only a "division (פלגות) of his mind" instead of a command over a real military division (פלגות) in the field.

But far from being a taunt against those who did not participate in the battle against Sisera, these lines are a continuation of the strategy statement of 5:14. Hay (1964: 403) noted that the strategy was not new or unique:

> The similarity between the principal factors in this story and the Reed Sea episode is striking: Israel is delivered when the vastly superior enemy chariot force is swept away by water. . . . Thus it appears likely that Israel again employed the same tactics which she had used successfully against the Egyptians.

5:15b. That he might inflict defeat   וישׁשׂכר

Albright (1922: 77), followed by Meyer (BHS), deleted this colon in his reconstruction in light of the LXX A-text which has no hint of it. Burney (1918: 137), followed by other critics (e.g., J. Gray, see above, page 148), replaced וישׁשׂכר with ונפתלי. But given the poet's liking for paronomasia and for aural coherence, it is more likely that the second ישׁשׂכר in verse 15 is a *shaphᶜel* (*yqtl*) of the root שׂכר, like Ugaritic *ṯṯkrn* (*UT* 502: 2679), a cognate of South Arabic *škr* "to defeat" (Jamme 1962: 71a, 448). This word occurs in the enigmatic proverb רב מחולל כל ושׂכר כסיל ושׂכר עברים in Prov 26:10, which R. B. Y. Scott (1965: 157) unnecessarily emended to read, "to hire a fool or drunkard is to wound all passers-by with a sword." However, the aphorism becomes quite obvious by simply reading שׂכר "to defeat"

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[182] The reference in Gen 49:4 to Reuben's being "unruly like water" is not a denunciation for his being "fainthearted," since פחז כמים, like Aramaic פחז and Arabic فحز "uncontrollable, reckless, boastful," speaks of the reckless courage of the zealot.

in lieu of MT שׁכר "to hire": "Strife (ריב) wounds everyone, defeating (שׁכר) the fool and defeating (שׁכר) the learned."[183]

5:15c. Barak was concealed in the plain   כן ברק בעמק

Lindars (1995: 256–257) followed Burney in reading כֵּ as an adjective and added the preposition ל to Barak's name, translating "true to Barak." But Schnurrer, cited by G. R. Driver (1962–1963: 11), and Soggin (1981c: 89) more correctly related the כן to Arabic كنّ "to conceal, a place of concealment or retreat" (Lane 1893: 3003; Hava 1915: 666). I concur with this identification, even though Soggin's translation, "Issachar was a support for Barak," does not reflect this meaning. The MT כן (= כון) is simply a *qal* passive meaning "was concealed." This verb also occurs in Ju 12:6, ולא יכין לדבר כן, "he could not conceal speaking thus," and in Josh 8:4, "you shall lie in ambush (ארבים) . . . all of you shall remain hidden (והייתם כלכם נכנים)" (contra the RSV "hold yourselves in all readiness").[184]

5:15d. Gad had joined them   גד לים

It has long been assumed that Gad was not mentioned in Judges 5, and this assumption led Mayes (1974: 31) to conclude that "at the time of the event commemorated in the Song of Deborah there existed no tribe of Gad." But Gad was there all

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[183] MT עברים "the learned," as the antithesis of כסיל, must be a cognate of عرف "the learned one well-acquainted with affairs, a manager, supervisor." The Arabic عرفه "he knew it" is synonymous with علمه "he knew it," with the distinction that عرف indicates perceiving a thing by reflection (Lane 1872: 2013– 2015). Given the interchange of ב and פ (see Blommerde 1969: 5–6) and the metathesis which occurs in vocables having an ע and a ר, MT עבר need not be emended to ערף or ערב. See page 142 for a discussion on the analogous שערים in Ju 5:8.

[184] Job 12:5, 15:23, 18:12, and Ps 38:18 need to be reexamined in light of כון "to conceal."

along. The גדלים in 5:15d is not the plural noun גְּדֹלִים "great ones" but a two-word phrase with a subject and a verb. The subject is גַּד and the verb is the *qal* 3ms of לוה "to join, to accompany" (BDB 530–531; Kopf 1976: 153), with the 3mpl datival suffix, meaning "Gad had joined them."

This interpretation removes the alleged sarcastic censure of Reuben and closely associates Reuben with Gad, an association which is reflected in their intermingled settlement (Josh 13 and Num 32), which predated the time when they were fighting against Sisera as comrades-in-arms. (Isserles [1510–1572], similarly dividing the name, suggested that Reuben in this verse was to be read as ראוי בין [see note 189]).

5:15d–16a. Those of genuine courage   חקקי לב למה
            circled about

The translation "genuine courage" combines insights from Akkadian and Arabic. In Akkadian, *libbu* without a modifier may indicate courage, e.g., *ša lìb-bi išû u emūqu la išū anāku* "I am one who has courage but no strength" (*CAD*: 9:170b). The Hebrew לב has the same meaning, although it generally has a modifier, as in Amos 2:16 (אמיץ לבו) and Ps 76:5 (אבירי לב), both meaning "courageous." Hebrew חקק is a cognate of Arabic حَقّ "authentic, genuine, true," as in the expression حاق السجاع "perfect in courage" (Lane 1865: 605c, 609c). Consequently, the MT חקקי לב means the "true-hearted," those of "genuine courage," and the masculine bound nouns חקקי לב are the subject of the verb למה "to encircle, to surround, to circle about."

The doublets in 5:16 of Symmachus and the A-text, ἵνα τί μοι κάθησαι [Symmachus καθισαι] "why to me to sit down?" (as opposed to the B-text εἰς τί ἐκάθισαν "to what [purpose] did they seat?"), reflect למי שבת instead of למה ישבת. The ἵνα τί and εἰς τί reflect the MT למה; the μοι doublet preserves the variant למי (the poetic למו + 1cs suffix = למי). The B-text has ἐκάθισαν "they seated" (= יְשְׁבוּ for ישבת) which appears to be a contextual translation which avoided the second person since there is no direct address in the immediate context, and since a sequential infinitive after an interrogative למה makes poor sense.

But למה is not the interrogative לָמָּה but the infinitive absolute לְמֹה, like פרע and עורי, discussed above.[185] It functions as a finite verb (or with the elision of the finite verb) and is a cognate of Akkadian *lamû* "to hem in (an enemy), to circumambulate" (*CAD*: 9:69–77). In light of the doublets in the Greek text, it is quite possible that the word was originally לם, *scriptio defectiva* for a 3mpl verb. In either case, the original לם was incorrectly vocalized לָמָּה (εἰς τί) and לְמִי (= μοι) instead of לָמוֹ or לָמוּ or לְמֹה. Lindars (1995: 291) correctly noted, "All the LXX render-ings presuppose that the meaning [of חקקי] is to be deduced from חקרי, but all presuppose a different word, which suggests that the text did not differ from the MT." It is a case where translators and tradition, like contemporary lexicographers, failed to recognize that חקקי לב meant "true-hearted" or "courageous."

P. de Boer (1951: 181), followed by Cazelles (1952: 378), re-cognized the *shaphᶜel* of למה in Isa 38:12 and 13, "by day as well as by night thou makest me hemmed in (תשלימני)," com-pared to the NRSV "from day to night you bring me to an end." The infinitive absolute is here followed by three sequential infinitives (discussed next): ישבת "to wait for," שׂרקת "to look for," and רָאוֹ "to triumph over."

5:16a. to wait between the ravines   ישבת בין המשפתים

Although the MT interrogative לָמָּה initially points the exegete in the wrong direction, the crux in 5:16 is really משפתים, variously translated "fireplaces, ash heaps" (BDB 1946a), "Pack-esel, Sattelkörbe" (KB³ 616a), or "sheepfolds" (Kimḥi, KJV, RSV, NRSV). The translations have Reuben acting very strange-ly: "Why did you squat between hearths harkening to pastoral pipings?" (Boling 1975: 103); "But why did you remain sitting under the pack-saddles, listening to the shepherds' pipes?" (Sog-gin 1981c: 82); "Why do you sit among hearths listening to herds hissing?" (O'Connor 1980: 225); "Why did you stay among the sheepfolds to listen to the whistlings for the flocks?" (Lindars

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[185] Note Jer 31:2, הָלוֹךְ לְהַרְגִּיעוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל, "Israel journeyed to find rest," which has the infinitive absolute followed by the sequential infinitive construct.

1995: 210)—none of which really improved on Smith's (1912: 88), "Why satest thou still the wattles between?"

The B-text διγομίας "a double-load, a twin-pack" reflects a dual מַשְׂאֵתַיִם for the MT הַמִּשְׁפְּתָיִם, but provides no better sense: "Why did they sit among the twin-packs to hear the hissing of *angels*?" The LXX *Vorlage* apparently had עוּרִים "watchers, angels" for the MT עֲדָרִים "flocks (?)," although ἀγγέλων could easily be a misreading of ἀγελῶν "herds" (see below, page 181).

Craigie (1977b: 33–49) and Soggin (1981c: 90) have summarized the issues, which center basically around the two following interpretations:

(a)   Albright (1950–1951: 22 and 1968b: 237), followed by Boling (1975: 112) argued for a Hebrew cognate of Ugaritic *mtpdm* "hearth, fireplace" = מִשְׁפְּתִים;

(b)   Eissfeldt (1949: 9–10 and 1954: 54–56), followed by Yadin (1955: 8), Tournay (1959: 361), J. Gray (1967: 287; 1988: 444), and Craigie (1977b: 48), associated the MT הַמְשְׁפְּתִים with the "kite" structures scattered in the area east-northeast of Amman and graphically depicted in a Safaitic drawing scratched in stone.[186]

But the meaning of Ugaritic *mtpdm* is in dispute, some thinking that it means "stages" or "layers" or a unit of distance—none of which fits the context of 5:16. P. de Moor (1993: 491) asserted, "It is certain *mšptym* corresponds to Ugaritic *mtpdm* and primarily means 'donkey-pack.'" This would make הַמִּשְׁפְּתַיִם similar to the "two burdens" in Gen 49:14, as translated in the KJV and NKJ. Craigie linked הַמִּשְׁפְּתַיִם to the Egyptian *sbty* "surrounding walls, ramparts," but acknowledged that there were also linguistic problems with this identification, though no greater than with Ugaritic *mtpdm*.

An easier solution than the geographically remote "kites" or "converging fold-walls/sheepfolds" (J. Gray 1977: 223) and the linguistically remote *mtpdm* and *sbty* has long been available.

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[186] The converging enclosing walls, which may be up to ten miles in length and from the air look like a large (toy) kite, were used for the entrapment of animals. The double wall is reckoned to account for the dual form of המשפתים.

The Targum's בין תחומין "between the boundaries," the Old Latin *labiorum*, and the LXX A-text triplet in 5:15 provide the clues for reading "ravines."

The A-text has the transliterated μοσφαιθαιμ or the like, similar to the Syriac ܡܘܣܦܐܬܝܡ. Moreover, the A-text of 5:15 has a remote doublet (or triplet) for the MT שלח ברגליו. In addition to ἐξαπέστειλεν πεζοὺς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα "he sent off his foot soldiers out to the hollow" and ἐξέτεινεν ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ "he stretched out on his feet," it also has ἵνα τί σὺ κατοικεῖς ἐν μέσῳ χειλέων "to what end do you dwell in (the) midst of banks/shores (of the wadi)," obviously a translation of 5:16a in which המשפתים was derived from שפה "lip, boundary, brink." The Syriac text has ܫܒܠܬܐ (= Hebrew שבלת "flowing stream"), which suggests the same understanding.

Hebrew שפה/שפה may be related to two Arabic cognates, either شفه/شفا "brink, lip" or سيف "the side of a valley or the shore of the sea or river" (Lane 1872: 1574, 1485c). The latter definition fits שפה when used with a wadi, river, or seaside.[187] When no distinction was made between the שׁ and שׂ, the two stems easily became confused in Hebrew.

Meek's translation (1927: 385), "Why did you lounge among the ravines," was on target for משפתים, though he missed the point on למה and ישבת as they pertained to the strategy of the Israelites. The unusual infinitive, יְשֹׁבֶת "to tarry, to stay" instead of שֶׁבֶת, is also attested with the stem יָבֵשׁ in Gen 8:7, ". . . [the dove] went to and fro until the waters were dried up (יְבֹשֶׁת)."

5:16b. to listen, to look for stragglers   לשמע שרק[ו]ת עדרים

MT שְׁרִקוֹת, regularly identified with שרק "to whistle, to hiss," is emended and read, without the ו, as the infinitive construct

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[187] The MT משפתים can be read as the dual of a feminine noun (like משמרת "office, function") meaning "two sides of a valley" or simply "a (mountain) ravine." As noted on page 111, the poet made frequent use of the feminine dual, including רקמתים and רחמתים in 5:30 and פלשתים in 3:31 (as interpreted above, pages 64–69).

שֹׂרֶקֶת, a metathetic variant of שׁקר = סקר "to ogle, to look at in-tently" and Syriac ܣܩܪ "to eye with hatred or envy." (A similar metathesis occurs with סקר "to paint red" [Jastrow 1903: 1021], but Arabic شرق "he dyed it red" [Lane 1872: 1539a]). The inten-sity of action rooted in שׁקר/שׂרק is greater than that of ראה. It is more like the intensity associated with שׁקד "to be watchful, to be alert" (noting that שׁקד and שׁקר could be easily confused).

For MT עדרים, the LXX B-text has ἀγγέλων "watchers, mes-sengers,"[188] having read עורים for the MT עדרים. However, the A-text διελθεῖν "to go through" must have read עברים for the עדרים. But neither reading warrants a change in the MT.

Contrary to exegetical tradition, עדרים is not the plural of the well-attested עדר "sheep, flock" or "shepherd" (Soggin 1981c: 82; NEB, and NRSV). The word is a cognate of Arabic غدر "to lag, to remain behind, to survive," e.g., "such a one remained (غدر) after the death of his brothers" (Lane 1887: 2231). The stem is used in Modern Hebrew meaning "to be missing in battle" (Klein 1987: 465). Thus, the עדרים are those stragglers who would survive the flooding and the destruction of their chariots. As noted above (page 144), the summons-to-arms was for a mop-up operation. In words borrowed from Ju 20:45 (NEB), the militia would "pick off the straggler on the road."

5:16b. triumph over   ראו בגדולים חקרי לב
        cowardly chieftains

Meyer, in BHS, like other commentators, viewed 5:16b as a duplicate of 5:15b. Stuart (1976: 135) deleted it, and the NEB relegated it to a note. But Soggin (1981c: 90) argued for its integrity and translated, "among the groups of Reuben, men were brave only at heart," which somehow is not supposed to conflict with 5:15d, "from the groups of Reuben there were numerous brave hearts." The חקר here is the cognate of Arabic حقر "paltry,

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[188] Compare the ἄγγελος of Dn 4:10 and 20 [LXX 4:13 and 23] and the ἀγγέλους of Job 40:11, where עירה or עירת was read for MT עברות "over-flowing." As noted on page 176, ἀγγέλων could be an error for ἀγελῶν.

contemptible, worthless." The חקרי לב "cowardly" is a clever wordplay on the חקקי לב "courageous" in 5:15c. Unfortunately, an erroneous addition of a ן after the preposition ב transformed the two words ראו בגדולים "they triumphed over the chieftains" into the awkward phrase ראובן גדולים "Reuben chieftains."[189] The verb ראה used with ב, meaning "to triumph over," appears in the Mesha Inscription and in many other biblical texts.

VI. Israelite Attack: Ju 5:17–23

As traditionally translated, the Song of Deborah in this section reprimands Gilead, Dan, and Asher for staying out of the conflict with Sisera. Gilead was censured for remaining in Trans-Jordan, Dan was chided for "dwelling at ease" or being preoccupied with maritime interests during wartime, and Asher was reprimanded for "vacationing" at the shore while his kinfolk took to the battle-field. By contrast, two tribes, Naphtali and Zebulon, are singled out for special commendation for courage unto death.

However, with only one change of a ו to י, the recognition of a *shaphᶜel* form or two, and the redivision of two words, an entirely different picture emerges in which *all* the tribes mentioned are hailed for heroic action. These lines actually tell of a three-front attack by the Israelites against Sisera's Canaanite coalition. The strategy presented in 5:14–18 was to challenge Sisera with

(a) a primary attack by Dan, Asher, and Zebulon against the harbor facilities at Abu Hawam at the mouth of the Wadi Kishon, which may have served, along with Acco, as a Egyptian navy base;[190]

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[189] Note Rabbi Moses Isserles's (1510–1572) redivision and transposition of the text as . . . בנדולים חקרי לב בפלגות ראוי בין (*Responsa* § 17, beginning with הרש״ל דן. I am indebted to Gilad Gevaryahu for this reference to ReMa. On "ראה ב" "to triumph over," see BDB 908a; *KAI* 2: 173.

[190] See Mazar 1951: 22. Edelman (1986: 83, note 23) called attention to the unpublished Ph.D. dissertation of D. Saltz, *Greek Geometric Pottery in theEast: The Chronological Implications* (Harvard, 1978) who identified Abu Hawam as Megiddo's port city (169, 172).

(b)   an diversionary attack by Naphtali towards Merom, although there was no intention to engage or seize the city;

(c)   a delayed assault by Ephraim from the south, via the Wadi el Arah and "along the waters of Megiddo," once Sisera's forces moved westward toward Abu Hawam.

According to this threefold Israelite strategy, Sisera would be forced to respond. He would, no doubt, hasten westward along the Wadi Kishon, which would have been dry during the late summer months. Even if winter rains or storms were imminent, Sisera would have had to gamble on using the wadi for a quick counterattack to Abu Hawam. This reconstruction fits extremely well with the *second half* of Malamat's observation (1979: 47) that, "The adoption of an indirect military approach finds expression in two principal tactics employed by the Israelites: covert infiltration—neutralizing the city defenses; and enticement—drawing the defenders out into the open." The destruction of the Canaanites, as interpreted here, involved (in words borrowed from Malamat) "tactics based on deception—feints, decoys, ambushes, and diversionary maneuvers—any guile to attain surprise in overcoming the enemy."[191]

5:17a.   Gilead in Trans-Jordan was on alert   גלעד בעבר הירדן שכן

Since Gad is mentioned in 5:15b (reading גד לים "Gad joined them" for MT גדלים, as proposed above), Gilead here refers to Machir.[192] This identification is supported by Num 32:39–40, "Machir invaded Gilead . . . Moses then assigned Gilead to

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[191] Malamat 1979: 45. Surprisingly, he did not include the Deborah–Barak–Yael traditions of Judges 4–5 in his examples of Israelite strategy and tactics.

[192] The γααδ and γαδ in MSS wgnᵃ and the Armenian, like the γαθ of MS n*, are either variants of Γαλααδ or displaced variants for Gad in 5:15b. Gad was associated with Moab, as noted in the Mesha Inscription, "Now the men of Gad had always lived in the land of Ataroth" (*KAI*: 2: 169, l. 10), and in Num 32: 34–36, "And the sons of Gad built Dibon, Ataroth, Aroer, Atroth-shophan." Note the study of Mauchline (1956: 19–33).

Machir." Evidently only a contingent of leaders from Machir participated in the fighting west of the Jordan (5:15, "officers went down from Machir"). But the escape routes in the east were closed to the Canaanites since Gilead/Machir stood on alert. When the Philistines, more than a century later, mustered their forces against Saul at Micmash, the Israelites themselves are reported to have made use of the escape routes into Gilead and Gad: "when the men of Israel saw that they were hard pressed, that the troops [of the Philistines] had drawn near . . . they forded the Jordan to the territory of Gad and Gilead" (1 Sam 13:7).

The MT שכן is either (a) the Hebrew cognate of the much discussed Ugaritic cognate *škn* "to prepare, to make ready, to take a stand,"[193] or (b) the *shaphᶜel* of כון "to establish" with the meaning of the *hiphᶜîl* attested in Ezek 7:14, והכין הכל ואין הלך למלחמה, "all was ready, but no one goes out to war" (NEB), and Nah 2:4, הרכב ביום הכינו, "the chariotry on the day of its preparation." The defective spelling of שכין created a homograph of שכן "to dwell" and שכן "to take a stand."

5:17b.   Then Dan boldly attacked ships   ודן למה יגור אניות
(See above, pages 86–87.)

The Song of Deborah makes explicit reference to the heroic actions of Dan, Asher, and Zebulon in an assault on the Canaanite coastal facilities, a significant feature not previously recognized because, in the words of Barr (1968: 268), there was "a strong tendency towards leveling the vocabulary and the interpretation of that which is rare as if it was that which was more normal." First, the pointing of למה as the interrogative "why" contributed to the misunderstanding of this verse. The proposal of Cross (1973: 235, note 74) to read MT לָ֫מָּה as an emphatic ל extended by מה- (well known from Ugaritic)[194] is essential for

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[193] Note the studies of Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartin (1974: 47–53) and Soggin (1975: 196).

[194] Stuart (1976: 135) links the emphatic למה to a composite of *lu* and *himma > limma*. This proposal has the support of the double emphatics in Gen 26:9 (אך הנה) and Jer 5:5 (כי המה, LXX = והנה), although in these cases the ה

correctly understanding this verse. Emphatic למה occurs also in 2 Chron 25:16, "Stop! You will surely (למה) be struck down!"; in Ps 2:1, "Indeed (למה), the nations rage!" and Ps 22:2 "My God, my God, you have surely (למה) forsaken me!"

The second key for understanding 5:17a is in recognizing יגור as a *yqtl* preterit of גור II "angriefen, to attack," rather than גור I "to sojourn, to reside as an alien,"[195] or, as Albright (1968a: 212) proposed, a denominative of Egyptian *kur(a)* "ship." Hebrew גור II is a cognate of Akkadian *gurrû* (D-stem) "to attack, to open hostilities" (*CAD* 5: 61) and Ugaritic *gr* (G-stem) "to attack." The word occurs elsewhere in biblical poetry. Powis Smith (1927: 935, 938) translated יגורו in Ps 56:7 as "they attacked" and יגורו עלי עזים in Ps 59:4 as "mighty men attacked me." The NEB of Isa 54:15 reflects the same usage. Hillers (1972: 41) followed my translation (1968: 43) of Lam 2:22, מגורי מסבב "my attackers from all over."[196]

J. Gray (1967: 287–288; 1988: 439), Craigie (1977b: 38–41), and Soggin (1981c: 82, 90) did not read MT אניות as "ships," but in light of Ugaritic *ʾan* and Arabic اون "to be at ease," translated "Dan abode at ease," or the like. However, אניות is not an adverbial accusative but the direct object of יגור. The action depicted here appears in Akkadian texts: "the enemy will take away the

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was not elided. Compare Halpern (1983: 384), "Still more appealing is the alternative of taking the lexeme as negative + enclitic . . . so one might render with Cross 'you do sit still,' or alternately, 'you do not sit still' . . . ." See also Cross 1988: 48, note 7.

[195] Note Stager's translation (1988: 229–232, following Albright [1922: 284]), "And Dan, why did he serve as a client on ships?" On the basis of Punic/Phoenician גר "client" and Ju 18:1, Stager argued that "Dan could be described as a client-tribe (clan) . . ." and speculated that "at least enough of the Danites had been hired or pressed into duty by the shipowners or shipping companies on the coast in the Jaffa region to inspire this saying about them."

[196] See above pages 49–50 and 86–87. Kellerman (1975: 439–449 provides a convenient summary discussion on גור "to sojourn" and lists Ju 5:17 among the eighty-one occurrences in the entire MT. He does not discuss the many occurrences of גור "to attack" except to note helpfully, "If in antiquity, 'to be foreign' and 'to be hostile' can be simply two different observations about the same person, one must admit the possibility that Akk. *gerû*, 'to be hostile' . . . can be regarded as the etymon of Heb. *gwr*."

boats from the mooring places," and "my soldiers reached the mooring place (and) the harbor to attack them" (*CAD* 8: 232b).

Attempts to make sense of the MT by reading למה as a *post-positive* particle coupled with the common verb גור "to sojourn" or "to be a client" (as though it were the normal verb used with חֹבֵל "mariner" or מַלָּח "sailor" or סַפָּן "seaman") are examples of translators overlooking the poet's use of now rare forms.

The tribe of Dan has been much maligned because of such errors. Rashi, for example, alleged cowardice: "and Dan why does he gather into ships? Dan gathered his wealth into ships to be prepared to escape" (cited by Rosenberg 1983: 42), suggesting that "Asher and Dan were unwilling to jeopardize their lucrative employment in Phoenician ships by fighting against their over-lords' allies." Even Lemche's (1991: 96) mild "lingered by the sea-shore" and "did tarry by the ships" maligns Dan and Asher by insisting that יגור = "to sojourn" and ישב = "to dwell."

5:17c. Asher assailed along the water's edge	אשר ישב לחוף ימים

Although ישב (B-text ἐκάθισεν and A-text παρῴκησεν) has uniformly been read as the verb "to dwell," the proposal here is to repoint it either as (a) יֵשַׁב, the *yqtl* preterit of an original ‏*וּשֵׁב, cognate of Arabic وثب "to leap, to assault, to assail" (Lane 1893: 2920), or (b) יֶשֵׁב or יֹשֵׁב, the *yqtl* preterit of שבב "to splinter, to shatter." Either vocable fits the context of an attack along the seacoast, splintering boats and shattering piers.[197]

The latter word occurs in Hos 8:6, כי שבבים יהיה עגל שמרון, "Surely the calf of Samaria shall be broken into pieces" (NAS). Wolff (1974: 142) correctly observed, "The hapax legomenon שבבים is related to the Middle Hebrew word שבב ('to hew') and to Arabic سبا 'to cut,' or سبيب 'chips, splinters,' and probably means 'wooden chips' or 'splinters'." Dahood (1959b: 1003), following T. H. Gaster (1950: 10), posited a Ugaritic root *ṯbb*

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[197] Blommerde (1969: 133) found an infixed ת in Job 38:11, reading the MT ישית ב as ישתב, used for the smashing of the waves at the shore.

"to smash, to splinter" and argued for reading שבב in Gen 49:24; Lam 1:7; and in Ps 89:45.[198]

5:17d. And struck against its harbors   ועל מפרציו ישכין

The MT מפרץ is not just a "creek" (NEB) or an "inlet" (Stuart 1976: 131), much less "gates" (Soggin 1981c: 83). But as the Arabic فراض indicates, it is "the place where ships unload, where they are stationed near the bank of a river" (Lane 1887: 2374c). The verb ישב "to assault" (שבב or ‏*ושב, discussed above) is in synonymous parallelism with ישכין (MT ישכון), the *shaphᶜel* of נכה "to strike, to attack," which occurs in the *hiphᶜîl* in 5:14a. The *shaphᶜel* here in 17b balances the *shaphᶜel* of כון (שֹׁכֵן) in 5:17a (as noted). The interchange of *shaphᶜel* and *hiphᶜîl* forms may be reflected in the conflated שהכה found in Pss 135:8 and 135:10.[199] The widely discussed energic נ,[200] attested also in the Deir ᶜAlla texts, accounts for the נ of ישכין. The ו of MT ישכון has been emended to י since cognates indicate that נכה was a ל"י rather than a ל"ו verb, and the *ê* vowel was indicated by a י.

The name of the anchorage which was attacked by Asher is not given unless, as L. H. Vincent (1935: 436) noted, there is a link between חיפה or חיפא "Haifa" and חוף ימים. However, the destruction of Abu Hawam about the time of Israel's initiative against Sisera makes the Abu Hawam harbor facility the most likely site. Although the twelfth-century destruction of Abu Hawam Stratum V-C is commonly attributed to the Philistine incursions, it is important to note that there is no evidence to support this conclusion. Maisler (1951: 23) noted, "attention must especially be called to the fact that *there is not even one 'Philistine' sherd found in Stratum IV, nor in Tell Abu Hawam in*

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[198] See McDaniel 1968b: 53, note 1, for bibliography and summary.

[199] On the survival of conflated readings in the MT, see Gordis 1958: 456, reprint 1976: 41.

[200] See McDaniel 1968b: 205; Blommerde 1969: 15; Robertson 1972: 112–118; and Hoftijzer and van der Kooij 1976: 297.

general" [italics mine], a fact which was noted also by Balensi (1985: 66).[201]

5:18.   Zebulon swam (underwater)   זבלון עם
        risking his life   חרף נפשו למות

The poet not only praised Zebulon for risking his life, but also described the heroic feat which warranted this special renown. The MT עם here is only a homograph of עַם "people, militia" and עִם "with." It is actually the 3ms of עום "to swim," a cognate of the Arabic عوم "to swim immersed in an irrational and dangerous action"—in contrast to swimming on the surface, which is سبح (Lane 1872, 1874: 1289a, 2202a). In the Qurʾan (21: 34) عوم means "to glide [through the sky]."[202]

This understanding recovers the tradition that Zebulon risked his life in a "frogman" attack against enemy boats moored off-shore. Similar underwater attacks are depicted on the alabaster reliefs in the palace of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.E.) and are known from the story of Scyllas and Hydna who attacked the Persian fleet by diving into the sea to cut anchor ropes.[203]

Hints of this heroic feat of Zebulon probably survive in the Blessing of Moses (Deut 33:19), where there is the collocation of

(a)   עָם מַהֵר "skillful swimmer," (for MT עמים הר "peoples mountain");

(b)   טמן "to bury, to submerge, to lay a snare";

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[201] Fritz (1973: 123) argued that Hazor actually fell to the Sea Peoples rather than to the Israelites. But Yadin (1979: 66) has rightly rejected this notion as a "desperate theory" and "unwarranted by any source."

[202] עום occurs in the *paʿel* in Aramaic, meaning "to move on, to travel far" (Levy 1924: 4: 639). The Akkadian *hamu* or *amu* "raft" (*CAD* 1: 85; 6: 73) and Arabic عامة "raft" and مستعام عامة "a ship upon the sea" (Lane 1872: 2202–2203) are from the same stem.

[203] See Plates IV and V. Strommenger and Hirmer (1962: Pl. 204b), and (*PW* 17: col. 44). I am indebted to my colleague, Dr. Grant Ward, for these references.

(c)   שֶׁפַע יַמִּים "the overflowing (water) of the seas," or שֶׁפְעִי
       מִם "floods of water" (like the שֶׁפְעַת מִם "flood of
       waters" in Job 22:11 and 38:34); and

(d)   שְׁפוּנֵי = סְפִינָה "vessel, ship."

A free translation of Deut 33:19, without emendation, reads,

> "Skillful swimmers" they are called.
> Indeed, they made the ultimate sacrifice.
> They gulped the overflowing seawater,
> and they submerged ships in the sand.[204]

The vocable עום occurs in Isa 11:15, וְהֵנִיף יָדוֹ עַל הַנָּהָר בְּעִים
רוּחוֹ "he will wave his hand over the river (Euphrates) with his
gliding wind." The hapax legomenon בְּעִים has generally been
translated "vehement" or "scorching," following Saadia's سخن
and the LXX πνευματι βιαιῳ (as if עִים were a by-form of חֹם or
חֻמֹּם "hot").[205] The derivation proposed here, "to swim, to travel
far, to glide" provides a synonym for the initial verb, נוּף "to
wave, to move to and fro."

The חרף of MT חֵרֵף נַפְשׁוֹ לָמוּת is stem IV (= Arabic حرف
"to turn a thing from its proper way or manner," as in the Qurʾan

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[204] Compare the NRSV,

> They call peoples to the mountain;
> there they offer the right sacrifices;
> for they suck the affluence of the seas
> and the hidden treasures of the sand.

Note Cross (1975: 233–234), who left these lines untranslated. The זבחי צדק
could be either (a) a reference to Zebulon's casualties—a kind of self-sacrifice
(Jastrow 1903: 378b) which would go well with the poem's acknowledgment
that "they risked their life to death," or (b) a reference to enemy casualties (e.g.,
Isa 34:6; Jer 46:10; Zeph 1:7–8). If Deut 33:18–19 alludes to Zebulon's actions
in Ju 5:18a, the Blessing of Moses must postdate the Song of Deborah, and
Freedman's suggestion (1979: 85–96) that Deut 33 predated Ju 5 will need to be
reversed.

[205] Compare Hummel (1957: 94–95). He suggested that בעים should be
read "to boil," an infinitive absolute of בעה with the enclitic ם. Note my pro-
posal (page 149 above) to read צחר as a by-form of צעיר "young."

8:16, متحرفا لقتال "maneuvering for battle")—not חרף stem II (the cognate of خرف "to be sharp, to taunt"). Far from "vacationing" at the seashore, Zebulon faced death in a risky marine maneuver.

5:18b. Naphtali attacked Merom   ונפתלי על מרום ישד

Critics have long recognized that על מרומי שדה, "upon the heights of the field," makes little sense since the fighting, according to what follows in the poem, was in the plain and along the wadi. It is only in the prose story of Judges 4 that the battle was fought at Mount Tabor, perhaps based on על מרומי שדה of 5:18. Boling (1975: 113), followed by Soggin (1981c: 90), asserted that על מרומי שדה "refers to the fact that the Esdraelon plain is characterized by undulations and hillocks which provide positions of relative advantage for the opposing forces," thus dissociating על מרומי שדה from Mount Tabor. Cross (1950: 28, 34) translated, "he mounted the heights of the (battle)-field." This was followed by O'Connor (1980: 225) who read the preposition על as עלה, "Naphtali surmounts the highest hills."

A contextually more suitable meaning, supported in part by the Vulgate's *in regione Merome*, comes by redividing על מרומי שדה to על מרום ישד ה". Then ישד can be read as the *yqtl* preterit (יְשֹׁד or יָשֹׁד) of שדד II, "to devastate" (Klein 1987: 641), cognate with Arabic شد "he attacked (in war), he charged, he assaulted" (Lane 1872: 1517) and Egyptian *š(ꜣ)d(ꜣ)* "to pillage, to attack (in secret)" (Gardiner 1911: 22). The ה of MT שדה when joined to the next word becomes the *Hiphᶜîl* prefix of באו in the next colon (הבאו = "they [the Canaanites] were forced to fight" or "they [the Israelites] made (the Canaanites) fight" (see 5:19a).

Merom, whether it is Meirun, four miles west of Safad or Marun er-Ras, about nine miles further north, was situated in Naphtali.[206] Naphtali may have been well established in that area before the destruction of Hazor.[207] Because the earlier campaign

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[206] See Aharoni (1957: 2: 142); Soggin (1972: 135, 143–144).

[207] Note J. Gray 1966: 49–50.

by Joshua against Jabin was preceded by the defeat of a Canaan-
ite coalition at the "waters of Merom" (Josh 11:7), another attack
in that direction could have had adverse psychological effects on
the Canaanites, as well as bolstering the morale of the Israelites.
The attack was not an assault or siege of the city but a diver-
sionary predatory incursion in or around the area designed to in-
duce a Canaanite counterattack at a time and place of Israelite
choosing.

A hint of deception may survive, not only in the Egyptian
š(ꜣ)d(ꜣ) "to attack (in secret)," but in the A-text and versions
which transliterated נפתלי with a final ם (νεφθαλειμ and *Neph-
talim* or *Nepthalim*). This could reflect the *Vorlage* נפתלים על
"Naphtalites upon" or נפתלי מעל "Naphtali from upon," or even
"Naphtali *deceptively*"—assuming מעל was the cognate of the
Arabic معل "to damage a thing" or "to be an agile, acute, or
clever man" (Lane 1893: 3022; Hava 1915: 727). If the verb מעל
were original, a wordplay on the name נפתלי may have been
intended also. Both stems, מעל and פתל, convey the idea of
being "deceptive, crafty, and cunning." This type of wordplay
has already been noted with Ephraim, Issachar, and Zebulon.
However, since נפתלי is transliterated νεφθαλειμ and *Nephtalim*
in other unrelated texts, the addition of a prefixed מ to על or a
suffixed ם to נפתלי cannot be made with any degree of certainty.

VII. Canaanite counterattack: Ju 5:19

5:19a. The kings were forced to come   הבאו מלכים

The *hophᶜal* הבאו comes from the redivision of שדה באו to
שד הבאו, noted above in 5:18b. The ו of נלחמו is suspect once
the redivision is made making מלכים the subject of הבאו rather
than the subject of נלחמו. Were the נלחמו emended to הלחם, a
sequential infinitive, as suggested by the παραταξασθαι of MSS
MN, one could read הֱבִיאוּ מלכים הִלָּחֶם "they made the kings
come to fight," instead of the simple sequential בָּאוּ . . . נִלְחָמוּ
"they came . . . they fought."

Whether the verb be active, passive, or reflexive, the point is
that the Israelites forced Sisera's coalition to fight. Sisera may

have wished to avoid conflict when the weather would work to his disadvantage and when Ephraim was making threats from the south. But an attack toward Merom and upon Abu Hawam (an Egyptian port and naval facility, like Acco, at the mouth of the Wadi Kishon) could not be ignored. A quick response by Sisera's coalition, in strength, was imperative—leaving the rear areas unprotected and vulnerable.

5:19b. From Taanach along   בתענך על מי מגדו
         the waters of Megiddo
                    (See above, pages 85–86.)

The parallel to Ju 5:19–23 in 4:14–15 accounts for the view of Aharoni and Avi-Yonah (1977: 62):

> Sisera gathered the Canaanite chariotry "at Taanach, by the waters of Megiddo" (Judg 5:19), and after crossing the upper reaches of the Kishon River, proceeded toward Mount Tabor. The Canaanites were fully confident in the surprise element and striking power of their chariotry . . . . The chariots however could not negotiate Mount Tabor and the forested hills of Galilee, and the initiative remained with Barak. The Israelites attacked on a rainy day: the defeat of the Canaanite chariotry turned into a rout; the Kishon, swollen by a downpour, preventing escape.

While this reconstruction harmonizes the accounts in Ju 4:14–15 and 5:19, it presupposes a certain naïveté on the part of Sisera, an experienced charioteer, for attempting a chariot attack into the forested hills of Galilee and up Mount Tabor.

Actually, Ju 4:14 and 5:19 are not fully reconcilable. The prose account makes no reference to rain and the flash-flooding of the wadi, and the poetic account knows nothing of Mount Tabor.[208] Moreover, the ב of בתענך need not mean "at," as though the Israelite militia made an attack *at* Taanach but not *at* Megiddo. The use of ב "from" (see above, note 42) indicates simply the east-west route of Sisera's counterattack to rout the Israelites.

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[208] Compare Herzog and Gichon (1978: 49–53) who present a three-phased campaign: (a) 10,000–20,000 men from Naphtali and Zebulon concentrated on Mount Tabor; (b) Sisera's advance to contain them on the mountain; and (c) Deborah and Barak's rear-attack on Sisera's forces. See note 156 above.

The *super aquas Machedon* and *ad aquas habitauerunt* found in some versions are corruptions of MT עַל מִי מְגִדּוֹ. The former reflects the *Vorlage* עַל מִי מְגָדָן; the latter reflects a *Vorlage* with עַל מִי גְרוּ. For the ג becoming *ch* or *c* instead of the anticipated *g* and γ (מְגָדָן = *Machedon*), one need only note that in 2 Sam 21:19 גָּלְיָת הַגִּתִּי "Goliath the Gittite" appears as Γολιαθ τον Γεθθαῖον and in B⁽†⁾ as Γοδολιαν τον Χετταιον. The same variation of Γεθθαίου for Χετταιον appears in 1 Chron 13:13. The *n* of *Machedon* reflects a misreading of ן for the original וּ. On the *aquas habitauerunt* (= מֵי גְרוּ instead of MT מְגִדּוֹ), one may note the *inhabitasti* in 5:17 for יָגוּר.²⁰⁹

5:19b. Silver spoils they did not take   בצע כסף לא לקחו

Akkadian texts indicate that silver functioned as a means of exchange for most caravaneers. Veenhof (1972: 351) noted, "The expression *luqūtam ana kaspim taʾurum*, 'to turn merchandise again (back) to silver,' shows that *kaspum* (כסף) was for the Assyrians the starting point and the ultimate goal of the trade." Assuming, for lack of evidence to the contrary, an analogous situation in the caravan trade during the days of Shamgar and Deborah, silver would have been common cargo and currency for the Israelite caravaneers. Sisera must have used his chariotry often enough to raid caravans so that the direct trade routes became increasingly abandoned as he gained his reputation for being a despoiler of silver.²¹⁰

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²⁰⁹ Two variants, Kennicott (1780: 1: 489) MS 257 בשענך and Lucianic MS n σθαιναι (Brooke and McLean 1917: 806a), suggest that Beth-shan (Βαιθσαν or Βηθσαν) once stood in the tradition. Such limited evidence permits no conclusions, but given the interchange of ע and א, the בשען of the variant בשענך may be a variant of בת שאן (or בית שן or בישן). The σθαιναι appears to be a corrupted conflation of בת שן and בשען. An association of Sisera with the pre-Philistine military personnel at Beth-shan (Josh 17:16) would be most attractive. Foreign influence at Bethshan could have given it the reputation of being חרשת הגוים, "the (defensive) enclave of foreigners." See note 37 above.

²¹⁰ The recurring reference to aspects of caravan trade in the poem indicates that those Israelites who defeated Sisera were oppressed caravaneers, rather than participants in a peasant's rebellion or an influx of nomads. See especially

The Armenian 1cs (= *ego*) and the singular ελαβεν in MSS hqa₂ reflect, no doubt, a *Vorlage* having a dittography of the א (לא לקחו אלקחו for MT לא לקחו) and the absence of the final 3mpl suffix ו (see the discussion below on <ו>יעז in 5:21c).

VIII. Defeat of the Canaanites: Ju 5:20–23a

5:20. The stars from their stations   הכוכבים ממסלותם

The proposal of Winckler to change the ס of ממסלותם to a ז and read "from their stations" (= Akkadian *manzaltu* "mansion, station") has been adopted by many, including Cross (1950: 34), P. D. Miller (1973), and Stuart (1976: 130). However, the NEB, the NAB, Boling (1975: 103), Soggin (1981: 83), and the NRSV retained "from their courses." But the interchange of ס and ז (e.g., עלס and עלז "to rejoice," Syriac ܒܤܐ = בזה "despise," Arabic اذى = אסון "injury") mitigates against emending the text, even if one wants to read "stations."

Craigie (1977b: 33–38) challenged the views of Blenkinsopp, Boling, J. Gray, and Globe that in light of evidence from the Ugaritic texts the stars were considered the source of rain.[211] He argued that (a) the stars, as the heavenly host of Yahweh, were intended to develop the cosmic scope of the battle, (b) Deborah's "star helpers" reflect the reworking of the myth of Anat and her starry helpers, and (c) the poet had reworked the mythological imagery about *Špš* (= שמש "Sun") and her army of stars.[212] But

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Hauser (1978: 2–19), Thompson (1978: 20–27), and Schloen (1993: 24–30) for a critique of Mendenhall (1973: *passim*) and Gottwald (1974: 223–255; 1975: 89–100; 1979: 504–509). See note 262.

[211] E.g., *ʿnt* II: 40–41, *tskh* [*rbb.*] *nskh . kbkbm*, which Craigie rendered, "rain (which) the stars poured forth." G. R. Driver (1956: 85) translated, "[the showers] [that] she poured (were as many as) the stars."

[212] Note Weinfeld's observations (1983: 124–125):

It has not been noticed up to now that the three motifs combined here — 1) the heavenly factors who wage battle on the enemy, 2) the torrent which sweeps away the enemy, and 3) the destruction of the enemy's chariotry —

Craigie's interpretation need not preclude the idea that the stars were considered the immediate source of the downpour.[213]

In contrast to Craigie's explanation, Sawyer (1981: 87–89) offered an astronomical interpretation. The poet, he thinks, may have referred here to the solar eclipse of September 30, 1131 B.C.E. (which lasted over four minutes in the area of Taanach), although the battle per se and the eclipse were unrelated. Aside from the fact that the tradition speaks of stars, not the sun, if the battle was around 1190, as argued above, and if the composition of the poem was by an eyewitness, the eclipse came a bit too late.

The A-text, using ιηλ as the abbreviation for יִשְׂרָאֵל, reads μετα ιηλ instead of μετὰ Σισαρα with the B-text and the MT עִם סִיסְרָא.[214] Since נלחם occurs twenty-six times with the preposition עִם meaning "against (the enemy)," there is no reason why the A-text needed to read עם with the meaning "along with," making Israel the object of the preposition. The problem must have been textual, not contextual. The variant may reflect a *Vorlage* with the consonant cluster עמסיסרא, wherein the סם was read as a dittography and subsequently changed to עמיסרא,

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appear in Exod. 14:19ff., in connection with the defeat of the Egyptians in the sea: 1) the pillar of fire and cloud which causes panic in the Egyptian camp (vs. 24), 2) the hurling of the Egyptians into the midst of the sea, and 3) the dismantlement of the chariotry (vs. 25). The 'sea' in the Exodus stories, and the 'torrent' in the story of the defeat of Sisera . . . derive from the mythological war of God against 'sea' and 'river,' and their development is particular to Israel's epic.

[213] Note the very fanciful interpretation of Josephus (*Antiquities* 5: 5: 4; Thackeray 1934: 5: 92–93; Naber 1888: 1: 305):

. . . there came up a great tempest with torrents of rain and hail; and the wind blew and drove the rain in the faces of the Canaanites, obscuring their vision (ταῖς ὄψεσιν αὐτῶν ἐπισκοτῶν), so that their arrows and their slings were of no service to them, and their infantry by reason of the cold could make no use of their swords. But the Israelites were less hampered by the storm, which was at their back . . . .

The basis of Josephus's ταῖς ὄψεσιν αὐτῶν ἐπισκοτῶν may well be found in the tradition behind the αβλεψια (=הַעְלֵם) in MS k of 5:22 (see above, page 25) which he took literally rather than metaphorically. Note עלם in 1 Sam 12:3.

[214] Rahlfs (1935: 426) has Σισαρα in his text, but ισραηλ in his notes.

which in turn must have been read as a corruption of עם יסראל
for עם ישראל. The confusion of ס and ם is evident in the trans-
literation of קדום ים as καδησειμ, discussed next. (On the *super
aquas Machedon* and *ad aquas habitauerunt*, see the discussion
above on "the waters of Megiddo" in 5:19b).

5:21b. The wadi surged seaward   נחל קדום ים

The MT קדומים was translated in the LXX B-text as ἀρχαίων
"ancient," but the A-text has transliterations: καδησειμ, καδημειμ,
and καδημειν, indicating the uncertainty of meaning. The con-
fusion of ם and ס, noted above with עם סיסרא, is evidenced
again in the καδησειμ and καδημειμ. However, the καυσωνων
"scorching wind" of MS k is a translation of קָדִים "sirocco," as
it occurs in Gen 41:6, 23, 27. The συνεψησμενων of MSS gln is
not from συνέψω "to smelt, to boil together," but σύν "complete-
ly" plus ψάω "to vanish, to crumble away, to disappear" (Liddell
and Scott⁹ 1940: 1691, 2019). Lindars (1995: 270) translated συν-
εψησμενων "(the river) of those swept away" and rightly noted,
"This was clearly unsatisfactory [as a translation of קדומים]." I
would identify συνεψησμενων as a misplaced doublet of גרפם
"sweep them away" in 5:21a where MSS gln also read εξεβαλεν.

Many commentators have followed Meyer (BH³) and emended
the text to קְדָמָם "it overwhelmed them, it attacked them." But a
number of other translations have been offered: "the river barring
the way" (Meek 1927: 386); "the sacred wadi" (JB); "the on-
rushing Kishon River" (TEV); "the river of forward-moving
attackers" (Seale 1962: 347); "the onrushing torrent (NRSV);
"ancient wadi" (NAB and O'Connor [1980: 226], following the
B-text χειμάρρους ἀρχαίων); "[the wadi] headed off" (J. Gray
1988: 427); and "it forestalled them, the torrent Kishon" (Lindars
1995: 211).

However, קדומים is composed of two words: the adverbial ac-
cusative ים "seaward" and the infinitive absolute קדום, used in
lieu of, or with the ellipsis of, the finite verb. The ה *locale* could
be added to ים, but it is not necessary since the *â* vowel was not
always indicated in the spelling. Here קדם means "to advance, to
surge forward" attested in the Sabean קדם (Jamme 1962: 447)
and in Ps 18:6, מוקשי מות קדמוני "the snares of death surged
over me." This understanding of 5:21c is found in the Talmud

(*Pesaḥim* 118b): "Straightway, the brook Kishon swept them out (גרפם) and cast them into the sea (והשליכן לים), as it is said, נחל קישון גרפם נחל קדומים . . . the fish in the sea opened [their mouths]. . . ." (H. Freedman 1938: 610). In contrast to the Talmud, the Targum understood קדומים to mean "antiquity."

5:21c. The Wadi Kishon overtook (them)   נחל קישון תדרך

The MT תדרכי נפשי עז, "march on, my soul, with might!" (NRSV), where the jussive is read as an imperative, is as impossible a phrase for a battle narrative as was Symmachus' αιγιων φαραγξ, "a wadi (φάραγξ) of goats" (= נחל עזים) or "a throat (φάρυγξ) of goats" (= נפש עזים, for the MT נפש עז . . . נחל). Reflecting the difficulty here, the NAB omitted the phrase, having simply, "a wadi . . . , the Kishon" [ellipsis in the NAB].

Cross (1950: 35) proposed תדרכו פ<ר>שׁ עז "his mighty chargers pounded (the ground)." However, deleting nine of the eighteen letters (the י of תדרכי and the second "conflated" נחל קישון) has not been a convincing solution. Craigie (1969a: 257) and O'Connor (1980: 226) retained נפשׁ "soul" and translated respectively, "Dominate powerfully, O my soul," and "O my soul, tread down the mighty." Boling (1975: 113) and Soggin (1981c: 83) retained the 2ms, but read נפשׁ "throat," and translated respectively, "you shall trample the throat of the mighty" and "may you press down the necks of the powerful!"

Lindars (1995: 270–271) concluded, "In my view the colon jars so badly with the form and character of the stanza that it cannot be regarded as original, however it is explained." But to the contrary, a contextually acceptable reading is easily available through a redivision of the MT. The second נחל קישון is the subject of תדרכי "she (?) overtook," the י of which goes with the next word. The restored 3fs *yqtl* תדרך could be emended to הדרך, the 3ms *hiphʿîl* perfect of דרך (see below).

However, a hasty emendation seems unwise. Speiser (1955: 118–121) recognized the presence of the durative-iterative *tan*-form in Hebrew which resulted in a "secondary *hithpaʿel*" form. The prosthetic ה of the *tan*- form may not appear in all instances. MT תדרך could be such a *tan*- form: **tandaraka > taddarak*. Moreover, Sarna (1963: 317–318), van Dijk (1969: 440–447),

and Schoors (1988: 193–200) argued for the existence of a 3ms *taqtul* in Hebrew.[215] This תדרך can be added to their list of more than twelve possible *taqtul* verbs which need further study in light of Speiser's suggestions.

Here דרך means "to overtake," a synonym of נפשׁ (see below) and a cognate of Aramaic דרך "to overtake" (Jastrow 1903: 323), of South Arabic *drk* "to reach" (Jamme 1962: 432), and of Arabic درك [4] "it overtook, reached, caught up to (him)," used with injurious harmful action (Lane 1867: 873). The iterative-durative *tan-* form would have been a fitting way to show that the water relentlessly overwhelmed the chariots.

Hebrew דרך "to reach, to overtake" is also found in Ju 20:43, where Moore's translation (1900b: 443) remains preferable: "they pursued him (הרדיפהו) and overtook him (הדריכהו) oppo-site Gibeah"—contrary to Boling's (1975: 287) "completely sub-jugated them," or Soggin's (1981c: 295, following G. R. Driver [1964]) "reassembling," or NRSV and NAS "trod them down."

5:21d. It overflowed, they sought refuge   <ו>יעז ינפשׁ

In the MT נפשׁי עז ("my soul strength") survives the vocable נפשׁ "to inundate, to overflow," which is a synonym of שׁטף and a cognate of Arabic نفس [5] "it became extended, it expanded," as in phrase تنفست دجلة "the water of the Tigris increased" (Lane 1893: 2827a) and South Arabic *nps* "(rain water) covered (the pasture)" (Jamme 1962: 213). A trace of this meaning may be found in the remote variant in 5:25 of MS 209 which reads υπερεκχυνοντων "pouring out over" instead of υπερεχοντων "be-ing superior" (= אדירים).

The final י of MT נפשׁי goes with the following עז, as the י of תדרכי was prefixed to נפשׁ. The resulting *yqtl* preterit ינפשׁ can be added to the list of פ"ן verbs which retain the נ in the imper-fect (GKC 66ᶠ). The MT עז (contra the LXX δυνατή, δυνατοι,

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[215] A 3ms *taqtul* variant, תגור, could also account for the problematic 2nd sg. παροικεις, παροικης, and κατοικεις variants for יגור in 5:17. תדרך could be the tD stem (Moscati 1964: 127); but a reflexive does not fit the context as well.

and ἐν ἰσχυει) is not from עזז "strong," but from עוז "to seek refuge," as in Isa 30:2 לעוז במעוז פרעה, "to seek protection under Pharaoh's shelter." As with other 3mpl verbs in the poem, the final ו of יעזו must be added (see above, page 15).

The poet could have used a more common word than נפש meaning "to overflow," such as עבר in Isa 23:10, or צוף in Duet 11:4, or שטף in Jer 47:2. The fact that we have what is now a rare cognate or loanword from Arabic and South Arabic provides the critic with a clear clue that the poet made use of dialectal options which do not currently appear in standard lexica of the classical Jerusalem dialect.

5:22a. Up the slopes scattered far and wide   הלמו עקבו
(See above, pages 25–26.)

The clue to MT הלמו עקבי is in the proto-Lucianic MS k, ἐπι υψει ευθυνοντα τας πτερνας εκστασεως αυτου (a senseless cluster of words meaning, "upon high ground a helmsman the hoofs of his standing outside") and the variants in the Lucianic MSS dglnptvw, including στερνα, but not ἐπι υβρει.[216] Although cited among the variants in 22b (αμαδαρωθ for מדהרות), these words are in fact a remote doublet *and* triplet for הלמו עקבי in 5:22a. They should be read with the notations for MS k preceding the ιππους [= סוסים] when using the Brooke and McLean text.[217]

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[216] The confusion of πτέρνα and στέρνα occurs also in Sir 26:18, "Like golden pillars on silver bases, so are shapely legs upon firm breasts (ἐπι στερ-νοις ευσταθους [*sic*])," which appears in Sinaiticus as, ". . . shapely legs upon firm heels (πτερνοις ευσταθμοις)."

[217] The ἐπι υψει of MS k and the ἐπι υβρει of MSS dglnptvw in 5:22 could be misplaced variants of MT על מרומי of 5:18. Noteworthy is Isa 2: 17, ושפל רום אנשים "and the pride of everyone shall be brought low," which shows the same differences in the LXX translations of רום, for the A-text of this verse has ὕψος while the corresponding B-text reads ὕβρις. In light of ὑβρίζω used in a metaphor of a river that swept away and drowned a horse, or earth carried away by river floods, and ὕβρις used about a loss by sea (Liddell and Scott[9] 1940: 1841), the ἐπι υβρει of MS k and the τας υβρεις of MSS MNamyb₂ must render גרפם "it swept them away" of 5:21. The Syro-hexaplaric *a rigitu* "from roaring" matches ὑβρίζω "to neigh, to bray and prance"; but the υβριστας "running-riot, unruly" (used of horses) of MSS glnptvw is a remote doublet for הלם of 5:22.

The misplaced readings of MS k, the Old Latin, and the versions include the ο πους μου, *pes meus*, and *pes mei* in 5:21—all of which translate the עקבי of 5:22 as ποδας (as in Gen 49:19). The *doublet* is τας πτερνας "the hooves" (= עקב I "heel") and επι υψει "upon high ground" (= עקב II "steep ground, hill") as in Isa 40:41. The *triplet* is (1) ευθυνοντα "one steering something straight" (= הלום), (2) εκστασεως "standing outside" (= הלם), and (3) αυτου (= the ו of הלמו or a למו, from a *Vorlage* having אזה למו [for the MT אז הלמו], with אזה being a variant of אז, like the אֱזַי in Ps 124:3–5).[218]

Whether to read הלמו or המלו is a tossup. Given the numerous transliterations reflecting המלו, the vocable here could be הלם II, not הלם I "to hammer." Either way—with the metathesis of the ל and מ or not—the verb is cognate with Arabic همل "it (water) poured forth, overflowed" (Lane 1893: 3045). It was also used of a camel left without rein [4]; and, as Castell noted (1669: 856), form [7] means "asportavit" and "abstulit." Dozy (1927: 764) cited همل "chameau qui erre çà et là sans gardien, et par conséquent farouche; (puis) tout ce qui difficile à manier" and the verb همل "errer çà et là." When one shifts from camels to horses, הלם/המל becomes an appropriate term for the rout of chariots.

The verbs הלם and همل are by-forms of הלא "to move far off," which accounts for the Targum's אשתלפא "were drawn off." Similar by-forms are attested; e.g., נהם and נהה "to lament" and שלם and שלה "to be at peace." The Arabic cognate هلا "pour faire avancer les chevaux, pour les arrêter, pour les faire aller dans une autre direction" (Dozy 1927: 760) provides the clue for determining the origin of ευθυνοντα "helmsman" = הלם, which was a by-form of הלא.

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[218] Lambert (1952: 188) suggested deleting MT סוסים as a gloss to אבּיריו since it is not represented in MS k. But MS k has ιππων. Lambert's relating ευθυνοντα possibly to מלמד (?), υβρει and υψει possibly to אז, and εκστασεως αυτου to חרדתו (for MT דהרות) is less than persuasive. Except for ευπρεπεια "comely, goodly, majestic," which reflects a reading of אדיריו for MT אבּיריו, the LXX variants cited by Lambert on verse 22 can all be related to either עקב I (MT עקבי was misread by MSS MNadkmoptvyb₂ as עקרו = ενευροκοπηθησαν "they were hamstrung") or עקב II, in addition to הלם I and הלם II or their variants, למו and המל.

Hebrew הלא is attested in Mic 4:7, "those who were removed far off (הַנַּהֲלָאָה), I will make a strong nation." The verb הלם may occur in 1 Sam 10:22 where it is tempting to read ההבא עוד הלם איש "Is he still hiding (or) has the man gone away?" instead of MT, הבא עוד הלם איש "is there yet a man to come hither?" (ASV). It may also appear in 1 Sam 14:16, ההמון נמוג וילך והלם, which can be translated (shifting the ו of MT והלם to הלמו), "the multitude melted away, they went off and retreated far away."[219] All three verbs (הלא, הלם, and המל) are appropriate when describing the rout of chariots, with driverless horses running to and fro (see OIP 6: 22, cited by Speiser [1955: 119]).

The MT סוס עקבי requires two simple corrections. The initial מ of מדהרות must be affixed to the MT סוס and the י of עקבי must be changed to a ו. The resulting סוסם (= סוסימו *scriptio plena*)[220] is discussed below. The restored עקבו is the dual of עקב II "hill, high ground," with the 3ms suffix having נחל קישון as its antecedent. The doublet υψει, as noted above (page 197), reflects this meaning of עקב, and the פרזנו in 5:11 may offer another example of a noun in the dual with a 3ms suffix. The subject of הלמו follows the adverbial עקבו and is discussed next.

5:22b. their horses (and) chariots   סוס<י><מ>ו דהרות

The סוסימו "their horses," restored with *plena* spelling (see the above paragraph), balances the 3mpl object suffix of גרפם in 5:21. Both suffixes have מלכים . . . מלכי כנען of 5:19 as their

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[219] On these verses compare McCarter (1980: 189, 233, 237), "Has the man come here?" (emending the MT to הבא עד הלם איש) and "the camp was surging back and forth." He also noted S. R. Driver (1913b: 84), "Is there still (i.e., besides ourselves) any one come hither?"

[220] O'Connor (1980: 226–227), following G. R. Driver (1962–1963: 11), proposed the same redivision, but with a different analysis. He read דהרות as an infinitive with the force of a finite verb and translated, "The horses' heels thundered. His [Sisera's] stallions thundered." But, there is no evidence that the infinitive construct, like the infinitive absolute, was used as a finite form, or that עקב "heel" (= πτέρνα) is a synonym for פרסה or טלף "hoof" (= ὁπλή).

antecedents. The suffix of סוסימו functions as a double-duty suffix, permitting the translation, "their chariots" (unless the *Vorlage* had simply סוסים ודהרות "horses *and* chariots").

The דהרות דהרות אבידיו of 5:22b, which the LXX A-text simply transliterated (αμμαδαρωθ, and the like), presented great difficulty. Albright (1934: 52, 64; 1936: 30) equated דהרות with the Egyptian *dhr* "to race chariots" and he translated, "ran/raced chariot races his/their stallions." This has been followed by Cross (1950: 30), Boling (1975: 113), and Stuart (1976: 130), who make it sound more like a sporting event than the panic of a military rout. Soggin (1981c: 83) offered, "the charges of the charging steeds," but this rendering missed the point that the charioteers were fleeing in defeat rather than charging into battle.

The translation I propose uses Albright's equation of דהר and Egyptian *t/dhr*; but "chariot, chariot-warrior," rather than "race, chariot-racer," is the more likely meaning in a battle ballad. However, if, as J. A. Wilson (1955: 239) suggested, *teher* is a Hittite loanword, דהר need not have entered Hebrew through Egyptian channels. It may have come directly from the Hittite (see pages 74–76). The feminine דהרת "chariot" corresponds to the feminine synonym, מרכבת "chariot," and the feminine עגלה "cart" (which occurs as a Semitic loanword in Egyptian).

5:22c. his chariot (and) his stallions   דהרתו אבידיו

The repeated דהרות could be (a) an original plural, (b) an incorrect *plena* spelling for a singular דהרת, or (c) with a metathesis of ות to תו, a suffixed singular noun. In view of the singular suffix on אבידיו "his stallions," option (c), "his (Sisera's) chariot" is the preferred reading. The δυνατῶν αὐτοῦ in MSS Adglnptvw, the Ethiopic (= *et ualidi*) and Syro-hexaplaric (= *ualidorum eius*) "his strong ones" render MT אבידיו, like the B-text ἰσχυροὶ αὐτοῦ. However, the δυναστων αυτου "his lords" (in MSS bcx) and the remote doublet δυναστων αυτου (in MS k) in 5:23 reflect a *Vorlage* with אדיריו for MT אבידיו. Were אדיריו original, the reference would be to the רזנים and מלכים mentioned in 5:3 and 5:19. (Synonymous parallelism of סוס and אביר occurs also in Jer 8:16.)

5:23a. Doomed to die, they panicked   אֿ[וֿ]רו מרוזֿאֿ‹יֿ›ֿם

Those who view מרוז as a place name (Mazorhot or Manzor or Meroz), elsewhere unattested, generally follow the argument of Burney (1918: 152) that the city is unknown because "It is highly probable that the curse took practical effect, and the city with its inhabitants was destroyed by the Israelites, and never subsequently rebuilt." Lindars (1995: 272), in agreement with Burney, negated Meroz all the more stating, ". . . the purpose [of this verse] is not likely to be related to any particular interest in Meroz." He correctly noted that down to the present "no certainty attaches to any of the proposed identifications, emendations, or symbolic renderings [of this *place* name]."

But not everyone has been convinced that מרוז is the name of a town. The doublet in the Old Latin, *videant dolores* "let them see pains/griefs" (= ראו מרוז for MT אורו מרוז), the remote doublet *iniuriam* in 5:22, and the ιδοιεν οδυνας "may they see pains" (= ראו מרוז) in pre-Lucianic MS k and Lucianic MSS glnptvw, reflect traditions which did not view מרוז as a place name.[221] One tradition (*Moʿed Katan* 16) recalls that, "Some say Meroz was (the name of) a great personage; others say that it was (the name of) a star." Chaney (1976b: 18–19), cited by O'Connor (1980: 227), argued against מרוז as a place name. He emended the text to read ממזר and translated it as "estrange." The interpretation offered here follows a similar course, but with different results.

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[221] MS k is quite contaminated with variants for אורו מרוז and with remote doublets after κατοικῶν αὐτήν (for the MT ישביה), including:

ειδοισαν	ראו	for	אורו	in 5:23a
οδυνας	מזור	for	מרוז	in 5:23a
ειδοισαν	ראו	for	אורו	in 5:23b
αρας	ארור	for	ארור	in 5:23b
απολεσατε	המו	for	הלמו	in 5:22
καταρασει	ארר	for	אורו	in 5:23a
καταρασθε	אורו	for	ארור	in 5:23a
υπερφανους	אדיר	for	אביר	in 5:22
υβριστας	הלם	for	הלמו	in 5:22
αρατε	אורו	for	ארור	in 5:23
απολεσατε	המו	for	הלמו	in 5:22

The LXX μηρωζ and its variants (μαρωζ, μαρωρ, μαρωζον, μαηρζωρ, μαζων, μαζουρωθ, and ναρωθ) are not proper names, but transliterations of an unknown word, like αμμαδαρωθ for מדהרות in Ju 5:21. The fact that this unrecognized word was preceded seemingly by an imperative ראו "see" (MSS glnptvw have a doublet ιδοιεν and MS k has ειδοισαν) or ארר "curse" (the LXX having various forms of καταρᾶσθε, αρας, and απολεσατε) certainly contributed to its being understood as a name in direct address, rather than as a transliteration of an unknown word.

Ju 5:23a is particularly corrupt with reference to word division. The consonant cluster must have been אר מרזאאמרמלאך יהוה, which should have been read as ארו מרוזאים רים לאך יהוה, with *scriptio plena*, instead of the MT אורו מרוז אמר מלאך יהוה. This proposed redivision produces three words attested elsewhere in Biblical Hebrew (though not very widely), namely, מרזא "to be afflicted-unto-death," ארר II "to panic," and רים "a downpour of water" (Klein 1987: 612, 57, and 616, respectively).

T. H. Gaster (1969: 419) noted that מרוז is related to the stems רזא and רזה, which occur in Isa 24:16 רזי לי, "woe is me!" and Zeph 2:11 כי רזה את כל אלהי הארץ, "he afflicted-unto-death/doomed-to-death all the gods of the earth."[222] The cognate behind the reconstructed מרזאם in 5:23a is the Arabic nominal form مرزا, the plural of which signifies "persons of whom the best have died or persons of whom death befalls the best" (Lane 1867: 1075a). The restored מרוזאים could be the passive participle מְרֻזְאִים. As the gods in Zeph 2:11 and the heroes in Deut 32: 42 (see pages 122–126) were doomed to death, so too Sisera's superior forces were doomed to die suddenly.

The word picture is that of panic-stricken charioteers vainly seeking to escape flash-flooding in a wadi which, only seconds before, had been serving as their safe highway. Consequently, ארו (MT אורו) must certainly be ארר II "to panic, to become panic-stricken," a cognate of Akkadian *araru* [B] which occurs

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[222] Note especially Ps 82:6–7, "gods you are . . . but you will die like a mortal" where מות was used instead of רזא or רזה. In modern Hebrew רזה, a cognate of رذى, means "to be lean, to be thin or scarce" (Klein 1987: 612).

in the relevant line, "as to war, the troops will become frightened (*i-ru-ur-ma*) and throw away their weapons" (*CAD* 1: 1: 236).

The four infinitives in the LXX (καταρασθαι of MSS Bb´fqrsz [and MSS jcf for the second אורו of the MT], καταρασαιαι of MS A, καταρασασθαι of MSS MNcjoa₂b₂ [and MSS AMnb₂oa₂ for the second אורו of the MT], and καταρασσεσθαι of MS w [for both occurrences of אורו]) point to a *Vorlage* of ארו or אור. These provide more examples of the defective spelling in the *Vorlage* of 3mpl verbs, although the 3rd plural optative ιδοιεν (of MSS glnptvw) supports reading ארו for the MT אורו. The απολεσατε in the Lucianic MSS glnpvw and in MS k can mean "to cause panic." Hatch and Redpath [1954: 1: 136] list thirty-nine Hebrew words for ἀπολλύειν, including הום, which appears to have been read for the MT הלם (see pages 25–26).

5:23b. Yahweh sent a cloudburst   ר<י>ם לאך יהוה

Although not yet recognized in the exegetical studies of this verse, a reference to "heavy rain" is included in the battle scene. Schreiner (1957: 98) noted that the doublets υβριστας "violent ones" and υπερηφανους "arrogant ones" in the Lucianic MSS glnptvw were translations of a *Vorlage* having רום. If the early translators had read רים (= βρέχειν "to wet, to rain") instead of רום (ὑβριστάς), they would have been correct. The Hebrew text must have had רם, but it was not the *scriptio defectiva* of רום "high, haughty," but rather the plural of רי "cloudburst," hidden by the misdivision of words. The מ from מלאך and the ר of MT אמר, when joined, restore the plural noun רם (= רים *scriptio plena*), a cognate of Arabic روى "a cloud of which the rain drops are large and vehement in their fall" (Lane 1867: 1195c) and Syriac ܪܘܐ "to water, to satiate," as in the exression "the Nile supplies its fields with abundant water" (Payne Smith, 1957: 532).

The noun רי occurs in the Deir ʿAlla text I: 8, [*y/t*]*htp ry skry šmyn*, "let not the abundant rain (?) [br]eak the bolts of heaven" (Hoftijzer and van der Kooij 1976: 173, 179, 194). In addition, it appears in Job 37:11, ברי יטריח עב "with abundant water he

ladens the cloud,"[223] and in Hab 3:10, נתן תהום קול ורים, "the deep gives forth noise and abundant waters."[224] This רם (= רים) in the text may have been the basis for Josephus's account of the battle (*Antiquities* 5: 5: 4) which has wind, hail, and rain working to the advantage of the Israelites (see note 213).

By removing the מ of מלאך in 5:23, the מלאך יהוה "angel of Yahweh" disappears. But the angel cannot simply be expunged, as Stuart (1976: 136) and others have proposed. As noted above, the מלאך יהוה originated from a misdivision of מרזאמרמלאך.

Gaster's proposal (1969: 419) to treat מלאך as an "augur or counselor" is supported only by the B-text of Ju 4:8 which reads, "for I do not know the day when the Lord would prosper the angel with me (. . . εὐοδοῖ τὸν ἄγγελον κύριος μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ)." Suggestions to read the feminine מלאכה to accommodate Deborah's being the messenger of Yahweh are equally unnecessary.

5:23c. Their riders (completely)   <א]רור ארו ישביה[ן>
       panicked

The plural suffix "their" is attested in the Sahidic and in MS N (αυτοις). But this variant in itself is insufficient reason for the emendation. The 3fs suffix of MT ישביה was due to harmonization after מרוז was read as a place name and after the original ישביהן was thought to be a reference to the "inhabitants" of Meroz, requiring the shift from the 3fpl suffix הן to the 3fs ה. Originally, the ישביהן were the "riders/drivers" of the דהרות "chariots," which requires the 3fpl הן, as restored. The adverb "completely" is added to reflect the Hebrew infinitive absolute. (See page 155 for the use of ישב "to ride" as a synonym of רכב.)

There is no compelling reason to follow the Greek which has (except for MSS fsz) the extra word πᾶς, suggesting a *Vorlage*

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[223] Compare Pope (1965: 243), who unnecessarily emended ברי to ברק.

[224] Reading קול ורים for MT קולו רום and scanning 3 + 2 + 2. Compare Albright (1950: 11, 16) who proposed נתן תהום קולו "The Deep gave forth its voice" and רום שמש נשא ידיהו "the exalted one, Sun, raised his arms."

having יִשְׁבִיהֶן כל "their riders all." The πᾶς stems from the ל
and כ of the following כי לא, which in the early orthography
could have been כ לא, giving rise to a doublet כל or כלא. The
ארו (MT אורו) in this line is the same as in the previous one, a
cognate of Akkadian *araru* [B] "to panic."

5:23d. Indeed, they were victorious   ‹ו›לא כי

MT כי here is the emphatic particle, studies of which have
been reviewed by Schoors (1981: 243–253). Behind the negative
particle לא in the MT survives the verb לאה II "to be victorious,"
a cognate of Ugaritic and Phoenician *lʾy* "to prevail" (*UT* 426:
134; Harris 1936: 114) and Akkadian *leʾu* "to overpower some-
one" (*CAD* 9: 156)—not to be confused with the homograph
לאה or להה I "to be weary, to be faint." Dahood (1966: 46, 144;
1970: 288) cited twelve texts[225] where this stem occurs, and this
verse can be added to that list. As with לי (= ליו) in 5:13, the
final י of the ל"י stem was not written, although it was written
with לבי (= לביו) in 5:8. The verb לאה II is also found in 5:30a
(see pages 226–227).

5:23e. Those going forth   באי לעזרת יהוה
         for the Warrior Yahweh

Since MT ישביה (restored to ישביהן) does not refer to the "in-
habitants of Meroz," but to "the riders of the chariots," it cannot
be the subject of באו "they came." The phrase באו לעזרת con-
tains the subject of לְאוּ (for MT לֹא), requiring the change of באו
to בָּאִי, a construct plural participle, referring to Barak and the
militia. As noted in the discussion of הלכי על דרך in 5:10, the
poet had a liking for intervening prepositions with bound nouns.
   As well demonstrated by P. D. Miller (1970: 159–175), Baisas
(1973: 41–51), and Sasson (1982: 201–208), עזר is a homograph
of two vocables: עזר I "to save" (a cognate of Ugaritic *ʿḏr*) and

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[225] The list consists of 1 Sam 2:3; Hab 1:12; Mal 2:15; Pss 7:13, 27:13,
68:10, 75:7 (twice), 85:7, 100:2; and Job 13:15 and 36:5. See also note 254.

עזר II "warrior, hero" (a cognate of Ugaritic *ǵzr*). Here it is suf-
ficient to note Ugaritic *bᶜlm ᶜḏr* "Lord–of–Help," *yᶜḏrd* "Hadd–
Saves" and *ydd il ǵzr* "ʾIl's beloved, the Warrior/Hero" (*UT* 454
no. 1831, and 463 no. 1956). Since Yahweh, the divine *warrior*
(= איש מלחמה "the man of war," Ex 15:3), was also the *savior*,
the poet probably intended a *double entendre.* Amit's conclusion
(1987: 102) about Judges 4 is equally valid for the poem of Jud-
ges 5: "the purpose of the story is to stress that God, and God a-
lone, is the savior of Israel, a savior who makes use of characters
as instruments in a game he has established the rules of."

The masculine עזרת "savior/warrior" used for Yahweh em-
ploys the rare titulary ת suffix which appears in the Phoenician/
Punic name עזרתבעל and in the title פרעת "hero" in Deut 32:42,
discussed above (page 126). Other examples of this suffix in-
clude: קהלת in Ecc 1:1; ספרת in Ezra 2:55; פכרת in Ezra 2:57;
the title נעים זמרות ישראל, "(David,) the beloved (of Yahweh),
the Savior of Israel," in 2 Sam 23:1; and זמרת יה (or זמרתי יה) in
Ex 15: 1–2 (*with* the NRS and the NRSV: "I will sing [אָשִׁירָה] to
the LORD, for he has triumphed gloriously; horse and rider he has
thrown into the sea. The LORD is my strength and *my might*
[וְזִמְרָת יָהּ]"; *contra* the KJV, ASV, RSV, and others which read,
". . . the Lord is my strength and *my song* [italics mine].[226]
Cazelles (1956: 136) noted,

> Certains égyptologues de renom m'ont fait remarquer que l'égyptien
> admettait une série de noms de ce genre [-*ty*]: *wpwty*, le messager;
> *sḫty*, le paysan. En hébreu aussi, peut-être y avait-il un *y* final de rela-
> tion à la fonction au féminin: celui qui a rapport à l'armée, la victoire,
> la fonction de scribe . . . La finale [*y*] serait tombée, et dans l'écriture
> et dans la parole."[227]

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[226] Some Masoretic manuscripts, the Samaritan text, and the Vulgate attest
זמרתי יה for the זמרת יה in Ex 15:2 (see BHS).

[227] On ענתי see above, page 59. Nougayrol, cited by Cazelles (1956: 131–
136), recognized the form in Akkadian. The MT עזרת יהוה in 5:23 could con-
ceal an original doubled י of עזרתי יהוה, as could the זמרת ישראל in 2 Sam
23:1. On the omission of doubled consonants, see Blommerde 1969: 4; Dahood
and Penar 1970: 371. Note the smaller א and ק in the חומש of Gen 27:46 and
Lev 1:1, קצתי אל יצחק and the ויקרא אל, respectively.

IX. Assassination of Sisera in Ju 5:24–27

5:24. Yael, the wife   יעל אשת חבר הקיני
          of Heber the Kenite

   The noun יעל means "wild goat" (*Capra sinaitica*), in contrast
to יעלה "gazelle" (*Capra ibex nubiana*). Popular etymology has
attached the definition "wild goat" to Yael/Jael, making her the
Bedouin "goat lady." But, as with דבורה = "bee," this appears
also to be an early "popular" etymology. According to Harvey
(1962: 787), Yael treacherously "used true nomadic guile, bring-
ing out milk—a sign of hospitality—to the fugitive Sisera . . . ,"
which simply stereotypes nomads without being very insightful.

   But there is more to the name יעל than first meets the eye.[228]
Taylor (see above, page 52) argued a strong case for the poet's
using the image of Athtart in detailing the person and actions of
Yael, as Craigie compared the role of Deborah with that of Anat.
Both women were given mythic qualities greatly exceeding those
suggested by the simple names "Bee" and "Goat."

   The basic meanings of יעל stem I (ועל*) "to benefit, to avail"
and יעל stem II (also ועל*) "to be pre-eminent, to excel, to as-
cend," with their connotations of power and prominence, provide
a more appropriate meaning of Yael's name than does "goat."

   The stem יעל I appears in Isa 48:17 in collocation with גאל "to
redeem, to act as kinsman, to be the avenger": "thus says Yahweh
your avenger (גאלך), the Holy One of Israel; I am Yahweh your
God who teaches you to prevail (להועיל) (RSV "profit")." There
is probably an etiological element in Ju 5:24–31 explaining why
אשת חבר הקיני had the name יעל "Availer." This pre-eminent

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[228] MS A has ιηλ for Yael, though this abbreviation was commonly used for
ישראל. Variations in the spelling of Heber (Λαβερ and Χαλεβ) are secondary
corruptions. MS k and the Lucianic texts provide some very interesting, though
not significant, doublets, namely,

MSS klptvw	εκ δευτερου	משנים	for מנשים
MSS klptvwgn	εν επαινω	בהלל	for באהל
MS k	ευλογημενη	תברך	
MS k	εκ γυναικων	מנשים	
MS k	εν σκηναις	אהל	

woman became in a very real sense the גאלה "the Avenger" (see Num 35: 16–21) for her distant kin and fellow Yahwists.

The Arabic cognate of יעל stem II means "noble person." Lane (1863: 298b, 3056c) cited lines which speak of the great reversal: ". . . the low or ignoble persons [shall prevail], and the noble persons (الوعول) [shall perish]" and " . . . that the weak of mankind shall have ascendancy over the strong (الوعول)." If the semantic range of יעל approximated that of وعل "noble person," the name Yael matches the meaning of Deborah's name, "lady governor," as well as Deborah's *title* in 5:2a, פרעות "heroine." All three words convey the notion of pre-eminence, power, and prestige.

Moreover, Hava (1915: 881) and Klein (1988: 261) noted that وعل in form [10] means "to seek refuge, to look for shelter, to climb a mountain." Since Arabic وعل [=יעל] and برع [=פרע/ברע] are synonyms meaning "to climb, to ascend [a mountain]," there is a hint—assuming a similar semantic range—that the defeated Sisera may have thought of Yael not so much in terms of the "goat lady," but rather in terms of وعل "taking to the hills to seek refuge/shelter" and יעל "to benefit, to avail" (BDB 418).

The MT אשת חבר הקיני is frequently deleted as a gloss taken from Ju 4:17. But the poet demonstrated in using ben-Anat, ben-Abinoam, and "Mother in Israel" a liking for a name coupled with a noun of familial relationship. The "wife of Heber the Kenite" apparently fits this pattern, which is another unifying element in the poem.[229] The gentilic הקיני reflects ethnic identity,

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[229] Bal (1988b: 211) stated,

> Yael-4 [= in Judges 4] is, like Deborah-4 [= in Judges 4], endowed with a suspect husband. The indication in verse 4:11, commonly translated as "Heber the Kenite," is, as many have argued ([J.] Gray 1986, 258), dubious as a proper noun and is more likely to refer to a clan.

But it was Soggin (1981c: 66) who argued for the clan name. Gray differed with Soggin, stating, "But his rendering of ᵓešet ḥeber haqqēni (4:17) as 'a woman of the Kenite group' (*Judges*, 1981, *ad loc*.) does violence to the Hebrew . . . . The name Heber may be genuine; but certainly secondary is the detail that Heber had separated from the Kenites . . . ." Contra Bal (page 212), this quotation does not sound like Gray's reservation on Yael's marital status. Bal earlier (1988a: 127) followed Boling's (1975: 114) reading, "woman of Heber the Kenite." (Note GKC 127[d] for normal gentilic patterns.)

but it also has vocational overtones (קין "to smith, to work in iron or silver"), as evidenced in "the smiths' hammers," mentioned in 5:26 (following the Targum's לארזפתא דנפחין).[230] Malamat (1962: 143–150), followed by Soggin (1981c: 74, 91) and Bos (1988: 55), concluded that חבר הקיני was a personification of a clan subdivision, "the Kenite group." This may well be the case, especially if the personification reflects the clear occupational overtones of קין.

However, אשת חבר הקיני may mean more than just "the wife of Heber the Kenite." The Arabic, Ethiopic, and Syriac cognates of קין also mean "a song, a singer, to sing" (BDB 883; Dozy 1927: 2: 434, form [4] أقين). R. Payne Smith (1897:1136) noted that أقين is a synonym of שיח, זמר, and رتل, which in form [3] (ترتيل) means "he put together and arranged well the component parts of speech" (Lane 1867: 1028a). Therefore, as אשת לפידות can mean "woman of torches" (= "woman of learning, teacher"), אשת קין can mean "woman of song," equivalent to قينة "song-stress" or "poetess." (The "wailing women" [מקוננת] in Jer 9:16 were a subgroup of the "women of song" who specialized in laments and who sang at funerals.)

Were it not for the references to חבר as a person in Ju 4:11 and 17, one might readily change יעל אשת חבר הקיני to יעל אשת חבר קינות "Yael, the woman of the guild of singers" or יעל אשת חברת קין "Yael, the woman with the knowledge of poetry," recognizing here the title חבר, a cognate of خبر and a synonym of علم "knowledge, learning" (Lane 1865: 695; BDB: 288). Yael could have qualified for the title אשה חבירה "scholar" (Jastrow 1903: 421–22; Brown 1992: 87). Whether the gentilic י of הקיני was original, or whether the ה of הקיני should be affixed to חבר (for an אשה חבירה = אשת חברה) must remain open questions. The references to Heber in 4:11 and 17 could have come from an early misunderstanding of "the woman skilled in poetry" in 5:24.

Such an interpretation would make Yael a "sage" in her own right, like the חכמות "the wise (singing) women" in Jer 9:16. She could well have been the poet who, as a "Qenite/Kenite," crafted

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[230] Note J. Gray 1977: 211–212, 227; 1986: 280.

or sang (קין) the poem long known as the "Song of Deborah." This possibility is all the more reason why the אשת חבר הקיני should not be deleted. It may prove to be a hidden signature or an embedded colophon.

On the one hand, Mazar (1965: 302) suggested that Sisera fled to Yael "to seed the peace" between Jabin and Heber. Yael's residence, Elon-bezaanannim, was perhaps a recognized sanctuary. If so, Mazar conjectured, the assassination of Sisera at a sanctified refuge, in violation of the rules of hospitality, "may be explained only as the fulfillment of a divine command by a charismatic woman." On the other hand, Fensham (1964: 53) recognized here a close friendship between Israel and the Kenites, as though they were treaty-bound. He argued,

> The act of Jael is in accord with Near Eastern legal principles. As a result of a treaty between her people, the Kenites, and the Israelites, she felt obliged to kill the enemy of the other party of the treaty . . . . Typical of vassal treaties is the following: "To the enemy of my lord I am hostile (and) with the friend of my lord (I am) friendly." This kind of clause forms probably the background of the act of Jael.

But against this interpretation is the statement in Ju 4:17 that peace existed between Jabin and Heber the Kenite, and thus one would expect Heber and Yael in treaty obligation to have come to the aid of Jabin's successor, assuming that קיני equals Kenite and חבר equals Heber. It can just as readily be assumed that Sisera had utilized the smithing services of Heber-the-Smith (חבר הקין) in the maintenance of his weapons, iron chariots, or chariot wheels (see Drews 1989: 20–21). J. Gray (1967: 212) similarly observed, "Actually, the relation between Jabin of Hazor and a Kenite family is quite feasible, especially if, as is probable, the Kenites were itinerant smiths who had special immunities (Gen 4.15)." Sisera, following the demise of Jabin, could well have carried on a working relationship with the Smiths.

In defeat, Sisera could have felt confident that the Smiths (or smiths) at their repair shop would protect him since he had been a "good customer" over the years. Thus, "Ms" or "Mrs. Smith" was caught in a conflict of interests: protecting a distressed client or affirming ethnic and religious loyalties. Whereas in peace (Ju 4:17) she had to accommodate a fearsome Sisera at the expense of her kinfolk, in his defeat she was free to assist her kin (as עזרה and גאלה) at his expense.

Yael seems to have set up the assassination so that it would appear as though Sisera himself had violated the laws of hospitality by sexually assaulting her. Assassination preceded by sexual allurement including the quenching of thirst appears in the Hittite myth of Illuyankas:

> Inaras put on her finery and lured the Dragon Illuyankas up from his lair: "See! I am holding a celebration. Come thou to eat and to drink." The Dragon Illuyankas came up with [his children] and they ate and drank. They drank every amphora dry and quenched their thirst . . . . The Storm-god came and killed the Dragon Illuyankas and the gods were with him (*ANET*, 125 – 126).

This myth could have provided the poet, if not Yael herself, with the inspiration and the modus operandi.[231]

5:25b. A truly magnificent goblet   בסף לאדירים

Sisera's last meal was served in style, but the exact nature of the vessel used by Jael has been in doubt. MT ספל אדירים "a dish of lords" was paraphrased by Soggin (1981c: 83), "in a cup from a noble banquet." O'Connor (1980: 228) added a ל (which he thought was lost by haplography) and changed the plural ים suffix into an enclitic ם in order to read ספל לאדיר־ם הקריבה "in a bowl she brings the mighty one." This is an attractive solution since Sisera was certainly one of the אדירים "chieftains, nobles" mentioned in 5:13a.

However, there may be no need to add a ל. The Lucianic MSS gln read εσχατοις and MS k has εσχατω, suggesting a *Vorlage* with סַף "goblet" (a homograph of סֹוף/סֹף "end," like the ספות כסף in 2 Kgs 12:14) instead of a ספל "bowl." The ל of ספל, when suffixed to the MT אדרים, could be the preposition (with

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    [231] Zakovitch (1981: 364–374) pointed out that food, wine, sex, and fatigue are recurring themes in other biblical assassination accounts. Yael's seduction of Sisera stands midway between the seduction of Inaras and the seduction of Judith who, arrayed in finery on a bed of soft fleece, drinks with Holofernes until he becomes weary, after which she severed his head (Judith 12:10 –13:10). Note Bal's references to Judith and her discussion of the reverse rape (1988a: 63, 105–107, 131; 1988b: 65, 215).

O'Connor) or, as interpreted here, an emphatic ל used with the plural of excellence (GKC 124ᵉ).

The poet may have intended this wordplay: with a "truly magnificent goblet" (סֵף לְאַדִּירִים), Yael brought about "the end to a nobleman" (סוֹף לַאדִּירִים), reading a majestic plural in reference to Sisera, similar to the use of אֲדֹנָיו "his lords" for Potiphar (Gen 38, *passim*). Burney (1918: 93) and Zakovitch (1981: 369), along with others, noted that the beverage served must have had an intoxicating effect on Sisera. If so, the beverage was like مرضة which Lane (1867: 1095c) cited as "very sour milk that causes a man who has drunk it to arise in the morning languid, or loose in the joints." Power (1928: 47) argued, unconvincingly, that the beverage made Sisera thirsty and required him to seek water elsewhere, exposing him to the Israelites.

5:27a. Between her legs	בין רגליה

(The line is transposed here to follow 5:25.)

In the language of the Talmud (*Soṭah* 38a, dealing with Ex 20: 24), מקרא זה מסורס, "this verse must be transposed." Although Ju 5:27a was not the verse in question,[232] this quotation reflects an old tradition which recognized the need sometimes for transpositions in the biblical text. The reasons for the transposition of 5:27a to this line are given below in the initial paragraph on 5:27b.

Noting the omission of the first five words of 5:27 in numerous manuscripts, Kittel (BH³), Meyer (BHS), Richter (1963: 402), and others, have proposed to delete the first four or five words. (Omissions are also conspicuous in Greek MSS Ahn and in the Old Latin.) More moderately, Cross (1950: 38) and Stuart (1976: 136) deleted only נפל as a vertical dittography or a conflation of שכב. But in preference to the elimination of one or more words, the colon can be transposed to the end of 5:25, where it fits the context of a weary Sisera having his last meal and final affair.

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[232] See Goldschmidt 1933: 5: 300. The verse under discussion was Ex 20:24, בכל המקום אשר אזכיר את שמי אבוא אליך וברכתיך which was transposed to read בכל מקום אשר אבוא אליך וברכתיך שם אזכיר את שמי.

According to 5:30a, as traditionally read, Sisera and his men were thought to be sexually assaulting the women. But only Sisera, in defeat, finds his way between the legs of a woman. The discreet translation of בין רגליה by "at her feet" hides the sexual nuance. (In Deut 28:57, מבין רגליה was used with reference to expelling the placenta.) Niditch (1989: 48) noted, "The phrase 'between her legs' can be erotic enough even without specific reference to private parts as in Ezek 16:25, one of the classic passages in which the unfaithful Israel is described as a harlot: 'and you parted your legs wide' [MT ותפשקי את רגליך]."

Ginzberg (1928: 6: 199) cited *Yebamoth* 103a in which Yael is said to have offered the milk of her breast to Sisera and to have had intercourse with him seven times. The *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* depict Yael as having embraced Sisera; and Pseudo-Philo tells how Yael decked herself in ornaments when she extended her invitation "to come, eat, and sleep" on a bed scattered with roses.[233] An early tradition alleging that Yael had sex with Sisera survives also in MS h which reads ἐκολλήθη "he was glued fast together" for the MT שכב "to sleep." Hebrew שכב can clearly mean "to have sex with someone," as in the *Qere* of Isa 13:16, וּנְשֵׁיהֶם [תִּשָּׁגַלְנָה] תִּשָּׁכַבְנָה "and their wives will be ravished" and Zech 14:2, וְהַנָּשִׁים [תִּשָּׁגַלְנָה] תִּשָּׁכַבְנָה "and the women were ravished." (Κολλάω appears also in Deut 29:19 for רבץ.)

These traditions overstate the evidence in the text and reflect the sexual fantasies of the interpreters.[234] It seems clear that Yael provided herself with a good alibi, if for no other reason than that which Matthews (1991: 17) proposed: "Sisera's death can be seen as the result of Yael's need to protect her honor . . . against a stranger who had repeatedly violated the code of hospitality."

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[233] See M. Gaster 1899: 174; M. R. James 1917: 172; and Brown 1992: 52–56. Brown (53) noted that Pseudo-Philo quoted Sisera as saying, "If I am saved, I will go to my mother, and Jael will be my wife."

[234] Note Lindars (1995: 281) unusual interpretation of 5:28,

The transition to Sisera's mother is at first doubtful because of the delay in specifying the change of subject, which just for a moment might still be Jael (Alter). With the sexual theme of the preceding stanza still in mind, the audience might now think of Jael as a prostitute looking out for another customer.

5:27a. He drank, he fell to sleep   כרע נפל שכב
            (The phrase is transposed here as 5:25c.)

Globe (1975a: 362–367) argued that here כרע "to kneel" in-
dicates Sisera's ridiculous and unwitting obeisance to the simple
nomadic Yael; and Boling (1975: 115) similarly found in בין
רגליה a reference to Sisera's obeying Yael. But Bal (1988b:
229) saw a deeper meaning in כרע:[235]

> When Sisera, as a result of Yael's solemnly executed act of penetration,
> slowly falls, as a dying *gibbor* and as a stillborn baby, the verb that expresses
> the first stage of his undoing is *kara*[c], to kneel, which can imply spasmodic
> movement. The spasm of sex and the kneeling down in submission are
> expressed in one and the same word. It is only in the original language that
> the ambiguity of this passage can be fully appreciated.

However, despite all the alleged ambiguity of כרע "to kneel"
when used in various contexts, it is more likely that כרע here in
5:27a (= 5:25c when transposed) means neither "to kneel" nor
"to bow" but "to drink" and "to be weary." The ambiguity comes
from the fact that כרע is a homograph for three unrelated words,
rather than a single word with a broad semantic range. The three
words are: כרע I "to kneel," כרע II "to drink" (which is rarely
attested), and כרע III "to be weary" (also rarely attested).
Hebrew כרע appears as follows:

(1)   The frequently used כרע I means "to kneel" (BDB 502),
       and may be used for sexual activity, as in Job 31:10,
       תִּטְחַן לְאַחֵר אִשְׁתִּי וְעָלֶיהָ יִכְרְעוּן אֲחֵרִין "let my wife
       grind for another, and let other men kneel over her."

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[235] Note also Bal (1988a: 103) where she speculated:

Trying to find arguments in his [Zakovitch's] favor, we can suppose that,
according to the lyric code, the three verbs, "collapsed," "fell," "lay down,"
form *chronological* series, representing the successive phases of orgasm: the
first signifies the orgasm itself, while the moment immediately afterwards is
expressed by "to fall"; the third verb, "to lie down," would then express the
post-orgasmic rest here equivalent to death . . . . It seems to me more fruitful
to leave the ambiguity [of כרע] intact, to adopt it, to let coexisting meanings
raise problems that it is the interpreter's duty to cultivate—since this is his/
her garden."

(2)   The meaning of כרע II is clearly established by the Ara-
       bic cognate كرع "he put his mouth (to the vessel) and so
       drank" (Lane 1893: 2999b); "to sip" (Hava 1915: 651;
       BDB 502); "rain-water" (Lane: 1874: 1970b). In prose
       one might expect the phrase to be כרע בְּסַף הֶחָלָב (=
       שתה מִכּוֹס הֶחָלָב) "he drank the milk from a goblet."
       But in poetry the absence of the prepositional modifier or
       the direct object is not surprising.[236]

(3)   The verb could be כרע III "to be weary," as suggested
       by the βαρυνθεις "wearied" found in MSS Mnk myb₂σ′.

The Akkadian cognate of כרע III, *kâru* B, occurs in the assassi-
nation scene in the *Enūma eliš* (I: 66; *ANET* 61):[237]

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[236] For a discussion of كرع ,ركع and כרע, see Burney (1918: xiv–xvi) . His
conclusion, "If these arguments are sound, any resemblance between Hebrew
kāraᶜ and Arabic *karaᶜa* is probably merely fortuitous," is in my opinion very
problematic; and the rest of his statement is extreme: "and the comparison with
Arabic *karaᶜa* should be expunged from Heb. Lexicons, or at any rate marked
as highly precarious." In Arabic, كرع II takes the preposition في "in," indicating
obviously that one does not *kneel in* the vessel, but one *drinks with/from* a
vessel. The כרע in Ju 7:5–6, which is the text Burney addressed, is without
doubt כרע I, not כרע II. There are *no* drinking vessels mentioned in Ju 7:8,
though the MT צדה is commonly emended to כדי "jug" to harmonize with the
וכדים רקים "empty jugs" of 7:16. But צדה, as a cognate of Arabic صدا "stone,
pebble, rugged stony ground" (Lane 1872: 1753), makes good sense and need
not be emended away. The three hundred selected fighters of Ju 7:8 simply
"took a *stone* (possibly reading צֵדֹת "stones" for MT צֵדָה) from their hands,"
i.e., they took the "ammunition" from those whom Gideon had dismissed.

[237] In commenting on Speiser's translation (1951: 65) of *dalāpiš ku-ú-ru*, in
contrast to the translation in *CAD* 3: 48b and 8: 240 ("Mummu the counselor
was with sleeplessness"), Held (1961: 17) argued:

   Our investigation leads to the conclusion that *karum*, *kurum* denotes a state
   between sleep and forced wakefulness, i. e., "to become weary, to doze off, to
   be in half-slumber, to be deprived of will power and energy." This seems
   more appropriate than "to be in a daze, to faint."

This semantic range of כרע II is evidenced in the Greek translations. MSS b₂
MNdkmptvy have αφυπνοω "to awake from sleep" and the B-text has κοιμαω
"to lull, put to sleep." The latter meaning fits the Yael narrative, especially as
told in Pseudo-Philo (31: 7), where Yael pushed Sisera "from off the bed upon
the earth, but he perceived it not for he was exceeding faint."

. . . , as he poured sleep upon him. Sound asleep he lay. When Apsu he [Ea, the all wise,] had made prone, drenched with sleep, Mummu, the adviser, was powerless to stir (*dalāpiš ku-ú-ru*) . . . . Having fettered Apsu, he [Ea] slew him [Apsu].

The verb נפל "to fall" in 5:27a could even be a synonym of כרע III "half-conscious, weary." It could parallel the use of נפל in Num 24:4, נפל וגלוי עינים, "who with staring eyes in a trance" (NEB), or as Albright (1944: 217, 225) translated, "in a trance, with eyes unveiled."

By opting for כרע II "to drink" in the first use of כרע נפל שכב in 5:27a (whether it is transposed to follow 5:25 or not), the similarity of the assassination scene in Ju 4 and Ju 5 becomes obvious. In Ju 4:18–22, Sisera took milk and Yael remained at the doorway until he fell asleep.[238] Ju 5:27a, as interpreted here, makes the same basic statement: upon receiving the beverage Sisera *drank* (כרע) and then *stretched out* (נפל) (note Esth 7:8), and *slept* (שכב). The verbs set up a well-designed paronomasia coming with the similar phrasing in 5:27b (כרע נפל and הכרע שם נפל שדוד) where כרע means "to be weary or powerless."

Though lacking the rather explicit בין רגליה "between her legs" of Ju 5:27, behind the obscure MT of Ju 4:18 are several hints of sexual seduction. Wilkinson (1983: 512–513) redivided MT ותכסהו בשמיכה and translated the verse, "He turned aside toward the tent as she *overwhelmed* him with *perfume* [בבשם]; He *grew faint* [יכה from כהה] and said to her . . . ." Tur Sinai's proposal (cited by Zakovitch 1981: 370) to read ותסכהו "she anointed him" for MT ותכסהו is also very attractive and could indicate that Yael anointed him with perfume.[239]

The כרע נפל שכב of 5:27a (= 5:25c) permits compound word-plays: שכב means not only "to lie down to sleep" (Gen 19:4,

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[238] He slept under a "fly-net" according to Burney (1918: 92) and L. R. Klein (1988: 42); or under a "curtain" according to Bal (1988a: 122), following KB³ 1246 "Decke," following the A-text δέρρει "a leather covering, screens of hide" (sometimes hung before fortifications to deaden enemy missiles).

[239] The problematic *yqtl* preterit יכה can be eliminated by emending and redividing as follows: בשמן כה > בשמנכה > בשמיכה, "(she anointed him) with oil, he became faint . . . " (with *scriptio defectiva* for כהה).

28:11) but, as noted above (page 212), can also suggest sexual activity (like לִשְׁכַּב אֶצְלָהּ in Gen 39:10). As Zakovitch (1981: 369) noted, followed by Niditch (1989: 48–49), כרע in Job 31:10 and נפל in Esth 7:8 may indicate a similar nuance for כרע I and נפל when they appear in an erotic context. (More explicit language could have been צעה "to bend, to stoop" as in Jer 2:20, "you sprawled and played the whore" [NRS].)

However one translates this phrase, Amit's observation (1987: 98) is right on target, "The blanket and milk, previously taken as tokens of surpassing hospitality, now appear as a stratagem aimed at ensuring that Sisera will sleep deeply." In Ju 4:20, Sisera attempted to make it appear as though no one was hiding by ordering Yael (using masculine imperatives, no less, as though he were drowsy, drunk, or a just a dumb foreigner—or all three—speaking poor Hebrew): עמד פתח האהל "Stand up! Open up the tent!" If Yael had to "get up" from Sisera, there is more than a hint in Ju 4:20 that she was "down" with him.[240]

5:26a. She stretched her hand to the peg	ידה ליתר תשלחנה
. . . to the workmen's hammer	. . .להלמות עמלים

There is now general agreement that the נה of תשלחנה is the energic *nun*. (It also accounts for the נ of the MT יִשְׁכּוֹן in 5:17b, discussed above.) The variants in the A-text for MT הַלְמוּת עֲמֵלִים "mallet of the workmen" reflect a different *Vorlage*. The

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[240] Bal (1988a: 121) noted, "Philologists have observed that the form of the imperative is masculine (*ᶜămōd*). One could just as well interpret the form as the infinitive absolute (*ᶜămōd*), [*sic*] which has strong imperative force (Boling (1975: 98)." Boling, citing Freedman (private communication), noted the use in the Decalogue of זכור את יום השבת. One should note *GKC* 113[bb] and 113 footnote 2, "It thus appears that the infin. *qāṭōl* in Hebrew could be used from early times as a kind of fixed, invariable word of command." However, Bal's comment that, "The form of the infinitive absolute, neuter, satisfies the 'logical' demands of the more prosaic readers . . . ." is questionable. The infinitive absolute is morphologically *masculine*, as the first example in *GKC* 113[b] indicates: אכל דבש הרבות לא טוב "eating too much honey is not good" (Prov 25:27). The masculine predicate adjective טוב agrees in gender with the subject אכל, an infinitive absolute. In Ju 4:20, whether עמד and פתח are imperatives or infinitives, masculine morphs were imposed upon the reader.

A-text εἰς ἀποτομὰς κατακόπων "to cuttings off of the ones cutting off" reflects לְמַחֲלֹות הַמֹּלִים, from the stem מלל (= מול, מהל) "to circumcise, to cut off, to hem." This is a much more likely explanation of the A-text variant than Moore's (1900b: 165) translation "for the decapitation of exhausted men." But the αχρειωσαι "to be rendered useless, unfit for war" in the Lucianic MSS glnptvw and MSS MNKmysb₂ reflects the MT עמלים "workers" or " those exhausted from work" (BDB 776).

The meaningless του εις τελος "of the unto end" appearing in MSS MNkmyzb₂ and Lucianic MSS glnptv reflects a *Vorlage* which read וימין הלעלמית for the MT וימינה להלמות. The του reflects the הל of הלעלמית (i.e., הל "the" as in Gen 24:65, 37: 19), with εις being a doublet for the ל alone once the ה was affixed to ימין, while τελος translated the remaining עלמית.[241]

The confusion of עלמו or העלמו for הלמו in the *Vorlage* of MS k in 5:22, which reads αβλεψια "blindness," has already been cited (pages 25–26 and note 213). Another example of the confusion of הלם and עלם, analogous to this confusion of עמלים and המלים, is found in 1 Chron 17:16 where the MT reads כי הביאתני עד הלם "that you have brought me thus far," which in the LXX reads ὅτι ἠγάπησάς με ἕως αἰῶνος "that you have loved me forever," as if its *Vorlage* read כי אהבתני עד עלם.

5:26b. She pierced his neck   וחלפה רקתו

The reference in 5:30 to צוארי שלל "the neckerchiefs/necks of the spoiler" is the key to the interpretation of רקה here. The poet paralleled what actually happened to Sisera with what was perceived by the court soothsayer(s) to be happening to him. Sisera did encounter "a woman or two" as perceived by his mother's

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[241] Elsewhere in the LXX, τέλος never translates עולם, though αἰών translates נצח "end." Ordinarily αἰών and τέλος are not synonyms. However, in Ps 9:19 τέλος and αἰών are used interchangeably to translate לעד "forever." For MT תקוה ענוים תאבד לעד "nor the hope of the poor perish forever," the B-text reads οὐκ ἀπολεῖται εἰς τὸν αἰών, whereas the A-text has οὐκ ἀπολεῖται εἰς τέλος. Other examples of τέλος "forever," can be found in Arndt and Gingrich (1979: 811–812). Consequently, it seems certain that עולמית and עולם, as readily as לעד, could be translated by either τέλος or αἰών.

diviners, but the diviners did not recognize them as the deadly Yael and Deborah. The court fortunetellers discerned that something very precious was around Sisera's neck. But they did not perceive that the costly covering was his own blood. When רקתו is read as something other than a synonym for צואר, this unifying element goes unnoticed.[242]

G. R. Driver (1962–1963: 12–13), on the basis of Akkadian *ḫalāpu* "to slip in/out/away" and the Ethiopic *ḫalafa* "(water) ebbed away," translated חלפה רקתו here "his brains ran out," which paralleled his translation of the ותצנח בארץ in 4:21[243] as "and (his brains) oozed out on the ground." But Boling (1975: 98) noted that, in light of Cant 4:3 and 6:7, רקה refers to a part of the head that is visible from the outside and can be covered with a veil. Rozelaar (1988: 97–101) drew upon the suggestion of Hazan (1936) that רקה means "mouth," and offered this interpretation: "he [Sisera] was sleeping with his mouth open . . . she [Yael] holds the peg above Sisera's open mouth and strikes it with the heavy hammer, driving it through his mouth cavity (and throat) into the ground." This interpretation has some support from the γναθον "jaw" in MSS Aabcx.

In the *Enūma eliš* when Tiamat opened her mouth to consume Marduk, he turned it to his advantage: "He drove in the evil wind that she close not her lips . . . her mouth was wide open, he released the arrow, it tore her belly" (*ANET* 67). With such a well-known mythological assassination scene current at the time, in which the open mouth was the "bull's-eye," it would not be surprising for either Yael or the poet to have borrowed the tactic

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[242] Remote doublets for רקתו are found in the LXX of 5:27, cited as variants for כרע (A-text συγκάμψας and B-text κατεκυλίσθη). They are εσκιρτησεν or εσκιρτησας or εσκιρτησε (from σκιρτάω "to spring, to leap," [cf. σκαίρω "to skip, dance, frisk"]), which are found in MSS dglptvw and the Ethiopic translated *calcitrauit* "they kicked [with the heels]." These reflect a *Vorlage* having רקדו "they leaped" instead of רקתו. Note Ps 114 (LXX 113): 4, 6, רקדו כאילים ההרים = τὰ ὄρη ἐσκίρτησαν ὡσεὶ κριοὶ "the mountains skipped like rams." See page 223, for the confusion of ר and ת.

[243] Compare Grossfeld's (1973: 348–351) translation of ותצנח as "she [Yael] cried" and Nicholson's (1977: 259–266) "it [the peg] went down."

which focused on the neck/mouth rather than the skull/temples. In a sense, Yael "went for the jugular," following a well-known mythic model.

5:27b. Motionless, powerless   באש הכרע

The first phrase of 5:27, בין . . . שׁכב, is transposed in this study to the end of 5:25, but not solely because these words are missing in eighteen Hebrew manuscripts and several Greek texts (see BH³). While there is much repetition in the poem, the repetition in 5:27 is as excessive as the seven to eleven imperatives found in the MT of 5:12. This excessive repetition creates suspicion about the interpretation and position of this poetic line.

Given the semantic range and homonymity of the words involved, the phrase כרע נפל שׁכב fits well the sequential actions which followed Sisera's receiving his refreshment (5:25b)—he *drank* and *lay down* to *sleep* (with Yael). Therefore, the first five words are transposed to their more logical position following 5:25. There is no hint of erotic *double entendre* with the רדם and עיף of Ju 4:21. But the erotic nuances of כרע, נפל, and שׁכב in 5:27 make better sense when the first words of 5:27a are transposed to the end of 5:25, were they serve as prelude to the death scene.

The second occurrence of בין רגליה כרע נפל in 27b requires the translation, "between her legs, half-conscious, he fell," which follows the meaning of כרע III, discussed above (pages 214–216). This understanding of MT כרע is as old as the paraphrase of 5:27 found in the prose text of Ju 4:21b, והוא נרדם ויעף וימת "he was lying fast asleep from weariness and he died" (NRSV). The נרדם "lying fast asleep" reflects the שׁכב (or the נפל שׁכב) of 5:27b, the ויעף "he became faint" translates the כרע of 5:27b (i.e., כרע stem III), and the וימת "he died" renders the שׁדוד of 5:27c.[244]

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[244] Bos (1988: 52) noted the awkward word order which has Sisera sleeping *after* being hit. She concluded, "Sisera is stunned, collapses, and dies . . . in a slow-motion effect similar to the operative in Ju 5:4."

The MT באשר כרע שם is puzzling. Albright (1922: 80) noted: "באשר כרע שם 'Where he stooped there he fell,' is anything but poetical, and the [prosaic] אשר is found nowhere else in the poem." He "improved" the poetry by deleting four words and translating "He fell, outstretched." Cross (1950: 38), Stuart (1976: 127), and Soggin (1981c: 83) essentially concurred with Albright by deleting two or more words. Boling (1975: 104) and O'Connor (1980: 229) retained the MT and treated the relative אשר as a demonstrative and translated, "at that place where he slumped" and "in that place he crouches." Similarly, Lindars (1995: 280 translated, "where he collapsed, there he fell, slain."

However, in preference to deleting any words or replacing the relative pronoun with a demonstrative pronoun, the line can be restored by redividing words and emending a ר to a ה or a ב. The MT באשר כרע can be read באש בכרע or באש הכרע. The restored noun, באש, is the cognate of Arabic بوس "a state of trial or affliction, distress, deprived of the power of motion" (Lane 1865: 146–147). The stem באש (= בש or בוש)[245] appears in Ps 6:11, "All my enemies shall be immobilized (יבאשו = יבשו) and exceedingly troubled; they will be shattered (יִשֻׁבוּ = יְשֻׁבוּ)[246] and in a moment they will be made powerless (יבאשו = יבשו)."

If the word after the restored באש was originally the *hophᶜal* הכרע, then the *hiphᶜîl* in Ps 78:31 would be very relevant: "he made powerless (הכריע) the elite warriors of Israel" (RSV, "laid low the picked men"). Had it been the preposition ב and the noun כרע, the meaning would then be "in a stupor." This באש "immobilized, motionless" provides an alliterative balance for the בשש "slow-motion, tardy" in 5:28b.

Niditch's (1989: 50) observations are noteworthy, though more than one verse, in my opinion, is involved. She wrote:

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[245] On the elision of the א, see pages 120–121; note also the variants ותזרני and ותאזרני in the parallel texts of Ps 18:40 and 2 Sam 22:40. In 11QpaleoLev (Freedman and Matthews 1985: 45–46, 80) וירת appears for ויראת in Lev 25:36, חטתיכם for חטאתיכם in Lev 26:18, and תבו for תאבו in Lev 26:21. See also Delitzsch 1920: 21–22, §14a–c.

[246] Reading here שבב "to shatter," which was discussed on pages 183–184 in reference to Ju 5:17c.

Double meanings of violent death and sexuality emerge in every line. He is at her feet in a pose of defeat and humiliation; he kneels between her legs in sexual pose. He falls and lies, a dead warrior assassinated by a warrior better than he is; he is a suppliant and a would-be lover. This one verse holds an entire story. The final twist and nuance of the tale awaits the last line, which nevertheless retains the doubleness of meaning. He is despoiled / destroyed.

Bal (1988b: 215) noted, "The man Sisera is turned into a non-man [4:20 אִישׁ אֵין] by means of the penetration of a hard object into his soft flesh. The murder takes the specific form and meaning of rape . . . . This reverse rape, indeed also destroys the man as man . . . ." As Rozelaar and Hazan observed, Sisera, the sole rapist, is dead thanks to oral penetration.[247]

X. Anxiety in Sisera's court: Ju5:28–30

5:28a. She peered,   נשקפה ותיבב
       but (only) emptiness

This section of the poem is not likely to be an eyewitness account, but it reflects the poet's realistic imagination. The reference to Sisera's mother demonstrates the unity and integrity of the poem. Lindars commented (1983: 168), "the 'mother in Israel' makes an ironical inclusion with the mother of Sisera at the end of the poem" and ". . . the stanza is not merely a tail-piece, but a satisfying conclusion, which rounds off the poem as a whole" (1995: 280).

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[247] See page 218 and the discussion concerning לראֹשׁ גבר, pages 228–229. Yee (1993: 116) commented that "The tent peg in Jael's hands becomes synec-dochially the ravaging phallus." Compare Exum's (psycho)analysis (1995: 72):

Deborah is the good mother . . . . Jael, on the other hand, is the death-dealing mother. Her behavior is maternal: she offers Sisera security . . . and assurance . . . . The picture of Jael covering Sisera and giving him milk to drink suggests a mother putting her son to bed. She even watches over him while he sleeps to protect him from harm . . . . But the nurturing, protective mother can suddenly, unexpectedly, turn deadly. The bad mother is cold and blood-thirsty. She may attack her son in his sleep, when he is utterly defenseless . . . . The different descriptions of Jael's assassination of the unexpecting Sisera in Judges 4 and 5 are different expressions of anxiety about the mother's threatening side.

However, MT ותיבב has been somewhat of a crux. MSS Abcx have κατεμανθανεν "(she) observed," but the B-text has nothing for it, leading Schreiner (1957: 67) to comment ruefully, "der Übersetzer hat wohl das Hapaxleg. ותיבב 'und sie klagte' nicht gekannt und darum unberücksichtigt gelassen." But as was evident in 5:22–23 with הלמו, מדהרות, and מרוז (see pages 25–26, 200–201), unknown words were transliterated, *not* omitted. Guillaume (1960–1961: 17) properly cautioned against equating יבב with post-biblical יבב "to lament (over a corpse)," since at this point in the ballad Sisera's mother had good reason to worry but no reason to lament.[248]

Hebrew יבב has been identified with Aramaic יבב "to blow the trumpet, to shout aloud," and the Arabic ابّ "he cried loudly" (Guillaume 1960: 17). But the Old Latin *reuertentes in Sisarra*, the Ethiopic, the Sahidic, and the doublets in the A-text (MSS Aabcglntvw with the participles υποεπιστρεφοντας or μεταστρεφοντας or επιστρεφοντας) reflect a *Vorlage* which had תּבֵב עִם סִיסְרָא "returning with Sisera." The translators understood תיבב to be the Aramaic תּוּב (= שׁוּב) "to return." But ותיבב is commonly emended to ותבט "she looked," following MSS Abcx κατεμανθανεν and the Targum's מדיקא (from דוק "to look with anxiety, to wait impatiently"), as noted in BHS.

But תיבב can be revocalized to תֵּיבֵב (from an original תֵּיבֵב), a *taqtil* form widely used with ע"ע stems. Then יבב can be read as a cognate of the Arabic تباب "a deserted, empty land in which there is nothing or no one" (Lane 1893: 2974b). This derivation would account for the unusual absence of a corresponding word in the B-text. Probably early in the transmission of the B-text, the translation of ותיבב as καὶ κενὸς τόπος "and empty space" resulted in a subsequent scribe's omitting the phrase καὶ κενὸς τόπος but leaving an empty space which was removed by a still later scribe. Such a phenomenon is reflected in 1 Sam 13:1 which deals with Saul's age at his ascension to the throne and the length

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[248] Soggin (1981c: 92) commented, "Incongruously the Hebrew text anticipates . . . 'She lamented'." He therefore emended the text to ותבט "she peered," citing the A-text διέκυπτεν and B-text παρέκυψεν. But these are translations of the MT נשקפה "to look down and out, to overhang." It is the A-text κατεμανθανεν "she observed closely," which suggests ותבט (see BHS).

of his reign. McCarter (1980: 222) conjectured, "This notice is missing in LXX[B] . . . It seems likely, then, that originally the numbers were lacking in both clauses: 'Saul was ___ years old when he began to reign, and he reigned ___ years over Israel'." The blank spaces were subsequently omitted and the MT now reads, בן שנה שאול במלכו ושתי שנים מלך על ישראל "Saul was a year old when he began to reign and he reigned two years over Israel." A similar scribal corruption surely lies behind the missing word in MS B for MT תיבב.

5:28b.	The mother of Sisera	אם סיסרא בעתה אשׁנב
	inquired at the lattice . . .	מדוע . . .

The interrogative מדוע could be introduced by a verb like שׁאל or בעה "to ask." The consonant cluster בעדהאשׁנב yields such a verb when the ד is emended to ת and the letters are divided to read בעתה אשׁנב, recovering a 3fs of בעה (GKC 75ⁱ) "she inquired." The first בעד "at" serves as a double-duty preposition,[249] "*through* the window . . . *through* the lattice"

The scene of "the woman at the window" appears also in 2 Sam 6:16; 2 Kgs 9:30; and Eccl 12:3, as noted by O'Connor (1986: 284). Bal (1988a: 64) views the lattice motif as addressing "the women imprisoned in their passivity." But there is even more. As much as the poet contrasted the Mother in Israel with Sisera's mother, the woman at the window was contrasted with the woman of the tent. The noble lady was not Sisera's unnamed mother with her princesses, but the well-named woman Yael, the "Noble/Availer" (see page 207). A Rechabite ambiance elevates the itinerant lifestyle of smiths and caravaneers above the sedentary and residential lifestyle with its false security symbolized by the lady at the lattice. The open tent provided very little protection compared to secured windows; but what it lacked in security it made up for in opportunity. The ladies of a well-defended court fell victim to a woman of an undefended tent and a woman who sat openly under a date-palm (Ju 4:5).

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[249] See Dahood and Penar 1970: 435; and Coogan 1978: 145, note 12 on double-duty modifiers.

5:29a. The clairvoyants   חכמות שׂרותיה תענינה
         among her damsels divined

Brekelmans (1969: 170–173) and Weisman (1976: 116–119) surveyed the problems of and proposals for 5:29. Brekelmans concluded: "There is everything to be said for returning to the translation of V. Zapletal [1923] and H. Gressmann: 'The wisest of her ladies speaks up, and replies to her.'" Unconvinced by this proposal, Weisman followed Globe (1974b: 498) who thought the poet depicted Sisera's women preparing songs to welcome home the victors in a "mockery of Sisera's mother and wives who greedily compose their praise for a corpse." Weisman generously paraphrased, "(Eulogies of) Wisdom her (female) singers chant (to her), She (in turn) recites her response."

But Weisman's translation, like others which it is intended to replace, wrongly follows exegetical tradition in deriving MT תע.נינה from ענה "to answer." The stem is, however, ענן "to divine," which is clearly suggested by the תֵּעֲנֶנָּה in the Ben Ḥayyim text. Contra Lindars (1995: 295) and others, the second נ of תעינה is not the *energicum* with the 3fs suffix, but the third radical of the stem. The form here in the MT of BHS is the 3fpl of the ע"ע verb, like תסבינה "they surround" from סבב.[250]

The poet is holding up for ridicule the practice of divination in Sisera's court with this collocation of תעינה "they divined," אמרי "soothsayer" and חכמות "clairvoyants." The Chronicles of Jerahmeel (M. Gaster 1899: 174) reflect a similar understanding of events in Sisera's court:

> Now, when Sisera went out to fight against Israel his mother, Tamar [תאמר "soothsayer" (?)], with her maidens and princesses, by means of their enchantments prophesied, saying that Sisera would bring as spoil one or more of the women of Israel with their coloured garments, for she saw in her charms that he would lie upon the bed of Jael, the wife of Heber, and be covered with a coloured garment of needlework.

The Taanach Cuneiform Text I, coming from the fifteenth century B.C.E., includes a solicitation by an Egyptian official named

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[250] On ענן stem II see BDB 778; Jastrow 1903: 1054a; and GKC 67[d]; there is no need to emend the MT to חכמי מקדשיה יעננו as did Cheyne (1904: 463).

Amenophis for the talents of the renowned wizard (*umân=ummân*) of Asherah of Taanach. Here in 5:29 the חכמות "sagacious women" could be the female counterparts of the *ummân* and/or the חכמים mentioned along with sorcerers in Gen 41:8, Ex 7:11, and Isa 44:25, or the ידעים "wizards" of Job 34:2.[251]

In Ps 83:10–11, Sisera is associated with Endor, renowned because of the "witch of Endor" (אשת בעלת אוב בעין דור, 1 Sam 28:7). This association made by the psalmist linked Sisera and his court with the world of the occult. The name of Sisera's residence, חרשת הגויים "the defensive enclave of the Gentiles," could also be derived from חרש stem IV "magic arts, divination, sorcery," and mean "the occult-center of the Gentiles" (see note 37 and compare Naʾaman 1990: 427).

McCarter (1990: 290), though not treating the חכמות here as "clairvoyants," placed these princesses in the category of sages:

> Wisdom often manifests itself in the older materials as native cunning, shrewdness, and discernment—the ability, in other words, to recognize the patterns of human experience and manipulate them advantageously. The sage who has this ability is valued as a counselor, and any person of rank would have such counselors ready at hand. Thus the mother of Sisera . . . has counselors . . . upon whom she can call in a time of need (Ju 5:29–30).

Thus it becomes obvious that the poet contrasted not only the "Mother in Israel" with Sisera's mother (Hackett 1985: 28), the caravan leader with the caravan raider, and the "woman at the window" with the "woman of the tent," but the tradition also contrasted the *perceptive* "woman of light" (אשת לפידות) with the *misperceiving* "courtly clairvoyants" (חכמות שרות).

5:29b. Her (sooth)sayer   היא תשיב אמריה לה
       reported to her

The ה of אמריה is the 3fs suffix and the י is the feminine ending found in the names שרי and נעמי and the noun רחמני (in Lam 4:10, where it appears with the reduplicated ending as רַחֲמָנִיּוֹת). This י occurs frequently in Ugaritic proper names and once

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[251] See Albright 1944b: 18–19 for the Taanach Cuneiform Text I.

with the common noun *nᶜmy* "pleasantness" (*UT* 62: §8.48).[252]
Failure to recognize this rare feminine form forced אמרי to be
read as the masculine plural construct "the words of," similar to
the idiom and form in Prov 22:21.[253] This in turn required reading
לה as a reflexive "to herself" rather than as the usual "to her."

The vocable is either אמר I "to say" or אמר II "to see, to per-
ceive," a cognate of Ugaritic *ʾmr* (Gt stem) "to see" and Ak-
kadian *âmaru* "to see, to locate (a person), to find after searching,
to observe (omens)" and *āmiru* "a reader" (*CAD* 1: 2–5, 14, 65).
Something like the Akkadian *tūra am-mar ašappara*, "I shall
make another observation and report to you," could well have
been said to Sisera's mother. As in Job 13:22 (והשיבני) and 20:2
(ישיבוני), שוב does not require a direct object. Indeed, given the
Egyptian flavor of Sisera's court (see below on 5:30a), the תשיב
here may well be the Egyptian verb *wšb* "to answer," a loanword
or a shared root (Gordon 1965: 501; Gardiner 1966: 562). If so, it
could reflect the poet's intentional use of dialect or a loanword.

There are three subject elements in MT היא תשיב אמריה לה,
namely, the pronoun היא, the prefix ת of the verb, and the noun
אמריה, translated "her (sooth)sayer" in the attempt to combine
אמר I and אמר II. The antecedent of the ה and הָ suffixes (which
cannot be reflexive) is Sisera's mother. The MT אמריה "her
(sooth)sayer" (not "her words") is the subject תשיב. The quota-
tion in 5:30 comes from a woman other than Sisera's mother.

5:30a. The victors have forded (the water)   הלאים צאו

Brongers (1981: 177–189) discussed the use of MT הלא and
translated "*Surely, they must be finding spoil, taking shares . . . .*"
However, the poet may have been ridiculing the clairvoyant who
could only faintly and, at best, erroneously approximate Sisera's

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[252] See Layton 1990: 241–249. Note van Selms' study (1971: 426–429)
where he conjectures, "It is quite possible . . . the *yōd* in the feminine ending *-ay*
is nothing else than the anaphoric pronoun feminine."

[253] לְהוֹדִיעֲךָ קֹשְׁטְ אִמְרֵי אֱמֶת לְהָשִׁיב אֲמָרִים אֱמֶת "to make you know the
certainty of the words of truth that you may correctly answer" (NAS).

real circumstance. When הלא ימצאו is divided to read הלאים צאו, words of false assurance and vain hope to Sisera's mother become evident, namely, the assertion that Sisera and his charioteers were victorious and had successfully navigated the flooded wadi. The participle לאים "the victors" is from the root לאה "to prevail, to overcome someone" (discussed on 5:23d, page 204).[254]

The verb צאה (צאי) "to ford (the water)" is the Egyptian ḏ(ꜣ)y, "kreuzen (den Fluß beim Überfahren); durchziehen (nicht im Schiff); ein Gewässer zu Fuß durchschreiten; auch vom Passieren einer Furt" (Erman and Grapow 1897: 5: 511–514). The noun צ "ship" (= Coptic čôy) appears in Num 24: 24, Isa 33:21, and Ezek 30:9.[255] In Hebrew עבר and מעבר(ה) were usually used for "fording (a stream)" and a "ford" (as in 2 Sam 19:18, וְעָבְרָה הָעֲבָרָה לַעֲבִיר "then they kept crossing the ford to bring over [the king's household]," and Jer 51:32, וְהַמַּעְבָּרוֹת נִתְפָּשׂוּ "the fords have been seized"). But putting an Egyptian word on the lips of the women in Sisera's court was probably the poet's clever way of demonstrating the foreign element there, which in 4:2 is indicated in the name of the residence, חרשת הגוים "the defensive enclave (or 'occult center') of the Gentiles." These overtones of a dialect are similar to the speech of the sailors in Jonah who spoke Hebrew with Aramaisms (1:7 בְּשֶׁלְמִי "on whose account" and in 1:11 וְיִשְׁתֹּק "it may quiet down"), highlighting their non-Israelite identity.

5:30b. A wench or two   רחם רחמתים לראש גבר
        for the head of (the) hero

It is of interest to note first that the LXX and other versions do not have Sisera's mother being told that her son and his men are late because he was (or they were) supposedly raping their victims. The B-text οἰκτίρμων οἰκτιρήσει εἰς κεφαλὴν ἀνδρός "merciful he will show mercy to the head of a man," and the

[254] Note also Kuhnigk 1974: 112, 136; Penar 1975: 25, 86. See note 225 for a list of the relevant passages.

[255] Note Albright 1944a: 231; and Lambdin 1953: 144–145, especially the references to צי "ships" and ססה "to plunder."

A-text φιλιάζων φίλοις εἰς κεφαλὴν δυνατοῦ "being friendly to
friends, to the head of a mighty one," reflect essentially the same
Vorlage as the MT, but treat רחם רחמתים as the widely attested
verb "to show mercy" and its cognate accusative. They depict
Sisera compassionately disbursing spoils to his men.

However, in contrast to the sexual and erotic nuances in the
language of the assassination scenes of 4:18–22 and 5:25–27, the
expression רחמתים רחם לראש גבר is quite vulgar, as Munster
(1696: col. 1985) noted long ago:

> Est quidem רחם *ræhæm* & *raham* propriè *uterus mulieris*, & item *vulva*; hîc
> verò capitur pro עלמה *puella*, idque לדרך בזיון I. *modo contemptibili*, sicut
> & Germani hoc utuntur modo cùm de descortis contemptim loquuntur, ꝺiɛ
> ꝼuttɛnɛn.

Contrary to Bal's (1988a: 134) statement, "She [the mother of
Sisera] uses the crude word "womb" for /woman/. . . . The crude
term "womb" suggests . . . ," the Hebrew רחם is itself neither
vulgar or crude. Its Arabic cognate is either رحم "to be com-
passionate" or رخم "to be soft." The vocable is used for names of
men and women, and رحم opens the Qur'an in a manner reminis-
cent of Ex 34:6, "Yahweh is a merciful (רחום) and gracious
God." It is the *usage* in 5:30 which is vulgar, as vulgar as the use
of nice words like גבר and ראש. On the lips of Sisera's court
lady, ראש takes on a nuance comparable to the Latin *caput*,
about which Adams (1982: 72) noted, "The frequency of *caput*
used of the glans suggests that it was in common use . . . . This
usage reflects the tendency for the organ to be personified." To
be sure, ראש does not ordinarily mean the glans, but this is not
an ordinary Hebrew who is speaking, but a foreign woman—as
though she were ignorant of the appropriate נקבות, זֵכרות or יד
(Isa 57:8; *UT* 409) used for the genitalia.

In the Moabite text (*KAI* 1: 169), רחמת "(slave) woman" oc-
curs once in a prisoner list along with גבר, גברת, גרן, and גרת.
This pejorative use in Moab matches this *single* negative use of
רחם in Biblical Hebrew. Thus, רחם רחמתים has a foreign fla-
vor, as well as a vulgar ring. Good Hebrew may not have been a
strength in Sisera's court. It can well be assumed that the foreign
words and vulgar usage on the lips of Sisera's women are the

poet's device for debasing the enemy and another example of the clever use of dialect.

Treating ראש as though it were a synonym for כל or איש and translating "every, all, each" results in euphemistic mistranslations. Lindars (1995: 285) stated, "The meaning 'per capita' for *lĕroʾš geber* has no precise parallel in Biblical Hebrew, but is not in doubt." He is correct only for the first half of his statement because there is no basis for making the equation ראש גבר = *per capita*. A reader may miss the point of the literal translation "for the head of" but that is insufficient reason to hide the point. MT גבר "man" is probably *scriptio defectiva* for גבור "hero." Since both nouns are singular they should be translated as Bal did (1988a: 64), "two wombs/girls for the head of the hero," rather than with G. A. Smith (1912: 90) and others, "A wench, two wenches a head for the men." Bal's interpretation of 5:30a focuses attention on the anticipated rapacious action of the troops, at large, and the sexual violence of Sisera, in particular.

5:30b. Spoils of the best cloth   צבע צבעים

Many proposals have been made to delete MT שלל צבעים or צבע.[256] However, it seems more likely that צבע simply needs to be transposed to precede the second צבעים, a slight change which restores the superlative צבע צבעים, "the very finest cloth." The plural-singular "cloths" and "finest cloth" in 5:30b are then balanced chiastically in 5:30c by the singular-dual רקמה and רקמתים, which in turn balance the initial singular-dual רחם רחמתים of 5:30a.[257] In Hebrew צבע is the equivalent of Akkadian *ṣubâtum*, a piece of cloth from which one or more garments could be made.[258] The proposed transposition restores three very

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[256] Compare Moore 1900a: 38; 1900b: 170–171; Burney 1918: 156; Cross 1950: 39; Richter 1963: 402; and Stuart 1976: 127.

[257] Compare Blenkinsopp's similar suggestion (1961: 75), following in part Budde's reconstruction (cited by Burney 1918: 156), that צבע צבעים is a singular followed by a dual.

[258] See Veenhof 1972: 89, 464, and his index for *ṣubâtum*.

effective alliterative parallels: (1) רחם רחמתים, (2) צֶבַע צְבָעִים (or צֶבַע צְבָעִים), and (3) רקמה רקמתים.[259]

5:30c. An embroidered cloth or two   רקמה רקמתים

Oppenheim's comment (1967: 246) on *rōqem* as a trade commodity (see Ezek 27:24) is of interest:

> . . . the work done by the Western craftsmen called *rōqem* . . . appealed to the staid Mesopotamians accustomed to monochrome wool and linen apparel. This new and quite characteristic western textile technique . . . seems to have been applied whenever linen thread and purple wool of various hues are given simultaneously to weavers to be made into pieces of apparel typically to be placed on the image of the deity at certain cultic occasions.

Crowfoot (1951: 9–12) called attention to linen textile woven by the *rōqem* technique discovered at ᶜAin Feshkha. Sisera did not wear the crown of a king, but his court ladies seemingly envisaged him with a mantle fit for a god.

5:30d. For the neckerchiefs of the spoiler   לצוארי שלל
(See above, pages 217–219, on 5:26b.)

As the English word "crown" means a part of the head or an object worn on that part of the head, and as ענק means "neck" or "necklace," so צואר means "neck" or "necklace" (Cant 4:9) or a garment worn around the neck or hung from the neck (or even the shoulders). The suggestion of Guillaume (1963–1964: 5) that שלל here means "captured women" (since it is collocated with "wench" and "shawls") is too restrictive a translation. Just because the שלל may have included women is no reason to restrict שלל itself only to women—especially since 5:19 mentions "silver spoils." Were women the only spoils of interest to Sisera

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[259] Robert Shedinger (oral communication) has called my attention to an unrecognized dual noun in the poetic fragment of Gen 25:23, (MT גֹיִים) שְׁנֵי גֹיַיִם בבטנך "two nations are in your womb" (like שְׁתֵי כְרָעַיִם "two legs" in Amos 3:12, the שתי ידו in Lev 16:21, and the שתי אזניו in 1 Sam 3:11).

and the Canaanite kings, they would have needed neither chariots nor caravan chases.

The deletion of the third שלל in verse 30 for metrical reasons (Cross 1950: 40 and Stuart 1976: 136) or the emendation of the fourth שלל to שגל "king's wife," noted in BH³, are unnecessary. The reading of the NEB and Freedman's suggestion (cited by Boling [1975: 115]) to read the fourth שלל as the participle שֹלֵל has been adopted (contra the NRSV "my neck as spoil"). This vocalization actually revives the proposal of W. Green made in 1753 (cited by Burney 1918: 157).

The poet ridiculed the clairvoyant who could but faintly and erroneously approximate Sisera's real circumstances. This passage can be added to the two prophetic texts (Isa 10:13 and 30: 1–15, 31:1–3), cited by Van Leeuwen (1990: 303), in which the "false wisdom of foreign courts in planning military exploits without taking Yahweh into account" is held up for derision.

XI. Poetic epilogue 5:31a

5:31a. Thus perished   כן יאבדו

By reading יאבדו as a jussive ("may they perish"), many commentators (such as Weiser 1959: 94–95 and Lindars 1995: 286) interpreted 5:31a as a liturgical addition to the poem—a prayer addressed to Yahweh as indicated by the 2ms suffix on אויביך. But in view of the many *yqtl* preterits which appear in 5:17 (יגור, ישב, and ישכין), 5:18 (ישדה), 5:21 (תדרך, ינפש, and יעזו), and 5:26 (תשלחנה), there is little reason to insist on reading יאדבו as a jussive. As a *yqtl* preterit, as translated here, or as an imperfect "thus perish" (implying "they will always perish this way"), the MT יאבדו introduces the poem's climactic summary.

5:31a. All the enemies of Yahweh   כל אויבי־ם יהוה

The 2ms suffix of אויביך in the MT is unexpected since it is followed by a 3ms suffix on אהביו, and direct address occurs elsewhere only in Deborah's exhortation (5:4–5, 8–9). Moran

(1963: 84–85), P. D. Miller (1973: 101), and Lindars (1995: 286), like many other critics harmonized the suffixes, changing אהביו to אהביך (note BH³ and BHS).

Dahood (1968: 147; 1970: 151 and 204), following van Dijk (1968: 69–70), cited thirteen examples of an enclitic/emphatic כ suffix, including the אויבך here.[260] In my earlier study (1983: 257), I followed Boling (1975: 115) in adopting this interpretation. However, it now seems more likely that an early misreading here, as in 5:12c, of a כ for a מ is responsible for mistaking the enclitic מ for the 2ms suffix. The error is comparable to the misreading of מ (ע) for כ (ג) in Ju 5:10 and is comparable to the textual differences in Ezek 16:7 where the versions read שדיך "your breasts" for MT dual שָׁדַיִם "breasts." The enclitic מ appears also in 5:4–5, מי־ם הרים "waters of the mountain" (discussed on page 134).

5:31a. The sun because of His power   השמש בגברתו

In light of Ps 84:12, כי שמש ומגן יהוה, "truly Sun and Suzerain is Yahweh," שמש here could be read as a surrogate for Yahweh. In Ugaritic (*UT* 491: 2426) *špš* was so used for Pharaoh and the Hittite suzerain. But it is more likely that שמש is here the sun which is under Yahweh's control. The 3ms suffix on בגברתו refers to Yahweh, not to the sun. Buber (1950: 10) used a masculine suffix and a feminine participle when quoting this verse: יציאת השמש בגבורתו ["the going forth of the sun in *his* valor"], a detail which was missed in Witton-Davies' translation (1949): "as the going forth of the sun in *its* valor" [italics mine].

Hillers (1978: 175–182), in a study of the ברית עם in Isa 42:6, noted that Hebrew, Aramaic, Ugaritic, and Akkadian metaphors and similes referring to שמש and the gods Šapaš and Šamaš addressed themselves to the ideas of freedom and emancipation. The MT כצאת השמש in 5:31a is probably one more example of

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[260] Vogt's suggestion (cited by van Dijk 1968: 71) of a link between the emphatic כי suffix and the enclitic כי of אנכי enhances Dahood's proposal.

this usage. As the sun moves freely through the heavens by the power of Yahweh, so the covenant people (i.e., "those who love him")[261] were free from Sisera's obstructive coalition. Yahweh's power expressed in the storm permitted Israel to be as free as the orbiting sun—all the more brilliant following the storm.

XII. Prose epilogue Ju 5:31b

5:31b. And the land was at peace   ותשקט הארץ

In Ju 4:23 the formulaic כנע "to subdue" was identified as the *prose incipit.* Here the corresponding formulaic שקט "to be at peace" provides the *prose inclusio.* As discussed above (pages 29–32), the Deborah–Barak–Yael tradition in Judges 4 and 5, as it now stands, is composed of two literary units: Ju 4:1–22 and Ju 4:23–5:31. A *prose* prologue and a *prose* conclusion encompass the poem which has its own *poetic* prologue and *poetic* conclusion—as well as the internal *incipit* and *inclusio* demarcating Deborah's exhortation: ברכו יהוה "Praise Yahweh!"

The words of Ramesses III upon his accession to the throne, have a similar collocation of *peace* and *sun* (= Re): "Then my father, Amon-Re, Re-Atum, and Ptah . . . crowned me as the Lord of the Two Lands on the throne of him who begat me . . . the land rested and rejoiced in possession of peace . . . ." (Breasted 1906: 4: 200).

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[261] Matthews (1991: 20) commented, "In the lyric poem, however, her [Yael's] actions are removed form the realm of law and custom and laid out simply as the proper steps taken by a 'friend' of the Lord." But, while the ואהביו as a masculine plural noun can include Yael, it cannot be restricted to her. MT 5:31a is the epilogue to the entire poem, not simply to the assassination scene. Moran (1963: 84–85) and Boling (1975: 116) noted the covenantal overtones of the אהב here, as evidenced by the use of אהב or its equivalent in ancient Near Eastern treaties.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I. Summary

Like an ancient tell waiting for the archaeologist to uncover its secrets, the war ballad buried beneath the enigmata of Judges 5 has long waited for someone to recover its story-line and confirm the integrity of its text. In this study, I have participated in a literary "excavation" to facilitate the recovery process, sometimes reading the poem independently of exegetical tradition as though it had just been excavated. Coogan's hypothesis (1978: 144), which appeared about a decade after I started working on the poem, has proven to be helpful:

> The unprovable hypothesis on which this study rests is that at some point in the history of the transmission of the Song of Deborah someone made sense of it as a poem. Copyists, redactors and translators may have altered what struck them as obscure or theologically dangerous, but even after three millennia, Judges 5:2–30 exhibits a carefully constructed unity.

My hypothesis differed from his only by including the assumption that someone would again make sense out of the poem. Hopefully, the translation and interpretations offered in this study, supplemented by the work of others who have argued for the literary integrity of the Song of Deborah, have demonstrated the viability of Coogan's hypothesis and my assumption.

The prevailing critical views, stated by Dentan in a note in the RSV (1965: 298) that, "The Hebrew text is, unfortunately, so corrupt in some places as to be almost unintelligible," and by Hoppe in a note in the NRSV (1991: 306), "The Song of Deborah may be the oldest part of the Hebrew Bible; it is also one of the most obscure," can no longer be sustained.

Actually, the consonantal MT is, in one sense of the word, almost without textual corruption. It is fully intelligible once the reader (a) is sensitive to the use of dialect and loanwords and, consequently, (b) employs a larger lexicon than the classical Hebrew one traditionally used, (c) is alert to the misdivision of words, (d) recognizes an inconsistent use of vowel letters by the scribes, and (e) is prepared to transpose several words and verses.

My reconstruction and translation requires only five emendations (כ to מ twice, and once each for מ to כ, ד to ת, and ר to ה or ב), the interchange of ו and י four times, the addition of a י and a final ן, and the deletion of one final ן and a ו conjunction. Normative spelling required the addition of but fifteen vowel letters and the deletion of only four. These changes in the 1,485 letters of 5:1–31 demonstrate the need for only minimal emendation. Although the lack of a space between some words, like the absence of anticipated vowel letters, could be labeled "textual corruption," such omissions do not impugn the integrity of the consonantal MT, even though they created problems for readers over the years. The redivision of twenty words was required. Deciding where the words had been misdivided in this battle ballad proved to be the major task.

Appeal to the versions, traditional exegesis, and current lexica of Biblical Hebrew provided only limited help in understanding the more enigmatic lines. Contrary to the opinion of Globe (1974b: 496) that "the vocabulary of Judges 5 is simpler" than that of the Song of Miriam or of the Lamentation of David, the poet had a rich vocabulary, larger than many previous translators have recognized. Indeed, Burney's observation (1918: 171) remains pertinent:

> In considering the language of the Song [of Deborah], one broad general principle has first to be laid down; viz., that, since Hebrew literature, as known to us from the O. T., is extremely exiguous, the Hebrew vocabulary which we possess doubtless represents only a somewhat limited part of the vocabulary which must have been in regular, if not in common, use in the written and spoken language.

I have not emended the MT to accommodate the lexica. Once it was realized that the poet had used a variety of dialectal options, the lexicon for the song was enlarged in an effort to match that of the poet (see below the "Supplemental Lexicon for The Song of Deborah").

The proposals of other scholars have been weighed carefully. Translations or exegetical solutions inappropriate for a war ballad turned out to be surprisingly unnecessary. Some of them appeared meaningful in an isolated colon, but for understanding the poem as a complete and coherent literary unit they were less than helpful or persuasive.

I. SUPPLEMENTARY LEXICON FOR
THE SONG OF DEBORAH

Reference	Gloss	Source	Hebrew
(5:8)	"moreover"		אם
(5:29)	"soothsayer"		אמרי
(5:23)	"to panic"		ארר
(5:1)	"to march"		אשׁר
(3:31)	"plowshare"		את
(5:27)	"motionless"		באשׁ
(3:31)	"to oversee"		בקר
(5:17)	"to attack"	(Klein, *sub voce*)	גור
(5:4)	"abundantly"	(Klein, *sub voce*)	גם
(5:4)	"noisily"	(Klein, *sub voce*)	גם
(5:12)	"to pursue"		דבר
(5:22)	"a chariot"		דהרות
(5:21)	"to overtake"	(Klein, *sub voce*)	דרך
(5:6)	"caravaneers"		הלכי נתיבות
(5:22)	"to retreat, to overflow"		הלם/המל
(5:3)	"to fight"		זמר
(5:24)	"guild"	(BDB, *sub voce*)	חבר
(5:6)	"to flee from battle, to refuse to assist"		חדל
(5:8)	"a recruit"		חדשׁ
(5:29)	"a clairvoyant"		חכמה
(5:11)	"to hurry"		חצץ
(5:12)	"to make ready"		ישׁר
(5:10)	"a mule"		כדין
(5:15)	"to conceal"		כון
(5:27)	"to drink"		כרע
(5:27)	"to be powerless"		כרע
(5:23)	"to overpower"		לאה
(5:9)	"to respond"		לבה
(5:13)	"to accompany" (Klein, *sub voce*)		לוה
(5:16)	"to encircle"		למה
(5:17)	"behold, indeed"		למה
(5:11)	"a mountain pass"		משׁאב
(5:16)	"a ravine"		משׁפתים
(5:2, 9)	"to summon"	(Klein, *sub voce*)	נדב

(5:21)	"to overflow"		נפשׁ
(5:16)	"a straggler"	(Klein, *sub voce*)	עדר
(5:21)	"to seek refuge"	(Klein, *sub voce*)	עוז
(5:6)	"to slay covertly"		עול
(5:18)	"to swim (underwater)"		עום
(5:12)	"an army, numerous people"		עור
(5:12)	"to rout"		עור
(5:23)	"a warrior"		עזרת
(5:29)	"to divine"	(Klein, *sub voce*)	ענן
(5:22)	"embankment"	(Klein, *sub voce*)	עקב
(3:31)	"marauders"	(Klein, *sub voce*)	פלשׁת
(5:7,11)	"a warrior"	(Klein, *sub voce*)	פרזון
(5:2)	"to call for heroism"		פרע
(5:2)	"heroine"		פרעת
(5:30)	"to ford a stream"		צאי
(5:10)	"small, young"		צחר
(5:21)	"to surge forward"		קדם
(5:24)	"song"		קין
(5:23)	"doomed (to die)"		רזא
(5:23)	"cloudburst"	(Klein, *sub voce*)	רים
(5:11)	"a storm"	(Klein, *sub voce*)	שֹׁער
(5:16)	"to look intently"		שֹׁרק
(5:17)	"to shatter"	(Klein, *sub voce*)	שׁבב
(5:18)	"to attack"	(Klein, *sub voce*)	שׁדד
(5:12)	"to proceed"		שׁור
(5:10)	"to hasten"	(Klein, *sub voce*)	שׁיח
(5:3)	"to attack"	(BDB, *sub voce* II)	שׁיר/שׁור
(5:15)	"to defeat"		שׁכר
(5:5)	"to strengthen"	(BDB, *sub voce*)	שׁרר
(5:5)	"to soak (with rain)"		שׁרר
(5:14)	"to hasten"		שׁרשׁ
(3:31)	"to despoil"		שׁשׁ/שׁשׁ
(5:28)	"emptiness"		תיבב

Out of the 384 total words in the ballad as reconstructed above, 69 words were found which previously went unrecognized as part of this poet's lexical repertoire, and some of these have different definitions than traditionally understood, though Klein (1987, *sub voce*) cited 17 of the 69.

Although the defeat of Sisera occurred along the Wadi Kishon, words associated with נחל went unrecognized: משפתים "ravine," משאב "mountain pass, עקב "bank," and צאי "to ford a stream." Tradition knew that a *flooded* wadi was involved, but the language of flooding was lost: דרך "to overtake," המל "to overflow," נפש "to overflow," and קדם "to surge forward." Storm rains were involved but translators failed to recognize גם "abundant (water)," רים "cloudbursts," שער "storm," and שרר "to soak (with rain)." The ballad was about fighting charioteers, but most critics missed דהרות "chariots," and the language of war, including: ארר "to panic," גור "to attack," דבר "to pursue," הלם "to retreat," חדל "to flee from battle, to refuse to assist," כון "to conceal," לאה "to overpower," למה "to encircle," עדר "a straggler," עוז "to seek refuge," עור "an army, troops," עור "to rout," פרזון "warrior," שכר "to defeat" and שש/שש "to plunder." Especially noteworthy are זמר II "to fight" and שיר II "to attack," which were consistently misread as זמר I "to make music" and שיר I "to sing."

Since זמר and שיר in Judges 5 are *not* musical terms but words of combat, it appears that Deborah never *sang*, either as soloist or in a duet with Barak. Instead, in what is now a poetic exhortation, she summoned Barak to fight against Sisera. Her exhortation begins and ends with the imperative ברכו יהוה and contains some language of the cult. But this does not require a *cultic* interpretation of Sisera's assassination or of the battle.

The absence of glosses on the poem's archaic and rare words suggests that the Song of Deborah was not subjected to repeated pre-Masoretic editorial activity like the prose account in Judges 4. Nevertheless, evidence of Deuteronomic editorial activity is reflected in the bifurcation of the three-verse Shamgar tradition. Recognition of this editorial reworking permits the reconstruction of the poem into eight balanced sections (see page 240, "The Structure of the Song of Deborah"). The natural divisions of the poem correspond to the transitions and chronological sequence typical of an ancient war ballad.

The structure of the poem is characterized by

(1) a chiastic pattern with reference to the number of cola in paired sections I–II and VII–VIII;

(2) a balanced number of syllables in sections I and VIII;

(3) a near balance of accent units and/or words in the paired sections I–II, III–IV, V–VI, and VII–VIII.

This analysis of the structure differs from those proposed by Boling (1975: 101–105), Stuart (1976: 121–127), and Coogan (1978: 157–158). Stuart, for example, omitted verses 5:1 and 31, deleted 102 consonants plus all MT vowel letters, and added 19 consonants. (The analyses offered by these three scholars are summarized in the chart on page 241, "Alternative Structures.")

Coogan's analysis is impressive with its chiastic balance in the number of cola and syllables in the five sections of the poem (as he divided it). Webb (1987: 139–144), with slight modification, adopted Coogan's analysis. But by following exegetical tradition, neither Coogan nor Webb saw that Deborah's exhortation was delineated by the *incipit* and *inclusio* ברכו יהוה Thus, 5:9 should be part of stanza I, which changes the neat chiastic pattern of the cola from 22–13–16–13–22 to an irregular 25–10–16–13–22.

One would expect a battle ballad to be as coherent in content as it is cohesive in structure. But Coogan's cohesive structure is not balanced by a logically coherent narrative. His translation of the poem (see the Appendix) is marked by abrupt transitions from stanza to stanza, and a number of traditional but awkward translations survive even within his stanzas.

Similarly, the translations of Boling and Stuart (also in the Appendix) can be faulted on two accounts unrelated to the issue of textual emendation. First, from 5:2–5:18, the poem's narrative is illogical and incoherent in contrast to 5:19–5:30, where the story flows logically and easily. Second, the poem's structure, in spite of efforts to bring it into conformity with acceptable metrical patterns, is imbalanced and incohesive in terms of syllable count and/or word count.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE SONG OF DEBORAH

STANZA	VERSES	CONTENT	COLA	WORDS	ACCENTS	SYLLABLES
I	3:31 5:6-7 5:1-2B	DESPAIR AMONG THE ISRAELITES	9	55	49	135
II	5:2C-5	*DEBORAH'S INVITATION TO ISRAEL*	8	56 + 4	55 + 4	148
III	5:10-13	HUMAN RESPONSE & MUSTER	6	48	44	112
IV	5:14-16	STRATEGY & DEPLOYMENT	7	45	41	118
V	5:17-29	ATTACK & COUNTER-ATTACK	5	39	34	89
VI	5:20-23	DIVINE RESPONSE & VICTORY	6	42	40	102
VII	5:24-27	*YAEL'S INVITATION TO SISERA*	8	44	44	112
VIII	5:28-31	DESPAIR AMONG THE CANAANITES	10	51	46	134

ALTERNATIVE STRUCTURES*

BOLING 1975			COOGAN 1978			
P A R T	**V E R S E S**	**S Y L L A B L E S**	**S T A N Z A**	**V E R S E S**	**C O L A**	**S Y L L A B L E S**
EXCLUDE 5:1			EXCLUDE 5:1			
I	2-9	233	I	2-8	22	209
II	10-13	107	II	9-13	13	128
III	14-16	114	III	14-18	16	168
IV	17-20	118	IV	19-23	13	124
V	21-22	37				
VI	23	36				
VII	24-27	108	V	24-30	22	211

*STUART (1976) DIVIDE THE POEM INTO FOUR PARTS
WITH THE WORD COUNT FOR THE PARTS BEING
131, 59, 54, AND 40, RESPECTIVELY.

V. CONCLUSIONS

In surveying the many complex issues in traditio-historical and form-critical studies on holy war, Jones (1975: 651–653) outlined the formal features of the holy-war schematization imposed more or less by the pre-Deuteronomic or the Deuteronomic editors on earlier holy-war traditions. The eight features included

(1) a statement about oppression and distress in Israel;
(2) the rise of a savior figure to deliver Israel;
(3) the immediate summons of the Israelites to war;
(4) the subsequent enthusiastic response of the people;
(5) the muster and deployment of the troops for battle;
(6) a brief account of the battle;
(7) the enemy's panic, attributed to Yahweh;
(8) a victory statement, accrediting Yahweh's intervention as the primary reason for victory.

Since this schematization is now evident in Judges 5, the origin of this framework needs to be reviewed. Since the Deuteronomic editors reworked only the Shamgar component of the original ballad, the Song of Deborah may have been the immediate, if not the ultimate, source of the schematization of the holy-war story. Since this schematization is evidenced long before the Deuteronomic redactors appeared on the scene, their alleged role in imposing this framework on other war narratives is now open to question. The eightfold framework could have been introduced prior to the Deuteronomic redactors, since it was available from the time of the original composition of the Song of Deborah.

The historical accuracy of most events depicted in the poem has been called into question in several studies. For example, Ackroyd (1952: 160–162) appealed to Carrington's study on King Alfred the Great to demonstrate how fact and fiction are easily mixed in popular traditions. Ackroyd suggested that the Song of Deborah was a popular piece of poetry and included details transferred from other traditions. Similarly, Coogan (1978: 143–144) and Soggin (1981c: 99) appealed to Bowra's study (1930) of heroic poetry, illustrated by *The Song of Roland*, to demonstrate that heroic poetry is a poor substitute for history. Halpern (1988: 96), addressing the issue of historical accuracy of the prose stories of Ehud and Deborah (Ju 3–4), stated,

However substantial the difference between the sources in Judges 3 and Judges 4, there is one important point of similarity. In neither case is the chief source historiography. Neither is archival. Yet in each case the written version is a historical one. . . . The accuracy of the historian's representations can with profit be questioned. So can his interpretation of his source. The gists of the reports, however, their logic, their structural coherence, are molded by a concern to reconstruct the past, by antiquarian interest.

While it is true that the author of the Song of Deborah, like the "historian" of Judges 4, was not an eyewitness to the events in Sisera's court or Yael's tent—unless the poet was Yael herself—the author seemed knowledgeable about an Israelite defeat of a Canaanite coalition. The poet's use of formulaic material makes for only tenuous conclusions on historical details, but the poem provides more historical information than has been recognized to date because only "impressionistic" translations were available.

The Israelite attack against Sisera's coalition apparently commenced with the destruction of Abu Hawam during the first decade of the twelfth century B.C.E. Although this destruction has been commonly attributed to the Philistines, it was more likely a work of Israelites whose strategy was to force the Canaanites to counterattack along the Wadi Kishon. The defeat of Sisera seems to have prompted Ramesses III to return to Galilee where he subdued the $q(з)štbrt$, which can be interpreted as "the troops of Teborah/Deborah."

The poet's frequent appeal to various aspects of caravaneering is of historical socio-political significance. Conjecture on Israel's settlement in Canaan needs to address the caravan elements in the poem. Debate limited to conquest versus nomadic infiltration or a peasants' rebellion can be faulted for overlooking a very reliable tradition about early Israel's caravaneering activities.[262]

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[262] Note Gottwald's (1979: 506) assertion that "The generations of biblical interpreters who have believed they saw Israelite caravans in Judges 5:6 were unaccountably oblivious of the categoric premonarchic Israelite rejection of economics and ideology of state-monopolized trade or commercial speculation by professional merchants." He insisted that the caravaneers mentioned were Canaanite caravaneers who were raided by the Israelites. See Nicholson's (1986: 16–18, 32) and Schloen's (1993:23) brief critiques of Gottwald's use of the Song of Deborah. Note Stager's study (1988) on the ecology and the social history of early Israel in light of the Song of Deborah. He did not even mention caravaneering, though on the basis of one word, יגור, there is extended discussion on Dan's alleged maritime activity, and on the basis of עדרים there is a

Only Schloen (1993) has given serious attention to this evidence and has developed a rather convincing "caravan hypothesis" with reference to early Israel.

Another historically significant element, relevant to the issue of the Israelite amphictyony[263] and the debate over dating "holy-war theory," is the way in which Deborah's call for a militia was expressed in cultic language. Her summons included

(a) the formulaic use of ברכו יהוה as the introduction and conclusion to the summons (which may reflect an already established cultic tradition which prompted the poet to use this formula as an *incipit* and *inclusio*), like the הללו יה in Psalms 146–150;

(b) an affirmation of allegiance to Yahweh, not to the tribes of Israel;

(c) the declaration that she would fight for Yahweh, rather than an affirmation that she would fight for Israel;

(d) a recital of Yahweh's earlier action on behalf of Israel in Trans-Jordan, expressed in the language of theophany;

(e) a promise of Yahweh's intervention and support for the militia;

(f) the use of עם יהוה "the militia of Yahweh" rather than עם ישראל "the militia of Israel."

The debate over which came first, "holy-war theory" or "the practice of Yahweh war," may never be satisfactorily resolved since the Song of Deborah, the oldest full account of such a Yahweh war, has them already inseparably bound. Contrary to Crenshaw's statement (1986: 122), "The poem is therefore an important witness to the absence of any strong sense of a tribal league that required concerted action by all members of the coalition," the fact that the call to arms was restricted to cultic

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discussion about nomadic and semi-nomadic pastoralists. J. Gray (1988: 427, 445, and 453) gave three one-sentence statements on Zebulon's and Issachar's being porters and hirelings in the (ḫabiru) transport business (and Machir got one sentence on page 443), but he bases this point on Deut 33:19, rather than on the multiple caravan motifs in Judges 4–5 (which he used primarily to provide the tribal names of the sacral community). See above, note 210.

[263] See Chambers (1983: 39–59).

motifs *adds* support to the hypothesis that an amphictyonic type of relationship was operative at the time among the *eleven* participants: Asher, Benjamin, Dan, Ephraim, Gad, Gilead (on alert), Issachar, Machir, Naphtali, Reuben, and Zebulon, with Judah, Levi, and Simeon being conspicuous by their absence—unless de Moor is correct in his reading of 5:13a, where he recovered *Yôdāh* (= Judah) and Levi (see pages 162–163).

Since *ten tribes* were mentioned as *combatants* (plus Gilead's being "on alert"), Ishida's (1973: 523–524) proposal to make Israel just a six-tribe league is unlikely. The Midrashic account in Ju 4:10, that only Zebulon and Naphtali were combatants, cannot be regarded as a historically more accurate account than that of Judges 5. In Judges 4, which gives evidence of editorial reworking, the multi-tribe campaign against Sisera was seemingly reduced by Judean editors to a two-tribe campaign to minimize Judah's non-participation.[264] (Even if Judah [*Yôdāh*] and Levi were in the original poem, as de Moor proposed, they were not recognized by the early Judean editors.) The brevity of the battle account in Ju 4:10, 13–15, in contrast to the multifront campaign depicted in Ju 5:14–23, reflects a similar reduction in the scope of a battle which did not enhance Judah's reputation.[265]

Although appearing to be a prose parallel account to the Song of Deborah, Ju 4:1–22 is only a *midrash* on the poem. Since it is haggadic[266] and it reflects, according to Naʾaman (1990: 426–434), the limitations of an author or redactor who was not acquainted with the geography of northern Israel, the poem in

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[264] Note Kaufmann's opinion (1960: 257), "Judah is not mentioned in the song, presumably, because by then it had become subject to the Philistines." This requires a late date for the battle, conflicting with Joshua 11. Compare Naʾaman 1990: 426–434. A textual base for selecting Zebulon and Naphtali could have come from a misplaced and misread modifying clause after הר תבור in 4:6b, giving the location of Tabor as מבן נפתלי ומבן זבולן (*scriptio defectiva*). Instead of reading this as מבין נפתלי ומבין זבולון, the scribes read the words as מבני נפתלי ובני זבולון and transposed them to 4:6c (and then later added them to 4:10 as את זבולן ואת נפתלי).

[265] See note 104, where the *Midrash* about Lappidoth makes Deborah the light of *Judah* and *Jerusalem* at the expense of the twelve [*sic*] tribes of Israel.

[266] See Sandmel (1961: 105–122) for a discussion on the way haggadic material was added to older traditions in the development of biblical texts.

Judges 5 remains the primary source for details about Israel's defeat of Sisera's Canaanite coalition.

Critical opinion that the poem is a composite of independent epic and psalmic units is now no longer compelling. Ackroyd (1952: 160–162) argued that eyewitness accounts of the battle were modified by "poetic glorification of the victors" and these accounts were later modified when the events could no longer be reconstructed. The end result is a poem "which gives no detailed account of the battle but impressions of the circumstances and events which . . . had come to appear significant."[267]

To the contrary, the poet could have been a participant in the battle against Sisera (circa 1190 B.C.E.) since the poem may have been composed sometime between the demise of Egyptian hegemony in Palestine after the death of Ramesses III and Gideon's defeat of the Amalekites, who had so gained control of the hill country of Ephraim that the poet referred to that area by the name Amalek. (If so, the poet was probably not an Ephraimite.)

The translation and interpretation offered in this study calls for the rehabilitation of Shamgar ben-Anat as a true Israelite hero, unencumbered by doubts about his patronym or his alleged loyalties to the goddess Anat. In like manner, Dan and Asher, who have been charged in exegetical tradition with cowardice for not participating in the fight against Sisera, have been rehabilitated. The poet of Judges 5, in fact, praised these two tribes for daring assaults which forced Sisera's coalition to fight at a time and place of Israelite choosing.

In contrast to Shamgar, Dan, and Asher, "husband" Lappidoth has not fared well in the interpretation presented above. He simply ceased to be, having been transformed into an honorific epithet for Deborah, "the woman of light." Barak fared better, but he was demoted, so to speak. He is now recognized as having been just a caravan leader—not a military figure—who only reluctantly agreed to become a commanding officer, and apparently only for this single campaign.

Although Deborah and Yael have not suffered in tradition the same marginalization as did Asher, Dan, and Shamgar, their prestige and power as celebrated in the Song of Deborah have not

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[267] Lindars (1995: 215) followed this same line of reasoning and argued that the poem was composed sometime in the early monarchy.

been fully appreciated. Although they received recognition as the "Mother in Israel" and the "most blessed of tent-women, the "Lady Governor" and the "Pre-eminent One" have frequently been denied equal recognition with Barak (see Feldman 1986: 122–126). In Heb 11:32, Barak is praised along with Gideon, Samson, and Jephthah, but Deborah and Yael go unmentioned. Unlike the Talmud, which lists Deborah among the judges, the *Machsor Vitry* (a prayer-book compiled in the eleventh century C.E. by Simḥah ben Samuel) lists Barak as a judge along with Othniel, Ehud, Shamgar, Gideon, and Abimelek (see Hurwitz, 1923: 463), thus displacing Deborah and discounting Ju 4:4, היא שפטה את ישראל בעת ההיא "she judged Israel at that time."

Although some commentators have assumed the poet was a male (Buber [1950: 8] wrote of the משורר שירת דבורה, using the masculine noun for the poet and a feminine noun for the poem), either Deborah or Yael could have been the poetess who penned Judges 5. G. A. Smith's (1912: 30) statement is still relevant when considering either woman to be the poet.

> First, in Arabia before the times of Islam, women as well as men were poets . . . . Women were frequently spectators of the tribal battles, and since they were more free than the fighters to see the whole action and more able to award praise and blame, it does not surprise us to find from women some of the most vivid ballads of war. This also appears in the early poetry of Israel.

Deborah's being the author has the support of tradition. Aside from the commentators who have argued for composite sources or a late date, tradition has generally taken for granted that Deborah composed the song that tells her story. This tradition is based on two widely held assumptions: first, that שיר and זמר used in the poem mean "to sing" (and in my opinion this assumption is now out of tune with the text); and second, that Deborah composed what she sang, as Yee (1993: 111) typically noted, "Judges 5 is Deborah's own victory song over the Canaanites." It certainly remains possible that she composed the poem, even if she did not sing it above the battle din. One who was esteemed as the "Mother in Israel," a prophetess, and a judge could well have had the language skills to compose fine poetry.

But a case can be made for a Kenite origin and possibly Yael's being the poet. 1 Chron 2:55 traces the משפחות ספרים "families of scribes" through the Rechabites to the Kenites of Hammath in Naphtali (Josh 19:32–38). These literate Kenites

worked with words rather than with weapons, with metaphors instead of metals. Surely, some were poets. As a Kenite, Yael could have been as gifted with pen and parchment as she was with peg and hammer.

In establishing the meaning of many of the problematic lines in Ju 3:31 and 4:23–5:31, appeal has been made to Arabic cognates —much as did the rabbis who learned the meaning of rare words from Arabs and servant women (see note 15). The large number of words with an "Arabic" tenor favor a Kenite connection. Yael would have spoken a dialect of the desert. If it was "Hebrew," it would have been a dialect clearly different from the Hebrew spoken in Ephraim or in Judah. The author's "Kenite" dialect,[268] unrecognized up to this time, could well account for the problems in understanding the Song of Deborah over the last three millennia. Hebrew which did not conform to the Judean and Samaritan dialects was assumed to be corrupt and/or illogical, requiring all kinds of scribal reconstructions (as evidenced in the myriad of variants in the LXX and the versions) and by the endless scholarly emendations of the MT (as surveyed in this and other studies). The reluctance of some Hebraists "to fish" in the Arabic lexicon (see note 126) has kept many from catching the text's meaning.

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[268] Note Crenshaw's (1986: 121) recognition that Ps 68, Hab 3, and Ju 5 all reflect a "dialect" of Hebrew. Young (1992: 372) noted that the language of Ju 5 was a northern Hebrew dialect, reflecting in part the view of G. A. Smith (1912: 83–84) who earlier argued the poem was in a northern dialect, "flavored with Aramaic" and with "a number of words used in the same sense as in Arabic." On the Arabic influence, note G. R. Driver's statement quoted above, pages 133–134. Other problematic dialectal texts which have been clarified by Arabic cognates are the "Words of Agur" in Prov 30:1–9 and the "Words of Lemuel" in Prov 31:1–9. A similar "Kenite" flavor can be detected in the fragment of the Book of the Wars of Yahweh in Num 21:14–15 with its פ"ו noun "Waheb," the Arabic/Aramaic אתה "to come" and ﻏﻞ / שדה (שוד) "to water, to moisten, to make (water) to rush forth," and שוע / ﺳﻮﻍ "to enter easily."

Whether or not the Kenite origin of the ספר מלחמות יהוה proves to be valid, a reappraisal of the "Kenite hypothesis," which traces the origin of Yahwism back to the Kenites, is in order. For bibliography and a summary discussion of this hypothesis, see Rowley 1950b: 149–163; 1957: 1–27; Walker 1958: 262–265; Mazar 1965: 297–303; de Vaux 1969: 28–32; Parke-Taylor 1975: 20–31; Mettinger 1990: 406–409; Halpern 1992: 20–21; and especially Schloen 1993: 30–38. Note also J. Gray's recognition (1988: 424, 443) that the "sacral community" probably consisted of "the Rachel group and Qenite, Qenizzite and Yerahmeelite confederates."

Kenite influence, rather than Hittite, is more evident in the Song of Deborah.[269] Aside from Deborah's name and possibly her title as "Mother," Hittite influence was quite limited. Mc-Mahon's (1991: 32) following statement is helpful in identifying it.

> There is however a certain tendency in many cult texts to associate the [Hittite] Tutelary Deity with the Sun-god(dess) and the Storm-god as a special group of three, either as the first three in a longer list of deities or as a discrete group.

This grouping of the Hittite "big three" may be reflected in the appearance of three heavenly forces in Judges 5: Yahweh as the tutelary deity, the sun (= the Sun-god/Sun-goddess), and the stars (as the heavenly warriors = the storm gods).

However, Kenite influence is more apparent and the poem may contain more fact than fiction, for Yael, although not an eye-witness of the battle along the Wadi Kishon (verses 17–23), cer-tainly knew well what transpired in her tent (which received equal attention in verses 24–30). Her clan's smithing services could have provided sufficient contact with Sisera's residence that she was knowledgeable about the inner workings of his court. Moreover, Kenite Yahwism could easily account for Yael's assassinating Sisera—she sided with fellow Yahwists![270]

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[269] Crenshaw's (1986: 121) assertion that the Song of Deborah "rebuked the Kenites" is puzzling. The assertion of 4:21, כי שלום בין יבין מלך חצור ובין בית חבר הקיני is a neutral statement of the obvious: smiths of iron or silver (קינים) who made/repaired weapons and chariots, and/or (re)fashioned silver spoils, must have gotten along well with the military aristocracy who employed them. The Kenites, as (silver) smiths, ought not to be totally dissociated from the silver mentioned in 5:19 and the mention of the goblet in 5:25.

[270] Bos (1988: 55) concluded, "Yael therefore makes her decision [to slay Sisera] in opposition to her clan." To the contrary, she did what any Kenite may well have done in a "Yahweh war." This point was also missed by Matthews (1991: 16, 19) who (reviving A. M. Stuart's [1887: 308–312] notion that "the true reason [for Sisera's death] is probably to be sought in Sisera's entering the tent at all") argued,

> Sisera places himself at risk . . . by violating the hospitality code . . . . Sisera was unknowingly a dead man from the moment he entered the area of Jael's tent and accepted her improper offer of hospitality. He had systematically violated every covenant of the code governing the actions of host and guests.

Although the Israelites may have been only distant relatives, they had become deeply united by religion, so much so that some Kenites became Israelite scribes (as noted above, page 247) and even builders of Jerusalem's gates in the post-exilic period.[271] It may well have been Kenite scribes who were responsible for incorporating their poem *from* Yael (or, at least, their poem *about* Yael) into Israel's *Retterbuch*.

Although Gottwald (1985: 254) noted that Judges 4 and 5 "are shaped by interests very different from historical reportage . . . [and] the story cannot be trusted to throw direct light on the actual circumstances of the battle as a whole," there is no reason to insist that the poem had to be written by someone other than an eyewitness or participant along the Kishon or in Yael's quarters.

Although the poem may be non-historiographic, historical details in the poem are as abundant as are its literary motifs. But the one assured tradition—that Judges 5 was the "Song of Deborah" —could be mistaken since this "Yahweh war" ballad could just as well be the "Song of Yael" or a poem composed by some other Kenite. Either way, the poem provides us with an almost perfect text in pre-monarchic Hebrew which retains elements of a Kenite dialectic, as well as foreign words put on the lips of non-Israelites.

Now that the Song of Deborah can be clearly understood —without major emendations—as a literarily cohesive poem, the heroines and heroes come into much sharper focus. While the

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To the contrary, it was because Sisera and his coalition for decades had systematically violated the יהוה עם "the *people* of Yahweh" that he had to be stopped. Sisera, whom the poet calls a rapist, was hardly doomed to death for violating the canons of hospitality by entering once a woman's tent in desperation to save his life. For the יהוה עם, as the *militia* of Yahweh (which obviously included Yael, as well as Deborah), the protocols of (a Yahweh) war had superseded the protocols of peacetime hospitality. Sisera was no longer just a potential enemy to be treated with discretion nor a post-battle straggler to be treated with compassion. He was a dangerous fugitive attempting to hide beneath a woman's skirt. "Strike the shepherd, that the sheep may be scattered" (Zec 13:7, Matt 26:31, Mk 14:27) was obviously the operating protocol in war.

[271] Note especially I Chron 2:55, "The families also of the *scribes* that dwelt at Jabez: the Tirathites, the Shimeathites, and the Sucathites. These are the *Kenites* who came from Hammath, the father of the house of *Rechab*"; and Neh 3:14, "Malchijah the son of *Rechab*, ruler of the district of Bethhaccherem, *repaired* the Dung Gate; he rebuilt it and set its doors, its bolts, and its bars." [italics mine]

poem is complimentary to Shamgar and Barak, as well as to the ten tribe militia, it really acclaims the actions and achievements of Deborah and Yael, pre-eminent women of power in Israel.[272]

Brenner (1990: 129–138) proposed a triangle or a rhombus as the geometric pattern for understanding Judges 5, but another pattern is required to accommodate *all* the anti-Sisera forces. The figure that comes to mind—drawn from the Kishon battle-scene itself—is the chariot wheel. Only a pattern as complex as the spoked wheel can accommodate all the Israelite combatants. Yahweh was surely the hub of the militia (as well as at the heart of the poem)[273] with Shamgar, Barak, and the *ten* tribes being the spokes. Around them were the inner and outer rims—Deborah and Yael. They were the "big wheels," so to speak, who concertedly wielded the deathblow to Israel's oppressors by outmaneuvering Sisera—first on the battlefield and then in a tent.

Because the Song of Deborah can now be understood without major emendations, a host of Kenite, Judean and Jewish scribes can be rehabilitated. Far from carelessly transmitting or freely redacting the Song of Deborah (as Cheyne charged [1904], who retained fewer than 800 of the poems's 1,485 letters), the scribes were almost flawless in conveying a poem which—except for some early Kenite scribes—was not in their native dialect. The accuracy of their transmission of the consonantal text makes it possible to add the Song of Deborah to the list of early Palestinian dialects available for study. The sixty-seven rare lexemes attested in "Deborah's dialect" can now be added to the well attested lexemes in the standard lexicons of Biblical Hebrew.

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[272] Note Yee's (1993: 117) argument with reference to the male author of Judges 4 that:

> In creating the character of Jael for his story in Judges 4, our author uses the covert activity of women in war as a strategic entitlement to reinforce negative stereotypes of women in general. Instead of a warrior's defending her people and her household, Jael becomes at the hands of the male author a temptress, deceiver, and ultimately a castrator.

There is no hint of such stereotyping in Judges 5—since the author was a probably a woman. The reader needs to keep in mind that for the author/editors of Judges 4 and for the poet of Judges 5, the protocols of war *rewarded* deceptions. Feinting a fainting enemy was fair play and proper protocol.

[273] Note Rasmussen's (1988) conclusion that in the unredacted edition of Judges 4–5, Deborah, not Yahweh, is the real warrior leading men into battle and that her role was shaped after that of Anat in the Canaanite myths.

PLATE I

The 85th name ring on the first pylon of
the Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III
at Medinet Habu
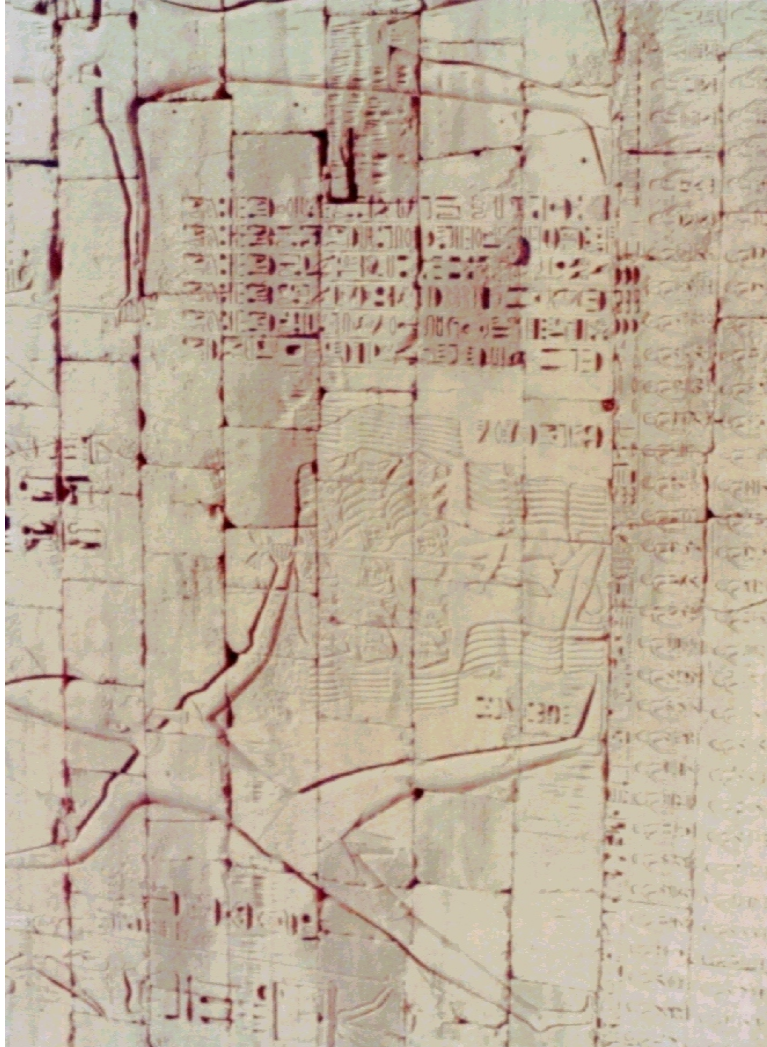
PLATE II

The 85th name ring on the first pylon of
the Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III
at Medinet Habu
(directly under the arch of the foot)

PLATE III
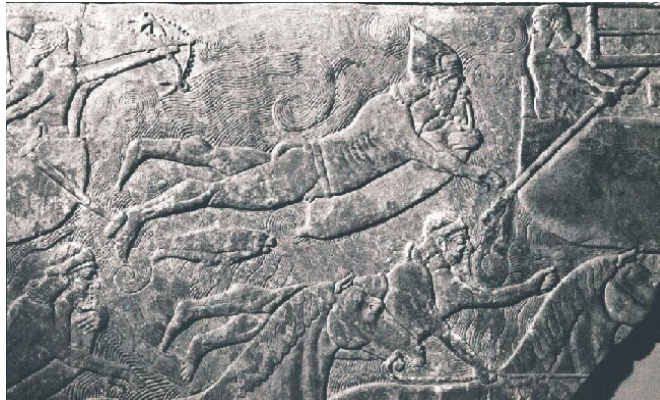
PLATE IV
From the palace of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.E.)

PLATE V
From the palace of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.E.)

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APPENDIX:

ALTERNATIVE TRANSLATIONS

G. F. Moore
The Book of Judges: A New English Translation
1898

1   Then Deborah sang, with Barak ben-Abinoam, on that day:
2   With sacrifices of firstlings in Israel,
    With freewill-offerings of the people, bless JHVH!
3   Hear, O ye kings! give ear, O ye sovereigns!
    I to JHVH will raise my song,
    Will sing to JHVH, Israel's God.
4   When from the land of Edom Thou marchedst,
    The earth trembled, the heavens <sway>ed,
5   The clouds dripped water, the mountains streamed,
    At the presence of JHVH, of JHVH, Israel's God.

6   In the days of Shamgar ben-Anath,
    In the days of Jael, caravans ceased,
    And solitary travelers took roundabout ways.
7   Hamlets ceased in Israel, * * ceased,
    Till thou didst arise, O Deborah,
    Till thou didst arise, a matron in Israel.
    . . . .
8   . . . .
    No shield was seen, nor spear,
    Among forty thousand in Israel;
9   My heart is with the rulers of Israel;
    Ye who offer freely among the people, bless JHVH!
10   Ye who ride tawny asses,
    Sit upon . . and walk in the way, sing!
11   . . . .
    There they rehearse the victories of JHVH,
    The victories of . . . in Israel.
    Then marched down to the gates the people of JHVH.

12   Awake, awake, O Deborah!
    Awake, awake, lift up the song!
    Arise, Barak! lead captive thy captives, son of Abinoam!

13   Then Israel marched down like nobles;
    The people of JHVH marched down for Him as heroes.
14   . . Ephraim . . . .
    . . Benjamin . . . .
    From Machir came truncheon-bearers,
    From Zebulun those wielding the muster-master's staff.
15   And the princes of Issachar with Deborah,
    And Naphtali . . Barak,

Into the plain was hurled at his back.
Great were the dissensions in the divisions of Reuben,
16   Why didst thou remain amid ash-heaps,
Listening to pipings at sheep-folds?
17   Gilead sat still, beyond Jordan;
And why does Dan go abroad in ships?
On the shore of the sea tarries Asher,
Sitting still by his places for landing.
18   But Zebulun and Nephtali were tribes
That recked not of life on the battle-field's heights.
19   Kings came and fought;
Then fought the Kings of Canaan,
At Taanach, by the streams of Megiddo.
Gain of silver they took not!
20   From heaven itself fought the stars,
From their courses they fought against Sisera.
21   The stream of Kishon swept them away,
The . . . stream, the stream of Kishon.

22   Then were battered the hoofs of his horses,
By the galloping of his chargers.
23   Curse Meroz, says the Messenger of JHVH,
Curse its inhabitants bitterly!
Because they came not to the aid of JHVH,
To the aid of JHVH like heroes.
24   Blessed above all women is Jael,
Above all women in tents is she blessed!
25   Water he asked, milk she gave;
Curds in a mighty bowl did she bring him.
26   Her hand she puts forth to the pin,
Her right hand to the . . . . .
And smites, crushes his head,
Shatters, pierces his temple.
27   At her feet he sank down, he fell, he lay;
Where he sank he lay, of life bereft.
28   Through the window peered and . .
The mother of Sisera through the lattice:
"Why are his chariots so long in coming?
Why tarries the tramping of his horses?"
29   The wisest of her princesses reply,
Yea, she answers her words herself:
30   "They must be finding, dividing the spoil,
A wench or two for each man,
Booty of dyed stuffs for Sisera,
A piece of embriodery or two for the neck of . ."
31   So perish Thine enemies all, O JHVH!
But be Thy friends as the sun when he rises in power.

Translation of T. K. Cheyne[274]

Oxford University
1904
Critica Biblica

1.

2. For the crushing of Zarephath in Ishmael,
  For the disaster to the Arabians in Jerahmeel,
3b. I, to Yahwè will I sing, I will chant to Israel's God.
4. Yahwè! when thou wentest forth from Asshur,
  When thou marchedst from the highland of Aram,
  The earth quaked, yea, the heavens
  Yea, the clouds dripped water;
5. The mountains streamed before Yahwè,
  Before Yah, the God of Israel.
6. In the days of the Geshurites and the Anakites,
  In the days of Ishmael and Cusham,
  Those who fared on the ways trembled,
  They went by crooked paths.
7. Potentates trembled in Israel
  At the sword of Jerahmeel and the Ashhurites.
  King and princes shuddered
  At the host of Jerahmeel and the Arabians.
11. Loudly praise ye the righteous acts of Yahwè,
  His righteous, gracious acts in Israel.

12. March on, march on Daberath;
  March on, march on into Asshur.
  Arise, Barak, and take captives,
  Subdue the sons of Arabia.
13. Then they came down to the Asshurites,
  Yahwè's force came down into Arabia;
14. Out of Ephraim [came down] princes,
  After him Benjamin from Maacath;
  Out of Machir came down marshals,
  And out of Zebulun wielders of the mace;
15. And Ischar was in Daberath's force,
  And the warriors of Caslah among his great ones.

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[274] Cheyne retained fewer than 800 of the 1,485 letters of Judges 5. Even those he kept he often reworked, e.g., MT שמגר became גשרים.

<div style="margin-left: 2em;">

(But) in Pelesheth of Reuben
The great ones searched out the heart.

16.   Why didst thou tarry among the Zephathites,
To hear the hissing of the Arabians?

17.   Gad dwelt in Arabia,
And Dan sojourned with Ethan.
Asher tarried by Rehob,
And dwelt by those in Zarephath.

18.   Zebulun was a people that defied Ishmael,
And Naphtali, in the highland of Jerahmeel.

19.   The kings came—they fought,
At Beth-anak by Migdol's waters,
The host of Cushan and Jerahmeel,

20.   Ishmael and the folk of Asshur;

22.   The Asshurites were panic-stricken, they perished.
In the stream of Cushan were their corpses.

23.   Curse ye Miṣṣor of Jerahmeel,
Say a curse upon its inhabitants,
Because they came not to the help of Yah,
to the help of Yah in Arabia.

24.   Blessed above women be Jael,
Blessed above women in the tent.

25.   Milk of the goats she gave,
Sour milk she presented in a bowl

26.   Her hand—she stretched it forth to a club,
her right hand to a staff of Jerahmeel.
She struck Asshur on his head,
She shattered and pierced his temples.

27.   At her feet he sank down,
As the wicked, Asshur fell!

28.   In the city of Holon she now enchantments, [sic]
Asshur's mother in the city of Cushan;
'Why fails his car?
(Why) linger the steps of his chariot-horses'?

29.   The wise men of her sanctuary divine;
'Surely he shall bring back Jerahmeel.

30.   Shall not Jerahmeel be strong,
(Yea) prevail over the host of Israel?

31   Perish all the foes of Jerahmeel!
Be his friends as the going forth of the sun!'

</div>

Translation of G. A. Smith
(1910 Schweich Lectures)
*The Early Poetry of Israel in Its
Physical and Social Origins*

1.   Then sang Deborah and Barak ben-Abinoam[275] on that day
saying:
2.   That leaders took lead in Israel,
That the people were willing,
Bless ye the Lord!

3.   Hearken, O Kings,
Rulers give ear,
I to the Lord,
I am to sing,
I hymn the Lord,
God of Israel.

4.   Lord at thy start from Seir,
On thy march from the mount of Edom,
Earth did quake,
Heaven was swaying (?)
The clouds poured water,
5.   The mountains streamed,
Before the Lord,
God of Israel.

6.   In the days of Shamgar [ben-Anath]
Caravans ceased;
Who would be wayfaring
Fared by the byways.
7.   Ceased had order (?),
Till I rose, Deborah,
rose mother in Israel.
8.   Sacrifice ceased (?)
Barley-bread failed (?)
Was shield seen or lance,
In the forty thousands of Israel?
9.   My heart to the leaders in Israel,
To the willing of the people!
Bless ye the Lord!

---

[275] Smith's diacritical marks have been omitted.

10.   Riding roan asses,
       Sitting on carpets (?),
       Walking the highway—sing (?) them!
11.   Hark the huzzahing (?)
       Where the herds water.
       There they are telling the faith of the Lord,
       Faith of His rule in Israel.

12.   Rouse thee, rouse thee, Deborah,
       Rouse thee, [rouse thee,] deliver the song!
       Arise, Barak,
       Capture thy captors, ben-Abinoam!
11c.   [Then down to the gates came the Lord's folk,]
13.   Then came down the rest of the great ones,
       Down to the Lord came His folk with the brave ones,
14.   Out of Ephraim they tore (?) to the valley,
       After thee, Benjamin, with thy clans!
       Out of Makhir came down commanders
       And from Zebulun the drawers of batons,
15.   Naphtali's (?) lords with Deborah,
       As Issakhar so was Barak,—
       Into the valley shot at his heels!

       In the septs of Reuben great the heart-searchings!
16.   Why satest thou still, the wattles between!
       to list to them whistling the flocks?
       In the septs of Reuben great the heart-searchings!
17.   Gilead stayed at home over Jordan
       And Dan—why a truant on ships?
       Asher sat down on the shore of the sea,
       And stayed by his creeks,
18.   Zebulun—the tribe spurned life to death,
       With Naphtali on the heights of the range,

19.   Kings came, they fought,
       Fought the kings of Kena`an,
       At Ta`nak on the streams of Megiddo.
       Not a silver-bit took they!
20.   From heaven fought the stars,
       From their courses they fought with Sisera.
22.   Then thudded the hoofs of the horses,
       Plunge upon plunge of his stallions.
21.   Torrent Kishon swept them away,
       Onrushing (?) torrent, torrent Kishon.
       Forward, my soul, in strength!

23.   Curse ye Meroz, saith the Lord [His angel]
        Cursing, curse ye her burghers!
        For never came they to the help of the Lord,
        To the help of the Lord with the brave ones.

24.   Blessed above women Ya`el,
        Above women in tents be she blessed!
25.   Water he craved, milk she gave,
        In a dish for lords she brought him curd.
26.   Her hand to the peg she put,
        Her right hand to the workman's hammer,
        And Sisera she hammered, she shattered his head,
        She smashed, she hacked through his temples,
27.   Between her feet he bent, he fell,
        Where he bent there he fell—undone!

28.   Out of the window she leans, she whines,
        Sisera his mother thorough [*sic*] the lattice:
        'Why are his chariots shy to come?
        Wherefore tarry the beats of his car?'
29.   Warily answer to her ladies,
        Yea, she returns her words to herself:
30.   'Are they not finding, dividing the spoil?
        A wench, two wenches a head for the men,
        Booty of dyes for Sisera,
        Booty of dyes with brocade,
        Dyes, double brocade, for *my* neck the spoil!'

31   [So perish, O Lord, all Thy foes,
        But thy lovers! like the rise of the sun in his power].

Translation of C. F. Burney
1918
The Book of Judges

1.   Then sang Deborah and Barak the son of Abino`am on that day,
       saying,
2.   (When long locks of hair were worn loose in Israel; when the people
       volunteered.)
                         Bless ye Yahweh!

3.   Attend, ye kings; give ear, ye rulers:
       I — to Yahweh I will sing,
       Will make melody to Yahweh, the God of Israel.
4.   Yahweh, in thy progress from Se`ir,
       In thy march from the field of Edom,
       Earth quaked, yea, heaven rocked,
       Yea, the clouds dropped water.
5.   The mountains shook before Yahweh,
       Before Yahweh, the God of Israel.

6.   From the days of Shamgar ben-ᶜAnath,
       From the days of old, caravans ceased.
       And they that went along the ways used to walk by crooked paths.
7.   Villages ceased in Israel;
       . . . . ceased;
       Till thou didst arise, Deborah,
       Didst arise as a mother in Israel.
8.   Armourers had they none;
       Armed men failed the city:
       Was there seen a shield or a lance
       Among forty thousand in Israel?

12.   Awake, awake Deborah!
       Awake, awake, sing paean!
       Rise up, Barak, and lead captive
       Thy captors, O son of Abinoᶜam!
       Come, ye commanders of Israel!
9.   Ye that volunteered among the people, bless ye Yahweh!
10.   Let the riders on tawny she-asses review it,
       And let the wayfarers recall it to mind!
11.   Hark to the maidens laughing at the wells!
       There they recount the righteous acts of Yahweh,
       The righteous acts of his arm in Israel.
13.   Then down to the gates gat the nobles;
       Yahweh's folk gat them down mid the heroes.

From Ephraim they spread out on the vale;
'After thee, Benjamin!' mid thy clansmen
14. From Machir came down the commanders,
And from Zebulun men wielding the truncheon.
15. And thy princes, Issachar, were with Deborah;
And Naphtali was near to Barak:
To the vale he was loosed at his heel.

Utterly reft into factions was Reʾuben
Great were his searchings of heart.
16. Why sat'st thou still amid the folds,
To hear the pastoral pipings?
17. Gileʿad beyond the Jordan dwelt,
And Dan abideth by the ships.
Asher sat still by the shore of the seas,
Dwelling beside his creeks.
18. Zebulun is the folk that scorned its life to death,
and Naphtali on the heights of the field.

19. On came the kings, they fought;
Then fought the kings of Canaʿan;
In Taʿanach, by the rills of Megiddo;
The gain of money they took not.
20. From heaven fought the stars;
From their highways they fought with Sisera.
21. The torrent Kishon swept them off;
It faced them, the torrent Kishon.
Bless thou, my soul, the might of Yahweh!

22. Then loud beat the hoofs of the horses;
Off galloped, off galloped his chargers.

23. Curse ye, curse ye Meroz!
Curse ye, curse ye her towns-folk!
For they came not to the help of Yahweh,
To the help of Yahweh mid the heroes.

24.   Most blessed of women be Ja`el,
       Of tent-dwelling women most blessed!

25.   Water he asked; milk she gave;
       In a lordly dish she proffered curds.
26.   Her hand to the peg she put forth,
       And her right to the maul of the workmen;
       And she smote Sisera—destroyed his head,
       Shattered and pierced through his temples.

27.   'Twixt her feet he bowed, he fell down, he lay prone;
       'Twixt her feet he bowed, he fell down.
       Where he bowed, there he fell down undone.

28.   Out through the window she leaned and exclaimed,
       The mother of Sisera out through the lattice:
       'Wherefore delayeth his car to come?
       Wherefore tarrieth the clatter of his chariots?'

29.   Her wisest princesses make answer,
       Yea, she returneth her reply:

30.   'Are they not finding—dividing the spoil?
       A damsel—two damsels for every man:
       A spoil of dyed stuffs for Sisera,
       A spoil of dyed stuffs embroidered;
       Two dyed embroideries for the neck of the queen.'

31.   So perish all thy foes, Yahweh:
       But be thy friends like the sun going forth in his might.

32.   And the land had rest forty years.

Translation of W. F. Albright
JPOS 2, 1922
"The Earliest Forms of Hebrew Verse"

I   When locks were long in Israel
    When the folk responded—praise Yah!
        Hear, O Kings,   Give ear, O princes,
        For I to Yahweh,   Even I will sing,
        I will sing to Yahweh,   Unto Israel's God.

II   Yahweh, when thou rosest from Seir,
    When thou marchedst from Edom's land,
        The earth was quaking,   The heavens shaking,
        The mountains rocking   Before Yahweh's face,
        Before the face of Yahweh,   Israel's God.

III   In the days of Shamgar ben Anath,
    In his days the caravans ceased,
        The wayfaring men   Followed crooked paths
        The yeomanry ceased,   In Israel it ceased,
        Till thou rosest, O Deborah, As mother-city in Israel.

IV   O riders on tawny asses,
    O wayfaring men, attend!
        To the sound of the cymbals, Between the drums,
        There they will recite   The triumphs of Yahweh,
        The triumphs of his yeoman In Israel they will tell.

V   Awake, awake, O Deborah!
    Awake, Awake, sing a song:
        "Arise, take thy captives,   Abinoam's son,
        For then the survivor   Will rule the haughty,
        The people of Yahweh   Will rule the mighty."

VI   O Ephraim, storm, storm into the valley—
    After thee come Benjamin's clans!
        From Machir's folk   Come down the captains,
        From Zebulon those who wield The staff of the marshal,
        While Deborah's folk   Sends footmen into the valley.

VII   Why does (Gad) dwell on dung-heaps
    Harking to pastoral pipings?
        In the vales of Reuben   The chiefs are faint-hearted,
        While Gilead dwells   Beyond the Jordan.
        And why does Dan   Become attached to ships?

VIII   Asher dwells on the shore of the sea
  And settles on its harbours—
    But Zebulon is a people   Which dared to die—
    And Naphtali, too—   On the heights of the plain.

IX There came the kings and fought,
  They fought, the kings of Canaan.
    They fought at Taanach,   At Megiddo's waters;
    No silver they won   From their campaign,
    For the stars from heaven   Fought against Sisera.

X   Kishon's torrent swept them away,
  An impetuous torrent becoming;
    In the Kishon were trampled   His living warriors,
    For the hoofs of their horses   Struck them down,
    Rearing, plunging,   They struck down his strong men.

XI Curse ye Merom, saith — — —   Eternally curse ye its people,
    For they would not come   To the help of Yahweh,
    To the help of Yahweh,   Sending their warriors.

XII Blessed above women is Jael,
  Above women in tents is she blest.
    Water he asked   She gave him milk,
    In a lordly bowl   She brought him cream.

XIII   One hand she put to the tent-pin
  Her right to the workman's mallet;
    She struck down Sisera   She crushed his head,
    At her feet he bowed,   He fell, he lay,
    At her feet he bowed,   He fell outstretched.

XIV   Out from the window she looked
  And wailed Sisera's mother:
    "Why does his chariot   Tarry in coming?
    Why linger the hoofs   of his chariot-steeds?"

XV The wisest of her women replies—
  She, too, echoes her words:
    Are they not finding   And dividing the spoil?—
    A maiden or two   As spoil for each warrior,
    Dyed work for Sisera   Dyed and embroidered.

  Thus may all perish   Of Thy foes, Yahweh,
  While Thy friends be as the rise   Of the sun in his strength.

L. Pirot and A. Clamer
La Sainte Bible: Text Latin et traduction Française
1949

1   Cecineruntque Debbora et Barac filius Abinoem, in illo die,
dicentes:
2   Qui sponte obtulistis de Israel
                 animas vestras ad periculum,
                   benedicite Domino.
3   Audite, reges; auribus percipte, principes:
                 Ego sum, ego sum quae Dominio canam,
                   psallam Dominio Deo Israel.
4   Domine, cum exires de Seir,
                 et transires per regiones Edom,
                   terra mota est,
                 caelique ac nubes distillaverunt aquis.
5   Montes fluxerunt a facie Domini,
                 et Sinai a facie Domini Dei Israel.
6   In diebus Samgar, filii Anath,
                 in diebus Jahel, quieverunt semitae;
                   et qui ingrediebantur per eas,
                   ambulaverunt per calles devois.
7   Cessaverunt fortes in Israel, et quieverunt,
                 donec surgeret Debbora,
                   surgeret mater in Israel.
8   Nova bella elegit Dominus,
                 et portas hostium ipse subvertit;
                   clypeus et hasta si apparuerint
                   in quadraginta millibus Israel.
9   Cor meum diligit principes Israel.
                 Qui propria voluntate obtulistis vos discrimini,
                   benedicite Domino.
10   Qui ascenditis super nitentes asinos,
                   et sedetis in judicio,
                   et ambulatis in via, loquimini.
11   Ubi collisi sunt currus,
                 et hostium suffocatus est exercitus,
                   ibi narrentur justitiae Domini
                   et clementia in fortes Israel.

                 Tunc descendit populus Domini ad portas,
                   et obtinuit principatum.
12   Surge, surge, Debbora;
                 surge, surge, et loquere canticum;
                 surge, Barac, et apprehende captivos tuos,
                   fili Abinoem.

13   Salvatae sunt reliquiae populi;
                 Dominus in fortibus dimicavit.

14   Ex Ephraim delevit eos in Amalec,
et post eum ex Benjamin in populos tuos, o Amalec;
de Machir principes descenderunt,
et de Zabulon qui exercitum ducerent ad bellandum.

15   Duces Issachar fuere cum Debbora,
et Barac vestigia sunt secuti,
qui quasi in praeceps ac barathrum
se discrimini dedit.
Diviso contra se Ruben,
magnanimorum reperta est contentio.

16   Quare habitas inter duos terminos,
ut audias sibilos gregum?
Diviso contra se Ruben,
magnanimorum reperta est contentio.

17   Galaad trans Jordanem quiescebat,
et Dan vacabat navibus;
Aser habitabat in littore maris,
et in portubus morabatur.

18   Zabulon vero et Nephthali
obtulerunt animas suas morti
in regione Merome.

19   Venerunt reges et pugnaverunt,
pugnaverunt reges Chanaan in Thanach
juxta aquas Mageddo,
et tamen nihil tulere praedantes.

20   De caelo dimicatum est contra eos:
stellae manentes in ordine et cursu suo,
adversus Sisaram pugnaverunt.

21   Torrens Cison traxit cadavera eorum,
torrens Cadumim, torrens Cison.
Conculca, anima mea, robustos!

22   Ungulae equorum ceciderunt, fugientibus impetus,
et per praeceps ruentibus fortissimis hostium.

23   Maledicite terrae Meroz, dixit angelus Domini;
maledicite habitatoribus ejus,
quia non venerunt ad auxilium Domini,
in adjutorium fortissimorum ejus.

24   Benedicta inter mulieres Jahel, uxor Haber, Cinaei,
et benedicatur in tabernaculo suo.

25   Aquam petenti lac dedti,
et in phiala principum obtulit butyrum.

26   Sinistram manum misit ad clavum,
et dexteram ad fabrorum malleos,
percussitque Sisaram,

quaerens in capite vulneri locum,
et tempus valide perforans.

27 Inter pedes ejus ruit, defecit, et mortuus est;
volvebatur ante pedes ejus.
et jacebat exanimis et miserabilis.

28 Per fenestram respiciens, ululabat mater ejus,
et de coenaculo loquebatur:
Cur moratur regredi currus ejus?
Quare tardaverunt pedes quadrigarum illius?

29 Una sapientior ceteris uxoribus ejus,
haec socrui verba respondit:

30 Forsitan nunc dividit spolia,
et pulcherrima feminarum eligitur ei;
veste diversorum colorum Sisarae traduntur in praedam,
et supellex varia ad ornanda colla congeritur.

31 Sic pereant omnes inimici tui, Domine;
qui autem diligunt te,
sicut sol in ortu suo splendet, ita rutilent.

32 Quievitque terra per quadraginta annos.

H. W. Hertzberg
Die Bücher Joshua, Richter, Ruth
1953

1   Da sang Debora — auch Barak, Abinoams Sohn — zu jener Zeit also:
2   Daß Führer führten in Israel,
                das Volk sich willig erwies: Preiset Jahwe!
3   Hört es, ihr Könige,
                horcht auf, ihr Fürsten:
            Ich will (dem) Jahwe,
                ich will (ihm) singen,
            will spielen Jahwe,
                Israel Gott!
4   Jahwe, da du auszogst von Seir,
                einherschrittest von Edoms Gefild,
            da bebte die Erde, die Himmel troffen,
                ja die Wolken troffen von Wasser,
5   die Berge zerrannen vor Jahwe — das ist der Sinai —,
                vor Jahwe, Israels Gott.
6   In Samgaras Tagen, des Anath-Sohns,
                in Jaels Tagen lagen still die ‚Karawanen';
            die auf Wegen zu gehen hatten,
                mußten krumme Pfade gehen.
7   Still wars bei den Bauren in Israel,
                ‚alles Leben' lag still —
            bis daß du aufstandest, Debora,
                aufstandest als Mutter in Israel.
8   "Stumm waren die Krieger' Gottes,
                ‚zu Ende' Der Kampf vor Den ‚Toren',
            kein Schild zu sehen noch Lanze
                bei vierzigtausend in Israel.

9   Den Gebietenden Israel (schlägt) mein Herz,
                (und) die sich willing erwiesen im Volk: preiset Jahwe!
10   Die ihr reitet auf weißen Eselinnen,
                die ihr sitzet auf Teppichen
                    und geht auf der Straße: bedenkt es wohl!

11   Dort, wo die Hirten (?) rufen
                zwischen den Schöpfrinnen,
            dort besinge man Jahwes Heilstaten,
                die Heilstaten an seinen Bauern (?) in Israel,"

12   Mach dich auf, mach dich auf, Debora!
                Mach dich auf, mach dich auf (und) sage (dein) Lied!

Erhebe dich, Barak,
  und fang, ‚die dich fingen',
   du Sohn Abinoams!
13 Da ‚zog' herab, was entronnen war, zu (den) Edlen,
  Jahwes Bolk ‚zog' herab zu ‚ihm' unter den Helden.

14 Von Ephraim ‚zogen sie zu Tal',
  Benjamin dir nach unter deinen Scharen,
 von Makir zogen Gebieter herab,
  und von Sebulon, die den Amtmannsstab tragen.
15 Und ‚die' Fürsten in Issakar (zieben) mit Debora,
  wie Issakar, so , Naphthali mit' Barak,
  zu Tal gelassen, hinter ihm drein.

  An Rubens Bächen
   sind groß die ‚Beratungen'.
16 Was sitst du da zwischen den Hirten
  zu hören bei den Herden das Flöten?
 ‚An' Rubens Bächen
  sind groß die Beratungen!
17 Gilead bleibt jenseits des Jordan wohnen,
  und warum geht Dan auf Schiffe hinaus?
  Asser blieb sitzen am Ufer der Meere
  und wohnt an seinen Buchten.
18 Sebulon ist ein Volk voller Todesverachtung,
  und Naphthai: auf hohem Gefild!

19 Es kamen Könige, kämpften,
  Damals kämpften Kanaans Könige,
  zu Thaanak an Den Wassern Megiddos —
  Beute an Silber holten sie nicht.

20 Vom Himmel her kämften die Sterne,
  von ihren Bahnen sie kämpften mit Sisera.
21 Der Bach Kischon riß sie hinweg,
  der uralte Bach, der BachKischon —
   triff auf, meine Seele, mit Macht!
22 Da stampften die hufe ‚der Rosse'
  Galopp, Galopp seiner Renner!
23 Fluchet Meros, sprach Jahwes Engel,
  mit Flüchen fluchet seinen Bewohnern!
  Denn nicht sind sie Jahwe zur Hife gekommen,
  Jahwe zu Hife unter den Helden.
24 Gesegnet fei Jael unter den Weibern
  — das Weib Chebers, des Keniters -
  vor den Weibern im Zelt sei sie gesegnet!

25 Um Waſser bat er, Milch aber gab sie,
   in der Schale der Edlen brachte sie Rahm.

26 Ihre hand, sie ‚streckt sie' aus nach dem Pflock,
   ihre Rechte nach dem Arbeitshammer,
   zerhämmerte — Sisera —, zerschlug sein Haupt,
   zerschmettert', Durchbohrt' ihm die Schläfe.

27 Ihr zu Füßen sank er, fiel (und) lag da,
   ihr zu Füßen sank er (und) fiel;
   da, wo er hinsank,
   da lag er, erschlagen.

28 Durch das Fenster beugt' sich, er spähte'
   Siseras Mutter durchs Gitterwerk:
   "Warum zögert sein Wagen zu kommen,
   warum verzieht seiner Kampfwagen Rollen?"

29 Die ‚Klügste' ihrer Fürstinnen gibt ihr Antwort,
   und sie wiederholt sich selbst deren Worte:

30 "Gewiss, sie finden, sie teilen Beute,
   ein, zwei Weiber für jeden Mann,
   Beute an Tüchern für Sisera,
   Beute an Tüchern, buntgewirkt,
   ein, zwei bunte Tücher
   als Beute für ‚meinen hals'."

31 Mögen so umkommen all Deine Feinde, Jahwe!
   Aber, die ihn lieben, mögen sein,
   wie die Sonne aufgeht in ihrer Kraſt!
   Da hatte das Land 40 Jahre Ruhe.

Translation of R. G. Boling
1975
Judges (The Anchor Bible 6A)

1   Deborah and Baraq ben Abinoam sang on that day!

(Part I)

2   When they cast off restraint in Israel
      When the troops presented themselves—bless Yahweh!
3   Hear, O kings
              Listen, O princes
              I to Yahweh
              I, I will sing
              I will chant to Yahweh
              God of Israel!
4   O Yahweh, when you came out from Seir
              When you marched here from Edom's land
                      Earth quaked
                          With thunder the skies rained
                          With thunder the clouds rained water!
5   Mountains shook
                          Before Yahweh, The One of Sinai
                          Before Yahweh, God of Israel!
6   In the days of Shamgar the Anathite
              In the days of Jael, they ceased
                      The caravans and the wayfaring men
                      Who travelled the winding roads.
7   The warriors grew plump
              In Israel they grew plump again
                      Because you arose, O Deborah
                      Because you arose, a mother in Israel!
8   One chose new gods
              Then they fought in the gates.
                      Neither shield or spear was to be seen
                      Among the forty contingents in Israel.
9   My heart is with the commanders of Israel
      Those presenting themselves with the troops—Bless Yahweh!

(Part II)

10   O riders on tawny she-donkeys
      O you who sit on the judgment seat
      O wayfarers on the road
11   Attend to the sound of cymbals
              Between watering troughs
              There let them retell Yahweh's victories

      Victories by his own prowess in Israel!
    Then Yahweh's troops went down to the gates

12   Awake, Awake, Deborah
      Awake, Awake. Sing a song!
      Arise, Baraq
      Take prisoners
      O ben Abinoam!
12   Then the survivors went down to the nobles
    Yahweh's troops went down against the knights for me!

(Part III)

14   Those of Ephraim have taken root in Amaleq
    Behind you, Benjamin, with your troops.
      From Machir commanders came down
      From Zebulun, bearers of the ruler's scepter.
15   Issachar's captains were with Deborah
      Issachar was Baraq's support
      Dispatched to the plain, under his command.
    In Reuben's divisions are command-minded chieftains.
16   Why then do you squat between hearths
      Harking to pastoral pipings?
    To Reuben's divisions belong fainthearted chieftains!

(Part IV)

17   Gilead bivouacked beyond Jordan
      Why did Dan take service on ships?
    Asher squatted at the seashore
      He bivouacked by his harbors!
18   Zebulun is a troop
      That scorned death
    Napthali too
      On the heights of the plain!
19   The kings came and fought
    Then fought the kings of Canaan
      At Taanach by Megiddo's stream
      Silver booty they did not take.
    From the heavens fought the stars
    From their courses they fought against Sisera!

(Part V)

21   The Wadi Qishon swept them away
    The Wadi overwhelmed them—the Wadi Qishon
    (You shall trample the throat of the mighty).
22   Then the horses' hoofs pounded
    His stallions racing, racing!

(Part VI)

23   "Oh, curse Meroz!" says the divine adviser
"Utterly curse its inhabitants!"
     For they did not come to Yahweh's aid
     To Yahweh's aid, with knights.

(Part VII)

24   Most blessed among women is Jael
The wife of Heber the Qenite
Among women in tents she's most blessed!
25   Water he asked
     Milk she gave
     In a lordly bowl
     She brought cream.
26   With her left hand she reached for a tent peg
With her right hand for the workman's mallet
     She pounded Sisera
     She broke his head
     She struck and pierced his neck!
27   At her feet he slumped. He fell. He sprawled.
At her feet he slumped. He fell.
At the place where he slumped, there he fell. Slain!

(Part VIII)

28   From the window she looked down and wailed
Sisera's mother, that is, from the lattice:
     Why tarries
     His chariot's arrival?
     Why so late
     The sound of his chariotry?
29   The wisest of her captains' ladies answers her
Indeed, she returns her own words to her:
30   Are they not looting
     Dividing the spoil?
     One or two girls for each man
     Spoil of dyed cloth for Sisera
     Spoil of dyed cloth, embroidered
     Two pieces of dyed embroidery
     For the neck of the spoiler.

(Part IX)

31   Thus may they perish
All enemies of Yahweh!
Let his lovers be
Like the sunburst in full strength!
And the land was calm, for forty years.

Translation of D. K. Stuart
1976
Studies in Early Hebrew Meter

Part I

1.   . . . .

2.   When locks were long in Israel,
       When volunteered the people, the consecrated of Yahweh.

3.   Hear, O Kings,
       Give ear, O princes,
       I to Yahweh,
       Even I will sing.
       I will sing to Yahweh
       The God of Israel.

4.   Yahweh, when you went forth from Seir,
       When you marched from Edom's field,
       The earth trembled,
       Even the heavens dripped;
       The clouds dripped,

5.   The mountains quaked
       Before Yahweh
       Before the One of Sinai,
       Before Yahweh
       The God of Israel.

6.   In the days of Shamgar,
       In the days of Jael,
       The travellers ceased,
       Those who walk the roads,
       The twisting paths.

7.   The peasantry ceased in Israel,
       It ceased until you arose, Deborah,
       Until you arose, a mother in Israel.

8.   They chose new chiefs
       Indeed they took for themselves champions.
       Was not spear and shield to be seen
       Among forty thousand in Israel?

9.   My heart is with the commanders of Israel
       Who volunteered, the consecrated of Yahweh,

10.   Riding upon tawny asses.
10 b, c.   . . . .
11.   . . . .
12.   Awake, awake, Deborah
        Awake, utter a song!
        Arise, Barak, and capture your captors, son of Abinoam!
13.   Then bring them down, O mighty ones,
        Let the host of Yahweh come down, O warriors!

Part II

14.   From Ephraim bring them down into the valley;
        After you, Benjamin, among your kinsmen.
        From Machir descended the commanders,
        From Zebulun those who wield the marshall's staff.
15.   The princes of Issachar were with Deborah,
        And Issachar, faithful to Barak,
        In the valley rushed at his heels.
        In the clans of Reuben
        Great are the commanders.
16.   Indeed you dwell among the sheepfolds
        To hear the piping of the flocks.
        . . . .
17.   Gilead tents across the Jordan;
        Dan indeed sojourns on ships.
        Asher dwells at the seashore
        And by its inlets he encamps.
18.   Zebulun is a people who scorned its life to die;
        Naphtali mounted the heights of the field.

Part III

19.   The kings came, they fought,
        They fought, the kings of Canaan,
        At Taanach, by the waters of Megiddo.
        Spoil of silver they did not take,
        . . . .
20.   From the heavens the stars fought,
        From their stations, with Sisera.
21.   Wadi Kishon swept them away,
        Wadi Kishon overwhelmed them.
        His mighty chargers pounded

22.   Yes, hammered the hoofs of the horses,
       Raced chariot-races his stallions.
23.   Bitterly curse Meroz
       Bitterly curse her inhabitant [*sic*]

       For they came not to Yahweh's aid,
       To Yahweh's aid with warriors.

Part IV

24.   Blessed above women be Jael,
       Above women of the tent let her be blessed.
25.   Water he asked,
       Milk she gave;
       In a majestic bowl
       She brought ghee.
26.   Her hand to a tent-pin she put,
       Her right hand to a workmen's wedge.
       She smote Sisera,
       She smashed his head;

       She struck Sisera,
       She pierced his temple.
27.   At her feet he sank, he lay down flat,
       At her feet he sank, he fell down.
       There he sank, he fell down slain.

Part V

28.   Through a window peered Sisera's mother,
       Sisera's mother cried out through a lattice.
       Why tarries
       His chariotry in coming?
       Why delay
       The hoofs of his chariot-(horses)?
29.   The wisest of her ladies answers her,
       Yes, she returns words to her.
30.   Have they not found,
       Divided the booty?
       A maid, or two for each warrior.
       Booty of dyed cloth for Sisera,
       Booty of dyed clothes, embroidered,
       A dyed cloth, embroidered, for the neck.

Translation of M. D. Coogan
1978
A Structural and Literary Analysis
of the Song of Deborah

I   A

In the very beginning
in Israel
when the people volunteered—
bless Yahweh!
Listen, kings,
give ear, princes,
I to Yahweh,
I will sing,
I will chant to Yahweh
God of Israel.
Yahweh, when you set out from Seir,
when you marched from the steppe of Edom,
the earth quaked,
and the heavens shook,
and the clouds shook water;
the mountains shuddered
before Yahweh, the one of Sinai
before Yahweh, the God of Israel.

          B

In the days of Shamgar, son of Anat,
in the days of Jael—they ceased:
the caravans and those who go on paths
went on winding tracks.
Warriors ceased,
in Israel they ceased—
until you arose, Deborah,
'til you arose, a mother in Israel.
New gods were chosen,
then they fought at the gates:
neither shield was to be seen nor spear
among forty thousand in Israel.

II

My heart is with the officers of Israel,
the volunteers among the people—
bless Yahweh!
You riders on tawny asses—
you who sit over Midian
and you who go on the road—
sing out!
At the sound of the cymbals,
    between the water holes,
there they recited the victories of Yahweh,
the victories of his warriors in Israel.
Then the people of Yahweh
    went down to the gates.
"Awake, awake, Deborah,
awake, awake, sing a song!"
"Arise, Barak,
and capture your captives,
son of Abinoam!"
Then the fugitive ruled the mighty ones,
the people of Yahweh ruled the warriors.

III

From Ephraim, who took root in Amalek,
"after you, Benjamin, with your people,"
from Machir, the officers went down,
and from Zebulon,
    leading with a marshall's baton.
And the princes in Issachar were with Deborah,
Issachar too was loyal to Barak:
in the valley they were sent at his feet.
In the divisions of Reuben,
    great were the searchings of heart.
"Why do you sit among the camp fires,
listening to the pipings for the flocks?"
In the divisions of Reuben,
    great were the scrutinies of heart.
Gilead stayed camped across the Jordan,
and Dan: why did he serve on ships?
Asher lived on the seacoast,
and on its inlets he stayed camped.
Zebulon was a people which scorned
    its life to the death,
and Naphtali, on the heights of the steppe.

IV

The kings came, they fought;
then fought the kings of Canaan
at Taanach by the waters of Megiddo,
(but) booty of silver they did not take.
From the heavens the stars fought,
from the their highways they fought with Sisera.

Wadi Qishon swept them away,
that ancient wadi, Wadi Qishon;
you shall trample the throat of the mighty.
Then the hooves of his horses hammered:
the galloping, the galloping of his stallions!
"Curse Meroz"
    said the messenger of Yahweh,
"curse, curse her inhabitants!
For they did not come to the help of Yahweh,
to the help of Yahweh with warriors."

V   A

Blessed among women be Jael,
wife of Heber the Kenite,
among women in the tent may she be blessed.
He asked for water,
she gave him milk;
in a magnificent bowl
she brought yogurt.
She stretched her hand to the tent peg,
her right hand to the workmen's hammer,
and she hammered Sisera,
she smashed his head,
and she struck and pierced his temple.
Between her feet he collapsed, he fell, he lay;
between her feet he collapsed, he fell;
in the place he collapsed, there he fell in ruins.

B

Through the window
she peered and cried out,
the mother of Sisera
through the shutter:
"Why is his chariot late in coming?
Why do the hooves of his chariotry delay?"
The wisest of her ladies answered her,
she responded to her words:
"Surely they have found and are sharing the
    plunder:
one girl, two girls for each warrior,
plunder of dyed cloth for Sisera,
plunder of dyed cloth embroidered,
two dyed embroidered cloths for the neck
of the plunderer."

Translation of A. and S. Fishelis
1979
Judges: A New English Translation

1. Now Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam sang on that day, saying.

2. "When breaches are made in Israel, when the people offer themselves willingly, bless the Lord.

3. Hear, O kings, give ear, O princes; I, to the Lord I shall sing, I shall sing to the Lord, the God of Israel.

4. Lord, when You went forth out of Seir, when You marched out of the field of Edom, the earth trembled, the heavens also dripped; also the clouds dripped water.

5. The mountains melted at the presence of the Lord, this (was at) Sinai, because of the presence of the Lord, the God of Israel.

6. In the days of Shamgar the son of Anath, in the days of Jael, caravans ceased, and travellers walked on crooked paths.

7. The open cities ceased, in Israel they ceased, until I Deborah arose; I arose as a mother in Israel.

8. When they chose new gods, then there was war in the cities; was there seen a shield or a spear (when the) forty thousand (went against) Israel?

9. My heart is toward the lawgivers of Israel, that offered themselves willingly among the people (saying,) 'Bless the Lord.'

10. The riders of white donkeys, those that sit in judgment, and those that walk on the path, tell of it.

11. Instead of the noise of adversaries, between the places of drawing water, there they will tell the righteous acts of the Lord, the righteous acts of restoring open cities in Israel. Then the people of the Lord went down to the cities.

12. Praise! Praise! Deborah. Praise! Praise! Utter a song.
Arise Barak, and capture your captives, son of Abinoam.

13. Then ruled a remnant among the mighty of the nations; the Lord dominated the strong for me.

14. Out of Ephraim, whose root was against Amalek; after you (will be) Benjamin with your abaters; out of Machir came down officers, and out of Zebulun they that handle the pen of the scribe.

15. And the princes of Issachar were with Deborah, as was Issachar with Barak; into the valley they rushed forth with their feet. (But) among the divisions of Reuben, (there were) great resolves of heart.

16.   Why do you sit between the borders, to hear the bleatings of the flocks? At the divisions of Reuben, (there are) great searchings of heart.

17.   Gilead abides beyond the Jordan; and Dan, why does he gather into ships? Asher dwelt at the shore of the seas, and by his breaches he abides.

18.   Zebulun is a people that jeopardized their lives to die, as did Naphtali, upon the high places of the field.

19.   The kings came and fought; then fought the kings of Canaan in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo; they took no gain of money.

20.   From heaven they fought; the stars from their courses fought against Sisera.

21.   The brook Kishon swept them away, that ancient brook, the brook Kishon; tread down, O my soul, (their) strength.

22.   Then were pounded the heels of the horses by reason of the prancings, the prancings of their mighty ones.

23.   'Curse you Meroz,' said the messenger of the Lord, 'curse you bitterly (you) inhabitants thereof,' because they came not to the aid of the Lord, to the aid of the Lord against the mighty.

24.   Blessed above women shall Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite, be; above women in the tent shall she be blessed.

25.   Water he requested, (but) milk she gave him; in a lordly bowl she brought him cream.

26.   She put forth her hand to the pin, and her right hand to strike the weary; she struck Sisera, pierced his head, and wounded and penetrated his temple.

27.   At her feet he sank, fell, lay; at her feet he sank (and) fell; where he sank, there he fell down dead.

28.   Through the window the mother of Sisera looked forth, and peered through the window; why is his chariot late in coming? Why tarry the strides of his chariots?

29.   The wisest of her princesses answer her, she too returns answers to herself.

30.   Are they not finding (and) dividing the spoils? A damsel, two damsels to every man; a spoil of dyed garments to Sisera, a spoil of dyed garments of embroidery; dyed garments of embroidery for the neck of the spoiler.

31.   So may perish all Your enemies, O Lord; but they that love Him (should be) as the sun when he goes forth in his might."

And the land rested forty years.

Translation of M. O'Connor
1980
Hebrew Verse Structure

2a   When locks were long, in Israel,
2b   When people vowed themselves, they blessed Yahweh.
3a   Listen, kings.
3b   Give ear, potentates.
3c   I will sing of Yahweh,
3d   I will sing.
3e   I will chant of Yahweh, Israel's god.
4a   Yahweh, when you emerged from Seir,
4b   When you marched from the field of Edom,
4c   Earth shook.
4d   The clouds of heaven dripped.
4e   The clouds of heaven dripped down water.
5a   Hills shuddered
5b   Before Yahweh of Sinai,
5c   Before Yahweh, Israel's god.
6a   In the days of Shamgar, Anat's child,
6b   In the days of Yael, caravan routes prospered.
6c   Path followers followed circuitous caravan routes.
7a   Warriors prospered in Israel,
7b   They prospered on booty,
7c   When you arose, Deborah,
7d   When you arose as a mother, in Israel.
8a   He chose new gods.
8b   He served them food.
8c   Neither shield nor sword was seen
8d   In the forty companies of Israel.
9a   My heart belongs to Israel's leaders.
9b   Those who volunteer themselves for the people bless Yahweh.
10a   You who ride on tawny she-asses.
10b   You who rule over the Madon realm.
10c   You who travel through the Madon realm.
11a   Let the voices of recruiters resound amid waterholes.
11b   There let them repeat the victories of Yahweh's warriors,
11c   The victories of Yahweh's warriors on behalf of Israel.
11d   The army of Yahweh went down to the gates.

12a   Get up, get up, Deborah.
12b   Get up, get up.
12c   Sing the song.
12d   Arise, Baraq, Abinoam's child.
12e   Capture your captives, Baraq, Abinoam's child.
13a   The army of Yahweh went down to Sarid, against the mighty.
13b   It went down against the strong for me.
14a   From Ephraim they root them out of Amaleq.
14b   Benjamin delays you among the people.
14c   Out of Machir, commanders go down.
14d   Those who march with scribal rod are from Zebulon.
15a   The princes are in Issachar with Deborah.
15b   Issachar is Baraq's support.
15c   It is sent through the valley at his feet.
15d   In Reuben's divisions, great are the stouthearted.
16a   Why do you sit among hearths
16b   Listening to herds hissing?
16c   Great are the heartsearchings about Reuben's divisions.
17a   Gilead dwells on the Jordan's far shore.
17b   Dan: why does he dwell on shipboard?
17c   Asher lives on the seashore.
17d   He encamps by his harbors.
18a   Zebulon is a people of scorn.
18b   His appetite for death.
18c   Naphtali surmounts the highest hills.
19a   The kings came. They fought.
19b   The kings of Canaan fought
19c   In Taanach, near Megiddo Waters.
19d   They did not take silver booty.
20a   The stars fought from their heavenly paths.
20b   They fought with Sisera from their heavenly paths.
21a   Wadi Qishon swept them away.
21b   Wadi Qishon is an ancient wadi.
21c   O my soul, tread down the mighty.
22a   The horses' heels hammered.
22b   The horses' heels thundered.
22c   His stallions thundered.
23a   Curse Meroz,
23b   The messenger of Yahweh says,
23c   Curse vehemently her inhabitants.
23d   They did not come to Yahweh's help,
23e   To Yahweh's help, against the warriors.

24a   Most blessed among women is Yael,
24b   The wife of the Qenite Heber.
24c   She is most blessed among women in the tent.
25a   He asks for water.
25b   She gives milk in a bowl.
25c   She brings the mighty one butter.
26a   She extends her left hand to the tent-peg.
26b   She extends her right hand to the workers' mallet.
26c   She pounds Sisera's skull.
26d   She smashes Sisera's skull.
26e   She smashes and pierces his temple.
27a   Between her legs he crouches.
27b   He falls. He lies prone.
27c   Between her legs he crouches. He falls.
27d   In that place he crouches.
27e   There the oppressed one falls.
28a   Through the window lattice she looks out.
28b   Sisera's mother wails through the window lattice.
28c   Why does his chariot tarry in coming?
28d   Why does his chariotry's clatter delay?
29a   She gives her words back to her:
30a   Haven't they found, aren't they dividing the spoil?
30b   One woman, or two, goes for each man.
30c   Booty of dyed stuff goes to Sisera.
30d   The booty of dyed stuff is embroidered.
30e   The booty of embroidered stuff belongs on plunderers' necks.
31a   Thus perish all your enemies, Yahweh.
31b   Those who love him are like sunrise in his strength.

D. J. Harrington's Translation of
Judges 5 in Targum Jonathan
1986[276]

1. *And Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam* gave praise *in that* time, *saying*: 2. "When the house of Israel rebelled against the Law, the nations came upon them and banished them from their cities. And when they turned to do the Law, they were victorious over their enemies; they drove them out from upon the territory of the land of *Israel* rebelled against the Law, the nations came upon them and banished them from their cities. And when they turned to do the Law, they were victorious over their enemies; they drove them out from upon the territory of the land of Israel. Therefore on account of the punishment of the breaking of Sisera and his army, and on account of the sign and the redemption that was worked for Israel, that the sages returned to sit in the synagogues at the head of the exiles and to teach the people the words of the Law—therefore *bless* and give thanks before *the Lord*. 3. *Hear, kings*; pay attention, *princes*. Deborah speaks in prophecy before the Lord: "I am praising, giving thanks, and blessing before *the Lord the God of Israel*. 4. Your Law that you gave to them, to Israel, when they transgress it, the nations have power over them; and when they turn to it, they are victorious over their enemies. O Lord, on the day when you revealed yourself so as to teach *from Seir*, when you showed forth your glory upon the territories *of Edom, the earth shook, also the heavens* bent down, *also the clouds* spread rain. 5. *The mountains shook from before the Lord. This Sinai* was shaken up; its smoke went up like the smoke of the furnace because *the Lord the God of Israel* was revealed upon it.

6. "When they sinned *in the days of Shamgar the son of Anath*, *in the days of Jael*, *they ceased* traveling on roads and those who were walking on pathways turned to go in hidden roads. 7. The ruin of the unwalled cities where they were dwelling in the land of *Israel* was captured, and their inhabitants were carried off *until* I was commissioned–I Deborah–I was commissioned to prophesy in the midst of the house of *Israel*. 8. When the house of Israel *chose* to serve *new* idols, which were made nearby, with which their fathers had not occupied themselves, the nations came against them and drove them from their cities. And whenever they returned to the Law, they could not overpower them, so that when the enemy came against them (and with him were men holding shields and spears) with *forty-thousand* army-chiefs, they were not able to wage battle in Israel.'

9. "Deborah speaks in prophecy: I was sent to give praise to the teachers of Israel who, when that affliction happened, did not cease from studying in the Law; and who, whenever it was proper for them, were sitting in the synagogues at the head of the exiles and were teaching the people the words of the Law and blessing and giving thanks before God. 10. Those who were ceasing their labors, riding upon asses that were saddled with kinds of embroideries, and were going in all the territory of the land of Israel, and were being chosen to sit for judgment, they will be going on their ways and talking about the wonders that were done for them. 11. From the place where they were assaulting them and

taking what was in their hands-the place of seats of the toll-collectors and the residence of bandits, in back of the water trough-there they will give thanks on account of the righteousness of the Lord, on account of the righteousness of him who was dwelling in the unwalled cities in the land of Israel. Then they went down from the strong fortresses to dwell in the unwalled cities-the people of the Lord. 12. Give praise, give praise, Deborah, give praise, and give thanks; speak praise. Arise, Barak, and capture your captives, son of Abinoam. 13. Then one from the armies of Israel went down and shattered the strength of the warriors of the nations. Behold this was not from might, but rather the Lord shattered before his people the strength of the warriors of their enemies.

14. From those of the house of Ephraim, there arose Joshua the son of Nun; he first waged battle against those of the house of Amalek. After him there arose King Saul from those of the house of Benjamin; he killed those of the house of Amalek and waged battle against the rest of the nations. From those of the house of Machir, those who were marked went down in battle; and from the tribe of Zebulun they were writing with the pen of a scribe.
15. And the captains of Issachar were listening to the words of Deborah, and the rest of the tribe of Issachar were serving before Barak, being sent forth in the cities of the plain to every place where there was need in his sending them forth. In the clans of Reuben there were many crafty of heart. 16. Why did you sit apart from the armies of war, to sit between the borders, to hear good news, to know bad news? My army is victorious with her. Was it right for you to do (so), you of the house of Reuben? Did you not know that before me the thoughts of the heart are revealed? 17. Those of the house of Gilead camped out across the Jordan. And those of the house of Dan passed over, crossed the Jordan, put their goods in ships. Those of the house of Asher camped out on the shore of the seas; the cities of the nations that they destroyed-they turned, built them, and dwelt in them. 18. Those of the house of Zebulun opposite to the nations that blasphemed-they handed over their life to killing. They and those of the house of Naphtali-all the inhabitants of the land gave them praise.

19. The kings came; they waged battled. Then they fought the kings of Megiddo; wealth of silver they did not take. 20. From the heavens the battle was waged with them; from the place where the stars go forth, from the courses of their movements, there the battle was waged with Sisera. 21. The Wadi Kishon shattered them, the wadi in which signs and mighty acts were done for Israel from of old-that Wadi Kishon-there my soul crushed their warriors dead by force.

22. Then the hoofs of their horses slipped, the galloping that gallops before the chariots of his warriors. 23. "Curse Meroz," said the prophet of the Lord. "Curse, and shatter its inhabitants, for they did not come to the aid of the people of the Lord, to the aid of the people of the Lord, when it waged battle with warriors."

24. May Jael the wife of Heber the Shalmaite be blessed with the blessing of good women, may she be blessed like one of the women who serve in the houses of study. He asked her for water; she gave him milk to drink; to find out if his pleasure was in the bowls of warriors, she brought before him cream-cheese. 26. She reached out her hand for the tent-peg, and her right hand for the

hammer to shatter wicked men and oppressors. She struck it down into Sisera, she shattered his head; she crushed his brain; she made it pass through in his temple. 27. Between her feet he collapsed, he fell, he lay down. Between her feet he collapsed, he fell. In the place where he collapsed, there Sisera fell, plundered.

28. From the window the mother of Sisera looked out and was gazing from between the laths. She was saying: "Why are the chariots of my son slow to come? Why are the runners who are bringing to me the letter of victories detained?" 29. The wisest of her chambermaids were answering her. Even she according to her wisdom was answering and saying to her: 30. "Are they not dividing from what they are finding, giving as spoil a man and his household to each and every one? Much spoil before Sisera, spoil of dyed embroidered cloth upon his neck, rich possessions, and delightful things before his warriors who despoiled."

31. Like Sisera, so may all the haters of your people perish, Lord; and may his mercies be ready to give light with the light of his splendor 343 times over, like the rising of the sun in its might. And the land of Israel was at rest forty years.

Translation of J. Gray (partial)
1988
"Israel in the Song of Deborah"

5:1
5:2   Because the people of Israel regained liberty,   (Soggin)
        Because of the total commitment in Israel.   (Craigie)
5:3
5:4a
5:4b   The earth quaked,
            Yea, the sky was laden with water,
            Yea, the clouds dripped water,
5:5   The mountains were convulsed
            Before Yahweh, Lord of Sinai,
            Before Yahweh, God of Israel.
5:6a   From the days of Shamgar the son of Anath to that of Jael,

        (Weiser)
5:6b
5:7
5:8   They chose new gods,
            Gods which they had not known of old.   (Weiser)
5:9   I noticed the leaders in Israel
            Who proved themselves nobles among the people.
5:10   [The gentle] who ride on tawny she-asses lay to heart;
            [The simple] who walk on the road meditate.
5:11   By the voices of those singing antiphonally at the watering-places
            Where they repeat in response
            Yahweh's acts of vindication,
            The vindication of His champions in Israel,
            Then let the people of Yahweh came down from the settlements.
5:12   Rouse thyself, rouse thyself, Deborah,
            Rouse thyself, rouse thyself, lead thy train of captives;
            Arise, Baraq and lead captive
            Those that would have taken thee captive, thou son of Abinoam.
5:13   Then down came Israel represented by the nobles,
            The people of Yahweh came down to Him in the person of the men of
            substance.
5:14   From Ephraim (came down) the princes among the people,
            After them Benjamin represented by their headmen;
            From Machir came down the directors,
            And from Zebulun those who hold the staff (of authority).

5:15 And the princesses of Issachar with Deborah,
      And Naphtali with their (famous) son Baraq;
      Swarmed after them into the valley.
5:16 Why did you sit between the converging fold-walls
      To listen for the whistling of the herdsmen?
      Among the clans of Reuben
      There were great heart-searchings
5:17 Gilead remained settled beyond Jordan,
      And Dan remained inactive;
      Asher stayed by the seashore
      And remained settled by his bights.
5:18 Zebulun was a folk which held their life cheaply, risking death,
      And Naphtali on the high places of the open country.
5:19
5:20 The stars in their courses fought with Sisera,
      The torrent of the Qishon headed him off.

Translation of B. Lindars
1995
Judges 1–5

5[1] Then sang Deborah and Barak the son of Abimoam on that day, as follows:

The liturgical opening
[2] That the leaders took the lead in Israel
    that the people offered themselves for service.
    bless Yahweh!
[3] Listen, you kings;
    give ear, you princes;
I will to Yahweh,
    I will sing;
I will chant to Yahweh
    the God of Israel.
[4] Yahweh, when you came forth from Seir,
    when you marched from the steppe of Edom,
the earth shook,
    yes, the heavens poured forth
    (yes, the clouds poured forth water).
[5] Mountains quaked
    in the presence of Yahweh,
    (this means Sinai)
in the presence of Yahweh
    the God of Israel.

The Rise of Deborah
[6] In the days of Shamgar son of Anath,
    in the days of Jael,
    caravans ceased.
Travellers on the roads
    went circuitous ways.
[7]Villagers were inactive,
    were inactive in Israel –
until you, Deborah, arose,
    you arose, a mother in Israel.
[8]God chooses new men;
    then the armed men of the cities came forth;
though a shield was not found or a spear
    among forty thousand in Israel.

A story to tell

[9]My thoughts turn to the commanders of Israel,
    to the people who offered themselves for service:
    bless Yahweh!
[10]You who ride on tawny asses,
    sitting on saddle-cloths,
    and you who pass along the way, give praise!
[11]Amid the sound of the revellers
    at the watering places,
there let them celebrate
the victories of Yahweh,
    the victories of his villagers in Israel.

(Then down to the gates went the people of Yahweh.)

Deborah's oracle

[12]Rouse yourself, rouse yourself, Deborah!
    rouse yourself, rouse yourself,
    speak in song.
Rise up Barak,
    take hold of your captives,
    you son of Abinoam.

The tribes who respond

[13]Then down went the remnant like the mighty,
    the people of Yahweh got themselves down like heroes:
[14]from Ephraim
    went officers into the vale
    'After you, Benjamin, in your companies!';
from Machir
    commanders went down,
    and from Zebulun those who hold the musterer's staff;
[15]the leaders in Isscachar were with Deborah;
    so Issachar, true to Barak,
    set out in the vale at his feet.

The tribes who fail

In the divisions of Reuben
    there were great searchings of heart.
[16]Why did you stay
    among the sheepfolds
    to listen to the whistling for the flocks?
(In the divisions of Reuben
    there were great searchings of heart.)

[17]Gilead remained
       across the Jordan
and Dan – why
       did he linger at the ships?
Asher stayed
       at the shore of the seas,
and remained besides its harbours.

Zebulin and Naphtali

[18] Zebulun is an army which scorned
       its life to death,
Naphtali also, on the heights of the open country.

The battle

[19] The kings came; they fought;
       then fought the kings of Canaan
at Tanaach by the waters of Megiddo.
       No profit of silver did they take!
[20] From the heavens fought the stars,
       from their pathways they fought against Sisera.
[21] The torrent Kishon swept them away,
       it forestalled them, the torrent Kishon.
       (My soul, trample in strength!)
[22] Then hammered the hooves of the horses
       from the galloping, galloping of his stallions.

Curse Meroz

[23] Curse Meroz,
       says (the angel of) Yahweh
       curse most bitterly its inhabitants.
For they did not come
       to the help of Yahweh,
       the help of Yahweh alongside the heroes.

Jael's deed

[24] Let Jael be blessed above women
       (the wife of Heber the Kenite),
       above women of the tent let her be blessed.
[25] He asked for water.
       She gave him milk.
In a lordly dish
       she offered him curds.
[26] Her hand she reached out for the tent-peg,
       her right hand for the labourer's hammer.

She hammered Sisera,
     she crushed his head,
     she shattered and pierced through his temple.
[27] Between her feet
     he collapsed, he fell, he lay,
between her feet
     he collapsed, he fell,
where he collapsed,
     there he fell slain.

Sisera's mother

[28] Through the window,
     looked out and peered
the mother of Sisera,
     through the lattice:
'Why so slow has been
     his chariot to come?
why so delayed have been
     the hoofbeats of his chariots?'
[29] The wisest of her ladies replies to her,
     indeed she answers her words for herself:
[30] Surely they have gained
     and divided the spoil,
one or two wenches
     for each of the men,
spoil of gay fabrics,
     for Sisera gay fabric,
one or two brocade scarves
     for his neck as spoil.

Conclusion

[31] So may all your enemies perish, Yahweh!
     May your friends be as when the sun comes out in its strength.

The land was at peace for forty years.

A *targum* into Israeli Hebrew of
McDaniel's translation "The Song of Deborah"
(See above, pages 90–105.)
2000

מבוא בפרוזה

4:23	אֱלוֹהִים הֶחֱלִישׁ בְּאוֹתוֹ הַיּוֹם אֶת יָבִין, מֶלֶךְ כְּנַעַן, בִּפְנֵי הַיִּשְׂרְאֵלִים.
4:24	וְאוּמְנָם, יָדָם שֶׁל הַיִּשְׂרְאֵלִים הָלְכָה וְחָזְקָה עַל יָבִין, מֶלֶךְ כְּנַעַן,
	עַד אֲשֶׁר, לְבַסּוֹף, הִשְׁמִידוּ אֶת יָבִין, מֶלֶךְ כְּנַעַן.

הַקְדָּמָה שִׁירִית 3:31, 5:6 – 7, 5:1 – 2b

3:31	אָז הוֹפִיעַ שַׁמְגַּר בֶּן עֲנָת בַּתְּמוּנָה!
	הוּא הִכָּה בְּמֶעְדֵּר אֶת שְׁתֵּי חֲבוּרוֹת הַשּׁוֹדְדִים;
	הוּא בָּזַז מֵאוֹת אֲנָשִׁים בְּמוֹט שְׁוָרִים.
	הוּא מוּנָה לְמַנְהִיג, וְהוֹבִיל אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל לְנִצְחוֹנוֹת!
5:6	מִימֵי שַׁמְגַּר בֶּן עֲנָת,
	מֵהֵימִים שֶׁבָּם נָהַג לַחְקוֹף בְּהַפְתָּעָה, שַׁיָּרוֹת פָּסְקוּ,
	וְהוֹלְכֵי דֶּרֶךְ הֶחֵלּוּ לָלֶכֶת בִּדְרָכֵי עֲקִיפִין
	הַלּוֹחֲמִים נִסְתַּלְּקוּ, מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל הֵם נֶעֶלְמוּ.
	עַד שֶׁעָלְתָה דְּבוֹרָה, וְהָפְכָה לְאֵם בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל
5:1	דְּבוֹרָה הִצְעִידָה בְּאוֹתוֹ הַיּוֹם אֶת בָּרָק בֶּן אֲבִינוֹעַם,
	כְּשֶׁקָּרְאָה הַגִּבּוֹרָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַרְאוֹת גְּבוּרָה,
	כְּשֶׁהַצָּבָא זוּמַּן (עַל יָדָהּ) הִיא אָמְרָה.

דְּבוֹרָה קוֹרְאַת לָעָם 5:2c – 4, 5:8 – 9

5:2c	בָּרְכוּ יי!
5:3	שִׁמְעוּ מְלָכִים, הַאֲזִינוּ רוֹזְנִים, אֲנִי לְצַד יי!
	אֲנִי, כֵּן אֲנִי, אֲנִי אַתְקִיף, אֲנִי אֶלְחַם לְצַד יי אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל!
5:4	יי, כְּשֶׁיָּצָאתָ מִשֵּׂעִיר,
	כְּשֶׁצָּעַדְתָּ מֵעַרְבוֹת אֱדוֹם,
	הָאָרֶץ רָעֲדָה בְּרַעַשׁ, הַשָּׁמַיִם קָדְרוּ וְנִפְעֲרוּ,
	וְהֶעֲנָנִים הִמְטִירוּ גִּשְׁמֵי עֹז.
5:5	הַמַּיִם זָרְמוּ בְּמוֹרְדוֹת הֶהָרִים מִנּוֹכְחוּת יי,
	שֶׁהוֹפִיעַ בְּסִינַי, מִנּוֹכְחוּת יי, אֱלֹהַי.
	אֱלֹהִים יִתֵּן כּוֹחַ (לַלּוֹחֲמִים)

5:8 אלוהים יזיס את הטרונים.
כשהאמיצים ילחמו,
יכנס גם מגן וכידון
לשימוש בין ארבעים אלף ישראלים.
הענו לקריאה מנהיגי ישראל!
אתם המגויסים לצבא!
(וגם אתם,) שֶׁנקראתם לצבא, ענו!
5:9d ברכו יי!

הצעדת הכוחות 5:10 – 13

5:10 רוכבי אתונות צעירות,
היושבים על פרדים,
ואלה הולכים בדרכים,
5:11 מהרו לדרכי ההר,
הזדרזו למעברי ההרים
שבהם יתן נצחון יי,
נצחון שָׂרֵי לוחמי (אלוהים) בישראל,
כאשר סערות הגשם ירדו (בהוראת) אלוהים.

5:12 צבאות דבורה הכינו עצמו,
להשמיד את צבאות המתקיפים.
ברק הכין להתקפה,
בן אבינעם (הכין) לשבת אסירים.
5:13 כאשר התקדם מנהיג השיירה להתעמת באצילים,
(וכאשר) ירדו צבאות אלוהים (מההרים),
(הם) מלווים בחיילי (צבאות אלוהים)!

אסטרטגית המלחמה 5:14 – 16

5:14 כמה (לוחמים) מאפריים, ממהרים דרך עמלק, יתקפו מאחור.
בנימין יתקף ממקום סתר;
ממכיר מפקדים ירדו.
5:15 ומזבולון יצאו הנושאים שרביט) מַנְחֶה;
וקצינים מיששכר יחד עם דבורה.
ברק תיכנן את תבוסת (היריב) כשהוא נחבא במישור.
ראובן נשלח עם חיילי הרגלים לאורך הוודיות.
גד הצטרף אליהם.

5:16   בעלי האומץ הסתובבו וחכו בין הגיאיות
להקשיב למזדנבים בוודיות
לנצח את המפקדים מוגי הלב.

התקפת הישראלים 5:17–18

5:17   גלעד בעבר הירדן נכנס לדריכות.
דן באומץ לב התקוף אוניות!
אשר הסתער לחוף הים, ותקף את נמלי הים.
5:18   זבולון צלל, סכן חייו,
נפתלי תקף מרום.

התקפת הנגד של כנען 5:19

5:19   המלכים נאלצו לבוא. הם נלחמו.
כשמלכי כנען נלחמו,
מתענך לאורך מי מגידו,
שלל כסף לא לקחו.

מפלת הכנענים 5:20–23

5:20   הכוכבים נלחמו מהשמים,
מעמדתם נלחמו הם בסיסרא.
5:21   נחל קישון סחף אותם,
הנחל שורם לכיוון הים
נחל קישון שטף (אותם), הוא עלה על גדותיו,
הם חיפשו מחסה.
סוסיהם ומרכבותיהם נסוגו לגבהים
גם מרכבתו, סוסו (של סיסרא).
5:23   נגזר עליהם למות, נכנסו לבהלה
יי שלח שבר ענן!
רוכביהם נכנסו לבהלה מוחלטת!
עטורי נצחון היו אלה שהתגיסו עם יי, " איש מלחמה,"
עם יי, " איש מלחמה" וגבורי (צבאות)!

רצח סיסרא   5:24‑25, 5:27a, 5:26, 5:27b

המבורכת בין הנשים היא יעל, אשת חבר הקיני,   5:24
בין הנשים באוהלים מבורכת מכולן.

מים הוא ביקש, חלב היא נתנה.   5:25
בגביע הדור היא הגישה שמנת.

בין רגליה שתחה, ונרדם.   5:27a

היא הושיטה ידה ליתר האוהל,   5:26
יד ימנית (החזיקה) לפטיש פועלים.
הלמה בסיסרא, מחצה ראשו,
שברה וחצתה צוארו.

בין רגליה מעולף נפל;   5:27b
חסר תנועה וחסר כוח, שם הוא נפל מת.

התרגשות בחצר סיסרא   5:28‑30

דרך החלון הציצה, אך דבר לא ראתה.   5:28
אם סיסרא (עמדה על יד) החלון בקשה לדעת.
"מדוע מתעכב רכבו להגיע?"

"מדוע מתעכב קול מרכבותיו?"
החכמות, גבירותיה נחשו   5:29
אמנם, מגידת) העתידות שלה דווחה לה.
"המנצחים חצו (המים).   5:30
הם מחלקים שלל
נערה או שתיים לראש הגבר,
שלל מלבושים צבעוניים לסיסרא,
שלל טובי הבגדים,
לבוש רקמה או שניים,
כסודרים לבעלי השלל."

סיום שירית   5:31a

לכן כל אויביי יי יאבדו!
ואוהביו יהיו כשמש הזורחת,
מפני כוח יי (צבאות).

סיום פרוזה   5:31b
הארץ שקטה ארבעים שנה.   5:31b

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